

Babylonian Creation Myths

W. G. Lambert

Babylonian Creation Myths



MESOPOTAMIAN CIVILIZATIONS

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W. G. Lambert

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Editor's Preface

W. G. Lambert delivered the text of this volume to Eisenbrauns in August, 2010, more than a year before his death on November 9, 2011. At the time, Lambert stated that “all that is needed is that the plates be inked.” *Babylonian Creation Myths* is the culmination of Lambert's intimate involvement with *Enūma Eliš* and related (in the broadest sense) materials over the course of the last half-century. During a final conversation at his hospital bedside, Alasdair Livingstone and Irving Finkel reassured Lambert that his former students would see to it that this volume would be published with Lambert's name on the cover. Indeed, without the selfless involvement of Lambert's students, this volume would hardly have been possible.

The manuscript Lambert transmitted to Eisenbrauns consisted of a series of digital files prepared by Thomas Balke, now of Heidelberg University. Lambert had been encouraged by his successor in Birmingham, Alasdair Livingstone, to apply for funding to have his manuscript put in digital form, and Balke's work with Lambert was supported by a two-year grant (August 2008–2010) from the Leverhulme Trust. Without Balke's efforts, this volume may never have come into being. The tablet copies, however, remained in Birmingham.

Soon after Lambert's death, Jim Eisenbraun sent me copies of the digital files, and we determined that the manuscript was sufficiently complete that we should make every effort to bring it to publication. Eisenbraun contacted Livingstone regarding the tablet copies. These were being electronically inked by Mr. Henry Buglass of the Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity, University of Birmingham, with Livingstone's supervision. The inked files were dispatched to Eisenbrauns by Livingstone in late November. In the meantime, two former Lambert students, Andrew George and Wayne Horowitz, agreed to take on the time-consuming tasks of reading proofs (George) and preparing indexes (Horowitz). Seeing through to publication a volume of such complexity absent the guidance of the author would have been hardly feasible without the active participation of two scholars who had studied these very texts with the master.

Before his two-year term ended, Balke had prepared three large files, each consecutively paginated. With input from Balke regarding the overall organization of the intended volume, I prepared a preliminary table of contents, which I passed on to George for revisions. George, who is Lambert's academic executor, was able to find some small missing sections of the manuscript among Lambert's papers, and these were keyboarded by George's wife, Junko Taniguchi. Taniguchi also numbered and indexed the many hundreds of cuneiform copies left by Lambert, so that any copies missing from the batch that had been processed in Birmingham could be retrieved. Taniguchi took on as well the painstaking task of inking the not inconsiderable number of copies needed for the volume that were only in pencil.

Five cuneiform copies by others intended for this volume are reproduced with the generous consent of Robert Biggs, Andrew George, Alan Millard, C. B. F. Walker, and Claus Wilcke. Additional copies called for in the text but not found among Lambert's papers have been replaced by photos from the British Museum arranged for by Jon Taylor and published here on Plates 51–53 and 63–64 by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. All of the plates were made up by George, together with the list of tablets that precedes them.

When George corrected the proofs, he was able to refer to Lambert's copy of the draft manuscript, with corrections in Lambert's own hand and occasional addenda slips. Copy-editing was deliberately minimalist, striving mainly to bring more consistency to the citation style. Very few other changes were made to the text of Lambert's manuscript, mostly to cite publication details of texts and passages that had been unpublished at the time of writing and were quoted as such in the manuscript.

The indexes were compiled by Wayne Horowitz and a team of assistants, as noted by Horowitz on p. 607. It will be immediately apparent to the reader that this volume, with its rich textual data, is rendered very much more accessible by virtue of these indexes.

Finally, let me sing the praises of Jim Eisenbraun for his respect for Lambert's scholarship and his willingness to undertake this very difficult publishing project. The countless hours put in by Eisenbraun and his staff have ensured that the finished volume is worthy of its author, a true giant of 20th-century Assyriology.

JERROLD S. COOPER

Abbreviations

AAA	<i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i> (Liverpool, 1908–48)
AAS	J.-P. Grégoire, <i>Archives administratives sumériennes</i> (Paris, 1970)
AASF	<i>Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae</i> , Series B: Archaeology (Helsinki, 1909–)
ABAW	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Munich)
ABL	R. F. Harper, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters</i> (London and Chicago, 1892–1914)
ABRT	J. A. Craig, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts</i> (Leipzig, 1895–97)
ACH	C. Virolleaud, <i>L'astrologie chaldéenne: le livre intitulé "enuma (Anu) il(w)Bêl"</i> (Paris, 1903–12)
AcOr	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> (Budapest, 1950–)
ADD	C. H. Johns, <i>Assyrian Deeds and Documents</i> (Cambridge, 1898–1923)
AfK	<i>Archiv für Keilschriftforschung</i> (Berlin, 1923–25)
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i> (Berlin, Graz, Horn, Vienna, 1926–)
AH	Abu Habba: Siglum of tablets in the British Museum
AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> , I–III (Wiesbaden, 1959–81)
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> (Norwood, Mass., 1897–)
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i> (Chicago, 1895–1941)
AKA	L. W. King, <i>Annals of the Kings of Assyria</i> (London, 1902)
Akk.	Akkadian
AMT	R. C. Thompson, <i>Assyrian Medical Texts</i> (London, 1923)
An = Anum	R. L. Litke, <i>A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists</i> , AN: ^d A-nu-um and AN: Anu šá amēli (Diss. Yale, 1958); = Texts from the Babylonian Collection 3 (New Haven, 1998)
AnBib	<i>Analecta Biblica. Investigationes scientificae in res biblicas</i> (Rome, 1952–)
Ancient Fragments	I. P. Cory, <i>Ancient Fragments of Phoenician, Chaldean, Egyptian, and Other Writers</i> (London, 1826, 2nd edition 1832)
ANET	J. B. Pritchard (ed.), <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> (Princeton, ¹ 1950, ² 1955, ³ 1969)
AnOr	<i>Analecta Orientalia</i> (Rome)
AnSt	<i>Anatolian Studies</i> (London, 1951–)
AO	Siglum of tablets in the Louvre, Paris
AO	<i>Der Alte Orient</i> (Leipzig, 1899–1927)
AOAT	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i> (Neukirchen-Vluyn, Münster, 1969–)
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i> (Berlin, 1974–)
AOTAT	H. Gressmann (ed.), <i>Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament</i> (Berlin, Leipzig, 2nd ed., 1926)
AOTU	<i>Altorientalische Texte und Untersuchungen</i> 1–2 (Leiden, Breslau, 1916–1921)
APAW	Abhandlungen der (Königlich-)Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse (Berlin, 1908–1944)
ARM	Archives Royales de Mari (Paris)
ArOr	<i>Archiv Orientalni</i> (Prague, 1929–)
AS	Assyriological Studies (Chicago)
ASJ	<i>Acta Sumerologica</i> (Hiroshima, 1979–)
ASKT	P. Haupt, <i>Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte</i> (Leipzig, 1882)
ATU	<i>Archaische Texte aus Uruk</i> (Berlin)
BA	<i>Beiträge zur Assyriologie</i> (Leipzig)
Bagh. Mitt.	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i> (Berlin, Mainz am Rhein, 1960–)

BAM	F. Köcher et al., <i>Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen</i> (Berlin, 1963–)
Barton, <i>Haverford</i>	G. A. Barton, <i>Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets or Documents from the Temple Archives of Telloh</i> (Philadelphia, London, 1905–14)
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> (New Haven, 1921–)
BBS ^t	L. W. King, <i>Babylonian Boundary-Stones and Memorial-Tablets</i> (London, 1912)
BE	The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts (Philadelphia, 1910–)
<i>Before Philosophy</i>	H. Frankfort et al., <i>Before Philosophy: The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man</i> (Harmondsworth, 1949)
Bezold, <i>Catalogue</i>	C. Bezold, <i>Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection</i> (London, 1889–99)
BGE	A. R. George, <i>The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts</i> (Oxford, 2003)
BIN	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies (New Haven)
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i> (Leiden, 1943–)
BL	S. Langdon, <i>Babylonian Liturgies</i> (Paris, 1913)
BM	Siglum of tablets in the British Museum
Boissier, <i>DA</i>	A. Boissier, <i>Documents assyriens relatifs aus présages</i> (Paris, 1894–99)
BOQ	W. G. Lambert, <i>Babylonian Oracle Questions</i> (Winona Lake, 2007)
BOR	<i>Babylonian and Oriental Record</i> (London, 1886–1901)
Borger, <i>Asarhaddon</i>	R. Borger, <i>Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien</i> (AfO Beih. 9; 1956)
Borger, <i>Handbuch</i>	R. Borger, <i>Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur</i> (Wiesbaden, 1967–75)
Borger, <i>Zeichenlexikon</i>	R. Borger, <i>Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon</i> (Münster, 2003)
BRM	Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan, I–IV (New Haven, 1912–23)
BTT	A. R. George, <i>Babylonian Topographical Texts</i> (Leuven, 1992)
Bu	Budge: Siglum of tablets in the British Museum
BVSGW	Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften (Berlin)
BWL	W. G. Lambert, <i>Babylonian Wisdom Literature</i> (Oxford, 1960; reprinted, Winona Lake, IN, 1996)
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> (Chicago, 1956–2010)
CBS	Catalogue of the Babylonian Section: Siglum of tablets in the University Museum, Philadelphia
CDA	J. Black, A. George, and N. Postgate, <i>A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian</i> (2nd ed.; Wiesbaden, 2000)
CH	Codex Hammurabi
CLAM	M. E. Cohen, <i>The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia</i> (Potomac, MD, 1988)
Clay, <i>PN</i>	Albert Tobias Clay, <i>Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period</i> (New Haven, 1912)
<i>Collection de Clercq</i>	L. de Clercq and J. Ménant, <i>Collection de Clercq, catalogue méthodique et raisonné</i> (Paris 1885/88–1911)
CRRA	Compte rendu de la . . . Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum (London, 1896–)
CTMMA	Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1988–)
CTN	Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud (London)
<i>Darius</i>	J. N. Strassmaier, <i>Inschriften von Darius, König von Babylon</i> (Leipzig, 1897)
Deimel, <i>Fara III</i>	A. Deimel, <i>Wirtschaftstexte aus Fara</i> (WVDOG 45; Berlin, 1924)
Delaporte, <i>Louvre</i>	L. Delaporte, <i>Musée du Louvre, catalogue des cylindres orientaux, cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental</i> (Paris, 1920–23)
Delitzsch, <i>Lesestücke</i>	F. Delitzsch, <i>Assyrische Lesestücke</i> (3rd ed.; Leipzig, 1885)
DP	M. Allotte de la Fuÿe, <i>Documents présargoniques</i> (Paris, 1908–20)
DT	Daily Telegraph: Siglum of tablets in the British Museum
Ebeling, <i>Handerhebung</i>	E. Ebeling, <i>Die akkadische Gebetsserie “Handerhebung”</i> (Berlin, 1953)

- Ebeling, *Tod und Leben* E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier* (Berlin, Leipzig, 1931)
- Emar VI D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Aštata: Emar VI* (Paris, 1985–87)
- F Siglum of tablets in the British Museum
- Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden* A. Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden* (ABAW NF 39, 40, 44; Munich, 1956–57)
- FAOS Freiburger altorientalische Studien (Wiesbaden, Stuttgart, 1975–)
- Finkelstein Mem. Vol. Maria deJ. Ellis (ed.), *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein* (Hamden, Conn., 1977)
- Fish, *Catalogue* T. Fish, *Catalogue of the Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester, 1932)
- Fossey, *Manuel* C. Fossey, *Manuel d'Assyriologie* (Paris, 1904–26)
- Frankena, *Tākultu* R. Frankena, *Tākultu – de sacrale maaltijd in het assyrische ritueel met een overzicht over de in Assur vereerde goden* (Leiden, 1953)
- Fs. Festschrift
- Fs. Albright G. E. Wright (ed.), *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (London, 1961)
- Fs. Lambert A. R. George and I. L. Finkel (eds.), *Wisdom, Gods and Literature: Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W. G. Lambert* (Winona Lake, 2000)
- GAG W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*; AnOr 33/47 (Rome, 1952, 1969; 3rd ed. W. R. Mayer, Rome, 1995)
- GCCI R. P. Dougherty, *Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions. Archives from Erech* (New Haven, 1923–33)
- George, *House Most High* A. R. George, *House Most High: The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Winona Lake, IN, 1993)
- Gesche, *Schulunterricht* P. Gesche, *Schulunterricht in Babylonien im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (AOAT 275; Münster, 2001)
- Gilg. Gilgameš
- Hirsch, *Untersuchungen* H. Hirsch, *Untersuchungen zur altassyrischen Religion* (AfO Beiheft 13/14; Graz, 1961)
- Horsnell, *Year-Names* M. J. A. Horsnell, *The Year-Names of the First Dynasty of Babylon* (Hamilton, Ont., 1999)
- HSS Harvard Semitic Series (Cambridge, Mass.)
- HUCA *Hebrew Union College Annual* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1924–)
- Hussey, ST I M. I. Hussey, *Sumerian Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum I* (1912)
- IM Iraq Museum: Siglum of objects in the Iraq Museum
- ITT *Inventaire des tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée Imperial Ottoman* (Paris, 1910–21)
- Jacoby, FGH III F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, III A–C (Berlin, Leiden, 1950–58)
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New Haven, 1849–)
- JCS *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* (Cambridge, Mass., 1947–)
- Jean, *Larsa* C.-F. Jean, *Larsa d'après les textes cunéiformes* (Paris, 1931)
- Jean, *Tell Sifr* C.-F. Jean, *Tell Sifr, textes cunéiformes conservés au British Museum, réédités* (Paris, 1931)
- Jensen, *Kosmologie* P. Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* (Strassbourg, 1890)
- JEOL *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap, "Ex Oriente Lux"* (Leiden, 1933–)
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (Chicago, 1942–)
- JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Cent. Spl. = Centenary Supplement; London, 1834–)
- JSS *Journal of Semitic Studies* (Manchester, Oxford, 1954–)
- JTVI *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* (London, 1865/67–1937)
- K Kouyunjik: Siglum of tablets in the British Museum
- KAH *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, I: L. Messerschmidt; II: O. Schroeder (Leipzig, 1916–22)
- KAJ E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts* (Leipzig, 1927)
- KAR E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* (Leipzig, 1919, 1923)
- KAT E. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (3rd ed.; Berlin, 1903)
- KAV O. Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts* (Leipzig, 1920)
- KB Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek (Berlin)
- Ki King: Siglum of tablets in the British Museum

- KUB Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi (Berlin, 1921–)
- Labat, *Commentaires* R. Labat, *Commentaires assyro-babyloniens sur les présages* (Bordeaux, 1933)
- Labat, *Hémérologies* R. Labat, *Hémérologies and ménologies d'Assur* (Paris, 1939)
- LAK A. Deimel, *Liste der archaischen Keilschriftzeichen* (Leipzig, Berlin, 1922)
- Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasis* W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Atra-ḫasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood* (Oxford, 1969)
- Landsberger, *Date Palm* B. Landsberger, *The Date Palm and its By-Products According to the Cuneiform Sources* (AfO Beiheft 17; Graz, 1967)
- Landsberger, *Fauna* B. Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamiens* (Leipzig, 1934)
- Landsberger, *Kultische Kalender* B. Landsberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer* (Leipzig semitistische Studien 6, 1–2; Leipzig, 1915)
- Langdon, *Kish* S. H. Langdon, *Excavations at Kish* (Paris, 1924–34)
- LAS S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal* (Münster, 1970–83; reprinted, Winona Lake, 2007)
- LBART T. G. Pinches, J. N. Strassmaier, and A. J. Sachs, *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts* (Providence, R.I., 1955)
- Leemans, *SLB* W. F. Leemans, *Studia ad tabulas cuneiformas collectas a F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl pertinentia* (Leiden, 1954–60)
- LIH L. W. King, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi, King of Babylon* (London, 1898)
- LKA E. Ebeling and F. Köcher, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur* (Berlin, 1953)
- LKU A. Falkenstein, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk* (Berlin, 1931)
- LSS Leipzig semitistische Studien (Leipzig, 1903–20)
- LTBA L. Matouš and W. von Soden, *Die Lexikalischen Tafelserien der Babylonien und Assyrer* (Berlin, 1933)
- Ludlul* *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, ed. W. G. Lambert, “The Poem of the Righteous Sufferer – *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*,” in idem, *BWL* (Oxford, 1960) 21–62
- Lyon, *Manual* D. G. Lyon, *An Assyrian Manual for the Use of Beginners* (Chicago, 1886)
- MAD Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary, I–V (Chicago, 1952–70)
- MAH Siglum of texts in the Musée d'art et d'histoire (Geneva)
- MAOG *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig, 1925–)
- Maqlû* Incantation series; edition of G. Meier, *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû* (AfO Beih. 2; Berlin, 1937)
- Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung* S. M. Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung: Eine Untersuchung altorientalischen Denkens anhand der babylonisch-assyrischen Löseritiale (Namburbi)* (Mainz, 2004)
- MBI G. A. Barton, *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions, Part I: Sumerian Religious Texts* (New Haven, 1918)
- MCS *Manchester Cuneiform Studies* (Manchester, 1951–64)
- MDOG *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (Berlin, 1899–)
- MDP *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, etc. (1900–)
- MEE *Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla* (Naples, 1979–)
- Meissner, *SAI* B. Meissner, *Seltene assyrische Ideogramme* (Leipzig, 1910)
- Mélanges Dussaud* *Mélanges syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud par ses amis et élèves* (Paris, 1939)
- Mélanges Robert* *Mélanges bibliques rédigés en l'honneur de André Robert* (Travaux de l'Institut catholique de Paris, 4; Paris, 1966)
- Ménant, *Manuel* J. Ménant, *Manuel de la langue assyrienne* (Paris, 1880)
- MIO *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* (Berlin, 1953–72)
- MKNAW *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afdeling Letterkunde* (Amsterdam)
- MMEW A. Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (Oxford, 1986; reprinted, Winona Lake, IN, 2007)
- MSL *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon / Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon* (Rome, 1937–)
- Muséon* *Le Muséon. Revue d'études orientales* (Brussels, 1882–)
- MVAG *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin, Leipzig)

MVN	Materiali per il vocabolario neosumerico (Rome)
NABU	<i>Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires</i> (Paris, 1987–)
NBGT	Neo-Babylonian Grammatical Texts
Nbn.	J. N. Strassmaier, <i>Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon</i> (Leipzig, 1889)
ND	Nimrud: Siglum of objects excavated at Nimrud
Ner.	B. T. A. Evetts, <i>Inscriptions of the Reigns of Evil-Merodach, Neriglissar and Laborosoarchod</i> (Leipzig, 1892)
OA	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i> (Rome, 1962–)
OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts (Oxford)
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications (Chicago, 1922–)
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago, 1924–)
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i> (Berlin, 1898–)
Oppenheim, Eames	A. L. Oppenheim, <i>Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets of the Wilberforce Eames Babylonian Collection</i> (New Haven, 1948)
Or. (NS)	<i>Orientalia</i> (Nova Series) (Rome, 1920–)
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section (Philadelphia, 1911–)
PRAK	H. de Genouillac, <i>Premières recherches archéologiques à Kich I/II</i> (Paris, 1924–25)
PSBA	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i> (London, 1879–1918)
R	H. C. Rawlinson et al., <i>The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia</i> (London, 1861–84)
RA	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i> (Paris, 1884–)
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i> (Paris, 1892–)
Reisner, Telloh	G. A. Reisner, <i>Tempelurkunden aus Telloh</i> (Berlin, 1901)
RGTC	<i>Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes</i> (Wiesbaden, 1977–)
RIMA	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods (Toronto, 1987–)
RIMB	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods (Toronto)
RIME	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods (Toronto, 1990–)
Rit. acc.	F. Thureau-Dangin, <i>Rituels accadiens</i> (Paris, 1921)
RLA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i> (Berlin, 1932–)
Rm	Rassam: Siglum of tablets in the British Museum
Rosengarten, Consommation	Y. Rosengarten, <i>Le concept sumérien de consommation dans la vie économique et religieuse</i> (Paris, 1960)
RTC	F. Thureau-Dangin, <i>Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes</i> (Paris, 1903)
SAA	State Archives of Assyria (Helsinki)
SAACT	State Archives of Assyria, Cuneiform Texts (Helsinki, 1997–)
SAALT	State Archives of Assyria, Literary Texts (Helsinki)
SAHG	A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden, <i>Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete</i> (Zürich, Stuttgart, 1953)
Salonen, Puzriš-Dagan	A. Salonen, <i>Die Puzriš-Dagan Texte der Istanbuler Archäologischen Museen</i> (Helsinki, 1954)
SBH	G. Reisner, <i>Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen</i> (Berlin, 1896)
SBP	S. Langdon, <i>Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms</i> (Paris, 1909)
SEM	E. Chiera, <i>Sumerian Epics and Myths</i> (Chicago, 1934)
SGL	<i>Sumerische Götterlieder</i> , I: A. Falkenstein; II: J. J. A. van Dijk (Heidelberg, 1959–60)
SKIZ	W. H. P. Römer, <i>Sumerische „Königshymnen“ der Isin-Zeit</i> (Leiden, 1965)
SLT	E. Chiera, <i>Sumerian Lexical Texts from the Temple School of Nippur</i> (Chicago, 1929)
SLTNi	S. N. Kramer, <i>Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul</i> (New Haven, 1944)
Sm	Smith: Siglum of tablets in the British Museum
SO	<i>Studia Orientalia</i> (Helsinki, 1925–)
Sollberger, Corpus	E. Sollberger, <i>Corpus des inscriptions „royales“ présargoniques de Lagaš</i> (Geneva, 1956)
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin)
SpTU	<i>Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk</i> (Berlin, 1976–)
SRT	E. Chiera, <i>Sumerian Religious Texts</i> (Upland, Penn., 1924)
SSS	Semitic Study Series (Leiden)

STC	L. W. King, <i>The Seven Tablets of Creation</i> I/II (London, 1902)
Struve, <i>Onomastika</i>	Vasilij V. Struve, <i>Onomastika rannedinastičeskogo Lagasa</i> (Moscow, 1984)
STT	O. R. Gurney, J. J. Finkelstein, and P. Hulin, <i>The Sultantepe Tablets</i> I/II (London, 1957–64)
STVC	E. Chiera, <i>Sumerian Texts of Varied Contents</i> (OIP 16; Chicago, 1934)
SU	Siglum of tablets excavated at Sultantepe-Urfa
Sum.	Sumerian
<i>Symbolae Böhl</i>	M. A. Beek and A. A. Kampman (eds.), <i>Symbolae biblicae et mesopotamicae Francisco M.Th. de Liagre Böhl dedicatae</i> (Leiden, 1973)
ŠL	A. Deimel, <i>Šumerisches Lexikon</i> (Rome, 1925–47)
Šurpu	E. Reiner, <i>Šurpu. A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations</i> (AfO Beiheft 11; Graz, 1958)
Tallqvist, NN	K. Tallqvist, <i>Neubabylonisches Namenbuch</i> (Helsinki, 1906)
TCL	Textes cunéiformes. Musée du Louvre (Paris)
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources (Locust Valley, NY, 1966–)
TDP	R. Labat, <i>Traité akkadien de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux</i> (Paris, Leiden, 1951)
Th	Thompson: Siglum of tablets in the British Museum
Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i>	R. C. Thompson, <i>The Epic of Gilgamish</i> (Oxford, 1930)
TIM	Texts in the Iraq Museum (Baghdad)
<i>Tintir</i>	tin.tir ^{ki} = <i>ba-bi-lu</i> , topographical series (cf. A. R. George, <i>BTT</i> [1992] 1–72; 237–382)
TLB	Tabulae cuneiformes, a F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl collectae, Leidae conservatae (Leiden)
TMHS	Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der (Friedrich Schiller-) Universität Jena; Vols. II–III: O. Krückmann, <i>Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungstexte</i> (Leipzig, 1933)
TRU	L. Legrain, <i>Le temps de rois d'Ur</i> (Paris, 1912)
TSA	H. de Genouillac, <i>Tablettes sumériennes archaïques</i> (Paris, 1909)
TSBA	<i>Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i> (London, 1872–1903)
TSŠ	R. Jestin, <i>Tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak conservées au Musée de Stamboul</i> (Paris, 1937)
UCP	University of California Publications in Semitic Philology (Berkeley 1907–63)
UET	Ur Excavations, Texts (London)
<i>Urra</i>	<i>Urra</i> = <i>hubullu</i> (MSL V–XI)
UVB	Vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen (Berlin, 1930–)
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek (Leipzig, 1907–)
VAS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen/Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (Berlin, 1907–)
VAT	Vorderasiatische Abteilung Tontafel: Siglum of tablets in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
W	Siglum of objects excavated at Warka
WdO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i> (Göttingen, 1947–)
Weidner, <i>Alter und Bedeutung</i>	E. Weidner, <i>Alter und Bedeutung der babylonischen Astronomie und Astrallehre</i> (Leipzig, 1914)
Weidner, <i>Handbuch</i>	E. F. Weidner, <i>Handbuch der babylonischen Astronomie, 1. Der babylonische Fixsternhimmel</i> (Leipzig, 1915)
Weissbach, <i>Miscellen</i>	F. H. Weissbach, <i>Babylonische Miscellen</i> (WVDOG 4; Leipzig, 1903)
Winckler, <i>Sammlung</i>	H. Winckler, <i>Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten</i> (Leipzig, 1893–95)
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (Leipzig, Berlin, 1900–)
WZJ	<i>Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena</i> (Jena, 1951–)
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> (Vienna, 1887–)
YBT	Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts (New Haven, 1915–)
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i> (Leipzig, Berlin, Weimar, Strassburg, Berlin, 1886–)
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> (Berlin, 1881–)
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> (Stuttgart, 1846–)

Part I

Enūma Eliš: The Babylonian Epic of Creation

Introduction: The Text of *Enūma Eliš*

The Sources

The primary sources for the text of *Enūma Eliš* are of course the MSS. They can be divided into two groups according to the type of script in which they are written: Babylonian and Assyrian. Both groups, however, have the same external arrangement. They are written on two-column tablets, one column on each side. There is only one exception to this, BM 98909, a flake of an Assyrian tablet, which has some lines from the middle of Tablet I in its first column and the end of Tablet I and the beginning of Tablet II in its second column. The two sections in the second column are divided by a line: *dub 1-[kam . . .* “Tablet One [. . .” If the complete tablet had two columns on each side, it would have contained the first two tablets of the text, and its last column would have been almost completely blank. If there were three columns on each side, the first four tablets of the Epic might have been squeezed on with difficulty. Six columns on each side would have been needed to get the whole work on this one tablet, which seems unlikely. In addition to tablets of the Epic, exercise tablets with extracts, both Babylonian and Assyrian, have been found and are used. The single lines or couplets quoted *in extenso* in the general, text-wide commentary (Comm. I) are also included in our composite text and apparatus. However, lines quoted in other works are not included in the composite text but are cited in full at the end of each Tablet. The specialized commentary (Comm. II) and the god-list which run parallel to part of Tablet VII are treated at the end of the whole text.

The copies in Assyrian script are the most numerous, a total of 86 tablets and fragments. All came from excavations at Nineveh (46 tablets and fragments), Assur (25), Sultantepe (13), and Nimrud (2). The Nineveh tablets are no doubt from Ashurbanipal's libraries, and some bear his name in the colophons. Those unidentified in this way might have belonged to previous libraries and have been incorporated in his when it was assembled. Even so, there is no reason to suspect that any one is more than a few generations older than Ashurbanipal. The Assur tablets cannot be dated with equal ease. The literary tablets from Assur taken together can be divided into three groups. There is quite a big group of tablets from the Middle Assyrian period, c. 1300–1100 B.C. The majority, however, come from private owners in Late Assyrian times, being roughly contemporaneous with those which belonged to Ashurbanipal. There is a third group, the smallest of the three, which has so far received almost no attention. The great authority on the Assur tablets, Dr. Franz Köcher, was able to identify dozens of fragments but unfortunately no colophon or other external indication of date. They are written in a script clearly distinguished from that of the Middle Assyrian tablets and from that of

the Late Assyrian group. On palaeographic grounds they must be put somewhere between the other two groups. Out of the 25 Assur pieces of the Epic, 18 belong to the late group and 7 to the middle group: I U; II H, I; IV J, H, I; VI C. In response to an inquiry, Dr. Köcher examined 5 and wrote the following about their date:

. . . sind die Stücke in einer Schrift geschrieben, die zweifellos ans Ende der mittelassyrischen Zeit gehört. Die Zeichen ZU, GA, Ú und LI z.B. sind deutliche Hinweise auf das verhältnismässig hohe Alter der Abfassung der Tafeln. Nach meinen Erfahrungen gehören Sie etwa in die Periode Assurnasirpals II.

—Personal letter of 18:1:1960

According to this opinion, they belong to the first half of the ninth century B.C. The importance of these 7 fragments is that they are the oldest pieces of the Epic. The Sultantepe and Nimrud material, on palaeographic and archaeological grounds, is to be assigned to the same period as the Ashurbanipal tablets.

Of the 95 pieces in Babylonian script, only 7 were found in regular excavations, 3 from Kish, 2 from Uruk, 1 each from Sippar and Tell Haddad. The rest reached western museums through the hands of dealers. Only a few bear colophons, and only one or two of these enable the date and place of writing to be ascertained. The script enables all to be classed as Late Babylonian, and in the light of the evidence obtained from all Babylonian literary tablets, it can be said that none has any claim to be older than the Late Babylonian empire, and probably most are from the Persian period or later. Nearly all of the tablets acquired from dealers are now in the British Museum, and in some cases it is possible to suggest the town and period from which they come. They reached the Museum in collections, which are distinguished by the date numbers they bear (e.g., 80-11-12) or by other designations, such as Sp. In certain cases, all the tablets of a particular collection which bear certain evidence of their provenience and date come from a particular town and period. In such a case, it is a reasonable conjecture that tablets lacking these particulars, if they show the same script, belong to the same place and time. Of course there can be no guarantee, since it is always possible that odd pieces from other sites were mixed in before the collection was registered in the museum. Proveniences deduced in this way are given with question marks in the lists of MSS. Some of these Late Babylonian collections are extremely late, Seleucid or Parthian, to judge from script, textual corruption, and other factors. Thus there is nothing that suggests that any Babylonian copy of the Epic antedates the Late Assyrian copies, so the 7 pieces from Assur remain the oldest fragments of the Epic.

Evidence of Recensions

A study of the variant readings reveals only little evidence of recensions or a prehistory. The most striking and best-known variants give evidence of an Assyrian recension in which the attempt was made to substitute Aššur for Marduk. A few Nineveh and Assur tablets attest this attempt, but the Sultantepe tablets are free from this recensional activity. The two scraps from Nimrud offer no evidence.

The means of achieving this substitution was the writing of the name of Aššur with the signs an-šár. A deity Anšar already existed in the Epic, the great-grandfather of Marduk and son of Laḫmu

and Laḥamu. Thus the attempt consisted of identifying Aššur and Anšar, and replacing Marduk's name with Anšar, and his parents' names, Ea and Damkina, with Laḥmu and Laḥamu. The commentary is also not corrected in this way, but it is possible that the mysterious Late Assyrian text that quotes the Epic did know the corrected text.¹

Thus this recension of the Epic is poorly attested and incompletely done in a few of the copies from Nineveh and Assur. It is completely superficial in that it leaves the plot in chaos by attributing Marduk's part to his great-grandfather, without making any attempt to iron out the resulting confusion. It has been suggested that Sennacherib was responsible for this revision. His attempt to wipe Babylon off the face of the earth certainly aimed at replacing Marduk with Aššur both in fact and in theology. However, the evidence is hardly compelling. Obsequious scribes from Sennacherib's reign might have been responsible, without any royal command. However, the tendency to equate Aššur with the supreme god of southern Mesopotamia was much older than Sennacherib. At least from the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I (c. 1225 B.C.) it was customary to refer to Aššur by such titles as "Assyrian Enlil," and when under Sargon II Assyrian scribes trained in Babylonian literature began importing into the local royal inscriptions much poetic and religious phraseology from the Babylonian tradition, all the epithets expressing Marduk's supremacy over the gods were available for use with Aššur. It is also in the inscriptions of Sargon II that the writing *an-šár* for Aššur begins. A further reason for doubting that Sennacherib was directly responsible for this recension is that one of his inscriptions describes a pictorial form of a myth in which Aššur did fight with Tīāmat, and this is certainly very different from the story of *Enūma Eliš*. Finally, it may be noted that *Enūma Eliš* is not unique in having undergone this kind of substitution. In a prayer to personal gods, the petitioner asks, in the single copy we have, to be granted admission to Esagil to be cared for by Marduk (IV R² 59 no. 2 rev. 25–26). The other copy (LKA 29k rev. 23–24) substitutes Ešarra for Esagil, and though the name of the god is broken off, it can only have been Aššur or Enlil, and probably the former.

Other evidence of recensional activity, except for the orthographic kind, is hard to find. The earlier Assyrian fragments agree with the later copies, except that II H, just as it breaks off, has one sign and some traces which cannot be reconciled with the text of the other copies of line 102, but this is too little to base anything upon. The total extent, however, of these early pieces is not great. As between the Late Assyrian and Late Babylonian copies, orthography apart, there are no differences that could be considered recensional. The following cases are the only ones which even deserve mention:

(i) In Tablet I, the Assur copy O has some omissions, of lines 37–38, 43–44, and 47. It is hard to believe that the first of these couplets is rightly left out: lines 37–38 lead up to 39–40 entirely naturally. In contrast, nothing is lost with lines 43–44: if anything, the text is improved, since 42b leads on to 45a very nicely. Line 47, on the other hand, is indispensable, both for sense and metre. After line 115, the same copy diverges from the text of the other MSS. Only the remains of four divergent lines are preserved, which are consistent with the idea that this copy added an extra couplet between lines 114 and 115 (see the note ad loc.). On the whole, this copy does not inspire confidence in its deviations.

1. See the present writer, "The Assyrian Recension of *Enūma Eliš*", in H. Waetzoldt and H. Hauptmann, eds., *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten* (Heidelberg, 1997) 77–79. Also the Neo-Assyrian letter SAA X 365 obv. 11 quotes *Enūma Eliš* IV 17 with *an-šár* in place of *be-lum* (= Marduk).

(ii) The Assur tablet II J omits lines 63–64, 75–76, 79–80 and 141–42. Of these, the first two and last are repeated couplets and so not essential to the flow of the narrative, but 79–80 are essential to the context. These omissions appear to be the work of a scribe, not a survival from an old original.

(iii) V C offers a serious variant in line 12 and adds three extra lines after 16, at which point it breaks off. However, the extra lines are not poetic but astronomical and well known in this category of text. If this really is a copy of Tablet V of the Epic, it is clearly inferior.

(iv) VII C omits lines 138–43. This looks like a secondary omission, since, while the effect is to leave out the appearance of Ea and his giving of his own name to Marduk, one further line not connected with this episode is also omitted. Metre explains this, as, if only 138–42 were omitted, 137 would be a single line in a context of couplets, while 137 and 144 can be taken together, even if the result is a little clumsy. The parallel god-list and both commentaries include the name-giving of Ea. In short, this looks like an intelligent attempt to remove an admittedly extravagant notion, further justified perhaps by a count of the names. The text professes to have repeated 50 names when in fact it gives 51. While it is possible that at some stage the number was really 50 and the Ea episode is a supplement, we believe that such a stage must have been antecedent to the Epic and note that other lists too have 51 rather than 50 names.

The conclusion of the matter is that, apart from the inept and half-hearted attempt in Assyria to expurgate Marduk and Babylon from the Epic, the MSS offer no evidence of recensional changes. The witness of the two commentaries and of citations in other texts confirms this conclusion.

Quotations, Allusions, and References in Other Texts

Enūma Eliš is given in a Late Assyrian list of texts, partly restored, but convincingly:

[*e-nu-m*]a *e-liš mu-kal-lim-t*[u] [*Enūma*] *Eliš*, commentary
B. L. Eichler (ed.), *Kramer Anniversary Volume* (Kevelaer, 1976) 314 22

A text of probably related category similarly offers:

e-nu-ma ^r*e*¹-[*liš*]
K 1409+7468 (NABU 1992 95 no. 129)

Citations and allusions to the text by name occur rarely. The ritual of Esagil in Babylon, known from Seleucid-period copies but probably going back to Neo-Babylonian times, states that the Epic was to be recited to the statue of Marduk on the 4th of Nisan and the 4th of Kislimu. The rituals for the other months have not survived.

[*arki tar*]-*din-nu šá ki-iš u₄-mu e-nu-ma e-liš*
[*ištu re-š*]i-šú *adi qīti*(til)-šú ^{liš}*šeš-gal é-tuš-a*
[*ana* ^{bēl}] *i-na-áš-ši*
F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens* (Paris, 1921) 136 280–82

[After] the second course in the evening, the *šešgallu*-priest of *Etuša* will recite *Enūma Eliš* from beginning to end [to *Bēl*].

(Nisan 4)

. . . ^{li}nāru

*e-nu-ma e-liš a-na ^{dbēl} <inašši> i-na muḥ-ḥi a-na ^{dus-mu-ú} šá ta-mar-ta-ki
a-na bu-us-ra-tum ub-lu₄ ^{li}dumu-níg-la-la lib-bi gišimmari ú-še-lam-ma*

JCS 43–45 (1991/93) 96 62–64

The singer <will recite> *Enūma Eliš* to Bēl. When he reaches (the line) “To Usmû who carried your present to give the good news [V 83]” the *dumuniglala*-priest will lift up a palm frond and . . .

(Kislimu 4)

The tablets containing the ritual are all from the Seleucid era, though the text is no doubt earlier. Only internal evidence is available for dating it. A New Year festival had been observed in Babylon from the time of the First Dynasty, if not earlier, but the ritual was probably not written down at that time. The extant text has so much corrupt and meaningless Sumerian that it is hard to conceive that it goes back even as far as 1000 B.C.

The other text mentioning *Enūma Eliš* is the Late Assyrian text which was for a long time considered to be a commentary on the New Year festival. Von Soden gave a revised edition of the text and advanced a new interpretation (ZA 51 [1959] 130ff.; ZA 52 [1960] 224ff.). His work has certainly demolished the old idea. In its place, he advanced the suggestion that it is a theological interpretation of the sack of Babylon by Sennacherib in 689 B.C., a piece of Assyrian propaganda to justify the ravaging of the holy city. The most recent edition is that of A. Livingstone (MMEW chap. 6), which is quoted here by page and line. The Epic is mentioned twice:

e-nu-ma e-liš ša da-bi-ib-u-ni ina maḥar ^{dbēl} ina ^{iti}nisanni i-za-mur-ú-šu-ni ina muḥḥi šá ša-bit-u-ni [šu-ú]
P. 210 19

Enūma Eliš, as it is called, which they sing in the presence of Bēl in the month Nisan, refers to the prisoner.

*šu-ú ina libbi e-nu-ma e-liš iq-[qí-b]i ki-i šamē^e eršetim^{im} la ib-ba-nu-ni an-šár it-[tab-ni/ši] ki-i ālu u bītu
ib-šu-u-ni šu-ú it-tab-ši*

P. 214 49

He is referred to in *Enūma Eliš*: when heaven and underworld had not been created Anšar came into being (or, was created); when city and house were in existence he came into being.

The context cannot be taken in consideration in trying to grasp the author’s meaning, as the Assur and Nineveh versions have the material in completely different orders. Presumably, Marduk is meant by the first šū in the second extract, and the mention of heaven and earth not existing is clearly a paraphrase of the first two lines of the Epic. However, it is very difficult to see how the rest of this extract refers to the Epic, since no lines mention the creation of “city and house” before Anšar was created. Perhaps the “city and house” are a reference to the Apsû, in which Ea took up his abode and in which Marduk was born. If this is the allusion, it follows that the Anšar is the god Aššur and that the author is dependent on the Assyrian recension which substitutes Aššur, written an-šár, for Marduk (see pp. 4–5). The whole text certainly breathes the same spirit as the work of this reviser.

In addition to these two works which cite the Epic by name, there are many which quote lines from the Epic but do not name it. These are quoted at the end of each Tablet. In each case, it is

clearly a matter of conscious citation, not allusions which the author may not have intended. Next, the series *i-NAM giš-ḫur an-ki-a*, which is known from late copies and has been edited by A. Livingstone (MMEW, chap. 1). Only K 2164+ (pp. 22–25) is relevant here, since it begins by citing a line from *Enuma Anu Enlil* and later cites two lines from *Enūma Eliš*, V 17 and 21. Although these two lines are not formally introduced, there is no question that this is conscious quotation. The other three texts are only known from Late Babylonian copies. (i) BM 54311 (BTT pl. 56 no. 62) is a mystical text which cites first an unidentified bilingual, then three lines from *Enūma Eliš*, VI 152–54, and finally some lines from a topography of Babylon. While the drift of the text as a whole is not clear, the fact of citation is. (ii) A similar text is BM 32574 = S+ 76-11-17, 2317 (STC I 216–17). This is even more a cento of quotations with comments, arranged for a purpose as yet unexplained. The following lines have been identified:

- obv. 3 = *Enūma Eliš* VII 5 (see note on line)
 5 = *Code of Hammurabi*, first line (*i'-nu-um da-num ši-i-ri*)
 9 = AfO 19 (1959/60) 62 37 (prayer to Marduk, no. 2)
 rev. 2 = explanation of name from *Ludlul* III 25
 6 = lost line of Anzû Epic?

(iii) This is a mythological almanac that is mostly unpublished. For the most part, it only draws on the phraseology of the Epic, but in one place it seems to cite IV 47 = 75 quite explicitly (BM 35407+ iv 25, edition forthcoming from F. S. Reynolds). A fourth text could be added here, BM 40959 = 81-4-28, 506 (STC I 215), a scrap of a commentary. After illegible remains, there are parts of two lines:

...] x-ti : *lik-mi ti-amat napišta-šú l[i-* ...
 ... r]a meš : *li-siq* : ŠA : s[*a-a-qu* ...

The line receiving comment, so far as it is preserved, is the same as VII 132 of the Epic. The piece is too small for any conclusion to be drawn. It could even be a commentary on *Enūma Eliš*.

Influence of *Enūma Eliš* can also be found in phraseology which is plainly influenced by it, even when the source is not named nor is it a direct quotation. The almanac just mentioned is the best example, but a second is available in KAR 307.² Two sections are relevant:

...] ti-amat be-lum ik-m[u-ši]
 [iṣ-b]at-si i-šim-ši iḫ-pi-ši-ma kīma nūni^{meš} maš-ṭe-e a-na šinī-š[ú]
^{id}idiglat (ḫal-ḫal) īne^{ll} imitti(15)-šá ^{id}purattu īne^{ll} šumēli(150)-šá
 Reverse 1–3

The latter half of line 2 is identical with Tablet IV 137, and line 3 is obviously connected with Tablet V 55 but gives the additional information as to which eye is the source of which river. This item is in all probability a combination of *Enūma Eliš* and an astronomical text (see p. 193).

^{anše}ibilu(a-ab-ba) eṭimmu ti-amat ^{dbēl}qarnī^{meš}-šá ú-ka-šit
 qarnī^{meš}-šá ik-kis zibbat-sa ik-šit
 be-lum ik-mu-ši-ma áš-šu la ma-še-i niši^[meš] ú-kal-lim

Reverse 13–15

2. For the text as a whole, see A. Livingstone, MMEW p. 7, with edition on pp. 82ff.

Tablet V of the Epic deals with Tīamat's horns (43–44) and tail (59–60), but the details here are quite different, and knowledge of the Epic could not be proved from this passage alone. Line 15 could allude to Tablet V 71–76, but it is closer to a passage in the aforementioned mythological almanac, BM 35407 i 6–7. The strength of the case for assuming direct dependence on *Enūma Eliš* in the case of KAR 307 and the almanac rests on the fact that, of all similar texts, these two alone associate Qingu and Tīamat and reproduce phraseology from the Epic.

Influence of the Epic elsewhere is difficult to establish, due to the large stock of traditional materials on which all the ancient authors drew. The problems are illustrated by the first name of Nabû, with interpretation added, as given in a Late Assyrian copy of a hymn (p. 484). The name and its interpretation occur in the Epic, VII 35. There is a little divergence, but this can be explained. Is this, then, a borrowing from the Epic or not? No certain conclusion can be reached, though there is one other line (I 94) and many phrases which are found in other texts also. A particularly vexing problem is whether the royal inscriptions of Assyrian kings from the time of Sargon II and onwards draw on the Epic's phraseology. Plenty of rare and poetic words and phrases are common to the Epic and these inscriptions (see the notes on I 22, III 135, IV 58 and 92, V 9–10, VI 132, VII 81). However, they are hardly adequate to prove a direct connection. Some of them have long histories in Assyrian annals, and the inscriptions of the Sargonids have in addition a wealth of poetic phraseology not now found in the Epic. It would require unusual credulity to believe that all this occurred in the few missing lines. There is one instance in these inscriptions where conscious dependence on a literary text is exceedingly probable. The account of Babylons's destruction by Sennacherib in the Babylonian inscriptions of Esarhaddon seems to draw on the Erra Epic: Borger, *Asarhaddon*, p. 13, Episode 5 is full of phrases characteristic of the Erra Epic. There is no similar case involving *Enūma Eliš*.

Spelling and Variants

After reviewing the scanty evidence of recensions, we may now turn to the real problem of textual criticism. What does one try to achieve by amassing the variant readings? What we are not trying to do is to restore the original text. To do this we should need to know exactly when and in accordance with what grammatical rules the text was composed. Even this assumes that the text was created *in toto* by one man, rather than that it reached its present form by evolving from distinct earlier recensions or works. While the evolutionary hypothesis has had its supporters, our arguments in favour of composition by one man, who only incorporated the 50 names and their interpretations, are given on other pages. Even if there was so precise a date of composition, there is as yet no agreement when it was. Competent scholars have expressed opinions ranging from 1700 to 750 B.C. Even if our date of c. 1100 B.C. is accepted, it is not a very helpful conclusion in this connection, since we have no contemporary copies of original compositions from this period to show what our Epic might have looked like, orthographically and grammatically, when new.

As between the various groups of tablets and fragments, there is no difficulty in observing that the Ashurbanipal tablets are the most carefully written and show least scribal modification. The late Middle Assyrian fragments are too small to be of much use, though in orthography Middle Assyrian literary conventions appear: *la+a* for the negative, the two signs written together (I 144, 145 U; II 44 I; IV 50, 52 J), and a similar joining in *šu+a-[ti]* (I 146 U).

The Assur tablets of the Late Assyrian period are at times inaccurate and betray the influence of Assyrian scribes in grammar and orthography. The Sultantepe tablets show these features to a still greater degree. The Late Babylonian tablets in some cases have the orthographic peculiarities of that period, and some of the latest, e.g., I c, show many signs of scribal corruption. This judgement in favour of the Ashurbanipal tablets is of course only relative. In particular cases, other tablets are plainly superior (see, e.g., the notes on VII 134 and 149), and the textual critic must be eclectic. There is, therefore, no rule of thumb by which to work, and the variants must be submitted to a systematic study.

Though few in number, the distinctive readings of the Late Middle Assyrian fragments have much interest in view of their relative antiquity. Purely orthographic is *la-a*, joined together, which is a common Middle Assyrian writing in literature, royal inscriptions, and laws, though it does not occur in contemporary, or nearly contemporary, Babylonian boundary stones, royal inscriptions, and letters. Thus *la* of the later copies is no doubt what the author put. The reading *siq-ru-ka* (II 42 I) for *zik-ru-ka* may be similar. The regular form of the root in Old Babylonian literary texts is *sqr*, and this often occurs in Middle Assyrian copies of literature (e.g., KAR 158 I 28 *lu-sa-qar*) and royal inscriptions (e.g., RIMA 2 p. 13 38 *iš-qu-ru*). In later Assyrian texts of the same categories, both *sqr* and *zkr* occur, but *zkr* seems to be the only Babylonian form attested in the Cassite period and later. Thus, if *Enūma Eliš* is Middle Babylonian, the probability is that its author wrote *zik-ru-ka*, not *siq-ru-ka*. More doubtful is *ḥu-ú-du* (II 145 H) for *ḥi-di*. Certainly the older form is *ḥudu*, which is regular in Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian. But while the forms with *i* are found later, the *u*-forms did not die out completely. In the examples collected by Mullo Weir in his *Lexicon of Akkadian Prayers* (Oxford, 1934), *liḥdu* seems to be the normal form. Thus, if *Enūma Eliš* is post-Old Babylonian we do not know what its author may have preferred. The shortened suffix on *ta-a-ak* (II 39 I) as against *ta-a-ka* is equally difficult. Such forms were known to Babylonian and Assyrian literati until the late periods, and it is impossible to ascertain what our author used. The peculiar orthography of *Tiāmat* (*ta-mi/me-a-ti*: IV 60 H, IV 65 I) used alongside the common *ti-amat* is discussed on p. 469. Finally, *en-na-a* (instead of *innennā*: II 44 h) could be accepted as original. Either one makes sense, but as *innennā* occurs passim in late copies of hymns and prayers in the same kind of phrase, one could argue that the reading of the late copies is an accommodation to that. From this survey, it can be said that, even if we had a complete set of tablets of the Epic in this Late Middle Assyrian form, it would not enable us to dispense with the late copies. In view of the evidence presented, we have in no case put one of these early readings in our text and conceive our duty as reconstructing a relatively best text from the late copies.

In approaching the mass of late variants, it is possible to dispose of quite a number without much ado. Scribal errors of all types—incorrectly written signs, signs omitted, words omitted, transpositions, such as are common to hand-written works in any language—can in many cases be recognized at once and are put in our apparatus. Then, in each group of MSS it is possible to observe orthographical or grammatical forms which are well known to belong to the period when the particular copies were written. The Sultantepe copies show the following (the better reading is put before |, the Sultantepe reading after):

I 56	<i>uš-tan-nu-ni</i>	|	<i>uš-tan-nu-na</i>
IV 32	<i>li-bil-lu-ni</i>	|	<i>lu-bil-lu-ni</i>
VI 51	<i>ni-ḫu-uš</i>	|	<i>na-ḫu-uš</i>
VI 60	<i>iš-ta-at</i>	|	<i>ištēt^{et}</i>
VI 111	<i>qut-ri-in-ni</i>	|	<i>qāt-rin-na</i>
VII 50	<i>li-za-ki-ir</i>	|	<i>lu-ú-za-kir</i>
VII 65	<i>[i]š-ḫi-ki</i>	|	<i>iš-pak-ki</i>

Four of these involve a preference for the *a*-vowel. The second, fourth, and sixth are substitutions of Late Assyrian forms. The last one also shows an abnormal doubling of the *k*. All these features are well known from other Sultantepe scribes (see RA 53 [1959] 124–26), and these readings can therefore safely be rejected. In these cases, other better copies preserve more original readings. In one case, however, a Sultantepe tablet is the only copy to preserve a word written with the same marks of lateness: *li-ip-ḫu-uš* (VI 112). The double consonant replaces the long vowel, and there can be little doubt that this at least is not what the author put. No doubt it was more like *li-ḫu-uš*. We have not, however, in such cases ventured to restore a better reading but have adopted the Sultantepe one into our text.

The Assur tablets, being better written than those from Sultantepe, do not offer so many examples, but *ab-ba-tu* (I 2 K) for *ammātu* can be compared with the Late Assyrian *abutu* for *amātu*. The Late Babylonian tablets have a number of orthographies which are clearly late:

I 6	<i>šu-ša-a</i>	|	<i>šu-ša-³</i>
I 13	<i>ur-ri-ku</i>	|	<i>ú-ur-, ú-úr-</i>
	<i>uṣ-ṣi-ḫu</i>	|	<i>ú-uṣ-</i>
IV 29	<i>[u]ṣ-ṣi-ḫu-šu</i>	|	<i>ú-uṣ-ṣi-ḫu-šu</i>
VI 19, 103, 115	<i>ep-šú</i>	|	<i>e-ep-šu</i>
VI 22	<i>a-ta-ma-a i-nim-ma-a</i>	|	<i>ta-ta-a-ma-³ i-nim-ma-³</i>
VI 118	<i>liš-te-ḫa-a</i>	|	<i>liš-te-ḫa-a₄</i>
VI 122	<i>šu-ḫa-a</i>	|	<i>šu-ḫa-a₄</i>
VII 8	<i>uṣ-ša-ḫu</i>	|	<i>ú-uṣ-ṣ[i-</i>

The use of the *aleph* sign at the end of words and the sign *a₄* are well-known features of Late Babylonian. The use of the *Vorschlagsvokal* is properly an archaic form of orthography, which, however, never quite died out and suddenly blossomed in the archaizing royal inscriptions of the Late Babylonian kings. Though one can find isolated examples in Middle Babylonian stone inscriptions,³ the occurrences in *Enūma Eliš* no doubt reflect the archaizing of the Late Babylonian royal inscriptions, since nothing of this kind occurs in any Assyrian copy. This is all the more certain seeing that Middle Assyrian literary texts attest this phenomenon more than Middle Babylonian inscriptions (see BWL p. 329). Only one Late Babylonian copy contains the word *ra-bí-ù-tim*. This orthography is also archaizing and again very probably a reflection of the style of the contemporary royal inscriptions. We doubt very much if the author was responsible for any writings of this kind. As before, we incorporate this in our text and do not venture to guess just what the author may have used. One further Late

3. King, BBSt p. 33 43: *i-iš-ta-lal*; p. 46 22: *a-an-ni*; p. 49 B 5: *a-an-na-a i-ik-nu-uk-ma*; see also Aro, SO 20 (1955) pp. 21–22.

Babylonian phenomenon occurs in *uš-ti-ú* (III 50 b) for *iš-ti-mu*. The *m* has changed to ' (see GAG §31 d). Other examples probably occur. In VII 17, for *iš-ba-tu-ma* one Late Babylonian copy b has *iš-ba-tu-ú*, with which *šú-ú* (for *šum*) in a Late Babylonian copy of *Ludlul* II 30 (see BWL p. 290) should be compared. Apparently the final vowel of *-ma* was dropped, the *m* became ' and was assimilated in the preceding vowel. The same phenomenon occurs in VI 11 b and perhaps in VI 161 a and VII 153 b. There is difficulty, however, in I 9, where three Late Babylonian copies, abc, have *ib-ba-nu-ú*, against *ib-ba-nu-(ú-)ma* of three Assyrian copies, AKM. The Babylonian reading could be a normal orthography, differing from the Assyrian by lacking the *-ma*. In line 12 immediately below, the two complete Babylonian copies, bd, offers *ib-ba-nu-ma* against *ib-ba-nu-u* of KM, the two complete Assyrian copies. Furthermore, in many passages, the MSS differ as to whether the verb should have a *-ma* or not: I 67, 107; III 62, 66; IV 35, 37; VI 5, 107.

This survey of the readings which can confidently be rejected as not from the author shows how few they are. The vast majority of variant readings do not fall in this category. The difficulty especially is that they do not occur only in certain groups of the copies—e.g., Babylonian or Assyrian—by any system of classification. Similar variants occur quite haphazardly throughout all the late copies. The basic reason is that many scribes did not construe their task as copying merely but became editors, recasting the text in what they probably intended as their style of orthography, though we would consider that their changes extend from orthography into grammar. Not every scribe need have been of this type. No doubt young scribes were first trained simply to copy from their archetype, sign for sign. The only actual evidence of this in *Enūma Eliš* comes from the two Sultantepe copies of Tablet IV, K and M, which, but for a few trivial exceptions, are sign for sign the same. No doubt, if all of the copies written in the other cities were extant, further evidence of the same kind would be forthcoming. But at each centre there were certainly more experienced scribes who regarded themselves as competent to indulge in those liberties which traditionally belonged to their craft. They exercised a good measure of freedom in the way they wrote the words. The masc. pl. of *rabû*, for example, might be written ideographically *gal-meš* or *gal-gal*, or it might be written phonetically *ra-bu-(ú-)tu(m)/tú/ti(m)*, etc. They might write double consonants, or only put one. Long vowels might be indicated by an extra vowel sign, as in *ra-bu-ú-tum*, or no graphic representation of the vowel length might appear. Mimation could be written or not. Case endings were freely interchanged, or less frequently they were omitted altogether. Verbal endings were not infrequently treated the same. However, the amount of freedom in this kind of thing was considerably restricted by traditional rules which were very numerous, complicated because they were often limited in application to a single word, devoid of logic, and nevertheless enforced quite rigorously. For example, the copula in the period when the manuscripts of *Enūma Eliš* were written could be *u* or *ù* but not *ú*. At the beginning of a word, *ú-* was the rule, not *u-* or *ù-*. At the end of a word or before a suffix, either *-ú* or *-u* was permissible, while in the middle of a word there is a preference for *-ú-*. As part of a syllabically written word, *ù* is almost exclusively used for archaising forms like *ra-bí-ù-tim*. The superfluous vowel in *e-eš-ši-iš* was also an archaism, but it was universal in the fossilized form *ki-a-am*. Another usage largely confined to one word was the syllabic use of *é*, which is common in the word *rē'ú(m)* but rare elsewhere. In addition to these rules which were of general application in the period of our MSS of the Epic, each country, Assyria against Babylonia, and each city has its own special rules, like those of modern printing houses.

This freedom in orthography, if it went no further, would cause little trouble to the modern editor. Unfortunately, the language in which the Epic is written traditionally had a large number of alternative forms of words and a few syntactical alternatives, between which the scribal editors considered themselves free to choose. The choice between *haššu* and *hanšu* was the same, to them, as between *ra-bu-ú* and *GAL-ú*, a matter of personal taste. We shall take one example each from orthography, accident, and syntax to show how haphazard this choosing was. For orthography, the intervocalic *w* became either *ʾ* or *m*, of which the former is the more common. The examples of the latter in the Epic are:

- I 4 *mu-um-ma-al-li-da-a*[t] c
 (three Assyrian copies, AKM, have *mu-al-li-da-at/át*)
 I 105 *ú-ma-[l]id* S (SU)
 (two Assur copies, LQ, have *ú-al-lid*)
 V 3 *ú-ma-aš-šir* B
 (the other Ashurbanipal copy, A, has *ú-aš-šir*)
 VI 43 *ú-ma-aš-šir* cM(j)
 (one Ashurbanipal copy, E, has *ú-aš-šir*)
 VI 41 *ú-ma-ad-di* b
 (four other copies have *ú-ad-di*)
 VI 45 *ú-ma-(ʾ-i-)ru* bo
 (one Ashurbanipal copy, E, has *ú-ir-ru*)

The last example should not, perhaps, be included, since the form with *m* is normal in Standard Babylonian, and the form without it could have been metrically conditioned (see p. 19). Thus against a background of forms with *ʾ* we find three Babylonian examples of *m*, three from Sultantepe, one from the libraries of Ashurbanipal, and one from Assur. It is of course a matter of chance how many copies from one site happen to preserve the relevant words.

For accident, we shall take the third-person sing. fem. stative of the *verbum tertiae infirmae*:

- II 101 *še-ma-ta* Eg; *še-mat* C
 IV 105 *ša-qá-ta* a;]-at K
 VI 93 *ša-qa-a-ta* Hg; *ša-qa-a*[t] M

The fuller form occurs twice in Ashurbanipal tablets, thrice on Babylonian pieces; the shorter once on an Ashurbanipal tablet, twice on Sultantepe.

For syntax, there is the use of the copula with two closely bound substantives. It may be used, as in *šamê u eršetim*, or not, as *šamê eršetim*, and the same with *anšar (u) kišar*, *šulmi (u) tašmê*, *enqu (u) mudû*, etc. A careful correlation of all the examples and the manuscripts in which they occur or not gives the result that it is more commonly present than absent, but the presence or absence is whimsical as to the source of the tablets concerned, Babylonian versus Assyrian, etc. It is therefore futile to speculate on what the author may have done in this matter.

Among the orthographic alternatives there are some which, happily, can be dismissed as reflecting only late practices, found in the tablets from all sites. First, there is the doubling of a consonant to take the place of a preceding long vowel:

II 52	šagimmašu	VI 97	ararra
III 94	apunnama	VI 111	lišeššin
IV 52	šaggišu	VII 10	saggišunuma
IV 121	sima[ttišu]	VII 53	ešrettiš
VI 35, VII 29	amēluttum	VII 102	emuqqan
VI 89	iltenumma		

Other possible examples occur in *im-nu-šum-ma* and similar forms (I 63, 76, 83, 91) where the accusative suffix is certainly intended. It may be that in these cases confusion with the old dative suffix is to blame. In other cases, a doubled consonant has no such easy explanation, for example *dal-la-piš* in I 66 (for *dalāpiš*). While one might explain *i-mid-du-ma* (VI 130) as the addition of the plural element onto the singular verb with a resumptive consonant—*i-mid^d-u-ma*, and similarly *ik-šur-ru* (VI 24)—this will not explain *i-pu-ul-lu-šu-ma* (VI 11). Other examples are:

I 146	eššerit	VI 50	dumuqqani
I 157	irattuš	VI 89	iššu
II 9	aliddišu	VI 110	zāninnūssun
II 19	pātiqqat	VI 115	ištariš
II 158	ibbā (for ibā)	VII 118	illammadu
IV 82	taškunnīš		

One peculiarity is the way some scribes expand derivatives of *mḫr*: *maḫarra* (I 134), *maḫḫirat* (IV 50), *maḫḫurū* (VI 21).

A related phenomenon is the uncertainty attaching to some hollow verbs. In I 5, K writes *i-ḫi-iq-qu-ma*, while AM write one *q* only. In II 134, D has *ni-iḫ-ḫa*, which is correct according to our grammars, but a has *ni-i-ḫi* and d *ni-i-ḫu*. In VI 85, Gg have *i-na-a-d[u]*, but M *i-na-ad-du*. The scribes do not have fixed practices with these verbs.

Abnormal length occurs in the Late Middle Assyrian *ḫu-ú-du* (II 145), and *pi-i-[ti]* (II 139, 141), and in the later *še-e-mi* (II 131). Most peculiar is *ku-ú-ru*, for *kurru*, attested in one Babylonian and one Nineveh copy as against *ku-r[u]* of one Assur copy (I 66 Gg and K).

The insertion of short vowels in the script, as well known in late copies, occurs in *Enūma Eliš*. We do not refer to such well-known alternatives as *uṣrat/uṣurat*, but to:

IV 70	ni-ṭi-li-šu-un	VI 144, 150	šu-bat-a-ni
VI 24	ú-šá-bal-ki-tú-ma	VI 160	zu-ku- (for <i>zakra</i>)

The grammatical alternatives are more important in that they bear on the language of the Epic. Whenever there are possible alternative forms, it seems that some scribe has created them. In phonology, the following are the chief categories:

- (i) Assimilation of [?]: *maʾdiš/mādiš*, *šuʾduru/šūduru*, etc. Examples occur in I 19, 24, 92, 97; IV 115, 124, 136; VI 56, 142, 154; VII 22.
- (ii) Other consonantal assimilation
 - (a) *ištu/ultu*: VI 35, 67, 76, 123, etc. *ištēn/iltēn*: VI 89.
 - (b) *ḫamšu/ḫaššu/ḫanšu*: I 104, VI 121, VII 33. *dumqu/dunqu*: VI 50. *tuquntu/tuquuttu*: VI 23.
 - (c) *tišabma/tišamma*: IV 15. *šutaqribma/šutaqrimma*: V 21.
 - (d) *išmidsimma/išmissi*: IV 51. *šēretsu/šēressu*: IV 114. Strangely *uṣzîz/uzzîz*: III 89.

(iii) Consonantal dissimilation *tabbē/tambē*, etc.: IV 81; VI 120, 121, 123, 147, 157, etc.

(iv) Other consonantal change

(a) *isqu/išqu*: VI 46; VII 85.

(b) *nannūššū/nannūssu*: VI 132. *duruššū/durussu*: VII 92. *lissēma/liššīma*: VII 134.

(c) *umtaššil/umtaššir*: II 24. *arkatsun/alkatsun*: IV 108.

(d) *uštaḥḥah/ur-ta-ḥ[a-]*: II 52.

(e) *irme/irbi*: IV 2

(f) *šamḥat/šamkat*: I 87.

Vowel changes are less common. Apart from *meḥret/meḥrat* (IV 142) and *anūti/enūti* (I 159; IV 82), there is only *tišba/tašba* (II 159 = III 61; VI 73) and the interchange of *a/e* in the middle of verbs. Where the root is like *edēqu*, it is well established that the alternatives *ūtaddiq/ūteddiq* occur, as in I 68 and in *ittangi/itengu* (VII 138). What is not so generally known is that, even in *Enūma Eliš*, forms with *e* occur in roots that offer no phonetic justification: *uštešbīšumma* (I 91), *uštešbita* (IV 42), *iltebnu* (VI 60), and *ittešiq* (VI 87).

The grammatical alternatives offer us, first, varieties of pronouns:

II 154 *kātunu/kāšunu*

III 4 *kāta/kāša*

15, 73 *-nāti/-nāši*

128 *nīni/nīnu*

VI 94 *šūāša/šāša/šāši*

The following substantival alternatives occur:

I 42 *ḥarmeša/ḥāmiriša*

I 155 *ḥāʾiri/ḥaʾāri*

VI 5 *eššemtu/ešmetu*

VI 111 *tiʾašina/tāšina*

The different ways of adding suffixes are attested:

I 113, 117 *ḥarmaki/ḥaramki*

Verbal alternatives occur:

(a) Ventive or no ventive:

IV 67 *inaṭṭalma/inaṭṭalamma*

IV 111 *īsiršunūtīma/īsiraššunū[*

VI 95 *ipḥurūma/ipḥurūnimma*

(b) Preterite or present:

I 70 *ītasir/ītassir*

IV 104 *izzīza/izzāzi*

ittadi/ittaddi

119 *irtabû/irtabbû*

VI 39 *uzaʾiz/uzāʾaz*

ittadû/ittaddû

VII 35 *ibrû/ibarrû*

VII 63 *uštēšeru/ušteššeru*

(Some of these might, of course, be explained orthographically rather than grammatically.)

(c) Preterite or perfect:

I 97	<i>irbu[?]/irtibû</i>
IV 34	<i>ušašbitūšu/uštašbitūš</i>
IV 138	<i>ušallil/uššallil</i>
V 10	<i>udannin/uddannin</i>

(d) I/1 or I/2:

VII 131	<i>lir[?]â/lirtâ</i>
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(e) I/2 or I/3:

VI 114	<i>hissusa/hi-ta-s[u-</i>
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(f) III/1 or IV/1 in quadrilateral verb:

I 139 = II 25 = III 29 = III 87	<i>liš-ḫar-[/liḫharmim</i>
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One peculiar form is *ba[?]* for *ibâ* (II 158).

Particles are also found in alternative forms: *kām/kâm* (VI 88), *eli/elu/el* (passim). Scribal editing strays into syntax less frequently, but in addition to the use of the copula, the *i* with first-person plural preterites expressing a wish is similarly dispensable in I 40, VI 102, and VI 54.

The variants other than orthographic and grammatical are very few. The only group which have a characteristic are those cases where an alternative word or expression is substituted. In the following list, we give first the correct text, according to our opinion, and the alternate expression after it:

I 33	<i>ūšibu/sakpu</i>
40	<i>i nišlal nīni/ra]p[?]-šiš lu né-ḫe-et</i>
50	<i>šallāt/nēḫēt</i>
58	<i>qūla iṣbatu/qūlu iššakin</i>
III 69	<i>(iššiq qaqqara) maḫaršun/šapalšun</i>
70	<i>išir izzâz/ikmis izzîzma</i>
IV 9	<i>lā sarār/lā šanān</i>
VII 155	<i>rapaš/la[?]iṭ (karassu)</i>

In all these cases, there is good reason for thinking that the substitution, whether deliberate or unconscious, results from knowledge of other texts or passages containing the other reading, which always makes sense in its new context.

One set of variants has been passed over here, those involving the so-called “Hymno-Epic dialect.” These, and a consideration of the linguistic significance of the variants generally, are dealt with later. Among the generally distressing variants, there are a few with immediate usefulness. Phonetic writings of plural nouns allow us to conclude that the oblique case of the masculine plural is not, in this dialect, *-ī*, but *-ē*.⁴ So far, not a single case of *-ī* is attested. A less certain matter is the correct plural of *ilu*. The form *ilānu/ilāni* is attested six times: four times on Assur tablets (I 21, 34; VI 119) and twice on Babylonian tablets (VI 119). However, the single Babylonian copy has once *i-lu* for the plural (VI 142). We have followed the majority and always used *ilāni*.

The whims of the scribes in these matters can be illustrated from the repeated passage in Tablet III as copied by the good Ashurbanipal scribe who wrote III A:

4. See I 14, 52, 160; III 50; IV 2, 27, 33, 64; VI 109, 126, 159; VII 42, 144.

III 23	<i>pa-te-qat</i>	=	81	<i>pa-ti-[-</i>
24	<i>ka-ak-ki</i>	=	82	[^{gis} tukul] ^{meš}
26	<i>da-mi</i>	=	84	<i>da-a-mi</i>
33	<i>u₄-mi</i>	=	91	UD ^{meš}
36	<i>eš-ten</i>	=	94	<i>iš-ten</i>
39	<i>a-li-kut</i>	=	97	<i>a-li-ku-ut</i>

No other Babylonian literary text surviving in late times survives in so many duplicates as *Enūma Eliš*, so the study of the variants is well justified. However, the *Erra* Epic comes second in this respect. While the literary styles of *Enūma Eliš* and *Erra* are very different, the scribal variants are extremely similar, as can be seen by glancing through the text pages of L. Cagni's *L'epopea di Erra* (Rome, 1969).

So the conclusion is that in reading the text of *Enūma Eliš* one can reasonably assume that the words and their sequence come from the author, but the precise forms of the words may have originated in the scribal schools of the mid-first-millennium B.C. and represent what can properly be called "Standard Babylonian."

Syntax and Metre

Enūma Eliš is correctly everywhere accepted as a poetic composition, but this requires an explanation of what makes it poetry. What are the rules according to which it was composed? And here the answers are few and not infrequently contradictory. The aim here is not to give an exhaustive presentation of all, or most of the facets of Akkadian poetry, as was attempted for the Hebrew Bible by W. G. E. Watson in his *Classical Hebrew Poetry* (Sheffield, 1984, 1986, and reprints). Rather, it attempts to gather the results of a near-exhaustive survey of obvious features that bear on matters essential for correct translation. The most detailed study of these issues so far is by K. Hecker in his *Untersuchungen zur akkadischen Epik* (Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1974), where, however, *Enūma Eliš* is drawn on selectively along with many other Akkadian texts.

In matters affecting line structure, the long exposition of Marduk's names (VI 121–VII 162) is not drawn on, as taken over from a pre-existing source, but word-forms in this section may be used as created by the same scribes who copied out the rest of the text. Thus one matter will be dealt with summarily now.

The opinion has been expressed that Babylonian metre has the same kind of orderly sequence of syllables that became popular in the West from Greek and Roman poetry. H. Zimmern seems first to have given rise to such ideas.⁵ Further studies along these lines were undertaken by Sievers, Böhl, and also W. von Soden.⁶ For our part, we are skeptical about this whole approach, since precise results can only be got by all kinds of license which have no basis in grammar. The one basic and unmistakable element of Akkadian poetry is the line. In most late copies of such texts, including all those of the *Enūma Eliš*, the poetic lines correspond with the lines of script across the column. When the width of the column did not leave enough room for a particularly long poetic line, the surplus was inset underneath, and the following poetic line began, as usual, a fresh line of script starting from the left

5. See ZA 8 (1893) 121–24; *ibid.* 10 (1895) 1–24; *ibid.* 382–92.

6. Sievers: ZA 38 (1929) 1–38; Böhl: JEOL XV (1958) 133–53; CRR 1 (1960) 145–52; von Soden: ZA 71 (1981) 161–204 and 74 (1984) 213–34.

edge of the column. If the column width was excessive for short poetic lines, either the signs were liberally spaced, or two poetic lines were squeezed into one line of script across the column. In this latter case, a division mark is put between the poetic lines, so that in no case does a problem arise about the line-division of these texts, though VII 62 as written is clearly two poetic lines.

The “Clausula Accadica”

Although we reject from the outset any attempt to construe whole lines as planned sequences of syllables, there is one point in the line where a particular pattern is obligatory. As first observed by B. Landsberger (*Islamica* 2 [1926/27] 371), a trochee, i.e., a long syllable followed by a short (– ˘), ends the line. A long syllable, as in Greek and Roman scansion, is due either to a long vowel (whether naturally long or resulting from contraction of a vowel, or vowels, and a weak consonant) or to two consonants following a short vowel. The rule could be stated equally well in terms of stress: the lines must end with the sequence: stressed syllable, unstressed syllable. Normally, this stress coincides with the long syllable. A set of possible exceptions is dealt with below. Although this rule has been asserted for a long time, no detailed proof has yet been made, so the evidence of *Enūma Eliš* will be dealt with here. The validity of the rule depends entirely on the correctness of current understanding of Akkadian grammar in respect to vowel length and stress. These matters could be questioned in particular cases, but a general examination of them is not in place here, so we merely state our general adherence to von Soden’s GAG, and in particular we accept the view that pronominal and other suffixes like *-ma* and *-šam* draw the stress on to an immediately preceding short vowel, as *gimrišun* (I 4). Whether this vowel is thereby lengthened, as assumed by von Soden (GAG § 65a) is a difficult question. Orthographies which support this view are found in the work of some scribes, e.g., *ka-ša-di-i-ša* (KAR 1 obv. 9).

In any attempt to test the validity of the rule, certain cautions must be observed. The first is that all variant readings must be taken into account. Some of these affect the line-endings. For example, the short poetic forms of the suffixes *-kun*, *-šun*, and *-šin* conform to the rule at the end of a line, while the longer forms do not. Inside the lines of the Epic, the copies commonly vary between *-šun* and *-šunu* (I 5, 27, etc.), but at the end of a line the longer form is quite exceptional. Obviously, such exceptions cannot be quoted against the rule. The conclusion to be drawn, and it will be confirmed in other connections, is that some scribes paid little attention to metre. The second caution is that words of doubtful stress must be considered apart from those whose stress is certain, at least by current standards. Sumerian words form the biggest group of this uncertain class. Restored line-endings have been used only where they seem to have a very high degree of probability. Difference of opinion could exist on this point, but a total not far from ours would still result. Only ten certain exceptions to the rule have been found:

<i>tele’ú</i>	I 59	<i>kilallán</i>	V 9
<i>ištén</i>	IV 19	<i>kúnnuni</i>	V 66
<i>palá</i>	IV 29	<i>uktí[l]</i>	V 96
<i>rabá</i>	IV 49, 75	<i>purussí</i>	V 125
<i>ušzíz</i>	V 2, 4	<i>úšp[ari]</i>	V 156

Although we have called these certain, *kúnnuni* (V 66) could be queried. It is known from one Sultantepe copy only, and the line so far gives no sense. The discovery of fresh duplicates might show

that *kunnuni* is corrupt. One further example could be added: we take the last word of V 14 as *ušir*, but others have taken it as *úššir* and *úmuš*. Ten is less than 2% of the total.

The doubtful cases need comment before this result can be accepted as final. First, Sumerian words and those of doubtful origin. Those like *ánum* and *durmáhu/durmáhhu* which were given Akkadian endings and about whose stress no reasonable doubt exists are not taken up. Excluding these, the total is 25. Two cases are of Anunnaki, but in fact the form Anukki/Enukki is better attested by the manuscripts (I 156 = II 42 = III 46, 104; II 121), and this conforms to the rule, while Anunnaki probably does not. Thus, 23 remain, of which 12 can be taken together: Anšar seven times (I 19, II 9, 79, 83, 103, 107, 136), Nudimmud four times (I 16, II 58, IV 142, vi 38), ešarra once (IV 144). In these cases, most probably they conformed to the rule: *ánšar*, *nudímmud*, etc. The remaining eleven are: Igigi twice (V 108, VI 134), Laḫama twice (I 141 = II 27 = III 31, 89, VI 157), and one occurrence each of: anduruna (I 24), mari-utu (I 101), girtablulu (I 142 = II 28 = III 32, 90), imsaanusaa (and variants, IV 46). It is impossible to know how these were stressed in an Akkadian context. The only one which probably breaks the rule is girtablulu, since its latter element was borrowed in Akkadian as *lullú* (VI 6, 7).

The doubtful Akkadian examples are the following:

I 28 *igámmela*. The final *-a* is not required by grammar, and since this word is so far known only from one exercise tablet, it is possible that the author of the Epic put *igámmel*.

I 33 *úšibu*. This is doubtful since in every other case where the third person plural masculine of the preterite I/1 of *ašabu* ends a line it is written *úšbu*, and in any case there is a variant here *sákpu*.

I 50 *šallát*, var. *nehét*. As these are second person singular masculine, *šalláta* and *nehéta* would be the normal forms. We do not know which form the author put.

I 135 = II 21 = III 25, 83. Is it *attá?i* or *átta?i*?

I 148 = II 34 = III 96. *ušrabbīš* breaks the rule, but the variant *ušrābbi* does not.

II 160 = III 62, 120. *lušīm* breaks the rule, but not the variant *lušímma*.

V 22. *šannát* (cf. *šallát* above) could have been written *šannáta* by the author.

V 63. If *ištu* is restored at the beginning of the line—it is a tempting restoration—*ušášbi?u* would break the rule.

V 71 *itaprúš*, 85 *uškinnúš*. These forms with the shortened suffix are so far only attested on one Sultantepe tablet. The author could have written *itaprúšu* and *uškinnúšu*. See also VI 11, 19 and VII 45.

VI 45. *umá?iru* breaks the rule, but not the Ashurbanipal variant *u?irru*.

VI 128. *kaián/kaiána*. The form with ending has good claim to be original.

VII 63. Is it *ápkisu* or *apkísu*?

VII 135. Is it *dánninu* or *dannínu*?

Thus the doubtful Akkadian examples are neither numerous nor serious. They do not suggest that any modification of our previous conclusion is needed.

An objection could be raised that so many Akkadian words end in a trochee (– ˘) that it may be nothing beyond coincidence that so large a percentage of words of this type occur at the end of the lines of the Epic. This objection may be tested very simply. It will be shown that most lines have a caesura. If the pattern of final words is merely a reflection of the common phonetic form of Akkadian vocabulary, those immediately before the caesura should yield the same result. Following the same procedure as before, we list the exceptions to the rule, but only from the first Tablet:

2	<i>ámmatum</i>	58	<i>íšbatu</i>	118	<i>ikkamú</i>
6	<i>kíššuru/kúššuru</i>	65	<i>apsá</i>	122	<i>sákipi</i>
8	<i>zúkkuru</i>	68	<i>úbala</i>	126	<i>tuštáddinu</i>
10	<i>uštapú</i>	70	<i>ítasir</i>	128	<i>uštáħħazu</i>
11	<i>irbú</i>	72	<i>úttamaħ</i>	138	<i>uštaššá</i>
12	<i>ibbanú</i>	76	<i>apsá</i>	144	<i>padú</i>
20	<i>šánina</i>	81, 82	<i>apsí</i>	150	<i>tíšbutu</i>
24	<i>šú'duru</i>	94	<i>naťá</i>	155	<i>ħá'iri</i>
29	<i>apsú</i>	96	<i>šutábuli</i>	158	<i>innenná</i>
34	<i>imtálliku</i>	97	<i>irtibú</i>	159	<i>šušqú</i>
35	<i>apsú</i>	100	<i>šúťtuħa</i>	162	<i>kítmuru</i>
51	<i>apsú</i>	106	<i>umallá</i>		
52	<i>íkpuđu</i>	110	<i>šúpšuħa</i>		

While one or two of these might be argued against, there are also a few others which might be added to the list. The general result is not in doubt: 37 out of 158 break the rule, nearly 25%. Similar results come from other tablets. The difference between this and 2% is such that we must conclude that the author of *Enūma Eliš* consciously closed his lines with trochees, allowing himself very few exceptions. It may be noted in confirmation that *šamé* is used inside a line but *šamámi* at the end.

The remaining aspects of metre are not matters of form alone but involve the interrelation of form and meaning. The poetic line is not only a metrical unit but also one of sense and syntax. However, we must not exalt this principle into a dogma admitting of no exceptions. English hymns provide a parallel. Their verses are similarly matters of structure and sense: structure, because each verse of a hymn has the same metrical form and is sung to the same music; sense, because hymn-writers acknowledge the verse as a unit for the development of ideas. There are, however, a very few examples of a sentence beginning in one verse and continuing without pause into the next so that the thought continues without any kind of interruption across the verse division. No one would cite these exceptions to disprove the existence of the verse as a hymn unit. In the same way if the metrical structure of Babylonian poetry can be established from an overwhelming majority of instances where form and sense correspond, a few exceptions where they diverge need not be taken too seriously.

As always, the line remains the basic unit. The metre is to be found in the structure of the individual line and in the organization of the lines into strophes. Study of these matters is somewhat like putting the commas in modern English or like phrasing a piece of music. A certain sensitivity and good taste are required. In general, competent judges would agree, but in particular cases there is room for difference of opinion.

The ancient scribes have not left us without a few indications. In the structure of the individual lines, scribes sometimes indicate a break within the lines by interposing space down the centre of a column of poetry. Babylonian scribes do this not infrequently, but their Assyrian colleagues less frequently. Nine Babylonian copies of the Epic have this feature (I abi, II d, III abkf, IV a), but only two Assyrian (I M and N [probably parts of the same tablet], VI H). This practice presumes one major line division, which we call the caesura, though unlike the caesura of Classical Greek and Latin poetry it is a break in the sense as well as in word-division. A study of tablets marking the caesura in the way described shows that the scribes have not bothered to put the division at the right point in many cases. For example, in I 19 and 36 of the Epic *ana | ālid* and *ana | mē* are separated on MS a,

Table 1. Lines Used for Study of Their Structure.

Tablet I:	all	162
Tablet II:	omitting 15–48, 63–64, 147–48	124
Tablet III:	omitting 15–52, 58–64, 73–110, 116–22	48
Tablet IV:	all omitting 5–6	144
Tablet V:	1–22, 50–86, 109–30, 151–54	85
Tablet VI:	1–120 less 69	119
Total	. . . . .	682

though a preposition is obviously closely bound to the noun it goes with. While the scribal spacing can be taken as evidence of a caesura, individual scribes did not trouble to get the division in the right place so that we have to find it by an empirical study of a block of material. For this purpose we have selected 682 lines of the Epic, which are listed in Table 1. Only lines complete, restorable with more or less certainty, or intelligible as a whole have been used, and repeated passages only once.

The most common type of line consists of four words with a caesura after the second, e.g.:

ib-šim ^{giš}*qašta* ^{giš}*kakka-šú ú-ad-di*
IV 35

i-pul-šú-ma ^{dé}*-a* *a-ma-tú i-qab-bi-šú*
VI 11

ez-zu-tum šāri ^{meš} *kar-ša-ša i-za-nu-ma*
IV 99

šūtu iltānu *šadū amurru*
IV 43

In the first one, there are two independent statements, though the first is needed for a correct understanding of the second. The order is chiasitic, but nothing obscures the pause between them. In the second example, the second hemistich is dependent grammatically on the first, since the subordination is expressed by a present following a preterite +*ma*. Although Ea is in sense the subject of both verbs, grammatically it belongs with the first verb. There is, therefore, no problem here. The division after the second word is clear. The third example has only one verb, and in prose no one would think of putting a pause at any point within the line. If there had been no adjective qualifying *šāri*, it would have been difficult to suggest where a caesura could come, but the very presence of *ezzūtum* creates one. The adjective goes closely with its noun, and this unity separates the pair from the predicate, so that sense confirms the placing of the caesura after the second word. The last example, the four winds, is given to show how in some cases sense offers no guide whatsoever in this matter. Yet we put the caesura after the second word without hesitation, acknowledging that in a minority of instances sense yields to form.

This procedure could of course be challenged. Granting that in many cases a caesura is apparent from the grammar and sense, what right have we to make one without this supporting evidence?

Could not some lines lack a caesura? Proof that the author consciously wrote his lines in two halves is available. It can be shown that he avoided words in the second and third place that are intimately connected, such as a construct chain or words in apposition. Out of the 682 lines used, there seem to be only two certain cases of a construct chain straddling the caesura, IV 14 and 57. IV 11 appears at first sight to be another example, but it is textually doubtful (see the note). II 161 = III 121 could also be cited, but the construct in this case is followed by a clause, not a noun in the genitive. Such a clause is a well-knit unit, and this fact separates it from the construct on which it depends. This is negative evidence. Positively, one may observe how the author avoided a construct and dependent genitive in second and third place, e.g.:

a-lik-ma šá ti-amat nap-šá-tuš pu-ru-ʾ-ma
IV 31

The ordinary prose order would be:

alíkma napšat tiāmat puruʾma

This, however, obscures the caesura, which was preserved by the use of *ša* and the resumptive suffix instead of a construct chain. The same phenomenon occurs in I 17, IV 17 and 33, V 5, and VI 88. A related construction occurs in IV 66:

šá qin-gu ha-ʾi-ri-šá i-še-ʾa šip-qi-šú

The regular prose order would be:

šipqi qingi hāʾirīša išēʾa

but this obscures the caesura, since “Qingu” and “her spouse” are in apposition and so closely bound. The same construction as seen already kept the dividing point of the line open. VI 62 is another example. A still further development of the same principle occurs in V 2:

kakkabāni^{mes} tam-šil-šu-n[u] lu-ma-ši uš-zi-iz

The prose order would be:

lumāšī tamšil kakkabāni ušziz

In this case, the resumptive suffix is used, but there is no *ša* to anticipate it. Failure to grasp the construction had left the translators badly perplexed, as in the identical case of IV 144.

With this evidence of the author’s interest in preserving the caesura after the second word of the line, we have not hesitated to put a caesura in every four-word line, even when the sense does not positively demand it, provided that there is no serious objection or better alternative. Confirmation that the four-word line is the basic metrical unit of Akkadian poetry comes from certain copies of the Theodicy (see *BWL* p. 66) which divide the columns into four sub-columns by rulings. Since this metrical layout is unique, it probably goes back to the author of the work. This line we shall refer to as a 2/2.

So far, we have spoken of “words” as metrical units, but the term is inadequate. Two qualifications have to be added. The first is that certain particles and prepositions do not count as metrical units

at all but are to be ignored when metre is studied. The lines quoted above with a *ša*, for example, are ordinary 2/2 lines. The other particles noted in our 682 lines are: *šūt*; the negatives *ul*, *lā*, and *ai*; the copula *u*; *i* and *lū*; the exclamatory *kī*; and the prepositions and conjunctions *ana*, *ina*, *adi*, *aššum*, *kīma*, *ištu/ultu*, *eli/elu*, and *qādu*. The second qualification can be illustrated from IV 86:

en-di-im-ma a-na-ku u ka-a-ši i ni-pu-uš šá-áš-ma

Grammar and sense leave no doubt where the caesura must go. This leaves the first half with three words, though two of them are closely bound. The alternatives are to say that we have a 3/2, or to take *anāku u kâši* as a single metrical unit. Our conclusion is that these closely bound pairs of words, which we shall henceforth call “phrases,” count as one metrical unit. Out of the 682 lines, 110, which are otherwise metrically clear, have such phrases. They fall into four classes. The first is of natural pairs, such as *anāku u kâši*, and there are altogether 15 out of the 110 of this kind. The theogonic pairs like *laḥma u laḥama* account for five (I 10, 12; III 4, 68, 125). Two others are divine pairs also: *ea u damkina* (I 78), *enlil u ea* (V 8). The phrases “day and night” and “heaven and underworld” account for four: I 109, 130; VI 46, 100. The remaining three are: *šulmi u tašmê* (IV 34), *dumqi u tašmê* (V 114), and *mê u šamni* (VI 98). The second class is the largest and accounts for 79 out of the 110. It consists of constructs followed by genitives, e.g., *zāri ilāni* (I 29). A sub-group to be added to the construct-chains are the four instances of nouns qualified by numerals (I 105; IV 42, 51; VI 42). The third class, represented by only five examples, consists of short relative clauses. They are interesting, however, since if one excludes *mala bašû* (V 86) as introduced by *mala*, three of the four (II 10; V 116; VI 112) are not introduced by *ša*. The exception, IV 18, (*ilu*) *ša lemnēti iḥuzu*, required the *ša* as a matter of style. Without it, the noun *ilu*, on which the clause depends, would disappear in the spoken language: *il-lemnēti iḥuzu* would be taken as *ina lemnēti iḥuzu*. If the small number of examples gives a correct impression, they may be cited as evidence that the author conceived these clauses as single metrical units and so chose the lighter construction to confirm the point. Another clause of which only one example is found in the 110 lines is the purpose clause *imta bullû(m) = ana imti bullî*. The fourth and last category, represented by six examples only, consists of two substantives in apposition: *anšar abīšu* (II 8), *ilāni abbēšu* (IV 33, 64; VI 83), *abīšu anim* (IV 44), and *marūtuk qardu* (IV 126).

As already said, the 2/2 line is the most common. Out of the 682, 335 consist of four words (not counting particles) with a caesura in the middle. Another 84 are of the same type, but contain phrases. Thus nearly three out of every four lines are of this type (see Table 2, p. 24).

The only other type of line at all clearly attested consists of three words only, e.g.:

mê^{mes}-šû-nu iš-te-niš i-ḥi-qu-ú-ma
I 5

If one looks for a caesura (the scribes introduce their spacing if at all in every line), it must obviously come after the first word, since verb and adverb go together. In other cases there is no clear grammatical or other reason for putting the caesura at this point, e.g.:

ú-kaḫ-pit-ma ti-a-ma-tum pi-ti-iq-šu
II 1

Either of the two breaks in this line would serve equally well for the caesura, so far as sense and grammar go. It is a case like that of the four winds in the 2/2 lines. If the break consistently occurs in the

Table 2. Distribution of Varieties of Metrical Line.

Key: 2/2 = four-word line with mid-placed caesura.
 1/2a = three-word line with caesura between first and second words (first line of couplet).
 1/2b = three-word line with caesura between first and second words (second line of couplet).

Tablet:	2/2	2/2 with phrases	1/2a	1/2a with phrases	1/2b	1/2b with phrases	other
I	84(72)	18	26	5	5	1	13
II	30(26)	5(4)	3	..	..	3	9
III	19(14)	6	2	..	1	..	5
IV	88(76)	27(25)	12	3	1	..	13
V	41(35)	12	6	1	1	..	7
VI	73(61)	16	19	8	1	2	11
Totals:	335 (284)	84(81)	68	17	9	6	58
Percentage:	49%(41%)	12%	10%	3%	1.5%	1%	8%

	2/2	1/2a	1/2b
Added Totals:	419(365)	85	15
Percentage:	61%(53%)	12%	3%

Added Total:	100 (1/2a + 1/2b)	
Percentage:	14%	

same place when sense or grammar indicates one, then we are justified in putting the caesura in this place in lines which per se are inexplicit on this point. Out of the 77 three-word lines (not counting particles), 31, by the grammatical structure or meaning, are clearly divided after the first word. Only one example points in the opposite direction (VI 45). Thus, on grounds of form, grammar, and sense we conclude that this type of line could be considered a 1/2 and be divided accordingly. Phrases can occur in a 1/2 as much as in a 2/2, e.g.:

li-ad-di-ma šal-mat qaqqadi pa-la-ḫi-iš-šú
 VI 113

Since the break cannot come between *šal-mat* and *qaqqadi*, the line is clearly a 1/2, not a 2/2. There are altogether 100 1/2 lines, including those with phrases, or 17% of the total. One interesting point is the strophic position of the 1/2 lines. As will be demonstrated below, the Epic is written in couplets. Of the 100 1/2 lines, 85 occur as the first line of the couplet (1/2a lines), and the remaining 15 as the second (1/2b).

The total of 2/2 and 1/2 lines is 519, or 90% of the total. The remaining 10% do not show a preference for any particular pattern and are best regarded as the result of poetic license. The analysis just offered has, in fact, been based on certain interpretations, which must now be justified, so far as possible. The danger of all study of ancient Semitic poetry with a view to establishing its metre is that of formulating rules about the structure of the poetry and then formulating further rules of a permissive

character which enable the many exceptions to be accommodated within the general rules. Thus, the Akkadian poetic line is a 2/2. When a line contains more than four words, we have to look for means of coupling up words to produce a round four “units.” Of course we are not condemning the procedure. When the language itself suggests such a coupling, as with the construct chain, there is every possible justification for admitting the “unit” so conceived. The danger lies in trying to produce too great a uniformity by doubtful procedures.

The chief problem of Akkadian metre lies in what we have called phrases. While we insist that a construct with its following genitive can serve as one metrical unit, it may also serve as two. Cf., e.g.:

i-ti-niq-ma šer-ret ištārāti^{mes}
I 85

If the last two words are taken as two metrical units, a perfect 1/2 results. If it is insisted that they must be construed as one unit, a 1/1 has to be acknowledged. In the whole group of 682 lines, only 2 (or perhaps 3; see below) are certainly of the type 1/1. This, along with many other examples pointing in the same direction, leads us to the conclusion that phrases, like the quantity of certain vowels in Latin verse, must be dubbed “anceps.” They may count as either one or two units. In confirmation, it may be noted that, in the ruled copies of the Theodicy, the same ambiguity is attested; e.g., in line 32, *naṣṣat niši* is one unit, but in 294, *puḥur itbā[rāti]* is two units. The establishing of this point raises, rather than solves, problems. The major one occurs in the first half of the line. Numerous unambiguous cases establish that either one or two words, excluding particles, may constitute the first half of a regular line. If the two words could be a phrase, to which type of line does such an example belong? There is no infallible way of settling particular cases of this kind. Since, therefore, a clear majority of the unambiguous cases are 2/2, we have counted the dubious ones as of the 2/2 class. In the list of 2/2 lines in Table 3 (p. 26) the doubtful ones are marked with an asterisk. As totals for the 2/2 class in Table 2, we have given first the full number of both certain and uncertain examples. The number in brackets following is of the certain ones. Where no second number is given, they are all certain. The net result of the uncertain cases is not very great. Only 10% of the total fall in this class. Whereas our results are set down as 73% of 2/2 lines and 17% of 1/2, the tenth could be transferred, giving 63% and 27%. If one were prepared to operate with a law of averages, 8% of the doubtful cases would be assigned to the 2/2 class and 2% to the 1/2 class, but such particularity hardly belongs to this subject.

If our analysis is correct, the second half of each line is the most regular part. There is stylistic confirmation that the author took pains to avoid short second halves, cf.:

a-na ti-amat um-mi-šu-nu *šu-nu iz-zak-ru*
I 112

So far as sense goes, there is no reason for *šunu* at all. There is no emphasis on the subject of the verb. Grammatically, too, *šunu* is unexplained. Metre alone provides the explanation: it prevents a second half-line of one word. Other examples are found in IV 20, 74; V 152; VI 48, 96, 100, 158, 162. The two examples VI 8 and 16 are not included, as there is good reason for emphasizing the subjects of the verbs in those cases. However, in some cases the *šunu* overloads the lines, e.g.:

Table 3. Incidence of Metrical Lines, Tablet by Tablet.

* = doubtful incidence

2/2

I 1, 2, 4*, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14*, 15, 16, 17, 20, 22, 24, 28, 30, 31*, 34, 38, 40, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 58, 59, 64, 65, 66*, 67, 68, 70, 72, 74, 75*, 76, 79, 82, 86, 88, 89, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100, 102*, 104, 106, 107, 108, 110, 112*, 113, 114, 116, 117, 118, 131*, 132, 133*, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 141, 143, 145, 146, 147*, 152, 155, 156, 160*, 161*, 162.

II 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 12, 14, [86], [87], [88], [89], [96], [98], [99], [100]*, [102], [105], [106], [108], [110], [112]*, [114]*, [117], [118]*, [120], [121], [123], [124], [128], [129].

III 2*, 3*, 5, 6*, 8, 9, 12, 14*, 53, 54, 57*, 66, 67, 126, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137.

IV 2*, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8*, 10, 11, 12*, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20*, 21, 22*, 23*, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38*, 40, 43, 45, 46, 47, 52, 54, 57, 58, 59, 63, 66*, 68, 69*, 72, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80*, 82, 84*, 88, 89, 90, 91, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 106, 107*, 108, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 117, 122, 124, 127, 129, 130, 132, 133, 135, 136, 138, 139, 140, 141, 143, 144.

V 1, 2, 3, 5, 7*, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15*, 18, 20, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 58, 59, 67, 68, 74, 76, 78*, 83, 85, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 118, 119*, 121*, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 150*.

VI 2, 3*, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19*, 20, 22, 24, 26, 27, 30, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39*, 40, 41, 44*, 48*, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 57, 58, 60, 66*, 68, 70, 71*, 72, 73, 75, 78, 80, 84, 85*, 87, 88, 91, 92, 102, 103, 104, 106, 109, 110, 111, 114, 115*, 116, 118, 122, 158*, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163*, 164, 165, 166.

2/2 with phrases

I 10, 12, 18, 19, 29, 60, 78, 80, 87, 105, 109, 130, 134, 144, 150, 153, 154, 157.

II 8, 10, [101], [122]*, [127].

III 4, 10, 55, 68, 125, 138.

IV 9, 14, 18, 27, 30, 33, 34, 41, 42, 44, 48, 50, 51, 56, 60, 62, 64, 65, 83, 86, 93, 96, 116*, 125, 126*, 128, 142.

V 6, 8, 13, 16, 19, 70, 75, 79, 84, 86, 114, 116.

VI 8, 34, 42, 46, 62, 81, 83, 86, 93, 94, 96, 98, 100, 107, 108, 112.

1/2, a lines

I 3, 5, 9, 21, 23, 25, 27, 35, 37, 39, 41, 53, 55, 57, 63, 69, 71, 73, 77, 83, 85, 91, 93, 97, 111, 139.

II 1, 7, 13.

III 1, 7.

IV 1, 7, 39, 61, 67, 87, 103, 109, 111, 119, 123, 131.

V 11, 17, 123, 133, 135, 149.

VI 7, 13, 15, 21, 23, 25, 29, 33, 45, 47, 55, 59, 65, 67, 74, 76, 95, 97, 121.

1/2, a lines, with phrases

I 33, 61, 81, 115, 129.

IV 105, 121, 137.

V 115.

VI 1, 9, 31, 43, 63, 99, 105, 119.

1/2, b lines

I 26, 36, 42, 44, 142.

III 70.

IV 118.

V 49.

VI 117.

1/2, b lines, with phrases

I 32.

II [103], [107], [109].

VI 28, 113.

1/1

I 11, 101, 151 (or 2/2?).

1/3

I 62, II 9, [126].

III 65, 69.

IV 120.

VI 56.

1/2/1

IV 145 (or 1/3?).

2/1

I 56, 84.

II [97].

III 13.

IV 81.

VI 50, 61.

2/3

I 90, 92, 148.

II [104], [113], [115], [125].

III 56.

IV 49 (or 3/2?), 53, 55, 75 (or 3/2?), 85, 92, 134.

V 4, 69, 73, 77, 120.

VI 77, 79, 90, 101.

3/1

II 11.

V 117.

3/2

I 103, 149, 158, 159.

II [111].

III 11.

IV 70, 71, 146.

V 80.

VI 89, 120, 157.

3/3

VI 82.

lu-ú *ša-an-da-at um-mat-ki* lu-ú *rit-ku-su šu-nu kakkī-ka*
IV 85

See also IV 92, 134 and VI 77. Outside *Enūma Eliš*, an example is found in the big Šamaš Hymn, line 93:

ina *pī daiāni ul ip-pa-lu šu-nu aḥḥī^{mes}-šú*
BWL p. 130

and an Old Babylonian example is found in *Agušaya A*:

šu-a-ši-im a *ša-al-tim ša ib-nu-ú* šu-ú *i-sà-qar*
VAS X 214 vi 15–16

This belongs to a group of four lines of the type 2/2, perfect but for an extra word at the beginning of the second and third lines (this is the second). The *šuāšim* anticipates and is explained by *a šaltim ša ibnū*. One way of handling the first half is to regard *šuāšim* as extra metrum. Its anticipatory character could be cited in confirmation. The only other way is to take *a šaltim ša ibnū* as one unit. In either case, there is no dispute about the caesura, and the *šu-ú* serves to create a full second half. Seeing that this feature is as old as Hammurabi, and seeing that five of the examples in *Enūma Eliš* (I 112; IV 20; V 152; VI 48, 158) are of an identical pattern:

ana (person(s) addressed) (description) *šunu izzakru*

this is clearly a stylistic convention, based in the first place on metre. After it had become an established tradition, it was used carelessly, even with the effect of overloading the half-lines.

One question relating to the structure of the individual line is whether certain words can legitimately be classed as extra metrum. In the Epic, this question arises particularly in the expositions of the 50 names, which we have so far left out of the discussion. Cf., e.g.:

^d*marūtuk šá ul-tu ši-ti-šú im-bu-ú-šú* *a-bu-šú^da-num*
VI 123

If the first name could be excluded, a perfect 2/2 results. With it, the first half of the line is too long. The fact that it does occur at the beginning, and its being the name explained in this and the following lines, could be urged in favour of classifying it as extra metrum. There are others of the 50 names which invite this treatment, but not all. Cf., e.g.:

^d*ad-du lu-ú šūm-šú* *kiš-šat šamê^e li-rim-ma*
VII 119

If the name is removed, all sense is lost, and this leaves a 1/1 or 2/1, since *kiššat šamê* cannot straddle the caesura. Such trouble is of our own making, for the line as it stands is an excellent 2/2. The whole problem is complicated by the borrowing of this material from earlier sources. It is possible that some of it originated in contexts where the names did not occur with the lines. Evidence outside the Epic is inconclusive. The repeated couplets (see AfO 19 [1959/60] 48) in which, at the second occurrence, the name of the god or goddess is inserted, offer the most useful material. Here

the tendency is to substitute the divine name for a word which occurred the first time, even if the result is not too happy. Cf. *Agušaya*:

<i>ab-ra-at ši-ik-na-as-sà</i>	<i>šu-un-na-at mi-ni-a-tim</i>
<i>na-ak-la-at ki-ma ma-an-ma-a[n]</i>	<i>la ú-ma-aš-ša-lu ši ib zi it</i>
<i>ša-al-tu-um ši-ik-na-as-sà</i>	<i>šu-un-na-at mi-ni-a-tim</i>
<i>na-ak-la-at ki-ma ma-an-ma-an</i>	<i>la ú-ma-aš-ša-lu ši ib zi it</i>

VAS X 214 v 35–42

The substitution of *šaltum* for *abrat* the second time leaves *šiknassa* without any description. However, when nothing in any way suitable was available, the divine name is simply prefixed to the complete line, where it looks very much extra metrum, e.g.:

<i>šá a-ma-ru-uk šib-bu</i>	<i>ga-ṣa-áš a-bu-ruk</i>
<i>šá-áš-mu šá ḡirra(giš-bar)</i>	<i>a-li ma-ḥir-ka</i>
^d <i>marūtuk šá a-ma-ru-uk šib-bu</i>	<i>ga-ṣa-áš a-bu-ruk</i>
<i>šá-áš-mu šá ḡirra(giš-bar)</i>	<i>a-li ma-ḥir-ka</i>

AfO 19 (1959/60) 55 5–8 (restored)

We leave this question open.

In considering the strophic grouping of the lines, scribal practices are worth noting. In certain hymns and prayers, the scribes rule lines across the columns after every second line of text (see AfO 19 [1959/60] 48). Such rulings generally separate sections of text. This is, therefore, evidence of the couplet. However, just as late scribes insert the vertical spacing with supreme disregard as to what should go on each side of it, so in the late copies these rulings are put quite mechanically even when a single line or group of three has thrown them out of place. So far as the present writer's knowledge extends, all but one of the texts so ruled are late. The one exception is Old Babylonian and is particularly relevant to *Enūma Eliš*, since it is part of the Atra-ḥasis Epic (CT 44 20). Three OB copies of hymns or prayers have rulings after every fourth line: (i) BM 78278, CT 44 21, an early copy of a Marduk prayer which is ruled into couplets in the late copies, (ii) an Ištar prayer, RA 22 (1925) 169ff., and (iii) another Ištar prayer, ZA 44 (1938) 30ff. The first two of these are partly written in repeated couplets, and this is probably the reason why the lines are grouped in sections of four. A detailed examination of the thought and sentences reveals no objection to a division into couplets. The third example is different. There are no repeated couplets in it, the metre generally is much less clear, and one case of a sentence running on without obvious break for four lines occurs (obv. 25–28). Not every ruling of this kind has strophic significance. Certain Assur copies of *Ludlul* and the Ištar prayer K 225+9962 (AfO 19 [1959/60] 50ff.) have rulings after every tenth line. There is, however, no correlation between the rulings and the structure of the texts, and the only conclusion to be reached is that the rulings served the same purpose as the wedges in the margin which certain late scribes put at every tenth line, namely to aid in accurate copying. Thus scribal practices give strong indications of couplets, and much less indication of a four-line strophe.

The present writer's conclusion about *Enūma Eliš* is that it was written throughout in couplets, with very few exceptions. A differing view has been expressed by J. V. Kinnier Wilson in *Documents from Old Testament Times* (ed. D. Winton Thomas; London, 1958), pp. 3ff., where some excerpts are

translated in four- or six-line groups, and in the joint edition of Tablet V, done with B. Landsberger in *JNES* 20 (1961) 154ff., where an analysis into groups of two and four lines is made. Insofar as the later interpretation dispenses with groups of six, we consider it progress. Of course, there is a sequence of thought in the Epic. Each couplet leads on to the following one, so that there is never a complete break from beginning to end. The basic problem is whether a strophe is coextensive with a sentence. Despite the lack of punctuation, there is little difficulty in observing the end of a syntactically bound unit. Kinnier Wilson accepts as a basic proposition, without discussion, that the strophe and sentence are the same, and all his end with a full stop. P. Talon in his edition *The Standard Babylonian Creation Myth Enūma Eliš* (SAACT IV; Helsinki, 2005), stimulated by H. L. J. Vanstiphout, also opts for four-line strophes (pp. ix–x) and has set out his transliterated text and translation accordingly. In contrast, we acknowledge the couplet as the basic unit, but not necessarily as a complete sentence. Several, we think, may be joined in a single sentence. An examination of some typical passages will show the nature of the problem.

The opening passage of the Epic is divided by Kinnier Wilson and Talon into four-line strophes. The first two lines are perfectly balanced: “above” and “heaven” balance “below” and “earth”; *nabû*, in the stative, is balanced by *šuma zakāru*, also in the stative, and the use of the two-word phrase offsets *enūma*, whose force lasts for both lines. Thus, the first couplet is not syntactically a complete unit, being entirely subordinate. The second couplet is likewise balanced: line 3 names Apsû with description, and line 4 does the same for Tiāmat. The second couplet consists of two nominal sentences (note *-ma*), and Kinnier Wilson takes them as the main clauses of the sentence begun with *enūma*. So far, this is quite possible. However, even if one accepts this, the distinction in content and grammar between 1–2 and 3–4 is very striking. The fifth line describes the activity of Apsû and Tiāmat, and the *-ma* on *iḫīqū* subordinates the following line logically. Kinnier Wilson, on the strength of one omen passage, takes *ḥāqu* intransitively and makes the waters also the subject of both verbs in the second line of the couplet. We prefer the generally accepted interpretation and wonder how *la še-ʾú* can be rendered “unimpeded.” The *enūma* in line 7 certainly starts off a new clause, but since, according to the four-line theory, this is in the middle of a sentence, Kinnier Wilson makes it a subordinate clause within the sentence beginning in line 5. In so doing he mistranslates *enūma* as “since” with a clausal force, and then refers line 8 to the reed-beds and marsh of line 6—as though a rule existed that reed-beds could not be created before gods! This seems to us a most involved and obscure interpretation, apart from the dubious renderings. Our view is that the *enūma* clauses begun in 1–2 are interrupted by a parenthesis occupying the two couplets 3–6 and that they are continued in lines 7–8, as indicated by the repeated *enūma*. The two basic thoughts are: when heaven and earth did not exist, and when the gods did not exist. Between the two the author has put a description of the universe before there was any heaven or earth. Then in line 9 one comes to the climax: creation. Line 9 speaks generally, and line 10 specifies the gods who were created at this time. According to Kinnier Wilson line 10 is the middle of a group of 4, so line 11 has to be added on without any major pause. It is rendered: “But only to an appointed size did they grow and become large.” We are unaware of any grammatical or lexical support for this rendering of *adi*. Also, by hitching 11–12 onto 9–10, the whole climax of the opening period has been lost. Looking back over the first ten lines, we have the impression that the four-line stanza has frustrated the whole purpose of the author, which was conceived in couplets serving as units, which could be built up into larger sentences if so desired.

In other passages, there seems to be no reason why particular sets of couplets are put together. In V 53–60, there are four couplets describing how Tīamat’s body was disposed by Marduk. There is an orderly procedure from the head to eyes, nostrils, breasts, tail, and crotch. Once one tries to have a unit larger than the couplet, there is no reason to break up this group of 8 lines at all. We think that the existence of the couplet as the basic unit can be deduced from the punctuation of Kinnier Wilson. Most of his second lines within a group of four end with a colon (according to the translated excerpts) or a semicolon (so the edition of Tablet V). No doubt the couplet is too short a sentence for English style, but so far as the Akkadian goes, the vast majority of sentences are of two lines. Talon’s scheme also has problems. The subjects of the verbs in I 5–6 are given in I 4–5, but here they are separated by punctuation and strophic division. Similarly the subjects of the verbs in I 13 are given in I 12, but again they are separated. Not infrequently couplets appear amid groups of four and are often inset as if especially important. While some such pairs could be so considered, others are not at all important—e.g., III 1–2 and VI 21–22—and some couplets are not inset—e.g., III 137–38 and VI 49–50.

We are left with two possibilities: either we identify the strophe and the sentence, in which case we shall have strophes from 2–10 lines in length, though always in multiples of 2; or we regard this as capricious, follow the indications of the scribes, and say that the couplet is the basic unit, which may be only part of a sentence. In our opinion, a careful study of the whole Epic confirms the latter view as preferable.

Certain broader aspects of metre remain to be considered. Where does the Epic fit in the history of Akkadian metrics? Such a history has yet to be written, so no immediate answer is available. The whole subject would be best left until such a study has been completed, were it not that metre has been urged in favour of a second-millennium date for *Enūma Eliš*.

A shortage of dated texts is the usual problem with any aspect of the history of Akkadian literature. There are quite a number of important poetic texts from the Old Babylonian period, with which our Epic may be compared metrically. Then there is a big gap, not at all bridged by the Hittite archive, until the late libraries of Assyria and the slightly later Babylonian tablets. The problem is of dating the poetry from the late libraries. While particular works—the Erra Epic, for example—can safely be put in the first millennium, many texts defy attempts at dating even within such a wide framework. Probably a large number are revisions, to a more or less extent, of Old Babylonian originals, so that they never can be dated for our purpose. We shall have to operate with the few texts which can safely be put in the first millennium.

The only real attempt to give a brief account of the development of the Akkadian metre has been made by W. von Soden in *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zurich, 1953), which A. Falkenstein and he produced, on pp. 39–43 (see also his remarks in *MDOG* 85 [1953] pp. 18ff.). He considers the typical second-millennium epic to be composed principally in the 2/2 metre, while first-millennium texts have a liking for some much longer lines among those of the type 2/2.

One Old Akkadian incantation is important for the history of metre: from Kish, photograph in *MAD* V 8, and excellent copy and edition by J. and A. Westenholz in *Or.* 46 (1977) 198–219. The content is love poetry. There (in their words): “the connected transcription and the translation are arranged into what we believe is the true verse stichotomy. The tentative and sometimes arbitrary character of such a rearrangement is a matter of course” (p. 199). Since this edition appeared, an Old

Babylonian tablet of love incantations was published by C. Wilcke (ZA 75 [1985] 188–209), which parallels a few lines of the Kish text (15–19 = 12–16) but does not solve the problems.

Because of its importance for metre, we offer our own edition of the Kish tablet:

MAD V 8 = Or. NS 46 (1977) 198ff.

- 1 ^{1d}EN-KI *ir-e-ma-am* ^{2è}*-ra-am*
 2 ³*ir-e-mu-um mara* ^{4a}*štar* ⁴ⁱⁿ*sà-qì-[sa u-ša-a]b*
 3 ⁵ⁱⁿ*ru-úh-t[i kà-na]-ak-tim* ^{6ú}*tá-ra*
 4 *wa-a[r-d]a-tá* ^{7da}*me-eq-tá tu-úh-tá-na-ma*
 5 ^{8ki}*rí-šum tu-ur₄-da* ^{9tu}*ur₄-da-ma a-na* ^{gis}*kirîm*
 6 ^{10ru}*úh-ti kà-na-ak-tim* ^{11ti}*ib-tá-at-qà*
 7 ^{12a}*hu-EŠ pá-ki ša ru-qà-tim*
 8 ^{13a}*hu-EŠ bu-ru-ma-ti* ^{14e}*ni-[k]i*
 9 ^{15a}*hu-EŠ ur₄-ki* ^{16ša}*ši-na-tim*
 10 ^{17a}*áš-ḫi-iṭ ki-rí-iš* ^{18d}EN.ZU ^{19ab}*tùq* ^{gis}*šarbatam*
 11 ^{20u}*me-iš-sa* ^{21tù}*ri-ni i-tá-as-kà-ri-ni*
 12 ^{22ki}*rā?um* *ì-tù-ru ša-nam*
 13 *(ki)* ^{23enzum} *(ì-tù-ru) kà-lu-ma-sa*
 14 *(ki)* *lahrum* *(ì-tù-ru) puḫād-[sà]*
 15 *(ki)* ^{24a}*tá-núm* *(ì-tù-ru) mu-ra-áš*
 16 ^{25si}*ir-gu-a i-da-su* ^{26š}*amnum(ì) ù ti-bu-ut-tum* ^{27sa}*aḫ-tá-su*
 17 ^{28a}*sà-am šamnim in qá-ti-su* ^{29a}*sà-am i-re-nim in bu-dì-su*
 18 ^{30ir}*e-mu ú-da-bi-bu-si-ma* ^{31ù}*iš-ku-nu-^rsi¹ a-na mu-ḫu-tim*
 19 ^{32a}*hu-EŠ pá-ki ša da-dì*
 20 ^{33d}*aštar ù* ⁴ⁱ*š-ḫa-ra* ^{34ù}*tám-me-ki*
 21 ^{35a}*dì za-wa-ar-su* ^{36ù}*za-wa-ar-ki* ^{37la}*e-tám-da* ^{38la}*tá-pá-ša-ḫi-ni*

Translation

- 1 Ea loves the cupid.
 2 The cupid, son of Ištar, [sits] in [her?] lap.
 3 With the sap of the-tree the (two)
 4 The (two) charming young ladies were flourishing.
 5 To the garden they went down, they went down to the garden,
 6 They broke off the-tree (for its) sap.
 7 I have seized your mouth,
 8 I have seized your colourful eyes,
 9 I have seized your genitals.
 10 I vaulted into the garden of Sîn, I snapped off the poplar (branch).
 11 Lead me to the tryst with her amid the box-trees,
 12 As the shepherd leads the sheep,
 13 As the goat leads her kid,
 14 As the ewe leads [her] lamb,
 15 As the jenny-ass leads her foal.
 16 His hands are , his lips are oil and
 17 A cup of oil rests on his hands, a cup of cedar oil on his shoulder.
 18 The cupids have arraigned her and turned her into an ecstatic.

- 19 I have seized your love-laden mouth,
 20 I have exorcised you by Ištar and Išhara:
 21 So long as his neck and your neck are not intertwined, (I swear) you can rest.

Many difficulties remain in this incantation, and the translation offered is only tentative in parts. But since the concern here is with poetic structure, no detailed discussion is offered. The matter has been approached with knowledge of later poetry, but fairly, since the result is that—with acceptance of prepositions, negatives, etc., as not units in themselves, and that pairs of closely related words may form either one or two units—the structure of the lines is the same as in later poetry: lines of four units with a caesura after the second, and lines of three units. The difference is what would be expected from the preceding study: the three-unit lines are more common. Of the 21 lines in the reconstructed text, only six are 2/2; the other 15 are of three units. But couplets are conspicuous by their absence.

The above text is also important for the “hymno-epic” idiom, which we deal with below. It demonstrates that these features even then were matters of poetic licence: “to the garden” is expressed in three different ways: *kirīšum* (8: -šum, not -iš+um), *ana kirīm* (9), and *kirīš* (17).

A comprehensive study of Akkadian metre would have to take in the Old Assyrian incantation BIN IV 126, the early Old Babylonian incantation from Tell Asmar,⁷ and the large corpus of Old Babylonian material. The difficulty with most of these tablets is that they are not written in poetic lines. The scribes freely divide or join the lines of poetry so as to make best use of the space on the tablet. The structure of the text has to be ascertained on internal grounds alone. The most obvious fact is that many Old Babylonian poems are not nearly so regular in their metre as *Enūma Eliš*. Indeed, in a particular passage, it could be argued that there is no real metrical structure at all. However, by using the more regular texts, there is no difficulty in establishing that the two common lines of this period are the 2/2 and the shorter line with 3 words or groups of words. There is a difference from *Enūma Eliš* in some texts in that the shorter lines are relatively more frequent—e.g., in CT 15 3, 5, and 6. Also, quite generally in the Old Babylonian period these shorter lines do not have any obvious break after the first unit. The ambivalent construct chain and pairs of nouns in apposition may serve as one or two units, as in *Enūma Eliš*. The couplet is also used in some early poems, and the trochaic line ending is sufficiently frequent not to be accidental. As an example of the stricter late Old Babylonian metre we quote the first twelve lines of the Pennsylvania Gilgameš tablet arranged metrically (BGE p. 172):

<i>itbēma gilgameš</i>	<i>šunatam ipāššar</i>
<i>issaqqaram</i>	<i>ana ummīšu</i>
<i>ummi</i>	<i>ina šāt mušīrīya</i>
<i>šamhākūma attanallak</i>	<i>ina birit eṭlūtīm</i>
<i>iptahrūnimma</i>	<i>kakkabu šamā'i</i>
<i>x-x-rum ša anim</i>	<i>imqut ana šerīya</i>
<i>aššīšūma</i>	<i>iktabit elīya</i>
<i>unīššūma</i>	<i>nūššašu ul elti'</i>

7. Old Assyrian incantation: edited by W. von Soden in *Or.* NS 25 (1956) 141–48 and 241–42; Tell Asmar incantation: edited with others by R. M. Whiting in *ZA* 75 (1985) 179–87.

<i>uruk mātum</i>	<i>paḥir elišu</i>
<i>eḫlūtum</i>	<i>unaššaqu šēpēšu</i>
<i>ūmmidma pūti</i>	<i>īmidu iāti</i>
<i>aššī' aššūma</i>	<i>atbalaššu ana šērīya</i>

In this edition of Gilgameš, while the shorter lines are still more common than in *Enūma Eliš*, there is a break after the first word, which makes them of the type 1/2.

First-millennium poetry is alleged to be distinguished by the use of long lines among the traditional shorter ones. This is certainly so with the Erra Epic, for the Fifth Tablet, which is set out metrically in *Iraq 24* (1962) 120–24, has 7 out of 61 lines which are much too long to be even expanded forms of the 2/2. Also, the couplet is conspicuously absent. However, the occurrence of long lines in Old Babylonian poetry requires investigation. Von Soden allows that lines with five main stresses occur. We count by other principles, and in view of the difficulty of irregular lines in texts not always correctly divided by the scribe we refrain from expressing an opinion. What is as significant as the long lines in later texts are texts of the same period that lack them. For example:

<i>a-šib i-na bābili^{ki}</i>	<i>^dnabû(nà)-kudurra-ušur [i-šas-si]</i>
<i>il-tam-mir ki-i nēši(ur-maḥ)</i>	<i>ki-i ^dadad i-šag-[gum]</i>
<i>^{lu}rabûti^{meš}-šú e-du-ú-tu</i>	<i>ki-ma la-ab-bu ú-šag-[ga-mu]</i>
<i>a-na ^dmarūtuk bēl bābili(tin-tir^{ki})</i>	<i>il-la-ku su-pu-ú-[šun]</i>
<i>a-ḫu-laḫ at-tu-ú-a</i>	<i>šu-ta-nu-ḫu ù ú-tu-[lu]</i>
<i>a-ḫu-laḫ i-na māti-ia</i>	<i>šá ba-ke-e ù sa-ḫa-a-d[u]</i>
<i>a-ḫu-laḫ i-na nišī^{meš}-ia</i>	<i>šá nu-um-bé-e ù ba-ke-e</i>
<i>[a]-di ma-ti bēl bābili(tin-tir^{ki})</i>	<i>ina mat na-ki-ri áš-ba-a-ti</i>
<i>[li]b-bal-kit i-na lib-bi-ka</i>	<i>bābilu(tin-tir^{ki}) ba-nu-um-ma</i>
<i>[a-n]a é-sag-íl šá ta-ram-mu</i>	<i>šu-us-ḫi-ra ḫa-ni-ka</i>

CT 13 48 1–10

Ten more incomplete lines remain, which appear to present the same metre. This comes as close to that of *Enūma Eliš* as anything we know. It is the beginning of an account of the exploits of Nebuchadnezzar I and may date from his reign or later. Though it may antedate 1100, it is much too late to be put with the Old Babylonian texts. Another Babylonian text very similar in metrical structure to *Enūma Eliš* is the one poetic text from among the three lumped together as Kedorlaomer texts by Pinches (*JTVI* 29 [1897] 43ff.).⁸ Though there are less than 50 complete lines, it is enough to judge the metre. Since the text assigns Nabû to Ezida (rev. 24–25), we put it after Adad-apla-iddina, who reigned in the 11th century. From Assyria, there is a small corpus of poetic texts from the reigns of Ashurnasirpal I and Shalmaneser II (see *AnSt* 11 [1961] 157), thus half a century later than Adad-apla-iddina, which mainly use the 2/2 metre. It is, however, not quite so strictly observed as that of *Enūma Eliš*, and the couplet is, generally speaking, absent. A prayer to Tašmētum from the reign of Sargon I,⁹ another Assyrian product, is written in a stricter 2/2 metre but differs from *Enūma Eliš* in

8. Edited by W. G. Lambert in *Cinquante-deux réflexions sur le Proche-Orient ancien*, ed. H. Gasche et al. (Fs. L. de Meyer; Leuven, 1994) 67–72.

9. Winckler, *Sammlung* II 2ff. = *ABRT* I 54ff. = *BA V* (1906) 628ff.

not using the couplet. However, from the royal inscriptions of the same king there is a perfect group of four couplets:

<i>ša eli āli ḥar-ra-na</i>	<i>an-dùl-la-šu it-ru-šu-ma</i>
<i>ki-i ša-ab^da-nim u^dda-gan</i>	<i>iš-tu-ru za-kut-su</i>
<i>zi-ka-ru dan-nu</i>	<i>ḥa-lip na-mur-ra-ti</i>
<i>ša a-na šum-qut na-ki-ri</i>	<i>šu-ut-bu-ú^gisakkī^{meš}-šu</i>
<i>šarru ša ul-tu u₄-um be-lu-ti-šu</i>	<i>mal-ku gaba-ra-a-šu la ib-šu-ma</i>
<i>i-na qab-li ta-ḥa-zi</i>	<i>la e-mu-ru mu-ni-iḥ-ḥu</i>
<i>mātāti(kur-kur) kālī-ši-na</i>	<i>ki-ma ḥaš-bat-ti ú-daq-qi-qu-ma</i>
<i>ḥa-am-ma-mi ša ar-ba-ʾi</i>	<i>id-du-ú šer-re-e-tu</i>

H. Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons* (Leipzig, 1889) II 43

Neither the preceding nor the following lines are metrical. The explanation of this phenomenon is no doubt that the author, or authors, who are well known to have influenced a flood of poetic imagery into Assyrian royal annals from the time of Sargon II and his successors, from time to time slipped in some fully poetic lines, though no doubt surreptitiously, since prose was the established court tradition. It does not seem likely in this case that an existing poem is being drawn upon. However, one cannot be so certain about a single couplet that turns up in the Taylor Prism of Sennacherib:

<i>la-ab-biš an-na-dir-ma</i>	<i>at-tal-bi-šá si-ri-ia-am</i>
<i>ḥu-li-ia-am si-mat ši-il-te</i>	<i>a-pi-ra ra-šu-ú-a</i>

OIP 2 44 67–69

In conclusion we can only say that the Epic is written in a relatively strict metrical form, and so far as present knowledge goes, there is no lack of parallels in either the second or the first millennium.

The “Hymno-Epic Dialect”

One group of variants is involved in what is called the “Hymno-Epic Dialect.” The term obtained currency from von Soden’s thesis, written under Landsberger’s direction, which was published in two long articles in *ZA*.¹⁰ It was based primarily on Old Babylonian poetic texts and *Enūma Eliš* (which was dated to the same period) and showed how these compositions have some linguistic peculiarities in common, in particular (i) certain pronominal forms, especially shortened suffixes like *-š* for *-ša*; (ii) use of the “adverbial” ending *-iš* and the locative *-u(m)*; (iii) use of the III/II stem of verbs; and (iv) a special vocabulary for certain spheres of meaning. This summary gives a very inadequate picture of the immense learning displayed in these articles, which remain an unequalled example of how to study the language of a group of Akkadian texts. Not only were the primary sources quoted exhaustively, but all previous and contemporary dialects were laid under contribution so as to put the hymno-epic features in proper historical perspective. Since this work appeared in a periodical, although in size and importance it could have been issued as a book, it was never of course reviewed.

10. “Der hymnisch-epische Dialekt des Akkadischen,” *ZA* 40 (1931) 163–227 and 41 (1933) 90–183.

Many scholars since have drawn on the materials it assembled, but there has been nothing equivalent to a critical review, and such incidental remarks as have shown an independent judgment on its value have been critical of its basic assumptions and conclusions. Thus, Poebel in a footnote remarked:

From what has been said above it is obvious that in von Soden's publication the question as to whether there actually is a basis for the assumption of a special "hymnisch-epischer Dialekt" has not been investigated with the necessary care nor with the necessary impartiality. The question is not even expressly treated but is merely referred to in occasional remarks of more or less programmatic and even apologetic character. This is the more regrettable because, if the basic conception of a special dialect is erroneous, the assumption of the latter's existence will in the future prove to be a considerable obstacle to a correct apprehension of the historical development of the Akkadian language.

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F. R. Kraus also questions the underlying assumptions:

Der "hymnisch-epische Dialekt" des Akkadischen, den von Soden . . . dargestellt hat, ist ebensowenig ein Dialekt im gewöhnlichen und uns hier interessierenden Sinne wie die dort ebenfalls berücksichtigte aber nicht systematisch behandelte Sprache der Hofkanzlei.

Ein Edikt . . . Ammi-šaduqa von Babylon (Leiden, 1958) 14

B. R. M. Groneberg published a massive, related work, *Syntax, Morphologie und Stil der jungbabylonischen "hymnischen" Literatur* (FAOS 14/1–2; Stuttgart, 1987), which presents a vast body of material systematically organized but not taking up everything and not dealing with certain matters. Thus the ending *-aš* is not mentioned and the ending *-āniš* (which on feminine nouns supplants the ending *-(a)t*) is not acknowledged. The aim here is to cast the net more widely and to offer a much more selective but significant body of evidence.

In the sense that Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian are dialects, what is offered by much Old Babylonian poetry and *Enūma Eliš* does not constitute a dialect. In the proper sense, a dialect is marked out by certain obligatory distinguishing forms, such as *epēšu(m)* in Babylonian and *epāšu(m)* in Assyrian. But all the features of the "Hymno-Epic Dialect" are optional. No poet was ever obliged to use *-š* for *-ša*; in fact, they use both forms. Similarly, poets could use the endings *-iš* and *-um* in place of the prepositions *ana*, *ina*, or *kīma*, but while they do so from time to time, the use of the prepositions also occurs. The same applies to the use of the III/II stem and the poetic vocabulary: they are things on which the poets may draw when it suits their purposes, but ordinary prose forms and words are equally drawn upon. All these features are in fact matters of feeling, style, and taste and are better termed a poetic "idiom." In many cultures, poets use more varied forms of languages than ordinary speech. Some are archaisms, and the endings *-iš* and *-um* belong to this class. They appear in the ordinary language of the Old Akkadian dialect, but later, apart from a few particular phrases and usages, they belong to the poets and to writers of stylish prose.

An equally serious objection to the assumptions of von Soden's work concerns the history of these linguistic features. By assigning an Old Babylonian date to *Enūma Eliš*, it was possible to assert that these linguistic features were peculiarly the product of Old Babylonian poets. Later manifestations of the same or similar phenomena were only cited on the side (or not at all), as if they were mere imitations of the genuine article. The occurrence of many examples in the Assyrian royal inscriptions of the Sargonid period was explained in a footnote as "sicher durch literarische Entlehnung" (ZA 40

[1931] 173 n. 3). Whatever date for *Enūma Eliš* is adopted, our study of the variants, and in particular the demonstration (below also) that many of them can be paralleled in the variants of other texts of varying periods but known from copies of the same late copyists, has shown that the word-forms of *Enūma Eliš* as now available cannot be treated as evidence of the author's grammar. It is, indeed, quite unscientific to cut off consideration of this poetic idiom with the Old Babylonian period, and for *Enūma Eliš* the later developments are especially relevant. A full treatment of this topic would involve every literary text, and that is much too big a task to undertake here, so after making the point that right from the beginning this idiom was an affectation, and showing that this idiom, so far as sources are available, never ceased being used at least until the late Babylonian period, it is proposed to study the poetic endings on nouns (-iš, -um, and others) with special reference to *Enūma Eliš*.

The poetic remains of the Old Babylonian period are by no means uniform in their use of this idiom. *Agušaya*, CT 15 1–6 and some other pieces are particularly rich in such material, but the love dialogue mentioning Hammurabi (ed. M. Held, JCS 15 [1961] 1–26 and 16 [1962] 37–39) has almost nothing of this kind. One may mention I 19 *a-ta-al-ki*, which would agree with Old Assyrian rather than with Old Babylonian (see Poebel, AS 9 46). Old Akkadian evidence is lacking, but since Old Assyrian is often nearer to Old Akkadian than is Old Babylonian, and since another example of this pattern of the I/2 imperative with ending occurs in another Babylonian literary text in an Old Babylonian copy (*a-ta-al-ka-am-ma*, AfO 13 [1939/40] 46 I 3), one may suspect that in Babylonian texts this form is an archaism and so belongs to the hymno-epic idiom. Otherwise, this love poem has nothing of the poetic idiom worth mentioning. The genuinely Old Babylonian epics, *Gilgameš* II and III and *Atra-ḫašis* being the longest surviving portions, have a little more material to offer, but nothing like as much as *Enūma Eliš*. In short, Old Babylonian poets exercised their privilege to use, or to refrain from using, this idiom. A curious inconsistency appears in an Old Babylonian poetic text naming Abi-ešuḫ. Only three lines apart there occur both *tu-šu-ši-ib-šu* and *tu-še-ši-ib-šu* (MIO XII [1966/67] 49–50 7, 10). The latter is the normal form for the period; Old Akkadian parallels can be cited for the former, which is therefore hymno-epic. The obsolescence of the -iš and -um endings can easily be observed in ordinary Old Babylonian language. The *Laws of Ešnunna* consistently write “without” *balûm*, as in Old Akkadian, but Hammurabi's laws vary between *balûm* and *ina balûm*, though the preposition duplicates in function the -um ending. Similarly, in Old Babylonian one finds both *dāriš* and *ana dāriš*. However well Old Babylonian poets might understand and use these endings, they were relics of a previous linguistic age.

With the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon, there is a gap in the linguistic record, and even when documents are plentiful again, toward the end of the Cassite dynasty, there is a dearth of the kind of material needed for our inquiry, namely, precisely dated literary and poetic texts. It will be understood, then, that there is no large mass of evidence to use, but what is striking is that from mostly non-poetic texts one can cite the odd example down the centuries which shows that this idiom was not forgotten. The following is a selection of examples:

Melišihu

<i>li-im-nu-uš</i>	“may he count him (-š(u))”	BBSSt no. 3 vi 20
<i>li-ru-ru-uš</i>	“may they curse him”	MDP 2 109 vi 28
<i>ú-kin ša-tiš</i>	“he established for ever”	MDP 10 93 25

Marduk-apla-iddina I		
<i>u₄-mi-iš nu-ub-bu-ṭi</i>	“to make shine like day”	BBSt no. 5 ii 16
Nebuchadnezzar I		
<i>ḏé-a . . . ni-is-sa-tu li-qat-ti-šu</i>	“May Ea . . . put an end to him in misery”	W. J. Hinke, <i>A New Boundary Stone</i> (Philadelphia, 1907) 150 iv 9–12
Simbaršihū		
<i>i-šu-bu a-pi-šam</i>	“shook like reeds”	RIMB 2 p. 72 5
<i>i-tu-ru aš-ru-uš-ṣū¹</i>	“returned to its place”	op. cit. p. 73 19
Nabû-apla-iddina		
<i>ú-mál-lu-ú qa-tuš-šú</i>	“handed over to him”	BBSt no. 36 iii 10
Nabû-šuma-iškun		
<i>ki-ma šar-ra-qí-iš</i>	“like a thief”	RIMB 2 p. 125, ii 1
Marduk-apla-iddina II		
<i>ú-ter-ru aš-ru-uš-šin</i>	“returned to their places”	VAS I 37 ii 30
Nebuchadnezzar II		
<i>ri-it-tu-uš-šu</i>	PSBA 20 (1898) 154ff. rev. 1, 6, 18	
<i>qa-tu-uš-šu</i>	loc. cit. rev. 3, 13	
<i>še-pu-uš-šu</i>	loc. cit. rev. 12	

In addition, there are the many examples in the better-known Assyrian royal inscriptions of the Sargonids. In view of the scanty documentation of these centuries, examples such as these leave no doubt that the hymno-epic idiom never died out but was always kept alive. One may properly compare it with Biblical English. This was already somewhat archaic when King James’s translators did their work, but the “thees” and the “thous” still survive with certain writers for particular purposes. However, modern users of this idiom often create what would have seemed barbarisms to the translators of the Authorised Version, and similarly in ancient Mesopotamia in the post-Old Babylonian periods the hymno-epic idiom was not only used but also abused, as will become clear from a study of the special nominal endings.

The well-known basic facts about *-um* and *-iš*, as set out at length by von Soden, will not be repeated here. Instead, special attention will be given to the phenomena of *Enūma Eliš*, and for this purpose the related endings *-uš* and *-aš* must also be taken into account, as well as the interplay of all these endings with shortened forms of pronominal suffixes. This is a study of the grammar of the scribes to whom we owe the existing copies of the Epic, not a study of an original that no one has seen. That the scribes took a free hand with these grammatical features is clear from the following cases where variants offer alternative ways of expressing the same prepositional idea:

<i>puḫruš[un]/ina puḫruššu[n]/-u]ḫrišun</i>	I 55
<i>ukkinuššunu/ina ukkinišunu</i>	VI 165
<i>kitmuru/ina kitmuri</i>	I 162 = II 48 = III 52, 110
<i>arkānuš/arkāniš</i>	II 152; V 20
<i>lā ašê/ana lā ašê</i>	IV 42

<i>qirbuššu/qirbuš/qiribšu</i>	VI 52, 54
<i>maḥruššu/maḥ-ri-šu</i>	VII 110
<i>qirbiš/ina qirbi/ina qirbiš</i>	VII 128

Of all the hymno-epic endings, the commonest, *-um* and *-iš*, can occur as a single ending on a noun (we are not dealing here with adverbs), or they may occur before pronominal suffixes, and in this latter case the *m* of *-um* assimilates to the *š*- and *k*- of suffixes, as in *qibītuššu*, *qibītukka*. In Old Babylonian texts, the *-iš* also commonly appears in similar forms for the third person, like *qātiššu*, but rarely before those of the second person (*ri-ig-mi-iš-ka*¹¹). In the work of late scribes, *-iš* appears very rarely before suffixes: there is only one certain example in *Enūma Eliš*, VI 113 *palāḥiššu*, and perhaps the variant *maḥ-ri-šu* (VII 110; see above). In this position, *-iš* has been ousted by *-um*, so that late literary tablets offer many nominal forms ending *-uššu*, *-ukka*, etc. In these cases, the presence of the ending *-um* is not self-evident, and since late scribes from time to time resolve a long vowel into two following consonants, the possibility of confusing the simple noun with suffix and the noun with *-um* and suffix was very real. Thus, in I 51, where *pānūšu* “his face” (nom.) occurs, some copies have *pa-nu-šu*, others *pa-nu-uš-šu*. In the following cases, however, all the copies support the writing with the doubled consonant, though syntax shows that a simple nominative or accusative is the proper form:

<i>itukka</i>	IV 10	<i>arnuššu</i>	VI 26
<i>ašrukka</i>	IV 12	<i>qibītuššu</i>	VI 104
<i>pānuššu</i>	IV 60	<i>binātuššu</i>	VI 107, 113
<i>mišlušša</i>	IV 138	<i>šartuššu</i>	VII 73
<i>binūtuššu</i>	IV 143		

In the genitive, there is *šapal šēpuššu* in V 60.

The following are the properly used examples of *-um* and *-iš* in the Epic arranged so as to show their usages. Here, as before, only significant variants are given: trivial ones can be seen in the apparatus to the text. The material for *-um* is given in the left-hand column, that for *-iš* in the right-hand column.

(1) Usage with a simple noun:

	<i>tubbatiš</i>	I 64
	<i>šuršiš</i>	IV 90; VI 66
	<i>šašmeš</i>	IV 94
	<i>tāḥāziš</i>	IV 94; VII 56
(None)	<i>sapāriš</i>	IV 112
	<i>kamāriš</i>	IV 112
	<i>kišukkiš</i>	IV 114
	<i>ištariš</i>	VI 115
	<i>šāriš</i>	VII 44
	<i>ešrētiš</i>	VII 53

[Note also *iliš* with *mšl* (I 138 = II 24 = III 28, 86; and *maḥḥūtiš* with *emū* (IV 88)]

11. *JRAS*, Cent. Spl. 68 II 6; *ak-li-iš-ka*: F. Rochberg-Halton, ed., *Language, Literature, and History* (Fs. E. Reiner; New Haven, 1987) 192 65.

(2) Usage with a noun before a following genitive:

<i>epšu p̄ya</i>	II 160 = III 62, 120	<i>šēriš</i> —	I 132; IV 128
<i>epšu p̄ka</i>	IV 23	<i>qudmiš</i> —	I 33
<i>epšu pišu</i>	II 57, 115; VI 3, 19, 103, 115	<i>muttiš</i> —	II 8, 77, 99, 133; III 131
<i>epšu p̄kumu</i>	I 161 = II 47 = III 51, 109	<i>ašriš</i> —	III 4, 68; IV 60
		<i>maḥriš</i> —	VI 31 (cf. <i>maḥāriš</i> below)
		<i>qirbiš</i> —	I 75; VII 103, 128
		<i>šapliš</i> —	V 121

(3) Usage with noun and suffix:

<i>ašruššu</i>	I 77; V 126, 128, 142; VI 73; VII 40		
<i>ašrukka/ašruška</i>	IV 74		
<i>iduššu/iduš</i>	I 114; IV 38; V 100		
<i>idušša</i>	IV 51		
<i>qirbuššu</i>	V 123; VI 52, 54		
<i>maḥruššu/maḥ-ri-šu</i>	VII 40		
<i>pānušša</i>	IV 96		
<i>pānuššu</i>	VII 157		
<i>qātuššu</i>	I 106, 152 = II 38 = III 42, 100		
<i>qātukka</i>	I 154 = II 40 = III 44, 102		
<i>imnuššu</i>	IV 55	<i>palāḥiššu</i>	VI 113
<i>rittuššu</i>	IV 62	<i>maḥ-ri-šu</i>	VII 110 (see above)
<i>šēpuššu</i>	V 74		
<i>rāšuššu</i>	IV 58		
<i>libbukki</i>	I 117		
<i>uzzuššu</i>	VII 74		
<i>nannūššu</i>	VI 132		
<i>kummukku</i>	VI 52		
<i>puḥruššun</i> (and variants, see above)	I 55; cf. VI 165		

(4) Usage with infinitives, (a) alone:

<i>epišu</i>	VI 99 (see note ad loc.)	<i>dalāpiš</i>	I 66
		<i>ḥasāsiš</i>	I 94; VI 37
		<i>amāriš</i>	I 94
		<i>pašāḥiš</i>	VI 26
		<i>lā nāḥiš</i>	VII 128

(b) with subject or object following:

<i>šudluḥu karšakīma</i>	I 116	<i>maḥāriš</i> —	II 124, 136; III 56, 114; IV 2
<i>ḥabāšu zumri</i>	III 136	<i>labāniš appi</i>	V 87
<i>šulmû qirbiš tiāmat</i>	IV 41	<i>labāriš ūmi</i>	VII 132
<i>(ana) lā ašê mimmiša</i>	IV 42		

(c) with preceding subject or object:

<i>imtuk<nu> (ina) kitmuru</i>	I 162 = II 48 = III 52, 110		
<i>qirbiš tiāmat šudluḥu</i>	IV 48		
<i>imta bullî</i>	IV 62	(none)	
<i>naḫšatuš eṭēru</i>	IV 109		
<i>têrētūš našāru</i>	VI 41		

A further source of confusion in late tablets is the ending *-uš*. This first appears in names from the Old Akkadian period and the Third Dynasty of Ur, such as Šelluš–Dagan (see I. J. Gelb, *MAD II* 143). In meaning, there is no apparent distinction between it and *-iš*. Discussions of its origin are so far futile. In literary texts, the following examples have been noted:

<i>pa-nu-uš-ka</i>	ABRT I 17 2
<i>rig-muš-ki</i>	AfO 19 (1959/60) 53 199
<i>bi-tuš-ka</i>	AfO 19 (1959/60) 59 162
<i>qab-lu-uš ta-^rma-tú¹</i>	AfO 19 (1959/60) 56 42 = 44
<i>qab-lu-u[š t]am-tim</i>	OIP 2 74 78
<i>bi-tuš/bit-tu-uš é-kur</i> late Anzû:	LKA 1 III 19, CT 46 38 rev. 41, derived from Old Babylonian <i>mu-ti-iš é-kur</i> : RA 46 (1952) 92 71.

Not one of these is Old Babylonian, for while there is an Old Babylonian fragment of the hymn containing *bītuška* and *qabluš tâmatu* (CT 44 21), it does not cover these two lines, and in the last instance, where both an old and a late edition are surviving, only the latter supports *bītuš*. In the Epic, the following cases occur:

<i>iduš/iduššu tiāmat</i>	I 129 = II 15 = III 19, 77
<i>iduš sapāra</i>	IV 44
<i>elēnuš/elēnuššu tiāmat</i>	VII 70
<i>libbuš ta²āwati</i>	V 63
<i>ašruška/ašrukka</i>	IV 74

The variants *iduššu* and *elēnuššu* show that apparently some scribes were unfamiliar with the true value of *-uš* and in their ignorance turned it into *-um* plus suffix, despite the meaninglessness of that. The opposite of this procedure can thus be assumed to have taken place with *irtuš*, *iratuš* (I 157 = II 43 = III 47, 105; IV 122) and *rāmānuš* (V 52). In the latter case, the lack of a suffix is inconceivable and very improbable in the former case. One might assume that the form *rāmānuššu* with a shortened suffix resulted in *rāmānuš*, but in the flux surrounding these endings it seems more likely that scribal manipulation has produced the short form.

Against this background, the ending *-aš* can be considered. It has been noted in the following cases:

<i>aḥ-ra-ta-áš/aḥ-ra-UR</i>	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> II 3, VII 133, cf. V 76; VI 108, 136
<i>aḥ-ra-ta-áš</i>	Nebuchadnezzar II, CT 37 18 24, also written <i>aḥ-ra-ta-aš</i> (V R 34 ii 48) and <i>aḥ-ra-UR</i> (PBS XV 79 iii 60)
(ša <i>i-mu-ú</i>) <i>ša-lam-ta-áš</i>	V R 35 11 (Cyrus Cylinder)
<i>aḥ-ra-ta-^ráš¹</i>	AfO 19 (1959/60) 60 204, cf. 202 (new dup. has <i>-r]a-UR</i>)
<i>ši-ta-áš u ši-la-an</i>	See CAD sub voce <i>šītaš</i> .
<i>da-ru-ta-aš</i>	LKA 139 rev. 29

So far, no examples from the Old Babylonian period have been noted. In contrast, there are two examples of *aḥ-RI-ti-iš u₄-mi*, which, as CAD sub voce *aḥrītiš* says, are probably for *aḥrētiš* (**aḥri²ātiš*). Also, in a late text, there are *ù ši-la-an* and *ši-ti-iš* in two successive lines of *Explicit Malku* (JAOS 83 [1963] 442 II 63–64). In usage, *-aš* is a mere doublet of *-iš*, and if one only had examples written with *-UR*, no one would have suspected anything other than *-iš*. All cases are feminine, and the most

likely explanation is that late scribes misunderstood Middle Babylonian forms written with -UR and falsely resolved them into *-ta-aš* instead of *-ti-iš*. A further corruption occurs in *Enūma Eliš* VI 71 *qé-re-ta-šú/šu* and 73 *hi-du-ta-šu/šú*. In each case, the suffix is inexplicable in the context, and in addition, these nouns in the accusative should append the suffix without an intervening vowel: *qerētsu/qerēssu* and *hidūtsu/hidūssu*. Line 71 should be compared with the closely following 75, since both have the same verb *wšb*, but 75 replaces *qerētašu* with *ina qerēti*. Beyond question the adverbial *-iš* lies behind both difficult forms, which were no doubt written *qé-re-UR* and *hi-du-UR* at one time, then the last sign was misunderstood as *-taš*, and this in turn was misunderstood to contain a shortened suffix, which was accordingly restored to a full *-šu*.

With such chaotic freedom of the scribes, it is no surprise to find a few cases of *-iš* and *-uš* endings where neither suffix (long or shortened) nor other ending is needed. In the Epic, they are:

<i>šibkuš ti'āwati iše'amma</i>	II 81
<i>šulmū qirbiš ti'amat</i>	IV 41
<i>qirbiš ti'amat šudluḥu</i>	IV 48
<i>qabluš ti'āwati ibarri</i>	IV 65
<i>naṣaršudiš lā lē'e</i>	IV 110
<i>māriš/māra lišāḥiz</i>	VII 147

In every case, an accusative is required, as in the variant of the last example.

The ending *-ūssu* (or *-ussu*) has long been known and variously explained. Most commonly, and to a large extent correctly, it has been taken as the abstract *-ūtu* + suffix. The explanation depends not only on the form but also on the usage, for the well-known examples employ this ending on adjectives, and the whole qualifies a verb. The reason for taking the *-su* as the suffix is apparent from the following pairs of examples:

re-qú-sú ú-ul it-ta-al-la-ak CH § 191
He shall not go away empty-handed

a-al ṣa-ti-i-ka i-ba-la-ka-at-ka re-qú-sà YBT X 15 11
A city of your territory will rebel against you, to no effect

2 LÚ *ba-[a]l-tú-sú-nu ú-te-er-ru* ARM 3 16 25–26
They sent back two men alive.

a-di i-tam-maḥ bal-tu-su AfO 18 (1958) 48 C rev. 10
Until he shall take him alive

The variation of *-su* for masc. sing., *-sa* for fem. sing., and *-sunu* for masc. pl. proves the point. Meissner (*Kurzgefasste assyrische Grammatik* [Leipzig, 1907], p. 23) took the words as in apposition to the subject (our first pair of examples) or the object (our second pair) of the verb. A. Ungnad, in the first three editions of his *Babylonisch-assyrische Grammatik/Grammatik des Akkadischen* (Munich, 1906, 1926, 1949), §57h, understood them as cases where the locative *-um* would normally be used—that is, *rēqussu* is literally “in his emptiness,” but with the abstract *-ūtu* it was dispensed with. Von Soden, in his GAG §147b, followed by Ungnad–Matouš, *Grammatik des Akkadischen* §105e, takes them all as adverbial accusatives, and this is probably the correct explanation, at least for the Old and Middle

Babylonian periods. A totally new suggestion appears in CAD sub vocibus *abkūtu* and *balṭūtu*: since an abstract *abkūtu* and *baḥrūtu* is not attested, but *abkūssu* and *baḥrūssu* are, these forms are to be analysed as adjectives with ending *-ussu* as on the Neo–Late-Babylonian *ūmu* “daily” (*arḥussu* and *šattussu* also occur). The reasons given for this conclusion are hardly convincing. First, one cannot argue that a given form must occur without ending before its existence with ending can be acknowledged. This applies especially to *abkūssu*, of which only one instance is cited, but also to *baḥrūssu* and others. Second, since there are plenty of late examples of both *balṭūssu* (sing.) and *balṭūssun(u)* (pl.), even for the late periods one cannot escape from the presence of the suffixes in these forms, and so an explanation is needed why the *-š-* became *-s-*. Von Soden does indeed explain *ūmu* (and *arḥūssu*) as *ūmu + ūt + su*: “in seiner Tages-(Monats-) Art” (GAG §119i), but this is not convincing, and it is best to accept the existence of this *-ussu* ending on nouns without further analysis, though the late writing *arḥu-ut-su*¹² suggests that some late scribes had their opinion. While the explanation of CAD is certainly based on inadequate reasons, there is in fact a sound basis for seeing a relationship between late occurrences of forms like *baḥrūssu* and *ūmu*. First, of all the passages for *baḥrūssu* and *balṭūssu(nu)* given in CAD and AHw and of *kamūssu* in AHw, only one case of *bal-ṭu-ut-su-un* (AnSt 8 [1958] 50 ii 33) and one of *ka-mu-ut-su* (VAB IV 220 32) are attested. This is strange, for while Old Babylonian dialects generally write the full assimilation with *-ss-*, late scribes most commonly write, e.g., *napšatsu* rather than *napšassu*. The explanation is that late scribes, under the influence of the vernacular *ūmu* and *arḥussu*, did connect words like *balṭūssu* in literary texts with the *-ussu* ending in their own speech, though probably wrongly. Confirmation comes from the Anzū Myth, for in the phrase “Anzū flew to his mountain” the Old Babylonian copy offers *ša-di-iš-su* (RA 46 [1952] 88 20 and 92 74) the late recension KUR-*us-su* (CT 15 39 ii 22, LKA 1 i 29). The change in vowel is expected, since late copyists use *-uššu* rather than *-iššu*, but the change in consonant cannot be explained on phonetic grounds but only because the scribes’ vernacular had an ending *-ussu* with which they connected and to which they sometimes made the hymno-epic *-uššu* ending conform. Another case can be made out of the Old Babylonian [q]a-tam i-ḥu-zu qa-ti-ša (CT 46 1 i 11) and a late copy of another text *iš-šab-tu-ma qa-tu qa-tu-us-su-un* (Gilg. III 19). The meanings are roughly the same, “they took hand in its hand” and “they seized hand in their hand,” and *-ūssun* is clearly a grammatical corruption of *-uššun*. Three cases in the Epic are to be explained on these lines:

<i>karšussunu</i>	I 111 (“in their heart” for <i>karšuššunu</i>)
<i>nannūššu/nannūssu</i>	VI 132
<i>duruššu/durussu</i>	VII 92

The first occurrence of an ending *-šum* seems to be the single example of *u-um-šum* “daily” in a later copy of an inscription of Sargon of Akkad,¹³ and there is a greater number of instances of *miššum* “why” (**minšum*) in Old Akkadian (MAD III 164) and Old Assyrian. The following examples have been noted in literary texts:

12. T. G. Pinches, *Inscribed Babylonian Tablets in the Possession of Sir Henry Peek* (London, 1888), 7 4 and A. Falkenstein, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk* (Berlin, 1933) 51 obv. 21.

13. PBS V 34 obv. VI, see Gelb, MAD III sub voce *ūmšum*, and F. R. Kraus, RA 62 (1968) 77–79.

<i>i-ḫu-ša-ši qá-qá-ar-šu-um</i> “pushed her to earth”	BIN IV 126 12–13, Or. NS 25 (1956) 142
<i>im-ta-qut qa-qar-šu</i> “fell to earth”	KAR 196 = BAM 248 iii 31, cf. AS 16 286 obv. 33
<i>im-ta-nu qa-qar-šu</i> “(mount Šaršar) he flattened” (literally, “reckoned it to the ground”)	Erra IV 143
<i>ri-da-ni qa-qar-šum/ -qa]r-šu-um^{um}</i>	AfO 23 (1970) 43 32, Fire Incantation
<i>ip-ḫa-al-sí-ḫa-am ka-aq-qá-ar-šu-[(um)]</i>	UET VI/2 396 13
<i>šu-li-ia₈-šu ka-qá-ar-šu</i> “bring him up to earth”	RB 59 (1952) 242ff. 43, cf. Or. NS 26 (1957) 318
<i>i-wi da-da-ar-šu</i> “became like stinkwort”	op. cit. 29
<i>i-sa-qa-ra-am gi-ši-ma-ra-šu-[u]m’</i> “speaking to the Palm”	BWL 156 2

The last example, unlike the rest, has an *-a-* vowel between the stem of the noun and the ending *-šum*. The example from the Fire Incantation offers a curious example of how stupidly some scribes corrected their texts. Evidently the one who wrote this tablet, or a previous copy in the tradition, did not know the ending *-šum*, so he replaced it with *-šum*, “their”, which is completely meaningless in the context. However, this same tablet records variants in small script, and the original *-um* is among them. All the known examples use *-šum* as the equivalent of *ana* or *kī(ma)*, but probably it could also be used for *ina*. Von Soden wished to analyse it into *iš + um* and went so far as to assume that *miššum* is shortened from *mīn(i)šum* (ZA 41 [1933] 111–12, GAG § 67 g). Gelb, to achieve the same end, analysed *miššum* into *mi+iš+um* (MAD II² 136 and III 164). Such attempts at analysis seem misled to us, especially when there is one case of *-ašum*. All one can safely say is that there is a hymno-epic ending *-šum*, though it does not occur in the Epic.

The ending *-išam* is well known in distributives and in some adverbs like *annīšam* (von Soden, GAG §67g and §113j). In the following passages, there is a special hymno-epic ending:

<i>’a-nu’ i-te-li ’ša-me-e’-ša</i> “Anu went up to heaven”	OB <i>Atra-ḫasīs</i> , CT 46 1 i 13
<i>[iš-tu a-nu-u]m i-lu-’ú ša’-me-e-ša</i> “After Anu had gone up to heaven”	loc. cit. 17
<i>im-ta-qut ap-si-ša</i> “fell to the Apsū”	MIO XII (1966/67) 54 4

In usage it resembles *-šum*, but these three examples do not make clear if this is *-šam* or *-išam*. The following two examples from *Enūma Eliš* probably belong here:

<i>šārišam/šāriša/šāriš</i>	I 110
<i>šu-ri-šam</i>	IV 124

Unfortunately, both are of unknown meaning, so there can be no certainty, but probably the ending is comparative; cf. *a-ḫi-šam* “like reeds” in JCS 19 (1967) 121 5.

There are, therefore, more hymno-epic endings than have been recognised before, and the history of this idiom can be traced to some extent from the Old Babylonian period to the Late Babylonian empire. Are there any general conclusions to be drawn from this idiom? In his study, von Soden pointed out that *Enūma Eliš* lacks examples of *-iš* used for *kī(ma)*, though examples can be quoted from the Cassite-period *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* (ZA 41 [1933] 128–29). Since Old Babylonian texts generally lack the comparative *-iš*, this, he concluded is proof of the Old Babylonian origin of the Epic. Since he came no longer to subscribe to an Old Babylonian dating, this argument was presumably

given up. In any case, one may counter this argument with three points. (i) It is not clear why *mahhûtiš iteme* in IV 88 cannot be used in this connection, since *emû* takes either *-iš* or *kī(ma)*. (ii) If one excludes *kīma dami* in I 136 etc. because of the meaning “instead of,” not “like,” there are only six examples of this preposition in the Epic, and of this six, four are followed by pronouns, which cannot take the ending *-iš* (I 98, 146 = II 32 = III 36, 94; II 160 = III 62, 120; VI 160). This leaves only *kī aḫi* (II [93]) and *kīma ūme* (VI 56), and this is too few to justify an argument on the assumption that the author positively avoided *-iš = kī(ma)*. The lack of this usage may be a mere coincidence. Also, (iii) attention may be drawn to the long hymns edited by the present writer in *AfO* 19 (1960) 47ff. There it is shown how some texts show a preference for certain hymno-epic features while virtually avoiding others. Once it is recognised that these are matters of style and feeling, and no true dialect, nothing can be based on the use or neglect of some of these features as compared with others.

Tablet I

List of Manuscripts

Symbol	Publication	Obverse	Reverse
Assyrian Sites			
Nineveh (Ashurbanipal)			
A = K 5419c	TSBA IV (1876) i; V 428–430; Ménant, <i>Manuel</i> 378–379; Delitzsch, <i>Lesestücke</i> ¹⁴⁰ , ²⁷⁸ , ³⁹³ ; Lyon, <i>Manual</i> 62; CT 13 1	1–16	..
B = K 4488+7871+16969	STC I 185 (4488); STC I 183 (7871); Pl. 1 (all)	33–63 (om. 35)	..
C = K 17842	Pl. 1	34–42 (om. 36)	..
D = K 8524+13093+22093	CT 13 12 (8524); Pl. 1 (all) (A–D are probably parts of one tablet)	..	124–140
E = 81-7-27, 80	CT 13 2	31–57	137–162
F = K 3938	CT 13 3	33–42	148–162
G = K 13299+Rm 504	Campbell Thompson, <i>Gilgamish</i> pl. 29 (Rm 504); Pl. 2 (all)	58–76	77–82, 84
H = Rm 982+80-7-19, 178	CT 13 31	60–64, 66–79	80–101 (om. 82, 84)
I = Sm 1829	Pl. 2 (H and I are probably parts of one tablet)	..	115–119
J = BM 98909 (Th. 1905-4-9, 415)	CT 34 18	Col. i 44–53	ii 160–162

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
Assur			
K = VAT 10152+10392+10652+12951	KAR 162, 163, 313	1–27, 52–80	128–137, 140–150
L = VAT 9873	KAR 314 (K and L may be parts of one tablet)	..	83–113 (om. 107)
M = VAT 9668	KAR 118	2–26	134–160
N = VAT 9677	KAR 117	52–78	79–104
O = VAT 10346	KAR 317	33–51 (om. 37–38, 43–44, 47)	108–118
P = VAT 10997	KAR 315	50–68 (om. 61–62)	..
Q = VAT 14109+14147+14149	LKA 3	54–84	85–126
T = VAT 14125	Pl. 2	75–85	..
U = VAT 10345	Pl. 2	..	137–149
R = VAT 10071 21–22 and VAT 10756v 24–25	BWL pl. 73 (consecutive pairs of lines on exercise tablets)		22–25
Sultantepe			
S = SU 52/87+94	STT 1	41–75, 77–79	86–92, 97–120
Babylonian Sites, regular tablets			
Kish			
a = Kish 1924 790*+1813+2081	OECT VI xxxi–xxxv (790); Pls. 3–4 (complete) *Langdon’s “1927 71” is wrong.	1–97	103–162
Babylon(?)			
b = BM 45528+46614+47173+47190+47197 (81-7-1, 3289+81-8-30, 80+695+712+719)	STC II i–vi (45528+46614); Pl. 5 (47173+47190+47197)	1–58	124–162
Various sites			
c = BM 93015 (82-7-14, 402)	BOR IV (1889) 26; CT 13 1, 3	1–16 (om. 12)	144–162 (om. 156, 160)

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
d = BM 43183 (81-7-1, 947)	Pl. 4	2–15	162
e = BM 35134 (Sp II 680)	STC II vii	11–21	..
f = BM 47292 (81-8-30, 814)	Pl. 4, cf. <i>JRAS</i> 1902 205 ¹	16–27	150–158
ff = BM 38034 (80-6-17, 1063)	Pl. 6	18–24	134–143 (om. 141)
g = BM 46803 (81-8-30, 269)	STC II ix–xi (f and g may be parts of one tablet)	46–68 (om. 53, 61, 63, 65, 67)	103–123 (om. 107)
h = F 219(+) 218	Pl. 6	43–51	106–114
i = BM 66885+76718 (82-9-18, 6879+ AH 83-1-18, 2089)	STC II xii–xiii (66885); Pl. 6 (complete)	..	111–138
Babylonian Sites, extracts on exercise tablets			
ee = BM 77118 (83-1-18, 2497)	Pl. 7		1–7
j = BM 36666 (80-6-17, 398)	Pl. 7		6–12
k = BM 72046 (82-9-18, 12050)	Pl. 7		25–28
l = BM 54569 (82-5-22, 889)	Pl. 7		26–29
m = BM 36726 (80-6-17, 459)	STC II viii		28–33
gg = BM 76891 (AH 83-1-18, 2263)	Pl. 7		37–41
n = BM 36688 (80-6-17, 420)	STC II vii		38–44 (om. 43)
o = BM 37845 (80-6-17, 1602)	Pl. 7		38–42
p = BM 55244 (82-5-22, 1576)	Pl. 7		41–48
q = BM 36681+37849 (80-6-17, 413+1606)	Pl. 7		46–52
r = BM 67665 (82-9-18, 7663)	Pl. 7		55–62

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Publication</i>	
hh = BM 54847 (82-5-22, 1176)		67–73
	Pl. 7	(om. 71–72)
s = BM 54856 (82-5-22, 1185)		73–78
	Pl. 7	
t = BM 37937+38060 (80-6-17, 1766+1890)		90–95
	Pl. 8	
u = BM 76063+76205 (AH 83-1-18, 1427+1570)		98–105
	Pl. 8	(om. 101)
v = BM 69668 (AH 82-9-18, 9666)		103–109
	Pl. 8	
w = BM 93079 (82-9-18, 5555)		117–121
	Pl. 8	
aa = BM 99961 (AH 83-1-21, 2323)		118–124
	Pl. 8	
bb = BM 37969 (80-6-17, 1798)		125–128
	Pl. 8	
cc = BM 66956+76498 (82-9-18, 6950+83-1-18, 1868)		129–136
	CT 13 12 (76498);	
	STC II xxix (complete)	
dd = BM 38051 (80-6-17, 1880)		135–144
	Pl. 8	(om. 139)
ii = BM 37460 (80-6-17, 1217)		136–138
	Pl. 8	

*Lines quoted in the commentaries*¹

x: 1, 4

y: 103

Z: 3, 4, 6, 33, 36(?), 76, 86, 121, 122, 139, 156

z: 4, 6, 10/12(?)

1. The list of commentary manuscripts is on pp. 135f.

Text of Tablet I begins on p. 50.

Tablet I

1	AabceeKx	e-nu-ma e-liš la na-bu-ú šá-ma-mu
2	AabcdeeKM	šap-liš am-ma-tum šu-ma la zak-rat
3	AabcdeeKMZ	apsû-ma reš-tu-ú za-ru-šu-un
4	AabcdeeKMxZz	mu-um-mu ti-amat mu-al-li-da-at gim-ri-šú-un
5	AabcdeeKM	mê ^{mes} -šú-nu iš-te-niš i-ḫi-qu-ú-ma
6	AabcdeejKMZz	gi-pa-ra la ki-iš-šu-ru šu-ša-a la še- ² -ú
7	AabcdeejKM	e-nu-ma ilāni la šu-pu-u ma-na-ma
8	AabcdjKM	šu-ma la zuk-ku-ru ši-ma-tú la ši-i-mu
9	AabcdjKM	ib-ba-nu-ú-ma ilāni qí-rib-šú-un
10	AabcdjKM	^d lah-mu ^d la-ḫa-mu uš-ta-ḫu-ú šu-mi iz-zak-ru
11	AabcdejKM	a-di ir-bu-ú i-ši-ḫu
12	AabdejKM	an-šár ^d ki-šár ib-ba-nu-u e-li-šu-nu at-ru
13	AabcdeKM	ur-ri-ku ūmu ^{mes} uš-ši-bu šanāti(mu-an-na) ^{mes}
14	AabcdeKM	^d a-num a-pil-šu-nu šá-nin abbē-šú
15	AabcdeKM	an-šár ^d a-num bu-uk-ra-šu ú-maš-šil-ma
16	AabcefKM	ù ^d a-num tam-ši-la-šú ú-lid ^d nu-dím-mud
17	abefKM	^d nu-dím-mud šá abbē ^{mes} -šu šá-liṭ-su-nu šu-ma
18	abef fKM	ḫal-ka uṣ-nu ḫa-sis e-mu-qan ḫu-un-gul
19	abef fKM	gu-uš-šur ma- ² -diš a-na a-lid abī-šú an-šár
20	abef fKM	la i-ši ša-ni-na i-na ilāni ^{mes} at-ḫe-e-šú
21	abef fKM	in-nen-du-ma at-ḫu-ú ilāni ^{mes-ni}
22	abf fKMR	e-šu-ú ti-amat-ma na-šir-šú-nu iš-tab-bu
23	abf fKMR	dal-ḫu-nim-ma šá ti-amat ka-ras-sa
24	abf fKMR	i-na šu- ² -a-ri šu- ² -du-ru qí-rib an-dúru-na
25	abfKkMR	la na-ši-ir apsû ri-gim-šu-un
26	abfKklM	ù ti-amat šu-qám-mu-mat i-na maḫrī-šu-un
27	abfKkl	im-tar-ša-am-ma ep-še-ta-šu-un e-li-[-š]a
28	abklm	la ṭa-bat al-kát-su-nu šu-nu-ti i-ga-me-la
29	ablm	i-nu-šu apsû za-ri ilāni ra-bí-ù-tim
30	abm	is-si-ma ^d mu-um-mu suk-kal-la-šu i-zak-kar-šu
31	abEm	^d mu-um-mu suk-kal-lu mu-ṭib-ba ka-bat-ti-ia

1 b(ee): e-li-iš K: šá-ma-mi a: ša-ma-mi 2 b: šap-li-iš K: ab-ba-tu c: šu-mu K: zak-ru 3 c: zu.ab-ú
b: zu.ab K:].ab-um-ma Z: reš-tu-u 4 ee: ta-à-wa-ti c: mu-um-ma-al-li-da-a[t K: mu-al-li-da-á[t gi]m-ri-šu-un
a: gim-ri-š[u-u]n 5 b(d'): mu-ú-šu-nu c: mê^{mes}-šu-un M:]-šu-nu ee: ḫi-q[u'] K: i-ḫi-qi-qu-ma (a)M: i-ḫi-qu-
ma 6 c: gi-pàr-ra z: gi-pa-ri (a)K:]-ru A(b): ki-iš-šu-ra a: ku-uš-šu-ru ee:] x-x-šu-ru c: ku-šú-ru šu-ša-²
A: še-²i K: še-²i 7 Ac: ilāni^{mes} A(ac): šu-pu-ú 8 c: šu-um, zu-uk-ku-ru b: ši-ma-²tu' j: ši-ma-tum
M: ši-ma-ta K: ši-ma-te, ši-mu 9 (a)bc: ib-ba-nu-ú (K)M: 'ib'-ba-nu-ma K: ilāni^{mes} qí-rib-šu-un j: qí-ri-
10 abcd: (^dlā)ḫ-mu u K: uš-ta-ḫu-ú M: šu-ta-ḫu-ú šú-nu a: š]u-ma 11 c: a-di-i M: a-di-²ma' K: -b]u-u
12 bde: (an-šár) u bd: ib-ba-nu-ma Aa: ib-ba-nu-ú j: -b]a-nu-ú-ma K: e-li-šú-nu M: eli-šú-nu
13 c: ú-ri-ki a:]-ri-ki b: ú-ur-ri-ku e: ú-úr-ri-ku a(b): ú-uš-ši-'bu' a: mu^{ml[es]} 14 A: ^da-nu M: ^da-nu-um
KM: a-pil-šú-nu K: šá-ni-nu b: 'ša-ni-nu' ab-bé-e-šu a: ša-ni-na ab-bé-KAL'-šu K: abbē^{mes}-šú 15 M: ^da-nu-um

- 1 When the heavens above did not exist,
 2 And earth beneath had not come into being—
 3 There was Apsû, the first in order, their begetter,
 4 And demiurge Tīāmat, who gave birth to them all;
 5 They had mingled their waters together
 6 Before meadow-land had coalesced and reed-bed was to be found—
 7 When not one of the gods had been formed
 8 Or had come into being, when no destinies had been decreed,
 9 The gods were created within them;
 10 Laḫmu and Laḫamu were formed and came into being.
 11 While they grew and increased in stature
 12 Anšar and Kišar, who excelled them, were created.
 13 They prolonged their days, they multiplied their years.
 14 Anu, their son, could rival his fathers.
 15 Anu, the son, equalled Anšar,
 16 And Anu begat Nudimmud, his own equal.
 17 Nudimmud was the champion among his fathers;
 18 Profoundly discerning, wise, of robust strength;
 19 Very much stronger than his father's begetter, Anšar,
 20 He had no rival among the gods, his brothers.
 21 The divine brothers came together,
 22 Their clamour got loud, throwing Tīāmat into a turmoil.
 23 They jarred the nerves of Tīāmat,
 24 And by their dancing they spread alarm in Anduruna.
 25 Apsû did not diminish their clamour,
 26 And Tīāmat was silent when confronted with them.
 27 Their conduct was displeasing to her,
 28 Yet though their behaviour was not good, she wished to spare them.
 29 Thereupon Apsû, the begetter of the great gods,
 30 Called Mummu, his vizier, and addressed him,
 31 "Vizier Mummu, who gratifies my pleasure,

bu-uk-ra-šú ab: *ú-maš-ši-i[l]-ma* 16 A: *u* e(K)M: *ᵈa-nu-um* a: *ú-li-id* 17 KM: *abbē^{mes}-šú* a: *a-¹lid-su¹-nu*
 b: *a-lid-[]* M: *šu-ú* 18 e: *pal-ku* M: *uz-ni* a: *ᵈe¹-[x]-qá-an* f: *-a]n* a(f): *pu-ug-gul* M: *pu-ug-gu-ul*
 19 a: *ma-a-di-iš* b: *]x-di-iš* e: *ma-a-d[iš* f: *-i]d a-bi-šú* a: *ᵈa¹-bi-šú* 20 M: *šá-nin* a(b): *i-n[a* a: *[ilān]i*
 af: *at-ḫe-e-^ršú¹* K: *abbē^{mes}-šú* 21 e: *-d]u-ú(-)]* K: *ᵈilānu^{mes¹-nu}* a: *ilāni^{[me]s}* ff: (end) *]x-AT¹* f: (end) *]-ka*
 22 a: *ti-amat-am-ma* b: *t[i]-a¹-[]* K: om. *-ma; na-šir-šú-nu* R: *M¹-šir-šú-nu* a: *iš-tab-bi* ff: *]-ab-bi*
 23 b: *da-al-ḫu-nim-ma* a: *ta-ma-[]* R: *ta-à-wa-t[i]^{ta-ma-te}* *ka-r[a-* M: *kár-as-sa* (a)f: *ka-ra-aš-su* ff: *-a]š-^rsa¹*
 24 (a)b: *šú-²a-ru* K: *]-ru* b: *šú-d[u¹-* a: *šú-du-r[u* M: *š]u-d[u-* f: *an-dúru-nu* 25 R: *na-an-šèr-ri*
 K: *-s]u-ú ri-gim-šú-un* k: *ri-gim-šú-[]* 26 b: *]-qa-am-mu-ma-a[t]* k: *-q]a-am-mu-mat, m[a¹-* f: *-ḫ]ar-šú-^run¹*
 K: *-š]ú-un* 27 a: *ep-BU¹-ta-šú-un* *ᵈe¹-li-šú-un¹* 28 a: *al¹-su-nu, i-ta-[]i¹* k: traces 29 a: *za¹-^rar¹, rabû[ti]^{mes}*
 30 b: *mu-um-mu* a: *sukkal-š[u* b: *su[kkal-* 31 b: *mu-um-mu* ab: *suk-kal-lum* E: *]x-l[um*

32	abEm	<i>al-kám-ma ši-ri-iš ti-amat i ni-i[l-li-i]k</i>
33	aBbEFmOZ	<i>il-li-ku-ma qu-ud-mi-iš ta-ma-[t]um ú-ši-bu</i>
34	aBbCEFO	<i>a-ma-a-ti im-tal-li-ku aš-šum ilāni bu-uk-ri-šu-un</i>
35	abCEFO	<i>apsû pa-a-šu i-pu-šam-[ma]</i>
36	aBbEFO	<i>a-na ti-amat el-le-tam-ma i-žak-kar-ši</i>
37	aBbCEFGg	<i>im-[ta]r-ša-am-ma al-kât-su-nu e-li-ia</i>
38	aBbCEFGgno	<i>ur-ri-iš la šu-up-šu-ḥa-ku mu-ši-iš la ša-al-la-ku</i>
39	aBbCEFGgnOo	<i>lu-uš-ḥal-liq-ma al-kât-su-nu lu-sa-ap-pi-iḥ</i>
40	aBbCEFGgnOo	<i>qu-lu liš-šá-kin-ma i ni-iš-lal ni-i-ni</i>
41	aBbCEFGgnOopS	<i>ti-amat an-ni-ta i-na še-me-e-ša</i>
42	aBbCEFnOopS	<i>i-žu-uz-ma il-ta-si e-lu ḥar-me-ša</i>
43	aBbEhpS	<i>is-si-ma mar-ši-iš ug-gu-gat e-diš-ši-ša</i>
44	aBbEhJnpS	<i>le-mut-ta it-ta-di a-na kar-ši-ša</i>
45	aBbEhJOpS	<i>mi-na-a ni-i-nu šá ni-ib-nu-ú nu-uš-ḥal-laq-ma</i>
46	aBbEghJOpqS	<i>al-kât-su-nu lu šum-ru-ša-at-ma i ni-iš-du-ud ta-biš</i>
47	aBbEghJpqS	<i>i-pul-ma ^dmu-um-mu apsâ i-ma-al-lik</i>
48	aBbEghJOpqS	<i>suk-kal-lum la ma-gi-ru mi-lik mu-um-mi-šu</i>
49	aBbEghJOqS	<i>ḥul-li-qam-ma a-bi al-ka-ta e-ši-ta</i>
50	aBbEghJOPqS	<i>ur-ri-iš lu-ú šup-šu-ḥa-at mu-šiš lu-ú šal-la-at</i>
51	aBbEghJOPqS	<i>iḥ-du-šum-ma apsû im-me-ru pa-nu-šu</i>
52	aBbEgJKNPqS	<i>aš-šum lem-né-e-ti ik-pu-du a-na ilāni ma-re-e-šu</i>
53	aBbEJKNPS	<i>^dmu-um-mu i-te-dir ki-šad-su</i>
54	aBbgEKNPQS	<i>uš-ba-am-ma bir-ka-a-šú ú-na-áš-šaq ša-a-šu</i>
55	aBbgEKNPQRs	<i>mim-mu-ú ik-pu-du pu-uḥ-ru-uš-š[un]</i>
56	aBbgEKNPQRs	<i>a-na ilāni bu-uk-ri-šu-nu uš-tan-nu-ni</i>
57	aBbgEKNPQRs	<i>iš-mu-nim-ma ilāni i-dul-lu</i>
58	aBbGgKNPQRs	<i>qu-lu iṣ-ba-tu šá-qu-um-meš uš-bu</i>
59	aBGgKNPQRs	<i>šu-tur uz-na et-pe-šu te-le-ú</i>
60	aBGgHKNPQRs	<i>^dé-a ḥa-sis mi-im-ma-ma i-še-²-a šib-qí-šu-un</i>
61	aBGHKNQRs	<i>ib-šim-šum-ma uṣ-rat ka-li ú-kin-šu</i>
62	aBGgHKNPQRs	<i>ú-nak-kil-šu šu-tu-ra ta-a-šu el-lum</i>
63	aBGHKNPQS	<i>im-nu-šum-ma ina mē^{meš} ú-šap-ši-iḥ</i>

32 E:]-riš^d a: tú-amat m: ta-à-wa-ti 33 E: qud-meš b: ti- O: -t]i² m: ta-à-wa-ti sak-pu 34 O: ilānu^{meš-nu}
 B: -k]úr-šu-un 35 E:]-a-šú O: i-pu-ša-am-] 36 B: mu-ši O: iž-žak-kar-š[i] 37–38 om. O 37 a: al-[k]át-su-nu
 b: al-kát-] 38 n: 'ur-ra' C:]-eš, šup-šu-] b: šu-up-šu-ḥa-ak a: MA¹-up-šu-ḥa-ku c: mu-ši, ša-al-'ku'
 39 gg:]-li-iq-ma a: al-kat-su-nu b: al-kát-su-nu Bo: lu-sap-pi-iḥ¹ b: lu-s[ap²- 40 n: qu-ú-lu gg:]i-iš-ša-ki[n-
 a: liš-ša-kin-ma E: om. i O: ra]p²-šiš lu né-ḥe-et o: ni-i-nu 41 BE: ina O: in še-mi-i-šú B: še-mé-e-[o:]-me-e-šu
 b:]-'i-šu¹ 42 F:]-'ziž-ma¹ aB: eli b: e-]i a: ḥa-'mi¹-ri-ša BS: ḥar-mi-] o: ḥa-x-'mi¹-š[u] b:]-'i¹-ri-šu¹
 p: ḥ]a-mé-e¹-š[u] 43–44 om. O 43 B: -g]u-gāt b: e-diš-'ši-šá¹ p: e-diš-ši-š[u] 44 h: le-mut-tu n: le-mut-ti
 S: i-na p:]x-š¹-e¹-] b:]-ši-š[á] 45 h: mi-na-a-am a: n]i-i-ni O: nu-ḥal-laq-ma 46 S: al-kát-su-u]n
 a(q): al-kát-su-nu h: al-kát-su-un q(S): lu-ú a: lu-u B]: niš-du-ud E: n[iš- b: ḫ]a-bi-iš O: dūg-ga-iš 47 om. O
 (aE)hq: i-pu-ul-ma b: ap-] Jq:]-sa-a 48 E: [sukk]al q: ma-gi-ri g: -r]a O: x-um-me-šu J: mu-um-me-šú
 a: mu-um-mi-šú 49 (a)hq: ḥul-li-qa-am-ma E: abi a(b): a[l]-ka-tum q: a]l-ka-ti J: i-ši-ta S: e-ši-tú (a)b: e-ši-tum
 50 S: ur-re-[e]š E: -r]iš lu P: š]u-'up¹-šu-ḥat-m[a² S: š[up]-šu-ḥat B:]-šu-ḥat J: -ḥ]at (ab)q: mu-ši-iš ab: lu-u

32 Come, let us go to Tiāmat!”
 33 They went and sat, facing Tiāmat,
 34 As they conferred about the gods, their sons.
 35 Apsû opened his mouth
 36 And addressed Tiāmat. . . .
 37 “Their behaviour has become displeasing to me
 38 And I cannot rest in the day-time or sleep at night.
 39 I will destroy and break up their way of life
 40 That silence may reign and we may sleep.”
 41 When Tiāmat heard this
 42 She raged and cried out to her spouse,
 43 She cried in distress, fuming within herself,
 44 She grieved over the (plotted) evil,
 45 “How can we destroy what we have given birth to?
 46 Though their behaviour causes distress, let us tighten discipline graciously.”
 47 Mammu spoke up with counsel for Apsû—
 48 (As from) a rebellious vizier was the counsel of his Mammu—
 49 “Destroy, my father, that lawless way of life,
 50 That you may rest in the day-time and sleep by night!”
 51 Apsû was pleased with him, his face beamed
 52 Because he had plotted evil against the gods, his sons.
 53 Mammu put his arms around Apsû’s neck,
 54 He sat on his knees kissing him.
 55 What they plotted in their gathering
 56 Was reported to the gods, their sons.
 57 The gods heard it and were frantic.
 58 They were overcome with silence and sat quietly.
 59 The one who excels in knowledge, the skilled and learned,
 60 Ea, who knows everything, perceived their tricks.
 61 He fashioned it and made it to be all-embracing,
 62 He executed it skilfully as supreme—his pure incantation.
 63 He recited it and set it on the waters,

EgJ: lu b: š]a-la-at S: šal-lat O: n]é-ḥe-et 51 P: ap-su-ú a: ap-sù-ú agq:]-mi-ru g: pa-nu-^ruš-š[u] J: pa-nu-šú
 aq: pa-nu-uš-[52 K: ‘áš-šú’ P: lem-né-^rtu’ BS: an b: il]āni^{mes} J: mārē^{mes}-šú S: mārē-[š]u BE: dumu-[
 53 a(P): [ḏm]u-um-ma a(S): i-te-di-ir B:]-ti-di-ir 54 P(S): bir-ka-šu a: ‘bir^r-ka-šú B: -š]u BS: ú-na-šaq
 a: ú-na-aš-šaq g: -n]a-šá-qu B: šá-^ra’-[55 K: ḏmu-um-mu-ú a:]-im-[P:]-im-mu-ú S: ina pu-úḥ-ra-uš-BU¹
 a: ‘i’-na pu-úḥ-ru-šu-[x] g: -u]ḥ-ri-šu-un N: ina puḥru-uš-š[un] b: p]u-úḥ-x[r: -š]ú-^run’ 56 KQS: an
 EgN: -šú-nu r:]x x (x)-^run’ S: uš-^rtan^r-nu-na (a)r: uš-tan-nu-ú-[x] 57 NP: ilāni^{mes} b: -d]u-ul-[r: i-dul-li
 g: -u]l-lu 58 K: qu-la S: qu-lam (a)S: iṣ-ba-tu₄ P: iṣ-šá-kin r: -b]a-at šá-qu-um¹-iš a(P): ša-q]u- b: -u]m-^rmi’-
 i[š] g:]-mi-iš 59 a: šu-tu-x uz-nu N(P): uz-ni K: et-pe-šú N: et-pe-šá r: et-pi-iš ta-le-²i BN: te-le-²[x]
 G: ‘te-le’-²i g:]-le-e 60 r: -i]s¹ mim-ma-šu KP: mi-im-ma N: mim-ma-ma r: eš-a-’ana N: šib-qí-š[ú-
 G: šib-qí-šūn 61–62 om. P 61 K: ib-š[i-š]um-ma a: ú-šu-ra-a-ta KQ: ú-šu-rat r: ú-^ršu-ra¹-a-tú a(GS): ka-la
 r: kal ma a x (x) 62 a: ú-nak-[k]i-il N: ú-nak-kil g: -na]k-^rki¹-il-šu Q: ú-nak-kil-šú agK: šu-tu-ru r: ta-a-šú
 B: el-l[u] 63 (a)NQ: im-ni-šum-ma P: im-nu-šu-ma aPS: a-na a: me-e

64	aGgHKNPQS	šit-tu ir-te-ḫi-šu	ša-lil tu-ba-tiš
65	aGKNPQS	ú-šá-aš-lil-ma apsâ	re-ḫi šit-tum
66	aGgHKNPQS	^d mu-um-mu tam-la-ku	da-la-piš ku-ú-ru
67	aGHhhKNPQS	ip-tur rik-si-šu	iš-ta-ḫaṭ a-ga-šú
68	aGgHhhKNPQS	me-lam-mi-šu it-ba-la	šu-ú ú-ta-di-iq
69	aGHhhKNQS	ik-mi-šu-ma apsâ i-na-ra-áš-šu	
70	aGHhhKNQS	^d mu-um-mu i-ta-sir	elī-šú ip-tar-ka
71	aGHKNQS	ú-kin-ma eli apsî	šu-bat-su
72	aGHKNQS	^d mu-um-mu it-ta-maḫ	ú-kal šer-ret-su
73	aGHhhKNQSs	ul-tu lem-né-e-šú	ik-mu-ú i-sa-a-du
74	aGHKNQSs	^d é-a uš-ziz-zu	ir-nit-ta-šú eli ga-ri-šú
75	aGHKNQSsT	qir-biš ku-um-mi-šú	šup-šu-ḫi-iš i-nu-úḫ-ma
76	aGHKNQsTZ	im-bi-šum-ma apsâ	ú-ad-du-ú eš-re-e-ti
77	aGHKNQSsT	áš-ru-uš-šu gi-pa-ra-šú	ú-šar-šid-ma
78	aGHKNQSsT	^d é-a u ^d dam-ki-na ḫi-ra-tuš	ina rab-ba-a-te uš-bu
79	aGHKNQST	ina ki-iš-ši šimāti ^{mes}	at-ma-an ušurāti(giš-ḫur) ^{mes}
80	aGHKNQT	le- ² -ú le- ² -ú-ti apkal ilāni ^{mes}	^d bēl u[š]/i[t]-tar-ḫi
81	aGHNQT	ina qí-rib apsî	ib-ba-ni [^d]marūtuk
82	aGNQT	ina qí-rib elli apsî	ib-ba-ni [^d ma]rūtuk
83	aHLNQT	ib-ni-šu-ma ^d é-a a-ba-šu	
84	aGLNQT	^d dam-ki-[na] umma-šu ḫar-šá-as-šu	
85	aHLNQT	i-ti-niq-ma šer-ret ^d ištarāti(U-dar) ^{mes}	
86	aHLNQSZ	ta-ri-tu it-tar-ru-šu	pul-ḫa-a-ta uš-ma-al-li
87	aHLNQS	šam-ḫat nab-nit-su	ša-ri-ir ni-ši i-ni-šu
88	aHLNQS	uṭ-tu-lat ši-ta-šu	ga-šir ul-tu ul-la
89	aHLNQS	i-mur-šu-ma ^d a-num	ba-nu-u a-bi-šu
90	aHLNQSt	i-riš im-mir	lib-ba-šú ḫi-du-ta im-la
91	aHLNQSt	uš-ta-aš-bi-šum-ma	šu-un-na-at ilu-us-s[u]
92	aHLNQSt	šu-uš-qu ma- ² -diš	elī-šú-nu a-tar mim-mu-šu
93	aHLNQSt	la lam-da-ma nu-uk-ku-la	mi-na-tu-šu
94	aHLNQSt	ḫa-sa-siš la na-ta-a	a-ma-riš pa-áš-qa
95	aHLNQSt	erba inā ¹¹ -šú	erba uzna ¹¹ -šú
96	aHLNQ	šap-ti-šú ina šu-ta-bu-li	^d girra(giš.bar) it-tan-paḫ
97	aHLNQS	ir- ^r ti ¹ -bu-ú erba ^{ta.àm}	ḫa-si-sa

64 KN: šit-tú Q: ir-te-ḫi-šú K: ir-ti-ḫi-šú g:]-te-ḫi P: ir-[x]-šú-^rma¹ a(g): ša-lil a: t]ú-ub-[g: t]ú-[x]-ba-x N: tu-ub-b[a- 65 P: u[š]-x-x-x a: ú-š[a]-aš-lil-ma ap-sù-^rú¹ (P)S: ap-sa-a N: apsâ-am a: ši-i[t- 66 H: m[u- (P)S:]-um-ma a: da-la-pi-i[š g: dal-la-^rpiš^r K: ku-r[u] 67 a: ip-t[ú-u]r S: -tu]r-ma rik-si-šú P: rik-si-šú a: ri-ik-s[i-š]u iš-ta-ḫa-a[t 68 K: me-lam-mu-šu Q: me-lam-mi-šú N: me-lam-me-šu H: m[i- aG(K): (for šu-ú) ^dé-a G: ú-^rte-di¹-iq 69 N: [i]k-me-šu-ma apsâ-am a: ap- (Q)S: ap-sa- N: i-na-ra-aš- 70 K: ^dmu-um-ma H: m[u- S: -m]a Q: i-tas-s[ir K: e-ta-sir e-li-šú a: i-li-šú S: -li-š[u] 71 K: ú-kín-ma a: ^re¹- Q: ^re¹-li¹ ap-su¹- S: ap-si-i 72 H: m[u- G: ú-ka-la a: šer-ret-es-su 73 hh: iš-tu a: lem-né-š[u] hhK:]-né-šú Ss:]-šú Q:]x-ti KS: ik-mu-u a: i-sa-du 74 as: uš-ziz-zu K(S):]-ziz-za K: ir-nit-tuš a(K): e-li Q: e- a: ga-ri-i-šú 75 a: qir-bi-š N: kúm-mi-šú a(s): ku-um-mi-šú S:]-mi-šú s: šu-up-šu-ḫi- Q: šup-šú-ḫi-i[š (G)N: i-nu-úḫ- 76 s: a]p-su-ú 77 a:]-ru-uš-šú gi-pa-ra-š[u] N: gi₆-pár-ra-šú a: -p]a-ra-šú 78 K: ^rú¹ Q: om. u N: ^d]la-ḫa-mu s: traces

- 64 He poured sleep upon him as he was slumbering deeply.
 65 He put Apsû to slumber as he poured out sleep,
 66 And Mummu, the counsellor, was breathless with agitation.
 67 He split (Apsû's) sinews, ripped off his crown,
 68 Carried away his aura and put it on himself.
 69 He bound Apsû and killed him;
 70 Mummu he confined and handled roughly.
 71 He set his dwelling upon Apsû,
 72 And laid hold on Mummu, keeping the nose-rope in his hand.
 73 After Ea had bound and slain his enemies,
 74 Had achieved victory over his foes,
 75 He rested quietly in his chamber,
 76 He called it Apsû, whose shrines he appointed.
 77 Then he founded his living-quarters within it,
 78 And Ea and Damkina, his wife, sat in splendour.
 79 In the chamber of the destinies, the room of the archetypes,
 80 The wisest of the wise, the sage of the gods, Bēl was conceived.
 81 In Apsû was Marduk born,
 82 In pure Apsû was Marduk born.
 83 Ea his father begat him,
 84 Damkina his mother bore him.
 85 He sucked the breasts of goddesses,
 86 A nurse reared him and filled him with terror.
 87 His figure was well developed, the glance of his eyes was dazzling,
 88 His growth was manly, he was mighty from the beginning.
 89 Anu, his father's begetter, saw him,
 90 He exulted and smiled; his heart filled with joy.
 91 Anu rendered him perfect: his divinity was remarkable,
 92 And he became very lofty, excelling them in his attributes.
 93 His members were incomprehensibly wonderful,
 94 Incapable of being grasped with the mind, hard even to look on.
 95 Four were his eyes, four his ears,
 96 Flame shot forth as he moved his lips.
 97 His four ears grew large,

a: -r]a-tu-uš, rab-ba-a-tú 79 S: i-[a:]-na, m]a-a-ti at-ma-nu Q: ina at-ma-ni ú-[T: -r]a-a-ti 80 a: [l]e-ʒu
 N: an-[šá]r a: [x-ta]r-ḫe-e-[x] T:]-ter-ḫi 81, 82 N: an-šár 83 Q: ib-ni-šum-m[a] a: x-ni-šu-m[a] H: ib-ni-šú-ma
 H: ḏlāḫ-mu a: [a-bu]-[84 N: [ḏ]a-ḫ]a-mu L: -a]š-su T: -s]u 85 a: [ḫe-p]ḫ-ten-ḫUL'-[, ḏiš-tar[mes]
 Q: ḏiš-t[ar-r]a-t[e] 86 a: [ḫe-p]ḫ-rit Z: pul-ḫa-a-ti a: uš-ma-al-l[a] 87 a: [ḫe-p]ḫ-kát N: šam-kat H: nab-ni-su
 a: š]a-ri-ra-RÍ' Q: ni-iš inē¹¹-[N: im-š]ú 88 a: [ḫe]ḫ-la-at N: ut-tu-la-AB' Q: ši-ta-šú ga-ši-ir L: ul-tú
 89 N: ḏlāḫ-mu aQ: ba-nu-ú N: abī-šú a: abī-š[u] 90 N: lib-ba-šu L: ḫi-du-tú a: -d]u-ti im-l[i]
 91 NQ(t): uš-te-eš-bi-šum-ma Q: šu-un-na-ta a: š[u-u]n-na-ti i-lut-[L: ilū^{mes}-us-s[u] 92 N: šu-uš-qí ma-diš
 t: ma-^rdi-iš^r e'-[L:]-li-šú-nu 93 N: na-ṭa-a-ma a: [lam-da]-a-[, -u]k-^rku'-lu 94 H(t): ḫa-sa-si-iš L: a-ma-re-eš
 aL: pa-aš-qa 95 a:]-bi H: er-ba mā^{11-mes}-[t: im]ā^{mes}-šu e[r- Q:]x-šu er-bi L: uzrā^{11-mes}-šú a: u]z-na-a-[
 96 H: šap-ta-šu a:]-^rti-šu' Q: it-ta-a[n- 97 H: ir-bu-^r S: ir-t[a]- Q: -b]a' er-bu-^{al-ta-a}

98	HLNQS _u	ù inān ¹¹ ki-ma šu-a-tu i-bar-ra-a gim-re-e-ti
99	HLNQS _u	ul-lu-ma ina ilāni šu-tur la-an-šu
100	HLNQS _u	meš-re-tu-šu šu-ut-tu-ḫa i-lit-ta šu-tur
101	HLNQS	ma-ri-ú-tu ma-ri-ú-tu
102	LNQS _u	ma-ri ^d šamši ^š ^d šamši ^š šá ilā[ni]
103	agLNQSV _{vyZ}	la-biš mi-lam-mi eš-ret ilāni ^{mes} šá-qiš it-bur
104	agLNQSV _u	pul-ḫa-a-tu ḫa-šat-si-na e-li-šú kām-ra
105	agLQSV _u	ib-ni-ma šá-ar er-bet-ta ú-al-lid ^d a-num
106	aghLQSV	qa-tuš-šú ú-ma-al-la-a ma-ri lim-mel-li
107	ahQSV	ib-šim ep-ra me-ḫa-a ú-šá-az-bal
108	aghLOQSV	ú-šab-ši a-ga-am-ma ú-dal-lāḫ ti-amat
109	aghLOQSV	dal-ḫat ti-amat-ma ur-ra u mūša i-dul-lu
110	aghLOQS	ilāni la šup-šu-ḫa i-za-ab-bi-lu šá-ri-šá
111	aghiLOQS	ik-tap-du-ma kar-šu-us-sú-nu le-mut-ta
112	aghiLOQS	a-na ti-amat um-mi-šu-nu šu-nu iz-zak-ru
113	aghiLOQS	e-nu-ma apsā ḫa-ram-ki i-na-ru-ma
114	aghiOQS	i-du-uš-šu la tal-li-ki-ma qa-liš tuš-bi
115	agIiOQS	ib-ni-ma šá-ar er-bet-ti šá pu-luḫ-ti
116	agIiOQS	šu-ud-lu-ḫu kar-ša-ki-ma ul ni-šal-lal ni-i-nu
117	agIiOQSw	[u]l ib-ši lib-bu-uk-ki apsū ḫa-ram-ki
118	a aagIiOQSw	ù ^d mu-um-mu šá ik-ka-mu-ú e-diš áš-ba-ti
119	a aagIiQSw	iš-tu u ₄ -mu at-ti dul-lu-ḫiš ta-dul-li
120	a aagiQSw	ù ni-i-ni šá la ni-sak-ki-ḫu ul ta-ra-[a]m-mi-na-ši
121	a aagiQwZ	[a]m-ra sar-ma-’u-ni ḫu-um-mu-ra i-na-tu-ni
122	a aagiQZ	[ḫ]u-uš-bi ab-šá-na la sa-ki-pi i ni-iš-lal ni-i-ni
123	a aagiQ	ep-ši ta-ḫa-zi gi-mil-la-šu-nu tir-ri
124	a aabDiQ	x [(x)]-ru-’ú-šu-nu [e]p-ši-ma a-na za-qi-qu šu-uk-ni
125	ab bbDiQ	[iš]-me-ma ti-amat a-ma-tum i-ṭib el-ša
126	ab bbDiQ	[mim]-mu-ú at-’tu ¹ -nu tuš-ta-ad-di-nu i ni-ḫu-uš u ₄ -mu
127	ab bbDi	[paḫ]-ru-’nim ¹ -ma ilāni qí-rib-šá
128	ab bbDiK	[lem-n]é ² -ti ’uš ¹ -taḫ-ḫa-ḫu an ilāni ba-ni-šú-un
129	abccDiK	[im-ma]-as-ru-nim-ma i-du-uš ti-amat ti-bu-ni

98 H: kīma Q: šu-a-tú u: š]u-a-t[i 99 H: ul-lu-ú-ma S: i-na ilāni^{mes} Q: šu-túr u: -t]u-ri L: la-a-an-[
100 S: meš-re-tu Q:]-tu-šú L: i-li-tú u: šu-tu-ur 101 N: ma¹-ri²-d[Q:]-ri-ú-ti¹ L: -r]i-iu-ú-’tu¹ ma-ri-iu-ú-tu
102 N: ’mār¹ L: ^dšamšú^š ^dšamšú^š u: ^dšamšum^{šim} ^dšā-más š[a S: om. šamši² šá 103 y: m]e-lam
LQ(Nv): me-lam-me Q: meš-ret S: eš-re-x u: šá-qiš-g: -bu-r]a 104 L:]-ḫa-a-ti a:]-’tum ḫa¹-[x-ša]t-si-na
S: pul-ḫa-tum ḫa-am-šat-šī-na v: ’ḫa-am¹-š[at- Q: ḫa-am¹-si-n[a] e-lī-šú (aS)u: e-li-šú a: ’ka¹-a[m- u: ka-am-r[a
g: -a]m-ra 105 L: im-limmu-ba v:]^{mes}er¹-bet-t[i a: šār^{mes} TAB.TAB^{im} S: im-TAB¹-ba ú-ma-[l]id
106 S: qa-t[uš-š]u a(hv):]-uš-šú a: ú-mál-la-a L: ú-ma-la-a ma-a-ri a: li-mel-[107 (ah): [i]b-[š]m-ma
a(h)v: epri^{bit-a} Q: ep-ri v: m[i- a: ú-ša-a]z- 108 v: ’a¹-ga-a-am-ma L: ú-dal-lāḫ a: i-da¹-al¹-[g: i-dal-lāḫ ^dti-amat
109 ah: dal-ḫa-at a(v): ti-amat-am-’ma¹ ur-ri S: m[u- a: mu-ša i-du-ul-[g: i-du-ul-x O:]-ul-la 110 ah: ilāni^{mes}
a: šup-šu-’ḫu¹ S: ’šup-šú-ḫa¹ Q: ’i-za¹-bi-lu L:]-bi-KU¹ a: šá-a-ri-x g: ’ša¹-a-ri-šam O: šá-ri-iš
111 a: kar-šu-us-s[u-n]u S: kar-[š]u-us-s[u- g: le-mut-tum 112 a: ummi-šú-nu šú-[n]u O: š]u-nu-tú g:](-)šu-un
iz-zak-’kar¹ 113 Q:]-nu-uš-šú S: ap-sa-a a: ḫar-ma-ku O: -r]a-ki i: ’ḫar¹-ma-ki 114 a: i-du-uš agi: qa-li-iš

- 98 And his eyes likewise took in everything.
 99 His figure was lofty and superior in comparison with the gods,
 100 His limbs were long, his nature was superior:
 101 ‘Mari-utu, Mari-utu,
 102 The Son, the Sun-god, the Sun-god of the gods.’
 103 He was clothed with the aura of the Ten Gods, so exalted was his strength,
 104 The Fifty Dreads were loaded upon him.
 105 Anu formed and gave birth to the four winds,
 106 He delivered them to him, “My son, let them whirl!”
 107 He formed dust and set a hurricane to drive it,
 108 He made a wave to bring consternation on Tīāmat.
 109 Tīāmat was confounded; day and night she was frantic.
 110 The gods took no rest, they
 111 In their minds they plotted evil,
 112 And addressed their mother Tīāmat,
 113 “When Apsû, your spouse, was killed,
 114 You did not go at his side, but sat quietly.
 115 The four deadful winds have been fashioned
 116 To throw you into confusion, and we cannot sleep.
 117 You gave no thought to Apsû, your spouse,
 118 Nor to Mummu, who is a prisoner. Now you sit alone.
 119 Henceforth you will be in frantic consternation!
 120 And as for us, who cannot rest, you do not love us!
 121 Consider our burden, our eyes are hollow.
 122 Break the immovable yoke that we may sleep.
 123 Make battle, avenge them!
 124 [. . .] reduce to nothingness!”
 125 Tīāmat heard, the speech pleased her,
 126 She said, “Let us do now all you have advised.”
 127 The gods assembled within her.
 128 They conceived [evil] against the gods their begetters.
 129 They and took the side of Tīāmat,

ai: tu-uš-[S: tuš-ba g: uš-bu **After 114** O diverges: . . . -l]iš' áš-ba-ti, . . .]-nu-uk-ki, illegible traces of 2 more lines.
 115 a(i): ša-ar g: -tu]m, pu-luḫ-tum 116 I(S): šu-ud-luḫ i: -ú]ḫ Q:]-uḫ kar-ši-k[i-m]a S: kár-šá-ki-ma
 gi: ni-ša-al-lal g: ni-i-ni 117 ai: lib-bu-uk-ku iw: ap-su-ú (ag)w: ḫar-ma-ku i: ḫar-ma-[118 Q:]-ka-mu-u
 g: aš su diš iw: la e-diš i: aš-ba-a-[a: aš-'ba'-ti w: áš-ba-ti-' 119 I: [u]-tu u₄-m[e S: -m]i, dul-lu-LIŠ'
 i: 'dul'-lu-ḫi-'iš' gw: -l]u-ḫi-iš' g: ta-du-ul-l[i] a: ta-du-ul-lu w: ta-dul-lu₄ i: ta-du-ul-[120 i: ni-sak-'ki-pi',
 ta-ra-mi-na-[Q: tú-ri-me-na-ši w: ta-ra-mi-na-šu g:]i ni-iš-lal ni-i-[x] 121 i: sar-'ma'-ni w:]x-ni ḫu-um-mu-ru
 Z: ḫum-mu-ra wZ: e-na-tu-ni g: e-na-tu-ú-[Q: i-na-tu-u-n[i] i i-na-tu-ú-[122 aa: [ḫ]u-uš-bi-BI' i: ab-'ša'-nam,
 'sa-ki'-pu Z: sa-ki-ḫa, ni-nu 123 Q: tir-r[a] 124 i: [e]p-ši-mu Q: -q]í šuk-[D: šuk-'ni' 125 bb: a-mat, el-šu
 Q: eli-[D: el-šá 126 bb: -ta]d-di-nu b:]-ad-di-na D: u₄-ma 127 a: ilāni^{mes} b(bb): qí-rib-šu-[u]n a:]-šú
 128 ab: a-na a: ilāni^{me} b: ilāni^{mes} ba-'ni'-šu-un 129 cc: i-du-uš-šú D: ta-à-wa-ti b: te-bu-ú-ni cc: te-bi-ú-ni
 i: ti-bi-'ú'-[

130	abccDiK	[e _z -z]u kap-du la sa-ki- \dot{p} u mu-šá u im-ma
131	abccDiK	[na]-š \dot{u} -ú tam- \dot{h} a-ri na-zar-bu-bu lab-bu
132	abccDiK	^r ukkin ¹ -na šit-ku-nu-ma i-ban-nu-ú šu-la-a-ti
133	abccDiK	um-ma \dot{h} u-bur pa-ti-qat ka-la-mu
134	abccDffiKM	[u]š-rad-di kak-ku la ma \dot{h} -ri it-ta-lad mušma \dot{h} hi ^{mes}
135	abccDddffiiKM	zaq-tu-ma šin-ni la pa-du-u at-ta- ² i
136	abccDddffiiiKM	im-tu ki-ma da-mu zu-mur-šú-nu uš-ma-al-li
137	abDddEffiiiKMU	ušumgalli ^{mes} na-ad-ru-ti pul- \dot{h} a-ta ú-šal-biš-ma
138	abDddEffiiiMU	me-lam-mi uš-taš-ša-a i-li-iš um-taš-ši-il
139	abDEffMU	a-mi-ir-šú-nu šar-ba-bi-iš li-i \dot{h} - \dot{h} ar-[m]i-im
140	abDddEffKMU	zu-mur-šú-nu liš-ta \dot{h} - \dot{h} i-tam-ma la i-né- ² u i-rat-su-un
141	abddEffKMU	uš-zi-iz ba-aš-mu muš- \dot{h} uš u ^d la- \dot{h} a-mu
142	abddEffKMU	u ₄ -gal-la ur-idim-me ù g \dot{r} -tab-lú-u ₁₈ -lu
143	abddEffKMU	u ₄ -me da-ab-ru-te ku ₆ -lú-u ₁₈ -lu ù ku-sa-rik-ku
144	abccddEKMU	na-ši kak-ku la pa-du-ú la a-di-ru ta- \dot{h} [a-z]i
145	abcEKMU	gap-ša te-re-tu-šá la ma \dot{h} -ra ši-na-[m]a
146	abcEKMU	a \dot{p} - \dot{p} u-na-ma iš-ten eš-ret kīma šu-a-ti uš-[tab]-š \dot{u}
147	abcEKMU	i-na ilāni bu-uk-ri-ša šu-ut iš-ku-nu-ši p[u-u \dot{h} -r]a
148	abcEFKMU	ú-šá-áš-qa ^d qin-gu ina bi-ri-š \dot{u} -nu šá-a-šú uš-rab-bi-š \dot{u}
149	abcEFKMU	a-li-kut ma \dot{h} -ri pa-an um-ma-ni mu- ² ir-ru-tu pu-[ú] \dot{h} -ru
150	abcEFfKM	na-še-e ^{gis} kakki ti-iš-bu-tu de-ku-u a-na-an-ta
151	abcEFfM	š \dot{u} -ut tam- \dot{h} a-ru ra-ab sik-kát-tu-tu
152	abcEFfM	ip-qid-ma qa-tuš-šú ú-še-ši-ba-áš-šú ina kar-ri
153	abcEFfM	ad-di ta-a-ka ina pu \dot{h} ur ilāni ú-šar-bi-ka
154	abcEFfM	ma-li-ku-ut ilāni ^{mes} gim-ra- ^r at ¹ -su-nu qa-tu[k]-ka uš-mal-li
155	abcEFfM	lu-ú šur-ba-ta-ma \dot{h} a- ² i-ri e-du-ú at-ta
156	abEFfM	li-ir-tab-bu-ú zik-ru-ka eli kālī-šú-nu ^d a-nu- ^r uk-ka ¹
157	abcEFfM	id-din-šum-ma tuppi šimāti ^{mes} i-ra-tuš ú-šat-mi-i \dot{h}
158	abcEFfM	ka-ta qibit(dug ₄ -ga)-ka la in-nen-na-a li-kun [š \dot{u}]-it pi-i-k[a]
159	abcEFMZ	in-na-nu ^d qin-gu šu-uš-qu-ú le-qu-ú e-nu-tú
160	abEFJM	an ilāni mārē ^{mes} -š \dot{u} ši-ma-[ta] iš-ti-ma
161	abcEFJ	ep-ša pi-i-ku-nu ^d girra l[i-n]i- \dot{h} a
162	abcdEFJ	im-tuk- \langle nu \rangle kit-mu-ru ma-ag-ša-ru liš-rab-bi-ib

130 bcci: mu-šá i: ù bcc: im-mu 131 cc: ta]m- \dot{h} a-ru a:]-^rha¹-[r]a b:]-^rra¹ i: la-[b: la-ab-bi cc: la-ab-bu
132 cc: š]i-it-ku-nu-ma K: i-ban-nu cc: šu-la-a-tum 133 cc: \dot{h} u-bu-ur pa-ti-qa-at D: pa-ti-qát i:]-ti-qa-at
D: ka-la-ma 134 cc: -a]d-di K: ^{gis}kakka b: ma \dot{h} -ru cc: ma- \dot{h} ar-ra K: it-ta-l[a²- b: muš-^rma \dot{h} ¹ 135 a: šin-nu
K: šin-na cc: ši-in-na, pa-du-ú an-ta-²i¹ b(ff): a]t-ta-²am 136 a: da-am cc(M): da-me D: -m]i K: damu^{mes}
a: zu-^rmur-šú¹-n[u ff: -m]a-al-la 137 a: om. ^{mes} dd: na-ad-ru-t]ú b: n]a-ad-ru-tum ab: pu-ul- \dot{h} a-
i:]-ti 138 a: -l]am-ma E: -m]e aEM: uš-taš-ša-a a: i-liš D: e-liš i: traces 139 dd: om. U: -mi]r-š \dot{u} -nu
E: -mi]r-šú-nu b: -š]u-nu E(MZ): šar-ba-ba M: liš-[E: liš- \dot{h} [ar- Z: liš- \dot{h} ar-mi \dot{t} 140 dd: zu-mur-š \dot{u} -nu liš-ta \dot{h} ¹-t[am-
U: -u]m-ri-iš E: i-né-²ú 141 dd: uš-zi-iz-ma E: -zi]z, ù U: ba-áš-^ra: la- \dot{h} a-mu 142 (E)M: u₄-gal^{mes} U: -g]al-
li ff:]x (x) ur-idim-me bE: ur-idim^{mes} K: -idi]m-mu u E: om. ù 143 K(U): u₄-mi da-ab-ru-ti a: da-[a]b-ru-tú
b: -r]u-tum M: -t]u K: ku-li-li aM: u K: om. ù b: gud-[alim] a: ^d[ku]-s[a-ri]k-ku 144 K: na-áš^{gis}kakki
U: -á]š^{gis}kakki^{mes} la+a KU: pa-de-e M: pa-di-i 145 U: -a]p-ša a: -t]u-ša bU: te-re-tu-ša U: la+a m[a-

- 130 Fiercely plotting, unresting by night and day,
 131 Lusting for battle, raging, storming,
 132 They set up a host to bring about conflict.
 133 Mother Hubur, who forms everything,
 134 Supplied irresistible weapons, and gave birth to giant serpents.
 135 They had sharp teeth, they were merciless
 136 With poison instead of blood she filled their bodies.
 137 She clothed the fearful monsters with dread,
 138 She loaded them with an aura and made them godlike.
 139 (She said,) “Let their onlooker feebly perish,
 140 May they constantly leap forward and never retire.”
 141 She created the Hydra, the Dragon, the Hairy Hero,
 142 The Great Demon, the Savage Dog, and the Scorpion-man,
 143 Fierce demons, the Fish-man, and the Mighty Bull,
 144 Carriers of merciless weapons, fearless in the face of battle.
 145 Her commands were tremendous, not to be resisted.
 146 Altogether she made eleven of that kind.
 147 Among the gods, her sons, whom she constituted her host,
 148 She exalted Qingu, and magnified him among them.
 149 The leadership of the army, the direction of the host,
 150 The bearing of weapons, campaigning, the mobilization of conflict,
 151 The chief executive power of battle, supreme command,
 152 She entrusted to him and set him on a throne,
 153 “I have cast the spell for you and exalted you in the host of the gods.
 154 I have delivered to you the rule of all the gods.
 155 You are indeed exalted, my spouse, you are renowned,
 156 Let your commands prevail over all the Anunnaki.”
 157 She gave him the Tablet of Destinies and fastened it to his breast,
 158 (Saying) “Your order may not be changed; let the utterance of your mouth be firm.”
 159 After Qingu was elevated and had acquired the power of Anuship,
 160 He decreed the destinies for the gods, her sons:
 161 “May the utterance of your mouths subdue the fire-god,
 162 May your poison by its accumulation put down aggression.”

b: maḥ-r[u 146 c: [a]p-ḫu-na-a-ta, eš-re-e-ti a: ap-ḫu-^run¹-na-m[a x x-e]n eš-še-ret ab: ki-ma U: ki-ma ki-ma
 a: šu-a-tu₄ 147 K: [a]n a(b): ilāni^{mes} E(M): bu-uk-ri-šá c: bu-uk-ri-šu-nu 148 a: ú-ša-aš-qa K: ú-šá-áš-qi
 E:]-šá-áš-qi M:]-ga U: i-na [b]e-ru-šu-nu EM: bi-ri-šú-nu b: ša-a-š[á ac: š[a- 149 a: a-li-ku-ut ma-a[ḫ-
 b:]-i-k[u-x m]a-aḫ-ra c:]-li-ku-tu igi abc: pa-ni ac: um-ma-nu M: mu-²ir-ru-tú uk[kin] c: ḫu-u[ḫ-
 150 b: [n]a-še K: na-áš E: [na-š]i a: kak-[M: -i]š-bu-tú b: te-eš-bu-tum te-b[u- E: de-ku-ú (a)f:]-an-tum
 151 a: ta-am-[b: ta-am-¹ḫa¹-ru c: ta-am-ḫa-a-TA¹ gal E: sik-ka-[M: -k]a²-tu-tu f:]-ú-tum 152 a: qa-tu-[
 b: qa-tu-[u]š-šú E:]-tuš-šú f:]-aš-ši i-na 153 c: ku (= addi) F: a-di b: ^ri¹-[x] ḫu-ḫur E: ilāni^{mes}
 154 F: ma-li-kut ilā[ni f: uš-mál-li 155 cF: lu c: šu-ur-ba-ta-a ḫa-²a-ri M: e-du-u 156 f: -š]u-nu M: ^da-nu-u[k-x]
 157 F: id-din-šu-ma c: id-din-šu, i-rat-tuš 158 c: ka-at a: ka-tú 159 b: in-na-an-[n]a F: e-nin-na E:]-in-gu
 b: e-nu-ti 160 F: ina b: a-na ilāni^{mes} E: -r]e-e-šú M:]-^re¹-šú 161 J: ep-šú F: ep-šá pi-k[u- bE: ^dgiš-bar
 c: ^dbil-gi a: -n[i-ḫa 162 F: im-tuk AŠ k[it- E: ma-ag-šá-r[u

Commentaries

- 1 *e-nu-ma: i-na u₄-mi . . .*] ME: *u₄-mu šá-niš x* [(x)
 3 *za-ru-u* [: *a-bu*] (Z)
 4 *mu-u[m-mu (z)] nab-ni-t[u]* (Z)
 6 *gi₆-pa/pár-ri [. . .] er-še-tum [(z) gi₆-pa-[ru . . . -t]i šu-šu-ú ap*(¹ tablet NAB)-*pa-[ru]* (Z)
 33 *qud-mu maḥ-ru* : [(Z)
 36(?) *e]l-le-tú ra-²is pî [. . .] x x x [x] x ^{du}a-gúb-ba ki-i x [. . .] x* 𒄩 *é-a ki-i qabû*(*dug₄-ga*) (Z)
 76 . . .]*x i-šak-ka-nu* (Z)
 86 . . .] *ni-ná-a^{ki}* (Z)
 103 [*x x-i*]r/NI-tum *šá šarru ir-rak-ka-su: (yZ) za-ri(-)* [xxx]*x ^{db}ēl* (Z)
 121 *sar-ma-²u [x x x ḥe-me-r]u še-bé-ru [e-ni-t]um ki-šá-du* (Z)
 122 *ab-šá-nu ni-i-ru:* (Z)
 139 *šar-ba-bu š[u-x x x x]* 𒄩 *bu-u-šu* (Z)
 159 *in-na-n[u i]š-tu₄* (Z)

Quoted Elsewhere

- 5 *mē^{meš}-šú-nu ištēniš(I)^{niš} i-ḥi-qu-ma* (BM 36978 [80-6-17, 722] obv. 8: learned text)
 139 *a-mi-ir-š[ú-nu . . .* (MSL XIV 269 14, lexical commentary)

Textual notes on pp. 469–472.

Tablet II

List of Manuscripts

Symbol	Publication	Obverse	Reverse
Assyrian Sites			
Nineveh (Ashurbanipal)			
A = BM 98909 (Th 1905-4-9, 415) col. ii			1-6
	CT 34 18		
B = K 11653		24-28	..
	Pl. 9		
C = K 9511		44-70	97-108
	Pl. 9	(lacking 67)	
	(B and C appear to be pieces of one tablet, and B is assigned to Tablet II rather than to I or III on that basis.)		
D = K 4832		32-58	126-160
	S. A. Smith, <i>Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts</i> (Leipzig, 1887) 8-9; CT 13 5		
E = 79-7-8, 178		93-99	100-109
	CT 13 6		
F = K 292		..	153-162
	CT 13 6		catchline
Assur			
G = Photo Assur 2553 (A 517)		4-23, 30-49	130-162
	LKA 4		(om. 141-142)
			catchline
H = VAT 10585		16-27	137-146
	LKA 5		
I = VAT 9971		32-48	120-136
	KAR 5		
	(H and I appear to be pieces of one tablet)		
J = VAT 14037+14192+14196+14200(+) unnumbered piece		44-57, 59-94	102-108,
		(om. 63-64,	118-146
	Pl. 10	75-76, 79-80)	(lacking 103.
			om. 141-142)
Nimrud			
K = IM 60953 (ND 6208)		..	148-158
	CTN IV 200; Pl. 9		

Symbol	Publication	Obverse	Reverse
Sultantepe			
L = SU 51/132	STT 2	2–27 (lacking 25)	159–162 catchline
Babylonian Sites, regular tablets			
a = BM 40559 (81-4-28, 101)	STC II xiv–xxi	1–40	133–162 catchline
b = BM 59904+92632+93048 (A.H. 82-7-14, 4314+2292+82-9-18(?)+F 225+F 226	STC II xxii–xxiv (92632+93048); Pls. 11–12	1–29	136–162 catchline
c = BM 66568 (82-9-18, 6561)	Pl. 13	1–11	137–162
d = BM 38396 (80-11-12, 278)	CT 13 4	11–29	127–151, 154 (lacking 149)
e = BM 38005 (80-6-17, 1834)	Pl. 13	44–55	..
f = Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, 1909 405.36	PSBA 33 6; BL pl. ix; Pl. 14 (Its condition deteriorated during the 1939–45 war, but its earlier state is shown in Negative no. 2720, from which the copy has been made.)	..	118–125
Sippar			
g = Sippar Library 4, 5c	Used from the copy of F. N. H. Al-Rawi, see <i>Iraq</i> 52 (1990) 149–57	40–85	86–136

Tablet II

1 AabcZ	<i>ú-kap-pit-ma ti-a-ma-tum pi-ti-iq-šu</i>
2 AabcL	<i>ta-ḥa-z[a] ik-ta-šar a-na ilāni ni-ip-ri-šu</i>
3 AabcL	<i>aḥ-ra-ta-áš e-li apsî ú-lam-mi-in ti-amat</i>
4 AabcGhiL	<i>a-na-na-ta 'ki'-i iṣ-mi-da a-na ^dé-a ip-ta-aš-ri</i>
5 AabcGhL	<i>iš-me-e-ma ^dé-a a-ma-tum šu-a-tì</i>
6 AabcGhiL	<i>ku-um-mi-iš uš-ḥa-ri-ir-ma ša-qu-um-mi-iš uš-bu</i>
7 abcGhL	<i>iš-tu im-tal-ku-ma uṣ-za-šu i-nu-ḥu</i>
8 abcGhL	<i>mu-ut-ti-iš an-šár a-bi-šu šu-ú uš-tar-di</i>
9 abcGhL	<i>i-ru-um-ma maḥ-ru a-bi a-li-di-šu an-šár</i>
10 abcGhL	<i>mi-im-mu-ú ti-amat ik-pu-du ú-šá-an-na-a a-na šá-a-šú</i>

1 Z: ti-à-wa-ti pi-tiq-šá c: p|i-ti-iq-šú 2 b: -z|u c: a|n, ni-ip-ri-ša 3 L: apsî]-^ri¹ 4 b: ša (for kī) i]š²- L:]-mi-du an
i: i]p-ta-aš-ra a: ip-ta-šar 5 c: šu-a-tum 6 A: kúm-m[i- L: -ḥ]a-ri-ir cL: šá-qu-um-meš G: -q]um-m[e]š i: uš-b]a²

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Publication</i>	
Babylonian Sites, extracts on exercise tablets		
h = VAT 440		4–15
	ZA 40 (1931) 167 ² ; Pl. 14	
i = BM 38001 (80-6-17, 1830)		4, 6
	Pl. 14	
j = BM 36417 (80-6-17, 144)		13–17
	Pl. 14	
k = BM 54930 (82-5-22, 1260)		49–50
	Pl. 14	
l = BM 38864 (80-11-12, 749)		126–130
	Pl. 14	
m = BM 37501 (80-6-17, 1258)		154–158
	Pl. 14	

Lines quoted in the commentaries

Z: 1, 130

-
- 1 Tiāmat gathered together her creation
 - 2 And organised battle against the gods, her offspring.
 - 3 Henceforth Tiāmat plotted evil because of Apsû.
 - 4 It became known to Ea that she had arranged the conflict.
 - 5 Ea heard this matter,
 - 6 He lapsed into silence in his chamber and sat motionless.
 - 7 After he had reflected and his anger had subsided
 - 8 He directed his steps to Anšar his father.
 - 9 He entered the presence of the father of his begetter, Anšar,
 - 10 And related to him all of Tiāmat's plotting.

8 G: *abī-šú*⁷ c: *uš-ta-ar-du* 9 L: *maḥ-ri* b: *maḥ-ra* G: *ma-ḥar, a-lid-di-šu* 10 a: *ú-ša-an-na-a*

11	abcdGhL	<i>a-bi ti-amat a-lit-ta-ni i-zi-ir-ra-an-na-ti</i>
12	abdGhL	<i>pu-úḫ-ru šit-ku-na-at-ma ag-giš la-ab-bat</i>
13	abdGhjL	<i>is-ḫu-ru-šim-ma ilāni gi-mir-šu-un</i>
14	abdGhjL	<i>a-di šá at-tu-nu tab-na-a i-da-a-ša al-ku</i>
15	abdGhjL	<i>im-ma-as-ru-nim-ma i-du-uš ti-amat te-bu-ú-ni</i>
16	abdGHjL	<i>ez-zu kap-du la sa-ki-pu mu-ša ù im-ma</i>
17	abdGHjL	<i>na-šu-ú tam-ḫa-ra na-zar-bu-bu la-ab-bu</i>
18	abdGHL	<i>ukkin-na šit-ku-nu-ma i-ban-nu-ú šu-la-a-ti</i>
19	abdGHL	<i>um-mu ḫu-bur pa-ti-qa-at ka-la-ma</i>
20	abdGHL	<i>uš-rad-di kak-ku la maḫ-ru it-ta-lad mušmaḫḫi^{mes}</i>
21	abdGHL	<i>zaq-tu-ma šin-nu la pa-du-ú at-ta-²i</i>
22	abdGHL	<i>im-tu ki-ma da-mi zu-mur-šú-nu uš-ma-al-la</i>
23	abdGHL	<i>ušumgalli^{mes} na-ad-ru-ti pu-ul-ḫa-a-ti ú-šal-biš-ma</i>
24	aBbdHL	<i>me-lam-mu uš-taš-ša-a i-li-iš um-taš-ši-il</i>
25	aBbdH	<i>a-mi-ir-šú-nu šar-ba-bi-iš li-iḫ-ḫar-mi-im</i>
26	aBbdHL	<i>zu-mur-šú-nu liš-taḫ-ḫi-tam-ma la i-né-²u i-rat-su-un</i>
27	aBbdHL	<i>uš-zi-iz-ma ba-aš-mu ^dmuš-ḫuš ù ^dla-ḫa-mu</i>
28	aBbd	<i>u₄-gal-la ur-idim-me ù gír-tab-lú-u₁₈-lu</i>
29	abd	<i>u₄-me da-ab-ru-ti ku₆-lú-u₁₈-lu ù ku-sa-rik-kum</i>
30	aG	<i>na-ši kak-ku la pa-du-ú la a-di-ru ta-ḫa-zi</i>
31	aG	<i>gap-ša te-re-tu-ša la ma-aḫ-ra ši-na-ma</i>
32	aDGI	<i>ap-pu-na-ma iš-ten eš-ret ki-ma šu-a-ti uš-tab-ši</i>
33	aDGI	<i>i-na ilāni^{mes} bu-uk-ri-ša šu-ut iš-ku-nu-ši pu-uḫ-ra</i>
34	aDGI	<i>ú-ša-aš-qa ^dqin-gu ina bi-ri-šú-nu ša-a-šu uš-rab-bi-iš</i>
35	aDGI	<i>a-li-ku-ut maḫ-ru pa-ni um-ma-nu mu-ir-ru-tu₄ pu-úḫ-ru</i>
36	aDGI	<i>na-še-e kak-ku ti-iš-bu-tum te-bu-ú a-na-an-tum</i>
37	aDGI	<i>[šu-u]t ta-am-ḫa-ra ra-ab sik-kát-ú-tum</i>
38	aDGI	<i>[iḫ]-qid-ma qa-tu-uš-šú ú-še-ši-ba-aš-ši ina kar-ri</i>
39	aDGI	<i>[a]d-di ta-a-ka i-na pu-ḫur ilāni^{mes} ú-šar-bi-ka</i>
40	aDGgl	<i>[ma]-li-kut ilāni^{mes} gim-rat-su-nu qa-tuk-ka uš-mal-li</i>
41	DGgl	<i>[lu]-ú šur-ba-ta-ma ḫa-i-ri e-du-ú at-ta</i>
42	DGgl	<i>[li-i]r-tab-bu-u zik-ru-ka eli kālī-šú-nu ^de-nu-uk-ka</i>
43	DGgl	<i>[id-d]in-šum-ma tuppi ši-ma-a-te i-ra-tu-uš ú-šat-mi-iḫ</i>
44	CDeGgIJ	<i>[ka]-ta qibīt(dug₄-ga)-ka la in-nen-na-a li-kun ši-it pi-i-ka</i>

11 h: a-li-it-[b:]-lit-ta-a-ni a: a-lit-ti-a-ni i-zi-ir-ra-an-na-a-ti L: i-zir-ra-an-na-[12 d(h): ši-it-ku-na-at-ma a(b)d: ag-gi-iš L: lab-[13 j: -r]u²-šu-m[a¹ a: gi-mi-ir-šú-un G: gi-mir-šú-un d: gi-m[i]-ir-šu-un 14 j: 'a¹-di-i j(L): ša L: i-da-šu G: i-da-a-šú aG: al-ka 15 j: im-mi-is-ra-ni[m- G: 'te¹-bi¹]-u-ni d: te-bi-ú-nu b: -b]i-'ú-ni¹ L: te-bu-ni 16 j: kap-RI¹ GL: mu-šá H: mu-š[ú aL: u b: i]m-mu 17 d: tam-ḫa-ri L: tam-ḫa-ru, l]ab-bu b: la-[a]b-bi 18 d: A¹-ban-nu-ú L: i-ban-nu-u H: i-ba-an-nu-ú ad: šu-la-a-tum L: šu-lá-a-ti 19 a:]-ma a(b): ḫu-bu-ur a: pa-ti-iq-qa-at L: pa-ti-qat G: 'pa¹-[t]i-!at abd: ka-la-mu 20 d: [u]š-ra-ad-di G: giš.tukul L: ka-ak-ki, maḫ-ri d: ma-ḫar H: -t]a-la-ad a: muš-ma-ḫu b: muš-maḫ 21 L: ši[n-ni, pa-du-u a: at-ta-²um b: at-ta-²am d: at-ta-²ú-am 22 L: im-ta kīma a: da-am d: da-mu d(H)L: zu-mur-šú-nu a: uš-ma-al-lu L: uš-ma-al-li 23 d: [ga]l.ušum na-ad-ru-tum pu-ul-ḫa-a-tum L: pul-ḫa-ta 24 H: e-liš B: -li]š L: 'i¹-liš um-taš-šil

- 11 “My father, Tīamat our mother has conceived a hatred for us,
 12 She has established a host in her savage fury.
 13 All the gods have turned to her,
 14 Even those you (pl.) begat also take her side.
 15 They and took the side of Tīamat,
 16 Fiercely plotting, unresting by night and day,
 17 Lusting for battle, raging, storming,
 18 They set up a host to bring about conflict.
 19 Mother Hubur, who forms everything,
 20 Supplied irresistible weapons, and gave birth to giant serpents.
 21 They had sharp teeth, they were merciless. . . ,
 22 With poison instead of blood she filled their bodies.
 23 She clothed the fearful monsters with dread,
 24 She loaded them with an aura and made them godlike.
 25 (She said,) “Let their onlooker feebly perish,
 26 May they constantly leap forward and never retire.”
 27 She created the Hydra, the Dragon, the Hairy Hero,
 28 The Great Demon, the Savage Dog, and the Scorpion-man,
 29 Fierce demons, the Fish-man, and the Mighty Bull,
 30 Carriers of merciless weapons, fearless in the face of battle.
 31 Her commands were tremendous, not to be resisted.
 32 Altogether she made eleven of that kind.
 33 Among the gods, her sons, whom she constituted her host,
 34 She exalted Qingu and magnified him among them.
 35 The leadership of the army, the direction of the host,
 36 The bearing of weapons, campaigning, the mobilization of conflict,
 37 The chief executive power of battle, supreme command,
 38 She entrusted to him and set him on a throne.
 39 “I have cast the spell for you and exalted you in the host of the gods,
 40 I have delivered to you the rule of all the gods.
 41 You are indeed exalted, my spouse, you are renowned,
 42 Let your command prevail over all the Anunnaki.”
 43 She gave him the Tablet of Destinies and fastened it to his breast,
 44 (Saying) “Your order may not be changed, let the utterance of your mouth be firm.”

a: um-taš-ši-ir b: um-ta-áš-ši-il 25 B: liš-[har- 26 a: liš-taḥ-ḫi-ta-am-ma, i-né-²-e d: i-né-²-im b: i-né-²-ú i-ra-at-su-un
 B: irat-s[u- 27 b: muš-ḫuš^{mes} B: ‘u’ la-[L: laḫāmu]^{mes} 28 b: ‘u’ d: ^dgír-tab-lú-‘u₁₈’-[31 G:]-tu-šá, ma-ḫar
 33 G: ‘ilāni’ I:]-ri-šu a: pu-úḫ-ru 34 I: ‘i-na’ G: šu-a-tú uš-rab-b[iš] D:]-rab-bi 35 G: -r]i I: maḫ-r[i] pa-an
 GI: um-ma-ni G: mu-²-[D:]-tu puḫru 36 I:]-‘ú’¹ giškakkj^{mes} ti-iš-bu-tu G: ti-i[š-x]-ti D:]-u a-na-an-ti
 37 I: tam-ḫa-ri G: sik-ka-tu-ú-t[i] D: -k]a’-tu-u-ti 38 I: qa-tu-[(x)]-šu G:]-šu ‘ú-še’¹-šī-ba-áš-š[i a: i-na
 39 I: ta-a-ak (G)I: ina puḫur G: ilāni 40 G: -k]u-ut I: gim-rat-sú-nu G: u]š-ma-[g: uš-ma-a[l-
 41 G: ‘ḫa-²i’-x g: ḫa-²i-ri 42 I: -i]r-tab-bu-ú sik-ru-ka g: e-li ka-li-šú-nu D:]-uk-ki 43 I: -d]in-šu-ma
 (G)g: nam.meš D: ú-[x-m]e-eḫ 44 I: la+a en-na-a

45	CDeGgIJ	ʿin ¹ -na-nu ^d qin-gu šu-uš-qu-u le-qu-u ^d a-nu-ti
46	CDeGgIJ	a-na ilāni mārē ^{meš} -ša ši-ma-ta iš-ti-ma
47	CDeGgIJ	ep-ša pi-i-ku-nu ^d girra li-ni-iḫ-ḫa
48	CDeGgIJ	im-tuk-⟨nu⟩ kit-mu-ru ma-ag-šá-ra liš-rab-bi-ib
49	CDeGgJk	iš-me-ma an-⟨šár⟩ a-ma-tú ma-gal dal-ḫat
50	CDegJk	ù ² -a iš-ta-si ša-pat-su it-taš-ka
51	CDegJ	ez-ze-et kab-ta-[a]s-su la na-ḫat ka-ras-su
52	CDegJ	e-li ^{dé} -a b[u]-uk-ri-ʿšú ¹ šá-gi-ma-šú uš-taḫ-ḫa-aḫ
53	CDegJ	ma-ri šá te-e[g-ru]-ú tu-qu-un-tum
54	CDegJ	mi-im-mu-ú i-du-uk-ka [te]-pu-šu i-taš-ši at-ta
55	CDegJ	ta- ² i-ra-am-[m]a apsâ ta-na-ra
56	CDgJ	ù ti-amat šá tu-[š]a-ʿgi ¹ -gu a-li ma-ḫír-šá
57	CDgJ	a-ši-ʿiš ¹ mi-il-ki ru-bé-e ta-šim-ti
58	CDg	ba-nu-ú né-me-ʿqu ¹ ilu ^d nu-dím-ʿmud ¹
59	CgJ	a-ma-tu ₄ tap-šu-uḫ-tum sè-qar ta-né-ḫi
60	CgJ	an-šár a-ba-ʿšú ¹ ṭa-bi-iš ip-pal
61	CgJ	a-bi libbu ru-ú-qu mu-šim-mu ši-im-ti
62	CgJ	šá šu-ub-šu-ú ḫul-lu-qu ba-šu-u it-ti-šu
63	Cg	an-šár libbu ru-ú-qu mu-šim-mu ši-im-ti
64	Cg	šá šu-ub-šu-ú ¹ u ḫul-lu-qu ba-šu-u it-ti-šu
65	CgJ	e-nim-me-e ʿa ¹ -ta-mu-ka sur-riš nu-ḫa-am-ma
66	CgJ	ki-i a-mat du-un-qu e-pu-šú šu-du-ud lib-bu-uk-ka
67	Cgj	la-am a-na-ku ap-sa-a a-na-ra-am-ma
68	CgJ	[m]a-an-na i-ta-mar-ma i-na-an-na an-na-a-ti
69	CgJ	la-am ur-ri-ḫa-am-ma ú-bal-lu-ú šu-a-ti
70	CgJ	lu-ú šá-a-ši uš-ḫal-li-qa mi-[n]a-a-am ba-ši-ma
71	gJ	iš-me-ma an-šár a-ma-tú i-ṭib el-[š]u
72	gJ	ip-šá-aḫ lib-ba-šú-ma a-na ^{dé} -a i-zak-[kà]r
73	gJ	ma-ri ep-še-ta-ka i-liš na-ṭ[a-a-m]a
74	gJ	ez-zu me-ḫe-e[š] la ʿmah ¹ -ri te-le-e-em x [. . .] x
75	g	^{dé} -a ep-[še-tu-k]a e-li-iš [na-ṭa-a-m]a
76	g	ez-zu me-ḫe-[eš la mah-r]i te-le-e-em [.]
77	gJ	a-lik-ma m[u-ut-ti-i]š ti-amat ti-ba-ša šup-[ši-iḫ]
78	gJ	ug-gat-sa ʿlu ¹ -[ú (x)] x x šu-š[a-a sur ¹]-ʿriš ¹ i-na šip-ti-[ka]
79	g	iš-me-ma zik-r[i a-bi-šú] a[n-šár]
80	g	iš-bat ḫar-ra-an-š[ú] ú-r]u-úḫ-šú uš-tar-[di]

45 G: [i]-^dn[anna I:]x-nu (C)egI: šu-uš-qu-ú g: le-qu-ú e-nu-ti J: e-[46 g: ilāni^{meš} (g)]: d]umu.meš-šú g: ši-ma-tum e: -m]a-tum D: iš-ti-mu 47 I: pi-i-ku-un IJ: ^dbil.gi (C)Deg: ^dgiš-bar 48 gJ: ma-ag-šá-ra I: -ag-ša-[e: -a]g-ša-ru C:]-šá-ri 49 g: a-ʿma¹-tum D:]-tu Ce:]-tum gk: da-al-ḫa-at e: da-a[l- 50 J: šá-pat-su e: š]a-pat-sú gk: it-taš-qa 51 J: -t]a-ʿat¹-su¹ C: né-ḫa-at eg: na-a-ḫa g: ka-ra-aš-su 52 (D)]:]-uk-ri-šú e: ša-gi-ma-šú C: š]á-gim-ma-šú ur-ta-ḫ[a- 53 J:] ge-ru-ʿú¹ [D: tu-qu-un-tu

45 After Qingu was elevated and had acquired the power of Anuship
 46 He decreed the destinies for the gods, her sons:
 47 “May the utterance of your mouths subdue the fire-god,
 48 May your poison by its accumulation put down aggression.”
 49 Anšar heard; the matter was profoundly disturbing.
 50 He cried “Woe!” and bit his lip.
 51 His heart was in fury, his mind could not be calmed.
 52 Over Ea his son his cry was faltering.
 53 “My son, you who provoked the war,
 54 Take responsibility for whatever you alone have done!
 55 You set out and killed Apsû,
 56 And as for Tiāmat, whom you made furious, where is her equal?”
 57 The gatherer of counsel, the learned prince,
 58 The creator of wisdom, the god Nudimmud
 59 With soothing words and calming utterance
 60 Gently answered [his] father Anšar,
 61 “My father, deep mind, who decrees destiny,
 62 Who has the power to bring into being and to destroy,
 63 Anšar, deep mind, who decrees destiny,
 64 Who has the power to bring into being and to destroy,
 65 I want to say something to you, calm down for a moment
 66 And consider that I performed a helpful deed.
 67 Before I killed Apsû
 68 Who could have seen the present situation?
 69 Before I quickly made an end of him
 70 What were the circumstances were I to destroy him?”
 71 Anšar heard, the words pleased him.
 72 His heart relaxed to speak to Ea,
 73 “My son, your deeds are fitting for a god,
 74 You are capable of a fierce, unequalled blow . . . [. . .]
 75 Ea, your deeds are fitting for a god,
 76 You are capable of a fierce, unequalled blow . . . [. . .]
 77 Go before Tiāmat and appease her attack,
 78 Though her anger be [. . .], expel it quickly’ with [your] incantation.”
 79 He heard the speech of Anšar [his father],
 80 He took the road to her, proceeded on the route to her.

54 g: -p]u-šú i-ta-aš-ši e: i-t[a- 55 J: ap-^rsa¹-a g: ta-na-a-ri 56 g: ma-ḫi-ir-ša C: ma-ḫ[ir- 57 J: ru-bi]-^ri¹
 58 g: ì-lí 59 J: traces 60 J: [d^e-a] pa-a-šu ^ri¹-[pu-šam-ma] C: -bi]š 61 J: lib-b[u 62 g: ba-šu-ú 63–64 J: om.
 64 g: ba-šu-ú 65 J: ^ra¹/šá¹-ta-mu-k[a] sùr¹-[g: sur-ri-iš 66 J: d]um-qí 70 g: uš-ḫal-li-q[u C: -q]u
 72 J: lî]b-ba-šu-ma 73 g: ep-še-^rtu¹-ka e-li-iš 74 J:]-ša, ^rma-ḫar¹ ti-le-²-^ri¹ 75–76 J: om. 77 g: ti-a]-ma-tum
 79–80 J: om.

- 81 gJ 'il'-lik ^dé-a šib-ku-uš ti-amat i-še-²-am-ma
82 gJ [ú]-šib uš-ḥa-ri-ir-ma i-tu-ra ar-ki-iš
83 gJ [i-r]u-um-ma maḥ-ra ba-²-ú-lu an-šár
84 gJ [un]-n[en]-na iṣ-ba-tam-ma i-zak-kàr-šu
85 gJ [a-bi] 'ú'-ta-at-tir-ma ti-amat ep-še-ta-ša e-li-'i-ia'
86 gj ma-lak-ša e-še-²-e-ma 'ul' i-maḥ-ḥar ši-ip-[ti]
87 gJ gaṣ-ša e-mu-qá-ša ma-la-ta a-di-r[u]
88 gJ pu-úḥ-ru dun-nu-na-at-ma ul ia-ar-ši ma-am-[man]
89 gj la na-ši-ir tuk-ka-ša še-ba-am-m[a]
90 gj a-du-ur-ma ri-ig-ma-ša a-tu-ra ar-ki-i[š]
91 gj a-bi e tuš-ta-ni-iḥ tu-ur šu-ṣur-ši
92 gj e-mu-qu sin-niš-ti lu-u dun-nu-na ul ma-la šá zik-ri
93 EgJ ru-um-mi ki-iš-ri-ša mi-i[l-k]a-ša su-pu-uḥ at-ta
94 EgJ la-am qa-ti-ša um-mi-[du] a-na mu-úḥ-ḥi-ni
95 Eg an-šár uz-zu-zi-iš i-ša-as-si
96 Eg ana ^da-nim ma-ri-šu šu-ú i-zak-kar
97 CEg aplu ka-[a]n-nu-ú ka-^ršu-uš^r qar-ra-di
98 CEg šá gaṣ-ša e-mu-qa-a-šú la ma-ḥar te-bu-šú
99 CEg a-ru-úḥ-ma mu-ut-ti-iš ti-amat i-zi-iz at-ta
100 CEg šuṣ-ši-iḥ kab-ta-taš lib-bu-uš lip-pu-uš
101 CEg šum-ma-ma la še-ma-ta a-mat-ka
102 CEgJ a-mat un-nen-ni at-me-šim-ma ši-i lip-pa-áš-ḥa
103 CEg iš-me-ma zik-ri abī-šú an-šár
104 CEgJ iṣ-bat ḥar-ra-an-šá-ma ú-ru-uḥ-šá uš-tar-di
105 CEgJ il-lik ^da-num šib-ku-uš ti-amat i-še-²-am-ma
106 CEgJ ú-šib uš-ḥa-ri-ir-ma i-tu-ra ar-kiš
107 CEgJ i-ru-um-ma maḥ-ra abi a-l[i-d]i-šú an-šár
108 CEgJ un-nen-na iṣ-ba-tam-ma i-zak-kar-šú
109 Eg a-bi ú-ta-at-tir-ma ti-amat [ep-še-ta-ša e]lī-ia
110 g ma-lak-ša e-še-²-e-ma ul 'i'-[maḥ-ḥar ši-ip-t]i
111 g gaṣ-ša e-mu-qa-šú ma-[la-ta a]-di-^rru'
112 g pu-ḥur du-un-nu-na-at-ma u[l ia-ar-š]i ma-am-man
113 g la na-ši-ir tuk-ka-ša š[e-b]a-am-m[a]
114 g a-dur-ma ri-ig-ma-ša a-tu-[ra a]r-ki-iš
115 g a-bi e tu-uš-ta-ni-iḥ tu-ú-[ur] šu-ṣur-ši
116 g e-muq si-in-ni-iš-ti lu-u du-un-nu-na [u]l ma-la šá zik-ri
117 g ru-um-mi ki-iš-ri-ša mil-ka-ša 'su-pu-uḥ' at-ta
118 fgJ la-am qa-ti-ša um-mi-du i-na mu-uḥ-ḥi-ni

83 J:]-'ú'-li 84 J:]x i-zak-'kar'-[85 J:]-ta-šá elī-[86 J:]-m]a-ḥar šip-[88 J: 'a-ar-ši man-m[a- 91 J: tu-r]u
92 J:]x ma-la 94 E: -ti-š]á 95 g: uz-SU-zi-iš (so copy) 96 E: ma-ri-šú 97 g: ka-a-nu-ú ka-šú-šú qar-ra-du
98 C: e-'mu-qa-šú' la m[aḥ- g: e-mu-qá-šu la ma-aḥ-ru ti-bu-šu 99 C: -u]ḥ-ma mut-ti-iš E: mut-tiš, i-ziz-za

81 Ea went, he perceived the tricks of Tiāmat,
 82 [He stopped], fell silent, and turned back.
 83 [He] entered the presence of august Anšar
 84 Penitently addressing him,
 85 “[My father], Tiāmat’s deeds are too much for me.
 86 I perceived her planning, but [my] incantation was not equal (to it).
 87 Her strength is mighty, she is full of dread,
 88 She is altogether very strong, none can go against her.
 89 Her very loud noise does not diminish,
 90 I became afraid of her cry and turned back.
 91 My father, do not lose hope, send a second person against her.
 92 Though a woman’s strength is very great, it is not equal to a man’s.
 93 Disband her cohorts, break up her plans
 94 Before she lays her hands on us.”
 95 Anšar cried out in intense fury,
 96 Addressing Anu his son,
 97 “Honoured son, hero, warrior,
 98 Whose strength is mighty, whose attack is irresistible,
 99 Hasten and stand before Tiāmat,
 100 Appease her reins that her heart may relax.
 101 If she does not harken to your words,
 102 Address to her words of petition that she may be appeased.”
 103 He heard the speech of Anšar his father,
 104 He took the road to her, proceeded on the route to her.
 105 Anu went, he perceived the tricks of Tiāmat,
 106 He stopped, fell silent, and turned back.
 107 He entered the presence of Anšar, the father who begat him,
 108 Penitently addressing him.
 109 “My father, Tiāmat’s [deeds] are too much for me.
 110 I perceived her planning, but my [incantation] was not [equal] (to it).
 111 Her strength is mighty, she is [full] of dread,
 112 She is altogether very strong, no one [can go against] her.
 113 Her very loud noise does not diminish,
 114 I became afraid of her cry and turned back.
 115 My father, do not lose hope, send another person against her.
 116 Though a woman’s strength is very great, it is not equal to a man’s.
 117 Disband her cohorts, break up her plans,
 118 Before she lays her hands on us.”

100 E: -ši]h¹ g: kab-ta-tu-uš-ma C: lib-b[u- 101 C: še-mat 102 C:]-né-[ni a]t-me-ši-ma g:]-pa-aš-ḥa
 103 C: -i]k¹-ri g: a-bi-šu 104 C: ka[skal; ¹ú¹-ruḥ-šá g: ḥar-ra-an-šú-ma ú-ru-uḥ-šú 105 E: ti-à-wa-ti
 106 g: -ki-i]š 107 C: ma]ḥ-ri 118 J: um-m[e- f: um-mi-di ina muḥ-ḥi-i-[x]

119 fg]	uš-ḥa-ri-ir-ma an-šár	qaq-qa-ri i-na-aṭ-ṭa-al
120 fgI]	i-kam-ma-am a-na ^d é-a	ú-na-ši qaqqad-su
121 fgI]	pa-aḥ-ru-ma ^d í-gì-gì	ka-li-šu-nu ^d a-nu-uk-[k]i
122 fgI]	šap-ta-šu-nu ku-ut-tu-ma-ma	qa-li-iš uš-[bu]
123 fgI]	ilu a-a-um-ma	ul ia-ar ki in x
124 fgI]	ma-ḥa-ri-iš ti-amat	ul uš-ši i-na šap-ti-[šu]
125 fgI]	ù be-lum an-šár	a-bi ilāni rabûti
126 DgI]l	ka-mi-il lib-ba-šú-ma	ul i-šas-si ma[n]-ma-a[n]
127 DdgI]l	aḫ-lum ga-aš-ru	mu-tir-ru gi-mil-lu a-bi-[šu]
128 DdgI]l	ḥa- ² -iš tuq-ma-te	^d marūtuk qar-du
129 DdgI]l	[i]l-si-ma ^d é-a	a-šar pi-riš-ti-šú
130 DdGgI]Z	[ka]-inim-ma-ak lib-bi-šu	i-ta-mi-šú
131 DdGgI]	[^d]marūtuk ^m mil-ka	še-mi abī-ka
132 DdGgI]	at-ta-ma ma-ri	mu-nap-pi-šú lib-bi-šú
133 aDdGgI]	[mu]t-ti-iš an-šár	qit-ru-bi-iš ṭe-ḥe-e-ma
134 aDdGgI]	[e]-pu-uš pi-[k]a	i-zu-za e-ma-ru-uk-ka ni-i-ḥu
135 aDdGgI]	iḥ-du-ma be-lum	a-na a-ma-tu ₄ a-bi-šú
136 abDdGgI]	iṭ-ḥe-e-ma it-ta-zi-iz	ma-ḥa-riš an-šár
137 abcDdGHJ	i-mur-šu-ma an-šár	lib-ba-šu ṭú-ub-ba-a-ti im-la
138 abcDdGHJ	iš-ši-iq šap-ti-šu	a-di-ra-šu ut-te-es-si
139 abcDdGHJ	a-bi la šuk-tu-mat	pi-ti ša-aḫ-tu-uk
140 abcDdGHJ	lu-ul-lik-ma lu-ša-am-ša-a	ma-la lib-bi-ka
141 abcDdH	an-šár la šuk-tu-mat	pi-ti ša-aḫ-tu-uk
142 abcDdH	lul-lik-ma la-ša-am-ša-a	ma-la lib-bi-ka
143 abcDdGHJ	a-a-ú zik-ri	ta-ḥa-za-šú ú-še-ši-ka
144 abcDdGHJ	u ti-amat šá si-in-ni-ša-tu ₄	ia-ar-ka i-na kak-ku
145 abcDdGHJ	[a-bi] ba-nu-ú	ḥi-di ù šu-li-il
146 abcDdGHJ	ki-ša-ad ti-amat	ur-ru-ḥi-iš ta-kab-ba-as at-ta
147 abcDdG	[an]-šár ba-nu-ú	ḥi-di ù šu-li-il
148 abcDdGK	ki-šad ti-amat	ur-ru-ḥi-iš ta-kab-ba-as at-ta
149 abcDGK	a-lik ma-a-ru	mu-du-ú gi-mir uz-ni
150 abcDdGK	ti-amat šu-up-ši-iḥ	ina te-e-ka el-lu
151 abcDdGK	ri-kab u ₄ -me	ur-ru-ḥi-iš šu-tar-di-ma
152 abcDGK	pa-nu-uš-šú la ut-tak-ka-šu	te-e-ri ár-ka-niš

121 J: ^dZA.ZA kālī-šú-n[u 122 f: nundum^{ms}-šu-nu J: -t]a-šú-u[n- I: -š]u-un J: 'qa-liš' 123 I: la-a x[J: i]a-ra f: ki x [x] g: ki x [x (x)] 124 J: -r]iš 125 (f)g: ra-bi-ú-[126 I: lib-ba-šú-ma I: lib-ba-šú-ma, i-š[a- D: m[a-x-x] g: ma-am-ma-[x] 127 I:].UŠ ga-aš-ra J: g]i-mil-li ad-[128 I: ḥa-ŠI'-áš I: tuq-ma-ti J: ^d]mar-duk 130 g: -m]a-a I: li-ib-bi-šú J: lib-bi-šú Z: lib-bi-šú i-ta-mi-šú D:]-ta-me-šú 131 J: še-e-mi g: a-bu-ka 132 I: ma-ru d: mu-nap-pi-šú lib-b[i- g: lib-bi-šú 133 J:]-'ru-biš' D: -r]u-biš a: ṭe-ḥe-ma 134 d: -z]u D:]-uk J: -r]u-uk ni-i[ḥ]-x a: ni-i-ḥi D: ni-iḥ-ḥa 135 J: 'a'¹m[at a]d²-[š]ú D: a-bi-šú I: -r]u x x [(divergent) 136 d: ma-aḥ-ri-iš g: -i]š 137 ab: lib-ba-šú ṭú-ub-ba-ta c: -š]ú ṭu-ub-b[a- J: -u]b-ba-ti ab: im-li 138 G: -š]i]q šap-ti-šú a: ša-aḫ-ti-šú b: 'ša'-aḫ-ti-šú H: -t]e-šú b(D): a-di-ra-šú a: ut-te-es-su J: uš-te-es-si 139 G: SUK¹-tu-mat H: šu-uk-tu-ma-at pi-i-[a: pi-ta ab: šap-tu-uk cD]: šap-tuk 140 c: 'lul'-lik-ma a: lu-šá-am-ša-a G: lu-ú-šam-ša-a

119 Anšar lapsed into silence, staring at the ground,
 120 Nodding to Ea, shaking his head.
 121 The Igigi and all the Anunnaki had assembled,
 122 They sat in tight-lipped silence.
 123 No god would go to face . . [. .]
 124 Would go out against Tiāmat [. .]
 125 Yet the lord Anšar, the father of the great gods,
 126 Was angry in his heart, not summoning any one.
 127 A mighty son, the avenger of [his] father,
 128 He who hastens to war, the warrior Marduk,
 129 Ea summoned (him) to his private chamber
 130 To explain to him his plans.
 131 “Marduk, give counsel, listen to your father.
 132 You are my son, who gives me pleasure,
 133 Go reverently before Anšar,
 134 Speak, take your stand, appease him with your glance.”
 135 Bēl rejoiced at his father’s words,
 136 He drew near and stood in the presence of Anšar.
 137 Anšar saw him, his heart filled with satisfaction,
 138 He kissed his lips and removed his fear.
 139 “My father do not hold your peace, but speak forth,
 140 I will go and fulfil your desires!
 141 Anšar, do not hold your peace, but speak forth,
 142 I will go and fulfil your desires!
 143 Which man has drawn up his battle array against you?
 144 And will Tiāmat, who is a woman, attack you with (her) weapons?
 145 [My father], begetter, rejoice and be glad,
 146 Soon you will tread on the neck of Tiāmat!
 147 Anšar, begetter, rejoice and be glad,
 148 Soon you will tread on the neck of Tiāmat!”
 149 “Go, my son, conversant with all knowledge,
 150 Appease Tiāmat with your pure spell,
 151 Ride the storms, proceed without delay,
 152 And with an appearance which cannot be repelled turn her back.”

(c)H: *lu-šam-ša-a* abD: *lib-bi-ka* 141–142 GJ: om. 141 H: *la]-^ra¹ šu-uk-tu-ma-at pi-i-[* a: *pi-ta* ab: *šap-tu-uk*
 cD: *šap-tuk* 142 b: *lu-u[l-lik-m]a* a: *lu-šá-am-ša-a* cH: *lu-šam-ša-a* abD: *lib-bi-ka* 143 G: *zik-ru* H: *z]i-ik-ru*
 dH: *ta-ḫa-za-šu* a: *ú-še-ši-ma* (for *-ku¹*) 144 H: *ša sin-ni-ša-at* a: *si-in-ni-ša-at* G: *sin-ni-šat* c: *sin-niš-a-^rtu¹*
 G(H): *i-ar-ka* D(J): *ina⁸⁸kakki* 145 G: *ba-nu-u* H: *ḫu-ú-du* J: *^ru šu-lil¹* D: *]-lil* 146 c: *ki-šad* G: *ur-ru-ḫiš*
 147 G: *ba-nu-u ḫi-di šu-[* D: *šu-lil* 148 b: *ki-ša-ad* G: *ur-ru-ḫiš* 149 a(b): *]-ri* G: *mu-du-u* ab: *gim-ri*
 ab(G): *už-nu* 150 G: *šup-ši-ḫa* c: *šup-ši-ḫu* K: *]-ḫa* abc: *i-na* d: *te-e-ki* D(G): *el-li* 151 a: *u₄-m]u*
 G: *ur-ru-ḫiš* 152 b: *-ta]k-ka-ša* G: *ut-tak-ka-šá* cK: *-k]a-ru* K: *te-e-er* b: *te-e[r* D: *-i]r ar-ka-niš*
 GK: *ar-ka-nu-uš* c: *ár-ka-nu-uš*

153	abcDFGK	<i>iḫ-du-ma be-lum a-na a-mat a-bi-šú</i>
154	abcDdFGK _m	<i>i-li-iṣ lib-ba-šú-ma a-na abī-šú i-zaḳ-kar</i>
155	abcDFGK _m	<i>[b]e-lu₄ ilāni^{meš} ši-mat ilāni^{meš} rabûti^{meš}</i>
156	abcDFGK _m	<i>šum-ma-ma a-na-ku mu-tir gi-mil-li-ku-un</i>
157	abcDFGK _m	<i>a-kam-me ti-ammat-ma ú-bal-laṭ ka-a-šú-un</i>
158	abcDFGK _m	<i>šuk-na-ma pu-uḫ-ra šu-te-ra i-ba-a šim-ti</i>
159	abcDFGL	<i>ina uṗ-šu-ukkin-na-ki mit-ḫa-riš ḫa-diš tiš-ba-ma</i>
160	abcDFGL	<i>eṗ-šú pi-ia ki-ma ka-tu-nu-ma ši-ma-ta lu-šim-^rma¹</i>
161	abcFGL	<i>la ut-tak-kar mim-mu-ú a-ban-nu-u a-na-ku</i>
162	abcFGL	<i>a-a i-tur a-a in-nen-na-a sè-kàr šaṗ-ti-ia</i>

153 b: *iḫ-du-^rú* [G: *be-lí* b: ^de[n d: i]na aK: *a-bi-šú* G: *abī-šú* 154 c: *lib-ba-šú-ma* a: *lib-ba-šú-ma*
K: *-š]u-ma* m:] x x [*a-b]i-šú* b(F): *a-bi-]* acK: *a-bi-šú* 155 b: *en.me[š* G: [*d]ü'^rú* f(K): *ilāni¹* abG: *nam.meš*
(b)FK: *ilāni²* K: *rabûti* 156 F: *ana-ku* b(m): *m]u-tir-ru* 157 b: *a-kam-ma* ab(m): *ti-ammat-am-ma* C: *tam-tam-ma*
ac: *ka-a-šú-un* G: *ka-tu-un* 158 b: *šuk-na-a-ma pu-uḫ-ru* a: *]uḫ-ru šu-te-er ba-²* bm: *šu-te-er ba-a*
G: *šu-ti-ra ib-ba-a* a: *šim-tum* 159 bc: *i-na* b: *uṗ-šu-GIŠGAL¹-na-kam* L: *uṗ-šu-ukkin-na-^rku¹*
a: *-š]u-ukkin-na-kam mit-ḫa-ri-iš* b: *ḫa-di-]* a: *ḫa-di-iš ti-iš-^rba¹-ma* 160 b: *eṗ-ša* L: *eṗ-šu, kīma*
a: *ka-a-tu-nu-ma ši-ma-tum* cG: *ši-mat* aD: *lu-šim* c: *lu-^ššim* 161 F: *mim-mu-u* ab: *mi-im-mu-ú*
abc: *a-ban-nu-ú* c: ^r*ana-ku¹* 162 b: *i-tu-ur* F: *i-in-nen-na-a* a: *in-né-na-a, ša-aṗ-ti-ia*

Commentaries¹

- 1 ^{kur}LAGAB *k[ub-b]u-tum* [LAGAB *pu-u]ḫ-ḫu-r[u]* (Z)
130 *li-li-su ša* [x (x)] x *ša* ^{itiš}*maḫar dé-a* [. . .] x x [(x)] (Z)

Textual notes on pp. 472–473.

1. The list of commentary manuscripts is on pp. 135f.

153 Bēl rejoiced at his father's words,
154 With glad heart he addressed his father,
155 "Lord of the gods, Destiny of the great gods,
156 If I should become your avenger,
157 If I should bind Tīāmat and preserve you,
158 Convene an assembly, and proclaim for me an exalted destiny.
159 Sit, all of you, in Upšu'ukkinakku with gladness.
160 And let me, with my utterance, decree destinies instead of you.
161 Whatever I instigate must not be changed.
162 Nor may my command be nullified or altered."

Tablet III

Manuscripts

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
Assyrian Sites			
Nineveh (Ashurbanipal)			
A = K 3473+79-7-8, 294+ Rm 615		1–85	86–138
	S. A. Smith, <i>Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts</i> (Leipzig, 1887) 1–5; CT 13 7–9		
B = K 6650+13782		38–61	(or: 96–119)
	CT 13 9 (6650); Pl. 15 (13782)		
C = K 8575		69–76	77–85
	CT 13 12		
Assur			
D = VAT 10663		1–13	127–138
	KAR 173		
Babylonian Sites, regular tablets			
a = BM 61429+82894 (82-9-18, 1403+6316+83-1-21, 57)		1–61 (om. 16–51)	62–128 (om. 77–123)
	CT 13 13 (1403); STC II xxv–xxviii (1403+6316); Pl. 15 (82894)		
b = BM 42285 (81-7-1, 45)		46–68	69–87
	STC II xxx–xxxiii		
c = BM 93017 (88-4-19, 13)		47–77	78–105
	CT 13 10–11, coll. on Pl. 15		
d = BM 33697 (Rm IV 255)		68–76	80–83
	Pl. 15		
e = F 3		..	127–138
	Pl. 15		
Kish			
f = Kish 1926 375		..	77–93
	OECT VI xxxvii; Pl. 15		

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Publication</i>	
Babylonian Sites, extracts on exercise tablets		
g = BM 37960 (80-6-17, 1677)		3–10
	Pl. 16	
h = BM 76640 (AH 83-1-18, 2011)		14–16
	Pl. 16	
i = K 20949		14–19
	Pl. 16	
j = BM 55072 (82-5-22, 1404)		64–72
	Pl. 16	
k = BM 65461 (82-9-18, 5448+AH 83-1-18, 2116)		64–72
	CT 13 12 (2116); <i>STC</i> II xxxiv (both);	
	Pl. 16	
	(j and k do not belong to the same tablet)	
l = BM 50711 (82-3-23, 1703)		67–70
	Pl. 16	
m = BM 68434 (82-9-18, 8432)		125–127
	Pl. 16	

Lines quoted in the commentaries

Z: 53, 54, 55, 134, 135

Tablet III

1 AaD	<i>an-šár pa-a-šu i-pu-šam-ma</i>
2 AaD	<i>a-na ^dkà-kà suk-kal-li-šu a-ma-tu i-zak-kar</i>
3 AaDg	<i>^dkà-kà suk-kal-lum mu-ṭi-ib ka-bat-ti-ia</i>
4 AaDg	<i>áš-riš ^dlāh-mu ù ^dla-ḥa-mu ka-a-ta lu-uš-pur-ka</i>
5 AaDg	<i>[ši-t]e-²-a mu-da-a-ta ti-iš-bu-ru te-le-²e</i>
6 AaDg	<i>ilāni^{meš} abbē^{meš}-ia šu-bi-ka ana maḥ-ri-i[a]</i>
7 AaDg	<i>[li]-bu-ku-nim-ma ilāni^{meš} na-gab-šu-un</i>
8 AaDg	<i>li-šá-na liš-ku-nu ina qé-re-e-ti liš-bu</i>
9 AaDg	<i>áš-na-an li-ku-lu lip-ti-qu ku-ru-un-nu</i>
10 AaDg	<i>a-na [^dma]rūtuk mu-tir gi-mil-li-šú-nu li-ši-mu šim-tum</i>
11 AaD	<i>i²-ir a-lik ^dkà-kà qud-me-šú-nu i-ziz-ma</i>
12 AaD	<i>[mim-mu-ú] a-zak-ka-ru-ka šu-un-na-a a-na ša-a-šu-un</i>
13 AaD	<i>an-šár ma-ru-ku-nu ú-ma-²-i-ra-an-ni</i>
14 Aahi	<i>[te-ret] libbī-šu ú-ša-aṣ-bi-ra-an-ni ia-a-ti</i>
15 Aahi	<i>[um-ma ti-a]mat a-lit-ta-ni i-zir-ra-an-na-ši</i>
16 Ahi	<i>[pu-uḥ-ru šit]-ku-na-at-ma ag-giš lab-bat</i>
17 Ai	<i>^ris-ḥu-ru-šim¹-ma ilāni gi-mir-šú-un</i>
18 Ai	<i>a-di šá at-tu-nu tab-na-a i-da-šá al-ka</i>
19 Ai	<i>im-ma-as-ru-nim-ma i-du-uš ti-amat te-bu-ú-ni</i>
20 A	<i>ez-zu kap-du la sa-ki-pu mu-šá u im-ma</i>
21 A	<i>na-šu-ú tam-ḥa-ri na-zar-bu-bu lab-bu</i>
22 A	<i>ukkin-na šit-ku-nu-ma i-ban-nu-ú šu-la-a-[ti]</i>
23 A	<i>um-mu ḥu-bur pa-te-qat ka-la-[ma]</i>
24 A	<i>uš-rad-di ka-ak-ki la maḥ-ri it-ta-lad mušm[ahḥi^{meš}]</i>
25 A	<i>zaq-tu-ma šin-ni la pa-du-ú at-ta-^ri¹</i>
26 A	<i>im-tu ki-ma da-mi zu-mur-šú-nu uš-ma-al-l[i]</i>
27 A	<i>ušumgalli^{meš} na-ad-ru-u-ti pul-ḥa-a-ti ú-šal-biš-[ma]</i>
28 A	<i>me-lam-me uš-taš-šá-a e-liš um-taš-[šil]</i>
29 A	<i>a-mir-šú-nu šar-ba-ba liš-ḥar-[mi-im]</i>
30 A	<i>zu-mur-šu-nu liš-taḥ-ḥi-ṭam-ma la i-né-²-u i-rat-su-[un]</i>
31 A	<i>uš-ziz ba-aš-mu muš-ḥuš-šu u ^dla-ḥa-[mu]</i>
32 A	<i>u₄-gal-lu₄ uridimmu u gír-tab-lú-u₁₈-[lu]</i>
33 A	<i>u₄-mi da-ab-ru-ti ku₆-lú-u₁₈-lu u ku-sa-rik-[kum]</i>
34 A	<i>na-áš^{giš}kakki^{meš} la pa-di-i la a-di-ru ta-ḥ[a-zi]</i>
35 A	<i>gaṣ-šá te-re-tu-šá la ma-ḥar ši-na-^ra¹-[ma]</i>
36 A	<i>aṣ-pu-un-na-ma eš-ten eš-re-tum kīma šu-a-tú uš-t[ab-ši]</i>

1 IIF: pa-a-šú a: i-pu-ša-[] 2 D: suk[kallī]-šú a: a-ma-tum i[^r 3 D: sukkallu Aa: mu-ṭib 4 g: -i]š ^dlāh-mu u D: om. ù; ka-a-šá 5 g: mu-da-a-tú D: te-eṣ-bu-ra 6 g: [ilā]ni ab-bé-e' šu-bi-ku a: a]b-bé-e-a D: ina a: a-na ma-aḥ-ri-i[a A: maḥ-ri-ka 7 (A)ag: ilāni D: na-gab-šú-u[n a: na-ga-ab-šu-un 8 ag: -š]a-nu li-iš-ku-nu a: i-na g: qé-re-t[i a: lu-uš-bu D: lu-uš-[9 g: li-ip-ti-[A: ku-ru-na 10 D: an-šár a: mu-tir-ri gi-mil-li-šu-nu

- 1 Anšar opened his mouth
 2 And addressed Kaka, his vizier,
 3 “Vizier Kaka, who gratifies my pleasure,
 4 I will send you to Laḥmu and Laḥamu.
 5 You are skilled in making inquiry, learned in address.
 6 Have the gods, my fathers, brought to my presence.
 7 Let all the gods be brought,
 8 Let them confer as they sit at table.
 9 Let them eat grain, let them drink ale,
 10 Let them decree the destiny for Marduk their avenger.
 11 Go, be gone, Kaka, stand before them,
 12 And repeat to them [all] that I tell you:
 13 ‘Anšar, your son, has sent me,
 14 And I am to explain his plans.
 15 “[Thus], Tīāmat our mother has conceived a hatred for us,
 16 She has established [a host] in her savage fury.
 17 All the gods have turned to her,
 18 Even those you (pl.) begat also take her side.
 19 They and took the side of Tīāmat,
 20 Fiercely plotting, unresting by night and day,
 21 Lusting for battle, raging, storming,
 22 They set up a host to bring about conflict.
 23 Mother Hubur, who forms everything,
 24 Supplied irresistible weapons, and gave birth to giant serpents.
 25 They had sharp teeth, they were merciless. . . ,
 26 With poison instead of blood she filled their bodies.
 27 She clothed the fearful monsters with dread,
 28 She loaded them with an aura and made them godlike.
 29 (She said,) ‘Let their onlooker feebly perish,
 30 May they constantly leap forward and never retire.’
 31 She created the Hydra, the Dragon, the Hairy Hero,
 32 The Great Demon, the Savage Dog, and the Scorpion-man,
 33 Fierce demons, the Fish-man, and the Mighty Bull,
 34 Carriers of merciless weapons, fearless in the face of battle.
 35 Her commands were tremendous, not to be resisted.
 36 Altogether she made eleven of that kind.

A: šu-šú-nu, šim-ta 11 D: qud-m[i-x]-nu a: qu-ud-mi-šu-nu i-zi-iz-ma 12 aD: traces of mimmu D: a-[x-x]-ka
 A: ana šá-a-šu-un 14 h: -t]u₄ lib-bi-šu A:]-šá-aš-bi-ra-an-ni 15 h: a-lit-ti-a-[a: a-lit-ta-nu i-zi-ir-ra-an-na-a-ti
 i: -a]n-na-a-ti 16 i: -gi]š/i]š la-ab-bat 17 i: -m]i-ir-šu-un 18 i: a]l-ku 19 i: -b]i-‘ú-ni’

- 37 A *i-na ilāni bu-uk-ri-šá šu-ut ʿišʿ-kun-ši [pu-uḫ-ra]*
 38 AB *ú-šá-áš-qi^dqin-gu ina bi-ri-ʿšúʿ-[nu šá-a-šú u]š-ra[b-bi]*
 39 AB *ʿaʿ-li-kut maḫ-ri pa-an um-ma-ni m[u-ir-ru-t]ú p[u-uḫ-ru]*
 40 AB *[na-á]š^{gis}kakki^{mes} ti-iš-bu-tú ti-[bu-ú a-na-an-ti]*
 41 AB *[šu-ut] tam-ḫa-ri ra-ab sik-[ka-tu-ú-ti]*
 42 AB *[ip-qid]-ma qa-tuš-šu ú-še-ši-ba-áš-[šú ina kar-ri]*
 43 AB *[ad-d]i ta-a-ka ina puḫur ilāni ʿúʿ-[šar-bi-ka]*
 44 AB *[ma]-ʿliʿ-ku-ut ilāni gim-rat-su-nu qa-tuš-š[úʿ uš-mal-li]*
 45 AB *[lu-u] šur-ba-ta-ma ḫa-ʿi-ri e-du-[ú at-ta]*
 46 ABB *li-ir-tab-bu-ú zik-ru-ka eli kālī-šú-nu ʿdaʿ-n[u-uk-ki]*
 47 ABbc *id-din-šum-ma tuppi šīmāti^{mes} i-ra-tu-uš ú-šat-mi-ḫ*
 48 ABbc *ka-ta qibīt(dug₄-ga)-ka la in-nen-na-a li-kun ši-it pi-i-kaʿ*
 49 ABbc *in-na-nu^dqin-gu šu-uš-qu-ú [[l]e-qu-ú e-nu-ti*
 50 ABbc *an ilāni mārē^{mes}-šá ši-ma-ta iš-ti-[mu]*
 51 ABbc *ep-šu pi-ku-nu^dgirra li-ni-ḫ-ḫa*
 52 AaBbc *im-tuk-⟨nu⟩ kit-mu-ra ma-ag-šá-ri liš-rab-bi-ib*
 53 AaBbcZ *áš-pur-ma^da-num ul i-le-ʿa ma-ḫar-šá*
 54 AaBbcZ *^dnu-dím-mud i-dur-ma i-tu-ra ár-kiš*
 55 AaBbcZ *iʿ-ir^dmarūtuk apkal ilāni ma-ru-ku-un*
 56 AaBbc *ma-ḫa-riš ti-amat lib-ba-šú a-ra ub-la*
 57 AaBbc *ep-šú pi-i-šú i-ta-ma-a a-na ia-a-ti*
 58 AaBbc *šum-ma-ma a-na-ku mu-tir gi-mil-li-ku-un*
 59 AaBbc *a-kam-me ti-amat-ma ú-bal-laṭ ka-šú-un*
 60 AaBbc *šuk-na-a-ma pu-uḫ-ru šu-ti-ra i-ba-a šim-ti*
 61 AaBbc *i-na up-šu-ukkin-na-ki mit-ḫa-riš ḫa-diš tiš-ba-ma*
 62 Aabc *ep-šu pi-ia ki-ma ka-tu-nu-ma ši-ma-tú lu-šim-ma*
 63 Aabc *la ut-tak-kar mim-mu-ú a-ban-nu-ú a-na-ku*
 64 Aabcjk *a-a i-tur a-a in-nen-na-a sè-kār šap-ti-ia*
 65 Aabcjk *ḫu-um-ṭa-nim-ma ši-mat-ku-nu ár-ḫiš ši-ma-šú*
 66 Aabcjk *lil-lik-ma lim-ḫu-ra na-kar-ku-nu dan-nu*
 67 Aabcjkl *il-lik^dkà-kà ur-ḫa-šu ú-šar-di-ma*
 68 Aabcdjkl *áš-riš^dlāḫ-mu u^dla-ḫa-mu ilāni ab-bé-e-šu*
 69 AabCcdjkl *uš-kin-ma iš-šiq qaq-qa-ra ma-ḫar-šu-un*
 70 AabCcdjkl *i-šir iz-za-az i-zak-kar-šu-un*
 71 AabCcdjk *an-šár-ma ma-ru-ku-nu ú-ma-ʿir-an-ni*
 72 AabCcdjk *te-ret lib-bi-šú ú-ša-aṣ-bi-ra-an-ni ia-a-ti*

40 B:]-ʿeʿ^{gis}kakki 44 A: gi-mir-[] 45 A: ḫa-ʿi-[] 47 B: -di]n-šu-ma 48 Tablet (b): pi-i-šú 50 B: dumu-dumu-šá
 c: ma-re-e-šá ši-ma-tú (B)b: ši-ma-ti b: uš-ti-ú 51 B: -pe]š pi-i-ku-nu c: pi-ku-nu Ab: ^dgiš-bar Bc: ^dBIL.GI
 52 A: AŠ kit-mu-ri a:] kit-mu-ru ma-ag-ša-ri li-ra-ab-bi-ib B: ma-ag-šá-ra 53 A: ^da-nu-um (B)Z: ^da-nam
 a: i-le-ʿim bZ: i-le-ʿi- B: i-le-ʿeʿ b: ma-ḫa-ar-ša Z: ma-ḫar-ša 54 a: i-du-ur-ma Z: i-dúr-ma, ar-kiš B: a[r-
 b: ar-ki-iš 55 A: ap-kal-lu BZ: ilāni^{mes} 56 a:]-ʿriʿ-iš c: ti-a-wa-ti lib-ba-šú a: li-ib-ba-šu b: lib-ba-šu
 57 A: ep-šu Aa: pi-i-šu 58 a: mu-tir-ri 59 c: tam-tam-ma a(b): ti-amat-am-ma b: ka-a-šu-un
 60 c: šuk-na-ma pu-uḫ-ru a(b): pu-uḫ-ru a: šu-te-r[a 61 c: ina up-šu-ukkin-na-ku a: -ukki]n-na-kam mi-it-ḫa-ri-[]

37 Among the gods, her sons, whom she constituted her [host],
 38 She exalted Qingu and magnified [him] among them.
 39 The leadership of the army, the direction of the host,
 40 The bearing of weapons, campaigning, the mobilization of [conflict],
 41 The chief executive power of battle, supreme command,
 42 She [entrusted] to him and set him [on a throne].
 43 ‘I have cast the spell for you and exalted you in the host of the gods,
 44 [I have delivered] to you(!) the rule of all the gods.
 45 You are indeed exalted, my spouse, you are renowned,
 46 Let your command prevail over all the Anunnaki.’
 47 She gave him the Tablet of Destinies and fastened it to his breast,
 48 (Saying) ‘Your order may not be changed, let the utterance of your mouth be firm.’
 49 After Qingu was elevated and had acquired the power of Anuship
 50 He decreed the destinies for the gods, her sons:
 51 ‘May the utterance of your mouths subdue the fire-god,
 52 May your poison by its accumulation put down aggression.’
 53 I sent Anu, but he could not face her.
 54 Nudimmud took fright and retired.
 55 Marduk, the sage of the gods, your son, has come forward,
 56 He has determined to meet Tiāmat.
 57 He has spoken to me and said,
 58 ‘If I should become your avenger,
 59 If I should bind Tiāmat and preserve you,
 60 Convene an assembly, and proclaim for me an exalted destiny.
 61 Sit, all of you, in Upšū’kkinakku with gladness.
 62 And let me, with my utterance, decree destinies instead of you.
 63 Whatever I instigate must not be changed.
 64 Nor may my command be nullified or altered.’
 65 Quickly, now, decree your destiny for him without delay,
 66 That he may go and face your powerful enemy.’”
 67 Kaka went. He directed his steps
 68 To Laḫmu and Laḫamu, the gods his fathers.
 69 He prostrated himself, he kissed the ground before them,
 70 He got up, saying to them as he stood,
 71 “Anšar, your son, has sent me,
 72 And I am to explain his plans.

b: ḫa-di-iš ta-aš-ba-ma 62 a: ka-a-t[u- b: ši-ma-tum lu-ši-im 63 a: mi-im-mu-ú 64 a:]-tu-ur j:]-né-na-a
 b: šap-ti-i 65 a: ár-ḫi-iš bjk: ar-ḫi-iš b: ši-ma-šu 66 Ac: lil-lik b: S]AR na-kar-ku-nu 67 c: ur-ḫa-šú
 68 d: a[š]- a: ù c: ^dla-ḫa-me ilāni^{mes} abbē^{mes}-šú 69 al: iš-ši-iq bjk: qaq-qa-ru C: -q]a-^rri¹ c: šá-pal-šú-un
 70 d: i-ši-ir a:]-ir c: ik-mis iz-ziz-ma l: IŠ¹-za-az c: i-zak-kar-šú-un j: i]z¹-zak-k[ar- 71 A: an-šár
 c: ma-ri-ku-nu ak: ú-ma-²i-ra-an-[j:]-ra-an-n[i] 72 d: te-re-e-ti a: -r]e-x libbī-šu c: ú-šá-aš-bir-an-ni
 C:]-šá-aš-bi-ra-an-ni

73	AabCcd	um-ma ti-amat a-lit-ta-ni i-zi-ir-ra-an-na-ši
74	AabCcd	pu-uḫ-ru šit-ku-na-at-ma ag-giš la-ab-bat
75	AabCcd	is-ḫu-ru-šim-ma ilāni gi-mir-šú-un
76	AabCcd	a-di šá at-tu-nu tab-na-a i-da-ša al-ku
77	AbCcf	im-ma-as-ru-nim-ma i-du-uš ti-amat te-bu-ni
78	AbCcf	ez-zu kap-du la sa-ki-ḫu mu-ša ù im-mu
79	AbCcf	na-šu-ú tam-ḫa-ri na-zar-bu-bu la-ab-bu
80	AbCcdf	ukkin-na šit-ku-nu-ma i-ban-nu-ú ṣu-la-a-ti
81	AbCcdf	um-mu ḫu-bur pa-ti-qat ka-la-ma
82	AbCcdf	uš-rad-di ^{giš} kakki la maḫ-ru it-ta-lad mušmaḫḫi ^{meš}
83	AbCcdf	zaq-tu-ma šin-ni la pa-du-ú at-ta- ² i
84	AbCcf	im-tú ki-ma da-mi zu-mur-šu-nu uš-ma-al-li
85	AbCcf	ušumgalli ^{meš} na-ad-ru-ti pul-ḫa-a-ti ú-šal-biš-ma
86	Abcf	me-lam-me uš-taš-šá-a i-liš um-taš-šil
87	Abcf	a-mir-šú-nu šar-ba-ba li-iḫ-ḫar-mi-im
88	Acf	zu-mur-šú-nu liš-taḫ-ḫi-ṭam-ma la i-né- ² ú irat-su-un
89	Acf	uš-zi-iz ba-aš-mu ^d mušḫušši ^{meš} u ^d la-ḫa-mi
90	Acf	ugalli ^{meš} uridimmi ^{meš} u gir-tab ¹ -lú-u ₁₈ -lu
91	Acf	ūmi ^{meš} da-ab-ru-ti ku ₆ -lú-u ₁₈ -lu u ku ₆ - ^r ša ₄ -rak ¹ -ki
92	Acf	na-áš kak-ku la pa-di-i la a-di-ru ta-ḫa-zi
93	Acf	gaḫ-šá te-re-tu-šá la ma-ḫar ši-na-ma
94	Ac	aḫ-ḫu-na-ma iš-ten eš-ret ki-ma šu-a-tu uš-tab-ši
95	Ac	ina ilāni bu-uk-ri-šá šu-ut iš-ku-nu-ši pu-uḫ-ri
96	Ac	ú-šá-áš-qi ^d qin-gu ina bi-ri-šú-nu šá-a-šú uš-rab-bi-iš
97	Ac	a-li-kut ma-ḫar pa-an um-ma-ni mu-ir-ru-tú puḫri
98	Ac	na-še-e ^{giš} kakki ti-iš-bu-tu te-bu-ú a-na-an-tú
99	Ac	šū-ut tam-ḫa-ra ra-ab sik-ka-tu-ti
100	Ac	ip-qid-ma qa-tuš-šú ú-še-ši-ba-áš-šú ina kar-ri
101	Ac	ad-di ta-a-ka ina puḫur ilāni ú-šar-bi-ka
102	Ac	ma-li-kut ilāni gim-rat-su-nu qa-tuk-ka uš-mál-li
103	Ac	lu-ú šur-ba-ta-ma ḫa-i-ri e-du-ú at-ta
104	Ac	li-ir-tab-bu-ú zik-ru- ^r ka eli ka-li-šú ¹ -nu ^d a- ^r nu-uk-ki ¹
105	Ac	^r id-din ¹ -šum-ma tuppi šimāti ^{meš} [i-ra-tu-uš ú-šat-mi-iḫ]
106	A	ka-ta qibīt(dug ₄ -ga)-ka la i[n-nen-na-a li-kun ši-it pi-i-ka]
107	A	in-na-na ^d qin-gu šu-uš-q[u-ú le-qu-ú e-nu-ti]
108	A	an ilāni mārē ^{meš} -šá ši-[ma-ta iš-ti-mu]

73 d: um-mu a: a-lit-ta-nu i-zi-ir-ra-an-na-ti b: iz-zi-ir-ra-an-na-a-ti 74 c: pu-uḫ-ru d: pu-uḫ-ru
a: ši-it-ku-na-at-ma (a)b: ag-gi-iš C: lab-bat 75 ab: gi-mi-ir-šu-nu 76 c: i-da-šá C: i-da-a-šu b: al-ka
77 C: i-du-šú ta-à-wa-ti f: ta-à-[c: ti-a-wa-ti b: te-bi¹-ni 78 c: mu-ši f: mu-š[u¹ C: mu-šá u c: im-ma
79 c: tam-ḫa-ra f: -a]m-ḫa-ra C: lab-bu 80 c: un-ke-en-na b: -b]an-nu-ma c: ṣu-la-a-tum 81 (b)f: pa-ti-qa-at
b: ka-la-mu 82 d: uš-ra-[f: -a]d-di kak-ku A: gi[š.tukul].meš C: maḫ-ri c: ma-ḫar, muš-maḫ-i b: muš-maḫ
83 f: šin-nu b: TA-AT¹⁻²-im 84 A: im-ta kīma da-a-mi c: zu-mur-šú-nu b:] x x uš-ma-al-la 85 A: gal-GÍRI^{meš}

73 ‘Thus, Tīamat our mother has conceived a hatred for us,
 74 She has established a host in her savage fury.
 75 All the gods have turned to her,
 76 Even those you (pl.) begat also take her side.
 77 They and took the side of Tīamat,
 78 Fiercely plotting, unresting by night and day,
 79 Lusting for battle, raging, storming,
 80 They set up a host to bring about conflict.
 81 Mother Hubur, who forms everything,
 82 Supplied irresistible weapons, and gave birth to giant serpents.
 83 They had sharp teeth, they were merciless. . . ,
 84 With poison instead of blood she filled their bodies.
 85 She clothed the fearful monsters with dread,
 86 She loaded them with an aura and made them godlike.
 87 (She said,) “Let their onlooker feebly perish,
 88 May they constantly leap forward and never retire.”
 89 She created the Hydra, the Dragon, the Hairy Hero,
 90 The Great Demon, the Savage Dog, and the Scorpion-man,
 91 Fierce demons, the Fish-man, and the Mighty Bull,
 92 Carriers of merciless weapons, fearless in the face of battle.
 93 Her commands were tremendous, not to be resisted.
 94 Altogether she made eleven of that kind.
 95 Among the gods, her sons, whom she constituted her host,
 96 She exalted Qingu and magnified him among them.
 97 The leadership of the army, the direction of the host,
 98 The bearing of weapons, campaigning, the mobilization of conflict,
 99 The chief executive power of battle, supreme command,
 100 She entrusted to him and set him on a throne.
 101 “I have cast the spell for you and exalted you in the host of the gods,
 102 I have delivered to you the rule of all the gods.
 103 You are indeed exalted, my spouse, you are renowned,
 104 Let your command prevail over all the Anunnaki.”
 105 She gave him the Tablet of Destinies and fastened it to his breast,
 106 (Saying) “Your order may not be changed, let the utterance of your mouth be firm.”
 107 After Qingu was elevated and had acquired the power of Anuship
 108 He decreed the destinies for the gods, her sons:

f: na-ad-ru-tum pu-ul-ḥa-a-t[i] 86 f:]-mi uš-taš-ša-a b: u]m-taš-ši-il 87 f: -i]r-šu-nu šar-ba-bi-‘iš’

88 A: zu-MIR’-šú-nu f: li-iš-taḥ-ḥi-tam-m[a 89 f: -z]i-iz-ma c: uz-ziz ba-aš-mi A: muš-ḥuš-šu f: muš-ḥu[š

90 A: u₄-gal-lu₄ ur-idim f:]-la ur-idim-me Tablet (c): gír-UB’-lú-u₁₈-lu 91 f: d]a-ab-ru-tum

92 A: giš.tukul.meš f: pa-du-[93 f: traces 94 A: ap-pu-un-na-ma 95 A: i-na 97 A: a-li-ku-ut maḥ-ri

98 A: na-aš giš.tukul.meš 99 A: tam-ḥa-ri 103 A: lu-u

109	A	<i>ep-šu pi-i-ku-nu</i> ^d girra(giš-b[ar] [li-ni-iḫ-ḫa]
110	A	<i>im-tuk-⟨nu⟩!</i> kit-mu-ru ma-ag-[šá-ra liš-rab-bi-ib]
111	A	<i>áš-pur-ma</i> ^d a-nu-um ul i-[le- ² a ma-ḫar-šá]
112	A	^d nu-dím-mud e-dur-ma i-[tu-ra ár-kiš]
113	A	<i>i²-ir</i> ^d marūtuk ap-kal-[lu ilāni ma-ru-ku-un]
114	A	<i>ma-ḫa-riš ti-amat</i> li[b-ba-šu a-ra ub-la]
115	A	<i>ep-šu pi-i-šu</i> ^r i ¹ -[ta-ma-a a-na ia-a-ti]
116	A	<i>šum-ma-ma a-na-ku</i> m[u-tir gi-mil-li-ku-un]
117	A	<i>a-kam-me ti-amat-m</i> [a ú-bal-laṭ ka-šú-un]
118	A	<i>šuk-na-a-ma pu-uḫ-ru</i> š[u-ti-ra i-ba-a šim-ti]
119	A	<i>i-na up-šu-ukkin-na-ki</i> mi[t-ḫa-riš ḫa-diš tš-ba-ma]
120	A	<i>ep-šu pi-ia ki-ma</i> k[a-tu-nu-ma ši-ma-tú lu-šim-ma]
121	A	<i>la ut-tak-kar</i> ^r mim-mu ¹ -u a-ban-nu-ú [a-na-ku]
122	A	^r a ¹ -a i-tur [a-a i]n-nen-na-a sè-kàr š[ap-ti-ia]
123	A	[ḫ]u-um-ta-nim-ma ši-mat-ku-nu ár-ḫiš [ši-ma-šú]
124	Aa	[l]il-lik lim-ḫu-ra na-kar-ku-nu ^r dan ¹ -nu
125	Aam	<i>iš-mu-ma</i> ^d lāḫ-ḫa ^d la-ḫa-mu is-su-ú e-li-tum
126	Aam	^d i-gì-gì nap-ḫar-šú-nu i-nu-qu mar-ši-iš
127	AaDem	<i>mi-na-a nak-ra</i> a-di ir-šu-ú ši-bi-it ṭ[è-mi-n]i
128	AaDe	<i>la ni-i-di ni-i-ni</i> ša ti-amat e-p[iš-taš]
129	ADe	<i>ig-gar-šu-nim-ma</i> il-la-[ku-ni]
130	ADe	<i>ilāni rabūti ka-li-šú-nu</i> mu-šim-mu [šimāti ^{meš}]
131	ADe	<i>i-ru-bu-ma mut-ti-iš an-šár</i> im-lu-u [ḫi-du-ta]
132	ADe	<i>in-naš-qu aḫu u a-ḫi</i> ina puḫri x [x x]
133	ADe	<i>li-šá-nu iš-ku-nu</i> ina qé-re-e-ti [uš-bu]
134	ADeZ	<i>áš-na-an i-ku-lu</i> ip-ti-qu ku-r[u-un-nu]
135	ADeZ	<i>ar-sa mat-qu</i> ú-sa-an-ni-nu ra-ṭi-šu-[un]
136	ADe	<i>ši-ik-ru</i> ina šá-te-e ḫa-ba-šu zu-um-[ri]
137	ADe	<i>ma-²-diš e-gu-ú</i> ka-bat-ta-šú-un i-te-el-[ša]
138	ADe	<i>a-na</i> ^d marūtuk mu-tir gi-mil-li-šú-nu i-ši-mu šim-[ta]

110 A: *im-tuk-AŠ* 126 a: -š]u-u[n 128 D: ni-i-nu aD(e): šá D: ti-à-wa-ti e: e-^rpi¹-iš¹-[

129 e: -g]a-ar-šu-nim-[A: il-lak-[130 e: m]eš gal.meš ka-li-šu-n[u D: mu-[ši]-mu 131 e: mu-ut-ti-iš

132 e:]-aš-qu a-ḫu u a-ḫu D: aḫu u aḫu, pu-uḫ-ri

Commentaries¹

53 ^ddi-[kud] ša a-na ḫur-sag-kalam-[ma . . .] x [x] (Z)

54 ^{giš}narkabtu ša [iti]še ir-ru-bu ù [uš-šu-ú] (Z)

55 ^dbēl ša [(x)] i [.] (Z)

134 [^de]NISAG pa-ta-qu ^{de}NI[SAG ša-qu-ú] (Z)

135 [a]r-su mir-su sa-na-nu ma-lu-ú r[a¹-a-ṭu lib-bu] (Z)

1. The list of commentary manuscripts is on pp. 135f.

- 109 “May the utterance of your mouths [subdue] the fire-god,
 110 May your poison by its accumulation [put down] aggression.”
 111 I sent Anu, but he could not face her.
 112 Nudimmud took fright and retired.
 113 Marduk, the sage of the gods, your son, has come forward,
 114 He has determined to meet Tiāmat.
 115 He has spoken to me and said,
 116 “If I should become your avenger,
 117 If I should bind Tiāmat and preserve you,
 118 Convene an assembly, and proclaim for me an exalted destiny.
 119 Sit, all of you, in Upšū^uukkinakku with gladness.
 120 And let me, with my utterance, decree destinies instead of you.
 121 Whatever I instigate must not be changed.
 122 Nor may my command be nullified or altered.”
 123 Quickly, now, decree your destiny for him without delay,
 124 That he may go and face your powerful enemy.”
 125 When Laḥḥa and Laḥamu heard, they cried aloud.
 126 All the Igigi moaned in distress,
 127 “What has gone wrong that she took this decision about us?
 128 We did not know what Tiāmat was doing.”
 129 All the great gods who decree destinies
 130 Gathered as they went,
 131 They entered the presence of Anšar and became filled with [joy],
 132 They kissed one another as they . [. .] in the assembly.
 133 They conferred as they [sat] at table,
 134 They ate grain, they drank ale.
 135 They stuffed their bellies with sweet cake,
 136 As they drank beer and felt good,
 137 They became quite carefree, their mood was merry,
 138 And they decreed the destiny for Marduk, their avenger.

133 e: [li-šá-n]a 135 e: ma-at-q[u 136 D:]-ik-ra e: i-na 137 e: i-gu-ú D: i-gu-gu¹ ka-bat-ta-šú-nu i-tel-
 138 D: an-šár a: -t]e¹ru¹ A: i-šim-mu

Quoted Elsewhere

- 129 ig-gar-šu-nim-ma i[l- (MSL XIV 323 7: commentary)

Textual notes on p. 474.

Tablet IV

Manuscripts

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
Assyrian Sites			
Nineveh (<i>Ashurbanipal</i>)			
A = K 16706		14–23	..
	Pl. 17		
B = 79-7-8, 251		35–49	103–107
	CT 13 20		
	(A and B are parts of the same tablet)		
C = K 3437+Rm 641+Rm II 83		36–83	84–129
	TSBA IV (1876) v–vi (3437 only): Delitzsch, <i>Lesestücke</i> ¹ (3437 only), ² 82–83 (ditto) ³ 97–99 (3437+641); CT 13 16–19 (all)		
D = K 5420c		74–92	93–119
	TSBA IV (1876) vi; CT 13 21		
E = K 11863		..	136–146
	Pl. 17		
Assur			
F = VAT 10552+10659+10660		17–45	..
	KAR 316 (10659 only); AfO 16 (1952/53) 323 and xiv (all)		
G = VAT 10898		39–54	105–121
	KAR 318		
J = VAT 11857		44–54	..
	Pl. 17		
H = VAT 10579		51–70	105–111
	LKA 6		
I = VAT 12240		62–70	..
	Pl. 17		
	(H, I, and J are probably parts of a single Late Middle Assyrian tablet)		
Sultantepe			
K = SU 51/58+127		1–73	74–146
	STT 3		catchline
L = SU 51/23A		1–13	..
	STT 4		

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
M = SU 51/47 + unnumbered fragment (38–44, see AfO 28 (1981/82) 92) STT 5 and Pl. 17		23–64	99–143
N = SU 51/167 STT 6		82–91	92–100
O = SU 51/245 STT 7		..	138–144
P = SU 52/243+385 STT 8+115		..	121–139
(N, O, and P are probably parts of the same tablet)			
Babylonian Sites, regular tablets			
b = F 2 Pl. 17		26–35	119–125
c = BM 93051 CT 13 20		42–54	85–94
d = VAT 6485 AfK I (1923) 86; AfO 3 (1926) 123		64–74	75–84
g = F 221 Pl. 18		85–90	
i = BM 69953 (82-9-18, 9953)+99871 (83-1-21, 2233) Pl. 18 (also contains Tablet V)			144–146
Borsippa			
a = BM 93016 (82-9-18, 3737) PSBA 10, p. 84, pls. i–iv; CT 13 14–15		1–44	116–146 catchline
Babylonian Sites, extracts on exercise tablets			
e = BM 33891 (Rm IV 453) Pl. 17			1–7
j = BM 36667 (80-6-17, 399) Pl. 18			9–13
k = BM 36387 (80-6-17, 113) Gesche, <i>Schulunterricht</i> (2001) 249; Pl. 18			33–37
f = BM 33824 (Rm IV 384) Pl. 18			70–76
h = BM 37395(+)+37573 (80-6-17, 1152(+)+1330) Pl. 18			88–93

Lines quoted in the commentaries

y: 113, 131–132

Z: 46, 47, 62, 113-114, 124, 131-132, 140, 144

Tablet IV

1 aeKL	<i>id-du-šum-ma pa-rak ru-bu-ú-ti</i>
2 aeKL	<i>ma-ḥa-ri-iš ab-bé-e-šu a-na ma-li-ku-ti ir-me</i>
3 aeKL	<i>at-ta-ma kab-ta-ta i-na ilāni rabûti</i>
4 aeKL	<i>ši-mat-ka la ša-na-an sè-kàr-ka ^da-nu-um</i>
5 aeKL	<i>^dmarûtuk kab-ta-ta i-na ilāni rabûti</i>
6 aeKL	<i>ši-mat-ka la ša-na-an sè-kàr-ka ^da-nu-um</i>
7 aeKL	<i>iš-tu u₄-mi-im-ma la in-nen-na-a qí-bit-ka</i>
8 aKL	<i>šu-uš-qu-ú ù šu-uš-pu-lu ši-i lu-ú qat-ka</i>
9 ajKL	<i>lu-ú ki-na-at ši-it pi-i-ka la sa-ra-ar sè-kàr-ka</i>
10 ajKL	<i>ma-am-ma-an i-na ilāni i-tuk-ka la it-ti-iq</i>
11 ajKL	<i>za-na-nu-tum er-šat pa-rak ilāni-ma</i>
12 ajKL	<i>a-šar sa-gi-šu-nu lu-ú ku-un áš-ruk-ka</i>
13 ajKL	<i>^dmarûtuk at-ta-ma mu-tir-ru gi-mil-li-ni</i>
14 AaK	<i>ni-id-din-ka šar-ru-tu₄ kiš-šat kal gim-re-e-ti</i>
15 AaK	<i>ti-šab-ma i-na puḥri lu-ú ša-qá-ta a-mat-ka</i>
16 AaK	<i>^{gis}kakkī^{meš}-ka a-a ip-pal-ṭu-ú li-ra-i-su na-ki-ri-ka</i>
17 AaFK	<i>be-lum šá tak-lu-ka na-piš-ta-šu gi-mil-ma</i>
18 AaFK	<i>ù ilu šá lem-né-e-ti i-ḥu-zu tu-bu-uk nap-šat-su</i>
19 AaFK	<i>uš-zi-zu-ma i-na bi-ri-šú-nu lu-ma-šá iš-ten</i>
20 AaFK	<i>an ^dmarûtuk bu-uk-ri-šu-nu šu-nu iz-zak-ru</i>
21 AaFk	<i>ši-mat-ka be-lum lu-ú maḥ-rat ilāni-ma</i>
22 AaFK	<i>a-ba-tum ù ba-nu-ú qí-bi li-ik-tu-nu</i>
23 AaFKM	<i>ep-šú pi-i-ka li-²a-bit lu-ma-šu</i>
24 aFKM	<i>tu-ur qí-bi-šum-ma lu-ma-šu li-iš-lim</i>
25 aFKM	<i>iq-bi-ma i-na pi-i-šu i²-a-bit lu-ma-šu</i>
26 abFKM	<i>i-tur iq-bi-šum-ma lu-ma-šu it-tab-ni</i>
27 abFKM	<i>ki-ma ši-it pi-i-šu i-mu-ru ilāni abbē-šu</i>
28 abFKM	<i>iḥ-du-ú ik-ru-bu ^dmarûtuk-ma šarru</i>
29 abFKM	<i>uš-ši-pu-šu ^{gis}ḥaṭṭa(pa) ^{gis}kussâ ù palâ^a</i>
30 abFKM	<i>id-di-nu-šu ka-ak la ma-aḥ-ra da-²i-pu za-a-a-ri</i>
31 abFKM	<i>a-lik-ma šá ti-ammat nap-šá-tuš pu-ru-²ma</i>
32 abFKM	<i>ša-a-ru da-mi-šá a-na bu-us-ra-tum li-bil-lu-ni</i>
33 abFKkM	<i>i-ši-mu-ma šá be-lí ši-ma-tuš ilāni abbē-šu</i>
34 abFKkM	<i>ú-ru-uḥ šul-mi u taš-me-e uš-ta-aṣ-bi-tu-uš ḥar-ra-nu</i>

1 a: ru-bu-tum III E: ru-bu-t[e]’ 2 a: ma-li-ku-tum K: ir-mu L: ir-bi 3 a: ra-bu-tum 4 e: ši-mat la¹ k[a¹ a: ^da-num 5 a: ra-bu-tum 6 e: ši-mat at¹-k[a¹ a: ^da-num 8 a: qá-at-ka 9 K: šá-na-an 10 K: -m]a-na an 11 j: za-na-nu-tum kiš-šá-tu₄ p[a- K: -nu]-ti id ban¹ x [12 a: aš-ru-uk-ka 14 K: i nid-din-ka š[ar]-ru-ti,]-lu 15 a: ti-šam-ma, pu-ḥur K: -qa]-at 16 a: kak-ki-ka, ip-pal-ṭu-ú 18 K: nap-šat-su-¹ú¹ 19 F: [u]š-zi-zu-ma ina a: bi-ri-šu-nu lu-ma-šu A:]-šú 20 a: a-na 21 F: lu a: maḥ-ra-at 22 F: om. ù; ba-nu-u K: qí-bu AK: lik-tu-na 23 a: ep-ša A: -m]a-šú 24 F: [t]u-ri K: lu-ma-a-šum KM: [i]š-lim 25 F: ina pî-šu [i¹-[K: ia-a-bit

- 1 They set a lordly dais for him
 2 And he took his seat before his fathers to receive kingship.
 3 (They said,) “You are the most honoured among the great gods,
 4 Your destiny is unequalled, your command is like Anu’s.
 5 Marduk, you are the most honoured among the great gods,
 6 Your destiny is unequalled, your command is like Anu’s.
 7 Henceforth your order will not be annulled,
 8 It is in your power to exalt and abase.
 9 Your utterance is sure, your command cannot be rebelled against,
 10 None of the gods will transgress the line you draw.
 11 Shrines for all the gods need provisioning,
 12 That you may be established where their sanctuaries are.
 13 You are Marduk, our avenger,
 14 We have given you kingship over the sum of the whole universe.
 15 Take your seat in the assembly, let your word be exalted,
 16 Let your weapons not miss the mark, but may they slay your enemies.
 17 Bēl, spare him who trusts in you,
 18 But destroy the god who set his mind on evil.”
 19 They set a constellation in the middle
 20 And addressed Marduk, their son,
 21 “Your destiny, Bēl, is superior to that of all the gods,
 22 Command and bring about annihilation and re-creation.
 23 Let the constellation disappear at your utterance,
 24 With a second command let the constellation reappear.”
 25 He gave the command and the constellation disappeared,
 26 With a second command the constellation came into being again.
 27 When the gods, his fathers, saw (the effect of) his utterance,
 28 They rejoiced and offered congratulation: “Marduk is the king!”
 29 They added to him a mace, a throne, and a rod,
 30 They gave him an irresistible weapon that overwhelms the foe:
 31 (They said,) “Go, cut Tiāmat’s throat,
 32 And let the winds bear up her blood to give the news.”
 33 The gods, his fathers, decreed the destiny of Bēl,
 34 And set him on the road, the way of prosperity and success.

KM: *lu-ma-a-šum* 26 a: *i-tu-ur* K(M): *lu-ma-a-šum* 27 F: *[kī]ma, pi-i-šú* a: *ab-bé-e-šu* 28 F: *iḫ-du-[m]a*
 a(b): *šar-ru* 29 F: *[u]š-ši-[p]u-šú* a: *ú-uš-ši-pu-šu* ^{nis} *íg-pa* b: *pa-la]-a-a[m]* 30 a: *kak-ku* K: MA¹ *maḫ¹* M: *ma]ḫ¹*
 KM: *da-a-a-i-pu* 31 F: *a-ab-ba* K(M): *ta-à-wa-ti* a: *naḫ-ša-tu-uš* K: *pu-ru-ŠU¹* 32 K: *šāru^{mes}* a: *da-mi-ša*
 F: *ana bu-us-r[at* KM: *bu-sú-ra-ti lu-bil-lu-ni* b: *]bi-il-l[u-* 33 F: *be-lum* ak: *^dbēl ši-ma-tu-uš* a(b): *ab-bé-e-šu*
 34 a: *ú-ru-úḫ* ak: *šu-ul-mu* F: *šul-me*; om. *u* KM: *ú-šá-aš-bi-tu-šú ḫar-ra-na*

35	aBbFKkM	<i>ib-šim</i> ^{giš} <i>qašta</i> ^{giš} <i>kakka-šu ú-ad-di</i>
36	aBCFKkM	<i>mul-mul-lum uš-tar-ki-ba ú-kin-ši mat-nu</i>
37	aBCFKkM	<i>iš-ši-ma miṭ-ta im-na-šu ú-šá-ḫi-iṣ</i>
38	aBCFKM	^{giš} <i>qašta u iš-ṣa-tum i-du-uš-šu i-lul</i>
39	aBCFGKM	<i>iš-kun birqa i-na ṣa-ni-šu</i>
40	aBCFGKM	<i>nab-la muš-taḫ-me-ṭu zu-mur-šu um-tal-li</i>
41	aBCFGKM	<i>i-ṣu-uš-ma sa-ṣa-ra šul-mu-ú qir-biš ti-amat</i>
42	aBCcFGKM	<i>er-bet-ti šá-a-ri uš-te-eṣ-bi-ta la a-še-e mim-mi-šá</i>
43	aBCcFGKM	<i>šūtu(im-u₁₈-lu) iltānu (im-si-sá) šadū(im-kur-ra) amurru(im-mar-dú)</i>
44	aBCcFGJKM	<i>i-du-uš sa-ṣa-ra uš-taq-ri-ba qí-iš-ti abī-šú ^da-nim</i>
45	BCcFGJKM	<i>ib-ni im-ḫul-la {šāra lem-na} me-ḫa-a a-šam-šu-tum</i>
46	BCcGJKMZ	<i>im-límmu-ba im-imin-bi im-suḫ im-sá-a-nu-sá-a</i>
47	BCcGJKMZ	<i>ú-še-ša-am-ma šāri^{mes} šá ib-nu-ú si-bit-ti-šú-un</i>
48	BCcGJKM	<i>qir-biš ti-amat šu-ud-lu-ḫu ti-bu-ú arkī-šú</i>
49	BCcGJKM	<i>iš-ši-ma be-lum a-bu-ba ^{giš}kakka-šú rabā^a</i>
50	CcGJKM	^{giš} <i>narkabat u₄-mu la maḫ-ri ga-lit-ta ir-kab</i>
51	CcGHJKM	<i>iṣ-mid-sim-ma er-bet na-aṣ-ma-di i-du-uš-šá i-lul</i>
52	CcGHJKM	<i>ša-gi-šu la ṣa-du-ú ra-ḫi-ṣu mu-up-ṣar-šá</i>
53	CcGHJKM	<i>ṣa-tu-ni šaṣ-ti šin-na-šu-nu na-šá-a im-ta</i>
54	CcGHJKM	<i>a-na-ḫa la i-du-ú sa-ṣa-na lam-du</i>
55	CHKM	<i>uš-ziz im-nu-uš-šu ta-ḫa-za ra-áš-ba u tu-qu-un-tú</i>
56	CHKM	<i>šu-me-la a-na-an-ta da-a-a-i-ṣat ka-la mut^{te}ten-di</i>
57	CHKM	<i>na-aḫ-lap-ta aṣ-luḫ-ti ṣul-ḫa-ti ḫa-lip-ma</i>
58	CHKM	<i>mi-lam-mi ra-šub-ba-ti a-ṣi-ir ra-šu-uš-šu</i>
59	CHKM	<i>uš-te-šir-ma be-lum ur-ḫa-šú ú-šar-di-ma</i>
60	CHKM	<i>áš-riš ti-amat šá ug-gu-gat ṣa-nu-uš-šu iš-kun</i>
61	CHKM	<i>i-na šaṣ-ti-šu ta-a ú-kal-la</i>
62	CHIKMZ	<i>šam-mi im-ta bul-li-i ta-me-eḫ rit-tuš-šu</i>
63	CHIKM	<i>i-na u₄-mi-šu i-dul-lu-šu ilāni i-dul-lu-šu</i>
64	CdHIKM	<i>ilāni abbē-šu i-dul-lu-šu ilāni i-dul-lu-šu</i>
65	CdHIK	<i>iṭ-ḫe-ma be-lum qab-lu-uš ta-à-wa-ti i-bar-ri</i>
66	CdHIK	<i>šá ^dqin-gu ḫa-ʔi-ri-šá i-še-ʔa šib-qí-šú</i>

35 a: *ib-šim-ma* k:]-ši-ma a(k): *kak-ka-šu* K: *ú-ad-x* 36 F(k): [mu]l-mul-lu K: *mul-mul-šu* a: *ú-kin-šu ma-at-nu*
37 K: *iš-ši* aF: ^{giš}tukul-dingir K(M): ^{giš}miṭ-ta C: *im-na-šú* a: *ú-šá-ḫi-iṣ* 38 BK: *ù* a: ^{kuš}iš-ṣa-tum K(M): ^{kuš}iš-ṣa-te
C: *i-du-uš-šú* a: *i-lu-ul* 39 a: *bi-ir-qu* C: *ṣa-ni-šú* 40 a: *nab-lu muš-taḫ-mi-ṭu* KM: [na]b-li K: *mu-uš-taḫ-me-ṭu*
F: *m[uš-taḫ-me-ṭa* M: *m[u-uš-taḫ-m]e-ṭa* C: *zu-mur-šú* a: *um-ta-al-la* 41 G: (beginning) x x [F: *sa-ṣa-ru*
C: *šul-mu-u* a: *qir-bi-šú tam-tim* 42 a: TAB.TAB^{im} aK(M): *šāri^{mes}* F: *uš-ta-aṣ-]* C: *ana la* a: *mi-im-me-ša*
M: *mim-mi-š[ú]* 43 G: *šu-ʔú-]*, *il-]* 44 K(M): *sa-ṣa-ri* c: *s]a-ṣa-ru uš-taq-ri-ba a-na [* K: *qí-[x]-ʔú-šú ^da-nu-um*
a:]-ʔbi-šú⁷ KM: ^da-nu-um 45 K(M): *im-ḫul* J: *ša-a-x [* c: *ša-ar lem-nu me-ḫu-ú* (K)M: *a-šam-šu-tú*
46 G: *im-GAR-bi* C: *im-imin* c:]-imin-bi-im CM: *im-nu-sá-a* Z: *im-si-a-nu-si-a* 47 G: *ú-še-ša-ma*
c]: *ša-a-ri* c: *si-bit-ti-šú-un* (K)M: *si-bit-ti-šú-nu* 48 G: *qir-bi-iš* c:]-i]š K(M): *te-bu-u* c: *te-bu-ú ar-ki-šu*
49 c: *a-bu-bu kak-ka-šu ra-ba-a-am* K: ^{giš}kakka-šu 50 G: *u₄-m[i* J:]-m]i la-a KM: *maḫ-ḫi-rat*

- 35 He fashioned a bow and made it his weapon,
 36 He set an arrow in place, put the bow string to it.
 37 He took up his club and held it in his right hand,
 38 His bow and quiver he hung at his side.
 39 He placed lightning before him,
 40 And filled his body with tongues of flame.
 41 He made a net to enmesh the entrails of Tiāmat,
 42 And stationed the four winds that no part of her escape.
 43 The South Wind, the North Wind, the East Wind, the West Wind,
 44 He put beside his net, winds given by his father, Anu.
 45 He fashioned the Evil Wind, the Dust Storm, Tempest,
 46 The Four-fold Wind, the Seven-fold Wind, the Chaos-spreading Wind, the....Wind.
 47 He sent out the seven winds that he had fashioned,
 48 And they took their stand behind him to harass Tiāmat's entrails.
 49 Bēl took up the Storm-flood, his great weapon,
 50 He rode the fearful chariot of the irresistible storm.
 51 Four teams he yoked to it and harnessed them to it,
 52 The Destroyer, The Merciless, The Trampler, The Fleet.
 53 Their lips were parted, their teeth bore venom,
 54 They were strangers to weariness, trained to sweep forward.
 55 At his right hand he stationed raging battle and strife,
 56 On the left, conflict that overwhelms a united battle array.
 57 He was clad in a tunic, a fearful coat of mail,
 58 And on his head he wore an aura of terror.
 59 Bēl proceeded and set out on his way,
 60 He set his face toward the raging Tiāmat.
 61 In his lips he held a spell,
 62 He grasped a plant to counter poison in his hand,
 63 Thereupon they milled around him, the gods milled around him,
 64 The gods, his fathers, milled around him, the gods milled around him.
 65 Bēl drew near, surveying the maw of Tiāmat,
 66 He observed the tricks of Qingu, her spouse.

c: maḥ-ru ga-lit-tum ir-ka-ab 51 G: iṣ-mi-is-si-[] H: [iṣ]-m[i- J: -šu]m-ma c:]-mid-šum-(erased sim)-ma GAR
 KM: er-bé-ta cKM: na-aṣ-ma-du c: i-du-uš-šu i-lu-ul 52 G: [š]a-ag-gi₄-[] H:]-gi-š[ú K: šag-gi-šu J: la-a
 KM: pa-du-u c: mu-up-par-šu K: mu-up-par-ši 53 G: 'pa¹-tu-¹ú'-[] K: pa-tu-nu J:] x-tú š[i- C: šin-na-šu-šu
 c: na-ša-a im-tum M: im-t]ú² 54 H: om. la J: la]-¹a¹ c: l]a-¹am-du¹ K(M): lam-NA¹ 55 H:]-zi-iz
 C: t]u-qu-un-tu[m] 56 H: -m]e-lam C:]-en-d[i] 57 H: [túg-gú]-è ap-luḥ-t[e KM: pul-ḥa-ta
 58 C: me-lam-mi u, ra-šu-uš-š[ú] 59 K(M): ur-ḥa-šu i-šar-di-šu 60 H: ta-mi-a-ti ša C: pa-nu-uš-šu
 61 H: ša]p-te-e-šu C: ú-kal-lu 62 H: im-ti bu-ul-l[im C: rit-tuš-šu 63 I: ilāni^{mes} C: i-dul-lu-šu² 64 C: abbē-šu
 H: a]b-bu-šu d:] x-¹e¹-SU¹ i-du-lu-šu I: ilāni^{mes} C: i-dul-lu-šu² 65 d:]-¹e¹-ma K: qab-lu-šu C: ti-à-wa-ti
 I: ta-me-a-t[i 66 d: ḥa-²i-ri-šu i-še-²e K: šib-qí-šu

67	CdHIK	<i>i-na-aṭ-ṭal-ma e-ši ma-lak-šú</i>
68	CdHIK	<i>sa-pi-iḥ ṭè-ma-šu-ma si-ḥa-ti ep-šet-su</i>
69	CdHIK	<i>ù ilāni re-ṣu-šu a-li-ku i-di-šú</i>
70	CdfHIK	<i>i-mu-ru-ma qar-da a-šá-re-du ni-ṭil-šú-un i-ši</i>
71	CdfK	<i>id-di t[â(t[u₆])-š]a ti-amat ul ú-ta-ri ki-šad-sa</i>
72	CdfK	<i>i-na šap-ti-šá lul-la-a ú-kal sar-ra-a-ti</i>
73	CdfK	<i>[x] x ta x x x šá be-lu₄ ilāni ti-bu-ka</i>
74	CDdfK	<i>[x-r]u-uš-šú-un ip-ḥu-ru šu-nu áš-ruk-ka</i>
75	CDdfK	<i>[iš-ši]-ma be-lum a-bu-ba^{gis}kakka-šú rabâ^a</i>
76	CDdfK	<i>[a]-na ti-amat šá ik-mi-lu ki-a-am iš-pur-š[ú]</i>
77	CDdK	<i>mi-na-a tub-ba-a-ti e-liš na-šá-ti-ma</i>
78	CDdK	<i>ù ka-pid lib-ba-ki-ma de-ke a-na-an-ta</i>
79	CDdK	<i>is-su-ú mārē^{meš} abbē-šu-nu i-da-aš-šu</i>
80	CDdK	<i>ù at-ti a-lit-ta-šú-nu ta-zi-ri re-e-ma</i>
81	CDdK	<i>[ta]-am-be-e^dqin-gu a-na ḥa-²i-ru-ti-ki</i>
82	CDdKN	<i>a-na la si-ma-ti-šu taš-ku-ni-iš a-na pa-ra-aš^de-nu-ti</i>
83	CDdKN	<i>a-na an-šár šār ilāni lem-né-e-ti te-eš-e-ma</i>
84	CDdKN	<i>ù a-na ilāni abbē^e-a le-mut-ta-ki tuk-tin-ni</i>
85	CcDgKN	<i>lu-ú ṣa-an-da-at um-mat-ki lu-ú rit-ku-su šu-nu^{gis}kakki^{meš}-ki</i>
86	CcDgKN	<i>en-di-im-ma a-na-ku u ka-a-ši i ni-pu-uš šá-áš-ma</i>
87	CcDgKN	<i>ti-amat an-ni-ta i-na še-mi-šá</i>
88	CcDghKN	<i>maḥ-ḥu-tiš i-te-mi ú-šá-an-ni ṭè-en-šá</i>
89	CcDghKN	<i>is-si-ma ti-amat šit-mu-riš e-li-ta</i>
90	CcDghKN	<i>šur-šiš ma-al-ma-liš it-ru-ra iš-da-a-šú</i>
91	CcDhKN	<i>i-man-ni šip-ta it-ta-nam-di ta-a-šú</i>
92	CcDhKN	<i>ù ilāni šá tāḥāzi ú-šá-²a-lu šu-nu^{gis}kakki^{meš}-šú-un</i>
93	CcDhKN	<i>in-nen-du-ma ti-amat apkal ilāni^{meš}^dmarūtuk</i>
94	CcDKN	<i>šá-áš-meš it-lu-pu qit-ru-bu ta-ḥa-zi-iš</i>
95	CDKN	<i>uš-pa-ri-ir-ma be-lum sa-pa-ra-šú ú-šal-me-ši</i>
96	CDKN	<i>im-ḥul-la ṣa-bit ar-ka-ti pa-nu-uš-šá um-taš-šir</i>
97	CDKN	<i>ip-te-ma pi-i-šá ti-amat a-na la-²a-ti-šá</i>
98	CDKN	<i>im-ḥul-la uš-te-ri-ba a-na la ka-tam šap-ti-šá</i>
99	CDKMN	<i>ež-zu-tum šārī^{meš} kar-ša-ša i-za-nu-ma</i>
100	CDKMN	<i>in-né-sil lib-ba-šá-ma pa-a-ša uš-pal-ki</i>

67 K: *i-na-aṭ-ṭa-lam-ma* H: *-a]l-ma* d: *]-aṭ-ṭal^{al}-ma, ma-la-a[k-* K: *ma-lak-šu* 68 H: *té-[* d(I): *si-ḥa-a-ti*
K: *sa-ḥa-ti* 69 C: *ilāni^{meš}* H: *] ÁŠ re-ṣ[u¹-* d: *re-ši-šu* K: *i-di-šú* 70 dfK: *qar-du* df: *a-ša-re-du* d: *ni-ṭil-*
K: *ni-ṭi-li-šu-un* f: *ni-ṭi-il-šu-u[n¹* I: *] x x [* 71 d: *] x ti-amat* f: *ú-ta-a-ri* 72 (d)f: *-ša* f: *ú-kal-la* 73 f: *‘ša¹ be-lu*
d: *]lu* K: *be]-lí, te-bu-šu* f: *t[e-* 74 K: *áš-ru-uš-ka* 75 d: *‘a¹-bu-bu kak-k[a-* f: *-b]u kak-ka-[* K: *^{gis}kakka-šu*
76 d: *ša* K: *iš-pur* 77 d: *tu-ub-ba-a-ti e-l[i-* 78 d: *k]a-pi-id* 79 d: *ma-ru-ú ab-bu-šu-[* C: *abbē-šú-nu* D: *i-da-ṣ[u]¹*
80 d: *a]t-ta a-lit-ta-šú-ni* D: *ta-zir-ri* K: *ta-zir* 81 K: *tab-bi-ma* D: *ḥa-²i-ru-t[i-* 82 d: *si-ma-ti-ia taš-ku-ni-x [*
D: *-n]i-šú* K: *pa-¹aš e-nu-ti* D: *^da-n[u-* 83 C: *te-še-²e-ma* 84 K: *abbē-šu* D: *l]e-mut-ta-ka* 85 K: *um-mat-ku*

67 As he looked, he lost his nerve,
 68 His determination went and he faltered.
 69 His divine aides, who were marching at his side,
 70 Saw the warrior, the foremost, and their vision became dim.
 71 Tiāmat cast her spell without turning her neck,
 72 In her lips she held untruth and lies,
 73 “[.]
 74 In their [.] . they have assembled by you.”
 75 Bēl [lifted up] the Storm-flood, his great weapon,
 76 And with these words threw it at the raging Tiāmat,
 77 “Why are you aggressive and arrogant,
 78 And strive to provoke battle?
 79 The younger generation have shouted, outraging their elders,
 80 But you, their mother, hold pity in contempt.
 81 Qingu you have named to be your spouse,
 82 And you have improperly appointed him to the rank of Anuship.
 83 Against Anšar, king of the gods, you have stirred up trouble,
 84 And against the gods, my fathers, your trouble is established.
 85 Deploy your troops, gird on your weapons,
 86 You and I will take our stand and do battle.”
 87 When Tiāmat heard this
 88 She went insane and lost her reason.
 89 Tiāmat cried aloud and fiercely,
 90 All her lower members trembled beneath her.
 91 She was reciting an incantation, kept reciting her spell,
 92 While the battle-gods were sharpening their weapons of war.
 93 Tiāmat and Marduk, the sage of the gods, came together,
 94 Joining in strife, drawing near to battle.
 95 Bēl spread out his net and enmeshed her;
 96 He let loose the Evil Wind, the rear guard, in her face.
 97 Tiāmat opened her mouth to swallow it,
 98 She let the Evil Wind in so that she could not close her lips.
 99 The fierce winds weighed down her belly,
 100 Her inwards were distended and she opened her mouth wide.

C: lu² 86 g: en-dim-ma N: 'en-di-ma' K: ù c: ka-a-šú 87 c: ina še-me-e-šú K: še-mi-ša 88 g: maḥ-ḥu-ti-i[š
 c:]-ti-iš c(h): i-te-me c: ú-šá-an-nu K: ú-ša-an-ni ṭè-en-ša 89 c: šit-mu-ri-iš h: šit-it-mu-ri-i[š K: e-li-šu
 90 (g)h: šur-ši-iš c: -i[š 'ma'-[x-x-x-i]š h:]-ma-li-iš c: it-ru-ru K: iš-da-šu 91 h: i-ma-an-n[a] šip-tum it-ta-n[a-
 K: ta-a-šu 92 h: ta-ḥa-z[i D: ú-šá-'a-lu c:] x-a-lu šú-nu kak-ki-šu-[93 K: ù apkal ilāni 95 K: sa-ḥa-ra-šu
 C: ú-šal-mi-[96 C: im-ḥul-lu, ḥa-nu-uš-šú 97 KN: pi-i-ša C: la-'a-ti-šú K: la-'a-ti-ša 98 K: ka-MU' šap-ti-šu
 99 C: ez-zu-ti 100 K: lib-b[a-š]u²-ma D: ḥa-a-šá

101	CDKM	<i>is-suk mul-mul-la iḫ-te-pi ka-ras-sa</i>
102	CDKM	<i>qir-bi-šá ú-bat-ti-qa ú-šal-liṭ lib-ba</i>
103	BCDKM	<i>ik-mi-ši-ma nap-šá-tuš ú-bal-li</i>
104	BCDKM	<i>šá-lam-taš id-da-a elī-šá iz-zi-za</i>
105	BCDGHKM	<i>ul-tu ti-amat a-lik pa-ni i-na-ru</i>
106	BCDGHKM	<i>ki-iṣ-ri-šá up-tar-ri-ra pu-ḫur-šá is-sap-ḫa</i>
107	BCDGHKM	<i>ù ilāni re-ṣu-šá a-li-ku i-di-šá</i>
108	CDGHKM	<i>it-tar-ru ip-la-ḫu ú-šah-ḫi-ru ar-kāt-su-un</i>
109	CDGHKM	<i>ú-še-ṣu-ma nap-šá-tuš e-ṭe-ru</i>
110	CDGHKM	<i>ni-ta la-mu-ú na-par-šu-diš la le-²-e</i>
111	CDGHKM	<i>i-sír-šú-nu-ti-ma ^{gis}kakkī^{mes}-šú-nu ú-šab-bir</i>
112	CDGKM	<i>sa-pa-riš na-du-ma ka-ma-riš uš-bu</i>
113	CDGKM _Y Z	<i>en-du ṭúb-qa-a-ti ma-lu-ú du-ma-mi</i>
114	CDGKM _Z	<i>še-ret-su na-šu-ú ka-lu-ú ki-šuk-kiš</i>
115	CDGKM	<i>ù iš-ten-eš-ret nab-ni-ti šu-ut pul-ḫa-ti ša-²-nu</i>
116	aCDGKM	<i>mi-il-la gal-le-e a-li-ku kir₄-dip im-ni-šá</i>
117	aCDGKM	<i>it-ta-di šer-re-e-ti i-di-šu-nu ú-ka-as-si</i>
118	aCDGKM	<i>qá-du tuq-ma-ti-šú-nu šá-pal-šú ik-bu-us</i>
119	abCDGKM	<i>ù ^dqin-gu šá ir-tab-bu-u i-na bi-ri-šu-un</i>
120	abCGKM	<i>ik-mi-šu-ma it-ti ^duggê(ug₅-ga-e) šu-a-^rta¹ im-ni-šu</i>
121	abCGKMP	<i>i-kim-šu-ma tuppi šīmāti^{mes} la si-ma-ti-šu</i>
122	abCKMP	<i>i-na ki-šib-bi ik-nu-kám-ma ir-tuš it-muḫ</i>
123	abCKMP	<i>iš-tu lem-né-e-šú ik-mu-ú i-sa-du</i>
124	abCKMP _Z	<i>a-a-bu mut-ta-²-du ú-ša-pu-ú šu-ri-šam</i>
125	abCKMP	<i>ir-nit-ti an-šár eli na-ki-ri ka-liš uš-zi-zu</i>
126	aCKMP	<i>ni-iz-mat ^dnu-dím-mud ik-šu-du ^dmarūtuk qar-du</i>
127	aCKMP	<i>e-li ilāni^{mes} ka-mu-tum ši-bit-ta-šu ú-dan-nin-ma</i>
128	acKMP	<i>ši-ri-iš ti-amat šá ik-mu-ú i-tu-ra ar-ki-iš</i>
129	aCKMP	<i>ik-bu-us-ma be-lum šá ti-a-ma-tum i-šid-sa</i>
130	aKMP	<i>i-na mi-ṭi-šu la pa-di-i ú-lat-ti muḫ-ḫa</i>
131	aKMP _Y Z	<i>ú-par-ri-²-ma uš-lat da-mi-šá</i>
132	aKMP _Y Z	<i>ša-a-ru il-ta-nu a-na bu-us-rat uš-ta-bil</i>
133	aKMP	<i>i-mu-ru-ma ab-bu-šu iḫ-du-ú i-ri-šu</i>
134	aKMP	<i>igisê^e šul-ma-ni ú-šá-bi-lu šu-nu ana šá-a-šu</i>

101 KM: -t]e-pa DKM: ka-ras-su 102 KM: ú-šá-liṭ 103 C: nap-šá-taš 104 C: šá-lam-šá¹, i-za-^rza¹
K(M): iz-za-zi 106 G: ki-iṣ-^rru¹-š[a H: up-t[a- 107 G: ilāni^{mes} 108 D: ú-šah-ḫi-ra D(M): al-kāt-su-un
109 K(M): e-ṭe-ra 110 G: ni-i-ta K: ^rla-mu-u na-pa-ar-šu¹-¹ D: na-par-šu-di-iš KM: le-²-a 111 G: i-si-ra-šú-nu-
M:]-šu-nu-ti-ma K: ^{gis}kakkī^{mes}-š[u]-nu 112 G: sa-pa-ri-iš 113 G: ṭú-¹ Dy: ṭub-qa-a-ti KM: ṭub-qa-ti
D(y): du-ma-mu 114 G: še-re-es-su M: š[e-^r]et-sa K: -s[a D: na-šu-u Z: ki-šuk-^rki¹ 115 G: om. ù M: u
K: nab-nit-sa D: i-ša-nu 116 G: m[il¹-l]a¹ a: om. milla; gal₅-lá^{mes} 117 (a)G: it-ta-ad-di C: ^ri-di-šú¹-n[u
118 G: ^rqá¹-du K: -m]a-ti-šu-¹ K(M): šá-pal-šu 119 C: ir-ta-bu-ú i[na D: ina 120 K(M): ^dr ug₅-ga^{mes}

- 101 He let fly an arrow and pierced her belly,
 102 He tore open her entrails and slit her inwards,
 103 He bound her and extinguished her life,
 104 He threw down her corpse and stood on it.
 105 After he had killed Tīāmat, the leader,
 106 Her assembly dispersed, her host scattered.
 107 Her divine aides, who went beside her,
 108 In trembling and fear beat a retreat.
 109 They . . . to save their lives,
 110 But they were completely surrounded, unable to escape.
 111 He bound them and broke their weapons,
 112 And they lay enmeshed, sitting in a snare,
 113 Hiding in corners, filled with grief,
 114 Bearing his punishment, held in a prison.
 115 The eleven creatures who were laden with fearfulness,
 116 The throng of devils who went as grooms at her right hand,
 117 He put ropes upon them and bound their arms,
 118 Together with their warfare he trampled them beneath him.
 119 Now Qingu, who had risen to power among them,
 120 He bound and reckoned with the Dead Gods.
 121 He took from him the Tablet of Destinies, which was not properly his,
 122 Sealed it with a seal and fastened it to his own breast.
 123 After the warrior Marduk had bound and slain his enemies,
 124 Had . . . the arrogant enemy . . . ,
 125 Had established victory for Anšar over all his foes,
 126 Had fulfilled the desire of Nudimmud,
 127 He strengthened his hold on the Bound Gods,
 128 And returned to Tīāmat, whom he had bound.
 129 Bēl placed his feet on the lower parts of Tīāmat
 130 And with his merciless club smashed her skull.
 131 He severed her arteries
 132 And let the North Wind bear up (her blood) to give the news.
 133 His fathers saw it and were glad and exulted;
 134 They brought gifts and presents to him.

121 C: *si-ma*[t- 122 a: *ir-^rtu-uš^r* ab: *it-mu-úh* 123 a: *lem-né-šu* 124 C:]-*bi mut-ta-du ú-šá-pu-*[
 KM: *ú-šá-pu-u* 125 a: *e-li na-ki-ru ka-li-iš* KM:]-*zi-iz-za* 127 P: *ilā*]ni C: *ilāni ka-mu-ú-ti* KP: *ka-mu-ti*
 M: *-t*]i 128 C: *-r*]iš *ti-à-wa-ti* (K)P: *t*]a-à-wa-ti M: *i-tu-ru ar-kiš* 129 M: *ṛta¹⁷-à-wa-ti* P:]-*ṛà¹-wa-ti*
 130 a: *mu-úh-ḥa* 131 P:]-*ri-²ṛú¹⁷* a: *uš-la-at da-mi-ša* y: *lš¹-[a-tú¹]* úš^{mes}-šá 132 y: im Z: *šá-a-ru il-ta-a-*[
 (K)Py: *im-si-sá* y: *ana* (K)M: *bu-sú-ra-ti* P: *bu-sú-ra-tú* Z:] *x-ra-a-ti* 133 K:]-*ad-šu* KM: *iḥ-du-u* 134 a:
šul-ma-nu ú-ša-bi-lu aP: *a-na* a: *ša-a-šu* M: *šá-a-[š]ú*

135	aKMP	<i>i-nu-úḫ-ma be-lum</i>	<i>šá-lam-taš i-bar-ri</i>
136	aEKMP	^{uz} <i>ku-bu ú-za-a-zu</i>	<i>i-ban-na-a nik-la-a-ti</i>
137	aEKMP	<i>ih̄-pi-ši-ma ki-ma nu-un maš-te-e a-na ši-ni-šu</i>	
138	aEKMOP	<i>mi-iš-lu-uš-ša iš-ku-nam-ma</i>	<i>šá-ma-mi uš-šal-lil</i>
139	aEKMOP	<i>iš-du-ud maš-ka ma-aš-ša-ra ú-šá-aš-bit</i>	
140	aEKMOZ	<i>me-e-ša la šu-ša-a</i>	<i>šu-nu-ti um-ta-ʾir</i>
141	aEKMO	<i>šamê^e i-bi-ir áš-ra-ta i-ḫi-ṭam-ma</i>	
142	aEKMO	<i>uš-tam-ḫi-ir mé-eḫ-ret ap-si-i</i>	<i>šu-bat^d nu-dím-mud</i>
143	aEKMO	<i>im-šu-úḫ-ma be-lum</i>	<i>šá ap-si-i bi-nu-tuš-šu</i>
144	aEiKO	<i>èš-gal-la tam-ši-la-šu</i>	<i>ú-kin é-šár-ra</i>
145	aEiK	<i>èš-gal-la é-šár-ra šá ib-nu-u</i>	<i>šá-ma-mi</i>
146	aEiK	<i>^da-nim^d en-líl u^d é-a</i>	<i>ma-ḫa-zi-šu-un uš-ram-ma</i>

135 a: *ša-lam-tu-uš* P: *ša-lam-taš* 136 K(P): *ʾú¹-za-ʾa-za* K(M): *nik-lá-a-ti* P: *nik-lá-a-*[137 a: *nu-nu* P: *m]a-aš-te-e* a: MIN-*šu* 138 K: *-u]š-šá* a: *ša-ma-ma ú-ša-al-lil* E: *ú-šal-l[i-*
139 a: *maš-ku ma-aš-ša-ru ú-šá-aš-bi-it* 140 Z: *ud.d]u-e* KZ: *šu-nu-tú* 141 K: *-r]i* a: *aš-ra-tum*

Commentaries¹

113–14	<i>abul šarri šá ina</i> BE x x x x x x [. . . (y (^d lugal) Z)
124	<i>mut]-ta-du dan-nu šu-pu-ú</i> PA-x[. . . (Z)
131–32	<i>li-is-mu šá ud.4.kám.m[a . . . S]AG²-nu sa-a-ma šá lab-šú uš-x[. . . (Z)</i> <i>. . . (-)š]a-ru aššu li-is-mu šá ina^{iti} gan ud.4.ka[m . . . mu-u]l-li-li šá SAL [(x)] x</i> <i>kaḫ-pi S[AL . . . (y)</i>
144	<i>bītu šá kīma mé-e[ḫ-ret ap-si e-le-nu eršet]i^{iti} na-du-ú [. . . (Z)</i>

Quoted Elsewhere

8	<i>šu-uš-qu-ú ù šu-uš-pu-lu [ši-i l]u qa-at-ka</i> (CT 54 22 rev. 30–31 (collated), Neo-Babylonian letter)
17	<i>be-lum šá tak-lu-ka na-piš-ta-šú gi-mil-ma</i> (VAS XXIV 124 i 8–11, literary extracts) <i>an-šár ša tak-lu-ka [naḫištašu gi-mi]l-ma</i> (SAA X 365 obv. 11–12, Neo-Assyrian letter)
82	<i>ana la si-ma-ti-šú ta-áš-k[u-</i> (BM 62741 obv. 12, commentary)
101	<i>is-suk mul-mul ih̄-te-pi ka-r[as-</i> (CT 51 136 14, commentary)

Textual notes on pp. 474–476.

1. The list of commentary manuscripts is on pp. 135f.

- 135 Bēl rested, surveying the corpse,
 136 In order to divide the lump by a clever scheme.
 137 He split her into two like a dried fish:
 138 One half of her he set up and stretched out as the heavens.
 139 He stretched the skin and appointed a watch
 140 With the instruction not to let her waters escape.
 141 He crossed over the heavens, surveyed the celestial parts,
 142 And adjusted them to match the Apsû, Nudimmud's abode.
 143 Bēl measured the shape of the Apsû
 144 And set up Ešarra, a replica of Ešgalla.
 145 In Ešgalla, Ešarra which he had built, and the heavens,
 146 He settled in their shrines Anu, Enlil, and Ea.

142 a: *mé-eh-rat apsi* 143 a: *apsi bi-nu-tu-uš-šu* 144 i: *-l]a-^ršú[?]* a: *ú-ki-in* 145 a: *ib-nu-ú ša-ma-mu*
 146 K: *ma-ḥa-za-šu-un*

Tablet V

Manuscripts

Symbol	Publication	Obverse	Reverse
Assyrian Sites			
Nineveh (Ashurbanipal)			
A = K 8526		1–18	156–158
	CT 13 23		catchline
B = K 3567+8588		1–27	catchline
	TSBA IV (1876) ii (3567); Delitzsch, <i>Lesestücke</i> ¹ 40–41 (3567), ³ 78–79 (complete), ³ 94; CT 13 22		
C = K 13774		6–16 and 3 apocryphal lines	..
	STC I 191		
D = K 5661+11641		1, 14–22	145–158
	STC I 192-193 (11641); <i>JNES</i> 20 155 (5661); Pl. 19		lacking 148 catchline
E = K 3445+17124+Rm 396		19–58	91–158
	S. A. Smith, <i>Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts</i> (Leipzig, 1887) 10 (3445); CT 13 24–25 (3445+396); 17124: Pl. 19		lacking 96, 98, 100, 103, 149
F = K 14949		..	98–110 lacking
	CT 13 24		100, 114
G = 79-7-8, 47		78–80	..
	STC I 194		
(F and G appear to be parts of one tablet)			
Assur			
I = VAT 12915		..	91–100
	Pl. 19		lacking 97
Sultantepe			
H = SU 51/98		48–93	107–140
	STT 12		

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
Babylonian Sites, regular tablets			
j =	BM 69953+99871 (82-9-18, 9953+83-1-21, 2233) Also contains the end of IV. Pl. 18	1–12	35–51
Babylonian Sites, extracts on exercise tablets			
k =	BM 61433 3-7 (AH 82-9-18, 1407) Cf. E. Leichty in <i>Finkelstein Mem. Vol.</i> p. 145. Pl. 19		8–12
l =	BM 76380 (AH 83-1-18, 1748) obv. 1–6 Pl. 20		12–17
m =	BM 55099 (82-5-22, 1431) 9–12 Pl. 20		19–22
n =	BM 46567 (81-8-30, 33) obv. 6–10 Pl. 20		33–37
o =	BM 43969 (81-7-1, 1730) obv. Pl. 20		127–130
p =	BM 54609(+)136879 (82-5-22, 929(+))1785) 1–3 Pl. 20		150–152

Lines quoted in the commentaries

Y:	33, 55, 59, 70, 90, 95, 101 (or 115?)
y:	64, 70, 83, 84
Z:	21–22, 24–25
z:	157

Tablet V

1	ABDj	<i>ú-ba-aš-šim man-za-za an ilāni rabūti</i>
2	ABj	<i>kakkabāni^{meš} tam-šil-šu-nu lu-ma-ši uš-zi-iz</i>
3	ABj	<i>ú-ad-di šatta(mu-an-na) mi-iš-ra-ta ú-aš-šir</i>
4	ABj	<i>12 arhāni^{meš} kakkabāni^{meš} ṛšu-lu¹-[šá-a] uš-zi-iz</i>
5	ABj	<i>iš-tu u₄-mi ša šatti(mu-an-na) uš-š[i-r]u ú-šu-ra-ti</i>
6	ABCj	<i>ú-šar-šid man-za-az^d né-bé-ri ana ud-du-u rik-si-šú-un</i>
7	ABCj	<i>a-na la e-peš an-ni la e-gu-ú ma-na-ma</i>
8	ABCjk	<i>man-za-az^d en-líl u^d é-a ú-kin it-ti-šú</i>
9	ABCjk	<i>ip-te-ma abullāti^{meš} ina ši-li ki-lal-la-an</i>
10	ABCjk	<i>ši-ga-ru ú-dan-ni-na šu-me-la u im-na</i>
11	ABCjk	<i>ina ka-bat-ti-šá-ma iš-ta-kan e-la-a-ti</i>
12	ABCjkl	<i>^dnanna-ru uš-te-pa-a mu-šá iq-ti-pa</i>
13	ABCl	<i>ú-ad-di-šum-ma šu-uk-nat mu-ši a-na ud-du-ú u₄-mi</i>
14	ABCDl	<i>ar-ḫi-šam la na-par-ka-a ina agê ú-šir</i>
15	ABCDl	<i>i-na reš arḫim-ma na-pa-ḫi e-[l]i ma-a-ti</i>
16	ABCDl	<i>qar-ni na-ba-a-ta a-na ud-du-ú za-ka-ri u₄-mu</i>
17	ABDl	<i>i-na sebūti(ud-7-kám) a-ga-a [maš]-la</i>
18	ABD	<i>[š]á-pat-tu lu-ú šu-tam-ḫu-rat mi-ši[l ar-ḫi]-šam</i>
19	BDEm	<i>i-[n]u-ma^d šamaš i-na i-šid šamê^e ina-[at-ṭa-l]u-ka</i>
20	BDEm	<i>ina [s]i-[i]m-ti šu-tak-ši-ba-am-ma bi-ni ar-ka-niš</i>
21	BDEmZ	<i>[bu-ub-bu-l]um a-na ḫar-ra-an^d šamaš šu-taq-rib-ma</i>
22	BDEmZ	<i>šá [x (x) ud-3]0-kám lu šu-tam-ḫu-rat^d šamaš lu šá-na-at</i>
23	BE	<i>ú-[. . .] x ittu ba⁻²-i ú-ru-uḫ-šá</i>
24	BEZ	<i>za x [. š]u-taq-ri-ba-ma di-na di-n[a]</i>
25	BEZ	<i>lib-[.] x^d šamaš tum₄-ma-tú d[a-a-ka] ḫa-ba-la</i>
26	BE	<i>áš-x [. -n]i[?] ia-a-ti</i>
27	BE	<i>e-[.] x [x (x)]</i>
28	E	<i>qar-[. . .</i>
29	E	<i>^dš[amaš[?] . . .</i>
30	E	<i>ina x [. . .</i>
31	E	<i>lu [. . .</i>
32	E	<i>ad-x [. . .</i>
33	EnY	<i>a-a ib-ba-ši ma an [. . .</i>
34	En	<i>šu x UR ú-šah-[. . .</i>
35	Ejn	<i>i-na taq-ti-i[t . . .</i>
36	Ejn	<i>bu-um-¹bu¹-l[um] lib-b[a-ši . . .</i>

1 IVa: *ú-ba-aš-šim* IVaj: *ma-an-za-za* IVK: *man-za-za-AN* IVa: *ra-bi-ú-tum* A: *gal.meš*

2 j: *tam-ši-il-šu-nu lu-ma-šu* 3 B: *ú-ma-aš-šir* 4 (AB): 3^{ta.ám} 5 j: *u₄-ma šá šat-ti ú-u[š-* 6 j: *man-za-za*

C: *-r]u a-na* 7 B: *e-gu-u* 8 j(k): *man-za-za* jk: *ù* C: *u^da-nim* B: *-t]i-šu* 9 k: *]e-ma, i-na* 10 j: *ši-ga-ra*

k: *-g]a-ri* B: *ud-dan-ni-na* k: *šu-me-lu* 11 jk: *i-na* k: *ka-bat-ti-šu-ma* C: *-š]a-ma* k: *iš-ta-k[a-* 12 j: *^dnanna-ri*

C: *ka]kkab-šú uš-te-pa-a* k: *mu-ša* 13 C: *šuk-nat* l: *]x-šu* B: *¹u₄-me* 14 D: *-k]e-^re¹* B: *a-ge-^re¹* l: *a-gi-^ri¹*

15 l: *na-pa-RI e-la-^ra-ti¹* 16 l: *-b]a-a-tú* B: *ana* B(D): *]mi*

37	Ejn	iš-tu te-re-e-ti x [. . .
38	Ej	ú-šu-ra-a-ti pa-ni u x [. . .
39	Ej	ib-ni-ma u ₄ -mu [. . .
40	Ej	šatta(mu-an-na) lu-ú šu-ta-am-ḥ[u-rat . . .
41	Ej	i-na zag-muk-ku [. . .
42	Ej	šat-tum i-na nam-ša-x [. . .
43	Ej	lu-ú ka-a-a-nam-m[a . . .
44	Ej	ši-ga-ru a-ši-t[um . . .
45	Ej	ul-tu u ₄ -me ú-x [. . .
46	Ej	ma-aš-rat mu-ši u i[m-mi . . .
47	Ej	ru-ḫu-uš-tú šá ti-ama[t . . .
48	EHj	* ^d marūtuk* ib-ta-ši-i[m] x x [(x)] x
49	EHj	ik-šur-ma ana er-pe-e-[ti] ^r ú'-šá-aš-bi- ²
50	EHj	te-bi šá-a-ri [š]u-uz-nu-nu ka-ša-ša
51	EHj	šu-uq-tur imbari(im-dugud) ka-mar im-ti-šá
52	EH	ú-ad-di-ma ra-ma-nu-uš ú-šá-ḥi-iz qat-su
53	EH	iš-kun qaq-qad- ^r sa ¹ x (x) [x (x)] x iš-ḫu-uk
54	EH	naq-bu up-te-et-ta-a ^r mú ^{tu} it-téš-bi
55	EHY	ip-te-ma i-na inī ¹¹ -šá ḫu-r[a-at-ta] ^r i ¹ -di-ig-lat
56	EH	na-ḥi-ri-šá up-t[e]-ḥa-a x x (x) e-te-ez-ba
57	EH	iš-ḫu-uk ina šir-ti-šá x [x x]- ^r e ¹ bi-ru-ti
58	EH	nam-ba- ² i [u]ḫ-ta-li-šá ana ba-ba-lì kuḫ-ḫu
59	HY	e-gir zib-bat-sa dur-ma-ḥ[i-iš] ú-rak-kis-ma
60	H	[x x x] x x apšî šá-pal še-ḫu-uš-šu
61	H	[iš-kun ḥa]l-la-šá re-ta-at šá-ma-mi
62	H	[mi-šil-šá u]š-šal-li-la er-še-ti uk-tin-na
63	H	[x x š]i-ip-ra lib-bu-uš ta-à-wa-ti ú-šá-aš-bi- ²
64	Hy	[uš-ḫa-ri-i]r sa-ḫa-ra-šu ka-liš uš-te-ši
65	H	ip- ^r te ¹ -eq-ma šamê ^e ù eršetim ^{tim} x x [(x)] x
66	H	[x x] ri-kis-su-nu ma x x x kun-nu-ni
67	H	iš-tu ^r pil ¹ -lu-di-šu uš-ši-ru ú-ba-ši-mu ḫar-š[i-šú]
68	H	[šer-r]e-e-ti it-ta- ^r da ¹ -a ^d é-a uš-ta-aš-bit
69	H	[tuppi š]imāti(n)am-tar ^{meš}) šá ^d [q]in-gu i-ki-mu ú-bil-lam-ma
70	HYy	re-eš ta-mar-ti it-ba-la ana ^d anim(60) iq- ^r ti ¹ -šá
71	H	[x] bar tāḥāzi ¹ šá ¹ i-lu-lu i-taḫ-ru-uš
72	H	[x] x ir ¹ -te-da-a a-na ma-ḫar [ab]bē-š[u]
73	H	[ù] iš-ten-eš-ret nab-nit-sa šá ti-amat ib-nu-u ú-x-x
74	H	[kak-k]i-šu-un iḫ-te-ḫa-a i-sír še-ḫu-uš-šu
75	H	ib-ni-ma šal-mi-š[u-nu bā]b ap-si-i ú-šá-aš-[bit]

37 E: ul-[41 E: ina 42 E: mu-an-[44 E: si-gar a-ši-t[i 45 j: iš-tu u₄-mu 46 j: ^rma-aš¹-ša-ra-a-tu₄
47 j: -u]š-tum 48 E: an-šár ib-ta-š[im 49 E: ana u[r- 50 j: ša-a-r[u 51 j: -u]r

- 37 After [he had . . .] the decrees [. . .
 38 The organization of front and . [. . .
 39 He made the day [. . .
 40 Let the year be equally [. . .
 41 At the new year [. . .
 42 The year [. . .
 43 Let there be regularly [. . .
 44 The projecting bolt [. . .
 45 After he had [. . .
 46 The watches of night and day [. . .
 47 The foam which Tīāmat [. . .
 48 Marduk fashioned [. . .
 49 He gathered it together and made it into clouds.
 50 The raging of the winds, violent rainstorms,
 51 The billowing of mist — the accumulation of her spittle —
 52 He appointed for himself and took them in his hand.
 53 He put her head in position and poured out . . [. .] .
 54 He opened the abyss and it was sated with water.
 55 From her two eyes he let the Euphrates and Tigris flow,
 56 He blocked her nostrils, but left . .
 57 He heaped up the distant [mountains] on her breasts,
 58 He bored wells to channel the springs.
 59 He twisted her tail and wove it into the Durmaḥu,
 60 [. . .] . . the Apsû beneath his feet.
 61 [He set up] her crotch—it wedged up the heavens—
 62 [(Thus) the half of her] he stretched out and made it firm as the earth.
 63 [After] he had finished his work inside Tīāmat,
 64 [He spread] his net and let it right out.
 65 He surveyed the heavens and the earth . . [.] .
 66 [. .] their bonds
 67 After he had formulated his regulations and composed [his] decrees,
 68 He attached guide-ropes and put them in Ea's hands.
 69 [The Tablet] of Destinies which Qingu had taken and carried,
 70 He took charge of it as a trophy (?) and presented it to Anu.
 71 [The . .] of battle, which he had tied on or had put on his head,
 72 [. .] he brought before his fathers.
 73 [Now] the eleven creatures to which Tīāmat had given birth and . . . ,
 74 He broke their weapons and bound them (the creatures) to his feet.
 75 He made images of them and stationed them at the [Gate] of the Apsû,

53 E: *qaqqad*-[55 E: *ip-te-e-ma* EY: *ina* Y: ⁶¹[*puratta* 59 H: traces of *durmaḥiṣ* 64 y: *kal-l[a*
 70 y: *a-na* ⁶²-[71 Tablet (H): *šá tāḥāzi* 72 Tablet (H): *NI'-te-da-a*

76	H	[aḥ]-ra-taš la im-ma-šá- ^r a ši ¹ -i lu it-tu
77	GH	i-mu-ru-[ma ilāni k]a-ras-su-nu ḥa-<diš> i-riš-š[u]
78	GH	[^d lā]ḥ-mu u ^d la-ḥa-mu ka-li-šu-nu abbē-šu
79	GH	[i-di]-ir-šum-ma an-šár šār šul-ma ú-šá-pi-šu
80	GH	[^d a]-num ^d en-líl u ^d é-a ú-qa-i-šu-uš qí-šá-a-ti
81	H	[um-m]a ^d dam-ki-na a-lit-ta-šu ú-šá-lil-šu
82	H	[ina e]b-bi tu ₉ -siq ₅ -e pa-ni-šu uš-nam-mir
83	Hy	[a-n]a ^d us-mi-i šá ta-mar-ta-šá ana bu-us-ra-ti ub-la
84	Hy	[i'-qi]p'-šu-ma suk-kal-lu-ut ap-si-i pa-qa-du eš-re-e-ti
85	H	[pa]ḥ-ru-ma ^d i-gì-gì ka-li-šú-nu uš-kin-nu-uš
86	H	[^d]a ^r -nun-na-ki ma-la ba-šu-u ú-na-áš-šá-qu šēpē ^{11.meš} -šú
87	H	[x x (x)-m]a pu-ḥur-šu-nu la-ba-niš ap-pi
88	H	[x x (x)] x i-zi-zu ik-nu-šu an-na-ma šarru
89	H	[x x x x] x abbē-šu iš-bu-ú la-la-šu
90	HY	iš-mi-ma ^d bēl appa-šu ub-bu-ḥu tur-bu- ³ šá-áš-mi
91	EHI	x [.] x e-ma ta-paq-qu-šú
92	EHI	ḥa-šur-ru N[I z]u-mur-šú ú-šal-[bak]
93	EHI	[ú-t]e-di-iq-ma [te-d]i-iq ru-bu-ti-[šu]
94	EI	[me-la]m-me šar-r[u-ti] a-ga-a ra-šub-b[a-ti]
95	EIY	iš-ši-ma ^{gš} miṭṭa im-[n]a-šú ú-šá-ḥi-i[z]
96	I	[. šu]-me-la uk-ti[l]
97	E	iš-kun eli x [.]
98	FI	x [. . eli muš-ḥuš]-ši še-pa-šú ú-šar-š[id]
99	EFI	uš-pár šul-me ^r ù ¹ taš-mì-i i-du-uš-šú [i-lul]
100	I	[. R]U-ti ú-x x [. .]
101	EFY	ul-tu me-lam-me [.]
102	EF	a-za-mil-šú apsû ra-šub-x [. . . .]
103	F	šu- ^r šub ki-ma ¹ x [.]
104	E	ina e-ma-ši áš-t[i-šú]
105	EF	ina si-ma-ak-ki-šú [.]
106	EF	ilāni ^{meš} ma-la ba-šu-[ú]
107	EFH	^d lāḥ-mu u ^d l[a-ḥa-m]u x [.] x
108	EFH	i-pu-šu-ma pa-[a]-šu-nu i-[zak-ka-ru an ilā]ni ^d i-gì-gì
109	EFH	pa-na-a-ma [^d mar]ūtuk ^r ma-ru ¹ na-ram-ni
110	EFH	i- ^d nanna šar-ra-ku-un qí-bit-su qa-la
111	EH	šá-niš iz-zak-ru-ma iq-bu-u pu-ḥur-šu-un
112	EH	^d lugal-dim-me-er-an-ki-a zik-ra-šu šu-a-šú ti-ik-la-šú
113	EH	e-nu-ma a-na ^d marūtuk id-di-nu šar-ru-ta
114	EH	ka-inim-ma-ak dum-qí ù taš-me-e šu-a-šú iz-zak-ru
115	EH	ul-tu u ₄ -me at-ta lu za-ni-nu pa-rak-ki-ni

78 G: ^rù¹ 79 H:]-ir-šum-x 80 G: ù 83 y: ta-mar-ta]-ka 84 y: eš-re-e-tú 90 H:]x ub-bu-ḥu
 91 H:]x (x)-paq-qu-šú 95 Y: miṭ-ṭa 101 Y: iš-tu F: ul-tú m[i- 105 F: i-na 107 F: om. u

76 To be a sign never to be forgotten.
 77 [The gods] saw it and were jubilantly happy,
 78 (That is,) Laḥmu, Laḥamu and all his fathers.
 79 Anšar [embraced] him and published abroad his title, “Victorious King.”
 80 Anu, Enlil and Ea gave him gifts.
 81 Mother Damkina, who bore him, hailed him,
 82 With a clean festal robe she made his face shine.
 83 To Usmû, who held her present to give the news,
 84 [He entrusted] the vizierate of the Apsû and the care of the holy places.
 85 The Igigi assembled and all did obeisance to him,
 86 Every one of the Anunnaki was kissing his feet.
 87 They all [gathered] to show their submission,
 88 [. . .] . they stood, they bowed down, “Behold the king!”
 89 His fathers [. . .] . and took their fill of his beauty,
 90 Bēl listened to their utterance, being girded with the dust of battle.
 91 . [.]
 92 Anointing his body with . [. . .] cedar perfume.
 93 He clothed himself in [his] lordly robe,
 94 With a crown of terror as a royal aura.
 95 He took up his club and held it in his right hand,
 96 . . .] . he grasped in his left.
 97 [.]
 98 [. . .] . he set his feet [on the dragon].
 99 The sceptre of prosperity and success [he hung] at his side
 100 [.] [. . .]
 101 After [he had . . .] the aura [
 102 His sack, the Apsû, with a fearful [. .]
 103 Was settled like . [. . .
 104 In [his] throne room [. . .
 105 In his cella [. . .
 106 Every one of the gods [. . .
 107 Laḥmu and Laḥamu . [.],
 108 Opened their mouths and [addressed] the Igigi gods,
 109 “Previously Marduk was our beloved son,
 110 Now he is your king, heed his command!”
 111 Next, they all spoke up together,
 112 “His name is Lugaldimmerankia, trust in him!”
 113 When they had given kingship to Marduk,
 114 They addressed to him a benediction for prosperity and success,
 115 “Henceforth you are the caretaker of our shrine,

109 F:]-na-ma E: an-šár 113 H: ana E: an-[šár 114 H:]-inim-ma-uk 115 H: u₄-mi

- 116 EH *mim-mu-ú at-ta ta-qab-bu-ú i ni-pu-uš ni-i-ni*
 117 EH ^d*marūtuk pa-a-šu i-pu-uš-ma i-qab-bi*
 118 EH *an ilāni abbē-šu a-ma-tum iz-zak-kar*
 119 EH *e-le-na apsî šu-bat haš-ma-ni*
 120 EH *mé-eh-ret é-šar-ra šá ab-nu-ú a-na-ku el-ku-un*
 121 EH *šap-liš áš-ra-ta ú-dan-ni-na qaq-qar-šá*
 122 EH *lu-pu-uš-ma bi-ta lu-ú šu-bat la-le-e-a*
 123 EH *qir-bu-uš-šu ma-ḥa-za-šu lu-šar-šid-ma*
 124 EH *ku-um-mi lu-ud-da-a lu-kín šar-ru-ti*
 125 EH *e-nu-ma ul-tu apsî tel-la-a ana pu-^rru-si[?]-i[?]*
 126 EH *áš-ru-uš-šu lu-u nu-bat-ta-ku-un ana ma-ḥar pu-ḥur-[k]u-un*
 127 EHo *e-nu-ma ul-tú šá-ma-mi tur-r[a-d]a ana pu-r[u-si-i]*
 128 EHo *áš-ru-uš-šu lu nu-bat-ta-ku-un ana ma-ḥar pu-ḥur-ku-un*
 129 EHo *lu-ub-bi-ma šum-šu bābil[i]^{ki} bītāt^{meš} ilāni^{meš} rabūti^{meš}*
 130 EHo *i-si-in-nu qir-bu-uš d[a[?]-x] ni-ip-pu-šu ši-i nu-bat-tum*
 131 EH *i[š-mu-ú ilāni a]bbē-šú an-na-a q[a-ba]-a-šú*
 132 EH *x [.] x i lu ka ma*
 133 EH *eli mim-ma šá ib-na-a qa-ta-a-ka*
 134 EH *man-[nu x x x]-ka i-ši*
 135 EH *eli qaq-qa-ru šá ib-na-a qa-ta-a-ka*
 136 EH *man-[nu x x x]-ka i-ši*
 137 EH **bābili^{ki} šá taz-ku-ra šum-šu*
 138 EH *áš-[ru-uš-šu nu-bat-t]a-ni i-di da-ri-šam*
 139 EH *x [. sa]t-tuk-ka-ni li-bil-lu-ni*
 140 EH *ad[š[i] x-ni*
 141 E *ma-na-ma šip-ri-ni šá ni-x [.]*
 142 E *áš-ru-u[š]-š[ú] m]a-na-aḥ-taš x [. . . .]*
 143 E *iḥ-du-[ú] x ḤI [. . . .]*
 144 E *ilāni^{meš} šu-[lu[?]-lu[?]] x [. . . .]*
 145 DE *šá i-du-[.]-tib-šú-n[u-ti]*
 146 DE *ip-te-e-[ma pa-a-šu ú-kal-la]m-šú-nu-ti nu-u-[ra]*
 147 DE *x ki[?] [. qa-b]a-šú e-t[el]*
 148 E *[u]š-b/pal-[ki-i.]*
 149 D *[.] x-su-nu-t[i x x (x)]*
 150 DEp *ù x [.] x-nu lu ḥu x (x)*
 151 DEp *uš-kin-nu-šu-ma ilāni ^ri[?]-qab-bu-šu*
 152 DEp *a-na ^dlugal-dim-me-er-an-^rki[?]-a ^rbēlī-šú-nu šú[?]-nu iz-zak-kar*
 153 DE *pa-na-ma be-lum ma-a-ru n[a-ram-ni]*

117 E: an-šár pa-a-šú dù-uš-ma 118 E: a-na 119 E: e-le-nu ap-si-i 120 E: ab-nu-u 121 H: šap-lu
 122 E: bīta lu 123 E: ma-ḥa-za-šú 125 E: zu.ab-i 126 E: nu-bat-ta-k[un 127 E:] x U šá-ma[?]-mi
 o: a-na 128 o: lu-ú E: nu-bat-ta-kun o: a-na ma-ḥa-ri pu[?]-x [E: -ḥu]r[?]-ku-nu 129 o: lu-um-bi-ma šum-GAL[?]

116 Whatever you command, we will do!”
 117 Marduk opened his mouth to speak
 118 And addressed the gods his fathers,
 119 “Above the Apsû, the emerald (?) abode,
 120 Opposite Ešarra, which I built for you,
 121 Beneath the celestial parts, whose floor I made firm,
 122 I will build a house to be my luxurious abode.
 123 Within it I will establish its shrine,
 124 I will found my chamber and establish my kingship.
 125 When you come up from the Apsû to make a decision,
 126 This will be your resting place before the assembly.
 127 When you descend from heaven to make a decision,
 128 This will be your resting place before the assembly.
 129 I shall call its name ‘Babylon’, ‘The Homes of the Great Gods’,
 130 Within it we will hold a festival, that will be the evening festival.”
 131 [The gods], his fathers, [heard] this speech of his,
 132 . [.]
 133 “With regard to all that your hands have made,
 134 Who has your [. . .]?
 135 With regard to the earth that your hands have made,
 136 Who has your [. . .]?
 137 In Babylon, as you have named it,
 138 Put our [resting place] for ever.
 139 . [.] let them bring our regular offerings
 140 . [.] . .
 141 Whoever [. . .] our tasks which we . [. . .
 142 Therein [.] its toil . [. . .”
 143 They rejoiced [.] . . [. . .
 144 The gods . [.]
 145 He who knows [.] a favour to them
 146 He opened [his mouth showing] them light,
 147 . . [.] his speech was pre-eminent,
 148 He made wide [.]
 149 [.] . them [. . .
 150 And . [.]
 151 The gods bowed down, speaking to him,
 152 They addressed Lugaldimmerankia, their lord,
 153 “Formerly, lord, [you were our beloved] son,

E: ^ubal-ti]ki H: gal-gal o: ra-be-û-t[u] 130 H:]-ni qir-b[u- o: nu-bat-t[i] 132 H: k]a^l-za^l-am
 137 E: ^ubal-ti]ki, mu-n[e] 138 H:]-ri-ta

- 154 DE *i*^dnanna šar-ra-ni id-n[a^l-]
 155 DE šá me-x [x x x] x ú-bal-li-t[u-na-a-ši]
 156 ADE a-x x [x x x (x) me-l]am-me mi-i[t-ti] u uš-p[a-ri]
 157 ADEz li-pu-uš iṣ-re-[ti . . . ka]-la u[m-ma]-nu-t[um]
 158 ADE [(x)] x x [. -m]eš ni-i-nu

154 E: *i*-n[a 155 E: *m*[i-

Commentaries¹

- 21–22 . . .]-ú ud-3[0-kám (. . .)] ^dsin ki-[. . . (Z)
 24–25 . . .] x tu ub [. . .] x x mes [. . . (Z)
 70 . . .] x-šu a-na ^dé-^ra^l [. . . (y)
 84 ud-18-kam šá [^{iti}x . . .] illaku(d)u^{ku}-ma ši-kin išāti i-ša[k]-x[. . . (y)

Quoted Elsewhere

- 1 ú-b[a]-áš-šim man-za-z[a (K 10908+15645 obv. 9 = CT 53 417+702 = SAA X 102:
 Neo-Assyrian letter)
 17 ud-7-[kám agâ ma-á]š-la (MMEW 22 11: *i*-NAM giš-*hur* an-ki-a)
 21 . . .] *harrān* ^dšamaš šu-taq-rim-ma (MMEW 24 24: *i*-NAM giš-*hur* an-ki-a)
 81–82 um-mu/ma ^ddam-ki-na a-lit-ta-šu/šú [, *i*-na eb-bi tu₉^l-siq₅-(qé)-e pa-ni-šu u[š-
 (A. Cavigneaux, *Textes scolaires* I [Baghdad, 1981] 175a 12–13 = dup.
 BM 38706+39843 (80-11-12, 90+1730), Pl. 41: learned text)
 83 a-na ^dus-mu-ú šá ta-mar-ta-ki a-na bu-us-ra-tum ub-lu₄ (BM 32206+32237+34723
 [JCS 43–45 (1991–93) 96 63–64]: ritual)

Textual notes on pp. 477–478.

1. The list of commentary manuscripts is on pp. 135f.

- 154 Now you are our king, .. [. . .]
155 He who . [.] . [.] preserved [us]
156 .. [. . .] the aura of club and sceptre.
157 Let him conceive plans [. . . .] all skill,
158 [.] .. [. that] we . [. . .]”

Tablet VI

Manuscripts

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
Assyrian Sites			
Assur			
A =	VAT 9676 and Photo Assur 6563/4 KAR 164	1–91	92–166
B =	Photo Assur 2551/2 A 512 LKA 7	1–28	142–166
C =	VAT 11363 (the number given by Ebeling, VAT 11263, is wrong.) KAR 356; Pl. 21	1–6, 8	..
Nineveh (Ashurbanipal)			
D =	K 12000b+13878+13886+16062 CT 13 24 (12000b); Pl. 21 (complete) cf. NABU 1987/70	21–47	..
E =	K 8512 AfO 11 (1936/37) 72–74 (obv.); Pl. 21 (complete)	28–51	135–147
F =	K 13867+19614 Pl. 21	40–48	117–126
G =	K 3449a CT 13 23 (F and G may be parts of the same tablet)	74–82	83–95
H =	K 9883 Pl. 22	85–97	98–110
I =	K 5923 Pl. 22 (E and I may be parts of the same tablet)	..	139–148
J =	K 13865+21856 Pl. 22	..	149–157
Nimrud			
K =	ND 3416 Iraq 15 (1953) 150; Pl. 22	81–91	..
Sultantepe			
L =	SU 51/237 STT 14A; Pl. 22	13–25, 27–28	..

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
M = SU 52/60		32–87	88–137, 146
	STT 9		
Babylonian Sites, regular tablets			
<i>Sippar (?)</i>			
a = BM 92629 (82-9-18, 7406)		1–21	158–166
	STC II xxxv–xxxvii		
<i>Tell Haddad</i>			
j = IM 121284		2–81	84–166
	JCS 46 (1984) 136–139. Not collated. Used from copy of F. N. H. Al-Rawi		
<i>Kish</i>			
b = Kish 1924 1828+1926 373+374		3–57, 59–64	97–165
	OECT VI xxxvi–xxxvii (373+374); Pls. 23–24 (complete)		
<i>Uruk</i>			
c = W 17718 jg+lg		28–83	..
	ZA 47 (1942) 19; Pl. 25 (the pieces disintegrated during 1939–45 war and the copy given here rests on Photos W 5447 (sic! not 5457; both pieces joined) and 5364 and 5365 (lg only)		
Babylonian Sites, extracts on exercise tablets			
d = BM 33572 (Rm IV 128)			2–7
	Pl. 26		
e = BM 37991 (80-6-17, 1820)			29–33
	Pl. 26		
f = BM 38043 (80-6-17, 1872)			68–70
	Pl. 26		
g = BM 37927 (80-6-17, 1756)			80–85
	Pl. 26		
h = BM 54855 (82-5-22, 1184)			51–60
	Pl. 26		(om. 53–54)
i = BM 55380 (82-5-22, 1713)			130–137
	Pl. 26		

Lines quoted in the commentaries

X:	94, 132
y:	89
z:	89

Tablet VI

1 AaBC	[^d marū]tuk zik-ri ilāni ina še-mi-šú
2 AaBCdj	ub-bal lib-ba-šú i-ban-na-a nik-la-a-te
3 AaBbCdj	[e]p-šu pi-i-šú a-na ^d é-a i-qab-bi
4 AaBbCdj	^r šá ¹ i-na lib-bi-šú uš-ta-mu-ú i-nam-din mil-ku
5 AaBbCdj	da-mi lu-uk-šur-ma eš-me- ^r ta ¹ lu-šab-ši-ma
6 AaBbCdj	lu-uš-ziz-ma lul-la-a lu-ú a-me-lu šum-šu
7 AaBbdj	lu-ub-ni-ma lullâ(lú-u ₁₈ -lu-a) a-me-lu
8 AaBbCj	lu-ú en-du dul-lu ilāni-ma šu-nu lu-ú pa-áš-ḥu
9 AaBbj	lu-šá-an-ni-ma al-ka-kâ[t] ilāni lu-u-nak-kil
10 AaBbj	iš-te-niš lu kub-bu-tu-ma a-na ši-na lu-ú zi-zu
11 AaBbj	i-pul-šu-ma ^d é-a a-ma-tú i-qab-bi-šú
12 AaBbj	áš-šú tap-šu-uh-ti šá ilāni ú-šá-an-na-áš-šú ṭè-e-mu
13 AaBbjL	li-in-na-ad-nam-ma iš-ten a-ḥu-šu-un
14 AaBbjL	šu-ú li-ab-bit-ma niši ^{meš} lip-pat-qu
15 AaBbjL	lip-ḥu-ru-nim-ma ilāni rabûti ^{meš}
16 AaBbjL	[š]a an-ni li-in-na-din-ma šu-nu lik-tu-nu
17 AaBbjL	^d marûtuk ú-paḥ-ḥir-ma ilāni rabûti ^{meš}
18 AaBbjL	ṭa- ^r biš ¹ ú-ma- ² ár i-nam-din ter-tu
19 AaBbjL	ep-šú pi-i-šú ilāni ú-paq-qu-šú
20 AaBbjL	šarru a-na ^d a-nun-na-ki a-ma-ta i-zak-kar
21 AaBbDjL	lu-ú ki-nam-ma maḥ-ru-ú nim-bu-ku-un
22 ABbDjL	ki-na-a-ti a-ta-ma-a i-nim-ma-a it-ti-ia
23 ABbDjL	man-nu-um-ma šá ib-nu-ú tu-qu-un-tu
24 ABbDjL	ti-amat ú-šá-bal-ki-tú-ma ik-šu-ru ta-ḥa-zu
25 ABbDjL	li-in-na-ad-nam-ma šá ib-nu-ú tu-qu-un-tu
26 ABbDjL	ár-nu-uš-šú lu-ú-šá-áš-šá-a pa-šá-ḥiš tišba(tuš) ^{ba}
27 ABbDjL	i-pu-lu-šu-ma ^d i-gì-gì ilāni rabûti ^{meš}
28 ABbcDEjL	a-na ^d lugal-dim-me-er-an-ki-a ma-lik ilāni be-la-šú-un
29 AbcDEej	^d qin-gu-um-ma šá ib-nu-ú tu-qu-un-tu
30 AbcDEej	ti-amat uš-bal-ki-tú-ma ik-šu-ru ta-ḥa-zu
31 AbcDEej	ik-mu-šu-ma maḥ-riš ^d é-a ú-kal-lu-šú
32 AbcDEejM	an-nam i-me-du-šu-ma da-me-šú ip-tar- ² -u

1 VB: ilāni^{meš}, še-^rme-e¹-š[u] VD: še-me-[2 C:] x x x NI[d: li]b-ba-šu 3 A: ep]-šú a: pi-i-šu
4 a: ina b: -i]b-bi-[š]u i-[d: -b]i-šu i-ta-m[u- A:]-mu-u C: i-na-an-[5 B(bC): lu-uk-šur
a: eš-še-em-^rtum¹ b: eš-mi-x[d: eš-ma-tum j:]ši-mi-ti 6 b: -i]z-ma Aab: lú-u₁₈-lu-a d: lu-ul-la-a a: lu bj: lú
C: a-w[i¹- abj: šum-[7 bj: a-mi-[8 A: lu-u Aj: dul-li b: ilāni-im-ma Aj: šú-nu a: pa-PA-ḥ[u
9 b: al-ka-ka-a-tú a: al-ka-ka-ti j: al-ka-ka-a-ti abj: lu-nak-k[i- 10 Ab: lu-ú B: la A: kub-bu-tú-ma ana
b: zi-i-[11 a: i-pu-ul-lu-šu-ma b:]-šu-ú ab: a-ma-tum j: a-ma-ta b: i-qab-bi-iš 12 B: ^ráš-šú¹
a: -š]um^r tap-šu-^ruh-tum B: tap-šu-uh-te ab: ša a: ú-ša-an-[b: ú-ša-an-na-áš-ši 13 A: a-ḥu-šu-n[u] j: a-ḥu-šú-un
B:]x-šú-un 14 b:]i-ia-ab-bi-it-ma B: li-²-ab-bit-ma b: li-ip-pa-at-qu 15 Aj: ilāni^{meš} 16 b: an-nam
a:]i-na-din-ma j: šú-nu a: li-i]k- b: li-ik-tu-ni 17 b: ú-pa-ḥ-ḥi-ir c: -p]a-ḥi-ir-ma Aj: ilāni^{meš} j: rabûti

- 1 When Marduk heard the gods' speech
 2 He conceived a desire to accomplish clever things.
 3 He opened his mouth addressing Ea,
 4 He counsels that which he had pondered in his heart,
 5 "I will bring together blood and form bone,
 6 I will bring into being Lullû, whose name shall be 'man',
 7 I will create Lullû-man
 8 On whom the toil of the gods will be laid that they may rest.
 9 I will skilfully alter the organization of the gods:
 10 Though they are honoured as one, they shall be divided into two."
 11 Ea answered, as he addressed a word to him,
 12 Expressing his comments on the resting of the gods,
 13 "Let one brother of theirs be given up,
 14 That he may perish and people may be fashioned.
 15 Let the great gods assemble
 16 And let the guilty one be given up that they may be confirmed."
 17 Marduk assembled the great gods,
 18 Using gracious direction as he gave his order,
 19 As he spoke the gods heeded him:
 20 The king addressed a word to the Anunnaki,
 21 "Your former oath was true indeed,
 22 (Now also) tell me the solemn truth:
 23 Who is the one who instigated warfare,
 24 Who made Tiāmat rebel, and set battle in motion?
 25 Let him who instigated warfare be given up
 26 That I may lay his punishment on him; but you sit and rest."
 27 The Igigi, the great gods, answered him,
 28 That is, Lugaldimmerankia, the counsellor of the gods, their lord,
 29 "Qingu is the one who instigated warfare,
 30 Who made Tiāmat rebel and set battle in motion."
 31 They bound him, holding him before Ea,
 32 They inflicted the penalty on him and severed his blood-vessels.

18 b: ta-bi-iš ú-ma-²a-ru j: ú-ma-²a-ra a: -m]a-²a-ra b: te-er-ti j: ter-t[i] 19 b: e-ep-šu pi-i-šu a: pî-š]u
 b: ú-paq-qu-uš 20 B: šar-^rru¹,]-ma-^rtú¹ b: a-ma-tum L: a-ma]-x 21 b: ki-na-ma ma-aḫ-ḫu-ru-ú a: m]a-aḫ-ru(-)[
 b: ni-ba-ku-un L: na]m²-bu-ŠU¹-[22 b: ki-na-a-tum j: at-ma-a b: ta-ta-^ra-ma²-² i-nim-ma-² 23 b: ša, tu-qu-ut-ti
 L: tu-qu-un-t[a/t]tum] 24 b: ù ti-amat ú-ša-bal-ki-tu-ma j: uš-bal-ki-tu-ma D: uš-b[al- B:]-bal-ki-tu-ma
 A: ik-šur-ru j: ta-ḫa-a] 25 B: ib-nu-u, tu-qu-un-tú b: tu-qu-ut-] 26 Dj: ar-nu-uš-šú j: lu-ú-ŠU-uš-taš-šá-a
 b: ar-nu-uš-šu lu-š[a-á]š-ša-a B: lu-šá-áš-ša-a b: pa-ša-[ḫ]i-iš t[i- 27 b: ^d[i]-gi₄-gi₄ j: rabûti L: r[a- 28 b: ma-l[i-
 j: ilāni^{mes} 29 (A)j: ^dqin-gu-ma e: ša c: tu-^rqu-un-tum¹ 30 bD: ù ti-amat e:]x uš-bal-ki-x[j: uš-bal-ki-tu-ma
 b: ú-[x-ba]l-ki-tu-ma j: ta-ḫa-a-xu c: ta-ḫa-xi j: ik-me-šú-ma 31 b: ik-mi-šu-ma ma-[x-x-i]š j: ik-me-šú-ma
 e:]-ḫa-ri-iš j: ú-kal-lu-uš c:]-lu-šu 32 b: i-mi-d[u j: i-mi-du-šu-ma da-mi-šú e: da-m[i- c: ip-tar-²u₁₆ Ej: ip-tar-²ú¹

- 33 AbcDEejM *ina da-me-šú ib-[na]-a a-me-lu-tú*
 34 AbcDEjM *i-mid dul-li ilāni-ma ilāni um-taš-šir*
 35 AbcDEjM *ul-tu a-me-lu-tu ib-nu-u ^dé-a er-šú*
 36 AbcDEjM *dul-lu šá ilāni i-mi-du-ni šá-a-šú*
 37 AbcDEjM *šip-ru šu-ú la na-ṭu-ú ḥa-sa-siš*
 38 AbcDEjM *ina nik-la-a-ti šá ^dmarūtuk ib-na-a ^dnu-dím-mud*
 39 AbcDEjM *^dmarūtuk šarru ilāni ú-za-²-iz*
 40 AbcDEFjM *^da-nun-na-ki gim-rat-su-nu e-liš u šap-liš*
 41 AbcDEFjM *ú-ad-di a-na ^da-nim te-re-tuš na-ša-ru*
 42 AbcDEFjM *5 šušši(giš) ina šamê^e ú-kin ma-aš-šar-ta*
 43 AbcDEFjM *uš-taš-ni-ma al-ka-kàt eršetim^{tim} ú-aš-šir*
 44 AbcDEFjM *i-na šamê^e ù eršetim^{tim} nēr(giš-u) uš-te-šib*
 45 AbcDEFjM *ul-tú te-re-e-ti nap-ḥar-ši-na ú-ma-²-i-ru*
 46 AbcDEFjM *ana ^da-nun-na-ki šá šamê^e u eršetim^{tim} ú-za-²-i-zu is-qat-su-un*
 47 AbcDEFjM *^da-nun-na-ki pa-a-šu-nu i-pu-šu-ma*
 48 AbcEFjM *a-na ^dmarūtuk be-li-šú-nu šu-nu iz-zak-ru*
 49 AbcEjM *i-^dnanna be-lí šá šu-bar-ra-ni taš-ku-nu-ma*
 50 AbcEjM *mi-nu-ú dum-qa-^ra¹-ni ina maḥ-ri-ka*
 51 AbcEhjM *i ni-pu-uš pa-rak-ku šá na-bu-ú zi-kir-šu*
 52 AbchjM *ku-um-muk-ku lu-ú nu-bat-ta-ni i nu-šap-ši-iḥ qir-bu-uš-šu*
 53 AbcjM *i nid-di pa-rak-ku ni-me-da a-šar-šú*
 54 AbcjM *ina u₄-me šá ni-kaš-šá-da i nu-šap-šiḥ qir-bu-uš-šu*
 55 AbchjM *^dmarūtuk an-ni-tu ina še-me-e-šú*
 56 AbchjM *ki-ma u₄-mu im-me-ru zi-mu-šú ma-²-diš*
 57 AbchjM *ep-šá-ma bāb-ili^{meš.ki} šá te-ri-šá ši-ṭir-šú*
 58 AchjM *lib-na-at-su lip-pa-ti-iq-ma pa-rak-ka zuq-ra*
 59 AbchjM *^da-nun-na-ki it-ru-ku al-la*
 60 AbchjM *šat-tu iš-ta-at li-bit-ta-šú il-tab-nu*
 61 AbcjM *šá-ni-tu šattu(mu-an-na) ina ka-šá-di*
 62 AbcjM *šá é-sag-íl mé-eḥ-ret apsî ul-lu-u re-ši-šú*
 63 AbcjM *ib-nu-ú-ma ziq-qur-rat apsî e-li-te*
 64 AbcjM *a-na ^da-nim ^den-líl ^dé-a u šá-a-šú ú-kin-nu šub-tú*

33 bj: i-na b: da-mi-šu j: da-mi-šú j(E): ib-nu-ú E(M): a-me-lu-ta c: a-me-lu-tum j: a-me-lu-tu
 34 b: i-mi-id du-u[l- M: ilāni^{meš}-ma ilāni^{meš} c: um-taš-ši-ir j: um-taš-šir 35 b: iš-tu a-me-lut-ti j: ib-nu-ú
 cjM: er-šu 36 M: dul-li b: [d]u-ul-lu ša A: om. šá; i-mi-du-A¹ E: ^ri¹-me-du-ni j: i-mi-du-nu šá-šu-^rú¹ c: ša-a-ša
 M: šá-a-šu 37 b: [š]i-pi-ir, na-a-ṭ[ú (c)M: n]a-ṭu-u cEj: ḥa-sa-si-iš 38 j: i-na b: nik-la-a-tú ša 39 b: šar-ri
 D: šar-ru M: ilāni^{meš} EjM: ú-za-²-az 40 bj: a-na ^da-nun-na-ki F: ^rana ^da¹-n[un- M:]ra-as-su-nu (c)E: ù
 c: šap-li-iš 41 b: ^rú¹-ma-ad-di j: ^da-nu EM: na-ša-ra c: na-ša-ri 42 b: ú-ki-in A: ma-šar-tu c: ma-aš-^ršar¹-tum
 j: ma-aš-šar-ti 43 b: uš-ta-š-ni-ma al-ka-ka-[j: al-ka-ka-a-ti M: a]l-ka-ka-ti j: ú-ma-aš-ši-ir cM: ú-ma-aš-šir
 44 bM: ina Aj: u c: u]š-te-ši-ib 45 bF(M): iš-tu j: ul-tu A: te-re-e-^rtim¹, ú-ma-[x]-^ru¹ j: ^rú¹-ma-i-ru
 E: ú-ir-ru 46 b: a-na, ša E: ú-za-²-i-zu M: ú-za-i-zu c: is-qa-at-su-un M: iš-qat-su-un 47 (A)j: pá-šú-nu
 48 b: be-^rli-šú¹-nu M: be-lí-šú-nu j: šú-nu c: iz-zak-kar 49 M: i-^dnanna-x b: i-na-an-^rna¹ be-^rli šá¹
 j: en, šu-ba-ra-a-nu ta-aš-ku-nu-ma c: (end)]x u₄-mi 50 M: mi-nu-u du-^run¹-qa-ni A: du-muq-qa-ni

33 From his blood he (Ea) created mankind,
 34 On whom he imposed the service of the gods, and set the gods free.
 35 After the wise Ea had created mankind
 36 And had imposed the service of the gods upon them—
 37 That task is beyond comprehension
 38 For Nudimmud performed the creation with the skills of Marduk—
 39 King Marduk divided the gods,
 40 All the Anunnaki into upper and lower groups.
 41 He assigned 300 in the heavens to guard the decrees of Anu,
 42 And appointed them as a guard.
 43 Next he arranged the organization of the netherworld.
 44 In heaven and netherworld he stationed 600 gods.
 45 After he had arranged all the decrees,
 46 And had distributed incomes among the Anunnaki of heaven and netherworld,
 47 The Anunnaki opened their mouths
 48 And addressed their lord Marduk,
 49 “Now, lord, seeing you have established our freedom
 50 What favour can we do for you?
 51 Let us make a shrine of great renown:
 52 Your chamber will be our resting place wherein we may repose.
 53 Let us erect a shrine to house a pedestal
 54 Wherein we may repose when we finish (the work).”
 55 When Marduk heard this,
 56 He beamed as brightly as the light of day,
 57 “Build Babylon, the task you have sought.
 58 Let bricks for it be moulded, and raise the shrine!”
 59 The Anunnaki wielded the pick.
 60 For one year they made the needed bricks.
 61 When the second year arrived,
 62 They raised the peak of Esagil, a replica of the Apsû.
 63 They built the lofty temple tower of the Apsû
 64 And for Anu, Enlil, Ea and him they established it as a dwelling.

j: dum-qa-ni i-na c: ma-aḥ-ri-ka 51 M: na-pu-uš 'pa'-rak-ka b(h): ša M: né-bu-u h: 'na-am'-[c:]-am-bu-ú
 j: zi-kir-šú 52 b: ku-um-mu-uk-ku A: ku-'um'-mu j:]-muk h:]-uk Aj: lu M: nu-bat-ta-ni-ma jM: nu-šap-ših
 h: nu-ša-a[p- A: qí-rib-šu jM: qir-bu-uš 53 h: om. b(j)M: ni-id-di jM: parakka j: šá nim-me-du c:]-du
 M: aš'-ra'-šu 54 h: om. jM: i-na j: u₄-mu M: ud.NA b: u₄-mi ša ni-ka-áš-ša-da Aj: om i c: -ša]p-ši-ih
 AjM: qir-bu-uš 55 j: an-ni-ta M: an-'ni-tú' h: an-ni-ti hj: i-na h: še-mi-[M: še-mi-šu c: še-me-šu
 56 M: u₄-mi im-mi-[x] h: im-mi-ru M: zi-mu-šu c:]-š[u] ma-a-di-iš h: ma-a-[57 b: 'e'-[ep- h: -š]a-ma
 j(M): tin-tir^{ki} h: ká-dingir-ra^{ki} ša j: te-ri-šú cjM: ši-pir-šu 58 j: li-ib-na-as-su M: 'pa-rak'-ku j: bára zu-x-ra
 c: zu-uq-ra 59 A: i]t-ru-ki Acj: al-lu 60 bM: mu-an-na j: a-na iš-ta-a-ti sig₄-x-a-šú M: 1st hM: li-bit-ta-šu
 jM: il-te-eb-nu 61 b: 'ša'-ni-[j: 'šá-ni'-ti M: šá-ni-tú j: i-na ka-šá-a-du c:]-ša-du 62 b: ša j: mé-eh-rat, ul-lu-ú
 c:]-'ú' re-ši-šu 63 b: ib-ni-ma j: ib-nu-ma M: ziq-qur-ra-tu₄, e-li-ta c: e-li-tu[m] j: e-li-ti
 64 M: ana^d[. . . .] u'^da-nim u.é'-šu' A: u šu-MIN-šú c:]-ki-nu [x]-tum j(M): šub-ta

65	AcjM	ina tar-ba-a-ti ma-ḥar-šú-nu ú-ši-ba-am-ma
66	AcjM	šur-šiš é-šár-ra i-na-aṭ-ṭa-lu qar-na-a-šú
67	AcjM	ul-tu é-sag-íl i-pu-šu ši-pir-šú
68	AcfjM	^d a-nun-na-ki ka-li-šú-nu pa-rak-ki-šú-nu ib-taš-mu
69	AcfjM	{5 šušši(gìš) ^d í-gì-gì šá šá-ma-[m]i u nēr(gìš-u) šá apsî ka-li-šú-nu paḥ-ru}
70	AcfjM	be-lum ina paramahḥi šá ib-nu-u šu-bat-su
71	AcjM	ilāni abbē ^{meš} -šú qé-re-ta-šú uš-te-šib
72	AcjM	an-nam ba-ab- ^r í-lí šu-bat na-ár-me-ku-un
73	AcjM	nu-ga-a áš-ru-uš-šu ḥi-du-ta-šú tíš-ba-a-ma
74	AcGjM	ú-ši-bu-ma ilāni rabûti
75	AcGjM	zar-ba-ba iš-ku-nu ina qé-re-e-ti uš-bu
76	AcGjM	[u]l-tu ni-gu-tú iš-ku-nu qí-rib-šú
77	AcGjM	ina é-sag-íl raš-bi i-te-pu-šu šu-nu tak-rib-tu
78	AcGjM	kun-na te-re-e-ti nap-ḥar-ši-na ú-šu-ra-a-ti
79	AcGjM	man-za-az šamê ^e u eršetim ^{tim} ú-za- [?] i-zu ilāni gim-ra-sú-un
80	AcGgjM	ilāni rabûti ḥa-am-šat-su-nu ú-ši-bu-ma
81	AcGgjKM	ilāni šīmāti ^{meš} sibittî-šú-nu ana purussî uk-tin-nu
82	AcGgKM	im-ḥur-ma be-lum ^{giš} qašta ^{giš} kakka-šu ma-ḥar-šú-un id-di
83	AcGgKM	sa-ḫa-ra šá i-te-ep-pu-šu i-mu-ru ilāni ^{meš} abbē ^{meš} -šú
84	AGgjKM	i-mu-ru-ma ^{giš} qašta ki-i nu-uk-ku-lat bi-nu-ta
85	AGgHjKM	ep-šet i-te-ep-pu-šu i-na-ad-du abbē ^{meš} -šú
86	AGHjKM	iš-ši-ma ^d a-num ina puḥur ilāni ^{meš} i-qab-bi
87	AGHjKM	^{giš} qašta it-ta-šiq ši-i lu-ú mārti
88	AGHjKM	im-bi-ma ša ^{giš} qašti ki-a-am šumē ^{meš} -ša
89	AGHjKM ^{yz}	i-šu a-rik lu iš-te-nu-um-ma šá-nu-ú lu-u ka-šid
90	AGHjKM	šal-šú šum-šá kakkab qašti ina šamê ^e ú-šá-pi
91	AGHjKM	ú-kin-ma gi-is-gal-la-šá it-ti ilāni ^{meš} at-ḥe-e-šá
92	AGHjM	ul-tu ši-ma-a-ti šá ^{giš} qašti i-ši-mu ^d a-nu-um
93	AGHjM	id-di-ma ^{giš} kussî šar-ru-ti šá ina ilāni ša-qa-a-ta
94	AGHjMX	^d a-nu-um ina puḥur ilāni ^{meš} šu-a-šá ul-te-šib-ši
95	AGHjM	ip-ḥu-ru-nim-ma ilāni rabûti
96	AHjM	ši-mat ^d marūtuk ul-lu-ú šu-nu uš-kin-nu
97	AbHjM	ú-zak-ki-ru-ma a-na ra-ma-ni-šú-nu a-ra-ru

65 j: 'i-na' 66 M: i-na-ṭa'-aṭ'-la j: i-na-aṭ-ṭa-AD c:]-ṭa-la,]-a-šu M: qar-na-a'-a'-šú 67 M: iš-tú A: é-!il

j: i-pu-šú c: ši-pir-šu 68 A: -ki š[u]-nu M: parakkī^{meš}-šú c:]-šu-nu j: parakkī^{meš}-šú-nu iz-zaq-ru

69 f: š[a j: šá-ma-ma M: u' apsî' ka'-li'-šú-nu A: 'dù'-šú-nu c: ḫa-aḥ-ri 70 (f)j: i-na M: ib-nu-ú j: ir-mu-ú

71 M: dingir^{meš} 'ad-ad'-šú c:]-ta-šu 72 M: an-na tin-tir^{ki} j:]^{ki} M: 'nar-mi-ku'-un c: na-ra-mi-ku-un

j: nar-me-^{ku}kun 73 j: u]š-šu M: ḥi-du-ta-šu A: t[i]š-b[a-m]a c: ta-aš-ba-ma 74 c: ra-bi-'ú'-tum 75 G: zar-ba-bu

76 GM: iš-tu M: ni-gu-ta cj: qí-rib-šu 77 G: é-sag-g[il M: ra-áš-bi j: i-pu-šú A: -p]u-šú šú-n[u

j: šú-nu tak-rib-ti M: tak-rib-tú c: tak-rib-tum 78 c: ú-'šu'-ra-a-tum jM: giš-ḥur^{meš} 79 j: -z[a-i-SU

M: ilāni^{meš} gim-ras-su-un cj: gim-ra-šu-un 80 GM: ilāni^{meš} rabûti^{meš} A: ḥa-aš-š[at]-s[u-n]u g: -a]t-'su'-nu

81 GM: ilāni^{meš} g:]-a-t[i x]-bit-[t]i-šú-nu (j)M: si-bit-ti-šú-nu (A)j: a-na g: p[u- c:]-tin-ni

- 65 He sat in splendour before them,
 66 Surveying its horns, which were level with the base of Ešarra.
 67 After they had completed the work on Esagil
 68 All the Anunnaki constructed their own shrines.
 69 {300 Igigi of heaven and 600 of the Apsû, all of them, had assembled.}
 70 Bēl seated the gods, his fathers, at the banquet
 71 In the lofty shrine which they had built for his dwelling,
 72 (Saying,) “This is Babylon, your fixed dwelling,
 73 Take your pleasure here! Sit down in joy!”
 74 The great gods sat down,
 75 Beer-mugs were set out and they sat at the banquet.
 76 After they had enjoyed themselves inside
 77 They held a service in awesome Esagil.
 78 The regulations and all the rules were confirmed:
 79 All the gods divided the stations of heaven and netherworld.
 80 The college of the Fifty great gods took their seats,
 81 The Seven gods of destinies were appointed to give decisions.
 82 Bēl received his weapon, the bow, and laid it before them:
 83 His divine fathers saw the net which he had made.
 84 His fathers saw how skilfully wrought was the structure of the bow
 85 As they praised what he had made.
 86 Anu lifted it up in the divine assembly,
 87 He kissed the bow, saying, “It is my daughter!”
 88 Thus he called the names of the bow:
 89 “Long Stick” was the first; the second was, “May it hit the mark.”
 90 With the third name, “Bow Star”, he made it to shine in the sky,
 91 He fixed its heavenly position along with its divine brothers.
 92 After Anu had decreed the destiny of the bow,
 93 He set down a royal throne, a lofty one even for a god,
 94 Anu set it there in the assembly of the gods.
 95 The great gods assembled,
 96 They exalted the destiny of Marduk and did obeisance.
 97 They invoked a curse on themselves

82 A: na-ši-ma^den-rasura g:]x, kak-k[a-š]u ma-har-š[u- A: ig]i-šú-nu 83 A: ‘sa-pàr’ g: -p]a-‘ru’, i-pu-‘šú’
 K:]-pu-šú g: ilāni M: abbē^{mes}-šú c:]-‘šú’ 84 g: nu-[u]k-ku-la-a]t K: nu-uk-l[at’ Aj: bi-nu-tu 85 g: ep-še-x-x
 K: -e]p-pu-šú Gg: i-na-a-d[u 86 M: ^da-nu K: pu-hur A: dingir-din]gir 87 A: ^{GIS}GIM’ it-te-š[iq
 M: it-ti-šiq, mar-ti 88 M: šá, ka-a-am šu-mi-[- A: -a]m m[u^{me}]š-šá K: šu-[- j: mu^{mes}-šú 89 z: išu G: iš-šu
 (K)M: lu-ú Az: om. lu z: iš-ten-nu-[- K: iš-ten-ma A: il-[t]en-nu-u[m- H: -n]u-[m]a M: šá-nu-u y: š]a-‘nu-ú’
 jy: lu-ú y: ka-ši-id 90 A: š[al-š]u šum-šá M: šum-šú j: i-na 91 A: ‘ú’-kín-ma gis-gal-[- j: gis-gal-la-šú
 H: -l]a-‘ša’ itti j: ilāni at-ḫe-e-šú 92 j: nam^{mes} 93 j: lugal-ú-ti, i-n[a dingir]-dingir šá-qa-ta M: šá-qa-a[t]
 94 G: -nu]m M: ^da-nu j:]na pu-uḫ-ri, šá-a-šú M: šá-a-šá X: ša-a-š]i MX: uš-te-šib-[- 95 A: -ḫ]u-ru-ma
 H: rabūti^{mes} 96 H: -l]u-u j: šú-nu 97 M: ra-ma-ni-šú-nu j: rama-ni-šú-nu a-ra-ar-ru M: a-ra-ar-ra

98	AbHjM	ina me ^{meš} ù šamni(ì-giš) it-mu-ú	ú-lap-pi-tu nap-šá-a-ti
99	AbHjM	id-di-nu-šum-ma šar-ru-ut ilāni e-pe-šá	
100	AbHjM	a-na be-lu-ut ilāni ^{meš} šá šamê ^e u eršetim ^{tim}	šu-nu uk-tin-nu-šu
101	AbHjM	ú-šá-tir an-šár ^d asal-lú-ḫi it-ta-bi šu-uš-šú	
102	AbHjM	a-na zik-ri-šu qa-bé-e	i ni-il-bi-in ap-pa
103	AbHjM	ep-šu pi-i-šu ilāni ^{meš} li-pi-iq-qu-šú	
104	AbHjM	qí-bi-tuš-šu lu-u šu-tu-rat	e-liš u šap-liš
105	AbHjM	lu-ú šu-uš-qu-ma ma-ru mu-tir gi-mil-li-ni	
106	AbHjM	e-nu-us-su lu-ú šu-tu-rat	šá-ni-na a-a ir-ši
107	AbHjM	li-pu-uš-ma re-é-ut šal-mat qaqqadi bi-na-tuš-šú	
108	AbHjM	aḫ-ra-taš u ₄ -me la ma-še-e	li-zak-ki-ra al-kát-su
109	AbHjM	li-kin ana abbē ^{meš} -šú	nin-da-bé-e ra-bu-tú
110	AbHjM	za-ni-nu-us-su-un li-pu-šá	li-pa-qí-da eš-re-es-su-un
111	AbjM	li-še-ši-in qut-ri-in-ni ta-a-ši-na liš-reš-šá	
112	AbjM	tam-šil ina šamê ^e i-te-ep-pu-šu ina eršetim ^{tim} li-ip-pu-uš	
113	AbjM	li-ad-di-ma šal-mat qaqqadi pa-la-ḫi-iš-šú	
114	AbjM	ba- ² -ú-la-tum lu ḫi-is-su-sa il-ši-na li-iz-zak-ra	
115	AbjM	ep-šu pi-i-šu ^d iš-ta-riš li-piq-qa	
116	AbjM	nin-da-bé-e li-in-na-šá-a	il-ši-na ^d iš-tar-šin
117	AbFjM	a-a im-ma-šá-a il-ši-na li-kil-la	
118	AbFjM	ma-ti-ši-na liš-te-pa-a	pa-rak-ki-ši-na li-tep-šá
119	AbFjM	lu-ú zi-za-ma šal-mat qaqqadi i-la-ni	
120	AbFjM	na-a-ši ma-la šuma ni-im-bu-u	šu-ú lu-ú il-ni
121	AbFjM	i nim-bé-e-ma ḫa-šá-a šu-me-e-šú	
122	AbFjM	al-ka-tuš lu-ú šu-pa-a-tu	ep-še-tuš lu-ú maš-lat
123	AbFjM	^d marūtuk šá ul-tu ši-ti-šú im-bu-ú-šú	a-bu-šú ^d a-num
124	AbFjM	šá-kin mi-re-ti ù maš-qí-ti	mu-ṭaḫ-ḫi-du ú-ri-šin
125	AbFjM	šá ina ^{giš} kakkī-šu a-bu-bi	ik-mu-u šá-bu-ti
126	AbFjM	ilāni abbē ^{meš} -šú i-ti-ru ina šap-šá-qí	
127	AbjM	lu-ú ma-ru ^d šamši ^{ši} šá ilāni	né-bu-ú šu-ma
128	AbjM	ina nu-ri-šu nam-ri	lit-tal-la-ku šú-nu ka-a-a-an

98 j: -n]a b: m]e^re¹ j: u giš-ì b: šam-[A: u M: ú-lap-pi-x H: ú-lap-pi-^rtu₄¹ j: zi^{meš} 99 b: id-din-šum-ma j: lugal-ut H: e-pi-i-šú j: e-pe-šú 100 b: be-lu-tu j: ilāni, uk-tin-nu-uš M: uk-ti-nu-šú 101 j: ú-šá-tir-ma b: ú-ša-ti-ir-m[a j: šum-šú M: mu-ne 102 Aj: zik-ri-šú H: om. i; ni-il-bi-na j: ap-pi 103 b: e-ep-šu A: ep-šú ka-[j: pi-i-šú ilāni H:] šú-nu li-pi-qu-šú A: li-pi[q- j: li-piq-qu-šú 104 b: qí-bi-tuš-šú A: ^rqí¹-bi-tuš-^ršú¹ j: qí-bi-tuš-šú Ú-ú M: lu-ú, ù 105 A: lu-u b: šu-uš-qí-m[a Hj: dumu 106 A: e-nu-su A(H): lu-u j: ir-šú 107 b: li-pu-^ruš^r re-é-^ru₁₆¹-ú-tu H:]-^rú¹-t[i M: r]e-²ut, bi-na-tuš-šú j: bi-na-tuš-UD 108 bM: u₄-mu b: li-zak-ki-ru j: a-na la, li-iz-zak-ki-ra A: -za]k-x j: al-kát-su 109 b: li-ki-in bjM: a-na b: ab-bé-e-šu M: ad-ad-šu A: g[al-ga]l (H): gal^{meš} 110 j: šá-ni-nu-us-su A: za-nin-us-su-un b: za-nin-nu-us-su-nu li-pu-šú li-paq-qí-du j: li-pu-uš-ma li-paq-qí-da A:]-paq-qí[d e]š-[r]et-su-[j: eš-ret-su-un 111 b: li-še-eš-ši-in j: qut-NI-in-na M: qát-rin-na ti-²a-ši-na b: liš-r[e- j: ta-²a-ši-na liš-ri-iš-šú 112 b: tam-ši-la j: i-te-pu-šú i-na, li-te-ep-pu-uš 113 j: pa-la-ḫiš 114 b: ba-²-ú-la-a-ta lu-ú ḫi-is-su-su j: ba-²-ú-la-a-ti lu-ú

- 98 And took an oath with water and oil, and put their hands on their throats.
 99 They granted him the right to exercise kingship over the gods,
 100 They confirmed him as lord of the gods of heaven and netherworld.
 101 Anšar gave him his exalted name, Asalluḫi:
 102 “At the mention of his name, let us show submission!
 103 When he speaks, let the gods heed him,
 104 Let his command be superior in upper and lower regions.
 105 May the son, our avenger, be exalted,
 106 Let his lordship be superior and himself without rival.
 107 Let him shepherd the black-heads, his creatures,
 108 Let them tell of his character to future days without forgetting.
 109 Let him establish lavish food offerings for his fathers,
 110 Let him provide for their maintenance and be caretaker of their sanctuaries,
 111 Let him burn incense to rejoice their sanctums.
 112 Let him do on earth the same as he has done in heaven:
 113 Let him appoint the black-heads to worship him.
 114 The subject humans should take note and call on their gods,
 115 Since he commands they should heed their goddesses,
 116 Let food offerings be brought [for](?) their gods and goddesses,
 117 May they(?) not be forgotten, may they remember their gods,
 118 May they . . . their . . . , may they . . their shrines.
 119 Though the black-heads worship some one, some another god,
 120 He is he god of each and every one of us!
 121 Come, let us call the fifty names
 122 Of him whose character is resplendent, whose achievement is the same.”
 123 (1) MARDUK
 As he was named by his father Anu from his birth,
 124 Who supplies pasturage and watering, making the stables flourish.
 125 Who bound the boastful with his weapon, the storm flood,
 126 And saved the gods, his fathers, from distress.
 127 He is the son, the sun-god of the gods, he is dazzling,
 128 Let them ever walk in his bright light.

A: ¹ba¹-a-¹ú¹-x[, l]u-u [h]i-ta-s[u- b: i-la-ši-[A:]-iz²-zak¹-ru¹ 115 b: e-ep-šu Aj: ep-šú A: ka-šú j: PA-i-šú
 b: ^diš-tar-ri-iš Aj: iš-ta-riš A: li-piq-qu j: li-piq-qi 116 b: li-in-na-ša-a i-la-ši-[A: ^diš-tar-ši-na
 117 b: im-ma-ša-a i-la-ši-na li-k[i- j: lik-til-la 118 b: li-iš-te-pa-a₄ M: li-¹te-ep-ša¹ 119 j: zi-za-a-ma M: ilāni^{meš}
 j: ilāni^{meš-ni} 120 F: u na-ši bj: na-a-šu j: ma¹ bj: šu-um A: šu-ma bj: ni-ib-bu-ú A: lu-u el-ni j: ilu-ni
 121 b: ni-ib-bi-ma ḫa-áš-ša-a jM: nim-bi-ma ḫa-an-šá-a M: šumē^{meš}-šu j: šumē^{meš}-šú 122 b: al-ka-tu-uš, šu-pa-a₄
 A: šu-pa-a j: šu-pa-a-ti b: ep-še-tu-[A: maš-la 123 b: ša iš-tu bM: ši-ti-šu b: ib-bu-š[u jM: im-bu-šú
 M: a-bu-šu^da-nu j: abū-šú^da-nu-um 124 A: šá-ki-in b: ša-ki-in mi-re-tu A: me-re-tú u maš-KU¹-tú
 j: mi-re-e-ti u maš-qé-e-ti M: u-ri-šam j: ú-ri-šú-un 125 b: ša, kak-ki-šu Aj: ^gš¹kakkī-šú Abj: a-bu-bu ik-mu-ú
 j: šá-bu-tu 126 FjM: ilāni^{meš} b: ab-bé-e-šu M: abbē^{meš}-šu i-ti-ra, šap-šá-qi 127 A: lu-u j: dumu A: ^dšamšu^{šú}
 b: ša ina jM: ilāni^{meš} j: na-bu-ú šu-ú M: né-bu-u šu-u-ma 128 j: i-na zálag-šú A: nu-ri-šú b: nu-ru-ú-!ri-šú
 Abj: nam-ru b: ni-it-ta-a[l- A: šu-nu ka-a-a-na j: ka-a-a-nu

129	AbjM	niši ^{meš} šá ib-nu-ú	ši-kit-ti nap-šu
130	AbijM	dul-li ilāni i-mid-ma	šú-nu ip-pa-áš-ḫu
131	AbijM	ba-nu-ú a-ba-tú	nap-šu-ra e-né-na
132	AbijMX	lu-ú ba-ši-ma na-an-nu-uš-šu	lu nap-lu-su šu-nu šá-a-šu
133	AbijM	^d ma-ru-uk-ka lu-ú i-lu	ba-nu-šu-nu šu-ma
134	AbijM	mu-ṭib lib-bi ^d a-nun-na-ki	mu-šap-ši-ḫu ^d i-gi ₄ -gi ₄
135	AbEijM	^d ma-ru-tu-uk-ku lu-ú tu-kul-tu ₄	ma-a-ti āli u niši ^{meš} -šú
136	AbEijM	šá-a-šu-ma lit-ta- ² i ¹ -da-šu	niši ^{meš} aḫ-ra-taš
137	AbEijM	^d mer-šà-kúš-ù e-zi-iz ù muš-tal	sa-bu-us u t[a]-a-ár
138	AbEj	ra-pa-áš lib-ba-šú	la-a- ² iṭ ka-ras-su
139	AbEj	^d lugal-dim-me-er-an-ki-a šum-šu	ša nim-bu-u pu-ḫur-ni
140	AbEj	zik-ri pi-i-šú nu-šá-áš-qu-u	eli ilāni abbē ^{meš} -šú
141	AbEj	lu-u be-lu ₄ ilāni	šá šamê ^e u eršetim ^{tim} ka-li-šú-un
142	ABBEj	šarru ana tak-lim-ti-šú	ilāni lu-u šu- ² du-ru e-liš u šap-liš
143	ABBEj	^d na-ri-lugal-dim-me-er-an-ki-a šum-šú	šá ni-iz-kur a-šir ilāni ka-la-ma
144	ABBEj	šá ina šamê ^e u eršetim ^{tim}	it-ta-ad-du-u šu-bat-ni ina pu-uš-qí
145	ABBEj	ana ^d i-gi-gi u ^d a-nun-na-ki	ú-za- ² i-zu man-za-zu
146	ABBEjM	ana šu-me-šú ilāni liš-tar-i-bu	li-nu-šú ina šub-ti
147	ABBEj	^d asal-lú-ḫi šum-šú	šá im-bu-ú-šú a-bu-šú ^d a-num
148	ABBJ	šu-ú lu-ú nu-ru šá ilāni	geš-tu-ú dan-nu
149	ABBJ	šá ki-ma šu-mi-šu-ma	la-mas-si ili ù ma-a-ti
150	ABBJ	ina šá-áš-me dan-ni	i-ṭe-ru šu-bat-ni ina pušqi(pap-ḫa1)
151	ABBJ	^d asal-lú-ḫi ^d nam-ti-la šá-niš im-bu-u	ilu muš-neš- ¹ šu ¹
152	ABBJ	šá ki-ma bi-nu-ti-šú-ma	ik-ši-ru ka-lu ilāni ab-tu-ti
153	ABBJ	be-lum šá ina šip-ti-šu el-le-ti	ú-bal-li-tu ilāni ^{meš} mi-tu-ti
154	ABBJ	mu-ab-bit eg-ru-ti za- ² i-ri i ni-bu-ú-šú	
155	ABBJ	^d MIN ^d nam-ru	šá in-na-bu-u šal-šiš šum-šú
156	ABBJ	ilu el-lu	mul-li-lu a-lak-ti-ni
157	ABBJ	šulušā(3-à m) šumē ^{meš} -šú im-bu-u	an-šár ^d lāḫ-mu u ^d la-ḫa-mu
158	AaBbj	a-na ilāni mārē ^{meš} -šú-nu	šu-nu iz-zak-ru
159	AaBbj	ni-nu-ma šu-lu-šá	nit-ta-bi šumē ^{meš} -šú

129 b: ša jM: ši-kit-ta A: nap-x j: nap-ša 130 b: dul-lu M: ilāni^{meš} bj: i-mi-du-ma M: i-mid-du-ma (b)M: šu-nu 131 b: a-ba-tu j: a-ba-a-ti A: ¹a-ba-¹ti b(i)j: nap-šu-ru A: nap-š[u]r e-né-nu j: e-né-ni 132 A: lu-u, na-nu-¹šú¹ M: n[a-¹an-nu-us¹-su i: n]a-an-nu-šu j: ul-la-nu-uš-šú bij: lu-ú A: šú-nu šá-a-šú j: šú-nu a-na šá-a-šú 133 j: ^dma-r[u-u]k¹-kam i: -u]k-ku A: ^dma-ru-ku lu-u AjM: ilu i: ilāni j: ba-nu-šú-nu šu-ú-ma 134 i: ^da-nun¹-ki b: mu-šap-ši-i[h] A: ¹mu-šap¹-š[iḫ^d]-gi-gi j: mu-pa-ši-iḫ^di-gi-gi 135 j: ^dma-ru-tuk-kam A: ^dma-ru-du-uk-ku lu-u tu-kul-tú j: tu-kul-ti M: tukul-ti Aj: māti 136 j: šá-šu-ma b: a-na ša-a-šu-ma [li]t-ta-aji-da-áš A: lit-ta-²i-da-¹šú i: li-it-t[a- j: lit-ta-²i-da-ÁŠ×ŠÚ 137 b: ^dmer-šà-kúš M: ez-zi-iz ij: e-zi jM: om. ù A: sa-bi-¹is¹ M: t[a]-¹a-¹ri j: ta-a-a-ár 138 j: dagal b: li-ib-[b]a-šu la-²iṭ j: šá-di-il 139 A: šá šum-šú i j: šum-šú šá nim-bu-ú pu-ḫur-nu b: ni-[] 140 j: zi-kir b: pi-i-š[u n]u-š[a-x-q]u-ú e-li dingir-[] j: nu-šá-áš-qu-ú E:]-ad-šú 141 bj: lu-ú b: be-el j: be-li A: ka-li-[x]-nu 142 b: šar-ri a-n[a,]-šu i-lu j: a-na Bb: lu-ú b: ¹šu-ú¹-du-r[u j: šit-pu-ru 143 b: na-ri-^dlu[gal-dì]m-me-er-an-ki-a šu-um-šu I: -u]m-šú b: ša bj: ni-iz-ku-ru I: ni-iz-ku-[] b: a-ši-ir B: ilāni^{meš} dù-ma E: ilāni abbē^{meš}-šú

- 129 On the peoples that he created, the living beings,
 130 He imposed the service of the gods and they took rest.
 131 Creation and annihilation, forgiveness and exacting the penalty
 132 Occur at his command, so let them fix their eyes on him.
 133 (2) Marukka: he is the god who created them,
 134 Who put the Anunnaki at ease, the Igigi at rest.
 135 (3) Marutukku: he is the support of land, city, and its peoples,
 136 Henceforth let the peoples ever heed him.
 137 (4) Meršakušu: fierce yet deliberating, angry yet relenting,
 138 His mind is wide, his heart is all-controlling.
 139 (5) Lugaldimmerankia is the name by which we all called him,
 140 Whose command we have exalted above that of the gods his fathers.
 141 He is the lord of all the gods of heaven and netherworld,
 142 The king at whose injunctions the gods in upper and lower regions shudder.
 143 (6) Narilugaldimmerankia is the name we gave him, the mentor of every god,
 144 Who established our dwellings in heaven and netherworld in time of trouble,
 145 Who distributed the heavenly stations between Igigi and Anunnaki,
 146 Let the gods tremble at his name and quake on their seats.
 147 (7) Asalluḫi is the name by which his father Anu called him,
 148 He is the light of the gods, a mighty hero,
 149 Who, as his name says, is a protecting angel for god and land,
 150 Who in a terrible combat saved our dwelling in time of trouble.
 151 (8) Asalluḫi-Namtilla they called him secondly, the life-giving god,
 152 Who, in accordance with the form (of) his (name), restored all the ruined gods,
 153 The lord, who brought to life the dead gods by his pure incantation,
 154 Let us praise him as the destroyer of the crooked enemies.
 155 (9) Asalluḫi-Namru, as his name is called thirdly,
 156 The pure god, who cleanses our character.
 157 Anšar, Laḫmu, and Laḫamu (each) called him by three of his names,
 158 Then they addressed the gods, their sons,
 159 “We have each called him by three of his names,

j: ilāni dū-a-bi 144 b: ša B: om. šá; 'ù', it-ta-du-ú b: 'it'-ta-ad-du-ú BAR' šu-bat-a-ni j: pu-Uḫ-ḫa E: -q]i
 145 Bbj: a-na B: om. u b: ú-za-aji-i-'zu' j: ú-za-i-zu b(E): man-za-za 146 B: i-na bj: a-na b: šu-m[i-
 j: mu-šú B: ilāni^{meš} b:]^{rmeš} liš-tar-rib' I: 'li'-nu-'ú'-[b(M): li-nu-šu 147 j: šum-šú b: -š]u ša ib-bu-šu a-bu-šu
 A: šá im-bu-ú BIj: ad-šú bj: ^da-nu-um 148 j: nu-ú-ru b:]-úr ša ilāni^{meš} ge-eš-tú-ú j: ge-eš-tu-ú I: igi-du-ú
 149 Aj: šu-me-šu-ma B: 'šú-me-šú-ma' j: ^{dE'} bj: ilāni A: u 150 b: -m]u bj: dan-nu A: e-ṭe-ru
 b: š]u-bat-a-ni, pu-uš-q[u j: pu-uš-qí 151 B: ^dMIN ^dnam-ti-la Aj: ^dnam-ti-la-ku b: ša-niš bj: im-bu-ú ilāni
 b: muš-n[é-x-(x)] j: muš-neš-NI 152 b: š]u-mi-šu-ma A: bi-nu-ti-šu-ma ik-še-ru-ni bj: ka-'la' J: om. ka-lu
 B: ilāni^{meš} j: ab-tu-tu 153 B: be-'lu' b: š]a AJ: šip-ti-šú b: én-šú A: kù-tim B: kù-ti ú-bal-lì-tu
 j: ilāni mi-tu-tu A: úš-meš 154 B: mu-ub-bit b: e]g-ru-tu za-a-a-ri A: za-²i-r[i j: za-i-ru J: ni-ḫII B: ni-x-ú'
 155 b: ša bj: in-na-bu-ú J: šum-[j: šum-šú 156 b: mu-ul-li-lu A: mu-ul-lil 157 A:] ta'-àm' b: ib-bu-ú
 158 b: -r]e-e-šu-nu A: šú-nu 159 j: 3^{meš}-šú A(b): ni-it-ta-bi b: šu-mé-e-[a: šu-]

160	AaBbj	<i>ki-i na-ši-ma at-tu-nu</i>	<i>šumē^{meš}-šú</i>	<i>zuk-ra</i>
161	AaBbj	<i>iḫ-du-ma ilāni</i>	<i>iš-mu-ú sè-kàr-šu-un</i>	
162	AaBbj	<i>ina up-šu-ukkin-na-ki</i>	<i>uš-ta-di-nu</i>	<i>šu-nu mil-kàt-su-un</i>
163	AaBbj	<i>šá ma-ru qar-ra-du</i>	<i>mu-tir gi-mil-li-ni</i>	
164	AaBbj	<i>ni-i-nu šá za-ni-ni</i>	<i>i nu-ul-li šùm-šú</i>	
165	AaBbCj	<i>ú-ši-bu-ma ina ukkinnī-šú-nu</i>	<i>i-nam-bu-u ši-ma-a-tú</i>	
166	AaBCj	<i>ina mé-e-si nag-ba-šú-nu</i>	<i>ú-za-k-ki-ru-ni šùm-šú</i>	

160 A: 'ki¹ b: a]t-tu-ni šu-mu-šu a: šu-x [b: zu-ku-[B: zu-u[k- j: zu-kur-GÚ 161 a: iḫ-du-ú B: iš-mu-u
A: zi-kir-šú-un B: sè-x-šú-un 162 a: i-na up-šu-ukkin-na-ka uš-ta-ad-[bj: uš-ta-ad-di-nu Aj: šú-nu j: mil-kát-su-
163 B: ma-a-ri b: 'mu¹-te-ru 164 B: šá ilim-ma a: za-ni-nu-ul-lu b: nu-[u]l-lu B: šùm-'šú¹ j: šum-[

Commentaries¹

- 89 giš-gíd-da a-rik-t[u¹ (z)
D]I² ka-šá-du ki-š[it²-tum² . . .] x za ri x ú [(y)

Quoted Elsewhere

- 1 ^d[marūtuk] zik-ri ilāni^{meš} (K 10908+15645 obv. 4, 10, Neo-Assyrian letter)
148] šá ilāni^{meš} geš-tu-ú dan-ni (BM 42271 rev. 15, commentary)
151 -ḫ]i ^dnam-ti-la-ke₄ šá-niš im-bu-ú ilāni^{meš} mu-né-ši-in (BM 54311 rev. 3, expository text
[BTT pl. 56])
152 šu]mī-[š]ú-ma ik-ši-ru ka-la ilāni^{meš} ab-tu-tu (BM 54311 rev. 4)
153] šiptī-šú el-le-tum ú-bal-liḫ ilāni^{meš} mi-tu-tu (BM 54311 rev. 5)

Textual notes on pp. 478–482.

1. The list of commentary manuscripts is on pp. 135f.

- 160 Now you call his names, like us.”
 161 The gods rejoiced as they heard their speech,
 162 In Upšuuukkinaki they held a conference,
 163 “Of the warrior son, our avenger,
 164 Of the provisioner, let us extol the name.”
 165 They sat down in their assembly, summoning the destinies,
 166 And with all due rites they called his name:

165 A: ukkin-na-š[u¹- B: om. ina; ukkinnu-^ruš¹-šú-nu i-ban-nu-u a: i-nam-bu-^rú¹ j: ú-ad-du-ú B: nam-meš

166 a:]-^re¹-su na-gab-šu-nu ú-zak-k[a- j: -u]n ú-zak-ka-ru-ni šum-[

Tablet VII

Manuscripts

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
Assyrian Sites			
Nineveh (Ashurbanipal)			
A = K 2854+15650+17249	STC I 159 (2854); Pl. 27 (complete)	1–23	..
B = K 8522	TSBA IV (1876) iii–iv; Delitzsch, <i>Lesestücke</i> ¹ 42–43, ² 80–81, ³ 95–96; CT 13 26–27	15–45	125–157
C = K 9267	TSBA IV (1876) iii–iv; Delitzsch, <i>Lesestücke</i> ¹ 43, ² 81, ³ 96; CT 13 28	40–47	129–158 (om. 138–143)
D = K 17095	Pl. 27	55–60	..
E = K 13761	STC I 164	79–83	84–95
F = K 17591	Pl. 27	87–91	..
G = K 12830	STC I 163	..	113–120
H = K 18576	Pl. 27	..	123–128
(DFGH may belong to the same tablet)			
Assur			
I = A 154	LKA 8 (published from Assur Photo 2551/2 in MAOG XII/4 (1939), Photo K 330/1 in addition having been used in ZA 47 (1942) 1–26 and LKA 8. Collations of A 154 in AfO 17 (1954/56) 353–56 (Gurney) and BiOr 16 (1959) 150 (Frankena); Pls. 28–30.	42–84	85–125
Sultantepe			
J = SU 51/63+52/102(+)+51/87(+)+52/389	STT 10(+)+262; Pl. 27 (ll. 159–162 only)	1–16, 29–72	101–131, 150–162

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
K = SU 51/62	STT 11	59–87	88–121
Babylonian Sites, regular tablets			
a = BM 91139+93073+ 4 unnumbered pieces (82-9-18, 12220+5467)	STC II xxxviii–xlvi; Pls. 31–32	3–40	126–164
b = BM 35506+99642 (Sp III 12+83-1-21, 2004)	STC II xlvi–xlviii (12); Pl. 27 (2004)	14–36	126–162 (lacking 128, 158, 161)
c = F 217 (80-6-17)	Pl. 27	2–8	..
Uruk			
g = VAT 14511+W 17718vw+W 17721b	APAW 1929/7 pl. 31 and LKU 38 (14511); the two W pieces disintegrated during the 1939–45 war and are known from Photos W 5738 and 5310/1, from which the copy here on Pl. 33 was made.	21–45	114–156
Babylonian Sites, extracts on exercise tablets			
d = BM 55114+55194 (82-5-22, 1446+1526)	Pl. 34		6–12
e = BM 47889 (81-11-3, 596)	Pl. 34		33–36
h = BM 37379 (80-6-17, 1136)	Pl. 34		69–67
i = BM 39798 (80-11-12, 1685)	Pl. 34		65–77
f = BM 37562 (80-6-17, 1319)	Pl. 34		145–150

Lines quoted in the commentaries

V:	70, 77, 92, 97, 98, 108, 109–110, 121, 127, 139
W:	1, 2, 9, 35, 57, 67
X:	2, 9, 35, 53
Y:	2, 9, 35, 53, 57, 70, 77, 92, 97
y:	1, 9, 70
Z:	77(?), 92, 97, 98, 108, 109–110, 112, 114, 121, 127, 135, 139, 144
z:	1, 2, 9, 35, 57, 67, 70, 77, 92, 97, 98

Tablet VII

1	AJWyz	^d asar-re šá-rik mi-riš-ti	šá is-ra-ta ú-kin-nu
2	AcJWXYz	ba-nu-ú še-am u qé-e	mu-še-šu-ú ur-qé-t[i]
3	AacJ	^d asar-alim šá ina bīt mil-ki kab-tu	šu-tu-ru mi-lik-šu
4	AacJ	ilāni ú-taq-qu-ú	a-dir-šu aḥ-zu
5	AacJ	^d asar-alim-nun-na ka-ru-bu	nu-úr a-bi a-li-di-[šu]
6	AacdJ	muš-te-šir te-ret ^d a-nim ^d en-líl ^d é-a u ^d n[in-š]i-kù	
7	AacdJ	šu-ú-ma za-nin-šu-nu	mu-ad-du-ú is-qí-[šu]-un
8	AacdJ	šá šu-ku-us-su ḥegalla	uṣ-ša- ^r pu ^r a-na ^r ma-a ^r -ti
9	AadJWYyz	^d tu-tu ba-an te-diš-ti-šu-nu	šu-[ú]-ma
10	AadJ	li-lil sa-gi-šu-nu-ma	šu-nu lu-ú pa-[á]š-ḥu
11	AadJ	lib-ni-ma šipta	ilāni li-nu-ḥu
12	AadJ	ag-giš lu te-bu-ú	li-né- ² -ú [i-rat-s]u-un
13	AaJ	lu-ú šu-uš-qu-ú-ma ina puḥur ilāni	[abbē]-šu
14	AabJ	ma-am-man ina ilāni ^{meš}	šu-a-šu la um-[daš-šal-š]ú
15	AaBbJ	^d tu-tu ^d zi-ukkin-na	na-piš-ti um-ma-ni-[šu]
16	AaBbJ	šá ú-kin-nu a-na ilāni	šamê ^e el-lu-[ti]
17	AaBb	al-kāt-su-un iṣ-ba-tu-ma	ú-ad-du-ú [man-za-as-su-un]
18	AaBb	a-a im-ma-ši i-na a-ḫa-a-ti	ep-še-ta-[šu li-kil-la]
19	AaBb	^d tu-tu ^d zi-kù šal-šiš im-bu-ú	mu- ^r kil te-lil-ti ^r
20	AaBb	il šá-a-ri ḫa-a-bi	be-el taš-me-e u ma-ga-ri
21	AaBbg	mu-šab-ši ši-im-ri u ku-bu-ut-te-e	mu-kin ḥegalli
22	AaBbg	šá mim-ma-ni i-šu	a-na ma- ² -de-e ú-tir-ru
23	AaBbg	i-na pu-uš-qí dan-ni	ni-ši-nu šār-šú ḫa-a-bu
24	aBbg	liq-bu-ú lit-ta- ² i-du	lid-lu-la da-li-li-šú
25	aBbg	^d r tu-tu ^r ^d aga-kù ina rebī ⁱ	li-šar-ri-ḥu ab-ra-a-te
26	aBbg	be-el šip-tu elletim ^{tim}	mu-bal-liṭ mi-i-ti
27	aBbg	šá an ilāni ka-mu-ti	ir-šu-ú ta-a-a-ru
28	aBbg	ab-šá-na en-du	ú-šá-as-si-ku eli ilāni ^{meš} na-ki-ri-šú
29	aBbgJ	a-na pa-di-šu-nu ib-nu-ú	a-me-lu-tu
30	aBbgJ	re-mé-nu-ú ša bu-ul-lu-ḫu	ba-šu-ú it-ti-šu
31	aBbgJ	li-ku-na-ma a-a im-ma-ša-a	a-ma-tu-šu
32	aBbgJ	ina pi-i šal-mat qaqqadi	šá ib-na-a qa-ta-a-šú
33	aBbegJ	^d tu-tu ^d tu ₆ -kù ina ḫa-āš-ši	ta-a-šu el-lu pa-a-ši-na lit-tab-bal

1 Comm II/B ^dasar-re x[z: me-[VI a: me-riš-t[i y: mi-riš-tum, is-ra-tum VI A:]-a-te 2 W(Y)z: še-im (J)Y: ù (W)Yz: qù-e X: ur-qe-t[i] 3 (a)J: i-na A(J): kab-ti 6 d: muš-te-šir 7 J: šu-ma za-nin-šú-nu A: mu-ad-du-u 8 d: ša ad: ḥé-gál-la a: ú-uš-š[i- d: uš-ši-pa 9 Y: b]a-ni (J)Y: te-diš-ti-šú-nu d: te-di-š-ti-šu-nu y: -i]š-ti-šú-nu šu-ú 10 a: sag-gi-šu-nu-ma 11 d: li-im-ni-ma a: -i]b-ni-ma šip-ti d: ši-ip-tum 12 (a)d: ag-gi-iš a: lu-ú 13 J: šá-qu-ma a(J): i-na a: pu-ḥur 14 a: ma-am-ma-an i-na a]: ilāni a: ša-a-šu 15 J: om. ^dtutu A(B): ^dMIN A: ^dr zi^r-[ukkin]-^rna-kám^r b: ^rzi^r-ukkin na-[pi]š-t[u₄ 16 ab: ša Aa: an 17 a: al-kát-su-un b: al-kát-su-nu iṣ-ba-tu-ú 18 B: ina a: a-ḫa-ti 19 A(B): ^dMIN zi-k[ù 21 b: -a]b²-ši ab: om. u a: ḥé-gál-la

- 1 (10) Asarre, the giver of arable land who established plough-land,
 2 The creator of barley and flax, who made plant life grow.
 3 (11) Asaralim, who is revered in the counsel chamber, whose counsel excels,
 4 The gods heed it and grasp fear of him.
 5 (12) Asaralimnunna, the noble, the light of the father, his begetter,
 6 Who directs the decrees of Anu, Enlil, and Ea, that is Ninšiku.
 7 He is their provisioner, who assigns their incomes,
 8 Whose turban multiplies abundance for the land.
 9 (13) Tutu is he, who accomplishes their renovation,
 10 Let him purify their sanctuaries that they may repose.
 11 Let him fashion an incantation that the gods may rest,
 12 Though they rise up in fury, let them withdraw.
 13 He is indeed exalted in the assembly of the gods, his [fathers],
 14 No one among the gods can [equal] him.
 15 (14) Tutu-Ziukkinna, the life of [his] host,
 16 Who established the pure heavens for the gods,
 17 Who took charge of their courses, who appointed [their stations],
 18 May he not be forgotten among mortals, but [let them remember] his deeds.
 19 (15) Tutu-Ziku they called him thirdly, the establisher of purification,
 20 The god of the pleasant breeze, lord of success and obedience,
 21 Who produces bounty and wealth, who establishes abundance,
 22 Who turns everything scant that we have into profusion,
 23 Whose pleasant breeze we sniffed in time of terrible trouble,
 24 Let men command that his praises be constantly uttered, let them offer worship to him.
 25 As (16) Tutu-Agaku, fourthly, let humans extol him,
 26 Lord of the pure incantation, who brought the dead back to life,
 27 Who showed mercy on the Bound Gods,
 28 Who threw the imposed yoke on the gods, his enemies,
 29 And to spare them created mankind.
 30 The merciful, in whose power it is to restore to life,
 31 Let his words be sure and not forgotten
 32 From the mouths of the black-heads, his creatures.
 33 As (17) Tutu-Tuku, fifthly, let their mouth give expression to his pure spell,

22 (ab):]-im-ma-ni ab: i-ši a: ma-a-de-e 23 a: p]u-uš-qu [da]n-nu b: -u]š-qa ni-ši-ni abg: ša-ar-šu
 24 b: li-it-ta-²-id li-id-[a(g): li-id-lu-lu a: da-li-li-šu 25 B: ^dMIN b: i-na ab: re-bi-i ag: li-šar-ri-ḫa a: ab-ra-a-ti
 26 a: 'bēl šip¹-ti b: ši-ip-ti ab: el-le-ti b: mu-bal-[[i- g: m]u-bal-li-iṭ 27 a: ša ilāni ka-mu-tu b: ka-mu-tum
 ag: ta-a-a-ri 28 a: ab-ša-na b:]-di ú-ša-as-si-ku a: ú-ša-as-si-ka abg: e-li ilāni a: na-ki-ri-ša g: na-ki-ri-šu
 29 B: pa-di-šú-nu ib-nu-u a: a-me-lu-ut-tum b: a-me-lu-ti g: a-me-lu-tum 30 B: re-me-nu-ú šá bul-lu-tu, it-ti-šú
 31 J: li-ku-na-a-ma g:]-šá B: im-ma-šá-a a-ma-tu-šú 32 ab: i-na a: qa-q-q-[d]u ša, qa-ta-a-šu g: qá-ta-a-šu
 33 B: ^dMIN J: om. ^dtutu (b)]: i-na b(g): ḫa-an-šu B: 5-ši Be: ta-a-šú kù pa-ši-na a: li-it-tab-bal

34	aBbegJ	šá ina šipti-šú elletim ^{tim}	is-su-ḥu na-gab lem-nu-ti
35	aBbegJWXYZ	^d šà-zu mu-de-e lib-bi ilāni	šá i-bar-ru-u kar-šú
36	aBbegJ	e-piš lem-né-e-ti	la ú-še-šu-ú it-ti-šú
37	aBgJ	mu-kin puḥri šá ilāni	mu-ṭib lib-bi-šu-un
38	aBgJ	mu-kan-niš la ma-gi-ri	ṣ[u-lu-u]l-šu-un ra-ap-šu
39	aBgJ	mu-še-šir kit-ti	na-si-i[h] it-gu-ru da-ba-ba
40	aBCgJ	šá sa-ar-ti u k[i-it]-tum	um-tas-sa-a aš-ru-uš-šu
41	BCgJ	^d MIN(šà-zu) ^d zi-si mu-še-e[b-b]i te-bi-i	šá-niš lit-ta- ² -i-du
42	BCgJ	mu-uk-kiš šu-ḥar-ra-tu	i-na zu-mur ilāni ab-bé-e-šu
43	BCgJ	^d MIN(šà-zu) ^d suḥ-rim šal-šiš	na-si-iḥ a-a-bi gi-mi-ir-šu-nu i-na kak-ku
44	BCgJ	mu-sap-pi-iḥ kip-di-šú-nu	mu- ^r tir-ri ¹ šá-ri-iš
45	BCgJ	mu-bal-li nap-ḥar rag-gi ma-la ia-ru-šu	
46	CIJ	ilāni liš-tal-li-lu	šu-nu ina pu-uh-ri
47	CIJ	^d MIN(šà-zu) ^d suḥ-gú-rim ina rebī ⁱ	šá-kin taš-me-e ana ilāni abbē ^{meš} -šú
48	IJ	na-si-iḥ a-a-bi	mu-ḥal-liq ni-iḥ-ri-šú-un
49	IJ	mu-sap-pi-iḥ ep-še-ti-šú-nu	la e-zi-bu mim-me-šú-un
50	IJ	li-za-ki-ir liq-qa-a-bi	šum-šu ina ma-a-ti
51	IJ	^d MIN(šà-zu) ^d záḥ-rim ina ḥašši ^{ši}	liš-ta-di-nu ár-ku-ú-ti
52	IJ	mu-ḥal-liq na-gab za-ma-né-e	la ma-gi-ru ka-li-šú-un
53	IJXY	šá nap-ḥar ilāni mun-nab-ti	ú-še-ri-bu eš-re-ti-iš
54	IJ	li-kun-ma an-nu-ú zi-kir-šu	
55	DIJ	^d MIN(šà-zu) ^d záḥ-gú-rim ina šešši ^{ši}	ap-pu-na ka-liš liš-tam-ru
56	DIJ	šá nap-ḥar a-a-bi ú-ḥal-li-qu	šu-u ta-ḥa-zi-iš
57	DIJWYz	^d en-bi-lu-lu be-lum	mu-deš-šu-ú-šú-nu šu-ú-ma
58	DIJ	dan-nu na-bu-šu-nu	šá-ki-nu tak-li-mi
59	DIJK	šá ri-i-ta maš-qí-ta uš-te-eš-še-ru	ú-kin-nu a-na māti
60	hDIJK	be-ra-a-ti ú-ḥat-tu-u	ú-za- ² -i-zu mē ^{meš} nuḥši
61	hIJK	^d MIN(enbilulu) ^d e-ḥa- ² -dun bēl namē(a-r-i-a) u a-te-e	šá-niš li-[zak-ru]
62	hIJK	gú-gal šamē ^e eršetim ^{tim}	mu-kin-nu aḥšenni
	hIJK	šá mi-riš-ta elleta	ú-kin-nu ina še-e-ri
63	hIJK	i-ka ù pal-ga uš-te-še-ru	uṣ-ši-ru ap-ki-su
64	hIJK	^d MIN(enbilulu) ^d gú-gal gú-gal miṭ-rat ilāni	li-na-du šal-šiš
65	hIiJK	be-el hé-gál-li ṭuḥ-di	iš-pi-ki rabūti ^{meš}
66	hIiJK	šá-kin meš-re-e	mu-na-ḥiš da-ád-me
67	hIiJKWz	na-din šu- ² -e	mu-šab-šu-ú áš-na-an

34 a: ša, šip-ti-šú el-le-[b:]-le-ti g:]-tum e: is-suḥ, lem-nu-tú g: lem-nu-tum a:]-nu-tu 35 BY: ilāni^{meš}
b: ša ib-ru-[egX: i-bar-ru-ú 36 e: lem-né-tú J: lem-né-ti, mu-še-[g: -š]e-eš-šu-ú it-ti-šú 37 a: pu-uh¹ ša
g: lib-bi-šu-un 38 a: mu-kan-ni-iš B: ^rrap¹-[39 J: mu-še-šir 40 J: sa-ar-tum ^rú¹ 41 J: om. ^dšazu
42 J: -u]m-ri, abbē^{meš}-[43 J: om. ^dšazu C: na-si[h] J: gi-mir-šú-nu ina ^gis[44 g: -ti]r-ru ša-a-ri-iš
J: mu-x-ru šá-ri[š] 45 g:]x-^rru-uš¹ I: ia-^rar¹-ru-[u]š 46 J: ilāni^{meš} (C): liš-ta-li-^rlu¹ J: šú-nu 47 J: om. ^dšazu
I: an¹ 49 I: ^rmim¹-mi-šú²-nu² 50 J: lu-ú-^rza¹-kir liq-qa-bi mu-ne 51 J: om. ^dšazu; i-[n]a, liš-ta-a[d-, ar-ku-tum
52 J: za-ma-ni, ma-gi-ri 53 Y: ^rša¹, ^rilāni^{meš}¹ I: eš-[re]t-ti-i[š] X:]-re-tiš 55 J: om. ^dšazu; i-n]a¹

- 34 Who extirpated all the wicked by his pure incantation.
 35 (18) Šazu, who knew the heart of the gods, who saw the reins,
 36 Who did not let an evil-doer escape from him,
 37 Who established the assembly of the gods, who rejoiced their hearts,
 38 Who subjugated the disobedient, he is the gods' encompassing protection.
 39 He made truth to prosper, he uprooted perverse speech,
 40 He separated falsehood from truth.
 41 As (19) Šazu-Zisi, secondly, let them continually praise him, the subduer of aggressors,
 42 Who ousted consternation from the bodies of the gods, his fathers.
 43 (20) Šazu-Suḥrim, thirdly, who extirpated every foe with his weapon,
 44 Who confounded their plans and turned them into wind.
 45 He snuffed out all the wicked who came against him,
 46 Let the gods ever shout acclamation in the assembly.
 47 (21) Šazu-Suḥgurim, fourthly, who established success for the gods, his fathers,
 48 Who extirpated foes and destroyed their offspring,
 49 Who scattered their achievements, leaving no part of them,
 50 Let his name be spoken and proclaimed in the land.
 51 As (22) Šazu-Zaḥrim, fifthly, let future generations discuss him,
 52 The destroyer of every rebel, of all the disobedient,
 53 Who brought all the fugitive gods into the shrines,
 54 Let this name of his be established.
 55 As (23) Šazu-Zaḥgurim, sixthly, let them altogether and everywhere worship him,
 56 Who himself destroyed all the foes in battle.
 57 (24) Enbilulu is he, the lord who supplies them abundantly,
 58 Their great chosen one, who provides cereal offerings,
 59 Who keeps pasturage and watering in good condition and established it for the land,
 60 Who opened watercourses and distributed plentiful water.
 61 (25) Enbilulu-Epadun, lord of common land and irrigation ditch, let them [call him] secondly,
 62 Canal supervisor of heaven and netherworld, who sets furrows,
 Who establishes clean arable land in the open country,
 63 Who directs irrigation ditch and canal, and marks out the furrow.
 64 As (26) Enbilulu-Gugal, canal supervisor of the water courses of the gods, let them praise
 him thirdly,
 65 Lord of abundance, profusion, and huge stores (of grain),
 66 Who provides bounty, who enriches human habitations,
 67 Who gives wheat, and brings grain into being.

57 Y: be-lu ṛmu-deš-šú-šú'-n[u z: mu-deš-še'-šú-ú'-[J: mu-deš-šú-šú-[, š]u-m[a⁷ 58 J: -u]n' šá-kin ta[k-li]-me
 59 J: ri-ta, [x ṛuš-te-ši-ru, m]a-a-ti 60 J: be-ra-tum D: -t]u-ú h: ú-za-ṛi-z[u JK: nu-uh-ši 61 J: om. ^denbilulu
 h: be-[J: be-el, iz-zak-[K: iz-zak-r[u]⁷ 62 J: šamê^e u, mu-kin, kù-ta h: -t]i' el-le-ti I: ed]in 63 J(K): pal-ka
 h: pa]l-gu uš-te-ši-ru ú-u[š- JK: uš-te-eš-še-ru K: ap-ki-sa 64 h: -l]u-lu J: om. ^denbilulu JK: miḥ-ra-at
 h: mit-ra-a-t[ú⁷ 65 h(i): -gá]l-la tuḥ-du ù KA-x[JK: iš-pak-ki 66 h:]-ṛa⁷ h]K: mu-na-aḥ-ḥi-iš K: da-[a]d-me
 67 j(K): š]u-ṛa z: šu-ṛú i: šu-a-i W:]-ṛ⁷i h: aš-n[a-

68	IiJK	^d MIN(enbilulu) ^d h ^e -gál mu-kám-mir hegalli ana niši ^{meš} re-biš liq-bu-ú
69	IiJK	mu-šá-az-nin nuḥša eli eršetim ^{tim} rapaštim ^{tim} mu-deš-šu-u ur-qé-ti
70	IiJKVYyz	^d sirsir šá-pi-ik šadī ⁱ e-le-nu-uš ti-amat
71	IiJK	šá-lil ša-lam-ta ta-à-wa-ti ina ^{giš} kakkī-šu
72	IiJK	mu-tar-ru-ú ma-a-ti re- ² ú-ši-na ki-i-[n]a
73	IiK	šá šar-tuš-šu mi-ri-šu šu-ku-us-su šer- ² u
74	IiK	šá ti-amat rapašta ^{ta} i-ti-ib-bi-ru uz-zu-uš-šú
75	IiK	ki-i ti-tur-ri i-ti-it-ti-qu a-šar šá-áš-me-šá
76	IiK	^d MIN(sirsir) ^d má-laḥ ₄ ina šani ⁱ im-bu-u ši-i lu ki-a-am
77	IiKVYz	ti-amat ru-kub-šu-ma šu-ú ma-làḥ-šá
78	IK	^d gil muš-<tap>-pi-ik ka-re-e ti-li bit-ru- ^r ti ¹
79	EIK	ba-nu-ú áš-na-an ù làḥ-ri na-di-nu zer ma-a-tim
80	EIK	^d gili-ma mu-kin ṭur-ri ilāni ba-nu-u ki-na-a-[ti]
81	EIK	rap-ṭu la- ² iṭ-su-nu mu-šaṣ-bi-tu ₄ dam-qa-a-[ti]
82	EIK	^d a-gili-ma šá-qu-ú na-si-iḥ a-gi-i a-šir šal-[g]i
83	EIK	ba-nu-u eršetim ^{tim} e-liš mé ^{meš} mu-kin e-la-a-ti
84	EIK	^d zu-lum mu-ad-di qer-bé-ti ana ilāni ṭa-lik bi-nu-ti
85	EIK	na-din is-qí u nin-da-bé-e ṭa-qí-du eš-re-ti
86	EIK	^d mu-um-mu ba-an šamê ^e u eršetim ^{tim} mu-še-šir pâr-si
87	EFIK	ilu mul-lil šamê ^e u eršetim ^{tim} šá-niš ^d zu-lum ^{um} -m[u]
88	EFIK	šá a-na dun-ni-šú ina ilāni šá-nu-u la m[aš]-l[u]
89	EFIK	^d giš-numun-áb ba-nu-ú nap-ḥar niši ^{meš} e-pi-šú kib-ra-a-[ti]
90	EFIK	a-bit ilāni ^{meš} šá ti-amat e-piš niši ^{meš} ina mim-mi-šú-un
91	EFIK	^d lugal-áb-dúbur šarru sa-pi-iḥ ep-šet ti-amat na-si-ḥu ^{giš} kakkī-[šá]
92	EIKVYz	šá ina re-e-ši ù ar-ka-ti du-ru-uš-šú ku-un-nu
93	EIK	^d pa ₄ -gal-gú-en-na a-šá-red nap-ḥar be-li šá šá-qa-a e-mu-qa-šú
94	EIK	šá ina ilāni aḥḥe ^{meš} -šú šur-bu-u e-tel nap-ḥar-šú-nu
95	EIK	^d lugal-dur-maḥ šar-ru mar-kas ilāni ^{meš} bēl dur-ma-ḥi
96	IK	šá ina šu-bat šarrū-ti šur-bu-u an ilāni ma- ² diš ši-ru
97	IKVYz	^d a-rá-nun-na ma-lik ^d e-a ba-an ilāni ^{meš} abbê ^{meš} -šú
98	IKVYz	šá a-na a-lak-ti ru-bu-ti-šú la ú-maš-šá-lu ilu a-a-um-ma
99	IK	^d dumu-du ₆ -kù šá ina du ₆ -kù ú-ta-ad-da-šú šu-bat-su e[l-let]
100	IK	^d dumu-du ₆ -kù šá ba-li-šú purussú la i-ṭar-ra-su ^d lugal-du ₆ -kù
101	IJK	^d lugal-šu ¹ -an-na šar-ru šá ina ilāni šá-qa-a e-mu-qa-a-šú
102	IJK	be-lum e-muq ^d a-nim šá šu-tu-ru ni-bu-ut an-šár
103	IJK	^d ir-ug ₅ -ga šá-lil gim-ri-šú-nu qir-biš ti-amat

68 K: om. ^denbilulu i: ^rden¹-bi-lu-lu JK: h^e-gál-li (J)K: ni-ši I: re-pi-iš J: -i]š 69 i: mu-ša-az-nin nu-uh-šú K: h^e-nun-šú JK: om. rapaštim K: mu-deš-šu-^rú J: -š]i 70 i: ša-pi-ik z: šá-pi-TI-ik i(K): ša-di-^ri¹ I: e-le-nu-uš-šú y: ^re¹-le-niš 71 K: ša-lam-t[i i: IT-GUR-tum ti-] 72 i: mu-ut-tar-ru-ú 73 i: šar-ku-uš me-ri-šu K: -r]i-^ršú¹, ši-i[r]-²-[x] 74 i: ina tam-tim dagal-tim i-te-] 75 i: k]i-ma ti-tur-ru i-te-x[K: šá-áš-mi-šá 76 i: [^dsirs]ir 77 Y: má-la[ḥ₄- 79 K: ^dlaḥar ši-nu 80 K: ^rd¹a-gili-ma, ili ba-nu-ú 81 I: la-iṭ-^rsu¹-nu mu-šá-aṣ-bi-tu 82 IK: ^dgili-ma I: a-ge-^re¹ 83 I: ba-nu-ú ur-pe-e-ti 84 I: qer-bé-^re¹-] 85 EI: iš-qí I: om. u 86 I: om. u 87 EI: mu-lil I: ù

- 68 (27) As Enbilulu-Ḫegal, who accumulates abundance for the peoples, let them speak of him fourthly,
 69 Who rains down riches on the broad earth, and supplies abundant vegetation.
 70 (28) Sirsir, who heaped up a mountain on top of Tiāmat,
 71 Who plundered the corpse of Tiāmat with [his] weapons,
 72 The guardian of the land, their trustworthy shepherd,
 73 Whose hair is a growing crop, whose turban is a furrow,
 74 Who kept crossing the broad Sea in his fury,
 75 And kept crossing over the place of her battle as though it were a bridge.
 76 (29) Sirsir-Malaḫ they named him secondly—so be it—
 77 Tiāmat was his boat, he was her sailor.
 78 (30) Gil, who ever heaps up piles of barley, massive mounds,
 79 The creator of grain and flocks, who gives seed for the land.
 80 (31) Gilima, who made the bond of the gods firm, who created stability,
 81 A snare that overwhelmed them, who yet extended favours.
 82 (32) Agilima, the lofty, who snatches off the crown, who takes charge of snow,
 83 Who created the earth on the water and made firm the height of heaven.
 84 (33) Zulum, who assigns meadows for the gods and divides up what he has created,
 85 Who gives incomes and food-offerings, who administers shrines.
 86 (34) Mummu, creator of heaven and netherworld, who protects refugees,
 87 The god who purifies heaven and netherworld, secondly Zulummu,
 88 In respect of whose strength none other among the gods can equal him.
 89 (35) Gišnumunab, creator of all the peoples, who made the world regions,
 90 Who destroyed Tiāmat's gods, and made peoples from part of them.
 91 (36) Lugalabdubur, the king who scattered the works of Tiāmat, who uprooted her weapons,
 92 Whose foundation is secure on the "Fore and Aft".
 93 (37) Pagalguenna, foremost of all lords, whose strength is exalted,
 94 Who is the greatest among the gods, his brothers, the most noble of them all.
 95 (38) Lugaldurmaḫ, king of the bond of the gods, lord of Durmaḫu,
 96 Who is the greatest in the royal abode, infinitely more lofty than the other gods.
 97 (39) Aranunna, counsellor of Ea, creator of the gods, his fathers,
 98 Whom no god can equal in respect of his lordly walk.
 99 (40) Dumuduku, who renews for himself his pure abode in Duku,
 100 Dumuduku, without whom Lugalduku does not make a decision.
 101 (41) Lugalšuanna, the king whose strength is exalted among the gods,
 102 The lord, the strength of Anu, he who is supreme, chosen of Anšar.
 103 (42) Irugga, who plundered them all in the Sea,

88 E: *ana du-un-ni-š[ú]* F: *du-un-n[i-* K: *du-un-ni-šu i-na, šá-[nu]-ú* 90 K: *ta-à-wa-ti, mi-im-me-[*
 91 E: *^dlugal-ab-dúb[ur* I: *šar-ru* 92 E: *ša i-na* K: *re-ši z: u* Y: *'ar'-ka-a-t[i* K: *du-ru-us-[s]u* KV: *kun-nu*
 93 E: *^dpa₇-[* I: *bēl ilāni^{mes}* (for *bēlī*) 94 E: *ša* 95 K: *šarru mar-kas₇ ilāni be-el* 96 K: *'i'-na, šar-ru-ti šur-bu-ú i-na*
 97 K: *ilāni* 98 Z: *a]-'a'-ú-[ma]* 99 K: *d]u₆-dumu-kù, ú-ta-ad-d[a-š]u* 100 K: *šá ina, tar-su ^dlugal-du₆-kù-[ga]*
 101 Tablet (I): *^dlugal-la-an-na* K: *šarru, -m]u-[q]a-šu* 102 K: *'e'-muq-qan ši-rat šu-tu-[* 103 K: *-u]g₇-gi*

104	IJK	šá nap-ḥar uz-ni iḥ-mu-mu ḥa-si-sa pal-ki
105	IJK	^d ir-qin-gu šá-lil ^d qin-gu a-bi-iš ta-ḥa-zi
106	IJK	mut-tab-bil te-ret nap-ḥa-ri mu-kin bēlū-ú-ti
107	IJK	^d kin-ma mu-ma- ² -ir nap-ḥar ilāni na-din mil-ki
108	IJKVZ	šá a-na šu-me-šú ilāni ^{meš} kīma me-ḥe-e i-šub-bu pal-ḥiš
109	IJKVZ	dingir-é-sískur šá-qiš ina bīt ik-ri-bi li-šib-ma
110	IJKVZ	ilāni maḥ-ri-šú li-še-ri-bu kāt-ra-šú-un
111	IJK	a-di i-rib-šú-nu i-maḥ-ḥa-ru-ni
112	IJKZ	ma-am-man ina ba-li-šú la i-ban-na-a nik-la-a-te
113	GIJK	er-ba šal-mat qaqqadi bi-na-tuš-šú
114	GgIJKZ	e-la šá-a-šú ṭe-me u ₄ -me-ši-na la i-ad-da ilu ma-am-man
115	GgIJK	^d girru(BIL.GI) mu-kin a-ša-at ^{gis} kakki
116	GgIJK	šá ina tāḥāz ti-amat i-ban-na-a nik-la-a-ti
117	GgIJK	pal-ka uz-ni et-pe-šá ḥa-si-sa
118	GgIJK	lib-bu ru-ú-qu šá la i-lam-ma-du ilāni gim-ras-su-un
119	GgIJK	^d ad-du lu-ú šum-šú kiš-šat šamê ^e li-rim-ma
120	GgIJK	ṭa-a-bu rig-ma-šú eli eršetim ^{tim} li-ir-ta-ši-in
121	gIJKVZ	mu-um-mu er-pe-e-ti liš-tak-ši-ba-am-ma
	gIj	šap-liš a-na niši ^{meš} te- ² -ú-ta lid-din
122	gIj	^d a-šá-ru šá ki-ma šu-mi-šu-ma i-šu-ru ilāni ^{meš} šīmāti ^{meš}
123	gHIJ	kul-lat kal niši ^{meš} šu-ú lu-ú pa-qid
124	gHIJ	^d né-bé-ru né-bé-re-et šamê ^e u eršetim ^{tim} lu-ú ta-me-eḥ-ma
125	BbgHj	e-liš ù šap-liš la ib-bi-ru li-qé- ² -u-šú šá-a-šu
126	aBbgHj	^d né-bé-ru kakkab-šú šá ina šamê ^e ú-šá-ṭu-u
127	aBbgHjVZ	lu-ú ša-bit kun-sag-gi šu-nu ša-a-šu lu-ú pal-su-šú
128	aBgHj	ma-a šá qir-biš ti-amat i-te-eb-bi-ru la na-ḥi-iš
129	aBbCgJ	šum-šu lu-ú ^d né-bé-ru a-ḥi-zu qir-bi-šu
130	aBbCgJ	šá kakkabāni ^{meš} šá-ma-mi al-kāt-su-nu li-kin-ma
131	aBbCgJ	ki-ma še-e-ni li-ir- ² -a ilāni gim-ra- ^r šú ¹ -un
132	aBbCg	li-ik-mi ti-amat na-ṭiš-ta-šu li-siq ù lik-ri
133	aBbCg	aḥ-ra-taš niši ^{meš} la-ba-riš u ₄ -me
134	aBbCg	li-is-se-e-ma la uk-ta-lu li-ri-iq a-na ša-a-ta
135	aBbCgZ	áš-šú áš-ri ib-na-a iṭ-ti-qa dan-ni-na
136	aBbCg	^d bēl mātāti(kur-kur) šum-šu it-ta-bi a-bu ^d en-líl

104 K: pal-ku 105 J: ^dr qin¹-AN¹ K: a-a-bi-iš 106 I: mut-tab-bil K: be-lu-ti 108 J: šu-mi-šu K: šu-me-šu
 JK: ilāni JKV: ki-ma 109 K: i-na ! ik-ri-bi I: li-ši-^rib/ma¹ 110 J(K): maḥ-ru-uš-šu V: maḥ-ra-šú J: kāt-^rra¹-š[u-
 111 I: a¹ e-reb-šú-un i-[m]aḥ-ḥa-ru-u-ni 112 J(K): mam-ma-an ilāni la K: nik-la-a-ti Z: -t[u]¹ 113 K: bi-na-tuš-šu
 114 J: šá-a-šu K: -š[u] ṭe-mi-ši-na la ia-a-ad J: ṭe-mi, ^ria-ad¹-d[a¹ g: i]a-ad-da Z: ^ri¹-lam-ma-ad 115 JK: a-ša-LA¹
 g: kak-[- 116 g:]x-zi, ḤUL¹-la-a-tum 117 g: uz-nu, et-pe-[- JK: et-pe-šu g: ḥa-si-si 118 gJ: lib-bu J: ru-qu
 g: om. la I: il-lam-ma-du g: gim-ra-šu-nu I: gim-raš-nu 119 GJ: lu K: šù]m-^ršú¹ g: šum-šu g: li-ri-im-ma
 120 g: ṭa-a-ba ri-ig-ma-šu e-li J: rig-ma-šu el g(K): li-ir-ta-aš-ši-in J: li-ir-[x]-x-BU¹ 121 g: ^dmu-um-mu
 I: er-pe-e-LI¹ (V)Z: er-pe-e-tú g: e-liš J: ana, ti-²-ú-ta g: ti-²-ti 122 g: ^da-ša-ru I: kīma šumī-šú-ma i-šú-ru

- 104 Who grasps all wisdom, is comprehensive in understanding.
 105 (43) Irquingu, who plundered Qingu in . . . battle,
 106 Who directs all decrees and establishes lordship.
 107 (44) Kinma, the director of all the gods, who gives counsel,
 108 At whose name the gods bend down in reverence as before a hurricane.
 109 (45) Dingir-Esiskur—let him take the lofty seat in the House of Benediction,
 110 Let the gods bring their presents before him
 111 Until he receives their offerings.
 112 No one but he accomplishes clever things
 113 The four (regions) of black-heads are his creation,
 114 Apart from him no god knows the measure of their days.
 115 (46) Girru, who makes weapons hard (?),
 116 Who accomplished clever things in the battle with Tiāmat,
 117 Comprehensive in wisdom, skilled in understanding,
 118 A deep mind, that all the gods combined do not understand.
 119 Let (47) Addu be his name, let him cover the whole span of heaven,
 120 Let him thunder with his pleasant voice upon the earth,
 121 May the rumble of the clouds diminish
 That he may give sustenance to the peoples below.
 122 (48) Ašāru, who, as his name says, mustered the Divine Fates
 123 He indeed is the warden of absolutely all peoples.
 124 As (49) Nēberu let him hold the crossing place of heaven and netherworld,
 125 They should not cross above or below, but should wait for him.
 126 Nēberu is his star, which he caused to shine in the sky,
 127 Let him take his stand on the heavenly staircase that they may look at him.
 128 Yet, he who constantly crosses the Sea without resting,
 129 Let his name be Nēberu, who grasps her middle,
 130 Let him fix the paths of the stars of heaven,
 131 Let him shepherd all the gods like sheep,
 132 Let him bind Tiāmat and put her life in mortal danger,
 133 To generations yet unborn, to distant future days,
 134 May he continue unchecked, may he persist into eternity.
 135 Since he created the heavens and fashioned the earth,
 136 Enlil, the father, called him by his own name, (50) “Lord of the Lands.”

g: ilāni ši-ma-a-tum I: ši-ma-a-t[e] 123 g: kal ilāni, pa-qí-id 124 J: né-ber-^ret^r g: om. u; ta-mi-iḫ-ma
 125 g: u, [i-q]é-^ru₁₆ b:]-^ru₁₆-^ršú^r bg: ša-a-šu 126 J: om. -ru g: kakkab-šu a: -š]u š[a g: ú-ša-ṭu-ú
 127 a: -i]t H:]-x šú-nu J: šá-a-šú g: pal-RU¹-SU¹ 128 a: ša i-na qir-bi g: ina qir-biš B: i-teb-bi-r[u
 129 B: šum-šú lu g: né-bé-ru b:]ne-bé-ri a-ḫi-iz 130 a: ša kakkab ša-ma-mi B: šá-ma-me g: ša-ma-ma
 ab: al-kát- J: al-^rkát^r-su-un b: li-ki-il-lu 131 B: kīma a: še-e-nu B: li-ir-ta-a g:]-x-x-^ra, gim^r-ra-šu-un
 132 B: lik-me, ni-šir-ta-šá li-si-iq u 133 a: aḫ-ra-ta-áš (a)b(g): la-ba-ri-iš b: u₄-mu 134 B: liš-ši-ma, uk-ta-li
 B(C): li-^rriq^r ana B: ša-a-ti 135 a: áš-šum áš-ru C: áš-ra,]-^rtiq^r a: ip-ti-qu [d]an-ni-nu bg: ip-ti-iq dan-ni-ni
 136 B: be-el, šum-šú C: šum-šu g: -ta-b]u BC: a-bi

137	aBbCg	zik-ri ^d í-gì-gì	im-bu-u na-gab-šú-un
138	aBbg	iš-me-e-ma ^d é-a	ka-bat-ta-šu it-ta-an-gi
139	aBbgVZ	ma-a ša ab-bé-[e]-šu	ú-šar-ri-ḥu zi-kir-šu
140	aBbg	šu-ú ki-ma ia-a-ti-ma	^d é-a lu-ú šum-šu
141	aBbg	ri-kis par-ši-ia	ka-li-šú-nu li-bel-ma
142	aBbg	gim-ri te-re-e-ti-ia	šu-ú li-it-tab-bal
143	aBbg	ina zik-ri ḥa-an-ša-a	ilāni rabūti
144	aBbCgZ	ḥa-an-ša-a šu-mé-e-šu im-bu-ú	ú-šá-ti-ru al-kát-su
145	aBbCfg	li-iš-šab-tú-ma maḥ-ru-u	li-kal-lim
146	aBbCfg	en-qu mu-du-u	mit-ḥa-riš lim-tal-ku
147	aBbCfg	li-šá-an-ni-ma a-bu	ma-ri li-šá-ḥi-iz
148	aBbCfg	šá ^{lú} rē ^ʾ i u na-qí-di	li-pat-ta-a uz-na-šú-un
149	aBbCfg	la ig-gi-ma a-na ^d en-líl ilāni ^d marūtuk	
150	aBbCfJ	mat-su lid-deš-šá-a	šu-ú lu-ú šal-ma
151	aBbCgJ	ki-na-at a-mat-su	la e-na-at qí-bit-su
152	aBbCgJ	ši-it pi-i-šú la uš-te-pi-il	ilu a-a-um-ma
153	aBbCgJ	ik-ke-lem-mu-ma ul	ú-ta-ri ki-šad-su
154	aBbCgJ	ina sa-ba-si-šu uz-za-šu	ul i-maḥ-ḥar-šú ilu mam-ma-an
155	aBbCgJ	ru-u-qu lib-ba-šú	ra-pa-aš ka-ra- ^r as ^ʾ -su
156	aBbCgJ	šá an-ni u gíl-la-ti	ma-ḥar-šu ba- ^ʾ ú
157	aBbCJ	tak-lim-ti maḥ-ru-ú	id-bu-bu pa-nu-uš-šu
158	aCJ	iš-ṭur-ma iš-ta-kan	ana ši-mé-e ar-ku-ti
159	abJ	ši-mat ^d marūtuk	ša u[l]-lu-ú ilāni ^d í-gì-gì
160	abJ	e-ma m[u]-ú iš-šat-tu-ú	šu-u[m-šú] li-zak-ru
161	aJ	i-n[a-an-n]a-am-ma za-ma-ru	šá ^d marūtuk
162	abJ	[šá] ti-[amat i]k-mu-ma	il-qu-u šar-ru-ti
163	a	[x x x] x bit ^ʾ ^d x[. . .	
164	a	[x x x x] x ká-dingir-[ra ^{?ki?} . . .	

137 a(C): ina zik-ri abg: im-bu-ú a: na-gab-SU¹-un b: na-gab-šu-nu g: na-gab-šu-un 138–143 C: om.

138 B: iš-me-ma, ka-bat-ta-šú i-te-en-gu g: GUD¹-ta-an-gi 139 B: šá abbē^{meš}-šú, zik-ru-u-šú Z: -k]ir-šú

140 B: lu-u šum-šú 141 a: ka-li-šu-nu li-bé-el-ma g: li-be-el-ma 142 Comm. II/B: ù gim-ri B: te-re-ti-ia, lit-tab-bal

Comm. II/B: lit-[143 b: ^riⁿ[a Comm. II/B: zi-kir 50 B: 50^{am} g: ra-bi-ú-tum 144 B: 50^{am} Comm. II/B: 50

Z: ḥa-an-šá-a mu-meš-šu BC Comm. II/B: mu-meš-šú B: im-bu-u b: ú-š[a a: ú-ša-ti-ru C: ú-šá-tir

Comm. II/B: ú-šá-te-ru a: al-kát-su g: al-kat-su 145 C:]-šab-tu-ma a:]-ša-ab-tú m[a]-aḥ-ru-ú bC:]-ru-ú

146 C: mu-du-^rú^ʾ b(f): u mu-du-[a: ù mu-d[u]-ú mi-it-ḥa-ri-iš ag: li-im-tal-ku 147 (b)f: li-ša-a[n- b: a-ba

ab(g^ʾ): ma-ri-iš C: māra lu-šá-ḥi-[ag: li-ša-ḥi-iz 148 b: ša re-[f: ša re-^ré^ʾ-[a:]-x-i ab: ù na-qí-du C: na-qid

- 137 Ea heard the names which all the Igigi called
 138 And his spirit became radiant.
 139 “Why! He whose name was extolled by his fathers
 140 Let him, like me, be called (51) ‘Ea’.
 141 Let him control the sum of all my rites,
 142 Let him administer all my decrees.”
 143 With the word “Fifty” the great gods
 144 Called his fifty names and assigned him an outstanding position.
 145 They should be remembered; a leading figure should expound them,
 146 The wise and learned should confer about them,
 147 A father should repeat them and teach them to his son,
 148 One should explain them to shepherd and herdsman.
 149 If one is not negligent to Marduk, the Enlil of the gods,
 150 May one’s land flourish, and oneself prosper,
 151 (For) his word is reliable, his command unchanged,
 152 No god can alter the utterance of his mouth.
 153 When he looks in fury, he does not relent,
 154 When his anger is ablaze, no god can face him.
 155 His mind is deep, his spirit is all-embracing,
 156 Before whom sin and transgression are sought out.
 157 Instruction which a leading figure repeated before him (Marduk):
 158 He wrote it down and stored it so that generations to come might hear it.
 159 The destiny of Marduk, whom the Igigi gods exalted,
 160 Wherever water is drunk let them invoke [his] name.
 161 Here now is the song of Marduk,
 162 [Who] defeated Tīāmat and took kingship.
 163 [. . .] . the temple⁷ of . . . [. . .
 164 [. . . .] . Babylon⁷ [. . .

ab: *uz-né-šu* C: *uznē^{ll}-šú-[x]* 149 B: *li-ig-gi-ma, ^den-lil-lá* 150 (b)Cf: *li-[a: li-id-[de]-eš-ša-a* B: *lu g: šal-LA¹*
 a: *ša-al-ma* 151 C: *e]-na-ta J:]-n]a-ti* b: *qí-bi-it-su* 152 a]: *pi-i-šu J: ul uš-te-pil a: uš-te-pe-el-¹hu¹ g:]-lu*
 153 b: *ik-ke-l[em-m]u-ú* B: *ú-tar-ra* C: *‘ú’-tar gú-[* 154 b: *i-na* B: *sa-ba-si-šú uz-za-šú* a]: *i-maḥ-ḥar-šu*
 g: *ilu l[a⁷* B: *ma-am-man* 155 a: *ru-ú-qu [li]-ib-ba-šu J: ‘ru-qú’ lib-ba-šu* b: *ru-ú-qa [li]b-ba-šu* bC: *ra-pa-áš*
 B: *la-²-it¹ ‘kar¹-a[s-* b: *ka-ra-ás-sa* C: *ka-r[as-* 156 a(b): *ša J: om. u; g[e-e]l-la-[a:]-la-tum* B: *ma-ḥar-šú i-[-*
 157 b: *‘tak-lim-tu⁴* B: *‘maḥ-ru-u¹* 158 a: *a-na še-m[e-* 159 b: *]-at J: šá ib-nu-u* 160 J: *a-[ú, šu-nu*
 a: *šu-¹ú¹* 161 J: *‘^dŠEŠ^{7k}[¹-m]a* a: *‘za¹-ma-r[i* 162 a: *-m]u-ú il-qu-ú*

Commentaries¹

- 1 *is-ra-tum a-x* [(Wz) *is-ra-tum ta-[mir-tum]* (y)
 2 *qû-ú ši-ḥir-tu* (W: [q]û-um, z)
 9 *aššu(mu) ilāni*^{meš} *šá ma-ḥa-zi* [. . . .] *it-ta-r[a-* (Xy: om. šá, z); *šá ina bābili*^{ki} [(W)
 35 *ba-ru-ú lib-bi* [(Wz: prefixes ^dšā-máš)
 53 x [(F)] x ^{iti}nisanu(bára) *i-na x* [(Y)
 70 ^dsirsir ^dmarūtuk *tam-tum x* [(yz)]-PA-t[um] (V)
 77 [l]uḥšû(U)H.ME.U *kīma iqbû*(dug₄)^u (V)
 92 ^dnabû(nà) *ina parak šīmāti*^{meš} *ud-6-k[ám (z) maḥar* ^{dbēl} u]d-11-kam *arki* ^{dbēl} [uššab]
 (Vz: -k]i')
 97 ^dŠU 40 ^{d50} lu/ib a an' x x [(Zz)] NUN ^{dé-a} 40 x [(Z)] *tè-e-mu* 40 ^{dé-a} (V)
 98 [^d]nabû(nà) *šá (z: š]a')* ^{giš}MI *šeš ka x* [(Zz)] // *ša itti* ^{dbēl} (V)
 . . . t]a-lu-ki-šú *la un-da-an-ṭù-u* (VZ) // *šal-šiš* DIŠ 30 *ta x*[. . . .]-ru *ḥab-ra-tú ina sur-ru* (V)
 108 *aššu(mu) li-is-mu* (V: *li-is-me*) *šá* ^dmār (Y: *dumu*; Z: *a*)-*bīti šá èš-nun*^{ki} *ki-i iqbû* (Z: *dug₄-ga-ú*;
 V: *g]im dug₄-u*) (VZ)
 109–10 *qí-šá-a-tú šá ina* ^{iti}nisanu(bára) *ištu*(ta) (V: *qí-šá-a-ti šá ul-tu*) *ud-6-kám adi*(en)
ud-12-kám si-na aššu(mu) ^dza-ba₄-ba₄ ki (V: *gim*) *iqbû*(dug₄-u) [. . .] x ^{dbēl} *šá ina a-ki-ti*
ud-8-kám uš-šá-bu kât-ru-u ṭa-²-tu šá libbi tup-ṭi šá-nim-ma (VZ, V to *iqbû*)
 112 *su-ur-tum ša* ^{lú}bārû(ḥal)-*ti* (Z)
 114 *šá ma-am-man a-na libbi puḥād*(udu-PISAN×SAR) ^{lú}bārû(ḥal)-*ti la ú-sar-rù* (Z)
 121 *mu-um-mu rig-mu* (VZ)
 127 *kun-sag-gu-ú re-e-šú ar-ka-tu* KA.ŠU.GÁL *la-ba-ṣu* KA.ŠU.GÁL *la-ban ap-ṭi* (VZ)
 135 *aš-ru šá-mu-ú dan-ni-na er-še-tum* (Z)
 139 *ma-a ma-a-ru* (V:]-ri, Z)
 144 50 *ḥa-an-šá-a* 50 ^denlil(idim) (Z)

Quoted Elsewhere

- 5 [^dasar-a] *lim-nun-na ka-ru-ba nu-úr a-bi a-li-di-šú* (STC I 216 3, see p. 8)
 62b [šá] *me-riš-[tú {elleta}] ú-ki-nu ina šēri* (MSL XIV 288 4, commentary)
 77 *ti-amat ru-kub-šu-ma š[u⁷-ú* (A. Cavigneaux, *Textes scolaires* I [Baghdad, 1981] 175 =
 BM 38706+39843 8, learned text, Pl. 41)
 132 *lik-mi ti-amat zi-šú li-* [(STC I 215 rev. 2, commentary)

Textual notes on pp. 482–492.

1. The list of commentary manuscripts is on pp. 135f.

The Commentaries on *Enūma Eliš* and the Triple-Column God-List

Commentary I

The commentary dealing with the whole Epic (abbreviated here: Comm. I), to be distinguished from that on the Tablet VII alone (Comm. II), is an interesting specimen of its kind. Parts of one Babylonian, several Ashurbanipal, and one Assur copy survive, and a comparison of these shows that the text was not completely fixed. The Babylonian copy deals with line 89 only out of the whole of Tablet VI, but one of the Ashurbanipal fragments, X, deals with VI 94 and 132 (what preceded is now missing). Similarly, the Ashurbanipal copy Z covers the following lines from the latter part of Tablet VII: 108, 109–10, 112, 114, 135, 121, 127, etc., while the Assur copy (V) covers only 108, 109–10, 121, 127 out of this group, and in the case of 109–10 this Assur copy lacks part of the lengthy comments found in Z. In contrast, the Assur copy has a comment on a line between 98 and 108 which Z lacks. Generally, however, the copies do comment on the same lines and show only orthographic variants.

Symbol	Place of Publication	Obverse	Reverse
Assyrian Sites			
Nineveh (Ashurbanipal)			
Z = K 4657+7038+9427+9911+10008+ 12102+16818+Sm 747		] I 3, 4, 6, 33, 36(?), 76, 86, 103, 121, 122, 139, 159; II 1, 130; III 53, 54, 55, 134, 135; IV 46, 47, 62, 113–114, 124, 131–132, 140, 144; V 21–22, 24–25, [	] VII 77(?), 92, 97, 98, 108, 109–110, 112, 114, 135, 121, 127, 139, 144
	CT 13 32 (747); STC I 189 (10008); Pl. 35 (all)		
Y = Rm 395		] V 33, 55, 59, 70, 90, 95, 101/115 [	] VII 2, 9, 35, 53, 57, 70, 77, 92, 97[
	STC II lxii		

Symbol	Place of Publication	Obverse	Reverse
X = K 8585	Pl. 36	.....	] VI 94, 132, VII 2, 9, 35, 53, [
W = Rm II 538	STC I 176	.....	] VII 1, 2, 9, 35, 57, 67, [
Assur			
V = VAT 10616(+11616)	Pl. 36	.....	] VII 70, 77, 92, 97, 98, 108, 109–110, 121, 127, 139, [
Babylonian Sites			
z = BM 54228 (82-5-22, 379)	STC II lxiii	] I 4, 6, .. [	] V 157; VI 89; VII 1, 2, 9, 35, 57, 67, 70, 77, 92, 97, 98 [
y = BM 66606+72033 (82-9-18, 6599+12037)	Pl. 37	I 103; IV 113, 131–132; V 64, 70, 83, 84, [	] VI 89; VII 1, 9, 70, [
x = BM 69594 (82-9-18, 9591)	Pl. 36	I 1, 4, [	.....

The procedure for commenting is the usual one: lines from the text being explained are quoted and the comments follow. In our reconstructed text of the Epic, the cited lines are treated like any other copy of the text: if required, they are used in the composite text; if not, their variant readings are given in the apparatus. The comments are printed *in extenso* at the end of each of the seven Tablets of the Epic. Normally, the commentary cites single lines only, but in IV 113–14 and 131–32, V 21–22, and VII 109–10, pairs of lines are quoted together. All four are cases of genuine couplets, not merely pairs of adjacent lines, and this phenomenon confirms that the couplet was recognized as a unit by the commentator. Only one serious textual problem is raised by the commentary. As quoted above, in Tablet VII line 135 occurs between 114 and 121. It is doubtful that this is more than a disarrangement within the commentary. In most cases, the tablets must have been of wide format when complete, as the lines from the Epic are commonly given on the left-hand side, starting from the edge, and the comments occupy the rest of the space across the tablet. As a consequence, the fragments identified mostly belong to the left-hand sides of the tablets, since the lines quoted can be identified with ease, while the comments often bear little or no obvious relationship to the Epic. No doubt the museums contain pieces of this kind which have not been identified.

Two quite separate kinds of comment are mixed up. The first is explanations of single words, the most common type of exposition in this kind of text. At the simplest, this involves nothing beyond the quotation of the word followed by an approximate synonym. These equations are what make up synonym lists and often what appears in commentaries is also found in these lists. Thus, *šuṣū* = *appāru* (I 6) occurs also as *Malku* II 73, and *danninu* = *eršetum* (VII 135) is also known from *LTBA* II 2 2 and *An* = *Anum* V 234. Such things are so common in texts of this kind that there is little doubt that

in many cases the synonym lists have been laid under contribution. On this basis, we have restored I 3 from *Malku* I 114; I 121 from *Malku* VIII 90 (STT 394) *he-em-ret* = *še-eb-ret*, the first entry of another commentary (GCC I 406); and I 159 from An = *Anum* VIII 63. There remain, however, quite a number of such entries in the commentary under discussion for which no source has yet been found: I 121, 122, 139; III 135; IV 124; VII 1, 2, 121, 127, 135, 139. While our knowledge of synonym lists is far from complete, one must leave the possibility open that commentators may have coined some equations themselves. The equations of divine names in I 16 and VII 70 have exactly the same possibilities.

A second type of comment on the single word uses the pattern, and the content also, of the bilingual lists. Two bilingual equations are given, the first of which contains the Akkadian word under comment, while the second has the same Sumerian but a different Akkadian word. Four examples in this commentary are preserved: II 1, III 134, VII 127, and VII 144, and each equation can be found without difficulty in lexical lists (see Deimel, *ŠL*; *CAD*; and *AHW*), but the juxtapositioning seems to be the compiler's work. A special use of a bilingual item occurs in VI 89, where the Akkadian "long wood" from the text is explained from the Sumerian "long wood" of a bilingual equivalence, for which see p. 479.

Simple explanations of a philological or other kind are rarely given by means other than the citation of lexical or quasi-lexical lists. But in VII 35 a phrase is expressed in other words, and some part, or the whole, of III 135 is explained by the phrase "they made pastries." Only four times, IV 144, VII 9, 112(?), 114, is there a comment such as a modern commentator might make.

Four times, the source of the explanation is given: I 16, VII 77, 108, 109–10. It is always the same phrase, but with orthographic variants: *gi m/ki-i dug₄(-ga)-ú/u*. This phrase occurs quite commonly in both commentaries (e.g., II R 47 iii 23; CT 28 48, K 182+ rev. 6; C. H. Gordon, *Smith College Tablets* (Northampton, 1952) no. 100 4; K 6151 obv. 3; K 8175 3, 4, 13; K 13866 [Pl. 38] 8) and expository texts (*KAR* 142 obv. I 13; *Babyloniaca* 6 (1912) pl. II = p. 10 18). The reading is given phonetically either as (*kī*) *iq-bu-ú* (K 6151, K 8175) or as (*kī*) *qa-bu-u* (II R 47, *KAR* 142). The latter is most naturally to be translated "as it is said," but the former could be either "as it said" or "as they said." "As he said" is less probable. The phrase does not need to have reference to oral communications of a teacher, though other commentaries do refer to such, e.g., the comment on *Marduk's Address F 6* (*AfO* 17 [1954/56] 315 and 19 [1960] 118). Since *qabi* "it is said" is used to introduce quotations from a written source, *kī iqbû/qabû* no doubt does the same, and this is confirmed by *ki qa-bu-u* after the comment on *Marduk's Address F 8* (*AfO* 19 118), which is further explained: "This comes from the commentary" (*šá mu-kal-lim-te šu-u*). Such notes do not mean that only the items so qualified are taken from a written source. Some commentaries do not use the phrase at all, though they certainly depend in large measure on the lists. Nor is the phrase restricted in use to a particular kind of comment. It follows simple citations from the lexical lists and longer esoteric comments. The only other allusion to a source of a particular comment on *Enūma Eliš* occurs on VII 109–10, where "another tablet" is specified, i.e., a tablet other than the one or ones from which the previous comments on this couplet were taken.

Most of the longer comments on the Epic are cultic in character: II [97]; III 53, 54, 55; IV 113–14, 131–32; VII 53, 92, 98, 108, 109–10, 112, 114. In a few cases, the comments are quite fair to the

text. For example, VII 109–10 certainly does refer to the giving of gifts to Marduk during the New Year festival, and the extra details offered by the first and third of the four surviving comments on the couplet are given in a thoroughly scientific spirit. The second comment, however, “it refers to Zababa,” is obscure and certainly quite wrong. The commentator can only mean that not Marduk but Zababa was the god who received the gifts. It is quite possible that somewhere there was a ceremony in which Zababa was presented with gifts. On this point, the commentator was no doubt much better informed than ourselves. But certainly the text of the Epic is speaking of Marduk, not Zababa. In exactly the same way, two other lines of Tablet VII, 92 and 98, are made to refer to Nabû, though the original text very clearly and beyond all question speaks of Marduk. In each case, a cultic allusion is found by the misapplication to Nabû, the first of which is read into the Epic in a very artificial way. The second is largely broken.

For the most part, the cultic comments find precise allusions to then current observances in mythological episodes. In Ea’s *tête-à-tête* with Marduk as recorded in II [97], the commentary finds the sounding of a ritual drum in the month Addar in the presence of Ea. The noise of the drum evidently signified the whispers of Ea to Marduk. Anšar’s account of how he sent Anu to face Tiāmat (III 53) is understood as Mandānu’s going to Ḫursagkalamma. Mandānu was a herald (*guzalû*) of Marduk, according to An = *Anum* II 253, and while the allusion to his going to Kish is obscure to us, it may be noted that his leaving of the city on formal occasions is presumed in the other name of the city gate in Babylon, the Gate of Praise (ká-ka-tar-ra), namely, the Gate of the Entry of Mandānu (ká né-rib^ddi-ku₅; BM 35046 17 [BTT pl. 21]). The following line of the Epic, III 54, which speaks of Ea turning back in fear, is made to refer to a chariot which comes in and goes out of somewhere during the month Addar. This, too, is obscure, though rites involving principally a chariot are known from Mari (ARM 12 272–75; see also, perhaps, KAR 307 obv. 24–29 = Ebeling, *Tod und Leben* p. 33). Marduk’s severing of Tiāmat’s veins in IV 131–32 is connected with a little-understood ritual running, reference to which is also made in the comment on VII 108, where, however, the “Son-of-the-House of Ešnunna” is named, a god not otherwise known. Other passages mentioning the ritual running are collected in *AHw* sub voce *lismu*. A second comment on IV 131–32 connects the redness of a garment worn by Marduk or a certain class of priest with the blood which came from Tiāmat’s cut veins. This comment seems to be related to those on two adjacent lines of Marduk’s Address to the Demons (*AfO* 17 [1954/56] 313 B 6 and 7, cf. *AfO* 19 [1960] 115). They similarly find allusions to red garments when none would appear to us. In VII 112 and 114, the commentator finds specific allusions to the cult of the *bārû*-priest where to us the passages seem quite general in content.

However perverse these ritualistic comments may seem to us, they reflect the same kind of thinking that appears in the expository sections of rituals and in expository texts generally, that the performing of a ritual, in many cases at least, was the reenactment of a myth.¹

The Ashurbanipal copy, Z, which contains the end of the commentary, has the catch-line to another. It too seems to comment on a myth, but this is so far unidentified.

1. See further W. G. Lambert, “Myth and Ritual as Conceived by the Babylonians,” *JSS* 13 (1968) 104–12.

Commentary II

H. Zimmern in 1898 first drew attention to a part of this commentary (here abbreviated as Comm. II). He had copied 80-7-19, 288, which he found to contain lines from Tablet VII of the Epic, though it did not seem to be a regular tablet of the series (see ZA 12 [1897] 401–2). King, in STC II li–lx, gave copies of all the pieces he knew, of which K 4406 had appeared previously in II R 31, no. 2; Sm 11+980 in V R 21, no. 4; Rm 366 in V R 21, no. 3; and 82-3-23, 151, first published by King, was republished by Meek in RA 17 [1920] 189. Two joins have been made in King’s material. Sm 1416 joins the uninscribed broken bottom portion of Sm 11+980, supplying a few lines of the first and second columns. K 8299 joins K 2053: the left-hand portion of column VII of K 2053, dealing with lines 112–14, fits against the right-hand portion of K 8299. Two previously published but unidentified pieces have been joined, K 11169 (RA 17 169) and K 13614 (CT 19 6), and a new copy is given here on Pl. 38. A hitherto unpublished piece is BM 134499, also Pl. 38. All of these pieces come from Ashurbanipal’s library and are parts of two tablets designated here A and B. The former was written in ten columns, the latter in eight. In view of the scribal error in the exposition of line 18 (BA-[š_u-ú] for ma-[š_u-ú]), it is most likely that the originals were in Babylonian script and came from Babylon. For a discussion of the general problems of this Commentary, see pp. 167–168.

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Museum Number</i>	<i>Lines on Columns of Obverse</i>	<i>Lines on Columns of Reverse</i>
A	Sm 11+980+1416	I: 1–5, 9–10	VIII: 113–18
		II: 17–21, 26–27	IX: 126–32
		III: 38, 40	X: (blank)
	K 4406	IV: 58	VI: 82–86
		V: 79–80	VII: 94–98
			VIII: 108–11
K 11169+13614 Pl. 38		VI: 91–92	
		VII: 102–4	
		IX: 120–22	
B	Rm 366+80-7-19, 288+293	I: 9–13	VII: 117–19
			VIII: 134–44
	K 2053+8299	I: 17–19	VII: 112–15
			VIII: 128–31
	BM 134499 (1932-12-12, 494) Pl. 38	III: 48–49	V: 90–92
		IV: 64–67	VI: (traces)

- 1 ^dasar¹-re šá-rik, RU šá-ra-ku, SAR mi-riš-tu, A is-ra-tu, ^{si}DU ka-a-nu (A)
 2 ^{ru}DÙ ba-nu-u, SAR še-im, SAR qu-ú, ^{ma}SAR a-šu-ú, SAR ár-qu (A)
 3 ^dasar-alim, SA bi-i-tú, SÁ mil-ku, ALIM kab-tu, SA at-ru, SÁ mil-ku (A)
 4 DINGIR i-lum, SA ú-qu-u, [DIR]I.DIRI a-da-ru, [DIR]I.DIRI a-ḫa-zu (A)
 5 [^d]asar¹-alim-nun-na, [x k]a-ru-bu (A)
 * * * * *
- 9 ^dtu¹-tu ba-a-nu, TU ba-nu-u, TU e-de-šú, DA šu-ú (AB)
 10 KU el-lum, [D]Ù sa-gu-ú, [D]A šu-ú, [DA] lu-ú, ^rTI¹ pa-šá-ḫu (A:]-gu-u B)
 11 TU [ba-nu]-ú, TU₆ šip-tum, DINGIR i-l[um], TI na-a-ḫu (B)
 12 ÍB a-ga-gu, ŠA lu-ú, ÍB te-bu-ú, TU né-²-ú, GABA ir-tum (B)
 13 DA lu-ú, DA šá-qu-ú, TA i-n[a], ^{mu}TU₆ p[u-uh-rum], DINGIR [i-lum] (B)
 * * * * *
- 17 ZI [a-lak-tu], ZI [ša-ba-tu], ZU [i-du-ú], NA m[an-za-zu] (AB)
 18 TA a-[a], KU BA¹-[šu-ú], TA i-[na], UKKIN a-p[a-a-tum], TU₄ ep-še-[tum], DU₈
 ku-u[l-lum] (AB)
 19 ^dKIMIN ^dNA¹-zi-kù-^rú¹, DÙ ba-nu-^rú¹, DÙ né-bu-^rú¹, ZI ka-a-nu, KÙ el-lum, KÙ
 te-lil-tum (AB)
 20 DINGIR i-lum, ^{tu}IM šá-a-ri, ^{du}HI ṭa-a-bu, DINGIR be-lum, ZI še-mu-ú, ZI ma-ga-rum (A)
 21 ZI ba-šu-ú, KÙ ši-im-ru, ḪA ku-bu-ut-te-^re¹, ZI ka-a-n[u], x ḫé-g[ál] (A)
 * * * * *
- 26] x [ba-la-tu], U[Š mi-i-tum] (A)
 27 DA [ša-a], NA [a-na], DINGIR [i-lum] (A)
 * * * * *
- 37 ŠÀ pu-u]ḫ-rum, [DINGIR] ^ri¹-lum, [ZI ṭa-a]-bu, [ŠÀ lìb]-bi (B)
 38 Z[I ka-n]a-šú, ZI [ma]-gi-ri, ZU ṣ[u-l]u-lu, ZU r[a]-pa-šú (AB)
 39 lacking
 40 ZU sar-tum, ZI k[a]-a-nu, ZU m[u-u]s-su-u, ZI [áš]-rum (AB)
 41 ^dK[IMIN] (A)
 * * * * *
- 48 [SUḪ na-sa-ḫ]u, [RIM a-a-b]u, [x ḫa-la-q]u, [x ni-ip-r]u (B)
 49 [x sa-pa-ḫ]u, [x ep-še-t]ú, [x la]-a (B)
 58 BI na]-bu-u, [x šá]-ka-nu, [x tak-li-m]u (A)
 * * * * *
- 64 [^dKIMIN ^d]g[ú-gal, x] g[ú-gal-lu, x] miṭ-[ra-tum], DINGIR ^ri¹-[lu], KÙ na-[a-du] (B)
 65 EN be-[lum], KÙ ḫ[é-gál-lu], LU.LU ṭ[uh-du], AN i[š-pik-ku], GAL r[a-bu-ú] (B)
 66 LU šá-[ka-nu], LU meš-[ru-ú], LU.LU na-[ḫa-šu], LU d[a-ad-me] (B)
 67 LU na-[da-nu], A š[u-²-ú], G]ÁL ba-[šu-ú] (B)
 79] GI [ma-a-tum], (vacat) [(A)
 80 ^da]-gili-[ma, G]I [ka-a-nu] (A)
 * * * * *

- 82 ^dgili-ma, ÍL šá-qu-[u], MA na-sa-[h_u], GIL a-gu-[u], GIL a-šá-[rum], GIL šal-g[um], šār a-gi-i šar-ra-[x] (A)
- 83 MA ba-nu-u, IM er-š[e-tum], AN e-[lu-u], GIŠ mu-[ú], GI k[a-a-nu], AN e-[lu-u] (A)
- 84 ^dzu-[lum], ZU [i-du-u], ^uKIB [qer-bé-tum], AN [a-na], DINGIR [i-lum], BA [pa-la-ku], U[L ba-nu-u] (A)
- 85 M[U na-da-nu], B[A is-qu], ^zKU [nin-da-bu-u], TA[R pa-qa-du], x [x x x] (A)
- 86 U[L mu-um-mu], MU.UM.M[U ba-nu-u], A[N šá-mu-u], MU.UM.M[U er-še-tum] (A)
- * * * * *
- 90 x] m[im-mu-u] (B)
- 91 [^dlugal-ab-[dúbur], LUGAL šar-[ru], BIR sa-p[a-h_u], ^{du}DÙ e-p[e-šú], AB tam-ti[m], BU na-sa-h[_u], ^{du}DÙ kak-[ku] (AB)
- 92 LÚ šá-[a], AN i-[na], GÚ r[e-e-šú], ^ru^uDÚBUR i[š-du, ^{ru}DÚBUR] a[r-ka-tum, ÛR] d[u-ru-uš-šu] (AB)
- * * * * *
- 94 [EN] ^ri¹-na, [DINGIR] i-lum, [PA₄] a-h_u, [PA₄] šu-ru-bu-u, [P]A₄ ra-bu-u, [P]A₄ e-tel-lum, [G]Ú naḫ-ha-rum (A)
- 95 [^dlugal-dúr-maḫ, LUGAL šar-ru, DÚR mar-ka-su, DINGIR i-lum, LUGAL be-lum, DÚR.MAḫ dur-ma-h_u] (A)
- 96 LÚ šá-a, KU i-na, DÚR šub-tum, LUGAL šar-ru, MAḫ ru-bu-u, KU a-na, DINGIR i-lum, MAḫ ma-²-du, MAḫ ši-i-ri (A)
- 97 ^da-rá-nun-na, A.RÁ mil-ku, NUN ^dé-a, ^{ru}DÙ ba-nu-u, DINGIR i-lum, A a-bu (A)
- 98 RA šá-a, RA a-na, A.^rRÁ¹ a-lak-tu, N[UN] ^rru¹-bu-u, NU la-a, DÙ [ma-šá-lu], DING[IR i-lum] (A)
- * * * * *
- 102 x n]i-b[u-tum], [AN] an-šár (A)
- 103 [^di]r-ú-ga, [I]R šá-la-lum, [G]I gim-ri, [^{ir}ḪAR] qé-re-bu, [x] tam-tim (A)
- 104 [GI] naḫ-ha-ru, [GI] uš-nu, [x ḫa-m]a-mu, [(A)
- 108 MA šu-m]i, [DINGIR i-l]u, [x ki-m]a, [x me-h_u]u, [EDIN še]-^re¹-ru, [EDIN šá]-^ra¹-bu, [x] pa[l]-ḫiš, [x] MIN (A)
- 109 [dingir-é]-sískur, È šá-qu-u, RA i-na, É bi-i-tú, SÍSKUR ik-ri-bu, RA ra-mu-u, RA a-šá- bu (A)
- 110 DINGIR i-lum, IGI maḫ-ru, [T]U e-re-bu, [x] kàt-ru-u (A)
- 111 [x] ^ra¹-di, [KUR ir]-^rbu¹, [x ma-ha-ru] (A)
- 112 [ZU mam-ma-an], ^{ra}[x i-na, x ba-lum], ^{ru}DÙ [ba-nu-u], ^{ru}DÙ ník-[la-a-te] (B)
- 113 KUR er-bu, er-bu-^ru¹ kib-ra-a-te, RI šal-mat qaqqadi, DÙ ba-nu-u (AB)
- 114 E₁₁ e-li, RA šá-a-šú, KU ṭè-e-mu, DU ^ru₄¹-mu, RA [l]a-a, ZU [i]-du-u, DINGIR [i]-lum, ZU m[am-m]a-an (AB)
- 115 ^dBIL.[GI], GI [ka-a-n]u, ^{ru}DÙ [a-ša]-x, [(AB)
- 116 R[A šá-a], RA [i-na], IR [ta-ha-zu], ÉRIM.MA t[am-tim], ^{ru}DÙ b[a-nu-u], ^{ru}DÙ ní[k-la-a- te] (A)
- 117 GI p[al-ku-u], GI u[z-nu], ^{ru}DÙ ^re¹-[pe-šu], GI ḫ[a-si-su] (AB)
- 118 ^{ir}Ḫ[AR līb-bu], ^{ir}[x ru-ú-qu], RA [šá-a], RA [la-a], ⁿⁱ[x la-ma-du] (AB)

- 119 ^d[ad-du (B)
 120 (trace on A)
 121 [^dmu]-um-mu, [x] er-pe-e-tú, [x] ma-lu-u, [x] ka-ši-bu, [ME] ni-ši, [x] ti-²-u-tú, [MU]
 na-da -nu (A)
 122 [^da-š]á-ru, [RA š]á-a, [ḪAR k]i-ma [(A)
 126 [^dné-bé]-ru, [AN] 'kak-ka-bu', [R]A šá-[a], RA i-na, AN šá-me-e, E₁₁ šu-pu-u (A)
 127 RA lu-ú, RA ša-ba-tú, KUN.SAG.GÁ re-e-šú ár-kàt, AN re-e-šú, RU ár-kàt, šá-a-ru
 pa-la-su (A)
 128 MA ma-a, MA ma-ru, RA šá-a, RA i-na, [ⁱ]ḪAR qir-bu, ÉRIM tam-tim, BU e-bé-rum,
 RA la-a, NE na-a-ḫu (A, B: om. ^{ir})
 129 NE šu-uš-šú, RA lu-ú, né-bé-ru né-bé-ru, RA a-ḫa-zu, ^{ir}ḪAR qir-bu (AB)
 130 RA šá-a, AN kak-ka-bu, AN šamê, ^{ra}DU a-la-ku, ^{MIN}DU ka-a-nu (A, B: šá-me-e)
 131 ḪAR ki-ma, RI še-e-nu, RI re-²-u, DINGIR i-lum, ḪAR lib-bi, ŠÀ lib-bi, ŠÀ pu-uḫ-rum (AB)
 132 IR ka-mu-u, ÉRIM tam-tim, IR ši-x, ŠI na-p[iš-tu], LÚGUD sa-[a-qu], LÚGUD k[u-ru-u] (A)
 * * * * *
 134 (trace on B)
 135 IR šu-ú, AN áš-rum, áš-ru šá-mu-ú, ^{ru}DÙ ba-nu-ú, DÙ pa-ta-qu, RU dan-ni-ni, dan-ni-nu
 eršetim^{tim} (B)
 136 bēl mātāti(kur-kur) šūm-šú, MA šu-mu, MA na-bu-u, A a-bu, bēl mātāti(kur-kur) ^den-líl (B)
 137 MA zik-ri, DINGIR ^dí-gì-gì, MA ni-bu, UZU nag-bu (B)
 138 x še-mu-u, [x] ^d[é-a], x k[a-bat-tu], LI ra-[a-šú], LI na-g[u-u], LI ḫe-l[u-u] (B)
 139 A ma-[a], A a-[bu], MA šur-r[u-ḫu], MA zik-[ru] (B)
 (finis)

The Triple-Column God List

All the surviving fragments are from the library of Ashurbanipal:

Symbol	Place of Publication	Lines on	
		Obverse	Reverse
A = K 7658+8222	CT 25 46, 47	...	101, 103, 105, 107, 109, 115, 116, 119, 120, 122, 126, 135, 136, 138–40
B = K 8519	STC I 165	91, 93, 95, 96	97–101, 103, 105
C = K 13337+18101	STC I 166	91–99	...
D = K 6538	Pl. 38	80, 82, 84, 86, 88, 89	...
E = K 1366	CT 25 7	...	(see below)

At least two different copies are represented by the five fragments, since A and B and C overlap and cannot be parts of the same tablet. A and E belong to the same tablet, but otherwise the scripts of the pieces are too similar for them to be assigned to particular copies. B and C have been erroneously included in the text of Tablet VII by previous editors.

For the relationship of this list to other lists and to Tablet VII, see p. 153. For the most part, only the third sub-column is preserved, and this alone is given in our edition without any indication of the lack of the other two sub-columns. However, for lines 101–19, the ends of the names in the first sub-column are preserved, and these ends are accordingly given, followed by a comma to mark the omitted middle sub-column, which only contains ^dMIN (= Marduk).

80	[<i>mu-kin ṭur-ri ilāni^{me}</i>] [<i>ba-nu-u¹ k[i-na]-^ra¹-[ti]</i>] (D)	81	lacking
82	[<i>ša]-qu-^rú¹</i>] [<i>na-si-iḫ a]-gi-i a-ši-ir šal-g[u]</i>] (D)	83	lacking
84	[<i>mu-ad-di qer-bé-e-ti</i>] [<i>ana ilāni^{mes} p</i>]a-lik bi-nu-ta (D)	85	lacking
86	[<i>ba-an šamê^e eršetim^{tim} m</i>]u-še-šib pâr-s[a] (D)	87	lacking
88	[<i>šá a-na dun-ni-šú ina ilāni^{mes}</i>] <i>šá-nu-ú la ma[š-lu]</i> (D)		
89	[<i>ba-nu-ú nap-ḫar</i>] niši ^{me} [<i>e-pi-šú kib-ra-a-ti</i>] (D)		
	* * * * *		
91	šarru s[<i>a-pi-iḫ ep-šet ta</i>]m-tim na-si-[<i>ḫu^{gi}š</i>]kakkī ^{mes} -šá (BC)	92	lacking
93	a-šá-red [<i>n</i>]ap-ḫar be-lì šá šá-qa-a e-mu-qa-šú (BC)	94	lacking
95	šarru mar-kas ilāni ^{mes} be-el dur-ma-ḫi (BC)		
96	šá ina šu-bat šarru-ú-ti šur-bu-u ina ilāni ^{mes} ma- ² -diš ši-ru (BC)		
97	ma-lik ^d é-a ba-an ilāni ^{mes} abbē ^{mes} -šú (BC)		
98	šá ^r a-na ¹ tal-lak-ti ru-bu-ti-šú l[<i>a ú</i>]-maš-šá-lu ilu a-a-um-ma (BC)		
99	[<i>šá ina</i>] du ₆ -kù ú-ta-da-šú [<i>šu</i>]-bat-su el-let (BC)		
100	[<i>šá (ina) ba-li-šú</i>] purussû la iparrasu ^{su} ^d lugal-du ₆ -kù-ga (B)		
101	-š]u-an-na, [šarru šá ina ilāni ^{me}] šá-qa-a e-mu-qa-šú (B)	102	lacking
103	]-^r ú ¹ -gu, [šá-lil gim-ri]-šú-nu qir-biš tam-tim (B)	104	lacking
105	]-gu, [šá-lil ^d qin-gu] a-bi-ka tāḫāzi (B)	106	lacking
107	]-me, mu-ma- ² [(A) Traces on B may belong to this line.	108	lacking
109	-sís]kur, šá šá-qiš ina bīt i[k-ri-bi áš-bu] (A)	110–14	lacking
115	].GI, mu-kin a-ša-at [<i>giš</i>]kakkī (A)		
116	[<i>šá ina tāḫāz</i>] tam-tim i-ban-[<i>na-a nik-la-a-ti</i>] (A)	117–18	lacking
119	-d]u, šá kiš-šat šamê ^e [<i>i-ri-mu-ma</i>] (A)		
120	ṭa-a-bu rig-ma-š[ú eli eršetim ^{tim} ur-ta-ši-nu(?)] (A)	121	lacking
122	šá ki-ma š[<i>u-mi-šu-ma</i>] i-šu-ru ilāni ^{mes} [šimāti ^{mes}] (A)	123–25	lacking
126	kakkab-šú šá ina šamê ^e [<i>ú-šá-ṭu-ú</i>] (A)	127–34	lacking
135–136	šá a-bu ^d en-líl im-b[<i>u-ú-šú áš-šú</i>] áš-ra ib-nu-u ip-ti-q[<i>u</i> dan-ni-na] (A)	137	lacking
138–140	šá ^d é-a abī-šú ú-šat-lim-šú x[(A)		

The preserved portions cover only lines 80–140 of Tablet VII, at which point the name-giving in the Epic concludes, but the list continues. The supplementary character of these names is apparent in that the first, sixth, and seventh, as restored below, are the first three of Enlil's seven names, a group of titles commonly occurring in Emesal litanies; see F. Nötscher, *Ellil in Sumer and Akkad* (Hanover, 1927), pp. 16–17. The lines read:

[^d u-mu-un-kur-ku]r	^d MIN	en-kur-[kur]
...] x	^d MIN	ap-lu ap-si-[i]
...] x	^d MIN	mu-tir gi-mil ab[bē-šu]
...] x	^d MIN	ta-bi-in abb[ē-šu]
... šà-g]a-ke ₄	^d MIN	mu-naṣ-ṣiṣ lib-[bi]
[^d dug ₄ -ga-zi-da	^d]MIN	šá qí-bit-su [ki-na-at]
[^d mu-ul-líl-a-a-ka-nag-gá-ke ₄]	^r ^d MIN ¹	^d en-líl [abi ma-a-ti]

K 7568+8222 (CT 25 47)

This occurrence of the Enlil names also proves that E really is part of this list and that it follows the lines just quoted after a short gap. The fourth name, ^dsi-pa-sag-gi₆-ga = *re-ʾú* [šal-mat qaqqadi], is lacking, but E begins with the fifth and sixth:

[^d i-bí-du ₈]-ní-te-na	^d MIN	[... ra-ma-ni-šu]
[^d u-mu-u]n-erín-na-di-di	^d MIN	bē[lu muš-te-šir um-ma-ni-šu]
[^d lugal-ti]n-tir ^{ki}	^d MIN	bēl bābil[i ^{ki} ša ta-na-da-a-ti] u re-šá-a-ti [šar-káš]
...] x giš	^d MIN	bēl é-sag-íl šá [...]
...]	^d MIN	en-te-me-en-na [...]

(traces of one line)

The continuation must have contained the seventh and last Enlil name, ^du-lul-la-ku-ku = šá ša-lal sar-ra-a-ti šal-lu. It will be noticed that this group of seven names is split up and other names which could never have been used with any god but Marduk are interspersed. The interpretation of tin-tir^{ki} is no doubt taken from the Topography of Babylon. The relevant line has now been restored and corrected from BM 33826 (Rm III 386 [BTT pl. 4]): [š]a ta-na-da-a-tú u re-šá-a-tú šar-ku-uš.

Part II

Enūma Eliš and Marduk

Marduk's Names

Although to a modern Western reader, the climax of the Epic might seem to consist of Marduk's victory over Tīāmat and the creation of man, one may suspect that the Babylonian author considered the giving of Marduk's fifty names as the true climax. At least more space is devoted to this than to any other single item in the Epic. The listing of a deity's names is known in other literary works. From an earlier period, probably, than *Enūma Eliš*, a bilingual hymn of self-praise of Ištar lists seven names:

mu-mu di-da ^ame-e gašan an-[na]
 šu-mi iš-ten ana-ku ^diš-tar [šamê^e]
 i-im-[m]a-U-kám-ma-mu ^agašan kur-kur-[ra]
 šá-nu-ú šu-mi be-let mātāti^{mes}
 àm-m[u-u]š-U-kám-ma-mu nin an al-dúb ki [al-sìg]
 šal-šu ru-ba-ti mu-rib-ti šamê^e mu-nar-rit-ti eršetim^{tim}
 4-U-kám-ma-mu ^aizi gar mè [. . .]
 ra-bu-ú i-šá-tum na-pi-iḫ-[tum . . .]
 5-U-kám-ma-mu ^aù-bár-rá [. . .]
 ḫa-an-šu ir-ni-na x [. . .]
 6-U-kám-ma-mu ^adili-ni ur-sag
 šeš-šu šá ana e-diš-ši-šá qar-[rad]
 7-U-kám-ma-mu ^agašan é-ul-[maš]
 se-bu-ú šu-mi be-let é-ul-[maš]

SBH p. 109 57ff. = CLAM p. 585 502–8, cf. MSL IV 39–40

My first name am I, Ištar of the Heavens,
 My second name, Mistress of the Lands,
 My third, the Lady who Makes Heaven Quake and Underworld Shake,
 My fourth, Blazing Fire that [. . .] Battle,
 My fifth, Irnina [. . .],
 My sixth, She who Alone is a Hero,
 My seventh name, Mistress of Eulmaš.

A hymn of praise to Nabû, probably later than *Enūma Eliš*, lists eight names:

išten^{en} šùm-[k]a ^dšà-zu mūdû^u lib-bi ilāni^{mes} šá {la} i-bar-ru-u-na kar-[šú]
 šanû^u šùm-ka ^dur-ru-un-zu zi-kir šumī-šú x [x]
 šalšu^{šú} šùm-ka ^dasar-ri šit-nu-nu mu-qa-tir qut-r[i]
 rebû^u šùm-ka na-ši tuppī šimāti^{mes} ilāni^{mes} kul-lat ^dḫ-gì-gì šu-[ut šamê^e eršetim^{tim}]
 ḫanšu^{šú} šùm-ka ^dḫa-na kip-pat šamê^e eršetim^{tim} mu-kín [. .]

šeššu^{šú} šum-ka^{lú} dajānu la ma-ḥir ṭa-^ʔ-te mu-ši-šir [. .]
 sebū šum-ka 7^d sibitti (im in .bi) a-li-lu šam-ru ḥa-a-iṭ [. .]
 samānū šum-ka^d sīr-sīr-ra tar-bit^d qin-gu ša ut-t[ak- . . .]

LKA 16 9–16 = WdO I (1947/52) 476ff.; cf. note on VII 35–55

Your first name is Šazu, who knows the heart of the gods, who sees the reins,
 Your second name is Urrunzu, its mention . [.],
 Your third name is Asari, the fighter, who sends up smoke,
 Your fourth name is The Bearer of the Tablet of Destinies of the Gods, that is of all
 the Igigi of [heaven and underworld],
 Your fifth name is Ḥana, the circle of heaven and underworld, who establishes [. .],
 Your sixth name is The Judge who Accepts no Present, who puts to right [. .],
 Your seventh name is The Seven Sibitti, the strong, the fierce, who picks on [. .],
 Your eighth name is Sirsirra, offspring of Qingu, who . . [. . .]

Finally, an incantation to Lamaštu, of uncertain date, lists seven names:

^dlamaštu(dì m - me) mārat(dumu) ^da-nim
 šum-šá ištēn^{en} šanū^u <a>-ḥat ili šá sūqāti(sila)^{mes}
 šalšu^{šú} patru šá qaqqada ú-lat-tu-u
 rebū^u šá i-šá-tú i-nap-pa-ḥu
 ḥaššu^{šú} il-tum šá pa-nu-šá šak-ṣu
 šeššu^{šú} pa-qid qa-ti le-qat ir-ni-na
 sibū^u niš ilāni^{mes} rabūti^{mes} lu ta-mat

RA 18 (1921) 198 and duplicates

Lamaštu, Daughter of Anu is her first name;
 The second is Sister of the God of the Streets;
 The third, Dagger that Splits Open the Head;
 The fourth, She who Kindles Fire;
 The fifth, The Goddess whose Face Destroys;
 The sixth, Entrusted to the Hand, Adopted Daughter of Irnina;
 The Seventh, Be Conjured by the Great Gods.

In fact, many of these names are no such things, in the Western sense of the word. They are epithets and descriptive and other phrases. Many names, both inside and outside ancient Mesopotamia, are of course of this kind in origin, but a true name should serve to identify its bearer, and “Be Conjured by the Great Gods” would, in isolation, never suggest Lamaštu. The fifty names of Marduk are different in that they are mostly Sumerian, unlike many of the above, which are Akkadian, and they are much nearer to the European sense of “name.” Nevertheless, this evidence of the broad use of *šumu*, “name”, is relevant, as will be seen, for the understanding of the organization of the fifty names of Marduk.

A long Akkadian prayer to Nippurian Ištar offers the closest parallel to Marduk’s name-giving, in that the great gods assign the names. Just as with Marduk, three names each are given by Anšar, Laḥmu, and Laḥamu, so here Anu gives Ištar the name Ninanna, Enlil Ne’anna, and Ea Zanaru. It is possible that the Igigi continued the name-giving, since “fourthly” (*ina re-bi-i*) follows a few lines below, the very phrase used with a fourth title in *Enūma Eliš* VII 25. Unfortunately, the text of the prayer is broken at this point. Further, with the lines that are preserved there is the added similarity

to *Enūma Eliš* that the names are not only given but also explained, either by a literal rendering of the Sumerian of the name or by a free statement of the attributes implied, or by both. The date of the prayer can only be ascertained from internal evidence, since late copies alone are known.¹ Probably, it is of about the same age as the Epic. Thus, *Enūma Eliš* is unique neither in listing a deity's names nor in the manner in which they are given and explained, but no literary text so far known has anything like the number of names given to Marduk in the Epic, and to find the origin of these, attention must be turned to god-lists.

The simplest type of god-list is a mere list of names, such as those from Old Babylonian Nippur (*SLT* 122–24) and, probably, another town (*TCL* 15 pls. xxvff.). This latter served as the basis for the much longer and more elaborate middle-period list, *An = Anum*, which, as will appear in due course, betrays a partiality for Marduk and was for this reason probably compiled in Babylon itself.² It is of double-column type. So far as possible, a deity's less usual names are written on the left-hand side and are equated with the most common name, which stands on the right-hand side. Then the family and servants (if any) are listed, with brief notes specifying their relationships to the major god or goddess. Other lists of this kind also existed, but they have been less studied. In all of them, there is an overall plan which expresses the hierarchical succession of the pantheon, though the various lists differ quite extensively in this matter.

Already in the middle period, a still more elaborate type of list had been compiled with a triple column. The best known of this kind is *An = Anu = ša amēli*, the 157 lines of which are almost completely preserved. The central sub-column contains the common name of the deity concerned. The left-hand sub-column lists the other names of the deity, and the right-hand sub-column has *šá* (of) followed by one or two words, e.g.:

^d <i>asal-lú-ḫi</i>	^d <i>marūtuk</i>	<i>šá ši-ip-ti</i>
		Line 108, CT 24 42 7

This may be freely rendered:

Asalluḫi (is the name of) Marduk (as god) of the incantation.

In other words, this type of list explains the special reference of the various names of each deity. Fragments of a still more elaborate type exist, where in the third sub-column, instead of a simple phrase of two or three words, a whole string of titles and epithets occurs.

The Marduk names in the single-column type of list are so few that no comparison with *Enūma Eliš* is possible. More than one double-column list, however, is relevant. The great *An = Anum* itself had a list of, apparently, 51 names. Unfortunately the available fragments do not allow a complete reconstruction. The first 25 names are mostly preserved complete, and those broken can mostly be restored with certainty. But those of the second half are either completely lacking or are represented by the last sign (or part of the last sign) only. The total can, nevertheless, be calculated as 51 with reasonable certainty. *Enūma Eliš* also has in fact 51, not 50. Whichever the total in *An = Anum*, it

1. Edited by W. G. Lambert in G. van Driel et. al., (eds.), *Zikir Šumim* (Fs. F. R. Kraus; Leiden, 1982) pp. 173–218, especially p. 198.

2. R. L. Litke, *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists AN : ^da-nu-um and AN : Anu ša amēli* (New Haven, 1998).

is not a chance occurrence but purposely reflects Marduk's having taken over Enlil's powers, in that Enlil's mystical number was 50. In this list, Ea's names add up to 41, one more than his mystical number, but in no other case is there a correspondence between the totals of the names listed and mystical numbers. An = *Anum* therefore comes from a compiler with a partiality for Ea and Marduk, most probably a priest of Babylon.

The "canonical" series An = *Anum* also embraces another double-column list of Marduk names in the final Tablet VII, which is a kind of appendix to the work as a whole. In reality, it has nothing to do with the well-organized preceding list. It begins with 65 Marduk "names," but they would all be classified as epithets in European terminology, and not one of them appears in any other list. Thus, they merit no further attention here.

Another double-column Marduk list containing 51 names is offered by the Late Babylonian tablet BM 32533 (Pls. 39–40). It gives no indication of belonging to any series, except that it has a catch-line of a list of Zarpānītum names, so that it must have been part of a group of tablets covering at least the major deities of Babylon.³ Still another double-column list of similar proportions is offered by a group of fragments from Ashurbanipal's library, which, in view of their clay, script, column width, and the practice of summing up the names of each deity with a number alongside the last name, appear to be parts of one tablet:

Sm 78+115+1078 (from the right-hand edge of the tablet)
 K 4210 (probably the bottom of the same column, after an indeterminable gap)
 K 7688 (the top of the next column, i.e. the first on the reverse, containing the last four right-hand entries of the Marduk list, and summing it up with "50")

Copies of all the pieces are given in CT 25 32, 38, 43, and 46. The four double-column lists so far mentioned are very similar when considered generally, though differing very considerably from each other in detail. They all intend to give the 50, or 51, most important names of Marduk. A double-column list made on different principles is offered by the following fragments from Ashurbanipal's library:

K 29 (CT 25 36) + Ki 1902-5-10, 28
 Rm 610 (CT 25 35; a duplicate of K 29+)
 K 4209 (CT 25 33–34)
 K 4559 (CT 25 42)

The last three pieces of this list, to judge from both external and internal considerations, are parts of the same tablet, though the last, K 4559, is not relevant for a study of Marduk names. From a study of the originals it is possible to reconstruct some of the Marduk list: the last eight names are preserved *in toto*, and another continuous stretch is to be placed in front of these eight, separated by a gap of four or five lines. While this list has some very common names, it also contains some very rare and exotic specimens, including the Cassite Šiḫu, as may be seen from the accompanying table.

3. It is not the work of a good scribe. He sums up: 52-mu-àm mu šid-im-bi (should be šid-bi-im), not realizing that the last name, to be restored ^dpa₄-nun-an-ki, is not a Marduk name but one of Zarpānītum, and so a catch-line not to be reckoned in the count. The ninth name has meaningless wedges at the end; the MIN in Šazu is an error; and the scribe writes both a correct and an incorrect form of the kù-sign together in name 14, and the wrong form commonly. Indeed, quite a percentage of his names have an error of some sort.

Enūma Eliš	An = Anum	BM 32533 (Pls. 39–40)
1 ^d marūtuk	^d asal-lú-ḫi	[^d asal-lú-ḫi]
2 ^d ma-ru-uk-ka	^d .MIN ^t nam-ti-la	[.]
3 ^d ma-ru-tu-uk-ku	^d .MIN ^r nam-ru	^d m[u ⁷ . . .]
4 ^d mer-šà-kúš-ù	^d asar-re	^d mu-nam-[mi ⁷ -r]u ⁷
5 ^d lugal-dim-me-er-an-ki-a	^d asar-alim	^d as[ar]-re
6 ^d na-ri-lugal-dim-me-er-an-ki-a	^d asar-alim-nun-na	^d r ^r asar-alim ¹ -nun-na
7 ^d asal-lú-ḫi	^d amar-utu	^d amar-utu
8 ^d MIN ^d nam-ti-la	^d mer-šà-kúš-ù	^d mer-⟨šà⟩-kúš-ù
9 ^d MIN ^d nam-ru	^d mar-uru ₅ - ^{giš} tukul	^d má-[r]u-úduḡ
10 ^d asar-re	^d ma-ru-uk-ka	^d má-[r]u-uk-ka
11 ^d asar-alim	^d ma-ru-tu-uk-ka	^d má-[r]u-tu-uk-ka
12 ^d asar-alim-nun-na	^d tu-tu	^d t[u]-tu
13 ^d tu-tu	^d tu ₆ - ^{MIN} t[u]	^d .MIN ^K [A]-mu-a-na-tu ₆ KU
14 ^d MIN ^d zi-ukkin-na	^d zi- ^{MIN} ukkin	^d .MIN ^K [A]-tu-kù-ga-kù
15 ^d MIN ^d zi-kù	^d zi- ^{MIN} [si/kù]	^d .MIN ^r aga-kù
16 ^d MIN ^d aga-kù	[^d aga]- ^{MIN} kù	^d .MIN ^r mu ¹ -kù
17 ^d MIN ^d tu ₆ -kù	^d šir- ^{MIN} [kù]	^d .MIN ^r du ₁₁ ⁷ -kù
18 ^d šà-zu	^d tu ₆ - ^{MIN} kù	^d .MIN ^r šà-zu
19 ^d MIN ^d zi-si	^d šà-zu	^d .MIN ^r zi-zi
20 ^d MIN ^d suh _h -rim	^d zi- ^{MIN} ukkin	^d .MIN ^r zi-si
21 ^d MIN ^d suh _h -gú-rim	^d zi- ^{MIN} s[i]	^d .MIN ^r du ₈ -kù
22 ^d MIN ^d záh _h -rim	^d suh _h - ^{MIN} [ri]m	^d .MIN ^r du ₁₁ -kù
23 ^d MIN ^d záh _h -gú-rim	^d suh _h -gú- ^{MIN} [rim]	^d .MIN ^r aga-kù
24 ^d en-bi-lu-lu	^d záh _h -[^{MIN} rim]	^d .MIN ^r šir-kù
25 ^d MIN ^d e-pa ₅ -dun	^d záh _h -gú- ^{MIN} [rim]	[^d .MIN]suh _h -rim
26 ^d MIN ^d gú-gal	^r d ¹ e[n-bi-lu-lu]	[^d .MIN ^r su]h _h -gú-rim
27 ^d MIN ^d hé-gál	[^d x-p]a ₅ -[du]n	[.]
28 ^d sirsir	[^d .MIN ^r gú/kù-gal]	[.]
29 ^d MIN ^d má-laḫ ₄	[^d .MIN ^r hé-gál]	[.]
30 ^d gil	[^d sirsir]	[.]
31 ^d gili-ma	[^d .MIN ^r ma-la]ḫ ₄	[.]
32 ^d a-gili-ma	[.]	[.]
33 ^d zu-lum	[^d g]ili	[^d . . .] x
34 ^d mu-um-mu/ ^d zu-lum-mu	[^d gili-ma]	[^d . . .]-ma
35 ^d giš-numun-áb	[^d a-gili]-ma	[^d . . .]-ma
36 ^d lugal-áb-dubúr	[.]	[^d . . .]-ma
37 ^d pa ₅ -gal-gú-en-na	[^d x x x]	[^d . . .]-ma
38 ^d lugal-dur-maḫ	[^d giš-numun-áb]	[^d . . .]-tuk ⁷ -ku-mes
39 ^d a-rá-nun-na	[^d lugal-ab-du]búr	[^d giš-numu]n-áb
40 ^d dumu-du ₆ -kù	[^d pa ₅ -gal-gú-en-na]	^d [lugal-á]b-dubúr
41 ^d lugal-šu-an-na	[^d lugal-dur-m]aḫ	^d lugal-dur-maḫ
42 ^d ir-ug ₅ -ga	[^d a-rá-nun-na]	^d pa ₅ -gal-gú-en-na
43 ^d ir-qin-gu	[^d dumu-du ₆ -k]ù	^d a-DU-Ū-nun-na
44 ^d kin-ma	[^d lugal-šu-an-na]	^d dumu-du ₆ -kù
45 ^d é-siskur _x	[^d dingir-bar-sip ^{ki}]- ^r a ¹	^d lugal-tin-tir ^{ki}
46 ^d BIL.GI	[^d ir-u/ug ₅]-ga	^d lugal-bar-⟨sip⟩ ^{ki} -a

47	^d ad-du	[^d ir-qin]-gu	^d ir-u-gu
48	^d a-ša-ru	[^d kin]-ma	^d ir-qin-gu
49	^d né-bé-ru	[^d a-ša-]-ri ⁱ	^d a-ša-ri
50	^d bēl mā-tā-ti	[^d né-bé-re-e]t	^d né-bé-re-et
51	^d é-a	[^d la-gu-da]	^d la-gu-da

K 4209 etc.

1	[^d asal-lú-ḫi]		
2	.....	
3	^r d ¹ [.....]		
4	^d ni-x [...]		
5	^d gi-egi[r-x(-x)]		
6	^d sirs[ir]		
7	^d mar-ḫal-lab		
8	^d palil-an-na		
9	^d palil-dingir-e-ne		
10	^d tuš-a	Sm 78+115+1078	
11	^d asar-alim	.....
12	^d asar-alim-nun-na	[^d....-m]i	
13	^d mer-ša-kúš-ù	[^d....]-mes	
14	^d má-uru ₅ -ú-k[a]?	[^d ša]-zu	
15	^d má-uru ₅ -[...]	[^d .MIN _{zi}]-ukkin	
16	^d má-uru ₅ -[...]	[^d .MIN _{zi} /aga]-kù	
17	^d má-uru ₅ -[...]	[^d .MIN _{zi}]-si	
18	^d má-uru ₅ -tu-[uk-ka]	[^d .MIN....]x	
19	^d tu-[tu]	[^d .MIN _{suh}]-rim	
20	^d tu ₆ -[x]	[^d .MIN _{suh-gú}]-rim	
21	^d asa[r-ra ²]	[^d .MIN _{záḫ}]-rim	
22	^d š[á ² -zu ²]	[^d .MIN _{zá} ḫ-gú-rim	
23	^d x [...]	[^d en]-bi-lu-lu	
24	^d x [...]	^r d ¹ e-pa ₅ -dun	
25	^d [.....]	^d .MIN _{ḫé-gál}	
26	^r d ¹ [.....]	^d .MIN _{kù-gal}	
27	^r d ¹ [.....]	^d lugal-dúr-maḫ	
28	.....	^d lugal-šu-an-na	
29	.....	[^d lug]al-dim-me-er-an-ki-a	
30	.....	[^d]ir-u-gu	
31	.....	[^d .MIN _{ma-l}]aḫ ₄	
32	[^d š]i-ḫu	[^d ir-q]in-gu	
33	^d en-ki-pà-da	[^d kin-m]a	
34	^d su-kur	.....
		K 4210	
35	^d sa-al-i-la	.....
36	^d mi-il-ma	^d x [...]	
37	^d a-ša(tablet: -iš)-ru	^d a-[ša-ru]	
38	^d né-bé-ru	^d né-bé-r[u]	

39	ri-mi-nu-ú	^d la-gu-[da]
	(end)	^d lugal-ab-d[ubúr]
40		^d pa ₅ -gal-gú-en-[na]
41		^d a-rá-nun-[na]
42		^d dumu-du ₆ -[kù]
43		^d tu-[tu]
44		^d mu ₇ -[kù]/ ^d tu ₆ -[tu ₆]
45		^d tu ₆ -[kù]
46		^d x [. . . .]
47		^d [.]
48		^d x [. . . .]
49		. . . . .

Four other major sources of Marduk names are known. First, there is the single-column Assyrian god-list known from Sultantepe copies:

^d asal-lú-[hi]	[^d asar]-alim
^d šâ-zu	[^d asar-alim]-nun-na
^d mú-mú	[^d sag]-me-gar
^d en-bi-lu-lu	[^d e]n-gal
[^d asa]r-re	

STT 376 i 3–7 and 382 i 1–8

Second, there is the Marduk section of An = Anu = ša amēli:

^d amar.utu	^d marūtuk	šá an-du-ra-ri
^d asal-lú-hi	MIN	šá ši-ip-tí
^d asar-alim	MIN	šá ba-la-ťí
^d en-bi-lu-lu	MIN	šá pa-ta-ti
^d mu ₇ -mu ₇ /tu ₆ -tu ₆	MIN	šá murši la un-ni-ni
^d šâ-zu	MIN	šá re-e-mi

Lines 107–12, CT 24 42 96–101

More important for *Enūma Eliš* is a list with a heavily loaded third sub-column, partly preserved on five fragments from Ashurbanipal's library. We have edited it as the Triple-Column God-List immediately after Tablet VII in the section on the commentaries. Details of the fragments and a list of MSS are given on pp. 142ff. Where the preserved portion begins, it follows exactly the order of *Enūma Eliš* from the 36th to the 51st name, but then yet others follow, though how many is not known. The descriptions in the third sub-column agree with the lines of *Enūma Eliš*, except that where *Enūma Eliš* has several lines devoted to one name, usually the list has only the first, or first two. There is nothing on the fragments which indicates whether this list of Marduk names was complete in itself or was part of a larger whole dealing with other deities' names.

Finally, K 2107+, of which the obverse is given in STC II lxi–lxii, is a compendium of theological material in the form of groups of related items, usually explained in some way. The second column on the obverse contains a list of Marduk names with explanations. In form, it is something like a triple-column god-list without the middle sub-column. The restorations which we have made of the first eight names will be justified in the course of the following study.

K 2107+6086+Sm 1720 (CT 46 50), Column ii (STC II lxi–lxiii)

1	[^d marūtuk . . .]	ma-tim āli u ni-ši
2	[^d ma-ru-uk-ka	il ma-ti]m āli u ni-ši
3	[^d ma-ru-tu-uk-ka	šākin ri-t]i maš-qí-ti ana āli u ni-ši
4	[^d la-gu-da . . .]	x a-li-id ^d sin(30) u ^d šamaš ⁴
5	[^d pa ₅ -gal-gú-en-na . . .]	x nap-ḥar be-lí a-šá-red nap-ḥar be-lí
6	[^d lugal-áb-dubúr	šà]r ka-la ti-me-a-ti
7	[	šà]r nap-ḥar ti-me-a-ti
8	[^d lugal-dúr-maḥ . . .]	^{meš} šar ka-la ili u šarri
9	[^d lugal-šu-an-na . . .]	x ilāni ^{meš}
10	[	. . . šam]ê ^e u eršetim ^{tim}
11	[	. . . šamê]ê ^e u eršetim ^{tim}
12	[	. . . . . ] ^d en-líl
13		be-lum ṛ ^a -[ši-ir šam]ê ^e u eršetim ^{tim}
14		be-lum a-ši-ir ilāni ^{meš}
15		be-lum ga-me-il ilāni ^{meš}
16		be-lum ša e-mu-qa-a-šú šá-qa-a
17		be-el bābili ^{ki}
18		mud-diš bābili ^{ki}
19	^d lugal-en-an-ki-a	be-el ilāni ^{meš} šá šamê u eršetim šar ilāni ^{meš} šá šamê u eršetim
20	^d a-rá-nun-na	ma-lik ^d en-líl u ^d é-a
21	^d tu-tu	mu-al-lid ilāni ^{meš} mu-ud-di-iš ilāni ^{meš}
22	^d du ₁₁ -du ₁₁	mu-tak-kil ilāni ^{meš}
23	^d tu ₆ -tu ₆	mu-uš-tál-lim ilāni ^{meš}
24	^d dù-tu	ba-ni ka-la ilāni ^{meš}
25	^d du-du	mu-ut-tar-ru-ú ilāni ^{meš}
26	^d šir-kù	ša ši-ḫat-su el-let
27	^d tu ₆ -kù	ša tu-ú-šú el-let
28	^d ša-sù-zu	mu-de-e libbi ilāni ^{meš} lib-bu ru-ú-qu ^{hi-pf eš-šú}
29	^d zi ^{-MIN} ukkin	nap-šat nap-ḥar ilāni ^{meš}
30	^d zi ^{-II} si	na-si-iḫ šá-ḫu-ti
31	^d suh ^{-MIN} rim	mu-bal-lu-ú a-a-bi
32	^d [suh-g]ú ^{-II} rim	mu-bal-lu-ú nap-ḥar a-a-bi na-si-iḫ rag-gi
33	[	na-si-iḫ nap-ḥar rag-gi
34	^d [zāḫ ^{-MIN} rim	mu-ḫal-liq ra]g-gi : e-šú-ú rag-gi
35	^d [zāḫ-gú ^{-II} rim	mu-ḫal-liq nap-ḥar rag]g-gi : e-šú-ú nap-ḥar rag-gi
36		. . .]-ti

This, then is the material. The first matter requiring comment is the organization of the material. Apart from An = Anu = ša amēli, which is too brief, the lists can be analysed into groups of names and single names. The most obvious kind of group is where variant forms of the same name occur

4. The restoration Laguda is not certain, but probable. la- or la-g- supplied the missing word of the interpretation; -uda for ù-tu = ālid; -u₄- for Sîn (CT 12 6 12); and -uda for utu = Šamaš.

as Marduk, Marukka, Marutukka; Gil, Gilima, Agilima; and Asarri, Asaralim, Asaralimnunna. This collecting of variants is in the tradition of the Sumero-Babylonian lists generally, and the order here as in other kinds of lists is that of Ehelolf's *Wortfolgprinzip* (LSS VI/3). Another kind of grouping is indicated by the scribes' use of the ditto sign, MIN, and in addition K 2107+ has rulings to separate the groups. This use of the ditto sign is not limited to Marduk names but occurs sporadically throughout An = *Anum* and other god-lists. What has never been in doubt is that it indicates some kind of connection between the names with the ditto (henceforth sub-names) and the one heading them (henceforth head-name). Its precise function, however, has not hitherto been settled; indeed, scribal practices are curiously inconsistent in this regard. In the lists, the MIN may be written in small signs raised above the line as though it were a gloss. It may occur either between the divine determinative and the name or interposed between the signs which make up the name. The various copies of the Epic never follow this practice, though they fail to agree among themselves. Some copies write out in full the head-name before each sub-name, as:

^dasal-lú-ḫi ^dnam-ti-la(-ku) (VI 151: Abj)

This custom has the support of a Late Babylonian seal inscription:⁵

^dasal-lú-ḫi ^dasal-lú-ḫi ^dnam-ti-la ^dtu-tu ^dzi-kù ^dtu-tu ^dAGA-kù
u₄-mi-šam ba-šá-ka uzna^{MIN}-a-a x x x

Here, three head-names are written out in full in front of the sub-names. Other scribes of copies of the Epic indicate the same repetition by MIN, as:

^dMIN ^dnam-ti-la (VI 151: B)

However, one of the copies following this practice (VII B) puts the ^dMIN in small characters on the edge of the tablet beside the beginning of the line, as though they were added as an afterthought, and the two Sultantepe copies of Tablet VII (JK) omit the head-name completely in such cases.

The editor of An = *Anum*, R. L. Litke, draws attention to cases where the sub-name is glossed with head-name, for example with the pair:⁶

^dnun-ur₄-ra
^dMIN^báḫar (An = *Anum* II 159–160)

In a passage in a lexical text, Aa V/I 135–35 (MSL XIV 411), the gloss is:

I ^{nun-ur-ra} BĀḪAR šu (= pa-ḫa-rum)
^dé-a

Such examples, and there are others, might seem decisive proof that the sub-name in these cases is nothing but an ideogram, another way of writing the head-name. The evidence of the Epic and the seal inscription, however, contradicts this conclusion, for there the head-name either may be written or represented by MIN before the sub-name, or it may be omitted; but it never replaces the sub-name.

5. OIP 22 no. 664. Geers doubted its genuineness on account of the inscription (p. 10) but von der Osten inclined to accept it as genuine. In fact, the inscription puts its genuineness beyond doubt.

6. R. L. Litke, op. cit., Introduction.

A fully satisfactory explanation is not far to seek. If all the sub-names are collected, they all have one characteristic: apart from their being written with the divine determinative, they would never be taken for divine names. Quite a number occur with more than one head-name. Very many are simply professional names. For example, “potter” (báḫar) occurs as a sub-name six-times in An = Anum (II 25, 63, 146, 150, 152, 154); “fisherman” (šu-peš_x) four times (II 379, 380, 382, 384); “fowler” (mušen-dù) twice (II 386, 388); and “sailor” (má-laḫ₄) twice (II 294, 312). What is incredible is the idea that ^dbáḫar has six (or more) quite different readings: Aruru, Lil, Enenuru, Nunurra, Nunšar, and Šaršar. How could one possibly know which of these six was meant by a particular occurrence of ^dbáḫar? This was in fact the problem which prompted the ancient scribes to use MIN and the glosses. The MIN and the gloss nun-ur-ra quoted above do not mean, “the signs BĀḪAR are to be read Nunurra” but are scribal short-hand for “the ‘Divine Potter’ in this case is Nunurra, not any other god who may happen to bear the same name.”

The sub-names are, almost without exception, epithets used as names. There is, of course, no precise point of time at which an epithet becomes a name. The beginning of such a development is the first occurrence of a particular epithet with the deity, something we can never hope to recognize even if it survives. The second stage is when the epithet is commonly used of this deity. The third stage is reached when the epithet becomes so distinctive a mark of this deity that it can be used in place of the real name. “The Holy One” in Rabbinic literature and “The Merciful” in Islam are such developments. The final stage, which may never be reached, is when the epithet replaces the real name in common use: Bel for Marduk and Adonai for Yahweh are examples. Difficulties arise with this tendency in a polytheistic society, for the same epithets will often be used with more than one deity. The resulting ambiguity gave rise to the scribal customs under study.

The sub-names of Marduk are completely explicable by these principles. Indeed, two passages in liturgical texts show a stage earlier than that reflected in the lists. The Eridu names—that is, those based on Asar— are given in some variety, but the later Babylon names are limited to the head-names. First, a bilingual litany begins with a listing of epithets and names of Marduk:

- 1 [ur-s]ag úru ur-ur [saḫar-zu ki-bal-a]
[q]ar-ra-du a-bu-bu a-ši-šu sa-p[i-in māt nu-kúr-ti]
- 2 [u]r-sag ^dasal-lú-ḫi úru ur-[ur]
qar-ra-du ^dmarūtuk a-bu-bu a-[ši-šu]
- 3 ur-sag ^dasar-alim-nun-na saḫar-zu ki-bal[a]
qar-r[a-d]u ^dMIN sa-pi-in māt n[u-kúr-ti]
- 4 ^damar-utu šít[a] sag-x-a úru [ur-ur]
^dMIN kak-ku la m[a-ḫ]ar ^rMIN^r
- 5 [umun ^d]en-bi-lu-lu ^rsaḫar^r-[zu ki-bal-a]
be-lum ^dMIN MIN
- 6 ^rtu^r-tu umun na-ám-ti-la úru [ur-ur]
^dMIN be-lu₄ ba-la-tu MIN
- 7 [^d]ša-zu umun šà-ab-sù-ud-da saḫar-[zu ki-bal-a]
^dMIN be-lum šá lib-ba-a-šú ru-ú-qa MIN
- 8 ^ren^r sirsir úru [ur-ur]
[be-l]um ^dMIN MIN

CT 51 105 Obv. and KAR 310 = 337a

Variants of KAR: 5:] x dingir en me x [; 6: be-el; 7: šà-ág-^rsù-da^r = libba-šú ru-qu; 8: ùlu ur₄-ur₄

Second, a bilingual incantation in *Muššu'u* VII (see B. Böck, *Das Handbuch Muššu'u "Einreibung"* [Madrid, 2007], pp. 241–49, and *JCS* 61 [2009] 133–38) begins with Marduk's names in context, and the first fifteen lines are given here, using three duplicates unknown to Böck and basing the text on collation of all the MSS:

A = K 4918+5004+5029+5125+5233+5272+5342+ 8417+21847	Lines 1–14
b = BM 46295 (81-7-28, 20)	1–3, 5–7, 9, 10, 12, 14
c = STT 191	2–6
d = BM 69903 (AH 82-9-18, 9903)	2–10
e = BM 46297+46328 (81-7-28, 22+53)	3, 4, 6–9, 11, 13–15
f = VAT 14595 (Pl. 41)	4–12
g = BM 33514+33517+33531+33719+33738+33744+ 33766+48918+ 3 unnumbered Rm IV (Rm IV 69+72+87+277+296+286+302+324+81-10-8, 1629)	7–9
h = BM 32520 (S+ 76-11-17, 2262)	7–15

Copies of Abef in Böck, pls. xxx–xxxv.

Text

- 1 é^den-ki en tu₆ nam-ti-la-ke₄
é^d-a be-el ši-pat ba-la-ti
- 2 d^dí^dlú-ru-gú lú-dur₁₁-ra šu-šed₇-da-ke₄
d^dÍD mu-pa-ši-iḫ mar-ši
- 3 d^dasal-lú-ḫi en šà-lá-sù ug₅-ga ti-la ki-ág-gá
d^dmarūtuk b[e-l]um ri-mi-nu-ú šá mi-ta bul-lu-ṭa i-ra-mu
- 4 d^dasar-re na-de₅-ga silim-ma-ke₄
d^dm[arūtuk] šá te-lil-ta-šú šul-mu
- 5 d^dasar-alim tu₆-bi ḫun-gá-ke₄
d^dm[arūtuk] šá tu-ú-šu mu-ni-[i]ḫ-ḫu
- 6 d^dasar-alim-nun-na zi sù-ud-gál ab-^rsum^r-mu-ú-[a]
d^dmarūtuk na-din na-piš-ti ru-uq-tum
- 7 d^damar-utu nam-išib-ba-a-ni-šè níg-ḫul ab-zi-z[i-x-x]
d^dmarūtuk šá ina šip-ti-šú le-mut-tu i-na-as-sa-^rḫu^r
- 8 d^dtu-tu šir-kù-ga-bi uš₁₁-ri-a ab-zi-ir-zi-[x x]
d^dmarūtuk šá ina šir-kù-gi-šu ru-ḫe-e ú-pa-as-sa-su
- 9 d^dšà-zu dingir suḫ érim-ma-ke₄
d^dmarūtuk ilu mu-bal-lu-ú a-a-bi
- 10 d^den-bi-lu-lu gaba ḫul-gál ab-tu-lu-u₈-a
d^dmarūtuk mu-né-^ri ir-ti lem-ni
- 11 d^dnamma(ENGUR) šu d^dnam-tar-ra gá-gá-da-[k]e₄
d^dMIN šá ina qa-at nam-ta-ri i-gam-me-[l]u
- 12 d^dnanše šu-tag-ga-bi [(x)] x x x ag-a-k[e₄]
d^dMIN šá li-pit qa-ti-šú na-x [. .] x-ši-x
- 13 d^dbur-nun-e-si-a lú-ḫul-gál [PA]-GAN-ke₄
d^dMIN sa-kip lem-nu
- 14 d^dḫé-ḫim-me-kù lú-érim-ma-bi šu-zag-PA+G[AN . .]
d^dMIN mu-ra-^ri-bat a-a-bi

15 ^dgada-lá-abzu ka-ba-a-ni uš₁₁-zu [. . .
^dpap-sukkal šá ina e-peš pi-i-šú kiš-pi ú-[. . .

* * * * *

Variants:

2 b:]-šed₇-da-a-[3 b: ug₅-TA-A[c:] ú-ug₅-ga C: mi-tum b:] a-na bul-lu-tu 4 A: te-lil-ta-š[u
 5 b: -tu]m ru- 7 d: ^damar-utu amar-utu f: ^damar-utu tu₆-d[ug₄
 e: nam-išib-ba-a-ni-ta níg-ḥul-lu-bi h: ^rnam¹-išib-a-ni 8 h: -gi-šú b: -g]i-šú 9 e: ^dšú ilu^{meš}
 (f)h: i-lu 10 b: en-bi-lu-lu, ^dšú h: mu-né-²-ú 11 f: ^dx x (x) ^dnam-tar-re h: nam-tar-ra
 e: nam-tar kár-kár-e-d[è] h: qa-ti ^dnam-ta-ri e: i-gam-mi-lu 12 f: -t]ag-ga-MU/bi b: šu^{MIN}
 13 A: [d]bur-nun-DIRI, l]em-n[i] 14 b: lú-érim-ma e: mu²-ri-ib²-bat

Translation

- 1 Enki, lord of the life-giving incantation,
- 2 Idlurugu, who gives relief to the sick,
- 3 Asalluḫi, the merciful lord, who loves to save the dying,
- 4 Asarre, whose purification is salvation,
- 5 Asar-alim, whose spell grants relaxation,
- 6 Asar-alim-nunna, who gives long life,
- 7 Marduk, who uproots evil by his incantation,
- 8 Tutu, who obliterates black magic by his chant,
- 9 Šazu, the god who extinguishes the enemy,
- 10 En-bilulu, who repulses the foe,
- 11 Namma, who spares (people) from the power of the grave,
- 12 Nanše, whose ritual acts ,
- 13 Burnun-e-si'a, who overthrows the foe,
- 14 Ḫedimmeke, who makes the enemy tremble,
- 15 Gadala-apsu, who [. . . .] sorcery by his utterance,

* * * * *

Line 9 of the second extract is particularly important, and it also occurs in a bilingual exorcistic text:

[^dšà]-zu suḫ ^dšà-zu mu-^rbal-lu¹-[u]
 gú-erím-ma nap-ḥar a-a-bi
 LKA 77 i 53–54 = ArOr 21(1953) 364 and K 7602

The contexts of the two occurrences are altogether different. What in these two cases is given as a description of Marduk under his name Šazu occurs in K 2107+, line 32, as a sub-name joined to Šazu by MIN, and the same is true of three of the lists and of the Epic. Line 5 above is similar; see the note on *Enūma Eliš* VII 25–26. The epithetic character of Ziukkin, “Life of the Host”, another sub-name of Marduk, is demonstrated in that it occurs in An = *Anum* as the first sub-name of both Tutu and Šazu. The two sub-names of Asalluḫi in *Enūma Eliš* are Namtila (“health”), the thing protected by the god’s magic, and Namru (“casting [of incantations]”), the technique by which this was achieved.

Thus, what might seem at first a list of 50 names of equal standing turns out on closer inspection to be a collection of groups of names with odd ones in addition. The most important names are Asalluḫi, Marduk, Tutu, Šazu, and Enbilulu, as may be seen by comparing An = *Anu* = *ša amēli* on the one hand with the lists of 50 names on the other hand. The major names attest the process of syncretism whereby Marduk had absorbed other deities: Asalluḫi was son of Ea in Eridu, Tutu the tutelary god of Borsippa, Enbilulu an old Sumerian agricultural god; but nothing is known for certain of Šazu. More details on this aspect of the problem are given in our discussion of the rise of Marduk (pp. 248–277) and in the notes on Tablet VII of the Epic. With this knowledge, both the multiplicity of the names and the apparent differences between the lists can be minimized. The total is made up by combining the names of all the deities absorbed in Marduk. If one judges according to groups, An = *Anum* and BM 32533 follow the same sequence so far as they are preserved: Asalluḫi, Marduk, Tutu, Šazu, Enbilulu, and the rest. *Enūma Eliš* does the same, except that the positions of the first two groups are interchanged. The lists are certainly more original on this point. The pantheon was arranged by family descent, and of all the Marduk names Asalluḫi most strongly implies “son of Ea,” so for a list that had to come first. The Epic is more concerned with him as god of Babylon, and Marduk would best recall that aspect of the deity. Accordingly, the order was changed. So far as preserved, K 4209 etc. follows the same sequence of groups as An = *Anum* and BM 32533.

The relationship of *Enūma Eliš* to the major lists of similar character cannot be defined much more precisely. The use of Ziukkin twice in An = *Anum* is natural in a list, and its occurrence once only in the Epic is also natural, since when the great gods called Marduk's 50 names, they could but use 50 different ones. Yet, generally speaking, the various lists are parallel productions, and there is no evidence that any one is taken directly from any other. Among the double-column lists, *Enūma Eliš* is closest to the Middle Assyrian An = *Anum*. But still closer is the triple-column list, since it has exactly the same order of names so far as it is preserved, and it also shares many whole lines with the Epic. The content of Tablet VII, as is explained on other pages, so blatantly contradicts the Epic's own story that one must assume that the names and their explanations were taken over by the author as a complete whole. Yet a study of the extra lines found in the Epic but not in the list, which is undertaken in the notes on Tablet VII, favours the list as the more original. It seems therefore that both Epic and list go back to a common source. The question is whether this source was a literary document or a list. In favour of the former alternative, one could cite the metrical form of many of the lines, but it could be replied that the metre of the Seventh Tablet is looser than that of the Epic generally, and groups of epithets can easily fall into metrical form without conscious effort at poetry. Another criterion, the inclusion of the name itself within the metre or not, likewise yields no clear result. Knowledge of the complete list would also help. In favour of assuming that it dealt with other deities in similar fashion is the fragmentary list of Zarpānītum names, DT 195+221+302 (Pl. 41, cf. BM 32596, also Pl. 41), which contains 14 broken lines of such a list, and the scanty remains of the third sub-column show that it was nothing so brief as An = *Anu* = *ša amēli*. On the whole, it seems most likely that it was a literary document which was drawn upon by both the author of the Epic and the compiler of the list.

Whatever the source drawn upon by the author of *Enūma Eliš*, we are justified in asking what materials were at the disposal of its author. It is clear that he had no monopoly of such things, since K 2107+ offers much raw material of this kind but deviates a great deal from *Enūma Eliš* and the

related god-list. To take one example only, Šazu in line 28 of K 2107+ is given two explanations, only one of which occurs in the Šazu section of *Enūma Eliš*. Yet K 2107+ is beyond question a compilation. The explanations of lines 6 and 7 are alternatives differing only in the choice of word for “all.” Had the author intended to create some kind of original composition, one of these alternatives would have been taken and the other left. The list as a whole favours this conclusion, which, however, raises the question from what kind of sources the materials were taken. The origins of the names we have already seen in principle: the real names have been supplemented by epithets of the deity concerned, and the occurrence of the name followed by the epithets in liturgical texts is probably the specific source of the sub-names. The fragment of the hymn already given is the best example for Marduk names. The common litanies are not relevant, for while they list deities quite commonly, the list only includes Asalluḫi and Enbilulu of the Marduk names. Rarely, however, individual deities are dealt with at greater length, and for Zarpānītum there is a litany with the following section:

dam ur-sag-ga[l]	ᵈpa ₄ -nun-an-ki [. . .
gašan-la-gu	gašan-úru-zé-eb ^{ki} -b[a . . .
ᵈ ^r a-ru ₆ ¹ -e	gašan-zu-ab [. . .
nin-zi-da	gašan-bára-ge-si [. . .

K 5189 ii 3–6

There are two real names here, as marked with the determinatives. Of the other six descriptive phrases, three turn up in god-lists as names of Zarpānītum: for the Emesal gašan, e, a value of NIN in divine names, is used in ᵈ*e-la-gu* (CT 25 35 obv. 19 = ibid. 36 obv. 18; O. Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity*², pl. 14, Sp II 500 rev. 6); ᵈ*nin-zu-ab* occurs in CT 25 35 obv. 17 = ibid. 36 obv. 16 and the Emesal Vocabulary I 48 (MSL IV 7); ᵈ*nin-bára-ge-si* also occurs in the Emesal Vocabulary, I 47, and in the forerunner to An = *Anum*, TCL 15 pl. xxvi 107. Thus, the origins of the names are fairly clear. Syncretism of gods with Marduk and the use of epithets and descriptive phrases as sub-names were the two means whereby the 50 names were collected. Liturgical texts were probably the main written sources.

The origins of the Akkadian explanations of the names are more complex. Some are literal translations or imply an interpretation which is easy to grasp. The former may well have been taken from bilingual texts, such as the Marduk hymn or litany quoted above. But this source must be ruled out for many others, which bear no such obvious relation to the name. ᵈ*amar-utu* in the Sumerian could only be rendered ᵈ*marūtuk* in the Akkadian. K 2107+ gives an indication of what happened in the case of Tutu. The name itself is given two more or less justifiable interpretations in line 21; then, in lines 22–27, separated by rulings, there are other phrases about the attributes of Tutu equated with rare and artificial writings of the name. No study of the 50 names can be complete without an investigation of this phenomenon.

The Meanings of the Fifty Names

No god of course needed 50 names for purposes of identification. It was the meanings of the names which accounts for the interest in collecting and handing down so many. The names became loaded with theological meaning, which could be read straight out of many of the secondary titles,

but which often had to be read into the older names. There was, in fact, quite a developed science of "etymology" employed for this purpose. The most complete expression of this science in connection with the Epic is the Commentary on the names in Tablet VII, which boldly derives all the descriptive phrases following each title from the name or title itself. Many questions arise from this etymological study. Did the author of the Epic conceive the fifty names with this in view, or was it only later scholars who began to extort meaning by ingenious philology? Were these meanings in certain cases even antecedent to the names themselves? That is, did certain theologians enshrine a succinct statement of a certain doctrine in a Sumerian name so that the interpretation of the name is more authentic than the name itself? Just what canons of etymology are employed in these interpretations and what are their origins? The available material is not limited to the Epic and its commentaries. There is a text etymologising the name of the Marduk temple in Babylon, Esagil, in 18 ways, with a detailed exposition of the elements used.⁷ Parts survive of a god-list which interprets miscellaneous gods' names along these lines.⁸ The list of Marduk names in K 2107+ quoted above has interpretations added and in the case of Tutu gives explicit indications of the technique used. Finally, the whole range of Babylonian commentaries offer isolated examples of the same kind.

The simplest way is to take the name Marduk and to follow through the various etymologies. Some may look with horror on the idea of discussing the origin of the name Marduk as judged by our scientific standards at the same time as studying the various ancient attempts made on the basis of pseudo-philology. But it must not be forgotten that the names have been handed down to us by the ancient scholars, and in the process modifications in accordance with their understanding have been made. Thus we have to reckon with the possibility that the original form has been lost and a modification intended to support an unscientific interpretation is all that is known to us. Another reason for not making any fundamental distinction between ancient and modern interpretations is that some modern scholars have proposed ideas which differ from ancient etymologies only by an unsure handling of the techniques. Our treatment of Marduk is intended to show the principles involved; other names are discussed in the notes on the relevant lines of the Epic.

The first point to be established is the correct form of the name. The traditional orthography is ^damar-utu, which is first attested in the Early Dynastic Period (see p. 249), and which continued unchanged until Babylonian civilization died out at about the turn of the centuries. The first phonetic writings occur in the Old Babylonian editions of *Diri* VII:

^d asar	=	ma-ru-tu-uk
^d asal-lú-ĥi	=	a-sa-lu-úĥ
		MSL XV 36 10:45–46

^d BU	=	si-ir-si-ri
BU×AB	=	ma-ru-tu-UD
^d amar-utu	=	ma-ru-tu-UD
		MSL XV 36 11:08–09 (collated)

7. It is edited by F Köcher in *AfO* 17 (1954/56) 131ff. The last two interpretations are based on èš-gú-zi (V R 44 iii 44 = *JCS* 11 [1957] 13; *Iraq* 18 [1956] pl. xxiv rev. 11 = *JCS* 11 [1957] 13), a learned ideogram for Esagil from the Cassite period.

8. CT 25 49. The Nabû names on the rev. of K 104 (V R 43) are also etymologised. Cf. also PBS X/4 12 iv and *Iraq* 5 (1938) 55–56 4–7.

In the latter case, *ma-ru-tu-u₄* is more likely than *ma-ru-tu-uk₄*, since *Proto-Ea* from Nippur assigns ù as a value of UD but not ug/uk: MSL XIV 37 151. If so, this is the only evidence for the dropping of the final consonant, though this phenomenon is common in Sumerian generally. The next phonetic writings in lists occur in the Middle Assyrian An = *Anum* II 180, 183, 184 (cf. *Enūma Eliš* VI 123, 133, 135):

^damar-utu
^dma-ru-uk-ka
^dma-ru-tu-uk-ka

Finally, in the late periods there is a variety of phonetic writings, for each of which one passage only is cited:

^dma-ru-du-uk (AfO 17 [1954/56] 133 12) ^dmar-duk (KAR 166 rev. 8)
^dma-ru-duk (Sm 312 obv. 2) mar-duk (Iraq 17 [1955] 23 6)

An eccentricity is offered on the reverse projection of STT 300: ^dmār-ú-duk, and by a unique Middle Elamite writing of the topographical feature as *ni-me-et-tu₄-mar-tu₄-uk-me* (F. W. König, AfO Bh. 16 p. 135 §6, cf. A. R. George, BTT p. 350). Thus, the changes which the name underwent in the course of its history are the apparent omission of the middle vowel in some cases and the replacement of *t* by *d*. Both changes may be related to a personal name first attested in the Cassite period, of which a few examples:

Cassite Nippur:	^m mar-tu-ku (BE 14, 15) ^m mar-tu-ki (BE 14, 15) ^m mar-tuk (BM 13267 7)
Nuzi:	^m mar-tu-ku (NPN) ^m mar-du-ku (NPN) ^m mar-tu-ki (NPN)
Late Babylonian:	^m mar-du-ku (VAS I 36 iii 19, etc.) ^m mar-duk-ú (Darius 323 34, etc.) ^m mar-duk-a (Nbn. 427 10, etc.) ^m mar-duk (Ner. 27 2, etc.) (^m maš-tuk-ku VAS V 107 23, CT 24 50, BM 47406, last line of reverse)

The origin and meaning of this name are unknown, and it is uncertain if Maštukku, which only appears as a family name, really belongs here or not. The dropping of the final vowel in the late period is not unexpected, since in all probability it was not pronounced, and this yielded a form Marduk. The adding of a final vowel with a break in the syllable, which, like such writings as *áš-pur-am*, indicates a feeling that the final element is an appendage, further confirms that in pronunciation there might be no real difference between the god and this personal name. This raises the question whether there was contamination between these two names, so here the earlier *t* becomes a *d* in Late Babylonian times.

The Emesal form of the name occurs in an Emesal litany: ^da-ma-ru-uk-kám (M. E. Cohen, CLAM p. 413 3 and 417 3), and without the initial *a-* in An = *Anum* as quoted above. The intervocalic dental is omitted as elsewhere, e.g., adda/a'a/a "father."

But the question is raised: was the divine name actually pronounced Marduk? The clear glosses and the Emesal form do not support the idea, and the middle vowel was presumably long, as otherwise it should be elided by rules of Akkadian grammar. Also, so far, no single writing *ma-ar-* has been noted, so a value *maru* for the sign AMAR could be alleged. For such “overhanging vowels,” see R. Borger, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon* (Münster, 2003) pp. 457–59), who, however, lists only cases with the same two vowels: *aḥa*, *aka*, etc. The matter remains open.

The correct form of the name for the Late Period was certainly Marūduk. As will be shown, the etymologizers always presume it. It is the form used in an acrostic from the time of Ashurbanipal (KB VI/2 114), and a majority of foreign transliterations presupposes it. The Masoretic *m^erôḏāk* for the god is confirmed by LXX *Μαρῶδαχ*, in contrast with the personal name Mord^oḳay and *Μαρδοχαίος*. Greek transliterations of Babylonian personal names including the element ^d*marduk* have reached us from Berossus, usually at second or third hand, and often in a corrupt form. *Lābāši-Marduk* is almost unrecognizable, but *Amēl-Marduk* fared better, and the Greek forms always have a vowel between the *r* and the *d*, though the MSS do not agree as to which vowel (*Μαραδουχος*, *Μαρουδοκος*, etc.).⁹ The only attestation of the shorter form in foreign transliterations occurs in the Canon of Ptolemy, where *Μαρδοκεμπαδος* (*Marūtuk-apal-iddina*) and *Μεσησιμορδακος* (*Mušēzib-Marūtuk*) are found.¹⁰

There is one obvious etymology of the name, “Bull-calf of Utu.” Phonetically, everything is clear. The initial vowel of *amar* has dropped, a well attested thing in Sumerian, and the final *k*, which is not written in the traditional ^d*amar.utu*, is the genitive (*a*)*k*, which would not be written in archaic Sumerian. Also, divine names beginning *Amar-* occur in the Fara lists (F. Pomponio, *La prosopografia dei testi presargonici di Fara* [Rome, 1987] pp. 31–38), and the lack of a determinative to mark the sun-god Utu also accords with Early Dynastic practice. While the Fara god-lists regularly put the determinative before divine names, where a divine name is the second element of a personal name in the administrative texts, not infrequently the determinative is lacking, e.g., *ur-en-ki*, *ur-nin-PA*, etc. Thus, the consistent lack of a determinative before the second sign of ^d*amar-utu* does not disprove the etymology under question, and since the writing goes back so early, tradition alone would preserve it from change. Indeed, the Fara administrative texts have a common name *ur-UD* (F. Pomponio, op.cit., 268), which is no doubt to be read *ur-utu*, “Man of Utu.” It always lacks any determinative. A further argument in favour of this etymology is the doubt whether *UD* read *utu* can be anything else than the name of the sun-god. But however well this idea may meet the requirements of philology, it runs into the formidable objection that, so far as our knowledge goes, it is theological nonsense. There is no evidence that Marduk was ever conceived as related to a sun-god, whether of Larsa, Sippar, or anywhere else. But our knowledge on such matters only commences with the First Dynasty of Babylon, so there is room for speculation. If this etymology is sustained, one must suppose that somehow Marduk’s attributes and position in the pantheon changed over the centuries. If this assumption is not made, then this etymology can hardly be sustained and a purely negative conclusion must be adopted.

9. F. Jacoby, *FGH* III C pp. 392, 408.

10. Ed. N. Halma, *Κλαυδίου Πτολεμαίου . . . Κανὼν βασιλείων . . .* (Paris, 1819), *Seconde Partie*, p. 3; I. P. Cory, *Ancient Fragments*² (London, 1832), pp. 78f.; T. Mommsen, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Chronica Minora Saec. IV. V. VI. VII.*, III p. 450.

The author of *Enūma Eliš* was in the same dilemma as ourselves. The obvious etymology was theologically impossible. However, he overcame the difficulty in a way which we could not accept. It is set out twice, more fully at Marduk's birth (I 101–2) and again at the beginning of the 50 names (VI 127–28). The technique is given in I 101, where the name is analysed into *ma-ri* and *ú-tu*. The *-i* on the first is probably due to ignorant scribes, for this is not the Akkadian *māru* “son,” which would have required *šamši* not *utu*, but the Sumerian short form of *amar*, which is used in distinction from the longer form expressly for human or divine as opposed to animal offspring:¹¹

^{ma-ar}AMAR = *ma-rum*
^{a-mar}AMAR = *bu-ú-rum*
 MSL XIV 495 37–38

This then is the philological basis of the rendering *mār šamši* as given in the two passages of the Epic, but it does not explain *šamši ša ilāni* in these contexts. The matter is set out in list form as an appendix to a tablet of month- and Nabû-names:

[^damar]-utu = *ma-ri šam-šu*
 [*ma-ri ša*]m-šu = *ma-ri šam-šu šá ilāni*^{meš}
 [^dma-r]u-duk = *ma-ri šam-šu šá ilāni*^{meš}
 V R 43, end; AJSL 51 (1934/35) 172; ZA 35 (1924) 239

The whole purpose of this little exposition is to show that “sun-god” here means “sun-god of the gods,” and this is done not by philology, but by blunt assertion, as in *Enūma Eliš* VI 127. What has been done is that the two signs written *amar* and *utu* have been taken and the unwritten final *-k*, which requires a genitival relationship, has been ignored so that instead of “son of the sun-god,” an apposition “the son, the sun-god” has been created. The author's hands were forced by the knowledge that Marduk was son of Ea, who was certainly no sun-god. The sun-god was Šamaš of Sippar, a deity of considerable importance, so that even the disregard of the final *-k* did not solve all difficulties. Marduk and Šamaš were two quite distinct deities. The ingenious devotee of Marduk solved this by adding *ša ilāni*, “of the gods.” While the god of Sippar shed his rays on mortals, this greater sun-god Marduk supplied light to the gods. Thus VI 128 invites all the gods to walk in Marduk's light. Clearly, the etymology we have so far discussed was known when the Epic was composed, since the author's whole purpose is to pervert it into something that suited his theology, a remarkable sophistication.

The author of the Epic did not end with this traditional etymology subverted but proceeded to others. The ninth name of Marduk according to An = *Anum* is:

^dmar-uru₅-^{giš}tukul = ^dmarūtuk a-bu-ub ^{giš}kakkī^{meš}
 II 193

Of the fuller form, Marūtuk, the Maru- is taken as *abūb*. This involves no great distortion, as *abūbu* is often written *a-ma-ru*, and initial vowels of Sumerian words can drop. The remainder of the name was identified with *tukul*, the final *l* having been taken for an amissable consonant. Thus Maru-

11. One may doubt, however, if this is valid for the 3rd millennium. Note ^dsu'en amar-bàn-da-^den-líl(a)-ka (Sollberger, *Corpus*, Ean. 1 xx) “Šin, fierce bull-calf of Enlil”, where the adjective *banda* = *ekdu* excludes a meaning “son” for (a)mar. Thus “bull-calf of Utu” is correct as the earliest meaning of Marduk.

tuk(k)u = *abūb kakkī*, “a flood of weapons,” an awkward phrase but one which turns up with a most innocent appearance in an Akkadian *šula*, Ebeling, *Handerhebung* 76 23. Its etymological nature would not be known without An = *Anum*. Thus lines 125–26 of Tablet VI of the Epic are unquestionably an elaboration of this same interpretation. It is not stated as such but knowledge of it is presumed, so that this too must have been in existence at the time of the Epic's composition. Whoever first coined this etymology must have known the story of Marduk's use of the *abūbu*-weapon. Then he wrung this meaning out of the name by a free handling of Sumerian elements. It is very doubtful whether the final *l* of *tukul* is amissable.

The next etymology, or rather group of etymologies, is found both in *Enūma Eliš* and in K 2107+. This latter tablet has related explanations of three names which are broken off at the top of column II. The restorations we have given are self-evident when the etymologies are studied. A convenient starting point is VI 135 of the Epic, where Marutukku = *tukultu māti āli u nišišu*. As in the previous example, -tuk(k)u = *tukul*, *tukultu*. Thus “land,” “city,” and “peoples” must be found. ma = *mātu*, as attested by lexical equations (ŠL 342 10); uru = *ālu*; and ùku = *nišī*. A new principle illustrated by this is that one part of the name can be used twice. In this case, both tuk(k)u and uk(k)u are used to provide the desired meaning. K 2107+ has one extra phrase in II 3 not based on the elements so far discussed: [*šākin ri-t*]i *maš-qī-ti*, which also appears, with trifling variants, in *Enūma Eliš* VI 124. The first word comes from mar, Emesal for gar = *šakānu*. The commentary on the *Theodicy* in explaining the name Zulummar uses exactly this value (BWL 88 277), which introduces the further principle, that Emesal values are freely usable. *rītu* or *merītu* is ú or ú-kú; *mašqītu* is a or a-nag. However, a bilingual passage, BWL 268 II 5, refers to pasturage and watering as: ú-kú a-nag e-dùg-ga-ta (the Akkadian translator may have been overliteral in putting *ṭābtu* in his version). One may, therefore, wonder if Maruduk was not analysed according to *šākin merīti u mašqīti* as mar ú-a-dùg.

A problem is created by the second half of *Enūma Eliš* VI 124. Is “making their stables prosper” a free comment of the author, explaining the result of good pasture and watering, or is this too etymology? ùr = *ūru*, and du₈ = *ṭahādu*. Without more evidence, it is unsafe to push this further. Line 136 is certainly free comment.

Prepared by this introduction, an attempt may now be made on Tablet VI 129–33. Marduk's creation of mankind is the theme of these lines. Peoples, as before, are ùku. To create is rú.¹² This value of the DÙ sign is a favourite of the etymologizers. The Commentary on Tablet VII (Comm. II, see pp. 139–142) often glosses DÙ with the sign ru. The commentary on Marduk's Address to the Demons is able to read *Nēberu* into a line containing *banū* with the help of this value.¹³ This explains the -ru- in Marukka. Only the ma- remains, and this must be *ilu*. It must be a variant of the Emesal value mu = *ilu* (CT 12 8 16). A parallel occurs in the etymological Commentary on Tablet VII, where ma is used on line 108 to get *šumu*, in the course of explaining the name Kinma. mu of

12. According to Falkenstein, rú is “to set up” and dù “make” (*Gerichtsurkunden* III, Glossar), but the late etymologies made no such distinction. In addition to the examples referred to below, note Thureau-Dangin, *Rit. acc.* 153 331 and KAR 109 obv. 13, where ^{d.mu}e₄-ru₆ is interpreted as *bānāt reḥūti*.

13. This fact escaped the present writer both in the *editio princeps* (AfO 17 [1954/56] 315 F 6) and in the Additions (AfO 19 [1959/60] 118). The phrase *šá ina ṭè-mi-šú ib-ba-nu-u* is interpreted: ^dMES *šá ana ra-ma-ni-šú dù-u*: ^dn₁-b₁-rú RA = *šá-a*; RA = *i-na*; B₁ = *ṭè-e-mu*; RÚ = *ba-nu-u*; N₁ = *ra-ma-nu*: ^dn₁-b₁-rú = ^dn₁-b₁-rú. Another equally exotic writing of *Nēberu* is NE.NE.EDIN (II R 51 61 ab), i.e., *ne-bí-ru₆*, but in the context no etymology is explained.

course would be the correct value for *šumu*. The exegetical canon emerging from these examples is that nothing so trivial as a vowel can stand in the way of this kind of interpretation. It is hard to say whether any etymology lies behind VI 134. *dùg* for *hubbu* is an obvious start. In the Commentary on Tablet VII, *libbu* is equated with *ḪAR*, glossed *ir*. The real value of *ḪAR* for *libbu* is *ur₅*, and if one exegete was at liberty to read this *ir*, another might surely read it *ar*. The *ma* = *ilu* might have been extended to include the Anunnaki gods. While all this is possible, it is most unsafe ground without explicit evidence.¹⁴

Two etymologies of the name Marduk coined by modern scholars in exactly this way may be cited. *d¹dumu-du₆-kù*, the fortieth name of Marduk according to *Enūma Eliš*, has commonly been half-rendered into Akkadian as an etymology of Marduk: *d¹mār-du₆-kù*.¹⁵ This, however, is most unsound. In the first place, it uses an Akkadian word, while the ancients played only with Sumerian, however recondite the values they used. In the second place, if there were a reading *d¹mār-du₆-kù*, construed as an etymology of Marduk, this would have been given in *Enūma Eliš* with this name in Tablet VI, not almost at the end of the list in Tablet VII. Third, there is one bilingual passage with this title of Marduk in Sumerian and Akkadian, and *dumu* is rendered *bin*, not *mār*:

nam-dím¹ *d¹dumu-du₆-kù* = *bi-n[i]t¹ bi-in-du₆-kù*
SO I (1925) 32 2 (collated)

The second of these dubious modern attempts is based on the Sumerian *gišmar* “spade,” which was the symbol of Marduk at least from Old Babylonian times. There is in principle no reason why this could not be an element in his name, but the specific suggestion that *Marūtuk* = *gišmar-tuku* “the spade holder” is improbable.¹⁶ “Hold” in this sense would be *dib*, not *tuku*.

This consideration of the various explanations of the name Marduk in the Epic allows us to conclude that the author of the Epic, and the author of the document explaining the 50 names which has been incorporated, did not invent this art of “etymology” but took over and modified what suited

14. For the sake of completeness, the interpretation of Marduk in *An* = *Anu* = *ša amēli*, quoted above must be cited; it is *ša an-du-ra-ri*. This relates the name to *ama-ar-gi₍₄₎*, though how *gi* and *UD* were equated is not clear.

15. P. Jensen, *Kosmologie* 242–43, was apparently the originator of this idea, which seems to have been adopted universally.

16. This view has been held by, e.g., Böhl, *AfO* 11 (1936) 198–99 = *Opera Minora* 290; and by Dossin, *RA* 35 (1938) 133¹. Jacobsen, apud G. E. Wright, *The Bible and the Near East* (Fs. W. F. Albright; New York, 1961), 273, describes Marduk as “originally the power in the spade (*mar*),” which is presumably to be understood etymologically, though no explanation was offered for the second part of the name. Dossin has since put forward another idea, that the name means “he who placed the garment”: *mar* is Emesal for *gar*, and *tuk* is for *túg*. This was based on *Enūma Eliš* IV 21–26, but there is now no garment in the lines but a “constellation”, and an Emesal form in an Early Dynastic name is improbable. He advanced this view in *Muséon* 60 I/2 (1947) 1–5; *Mélanges bibliques rédigés en l’honneur de André Robert* 19–20 (Paris, 1956); and F. Gabrieli, ed., *L’Antica Società Beduina* (Rome, 1959) 88. Jacobsen has also advanced a different idea, that *mar-* is “son” and *-utu* is “storm” (*JAOS* 88 [1968] 105–6). The evidence for this latter is weak. The explicit spelling of the Ninurta name *Uta¹ulu* has an *a*, and the Greek transliterations of Marduk (especially those that have come down via Hebrew) are not strong enough evidence to support the idea that Marduk was ever a possible form. Late Assyrian and Babylonian copies of Sumerian texts with unexplained *a*-vowels after *ud* (= *ūmu*) are totally invalid evidence. That Marduk has attributes in places that belong to a storm-god is not surprising in view of the compounding of his character (see p. 456). What is certain is that the ancient scribes in all their etymologizing of his name never find *ud* “storm”, which would be inexplicable if that had been the original meaning of the name seeing that relevant attributes were currently ascribed to Marduk.

them from earlier work. The explanations given vary from correct literal renderings, through free etymological play (as we judge it), to free comment relating to the aspects of the deity implied in the name but not based on analysis by Sumerian roots.

The Commentary on Tablet VII represents a more advanced stage of this “science.” It set out to explain every word and particle as derived from the names upon which they follow. So methodically did its compiler work that where his work is preserved—unfortunately, it is far from complete—it can be used to restore the text of the Epic. The only relief from the monotony is provided by odd citations from lexical texts (11, 92, 108, 127, 138) and by a mysterious phrase added at the end of its exposition of line 82. Every conceivable trick had to be used to pull off this tour de force. The Epic allowed considerable freedom in the choice of values by changes within consonant groups (dentals, sibilants, etc.) and by changes in vowels. The commentary accepted values with no genuine orthographic or phonetic connection. Thus, in line 96, KU = *ina* seems at first sight a sound equation. To have this meaning, the KU sign must be read šè, but the commentator meant it as dúr = *ina* (which is nonsense), because the name Lugal-durmaḥ is being treated. The commentary on the name Esagil goes to the same lengths. In line 16, AN = *šamû*, despite appearances, is ridiculous, since it explains the last part of the name and must be read íl = *šamû*. Also the commentator on Marduk's Address to the Demons, wishing to read *Nēberu* into a line containing *tēmu*, used the polyphony of the KU sign. Read as *umuš* it corresponds to *tēmu*, but with the value *bi₇* it could serve in *Nēberu*. Apparently, it was no objection that *bi₇* = *tezû* “defecate”! A further freedom is taken in the etymological god-list CT 25 49, where sign-forms are taken to pieces and their parts are used. Thus, in rev. 4 Nuska is described as *a-kil tē-e-mi*, the sign with which the god's name is written having been taken apart as *pa umuš*. Similarly ^dumbisag, a name of Nabû derived from “scribe,” the meaning of *umbisag*, is interpreted as *ap-lu^dmarûtuk* in V R 43 rev. 28. The sign was taken as MES×A, ^dmes being a late ideogram for Marduk. In fact, the sign is ŠID×A, and, as argued by Landsberger in MSL II p. 51, probably goes back to a sign-form not compounded of two separate elements.

One dilemma of the author of this commentary was where to begin. The names begin in Tablet VI, but the relevant lines embrace narrative as well as theological interpretation. Apparently, the compiler did not have the courage to etymologize the narrative, so he began with Tablet VII, omitting the first nine names. A similar problem occurred at the end. After the 50th name, the text breaks into narrative, with Ea turning up to bestow his own name on the hero. The first two of these lines are etymologized as usual (138–39), but then the compiler simply copied out lines 140–44 and finished. The colophon accordingly describes this as a commentary on the 51 names of Marduk, though in fact only 42 are dealt with. This mistake is all the more obvious, since the colophon expressly names Tablet VII as the source of all 51:

an-nu-ú šātu(ud-ul-dù-a) ù [šū-ut pî (. . .)]
 šá 51 šumāti^{mes} š[á^dmarduk (. . .)]
 šá ina lib-bi^dasar-ri x-[rik me-reš-tim]

One valuable contribution of this colophon lies in not taking *hanšâ* in line 143 as a proper name, unlike many modern scholars. The writer of the colophon could not have forgotten it, as he had just copied it out above his colophon. Likewise, the Triple-Column God-List does not include *hanšâ* at the end of the names which run parallel to *Enūma Eliš*. The idea that it is a name of Marduk goes

back to the commentary on the whole Epic (Comm. I), which explains “50” as a name of Enlil, which in fact it is. However, this commentary is no authority whatsoever for the literal sense of the Epic. The evidence of the colophon and god-list is to be preferred. Further, no copy of text or commentary uses the divine determinative with *hanšâ*. The only alternative seen by the translators yields a most banal sense: “with fifty names the great gods called his fifty names.” There is another possibility, which is much more meaningful. In big god-lists like An = *Anum*, there were three possible ways of marking the end of a particular god’s names. A line could be drawn across the column, or the name used in the right-hand sub-column could be written as the last one in the left-hand sub-column,¹⁷ or numbering could indicate when the end had been reached. There were two kinds of numbering, either marking each name, starting with the second, with its number in the right-hand sub-column, or, more commonly, putting the number for the total beside the last name. This last custom is shown on K 7688, and it may have been in the mind of the author of *Enūma Eliš* when he wrote VII 143. Just as the scribe reaching the end of copying the fifty names of Marduk on a tablet wrote “fifty” to round off the list, so the great gods said “fifty” as they finished reciting Marduk’s names:

With the word “fifty” the great gods
Called his fifty names . . .

A parallel may exist in the names of Ea in An = *Anum*. Forty-one names are listed, after which *dé-a* is written in the left-hand sub-column to mark the end. However, two more names follow:

d.MIN(ša-na-ba-ku)40
d40(ša-na-bi)-bi

It is possible, of course, that these two names were added by a redactor onto the end of the properly speaking completed list. However, “50” as a name of Enlil and “20” as a name of Šamaš appear close to the beginning of their respective lists. Since there is numerologically a similarity between the Ea and Marduk names, it may be suspected that this deified “40” at the end of Ea’s list is related to *hanšâ* with which the ending of Marduk’s names is recorded in the Epic. A scribe probably added the “40” at the end of Ea’s list as an aid to correct copying, and a later scribe, knowing 20 and 50 as names of Šamaš and Enlil, mistook this 40 as a similar name, and from it produced the two entries.

In summary, the 50 names of Marduk were used to teach ideas drawn out or read in by a process of etymological analysis. The canons of this kind of exegesis were already established before the Epic was composed, and it is uncertain if any new interpretations were coined in the Epic. These canons were further developed in various commentaries, so that the Epic does not represent the last stage of this technique. While this technique was the common property of Mesopotamian scholars for purposes of etymology, it seems that it was developed into a science of etymological theology especially in Babylon and Borsippa.

17. So An = *Anum* I 227; II 170, 241, 246, 248; III 133; IV 279; V 122, 216, 284; VII 66.

The Organization of the Universe

The Splitting of Heaven and Earth

Other than *Enūma Eliš*, there is no systematic treatment of cosmology in Sumero-Babylonian literature. The longest literary text dealing with any aspect of this topic is the Atra-ḫasis Epic, but this has rightly been called “a Babylonian history of mankind,”¹ for it begins with the universe in essentially its present form and takes up the circumstances which led to the creation of man, with subsequent history up to the flood. But this does not mean that *Enūma Eliš* presents all that is known of Babylonian cosmology. On the contrary, the Epic uses only a selection of the wealth of available material, as will be seen in the case of the theogony (see pp. 405–426). Here, too, parallels to Marduk’s work have to be collected from allusions and incidental comments.

Marduk’s first creative act was the severing of Tiāmat’s body (IV 137ff.). The upper part became the heaven, the lower part the earth. Certain refinements on this basic division, which will be discussed later, conclude the 4th Tablet. In Tablet V, the heavens and the earth are taken up in turn. Lines 1–46 deal with the heavenly bodies, lines 47–52 with meteorological phenomena, and lines 53–62 with the earth.

The idea that originally heaven and earth had been joined, or were closely connected, is very widespread in world mythology. This is not the place to pursue every attestation of the idea, and attention will be restricted to those expressions of the idea which could have been a factor in the intellectual background of the author of the Epic.

The earliest Sumerian occurrences occur in UD.GAL.NUN orthography apparently in literary texts:

an UNU-ta bad ki an-ta bad
OIP 99 136 iii 2–3

UD UNU-ta LAGAB ki UD-ta LAGAB
UD UNU-ta LAGAB
OIP 99 113 ii 7–9

. . . to separate heaven from earth, to separate earth from heaven . . .

See the present writer in OA 20 (1981) 90. The tablets are of Early Dynastic date.

1. J. Laessøe, *BiOr* 13 (1956) 89.

Three passages in Sumerian myths deal with the matter. First, the introduction to *Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Nether World*:

u₄-ri-a u₄-sù-DU-ri-a
 gi₆-ri-a gi₆-bad-DU-ri-a
 mu-ri-a mu-sù-DU-ri-a
 u₄ ul níg-du₇-e pa è-a-ba
 u₄ ul níg-du₇-e mí zi dug₄-ga-a-ba
 èš kalam-ma-ka ninda šú-a-ba
 im^šu-rin-na kalam-ma-ka ninda tab-ak-a-ba
 u₄ an ki-ta ba-da-bad-DU-a-ba
 ki an-ta ba-da-sur-ra-a-ba
 mu nam-lú-u₁₈-lu ba-an-gar-ra-a-ba
 u₄ an-né an ba-an-de₆-a-ba
^den-líl-le ki ba-an-de₆-a-ba

AS 10, p. 3 restored by Kramer in *Gilgameš et sa légende* (ed. P. Garelli; Paris, 1960), p. 66, and further restored from A. Shaffer, *Sumerian Sources of Tablet XII of the Epic of Gilgameš* (1963) ll. 1–12

In former days, in distant former days,
 In former nights, in remote former nights,
 In former years, in distant former years,
 After the early days had brought into being the established order,
 After the early days had carefully nurtured the established order,
 After bread had been (set/thrown down) in the houses of the land,
 After bread had been baked in the ovens of the land,
 After heaven had been separated from earth,
 After earth had been severed from heaven,
 After the name of mankind had been established,
 After An carried off heaven,
 After Enlil carried off earth

The beginning of the Myth of the Pickax provides the second example:

en-e níg-du₇-e pa na-an-ga-àm-mi-in-è
 en nam-tar-ra-na šu nu-bal-e-dam
^den-líl numun kalam-ma ki-ta è-dè
 an ki-ta bad-DU-dè sag na-an-ga-àm-ma-an-sum
 ki an-ta bad-DU-dè sag na-an-ga-ma-an-sum

SRT 19 and dupls., see *JNES* 5 (1946) 135¹² and CT 44 10. There are a number of variants which do not affect the present interest in the passage.

The lord brought into being the established order,
 The lord, whose decrees cannot be altered,
 Enlil, to produce the seed of the land from the earth,
 Made great haste to separate heaven from earth,
 Made great haste to separate earth from heaven.

The third example is the first line of the Unilingual/Bilingual Account of Creation; see p. 352.

The first of these extracts pictures the separation of heaven and earth like a pair of “sitting ducks” being bagged each by a different hunter and being carried off in opposite directions. The second makes it a kind of surgical operation on twins born joined, performed by Enlil singlehanded. The third suggests that while the pair had been together originally, they were nevertheless two, not one. The three witnesses combined fail to give any indication that the separation was the last stage of an epic combat. Though this is only an argument from silence, the silence is too powerful to ignore. The Sumerian myth begins with a joined heaven and earth at a time too remote for any speculation about prior events. Also, the thing separated is a solid mass, not a body of water, as is Tīāmat’s body in *Enūma Eliš*, at least on some occasions. The Hittite *Song of Ullikummi* contains an allusion to such a severing, for when the gods have the problem of dealing with a stone monster, Ea suggests using the instrument, probably a saw, with which heaven and earth had been cut asunder in the beginning (JCS 6 [1953] 29 52–54).

There seems to be no Mesopotamian parallel to the Epic’s concept of a separation of cosmic waters, but the idea of water above and below is attested:

[én an-na] ní-bi-ta tu-[ud-da-àm]
 [šamû]^u ina ra-ma-ni-šú-nu [ib]-ba-ni
 [ki-a] ní-bi-ta tu-ud-da-àm
 er-še-tum ina ra-ma-ni-šá-ma [i]b-ba-ni
 [an idi]m-àm : šamû^u naq-bi eršetim^{um} naq-^rbi⁷ : ki idim-àm
 STT 199 obv. 1–5

Heaven was created by itself; earth was created by itself.
 Heaven was the abyss; earth was the abyss.

(This plainly contradicts the idea that the two were originally joined.) The same doctrine underlies the analysis of the word “heaven” (*šamê*) into “of water” (*ša mê*) in the series *i-NAM giš-ḫur an-ki-a* (CT 25 50 17 = A. Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Works* [Oxford, 1986; repr. Winona Lake, 2007] p. 33). The aetiological basis of this doctrine is clear. All water known to man either comes down from the sky or up from the ground. Hence, the sky must be water. The first chapter of Genesis provides the closest parallel to the division of cosmic waters. On the second day of the week of creation, God put a “firmament” between the upper and the lower waters, which corresponds to the “skin” in *Enūma Eliš* IV 139. In Phoenician mythology, reflected in some forms of Orphic cosmogony, the separation of heaven and earth appears in the doctrine of the world egg.² In Egypt, there is the myth of the pushing apart of Nut (heaven) and Geb (earth) as two solid bodies, but no dividing of the cosmic waters is known.³ The account of Kronos’ emasculation of his father Heaven in Hesiod’s *Theogony* (ll. 147–87) may also belong to the myths of the separation of heaven and earth.

2. A summary of Phoenician cosmogony with literature is given in H. W. Haussig (ed.), *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* I 309–10 (Stuttgart, 1965). On Orphic and other Greek cosmogonies, see W. Staudacher, *Die Trennung von Himmel und Erde* (Tübingen, 1942); the papers of Eissfeldt and Schwabl in *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne*, Paulty-Wissowa Supplementband 9 1433–1582 (H. Schwabl, *Weltschöpfung*). Earlier literature is quoted in these works.

3. See most recently R. Anthes, *JNES* 18 (1959) 169–211.

The Organization of the Heavens

The ordering of the heavens in *Enūma Eliš* proceeds on what might at first sight seem astronomical principles. More careful study shows that the real interest of the author lay in fixing the calendar rather than in astronomy per se. The stars with which he deals fix the year, then he passes to the moon, by which the month is fixed, and he concludes this part of his work by treating the sun, the regulator of the day. This orderly treatment and the neglect of anything else astronomical shows where his real interests lay. A contrast is offered by the account of Berossus, according to which Bēl stationed the stars, sun, moon, and the five planets. The planets offer no guide to fixing the calendar. The same phenomenon occurs in chaps. 72–82 of the Book of Enoch, which, despite the title “Book of the Courses of the Luminaries of Heaven,” is, like its prototype Genesis chap. 1, concerned mainly with the sun and moon. Another noteworthy feature of this part of *Enūma Eliš* is the scientific treatment of the whole topic. Very little mythology is present. Somehow, the author managed to deal with the function of the moon without so much as a mention of the name Sîn.

Seven passages in cuneiform texts may be compared with that of *Enūma Eliš*:

- (a) A Sumerian inscription of Kudur-Mabug.
- (b) *The Exaltation of Ištar*.
- (c) A statue inscription of one of the Kurigalzus.
- (d) Two paragraphs used as an introduction to *Enūma Anu Enlil*.
- (e) A single paragraph used for a similar purpose.
- (f) Two fragments of a highly technical account.
- (g) A fragment of uncertain character.

They will be discussed in turn.

(a) RIME 4 p. 220 4–6 is from a Sumerian dedication inscription of Kudur-Mabug. In the opening Nanna is described:

dingir-zi u₄-gi₆-bi ḫé-ḫé/ḫe-ḫe iti gi-en-gi-en mu silim-ma

The reliable god, who interchanges day and night, who establishes the month, and keeps the year intact.

This is not of course cosmology but a description of the activities of the moon-god. It is included, as it shows the same outlook as *Enūma Eliš*. Whether considered from the standpoint of original creation or of continuing divine activity, observation of the proper sequence of day, month, and year was a matter considered vital by the Babylonians. Thus, any detailed account of creation must include an explanation of the calendar.

(b) *The Exaltation of Ištar*, or nin-maḫ ušū-ni gīr-ra, to use the proper title, is a bilingual epic from the late Cassite period, if linguistic and other criteria give the correct impression. Its purpose is to explain how Ištar reached her exalted position among the gods. In Tablets III, IV, and V, Anu, Enlil, and Ea express themselves on the question of her elevation. Anu’s speech shows how much Ištar’s identification with the planet Venus was involved in this promotion. He proposes that she be put on the same level as Sîn and Šamaš and prefaces this suggestion with an account of how these two gods achieved their positions:

te-me-en da-rí an-ki-ke₄ giš-ḥur gi-na ðim-me-er-e-ne-ka-a-t[a]
 ina da-ru-ti te-me-en šamê^e u eršetim^{tim} ú-šu-rat ilāni^{mes} ki-na-a-t[i]
 sag-tab an^den-líl^den-ki-ke₄ níg-ḥal-ḥal-la ba-an-bà-a-ta
 50 šur-ru-ú^da-nu^den-líl^d u^dé-a ú-za-[?]i-zu zi-za-a-tim
 Rev. 1 [dingir min-n]a-bi en-nu-un an-ki-a^{gis}ig an-na gál-la-ar
 ana ilāni^{mes} ki-lal-la-an ma-aš-šar šamê^e u eršetim^{tim} pe-tu-ú da-lat^da-nu
^dnanna^dutu-ra gi₆^{gi} u₄-da šu-ta-ta an-né-ši-í-b-si
 ana^dšîn(30) u^dšamaš u₄-mu u mu-ši ma-al-ma-liš ba-šim-ma
 5 an-úr-ta an-pa-šè^{šú} á-dà-a-bi im-ta-an-zu-zu-ne
 iš-tu i-šid šamê^e ana e-lat šamê^e a-da-šú-nu ú-ta-ad-du-nu
 ab-sín^{si}-gim ìⁱ-dúr-dúr-re-eš-àm mul an zà-til-bi
 ki-ma ši-ir-[?]i su-un-nu-qu kak-kab šamê^e gi-mir-šú-un
 gu₄-gim ús ba-ab-sì-sì-ga-eš-àm ðim-me-er umbi-sag-gá-ar
 10 ki-ma al-ḫi ú-sa šu-ḫu-zu ilāni^{mes} šu-ut maḫ-ri

RA 11 (1914) 141ff. = TCL 6 51 47ff.

At the eternal foundation of heaven and underworld, the sure plans of the gods,
 Anu, Enlil, and Ea began to assign lots.
 For the two gods, guards of heaven and underworld, who open the gates of Anu,
 For Šîn and Šamaš night and day respectively were created.
 Their work was assigned from the base of heaven to the height of heaven,
 To muster all the stars of heaven (in a straight line) like a furrow,
 To keep the leading gods on a (straight) path like an ox.

Anu's proposal to put Ištar on a level with Šîn and Šamaš reflects the situation shown in the arrangement of the divine symbols on boundary stones. Commonly, three astral symbols appear close together at the top of the stones. The grouping of the deities in the written curses on the same stones in contrast rarely puts these three together. Two aspects of this excerpt merit comparison with *Enūma Eliš*. The first is that *The Exaltation of Ištar* still has the great triad in command. Marduk's name does not occur in the surviving portions. The second is that while both presume that an astral sergeant major must be responsible for the orderly marching of the stars across the heavens, the bilingual text makes Šîn and Šamaš joint holders of this office, but *Enūma Eliš* assigns this function to Nēberu, Marduk's star, alone.

(c) The excavations at Dūr-Kurigalzu yielded fragments of a diorite statue of one of the Kurigalzus with an inscription of some length carved on it. The language is Sumerian of considerable difficulty, and this only multiplies the problems of trying to settle the arrangement of the pieces. The tenor of the composition is to explain the duties of members of the pantheon as assigned to them by the Igigi, and it is much more of a myth than a royal inscription. One deity at a time is dealt with, and after the functions have been assigned, the formal investiture is stated in a refrain. For the present purpose, Nanna is the only relevant deity so dealt with. Column vii of Fragment A contains the end of the refrain for him, and this can be restored from the parallel passages as follows:⁴

4. The following extracts use the text as copied in Kramer in *Sumer IV/1* (1948) 1ff. See also his translation in *ANET* 57ff., and Baqir, *Iraq Suppl.* (1945) 13.

[é-u-gal an-na ki an dagal-zu-ù-ta ^dnun-gal-a-ne-er me-a-àm
 za nu-un-ša-ša a-ne-ne-ne lugal gù-silim-me-éš dingir kù-kù]-ga-
 me-éš ki ^den-líl ^dnin-líl-bi-ta ^dnun-gal-a-ne-er me-a-àm za
 nu-un-ša-ša a-ne-ne-ne lugal gù-silim-me-éš dingir-me-gi-na-me-éš
 šà-zu-ù-ta ^dnanna-ir-ra šu-luḥ si mu-na-DI-iš

In lofty Eugal from learned An to the Igigi
 “They are kings of loud voice, they are pure gods.” From Enlil
 and Ninlil to the Igigi “They are kings of loud voice,
 they are gods of the unalterable *mes*.” In wisdom
 they inaugurated the purification rites for Nanna.

The sense of the passage is considerably obscured by the difficult *me-a-àm za nu-un-ša-ša*, but the meaning seems to be that first Anu and then Enlil and Ninlil commission the Igigi, and they in turn invest one after the other of the gods with their offices. The absence of Ea is noteworthy. It may be that there was no shrine of his in Dūr-Kurigalzu. The preceding column of Fragment A, column vi, does not contain any unambiguous reference to the moon. Indeed, the name Utu occurs in line 7. However, column v does mention Nanna, so it must be assumed that at least v–vii were occupied with the moon. None of the earlier columns has any allusion to Nanna, but the second and third columns of the second face of Fragment B do treat of him. The other two columns on this face, i and iv, lack plain indications as to which deity is being handled. The position of Fragment B in relation to A depends entirely on the shapes of the pieces. On A, the vertical columns run from left to right along two sides of the stone, and column iv is written on the curving surface of the edge connecting the two sides. Thus, column v, the first one dealing with Nanna, is the first column on the second side of the stone. The arrangement of Fragment B is quite different. There are two faces at different angles. Our interpretation is that Fragment B contains the top portions of the columns of which the lower portions are found on Fragment A. B is probably a piece of the right shoulder of the statue. The inscription began on the flat surface of the back and continued around the relatively sharp edge onto the arm. Here, however, the columns began close to the neck and ran down the shoulder and the side of the arm. Thus, the first column on the arm ran along the top lines of the earlier columns, on the shoulder. According to this placing of the fragments, the two columns dealing with Nanna on Fragment B are the top portions of columns vi and vii of Fragment A. On this basis, the following fragments of text are ordered:

A v . . .]-da-kù-ga-bi nu-mu-ni-in-te-eš-àm an-pa an-ka
 ba-ra-an-sum-mu-uš ^dnanna gi₆ zalag-ge-da ud-da ug-gá
 ku-ku-da gizkim gi₆-a [zu]-zu-da [mu]-ni-[in . . .
 . . .] its pure . [. .] they did not bring near but set them
 apart in the height of heaven . . That Nanna should shine in
 the night, lie down like a lion during the day and make known the signs
 of the night, [they gave order (?) . . .

Bb ii . . .] an-úr an-pa-a-aš sag-gig-ga me-lám-a-ni šu₄-šu₄-a
 en-nu-un tur-tur tu-tu-da-aš iti ur-a x-ki/DI u₄-30-kam giš
 ḥur-ḥur-[r]e-da [. . .

. . .] whose splendour in the base of heaven and the height of heaven covers the black-headed ones, to give birth to the junior watchers, to organize 30 days in a complete month . . .
[. . .

A vi . . .] á-bi-ne-ne-a tab-ba lukur nu-gig tu lál-a-šà-ga
di^dutu-kam gizkim íb-dug₄-ga-e-a en i-si-iš lál-a
im-si-si-ig-ga-bi nam-mu₁₀-ús-sá mu-ni-in-ak-éš tu-ra a-nir-ra
[zú]-ra-aḥ [. .] AG [. . .
. . .] taking in their arms. The nun, the cult-prostitute, the abbess, the midwife—
it was a judgment of Utu which was decreed—while
he was sated with laughter and joy they brought marriage gifts. Illness, sighs,
cries [. .] , [. . .

Bb iii . . .] x [. .] pa-ʿè¹ ḏaš-ím-babbar an uraš-ta si-bi
šu₄-šu₄-a an uraš šilig-ge kalam-ma bar dagal-la sag-gig-ga
kár-kár an x [. . .
. . .] . [. .] shining, Šamaš, whose rays cover heaven and earth,
the majestic one in(?) heaven and earth, to shine on the land,
to light up the black-headed ones.

Only a few provisional remarks can be made about this fragmentary and obscure text. The general similarity which exists between it and the section of *Enūma Eliš* is due, of course, to nothing but the common topic. The most striking difference is the mythological content of the Sumerian text. In Bb ii, Nanna is made the father of the “junior watchers.” In *The Exaltation of Ištar*, as just quoted, Sîn and Šamaš are called “watchers,” so their juniors are presumably the stars. The laughter and marriage gifts in A vi are also far removed from the spirit of Marduk’s silent operations in *Enūma Eliš*. The last three words of A vi, things about which men complain to gods, have a parallel in Tablet V 25 of the Epic, which will be discussed later, as will the mention of Utu within the section devoted to Nanna. The general impression of the statue inscription is that in outlook it is closer to *The Exaltation of Ištar* than to the Epic.

(d) *Enūma Anu Enlil*, the Babylonian corpus of omens derived from heavenly bodies and meteorological phenomena, in late times had a couple of introductory paragraphs. The first one, in Sumerian, describes the appointment of Sîn; the second one, prefaced with *šanīš* “variant,” describes similarly, but in Akkadian, the appointment of Šamaš. This very curious arrangement probably had the following origin. As the series stands, there are first 22 tablets of omens derived from the moon (according to the numbering of the Nineveh edition), then a group of tablets dealing with the sun, followed by tablets dealing with lesser heavenly bodies. Originally, these groups circulated separately; only later were they gathered into one large collection. While still separate, or when they were put together, the two major groups of omens—those on the sun and those on the moon—were each supplied with an introductory matching paragraph. They were written in bilingual form following the example of other astronomical or quasi-astronomical texts such as the menology attached to the “astrolabe” (KAV 218 “A”) and the introduction to the star-list CT 33 9. Later, when the series as a whole was well established, the introduction to Šamaš, which had stood at the beginning

of Tablet 23, was transferred to the beginning of the series, but since it had a remarkable similarity to the introduction to Sîn, which already stood there, the Akkadian of the Sîn paragraph and the Sumerian of the one on Šamaš were suppressed, leaving what is now preserved. The grammar of the Sumerian is corrupt, and the Akkadian is extraordinarily ambiguous, so the translations are given with reserve. The last word of the Akkadian paragraph has caused much difficulty because the purpose of the whole thing has been forgotten. *uštamû* means “talked together” or “took counsel,” and the omens following on this word were the results of these deliberations.

u₄ an-na ^den-líl-lá ^den-ki dingir-[gal-gal-la]
malga-ne-ne gi-na-ta me gal-gal-la
má-gur₈ ^den:zu-na mu-un-gi-ne-eš
ud-sakar mú-mú-da iti ù-tu-ud-da
ù gizkim an-ki-a mu-un-gi-ne-eš
má-gur₈ an-na im pa-è ak-a-dè
ša an-na igi bar-ra-ta-è

When An, Enlil, and Enki, the [great] gods,
In their sure counsel had established
The great *mes* (and) the barque of Sîn,
That the crescent moon should grow and give birth to the month,
That it should establish signs in heaven and earth,
That the barque should be sent forth shining in the heavens,
It came forth in heaven.

ša-ni-iš
e-nu-ma ^da-num ^den-líl ^dé-a
ilāni^{meš} rabûti^{meš} ina mil-ki-šú-nu ki-i-nu
ušurāt(giš-ḥur^{meš}) šamê^e u eršetim^{tim} iš-ku-nu
a-na qātē^{II} ilāni^{meš} rabûti^{meš} ú-kin-nu
u₄-mu ba-na-a arḫu ud-du-šú šá tāmarti(igi-du₈^{meš})
a-me-lut-tum ^dšamaš ina libbi bāb šītī(è)-šú i-mu-ru
qí-rib šamê^e u eršetim^{tim} ki-niš uš-ta-mu-ú

When Anu, Enlil, and Ea,
The great gods, in their sure counsel
Had fixed the designs of heaven and earth,
Had appointed in the hands of the great gods
The bright day and the new moon for mankind
To behold, had seen the sun in the gate from which it sets out,
(Then) in heaven and earth they took counsel faithfully.

STC II xlix; Virolleaud, *ACh Sin*, 1. See A. Heidel, *Babylonian Genesis*² (Chicago, 1963) p. 73⁷⁰ and *AfO* 14 (1941/44) 193⁹³ for literature. VAT 7827 (*AfO* 14 [1941/44] Taf. IV) comments on some of these lines.

A very similar bilingual passage occurs on Rm II 535 (Pl. 42). Another witness to the Akkadian text, and much earlier in the date of the copy, comes from Emar: D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d’Aštata*. *Emar* VI/2 p. 553 = VI/4 p. 263, 80–82:

[enūma anu] ^den-líl ^dé-a
ilānu^{meš} rabûtu ina mil-ki-šú-nu

u₄urāt(giš-ḥur) [šamê u eršetim iš-ku-nu]
 [x zal]ag-ga ana na-[ma]-ri sin ú-kin-nu
 u₄-ma ba-na-a arḥa ud-du-šu
 [ma-g]u-ur šamê[e] x x x x [. . .

[When Anu], Enlil and Ea,
 the great gods by their counsel
 [had fixed] the designs [of heaven and earth],
 they established the bright [. . .] so that Sîn would shine,
 that the day should be bright, and the moon renewed,
 the barge of heaven [. . .

Here again there is no specific connection between these paragraphs and *Enūma Eliš*, though their spirit is perhaps a little closer to that of the Epic than was the case with *The Exaltation of Ištar* or the Kurigalzu statue.

(e) The following paragraph is also involved in the history of *Enūma Anu Enlil*. In an Assur tablet, it is written at the end of what is Tablet XXII in the Nineveh edition. Two Nineveh fragments preserve parts of it; on K 5981, it precedes some omens which could, but need not be, Tablet XXIII of *Enūma Anu Enlil*. On K 11867 what follows is almost certainly not this.

e-nu^d a-nu^d en-líl u^d é-a ilāni^{meš} rabūti^{meš}
 šamê^e u eršeta^{ta} ib-nu-ú ú-ad-du-ú gis-kim-ma
 ú-kin-nu na-an-za-za [ú-š]ar-ši-du gi-is-gal-[la]
 ilāni^{meš} mu-ši-tim ú-[ad-du]-^rú¹ ú-za-i-zu ḥar-ra-ni
 kakkabāni^{meš} tam-ši-l[i-šú-nu uš-š]i-ru lu-ma-a-[ši]
 mūša urra(u₄-^rzal¹) ú-za-^ri¹-[zu im-du-d]u arḥa u šatta ib-nu-[u]
 ana 30 u 20 su[m]⁷ x [(. .) purussê šamê]^e u eršetim^{tim} iprusu^s[^u]

K 5981 and K 11867 (AfO 17 [1954/56] pl. V; both Pl. 42 in the present volume);
 VAT 9805+9808 14ff. (AfO 17 pl. IV). Cf. AfO 17 89 and JNES 20 (1961) 172.

When Anu, Enlil and Ea, the great gods,
 Created heaven and underworld, distinguished them,
 Established stations, founded positions (for the stars),
 Appointed the gods of the night, divided the courses,
 Drew the constellations, the patterns of the stars,
 Divided night from daylight, [measured] the month and formed the year,
 For Moon and Sun . . [. .] they made the decrees for heaven and underworld.

This bears by far the closest resemblance to *Enūma Eliš* of all the seven accounts. The first four lines in particular are in the same poetic metre and use the same words and ideas, and line 5 is almost identical with *Enūma Eliš* V 2. Direct borrowing, on whichever side, or dependence on a common source or tradition would equally well explain the phenomenon. The chief difference is that this paragraph keeps the great triad in command while Marduk commands in *Enūma Eliš*. This paragraph certainly offers the older tradition, for in a number of passages Anu, Enlil, and Ea are said to have created and organized the heavenly bodies. The earliest is from Boğazköy (*KUB IV 47 rev. 37–38* = Weidner, *Alter und Bedeutung*, p. 17); later texts expressing the same idea are *KAR 69 obv. 9–10*; *LKA 58 rev. 2–3*; *STT I 72 obv. 2–3* (cf. K 2588); *Bu 91-5-9, 155 rev. 8–9*.

(f) Two fragments of text have been put together under this section, though there is no external proof of any connection. An examination of the originals suggests that they are not pieces of the same tablet. However, both are from accounts of the organization of the heavens, and even if future discoveries should show that two such accounts are involved, the preserved pieces have much in common. If they do belong to the same work, K 7067 certainly comes before K 10817+11118. Their characteristic is a love of technical detail. The great gods engage in geometrical calculations before laying out the heavens, and every little detail of the watches of the day and night⁵ was exposed. If this text were preserved complete, it would certainly be a most important contribution to our knowledge of ancient science. Though it is much more technical than *Enūma Eliš*, one must not draw conclusions from this as to relative age. The author of the Epic might have had access to equally detailed ideas but lacked the interest to draw on them more fully.

K 7067 (CT 13 31)

- 1 ^rdé-a ina aṣṣî¹ [. . .
- 2 ilāni^{me} rabūti^{me} im-tal-ku-ma x x [. . .
- 3 kakkabāni^{meš} tam-šil zi-im bu-un-n[a-né-e . . .
- 4 šamê^e rap-šu-ti [. . .
- 5 ištu šit šamši (dutu-è) adi er[ēb] šamši (dutu-š[ú-a]) [. . .
- 6 pūtu(sag) ù šiddu(uš) uš-ta-ki-lu [. . .
- 7 ši-ip-ta ù purussâ [. . .
- 8 ilāni^{meš} ú-za²-i-zi-m[a . . .
- 9 ina man-za-az mìn-da-a-[ti . . .
- 10 mūša ūma x [. . .
- 11 [u₄-m]i ana UB [. . .
- 12 [x] mìn-da-x [. . .
- 13 [x m]a²-na x [. . .

K 10817+11118 (Pl. 42)

- 2, 3 . . .]-ma
- 4 . . .]HI-ma
- 5 . . .] x^{meš}
- 6 . . .] x x ir-tak-su
- 7 . . .] x-ta-ši
- 8 . . .]^{meš} ú-šá-pu-ú
- 9 . . .] uš-ši-ru
- 10 . . . ištu išid šamê] adi elât šamê (an-pa)
- 11 . . .] x uš-zi-zi
- 12 . . .] a-na na-da-ni
- 13 . . .]GAR-ra-šú-nu i²-ad-du-ú
- 14 . . . ul-ta-n]am-za-az-šú-nu-t[i]
- 15 . . . ú]-^ra¹-li-du-m[a]
- 16 . . .] x

5. On the watches on the night in ancient Mesopotamia, see O. Neugebauer, *Isis* 37 (1947) 37–43.

17	...	ú-man-di-d[u]
18	...	['a ¹ -na ištēn manê maššarta ú-kin-n[u]
19	..	.i]na man-za-zi ušzîzu(gub-z[u])
20	...	['ú ¹ -ad-du- ^r ú ¹
21	...	x ištu maššarti namārīti(u ₄ -zal-l[i])
22	...	['ú ¹ -kaš-ši-[bu/ru]
23	...	x x x mu x x [x]

K 7067

- 1 Ea in the Apsû [. . .
- 2 The great gods took counsel [. . .
- 3 Stars like the appearance of the forms [. . .
- 4 The wide heavens [. . .
- 5 From east to west [. . .
- 6 They multiplied the breadth and the length [. . .
- 7 A judgement and a decision [. . .
- 8 They divided the gods [. . .
- 9 At measured stations [. . .
- 10 Night and day . [. . .
- 11 Day (?) to . [. . .
- 12 [.] measurements [. . .

K 10817+11118

6 they bound; 8 they created; 9 they designed; 10 [from the base of heaven] to the height of heaven; 11 they set up; 12 to give; 13 they . . . their . . . ; 14 constantly keeps them in position; 15 they begat; 17 they measured; 18 they appointed a watch for one mina; 19 they set (them) at (their) stations; 20 they assigned; 21 from the morning watch.

(g) This piece is of limited use in its present condition. What appears to be the obverse of K 3213 contains an account of the gods taking counsel about the appointment of heavenly bodies. Curiously, many of the verbs are in the present, and though they are rendered here as English presents, they could equally well be given as futures. The other side of K 3213 belongs to an astrological text, known also from K 12108+13396 (perhaps part of the same tablet as K 3213), K 9594+20284 and VAT 9427. It consists of sections ending *an-ni-tum gizkim šá* . . . VAT 9427 is a complete tablet, but lacks anything of the heavenly counsel. Probably, this counsel, which alone is dealt with here, comes from paragraphs like those associated with *Enūma Anu Enlil*, which have been dealt with above. Only K 9594 has been published previously, in ZA 4 (1889) 249.

K 3213, Obverse (?). Pl. 43

- 1 . . .] x ma x x [. . .
- 2 . . . *puru*]ssâ(eš]-bar)-šú-nu ana mātāti(kur-kur) ú-ki[n-nu]
- 3 . . .]-nu su-un-qí ù bubūti(su-kú)

4 . . .] *ana mātāti(kur-kur) ú-kan-nu*
 5 . . .]-*nu ana apkalli iš-ru-ku*

 6 . . .] *x-šum-ma uš-tam-mu-ú*
 7 . . .] *ú-šá-ap-ḫu-ú*
 8 . . .] *i-šak-ka-nu*
 9 . . . -*šú-n]u ù man-za-zi-šú-nu*
 10 . . . *ul-t]ú* ¹*ud-1-kám adi* ¹*ud-30-k[ám]*

2 . . .] they established their decree for the lands
 3 . . .] . distress and hunger
 4 . . .] they establish for the lands
 5 . . .] . they presented to the sage.

 6 . . .] . him/it they discuss
 7 . . .] they bring into being
 8 . . .] they appoint
 9 . . .] their [. . .] and their stations
 10 . . .] from the first to the thirtieth day

The Thirty-Six Stars

Thus, the surviving accounts of the organization of the heavens bear little specific relationship to that of *Enūma Eliš*, and further light must be sought from a study of the relevant lines of the Epic in the context of the development of Babylonian astronomy generally. This is no easy task, since *Enūma Eliš* has, of course, no contact with the abundantly documented mathematical astronomy of the Babylonians which reached such a high degree of perfection in the Greek period. Knowledge of earlier astronomy is much more scanty, and for the most part only late undated copies of texts survive. The aim of this investigation is, first, to cast light on the concise narrative of *Enūma Eliš*, which is far from self-explanatory. Second, it is to place *Enūma Eliš* within the historical development of Babylonian astronomy, a much more difficult task.

The creation of the stars is stated in Tablet V 1, where they are described as “stations for the great gods;” then, in the following line, their grouping in constellations is stated. Next, Marduk fixes the year by assigning three stars to each of the twelve months, ll. 3–4. This “Zwölfmaldrei,” as the Germans call it, is well known from a number of other texts.⁶ From the brevity with which the concept is stated here and from the lack of any list of the stars involved, we shall hardly be wrong in concluding that the author is drawing upon well-known matters rather than creating a totally new system.

It should be stated that the Babylonian term “star” covers individual stars, including planets and constellations, for at least as early as the Old Babylonian period the ancient astronomers had given names to certain groups of stars in which they saw the pattern of, say, an animal. The system of classification on which *Enūma Eliš* is dependent presumes in the first place the division of the heavens into three zones, one each assigned to Enlil, Anu, and Ea. The fullest statement of this division occurs in the First Tablet of the series ^{mul}APIN (Weidner, *Handbuch*, pp. 35–37), which lists 33 Enlil stars, 23 Anu stars, and 15 Ea stars. This is a serious astronomical attempt to list the major stars in the three

6. On this whole subject see B. L. Van der Waerden, *JNES* 8 (1949) 6–26.

zones, and while there are considerable problems of identifying certain ones, a sufficient number are identifiable so that the general system is clear. The sky visible to the Babylonians was divided into three zones, that of Enlil being the sky nearest the pole, that of Ea being nearest the equator, and the middle band being that of Anu. The date of ^{mul}APIN is uncertain, except that it is unlikely to be so old as Old Babylonian, and the division of the sky which it presumes is first attested in a prayer to the gods of the night from Boğazköy, so c. 1300 B.C. (*KUB IV 47* rev. 46–48 = Weidner, *Handbuch*, pp. 60f.). Another version of this text from the library of Ashurbanipal, published by Oppenheim in *AnBib 12* (1959) 282ff., also contains this reference, but two Old Babylonian copies (see *ZA 43* [1936] 305ff. and *RA 32* [1936] 179ff.) do not have it.

A mere listing of the stars in each zone, such as ^{mul}APIN offers us, has little value in itself for the calendar or astrology. For these purposes selections of the totals were made for specific ends. The system incorporated in *Enūma Eliš* takes one star from each zone for each of the twelve months, thus using 36 from the total number of stars.⁷ Outside the Epic this system is stated in the so-called astrolabe, of which the most elaborate and best-preserved copy comes from the library of Tiglath-pileser I (c. 1100 B.C.). It was first published in translation with a full edition by Weidner in his *Handbuch* pp. 62ff., and the cuneiform text was given later by Schroeder in *KAV*, no. 218. It contains, inter alia, a list of 36 stars (rev. “C”) divided into three columns of twelve each, which correspond with the months of the year. Thus, each line across the three columns contains three stars. The first is “of Ea” (*šu-ut* ^dé-a), the second “of Anu” (*šu-ut* ^da-nim), and the third “of Enlil” (*šu-ut* ^den-líl). So far as the use of this system is concerned, no ancient text offers us any explanation, but very probably the heliacal risings of the three stars for each (lunar) month were supposed to mark the first, tenth, and twentieth day.⁸ This is a schematic thing which was never in fact used to regulate the Babylonian calendar so far as our knowledge goes, and too little is known of it to ascertain if it would in fact have served its purpose. At least there is no question that this system is alluded to in V 3–4.

In addition to the list on *KAV 218*, there is also a menology (“A”) and a commentary on the list (“B”). This commentary explains the mythological aspect of the arrangement of the heavens and the selection of stars. The three zones, as already noted, are assigned to Ea, Anu, and Enlil, or Enlil, Anu, and Ea. This unusual order of the great triad results from conceiving of the 36 stars as an army marching across the sky under its officers. The commander-in-chief, Anu, is in charge of the central battalion, and his two associates, Enlil and Ea, go at either side of him. Thus Anu’s precedence is maintained by his zone’s being the central one. The commentary explains that the Ea star for the first month of the year, Nisan—namely, Ikû—is “leader of the Ea stars.” Ea’s star itself happens to be that of the last month. The other ten in the zone are described as “in front,” “behind,” “to the right,” or “to the left” of Ea. Thus the arrangement within each zone expresses the rank of the god after whom it is named. The Anu zone is similar, though not quite identical. Again there is a leader, the star for the month Nisan, but this happens to be Dilipat, Venus, and no doubt due to her prominence in the

7. The caution must be interposed that star names are apparently not stable, so that the same name in two texts or two periods will not necessarily refer to the same star. The “astrolabe” will not necessarily agree with ^{mul}APIN, but may be derived from a similar but distinct source.

8. Diodorus II 30 6 describes Babylonian astrology as using 30(!) stars divided into two groups, of which one star transfers from the lower to the upper group each ten days. This seems to be a confused reflection of the system of the “astrolabe.”

sky and her marital status as wife of Anu, she is called “the great star” as well as “leader of the Anu stars.” Anu’s star itself is that of the tenth month, and most of the others are said to be in front or behind him. An exception is the star of the last month: “the red star, which, in the south, when the gods of the night are finished, stands in the ‘centre’ of the heavens, that star is Nēberu, Marduk.” Nothing is said of his position in the entourage of Anu. The Enlil zone is similarly organized, except that no leading star occurs, since Enlil’s own star is the one for the month Nisan. Since he controlled that zone in any case, a ceremonial leader of the group could be dispensed with. Thus, the commentary shows the mythological interpretation of the 36 stars, and this in turn reveals a much closer connection with *Enūma Eliš* than the list itself would have shown.

The author of *Enūma Eliš* needed, of course, to have Marduk as commander-in-chief of the heavens. The only change therefore was the suppression of Anu and his replacement with Marduk. Since Marduk’s star was already in Anu’s zone this was a very simple matter, and V 5–8 expresses this clearly. Only two matters require further elaboration, the identity of Marduk’s star⁹ and other modifications of the so-called astrolabe similar to that of the Epic.

The lines of the Epic already referred to make Nēberu Marduk’s star. In Tablet VII 124–32, Nēberu is Marduk’s 49th name, with strongly astronomical connections. Attempts at identifying the star have not yet led to any agreed result. The passage in Tablet VII, which was probably not composed by the author of the Epic, offers more details, which, as A. Schott first pointed out, agree with the descriptions of this star given by the commentary on the “astrolabe” and ^{mul}APIN Tablet I:

I kakkabu sāmu(sa₅) ša ina tīb(zi) šūti(tu₁₅-u₁₈-lu) arki
ilāni^{mes} mūšūtiⁱⁱ ug-da-mi-ru-nim-ma šamê^e BAR-ma izziz^{iz}
kakkabu šū(bi) ^dné-bé-ru ^dmarūtuk

KAV 218 “B” II 29–32

The red star, which in the south, when the gods of the night
are finished, divides the heavens and stands there.
That star is Nēberu, Marduk.

ki-ma kakkabāni^{mes} šu-ut ^den-líl ug-dam-mi-ru-ni (I) kakkabu
rabû šit(ud-da)-su da-²mat šamê^e BAR-ma izziz^{zu^{zu}} kakkab
^dmarūtuk né-bé-ri I ^{mul}sag-me-gar manzās(ki-gub)-su
unakkir(kúr-kúr)^{ir} šamê^e ib-bir

CT 33 2 36–38 = AfO Bh. 24 28

When the stars of Enlil are finished, a big star shining dimly
divides the heavens and stands there. It is the star of Marduk, Nēberu.
Jupiter has changed his station and is crossing the heavens.

The similarity of these passages needs no comment, but the differences must not be forgotten. The “astrolabe” is dealing with the last of the 12 Anu stars, ^{mul}APIN with the 33 stars of Enlil. Thus, Marduk’s star enjoyed a position of centrality in the sky, as is also implicit in Tablet VII 124–32 of the

9. Schott, ZA 43 (1936) 124–45 is still the best contribution on this subject. Further references can be found in ŠL IV/2 nos. 260 and 311. More recent discussions are those of E. Unger, WdO 2 (1954) 454–64, who takes Nēberu as the Milky Way, and of Kinnier Wilson and Landsberger, JNES 20 (1961) 172–74, who prefer the Pole Star. See TIM I no. 4 15 for an early occurrence.

Epic, though this knowledge cannot readily be turned into a simple identification with a star known to modern astronomy.

The modification of the “astrolabe’s” scheme in *Enūma Eliš* is only one chapter of what was probably a long and complicated history. What is known of other chapters can conveniently be summarized here to illustrate the phenomenon in the Epic. Two other sets of thrice twelve stars are known. CT 33 9 = Weidner, *Handbuch*, pp. 102–6 offers twelve stars each for Enlil, Anu, and Ea, apparently selected from ^{mul}APIN or a related source. While it employs some of the same stars as the “astrolabe,” it is generally speaking a totally different arrangement, though presumably it was meant to serve the same purpose. Another list offers twelve stars each for Elam, Akkad, and Amurru. Only late copies are known.¹⁰ From Ashurbanipal’s library K 250 (CT 26 41 v = Weidner, *Handbuch*, p. 16) preserves two of Akkad and a full list of Amurru; K 8067 (CT 26 44 = Weidner, *Handbuch*, p. 21) has seven of Amurru, the full dozen of Akkad, and two of Elam; K 11267 (CT 26 49 = Weidner, *Handbuch*, p. 13) has some of the Akkad stars and part of a third Elamite one. A Late Babylonian fragment from Babylon (LBART 1500) contains some of the Amurru stars. Thus, ten of the Elamite stars are missing in CT 33 9, but the rest are preserved. Since there is an indubitable connection between the “astrolabe” and this set of “geographical” dozens, they are set out in full.

CT 33 9

Month	Elam	Akkad	Amurru
1	[<i>dili-pát</i>]	apin	<i>ikû</i>
2	[mul-mul]	<i>a-nu-ni-tum</i>	šu-gi
3	[ur-gu-la]	sipa-zi-an-na	muš
4	[maš-tab-ba]	u ₄ -al-tar	kak-si-sá
5	[ban]	mar-gíd-da	maš-tab-ba-gal-gal
6	[uga]	šu-pa	bir
7	[en-te-na-bar-LUM]	<i>zi-ba-ni-tum</i>	nin-maḥ
8	gír-tab	ur-idim	lugal
9	[u ₄ -ka-duḥ-a]	ùz	<i>šal-bat-a-nu</i>
10	gu-la	Á ^{mušen}	al-lu ₅
11	n[u-muš-da]	da-mu	šim-maḥ
12	[ku ₆]	<i>né-bé-rum</i>	ka ₅ -a

Middle Assyrian Copy of the Astrolabe
(KAV 218 “C” 1–12)

	Ea	Anu	Enlil
1	<i>ikû</i>	<i>dili-pát</i>	apin
2	mul-mul	šu-gi	<i>a-nu-ni-tum</i>
3	sipa-zi-an-na	ur-gu-la	muš
4	kak-si-sá	maš-tab-ba	šul-pa-è

10. According to van der Waerden, Weidner has “unpublished texts of the same kind, different in some respects from the known texts” (*JNES* 8 [1949] 12¹⁵).

5	ban	maš-tab-ba-gal-gal	mar-gíd-da
6	<i>ka-li-tum</i>	uga	šu-pa
7	nin-maḥ	<i>zi-ba-ni-tum</i>	en-te-na-bar-SIG ₄
8	ur-idim	gír-tab	lugal
9	<i>šal-bat-a-nu</i>	u ₄ -ka-duḥ-a	ùz
10	gu-la	<i>al-lu-ut-tum</i>	Á ^{mušen}
11	nu-muš-da	ším-maḥ	da-mu
12	[k]u ₆	^d marūtuk	ka ₅ -a

Note: u₄-al-tar and šul-pa-è (month 4) are different names of the same star, as are *né-bé-rum* and *marūtuk* in month 12. The differences bir/*ka-li-tum* (month 6) and al-lu₅/*al-lu-ut-tum* (month 10) are purely orthographic.

Where preserved, the “geographical” listing CT 33 9 has the same three stars for each month, but often not in the same column. So, since the Akkad and Amurru stars are completely preserved, those of Elam can be restored from the “astrolabe.” Clearly, the two documents are based on the same materials, but the one, to serve the aim of fixing the calendar, arranges the stars by the zones of the sky; the other, with unknown purpose, uses the same three for each month, but arranges them into different dozens. There is certainly nothing to suggest, as some scholars have held, that the “astrolabe” is a later document which has simply rearranged the stars of the other list.

Although the other lists existed and were handed down among scribes, the “astrolabe” is still the best-known to us. Ashurbanipal’s library has yielded three fragments in diagrammatic form; two appear to be parts of the same tablet, see CT 33 11–12 and Weidner, *Handbuch*, pp. 62ff. The heavens are shown on what corresponds to a polar projection as three concentric circles, with lines radiating like the spokes of a wheel to mark off the twelve segments of the three zones. Enlil’s is the central band, Anu’s the middle, and Ea’s the outer. The month name in each segment is written just inside the outer circle, and the star-names are written in their respective compartments. In the outer bands, numbers, whose significance is outside the purpose of the present study, accompany the names. The ten preserved names agree with the list in KAV 218 except that the tenth star of the Ea circle is Ur-Gula, not Gula, probably due to a scribal error. Externally, this is simply a rearrangement of the material so that the 36 stars are presented in concentric circles rather than in parallel columns. Yet, with the information obtained from the commentary on the “astrolabe” we are justified in asking if any theological aspect is altered by the different presentation. The common order with Anu in the middle, by its very deviation from the sequence of the great triad in other contexts, compels the assumption that it was chosen expressly to indicate the preeminence of Anu. But this only holds when the 36 stars are presented in parallel columns. The arrangement in circles, which more accurately portrays what was conceived than a dome-shaped heaven, gives expression to a different hierarchical order. The centre of power has now moved to the Enlil zone as the pivot on which all revolve. Theologically, this is understandable, since Anu’s supremacy was always somewhat nominal. Enlil in practice wielded greater power.

Two Late Babylonian copies of lists of the “Zwölfmaldrei” have survived. One, TCL 6 13 (cf. ZA 32 [1918] 69–72) is from the Seleucid period and is said to come from Uruk. The tablet is broken and it is not clear just why the 36 stars are listed. Those of Ea are completely gone. The Anu list is

damaged in the middle, at the very point where it certainly differed from KAV 218, though the stars involved do not suggest that any great importance is to be attached to the divergence. The Enlil list is complete. There is one difference from the version of KAV 218 that should be mentioned: Marduk's star has changed places with the corresponding star in the Enlil zone. Theologically, this is nothing unexpected. The whole trend is to put Marduk in place of Enlil in Late Babylonian times. So long as the "astrolabe" was interpreted in favour of Anu, Marduk could stay in that zone, but once the emphasis was placed on Enlil, Marduk's position had to be transferred to the highest zone. The other Late Babylonian text is from Babylon itself: LBART 1499,¹¹ also from the Seleucid period. This gives a list like KAV 218, except that numbers accompany the stars, the same numbers that appear for the two outer zones in the Ashurbanipal fragments, and there is no mention of Anu, Enlil, or Ea. Knowledge of the gods presiding over the zones is no doubt presumed. After the list, a series of 36 omens follow, one for each star. This second occurrence of each star name is useful as it permits a couple of scribal errors to be corrected. As between this list and the Middle Assyrian one, there are two differences. The first is that Marduk's star and the corresponding one of the Enlil zone have been switched, exactly as in the Uruk text. The second is that the stars in the zones of Anu and Enlil have all been pushed one month forward. A theological explanation again suggests itself. Traditionally, Enlil had led in his own zone, since his star was the one for the month Nisan. When his zone became the leading one, his prominence was all the greater for this fact. The leading star in the Anu zone, Venus or Ištar, was also a great power in the religious world of the time. By moving round the two groups of stars to the next month, at one stroke Enlil and Ištar were removed from their leading positions and Marduk took Enlil's.

It must be admitted that the interpretation of the changes in the various copies of the "astrolabe" just offered are not susceptible of proof. There are no commentaries on the late copies, and even if there were, they would certainly not explain the differences from earlier texts. But circumstantially the case is strong. The commentary on the earliest copy puts beyond doubt the mythological significance of the precise arrangement of the 36 stars. *Enūma Eliš* very clearly takes over this scheme and makes one small modification by which Marduk replaced Anu as the leader of all. Astronomically, there is no explanation of the changes in the later copies. Little is known of the details of the astronomical basis for this use of 36 stars, so our inability to explain the changes on astronomical grounds is not fatal. But the schematic nature of the whole thing, and the lack of evidence that it ever served its intended purpose, invite consideration of other approaches. If the calendar was not in fact regulated by this scheme, it would be natural for the ancient scholars to take more interest in its religious aspects, and since virtually all the changes affect points involving theology, this is the most reasonable explanation of them. If there were some other motivation, it would have to be considered a remarkable coincidence that Marduk's star principally was involved.

The Epic itself shows one other way of exalting Marduk within this scheme. One small fragment of Tablet V, K 13774, has been corrected from an astronomical standpoint differing from that of the author of the Epic. In line 8, he replaced Ea with Anu, making Marduk leader of the Ea zone. Reasons

11. This is presumably one of the two sources from which Pinches in *JRAS* 1900 571ff. restored the Ashurbanipal copies, but, if so, it is curious that he made no mention of its big divergence from the other copies. Another Late Babylonian text contains some of the 36: A 3427 in *ZA* 51 (1955) 238ff. This is from Uruk and agrees with the copy from Babylon so far as it can be compared.

for such a change are not hard to conceive. As son of Ea, Marduk inherited the traditions of Eridu, and all our sources name Ikû the leading star of Ea's zone. That star is commonly explained as the heavenly Babylon in astrological texts. No doubt the scribe responsible for the text of K 13774 made other alterations too in his thrice twelve, but they are unknown to us.

The Phases of the Moon

After the year was fixed by the organization of the 36 stars, Marduk next turned his attention to the month. Nannar, the moon-god, was appointed and given instructions in Tablet V 15–26. For the first six days, the moon is to shine with “horns” until, on the 7th, his crown is half-size. The next day mentioned is the 15th of the month (*šapattu*), the day of the full moon, when opposition with the sun takes place. When this happens, the moon is instructed to go through its previous growth in reverse. The next day mentioned is the *ūm bubbulum*, here probably the 29th, when the moon is to approach the path of Šamaš again, so that on the 30th a second meeting takes place.

Nature of course only provides one dividing point in the month, the day of the full moon, and all kinds of further divisions were in use at one time or other in ancient Mesopotamia. It would be pointless to list them here when they are so well dealt with by B. Landsberger in his *Kultische Kalender*. There are, however, three formal expositions of the phases of the moon, which deserve consideration: (a) a theological paragraph found in two contexts; (b) the series *i-NAM giš-ḫur an-ki-a*; and (c) a paragraph on an astrological tablet from Late Babylonian times.

(a) This paragraph occurs as a section of an astrological compendium, K 250+ (CT 26 41 vi 16ff.; see Weidner, *Handbuch*, 17–18 and *AfO* 19 [1959/60] 110 for a more nearly complete text). Also, it appears within a fragment of a god-list, K 2074. The published copy, III R 55 no. 3, does not indicate that this is a right-hand portion of a tablet of more than one column each side, and it omits the remains of the first two preserved lines:

[šū.nigin . .] x 4 mu ^{meš} d[. . .]	[Total of . .] . 4 names of [. . .]
[šá] ^d a-nu-ú-ti-[šú]	[of his] Anuship.

This is the summing-up of the preceding god's names; cf. CT 25 9 11 and 10 33 for the style. III R also omits the ends of three lines of another column on the left, all of which offer whole or part of “30”, no doubt to be restored [d]30, “Sîn”, the right-hand sub-column of a god-list. The published portion clearly heads a list of Sîn names, which shows that the fragment is a reverse piece. The theological paragraph precedes the beginning of a conventional list of Sîn names, agreeing so far as preserved—the first four—with An = *Anum* (KAV 51). This fragment of a god-list is somehow related to another similar piece, K 2115 (CT 25 28), a fragment which probably belong to the same tablet as K 4338b (CT 24 19)+15160 (dup. K 7663+11035, CT 24 9 and 25 7). K 2115 also offers the remains of the beginning of a Sîn list, but the last line of the theological paragraph is inserted as the second line. The following is the text of the paragraph from K 2074, with the variants—purely orthographic—of K 250+ at the end:

[I 3]0 ina tāmarti (igi-lá)-šú ta ud-1-kam en ud-5-kam
 ʿ5ʿ u₄-mi u₄-sakar(SAR) ^da-nu-um

ta ud-6-kam en ud-10-kam 5 u₄-mi
ka-li-tum ^dé-a
ta ud-11-kam en ud-15-kam
5 u₄-mi aga taš-ri-iḫ-ti ip-pir-ma ^den-líl
^d30 ^da-nu ^den-líl u ^dé-a par-šu-šu
(^da-num; ka-li-tú; ^da-num; omit u; par-šu-šú; kám passim)

During Sîn's visibility, from the 1st to the 5th day—five days—
he is a crescent, Anu. From the 6th to the 10th—five days—he
is a kidney, Ea. From the 11th to the 15th day—five days—he
wears a glorious crown, Enlil. Sîn's functions are Anu, Enlil, and Ea.

One purpose of this paragraph is to give the names of Sîn for the 3 five-day periods specified, and this is how it came to be incorporated in a god-list. A passage in an inscription of Nabonidus quoted below expressly calls one of the phrases Sîn's name. But exactly what are the names? Landsberger in his *Kultische Kalender* 97³ construed the phrases after each specification of "five days" as the names. No doubt this is correct in its delimiting the names, but the grammatical construction of them is not given. With Weidner it is best to construe them as appositions: "A crescent—Anu", "A kidney—Ea", "He wears a glorious crown—Enlil". The first part of each describes the appearance of Sîn during the specified period; the second is the name of the deity whose function (*paršu*) Sîn assumes during the periods. The two together are names of Sîn for these periods. The concept of a god changing his name with the changing seasons, days, or even hours is well attested elsewhere; for example, the names of Marduk on the way to the Akītu house (see RA 91 [1997] 79–80, dup. BM 38706+39843 on Pl. 41).

The importance of this fragment for *Enūma Eliš* lies both in its showing another possibility of dividing the first half of the month—the second half is neglected in both cases— and in the fact that K 13774, apparently a fragment of Tablet V, substitutes Anu for Ea in line 8 and inserts the theological fragment, save for the opening and closing phrases, after line 16. Unfortunately, the fragment breaks off before one can observe if this was a simple insertion, or if lines 17 and 18 were suppressed. The date of the theological paragraph cannot of course be determined with accuracy. Weidner, following Schott, was of the opinion that the whole category of texts to which it belongs was compiled in Sargonid Assyria. Though there is no question that the same techniques were known and used in Sargonid Assyria, we prefer to regard the text as Babylonian in origin, and would not exclude a date as early as 1000 B.C.

(b) The series *i-NAM giš-ḫur an-ki-a* was likewise considered a product of Late Assyrian scribes by Schott, Weidner, and van der Waerden. Though its lateness is not in dispute, the present writer prefers to regard it as a Babylonian work, and the existence of a Late Babylonian fragment, unknown to these authors, can be quoted in favour of this idea. See now A. Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works* (Oxford, 1986; reprinted, Winona Lake, 2007), pp. 17–33. Like many other late mystical texts, it is a compilation of diverse yet related paragraphs. If one of our suggestions made below is correct, in the edition from the school of Nabû-zuqup-kēna, it consisted of four chapters (*pirsu*), of which the second and fourth are badly preserved, while the first and third are all but gone. The second chapter is published and edited by Weidner in *Babyloniaca* 6 (1912) 8ff. and is devoted in its entirety to explaining the phases of the moon. It begins by citing the first line of Tablet XIV of

Enūma Anu Enlil, the tablet devoted to the waxing and waning of the moon (see AfO 14 [1941/44] 317–18). Lines 2–10 describe the phases of the moon but are badly broken. The days of the month listed are: 7th, 14th, 15th, 21st, 27th, 28th, and *ūm bubbulum*, probably the 29th.¹² This, it will be observed, agrees with *Enūma Eliš* rather than with the astrological fragment, though it is more detailed. The following sections take up certain days in detail. The 7th first receives attention:

- 11 ud-7-[kám agû ma-á]š-la bar = b̄à(30); b̄à = za-a-zu b̄à = pa-r[a-su]
 12 b̄à = [ba-an-t]u; b̄à = mi-šil; b̄à-b̄à = mi-šil meš-[li]
 13 30(b̄à) [a-rá 30] = 15; 15 a-rá 4 = 60; 60(1) = ^da-num; im-bi = GURUN [(. .)]

Here, we have the reason why *i-NAM giš-ḥur an-ki-a* agrees with *Enūma Eliš*: it quotes V 17 and so is directly dependent. The aim of the exposition here is to show that the days of the month used in *Enūma Eliš*—the 1st, 7th, and 15th—have a mystical connection. It starts from the 7th day, the “half crown” according to the Epic. The ordinary equivalent of *mašlu* would be bar, but since this refers to Sîn, the expositor takes the variant form b̄à, which also happens to be the numeral 30, Sîn’s mystical number. Next, he quotes two lexical passages showing, first, that b̄à means “divide” or “separate,” and second, that it also means “half.” Then, whether from the two equivalents of b̄à quoted, or from common knowledge that two halves make a whole, he sets down “half, half,” and by using the Semitic construct state interprets this as “half of half.” This half is already the number 30, so the result of the division is 15. Thus 7 is related to 15, *quod erat demonstrandum*. Now if half of half is 15, the whole is $4 \times 15 = 60$. The numeral 60 is also the numeral 1. Anu’s mystical number is 60, and on the first day of the month, according to a later statement of this text, Sîn is Anu. Thus, the first day is connected with the 7th and the 15th. The final equation gives a phonetic writing on *inbu* “Fruit” (a title of Sîn) and the ideographic writing of the same title. Probably, we are to restore GURUN (*bēl arḥim*). This would identify Sîn on the first night of the month with Anu, since Anu has already been equated with “one,” and “Fruit” as a title of Sîn occurs particularly in the name of a series “Fruit, lord of the (new) month.”

- 15 bu-ūm-bu-[l]i; bu (gíd) = na-sa-ḥu
 16 úm (ud) = ú-mu; bu-lì = šu-ta-as-su-ḥu
 17 ta-as-su-uḥ-tum = ta-lit-tum
 18 u₄-mu i-lit-ti ^d30 ki-i dug₄-ga-ú

In the first case, by taking the root ná from the Sumerian equivalent for *bubbulum*, the expositor shows that it means: “the day of the renewal of Sîn, the firstborn of Enlil”. In the second case, the syllables with which the Akkadian word is written are taken as Sumerian roots and *bubbulum* is shown to mean: “the day of the birth of Sîn”. This explanation is cited from an unnamed source.

The final chapter of *i-NAM giš-ḥur an-ki-a* is preserved on K 170+. ¹³ It was a small, oblong tablet and the beginnings of each line are broken off. Only the first section (ll. 1–4) interests us here. A

12. According to *Inbu bēl arḥim* (Landsberger, *Kultische Kalender* 141) the 28th is the *bubbulum* of Nergal and the 29th that of Sîn. However, from the lines of the Epic one can only deduce that it was earlier than the 30th day. A later text, quoted below, puts the combined activity of Sîn and Šamaš on the 27th. From the title of a Sumerian text quoted in an Old Babylonian catalogue (WZJ 6 [1954/55] 389 10): u₄-30 u₄-ná-a, it seems that the *bubbulum* was the 30th day in earlier times.

13. The copy of King in CT 25 50 should be compared with that of Delitzsch, *Lesestücke*¹ pp. 39–40.

rubric (line 5) explains . . .] x mu-didli ^den:zu-na-ke₄ “. . .] the names of Sîn”. The question is raised whether the catch-line of the third chapter, which is preserved on K 2670 (III R 2 xxii; cf. Bezold, *Catalogue*) is not to be restored as the beginning of the last chapter, which will in that case be the fourth. The catch-line reads: I gurun ^rd30' áš-šú [. . . “Fruit means Sîn because [. . .], and this can be restored as the beginning of K 170+:

- 1 [I gurun ^den:z]u mu ^da-num im-bu-ú mu-^rni' mu ib an' a ne
[gi]š' bi ki-lal-la-an igi-du₈-a ud-1-kam u₄-sakar ^da-num
2 . . .]aḫ-pa ár-ḫu; li-iḫ-ḫu ár-ḫu; liḫ-ḫu maš-l[um]. ka-ra ga-na-te-nu-ú;
ka-ru = ṭa-pa-la; ga-na = a-šà. maš-lu₄ aga ud-7-kam ka₁₅-lit ^dé-a
3 . . . ^d3]0 en eš-bar; e-šú = 30, 2; e-ni = be-el; [3]0 a-rá 30 = 15; a-pa-ru
aga ud-15-kam šu₄ ^den-líl
4 . . . ^dB]E' ta-lim ^dé-a. na-an-nu = šeš; t[a]-lim = šeš; íd = na-a-ru; na-a-ra = ^dBE

If the restoration of the first line is correct, the section begins clearly enough. At the beginning of the month, Sîn is called “Fruit” (*inbu*) “because Anu called (*imbû*) his name”. Lines 1–3 each end with a combination of the days of *Enûma Eliš* (1st, 7th, and 15th) and the descriptions of Sîn from the theological paragraph, though in their original context these refer to five-day periods, not to single days. So much is clear; the rest is partly obscure. No doubt the middle of line 1 leads from “Fruit” (if correctly restored) to “crescent” (*uskaru*, *askaru*), but it is obscure. The “both” might refer to the two horns of the crescent, but the preceding sign but one does not seem to allow a reading [s]i-bi “its horns”. Line 2 leads from “crescent” to “half crown”. The second part is clear. The latter part of *uskaru*, *karu*, leads to the sign KÁRA (sign-name: *ganatenû*, “diagonal gána”), then the sign value kára is repeated with the rendering *ṭa-pa-la* (“to damage”). This is a reputable lexical equation, perhaps taken from *Aa* or *Ea* (MSL XIV 186). Next, the Sumerian gána “field” and its Akkadian rendering *eqlu* are given. This is cheating by modern standards, since only the sign gána, not diagonal gána, has this meaning. But such things did not disturb the ancient mind, and since “field” also means “area” in geometry, the “damage of the area” as applied to Sîn’s crown is, apparently, the technique of reaching “half crown”: a damaged crown. From this second part of the line, one might expect the first half to deal with the syllable *us-* or *as-*, but if so it is not apparent how the surviving words are derived from it. There are equations based on *liṭṭu* and *arḫu*. The former word is of unknown derivation and meaning, but evidently there was a play on the homophones *arḫu* “(first of the) month” and *arḫu* “half-brick”, as seems to occur in another text of this genre: . . .] x ár-ḫa-a-tú : ár-ḫi : iti : sig₄ (BM 37055 obv. 4). Thus *arḫu* “half-brick” served to connect *arḫu* “first of the month” with the 7th day, the day of Sîn’s half crown.¹⁴

14. The play on “half” as a name of Sîn is already presumed in Tablet II of *Ea* in the Middle Assyrian copy:

I si-in 30 = ^d30
I ba-a 30 = K.LMIN mi-iš-lu
MSL XIV 254 165–67, cf. 284 169–71

There is no conceivable reason why the value bā with the meaning “half” should be connected with Sîn apart from number speculation. In this context, “20” for Šamaš precedes and “40” for Ea follows, so there is no doubt. The Old Babylonian examples of the name Sur-Sunabu show that the mystical numbers of the gods were already in use. It occurs in column iv of the *Meissner Fragment* of the Gilgameš Epic written *su-ur-su-na-bu*, and the late edition writes it ^mur-40, a writing explained in V R 44 iii 48 as ^mamēl-^dé-a. The very name-type itself requires the name of a deity, and *sunabu* is another spelling of *šanabi*, ²/₃ (of 60), i.e., 40.

Line 3 leads up to the 15th day, but its starting premise is lacking. In what is left, a description of Sîn as “lord of the decision” is the basis for reaching the number 15. The gap is bridged by taking the numerical value of the sign EŠ, “30”, and dividing it by 2. This is a repetition of the technique of lines 12–13 of an earlier section of this work (see above), and again it is not really clear how the 2 is obtained. Also, the point of explaining the sign EN as *bēl* is unclear. Thus, the first three lines connect 1st, 7th, and 15th. The last line of the section is probably connecting the three gods who have been identified with Sîn. The surviving part is based on what is probably a quotation: “Enlil (?) brother of Ea”. This makes sense since both gods are, in different contexts, described as “son of Anu”. Next, the compiler has probably invented a pair of lexical equations, the latter of which is clear in that two words for “brother” are identified. The first apparently explains Sîn’s name Nanna by equation with the Sumerian *šeš*. This may be a perversion of ŠEŠ.KI, the common Sumerian writing of the name Nanna. The last two equations of the line seem to identify Ea and Enlil. “River” (Sum. *íd*, Akk. *nāru*), which suggests Ea, god of the waters, can in the Akkadian term be equated with *Narru*, a name of Enlil (BWL 88 276 and note on p. 310).

A passage in a Harran inscription of Nabonidus is related to the theological paragraph and its development in *i-NAM giš-ḥur an-ki-a*:

- 14 . . . ^d30 *bēlu šá ilāni^{mes} šá ina ud-1-kám*
 15 KU ^d*a-num zi-kir-šu šamê^e ta-laḫ-pa-tú*
 16 *u eršetim^{tim} ta-ḫe-ep-ḫu-ú ḫa-mi-im paraš(garza)*
 17 ^d*a-nù-ú-tú mu-gam-mi-ir paraš(garza) ^den-líl-ú-tú*
 18 *le-qu-ú pa-ra-aš ^dé-a-ú-ti . . .*

AnSt 8 (1958) 60, text of H2.A; variants of H2B: *bēl ili; ud-1-kam; zi-kir-šu; ta-ḫe-ep-ḫu-u; ^da-nù-tú; mu-gam-mi-ru pa-ra-aš; le-qu-u garza ^didim-ú-tu.*

- 14 . . . Sîn, lord of the gods, whose name on the first day
 15 is “Crescent (?), Anu”, which /you who disturb heaven and
 16 shatter earth/underworld, who holds the function of
 17 Anuship, who controls the function of Enlilship,
 18 who lays hold on the function of Eaship . . .

(The sign KU in 15, as seen by von Soden apud Röllig, ZA 56 [1964] 231, must stand for *uskaru*, though there seems to be no other evidence of this. The two phrases in the subjunctive are difficult in having either a third-person feminine or second-person masculine subject of the verbs. Either Sîn is suddenly addressed in the second person, or perhaps *uskaru* is here feminine.)

This passage agrees with *i-NAM giš-ḥur an-ki-a* against the theological paragraph in assigning to Sîn the function of Anu on the first day, not for the first five days, but the spelling out of Sîn’s appropriation of the functions of Anu, Enlil, and Ea reads like a paraphrase of the last line of the theological paragraph, which is lacking from *i-NAM giš-ḥur an-ki-a*. Either the learned compiler of this royal inscription had access to both these texts, or he used documents which no longer survive.

This series *i-NAM giš-ḥur an-ki-a* is of course posterior to *Enūma Eliš*, though some at least of this kind of speculation goes back quite a long way. It is valuable as showing how *Enūma Eliš* was used by the ancient scholars and also as illustrating the significance attached to the division of the month.

(c) The obverse of TCL 6 14 lacks the beginning but sets in with the end of a section dealing with the phases of the moon. The text is given followed by the translation of A. Sachs (JCS 6 [1952] 67):

. . . ká]m bar ḪAB-rat ud-[. . .
 . . .] ud-28-kám ud-ná-a ḪAB-rat i-[ra-bi]
 . . .] x ud-8-kám bar ḪAB-rat ud-16-kám ḪAB-rat x [(x)]
 . . . ḪAB-ra]t ud-28-kám ud-ná-a ḪAB-rat i-ra-b[i]

 . . . (on) the . .]th day: half of the lunar disc. (On) the [. .th] day : [. . .
 . . .] (On) the 28th day, the day-when-the-moon-disappears: the lunar disc is not [visible].
 . . .] (On) the 8th day: half of the lunar disc. (On) the 16th day: the lunar disc . [.]
 [(On) the . . th day: half of the lunar] disc. (On) the 28th day, the day-when-the-moon-disappears:
 the lunar disc is not visible.

The striking thing here is the use of the 8th and 16th instead of the 7th and 15th days, as in the sources hitherto examined. In a civilization lacking means for precise measurement of the lunar disc, the phenomenon is not surprising, but mathematically it is unexpected. Half of 30 is 15, not 16.

The three sources just examined show that a variety of systems of the phases of the moon were in use in ancient Mesopotamia, and we do not know why the author of *Enūma Eliš* chose the 1st, 7th, and 15th days. Cultic reasons may have been a factor. During the Third Dynasty of Ur, these three days were èš-èš festivals, and by the Old Babylonian period, the 25th had been added to them (see *CAD eššešu*). The Old Babylonian *Atra-ḫasis* (I 206–7) reports Enki as proposing to establish a “washing” on the 1st, 7th, and 15th (*i-na ar-ḫi se-bu-ti ù ša-pa-at-ti*), and an Old Babylonian letter-writer instructs his correspondent: “observe the 1st, 7th, and 15th as you have been shown” (*ar-ḫa-am se-bu-ta-am ù ša-pa-at-tam ki-ma ku-ul-lu-ma-a-ta šu-ul-li-im*: TCL 1 50 28–31). From an earlier period (probably), the Lugalannemundu text in the course of describing the building and fitting out of a temple mentions the same three days in a broken list (*iti ud-7 ud-15-kam gál x x* [: PBS V 75 iii 7 = ZA 42 [1934] 42). Presumably, the reference is again cultic. Thus, whatever the reason of the author of *Enūma Eliš*, there are plenty of precedents.

The instruction about the phases of the moon conclude with details of Šîn’s activity with Šamaš at the time of the conjunction (V 23–26). Together, they were to act as judges in the underworld and to issue decrees which could also affect the living. This remarkable idea is found elsewhere. First, a Sumerian lament in which a son wishes his father well in the underworld:

^dutu en’ gal a-ra-li-ke₄
 ki ku₁₀-ku₁₀ u₄-šè ù-mu-ni-in-ku₄ di-ku₅-zu ì-ku₅-dè
^dnanna-a u₄-ná-a nam-zu ḫé-tar-re

Kramer, *Two Elegies on a Pushkin Museum Tablet* (Moscow, 1960) 18 88–90

Utu, great lord of the nether regions,
 After turning the dark places to daylight will judge your case.
 May Nanna decree your destiny on “the day of rest”.

It is not certain that the activities of the two gods were looked upon as contemporaneous, but certainly Nanna’s work alluded to here is the same as spoken of in the Epic. A later example occurs in an Akkadian *šulla*:

bubbulu(ud-ná-àm) u₄-um ta-mit-ti-ka pi-riš-ti ilāni^{mes} rabûti^[mes]
 Ebeling, *Handerhebung* 6 17

The *bubbulu* is the day or your oracle, a secret of the great gods.

A combined judgment of Sîn and Šamaš is known from a few passages, e.g.: “[At the] appearing of Sîn the gods assemble and kings bring their pure offerings and make obeisance. They wait for Nannaru-Sîn to settle or overthrow the lands, to set at peace or war. Apart from Sîn and Šamaš no other god in heaven answers ‘Yea’. Sîn without Šamaš does not . . . in heaven. Without Šamaš sceptre, throne, and rule . . . is not given to a king and his land” (KAR 19 obv.(!) 6ff. = Or. NS 23 [1954] 210). An Old Babylonian copy of a Sumerian hymn to Enlil uses the terms *i-du tu* and *i-dnanna* as cries of the oppressed (ZA 50 [1958] 78²), and the lexical series *Izi = išātu* lists the two in the same section with Akkadian translation, *iutû* and *inannû* (MSL XIII 161 22–28). These passages, it is true, do not limit the judgments to a particular time of the month, but when Sîn and Šamaš together are concerned, the middle or the end of the month seems the only possible time. A passage in Esarhaddon’s inscriptions probably assumes meetings of the two deities on both occasions:

^d[sîn u ^dšam]aš ilāni^{meš} maš-šu-ú-te áš-[šu d]e-en kit-te ù
 mi-šá-ri a-n[a māti] u niši^{meš} šá-ra-ku arhi-š[a]m-ma ḥar-ra-an
 kit-te ù mi-šá-ri šab-tu-ma ud-[x]-kám ud-14-kám ú-[s]a-di-ru ta-mar-tú
 Borger, *Asarhaddon* 2 31–38

[Sîn and] Šamaš, the twin gods, to grant just and righteous
 judgment to the peoples took the road of justice and righteousness
 monthly and coordinated their appearance on the [x]th and the 14th days.

A variety of aspects of judgment is expressed in the passages quoted: judgment of the dead, decisions affecting the course of human history, and answers to the petitions of individual sufferers. The lines of the Epic are so damaged that no sure decision can be taken, but from what remains it seems that only the last aspect was used. This is not surprising since the dead have no part in the Epic, and to allow the sun and moon to decree the course of history would have taken something from Marduk’s prestige.

The Duties of the Sun

These were set forth in lines 27–46 of Tablet V, apart from the activity with Sîn just discussed. Unfortunately, only the beginnings of the lines remain, and all that can be learned is that the watches of day and night were dealt with.

The Organization of the Earth

The section dealing with Marduk’s arrangement of the lower part of Tiāmat’s body is both briefer than that about heaven, and fewer parallels can be adduced. This is a not unexpected phenomenon, as the organization of heaven was a traditional topic of mythology, as demonstrated, though none of the examples has any connection with Tiāmat’s body. Thus, in *Enūma Eliš* the only part of the body named in connection with the heavens is Tiāmat’s belly (*kabattu*: V 11), where Marduk located the height of heaven. The organization of earth was much more an invention of the author of the Epic, and here all the parts of Tiāmat’s body turn up: head, eyes, nostrils, udder, and tail. So far as the present writer has been able to find, only the eyes are mentioned elsewhere. According to V 55

of the Epic, the Euphrates and Tigris flow from Tiāmat's eyes. The expository text KAR 307, which has verbal reminiscences of the Epic, offers the extra detail as to which river came from which eye: ^didiglat(hal-hal) inē^{II} imitti(15)-šá ^dpurattu^{ki} inē^{II} šumēli(150)-šá (rev. 3). An astronomical text in speaking of Cancer also knows that on the astral plans the Tigris is “right” and the Euphrates “left”: I ^{mul}al.lu₅ nār ^dnin-gír-su kakkab-šú mahṛú^u šá imitti(15) ^didiglat šá šumēli(150) ^dpurattu (VAT 9436 ii 8–9: AfO 14 [1941/44] pl. xvi). Since there is every reason to suppose that expository writers were conversant with the astronomical literature, it is quite possible that the passage in KAR 307 is a combination of *Enūma Eliš* and the astronomical datum. If this is so, it constitutes no independent testimony to the sources' identification with the eyes of Tiāmat.

The Organization of the Pantheon

Marduk's organization of the gods is presented in the Epic as no less an achievement than his creative work. First, the Anunnaki are divided into two groups: 300 are assigned as guards in heaven, and 300 in the underworld, a total of 600 (VI 39–44). In gratitude, the Anunnaki build Babylon for Marduk, and when this is finished, the scene of his final glorification is set by the 50 great gods taking their seats therein and by the appointment, or confirmation, of seven destiny-decreeing gods (VI 80–81). So far as the Epic is concerned, there are two flies in the ointment. The first is that VI 69 offers a divergent number and nomenclature of the main groups. It ascribes “300 Igigi” to heaven, and “600” (sc. Anunnaki) to the Apsû, a total of 900. The difficulty is solved in that the offending line must be deleted as a gloss. It is a single line in a context written solidly in couplets, and it has no metre. Also, its source is known: it is based on the topography of Babylon which records that the city contained “300 daises for the Igigi and 600 for the Anunnaki”: 5 gîš bára ^dgî-gî u 600(geš'u) bára an-nun-na-ki (BTT p. 68, 85).

A difficulty not so easily dealt with is the conflicting terminology in lines whose authenticity is in no doubt. To take one example only, and from the same tablet, Marduk in VI 20 asks the Anunnaki who was guilty of provoking the conflict, and in VI 27 “the Igigi, the great gods,” reply. Light on this problem can only come from a historical study of similar material.

The closest approach to the organization of the pantheon in the Epic occurs in an Emesal litany as known from both unilingual and bilingual late copies:

đim-me-er an-na đim-me-er ki-a <i>ilāni^{meš} šá šamê^e ilāni^{meš} šá eršetim^[tūm]</i>	Gods of heaven, gods of underworld,
đim-me-er gal-gal-la ninnu-ne-ne <i>ilāni^{meš} rabûti^{meš} ha-am-šat-su-nu</i>	The 50 great gods,
đim-me-er nam-tar-ra imin-ne-ne <i>ilāni^{meš} ši-ma-a-ti si-bit-ti-šú-nu</i>	The seven gods of destinies,
^d a-nun-na an-na mu-uš-5-bi <i>^da-nun-na-ki šá šamê^e 5 šu-ši</i>	The 300 Anunnaki of heaven,
^d a-nun-na ki-a mu-uš-10-bi <i>^da-nun-na-ku ša er-še-tum ne-e-er-šú-nu</i>	The 600 Anunnaki of underworld.

SBH p. 135 III 23ff. restored by p. 92 21ff. and p. 87 32ff. = SBP 164 32ff.

The only difference from *Enūma Eliš* is that the lower group, as in the topography, number 600. This is, of course, a traditional text, so that no precise date of composition can be ascertained. There is, however, one Old Babylonian copy, and for the lines quoted it offers only:

d̄im-me-er an-na dingir ki-a	Gods of heaven, gods of underworld,
^d a-nun-na an-na súg-súg-ge-eš	The Anunnaki of heaven are present,
^d a-nun-na ki-a súg-súg-ge-eš	The Anunnaki of underworld are present.

CT 42 pl. 5 v 40–42

Thus, it is only the post-Old Babylonian form of this litany which comes so close to *Enūma Eliš*.

In religious texts generally, mentions of the 50 great gods and the seven destiny-decreeing gods are rare. The only others known to the present writer occur in the Sumerian myth of Enlil and Ninlil:

dingir-gal-gal ninnu-ne-ne	The 50 great gods,
dingir-nam-tar-ra imin-na-ne-ne	The seven gods of destinies.

H. Behrens, *Enlil and Ninlil* (Rome, 1978) ll. 56–57

and in a Late Old Babylonian copy of an incantation:

dingir-gal-gal-e-ne ninnu-^ra¹-ne-ne, dingir nam-tar imin-ne-ne
OECT V 19 36–37

The “fifty gods” are mentioned in two broken and unhelpful Akkadian contexts: a small religious fragment from Ashurbanipal’s libraries (] ^ra¹-š̄ir ilāni^{meš} ḥa-^ram¹-š̄at-su-nu ina x [: Rm 401 3) and a Late Babylonian fragment of an expository text (ilāni^{meš} ḥa-am-š̄at-su-nu gi-mir d̄u-a-bi-^rš̄u-nu¹ x [: BM 46372 rev. 2). The same seven gods of destinies are almost certainly meant by “the Seven great Anunnaki” (*ra-bu-tum* ^da-nun-na-ku si-bi-it-tam) in *Atra-ḥasīs* I 5, though it is less certain that “the Anunnaki, the seven judges” (^da-nun-na di-ku₅ imin-bi: JCS 5 [1951] 8 163) in the Sumerian *Descent of Inanna* are the same seven. The Old Babylonian personal name *se-ba-^di-gi₄-gi₄* (*Bagh. Mitt.* 4 [1968] pl. 43 no. 66) is also relevant.

The problems of the Igigi and Anunnaki are more complex and extensive, covering their numbers and identities. Articles by Falkenstein and Kienast in *AS* 16 127ff. and 141ff. have presented much of the evidence and offered interpretations. Two articles by von Soden (*CRRA* XI [1964] 102ff. and *Iraq* 28 [1966] 140ff.) are more concerned with interpretation. The Sumerian evidence is clear and unambiguous: the Anunnaki are all the great gods generally, while Sumerian passages for Igigi (^dnun-gal-e-ne), being late and few, are probably under Akkadian influence. The Akkadian evidence is not uniform, and its interpretation is still disputed. At first, in the Old Babylonian period, “Anunnaki” is used in the Sumerian sense to cover all the major deities of the pantheon, but later it is certainly restricted in some cases at least to the underworld gods. Igigi, according to Kienast and others, is first a synonym of Anunnaki, but later, when contrasted with Anunnaki as underworld gods, it is used for the gods of heaven. There are many middle and late passages which present Igigi and Anunnaki in parallelism, and Kienast tends to interpret them as offering synonymous parallelism when there is no clear indication of a distinction between them. Von Soden holds that Igigi and Anunnaki are often to be distinguished in the Old Babylonian period, and he suggests that at this time the Igigi may be a small group of from eight to ten of the most important members of the pantheon while later they are often a large group, the gods of heaven.

The evidence for a small group of Igigi is not extensive or convincing. The clearest item is the lexical equation of Igigi and *iširtum* (“the Ten”); see the note on *Enūma Eliš* I 103. However, this is immediately preceded by the equation of Kuribba and Iširtum, and there seems to be no other evidence whatsoever to support this. Elsewhere, the name ^dkur-ra-í b-ba (with orthographic variations) is the name of a single deity. Also, the lexical entry was misunderstood even in the ancient world, since it is taken over in *Malku* = Šarru in a context of words for “shrine”. Thus, one cannot use this passage as evidence that generally in Akkadian texts the Igigi numbered ten. All kinds of rare and exotic items are attested in lexical texts only. Two passages in *Antagal* are even less sure evidence:

ú-sa 8 = ^dḫ-[gì-gì]
 [i-]lim 9 = ^da-nun-na-ki
 MSL XVII 197 59–60

^d6 : ^d7 = a[n-nun-na-ki]
^dZA.ZA (8) = ^dḫ-gì-gì
 MSL XVII 218 218–20, cf. *Enūma Eliš* II 121 v.l.

It is highly probable that these are the mystical numbers of the two groups, not the numbers of members in each group, so that to take the latter alternative would be like postulating the existence of 30 moon-gods from Sîn’s number “30”. The longest list of these mystical numbers of individual gods is given in *i-NAM giš-ḫur an-ki-a* (A. Livingstone, *MMEW*, pp. 30–33) which deals with all the tens from 60 downwards and with 15, 11, and 6. The number 7 was in use (not as a mystical number) for the divine Heptad, so 8 and 9 were in fact available for use as in *Antagal*. If one insists nevertheless that the numbers are meant to give the number of members of the group, it must be observed that this seems to be the only evidence for 9 Anunnaki, so there is no assurance that 8 Igigi have wider validity. Of the literary passages quoted in favour of a small group, only one has some force: Panigin-garra is called “brother of the Anunnaki, the gods his brothers” (*ta-a-lim e-nu'-na-ki' i-li aḫ-ḫi-i-[š]u: JRAS Cent. Supp. [1924] pl. vi 8, copy e-U-na-DI*). It is difficult to suppose that—*si vera lectio*—300 or 600 brothers are meant. However, it is purposeless to draw attention to the 12 deities invoked in the curses of the *Code of Hammurabi* with the observation that if the 3 goddesses are identified the resulting total is 10. In more passages of Old Babylonian date, Kienast’s identification of Igigi and Anunnaki is correct. The Prologue to Hammurabi’s laws states that Anu and Enlil “exalted him (Marduk) among the Igigi”. An inscription of Samsu-iluna tells how the same two gods “called him (Marduk) with an exalted name among the Anunnaki” (RIME 4 p. 381, opening period). In the Old Babylonian *Atra-ḫasis* I 232–33, Nintu summons “the Anunnaki, the great gods”, whereupon “the Igigi, the great gods” do what is required. In III vi 6–7 of the same work, there is a similar deliberate equation of the two terms. Enlil, discovering that some humans had survived the flood, “was filled with anger at the Igigi” and said, “All we great Anunnaki decided together on an oath. . . .” He was angry with the great gods generally since only one of them (not one of another group) could have been responsible for this misfiring of the divine plan.

In general Kienast’s view holds for the Old Babylonian evidence, but the present writer is inclined to see in the ambiguous middle and late passages more often antithetic than synonymous parallelism, so that they will conform to the distinction: Igigi of heaven, Anunnaki of underworld. In Assyria, this distinction is first clearly observable in the royal inscriptions of Adad-nīrāri I, c. 1300 B.C.: “Igigi of

heaven, Anunnaki of underworld” (^di-gi-gu ša šamê^e ^da-nun-na-ku ša er-še-ti: RIMA I p. 134, 49–50). Dated Babylonian evidence is unhelpful. Burnaburiaš III calls Šamaš “lofty judge of the Anunnaki” (di-ku₅ maḫ ^da-nun-na-ki: I R 4 no. 13), which could refer to all the major gods, or more probably to the underworld judges alone. An inscription of Kurigalzu II uses Igigi without casting light on their precise composition (quoted on p. 267, 2). Fragments of a stone statue of the same king quoted above use ^dnun-gal-a-ne(-er) in the refrain referring to gods associated with Anu and Enlil, then in Fragment C column iv ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne occurs in connection with Nergal, though the value of this is diminished by the immediately following mention of Enlil and Ninlil. It is possible that the Anunnaki here are the underworld gods generally, but this does not guarantee that this inscription conformed to the late distinction between Igigi and Anunnaki throughout. The description of Enlil as “king of the Igigi” (lugal ^dnun-gal-e-ne) in an inscription of Kadašman-Turgu (BE 1 63) is equally uninformative. The evidence of the following Second Dynasty of Isin is not more helpful, but the *Erra Epic*, which most probably dates from about 900 B.C. (AfO 18 [1957/58] 400), consistently and certainly subscribes to the late distinction between the two groups.

So far as numbers go, 300 Igigi and 600 Anunnaki are found in the bilingual litany, the topography of Babylon and the related line of *Enūma Eliš*, as already quoted, and also in the expository text KAR 307, quoted below. This view has claim to be considered the orthodox Middle Babylonian view. In late royal inscriptions and late copies of literary texts, Igigi is often written ^di-gì-gì with a plain numerical basis: i(á)-gí(š)-gí(š), or 5×(60+60) = 600, and less commonly ^dgíš-u: 60×10 = 600 (Kienast, op. cit. p. 142). The same writing ^dgíš-u also occurs in late texts and copies for “Anunnaki” (Kienast p. 143¹⁶ and IV R² 33 iii 46: ABRT I 30 26; Ebeling, *Handerhebung* 28 13; *Erra* V 3 v.l.). Evidently, the concept of 300 above and 600 below began to yield in the first millennium to the more balanced idea of 600 above and the same number below. In respect of numbers, *Enūma Eliš* stands alone.

So far as the names go, *Enūma Eliš* is internally quite inconsistent, but this merely reflects its composite nature and the diverse uses of these terms over the course of Babylonian history. The main exposition of the pantheon in Tablet VI 39–46 uses Anunnaki in the Sumerian and Old Babylonian sense, of the major gods of heaven and underworld, and the term Igigi does not appear. Earlier in Tablet VI, 20–27, Marduk addresses the Anunnaki, and the Igigi reply. This is a deliberate equation of the two terms exactly as in the Old Babylonian *Atra-ḫasis*. In II 121 and V 85–86, both terms occur where, in the latter case especially, they seem intended as two separate groups. In the comments on Marduk’s sixth name (VI 143–146), not from the author of the Epic, but incorporated by him, the “dividing of stations” between the Igigi and Anunnaki is an indisputable example of the late usage.

The Organization of the Heavenly Bodies

The organization of the heavens and the earth already dealt with is only one of two schemes which the author of the Epic combines. The first one resulted from clearing up the debris of battle and supplied the heavenly bodies, the surface of the earth, and the atmospheric phenomena between them. The second scheme had the aim of housing the gods and of supplying the widest possible cosmic setting in which the city Babylon could be founded. This scheme is based on the cosmic locations of Anu, Enlil, and Ea as the three main levels of the universe, and it is introduced in Tablet

IV after the splitting of Tiāmat's body. The lowest level of the three was of course Ea's, and the Apsû had been there all the time and served as the model for the other two levels. Anu's level at the top is represented as the upper half of Tiāmat's body: at this point, the author is making a join of the two schemes. Both heaven, as Anu's abode, and Ešarra, which Marduk made for Enlil, are trimmed to match the Apsû, and the last two lines of Tablet IV state the result as a three-decker universe. When Marduk announces his plan to build Babylon in Tablet V, its location is stated in terms of this tripartite division of the universe. While the generalities are clear, the terminology has given much trouble in the past and needs careful study. The word *ašratu* in IV 141 and V 121 must be a fem. sing., as the suffix *-šá* in the latter case proves. The former line offers a parallelism which suggests that in some way it indicates heaven, and this makes excellent sense in Tablet V. There is a word *ašru* = *šamû* in VII 135 and both Commentaries, and apparently it is a fem. form of that. An incantation quoted below (p. 505) mentions clay taken from the *ašratu* of the Apsû. According to Babylonian conceptions, clay forms the roof of the Apsû, being that into which one digs down from the surface of the earth. It is therefore to the Apsû what the heavens are to the universe. The second difficult word is *ešgallu* in IV 144–45. Literally “big house,” it is used for the underworld in two lexical texts cited *sub voce* in CAD. Since the author never equipped his universe with an underworld, he allows some interchange in terms for Apsû and underworld, as when in V 125 the underworld gods are invited to come up from the Apsû. Thus, *ešgallu* refers to the Apsû, used in IV 143–44 for elegant variation. A comparison of IV 145 with V 119–21 leaves no doubt on this point. Finally, Ešarra has been the biggest puzzle. The ancient commentator took it up at its first occurrence (IV 144): “the house which, as a replica (*meh[ret]*) [of the Apsû] is set [. . .] the earth.” Only two alternatives exist for the second missing word, “on” or “above.” The chiasmatic order of the couplet IV 145–46 shows that Ešarra was the abode of Enlil, located between those of Anu above and Ea beneath. Tablet V 119–21 confirms this general location and adds the detail that Marduk's own abode, Babylon, was to be likewise above the Apsû, below the heavens, and *mehret* (“a replica of”? or “opposite”?) Ešarra. Since these lines are locating the future Babylon, “opposite” is clearly correct, though the other sense occurs elsewhere in the Epic. But “opposite” in which sense? Ešarra was the name of the Enlil temple in Nippur, and Nippur and Babylon could perhaps be conceived as opposite. But this is excluded by the further occurrence in Tablet VI 66, where Marduk is seated in Esagil and looks up at its pinnacles *šuršiš ešarra*, “toward the base of Ešarra.” Thus, Ešarra is above Esagil and is a lower heaven, Anu's being the higher.

Confirmation of this interpretation comes from the only other account of the levels of the Babylonian universe. It is incorporated in one of the Late Syncretistic Texts, KAR 307 obv. 30ff., and one of the sources used in its compilation survives intact in another late compilation, AfO 19 (1959/60) pl. XXXIII iv 20–22. These two texts are distinguished here as A and B:

- A *šamû^ú elûti^{ti} na⁴lu-lu-da-ni-tú ša^da-nim*
 B [*šamû^ú] elûtum^{tum} na⁴lu-lu-da-ni-tum šá^da-nim*
 A 5 *gīš^d ġi-ġi-ġi ina lib-bi ú-š[e-šib]*
 A *šamû^ú qablûti^{ti} na⁴sag-gil-mut ša^dġi-ġi-ġi*
 B [*šamû^ú] qablûtum^{tum} na⁴sag-gil-mut šá^dġi-ġi-ġi*
 A *be-lum ina libbi paramahhi i-na lib-^rbi¹ i-na parak uqnî*
ú-šib^{giš} bu-ši-⁽ⁱⁿ⁾ na⁴el-me-ši ina libbi ú-nam-mir
 A *šamû^ú šaplûti^{meš} na⁴aš-pu-u ša <kakkabāni^{meš}>*

- B ṣamû^{u1} ṣaplûtum^{um} na⁴aš-pu-u šá kakkabāni^{meš}
 A mul^{lu}-ma-ši ša ilāni^{meš} ina muḥḥi e-šir
 A [ina dan]nat(ka) la-ga eršetim^{tim} elīti zi-qi-qu amēlūtu(nam-lú-u₁₈-lu) ina libbi ú-šar-bi-iš
 A [ina dann]at(-ga) eršetim^{tim} [qabl]ītu^{tu} dea(diš) abī-šú ina libbi ú-še-šib [. . .] x si-ḥu ul ú-maš-ši
 A [ina dannat eršetim]^{um} ṣaplūtu^{u1} nēr(geš³u) dr^ra-nun-na-ki¹ [ina] lib-bi e-sir [. . .] bu x x [. . .]
 šá^{na4}aš-pu-u

The upper heavens are *luludānītu*-stone, of An,
 he [settled] the 300 Igigi therein.

The middle heavens are *saggilmūt*-stone, of the Igigi,
 Bēl sat therein on the lofty dais in the chamber of lapis lazuli,
 he lit a wick of *elmešu*-stone.

The lower heavens are jasper, of the stars,
 he drew the constellations of the gods thereon.

[On the base] of the upper earth he made frail humanity to lie down.

[On the base] of the middle earth he settled his father Ea [. . .] . he did not distinguish . .

[On the base] of the lower [earth] he confined the 600 Anunnaki [. . .] . . [. . .] of jasper.

The basic scheme here is of three heavens and three earths (“earth” in Babylonian also means “underworld”). The three heavens in A combine two separate traditions, the first of which appears independently in B. This names the different precious stones of which the three tiers were composed and incidentally parallels *Enūma Eliš* V 119, which states that the Apsû was made of such a stone (see the note ad loc.). The occupants of the three heavens in the two traditions are:

Anu	The 300 Igigi
The Igigi	Bēl
The Stars	The Constellations

Basically, these differ from *Enūma Eliš* only in terminology. It calls the highest level simply “heaven”, the middle level “Ešarra”, and the level of the stars is described but has particular designation. Only one tradition for the three “earths” is given, and their occupants are:

Mankind
Ea (i.e., the Apsû)
The Anunnaki (i.e., the underworld)

This tradition which offers all six cosmic levels can be compared with *Enūma Eliš*. It appears that both rest on a common foundation which can be reconstructed as follows: Anu, Enlil, Stars, Earth (in our sense), Apsû, Underworld.

That Anu belonged to the highest heaven is in no doubt. *Enūma Eliš* and the briefer syncretistic tradition directly so affirm. The other syncretistic tradition probably included Anu in the 300 Igigi, for reasons which will appear below. The “heavens of Anu” are often mentioned in religious texts, and *Gilgameš* XI 115 proves that it was the highest, because at the time of the flood the gods in terror “ascended to the heavens of Anu.” Enlil’s abode in a lower heaven is plainly taught by *Bit Mēseri* II 43–44 (*AfO* 14 [1941/44] 142):

šamē^e ša-lal-ti-šú-nu šu-ut^da-nim šu-ut^den-líl šu-ut^dé-a

The three heavens, of Anu, of Enlil, of Ea.

If Anu's is on top, Enlil's cannot but be lower. Our interpretation similarly makes Ešarra in *Enūma Eliš* a lower heaven for Enlil. The fuller syncretistic tradition assigns Marduk to the middle heaven, replacing of course Enlil. The Epic and both syncretistic traditions put the stars on the third level. It is uncertain if *Bīt Mēseri* intended the lowest heaven in its literal sense to be Ea's, or if by an extension of meaning the Apsû is the "heaven" of Ea. It may be relevant that the ENGUR sign, which normally refers to the Apsû, is explained as "heaven" in lists with the pronunciation *zi-ku-um* (II R 50 27 cd) and 'zi-ku'-mu (MSL XIV 215, 236). There is a little confusion at the bottom of the reconstructed prototype because *Enūma Eliš*, as already explained, has no underworld and the gods who should dwell there are most commonly assigned to the Apsû, but a few times, apparently by inadvertence, the term "underworld" (*eršetu*) is used. There are, indeed, other evidences of the abode of the shades and of subterranean cosmic waters being mixed up in Mesopotamian thinking, but if one clearly distinguishes between them and asks which comes above and which beneath the other, the only possible answer is that the Apsû is on top, since springs of water were conceived to be supplied from the Apsû. While, then, the syncretistic tradition on this point stands alone, there is no reason to suspect that it was aberrant.

This organization of the cosmos which we have just reconstructed must have been current in Babylon at the end of the second millennium, and it is instructive to note how the two derived forms of it express Marduk's supremacy. The syncretistic tradition, probably later than *Enūma Eliš*, excludes both Anu and Enlil from mention, though the former may conceivably be included in the 300 Igigi. Marduk is put in Enlil's place, even though this is only in the second heaven. Ea is kept in the Apsû, but, contrary to *Enūma Eliš*, his position there was assigned to him by Marduk. The Epic rather strangely keeps Anu, Enlil, and Ea just where they were in tradition. Marduk's position is on earth in Esagil, and this is probably the author's most shocking innovation. Quite generally in ancient Mesopotamian religion, the gods were conceived to have an other-worldly home, above or beneath the world of men, and their occupation of temples on the earth did not affect this in any way. The Israelite parallel of Yahweh, who lived in the heavens yet set his name in Jerusalem, is fully valid for Babylonian religion. Yet the scheme of *Enūma Eliš* gives Marduk no other home than Esagil. He resided there, at the central point of the whole universe, to which from time to time the gods from above and below would assemble. This conception gave to the city of Babylon a prestige which no other city could then match. Thus, the whole purpose of the author in describing the various parts of the universe is to lead up to Babylon, though the scheme copies Enlil and Nippur of earlier times.

Just as the heavens (of Anu) and Ešarra were trimmed to match the Apsû in Marduk's work at the end of Tablet IV, so when the gods built Esagil for their master, it too was patterned on the Apsû (VI 62). This doctrine became officially accepted for the royal inscriptions of the Sargonids of Assyria and the Late Babylonian kings, with, however, two qualifications. Just as Nabû had by this time attained equality with his father, his city and temple, Borsippa and Ezida, shared the cosmic status of Babylon; and with the decline of Enlil in the face of the rising power of Marduk and Nabû, Ešarra became just a synonym for heaven in general. The following passages show the position:

𒄩bár-sipa ^{ki} a-na šá-ma-mi ki-i ma-ši[l] šin-na-at šá é-šár-ra šá-qu-ú é-zi-da	How Borsippa is like the heavens, Lofty Ezida is the double of Ešarra.
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ZA 53 (1959) 237 1-2

ma-aṭ-lat apsî *tam-šil é-šár-ra*
mé-eḫ-ret šu-bat ^{dé-a} *tam-šil* ^{mul}ikû(dil-gán)
 Borger, *Asarhaddon* p. 21, Ep. 26 A; cf. *AnBib* 12 (1959) 265

(Esagil) a reflection of the Apsû, the likeness of Ikû.

The parallelism here is very revealing, though one may doubt whether the star Ikû and Ešarra are fully synonymous. In astrology, Ikû is the heavenly Babylon. A prayer addressed to Esagil during the New Year rites of Late Babylonian times begins:

^{mul}ikû é-sag-il tam-šil šamê u eršetim
 Thureau-Dangin, *Rit. acc.* 136 274

Ikû-Esagil, the likeness of heaven and underworld.

Other passages of the royal inscriptions give the counterparts separately. Etemenanki is “a replica of Ešarra” (*gaba-ri é-šár-ra*: VAB IV 62 iii 19 = WVDOG 59 [1967] 43 iii 28) according to Nabopolassar, and Esagil “a replica of the Apsû” (*gaba-ri ap-se(-e)*: VAB VII 300 10; AfO 13 [1940] 205 14), according to Ashurbanipal. Thus, in late times the doctrine of *Enūma Eliš* has been both accepted and modified. *Tintir* offers these two items together: Esagil is *gaba-ri zu-ab*, and Etemenanki *gaba-ri é-šár-ra*: IV 1–2.

Babylon as the First City¹⁵

The concept of Babylon as the first city arose quite naturally in the Cassite period. There was a tradition of first cities among the Sumerians, but, consonant with their greater tolerance, a list of five is given in the Sumerian prototype of the Atra-ḫasīs Epic and in some copies of the Sumerian King List. Eridu heads the list, followed by Badtibira, Larak, Sippar, and Shuruppak. A reflection of this tradition is seen in the use of the title *uru ul = āl šāti*, “primeval city,” which is used of Sippar in the 43rd year name of Hammurabi (ed. Horsnell, *Year-Names*), in an inscription of Samsu-iluna (RIME 4 p. 376 8–9); the *Erra Epic* IV 50; and in a religious text of uncertain date (KAR 109 obv. 9). This same title is used of Babylon by one of the Kurigalzus (RA 29 [1932] 98 4). Babylon had taken over the tradition that previously belonged to Eridu. This is certain because even the name Eridu is used for Babylon. The clearest evidence is contained in the series *Erim-ḫuš* V 25: *eri₄-du₁₀ = ba-bi-il-ú* (MSL XVII 68). When Nebuchadnezzar I calls himself “regent of Eridu” (*šakkanak eri₄-du₁₀*: BBSt p. 31 3), he means of course Babylon. Similarly, in a catalogue of texts and authors two members of one of the best known scribal families of Babylon are described as “scholar of Eridu” (*lúum-me-a eri₄-du₁₀*: JCS 16 [1962] 67 VII 2, 4). Already in 1911, Pinches had made this deduction from the use of NUN^{ki} for Babylon (PSBA 33 [1911] 161 and 35 [1913] 154), and no doubt the use of Eridu in late colophons, as in “original of Eridu” (*gaba-ri eri₄-du₁₀^{ki}*: TDP pl. XXXIX), is to be explained in the same way. Finally, a creation myth juxtaposes Eridu and Esagil, a fact which has caused unnecessary difficulties (see p. 367).

15. For further literature on this general topic, see TCS 3 p. 58, note on 41; W. W. Hallo, *JCS* 23 (1971) 57–67; *BTT* pp. 251–53.

Other expressions of the supremacy of the city Babylon circulated in ancient Mesopotamia but were not taken up in the Epic. What was called the Weidner Chronicle, but is now known to be a literary composition in the form of a letter from one king to another, is relevant. See the latest edition in J. J. Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles* (Atlanta, 2004) pp. 263–68. The damaged opening refers to a temple (presumably Esagil) and Babylon at the beginning of history, with, of course, Marduk in charge, though Anu and Enlil still appear to have overall control. Similarly, the topography of Babylon includes, as one of its titles, “creation of Enlil” ([n]am-mud [G]UD^{har} = *bi-nu-tu* ^d*en-líl*: *Tintir* I 42).¹⁶ The antiquity of the idea that Enlil had some connection with Babylon is proved by the names of the two city walls of Babylon, the inner being *Imgur-Enlil*, the outer *Nēmet-Enlil* (*Tintir* V 57–58 and *BTT* pp. 343–51). The two names are first attested only in Late Assyrian times, but part of one survives from the Second Isin Dynasty (*dūr im-gur-* [BE 1 148 II [cont.] 7), and such names are likely to be of great antiquity. If they were late inventions the name of Enlil would not have been chosen. Still more remarkable is a passage in a hymn of praise to the city of Babylon:

6	nibru ^{ki} uru ^d en-líl-lá	<i>ni-ip-pu-ru</i> ^{al} ^d enlil(BE)
	tin-tir ^{ki} ša-ge-túm-ke ₄	<i>ba-bi-lu bi-bíl lib-bi-šú</i>
8	nibru ^{ki} tin-tir ^{ki}	<i>ni-ip-pu-ru ba-bi-lu</i>
	umuš-bi dili-àm	<i>ṭè-em-šu-nu išṭēn-ma</i>

W. G. Lambert in M. de J. Ellis (ed.), *Nippur at the Centennial* (Philadelphia, 1992), p. 123

Nippur is the city of Enlil, Babylon is his delight,
Nippur and Babylon are as one.

This spirit of co-existence is far from the sophisticated polemic of *Enūma Eliš*, whose author could have looked on it only with disgust. The existence of such ideas in his time may explain one curious phenomenon. Despite the importance he placed on the centrality of Babylon, a whole class of terms expressing the idea is lacking from the Epic. The topography, for example, has “bond of the lands” (*dim-kur-kur-ra*^{ki} = *ri-kis ma-ta-a-ta*: *Tintir* I 51) and “bond of the heavens” (*sa-an-na*^{ki} = *mar-kás šamē*^e: *ibid.* I 6). Such terms originally belonged to Nippur and were connected—rightly or wrongly—with the myth according to which Nippur was the last point at which heaven and earth were joined. The lack of such expressions from the Epic, when they would have suited it so appositely, suggests that the author consciously avoided them as associated with the hated Nippur. He was following the traditions of Eridu.

The cosmic centrality of Babylon is asserted in a letter from a Babylonian official to an Assyrian counterpart about the imminent arrival of the king of Assyria (Esarhaddon³) in Babylon:

ki-i šá a-na ká-dingir-ra^{ki} *i-ter-ba qabla šá kur-kur ik-ta-ba-as*
ABL 588 obv. 10–12

When he has entered Babylon he will have trodden on the centre of the lands.

16. Collated. The reading of GUD as ḥar is also attested in *Ea* and *Aa*, see MSL XIV 360 130–31 and 380 13–15. However, the citation of ^dnin-EZEN×GUD is whimsical, when it is to be read *Nin-gublaga*, and the gloss *baḥar*, though it fits Enlil, might be nothing but an attempt to explain the otherwise unknown GUD as a name of Enlil.

The Conflicts

Two conflicts are recounted in *Enūma Eliš*. The first, in Tablet I, is between Ea and Apsû; the second, in Tablet IV, is between Marduk and Tīamat. Their backgrounds are immensely complicated. The related material is of two types: (1) written myths and allusions, and (2) iconographic material. The latter consists of both surviving representations and textual references to images and similar things which have since disappeared. Visual representations of mythical creatures and scenes need not have been entirely secondary to myths in narrative form. A relief, for example, could have influenced the compiler of a mythological narrative, though evidence is not likely ever to survive. The general picture of conflict myths in ancient Mesopotamia is of a mass of data. Different traditions and varying forms of the same tradition are constantly merging and separating. At one moment, a group of unrelated items coalesce into a concrete scheme, then an individual item has attention and the others are forgotten. Some will appear in other groupings and may in the process change their identity while keeping their names. The basic mythological themes will appear at different times and places in a quite different garb. The dangers of such study are very obvious. One may insist on a rigorous fragmentation except where specific evidence compels the acknowledgement of a connection, or one may operate with such vague “themes” that everything becomes a manifestation of them.

The treatment of the topic here will be to present first the evidence for three groups of mythological conflicts: Ninurta’s victories, conflicts in expository texts and groups of defeated gods. The first are acts of valour alone, while the second and third are concerned with succession: battles among gods resulting in new dynasts. After this background material has been presented, the individual powers and groups who participate in the conflicts in *Enūma Eliš* will be dealt with in turn.

Ninurta’s Victories

Ningirsu, war-god of the Sumerian Lagash, of whom another form under the name Ninurta was worshipped in Nippur, was the character around whom myths similar to the major conflict in *Enūma Eliš* clustered.¹ When Gudea rebuilt this god’s temple, it was adorned with visual reminders of these feats. They occurred at seven points in the building; in three cases, one creature was portrayed; in the other four cases, two things were represented:

1. This subject has been treated previously by B. Meissner, *OLZ* 1908 184; B. Landsberger, *Fauna* 91 and *WZKM* 57 (1961) 11–13; and E. Reiner, *RA* 51 (1957) 107–10.

xxv	25	ur-sag šeg ₉ -sag-àš sag-ar-bi ur-sag-imin-àm ²
xxvi	2	ušum gišimmar-bi
	4	sag-alim-ma
	7	ur-maḥ
	10	ku-li-an-na urudu-bi
	13	má-gi ₄ -lum gud-alim-bi-da
xxv	25	The warrior, the Six-headed Ram ⁽¹⁾ , and . . . ⁽²⁾
	28	The Seven-headed Lion ⁽³⁾
xxvi	2	The Dragon ⁽⁴⁾ and the Palm ⁽⁵⁾
	4	The head of the Bison ⁽⁶⁾
	7	The Lion ⁽⁷⁾
	10	The Dragonfly ⁽⁸⁾ and Copper ⁽⁹⁾
	13	The Magilum-boat ⁽¹⁰⁾ and the “Mighty Bull” ⁽¹¹⁾

Gudea, Cylinder A (RIME 3/1 pp. 68–88)

The obvious conclusion from the grouping is that seven different feats are being celebrated in visual form. The last one is quite clear. From later evidence (see below), it is known that the *gud-alim/kusarikku* was a sea monster. Thus, the *magilum*-boat is altogether in place: no doubt, Ninurta fought the battle from the boat. The first and sixth feats are more difficult, since the story is unknown. It is possible that the Dragonfly and Copper were companions in arms against Ninurta. Six out of the seven feats involve monstrous animals, and the Dragonfly may have been monstrous also. They are summed up at the end as “Dead Warriors”: *ur-sag ug₅-ga* (xxvi 15).

Two Ninurta myths known from Old Babylonian Sumerian copies and later bilingual editions are the next witnesses to these victories: *Lugal-e* and *An-gim*. The former tells how Ninurta was asked, “Ninurta, recite the names of your dead warriors”: *ḏnin-urta ur-sag ug₅-ga-za mu-bi ḥé-pà-dè* (ed. J. J. A. van Dijk, *LUGAL UD ME-LÁM-bi NIR-ĜÁL* [Leiden, 1983] 128–33). The names follow as a simple list:

(1)	ku-li-an-na	The Dragonfly ⁽⁸⁾
(2)	ušum	The Dragon ⁽⁴⁾
(3)	níg-bábbar-ra	Gypsum
(4)	urudu níg-kala-ga	Copper ⁽⁹⁾
(5)	ur-sag šeg ₉ -sag-àš	The Warrior, the Six-headed Ram ⁽¹⁾
(6)	má-gi ₄ -lum	The Magilum-boat ⁽¹⁰⁾
(7)	en ḏsaman an-na	The lord Saman, ⟨son⟩ of An
(8)	gud-alim	The “Mighty Bull” ⁽¹¹⁾
(9)	lugal gišgišimmar	The Lord Palm ⁽⁵⁾
(10)	mušen ḏim-dugud ^{mušen}	The Anzû bird
(11)	muš-sag-imin	The Seven-headed Snake ^(3?)

In *An-gim*, replicas of the defeated creatures were attached to Ninurta’s war chariot, and one line of the text is devoted to each:

2. An offering of eight sheep to this deity is recorded on a tablet from Susa: 8 udu-sískur (cf. MSL VIII/1 20 149) ḏur-sag-imin: MDP 23 (1932) 305 14.

(1) am-dib-dib-ba-a-ni . . .] ša ik-mu-ú	The Bulls, which he “bound”
(2) áb-dib-a-ni . . .] ša ik-mu-ú	The Cow, which he “bound”
(3) šeg ₉ -sag-àš [šeg ₉ -sa]g-àš	(5) The Six-headed Ram ⁽¹⁾
(4) ušum ur-sag ³ . . . qu/qar]-ra-du	(2) The Dragon, the warrior ⁽⁴⁾
(5) má-gi-lum má-gi-lum	(6) The Magilum-boat ⁽¹⁰⁾
(6) gud-alim-ma ku-sa-rik-ku	(8) The “Mighty Bull” ⁽¹¹⁾
(7) ku-li-an-na ku-lil-ta	(1) The Dragonfly ⁽⁸⁾
(8) im-babbar gaš-ša	(3) Gypsum
(9) urudu níg-kala-ga e-ra-a dan-na	(4) Mighty Copper ⁽⁹⁾
(10) mušen ^d im-dugud ^{mušen} iṣ-ṣu-r[u an-ṣu-ú]	(10) The Anzû bird
(11) muš-sag-imin	(11) The Seven-headed Snake ^(3?)

Ed. J. S. Cooper, AnOr 52 lines 52–62

Later in this epic these creatures are referred to collectively:

ur-sag dab-dab-mu gud du₇-du₇-gim saman ḥa-ma-šub
 UR.SAG^{meš} ša ak-mu-u ki-ma alpi mu-tàk-ṣi šúm-man-ni lit-[ta-ad-du-u]
 Op. cit. line 158

Let my Bound Warriors have nose-ropes attached, like goading oxen.

The lists of the two epics have substantial changes as compared with the Cylinder of Gudea. The first is that no grouping occurs. For example, the *magilum*-boat and the “Mighty Bull” are separated in *Lugal-e*, and in *An-gim* each one of the list is treated as a separate item. This seems to suggest that they were no longer understood as in the time of Gudea, and that even the *magilum*-boat was treated as a Dead Warrior. Alongside Gypsum and Copper, this is nothing bizarre. The second major difference is the omissions and additions as compared with Gudea’s list, and even the two epics disagree among themselves. The addition of Anzû is interesting. Yet the two epics have one thing in common: each list has eleven “warriors,” a significant number, as will be shown later. In *Lugal-e*, they are called “Dead Warriors,” but “Bound Warriors” in *An-gim*. However, this difference is more apparent than real (see the note on *Enūma Eliš* I 118).

Ninurta continued to multiply victories. *Lugal-e* itself records his defeat of the Asakku demon, who was aided by an army of plants and stones. This defeat led to a further battle, with water which

3. This monster turns up as one of the “Seven counsellors of Ningirsu” ([7 gu₄]-dúb^dnin-gír-su-[ke₄] in An = *Anum* V 100: ^dušum-ur-sag-kur-ra-dib-dib-bé (CT 25 2 11 = RA 17 [1920] 184, Rm 930 3) “The dragon, the warrior who was ‘bound’ on the mountain.” This adds the details of place of defeat, which is the same as that for Gypsum (kur = *šadû*) and similar to that where the Six-headed Ram was killed (ḥur-sag = *šadû*) in IV R² 30, quoted below.

threatened to overwhelm the land. Ninurta, victorious again, held it back. Allusions are found in two Emesal litanies to Ninurta, edited in CLAM, pp. 440–55 and 457–67. The first refers very generally to achievements in the abyss (*idim* = *naqbu*), sea (*a-ab-ba* = *ta-a-am-tum*) and underworld (*ki* = *eršetum*), then more specifically alludes to the defeat of the stones and plants (p. 442 36–38, p. 459 36–38; cf. J. van Dijk, SGL II 46, note on 23). Strangely, there is no mention of the Asakku demon. Seeing that in *Lugal-e* the stones and plants are only the accompanying host, this silence is very eloquent. Probably, *Lugal-e* has a combined version in which two originally separate battles are merged, while the litany knew of one only. After some lines of rather inexplicit character, p. 442 44–46 = p. 460 44–46 take up three specific items:

šeg₉-sag-āš ḥur-sag-gá mu-un-ug₅
 šu-ma ina šá-di-i ta-na-ar tuš-mit
 im-babbar kur-ra me-ri-síg-ga dug₄-ga-na:ni
 gaš-ša ina šá-di-i i-mi-su : te-mes
 [kúšu]^{ku₆} a-nim-ma me-ri pap-dug₄-ga-na:ni
 ku-šá-a ina la-i-ri-a-ni te-ti-qu : 'i¹-[ti-q]u

He slew the Six-headed Ram in the mountain,
 He crushed Gypsum in the mountain,
 He trampled the Shark in deep water.

The first two of these have been met before, but the Shark is new. The first litany speaks of Ninurta as “the binder of the Anzû bird”: mušen^dim-dugud^{mušen} im-ma-ni-in-dib-bé-en = *ka-mi iṣ-ṣu-ri an-zi-i* (p. 444 79). A Nabû litany that depends on Ninurta texts offers even more allusions of this kind:

11	an-ra e-liš	a mu-ni-īb-gi ₄ -a-ni mi-la ip-ru-su
12	^d am-an-ki-ra it-ti ^d é-a	buru ₁₄ mu-ni-in-sud-a-ni e-bu-ru ú-ṭa-ab-bu-ú
13	^{giš} ḥa-lu-úb ḥar-ra-na ḥu-lu-up-ṭa ina ḥar-ra-nu ik-ki-su : dup-ra-nu iz-zu-ru	nam mi-ni-in-ku ₅ -da-a-ni
14	mušen ^d im-dugud ^{mušen} iṣ-ṣu-ru an-za-a (tablet: an-IÁ-a)	sa bí-in-lab ₄ -a-ni ina še-e-tú i-bi-lu ₄
15	en mē-a ur-ra be-lu ina ta-ḥa-zi nak-ri	sag ní-dúb-a-ni ik-mu-ru
16	muš-sag-imin-na še-er-ru si-ba qa-q-a-da-šú	mu-un-ug ₅ -ga-a-ni i-na-ru
17	im-babbar kur-ra gaš-ša ina šad ⁱ	me-ri kin dug ₄ -ga-a-ni i-mi-su
18	kúšu ^{ku₆} a-nim-ma ku-šá-a ina la-i-ra-ni	me-ri pap-dug ₄ -ga-a-ni i-te-et-ti-iq

H. Goedicke (ed.), *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William F. Albright*,
 (Baltimore, 1971), p. 344

- 11 Who held back the flood upstream,
 12 Who, with Ea, flooded the harvest,
 13 Who cursed the juniper tree on the road,

- 14 Who caught the Anzû-bird in a net,
- 15 The lord who defeated his enemies in battle,
- 16 Who killed the Seven-headed Snake.
- 17 Who crushed Gypsum in the mountain,
- 18 Who trampled on the Shark in deep water . . .

- 2 lugal-mu kur-ra dug-sakar-gim še₂₅(KA×ŠID) mu-un-da-ab-gi₄-[gi₄]
be-lu₄ šá šá-da-a ki-ma kar-ḫar-ra-ti tu-šá-aš-ga-mu : tu-ḫe-ep-pu-^rú¹
- 3 ur-sag ^dmu-zé-eb-ba-sa₄-a kur-ra síg-máš-a-gim mu-un-da-peš₅-peš₅
qar-ra-du ^dna-bi-um šá šá-da-a ki-ma šá-rat bu-lim tu-^{nap}-pi-šú
- 4 ^dšid-dù-ki-šár-ra kur-ra síg-máš-a-gim mu-un-da-peš₅-peš₅
- 5 lugal-mu kur-ra gi-min-[t]ab-ba-gim aš mu-un-da-bad-DU
be-lu₄ šá šá-da-a ki-ma qa-an šun-na-a e-di-iš tu-na-as-su-ú
Op. cit., p. 345, reverse

- 2 My lord, you who made the mountain⁴ rumble like a . . . pot,
- 3 You the warrior Nabû, who carded the mountain like animals' hair,
- 4 Šiddukišarra, you who carded the mountain like animals' hair,
- 5 My lord, you who separated the mountain like a double reed . . .

Akkadian sources for some of these feats are also preserved. The prologue to the Anzû Epic makes the following allusions:

- 8 gal-lu-ú šam-ru-ti la a-ni-ḫu ti-ba-šú pal-ḫu
 - 9 ši-ma-a šá gaš-ri ta-nit-ti dan-nu-ti-šú
 - 10 šá ina ek-du-ti-šú ik-mu-u ik-su-u šiknāt(gar)^{at} ab-ni
 - 11 ^rka-šid¹ mu-uḫ-par-šá an-za-a ina ^gšikkā-šú
 - 12 na-²ir ku-sa-rik-ka ina qí-rib a-ab-ba
- JCS 31 (1979) 78

- 8 The fierce demons fear his tireless onslaught,
- 9 Hear the praise of the strength of the mighty one,
- 10 Who in his fierceness bound and tied the creatures of stone,
- 11 Who conquered the flying Anzû with his weapon,
- 12 Who killed the “Mighty Bull” in the sea.

Line 12 informs us in a most welcome manner that the “Mighty Bull” was dealt with in the sea.

A fragment containing part of the beginning of a hymn to Ninurta makes similar allusions:

- 1 [gi]š-ru qar-du tam-ši-[il . . .
- 2 ^ra¹-na ma-²-diš be-lut-su [. . .
- 3 tu-kul-ti é-šár-ra [. . .
- 4 a-sak-ku šarru-su [. . .
- 5 tam-tum šer-ra-at be-lu-tú x [. . .
- 6 par-ši é-kur šar-ra-qa-ni-i[š . . .

4. Allusions to battles with mountains occur elsewhere: *ka-šid ḫur-sa-a-nu ka-li-šú-nu* (of Lugalbanda alias Ninurta, Or. NS 36 [1967] 126 174); sig₁₁-kur-kur-ra = *mu-sap-pi-iḫ šá-di-i* [of Ninurta ?] BA V [1906] 708 5 = 7). Also monsters are said to be defeated on the mountain (see p. 204 n. 3 above). The names of several minions of Ninurta in An = Anum V 98–103 are full of mountain mythology. Note also the deity named ^dkur-íb-ba/kur-ra-íb-ba/kur-rib-ba “the one who was angry with (or, on) the mountain.” These few examples could be multiplied from Sumerian texts.

- 7 *ú-ri-in-nu lem-nu* [. . .
 8 *ta-nit-tu a-na ra-ma-n[i-šu* . . .
 9 *ri-gim-šú kīma a-x* [. . .
 10 *[ša]m-ru a[b-* . . .
 11 *x^{meš} x* [. . .

Sm 1875, Pl. 43, cf. B. Landsberger, *WZKM* 57 (1961) 10⁴⁶

- 1 The mighty, the warrior, the equal [of . . .
 2 To a superlative degree his lordship [. . .
 3 The support of Ešarra [. . .
 4 The kingship of the Asakku-demon [. . .
 5 The Sea, the reins of lordship . [. . .
 6 The symbols of Ekur like a thief [. . .
 7 The evil eagle [. . .
 8 Praise for himself [. . .
 9 His voice like . . [. . .
 10 The fierce (?) . [. . .

The references to the story of *Lugal-e* in l. 4 and to the Anzû Epic in ll. 6–7 are clear, but the lack of parallels for l. 5 renders its incomplete state all the more unfortunate. If the construction is similar to that of the previous list, it appears that “Sea” is a *casus pendens*, and probably the rest of the line stated that Ninurta wrested the reins of power from the Sea, as certainly it must have said that he wrested kingship from the Asakku demon. “Concubine” and “enemy” are also theoretically possible translations of *šerrāt*, but hardly preferable to “reins.” The beginning of an incantation is also relevant:

énⁿ nin-urta bēlu ašarēd (sag-kal) é-kur
dan-dan-nu šur-bu-ú gīt-ma-lu ši-i-ru
 [x x (x)] *an-zi-i i-x*[/AD] . . .
da^r-ik a¹-sak-ki mu- [. . .

Sm 1250, K 5313, 79-7-8, 219 (ka-bur₅-dib-bi-da) [*Iraq* 72 (2010) 84]

Ninurta lord, foremost in Ekur,
 Very strong, great, superb, exalted,
 [Who . . .] Anzû . . [. . .
 Who killed Asakku, who [. . .

The Gula Hymn of Bulluṣa-rabi (*Or.* NS 36 [1967] 116ff.) in the epithets of the various hypostases of Gula’s spouse, among whom Ninurta is the most prominent, offers the following: “who split stones” (*pa-ši-du abni^{meš}*, 30); “crusher of stones” (*da-²-i-iš abni^{meš}*, 100); “the mountain that trampled the Sea” (*šadū^u ra-ḫi-iš tam-tim*, 149); “who overthrew the strong stones, all that there were” (*sa-pi-in abni^{meš} dan-nu-tu ma-la ba-šu-ú*, 175).

Mythological Conflicts in Expository Texts

The pertinent material in expository texts is very diverse, and much of it is quoted under particular headings rather than here. However, the allusions in three texts have a certain similarity, and it is appropriate to offer them here. The texts are:

- (a) CT 15 44 obv. (MMEW pp. 120–23): the interpretation of a royal ritual.
 (b) LKA 71 and Sumer 13 (1961) 117 ([MMEW pp. 116–19], the line-numbering of the latter is followed): text concerning Ištar of Nineveh.
 (c) LKA 73 (MMEW pp. 126–29): hemerology; obverse when side is not specified.

“Binding”

- a 13–14: *ilāni^{meš} lemnūti^[meš] an-ḫu-ú^da-sak-ku ina libbī-šú-nu ikammû(lá)^ú* : they “bind” the evil gods, Anzû and Asakku, among them.
 a 19: *^da-nim ikmî(lá)-šú-ma iš-bir-šú* : he “bound” Anu and broke him.
 a 25: *ša ana^denlil(BE) i-ṭar-ra-du-šu ikmî(lá)-šú* : whom they send to Enlil, and he “bound” him.
 b 14: *aššu(mu) ^dbēl DU-ma^da-nu-um ik-mu-ú* : because Bēl went (?) and “bound” Anu.
 b 16: *it-ti-ku-nu-ma ka-mi^da-n[u-um]* : Anu is “bound” with you.
 c 1: *áš-šú [i]k-mu-u^da-nim* : because he (*šarru*: the king) “bound” Anu.
 c 2: *be-lum a-a-b[i]-šú ki-i ik-m[u]-u* : when Bēl “bound” his enemies.
 c 5: *^da-num ^dsibitti(im in-bi) māri^{meš} ^den-me-šár-ra ki-i ikmû(lá)^ú* : when Anu “bound” the Sibitti, sons of Enmešarra.
 c 6: *u₄-mu^da-num šarra ikmû(lá)^ú u₄-mu^dmarūtuk šarru^da-nim ikmû(lá)^ú* : the day when Anu “bound” the king, the day when Marduk the king “bound” Anu.
 c 22: *be-lum ki ik-m[u]-šú* : when Bēl bound him.

Cutting off of Heads

- b 18: *^da-nu-um ina muḫḫi qaqqadi nak-si i-[* : Anu . [. . .] over the cut-off head.
 c 13: *be-lum kišād^da-nim ik-ki-su-m[a]* : (when) Bēl cut the neck of Anu.
 c rev. 17: *qaqqad-su ik-ki-[su]* : he/they cut off his head.

Dead Bodies

- b 3: *pagru(adda) šá^dištarān* : the corpse of Ištarān.
 b 15: *pagar(adda)-šú ana^da-nun-na-ki ip-qid* : he committed his corpse to the Anunnaki.

Flaying

- b 17: *ḫumur-šú ki-i i-ku-ṣu* : when he flayed his skin.
 c 22: *ḫumur-šú i-ku-uṣ* : he flayed his skin.

Burning

- a 16: *māri^{meš} ^denlil(BE) ^danum(60) ina girri(giš-bar) iq-[mu]* : Anu burnt the sons of Enlil with fire.
 b 22: *[^d]bēl^{mul} sipa-zi-an-na iq-mu-ma* : Bēl burnt Sipazianna.

Dismissal to the Underworld

- a 3: *ana* ^d*a-nun-na-ki ip-qí-d[u]* : he/they committed to the Anunnaki.
 b 12: *[^db]ēl {ana} ^den-líl a-na eršetim^{um} ki-i ip-qí-du* : when Bēl committed Enlil to the underworld.
 b 15: *ana* ^d*a-nun-na-ki ip-qíd* : (his corpse) he committed to the Anunnaki.
 b 23: *[a-n]a ^da-nun-na-ki ip-qíd-su* : he committed him to the Anunnaki.

It is not possible to be specific about such brief allusions, but in their present form the prominence of Marduk shows that they are not earlier than about 1500 B.C. and, more likely, they are of first-millennium date. It is not here a case of a deity slaying monsters but of gods slaying each other. These are therefore succession myths in which new divine generations come to power and the old are deposed by being sent down to the underworld. The prominence of Anu is interesting in view of the small quantity of myth relating to him.

The only sizeable body of related iconographical material is the large group of Old Akkadian cylinder seals showing battles among gods (R. M. Boehmer, *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit* [Berlin, 1965], pp. 166ff., nos. 809–921). These are of course much older than the allusions just quoted, but a carryover of some of the motifs is possible. The cutting of throats is quite clearly depicted on a number of seals, but the also common mountain gods on the seals have no reflection, so far as is known, in the expository allusions.

Groups of Defeated Gods

So far, the only group of defeated gods mentioned has been the sons of Enmešarra in the expository text, c 5. Ninurta's victories are grouped as 7 or 11 in Gudea and the two epics respectively, but each feat was obviously understood as a separate episode, despite the summing up of the victims as "dead warriors" or "bound warriors." Genuine groups, it seems, were defeated en masse, and whereas the victories of Ninurta so far studied are known from sources of the third and second millennia, groups of defeated gods are so far attested only in sources either certainly or presumably of late-second-millennium or of first-millennium date. The Asakku demon is an interesting case of one becoming a group. His defeat by Ninurta is recounted in *Lugal-e*, yet none of the three lists of exploits includes this one. Since, in addition, the litany refers to the plants and stones but says nothing of their alleged commander-in-chief, a suspicion is aroused that this episode was a relatively late addition to the Ninurta cycle. A line in *Šurpu*, IV 103, could be taken as evidence that Ennugi, on whom see Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs* p. 147 note on 10, was the original victor:

li-iz-ziz ^den-nu-gi bēl iki(e) u palgi(pa₃) a-sak-ku lik-mu

May Ennugi, lord of ditch and canal, be present and "bind" Asakku.

That Ennugi should be asked to bind Asakku now is a good hint that he did so in the beginning. Generally, however, this victory is Ninurta's, note also a *Bīt Mēseri* passage, *AfO* 14 (1941/44) 148 152–53. When everything glorious was ascribed to Marduk, this victory also was transferred to him (see *Šurpu* IV 3; K 11586 rev. 5 [*AfO* 19 (1959/60) 119, now certainly identified as part of Marduk's Address]; the mythological almanac [BM 35407+ iv 27, edition forthcoming from F. S. Reynolds]).

Expository texts and a ritual attest the pluralization of this demon, in that 7, 8, or 9 demons are listed as Asakkus. First, the lists:

(i)	(ii)	(iii)
^d lugal-edin-na	^d lugal-edin-na	^d lugal-edin-{an}-na
^d la-ta-rak	^d la-ta-rak	^d la-ta-ra-ak
^d ab-gu-la	^d ab-ba-gu-la	^d ab-ba-gu-la
^d e-qū	^d e-qu	^d e-qu
^d mu-úh-ra	...	^d muh-ra
^d ku-ú-šu	^d ku-šu-um	[^d k]u-šu
^d si-lak-ku	^d si-la-ak-ku	[^d a-n]un-ki
^d a-nun-ki	...	[^d x] x
^d a-ŠEŠ-ki	^d a-ŠEŠ ^{meš} -da	...
(iv)	(v)	(vi)
[^d lugal-edin]-na	^d ku-šú	[^d]e-qu
^d la-ta-rak	^d mu-úh-ra	^d mu-uh-[ra]
[^d ab-ba]-gu-la	^d sak-kut	[^d ku-(ú)-šu-(um)]
[^d e]-qu	^d si-lak-ki	^d lugal-a-ab-ba
[^d mu-u]h-ra	^d e-qí	[^d]lugal-edin-na
[^d ku-š]u-um	^d ab-ba-gu-la	^d sak-[kut]
[^d si-lak]-ku	^d šu-lak	[^d šu]- ^r lak ¹
[^d x (x)] x	...	^d la-ta-rak

The following are the sources and the further information they supply:

(i) III R 69 no. 3, an expository text. Each name is explained á-zág dumu ^da-nim (Asakku, son of Anu), and the list is summed up as: 9(!) *ilāni*^{meš} *rabūti*^{meš} *māri*^{meš} ^da-ni-[im] (Nine great gods, sons of Anu).

(ii) 2 N-T 194 = UM 55-21-41, col. B 10–16: a tablet composed of such groups. This group had identifications offered with each name, the first possibly to be restored ^rá¹-[sàg dumu ^da-nim]; the remainder have MI[N], save for the last, where the MIN is lost. After a ruling there is a more formal identification of the group:

7 a-sak-ki [. . .
^rnab¹-nit [(.)] ^da-nim [(. . .
: i-lit-^rti¹ [^den-me-šár-ra (?)]

(iii) STT 400 16–23, an expository text. Each name is explained ^da-sak-ku mār ^da-nim (Asakku, son of Anu), and the list is summed up with the numeral “eight.”

(iv) Expository text K 2892+8397 [BTT pl. 34], 40ff. The names are explained a-sak-ku mār ^da-nim (Asakku, son of Anu), and after a ruling the following further explanation is given:

47 . . .] x ki-šit-ti ^dnin-u[rta] . . .]. the conquest⁵ of Ninurta
48 . . .] x ša šu-bat-su-nu a-ḥat āl[i] . . .]. (they) whose dwelling is outside the city

5. *kišittu* “conquest” seems to be a technical term for this mythologem, since *Šurpu* IV 3 describes victory over the Asakku in the phrase *šākin ki-šit-ti a-sak-ki* “who established the conquest of Asakku.” The obvious way to express this would be *kāšid asakki* were not *kišittu* a fixed term.

49 . . .] x dumu-sag ^den-líl-lá-ke₄ . . .]. prime son of Enlil
 50–51 . . .] x ki-min . . .]. ditto

(v) Expository text PBS X/4 12 iii 6–12 (collated), where each is assigned a location but no further explanation is given.

(vi) First two lines of public ritual for Babylon found at Kish (OECT XI 47, pp. 23–26). The list is summed up in line 3: [8] *ilāni*^{meš} *rabūti*^{meš} *māri*^{m[es]} ^den-me-šár-ra ([Eight] great gods, sons of Enmešarra). Line 4 states that these gods “go,” presumably in procession, within Babylon.

Remains of a seventh list occur in another expository text, KAR 142 i 39–41: [^de-q]u ^d[k]u-ú-[š]u . . . ^dlugal-edin-na ^d[. . . The summing-up is partly preserved in 42: 7 *a-sak-ki m[ār]*^da-nim] (The seven Asakkus, [sons of Anu]). More important is the following list of locations (ii 1–7) explained in 8–10:

7 bára ^{meš} kur du ^{meš}	Seven shrines . . .
ša 7 <i>a-sak-ki mār</i> ^d a-nim	Of the seven Asakkus, sons of Anu,
<i>ki-šit-ti</i> ^d nin-urta	The conquest of Ninurta.

Quite a number of these Asakku-gods are otherwise known, but not well enough for the basis of this grouping to be apparent. Twice they are called “sons of Anu,” but once “sons of Enmešarra.” This hardly proves the identity of the two fathers (see the introduction to *Enmešarra’s Defeat*). This myth indicates that father and sons were defeated together, but by Marduk not Ninurta. The lists of Asakkus are twice described as “Ninurta’s conquest.” The difference between the earlier groups of victories and these lists lies not only in the combined operations of the “sons” as compared with the individual episodes of the earlier sources but also in the character of those defeated. The earlier versions, so far as they are known to us, are of what could be termed “dragon slaying,” but the later groups are twice called “great gods,” and Enmešarra is known to have preceded Enlil as supreme god. *Enmešarra’s Defeat* is the only major myth about him in narrative form, and only the ending is preserved. There he has been defeated with his sons, and they are all in prison for their sins. This is clearly a succession myth, and the title “great gods” suggests that all the groups of Asakkus must be understood in the same way.

A second set of similar groups is more directly related to *Enūma Eliš* as several of its characters appear in them:

(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)
<i>an-šár</i>	<i>an-šár</i>	<i>an-šár</i>	^d be-let-ili ^{meš}
^d ki-šár	<i>an-gal</i>	<i>an-gal</i>	^d be-let-māti
<i>an-gal</i>	^d en-me-šár-ra	^d en-me-šár-ra	<i>an-šár</i>
^d en-me-šár-ra	^d qin-gi	^d dumu-zi	^d ki-šár
^d ap-su-ú	^d apsú	^d lugal-du ₆ -kù-ga	^d en-me-šár-ra
<i>tam-tim</i>	^d dumu-zi	^d apsú	^d dumu-zi
^d lugal-du ₆ -kù-ga	^d lugal-du ₆ -kù-ga	^d qin-gu	^d lugal- ^r du ₆ - ^r kù-ga
^d dumu-zi <i>u</i>	^d ki-šár <i>u</i>	<i>al-la-tum</i>	^d a-nu
^d al-la-tum	^d a[l-la-tum]	^d ki-šár	^d qin-ga
			^d mu-um-mu <i>u</i>
			^d be-li-li

(v)		(vi)
^d qin-ga	^d dumu-zi	^d a-num
^d mu-um-mu	^d qin-gu-gu (^d qin-gi)	^d en-me-šár-ra
^d apsû u	^d mu-um (^d mu-um-mu)	^d pap-sukkal (^d il-lab-rat)
al-la-tum	^d al-la (^d NAGAR)	an-šár
	^d á-zág	an-tum
	^d ub-na (^d ub-nu)	^d lugal-du ₆ -kù (^d lugal-du ₆ -kù-ga)
	^d a-la-la	^d en-ki

napharu(pap) 7 ^den-líl^{meš} ki-šit-ti (AN.AN.AN^{meš} ki-šit-tum)
 šá inā^{ll} (inā^{ll.meš})-šú-nu ina libbi manzû siparri šaknu^{nu}

In all seven conquered Enlils
 Whose eyes are set on the copper *manzû*-drum.

The following are the sources and other details of the lists:

(i) This is from an expository section in the Bīt Mummi ritual (C. B. F. Walker and M. Dick, *The Induction of the Cult Image in Ancient Mesopotamia* [SAALT 1; Helsinki, 2001] p. 241 35–36). The concluding line of the section reads: *an-nu-tim ilāni^{meš} šá ina bīt mummi libnāti^{meš}-šú-nu šub^{meš}* “these are the gods whose bricks are placed in the Bīt Mummi.” For the identification of these bricks, see p. 215. K 8111+ adds as variants under Apsû and Tiāmat: ^duttu ^dnin-gír-[su]; A 418 adds after Tiāmat.

(ii) This is another expository section contained in a continuation of the text cited under (i): Walker and Dick, *op. cit.*, p. 243 41–43. The section gives the list of names alone, but it is preceded by a three-line ritual section about 9 bricks, so presumably the bricks are identified with the gods, as in (i).

(iii) BM 36647 rev., middle column 23–28 is a section apparently unrelated to anything else on the tablet as preserved. The names as given begin the section, and the following explanation completes it: AN ki arki 'ki'-is-pu ina bīt mummi x x x x-šú-nu i-maḥ-ḥa-ru ^{be-pí} [x x] a-na šip-ri nun^{be-pí eš-šú} “god(s) (?) of the underworld (?); after the offerings to the dead in the Bīt Mummi they receive their . . . (broken) [. .] for the assignment . (new break)”.

(iv) and (v) These two lists are given consecutively without break in an unexplained section of the expository text RA 41 (1947) 35 24–27, which ends with a line listing five different coloured gods. The non-canine part is clearly two lists as set out here, in view of the duplications and the copulas.

(vi) This double list occurs in two places: at the bottom right-hand corner of the diagram on the exposition of the drum-skin ritual O 175 (RA 16 [1919] 145) and as the first section of the expository text RA 41 (1947) 31, AO 17626 (collated). The text of the former is used with the variants of the latter (in some cases preferable) within brackets. The subscription shows that 7 “eyes” (a kind of decoration?) on the *manzû*-drum (not the one being reskinned) were identified with these 7 deities, and each is explained by equation with another deity. The equations are generally clear. Qingu and Enmešarra were both defeated in battle, Mummu and Papsukkal were both viziers, etc. The Enki mentioned must be the theogonic deity, not the god of Eridu. More important is the description of them all as “conquered Enlils,” literally, “Enlils of conquest.”⁶ The variant AN.AN.AN^{meš} of AO 17626 is no doubt corrupt. Some—Enmešarra, Qingu, Tiāmat, Apsû, Mummu—are independently

6. See above, n. 5 (p. 210).

known to have been defeated in theogonic struggles, but the collective description of them as “Enlils” is at first glance surprising.

Some explanation of this plural term can be obtained from following up the sons of Enmešarra.⁷ Lists of the names are available in four sources. (i) An = *Anum* I 139–46 is a section incorporated in the list from a separate source (it is not contained in the forerunner TCL 15 pls. xxvff.); it gives the names with a brief Sumerian description of each, followed by the summary “the seven sons of Enmešarra” (im in-àm dumu-meš^d en-me-šár-ra-ke₄). (ii) The same list, with orthographic variants, occurs in an expository section of the drum-skin ritual, F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rit. acc.* p. 5 3ff., but an Akkadian rendering is added. Only the descriptions are really translated; the names are equated with others. There is no explanation given of who the seven gods are. (iii) IV R² 23 no. 1 i 1–5 = *Rit. acc.* pp. 24f. is the end of the same section from another recension of this ritual, but it has a line at the end: “the seven gods, sons of Enmešarra, are heaps of flour” (7 ilāni^{meš} mār^d Enmešarra zì-dub-dub-bu^{meš}). (iv) The esoteric commentary on the same ritual, O 175 (RA 16 [1919] 145), in obv. 10–15 lists the same seven sons with the equated deities of the expository section (the first, however, is different), then equates a second deity with each, and finally a short descriptive phrase is given, but only the third of these agrees with those of the expository section. The evidence of (i)–(iii) is given together; that of (iv) is given separately:

(i) – (iii)

(The text of the Sumerian lines is from An = *Anum*. Variants are from B [*Rit. acc.* p. 5] and R [IV R² 23 no. 1]. The text of the Akkadian lines is from B, with variants from R.)

^d zi-sì-mu	nibru ^{ki} -a-šà-ga-ke ₄
^d nin-ìmma	šá qí-rib ni-ìp-pú-ru
^d ad ₄ -gìr-ḥaš	šeg ₈ -bar-ke ₄
^d šu-zi-an-na	šá ap-si-i
^d šeg ₈ -bar-gim ₄ -gim ₄	a-šà-ba[r-r]a-ke ₄
^d en-nu-gi	šá-kin(or -qi) eq-li
^d ur-bàd-du ⁷	lú-s[ukud-d]a-ke ₄
^d kù-sù	be-lu šá-qu-u
^d ur-ba-dù-gùn-gùn-nu	dumu é-šà-ba-ke ₄
^d nin-šar	mār é-šà-ba
[^d tú]m-ma-gara ₁₀ -è	dumu uru-gibil ₄ -ke ₄
^d nin-ka-si	mār āli eš-ši
^d é-bar-ra-DU.DU	dumu ud-30-kám ud-ná-a
^d nuska	mār še-la-še-e bu-um-bu-li

Variants: 1. B: om. -a- 2. B: ^dad₄-gìr-ḥuš-ra-ke₄ 3. L: -gim₄-gim₄-me B: ^dšeg₈-bar-ra-gim₄-gim₄-me, -mar-ra-ke₄ 4. L: ^dur-bàd^{ba-ad}-dumu^{du-mu} B: ^dur-bàd-dà en-sukud-da-ke₄ 5. L: ^dur-bàd-da-gub-gub-bu B: ^dur-bàd-gúm-gúm 6. L: ^dgub-ba-ga-ra-ra-è B: ^dtúm-ma-ga-ra-ra-è, -gibil₄-la-ke₄ 7. B: ^da-bar, ud-ná-àm R: šá-la-še-e bu-ub-bu-lum

7. Literature on the Sons of Enmešarra: Zimmern, ZA 32 (1918/19) 63–69 (less adequate: ZA 23 [1909] 363–66); Thureau-Dangin, RA 16 (1919) 147–48; Jean, RA 21 (1924) 93–104; H. and J. Lewy, HUCA 17 (1942/43) 37–41 (the proposed identification with the seven *apkallus* in KAR 298 is unconvincing). III R no. 3 has the last two of a set of “seven sons of Enmešarra,” but they are very damaged. The last one might be ^dl[a-t]a-rak. In addition to the names, KU x x KU, sig₅-šú is added to each name.

(iv)

^d zi-sì-mu	^d gu-la	^d nin-nibru ^{ki} sì-at zi ^d a-nim
^d ib-gìr-ḥuš	^d šu-zi-an-na	an-tum šu-gar-at zi ^d a-nim
^d šeg ₉ -ra-gim ₄ -gim ₄ -me	^d en-nu-gi	^d 30 šá-kin(or -qi) eq-lu
^d ur-bàd-da	^d kù-sù	^d tu-tu šá mē ^{meš} ellūti ^{meš} zu-ú
^d ur-bàd-gúm-gúm	^d nin-šar	^d nergal(u.gur) íl gír zabar
^d gub-ba-ga-ra-ra-è	^d nin- ^ṛ ka ^ṛ -si	^d nin-gír-zi-da íl kurun-nam
^d a-ba-ra-DU.DU	^d nuska	^d nin-urta : ^d 30 :
^d nà nu-bàn-da dingir-gub-ba ^{meš} šá ina igi ^d da-gan ta ul-dù-a ^d en-me-šár-ra ^ṛ urū ^ṛ		

The same text, O 175, in the following section, obv. 16–20, also deals with the same seven gods, identifying them with “hands” put in the copper drum, but offers no further light on them.

Nothing in particular can be said about the first set of seven names. We can only accept them as those of the sons of Enmešarra.⁸ The second equations, offered by O 175 only, are not more helpful. Reasons for these identifications can be suggested, but as a resulting group of seven they suggest nothing. The equations shared by all the sources save An = *Anum* have something in common: they appear (with description) in the household of Enlil in An = *Anum* I, and the names alone in the forerunner, TCL 15 pls. xxvff. (to which the numbers in brackets refer):

184 (335):	^d šu-zi-an-na dam bàn-da ^d en-líl-lá-ke ₄ um-me-ga-lá ^d EN.ZU-na-ke ₄ “minor wife of Enlil, wet-nurse of Sîn”
252 (131, 135):	^d nuska sukkal maḥ ^d en-líl-lá-ke ₄ “exalted vizier of Enlil”
306 (313):	^d nin-ìmma um-mi-a ^d en-líl-lá dub-sar-zà-ga é-kur-ra-ke ₄ um-me-ga-lá ^d EN.ZU-na-ke ₄ “scholar of Enlil, <i>zaxakku</i> -scribe of Ekur, wet-nurse of Sîn”
318 (324):	^d en-nu-gi gu-za-lá ^d en-líl-lá-ke ₄ “chamberlain of Enlil”
324 (328):	^d kù-sù sánga-maḥ ^d en-líl-lá-ke ₄ “chief priest of Enlil”
328 (330):	^d nin-šar gír-lá é-kur-ra-ke ₄ “butcher of Ekur”
336 (332):	^d nin-ka-si ^d ŠIM “brewer”

All these seven also appear in the Ur III offering list TCL 5 6053. The expository text AO 17626 (RA 41 [1947] 31) has a broken section, on the reverse of which the names Enmešarra, Nuska, Ninšar, and Ennugi remain; the total was seven. The tradition of these seven in the god-lists is not immediately reconcilable with the implications of the expository texts. In the lists, the seven are scattered over a big section, and no one could have guessed that they form a group of seven. The first two are specified as female, which is not grammatically impossible with the collective title “sons,” though rebel gods, as Enmešarra’s sons were, would hardly have included divine Amazons. The female character of these two and Ninšar is confirmed by these being three of the seven birth goddesses in *Enki*

8. The fragment K 9501 (Pl. 43, ends of lines only) offers in obv. 7:] nu-zig zi-sì-[mu] and in rev. 5:]-nu a-ba-ra-DU.D[U]. It is just possible that the text was an exposition of the seven names.

and *Ninmaḫ*, and the epithets assigned in O 175 and An = *Anum* to the first two clearly depend on knowledge of this tradition. There is, however, one source uncontaminated by speculation which lists five (perhaps originally six) of these seven together. It is an incantation fragment:

. . . ^dn]in-líl ^d[nin'-ma'-d]a ù ^dnu[ska]
^d[nin'-ìmma' ^d]šù-zi-an-na ^den-n[u]-gi ù ^dkù-s[ù]
^dn[in-ša]r ^d[ni]n-ka-si *ilāni*^{mes} šá é-[kur]
ilāni^{mes} šá é-šù-me-ša₄ *líp-paṭ-ru-nik-ku* : *líp-pa-aš-r[u-nik-ku]*
 K 2096+13246 (cf. ABRT I 57; ZA 32 [1921] 66²) rev. 2–5

As the copulas show, there are three lists here, but they are alike summed up as “gods of Ekur, gods of Ešumeša,” which confirms their connection with Nippur.

Proof that these gods are “the Enlils” comes from some brick inscriptions from Late Assyrian Ur (UET I 173–81). Following the example of their first editor, we cite one in full:

1	^d nanna lugal ^d en-líl-e-ne	For Nanna, lord of the Enlils,
2	lugal-a-ni	His lord,
3	^{md} EN.ZU-ti-la-bí-dug ₄ -ga	Sin-balāṭsu-iqbi
4	šakkan úrim ^{ki} -ma	Governor of Ur,
5	ú-a eridu ^{ki} -ga	Sustainer of Eridu,
6	é-dub-gal é-kur-ra	Built Edubgal of Ekur,
7	ki-tuš ^d nin-ìmma-ke ₄	The seat of Ninimma.
8	mu-na-dù	

UET I 181

The other inscriptions only differ in lines 6 and 7. A variety of houses (they all begin é-) are named as either the “seat” (ki-tuš) or “standing place” (ki-gub) of the following deities:

(ki-tuš) ^d šù-zi-an-na	(175)
([. .]) ^d en-nu-gi-ke ₄	(182)
(ki-gub) ^d kù-sù-ke ₄	(176)
(ki-gub) ^d nin-ka-si-ke ₄	(173)
(ki-tuš) ^d nuska	(180)
(ki-tuš) ^d en-líl-lá-ke ₄	(179)
(ki-tuš) nam- ^d en-líl-lá-a-ni	(178)
(ki-tuš) nam-lugal-la-ni	(177)

Thus, of the seven deities connected with Enlil that are equated with the sons of Enmešarra, only Ninšar is missing here. In addition, “Enlil,” “his Enlilship,” and “his kingship” appear, the latter two of which are not clear. The bricks were mostly found built into the lining of a well in the courtyard of the Ningal temple, obviously not their original purpose. Nothing was found which might have been the “houses” of the deities named, whether we take the word in its wider sense of an independent structure, or in its narrower sense of a chamber within a building. Gadd therefore makes the interesting suggestion that the bricks themselves were the “seats” or “standing places” of the deities named; in other words, they are the bricks used to represent gods in rituals such as have been considered above. The inclusion of Enlil in the group makes it clear that the seven are referred to in the title of Nanna, “lord of the Enlils.” Here there is no mention of Enmešarra. However, the evidence

is very suggestive. One group of gods is called “the seven conquered Enlils.” Another group of seven deities equated with the sons of Enmešarra are also called “the Enlils.” According to one tradition, Enmešarra preceded Enlil and was his father, so Enlil should of course be one of the former’s sons, and indeed he is one of the seven Enlils on the Ur bricks. In this usage, “Enlil” cannot of course be the appellative “supreme lord,” since seven cannot claim that title, and Nanna is called “lord” of them and is not included in their number. In astronomical and astrological texts, a group of seven Enlils is commonly attested—that is, seven constellations each assigned to a particular city. There are two slightly differing lists, PSBA 33 (1911) pl. xi = Weidner, *Handbuch* pp. 58–60, and KAR 142 iii 3–10. In both, however, the last star is ^{mul}šū-pa, which represents the Enlil of Babylon. This is of course Marduk, and he is accordingly called “lord of the Enlils” (*bēl* ^den-líl^{meš}) or “chief of the Enlils” (*rabi* ^den-líl^{meš}), see V R 46a 11 = Weidner, *Handbuch* p. 51; K 2760+13823 obv. 1; Thureau-Dangin, *Rit. acc.* p. 138 310. This is different from the case of Šîn, since Marduk is one of the seven, while Šîn is not. The only fragment of text which may have contained a narrative form of the implied myth is DT 184 (see p. 327 and Pl. 56). It is too small a piece for its genre to be decided with certainty. It may be a myth or an expository text with mythological allusions, but line 17 reads: ^de]n-líl-lá^{meš} šá ik-kir-[ú [“] the Enlils who rebelled [.”

Other evidence for these or related groups of gods can be found in passages which do not list names but refer to such groups under collective titles. The earliest material in this tradition, the creatures defeated by Ninurta, refers to “bound warriors” and “dead warriors.” “Bound Gods” and “Dead Gods” are the common terms for these later groups. In incantations, the former appear as demons who can escape from their underworld prison to harm the living:

én dingir-dib-dib-bé-e-ne urugal-la-[ta] im-ta-è-a-[meš]
ilāni^{meš} ka-mu-ti iš-tu qab-rim it-ta-šu-ni
 CT 17 37 1–3 = Or. NS 39 (1970) 405

The Bound Gods have escaped from the grave.

In *Bīt Mēseri*, an undesirable thing is dispatched to the underworld with the words “May the Bound Gods take him!” (*ilāni*^{meš} ka-mu-tu lil-qu-šu: AfO 14 [1941/44] 146 126). The entrance to the underworld can be called “the gate of the Bound” (*bāb ka-mu-ti*: AfO 19 [1959/60] 117 note on 25). *Enūma Eliš* IV 127 speaks of Marduk strengthening his hold on the Bound Gods, meaning Qingu and his host, and VII 27 of his having mercy on them. Another allusion to a victory over a similar host which does not use the precise term is: “at his command the enemy gods are bound” (*ep-šu pi-i-šu ik-kam-mu-ú ilāni*^{meš} nak-ru-tu: Weidner *Chronicle*, *Iraq* 52 [1990] 4 36’). The Late Sumerian term for bind is *dib*, and *šbt* “seize” is another equivalent, so the term “Seized Gods” in *Enmešarra’s Defeat* i 8 (p. 290), referring to that god and his sons, is also relevant. “Dead Gods” are the group to which the defeated Qingu is assigned in *Enūma Eliš* IV 120. A late bilingual incantation to Šamaš speaks of his relations with the Dead Gods in the underworld:

sag-tuku ^dug₅-ga-àm šà-ga arali(É.KUR.BAD)-ke₄
 ra-bi-iš ^dug₅-ge-e i-na qí-rib a-ra-al-li
 UVB 15 36 9

Supervisor of the Dead Gods in the underworld.

Other references occur in astrological texts, where the constellation originally called Corvus (Sumerian *uga^{mušen}*) is sometimes twisted into Dead Gods (Sumerian *ug₍₅₎* = “die”), written both *mul.ug₅-ga* and *mul.d.ú-ge-e* (CT 33 9 rev. 17 = Weidner, *Handbuch* p. 104; see also ŠL IV/2 pp. 47–49 and JRAS 1900 574⁷).

A related group, but with special association, is the Battered Gods (*ilāni šulputūti*). *Enūma Eliš* VI 151–54 offers a convenient starting point, though the term does not occur there. Under his name “Life,” Marduk is described as resurrecting “dead gods,” and the parallel line refers to his restoring “ruined gods” (*ilāni abtūti*). The term used for “restore” (*kšr*) is exclusively used for repairs to buildings and other material structures. This context is therefore to be understood as alluding to the repair of divine statues in the Bīt Mummi. It was thought that statues in need of such attention belonged to gods who had been defeated in battle and needed to be restored by Marduk (see p. 463). Other passages are:

ina pi-i-ki ú-ša-a ud-du-uš ilāni^{meš} na-ak-mu-ti
ēkurrāti^{meš} šu-uḫ-ḫa-a-te ú-dī-šá a-na-ku
ilāni^{meš} šul-pu-tu-ti ab-ni a-šar-šú-nu ut-tir
 AfO 25 (1974/77) 39 31–33

From your mouth went forth (the command) to renew the Bound Gods.
 I myself renewed the derelict temples,
 I built and restored the Battered Gods.

“Bound” here is IV/1 rather than I/1, but it must be this rather than “heaped up” from *nakāmu*, which gives no adequate sense. This is a text of Ashur-nāšir-apli II. A passage in the *Mīs pī* series is similar: *ilāni^{meš}-šu šul-pu-tu-ti a-na ud-d[u-uš]* “to renovate its/his Battered Gods” (K 2331 rev. 8). *ilu šul-pu-tú* occurs in a broken context of BM 34809, obv. 11 (cf. R. Labat, *Un calendrier* [Paris, 1965] 92 10). “Ruined Gods” are mentioned in the *Mappa Mundi* (p. 231 below); and in *Erra* IIIc 32 Landsberger has proposed the emendation *ila ab¹-ta* (tablet: BA-ta) “the ruined god” (WZKM 57 [1961] 13⁵⁵). In Late Assyrian texts, a group of “Deposed Gods” occur (*ilāni darsūti*: CAD sub voce *darsu*), and they are clearly related.

Apsû

“Apsû” occurs everywhere as the name of the cosmic water beneath the earth on which springs draw, the abode of Ea. It is also the name of a cultic installation in temples.⁹ As the name of a living deity, a personification of these waters, it is much less well known. *Enūma Eliš* begins with Tīamat and Apsû as the prime pair, but very early in the story Apsû, the male, was killed by Ea and thereupon became an impersonal element in which Ea took up residence. In third-millennium Sumerian documents, a personal Apsû is attested. Offerings are made to “exalted Apsû” (ZU.AB-maḫ in Early Dynastic texts: VAS XIV 93 iv; H. de Genouillac, *TSA* 1 iv; *DP* 43 i, 47 iv); the personal name a mar-ZU+AB occurs in ED documents (OIP 97 p. 80 5 iii; p. 81 6 rev.; F. Pomponio, *La prosopografia dei testi presargonici di Fara* [Rome, 1987] 29–30 cf. 17–19); and Ur III names contain the element

9. See CAD sub voce *apsû*; JRAS 1925 17; *Antiquaries Journal* 6 (1926) 400; G. van Driel, *The Cult of Aššur* (Assen, 1969) 45–46.

(H. Limet, *L'anthroponymie sumérienne* [Paris, 1968] p. 219, e.g., ur-ZU.AB). It might be argued that the use in personal names does not necessarily imply full personification and that temple and city names are similarly treated (see Limet, op. cit. pp. 203–13; I. J. Gelb, MAD III 3–6). Whatever precise (or vague) ideas underlie this use of Apsû, some sort of personification is certainly meant. In Akkadian names of the Cassite period, Apsû occurs, but only as a toponym (M. Hölscher, *Die Personennamen der Kassitenzeitlichen Texte aus Nippur* [Münster, 1996] 99). Worship of Apsû as a deity is known from Nippur during the reign of Samsu-iluna, since a temple to ^dlugal-ab-a and ^dabzu-mah is attested (JCS 18 [1964] 108). The first of this pair, Lugalabba “Lord-of-the-sea,” is dealt with later after Tiāmat, and since he is certainly male, one would expect “Exalted Apsû” to be his female consort. If this is correct, it conflicts with the masculine gender of Apsû in *Enūma Eliš*. An expository text, JNES 48 (1989) 215–21, offers in line 12 an equation of pairs: ^dnamma u ^dnanše apsû [u ti-amat⁷] “Namma and Nanše are Apsû and [Tiāmat ?].” The genders of the first pair here are themselves troublesome (see p. 429). The lists of conquered Enlils quoted above (pp. 211–212) are most relevant to *Enūma Eliš*, since four out of the six contain Apsû, five contain Qingu, three contain Mummu, and one Tiāmat. Thus, Apsû remains a very little-known deity.

Mummu

Mummu, the vizier of Apsû, has a name which is also a common noun in Akkadian, the meaning of which needs attention. If one disregards *mummû*, the variant of *mammû* “ice,” and a few uncertain items in lexical lists, Akkadian offers three homophones: (i) the name of a wooden object (perhaps a Semitic word); (ii) the rare *mummu* from the Sumerian mu₇-mu₇ “noise” (see note on *Enūma Eliš* VII 121); and (iii) *mummu* from the Sumerian úmun “wisdom” or “skill.” The last is also the name of the vizier.¹⁰ This Sumerian base was already known to George Smith in 1875 (*The Chaldean Account of Genesis* p. 65), and, after much futile speculation since, the truth of his view is now established (note MSL III 136 88 ú-mu-un = DÉ = mu-um-mu). The dropping of the initial u- of úmun and the interchange of the final n/m are well attested phonetic phenomena in Sumerian, and from *mum* (which is thrice attested in Akkadian contexts to be quoted) the normal *mummu* arose by the addition of the case ending with appropriate doubling of the -m-. The vizier Mummu is in fact sometimes written ^dDÉ. The Sumerian word is an abstract noun with no trace of personification, and the sense of it survives in Akkadian in Bīt Mummi (once *ekur mummi*), a part of a temple complex devoted to esoteric wisdom but especially as manifested in the making and revivification of divine statues. This is stated quite explicitly in the following passage:

bīt māri^{mes} *um-ma-ni ašar ilu ibbannû*^ú

The house of the craftsmen where a god is created.

C. B. F. Walker and M. Dick, SAALT 1 p. 41 55

10. On this word and for passages in addition to the lexica, see: Bohl, *OLZ* 1916 265–83; A. Heidel, *JNES* 7 (1948) 98ff.; J. J. A. van Dijk, *SGL* II 115ff.; A. Falkenstein, *ZA* 56 (1964) 72–73; W. G. Lambert, *JSS* 14 (1969) 250. Note also *KAR* 365; *MDP* 27 (1935) 245 obv. 1.

é-kur umún dí-m-dím-ma dingir lugal-bi la'-bar-bi me-dè-en
 ša é-kur mu-um-mi ba-nu-ú ili ù šarri á[r-da-ni] ni-nu

We are the slaves of the temple of *mummu* that creates god and king.

LKA 76 obv. 7–8

mummu alone is used referring to the Bīt Mummi, especially in the phrases *mār mummi*, *āšib mummi* (KAR 203 rev. i–iii 36) and *tupšar mummi* (KAJ 79 25). Thus, the sense of the word somewhat shifted from the Sumerian “wisdom” to the Akkadian “creative power,” probably influenced by its use in Bīt Mummi. However, the original sense was not lost, since Eudemus of Rhodes explained the vizier Mummu as meaning νοητὸς κόσμος (p. 422). A parallel with the creative Johannine λόγος can be made so long as there is no attempt to derive *mummu* from a verb of speaking.

The common noun *mummu* is also used of several deities but always associated with creativity:

- Ea: [úm-un m]ud an-ki-ke₄ gál-gál = *mu-um-mu ba-an šamê u eršetim*
 LKA 77 i 29f. and dups. = ArOr 21 (1953) 362
^dé-a mu-um-mu ba-an ka-la
 VAS I 37 iii 4–5; Iraq 15 (1953) 123 19
 la ip-ti-qu ^dé-a mu-um-m[u]
 H. Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon* (AOAT 256; Münster, 2001)
 p. 567 ii 2
 šá ib-ši-mu ^didim mu-um-mu
 H. Schaudig, op. cit., p. 570 16
- Marduk: ^dmu-um-mu ba-an šamê^e u eršetim^{tim}
Enūma Eliš VII 86
 [m]u-um-mu pa-ti-iq x x [. . .
 K 9902 2 (Marduk hymn)
- Nabû: [na- . . . ^dn]in-ši-kù mu-um-mu ba-an bi-nu-tu x [. . .
 PSBA 20 (1898) 154ff. obv. 14 (This might in fact refer to Ea, not to Nabû, since
 it could be ascribing attributes to the latter *like* the former.)
- Ištar: *mu-um-mu ba-an par-ši u šu-luḫ-ḫi*
*tak-lim-tu*₄ ^dé-a ina apsî tu-kal-li rik-si
 E. Ebeling, *Handerhebung* 60 7–8

To these must be added two passages which use the same noun as an epithet of Tīāmat: *Enūma Eliš* I 4 and BA V (1906) 664 15:] *ki mu-um ti-amat*. Some interpreters have taken the first of these passages as: “Mummu (and) Tīāmat,” but that is unnecessary in view of this use of *mummu* as an epithet used for supernatural powers in creative acts, and if so it would mean that Mummu was introduced without explanation in line 4, whereas in line 30 there is a proper introduction to the first certain mention of the vizier. However, Mummu does not play any important role in the Epic. When his master Apsû was killed, Mummu was cowed, and to control him Ea fastened him up with a lead rope, and after this he plays no further part in the story. The episode is aetiological, explaining how Ea acquired his great knowledge and wisdom in ancient lore.

Two Old Akkadian personal names present a divine Mummu: *mu-mu-sa-tu* “Mummu is a mountain” (MAD III 264) and *mu-mu-i-lum* “Mummu is a god” (Ur III messenger tablet, Šu-Sîn 4, in a private collection).

The next noted occurrence of a personal Mummu occurs on a boundary stone of the reign of Nazimaruttaš, where, in place of a listing of the deities in the curse formulas who are supposed to be represented on the stone by their symbols, a whole column is devoted to a listing of 17 symbols (17 *šu-ri-na ša ilāni^{meš} rabūti^{meš}*: MDP 2 91 iv 29–30 = Hinke, SSS XIV p. 4). Although 17 symbols are in fact carved on the stone, there is no more agreement between the inscription and the carvings in this case than in others. Zimmern's brave attempt to find agreement (apud C. Frank, LSS II/2 33) was finally killed by Steinmetzer's preposterous defence of it in *Festschrift Eduard Sachau* (Berlin, 1915) pp. 62–71. However, if this list is compared with the carved symbols generally on boundary stones, and not with those on this stone alone, it is uniquely valuable. The lines covering Anu, Enlil, and Ea read:

<i>šub-tum</i> ù <i>šu-ku-sú</i>	The seat and mitre
<i>ša an-nim šār šamē^e</i>	of Anu, king of heaven;
<i>gir-gi-lu al-la-ku</i>	the itinerant <i>girgilu</i> -bird
<i>ša ^den-líl bēl mātāti(kur-kur)</i>	of Enlil, lord of the lands;
<i>mu-um</i> ù <i>su-ḥur-ma-šu</i>	Mummu and the fish-goat,
<i>a-ši-ir-tum rabūtum šá ^dé-a</i>	the great shrine of Ea,
<i>^dšul-pa-è</i>	Šulpae,
<i>^diš-ḥa-ra</i>	Išhara,
<i>u ^da-ru-ru</i>	and Aruru.

Anu's symbols in the list correspond with those carved on the stone, but Enlil is represented iconographically by the same things as Anu, not by a bird. Ea's symbols occur in the register immediately below that in which those of Anu and Enlil are shown. They are a horned creature, almost completely effaced, at the left, and a seat at the right. This separation of the seat from the other parts is most unusual. Perhaps the seat was intended to serve for Ea and the three deities named after him in the inscription, and for this reason those parts of the composite symbol which were distinctively his had to be separated. Whether this is so or not, the damaged parts are certainly known from other stones. They are the fish-goat, which commonly lies along the bottom of the seat, and the head of a horned animal generally identified as that of a ram. This agrees with the inscription, for "fish-goat" in Akkadian is *suḥurmašû*, and the horned creature must therefore be Mum, or Mummu in the conventional orthography. There are two possibilities for this animal. The only horned animal commonly connected with Ea is the ibex (*dàra* = *turāḥu*). A number of Ea names begin *d*dàra (ŠL IV/1 162), and that alone is used as his name in a Bīt Mummi ritual (IV R² 25 iv 45), while Aa explains the sign *d*dàra as *d*é-a (MSL XIV 513 185). The name of Enki's boat is *dàra-abzu* in the year-name for the second year of Šu-Sîn of the Third Dynasty of Ur, and Gudea mentions "the holy ibex of the Apsû" (*dàra-kù abzu*: Cylinder A xxiv 21). The other possibility is based on a single passage in the hymn in praise of Eridu's temple, which praises Enki and then continues:

šà šeg₉-bar-ra lú igi nu-bar-re-dam
abgal-zu igi-bar-ra bí-in-du₈
 OECT I 2 ii 13–14 and dups., cf. Römer, SKIZ p. 246

(Who has) understanding like a wild sheep, which no one can see,
 The sage, he has looked on you.

šeg₉ (= *atūdu*) and šeg₉-bar (= *sapparu*) have commonly been rendered “wild sheep,” but Landsberger in *JNES* 24 (1965) 296⁴⁰ has aired the idea that the meaning is “wild boar.” *Malku* V 46–47 can be quoted, since there *sapparu* and *atūdu* = *šaḥû* (*LTBA* 2 13 14–15). However, this conflicts with *Urra* XIV, where the (male) šeg₉ immediately follows on *udu-idim* = *bibbu* “(female) wild sheep,” while *šaḥû* occurs 14 lines later and is separated by a number of, first, horned and, later, hornless animals (*MSL* VIII/2 17–19). The correctness of “wild sheep” is confirmed by a simile in *Enmerkar and Ensuḥkešdaʾanna*, where a messenger’s running is compared to the movement of a šeg₉-bar and a falcon (*súr-dù*^{mušēn}) (see W. Heimpel, *Tierbilder* 25.1). Various wild horned animals are famous for their speed of movement over distances, but not the wild boar. The symbol itself first appears on Old Babylonian seals (U. Seidl, *Bagh. Mitt.* IV [1968] 165–67), so there is no chronological problem in taking this reference in the Eridu hymn to interpret Mammu on the boundary stones, though we cannot be sure, of course, that the personal name Mammu was used of this animal before the Cassite period. The frequency of occurrence of the ibex hardly weighs against the remarkable appositeness of the passage in the Eridu hymn. Thus, physically, Mammu was in all probability a wild sheep, and the Epic confirms this in that Ea put a lead-rope (*šerretu*) on it. This restraint was that used for animals.

Mythology about Mammu is little more abundant than that relating to Apsû. We do not know if the tradition of Ea’s having inherited a wise old sheep from an earlier generation in divine history is ancient or not. It is always possible that a Cassite-period thinker combined a wise sheep with Ea’s wisdom and produced the figure Mammu. Another allusion occurs in DT 184 14:] x ^dmu-um-mu šá kak-k[i “] . Mammu, who, with weapons [” (see p. 327). A Bīt Mummi ritual, K 2727+6213, thrice mentions “Mammu, Qingu, and his ten creatures” (^dDÉ ^dqin-gi u ^deš-ret-nab-ni-is-su). Of the six lists of “Conquered Enlils” (pp. 211–212), three contain Mammu, and always adjacent to Qingu. This evidence suggests that a tradition existed in which Qingu and Mammu were defeated together. No. (vi) of these lists shows knowledge that Mammu was a vizier by identifying him with Papsukkal (variant: Ilabrat), vizier of Anu. However, this might depend on *Enūma Eliš* and not represent an independent tradition.

Qingu

The precise spelling of this name is only given (twice) in a Late Assyrian expository text: ^dqi-in-gu (*ZA* 51 [1955] 154 4–5); and in a Late Babylonian exercise tablet, UET VII 145, quoted below: ^dqí-in-gu-ú. In addition to the common ^dqin-gu, both ^dqin-ga (pp. 211–212, lists (iv) and (v)) and ^dqin-gi (loc. cit. list (vi)) occur. The variant to this last, ^dqin-gu-gu, no doubt contains an erroneous dittography. The name is certainly of Sumerian origin, since q and g should not occur in one Akkadian root. Thus, the -ng- represents the Sumerian phoneme ḡ (= /ŋ/). There is an Early Dynastic deity ^dk in known in the personal name ur-^dk in (Jestin, *TSS* 58 iv), and this is the same name as the Akkadian form Qingu, though there is nothing to show what understanding of the deity Kin existed in Early Dynastic times. Although Qingu is best known as an enemy of Marduk, it is in fact one of Marduk’s names, as when Nabû is described as “offspring of Qingu” (p. 148), and it appears in the lists of Marduk names as Kinma with a compound form Irqingu. Also, in other texts, Kingal and Irkingal/Irkingi occur; see the note on *Enūma Eliš* VII 103–8. In the Epic, Kinma is interpreted as “the director” (*mu-ma-ʾir*), which presumes the Sumerian root k in.

Qingu performs two functions in the Epic. He leads Tiāmat's host, and he gives his blood for the creation of mankind. As a leader of a lost cause, he is well known elsewhere. Five of the six lists of "Conquered Enlils" (pp. 211–212) contain him, and (vi) identifies him with Enmešarra, with whom, indeed, he has much in common. Both were defeated with their sons by Marduk. According to KAR 307 (quoted below) Qingu's host was composed of seven sons, but LKA 73 (also quoted below) assigns 40 to him. Outside the Epic, a mythological almanac (edition forthcoming from F. S. Reynolds) offers most detail about Qingu's rise and fall: his promotion by Tiāmat, his receiving the Tablet of Destinies, etc., but this is told in the wording of the Epic, and direct dependence is certain. Only one point differs from the Epic: according to one passage (BM 35407+ i 2'), Marduk severs Qingu's neck. The association with Tiāmat is also attested in KAR 307 rev. 17–19 (collated), another text which depends on the Epic:

ištēn alpa ù immere(udu-níta)^{mes} šá TA ÛR¹ ana qaq-qa-ri TI-su-nu i-na-sa-ku-u-ni
^dqin-gu adi 7 mārē^{mes}-[šú] x i x meš šu
summatu^{mušen} šá i-na-x-ku ti-amat i-na-sa-ku-nim-ma iḥepḫû(gaz)^{mes-u}

The bull and the sheep which they throw alive from the roof to the ground
 are Qingu and [his] seven sons

The dove which they throw (?) is Tiāmat. They throw them and crush them.

This section is of course interpreting a ritual throwing of animals from a roof as the re-enactment of a myth, and an allusion to the same or a similar rite with interpretation occurs in LKA 73 obv. 3–4:

. . . ^dqin-gu adi 40 mārē^{mes}-šú TA ÛR inaddû^{mes}-ni šamnu dišpu
ša ina libbi kakki(giš-šita) inaddû^{mes}-ni a-na šalam damē(úš)^{mes}-šú-nu inaddû^{mes}-ni

. . . They throw Qingu and his 40 sons from the roof. The oil and honey
 which they put on the weapon symbolizes their blood.

The only other sources which mention Qingu and Tiāmat together are late Assyrian royal inscriptions, a prayer of Ashurbanipal to Marduk:

tak-mu ta-ma-tú rapaštum^{t[um]}] ^dqin-gi ḫar-[mi-šá]
 ABRT I 29 20 = SAA III p. 7

You bound the wide sea (Tiāmat) [. . . .] Qingu [her] spouse

and a text of Ashur-etel-ilāni (JCS 48 [1996] 96 = RIMB 2 264). The defeat of Qingu without any mention of Tiāmat is alluded to in the interpretation of a royal ritual, CT 15 44 8–11:

. . . immeru(udu-nitá) ina muḫḫi kinūni(ki-izi) inaddû^u
^dgirru(bil.gi) i-qa-mu-šú ^dqin-gu šu-ú ki-i ina išāti i-qa-mu-š[u]
^{giš}zi-qa-a-te ša ultu libbi kinūni ú-šá-an-ma-ru mul-mul-li la pa-du-[te]
ša ^{giš}iš-pat ^{dbēl} . . .

. . . They throw a sheep on to the brazier and the
 fire-god burns it. This is Qingu. When they burn it in the fire,
 the torches which they kindle from the brazier are the merciless arrows
 from the quiver of Bēl . . .

This certainly seems to imply a version of the story in which Qingu was the victim of Marduk's arrows, a fate assigned to Tīāmat, not to Qingu, in the Epic. However, the ultimate doom of Qingu according to this text would seem to have been burning, and this is confirmed by an anecdotal section on a Late Babylonian exercise tablet from Ur, UET VII 145:

<i>bu-lu-ú</i>	The firewood (?)
<i>ina irat ku.ad.ru</i>	upon . . .
<i>ana ^dšamaš im-ta-aḫ-ḫar</i>	prayed to Šamaš,
<i>um-ma bēl-šu</i>	thus says his lord
<i>qí-in-gu-ú</i>	Qingu,
<i>ka-ma-an</i>	“Bind me
<i>u qa-la-an-ni</i>	and burn me.
<i>e-nin-in-ni</i>	Punish me.
<i>a-na ma-ḫar</i>	Why will they
<i>DIŠ ^dnuska</i>	bring me
<i>am-mi-in-ni</i>	before
<i>ú-bal-ú-an-ni</i>	Nuska?”

This belongs to the same genre of popular saying as *BWL* p. 221 and presents many problems, but it does suggest that in one tradition Qingu was burnt.

The concept of Qingu as a warrior (and hardly hostile to Marduk) is contained in the last two couplets of a 121-line hymn to Marduk:

<i>[be-lu]m ^dqin-gu ga-áš-ru-ut-ka az-za[k-ru . . .</i>
<i>[mi]-ri-šú qa-bal MU-ka ni-ba-a [ul . . .</i>
<i>^dmarūtuk ^dqin-gu ga-áš-ru-ut-ka az-zak-ru [. . .</i>
<i>‘mi’-ri-šú qa-bal MU-ka ni-ba-a ul [. . .</i>
<hr/>
<i>2 uš 1 mu-bi-im a-na ^dbēl [. . .</i>
<hr/>
K 2523 reverse

The only intelligible part of this is “Lord/Marduk, Qingu is your strength”.

The second aspect of Qingu, his giving of blood for the creation of mankind, is one not so far attested for Enmešarra, but other deities did the same. In *Atra-ḫasīs* it is Wê or Wê-ila (I 223), who may have been the ringleader of the younger gods who went on strike. In Berossus, either Marduk or “one of the gods” was decapitated to supply the blood. In the *Unilingual/Bilingual Account of Creation* obv. 25 a plurality of deities (^dNAGAR-^dNAGAR) are slaughtered. The name has commonly but wrongly been read Lamga on the basis of II R 47 66: ^{lam-ga}^dNAGAR = ^d30. However, this is explaining a name of Sîn, and since certainly no plurality of moon-gods were slaughtered to create man, this is irrelevant. The correct reading is provided by (vi) of the lists of “Conquered Enlils,” where ^dNAGAR and ^dal-la are variants. This is confirmed by OB *Diri*: ^{d.al-la}NAGAR = *al-la* (MSL XV 34 10:2); and by An = Anum VI 220–23, which gives ^dNAGAR four glosses: *il-la*, *al-la*, *ḫa-a-a-u* and *na-gar* (not, be it noted, *lamga*). Alla is a little-known deity with underworld connections (see J. J. A. van Dijk, SGL II 27 and 72), the vizier of Ningišzida (ZA 53 [1959] 48). Thus, his occurrence in the list of “Conquered Enlils” equated with Anšar is explained. Already in the Old Babylonian period, he was identified with Tammuz, since he appears in Tammuz texts written ^dNAGAR. The suspicion of Carl

Frank (*Kultlieder aus dem Ishtar-Tamūz-Kreis* [Leipzig, 1939] 77 note on 36) that the name should be read Alla is now confirmed. Tammuz himself appears in five of the lists of “Conquered Enlils,” and Tammuz, like Asakku, developed into a group. The Late Assyrian *Tākultu* texts offer ^ddumu^{meš}-zi (R. Frankena, *Tākultu* [Leiden, 1953] 85), and while the placing of the plural sign in the middle of the name is curious, there can be no doubt that it serves the function of rendering the name plural, since the related *Götteradressbuch* (op. cit., p. 123 17) mentions the “Seven Tammuzes of copper” (7 ^ddumu^{meš}-zi *siparri*). In the light of this evidence, it comes as no surprise to find an expository text connecting Qingu and Tammuz:

^dqin-gu u ^{iti}nisannu(bára) šá ^d60 u ^d50 ud-1-[kam ^{mul}ú-ḥun-gá igi-lá]
^{mul}ú-ḥun-gá : ^ddumu-zi : ^dqin-g[u : ^ddumu-zi . . .

STC I 217 8–9

Qingu and Nisan belong to Anu and Enlil. On the first day [Aries is visible.]
 The constellation Aries is Tammuz. Qingu [is Tammuz . . .

The restoration of line 8, which is of course uncertain, is based on CT 33 2 43 = ^{mul}APIN: E. F. Weidner, *Handbuch* p. 36, where Aries is identified with Tammuz, and its heliacal rising is assigned to the first of Nisan (ibid. 3 36 = ibid. p. 37; see also *AfO Beih.* 24 [1989] 30, 40). The equation of Aries and Tammuz may well be taken from the first of these two astronomical passages. It is not clear how Qingu comes in, but since he is somehow identified with Nisan, and the first of Nisan is the day of the visibility of Aries = Tammuz, it is very likely that the exposition continued by equating Qingu and Tammuz, as has been restored above.

A few scattered items may be assembled at this point. The bird-call text puts “Qingu” in the mouth of a duck:

uz-tur^{mušen} iṣ-ṣur ^dkù-sù ^dqin-gu ^dqin-gu pu-uh-ra-a-ma pu-x [. . .
 KAR 125 obv. 10 = *AnSt* 20 (1970) 114

The duck is the bird of Kusu. [Its cry is], “Qingu, Qingu, assemble and . . . [. . .

Provided that the *paspasu* is correctly identified as the duck, phoneticians of the Akkadian language have a valuable, and hitherto neglected, instance of the actual pronunciation of several phonemes in the equation “Qingu, Qingu” = “Quack, quack.” Mythologically, *puḥrāma*, though harder to imagine coming from the throat of a duck, is more valuable, since it confirms the god’s status as leader of a host. A demonic association is shown by the listing together of Anzû, Qingu, and Asakku in the Late Assyrian expository text ZA 51 (1955) 154 4–5. A connection with Ea is found twice. First, LKA 73 rev. 9 alludes to an unknown “gift that Ea gave to Qingu” (] x u *qiš-tú* ^dé-a ana ^dqin-gu i-qiš). Second, the Late Assyrian *Götteradressbuch* locates Ea-the-king, Damkina, Išhara, Qingu, Malik, and Ugurtu all in the house of Ea-the-king (R. Frankena, *Tākultu* p. 123 30–33).

The Monsters

Even one careful reading of the list of monsters in the Epic is sufficient to raise doubt about its composition. In the first place, “mother Ḥubur” is said to have created them, though elsewhere in the Epic, Tiāmat is described as their creatress. Presumably, Ḥubur and Tiāmat must be identified.

Ḫubur, the name of the underworld river, is at least within the range of related ideas. In the second place, it will strike the careful reader that lines 134–40 of Tablet I are a general account in which the monsters are generically called *mušmahḫi* and *ušumgalli*, both words meaning roughly “dragon.” Following this, it will appear that the individual ones are listed by name in 141–43, though *u₄-mi da-ab-ru-ti* “fierce demons” in 143 again seems to be a generic term. This obvious interpretation is jarred, however, by line 146, where the author went to the trouble of giving the total: 11. This includes the three generic descriptions with the eight specific names. A further complication follows. Two of the generic terms have inescapably plural endings: *nadrūti* and *dabrūti*. The scribes occasionally add plural signs to the specific names, which only shows that they shared our embarrassment. Since two of the author’s 11 are beyond question plural, should not each name indicate a plurality? This suggestion can only provoke the comment that, if the author really intended a countless host of monsters of eleven different species, he expressed himself badly. The “11” fits the context so badly that one must suppose that the number had special significance for the author.

The annals of monster-killing in ancient Mesopotamia provide the explanation. Ninurta in *Lugal-e* and *An-gim* had 11 kills to his credit. Marduk must have the same. In Part V we shall show that the author is consciously following the pattern of Ninurta in building up his concept of Marduk. Outside the Epic, the various traditions relating to theomachies show clear influence of the Ninurta myths. One of the lists of “Conquered Enlils,” (iv), also has 11 members. The reason for the odd number 11 may be astrological. Ninurta with his “bound warriors” add up to 12, one for each month of the year, and similarly Tīāmat with her 11. The Bīt Mummi incantation quoted above gave “Mummu, Qingu and his 10 creatures,” which also add up to 12.

While keeping up with Ninurta explains the reason for Marduk’s killing monsters at all and for the number’s being 11, it explains nothing more. In all three preserved lists of Ninurta’s warriors, only one creature occurs which is also found among the 11 of *Enūma Eliš*, the *gud-alim/kusarikku*. Also, the terminology is different. Those of *Enūma Eliš* are not warriors but “her (Tīāmat’s) 11 creatures” (*ištēn ešret nabnīsa*). *nabnītu* is something of a technical term, since the description of Aššur’s battle with Tīāmat in an inscription of Sennacherib (OIP 2 140–42) speaks of “Tīāmat and the creatures of her middle” literally rendered (*ti-amat a-di nab-nit qir-bi-šú*). Also, the ritual names “Mummu, Qingu and his 10 creatures” (*ḏeš-ret-nab-ni-is-su*). Sennacherib’s text could of course have been influenced by the Epic, but this is unlikely in the case of the Bīt Mummi text, since Tīāmat is conspicuously absent. Thus, the list of monsters in the Epic belongs to a tradition with its own technical term quite distinct from that of “bound” or “dead warriors.” Altogether 10 related lists of monsters have been identified, which show how well the tradition was established. They are the following:

(i) The earliest datable list occurs in the well-known inscription of Agum, ninth king of the Cassite dynasty, V R 33 and Rm 505 (Campbell Thompson, *Gilgamish* pl. 36). The genuineness of the text has been called in question by Gelb (*JNES* 8 [1949] 348¹²) and Landsberger, (*MAOG* IV [1928/29] 312; *JCS* 8 [1954] 68) but has been defended by Rowton (*JNES* 17 [1958] 103) and Weidner (*AfO* 19 [1959/60] 138). A new edition has been prepared by J. A. Brinkman, who remained cautious in his *Materials and Studies for Kassite History* I (Chicago, 1976) p. 97. In the present writer’s view, it contains genuine Cassite-period information on religious matters and can thus be used as evidence of a Cassite-period group of monsters. They were done in an inlay of precious and semi-precious stones on the doors of the cellas (*pa-pa-ḫa-at*) of Marduk and Zarpānītum in Esagil, which

Agum made when the god was brought back after a period of exile. There is a total of seven creatures and no explanation of their relationship to Marduk is given.

(ii) The second incantation of *Šurpu* VIII contains a list, and since this is now probably completed by the addition of 79-7-8, 193 to the material used in the edition of E. Reiner, *Šurpu* p. 39, and the interpretation must now be changed, a full edition is given here:

- 6 *én šu-ut mē^{meš} nāri u na-ba-li ba-aš-mu^d laḥ-mu^d muš-[ḥuš]*
 7 *ur-idim-ma ku-sa-rik-ku ku₆-lú-u₁₈-lu suḥur-[má]^{š^{ku6}} [d]anzû na-²i-ru*
 8 *u₄-mu šá maḥar^d bēl pu-luḥ-tú ḥur-ba-šu nam-[ri-ri ma-lu-u mu-kil-mē^{meš}-balāti]*
 9 *na-din-mē^{meš}-qāte^{II} lipṭurū(du₈)[^{me}-ka lipšurū(búr)^{meš}-ka]*

Variants: 6 Rm II 166: om. *u* Sm 1717: *lā[ḥ]-* 7 Rm II 166: *-rik-ki* 8 Rm II 166 ^den *pu-luḥ-ta*

- 6 May the creatures of the waters of the river and the dry land, the Hydra, the Laḥmu-monster, the Dragon,
 7 The Savage Dog, the “Mighty Bull,” the Fish-man, the Fish-goat, and bellowing Anzû,
 8 Demons which are [filled] with fear, dread and terror in the presence of Bēl, [(also) the Holder-of-the-Water-of-Life]
 9 And the Giver-of-the-Water-of-the Hands, release [you and absolve you.]

The textual reconstruction is not quite sure. There might be a gap after both *mušḥuš* and *suḥurmaš*, and if so, probably one monster is lacking at each point. But comparison with the other lists suggests that what is given here is complete.

(iii) KAR 312 (collated), the reverse of which is duplicated by VAS XXIV 97 (not collated), is a prayer to Marduk with Babylon also given attention. The text of V is given, with variants of K:

- Obv. 7 *a-mu-ur ká-dingir-ra^{ki} e-la-a a-na é-sag-íl*
 K 3 *lu x x x x x-ia a-na ²a-x [. . .*
 Rev. 1 *i-ta-al-lu-uk ba-bi-li pa-at-[. . .*
 K 4 *x x x x [x] ¹ká-dingir-ra^{ki} pa-PA-[. . .*
 Rev. 2 *la ta-ab-ba-ni be-lí qí-bi a-[. . .*
 K om.
 Rev. 3 *na-di-in-me-e-qá-tim li-ḥa²-x-x-[. . .*
 K 5 *na-din-[mē]^{meš}-qāti ¹li-iḥ¹-sú-sú a-na [. . .*
 Rev. 4 *mu-kil-me-e-ba-lá-tim lu-ú qa-bu-ú da-mi-i[q-ta]*
 K 6 *mu-kil-¹mē^{meš}-t¹-la iq-bu-ú da-[. . .*
 Rev. 5 *¹ba-aš-mu muš-ḥuš-šu u₄-gal¹-lu ur-idim ku₆-lú-lu₇ suḥur-maš^{ku6}*
 K 7 *om. -šu and ku₆-lú-lu₇ suḥur-maš^{ku6}*
 Rev. 6 *[ku-sa-rik-ku li-ḥ]a-as-si-su be-li*
 K 8 *^dgud-LIBIŠ ¹i-ḥa-sa-su-šu¹ [(. . .*

See Babylon, go up to Esagil,

Walk around Babylon . . [. . .

Do not . . . lord, speak . [. . .

May the Giver-of-the-Water-of-the-Hands be mindful of [. . .

May the Holder-of-the-Water-of-Life speak favour,

May the Hydra, the Dragon, the Great Demon, the Savage Dog, the Fish-man, the Fish-goat and the “Mighty Bull” pay close attention to Bēl.

(iv) This acrostic prayer of Ashurbanipal to Marduk has the names of three monsters in a broken section. Since the previous line has “who smashed Anzû’s skull,” the complete text no doubt stated that Marduk defeated the monsters.

(v) ABRT I 56–59 runs parallel to *Šurpu* VIII, and a number of duplicates have been noted by E. Reiner (*Šurpu* p. 59). However, the pertinent incantation has only the list of monsters in common with any part of *Šurpu* VIII, namely with no. (ii). The first line, which is virtually all that remains apart from the second line with the monsters, reads: [d]é-a u ddam-ki-na den-ki dasal-lú-ḫi [. The pair [da]ra ù dḫa-si-su occur on the second line before the monsters.

(vi)–(viii) are lists compiled from rituals which prescribe the making of images of monsters, usually of clay. The original texts include minor deities and *apkallus* among the monsters, but these have been excluded from the lists given. In the case of (vi) and (viii), there are instructions to bury the images, and buried specimens have been recovered from excavations (see C. L. Woolley, *JRAS* 1926 689ff. and UET VIII 93–94 and pls. 33–34). Though the figurines were crudely fashioned of clay and for the most part badly preserved, they give some idea of what form these creatures were conceived to have had in the period of their burial.

(ix) This list, from BM 45619 i 38–42, is part of the description of the decoration of Etuša, Marduk’s shrine in Babylon, from the building account of Nebuchadnezzar II (see P.-R. Berger, *AOAT* 4/I [Kavelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1973] 322).

(x) BM 119282 is an expository text, and lines 23ff. list the monsters adorning the gates or gateways of Esagil. Each line has the pattern: [2?] am 2 muš-ḫuš 2 suḫur-máš ina ká . . . —that is, each gateway had two (?) bulls, two dragons, and a pair of other creatures that varied from gate to gate. The six gates are dealt with and their names are mostly missing. The six lines are summed up with one line that is followed by a related line:

. . .] ú-ma-mu šá ina ká^{meš} é-sag-íl gub^{meš}
 . . . suḫu]r-máš ina ká^{meš} šá bīt dḫa-gub^{meš}[eš]
 . . .] monsters that stand in the gates of Esagil.
 . . . Fish]-goats stand in the gates of the temple of Ea.

(xi) Sennacherib, in building work on the Eḫursaggalkurkurra in the Aššur temple in Assur, installed images on and around the gate of the Bīt-Šaḫūru: *KAH* II 124 18–21 = *OIP* 2 145.

(xii) A hymn to Nabû, probably of Middle- or Neo-Babylonian origin, also offered a list of monsters in a line of which the beginning is lost:] dḡud-dumu-dNA¹ gír-tab-lú-u₁₈-lu ur-maḫ-lú-u₁₈-lu, and five lines earlier it presents dmuš-ḫuš in a narrative context: B. Hruška and G. Komoróczy (eds.), *Festschrift Lubor Matouš* (Budapest, 1978) II p. 82 7, 12. Nabû inherited this material from his father Marduk of course. In view of its incomplete state it is not included in our table.

	(i)	(ii)	(iii)
<i>Enūma Eliš</i>	V R 33 iv–v	<i>Šurpu</i> VIII 6–7	KAR 312 rev. 7, etc.
<i>ba-aš-mu</i>	<i>ba-aš-me</i>	<i>ba-aš-mu</i>	<i>ba-aš-mu</i>
<i>muš-ḫuš-šū</i>	<i>lāḫ-me</i>	d ^l lāḫ-mu	muš-ḫuš
<i>la-ḫa-mu</i>	<i>ku-sa-rik-kum</i>	d ^l muš-[ḫuš]	u ₄ -gal-lu
<i>u₄-gal-lum</i>	<i>u₄-gal-la</i>	ur-idim-ma	ur-idim

ur-idim gír-tab-lú-u ₁₈ -lu ku ₆ -lú-u ₁₈ -lu ku-sa-rik-kum	ur-idim [ku ₆]-lú-u ₁₈ -lu [suḫur]-máš ^{ku₆}	ku-sa-rik-ki ku ₆ -lú-u ₁₈ -lu suḫur-[máš] ^{ku₆} [^d a]nzú	ku ₆ -lú-lu ₇ suḫur-máš ^{ku₆} ^d gud-LIBIŠ	
(iv) SAA III no. 2	(v) ABRT I 56 5–6	(vi) KAR 298 obv. 41–rev. 9 = F. A. M. Wiggermann, 184–86 <i>Mesopotamian Protective Spirits</i> (Groningen, 1992), pp. 41–44, 202	(vii) Wiggermann, p. 14	
...] ^d ur-idim ^d gud-alim ^d ku ₆ -lú-[u ₁₈ -lu ...	u ₄ -gal ur-idim gír-tab-[lú-u ₁₈ -lu ...] [^d]im-dugud ^{mušen} gud-alim ku ₆ -lú-lú suḫur-máš ^{ku₆} [...]	u ₄ -gal lāḫ-me [gud]- ^r dumu- ^d utu ¹ [ur-idim] [b]a-aš-me muš-ḫuš [suḫ]ur-máš ^{ku₆} ku ₆ -lú-u ₁₈ -lu gír-tab-lú-u ₁₈ -lu ...	^d lāḫ-mu ^{meš} muš-šà-tur muš-ḫuš [u ₄ -gal] ur-idim ^{meš} ku-sa-rik-ku [gír-tab-lú-u ₁₈ -lu]	
	(viii) AfO 18 (1957/58) 110ff.	(ix) RA 82 (1988) 140		
	ur-dím-me gud-dumu- ^d utu ba-aš-me suḫur-máš ^{ku₆} ... u[r-maḫ-lú]-u ₁₈ -lu [...]	[b]a-aš-mu la-aḫ-mu muš-ḫuš ^{meš} ^r u ₄ ¹ -gal-lu-u ₄ -gal-lu ur-idim-ur-idim [g]ud-dumu- ^d utu-gud-dumu- ^d utu [ku ₆ -l]ú-u ₁₈ -lu ^{meš} maš-dā ^{meš} [a]n-za-a-am ù gír-tab-lú-u ₁₈ -lu		
	(x) RA 91 (1997) 75 23–28	(xi) KAH II 124 18–21		
	(am) (muš-ḫuš) suḫur-máš kalab ^d šamaš kù(š)-ša(š)-rak-ku pu-sa-su-ú ku ₆ -lú-u ₁₈ -lu gír-tab-lú-u ₁₈ -lu	gud-dumu- ^d utu ku ₆ -lú-u ₁₈ -lu suḫur-máš ^{ku₆} ur-idim gír-tab-lú-u ₁₈ -lu		

The first observation to be made from a consideration of these lists is that our analysis of the one in *Enūma Eliš* is confirmed. All eight specific names occur in a number of the related lists, but the generic terms *ušumgallu*, *mušmahhu*, and *ūmu dabru* are lacking. *ūmu* is used in *Šurpu* VIII, but only in the plural to sum up the list. Also, the distinction between these lists and those relating to Ninurta is confirmed. In view of the ease with which material was transferred from one god to another, the presence of only one Ninurta item, Anzû, in (ii), (v) and (ix), is striking. The *gud-alim/kusarikku*, though common to both traditions, was not borrowed like Anzû but genuinely belongs to both, as will become clear.

The second observation to be made is that these monsters as a group are definitely and traditionally associated with Marduk. The rituals, (vi)–(viii), offer no help in this connection because the monsters are not associated with any god in particular. The prayer of Ashurbanipal (iv) is to Marduk, but since it may depend on *Enūma Eliš*, its value is limited. (i), (ix) and (x) all derive from pictorial representations in Marduk's temple in Babylon. (v) is connected with Ea more than Marduk, since in An = *Anum* II 298–303 Ara and Ḥasīsu are explained as viziers of Enki and Damgalnunna (CT 24 29 94–98, etc.). This leaves (ii) and (iii), which alike put together the monsters and the two minor deities Nādin-mê-qātē and Mukīl-mê-balāti (one has been restored with virtual certainty in *Šurpu*; the plural construction of them in KAR 312 is strange). These are gods on the staff of Esagil duly listed in An = *Anum* II 265–67 as “two spirits of Esagil” (2-àm udug é-sag-íl-la-ke₄: CT 24 28 70–71). Their names explain their function as being to provide the court of Marduk with water for rinsing the hands and for drinking, respectively. An Old Babylonian document lists *na-di-in me-e a-na qá-tim* (CT 45 84 2) as a cultic vessel, and there was a Sumerian tradition of deification of temple equipment. Ferocious monsters seem out of place in such genteel society. An = *Anum* II provides a suggestion in that the two water-bearing servants are followed by two gate-keepers and four dogs (4 ur-gi₇ ^damar-utu-ke₄). These were not of course lap-dogs but savage brutes to scare away intruders, appropriately listed after the gate-keepers. Perhaps the monsters in *Šurpu* VIII and KAR 312 served the same purpose.

Two points emerge from the contexts of these lists: the iconographic tradition¹¹ and connections with Ea as well as with Marduk. *Enūma Eliš* attests both when in V 75 it states that Marduk stationed images of the monsters at “the gate of the Apsû.” This was Ekarzaginna, Ea's shrine in Esagil, which also contained the Bīt Mummi (see A. R. George, *BTT* pp. 300–303). The Epic is explaining aetiologically images that were known to the author, and the lists show that similar images existed

11. No attempt is made here to identify representations of monsters generally, though the task is worth the attempt. It is of course totally wrong to identify every fleeing monster with Tīamat and every pursuing god with Marduk, as used to be done, and even the attempts of so great an art historian as H. Frankfort to find scenes from *Enūma Eliš* on Akkadian cylinder seals (*Cylinder Seals* pp. 95ff.) can only be called absurd. The sole valid procedure would be to take all representations, systematically classified, and all known names of monsters and then to begin by working from the cases where textual evidence names a known type of representation. The possibilities must be allowed that one iconographic representation could have different names (and vice versa: that one name could stand for different figures) and that the artistic and literary traditions might not fully (to put the matter at its best) coincide. In Greek vase paintings, the artists seem almost to shun scenes from Homer and prefer other epic traditions. One cuneiform text describing images is the *Göttertypentext*, edited by F. Köcher in *MIO* I (1953) 57ff., and it illustrates the problems in that several quite different *lahmus* are given.

elsewhere within the Esagil complex. Further connections with Ea are known. The *gud-alim/ku-sarikku* is twice found in connection with him:

[a-n]a dím-me-šú ana ri-gim ba-ke-e-šum
 [ku]-sa-rik-ku ig-ru-ru-ma ^dé-a ig-gi-il-ta₅-a
 AMT 96 2 obv. 11–12 and dups.

At his sobbing, at the noise of his weeping
 The “Mighty Bulls” shied away and Ea woke up.

This is from an incantation for quietening a crying child, and the monsters are hardly fearsome if they are driven away by a crying child, unless the allusion is humorous.

[ú-ta]m-mi-ki ^dku-sa-rik-ku šá bāb bīt ^dé-a abī-ki
 LKA 133 rev. 5

I exorcise you by the “Mighty Bull” at the gate of the house of your father Ea.

This might allude to Ekarzaginna, but if so it still raises the question why the *gud-alim* rather than another of these monsters was mentioned. It does seem that this creature had a special connection with Ea, and the incantation suggests that the creature was a watchdog which should have stayed at its post when danger seemed to threaten but which instead bolted. However, the Fish-goat is even more closely connected with Ea as his symbol, and this may explain why it is lacking from *Enūma Eliš*, though it appears in eight of the eleven related lists. Ea is treated with great respect in the Epic and the author may have preferred not to have Marduk defeat Ea’s symbolic animal. The *laḫama/laḫmu* is also connected with Ea. Fifty of them serve and respect him in *Inanna and Enki* (G. Farber-Flügge, *Der Mythos “Inanna und Enki” unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Liste der me* [Rome, 1973, Studia Pohl 10]) and in *Enki and the World Order* (C. A. Benito, “*Enki and Ninmah*” and *Enki and the World Order* [Philadelphia, 1969]); and a single *Laḫama-of-the-Apsû* occurs as a gate-keeper of Ea in the lists (TCL 15 pl. xxvi 103; An = *Anum* II 327–29: CT 24 29 112–13, etc. read lú-ká¹; PBS I/2 112 33 = *ArOr* 21 [1953] 395, emend -ap-zu lú-ká).¹²

The aquatic habitat of many of these monsters is apparent, though this alone does not prove connection with Ea. The Fish-goat and Fish-man speak for themselves. The Hydra, *bašmu*, is the equivalent of *muš-a-ab-ba* “snake of the sea” in *Urra* XIV 8 (MSL VIII/2 7), and the term of *Enūma Eliš*, *mušḫušsu*, can refer to aquatic creatures, since “*mušḫušsu* of the sea” occurs in *An-gim* 139 (*muš-ḫuš-a-ab-ba* = *muš-ḫuš tam-tim*).

The results of this inquiry are clear. The number of Ninurta victories, 11, has been mated to a list of monsters from the Ea/Marduk tradition. But so far, there is no evidence that in this tradition the monsters had been defeated. *Šurpu* speaks of them as filled with terror in the presence of Bēl, but this is only a picture of the watchdogs cowering when the master cracks the whip. The point is, however, one of silence. But the possibility must be kept open that these monsters did not come into the orbit of Ea or Marduk following defeat in a battle. Their ultimate disposition in *Enūma Eliš* is the

12. LKA 146 and duplicate BM 33999 (*AnSt* 30 [1980] 78) offer a piece of evidence which may connect the *muš-ḫuš* with Ea. The first line reads: éⁿ ^dé-a ina ⁱdé-silim-ma-muš-ḫuš-nunuz-ur₄-ur₄-e-dè. The translation of this long river name is in doubt.

least clear point about them. “He bound them,” it says, “to his feet” (V 74). This might mean taking them around on a leash, but if so, “to his feet” must not be pressed literally. Another possibility is that Marduk is pictured as riding the monsters while standing. In Mesopotamian and Hittite art, gods and goddesses are commonly represented as standing on animals, real and mythical. Adad does indeed ride two bulls, but it is much harder to imagine Marduk with his two feet on 11 monsters!

Berosus offers another version of monsters defeated by Marduk. He describes an infinite variety of composite creatures and animals who were born in “darkness and water,” ruled over by Tīamat.¹³ When she was defeated and cut in half, these creatures “in her” disappeared. As described, the creatures do not fit any known list of monsters, and since Berosus states that images of them existed in Marduk’s shrine, he probably depended on these images rather than on a written source. Apart from the different lists, the other main distinction between Berosus and the Epic lies in the aquatic habitat of the monsters. The Epic nowhere suggests that the 11 monsters swam in water.

A different source of monsters related to Marduk is presented in the Babylonian *Mappa Mundi*, CT 22 48. The new text and edition by Wayne Horowitz (*Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*; Winona Lake, 1998, pp. 20–25) is based on new readings not all of which have met with the approval of other scholars. This tablet has three parts. The first section, of 11 incomplete lines (with probably one or two missing at the beginning), is followed by a double ruling, and the rest of the obverse is covered with the map of a flat circular earth surrounded by “the bitter river” (*nāru mar-ra-tum*) beyond which are seven regions (*nagû*). The reverse has text divided into eight sections, one for each “region,” and a concluding paragraph. The colophon completes the tablet after another double ruling. The double rulings and the connection between the map and the reverse suggest that the first section may be unrelated to the map. However, the appearance on the tablet of the map and related text together with the first section surely implies some community of content between the different parts. While the map shows both then-known territory and the cosmographical outposts, only the latter are dealt with in the following text, so that it is possible to argue that even these two parts are from different sources.

Only the first section is relevant to the monsters.¹⁴ It reads:

- 1 (traces)
- 2 [.] x *ālāni*^{meš} *ab-tu-[tu . . .*
- 3 [. -tu]m *šá i-bar-ru-ú* ^d*marūtuk* x x x [. . .
- 4 [.] x *u ilāni*^{meš} *ab-tu-tu šá ina lib-bi tam-tim ú-x [. . .*
- 5 [.] x-*šu iz-za-zu ba-aš-mu mušhuššu ušumgallu an-zu-ú* *gír-[tab-lú-u₁₈-lu]*
- 6 [. . re-e]-*mu ša-bi-tum ap-sa-su-ú nim-ru ki-sa-[rik-ku]*
- 7 [. . . u]r-*maḥ ur-bar-ra lu-lim ù bu-ú-[šu]*
- 8 [. . .] *pa-gi-tum turāḥu*(*dāra*) *lu-ur-mu šu-ra-nu ḥur-ba-bi-li-[i]*
- 9 [.] *ú-ma-mu šá ina muḥḥi tam-tim gal-l[a]-tim* ^d*marūtuk ib-nu-šu-[nu-ti]*

13. One may at least ask if the bronze bowl from Nimrud (Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* [Harmondsworth, 1954] pl. 172a) might not intend its mass of creatures as “the brood of Tīamat,” as was suggested by C. J. Ball, *Light from the East* (London, 1899) plate facing p. 2.

14. The editors and commentators on this text (F. E. Peiser, ZA 4 [1889] 361ff.; E. Weidner, *Boghazköi-Studien* VI [1922] 86ff.; E. Unger, *Babylon* [Berlin, 1931] pp. 254ff.; H. and J. Lewy, HUCA 17 [1942/43] 10ff.) have written understandably little about the text on the obverse. F. Weissbach (ZA 41 [1933] 263) suggested, on quite inadequate grounds, that the map originated in the Persian period.

- 10 [. . . .] ^dut-napištim^{tim} šarru-ukîn(gub) u nūr(zalág)-^dda-gan lugal x x x [x]
 11 [. . . .] x ap-ḫi ḫu sag ma man-ma qí-rib-ši-na ul i-[di]
- 2 [.] . ruined cities [. . .
 3 [.] . which Marduk sees . . . [. . .
 4 [.] . and the Ruined Gods who, in the Sea . . [. . .
 5 [.] . are present the Hydra, the “Savage snake,” the Dragon, Anzû, the Scorpion-[man],
 6 [. . the wild] bull, the gazelle, the sphinx (?), the leopard, the “mighty bull”,
 7 [.] the lion, the wolf, the stag and the hyaena.
 8 [.] the female ape, the mountain goat, the ostrich, the cat, the chameleon,
 9 [.] monsters which Marduk created on the rolling Sea.
 10 [.] Ut-napištim, Sargon, Nūr-Dagan, king . . . [.]
 11 [.] no one has had experience of them.

Line 10 is suggestive. According to *Gilgameš* XI 205, Ut-napištim was made immortal and settled “far away, at the mouth of the rivers” (*ina rūqi ina pî nārāti*), so the occurrence of his name here could have been concerned with the location of him (or of a stele of his [?]) in a cosmographic outpost, though the text has no room for seven “regions.” Sargon (of Akkad) and Nūr-Dagan (an Anatolian king defeated by Sargon) are not known to have been made immortal, though it is possible that their battle was thought to have taken place on the edge of the world. The “Sea” mentioned in lines 4 and 9 is certainly an item of cosmic geography, though what the Ruined Gods are doing in it is not clear. The various creatures, however, are aquatic, like those of Berossus. The copula in line 7 suggests that two (or more) originally separate lists have been combined. If this is so, of the 14 preserved names of the first list, 9 occur in *Enūma Eliš* or the related lists, though the generic term in *Enūma Eliš*, *ušumgallu*, appears here as a particular type of creature. Their relationship to Marduk is clearly specified. This is, then, another version of the Ea/Marduk tradition, and the relationship to the god again raises the question whether any battle need be presumed. The dealings between creator and creatures could have been eternally peaceful.

Marduk’s Dragon

There is one monster which is Marduk’s par excellence, since it commonly appears on boundary stones and Late Assyrian and Babylonian seals as his symbol. The largest representations are those in enamelled bricks on walls and gateways of Nebuchadnezzar II’s Babylon. The creature has a snake’s body, a snake’s head with horns and protruding forked tongue, front paws of a lion, and hind claws of an eagle. References to representations are collected by period and other criteria in *Bagh. Mitt.* IV (1968) 187–93 by U. Seidl, and the general results are not in dispute. This monster appears from the Old Akkadian to Old Babylonian period mainly on seals, and nothing in this evidence suggests a connection with Marduk. Tišpak, however, seems to be an associated god in a few cases. From the Cassite period and onwards, the monster appears on many kinds of object, and in most cases it is certainly symbolic of Marduk or Nabû.

To see clearly the problem of how this monster came to be associated with Marduk, some general remarks on divine symbols will supplement the work of U. Seidl already referred to and the articles under “Göttersymbole” in *RLA*. Symbols go back as far as art forms survive, but their function is only

inadequately understood before textual evidence is available. Jacobsen, for example, in the Albright Festschrift (*The Bible and the Ancient Near East* [ed. G. E. Wright; New York, 1961; rep. Winona Lake, 1979] 268–69), argues that symbols represent an earlier, pre-anthropomorphic stage, but this cannot be proved from surviving evidence. In historical times, symbols helped to distinguish between representations which were almost alike, if not completely so. They also served as clear, simple indicators, not so complex or difficult to execute as the human form. A further use from the Third Dynasty of Ur to the Old Babylonian period (and no doubt generally, though evidence is lacking) was for oath-taking. Presumably the divine statues could not be taken from temple to court, so the symbol served as a substitute for the divine presence. The “canonical” system of symbols on boundary stones is the most developed and forms a good starting point for investigating Marduk’s symbols. The most complex unit in this system consists of three parts: a “seat” (*šubtu*),¹⁵ the symbol proper (*kakku*) resting on it, and an animal crouching along the base of the “seat.” Two of the three possible parts can occur together without the third, or the symbol proper or the animal can occur alone, which is most commonly the case. For Marduk, the spade with a triangular blade (*marru*) is the symbol, and the dragon already described crouches along the base of the “seat.” This system of symbols can be explained in the light of previous history.

Prior to the Cassite period, the traditional representation of a deity was of one seated on a stool. It is attested from the Old Akkadian to Old Babylonian period in the common “presentation scene” and in other types of scene. Sometimes the seat is very clearly a piece of furniture. Rarely, it is a chair with a back, or the legs are in the shape of animals’ legs. However, in other cases the structure of the “seat” is not clear if one considers it as furniture. A well-known specimen of this type occurs under the deity on the stele containing Hammurabi’s Code, and it is common on cylinder seals. It is difficult to conceive that the shapes within shapes were functional, and if the alternative view is taken, that they are decorative, it only prompts the question what the origin of this type of decoration is, since it is no great work of art. In Mesopotamian glyptic, a similar design occurs on many Jemdet Nasr seals (E. Porada, *The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library* [Washington, 1948] 22–26), and this is generally understood as a depiction of a temple façade. Because of the time gap, the similarity might be dismissed as a coincidence, but the connection is supported by evidence that the “seat” of the deity had a significance beyond the realm of furniture. On Old Akkadian seals, some gods are seated on mountains, and deities of vegetation sit on what may be heaps of their produce. Thus, it is fully conceivable that, in the presentation scene, one type of stool was consciously intended as a stylized representation of a temple, the god’s “seat” on earth. It is this type of stool that is used as the “seat” in boundary stone symbols. However, on the boundary stones, only Gula in human form sits on the “seat”; in other cases, the symbol represents the deity in the same position. In the Old Akkadian period, a different kind of differentiation of deities occurs, by addition to the human form: Šamaš carries his saw-weapon, Ea has water flowing from his shoulders, etc. This was never a complete guide to all the gods, and only little of this was kept up in the Third Dynasty of Ur and Old Babylonian periods.

The animals lying along the “seats” derive from another technique for differentiating anthropomorphic gods. A few Old Akkadian seals show gods riding their symbolic animal, and in Hittite art

15. In Assyria at least, there existed for cultic purposes stone “seats” (there called *nēmedu* “base”) on which the symbol rested. The most interesting is that of Tukulti-Ninurta I (WVDOG 58 pp. 57ff. and pls. 29–32), which has a relief on the side showing adoration of such a “base” with the symbol in place.

this is commonly attested. In southern Mesopotamia, only Adad occurs at all frequently in this style, riding his bull. With other deities, it is rare, partly, no doubt, because of the low ceiling of cylinder seals, but also because an animal of any size, while only present for identification of its rider, would detract from the importance of the deity. For this reason, those Old Babylonian seals which use animals for this purpose present them in small size crouching beneath the feet of the connected deity, whether this deity is sitting or standing. The lion of Ištar is the most common creature used in this way. Thus, all three parts of the full form of boundary stone symbols are derived from, or inspired by, the common representations of deities in earlier periods. The texts of boundary stones name the three parts of the symbols:

šu-ba-tu-šú-nu	^{giš} kakkū ^{meš} -šu-nu	ú-šu-ra-tu-šú-nu	MDP 2 110 30ff.
^{giš} kakkū-šu-nu	šu-ba-tu ₄ -šu-nu	...	MDP 2 89 20ff.
ki-tuš ^{meš} -šu-nu	^{giš} kakkū ^{meš} -šu-nu	...	MDP 2 89 ³
...	...	ú-šu-ra-[tu-šú-nu]	MDP 2 114 21
eš-re-tu-šu-nu	...	...	BBS ^t p. 29 31
šu-un-ni-ir-šu-nu	ú-šu-ra-tu-šu-nu	šu-ba-tu-šu-nu	ZA 65 (1975) 58 77–79

The first passage speaks of “seats, symbols and drawings,” and by this latter no doubt the animals are meant, since they alone are pictorial. The second and third passages speak only of seats and symbols, and the fourth only of drawings, which can of course apply to the whole complex of symbols. The fifth passage speaks of “shrines” alone, which confirms the interpretation offered of the form of the “seats.”

When two symbols—the lower an animal, the upper either an animal or something else—are used of one deity, there is something a little artificial and ad hoc. Symbols are not always something immutable handed down from prehistoric times, and only in some cases is the basis for the attribution of the symbol to the deity obvious. A few illustrations of these two theses will be given. For Old Babylonian oath-taking, Šamaš was sometimes represented by his saw (A. Walther, LSS VI/4–6 192–93), his distinguishing mark inherited from the Old Akkadian period. On boundary stones, the solar disk is used, termed “resplendent rays” on the stone of Nazimaruttaš (MDP 2 p. 90 iv 12: *ni-ip-ḫu nam-ri-ru*). This latter also appears on Old Akkadian to Old Babylonian seals, but not to mark the god. The choice of the disk rather than the weapon for boundary stones was dictated by the desire to put it at the top alongside the moon and Venus, three astral symbols together. In Old Babylonian oath-taking, the hydra (*bašmu*) was the symbol of Išhara (A. Walther, loc. cit.), but on boundary stones the scorpion represents her (*Bagh. Mitt.* IV [1968] 156–57). In neither case is the reason for the attribute apparent, nor the grounds for the change. In Old Babylonian oath-taking, the dog of Gula was used (^dur-gi₇ ša ^dgu-la: VAS XVI 181 17). On boundary stones, it can appear alone to represent this goddess, but when a three-part symbol is given, the dog crouches beside the “seat” and Gula herself, or just her head, rests on the “seat.” It seems that in this case no other symbol was available, and no reason can be offered for the association of the goddess of healing and a dog. In contrast, the symbols of Adad are fully explicable. The tripartite form has forked lightning above and a bull beneath. The former obviously belongs to the god of the storm, and the bull by its bellowing was associated with thunder: note the phrase *rigim Adad*.

Against this background, Marduk's symbols must be studied. The spade suggests agriculture, and epithets of Marduk in *Enūma Eliš* VII 1ff. confirm this connection. Not every spade need be the symbol of Marduk. Those on seals from prehistoric Susa (see U. Seidl, *Bagh. Mitt.* IV [1968] 117–21) are presumably unrelated to Marduk. In Babylon there are textual references to “the spade of Marduk” in oath-taking under the First Dynasty (^dmar ša ^dmarūtuk: Jean, *Tell Sifr* 58 23; VAS XVI [1917] 181 17), and this symbol on seals of this period for this reason no doubt represents him. However, it is curious that none of the ancient etymologies of his name (see pp. 163ff.) make use of the element mar “spade.” The use of the spade with Nabû in one instance (RA 35 [1938] 129ff.; MDP 33 [1953] 56f.) reflects the time when the two gods shared the temple Esagil.

The dragon is shared by Marduk and Nabû on boundary stones, for the same reason. It is described generically as “monster” in the following three passages:

^{giš}su-nir-zu ušumgal ka-bi-ta uš₁₁ nu-bi-is-bi-is-e-dè
kak-ka-ka ú-šum-gal-lu šá iš-tu pi-šú im-tú la i-na-at-tú-ku da-mu la i-šar-ru-ru
 IV R² 20 no. 3 obv. 15–17 (Nabû hymn), quoted KAR 125 obv. 4 and rev. 6–7 and
 STT 341 9–11 (*AnSt* 20 [1970] 112 and 114), cf. OECT V 8 5.

Your symbol is a monster from whose mouth poison does not drip, (variant) blood does not trickle.

ka-bi-is ú-šum-gal-li = who stands on a monster
 KAR 104 29 (Nabû hymn)

šu-un-gal-li ša ^dnabû(muati) ina muḥ-ḫi iz-za-zu-u-ni
 ABL 951 obv. 12–13 = SAA XIII 134

The Monster on which Nabû stands.

The specific name is “dragon” (*mušḫuššu*), as the representations in enamelled bricks on the walls and gates of the Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar II are expressly called in the royal inscriptions (e.g., VAB IV 72 21; cf. PBS XV 79 ii 22). Also, Nabû in a hymn (B. Hruška and G. Komoróczy [eds.], *Festschrift Lubor Matouš* [Budapest, 1978], p. 86 15) is called “rider of the dragon” (*ra-kib ^dmuš-ḫuš*). A description of the creature is given in two much earlier Sumerian passages:

ušumgal šu pirig-gá [umbi]n ḫu-rí-in^{mušen}-na
 BE 29/I 4 rev. 3ff. (Ninurta hymn). Cf. VAS XVII 38 13

A monster with the paws of a lion and talons of an eagle.

diš-àm ušumgal-bi šu pirig-gá umbin ḫu-rí-in-na
 D. O. Edzard, *ZA* 81 (1991) 179 37

The first, a monster with the paws of a lion and talons of an eagle.

Neither of these passages, of course, refers to Marduk, and it has already been remarked that the third-millennium iconographic examples are not to be connected with him either. There can be no certainty as yet about the cylinder-seal representations from the Third Dynasty of Ur to the Old Babylonian period (in addition to those noted by U. Seidl, *Bagh. Mitt.* IV [1968] 188, there is RA 57 [1963] 176 2). They might, but need not, refer to Marduk.

Important, though at present unanswerable questions are whether this monster was always connected with Marduk, and if not, how it came to be attached. There is at least a possibility that it first belonged to Ninurta and was later taken over for Marduk. In the Sumerian hymn quoted above, Ninurta is described as having the distinctive features of the *mušhuššu*. Jacobsen has argued in OIP 43 (1940) 183 that its occurrence on Old Akkadian seals with dedications to Tišpak is evidence of an association of the two. If Tišpak is in some sense another form of Ninazu, as seems to be the case (see Jacobsen, OIC 13 [1932] 51–59), then a connection with Ninurta is established, since Ninazu and Ninurta are in some traditions the same (see the present writer in *Or. NS* 36 [1967] 111). The most perplexing occurrence of the monster on boundary stones is King, *BBSt* pl. xxi. A god holding a mace and a curved club (*gamlu* or *gišhaššu*) has the monster crouching at his feet. It is not likely to be Marduk, since the spade appears among the symbols. It seems unlikely that Nabû would be represented so large when the spade is so small, and the stone comes from the district of Nippur. Nor is Ninurta likely, when the composite lion (*Bagh. Mitt.* IV [1968] 181–87) also appears, which might be meant for Ninurta. The symbols on this stone present many problems, and so far the god with the *mušhuššu* remains unidentified.

Tiāmat

In the Epic, Tiāmat is prominent as the primaeval sea, the monster of monsters, and the one whose body was split to form heaven and earth. The author's concept of her varies from time to time. Now she is a body of water, now a corporeal monster with animal limbs. Despite her importance in the Epic, she is extremely elusive elsewhere in cuneiform literature. The reason is not far to seek. The cosmographic great sea beneath the earth is replaced in most Sumero-Akkadian thought by the Apsû, the body of water over which Ea presided. This transformation may actually be witnessed in the incantation about the black *giškin*-tree. According to the Old Akkadian copy, MDP 14 (1913) 91, its roots reached down to the sea (ab-šà-ga lá-a), but the late copies (CT 16 46 185–86; cf. M. J. Geller, *SAACT* V p. 170 96, as noted by Langdon in *JRAS* 1928 843ff.) speak of it as reaching down to the Apsû (abzu-ta lá-e).

In looking for parallels to a battle with the Sea, Ninurta is an obvious starting point. He did in fact struggle with water. The earliest allusion occurs in Gudea:

lugal-mu ^dnin-gír-su en a huš gi₄-a
Cylinder A viii 15 = RIME 3/1 p. 74

My king, Ninurta, the lord who held back the savage water.

The story is told in *Lugal-e* 334ff. that, after the defeat of Asakku, the waters rose and threatened to overwhelm the land, but Ninurta built a stone wall and so held them back. From the following lines, which tell how Ninurta then watered the ground himself and produced abundant crops, it would seem that the water threatening the land was salty or otherwise not conducive to plant life. The episode is clearly a description of the annual Mesopotamian flood, which rises, depositing salt as it spreads over the soil, and might seem to threaten to rise further and sweep away the whole land. But in time it recedes, and then agriculture can flourish. While this is certainly an interesting parallel to a battle with the sea, it must be stressed that the water is never called “sea” but “mighty water”

(a kala-ga: me-e dan-nu-[354). Also, Ninurta handles it like a real flood: he blocks its path with a stout wall. There is nothing which suggests a connection with the story of Marduk's defeat of Tīāmat.

The sea is mentioned in connection with Ninurta's exploits. An Emesal litany, as quoted above (p. 205), refers in a general way to victories in the sea, and the prologue to the Akkadian Anzū Myth mentions the *kusarikku* "in the sea." Neither of these passages suggests that Ninurta fought with the sea. Rather, victories were won over creatures in the sea. A short incantation relating to Ninurta known from late copies begins:

én šá na-šir napišti^{ti} bēl ta-ma-ti rapaštim^{tim} šá^d ninurta(maš) ana-ku
K 255+ (see ABRT II 14 24) and dups. K 9022+ and STT 215 i 50

I belong to Ninurta, the guardian of life, lord of the broad sea.

This need imply nothing more than lordship over the creatures of the sea. The Akkadian fragment Sm 1875, given above (pp. 206–207), seems to state in lines 4–5 that Ninurta seized power from both the Asakku demon and the sea. The passage is incomplete, but it may well imply a conflict between Ninurta and the Sea in which the former was victorious. Until the lines can be restored, their evidence must be used with caution.¹⁶ Thus, the only certainty is that Ninurta defeated sea monsters, and this is fundamentally different from the conflict in *Enūma Eliš*. Berossus' version, however, stands midway between them. In his story, the monsters are swimming in the sea, but Sea is a woman in her own right and fights with Marduk. This version blends the two concepts: that of the sea as an impersonal element, and that of Sea as a monster.

Outside the Epic, the following evidence for a personal Sea has been collected. First, an Akkadian incantation on a tablet from the Diyala valley of Old Akkadian date, MAD I 192, in the first and third lines (cf. A. Westenholz, AfO 25 [1974/77] 102) mentions: ^dtišpak a-ba-ra-ak ti-ām-tim "Tišpak, steward of Tīāmat." The lack of the divine determinative for an Akkadian name is normal in this period. Two Akkadian personal names from tablets of the Third Dynasty of Ur contain Tīāmat as an element: a-ab-ba-si-im-ti "Tīāmat is appropriate to me" and a-ab-ba-ba-āš-ti "Tīāmat is my protecting angel" (Gelb, MAD III 293; cf. èr-ra-ba-āš-ti p. 92 and ^dla-az-si-im-ti p. 69). In the Old Assyrian documents from Anatolia, there is one person with the name *puzur-ti-(a-) am-tim/ti-im* (H. Hirsch, *Untersuchungen* p. 34) "(In) the safety of Tīāmat." Sumerian names with a-ab-ba from the Third Dynasty of Ur (see H. Limet, *L'anthroponymie sumérienne* 192ff.) are probably not relevant. Note that in the Old Babylonian name a-ab-ba-tà-bu-um (e.g., UET V 672 25) the first element is masculine, not therefore to be read Tīāmat. A deity ^dab-ba/^dab-Ú is known from the Isin-Larsa period and onwards (BIN IX 321 4; VAS VII 155 38; ARM 7 195; etc.), but it is a name of Marduk (^daba-ba/ba₆ na-si-iḫ rag-gi: *Tintir* V 35) and of Nabû (V R 43 rev. 31, where it is interpreted etymologically as *qa-eš-še ab-bu-ti* "who grants fatherly protection") and for this reason has nothing to do with Sea.

Much more important is the incipit of a Sumerian incantation preserved within a Late Assyrian copy of a ritual (STT 254 41): én a-ab-ba ama dingir-re-e-ne "Sea, mother of the gods." Another mention of the female cosmic sea occurs in a hymn to the Tigris (von Weiher, *SpTU* II 5 7–8 = TIM IX 29 7):

16. The phrase "the mountain that trampled the sea" (above, p. 207) may derive from Ninurta mythology, in which case it would be further evidence for a conflict of Ninurta and Sea.

a-ab-ba ama dingir-re-e-ne-ke₄
 ta-am-tú um-mi ilāni^{meš}

These are the closest parallels to *Enūma Eliš* and related Greek versions, though the rest of the text of the first is unfortunately lacking. Investigation of the antecedents of the theogony of *Enūma Eliš* that begins with with Apsû and Tiāmat revealed no trace of Sea, but one of the components, as demonstrated in Part IV, begins with Namma, mother of Ea, presumed to be a watery prime mover in creation. This is the extent of the parallel with Tiāmat, since Namma seems nowhere to be called Sea, and there is no suggestion that she was ever involved in a cosmic battle. An expository text quoted below (p. 429) is probably to be restored: ^dnamma u ^dnanše apsû [u ti-amat] “Namma and Nanše are Apsû [and Tiāmat],” but this equation could depend on the Epic and need not be an independent source. Other theogonic traditions explained below (p. 430) begin with neither Namma nor Tiāmat but with the male Id “River,” and since, as will become clear, Sea and River in this context are closely related ideas, it is appropriate to give at this point the evidence for Irḥan, a primaeval watery being.

The name Irḥan is written with the sign for “snake” (^dMUŠ), as proved by evidence quoted below. A very informative passage about him occurs in a prayer to Nisaba:

[mārat] ^dMUŠ a-bu ilāni^{meš} šá ki-iš-šá-ti
 [ta-li-m]at ^den-líl šār ^dnun-gal^{meš} mu-šim na[m]^{meš}
 CTN IV 168 i 18–19 = AfO 46/47 (1999/2000) 153

[Daughter of] Irḥan, father of all the gods,
 [Twin] sister (?) of Enlil, king of the Igigi, who determines destinies.

Nisaba, grain goddess, is elsewhere sister of Enlil, and in late texts she is described as daughter of Anu (see A. Falkenstein, *AnOr* 30 [1966] 110–11). A commentary equates ^dMUŠ with Ištarān (CT 41 27 3; for the reading of ^dKA.DI, see ZA 59 [1969] 100–103), and a Cassite boundary stone explains ^dMUŠ as šipru (“messenger”) of Ištarān. It is well known that Ištarān is another name of an-gal/anu rabû “great Anu” of Der (AfO 9 [1932] 99). This is the evidence on which the Nisaba prayer above has been restored, and the title of Irḥan “father of all the gods” is therefore appropriate. Irḥan is represented on boundary stones as a snake (*Bagh. Mitt.* IV [1968] 154–56), and often its body stretches down and around the main group of symbols. Its identity is assured by the occurrence of ^dMUŠ in the list of symbols on a stone of Nazimaruttaš (MDP 2 91 23). The importance of the snake in this glyptic contrasts with the scanty allusions to Irḥan in texts. Personal names show that devotion to him was more common than might have been expected. ^dMUŠ occurs in the Old Akkadian period (BIN VIII 221: ur-^dMUŠ); at least once in Ur III names (H. Limet, *L’anthroponymie sumérienne* 418: gemé-^dMUŠ); more often in Old Babylonian names, written the same way (H. Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names* [Philadelphia, 1905] 168); and rarely in Cassite-period names, also written ^dMUŠ (Clay, *PN* 135).

The riverine character of ^dMUŠ is established through the name Irḥan, which must therefore be justified as the reading. ^dMUŠ is glossed ir-ḥa-an in the fragment KAR 284 and in a late copy of An = *Anum*:

^d.ir-ḥa-anMUŠ = udug é-šár-ra-ke₄
 An = *Anum* I 263, CT 24 8 11, cf. TCL 15 pl. xxvi 142

Also in the Šalabīkh Zami-hymns: OIP 99 p. 51 161: ir-ḥa-an MUŠ-TIN-TIR-BALAG. Saḥan is a misreading found in II R 35 no. 1 = *Babyloniaca* 7 (1913/23) pl. viii = RA 28 (1931) 134 ii 6: ^{id}SA-ḥa-an = *pu-rat-tú*, the confusion of IR/SA in Neo-Assyrian script being very easy, but note Late Babylonian ^{id}ir-ḥa-an = *pu-rat-ti* (BM 67179 obv. 13).

An Old Babylonian seal inscription offers the contrast in that it connects: ìr ^den-ki ^dMUŠ (H. Carnegie, *Catalogue of the Collection of Antique Gems . . . Southesk* [London, 1908] Qb 43). Enki and ^dMUŠ are also connected in Gudea, Cylinder A xxvii 1: ^dMUŠ kù abzu “pure Irḥan of the Apsû.”

Two other readings can be claimed for ^dMUŠ, *niraḥ*, and *šeraḥ*. The common noun *nirāḥu*, a fancy word for “snake,” is well attested, but for the deity the only evidence is an Old Assyrian *limu*’s name, *puzur-ni-ra-ah*/^dMUŠ (H. Hirsch, *Untersuchungen* 34). This is fully valid for Old Assyrian, but since Old Babylonian scribal conventions are generally remote from Old Assyrian, the late scholarly tradition of Irḥan is more likely to be valid for Old Babylonian. Šeraḥ is better established, but as the Emesal form:

^dše-laḥ₄-e ^dudug é-šár-ra
CT 42 pl. 4 iv 15

^dše-ra-aḥ udug é-šár-ra
^dMUŠ *ra-bi-iš* é-ŠU.MA
V R 52 i 19–20 = SBH no. 48 obv. 10

^dše-ra-aḥ = ^dMUŠ = udug é-šár-ra-ke₄
Emesal Vocabulary, MSL IV 5 19

]aḥ = ^dMUŠ = ^dbē[l e]r-še-ti
Weidner List, AfO 2 (1924/25) 16 10

The Emesal Vocabulary may well have got its dialectal reading from the litany or a related source, since it also departs from its original An = *Anum* (quoted above) by substituting é-šár-ra for é-kur-ra. The late copies of the Weidner List date from a time when Emesal readings turn up indiscriminately. It is a question whether *Niraḥ* and *Šeraḥ* could be dialectal variants. Despite the apparent parallel of divine names beginning ^dn in- in the main dialect and ^dšen- in Emesal (MSL IV 5–6 25, 34) it is very doubtful that š/n is a possible phonetic change. Thus, for Babylonian texts ^dMUŠ is to be read Irḥan but Šeraḥ in Emesal Sumerian.

The watery connection occurs in a poetic name of the Euphrates:

^{id}.^dMUŠ-tin-tir-dúb = *pu-rat-tum*
Antagal J (MSL XVII 233 6)

^{id}.^dMUŠ-tin-tir-dúb = *ú-ru-ut-[tum]*
II R 51 44

Thus, “MUŠ who . . . Babylon” describes the river that flowed through the town, and while the exact sense of *dúb* here is unknown, the idea of the river as a snake is transparent. Irḥan is indeed also a name of the Euphrates, as given in a commentary on an unidentified text: ^{id}SA-ḥa-an = *pu-rat-tú* (II R 35 no. 1; *Babyloniaca* 7 [1913/23] pl. viii; RA 28 [1931] 134 ii 6). Another mention of the Irḥan-river occurs in a phrase found in two incantations:

áb ina si-šá u₈ ina síg^{hi-a}-šá ^dir-ḥa-an ina kib-ri-šá
 CT 23 1 7 = 2 20 = BAM 124 iv 7 = 127 6–7

The cow on (from?) its horn; the ewe on (from?) its wool; the Irḥan-river on (from?) its bank.

The context in both cases is obscure.

Thus, Irḥan emerges as a clear-cut figure. He is “father of all the gods” (Nisaba prayer) and “lord of the underworld” (Weidner list). He is also the Euphrates and associated with Ea. Thus, he is a *primaeval* water with underworld connections.¹⁷ Such water may be both under and around the earth, if the latter is conceived as a floating disk. Thus, the snake on boundary stones often surrounds the other symbols since it is the river encircling the universe. One is reminded of a passage in the *Alexander Romance* where the king is carried aloft by eagles and sees the world as a field surrounded by a snake (quoted by A. J. Wensinck, *The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites* [Amsterdam, 1918] 25). Irḥan is always male save for the occurrence in the Akkadian incantation, where the feminine gender of “river” (*nāru*) may have influenced the choice of the feminine suffix. It is possible that Irḥan’s spouse was Bēlet-akkadī, if a Cassite-period seal inscription (*Collection de Clercq* II 253: *pa-lí-ḥa-at* ^dMUŠ *u* ^dNIN-ak-ka-di^{ki}) should be taken in that way.

“Lord of the Sea”

Another watery deity with underworld connection is ^dlugal-a-ab-ba “Lord of the Sea.” He occurs twice in An = *Anum*, in the Vth and VIth Tablets, where the compilers have added sundry earlier lists with little change. The first occurrence is at the very end of Tablet V:

312 ^dlugal-a-ab-ba = ŠU
 313 ^dNIN.BÀD-ga = dam-bi munus

This is the text of the Yale copy of Middle Assyrian date. The Late Assyrian CT 25 6 30–31 differs only in reading ^dlugal-ab-ba and ^dNIN.BÀD-na. The Middle Babylonian copy SLT 121 reads ^dlugal-ab-a and ^dNIN.NUN.BÀD-na. Tablet VI begins with Nergal, as can be seen from the catch-line of all three copies. This group of three names, though cut by the tablet division of An = *Anum*, is taken over without change from the Old Babylonian forerunner TCL 15 pl. xxxi 416–18:

^dlugal-ab-a
^dNIN-mà-BÀD-ga
^dnè-iri₁₁-gal

The other occurrence in An = *Anum* is at the head of a group of gods with names beginning ^dlugal-: ^dlugal-a-ab-ba, ^dlugal-íd-da = [Š]U (CT 25 39, K 7643 6–7 restored, An = *Anum* VI 27–28).

17. The underworld river is known elsewhere: in Ur III personal names (ur-íd-edin-na: H. Limet, *L’anthroponymie sumérienne* [Paris, 1968] 547; cf. A. Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden* [München, 1956] II 175) and íd-ka-imin-^dutu-ka “Utu’s river of the seven mouths” (C. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos* [Wiesbaden, 1969] line 35) no doubt alludes to a river along which Utu passed through the underworld each night. Further material is found in a Sumerian hymn (UET VI p. 8²⁸) and the Sumerian myth Enlil and Ninlil (see RA 55 [1961] 184 10). The river of the ordeal and the river to be crossed on the way to the underworld are related and may be different parts of the same river.

The Old Babylonian forerunner has a similar group of lugal-names, lines 425–55, but there two are lacking. The Old Babylonian list from Nippur has a similar group also, but here they turn up in the middle of the group:

^d lugal-ab-a	^d lugal-AB-da
^d lugal-AB-da	^d lugal-ab-a
SLT 122 iv 13–4	SLT 123 obv. 7–8, cf. 124 v 16–7

The AB in both copies is a clear mistake for íd, as An = *Anum* reads. The double occurrence of the name in An = *Anum* is thus explained as resulting from compilation from two Old Babylonian god-lists such as we have quoted. The same two traditions are combined in the Emesal Vocabulary:

^d umun- ^r AB×GAL ¹	= ^d nè-iri ₁₁ -gal	= ŠU
^d umun-a-ab-ba	= ^d lugal-a-ab-ba	= ŠU
^d umun-íd-da	= ^d lugal-íd-da	= ŠU
^d umun-ab-a	= ^d lugal-ab-a	= ŠU
^d gašan-mug	= ^d nin-mug	= dam ^d i-šum-ke ₄
		MSL IV 9–10 106–10

The previously noted variants a-ab-ba and ab-a occur here together as though they were different names. Accordingly, the editors read the latter ^dlugal-èš-a, but wrongly. The compilers of this list were theologically naive, as is clear from their mistaking Enki and Ninki at the beginning for Ea and Damkina. The dependence on two originally separate traditions explains the occurrence of the two orthographies of the same name in one context. ^dlugal-èš-a would mean “Lord of the dwelling,” an improbable and unparalleled deity.

Another list containing this deity is a list of underworld gods, CT 24 36 52ff., where ^dlugal-a-a[b-ba] follows ^dlugal-ḥu-bur, “Lord of the Ḥubur” (the underworld river). The preceding line should perhaps be restored ^dšàr-ti-à[m-tim] “Lord of the Sea.” A similar grouping occurs in *Šurpu* VIII 37: ^dlugal-a-ab-ba ^dlugal-íd-da ^dla-gu-da. The last, also a sea-god, is dealt with below. The most detailed description of this deity occurs in an Akkadian incantation: ^dlugal-a-ab-ba *maš-maš ilāni*^{meš} *ilu el-lum ši-pat ba-la-ti lid-di-ka* (KAR 233 = BAM 338 obv. 5 = K 6335 4 = STT 138 obv. 7–8) “may Lugala’abba, exorcist of the gods, the pure god, cast a spell of life upon you.”

His wife is more difficult to disentangle. In addition to passages already quoted, she occurs with him in a litany known from both Old Babylonian and late copies:

ù-mu-un-ab-a ù-mu-un gú-da ^ru₅¹-a
 ga-ša-an-mug ub-li-le si-a
 ama ^dnanše ^dḥendur-sag-gá
 CT 42 pl. 5 iv 42–44 (OB); dup. BM 96927 i 43–45 (var. ub-líl-líl-e)

(^d)umun-ab-a umun gud-da u₅-a
^dlugal-ab-a be-el qar-ra-du šá-qu-u
 gašan-ma-BĀD-ga ub-líl-lá si-a
 [. . .]-ti ša ib-rat ma-li-[at]
 ama ^dnanše ^dḥendur-sag-gá
 [. . .] ^di-šum
 SBH p. 85 41–43 = p. 91 1–4 = p. 134 i 42–43 = BL 101 9–11

A little later in the same text the same name occurs alongside Lumma, the deified Eannatum of Lagash:

ga-ša-an-BĀD-ga ^dlum-ma ur-sag
 VAS II 11 vi 5
 gašan-mug (! copy: sa) lum-ma ur-sag-gá
 SBH p. 86 56 (cf. V R 52 no. 1 ii 25: ^dgašan-mug ^d[])

An Old Babylonian copy of a briefer version of this text written phonetically includes this deity once only, with differing description:

ga-ša-an-mu-ga bu-lu-ug ku-zi ma-a[n-g]a-ra kù-babbar mi-ri-zu ga-al-la [. . .]
 PBS X/3 13 5 = ZA 56 (1964) 20

Ninmug [who holds³] the golden *bulug*, the silver *mangara*, and obsidian.

This description is closely related to that in *Enki and the World Order* (C. A. Benito [Philadelphia, 1969] ll. 406–9, cf. ZA 56 [1964] 91–92 and 112). There she is sister of Inanna, holds these three objects (perhaps symbolic rather than functional tools), “brings to birth” (ù-tu) rulers (lugal and en) in an unspecified way, and grants them appropriate insignia. This is the fullest description of this deity, who is a birth goddess in *Enki and Ninmah* (see p. 336).

The name first occurs, it seems, as ^dnin-mug in the Fara lists (A. Deimel, *Die Inschriften von Fara* II [Leipzig, 1923] no. 6 iv), then in Ur III texts (N. Schneider, *Die Götternamen von Ur III* [Rome, 1939] 455; H. Limet, *L’anthroponymie sumérienne* [Paris, 1968] 555: ur-^dnin-mug(-ga)) and the reading is given in the Old Babylonian *Diri* from Nippur, MSL XV 36 11:14: ^dnin-mug = *ni-im-mu-ug*. She is of course to be distinguished from Nin-zadim, the seal cutters’ god (see p. 378). The difficulties arise with the Old Babylonian and later evidence. The first problem is: whose wife is she? The second concerns her name. The wife of Lugala’abba is, as quoted, often written with BĀD. An = *Anum* neatly separates this goddess from the wife of Išum: ^dnin-mug = dam-bi-munus (sc. Išum, VI 16–21). This pair is well attested elsewhere. An Old Babylonian seal inscription records its owner as slave of ^di-šum ù ^dnin-mug (F. Lajard, *Introduction à l’étude du culte public et des mystères de Mithra* [Paris, 1847] 37 3). In the Weidner List, they occur together:

^di-šum = ^dNerigal
^dnin-mug = ^dme-me
 AfK 2 (1924/25) 17–18 24–25

Though not acknowledged in An = *Anum*, Išum is the Akkadian name of Ĥendursag(ga) (see ZA 39 [1930] 143–45), and an Ur III offering list, MVAG 21 (1917/18) 2 ii 8–9 gives together: ^dnin-mug ^dĥendur-s[ag]. The Emesal Vocabulary (quoted above) in its usual naivety quotes Lugala’abba and Ninmug in sequence as though a married couple, but then in the explanatory column gives the latter as “wife of Išum.” However, the solution of An = *Anum*, to put the writing with BĀD with Lugala’abba and that with mug with Išum simply cannot stand, because the different writings occur haphazardly with both spouses. The first part of the name causes of course no problems. The occasional gloss e with nin presumably indicates that the latter sign is to be read egi. The second element is written in the following ways: (i) mug, mug-ga, mu-ug, mu-ga; (ii) mà/ma-BĀD-ga, BĀD-ga,

BÀD-na, NUN.BÀD-na. The NUN in SLT 121, though confirmed by collation of E. Leichty, is probably an error for mà or é. With this background, it is possible to identify further occurrences and related names. In An = *Anum* Lugala'abba precedes immediately Nergal. In the Weidner List, Išum is equated with Nergal. Thus ^dlugal-BÀD-na in a list of Nergal figures, An = *Anum* VI 75, is relevant. The Weidner List also equates Ninmug with Gula, so that there is no problem in relating a line in the Emesal Vocabulary:

^dgašan-ma-BÀD-ga = ^dnin-mà-BÀD-ga = ^dgu-la
MSL IV 9 101

and the parallel line of An = *Anum*:

^dcNIN-é-BÀD-ga = ^dnin-kar-ra-ak
V 154, CT 25 3 63 = 25 29; Rm II 289 ii 11¹⁸

The values of BÀD have been discussed by B. Landsberger in MSL II 87 and III 213–14; by J. J. A. van Dijk in SGL II 105–6; and by Å. Sjöberg in *Der Mondgott Nanna-Su'en* (Stockholm, 1960) 66 and 69¹; *Proto-Ea* has only broken remains of the values, but one ends in ug⁷ ([(ú)-u]g⁷) and the next in un (^ru₄¹-[u]n) (see MSL XIV 60 765–66). There is one major Akkadian equivalent that has to be considered: *mātu/mūtu*, and the appropriate value is usually given as ug₅. The g is certain because of frequent resumptions -ga, but the beginning seems to be based entirely on BÀD^{u-ga}-G[A = [. . .] (CT 19 28, Rm II 31). The various writings of Ninmug show that one value of BÀD may end either in -g or in -n, which confirms Landsberger's suggestion that the one value in the list might be restored [ú-u]n. This is also attested as the value for *mātu/mūtu*, since in addition to the frequent resumptions with -ga, a single passage resumes with -na:

kur-BÀD-na-šè = *ana er-še-tì mi-tu-ti*
IV R² 30 no. 2 24–25

Van Dijk and Sjöberg express distrust of this passage, but since in the divine name the same variation occurs, there is no good reason to doubt it in the common noun. This parallel does not prove that “death” is the meaning of BÀD in the name under consideration, but it at least raises the question. The writing with ma/mà-BÀD can hardly be explained as a syllabic rendering of an original mug, since ug₅ seems not to be used in this way and the clash of vowels in ma-ug₅ is most improbable. Thus one must ask what was intended in ma/mà. The Gula name ^dnin-é-BÀD-ga supplies the answer, since mà and mu are Emesal for “house” (see CAD sub voce *bītu*), and “house of death” written é-ug₇(BE)-ga occurs in a commentary (AfO 17 [1954/56] 315 F 9, cf. AfO 19 [1959/60] 118). Thus it is most likely either that Ninmug is a contraction of Nin-mà-ug₅ or that its origin is unknown but it was interpreted in this way during the second and first millennia. Confirmation is available in the following points. The Akkadian rendering of the name in the litany ends]-ti, which could be restored [*bēlet bīt mu*]-ti. The Nergal name cited above, ^dlugal-BÀD-na is very naturally “Lord of the Dead.” The Kurigalzu statue inscription names two groups of gods: ^dnun-gal-dingir-BÀD-na-ke₄-ne (*Sumer* IV/1 [1948] 4). The first being Igigi, it is natural to take them as gods of

18. From the content, it is not clear if UET VI 73, a hymnic extract to ^dnin-BÀD, belongs to Ninmug or not. A Cassite-period seal inscription, BM 59853, is addressed to ^ddim₄-ki-bára-BÀD-na, by which Nergal may be meant.

heaven here, and the second group as “Death” or “Dead” gods, i.e., gods of the underworld. It is also relevant to note that the Weidner list equates her spouse Išum with Nergal, and her other spouse, Lugala’abba, occurs in the list immediately before Nergal, while he is also given in a list of Asakku demons (p. 210, list (vi)), a plain indication of underworld associations. The outstanding problem with the name concerns the forms which have BÀD but lack a ma/mà. Should one read ^dnin-ùn-na or ^dnin-mun_x-na?

So much for the name. The two spouses are the other problem, since the distribution of the forms of the name provide no key. It may be noted that the main recension of the litany presents Lugala’abba immediately before Ninmug, while ̒endursagga follows in the next line after Nanše, but the short, phonetically written recension lacks Lugala’abba and gives ̒endursagga immediately before Ninmug. Thus, the two Old Babylonian recensions already attest the two traditions.

There is, then, a pair, “Lord of the Sea” and (almost certainly) “Mistress of the House of the Dead.” The connection of Sea and Death is not unexpected. There was a widespread belief in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East of a primaevial sea on which the earth floated, so that the water was both around and under the earth. The abode of the dead was also under the earth. How the two concepts of water and the dead were reconciled is not usually ascertainable. One Mesopotamian tradition, known from a passage found in the *Descent of Ištar*, *Gilgameš VII*, and *Nergal and Ereškigal*, makes the underworld a dusty place, approached dryshod through seven gates. Another conception involved crossing the ̒ubur river,¹⁹ the Babylonian Styx. A reflection of this concept occurs in *Gilgameš*, where the hero crosses the water around the edge of the earth. It is called both “sea” (a-ab-ba) and “water of death” (*mê^{meš} mu-ti*: X 76–103). In Syria and Palestine, similar ideas prevailed. Poetic language in the Old Testament and Ugaritic texts has such phrases as “waters of Sheol.” Also, in Hesiod the Styx is a daughter of Ocean.

A cult of Ninmug is known only under the Third Dynasty of Ur, but a cult of Lugala’abba is known from Nippur under Samsu-iluna (see p. 218), but in this context he is coupled with Abzumaḥ. It is thus not unexpected to find the owner of an Old Babylonian seal described as “slave of Lugala’abba” (ir ^dlugal-a-ab-ba: Louvre A 464).

The evidence for Irḥan, the primaevial river, and Lugala’abba, husband of “Mistress of the House of Death,” helps to explain the infernal aspects of Tiāmat. She is an underworld power with appropriate demonic attributes. An expository text explains: “Apsû is Tiāmat, Tiāmat is Ereškigal” (O 175 obv. 2 = RA 16 [1919] 145). A line of a bilingual exorcism reads:

zi-^hur¹-sag a-ab-ba nu-nu-gi₄-gi₄-da-ke₄
niš šadû^u tam-tim la ta-a-ri

PBS I/2 115 i 23–24 (ArOr 21 [1953] 380) = STT 210 (collated)

(Be exorcised) by mountain (and) sea of no return.

The similarity to the well-known name of the underworld, “land of no return” (*eršet lā târi*, kur nu-gi-a) needs no stressing. The same expository text identifies Tiāmat with the Asakku demon (^dtam-

19. It is doubtful that ̒ubur, the underworld river, is related to ̒abur, the tributary of the Euphrates. See I. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians* (Chicago, 1944) 92ff.; E. A. Speiser, *JAOS* 68 (1948) 12; R. Frankena, *Tākultu* (Leiden, 1954) 124 88 (note variants); and H. Hirsch, *Untersuchungen* 32–33 and 54²⁸⁰.

tīm ^dazag: RA 16 [1919] 145 4), and a Late Babylonian copy of a ritual names “the seed of Asakku and Tiāmat” (*ze-er a-sak-ku u tam-tim*: E. Weidner, *Gestirn-Darstellungen auf babylonischen Tontafeln* [Vienna, 1967], pl. 11, K 3753 ii 6). This may, but need not, imply that the two are a married pair. Also, a Late Assyrian expository text twice lists together in adjacent lines Anzû, Qingu, and Asakku (ZA 51 [1955] 154 4–5 = MMEW p. 244), which illustrates the same sort of characters. Astrologically the scorpion-star is identified with Išhara, and she in turn with Tiāmat (^{mul}gír-tab = ^diš-ḫa-ra tam-tim: V R 46 31 = Weidner, *Handbuch* 52; cf. K 7620 11: ^diš-ḫa-ra ti-amat). In AfO 20 (1963) 118 42, with note on 119, the coupling of Dilmun with Tiāmat in this context offers a geographical interpretation. Underworld and demonic associations of Išhara can be found: she is, for example, the mother of the Sibitti according to ZA 6 (1891) 242 21 (^dim-in-bi ilāni^{meš} rabūti^{meš} māre^{meš} ^diš-ḫa-ra šu-nu). However, this topic is too far removed from Tiāmat to be pursued further here. In short, Tiāmat, Sea, is an enemy. This point was made by the ancients by equating the Sumerian a-ab-ba, which was used as a loan in literary Akkadian, with the Akkadian *ajābu* “enemy.” It is clear that this equation was made, since Comm. II on *Enūma Eliš* VII 116, 128, and 132 explains the ordinary Sumerian word for enemy, *érim*, as “Sea/Tiāmat” (*tam-tim*).

Other sources dealing with Tiāmat are the following. The mythological almanac mentions her commonly, but most of the information is clearly based on the Epic. Additional items are usually to be explained as secondary expansion, such as the etymology of the name as *tu’āmtum* “twin” (BM 35407+ iv 12, edition forthcoming from F. S. Reynolds). However, it is possible that the equation of Tiāmat and the Goat-star in the same section is correctly interpreting the allusions to animal parts in *Enūma Eliš* V, so that, as conceived by the author of the Epic, Tiāmat had the form of a goat.

An expository text of Assyrian origin, KAR 307, which in all probability depends on the Epic, has two sections dealing with Tiāmat:

[x x] x ša ^{uru}dur-na ti-amat ši-i um-me-ga-lá šá ^{dbēl} ‘ši-i-ma’
 [4 ^{inē}^{II.m}]^{es}-ša 4 ^{uznē}^{II.meš}-ša
 e[lāt]i(a[n-t]a)^{meš}-ša ^{dbēl} šaplāti(ki-ta)^{meš}-ša ^dnin-líl
^dnin-^{uru}li-bur-na um-x^{II} ša ^{dbēl} ši-i-ma
 SAR^{meš} iš-ru-ka-ši šá-niš an-tum ši-i-ma kis-ḫa a-na ^da-nim i-kas-si-ḫu
 Obverse 19–23 (collated), cf. A. Livingstone, MMEW p. 233

The [. .] . of Durna is Tiāmat. She is the wet nurse of Bēl.

She has [four eyes] and four ears. Her [upper parts] are Bēl, her lower parts are Ninlil.

She is Ninliburna, the . . . of Bēl.

He gave to her . . . Another interpretation: she is Antum who makes offerings for the dead to Anu.

This is clearly composite, not only from the scribal note *šá-niš*, but also because the being whose upper parts are Bēl cannot at the same time suckle him! Lines 19 and 22 are probably variant forms of the same statement, and um-x^{II} is perhaps corrupt for um-me-ga-lá. The tradition of Tiāmat as wet nurse of mighty heroes also occurs in the Cuthaeen Legend of Naram-Sin (*AnSt* 5 [1955] 98 34). Durna and Liburna are learned names for Nineveh and Arba’il (*BTT* p. 182 189–90). An Assyrian background is also apparent in lines 20–21. The first is no doubt a direct quotation from *Enūma Eliš* I 95, and obviously if Bēl has this number of eyes and ears, the one who has the upper parts of Bēl must have the same number. This Bēl, however, cannot be Marduk, since the occurrence of Ninlil

with him marks him as the Assyrian god Aššur. The identification of Tiāmat as Antum is perhaps a reflection of her demonic aspect. Anu is commonly the father of demons, and as Anu's spouse, she was their mother.

The other section, reverse 13–15, reads:

^{anše}ibilu(a-ab-ba) eṭemmi ti-amat ^{dbēl} qarnē^{meš}-šá ú-ka-rit
^xmeš-šá ik-kis zibbat-sa ik-rit
 be-lum ik-mu-ši-ma áš-šu la ma-še-i niši^[me]š ú-kal-lim

The dromedary is the shade of Tiāmat. Bēl hewed off her horns, he cut off her . . . , he hewed off her tail. Bēl bound her and showed her to the peoples so that it might not be forgotten.

This reads as though it were an interpretation of a dromedary used in a rite, but it is difficult to believe that dromedaries were used for such purposes. Because its ideogram is “donkey of the sea(-land),” the connection with Tiāmat easily came about. The details of Bēl's defeat of Tiāmat differ from those of *Enūma Eliš* in a number of points. No doubt a piece of aetiology is intended in the anachronistic reference to “peoples” (reading confirmed by collation) as yet uncreated being shown something. This was presumably something in Assyria, and Bēl is as before no doubt Aššur not Marduk. These two passages from KAR 307 may well have arisen in connection with Sennacherib's reforms, of which more will be said later.

The Birdcall Text (*AnSt* 20 [1970] 111ff.) includes a bird of Tiāmat, KAR 125 obv. 19, but the call is broken off. Most of the mythological allusions in this text are to theomachies, so no doubt Tiāmat occurred with this connection. The small fragment of myth or expository text, DT 184 (p. 327), names Tiāmat in line 8, and from the occurrence of Marduk, Enmešarra, and “the Enlils who rebelled” in the other lines, it must refer similarly to a theomachy. The inscriptions of Esarhaddon offer a curious allusion to a defeat of Tiāmat. In his rebuilding of Esagil, the king had a representation of a dragon (*mušhuššu*) made, and then, in an incomplete context, there is reference to *aban na-de-e ḫargul-li še-riš tam-tim* (R. Borger, *Asarhaddon* 85 52). It is not clear if this is a stone used in the building which was called “throwing a muzzle (or, locks) on Tiāmat” or if there is another explanation. At least the allusion to a defeat of Sea or Tiāmat is clear. Allusions to Tiāmat with Qingu have already been dealt with under Qingu. The defeat of Tiāmat in New Year rites is dealt with on p. 461.

In addition to the well-known version of Marduk's dealings with Tiāmat, the 50 names provide an independent tradition. Under the name Sirsir (*Enūma Eliš* VII 70–77) Marduk heaped up a mountain on top of Tiāmat. This could be compared with V 57, where Tiāmat's breasts became mountains on the earth, but it sounds more like the creation of the earth by placing something on top of the Sea, as in the *Founding of Eridu* and VII 83. A conflict between Sirsir and Sea is definitely hinted at in lines 71, 74, and 75. Under other of the Fifty Names there are similar allusions. Lines 90–91 can be harmonized with the main story of *Enūma Eliš* but are not very explicit. Line 103 refers, in the style of Berossus, to a host of creatures inside Tiāmat. Line 116 is too inexplicit to be of use. Nēberu, the name of Marduk's star, is the one under which most attention is given to his relations with Sea (124–32). While the allusions are largely astronomical, and perhaps meteorological, they are far from clear. As a star, Marduk passes over a real sea (123), but how, as a star, does he bind and afflict the sea (132)? A word-play on Nēberu and *ubburu* “bind” may be part of the explanation.

A further tradition of Marduk's relations with watery deities occurs in Marduk's Address to the Demons:

[KI].MIN šá ina ti-amat e-li-ti i-nam-bu-ú šá ^{BU}sirsir(_{BU}+AB)
 [KI].MIN šá ina ti-amat šap-li-ti ú-šar-bu-šú ^{BU}la-gu-da
 AfO 17 (1954/56) 312 10–11

I am Asalluḫi whom Sirsir nominates in the upper sea,
 I am Asalluḫi whom Laguda exalts in the lower sea.

(Sirsir has been read from a clear new duplicate, BM 46375, which gives the variant ^{BU}la-gu-du in the following line.) Whatever uncertainty may prevail here, clearly Sirsir and Marduk are two beings, not one. King (STC I 196–97) quoted these lines as a parallel to cosmic waters above and beneath the earth, but in their complete state as now known this is hardly a possible interpretation. Sirsir, as shown in the note on the relevant lines of *Enūma Eliš*, is associated with sailors, so his sea will presumably be the Persian Gulf. It is “upper” only in comparison with the sea beneath the earth. If this is the correct interpretation, then Laguda's cosmic location is ascertained. He has been met above in the company of Lugala'abba and Lugalidda in *Šurpu* VIII 37. In this passage, the duplicate BM 76211 (noted by Pinches in the *Transactions of the Ninth Congress of Orientalists* II 194; Borger in *Fs. Lambert* p. 82) has ^{BU}la-gù-dé, which makes the name look Sumerian, from gù-dé “shout.” Apart from the Cassite-period personal names ^{BU}bur-ra-^{BU}la-gu-da and ^{BU}tu-kul-ti-^{BU}la-gu-da apud M. Hölscher, *Die Personennamen der kassitenzeitlichen Texte aus Nippur* (Münster, 1996), and the place-name Nēmed-Laguda (RLA 9 209), it appears as a Marduk name in the list K 4210 (p. 153), and it is almost certainly to be restored in another list, K 2107+ ii 4 (p. 154), where the begetting of Sîn and Šamaš is ascribed to him. In the unpublished Anšar = *Anum*, he appears as a name of Marduk: ^{BU}la-gu-da = MIN NI+TUK^{ki}, located in Dilmun.

In what sense Laguda exalted Marduk in the lower sea is not made clear, though obviously Marduk must have descended from the upper parts of the universe to have been there. There is evidence for a descent of Marduk to the underworld, and this is presented in the discussion of the New Year festival (pp. 461–462).

The Rise of Marduk in the Sumero-Babylonian Pantheon

Since the purpose of the Epic was to show that Marduk had replaced Enlil as head of the pantheon, a study of the rise of Marduk in its historical framework is clearly relevant, not to say indispensable, for an understanding of the milieu from which our text springs. Fortunately, there is no dispute about the basic facts: that the god, his city Babylon, and its cult were utterly unimportant in Sumerian times, but under the Late Babylonian empire Marduk was head of the pantheon and his cult was, if not unchallenged, at least *de facto* supreme. The outstanding problem is to know when this elevation of Marduk took place. If this question can be answered, it will provide us with a *terminus a quo* for the Epic's date of composition. It is hardly likely that the author was centuries ahead of his time in holding ideas which were otherwise not in general currency. But the period of Marduk's elevation will not supply a *terminus ante quem*. It is hardly possible to judge from the text of the Epic whether it was composed as part of the movement which instated Marduk above the other gods or whether it was a literary expression of views which had been current for centuries.

The procedure of this investigation will be to examine the abundant dated, or datable, documents which give some description of Marduk and to note especially the phrases which bear on his relationship to the other gods. Investigations along these lines have been undertaken before and will be summarized here to save repetition of the material covered. A general opinion which once prevailed was that Marduk became head of the pantheon when Babylon under Hammurabi became the political capital of southern Mesopotamia. It had seemed a logical development that the god of the ruling city should lord it over the other deities. The opening sentence of the prologue to Hammurabi's laws was commonly cited as proof of this. We shall examine the precise content of the wording in due course.

There had in fact been two opponents of the view that Marduk's rise dates from Hammurabi's time. Ravn (in *Acta Orientalia* 7 [1929], 81–90) made a detailed study of the year-names of the First Dynasty of Babylon and showed that, on this evidence, Marduk was an insignificant god throughout the period. The validity of this approach is not to be disputed, as the years were dated by what was considered the most important event in them, often the dedication of something to a god or the rebuilding of a temple. This article of Ravn was to have been followed by others dealing with different kinds of evidence, but they never appeared.

An article of H. Schmökel (*RA* 53 [1959] 183–204) took up the matter where Ravn left off. He examined the royal inscriptions of Hammurabi, the benedictions commonly found at the commencement of Old Babylonian letters (e.g., “May Šamaš and Marduk keep you in good health”), theophoric

personal names, and cylinder seal inscriptions. The unanimous testimony of these different kinds of evidence is that Marduk was an unimportant god during the First Dynasty of Babylon.

More recently, the Old Babylonian origin of *Enūma Eliš* has been generally rejected, but no precise alternative has been generally accepted. W. Sommerfeld in his *Der Aufstieg Marduks* (AOAT 213; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1982) has presented a massive collection of data in the course of which he argued for a later Cassite-period origin (pp. 174–81), based on the Middle Assyrian copies of An = Anum and the use of Bēl as a divine name.

Marduk and Babylon in the Third Millennium

The earliest useful mention of Marduk (and his city?) occurs in a piece of limestone dedication inscription, YBT IX 2 (cf. RIME 1 p. 444):

....	(beginning lost)
ʿen ₅ -si	governor of
BAR.KI.BAR	BAR.KI.BAR,
dumu a-ḥu-ì-lum	son of Aḥu-ilum,
lú ì-lum-be-l[ì]	man of Ilum-beli
lú ur-kù-bí	man of Ur-Kubi,
dím é	builder of the temple of
ᵋamar-utu	Marduk,
mu-gub-am ₆	set up (this motive)
....	(end lost)

There is no external evidence of origin or date, since the object was purchased, but the sign-forms have been used to date the inscription to the “Zeit Mesilims” (D. O. Edzard apud H. W. Haussig [ed.], *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* I/1 [Stuttgart, 1965] 96), or to Early Dynastic II (T. Jacobsen, *JAOS* 88 [1968] 105²). Two of the personal names here, Aḥu-ilum and Ilum-bēli, are well attested Old Akkadian names, and dím é (*bāni bīt*) is surely to be taken as Akkadian. The title “man of” is not a Sumerian title as used here, which further strengthens the case for this being an Old Akkadian text. It should be compared with the inscription on the shoulder of a statuette, perhaps of ED II date (see E. A. Braun-Holzinger, *Frühdynastische Beterstatuetten* [Berlin, 1977] p. 84), BM 22470: photograph in L. W. King, *A History of Sumer and Akkad* (London, 1923) facing p. 102; text in CT 10 2:

ᵋnin-šubur BÀD	To Ninšubur, the lofty(?),
en-zi sipa	Bēli-napašti, the shepherd of
kal.KI.kù,
dumu en-zi	son of Bēli-napašti
a mu-ru	gave (this statue).

The similarities of the two texts are: (i) they are Old Akkadian, not Sumerian. The name en-zi is not a Sumerian name, though it survived to Ur III times (E. Chiera, *Selected Temple Accounts from Telloh, Yokha and Drehem* [Philadelphia, 1922] p. 17). It conceals the Akkadian name written *be-lí-na-pá-áš-ti* (MAD I 163 iv 27; BIN VIII 143 8) and characteristically lacks indication of grammatical elements, as noticed in other contexts (R. A. di Vito, *Studies in Third-Millennium Sumerian and*

Akkadian Personal Names [Studia Pohl, Series Maior 16; Rome, 1993] 124). Then (ii) it has a rare, possibly unique, title: sipa, a common Sumerian epithet for rulers, but not a title. Like “man of,” it is strange. Next, (iii) both texts put a three-sign line with central sign KI after the dedicators’s title. This, we suggest, is a local convention carried over from the time when sign-order was whimsical, and each indicates a place. B. R. Foster has examined the original of YBT IX 2 and (in a private communication) supports the archaic character of this text, that it is not a later copy from a scribal school such as that of Sippar.

Thus, everything about YBT IX 2 points to the conclusion that it comes from Babylon, save for BAR^{ki}.BAR. The common second- and first-millennium writing ká-dingir-ra requires Bābilim/Bābilum, with transparent meaning in both languages. But there are still problems. The earliest traditional writing occurs in a year-name of Šar-kali-šarri (RIME 2 p. 183 [iii] k): ká-dingir, without any phonetic marker. The same occurs in Ur III documents, but RGCT II 21 cites three occurrences with -ma, one with -ra. I. J. Gelb (see RGCT II 195) drew in the Ur III place ^(gis)tir-ba-bíl/bíl/bil₄-la as relevant to the name “Babylon.” It is not a name of Babylon, and Gelb meant it as an example of what might lie behind “Gate of the god”—that is, the traditional form of the name could have resulted from folk-etymology on a name unrelated to gods and gates. In this he was right, and it leads to a possible solution of our problem. The sign BAR has a value ba₁₅ (R. Borger, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon* [AOAT 305; Münster, 2003] p. 70 121) which would give ba₁₅-ba₁₅^{ki} in YBT IX 2. N. Koslova has argued that *ba-ab-bi-lum*^{ki} in an Umma Ur III tablet is a phonetic spelling of “Babylon”: MVN XXI 199 and NABU 1998/21. In the context of this document, this is entirely possible, but the orthography raises doubts. The standard logographic writing ká-dingir can hardly be reconciled with *babilmum*, which is an Akkadian noun—literally, “carrier,” a professional title. Much later Akkadian does occasionally resolve a long vowel into two following consonants, but Old Akkadian is the opposite: of double consonants commonly only one is written. Also, the merging of a construct chain is another problem. The merged *bēlhubullum* is inconceivable in Old Akkadian. The matter is not proven. In Middle Babylonian and other late phonetic writings, the name has an unexpected -a- in the second syllable: *pan/pa-an/pa-am-ba-li*, *bā-bà-lam/lim*: see B. Landsberger, *JCS* 8 (1954) 68¹⁷²; RGCT V 47–49; *AfO* 32 (1985) 1 4. Thus, the form Babal appears to have survived orally despite the written Bābilim. The Early Dynastic scribe-mason as often gave what he heard and was not concerned with amissable final consonants.

The god-lists from Fara do not contain the name Marduk, but another text from the same archive seems to: na-si₄-si₄, ^dme-sag-ag, lú-làl, šul, amar-utu, (ZA) ni-ni (Deimel, *Fara* II [WVDOG 43] 29 rev. i and dup. 44 i). There is at least one god here, as the divine determinative, which is optional in these texts, indicates, and in addition lú-làl is well known as the god of Bad-Tibira, later rendered into Akkadian as *Lā-tarāk* (*AfK* 2 [1924/25] 11 23). Also, ni-ni can be the name of a goddess: see Gelb, *JNES* 19 (1960) 72ff. Thus, it is very probable that amar-utu here is Marduk. The archive from Abu Šalābīḥ has given a small fragment of a god-list with ^dutu-ama[r] (OIP 99 89). If this is a correct restoration, it offers the only example of reversed order of the signs.

Despite the vast number of Ur III documents, there seems not to be a single certain occurrence of the name Marduk. A doubtful case occurs in a Tello document copied by Scheil in Mosul in 1894, and given in cuneiform type in *ZA* 12 (1897) 265–66. The relevant line reads: MAŠ QA ^damar-^dsuen mul amar-utu. Scheil took this as a personal name: “Amar-Suen is the star (of?) Marduk,”

but though the Ur III onomasticon is well known, and deified kings occur, there is no parallel for this type of name. Probably something is wrong, but the tablet is unfortunately lost and cannot be collated.

That this is the total evidence for Babylon and Marduk from the documents of the third millennium, so far as the present writer has been able to find, is significant. Negative evidence can also be cited. The *Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns* (ed. Sjöberg and Bergmann; TCS 3), compiled under the Akkad Dynasty, includes quite a number of small towns with their temples, and places near Babylon such as Kish and Cuthah are covered, but Babylon is omitted. Obviously, its cult of Marduk was very unimportant.

The First Dynasty of Babylon: Marduk and Asalluḫi

With the founding of the First Dynasty of Babylon by Sumuabum c. 1900 B.C., more detailed evidence becomes available. Esagil, the temple, seems to be mentioned first in Sābūm's 10th year (First Dynasty year-names from M. J. A. Horsnell, *The Year-Names of the First Dynasty of Babylon*; Hamilton, ON, 1999), when it was "built," which no doubt means "restored." In addition to its master, Marduk, the divine court includes his spouse Zarpānītum, who seems to be mentioned first in the 24th year-name of Sumulael. In later times she is well known as the spouse, and this can be deduced from Samsuiluna's having made two golden thrones in his 19th year for Marduk and Zarpānītum. Nothing certain is known of her background, though her name was interpreted in the ancient world to mean either "the lady of the city Zarpan" or, as *zēr-bānītu*, "creatress of seed" (see CAD § 112b). The favourite modern interpretation, "silvery," seems to have no support from the ancient world.¹ The other well-known deity from the court was Nabû, ^d*na-bi-um* in the common orthography of the First Dynasty. In the first millennium, he is a major god with his own temple, Ezida, in Borsippa. This, however, was not the arrangement of the second millennium. On Old Babylonian seals, he is "scribe of Esagil":

^d*na-bi-um*
dub-sar sag-íl
šâ-dub ^damar-utu

OIP 22 238; *Collection de Clercq* 224;
B. Buchanan, *Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale
Babylonian Collection* (New Haven, 1981) 855

^d*na-bi-um*
dub-sar
sag-íl

E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near
Eastern Seals in North American
Collections* (Washington, 1948) 442

The first example adds the title *šandabakku* "administrator,"² and this alone rules out the possibility that he was lord of Ezida at this time. He needed to be resident in Esagil to be its scribe and administrator. Confirmation from this period can be found in the fact that Hammurabi rebuilt Ezida for Marduk (not Nabû) according to RIME 4 p. 354 and that in the 17th year of Samsuditana the king put a statue in Esagil for the pleasure of Nabû. The Middle Assyrian An = *Anum* calls Nabû Marduk's vizier, not his son (sukkal ^damar-utu-ke₄: II 242), and this is a title of his in passages collected by

1. As between *šar-* and *Zar-*, Goetze (*JCS* 17 [1963] 84–85) argues for the latter on two grounds: the Old Aramaic rendering *Zrpnt* in Sefire I, and the ancient Akkadian etymologies. The evidence is valid.

2. For this title, see Goetze, *Sumer* 14 (1958) 1–2.

Tallqvist in *SO VII* (1938) 148. The late tradition of Nabû's sonship of Marduk is so far unknown from the Old Babylonian period and probably never existed then. The scribe of Esagil had a wife, Tašmētum, as already known from the 41st year-name of Hammurabi. Nanai is also wife of Nabû in sundry texts, and the problem is whether this is merely another name of Tašmētum or whether she was another, separate, wife. Nanai is most commonly described as a goddess of Uruk, and in this way Nabû became related to Anu.

The real problem of the gods of Babylon in the Old Babylonian period is their relationship to those of Eridu. Certainly during the latter half of the First Dynasty of Babylon, Marduk was considered the same as Asalluḫi, god of the town Ku'ar near Eridu and son of Enki. Since the earliest attainable meaning of the name Marduk is "Bull-calf of Utu," which teaches a different paternity, it is conceivable that originally Marduk had nothing to do with Asalluḫi and that the identification of the two was a theological ploy to make him more respectable when his city rose in esteem. The name Asalluḫi and early occurrences of it are discussed in the note to *Enūma Eliš* VI 147–56. His main sphere of activity, to judge from the surviving evidence, was exorcism, in which he often acts with his father Enki. This aspect may have arisen only during the course of the third millennium, since his name does not occur in the Fara incantations (Early Dynastic III), while those of Enki and Ningirimma do. However, he does appear in an Ur III copy of an incantation (H. de Genouillac, *La trouvaille de Dréhem* [Paris, 1911] no. 1). His sonship of Enki is already stated in the Sumerian Temple Hymns (TCS 3 25 144: dumu-abzu-ke₄), which date from the Akkad Dynasty. A Sumerian hymn to him written on a tablet of Old Babylonian date (JET VI 69) is not very informative, though he is described as "prime son of Enki" (dumu-sag ^den-ki-ke₄; obv. 9) and "exalted vizier of Eridu" (sukkal-maḫ eridu^{ki}-ga: rev. 6). Perhaps the most unexpected thing is his identification with the River of Ordeal (see note on *Enūma Eliš* VII 35–56). There is remarkably little about exorcism, perhaps rev. 1: mu₇-mu₇ mu-e-šub-eš.

The nature of the problem of the relationship of Marduk and Asalluḫi can be illustrated from the Old Babylonian god-list on which An = *Anum* is based (TCL 15 pls. xxvff.). Lines 76–103 contain a section devoted to Enki and his dependents, so including Asalluḫi, and this is followed by lines 104–11, which offer a Marduk section. Then follows a section dealing with the Mother Goddess. Structurally, the Marduk section is an intrusion. The following are the lines of interest here:

^d asal-lú-ḫi	^d amar-utu
^d asar	^d tu-tu
^d asar-alim-nun-na	^d zar-pa-ni-tum
^d pa ₄ -nun-an-ki	^d nin-bára-ge ₄ -si
^d e ₄ -ru ₆	
89–93	104–7

Thus, Eridu and Babylon are given quite separately, and the original list no doubt dealt with Eridu only. An editor had added a section of Marduk and his spouse to match Asalluḫi and his spouse. The compiler of the later An = *Anum* has rearranged these two sets of names (with others) into an integrated unitary list. Whoever added the Marduk section to the Old Babylonian list obviously did so in the belief that Marduk and Asalluḫi were the same, otherwise there would have been no purpose in his addition. But what of the original list? Was Marduk omitted because he was not yet identified

with Asalluḫi or simply because the cult of Marduk was too unimportant? The earliest identification of Asalluḫi and Marduk, though implicit only, occurs in a hymn of Sîn-iddinam of Larsa:

[^dasa]l-lú-ḫi lugal ká-dingir-ra^{ki} dumu ^díd-lú-ru-gú
AOAT 25 (Fs. Kramer) 216 16

Asalluḫi, king of Babylon, son of Idlurugu

This dates from after the founding of the First Dynasty of Babylon but long before Hammurabi's military successes.

Sumerian liturgical texts offer similar evidence. One *kirugu* offers a comprehensive listing of the gods, often with some description. The Eridu section is the following:

^dam-an-ki (^d)am-urú-zé-ba
ama-é-maḫ-a ^ddam-gal-nun-na
[^d]asal-lú-ḫi dumu urú-zé-ba
[SAL.U]Š.DAM-na-ni ^dpa₄-nun-an-ki
CT 42 pl. 4 iv 29–32 restored by BM 96927

Enki, bull of Eridu,
Damgalnunna, mother of the “lofty house”,
Asalluḫi, son of Eridu,
His spouse, Panunanki.

Both copies of this are Old Babylonian, as is the other duplicate, VAS II 11 v–vi, which, however, lacks this portion of the text. Other similar texts known from tablets of the same period use this section (see CLAM indexes), and one offers it (with orthographic variants) followed by three extra lines:

^d namma ama-urú-zé-eb ^{ki}	Namma, mother of Eridu,
^d e ₄ -ru ₆ -e ga-ša-an ap-su ^{ki}	Eru'e, lady of the Apsû,
sukkal zi mu-du ₁₀ -ga sa ₄ -a . . .	The trusty vizier, Muduggasa'a . . .

VAS II 11 ii 6–8

Neither of these texts contains a section devoted to Babylon. A further similar text offers the section with a significant alteration:

^dam-[an]-'ki' am urú-zé-eb-ba-k[e₄ (. . .
ama é-maḫ ^ddam-gal-nun-na-ke₄ [(. . .
^dasal-lú-ḫi ù-mu-un tin-tir^{ki} (. . .
mu-ud-na-ni ^dpa₅-nun-na-ki-k[e₄ (. . .
sukkal zi mu-du₁₀-ga s[a₄-a (. . .
sukkal zi ù-mu-un x [. . .
x (x) mu' x [. . .

VAS II 12 iii 6–11

Here, in an Old Babylonian text, “lord of Tintir” is substituted for the traditional “son of Eridu” as a title of Asalluḫi. Tintir is a name for Babylon (or a part of it), found between kiš^{ki} and ká-dingir-ra^{ki} in an Old Babylonian geographical list, OECT IV 161 i 6–8 = MSL XI 140. No Tintir associated with Eridu or Ku'ar is known. Later versions of these gods adhere to this description of Asalluḫi:

^dam-an-ki am urú-zé-eb-ba^(ki)-ke₄
 ama èš-maḥ ^ddam-gal-nun-na-ke₄
^did-lú-ru-gú di-ku₅ kalam-ma-ke₄
 nin-zi-da ^dki-ša₆ ^{nu}nunuz ša₆-ga
^dasal-lú-ḥi umun tin-tir^{ki}-ke₄
 mu-ud-na-ám-zu ^dpa₄-nun-an-ki-ke₄
 sukkal zi ^dmu-zé-eb-ba-sa₄-a

BL 46 6–12 = 56 rev. 22–28 = K 6813 4–10

Other late copies of Sumerian liturgical texts offer this list without Idlurugu and Kiša: Reisner, *SBH* p. 85 26–30; K 5148 3–7; K 5189 rev. iii 12–6. While this evidence from a god-list and litanies is proof of the identity of Marduk and Asalluḥi in priestly minds at some time in the Old Babylonian period, the tablets cannot be dated precisely within this period, and it is always possible that the rise of Babylon under Hammurabi may have influenced thinking about these matters. The clearest proof of identity comes from Old Babylonian *Diri* from Nippur: ^dasar = *ma-ru-tu-uk* (MSL XV 26 10:44), but again it is uncertain if this was compiled before or after Babylon’s rise to power under Hammurabi.

The First Dynasty royal inscriptions are of course precisely datable. Both the Prologue to Hammurabi’s laws (i 8–10) and an inscription of Samsu-iluna (RIME 4 p. 381, first few lines) describe Marduk as “prime son of Ea” (dumu-sag ^den-ki-ka = *mārim re-eš-ti-im ša ^den-ki/é-a*). Also, under the later kings of the dynasty, the names of the members of the pantheon of Eridu begin to appear when referring to the corresponding deities of Babylon. The Sumerian year-names of Sumulael, Hammurabi, and Samsu-iluna use Zarpānītum when referring to Marduk’s consort, but Samsu-ditana’s use ^dpa₄-nun-an-ki. This is a matter of writing: the year-names continued to be written in Sumerian, though it was no longer a spoken language, and since Zarpānītum was Akkadian, it was eventually replaced by the Sumerian Panunanki. But Marduk, being already Sumerian, continued in use in the year-names to the end. Asalluḥi does occur within a wall-name in an inscription of Ammi-ditana (RIME 4 p. 412 5’). The context is broken, but probably it does mean Marduk, since Eridu and district were no longer under the control of the kings of Babylon.

In addition to the equations Marduk–Asalluḥi and Zarpānītum–Panunanki, there is a third link between the pantheons of Babylon and Eridu. Nabû, called “scribe” (dub-sar) and “administrator” (šà-dub) in Old Babylonian times and “vizier” in An = *Anum*, is commonly identified with Muduggasa’a in late texts and copies. In the longer form of the Old Babylonian Sumerian extracts quoted above, this deity is presumably meant as Asalluḥi’s vizier, since Ea’s vizier is well known elsewhere as Isimud (Usmû) or Ara (written ^dŠA). It is perhaps not an accident that the corresponding god of Babylon has the name *nabī’um*, “the called one,” which corresponds with the verb in Muduggasa’a “Called with Good Name.” Indeed, an Akkadian prayer plays on this connection by addressing him as “good name Nabû” (*šu-mu ṭa-a-bu ^dnà*: E. Ebeling, *Handerhebung* 74 32). One could speculate that he may have been chosen to serve as executive in Esagil because his name was appropriate to the corresponding officer in Eridu. He may have been a god of some prominence at the time, since his name occurs in the Mari onomasticon, while that of Marduk does not.³

3. Marduk does occur in the names of Babylonian citizens in the Mari archives (ARM 6 18 13 and 21 10) but not, it seems, in names of local people. For Nabû-names, in addition to those cited in ARM 15, note: ARM 7 156 4 and 225 8; ARM 9 291 ii 11; RA 49 (1955) 16 iii 17; J. Bottéro, *Le problème des Ḫabiru* (Paris, 1954) no. 19 11.

The significant fact is that the Marduk cult, as soon as knowledge becomes available, is under the influence of the cult of Eridu. This town was ancient and prestigious in religion and had a long-established mythology. Thus, whether Marduk and Asalluḫi were considered identical in the third millennium or not, certainly in the second millennium when Babylon rose to power the original Marduk is overlaid with the theology of another town and will probably never be recovered. The head names in the list of the Fifty Marduk Names are the clearest surviving pointers to the syncretisms that went on. As shown in the notes to the appropriate lines of Tablets VI and VII of *Enūma Eliš*, Asalluḫi and Šazu are from the pantheon of Eridu, while Tutu was a local god, from Borsippa. Enbilulu and Sirsir are less clear, but the latter is also known in the pantheon of Eridu. The inscriptions of Hammurabi, already quoted, suggest that Asalluḫi was identified with Marduk in his reign, but Tutu was not. One would certainly expect the political developments of that time to have a strong impact on theology, and no doubt some of these syncretisms were the direct outcome of Hammurabi's victories.

Marduk's Position in the Old Babylonian Pantheon after Hammurabi

After this necessarily inconclusive survey of the history of Marduk prior to the time of Hammurabi, the more abundant evidence on the position of Marduk in the pantheon from this time on needs attention. What Schmökel demonstrated from a count of the times that Marduk and other gods occur in the epistolary benedictions, in personal names, and in seal inscriptions will not be repeated. Too little is known of the religious background of letter-writers and those who chose personal names to use these statistical data with any certainty. Local patriotism in Sippar, for example, may have impelled many of the inhabitants to use Šamaš, the city-god, in personal names, but this alone constitutes no proof that they believed in his supremacy over all other gods. Such materials need not only to be counted but also to be weighed. In addition, literary remains, where datable, will be examined, and especially cultic texts. One caution must be stressed. As Falkenstein wrote: "aus hyperbolischen Wendungen wie an-ki-a aš-ni dingir-ra-àm "er ist allein Gott in Himmel (und) auf Erden" (ähnlich CT 15 10, 16 – Rs. 1) keine Schlussfolgerungen gezogen werden dürfen" (ZA 49 [1950] 141 note on 15). When speaking of their gods and goddesses, the Babylonians often go beyond the limits of strict fact, and the lack of formal constructions for expressing the superlative in Sumerian and Akkadian is a further cause of ambiguity. A phrase such as "the great one of the gods" (literally translated) can mean either "the great one among the gods" or "the greatest of the gods." Such phrases must be handled with much care, and alone they cannot be used to prove that the deity of whom they are predicated was the head of the pantheon. Certainty in this matter can only come from indications of the relationship of the god in question to the other gods of the pantheon, especially Anu and Enlil, who were certainly acknowledged as the supreme powers in the universe before the time of Hammurabi.

A convenient starting point is the opening words of the Code of Hammurabi:⁴

4. The Late Babylonian copy of the Prologue on BM 34914 (JSS 7 [1962] 164–65) has an entirely different opening, and only coincides with the stele from i 17 and onwards. Instead of "Babylon" in i 16 it offers "Duranki" (i.e., Nippur), which seems at first sight an important and astonishing variant. The deviant opening reads: [two or three lines missing, which obviously named Anu and Enlil], [ša-me-e u] er-še-tim, [. . .] ni-šī ra x, [ḥa-am-mu-r]a-pí, [. . . m]i' ma ni x, [re-

WHEN exalted Anu, king of the Anunnaki, and Enlil, lord of heaven and underworld, who decree the destiny of the land, decreed for Marduk, the prime son of Ea, the supreme power (lit., Enlilship) over all peoples, promoted him among the Igigi, gave an exalted name to Babylon and made it foremost in the world regions, and decreed that he should have within it lasting kingship with foundations as secure as heaven and underworld, THEN . . . Anu and Enlil nominated me, Hammurabi, to improve the lot of the peoples.

A common misunderstanding derived from this passage concerns the nature of the power given by Anu and Enlil. It is supreme power over the peoples. There is a title “supreme ruler (Enlil) of the gods” current in Old Babylonian times, as will be shown, but this is not what could be applied to Marduk from the words quoted. Peoples and gods are two distinct groups which no ancient writer would have confused. Also, the passage states quite clearly that this authority was delegated. There is not a hint that Anu and Enlil abdicated when they decreed this appointment for Marduk. The grounds for this appointment are readily intelligible. When the city Babylon acquired political supremacy under Hammurabi, its god Marduk thereby triumphed—over the peoples. Thus, political reality was recognized in heaven by this promotion of Marduk to be ruler of the peoples. The authority of Anu and Enlil was not diminished, as is clear from their appointment of Hammurabi as king, though one would have expected Marduk, as ruling the peoples, to have done this. Following upon this opening sentence, the Prologue proceeds to list Hammurabi’s connections with the major shrines, putting that of Enlil first, while Marduk’s takes third place. The same state of affairs is presumed in the Epilogue: Enlil has assigned the human race to Hammurabi; Marduk directs him to shepherd it. In the curses with which the Epilogue concludes, Hammurabi invokes the major deities, commencing with Anu and Enlil. Marduk is omitted completely.

A parallel to this concept of Marduk ruling the peoples occurs in a late chronicle: “During Ištar’s turn of office (*palû*) arose Sargon of Akkad.”⁵ Akkad was politically supreme under Sargon, as was Babylon under Hammurabi. Thus, at this time the city goddess Ištar had her “turn of office.” No one has been so foolish as to suppose that she thereby deposed Anu and Enlil and henceforth took over their offices and powers.

The royal inscriptions of Hammurabi show that the position was in fact more complex than the Code suggests, though no change in regard to Marduk results. Some texts simply repeat the ideas of the Code:

When Anu and Enlil gave me the land of Sumer and Akkad to rule and put the reins in my hands . . .
RIME 4 p. 341 10ff., cf. p. 339 15ff.

iu]-ú-um, [li-pí]-it qá-ti-šu-un, [šar-r]u-ú-ti mi-ša-ri-um, [a-na] ši-rik-ti iš-ru-ku-šu, [ú]-ša-at-li-mu-šu, [ha]-at-ti-im ù a-gi-i, [s]í-ma-at šar-ru-tim, dur-an-ki šum-šu š[i-r]a-am, etc. The double occurrence of “Hammurabi” with appropriate epithets (see the continuation) shows that this variant opening has no claim whatsoever to be considered a legitimate part of the Prologue. The phrases preserved no doubt go back to a genuine inscription of Hammurabi or another king of the dynasty (note Samsu-iluna [RIME 4 p. 386 56–59]: *sa-am-su-i-lu-na šar-ri-m da-an-nim re’im qar-ra-dim li-pí-it qá-ti-šu-nu*), but they have been prefixed altogether artificially to lines 17 and following of the text of the Prologue. Perhaps the corner of the tablet on which the late copy is ultimately based was broken off, and a scribe tried to patch up the text from another inscription. At the end (vi 32 = v 15 of the stele) instead of “Marduk” directing Hammurabi to rule, the late copy has “Enlil.” This presents no ideological problem, since in the First Dynasty royal inscriptions, either Marduk or Enlil indifferently instructs the king to rule. This could be a genuine variant, unlike the opening lines.

5. A. K. Grayson, TCS 5 p. 152 1, cf. JNES 2 (1943) 170⁶⁷ and JCS 1 (1947) 255¹².

However, a text from Sippar ascribes to Šamaš what elsewhere is said to belong to Anu and Enlil or to Enlil alone:

When Šamaš, the great lord of heaven and underworld, king of the gods, looked joyfully with smiling countenance on me, Hammurabi, his chosen noble, he granted me lasting kingship, a prolonged term of office. He also made secure the land which he gave me to rule.

RIME 4 p. 334 1ff.

This particular text does not ever mention Anu and Enlil. A text from Larsa, while similarly calling Šamaš “lord of heaven and underworld” does not ignore the other gods:

Hammurabi, nominated by Anu, who hearkens to Enlil, chosen by Šamaš, the shepherd beloved of Marduk . . .

RIME 4 p. 351 cf. p 353 (Zabalam) and p. 355 (Borsippa)

A certain conflict between the priests of Sippar and the old established Sumerian religion is evident. It might be argued that no doubt the priests of every city made similar claims for the local deity. But this is not so in the case of Inanna of Zabalam, since Hammurabi’s inscription to her (RIME 4 p. 353) calls her only “the lady whose splendour covers heaven and underworld” and ascribes to her no more active part in the destiny of Hammurabi than “giving him her kindly signal to rule Sumer and Akkad.” Though there is no surviving inscription from Babylon itself, one from the neighbouring Borsippa addressed to Marduk (RIME 4 p. 354) styles him no higher than “the great lord who gives abundance to the gods” and refers to Hammurabi’s building of Ezida for him “when Enlil gave Hammurabi the land and peoples to rule and put their reins in his hands.”

Literary remains from the reign of Hammurabi are known. A hymn of self-praise by the king, edited by Sjöberg in ZA 54 (1961) 51ff., contains the following relevant lines: “The people which does not submit to Marduk I crush with my mighty weapon; like a land whose destruction Enlil has commanded, I bring them to ruin. Zababa, the great warrior, is my helper, Marduk goes at my right hand. (lines 12–16) . . . I am the king who has achieved victory for Marduk everywhere (line 21) . . . I am the king for whom health and nobility arise from Ekur, whom Enlil made surpassing in battle (lines 24–25).” Another poetically phrased inscription describes the attributes given to Hammurabi by the various deities (CT 21 40 i). The beginning and end of the section are missing, but the following deities occur, in order: Enlil, Sîn, Ninurta, Ištar, Šamaš, and Adad. Another similar text, BM 64265 [*Finkelstein Mem. Vol. 197*], praises Hammurabi in these terms: “whom Anu [covered] with the splendour of kingship, whose great destiny Enlil [decreed], . . . at the command of Anu and Enlil, with the help of Šamaš and Adad, by the exalted [word] of Marduk, [by the . . .] of Zababa and Inanna . . .” In all this material relating to Hammurabi, there is no hint of any supremacy of Marduk within the pantheon. The various statements do not always agree, but in this respect they are at one.

The uncertainties in the evidence from Hammurabi’s reign, chiefly whether the king receives authority and orders direct from Anu and Enlil or only through a lesser god such as Marduk, are absent from the surviving inscriptions of his son and successor, Samsu-iluna. Three of the four major ones (numbers as in RIME 4) present an identical ideology. Inscription 7 tells a story. Enlil, “whose lordship is greater than that of the (other) gods, the shepherd who determines destinies,” casts his kindly glance on Zababa and Ištar, deities of Kish, and decides that the city wall of Kish needs repairs and

strengthening. He suggests this to them, and points out Samsu-iluna as the man who will undertake the work if suitably rewarded. Zababa and Ištar follow the advice given and inform Samsu-iluna of the plan of Enlil. Samsu-iluna accepts the commission, kills his enemies with the help of Zababa and Ištar, and then rebuilds the wall. Exactly the same happens with Šamaš in Inscription 3, from Sippar. Enlil, “king of the gods, the great lord of the lands,” casts his kindly glance on Šamaš and commands a plan of building for Sippar, “the primaeval city.” Šamaš rejoices in what has been decreed and summons Samsu-iluna. The king accepts the order given, first suppresses a revolt, and then completes the building scheme. Marduk in Inscription 5 fares no better, except that his limited promotion is mentioned. Anu and Enlil, “the kings of heaven and underworld,” look with joy on Marduk, “gave him lordship over the four world regions and gave him an exalted name among the Anunnaki.” Then Marduk, “the supreme ruler (lit., Enlil) of the land,” gives instructions to Samsu-iluna, who builds six fortifications. The prim protocol and neat hierarchy of these three texts needs no statement. Inscription 8 is of a different type, but it offers relevant material. According to it, the king smashes his enemies at the command of Anu and Enlil (i 7ff.), and later it is added that his weapons were given him by Anu, Enlil, Marduk, Enki, and Inanna (iii 13ff.). It concludes with the name of a fortification built by Samsu-iluna: “Enlil has subjugated the enemies’ land to Samsu-iluna.”

A hymn of praise to Samsu-iluna, TCL 16 pls. c–ci, edited by Falkenstein in *ArOr* 17/1(1949) 212ff., begins by listing what various gods contributed to Samsu-iluna, beginning with “Marduk, your creator,” passing through “Anu, king of the gods,” “Enlil, lord of the lands,” and “Inanna, great mistress of heaven,” to the various deities of Eridu.⁶ The second part (lines 40ff.) prays for blessings on the king from the gods in order: Anu, Enlil, Ea, Šîn, after which the text breaks off. Thus, the evidence from Samsu-iluna’s reign shows no essential change in the religious status quo. The old-established Sumerian pantheon is still going strong, and Marduk is far from heading it.

The royal inscriptions of the following king, Abi-ešuh, are unhelpful, but there survives a Sumerian hymn to Marduk ending with a petition for this king (TCL 16 pl. cxlviii, edited by van Dijk in *MIO XII* [1966] 66ff.). There are difficulties in the reading of the signs and the interpretation of the text, but much can be understood, and it is certainly the most important Old Babylonian text about Marduk. The general theme is his greatness, as can be illustrated by two examples:

igi-du ^d<nun>-gal-e-ne á-gál ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne (2–3)

Leader of the Igi, strong (strongest?) one of the Anunnaki.

nam-en-bi an-ki-bi-da ši-í-b-gu-lu (14)

Whose lordship is great (greatest?) in heaven and underworld.

The term “leader” (igi-(šè)-du = *alik pāni*) is normally a military term and is not a technical religious term indicating the head of the pantheon. The ambiguity of “strong” and “great” as to whether they may be superlatives should remind us of Falkenstein’s caution. If the larger sense is taken, we are not

6. If Falkenstein’s restoration [^dasar] ensí-gal ab[zu in 31 is correct, it implies that Asar and Marduk were not identified by the author of this text. Falkenstein referred to the forerunner of An = *Anum*, TCL 15 pl. xxvi 97, where ^de[nsí-gal] abzu is certainly a correct restoration. However, this occurs after Asalluḫi’s wife, so unless it is out of place, it cannot refer to him. However, An = *Anum* itself identifies Ensigalabzu with ^dan-mar-dú (II 292: CT 24 16 38 = 29 88).

justified in pushing the literal sense: it may be hyperbole. Lines 6–10 are more important as stating the authority derived by Marduk from Anu and Enlil:

- 6 pa-bil-ga-zu an lugal-dingir-re-e-ne-ke₄
 nam-en-zu an-ki um⁷-ma-na-bi (gloss: ke₄) íb-ta-an-gál
 7 á-ág-gá gal-maḥ an-ki-bi-da-ke₄ sag-kè[š-d]a-bi [ma]-ra-an-šúm
 sibir kur-kur-ra x-ma šu ḥé-em-m[i-l]á⁷-[à]m
 8 dingir-gal-gal-e-ne íb-diri-ga
 gidri lugal garza dingir-re-e-ne si sá-sá-eš-a mu-ra-an-daḥ
 9 ^den-líl-le nam-lugal kiši⁷ an-ki-bi-da-ke₄ nam-šè mu-ni-in-tar
 zà-ša₄ la-ba-an-tuku
 10 ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne mi-ri-íb-gu-ul
 nam-mu-ru₆⁷-na AK-dè mu-ra-an-šúm

- 6 Anu, your grandfather, king of the gods,
 Has imposed your lordship on the hosts(?) of heaven and underworld.
 7 He has given to you the supervision of the great, exalted decrees of heaven and underworld,
 The sceptre of the lands . . . he has put in (your) hand.
 8 He has exalted you among the great gods,
 He has added to you control of the royal sceptre and the regulations of the gods.
 9 Enlil has decreed as your destiny kingship of the whole(?) of heaven and underworld,
 Allowing you no rival.
 10 He has made you great among the Anunnaki,
 He has given to you the doing of

The important question is how far this goes beyond the related statements of the earlier royal inscriptions. The Prologue to Hammurabi's Code states that Anu and Enlil promoted Marduk "among" (*in*, not "over," which would be *eli*) the Igigi, and gave him supreme authority over the peoples. Samsu-iluna 5 similarly: "When Anu and Enlil, kings of heaven and underworld, looked with joy on Marduk, prime son of Ea, gave him lordship over the four world regions, gave him an exalted name among the Anunnaki. . . ." Of the lines quoted above, 7b, 8a, and 10 do not imply more than this, but 6b, 7a, 8b, and 9 seem to. Marduk is given power not just on earth, nor authority shared with all the great gods, but authority over gods, since heaven and underworld were the two main seats of the gods. Whether the sign in line 9 is *kiši* "whole," or not, it is difficult to imagine anything else that would essentially change the meaning. Marduk, then, is already king of heaven and underworld in Abi-ešuh's time? Such an idea creates difficulties even within this text. Marduk's rule of the people is a clear concept involving a proper devolution of power: Anu and Enlil, the heads, appoint Marduk, a lesser god, to rule the mortals, an inferior race. But what happens when the two heads appoint Marduk to rule the gods? Are the heads, being gods also, now subordinate to Marduk, so that by this act they have effectively abdicated? This text tolerates no such notion, since Anu is called "king of the gods," which would not be done if the following words describe how he passed on this kingship to Marduk. If it is granted that Marduk's power over gods was subject to the overriding control of Anu and Enlil, then it is much less important. He might have been a mere minister putting into effect the bidding of his superiors. The text is inexplicit in this respect. It is, therefore, not clear that this text is really saying more than the royal inscriptions. Its author wrote the greatest praise of Marduk he

could, and in so doing is ambiguous. This is understandable in a cultic text, which is essentially for the private use of the priests. The royal inscriptions are more factual and down-to-earth.

A hymn to Marduk of Old Babylonian date was excavated at Sippar in a context of documents dated to the reign of Samsu-iluna. It is published by F. N. H. Al-Rawi in *RA* 86 (1992) 79–83. It had been presented earlier in the popular Baghdad magazine *Alef-Ba* by Khalid al-Adhami, who suggested that it belongs to the Gilgamesh epic. Al-Rawi gave a photograph, copy, and full edition. The present writer has used a clearer print of the photograph and a very careful copy of al-Adhami, for which he is to be thanked. Only the first two lines are relevant to our purposes here:

il ku-ul-la-at i-gi-gi bé-el šad-du-^ri¹
e-te-el e-nu-na-ki ^dmarūtuk lu-[i]z-mu-ur

Of the god of all the Igigi, lord of the mountains,
 most noble of the Anunnaki, Marduk, let me sing.

The first sign is a perfect IL, which Al-Rawi considered but rejected in favour of LUGAL, for reasons of sense. But a clear LUGAL occurs in line 9, though missed by Al-Rawi:

i-na el-lim ap-sí a-sa-lu-uḫ e-li-iš i-na ša-ma-an LUGAL-šu

In the holy Apsû Asalluḫi rejoices (= *eliš*) in the oil (i.e., coronation rite) of his king.

The question is whether the wording here implies Marduk's supremacy over all the gods. Igigi and Anunnaki (synonyms here) certainly are comprehensive and “king” in this context would indeed state supremacy, but “god” is not so clear. It is an extremely rare usage in a context of gods, though found in personal names (see below), perhaps chosen because “king” would not have been true. The parallel *etel*, even if taken as a superlative, does not carry any such overtone. The remainder of the preserved text does not provide further light; note, as typical, line 7:

ka-li ḫi-im-ma-at pa-ar-ší im-ni-uš(sic!)-šu ú-ka-a[l]

He holds the whole collection of decrees in his right hand.

If Marduk did this on his own authority, supremacy over the gods would be implied, but if this was a delegated task, then no such authority is implied. Perhaps the author was deliberately ambiguous. He wanted to praise Marduk to the full but was restrained by the realities of current theology.

Little has survived from the reigns of the remaining kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon, but one relevant item is contained in a hymn to Ištar containing a petition for Ammi-ditana (*RA* 22 [1925] 169ff. 34), where Anu is called “king (of the gods)” (*a-na an-nim šar-ri-šu-nu*).

The Old Babylonian year-names were analysed statistically by Ravn, and they have been summed up again by Schmökel. The new material which has accumulated since 1929 (see M. J. A. Horsnell, *Year-Names*) only confirms the general conclusion that Hammurabi and his successors knew nothing of the spirit of *Enūma Eliš*. Despite Marduk's being their city-god, they freely made dedications to other gods, including Anu and Enlil; they acknowledge their dependence on Anu and Enlil and show no preference for Marduk at Enlil's expense.

The purely statistical analysis is not adequate in every respect. For example, the last king of the dynasty, Samsu-ditana, makes relatively more references to Marduk than his predecessors. This might

be interpreted as a building up of Marduk's prestige at the end of the dynasty. However, as Feigin explained (*JNES* 14 [1955] 152), the real reason is altogether different. The empire had shrunk so much by this time that cities in which previous kings had made dedications to gods other than Marduk were no longer under Samsu-ditana's control. When the content of the formulas is synthesised, it parallels in every particular the evidence of royal inscriptions and other texts. Anu and Enlil, or just Enlil, are supreme. Yet, similar claims are made for Šamaš. Marduk has authority on earth, but only under the surveillance of Anu and Enlil. Starting with Samsu-iluna, the first year-name of each king states to which god's authority kingship is owed:

Samsu-iluna:	“by the faithful word of Marduk”
Abi-ešuḫ:	“by the words of Marduk's majesty”
Ammi-ditana:	“by the exalted counsel of Šamaš and Marduk”
Ammi-šaduqa:	“Enlil made his kingship great”
Samsu-ditana:	“by the exalted word of Marduk”

In the 6th year of Samsu-ditana there is a similar reference to Marduk's making his reign secure, but in contrast, that for the following year speaks of Šamaš “who magnifies his rule.” The 12th year-name of the same king provides an interesting title of Marduk, “the exalted warrior among the gods.” In those of the other kings, two points stand out. First, the subordination of Marduk to Anu and Enlil:

Hammurabi 38:	“At the command of Anu and Enlil, and in the wisdom that Marduk gave him”
Samsu-iluna 28:	“By the instruction of Enlil, and in the wisdom and power of Marduk”
Ammi-ditana 3:	“At the exalted decree of the great gods, and with the strength of Marduk”

As in the inscriptions of Samsu-iluna, the great gods Anu and Enlil give the orders, and the lesser gods, including Marduk, put them into operation. The second point is that when Marduk and Šamaš occur together, as happens in Samsu-iluna 6 and 33, Ammi-ditana 1 and 17, Ammi-šaduqa 10, and Samsu-ditana 5, Šamaš always precedes Marduk.

The infrequency of occurrence of “Marduk” in personal names has been amply documented by Schmökel, and Sommerfeld cited all he could find (*AOAT* 213 pp. 135–47). Here, reference will be made only to those Old Babylonian names which ascribe lordship over the gods to a particular deity. As would be expected, the members of the Old Sumerian triad have this distinction:

Enlil:	<i>enlil-bēl-ili</i>	Enlil-is-the-lord-of-the-gods
Anu:	<i>anum-bēl-ili</i>	Anu-is-the-lord-of-the-gods
Ea:	<i>ea-bēl-ili</i>	Ea-is-the-lord-of-the-gods
	<i>ea-šar(ri)-ili</i>	Ea-is-the-king-of-the-gods ⁷

7. For the present purpose, names have been collected from the lists cited by Stamm in *MVAG* 44 7 and, in addition, from those of: C. F. Jean, *Larsa*; *BIN* VII; Çiğ, Kızılay, and Kraus, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus Nippur* (Istanbul, 1952); UET V; W. F. Leemans, *SLB* I/2 (Larsa) and I/3 (Lagaba); E. Szelchler, *Tablettes juridiques de la I^{re} dynastie de Babylone* (Paris, 1958); idem, *Tablettes juridiques et administratives de la III^e dynastie d'Ur et de la I^{re} dynastie de Babylone* (Paris, 1963); M. Birot, *Tablettes économiques et administratives d'époque babylonienne ancienne* (Paris, 1969). For *enlil-bēl-ili*, see UET V; Çiğ, Kızılay, and Kraus; YBT V; BE 6/2. *anum-bēl-ili* occurs once in PBS VIII/2; *ea-bēl-ili* in Strassmaier, *Altbab. Verträge* no. 48 26 (= Jean, *Tell Sifr* no. 71), and YBT XII; and *ea-šarri-ili* in TCL I, BE 6/1 and YBT XIII.

In these cases, there is no reason to assume that the lordship is intended in any exclusive spirit. No doubt they were considered co-lords. Only four other gods share this attribution in Old Babylonian personal names:

Sîn:	<i>sîn-bēl-ili</i>	Sîn-is-the-lord-of-the-gods
	<i>sîn-šar-ili</i>	Sîn-is-the-king-of-the-gods
	<i>sîn-il-ili</i>	Sîn-is-the-god-of-gods ⁸
Šamaš:	(a) <i>šamaš-bēl-ili</i>	Šamaš-is-the-lord-of-the-gods
	(b) <i>šamaš-šar-ili</i>	Šamaš-is-the-king-of-the-gods
	(c) <i>šamaš-il-ili</i>	Šamaš-is-the-god-of-gods
	(d) <i>šamaš-ašarēd-ili</i>	Šamaš-is-the-foremost-of-the-gods
	(e) <i>šamaš-rēši-ili</i>	Šamaš-is-head-of-the-gods
	(f) <i>šamaš-enlil-ili</i>	Šamaš-is-the-Enlil-of-the-gods
	(g) ^d utu- ^d en-líl-lá	Šamaš-is-Enlil ⁹
Adad:	<i>adad-šar(ri)-ili</i>	Adad-is-king-of-the-gods ¹⁰
Nabû:	<i>nabû-um-šar-ili</i>	Nabû-is-king-of-the-gods ¹¹

The striking thing is that Sîn-is-the-lord-of-the-gods is the most frequently met of all these names. No doubt the priests of Ur held views on the supremacy of their god which were not generally acknowledged. However, no other category of evidence has prepared us for this idea, and to our knowledge there is no other Old Babylonian support of Sîn's supremacy. In later periods, if we may for a moment look ahead, there are hints. A number of passages collected by Tallqvist in SO VII (1938) 446 describe Sîn as father or begetter of the gods, the earliest of which may be from the reign of Melišihu (MDP 2 113 6). Under the patriarchal organization of the Babylonian pantheon, this implies seniority in rank as well. In the late periods, Sîn's shrine in Harran was a centre of such ideas, and a dedicatory inscription to Nuska of Harran by a Late Assyrian king calls Sîn "king of the gods" (*šar ilāni*^{meš}).¹² But it was only in Nabonidus that Sîn found a powerful patron both able and willing to press his claims. In the inscriptions of this Late Babylonian king, the most extravagant things possible are said about Sîn. Not only is he commonly called "king of the gods" and "lord of the gods," but his authority over the gods is stated in these terms:

... who holds the power of Anuship, who controls the power of Enlilship, who lays hold on the power of Eaship; who grasps in his hands the sum of all powers of heaven, the Enlil of the gods, king of kings and lord of lords, who does not go back on what he has commanded, and whose order is not repeated. Heaven and earth are full of the awe of his great divinity; heaven and earth are overwhelmed at his brightness. Who can do anything without you?

AnSt 8 (1958) 60 16ff.

8. *sîn-bēl-ili* is too common to need documentation. *sîn-šar-ili* is found in UET V, YBT V, VIII, and XIII, and Szlechter [i]; *sîn-il-ili* in YBT XIII.

9. (a), (c), (d), (f): Ranke, BE Ser. D III. (a): Birot; YBT XII; (b): BE 6/1. (c): YBT XII. (f): TCL I; Szlechter [ii]; BE 6/1; BA VI/5; Riftin. (e): Birot. (g): BE 6/2 (?); Çiğ, Kızılyay, and Kraus.

10. The name-list in PBS I/2 gives two occurrences of *adad-šar-ili*, but both are incomplete and the documents concerned are later than Old Babylonian. But it does occur in YBT XII and XIII.

11. YBT XIII.

12. For Sîn in late times, see J. Lewy, HUCA 19 (1948) 405–89, especially 417–18. The passage quoted here is Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals I* (Leipzig, 1933) pl. 48 obv. 11 = II p. 38.

Thus, the heretical concept of Sîn's supremacy over the gods was latent throughout Babylonian history and from time to time asserted itself. The Šamaš priesthood had less success in promoting their god.

One might attribute political significance to this attempted promotion of Sîn and Šamaš: the dynasties of Ur and Larsa—cities of Sîn and Šamaš, respectively—had preceded that of Babylon. This hypothesis breaks down on careful scrutiny. Of the personal names expressing the supremacy of Šamaš, the overwhelming majority are found on documents from Sippar, the northern, more Semitic centre of his worship. There are four whole volumes of texts from Larsa, the southern, more Sumerian centre of Šamaš worship (YBT VIII, TCL X and XI, and *TLB* I/1), and though these offer a substantial number of Šamaš names, only one expressing his supremacy occurs, and this once only: Šamaš-is-the-god-of-gods in TCL XI 209 14. This suggests that the rise of Šamaš took place among the Semites, and this is confirmed by a long foundation inscription of Iaḥdun-Lim from Mari (*Syria* 32 [1955] 1ff.), where the sun-god is called “king of heaven and underworld” in the opening lines, and while Enlil is listed first in the curses at the end, he bears as a title only “judge of the gods” (*ša-pí-ìt i-li*), which is nothing distinctive, as Šamaš has already been called “judge of the gods and mankind” (i 3). Since Sippar had never been a political capital, it would seem that the religious attitudes that we have documented bear little or no relationship to the political status quo, except in the case of Marduk. Sîn and Šamaš were leading gods in the pantheon, and without political backing, their priesthoods pushed their claims. Marduk lacked any prestige of purely religious origin, but when his city became the capital of the whole country, he enjoyed a limited elevation in the hierarchy.

The general lack of documents from the city of Babylon dating from the First Dynasty might be raised as an objection to our conclusion. If such material were available in large quantities, personal names asserting Marduk's kingship over the gods might be found. Against this idea, it must be stressed that in this period the onomasticon is not completely under the influence of the local deity. Documents from Nippur contain a larger number of Sîn-names than Enlil-names, and the documents from Ur include quite a proportion of Šamaš-names. While a large corpus of Old Babylonian documents from Babylon would no doubt provide more Marduk-names, there is no reason for thinking that the general picture would be changed. The very fact that during this period claims for at least seven gods are being made renders the lack of similar claims for Marduk all the more remarkable. It is a testimony to the conservatism of religious thought in that civilization.

Marduk's Position in the Late Babylonian Pantheon

There is no need to give a detailed demonstration that under the Late Babylonian empire the concept of Marduk's supremacy in the universe was generally acknowledged, as this fact is not in dispute. The royal inscriptions of the late period use such titles for Marduk as “the Enlil of the gods,” “the king of the gods,” and “the lord of the lords.” In the many references to the divine authority which the kings claim, it is Marduk, or Marduk and Nabû, whom they name. Enlil is hardly ever mentioned. Thus, in VAB IV, which still embraces the larger part of the available material, only three occurrences of the name are found. Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar refer to their use of “the labour force of Enlil, Šamaš, and Marduk” (68 25; 88 9 3). This is not, as Langdon presumed, a list of the three great gods—no such trinity ever existed—but a way of saying Nippur, Sippar, and Babylon.

There is a long tradition behind this, which is illustrated by the document which threatens divine retribution on any king who might demand forced labour from these very cities (see *BWL* pp. 110ff.). The third and last reference occurs in Nabonidus's account of his rebuilding of E²ulmaš, the temple of Annūnītu in Sippar. This goddess is said to “fulfil the command of her father Enlil” (228 34). There are two points in which the Late Babylonian concept of Marduk does not agree with that of *Enūma Eliš*. The first is that Nabû, Marduk's son, as he was then called, shared his father's supremacy. The second is that in some circles Marduk absorbed other deities into himself, so that a kind of monotheism resulted. In this respect, Marduk did not simply replace Enlil but rose to greater heights. In Sumerian times, the authority of the chief gods had never been absolute. The myths about divine councils give a picture of a relatively democratic organization in which the majority could prevail against the will of any one god, no matter how great. Even *Enūma Eliš* shows that Marduk was not just accepting an executive post among equals when he received kingship from the gods. By giving it, they had surrendered all power, and the way in which Marduk reorganizes the universe immediately after the battle with Tīāmat is typical. He consults with no other god before putting his plan into effect.

The monotheistic tendency has been the subject of much dispute, but a sober consideration of the evidence shows that the claims made are not exaggerated. The subject was first raised when Pinches, in *JTVI* 28 (1896) pp. 8–9, published a small Late Babylonian god-list, the obverse of which he regarded as showing “at least an approach to monotheism.” Since there is no recent edition, we give one here:

[^d]uraš	^d marūtuk šá e-re-šú	of planting
^d lugal-íd ¹ -d[a] ¹	^d marūtuk šá naq-bi	of the abyss
^d nin-urta	^d marūtuk šá al-li	of the pickaxe
^d nè-iri ₁₁ -gal	^d marūtuk šá qab-lu	of warfare
^d za-ba ₄ -ba ₄	^d marūtuk šá ta-ḥa-zi	of battle
^d en-líl	^d marūtuk šá be-lu-tú u mit-lu-uk-tú	of lordship and consultation
^d na-bi-um	^d marūtuk šá nikkassi(níg-kaš ₇)	of accounting
^d šîn(en.zu)	^d marūtuk mu-nam-mir mu-ši	who lights up the night
^d šamaš	^d marūtuk šá ki-na-a-ti	of justice
^d adad	^d marūtuk šá zu-un-nu	of rain
^d tišpak	^d marūtuk šá um-ma-nu	of troops
anu rabû	^d marūtuk šá ḤAB-zi-zi	of . . .
^d šu-qa-mu-na	^d marūtuk šá pi-sa-an-nu	of the container
[^d .] x [.]	^d [marūtuk šá ku]l-la-ti	of everything

CT 24 50, BM 47406 obv.

(the second name on the tablet is ^dlugal-A.KI.x)

The suggestion of Pinches was taken up by Delitzsch, and this tablet became one of the centres of the *Babel und Bibel* controversy, the literature of which is conveniently given in R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*² (New York, 1926) p. 191¹. The general opinion resulting from this controversy seems to have been that the point is unproven, and many later scholars seem to have hesitated even to express an opinion on this matter. A more recent controversialist, J. J. Finkelstein, who took up the question in *Commentary* (November 1958, pp. 442–44), dismisses this god-list as a “syncretistic tendency” but emphatically nothing to do with monotheism. The form of the list is that

of the series An = Anu = *ša amēli*, and so the meaning of the juxtapositions is not in doubt. We may freely restore the sense of the first line as: Uraš is the name of Marduk as god of planting. The lists of this kind have names of the deity being explained in the left-hand column and the aspect implied in the name on the right. Thus, we are forced to the conclusion that the various deities in this list are being treated as names of Marduk. Such a process is nothing new: in the 50 names of Marduk, those of Tutu and Enbilulu, for example, attest the syncretism whereby Marduk absorbed minor local deities. This process in itself is not a manifestation of monotheism, but when the major deities of the pantheon are subjected to this treatment, we are forced to ask who is left. Of course, there are the hundreds of minor gods and goddesses who were probably not included in the list when it was complete. But once the major members of the pantheon have become aspects of Marduk merely, there is no escape from the conclusion that this is an assertion of monotheism. There is the one great god of whom other gods are but aspects. Other examples of this trend are now known. The commentary on *Marduk's Address to the Demons* C 5 (AfO 17 [1954/56] 313 and 19 [1959/60] 115) explains Šamaš as: ^dmarūtuk(šú) šá de-e-ni, "Marduk of judgement." KAR 337 and 304 are parts of a religious text in honour of Marduk. Their reverse, which is reconstructed so far as possible in *The Seed of Wisdom* (Fs. T. J. Meek, ed. W. S. McCullough; Toronto, 1964) pp. 11–13, is made up of four-line sections beginning, "Your [. . .] is the god. . . ." These aspects of Marduk are said, in the preserved lines, to be Adad, Šîn, Šamaš, and Ninurta. There is also a prayer to Marduk which begins, "Šîn is your divinity," and proceeds through the other major members of the pantheon in the same style (KAR 25 ii 3–24 = E. Ebeling, *Handerhebung* p. 14; dup. K 8978). The only other god to receive such treatment is Ninurta: in KAR 102 and STT 118 the various parts of his body are listed and identified with gods or goddesses, e.g., "Your eyes, lord, are Enlil [and Ninlil]"; see the translation of von Soden in SAHG pp. 258–59.

Thus, the monotheistic conception of Marduk can be regarded as certain, since the form of the god-list is of unequivocal meaning and the content merely continues what is everywhere acknowledged to have been happening in ancient Mesopotamian religion from early times. The Old Babylonian period witnessed the absorption of deities in the vicinity of Babylon into the person of Marduk. The first millennium saw this extended to the gods of the other major shrines. Of course, we do not know how widespread this view may have been. Common people worshipping the moon-god may not have been conscious of any idea that this was merely an aspect of the one god, and certainly the priests of Šîn in Harran did not tolerate this notion. It is possible that even among the learned circles of Babylon it was not universally acknowledged. But there is no doubt that the opinion did exist.

The author of *Enūma Eliš* shows no sign of this advanced view, and when trying to ascertain just when, between the Old and the Late Babylonian periods, Marduk's supremacy was first asserted, we must be careful to indicate just what this means. None of the documents preaching a monotheistic Marduk can be proved to be earlier than 800 B.C. but, as we shall show, the view coinciding with that of *Enūma Eliš* is attested earlier.

The Middle Babylonian Evidence

Evidence from the Cassite period is at first completely lacking, and royal inscriptions are especially scarce. The biggest group of documents is the boundary stones, mostly from the last century of the Cassite dynasty and the following few centuries. Like the *Code of Hammurabi*, they end with a

list of curses in which the gods are arranged in strict sequence. However, even this evidence has to be used with great care. In some cases, the local religious traditions of the places to which the various deeds on the stones refer have influenced the choice and order of the gods in the curses. Also, there is reason to suspect that, after centuries of use, the normal list beginning with Anu, Enlil, and Ea had become petrified and the leading triad was kept simply as the gods invoked in curses, though in all other respects they had lost their power to Marduk.

The earliest relevant inscription is that of Agum II. Doubts have been expressed as to its genuineness, as it is only known from late copies.¹³ However, if a forgery, the author obviously had authentic information from the Cassite period. In the broad sweep of our canvas, this problem is therefore of no concern here. The titles of the king read:

Son of Taššigurumaš, pure offspring of Šuqamuna, nominated by Anu, and Enlil, Ea and Marduk, Sîn and Šamaš; the mighty he-man of Ištār, the warrior among the goddesses.

i 2–10

It would be unwise to deduce that Marduk is placed before Sîn and Šamaš because he was of higher rank, as later in the text he is listed after these two. There the order is: Anu, Enlil, and Ea (each with his spouse), the Mother Goddess, Sîn, Šamaš, “Ea, lord of the abyss, Marduk who loves his (Agum’s) reign, lord of the abyss” (vii 34ff.). There seems to be some confusion at the end of the list, for Ea appears a second time, and Marduk has the same title as Ea. Since the inscription as a whole concerns the return of Marduk’s statue from Hana, where it had been carried by the Hittites, little can be deduced from the inclusion of his name in these two passages.

An inscription to which no doubt attaches is that of Ulamburiaš of the Sealand dynasty, a contemporary of Kaštiliaš III of Babylon. The curses list: “Anu, Enlil (^dab), Ea (^dšár-šár), Marduk, and Ninmaḫ (the Mother Goddess).”¹⁴ Such a brief listing is not revealing. The majority of the inscriptions of the two Kurigalzus cannot be assigned to the correct one with any certainty. They will therefore be taken together here. The majority are short dedicatory inscriptions, and from whatever town they come and to whichever god or goddess they are dedicated, Kurigalzu normally has one title only: “regent (*šakkanak*) of Enlil.” Clearly, no eclipse of Enlil has taken place. A larger inscription, and certainly of the elder of the two kings, records the donation of a piece of land in the vicinity of Uruk to the temple of Ištār in the same city. Two copies are preserved, but only one has the lines containing the king’s titles, of which the following extract is relevant for our purpose:

. . . chosen by Anu and Enlil, nominated by the lord of the gods (*ni-bit bēl ilāni*^{meš}) . . .

A. Ungnad, *AfK* I (1923) 29ff. i 3–4

The translator, whose thinking was conditioned by *Enūma Eliš*, without more ado added the footnote “Marduk” to the title “lord of the gods.” In fact, nothing could be less probable. Up to this point in Mesopotamian history, there is no case of Marduk bearing this title, so far as we can find, and it would be strange if at the first occurrence it was thought unnecessary to give the name with the title.

13. See p. 225.

14. Weissbach, *Miscellen* p. 7 and Landsberger, *JCS* 8 (1954) 70¹⁸². According to Weidner, *AfO* 19 (1959/60) 138, there are no grounds for thinking that this king ever ruled in Babylon. The traces in the king-list do not support this name.

A further objection is that when supreme authority over the gods is ascribed to Marduk, it is not this title but “king of the gods” which is used. The question who is meant still has to be answered. Ea is not likely, as he would have been coupled with Anu and Enlil rather than having his relationship to the king expressed by a different phrase. From Old Babylonian precedents, Sîn and Šamaš are the likely ones. In view of the special relationship to Šamaš which is predicated of one of the Kurigalzus in an inscription dealt with below, we believe that he is meant here by “lord of the gods,” though it is certainly strange that the name is not given. In any case, Anu and Enlil are still in use, and later in the text Anu is called “father of the great gods” (i 16).

A partially preserved boundary stone from the time of one of the Kurigalzus referring to and reflecting the religious outlook of Der has a more extended list of names in the curses:

Anu, Enlil, and Enki,
Nanna, Šamaš, and Marduk,
Nuska and Sadarnunna,
Nergal and Laš

BBS^t p. 6 11ff.

Here Marduk belongs to the second rank with Nanna (Sîn) and Šamaš. The curses continue with a second mention of Šamaš, this time in a section devoted to him alone, and he is followed by the local Tišpak and the Sibitti.

The remaining Kurigalzu inscription of interest is a royal text written with considerable literary art in the Middle Babylonian dialect. It is the most important document for the court religion from the whole of the Cassite period. The text begins as follows:

- 1 *i-lu ba-nu-ú* [. . .
 - 2 *pa-aḥ-ru i-gi-gu par-ri-ku ú-šar-bu-ú ma-al-k[a' x (x)] li ka l[i' x x x m]aḥ-ri [. .]*
 - 3 *it-né-em-pu-šu*¹⁵ *i-lu ra-bu-tu im-ma-at ka-ra-an-du-ni-ia-áš dūr-ku-ri-gal-zu a-li x x x x*
 - 4 *ip-pa-am-ba-li pa-rak šar kaš-ši-i a-li ša-a-ti du-ru-uš ta-ku-un-'na' x nu'*
 - 5 *i-na bi-it* ^d*šu-ma-li-ia* ^d*šu-qa-mu-na* *ì-lí ra-bu-ti*
 - 6 *ú-šer-bu-ú par-ši-šu ú-te-eq-qì-nu-šu ti-qì-in mi-lam-mi ú-še-ek-li-lu-šu šu-luḥ [š]ar-ru-ti*
 - 7 ^d*ku-ri-gal-zu šar kiš-šá-ti šar ta-ši-im-ti še-mu-ú* ^d*šamaš da[n]-na*
 - 8 *an-nu* ^d*en-líl* ^d*en-ki* *še-mu-šu-ma*
 - 9 *šar-ru-us-su ša-am-ḥa-at ša-ni-na ul i-šu*
 - 10 *ka-šu-uš na-ki-ri ka-mu-ú a-a-bi-šu na-ra-am* ^d*marūtuk*
 - 11 *ú-mu la pa-du-ú a-gu-ú ši-ru mu-'a-bi-tu e-lep-pe-ti ti-iz-qa-ru tu-kul-ti an-nim*
 - 12 *di-ia-a-nu ša ki-ma* ^d*šamaš i-bir-ru ki-nam i-na nap-ḥar ni-ši ú-šal-la-mu [ḥa]b-la*
 - 13 *ša-ki-in an-du-ra-ar ni-ši bābili*^{ki}
 - 14 *mu-ze-ek-ku-ú ni-ši-šu i-na il-ki a-na ra-im pa-le-šu* ^d*marūtuk*
- 1 The begetter gods [. . .
 - 2 The princely Igigi assembled and exalted the king (?) [. .] . . . [. . .] . . [. .]
 - 3 In the land of Karduniaš the great gods were building Dūr-Kurigalzu, the city . [. . .
 - 4 In Babylon, the seat of the Cassite king, the primaeval city, the secure foundation,

15. *it-né-em-pu-šu*, which is clear on the tablet, is a difficult form. It has been taken as I/3 present of *epēšu*, for the normal *iteneppušu*. Comparable forms are attested in literary texts: *it-na-aq-qí-šu-nu-ut* (RA 22 [1925] 173 42); *ta-at-na-da-an-ši* (VAS X 214 ii 9); *it-na-(až-)za-až* (RA 15 [1918] 176 ii 14, 18); *it-nab-bal-kat*₆, *it-na-ṭa-la* (*Tukulti-Ninurta Epic* i 6 and iii 18, AAA 20 [1933]).

- 5 In the temple of Šumaliya and Šuqamuna, the great gods,
 6 They exalted his offices, they adorned him with an adornment of splendour, and accomplished for him the rites of kingship:
 7 Kurigalzu, king of the world, the wise king—he hearkens to mighty Šamaš,
 8 Anu, Enlil and Enki hearken to him (i.e. Šamaš).
 9 His kingship flourishes, he has no rival,
 10 The blaster of enemies, the binder of foes, the beloved of Marduk,
 11 The merciless storm, the lofty flood that wrecks boats, lofty, who trusts in Anu,
 12 The judge who, like Šamaš, examines the innocent and restores the oppressed among all peoples,
 13 Who establishes the freedom of the peoples of Babylon,
 14 And exempts its peoples from forced labour for the sake of Marduk, who loves his reign.

MAH 15922 (collated); see W. Sommerfeld, *AfO* 32 (1985) 1–22

The first line poses the problem of who is meant by *ilu bānû* “the begetter god/gods.” Boissier (*RA* 29 [1932] 101), trying, like Ungnad, to fit this text into the procrustean bed of *Enūma Eliš*, asserted that this is “sans doute” Marduk. Two considerations favour its being plural and referring to Šuqamuna and Šumaliya. The first is another occurrence of the same phrase in a fragment of a Cassite-period royal inscription from Boğazköy:

[^d šu-qa-m]u-[na ù]	[Šuqamuna and]
^d šu-ma-li-[ia]	Šumaliya,
i-lu ba-nu- ^r ú ¹	the begetter gods,
i-lu ma-at šu-me-ri	gods of the land of Sumer
ù ak-ka-di-i	and Akkad,
šú-lu-ul-šu	its broad
ra-ap-šu	protection.

KUB 37 124

The second consideration is that the god or gods mentioned first will be the most important. Since according to this text the whole group of great gods assemble in the temple of Šumaliya and Šuqamuna to make Kurigalzu king, it is obviously they who are the most important and who will therefore be put at the top of the list. They were begetters in that the Cassite kings considered themselves offspring of this divine pair, as stated in the inscription of Agum II quoted above. After this pair of Cassite gods, the high position of Šamaš is very striking. In lines 7–8, not only is Kurigalzu said to be obedient to him but Anu, Enlil and Ea as well! This high status for Šamaš, for which the Old Babylonian evidence has in some measure prepared us, may have been further strengthened by identification with the Cassite sun-god Šuriyaš. However, the bluntness of the statement of the inferiority of the old Sumerian triad to Šamaš is totally unexpected and not in the normal Mesopotamian tradition. The nature of this text, due to its incompleteness, is not altogether clear, but there are petitions to Marduk for the king on the reverse, and it is certainly more explicable as a product of court circles than of the priests of one of the cults. The facts it brings to light are that the Cassite kings did integrate their gods with the traditional Mesopotamian pantheon and in such a way that their gods were supreme. Of course, the priests of the city cults would not have welcomed such innovations, and in lists of curses on boundary stones their system of integration is shown in that, when Šuqamuna and Šumaliya appear, it is only at the bottom of the lists. The king does have a special relationship to Marduk, but that arises simply from the fact that Kurigalzu was king of Marduk’s city, Babylon.

However unexpected some of the revelations of this text, the position of Marduk in the pantheon is unchanged as compared with the earlier evidence. He is not its head.

Kadašman-Enlil (I or II? or Kudur-Enlil?) in PBS XV 65 calls himself “regent of Enlil,” like Kuri-galzu. Burnaburiaš II continued this tradition, but the language used of Šamaš (“great lord of heaven and underworld, lofty judge of the Anunnaki”: I R 4 no. 13) and also of a goddess, probably the Mother Goddess (“mistress of heaven and underworld, the wise one among the gods, whose decree is lofty and is not frustrated in heaven or underworld”: BE 1 33; cf. PBS XV p. 32¹) is strong. The reign of Nazimaruttaš has yielded three relevant documents. The one, a boundary stone from Susa, records a donation of land to Marduk himself. Marduk therefore heads the list of gods in the curses, as he would be most solicitous for the welfare of his own estate. He is astonishingly bare of titles; all he gets is “mighty (*a-li-lu*) Marduk, owner of that land” (MDP 2 86ff. iii 30ff.). The other gods follow, arranged in neat triads as follows:

Anu, king of heaven, Enlil, lord of the lands, Ea
 Šulpa'e, Išhara, Aruru
 Sîn, Šamaš, Ištar, mistress of the lands,
 Adad, Girra, Nuska,
 Šuqamuna, Šumaliya, Irḫan (MUŠ), messenger of (*šīpir*) Ištaran,
 Šarurur, Šargaz, Meslamta'e

One wonders where Marduk would have been put in so orderly a list had there been no reason for taking him out of it. Another document concerning Nazimaruttaš is a curious text describing how this king received a communication from Enlil, went on a campaign to the land of Namri in accordance with it, incorporated it into his realm, and dedicated some of the proceeds to Enlil (PBS XIII 69). The whole text is badly written and very obscure. Marduk is named in line 10, but the part he plays in the narrative is uncertain. The third relevant text from this reign is a dedication to: “Inanna, the great lady, who rivals with Enlil” (ki ^dnu-nam-[n]ir-da sá-a: UVB 12/13 43–44). Enlil, not Marduk, is the accepted standard of divine power.

Kadašman-Turgu, in a dedication to Enlil, calls him, “father of the gods, lord of the Igigi, lord of the lands” (BE 1 63). A late copy of an inscription of Adad-šuma-ušur (whose name is misread as Adad-šuma-ibni) contains a valuable WHEN . . . THEN period:

WHEN Anu and Enlil looked steadfastly on Adad-šuma-ibni, the shepherd who rejoices their heart,
 THEN Marduk, the great lord, nominated him to rule over the lands.

Mitteilungen des Akademisch-orientalistischen Vereins zu Berlin, 1887, p. 19

This differs not the least from Old Babylonian theology. From Melišihū's reign, boundary stones preserve three long lists of gods: MDP 2 99ff.; BBSt pp. 9ff.: and pp. 19ff. In all three, Anu, Enlil, and Ea head the lists, and Marduk appears with the second-rank gods, Sîn and Šamaš. One of the lists, BBSt pp. 19ff., gives a title to each. Anu is “father of the gods,” Enlil “king of everything,” but Marduk only “the sage (*apkal*) of the gods.”

Similar lists of gods occur in the curses on three boundary stones of Marduk-apla-iddina, the following king: MDP 6 32ff., *Sumer* 23 (1976) 52ff., and *AfO* 23 (1970) 23 3. Marduk is regularly with the second-ranking gods and not even at the head of them. A further document from the same king and of major importance for the present purpose is VAS I 34. All the other Cassite-period documents

considered so far are from cities other than Babylon, save for the royal text of Kurigalzu and one boundary stone of Nazimaruttaš, which afford Marduk no preeminence. One might suppose that local preferences in other cities fail to allow for Marduk's true greatness. VAS I 34 is from Borsippa, not Babylon, but it is a dedication to Marduk as lord of that town and its temple Ezida, and in view of the cultural dominance of Babylon over Borsippa at all periods, there is no doubt that this text expresses the local Babylonian view of Marduk. Further, the king concerned happens to be the only king of the whole dynasty whose name contains "Marduk" as an element. Here, then, if anywhere, one could expect to find evidence of Marduk's supremacy over the gods, if it existed at the time:

For Marduk, the exalted lord, the lofty noble, who establishes abundance and prosperity [for] the gods of heaven and underworld, [lord] of Esagil and Ezida, his lord—[Marduk]-apla-iddina, chosen of Enlil, [chosen⁷] of Šamaš, [created] by Aruru, beloved of Marduk, [son] of Melišihu, the powerful king, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four world regions, descendant of Kurigalzu, the Cassite king, the unequalled king—when Enlil appointed him to rule over the broad land and gave him the righteous sceptre with which to shepherd the peoples, in Borsippa . . . he (Marduk-apla-iddina) built for him (Marduk) for eternity Ezida, the temple beloved of Marduk.

This is exactly the position of the Prologue to Hammurabi's laws. Enlil, not Marduk, appointed the king.

The evidence of the official documents of the Cassite period can be summed up very simply. There is virtually no evidence of local partisanship in religious matters. The official pantheon had various ranks which were very generally acknowledged, and Marduk belonged to the second rank.

Personal names are less important for the Cassite period than for the First Dynasty of Babylon, since they are much less numerous and less representative, the majority coming from Nippur. However, for what they are worth, we give the following from Clay's *PN* and M. Hölscher, *Die Personennamen der Kassitenzeitlichen Texte aus Nippur* (Münster, 1996). Of the old top triad, note Enlil-is-lord-of-the-gods (*enlil-bēl-ilāni*) and Ea-is-lord/king-of-the-gods (*ea-bēl/šar-ilāni*). The prestige of Sîn and Šamaš was on the decline, if one may judge from the four occurrences of Sîn-is-the-lord-of-the-gods (*sîn-bēl-ilāni*) and the single example of Šamaš-is-king-of-the-gods (*šamaš-šar-ilāni*). However, there are several other pretenders to this rank: Adad, in Adad-is-the-lord/king-of-the-gods (*adad-bēl/šar-ilāni*); and Ninurta in Ninurta-is-head-of-the-gods (*ninurta-rēš-ilāni*). A certain rise of Ninurta has been noted in the middle periods.¹⁶ A single occurrence of Irḫan-is-the-king-of-the-gods (*MUŠ-šar-ilāni*) reflects the theogonic importance of Irḫan as "father of all the gods" but is otherwise unexpected (see p. 238). The Middle Babylonian business documents from Ur in UET VII are fewer than those from Nippur, but note Adad-is-king-of-the-gods (*adad-šar-ilāni*) once, Sîn-is-king-of-the-gods (*sîn-šar-ilāni*) (twice), and Šamaš-is-head-of-the-gods (*šamaš-rēši-ili*¹) once. However, the example of Marduk-is-king-of-the-gods (*marūtuk-šar-ilāni*) is most important as the first attestation of the concept of Marduk's supremacy among the gods. It is contained in a Nippur document from the time of Kudur-Enlil. Still more surprising are the three occurrences of Nabû-is-the-lord-of-the-gods (*nabû-bēl-ilāni*) in documents dated in the 11th and 12th years of Šagarakti-Šuriaš, from an unidentified site.

16. For Assyria, see A. Schott, ZDMG 88 (1934) 316ff.; for Babylon, note, on a boundary stone of Nebuchadnezzar I: ^d*nin-urta šar šamê u eršeti* "Ninurta, king of heaven and underworld," BBS^t p. 35 39.

The last two names raise in a very acute form the problem of the origin of the religious ideas found in personal names. There is a plain conflict between official documents and the assertions embodied in these names. With Marduk, we have at least been prepared, in that such ideas had been in the air for centuries, and Marduk's limited elevation in the Old Babylonian period, combined with the lasting position of his city Babylon, could easily have led to the idea that he had as much claim to this rank as other gods. The case of Nabû is altogether more perplexing, but it does at least warn us against attaching the wrong significance to personal names.

The Second Dynasty of Isin

The royal names of this dynasty suggest a different theological atmosphere. Only one of the 36 Cassite kings bore "Marduk" in his name, though 5 had "Enlil." Of the 11 kings of the Second Isin Dynasty, 6 bore "Marduk," 2 "Nabû," and "Ninurta," "Enlil," and "Adad" occur once each. The other evidence from this dynasty confirms the change. An inscription of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, the second king, of unknown provenience, lists his relations with the gods as follows: "chosen of the gods," "nominated by [Anu] and Dagan's regent of [Enlil?]' and Nin[urta?]" (VAS I 112). Marduk is absent. A letter addressed by one of the kings—Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, Ninurta-nādin-šumi, or Nebuchadnezzar I (see Brinkman, *AnOr* 43 [1968] 101–4)—to his contemporary in Assyria twice mentions "the lord of the lands" (^den kur-kur) as the god controlling international affairs. The editor, Weidner, commented in *AfO* 10 (1935/36) 4²³, "doch wohl Marduk gemeint." This is the traditional title of Enlil, and while *Enūma Eliš* makes Enlil bestow it on Marduk (VII 136), there is no indication that this idea would have been known at this time. Since no god is named with the title, it must have been long established, and only Enlil will fit this.

The reign of Nebuchadnezzar I marked a revival in the fortunes of Babylon. Among other successes, the king campaigned in Elam and recovered the statue of Marduk that had been carried there half a century earlier by Shutruk-Nahhunte. This home-coming must have made a deep impression on the period, as several literary texts discussed below were composed to mark its return. A boundary stone from this reign relating to the district of Der gives an account of the campaign in Elam, beginning as follows: "Marduk, king of the gods (*šār ilāni*^{meš} *dmarūtuk*), dispatched him (Nebuchadnezzar) and set his weapons in motion to avenge Akkad" (*BBSt* p. 31 12ff.). This is the first attestation of Marduk's supremacy in an official document. Another boundary stone, almost certainly from the reign of the following king, Enlil-nādin-apli, has a relevant list of curses. The traditional order is observed. It begins with Anu, Enlil, Ea, and the Mother Goddess, Ninmaḥ. Then follow Sîn, Nabû, Gula, Ninurta, Marduk, and Ninmaḥ for a second time. Despite his low position in the list, Marduk is entitled "king of [the gods], the lord of the lands" (*BBSt* p. 78 23ff.). This is the first occurrence of Enlil's title with reference to Marduk so far found. Three boundary stones of the next king, Marduk-nādin-aḥḥi, have lists of gods in the curses. One, from the vicinity of Der, puts "Marduk, the great lord" after "Anu, Enlil, Ea, and Ninmaḥ, the great gods," and before Šamaš, Sîn, Ištar, Ninurta, Gula, Adad, and Nabû (*I R* 70). Whether a "great lord" is greater than a "great god" is a nice point for discussion. The districts from which the other two stones come are not known. The one has the sequence: Anu, Enlil, Ea, and Ninmaḥ; Sîn, Šamaš, Ištar, "Marduk, king of heaven and underworld," Ninurta, Gula, Adad, and Nabû (*BBSt* p. 41 13ff.). The other has: "Anu, Enlil, and Ea, the great

gods,” Marduk, “the great lord,” Nabû, “the lofty vizier,” then Adad, Sîn, Šamaš, Ištar, “mistress of heaven and underworld,” Gula, Ninurta, Nergal, Zababa, Papsukkal, Išhara, and Anu Rabû (BBS^t p. 46 26ff.). A Sumerian dedication of the next king, Marduk-šāpik-zēri, is especially valuable as it records the rebuilding of Ezida. The text is preserved in a late copy, but apart from a few scribal errors, it seems to be a faithful copy of the original document. The beginning is broken, but there is no difficulty in recognizing that Marduk is addressed:

[x x x] x dingir-e-ne-ke ₄	[. . .] . of the gods
x x ^d lugal-dim-<me>-er-an-ki-a	. . Lugal-dimmer-an-ki-a,
ur-maḥ é-<sag>-íl-la	Lion of Esagil
é-zi-da-bi	And Ezida,
ù-mu-un bar-zi-pà ^{ki}	Lord of Borsippa,
ḫé-gál é-zi-da	The prosperity of Ezida.
	LIH no. 70 3–8

As in times hitherto, Marduk is lord of both Esagil and Ezida. The title by which he is called here means “king of the gods of heaven and underworld,” which speaks for itself. The remaining inscriptions of kings of the Second Isin Dynasty offer nothing of interest here.

Three literary texts relating to the return of Marduk from Elam to Babylon are known. One, in Akkadian poetry (see p. 33), has only the beginning preserved and it reads like a historical epic. The sole surviving copy comes from Ashurbanipal’s library. It may, but need not, have been written shortly after the events. The second consists of two bilingual sections which probably belong to the same text in view of their stylistic and other similarities. They are written in very long lines, which are characteristic of Second Isin dynasty bilinguals, and form a monologue. In the first section (JCS 21 [1967] 126ff.), which is certainly the beginning of a literary work, a king descended from the antediluvian Enmeduranki tells how Marduk became angry with his land so that “the wicked Elamite” (*šēnu elamû*) invaded and ravaged it. A catch-line proves what the content suggests, that the story is not ended. The other portion, IV R² 20 no. 1 and duplicates (see Brinkman, AnOr 43 [1968] 329 4.3.10), which commences too abruptly to be the beginning of a text, tells of the successful end of a military campaign, of the piety of a certain servant of a god who would not rest until he had seen his divine master’s lofty form, and of this master’s return from “evil Elam” (*lemneti elamti*) to Babylon amid general rejoicing and the bestowal of abundant presents upon him. The king’s name is missing from both portions, but for the second Nebuchadnezzar I alone can be considered, and he fits perfectly. The historical allusions of the first section can only refer to the events leading up to this king’s reign, and while the narrator might be a later king of the dynasty reviewing Nebuchadnezzar’s achievements, this is most unlikely in view of their insignificance compared with him. Granting, then, that this is one text and that Nebuchadnezzar I is the narrator, the next question is whether the text was composed shortly after the events it describes or later. The striking feature of the style is the abundance of poetic phraseology, as a result of which the factual content is minimal. This is consistent with a date of composition when the events were still fresh in people’s minds. After even one generation, a writer would surely have felt obliged to offer a more factual account of the events. Probably, then, this is a kind of hymn, composed no doubt at the king’s orders, to celebrate his achievements or, less probably, written not long afterwards. In line 25 of the first section, Marduk is styled “king of the gods” (*lugal-dingir-re-^re¹-[ne]* = *šār-ri ilāni^{meš}*) and in line 25 of the second section

“lord of lords” (ù-mu-un lugal-la = *be-el be-lu₄*). The remaining literary text is Marduk’s prophetic autobiography, given in most complete form by Borger in *BiOr* XXVIII (1971) 3ff. It commences with an account of the rape of the statue of Marduk by the Hittites (clearly at the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon: I 13–22), followed by one of its recovery (obviously by Agum: I 23–38). The next journey was to Assur (certainly under Tukulti-Ninurta I: I 1’–17’). A third journey follows, to Elam (I 18’–II 18), and the rest of the text is devoted to the rise and reign of a king under whom Babylon rose in fame and prosperity and Marduk returned. This king is of course Nebuchadnezzar I, and the main purpose of the text is to glorify him. The copies are all Late Assyrian, and otherwise the text can be dated only from internal evidence. It consists of *vaticinia ex eventu*, and the lack of personal names is in no way intended to conceal the identity of the persons. Most probably, it was composed during Nebuchadnezzar’s reign as a pious fraud to flatter the king, though it could date from a little later, when the events were still relatively fresh. The supremacy of Marduk is presumed in this text in the phrases “throne of my Anuship” (^{gis}*kussî^da-nu-ti-ia₅*) and “crown of my Anuship” (*agî^da-nu-ti-ia₅*). Only rarely is Marduk’s rule over the gods described as “Anuship”; more often, “Enlilship” is used.

After the Second Dynasty of Isin, there is a succession of small dynasties and unimportant kings, most of which have not left documents with the kind of evidence that is relevant here. An exception is provided in Nabû-mukîn-apli, who ruled from 977 to 942 B.C. The curses on a boundary stone (*BBS* p. 61 37ff.) begin “Anu, Enlil, and Ea, the great gods of heaven and underworld,” and Marduk and Zarpānītum with their son Nabû follow. Marduk’s name is broken off, but in the context no other one is possible: “[Marduk], king of the gods, who(m) the great gods . [. . .].” The last break is most unfortunate, as it has destroyed apparently the most explicit statement of Marduk’s relationship to the great gods in all the boundary stones. The curse invoking Zarpānītum begs, “May she constantly command [their destruction?] in the presence of the lord of lords,” by which Marduk is certainly meant. After Nabû, the following gods occur: [Sîn], Šamaš, Nergal, Zababa, [Adad], Ninurta, Gula, and Ninmah. Although there is the lack of evidence at this point, it is not a serious loss, since from about this time the fact of Marduk’s supremacy is not disputed.

Marduk’s Exaltation in the Reign of Nebuchadnezzar I¹⁷

Thus, there is a surprising unanimity in the evidence from official sources. Before the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I, the supremacy of Enlil (or of Anu and Enlil) is persistently asserted even in places where there would have been local support for Marduk. During and after this reign, Marduk’s supremacy is no less persistently asserted. Knowledge of the influential persons and of events during the reign of this king is so limited that without unexpectedly important new discoveries we cannot hope to find direct evidence that there was a formal promulgation of the new doctrine. Indeed, it need not have happened in this way. It may have been that, by consent of the king and priests of Marduk, the god was addressed as “king of the gods” when he returned from Elam, and henceforth the point was assumed. If any manifesto were needed, *Enūma Eliš* has claim to be it. While direct proof is inevitably lacking, there is plenty of circumstantial evidence that the conditions of this reign were exceptionally propitious for such a development. In the first place, the ground was well prepared.

17. See W. S. McCullough (ed.), *The Seed of Wisdom* (Fs. T. J. Meek; Toronto, 1964) 3ff.

Various contradictory claims favouring certain deities had been made for centuries past, and it would be incredible that no one had thought of making such a claim for Marduk, despite his humble origin. The notion that Babylon was the first city, founded by the gods, was already put in a royal inscription of Kurigalzu II (see p. 200). If mythology of this kind was growing up around the city, the question why the city god must be inferior to Anu and Enlil would naturally follow. The Cassite kings, by assigning priority to their own gods in certain matters relating to the king's investiture had set an example of religious imperialism quite foreign to the tolerance of Sumerian times. Thus, the occurrence of a personal name Marduk-is-the-king-of-the-gods in the late Cassite period is not at all unexpected. But under the Cassites, no official change in Marduk's status could be made: the kings would not wish to promote a rival of their family gods. Conditions were not therefore propitious until the Cassite dynasty had been thrown out, but when this did happen, Marduk could not be exalted because he was no longer in Babylon. Raiding Elamites had carried off the sacred statue, which indicated the god's displeasure with his land. The first opportunity was presented when Nebuchadnezzar I campaigned in Elam and brought the statue back. All available sources indicate this as the time when Marduk's exaltation was officially acknowledged.

If this conclusion is true, one could expect that Nippurian circles, and especially the Enlil priesthood, would muster all their forces to oppose the new development. A boundary stone from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I from the vicinity of Nippur seems to betray resistance to the change. It begins with a long exordium of praise of Enlil. Even formally this is unique: no other boundary stone begins with praise of any deity. What is more, Enlil's supremacy over the other gods is asserted in terms possibly stronger than anywhere else:

Enlil, the lofty lord, the aristocrat of heaven and underworld, the noble, lord of everything, king of the great gods, who has no god who can rival him in heaven and underworld, at the giving of whose instructions the Igigi prostrate themselves in reverent heed, and the Anunnaki, when they consult him, submissively hold their peace as they stand with humility, the lord of lords, whose utterance no god can annul. . . .

W. J. Hinke, *A New Boundary Stone* (Philadelphia, 1907) p. 142

In the context of the times, this reads like a reaffirmation of the old theology against the innovation brought about by the Marduk priesthood. It is known from brick inscriptions (Brinkman, *AnOr* 43 [1968] 113⁶²⁴) that Nebuchadnezzar I restored Enlil's temple, Ekur, in Nippur. These bricks give Enlil the title "lord of the lands" (*umun kur-kur-ra*). Of course, we do not know at what time within the reign this restoration work was carried out, whether before or after the return of Marduk, nor whether this was done at the express personal wish of the king or with his grudging consent. But in any case, the epithets used of Enlil were certainly chosen by the local priests.

Other Evidence of Marduk's Status in the Pantheon

There are two other approaches to this question which have been ignored so far, since their evidence is of limited value. The first is literary texts in general. The difficulty arises that only if their date of composition can be fixed as either before or after Nebuchadnezzar I can their evidence be used. The following remarks are intended as an illustration of the position rather than as a detailed

analysis. In most bilingual texts of religious content, the Sumerian triad keep their power, though Marduk and other members of his circle not infrequently appear. Rarely, they state or presume Marduk's supremacy. An *eršahunga* incantation addressed to Marduk says, "You are Marduk, lord of the gods" (SBH no. 30 rev. 15). Another bilingual incantation, IV R² 29 no. 1 = OECT VI 57ff. uses the titles "lord of the lands" and "god of gods" of Marduk. The date of the latter piece can be fixed in one respect, in that Marduk is called "king of Ezida." The Akkadian *šuillas*, which as a category are later than many bilingual genres, contain rather more occurrences of these and similar titles, though the old doctrine of Enlil's supremacy still finds a place, as in Ebeling's *Handerhebung* 20 21ff. It is also assumed in the long *šuilla* to Ištar, which certainly antedates Nebuchadnezzar I, since a duplicate and Hittite version from Boğazköy exist (JCS 21 [1967] 255ff.). Among the epics, the bilingual *Exaltation of Ištar*, which Falkenstein in *BiOr* IX (1952) 88ff. assigned to the late Cassite period, makes the great triad exalt Ištar and also alludes to their creation of the world. The *Theodicy* (BWL 63ff.), which is certainly later than Old Babylonian but not certainly fixed otherwise, also refers to the creation of man by Enlil, Ea, and the Mother Goddess (lines 276ff.). *Ludlul* (BWL 21ff.), perhaps from the late Cassite period, is perplexing. The whole text breathes the spirit of a Marduk monolatry, but the author never gives the least hint about his attitude to other gods. The *Erra Epic*, certainly later than Nebuchadnezzar I, frequently styles Marduk "king of the gods." Erra had to get his permission before he could let loose destruction on the earth, and to console Marduk for the inconvenience of having to vacate his earthly abode temporarily, Erra promised to make Anu and Enlil lie down like oxen one at each side of the gate of the new abode (I 189). A fragment of the epics describing the invasion of Shutruk-naḫḫunte (the so-called Kedorlaomer texts: MVAG 21 [1916/17] 80–83) calls Marduk "lord of lords" and "king of the gods." Its date is only fixed in that it must be later than the end of the Cassite period, when the events described took place. The fragments of similar content (op. cit., 84–95) are no doubt to be placed not earlier than the reign of Adad-apla-iddina, since Nabû is situated in Borsippa (see below).

The other approach is to observe the rise of Marduk in Assyrian royal inscriptions. This is, of course, limited by the supremacy of Aššur in Assyria, and no evidence will be presented here. Suffice it to say that only under the Sargonids do allusions to Marduk's supreme power occur. A note of Schott published in 1936 (*ZA* 43 [1936] 318–21), which is not essentially altered by more recently found texts, states that Marduk is not mentioned in these inscriptions from the second millennium but first appears as an Assyrian god under Tukulti-Ninurta II c. 880 B.C. This evidence does not at least conflict with the conclusions we have reached from the Babylonian evidence.

The Rise of Nabû

While Marduk's rise was not unexpected in the circumstances, the sudden occurrence of the personal name Nabû-is-lord-of-the-gods late in the Cassite period would never have been guessed. There must have been a reason for a god who was a vizier to another to have been considered head of the pantheon. Perhaps he was simply unlucky in that no town adopted him as city-god. Syncretism took place with him as with Marduk and, as explained above, he was equated with Muduggassa'a of Eridu, and Muati was also a probably separate figure at some time identified with Nabû (see *MIO* XII [1966] 41ff.). Information about him in the Cassite period is scanty. A boundary stone of the reign

of Melišīḫu (BBSt p. 22 14) calls him “the administrator of everything” (*pa-qid kiš-š[a-ti]*), which is a rendering of the name of his, ^dšid-dù-ki-šár-ra. A similar text of Marduk-apla-iddina (BBSt p. 26 8) speaks of “the wisdom of Nabû and Nisaba.” This refers of course to the scribal art, since both were deities of writing. The next dated item comes from the reign of Enlil-nādin-apli, of the Second Isin Dynasty. The curses speak of “Nabû, lofty son, who fixes month and year” (^dnà ibila maḥ *mu-kin iti ù mu*: BBSt p. 78 iii 6–7). This suggests how he was being elevated within the confines of the term “vizier.” He did not administer local affairs merely but took charge of cosmic arrangements such as the calendar. This passage is also the first, it seems, in which his sonship (of Marduk, no doubt) is stated. The other title of his known from this dynasty is “lofty vizier” (*sukkallu šīru*: I R 70 iv 16; BBSt p. 42 ii 34; BBSt p. 47 iv 1). The passages all date from the reign of Marduk-nādin-aḥḥi. Of course, no adequate prestige could be his so long as he lacked a temple of his own. If the surviving evidence is not misleading, the date at which he settled in Borsippa as lord of Ezida can be fixed with unexpected precision. Evidence already quoted shows Marduk as lord of both Esagil and Ezida in the Old Babylonian period, under the Cassite kings, and in the Second Isin Dynasty, at least up to the time of Marduk-šāpik-zēri. The very next king, Adad-apla-iddina, dedicated to Nabû a golden girdle studded with precious stones. The inscription, RIMB 2 p. 55, contains among Nabû’s titles:

mu-un bād-si-ab-ba^{ki} é-zi-da dūr ma[r]-ra
be-el bār-síp^{ki} a-šib é-zi-da

Line 4

Lord of Borsippa, who dwells in Ezida

From this king onwards, all the evidence confirms Nabû’s possession of Ezida.¹⁸ Two chronicles offer somewhat divergent versions of Adad-apla-iddina’s dealings with the shrines of Marduk:

āš-rat^dmarūtuk k[in-m]a lib-bi-š[ú dūg P]A.AN-š[ú ú]-šak-lil

Chronicle 24 (A. K. Grayson, TCS 5 p. 181) 11

He sought out the shrines of Marduk and [gratified] his wishes. He put in good order his rites.

. . .] x-ma lib-bi ^dbēl u mār-^dbēl ú-ṭi-ib

(. . .) par-š]i-šu-nu ú-šak-lil

C. B. F. Walker, *Zikir Šumim* (Fs. F. R. Kraus; Leiden, 1982) p. 399 33–34

. . .] . and gratified the wishes of Bēl and Mār-Bēl. [(. . .)

He put in good order their [rites].

The conventional language used here obscures exactly what Adad-apla-iddina did with the shrines in question, but the wording could allude to separating the chief sanctuaries of Marduk and Nabû, leaving the former alone in Esagil and making the latter sole head in Ezida. The king was an Aramean upstart, and this reform would not be out of character with the other few facts known about him. The effect of this change was certainly to enhance the prestige of Nabû.

18. A fragment of a boundary stone from Susa calls Nabû “king of Ezida” (MDP 6 46). Scheil ascribed the piece to the Cassite period, but from what is published, there is no clear evidence for date.

After Adad-apla-iddina, the next evidence comes from Nabû-mukîn-apli. A chronicle (Grayson, *op. cit.* p. 137) states that in his reign the New Year festival was abandoned for a period of years. The terms used are: “Nabû did not go (*la il-li-ku*) and Bēl did not leave (*la ú-ša-a*).” The rites took place in Babylon and its immediate vicinity. Marduk had to “leave” his temple to participate, and Nabû’s going can only refer to the journey from Borsippa. In a deed from Borsippa dated in the 8th year of Nabû-šuma-iškun, the whole college of priests of Ezida is listed as witnesses (VAS I 36). They are without exception priests of Nabû or of his wife or child. Another document from the same reign is a quasi-royal inscription of the governor of Borsippa, Nabû-šuma-imbi, edited in *JAOS* 88 (1968) 124ff. Here, Nabû is called “lord of the lands” (*en kur-kur*) and “lord of the gods” (*en i-li: Ib 13*). The first of these titles is the one usurped by Marduk from Enlil, and its use for Nabû certainly implies equality of father and son. There are many other terms expressing supremacy in this text, but due to the damaged state of many of the lines it is not clear which belong to Marduk and which to Nabû. However, the phrase “who, with the father who begat [him . . .]” (*Ia 9*) indicates the parity of father and son. Under the Late Babylonian empire, there is a large quantity of inscriptional material often asserting and alluding to this equality. An acrostic hymn of praise to Nabû written in honour of Nebuchadnezzar II (*PSBA* 20 [1898] 154ff.), for example, calls this god “the Enlil of the gods” (*den-lil ilāni: obv. 2*), “the lord of lords” (*en en-en: obv. 12*), and “king of the gods of the whole of heaven and underworld” (*šar ilāni ša kiš-šat šamê^e ù eršetim^{im}: obv. 4*), the last being a rendering of the name Lugaldimmeranki’*a*. While the Late Babylonian royal inscriptions do mention Marduk without Nabû, very often the two are linked together, and when this does happen, there is a generally accepted order: Nabû and Marduk, but Esagil and Ezida. The two gods were co-rulers of the universe.

As with Marduk, there is a reflection of the rise of Nabû to be found in Assyrian royal inscriptions. Adad-nīrāri III (c. 800 B.C.) built a temple—Ezida—for Nabû in Nimrud, and on statues an inscription was carved ending, “whoever comes after me, trust in Nabû, do not trust in any other god” (*ma-nu ar-ku-ú a-na dⁿā na-at-kil ana ili šā-ni-ma la ta-tak-kil: RIMA 3 p. 227*). A literary text also exists devoted to explaining and justifying the rise of Nabû, thus corresponding to *Enūma Eliš* as a manifesto of Marduk’s kingship over the gods. The remains of this text are given here on pp. 346–349.

Thus, there are three major developments in the history of the Marduk cult.¹⁹ The first was the promotion of the god as a consequence of Hammurabi’s victories to the rank of the “great gods.” This did not bring him to the level of Anu or Enlil, but from this time and onwards he was a major deity in the pantheon. The second development was Marduk’s exaltation to supremacy among the gods. This seems to have taken place in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I, and *Enūma Eliš* is a theoretical justification of this supremacy. The third and last development was the exaltation of Nabû to equality with his father. The evidence does not allow this to be tied down to any particular reign, but it seems to have occurred between 1000 and 800 B.C. Thus, Marduk’s sole supremacy did not last for long. Within a few centuries his son had become his equal.

19. It is not implied that there were no other stages in the process. *Damkina’s ‘Bond’* (pp. 321–325) and *Uraš and Marduk* (pp. 311–315) are both concerned with the rise of Marduk, though not to headship of the pantheon. *The Toil of Babylon* (pp. 301–310) may also have had a similar theme when complete. They have not be drawn upon here because they cannot be dated.

Part III

Further Babylonian Creation Tales

Enmešarra's Defeat

This text is known from one copy only, a six-column tablet of which only the lower half remains, joined from two pieces. Pinches made known one of these pieces in 1908 but gave no museum number or other indication of location, and since his text was defective in a number of places, little has been done with it since. The date of the tablet can be settled only by the internal criteria of orthography and palaeography (see below), and they support Pinches' late date—that is, Seleucid or Parthian. To judge from the collections in which the two pieces arrived in the British Museum, the tablet came from Babylon. The fragment BM 33500 (Rm IV 55) may well be part of this text but is not part of the same tablet.

Within its text, the tablet has two colophons. The latter occurs in v 14–15 and states that an eight-tablet series ends at that point. The former occurs at the bottom of column iii and is probably to be restored “Tablet '7'.” Thus, the eighth and final tablet had only perhaps 70 lines. Other similar colophons may be lost with the upper portion of the tablet. The final tablet of a series could be shorter than the others, as with the fifth tablet of the Erra Myth. However, there is a short Old Babylonian mythological tablet about Girra, published by C. B. F. Walker in *AnSt* 33 (1983) 145ff. This is Tablet VII, probably the last tablet, and had only 50 lines of script, and many of these are only portions of the poetic lines. The content in any case indicates that our tablet has only the conclusion of the myth. Its beginning must have been contained on at least one other tablet. The colophon in column v does not in fact conclude what is written on the tablet. More follows, some of which is closely related to the earlier material, but vi 1–14 are a summary statement of ritual performances, and vi 15–17 are a comment on the same, both distinct from what has preceded in the preserved parts of the series, though related.

The series narrated a myth with some parallels to *Enūma Eliš*. Enmešarra and his seven sons had committed some wrong against Marduk, who defeated them in battle and then put them in prison under Nergal's supervision while their fate was decided. None of this is preserved, but it can be reconstructed with confidence from what remains of the later part of the story and from related materials elsewhere. The preserved part (col. i) starts with Nergal arriving at the prison to announce Marduk's judgment, that both Enmešarra and his sons will be put to death. Enmešarra pleads with Nergal, then the text breaks off. In column ii, Nergal is again arriving at the jail, and this time he escorts the prisoners to Marduk, who, after denouncing Enmešarra for his offence (which is obscure, see below), beheads the seven sons first and for the record depicts them on a wall. Next, Marduk turns his attention to Enmešarra, but the text is again obscure. The one certain thing is that Enmešarra's rays are taken from him and bestowed on Šamaš, the sun-god, after which his depiction is put by Marduk on his own dwelling. A statement of Enmešarra's execution is to be expected, and textual corruption may have obliterated it (see the note on ii 28–31).

As in *Enūma Eliš*, the victory precedes cosmic reorganization. However, the wider cosmos is not dealt with in what remains, though the missing upper part of column iii may well have embraced it. What remains in iii–iv is the reassignment of cosmic powers among the gods and the assignment of lands on earth, including cities, to the gods. In this, the author gives Marduk less than he receives in *Enūma Eliš*. Marduk, Nabû, and Nergal share equally the lordship of Anu (iii 19–20, repeated in vi 20–21). This sounds like a trinity to replace Anu, Enlil, and Ea, and its members were selected from Babylon and its immediate environs.¹ The same geographical horizon appears in the New Year ritual from Babylon, K 9876, where, in rev. 15ff., the gods arriving at the Akītu house are listed as: Marduk–Zarpānītu, Nabû–Nanai–Sutīti, Zababa–Baba, and Nergal–Laz–Mammītu (S. A. Pallis, *The Babylonian Akītu Festival* [Copenhagen, 1926] pls. x–xi). These are of course the gods of Babylon, Borsippa, Kish, and Cuthah, and this ritual no doubt antedates the rise of Marduk to headship of the pantheon in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I and reflects a time when only local gods participated in Marduk’s Akītu festival. The reduction of four to three was required by the existing trinity of Anu, Enlil, and Ea, and Zababa’s similarity to Ninurta could be the reason why he was omitted. However, the cosmic powers taken over by Marduk, Nabû, and Nergal in iii 14–24 are not what might have been expected. Anuship, Enlilship, and Eaship, as known later from Nabonidus’ inscriptions,² could have occurred, but Ea happens to be totally lacking from the remains of this text for no obvious reason. Enlilship occurs and is taken by Marduk. The “lordship of Anu,” as already stated, was shared between the members of the new Babylonian trinity. The other powers are those of Enlil’s son, Ninurta, who experienced a certain rise in status in the Middle Babylonian period.³ Ninurta’s power was taken over by Nabû, appropriately, since the latter was son of Marduk, and Marduk had taken Enlil’s power. Most curiously, the Spear-star appears, with cosmic power. Traditionally, this star was Ninurta’s, and by assigning this power to Marduk, the author had given Marduk a share in Ninurta’s power and a boost in astrological matters (cf. *Enūma Eliš* V 7–8). The remaining cosmic power is that of Erra, which naturally went to Nergal—but perhaps too naturally, since Erra was simply another name of Nergal. Presumably, in the author’s time, Nergal served in Cuthah as the usual name, while Erra was the name used in a cult of the god somewhere more remote from Babylon than Cuthah, perhaps within the orbit of Enlil and Nippur. However, the present writer has been unable to locate such a cult at an appropriate period.

Despite the lack of supreme power in this reassignment of cosmic powers, Marduk comes near to it in iv 1–6 when he goes up to heaven and sits in Anu’s seat. The assignment of land on earth in iv 7–17 is stated in very formal terms. Perhaps the author did not dare to assert that Marduk was responsible for assigning the cities to the Sumero-Akkadian pantheon. As now preserved, there are also some remarkable omissions: Ištar, Ea, and Anu.

The following incomplete section iv 18–30 is paralleled in v 18–26, and they seem to be unique in cuneiform literature. A voice cries from heaven with fateful announcements. It is paralleled more

1. These three gods occur together a number of times in Late Babylonian royal inscriptions; see H. Lewy, *ArOr* 17/2 (1949) 45. However, this is not evidence on which conclusions about the text under study should be drawn. These gods were always the major deities of Babylon and its immediate vicinity.

2. See W. Röllig, *ZA* 56 (1964) 221 16–20.

3. Note “Ninurta, king of heaven and netherworld” (^d*nin-urta šār šamê u eršeti*) on a boundary stone of Nebuchadnezzar I (*BBS* p. 35 39) and the Middle Babylonian personal name “Ninurta is the head of the gods” (^d*nin-urta-rēš-ilāni* ^{meš}: A. T. Clay, *PN* p. 75).

easily in the Bible and the Rabbinic *bath qôl* than in cuneiform. In a monotheistic world, the supreme and only god is of course responsible, but in a polytheistic world one asks, Whose voice? The only possible answer is that the voice speaks for the Destinies—a set of regulations governing the universe, including the gods. If any one god had been responsible, this would surely have been stated. Thus, the very anonymity of the voice serves to reinforce the certainty of the matter announced. The first of the two sections states that Uruk and Nippur are to be devastated. These are the towns of Anu and Enlil, and since the author seems to ignore Ea completely, this meant the end of the old Neo-Sumerian trinity of Anu, Enlil, and Ea, so leaving Babylon and Marduk to take over their previous hegemony. Curiously, this announcement also occurs in the ritual for the second day of Nisan in the New Year festival of Babylon (see F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rit. acc.* p. 131). Our lines iv 19–27 correspond to its lines 69–75, and the lines 23 and 26 may only appear to be lacking from the ritual, since only the first few signs of each line are preserved, and 23 and 26 may have been written on one line with 22 and 25. Much in the ritual is unclear, due to its incompleteness, but it is reasonably certain that “A voice proclaimed from heaven” did not introduce the shared words. It may be that the whole section beginning with “Evil enemies” in its line 54 is what is to be spoken three times (presumably by a priest) according to line 53 and that the message of doom on Uruk and Nippur is part of Marduk’s curse announced in lines 59–60. Whatever the truth may turn out to be, this announcement is one of the most spiteful passages of Babylonian literature reflecting inter-cult rivalry.⁴ The second announcement asserts Marduk’s absolute supremacy in the universe, greater power than is assigned to him in iii 17–24.

The ritual section vi 1–14 describes in general terms the coming of all the major gods, Anu and Enlil included, to Babylon for the New Year Akītu festival, which we know to have taken place in Babylon during the period of the Late Babylonian empire. It could not have served as instructions to help in the observation of the rites and does not therefore belong to the other preserved accounts of this ritual.

The conclusion of the eight-tablet myth consists, almost predictably, of a short hymn of praise to Marduk (v 6–13) spoken by the Fish-goat, who is twice mentioned in the very damaged immediately preceding section, v 1–5. The Fish-goat was a symbolic animal of Ea in the Old Babylonian and Cassite periods, but he also appears in the lists of monstrous and composite creatures, one of which (lacking the Fish-goat as it happens) is used in *Enūma Eliš* as Tīāmat’s monsters (see pp. 227–228). As defeated by Marduk, these creatures became his servants, and in this capacity he can have been understood as the author of the text in question. The Erra Myth provides a parallel to the author’s revealing himself at the very end, and the *Catalogue of Texts and Authors* in its opening section supplies another example of a divine author, in that case Ea (see *JCS* 16 [1962] 64).

The remaining questions about the content of the story concern the main item: Enmešarra and his misdemeanor. The god is first named in Ur III texts, but rarely, written ^de-n-m-e-ša-ra. He occurs

4. The Late Babylonian prophecy *SpTU* I 3 is written from a partisan Uruk standpoint and ignores the Assyrians” puppet rulers of Babylon during the period from Sargon II to Ashurbanipal and states that the good kings (Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar II) originated from Uruk. See the writer’s interpretation in *The Background of Jewish Apocalyptic* (Ethel M. Wood Lecture for 1977; London, 1978, pp. 10–12). A Neo-Babylonian Tammuz lament in the very last word accuses Marduk of depriving Ištar of her spouse, no doubt making some historical allusion which escapes us. This supports the city Uruk and denigrates Babylon. See the author’s comments in *JAOS* 103 (1983) 211ff.

at the very end of the longest Ur III offering list: TCL 5 6053 iii 19. A Drehem tablet transliterated by T. Fish (*Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library* [Manchester, 1932] 146) records an offering for him of “one grain-fed ox” (1 gud niga) “in Nippur” (ša nibru^{ki}). In much of the second- and first-millennium material, this connection with Nippur remains. As shown on p. 410, Enutila and Enmešarra appear outside Enlil’s theogony in some versions but are taken into it in others. In these, Enmešarra is placed as if the immediate father of Enlil, though formal statements to this effect seem to be lacking. The Sumerian *Enlil and Namzitarra* calls Enmešarra “your (Enlil’s) paternal uncle” (šeš ad-da-zu; see below), but this is unrevealing without knowledge of whom the ancient author took as Enlil’s father. Anu and Lugaldukuga are the two most likely contenders for this position so far as our knowledge goes. A different genealogy may be implied in a prayer to Papsukkal:

én ilu šu-pu-ú bu-kúr ^da-n[im]
sukkallu gít-ma-lu i-lit-ti ^den-me-šár-ra

O. Loretz and W. R. Mayer, AOAT 34 pl. 9 24

Resplendent god, son of Anu,
Supreme vizier, offspring of Enmešarra.

Stylistically, it is not probable that Anu and Enmešarra here are synonyms, in which case *ilittu* must mark something other than immediate fatherhood—no doubt that Enmešarra is father of Anu and grandfather of Papsukkal. If this is rejected, then Anu and Enmešarra are here one and the same god. In a number of late copies of texts, Enmešarra is associated with Enlil’s chariot. CT 46 51 obv. 12:

é ^{giš}gigir ^den-líl-lá = [MI]N ^den-me-šár-ra

The chariot house of Enlil is Enmešarra’s [abo]de.

In astrology, the Chariot Star, Enmešarra, and Enlil are commonly connected (ŠL IV/2 89 and 122; K 5759). Another connection with Enlil is given in OECT XI 69+70 i 12–13 cf. 41:

^dšu-zi-an-na dumu-munus ^den-me-šár-ra šá ^den-líl i-ḥu-zu-ši

Šuzianna, daughter of Enmešarra, whom Enlil married.

This would not rule out the possibility that Enmešarra was also father or other close relative of Enlil. Incest in the early generations of the gods was often accepted (see p. 389). The best-attested characteristic of Enmešarra is that he was a primaeval god who held power before the gods worshipped by the historical Sumerians and Babylonians. The most explicit statements come from incantations. An Akkadian one, ABRT II 13 1–16, unusually makes him master of the netherworld but says of him: “who gave sceptre and rod to Anu and Enlil” (*na-din* ^{giš}pa u bala ana ^da-nu u ^den-líl). The root *ndn* need not imply a voluntary donation; it can mean no more than “handing over.” Two other Akkadian incantations put Enmešarra and his wife, who probably originated solely from the theogony of Enlil, at the very beginning of time:

én ^den-me-šár-ra ^dnin-me-šár-ra
abu u ummu šá ilāni ^{meš}ka-la-ma
^den-da-šurim-ma ^dnin-da-šurim-ma

aḥu u aḥātu šá ilāni^{meš} ka-la-m[a]

BAM 215 44–47, see AfO 21 (1966) 18 = J.-M. Durand, *Documents cunéiformes*
 . . . de l'École pratique des Hautes Études I (Paris, 1982), pl. 121 336

Enmešarra and Ninmešarra, father and mother of all the gods,
 Endašurimma and Nindašurimma, brother and sister of all the gods

én^den-me-šár-ra^dnin-me-šár-ra bē[le^{meš}]š šīmāti(nam)^{meš} bēle^{meš} ilāni^{meš} ka[lāma(d[ù-a-bi])
 [d^een-ku-ma]^dnin-ku-ma abu u ummu šá ilāni^{meš} kalāma(d[ù-a-bi])

BM 45637+ rev. 6–7

Enmešarra and Ninmešarra, lords of the destinies, lords of all the gods,
 [Enkuma] and Ninkuma, father and mother of all the gods.

Confirmation of his primaeval status comes from his inclusion in the Enlil theogony and from equations in expository texts, where he is identified with Lugaldukuga, Qingu, and Anu (O 175 = MMEW 190–95), and from his inclusion in such groups as “the conquered Enlils” (pp. 211–212).

His sons are also famous in ancient texts: cf. “the Seven Gods, sons of Enmešarra” (^dimin-bi dumu^{meš} ^den-me-šár-ra: LKA 73 obv. 5); “the seven small date palms = the seven sons of Enmešarra” (7 ^{giš}gišimmar-tur^{meš} = 7 dumu^{meš} ^den-me-šár-ra: MMEW 176 29). See also K 4434a (III R 69 no. 3) I 1–3. However, the groups of from seven to nine demons listed and usually summed up as “Asakkus, sons of Anu” once appear as “[eight] great gods, sons of Enmešarra” ([8] ilānu^{meš} rabūtu^{meš} māru^{m[ēš]} ^den-me-šár-ra: OECT XI 47 3; see note). The largest number attested is 15, in a ritual of Babylon: “total: 15 sons of Enmešarra” (šū-nigin 15 [du]mu^{meš} ^den-me-šár-ra: BM 68034 obv. ii; names not given). That Qingu has seven sons in KAR 307 rev. 18 is of course related. It is commonly attested that Enmešarra suffered defeat in a conflict of some kind. As already quoted, he is listed in “the seven conquered Enlils.” In DT 184 20, “Enmešarra was taken by the sword” ([x ^den-me-šár-ra ina kakki ša-bit: JCS 10 [1956] 100; below, p. 327). That disaster struck him also follows from passages which mention lamentation over him:

bi-ki-tum šá^{iti} ab a-na^den-me-šár-ra
 ZA 6 (1891) 243 36

Weeping in the month Tebet is for Enmešarra

. . . a-n]a^den-me-šár-ra i-šak-kan bi-ki-tum
 SBH p. 146 35

He/She will set up weeping for Enmešarra

. . . ana^de]n-me-šár-ra <šá> ik-ka-mu-ú^dme-me iš-kun bi-ki-tum
 SBH p. 146 42

Gula set up weeping for Enmešarra, who had been defeated.

This is confirmed by an expository text which has him weeping in the netherworld: “the head lamenter is Enmešarra, lamenter of Hades; the lamenters are his sons” (^{lú}gala-maḥ^den-me-šár-ra ka-⟨lu⟩-ú a-ra-li ^{lú}gala^{meš} ^{lú}dumu^{meš}-šú: TCL 6 47 25 = RA 16 [1919] 145). Mentions of the shade of Enmešarra confirm this point: “The shade of Enmešarra keeps crying, “Burn me, burn me!”” (*eṭemmu*

ša ^den-me-šár-ra qi-ma-ni qi-ma-ni gù-dé^{meš}: KAR 307 rev. 10). (A corrupt version of the same episode, but attributed to Qingu, occurs in UET VII 145 rev. vi). A dead Enmešarra is also presumed in a section of an expository text, KAR 307 obv., which seems to describe an actual ritual in which the human king participated but which is interpreted mythologically to refer to Enmešarra after his defeat and killing (see MMEW p. 124):

- 24 ^{giš}narkabtu ša ^{kur}elamti(e lam-ma)^{ki} ša ^{giš}kussû-šá ia-²nu pagra ša ^den¹-me¹-šár-ra ina li[bbi] íl-ši
 25 ^{sisû}^{meš} ša ina libbi ša-an-du eṭe[mmu] ša an-zi-i šarru šá ina libbi ^{giš}narkabti izzazzu^{zu}
 26 šarru qar-ra-du bēlu ^dninurta(maš) šu-u
 27 ša še-ḫi ša itti-šú izzazzu^{zu} lišānāti^{meš} ša an-z[i k]i-i iš-du-dam-ma ina [qāt]ē¹¹-šú ú-kal
 28 ^{giš}I.LU bīt ^den-me-šár-ra ina igāri(é-[ga]r_g) i-lul
 29 lipi(ì-u du) it-qí ikkib(níg-gig) ^den-me-šár-ra
 (Tablet in 24 has: ^dme-en-šár-ra)

- 24 The Elamite chariot without a seat bears within it the corpus of Enmešarra.
 25 The horses which are hitched to it are the shade of Anzû. The king who stands in the chariot
 26 Is the warrior king, the lord Ninurta.
 27 The ecstatic who stands with him, when he pulled out the tongues of Anzû and held them in his hand,
 28 He hung the . . . of the temple of Enmešarra on the wall.
 29 The grease of a fleece is a taboo of Enmešarra.

A further evidence of a struggle with a Nippurian focus occurs in the Nippurian Taboos 3, quoted from the present writer in AfO 25 (1974/77) 67: “The cat is the taboo of Enmešarra, because Enlil (or Ninurta) went (?), besieged him in the . . . of Šurupak and laid him to rest in the *gigunû*” (sa-a-ri ní-g-gig^den-me-šár-ra mu^d50 du ina tal-li^{ki} LAM×KUR.RU^{ki} ká-šú gil (= *i-le-mu-²i*, comm.)-ma ina gi-gu-né-e uš-ni-lu-šu). Of material more closely bearing on the particular story under study, confirmation of Enmešarra’s imprisonment—though at Enlil’s instructions—occurs in TCL 6 47 15 = RA 16 (1919) 145: “Sîn is Nabû, commander of the ‘Standing Gods,’ who, with Dagān’s authority, have been guarding Enmešarra from time immemorial” (^dsin : ^dnà nu-bàn-da dingir-gub-ba^{meš} šá ina igi ^dda-gan ta ul-dù-a ^den-me-šár-ra ¹ùru¹).

There may, of course, have been different versions of the cause of the struggle, but that hinted at in the Sumerian *Enlil and Namzitarra* agrees with the Akkadian incantation ABRT II 13 (quoted above) and with the story under comment. Unfortunately, the key passage has been a crux interpretum so far—that is, in the editio princeps of M. Civil (AfO 25 [1974/77] 65ff.) and the notes of H. L. J. Vanstiphout (RA 74 [1980] 67ff.). This dilemma, as we hope to show, is unnecessary. In this short story, Namzitarra, a priest from Enlil’s establishment in Nippur, is accosted by his patron deity while the latter is disguised as a crow (uga^{mušen}). This crow asks what Namzitarra is doing, so in due course Namzitarra asks who his interlocutor is, and gets the plain reply, “I am Enlil” (11). Namzitarra accepts this without problem in line 15: “You are not a crow, you are Enlil,” and then follow the lines:

- 16 nam mu-tar-ra gá-e ^den-líl-me-en a-gim bí-zu
 17 u₄ ^den-me-šár-ra šeš-ad-da-zu LÚ×GÁNA-tenû/LÚ×ŠÈ-da-a
 18 nam-^den-líl ba-e-de₆-a u₄-dè en-gim nam ga-zu-e-še
 “How did you know that I am the one who decrees destinies, Enlil?”
 “When, from Enmešarra, your paternal uncle, the prisoner,
 You took Enlilship, you said, “Now I will fix destinies like a lord.”

Both Civil and Vanstiphout took the question to be how Namzitarra saw through Enlil's disguise as a crow, but this cannot be right, since he did not see through the disguise but asked who this unknown questioner was and received an honest answer. Also, for this, the sequence would surely have been: ^den-líl nam-mu-tar-ra-me-en. The actual order puts the substantive part of the question first. Thus, the question asks how Namzitarra knows that Enlil controls the destinies, and the answer is that he took the power from Enmešarra. Enlilship in this text constitutes the power to decree destinies. Unfortunately, the text has no interest to inform us about the events leading up to the taking of Enlilship from Enmešarra by Enlil, but the very terminology might mean that Enmešarra, like Anzû in the Babylonian myth, had criminally seized Enlilship from Enlil. The power would hardly have been called "Enlilship" if it had first, and legally, belonged to any god other than Enlil. The one problem left in the passage is whether Civil's u₄-dè en-gim "today like a lord" or Vanstiphout's u₄ ne-en-gim "like this day" is to be preferred. We leave the matter open.

Qingu in *Enūma Eliš* exactly parallels the basic threads of the story so far unravelled, if the material about him is extracted from its present context. In I 147ff. and parallel passages, he is first mentioned as being appointed commander-in-chief of Tiāmat's army of monsters. That appointment is of course the author's way of bringing Qingu into his story about Tiāmat. The wording in I 147 is ambiguous. If *ina* means "among," then Qingu's origin is unexplained. But if it means "from" (which is equally possible), then he was one of Tiāmat's offspring. The lack of any plain statement about his background supports the assumption that there is a suture here of originally unrelated materials. This is further confirmed when the newly appointed supremo receives "Anuship" and promptly decrees the destinies for her (Tiāmat's) sons (I 159–60, etc.). Up to this point, destinies have not even been mentioned and play no part on the story. However, Tablet II incidentally lets us know that Anšar holds that power to decree destinies as lord or king of the junior gods, a status not intimated in Tablet I (see II 61, 63, 155, cf. IV 83). Then, at the end of Tablet III, the junior gods have been assembled by Anšar and under his presidency "decree the destiny" for Marduk. In the altercation between Marduk and Tiāmat at the beginning of the battle, Marduk accuses Tiāmat of "improperly" assigning "Anuship" to Qingu (IV 82), but with the same word "improperly" he takes the Tablet of Destinies from the defeated Qingu and fastens it to his own breast (IV 121–22), only later (V 69–70) to present it to Anu! Anuship in *Enūma Eliš* corresponds to Enlilship in Enlil and Namzitarra for the obvious reason that the author of *Enūma Eliš* systematically denigrates Enlil in the interest of promoting Marduk. Anu is different, in that, as Marduk's grandfather, he had to be maintained and respected. The many loose ends in this aspect of *Enūma Eliš* attest to the merging of once separate mythical traditions, Marduk's battle with Tiāmat being merged with the defeat of a god corresponding to Enmešarra who wrongly had the Tablet of Destinies.

The further history of Qingu in *Enūma Eliš* confirms this. In a judicial scene after Marduk's victory, the question is put, "Who made Tiāmat rebel?" (*ušabalkitūma*: VI 24), and Qingu is found guilty on this score. But this is contrary to the story of *Enūma Eliš*, where "gods" (I 110) only specified as Tiāmat's children (I 112) urge her in self-defence to start a military campaign before she suffers the same fate as Apsû. Hardly rebellion! Enmešarra, however, belongs to the "conquered Enlils" (see above), and a small Late Babylonian fragment full of material related to the material under consideration names "the Enlils who rebelled" (^de]n-líl-lá^{meš} šá ik-kir-[ú: DT 184 17, see below, p. 327).

A detail of one version of Enmešarra's fall occurs in the expository text TCL 6 47 5 = RA 16 (1919) 145, collated by the writer:

^den-me-šár-ra ^da-num šá ana eṭēri(kar)^{ri} naṣšātē(zi)^{meš}-šú māri^{meš}-šú iddina(sum)^{na}

Enmešarra is Anu, who, to save his own life, handed over his sons.

This version of the selfish father seems to be without parallel. Only rarely is Enmešarra's tangling with Marduk reported. Apart from the text here edited, the Bird Call Text makes allusions:

dar-lugal^{mušen} mušen ^de[n-me-šár]-ra taḥ-ta-ṭa a-na ^dtu-tu gù-gù-si

su-uš-šu-ru^{mušen} iṣ-ṣur ^den-me-šár-ra ke-ke-e [muššur ištanassi]

AnSt 20 (1970) 112 2, 115 14bis, cf. 112 6

The cock is the bird of Enmešarra. Its cry is, "You sinned against Tutu."

The šuššuru is the bird of Enmešarra. [Its cry] is, "How [he is desolated.]"

Tutu as a name of Marduk began after Hammurabi's reign, and had ceased, except in copies of older texts, by 1000 B.C., when it had become Nabû's name. But while conflict between the old god and Marduk is thus attested, nothing more is communicated beyond the implication that the former lost the struggle.

Thus, the evidence about Enmešarra is scrappy. More can be drawn out of the text under study. Here his stock epithet is *zi-mu-ú* "splendour" (i 12, 22; ii 20), and this is assigned to Šamaš after Enmešarra's execution (ii 29). The word is well known for a star's halo, so it appears that according to this myth the rays of Šamaš were inherited from Enmešarra. Here seven sons are called "fledglings" (i 20; ii 13), though it is uncertain whether this is more than metaphor. One may ask whether the name was understood in a way which supported this concept of the god as a manifestation of light. Nin mešarra is a common title of Venus (see W. W. Hallo and J. J. A. van Dijk, *The Exaltation of Inanna* [New Haven, Conn., 1968] p. 87). This text begins with this title and then follow two-and-a-half lines which speak of Inanna as light and radiance. Of course, the obvious interpretation is to take me in the name as = *paršu*, and this is certain from the context when en-me-šár-ra-ke₄ is used as a title of Ninurta (*JCS* 24 [1971] 4 ii 12), and it is no doubt one of the bases for having Enmešarra at some time control the destinies. However, the ancients could operate with more than one interpretation of divine names. The rare spelling ^den-me-en-šár-ra (*BASOR* 94 [1944] 8 B 17; cf. *PRAK* II C 72 obv. 17) may be based on men "crown," which, like aga, was understood as a halo of light. Not all gods with rays emanating from their shoulders in scenes of theomachies on Old Akkadian cylinder seals can be Šamaš. It is possible that one of them may be Enmešarra. Also, there is the Old Babylonian terracotta plaque from Khafaje (H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* [Harmondsworth, 1954] pl. 58b) showing a conventional and so unidentifiable god driving his sword into a figure with human body but with head of disc form, with excrescences, meant as rays, around the edge, while the figure's hands are tied behind his back. This fits what we know of Enmešarra very well, but the identification is not of course certain. That the prison warder who guarded Enmešarra and his sons was Nergal in our story may indicate that the prison was in the netherworld. Though no intelligible statement remains of the crime committed, crime it was, punished by the execution of both himself and his sons at Marduk's command.

The date of composition need not be the same for everything written on the tablet. We have already noted that what remains of the series assigns to Marduk, after his victory, a less exalted position in the universe than he is given in the material following the end of the series. One may only hope that the remains of the series have not been substantially altered by redactors. The facts favour an Old Babylonian or early Cassite date for the series, both in its more mythological parts in columns i and ii and in its more theological parts in columns iii–iv. First, though the text is fairly strict poetry, though not as rigorous as *Enūma Eliš* in, e.g., the use of couplets, the poetic lines often do not correspond with the lines of script on the tablet. This is normally a sign of Old Babylonian origin, since many literary tablets of that period were not written out according to their poetic structure as compared with later compositions and texts thoroughly edited in the Middle Babylonian period. That only one copy is known and no series title is given argues that it was a chance find in, perhaps, first-millennium time. Second, the orthography offers a mixture of very late and Old Babylonian phenomena. For the former, note the regular use of *-ku* for the second-person masc. suffix, and *num un^{meš}* for the singular *zēr* (ii 23). For the latter, the plural *zi-mu-ú* (and *dan-nu-u* in i 20), as well as the regular lack of divine determinatives with *en-me-šár-(ra)*, are much more easily justified in an Old than a Late Babylonian context, especially when a good ^dEN is written in iii 12. Scribal corruption also occurs. The omission of *ša* in iv 21 is proved by the parallel text (see above). The sign rendered *it-* in i 5 is a meaningless combination of wedges as it stands, and *BÀD.LÍL.SU* in iv 14 is a clear corruption of *nibr^{ki}*. The writer has failed to understand key signs in ii 22–23, though the wedges are large and clear. Such problems occur in other Late Babylonian copies of literary texts, irrespective of the texts' dates of origin. The evidence of content, that no allowance is made for Marduk's promotion to "king of the gods" in the time of Nebuchadnezzar I and in *Enūma Eliš*, though Hammurabi's victories are presumed, still leaves open more than half a millennium. That those victories did nothing to alter the position of Anu and Enlil, sometimes associated with Ea and the Mother Goddess, as heads of the universe means that the theological basis of our myth was around for a long time, and so no date even to a century can be ascertained for the moment. That Marduk takes Enlilship in the story is a bold advance, but this might have been based on the decline of the city Nippur as well as Babylonian chauvinism. However, this myth can still be seen as an ideological forerunner of *Enūma Eliš*.

Literature

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- 1918 H. Zimmern, *Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest*, *Zweiter Beitrag* (BVSGW 70/5) 49–50 (partial translation and comments).
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BM 32654+38193 (S+ 76-11-17, 2422 + 80-11-12, 75)

Obverse i

- 1 . . .] x x x
 2 [^dnergal a]n-nit ina še-me-e-šu
 3 ud-dan-nin mar-kàs-si-šu ⁴ i-red-di ki-šuk-kiš
 5 ūma ištēn iḫ¹-ḫi-ma iq-rib ana ki-šuk-ku
 6 ip-ti bāb ki-šuk-ku i-na-āš res-su-nu
 7 i-mur-šu-nu-ti-ma ka-la-šu-nu i-ḫi-ṭi
 8 i-mu-ru-šu-ma ilānu^{mes} šab-tu-tu
 9 kīma iš-ten ka-la-šu-nu ¹⁰ im-ta-šu-ú tēm(umuš)-šu-nu
 11 iz-ziz ^dnergal(u-gur) i-rag-gu-u elī-šu-nu
 12 ana en-me-šār zi-mu-ú a-mat izakkar(mu)^{ár}
 13 ^dmarūtuk-um-ma iq-ṭa-bi là balāṭ(tin)-ku
 14 u ša mārī^{mes}-ku sibitti-šu-na-a-ma
 15 ūma ištēn dan-niš i-šak-kan dabdâ(bad₅-bad₅)-šu¹-nu (tablet: -ku-nu)
 16 en-me-šār an-nit ina še-me-e-šu
 17 u₈-ú-a iq-ṭa-bi iṣ-ruḫ ka-bat-su
 18 pā-šu i-pu-šu a-mat iq-bi
 19 dan-nu^{dbēl} là balāṭ(tin) ili iá-a-ši
 20 dan-nu-u šip-ṭi-šu là balāṭ(tin)^{ár} at-mu-ú-a
 21 ^dnergal(u-gur) pa-a-šu i-pu-šam-ma
 22 ana en-me-šār zi-mu-ú a-mat izakkar(mu)^{ár}
 23 ištu re-e-šu ²⁴ ištu re-ši-im-ma
 25 an-nu-ú lu na-ḫa-la-tu-ka en-me-šār-ra

* * * * *

Obverse ii

- 1 . . .] x x [x]
 2 . . .] x la x
 3 . . . -š]a/r]a ina ki-šuk-ku
 4 . . . na]-pí-iš-tum
 5 mārī^{mes}-šu] sibitti-šu-na-a-ma
 6 . . . li²-i]k-miš-šu-nu-tu₄
 7 [^dnergal(u-gur)] an-nit ina še-me-e-šu
 8 [ūma ištēn] is-ni-qa iq-rib ma-ḫar-šu-<nu>
 9 u šu-ú ka-la-šu-nu i-na-ṭal-šu-nu-tú
 10 en-me-šār ú-šat-bi-ma ina ma-ḫar
 11 u ár-ku mārū^{mes}-šu sibitti-šu-nu
 12 il-lak en-me-šār ina ma-ḫar
 13 ár-ku-šu i-red-du-ú at-mu-šu
 14 u ^dnergal(u-gur) ú-ma-²ár-šu-nu-tu₄
 15 ūma ištēn il-li-ku-nim-ma ana maḫar ^dmarūtuk
 16 iš-ši re-ši-šu ^dmarūtuk ina su-rim
 17 iš-ši re-ši-šu ina-ṭal-šu-nu-tu₄
 18 a-gu-ug dan-niš i-ram-mu-um elī-šu-nu

Copy: Pls. 44–49

Obverse i

- 1 ...] ...
 2 When [Nergal] heard this
 3 He strengthened his bands ⁴ as he proceeded to the prison.
 5 Quickly he approached and drew near to the prison.
 6 He opened the gate of the prison, summoning them,
 7 He saw them and inspected every one.
 8 The Seized Gods saw him,
 9 All of them as one ¹⁰ were beside themselves.
 11 Nergal stood, shouting to them,
 12 Addressing a word to Enmešarra, the Splendour,
 13 "Marduk himself has commanded that you should not live,
 14 And your seven sons
 15 He will quickly bring to a terrible doom."
 16 When Enmešarra heard this
 17 He cried "Alas" and his heart burnt.
 18 He opened his mouth and spoke a word,
 19 "Bel is terrible that I, a god, should not live;
 20 His judgements are terrible that my fledglings should not live."
 21 Nergal opened his mouth
 22 Addressing a word to Enmešarra, the Splendour,
 23 "From the beginning, ²⁴ from the very beginning,
 25 This has been your answer, Enmešarra,

* * * * *

Obverse ii

- 1 ...] . . [.]
 2 ...] ...
 3 ...] . in the prison
 4 ...] . life (?)
 5 ... his] seven [sons]
 6 ... let (?)] him consign them."
 7 When [Nergal] heard this
 8 [Quickly] he came nigh, he drew near to them.
 9 As he was watching them all
 10 He made Enmešarra set out first,
 11 And his seven sons afterwards.
 12 Enmešarra went in front,
 13 His seven sons were marching behind him.
 14 With Nergal as their escort
 15 They quickly entered the presence of Marduk.
 16 Marduk suddenly raised his head,
 17 He raised his head to look at them.
 18 With terrible anger he roared at them,

- 19 ^dmarūtuk pa-a-šu i-pu-šam-ma
 20 ana en-me-šár zi-mu-ú a-mat izakkar(mu)^{ár}
 21 ki-a-am taq-bi ana lib-bi-ku
 22 ša ^dmarūtuk ul-lad/lat x (x)-šu
 23 at-taz zē^rmeš UR-x lemuttim^{tim}
 24 u mārū^{meš}-ku bānū(dù)-³ši-pir tāḥazi
 25 iš-ši kak-ki-šu ^dmarūtuk šīru
 26 ša mārī^{m[e]š} en-me-šár ikkis(kud)^{is} qaqqad-su-nu
 27 tam-šil-šu-[n]u uš-šir i-ga-riš
 28 DIŠ abī^{meš}-šu-[n]u en-me-šár ik-me-ma ina qāte^{II}
 29 kal-la z[i-m]u-šu ú-šar-ma-a ana ^dšamaš
 30 tam-šil-šu [u]š-šir ina muḥḥi šub-ti-šu
 31 x x [.] x x si ik-me-ma ina qāte^{II}

* * * * *

Obverse iii

- 1 me⁷ [. . .
 2 u x [. . .
 3 ša x [. . .
 4 iš-tu [. . .
 5 ^da-num x [. . .
 6 id-di ta-[. . .
 7 ina abul [. . .
 8 iš-kun ši [. . .
 9 IGI.KUR.ZA it-x [. . .
 10 iḥ-ḥi-is ú-rid ana [. . .
 11 u šu-ú iz-kur-šu-n[u-tu₄ . . .
 12 ^da-num ^den-líl u ^dnin-[urta⁷]
 13 il-si-ma ^dnabû(nà) i-šak-kan-[š]u tē[ma](um[uš])
 14 be-lu-tu₄ eršetim^{tim} ša ^dnin-urta
 15 dan-nu-ti-šu le-qé ḥa-an-tiš
 16 re-de ri-mu bār-síp^{ki}-iš
 17 u ^dēr-ra-ú¹(tablet: MEŠ)-tu il-qé ^dnergal(u-gur)
 18 ^den-líl-ú-tu ilqe(ti)^{qé} ^dmarūtuk
 19 ^dmarūtuk ^dnabû(nà) u ^dnergal(u-gur)
 20 bēlu-ut ^da-nim ilqû(ti)^ú mál-ma-liš
 21 ^{mú}l kak-si-sá-ú-tu ilqe(ti)^{qé} ^dmarūtuk
 22 ^dnin-urta-ú-tu ilqe(ti)^{qé} ^d[nabû(nà)]
 23 ^dēr-ra-ú-tu ilqe(ti)^{qé} [^dnergal(u-gur)]
 24 ūma ištēn ir-de-e ir-ma-a x [. . .]

-
- 25 ^{im}dub x [. . .
-

Reverse iv

- 1 iš-tu ^dmarūtuk x [. . .
 2 agâ-šu ul it-m[uḥ . . .
 3 be-lu-ut šamē^e u eršetim^{tim} i[t- . . .

- 19 Marduk opened his mouth
 20 Addressing a word to Enmešarra, the Splendour,
 21 "Thus you thought in your heart,
 22 'I will beget/swallow the . . . of Marduk.'
 23 You are the offspring of an evil . .
 24 And your sons perform the task of battle."
 25 Exalted Marduk lifted up his weapons,
 26 He cut off the heads of the sons of Enmešarra
 27 And drew representations of them on the wall.
 28 Their father Enmešarra he bound with his hands,
 29 And all his splendour he set on Šamaš.
 30 He drew a representation of him on his dwelling.
 31 .. [.] . . . he bound with his hands

* * * * *

Obverse iii

- 1 . [. . .
 2 .. [. . .
 3 .. [. . .
 4 After [. . .
 5 Anu . [. . .
 6 He set . [. . .
 7 In the gate [. . .
 8 He put . [: : :
 9 The nether world he [. . .
 10 He withdrew and went down to [. . .
 11 He addressed them [. . .
 12 Anu, Enlil and Nin[urta].
 13 He summoned Nabû to give him the command,
 14 "The rule of the land of Ninurta
 15 Quickly take from his power.
 16 Proceed, bull, to Borsippa."
 17 Nergal took the power of Erra,
 18 Marduk the power of Enlil.
 19 Marduk, Nabû and Nergal
 20 Took the lordship of Anu equally.
 21 Marduk took the power of the Spear-star.
 22 [Nabû] took the power of Ninurta.
 23 [Nergal] took the power of Erra,
 24 Quickly he proceeded and took up his residence . [. . .]

25 Tablet . [. . .

Reverse iv

- 1 After Marduk . [. . .
 2 He did not grasp his crown [. . .
 3 The rule of heaven and nether world he [. . .

- 4 [ú]-šak-lil ušurāti(giš-ḥur)^{meš} x [. . .]
 5 [i]l-lam ú-šib ina qí-rib šamê[e]
 6 šubta(ki-tuš) ša^da-nim ir-ma-a šar-ḥ[i-iš]

-
- 7 ^dbēl iṣ-ša-bat bābili(ká-dingir-ra)
 8 ^dnabû(nà) iṣ-ša-bat barsiṣa(bàd-si-ab)
 9 ^dnergal(u.[gur]) iṣ-ša-bat kutâ(gú-du_g-a)
 10 ^dza-ba₄-ba₄ MIN kiš^{ki}
 11 ^dšamaš MIN sip-ṣar
 12 ^dšm(30) MIN urí^{ki}
 13 ^dadad MIN bīt-karkara(IM)^{ki}
 14 ^den^l-líl MIN niṣpura^{ki}! (tablet: ^dx-líl, bàd-líl-su)
 15 ^duraš MIN dil-bat
 16 ^dir-a-bi-nu-tuku MIN isin(PA.ŠE)^{ki}
 17 ilānu^{meš} kal-li-šú-nu iṣ-bat-ú eqlēti(a-šà)^{meš}

-
- 18 iṣ-tu šamê^e il-sa-a za-qí-qí
 19 uruk^{ki} u niṣpuru^{ki} qa-ma-a u ka-ma-a
 20 na-si-iḥ te-me-en-ši-na na-di ana mē^{meš}
 21 ekurri(é-kur)^{meš} <ša> qir-<bi>-ši-na ú-tu-šu-nu x [. . .]
 22 ma-āš ṣaršū(me)-šu-nu ana u₄-mu x [. . .]
 23 ul i-kan-nu sattukkū(sá-du_g)-šu-nu x [. . .]
 24 sa-pi-iḥ giš-ḥur-šu-[nu . . .]
 25 nišu^{meš} ša qir-bi-[ši-na . . .]
 26 iḥ b[u (x)] x [. . .]
 27 šal-lat-[si-na . . .]
 28 kal x [. . .]
 29 kal x [. . .]
 30 ḥi [. . .]

* * * * *

Reverse v

- 1 suḥur-máš [.] x pi an a
 2 éš-gàr a[n] x iṣ-ten
 3 suḥur-máš [.] x-šu-nu-t[u₄]
 4 kal-la ep-š[e-ti] x [. . .]
 5 u šu-ú [.] x an [. . .]

-
- 6 ta-nit-t[u₄] x x-me zik-ri
 7 ^dmarūtuk šir[u ša] ilāni(dingir-dingir) rabūti(gal-gal)
 8 u ina ili abbē(ad)[^{meš}-š]u[?] ma-ḥi-ir là iṣū(tuku)
 9 bēl šamê^e [u eršetim]^{tim} nūr(zálag) kib-rat
 10 a-šib é-sa[g-g]íl bēl bābili(e)^{ki} ^dmarūtuk širu
 11 sa-an-tak-[ku]-ku kun-nu ina ma-ḥar
 12 ši-it pí-[i-k]u ul uš-te-pel-lu
 13 ana-ku suḥur-[máš]š da-bi-bi qur-di^l(tablet: KI)-ku
-

- 4 [He] perfected the regulations . [. . .
 5 He ascended and sat in the heavens,
 6 He took up residence in the abode of Anu magnificently.
-

- 7 Bēl took Babylon,
 8 Nabû took Borsippa,
 9 Nergal took Cuthah,
 10 Zababa took Kish,
 11 Šamaš took Sippar,
 12 Sîn took Ur,
 13 Adad took Bīt Karkara,
 14 Enlil took Nippur,
 15 Uraš took Dilbat,
 16 Erimabinutuku took Isin.
 17 All the gods got land.
-

- 18 A voice proclaimed from heaven,
 19 "Uruk and Nippur are burnt and defeated,
 20 Their foundations are uprooted and thrown into the water.
 21 The gate-keepers of the temple within them . [. . .]
 22 Their rites are forgotten to days . [. . .]
 23 Their regular offerings do not take place . [. . .]
 24 Their regulations are cast aside [. . .]
 25 The people within [them . . .]
 26 .. [(.)] . [. . .]
 27 [Their] booty [. . .]
 28 .. [. . .]
 29 .. [. . .]
 30 . [. . .]

* * * * *

Reverse v

- 1 The Fish-goat [.]
 2 The series/task . [.] . one
 3 The Fish-goat [.] . them
 4 All . . . [.] . [. . .]
 5 He [.] . . [. .]
-

- 6 Praise . . . speech,
 7 Marduk, most exalted [of] the great gods,
 8 Who has no equal among the gods his fathers,
 9 Lord of the heavens [and] nether world, light of the world regions,
 10 Who resides in Esagil, lord of Babylon, Marduk the exalted,
 11 Your writing was fixed in former time,
 12 The utterance of your mouth cannot be changed,
 13 I, the Fish-goat, speak forth your bravery.
-

14 *a-di an-na-[a] ga-mir éš-gàr*

15 *pap 8 imdub^{meš} an-nu-tú ina ma-ḥar sar-ú*

16 *e-nu-ma šuk-lul ušurāti(giš-ḥur)^{meš}*

17 *u ^dmarūtuk ilqe(ti)^{qe} bēlu-tú*

18 *iš-tu šamê^e il-sa-a za-qi-qi*

19 *ana bu šá a [x] e ri-mu bēl^{el} mātāti(kur-kur)*

20 *u šu-ú [i]n-na-bi šār kiš-šat niši^{meš}*

21 *ana u₄-mu rūqūti(s[u]d) ana gu-šur kiššati ki ú*

22 *^{giš}ḥaṭṭa(gidri) u gi[š-ḥ]aš it-muḥ qa-tuš-šu*

23 *[x x x x i]š-kun qaqqad-su*

24 *. . .] x ^{lu}galamāḥu er-šu*

25 *. . . in⁷-n]a⁷-bi šum-šu*

26 *. . .] x-a-ri*

* * * * *

Reverse vi

1 *ilāni^{meš} ka-la-šu-nu ilāni^{meš} x [x (x)]*

2 *bár-síp^{ki} kutī(gú-du₈-a)^{ki} kiš^{k[i]}*

3 *u ilāni^{meš} ma-ḥa-za-a-nu gab-bi*

4 *ana ša-bat qāte^{ll} ša ^dbēli rabū^ú ^dmarūtuk*

5 *ana bābili(e)^{ki} il-la-ku-nim-ma itti-šu*

6 *ana á-ki-tum illaku(gin)^ú šarru*

7 *ina ma-ḥar-šu-nu sír-qa i-sár-raq*

8 *áš-šú-tú ina-ši-ma ^da-num u ^den-líl*

9 *ištu uruk^{ki} u niṣpuri^{ki} ana bābili(e)^{ki}*

10 *ana ša-bat qāte^{ll} ša ^dbēl ana bābili(e)^{ki}*

11 *il-la-ku-nim-ma itti-šu*

12 *i-šad-di-ḥu-ú ana é-sískur*

13 *[k]i-mu-šu-nu ilānu^{meš} rabātu^{meš} gab-bi*

14 *[a]na bābili(e)^{ki} il-la-ku-ú-ni*

15 *ilānu^{meš} ka-la-šu-nu ša itti ^dbēl*

16 *ana é-sískur illaku(gin)^{meš} kīma šarri*

17 *ša ummān(érin)-šu la gummur(til)^{mur}*

18 *^{mú}l^lkak-si-sá ^dmarūtuk*

19 *^dnin-urta ^dna-bi-um*

20 *[bēlu]-ut ^da-nim ^dbēl ^dnabû(nà)*

21 *[u ^dnerga]l(u-gu[r] ilqû(ti)^{rú} mál⁷-ma-liš*

22 *. . .] x*

* * * * *

14 Thus far, the series is completed.

15 Total, these eight tablets written above.

16 When the regulations were completed
 17 And Marduk had taken the rule,
 18 A voice proclaimed from heaven,
 19 “. . . . [.] bull, lord of the lands,
 20 He has been called ‘King of all peoples.’
 21 To consolidate the universe to distant days
 22 He has grasped the sceptre and mace in his hand.
 23 [. . . .] he set his head
 24 . . .] . the wise chief lamentation-singer
 25 His name [has been] called(?) [. . .
 26 . . .] . . .”

* * * * *

Reverse vi

1 All the gods, the gods . [. .]
 2 Of Borsippa, Cuthah and Kish,
 3 And the gods of all the cult centres,
 5 Come to Babylon
 4 To take the hand of the great lord, Marduk,
 6 And they go with him to the Akītu-house. The king
 7 Offers a libation before them,
 8 He recites a prayer. Anu and Enlil
 9 From Uruk and Nippur to Babylon
 10 To take the hand of Bēl, and
 11 Come
 12 They go in procession with him to Esiskur.
 13 With(?) them all the great gods
 14 Come to Babylon.

15 All the gods who go with Bēl
 16 To Esiskur are like a king
 17 Whose army cannot be annihilated.

18 The Spear-star is Marduk;
 19 Ninurta is Nabû;
 20 Bēl, Nabû [and Nergal]
 21 Took [the lordship] of Anu equally.

22 . . .] .

* * * * *

BM 33500 (Rm IV 55)

Copy: Pl. 46

Obverse

1	(Traces)	
2	[x (x)] x at-mu-šú x [. . .	[. .] . his fledglings . [. . .
3	[r]a-bi u še-eḫ-r[i . . .	Great and small [. . .
4	māru ^{meš} u ina ukkin [. . .	Sons and in an assembly
5	ukkin-na šit-ku-nu-m[a ² . . .	Having set up an assembly
6	ma-ri šá x[. . .	The son who . [. . .
7	ú-šá-as-ma-ak [. . .	He made reject [. . .
8	i-ze-ru N[AR ² . . .	They hated . [. . .
9	i[k] ² x x [. . .	(Traces)

Reverse

(Beginnings of three lines)

* * * * *

Textual notes on pp. 493–494

The Town of Zarpānītum

This small fragment of text is written, apparently, on the reverse of what was certainly a single-column tablet. The few slight traces of writing on the other side merit no attention. What survives is from a myth telling how Zarpānītum was given the city Zarpan by her father Enlil, who named it after her, and that (somewhat inexplicably) Ea also gave her the same place and likewise named it after her. The latter then tells Marduk that Zarpānītum must be his wife and that together they must rule the Sea (Tīamat).

The place Zarpan is also attested in BM 66534 (AH 82-9-18, 6527; see A. R. George, *BTT* p. 205), a small Late Babylonian fragment of a topography. It is the last-preserved item in a column also naming the Araḫtu canal, the Ištar Gate, and “facing Kish.” Thus, it seems to refer to Babylon and so to prove that Zarpan was geographically attached to Babylon. There is no reason why Zarpan should not have been the basis of the name Zarpānītum, “(the goddess) of Zarpan,” and the version of this myth, that Zarpānītum provided the basis of the town’s name, is no doubt folk etymology, because the goddess in historical times was much better known than her original town. This fragment seems to be the only source dealing with the origin of Zarpānītum, giving her father as Enlil, connecting her with the town Zarpan, and explaining how she came to marry Marduk. Ea’s further suggestion that the two rule the Sea is not inappropriate in the light of the story of Marduk’s victory over Tīamat in other texts. The word “rule” is not quite complete, and *ta-ma-ti* could be rendered “oracles questions,” etc., but this seems less likely. The beginning of line 13 could be restored Ekarzaginna, a part of Ea’s shrine in Esagil in Babylon.

This extract is written in quite chaste poetry, though there are some verbal difficulties dealt with in the notes. The date of composition cannot be fixed even very approximately. Like the *Toil of Babylon*, it shows no hostility to Enlil, and stylistically it is quite similar. However, that is written on a tablet with three columns on each side, so until more evidence comes to light it is best not to assume that they are from the same work.

K 6794+9418

Copy: Pl. 50

1 (traces)

2 [x]-ta mu' kab-ti 'ik-rib x an' un' me-li-lu'-t[i]'

3 'i'-qí-is-sa ma-ḥa-zi d'en-líl a-bu-šá

4 [i]š-ruk-ši ^{umu}zar-ḫa-an a-na šu-me-šá im-bi

5 [a-n]a d'zar-ḫa-ni-tum d'é-a i-qí-is-su

- 6 [i]š-ruk-ši^{uru} zar-pa-an a-na šu-me-šá im-bi
 7 [i]š-tu ši-mat-su^{dé-a} i-ši-mu
 8 [i]z-zak-ra a-na^dmarūtuk bu-un bu-kúr-i-š[ú]
 9 [e]-da-át dam-qàt šu-su-mat ku-a-šá
 10 [a]t-ta u ši-i ta-ma-ti bé-l[a]
 11 [^dza]r-pa-ni-tum šu-su-mat ku-a-[šá]
 12 [at-t]a u ši-i ta-m[a]-ti ina qí-rib [. . .]
 13 [x] x^{na4} za-gìn-na ú-x x [. . .]
 14 [x x] x-šú bābili^[ki]
 15 (trace)

* * * * *

- 3 Enlil, her father, gave her a cult centre,
 4 He granted her (the city) Zarpan, he called it after her name.
 5 Ea gave it to Zarpānītum,
 6 He granted her (the city) Zarpan, he called it after her name.
 7 After Ea had fixed its destiny,
 8 He spoke to Marduk, . . his son,
 9 “She is renowned, pleasant and suitable for you,
 10 You and she, rule the Sea.
 11 Zarpānītum is suitable for you,
 12 You and she [rule] in [it].
 13 [.] . zaginna . . . [. . .]
 14 [. .] . . Babylon [.]

* * * * *

Textual notes on p. 495.

The Toil of Babylon

This text was first brought to public notice by George Smith and W. St. Chad Boscawen in 1876 as a possible parallel to the biblical story of the Tower of Babel. Since King in 1902 showed that this was a misconception, the text has been very generally neglected. These three scholars depended on K 3657, which is part of a six-column tablet with the tops of columns i and ii and the bottoms of columns v and vi preserved. Since column vi has only the Ashurbanipal colophon left, parts of three columns of the text only survive. F. W. Geers identified a duplicate of column ii, K 7052, which also restores a few half-lines at the bottom of column i of the main tablet, and the present writer has joined Rm 114+405 to K 3657, restoring a number of lines on columns ii and v. On criteria of script, clay, and content, he has also identified K 8525 as probably a piece of the same tablet. It offers the last few lines of two columns, which, in view of the different widths of the spaces between the columns of script on the main piece, and the fact that the ends of columns v and vi are preserved on K 3657, can only be columns i and ii. On this basis, column i of K 8525 helps to restore the first few lines on K 7052.

Thus, only three sections are preserved: the first 15 lines of the work (the top portion of column i of the main tablet), some 30 lines from the bottom of this same column and the top of column ii, and the last 15 lines of column v, which, seeing that column vi was partly filled with the colophon, cannot be far from the conclusion of the work. There is no reason for supposing that the text covered a series of tablets.

The work begins with dissatisfaction over “the father of all the gods.” One being in particular has cause for complaint, as the people of Babylon, burdened with hard labour, were preventing him from sleeping by their lamentation. This beginning shares its noise motif with *Enūma Eliš*, the *Atra-ḫasīs Epic*, and the *Slaying of Labbu*. While the sufferer is nowhere named in the surviving material, we take him as Marduk, god of Babylon. In exasperation, he determined to overthrow the existing divine government. At this point, column i breaks off. Column v suggests that Marduk, if this be the god, got his way. The gods, under the leadership of Enlil and at the command of Anu, come before “the lord of the land,” probably Marduk, and set up a lament for Babylon. After much weeping, something occurs to them, which was not communicated until the missing top portion of column vi. Since the text is almost completed at this point, no doubt Babylon was promptly freed from the hard labour and given a privileged position in the universe.

The other surviving portion, partly due to the incompleteness of most of the lines, is very obscure. The main characters in the story are hardly less elusive. It must surely be Marduk whose loss of sleep is occasioned by the lament of the Babylonians. But who is “the father of all the gods”? In ii 10–11 the Anunnaki appear together with “Enšar their father.” Enšar occurs both in the Anu theogony as presented in An = *Anum* and in the Enlil theogony as known from various god-lists; but otherwise he is utterly obscure. Twice in the context of column ii, where his name occurs, Lugaldukuga is also

mentioned, and, as we understand the passage, Enšar, meaning “lord of all,” is used here as a title of Lugaldukuga.

Sense can be picked up in line 4 of the column, where a god, whose name begins En-, is pleased over something and enters the presence of Lugaldukuga. The latter is not pleased with what the former tells him. Enlil may be the god who addresses Lugaldukuga, for he appears in a leading role in column v under his name Nunamnir. In column ii (ll. 10–13) it appears that the Anunnaki support the statement of Enlil (if it be he). At this, Enšar—that is, Lugaldukuga—goes down to “his Apsû,” where he is spied by some deity, probably Marduk his son (cf. line 17). The following lines are most frustratingly damaged. Probably line 17, and certainly line 18, are spoken, but by and to whom is not clear. Lines 20–21 could mark a resumption of narrative, and in that Adad is said to receive a command in line 21, while 22–28 are a command in direct speech, this idea is attractive. Then, in 29–32, the command is put into effect. The order is to bring about destruction of the grain crop by drought, with resulting scarcity and high prices. Was this to reduce the population, as in *Atra-ḫasis*?

The figure of Lugaldukuga clearly needs study. He is well suited for the title “father of all the gods” as being theogonic. A late text mentions weeping for him between similar lamentation for Tammuz and Enmešarra:

bi-ki-tum šá ^{iti}ŠU *a-na* ^d*dumu*-{é}-zi
nu-re-e-tum šá ^{iti}DU₆ (tablet: ŠU) *bi-kit ana* ^d*lugal-du*-kù-ga
bi-ki-tum šá ^{iti}AB *a-na* ^d*en-me-šár-ra*

ZA 6 (1891) 243 34–36

The weeping in the month Tammuz is for Tammuz.

The . . . s of Tishri are weeping for Lugaldukuga.

The weeping in the month Tebeth is for Enmešarra.

The Assur hemerologies prescribe an offering for the 29th of Tishri:

kurummat-su ana ^d*lugal-du*-kù-ga
^d*en-ki* ^d*en-me-šár-ra*
^{im}*mar-dú gar-ma ma-ḫir*

KAR 178 rev. iii 19–21 = Labat, *Hémérologies*, p. 120

One’s food offering for Lugaldukuga, Enki, Enmešarra, or Amurru

Should be deposited, and it will be accepted.

Another late text identifies Lugaldukuga with both Enmešarra and Alala.⁵ The same text, and a duplicate of the relevant passage, uses his name to explain Ubnu, one of the “seven conquered Enlils.”⁶ Lists of Dead Gods, or related deities, also contain him (see p. 211). The general character of Lugaldukuga is thus laid bare by these associations and identifications. Other sources specifically identify him as (a) the father or grandfather of Enlil or even as Enlil himself; and (b) as Ea.

Astrolabe B, known principally from a Middle Assyrian copy, concludes its menology for Tishri as follows:

5. O 175 = RA (1919) 145, on which see pp. 212–213. The identification with Enmešarra is cited on p. 285; that with Alala on p. 425.

6. Quoted above, p. 212.

ki-sè-ga ^dlugal-du₆-kù-ga
^den-ki ^dnin-ki
 iti pa₄-bíl-ga ^den-líl-lá-ke₄

ki-is-pu [a-na] ^dlugal-du₆-kù-ga
^den-ki u ^dn[in]-ki
 araḥ a-bi a-bi šá ^den-líl

KAV 218 A ii 27ff. and dups. K 2920+ (BA V 705; Weidner, *Handbuch* p. 86⁴) and Sm 755+

Offerings for the dead to Lugaldukuga, Enki, and Ninki. It is the month of the grandfather of Enlil.

Lugaldukuga is meant by the last phrase, since the Sumerian name of Tishri is Duku(g). Also An = *Anum*, between the Seven Sons of Enmešarra and Enlil, inserts:

^dlugal-du₆-kù-ga = a-a ^den-líl-lá-ke₄
 I 147

Here a’a, a form of adda, is simply “father,” though the meaning of the term is wide enough to include “grandfather.” A commentary on the series *Iqqur ṭpuš* contains something similar to the Astrolabe:

ki-sè-ga a-na ^da-nun-na-ki ik-kás-sap araḥ a-bi a-bi šá ^den-líl [:
^dlugal-du₆-kù-ga] a-a ^den-líl-lá-ke₄ : ^dMIN a-bi a-bi šá ^den-líl :
^dlugal-du₆-kù-ga : ^dé-’a’ [. . .

CT 41 39 rev. 7–8 = Labat, *Commentaires*, p. 100

“Offerings for the dead are made to the Anunnaki. It is the month of the grandfather of Enlil.” [Lugaldukuga] is the father (a’a) of Enlil. (That is) Lugaldukuga is the grandfather of Enlil. Lugaldukuga is (also) Ea [. . .

First, a citation from a text is made, then in explanation of “grandfather of Enlil” the very line from An = *Anum* which we have just quoted is given. This, however, is written in Sumerian, and the commentator wished to identify Lugaldukuga with “the grandfather of Enlil,” so he translated the line into Akkadian, taking each a in a’a as equivalent to “father,” thus finding Enlil’s “father’s father” in the line of An = *Anum*. He then adds that Lugaldukuga is Ea, to which we shall return.

Just as Anšar may be either the father of Anu or Anu himself, so Lugaldukuga may also be Enlil himself. At least this can be taken from the statement that “Enlil is present like (or, instead of) Lugaldukuga” (O 175 obv. 2 = MMEW p. 190). The identification of Lugaldukuga with Ea is not confined to the commentary on *Iqqur ṭpuš*. It also occurs in *Enūma Eliš* VII 100, in a *šuilla* prayer (Ebeling, *Handerhebung* p. 76 25), and probably in *Šurpu* VIII 38, where the preceding name Hedimmeku belongs to Ea’s daughter, and after the unparalleled and uncertain Išimme-tiklāšu, there follow Ea’s own name, Lugalabzu, and those of his two viziers, Ara and Ḥasīsu. Further, the *Founding of Eridu* (p. 372, line 13) speaks of Lugaldukuga founding, or residing in, Esagil in the Apsû. Ea is certainly suggested by the mention of the Apsû, and we hold that the temple-name Esagil is secondarily substituted for Eabzu.

Two ambiguous pieces of evidence at least do not conflict with what has been established so far. The god-list CT 25 33 contains a three-line section devoted to Lugaldukuga, of which the left-hand sub-column is broken away. Its position, between the sections of Enlil and Ea is the most significant thing. His spouse is called Nindukuga, and this encourages us to take Endukuga, who occurs in the Enlil theogony and as guardian of the 5th gate leading to the underworld (see p. 415), as another name for the same figure. The other piece of evidence is provided by a small religious fragment, KAR 339a (see M. T. Roth et al., eds., *Studies Presented to Robert D. Biggs* [Chicago, 2007] pp. 167–92).

It contains a listing of the great gods, as stated at its conclusion: *ilāni*[^{meš} *rabû*]*ti*^{meš} *am-m[ar . . .* (“1 Seite” 8). In each case, two divine names are juxtaposed. The first (“2 Seite” 1) is Lugaldukuga [. . . Then follow Ḫarmurni – Anu, and Ḫayašu – ^dBE. If it were certain whether Enlil or Ea were meant by ^dBE, then one might proceed to consider the possibilities for restoration alongside Lugaldukuga, but speculation at present would be to no purpose.

In the myth under discussion Lugaldukuga appears both as progenitor of Enlil and as Ea. As father of all the gods, Enlil, who does play a part in the story, must be his son. In column ii, he goes down to “his Apsû,” so clearly he is Ea. In the same context, Damkina, Ea’s wife, is mentioned. This aspect cannot be left without some comment on the unusual features of this situation. At first glance, the idea of Ea as the father of Enlil is quite shocking. Yet the tradition of Eridu as known from *Enki and Ninmah* speaks of Ea as “creator of the great gods,” which must surely include Enlil, even though he is not singled out by name. But certainly other traditions existed. Very probably, it was the existence of the tradition that Enmešarra was Enlil’s father that resulted in Lugaldukuga being considered his grandfather, so that the line would be: Lugaldukuga, Enmešarra, Enlil. The first datable evidence for the doctrine of Lugaldukuga is the Middle Babylonian edition of An = *Anum*, known to us best in Middle Assyrian copies. Here, the god is very clearly an insertion, and this is proved in that the Old Babylonian forerunner, TCL 15 no. 10, while containing the theogony ending Enmešarra – Ninmešarra, totally lacks Lugaldukuga. Thus, it was with reason that the compilers of the late expository texts equate Lugaldukuga and Enmešarra.

The doctrine is also surprising since Ea lacked most of the characteristics of a real theogonic figure. Such were gods out of favour and no longer active; they had been sent down to the nether regions by more virile successors and generally were hoary and remote. Ea’s best qualification for such a rank was his residence down below, but it was in the Apsû, not in the underworld. The picture of him in the myth under discussion as a hated figure is just the opposite of his usual attribute. In cuneiform literature generally, Ea is active, never discredited or hated, and an ever-present source of help to the human race. The reversal of his usual role in this myth must have had strong motivation to sustain it. No doubt a desire to pull down Enlil a peg or two in the hierarchy, while Ea was upped, underlies the doctrine.

Enlil’s prestige had always been associated with the “determining of destinies” in Nippur, a ceremony to which all the major deities came. The place in which this occurred was Duku(g), a part of the Nippurian shrine of Enlil. An Old Babylonian copy of a Sumerian liturgical text already refers to this: VAS II 8 i 36–37. In later times when Marduk or Nabû “determined the destinies” in a similar rite, it was again in Duku(g)—but this time a Duku(g) in Babylon—in which it took place. Since towns generally did not boast a shrine with this name, that of Babylon was presumably consciously modelled on Nippurian custom, in order that the change in the headship of the gods should be made quite clear.

Duku(g) means “pure *du*,” and *du* has two meanings corresponding with two Akkadian words: *tilu* “hill,” and *dû* “platform of bricks (in a shrine).” The latter seems to refer to the cultic Duku(g), while the former is cosmic. A bilingual hymn to Šamaš speaks of his arising at dawn from “Duku, where the destinies are determined,” and the Akkadian translation freely renders Duku with “mountain.”⁷

7. VR 50 i 5–6: *du₆-kù ki nam-tar-tar-re-e-dè = šá-di-i a-šar ši-ma-a-tum iš-šim-ma* (restored from C. D. Gray, *The Šamaš Religious Texts* [Chicago, 1901] pl. xv, K 5069+; see R. Borger, *JCS* 21 [1969] 1ff.).

It is well known that Šamaš spent the night in the underworld, and appropriately enough, Nergal, its king, is once styled “administrator of the whole of Duku”: *pa-qi-du gi-mir du₆-kù-ga*.⁸ Thus, Duku(g) is involved in the doctrine of the world mountain. For the present, it is enough to refer to the three lexical texts which identify Duku(g) and Apsû⁹ and to the passages in incantations where the terms are used in parallelism.¹⁰ *Enūma Eliš* VII is clearly based on this understanding, for in lines 99–100 Marduk is called Dumuduku, “son of Duku,” and Ea his father Lugalduku, “lord of Duku.” What is more, the taking of decisions is specifically mentioned in these lines. Thus, it appears that the cosmic Duku provided the means whereby Ea, lord of the Apsû, identified as Duku, performed what was generally ascribed to Enlil in the Nippurian Duku. This application is quite probably a secondary development, not older than the First Dynasty of Babylon, but it may well be based on a genuinely old tradition that the Apsû is the cosmic Duku.¹¹

Against this background, the myth we are treating can be judged more seriously. So far as preserved, it is an explanation of how Babylon was relieved of hard labour. The nature of the toil is not specified; it is just mentioned as though no explanation were needed. Equally significant is the resolve of the god who lost sleep to overthrow the divine government. Column v shows all the gods in sympathy with the cause of Babylon, and no doubt the myth ended with Babylon relieved of toil. But we do not know if the sleep-starved god succeeded in overthrowing the government. Since Ea was never in any historical period a serious claimant to universal power, like Enlil, his “deposition” would be somewhat theoretical, and in any case the real Ea is quite obscured by the mask of Lugaldukuga which our author makes him wear. A theogonic figure by definition is deposed. It is not clear that the author of the *Toil of Babylon* had a real battle to fight, such as the author of *Enūma Eliš* fought with Enlil. Nor, for that matter, do we know that the story ended with Marduk taking over supreme power. The gods, including Anu and Enlil, are full of sympathy for Babylon, but this is redolent of the broadmindedness of the *Weidner Chronicle*, not of the sectarianism of *Enūma Eliš*. Yet, in presenting the picture of Babylon rising in esteem and privilege, the *Toil of Babylon* is closer to historical reality than both the works just named, since they put the founding of Esagil and Babylon with full prestige in the earliest times.

Two criteria are available for assessing the date of composition: content and linguistic evidence. The first of these is inconclusive, with so little of the text remaining. Any time between Hammurabi and the Second Dynasty of Isin would suit the content. The general style and metre of the work are quite similar to those of *Enūma Eliš*. The lines divide naturally into couplets and are in the common metre. The stylistics, however, do not narrow down the wide range adopted from the context. The orthography is the most striking thing. Writings such as *ú-ul*, *ne-me-qá-am*, and *iṭ-tú-ul-šu-m[a* are

8. E. Ebeling, *Handerhebung* 114 13 below. In the *Death of Gilgameš*, the underworld houses both the Anunna of Duku and the Nungalene of Duku: A. Cavigneaux, F. N. H. Al-Rawi, *Gilgameš et la Mort* (2000), p. 23 21–22.

9. *Malku* I 290 = Explicit *Malku* II 178 (*JAOS* 83 [1963] 429, 444); á = *idu* II: CT 11 29 i 31 = *STT* 395 rev. 18.

10. *ZA* 23 (1909) 374 84–85; *BRM* IV 7 37.

11. The passage in the Sumerian *U₈* and *Ezīnu*:

du₆-kù-ga um-ma-da-an-sig₇-eš-a

du₆-kù-ta ga-àm-ma-da-ra-ab-e₁₁-dè-en-dè-en

may well refer to the Apsû, and the translation: “Being well settled on the Holy Hill, Let us now send them down from the Holy Hill” (B. Alster and H. Vanstiphout, *ASJ* 9 [1987] 16 39–40), needs correction to “Having been created in Duku, Let us cause them to ascend.” Significantly, Ea speaks these words.

strongly reminiscent of Old Babylonian practice. Later writings such as *ú-qat-ta*, *tu-ḫal-laq*, *ú-ša-am-ma* (as well as *ú-ši-a-am*), and *ina-ṭal* are also found, and one Assyrianism, *ur-ki-šu* (v 12), but the orthographic situation is quite compatible with a theory of an Old Babylonian text partly modified in the direction of later scribal custom. A certain amount of textual corruption is also evident. Column ii 24–26 should be a couplet, but three lines are written, and not for shortage of space. It seems that if the lines were complete and intact, the couplet would duly emerge. Similarly, in v 11 it is very probable that *iqbi*, now at the beginning of 11, really belongs to the end of 10. Such disturbances in line division are very unusual. However, such corruptions prove nothing about the date of composition, and it is doubtful if orthography alone is conclusive evidence of Old Babylonian origin. We have no specimens of myths composed in, say, the late Cassite period with the original orthography preserved. There was a long tradition of archaizing in both grammar and orthography in the course of Babylonian history. Thus, Hammurabi must remain the *terminus a quo*, and in our judgment the Second Isin Dynasty should be accepted as the *terminus ante quem*.

The grammar contains the same kind of “hymno-epic” elements as *Enūma Eliš*—for example, *qá-ti-iš na-ak-ri-šú* (ii 18). A distinctive point of style is a penchant for the emphasising use of *-ma* (i 12; ii 6, 8, 12, 14, 28; v 7, 21). As in *Enūma Eliš*, there is a sprinkling of rare words and meanings, such as *šulmu* “rain” (ii 29) and *urāšu* “caused to flow” (v 18).

K 3657 + Rm 114+405

Column i

1	[^d a-nun-na-ki gim-rat-s]u-nu	ʿabiʿ k[a-la ilāni ^{meš} i-ze-r]u
2	[ù šá ^d marūtuk ina bi]-ti-šú	lib-ba-šú il-te-em-na
3	[ilānu ^{meš} gim-rat-su-nu]	a-bi ʿka-laʿ ilāni ^{meš} i-ze-ru
4	[ù šá ^d marūtuk ina b]i-ti-šú	lib-ba-šú ʿilʿ- ^{te-em-na}
5	[mār bābili ^k] ⁱ	ša-mi-id a-na il-ki-im
6	[ši-iḫ-ru ù r]a-bu-ú	ú-ba-al-lu dul-la
7	[ka-la mār bāb]ili ^{ki}	ša-mi-id a-na il-ki-im
8	[ši-iḫ-ru] ù ra-bu-ú	ú-ba-al-lu dul-la
9	[iš-me ri-i]m-ma-as-si-na	ka-la u ₄ -mi i-šu-uš
10	ʿaʿ-na ta-az-zi-im-ti-ši-na i-na ma-a-a-li	
11		ú-ul ú-qat-ta ši-it-ta
12	[i-n]a ug-ga-ti-šu-ma	ne-me-qá-am i-sa-ḫa-ab
13	[a-n]a šu-ba-al-ku-ut ḫa-le-e	ḫa-ni-šú iš-ku-un
14	[uš]-tan-ni ḫe-ma	ut-tak-ki-ra mi-lik-šu{-un}
15	[x (x)] x uš x x ra	a-lak-ta ip-tar-sa
16		. . . u]š-tál-ḫi-ta ḫa-ra-ak-k[i]
17		. . .]-ʿtiʿ ma-ak-k[u-ra]

* * * * *

Manuscripts

K 3657+Rm 114+405, K 8525 (parts of the same tablet);

K 7052

Copies of K 7052 and K 8525 on Pl. 50, photograph of K 3657+ on Pl. 51.

Literature (on K 3657 only)

Cuneiform text with edition

1877 W. St. Chad Boscawen, *TSBA* V 303–12

1902 L. W. King, *STC* (London) I 219–20, II pls. lxxiii–iv

Translations

1876 W. St. Chad Boscawen, *Records of the Past* (London) VII 129–32

1876 G. Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis* (London) 160–62

1876 F. Delitzsch (ed.), *George Smith's Chaldäische Genesis* (Leipzig) 120–24

1880 G. Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis* (London; revised by A. H. Sayce) 163–67

K 3657 + Rm 114+405

Column i

- 1 [All the Anunnaki] hated the father of [all the gods,]
- 2 [And Marduk, in] his [temple,] was despondent.
- 3 [All the gods] hated the father of all the gods,
- 4 [And Marduk, in] his [temple,] was despondent.
- 5 [The people of Babylon] were impressed into forced labour,
- 6 [Small and] great had to bear the toil.
- 7 [All the people of] Babylon were impressed into forced labour,
- 8 [Small] and great had to bear the toil.
- 9 [He heard] their groaning, was upset in the daytime,
- 10–11 Through their complaints he could not sleep soundly in bed.

- 12 Scattering discretion to the winds in his fury
- 13 He determined to overthrow the dynasty.
- 14 His outlook changed, his purpose was altered,
- 15 [. . .] , he blocked the way.
- 16 . . .] he brought shrines into ruins,
- 17 . . .] . . property.

* * * * *

K 3657+, Column ii (ll. 9–34)

K 8525, Column i (ll. 1–8, right portion)

K 7052 (ll. 2–12, left portion)

1		...]-ri
2		x x [.] x-su
3	ma-ta-am mi I [ . . .	... k]i-ir
4	iḫ-bu-uš-ma ^d e[n-	ir-ti-š]u pa-nu-šū
5	a-wa-at libbi ip-pu-š[a	...]-pu-uš
6	iš-tu-ma li-ib-b[a-šū	... i-ṭ]i-ib-bu
7	ú-ša-am-ma i-te-ru-u[b	a-na ma-ḫa-ar ^d lugal]-du ₆ -kù-ga
8	a-di-ma at-mu-ú-šú [ . . .	... i-sa-aq-qá-r]u-ú-šū
9	^d lugal-du ₆ -kù-ga ut-ta-az-za-am-m[a]	ul ú-šaq-qa-a [re-ši-šū]
10	ina ma-aḫ-ri-iš-šū ^d a-nun-na-k[i	...
11	a-na ^d en-šár a-bi-šū-nu	a-ma-[ta is-sa-aq-r]u
12	ki-i lib-bu-uš-šū-ma x [ . . .	... ] x
13	ša-na-a lem-ne-e-[tum	...]-it-ni
14	i-na u ₄ -me-šú-ma	it-[tar-da a-n]a aḫ-si-i-šū
15	iṭ-ṭú-ul-šū-m[a x x x (x)	ba]-nu-ú zi-mu-šū
16	^d dam-ki-na x [ . . .	... -b]a ² -a uš-mi-it
17	ma-ri a-lam(-) [ . . .	... ]-ú ka-lu-ú-ni
18	mi-in-su x [. . .]	qá-ti-iš na-ak-ri-šú
19	ú-ul ú-[x x]-la-tam	ú-ši-a-am ar-ḫi-iš
20	ú-da-aḫ-p[a-ar] er-pe-tum	ša-me-e ub-bi-ib
21	a-na ^d [adad] iq-ta-bi	ka-li bu-re-e-šú
22	x [x x x] ku	er-pe-tam ta-ša-aḫ-pí
23	[x x x tu]-sa-ad-da-ra	tu-ḫal-laq aš-na-an
24	[x (x)] x bi šu-uš-ša-na ^{ta-àm} ta-šak-kan	
25	[x (x)] x li lu-ú ši-pa-a-tum	
26	[lu-ú (x)] bu šu gi-ig-gu-ú lu-ú ša-am-nu	
27	[iš-ša]-a-mu ina libbi šu-sa ^{ta-àm} ku u ₈ du ḫa-ru-ba	
28	[šibtu k]e-e-nu a-na ištēn šiqlim	lu-ú šá-lal-ti i-na-di-im-ma
29	[šu-u]l-ma	ik-la i-na ša-ma-mi
30	[ip ² -ru ² -u]s ² an ku [i]r ² i-na na-aq-bi-šū	
31	[iš ² -ta ² -s]i ² -ma	i-li si-[b]it-ti
32	[x x (x)] x šu-uš-šá-a qu-ra-d[i x] x	
33	[x x (x)] x ir ša x x [. . .	
34	(traces)	

* * * * *

Column v

1–2 (traces)

3	...] x x [(x)] ta x [. . .
4	...] x x [x] x nir ud [. . .
5	... ^d a]-nu u ^d é-a x [. . .
6	x [. . .] x i-mu-x [. . .

Variants of K 7052: ii 10 [m]a-aḫ-ri-iš-šú ii 11 ^ra-bi²-šú-nu

Column ii

- 3 The land . . . [.] . .
 4 En[lil] (?) became exultant and his face [shone,
 5 Performing the thought of his heart [. . .] . .
 6 After [his] heart [. . .] had rejoiced,
 7 He went out and entered [the presence of] Lugaldukuga.
 8 While [he spoke] his address [.]
 9 Lugaldukuga was bitter, not raising [his head.]
 10 Into his presence the Anunnaki [. . .
 11 [They addressed] a word to Enšar, their father,
 12 In accordance with his will . [.] .
 13 The evil is different, our . [. . .]
 14 On that very day he went [down] to his Apsû,
 15 [. . .] saw him, his visage was bright.
 16 Damkina . [.] . . put to death
 17 My son, . . [.]
 18 Why . [. . .] in the hand of his enemy
 19 He did not [. .] . . but escaped swiftly
 20 Driving away the clouds, he cleansed the heavens,
 21 He commanded [Adad] to hold back his steeds.
 22 . . [. . .] . you will . . . the clouds,
 23 You will send persistent [. . .] and destroy the grain.
 24 [. .] . . you will establish at one third
 25 [. .] . . whether wool,
 26 [Whether .] whether oil.
 27 Thereby [will be] bought its sixth . . . carob;
 28 On one shekel as much as three will be given as the proper [interest]¹
 29 He held back the rain from the heavens,
 30 [He cut off] . . . from his abyss,
 31 [He summoned] the Seven Gods and
 32 [. . .] . the sixty warriors [. .] .

* * * * *

Column v

- 5 . . .] Anu and Ea x [. . .
 6 . [. . .] [. . .

7	<i>i-na qi[r]-b[i-š]u-ma</i>	<i>li-ta-x-[x(-x)]</i>
8	<i>ip-pu-ḥu-ma [ab]-ra</i>	<i>ú-kin-[nu x]</i>
9	<i>ana ša-a-ti šá da-ad-me</i>	<i>b[ú]l-la-a ú-šim-mu [šim-tam]</i>
10	<i>^dnunamnir il-li-ka</i>	<i>ana qí-bit ^da-[nim] iq-bi</i>
11	<i>kīma šamê^e ù eršetim^{tim}</i>	<i>ba-bi-lu lu-ú x [x (x)]</i>
12	<i>ur-ki-šú il-li-ku</i>	<i>ú-ru-uh-šú iṣ-ṣab-[tu]</i>
13	<i>ag-giš iṭ-ḥu-ú</i>	<i>a-na ma-ḥar be-el ma-a-t[i]</i>
14	<i>i-mur-šu-nu-ti-ma</i>	<i>qaq-qa-ra ina-tal</i>
15–16	<i>áš-šú si-iq-ra la iṣ-mu-ú</i>	<i>šá ilāni^{meš} ab-bé-e-šú</i>
17–18	<i>ilānu^{meš} ip-pal-si-ḥu-ma</i>	<i>ú-ra-ṣu di-ma-ta</i>
19	<i>ḥu-um-mu-ṭiš i-bak-ku-ú</i>	<i>ana ba-bi-li el-li</i>
20	<i>ištu ma-ʔ-diš</i>	<i>ib-ku-ú i-qú-lu₄</i>
21	<i>ag-giš</i>	<i>libbu-uš-šú-nu-ma i-ta-mu-ú</i>

* * * * *

- 7 Within it may . . [. .]
 8 They kindled a brushwood pile and set [.]
 9 For eternity they decreed extinguishing [as the destiny] of the peoples.
 10 Nunamnir went, at Anu's command he commanded,
 11 "Let Babylon be . [. .] like heaven and underworld."
 12 They went behind him, they took his road,
 13 In distress they drew near to the presence of the lord of the land.
 14 He saw them, but looked at the ground,
 15–16 Since he had not obeyed the command of the gods, his fathers.
 17–18 The gods prostrated themselves, letting tears flow,
 19 And weeping in much agitation for Babylon the pure.
 20 After they had wept and lamented much,
 21 In distress they said to themselves,

* * * * *

K 8525, Column ii

- 1 x [. . .
 2 ab x [. . .
 3 ik-lu- [. . .
 4 ša da x [. . .
 5 ta-ab x [. . .
 6 ú-na- [. . .
 7 da-li-x [. . .
 8 ^den-lí[l . . .

* * * * *

Uraš and Marduk

This is one the most perplexing mythological fragments in cuneiform. It is the bottom portion of a single-column Late Babylonian tablet from Ur, so the beginning and end of the text are missing. Only 13 lines are complete, and even with these there are many problems. Parts of the text are narrative, but second-person forms both singular and plural occur, and while the examples in obverse 21–22 have been explained tentatively as speech within narrative, the same cannot easily be assumed for all the other examples. Reverse 24 could be interpreted as evidence that this is a hymn containing mythological material and a petition for a blessing on the king. By transferring the first two words of obverse 14 to the end of 13, the six lines 13–18 are revealed as three perfect poetic couplets. Elsewhere, one can only wonder if similar rearrangement and emendation would resolve some of the difficulties. When so much is damaged it is unwise to force radical changes on the text.

The first preserved lines (obv. 1–7) seem to present Marduk as creating plant life. Uraš, who first appears in line 8, is god of Dilbat, and his attribute is the cultivation of fields, as is already made clear in the Prologue to the Laws of Hammurabi, iii 16–23. Thus, we take his name in line 8 as the object of the verb, and thereby Marduk is gratifying Uraš by the creation of plants and their terrain. In the following line, it is not clear if the plants are created from “the blood of a foe” or if man, as elsewhere, is being created in this way. Lines 10–13 are still more obscure, but 15–18 tell how Marduk exalted Uraš’s destiny before Enlil (Dagan) and Ningirsu. This closely parallels Marduk’s exaltation by the gods of Ešumeša and Enlil in *Damkina’s Bond*, since Ningirsu is another name of Ninurta, god of Ešumeša. The parallel is not ended with this, for just as in *Damkina’s Bond*, the exaltation is coupled with responsibility for defeating the exalting gods’ enemies, so here obv. 19–20 seem to imply something of the same kind. The remainder of the text gives the impression of being a name-giving, like the Fifty Names in *Enūma Eliš* VI and VII. This is, then, very much like a forerunner of that Epic, but, again like *Damkina’s Bond*, there is no suggestion that the exaltation was to supremacy over all the gods.

Apart from the general obscurity, Uraš raises most questions in this piece. The god of Dilbat was so unimportant in the pantheon that his exalting Marduk is remarkable. There is an Uraš of cosmogonic fame, namely the goddess Uraš “Earth,” who is often met as the spouse of An “Heaven” (see pp. 407–408). Uraš was also taken over in the Theogony of Anu as a male deity and was supplied with a female counterpart, Nin-uraš. Since a god of crops could obviously be Earth, there is no difficulty in granting that the certainly male deity of Dilbat is another form of the cosmogonic Uraš. Thus, “primaeval” in obv. 17 is explained, but the immediately following “his (Marduk’s) father” might be taken as conflicting with Marduk’s title “son of the Apsû” in the previous line. If “father” can mean “progenitor” here, then we must construct a genealogy: Uraš, Ea, Marduk, with the

possibility of missing generations. While this text does not supply further light on this cosmogony, it can be followed up by considering the relationship of Uraš of Dilbat to Ninurta of Nippur and his other form, Ningirsu of Lagaš. Ninurta is Uraš with the prefixed Nin- and some phonetic change. While Ninurta and Ningirsu are generally presented as warrior-gods and sons of Enlil, there is a big problem which cannot be gone into here in detail. In second-millennium texts, Ningirsu is often a god of agriculture, just like Uraš, but in the extensive inscriptions of Gudea of Lagaš there is no hint of land-husbandry in connection with Ningirsu. Further, in the Gula Hymn of Bulluša-rabi, Ningirsu is called “son of Anu” (Or. NS 36 [1967] 118 33–34). Uraš also had connections with Anu, since the name of his temple was é-ibbi/imbi-^danum: “the temple: Anu-named-(it).” This strongly suggests that as a variant to the concept of An and Uraš as husband and wife, there was a version in Dilbat of them as father and son. The theogonies certainly allow such an idea to be seriously entertained.

UET VI 398

Obverse

- 1 ^da[m[?]-
- 2 ^dmarūtuk [. . .
- 3 qar-ra-du [. . .
- 4 ^dmarūtuk šùm-ka [. . .
- 5 lē[?]i(á-gál) aḥḥē^{me}-šu ina¹ x [. . .
- 6 ^dmarūtuk lē[?]i(á-gál) ^di-gì-gì [. . .
- 7 ú¹-še¹-la šēra ú-še-ša-a [. . .
- 8 ^duraš i-ta-naḫ-pal da-p[ⁱ-na . . .
- 9 bi-nu-ut da-am ge-ri x [. . .
- 10 ur-qé-ti ^dnin-gír-su šá eršetim^{tim} iš-x [. .]
- 11 ^di-gì-gì be-lut-ka it-ta-na-áš-pa-ku [(. .)]
- 12 ^duraš <šá> ik-ka-ru-ti-šu ú-šēr-reb ana qir-bi-š[u]
- 13 nu-ú-nu ru-ú-qu-tu is-sa-ḥu-ru ¹⁴ ana ^dmarūtuk
ni-šir-ti apsî na-šu-ú ana ^den-líl
- 15 ikkar(engar) qar-ba-a-ti šit-mu-ru ^duraš
- 16 ^dmarūtuk mār apsî i-ḥaš-šír kar-šu-uš-šú
- 17 ^duraš ráb za-a-a-ri reš-tu-ú abū-šú
- 18 ú-šar-bi ši-mat-su ina maḥar ^dda-gan ^dnin-gír-su
- 19 ^dmarūtuk ib-tar-ri ina é-kur za-ma-na rag-gu
- 20 re-ḥu-ut kaš-šap-ti ina di-ni-šú-nu ina a-mat ^den-<líl>
- 21 ^ri-dal-la-la¹ nar-bi-ku-nu te-né-še-e-ti
- 22 . . . -k]u-nu ba-šu-ú eli da-ád-me
- 23 . . . nip]puri^{ki} a-pil ^den-líl
- 24 . . . šü]m-ka ^den-líl-bân-da
- 25 . . . d]a ina kiš^{ki} ^dza-^rba₄-ba₄¹
- 26 (traces)

Equally fascinating is the information that Uraš was the head of a group of rebels (obv. 17), but again the theogonies offer parallels. If the “wicked enemy” in obv. 19 is Uraš, then the curious situation is created that no sooner has Uraš exalted Marduk before Enlil and Ningirsu that Marduk looks him over, apparently with the idea of disposing of him.

While the tablet is Late Babylonian, the text could well be Old Babylonian or Cassite-period, and quite probably it was composed in the town of Dilbat. The text given is based on the original, and so differs a little from the published copy, readings so obtained marked with exclamation marks. Note that line 26 on the obverse is immediately followed by the reverse.

UET VI/2 no. 398 C. J. Gadd and S. N. Kramer, *Ur Excavations Texts: Literary and Religious Texts*, Vol. 2 (London, 1966)

UET VI 398

Obverse

- 2 Marduk [. . .
- 3 Warrior [. . .
- 4 Marduk, your name [. . .
- 5 Strongest of his brothers in . [. . .
- 6 Marduk, strongest of the Igigi [. . .
- 7 He made the country appear, brought forth [plants],
- 8 He continually satisfies Uraš, the mighty [. . .
- 9 Formed of the blood of the foe . [. . .
- 10 The plant-life of Ningirsu, who . . [. .] the earth.
- 11 The Igigi your lordship, [(. .)] are heaped up,
- 12 Uraš brings into it <the produce> of his farming.
- 13 The distant fishes kept turning to Marduk,
- 14 Bearing the treasure of the Apsû for Enlil.
- 15 The farmer of the meadows, the fierce Uraš,
- 16 Considered Marduk, son of the Apsû, in his mind,
- 17 Uraš, head of the foes, the primaeval, his father,
- 18 Exalted his (Marduk's) destiny in front of Dagan and Ninurta.
- 19 Marduk surveyed in Ekur the wicked enemy,
- 20 Offspring of a sorceress, at their judgement, at the command of Enlil
- 21 (Saying), “Mankind will revere your (pl.) greatness,
- 22 . . .] your [. .] is upon the world.”
- 23 . . . of] Nippur, heir of Enlil
- 24 . . .] your [name] Enlilbanda
- 25 . . .] . in Kiš Zababa
- 26 (traces)

Reverse

- 1 [^dnin-gí]r-su ina qí-rib lál-g[ar . . .
- 2 ^den-bi-lu-lu ina māt a-ri-ri šùm-ka [. . .]
- 3 ina a-mat ^dnu-dím-mud iš-muḫ [. .]
- 4 ^dasal-lú-ḫi ina šu-me-ri-i nim-bi šùm-ka

- 5 ina nap-ḫar ^dpa₄-nigìn-gar-ra iš-kun ⁶ šarra
- 6 ^dtu-tu ina ilāni^{mes} bēl ḫegalli
- 7 ikkaru(engar) maš-qa-a ba-ni [. . . .] bēl a-la-la
- 8 tu-šá-pi¹ šir-x [.] x-ú ur-šá-nu-ut-ka
- 9 ikkar(engar) i-sin-ni [.] ḫu ud
- 10 šá qar-ra-du [.]-za¹-mu eš-ret
- 11 kíp-pat qu-x [.]-KU¹-ti
- 12 ana bu-kúr šá x [.]-zu
- 13 ^duraš x [.]-ti
- 14 ina bābili(tin-tir)^{ki} [.] x
- 15 im-bi š[u¹]-ši
- 16 iš-ruk-k[a] x be ki
- 17 šá ina é-s[ag-íl¹ . . .
- 18 ana ^dmarūtuk [. . .
- 19 é-i-bí-[an-na¹ . . .
- 20 ši-i-ri x [. . .
- 21 šá-líl¹ ti-a[mat¹ . . .
- 22 ^{id}a-ra-[aḫ-tum . . .
- 23 iš-tu te-[. . .
- 24 ana šarri me-ge-[er . . .
- 25 [z]ik-ruk-k[a . . .
- 26 x [. . .

Textual notes on p. 496.

Reverse

- 1 [Ningi]rsu in the Apsû [. . .
- 2 Enbilulu in a dry land [. . .] your name,
- 3 At the command of Nudimmud [. .] became luxuriant,
- 4 We called your name Asalluḫi in Sumerian.
(or, Let us call your name Asalluḫi in Sumer.)
- 5 Everywhere Panigingarra appointed (him) as king,
- 6 Tutu among the gods, lord of abundance,
- 7 Farmer, the drinking place, creator of [. . . .] lord of the work-song.
- 8 You made manifest . . [.] . . your heroism.
- 9 Farmer of the festival [. . .
- 10 Of the warrior [. . .
- 11 The circle . . [. . .
- 12 To the son of . [. . .
- 13 Uraš . [. . .
- 14 In Babylon [. . .
- 15 He called . [. . .
- 16 He gave you [. . .
- 17 Who in Esagil (?) [. . .
- 18 To Marduk [. . .
- 19 Eibianna (?) [. . .
- 20 Flesh/Oracle . [. . .
- 21 Plunderer of Tīamat (?) [. . .
- 22 The Araḫtu canal [. . .
- 23 After . [. . .
- 24 To the king, the favourite of [. . .
- 25 At your name/command { . . .

The Murder of Anšar?

This text is known from four joined pieces and one duplicating fragment of another copy. The pieces are very late, probably dating from the Seleucid or Parthian periods, and to judge from the collections to which they belong, they are from Babylon. The four joined pieces preserve the right-hand portion of a tablet, with remains of two columns on each side, which are here designated A–D. The complete tablet may have had either two or three columns each side.

The major difficulty to understanding this text is caused by the scantiness of the remains. Only one line is completely preserved, and few others can be restored with assurance. The signs are often written clumsily, so that identification of traces is particularly difficult. The interpretation of the words is bedevilled by a certain amount of scribal corruption, such as is not uncommon in copies of the latest periods. In Column A 19–20 (“his travel rations” and “my drinking-horn”), one of the possessive suffixes is presumably wrong. In the following two lines, the verbs *tušašbitniya* and *taškuniya* are peculiar forms (see the note). Tense and persons are confused in the four verbs that occur twice, in A 19–22 and B 2–5. If B 10 is correctly read (see the note), a Late Babylonian verbal form occurs.

The text is an otherwise unknown epic. The characters in the surviving parts are two pairs, Enki and Ninamakalla, and Anšar and Anu. The relationship of the latter is specified as father and son, as in *Enūma Eliš*. The former are called brother and sister. Of the two Enkis, the primaeval Enki and Enki(g), god of Eridu, the latter is no doubt intended, since no sister of the former is known—only a wife, Ninki. The name Ninamakalla/Gašanamakalla occurs in the Assyrian god-list from Sultantepe,

BM 33483+33765+33775+33835 = Rm IV 37+323+333+395

Obverse, Column A

- | | | |
|-----|----------|--|
| 1–4 | (traces) | |
| 5 | | ... -h]u-ú |
| 6 | | ...] x-i-ib |
| 7 | | ...]-tum i-ru-ub |
| 8 | | ... -ti-i]q re-bi-tú |
| 9 | | ...] ú-rab-ba-an-ni |
| 10 | | ...] gi-mil-la-ia ana tur-ru |
| 11 | | ...] x-ma tap-pu-tú al-ku |
| 12 | | ... -b]u ka kám ^d nin-ama-kal-la |
| 13 | | ...] ŠE bu ka kám iš-šu-ú aḫi-ia ^d en-ki |
| 14 | | ...] UD ri-gim-šú ul-te-šeš ḫa-liq-tim |

where she is given in a section with Tašmētum and Nanai (STT 376 vi 1–3 = 382 iv 9–12). Since these two goddesses were commonly identified in the first millennium (see p. 252), presumably Ninamakalla is also meant as another name of the deity. Enki was usually considered son of Anu, and Nanai is a daughter of Anu according to an Old Babylonian hymn (ZA 44 [1938] 32 17–18). Thus, the information in the Sultantepe list can be accepted. Nanai was a double of Ištar with the same sexuality and warlike character.

Little of the plot can be followed. In Column A, Enki seems to reply to Ninamakalla through a messenger, complaining that bread and beer for a journey had not been supplied. In B, the message is apparently being delivered (1–5), and Ninamakalla apparently responds to it by giving an order. The instructed party “proceeds” to where Anšar, but not Anu, was present. The time was the midnight watch, and the previously mentioned bread and beer were then consumed but by whom is not clear. After some talk, the murder took place. Column C repeated some lines about the killing, probably in a report of the events described in B. No sense can be got from D. The murdered party is most likely Anšar. His being alone prepares the ground for his being disposed of. Also, as a member of a primaeval generation of the gods, he was disposable, unlike Enki, who was still being worshipped when the story was written down. No doubt Enki and Ninamakalla were responsible. If these interpretations are well founded, a succession myth is involved in which the younger generation of gods kills off the older. It should, then, be compared with the *Theogony of Dunnu* and the Hittite Kumarbi myth.

The original date of composition can only be conjectured. Despite the late date of the surviving copies, it could be an Old Babylonian composition. Enki as the name of Ea went out of use in Akkadian texts with the First Dynasty of Babylon. Also, what is known of developments in mythological thinking after the First Dynasty of Babylon does not suggest that a killing of Anšar by Ea would have evoked any response in that period. Too little is preserved for stylistic considerations to be taken into account. If the text is metrical, it is not the usual metre of *Enūma Eliš* and other texts. The translation does not attempt to give all the possibilities of some of the words. For example, many verbs rendered “he . . .” could also be “she . . .”.

Photographs: Pls. 52–53

Obverse, Column A

- | | |
|----|---|
| 7 | . . .] . entered; |
| 8 | . . . crossed] the square; |
| 9 | . . .] reared me; |
| 10 | . . .] to requite me; |
| 11 | . . .] . . . goes to the help; |
| 12 | . . .] . . . Ninamakalla; |
| 13 | . . .] . . . they lifted my brother Enki; |
| 14 | . . .] . his shout he . . the fleeing (goddess); |

- 15 [ù at-t]a ki-a-am ta-qab-bi-ši
 16 [ana ^dnin-am]a-kal-la šar-rat rabītu^u ti-iž-kàr-šú
 17 [aḥa-k]i ^den-ki iš-ṣur-an-ni
 18 [x x -]ta-šú maḥar-ka ub-lu
 19 [x x (x)]-ú it-tu-um ul tu-ub-li-i akla ana ši-di-ti-šú
 20 [ši-ka-r]u ul taš-ṣu-uk ana qar-ni-ia
 21 [ḥar-ra-na] ul tu-šá-aš-bi-it-ni-ia
 22 [kib-sa] ul taš-ku-ni-ia ana še-e-ṣe-ia
 23 . . .] x an-ni-tum ina še-me-e-šú
 24 . . .] x šú-nu i-nam-din-ka ka-^ra^r-[šú]
 25 . . .] x ak-lu ana ši-di-ti-š[ú]/k[i]
 26 . . . ši³-k]a¹-ru iš-tap-ka ana qar-ni-š[ú]/k[i]

* * * * *

Obverse, Column B

- 1 . . . -ta-šú maḥar-ka] ub-l[u]
 2 . . . -ú it]-^rtu-um¹ ul tu-ub-li-i akla [ana ši-di-ti-ia]
 3 [ši-ka-ru u]l taš-ṣu-ki ana qar-ni-ia
 4 [ḥar-ra-na ul tuš]-ta-ša-bit-an-ni-i
 5 [kib-sa ul] taš-ku-ni-ia ana še-ṣe-ia
 6 [^dnin-ama]-kal-la an-ni-tum ina še-e-me-ša
 7 . . . it-t]a-šiq a-ḥa-šá ^den-ki
 8 . . . t]al-li-ku ki-a-am at-ta
 9 . . .] UD ana šir aḥi-ia ^den-ki
 10 [x x -a]m-ma ṭe-e-mu-uk ad-dak
 11 [x x] x an-šár u mār-šú ^da-num
 12 i-^rru-ub/um-ma¹ ap-ṣu-ni i-ba-²-ú
 13 an-šár a-šib ul a-šib mār-šu ^da-num
 14 qab-li-tú [i-ru-ub/um-ma ap-ṣ]u-^rni i-ba-²-[ú]
 15 im-ḥur du-u[n-qa . . .
 16 i-kul ak-la[m . . .
 17 i-šat-ti ši-[ka-ra . . .
 18 ina šilli at-ḥe-[e ilāni^{meš} . . .
 19 šá an-šár ina ṣu-u[ž-rat . . .
 20 at-ta e tad-din x [. . .
 21 eli kak-ku-šu ana x [. . .
 22 e-ti-iq-ma i-ši [. . .
 23 ku-nu-šú x [. . .
 24 ina ^{giš}kakki la ga-ma-a[l . . .
 25 ina šilli at-ḥe-e ilāni^{meš} . . .
 26 iš-šú kak-ku-šú eli x [. . .
 27 ši-ip-ka-am i-[. . .
 28 iš-ši-i ^{giš}kakka-šu-ma [. . .
 29 iš-ši-i ^{giš}kakka l[a ga-ma-al . . .
 30 ik-ki-is-ma x [. . .
 31 da-mu-šú ub-[. . .
 32 ^den-^rki¹ x [. . .
 33–34 (traces)

(Gap of about thirteen lines)

- 15 [And you] will address her as follows,
 16 Speak [to] Ninamakalla, the great queen,
 17 ‘[Your brother] Enki has sent me,
 18 I have brought his . [. .] before you,
 19 “[. . .] . the sign, you have not brought bread for his travel rations,
 20 You have not filled my drinking-horn with [beer],
 21 You have not set me [on the way],
 22 You have not put [a path] before my feet.”
 23 When [. . .] . hears this
 24 She will give to you their [. . .] .
 25 [He/She brought] bread for his/your travel rations,
 26 [And] filled his/your drinking-horn with beer (?)

* * * * *

Obverse, Column B

- 1 I have brought [his before you],
 2 “[. . .] sign, you have not brought bread [for my travel rations],
 3 You have not filled my drinking-horn [with beer],
 4 [You have not] set me [on the way],
 5 You have [not] set [a path] before my feet.”
 6 When Ninamakalla heard this
 7 . . . she] kissed her brother Enki,
 8 “. . .] have thus come, you have,
 9 . . .] . to my brother Enki,
 10 . . .] . . I have given you your instructions.
 11 . . .] . Anšar and his son Anu.”
 12 He entered, thereupon he proceeded.
 13 Anšar was present, his son Anu was not present.
 14 In the middle watch of the night [he entered, there]upon he proceeded
 15 He accepted the favour(?) [. . .
 16 He ate the bread [. . .
 17 Drinking the beer [. . .
 18 From the protection of [the gods] his brothers [. . .
 19 Of Anšar in secrecy [. . .
 20 “You must not give . [. . .
 21 Upon his weapon . . [. . .
 22 Cross over and take up [. . .
 23 For you (pl.) . [. . .
 24 With the merciless weapon [. . .
 25 From the protection of the gods his brothers [. . . ”
 26 He took up his weapon, against . [. . .
 27 A pouring . [. . .
 28 He took up his weapon [. . .
 29 He took up the merciless weapon [. . .
 30 He cut . . [. . .
 31 His blood . [. . .
 32 Enki . [. . .

Reverse, Column C restored from right-hand column of BM 32791 = S+ 76–11–17, 2563 (Pl. 53)

1	x [. . .	
2	iš-tu x [. . .	After [. . .
3	iš-ši-i [g ^{iš} kakka . . .	He took up [his weapon . . .
4	ik-ki-is x [. . .	He cut . [. . .
5	da-mi-šú u[b- . . .	His blood . [. . .
6	a-ge-e x [. . .	The crown . [. . .
7	rit-tú x x [. . .	The hand . . [. . .
8	x [. . .	

The left-hand column of BM 32791 is probably to be inserted at this point, but only traces of five lines remain, and *ur-rad* “goes down” in line 3 is the only complete word.

Reverse, Column D

(One line missing to top of column)

1	. . .] x x x (x)	
2	. . .] x pa-a-tú ^d me-me	. . .] Gula
3	. . .] x-ú ina nāri	. . .] . . in the river
4	. . .] ^r dé-a šarri	. . .] Ea the king
5	. . .] x šit-tú	. . .] . sleep
6	. . .] ma-ti-šú	. . .] of his land
7	. . .] x-a še-ru-šú	. . .] . . against him
8	. . .] x ur-ra-du	. . .] . going down
9	. . .] ^d en-líl 7-ma	. . .] Enlil seven
10	. . .] x-ma	. . .] . .
11	. . .] ú ³ -šur ² -tú	. . .] design(?)
12	. . . R]I	

Textual notes on pp. 496–497.

Damkina's Bond

This text, published here for the first time,* is known from two copies: a Late Assyrian tablet in the Oriental Institute, Chicago, and a Neo/Late Babylonian copy in the British Museum. They were drawn to my attention and have been copied by R. D. Biggs and C. B. F. Walker, respectively. The former is a small tablet written continuously over obverse, bottom edge, and reverse, with a short literary text of 34 lines. The latter is also a small tablet with the same text, but of 35 lines and not written over the bottom edge. Both have short, different, and uninformative colophons. The Assyrian tablet lacks all of the right-hand edge, with as much as half of some of the lines lost. The Babylonian tablet has lost most of the obverse, but the greater part of the reverse remains. Thus, the earlier part of the text is poorly preserved but the last ten lines are complete.

The composition is a myth, apparently complete. The last two lines are similar to the ending of *Enūma Eliš* (VII 157–62), and though the first few lines are too damaged for certainty, they could well be the beginning of the text. The difficulties of comprehension are exacerbated by ancient scribal errors. The Assyrian text has badly written signs, and the same penultimate word occurs in both lines 30 and 31, so the Assyrian scribe's eye slipped so that he omitted the whole of 31 save for the last word, put as the end of 30. Also, he wrote ZA for ŠÁ in 25 and *ilāni arkāti* for *ilāni arkātu* in 34. The Babylonian scribe was certainly better but not perfect. He omitted KI in 17 and probably a MA in 27.

The myth deals with hostilities between the pantheons of Nippur and Babylon, with Enlil in charge at Nippur and Marduk at Babylon. The author sided with Babylon. Curiously, the temple of Nippur named five times in the surviving text is Ešumeša, the temple of Ninurta, Enlil's son (who does not appear in the text that remains)—not Ekur, Enlil's temple. Was this perhaps a deliberate insult? Ešumeša, though well attested (see A. R. George, *House Most High* [Winona Lake, 1993] p. 147), was not specially important, while Ekur, Enlil's, was such, with cosmic attributes. Marduk's temple, Esagil, is named once only in the surviving text, in line 13, as the place where Nabû was scribe. The dichotomy in the pantheon is expressed in the possibly unique personal suffixes appended to "Anunnaki" (the major gods of the pantheon as used here): "their Anunnaki" and "your (pl.) Anunnaki."

The story begins with some kind of disaster apparently affecting Nippur (1–5), at which Enlil orders action against "their Anunnaki" (6–7). In response, Marduk orders military officers of his to take action against "their Anunnaki" and to spread a threatening message (8–14). At this, the Nippurian pantheon fled in panic (15–16). Now Damkina (Damki?anna is an alternative post-Old Babylonian

* In the interval between writing and publication, the text was edited by T. Oshima, "Damkina shall not bring back her burden in the future! A New Mythological Text of Marduk, Enlil and Damkianna," in W. Horowitz, U. Gabbay, and F. Yukosavović (eds.), *A Woman of Valor: Jerusalem Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Joan Goodnick Westenholz* (Madrid, 2010), 145–62. [Ed.]

form of the name) becomes involved. She was Ea's mother, and so Marduk's grandmother, also known as Damgalnunna. Mostly, she only appears as wife of Enki/Ea. She has something called *illetu/elletu*, which can be "released" (*p̄tr*). The known words *e/illetu*, *illatu* are impossible here, but a suggestion can be made. There is a word *e/i'iltu* "bond," often used with the verb *p̄tr*, and by normal contraction, a form *ê/iltu* is theoretically possible, and a poetic form of this would be *ê/iletu*, like *napšatu* for normal *napištu*. Then, by normal first-millennium orthography, this could become *e/illetu*. CDA sub voce *e'iltu* enters: "(pl. also *ellētu*)," but this could be derived from a glance at the present text. In real life, *e'iltu* was a written document recording an obligation, the terms of which were absolved when the obligation was fulfilled. A physical object is certainly implied in our myth, since lines 34–35 ask that it be shown to later generations, both divine and human. As preserved, our text does not reveal the content of this divine "bond," but the Tablet of Destinies in *Enūma Eliš* and elsewhere was thought of as a real cuneiform tablet of vital importance. Here the "releasing" of this "bond" was a momentous act in the struggle between Nippur and Babylon.

The military operations are equally obscure. Line 25 states that they were already over, with Nippur defeated. In 26–28, Enlil asks why Babylon was taking such action as if the Nippurians were criminal, to which Marduk replies that the Nippurians must make up their minds and come to a decision—but to do what is not stated (29–32)! Then, the text ends with an intervention by Damkina, asking that the impact of her bond be celebrated by its being displayed to later generations.

A 7882: 1–37, BM 27776 (98-7-11, 41): 15–36

- 1 . . .] x x a-na nippuri^{ki} nūr(zálag) ma-[ta-ti]
 2 . . .] x ru-qu pa-ni-šu
 3 . . .] x ra-ḫi-iš^den-líl
 4 . . . bu-u]l še-ri-i [i]m-da-lu-u
 5 . . .]-tu tub-^rqa¹-ti é-šu-me-ša₄
 6 [d^{enlil} p̄a-šu ṭpuš-ma] iqabbi(dug₄-ga) ana ilāni^{mes} d^aa-nun-na-ki amāta(inim) izakkara(mu)^{[tr]a}
 7 . . .] dal-ḫa-ma e-nin-na ta-ša-ba-at d^aa-nun-na-ki-šu-nu
 8 [šār ilāni^{mes dm}] arūtuk p̄a-šu ṭpuš(dù)-ma e-qab-bi a-[n]a ka-ši-di
 9 [a-na d^{muš}-te]-šir-ḫab-lim a-ma-ta i-zak-kar
 10 [. . . a-lik] maḫ-ri-ia qar-rad ilāni^{mes} at-ta-ma
 11 . . .] x-nu-te-ma a-na d^aa-nun-na-ki-šu²-nu su-nis-su-nu-te
 12 [a-na] dⁿⁱ-ir-e-tag-mil a-lik arkī-šú a-ma-ta iz-zak-kar
 13 [(x) a]-na d^{nabû}(nà) tup-šar é-sag-íl šu-kun tuk-ka
 14 [dan-nat] ^ra¹-ma-ta d^{nabû}(nà) ša iš-mu-ú ilāni^{mes} é-šu¹-me-šá
 15 [ki-ma ḫ]a-an-zi-za-a-t[i] a-pa-a-ti it-ta-šu-ú
 16 [. . . i]-pa-ar-ru-ú-ma dⁿⁱ-ir-e-tag-mil il-su-mu
 17 . . .] x iš-šá-kin a-na d^{dam}-ki-an-na
 18 B: . . .] i-na ekallī-šá-a-ma
 A: . . .] x a-na é-šu-me-[šá]

15 B: -t]ú i[t-t]a-[16 A:]-pa-ar-r[i-x-m]a B: i-la-^ras²-su²-mu²? 17 A: i]š-šá-kín B: d^{dam}-an-na

This text is so unlike what is generally known of the Babylonian world, with Damkina playing a major role, that one wonders where it was composed. Takil-ilišu records that Ea and Damkina appointed him king of Malgišum, and another king of that town, Ipiq-Ištar, calls himself “appointee” (*šiknu*) of Ea and Damkina (RIME 4 pp. 669, 671), both suggesting that the deities named were the patron gods of that town. Perhaps this text originated there. It is not normal for spouses to be included in such statements. Kings of Babylon acknowledge their dependence on Marduk, not on Marduk and Zarpānītum. The date of composition even in very general terms is a very difficult problem. Marduk is explicitly king of the gods, which suggests the late Cassite period or Second Isin Dynasty, but Nabû is scribe of Esagil, not Marduk's son in Ezida in Borsippa, as commonly by the middle of the first millennium. That rank is attested in Old Babylonian seal inscriptions: ^d*na-bi-um* dub-sar sag-īl (OIP 22 238; J. Menant, *Collection de Clercq* [Paris, 1888] 224; E. Porada, *The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library* [New York, 1948] 442). In Old Babylonian times, Ezida was a subsidiary temple of Marduk, and Nabû's residence as head there is first recorded in a royal inscription of Adad-apla-iddina, of the Second Isin Dynasty (RIMB II p. 55 4). This excludes a later date for the myth under consideration. Thus, a late Cassite-period origin of the text is the most probable.

Some lines are in the common metre (12, 13, 21, 30, 35), but many are not.

Copies: Pls. 54 (A 7882) and 55 (BM 27776)

- 1 . . .] . to Nippur, the light of the [lands],
- 2 . . .] . his face became pale.
- 3 . . .] Enlil was devastated,
- 4 . . .] they filled with wild animals,
- 5 . . .] . the innermost parts of Ešumeša.
- 6 [Enlil opened his mouth to speak], addressing the Anunnaki gods,
- 7 “ . . .] are disturbed, now you must seize their Anunnaki.”
- 8 [The king of the gods], Marduk, opened his mouth to speak to the conquerors,
- 9 Addressing a word to Muštēšir-ḫablim,
- 10 “You are [. . .] my van[guard], the warrior of the gods,
- 11 . . .] . . . drive it in to their Anunnaki.”
- 12 Nīr-ē-tagmil, his rearguard, he addressed,
- 13 “Make a cry on behalf of Nabû, the scribe of Esagil.”
- 14 [Terrible (?)] were the words of Nabû which the gods of Ešumeša heard,
- 15 [Like] fruit flies they went out through the windows,
- 16 [. . .] they vomitted and ran from Nīr-ē-tagmil.
- 17 . . .] . was set for Damkina,
- 18 . . .] in her palace [. . .] . to Ešumeša.

- 19 B: . . .] x a-di a-a-i ú-še-šu-ka-a-ma bāb é-šu-me-ša₄
 A: . . . šarru] dam-qu e-ki-am ú-ti[r²-ra²]
 20 . . . a]r-ra-ta il-ta-si
 21 ud-du-ur lib-ba-šú ú-paṭ-ṭa-ra il-let-sa
 22 . . .] x ti-ik-ka-šá i-na-as-su-uk
 23 [x (x)] x šār ilāni^{meš} ^dmarūtuk i-na bāb ekallī-šá iz-za-az-m[a]
 24 [ana] ^ddam-ki-an-na šá tu-paṭ-ṭi-ru il-let-sa
 25 x x šu ilāni^{meš} šá é-šu-me-ša₄ ^dmār-bīti šá apsī iš-te-ni-iš ik-ta-šad-su-n[u-ti]
 26 ^den-líl ina bi-ri-šu-nu a-na ^dmār-bīti šá apsī a-ma-ta iz-kur
 27 ^dmār-bīti šá apsī at-ta-ma šarru dam-qu at-ta-ma
 28 am-me-ni ka-šad lem-nu-ú-ti ta-kaš-šad-an-na-ši
 29 šār ilāni^{meš} ^dmarūtuk pa-a-šu ṭpuš(dù)-ma iqabbi(dug₄-ga) a-na ^den-líl a-ma-ta i-zak-[kar]
 30 al-ka-a-ma i-na ^da-nun-na-ki-ku-nu a-ḥa-meš ti-iš-šá-la
 31 ki-i pi-i iš-te-ni-iš ṭè-en-gu-nu a-na a-ḥa-meš tir-ra
 32 um-ma mi-na-a ni-ṭu-uš-ma ^dmār-bīti šá apsī ka-šad lem-nu-ú-ti i-kaš-šad-an-na-a-ši
 33 i-na u₄-mi-šu-ma a-na ^ddam-ki-an-na iq-ta-bu-niš-ši
 34 lu-ú kul-lum a-na ilāni^{meš} ar-ku-ú-ti el-let-ki šá tap-ṭu-ru la tu-tar-ri
 35 ù niši^{meš} šá la i-da-a li-mu-ra ar-ka-tú

Colophons:

- 36 A: [zu]^{rú} zu^a li-kal-lim¹ nu zu^ú igi níg-^rgig¹ dingir x[. . .
 36–37 B: . . .] sar bà-[r]im, . . .] x x šim x

- 20 B: -r]a-tú 21 A: li]b-b[a-š]u, ^rel-let-sa¹ 22 A: i-na-sa-su 23 A: ina, iz-za-az-mu 24 A: ^ddam-ki-na,
 tu-paṭ-ṭa-[r]a el-let-s[a] 25 A: é-šu-me-ZA, diš^{niš} 27 A: ša, at-ta šarru 28 A: lem-nu-ti, K –na-a-ši
 29 A: ana ^didim inim mu^{[r]a} 30 A: a-ḥa-meš tir-ra 31 A: om. 32 A: ni-ṭu-uš a-na, lem-nu-ti ta-kaš-ša-dan-na-a-
 ši 33 A: an-na-a iq-bu-niš-ši 34 A: ar-ka-ti, tap²-^rtu¹-x [(x) t]u-tar-ri 35 A: š]a

Textual notes on p. 497.

- 19 Up to which one did they take you out of the gate of Ešumeša?
[. . .] gracious [king], where did he turn it?
20 . . .] he/she shouted a curse.
21 With gloomy heart he released her bond,
22 . . .] . laid it on her neck.
23 [. .] . king of the gods, Marduk, stood in the gate of her palace,
24 “[For] Damkina, whose bond you have released,
25 . . . the gods of Ešumeša: Mār-bīti of the Apsû conquered them all together.”
26 In their midst Enlil addressed Mār-bīti of the Apsû,
27 “You are Mār-bīti of the Apsû, you are a gracious king.
28 Why do you conquer us as if we were evil?”
29 The king of the gods, Marduk, opened his mouth to speak, addressing Enlil,
30 “Come, consult with one another among your Anunnaki,
31 With one accord come to a common decision,
32 Since you said, “What have we done that Mār-bīti of the Apsû plans to defeat us as evil?””
33 Thereupon they spoke to Damkina,
34 “Let your bond, which you released and could not do up again, be shown to later gods,
35 And let later people, who would not know, see it.”
-

The Defeat of Enutila, Enmešarra, and Qingu

An extract of 18 incomplete lines is all that can be reconstructed of a myth about defeating an enemy host as in *Enūma Eliš* and *Enmešarra's Defeat*. It is known from three overlapping Late Babylonian fragments. One (c) occurs on an exercise tablet apparently from Sippar, one (a) on the obverse of a fragment of tablet apparently from Borsippa (the “B” with the date-number so indicates), and the other (b) bears the 19th-century number 83-1-18, but has now (1990) been given a K number, though it is probably from Sippar, to judge from the script. The reverse of (a) preserves only a few signs from the ends of lines, not even transliterated here, which are so spaced that they raise the question whether this is the continuation of the same text as appears on the obverse, and if not, this must also be an exercise tablet with extracts. The fragment (b) is written in small but well-fashioned script, and there is no way of knowing whether it is from an exercise tablet or a literary tablet with the whole or a substantial portion of the composition. All three pieces share the Late Babylonian carelessness in, e.g., verbal endings, but (c) is corrupt in more substantial ways. Use of this composition on exercise tablets implies some degree of popularity in scribal circles at the time, but the little we know about this work suggests that it did not have much attention in other times and places.

In general terms, its content is clear. It deals with the aftermath of a battle between gods. Lines 2–6 also appear in *Enūma Eliš* I 22–26, from which we have restored them. There are two variants of substance: GU in 4 is no doubt an error for DUR, and *ina tukkišun* (for *ina maḥrišun*) in 6 is preferable, perhaps, as offering a much rarer word. If correct, the question of the source of this literary excerpt is raised because all known copies of the line in *Enūma Eliš* offer *ina maḥrišun*. The contexts of the lines are different in the two works. In *Enūma Eliš*, the junior gods are thoughtlessly disturbing Apsû and Tiāmat with noise. From what follows here, it would seem that Apsû and Tiāmat remain passive as the victors celebrate noisily, which implies their unwillingness to get involved in the fight. There are less close parallels between lines 8, 12, and 13 and *Enūma Eliš* IV 105, V 75, and V 68, respectively, but these do not imply literary interdependence. A phrase in line 14, however, might well be derived from a related phrase in *Enūma Eliš* I 149 and parallels.

In the remainder, it is striking that the scene is unambiguously set in Babylon. The temples Eturkalama, Eguzalimmaḥ, and Ezidagišnugal are known only from Babylon, and Ištar-of-Babylon mentioned in line 13 is of course the owner of the first. A problem is created by Ninurta's killing of Enutila in line 8. Since according to line 11 the sons of Enmešarra are already in fetters, it is likely that Ninurta's killing was judicial rather than the outcome of combat, so the implication is that Ninurta is working for Marduk. Unfortunately, the incomplete lines prevent us knowing whether he

continues the operations described in lines 9–17. But the supreme position of Marduk is clear from the way the crown of one of the vanquished is rushed to him in line 16.

The very abundance of participants—Tiāmat, Apsû, Nabû, Ninurta, Enutila, Enmešarra, his seven sons, his offspring, Ištar-of-Babylon, Qingu, Marduk, Dumuzi, and Ninzaginna—suggests that this is not an old or traditional myth. The impression is given of a rather academic compiler in relatively late times putting together all the diverse materials of one kind that he could collect, without the strong theological purpose and sophistication of *Enūma Eliš*. He may well have had some form of *Enūma Eliš* before him, but he was painting an altogether wider canvas. The length of some of the lines (11, 14, 15, 17) supports a relatively late date.

The closest parallel to this myth is the fragment DT 184, given in copy in *JCS* 10 (1956) 100 and on Pl. 56 (with collations). There is no assurance that they do belong to the same text, but the content and the variety of actors are similar. Thus, a brief, collated edition is given here:

1 ...] x [...	
2 ...] x AN [...	
3 ...] ^{meš} <i>ib-x</i> [...	
4 ...] <i>x-ku-u</i> x [...	
5 ...] <i>šá</i> ^d EN. [...	...] . of/which Bēl/En[lil ...
6 ...] <i>ḏbēlu rabû</i> [^ú ...	... ] the great lord [...
7 ...]-KU- <i>ma</i> ^d EN. [...	...] .. Bēl/En[lil ...
8 ...] <i>t</i> <i>i-amāt</i> KAL [...	...] Tiāmat . [...
9 ...]- <i>iá e-nin</i> x x [...	...] my [...
10 ...]- <i>m</i> <i>an-ni-ma</i> ^d bēl IGI [...	...] . me and Bēl . [...
11 ...] D]A <i>rēš</i> ^d <i>marūtuk</i> x [...	...] . head (of) Marduk . [...
12 ...] x <i>am-ta-táḥ ana libbi</i> [...	...] . I lifted to . [...
13 ...] x <i>kal</i> x <i>la ti-amāt</i> x [...	...] Tiāmat . [...
14 ...] x <i>ḏmu-um-mu šá kak-k</i>]i . . .	... ] . Mummu who weapons [...
15 ...] <i>ḏen-líl</i> (¹ E) <i>dan-nu tam-šil</i> x [...	...] Enlil the mighty a likeness . [...
16 ...] <i>man ak-mi-šu-nu-ti-ma</i> x [...	...] . I bound them and . [...
17 ...] ^d <i>n-líl-lá</i> ^{meš} <i>šá ik-kir-u</i> [...	...] the Enlils who rebelled [...
18 ...] <i>x-la-šu-un ak-mu-us-s</i> [<i>u-nu-ti</i> . . .	... ] their . . I . . . ed them [...
19 ...] x <i>elī-šu-un e-nin</i> x [...	...] . on them, I punished/showed mercy [...
20 ...] x <i>ḏen-me-šár-ra ina</i> ^{giš} <i>kakki ša-bit</i> [ . . .	... ] . Enmešarra was taken by the sword . [...
21 ...] <i>ak</i>]- <i>mi-šú-nu-ti-ma e-šir-šú-nu-t</i>]i . . .	... ] I bound them and depicted them [...
22 (traces)	

Note: if *am-ta-táḥ* is correct in 12, the root is not limited to Assyrian dialect.

a = BM 47530 (B 81–11–3, 235) obverse: 1–14

b = K 20957 (“83–1–18”): 7–13

c = BM 66956+76498 (82-9-18, 6950 + AH 83-1-18, 1868) obv. 9–15: 12–18
(copies on Pl. 56)

a	1		. . .] a nu [x]
a	2	[e-šu-ú ta-ma-tim-ma	na-šir-šu-u]n iš-ta-a[p-pu]
a	3	[dal-ḫu-nim-ma šá t]a-ma-tim ka-ra-às-sa	
a	4	[ina šu-a-ri šu-du-r]u ⁷	qí-rib an-dur ¹ -ni
a	5	[la na-šir aps]ú ri-gim-šu-un	
a	6	[ù ta-ma-tum šu-qám-m]u-ma-at i-na tuk-ki-šu-un	
ab	7	. . .] ^d nabû(nà) i-šak-kan na-as-pan-tum	
ab	8	[ul-tu ^d en-u ₄ -t]i-la a-lik pa-ni	i-nar-ri ^d nin-urta
ab	9	[x x (x)] x-šú il-te-qa sak-ku-ú-šú	
ab	10	[šá ^d en]-me-šá-ra ig-da-mar na-piš-tu-u[š]	
ab	11	[šá māri ^{mes}]-šú sibitti-šú-nu	ina abul maḫiri(ki-lam) ú-paṭ-ṭi-ru ri-kis-su-un
abc	12	[x (x)] x gu ik-ši[r-š]ú-nu-tú	ú-šá-aš-bit-su-nu-tú ga-an-šir
abc	13	[ú-dan-ni]n ši-bit ¹ -ta ¹ -šú ¹ -nu-ma	ú-šat-mi-iḫ ^d ištar(mùš)-bābili(tin-tir) ^{ki}
ac	14	[šá ^d qin-g]u mu ² -ir-ru puḫur é-gu-za-alim-maḫ	i-mes-su ni-ip-ri-šú
c	15	[x x] x šá bēl pit-qí é-tūr-kalam-ma	il-te-qu be-lu-ut-su
c	16	[me-a]-nu be-lu-ti-šú iš-ḫu-ut-su-ma	uš-taḫ-mi-ṭu m[a]-ḫar ^d marūtuk
c	17	[ina é-zi]-da-(giš)-nu-gál a-šar la si-ma-a-tum	ik-ta-mu re ² ā ^d dumu-zi
c	18	[ù] ^d nin-za-gin-na a-na ma-ḫar ^d é-a	i-ba ² a-bu-ba-ni-iš

4 Tablet: an-GU-ni 7 a: i-šak-ka-nu 8 b: i-nar 10 a: ig-ta-mar 11 a: ú-paṭ-ṭi-ri-kis-su-un

13 Tablet (c): ši-KAL-UŠ-šú¹-nu-ma a: ú-š[at-mi-ḫu

Textual notes on pp. 497–498.

- 1 . . .] . . [.]
- 2 [Their clamour] got loud, [as they threw Tiāmat into a turmoil].
- 3 [They jarred] the nerves of Tiāmat,
- 4 [And by their dancing they spread alarm] in Anduruna.
- 5 [Apsû did not diminish] their noise,
- 6 [And Tiāmat was] silent at their hubbub.
- 7 . . .] Nabû was spreading destruction.
- 8 [After] Ninurta had killed Enutila the leader,
- 9 . . .] . took his rites.
- 10 He extinguished the life [of] Enmešarra,
- 11 He released his seven [sons] from their bonds at the Market Gate.
- 12 [. .] . . he refurbished them and stationed them at Ganšir.
- 13 [He strengthened] their fetters and made Ištar-of-Babylon hold them.
- 14 He/They destroyed the offspring [of] Qingu, the director of the host of Eguzalimmaḥ,
- 15 [. .] . he took the lordship of the owner of the sheep-pen of Eturkalamma,
- 16 He stripped his lordly tiara off him and rushed it into Marduk's presence.
- 17 [In] Ezidagišnugal, an improper place, he bound Dumuzi, the shepherd,
- 18 [And] Ninzaginna entered Ea's presence like a flood-storm.

* * * * *

Enki and Ninmah

Enki and Ninmah is a Sumerian myth of some 150 lines. The whole concerns the creation of the human race, but there are two distinct parts. The first ca. 55 lines explain the motive and manner of this creation. It is too long a section to be a mythological prologue to the remaining part. Rather, it is a full account of the origin of the human race. The remainder gives an account of a contest in which Enki and Ninmah vie in the creation of abnormal and defective humans. First Ninmah creates a series of seven beings, for each of which Enki finds useful employment in human society. Then Enki creates one with such terrible defects that Ninmah can find no possible place for it within human society. She is, then, beaten in the contest and goes on to complain that she is suffering from a vendetta at Enki's hands and has been driven from house and home. This turn of the narrative is not fully understood, and the damage to the text at this point is no doubt partly to blame, but Enki in the concluding speech of the myth seems to console Ninmah by taking the extremely defective creature from her and thinking up some way in which it can serve some purpose.

The text is attested on two incomplete Old Babylonian tablets, (a) and (b) here. Each, when complete, contained the whole text in four columns. The one, (a), from Nippur, is no doubt not later than Samsu-iluna's reign, while (b) is probably later than Samsu-iluna's reign. A third Old Babylonian tablet, (c), offers a 28-line extract from the middle of this text. There was a bilingual version in Ashurbanipal's libraries, divided into two tablets, of which important parts of the first have been identified, but so far no single piece of the second. A Middle Assyrian fragment, K 13456, may belong. It is a unilingual Sumerian piece and preserves 12 line-endings only. Of these, 9–11 can be identified with lines 7–9 of Section II of the bilingual version, but what precedes, though clearly about creation, does not agree with the bilingual version and the unilingual text is first lacking and then damaged at this point. So a copy and transliteration alone are given (p. 345).

Though pieces of the Nippur tablet had been identified as a Sumerian myth about Enki when first published, it was S. N. Kramer in his *Sumerian Mythology* (Philadelphia, 1944) pp. 68–72, who, after identifying a third piece and joining all three, correctly understood the text as dealing with the creation of man. He also made the sage comment: "moreover, the linguistic difficulties in this composition are particularly burdensome; not a few of the crucial words are met here for the first time in Sumerian literature," though it now appears that unusual writings of words, as much as rare words, have caused the trouble. Kramer summarised as much as he understood and quoted short excerpts in translation (one with transliteration). His continuing concern with this text is reflected in C. A. Benito's 1969 dissertation, "*Enki and Ninmah*" and "*Enki and the World Order*" (Ann Arbor, 1969), which gives a full critical edition of the whole text as then known on pp. 9–76. By this time, a fourth piece had been added to the Nippur tablet, N 1889. Finally, S. N. Kramer and J. Maier in *Myths of*

Enki, The Crafty God (New York, 1989), quote a substantial part of this text in revised translation (ch. 2), with notes on pp. 211–15. Meanwhile, Å. W. Sjöberg had joined a fifth piece to the Nippur tablet, CBS 12738, which supplies the first few lines and so a definitive line-numbering of the beginning of the Old Babylonian edition.

Of other scholars, J. J. A. van Dijk quotes approximately the first forty lines with translation and notes in *Acta Orientalia* 28 (1964) 24–30, based on an unpublished edition of the whole text, of which he kindly made available a copy to the present writer at the time. In *JSS* 14 (1969) 242–47, the present writer studied the ternary system of numerals used in this text and showed that seven abnormal creatures had been created by Ninmah, not six as Kramer had believed. T. Jacobsen, in a review of Kramer's *Sumerian Mythology* in *JNES* 5 (1946) 129 and 143, first identified K 2168+5054 (OECT VI pl. xvi) as a piece of the bilingual edition, and his continuing concern with this text has resulted in a complete translation in his *The Harps That Once . . .* (New Haven, 1987) pp. 151–66, using an unpublished text of S. Lieberman. Of the bilingual edition, the present writer identified further pieces of the first tablet: K 1711, 4896, 4932, and 5066, to which R. Borger added K 5027 (see his transliteration in *Or.* 54 (1985) 18–22). Some of these pieces were used from the writer's then unpublished manuscript by C. A. Benito in his thesis without permission or acknowledgment. Finally, Borger drew the present writer's attention to K 13540 as a bilingual creation fragment, which the writer identified as the bottom right-hand corner of the bilingual Tablet I. A limited edition of this text with more of the bilingual (K 1711+2168+4896+4932 [some of them with photographs] was given by H. Sauren, "Nammu and Enki," in M. E. Cohen, D. C. Snell, and D. B. Weisberg (eds.), *The Tablet and the Scroll* (Bethesda, Md., 1993) pp. 198–208. It represents no real progress in comprehension. J. Klein in W. W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger Jr., *The Context of Scripture* I (Leiden, 1997) pp. 516–18, gives a much improved translation with notes on the earlier part of the text.

Despite this proliferation of material, the reconstruction and line numbering of the Old Babylonian edition are still not settled. Kramer, followed by van Dijk, Benito, and Jacobsen, assumed that the last line of column i on (a) was immediately followed by the first line of column ii on (b). But it is a gratuitous assumption that the two tablets broke the columns at exactly the same point. Also, the line-numbering to (b) given by de Genouillac is only very approximate. Apparently, the first preserved line of column ii is the top line, but the exact extent of the missing bottom portion of the tablet (somewhat less than half) cannot be estimated accurately. So, though the lines of (b) do match across the two columns of each side, they do not provide any clear guidance for numbering the whole text. The difficulty with trying to combine the evidence of all the manuscripts is that this text has a tradition of many long lines which cannot easily be written in the space of one line in a column. Often, overruns are necessary, resulting in the space of two lines being used for one line of the text. Scribes could, if they wished, squeeze up the signs to avoid overruns, but we do not know what they did in missing sections of their tablets, and without this knowledge, estimates from parallel columns of the number of lines missing in one broken column are only approximate. In fact, both the bilingual edition and the context together prove a gap in the unilingual edition after its line 37. Lines 30–37 are Enki's instructions to his mother Namma on the creation of mankind and on its duty to perform the hard labour of the universe. The bilingual version II 7–8 continues with Enki's further instruction, that man should be equipped physically and organized socially so that he will reproduce through marriage. The instruction in these two lines is put into effect in lines 5–6 of column ii of

(b) (our II 5–6), and the beginnings of the verbs in the preceding lines 2 and 3 also indicate action, not instruction. The former of these two can be restored plausibly from the bilingual II 9–10 to state the actual creation of the human race. Line 1 of (b) ii, however, is not the same as the bilingual II 8. Thus, while not every difficulty is solved, it is clear that a gap is to be presumed between the end of column i of (a) and the beginning of column ii of (b), in which at the least Enki's plan for human reproduction was set out and perhaps more. Since there is no way of ascertaining how many lines are missing, it is necessary to begin a new sequence of lines with the top of column ii of (b). Thus, our reconstructed text has two sections, I and II.

The problems of textual criticism have not been addressed seriously so far. Kramer used his own Philadelphia tablet uncritically, and other scholars have often followed him, but in fact (b) and (c) are generally better than (a). Careless errors are frequent in (a), especially in the lower part of column ii:

- I 30 ama-ni for ama-mu results from ama-ni in the previous line.
 I 34 ^dni-in-šar₆ is wrongly repeated.
 II 35 For àm-ma-ni-in-dím (a) first wrote igi-du₈-a-ni-ta, which it then corrected, but its A and dím contain a mixture of igi and ta.
 II 36 The incomplete sign after IGI is clearly not the correct d[u₈].
 II 39 There is an extra sign in the name “Enki”: ^den-x-ki-ke₄.
 II 43 ^den-ke₄-ki offers an erroneous transposition of ^den-ki-ke₄ and is no justification for the “Nippur(ian)” of the translators.
 II 43 a-ma-ni-in-tar is an error for àm-ma- as in parallel lines.
 II 44 The initial ^den-ki-ke₄ is an error for ^dni-in-maḫ-e of (c), and its following im šu-rin-na is transposed for the correct im rin šu-na of (c), so the “brazier” of Kramer and Maier must be forgotten.
 II 50 Restore <šà>-ga-na with (c).

These, of course, are superficial errors and do not necessarily imply that the basic underlying text of (a) is worse than those of (b) and (c), but in two cases (a) neglects to use the Emesal form where (b) correctly has it:

- II 94 a: ḡiš nu-tuku, b: mu nu-tuku
 II 96 a: dumu-mu, b: du₃-mu<-mu>

The last example exposes an error of (b), and another is KUR for tar in II 11, but generally it is much more reliable than (a), as is (c) also. However, all three copies offer confused versions of the ternary numerals, which leaves one wondering whether the author himself is to blame. Marks of late Sumerian occur. “His (Enki's) bed” is written ki-ná-ni in (a) in I 14 but ki-ná-bi in (a) I 16. With verbs of speaking -ra is used in all surviving occurrences in (a) (I 29, II 45, 49, 60, 99), while (b) uses -ra three times (II 16, 49, 60) but -e thrice (II 19, 71, 99), and (c) in its two examples (II 45, 60) offers -ra. The usual orthographic variants (e.g., -ke₄-ne and -ke₄-e-ne, I 17) occur, and variant grammatical elements in verbs appear, e.g., in II 38 (a) àm-ma-ni-in-dím contrasts with (c) àm-ma-ši-in-dím, and in II 37 the two copies offer much greater differences: àm-ma-ni-in-zi (a) as against im-^rta^r-zi (c). Such variations cannot be studied within this text alone but must be taken with the evidence from other literary Sumerian tablets written in the Old Babylonian period.

With differences of substance, it is often difficult to prefer one reading as against others with confidence. The bilingual edition differed more from (a) and (b) than they differ from each other. It lacks line I 8 and offers the sequence: I 6, 5, 7, 9, 10, 15, 11, 12, 13, 14. This order is not obviously inferior to that of (a) and (b), since 15 is appropriate between 10 and 11, as is 6 before 5, and in any case (b) omits 10 in this context. Traces of the bilingual version between the end of our section I and the early lines of our section II cannot be fitted in, so here too it is possible that there was divergence. However, when lines of the bilingual version can be compared with the same lines in (a) and (b), they betray no obvious deficiencies, and there are no grounds to condemn that version as “spät und schlecht.”

Another textual problem concerns the abnormal humans created by Ninmah. There are seven different names of such creatures in (a), (b), (c), and the bilingual version, though no copy preserves a complete list. From II 22–28 and 72–75 the first four of (b) can be recovered. In II 32–43 (c) offers the last four of its list. The last preserved of (b) is the first preserved of (c), so their evidence combined supplies a consolidated list of seven. Exemplar (a) in II 29–43 supplies the last four of its list, which are, in terms of (b) and (c), 3, 5, 6, and 7. What from (b) and (c) we call 5 is so rendered in the bilingual edition, which surely confirms our reconstruction, since the ancient translator had a complete text and could count. The solution to the problem is that (a) reverses the order of nos. 3 and 4 of (b) and (c). Since (a) is generally a poor text, we follow (b) and (c), reshuffling the lines of (a) in the process. Otherwise, our eclectic reconstructed text follows the ancient lines, except that in the description of the manifold defects of Enki’s special creation, II 54–59, the ancient MSS themselves differ about the line division, so in this case we have our own line division.

The rare words and orthographies are dealt with in detail in the notes on the lines, but some general comments and summary are appropriate here. The items are:

- amaru(k) (^dama.^dMÛŠ) I 5–7 “goddess”
- diġir šár-šár I 9, 12, 17, II 11 = dīm-me-er šár-šár = *ilānu*^{meš} *rabūtu*^{meš} bil. I 4, 5, 8 “great gods”
- du_x(TER)-lum I 9, 23 = du₆-l[um] = dul-lum bil. I 8 “toil”
- se₁₂-en-^{sa}7sár I 26, 32, II 9 = šà-tùr bil. II 2 “birth goddess”
- zùb-sìg I 30, 37 “carrying basket, hard labour”
- NÚMUN II 5–6 = bil. II 8 [sin]-niš-tú “woman”
- nínda II 6 = bil. II 7–8 nit[a] = *zi-k[a-ru/ri]* “man”
- zur-dug₄ II 48, 52 “malformed baby”
- a-za-ad II 54 ab, c: sa[ġ] “head”
- ki-NAM-ésir/si-^ri¹ II 54 “brow”
- sur-sur II 59 a, b: sig-sig “weak”
- the ternary numerals (II 22(?), 25, 29, 32, 35, 38, 41 = bil. IV 3)

There may of course be further examples in matters not yet understood. Of the ten listed, three—*dulum*, *sensar*, and *zubsig*—are clearly unusual orthographies for ordinary words. A fourth, *nínda*, may be in origin the same, but its meaning “seeder plow” may make it a metaphor. The remaining six are simply rare words, though since the reading of the sign NÚMUN is not sure, this should perhaps be excluded. It is significant that the bilingual edition, while having the ternary numerals, replaces the three others which it preserves (*TER-lum*, *sensar*, *nínda*) with standard Sumerian. However, this is not restricted to the bilingual edition, since (c) offers the normal *saġ* for (a) *azad*, and (b) the

common sig-sig for (a) sur-sur. Thus, the Old Babylonian copies also vary in their preference for the rarities. We do not know whether the author of this myth himself wrote in these strange ways or whether scribes at some point in time edited his work to include them. If he employed them, then later scribes in some cases replaced them with standard Sumerian. In either case, the text as we have it is hardly earlier than the Old Babylonian period. The custom of obscure writings in Sumerian myths was not new with this period. In Early Dynastic times, the UD.GAL.NUN style already clothed Sumerian myths in something of a partial code: common names and some signs had replacements not found in ordinary orthography at the time. Enki and Ninmah carries on this tradition.

As understood here and as justified in the notes, the text falls into two parts, as already stated, but there is no reason to assume as Jacobsen did (*The Harps That Once . . .* p. 151) that “two originally separate and independent stories are combined in this composition.” Rather, the author drew on the vast stock of traditional mythological motifs and himself built up one story which has in fact two distinct portions. The myth of the creation of man as now understood is very similar to that offered in the Babylonian *Atra-ḫasis*. The gods multiply and have to toil for their food. They complain at the hard work involved, and man is created to take over this toil, being made from divine blood mixed in clay. Enki, the Mother Goddess, and birth goddesses participate in the creation in both accounts, but in *Enki and Ninmah*, Namma also participates, though she is absent from *Atra-ḫasis*. Both accounts also explain how the gods made sure that the human race would procreate. The basic ideas in this narrative are no doubt very old. The following contest does mark a fresh start, since the preceding story is complete when the human race exists and supplies the gods’ food. Essentially, the contest is aetiology, to explain the occurrence in the human race of physically defective types, but as employed it has become a drama centering on the clash of two divine wills, and at the end of the contest, when Enki has won, this clash is continued when Ninmah claims she is being persecuted and driven from house and home. It seems that Enki at the last undertakes to help her, but due to damage, the matter is not clear.

Old Babylonian Manuscripts, Section I

- 1 a [ud-ri-a-ta] ud an ki-^rta¹ b[ad-DU⁷-a-ba]
 2 a [ĝi₆-ri-a-ta ĝi₆] an-ki-a ĝa[r-ra-a-ba]
 3 a . . .] x x [x (x)] x [(x) -a-ba]
 4 a [^da-nu]n-^rna-ke₄¹-ne ba-tu-ud-da-a-ba
 5 a ^dama-^dMÛŠ nam ZI×ZI+LAGAB-šè ba-tuku-a-ba
 6 a ^dama-^dMÛŠ an-ki-a ba-ḫal-ḫal-la-a-ba
 7 a ^dama-^dMÛŠ a x NI⁷ NI⁷ x a peš₁₁ ù-tu-da-a-ba
 8 ab diĝir kurum₆-ma-bi(-)a(-)ab-du₈ x únu-bi-šè ba-ab-kešda-a
 9 ab diĝir šár-šár kíĝ-ĝá al-súg-ge-eš diĝir TUR-TUR ^rdu_x(TER)-lum¹ im-íl-íl-e-ne
 10 a diĝir íd dun-dun-ù-ne saḫar-bi ḫa-ra-li im-dub-dub-bu-ne
 11 ab diĝir ní ir-ir-re-[n]e zi-bi inim àm-ma-ĝar-re-ne
 12 ab ud-ba ĝéštu daĝal mud diĝir šár-šár ĝál-ĝál
 13 ab ^den-ki-ke₄ engur bùru a-sur-ra ki diĝir na-me šà-bé u₆ nu-um-me

8 (end) b:]x 10 b: om. 11 a: [i]m-ma-ĝar-re-ne 13 b:]-um-m[i]

Manuscripts

Old Babylonian		Copy/Photograph
a	= CBS 2168+11327+12738+13386+N 1889 Previous copies: 11327: PBS I/1 4; (with extra piece) PBS X/4 14; 13386: SEM 116; photographs: 2168+11327+13386 obv.: S. N. Kramer, <i>Sumerian Mythologies</i> pls. 17–18; the same with N 1889 rev.: S. N. Kramer, <i>Biblical Parallels from Sumerian Literature</i> (University Museum, Philadelphia, Oct. 1954) p. 9.	Pls. 57–59
b	= AO 7036 Previous copy: TCL XVI pls. 137–38; photograph of obverse: <i>Naissance de l'écriture. Cunéiformes et hiéroglyphes</i> (Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 17 mai – 9 août 1982) p. 238.	Pls. 60–61
c	= BM 12845 (96–3–26, 37) Previous copy: CT 42 pl. 40 no. 28. Collations of S. N. Kramer: <i>JCS</i> 23 (1971) 14.	Pl. 62
Neo-Assyrian		
K 1711+2168+4896+5027+5054	Ll. I 1–10; IV 1–4	Pl. 63
K 4932	Ll. I 9–15; II 1–8	Pl. 64
K 5066	Ll. II?; III 1–3	Pl. 64
K 13540	Ll. II 7–12	Pl. 63
Previous copy of K 2168+5054: OECT VI pl. xvi; transliteration of K 1711+2168+4896+5027+5054 and K 4932 by R. Borger in <i>Or.</i> 54 (1985) 18–22.		

Section I

- 1 [On that day], the day when heaven was [separated] from earth,
- 2 [On that night], the night when heaven and earth were established
- 3 . . .] . . [. .] . [. . .]
- 4 After the Anunna gods had been born,
- 5 After the goddesses had been taken in marriage,
- 6 After the goddesses had been distributed through heaven and earth,
- 7 After the goddesses had copulated(?), become pregnant and given birth,
- 8 The gods' rations . . . and . . . was imposed to supply their meals.
- 9 The great gods presided over the work, the junior gods bore the toil.
- 10 The gods dug the rivers, with the earth from them they heaped up (Mount) Ḫaralli.
- 11 The gods suffered anguish, they complained about their conscription.
- 12 At that time he of great wisdom, the creator of the great gods,
- 13 Enki, in the depths of the Apsû, the abyss into which no god can see,

- 14 ab ki-ná-ni ì-ná ù-ku nu-um-zi-zi
 15 ab diġir ér-ra im-pà-pà-dè a-nir-ġál-ak im-me-ne
 16 ab lú-ku-ra ì-ná-a-ra ki-ná-bi nu-um-zi-zi
 17 ab ^dnamma-ke₄ ama igi-du ù-tu diġir šár-šár-ra-ke₄-ne
 18 ab ér-ra diġir-re-e-ne dumu-ni-ir ba-ši-in-de₆
 19 ab ^rù-mu-un ší¹-nú-ù-nam ù-^rmu-un¹-ši-ku-ku-na-nam
 20 ab [(x) x] te ba/zu l[a]’ x x [(-) š]i-zi-zi
 21 ab ^rdím¹-mi-ir šu-dím-dím-ma-z[u (-) è]š-gàr-bi im-tu₁₀-tu₁₀-ne
 22 ab du₃-mu-mu ki-ná-zu zi-ga ^ri¹-[b]í-ma-al-la-zu-ta na-ám-kù-zu mu-e-kíġ-k[iġ-ge]
 23 ab kíġ-sì dím-mi-ir-e-ne-ke₄ ù-mu-[x x]-dím du_x(TER)-lum-bi ħa-ba-tu-lu-[n]e
 24 ab ^den-ki-ke₄ inim ama-na ^dnamma-ke₄ ki-ná-na b[a-t]a-zi
 25 a ħal-^ran¹-kù níġin šà-kúš-ù-da-na ħaš im-mi-ni-i[n-ra]
 26 a ġéštu gizzal èn-tar-^rzu¹ nam-kù-zu mud me-dím níġ-nam-ma se₁₂-en-^{sa7}sár š[i-í]b-ta-an-è
 27 a ^den-ki-ke₄ á-né ba-ši-in-gub ġéštu ì-níġin-níġin-e
 28 a ^den-ki-ke₄ mud me-dím ní-[t]e-a-na šà-bi ġéštu-ta ù-mu-e-ni-ri-ge
 29 a ama-ni ^dnamma-ra gù mu-un-na-dé-e
 30 a ama-mu (! tablet: -ni) mud-mu ġar-ra-zu ì-ġál-la-àm zub-sìg diġir-re-e-ne kéšda-ì
 31 a šà im ugu abzu-ka ù-mu-e-ni-in-ĥe
 32 a se₁₂-en-^{sa7}sár im mu-e-kìr-kìr-re-ne za-e me-dím ù-mu-e-ni-ġál
 33 a ^dnin-maĥ-e an-ta-zu ĥé-ak-e
 34 a ^dnin-ìmma ^dšu-zi-an-na ^dnin-ma-da ^dnin-šar₆ {^dnin-šar₆}
 35 a ^dnin-mug ^dmú-mú-du₃ ^dnin-NÍĠIN¹-na
 36 a tu-tu-a-zu ħa-ra-gub-bu-ne
 37 a ama-mu za-e nam-bi ù-mu-e-tar ^dnin-maĥ-e zub-sìg-bi ĥé-kéšda
 [short gap in text]

15 a: a-nir-ġál ì-ak 17 b:]diġir-šár-šár-ra-ke₄-e-ne 18 b: dumu-ni-i-šè ba-ši-in-tu 22 b: na-ám-kù-zu-ù

Section II

- 1 b . . . m]u¹-e²-x x x [. . .
 [(x x x x x x)] x-NI-NI nam-lú-[lu₇ . . .
 2 b [x x ^den-ki]-ke₄ nam-lú-lu₇ ^rám¹-[ma-ni-in-dím-eš]
 3 b [x x x x Ĥ]A/pe]š saġ-e KA àm-m[a
 4 b [x x x (x)] x su únu-ri su-bi-a à[m²
 5 b [nínda-e ZI×ZI]+[LA]GAB-e ġiš-nu₁₁ mi-ni-in-ri nam-^rdam²-šè² ba¹-a[n-tuku]
 6 b [x (x)] PA nínda ZI×ZI+LAGAB-e mi-ni-in-ri ù-tu ^ršà¹-ga ^rnam-ta-è¹
 7 b ^den-ki-ke₄ kíġ lúgud-lúgud-da [igi] mi-ni-in-lá šà-bi ba-ĥúl
 8 b ama-ni ^dnamma ^dnin-maĥ-šè ġišbun na-àm-ma-ni-in-ġar
 9 b gú se₁₂-en-^{sa7}sar-NUN-ne-ke₄ nam-tar gi-saġ ninda ì-im-gu₇-e
 10 b an-e ^den-líl-bi en ^dnu-dím-mud-e maš-kù i-im-NE-NE
 11 b diġir-šár-šár-ra-ke₄-e-ne ka-tar(! tablet: KUR) i-im-si-il-le-ne
 12 b en ġéštu-daġal-la a-ba-a ġéštu-ni ri-ge
 13 b en gal ^den-ki-ke₄ nì-kì-kid-zu-šè a-ba-a ì-sì-ge
 14 b [a]-a-tu-da-^rgim¹-me nam-tar-tar-ra za-e al-me-en-na
 15 b ^den-ki-ke₄ ^dnin-maĥ-e kaš im-na₃-na₃-ne šà-bi ul mu-un-te
 16 b ^dnin-maĥ-e ^den-ki-ra gù mu-na-^rdé¹-e

- 14 He lay in his bed, was sleeping, and did not rise.
 15 The gods gave vent to their weeping, they said, "He brought about the present grief,"
 16 But the sleeper was reclining and did not arise from his bed.
 17 Namma, the primaeval mother who gave birth to the great gods,
 18 Brought (news of) the weeping of the gods to her son,
 19 "Lord, you are reclining, you are sleeping indeed,
 20 [. . .] [. . .] rise
 21 The gods you created are complaining(?) about their set tasks.
 22 My son, arise from your bed, with your expertise you must seek out skill.
 23 Create a substitute for the gods so that they will be relieved of their toil."
 24 Enki arose from his bed at the command of his mother Namma,
 25 In Ḫalanku, his conference chamber, he [slapped] his thigh.
 26 Being expert in wisdom, discernment and consultation, he produced skill of blood, bodies, and
 creative power, the birth goddesses.
 27 Enki stationed them at his side, seeking out wisdom.
 28 After Enki had in wisdom reflected upon his own blood and body,
 29 He addressed his mother Namma,
 30 "My mother, there is my blood which you set aside(?), impose on it the corvée of the gods.
 31 When you have mixed it in the clay from above the Apsû,
 32 The birth goddesses will nip off clay, and you must fashion bodies.
 33 Your companion Ninmaḥ will act and
 34 Ninimma, Šuzianna, Ninmada, Ninšar,
 35 Ninmug, Mumudu and Ninniginna
 36 Will assist you as you bring to birth.
 37 My mother, you decree their destiny so that Ninmaḥ may impose their corvée.
 [short gap in text]

Section II

- 1 . . .] [. . . (.)] copulated(?), man [. . .
 2 [By the plans] of [Enki they created] man.
 3 [. . . .] [. . .]
 4 [. . . .] . those meals . [. . . .] their bodies.
 5 [The man] cast his eye on the woman and [took her] in marriage.
 6 [By] the man's [insemination] the woman conceived, she brought forth offspring of the womb.
 7 Enki surveyed the finished(?) task, his heart rejoiced.
 8 For Namma his mother and for Ninmaḥ he arranged a banquet.
 9 The group of birth goddesses ate bread.
 10 Anu and Enlil for the lord Nudimmud,
 11 The great gods sang his praises.
 12 "A lord of comprehensive wisdom, who can grasp his wisdom?
 13 O great lord Enki, who can rival your achievements?
 14 You are like a father who begets, one who decrees destinies are you, you are indeed!"
 15 Enki and Ninmaḥ drank beer, their hearts became elated.
 16 Ninmaḥ said to Enki,

- 17 b me-dím na-ám-lú-lu₇-ta ša₆-ge ħul-ma-al ma-a-kam
 18 b ki ša-ge₄-a-mu na-ám-tar dè-eb-sì-ge dè-eb-ħul-e
 19 b ^den-ki-ke₄ ^dnin-maħ-e mu-na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄
 20 b nam-tar ša-ge-de₆-a-zu ša₆-ge ħul-gá[l] x ga-àm-ši-íb-lá
 21 b ^dnin-maħ-e im ugu abzu-a šu-ni mu-ni-in-ti
 22 b [l]úgi-šu-šú-šú di-di-NE nu-gam lú-u₆ àm-ma-ni-in-dím
 23 b [d]en-ki-ke₄ ^{lú}gi-šu-šú-šú di-di-NE nu-gam igi-du₈-a-ni-ta
 24 b [n]am-bi i-ni-in-tar saĝ lugal-la-ke₄ àm-ma-ni-in-gub
 25 b gi₄-bi ĝiš-nu₁₁-gi₄-gi₄ lú-u₆-e àm-ma-ni-in-dím
 26 b ^den-ki-ke₄ ĝiš-nu₁₁-gi₄-gi₄ lú-u₆-e ^rigi-du₈-a¹-[ni-ta]
 27 b nam-bi i-ni-in-tar nam-nar mi-ni-in-ba
 28 b [x]-gal zag-gu-la igi lugal-la-ke₄ àm-[m]a-ni-i[n-ĝar¹]
 29 b [gi₄-bi-bi¹ ^{lú}GÌR-MI-ĝiš] ĝir-dab₅-ba à[m-ma-ni-in-dím]
 30 a ^de[n-ki-ke₄ ^{lú}GÌR-MI-ĝiš] ĝir-dab₅-ba igi-d[u₈-a-ni-ta]
 31 a kíĝ-x-[x] kù-babbar-gim me-lám-^rma¹-ni x [x]-ni-in-x
 32 ac [g]i₄-[p]eš-bi lú-lil ù-tu-bi šubur àm-^rma-ni-dím¹
 33 ac ^den-ki-ke₄ lú-lil ù-tu-bi [šub]ur igi-du₈-a-ni-ta
 34 ac nam-bi i-ni-in-tar saĝ lugal-la-ka im-ma-ši-in-gub
 35 ac peš-gi ^{lú}a-sur-sur àm-ma-ši-in-dím
 36 ac ^den-ki-ke₄ ^{lú}a-sur-sur igi-du₈-a-ni-ta
 37 ac a mu₇-mu₇ mi-ni-in-tu₅ nam-tar su-bi àm-ma-ni-in-zi
 38 ac peš-peš-gi munus-nu-ù-tu àm-ma-ši-in-dím
 39 ac ^den-ki-ke₄ munus-nu-ù-tu igi-du₈-a-ni-ta
 40 ac uš-bar igi mu-ni-in-du₈ é munus-a-kam àm-ma-ni-in-dù
 41 ac peš-bal-gi lú su-ba ĝiš nu-ĝar gal₄-la nu-ĝar àm-ma-ši-in-dím
 42 ac ^den-ki-ke₄ lú su-ba ĝiš nu-ĝar gal₄-la nu-ĝar igi-du₈-a-ni-ta
 43 ac tirum-e mu-ni-in-sa₄ saĝ lugal-la-ke₄ im-ma-ši-in-gub
 44 ac ^dnin-maħ-e im-kir šu-na ki-a mu-un-šub lib ì-sìg-ge
 45 ac en gal ^den-ki-ke₄ ^dnin-maħ-a-ra gù mu-na-dé-e
 46 ac lú-šu-dím-ma-zu-šè nam-bi i-ni-in-tar ninda i-ni-in-šúm
 47 ac ĝá-e ga-na ga-mu-ra-ab-dím za-e ù-tu-da na[m]-bi tar-ra-ab
 48 ac ^den-ki-ke₄ me-dím saĝ-ĝá-na zur-dug₄ šà-ba àm-ma-ni-dím
 49 ac ^dnin-maħ-a-ra gù mu-na-dé-e
 50 ac a gan šà munus-a-ka ri-a šà-ga-na munus-bi mu-un-ù-tu
 51 ac ^dnin-maħ-^re¹ x-x ù-tu-bi-šè àm-ma-[ni]-in-gub
 52 ac munus-bi ud-bi x x (x)-ga-aš zur-dug₄ šà-ba à[m-m]a-ni-in-šub
 53 c ^dnin-m[aħ x x x (x)] x x x ì-si-ge
 54 abc gi₄-bi u₄-mu-ul a-za-ad-bi gig-ga ki-NAM-ésir-bi gig-ga
 55 abc igi-bi gig-ga gú-bi gig-ga zi úš-úš ti sur-sur

29–31 only in (a) and after 34, with beginning: peš-bi [GÌR]-a-MI, emended here from (a) II 2 and (b) II 74.

30 a: ^de[n-ki-ke₄] GÌR-a-MI, emended here from (b) II 74. 32 a: gi₄-b[i] 35 a: peš-[x (x)] x ^{lú}a-sur-sur-ra àm¹-[m]a¹-ni-ta¹ 36 a: ^{lú}a-sur-sur-ra c: su-bi-^ršè im-ta-zi¹ 38 a: àm-ma-ni-in-dím

39 a: ^den-x-ki-ke₄ 40 a: nam-bi i-ni-in-tar é-munus-a-ke₄ c: àm-ma-ši-in-dím

41 a: àm-ma-ni-dím 43 a: ^den-KE₄-KI tirum-e mu-e mu-ni-in-sa₄-a, igi lugal-la-ke₄ gub-bu-dè

- 17 “It is for me to decide whether a human body should be good or bad.
 18 In accordance with my decision will I make a destiny good or bad.”
 19 Enki replied to Ninmah,
 20 “I shall assess the destiny you decide upon, whether it is good or bad.”
 21 Ninmah took clay from above the Apsû in her hand,
 22 She fashioned a . . . man, who could not . . . , a freak.
 23 When Enki saw the . . . man, who could not . . . ,
 24 He decreed his destiny and stationed him at the head of the king.
 25 Secondly, she fashioned a blind man, a freak.
 26 When Enki saw the blind man, a freak,
 27 He decreed his destiny, and endowed him with the art of singing.
 28 In [. .] and shrine he [set] him in front of the king.
 29 [Thirdly, she fashioned a . . .] with . . .
 30 [When] Enki saw [the . . .] with . . .
 31 He [.] . . his aura like silver . . [.]
 32 Fourthly, she fashioned a dim-wit of Subarian extraction.
 33 When Enki saw the dim-wit of Subarian extraction
 34 He decreed his destiny and stationed him at the head of the king.
 35 Fifthly, she fashioned an incontinent man.
 36 When Enki saw the incontinent man
 37 He washed him with holy water and removed the disease from his body.
 38 Sixthly, she fashioned a woman who cannot bear children.
 39 When Enki saw the woman who cannot bear children
 40 He appointed her a weaver and set her up in the women’s workhouse.
 41 Seventhly, she fashioned a man with a body lacking both penis and vulva.
 42 When Enki saw the man with a body lacking both penis and vulva
 43 He named him a courtier and stationed him at the head of the king.
 (v.l. decreed his destiny to stand in attendance on the king.)
 44 Ninmah threw down on the ground the nipped-off clay in her hand and became silent. (v.l. lapsed
 into total silence.)
 45 The great lord Enki spoke to Ninmah,
 46 “I have decreed destinies for your creations, I have given them bread.
 47 Come on, I will fashion (something) for you, you decree the destiny of the offspring.”
 48 Enki fashioned the body of his slave-(girl) with an abnormality already in her womb.
 49 He said to Ninmah,
 50 “When the fertilising semen has impregnated the woman’s womb, that woman will bear in her
 womb.”
 51 The skilled Ninmah stood in attendance for its birth.
 52 When the woman’s days were [completed] she delivered the abnormality of her womb.
 53 Ninmah [. . .] . . . was silent.
 54 The whole of it was “At Death’s Door” (Ummul). Its head was sick, its brow was sick,
 55 Its face was sick, its neck was sick, its throat was stopped up, its ribs were protruding,

nam-bi à(m)-ma-ni-in-tar 44 a: ^den-ki-ke₄im-ŠU-rin-na^ʾšu¹-na ki-a in-šub c: LUL.AŠ lib
 mu-un-ĝar 45 a: mu-un-na-dé-e 46 a: nam 47 a: ĝá-e mu-ra-ab-dím c: ga-mu-ra-ab-x
 a: ù-tu-bi 48 a: saĝ-ĝá-[k]a⁷ c: im-m[a- 49 a: mu-un-na-dé-e 50 a: a-ĝiš-ak c: ri⁷ a: om. šà
 51 gloss in c: e-reš-tù; c: àm-ma-ši-in-dím 52 c: . .] x (x) [p]eš [š]à-ga ri [zur²-dug₄⁷šà⁷-ba⁷à]m-è
 53 a: om. 54 c: sa[ĝ-b]i b: om. gig-ga a: ki-[x]-x-bi c: [x]-NAM-si⁷i¹-bi 55 a: igi-bi gig

- 56 abc mur gig-ga šà gig-ga lipiš gig-ga
57 abc šu-né a-za-ad lá-lá ka-bi-šè ninda nu-ĝar
58 abc murgu lum-lum gu-du zé-re zag-še sur
59 abc ĝîr sur-sur a-gàr nu-gub àm-ma-ni-in-dím
60 abc ^den-ki-ke₄ ^dnin-maĥ-ra gù mu-na-dé-e
61 ab lú-šu-dím-ma-zu nam i-ni-in-tar ninda mi-ni-g[u₇]
62 ab za-e lú-šu-dím-ma-mu-uš nam-bi tar-ra-ab ninda ĥ[é]-gu₇
63 ab ^dnin-maĥ-e u₄-mu-ul igi-d[u₈]-^ra-ni-ta¹ x-bi-šà ba-e-gi₄
64 b u₄-mu-ul mu-na-te èn mu-na-tar-tar-re SAG-bi nu-ba-e
65 b ninda gu₇-a-ni-šè mu-na-ab-šúm šu nu-mu-na-da-gíd
66 b šu-ni mi-ni-in-ba nu-mu-da-an-zi-zi
67 b ^{ĝi}gur₈-u₆-^ršà¹ nu-mu-na-ná nu-mu-da-an-ná-ná
68 b gub nu-mu-da tuš nu-mu-da ná nu-mu-da x x nu-mu-da níĝ nu-mu-da-^rda¹
69 b ^dnin-maĥ-e ^den-ki-ra inim-ma mu- η [a-x-(x)]-x
70 b lú-šu-dím-ma-zu lú-ti-la in-nu lú-ú[š i]n-nu íl-bi nu-mu-da
71 b ^den-ki-ke₄ ^dnin-maĥ-e mu-na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄
72 b ^{lú}gi-šu-šú-šú-ra nam mi-ni-tar ninda mi-ni-in-š[ú]m
73 b ^{lú}ĝiš-nu₁₁-gi₄-gi₄-ra nam mi-ni-tar ninda mi-ni-in-š[ú]m
74 ab ^{lú}GÎR-MI-ĝiš-ra nam mi-ni-tar ninda mi-ni-in-^ršúm¹
75 ab ^{lú}li]-ra nam mi-ni-tar ninda mi-ni-i[n-šúm]
76 ab ^{lú}a¹-[sur-sur]-ra nam mi-ni-tar [ninda mi-ni-in-šúm]
77 ab munus-nu-^rú¹-[tu-r]a nam mi-ni-[tar ninda mi-ni-in-šúm]
78 ab ^{lú}t[irum-ra nam mi-ni-tar ninda mi-ni-in-šúm]
79 a nin₉-mu z[a-e . . .
80 a x nam⁷ x [. . .
81 a a [. . .
82 a ^rdⁿⁱⁿ¹-[maĥ-e ^den-ki-ra gù mu-na-dé-e]
83 a èm x [. . .
84 a èm x [. . .
85 a ma-a-[. . .
86 a èm x [. . .
87 a èm x [. . .
88 a èm x [. . .
89 a èm x [. . .
90 ab èm x [.] x-DU x-D[U]⁷
91 ab èm mu-l[u⁷ r]a ĝîr-ĝîr-mèn
92 ab gud⁷-e ud-a-mu [.]-ni-DU èm tag-ĝiš [(. .) i]n-ku₄-re
93 ab á-še an nu-mu-e-tuš ki nu-[mu]-^re¹-tuš i-bí-íl-la-zu ka-^rna-^áĝ¹-ĝá nu-è-mèn

94 ab ki za-e nu-tuš-en é mu-dù-a inim-zu mu nu-tuku
95 ab ki za-e nu-tìl-en uru mu-dù-a ní-mu lib ab-si-ge-en
96 ab [ur]u-mu gil-le-è-má é-mu gul-la du₅-mu-⟨mu⟩ šu-dab₅-ba
97 ab ^rú¹ kar-ra-^rmèn¹ é-kur-ta è-mèn
98 ab ù me-e ní-mu šu-zu-ta nu-mu-ni-è

57 c: nu-ĝ]ál 58 a: LUM G[AN⁷ x] gu-du b: murgu GAN lum-lu[m c: zag-še x-[(x)] 59
b: sig-sig c: ĝ]ar-ĝar, nu-^rum-gub¹ 60 a: mu-u[n-na]-^rdé-e¹ 62 a: lú-šu-dím-ma-ĝá

56 Its lungs were sick, its inwards were sick, its heart was sick,
 57 It held its head in its hands, it could put not food in its mouth,
 58 Its spine was curved, the buttocks/anus was/were . . . , the shoulders were . . . ,
 59 The feet were weak, it could not stand on the ground—(so) he had fashioned it.
 60 Enki said to Ninmah,
 61 “I decreed the destinies for your creations and [provided] them with bread,
 62 You decree the destiny of my creation and (so) provide it with bread.”
 63 When Ninmah saw Ummul, she turned towards . . .
 64 She approached Ummul, questioning it, but it did not open its mouth.
 65 She gave it bread to eat, but it did not stretch out its hand.
 66 She offered it her hand, but it could not rise.
 67 She laid down a mattress(?) for it, but it could not lie on it.
 68 It could not stand, it could not sit, it could not lie, it could not . . . , it could do nothing at all.
 69 Ninmah [spoke] to Enki,
 70 “Your creation is neither living nor dead! I cannot bear it!”
 71 Enki replied to Ninmah,
 72 “I decreed the destiny for the . . . and gave him bread.
 73 I decreed the destiny for the blind man and gave him bread.
 74 I decreed the destiny for the . . . and gave him bread.
 75 I decreed the destiny for the [dim]-wit and [gave] him bread.
 76 I decreed the destiny for the [incontinent man and gave him bread.]
 77 I [decreed] the destiny for the woman who cannot bear children [and gave her bread].
 78 [I decreed the destiny for the] courtier [and gave him bread.]
 79 My sister, you [. . .
 80 . . . [. . .
 81 . [. . . ”
 82 Nin[maḥ spoke to Enki],
 83 “Whatever . [. . .
 84 Whatever . [. . .
 85 .. [. . .
 86 Whatever . [. . .
 87 Whatever . [. . .
 88 Whatever . [. . .
 89 Whatever . [. . .
 90 Whatever . [.]
 91 Whatever any one [.]
 92 [.] [. .] will enter.
 93 Now I cannot live in heaven, I cannot live on earth (or: in the netherworld), I cannot escape
 your attention in the land.
 94 Where you do not live, in a temple I shall build, your words will not be heard.
 95 Where you do not dwell, in a city I shall build, I myself shall lapse into silence.
 96 My city is ruined, my temple is destroyed, my sons are taken captive.
 97 Now, I am a refugee, expelled from Ekur,
 98 And as for me, I cannot save myself from your power.”

93 a: nu-è-en 94 a: ḡiṣ nu-tuku 95 a: ba-si-ge 96 b:]x-la a: dumu-mu 97 a: è-a
 98 a: šu la-ba-ra-è

- 99 ab ^den-ki-ke₄ ^dnin-maḥ-ra mu-na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄
 100 ab inim ka-zu è-a a-ba-a ì-kúr-re
 101 ab u₄-mu-ul gaba-zu dab₅-ba úr-zu-ta šu ḡál-ab-ta
 102 ab ^dnin-mug' kíḡ-ḡá-zu ḡé-bí-lá-lá
 103 ab [x] x [(x)]-ma'ku a-ba-àm saḡ mu-un-ḡá-ḡá
 104 ab lú-^rlu₇' egir-bi-šè tuku-a ka-bi šu ḡé-ni-ḡál
 105 ab ud-da ḡiš-mu me-téš ḡa-ba-i-i ḡéštu ri-ge-zu ḡé-ḡál
 106 ab en-kùm nin-kùm
 107 ab ud-šu-e [n]è ru-ru-gú nam x [x (x)] x ka-tar-šè ḡé-[si-i]l-le
 108 ab nin₉-mu á nam-ur-saḡ-ḡá-m[u]-è
 109 ab šir a' x (x) dugud' x [.] x x x x [.] x
 110 a diḡir ḡiš-tuku-a-bi u₄-mu-ul dù-^ra' [x (x)] é-mu ḡé-ak-[e]
 111 a ^dnin-maḥ-e en gal ^den-ki-ke₄ zà nu-mu-ni-in-DU
 112 a a-a ^den-ki zà-mí-zu du₁₀-ga

99 b: ^dnin-maḥ]-^re' 101 b: -b]a-a 103 b:]x x x (x) ma-^rku-ku' b:]x saḡ na-an-ab-ta-ḡá-ḡá
 104 a: egir'-zu-šè', ḡé-bí-ḡál 105 b: ri-ge-šè

- 99 Enki answered Ninmah,
 100 "Who can alter the words you have uttered?
 101 Remove from your bosom Ummul, who is held at the breast.
 102 Let Ninmug sustain your task.
 103 [.] . [.] . . who can resist?
 104 May the human race in future times show respect to him in song.
 105 Henceforth may my penis be praised, may your unforgotten skill remain.
 106 May Enkum and Ninkum
 107 Sing the praises of the . . . strength of my . . [. .] daily
 108 My sister, [may] my heroic might [be pro]claimed!
 109 [.] [.] .
 110 May the god who hears it (?) . . [. .] Ummul, may he make my house."
 111 Ninmah did not equal the great lord Enki.
 112 Father Enki, praise of you is sweet.

Neo-Assyrian Manuscripts, Section I (Obverse i)

- (1) 1 ud-ri-a-ta ud an-ki-bi-ta ba-an-[x x x (x)]
 i-na u₄-mi ul-lu-ti ša šamû^u eršetum^{tum} u[p-tar-ri-su]
 (2) 2 ḡi₆-ri-a-ta ḡi₆ an-ki-bi-ta b[a-an-x x]
 i-na mu-ši ul-lu-ti [š]a šamû^u eršetum^{tum} up-t[ar-ri-su]
 (3) 3 [mu-ri-a-t]a mu nam a[n-ki-a] ba-an-[tar-ra-eš-a-ba]
 ^ri-na ša-na-a-ti ul-la'-t[i] šá šī-mat šamê u eršetim^{im} [iš-ši-ma]
 (4) 4 ðim-me-er šár-šár an-ki-a ba-tu-^rud'-d[a-eš-a-ba]
 ilānu^{meš} rabātu^{meš} ina šamê^e u eršetim^{im} i'^a[l-du]

- (6) 5 ðim-me-er šár-šár an-ki-a ba-ḥa-la-eš-a-b[a]
ilānu^{meš} *rabātu*^{meš} *šamê u eršetim ú-za-²-i-ḫ[u]*
- (5) 6 ðim-me-er ama-^dMÜŠ-ke₄-e-ne nam-dam-šè ba-tuku-eš-a-ba
ilānu^{meš} {u} *ištarātu*(U.DAR)^{meš} *ana aš-šu-ti i-ḫu-zu*
- (7) 7 ðim-me-er ama-^dMÜŠ-^rke₄-e-ne¹ ḡiš bí-in-dug₄
ilānu^{m[eš]} *iš[tarāti*(U.[DAR])^{me}]^s *ir-ḫu-ma*
- (7) 7 ðim-me-er x [x x x x] ^rú¹-tu-ud-da-eš-àm
ilānu^{m[eš]} x x x x] *ú-al-li-du*
- (9) 8 ðim-me-[er šár-šár kíḡ-ḡá al-súḡ]-eš [ðim-m]e-er tur-tur du₆-l[um im-íl-íl-e-n]e
ilānu^{meš} *rabātu*^{meš} x (x) x [. . .] *dul-lum* [. . .
- (10) 9 ðim-me-er íd-du[n-dun-e-ne] saḥar-bi [. . .
ilānu^{meš} *na-ra-a-[ti iḫ-(te)-ru-ú] ina e-pi-ri-ši-n[a . . . ip-(te)]-ḫu-ú*
- (15) 10 ðim-me-er [. a-n]ir-ra x x [. dum-dam mu-na]-ab-za
ilānu^{meš} [.] *ut-ta-za-mu*
- (11) 11 . . .] . x-eš-àm [. zi-bi m]i-ni-in-gi
. . .] *na-piš-ta-šú-nu [ú-ta]q-qir*
- (12) 12 [ud-ba ḡéštu-daḡal-la]-ke₄ mud ðim-me-er [šár-šár-ra]-ke₄-e-ne
[i-nu-mi-šú rap-šá] uḫ-ni ba-nu-ú ilāni^{meš} *rabūti*^{meš}
- (13) 13 . . . a-sur-r]a ki diḡir na-me [šà-bi nu-mu-u]n-zu-àm
. . . me]-e² *ru-qu-ú-ti* [. l]a *i-du-ú*
- (14) 14 [^den-ki-ke₄ nu-mu-na]-ab-zi-zi
. . . *ul ig-ge-l]et-tu*
- (?) 15 . . .] . da [. -n]e
. . .] x

* * * * *

Section II (Obverse ii and Reverse iii)

- (30–31) 1 am[a-mu]
ki i[m] *ù-me-ni-[in-ḫi]*
um-mi x [.] *it-ti* [. . .
- (32) 2 šà-tur im-ma [. . .
za-e *ù-[me-ni-ḡál (. . .)]*
MIN *ti-iṭ-ta* [. . .
- (33) 3 ^dnin-maḫ-^re¹ [. . .
MIN [. . .
- (34) 4 ^dnin-ìmma ^rd¹ [. . .
^dnin-[. . .
- (35–36) 5 ^dšu(! tablet: KU)-zi-[an-na . . .
[. . .
- (37) 6 ama-mu [. . .
^rd¹[*nin-maḫ-e . . .*
u[m-mi . . .
- 7 ni[ta munus-ra . . . ḫu-mu-ni-in]-íl-l[a]/l[e]
[*nam-dam-šè ḫa]-ba-tuku*
[*z]i-k[a-ru ana sin-niš-ti . . . lišši-ma ana aš-šu-ti] li-ḫu-uz-m[a]*

- 8 du₁₀-nir-ra nit[a-ta munus ù[?]-bì[?]-in-r]i ù-tu-ud-da šà-ta [ù[?]-bì[?]]-in-ta-^rè[?]
ina re-ḥu-ut z[i-ka-ri sin]-niš-tú li-ir-re-ḥ[i] il-da ^ri[?]-[na lib-bi] li-še-ša-[a]
- 9 . . . ^den]-ki-k[e₄]
 . . .] ^dé-a
- 10 d[^rm-eš-àm
 . . . i]b-na-a
- 11 . . .] . in-[x]
 . . .] x-za-kin
- 12 (traces)

* * * * *

The beginnings of five lines from the middle of column iii (on K 5066) cannot be reconciled with the Old Babylonian Sumerian edition. The beginnings of the Sumerian lines as preserved are: a[ma-mu[?], lu[gal[?], ^de[n-ki-ke₄[?], š[à.

* * * * *

Section III

- (28[?]) 1 . . . ba-ni]-^rin-ĝar[?]
 . . .] x-u MIN [. . .] x iš-kun
- (32) 2 [. . . lú-lil] ù-tu-ud-da [. . b]a-ni-in-dím
[ina . . . lil-lu]m i-lit-ta-šú [. . . i]b-ta-ni-šú
- (33) 3 [^den-ki-ke₄ lú-lil] ù-tu-ud-da [. . x]-x-a-ni-ta
[^dé-a lil-lum ina] ^ra-ma[?]-ri-šú

Section IV

- 1 [^dr[?]é[?]-a [. . .
- 2 [nam[?]]-bi mi-ni-t[ar . . .
 [á]š-rum i-š[i-im-šú . . .
- (35) 3 peš-gi ^{lú}a-sur-sur-r[e[?] ba-ni-in-dím]
ina ḥa-an-ši ar-x [. . .
- (36) 4 ^den-ki-ke₄ ^{lú}a-sur-sur-r[e[?] . . .
^dMIN MIN [. . .

dub-1-kam ud-ri-a-ta ud an-ki-x [. . .

Textual notes on pp. 498–509.

K 13456 (Pl. 64)

- 1 ...] x x
 2 ... -m]e⁷-eš
 3 ... -n]e-ke₄
 4 ...]-n]e-ke₄
 5 ... -U[L-eš
 6 ...]-sa₄
 7 ...]-tar-re
 8 ...]x-ni-in-sig₇
 9 ... -ni-i]n-íl
 10 ... -r]i'-in-è
 11 ...]x^den-k[i]
 12 ...] re e x [(x)]

The Exaltation of Nabû

This text is so far known from two Late Assyrian duplicates, VAT 10060 and VAT 13834+14093. Both are from Assur. The former is an oblong extract tablet, 95 × 50 mm, written continuously over obverse, bottom edge, and reverse. The script is broken away at the top of the obverse, and the bottom third of the reverse is also missing. The latter is the bottom portion of a single-column tablet, which no doubt contained the whole work.

The content of VAT 10060 was taken by Langdon and Mullo Weir as an account of the return of Marduk's statue to Babylon under Šamaš-šum-ukîn. The evidence for this interpretation was the similarity of phraseology between this text and the one describing the events under Šamaš-šum-ukîn—a very shaky foundation. Borger, who also edited VAT 10060, rightly pointed out that Nabû is the god whose arrival in Babylon is described and that the occasion was a New Year's festival. In this, he followed Ebeling's description of VAT 13834 as "Beschreibung von Vorgängen beim Neujahrsfest." The obverse describes the lavish reception of Nabû on his arrival in Babylon. In line 17, he enters the presence of his father, Marduk, and according to 18 communicated to him the content of a dream. Sense is lost for a few lines at this point, but in 23 a god becomes angry with an anger that is not appeased until line 26. The problem here and for the next few lines is the identification of subject and object of the verbs. Clarity is only reached in 33–34, where Nabû for certain petitions his parents. He must also be the subject of the preceding line 32, since there is no room for a new subject to have been specified in 33. However, the gap at the beginning of 32 causes some uncertainty. It might be restored, e.g., "Nabû went up" [*e-li-ma* ^dnà], and this would open the possibility that a different god was the subject in line 31. No certainty can be reached with the text in its present state, but the following interpretation is adopted here as the most likely. Lines 23–29 are sufficiently complete for it to be certain that the angry god, before whom the demons scatter, is the one who quietsens down and introduces another into the Akītu house for an impressive rite. All the gods and goddesses are assembled. The god who introduces the other god into this place arranges this convocation, and silence falls as the rites are performed. There can be no real doubt that the angry god is Marduk. It was for him that the pantheon assembled annually in the Akītu house, and the authority he wields there puts his identification beyond reasonable doubt. Nabû must then be the other god introduced into the Akītu house and assigned "the seat of rest." It follows that since the silence is for Marduk, he speaks in 30 and declares that the rites are completed. Which rites? An inauguration of Nabû? There is room to restore "for Nabû" at the beginning of 30. Line 31 is still perplexing, for it would seem that Nabû, encouraged by his father's proclamation, directed his steps to Esagil, if the damaged sign has correctly been restored -īl. This involves the assumption that Nabû got up and left the solemn assembly to return to the city to the main temple there. An alternative is that the signs are part

of a long Sumerian name beginning Esag- which denoted a chapel within the Akītu house. In this case, Nabû quits the “seat of rest” to ascend to a high chapel, where he sets his feet on “the rolling Sea.” From this position, whether in Esagil or in the Akītu house, he petitions his parents and they “exalted his kingship.”

Two particular questions remain. (i) Was the scattering of the demons just another version of the battle with the monsters as known from *Enūma Eliš*? It is at least possible. (ii) When allowance is made for the obscurity of some of the rites, what is in fact happening? The answer to this question comes easily from the history of Nabû as given on pp. 275–277. He was first Marduk’s vizier merely, but in the first millenium he rose to be co-ruler of the universe with Marduk, now considered his father. This text documents this rise, just as *Enūma Eliš* explains how Marduk came to rule the pantheon. The “king” in 15 is no doubt the human king of Babylon, which shows real historical sense, in that this elevation is not put in a remote mythological past. Nabû was in fact elevated at some time between 1100 and 700 B.C., and this text could have been written at any time within this period, though probably not earlier than the reign of Adad-apla-iddina.

The text is metrical: the lines of script correspond with the poetic structure. They are, however, long lines, and VAT 10060 often breaks them and insets the remainder. Quite a number of lines are in fact couplets in the common metre (8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 24, 28, 32, 33), but others are clearly not, so the transliterated text is not set out metrically.

Both fragments have been collated for the present edition, and new readings so obtained are marked with exclamation marks. A copy of VAT 14093 is given on Pl. 64.

Literature

The cuneiform texts

- 1923 E. Ebeling KAR 360 (VAT 10060)
 1948 E. Ebeling Or. NS 17, pls. 25–26 (VAT 13834), reprinted in:
 1950 E. Ebeling *Parfümrezepte und kultische Texte aus Assur* (Rome), pls. 25–26

Editions of VAT 10060

- 1929 C. J. Mullo Weir JRAS 1929 553–55
 1956 R. Borger *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons* (Graz) p. 78 and pp. 91–92 (cf. AfO 18 117)
 1978 F. Pomponio *Nabû* (Rome) pp. 124–25 (lines 27–38)

Edition of VAT 10060 and VAT 13834+14093

- 1994 B. Pongratz-Leisten *Ina šulmi īrub* (Mainz) pp. 244–46 (14038 error for 14093)

VAT 13834+14093, duplicated in lines 3–18 by VAT 10060

- 1 . . .] x me iḫ [. . .
 2 . . .] akli^{meš} me^{meš} i[t- . . .
 3 [x x x (x)] x x [. . . gišk]akki^l la pa-de-e x [. . .
 4 lúnāre^{meš} ina gis^lz[ā^l-mī^{meš} e]b-bu-ti irāti^{meš} ṭābāti(dùg-ga)^{meš} uš-par-du^l x lá/me x [. . .]
 5 lúkalē^{meš} ina ma-an-zi-i ḫal-ḫal-la-[ti] ta-nit-ti qar-ra-du-ti-šu uš-ta-na-šu-ú-[ni]
 6 ḫar-ra-an dim-kur-kur-ra^{ki} mar-kas kib-ra-[a]-ti ṣa-bit-ma ki-šad^{id}pu-ra-na-ti ḫi-i-šá
- 7 ir-kab^{giš*} má^{*}-íd^{*}-da-ḫé-du₇ ru-ku-ub-šu el-lum šá ki-ma šu-me-šú as-mu
 8 ú-še-li it-ti-šu^dbēlēti(gašan)^{meš} né-ba-a-ti šá bal-tú za-²na lit-bu-šá šá-ru-ri
 9 na-bi^dšam-ši ša ḫi-it-bu-šu^dnanna-ri ša šur-ba-ta ilu-ú-su
 10 ša^{id}a-ra-aḫ-ti BE-rat nuḫši(ḫé-nun) i-ta-ti-šá gu-um-mur-ma i-šad-di-ḫa a-na ma-ḫi-ir-ti
 11 i-te₄-ḫa-a a-na ka-[ri]-a-ri bābi sa-a-me ina abul^dú-ra-áš iš-ta-kan nu-bat-tú
 12 li-i pu-ul-lu-qú as-li tu-ub-bu-ḫu ar-man-nu qud-du-šú sur-ru-qu ki-šuk-ki
 13 [ṣ]e^{*}-lu-ú qut-rin-ni e-reš za-²i ta-a-bi ki-ma im-ba-ri kab-ti sa-ḫi-ip šá-ma-mu
 14 šuq-qu-ú di-pa-ru na-[pa]r-du mu-šú ištēn bēru^{ta-ām} qaq-qa-ru na-mir-tú šak-na-at
 15 [id^l]-ka²-ma² šarru kap-par-re-e a-na mār^dbēl šá ap-se-e il-la-ku su-up-pu-šú-un
 16 [šah-t]a^l-a-ma rap-šá-a-ti gi-mir šal-mat qaq-qa-di ú-na-áš-šá-qu qaq-qa-ru
 17 [x x x (x)] rap-šu x x ma nu ú pa [x (x)] i-te-ru-ub ma-ḫar za-ri-šu
 18 na-ši x [. .] x x [. . .] x x x [. . .] x^l šu-ut-ti-šu ú-šá-an-na-a a-na abī-šú
 19 . . .] r^l-ḫi-tu ma-ḫar-šú ul-te-te-eq
 20 . . .] ú gab-bi [x x (x)] x x [. . .
 21 . . .]-ta^l-²UB nu-úr-[šú]
 22 . . .] x x [x (x)] x bu ṣa [x] x ka-lu ina a-mat šar gim-r[i]
 23 [ḫar²-ra²-an² á²-ki²]-it ul-[t]a-aš-bi-[it-su a]g-gat [ka]b-ta-as-su šá-nu-ú zi-mu-š[u]
 24 [a-na] r^lni-iš^l nu-úr inē^{ll}-šu ṣa-ri-ri r[ag-gu] r^lú^l ši-in-nu it-taḫ-[r]a^l-me-tu šu-ri-pi[š]^l
 25 [gal]lē^{meš} namtare^{meš} a^r-na ra-ma²-n[i-šú-nu n]a^r-pu^l-ul-tú il-tak-n[u]
 26 [u]l-tu uz-za-šu i-nu-ḫu i[p]-šá-ḫu ka-bat-tuš im-me-ru zi-mu-šu
 27 ú-še-rib-šu-ma ana é-[s]iskur bit ik-ri-bi šu-bat [tap-š]u-uh-ti ú-še-šib-šu
 28^dt-gì-gì^danunnaki(60×10) ilāni^{meš} ú^diš-ta-ri im-nu r^lú^l šu-me-lu ú-šá-aš-bi-tú man-za-al-tú
 29 maḫri-iš-šú r^lqu-ú^l-lu šá-qu-um-ma-tu na^r-du-ú^l na-mur-ra-tú tab-kàt
 30 . . .] ú-šal-lim-ma x-qe^l-e ú-qa-ti ag-da-mar šu-luḫ-ḫu
 31 . . .] ilāni^{meš} kab-tu ru^l-bu-ú a-na é-sag-í[l] šá <i>-ra[m-m]u iš-ta-kan pa-ni-š[u]
 32 [i-ru-ub-ma] a-na maš-tak-i-šú ši-i-ru eli ti-amat [g]al-la-t[i] ú-kin še-pu-uš-[šu]
 33 [a-na^dmarūtuk] ga-áš-ri^den-líl ilāni^{meš} šá-qé-e za-re-e-šú^l tas^l-li-tú iq-bi-[ma]
 34 [a-na^dzar-pa-ni-t]i rabīti^u šar-rat ba-an-ti-šú il-li-ku su-up-pu-[šu]
 35 . . .]-ú šur-ra-šú-nu ib-lul-ma ka-bat-ta-šú-nu uš-ta-b[il]
 36 [a-na . . .^dn]à māri na-ram lib-bi-šú-un ik-tar-ra-ba ki-lal-la-a[n]
 37 . . .] x ra-biṣ ú-za-²i-nu-šu-ma ra-šub-ba-tú i-še-nu-[šu]
 38 . . .] x šar-ru-ta-šú ú-šar-bu-ú ú-šá-ti-ru be-lu-us-[su]
 39 . . .] a-na šu-bat re-²i a-na [m]a-ḫa-zi ši-i-ri iš-ta-kan pa-[ni-šú]
 40 . . .^dbēlēti^{meš}] né-ba-a-ti šá bal-tú [z]a-²na lit-bu-šá šá-[ru-ri]
 41 . . .] x a-na nu-úr la-ni-š[i-na] r^lit^l-ta-mir é-[. . .
 42 . . .] da-lil [. . .
 43 . . .] x e [. . .

7 Tablet (10060): ir-kab-ma íd-má-i-da-ḫé-du₇ 10060: el-lu ša ki-i 8 10060: ša, lit-bu-šá-ru-ri 9 10060: ^dnanna
 13834+: om. šá² 10 13834+: gu-um-mu-ra-ma, ma-ḫír-[11 13834+: nu-bat-t[um]
 12 10060: ar-ma-nu qud-du-šú sur-ru-uq-qu 13 Tablet (10060): [l]a-lu-ú 10060: qut-rin-ni i-riš
 14 10060: qaq-qa-r[a^l 15 10060: ap-si-i 16 10060: -n]a^l-áš^l-šá^l-qu

VAT 13834+14093, duplicated in lines 3–18 by VAT 10060

- 2 . . .] food and water . [. . .
3 [. . . .] . . [. . .] merciless weapon . [. . .
4 Singers with lyres [. . .] pure [. . .], pleasant chants, they made bright . . . [. . .
5 The lamentation-priests with drum and tympanum were proclaiming the praise of his heroic character.
6 He took the road to Babylon, the Bond of the World-regions, and hastened to the edge of the
 Euphrates.
7 He travelled in Maiddaḥedu, his pure boat, which, as its name says, is elegant.
8 He took with him the shining ladies, adorned with vigour, clothed with rays of light,
9 (Thus did) the one called Šamaš, who is exuberant, Nannar, whose divinity is very great.
10 He made his way all along the Araḥtu, the channel that brings prosperity, proceeding upstream,
11 Drawing near to the quay of the Red Gate, he spent the night at the city gate of Uraš.
12 Bulls were slaughtered, sheep butchered; apricots were dedicated, . . . were scattered;
13 Incense was burnt, the odour of sweet resin covered the sky like a thick mist;
14 Torches were raised and the night was lit up; for one league's distance the district was ablaze with light.
15 The king summoned (?) that they might address prayers to the son of Bēl,
16 In [humility] all the vast peoples were kissing the ground.
17 [. . . .] wide [. .] he entered his sire's presence,
18 Bearing . [. .] . . [. . .] . . . [. . .] . of his dream he repeated to his father,
19 . . .] which he watched he caused to pass before him.
20 . . .] . all [. . .] . . [. . .
21 . . . his/its] light [. .] . . .
22 . . .] . . [. . .] . . . [. .] . . . at the word of the king of all things.
23 He set [him on the road to the Akītu-house], with fierce heart and threatening visage,
24 [At] the raising of the dazzling light of his eyes the evil and wicked melted like ice,
25 Demons and devils spontaneously gave up the ghost.
26 After his anger was appeased and his heart quietened, his face shone;
27 He took him into Esiskur, the House of Benediction, and set him on the seat of rest,
28 The Igigi and Anunnaki, the gods and goddesses, he stationed to the right and to the left.
29 At his presence peace and silence were imposed, awe fell,
30 “. . .] I have completed [. . .], I have finished the . . . , I have accomplished the rites.”
31 . . .] of the gods, the reverent, the noble, set his face towards Esagi[1], which he loved,
32 [He entered] his lofty shrine [and] set his feet on the rolling Sea,
33 [To] mighty [Marduk], the Enlil of the gods, the high one, his sire, he uttered a prayer,
34 [To] great [Zarpānītum], the queen, his mother, his prayers were addressed.
35 . . .] , their mind reflected (?), their heart pondered.
36 . . .] Nabû, their beloved son, they both blessed,
37 . . .] . they greatly adorned him and loaded [him] with terror,
38 . . .] . they exalted his kingship and made [his] lordship excel.
39 . . .] to the dwelling of the shepherd, to the lofty holy place he set [his] face.
40 . . .] the shining [ladies], adorned with vigour, clothed with rays of light,
41 . . .] . at the light of their figures . [. . .] shone brightly.

A Unilingual / Bilingual Account of Creation

This text is known from four copies. The earliest, the bottom right-hand corner of the tablet, is Old Babylonian, in Sumerian only, and was excavated at Isin. It was announced by C. Wilcke in *Isin-İřān Baĥrīyāt* I (ABAW, Phil.-hist. Klasse N.F. 79, 1971) p. 86, but has not been published hitherto. It has been used here from a copy of Wilcke without collation. It differs substantially from the other three copies and will be described after they have been introduced.

The most complete of the three other copies was excavated at Assur and is Middle Assyrian, ca. 1200–1100 B.C. It is a beautiful specimen of Middle Assyrian calligraphy from the hand of Kidin-Sīn, the junior scribe, son of Sutū, the king's scribe, from whom we also have the two Middle Assyrian copies of the god-list An = *Anum*. There are two pieces from the Ashurbanipal libraries, apparently parts of one tablet, K 4175+ and 82-3-23, 146. The fourth copy is represented by a small fragment only, also in Late Assyrian script, A 17643, of unknown provenance.

The three Assyrian copies are bilingual and divide the text into short sections separated by rulings; to the left of each column of text is a subcolumn, further divided into two in the Ashurbanipal copy, containing groups of syllables. These form a "Silbenalphabet," as it was called by its first editor, B. Landsberger, which is also found independently of any literary composition. Its history has been reconstructed by Landsberger as follows. In origin, it was an elementary textbook for the training of scribes, who had to copy out the groups of signs for writing exercises. It was probably composed in Nippur under the Third Dynasty of Ur, but by the beginning of the Old Babylonian period, from when copies are first attested, it had been replaced in Nippur by a longer list of the same kind (called "Silbenalphabet B" to distinguish it from ours, "Silbenalphabet A"), though it had been spread elsewhere, as copies from Kish, Sippar, Tell Harmal, Susa, and Ras Shamra testify. However, in the Old Babylonian period it went out of use as an exercise, and its original purpose was no longer understood. Henceforth, it was treated as an esoteric document and was expounded in a double-column edition, which was copied at least until the time of Ashurbanipal. Extracts similarly expounded also found their way into sundry lexical series. The syllables in origin seem to have been personal names of a simple type or name elements, but the Old Babylonian scholars worked in complete ignorance of this, and their interpretations, though usually *per se* sound, often conflict with the onomastic origin. The present writer has found no connection, however abstruse, between the syllables and their accompanying sections, and it is very doubtful if any real connection ever did exist. No doubt the myth first circulated alone, and later the Silbenalphabet was distributed among its lines as a piece of esoteric scholarship. Both preserved colophons require that this text be restricted to initiates, some-

thing that does not occur with straight mythological texts. In the present edition, the syllables are dropped as irrelevant.

The Middle Assyrian copy has the Sumerian and Akkadian arranged in parallel columns, but the two Late Assyrian copies put the whole text in single narrow columns, in which the Sumerian of each section covers two to four lines and about the same number of Akkadian lines follow it. The most striking impression left by a careful textual study of the surviving material is the extent of textual corruption. To take one example: in obverse 21–23, two groups of gods reply to Enlil. Evidently, these two groups have been addressed. In the previous lines, this address is presumably to be found. However, in the series of questions strung over lines 16–20, the verbs in the Akkadian all have first-person plural prefixes (“What shall we make?” etc.) while the Sumerian verbs have in each case a second-person plural suffix (“What will you make?” etc.). While the main copy of the text has the prefix *hé-* on each Sumerian verb, which can properly be used with a second-person suffix, the copy from Nineveh twice has the first-person prefix *ga-* and once *hé-*! The main copy is at least consistent in its Sumerian grammar with these verbs, but in all four cases it has a Sumerian root which is not the one presupposed in its Akkadian translation. In contrast, the Ninevite copy has almost complete harmony between the Sumerian and Akkadian roots. Another example of scribal corruption occurs in reverse 18, where the main copy alone is preserved. The Akkadian translation contains the phrase “by themselves,” and from other occurrences of the same phrase in obv. 11 and rev. 24 one would expect *ní-te-a-ni* in Sumerian, but this is lacking in rev. 18. The verb in the Sumerian has two meaningless signs in the middle, *IM.ZU*, and since the first one can be read *ní* “self,” very probably *IM.ZU* is a corrupt remnant of the missing phrase which somehow found its way into the middle of the verbal complex. The frequent and serious divergencies between the three copies is a further instance of the unsatisfactory state of the text as preserved. Indeed, few sentences give the impression of integrity.

The Old Babylonian copy is, if anything, worse than the other three. It presents the Sumerian without the Akkadian translation, in a single narrow column; to the left is a narrower column with the Silbenalphabet; and a third column to the right of the Sumerian offers the translations of the double-column edition of that list, with some variations from the previously known form. The tablet is also unusual in that, when complete, it has four columns, two on each side, but the two on the reverse ran from left to right like those on the obverse. Thus, two separate sections remain: the first from the middle of the text, the second from the end. A fair quantity of the preserved myth on this tablet is also known from the later copies, and, on the obverse especially, it is often impossible to offer a translation, though odd phrases do appear in the later tablets. In line 3 of the reverse *níg-la* corresponds to *mimma ella* of the Nineveh tablet, so clearly the Old Babylonian has omitted a sign: *níg-(siki)l-la*. Perhaps more textual corruption is present. Thus, a transliteration is all that can be offered of the Old Babylonian edition (p. 360).

Sense generally can be obtained up to line 27 of the obverse of the main text, but from then on chaos prevails. For example, in obverse 25–27, the gods declare their plan to create man, but nowhere is the fulfilment of this plan described. Indeed, the story is quite lost toward the end.

Despite the present condition of the text, the present writer considers that it was a Sumerian text composed no later than early in the Old Babylonian period. It is of course quite impossible to offer a scientific translation of a text in this state, but for those who cannot read the original languages,

something has to be given. For cuneiform scholars, the three texts are set out in extenso to show the problems. There are few attempts at restoration, even from parallel lines. The translation resorts to emendation at times (marked with exclamation marks), and asterisks are put where sense cannot be obtained. As between the Sumerian and the Akkadian, whatever seems to give best sense from passage to passage has been followed. The Middle Assyrian copy is presented as a complete piece of literature, as the note until “complete” at its conclusion indicates, but the colophon of the Ashurbanipal copy shows that in this edition it was part of a long series, namely, the second tablet. The first contained the double-column edition of the Silbenalphabet, this myth was the second, and the catch-line given, “When the gods [like man],” is the first line of *Atra-ḫasis*. Hence, the third and subsequent tablets in the series contained this Akkadian epic.

Manuscripts

- Main text = VAT 9307: copy by E. Ebeling, KAR 4; photograph in *Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen* VII/5, pls. I–II. Readings obtained by collation, most of which are clear on the photograph, are marked with exclamation marks.
- K = K 4175 + Sm 57 + 80-7-19, 184 with 82-3-23, 146. K 4175 + Sm 57 copied by C. Bezold, *PSBA* 10 (1888) pls. I–II; 80-7-19, 184 copied by Campbell Thompson, *CT* 18 47; 82-3-23, 146 copied by T. J. Meek, *RA* 17 (1920) 189. New copies on Pls. 65–66.
- A = A 17643: copy on Pl. 65.
- Old Babylonian copy = IB 591: copy by C. Wilcke on Pl. 67. (The vertical lines on the copy were added to help in the accurate copying and are not on the original, which is inaccessible for the present.)

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Obverse

- 1 u₄ an ki-ta tab gi-na bad-a-ta-eš-a-b[a][!]/t[a][!]
[...]
- 2 ^dama-^dINNIN-ke₄-e-ne ba-sig₇-sig₇-e-dè
[...]
- 3 u₄ ki gá-gá-e-dè ki dù-dù-a-ta
[...]
- 4 u₄ giš-ḫur-ḫur an-ki-a mu-un-gi-na-eš-a-ba
[...]
- 5 e pa₅-re šu si-sá gá-gá-e-dè
i-[ka ù pal-ga . . .
- 6 ^{id}idigna ^{id}buranun gú-ne-ne gar-eš-a-ba
i-x[!] . . .

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 1959 M. Çiğ, H. Kızılyay and B. Landsberger, *Zwei altbabylonische Schulbücher aus Nippur* (Ankara)
 1965 J. Nougayrol, *AS* 16 29–39 (copies from Ras Shamra)
 1965 E. Sollberger, *AS* 16 21–28 (OB tricolunar edition)

Obverse

- 1 When heaven was separated from earth, its faithful companion,
- 2 (When) the goddesses had been created,
- 3 When heaven (!) was set up and earth was made,
- 4 When the designs of heaven and earth were consummated,
- 5 (When) canal and irrigation ditch were organized,
- 6 (When) Tigris and Euphrates were dug,

- 7 an^den-líl^dutu^den-ki
^da-n[u¹ ^den-líl^dšamaš^dé-a]
- 8 dingir-gal-gal-e-ne
 ilānu^{meš} [rabātu^{meš}]
- 9 ^da-nun-na dingir-gal-gal-e-ne
^da-nun-na-ku [ilānu^{meš} rabātu^{meš}] K: ^dMIN [. . . rabū^{ti}]^{meš}
- 9a (on K only) . . . k]ù-ga
 . . .] x-nu
- 10 bára maḥ ní-te mu-un-KI-dúru mú-a
 ina parakki ši-ri [. . . K: . . .] x-du₃-ru [. . .
 K: . . . š]i-ri [. . .
- 11 ní-te-a-ni šu mi-ni-íb-gi₄-gi₄
 ú-ši-bu-ma i-na r[a-ma-ni-šu-nu . . . K: . . .] -gi₄
 K: . . . ir-m]u-u [ina ra-ma-ni-šú]-nu [im⁷-tal⁷-k]n⁷
- 12 u₄ giš-ḥur-ḥur an-ki-a mu-un-gi-na-eš-a-ba
 ú-šu-rat šamê u eršeti^t [. . . K: . . .]-^rke₄ [. . .
- 13 e pa₃ šu si-sá gá-gá-e-dè
 i-ka ù pal-ga [. . .
- 14 ^{id}idigna ^{id}buranun K: ^{id} . . .
 i-di-ig-lat ù pu-r[at-ta] K: MIN [. . .
- 15 gú-ne-ne gar-eš-a-ba K: mu-u[n. . .]-uš-TUM
 ú-kín-n[u] K: ú-kin-n[u]
- 16 a-na-àm ḥé-en-bal-en-zé-en K: a-na-àm ga-ab-dù-en-zé-e[n]
 mi-na-a i ni-pu-uš K: mi-na-a i ni-pu-uš
- 17 a-na-àm ḥé-en-dím-en-zé-en K: a-na-àm ga-ab-dím-en-zé-e[n]
 mi-na-a i ni-te¹-pu¹-uš¹ K: MIN i ni-ib-ni
- 18 ^da-nun-na dingir-gal-gal-e-ne K: ^da-nun-na dingir-gal-gal-e-ne
^da-nun-na-ku ilānu^{meš} rabātu^{meš} K: ^dMIN ilāni^{meš} rabūti^{meš}
- 19 a-na-àm ḥé-en-bal-en-zé-en K: a-na-àm ḥé-bal-e-zé-en
 mi-na-a i ni-pu-uš K: mi-na-a i nu-uš-⟨bal⟩-kit
- 20 a-na-àm ḥé-en-dím-en-zé-en K: a-na-àm mu-un-me-e-e-zé-en
 mi-na-a i ni-ib-ni K: MIN i ni-ib-ni
- 21 dingir-gal-gal-e-ne mu-un-sur-re-eš-a K: dingir-gal-e-ne súg-ge-eš
 ilānu^{meš} rabātu^{meš} šu-ut iz-zi-zu K: ilāni^{meš} rabūti^{meš} i-zi-zu
- 22 ^da-nun-na dingir nam-tar-re K: ^da-nun-na dingir nam-tar-ra
^da-nun-na-ku mu-ši-im ši-ma-ti K: ^da-nun-na-ki mu-šim šimāti(nam)^{meš}
- 23 min-na-ne-ne ^den-líl-ra mu-un-na-ni-íb-gi₄-gi₄
 ki-lal-lu-šu-nu ^den-líl ip-pa-l[u]
- 24 uzu-mú-a^{ki} dur-an-ki-ke₄
 i-na uzu-mú-a^{ki} ri-ki-is šamê u eršeti^{ti}
- 25 ^dalla^dalla im-ma-an-šum-en-zé-en
^dALLA ^dALLA i ni-iṭ-bu-ḥa A: . . . -b]u-uḥ-ma
- 26 múd-múd-e-ne nam-lú-u₁₈-lu mú-mú-e-dè
 i-na da-me-šu-nu i ni-ib-na-a a-mi-lu-ta A: [mú]d-bi-e-ne sag ḥé-mú-mú
 A: ina dami(mud)-šú-nu a-mi-lu-ta i ni-ib-ni
- 27 á-giš-gar-ra dingir-e-ne éš-gàr-ne ḥé-a
 iš-kar ilāni^{meš} lu iš-kar-ši-na A: á-giš-gar-ra dingir-ra-ni-kam éš-gàr-bi ḥé
 A: iš-kar i-lu lu iš-kar-šú-nu
- 28 ud-da-rí-šè e-sur
 a-na ūmi^{meš} da-ru-ti A: [ud-d]a-rí-šè e pa₃, K: ud-x [. . .
 K: ana u₄-m[i . . .
- 29 gi-dè
 mi-iš-ra a-na ku-un-ni A: . . .]-x-x-^rdè¹, K: ki-x [. . .
 K: . . .] ana k[u- . . .

- 7–8 (Then) Anu, Enlil, Šamaš and Ea, the great gods,
- 9 And the Anunnaki, the great gods,
- 10 Took their seats * on a lofty dais *
- 11 And deliberated (!) among themselves:
- 12 “Now that the design of heaven and earth have been consummated,
- 13 Canals and irrigation ditches have been organized,
- 14–15 Tigris and Euphrates have been dug,
- 16 What shall we/you make?
- 17 What shall we/you fashion?
- 18 Ye Anunnaki, great gods,
- 19 What do we/you propose?
- 20 What do we/you say?”
- 21 The great gods who were present,
- 22 The Anunnaki gods (and) those who decrees destinies,
- 23 Both groups answer Enlil,
- 24 “In Uzumua, the bond of heaven and earth,
- 25 Let us slaughter the Alla deities
- 26 And make mankind from their blood.
- 27 The tasks of the gods shall be their tasks,
- 28–29 That, for ever, boundary ditches may be established,

- 30 ^{gis}al ^{gis}tubšig šu-né
al-la ù tuḫ-ši-ik-ka
- 31 gá-gá-e-dè
a-na qa-ti-ši-na a-na ša-ka-ni
- 32 é-dingir-gal-gal-e-ne
šub-tu rabītu^{tu} ša ilāni^{mes}
- 33 bára maḫ-a túm-ma
ša a-na ḫa-rak-ki ši-ri šu-^rlu^l-kát^l
- 34 a-gàr a-gàr-re giš-ḫur-ḫur-re
ú-ga-ru a-na ú-ga-ri uš-[šu-ri]
- 35 ud-da-rí-šè
a-na ūmi^{mes} da-ru-[ti]
- 36 gi-na-e-dè
mi-iš-ra a-na ku-u[n-ni]
- 37 é si-sá-e-dè-zé-en
i-ka a-na šu-te^l-[šu-ri]
- 38 gi-na-e-dè
mi-iš-ra a-na k[u-un-ni]
- 39 é limmu sù ú-ḫi-a
 (traces)
- 40 zil-zil-e-dè
 [. . .
- 41 im-šèg im-šèg x [. . .
 [. . .

Reverse

- 1 ki-ùr sur gi-na-e-dè
mi-iš-ra a-n[a ku-un-ni]
- 2 gur₇ nam-mi-ni-íḫ-gur-gur-re
karâ a-n[a gur-ru-ni]
- 3–5 ḫe-e-ḫi
he-e-ḫi (traces of 4 and 5 on K)
- 6 a-šà^d a-nun-na-ke₄-e-ne šár-šár-e-dè
eqel^d a-nun-na-ki a-na [. . .
- 7 ḫé-gál kalam-ma zil-zil-e-dè
ḫegalla i-na māti a-na r[u-bi]-i
- 8 ezen-dingir-e-ne šu-du₇-a
i-sin-ni ilāni^{mes} a-na š[uk-l]u-li
- 9 a sid dé-dé-da
mê^{mes} ka-šu-ti a-na nu-qí-i
- 10 te-unu₇-gal dingir-e-ne bára maḫ-a túm-ma
šub-tu rabītu^{tu} ša a-na ḫarakki ši-ri šu-lu-kát
- 11 ^dul-le-gar-ra an-né-gar-ra
^dul-le-gar-ra an-né-gar-ra
- 12 mu-ne-ne ì-pà-da
šu-me-šu-nu ta-sà-na-qar
- 13 gud udu máš-anše ku₆ mušen-bí-ta-a
alpa immera bu-la nūni^{mes} ù iššūrāti^{mes}
- 14 ḫé-gál kalam-ma zil-zil-e-dè
ḫegalla i-na māti a-na du-še-e

30–31 That pick and carrying basket may be put in their hands,

32–33 * the house of the great gods that is suited for a lofty dais *

34 To mark out field by field,

35–36 That, for ever, boundary ditches may be established,

37 That canals may be maintained,

38 * that boundary ditches may be established,

39–40 . . . that plants may grow luxuriantly,

41 That rains . [. . .

Reverse

1 * foundation * that boundary ditches may be established *

2 That grain be piled up (!)

3–5 (broken)

6 That the field of the Anunnaki may be made productive,

7 That prosperity may be multiplied in the land,

8 That divine festivals may be regulated,

9 That cold water may be libated,

10 * a great shrine that is suitable for a lofty dais *

11–12 You shall call their names Ullegarra and Annegarra.

13 * oxen, sheep, cattle, fish and birds *

14 That prosperity may be multiplied in the land

- 15 ^den-ul ^dnin-ul
^den-ul ^dnin-ul i-na pi-i-šú-nu
- 16 ka-kù-ga-a-ni siskur_x-re
 el-li uk-ta-an-nu
- 17 ^da-ru-ru nam-nin-a túm-ma
^dbēlet-ilāni^{meš} ša ana be-lu-te šu-lu-[kát]
- 18 giš-ḥur gal-gal mu-un-IM.ZU-ḥur-ḥur-re
 i-na ra-ma-ni-šú-nu ú-šu-ra-te ra-[ab-ba-te uš-ši-r]u¹
- 19 gašam gašam šām-im šām-im
 um-ma-nu a-na um-ma-ni nu-²-ú a-na [nu-²-i]
- 20 še-gim ní-bi-ne ki-ta sig₇-sig₇-ki-gim
 ki-ma še-em a-na <ra>-ma-ni-šu a-na bu-ni-^ri¹
- 21 ní-g nu-kúr-ru mul da-rí-šè
 ša la ut-ta-ka-ru kakkab šamê^e da-r[u-ti]
- 22 u₄-ge₆-na-ta ezen-dingir-e-ne
 ur-ra ù mu-ú-ša (For 22–23 K offers: . . .] gar-ra-ta
 iš-tu {ši} ši-im-ta i-ši-im-mu mim-ma el-la iš-ku-un)
- 23 šu-du₇-a
 i-sin-ni ilāni^{meš} a-na šuk-lu-lì
- 24 ní-te-a-ni giš-ḥur gal-gal-la
 i-na ra-ma-ni-šú-nu ú-šu-ra-te K: ní-bi-ta giš-ḥur-gal-bi-e-n[e]
 K: ina ra-ma-ni-šú-nu ú-šu-ra-a-ti
- 25 mu-un-ḥur-ḥur-re
 ra-ab-ba-te uš-ši-ru K: ḥur-ḥur-re
 K: ra-biš uš-šu-ra
- 26 an ^den-líl
^da-nu ^den-líl K: (deest)
 K: ^da-nu-um [. . .
- 27 ^den-ki ^dnin-maḥ
^dé-a ù ^dnin-maḥ K: ^den-ki-ke₄ x x [. . .
 K: . . .] ù [. . .
- 28 dingir-gal-gal-e-ne
 ilānu^{meš} rabūtu^{meš} K: dingir-gal-g[al . . .
 K: ilāni^{meš} . . .
- 29 ki nam-lú-u₁₈-lu ba-ni-in-dím-eš
 a-šar a-mi-lu-tu ib-ba-nu-ú
- 30 ^dnisaba ki-bé nam-en-na-an-gub
^dnisaba i-na aš-ri šu-a-tu ku-un-na-at (For 29–30 K offers: x [. . .] sur [. . .
 zi-[. . .] ip-[. . .])

Colophon

- 31 ad-ḥal mu-du-ú mu-da-a lu-kal-lim al-til igi-kár gaba-ri libir-ra
 32 šu ^mki-din-^dšn(30) ^{lú}dub-sar tur a su-ti-e ^{lú}dub-sar lugal

Colophon of K

^dnisaba zà-[mí]
^dnisaba nam-[. . .
 ina a[š⁷- . . .
 ú-[. . .

ni-šir-ti nam-[azu]
 šá ina aš-ri šak-nu mūdū^u [mūdā^a li-kal-lim]

e-nu-ma i-lu₄ a-[me-lum]
 dub-2-kám-ma me-me [kúr-kú]r i-li
 kur ^man-šár-[dù-a]
 man kur [aššur^{ki}]

15–16 They supplicated Enul and Ninul with their pure utterance.

17 Aruru, who is fit to be appointed mistress,

18 * by themselves they conceived the great designs *

19 Skilled worker after skilled worker, unskilled after [unskilled],

20 Grew (?) out of the ground of their own accord, like barley.

21–22 The eternal unchanging stars, (which shine) by day and night,

23 That divine festivals may be regulated *

(K comes in at this point with: After they had decreed the destiny and had appointed something pure)

24–25 * by themselves they conceived the great designs,

26–28 (Did) Anu, Enlil, Ea and Ninmah, the great gods.

29 Where mankind was created,

30 There Nisaba is established.

Textual notes on pp. 510–511.

IB 591

Obverse

- 1 ...] x [...
 2 [x] x gi₄ x [(x)]
 3 [(x)] x NI⁷ x x
 4 [x] gi-né-d[è]
 5 [(x) A]N bi ri bi x
 6 x šu taḥ nun-na-ke₄
 7 IM GAB an-na
 8 IM zi ka šargeš⁷ šargeš⁷
 9 ki-ùr níĝ-gi-na kin-kin
 10 gur₇ du₆ gur₇ maš-a
 11 gú gur-gur-re¹-dam
 12 x x x (x) ka
 13 [x x] gi-né-dè
 14 ...] AN x
 15 ...]-ke₄[?]

Parallel lines of main text

Obv. 36?

Obv. 38?

Obv. 41

Rev. 1

Rev. 2

Rev. 2

* * * * *

Reverse

- 1 kíĝ-ĝá x x ab⁷
 2 tar
 3 níĝ-(sikil)-la ba-ni-in-ĝar
 4 ĝiš-ḥur-ra
 5 ba-ni-in-ḥur
 6 an
 7 ^den-líl
 8 ^dutu
 9 é-a
 10 ^ddiĝir-maḥ[?]
 11 [x (x)]
 12 [x (x)]
 13 ^dnissaba [...] x

Rev. 22–23 K

Rev. 22–23 K

Rev. 24

Rev. 25

Rev. 26

Rev. 26

Rev. 27

Rev. 27

Rev. 30

* * * * *

The Slaying of Labbu

This myth is preserved on a piece of a tablet from the libraries of Ashurbanipal, and although it has attracted much attention since it was first published more than a century ago, no duplicates or additional fragments have yet been found. Apparently, the whole myth was inscribed on the one tablet, but only its beginning and end are preserved. Even here, the ends of the lines are missing. These deficiencies make any interpretation often hypothetical.

The story begins with the human race in misery. No explanation is given, unless it occurred in the missing line-ends. A similar beginning occurs with the Fable of the Tamarisk and the Palm (*BWL* 155), and the same word for “became weary” (*i-ta-an-ḫu*) is used. Unfortunately, the context there is not completely understood either, but it leads on to the appointment of a king, which suggests that the human misery marked the period before the gods gave the arts of civilization. Lawlessness and lack of social institutions no doubt explain the population decrease in our line 2. The following lines connect with a description of the monster and are crucial for a correct understanding of the whole. The traditional interpretation assumes that the distress of the peoples resulted from the monster’s activity and that lines 5–7 draw attention to the cause of the distress. In particular, line 7 has been taken to mean that Enlil drew the monster in the sky to underline the seriousness of the situation. However, the fable has a similar distress without a monster. Also, this interpretation assumes that the story first describes the effect and only later the cause, an unlikely sophistication in so simple a narrative. The picture of Enlil drawing on the sky is altogether bizarre. In other similar situations, the Babylonian gods hold councils, if they are not too overcome with fear to do anything. Finally, no interpreter has been able to restore the verb in line 4 to fit this assumption. Our view is that the groans of disordered humanity deprived Enlil of sleep. This theme is well known from the *Atra-ḫasīs Epic* and *Enūma Eliš*. The very phrase used in *Atra-ḫasīs* can be restored in line 4, and convincing parallels for 3 and 4 exist (see the note). Thus, Enlil speaks in lines 5–6, ordering the Sea to produce a monster to exterminate the human race. In the safety of heaven, he himself designs it. However, when the monster shows its powers, it gets out of hand, like the flood, and the gods are terrified. Sîn, in particular, goes into eclipse. It is at once asked who will go, kill the monster, save “the broad land,” and “exercise kingship [. . .].” The missing words are again crucial. If the volunteer was only to save the land, then he might have been promised authority over it alone—e.g., *eli ma-a-ti*. On the other hand, it is possible that, as in *Enūma Eliš*, the gods were so scared that they offered supreme authority to anyone able to save them. If so, it follows that they were willing to throw over Enlil for some other ruler. The deity finally persuaded to take up the challenge cannot be ascertained. Tišpak is first asked, but the obverse breaks off as he raises objections. If the plots of the *Anzû Epic* and *Enūma Eliš* are reliable indications, one may suspect that he refused, and perhaps others

after him, until finally a champion came forward. If Tišpak was the dragon-slayer, it could be used as an indication of the source of this story, since Tišpak is the little-known god of Ešnunna.

The reverse sets in where the battle is about to begin. A god, whose name is not preserved, urges on the champion, who, following his advice, uses a cloud and a strong wind to pin the enemy, his personal seal as a talisman to protect himself, and arrows to dispatch the monster. This is also roughly what happens in *Enūma Eliš*. At the killing, the monster's blood flows from the carcass for more than three years. The missing final phrase probably explained the aetiology behind this. The blood of Tiāmat is also used by the ancient author similarly. For further discussion of the relationship of these myths, see pp. 449–451. The problem of the monster's name has been left until now, as it is far from settled. It is written DAN-*bi/ba* and, as the first translator Zimmern observed, it can be read *labbu*, *kalbu*, or *ribbu*. He preferred the last, as cognate with the Hebrew Rahab, but this lacks any Mesopotamian support. The second possibility, *kalbu* “dog,” is hardly adequate to describe a monster 50 leagues long. The general consent is for *labbu*. It has been claimed indeed that proof exists. Hrozný cited *Lugal-e* 11: zag PIRIG-gá = *e-mu-uaq la-bi/la-ab-bi*, and Nötscher KAR 18 obv. 18–19 (= *An-gim dímma* 162): sag PIRIG-gá = *zi-im la-a-be*. Each of these cases involves a misunderstanding: the first that the following phrase *muš-gal-li muk-taš-šá-áš-šú* is an explanation of the preceding words, the second that Enlil begat Labbu. This would contradict our myth, since this states that the Sea begat the monster, and in any case it is Ninurta whom Enlil begat; see the correct translation of the whole line in CAD Z 119b. The two passages present the well-known Akkadian poetic term “lion,” from the root *lb*², which also occurs in Hebrew. The original form is still preserved in Old Assyrian *lá-áb-i-im* (BIN IV 126 21), but in later dialects *lābu* or *labbu* are standard. The problem is whether our DAN-*bu* is this word or not. The difficulty is that, while a mythological lion need not correspond with zoological reality in every particular, it is hard to conceive of any lion fifty times as long as it was wide. Unless one is prepared to accept such a “lion,” some other explanation of the word has to be sought. The text itself in lines 5–6 calls the animal a serpent, something not altered by a slight difficulty (for which see the note). The attempt to disconnect this serpent from DAN-*bi* as may be implied in the rendering of line 20 “lions(?)” in CAD E 424a, cf. D 38b, cannot be sustained. The serpent designed by Enlil is what the gods wanted killed, not some other “lions.” Certainty cannot be reached. Even with the rendering Labbu, a connection with the Hebrew Rahab is still possible. Both are names of sea monsters. On the Akkadian side, there are difficulties in trying to find a suitable etymology, and while there is a Hebrew root to which Rahab has been referred in both ancient and modern times, the vocalization, which is already attested in the LXX of Psalm 87:4, is not that of a participle or adjective “raging.” It is possible, if nothing more, that an ancient name whose origin was already lost in the ancient world was interpreted and modified by both the Hebrews and the Babylonians.

Nothing positive can be said about the date of this myth in its known form. It could have been written any time between 1800 and 800 B.C.

The position of Tišpak in this text suggests an origin in Ešnunna and the Diyala region. The status of Sîn is similar evidence. While Enlil creates the monster, Sîn takes charge of measures to kill it. An inscription of Daduša of Ešnunna lists the following gods as heads of the pantheon: Anum, Enlil, Sîn, Šamaš, Tišpak, Adad “my god,” and the “great gods.” Here, Sîn seems to take the place of Enki/Ea. See *Bagh. Mitt.* 34 (2003) 152 xvi 9–11. Also, the name of Sîn, ^d*lugal-kalam-ma-ù-tu-ud* (CT 25 32 12) “The king who begat the land,” makes him a creator god.

The most detailed discussion of this text is that of F. A. M. Wiggermann (1989, see below). While extremely learned, it is (to use his own term) “speculations” (p. 126). The present writer adheres to the above position.

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Rm 282

Obverse

- 1 *i-ta-an-ḥu ālāni^{meš} niši^{meš} d[a- . . .*
- 2 *in-da-ṭa-a niši^{meš} e-[. . .*
- 3 *a-na ik-kil-li-ši-na u[l i-ṣal-lal^den-líl]*
- 4 *a-na rim-ma-ti-ši-na ul i-ṣab-[ba-su šit-tú]*
- 5 *ma-nu-um-ma ṣēra [ul-la-ad]*
- 6 *tam-tu-um-ma ṣēra [li-li-id]*
- 7 *^den-líl ina šamê^e i-te-ṣir [. . .*
- 8 *50 bēra mu-rak-šu 1 bēra [ru-pu-us-su]*
- 9 *½ GAR pi-i-šú 1 GAR [. . .*
- 10 *1 GAR li-ma-a-ti šá u[ṣ-né-šu]*
- 11 *ana 5 GAR iṣ-ṣu-ri i-[. . .*
- 12 *i-na mē^{meš} 9 ammata i-šad-da-[ad . . .*
- 13 *ú-še-eq-qí zi-im-bat-su i-[. . .*
- 14 *ilāni^{meš} šá šamê^e ka-li-šú-nu x [. . .*
- 15 *ina šamê^e ilāni^{meš} ka-an-šú ana maḥ[ar . . .*
- 16 *ù šá^dsin(30) ina sissiktī-šú ur-ru-[pu pa-nu-šú]*
- 17 *man-nu il-lak-ma lab-b[i i-da-ak]*
- 18 *ma-a-tum ra-pa-áš-tum ú-še-ez-[ze-eb . . .*
- 19 *ù šarru-ú-ti ip-pu-u[š . . .*
- 20 *a-lik^dtišpak lab-bi d[u-ka]*
- 21 *ma-a-ta ra-pa-áš-ta šu-zi-b[a . . .*
- 22 *ù šarru-ú-ta e-pu-uš [. . .*
- 23 *taš-pu-ra-an-ni be-el re-ḥu-ut nāri [. . .*
- 24 *ul i-de-e-ma šá lab-bi [. . .*
- 25 *[x] x x x maḥ-r[a- . . .*
- 26–27 odd signs and traces

Reverse

- 1 *[^dx]-x pa-a-šú i-pu-uš-ma a-na^d [. . .*
- 2 *šu-uš-ḥi-iṭ ur-pa mi-ḥa-a [. . .*
- 3 *ku-nu-uk-ku na-piš-ti-ka i-na pa-ni-ka [. . .*
- 4 *us-kám-ma lab-ba du-[ka]*
- 5 *ú-šá-áš-ḥi-iṭ ur-pa mi-ḥa^ra^r [. . .*
- 6 *ku-nu-uk-ku na-piš-ti-šú ina pa-ni-šú [. . .*
- 7 *is-su-kám-ma lab-bi [i-du-ka]*
- 8 *3 šanāti^{meš} 3 arḥi^{meš} ud-1-kám ù g[e₆-1-kám]*
- 9 *šá lab-bi il-la-ku da-mu-šú [. . .*

Textual notes on p. 511.

Obverse

- 1 The cities became exhausted, the people . [. . .
- 2 The people were diminished . [. . .
- 3 Because of their lamentation [Enlil could] not [sleep],
- 4 Because of their groaning [sleep] did not [overcome him].
- 5 “Who will [give birth] to the serpent?
- 6 Let the Sea [give birth] to the serpent!”
- 7 Enlil in heaven designed [. . .
- 8 Its length was 50 leagues, [its breadth] one league,
- 9 Its mouth was 6 cubits, [its . . .] 12 cubits,
- 10 Its [ear]-flaps were 12 cubits.
- 11 For 60 cubits it [. . .] birds,
- 12 For 9 cubits it drew along [. . .] in the water.
- 13 It raised its tail, it [. . .
- 14 All the gods of heaven . [. . .
- 15 In heaven the gods bowed down before [. . .
- 16 And Sîn’s [face] was obscured with his cloak.
- 17 “Who will go and [kill] Labbu,
- 18 Will save the broad land [. . .
- 19 And will exercise kingship [. . . ?”]
- 20 “Go, Tišpak, kill Labbu,
- 21 Save the broad land [. . .
- 22 And exercise kingship [. . .”]
- 23 “You have sent me, lord of the offspring of the river, [. . .
- 24 I do not know [the . . .] of Labbu.

Reverse

- 1 [. . .] . opened his mouth and [spoke] to [. . .]
 - 2 “Send a cloud upon him, [. . .] a storm,
 - 3 [Hold] in front of you the seal around your neck,
 - 4 Shoot, and kill Labbu.”
 - 5 He sent a cloud upon him, [. . .] a storm,
 - 6 [He held] in front of him the seal around his neck,
 - 7 He shot, and [killed] Labbu.
 - 8 For three years, three months, a day and a [night,]
 - 9 The blood of Labbu flowed [. . .
-

The Founding of Eridu

This myth is contained within a bilingual incantation, the chief source for which is the Neo- or Late Babylonian tablet BM 93014. It is a single-column tablet and lacks the bottom portion. Both sides offer bilingual incantations. A small fragment of a late Assyrian duplicate from Ashurbanipal's libraries, Sm 91, restores a few signs at the top right-hand corner of the obverse of the big piece, but is otherwise unimportant. Hitherto, it has been assumed that only one incantation is involved, though there has always been the possibility that one ended and another began in the gap. The more recently identified Ashurbanipal duplicate, Rm 97, supplies the needed evidence. It is a middle portion of a single-column tablet written in a largish hand. Due to its narrowness, long lines could not be squeezed in the available space and had to be split. The obverse of this piece overlaps the beginning of the reverse of the Babylonian tablet, and its reverse duplicates the last few lines of the same. The missing bottom portion of Rm 97 covered five double lines of text (7b–12a), five single on each side. If its obverse had contained the whole of the text now on the obverse of BM 93014, it would have contained the 80 preserved single lines, plus the unknown number of missing lines, plus the cases where one long line was written in the space of two. The shape of the tablet is decisively against assuming a vastly bigger top missing portion than that at the bottom.

Final proof has come from R. Borger's recent join of 82-3-22, 10 to BM 93014 (= 82-5-22, 1048). The latter was accessioned in the Sippar collection of the British Museum, the former in the Nineveh collection, a phenomenon occurring elsewhere (see BOQ p. 10). (The 90,000 numbers were given to tablets in the show cases of the Museum in the late 19th century A.D.). Thus, the origin of the tablet is open, though the present writer has a slight preference for Sippar. This small "new" piece has a double ruling below a line of which only one sign remains, and it proves that the reverse of BM 93014 ended with an incantation of 19 mostly double lines, plus rubric and catch-line. The sign above the double ruling is probably from a rubric to the previous incantation, which may have been the one of interest here. A further confirmation lies in the newly found duplicates of the obverse of BM 93014: K 5211 and K 21855, in Babylonian script and apparently parts of one tablet, published here for the first time. The first of these is the upper left corner of the tablet and duplicates the first 9 lines of BM 93014, but the reverse gives the beginnings of the last eight lines of an elsewhere unknown bilingual incantation, a rubric and a catch-line. This tablet is unusually thin for a library tablet, so it cannot have contained all the material on BM 93014. Thus, it is possible, even probable, that it gives the end of the incantation of interest here. The content is suitable. It refers to the active god as *en/bēlu* (4), like obv. 31 of BM 93014, and in 2–3 apparently listed aromatics and fruits, stylistically like ll. 25–26 of the main text. See below for the likely sequence of events. It ends by asking the god Kusu to do something to the brickwork of the temple, followed by stock phrases.

The incantation of interest here was part of a series for use when a temple was repaired (“built” is the ancient word), and the series as a whole does not concern us here, especially when it has recently been published in full with discussion by C. Ambos, *Mesopotamische Baurituale* (Dresden, 2004), though still presuming one incantation only on BM 93014. Here, the one relevant incantation is given alone, since there is new material to be added and the content has not been adequately explained hitherto.

This incantation or a related one may have been used in another context. A Late Babylonian ritual for Uruk states that the incantation *é-kù-ga é dingir-re-e-ne* was recited at the Akītu temple outside Uruk: BRM IV 7 29 = RA 20 (1923) 108 = M. J. H. Linssen, *The Cults of Uruk and Babylon* (Leiden, 2004) 210.

What remains of the first incantation on BM 93014 is a creation myth. It starts when all was sea (10–11) and lists what was then lacking, beginning and ending with temples (1–9). The first act of creation was of the town Eridu and the temple Esagil, but no creator is named. This pairing of Eridu and Esagil has caused commentators much trouble, since the former was a town almost on the Persian Gulf, while the latter is known chiefly as Marduk’s temple in Babylon. The usual solution of the difficulty has been to assume a completely hypothetical temple called Esagil in Eridu. However, as we show on p. 200, Eridu was used as a name of Babylon, so we assume that, in the text as now read, Eridu means Babylon and Esagil is, as always, Marduk’s temple there. Thus, Babylon was the first town to be built, as line 14 repeats. Those who take Eridu as the southern town have to delete this line as a spurious insertion. Line 13 contains a regrettable ambiguity. It says either that Lugaldukuga founded Esagil in the Apsû or that he took up his abode there. If the former is correct, then line 13 is intended to supply the subject that is lacking in line 12. Lugaldukuga here must be a name of Ea (see pp. 302–305), whose presence will become clear in due course. Next, the Anunnaki are created, and they take up residence in the “pure city,” by which only Babylon can be meant. Now Gilimma (Sumerian) or Marduk (so the Akkadian) begins his creative work. First, he makes a raft and covers it with earth (17–18). Then follows the creation of man (done with the assistance of Aruru and for the express purpose of housing the gods), of wild animals, of the Tigris and Euphrates, and of plants (19–26). The following lines refer to domestic animals and plants but are so far unintelligible. In lines 31–32, Marduk makes a terrace on the edge of the sea, the artificial foundation on which temples were commonly built, but Ea then contradictorily sets up sea, reed beds, and dry land! Now the things said to be nonexistent in lines 1–9 are picked up and their creation is recorded, but the text breaks off before this is quite complete.

A. Falkenstein assigned a late date to the text in view of both language and content. The evidence on the latter score is that no Old Babylonian incantation speaks of Marduk as a creator. The language certainly is evidence for a late date. The Sumerian, for example, offers the *emesal i-bí* for *igi* (obv. 17), and in obv. 21 the Sumerian for *ittišū ibtanu* expresses the “with him” not by verbal infixes, as would be done in older Sumerian, but by using *an-da* in front of the verbal complex, perhaps the result of misunderstanding passages in grammatical texts such as MSL IV 143 365 and 144 391. However, such linguistic phenomena might have resulted from late editing of an earlier text, and content and language can be cited in favour of the view that an older Sumerian myth has been modified in the known text.

First, the style of this text is not that of Sumerian incantations, of which there are only a few types, each with its clearly defined structure. The clipped, repetitive beginning, however, has a real Sumerian flavour. Lines 6–8 speak of Nippur, Uruk, and Eridu, the towns of Enlil, Anu, and Ea, such as one might expect to find in a Sumerian text from early in the second millennium. But

when creation begins, Eridu and Esagil come first, with Lugaldukuga playing a leading role. Though Lugaldukuga can be a father of Enlil or a name of Ea, it cannot be a name of Marduk. Most probably the original spoke of the creation of the actual Eridu and Ea's temple there, Eabzu, and an editor has modified the text by substituting Esagil for Eabzu. Where the Akkadian mentions Marduk as creator in obv. 17, the Sumerian offers Gilimma, not a normal equivalent of Marduk, though it is a Marduk name and occurs in *Enūma Eliš* VII 80. However, in origin Gilimma is an epithet, "the twiner" (see the note on *Enūma Eliš*), and other of the Fifty Names were inherited from Ea, so there is no difficulty in assuming that originally Gilimma here meant Ea. Traditionally, Ea was one of the major creator gods, and the activity described in this incantation conforms to other versions of his creativity.

Linguistic evidence for the relative antiquity of an underlying text comes from a study of the Sumerian verbal prefixes and infixes in the opening lines and the corresponding later section. In 1–9, there are 16 Sumerian verbs, all in the same syntactical position. Of these, 14 have the prefix *nu-* only; the other two have *nu-mu-un-*. All 16 Akkadian equivalents are stative, and this agrees with the Sumerian verbs with *nu-* but not with the two with *nu-mu-un-*, which should have an active force by the rules of older Sumerian. No doubt the two exceptions result from late scribes and are properly speaking errors. The whole section is written passively. Lines 12, 14–15, and 34–41 describe the acts of creation in the same style. The four Akkadian verbs in 12 and 14 are stative, and three of the equivalent Sumerian verbs have the prefix *ba-* alone, which is commonly used with a passive verb. The fourth has no prefix at all, probably in error. In 15, however, the Sumerian prefix is *ba-an-*, which should mark an active verb, and the Akkadian is *īpuš*, "he made," which is distinguished orthographically from *epuš*, the stative, "was made." This is contrary to the pattern, and no subject is to hand. It could only be Lugaldukuga, who is mentioned in a subordinate clause in 13. Probably, a misunderstanding lies behind the Akkadian translation. For the first time, in this case, the subject of the passive verb is personal and plural. The normal form would be *ba-dù-eš*, and by normal phonetic laws the distinctive plural element can drop, so that there would be no difference between singular and plural. No doubt, the original author intended the plural, and the line would be passive as usual: "the Anunnaki gods were created, all of them," but an author-editor with little Sumerian might easily fail to understand that he had a plural with no visible plural element and construe the form as singular. He might then add the *-n-* before the root to make his interpretation quite clear. The same misunderstanding has probably occurred in 34–41: originally, they were no doubt meant to be passive sentences. As now read, five of the eight preserved Sumerian verbs have the prefix *ba-*, one has *ba-an-*, and the other two *mu-un-*. All eight Akkadian equivalents are preserved, and they are all active. It certainly looks as though an original Sumerian myth with correctly used verbal prefixes and expressing creation in the passive voice has been developed by scribes who wished to have Marduk as the subject. In the more narrative middle section, it would seem that Ea has been partly changed for Marduk.

To sum up: this myth was first a Sumerian text describing the origin of the cosmos and the major temples and their cities in it. It arose when a top trinity of gods presided over the pantheon, and that limits the date of composition to late in the third millennium B.C. at the earliest (see W. G. Lambert, in J.-M. Durand [ed.], *La femme dans le Proche-Orient antique* [Paris, 1987] pp. 129–30). It presumes the common later group of An (Uruk), Enlil (Nippur), and Enki/Ea (Eridu). But it preferred the order Enlil, An, Enki in describing what was lacking, but put the creation of Eridu first, whose god later creates Nippur and Uruk. No doubt the text arose in Eridu from the cult of Enki. But when Babylon

and its god Marduk had risen to be head of the pantheon toward the end of the second millennium B.C., an editor ineptly changed the text to make Babylon the first city and Marduk its patron god as the prime creator. Since Marduk was Enki's son, the change was not too radical.

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BM 93014 (82-5-22, 1048) + 82-3-23, 101

Obverse

- 1 abD é nù-ga é dingir-e-ne ki MIN nu-mu-un-dù
bītu el-lim bīt ilāni^{meš} ina aš-ri el-lim ul e-ṣu-uš
- 2 abD gi nu-è giš nu-dím
qa-nu-ú ul a-ši i-ši ul ba-ni
- 3 abD sig₄ nu-šub^{giš} u-šub nu-dím
li-bit-ti ul na-da-at na-al-ban-ti ul ba-na-át
- 4 abD é nu-dù uru nu-dím
bītu ul e-ṣu-uš ālu ul ba-ni
- 5 abD uru nu-dím á-dam nu-mu-un-gar-gar
ālu ul e-ṣu-uš nam-maš-šu-ú ul šá-kin
- 6 ab nibru^{ki} nu-dù é-kur-ra nu-dím
ni-ṣu-ru ul e-ṣu-uš é-kur ul ba-ni
- 7 ab unu^{ki} nu-dù é-an-na nu-dím
ú-ruk ul e-ṣu-uš é-MIN ul ba-ni
- 8 ab abzu nu-dù eridu^{ki} nu-dím
aṣ-su-ú ul e-ṣu-uš^{uš} eri₄-du₁₀ ul ba-ni
- 9 ab é kù <é>-dingir-e-ne ki-tuš-bi nu-dím
bītu el-lum bīt ilāni^{meš} šu-bat-su-nu ul e-ṣe-et
- 10 a [gú⁷]-kur-kur-ra-ke₄ a-ab-ba-a-ma
naṣ-ḥar ma-ta-a-tú tam-tum-ma
- 11 a [igi-šà]-a-ab-ba-ke₄ šità-na-nam
i-nu šá qí-rib tam-tim ra-tu-um-ma
- 12 a [u₄-ba eridu]^{ki} ba-dù é-sag-íl-la ba-dím
ina u₄-mi-šú eri₄-du₁₀ e-ṣu-uš {uš} é-MIN ba-ni

2 D: i]š-su 3 b: li-bit-t[um D: -ban-tu]m

<i>Manuscripts</i>	<i>Lines on</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
a = 82-3-23, 101 + BM 93014 (82-5-22, 1048) CT 13 35–38 (93014); Pl. 68 (82-3-23, 101)		1–40	trace
b = K 5211 Pl. 68		1–9	(1–10)
c = K 21855 Pl. 68		36–41	
D = Sm 91 Transliteration from copy of Weissbach by H. Zimmern in ZA 28 (1914) 101; Pl. 68		1–5	remains of Ashurbanipal colophon
e = BM 54652 (82-5-22, 972) C. Ambos, op. cit., p. 262; Pl. 68		26–30	31–32
F = Rm 97 OECT VI pl. xvii; Pl. 69		(4–10)	(15–20)

b and c are parts of the same tablet.

BM 93014 (82-5-22, 1048) + 82-3-23, 101

Obverse

- 1 A pure temple, a temple of the gods, had not been made in a pure place,
- 2 A reed had not sprouted, a tree had not been created,
- 3 A brick had not been moulded, a brick-mould had not been created,
- 4 A temple had not been made, a city had not been created,
- 5 A city had not been made, a settlement had not been established,
- 6 Nippur had not been made, Ekur had not been created,
- 7 Uruk had not been made, Eanna had not been created,
- 8 The Apsû had not been made, Eridu had not been created,
- 9 A pure temple, a temple of the gods, for them to dwell in, had not been made,
- 10 But all the lands were sea,
- 11 And the spring in the sea was a water-pipe.
- 12 Then Eridu was made, Esagil was created,

- 13 a [é-sag-íl]l-ša-abzu-ke₄-e-dè^dlugal-du₆-kù-ga mu-ni-in-ri-a
 é-MIN šá ina qí-rib ap-si-i^dlugal-du₆-kù-ga ir-mu-ú
- 14 a [ká-dingir-ra^k] ba-dù é-sag-íl-la šu-du₇
 bābilu^{ki} e-pú-⟨uš⟩ é-sag-íl šuk-lul
- 15 a [dingir-^da]-nun-na-ke₄-e-ne téš-bi ba-an-dù
 ilāni^{meš} ^da-nun-na-ki mit-ḥa-riš i-pu-uš
- 16 a [uru] kù-ga ki-tuš ša-dùg-ga-ke₄-e-ne mu-maḥ-a mi-ni-in-sa₄-a
 ālu el-lum šu-bat tu-ub lib-bi-šú-nu ši-riš im-bu-ú
- 17 a ^dgi-lim-ma gi-diri i-bí-na-a nam-mi-ni-in-kešda
^dmarūtuk a-ma-am ina pa-an me-e ir-ku-us
- 18 a saḥar-ra ì-mú-a ki a-dag nam-mi-in-dub
 e-pi-ri ib-ni-ma it-ti a-mi iš-pu-uk
- 19 a dingir-re-e-ne ki-tuš ša-dùg-ga bí-in-dúr-ru-ne-eš-a-ba
 ilāni^{meš} ina šu-bat tu-ub lib-bi ana šu-šu-bi
- 20 a nam-lú-u₁₈-lu ba-dù^l
 a-me-lu-ti ib-ta-ni
- 21 a ^da-ru-ru numun KI.MIN an-da bí-in-mú
^dMIN ze-er a-me-lu-ti it-ti-šú ib-ta-nu
- 22 a máš-anše níg-zi-gál edin-na ba-dù
 bu-ul ^dšakkan(gìr) ši-kin na-piš-ti ina še-e-ri ib-ta-ni
- 23 a ^{id}idigna ^{id}buranun^l me-dím ki-gar-ra dím
 MIN ù MIN ib-ni-ma ina aš-ri iš-ku-un
- 24 a mu-ne-ne-a nam-dùg mi-ni-in-sa₄-a
 šum-ši-na ṭa-biš im-bi
- 25 a ^{gi}úš ^{gi}hénbur ambar ^{giš}gi ^{giš}tir-su₁₃-gá ba-dím
 uš-šú-⟨ú⟩ di-it-ta ap-ṭa-ri qa-na-a ù qí-šú ib-ta-ni
- 26 ae ú-šim edin-na ba-dù
 ur-qí-it še-rim ib-ta-ni
- 27 ae [ku]r-kur-ra ambar ^{giš}gi-na-nam
 ma-ta-a-tum ap-ṭa-ri a-pu-um-ma
- 28 ae áb amar-bi gud-áb-ba-ke₄ u₈ sila₄ udu-AMAŠ-a
 lit-tu bu-ur-šá me-ru la-aḥ-ru pu-ḥad-sa im-mer su-ṭu-ri
- 29 ae ^{giš}kiri₆ ^{giš}kiri₆-a ^{giš}tir-bi-na-nam
 ki-ra-tu u qí-šá-tu-ma
- 30 ae šeg₉ šeg₉-bar-ra mi-ni-in-lu-ug
 a-tu-du šap-ṭa-ri iz-za-az-zu^l-šú
- 31 ae en-e ^dasal-lú-ḥi zag a-ab-ba-ke₄ saḥ[ar x x] x x
 be-lum ^dmarūtuk ina pa-aṭ tam-tim tam-la-a ú-mál-li
- 32 ae ^den-ki a-ab-ba-ke₄ ^{giš}gi pa-rim₄ bí-[in-gar]
^dea(idim) tam-tim a-ṭa na-ba-la iš-ku-un
- 33 a . . .] mu-un-tuku
 . . .] uš-tab-ši
- 34 a [gi ba-è] giš ba-dím
 [qa-na-a ib-t]a-ni i-ša ib-ta-ni
- 35 a . . .] ki-a ba-dím
 . . . ^{me}]š ina aš-ri ib-ta-ni

20 Tablet (a): ba-NI 23 Tablet (a): ^{id}.bar₁₁-BAR₁₁-ŪL^{nun.ki} 26 e: traces 29 a: ^{giš}ki]ri₆ ^{giš}tir 28 e: bu-ru-šá
 30 a: šeg₉-b]ar Tablet (a): iz-za-az-RU-šú 31 e: be-lu 32 e: a-^rpi^l u

- 13 Esagil, which Lugaldukuga founded in the Apsû.
(or, Esagil, where Lugaldukuga resided in the Apsû.)
- 14 Babylon was made, Esagil was completed.
- 15 He made the Anunnaki gods, all of them,
- 16 And they gave an exalted name to the pure city in which they were pleased to dwell.
- 17 Marduk constructed a raft on the surface of the waters,
- 18 He made earth and heaped it up on the raft.
- 19 That the gods should be settled in a dwelling of their pleasure,
- 20 He created mankind.
- 21 Aruru with him created the seed of mankind.
- 22 He created animals, the creatures in the open country,
- 23 He created the Tigris and Euphrates and put them in place,
- 24 Benevolently he assigned names to them,
- 25 He created canes, sedges, marshes, reeds and canebrakes,
- 26 He created the vegetation of the open country,
- 27 But the lands were marshes and reed-beds.
- 28 The cow, the calf, the bull; the ewe, the lamb, the breeding ram.
- 29 There were palm groves and forests.
- 30 The wild sheep and the antelope were standing at his service.
- 31 The lord Marduk made a terrace on the edge of the sea,
- 32 . . .] he turned the reed-beds into dry land.
- 33 . . .] he brought into being.
- 34 [He made the reed grow], he created the tree,
- 35 . . .] he created in the place,

- 36 aC [sig₄ ba-šub] ^{giš}ù-šub ba-an-dù
 [li-bit-ta it-ta-di na-a]l-ban-tú ib-ta-ni
- 37 aC [é mu-un-dù] uru mu-un-dím
 [bīta i-pu-uš āla] ib-ta-[ni]
- 38 aC [uru mu-un-dím] á-dam ki mu-un-gar-g[ar]
 [āla ib-ta-ni nam-maš-šá]-a iš-ta-kan
- 39 aC [nibru^{ki} ba-dù] ^ré¹-kur-ra-ke₄ ba-dím
 [ni-íp-ḫú-ru i-pu-uš] ^ré¹-kur ib-ta-n[i]
- 40 aC [unu^{ki} ba-dù é]-an-na ba-d[ím]
 [ú-ruk i-pu-uš é-a]n-na ib-ta-[ni]
- 41 C [abzu ba-dù eri₄-du₁₀] ba-dí[m]
 [ap-su-ú i-pu-uš eri₄-du₁₀ i]b-t[a-ni]

* * * * *

K 5211 Reverse

- 1 x [. . .
- 2 gi-d[ùg²-ga . . .
 gi-[. . .
- 3 ^{giš}šinig ^úi[n-nu-UŠ . . .
^{giš}ḫašḫur ^{giš}pèš [. . .
- 4 en é a SU [. . .
 be-lu ana bī[t . . .
- 5 ^dkù-sù sán-ga-[maḫ dingir-gal-gal-e-ne . . .
^dkù-sù šá-a[n-ga-maḫ ilāni rabūti . . .
- 6 sig₄ é-a-ke₄
 li-bit-ti bīti RU-[. . .
- 7 an-gim ḫé- : ki-gim [ḫé : ša-an-gim : ḫé-]
- 8 eme-ḫul-gál bar-šè [ḫé-em-ta-gub]
-
- 9 ka-inim-ma [. . .
-
- 10 [én] gi₆ an-bir₉ [. . .

* * * * *

Textual notes on p. 512.

- 36 [He moulded the brick], he created the brick-mould,
37 [He made the temple], he created the city,
38 [He created the city], he established the settlement,
39 [He made Nippur], he created Ekur,
40 [He made Uruk], he created Eanna,
41 [He made the Apsû], he created [Eridu].

* * * * *

K 5211 Reverse

- 2 [Sweet?] reed [. . .
3 Tamarisk, soapwort, [.] apple, fig, [. . .
4 The lord to the temple . [. . .
5 Kusu, chief exorcist [of the great gods . . .
6 . [. . .] the bricks of the temple [. . .
7 May it be [pure] like heaven, may it be [clean] like earth,
[may it be resplendent like the middle of heaven.]
8 [May] the evil tongue [stand] aside.

9 Incantation [. . .

10 [Incantation]. Night and day [. . .

* * * * *

The First Brick

The creation myth here is properly contained within an incantation recited in the course of temple-renovation rites. A detailed account of the moulding and treatment of such a First Brick by Gudea, city ruler of Lagaš, for the temple of Ningirsu, is given in Cylinder A xviii–xix (RIME 3/1 80–81). There, it was clearly a single brick, but questions have arisen whether elsewhere and later more than one brick was thus treated (*sig₄/libittu* can mean “bricks” and “brickwork” as well as a single brick). Certainly, in Late Babylonian times, this rite seems to have lost its importance (see R. S. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia* [New Haven, 1968] pp. 20–29). However, such questions do not concern us here.

The incantation is Akkadian and known from two Late Babylonian tablets, both poorly preserved, and one medium-sized Late Assyrian fragment from Nineveh, which is well preserved. The better preserved of the Late Babylonian tablets was excavated at Babylon, and a good copy of the obverse was given by Weissbach in 1903 and is shown clearly on two Babylon Photos—1223 and 3438—but, again, obverse only. The reverse was obviously considered in too poor a condition for attention. The tablet itself was lost until van Dijk identified and joined three pieces in the Iraq Museum, but a fourth piece was missing. He published the three in 1955 and later found the fourth, which he published in 1974. Thus, the obverse can be used from either of the two published copies, but the reverse of the three pieces is in pitiful condition, though that of the fourth is curiously in quite good condition and can be used (with some problems). The tablet is single-column and begins with a ritual section of 23 lines, which also appears in more detail without the incantation in F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rit. Acc.* p. 9 and J. J. A. van Dijk and W. R. Mayer, *Bagh. Mitt. Beih.* 2 no. 11 obv.? Stück 1 (see C. Ambos, *Mesopotamische Baurituale* [Dresden] 180–85, 210–11). The incantation follows this ritual section.

The other tablet was excavated at Uruk and published with full edition by E. von Weiher in 1993. It too is the upper portion of a single-column tablet, but the obverse was copied from a very defective original so that it abounds with small scribal notes reporting a “new break” and adds nothing of consequence. The reverse is well preserved and offers the end of a prayer which, while apparently alluding to temple restorations, plainly asks for blessings on the temple Eanna in Uruk and on the people of that town. This cannot be the end of the incantation on the tablet from Babylon. On this Uruk tablet, the incantation is not preceded by a ritual section.

Many years ago, the present writer identified the Late Assyrian fragment Rm 101 as related or even a part of the incantation dealt with here, and when van Dijk identified the missing fourth fragment of the Babylon tablet, it clearly overlapped and restored six lines of Rm 101. C. Ambos (*Mesopotamische Baurituale*, p. 210) published a transliteration and translation, arguing that it might belong to a lost portion of the incantation treated here, and M. J. H. Linssen (2004; see below) gave a poor cuneiform copy of Rm 101 but made no use of it.

It has not been possible to collate either of the Babylonian tablets for this edition, which is based on published materials and the photographs. The obverse of the Uruk tablet is quoted in the apparatus and not incorporated in our text, since its condition presents very serious problems.

The text is addressed to the “First Brick” itself, as is made clear by the occurrence of second-person-singular feminine suffixes in lines 32 and 36 (also Rm 101 6, 9, 10, 20). Though the brick is personified, it is not deified. This may be the reason why the compiler of the ritual asks that the incantation be recited “in front of” not “to” the brick.

The first line of the incantation occurs elsewhere to begin a mythological piece (see p. 400), and here it implies simply “in the beginning.” Attention is then directed to Ea, and a selection of his creations is given. These are mainly gods, 17 altogether, but also humanity with their kings, and “reed bed and forest” and “mountains and seas.” Every item listed is chosen because of its relevance to the First Brick. First comes the brick god Kulla, who will “renovate” the First Brick. Next come reed and forest (i.e., for timber), which served in the making of bricks: reed baskets for the transport of clay, and wood being used for the brick-mould. The seven gods in lines 29 and 31 (with the exception of Nin-SIMUG) occur as a group of six in *Mīs pī* and other house/temple (re)building texts (see C. Walker and M. Dick, *The Induction of the Cult Image in Ancient Mesopotamia* [SAALT I; Helsinki, 2001] pp. 49, 50, 71 and 73 especially; and the index of gods in Ambos op. cit.; for details, see the notes below). But the eight gods in lines 33–35 do not belong, though Kusu in 36 does belong. The eight, so far as intelligible, were responsible for food offerings to be supplied during the rites. Smaller groups also occur outside incantations: *Erra* I 155–62; *BBSt* p. 123 iv 14–17. Surprisingly, these deities turn up in no god-list as a group. For example, in An = *Anum*, Guškinbanda occurs as husband of Ninimma in the household of Enlil (Tablet I), but Ninagal and Ninkurra—separated—come in the household of Ea (Tablet II).

The king and mankind complete the list. In some servile fashion, they cooperated in the work. After a gap, the continuation, though obscure in many lines, urges the participants in three rites to proceed with the work.

The gods concerned are in part obscure and need further elucidation. Since Ea was patron of crafts, craftsmen gods were necessarily related to him, though the kind of relationship was not always the same. In this text, Ea “creates” (*ibni*) them, and clay was nipped off for this purpose as in other creation myths. In a sense, Ea is their father thereby, and a little supporting evidence is cited below. Often, however, these deities are represented as manifestations of Ea himself. Now for details.

Kulla is not usually associated with the other craftsmen’s gods. The reading of his name is given in *Aa* as kul-la (MSL XIV 410 104) and in *Enki and the World Order* he is appointed by Enki as “brickman of the land” (lú-sig₄-e kalam-ma-kam: WZJ 9 [1959/60] 237 337), a title taken up in *Astrolabe* B: “the month of Kulla of the land” (iti ^dkúl-la kalam-ma-ke₄/ša ma-a-tim: KAV 218 A i 31 = 37). There are texts for laying the foundations of a “house,” in which Kulla is prominent (Ambos, op. cit., pp. 85–198), and his name was used as a short title for the series (*KAR* 44 obv. 2; cf. M. J. Geller in A. R. George and I. L. Finkel, *Wisdom, Gods and Literature* [Winona Lake, 2000] 244 2). An incantation in this series names Ea as his father: ^den-ki ad-da-zu (Ambos, p. 144 18). In the inscriptions of Late Assyrian and Late Babylonian kings, his title was “lord of foundation and brick(s)” (*bēl ušši libitti/libnāti*: Sargon, Cylinder 60; Esarhaddon, see R. Borger, *Asarhaddon* index; Ashurbanipal, VAB VII 230 17 and 238 21; Nabonidus, ed. H. Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids*

[AOAT 256; Münster, 2001] p. 387 11, p. 418 43–44). In the Old Babylonian period, there is a confusion in the writing of Kulla and Gula; note the sequence ^dab-ú, ^dSIG₄, ^dgú-lá in TCL 15 pl. xxx 358–60; also the Mari name ^dkúl-la-ḫa-zi-ra-at (ARM 9 24 iii 12; 27 iv 24 and v 4). Kulla seems to be lacking from An = *Anum*, but no doubt he is meant in SLT 122 iii 8–10: ^dnin-a-zu, ^dSIG₄, ^dnu-muš-da, an Old Babylonian list from Nippur.

Ninildu. The reading *ildú* for IGI.NAGAR.SÍR is attested only for the common noun, which has nothing to do with carpentry. For lack of anything better, it is used here for the divine name. Ninildu is the carpenter's god: *ilu šá naggāri* (K 3248), and ^dé-a ša ^{lú}naggāri and *ša kap-šar-ri* (BM 47365 25–26).

NinSIMUG, Ninagal. The name ^dnin-SIMUG seems to occur only in this text, and it is a problem because the similar ^dSIMUG is to be read *ni-na-ga-al* according to *Proto-Diri* (MSL XV 34 10:02; see NABU 2005/21), as confirmed by An = *Anum* II 346–7 and its forerunner TCL 15 pl. xxxi 469–70. Here NinSIMUG and Ninagal occur only two lines apart, and Rm 101 as restored by IM 11087/59 offers ^dninSIMUG in a sequence where, to judge from line 31, Ninagal should come. The latter is certainly attested as the smith's god: ^dé-a ša *nap-pa-ḫi* (CT 24 42 115; 25 48 8). The reading *simug* occurs on a Late Babylonian exercise tablet for Sb II 90 (MSL III 137); another copy offers *si-u*, but *Ea* and *Aa* both offer *si* (CAD sub voce *nappāhu*), so *si*₇ has the better authority.

Arazu seems to occur here and in the Kulla text: Ambos ((*Mesopotamische Baurituale*), p. 94 8. It has been compared with the Sumerian *arazu* “prayer,” but this is not appropriate to either context. He also occurs in PBS I/2 112 89 = E. Ebeling, *ArOr* 21 (1953) 396 39 and 41:

zi ^d<ama>-a-ra-zu . . .
zi ^dama-ra-ḫé-è-a . . .

which proves that an unusual writing of the later ^damar-ra-a-zu/-ra-ḫé-è-a, said to be daughters of *Sîn* (An = *Anum* III 40–41), occurs. Earlier writings with *ama* are not rare, but the problems of origin and meanings are not yet solved. ^da-ra-zu could be a contraction for ^damar-ra-, but it could be a simple error as in PBS I/2 112.

Guškinbanda. There has been a tendency to think that ^dkù-gi-bàn-da is the correct rendering, and this is based on CT 24 48 15, where there is a gloss KÙ.GI-bàn-d[a]. A gloss would not use an ideogram, it was assumed. However, the ancients did not always subscribe to our ideas of consistency, and a duplicate of the gloss, BM 47365, gives: *ku-uz-ki-ba-an-da*. The “classical” reading of KÙ.GI, *guškin*, does not have to be given up completely. It is based on the gloss *gu-uš-kin* in Sb II 110 (MSL III 138). Silver being the white metal (*kù-babbar*), gold must have been the yellow metal: *kù-sig*₇, and Sumerian G could of course be rendered Q: *gu-uš-qi*. A similar case is the name *Qingu*, of Sumerian origin, but rarely written ^dqi-in- (see p. 221). The Hebrew *Hiddeqel* (= *idi-gina*) in Genesis 2:14 is perhaps relevant. See further R. Borger, *Zeichenlexikon* p. 195. In addition to the variant *kuzki* here, there is also an Emesal form *ku-zi* (ZA 56 [1964] 21). He is the god of goldsmiths: *šá ku-ti-m[e]* (CT 24 43 118), *ša kut-tim-me* (CT 25 48 15).

Ninzadim is the seal cutters' god: *nin-za-dim* = ^dé-a ša ^{lú}zadim / ^{lú}bur-gul (CT 25 48 14, restored and variant from BM 47365).

Ninkurra is also concerned with precious or semi-precious stones in a *Mīs pī* incantation (Walker and Dick, *The Induction of the Cult Image* p. 109 84) but with limestone for monuments in Sennacherib's inscriptions (OIP 2 108 77 and 122 12).

Ašnan, Laḥar, and Siris are well attested as gods of cereals and dairy produce, meat, and alcoholic drinks, respectively.

Ningišzida (or, Ningizzida, if one prefers; cf. Enlil/Illil) is an underworld god and his presence in this context is perhaps to be explained as due to a connection with plants, since they were conceived to derive their sustenance from the underworld.

Ninšar is a butcher deity (see p. 506.) The remaining name ^da-x [can be restored in part from Si 902 (or 909¹) in Istanbul (copy F. W. Geers):

...]^{meš} ^dx[...
 .. .i²]-lu-ti-ki [...
 .. .l]i²-šak-l[i-il² ...
 .. m]at iš ina TIN [...
 ana x RI ki tu x [
^daš-na-an ^dla-ḥ[ar
^dnin-šar ^da-dag-x[

This passage reads much like the incantation being studied but so far cannot be located. The god Adag . . ./Apar . . ./ seems to be unique to these two passages.

Umunmutamku and Umunmutamnag are Sumerian names meaning “What has my lord eaten?” and “What has my lord drunk?” and they appear in Akkadian as ^dmi-na-a-i-kul-be-lí and ^dmi-na-a-iš-ti-be-lí in An = Anum II 263–64 (CT 24 28 68–69) as baker (muḥaldim) and brewer (šim) in the court of Esagil. The former also occurs in a dedication inscription of Ashurbanipal to Marduk (VAB VII 284 2) and the latter in a Late Babylonian ritual fragment (BM 47812 rev.). Poebel (AS 9 118³) advanced the doubtful theory that the preterites could be rendered as futures to give better sense.

While this incantation is oriented more to explaining the first brick than to creation as such, it is an interesting example of how the ancient authors could draw on a stock of mythology extensive enough to allow the origin of almost anything to receive detailed treatment. A linguistic peculiarity is that where most texts would say that something was created “to perform” a particular function (using an infinitive), this text in lines 29, 34, 36, and 37 uses a participle: “to be a performer of” the function.

Manuscripts

IM 11053/20+11053/325+11087/11+11087/59 (= BE 13987): copy by F. H. Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen* (Leipzig, 1903), pl. 12 (obv. only); copy by J. J. A van Dijk (lacking the last number), *Sumer* 11/2 (1955) pls. x–xii; copy of missing piece by the same author: TIM IX 77. The obverse is also shown on Babylon Photos 1223 and 3438.

W 22705/5: copy by E. von Weiher, *SpTU* 4 (1993) no. 141.

Rm 101: copy on Pl. 69. Copy of M. J. H. Linssen, *The Cults of Uruk and Babylon* (Leiden, 2004) p. 342.

Editions

- 1903 F. H. Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen* (WVDOG 4) 32–35
 1912 R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels*¹ (New York) 44–46
 1915 P. Jensen, *KB VI/2* 46–51
 1921 F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rit. acc.* (Paris) 44–47
 1926 R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels*² (New York) 44–46
 1993 E. von Weiher, loc. cit. (Uruk tablet only)
 2000 M. Dietrich in J. Marzahn and H. Neumann (eds.) *Assyriologica et Semitica* (Münster) 33–46
 2004 C. Ambos, *Mesopotamische Baurituale* (Dresden) 180–85, 210–11

IM 11053/20+11053/325+11087/11+11087/59

Obverse

- 24 e-nu-ma^da-nu ib-nu-ú šamê^e
 25 ^dnu-dím-mud ib-nu-ú apsâ šu-bat-su
 26 ^dé-a ina apsî ik-ru-ša ti-ta-[am]
 27 ib-ni^dkulla ana te-diš-ti-[ki]
 28 ib-ni^{giš}apa(gi) u^{giš}qišta ana ši-pir nab-ni-t[i-ki]
 29 ib-ni^dnin-ildú^dnin-SIMUG u^da-ra-zu ana mu-šak-lil ši-pir na[b-ni-ti-ki]
 30 ib-ni ša-di-i ù ta-ma-a-ti ana mim-ma šum-šu₄ du-u[š-šá-a]
 31 ib-ni^dguškin-bân-da^dnin-â-gal^dnin-zadim u^dnin-kur-ra ana ep-še-t[i-ki . . .]
 32 ù hi-šib-šu-nu du-uš-šá-a ana nin-da-bé-ki ra-bu-ti x [. . .]
 33 ib-ni^daš-na-an^dla-ḥar^dsiris(ŠIM)^dnin-giš-zi-da^dnin-šar^da-da[ḡ . . .]
 34 ana mu-deš-šu-ú sa-at-[tuk-ki-ki]
 35 ib-ni^dumun-mu-ta-àm-gu₇^dumun-mu-ta-àm-nag ana mu-kil nin-da-[bé-ki ra-bu-ti]
 36 ib-ni^dkù-sù šánga(GA.MÁ×SIG₇)-maḥ ilāni^{mes} rabûti^{mes} ana mu-šak-lil par-ši-ki x [. . .]
 37 [i]b-ni šarra ana za-ni-nu [. . .]
 38 [ib-n]i a-me-lu-ti ana i-tab-bu-l[u . . .]
 39 [x] x te-²e x x x [x]^da-num^den-lil^dé-a x [. . .]
 40 [x] x [.] ú šin nu ka⁷ [. . .]
 41 . . .] x x [. . .]

* * * * *

Variants of von Weiher, SpTU IV 141 (omitting hi-pí eš-šú)

- 30 ù ta-ma-ti ana MU- 31]-ti⁷ ki-niš kun-ni-i ù
 32] ra-bu-ti šu-lu- 34] x x li ma ga ri ana 36 mu-šak-li-i[l]

Translations

- 1907 O. Weber, *Die Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrer* (Leipzig) 58–59
 1909 A. Ungnad in H. Gressmann, *AOTAT*¹ (Tübingen) 25
 1921 A. Ungnad, *Die Religion der Babylonier und Assyrer* (Jena) 54–55
 1926 E. Ebeling in H. Gressmann, *AOTAT*² (Tübingen) 129–30
 1942 A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*¹ (Chicago) 53–54
 1951 A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*² (Chicago) 65–66
 1970 R. Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique* (Paris) 76–77
 1985 J. Bottéro, *Mythes et rites de Babylone* (Paris) 293–99
 1989 J. Bottéro and S. N. Kramer, *Lorsque les dieux faisaient l'homme* (Paris) 487–91
 1994 K. Hecker, *TUAT III/4* (Gütersloh) 604–5

IM 11053/20+11053/325+11087/11+11087/59

Obverse

- 24 When Anu had created the heavens
 25 And Nudimmud had created the Apsû, his abode,
 26 Ea nipped off clay from the Apsû,
 27 He created Kulla to renovate [you],
 28 He created reed bed and forest for the task of [your] creation,
 29 He created Ninildu, NinSIMUG and Arazu to be those who perform the task of [your creation],
 30 He created mountains and seas to make all things [abound],
 31 He created Guškinbanda, Ninagal, Ninzadim and Ninkurra to [. . . your] rituals
 32 and to make their wealth abound for your great food-offerings . [. . .
 33 He created Ašnan, Laḫar, Siris, Ningišzida, Ninšar and Ada[g . . .
 34 to be those who supply in abundance [your] regular offerings,
 35 He created Umunmutamgu and Umunmutamnag, who maintain [your great] food-offerings,
 36 He created Kusu, chief priest of the great gods, to be the performer of your rites . [. . .
 37 He created the king to be the provisioner of [. . .
 38 He created mankind to bear [. . .
 39 [.] [.] Anu, Enlil and Ea . [. . .

* * * * *

Rm 101, Restored in Lines 17–28 by IM 11087/59

- 1 . . .] x [. . .
 2 . . .] ur x [. . .
 3 . . .] TAR li-dan-n[i-nu⁷ . . .
 4 . . .]-na iš-r[u- . . .
 5 . . .]-na-ak-ki a-ba-rak-k[a-ti . . .
 6 . . .]-na-ti-ki iš-[. . .
 7 . . .]-e ellūti^{meš} il-qu-ma iš-ku-nu né-e[š⁷-x(-x)]
 8 . . .]-x-ti-šú-nu li-nam-mi-r[u]
 9 . . . l]a pa-da-a li-kil-lu par-ši-ki li-šak-li-lu [x x-ki]
 10 . . .] x-ti a-na aš-ri-ki tu-ur-ra liq-bu-u ilāni^{m[es] x (x)}
 11 . . .] ^dumun-mu-ta-àm-gu₇ ^dumun-mu-ta-àm-[nag]
 12 . . .]-ra ina ħi-šib šá-di-i u ta-ma-a-[ti]
 13 . . .] x-ú le-e-ti du-uš-šá-a-[ti]
 14 . . . liš-ta]b-ru-u ina qir-bi-[ki]
 15 . . .] x be ^dkulla-ma li-šak-lil ep-še-ti-[ki]
 16 . . . lu]-u šu-uk-nu-šú ši-pir-šú-nu damqu(s₁g₅) a-na te-diš-t[i-ki]
 17 ^dguškin-bàn-da ^dnin-SIMUG [^dnin-zadim u ^dn]in-kur-ra šal-mi-iš lu-u ka-a-a-nu a-na nab-ni-t[i-ki]
 18 ^dx x ra-bu-ti ina kisal ilāni^[meš] up-šu-ukkin-na-ki ki-ma šamê^e u eršetim^{tim} li-[x-x]
 19 ušurāti(giš-ħur)^{meš} ši-ra-a-ti x [//] x^{meš} ilāni^{meš} rabūti^{meš} ina ki-iš-ši el-lim ana da-ra-a-ti li-[x-x]
 20 pil-lu-de-e šu-qu-ru-ti ^dnin-urta u ^dnusku ina qir-bi-ki ki-ma ka-a-ti lu x [x]
 21 ina ur-ti u țe-me šá ^dnabû u ^dmadānu(d₁-kud) ka-a-a-nu ilāni^{meš} gi-im-ra-šu-un lu x [x]
 22 pu-ú an-šár ^dda-gan [u] za-ar ilāni^{meš} ^dnu-d[ím-mud] . . .

* * * * *

- 23 ši x la liš-mu⁷-x [. . .
 24 aš ħi da a na [. . .
 25 a-a i x [. . .
 24 ki-ma k[a⁷ . . .
 25 i-x[. . .
 26 a[d-/š[i- . . .
 27 kak [. . .
 28 (trace)

Rm 101, Restored in Lines 17–22 by IM 11087/59 Reverse

- 3 . . .] . let them strengthen (?) [. . .
- 5 . . .] your . . stewardess [. . .
- 7 . . .] they took pure [. .] . and put . . [. .]
- 8 . . .] let them make their [.] . . shine,
- 9 . . .] merciless, [. . .] let them observe your rites, let them perform your [. .]
- 10 . . .] . . let the [. .] gods say, “Be restored.”
- 11 . . .] Umunmutamgu and Umunmutamnag.
- 12 . . .] . from the wealth of mountains and seas,
- 13 . . .] . . abundant cows,
- 14 . . . let them] abide in [you].
- 15 . . .] . . let Kulla perform [your] rituals,
- 16 . . .] let them their pleasant task to renovate [you],
- 17 Let Guškinbanda, NinSIMUG, [Ninzadim and] Ninkurra be ever present and secure to create
[you],
- 18 Let the great . . . [. .] in the assembly of the gods, Upšu’ukkinaki, like heaven and underworld,
- 19 Exalted designs . [//] . . let the great gods [. .] in the pure chamber for ever,
- 20 Let Ninurta and Nusku . [.] the precious ordinances inside you like you,
- 21 At the instructions and command of Nabû and Madānu, let all the gods constantly . [.]
- 22 [Let] the mouth of Anšar, Dagan [and Nudi]mmud, the begetter of the gods . . .

* * * * *

Another Dragon-Slaying Episode

KAR 6 is a piece of a dragon-slaying story. All but a few lines on the reverse are gone, and the first preserved column on the obverse is in an equally bad state. However, the second column on the obverse is better preserved, though no line is quite complete. Where sense can be made we hear a god, whose name is broken off, summoning Aruru, the creatress, to inquire to which of 66 gods she gave most strength. Nergal is indicated, and he is summoned and told to kill the monster, details of which are given to him. With some words from Aruru he sets off. At this point nothing more is preserved.

The tablet is Middle Assyrian, from about 1200–1100 B.C. The first question is whether this is part of the *Slaying of Labbu*, perhaps in another recension, or a different story of the same kind. The description of the monstrous serpent bears a general likeness to that of Labbu, and some sort of con-

VAT 9443, Obverse Column II

1–4 odd signs and traces

5 . . .] x x e la-áš-šu x [. . .

6 [x x] i-na mē^{meš} na-di-ma a-na-ku [. . .

7 [^d. .] pā-šu ēpuš^u[^š i-qab-bi]

8 a-na ^dx [(x)]-šu a-[ma-t]a [is-sà-qar]

9 ^da-^rru-ru¹ bi-la-ni ^d[a-ru-r]u li-x [. .]

10 ^da-ru-ru ši-me-ni ^da-ru-r[u] qá-ú-[. .]

11 x x an ^da-ru-ru [x] x ti e-nin-na ^dBE-[. .]

12 i-na 1 šu-ši 6 m[āre^m]^{es} aḥḥē^{meš}-[ki]

13 a-na ma-an-ni ta-di-ni e-mu-[qé-en]

14 a-na ma-an-ni ^rtu¹-ga-mi-ri x x bit [. .]

15 a-na ^dnergal(nè-iri₁₁-gal) at-ti-din e-m[u-qé-en]

16 a-na ^dnergal(nè-iri₁₁-gal) ug-da-me-ra x [. . .]

17 ^dIGI.DU bi-la-ni ^dIGI.DU d[a . .]

18 a-na-ku ša ^dIGI.DU ^ra¹-ta-ma-a si-qir x [. .]

19 ^dIGI.DU ši-ma-ni ^dIGI.DU AN [. .]

20 ^dIGI.DU ši-tam-ma-a si-qir [šap-ti-ia]

21 i-na tâmti(a-ab-ba) ib-ba-ni šēru ba-[. .]

nection is certain. However, this could be nothing more than dependence on a common tradition for a description of a monstrous serpent. As now read the text displays Assyrian dialectal forms.

Nergal is often another form of Ninurta, and since Ninurta was the traditional dragon-slayer of Sumer the story is obviously in an old tradition even if the formulation was relatively recent. From similar stories and allusions (see pp. 202–207) one would expect Enlil to be the god who was helped out by Ninurta, but Anu is also a possibility.

Literature

Text

1915 E. Ebeling, *KAR 6* (Leipzig)

Edition

1916 E. Ebeling, *OLZ* 19 106–8

Translations

1918 L. W. King, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt in Relation to Hebrew Tradition* (London) 117–18

1942 A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*¹ (Chicago) 143

1951 A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*² (Chicago) 143

Note

1953 E. Weidner, *AfO* 16 207 (the date of the tablet)

VAT 9443, Obverse Column II

5 . . .] . . . was not . [. . .

6 [. .] was thrown in the water, I [. . .

7 [. . .] opened his mouth [to speak],

8 [Addressing] a word to . . [.] .,

9 “Bring me Aruru, let [Aruru . .]”

10 “Aruru, listen to me, Aruru, . . [. .]

11 . . . Aruru [.] . . now the god . [. .]

12 Among the 66 [sons of your] brothers

13 To whom did you give strength?

14 To whom did you grant a full measure of . . . [. .]?”

15 “To Nergal I gave strength,

16 To Nergal I granted a full measure of . [. . .]”

17 “[Bring me Nergal, Nergal . [. .]

18 I, of Nergal, I will speak the utterance of . [. .]”

19 “Nergal, listen to me, Nergal . [. .]

20 Nergal, keep listening to the utterance of [my lips].”

21 A serpent . [. .] has been created in the sea,

- 22 1 šu-ši bēra šá-kín ú-rak-[šu]
 23 30 bēra ša-qa-a re-[ša-a-šu]
 24 a-na ½^{ta-àm} la-bu-na li-bit ēnē^[ll-šu]
 25 a-na 20 bēra ta-ta-na-la-ka [. . -šu]
 26 e-kúl nūne^{meš} bi-nu-ut [tam-ti]
 27 e-kúl iššūre^{meš} bi-nu-ut [ša-ma-mi]
 28 [e-kúl]l sirime(anše-edin-na)^{meš} bi-nu-[ut šēri]
 29 [e-kúl]l šal-mat qaqqadi ana niše^{meš} [. .]
 30 [a-lik^d]IGI.DU šēra du-ú-ka i-na ti-[x] x [. .]
 31 [^da-ru-ru] p[â]-šá ēpuša^{ša} rⁱ-[qab-bi]
 32 [a-na] x x [a-ma-t]a is-sà-[qar]
 33 . . .] x a x šá idāte(á)^{meš} š[i-ra-te]
 34 . . .] x x 30 ma-na [. .]
 35 . . .] x-il-šu šu-muḥ ta-[ma-te]
 36 . . .] x be mu ka x id/da [. .]
 37 . . . ú]-ru-uḥ-šu [ir-di]

- 22 It length is 60 leagues,
 23 Its head is 30 leagues high,
 24 Its eyelids extend for half (a league),
 25 For 20 leagues [its . .] keep moving,
 26 It has devoured fish, creatures of [the sea],
 27 It has devoured birds, creatures of [the sky],
 28 It has devoured wild asses, creatures of [the steppe],
 29 It has devoured humans, for peoples [. .]
 30 [Go, Nergal], kill the serpent with . [.] . [. .]”
 31 [Aruru] opened her mouth [to speak],
 32 Addressing a word [to Nergal],
 33 “ . . .] . . . [exalted] might
 34 . . .] . . 30 minas [. . 9
 35 . . .] . . . the abundance of the [seas]
 36 . . .] [. .]”
 37 . . . he proceeded] on his way.

Textual notes on pp. 512–513.

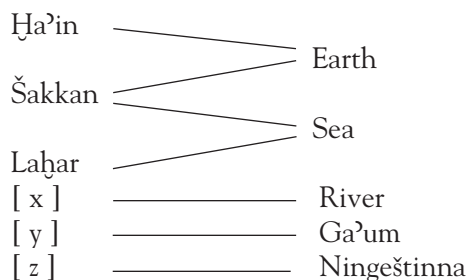
The Theogony of Dunnu

This text is known from a single copy which can be dated from the script and orthography to the period of the Late Babylonian or Persian empires. The name of the king under whom it was copied was given in the colophon, but too little remains for his identification. However, another phrase of the colophon can be restored:

[According to] a tablet, an original of Bab[ylon] and Assur, written and collated.

This means either that the Babylonian tablet referred to was copied in Assur and the extant exemplar was copied from this Assur copy or that the Assur copy came first, from it the Babylonian copy was made, and ours in turn from that (see *JCS* [1957] 11 8). Whichever alternative is correct, it proves that the text is older than the fall of Assur in 614 B.C. But there is no good reason for assuming that this text is an Assyrian composition. Most literary texts found at Assur are copies of Babylonian originals.

This theogony is both an account of the descent of the gods from the first pair and a succession myth, in that the male of each pair holds power until he is deposed. The following are the deities from the beginning of the story to the point where it is broken and becomes unintelligible. The males are on the left, the females on the right, and their marital connections are indicated by the interposed lines:



The biggest mystery is the first male, who is otherwise unknown. Since his spouse is Earth, one might think of Heaven, since the marriage of heaven and earth is well known in Mesopotamian myth as the first act of creation (see p. 407). Also, Earth is always conceived as female in Mesopotamian myths of this genre, so that the genders would be right. However, Heaven occurs in line 37 in the Hurrian loan Ḫamurnu. Also, against this, one must put the uniformity of the first three in the female line—all well-known cosmic principles—and the second and third in the male line are both shepherd-gods. Thus, the first male could be expected to match the two following.

The damaged first two lines must have stated that the first pair were already in existence, or it must have described how they came into being. By line 3, the story is moving. By making a furrow

with a plough the first pair brought Sea into being. Presumably, the furrow somehow filled with water. Then, the same pair produced the male of the second generation “by themselves,” which presumably means “by normal bisexual intercourse.” This son, Šakkan (Sumuqan), is god of quadrupeds (see the note). But mother Earth falls in love with her own son, who kills his father and marries her, a theme worthy of Greek tragedy. The father, Ȝaʾin, was laid to rest in the city he had built, Dunnu, by the son who succeeded him.

The damaged signs in line 14 create some uncertainty, but it certainly stated that Šakkan added bigamy to incest by marrying Sea, his sister, also. He is the only bigamous male in the story as preserved, and the motive of this episode is not clear. No offspring of the union with his mother is recorded. The son, Laḥar, was born to Šakkan and his sister Sea, and Laḥar married only his mother, Sea. This pair cleared the stage in that Laḥar killed his father, and Sea killed her mother. The two therefore assumed power together: the only dyarchy in the story. For this succession and all following ones, a date is given, on which more will be said below.

Thus, the first three males shared two females. The following three generations are more uniform, though the names in the male line are all broken away. Each marries his sister, kills both parents, and so seizes power for himself. Only this much is recorded of Laḥar’s son in lines 21–24. His name should appear in line 25, where his son is introduced, but it is uncertain if the remaining signs A.U₈ are the whole name or only the end of it. It cannot be restored from other texts. The grandson of Laḥar, whose name is also broken, married a sister called with a small emendation Gaʾum, elsewhere known as the shepherd of the moon god Sîn (see the note), but here Gaʾum is female. Of the following generation, the sixth, again only the female name is preserved: Ningeštinna. She, also known as Ningeštinanna and Geštinanna, often appears in cuneiform literature as sister of Tammuz, and this leads to the question if her spouse here, too, is not Tammuz. There is a trace of the name in line 33, but this cannot be part of any well-known name of his, though it might be the end of the rare title Amaralli. In any case, there is no certainty that Tammuz can be assumed. In other cases, this theogony mates pairs otherwise unconnected. The previous generation can also be looked at in this light. The mother of Tammuz is known, Duttur (see the note). She is nowhere equated with Gaʾum, though both their names can be written with the Sumerian for “ewe” (U₈). In Babylonian incantations, the father of Tammuz is Ea (KAR 357 34; PSBA 1909 62 11), and this is confirmed by a couplet in Old Babylonian Tammuz litanies:

ama(-ù)-tu-da-ni AN.AN.UR-a
 ad-da/ab-ba-ni am-urú-zé-ba-ka
 TCL 15 pl. xiii 152–53 = CT 15 30 38–39

His mother who bore him is . . .
 His father is the bull of Eridu

The same lamentation commonly identifies Tammuz and Ningišzida, and in statues M, N, and O of Gudea, the latter is the spouse of Geštinanna:

^dgeštin-an-na nin-a-izi-mú-a dam-ki-ága ^dnin-giš-zi-da-ka
 RIME 3/1 p.55, etc. (aliter legit AnOr 30 73–74)

Geštinanna, the lady who . . . , beloved wife of Ningišzida

This passage is also important as showing that ^da-zi-mú-a, who with Ningišzida appears in *ArOr* 21 (1953) 388 64–69 = *STT* 210 rev. 10–12; *An* = *Anum* V 250–254 (^dá-zi-da-mú-a); *TCL* 15 pl. xxix 303–4; *SLT* 122 iii 4–6, is also a title of Geštinanna. If any doubt exists, it is dispelled by the first occurrence of the pair, after Gudea, in an offering list from the reign of Šulgi, *TCL* 5 6053 ii 5–6 ^dnin-giš-zi-[da], ^dnin-a-zi-[mú-a]. Here the *nin* found in the epithet in Gudea is retained, but the meaning of *a-izi* or *a-zi* is uncertain.

This evidence is important, since we find Geštinanna commonly as sister of Tammuz, and, especially under her title Azimua, she is wife of Ningišzida. Already by Old Babylonian times, Tammuz and Ningišzida were identified. Has this something to do with the theogony where Geštinanna is involved in a brother-sister marriage? Much as one may be tempted to give an affirmative answer to this question, the case is unproven until the male name in the theogony is certainly known.

With the seventh generation, the pattern is changed in that line 37 mentions the “child” or “servant” of Ḫamurnu, the Hurrian word for “Heaven.” The late occurrence of Heaven in the narrative is striking, but unlike Earth and Water, Heaven is not a prime mover in the ancient Near East. In Genesis 1, as correctly translated, God begins with earth and water and only on the second day is heaven created. As regards the alternatives for the rendering of *šihru*, “servant” is recommended in that filial relationship elsewhere is indicated by *māru*, and in theogonies—for example, the Hittite Kumarbi—it is known for a servant to supplant his master. But what remains of lines 37–41 agrees with the previous pattern to a large extent: a sister is married, a father killed, and he is also settled somewhere. There is a problem that Ḫamurnu has not occurred before. Until more of the text is recovered, we shall have to suspend judgment on this and other problems.

The obverse is very much a compilation of known materials, though used in original ways. First, the scheme of descent from the beginning of time through a single line of male and female pairs was common in ancient Mesopotamia, being attested from the Early Dynastic Period and onwards. The theogonies of Anu and Enlil are the best-known examples. These two were often transmitted as lists, so that the problem of whether incest in the form of brother and sister marriages took place was skirted. The history of these two shows that steps were sometimes taken quite specifically to avoid the implication of incest, which was socially taboo. Here, however, the author positively revels in it, and in parricide and matricide, too. Part of the explanation is simply the traditional scheme which the author used. A succession of single pairs allows no other obvious method of procreation. Yet this is hardly the whole explanation, since Šakkan and Laḫar, quite unnecessarily so far we can see, married their mothers. Presumably, some myth of a mother falling in love with her son is being drawn on. Also with Ningeštinna one may see how syncretism of deities led to an example of divine incest. We should not suppose that our author was of so limited intelligence not to use myths of incest when his general scheme needed something of this kind.

Secondly, all but Ḫa'in of the preserved names do occur elsewhere, and all but he and Ningeštinna in myths of origins. Earth is the commonest first principle. Sea is less common, but it may be noted that the early form of Anu's theogony begins with water and then puts earth (pp. 420–421), the opposite of what our text has. River is closely related to Sea, like Anu and Anšar, so they had to come together, if distinguished. The first three in the female line are thus in the main stream of cosmological thought. A second category is represented by Šakkan, Laḫar, and Ga'um, all shepherd-gods in other texts. There are traces of a creation myth in which the deities presiding over the basic

human crafts are brought into being. One form occurs in the prologue to the Sumerian *U₈ and E_zinu* (see the notes), where there have been created in the Apsû (presumably by Ea) Laḥar, E_zinu (grain), Uttu (making of cloth), Tammuz (^den-nimgir-si), and Šakkan. This of course favours the idea that the spouse of Ningēštinna should be Tammuz. Properly, these deities belong to a story not on the origins of the universe but on the origins of civilization.

The stages of descent are marked off after the third generation not only by the change from mother-son to brother-sister marriage but also by the fate of those deposed and killed. The first three generations are “laid to rest” in tombs or mausoleums: they were properly dead. The next two were “settled” somewhere, though where is not now preserved. Despite their “deaths” they carried on some sort of existence, as can happen with gods. Perhaps they had cult places of their own and this criterion was used to mark them off from the really dead.

One striking feature of this text is its emphasis on the city Dunnu. It was the first city to be created, and the third act of creation. 𒀭a²in not only lived there and loved the place but was also buried there. One wonders if the inhabitants in historical times used to point out some structure of the town as the tomb of 𒀭a²in. The attention given to the place certainly suggests that the text contains local traditions of the beginnings of the universe, just as in other versions Nippur or Babylon was considered the first town. The word Dunnu is simply Akkadian for “fortified place,” and there were several cities of this name (see *RLA* II 239–40; Edzard, *Zweite Zwischenzeit* [Wiesbaden, 1957] 102⁴⁹⁴; *OIP* 79 87–88). At least one of these was in northern Mesopotamia, not far from Tell Halaf, but at least two were in the south, one by Isin and another by Larsa. There is one possibility for deciding if the Dunnu of the theogony is in the north or south. If the few remains on the reverse are the conclusion of the theogony and not another text that began in the break, then a southern possibility must be chosen. The few complete words that can be read on the reverse include the names Enlil, Ninurta, Nuska, and Ungal-[Nibru]—all gods located in Nippur. The theology of Nippur was a considerable force in the intellectual life of Mesopotamia right up to the first millennium, despite competition from Babylon, and a theogony from a small town not far distant could not ignore the great power of the prevailing pantheon. Many years ago, the present writer was shown a Babylonian legal document dated to the 18th year of Nabonidus which began: *tup-pi a-šà ki-šub-ba-a ki^{tim} du-un-nu šá qí-rib EN.LÍL^{ki}*. This might be the Dunnu of the text under study. (The tablet belonged to a collector with whom the present writer has long since lost contact.)

Another striking feature of this text is the dates given for the transference of power from one generation to the next. Curiously, the first time, no date is given. In lines 20, 24, 32, and 36, they do occur, though only the first of these is completely preserved. Only the day and the month are given; there is no *annus mundi*, so the reference is cultic, not historical. The surviving cases offer three days of the month only: 1st, 16th, and 29th, once as a variant reading to 16th. These are of course key days in the lunar month, and while there is nothing directly explaining them, there are suggestive parallels. Quite commonly with myths of origins, it was conceived that what took place in the beginning was repeated in some sense at regular intervals throughout history. In this way, myth and ritual were related. Now tablets from the Third Dynasty of Ur record offerings for dead and deified rulers on the 1st and 15th days of the month (W. Sallaberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit* [Berlin, 1993], Index Totenkult). Similar Mari documents also deal with the same kind of offerings for the dead, sometimes specified as “offerings for the dead, of the kings” (*a-na ki-is-pí-im ša šarrāni^{meš}*, ARM

12 no. 3). These took place commonly twice a month, on the 1st and the 16th but rarely also on the 7th and very rarely on the 4th and 9th. Associated with these offerings for dead kings of Mari are other offerings *a-na ma-li-ki*. These *maliku* are to be identified with the *Malku* of literary texts (CAD *malku* B), who are underworld gods. At Mari, these offerings are most often reported for the 1st day of the month, rarely for the 8th, 16th, and 30th (see ARM 12, especially pp. 23–24). The picture presented by this material is coherent. To keep the shades of the dead kings and other divine beings down below quiet and at rest, offerings were made to them. This was done on a monthly basis, but since thirty-day intervals left plenty of opportunity for these dead to cause trouble among the living, the offerings were repeated at other regularly spaced intervals in the month. Thus, in addition to the 1st, the 15th or 16th is attested and also the 7th. For some reason, the day marking the beginning of the third quarter of the month is less known in these contexts. In the Mari evidence, for one particular month of one year only, the *kispū* were made on the 1st, 4th, and 9th, three times spaced over the first half-month, no doubt in a month when danger from the dead was specially feared. The *Theogony of Dunnu* no doubt records the days of the year on which similar offerings were made to the dynast whose fall is being recorded. The official calendars prescribe offerings for other deposed gods, Enmešarra, Enki, and Lugaldukuga on the 15th, 21st, and 29th of the month (see p. 302).

The period in which the text was composed cannot be defined more closely than between 2,000 B.C. and 614 B.C. Its style is simple and unaffected, and there is no pedantic precision of wording. “His sister” and “his own sister” occur indiscriminately, and “overlordship and kingship” freely interchanges with “kingship and overlordship.” While a few individual lines could be taken for poetry, as a whole its syntactic structure is too loose to be metrical, and we have, therefore, elevated prose. Late orthography like *mārī-šū* “her son” may be the work of the scribes, not of the author, and if one quotes *zukkū* “dedicate” (7) as a meaning not attested before the Cassite period, it may be replied that *miḫiḫ harbi* “stroke of the plough” (4) occurs only once elsewhere, in an Old Babylonian document: VAS VIII 74/75 4. The third-person feminine *t-* in the verb occurs in 9 and 19 but not in 8. Such criteria have little value for dating. Similarly, the *e* in *ušeḫnū* (4) could be Middle Babylonian, while the *ā* in *ušāšibšunūti* (31) can be compared with *ú-šá-ši-ib* in Tukulti-Ninurta I (RIMA I p. 265 28) and some rare Old Assyrian parallels (K. Hecker, *Grammatik der Kültepe-Texte* [AnOr 44; Rome, 1968], p. 158).

T. Jacobsen devoted a small monograph to the text, calling it *The Harab Myth*. The title given is based on an emendation of the name of the first male in the story. The tablet, which is well written, twice offers the name (7 and 11), and while neither occurrence has every wedge complete, they overlap and are beyond dispute a regular Neo-/Late-Babylonian IN. A RAB of this time should consist of a band of wedges preceding a four-wedge LÚ, which is clearly not the case here. The ancient scribe wrote ḫa-in. A further objection to the emendation ḫa-rab is that this god and his spouse use a literal *harbu* plow to make a furrow. It is inconceivable to the present writer that a god should use a literal *harbu* plow when he is exactly that thing himself. And it is unfortunate that an emendation should be put in a title to give the impression of fact. The monograph has the usual abundance of stimulating and often penetrating remarks which are characteristic of its author. The present writer will not take issue with them when he disagrees, but readers of course can read for themselves.

Ḫain is a mystery indeed, but the Hurrian Heaven occurs in this text, though it is extremely rare in cuneiform Babylonian sources. It is unwise to deny the possibility of something so far unique.

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BM 74329 = AH 82-9-18 A, 45

Obverse

- 1 [x x (x)] i-na re-e[š . . .]
 2 [x x (x)] x bi ù en [. . .] x x x x [x]
 3 [x x (x)] (-)ah/iḫ-ṣi-nu-ma u[š-taṣ-bi-t]u₄ ḫa-ra-ab-šu-n[u]
 4 [i-na m]i-ḫi-iṣ ḫar-bi-šu-nu ú-še-eb-nu-ú^dtâmta(a-ab-b[a])
 5 [šá-ni]-iš i-na ra-ma-n[i-šú-n]u ú-li-du^dAMA-k[an-dù]
 6 [šá-l]u-ul-ti-šú^{uru}du-un-nu [ā]l ṣa-a-tú ib-nu-ú ki-lal-l[a]
 7 [dḫa]-in bēlū-ta ina^{uru}du-un-nu a-na ra-ma-ni-šú ú-zak-ki-ma
 8 [eršetum^{um}] a-na^dAMA-kan-dù [m]ārī-šú pa-na iš-ši-ma
 9 a[l-k]a-am-ma lu-ra-am-ka taq-bi-i-šú
 10^dAMA-k[an-dù] eršeta^{ta} um-ma-šu i-ḫu-uz-m[a]
 11^dḫa-i[n a-ba-š]u i-du-uk-[ma]
 12 i-na^{uru}d[u-u]n-nu šá i-ra-am-mu uš-ni-il-[šú]
 13 ù^dAMA-kan-dù bēlu-ta ša a-^rbi-šú^r [il]-qí-[ma]
 14^dtâmta(a-ab-ba) a-ḫa-as-su rabī-^rta i-ḫu^r-uz-[x]
 15^dlaḫar mār^dAMA-kan-dù^r il^r-li-kam-[ma]
 16^dAMA-kan-dù i-du-uk-ma i-na^{uru}du-un-ni
 17 i-na x x x a-bi-[š]u uš-ni-il-[šú]
 18^d[tâmt]a([a-ab-b]a) umma-[š]u i-ḫu-uz-[ma]
 19 ù^dtâmtu(a-ab-ba) eršeta^{ta} umma-ša ta-ni-[ir]
 20 i-na^{iti}kislīmi(gan-gan-è) ud-16-kam bēlū-ta ù šarrū-ta il-qú-[ú]
-
- 21^d[. . m]ār^dlaḫar^díd-da^ra^r-ḫa-at ra-ma-ni-šú i-ḫu-u[ḫ-m]a
 22^d[laḫar a-b]a-šu ù^dtâmta(a-ab-ba) umma-šú i-du-[uk-m]a
 23 [i-na é-k]i-sì-ga uš-ni-il-šú-nu-ti ka-am-ṣ[i-ri]š^r?
 24 [i-na^{iti}. . .] ud-1-kam šarrū-ta ù bēlū-ta a-na ra-ma-ni-šú [il-q]i^r?
-
- 25 . . .] x a-u₈^dga(^ltablet: ú)-a-a-am a-ḫa-as-su i-ḫ[u-uz-m]a
 26 . . .] er-še-te ú-di(-)x-[x]
 27 . . .] x x ú-KI-e[l-x]
 28 . . .] x an [x] ab-bé-e ù x [. . .]
 29 . . .] ir x x a-na tab-ši-it ilāni^{mes} ú-[. . .]
 30 . . .]^díd-^rda^r umma-šu i-du-uk-[ma]
 31 . . .] ú-šá-ši-ib-šú-nu-[ti]

- 1967 W. Röllig, *BiOr* 24 58–59 (summary and notes)
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BM 74329 = AH 82-9-18 A, 45

Obverse

- 1 [. . .] in the beginning [. . .
 2 [. . .] . . . and . [. . .] [.]
 3 They helped [one another] and [hitched on] their plough.
 4 [With the] stroke of their plough they brought Sea into being.
 5 [Second]ly, by themselves they bore Šakkan;
 6 [Third]ly, they both built the city of Dunnu, the primaeval city.
 7 Ḫaʾin dedicated the overlordship in the city of Dunnu to himself.
 8 [Earth] cast her eyes on Šakkan, her son,
 9 “Come, let me make love to you,” she said to him.
 10 Šakkan married Earth, his mother, and
 11 Ḫaʾin, his [father], he killed [and]
 12 Laid [him] to rest in the city of Dunnu, which he loved.
 13 Then Šakkan took the overlordship of his father, [and]
 14 . . . married Sea, his elder sister [.]
 15 Laḫar, son of Šakkan, went [and]
 16 Killed Šakkan, and in the city of Dunnu
 17 He laid [him] to rest in the . . . of his father.
 18 He married [Sea], his mother.
 19 Then Sea murdered Earth, her mother.
 20 In the month Kislimu on the 16th day they took the overlordship and kingship.
-
- 21 [. . .] son of Laḫar, married River, his own sister, and
 22 He killed [Laḫar], his father, and Sea, his mother, and
 23 Laid them to rest [in] a tomb like(?) the netherworld.
 24 [In the month . . .] on the first day [he] took the kingship and overlordship for himself.
-
- 25 [. . . , son of] . . . married Gaʾu, his sister, and
 26 . . .] earth . . . [.]
 27 . . .] [.]
 28 . . .] . . [.] fathers and . [. .]
 29 . . .] . . . for . . . of the gods . [. . .]
 30 . . .] he killed River, his mother, [and]
 31 . . .] he settled them.

32 [i-na^{iti} . . . ud-x-kam] *bēlū-ta ù šarrū-ta a-na ra-ma-ni-šú i[l-qī]*

33 . . .] x ^dnin-geštin-na a-ḥa-as-su i-ḥ[u-uz-ma]

34 . . .] ^dga(tablet: ú)-a-a-am umma-[š]u i-d[u-uk-ma]

35 . . .] ú-šá-š[i]-ib-šú-n[u-ti]

36 . . .] x ud-16-kam (v.l. ud-29-kam) *šarrū-ta bēlū-ta [il-qī]*

37 . . .] ^ši-ḥi-ir ^dḥa-mur-ni [. . .

38 . . . a-ḥ[a-at ra-ma-ni-šú i-ḥu-[uz-ma]

39 . . .] *bēlū-tú a-bi-šú il-q[i]-m[a . . .*

40 . . . i]-duk-šú-ma x [. . .

41 . . .] a-na^{uru}šū-ḥa-at-[. . .

42 . . .] x ^rna-piš⁷-t[ú . . .

Reverse

1 (trace)

2 [x (x)] ku⁷ a [. . .

3 [x] x un [. . .

4 [x] a an [. . .

5 an-na-am [. . .

6 u^dun-gal-[nibru^{ki} . . .

7 ma-a(-)[. . .

8 i-na I[Š . . .

9 ^dnin-urta x [. . .

10 ù⁷ x [. . .

11 ^den-líl x [. . .

12 ^dnuska x [. . .

13 i-na ki x [x] líl/é x [. . .

14 ù x x x x [. . .

15 ^den-líl x x x [.] x

16 ^dnin-urta x eš x [.] x

17 (traces)

18 . . .] ma x [. . .

19 . . .] x id⁷ x [.] x

20 . . . i]d^da-la⁷-[la] x x

21 [kī pī] *tup-ḫi gaba-ri ká-[dingir-ra^{ki}] u bal-til^{ki} sar-ma igi-kár*

22 . . .] x x x [.] lugal x x x [x]

Textual notes on pp. 513–526.

- 32 [In the month . . . on the .th day] he [took] the overlordship and kingship for himself.
-
- 33 [. . . , son of . . .] , married Ningeštinna, his sister, [and]
 34 Killed [. . . , his father, and] Ga'u, his mother, [and]
 35 Settled them [. . .
 36 [In the month . . .] . on the 16th (variant: 29th) day, [he took] the kingship and overlordship.
-
- 37 . . .] the child/servant of Ḫamurnu [. . .
 38 . . .] married his own sister, [and]
 39 . . .] took the overlordship of his father, and [. . .
 40 . . . he] killed him and [. . .
 41 . . .] to the city of Šupat-[. . .
 42 . . .] . life [. . .

Reverse

- | | | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| 5 This [. . . | 6 And Ungal-[Nibru . . . | 9 Ninurta [. . .] | 11 Enlil [. . . |
| 12 Nuska [. . . | 15 Enlil . . . [. . . | 16 Ninurta . . . [. . . | |

The River Incantation

The river incantation begins with a short myth praising and explaining the River, which is by Akkadian usage feminine. Quite rapidly, attention is drawn to the judicial functions of this River. The mythical content then ceases, and an enormous variety of diverging texts deal with ritual matters in which the River plays a major part. The interest here is in the mythical content only, and almost all of the divergent texts have been assembled, edited, and translated by S. M. Maul in his *Zukunftsbewältigung* (Mainz am Rhein, 2004). Here, the mythical parts only are presented in a single simplified form. The differences between the various texts are too substantial for presentation in text and apparatus or in musical score format. Here, purely orthographic variants have been ignored and obvious errors also, including the garbling of lines 7–8 of the Sultantepe copy. For full texts and bibliography, Maul's editions should be consulted. The only exception is CBS 344, which Maul cites on pp. 86–87 in nn. 28, 32, and 33, apparently from the present writer's then unpublished copy, which is therefore given on Pl. 70. The texts homogenised here are the following ("M" and number refers to Maul's pages; citations of the incipit only are ignored):

- A = LKA 125 (M 86–87)
- b = K 2782 (M 141)
- c = BM 94354+94356 (M 141)
- D = KAR 254+293+294+VAT 10570e (M 141)
- e = BM 65326 (82-9-18, 5311) (M 141)
- f = AO 8871 (M 273)
- g = Sm 1704+80-7-19, 181 (M 288)
- h = BM 64364 (82-9-18, 4340) (M 339–40)
- I = K 2577 (M 339–40, here Pl. 70)
- J = STT I 72 (M 405–6)
- K = CTN IV 127 rev. (!) (M 405–6)
- l = Sm 386 (M 405)
- m = K 2773+2901+8910 (M 447)
- n = CBS 344 (Pl. 70)

The mythical content is curious in several ways. Babylonia existed thanks to two rivers, but here one river is said to have created everything, though the next line refers to the gods' having dug that river—so they clearly existed before her! Then, Ea is said to have fixed his abode in her. He certainly lived in the Apsû, as the texts state, which was below ground, so perhaps we should assume that this River was entirely subterranean, to avoid the problematical relationship with the Tigris and Euphrates. But that solution runs into the difficulty that the ritual functions of the river—the ordeal and carrying away people's impurities and sins—both took place on earth. The sins, etc., were taken

down to the Apsû, and the texts in the wording of this speak of “your Apsû” (*šu-ri-di-šú ap-su-uk-ki*: M 289 11, cf. 87 8 and 141 157). According to this, the River was a major cosmic power below.

All the known copies are of first-millennium date. So far, no Middle- or Old-Babylonian copy has turned up, nor any Sumerian antecedent.

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Translations, etc.

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 1942 A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*¹ (Chicago)
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- 1 éⁿ at-ti nāru ba-na-át ka-la-ma/mim-ma šum-šu
 2 e-nu-ma iḫ-ru-ki ilānu^{meš} rabātu^{meš}
 3 ina a-ḫi-ki iš-ku-nu dum-qa
 4 ina lib-bi-ki ^dé-a šār ap-si-i ib-na-a šu-bat-su
 5 iš-ruk-ki-ma uz-za na-mur-ra-a-ta pu-luḫ-tum
 6 a-bu-ub la ma-ḫar šum-ki im-bi
 7 né-me-qi ^dé-a(i di m) u ^dasal-lú-ḫi iš-ru-ku-⟨ki⟩-im-ma
 8 di-in te-né-še-e-tum ta-din-ni
 9 nār rabāti^{ti} nār šīrāti^{ti}
 10 nār eš-re-e-ti šu-šu-ru mû^{meš}-ki

Selected Variants

- 2 A inserts after this line: i]s-su-ḫu ilānu^{meš} ^di-gì-gì; cf. n l.
 3 Af: iš-ku-nu ḫé-nun
 4 e: qir-bi-ka K: om. šār ap-sî m: om. ap-sî AJK: ir-ma-a
 5–9 om. m
 5–7 g omits 5, and offers an alternative form of it and 7 after 6:
 i-šá-tum uz-za na-mur-ra-ti pu-luḫ-t[i]
 ^dé-a u ^dasal-lú-ḫi iš-ru-ku-nik-kim-ma
 6 f: [a]t-ti-ma a-bu-bu la ma-ḫar tu-šar-ši m[i-lam-mi] h: l]a ma-ḫar šá ti-ši-i me-lam-mi
 e: ka-a-šú im-bi-ka gn: ka-a-aši iš-ruk-ki
 7–8 A diverges:
 ...] ^den-líl u ^dé-a ma-ḫar-ki di-ni
 ...] -²ad-ki na-²di tam-šil-ki
 n also diverges (cf. JK):
 ^den-bi-^rlu-lu^r gú-gal-la-ki ú-kal rík-si-ki
 ga-me-ra-te di-⟨in⟩ ^dé-a [m]a-ḫar^l-ki di-ni
 mu-ul-⟨li⟩-la-a-ti maš-maš-a-ti x [x (x)] x te-ne-še-e-tú
 rap-pu x-di-ki x [x x x] x bar ka tar^r ru
 9–10 om. e: a-su-ti ^rte-ne^r-še-e-ti ^rte-eḫ-pu^r-ši it-ti ^dkà-kà

- 1 You! River! Creatress of everything!
- 2 When the great gods dug you
- 3 They placed divine favour at your side.
- 4 Within you Ea, king of the Apsû, built his dwelling.
- 5 He gave you fierceness, terror and dread,
- 6 The “irresistible flood” he called your name,
- 7 The wisdom of Ea and Asalluḫi he gave you.
- 8 You judge the judgment of mankind.
 - (7 Enbilulu, your warden, holds your regulations,
 - 8 You accomplish the judgment of Ea, judgment takes place before you.)
- 9 River, you are great! River, you are lofty!
- 10 River, you are upright, your water keeps things in order.

Variants

- 5–7 g puts variant forms of 5 and 7 after 6: “Fire, fierceness, terror and dread,/ Ea and Asalluḫi have given to you.”
- 9 Before 9 e adds the line: “You perform the healing of mankind with Kaka.”

Mythological Introductions on Creation

Some Akkadian incantations and Akkadian fables of the “contest” type begin with a mythological introduction, and the more important ones are excerpted here. In the case of incantations, the purpose of the myth is usually to explain the origin of a disease or pain-causing element.

(i) *The “Ergot,” Old Babylonian Version*

This incantation was published by B. Landsberger and T. Jacobsen in *JNES* 14 (1955) 14–21, with corrections by B. Landsberger in *JNES* 17 (1958) 56–58. It is written on a small tablet from Old Babylonian Ishchali. It served to drive out what is called *merḥu*, something from the ear of barley which either actually got into the human eye and caused trouble or was wrongly conceived to do so. To judge from the late version, the normal form of the word would be *mirʿu*, and its meaning can only be guessed from these contexts. “Ergot,” a kind of rust which can grow on ears of barley, has been provisionally adopted from Landsberger. The lines are set out here to show their structure.

Ish. 35-T.19 Obv. 1–8

<i>er-ṣé-tum-mi</i>	There was earth.
<i>er-ṣé-tum ú-li-id lu-ḥa-ma</i>	Earth bore mud,
<i>lu-ḥu-mu-ú ú-li-id i-ši-na</i>	Mud bore the stalk,
<i>i-ši-nu-um ú-li-id šu-bu-ul-tam^{am}</i>	The stalk bore the ear,
<i>šu-bu-ul-tum ú-li-id me-er-ḥa</i>	The ear bore the “ergot.”

(ii) *The “Ergot,” Late Assyrian Version*

The full text was given by B. Landsberger in *JNES* 17 (1958) 56, but apparently from a photograph, so that a few minor corrections from the original can be included here. The lines are again organized to show the structure. It is possible that originally “bore” (ù-tu) in the third line was meant to be repeated with every following line.

K 2573+ rev. iv 34–37 (cf. AMT 12 1)

<i>én ina šur-ri-i la-am ba-šá-mu</i>	In the beginning, before creation,
<i>a-la-lu ur-da ana ma-ti</i>	Alalu came down to the land.
<i>it-tu-ú še-er-a ūlid(ù-tu)</i>	The plough bore the furrow,
<i>še-er-ʿu, ḥab-bur-r[a]</i>	The furrow the shoot,

<i>ḥab-bur-ra ka-an-na</i>	The shoot the growing head(?),
<i>ka-an-nu ki-iš-ra</i>	The growing head(?) the node,
<i>ki-iš-ru šu-bu-ul-ta</i>	The node the ear,
<i>šu-bul-[tu] mi-ir-a</i>	The ear the “ergot”.

(iii) The Toothache Worm

This is the beginning of a well-known incantation from a small Late Babylonian incantation, also duplicated on Ashurbanipal tablets. A Hurrian incantation from Old Babylonian Mari called “the incantation of the worm” (*šipat tūltim*) is unrelated, according to E. A. Speiser, *ANET* 100. The Akkadian text has often been translated: see Borger, *Handbuch* p. 547 for a selection.

CT 17 50

AMT 25 2 15–20

1 [.]	[.]	
2 <i>ul-tu</i> ^d <i>a-nu-um</i> <i>i[b-nu-ú šamū^u]</i>	. . . ^d <i>a-nu ib-nu-u šamê^e</i>	After Anu created heaven,
3 <i>šamū^u ib-nu-ú [er-še-tum]</i>	. . . <i>ib-nu-u eršetum^{tu}</i>	And heaven created earth,
4 <i>er-še-tum ib-nu-ú nārāti^{meš}</i>	. . . <i>i[b-nu-u nārāti^{meš}</i>	And earth created the rivers,
5 <i>nārāti^{meš} ib-na-a a-taḥ-ḫa-ti</i>	. . . <i>ib-na-a a-taḥ-ḫa-tú</i>	And the rivers created the ditches,
6 <i>a-taḥ-ḫa-ti ib-na-a ru-šum-ta</i>	. . . <i>ib-na-a ru-šum-tú</i>	And the ditches created the swamps,
7 <i>ru-šum-ta ib-nu-ú tu-ul-tu</i>	. . . <i>ib-na-a tul-tú</i>	And the swamps created the worm.

The first line is lacking from both copies (it was written with the second in AMT 25 2). The last two lines of AMT 28 1 rev. iii (*én* ^d*a-nu-m*[*i; iš-tu* ^d*a-num i[b-nu-u*) might belong to this or a similar incantation, in which case a little of the first line could be restored. Another incantation in AMT 28 1 rev. iii 16–19, begins: *én TA* ^d*a-num i[b-nu-u; eri₄-du₁₀ ib-nu-u gi-x* [.

(iv) Bu^ʾšānu-disease

Attention was drawn to this by B. Landsberger in *JNES* 14 (1955) 17¹³, and collation of the original has given improved readings. As before, the line division here is intended to show the structure.

K 6585+7656+9144+16448 ii 14–15 (AMT 18 11 6–7 and 30 3 14–15)

<i>én</i> ^d <i>a-nu-ma</i> ^d <i>a-nu</i>	There was Anu—Anu.
^d <i>a-nu pu-ḫur šamê^e</i>	Anu was the whole of heaven,
^d <i>a-nu pu-ḫur eršetum^{ti}</i>	Anu was the whole of earth.
<i>eršetum^{tum} ib-ta-ni t[ul-tú]</i>	Earth created the worm,
<i>eršetum^{tum} ib-ta-ni bu-ʾšā-nu</i>	Earth created <i>bu^ʾšānu</i> .

The actual meaning of the first of these lines is doubtful. The *-ma* on the first “Anu” may be compared with the *-mi* on *eršetum* “earth” in (i) and with the *-mi* on “Anu” cited under (iii). A priori, the Old Babylonian text should give the more correct orthography, and *-mi* in the Old Babylonian *Atra-ḫasīs* introduces direct speech and is sharply distinguished from the coordinating and emphatic *-ma*. However, no natural sense results from taking the *-mi* in (i) as introducing direct speech. Perhaps Ishchali had a different tradition in the use of this particle. The *-ma* used in nominal sentences is very suitable here, and the *-mi* in (i) is taken in the same way.

(v) Anu Begets Heaven

(a) AMT 42 4 rev., BM 98584+98589 Obv. iii, STT II 240 Obv. and BAM 33

éⁿ šu-un-du ^da-num ir-^hu-u šam^u (AMT, BAM: AN-ú)
^dé-a ina eršetim^{tim} ú-kin-nu šam-mu (STT om. ina; ú-kìn-nu; AMT: 'ú-ki'-nu)
 i-^hi-iz-ka ^dšîn(30) qu-ra-du (AMT: qu-r]a-a-du)
^dšamaš nap-^har te-re-e-ti qa-tuš-[k]a paq-du (BAM: ^dšá-maš, ti-re-te qa-tuk-ka pa-aq-du; STT: te-re-ti)

When Anu had begotten heaven,
 And Ea on the earth had established plants,
 Šîn, the warrior, . . . you,
 All decrees, Šamaš, were entrusted to you.

The first word of line 3 is assumed to be a verb, though nothing known to the present writer is helpful.

(b) K 6057+7928+7954+82-3-23, 47+83-1-18, 506 Obv. ii 29–30

[éⁿ e-n]u-ma ^da-nu ir-^hu-ú [šamê^e]
 [x x] x^{mes} i-šî-mu šî-mat ma-[a-tim]
 When Anu begot [heaven],
 [. .] . . decreed the destiny of the [land] . . .

(vi) The Fable of the Spider

The introduction to this series was long mistaken for a creation myth, but its true character is now recognized (JCS 16 [1962] 72). The original has been collated.

DT 41 (CT 13 34) 1–7

e-nu-ma ilāni^{mes} i-na pu-uh-ri-šú-nu ib-nu-ú [. . .
 ú-ba-áš-šî-mu b[u]-ru-mi ik-šu-ru [. . .
 ú-šá-pu-ú [šik-na]-at na-piš-ti 'ú'-[. . .
 bu-ul šēri [ú-ma-a]m šēri ù nam-maš-še-e [. . .
 ul-tu x [. .] x x a-na šik-na-at na-piš-ti [. . .
 [bu-ul] ^dšakkan ù nam-maš-še-e āli ú-za-²i-[zu . . .
 [x x] GAR ri nam-maš-ti gi-mir nab-ni-ti [. . .

When the gods in their assembly had created [. . .
 Had fashioned the heavens, had got together [. . .
 Had brought living creatures into being, had [. . .
 The animals of the steppe, [the creatures] of the steppe, the beings of [. . .
 After [. .] . . to the living creatures [. . .
 Had divided [. . .] the animals of Šakkan and urban beings,
 . . .] . . beings, all creatures [. . .

Part IV

Other Material Related to Enūma Eliš

The Theogonies of Enlil and Anu

*The Theogony*¹

Enūma Eliš begins with a theogony, the purpose of which is clear. Everything known to man has a beginning and so, it was assumed, even the gods have their births. The neat organization of the pantheon into families expressed this view, as well as subordinating some gods and goddesses to others. But what of the senior gods? For the two greatest, Anu and Enlil, genealogies existed, tracing back their descent into a dim and unknown past to primaeval beings who were, apparently, uncreated. The Epic commences with a literary form of Anu's theogony, as to have used Enlil's would have given prominence to a god whose prestige the Epic systematically ignores.

The Theogony of Enlil

Various ideas on Enlil's parentage had currency in ancient Mesopotamia, and the following less commonly attested ancestries are briefly given before the better-known theogony is dealt with. Anu is called Enlil's father on a vase inscription of Lugalzaggesi (^den-líl lugal-kur-kur-ra-ke₄ an a-ki-ág-ni . . . : FAOS 5/II Uruk:Luzag. 1 iii 14–16). The same view is held in *Enki and the World Order* (C. A. Benito; Ph.D. Dissertation, Philadelphia, 1969), for An is given as Enki's father (line 79) and Enlil as Enki's older brother (pa₄, line 63, cf. ZA 56 [1964] 57). This ancestry is probably presumed in the OB forerunner to An = *Anum* (TCL 15 pls. xxvff.), where, if the Enlil theogony at the beginning is taken as an addition to the original list (see below, p. 409), only Anu is given an ancestry, and Enlil's section immediately follows. Another, but related, ancestry is given in the exorcistic compilation, Ebeling's "Gattung I," which opens with sections for Anšar and Kišar, Enuruulla and Ninuruulla, then Enlil and Ninlil (*ArOr* 21 [1953] 361). Anšar and Enuruulla are no doubt derived from the Anu theogony dealt with below, since the accompanying description gives the first pair as "lords of mother–father of Enlil" (en ama a-a ^den-líl-lá = *be-lí a-bi u um-me šá ^den-l[íl]*), and that invites the question why Enuruulla and spouse were used at all, unless an existing tradition was being

1. Previous literature is sparse and inadequate: F. Lenormant, *Les origines de l'histoire* I (Paris, 1880) 494; English ed., *The Beginnings of History* (London, 1883) 489–90; A. H. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, 388; P. Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* (Strassburg, 1890) 192–93; M. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898) 416–18; M. Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* I (Giessen, 1905) 353; H. Radau, *Bel, The Christ of Ancient Times* (Chicago, 1908) 8–22; H. Zimmern, *ZA* 23 (1909) 364; J. Hehn, *Die biblische und die babylonische Gottesidee* (Leipzig, 1913) 2; A. Deimel, *Pantheon babylonicum* (Rome, 1914) 17–24; M. Jastrow, *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions* (London, 1914) 69–71; F. Nötscher, *Ellil in Sumer und Akkad* (Hanover, 1927) 18; T. G. Pinches, *JTVI* 59 (1927) 137–65; E. Forrer, *Mélanges Franz Cumont* (Brussels, 1936) 691²; T. Jacobsen, *JNES* 5 (1946) 138–39; Å. W. Sjöberg, *Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen* (Stockholm, 1960) 40; J. J. A. van Dijk, *AcOr* 28 (1964) 6–16.

followed. The compiler of the present text may well have meant Anšar and Anu, since the two are identified in some cases (see below). Another god cast in the role of Enlil's father is Enmešarra, but quite early he was drawn into the standard theogony (see below and the introduction to *Enmešarra's Defeat*). Lugaldukuga is still another figure who is called father of Enlil (see the introduction to the *Toil of Babylon*). The latest attested theogony to include Enlil is that given by Eudemus of Rhodes (see below, p. 422).

The standard theogony of Enlil is simpler than that of Anu, being more systematic and synthetic. It consists of a series of divine pairs, the males beginning with en "lord" and the females with nin "lady." It is known from three different kinds of texts: liturgies, incantations, and god-lists, and once exceptionally a Sumerian epic contains it. The liturgies will be taken first. One text contains a statement of Enlil's family and parts of the section turn up in other texts of the same kind. The following copies have been used for the text as given here:²

- A [main text] = VAS II 11 v 1–7 (OB)
 B = PRAK II C 72 obv. 13–17 (OB)
 C = CT 42 pl. 4 iv 1–6 (OB)
 D = BM 96927 obv. i 3–7 (OB; lines 3–7 only)
 E = V R 52 no. 1 obv. 3–8 (Ashurbanipal; lines 2–7 only)
 f = SBH p. 85 5–7 (Seleucid period; lines 1–3 only)

1	^d mu-ul-líl-le dam-a-ni ^d nin-líl-le	Enlil, his wife Ninlil,
2	an ^d uraš ki še gu-nu-e	An (and) Uraš, where barley sprouted,
3	^d en-ki ^d nin-ki ^d en-ul ^d nin-ul	Enki Ninki, Enul Ninul,
4	^d en-da-šurim-ma ^d nin-da-šurim-ma	Endašurimma Nindašurimma,
5	^d en-du ₆ -kù-ga ^d nin-du ₆ -kù-ga	Endukuga Nindukuga,
6	ama ^d nin-líl a-a ^d mu-ul-líl	Mother(s of?) Ninlil, father(s of?) Enlil.
7	^d en-u ₄ -ti-la ^d en-me-en-šár-ra	Enutila, Enmešarra.

Variants: 1 B: ^dnin-líl-lá 2 om. BC f: om. an Ef: gu-nu-ra 3 CDf: ^den-mul BDf: ^dnin-mul
 4 B: ^den-da-šu-^rrim^r-ma 6 B: ama ^dmu-ul-l[íl-lá^r a]-^ra^r ^dmu-ul-l[íl-lá C: a-a ^den-líl ama ^dnin-líl-l[a]
 D: a-a ^dmu-ul-líl-lá ama ^dnin-líl-lá E: ^dmu-ul-líl-lá 7 B: ^den-mu-[ut]-la ^den-me-en-an-[C: ^den-ut-lá
 CD: ^den-me-šár-ra

On purely formal grounds, the form of the Enlil theogony may be analysed into the main group of matching pairs summed up in line 6, the non-matching pair in line 2, and the two single males appended at the end. So far as line 2 is concerned, the textual evidence confirms its extraneous character: B, C, and D omit it, so that it appears in A, E, and f only. The rest of the evidence for this Enlil theogony is divided in the same way: sometimes the line with Uraš is included, sometimes not. Also this line appears in some late copies of liturgies without any accompanying ancestral pairs. The following are the passages:

an uraš ki še gu-nu
^den-ki ^dnin-ki ^den-mul ^dnin-mul
 [^den-da-šur]im-ma ^dnin-d[a-šuri]m-ma
 VAS II 17 vi 6ff. = 18 vi 3ff. (OB)

2. See Langdon, PBS X p. 302; van Dijk, SGL II 151–52; Kramer, JCS 18 (1964) 36⁸.

an^duraš ki še gu-nu-e
^den-ki ^dnin-ki ^den-ul ^dnin-ul
^den-da-šurim-ma ^dnin-da-šurim-ma
^den-du₆-kù-ga ^dnin-du₆-kù-ga
^den-u₄-ti-la ^den-me-šár-ra

S. A. Smith, *Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts* (London, 1887) p. 12 (Ashurbanipal)

^duraš-a ki še gu-nu-ra
 SBH p. 29 20, SBP p. 90 (Seleucid)

^duraš-a ki še gu-[nu-ra]
 SBH p. 47 rev. 23 = BA V 641 18, SBP p. 70 21 (Seleucid)

[^duraš] ki še gu-nu-ra
 [^den-ki ^dnin-ki ^den-ul ^dnin-ul]
 BA X/1 84 rev. 3–5 = 85 3–5 (Ashurbanipal)

Not merely is the line with Uraš of doubtful authenticity at the head of the Enlil theogony, but the text is doubtful also. Should one read Uraš or An and Uraš? There is certainly a pair An and Uraš, since in one OB bilingual passage they are rendered *ša-me-e ù er-še-tim*.³ An for “heaven” speaks for itself, and Uraš is obviously “earth,” quite apart from the rendering *eršetim*. The mating of heaven and earth occurs in several passages:

{an} an-maḥ₁₀-e ki-dagal-la du₁₀ im-ma-ni-ib-nir
 Lofty heaven cohabited with broad earth.
 TCL 16 pl. cxv 6, cf. van Dijk, *AcOr* 28 (1964/65) 45

an-na ki-sig₇-ga giš im-ma-ab-[du₁₁]
^da-nu er-še-ta ba-ni-tum ir-ḥe-e-ma
 Anu impregnated the broad earth
Lugal-e I 26

^da-nu-um šār ilāni^{meš} eršetim^{tim} ir-ḥe-e-ma
 Anu, king of the gods, impregnated the earth.
Erra I 28

én ki-ma šamû^ú u eršetum^{tim} ana áš-šu-ti in-na-aḥ-zu
 When heaven and earth got married.
STT 136 iv 37

. . . m]u-un-kar-kar-ra [. . .
 kīma] šamê^e u eršetim^{tim} i-te-nid-di-[ru] . . .
 Like] heaven and earth they were clasped in embrace [. . .
 BM 48017 2–3

Neither of the pair An and Ki has the divine determinative in a Sumerian context—An, because divine names beginning An- do not normally take the determinative, to avoid the repetition AN

3. A. Falkenstein, *AnBib* 12 (1959) 71 3.

AN; KI, because she was never really a goddess, despite her personification as Earth. The existence of this pair An and Ki created complications with An and Uraš: that, although there was a god Uraš of Dilbat, scribes may write Uraš without a determinative, in which case orthography alone can never determine if AN IB is to be read ^duraš or an uraš. In the bilingual passage, AN IB certainly stands for An and Uraš, as the translation attests. A writing an ^duraš is clear, but scribes at times misinterpreted AN IB as the pair, when in fact only Uraš is meant, and inserted a second AN into the text on this assumption. Falkenstein in ZA 52 (1957) 72–73 has collected examples where a ma-mu “my mother” and a ma-tu-da-ni “his mother who bore him” qualify An und Uraš. This results from such misunderstandings.

The line which heads some versions of the Enlil theogony varies in the copies between an ^duraš and AN IB. It seems most probable that Uraš alone is meant, though in no case does IB occur without a preceding AN. The conclusion follows from the following phrase ki še gu-nu-e/ra. This cannot mean “the place of šegunû” (a variety of barley),⁴ as the genitive element would show before the postposition -e as -ke₄. The analysis must be: ki še gunu(-a), “the place where barley sprouted,” based on gûn = a-šu-u šá iši u qanê (*Nabñitu* M 185 = II R 62 54 cd). It is only possible to refer this to earth, for while the fertilizing rain from heaven might have helped the barley to sprout, the place where it sprouted was certainly earth. Thus, the phrase should be rendered simply “Earth, where barley sprouted,” and this attests a tradition of a single prime mover in creation, Earth, and that life began with the sprouting of a stalk of barley from her bosom.⁵ In this light, the reason for the addition of this line becomes apparent. The theogony begins with Lord Earth and Lady Earth, and the scribe responsible for the added line was inserting another version of primaeval Earth.

The two male figures appended to this theogony were eventually incorporated into it. The earliest evidence of this occurs in the Sumerian epic, the *Death of Gilgameš*, in which the hero perhaps meets these divine ancestors in the underworld:

^den-ki ^dnin-ki ^den-mul ^dnin-mul
^den-du₆-kù-ga ^dnin-du₆-kù-ga
^den-x-šurim-ma ^dnin-x-šurim-ma
^den-mu-ut-lá ^den-me-en-šár-ra
 ama a-a ^den-líl-lá-ra

ed. A. Cavigneaux and F. N. H. Al-Rawi, *Gilgameš et la Mort*
 (Groningen, 2000) 23 N₂ 14–18

An incantation text, in a Middle Babylonian copy, has a similar list, though much corrupted scribally:

zi ^den-^ʿki^ʿ (ras.) nin-^ʿki^ʿ en-NU nin-NU
 zi ^den-mul nin-mul ^den-la-dúbur ^dnin^ʿ-la^ʿ-d[úbur]

4. B. Landsberger, *JNES* 8 (1954) 280ff.

5. This myth might be reflected in the name of Enlil’s mother in the Sumerian *Enlil and Ninlil* (see RA 55 [1961] 184): ^dnun-bar-še-gu-nu, a name attributed to Nissaba in the forerunner to An = *Anum* (TCL 15 pl. xxix 323), in An = *Anum* I 297, CT 24 23 ii 16, and in An = *Anum* = ša amēli 99, CT 24 41 88. However, the meaning of nun-bar is unknown.

en-me-et-ra⁶ en-me-šár-ra-a
 en ama a-a ^rd en-líl¹-la-ke₄-ne

PBS I/2 112 70–73 = ArOr 21 (1953) 396 (collated)

The final assimilation took place when these males were given matching spouses, as in the remaining sources for this theogony. These will be described first and then set out in tabular form.

(i) God-Lists

The Fara lists contain material of this theogony, but that will be dealt with later. From this Early Dynastic period, there seems to be a gap until the Old Babylonian era. The forerunner of An = *Anum*⁷ begins with the Enlil theogony. Sixteen pairs are named, but there is no summing up or any statement explaining the list. In the Middle Assyrian An = *Anum*, this list, now expanded to 21 pairs, was transferred to the head of the Enlil section (I 96–138; CT 24 4). Previously, it had stood at the head of the Anu section, but one should not conclude from this that in Old Babylonian times the pairs were construed as ancestors of Anu. Unambiguous evidence of this period contradicting any such idea has already been given. Rather, it is one of those bulky expansions of the originally concise list which occur here and there in it. Its extraneous nature is indicated by its very size. Anu's section in this text, including ancestors, comprises seven names, compared with which the preceding 30 are altogether out of proportion. It is admittedly out of place where it now stands, but there is another similar case. The Enlil section is also brief, but Enlil's household, quite a lengthy list, occurs toward the end of the whole tablet (lines 305–41). The Middle Assyrian An = *Anum* transfers it to its natural position with the other Enlil names, immediately after Anu's section at the beginning. The great length of the list of ancestors in the god-lists as compared with the liturgies is to be explained as due to compilation. The liturgies and incantations have either the pair with -ul or with -mul, but with one exception, which may have been influenced by the lists, never both. It is possible that -mul is to be read ul₁₀, but whether this is so or not, there is no question that they are variants of the same name. Other items in the lists may have similar origins, but in the Middle Assyrian version, at least, these duplicate entries were not understood, as a simple count supplies the total.

An Old Babylonian god-list from Mari (ed. W. G. Lambert, in J.-M. Durand and J.-R. Kupper, *Miscellanea Babylonica* [Fs. M. Birot; Paris, 1985], 181–89), offers very little new and interesting.

(ii) Incantations

As seen in the specimen already cited from PBS I/2 112, the ancestral names were quoted as powers by whose mention evil spirits could be exorcised. They are therefore preceded by *zi/nīš* (“by,” literally “the life of”) or *utammēkunūši* (“I have exorcised you by”). So far, no Old Babylonian examples of this use of the ancestral names have been found, and it may be that this practice does not go back that far. The theogonies of both Enlil and Anu are used in this way. Five instances of this use of Enlil's theogony have been noted, and in the last two cases as given here it is combined with Anu's:

6. The many forms of this name are confusing. The most common is -u₄-ti-la, where the correct value of UD is given in the Middle Assyrian An = *Anum*: -ú-ti-la (CT 24 21 79). The various forms may go back to *(m)ut(i)la, in which case there need be no connection with the Sumerian phrase u₄-ti-la “die Lebenstage” (Falkenstein, SGL I 94).

7. TCL 15 pls. xxvff. An OB exercise tablet from Susa, MDP 27 232 rev. has the beginning of a list: ^den-líl-lá, ^den-garàš^{sar} ^dnin-garàš^{sar}, ^den-KU-x [^d]nín-[KU-x].

- (i) PBS I/2 112 70–73 = ArOr 21 (1953) 396 (supra)
(ii) CT 16 13 11–28, dup. LKU 28 1–5
(iii) Rm II 418 (Pl. 70)
(iv) ArOr 21 (1953) 381 5ff., dups. BM 34733 rev. i 1ff. and BM 40805 ii
(v) K 9417+12931 rev. with K 6916, and dup. K 9992 (all on Pl. 71)

(The texts given as duplicates here duplicate the relevant context only, not necessarily the whole text.) In the following table, only the distinguishing elements of each pair are given; the ^den- and ^dnin- are omitted. So far as possible, the names are set out opposite the same one in An = Anum.

OB God List	An = Anum	Mari	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)
ki	ki		ki ^a	ki	ki ^a	ki
mul	ul		ul		mul ^a	
ul	mul			mul	ul ^a	mul
nun	lu					lu
kur	du	kur		du		
kin-gal	da	šár				
šár	bùlug	bùlug	bùlug ^a	bùlug	bùlug ^a	
buluḥ	buluḥ					
bùlug	pìrig			pìrig		
	garàš	mul		garàš	garàš ^a	
	šár	ul				šár
giriš	nun			nun		
da-šurim-ma	kur					
amaš ^b	amaš			amaš		
	kin-gal			TUN-gál/gal ^c		
du ₆ -kù-ga	kù-ga/gál	da-šurim-ma	da-šurim-ma		da-šurim-ma	
an-na	an-na	du ₆ -kù-ga	du ₆ -kù-ga		du ₆ -kù-ga	du ₆ -kù-ga
u ₄ -ti-la	ú/u ₄ -ti-la		u ₄ -ti-la	u ₄ -ti-la	u ₄ -ti-la	u ₄ -ti-la
	da-šurim-ma					
	du ₆ -kù-ga			du ₆ -kù-ga		
me-šár-ra	me-šár-ra		me-šár-ra		me-šár-ra	me-šár-ra
16	21	7	7	11	9	7

Notes

- a. All these names have Sumerian plural endings: ^den-ki-e-ne, ^dnin-ki-e-ne, etc.
b. This list has only ^den-da-šurim-ma and ^dnin-amaš due to a scribal error.
c. The sign TUN-(gál/gal) is glossed tùn both times in Rm II 418.

What does all this evidence mean? Who were these ancestral pairs? Most of the lists conclude with a line explaining the preceding deities, so that one might expect to find the answers to these questions easily, but a review of this explanatory material only serves to display the complexity of the problems.

Liturgies (a) OB:

- A ama ^dnin-líl a-a ^dmu-ul-líl
B ama ^dmu-ul-l[íl-lá' a]-^ra¹ ^dmu-ul-[líl]-lá
C a-a ^den-líl ama ^dnin-líl-l[e]
D a-a ^dmu-ul-líl-lá ama ^dnin-líl-lá

(b) Ashurbanipal:	E	ama ^d nin-líl a-a ^d mu-ul-líl-lá
OB copy of Sumerian epic:		ama a-a ^d en-líl-lá-ra
An = Anum I 138:		42 en ama a-a ^d en-líl-lá-ke ₄
Mari god-list:		^d en ama a-a ^d en-líl-lá
		^d nin ama a-a ^d en-líl-lá
Late copies of incantations:	(i)	en ama a-a ^r d ^d en-líl'-la-ke ₄ -ne
	(iii)	^d en ama a-a ^d en-líl-l[á . . .
	(v)	^d en ama a-a ^d en-líl-lá-ke ₄ -e-n[e]
	(ii) and (iv)	^d en ama a-a ^d en-líl-lá-ke ₄
		<i>be-el a-bi um-mi šá ^den-líl</i>
		^d nin ama a-a ^d nin-líl-lá-ke ₄
		<i>be-el-ti a-bi um-mi šá ^dnin-líl</i>

Variants to (ii): LKU 28:] a-a ama ^den/nin-líl-lá-ke₄; to (iv): BM 34733: *a-bi u um-mi/mu*

Anu's theogony is much less rich in such descriptive material; in fact, only two cases of a summing up occur, and these seem to be modelled on the Enlil theogony. However, an Old Babylonian incantation written in phonetic Sumerian offers the pair Dūri Dāri, which properly belong to the other theogony, yet relates them to Enlil with the word en:

tu-ri ta-ri en mu-ul-li
ta-ri ta-ri en mu-ul-li

MKNAW 78 (1934), Ser. B, no. 2, p. 8 7–8

Thus, the Old Babylonian period, as known so far, had two ways of describing these ancestral pairs, ama a-a “mother father” and en “lord.” Later material combined the two. The divergent uses of the first one in the Old Babylonian period are most perplexing. The obvious way to understand them was as “mothers and fathers of Enlil,” and this is what the Sumerian epic says. The genitive relationship is correctly expressed, as would be expected in a connected literary text, but no plural elements occur, which does not, however, exclude the possibility that “father” and “mother” were meant for each of the preceding pairs. One obvious peculiarity stands out. Every known occurrence of every pair has the order En–Nin–, male—female, but ama a-a reverses this order. The scribes of C and D were obviously sensitive to this disorder and corrected it. But the vast mass of evidence leaves no room for doubting that ama a-a is the original sequence. The interpretation of the epic was not, however, shared by the liturgies. They are based on the consideration that Enlil and Ninlil are a pair like the rest, and the female must somehow be brought in. One might have expected to find statements summing up the list as “fathers and mothers of Enlil and Ninlil,” but this in fact never happens. Perhaps the incestuous marriages that this interpretation implies were a serious objection, though the *Theogony of Dunny* accepts this consequence. At any rate, all the liturgical examples separate the phrase ama a-a and only B puts both “mother” and “father” with Enlil. Unfortunately, the grammatical relationship of the noun and name is not clear. It could be thought of as a genitive relationship: “mother of Ninlil,” etc., or as an apposition: “mother Ninlil,” etc. The grammatical elements are not consistently written even in the Old Babylonian examples: a genitive element is written on the names in a few cases, but not in all.

The Old Babylonian example of *en* certainly looks like an apposition, so that one could render the phrase, “Dūri, Dāri, lord(s) Enlil.” The composite term “lord(s) of mother father” may refer to each one of each pair, as the number in *An = Anum* shows. Just as with *ama a-a* by itself, some cases refer the composite term to Enlil alone, but the incantations (ii) and (iv) brought in Ninlil by creating a feminine version “lady of mother father,” referring to the goddesses alone, and keeping the masculine equivalent for the gods of the list. The Akkadian translation, like C among the liturgies, reverses the order of *ama a-a* to “father mother.” One thing that emerges from this survey is that the ancient world had no clear and fixed interpretation of these lines any more than we do. Enlil’s ancestry was expressed in the theogony, but beyond that there was no agreement.

The term *ama a-a* itself deserves comment. Its use when its order conflicted so plainly with that of the pairs implies a long-established tradition. In Akkadian, *abu ummu* means “parents” (see *CAD* sub voce *abu*). In Sumerian texts, the order is not fixed: either “mother” or “father” can come first. “Father” precedes in Ur III legal texts (Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden* II [Munich, 1956] p. 24 13 with note), in proverbs (E. I. Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs* I [Philadelphia, 1959] 155), and in a late litany (IV R² 27 no. 4 56–57). “Mother” precedes in an Old Babylonian copy of a litany (Krecher, *Sumerische Kultlyrik* [Wiesbaden, 1966] p. 59 9), in Gudea Cylinder A iii 6–7 (though the words are addressed to a goddess, which may explain the order), and in a text about Samsu-iluna (TCL 16 pl. ci rev. 65, cf. *ArOr* 17/1 [1949] 217). With such variation, a scribe wishing to sum up pairs in the order En–Nin– could easily have preferred the order *a-a ama*. That he did not is proof that *ama a-a* in that order was a traditional term for divine ancestry. It is in itself a piece of mythology.

The version of this theogony in the Fara and Abu Šalābīkh texts from the end of the Early Dynastic period is as follows:

en-ki	nin-ki
en-líl	nin-líl ¹
en-Uḫ	nin-Uḫ
en-bùlug	nin-bùlug
en-du ₆ -x	nin-du ₆ -x
en-gukkal	nin-gukkal
en-é	nin-é

Deimel, *Fara* II p. 24 v 17–vi 10 = OIP 99 82 rev.; see P. Mander, *Il pantheon di Abu Šalābīkh* (Naples, 1986) pp. 29, resp. 9

Each name is contained in a separate compartment without a divine determinative, but this is unimportant, as determinatives are optional in the Fara texts. Some of the goddesses turn up in a context of deities beginning with Nin– with the determinative: ^dnin-x, ^dnin-ki, ^dnin-líl, ^dnin-bùlug (op. cit. p. 2 vi 24–27). The context of the double list is unhelpful. However, the major differences between these and the later versions is that they put Enki Ninki at the beginning and Enlil Ninlil at the end, while these earliest witnesses put these two pairs together and appends the others.

At first glance, the intermediate pairs seem to offer little for comparison with the later witnesses. Only *bùlug* occurs both in Fara and later. The sign we have represented by X (*LAK* 777) is a combination of UDU and another sign, “Schaf mit Hodensack” according to Landsberger (*MSL* II 103), who has discussed this and related signs. The combined sign-form continued in use into the Third

Dynasty of Ur, after which it went out of use generally. This later sign-form can be identified, thanks to *SLT* 42, which has a sequence commonly found at Fara:

áb	áb
gud	gud
u ₈	u ₈
x	x
ùz	ùz
máš	máš
<i>Fara</i> II no. 12 ii and iv; no. 13 ii and iii; no. 15 iv and v; no. 16 iii–iv and v	<i>SLT</i> 42 i and v

This list alone is sufficient to identify the sign as indicating the male sheep, probably a ram for breeding, and from the sign-form in *SLT* 42 it is possible to identify *LAK* 228 and Schneider, *Keilschrift-Paläographie* 2, nos. 289, 290, and 893 as later forms of *LAK* 777. A complication arises in the Ur III period due to an apparent coalescence of two earlier sign-forms in this one. In the Fara texts and other Early Dynastic documents, there are two clearly distinguished signs, *LAK* 721 and *LAK* 777 (here “x”). The former occurs on the Stele of the Vultures iv 28, where a meaning “female breast” is very probable, and in *TSA* no. 23 rev. v 6 (time of Uruinimgina) the sign is resumed with -ra. Thus, a reading ubur is very probable, as first proposed by Thureau-Dangin. In the Ur III period, the sign x is also written with a resumptive -ra (*ITT* V 6951) and occurs in pot-names which later are written with ubur (*ITT* II 892 rev. ii and iii). This same sign is also used as at Fara for the ram (Landsberger, op. cit. p. 103), and this shows that the two Early Dynastic signs coalesced. Landsberger, observing that the Early Dynastic form of the ubur-sign seems to have an inserted LU, regarded x of the Ur III period as having an inserted sign also, “IR’.” Once it is recognized that this sign is nothing but a later version of *LAK* 777, this proposal becomes superfluous. The wedges inside the latter half of the Ur III sign are nothing but a continuation of the hachuring of the second sign which went to make up *LAK* 777. Thus, the Ur III script used its form of *LAK* 777 for both “Schaf mit Hodensack” and the ubur-sign. In the Old Babylonian period, as Landsberger has shown, they were differentiated by meaning into DAG.KISIM₅×UŠ (“ram”) and DAG.KISIM₅×GA (“female breast”). In the late copies of *Ur-ra* the former has become AMAŠ (DAG.KISIM₅×UDU.MÁŠ) (see *MSL* VIII/1 8 21–22).

Thus, the connection between x in the Fara copies of the theogony and AMAŠ in the late copies is established and its history given by tracing the evolution of the same sign as applied to a breeding ram. The pronunciation is only known from late glosses to udu-AMAŠ, which give ú-a for AMAŠ and [ú-t]u-ú-a for the whole group (*MSL* II 101; VIII/1 8 note on 21f.). As the rendering *ra-ki-bi* shows, this ú-a is a phonetic writing of u₅-a “mount” (the female, said of the male). Of course, there is no certainty that the Fara sign was pronounced the same way 2,000 years earlier. The term for breeding ram could have changed. While the Fara sign is made up of udu and another sign, the second one is certainly not u₅, which is attested at Fara. While the double Fara list has en/nin-du₆-x, the sign x occurs without the du₆ in the list of Nin-deities. In the late lists, du₆ only occurs followed by -kù-ga.

The gukkal sign is not absolutely certain: its second half is lower than the first for no obvious reason. This sign, too, indicates a kind of sheep, the name of which is said to be derived from

kun-gal “big tail.” No later witness has gukkal, but one may ask if kin-gal/ĝál and kù-ga/ĝál, apparently a variant of kin-gal in An = Anum, may not have been derived from it at some stage in transmission. There is no obvious later derivative of the á pair in the Fara list, though da in An = Anum could be compared, since the two signs are easily confused in some early scripts. Thus, while the intermediate pairs of the Fara lists have some relationship to those of later times, it is a tenuous connection. We do not venture to guess if the Fara list is really compounded of certain sheep terms or if this is only appearance.

Another ED attestation of this theogony occurs in a fragment of a myth, Sollberger, *Corpus des inscriptions “royales” présargoniques de Lagaš* (Geneva, 1956) Ukg. 15 ii: ud-ba en-ki nun-ki nu-sig₇ ^den-líl nu-ti ^dnin-líl nu-ti “At that time Enki and Nunki had not been created, Enki did not exist, Ninlil did not exist.” Here the spelling Nunki for Ninki occurs, paralleled in a few other places (see B. Alster, RA 64 [1970] 190; J. Peterson, NABU 2009 68) and in the Hittite Minki Amunki (ZA 54 [1961] 147).

The important fact is that all the lists agree in putting Enki Ninki first, and all but the Fara list put Enlil Ninlil last. But there is no agreement whatsoever about the intervening pairs; in fact, no two lists agree. Leaving aside Enlil Ninlil, the first pair is the only one of any consequence. Another Fara list in addition to those already quoted has en-ki nin-ki in a single compartment (op. cit. p. 60 i 6). An Old Babylonian list of underworld gods has ^den-ki ^dnin-ki (RA 32 [1935] 181 27). The Emesal Vocabulary gives only this pair at the head of Enlil’s section:

^d umun-ki	^d en-ki	^d é-a
^d gašan-ki	^d nin-ki	^d dam-ki-n[a]

I 2–3, MSL IV 4

The Akkadian column is certainly wrong in taking Enki Ninki as Ea and Damkina. The Ea names do not begin until line 38, where the Emesal of Enki is ^dam-an-ki. A bilingual litany addressed to Enlil also attests their parentage of him, but curiously call them only “father”:

a-a ugu-zu	^d en-ki	^d nin-ki	siskur
a-bu a-lid-ka	^d MIN	^d MIN	ik-ri-bi

Langdon, BL no. 208 rev. 12–13

The father who begat you, Enki Ninki, prayer . . .

A Late Assyrian copy of a bilingual religious text also has the pair:

giš-nu ₁₁	^d en-ki	^d nin-ki	lugal nam-tar-tar-re
nu-ur	^d MIN	^d MIN	be-lu-ú ši-ma-a-ti

VAT 13841+13842 obv. 7–8

The light of Enki Ninki, lords of destinies

Those who controlled the destinies were supreme in the universe, so the importance of the primaeval pair is evident. An administrative document from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, TMHS II/III 240 13–14, lists offerings for the great gods, among which company Enki Ninki have a place. Offerings to Enki and Ninki are mentioned in Astrolabe B (see p. 303). In *Šurpu* II 146–47, the pair appears in a

list of gods asked to release a spell along with ^den-šár ^dnin-šár, a pair which appears in both theogonies. Among the Hittites, Enki Ninki occur in lists of underworld gods in the form Minki/Munki Am(m)u(n)ki, which attest phonetic variations not found in the Mesopotamian scribal tradition.⁸

Of the other gods forming this theogony, Enmešarra is the best known: see the introduction to *Enmešarra's Defeat*. The pair Enul Ninul occurs in the *Bilingual Account of Creation*, rev. 15, where they are urged to multiply prosperity as the universe is being organized. They are described as parents of Nuska in a Sumerian hymn (^den-ul ^dnin-ul-e tu-da-me-en: STVC 37 obv. 10 = SGL II 144). Enki Ninki with Enul Ninul are given as gods who confirm the kingship of Išme-Dagan in a royal hymn (Römer, SKIZ 46 114). Endašurimma and spouse are called “brother and sister of all the gods” in an incantation (p. 285). Endašurimma and Endukuga without spouses are known as keepers of the third and fifth gates, respectively, of the underworld, according to the Sultantepe version of Nergal and Ereškigal (STT 28 iii 41ff. = AnSt X [1960] 116) as restored from a compilation of groups of seven (KAR 142 iv 12ff.; cf. RA 91 [1997] 74–80). It is not known, however, if this version of the guardians of the gates is an old tradition or a relatively late creation based in two cases on the theogony. Endašurimma and Endukuga with spouses are mentioned as underworld gods to whom offerings should be made in a Late Assyrian tablet, ABRT II 12 25ff. Enšar occurs as father of the gods in the *Toil of Babylon*. This is the sum of the attestations, noted by the writer, of these gods. Most, it will be observed, are completely unknown outside the theogony. Those which are known elsewhere have underworld connections.

The obscurity of most of the gods and goddesses in the theogony and the wide divergencies between all the known lists point unambiguously to the conclusion that the basic mythological concept is that Enlil Ninlil descended from Enki Ninki, but the line of descent was never fixed and the ancient scribes improvised lists, occasionally drawing on known underworld deities. The purpose of having a list at all was probably to assign a great antiquity to the first pair. The only real mythological content is that Enlil descended from Earth, a conclusion confirmed by the insertion of Uraš in some of the sources. It would seem that this descent was expressed according to the concept of matching pairs and that ama a-a was the technical term expressing this concept. However, the conflict of order between the En- Nin- pairs and the technical term may indicate that there was an earlier, now lost, tradition of divine ancestry in which the female of each pair came first. There is certainly no shortage of important goddesses in the older Sumerian traditions who might have been part of such a scheme.

The attempt to find meaning in the sequence of names is a failure, unlike the case of comparable Egyptian theogonies, in which the names of the deities suggest the stages through which the universe developed. The second pair, usually ending in -ul or -mul, can be interpreted in a similar way. The root ul (or ul₁₀) could indicate “luxuriance” (see Falkenstein, SGL I 93), and the command to this pair in the *Bilingual Account of Creation* to make the earth prosperous might even depend on this etymology.⁹ If so, Earth begat Luxuriance, a natural sequence. The following roots do not suggest anything at all plausible, and the widely differing lists discourage any attempt to push the matter further.

8. E. Forrer, *Mélanges Franz Cumont* 687ff.; *Freies Deutschland* no. 38/39 (Friedenskirche, Nov./Dec. 1935); H. Otten, ZA 54 (1961) 146–47.

9. Jacobsen has proposed the meaning “bud” for ul in ZA 52 (1957) 101¹³, which would also fit. This is accepted by van Dijk, AcOr 28 (1964/65) 33.

The lists themselves are extremely obscure. It is simple enough to have a list of married couples until one asks questions about the implications. Since they were primaeval beings, each couple presumably begat the next, which compels the assumption of brother and sister marriages, which were never known in ancient Mesopotamian society. The problem is exactly that of Cain's wife. The *Theogony of Dunnu* seems to be the only Mesopotamian source to accept such incest, but if it is denied, what is the alternative? The summing up in the litanies allows a rendering “mother Ninlil, father Enlil,” and this makes each pair not parents of the one following but stages of development. According to this interpretation, Enlil and Ninlil evolved from Enki Ninki through a series of stages represented by the various names. The Anu theogony, as will be shown, presents these alternative ideas quite clearly, and the confused interpretations of the phrase *ama a-a* in the Enlil theogony show how different scribes tried to understand the traditional list and its terminus technicus.

The inconsequential nature of the intermediate pairs is further shown in another detail. Two of the lists in incantations, (ii) and (iv), begin with the usual names, but adding the plural element *-ene* to each. Halfway through the list the plurals suddenly cease. Outside the lists, the first pair only are attested with this plural ending, and scribes may have been influenced by this, but it is still not explained why only the first half of the lists were similarly treated. The earliest occurrence of these plurals so far noted is in a Sumerian incantation written in a script not later than the Third Dynasty of Ur, PBS I/2 107 rev. 9–12:

^d en-ki-ne ^d nin-ki-ne	May the Enkis and the Ninkis
nì-sig-ga-an-na-gim šà-ta šu	Altogether and completely (?)
hè-ma-ra-ab-sìg-e	Strike it for me with the hand
túg-kud-a-áš hē-em-ak-e	And turn it into a torn garment.

(The verbs are singular, but Sumerian syntax is not yet sufficiently established for this to constitute a serious objection to the obvious translation.) The deities serve here to thwart demonic power, though not under the stock formulas used later. A Sumerian hymn in an Old Babylonian copy, *SLTNi* 58 rev. 8, also mentions them: ^den-ki-⟨ne⟩ ^dnin-ki-ne nam si-si-sá-bi-ta, which, *pace* Sjöberg, *Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen* (Stockholm, 1960) 40–41, refers to the directing of destinies. A late copy of a Sumerian incantation refers to the same deities as taking part in the primaeval establishment of reeds: ^den-ki-e-ne ^dnin-ki-e-n[e] gi šu im-ma-an-ti: *STT* 198 27–28. (A text of Urnanše from the ED period, Sollberger, *Corpus Urn.* 49 ii 8–9, seems to have the same general intent: gi en-ki nun-ki dù hē-gá-gá “reed, may Enki and Nunki make you pleasant”; so B. Alster, *RA* 64 [1970] 190). A late copy of a bilingual incantation begins by invoking them as powers which would be useful in exorcism:

én ^den-ki-e-ne: šá ^dMIN šú-nu šá ^dMIN šú-nu: ^d[nin-ki-e-ne]
CT 17 47 c (cf. *STT* 172 obv. 9)

The Sumerian means “the Enkis, the Ninkis,” but the Akkadian is, “they are of Enki, they are of Ninki.” This shows a knowledge of Sumerian in that ^den-ki could stand for ^den-ki(-ak) “the one(s) of Enki,” like the personal name ^dnuska “He of Nuska” (^dnuska(-ka)), for which see Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden* II, note on 84 7. However, the translation is wrong in taking *e-ne* as the independent plural pronoun. Obviously, the translator did not know these deities. That

they could be summed up under these plurals further confirms that the intermediate pairs between Enki Ninki and Enlil Ninlil were in themselves unimportant.

It might seem that Enki, ancestor of Enlil, and Enki, god of Eridu, bear the same name, but this is not so. As Jacobsen pointed out in MSL IV 4 note on 2 (cf. *JNES* 5 [1946] 145), the second element of the god of Eridu has an amissable g: Enki(g), as seen in such writings as ^den-ki-ga-ke₄, while no such element occurs in the ancestral ^den-ki-e-ne. The latter name is certainly an apposition, “Lord Earth,” while the second element ki(g) of Enki(g) is of unknown meaning.

The Theogony of Anu

The Anu theogony is the one to which Marduk is attached in *Enūma Eliš*. Though it is less frequently met, it is also less synthetic than that of Enlil, and it is related to at least one theogony outside Mesopotamia. At the beginning of the Epic, three pairs lead up to Anu. No spouse of his is recorded: perhaps the author had difficulty in finding a genuine wife of his. Although Ea’s wife is named in the Epic and she plays a part in the birth of Marduk, no account of her birth is given. The following is the scheme:

Apsû — Tiāmat
Laḫmu — Laḫamu
Anšar — Kišar
Anu
Nudimmud (Ea)
Marduk

The wording of the text leaves open the question whether Anšar Kišar are descended from Laḫmu Laḫamu or are a second pair of offspring from Apsû and Tiāmat. The other cuneiform material is contained in god-lists and late copies of incantations. The only Old Babylonian attestation is found in the forerunner of An = *Anum*. The incantations will be given first as the less-manipulated material:

- (iv) *ArOr* 21 (1953) 381 9–14, dup. BM 40805 ii
 (v) K 9417+12931 rev. with K 6916 and dup. K 9992 (all on Pl. 71)
 (vi) KAR 233 rev. (?) 14–16 (collated) and dups. *STT* 138 rev. 29, K 8104 and 82-5-22, 535
 (vii) Address of Marduk to the Demons E 35–36 (*AfO* 19 [1959/60] 118)
 (viii) KAR 22 obv. 23–25; Ebeling, *Tod und Leben* (Leipzig, 1931) no. 20

<p>(iv)</p> <p>an-šár ^dki-šár ^ddu-rí ^dda-rí ^dlaḫ-ma ^dla-ḫa-ma ^da-la-la ^dbe-li-li ^den-uru-ul-la ^dnin-uru-ul-la</p>	<p>(v)</p> <p>^ddu-rí ^dda-rí ^dlaḫ-mu ^dla-ḫa-ma ^den-gur ^dga-ra ^da-la-la ^dbe-li-li</p>	<p>(vi)</p> <p>^ddu-rí ^dda-rí ^dlaḫ-mu ^dla-ḫa-[mu] ^dr-e-gur¹ ^dga-ar ^da-la-la ^db[e-li-li]</p>
<p>(vii)</p> <p>[^dlaḫ-m]a ^dla-ḫa-ma ^den-gar ^dg[ā-ra] ^da-la-la ^dbé-li-li [^dd]u-rí ^dda-rí</p>		<p>(viii)</p> <p>^ddu-rí ^dda-rí ^dlaḫ-mu ^dla-ḫa-mu ^da-la-la ^dbe-li-li</p>

Though not a formal list, ZA 23 (1909) 374 80–88 should be given also: ^da-la-la ^dbe-li-li ^dlāḫ-ma ^dla-ḫa-ma . . . ^de-gur u ^dg[a-ra . . .]. Of these specimens, (iv) stands out by offering two pairs lacking from any other incantation. It was (iv) that in the Enlil theogony suggested dependence on the god-lists by having both the -ul and the -mul pairs, and, sure enough, the two extra pairs here are found in An = *Anum*. Its connection with the god-lists will be further established when Namma is considered. If the extra pairs in (iv) are ignored, four of the five lists begin with Dūri Dāri and end with Alala Belili. There is no way of telling which, chronologically, is the beginning and which the end, but our conclusion, which will be justified so far as may be later, is that Dūri Dāri are the first pair in time and represent the concept of eternal time as the prime force in creation.

The development of the Anu theogony in the god-lists is most revealing. The whole Anu section in the Old Babylonian forerunner of An = *Anum* is as follows:

an
 an-šár-gal
^den-uru-ul-la
^duraš
^dbēlet-ì-lí
^dnamma
^dama-tu-an-ki
 TCL 15 pl. xxv 31–37

No wives or husbands! The lack of description causes some difficulty. The three names following Anu certainly seem to be ancestors, but the last three are not clear. Is Bēlet-ilī another name for Uraš or the fourth ancestor? Similarly, is Amatuanki a second name of Namma or not? The two Middle Assyrian copies of An = *Anum* supply the answers to these questions but are curiously different in their arrangement, despite their having been written by the same scribe, Kidin-Sîn. The arrangement we prefer is that of the British Museum copy:

1		=	^d a-nu-[um]
2	an :		an-tum : eršetum ^t [^{um}]
3	an ki	=	^d a-nu ù a[n-tum]
4	^d uraš	=	^d nin-[uraš]
5	an-šár-gal	=	^d ki-šár-[gal]
6	an-šár	=	^d ki-[šár]
7	^d en-šár	=	^d nin-[šár]
8	^d du-rí	=	^d da-r[í]
9	^d lāḫ-ma	=	^d la-ḫa-m[a]
10	^d é-kur	=	^d gá-r[a]
11	^d a-la-la	=	^d be-li-li
12	^d .MINALAM	=	^d .MINALAM
13	^d en-uru-ul-la	=	^d nin-uru-ul-la
14	21 en ama a-a an-na-ke ₄		
15	^d bēlet-ì-li	=	dam an-na-ke ₄
16	^d nin-úr-SAL-la	=	dam bàn-da an-na-ke ₄
17	^d namma ama ^d en-ki-ga-ke ₄	=	SAL-agrig zi é-kur-ke ₄

18	^d ama-ù-tu-an-ki	=	^d namma
19	^d nin-šar	=	<i>an-tum</i> ^d iš-tar
20	^d bēlet-ì-li	=	MIN = ^d ŠIM.BI-zi : MIN

CT 24 20

The Yale copy has only the end of the list preserved, but it suffices to show the difference:

	...] MIN
	...] MIN
^d é-ku]r	= MIN
^d ga-a]r	= MIN
^d a-la]-la	= MIN
^d be-li]-li	= MIN
^d .MIN ALAM	= MIN
^d .MIN ALAM	= MIN
^d en-uru-ul-la	= MIN 21 ama
^d nin-uru-ul-la	= MIN a-a an-na-ke ₄

YBC 2401 col. i

Apart from some purely scribal variants, the following section agrees with the British Museum copy. It was the arrangement of the Yale copy that was transmitted to Late Assyrian times, so that the beginning can be restored from the Ashurbanipal copy:

an	=	^d a-nu-um
an	=	<i>an-tum</i>
an ki	=	^d a-nu-um u <i>an-tum</i>
^d uras	=	MIN
^d nin-uraš	=	MIN etc. etc.

CT 24 1 and BM 64393

This copy omits the pair ^dé-ku]r ^dgá-ra, probably by a simple error, and it separates the summing up from the ancestors by a ruling so that 21 en ama a-a an-na-ke₄-ne wrongly appears at the head of the following section, which section essentially agrees with the Middle Assyrian copies. Yet another god-list known from Late Assyrian copies agrees with the Yale version:

an	=	^d a-nu-um
[^d]ú-ra-áš]uraš	=	^d MIN šá iš-pik ik-ri-bi
[a]n-šár-gal	=	^d MIN šá kiš-šat šamê eršetim
[a]n-šár	=	^d a-nu ^{be-pi} MIN
^d en-šár	=	^d MIN
^d du-rí	=	^d MIN

^d lāh-ma	=	^d MIN
^d é-kur	=	^d MIN
^d a-la-la	=	^d MIN
[^d]MINALAM	=	^d MIN
[^d en-ur]u-ul-la	=	^d [MIN]

K 4338b (CT 24 19) + 15160, dup. K 7663+11035 (CT 25 7)¹⁰

There is some uncertainty as to what the *he-pí* in the fourth line means, and why did the scribe write out the name of Anu in that line, when in every other case after the first the ditto sign is used? Two of the ancestral names are treated as in An = *Anum* = *ša amēli*, and curiously enough it is just these two ancestral names that are taken up in that list:

šár-gal	=	anu	=	[šá k]iš-šat šamê°
^d uraš	=	anu	=	šá mil-ki

Lines 11–12 (CT 24 39 1–2)

The history of the case can be sketched very easily. Basically, there are two completely separate Anu theogonies: that in the Old Babylonian god-list and that in the incantations. If one disregards the exorcistic text contaminated with the god-lists, the two sources have not one name in common. Then, starting with the Middle Assyrian edition of An = *Anum*, the two sources are combined and expanded into a theogony modelled on that of Enlil. Surveying the material in more detail, one notes that the Old Babylonian god-list has a single-line version, and the name An heads rather than follows it. It must therefore be asked whether it should be read downwards, like every form of the Enlil theogony, or upwards. Since the last name means “mother who gave birth to heaven and earth,” we assume that in time she came first, and so the list must be read up. Also, we accept the evidence of An = *Anum* that this name and Bēlet-ili are titles of the two preceding goddesses, Namma and Uraš. Thus, we get the following line of descent for Anu:

Namma
Uraš
Enuruulla
Anšargal
Anu

The incantations have matching pairs, though not of the En–Nin–type as used for Enlil, and if our provisional conclusion is correct, they are generally to be read downwards. An = *Anum*, in combining the two traditions, adhered to the principle of matching pairs, and two of these pairs are even En–Nin–pairs, the first of which, Enšar Ninšar, actually occurs in several witnesses of the Enlil theogony. What is more interesting is the handling of the cosmological issues. The older god-list begins the universe with Namma, in all probability a watery principle, as will be shown later. From this primaevial water, Earth = Uraš is born. The incantations probably start with eternal Time. The compiler of An = *Anum* accepted neither of the prime movers in his sources but, as in the case of the Enlil theogony, wanted Earth. Thus, he took Uraš from the god-list and, making him male (a most unconvincing father Earth), produced a wife to go with him. Of course, Bēlet-ili, “Mistress of the Gods,” could no

10. The fragments K 7662 (CT 25 7) and DT 115 (CT 25 23) also belong to the beginnings of similar lists and offer related material.

longer apply to Uraš, so this title and the unwanted Namma were ousted from the theogony and put in an appendix (ll. 15–20). This left only Anšargal and Enuruulla from the god-list, so the compiler suitably married them off and, placing them beneath Uraš and Ninuraš, inserted between them all the pairs of the incantation tradition and a few more besides. Thus, Earth was exalted to first place, the two accepted deities from the old god-list were taken over in wrong order, and the pairs from the incantations were inserted between them in right order. Finally, to round off the compilation, a summing up in the style of the Enlil theogony was added, which proves beyond question that the compiler was consciously following that pattern. The big question arises from the number 21. Ten pairs make only 20. Where is the odd one?

The appendix shows the compiler at his best, as every ingenuity was needed to explain away the three last entries of his forerunner. Bēlet-ilī was identified as Anu's wife. No great intellectual somersault was involved in this, as Antum, Anu's spouse, was identified with Ištar, as line 19 attests, and while Bēlet-ili had originally been the Mother Goddess, a deity separate from Ištar, in time they were assimilated, as is shown in the Emesal Vocabulary, where Bēlet-ili is used both for the Mother Goddess and Ištar (MSL IV 5 31–34 and 8 83–84). Namma could not be related to Anu by any amount of sophistry, so the traditions of Eridu, that she is Ea's mother, and of Nippur, that she is a secretary in Ekur, were put down side by side. To make the picture more convincing Anu's concubine "Mistress of the Female Genitals" (an otherwise unknown goddess) and Ninšar (another menial of Ekur who could be identified with Antum) were added. The last name, ^dŠim-bi-zi, the cosmetic "antimony," seems not to occur elsewhere as a divine name.

Although the techniques by which these sections of An = *Anum* were compiled can be grasped, the meaning of the resultant list of "lords of mother father" is not clear. Since it is formed on the pattern of the Enlil theogony, one could expect it to have the same significance. Unfortunately, as we have seen, that one is capable of at least two interpretations. In this case, there is the narrative form in *Enūma Eliš*, which puts forward the obvious view that the pairs are individual deities, male and female, from whom the major deities of the pantheon were descended. To accept this view, the objections about incest have to be swallowed or explained away. The British Museum copy of An = *Anum* from the Middle Assyrian period is probably based on this interpretation. The pairs are simply set down one after the other in the double column. Elsewhere in the list, such juxtaposition in the two halves of the columns implies equations, but in this case the double column is being used for another purpose. However, the other Middle Assyrian copy, by equating each one of each pair with Anu and Antum, is explaining the pairs as simply other names of the two at the top, and the other Late Assyrian list does the same for Anu and the males of each pair alone. This, of course, is a totally different concept of the theogony. The blame for the contradictory aspects of the two Middle Assyrian copies, both the product of Kidin-Sîn, cannot rest with the scribe; both go back to his originals. The British Museum tablet, according to its colophon, was copied from "an old monster tablet" (*a-na pi-i tuṣ-gal-li libir-ra*: CT 24 46 8), but the Yale tablet from "old tablets" (*ana pi-i tuṣ-pi^{meš} libir-ra^{meš}*). The first three lines of An = *Anum* identify Antum as earth (ki and *eršetum*).¹¹ This gives a pair Heaven (as the Sumerian An means) and Earth. We have already quoted passages which speak of the mating of these two, and the compiler of An = *Anum* certainly looked on Earth as the prime

11. This rare equation also occurs in K 11948 1–2: an-e ki-a dè-è-m-mà-ḫ[un-gá = ^da-nu u an-tum li-ni-i[ḫ-hu.

mover, so that we are forced to ask how there could be a line of ancestors for Anu and Antum, since they were by definition first and instituted creation by their mating. No doubt, reasoning of this kind is responsible for the arrangement of the Yale tablet. Whether this is the original form of the list cannot be ascertained, and in view of the mysterious missing one from the number 21, it is best to assume that different editors with differing cosmological views have had a share in the handing down of An = *Anum* so that the resulting form is confused.

It seems that there is no other evidence plainly supporting the idea that the theogonic figures are mere names of the ultimate deity concerned, but it is at least worth mentioning that Anšar is in some contexts identified with Anu. In the bilingual *Exaltation of Ištar* (see JCS 16 [1962] 71) an-šár and ^dki-šár in the Sumerian are equated with ^da-nu and *an-tum* in the Akkadian. Conversely, in an Akkadian prayer to Ištar of Nippur (AfK 1 [1923] 22 10–11, restored) the name [^du]g-an-na is interpreted as *e-muq an-š[ár]*. Also, two god-lists gloss an-šár with Anu: AN ^da-nuŠÁR (CT 24 49, K 4349E 7; BA V 655 23).

The material so far discussed refers exclusively to Anu, but three items connect this theogony with Enlil. The first, cited above, gave Dūri Dāri as en mu-ul-li “Lord(s) Enlil.” The second, also cited above, is “Gattung I,” which opens with Anšar Kišar as parents of Enlil and continues with Enuruulla and Ninuruulla, before giving Enlil and Ninlil. The third source connecting Enlil with Anu’s theogony is the account of cosmologies composed by Eudemus of Rhodes, a pupil of Aristotle. The work as a whole has perished, but the relevant extract is preserved in the writings of the Neo-Platonic Damascius (6th century A.D.). The source of Eudemus’ information is not known, but it cannot have been Berossus. This follows from the essential difference between their two accounts, and on chronological grounds, it is doubtful if Eudemus lived long enough to use the works of Berossus. The following is a translation:

Of the barbarians the Babylonians seem to pass over in silence the one first principle and allow for two: Tauthē and Apasōn. They make Apasōn the husband of Tauthē, whom they call “mother of the gods.” Of these was born a single child, Mōymis, which is, I understand, the rational world, which descended from the two principles. From them another generation arose, Dachē and Dachos [emend: Lachē and Lachos], then a third one arose from the same pair, Kissarē and Assōros, of whom were born the three: Anos, Illinos [emend: Illilos] and Aos. From Aos and Daukē a son was born, Bēlos, whom they say is the demiurge.

Fragment 150 (F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles* [Basel, 1955] VIII, p. 70)

The following scheme results from turning the names into the Babylonian forms:

Tiāmat — Apsû
Mummu
Laḥama — Laḥma
Kišar — Anšar
Anu — Enlil — Ea
Bēl

The integrity of this version is evident from a number of points. The most striking is that each pair has the female first, the only case of conformity with the *ama a-a dictum* in all our evidence. Being in narrative form, it explains matters which would remain obscure in a list and even clarifies doubtful points in *Enūma Eliš*. The Epic does not account for the birth of Mummu, but Eudemus states that

he was the first son of Tiāmat and Apsû. The Epic is ambiguously worded as to whether the third pair were born of the second, or were the second pair offspring of the first. Eudemus leaves no doubt that the latter alternative is correct. Finally, where the Epic offers the succession Anu — Ea — Marduk, after the last pair Eudemus puts the great triad as coeval. Eudemus' version comes closest to that of the Epic, yet it is independent of it, as the last point proves.

While the Anu theogony in these three cases is connected with Enlil, no examples of the reverse connection have been found. The explanation seems to be that, despite its great antiquity and frequent attestation, Enlil's theogony was not accepted everywhere. The tradition that Anu was his father excluded any separate ancestry for him. The prestige and spread of the traditions embraced in the theogony of Anu are shown in a Hittite story that Alalu reigned in heaven for nine years and was then routed by his butler, Anu. Alalu fled to the underworld. Then, for nine years Anu ruled in heaven, after which Kumarbi, his butler, did battle with him. Kumarbi got the upper hand, got hold of Anu and bit off his genitals but did not prevent him from escaping in heaven. From this point, the myth is badly broken, but it is certain that the swallowed genitals resulted in Kumarbi's giving birth to sons, including the weather god, and probably he overthrew Kumarbi and assumed power in heaven. Ea occurs in the latter part of the story, but his origin is not explained in the surviving parts.¹² This myth is known from copies of c. 1300 B.C. and could result from the combination of elements of diverse origin. It is quite possible that the earlier part involving Alala and Anu is derived ultimately from Mesopotamian sources. It is important also as the only narrative form of the theogony apart from *Enūma Eliš* and Eudemus of Rhodes, and it illustrates what totally different stories could be attached to these names. The various Greek theogonies also offer closer parallels to Anu's than to Enlil's.

A final source for Anu's theogony is a mysterious list of gods known from Late Assyrian copies, KAV 52, 54 and 71:

2	...]-bi	sal [...
3	^d kur	^d a-la-la
4	^d kur	^d ki-uraš
5		^d be-[...
6	^d gu ₄ -ud	^d lāh-ma
7	^d usān-an-na	^d ki-uraš
8	^d gud	^d lāh-ma
9	^d gud	^d la-ḫa-ma
10	^d sa-ru-nu-úr [...] x-nu	^d [...
11	[...	
12	^d dam-[...	

12. A summary with translated excerpts and bibliography is given by H. G. Güterbock in S. N. Kramer, *Mythologies of the Ancient World* (Garden City, N.Y., 1961) 155ff. and 179 note 24.

No doubt, some specific purpose underlies this listing, but to the present writer it is completely unintelligible. It is interesting that the *primaeval* Earth is called *Ki-Uraš*, a combination of the two separate names. This is found elsewhere, in *AfO* 19 (1959/60) 110: ^dšamaš ina niḫī-šú = ^den-líl, ina rībī-šú = ^dki-uraš; and in *KAR* 109 rev. 6: ina ki-uraš be-let er-še-ti. The end of the series *i-NAM giš-ḫur an-ki-a* may also be quoted: uraš *ba-nu-ú*, ki *ba-nu-ú* (*CT* 25 50 17–18 = *MMEW* p. 32). Certainly, Luckenbill was wrong in reading ^dki-i-b and comparing the Egyptian Geb (*AJSL* 40 [1923–24] 288ff.).

Certain of the pairs require separate elucidation:

Dūri Dāri: this pair, first attested in the Sumerian incantation from the time of Samsu-iluna, is the well known Akkadian phrase “ever and ever.” However, the ending *-i* and the choice of the sign *-rī* suggest that the words as borrowed in Sumerian are being used. As Akkadian, the phrase does not of course indicate a male and a female. Grammatically, it is a perversion to use them as a married couple. This suggests that the concept of eternal time as a prime mover was taken over from an existing cosmogony and was expressed in a suitable pair of words to fit the pattern of another scheme. This pair does seem to head the list in the incantations.

Units of time conceived as divine occur elsewhere in cuneiform texts. Exorcistic texts invoking divine powers include gods, geographical features such as mountains and rivers, and:

zi ud sakar-ud(! sic, collated) mu-a ḫe-
niš u₄-mu ár-ḫu u šat-ti

Be exorcised by Day, Month, and Year.

PBS I/2 115 obv. i 13–14 = *ArOr* (1953) 379

Also a prayer, inviting sundry gods to bless Marduk, reads:

u₄-mu arḫu(iti) u šattu(mu-an-na) ana bēlī-iá ku-ru-ub x [. . .]

Day, Month, and Year, bless Bēl . [. . .]

BM 68593 obv. 10

See the writer in C. Wunsch (ed.), *Mining the Archives* (Dresden, 2002) p. 189.

Laḫma Laḫama: see the note on *Enūma Eliš* I 141. Again, a pair not really male and female has been employed. *laḫmu* is the Akkadian, *laḫama* the Sumerian for “sea monster.” In the Epic, this pair and the one of *Tiāmat*’s monsters are distinct, but so far as lexicography is concerned, there is only one word. The composite nature of the Epic explains the double use.

Egur Gara: the various spellings of the first one are perplexing: ^dé-kur, ^de-gur, ^den-gur, ^den-gar. For meaning, one might think of *Ekur* as used for the abode of demons (see the lexica) or *Engur* as a name of the subterranean waters. Perhaps something quite unknown underlies it, and certainly the mate *Gar(a)* is otherwise unknown.

Alala Belili: apart from the theogony and the Hittite myth, incantations allude to related mythology:

ina šur-ri-i la-am ba-šá-mu a-la-lu ur-da ana ma-ti

In the beginning, before creation, Alalu came down to the land.

See above, p. 399.

. . .] x ^da-la-la ana eršeti x [. . .
 . . .] . Alala to the earth . [. . .
 BA V 673 8

la-am ^dnin-gír-su ina māti il-su-ú ^da-la-la
 Before Ningirsu gave utterance to Alala in the land
 Maqlû VI 49 = IX 104

ul-tu ^duru₄ ina māti ilsû(KA-ú) ^da-la-la
 After Uru gave utterance to Alala in the land
 Maqlû VIII 51 = IX 175, cf. JNES 14 (1955) 20

In these passages, there is a use of the god as the work-cry or work-song, in which sense there is the same relationship between the song and the god as between “fire” and Girra. The difference between this use and his place in the Hittite story is vast, but there is no reason to doubt their identity from a philological point of view. Apart from an obscure line in which Alala occurs again with Ningirsu (KAR 321 4; cf. JNES 14 [1955] 21²⁶), the remaining passages are in late expository texts where he is identified with ^dkur (see above), ^den-ki (RA 41 [1947] 30), and ^dlugal-du₆-kù-ga (RA 16 [1919] 148 3 = TCL 6 no. 47). These identifications prove nothing for any texts but those in which they occur.

The mating of Alala and Belili is unattested outside the theogony, and again one must suspect the compilers of being great match-makers. Belili was chosen because her name, like that of her mate, is iterative. This type of name is particularly frequent in the texts from Old Akkadian Nuzi (HSS X, cf. RA 32 [1935] 51ff.), though examples occur from the earliest periods onwards in the South (see Landsberger apud Çiğ and Kızılyay, *Eski Babil zamanına ait Nippur menşeli iki okul kitabı* [Ankara, 1959], pp. 102ff.). In fact, Belili itself occurs in personal names from the Third Dynasty of Ur, which have been collected by Gelb in MAD III 96. She was the sister of Tammuz (JNES 12 [1953] 182⁴⁹), and the only description of her we have found: ^dbe-lí-lí ba-ak-ki-i-ti (Šurpu III 76) fits into her underworld character and her relationship to Tammuz. Her name comes up in expository texts (RA 41 [1947] 37 26; RA 16 [1919] 148 6 = TCL 6 no. 47). The suggestion that Belili is a corruption or contraction of Bēlet-ili has not a shred of evidence in its support.

^dALAM ^dALAM: this pair is attached as sub-names to Alala Belili in An = Anum. A name of Ištar, Timua, also has ^dALAM as a sub-name in An = Anum IV 177 (KAV 73+145), but in this case it is probably nothing more than the concept of the deified statue that is involved (for which see Van Buren, *Or. NS* 10 [1941] 65ff. and Frankena, *Tākultu* p. 112). For the theogony, two distinct, if only slightly differing, names are needed, and such a pair exists in ^dal-mu ^da/al-la-mu. Although there is no formal proof of the identity of these two pairs, it seems very probable that they are the same. The phonetic writings offer a pair dissimilated like Laḥma Laḥama, and ^dALAM could well serve as a pseudo-ideogram for both. The Old Babylonian list *Diri Nippur*, MSL XV 36 16–17, equates them with an En–Nin– pair:

^den-šutul(u+kid) = ḥa-al-mu
^dnin-šutul(u+kid) = ḥa-la-ma

The *šutul* sign (MSL XIV 41 246 and 355 10–13) was later read *šita*, explained *rik-su* and *šuk-lu-lu* (MSL III 144 233–34; cf. JAOS 88 [1968] 7). Unfortunately, no clear interpretation of Alma Alama comes out of this, though the writings with *h*- favour Semitic rather than Sumerian words. Julius Lewy held that this Alma was a cognate of the Hebrew *‘ólām* “eternity,” and this writing with *h*- supports the view. Stronger proof comes from the equation of *Malku* VIII: *al-mu-u* = *ul-lu-u* (STT 394 110), where the adjective is explained as “eternal.” Thus, it seems that Alma Alama, like *Dūri Dāri*, is a pair expressing eternal time as a *primaeval* force. Other passages attest underworld connections. *dal-mu* occurs in a Nergal section of a Middle Assyrian list (CT 24 36 66), but since the immediate sequence is broken off, it is unknown if *Alamu* followed. In *An* = *Anum* the pair comes in a context of underworld gods and demons (VI 128–29, cf. MSL II 51), and their infernal character is confirmed by the identification with *Lugalgirra* and *Meslamtaea* in a god-list of uncertain origin and date: CT 25 35 rev. 22–23 = 36 rev. 28–29, cf. 37 obv. 19. This character entirely fits a theogonic pair. They also occur as disease demons: *Ugaritica* V p. 31 23; K 8487; VAT 11235 11. There are other, less helpful occurrences: *AfO* 14 [1941/44] 144 75; CT 20 23 11; AS 7 p. 15 19–20; *Erim-ḫuš* I 210–11 (V R 21 25–26 = CT 18 48 iii 24–25).

Enuruulla Ninuruulla: the only description offered for this pair is in “Gattung I,” where they are said to be “of the land of no return” ([*kur-nu*]-*gi/šá eršet lā târi*). In *KAR* 142, the male of the pair appears as keeper of the fourth gate leading to the underworld (iv 13). The name “lord/lady of the *primaeval* city” illustrates the importance of the city in ancient Mesopotamian thought.

Namma, Ningirimma, and Ninimma

Study of the two theogonies has so far failed to yield any trace of Tiāmat, who plays such a leading part in the *Epic of Creation*. The closest parallel is offered by Namma (^dENGUR), who heads one strand of the Anu theogony. While An = *Anum*, in combining the two strands, pushed out Namma into a kind of appendix, *Enūma Eliš* in the same process substituted Tiāmat for her. Since both are female watery principles, there is no difficulty in understanding why this happened. Namma is generally a little-known goddess. An Early Dynastic inscription of Lugal-kisal-si describes her as “wife of An” (^dnamma dam an: H. Neumann, *AoF* VIII [1981] 78), which suggests earth or netherworld as her sphere, to match An, “heaven.” She turns up occasionally in Old Babylonian copies of Sumerian literature. In *Enki and Ninmah*, she is presented as mother of Enki and “the primaeval mother who had given birth to the great gods” (line 16). An Emesal liturgy makes her “mother of Eridu” (ama uru-zé-eb^{ki}: VAS II 11 ii 6). Even among the thousands of Ur III tablets used by N. Schneider for his book *Die Götternamen von Ur III* (*AnOr* 19; Rome, 1939), the only occurrence of this goddess is in the name of the founder of the dynasty, Ur-Namma. Schneider seems to have overlooked a single example in an offering list, MVAG 21 (1917/18) 23 obv. ii 12, but the general picture is not changed by this. One need only contrast the two columns devoted to Enki in the same collection. The evidence of this period is typical, and one must conclude either that Namma occurs elsewhere under other names or that her position in the pantheon was not generally acknowledged outside Eridu. The latter, as will be demonstrated, seems to be the case.¹³

Some idea of what happened to Namma can be got by tracing her in the god-lists and related incantation formulas, which Ebeling edited in *ArOr* 21 (1953) 357ff. These formulas list the gods in sequence, each within the framework zi . . . ḫé-pà (Akk. *nīš . . . lū tamât(a)*) “be exorcised by . . .” If this framework is ignored, as will be done henceforth, a list of gods results, and one of superior quality, since each deity is described. The simplest kind is Sumerian, though written on a Middle Babylonian tablet, PBS I/2 112, Ebeling’s “Gattung III,” pp. 395–400. Here the description is limited to one or two short phrases. A bilingual edition of similar scope, but by no means identical, is Ebeling’s “Gattung II” (pp. 379–95), most of which is published by him for the first time, but in transliteration only. This was source (iv) of the two theogonies. Finally, there is another bilingual edition, Ebeling’s “Gattung I” (pp. 361–79), so far only known from Late Assyrian copies. This deals with fewer gods but describes them in much more detail. All these texts are clearly dependent ultimately on the same tradition as An = *Anum* and its Old Babylonian forerunner, as they have the same general arrangement of the pantheon, while other god-lists diverge widely. The publications are cited here,

13. Literature on Namma is cited by van Dijk, *AcOr* 28 (1964/65) 9¹³.

but the tablets have been collated and, in Gattung II and I, supplemented and corrected from unpublished materials.

“Gattung II” contains Namma:

^dnamma ama [gal ^de]n-ki-ke₄
^dMIN um-[mi ra-b]i-ti šá ^dé-[a]
^dnanše dumu-mun[us sag⁷ ^de]n-ki-ga-[ke₄]
^dMIN ma[r-ti rēšti-t]i šá ^dé-[a]
^dnin-[girimma ni]n a-gúb-ba daddaga-[ke₄]
^dMIN be-[let a-gúb-bi]-i el-li
 ArOr 21 (1953) 384 1–6

Namma, great mother of Ea,
 Nanše [prime] daughter of Ea,
 Ningirimma, lady of the pure censer.

A gap immediately precedes these lines, and Sîn and Šamaš follow. The sequence of the other related lists allows us to conjecture what is missing. The section dealing with the Mother Goddess leads up to the break, so that Ea and entourage must have occurred before Sîn is taken up. The whole of the Ea group is preserved in “Gattung III.” After the god and his spouse, Marduk is dealt with, with his dependents. The remaining members of Ea’s household are then given:

^dnamma(ENGUR) ama en-gu-ra-ke₄
^dnanše nin-uru₁₆(EN) ma(¹ tablet ZU)-mu-ta-ke₄¹⁴
^da-ra sukkal ab-zu-a
^dla-ḥa-ma-ab-zu(¹ tablet PI?) lú-ká
 PBS I/2 112 i 30–33 = ArOr 21 (1953) 395

Namma, mother of the Engur (i.e., Apsû),
 Nanše, mighty lady of dreams,
 Ara, vizier of the Apsû,
 Laḥama-Apsû, doorman,

The last two are well-known servants of Ea. Namma and Nanše often occur as a pair:

- (i) ^dnamma ama ^den-ki-ga-ke₄ Namma, mother of Enki
^dMIN um-mi ^dé-a
^dnanše dumu-munus ^den-ki-ga-ke₄ Nanše, daughter of Enki
^dMIN mar-ti ^dé-a
 CT 16 13 36–39
- (ii) é-zi-dè é-^dnamma-ke₄, é-zi-dè é-^dnanše-ke₄
 SBH p. 110 11–12 and same lines in BM 54745 17–20 (cf. 64–65) with Akk.
 rendering: *bītu ki-nu bīt ^dnamma/nanše*.
- (iii) ^dnamma ^dnanše (in list of powers invoked for exorcism)
 STT 138 obv. 9

14. The title nin-uru₁₆(EN) is used especially of Nanše. Passages are collected by Deimel, *Pantheon babylonicum* p. 224 sub 3); see also Falkenstein, SGL I 33; ZA 52 (1957) 69–72; AnOr 30 85; van Dijk, SGL II 33¹⁵ and Sjöberg, TCS III p. 107.

- (iv) gi ^dnamma gi <^d>nanše = *qa-an* ^dnamma *qa-an* <^d>nanše
STT 198 15–16 and 39 (Sum. only)
- (v)]-àm ^dnamma/nanše (K 10111 5–6)
lú ^dnamma/nanše (K 9336+ obv. 5–6)
(Adjacent lines in Sum. incantations)
- (vi) ^dnamma ù ^dnanše: BE 1 83 = SSS XIV no. VI i 16 etc. (The latter is called *be-el-ti-šu* “his lady” with reference to Gulkišar in i 4, and in ii 15 the pair are described as *gašan*[^m]^{es} *ši-ra-a-tu* “exalted ladies.” From a kudurru of the Second Isin dynasty.)
- (vii) ^dnamma u ^dna-áš dingir kù-ga “Namma and Naš, holy deities”
STT 28 i 41, 46 = AnSt 10 (1960) 110 (Nergal and Ereškigal)
- (viii) ^díd ^dki-ša₆ ^dnamma ^dnanše
Šurpu VIII 19
- (ix) šá ^díd u ^dki-ša₆ šu-ú šá ^dnamma u ^dnanše šu-ú
He belongs to Id and Kisha; he belongs to Namma and Nanše.
B. Böck, *Das Handbuch Muššu’u* (Madrid, 2007) 119 81
- (x) ^dnamma u ^dnanše *apsû* [*u ti’-amat’*]
Namma and Nanše are Apsû [and Tiāmat.(?)]
W. G. Lambert, *JNES* 48 (1989) 215–21 12
- (xi) Two related god-lists are also apposite:

nam-mu	^d ENGUR	= [šu]			
^d é-a	^d ENGUR	= [šu]	...	^d íd	= šu
i-id	^d ENGUR	= [šu]	...	^d íd	šu = š[u]
MIN	^d ENGUR.SIG ₇	= [šu]	...	^d íd-ME	šu = šu
na-an-še	^d AB × 𒀭A	= [šu]	...	^d AB × 𒀭A	= šu

CT 29 46 21–25 (collated) CT 25 42, K 2114

The last passage also raises the question of the reading of the two names. That of Namma is taken up later in connection with Ninimma. Nanše as the reading of ^dAB × 𒀭A is attested here and in *Ea* IV 165 (MSL XIV 362: *na-an-še*). An assimilated form *na-aš-še* is attested in the Old Babylonian *Diri Nippur* (MSL XV 34 27), and two other god-lists of the same period attest Nazi: ^dAB × 𒀭A ^dna-zi (SLT 122 iii 13–14 = 124 iv 4–5; TCL 15 pl. xxix 293–94). An = *Anum* III 67–68 also offers the reading Nazi: ^{d.na-zi}ENGUR = ŠU, ^dna-zi = MIN (CT 24 48, K 4349B 9), though the sign so read is ENGUR not AB × 𒀭A. ^dna-zi is also the writing in *Enki and Ninḫursag* (P. Attinger, ZA 74 [1984] 1–54 line 274). The watery connection of Nanše is not limited to the statement of her connection with Enki. The Sumerian hymn about her, RA 15 (1918) 127, is full of her in association with fishes and the Apsû; see the passages rendered by Falkenstein in ZA 47 (1942) 209–10 and 217 and by Sjöberg in AS 16 65–66.

No. ix of the passages connecting Namma and Nanše causes problems because, if they are a pair like the others in this list, Namma must be male and so not a mother. The god-lists confirm that, as in nature, so in theology, changes of sex can occur, so that Namma and Nanše can be husband and wife. The matter can be pursued by noting what occurs in the god-lists related to “Gattung II and III”

at the point where Namma appears in the latter. The Old Babylonian forerunner of An = *Anum* has ^díd-dalla following upon the last certain Ea-name (TCL 15 pl. xxvi 83). It could be the Sumerian name of the Tigris, but this is unlikely in the context. Probably, dalla is an epithet describing the River as “resplendent.” While its position in the list is not quite the same as Namma in “Gattung III” (it is between Ea and Marduk, not after Marduk), other god-lists confirm that this is the River used in place of Namma of the exorcistic compilations. An = *Anum* has the order of “Gattung III”: Ea and spouse are followed by Marduk and family, after which the remaining members of Ea’s household are taken up. Thus, just at the point where “Namma, mother of the Engur” is placed in “Gattung III,” An = *Anum* offers:

^d íd	=	šu
^d íd-gal	=	šu
^d íd-silim	=	šu
^d íd-lú-ru-gú	=	šu
^d ki-ša ₆	=	dam-bi-munus ¹⁵
^d ša-zi	=	dumu ^d íd-ke ₄
^d ne-e-er-e-tag-mil	=	sukkal ^d íd-ke ₄

An = *Anum* II 276–82, CT 24 16 23–29

This river is certainly male because he has a wife Kiša, as in no. ix of the passages relating Namma and Nanše (cf. no. viii also). Thus, the older tradition that Namma was mother and Nanše daughter of Ea (Nanše is called “daughter of Eridu” in Gudea, Cylinder A xx 16) gave way to a later interpretation of them as a married couple. A male Namma could more easily be replaced by a male River. This deity was concerned with the river ordeal. This is made clear by his name Idlurugu, literally, “River that receives a man,” by the function of his son Šazi as river-ordeal god in Old Babylonian Elam (see note on *Enūma Eliš* VII 35–55) and by the name of his vizier, Nēr-ē-tagmil “Kill, spare not!”¹⁶ The tradition of a male river is old. Šulgi made a dedication “to the River, his lord” (*a-na* ^díd *be-li-šu*₁₁: RIME III/2 p. 137), and Zimri-Lim wrote a letter “to the River, my lord” (*a-na* ^díd *be-lí-ia*: Syria 19 [1938] 126). Old Babylonian personal names involving a masculine River, though the Akkadian *nāru* “river” is feminine,¹⁷ are not hard to find: ^díd-*da-a-an* (SO I 261), *na-ru-um-ilu* (CT 4 50, Bu 88-5-12, 731 8), ^díd-*a-bi*? (CT 6 38, Bu 91-5-9, 733 23), and ^díd-lú-ru-gú-*na-id* (UET V 491 1). The last one shows that the god of the river ordeal is meant.

Another Old Babylonian god-list, the Weidner list, has anticipated An = *Anum* by putting Id and Kiša between Ea and spouse and Marduk with his group (*AfK* 2 [1924/25] 4 ii 19–20). However the Old Babylonian compiler understood them, the later double-column version both added another name of River and interpreted them as other names of Ea and Damkina:

^d íd	=	^d ren ¹ -[gur ²]
^d íd-lú-ru-gú	=	^d [x] x
^d ki-ša ₆	=	^d [dam]-ki-na

AfK 2 [1924/25] 15 27–28 (collated)

15. For this deity, see also: ABRT I 20 25 = SBH p. 132 41 = Langdon, *BL* no. 56 rev. 25 = *ibid.* no. 46 9.

16. He is also described as sukka^díd in an incantation fragment K 9542. In *ArOr* 21 (1953) 405 11 = 416 25 he is *bēl šu-še-e*. He is known as a god of Der (*AfO* 9 [1933/34] 93 46). Note also KAR 142 obv. i 12, and BM 47812 rev. 8.

17. On the question of reading this deity Id or Nāru, see the present writer, *Iraq* 27 (1965) 11, Appendix, and H. Hirsch, *AfO* 22 (1968/69) 38.

This survey of the god-lists and incantation formulas leaves the impression that Namma, the primaeval creatress in the theology of Eridu, was not accepted in most circles, and everywhere she was being squeezed out in one way or other. The supreme case of her downgrading occurs in “Gattung I,” where she occurs only in Marduk’s title “caretaker of the River” (šid-dù ḏid-lú-ru-gú = *pa-qid* ḏid: *ArOr* 21 [1953] 363 47–48 and dup. K 7602). The identification of River and Apsû, presumed by the identification of Id with Ea above and supported by other evidence given on p. 189 ruled out any real independent River. The Akkadian River Incantation (pp. 396–398) begins, “You, River, creatress of all things”—the old idea—but at once substitutes a later concept by saying how the gods dug, and so preceded, this River. A Sumerian incantation, *Šurpu* XI 70ff., similarly begins “River of the gods, who created everything,” but by continuing with the statement that Anu and Enlil determined its destiny immediately limits its importance. However, the old tradition did not completely die out. Late copies still knew Namma as “the great mother” (ama gal/*ummi rabiti*: *KAR* 42 rev. 18; *SBH* p. 129 no. 84 8–9; cf. *ArOr* 21 [1953] 392 end).

It seems that the watery character of Namma is nowhere plainly stated, but it is circumstantially attested in the evidence of her already quoted. Some kind of association with Sea is mentioned in a broken passage of a bilingual hymn to Šamaš, *V R* 51 iii 77–78 = *JCS* 21 (1967) 12 48:

ḏnamma nin ab gal x [. . .
ḏMIN *be-el-tu šá ina tam-tim [ra-bi-ti . . .*

A complete, but not more helpful passage involving her is *CT* 16 46 191–92:

ki-ná-a itima ḏnamma-àm
ki-iš-šu-ma-a-lu šá ḏMIN
Sum. (His, i.e., Enki’s) bed is the chamber of Namma.
Akk. His chamber is the bed of Namma.

We accept with Falkenstein, *SGL* I 58, that -àm is an error for -kam. Jacobsen has tried to draw out the mythological import in *JNES* 5 (1946) 145²⁸.

“Gattung II,” as quoted above, put together Namma and Ningirimma. The latter goddess, usually written ḏNIN.A.ĤA.KUD.DU in late texts, though somewhat differently in earlier periods (see M. Lambert, *RA* 46 [1952] 57–58), is read on the basis of the following phonetic writings: ni-in-gi-ri-im-ma (sic!) (*YBC* 9844 obv. 22 cited by Goetze in *JAOS* 65 [1945] 234); (ḏ)ni-gi-ri-ma (*JCS* 9 [1955] 9 32 and 34); ni-ig-gi-ri-ma (*Ugaritica* V p. 32 18); ḏnin-gi-^rrim¹-[ma] (*KAV* 63 i 28, *AfK* 2 [1924/25] 12 2, collated); ḏnin-gi-*rim-ma* (*AMT* 12 1 48); [ḏni]n-gi-*rim-ma* (*CT* 24 43 117, wrongly interpreted from *kirû* “palm grove”!). The coupling of her with Namma also occurs in incantations:

ḏnin-girimma [. . .
ḏMIN *a-ḥat ḏa-[nim]*
ḏnamma nin a-gúb-ba daddag-ga-ke₄
ḏnamma *be-let a-gúb-ba-e el-[li]*
CT 16 7 253–56

Ningirimma, sister of Anu,
Namma, lady of the pure censer.

From the Fara and related incantations (M. Krebernik, *Die Beschwörungen aus Fara und Ebla* [Hildesheim, 1984] 233–62) and onwards Ningirimma is a goddess of exorcism and a standard title is “lady of the censer” (e.g., Sjöberg, TCS III 297 (OB)), IV R² 28* no. 3 rev. 16–17). Also, “Divine Censer” is a name of hers in An = *Anum* I 353–54:

^dnin-girimma = nin^{a-hat} ^den-líl-lá-ke₄
^da-gúb-ba = šu sukka^l daddag-ga NUN^{ki}-ga-ke₄
 CT 24 11 40–41 = 24 24 56–57

Thus, when this title is given to Namma in the incantation, it is clear that she is being identified with Ningirimma. Such an identification can only be based on some kind of similarity. It is difficult to find any other aspect of Ningirimma than that of exorcism and purification. Her name was certainly connected with the Sumerian girim/girin “pure” (see CAD sub voce *ellu*):

^dnin-girimma = *be-let te-lil-ti gašan a-li-kàt su-le-e* x [x x]
 CT 25 49 rev. 1

Ningirimma = lady of purification, the lady who goes on the way of . [. .]

The second interpretation is merely a play on the signs of the late writing, but the first, which occurs also in the astronomical text CT 26 40 i 10 (Weidner, *Handbuch* p. 7 14: ^{mul}nin-girimma = *be-let te-lil-ti*) could well be correct. The antiquity of her worship is shown not only by the occurrence of her name in the Fara texts but also in that she is called both “sister of Anu” and “sister of Enlil” (the latter also in a Sumerian incantation, K 10111 4). Any association of Ningirimma with cosmic water does not seem to be attested, so the aspect of Namma that particularly concerns us is not illuminated.

The etymology of the name Namma merits investigation. In *Enki and Ninmah* I 17 ^dnamma-ke₄ suggests by use of the agentive a genitive compound, as does an Old Babylonian copy of a liturgy:

šir ^dasal-lú-ḫi
 šir ^dnamma-ka
 BM 86535 ii 87–88 = 95–96 in J.-M. Durand and J.-R. Kupper (eds.), *Miscellanea Babylonica* (Fs. M. Birot; Paris, 1985) 118–20. See the whole context.

This suggests an etymology en+namma+ak. That en has a meaning “high priestess” allows its use here, and this then raises the question of the meaning of amma. Two Middle Babylonian god-lists make it the name of the chief goddess of the netherworld:

^d.am-ma^{KUR} = *er-še-tum* ^dal-la-tum
^d.MIN^{KI} = MIN
 An = *Anum* V 210–11

^d.am-ma^{KUR} = [^d]er-še-tum
^d.MIN^{KUR} = ^dir-kal-la
 CT 25 viii 10–11

A Middle Babylonian personal name from Nippur: eri-ba-(^d)am-ma (M. Hölscher, *Die Personennamen der kassitenzeitlichen Texte aus Nippur* [Münster, 1996] p. 71) probably uses it in that sense. However, “Gattung III” 12, which is certainly older, describes Amma much as *Enki and Ninmah* describes Namma:

^dam-ma ama an-ki-bi-^rta-ke₄¹

Amma, mother of heaven and earth

The position, between Baba and Šulpa³e, no doubt relates Amma to Baba. An Old Babylonian personal name, mār-(^d)a-am-ma-a (YBT XIII) is unhelpful.

Two lexical lists equate Amma with the Tigris:

^dḫal-ḫal-la = am-mu
Antagal G 301 (MSL XVII 229)

am-mu = i-di-ig-lat
^dḫal-ḫal-la = MIN
Malku = šarru II 45–46 (ZA 43 [1936] 235)

An incantation addressed to the Tigris and Euphrates known from an Old Babylonian copy (YBT XI 48) and a late copy (*Or.* NS 40 [1971] 141 34–39) makes the Tigris “mother of the (cosmic) mountain”:

(^d)ḫal-ḫal-la ama ḫur-sag-gá-(ke₄) (5 = 35)

The same line occurs in C. Walker and M. Dick, *The Induction of the Cult Image in Ancient Mesopotamia* (SAALT 1; Helsinki, 2001) p. 163 25. So here is more evidence for watery prime-movers.

A final question about our Amma is whether it is a loan from the Elamite am-ma “mother.” The possibility is open.

The name Namma itself is not altogether sure. The common reading is based on the god-list CT 29 46 (quoted above) and on *Ea*:

i ENGUR = na-a-ru
i-id ENGUR = ^did
en-gur ENGUR = ap-su-ú
nam-mu ENGUR = ^dnammu
MSL XIV 180 68–71

and on an Old Babylonian list from Nippur:

^dENGUR = na-am-ma
^dENGUR = é-a
^dENGUR = i-id
Lines 41–43, courtesy T. Jacobsen

Other Old Babylonian evidence occurs in writings of the name of Urnammu, to which Falkenstein drew attention in *SGL* I 89⁵: sipa ur-^dna-na-ma-ke (TCL 15 pl. lxxxix 2, 4, 6, 8, 10) and úr²-na-am-^rna¹-am-mi = ur-na-am-ma (Tell Harmal bilingual, *Sumer* XI [1955] pl. 16 4, 6).¹⁸ The latter case is particularly interesting as giving Namnammi as the “Sumerian” and Namma as the

18. Sjöberg in *Orientalia Suecana* X (1954) 3 edits the first passage and reads ur-an-na-na-ma-ke on the grounds that a determinative should not occur in the middle of a phonetically written text. However, that is to attribute to ancient scribes modern ideas of consistency. Rev. 1 of the same text writes ^den-líl-a-ak-ka, adding the suffixes phonetically onto the name in traditional orthography.

“Akkadian” form of the name. Thus, it appears that alongside the simple form Nammu/a/i there was a reduplicated version.

There was another deity bearing the same name, which could also be reduplicated, but associated with Nippur, not Eridu. A convenient starting point for this investigation is the writing ^dENGUR. SIG₇ in CT 29 46 as quoted above (p. 429). The similar fragment CT 25 42 has ^díd-ME. Probably, the ME results from a defective original and SIG₇ should be written. This sign combines two groups of values, and the forms of the sign are often distinguished, though both are based on IGI. The one has two rows of small diagonal wedges flanking each outer edge of the winkelhaken. Its values, according to *Proto-Ea*, are i-gi-gu-nu, the sign-name, and im-ma (MSL XIV 47 403–4). The other, with one big row of horizontal wedges preceding the IGI, is given the values sé-e (our sig₇) and sa-a by *Proto-Ea* (MSL XIV 48 413–14). Only the first of these two forms is relevant here, as imma, known to us only in divine names (^den-ki-im-ma in addition, TCL 5 6053 iii 4) is given an Emesal form nammu: ^dgašan-nam-mu = ^dnin-ìm-ma = ^dnin-ìm[ma] (MSL IV 5 24).

The bearer of this name can be traced from Namma in An = *Anum*. As noted above, Namma was pushed out of the theogony of Anu into an appendix, where she is described as “mother of Ea” and “faithful stewardess of Ekur.” The first of these is of course the Namma just investigated. The second is the goddess now being taken up. A glance through the servants of Ekur in An = *Anum* I soon shows up the lady as ^dnin-ìm-ma, who appears with nine other names and a husband Guškinbanda in lines 306–16. Her own titles are given as: “scholar of Enlil, first secretary of Ekur, and wet-nurse of Sîn” (quoted, p. 214). She also turns up, but without description, in the Old Babylonian forerunner, TCL 15 pl. xxix 313), in exactly the same context. At a still earlier date, she appears in a list of offerings from the Third Dynasty of Ur, written phonetically ^dnin-im-ma (TCL 5 6053 iii 3; BIN III 221 23; M. Çiğ *et al.*, AASF Ser. B 92 no. 572 rev. 1). What is certain is that the Nin– constitutes no problem in identifying the name with that of Namma. In many cases, divine names beginning with Nin– do not involve a genitive construction but an apposition: not “the lady of . . .,” but “the lady . . .”. Note Sirsir and Ninsirsir (see note on *Enūma Eliš* VII 70); Geštinanna (*passim*) and Ningeshtinanna (*ArOr* 21 [1953] 388 66 and K 3424 7); Medimša (wife of Adad) and Ninmedimša (*ditto*); Simug and Ninsimug (p. 378). There are similar cases of a dispensable En– collected by Edzard, *ZA* 53 [1959] 15ff. Thus a sound basis exists for comparing Namma and Ninimma, which will be done by ascertaining the character of Ninimma and by comparing the names more systematically.

The titles of Ninimma in An = *Anum* fall into two very distinct parts, the secretarial and the nursing. Indeed, one wonders if two deities have not been combined to produce so versatile a courtier. Yet, both aspects are attested elsewhere. Ninimma is commonly mentioned in the expository texts discussed on pp. 213–215, to which reference should be made. As one of the Seven Enlils of Ur, she has a “seat” called “the big tablet house of Ekur” (p. 215). The commentary on *Šumma Ālu* identifies her as “Ea of the scribe”: ^dnin-ìm-ma = ^dé-a šá ^lūdub-sar (V R 31 28 c–d = CT 41 27 1, Labat, *Commentaires* p. 34). The change of sex here is not unique (it happened with Namma also), and her absorption into Ea is easily explained, since Ea was the god of every craft, and her husband (when she was female) was already “Ea of the goldsmith” (CT 24 43 118 and 25 48 15). The title given to Namma in An = *Anum* I 17, SAL-agrig “stewardess,” does not exclude the scribal art, as Ninnigasa (“Lady of Accounting”) in the court of Sîn is both this and “chief scribe” (dub-sar maḫ: *ArOr* 21 [1953] 376 40). The nursing of Enlil’s child was in all probability the only way in which the

other aspect of this goddess could be put to use in Enlil's court. She is, indeed, the first of the seven birth goddesses in *Enki and Ninmah*, where she plays a role in the creation of man and is not a mere nurse. The first of the sons of Enmešarra in one tradition is “translated” as Ninimma:

^dzi-sum-mu nibru^{ki}-šà-ga-ke₄
^dnin-ìmma šá qí-rib ni-ip-pú-ru
 Thureau-Dangin, *Rit. acc.* 15 iii 3–4

The name being “translated” means, significantly, “the life-giver.” Where a further name is identified with each of the seven in O 175 10, the “translation” Ninimma is missing, probably through a scribal error to judge from the other six:

^dzi-sum-mu ^dgu-la ^dbēlet-nippuri^{ki} nādinat(si-at) napišti ^da-nim
 RA 16 (1919) 150
 Zisummu is Gula, Lady-of-Nippur, who gave life to Anu.

Gula gives life as the great healer, but that fails to explain how she gave life to Anu. It is likely that the compiler knew of the theogony of Anu headed by Namma and that he too identified Namma and Ninimma. There is also the explanation of an etymological god-list:

^dnin-ìmma = *bēl nab-nit bu-un-na-né-e bēl mim-ma* [šum-šu]
 CT 25 49 rev. 2
 Ninimma = lord of the fashioning of forms, lord of every[thing]

The compiler might have got his rendering from sig₇ = *banû*, but it would still be likely that he knew a tradition of Ninimma as a creator. The second explanation, “lord of every[thing],” need not depend on *umun-níg-nam-ma-ke₄* in a litany as Langdon thought (PBS X/2 p. 174⁵), for Sumerian roots expressing fashioning or forming are in several places (for reasons not apparent) rendered “everything”:

^dnu-dím-mud = ^dé-a = *ša nab-ni-t[i]*
^dna-dím-mud = ^dé-a = *ša ka-la-ma*
 CT 25 48 4–5
^dsig₇ (var. ^dsa₅) = ^denlil(BAD) *šá nap-ḥa-ri*
 CT 24 39 8 and dup.
^dme-me-di-im-šá^ddím-šá₄ = ^dša-la *šá kul-la-ti*
 CT 25 10 37

Another form of the same goddess was localized in Babylon but had a reduplicated form of the name Nin-immamma:

[^dnin-ìmma-ìmma] . . . ama ku dingir-gal-gal-la-e-ne
^dnin-ìmma-ìmma . . . *um-mu a-li-da-at ilāni^{meš} rabūti^{meš}*
^den-ki ad-da-ni [sag-z]i il-la-a-ni . . . ^dKAL [šu-an]-na^{ki}-ke₄
 šá ^d40(! copy 50) *a-bu-šu re-še-šú ki-niš ul-lu-u . . . la-mas-si ba-bi-lu*
 ‘Gattung I’ (LKA 77 vi 8–15; ArOr 21 (1953) 377)

Ninimmamma . . . mother who gave birth to the great gods,
 Whom Ea, her father, faithfully comforts . . . protecting spirit of Babylon.

The same name occurs also in *The Exaltation of Ištar* but in an unhelpful context with only the epithet “wise” (gal-an-zu/er-ši: RA 12 [1915] 75 51–52). Thus, there are clear traditions of Ninimma(imma) as a creatress, like Namma.

The forms of the names are well attested. Evidence for Namma has already been presented. For Ninimma, there is the phonetic writing in an Ur III document, two Old Babylonian writings (ni-i-ni-im-ma: PBS X/2 13 obv. 8, cf. ZA 56 (1964) 23; ^dnin-ìmma^{ma}-ke₄: CT 42 pl. 5 v 4, collated), one Late Babylonian: ^dnin^{nim-ma}SIG₇: ^dbe-let-ili^{mes} (BM 59585 obv. 4), and remains of one Late Assyrian (^dni-x[: KAV 63 iii 43, AfK 2 [1924/25] 74 v 4). The differences between namma and imma are only phonetic. An initial n in Sumerian can disappear, especially before an i-vowel (examples quoted in MSL II 65 note on 419), and variation in vowels between different dialects is common. However, neither of these points marks the two forms as especially appropriate for the dialects to which the Emesal Vocabulary assigns them. Indeed, there is one well-known case of an initial n kept in the main dialect but dropped in Emesal: níg : èm. However, the scribal tradition of a main dialect and Emesal is not the whole truth. Phonetically written texts and loanwords in Akkadian show much greater phonetic variation than would have been expected from the standard lists. On these grounds, it is legitimate to hold that namma and imma are dialectal variants but not necessarily to be restricted to the two dialects dealt with in the Emesal Vocabulary.

The conclusion is, then, that Namma of Eridu, Ninimma of Nippur, and Ninimma'imma of Babylon are three variants of the same deity, a creatress associated with cosmic water. This is the closest parallel offered in the theogonies related to that of *Enūma Eliš* to Tīamat. Other backgrounds of her are discussed on pp. 236–247.

Part V

Summary

The Composition of *Enūma Eliš*

The writer of the introduction to any ancient work may be considered to have succeeded when he has answered the questions in the hexameter line, *Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando* “Who? What? Where? By what aids? Why? How? When?” to the extent that the evidence permits. But each case, and each handling of each case, may require the questions to be taken in a different order. Our reply to *Quibus auxiliis* has already been given in previous chapters, where the scattered and fragmentary material relating to the content of the Epic and to its poetic and linguistic form has been assembled and synthesised. The present chapter will try to ascertain how the material and ideas taken by the author from his environment were shaped into an original creation and so to lay bare the purpose and outlook of the author.

Quis, ubi, cur “Who, where, why?”

Quis, as so often in Babylonian literature, is an unanswerable question. The ancient copies circulated anonymously. In the epilogue (VII 157–58), the author is described as *mahrû*, which can be rendered either “a leading figure” or “a man of old.” Since only twelve lines earlier the same term is used indubitably in the former sense, we have adopted that in our translation. It is quite possible that the author’s name was known to Babylonian scholars, since fragments are found of a catalogue of texts compiled for the very purpose of naming the authors. So far, it is incompletely known, and *Enūma Eliš* does not occur.¹ Even if it did, in all likelihood, there would be no practical gain. Probably, the author would be an otherwise unknown person. He was certainly a learned man, and since, in the period to which we attribute the composition of his work, scholars generally were priests, it may be conjectured that the author was serving in some capacity in the temple of Marduk at Babylon. *Ubi* is thereby answered: in Babylon. The answer to *Cur* is equally obvious. The Epic was composed to explain, support, and justify Marduk’s supremacy in the Babylonian pantheon. There is, however, much more that can be said on this topic when *Quomodo* and *Quid* have been dealt with. More important for the moment is *Quando*.

Quando “When?”

George Smith in 1876 put the date of composition as “probably near B.C. 2000,”² which was no doubt a round figure based on an informed guess. When, by A.D. 1900, knowledge of Babylonian

1. See JCS 16 (1962) 59–77. A work included in the list began *i-nu* x [], which could be restored *i-nu-m[a e-liš]* (IV 1), but *i-nu a[n-num ši-i-ri]* (i.e., the Code of Hammurabi) is equally possible, not to mention other texts.

2. TSBA IV (1876) 363–64.

history had increased and chronologies were being worked out, it appeared that the First Dynasty of Babylon was ruling at about 2000 B.C. and that the great Hammurabi, through whom it achieved political supremacy, had reigned during the preceding century. Thus, on the assumption that the Epic reflected the recent rise of Babylon and its god, George Smith's date seemed to be vindicated, though he had put Hammurabi c. 1550, and for the first half of the 20th century, the Old Babylonian dating was an orthodox opinion, asserted in varying degrees of probability or certainty,³ very rarely declared unproven,⁴ and only twice controverted.

The two dissenters were Aage Schmidt and A. Schott. Schmidt, in his *Thoughts on the Development of Religion on the Basis of Babylonian Sources*, published in 1911,⁵ used the unimpeachable historical method and, observing that Marduk was in the older texts an unimportant god and that even in the Code of Hammurabi he was still subordinate to Anu and Enlil, he concluded that Marduk's usurpation of Enlil's place in the pantheon must have occurred about 1200 B.C. and that *Enūma Eliš* in the form known to us cannot be earlier. Much penetrating judgment was shown in the brief presentation of this case, and while some of his reasoning is no longer acceptable—he made the then

3. The following scholars have subscribed to an Old Babylonian dating in terms which are, where possible, quoted in their own words. Those marked with an asterisk qualify their dating by presuming later modification of the text. E. Ledrain, *Histoire d'Israel* (Paris, 1879), Première Partie, p. 2 ("à du être rédigé entre l'an 2000 et l'an 1500"); G. A. Barton, *JAOS* 15 (1893) 14 ("probably . . . about 2000"); L. W. King*, *STC I* (London, 1902) lxxx ("with a considerable degree of confidence"); H. Zimmern*, apud *KAT*³ (Berlin, 1903), p. 490 ("etwa um das Jahr 2000"); O. Weber, *Die Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrer* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 52 ("wohl bald nach der Begründung [of the 1st dynasty]"); A. Ungnad apud *AOTAT*¹ (1909), p. 1³ ("sehr wohl bereits in die Hammurabi-Zeit"); H. Winckler*, *AO VII/I* (1906) 21 ("im wesentlichen"); A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der Altorientalischen Geisteskultur*¹ (Leipzig, 1913), p. 20⁴ ("wird die Hammurabi-Zeit anzunehmen sein"); idem, *Allgemeine Religions-Geschichte* (Munich, 1918), p. 43 ("geht auf die Priester Babylons zur Zeit Hammurabi's zurück"); A. Ungnad, *Die Religion der Babylonier und Assyrer* (Jena, 1921), p. 25 ("höchstwahrscheinlich in . . . der Zeit der Dynastie Hammurapis"); S. H. Langdon, *The Babylonian Epic of Creation* (Oxford, 1923), p. 10 ("undoubtedly . . . the First Babylonian Dynasty"); R. Campbell Thompson apud *Cambridge Ancient History*¹ I (Cambridge, 1923), p. 551 (assumed); C. Bezold apud P. Hinneberg, *Die Kultur der Gegenwart I III/I* (Berlin, 1923), p. 54 ("älteste Bestandteile . . . sicher in 15. Jahrhundert und vermutlich über die Schwelle des dritten Jahrtausends zurückreichen"); B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien II* (Heidelberg, 1925), p. 174 ("etwa zur Zeit der 1. Dynastie"); E. Ebeling apud *AOTAT*² (1926), p. 108 ("etwa in die Zeit der ersten bab. Dynastie"); A. Jeremias, *Geisteskultur*² (1929), p. 117² ("nicht fehlgehen, wenn man . . . in die Hammurabizeit verlegt"); R. Labat, *Le poème babylonien de la création* (Paris, 1935), p. 24 ("pas certain, mais . . . du moins vraisemblable"); A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*¹ (Chicago, 1942), p. 6, *ibid.*² (Chicago, 1951, 1954, 1963), p. 14 ("approximately its present form . . . some time during the First Babylonian Dynasty"); É. Dhorme, *Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie* (Paris, 1945), p. 303 ("tout port à croire"); T. Jacobsen apud H. Frankfort, *Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (Chicago, 1946), p. 169 ("seemingly" middle of 2nd millennium); E. A. Speiser* apud *ANET*^{1,2} (Princeton, 1950, 1955), p. 60 ("no . . . convincing reason against" an early second-millennium dating); H. Schmökel, *Hammurabi von Babylon* (Munich, 1958), p. 83 ("sicher in die Zeit der . . . Reichsgründung, also etwa in Hammurabis 34. Jahr"); G. Furlani*, *Miti babilonesi e assiri* (Florence, 1958), p. 7 ("è stato quindi di certo composto durante l'epoca della prima dinastia"); P. Garelli and M. Leibovici, *Sources Orientales I, La naissance du monde* (Paris, 1959), pp. 117–18 ("remonte à l'époque de la première dynastie babylonienne"); J. V. Kinnier Wilson and B. Landsberger, *JNES* 20 (1961) 174 ("considered Old Babylonian"); D. O. Edzard apud H. W. Haussig, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie I* (Stuttgart, 1962) 122 ("vielleicht bis in . . . der altbab. Zeit"); B. Landsberger in *City Invincible* (Chicago, 1960), p. 97 ("composed in Old Babylonian 2").

4. So C. F. Jean, *Le milieu biblique avant Jésus-Christ II* (Paris, 1923) 84 ("il est difficile de donner . . . une réponse ferme"); G. R. Driver, *Theology VIII* (1924), p. 3 ("uncertain"); and S. Smith apud E. A. W. Budge, *The Babylonian Legends of Creation*² (London, 1931), pp. 5–6 ("no date of composition can be considered even approximately ascertained").

5. A. Schmidt, *Gedanken über die Entwicklung der Religion auf Grund der babylonischen Quellen* (MVAG 16/3), pp. 69–71.

normal assumption that Bēl is the title of Enlil rather than of Marduk—his method and certain observations were well ahead of his time, and later scholars have ignored them to their detriment. Schott, in an appendix to a study of similes in royal inscriptions published in 1926,⁶ concluded on the basis of the occurrence of words with the *-iš* ending that *Enūma Eliš* was composed between 800 and 750 B.C. or at the latest about 730. It must be freely admitted that this one criterion is altogether inadequate by itself to bear the conclusion and in any case is of doubtful validity, considered on its own merits. To judge from a review of Labat's edition of the Epic which appeared in 1942,⁷ Schott had not changed his opinion by then, and the most important aspect of his views is that with his vast knowledge of Babylonian and Assyrian texts, and especially of first-millennium astrology, he saw no objection to so late a date.

In more recent writing, three arguments for an Old Babylonian date have been commonly advanced: (i) that Marduk's elevation took place when Hammurabi made Babylon the capital of southern Mesopotamia; (ii) that the language supports an Old Babylonian date; and (iii) that the monsters depicted on some doors made by Agum II (c. 1550 B.C.?) presume the existence of *Enūma Eliš*.⁸ All three arguments have been found defective on previous pages. Marduk's promotion in the time of Hammurabi was strictly limited in scope, as Schmidt showed and as Ravn and Schmökel have proved since. It was not the exaltation over all other gods of which *Enūma Eliš* speaks, which is not asserted until hundreds of years later. The argument from language is equally deficient. Von Soden's great study of "the hymno-epic dialect" assumed the Old Babylonian date of *Enūma Eliš* and only advanced one linguistic argument in its favour. On the basis of logic alone, this is untenable, and its author has since abandoned the Old Babylonian dating and has stressed the difficulty of using archaic forms of speech for this kind of study.⁹ Strangely enough, Matouš has more recently urged language as proof of a date later than Old Babylonian.¹⁰ The third argument, from the doors of Agum II, has always been a lame duck. From its first use, it has been obvious that the similarity in the two lists of monsters could equally well be explained as due to dependence on a common source, or the Epic could depend on

6. A. Schott, *Die Vergleiche in den akkadischen Königsinschriften* (MVAG 30/2), 69–71. Sayce for a time at least considered the Epic Late Assyrian! See his revision of G. Smith's *Chaldean Account of Genesis* (London, 1911), 56.

7. *OLZ* 45 (1942) 165–72.

8. Labat and Heidel have urged all three; Speiser the first two; Furlani (i) and (iii); and Langdon (iii) almost exclusively. King in 1902 (*STC I* lxxix–lxxx) apparently originated (i). Von Soden's study of the "hymno-epic dialect" in *ZA* 40 and 41 (1931, 1933) was solely responsible for (ii). A connection between Agum's gates and the Epic had been a commonplace since the beginning of the century, but Langdon, in his edition of 1923, seems first to have exploited this connection for dating the Epic.

9. *MDOG* 85 (1953) 17 and 21 ("unsicher ist es, ob das Weltschöpfungsepos *Enuma eliš* in der uns bekannten Fassung wirklich schon in der Zeit Hammurabis gedichtet wurde"); *Propyläen-Weltgeschichte II* (Berlin, 1962), p. 71 ("das wahrscheinlich um 1400 entstandene Weltschöpfungsepos"); *MDOG* 96 (1965) 45.

10. L. Matouš, "Zur Datierung von *Enūma eliš*," *ArOr* 29 (1961) 30–34. The present writer presented the case for a date at the end of the second millennium to the American Oriental Society in 1958 (*JAOS* 78 223). Other denials of the Old Babylonian dating were made by P. Garelli, *Les assyriens en Cappadoce* (Paris, 1963), 173; W. F. Albright, *History, Archaeology and Christian Humanism* (New York, 1964), 147; H. Schmökel, *OLZ* 60 (1965) 457. More recent opinion has favoured a later second-millennium date but has been vague: W. Sommerfeld, *Der Aufstieg Marduks* (Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1982), 174–81 (Cassite); E. Reiner, *Cambridge Ancient History*² III/2 (Cambridge, 1991), 19 ("only . . . first millennium copies, though internal criteria indicate that it is somewhat older"); B. R. Foster, *Before the Muses*³ (Bethesda, Md., 2005), 436 ("to judge from its language and content, the poem dates to the latter part of the second millennium B.C."); T. Abusch, in K. van der Toorn, *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (Leiden, 1995), 1017–19; Karen Sonik, *JAOS* 128 (2008) 737 ("late second millennium B.C."); E. Frahm, *Orient* 45 (2010) 5–6.

the doors rather than vice versa. Landsberger's theory that the whole inscription is a forgery has not helped the matter. Dependence on a common stock of monsters is certainly the correct explanation, and this whole approach has no value at all for the dating of the Epic.

The first attestation which the Epic receives comes from the various tablets and fragments on which it is preserved. The earliest precisely datable group of these was written for the library of Ashurbanipal, i.e., c. 650 B.C. This same library also contained copies of two commentaries on the Epic, and this must surely imply some distance in time from the author's floruit. There is only a small group of fragments from Assur which certainly antedate Late Assyrian times, and these are in a script which can be put beyond all doubt between the Late Assyrian texts and those from the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (c. 1100 B.C.). This gives a mean of c. 900, and since the few quotations and allusions to the Epic in other texts cannot be put earlier, or as early, as this, c. 900 is the *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the Epic. To stress the lack of fragments from earlier periods is of course only an argument from silence, but it is a fact that the Middle Assyrian library tablets, the Boğazköy finds, and the various sources of Old Babylonian literary tablets have not yet yielded a single piece of the Epic of Creation. Old Babylonian copies of other epics are constantly coming to light. There are now eleven such pieces of Gilgameš, six of Atra-ḫašīs, three of Anzû, and two of Etana.¹¹ Boğazköy has provided eight pieces of Akkadian Gilgameš, not to mention more of Hittite and Hurrian versions,¹² and roughly contemporary with this are the piece of Atra-ḫašīs from Ras Shamra,¹³ of Gilgameš from Megiddo,¹⁴ four fragments from Emar, and pieces of Nergal and Ereškigal and Adapa from El Amarna.¹⁵ The Middle Assyrian tablets from Assur have provided a number of mythological texts.¹⁶ This abundance of material makes the absence of pieces of *Enūma Eliš* so far worthy of notice.

Seeing that the author is unknown and the copies only offer a *terminus ante quem*, the time of composition can be sought only by a careful study of the content and style of the Epic compared with related material of more certain date. The main theme, the rise of Marduk within the pantheon, is one obvious approach. Our study of official documents, such as royal dedication inscriptions and boundary stones, has yielded a surprisingly unanimous result. The quantity and distribution of the material encourages confidence in the result, seeing that much evidence is from places other than Babylon. Marduk's position as king of the gods is first asserted officially in the time of Nebuchadnezzar I, and thereafter it becomes the standard doctrine, whereas previously, with equal consistency, Anu and Enlil or Enlil alone had headed the pantheon. In sources lacking official character, there is a single earlier attestation of Marduk's supremacy, a personal name from the reign of Kudur-Enlil (c. 1250 B.C.), "Marduk-is-king-of-the-gods." This type of name was common in the Old Babylonian period, during which it occurs with seven other deities but never yet with Marduk. This evidence suggests that the idea arose during the latter part of the Cassite rule and was officially adopted under

11. Gilgameš: P. Garelli (ed.), *Gilgameš et sa légende* (Paris, 1960), 7ff., nos. 7, 12, 14, 23, 24; ZA 53 (1959) 215–16; *Sumer* XIV (1958) 114–21, *ibid.* XV (1959) 9 and pls. 3–4; CT 46 16. Atra-ḫašīs: BRM IV 1, CT 44 20, CT 46 1–4. Anzû: RA 46 (1952) 87ff., and an unpublished tablet in the Yale Babylonian Collection. Etana: BRM IV 2 and RA 24 (1927) 103ff.

12. See P. Garelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 and 139–43; *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 8 (1958) 93–125.

13. J. Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* V 167.

14. A. Goetze and S. Levy, *Atiqot* II (1959) 121–28.

15. C. Bezold, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum* (London, 1892), no. 82.

16. See E. Weidner, *AfO* 16 (1952/53) 197ff.

Nebuchadnezzar I. There is circumstantial evidence which supports this conclusion. With *Enūma Eliš*, the question is whether it was ahead of, abreast of, or behind the times. Was it written to support and further a movement to secure recognition of Marduk's kingship over the gods, was it a flourish of trumpets to celebrate a victory just won, or was it a theoretical justification of a long-established doctrine? No doubt, some measure of personal feeling enters into a consideration of these questions, but the present writer rules out of court any suggestion that the author was a visionary with ideas centuries ahead of his time. The blasé manner in which he twists older myths and ideas to his own use and the self-assurance displayed throughout oppose any suggestion that this was all a wild dream or pious hope. If Marduk had not yet been crowned king of the gods, the coronation must have been in view. Thus it seems to us that the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I is the earliest possible date. A date substantially later than this is excluded by the *terminus ante quem* already established and by the absence of Nabû. He was first Marduk's vizier in the temple Esagil in Babylon, but, by the time of Nebuchadnezzar II, as Marduk's son he was co-ruler of the universe with his father. There is a dearth of material to show just when, between the two Nebuchadnezzars, this elevation took place. No doubt, the reorganization of the major shrines of Babylon and Borsippa undertaken by Adad-apla-iddina (c. 1060 B.C.), by which Nabû was assigned Ezida in Borsippa as his own temple, had something to do with it. The lack of Nabû in the Epic cannot be explained away on the view that it is only concerned to show how Marduk came to the fore and leaves Nabû's position out of the picture. On the contrary, the Epic explains a theological status quo, and had the author shared the Late Babylonian veneration for Nabû, he would have got him into the picture. No precise date of composition can of course be offered with any degree of certainty, but on present evidence the reign of Nabuchadnezzar I is the most likely. If Marduk had been officially declared king of the gods for the first time in this reign, it is very probable that a literary effort to vindicate this action would have been commissioned, and it is known that this reign was marked by other literary productions.

Language, in its narrow sense, offers little hope as yet of providing the date of composition. We have shown that forms of words were manipulated by late scribes, so that they offer no guide at all to the original dialect. Syntax is not subject to the same limitations, but studies in Akkadian syntax have not yet reached a level where there are sure results for determining such issues. Indeed, the persistence of traditional forms may always block such an approach. Metre is equally unrewarding. Close parallels can be found from the Old Babylonian period down to the last century of the Assyrian empire. Language in the more general sense of style is an open avenue of approach, but studies in this field are so inadequate that opinions tend to reflect the subjective feeling of the researcher rather than any scientifically established fact. If one compares *Enūma Eliš* with the late Old Babylonian editions of *Atra-ḫašīs* and *Gilgameš*, on the one hand, and with the *Erra Epic*, which is generally accepted to be a first-millennium product, on the other, at a first glance it will appear to have more in common with the former than with the latter. But this judgment is entirely superficial. It assumes that only one style existed in each period and that the major surviving pieces are typical. So far as one can judge from the surviving material, the author of the *Erra Epic* was a highly original stylist who abandoned many traditional forms to achieve a lyricism without parallel in Babylonian literature. In contrast, the poetic piece among the so-called *Kedorlaomer* texts, which belongs to more-or-less the same period as the *Erra Epic* and deals with a very similar topic, is altogether more traditional and pedestrian. Our impression—we shall not call it more more than that—is of a writer of limited originality but

steeped in earlier literature and mythology and consciously following traditional forms.

Other indications favour a Middle Babylonian date. The highly sophisticated etymological plays which abound in the recital of the fifty names belong to a category of speculation not found in Old Babylonian texts at all. This reasoning has often been countered by the assertion that Tablet VII is a later addition, but, as will be shown later, such surgery, however necessary to maintain an Old Babylonian date, is unwarranted, and in any case the exposition of the name Marduk in Tablet I is of one piece with the material in Tablet VII. The theogony with which the Epic opens is paralleled most closely in the edition of the god-list of An = *Anum* from the Middle Assyrian archives but diverges fundamentally from that of the Old Babylonian forerunner of the god-list. The edition of the same list from Ashurbanipal's library is again different. The organization of the heavens in Tablet V is most closely paralleled in the copy of "Astrolabe B" from the Middle Assyrian tablets. The Late Babylonian copies differ from it and from *Enūma Eliš*. No Old Babylonian copies are known. The grouping of the pantheon in Tablet VI into 300 gods of heaven, 300 of underworld, 50 great gods, and 7 gods of the fates is most closely paralleled in a Late Babylonian copy of a traditional Emesal litany. An Old Babylonian recension is surviving, and it offers a widely divergent grouping. The point at which the late form was stabilized can only be conjectured, but probably this had taken place by 1000 B.C. The list of the 50 names is first paralleled in the Middle Assyrian edition of An = *Anum*. Late copies of similar lists are found, but nothing of this kind, whether for Marduk or for any other god, has been recovered from the Old Babylonian period. Negatively, the present writer knows of no evidence contradicting a Middle Babylonian date, and this for the present is the most likely time of the Epic's composition.

Quomodo, quid "How, what?"

With the date settled as nearly as the evidence allows, the bigger question of *Quomodo* may be tackled. This question presumes the answer to *Quibus auxiliis* and asks further in what way the author handled his material in attaining his end product. If adequately answered, this question will tell more about the author than any other approach. The danger of asking the question at all is implicit in our ignorance of how complete or incomplete our knowledge of the whole world of ideas of the author's time is. In any case we are completely dependent on written sources and can hardly even speculate on what might have been transmitted from generation to generation orally. However, the surviving pieces of related material are sufficiently abundant and yield conclusions that justify the attempt.

The theogony, with which the Epic begins, is a particularly instructive example. Two major gods, Anu and Enlil, traditionally had ancestries showing how they were ultimately descended from the prime forces in the universe. Since one reason for giving such a theogony was to show the descent of Marduk, the author chose that of Anu rather than that of Enlil. By all accounts, Marduk was the son of Ea, and two traditions of Ea's origin were known. According to the one, he was the son of Namma, a female, watery first principle, by parthenogenesis. The other tradition made Ea the son of Anu. This seems to have been the more popular version¹⁷ and suited the author of the Epic, since it

17. ZA 49 (1949) 112 6 and 116 26; *Enki und die Weltordnung* 79 (WZJ 9 [1959/60] 234); TCL 16 pl. cxlviii 4 and 6.

brought in other gods who were needed for his drama. Yet the problem remained that there were two totally different lines of descent for Anu. One, known to us from an Old Babylonian god-list, took him back in four generations to Namma, each being given as one name only. The other, preserved in late copies of incantations, has generations consisting of pairs—one male, one female—from which Anu and Antum his wife descended. The first pair are Dūri Dāri, “Ever and Ever,” the concept of eternal time. This line, too, usually consists of four generations. The author of *Enūma Eliš* combined these two traditions into a single theogony, retaining the matched pairs of the incantation tradition, but having a watery beginning in accordance with the god-list. Instead of Namma, however, the pair Apsū and Tiāmat were chosen. The Middle Assyrian edition of the god-list An = *Anum* is another example of the combination of the two traditions of Anu’s origin, though it is clearly influenced by Enlil’s theogony in making Earth the prime element. A third example of the intertwining of the two strands is given in the account of the Babylonians’ cosmology by Eudemus of Rhodes. This is very similar to that of *Enūma Eliš* and is in some way connected with it.

Thus, it is clear that the author combined the two traditional theogonies of Anu, adding the extra generation of Ea, which was also traditional, in preparation for Marduk’s birth, and substituting Apsū and Tiāmat for Namma at the beginning. So far as our knowledge goes, this was the most original change. In seeking reasons, one often has to look to the outcome. Apsū was needed to provide the abode of Ea, in which Marduk was born, and on the pattern of which the rest of the universe was in due course fashioned. Tiāmat had to serve as the monster to be defeated by Marduk, whose body could be split to form heaven and earth. But as yet, Tiāmat is no monster, only the *primaeval* Sea.

The picture of primitive waters presented in the first eight lines of the Epic is not paralleled precisely anywhere else. The two bodies of water mingled together: nothing else existed. This is of course bisexual reproduction seeing that the further generations were created “in them” (I 9). Apsū was the male, Tiāmat the female. In the period of the Epic’s composition, Apsū was conceived as a body of water under the earth in which Ea lived, so that its presence here is simple aetiology. Only very rarely outside the Epic is Apsū considered a god with personality. Tiāmat is the ordinary Akkadian word for “sea” and is the most complex figure in the whole Epic, so we leave a full discussion of her until later. In the description of the beginning, both figures are pictured very impersonally.

How is the account to be taken? One may dismiss it as a fanciful construction lacking any aspect of reality, or it may be taken parabolically, or it may be construed as describing some aspect or part of observable nature projected back into remote time. The first of these is true in part, since we cannot disassociate Apsū and Tiāmat from the concept of a watery beginning widely held in countries around the Eastern Mediterranean. Whether it be the Egyptian Nun, the Canaanite Yam (“Sea”), the Hebrew Deep (*t’hôm*), the Homeric Ocean, or the water of Thales’ philosophical system, we are dealing with a cosmological speculation not founded on any scientific proof. Let it be noted, however, that this was not the only view of the origin of all things held in ancient Mesopotamia. The theogony of Enlil put Earth in first place and had no use for *primaeval* water. The compiler of An = *Anum*, in combining the same two strands of Anu’s ancestors as did *Enūma Eliš*, pushed out Namma and replaced her with Earth. The bilingual epic *The Exaltation of Ištar* also speaks of Earth as the mother of all things.¹⁸ The incantations put Time before all other things. Thus, by adopting a watery

18. *BiOr* 9 (1952) 88ff. 4: [ki]-peš-bi dù-a-bi mud-mud-da = *er-še-tú šá-dil-ta mu-al-li-da-at ka-la-[ma]*.

beginning, the author was taking a sectarian stand. Even within the tradition of water, there were different forms. Namma was never a popular goddess and had no mate. In god-lists, she was in due course replaced by the River, elsewhere called “creatress of all things.” This change in terminology should not be stressed. The Ugaritic Yam is regularly styled River, and in line 242 of Hesiod’s *Theogony*, Ocean is similarly referred to as a river.¹⁹ But the author of *Enūma Eliš* chose Apsû and Tiāmat.

A parabolic interpretation of the Epic has had very few supporters. Clay makes a few scattered suggestions that happenings in Babylonian creation myths may be veiled descriptions of historical events, but he fails to elaborate a consistent scheme, except that everything involves Amorites.²⁰ The third alternative, that the watery beginning reflects observable natural processes projected back into mythological time, has been more commonly adopted. Under the influence of solar mythology, some great names (Jensen, Zimmern, S. R. Driver) interpreted Tiāmat as the winter rains which flood the land, but, thanks to Marduk’s victory in the New Year festival, they dry up. Unfortunately for this theory, there are no winter rains in Mesopotamia adequate to flood the land.²¹ A more substantial attempt along these lines follows from the identification of Apsû as sweet water and of Tiāmat as salt.²² Ea, lord of the Apsû, was considered responsible for springs and fountains, which are not salt as the sea is. Tiāmat, meaning Sea, speaks for itself. The interpretation which takes the matter no further, but only presumes the concept of the mingling of salt and sweet water, is hardly defensible. “Sea” to the Babylonians meant any large body of water, the Armenian lakes in addition to the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean. And the twin rivers were very saline, which the ancients knew and tried to overcome in their irrigation systems. There is no evidence that the salinity of the water was any criterion for the title “sea.” Similarly, there is no proof that the difference between Apsû and Tiāmat in *Enūma Eliš* was thought of by the Babylonians as a matter of sweetness contrasted with saltiness.

However, the narrative encourages a naturalistic interpretation of the “chaos” scene in stressing that this was a time before meadowland or reed-bed existed. The mention of these things implies that they were first to come from the mingling of the primaevial waters. Basing himself on this hint, Jacobsen has proposed that the idea was taken from the most southerly part of Mesopotamia where the rivers enter the sea. Here, two kinds of water mingle, and mud-banks appear in which reeds flourish and on which flocks may graze. This idea is certainly an attractive suggestion, though the further identification of Mummu with a mist which rises off the water seems to push the idea too far.²³ An Egyptian parallel can be quoted, the concept of a hill emerging from the primordial waters,²⁴ and the Sumerian theogonic name, Lugaldukuga, “King-of-the-pure-hill,” may be connected. From Mesopotamian literature, a still closer parallel can be quoted. The *Founding of Eridu* describes the time when “all the lands were sea, and the spring in the sea was a water-pipe.” The presence of a spring in the sea presumes the mixing of two kinds of water, though no generative power is thereby suggested. The

19. At Ugarit, Marduk was also son of the River.

20. A. T. Clay, *The Origin of Biblical Traditions* (New Haven, Conn., 1923), 66–107. His suggestions have the merit of being vague and scattered. Deimel in *Or.* 4 (1922) 44–45, by identifying Qingu and Kengir, was enabled to construe Marduk’s defeat of Tiāmat as a symbolic account of Hammurabi’s defeat of Rīm-Sîn!

21. This idea was ably refuted by Clay, *op. cit.*, pp. 75–78.

22. So Jensen, *KB VI/1* 559–60; H. Zimmern, *apud KAT*³, p. 492¹; B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien II* 104.

23. T. Jacobsen *apud* H. Frankfort, *Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, 170–72 = *Before Philosophy* (Harmondsworth, 1949), 184–87. On the formation of land, see earlier Woolley, *The Sumerians* (Oxford, 1929), 2–4.

24. A. de Buck, *De Egyptische Voorstellingen betreffende den Oerheuvcl* (Leiden, 1922).

spring is said to be a *rātu*, “pipe.” Another reference to this or a similar pipe occurs in Tablet XI of the *Gilgameš* Epic, where the hero, in seeking the Plant of Life, descends to the bottom of a well where it is found. This is described as going down to the Apsû (zu.a[b, line 290), and line 316 refers to the same episode in the words “when I opened the pipe (*rātu*).” This confirms what could have been deduced from a general knowledge of Babylonian ideas, that the spring in the sea mentioned in the *Founding of Eridu* drew its water from the Apsû, so that here too the picture is of a mingling of waters of the Sea and Apsû. This, however, will not permit a naturalistic interpretation in terms of the rivers flowing into the Persian Gulf. It can more easily be referred to a point off the shore of Bahrain where a famous spring comes up under the sea. An Ugaritic parallel to a mingling of waters in a primaevial chaos can also be cited. The abode of El, the most senior of the gods, is described in the phrase *mbk nhrm qrb apq thmtm* “at the sources of the (two?) rivers, within the channels of the (two?) seas.”²⁵ Unfortunately, the words may be dual or plural. There is no specific mention of any mingling of waters, but the occurrence of seas and rivers certainly puts this passage into the same class as the first scene in *Enūma Eliš* and the *Founding of Eridu*. Attempts have been made to find a place in Syria where El could have lived, but the results have not fully justified this attempt at a naturalistic interpretation.

With this quantity of comparable material, Jacobsen’s interpretation of the opening section of the Epic is clearly not the whole truth. The allusions to reed-beds and meadowland still suggest the deposition and accumulation of silt, but this feature of the story is probably secondary from the standpoint of the development of the myth. Even in the Epic, it seems to be an idea on the side rather than a major aspect. One may suspect that the mingling of two kinds of primaevial water is nothing more than the outcome of abstract thinking, that reproduction in the beginning must have been bisexual.

With the theogony complete, the author proceeds with his story. The older gods are disturbed by the noise and movement of the younger so that they cannot sleep. This seems to be the only place where senior gods are disturbed by the junior, but the noise motif itself occurs in three other epic texts, *Atra-ḥasīs*, the *Slaying of Labbu*, and the *Toil of Babylon*. But in these cases, it is human clamour that is responsible, and in the first two cases the senior god, or gods, decide to take severe punitive measures to secure peace and rest. Thus, the author was following a well-worn path in presenting noise as the basic cause of the conflict. The distinction between a younger and older set of gods is not common, but it can be paralleled in the introductory myth in the Sumerian *Enki and Ninmah*, where “the great gods” are contrasted with “the younger gods”.

While Apsû, supported by his vizier Mummu, whose origin is not explained, is pressing for speedy and decisive action, and Tiāmat was anxious to avoid any dire move, Ea struck the first blow by killing Apsû and binding Mummu. There is of course an aetiological factor in this: it explains how Ea came to reside in the Apsû and how he became possessor of the wisdom and magic lore connected with the sheep Mummu. There is a little scanty evidence of Apsû and Mummu being the losers in a theomachy that seems to be independent of the Epic, so here, too, the author is probably moulding traditional material to his own purposes. Ea’s victory turned out to be a preliminary skirmish, since all the evil in Tiāmat was unleashed when she had to face the *fait accompli* of the death of Apsû, her spouse. And here the real conflict begins. Mythologically, the battle between Tiāmat and Marduk is

25. See O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel* (ZAW Beiheft 78; Berlin, 1959), 47–50.

the most involved part of the Epic. Whether one looks at it as a whole or at its parts, it is fascinating to see how many mythological threads are drawn together in the one event. In his victory, Marduk achieved not one but four originally distinct things: (i) he succeeded Anšar as king of the gods, (ii) he defeated Tiāmat, (iii) he overcame Qingu and his sons, and (iv) he slaughtered a horde of monsters. Each will be considered in turn.

(i) The Succession of Anšar

The author of the Epic combined three distinct typological categories in his brief cosmogony. Tiāmat, the *primaeval* Sea, is the monster for his dragon-slaying motif. Laḥmu and Laḥamu are like the intermediate pairs in Enlil's theogony, they serve for no other purpose than to fill in the interval in time between the prime begetter and the god actually worshipped. Otherwise, they have no significance. In this case, the pair occur in the theogony, then in Tablet III, lines 4, 68, and 125, they are mentioned as passively participating in the summoning of the younger gods to council to accept Marduk's terms. Finally, when the battle is over and Marduk has completed his creative acts, they appear with presents and congratulations (V 78, 107; VI 157). Any other pair could have done exactly the same. The third category appears with Anšar—namely, a succession struggle. This type of myth is poorly represented in Babylonian, except for the *Theogony of Dunnyu*, though there is the famous example in the Hittite language according to which Alala was king in heaven for nine years, after which his son Anu deposed him, and so on with two further generations. Mythologically, this is of course quite distinct from the mere physical descent as in Enlil's theogony. That a succession myth is involved with Anšar is clear from a consideration of factors which the author does not stress. In one case, only, is he called "king of the gods," curiously by Marduk in his altercation with Tiāmat on the battlefield (IV 83). Yet he acts as king regularly. When Ea learns of Tiāmat's preparations, he at once takes the matter to Anšar, who takes charge of the situation and sends first Ea and then Anu to face Tiāmat. When they fail, Ea suggests his son Marduk as a likely champion, who is persuaded to take up the cause, after coming to terms with Anšar. Anšar then summons all the younger gods and persuades them to agree to these terms. When finally the fifty names are given, Anšar begins by giving the first three.

Some background to this royal status of Anšar must have existed, since it was so unnecessary for the plot of the Epic that the author almost hides it. Anšar came into the Epic as father of Anu from the Old Babylonian god-list, where Anšargal is a variant of the same name. In the incantations, Alala and Belili are the couple immediately preceding Anu and Antum, thus confirming the Hittite tradition that Anu was the son of Alala. And this is the tradition with the associated succession struggle. There are other traces of Babylonian forms of this struggle. In the expository texts, one passage reads: "the day when Anu bound the king, the day when king Marduk bound Anu" (p. 208), and several others allude to Marduk's binding of Anu. In the version in Hittite, Alala is succeeded by Anu, then Anu by the Hurrian Kumarbi. If one imagines a native Babylonian version, Marduk would naturally take the place of Kumarbi and depose Anu, which is a myth well known to the compilers of the expository texts but unknown to us in narrative form. Anšar also turns up as a deposed dynast in this mythical material, but the contexts are too uncertain to show if he was conceived as the father of Anu there. One cause of uncertainty is that Anu, in Sumerian meaning "heaven," and Anšar, meaning "the whole heaven," are not infrequently taken as equivalents. Against this background, it

does seem that the author of *Enūma Eliš* has preserved the shadow of the succession myth. Anšar has to give up his position to Marduk, but since Marduk takes his side in the struggle with Tīāmat, the transfer of power has to be peaceful, and Anu, not to mention Ea, is quietly passed over. But amends are made, and everything turns out well. After the battle, Marduk voluntarily gives the Tablet of Destinies to Anu (V 69–70).

(ii) Tīāmat

The nature and origin of the figure Tīāmat will be taken up later; for the present, we wish to show how the author has modelled his fight of Marduk and Tīāmat on a well-known myth. The moment that Anšar takes charge of the situation, the story bears a marked resemblance to that of the Anzû Epic.²⁶ This Babylonian work is known from two Old Babylonian tablets from Susa and later Assyrian copies from Nineveh, Assur, Sultantepe, and Tarbišu. In the late edition, it was divided into three tablets, of which the first two can be reconstructed with few gaps, but the third is largely missing. The story begins with the Anzû bird stealing the Tablet of Destinies from Enlil, which threatened the stability of the existing order. Anu thereupon takes charge, which is significant, seeing that in some contexts, he is a double of Anšar. He invites any one of the assembled gods to overcome Anzû and recover the Tablet of Destinies, in return for which a prominent place in the pantheon is promised. First Adad and then Šara are urged to take up the challenge, but in turn they decline. Then, on the suggestion of Ea and the Mother Goddess, Ningirsu (so the Old Babylonian version) or Ninurta (the late copies) is persuaded to go. The terms on which he goes are not so advantageous as those imposed by Marduk in *Enūma Eliš*. Ninurta is to recover the Tablet of Destinies for Enlil, but the prestige this will secure for the victor does not include equality with the holder of this Tablet. So, suitably equipped and with maternal advice, he approaches Anzû, only to be outwitted by the demon. Ninurta sends back Adad, who seems to be acting as a kind of armour-bearer for him, to report the news to Ea and to ask for further advice. This is sent out to the battlefield with Adad, and at the second attempt, Ninurta is victorious.

There is another myth having some features in common with this, the *Slaying of Labbu*. Here, a monster is threatening the established order, and Enlil invited Tišpak to go and slay the creature, in return for which he is promised “kingship over [. . .]” (the vital word is broken off). At this point, the tablet breaks off, but it concludes with a god killing Labbu. The similarities between these two myths and *Enūma Eliš* are obvious. The question which must be asked is whether *Enūma Eliš* is deliberately fashioned after one of them or merely follows a traditional theme—like modern murder stories—without conscious dependence on any particular specimen. It is contended here that there is conscious dependence on the Anzû Epic and other versions of that story. With the *Slaying of Labbu*, we do not even know if it existed when *Enūma Eliš* was written: a single copy from the libraries of

26. M. Jastrow in *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* (New York, 1911), 101 suggested in an involved way that a myth about Ninurta might lie behind *Enūma eliš*. M. Witzel in *Der Drachenkämpfer Ninib* (Fulda, 1920), 142–46 called Marduk “der spätere Ninib” and advanced the idea that the battle with Tīāmat reflected Ninurta mythology. The reasoning, like that of the whole book, was far from convincing. Langdon on pp. 17–20 of his edition proposed that Ninurta’s fight with Anzû was a prototype of the Epic, though again the case was badly presented. Also, Kramer, *JAOS* 63 (1943) 73; W. G. Lambert, “Ninurta mythology in the Babylonian Epic of Creation,” in K. Hecker and W. Sommerfeld (eds.), *Keilschriftliche Literaturen* (CRRRA 32; Berlin, 1986), pp. 55–60.

Ashurbanipal is all surviving, and no allusions to the story seem to occur. The binding of Anzû, in contrast, is known in its literary form from quite a number of tablets and fragments from different sites and periods. Also, allusions to it are found not infrequently, from Old Babylonian times to Ashurbanipal. The author of *Enūma Eliš* must certainly have known it. The case for conscious use of the story lies in the overall plot and in certain specific details.

In each case, the gods are in great danger from an evil-intending being. In each case, two well-esteemed gods are invited to deal with the threat but decline. Then, a deity suggests his own son, who, with promises of reward, agrees to go. At his first meeting with the foe, he fails, but on the second time, succeeds. It is impossible to suppose that these two accounts are entirely independent, and certainly the Anzû myth is the earlier of the two. The evidence for conscious dependence consists of a number of points, some of which alone would be inadequate but, in combination, their force is great. First, Ninurta and his variant form Ningirsu were specifically gods of war and so likely to be chosen to save the gods by a feat on the battlefield. There is considerable difficulty in finding out just what sort of a god Marduk originally was, due to his late exaltation, when he became god of everything, but if allowance is made for this and for the necessity of turning him into a warrior when he had to defeat Tiamat, it is very doubtful if he had martial attributes in the beginning. The Epic itself gives a hint to this effect in connection with his riding into battle. Anšar advises Marduk to ride the “storms” to battle (II 151), which is as good evidence as one could expect that no such chariot existed in myth. In actual life, Marduk had the chariot on which he was conveyed to the Akītu house, etc., but mythologically it would seem that he lacked one. The lexical series *Urra*, in the section “chariot,” devotes eight lines to chariots belonging to gods, three being the names of the chariot, or chariots, of Ninurta. One, *giš-gigir-mè-túm-ma*, means “the chariot suitable for battle.”²⁷ The Anzû Epic does not actually state that Ninurta rode to battle in a chariot, but from the hitching up of winds, etc., as he was preparing to set out,²⁸ this can be presumed. A litany which addresses Ninurta as he departs cries, “Arise, ride!” (*tibi rikab*),²⁹ which puts the matter in no doubt. The crowning example from the battle equipment is the net. In Sumerian times, this was a very common weapon in the divine armoury, its function being to hold conquered humans, as depicted on reliefs. Marduk, however, uses it like a matador, to hold and confuse the enemy while he strikes the fatal blows with his weapons. This would of course be all very plausible if his enemy were not the Sea. Catching the Sea in a net! With a winged creature such as Anzû this was the natural way, and while the Anzû Epic follows another tradition on this point, the Erra Epic knows how Anzû was enmeshed:

ki-i šá lem-na an-za-a a-na ka-me-šú šu-par-ru-ra-[. . .

As when [the net] was spread to bind the wicked Anzû . . .

Erra IIIc 33

Although the word “net” is broken away, the use of the verb “spread,” which is regularly used with nets, as in *Enūma Eliš* IV 95, makes the restoration very probable, and the Converse Tablet, a litany, also mentions the netting of Anzû. Another item connected with weapons occurs in Tablet VI of the

27. MSL VI 5 7–14; see also Salonen, *Die Landfahrzeuge des alten Mesopotamien* (Helsinki, 1951), 66–76.

28. RA 46 (1952) 92 75–77 = RA 48 (1954) 147 30–32.

29. Reisner, *SBH*, p. 38 20–21 = M. Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien und Verwandtes* (AnOr 10; Rome, 1935), 140 *zi-ga u₃-e-a = ti-bi ri-kab*.

Epic, lines 84–91, where Anu gives three names to Marduk’s bow. The first is “Long Wood.” Students of the mediaeval history of Western Europe will have no difficulty in “long” applied to bows, but in ancient Mesopotamia such an epithet is never used. The explanation is that the author is punning on a traditional weapon of Ninurta, mentioned in *Lugal-e* and *An-gim-dīm-ma*, in Sumerian *giš-gíd-da* (“long wood”), in Akkadian *arīktu* (“long [spear]”). The commentator on the Epic did not miss this. Yet other points can be cited in which Marduk went out to the fray armed as Ninurta had been in his advance against Anzû: wearing a tunic (*apluhtu*), holding the Storm-flood weapon, making use of flame, and escorted by winds.³⁰ In these cases, one may suspect that in any battle between divine beings, one or more of these elements would have been present, so we do not consider their value very highly. More significant is that, after the victory, the wind carries aloft parts of the victim to bear the glad news to the awaiting gods. This is not one of those clichés which may turn up in any literary text but an item of aetiology not found elsewhere.³¹ The example in Anzû, where the winds pick up the cut-off wings of Anzû, is more convincing than that in *Enūma Eliš*, where the north wind picks up Tiāmat’s blood.

Three more telling points may also be cited in favour of conscious dependence on mythology connected with Ninurta. First, the use of the Tablet of Destinies in *Enūma Eliš*. It is first mentioned when Qingu is put in charge of the monstrous host and is given it as the sign of his formal appointment to commander-in-chief. The underlying thought is that the one who has this tablet can alone decree destinies. However, when Marduk presents his terms to Anšar and the rest of the junior gods, he demands that if he returns victorious he must be given the right to decree destinies instead of them. This quietly ignores that the Tablet of Destinies has been in enemy hands all the time, and they are in no position to assign it. Yet, there was no mistaking who had it, for just before joining battle, Marduk bitterly accuses Tiāmat of giving this thing to Qingu, who was improperly holding it. After the battle, Marduk takes the thing from Qingu for himself, but only temporarily. When the gods gather around to congratulate Marduk after his arrangement of the universe, he promptly hands over the Tablet of Destinies to Anu, who was most commonly considered the god to hold it. Marduk was certainly not parting with any of his supreme power in this disposition of the Tablet, and one is left with the feeling that the author did not take it too seriously. Why then did he bring it in at all? If the story of Anzû were the model on which he was forming his own account of Marduk’s heroic deed, then everything is understandable. That story hinged on the recovery of the Tablet of Destinies from the enemy, so the thing had to be brought in somehow.³²

Second, in presenting his terms, Marduk says, “If I should become your avenger (*mutīr gimillikun*) . . .” This would strike a familiar chord in the minds of well-read Babylonian scholars. This term “avenger” was traditionally applied to two gods only, Ninurta and Nergal.³³ Since they were the two

30. For the *apluhtu*, cf. IV 57 and Reisner, *SBH*, p. 39 3–4 = Witzel, op. cit., p. 140; for the *abūbu* cf. IV 33, etc., and Reisner, *SBH*, p. 38 8–9 = Witzel, loc. cit.; for fire cf. IV 40 and *STC* I 23 9, 11, 28; and for the escorting winds, cf. IV 42–46 and the passages cited in n. 28 above.

31. See the note on IV 32.

32. A litany in addition to the Anzû Epic alludes to Ninurta’s recovery of the tablet: *dub nam-tar-ra dīm-me-er-e-ne* [. . . = *tuppi ši-mat ilāni*^{mes} *ana qa-ti* [. . . (BA V 634 5–6 = Langdon, *SBP*, 208).

33. Unilingual Sumerian passages are quoted by van Dijk, *SGL* II 27–29. In later texts, note for Ninurta: *dumu šu-mar-gi a-a-n[a] = ma-ri mu-tir gi-[mil-li a-bi-šú]* (Reisner, *SBH*, p. 36 30–31 = Witzel, op. cit., p. 136); *mu-tir gimil^den-lil abī-šú* (Craig, *ABRT* II 14 19 = *ArOr* 21 [1953] 409: ^dumun in the previous line certainly refers to Ninurta; see

major war gods in the pantheon, there is a certain overlapping in their attributes, and in this case the phrase certainly originated with Ninurta. It often appears in a fuller form, “the avenger of his father,” the father being Enlil. In *Enūma Eliš*, where it was not only Ea in particular that Marduk saved but also the junior gods generally, the singular is turned into plural: Marduk avenged his fathers. The reason for suspecting a reinterpretation of Ninurta’s title is not only its limited use but also the form of words in which the author of the Epic introduces it. He used a participial phrase instead of a finite verb, which is quite contrary to normal Akkadian syntax. This suggests that he construed the phrase as a *terminus technicus* and so fixed and not susceptible to syntactical modification.

Third, Ninurta was the monster-slayer in Sumero-Babylonian tradition, which we know from the time of Gudea and onwards. Thus, in slaying the monster Tīāmat, Marduk was wearing Ninurta’s mantle, and still more in slaying a group of eleven monsters such as Tīāmat had spawned did Marduk show himself as Ninurta *redivivus*. In two Sumerian epics known to us from Old Babylonian and late bilingual copies, the victories won by Ninurta, mostly over monsters, number eleven.

In a consideration of these parallels which we have suggested between Marduk in *Enūma Eliš* and Ninurta in the Anzū Epic, it must be remembered that in the time of the Epic’s composition, Ninurta was the greatest hero of literature. One Akkadian and two Sumerian epics were freely circulating, as well as independent traditions. Accordingly, the conclusion seems inescapable that the battle with Tīāmat was conceived in the image of Ninurta’s fight with Anzū. No doubt, the character of Tīāmat, which we are not considering at the moment, has been obscured by this background.

(iii) Qingu and his Sons

The impression that the theogony with which the Epic begins explains the origins of all the gods is soon dispelled. Mummu, Apsū’s vizier, turns up from nowhere in I 30. After Ea’s slaughter of this pair, one would have expected Tīāmat to be alone against the younger generation, but no. In I 110, we are confronted with “the gods,” a group of deities who are on Tīāmat’s side and who play no small part in the story, seeing that they finally stir Tīāmat to action. One thing only is clear: they are Tīāmat’s offspring, as stated in several lines. They exist before the monsters are created, and it is from among them that Tīāmat selects Qingu to be leader of her army, to which end she makes him her spouse in place of Apsū and gives him the Tablet of Destinies. Having been thus exalted, Qingu proceeded to organize his troops by assigning the destiny of “the gods her sons” (I 160). While to the author, Tīāmat was guilty of malign plotting and Qingu was little better than a demon, the incest implied in this relationship of “the gods,” Tīāmat, and Qingu is quite inconceivable. Tīāmat is the mother of “the gods,” a group including Qingu. She then marries Qingu. These difficulties are only untidy ends which the author could not dispose of in fitting together originally separate myths. The conflict with Tīāmat was one thing; that with Qingu and the sons another. Unfortunately, only allusions to the myth of Qingu are preserved, but in addition there are allusions to other apparently similar myths, with the consequence that we do not know if we are dealing with different versions of

the context); *mu-tir gi-mil-li* (var. + *abbē^{mes}-šú*) (Ashur-nāšir-apli II: AKA 261 22); ^dmaš šá šu^{III} *abi-šú ú-tir-ru* (KAR 307 rev. 22 = Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, p. 36); *tu-tir-ru gi-mil a-bi-ka* (KAR 2 12); also *kašādu irnitti* KAR 88 iii 12. For Nergal, note: *ad-a-ni šu-gar-ra-ke₄* = *mu-tir gi-mil-lu a-bi-šú* (BA V 642 5–7). Two passages could refer to either god: KAR 308 10–11 (*ga*]r a-a-mu! = *gi*]mil a-bi-šú) and K 5173 3–4 (*g*]i a-a-na = *mu-t*]ir gi-mil-li a-bi-šú). Of Marduk also, in list, K 8222: 16.

one myth or with different but similar myths. As well as Qingu, Enmešarra turns up with his sons in these allusions. Their original lack of connection with Tiāmat is certain, since the only occurrences of Qingu and Tiāmat together outside the Epic are in texts clearly dependent on it. What is clear from the allusions is that Qingu and Enmešarra, who may turn out to be the same god under two names, got into conflict with another god, always one actually worshipped in historical times, and were defeated. The victor is not always the same: Anu, Enlil, Sîn, and Marduk are attested in particular cases. Occasionally with Enmešarra one has the impression that this is a succession struggle. The tradition that made him the father of Enlil certainly had this in mind, and this may be one reason why Qingu in *Enūma Eliš* is given the Tablet of Destinies. If he were taken from a myth in which he was king of the gods, he would naturally hold this Tablet, and the author of *Enūma Eliš* would take cognizance of this by letting Tiāmat give it to him. However, more frequently, the group of gods with Qingu or Enmešarra are looked upon as divine criminals who, for their sins, are down in the underworld as the Bound Gods.

In the Epic, Qingu's (sic!) sons are joined not only by the monsters but also by offspring of the younger gods, as stated in II 14, etc. Mythologically, this is unexplained. Eventually, they are led out to battle, where their whole purpose is apparently frustrated, for instead of fighting for Tiāmat, they are onlookers on a single combat, and when this is over, they try to flee but are overcome and bound by Marduk so that they are the Bound Gods. After this, they disappear from the story as suddenly as they entered it. Qingu himself, after forfeiting the Tablet of Destinies, is reckoned among the Dead Gods, a group very similar to the Bound Gods. He was called to account later on a charge of making Tiāmat rebel, which ill agrees with the story of the Epic. On the contrary, "the gods" in general stirred Tiāmat to action, and she appointed Qingu commander of the host and gave him the order to prepare for war. Again, the highly composite nature of the Epic gives the explanation. One of the groups of miscreant gods in a detached fragment of text is said to have "rebelled," and the author of *Enūma Eliš* took up this point, as Qingu was needed for another role after the defeat of Tiāmat, a role in which he had to be condemned to death and so had to be guilty on some charge.

The allusions to which we refer are very amorphous, but they do convey a picture which corresponds with "the gods," who appear and disappear so suddenly in the Epic. Again, one gets the impression that while the author thought he must include them, he did not want to make them too prominent. His first readers were thoroughly familiar with the story, and other aspects needed highlighting.

(iv) The Monsters

As already stated, Ninurta celebrated eleven victories, mostly over monsters. Marduk had to do the same. The source and motive is thus clear, but the actual monsters used were a very obscure lot not drawn from Ninurta's list (see pp. 224–232).

Thus, the conflict in *Enūma Eliš* is a gigantic tangle of mythological threads. In the one battle, Marduk succeeded Anšar, he defeated Tiāmat, he defeated Qingu and his sons, and still further he defeated a horde of monsters, feats any one of which another god had to be happy to achieve. One unifying factor with which the whole is tinged is the author's desire to show Marduk as Ninurta *redivivus*.

After the battle, Marduk proceeded to organize a new universe. The first act was the splitting of Tiāmat's body into two parts—the one to form the earth, the other the heavens. Here, the author is drawing on the widespread concept that heaven and earth were at one time joined. That form of it known from Sumerian mythology involves the sundering of a solid mass, and there is no hint that this mass was the body of a monster slain in conflict. While the author may well have known the Sumerian version, he certainly drew on other forms of the myth, which will be commented upon later. Tiāmat's severed body produced a universe in three levels: the Apsû, which had been there even before Marduk's birth, was at the bottom; the lower half of Tiāmat was above this—that is, the earth; and on top was Tiāmat's upper half, heaven. But at this point, the author brought in another tripartite division of the universe and quietly ignores what the splitting of Tiāmat plainly implies. He wanted to have three levels corresponding with the cosmic locations of Anu, Enlil, and Ea. To achieve this, the earth is ignored until later, and Marduk builds Ešarra, a lower heaven, which he trims along with the upper heaven to match the Apsû. The silence of the text on the material out of which Ešarra was made indicates how ill this fits the author's general scheme. Thus, Anu was put in the upper heaven, called simply "heaven" in the Epic; Enlil was assigned to Ešarra, and Ea to the Apsû, though in fact he had been there all the time. The awkwardness with which this second tripartite division was brought in surely indicates that the author was merely taking over the idea from current thought or existing sources. The conception of heaven as in tiers, which passed into Judaism and Christianity, is nowhere certainly attested before the time of *Enūma Eliš*, but that is no doubt an accident of discovery. Another Babylonian system included a third heaven by adding the plane on which the stars move as the lowest.

In Tablet V, the author returns to his original scheme and takes up heaven and earth in order. By "heaven," the heavenly bodies are implied, but to avoid confusion the author does not actually use the term "heaven" in these lines. But there is no doubt that he is resuming that source of his by which Tiāmat's body was split, for "the heights" (sc. of heaven) are located in Tiāmat's belly according to V 11, and later a variety of members of the corpse are used in fashioning details of the earth. On consideration, it appears that the organization of the stars described is not so much astronomical as calendrical. Only those by which the divisions of the year, month, and day are fixed are dealt with, and in that order. Here the author is very clearly borrowing. There is a system of dividing up the year known from what is commonly—though misleadingly—called Astrolabe B, since it is in reality no astrolabe. The earliest copy comes from the period of Tiglath-pileser I, c. 1100 B.C. The visible sky was divided into three parallel zones, Enlil's nearest to the pole, Anu's in the middle, and Ea's nearest the equator. All three zones were divided into twelve sections to correspond with the portions visible during the course of the year, and in each of these 36 portions, one star was chosen whose heliacal risings would mark in turn the first, tenth, and twentieth days of each month. This is a schematic thing that was never in fact used for fixing the months, so we need not ask if it actually worked. The two lines which are devoted to summarising this scheme (V 3–4) are an indication of the lack of interest in astronomy on the author's part. However, he has four lines to explain his own special modification of the borrowed scheme, V 5–8. This "Twelve-times-Three," as it is called, had a mythological aspect. The twelve stars in each zone were considered to have been grouped around a leader, like troops marching under an officer. Also, each zone was assigned to a particular one of the great triad. The leader of each zone did not necessarily happen to be the member of the great triad

after which the zone was named. The author was fortunate in that Marduk's star, Nēberu, happened to be in the middle zone, so he transferred the zone from Anu to Marduk.

With his year divided in this way, the author turned next to the month, and the moon is given instructions. The division of the year just presented already contained a subdivision of each month into three ten-day periods, but now the author prefers a system that was actually used. The seventh day, the fifteenth (the day of the full moon), and the end of the month are those which are prescribed as the proper divisions. The end of the month was a time when sun and moon were commanded to meet to issue judgements. The instructions to the sun (V 39–46?) are largely broken off. The very impersonal handling of the sun and moon is striking. As powerful figures in the pantheon, the author may have wished to minimize their stature.

Thus, the organization of the heavens was largely, we suspect, borrowed, and it is significant that in only one case, already cited, is Tiāmat's body referred to. The organization of the earth, in contrast, is full of parts of the body, and there is not one certain example of a parallel which seems independent of the Epic. Probably, then, this is an original composition of the author both in idea and phraseology. But the organization of the pantheon in Tablet VI into 300 gods of heaven, the same number of underworld gods, 50 great gods, and 7 destiny-decreeing gods is certainly traditional.

The episode of man's creation shows the author at work very clearly. First, he prepared the ground. When the gods set Marduk on his throne, the shouts of acclamation were quickly followed by the stipulation that one of his duties was the provisioning of the shrines of the gods (IV 11). (The Babylonian gods have a streak of the practical about them!). When Marduk was acclaimed a second time after his victory, in the second half of Tablet V, a reminder of this duty was apparently dropped in the lines 157–58, which are badly damaged. At the beginning of Tablet VI, Marduk takes up the hint and proposes the creation of man to Ea, who brings this plan to fruition. The background of this can be found in related myths. From among a number of Sumerian traditions about man's creation, one, best known to us from the myth *Enki and Ninmah*, survived and became the standard Babylonian account. The basic elements of the story are that the gods were in desperation at having to toil for their daily bread, so the Mother Goddess and Ea created man by mixing the blood of a slain god with clay. The duty of the new creation was to provide the gods with food and drink. Thus, the stipulation about provisioning the shrines was meant to recall this myth, and in Tablet VI modified selections of the story are inserted. The Mother Goddess plays no part in the Epic, but as Marduk was ever waiting to perform new feats, he became Ea's partner in the work. A god was needed to provide the blood, and the author has taken good care to have Qingu available for this purpose. No other version names Qingu as the slaughtered god; either the name Qingu conceals a god known by other names elsewhere or the author has himself grafted the creation of man onto a previously unrelated conflict myth. In either case, there are clear indications of a very bold piece of grafting. To fulfil the stipulation, man had to be created to take charge of provisioning the shrines of the gods. At the same time, the author wished to introduce the remnants of a conflict myth by which Marduk condemned to death the ringleader of the rebels but spared the others. Qingu is the guilty party, and the Bound Gods are—or rather were—the others. Now the author has tacitly blended the Bound Gods into the group over which Marduk exercises kingship. Marduk at this point asks this assembly who was responsible for making Tiāmat rebel. The question and its answer do not conform to the facts of the case as the Epic has narrated them, but this is inevitable in such compositions. The assembled gods

declare Qingu the guilty one, and he therefore is made to provide the blood for man's creation. The verdict is highly artificial, seeing that the other suspects have somehow become part of the jury, and by the execution the gods are freed. A very subtle use of words allows the freeing of the gods from hard labour to be combined with the freeing of the Bound Gods, in such shadowy substance as they now have, from their prison.

The final praise of Marduk consists in his receiving "the fifty names," though in fact they are commonly 51. As often in the Bible, the name is the person, and to give a name to another is to grant him the attributes of which the name speaks. This is particularly clear at the end of *Enūma Eliš* where Enlil gives Marduk his own title, "Lord of the Lands," and thereupon Ea bestows his own name on his son. These were transfers of power—not simple additions to the titulary. Accordingly, the names are not bestowed merely but are explained also. All 51 are not on the same level. There are the major names which attest the syncretism whereby Marduk was merged with other similar deities and absorbed lesser deities in Babylon and its neighbourhood: Asalluḫi of Eridu, Tutu of Borsippa, Enbilulu of Babylon, etc. Many of the other names are epithets and titles which belonged to the deity represented by the major name. The list is a carefully articulated whole. Most of the names are Sumerian, and their explanations vary from correct literal translations to free statements of interpretations based on what seems to us wild etymological play. There was certainly no idea that one name could have only one meaning, and not infrequently as many as four interpretations are given. This may seem very tedious to a modern reader, but once the principles of organization and interpretation are grasped, the list becomes the prime source for the history and theology of Marduk.

The suggestion has been made more than once that Tablet VII with the interpretations of the names is a late addition.³⁴ In fact, it must be earlier than the Epic. One cannot just drop off Tablet VII, or one is left with a torso of the Epic. The name-giving is announced in the middle of Tablet VI, and the first nine names—three each given by Anšar, Laḫmu, and Laḫamu—are presented within the narrative of this Tablet. There is no way of excising these items without destroying the whole climax of the Epic. Furthermore, the style of exposition found with the 42 names in Tablet VII is the same as for the nine names given in Tablet VI and as for the exposition of Marduk's name in Tablet I 101–2. This is significant, since the dropping of the Seventh Tablet has usually served the end of maintaining an Old Babylonian date of composition. It is acknowledged that the sophisticated etymologies are not the kind of thing that can be expected in an Old Babylonian work. While the names are an integral part of the whole, it is very clear that they cannot have come from the author of the Epic, since they not infrequently contradict his story. As will be shown below, the battle between Marduk and Tīāmat appears in a substantially different form in the expositions of the 50 names. Also, the 41st name, Lugalšuanu, is taken in three ways; yet, the obvious interpretation for an author with such a penchant for Babylon, as "King of Babylon," does not occur. There is therefore no alternative but to consider the 50 names and their interpretations as a separate document incorporated with little or no change by the author. Confirmation is available. The list of Marduk names edited above as the *Triple-Column God-List*, so far as it is preserved, has exactly the same names as appear in Tablet VII

34. So Langdon on p. 16 of his edition and p. 311 of his *Semitic Mythology* (London and Boston, 1931); G. R. Driver, *Theology VIII* (1924), 11; Labat in his edition, p. 36. Böhl in his study of the 50 names: *AfO* 11 (1936/37) 192 and *Opera Minora* (Groningen, 1953), 283, seems to accept this too. Furlani (*Miti babilonesi e assiri*, 19) alone seems to have had courage to assume that both the section of VI and VII as a whole are later additions.

except that the list continues when the 51 of *Enūma Eliš* conclude. In addition to the names, there are interpretations which agree with those of *Enūma Eliš*, but the list is shorter and lacks some lines of the Epic. A study of these “omissions” favours the list rather than the Epic as the more original. Yet, it is not certain that the Epic depends on the list as now known. Quite probably, both go back to a lost archetype. In any case, there is no reason for supposing that the list is based on the Epic.

Before proceeding further, it may be noted that our question *Quomodo* is already answered. The author has drawn together in one text a large number of mythological traditions and has tried to blend them into a single story. As a consequence, the text presents the modern reader with two major kinds of difficulty. The one comes from the untidy ends which could not be entirely excluded from a compilation of this sort. There are unexplained items and apparent contradictions and absurdities. The other comes from the amount of knowledge which the author was obliged to presume in his readers. His allusions are often only meaningful to someone who knows the whole story. While it is easy to criticise his failings, we must not overlook how well he succeeded in weaving so many threads into his carpet. Many modern students of the Epic seem not to have noticed the loose ends.³⁵ There is no other Babylonian Epic that is composed on these principles. The Babylonian *Gilgameš Epic* is indeed composite but shows the more usual method of compilation. We know that it draws on two Sumerian *Gilgameš* epics, a Sumero-Babylonian flood story, and many other sources now no longer surviving. It has, like *Enūma Eliš*, a main theme, which is *Gilgameš*'s search for immortality, and the traditional material is combined to form an artistic and literary whole. The principle of arrangement is almost entirely by sequence. There are digressions, such as when the main plot is interrupted for the story of the flood, but in general the various blocks of traditional material are simply arranged in a sequence in accordance with the general purpose of the author. The *Etana Epic* is another case: the fable of the Snake and the Eagle is prefixed to the story of *Etana* with very little joining. In sharp contrast, the author of *Enūma Eliš* has interwoven his material together in an unparalleled fashion. Furthermore, he perverts it and twists it to his own ends with a freedom which is likewise unparalleled so far as our knowledge goes. But this aspect must not be exaggerated. Where the author's main theme is concerned, he is ruthless in altering tradition, but he does not introduce purely capricious changes. The way in which *Anu* gets the Tablet of Destinies, which was really his in any case, and the creation of *Man* by *Ea*, albeit on *Marduk*'s plan, are examples of a studied respect for tradition when *Marduk*'s glory could have been enhanced by changes.

Cur “Why?” Again

The reason for this unique kind of compilation can only be found by asking *Cur* more particularly. The Epic proclaims, explains, and justifies *Marduk*'s kingship over the gods. Whereas the relative positions of the deities within the official pantheon had traditionally been a subject of remarkable tolerance and mutual respect between the various cities and their gods, the author of *Enūma*

35. But that it is a composition of different materials has been stated by various scholars, e.g., L. W. King, *STC* I lxvii; M. Jastrow, “On the Composite Character of the Babylonian Creation Story,” in C. Bezold (ed.), *Orientalische Studien* (Fs. Nöldeke; Gießen, 1906), 969–82; C.-F. Jean, *Le milieu biblique* II 83; Oppenheim, *Or.* NS 16 (1947) 209; Dhorme, *Revue biblique* NS 16 (1919) 353–54.

Eliš let loose a flood of intolerance only equalled by Nabonidus's support of *Sîn*. His enthusiasm was white-hot. It was not enough that Marduk won his position by defeating a monster, as when Ninurta vanquished Anzû, according to the tale of a simple-minded storyteller. His Marduk had to be victor and hero of most of the major mythological themes at the same time. The previous rulers of the gods had of course to be reckoned with. There was no conflict between Ea and his son, so Ea throughout is treated with the greatest respect. Ea had never had the prerogative that Marduk now claimed. Anu had been considered to hold chief executive power among the gods, but his rank was always more nominal than real. Perhaps due also to the family connection—Anu was Marduk's grandfather according to the tradition followed by the Epic—he is treated with courtesy, although his rights are granted to him by Marduk.

Enlil, of the great triad, was Marduk's real rival, and here the author shows his spite. When Enlil's presence may detract from Marduk's glory, he is ignored. When he can contribute to Marduk's greater glory, he comes forward. Up to the last line of Tablet IV his name is not even mentioned, which is a studied insult. It is not that the author for good reason used Anu's theogony and so could not include Enlil. Eudemus of Rhodes has a form of Anu's theogony which does include Enlil, and traditions of his parentage were sufficiently numerous and diverse that the author need not have hesitated to get him in, had he so wished. Enlil's tardy appearance after Marduk's victory to receive his location in the universe at Marduk's bidding (IV 145–46), to take a subordinate place in the sky under Marduk (V 8), and to bestow gifts on his benefactor (V 80) only serves to indicate his demotion. The very use of 50 names signified that Enlil's power was now bestowed on Marduk. "Fifty" was Enlil's mystical number. The Middle Assyrian edition of the god-list *An = Anum* from c. 1100 is the first other indication of this doctrine. In this list Marduk's names are fifty, though not exactly the same fifty that *Enūma Eliš* offers. The only other god in *An = Anum* whose names are as many as his mystical number is Ea, with forty.

Another aspect of the author's motive has so far not received the attention it deserves. It is his doctrine of the city Babylon. In Tablet V 119–30, Marduk proposes to his fathers the building of Babylon as the central point in the universe, in which he will reside as king, and where the gods from heaven above and *Apsû* beneath may stay when they convene for an assembly. The gods give their assent. After man's creation, the gods in gratitude offer to build a shrine devoted to these purposes (VI 49–54). This is done; the gods build Esagil, Marduk's temple in Babylon and, seated therein for their first assembly, they give Marduk his fifty names. The interval between the proposal and its achievement only emphasises the point, since the matter is repeated. The centrality of Babylon in the universe is neither unexpected nor of much consequence in itself, but the divine assembly is. In Sumerian times, the gods were believed to meet in Nippur to "decree the destinies."³⁶ In Late Babylonian times, this was believed to take place in Babylon in the course of the New Year festival.³⁷ The transfer of this assembly from Nippur to Babylon was an essential point of Marduk's elevation, and the author is therefore either urging or heralding its achievement. This same New Year festival witnessed a battle between Marduk and *Tiāmat* in the *Akītu* house, and the whole question of the relationship of *Enūma Eliš* and the New Year rites celebrated in Babylon under the late empire must be considered.

36. T. Jacobsen, *ZA* 52 (1957) 105–6.

37. S. A. Pallis, *The Babylonian Akītu Festival* (Copenhagen, 1926), 183–97.

One of the few things known about *Enūma Eliš* in the ancient world is that it was read complete to the statue of Marduk by a priest on the fourth day of Nisan (and the same day of Kislimu). This has been seized upon by the Myth and Ritual school as a classical example of the secondary nature of myth to ritual.³⁸ The Epic, it is alleged, was written expressly for the festival in which Marduk defeated Tīāmat. It arose out of a cultic environment and to meet a cultic need. However inconclusive the argumentation of this position may be, the right questions are certainly posed by it. The precise character of Tīāmat and the nature of the battle must now be considered in detail.

In the Epic, there is no consistent picture of Tīāmat. Her name is the common noun “Sea,” a feminine grammatically, and she is conceived as female in Tablet II 144, a passage which offers no proof that she was conceived anthropomorphically, since “who is female” is as legitimate a translation as “who is a woman.” The only other name used of her in the Epic is “(mother) Ḫubur” in I 133 and parallel passages. We shall in due course suggest that this passage was borrowed with little change from an unknown source. Ḫubur, the name of the underworld river, is not inappropriate in that Sea and River do interchange to some extent as prime creators. At the beginning, Tīāmat is a watery mass, so that the gods are born “in” (*qirib*: I 9) the waters she mingled with Apsû’s. This idea is not kept up in the rest of the Epic, where the gods appear quite separate from Tīāmat. Yet, in I 108, she is still a body of water, for Marduk disturbed her by making a wave. In the battle, signs of mythological grafting begin to appear. Berossus’ version is quite explicit: she is a body of water in which the monsters are swimming, yet she is a monster in her own right and advances against Marduk. According to *Enūma Eliš* IV 116, the monsters escorted her to battle on her right-hand side. They were not therefore swimming inside her, and they had to be dealt with separately after her fall. In the battle in the Epic, it is doubtful if Tīāmat is anything other than a solid-bodied monster. Marduk forces the winds down her throat to disturb her inside, which could be interpreted as a watery middle, but after ripping open her belly with arrows, he does nothing about leaking water. The making of the upper heaven and the earth from her body also presumes a solid mass. The events after the battle in Tablets IV and V represent her as having buttocks, a skull, arteries, a belly, horns (?), a head, eyes, nostrils, breasts, a tail, and a crotch. Water is not completely lacking, for her eyes are said to be the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, but probably the author considered them as drawing upon the Apsû, like all springs. But beyond question, in these passages, Tīāmat is a monstrous animal, not a body of water. Kinnier Wilson and Landsberger have suggested a cow, for the whimsical reason that it has an udder.³⁹ The word used (*širtu*) is also applied to mortal women and goddesses, but granting the translation “udder” here with an animal, other quadrupeds fit the description equally well. There can be no certainty, but we propose a goat, since in §13 of the mythological almanac (edition forthcoming from F. S. Reynolds) Tīāmat is represented as a goat, and writers of this kind of literature normally have good reasons for what they put. However, the expository text KAR 307 rev. 13 could be used as evidence that Tīāmat was a dromedary (anše-a-ab-ba; see MMEW p. 82).

Yet, even in the battle, traces of the other concept are interwoven. Some expressions mentioning Tīāmat’s middle are clearly traces of her conceived as a body of water. The clearest is in IV 65, where Marduk gets near enough to catch a first glimpse of her inside, at which he falls back in panic and confusion. This is Berossus’ version: Marduk had his first look at the monsters inside. Two other

38. S. H. Hooke (ed.), *Myth and Ritual* (Oxford, 1933), 1–14.

39. *JNES* 20 (1961) 175.

references to Tiāmat's middle (IV 41 and 48) seem to presume this idea, though they are not so clear. Finally, when the body had been split, Marduk "stretched a skin" (or "slid a bolt," according to another translation) and stationed guards to prevent any of her water escaping (IV 139–40). Here, the matter is very clear. The primaeval Sea is divided into two parts: the upper is the source of rain, the lower the cosmic waters below the earth. But this is not the author's sense elsewhere. The upper part is Anu's abode, and the lower heaven, Ešarra, would have prevented any water dropping from the highest tier from reaching the earth. Also, the Epic has no cosmic waters beneath, but following a common Sumero-Babylonian tradition, they have been transformed into the Apsû, which was conceived in the Epic as distinct from Sea.

Accordingly, the Epic conflates two basically different concepts of Tiāmat.⁴⁰ A consideration of related materials will show that these two do not exhaust the possibilities. The sea could be an impersonal element merely. Some of Ninurta's victories were over sea-monsters. The Ugaritic Baal, who parallels Ninurta in many ways, killed a *tannin*, a sea-monster, as known from the Bible. The passage which alludes to this also mentions his victory over Yam ("Sea"), but pieces of the full story are preserved, and Yam seems to be a tyrant imposing tribute on the other gods, who seem to live apart from him. In the fight with Baal, he seems to be of human form, sitting on a throne. Probably, then, the story of the *tannin* was not part of the battle with Yam.⁴¹ The anthropomorphic conception of Sea is thus another possibility. On such comparisons, one could build a theory that *Enūma Eliš* and Berossus result from the combination of traditions of passive primaeval waters and conflict with monsters in the sea. Certainly Berossus' version is very unconvincing. The Old Testament, however, contains allusions to a battle of Yahweh with both the sea and its monsters.⁴² The evidence is not explicit, but even if the passages were strained to refer to separate conflicts, now with monsters, now with the sea, the latter cannot be excluded. Yahweh did fight with the Sea, and for the added reason that it is hard to imagine that the author of *Enūma Eliš* invented Marduk's chief opponent, there is every reason to presume that his battle with the Sea was taken over from tradition. The problem is to identify that tradition. The splitting of the body offers a poor lead, for the Sumerian version known to us, as remarked before, is of a solid mass being pulled apart, and there is no preceding conflict. The best parallel to the Sea, as a body of water, being divided occurs in *Genesis* 1, where on the second day of creation God divides the waters into those above and those beneath the firmament. Again, there is no mention of conflict, though it is always possible that the author suppressed it. A better lead is provided by the third day of creation according to *Genesis* 1, on which God separates the waters from the dry land. As written, no battle occurs, but allusions in several poetic books of the Old Testament refer to the Sea bursting forth and to Yahweh's victory over it by forcing it back within its bounds.⁴³ This is very probably the background of the third day of creation, and it could similarly underlie the myth according to which Ninurta saved the land from disaster by holding back waters which were

40. Already in 1893 G. A. Barton wrote, "We are presented . . . with two distinct conceptions (of Tiāmat). . . . Tiāmat represents the waters, the universal sea . . . The other conception . . . is that Tiāmat is a female dragon. . . . In the fourth Creation Tablet these conceptions are partially blended" (*JAOS* 15 [1893] 14).

41. A convenient presentation and discussion of the texts is provided by O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres* (*ZAW* Beiheft 78), 44–77.

42. Attention was first drawn to the mythological relevance of these passages by G. A. Barton, *JAOS* 15 (1893) 17–27, a theme taken up and developed by H. Gunkel in his *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen, 1895).

43. Psalm 104:8–9; Proverbs 8:29; Job 38:8–11.

rising and threatening to carry everything before them. The rising waters are pictured very much like the annual Mesopotamian flood on a grand scale, but this could of course be secondary modification. Here, then, is one possibility of the background of Tīāmat as known from *Enūma Eliš*.

There is another version of Marduk's creation in which water plays a part. The fullest expression of it occurs in *The Founding of Eridu*, but allusions occur in the expositions of the 50 names, VII 70–77 and 83. According to *The Founding of Eridu*, Marduk creates the earth by forming a raft to float on the primaeval waters and by heaping up earth on the raft. No conflict occurs. In Tablet VII, there are two allusions to heaping up earth on the cosmic waters, in lines 70 and 83. The latter case again has no allusion to battle, but in the former case, the immediately following line speaks of Marduk's ravaging of Tīāmat's body, and another line in the section implies conflict. The difficulty of this section is that unrelated lines are often juxtaposed in these expositions of the 50 names. The line which speaks of heaping up earth on Tīāmat may come from a quite different tradition from the next line with its reference to Tīāmat's bodily spoiling. But at least these passages are a distinct version of Marduk's dealing with the Sea, by which all the cosmic waters were kept beneath the earth, contrary to the narrative of *Enūma Eliš*. This, too, might have been the tradition from which *Enūma Eliš* took its idea of a conflict with the Sea.

And what of Tīāmat in the New Year ritual of Babylon? Few subjects are more obscure. The evidence that Marduk was conceived to fight with Tīāmat in the Akītu house is circumstantial but strong, and the conclusion may be accepted as correct. How far back the rites were practised in this form is unknown. If we have correctly identified *Enmešarra's Defeat* as a testimony to a form of ritual antecedent to the well-known Late Babylonian form, it may be that in this earlier period, whenever it was, Enmešarra rather than Tīāmat was defeated by Marduk. A study of cognate mythology could be cited in support of this, for as traces of related myths of conflict are collected, it becomes clear that Tīāmat has no part in those which are attached to gods other than Marduk and are presumably from earlier stages in their history. Furthermore, while Akītu houses and rites are known from other towns and periods of ancient Mesopotamia, there is no evidence elsewhere of a battle with the Sea being part of the rites. This point must not be pushed too far, seeing that little at all is known of most of these houses and their rites. But one can suppose that, if a mythological battle had been universal in this kind of ritual, more would have survived concerning it.

On the understanding that we are dealing with the Akītu house of Babylon in Late Babylonian times, the further question may be put: How was the Sea conceived in this conflict? Physically, it was probably represented by a small dais on which Marduk's statue was put in symbol of his victory over her. The brazen sea in Solomon's temple may have had a related mythological background. Before considering an answer to the question put, it will be best to draw attention to a concept of the mythological Sea so far not mentioned. This can best be done by citing a divine pair known from two Old Babylonian god-lists and a late copy of a litany. The god is "Lord of the Sea" and his spouse "Lady of the Dead." The Sea is not personified here, but the important thing is the association of the Sea and the dead. The basis of this is presumably the cosmology previously noted, according to which the earth is resting on the cosmic waters. The shades, too, lived down below according to the common Mesopotamian view, and so the association arose, which can indeed be further documented from Babylonian, Hebrew, and early Greek texts. Thus, Tīāmat could have underworld overtones, which meant death and demons to a Babylonian. The one certain fact is that Sennacherib called his

Akītu house, which was intended to replace the one of Babylon and in which Tiāmat was defeated annually by Aššur, “the House (that Binds) Death.” This encourages us to identify a mention of “the House of Death” in a Babylonian text as the Akītu house, a conclusion for which there is other circumstantial evidence. There is other material of the same kind confirming in general the idea, but none of it is earlier than 1000 B.C. Some of the passages show Tiāmat with demonic connections, and in places not specifically related to the Akītu house Tiāmat is interpreted as “enemy.” The conclusion to be drawn from these often obscure and difficult passages is that in the Akītu house Tiāmat was conceived with underworld associations of demonic character.

The Epic has only one item of this kind—the passage where as mother of the monsters Tiāmat is called Ḫubur, the name of the underworld river. As already stated, we consider this passage to be taken over from another work. This lack of infernal overtones from the depiction of Tiāmat in the Epic can be construed in different ways. The author never equipped his universe with an underworld. When in Tablet V he refers to the common division of the gods into those of heaven and those of the underworld, he names the Apsû their dwelling. We regard this passage as his own creation. But when describing the organization of the pantheon in Tablet VI, where he depends on a current tradition, he lets “underworld” stand as the abode of the gods below. This contradiction invites the question why the author did not trouble to add another stage to his universe below the Apsû to house the shades and the underworld gods. Was he prevented by a knowledge of the connection of Hades and Sea, which was impossible after the lower portion of Tiāmat has been turned into the earth? Or was he a rank skeptic who did not believe in an afterlife? Or was he just careless? Whichever explanation is adopted, the lack of the underworld aspect of Tiāmat in the Epic at least raises doubts as to whether it was expressly written for use in the Akītu house, for which this aspect was prominent.

The epilogue (VII 145–60) leaves no doubt that the Epic was meant to serve the populace in general as a means of educating them in Marduk’s greatness. Langdon⁴⁴ expressed the opinion that this is a late addition, quoting King⁴⁵ as his authority. However, what King actually proposed was that, when the document containing the names of Marduk was added to the preceding story, these lines were added at the same time. The epilogue in his view was later than the originally independent exposition of Marduk’s names but not necessarily later than the Epic in essentially its present form. The commentary on Tablet VII, which ends with line 144, cannot be used, as Langdon did, in this connection. Its purpose was to explain the names, and these had ended by line 144. While lines 161–62 may well be a late addition equivalent to a modern title, there is nothing in the style or content of 147–60 which opposes their attribution to the author of the whole. He, after all, would have been most anxious that his work should be properly respected and used. It is closely paralleled in the epilogue of the Erra Epic, with its blessings on those who study the text and apply its teachings, its allusions to the author, and its use of *dabābu* as the *terminus technicus* for composition.

Thus, the thesis of the Myth and Ritual school must be declared unproved. There is no evidence that the author of the Epic wrote with the annual recitation before Marduk in mind, and some evidence to the contrary.

44. P. 207 of his edition.

45. STC I 111.

A further cultic connection arises from a consideration of the Bound Gods and related groups. In the expositions of the 50 names, there is a mention of the “Ruined Gods” and the “Dead Gods” (VI 151–53), deities restored by Marduk. A similar passage in VII 26–27 specifies them as the “Bound Gods.” Behind these statements, there is a cultic institution. When statues of gods became battered and worn, repairs had to be undertaken under special conditions and with special rites. Babylon was equipped to undertake such work, in the shrine of Ea within the Esagil temple complex. The physical repairs undertaken by craftsmen were not the climax of the operations, but the ritual by which the statue was revived when refurbished. It was called the Opening of the Mouth ritual.⁴⁶ The whole process was mythologized. It was assumed that the gods got their battering in a battle through which they died. Apparently, Marduk was considered the victor. Their restoration, both physical and vital, was interpreted as Marduk’s mercy bestowed upon them. This part of the theme appears in the narrative of *Enūma Eliš* where Marduk spares the gods while penalizing Qingu. It also appears in *Enmešarra’s Defeat*. Whether it existed apart from the cultic background is unknown. Obviously, the repairing of divine statues and the myth of conflict existed separately at first, and their combination is secondary. The question which we cannot answer is whether the episode of forgiveness arose entirely from the cultic setting of the myth or existed before the myth and the rites were mated. A possible connection with the New Year festival may exist, since Marduk in the course of the rites did visit a shrine of Ea.

Our discussion of the scope and purpose of the Epic will be concluded with a consideration of its prehistory and history. The question involved in the first of these is whether the text as we know it had slightly different antecedent forms. Was there an *Ur-Enūma Eliš*? The question has been answered positively by a few scholars largely to maintain an Old Babylonian date. By this means, any features plainly too recent for such a dating can be excluded, while the rest is retained. It is very difficult to consider the question in general, and no one has yet advanced a precise list of “late additions” to be excised. However, as in all such cases, conclusions can only be drawn from the text known, not from hypothetical earlier editions which no one has ever seen. On this basis, the present writer doubts the whole idea. Marduk’s supremacy in the pantheon, around which the whole Epic revolves, is unattested from the Old Babylonian period so that there is nothing to encourage the assumption of an earlier form of that antiquity. In only two cases does a study of the known text favour the idea of dependence on a previous writing. The 50 names and their expositions, as already commented, agree so badly with the author’s own story that we have to suppose that he merely incorporated them. The other case is the account of the birth of the monsters. The author presents a section which deals with eight monsters, which he twists into eleven to correspond with the number of victories attributed to Ninurta. This is achieved by including three general descriptions of the eight along with them as separate monsters. Such perversion implies that the wording of the lines does not stem from the author. This is also the section which names the mother of the monsters *Ḫubur*. Apart from these two cases, it seems to the present writer that the text as it stands came from a single hand. Of course, the author made abundant use of traditional materials, both items of mythology and thought and stock

46. C. B. F. Walker and M. Dick, *The Induction of the Cult Image in Ancient Mesopotamia: The Mesopotamian *Mis Pi* Ritual* (Helsinki, 2001).

phraseology, including even whole lines. Furthermore, there is no need to exclude the possibility of small additions since the author's time. VI 69 is a gloss from a surviving text describing the city of Babylon. Two words in IV 45 are *extra metrum* and are probably a gloss. This, however, brings us into the history of the text.

All the known copies appear to go back to a single archetype from a period later than the composition of the text. The two cases of glosses, the first of which is as good as certain, appear in the MSS from different sites, not in a selection of the evidence only. Further, there is a series of passages scattered through the Epic which are meaningless or hopelessly obscure as they stand. Some are in such a dire state that one cannot believe that the author intended them to be in this shape.⁴⁷ Again, they are attested by all the copies which contain them, not by a selection of the evidence: hence, the conclusion that all the copies go back to a single archetype which was imperfect. Probably, it was based on a damaged text that was unsuccessfully touched up. This conclusion is drawn from the mass of the copies, which were written between 700 and 150 B.C., the earlier ones in Assyria, the later ones in Babylonia. A few earlier scraps from Assyria occur, perhaps from about 900 B.C., but they are too small to do more than prove the existence of the Epic at the time of their writing. In view of the presence of two commentaries on the Epic in the libraries of Ashurbanipal, one on the whole text, the other on Tablet VII, its popularity in this period and area seems assured, as it is by the number of fragments recovered. A contrast is offered by the Gilgameš Epic, of which a much smaller percentage has been recovered from three Late Assyrian centres of writing—Nineveh, Assur, and Sultantepe. A similar estimate of the Late Babylonian tablets is impossible due to lack of definite knowledge on the origin of many of them. The Late Assyrian period was apparently the heyday of the Epic's popularity. We know that in this period it was "sung" (by local definition it was a song)⁴⁸ in the New Year rites of Babylon, and in Assyria it was honoured to the extent that a crude attempt was made to produce a revised version with Aššur substituted for Marduk. It is doubtful that this esteem persisted in Babylon itself. Two sources of Babylonian cosmology in the Greek language, Eudemus of Rhodes, a pupil of Aristotle, and Berossus, a priest of Marduk from Babylon, show no certain knowledge of it. They both present related accounts but differing in ways which reflect native tradition, not alterations in the interest of Greek readers. Eudemus' source is unknown, but since Berossus had been a priest of Marduk at his major shrine, his account presumably reflects current traditions of the Marduk priesthood. It is then remarkable that it is doubtful that he had ever read *Enūma Eliš*. While his account bears a general similarity to the Epic, in detail it frequently diverges, and at one point he is more original. When the author of the Epic broke off his episode dealing with the splitting of Tīāmat's body in order to insert an unrelated tradition of the cosmic locations of Anu, Enlil, and Ea, he somewhat obscured the sequence that the starry heavens are the upper and the earth on which men live the lower portion of the cadaver. Berossus contains this section in its original simplicity without the disturbing intrusion.

In modern times, the fundamental misunderstanding has been the common assumption that this text contains *the* Babylonian cosmology. In the very first publication of any part of the text (in

47. See the notes on I 22; I 162 = II 48 = III 52, 110; VI 64, 116–18, 120.

48. Schott had christened the Epic "Weltordnungslied," to which von Soden objected, "wo gäbe es ein Lied von solchem Umfang?" (ZA 40 [1931] 167¹), but the recovery of the Sultantepe tablet STT I 10 with *za-ma-ru šá* ⁴*marduk* adequately answers the objection.

translation, as it happened), George Smith spoke of it as “the principal story of the Creation.”⁴⁹ In the sense that it is the longest and best-preserved Babylonian text of this category, the statement is unexceptionable. But those factors do not constitute it a norm of Babylonian thinking. They merely reflect the situation that it was popular in the period when the libraries were formed from which most Babylonian literature has reached us. A thorough scrutiny of second-millennium materials of all kinds has only so far revealed traces of the raw materials from which the Epic is composed. It appears that toward the end of this millennium, the author, either starting or following a new trend among the priests of Marduk, composed a highly original work which ran counter to previously accepted opinion in most of the country. During the first millennium, the basic ideas of the Epic, though not always its particular expression of them, made considerable headway in ousting other conceptions. But tradition died hard, and even the political supremacy of the city Babylon did not result in the suppression of deviant myths. To this extent, the author failed. The traditional tolerance and mutual respect of the various cities did not completely disappear, and even in Babylon itself there were those who preferred forms of the myth other than those which our author tried to canonize.

49. *The Chaldean Account of Genesis* (London, 1876), 101.

Notes on the Texts

Notes on *Enūma Eliš*

Tablet I

- I 1–12 There is no Babylonian term specifically for creation by gods, like *bārā'* in Biblical Hebrew, but a variety of terms and circumlocutions are used, some of which occur in these lines. The verb *banū* is the most explicit and is used here in 9 and 12 to mark the positive process being described. It may have been related to *binu* “son” (BWL p. 325 on 28–38) on the Semitic side, but Sumerian equivalents for *banū* and *bunnū* (si, si₄, sig₇, mú, etc.) speak for an intransitive meaning, and “grow” is one such though “be beautiful” is more common. The circumlocutions are: (a) *nabū* and *šuma zakāru*: the name is the person, cf. Old Babylonian *Gilgameš*: *ma-an-nu-um šu-um-ka . . .* ^dGIŠ *šu-mi a-na-ku*: “Who is your name? . . . “Gilgameš my name am I” (ed. A. R. George, BGE p. 280 5, 8); also K 6606+82-5-22, 569: *at-ti man-nu šum-ki* (JSS 14 [1969] 249); (b) *šūpū* “make visible,” see CAD A/II 203b; (c) *šuzuzzu* “cause to stand” (I 141, etc.); (d) *šubšū* “cause to be” (I 144, etc.). See further the present writer, “Technical Terminology for Creation in the Ancient Near East” in J. Prosecký, *Intellectual Life in the Ancient Near East* (Prague, 1998) pp. 189–93.
- I 4 There is such a variety of spellings of what we have normalized as *Tiāmat*, both in copies of *Enūma Eliš* and elsewhere, that solid evidence for a “correct” form cannot be offered. See CAD *tāmtu* for a selection of passages and their orthographies. The length of the (first) *a* is assumed from Biblical Hebrew *t^ehôm*. A common writing is *ti-GÉME*, which is commonly read *ti-amāt*, but *ti-amtu/a/i* is equally possible: see AnOr 42⁴ no. 303. Another common writing employs PI-PI (*à-wa*). This is the common scribal conceit of writing a succession of the same sign with different values: AN-AN-AN = *an(a) ilāni*; NÍ-RI-A NÍ-RI-A NÍ-RI-A = *kīmtu nišūtu salātu*; NI-NI-lat = *ì-dig-lat*; HA-HA-HA-tum = *ʾa₄-ku₆-ku₆-tum*. Note the Seleucid period *à-wi-lu*: SBH p. 13, 19 and 21. Doubt about the value of PI-PI for the “correct” spelling of *Tiāmat* comes from the Assur exercise tablet in which *ta-à-wa-ti* is glossed *ta-ma-te* (I 23 R). The oldest evidence is Old Akkadian *ti-àm-tim* (p. 237), but note also the Old Assyrian personal name *Puzur-tí-(a)-am-tim/tí-im* (AfO Beiheft 13/14 [1961] p. 34), but this does not settle the “correct” Babylonian form or forms. The Late Middle Assyrian copies of *Enūma Eliš* offer strange forms. While in II 124 I and in IV 48 J, both offer the common *ti-amāt*, H in IV 60 has *ta-mi-a-ti* and I in IV 65 *ta-me-a-t[i]*. These are paralleled by an Old Babylonian fragment from Ur (UET VI/3 671) obv. 4:]x *ti-me-a-tim ra-pa-a[š-tim*, and by a-ab-didli = *ta-me-a-ti-m[a]*: Late Babylonian copy, BiOr 9 (1952) 89 7–8. Note also Old Babylonian *Gilgameš* (ed. A. R. George, BGE p. 200) 137: *pu-ul-ḥi-a-tim* for the late *pul-ḥa-a-ti* (II 228); BE 1 41+46: [b]e-el *ma-ti-a-ti* (Kurigalzu) and *mi-in-di-a-tu/tim* (Late Babylonian, see CAD M/II 47b. The first of these is singular, the second plural. There is no explanation of these endings so far.
- I 11 Cf. *ša i-na mil-ki né-me-qí ir-bu-ma i-na ta-šim-ti i-še-e-ḥu* (H. Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons* [Leipzig, 1889] Atlas pl. 43, Cylinder 38).

I 22 The variants here and in *Gilgameš* X 97 suggest that CAD is wrong to merge *šapû* of visual phenomena with *šabû/šebû* of auditory phenomena.

I 24 Anduruna is clearly a cosmic location here, cf. the Susa exercise tablet MDP 27 159:

[^d]utu-è-a
an-dúr-ru-na
AN-šu-ud-d[a]?
AN-lugal¹-[x]

That it follows “(Where) the sun rises” is suggestive. The last two lines are obscure. A netherworld location is suggested by its connection with Enmešarra in ABRT II 13 3: *pa-ri-is eš-bar ki^{im} mar-kás rabû^ú šá an-dúru-na* “Who issues decrees of the netherworld, great bond of Anduruna.” Sm 85 6 (hymn to goddess?): *[x ina an-dúru-na ta-ši-[m]a-a-ti*, corrected from BM 75973 rev. 6: *a]n-dúru-na bīt ta-ši-[ma-a-ti]* “in Anduruna, house of destinies” might also allude to the netherworld. Note a litany in both Old Babylonian and late copies:

ki an-dúr-ru-[na-šè] ùg-e gar-ma-an-zé-en
Old Babylonian: CLAM p. 276 54

ki an-dúr-ru-na-[šè] ú-mi-a mar-ba-an-zé-en
a-šar^da-nu-u[m uš-šá-b]u ni-ši hi-šá-nu
Late Babylonian: CLAM p. 301 94

See the whole context. Association with Marduk occurs in *Marduk's Address to the Demons* 60: *qarrād ilāni^{meš} mu-ma-²ir an-dúru-na* (AfO 17 [1954/56] 313 B 5, restored).

I 45 This is a literary topos:

am-me-ni šá ni-ib-nu-ú nu-ḫal-la[q]
PBS I/2 113 iii 8

mu-un-an-dím¹-ma mu-un-da-ab-zéḫ-[(x)]
šá tab-nu-ú la tu-ḫal-l[aq]
BWL 190 11–12

I 61–62 *tāšu elli* is the real object of all three verbs in the couplet, kept to the end to create suspense.

I 76 *apsâ* is construct state, on which the relative clause *u²addû ešrēti* hangs.

I 91 Cf. *Erra* I 23: *šu-un-^rna¹-ta i-lu-su-un*. With *ilū^{meš}-us-s[u]* of L cf. *ilū^{meš}-u-ti-ka* (STT I 65 13 = RA 53 [1959] 130); *arkā^{meš}-nu-ma, elī^{meš}-šu-nu* (BWL 192 10, 14).

I 94 This line also occurs in a Nergal *šulla* (E. Ebeling, *Handerhebung* 116 7).

I 95 Two-faced gods and demons are well known in Mesopotamian art and literature, but this seems to be the only case where Marduk has this feature. See G. Furlani, *AnOr* 12 (1935) 136–62.

I 98 The phrase *kīma šu²āti* here and in 146 below is found also in “grammatical” texts: MSL IV 199 11–12, but its meaning here is not really clear.

I 100 The meaning of *ilittu* here is not “birth” but “(inherited) character.” It is not the remarkable nature of his birth, but his own remarkable nature. Similarly in *Erra* I 24: *i-lit-ta-šú-nu a-ḫa-at-ma ma-lu-u pul-ḫa-a-ti* “their nature is strange, they are full of dread.”

I 103 It is not any ten gods that are alluded to here, but a specific group, identified with the Igigi in a list:

^d*i-šir-tum* = ^d*i-ši[r-tum]*
^d*kur-rib-ba* = MIN
^d*i-gi-gi* = MIN
 CT 25 18 rev. ii 5–7

However, *Malku* = *šarru* I 278–79 has apparently misunderstood this *iširtum* for the common noun “shrine”:

zag-gu = *i-ši-ir-tum*
 i-gi-gi = MIN
 Ed. I. Hruša, AOAT 50 p. 324

I 104 In both Sumerian and Akkadian versions Huwawa has seven “fears” to help in guarding the cedars: for the Sumerian see:

ní-te-ni diš-kam-ma mu-un-na-ra-an-[ba]
 ní-te-ni min-kam-ma (.)
 ní-te-ni eš₅-kam-ma (.)
 ní-te-ni limmu-kam-ma (.)
 ní-te-ni ía-kam-ma (.)
 ní-te-ni àš-kam-ma (.)
 ní-te-ni imin-kam-ma mu-un-na-til-la-ta
 D. O. Edzard, ZA 81 (1991) 213–18 (ll. 145, 148–49 Sippar version)

The Akkadian passages are cited in the note on I 4 above. The present writer knows no other occurrence of fifty “fears,” but “fifty” for “totality” is well attested: *nin-nu-u* 50 = *kiš-šá-tum* (MSL XIV p. 285 202).

I 118 The verb *kamû* occurs passim with reference to Marduk’s defeat of Tīāmat (II 157, III 59, 117, IV 103, VII 132). The same verb is used of Ninurta’s defeat of Anzû: *šu-ri-iḫ na-ap-ša-as-sún an-za-a ku-mu-ma* (RA 35 [1938] 21 29 = RA 46 [1952] 92 69) = [*šu*]-*ri-iḫ nap-šat-su an-za-a ku-mu-ma* (LKA 1 i 17). Similarly, gods do this to each other in the expository texts (see p. 208). This verb is a technical term in this mythology, and it appears to have its origin in Tammuz myths. Many passages could be quoted, but we cite only one:

a lum-ma á-lá-e a lum-ma á-lá-e
a-ḫu-laḫ un-nu-bi šá ik-ka-mu-u
a-ḫu-laḫ uš-šu-bi šá ik-ka-su-[u]
 IV R 30 no. 2 obv. 36–38

The Sumerian á-lá and the Akkadian alternatives *kamû* and *kasû* point to the meaning “bind,” traditional in Assyriology, but rejected in CAD for the more general “defeat.” The position of *kamû* in relation to the associated verbs in the Akkadian passages also favours “bind.”

I 127 *qí-rib-šá* implies Tīāmat as a huge body of matter so that all her helpers can meet in her: not the animal monster of Tablet V, but like the Tīāmat of Berossus.

I 129 The meaning of *immasrūnimma* remains unknown. CAD M/I 329 offers a verb *mašāru* “to move in a circle” and other meanings, but it is not convincing. Another possible case is *li-ma-aš-ra ú-šar-ka* in R. D. Biggs, TCS II 22 10, but that is equally obscure.

- I 141 The *bašmu* is only mythological, and not easily found in art. The *mušhuššu* is depicted on the Ishtar Gate at Babylon; see R. Koldewey, *Das wieder erstehende Babylon*⁴ (Leipzig, 1925) p. 47; fortunately identified in the royal builder's inscriptions, e.g., VAB IV 72 21. Since our author chose the Sumerian form *laḥama* he presumably had something specific in mind. In the *Göttertypentext* (MIO I [1953] 57ff.) several different *laḥmus* are described, but they seem not to have much in common.
- I 142 The spelling *ur-dím-me* in AfO 18 (1957/58) 110 B 10 makes it possible that the Akkadian word is always to be read *urdimmu*. A depiction of a scorpion man possibly such as conceived by our author occurs on a boundary stone of Nebuchadnezzar I (BBSt pl. xci): legs of a bird of prey, body and tail of a scorpion, and human from the waist up. A very different literary tradition of scorpion men occurs in *Gilgamesh IX*.
- I 143 = II 29 = III 33, 91 The Assur tablet I E alone reads *ku-li-li*, for *ku₆-lú-u₁₈-lu* (= *kulullû*) of the nine other copies. The Fish-man is certainly meant, not the dragonfly (*kulîlu*), and *ku-li-li* could well be an error.
- I 150 *tišbutu* is no doubt an abbreviation for *tišbut kakki*; see *The Exaltation of Ištar*: ^{g^{is}}tukul sîg-ga = *ti-š-bu-ut kak-ku* (RA 12 [1915] 75 21–22), and F. M. de Liagre Böhl, *BiOr* 7 (1950) 44 14: ^{g^{is}}tukul sîg-ga = *i-na ti-š-bu-ut kak-ki* (Nebuchadnezzar I inscription).
- I 151 *rab-sikkatûtu* here is certainly the military title, as *rab sikkati* in Lú = šá I 129–30 (MSL XII 97), though CAD under *sikkatu* B leaves open the reference in post-Old Babylonian times.
- I 159 The conjunction *innanu/na, innanna, eninna*, seems to occur only here in a text, but it is well documented in vocabularies, see CAD s.v. *innanu*.
- I 160 = II 46 = III 50 and 108 The copies, both Assyrian and Babylonian, vary between *mārē-šu/šú* and *-ša/šá*. In the context of the Epic, *-ša* is correct, but other traditions present Qingu and the related Enmešarra as operating with their own sons.
- I 162 The singular suffix on *imtuk* is incompatible with the context and the preceding *pîkunu*. A bilingual line, BA V 642 3–4, renders *ní-tuk* as *gašru*, but that is hardly admissible evidence here when *ní-tuk* normally equates *nâdu/na'âdu*. The solution lies in the readings of F here and of A in III 52 and 110: *im-tuk AŠ kit-*, where AŠ is probably the remainder of an original NU, having lost one wedge of two. Perfect sense is offered by *imtuknu kitmuru*, with the rare shortened form of the suffix, cf. *gim-raš-nu* in VII 118 I. Less probable is keeping AŠ as *ina* and adding a preceding *-nu* as lost in the tradition.

Tablet II

- II 4 The context and the variants *ip-ta-šar, ip-ta-aš-ri* and *i]p-ta-aš-ra* lead to the conclusion that the author no doubt wrote (*ip-ta-aš*)-*ru*: third plural abstract, rendered into natural English as a passive. Note the variants *iz-zak-ru* and *iz-zak-kar* in VI 48 and *iz-zak-kar* in V 152.
- II 54 It is possible to read *i taš-ši* (particle *i* and preterite expressing a wish [GAG³ §81c*]), or *i-taš-ši*, I/3 imperative. The latter need not indicate repeated action. Note *Laws of Hammurabi* §4, where the guilty party has to pay a fine (*it-ta-na-áš-ši*: once only, not repeatedly). This reflects the underlying Sumerian tradition where the future tense stating the penalty can be expressed by reduplicating the verbal root. Note Lipit-Ištar: *in-na-ág-ág, in-na-ab-su-su, mu-un-gá-gá, in-íl-íl, nu-un-du₁₂-du₁₂* (M. T. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* [Atlanta, 1990] pp. 26–32).
- II 87 = 111, 92 = 116 and 98 In the first and last *emūqu* seems to be dual feminine, but in the other case singular masculine. There may be a defect in the tradition.

- II 97 *kannû* as variant of *kunnû* is presumably “hymno-epic.” There seems to be no Old Akkadian parallel attested, but Old Assyrian would have been *kannû*; cf. *lá-qú-ú, ša-bu-ú* (AnOr 44 p. 164) and Old Akkadian would no doubt have been the same.
- II 119–20 Taking *kamāmu* as “nod” settles everything for *Enūma Eliš*, but the lexical lists (quoted in CAD under *kamāmu* and *qamāmu*) bring in *g/kašāšu* “grind the teeth,” *suḥur* etc. “dress the hair” (add MSL V 72 282–85), *suḥur-an-šè-lá* “hair on end,” and *itmû* “speak,” in which some confusion seems evident.
- II 134 *i-zu-za*, surviving only in one Late Middle Assyrian copy, I, in the context should be imperative, but *izîz* is the normal imperative, and *izûzu* the infinitive. But see V 15 and note for infinitives used as imperatives. With the latter half-line cf.

šá/marūtuk šá a-ma-ru-uk šib-bu gap-pu-šú/ga-pa-áš a-bu-ruk/a-bu-ši/si-in
AfO 19 (1959/60) 55 5, 7 (restored)

Whose stare/Marduk whose stare is a serpent, your strength massive.

The last word of this line caused no end of trouble to the ancient lexicographers; see CAD *abušim*, but acknowledging a word *abūru*, a variant of *abāru* “strength,” solves the problems. The *e-* in *emarukka* is irregular and may be a pseudo-archaism, though other forms of *amāru* in *Enūma Eliš* do not share it. But note that *rāšu* for *rēšu* occurs in a set phrase in IV 58, but *rēšu* elsewhere in this text. The word with *e-* has been identified with Berossus’ name for Tiāmat, Omor(o)ka, most recently by W. von Soden in *AHw* p. 211, but in the present context Ea is instructing Marduk how to behave in the presence of Anšar, who was upset by the turn of events. “Appease” refers to Anšar, not Tiāmat.

- II 139, 141 For the negated stative as a prohibition in *la šuktumāt* see GAG³ §81k*.
- II 151 Marduk had no famous vehicle. When in IV 50 he had been armed by the gods in preparation for the battle, the text simply states that he rode the storm chariot (IV 50), but it is not alluded to in the long section on the battle. When in V 71–72 and VI 82–100 his weaponry is praised, no chariot is mentioned. However, a bilingual hymn to Marduk’s chariot existed: *Symbolae Böhl* pp. 277–79, but not composed earlier than *Enūma Eliš* because Marduk is king of the gods, and Enlil builds the chariot for Marduk. Another, earlier, bilingual hymn about Marduk’s chariot, of which a sequence of 96 lines can be reconstructed, names Burnaburiaš as the maker, with Enlil and Ninlil as chief gods of the pantheon. Marduk is not mentioned. IV R² 12 is the major published piece.
- II 152 The author no doubt wrote *pa-nu-uš*, with ending *-uš = ina/ana*.
- II 156 Use of the participial phrase *mutîr gimillikunu* rather than a finite verb *gimillakunu utâr* results from *mutîr gimilli* being almost a technical term in mythology; see the passages in CAD under *mutîr gimilli*.
- II 158 Cf. VI 101, where also *šūturu* has an adverbial sense.
- II 159 Most of the major towns seem to have had a cultic structure called *upšū’ukkinaku* in the major shrine: Lagaš (Gudea, Cylinder A viii 14); Nippur (RLA 9 [1998–2001] 533), for which note Lamaštu I ii 17–18 (IV R² 56 ii 17–18 and duplicates): *up-šu-ukkin-na-ki šu-bat ši-tul-ti ilāni*^{meš} *rabûti*^{meš} *šá qí-rib é-kur*; Uruk (A. Falkenstein, *Topographie von Uruk* [1941], Index); Babylon (F. H. Weissbach, *WVDOG* 59 [1938] 58ff.); an Assyrian town (ABRT I [1895] 34 7 = BA V 654), and no doubt others. It was the place where the gods assembled to decree destinies. Our author was no doubt inspired by the one in Babylon, which is certainly meant in VI 162.

Tablet III

III 2 The name ^dGA-GA is glossed ka-ka in An = *Anum* I 32 and elsewhere. In An = *Anum*, as in the Sultantepe version of Nergal and Ereškigal (STT 28, *AnSt* 10 [1960] 105ff.), Kaka is the vizier of Anu. Curiously, it is also a name of Ninkarrak: TCL 15 pl. xxx 379, An = *Anum* V 146.

III 5 Restored from IV R² 12 11–12: bu-bu-lu mu-un-zu-a = *ši-te-ʿa mu-du-ú* (text describing the refurbishment of Marduk’s chariot by Burnaburiaš).

III 69–70 Parallels are:

ik-mi-si i[š-ši-iq] qaq-qa-ru maḥ-ri-šá
i-šèr i-za-z[i(-ma)] i-zak-kar-šá

Nergal and Ereškigal: STT I 28 i 28–29 = AnSt 10 (1960) 110

uš-kín-ma iš-ši-iq qaq-qa-ra ma-ḥar-šú

Poor Man of Nippur: STT I 38 73 = AnSt 6 (1956) 152 and 8 (1958) 245

ik-mis uš-kín i-ta-zi-iz x [x x]

Atra-ḥasis p. 122 3

III 127 *šibit tēmi rašú* is an attested phrase for “take a decision:” CAD R 203a.

III 129 *iggaršūnimma* with CAD *garāšu* B and **nagaršú* is to be taken as IV/1 of *garāšu*, explained in the commentary on Aa: *ga-ra-šú : te-bu-ú : ig-gar-šu-nim-ma i[l-la-ku-ni . . .]* (MSL XIV 323 4), literally rendered: “they rose up together to go.”

III 135 Cf. H. Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons* (Leipzig, 1889), Atlas pl. 43 39: *su-un-nu-nu ra-ti-šu-un*, in a context of eating and drinking, as here. The commentary here gives *sunnunu* = *malû*, and *rātu* is then best rendered “belly” with *Malku* V 7: *ra-a-tu* = *lib-bu* (LTBA II 1 xiii 122), as previously suggested by A. L. Oppenheim, *Or. NS* 16 (1947) 223³. A meaning “drinking straw” for *rātu* could be argued for, but it does not suit *malû*. The first word of the line must be *ar-sa*, a variant of *arsānu*, not *ši-ri-sa* (R. Borger, *Or.* 77 [2008] 279), to fit the meaning *mirsu* given in the commentary.

III 136 *ḥa-ba-šu* = *ina ḥabāši*.

Tablet IV

IV 4 The “command of Anu” is proverbial: *BWL* 233 1–5.

IV 11 *za-na-nu-tum*, attested only in the Late Babylonian aj, is not an acceptable form: an infinitive I/1 with abstract ending. The only other occurrence noted occurs in a Nabonidus inscription VAB IV 262 19 = H. Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon* (AOAT 256: Münster, 2001) p. 378 19, but an identical phrase in a Nebuchadnezzar II inscription (VAB IV 100 i 21) offers *za-ni-nu-ti*, which is the form of the word in the only other occurrence in *Enūma Eliš*, VI 110. No doubt the author put *zāninūtu(m)* and *zanānūtum* is a grammatical corruption. *er-šat* is attested on a alone, j offers *kiš-šá-tu₄*, and the Sultantepe K differs, but with something unintelligible and possibly corrupt. The first of these, *eršat*, alone gives sense, though the chain of constructs in the line is unusual. The sign ER could have resulted from a damaged Late Babylonian KIS̄, and it is harder to assume that KIS̄ was created by the scribe from ER on his original. But *kiššatu* “totality” or “supreme power” gives no sense.

IV 16 The verb *napaltû* seems to occur only here in a text, but it is well attested in lists etc.; see CAD.

- IV 29 The suggestion of CAD *palû* B, to assign the insigne put under *palû* A to *palû* B, “rod,” is good.
- IV 32 In Anzû the wings are carried aloft by the wind because they were feathers. Here Tiāmat’s blood is substituted because Tiāmat was no bird. In each case, the question is whether the carrying was *ana puṣrāti* (“to secret places”) or *ana busrati* (“for news”), i.e., to proclaim the victory. Anzû adds that the carrying was directed to Enlil in Ekur. No doubt there were some secret places in Ekur, but trophies (as Anzû’s wings were) were normally displayed, not hidden. Thus “news” is right. Particular sky conditions were explained as Anzû’s wings and Tiāmat’s blood. At the original events as conceived, the purpose was to convey news of the victory to Enlil in Ekur, and to Marduk’s fathers awaiting at a distance. Orthography supports this in the *Anzû Myth*:

ša-ru kap-pi a-na bu-su-ra-tim li-ib-lu-nim
mu-ti-iš é-kur a-na še-er a-bi-ka
ša-ru kap-pi a-na bu-su-ra-tim li-ib-lu-nim

Old Babylonian Susa, RA 35 (1938) 21 30–32 = RA 46 (1952) 92 70–72

ša-a-ru kap-pi-šu a-na bu-us-ra-ti lib-lu-ni
bi-tuš/mu-tiš é-kur a-na še-er a-bi-ka^den-lil

Late copies: LKA 1 i 18–19 = iii 18–19 = iii 40–41 = RA 48 (1954) 148 6–7.

A few orthographical variants occur, of which only *bu-us-ra-a-ti* and *bu-su-ra-ti* are relevant here.

The sibilant is *s* in the Old Babylonian text according to Nougayrol’s collation, and once *s* in the late copies of Anzû. In most cases the sign US/UZ occurs, which is ambiguous. The only evidence for *z* is given by the Sultantepe KMP in IV 132 below, but Sultantepe evidence is always less reliable, and ZU can of course be read *sú*. Confirmation comes from IV 133: the gods “saw” what the wind carried up and were very happy.

- IV 41 While it is possible to take *qirbiš* here as for *qirbuššu* “within it,” i.e., within the net, in 48 this is impossible, and in 65 *qabluš* clearly refers to the inwards of Tiāmat. Note also 100–102. In 48 the ending *-iš*, found in all copies, is wrong. *šudluḫu* = *ana šudluḫi* and *qirbi* is the object.
- IV 42 The author no doubt put *lā ašû mimmiša* (= *ana la ašê . . .*).
- IV 45–48 Although attested in all the copies, *šāra lemna* must be deleted as a translation gloss on *imḫulla*. Both metre and the total seven require the excision. We know of no similar list of seven winds and the variant forms of the last one attested in different copies suggest that it was not familiar to some scribes.
- IV 57 The alliteration here seems to be unique in Akkadian poetry.
- IV 58 *apir rāšuššu* is a stock poetic phrase:

ḫu-li-ia-am si-mat ši-il-ti a-pi-ra ra-šu-ú-a

Sennacherib, OIP 2 44 68–69, etc.

agâ ḫurāši si-mat i-lu-ti-šu ša ap-ru ra-šu-uš-šu

Nabonidus, V R 46 i 43 = VAB IV 264, and H. Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon* (AOAT 256: Münster, 2001) p. 604 *apāru*.

The Old Akkadian form of *rēšu* is an archaism with a long history; note in an inscription of Samsuiluna *re-ši-šu-nu* and variant *ra-ši-šu-* (RIME 4 p. 382 58).

- IV 62 The author no doubt wrote *imta bullûm* (= *ana imti bulli*).
- IV 63–64 This couplet was no doubt inspired by a traditional text such as CLAM p. 230 149:

al-di-di al-di-di é-a al-di-di
i-dal i-dal ina bītīšu i-dal

- IV 72 The well known *lullû* “man” and *lalû*, *lulû*, *lullû* “luxury,” etc. cannot belong here. The context demands a derivative of the Sumerian *lul* “untrue,” glossed *lu-u* and *lu-ul* in MSL XIV 468 118–19. A reduplicated form, like *lullû* “man”, is entirely possible and right for the context.
- IV 77 *tubbâti* is II/1 of *tebû* in its meaning of hostility, also found in *Erra* I 144: *zi-mu-û-a tub-bu-û-(ma) ga-lit ni-iṭ-li* “My appearance was aggressive, my stare fear-provoking.”
- IV 80 PBS I/1 2 ii 13 = H. Behrens et al., *Dumu-e₂-dub-ba-a* (Philadelphia, 1989) 326 61: *um-mu a-li-it-tu-uš re-ma-ša i-zé-[er]* can be restored from this line, though *i-zí-[ib]* is also possible.
- IV 86 *anāku u kâši* is correct Akkadian despite the clash in cases; see W. von Soden, ZA 40 (1931) 186¹.
- IV 92 *šu^uulu kakki* is a phrase with a long history in Assyrian royal annals in poetically phrased contexts:

ša^da-šur^{giš}kakkī^{meš}-šu^u ú-ša-hi-lu-ma
Tiglath-pileser I: RIMA 2 p. 13 36–37

ú-šá-^ua-lu^{giš}kakkī^{meš}-šú-un
Sennacherib: OIP 2 31 1 and 44 62

ú-šá-^ua-lu^{giš}kakkī^{meš}-šú-un (variant: ú-šal-lu)
Esarhaddon, ed. R. Borger, *Asarhaddon* p. 44 71

ú-šá-^ua-lu^{giš}kakkī^{meš}-šú
Ashurbanipal: VAB VII 114 43 = 190 21 = 220 8

The verb is known in Babylonian sources other than *Enūma Eliš* as *šēlu*. The uncontracted form with no *e* no doubt goes back in the phrase to Old Akkadian times probably with an Old Babylonian intermediary.

- IV 99 *i-za-nu-ma* here and *li-za-an ka-ra-as-su* in BBS^t p. 41 ii 26 seem to confuse *zānu* “sprinkle, decorate” with *šēnu* “load.”
- IV 105 Few compound nouns can be proved in Akkadian: see GAG³ §59; but the masculine in *ālik-pāni* here, referring to *Tiāmat*, is surely a proven case.
- IV 109 A difficult line. *napišta eṭēru* is a common phrase, and the *-ma* on the first verb makes it difficult to take *napištuš* as the object of both verbs. Also, the *-uš* ending on *napištu* seems to be singular, when a plural is required in the context.
- IV 116 The meaning of *milla* (lacking from a, but present or to be presumed from the spacing of all the other copies) is unknown.
- IV 120 It is commonly held that the AN before *uggê* is part of the word: see CAD *dingiruggû*; but in astrological texts, the constellation *corvus* (*uga^{mušen}*) is often twisted into the Dead Gods, commonly written ^{mul}*ug₅-ga*, but also ^{mul.d}*ú-ge-e* (CT 33 9 rev. 17 = E. Weidner, *Handbuch* p. 104). See ŠL IV/2 pp. 47–49 and JRAS 1900 574⁷.
- IV 123–26 The subject of five verbs is left to the very end of the *ištu* clauses, to create suspense.
- IV 141–46 The key to this passage lies in the last couplet, where the cosmic locations of Anu, Enlil and Ea are given chiasmically. Anu was of course assigned to heaven, Enlil to Ešarra and Ea to Ešgalla, which must therefore be a name of the Apsû. In two lexical passages, it is used for the netherworld (CAD sub voce). Of these three locations, only the middle one, Ešarra, was created by Marduk, as stated. The other two were formed out of the body of *Tiāmat*.

Tablet V

- V 2 A very similar line occurs in passage (e) on p. 177, where *tamšilu* is plural. B. Landsberger and J. V. Kinnier Wilson in *JNES* 20 (1961) 170–71 derived *lumāšu* from the Sumerian *lú-maš* “twin man” and so “replica.” Evidence was two occurrences of *lú-maš-ši* in the Ashurbanipal acrostic SAA III no. 2 obv. 37 and rev. 9, but these could be scribal conceits. Also the meaning “replica” is not proven. The Semitic origin is confirmed by the Syriac and Mandaic cognate *malwāšā* “sign of the zodiac.”
- V 9–10 Cf. H. Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons* (Leipzig, 1889) pl. 43 66: *i-na re-e-še ù ar-ka-a-ta i-na ši-li ki-lal-la-an mé-eḫ-ret 8 šāri^{meš} u 8 bābāni^{meš} aḫ-te-e-ma*.
- V 11–18 The astronomical terminology used by the author does not correspond with that of any other text. *šutamḫuru* used for both opposition and conjunction appears to be unique. And *elātu* in 11 is apparently an abbreviation for *elāt šamē*, occurring also in VII 83, but it also occurs in *The Exaltation of Ištar*: *an-ta-šār ḫé-gál:ti = ina e-la-a-tú tīš-bi* (*AnOr* 37 [1969] 484 37–38). The restoration of 17 is sure from its use in *i-NAM giš-ḫur an-ki-a* (*MMEW* p. 22 11), and since the half crown is present on the seventh day, the whole crown must be visible on the 15th day. But astronomical texts use *agē tašriḫti* for the full moon and *agū* alone for the crescent moon: see E. Weidner, *BA* VIII/4 23ff. Thus 14b cannot be read *ú-muš* “depart (with a crown)” (so E. Ebeling, *AOTU* II/4 [1921] 99), followed by B. Meissner (*SPAW* 1931 386¹) and A. Heidel. The instructions to the moon begin only in 15. A reading *ú-šir* taken as *uṣṣir* “he designed” is also impossible when *agū* here means “full moon.” Thus we opt for *šurru* “exalt.”
- V 13 *šukuttu* here probably reflects *gi(l)-sa-a = šukuttu* (A. Falkenstein, *ZA* 58 [1967] 5–10), a name of Šin (*An = Anum* III 13; *KAV* 51 obv. 12).
- V 14 See S. Parpola, *LAS* 7 rev. 10 (with comments in *AOAT* 5/1) = *SAA* X 13.
- V 15 P. Jensen in *KB* VI/1 350 compared *naḫāḫi* here with the Biblical Hebrew infinitive absolute, which often has imperatival force. Further examples of the Akkadian are *šá-ra-ki*, *ma-ḫa-ri* and *na-sa-ḫi* (see *BWL* 316 note on 32, and J. Aro, *SO* XXVI [1961] 334–35. See also *i-zu-za* in II 134 and *šub-šu-lim-ma . . . ša-ba-tu* in line 15 of the inscription from the gate of Sennacherib’s Akītu house (*OIP* 2 141).
- V 19 The syllabic use of *ina* supports the restoration given, as late copies and texts often write *inaṭtal inaṭal* (*V R* 46 54; *AJSL* 40 [1924] 191 18; *Erra* V 2 v.l.; *The Toil of Babylon* v 14; *Gilgameš* X 10 v.l.).
- V 20–21 The traces of the third sign can only be of IM, and that compels the restoration of *simti*. The point can be illustrated from Tablet XIV of *Enūma Anu Enlil* (*AfO* 14 [1941/44] 317–18), where the waning of the moon follows exactly the same stages as its waxing, but in reverse. “Shine backwards” refers to the different orientation of the moon in its last quarter as compared with its first. The verb *šutakṣubu* also occurs in VII 121. *CAD* renders it “to reach fullness,” which might suit VII 121, but here line 19 implies that the moon has reached the end of its course and should go into reverse. Thus “diminish” is a better suggestion. Here the moon is instructed to start declining, and VII 121 alludes to the phenomenon that thunder and lightning commonly cease as the heavy rain begins to fall.
- V 22 *šá-na-at* is taken for *šannât(a)*.
- V 25 Note that *[x dšamaš tum₄-ma-tú d[a-* occurs only on *Comm. I Z*, and need not be part of the Epic.
- V 46 *ma-aṣ-rat*: this shortened form of *maṣṣarāt* is paralleled elsewhere:

tam-ši-la-(a)-tum/tú šá apsî ma-aṣ-la-a-t[um ...

- VI 21–22 “Number” or “name” as the meaning of *nību* here is improbable in the context, and in view of *Urra* II 185–87 (MSL V 65): *mu = ni-[š]u, ni-bu, zik-[rum]*, a meaning “oath” must be considered. In V 109–10 and 153–54 the gods formally declare Marduk’s kingship, and that can be considered a form of oath: a solemn declaration.
- VI 33 The reading of Ej: (*ib-nu*)-ú makes the gods the creators, but this is so soon denied in 35 that *ib-[na]-a* of A is to be preferred.
- VI 43 Cf. *tuš-taš-ni-ma . . . tak-ri-iš* (AfO 23 [1970] 43 26).
- VI 58 Cf. *bára-g]a sag-sukud-sukud-da-a-ni = pa-rak-ki zu-uq-ri* (*The Exaltation of Ištar* IV 12: BiOr 9 [1952] 88ff.), apparently the only other example of this I/1 meaning “make high.”
- VI 61–66 Cf. *é-sag-íl = meḫret(gaba-ri) apsî* (*Tintir*^{ki} IV 1: BTT 58 1), which also states that Esagil is a replica of the Apsû. The remaining problem here lies in line 66, but when it is recognized that Ešarra is the lower heaven, this is resolved. Marduk was sitting in Esagil at ground level looking up to its pinnacles, which were roughly level with the base (*šuršu*) of the lower heaven, Ešarra. See also note on V 46.
- VI 69 This line is based on a topographical source, cf. 5 *gīš bára dī-gì-gì u geš’u bára dā-nun-na-ki* (BTT 68 85). It contradicts the figures in lines 41–44 above and disrupts the couplet structure of the passage. It is an addition to be excised.
- VI 71 *qé-re-ta-šú = qerētaš = ina qerēti*.
- VI 72 See V 58 and note. The scribe of c may not have intended his *na-ra-mi-ku-un* as “beloved.” It can be a late orthography.
- VI 73 *ḫi-du-ta-šu = ḫidūtaš = ina ḫidūti*.
- VI 77 The I/3 of *epēšu* here and in 83, 85 and 112 below has no iterative force. The word *taqribtu* has overtones of lamentations, which is impossible here. Thus we postulate a word *takribtu* here for a ritual of praise.
- VI 82–91 Despite the fuss over Marduk’s bow here, it is little heard of elsewhere, but note STC I 205 20: *a-na pa-an gīšqaštī-šu eḫ-ze-ti im-me-du šā-ma-mi*.
- VI 89 *išu arik* is a literal translation of *gīš-gíd-da* (for which see AfO 40/41 [1993/94] 24–28), as the commentator saw, and this is a weapon of Ninurta attested in both *Lugale* (78) and *An-gim-dām-ma* (144). However, the Akkadian for *gīš-gíd-da* given in the bilingual versions of the Ninurta epics is *ariktu*, apparently a kind a spear, not a bow. It seems that the author is adding a flavour of Ninurta to Marduk’s bow by giving it the name of Ninurta’s spear. The second name is related in that being masculine it refers back to “long wood” not to “bow.”
- VI 97–98 The gods affirm Marduk’s kingship under oath. Use of oil and water for this purpose is also mentioned in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon (ed. R. Borger, *Asarhaddon* 43 51): *ina mē^{meš} ù ì-gīš it-mu-ú*, also in the same king’s vassal treaties (*Iraq* 20 [1958] 41 155, cf. ZA 54 [1961] 179). The Mari letters also attest *lipit napištīm* and *napištām lapātum* (ARM 15 [1978] 216, also ARM 26 [1988] 526 38–39 and note) in oath taking. Dossin in ARM 2 p. 237 correctly explained it as a gesture of putting the hand to the throat, meaning “so may I be throttled if I break this oath.”
- VI 99 A comparison of *Agušaya* A v 18–19 (*iš-ti-i-ka lu na-tú an-nu-ú e-pé-šu-um*: VAS X 214) with *Atra-ḫasis* I 200 (*it-ti-ia-ma la na-tú a-na e-pé-ši*) suggests that the reading of HJ (*e-pe/pi-i-šú*) has preserved the correct final vowel: locative instead of *ana*.
- VI 101 Cf. II 158 and Ištar hymn: [*ina na*]-*ak-li né-me-qi-šu ú-ša-tir-ši zi-ik-r[i]* (G. van Driel et al. [eds.], *Zikir Šumim* [Leiden, 1982] 198 66).
- VI 116–18 This passage is hopelessly corrupt. In 116 a small insertion “for” (their gods and goddesses) would give sense, but more drastic emendation would be needed to produce sense in 117 and 118.

Also, this is a group of three lines in a context solidly of couplets. No doubt early in the transmission these lines were badly damaged and were ineptly patched up.

- VI 120 *nibbû/nimbû*: normal grammar requires *nabû*. Could *nimbêma* of 121 have influenced 120?
 VI 122 A and b took *alkatu* and *epšetu* as plurals (note also *mašla* in a), but j and M as singulars. In view of 108 above j and M are to be preferred.
 VI 125 For *šabû* see the note on I 22.
 VI 127 This draws on I 101–2, but the parallel does not settle whether *nabû* here is “shining” (as we have taken it), or is a late variant for *nabû* “called.” See VI 120 and note.
 VI 129 *šikitti nap-šu/šá/x* is a variant of *šiknat napišti*, but note [š]á-ki-it-tu nap-šá-tu (BWL 58 41). If *napšu* is accepted, it is the only masculine form of the word so far noted.
 VI 131 Cf.:

a-ga-ga ta-a-ra na-ak-ru-[tu . . .
[m]a-am-ma-an ul i-le-²i [. . .
e-ne-na ra-a-ma ru-um-ma-a [. . .
ma-am-ma-an ul i-le-²i [. . .

Hymn to Ištar as cited in note on VI 101 above, 20–23.

- VI 133 The suffix *-šú* is not required for the etymology implied (*ma* = *mātu*, *uru* = *ālu*, *tuku* = *tukultu*, *uku* = *nišu*) and seems superfluous.
 VI 137 *mer-šà-kúš* is an ordinary Sumerian personal name, a few examples of which are given by H. Limet, *L'anthroponymie sumérienne* (Paris, 1968) under *nimgir-šà-kúš*. As such it is descriptive of the character of the bearer's deity: angry at times, but relenting in due course. This interpretation is given in An = *Anum* II 192: ^d*mer-šà-kúš* = ^d*marūtuk e-ziz ù muš-tál* (CT 24 27 27 restored), as in the line under comment. This is the traditional Sumero-Babylonian answer to the problem of the righteous sufferer: though a deity may inflict what seems to be unjustified punishment on a devotee, in time the mood passes and the suffering ceases. This doctrine is shown in the excerpt quotation on line 131 above and lies behind the whole structure of *Ludlul*, which portrays it at work in the life of Šubšī-mešrê-Šakkan, and its opening section states the idea repeatedly in different words: see W. Horowitz and W. G. Lambert, *Iraq* 64 (2002) 237–45. A late Assyrian astrologer, once out of favour with the king, appended to his report a polite suggestion that this literary motif applied to him: the king had been angry, but now he had relented (SAA VIII 333). This motif also appears in the personal name Ez(i)-u-pašir “Savage but relenting”: Cassite and Late Babylonian: *JAOS* 103 (1983) 256 and CAD sub voce *pašru*, corrected by M. Hölscher, *Die Personennamen der Kassitenzeitlichen Texte aus Nippur* (Münster, 1994) 76.
 VI 147–56 The name Asalluḫi is said to have been given to Marduk by Anu in VI 147, but in VI 101 Anšar performs the same act, and though some texts equate Anu and Anšar, *Enūma Eliš* does not. Further, according to VI 157–58, Anšar, Laḫmu and Laḫamu gave three names each, which seems to imply that Laḫamu gave the three Asalluḫi names. Also, in I 89–106 where the name Marduk is first given and explained, it would seem that Anu gave it, though the wording is inexplicit. The composite nature of the Epic is of course the explanation, but a more explicit explanation can be given. The hymn to Nippurian Ištar quoted above in the notes on VI 101 and 131 has Anu, Enlil and Ea give one name each and one may suspect a tradition existed in which Anu, Enlil and Ea gave Marduk one or more names each, but *Enūma Eliš* has such an aversion for Enlil that it has substituted Anšar, Laḫmu and Laḫamu. One may also suspect that behind *Enūma Eliš* the custom was to give the Asalluḫi names of Marduk first, and the Marduk names second. This is the custom

of the Old Babylonian god-lists. Thus TCL 15 10, an Old Babylonian forerunner of An = *Anum*, has three Asalluḫi names in ll. 89–91, and two Marduk names in ll. 104–5. This suited the general organization of the list. It begins with Anu, Enlil and Ea, each with family and courtiers, and Asalluḫi, as god of the town Ku'ara near Eridu, and well attested in the third millennium under the shorter name Asar, had a prestige of tradition which Marduk, god of Babylon, lacked. But for *Enūma Eliš*, or rather the god-list incorporated, Babylon was the town that mattered most, so the Marduk names (nos. 1–6 in the sequence) precede the Asalluḫi names, nos. 7–12.

The name Asar is glossed in An = *Anum* II 188: ^dasar^{a-sa-ru}-re (CT 24 15 68), and a Šamaš-šuma-ukîn bilingual offers: ^da-asar-re = ^da-sa-re (V R 62 45). The resuming -re also occurs in *Enūma Eliš* VII 1, and Gudea (Cylinder B iv 1) offers the agentive ^dasar-re. A Late Assyrian copy of a medical incantation offers twice ^da-sa-ra (KAR 280 5–6 = BAM 324 i 5–6). Phonetic writings of Asalluḫi are: ^dasal-lú-ḫi = a-sa-lu-úḫ (Old Babylonian *Diri*: MSL XV 36 10.45; ^da-sa-lú-ḫi (Old Babylonian incantation: JCS 9 [1955] 9 33); a-sa-al-lu-ḫi (phonetic Sumerian incantation from Boğazköy: KUB XXX 1 i 21 = ZA 45 [1939] 13); I^{a-sa-al}URU×IGI [= šá^dasal-lú-ḫi] (MSL XIV 442 107). The final -l is thus only a phonetic change from the following lú: the word is asar.

The outstanding problem is the meaning of asar. Old Babylonian *Diri* writes ^dGIŠGAL×IGI = ma-ru-tu-uk (MSL XV 36 10.44), a graphic variant of the later URU×IGI, but offers no meaning. The god ^dasar occurs in third-millennium lists, administrative documents and personal names, but ^dasal-lu-ḫi has not so far been noted before the Third Dynasty of Ur, where it also appears in administrative documents, personal names and an incantation (H. de Genouillac, *La trouaille de Dréhem* [Paris, 1911], 1). Later, Asalluḫi tends to oust Asar. The meaning remains unknown. *Proto-Ea* lacks the item, *Ea* is lost, and *Aa* preserves only the last two lines of the section, and those incomplete. The second of these, quoted above, gives the phonetic variant asal. The preceding list is: nu-úr-ì-líURU×IGI . . . (MSL XIV 442 106). Some god-list entries are relevant for the restoration of this line:

d.nu-ur-ili.mešLUGAL = šu^dšá-maš
 d.i-lu-me-erASAR = šu^dšá-maš
 An = *Anum* III 248, 250 (KAV 51 rev. and duplicates)

d.nu-úr-ili.mešASAR = dištar
 An = *Anum* III 255a (KAV 51 rev. 22)

nu-ur-ì-lí^dLUGAL = [šámaš]
 min^dASAR = [šámaš]
 CT 29 45 25–26

The meaning given here is surely theological exposition, not lexical tradition, and it is not taken up in *Enūma Eliš*. In I 101–2 Marduk is *šamšu ša ilāni*.

The other element -lú-ḫi is equally obscure, though as quoted Old Babylonian *Diri* glosses it lu-úḫ. It is hardly related to ^dasar lú-KAL in the Šalābīkh Zami-hymns (OIP 99 p. 47 34) “the strong/precious one”? We venture to ask whether it might be a phonetic writing of luḫ-e. The root luḫ “purge” has a range of meanings suitable for the exorcistic activity of Asalluḫi in incantations, where he is commonly the doer, and so appears with agentive element. Thus -lú-ḫi could be a petrified writing of luḫ-e, used without regard to its grammatical origin.

- VI 149 *kima šumišūma* asserts that 149b is etymological, cf. VII 122; CAD S 112b; *mu-ni-gim* in an inscription of Warad-Sîn (RIME 4 p. 243 73, cf. *Bagh. Mitt.* 3 [1964] p. 35). *ina šumišu* is similarly used in STC I 216 7 and in a full exposition of the technique in Smith College Tablet S 3 1–2:

^dza-ba₄-ba₄ bēl mātāti(kur.kur) ina šu-me-šú q[a-bi]
ZA be-lu BA₄-BA₄ ma-ta-[tum]

JNES 48 (1989) 216 1–2

- VI 151–52 *mušneššu* takes up the sub-name only, which is used of Marduk in *Ludlul* I 27 also. A comparison of 152a and 149a confirms what the variant š]u-mi-šu-ma here suggests, that grammatically the structure of the name rather than that of the god is referred to. The identity of the name and the person in Babylonian thought means that little difference is made.
- VI 155–56 The word has to be read *nam-ru*, not *nam-šub*, a Sumerian term. Cf. ^dmu-nam-[mi-r]u in the list of Marduk names, BM 32533 (p. 151). How *namru* was obtained from the name Asalluḫi is difficult to suggest. šub for *nadû* would fit very well, since šub = *nadû* is a stock term for “casting” a spell. Might ru/ri from the formulas é-n-é-nu-ru and tu-en-né-nu-ri, etc., have been taken as the equivalent of šub?

Tablet VII

- VII 1–2 *isratu* is now explained by a fragment of a commentary, K 13866 (Pl. 38) 6: *is-ra-tum* = *ta-mir-tu*. This also fits the other occurrence of the word, in BWL 169 7. The interpretation in the Commentary is difficult to restore. a-g[àr suggests itself, but the traces do not fit gàr. The whole couplet is based on the agricultural aspect of Asare, but it is not apparent if this aspect was the real one of Asare, who would thus be a fertility god, or if an etymological play underlies it. Note ^dasar-re šá-ri-ik mēriš(apin)-tú in a prayer to Marduk in the New Year ritual (Thureau-Dangin, *Rit. acc.* 138 304); *ba-nu-u še-am u qé-e mu-deš-šu-u* ^uurqēti(šim) in a *šulla* to Marduk (Ebeling, *Handerhebung* 76 30); *n]a-din še-em u qé-[e ana] niši^{meš} di-šá-a-tú* in a Nabû hymn (B. Hruška [ed.], *Fs. Lubor Matouš* [Budapest, 1978] 84:10). The real value of SAR = *arqu* is *nissa* (MSL XIV 453 28 = 468 117).
- VII 3–4 These lines take up only the *alim* from the name (*alim* = *kabtu*, ŠL 421 4) and specify a particular way in which Marduk is *kabtu*. If there is an intended reference to a specific occasion on which Marduk’s counsel was revered, we miss the allusion. The interpretation of the name ^dasar-alim in An = *Anum* = *ša amēli* 109 (CT 24 42 98) as *šá ba-la-ti* seems to allude only to the function of Marduk which is expressed in the Epic under the name *Namtila* (VI 151).
- VII 5–6 ^dalim-nun-na is a name of Ea (An = *Anum* II 148, CT 24 14 31), and by taking the meaning “light” for ASAR, the compiler is paraphrasing an etymology in 5b. *karūbu* (= *rubû*, *Malku* I 13, *JAOS* 83 [1963] 425) could, but need not be, derived from *alim* or *nun*. Line 6 is based on a variant interpretation of the etymology presumed in 5b. This is apparent from a direct citation of the line in an expository text:

[^dasar-ali]m-nun-na : nu-úr šá ^d60 ^d50 u ^d4[0] : ASAR : x [. . .
[^dasar-a]līm-nun-na ka-ru-ba nu-úr a-bi a-li-di-šú [. . .

STC I 216 2–3, cf. p. 8

This interprets the name as “light of his fathers” (cf. *nu-úr ilāni ab-bé-e-šu* as a title of Marduk in a Nabopolassar inscription BE 1 84 i 5 = VAB IV 60), and is not based on the name itself, but on the

interpretation of 5b, where *abi ālidišu* could without much difficulty be made into *abbī ālidišu*. Thus three stages are contained in this couplet: (i) the name itself, which is certainly old as contained in the Sumerian Temple Hymns (TCS 3, line 144), (ii) the interpretation of this name in 5b, and (iii) the interpretation of the aforementioned interpretation. It will be noted that (iii) implies a theogony in which Enlil has a place.

- VII 7–8 These lines take up the agricultural theme of 1–2. For *šukūsu* see VII 72–73 and note.
- VII 9–34 Tutu occurs as god of Borsippa in the prologue to Hammurabi’s laws (iii 10ff.), and the same state of affairs can be deduced from the name of the ensi of Borsippa (bàd-zī-ab-ba) at the end of the Third Dynasty of Ur, Puzur-Tutu (see Fadhil Ali, *ArOr* 33 [1965] 536). It is clear from Hammurabi that this deity was distinct from Marduk at this time, and since Nabû was not then located in Borsippa, Tutu was evidently the traditional god of the city later absorbed into Marduk. It is not clear if deities written tu-tu/DU-DU in earlier periods (e.g., in the personal name *warad-tu-tu* in an Old Akkadian document, I. J. Gelb, *Fieldiana, Anthropology* 44 [1955] 196 12) are the same god or not. No doubt in personal names of the Old Babylonian period (see the lists of Ranke; BIN VII; VAS XVI; BE 6/1) the god of Borsippa is meant by ^dtu-tu. As a name of Marduk, Tutu occurs in the god-lists (here; An = *Anum*; K 4210; K 2107+6086; BM 32533) and in prayers (Ebeling, *Handerhebung* 10 7; 14 2 bottom; 92 11, 18 top; 94 4; 106 1; 110 26 top). In some of the examples in prayers, it is possible, though not certain, that ^dtu-tu is meant as an ideogram for Marduk. It certainly has this function in some learned personal names (V R 44 ii 6, 21 = JCS 11 [1957] 12), and in the Late Babylonian occurrences of the family name ^mga-ḫú1/ḫal-^dtu-tu, often abbreviated to ^mga-ḫú1/ḫal; see Tallqvist, *NN*. Similarly, an exorcistic text explains “the river of Tutu” as “the river of Marduk” (í[d^d]tu-tu . . . íd^damar-utu: *JNES* 15 [1956] 134 60). An expository text, RA 16 (1919) 150 12, describes Tutu as *šá me^{meš} ellūti^{meš} idū(zu)^ú*, but the basis for this is not clear. A Marduk litany (p. 156) obv. 6 gives one epithet only for Tutu: umun na-ám-ti-la = *be-lu₄ ba-la-tu*, which is lacking from the long Tutu section in *Enūma Eliš*.
- VII 9–14 Tutu is presumably a name of the type ba-ba, da-da, for which see H. Limet, *L’anthroponymie sumérienne* (Paris, 1968) 99ff. Its original meaning, if it had one, is unknown. The Epic offers only one serious etymology, in 9, based on the Sumerian (u)tu “give birth to”. Divine statues were refurbished and revived in Babylon—to which the Commentary correctly refers—and *tēdištu* is the technical term for this kind of work. K 2107+6086 21 also cites this explanation at the head of its list. While 9–10 refer to cultic matters only, 11–12 seem to allude to a mythical conflict. Probably, this refers to the myth associated with the renovation rites (cf. 26–30, 34), on which see p. 463.
- VII 15–18 With the sub-name cf. *mes zī-ukkin-na* “the hero, the life of the assembly”, the first line of a hymn in an Ur III catalogue (*JAOS* 83 [1963] 170 28). With the Akkadian rendering of the name, cf. the name of a street and gate in Babylon: Adad-napišti-ummāni-ušur (A. R. George, *BTT* 66 55). The “assembly” in the Epic is strictly that of the gods, as also in K 2107+6086 29, and the life-giving is restricted, for no obvious reason, to Marduk’s organization of them as stars.
- VII 19 The only preserved copy of the text, B, certainly has *mu-^rkil^l*, but Comm. II presumes *mukîn*, and this is no doubt correct as being a translation of zī in the sub-name. *il šá-a-ri ta-a-bi* is a rendering of tu₁₅-dū. This name also occurs as the inscription on a Late Babylonian stamp seal: ^dzī-kū, PBS XIV 710.
- VII 25–26 All three copies of the text (a, b, B) have a clear AGA, as does the list BM 32533 (twice) and the Late Babylonian seal inscription (see p. 155). Yet nothing in lines 25–32 takes up the AGA. 26a is the phrase which would be expected to interpret the name, and for AGA it has *šiptu*. The

last two forms of Tutu given in K 2107+6086 are $^d\check{s}ir-k\grave{u}$ and $^dtu_6-k\grave{u}$, interpreted as *šiptu elletu* and *tū ellu* in agreement with VII 26 and 33. $\check{s}ir-k\grave{u}$ is a well-known Sumerian term either borrowed in Akkadian as *širkugû* or rendered as *šiptu elletu* (e.g., CT 16 3 95–8), and clearly the AGA in the lists results from a graphic confusion of $\check{s}ir$ and AGA antedating the Epic.

VII 35–56 Since the name Šazu is a head-name, the god no doubt had some at least local importance before he was absorbed into Marduk. There seems to be a problem in that the present writer at least has been unable to find a single example of the name in the Old Babylonian period, though in late texts and copies it commonly occurs of Marduk. Šazu, however, must be identified with Šazi. This is clear from the exorcistic compilation, Ebeling's Gattung I, since the late edition offers $^d\check{s}\grave{a}-zu$ (*ArOr* 21 [1953] 364 54) where the Old Babylonian text has $^d\check{s}\grave{a}-zi$ (CT 44 32 vi 7). This follows $^d\acute{r}d-lu-ru-g\acute{u}$, the deified River Ordeal, which, here and UET VI 69 obv. 3–4 ($\acute{r}d-l\acute{u}-ru-g\acute{u} . . . mu-\check{s}\grave{e} mu-ri-in-\check{s}[e_{21}]$), is a title of Asalluḫi. Written in the same way, Šazi also occurs in the Old Babylonian Nippur list, *SLT* 125 rev. ii 5 = 124 viii 4 (the latter in error $^dSAG'-zi$), and J. Peterson, *Godlists from Old Babylonian Nippur in the University Museum, Philadelphia* (Münster, 2009) p. 44 no. 201. He is well known as the river-ordeal god of Old Babylonian Susa (see the indexes to MDP 22–23 and the god-lists MDP 27 53 6 and 137 1). Thus Šazu or Šazi is a name or title of the river of ordeal, who may be equated with Asalluḫi, as in the passages referred to, though in another tradition he is a separate god with wife Kiša. Litanies attest this (see p. 156), as does An = *Anum* (see p. 430), where Šazi is given as his son. This tradition in the Weidner list (p. 430) makes Idlurugu and Kiša identical with Ea and Damkina, and this would result in Šazi, the son, being identified with Asalluḫi.

The Epic presents two aspects of this god, first, under the head-name, his judicial aspects, as befits a god of the river ordeal, and second, under the sub-names (41–56), martial aspects. The latter aspect may be paralleled in late copies of a Sumerian incantation: $ur-sag\ ^d\check{s}\grave{a}-zu$ (*AMT* 83 2 13, dup. K 8211). The former aspect is confirmed by the entry in a commentary, which explains the divine weapon $^d\check{m}u\check{s}-te-\check{s}ir-\check{h}ab-lim$ (“That which brings justice to the oppressed”) as “the weapon of Šazu” ($^{g\check{s}}kakk\grave{i}\ ^d(!\ tablet\ MU)\check{s}\grave{a}-zu: AfO\ 17\ [1964]\ 313\ B^1 = AfO\ 19\ [1966]\ 115\ B\ 16$). In the Epic, this aspect is justified etymologically: $\check{s}\grave{a}-zu =$ “knower of the heart”. This interpretation in 35a with the name occurs quite frequently: OECT VI pl. v, K 12582; Ebeling, *Handerhebung* 84 15; III R 53 no. 2 14; MVAG 21 82 8; K 2107+6086 28. The whole line also occurs of Nabû in *LKA* 16 9 = *WdO* I (1947/52) 477: $^d\check{s}\grave{a}-zu\ ZU-u\ \check{l}ib-bi\ \check{i}l\check{a}ni^{mes}\ \check{s}\acute{a}\ \{la\}\ i-bar-ru-u-na\ kar-[\check{s}\acute{u}]$ (see p. 147. The *la* is a false addition resulting from a misunderstanding of *ibarrûna*, an Assyrianism, for *ibarrûni*, and the consequent wrong joining of the signs to *na-kar-[\check{s}\acute{u}]*). There is no reason to suppose that the Nabû hymn has borrowed the line directly from the Epic. The important thing in the Epic is that it is divine hearts that are so known, and the lack of specification in 39–40 as to whether human or divine offenders are meant must be made up from the previous four lines, where certainly gods are meant. There is no reason to take this as anything other than mythological, and in all probability it is an allusion to the judicial scene from *Enmešarra's Defeat* reused in Tablet VI of *Enūma Eliš*.

Šazu as victor (41–56) is justified from the etymologies of the sub-names as explained below. The allusion again seems to be mythological, for the enemies, where precisely specified, are gods. Line 53 seems to allude to the rights of the *tēdištu*, which is again mythical in overtones.

Outside the Epic, two other aspects of Šazu are known, of which the first may be purely etymological in origin: Marduk is a “remote heart”— $\check{s}\grave{a}-s\grave{u}$, a well-attested Sumerian phrase expressing profound wisdom. Note *KAR* 310 = 337a 5–6 (collated) = CT 51 105 obv. 13–14: $[^d\check{s}]\grave{a}-zu\ umun$

šà-ág-sù-da = [d]MIN *be-lum šá libba-šú ru-qu*, and K 2107+6086 28. The Akkadian phrase is used of Marduk in VII 118 and 155, but the Epic does not relate it to Šazu. The second is likewise etymological, and is implied in An = *Anum* = *ša amēli* 112 (CT 24 42 101), where Šazu is explained as *šá re-e-mi*. The Sumerian šà-zu means “midwife” (Emesal šab-zu, Akk. *šabsūtu*: see CAD), literally, “the one who knows the womb”. Cf. KAR 196 = BAM 248 iv 6–7:

én šup-šur-ta ri-mi ^dmarūtuk
^dšà'-zu' šab-su-ta-šá-ma at-ta šum-li-is-si tu₆-én

(The first word of line 7 is scribally corrupt, but the wedges can be explained as a miscopied ^dšà-zu.) *rēmu* may be “pity” or “womb”, and while the list An = *Anum* = *ša amēli* clearly obtained its *rēmu* from šà = “womb”, it may have meant it as “pity”, since *rēmēnū* is commonly used of Marduk, and is even given as his last name in the list K 4209, etc. However, it would be wrong to suppose that the name Šazu accounts for the use of this epithet with Marduk, since in Cassite-period seal inscriptions it occurs with a variety of gods.

Thus all the etymologies are based on Šazu, not Šazi. The judicial and martial aspects in the Epic may well be the original features of this deity, and the other two are probably secondary, based solely on etymological play.

- VII 35 The judicial sense of *karša barū* is clear from the context of the phrase in ABRT I 36 obv. 8.
- VII 39–40 Much of these lines is stock phraseology: cf. BWL 88 279 and 134 127 with notes.
- VII 41–56 Most of the sub-names are rendered quite literally, and many of them occur also in An = *Anum*, related lists, and in K 2107+6086 29–35. The general emphasis, on suppressing enemies, is based on rim = erím “enemy”.
- VII 41–42 Both *mušebbi tēbī* and *múkkiš šuharratu* render the name, and a third possibility, *nāsih šāpūti*, is given in K 2107+6086 30. This name is also expounded in a quite different way in K 13866 4 (Pl. 38), a small fragment commenting on an unknown text: ZI = *na-piš-tú*, SI = ^dBE (Enlil or Ea?). Line 42 seems to allude to the encouragement given by Šazu to his fathers when he undertook their defense. Cf. *mu-na]p-piš zu-mur ilāni* (Nabû hymn, B. Hruška [ed.], *Fs. Lubor Matouš* [Budapest, 1978] II 90 21).
- VII 43–56 The equations used in these lines are: suḥ = *nasāhu*, rim = *ajjābu*, gú = *napharu*, and záḥ = *hulluqu*. Others may be in play, since K 2107+6086 offers suḥ = *bullū*, which may be apposite for 45a, but it is difficult to know just where to stop the procedure. Its artificiality can be seen in the fact that the name *Esagil*, under the allograph *Ešguzi*, was explained with the same result: *bītu na-si-ih nap-ḥar a-a-bi*: [EŠ *bi-tu*], ZI *na-sa-ḥu*, GÚ *nap-ḥa-ru*, GÚ *a-a-bi* (AfO 17 [1954/56] 131 31–32).
- VII 57–69 Enbilulu and the other three names occur also in the list Sm 78+115+1078, and they can be restored with high probability in An = *Anum*. The former gives *Epadun* as a head-name, while *Enūma Eliš* makes it a sub-name, like *ḥegal* and *Gugal*. *Enbilulu*, formed of the prefix *en* and *bilulu* of unknown meaning, was an old Sumerian god of waterways and irrigation; see Jacobsen, *JNES* 12 (1953) 167–68. In *Enki und die Weltordnung* 272 he is called ^den-bí-lu-lu kù-gál íd-da-ke₄ (C. A. Benito, “*Enki and Ninmah*” and “*Enki and the World Order*” [Philadelphia, 1969] p. 100), which demonstrates the origin of one of the sub-names. So far, no connection with Marduk or Babylon can be demonstrated from texts of the second or third millennia. An expository text, KAR 142 rev. iii 19, identifies him as “Adad of Babylon” (^diškur tin-tir^[ki]). It is possible that *Enbilulu* and Marduk were identified in this way, when Adad of Babylon was absorbed in Marduk. The mentions of Adad of Babylon in year-names of Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna (*RLA* II 179, 184, 368 and

M. J. A. Horsnell, *The Year Names of the First Dynasty of Babylon* [Hamilton, 1999]) indicate that at this time he was separate from Marduk, and lived in the temple Enamḫe. However, so far there is no evidence that Adad of Babylon was ever called Enbilulu, since KAR 142 offers a description rather than a name. As a name of Marduk, Enbilulu occurs in the Emesal Vocabulary as the “Sumerian” of Marduk (MSL IV 7 43); in An = Anu = ša amēli 110 as Marduk šá pa-ta-ti (CT 24 42 99); and in an incantation (KAR 242 obv. 19 = Ebeling, *Tod und Leben* p. 159). It is also used of Nabû in a hymn to Nabû: ^den-b]i-lu-lu bēl i-k[i u p]al-gu mu-ka-šir erpēti(dungu)^{mes} (B. Hruška [ed.], *Fs. Lubor Matouš* [Budapest, 1978] II 84 11). An = Anum II 249–51 gives as Nabû’s cultivators (ab-ším): ^den-ki-im-du, ^de-MINpa₅, ^dḫé-gál (CT 24 28 58–59 restored), and since Enkimdu and Enbilulu are similar deities (D. O. Edzard, apud H. W. Haussig, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* I [Stuttgart, 1965] 59) this section is a doublet of the Enbilulu section attached to Marduk’s names. Elsewhere ḫegal appears in an incantation:

[é]n šiptu an-ni-tu ši-pat ^dmarūtuk ^dasal-lú-ḫi ^d[. . .
^dsirsir ^dtu-tu ^dḫé-gál u ^dnin-girima iq-bu-nim [. . .
 K 8104 5–6

VII 57 en = bēlum, lu-lu = duššū, bi = šunu.

VII 61 A fragment of a lexical god-list, BM 45754 (Sh 81-7-6, 168) has the line: ku-[gal] ^de-pa₅-dun = [š]u (rev. iii 6). *Urra* XXII supplies the meaning of this atū : pa₅-a-dé-a^{e-ta-a} = pal-gu me-e ub-lu (MSL XI 28 8 10).

VII 64 A reading *be-rat* is proposed by von Soden (*AHw* bērtu). However, *miṭirtu* is still a good word for “canal”, cf. K 3366 rev. 10: nārāti^{mes} mi-iṭ-ra-a-ti bi-ra-a-[ti and Borger, *Asarhaddon* p. 91.

VII 70–77 Landsberger has written on Sirsir in *WdO* I (1947/52) 362–66 and MSL III 106 125 with note. The sign is most commonly composed of BU.BU.AB, which P. Mander, *Il pantheon di Abu-Šālabikh* (Naples, 1986 p. 6 48) reasonably takes as logogram AB with gloss sír-sír. The sign-forms vary. The oldest, in the Šalabikh god-list (OIP 99 82 iii 4), is ^dBU×AB, which is also Old Babylonian (TCL 15 pl. xxvi 100) and Late Babylonian (*AfO* 17 [1954/56] pl. xxvi K 3275 10 restored from BM 61552). But ^dBU+AB is Old Babylonian (MVAG 21 33 rev. 17) and Late Assyrian (Sm 706 i 6; IV R² 25 i 32). But note the variants ^{SUD}SUD+AB (Late Assyrian *AfO* 17 [1954/56] pl. xiii K 3275 10; KAR 310 = 337a 7), though the Late Babylonian duplicate CT 51 105 15 has a homogenized ^dBU×AB; ^dSUD, Late Assyrian, KAR 125 obv. 5; ^dMUŠ×AB, Late Assyrian, K 8104 6, cited in note on VII 57–69 above. Sirsir appears first in the entourage of Ea (TCL 15, loc. cit.), and this is maintained in An = Anum II 332–33:

^dnin-sirsir = má-laḫ₄ má-gur₈-ke₄
^d.minmá-laḫ₄ = MIN
 CT 24 30 116–17 (restored)

The prefixed nin- makes no difference, and the sub-name is that used with Sirsir as a name of Marduk. Two other occurrences of Sirsir as a god in the circle of Ea are IV R² 25 i 32 (má-laḫ₄ NUN^{ki}-ga-ke₄) and ABRT I 75 8 restored from Sm 706, cf. ZA 23 (1909) 370. Another example is, probably, in Marduk’s Address, *AfO* 17 (1954/56) 312 10, see p. 247. A later concept made him an aspect of Ea: An = Anu = ša amēli 141 (CT 24 43 130) and CT 25 48 12: ^dnin-sír-sír = ^dé-a = šá ^{li}ma-la-ḫi/má-laḫ₄). By another development, he became a name of Marduk, as in *Enūma Eliš*, probably in An = Anum, and in STT 341 12 = AnSt 20 (1970) 112 (^ds[irsi]r ^dmarūtuk ^{li}má-laḫ₄ tam-tim). The final development occurred when, just as Marduk had borrowed the name from Ea, so

Nabû took the name from Marduk, so that in a hymn his eighth name is ^d*sír-sír-ra tar-bit* ^d*qin-gu* (see p. 148). While this is the latest development, the information offered may be very old. As shown in the note on 103–8 below, Qingu is a name of Marduk, and one of the other names of the group has a sub-name Malaḥ! The group is clearly taken over from the pantheon of Eridu, as is Sirsir, and the name in the group to which Malaḥ is appended, Irugu, is said in *Enūma Eliš* to have won a battle against creatures in the Sea.

The mythology of this section is not necessarily all of one piece, and the couplet 72–73 seems an intrusion, like 37–38. With 71 two lines of Marduk prayer may be compared: *ta-mi-iḫ áš-ri u k[i-gal-li . . . , šá-li-lu ta-ma-a-[ti . . .* (VAT 14090 rev. 6–7). Line 74 may rest on etymology: BU-BU = *etebburu*, AB = *tāmtu*, though the same wording occurs in 128 under the name Nēberu, also from the root *ebēru* “to cross”.

VII 72–73 Cf. 8 above. *šukūsu* can mean either the turban-like head-gear of a deity, or a kind of field. CAD under *mērešu* A 1c renders: “to whom have been granted the cultivated field, the *šukūsu*-field, the furrow.” This however ignores the parallelism of the line. “Hair” and “headdress” are excellent parallels, and descriptions of the persons of deities which identify the parts of the body with (to us) various unexpected things are not rare: see MMEW ch. 3.

VII 76 For other occurrences and meanings of *ši lū kīam*, see ZA 42 (1934) 54⁴; MSL IV 61; and WdO I (1947/52) 364¹⁹.

VII 78–83 The group Gil, Gilima, Agilima, are only phonetic variants of the same name, like Marūtuk, Marukka, and Marutukka. The order is doubtful. That which is adopted here is attested by part of the MS tradition (E), but the other part of the tradition (K) and Comm. II has Gil, Agilima, Gilima (I has ^d*gilima* twice; see the photo). Ehelolf’s *Wortfolgeprinzip* (LSS VI /3) and etymologies can be cited in favour of our choice. The only other list which certainly had this group is An = *Anum*, but the lines are too damaged for the order of the last two to be certain. This name is little known outside the Epic and related lists. In a Hittite succession myth, a god written ^d*a-gili(m)* occurs; see H. G. Güterbock, *Kumarbi: Mythen vom churritisichen Kronos* (Zürich, 1946) 36–37. This is certainly the same god, but it is doubtful whether Marduk is meant in the context, which is unfortunately not complete. An exposition of the name Esagil gives *bitu narām* ^d*marūtuk* as one rendering, by which *-gil* = Marduk (AfO 17 [1954/56] 132 4). The *Founding of Eridu*, line 17, names the creator of the earth Gilimma in the Sumerian and Marduk in the Akkadian. No doubt ^d*mi-il-ma* = ^d*marūtuk* in a late list (CT 25 35 obv. 5 = 36 obv. 4) is a phonetic variant of the same name.

The god’s attributes are arranged by name. Under Gil, he provides agricultural plenty, for which there is no obvious etymology, unless perhaps by interchange of *l* and *r* Gili was connected with *karū* “corn heap”, for which the Sumerian is attested as *gu-ur*, *gu-ru*, *ku-ru*, and *ka-ra* (MSL III 112 172; MSL XIV 61 806–7 and 188 221). Mythological allusions occur under Gilima, the first of which, in 80a, is etymological. The “bond of the gods” is the cosmic rope which held together the parts of the universe, elsewhere called *durmāhu*; see V 59 with note and VII 95–96. *gili(m)* = *egēru* “twist”, and the divine name was taken as “the twiner”, he who twined the reed strands of the cosmic rope. Note *gi-gili(m)* = *ṭur-ri* and ^{si}*dur-maḥ* = ŠU-ḫu (*Urra* VIII 180, 186: MSL VII 19). The making of an ordinary rope is the subject of an incantation: [*ka-i*]nim-ma *gi-gilim dū-dū-a-b[i?]* (STT 198 49–62). The use of the cosmic rope to descend from heaven is referred to in two incantations: *Maqlū* III 33: *ṭur-ri šab¹-ta-nim-ma ul-tu šamê^e ur-ra-da-ni* “holding the (cosmic) rope they descend from heaven” (*šab-* is an emendation of STT 82 UT-); and *Ugaritica* V 17 rev. 20: [*išāt m*]e-ḫu-ú *išāt qabli iṣ-bat ṭur-ra ištu šamê^e ur-da* “[Fire of] storm, fire of battle, seized the (cosmic) rope, it descended from heaven”. CAD *ṭurru* A knows the passages, but fails to give the right

meaning. Against this background *kīnāti* in 80 is better taken as physical “firmness” rather than ethical “truth”. Whether *ba-nu-ú ki-na-a-tú* in Thureau-Dangin, *Rit. acc.* 143 397 (said of Marduk) should be taken in the same way is not sure. Line 81, however, which is lacking from the related god-list, offers a totally different interpretation of “the bond of the gods”. Here it is taken not as a stabilizing cable, but as a restraining fetter, no doubt alluding to the Bound Gods, on whom mercy is shown according to 81b. The phraseology of 81a is paralleled in Assyrian royal inscriptions, where it is used to describe the binding of enemies: *ina rap-pi lu-ú-la-iṭ* (Tukulti-Ninurta I, RIMA I p. 244 30); *rap-pu la-ṡ-iṭ la ma-gi-ri* (Sennacherib, OIP 2 23 8). In 82, the verb *ašāru* requires *šalgu* rather than *raggu*, since *ašāru* is something done to a thing under one’s control, or to a being who accepts one’s authority, not therefore to enemies or disobedient. There are likewise two possible senses of *agū*, “crown” or “flood”. While the latter might seem at first glance preferable as a parallel to “snow”, it is very doubtful whether *nasāhu* can be used with “flood”, while “snatch off the crown” is an obvious possibility. Also Comm. II: GIL = *a-gu-[u]* is probably based on “crown”, since GIL-sa = *šukuttu* “jewel”. What, then, is the crown that Agilima snatches off? Probably it is the snow-cap of mountains, and in this sense Agilima is god of summer heat. An etymology may underlie this: *aga-í*. Line 83, which is lacking in the god-list, is in contrast mythological. The first half alludes to the creation by Gilima as known elsewhere from the *Founding of Eridu*, though nothing in that text parallels the second half. The variant of I, “clouds”, we reject in favour of “earth” offered by K and Comm. II (cf. CT 11 31 28a IM = *er-še-tú*). This is a better parallel to establishing the heights of heaven, and “clouds” can be explained as a correction aimed at introducing something climatic to match the first line of the couplet, 82.

VII 78 Cf. IV R² no. 3 obv. 13–4: *gur₇ dub-dub-b[u = muš-tap-pi-ki ka-re-[e; KAR 256+297 obv. 5 = Ebeling, Handerhebung 152 5 = BM 134774 obv. 5: muš-tap-pi-ik ka-re-e.*

VII 84–85 Zulummar is a name of Ea: ^dKA^{zu}-lum-GAR^{mar} = ^dé-a (CT 25 33 16), cf. also *Theodicy* 277 and commentary (BWL 88). *zú-lum* is the Sumerian “date” and *gar/mar* indicates a process in date culture, Akkadian *šakānu* (MSL I 200ff.). Cf. ^{giš}gišimmar¹ *zú-lum¹ gar-gar-ra-da* (PBS I/2 112 iii 85 = *ArOr* 21 [1953] 397, collated). “Tithes” is a possible translation of *eš-re-ti*, but *paqādu* suggests more strongly the usual “shrines”.

VII 86–87 The total number of names proves that either Mummu or Zulummu can be the 34th name, but there is no room for both in the list. Internal considerations are indecisive. The position of Mummu at the beginning of the line favours it, but it is really an epithet (see p. 219), not a name. Zulummu, in contrast, is a real name, and its being introduced by *šanūš* marks it as the first (and only) sub-name of Zulum. But its position at the end of the line is a serious objection. The secondary evidence is equally divided. The god-list certainly took Mummu as the 34th name, since the line with Zulummu is missing. However, Comm. II begins 86 without citing any name, which is always done when a fresh name occurs. Clearly it did not take Mummu for the name. In our opinion the god-list is to be preferred and 87 is perhaps a secondary addition reflecting a variant tradition.

Line 86a expresses the meaning of the name, but 86b bears no observable relation to it. The variant in the god-list, *mu-še-šib*, suggests the reading *pār-si* “refugee”. The root does express social exclusion: *par-sa-ka ina āli-ia* (STT 65 19 = RA 53 [1959] 130); *par-sa-ku-ma ni-ṡ-lu ul a-mar- . . .* (*AfO* 25 [1974/77] 42 63); *né-su-ú* [. . . , *ki-ma na-da-*[. . . , *par-su šá ul x* [. . . , *ru-ú-qu a-KAL x* [. . . (K 6928 + Sm 1896 obv. 13–16). The care of refugees is elsewhere attributed to Šamaš (BWL 320 71).

VII 89–90 An etymology underlies this couplet: “destroyer of the seed of the sea”, though how *giš* and “destroy” were equated is not clear. The name seems to occur elsewhere only in the list BM 32533.

- VII 91–92** Zarpānītu bears the name ^dnin-ab-dubur in Sm 1720 (CT 46 50, now joined to the rev. of K 2107+6086) 7. According to *Ea* V 104–5 (MSL XIV 400 6–7) the word dubur can be written either 𒄩𒍪𒍪 (BIR, dubur) or 𒄩𒍪𒍪 (dúbur). The former writing is attested in Old Babylonian (^dšà-dubur-NUN: TCL 15 pl. xxv 65), but apparently not later, where 𒄩𒍪𒍪 is known in both Middle (CT 24 23 131) and Late Assyrian (CT 24 6 36 and 25 17 37). However, in late copies 𒄩 + U also occurs (all MSS. and Comm. II here; CT 37 24 iv 24). The pronunciation is assured by the gloss du-bur in *Ea* V; CT 24 6 36; CT 25 17 37; CT 37 loc. cit.; BM 45639 obv. ii 14; MSL IX 150 32a. The meaning is *išdu*, partly restored in *Ea* and Comm. II. We have restored the name Lugalabdubur in K 2107+6086 6–7, where the analysis is: lugal-ab-dù-bi, “king of all the seas”. Line 91 presumes lugal-ab-dù-bir, and 92 is based on the literal sense of dúbur, “foundation”. The phrase *rēši u arkati* is used in 92 to render *kunsaggû*, see the note to 127 below. It seems that 92 expresses the same sense as 127a, though it bears little relation to the name under which it appears, and its absence from the god-list is significant.
- VII 93–94** 93a translates the name quite literally, as is done in K 2107+6086 5, and 94b is probably referring to an interpretation of pa₄-gal as *aḫu rabû*. Note *a-šá-red nap-ḫar bēle*^{mes} (VAB VII 276 2) and SAG.KAL *nap-ḫar bēle*^{mes} (LKU 30 4). For *gú-en-ne-er = ina napḫar bēlē* in *An-gim* see Falkenstein, *AnOr* 30 136⁹.
- VII 95–96** Line 95b renders the name literally, 95a more freely. 96a is probably playing on DÚR = *šubtu*, as taken in Comm. II. We have restored the name in K 2107+6086 8, where DUR was taken as *riksu*, “totality”. Lugal-dúr-maḫ is an Ur III personal name.
- VII 97–98** The list BM 32533 has ^da-DU-Ú-nun-na, but the reading of the first element a-rá is reasonably assured (see ŠL 579 237), so the list must be in error. A Sumerian incantation offers what is probably the earliest attestation of the name:

^da-rá-nun-na ^da-rá-nun-na
gá-e lú ^da-rá-nun-na
níg-nam-ḫul-dím-ma nam-ba-te-gá-e-dè tu₆-én
KAR 88 frag. 5 obv. 13–14 = KAR 76 obv. 26–28 = STT 215 iv 6–7 =
AMT 29 4 ii 1–2 = AMT 47 3 iv 17–18 = BM 134574 13–14

Aranunna, Aranunna,
I am the man of Aranunna,
Any kind of evil-doing, you shall not approach me.

The last three copies lack the divine determinative here, but the first two have it. This is probably an indication that in origin Aranunna was an epithet, not a name. Its meaning is no doubt “counsellor of the noble”, Asalluḫi being the counsellor and Enki the noble. As a name of Marduk it also appears in the lists K 4210 and K 2107+6086. In late times, it was taken over by Nabû, and occurs in a list of his names, C. Adler and A. Ember, *Oriental Studies . . . Paul Haupt* (Baltimore and Leipzig, 1926) 213 obv. 9. The Commentary on 98 so takes it, and a list of gods and offerings from the time of Nebuchadnezzar II lists Marduk and Nabû under the names ^dlugal-dím-me-er-an-ki-a and ^da-rá-nun-na (TMHS II/III 240 8 and 34). Line 97a is no doubt correct interpretation of the name, but 97b is such an absurd statement that something specific must have suggested it. Probably a-rá was analysed as a-ri-a = *reḫû*, and nun-na was taken as plural. This is paralleled in K 2107+6086 20, where nun-na is interpreted as Enlil and Ea, and the Commentary on 97 also mentions these two gods. A similar phenomenon of a multiplication of ancestors occurs in 5–6, on

which see the note. 98a contains a third exegesis, as rightly set out in Comm. II. With the Commentary on 98 cf. SAA VIII 312 3: *ina ta-lu-ki-šú un-de-eṭ-tu*.

VII 101–2 The only copy of the text to contain the name, I, has a clear ^dlugal-LA-an-na, but the other list which contains the name has equally certainly ^dlugal-šu-an-na (Sm 78+115+1078), and this latter form must be restored in K 2107+6086 9, since *bēl bābili* and *mūddiš bābili* are two of the interpretations. Also, a bilingual hymn to Marduk's chariot writes ^dlugal-šu-an-na in the Sumerian for ^damar-utu in the Akkadian. See the note on II 151. In many Late Assyrian hands, ŠU and LA are easily confused signs, so I must be emended. The etymology following confirms this, cf. *šu an-na-ke₄ = šá e-mu-qa-šu šá-qa-a* (CT 16 14 10–13 = J. Friedrich et al., *Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf* (AfO Beiheft 6) 99 3–6. 102a also etymologises. The reading of I, which is adopted in our text, takes AN as the divine name, while that of K, *emūqān šīrāt*, takes AN as the adjective *šīru*. This attestation of different etymologies in different copies is an important evidence of recensional activity. The lack of 102 from the god-list raises the question whether it is not an insertion at some stage in the development of this list. The second half reads strangely. *šá šu-tu-ru* is peculiar, and *ni-bu-ut an-šár* is probably based on *šu* (sa₄) an-na (cf. p. 141), but *nibīt* would be the usual form.

VII 103–8 The names Irugga, Irqingu, and Kinma are a group, as is apparent from their occurrence together in that order also in An = *Anum*, and in Sm 78+115+1078, though in both of these lists there is some restoration. Another list, BM 32533, offers the first two without the third. Probably they are three names of one original god absorbed in Marduk. Outside the lists, he occurs in an incantation as: ^dir-qin-gal a-pil aṣṣî (KAR 76 obv. 12 = ArOr 21 [1953] 403) with variants ^dir-qin-[gá]l aṣṣî Z[U.AB] (KAR 88 no. 4 rev. right 2 + join) and ^dir-qin-gi [api]l aṣṣi-i (K 8215+9255 16–17). The same god is probably meant in the enigmatic fragment K 2768 rev. (?) 12: . . . imin'-n]a²-bi ki-šit-ti ^dkin-gal.

The first aspect of the god dealt with, in 103 and 105, is his victory over some things in the Sea and over Qingu. The passage in K 2768 no doubt refers to one of these victories, if indeed two separate episodes are alluded to. Etymologically, the matter is made to rest on *ir* = *šalāhu*, a reputable equation. In 103 the second element, *ug*, “die”, is explained without etymology as relating to Sea. *Tiāmat* and *Death* are connected elsewhere (see p. 462), and the interpreter may have taken these beings as the Dead Gods. A marine connection is confirmed by the use of *Malaḥ* as a sub-name of Irugu in Sm 78+115+1078. The second aspect of this god is his wisdom, as expressed in 104, apparently without etymological basis. A “son of the Apsū”, as he is called in the incantation, must be wise. In 106–7 he appears as a vizier. It is uncertain if this bears on the wisdom, though certainly viziers are wise. No doubt this deity was a vizier within the pantheon of Eridu. An etymological basis of this aspect is given in 106: *ir* = *wabālu*, *kin* = *tērtu*, *gú* = *napharu*, and from this it is obvious that 107 presumes the exposition: *kin* = *mu²uru*, *gú* = *napharu*. Thus the exposition presumes the names: Irugga, Irqingu, and Qingu. However, the last name appears as Kinma. This could have been achieved on dialectal grounds: the Emesal of Kinga would be Kimma. Or the last sign of a writing ^dkin-gá could have been assigned the value -mà quite deliberately. The reason for the change is obvious. Qingu was in one tradition an enemy of Marduk, not one of his names. What at first sight seems an astonishing fact, that Qingu is a name of Marduk, is confirmed on a Late Assyrian tablet, where Nabû is called “offspring of Qingu” (see p. 148).

The first lines of each couplet distribute the conquests to the god under his names Irugga and Irqingu, and his vizierial attributes to him under the name Qingu. The second lines of the first two couplets, 104 and 106, mix the various aspects within the exposition of each name. Certainly 104 and 108, and probably 106 too, were lacking from the god-list. This short form seems the more original.

- VII 105 The variant *a-bi-iš/ka*, the latter in the god-list, is scribal, since *iš* and *ka* are signs easily confused in many Neo-Babylonian scripts. The Sultantepe reading *a-a-bi-iš* (K) is probably an attempt to make something meaningful out of *a-bi-iš*. The word offers a good grammatical construction: “in the . . . of battle”, but, if correct, the meaning is unknown. *a-bi-ka* is little better: “who carries off battle”.
- VII 109 The temple Esiskur was the Akītu house of Babylon: Streck, *OLZ* 1905 330ff.; Pallis, *The Babylonian Akītu Festival* (Copenhagen, 1926) 110ff.; E. Unger, *Babylon* (Berlin, 1931) 159ff.; *bit ikribi* is of course a rendering of the name.
- VII 111 Since Marduk must be the subject of *imaḥḥarūni*, the *-ni* looks like the Assyrian subjunctive particle. So far, the line is known from Assur and Sultantepe copies only, and it is lacking, with the whole group of lines 110–14, from the god-list. 112–14 in particular lack any connection with the name in 109.
- VII 114 *i-ad-da* (note variants) is probably a I/1 developed from the II/1 *uwaddi*, *u’addi*. Comm. II derives it from *idû*, and the variant of Comm. I Z, *i’-lam-ma-ad*, leaves the meaning in no doubt. Cf. *i’-ad-du-ú* (K 10817+11118); *i’-a-di-ma* (*AfO* 19 [1959/60] 52 156); *ia-ad-x* [(Rm 221 col. B 3).
- VII 115 Girru, as the Babylonian Vulcan, might be expected to harden or sharpen weapons, but the meaning of *a-ZA-AD* is unknown.
- VII 117–18 These lines are irrelevant in the context, and are lacking from the god-list.
- VII 119–20 *murtašnu* is an epithet particularly of Adad (*CAD* sub voce), and the verb is used of him in *Erra* I 115. Note also K 10270 8–9: *ud íb-ba-ru-ru-gú = u₄-mu mur-ta-aš-nu*, which seems to describe Anu, Enlil, and Ea. The basis for connecting Marduk and Adad is not clear. A connection of Marduk and Adad can be deduced from an Old Babylonian seal inscription whose owner is described as *ir^dasal-lú-ḫi ù^diškur* (*Collection de Clercq* 233), since pairs of deities joined in this way usually have some quite specific relationship.
- VII 121 The explanation of *mummu* in the Commentary comes from *Diri* I or a related source: *mu-mu-un = KA×LI.KA×LI = rigmum* (MSL VIII/1 21 note on 157–58; MSL XV 13 30; 69 51; 106 56). No doubt this is the correct explanation of the word in the text here, which is therefore unrelated to the other *mummu* occurring in the Epic. *šutakšubu* occurs in V 20, where the context seems to impose the intransitive sense “diminish”. Here it may also have an intransitive sense, but Comm. II by citing *malû*, which is not in the text, evidently equated the same Sumerian sign with this and *kāšibu*, so making them approximate synonyms. According to this *šutakšubu* will mean “fill”, and in the context this is a possible meaning.
- VII 127 The reading of *kun-sag-gá* in this passage is settled by the Commentary: *kun-sag-gu-ú*. On the basis of *Igituḫ* I 330: *kun-sag-gá = muḫ-ru* (ZA 54 [1961] 98²⁴), and passages in *Inbu Bēl Arḫim* where either *kun-sag-gá* or *muḫru* occur (*JNES* 20 [1961] 173), Landsberger chose to read *muḫru* here, but the evidence of the Commentary is not overridden. Also, the contexts of *Igituḫ* and *Inbu Bēl Arḫim* refer to cultic structures, but here something cosmic is meant. Both commentaries interpret the word as “front–rear”, but this is only a free translation of *kun* = “tail” and *sag* = “head” of no particular weight, though there may be an allusion to this in VII 92. The earliest mention of the cosmic *kun-sag* occurs in the statue inscription of one of the Kurigalzus:

lugal^d nè-iri₁₁-gal-ra kun-sag kur-ra ki^d a-nun-na-ke₄-ne
te-gá^d en-líl^d nin-[líl-bi . . .

Sumer IV/1 (1948) 33 iv

For king Nergal Enlil and Ninlil [. . .] the kun-sag of the mountain,
where the Anunnaki draw near.

The mention of Nergal and the Anunnaki suggests that here the *kun-sag* is associated with the underworld. According to *Nabnītu* VII 287 (MSL XVI 113) *kun-sag* = *si-mil-tu ša gi-gu-né-e* “staircase of a temple tower”. In this sense STVC 60 obv. 17 must be interpreted: *kun-sag é-kur-ra si-sá-a* “the staircase of Ekur is in good order” (so Å. Sjöberg, *Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen* [Stockholm, 1960] 117 19). The passages in *Inbu Bēl Arḫim* may also have this sense, though the contexts do not settle the matter. In *Enūma Eliš*, a cosmic staircase joining heaven and underworld fits very well, since it must be central in the universe. Such a cosmic staircase is mentioned in *Nergal and Ereškigal: arkat simmelat šamāmi* (*AnSt* 10 [1960] 124 42’ etc.), as the means of transit for deities passing from heaven to underworld and vice versa. Other passages with *kun-sag-gá* are Langdon, *BL* p. 39 21, where the late copy (K 10378, *ibid.* pl. xxi) has *kun-sag-gá*, but the Old Babylonian text (VAS II 8 i 19) has only *kun*; also K 13940 offers *kun-sag-gá*. Since *kun*₄ (I.LU) and *kun*₅ (TUR.ŠÈ) both equate *simmltu* (*AfO* 12 [1937/39] 55–57) it seems that *kun* (however written) is “staircase” and *sag* in this combination an epithet “foremost”.

It is possible to take *šu-nu* as a suffix on *kunsaggī*, but cf. VI 132. The I/1 of *palāšu* here is unexpected, and in VI 132 the IV/1 is used. The occurrence of a lexical excerpt in Comm. II to explain it shows that it caused the ancient commentators concern. However, the text is not completely certain. *palsūšu* is supported by two copies of the text (b); *pal-ru-su* of g is no doubt an error) and two copies of the Commentary in their citation of the line (VZ). But the interpretation of the Commentary presumes part of a verb *labāšu* = *labān appi*. However, probably *la-ba-šu* is an error for *ba-la-šu*, so that the commentator is merely interpreting *palsūšu* as *balsūšu*.

- VII 128 *la na-ḫi-iš* is taken here as *ina lā nāḫi*, but others prefer to assume a crasis of *lā anāḫiš*, cf. *Lugal-e* I 3a: *nu-kúš-ù* = *la-ni-ḫu*.
- VII 130 We prefer *li-kin-ma* with g and Comm. II, but *li-ki-il-lu* (b) “let him(!) hold” is certainly possible.
- VII 133–34 As between *lissēma* (ab) and *liššīma* (B), the former is certainly to be preferred, since *nesū* and *rēqu* occur together elsewhere (*BWL* 304 31, 32). Marduk, rather than Tiāmat, is the subject: his binding of Tiāmat, like his crossing the Sea, continues for ever.
- VII 145 The reading of C (*]-ṣab-tu-ma*) leaves no doubt that the verb is plural, and no doubt the fifty names are the subject.
- VII 149 The reading of abf, *la ig-gi-ma*, is to be taken from *egū*, which is regularly construed with *ana* of the person against whom the offence occurs. The reading of B, *li-ig-gi-ma*, can only be from *nagū* “rejoice”: “let him rejoice in Marduk”.
- VII 153 Cf. *Ludlul* I 15: *ik-ke-lem-mu-ma i-né-es-su-ú^dlamassu(lama) dšēdu(alàd)*.
- VII 157–58 Cf. BA V 595 11–12:

[*ana kul*]-*lu-me ad-na-a-ti a-ḫur-riš lu-up-ti*
 [*lu-še*]-^r*e¹-zib taḫ-sis-tu a-na še-me-e ar-ku-ú-ti*

The couplet of the Epic alludes to its author as *maḫrū*. In the *Erra Epic* V 43 *dabābu* is also used of composition, and here the suffix on *pānuššu* must refer to Marduk, but the exact implications of *idbubu pānuššu* are not clear. Literally, it might be understood as “spoke before his statue”. *pānuššu* might perhaps be taken as “at his prompting”, meaning that the Epic was composed at Marduk’s prompting, but this is uncertain.

- VII 160 The Sultantepe *šu-nu* (J) is not to be preferred to the well-written Late Babylonian tablets a and b, which are both incomplete, but b has clearly a rubbed *šu-um*, and the traces of a agree.
- VII 161 Von Soden proposed to read the first word *ma-šiš-tum-ma* in OLZ 1958 228 and *AHw*. Cf. the mythological almanac, *STC* pl. lxxvii 3.

Notes on the Other Texts

Enmešarra's Defeat

- i 3 The meaning of *markasi dunnunu* is not really clear. Could it refer to adjustments to military equipment such as belts?
- i 5 cf. i 15, ii 8, 15, iii 24. *ud diš* is taken as *ūma ištēn* and rendered “quickly” with R. Borger, *Asarhad-don* p. 29, note on 43. This makes sense in all the passages, while other readings such as *ud-diš* or *par-diš* are unsuitable in some or all of the passages.
- i 6 *i-na-āš* is late for *inašši*.
- i 7 *i-ḫe-di* “rejoicing” is a possible reading, though of questionable appropriateness (Schadenfreude?). The ending, required for the trochaic line-ending, is not regular grammar but can be explained as a pausal form, similar to many of Old Babylonian date studied by F. R. Kraus in *Symbolae Böhl* (Leiden, 1973) 253ff.
- i 11 As already seen by Langdon, *i-rag-gu-u* stands for *iragguw* = *iraggum*, but note *i-ram-mu-um* in ii 18. For this Late Babylonian phenomenon, note, e.g., *ir-ta-gu-ú* (CT 49 136 15), and BWL 290 note on 30.
- i 13, 17 The change *-qt-* to *-qt-* in Late Babylonian is found also in RA 12 (1915) 74 30; cf. W. G. Lambert Or. NS 40 (1971) 95 on 29–30: *iq-ṭi-nu-šu* (from *qenû*) and BIN I 94 21 (apud AnOr 47 §§96f.) *iq-ṭu-ṣu*.
- i 17 AnOr 42 no. 173 gives *rub* as a value of the sign KAL, but we have ventured to add *rup* as a further value. The form *kabatsu* is erratic; *kabtatsu* would be regular.
- i 19–20 Both lines seem to consist of nominal clauses followed by noun clauses in the accusative used adverbially: “Terrible is Bēl as to the not-living of me a god,” etc. As written, Bēl is the name of Marduk, not known by W. Sommerfeld before the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I (*Der Aufstieg Marduks* [Kevelaer, 1982] 177), except in personal names, where it need not always refer to Marduk. The orthography here need not of course go back to the original author, so it is difficult to use this occurrence in any argument about the date of composition of the text. A further reason is that there is too little from the cult of Marduk surviving from Old and Middle Babylonian times to be sure that Bēl was not already then used as a Marduk name.
- i 23–24 This phrase is to be restored in the Babylonian New Year ritual K 9876 rev. 12–13: [*ul-tu re*]-*ši ul-tu re-šim-ma* (S. A. Pallis, *The Babylonian Akītu Festival* [Copenhagen, 1926] pl. x), but there is no particular significance to this fact.
- i 25 The pronoun *annû* preceding the thing it refers to can remain in the sing. masc.; cf. *Descent of Ištar* 26, where *an-ni-tu-me-e a-ḫa-ta-ki* of the Nineveh copy contrasts with *an-nu-ú a-ḫa-at-ki* of the Assur copy.
- ii 22 “I will beget” or “I will swallow” is equally possible for grammar and content. Without a sure reading of the last word, nothing is certain.
- ii 26–27 Cf. DT 184 21: *ak]-mi-šú-nu-ti-ma e-šir-šú-nu-t[i* (JCS 10 [1956] 100; above, p. 327).

- ii 28–31 Enmešarra must be executed in accordance with i 13, but *ik-me-ma ina qātē*¹¹ does not seem final enough, especially with a being just brought from jail but still under arrest. The phrase occurs at the ends of both 28 and 31, and perhaps there is textual corruption.
- iii 9 Though the group IGI.KUR.ZA may have one reading only in Sumerian, *ganzer*, there is a choice of equivalents in Akkadian: *bāb eršetī, eršetu, irkalla, danninu*, and *ganšir* (*Diri*: MSL XV 126 150–54).
- iv 13 For the reading of IM^{ki}, see J. Renger, *AfO* 23 (1970) 73ff., and note especially the bilingual passage: IM^{ki} = *ina bīt kar-ka-ra* (RA 28 [1931] 137 K 9906 7–8 = K 3611 1–2).
- iv 16 The god as written seems to be unique, but too unlike Gula or Pabilsag to be corruptions of either of those. It seems to be a phonetic writing of the god written ^dérim-á-bi-nu-tuku once in an expository text (MMEW 56 32–35), where the deity is a weapon of a god, the name being explained etymologically as “from whose hands the enemy does not escape,” and once in a line closely related to our iv 16:

^dérim-á-bi-nu-tuku = *bēl ālī-ia/mu šá* PA.ŠE^{ki}
CT 25 14 27 = SpTU II 29 v 15 = BM 72205 rev. 1

CT 25 offers a list of Ninurta names (*sensu lato*), SpTU II 29 a collection of materials relative to the city of Nippur, and BM 72205 is an extract tablet which could belong to either of the other two. Leaving aside the difficult problem of the first-person suffix (“lord of my city”), so many of the names are certainly the names of divine weapons of Ninurta that the rest must presumably belong in the same category. This creates no problem with Isin, since Pabilsag was commonly equated with Ninurta, from at least the Old Babylonian period. In this way, a divine weapon of Pabilsag became the same of Ninurta. It is more a problem how a divine weapon can be spoken of as its owner. In late, sophisticated lists, where the tendency is to minimize the total number of gods, the minor deities in a divine court can be equated with its master, but that is not expected in our myth, where the only phonetic writing of the name occurs. This implies contact with a spoken tradition, not just access to learned lists. So, probably, Erimabinutuku was a name of Pabilsag in Old Babylonian times. Little survives from that period of the names of minor gods in divine courts, but an unpublished Old Babylonian forerunner to An = *Anum* shows that much of it did exist.

- iv 18–30 See the introduction.
- iv 21 The plural of *ekurru* elsewhere seems always to be feminine, but in this context the masc. suffixes are used so regularly of it that it has been assumed to have a masc. pl. here. The contrast with the fem. suffixes for the two named cities suggests that late orthography is not to be blamed. The form *utû* as a variant of *atû* occurs in *Proto-Diri* (MSL XV 48 501).
- iv 26 Restore perhaps a preterite form from *habātu* “rob”?
- iv 27 The GÉME.GÉME of *Rit. acc.* is taken as a dittography.
- v 11 Is this a hint at some kind of written form of predetermined divine plans?
- v 22 The signs *giš-ḥaš* can be read *gišḥaššu, gamlu*, or *mašgašu* according to MSL XIV 346 115–17. The *gamlu* is well known as a weapon of Marduk, but the pair of weapons *quddu gišḥaššu* occur in an Akītu context in both TIM IX 60 iii 22 = K 2892+8397 27 and in OECT XI 69+70 obv. 28.
- vi 8 Very tentatively, *áš-šú-tú* has been taken as an otherwise unattested noun from *našú*. Apart from the irrelevant *aššutu* “wifehood,” *áš-šú-ut* seems only to occur as a variant of *aššu(m)*, in ABL 848 4 and the *Love Lyrics* 104 ii 19.
- vi 13 As “instead of” *kīmu* gives no sense here. Perhaps the MU is an error and KI stands for *itti*.

The Town of Zarpānītum

- 3 *i-qí-is-si* would of course be normal.
 8 *bu-un* as “son” would make Marduk Ea’s grandson rather than the normal son. Other words *būnu/*
bunnu give no plausible sense.
 9, 11 Note the poetic form *kuāša*.
 10, 12 With the similarity of the two couplets, one does not expect any great change in the second as
 compared with the first. Our translation is based on the restoration *ina qí-rib-[šá bé-la]*. This takes
ta-ma-ti as *casus pendens* but is quite uncertain.

The Toil of Babylon

- i 1–9 The restoration at the beginnings of the lines are highly conjectural apart from those in 5–8. A
 problem with the first pair of repeated couplets is that the first half of line 1 occupied more space
 than the corresponding portion of line 3, while the type of couplet would normally have the shorter
 or less specific line at the first occurrence; cf. 5 and 7. The *-u* ending on *izêru* is not easily explained
 as a subjunctive, so a plural subject has to be assumed, which is not, then, the same as in 2 and 4.
 The restoration of line 5 [*mār nippuri*^k]ⁱ (CAD § 91a) runs contrary to the principle of repeated
 couplets that nothing essentially new may be added at the second occurrence.
 i 6, 8 I/l forms of *wabālu* often have a double l.
 i 9 Either *rimmatu* or *dimmatu* could be restored. The former has been preferred, with the *Slaying of*
Labbu obv. 4.
 ii 21 Cf. Erra II, KAR 169 iv 15: *a-na* ^d*ad-di a-qab-bi ki-la bu-re-[e-ka]*. The two steeds are named in a late
 compilation as:
 an-ni-a-ma-ru = *a-bu-ub šamê*^e
 hur-sag-di = *he-su-ú šadī*ⁱ
 2 amar^{mes} šá ^d*adad*
 AfO 19 (1959/60) 110 37–39; BM 34874 ii 1–3
 ii 22 Although *šepû ša erpeti* and *erpetum šapītum* are well attested (see CAD sub voce *erpetu*), the mean-
 ing of the root is not clear. According to the context of this example, it should indicate some action
 done to the clouds as a result of which the grain crop is destroyed. If the passage is not defective,
šapû ša erpeti is an active verb.
 ii 24–28 This passage reads like the opposite of a series of passages in royal inscriptions which speak of the
 plenty and low prices which occurred thanks to the particular king in power. It is possible that 25b
 and 26 present yet another example of the three basic necessities of life: food, unguent, and cloth-
 ing. Note MSL I 45 48–49: *še-ba ì-ba síg-ba túg-ba-bi* = *ep-ra piš-šá-tam lu-bu-uš-ta* (similarly
Urra I apud MSL V 10 22–25); UCP 9 340 15–17: *a-na ku-ru-ma-at bi-tim pi-iš-ša-at bi-tim ù lu-bu-uš*
bi-tim (Old Babyl. letter). If this is correct, 26a must contain the equivalent of *epru*. Since *gi-ig-gu-ú*
 is very obviously a Sumerian loan, one thinks of *gig* = *kibtu* “wheat,” but then it is not clear what
 is to be done with the preceding *bu šu*. See CAD sub voce *šibtu* for the phrase *šibtu kīnu*.
 ii 29 The restoration is based on *šú-ul-mu* = *zu-un-nu* (*Malku* II 107 *apud ZA* 43 [1936] 238), a word at-
 tested in this meaning in a continuous text only here.

- v 8–9 There seems to be an allusion to a cultic practice which is here explained aetiologically.
- v 18 *râšu* is normally “help,” but in the commentary to the Theodicy, line 288 (BWL p. 88), it is explained as a verb of motion: *ra-a-ša* = *a-lak*. Semantically, it is certainly a verb of motion, meaning “run” in Hebrew, and here the II/1 is used causatively, like the *hiphîl* in Hebrew.
- v 19 The equation *ḥa-ma-tu* = *dul-lu-ḥu* (CAD H 62b) is helpful for determining the sense of *ḥummuṭiš*.

Uraš and Marduk

- Obv. 4 The last two signs could also begin a II/1 participle: *mu-ka-*.
- 11 This very obscure line is beyond hope at present. The verb is IV/3, but the Igigi are the only available subject, and it is doubtful if they can be “heaped up” or “poured out.” (The remote parallel in *Lugal-e* 505: *ukù-za gîri-za ba-ab-sîg-ge-da a-na še-ep ni-še-ka ta-taš-pak* is not really clear in its own context.) A reading *miṭ-tuk-ka* “with your mace” makes better sense of the line, but the indignity of the Igigi being heaped up remains. Also, line 12 seems to continue a thought of agricultural produce being gathered in, with which *ittanašpaku* can be excellently combined. In any case, the text as preserved does not offer the antecedent of *-š[u]* on *ana qirbiš[u]*.
- 12 *ša* has been restored as the minimum possible, but other words are equally fitting, e.g., *išpiku*.
- 13 The context could be eased by reading *is-sa-⟨na⟩-ḥu-ru*.
- 17 The emendation *ma'-a-a-ri* “plows” would suit Uraš better, but ZA and MA are very different signs.
- 25 The trace could be restored *i-ši]m*.
- Rev. 2 A verb *urruru* “dry” (trans.) exists, but CAD *erēru* “become mouldy,” is attested, as well as some less certain derivatives from the simple stem. Here, therefore, a noun *arīru* has been doubtfully assumed. Since Enbilulu is god of waterways (see *Enūma Eliš* VII 57ff. and note), this creates a contrast and perhaps is the point of the line. If so, it confirms our restoration of Ningirsu in the previous line, since the Apsû is no home of his.
- 5 Paningarra is a form of Ninurta: AfK 2 (1924/25) 72 9a, where the restoration is now confirmed by KAV 148 obv. 8. See also V R 44 iii 36.
- 19 For the temple *é-ibbi-^danum* see Unger, *ArOr* 3 (1931) 37–39, and A. R. George, *House Most High* (Winona Lake, 1993) p. 102 493.
- 21 The sign is -LÍL, not É. With the restoration cf. VAT 14090 (Marduk prayer) rev. 7: *ša-li-lu ta-ma-a-[ti]*. See also *Enūma Eliš* VII 103 and note.

The Murder of Anšar?

- A 17 This is the stock phrase used by a messenger to introduce himself and his sender: see BWL 295 note on 15f.
- A 19–20 The Lamaštu incantation RA 18 (1921) 163 24 gives the same terms for travel equipment: *qa-an-na-šú u ši-di-ŠI-su*, which incidentally proves that *qannu* may be a form of *qarnu*.
- A 21–22 For the restoration see CAD Š 26–27 and BWL 336 E 15. The unexpected *ia/iá* on the verbs (also B 5) can be paralleled on other Late Babylonian tablets: *šá-di-ia*, *ru-um-mi-ia*, *šá ta-ad-di-ia* (STC II lxxv ff. 11, 83, 95); *im-ri-ia* (*Or. NS* 36 [1967] 118 38). In all these cases, a simple *-i* ending would be expected, and the *-ia* may merely indicate a final consonant *-y* was pronounced.
- B 7 If the restoration is correct, the difficulty arises that Enki could hardly be kissed in his absence.
- B 9 *ana šir* meaning “(pleasant) to” occurs in Hammurabi: *ša a-na šir ^dšamaš be-li-ia . . . tá-a-bu* (RIME 4 p. 336 72–74).

- B 10 The end of the line is not certain. The sign rendered ad could be *tab-ba*, giving *tab-ba-taq*. However, *nadānu tēma* is a known idiom, and *addakka* is a good Late Babylonian form of the preterite of *nadānu* with suffix; see E. Ebeling, *Glossar zu den neubabylonischen Briefen* (Munich, 1953) 151–52. Either the suffix was accidentally dropped or the shortened form was consciously used.
- B 27 A reading *ù ka-am* “And thus” is also possible.

Damkina's Bond

- 1 The restoration is proposed from Babylon's being called *nūr šamê* (BTT 38 5, cf. 78 5).
- 9 *Mušṭēšir-ḫablim* is a weapon of Marduk: ^dšár-ur₄ ^dšár-gaz = *muš-te-šir-ḫab-lim u^{d-gis}kakki-dšâ-zu* (V R 46 32a–b; cf. *Commentary on Marduk's Address* B 16 (AfO 19 [1959/60] 115). It also occurs in an unhelpful context in omens: Boissier, *DA* 210 19, and is abbreviated to *Mušṭēšir* in the Esagil ritual for Kislimu: JCS 43–45 (1991/93) 94 37.
- 12 See p. 430 for *Nūr-ē-tagmil*.
- 15 To leave through the window has a good epic parallel: *li/šū-ši a-ḫa-niš/ni-iš* (Gilg. VII 99). (Note that the fem. ending is dropped before the *-āniš* ending is added.)
- 30 The term *tiššāla* in the Babylonian copy only is doubly irregular. First, the I/2 imperative of *ša'ālu* is attested as *šitāl* (CAD Š/1 280–81), and according to GAG³ §96e, the interchange of sibilant and dental in such cases is restricted to verbs with initial z, s, and š, but not š except for “Assur-Listen.” Secondly, such interchange should yield *tišāl*, not *tiššāl* with the double š.

The Defeat of Enutila, Enmešarra, and Qingu

- 1 *Enūma Eliš* I 21 could be restored by reading . . . *i-la]-a-nu*, but the spacing suggests that one more sign must be added at the end.
- 8 In the *Theogony of Enlil* (pp. 405–417), Enutila and Enmešarra appear in that order, first appended to the list, but later taken into it as the final two, which is strong evidence for restoring the first part of the name Enutila here.
- 11 Cf. OECT XI 69+70 i 39: ^dnin-urta šá ilāni^{mes} *ka-mu-ti šer-re-ti-šú-nu ú-ḫa-ṭir*. The Market Gate was within the district Eridu within Babylon, so close to Esagil and Eturkalamma. It may be suspected that a ritual event in the author's time was interpreted to enact this item of myth. Note that the eight sons of Enmešarra go there according to the ritual OECT XI 47 1–4.
- 12 This line can be understood from *Enūma Eliš* V 75–76. The verb *kašāru* refers to the refurbishment of divine statues. Such statues were considered to be in need of refurbishment after defeat in battles with other gods. The wording of *Enūma Eliš* suggests that Marduk made totally new statues or other depictions of the eleven monsters and placed them at the Gate of the Apsû ([*bāb*] *apsi ušaš[bit]*) as a permanent record of his victory over them. Here existing divine statues are being repaired and set up at Ganšir. The Gate of the Apsû is Ekarzaginna, Ea's shrine within the Esagil complex according to *Tintir* IV 3, but Ganšir here is presumably within Eturkalamma, since Ištar-of-Babylon is put in control of these statues. The problem is which deities are so treated. The suffix on *ikšir* can be taken to imply that they are named in preceding lines, in which case the seven sons of Enmešarra must be meant. But that creates the difficulty that, after freeing them in line 11, their bondage is intensified in line 13. If the suffix on *ikšir* is considered pleonastic, it can resume an object stated in the first word of the line. The only possibility seems to be a restoration of [^du]_{g₅}-*gu*, which is possible, though [^du]_{g₅}-*gu-ú* would be better. Since the MS c alone has the word, *Uggû* “Dead Gods” is

a serious possibility (see pp. 216–217). In any case, this line is no doubt explaining some icons in Babylon of the author’s time.

- 14 The temple must be that given in *Tintir* IV 13: *é-gu-za-lá-maḥ* = *bīt* ^d*nin-giš-zi-da*. Since Ningišzida is often called *gu-za-lá eršetim*, the form of the temple name in *Tintir* is no doubt correct. However, the sign ALIM (for the form cf. *BWL* pl. 13 25) was not in common use, so is unlikely to have been put in the text here by a careless scribe. As spoken, the two forms are very similar, but it seems that there were two different traditions of the precise form of the name. Note *Enūma Eliš* I 149, etc., where Qingu is assigned *mū’irūt puḥri*, also *Enūma Eliš* VII 107 where ^d*kin-ma* (a writing of Qingu) is explained: *mu-ma-’ir naḫ-har ilāni*. There is a play on the Sumerian root *kin* = *mu’uru*. In this line, either Qingu is identified with Ningišzida or he is a military commander under him.
- 17 The temple is given in *Tintir* IV 11: *é-zi-da-giš-nu₁₁-gal* = *bīt* ^d*dumu-zi šá ki-me-tú*, showing a very strong cultic connection. For other passages about the “binding” of Dumuzi, see *CAD* sub voce *kimītu*. The place was “not fitting” as the spot where demonic constables seized Dumuzi to carry him off. As in other late syncretistic texts, Dumuzi is not the innocent shepherd of Sumerian literature but is identical with the groups of deities sent down to the netherworld for their sins.
- 18 If the name Ninzaginna is correctly given, it appears to be unique. In the context of Dumuzi, it might be a name of Ištar.

Enki and Ninmah

OB I 1–3 = NA I 1–3 The first three lines of the bilingual version go back to a stock Old Sumerian introduction to a mythological text found at Fara, Šalābikh, and Nippur, in both standard orthography and in UD.GAL.NUN orthography. The simplest form lacks the postpositions:

ud-ri ud-ri na-nam
 ḡi₆-ri ḡi₆-ri na-nam
 mu-ri mu-ri na-nam
 OIP 99 283 obv. i 1–3 = 423 i 1–3

The one postposition is added in the contemporary:

ud-ri ud-ri-šè <na₅-nám>
 ḡi₆-ri ḡi₆-ri-šè na₅-nám
 mu-ri mu-ri-šè na₅-nám
 TŠŠ 79 i 1–5, cf. OIP 99 389 i and 211 i (the former not in UD.GAL.NUN orthography)

In the slightly later MBI 1 “x” 1–6 (cf. *ASJ* 16 [1994] 18 and OIP 99 280 i) both postpositions occur:

ud-rí-a ud-rí-šè na-nam
 ḡi₆-rí-a ḡi₆-rí-šè na-nam
 mu-rí-a mu-rí-šè na-nam

On that day—with reference to that day so was it—
 On that night—with reference to that night so was it—
 On that year—with reference to that year so was it—

In all these cases, the actual story only begins after these lines, the parenthetic phrases serving to hint at what was coming. In later uses of this prologue, ri “that” is made more explicit:

ud-ri-a ud-sù-DU-ri-a	On that day, on that distant day,
ĝi ₆ -ri-a ĝi ₆ -bad-DU-ri-a	On that night, on that remote night,
mu-ri-a mu-sù-DU-ri-a	On that year, on that distant year,

This is the beginning of the Sumerian *Gilgameš*, *Enkidu and the Netherworld* (UET VI 55), and a later Bīt Rimki incantation takes up exactly that:

^dutu ud-ri-a-ta ud-sù-DU-ri-a-ta
^dšamaš ina u₄-mu ul-lu-ti ina u₄-mu ru-qu-ti ul-lu-ti
^dutu ĝi₆-ri-a-ta ĝi₆-bad-DU-ri-a-ta
 ina mu-ši ul-lu-ti ina mūši né-su-ti ul-lu-ti
^dutu mu-ri-a-ta mu-sù-DU-ri-a-ta
 ina ša-na-ti ul-la-ti ina ša-na-ti ru-⟨qa⟩-tú ul-la-tú
 SpTU III 67 i 1–6; cf. BM 53510 obv. (Pl. 72)

Note also the personal name ud-ri-mu-dib “That day has passed”: V. V. Struve, *Onomastika* (Moscow 1984) p. 178 and OIP 14 117 2. Thus, the text under discussion uses a traditional topos but adds something specific to each line. The bilingual version had all three lines of the tradition, but due to damage it is not clear that the Old Babylonian version was the same, since its traces cannot be restored to agree with the bilingual version. Sumerian liturgies take up this topos, though not for the beginning of the text, and a late copy has all three lines.

ud-ri-dam ud-sù-ta-ri-ta
 ĝi₆-ri-dam ĝi₆-bad-ta-ri-ta
 mu-ri-dam mu-sù-DU-ri-ta
 CT 42 1 13–15 = CLAM p. 385

while an Old Babylonian text has only the first two:

ud-ri-ta ud-sù-DU-ri-ta
 ĝi₆-ri-ta ĝi₆-sù-DU-ri-ta
 CT 36 35 25–26

Thus our author has used the traditional topos, but had added matters of mythological content to each line. There is one other text which has done the same:

[ud^l-u]l-dù-a-ta : ud-ri-a ud-sù-[DU-ri-a . . .
 [ud^l-r]i-a é ki-ĝar-ra-ba : ud-[. . .
 [ĝi₆^l-r]i-a ĝi₆(! tablet: É)-sù-DU-ri-a : [. . .
 K 12693 2–4 (Pl. 72)

On yon [day(?)], on that day, [on that] distant day [. . .
 On that [day(?)], after the temple was founded, when [. . .
 On that [night(?)], on that distant night, [. . .

The genre of this fragment is not clear, but since the first line cited here follows a ruling but is not the first line of the tablet, probably it is a short text such as an incantation. In this case, the topos is

joined to the founding of a temple. The bilingual version clearly repeated the extra material in the first line but had something different in the third. The Sumerian verbal root is totally lost, but part of the Akkadian remains, and it cannot be restored to *ubtannû* or *ubtennû*, and only *uptarrisu* fits the traces. This must be a passive II/2, with “heaven and earth” as the subjects. The unilingual in contrast clearly had something different in each line, despite the presence of “heaven and earth” in each. The first is clear with *bad* “separate” restored, but the -a following *ki* in the second is difficult, whether it is kept with *ki* or prefixed to *gar*.

I 5 = I 6 The noun *ama*-^dMÛŠ has problems. The Akkadian loan appears in variant forms: *amālu*, *amālītu*, *amālūtu*, *amāluktu*, *māluktu*, *māruktu* (CAD A/2 1–2), but so far all are known exclusively from lexical lists. The Sumerian writing in the line under comment is the standard one, but *ama*-LUL is also attested, in *Proto-Lu*: *ama*, *ama*-*uru*, *ama*-^dMÛŠ, *ama*-^dMÛŠ, *ama*-LUL (MSL XII 44 319–23). Canonical *Lu* = *ša* is incomplete:

4'	[<i>ama</i>	=	<i>um</i>]- <i>mu</i>
5'	[<i>ama</i> - <i>uru</i>	=	<i>um</i> - <i>mi ā</i>] <i>li</i>
51	[·] <i>ama</i> - [·] <i>ir</i> ? [·] <i>A</i> ?- [·] Š[[·] <i>I</i>]	=	[. . .]
52	<i>ama</i> - ^{lu} - ^{lu} <i>lul</i> - <i>la</i>	=	[. . .]
53	<i>ama</i> - <i>lul</i> - <i>la</i>	=	<i>za</i> - <i>ab</i> - <i>b</i> [<i>a</i> - <i>tu</i>]
54	<i>ama</i> - <i>lul</i> - <i>la</i>	=	<i>mu</i> - <i>ut</i> - <i>til</i> - <i>t</i> [<i>u</i>]
			MSL XII 127 (collated)

but the Emar version is preserved:

299	<i>ama</i>	=	<i>um</i> - <i>mu</i>
300	MIN- <i>uru</i>	=	<i>um</i> - <i>ma ā</i> <i>li</i>
301	MIN- <i>lugal</i>	=	<i>um</i> - <i>ma šarri</i>
302	MIN- <i>lul</i> - <i>a</i>	=	MIN <i>sa</i> - <i>ar</i> - <i>ri</i>
303	MIN- <i>ní</i> - <i>zu</i>	=	MIN <i>šar</i> - <i>ra</i> - <i>qí</i>
304	MIN- ^{lu} <i>sa</i> ĝ- <i>gaz</i>	=	MIN <i>ha</i> - <i>am</i> - <i>ba</i> - <i>ti</i>
			<i>Emar</i> VI/4 p. 189

It is proposed that *ama*-^dMÛŠ is etymologically *ama*-*uru* “mother of the city,” correctly rendered with a -*k*- in some of the Akkadian forms of the word. It is thus a term for the patron goddess of a city but is rendered more generally “goddess” (*iš-ta-ru-um*) in *Diri* Oxford 488 (MSL XV 41). Thus the signs ^dMÛŠ are a logogram and *ama* a phonetic complement, because there is no known value of MÛŠ which will explain *amar/luk*. The double occurrence in *Proto-Lu* probably means the Sumerian first and the Akkadian loan secondly. In this light, the *ama*-LUL in *Proto-Lu* might be a simple phonetic writing *ama*-*lu*, but it was not so taken in the Emar version, rather as *lul* “criminal,” to which “thief” and “robber” were added. Canonical *Lu* = *ša*, so far as can be judged from its broken form, continued the tradition of taking *ama* and LUL as referring to a single female being, though *zabbatu* is a human ecstatic, not a goddess. This agrees with *Diri* IV 188ff.: *a*-*ma*-*li*-*tú* [*ama*-^dMÛŠ] = *a*-*ma*-*li*-*tú*, *iš*-*ta*-*ri*-*tú*; *a*-*ma*-[*lu*-*ug* *ama*-LUL] = *a*-*ma*-^{lu}-*tú*, *iš*-*ta*-*ri*-*tú*, *šu*-*gi*-*tú* (MSL XV 158), because the last two Akkadian equivalents are female cultic personages, like *zabbatu*. That *muttiltu* is a demon is no objection, since *ama*-*é*-*a* = *li*-*li*-*tu* follows, another female demon, so the compiler has consciously moved from cultic women to female demons. What is not clear is whether *amar/luk* for a cultic woman is lexically the same word as *amar/luk* “mother of the city,”

“goddess,” but that problem does not concern us here. While the Emar tradition is correct that *lul* means *sarru*, it has no doubt misunderstood an Old Babylonian unilingual list because there is no evidence that mothers of criminals were a distinct class or type in ancient Babylonia.

The sign group $\frac{ZI}{ZI}$ +LAGAB belongs here and in II 5–6 to the pair also known from *Bīt rimki*, Third House A: NĪNDA $\frac{ZI}{ZI}$ +LAGAB = *zi-ka-ri sin-niš-ti* (*SpTU* III 67 ii 3–4, cf. 19–20 and iii 16–17), though this incantation begins so much like *Enki and Ninmah* that a connection is possible. However, in this line, where the bilingual version replaces $\frac{ZI}{ZI}$ +LAGAB with *dam*, the meaning is clearly “married woman” and not simply “woman.” Curiously, elsewhere *nīnda* = *ittū* “seeder-plough” is metaphorically “penis” and “father” (*RA* 76 [1982] 94), which fits its use here, but in *Antagal E* i 7: [n]u-mu-un $\frac{ZI}{ZI}$ +LAGAB = *eṭ-lum* (*MSL* XVII 209), *nūmun* means “man.” Thus, while it is entirely possible that *nīnda* is the correct reading for the one of this pair, *nūmun* is probably not the correct reading for the other. It is relevant that *nīnda* is very like *nita/níta* = *zikaru* phonetically.

- I 7 = I 7 The context and the bilingual version suggest strongly that there are three parts to the line: the goddesses had intercourse, became pregnant, and gave birth. The first verb in the unilingual text may recur in II 1, and perhaps it is a compound verb with a “semen” as the first part.
- I 8 From the context and what is clear in the line, the sense is no doubt that due to the increased divine population food was in short supply and hard work was necessary to supply the need. One could read *kurum₆-ma kaš-a* “food and beer,” but elsewhere in such contexts food alone is mentioned. The verb *du₈* = *paṭāru* is possible if *kurum₆* refers to the whole process of supply and not to the food alone as such. The subject of the second verb could be expected to be *zub-sìg* as I 30 and 37, but it is clearly not that. Also, *du-lum* would be possible (cf. I 9), but it is not that.
- I 9 = I 8 The ancient lexicographers knew *šár* = *rabû* “great”: *Idu* II 71 = CT 11 30; *Aa* XXVII = *MSL* XIV 416 53; *SpTU* IV 146 12; and a god-list gives the phrase:

<i>diġir-šár-šár-ra</i>	=	<i>ilānu^{mes}</i> [<i>rabātu^{mes}</i>]
<i>diġir-gal-gal-e-ne</i>	=	MIN
CT 25 18 rev. ii 3–4		

The lack of the plural ending with *šár-šár* is striking, since it is also lacking in *Enki and Ninmah* I 9, 12, but not 17, and in I 4, 5 but not 12 of the bilingual version. It is not impossible that *Enki and Ninmah* lies behind some at least of this lexical evidence.

The sign TER is nowhere assigned the value *du_x*, but this is assumed here from its being rendered in the bilingual version of this line as *du₆* and from the fact that *du_x-lum íl* expresses what in *Atra-ḫasis* for the same event is *dulla zaḅālu* (I 6, 38, etc.). Other attempts to explain the word are inadequate. The Akkadian *terḫum* is a jar, not a carrying basket, as Kramer thought. The Sumerian *ter^{-bu-um}*LUM = *ṭa-ap-lum* (*MSL* XII 109 180) is apparently the name of a demon, *aliter* CAD. The normal value and meaning of *ter*, *qīštu* “forest,” has no relevance here, but *Aa* XXXVIII 85–87 (*MSL* XIV 467 85–87) gives also the meanings *šubtu*, *ašābu*, and *mūšabu*, and similarly the *S^a Vocabulary* (*MSL* III 87 2–6) gives *qīštu* followed by *šubtu*, *ašābu*, *ālu*, and *mātu* as renderings for [ti-ir TER]. There is no semantic association sufficient to explain how “forest” and “sit,” “reside,” etc., render the same sign and value. However, a longstanding error in the lexical tradition can be suspected. In Sumerian, *du* or *tu* often stands for “abode,” etc.: *du₆* = *šub-tum* (*Idu* II 25, CT 11 29, and elsewhere; see CAD sub voce *šubtu* A), cf. *tu⁻²-ú* = *šu-ub-tum*, *tu-ú* = [*šu-ub-tum*] (*Malku* I 281, *Explicit Malku* II 136: *JAOS* 83 [1963] 429, 433). It is difficult to judge whether this is derived

entirely from the Sumerian noun du_6 “cultic seat” or may be mixed up with an abbreviation of $dúr$ “sit” (cf. $z\acute{e}-eb-mar = du_{10}-\hat{g}ar = a-\acute{s}a-bu$; $dúr-mar = du_{10}dúr-\hat{g}ar = MIN$ (MSL IV 28 17–18), but it may be suspected that the post-Old Babylonian lists ignorantly failed to gloss the sign TER with tu for the meanings such as “sit.” The original cause of the confusion may well be the similarity of the signs TU and TER in early scripts and that these two signs occur together in the lexical tradition: in the sequence TER-TU in the Ebla “Sign List” (A. Archi, *Eblaitica* I [1987] 96 75–76) and in the sequence TU-TER in the tradition of *Ea* and *Aa* (MSL XIV 117 15–16; 467 59–88). Thus, we have created the new value $du_x = TER$.

I 10 = I 9 Since $\acute{e}d$ is both “river” and “canal,” this line could refer to either, and the ancients did not distinguish as we do between natural rivers and man-made canals. However, in this context of cosmic beginnings, no doubt the rivers are meant, as is confirmed by the parallel passage in *Atra-ḥasīs*, I 21ff. with the Assyrian recension, which names Tigris and Euphrates. The second half of the line is more difficult. Only Jacobsen takes it in a non-cosmic sense: “were piling up their silt on projecting bends” (*The Harps that Once . . .* [New Haven, 1987] p. 154), taking $\mathfrak{h}a-ra-li$ as “river bends” (similarly in *Enki and Ninḥursag*, op. cit. p. 188 x + 1), though on what basis is unknown. Save for Kramer, who remained agnostic, most scholars have taken *ḥarali* as the geographic location somewhere far to the east of Mesopotamia. Van Dijk identified it with the “mountain of gold” ($a-ra-li = a-ra-lu \acute{s}á-ad \mathfrak{h}u-ra-šu$) in *Urra* XXII 22 (MSL XI 23 with *SpTU* III 114) and the *Lipšur Litanies* (*JNES* 15 [1956] 132 21). The connection of these Middle Babylonian sources with the Old Babylonian $\mathfrak{h}a-ra-li$ is not in doubt because the Old Babylonian copy of *Enki and Ninḥursag* mentions “gold [of/from] *Ḥarali*” ($gu\acute{s}kin \mathfrak{h}a-ra-li^{ki/ta}$: UET VI/1 1 ii 1) and Ur III document refers to $\acute{g}i\acute{s}-a-ab a-ra-li-ta$ (J.-P. Grégoire, AAS no. 124) where the wood named $\acute{g}i\acute{s}-a-ab-(ba)$ is usually said to come from Meluḥḥa. See further G. Komoróczy, *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 26 [1972] 113–23). The idea of heaping up the earth excavated from the river-beds into a mountain is very plausible, but a further problem arises because $arali = arallû$ is a name of the netherworld and consideration of this involves problems of the ancients’ geographic conceptions, too big a question to be considered here. However, whatever the solutions of these issues, it is easy to take *Ḥarali* here as a cosmic mountain. Bilingual I 9 is difficult since only the end of the Akkadian verb survives from the whole phrase, which is most probably to be restored from *peḥû*. This is difficult, since the Sumerian *dub* is often used with *saḥar* (MSL XIV 343 6 (*Aa*); XVI 143 65 [*Nabnitu*]) but rendered not *peḥû* but *šapāku* in Akkadian. However, *peḥû* need not imply a different Sumerian verb because *dub = lamû* and *saḥāru* “enclose” (MSL XIV 343 1–2), with nuances overlapping those of *peḥû*. But if the meaning here is that the gods “enclosed” something with the excavated earth, that excludes the idea of heaping it up as a mountain. *Non liquet*.

I 11 = I 11, cf. 15 = 10 As in *Atra-ḥasīs* I 21–40, the record of the hard labour’s being imposed must be followed by the statement that the junior gods were worn out by it and complained. The unilingual has two lines dealing with complaints, 11 and 15, which, in variant form, occur together in the bilingual edition. The juxtaposition of 11 and 15 makes sense, though perhaps not the reversed order. A further defect in the unilingual can be suspected from the similarity of lines 14 and 16. Only 14 occurs in the bilingual, but since its continuation is broken off, it is not certain that 16 was lacking. Note that 10 is missing from b, and this is hardly dispensable, so error in the unilingual form is possible. The meaning of IM *ir* is not certain. If the line with it occurs in the right position, it should express the junior gods’ distress. The compound verb $zi ir = a\acute{s}\acute{a}šu$ would be apposite, and perhaps $n\acute{i} ir$ is a variant of it. In forensic contexts, $inim \hat{g}ar$ for raising complaints is well known,

though *zi-bi-(šè)* “about their lives” is perhaps not a natural accompaniment. The bilingual’s [*zi-bi*] *gi* = *napištu aqāru*, though the equivalence *gi* = *aqāru* is apparently unknown elsewhere, gives good sense: *aqāru* in the sense “scarce” rather than “precious,” “their lives had become scarce,” i.e., “they were about to die.” With this cf. *Atra-ḫasis* I 149, 162: *šu-up-ši-ik-ku at-ru id-du-uk-ni-a-ti* “the excessive labour has killed us.” The unilingual can only give this meaning if a compound *ka ḡar*, little different from simple *ḡar*, is assumed, with the meaning of the Akkadian idiom *napišta šakānu* “lay down one’s life” (CAD N/I 299a). The bilingual [*dum-dam*] *za* = *nutazsumu* looks like an editorial clarification of the not altogether lucid unilingual (note the lack of *ì* in *b*). Perhaps emend *zi-ga¹-bi* “their conscription.”

I 13 = I 13 Since the eventual verbs in 14, *ì-ná* and *nu-um-zi-zi*, are intransitive, *ᵈen-ki-ke₄* is incorrect, as is the lack of a subjunctive *-a* on *nu-um-me*. Jacobsen takes *é-engur* as Enki’s temple in Eridu, but that is normally written *é-engur-ra* (e.g., TCS 3 p. 54 23). Also, *bùru* rendered *rūqūti* in the bilingual cannot follow on *é-engur* as so taken. Probably, the bilingual when complete had a *bùru*, elsewhere rendered *mû rūqūtu/šaplātu* (W. G. Lambert, *JNES* 33 [1974] 302 94–95), and this would imply that *engur bùru* was understood as “distant Apsû.” Next, *a-sur-ra*, hitherto taken here as “flowing/seeping water,” was taken by the ancients as a genitive; cf. the Akkadian *asurrakku* (CAD), the name of a cosmic location. Its etymology is not certain. *Antagal* III 15 writes the word *a-sù-ra* (MSL XVII 150), and a possible etymology is *a-sùr-ra-(k)* “water of the (cosmic) ditch” (cf. CAD *sūru*).

I 17 *Namma* is a genitive compound; note elsewhere S. N. Kramer, *Miscellanea Babyloniaca* (Fs. Birot; Paris, 1985) 118 88 = 120 96: *šir ᵈnam-ma-ka* “a song of *Namma*” contrasting with the preceding line *šir ᵈasal-lú-ḡi*, “a song of *Asalluḡi*.” The etymology might be (e)n + *amma(-k)* “lady of the cosmic river.” For *amma* “cosmic river,” see CAD *ammu* and perhaps the Nuzi vocabulary: *te-am-te* = *am-mu* (RA 36 [1939] 94 6); for the meaning “earth”/“netherworld” see CT 25 8 10–11: *ᵈam-ma* KUR = [*ᵈer-še-tum*, *ᵈir-kal-la*]. For the deity *Amma* see PBS I/2 112 12: *zi ᵈam-ma ama an-ki-bi-ta-ke₄ ḡé*, and in personal names, e.g., *ur-àm-ma* (Ur III), *mār-ᵈa-am-ma-a* (OB, YBT XIII p. 63).

I 18 The variant *tùm/tu* suggests that the preterite singular is not always *de₆* but may also be *tùm*.

I 21 In *Atra-ḫasis* I 64–66, the junior gods burn their tools. Here it seems to be said that they are refusing to do the assigned work. The Akkadian *ḡatû* can have a nuance of “hurling” abuse, but it is not clear that the Sumerian *tun* can be used in that sense without a word for “abuse.”

I 23 B. Alster compared UET VI/1 2 21 (JCS 24 [1971] 122 21):

ᵈnin-men-na-ke₄ kin-sì-ga-zu na-an-dím-e
“Ninmenna shall not create your equal”

The context is one of praise of *Ninurta*, and etymology allows a more precise definition of the meaning: *kin* = *šipru*, *sì(g)* = *mašālu*, thus one able to take over the job of another, a substitute. In this context, the human race is to be made to take over the hard labour of the gods.

I 25 Cf. *ḡal-an-kù* ḤAL = *ap-sú-ú-um* (MSL XIV 142 18). We take *nîḡin* as an unusual writing for *nîḡin(U+UD+KID)* = *kummu*.

I 26 For *èn-tar zu*, cf. *Enūma Eliš* III 5: [*ši-t*]e-²*a mu-da-a-ta*, and IV R 12 obv. 11–12: *bu-bu-lu mu-un-zu-a* = *ši-te-²a mu-du-ú*. “Seek out” and “enquire” are sufficiently close meanings to justify seeing a parallel. For the unilingual *se₁₂-en-^{sar}sár* the bilingual offers *šà-tùr*, a term in various Sumerian and Akkadian orthographies meaning “womb” and “birth goddess,” the latter in *Atra-ḫasis*

I 251–77, where a total of fourteen exist, one for each of the first fourteen humans to be created. In Ugaritic the *ktrt* are a related group of birth goddesses, who are listed and number seven, as first seen by J. Aistleitner (ZDMG 93 [1939] 52ff.). Hittite texts also know a similar group of birth goddesses, written DINGIR.MAH^{meš/bi.a} (G. M. Beckman, *Hittite Birth Rituals*² [Wiesbaden, 1983] pp. 238–45). Thus, the equation *se₁₂-en-sar* = *šà-tùr* is justified. Such goddesses could be expected in this text; it is clear that they are a plurality from line 32a, and the seven names of minor goddesses given in 34–35 are clearly these birth goddesses. The form *se sar* can be compared with *sà-an-sur* BUL = *šá-as-[su-ru]* (MSL XIV 182 117), and vowel changes often occur between variant forms of Sumerian words. Jacobsen’s proposal to read *imma-en* and *imma-šár* as two beings (*The Harps That Once . . .* [New Haven, 1987] p. 156) is excluded by the Nippur tablet, which distinguishes the signs *ÌMMA* (only in the name of the goddess Nin-imma, line 34) and *SIG₇/SI₁₂/SA₇* (here, line 32, and in the writings of Enkum and Ninkum, II 106). This distinction of signs is confirmed in *Proto-Ea*, which separates *igi-gunû* (with value *im-ma*) from *sig₇* (with values *sé-e* and *sa-a*); see MSL XIV 47f. 403–4 and 413–14, and the signs are drawn in MSL III 174 on p. 63.

The taking of *mud me-dím* as “blood and limbs” is explained in the note on 30–32, and the translation of *níg-nam-ma* as “creativity” rests on a well-attested Babylonian theological concept of totality being a form of creation:

^dnin-*imma* = *bēl nab-nit bu-un-na-né-e bēl mim-ma* [*šum-šú*]
CT 25 49 rev. 2

Here, the name of a creator goddess (taken as a god) is rendered twice, first as “lord of the creation of bodies,” secondly as “lord of everything”.

^dnu-dím-mud = ^dé-a = *ša nab-ni-t[i]*
^dna-dím-mud = ^dé-a = *ša ka-la-ma*
CT 25 48 4–5

^dsig₇ (v.l. ^dsa₅) = ^denlil(i dim) *šá nap-ḫa-ri*
CT 24 39 8 and dup.

^dme-^{me-di-im-šá}dím-š₄ = ^dša-la *šá kul-la-ti*
CT 25 10 37

Here, various Sumerian roots used for “create”—*sig₇*, *imma*, *mud*, *dím*—are all interpreted as expressing “totality” or “everything.” This idea may have been supported by the Emesal of *imma* being *nam-mu* (MSL IV 5 24).

I 27 *Atra-ḫasīs* gives no explanation of the origin of the birth goddesses but simply says that they were assembled (*šassurātum puhhurāma*: I 251 = 277), i.e., were ready for work, and that is the sense of 27a here.

I 28 Translation based on *ri* = *ḫa-sa-su* (*Aa* XV i 12: MSL XIV 296).

I 30–32 These lines are key lines for this account of the creation of man, and some things in them are disputed. The present writer considers certain the meanings of *zub-sìg* and *im ḫe/kìr*. The former is the same as the Akkadian *tupšikku*, commonly written ^gÍL in Sumerian, which suggests that it is a carrying basket used abstractly for hard labour. The long-known later glosses *du-(ús)-su* are no doubt defective; note the gloss from Middle Babylonian Emar: *tu-ub-ši-ig ÍL* = *tu-up-ši-ik-ku* (D. Arnaud, *Emar* VI/4 [Paris, 1987] p. 72 265, brought to my attention by M. Civil). Jacobsen

alone has another idea, that it means “birth chair,” but as “a guess from the context” it has nothing in its favour. That im is clay in 31 and 32 is generally accepted, though Jacobsen in the latter case renders “fetus,” with no known explanation. The phrase im k̄ir = *tiṭṭa karāṣu* is common in Akkadian creation myths; see the Akkadian dictionaries. This gives excellent sense in 32, where the birth goddesses are to nip off the clay from which Namma will make bodies. The mixing of clay (ḥe/šár) also occurs in *Atra-ḥasis*:

i-na ši-ri-šu ù da-mi-šu
^d*nin-tu li/ú-ba-(al)-li-il ti-iṭ-ṭa*
 I 210–11

From his flesh and blood Nintu will/did mix clay.

Again, only Jacobsen renders otherwise, “drench” rather than “mix,” but without explanation as to why the clay should be drenched and with what. Van Dijk and Jacobsen take ugu in 31 = *alādu*, but there seems to be no evidence for clay having creative power in itself in Near Eastern creation myths, and the meaning “over” is supported by:

^d*é-a ina te-e-ka ib-ba-ni a-me-lu-tu*
tuš-taš-ni-ma i-na aš-rat ap-si-i tiṭṭa-ši-na tak-ri-iš
Fire Incantation, AfO 23 (1970) 43 25–26

Ea, by your incantation mankind was created,
 Next you nipped off their clay from the roof of the Apsû.

Here *ašrat* is certainly not “places” but rather *ašru/ašratu* “heaven” (CAD A/II 454, 459), used in this case for the roof of the Apsû. The clay known to humans is obtained by digging down into the subsoil, which to their thinking was the roof of the Apsû.

The words not adequately explained so far are mud and me-dím. They occur together in 26 and 28 but separately in 30 and 32. In 32, me-dím is taken as “form” by Benito, Kramer/Maier, and van Dijk but as “limbs” by Jacobsen. Jacobsen is correct, since me-dím in the one lexical passage and one bilingual passage does not equate *binītu* but only the plural *binātu* “limbs”; see CAD *binātu*. Further, there is so far no evidence that me-dím is a compound root “form” or “construct,” as taken by van Dijk and Jacobsen in 28. Thus, if one insists on taking mud in mud me-dím as “create/creator,” it can only be rendered “creator of limbs.” There is, however, a better alternative, namely that mud in these four passages means “blood.” The blood of a slain god is used in the creation of man in the bilingual KAR 4 and in the Akkadian *Atra-ḥasis* and *Enūma Eliš*. In Sumero-Babylonian ideas, a body was made up of blood and limbs. Thus, in line 28, Enki is thinking about his own physical make-up as he plans to create a new race of beings to take over the hard labour of the universe. In 30, he proposes to his mother that his own blood should form the basis of the new race. There is no divine criminal deserving execution in this story to provide blood, and Berossus supplies a parallel. His account of creation likewise has no smitable victim for execution, so the creator god took off his own head and man was made from the blood which flowed out (F. Jacoby, FGH III C p. 373). This strongly supports taking mud-mu in 30 as “my blood,” though it is not perhaps final. The extra signs ḡar-ra-zu are difficult. In some way, they must describe the blood, and the second person -zu referring to Namma is inescapable. Taking -zu as referring back to mud, one could render “your famous blood” (mu ḡar “set up a name,” as in *Gilgameš and the Cedar Forest* 5 [JCS 1 (1947) 8]) or “your blood which was set up/put in store.” The first gives an implausible sense, and the second

- misuses the preformative mu. If it is preferred to keep mud-mu as “my blood,” then ġar-ra-zu is best taken as the so-called pronominal conjugation used as a relative clause. This is not a common construction, though A. Falkenstein took ú nu-lá-zu in *Gudea Cylinder A* ix 1 as such (AnOr 28 p. 149). Though this phrase remains problematical, taking mud in the four cases as “blood” gives better sense than other proposals and it conforms more to other related versions of man’s creation.
- I 34–35** These seven goddesses occur as a group only here, it seems, but at least six are known elsewhere separately. No doubt, all were minor variants of the Mother Goddess, worked into the fringes of the official pantheon. Ninimma may be a variant of Namma, since the Emesal vocabulary I 24 gives ^dgašan-nam-mu as the Emesal of Ninimma (MSL IV 5 24). In the pantheon of Nippur, she appears as wet-nurse of Sîn (a hint at her original status) according to An = Anum I (CT 24 23 ii 22). The same source makes Šuzi’anna wet-nurse of Sîn (CT 24 5 13–14). Ninmada of later times embraces two originally distinct deities, one male, one female. The female is a snake-charmer but otherwise little known. The reading Ninšar is taken from An = Anum I 28: ^dnin-^{ša-ar}BÁRA = *antum* ^diš-tar (CT 24 1 28), and her equation with Antum proves that she was old and venerable. Most commonly, her name is written ^dnin-SAR (not to be read ^dnin-mú), and so written she appears in An = Anum I 312 as ġír-lá é-kur-ra-ke₄ (CT 24 10 16), an old goddess worked into the pantheon of Nippur in a menial post. Ninmug in later tradition is wife of Išum, but too little known to say more. The reading ^dmú-mú-du₈ is based on: én ^dma-mú dingir mú-mú-da-ke₄ (BM 54637+) and [én?] ^dĤAR dingir mu-mu-da-ke₄ (BM 34111 obv. 1), which suggest that the goddess under discussion is a variant of the dream deity, Mamu. The last name is the most obscure. It may be read ^dnin-níġin-na with the Ur III ^dnin-ni-gi₄-in (YBT IV 239) and the Fara ^dnin-nîġin (see P. Mander, *Il pantheon di Abū-Šālabikh* [Naples, 1986], index). However, in the context, one might prefer ^dnin-girin-na, after gi-ri/ir-AK LAGAB = *ki-ir-šu šá pa-ġa-ru* (MSL XIV 177 29 and 209 30), if gi-ri-AK is an error for gi-re-en. In either case, the goddess is apparently otherwise unknown.
- II 5** In the context of men being attracted to women, ġiš-nu₁₁ should mean “eye” or “face,” but ġiš-nu₁₁ seems not to be attested in these meanings, though “light” could be a metaphor for “eye.”
- II 7** In the context, Enki would most naturally see and rejoice over the completed project, for which concept kin-til-la is a well-attested Sumerian phrase. The normal meaning of lúgud is “short,” though some of its meanings given in *Aa* II (MSL XIV 209–10 61–68) are not preserved.
- II 9** NUN in the context makes no sense. Perhaps it is a scribal error for -re.
- II 10** The translators agree on “For An and Enlil the lord Nudimmud roasted holy kids,” but it gives no sense. In the preceding two lines, Enki provides a meal as a reward for his collaborators, but An and Enlil were not involved, and the distinction between ninda for his collaborators and roast kid for An and Enlil has already been seen as problematic. It would be easier to have An and Enlil roast kids for Enki in appreciation of his services to their easy living, but this is hard to accept when Enki is putting on a banquet. Also, maš is not commonly used for máš in texts of this period. It is more likely that An and Enlil are in some way congratulating Enki on his achievement, as are the great gods in the next line. For maš-kù not meaning “holy kid,” note the Ur III name on a seal in the Iraq Museum: lú-maš-kù dumu lú-^dSAL-X, kù-dím (IM 14212).
- II 11** The -ke₄ is wrong in its phrase; compare I 9 and note.
- II 44** The simile of the begetting father is not immediately clear. Is a background to be presumed like that of the patriarchal narratives in *Genesis*, in which a father “blesses” his son and so fixes his status for all time?

- II 21–24 Here and in 26, u_6 = *barû* is taken in the sense of u_6 - d_i = *tabrâtu* “spectacle,” often in a good sense of “wonderment” but here in the bad sense of “object of horror.” The defect resulting in the person attending on the king is not that of a eunuch, since he appears later in II 41–43. Stone deafness is a possibility, since such a person could attend on the king without hearing secrets. Lists attest gi = *uznu* and $\check{s}u$ “cover” could conceivably exist in a compound verb $\check{s}u$ $\check{s}u$ - $\check{s}u$ referring to the ear. However, until the meaning of d_i - d_i -NE gam is known, nothing is certain. The present writer no longer takes d_i - d_i - $dè$ here as the ternary numeral “1,” as he did in JSS 14 (1969) 242–47. To the evidence there, add now the improved edition of the section in *Antagal*, MSL XVII 196–97; $gi\check{s}$ - $pe\check{s}$ - a = *šu-u[l-lu-šu]* (MSL XIII 230 271).
- II 25–28 Though $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ - nu_{11} - gi_4 - gi_4 “(one who) turns back light” may be without parallel, it makes good sense for “blind” in the context. Classical Greece also had blind singers and reciters. Cf. *nar-igi-lugal* in OB *Proto-Lu* (MSL XII 56 647).
- II 29–31 The phrase $\hat{g}i\check{r}$ - $da b_5$ - ba could refer to physically defective feet, but it is unclear why such a person should have an aura, so the term remains obscure.
- II 32–34 Foreigners as bodyguards have many parallels, e.g., in Imperial Rome and the Vatican’s Swiss Guards.
- II 35–37 From a alone, “gonorrhoea” might be deduced, since a = “semen,” but from ^{dug}a - sur - ra = *kar-pat ši-na-a-ti* “chamber pot” (MSL VII 94 335), “incontinence” is clearly meant.
- II 38–40 This section confirms the assumption that women who lived normal lives—that is, were married young—did not normally experience work outside the family home. However, the \acute{e} - $munus$ needs detailed study that cannot be undertaken here.
- II 48 At least zur - dug_4 is clear from zur - dug_4 - ga = *iz-bu* (CT 18 50 iii 18). But $sa\hat{g}$ alone for “female slave” is more difficult, though $sa\hat{g}$ - $g\acute{e}me$ for *amtu* is well attested lexically. However, in view of $munus$ in 51, it seems that $sa\hat{g}$ here refers to the same person, a female member of the race of slaves just created.
- II 50 gan = *alādu*, confirmed by the variant a - $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ - ak “semen the penis makes.”
- II 51 The gloss in *c*, *ereštu* “wise,” is a standard epithet of the Mother Goddess in *Atra-ḫasīs*, also once of the birth goddesses (Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs* [Oxford, 1969] p. 181a), thus gal -(an)- zu in Sumerian. The “wisdom” is expertise in obstetrics.
- II 52 The traces are unhelpful, but in the context one expects “when her days (of pregnancy) were completed.” The sign TAG with values $su_{\check{h}_x}$ / $subu$, da_x , and $t\grave{a}$ = *šuklulu* (MSL XIV 413 219, 235, 237). This da_x occurs in context in nam - da (= nam - tag) in JNES 33 (1974) 293 28 cf. 304 ad. loc., which confirms that this da_x is a shortened form of tag . The traces in a might be DA, but cannot be TAG.
- II 54–59 This section in general follows the normal cuneiform tradition of treating the parts of the body in descending order, i.e., from head to foot, like *Ludlul* II and other sources (BWL 23¹). Thus, the first two words are outside the sequence and can be no part of it. Jacobsen (*Before Philosophy* 177) and Kramer (apud Benito p. 69) translated the word u_4 - mu - ul , later used as the name of the very defective creature “my day is remote” but more recently Jacobsen (*The Harps That Once . . .* p. 162) has preferred “the day was far off.” Neither of these brings meaning to the narrative, and it is proposed here that u_4 has only a phonetic value, as often in both Sumerian glosses and Akkadian translations in *Proto-Ea* (MSL XIV), the word being a loan from the Akkadian *ummul*. This means “flickering,” originally of light, but used as a metaphor in *Ludlul* III k: *du-ú-tum um-mul-tum it-ta-per-di* “my flickering body sprang to light” (BWL 54). As a noun, *ummulu* in a synonym list is given as a disease: *il-la-tú, ug-[g]a-tu, um-mu-lu, a-ša-šu, ma-am-lu, da-aḫ-ru = ra-²-i-bu* (LTBA II 2 266, 269–73,

- cf. 3 iv 5–9 and 4 iv 1–4). Thus, it fits Enki’s special creation as being “flickering”—that is, on the verge of extinction. It is an adjective of the *quttulu* type, used specially for diseases and physical defects. As first used in our text, the literal meaning is not far away, but the preceding *gi*₄-*bi* has not yet been solved. Benito and Kramer took it as “second,” as in II 25, but *gi*₄ is properly “1” in the ternary numerals, so Jacobsen rendered it “first one.” Neither of these fits the context: Ummul was a single, unique creation. Thus *gi*₄ is taken here for *gi* = *gimru*, found in lists and bilinguals: “the whole of him was at death’s door.” It is virtually certain that this figure Ummul is represented in art. The bronze of an emaciated figure in the Cincinnati Art Museum (E. Porada in *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim* [Chicago, 1964] 159ff.) rests its head on its hands, and the ribs are prominently marked back and front. The same figure appears, in the same posture, either side of the Mother Goddess, in a terracotta, of which one copy exists in the Baghdad Museum, another in the Louvre, and a fragment of a third in private hands (R. Opificius, *Das altbabylonische Terrakottarelieft* [Berlin, 1961], nos. 224–26; M.-T. Barrelet, *Figurines et reliefs en terre cuite I* [Paris, 1968] no. 819). Some scholars, including T. Jacobsen (*Before Philosophy* 158), have understood these depictions to be of embryos, but the representations are clearly not that, while our text cannot be reconciled with that idea. The horror of Ummul was that he was uniquely bad, while aborted human embryos were known to the ancients and would not have given rise to the wording of our text.
- II 54 See CAD *qaqqadu*, lexical section, for abundant attestation of *azad* for “head.” Note *ki*-*NAM-esir-ra* = *nak-ka-pu* in *Nabnītu* I 96 (MSL XVI 53 96).
- II 55 For blocked throats see *Ludlul* II 86–87, and note *úš* = *sekēru* (CAD *sekēru* A). The phrase *ti sur-sur* is explained by *Ludlul* II 93: *e-še-et-tum us-su-qat*₆ “my bones are ‘drawn’” (i.e., are visible on the outside of the body). Note also BA V 646 11–12: *nu*]-*mu-un-sur-sur-re* = *la ú-tas-sa-qa*, where, however, the meaning is “assign” rather than “draw.”
- II 56 The same line occurs in ASKT 82 23 = AOAT I 4 23.
- II 58 Curvature of the spine is attested as a complaint: DIŠ *gú-murgu-šú qa-nin/gúr-ma lal nu zu-e* (TDP 104–6 32–34) “If a man suffers from curvature of the spine and cannot straighten himself,” and the same complaint is alluded to in other words, e.g., *ši-ḥa la-^ran¹-šu gam-ma-la-ma i-kaḫ-ḫa-ap, um-mad re-š[á-a]-šú i-du še-pi-šu* (*Zikir Šumim* [Fs. Kraus; Leiden, 1982] 194 12–13); *gát-ta-ka li-šak-nin* (K 6248). As an affliction from evil powers, it occurs as *ešemšēra/lāna kapāḫu* (CAD K 175b). The Sumerian verb is attested in *Nabnītu* XXI 12: *lum^{lu-um}-lum* = *ka-na-nu šá amēli* (variant gloss: *gu-um-MIN*) (MSL XVI 191). For *gu-du*, cf. S^b II 54: *gu-du ŠÀ × ŠÚ* = *qin-na-tum* (MSL III 134). For *zag-šè* cf. *zag-KU^{š4}* = *bu-du-u[m šá amēli]* (MSL XVI 145 127).
- II 59 Both *sur-sur* and *sig-sig* = *enēšu/enšu*, the latter commonly, the former less so, but note *sa-bi ba-an-sur-sur* = *šir-a-ni-šu ú-te-en-niš* (CT 17 10 51–52).
- II 64 SAG is taken as an error for *ka*.
- II 67 It is conjecture that the first word means “bed,” but note *ḫis^{is}ná ḫis^{is}gur₈ i-rí-a-núm* (RTC 221 iv 3). The signs of *b* are not so clear as copied by de Genouillac, and *ù-^rrí^r-nu* is perhaps a possible interpretation of what remains.
- II 97 Ekur is mostly Enlil’s temple in Nippur, but that seems inappropriate here because the preceding line speaks of her being driven from her own temple, presumably in Kesh. Perhaps *é-kur* here, like the Akkadian *ekurru*, is a common noun “temple,” though *é-kur-mu-ta* could have been expected.
- II 102 The difficult sign is like MUG but with an extra wedge. Ninmug is appropriate as one of the seven birth goddesses in I 34–35, since it seems from II 101 that Ninmah₇ was suckling Ummul, and this

- “task” can be the one mentioned in *kíĝ-ĝá*. The verb *lá* = *našû* (in lists and bilinguals) has the overtones more of “tie on,” “attach,” than of “lift,” and this suits the carrying of Ummul.
- II 105 *ud-da/ut-ta* appear with six Akkadian equivalents in NBGT I 316–21, II i 23–28, and IX iv 278–82 (all in MSL IV), not all otherwise known and understood. The last, *i-nu-ma*, is clearly a conjunction, and probably all are. However, Jacobsen’s “whenever” cannot be reconciled with the precative verb. Here, it is assumed that “from the day” is the meaning, i.e., “from today,” “henceforth.” Enki’s penis is also praised in *Enki and Ninhursag* (ZA 74 [1984] 14 67–69). In the case under discussion, the praise presumably results from Enki’s having begotten a creature which completely baffled Ninmah. With the reading of a, Ninmah’s wisdom must be her expertise in matters of birth (cf. II 51 and note), but the reading of b without the “your” is difficult.
- II 106 For the divine pair Enkum and Ninkum, see p. 285. They also utter praise in an Ur-Namma text, ZA 53 (1959) 106 18.
- II 107–8 It is proposed that these lines are largely parallel. Thus *GĪR* is taken as *nè* = *emūqu* and *è* is restored to the compound verb *pa-è*. In 107, *ud-šu-e* is taken as a variant of *ud-šu-š(è)*, *ru-ru-gú* as an adjective qualifying *nè* before an abstract noun with *-ĝ]á* suffix. In the verb *ka-tar si-il*, a *šè* is not usually found (note on II 11).
- II 110 This is a key line for the second part of the story, but despite the few signs missing, it is very obscure. The hearing presumably refers to the praise of Enki in the preceding lines, but how does Ummul come in, and what is the allusion of “make my house”? For building a “house,” *dù* or *dím* are usual, not *ak*. If Ninmah is being appeased, it would seem that her house, not Enki’s, needs building. Should the faulty a be emended from *é-mu* to *é-zu*? But how can the utterly incapable Ummul come into some concept of house-building? It is tempting to take *ĝiš-tuk-a-bi* with Kramer/Maier as “the gods who hear them” (but altering “them” to “it”), though this presumes an Akkadian construction: *ilū šēmūšu*. However, there is so much “bad” Sumerian in this text that another example is no problem.

The Exaltation of Nabû

- 1–16 Another description of an arrival of Nabû in Babylon is found on K 6606+ Col. A (JSS 4 [1959] 7–8), which may not refer to the New Year, though probably it does.
- 4–5 Cf. 10 *kalê^{mes} ina man-[zi-i . . .*, 11 *lú^{lú}nārē^{mes} ina ĝišzà-mí . . .* (VAB VII 264 3, 4). The I/3 of *ašû* is also used for “spread abroad” in OB omens, but there the form is *uš-te-né-ši* (YBT X 25 31 and 72).
- 6 Borger’s correction *^{id}pu-ra-át(?) -ti* is unnecessary. The Assyrian Recension of *Atra-ḫasis* (p. 43 7) also has *pu-ra-na-ta*, and as derived from the Sumerian *buranun* the form is not unexpected. The Mari letters offer the unassimilated *purantum* on a few occasions (ARM 15 p. 131).
- 7 *ĝišmá-íd-da-ḫé-du₇* is Nabû’s boat (SO VIII/4 61; MSL V 177 307). For *kīma šumēšu*, see the note on *Enūma Eliš* VI 149.
- 8 The “shining ladies” cannot be identified. Were they perhaps “the daughters of Ezida,” Gazbaba and Kirizalsurra (ZA 6 [1890] 241 3–4)?
- 9 *na-bi^dšam-ši* cannot mean “named by Šamaš,” as in the OB personal name *nabi-šamaš* (so Stamm, MVAG 44 [1939] 258), as this would be nonsense here. Nabû is being identified with Šamaš and Sîn, as in STT 71 6 = RA 53 (1959) 134: *^dšamaš š[á¹ u]d-da-k[ám] ^d30 m[u-š]i-t[i]*. This line is indeed based on a phrase in incantations which speak of the gods as separate deities: 30 *šá mūši^dšamaš šá kal u₄-mi* (PBS I/2 106 rev. 4; cf. ArOr 17/1 [1949] 179 and *ibid.* 21 [1953] 379 12). Like Nabû,

- Marduk is also addressed consecutively as ^dšamaš nūr(zalág) kib-rat and ^d30 mu-nam-mir {mir} ik-let (Thureau-Dangin, *Rit. acc.* 138 314–15).
- 10 See Borger ad loc. and the note on *Enūma Eliš* VII 64.
- 11 For the locations named, see *RLA* I 330, *CAD* S 129b, and A. R. George, *BTT* Indexes.
- 12–14 Similar passages occur in: *Ludlul* (*BWL* 60 92–94), a royal prayer (*AfO* 19 [1959/60] 59 165–66), *Esarhaddon* (Borger, *Asarhaddon* p. 5 vi 37–vii 8), and *Ashurbanipal* (*VAB* VII 264ff. 8–10). The meaning of *kišukku* here is unknown. In the present context, an expensive comestible is surely expected, not the *kis/šukku* of the dictionaries.
- 15 The suffix *-šun* must have an antecedent within the line, since nothing suitable occurs in the preceding line. This can only be *kapparrê*, since *šarru* is singular. Borger's easy *šarru kab-tu* leaves the *-re-e* in mid-air. The *-e*, though slightly damaged at the bottom left-hand corner, is certain. The meaning of *kapparrû* is unknown.
- 24 In the context, the verb of this line must be preterite or perfect, but the form does not agree with the standard paradigms. *ittahrammetu* implies a Neo-Babylonian IV perfect *ittablakkit*. It is better to assume this than to emend.
- 29 The first word could be read *ši-iš-šú* “silence,” as in *CAD* sub voce.
- 35 None of the possibilities for *IB.NAR* gives obvious sense here: *ip-puḥ* “he blew,” *ip-lul* “he led,” and *ib-lul* “he mixed.” But the last might be used on the view that, since *šutābulu* means both “mix” and “consider,” *balālu* in parallel could also mean “consider.”
- 38 Cf. [ú]-šá-te-ru *be-lut-su* (*ADD* 809 obv. 6).

A Unilingual/Bilingual Account of Creation

- Obv. 6 The trace might be restored *i-n[u-ma]*, but not *i-d[i-ig-lat]*.
- 7 The coupling of Šamaš with the great trinity is not usual; cf. *BWL* 162 3–6 and note. In the similar passage rev. 26–27, *Ninmaḥ* replaces him, but the Old Babylonian copy rev. has both.
- 11 The translation assumes that *šu gi₄-gi₄* is corrupt for *ad gi₄-gi₄*.
- 16–20 For the use of *i* after an interrogative pronoun, see *JCS* 21 (1967) 131 note on 30.
- 19–20 Since in the previous pair of questions the verbs in *K* are roughly synonymous, presumably *bal* here equates *e*. Van Dijk in *SGL* II 100 takes *bal-bal* as a verb of speaking. If this is correct, the Akkadian is a purely mechanical translation.
- 21–23 Since in the context no two individual gods are to hand, “both” in 23 is taken to refer to two groups of gods. Lines 7–8 and 9 above do distinguish between the chief gods and the rest of the *Anunnaki*, a distinction also found in *Atra-ḫasīs* I. Thus, in 22, it is best to assume that, as written by the author, the same two groups are meant: the *Anunnaki* generally and the select destiny-determining group. As now read, “who determine destinies” qualifies “*Anunnaki*.”
- 25 The repeated *Alla* expresses of course the plural, not the dual. For the reading *Alla* and other occurrences, see p. 223.
- 26 With *sag mú*, cf. *ASKT* 96 24–25: ^dba-ba₆ ama gal sag-mú lú-u₁₈-lu, and ^dnin-sag-mú-mú (= ^dbe-let-ì-lí) (*An* = *Anum* II 12, *CT* 24 25 79).
- 30 The late glosses of ÍL (= *tupšikku*) *du si/u* are no doubt corruptions of *tu-ub-ši-ig* attested at Emar. See *CAD* lexical section on *tupšikku*.
- 32–33 There seems to be some contamination with rev. 10.
- Rev. 2 Probably *gú* has dropped out between the noun and the verb, cf. *gú gar-gar* = *gurrunu* (*MSL* XVII 69 52).

- 11–12 The two names have generally been understood as those of the first human pair, except by Schmidtke (*Fs. Nötscher* 216), who, because of the divine determinative, considers them a divine pair. The usual view may be right but, in the corrupt context, nothing can be proved. It is not clear which male deity calls their names. Linguistically, the names are a pair, and the second is to be read as here (with Landsberger, *AfO Beiheft I* 178), against the usual ^dmi-nu-ú-an-ni ^dmi-nu-ú-ul-la (*AfK* 1 [1923] 21 6–7; cf. CT 25 30 22–23; 44 9–11; 29 obv. 7–8; KAV 173 19–20; CT 24 41 81–82). Divine names beginning with the sign AN do not normally take the determinative. There seem to be no other certain occurrences of those names, though An-ni-ga-ra occurs in an obscure context in II R 60 no. 1 iii 12, and there is a longer divine name ^dbára-ul-le-gar-ra, son of Bēlet-ilī (An = *Anum* II 60, CT 24 26 104–5), found also in Rīm-Sîn year-formulae (RLA II 161 204, 208, cf. RA 15 [1918] 24–26) and in lists (^dbára-ul-e-[gar]-ra, TCL 15 pl. xxvi 126; ^dba-ra-u₄-le-gar-ra, PBS I/2 112 i 14 = *ArOr* 21 [1953] 395, collated). The names presumably mean “Whom eternity established” and “Whom heaven established.”
- 15 For Enul Ninul, see p. 415.
- 17–18 Since Aruru is the creatress of mankind, and since 18 is duplicated in 24–25 below, one wonders if 18 has displaced a statement about Aruru’s creative work.
- 20 *ma-ni-šu* must be emended to <ra>*ma-ni-šu* to correspond with ní-bi. For sig₇-sig₇ = *bunnû* “create,” see note on *Enūma Eliš* I 1–10. If ki-ta is correct (there is nothing to correspond to the Akkadian), then the lines must refer to the birth of man like plants from the ground. However, if the signs NE KI are omitted, the remaining ní-bi-ta corresponds exactly to *a-na* <ra>*ma-ni-šu*. Without the phrase “from the earth,” the lines must be taken in the sense that men were created with the capacity for reproduction, just as barley yields its own seed. *Genesis* 1 has a similar emphasis on seed-bearing of plants, and the first commandment given to the human race was, “Be fruitful and multiply.”
- 29–30 These lines, and the colophon of K, seem to say that Nissaba is established in Uzunua. In Late Assyrian times, Inanna was mistress of that part of Nippur (*JCS* 17 [1963] 129 1), unless the term is used purely as a learned term for the whole of Nippur.

The Slaying of Labbu

- Obv. 3–4 The restorations, the second of which was suggested by Jacobsen, are based on the Assyrian Recension of *Atra-ḫasīs*: [*i-na*] *ḫu-bu-ri-ši-na la i-ša-ba-su/ta-ni ši-tu* (Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs* [Oxford, 1969], pp. 106 3, 8; 108 41), and on:

. . . na]-ám-tar-bi-šè ù nu-mu-un-ši-ku-ku
 . . . ana] ši-ma-ti-šu ul a-šal-lal
 [ù nu-m]u-un-ši-ku-ku ù-di nu-mu-un-dib-bé-en
 [ul a-š]al-lal šit-tum ul i-šab-ba-ta-an-ni
 SBH p. 54 obv. 11–14 = K 4891+5348a 12–15

- 5–6 Hrozný restored *muš*-[*gal-la*], and Jensen mentioned as possibilities *mušḫuššu* and *mušmahḫu*. Since no sign is written closely up to the *muš*, *šēra* is likely, but in any case the sense is not changed.
- 16 Instead of *sissiktu* for *túg-síg*, *ulinnu* could be read.
- 23 In mythology “river” and “sea” can interchange, so Labbu is no doubt meant by *reḫūt nāri*.

- Rev. 3 The seal is the personal cylinder seal of the deity, and since “seal of life” makes little sense, *napištu* is best taken as “throat,” as suggested by Ungnad (*Die Religion der Babylonier und Assyrer* [Jena, 1921] 62) and Jacobsen. Cylinder seals were carried on a string around the neck. It is hardly used to kill the enemy (so Jacobsen and B. Goff), rather to protect the bearer, like the plant that Marduk carried into battle with Tīāmat (*Enūma Eliš* IV 62). The use of seals as amulets is documented by B. Goff, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 19 (1956) 1–39.
- 4, 7 *nasāku* is apparently used with an ellipsis of a word for arrow, though this seems to be a unique phenomenon. Cf. *Enūma Eliš* IV 101.

The Founding of Eridu

- Obv. 5 á-dam for “settlement” is attested in Sumerian, as well as for “people” (A. Falkenstein, *SGL* I 40–42), and the same sense for the Akkadian *nammaššū* is attested in *Maliku* I 200: *nam-maš-šu-ú = a-lum* (*JAOS* 83 [1963] 428).
- 9 The -bi on ki-tuš-bi is probably collective referring to the gods, and the Akkadian version should have -su-nu, not -su.
- 10 The -ma on a-ab-ba-ma is probably the Akkadian -ma, as suggested by van Dijk, privately. See Å. Sjöberg, *ZA* 54 (1961) 62.
- 16 Cf. the Prologue to the *Code of Hammurabi* (i 17) and: mu maḥ-a mi-ni-in-sa₄-eš-a = šu-ma-am ši-ra-am i-bī-ù-šu (Samsu-iluna: RIME 4 p. 381 10).
- 17 Among the Sumerian equivalents for *amu* in *Urra* VIII is ^{gi}a-Diri-ga (line 234: MSL VII 22–23; IX 166–67), and it is possible that a has dropped out between gi and *Diri* here.
- 25 The reed *uššu* occurs lexically: MSL III 218 8; VII 13 89. *ditta* is either an error for, or a variant form of, *udittu*, which is also attested lexically in *Urra* (MSL VII 10 33–34) and *Urgud*: ^{gi}ŠE.KAK = ú-di-it-tum = lub-šu šá GI^{mes} (MSL VII 68 24). *Urgud* interprets the term as a part of the reed, but in our text and in other Sumerian passages (see Falkenstein, *ZA* 47 [1942] 200, Å. Sjöberg, *Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen* [Stockholm, 1960] 150 20 and 159 ad loc.), ^{gi}úš and ^{gi}ḥenbur occur together as different kinds of reeds.
- 28–29 udu-AMAŠ-a is to be read udu^uua (cf. u₅ = *rakābu*) as shown by the gloss ú-a in *Urra* XIII 21–22 (MSL VIII/1 8), but it is doubtful if the Akkadian translator understood this. In any case, there is some defect in these two lines as now preserved.
- 30 The Sumerian root *lug* “stand” is attested elsewhere: in-ne-da-lu-ga-ta = iz-za-a[z-zu] (BE 1 129 obv. 12 = RIME 4 p. 426 19’); lu-ug = LU = man-za-zu šá alpi u immeri (MSL XIV 186 191); C. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos* (Wiesbaden, 1969) p. 98 68 (cf. H. Vanstiphout, *Epics of Sumerian Kings* [Atlanta, 2003] p. 138) àm-ma-da-lu-ga = i-z[i-iz], not i-t[i-iq]. However, the Akkadian translation could be wrong. mi-ni-in-lu-ug could be rendered *ušzīz*, and that is a form of the verb used elsewhere for “create” (see note on *Enūma Eliš* I 1–10).

Another Dragon-Slaying Episode

- 8 A possible restoration is: *a-na ili su[kkali]-šu*, “to the god his vizier.”
- 17 IGI.DU is literally “the one who goes at the front”: *igi(-šè)-du*, and so “leader.” As a divine name, it is used commonly of Ninurta and Nergal. The correct Sumerian reading is in doubt. Lexical texts give *palil* (*CAD*, *palilu*), but the Akk. loans *igištū* and *geštū* presume *igišdu*. However, this evidence

is for the common noun, not the divine title. For the latter, there is uncertain evidence supporting *palil*: ^d*ēr-ra-ṗa-lil* (name of an item of clothing, STT 393 75); and [^d*p*]a-li[l], STT 214–17 i 32.

21 B. Landsberger, *Fauna*¹ 58³ notes an uncertain restoration *ba-[aš-mu]*; also CAD sub voce *urku*.

24 In the *Slaying of Labbu* obv. 10, the same expression is used of the ears, but the sign here is definitely IGI, not geštu.

The Theogony of Dunnu

3 If *ḥašānu* is taken in the physical sense of “embrace” here, as in Arabic and Ethiopic, one may restore [*it-ta*]-*aḥ-ṣi-nu-ma*, IV/1 perfect in a reflexive sense: “they linked arms and hitched on their plough.” However, *iḥ-ṣi-nu* is a good I/1 form.

5 AMAkandu is a name of Šakkan (Sumuqan), and the attributes and history of this god and his names need to be stated here at length, since they are little known. Before examining evidence, it may be well to state known facts. These are that in Akkadian texts Šakkan is a god of quadrupeds, though whether of all or only of some is not clear, nor whether the distinction between wild and domesticated should be made. One of the most common uses is in the phrase *būl* ^(d)šakkan, but there is no distinction in meaning between this and *būlu* alone, as may be illustrated from *Urra* XIV 392–93:

níg-úr-limmu-ba = *bu-ú-lu*
níg-úr-limmu-ba = *bu-ul* ^dšakkan(*gír*)

Examples in context confirm this point. The phrase with Šakkan belongs to literary phraseology, and the presence or absence of the god’s name even there is a matter of style and feeling.

The first occurrence of the divine name is found in an archaic Sumerian god-list from Ur: ^(d)gan-ama-[(x)] (UET II 105 i). A somewhat later Fara administrative tablet has ^dama-gan-šu (Jestin, *TSS* 102 vi), and an Early Dynastic Kish tablet offers the personal name ^dša-gan-ur-sag (Langdon, *Kish* IV pl. XLIII no. 3 i). In the Baba archive from Lagaš, the name occurs in the complex: *níg/ninda*-^dama-gan-ša-na-šè (*DP* 61 i). The same name may occur in an inscription of Enannatum I: [(x)] x ama-gan-ša (Sollberger, *Corpus* 23 iii 4), but the context is broken. M. Lambert finds other examples in the name *bára-sa/sá-gan-nu-sá* (*RA* 47 [1953] 190), but this evidence is hardly sure. Proof that the other writings involve Šakkan will appear in due course.

Without the divine determinative, the writing *ama-gan-ša* occurs frequently in the Lagaš Baba archive from the end of the Early Dynastic period. It never occurs by itself, but always preceded by *sipa*, *anše*, or *SAL.ANŠE/ANŠE.SAL* (= *emè*). Twice, it occurs with both *sipa* and *anše*: *sipa ama-gan-an-še-ša-gan-me* (Hussey, *ST* I 8 v and 11 v; in the latter occurrence the *še* is omitted by error). The insertion of *anše* between *ama* and (as here) *ša-gan* proves nothing in view of the lack of consistent order of signs in this period. In all other cases, *ama* and *gan(-ša)* come together. The order *ša-gan*, though very unusual, could well be correct, since the complex can be resumed with *-na* (Hussey, *ST* I 12 v).

In the Ur III texts, the term occurs also, but less frequently:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| (a) <i>sipa-ama-gan</i> | Salonen, <i>Puzriš-Dagan</i> 171; <i>ITT</i> III 5223 |
| (b) <i>sipa-ama-gan-me</i> | Barton, <i>Haverford</i> II 27 ii |
| (c) <i>sipa-ama-gan-na-me</i> | CT 3 38 168 |
| (d) <i>sipa-anše-ama-gan</i> | Oppenheim, <i>Eames</i> O 29; Legrain, <i>TRU</i> 120 |

- (e) sipa-anše-ama-gan-na Reisner, *Telloh* 16 vii
 (f) anše-ama-gan-ta Barton, *Haverford* III 197 obv.
 (g) 3 ANŠE.SAL a-ru-a ʿnin-ki-mar-ta ama-gan-ša-šè ITT III 5223
 (h) šaḥ-ama-gan-uru *Babyloniaca* 8 (1924) pl. XI HG 10

Again the resumptive -na occurs, but the ša is totally lacking, unless in (g), but one could take ama-gan-ša as a compound like ab-ša “middle of the sea.” In either case, this seems to be the only example of ama-gan without divine determinative and not in genitival relationship to a preceding noun.

First, the phonetic problem of this material. Since the Ur III scribes omit the ša which the earlier Lagaš scribes wrote, one must conclude that this a dispensable phonetic complement. And since the complex ends in -n it is a permissible hypothesis that the whole of ama-gan(-ša) is to be read šagan, and the full evidence to prove the point will appear in due course. Either the ama alone had the value šagan_x and the gan(-ša) is a phonetic writing added like geš-túg to the PI sign, or ama had the value ša_x.

Secondly, meaning. Apart from (h) in the Ur III material, which refers to pigs, all the other examples either certainly, or very probably concern donkeys. Since in much later bilingual passages ama-gan = *ummu ālittu* (ŠL 143 3) de Genouillac in 1909 (*TSA* p. 16) translated “ânesses mères,” and this opinion was supported by Thureau-Dangin in 1914 (*RA* 11 [1914] 103). This proposal offered no explanation of the ša, and there is no evidence that šagan = *alādu*. In *Or.* 20 (1926) 22, A. Deimel observed, “Da gan+ša immer zusammen mit ama vorkommt, wird es vielleicht ‘säugend’ bedeuten,” the logic of which is hard to see, and no shred of evidence was offered for it. Matouš in 1950 (*ArOr* 18/4 [1950] 385) went back to “donkey bringing forth,” and Falkenstein first rendered an occurrence in Gudea (which will be considered in due course) “die gebärende Eselin” (*AnOr* 28 [1959] 61), but then in *AnOr* 29 (1960) 66⁵ he altered his rendering to “den trächtigen Eselinnen,” a change necessitated by the context, but ignoring that gan means “give birth,” not “be pregnant.” Y. Rosengarten in her *Consommation* (1960) pp. 79ff. at least had the integrity to see that the problem was not solved and repeated Falkenstein’s last rendering with a question mark: “ânesses pleines(?),” and gave the Sumerian as ama-gan-ŠA. The history of the case shows the unfortunate effect of relying on etymology too much before the correct reading of the signs has been established.

The contention we make is that AMA in this sign group has nothing to do with “mother.” Goetze (*JCS* 17 [1963] 7) considered SAL.ANŠE-ama-gan(-ša) proof of the correctness of “ânesses-mère,” but exactly the opposite conclusion can be drawn. Normally, donkeys were referred to without distinction of sex, unlike cows and bulls. If, then, one finds both anše-ama-gan and emè-ama-gan, it is perfectly permissible to argue that the gender distinction lies in emè rather than in ama-gan. For the Ur III occurrences, one passage proves that ama-gan donkeys need not be feminine: 7 anše-nita 1 anše-nita mu-3 anše-ama-gan-ta (Barton, *Haverford* III 197), “7 male donkeys, 1 male donkey three years old, from the ama-gan-donkeys.” We do not propose to make a detailed study of the many Early Dynastic passages, since one cannot do this for ama-gan alone but would have to study all the donkey terms. A suggestion, however, may be put forward. While one cannot just assume that the meaning of the Akk. Šakkan will be identical with that of Early Dynastic times, at least one can ask if it be so. Rosengarten’s discussion of the various donkey terms assumed that they must all be on one level. If some donkey keepers are called sipa-ama-gan-ša while others have different titles, then (according to her method) each must have a specialized function not shared by the others. Similarly with the animals: since some are specified

by ama-gan-ša and others by other terms, they must all be distinguishable into clearly defined classes. In contrast, it is suggested here that ama-gan-ša is a generic term for donkeys, which, like the Akk. Šakkan in the phrase *būl šakkan*, conveys nothing specific. Thus, sipa-ama-gan-ša means nothing other than “donkey keeper,” and the other terms indicate men with specialized duties in the rearing of donkeys. Also, the animals designated ama-gan-ša are just donkeys in general, contrasted only with those more closely designated by age, sex, or other criteria. In favour of this proposition, it may be noted that, among the men, those designated ama-gan-ša are very much more common than the other kinds of donkey-keeper. Also, in the few tablets which list many different sorts of donkeys (DP 237; RTC 49; VAS XIV 160), those designated ama-gan-ša come first in each case and are the largest group.

Gudea Statue F iii 16–iv 13 has been cited as proof that AMA is “mother.” It describes how the young of various animals were put with their mothers. The pairs of names are:

áb	—	amar	(cow)
u ₈	—	sil ₄	(sheep)
ùz(ud ₅)	—	máš	(goat)
anše-ama-gan-a	—	dūr-kaš ₄	(donkey)

The only purpose of putting the young with their mothers is to have them fed and satisfied. It is hard to see how a mother donkey could do this duty if she was giving birth, and so Falkenstein had good reason to change this into “pregnant,” though without any lexical support. It is also not clear why only the donkey should be specified as pregnant, and not the other animals as well. As soon as it is realized that ama-gan is just an epithetic augment used with “donkey” and that these creatures are not usually distinguished by sex, the problem resolves.

Another writing of the name Šakkan is ^dGÌR, which became the usual ideogram for the god in Akkadian texts. M. Lambert (RA 47 [1953] 190) suggests that it was originally also an ideogram “avec l'idée de représenter un animal.” Unfortunately, the facts are much more complicated. The Late Assyrian GÌR sign combines three clearly distinguished signs from the archaic Sumerian texts from Ur to the time of Gudea, which, following Fossey, *Manuel* II nos. 28483ff., we shall name nos. 1, 2, and 3, respectively. The last is the lion-head, PIRIG, which does not concern us here. No. 2 (LAK 253) is g̃r “foot,” “way,” and to this must be added anše, since at this period one form served for the two values, though later they were distinguished. No. 1 (LAK 248) is basically the same as no. 2, but lacks four or six extra strokes used on no. 2, two at the bottom left, the rest at the top right. These extra wedges do not justify us calling the one the *gumû* of the other. The general opinion is that both nos. 1 and 2 originated as a donkey head (Falkenstein, *ATU* no. 49; *OECT* VII no. 130), and the extra parts of no. 2 have been explained as part of the harness (Deimel, *ŠL* 444). However, hypotheses about the original forms should not be allowed to obscure the facts of usage, which are that nos. 1 and 2 have nothing in common. No. 2 is well attested for g̃r, anše, and nè. No. 1 is altogether less common, but occurs in “GÌR”-nita = šakkana, in “GÌR”-lam (a basket? see Landsberger, *Date Palm* p. 39), and in a few other unhelpful contexts. The same sign is also used for kiši. In the Ur III texts, so far as one can tell from the copies and from the work of those who consider that the script is so well known that transliterations suffice for every scholarly purpose, nos. 1 and 2 are often confused. There are tablets which distinguish them as in earlier times—*TRU* 342 and *RTC* 284, for example—but more often chaos seems to prevail. *ITT* III/2 6537 writes šakkana with a clear ANŠE sign; g̃r “foot” in *RTC* 262 has only one pair of the extra wedges; etc. This confusion is particularly regrettable since the GÌR sign used for Šakkan is not attested before

the Ur III period, and whether it be no. 1 or no. 2 cannot be decided with certainty. M. Lambert's argument that its use arose because the sign anše is that for an animal runs into the objection that, when the signs were distinguished, not anše but GÌR is the one. The idea that ANŠE can be read šak(k)an is found in Meissner, SAI 3386; Deimel, ŠL 208 13, etc.; but this all rests on the false interpretation of CT 12 31, BM 38177. As Goetze has rightly seen (JCS 17 [1963] 7), the sign is not anše but g̃r. Since no. 1 with the addition of nita has the value šakkana, it is more likely that ^dGÌR involves no. 1 and was chosen purely as a phonetic writing.

Not every occurrence of ^dGÌR need be taken as Šakkan. In Early Dynastic Lagaš, there is a personal name ur-^d“GÌR”-la, with sign no. 1 (RTC 14 ii), which is also attested from Fara (Deimel, Fara III no. 67 12586 vi; no. 68 9080 v; no. 69 9125 iv). The Fara tablets also have the name once without the final -la: no. 65 12422 10. In Ur III texts, ^dg̃r-ra and ^dg̃r-da are certainly different gods. In the same period, most of the occurrences of ^dGÌR cannot be interpreted, since the contexts are unhelpful: there is a gudú ^dGÌR in CT 9 19068 25; an é ^dGÌR in MCS VII [1957] 13–14; and offerings to ^dGÌR in TCL 6 6053 iii and Fish, *Catalogue* 91 5. In addition, there are personal names with ^dGÌR; see Schneider, AnOr 19 no. 148. The first completely certain example of ^dGÌR for Šakkan occurs on a seal inscription which will be dealt with later. On this writing, cf. Jean, *La religion sumérienne* (Paris, 1931) 92¹.

A third Sumerian writing of Šakkan is phonetic: ^dšagan, which is the compound sign šu₄+gan. (The Early Dynastic examples included ^dAMA-gan-ša and ^dAMA-gan-šu, and in addition to Šakkan, Sumuqan has long been known.) This writing occurs first in Gudea Cylinder B ix 3: ^dšagan šeg₉-bar sukkal é-dùg-ga, “Šakkan, the wild sheep, vizier of the ‘good house’.” Without the divine determinative, the name and its first epithet occurs in a list of offerings: 1 sila₄ šagan šeg₉-bar (RTC 247 rev. 12). Landsberger, in the first edition of his *Fauna*, p. 96, took šeg₉ and šeg₉-bar for “wild sheep,” though now he prefers “wild boars of the mountain” (JNES 24 [1965] 296⁴⁰). Whichever is correct, it is strange that the deity whose name is so consistently associated with donkeys in the Early Dynastic and Ur III texts should be identified as another creature here. The same writing is also attested in the Ur III name ur-^dšagan (YBT IV 232 74 and 82).

The evidence of Sumerian literary texts to the attributes of Šakkan is not extensive. A Šulgi hymn has this king speak of himself as d̃r-^dGÌR-na, “male donkey of Šakkan” (ZA 50 [1952] 64 18). This fits the picture of the economic and administrative texts, but most of the other Sumerian literary sources do not. According to Kramer, there is a hymn to Šakkan of which some pieces are published and others unpublished. From what Kramer has said of the composition (*Enki und die Weltordnung* p. 250; *Fs. Albright* 263⁶⁵; UET VI p. 8²⁸), it does not seem to have any bearing on the animal connections of the deity, if indeed it is a hymn to Šakkan. In *The Death of Gilgameš*, among the deities met in the underworld is ^dsu-mu-gán(! copy: KAL; see BASOR 94 [1944] 8 20). Infernal aspects of the god occur later in Akkadian texts: an incantation to ^dGÌR (AMT 52 1 = Ebeling, *Tod und Leben* p. 27) deals with him exclusively as an underworld god (ed̃n = š̃eru is used both of quadruped terrain and of the realm below); Gilgameš in the Akkadian form also knows of Šakkan below: VII IV 49; and in the late *i-NAM giš-hur an-ki-a* (CT 25 50 15) ^du.gur is explained as ^dGÌR. *Enki und die Weltordnung* lines 347–55 describe how Enki made the open country luxuriant with vegetation, made to multiply wild creatures (máš-anše an-ed̃n-na) and particularly the wild sheep called šeg₉ and šeg₉-bar. In charge of all this Šakkan (^dGÌR) was put. An Emesal litany cited in full by E. Bergmann in ZA 56 (1964) 41 in one Old Babylonian copy has: su-mu-un-ga-an zi-ig ši-in-bar ú-ši-im lu-a (PBS X/2 13 rev. 12), i.e., “Šakkan, who makes the šeg₉ and šeg₉-bar flourish on grass,” which gives a phonetic spelling of the name related to that in *The Death*

of *Gilgameš*. The other Old Babylonian copy (VAS II 8 iv 12) has: ^dGÌR máš-anše sig^ršeg₉-bar ú-šim¹-ma lu¹-lu¹, but the late copies have replaced the epithets with mu-lu edin-na = *be-el še-rim*. The first datable occurrence of níg-úr-lim mu-^dGÌR(-na) seems to be found in a lament over the destruction caused by the Gutí (PBS X/2 4 11); it is also found in the Ibbi-Sin Lament (BE 31 3 rev. 19 = *WdO* I [1947/50] 378 46) and in a hymn of Iddin-Dagan (Römer, *SKIZ* 131 93⁹⁴). An Išme-Dagan hymn refers to ^den-ki ^diškur ^dezinu ^dGÌR en-ḫé-gál-la-k[e₄-ne] (*SRT* 13 68). A Ninurta hymn of uncertain date refers to ^dGÌR lugal-anše-ke₄ (*SLTNi* 61 41 = 56), and an Old Babylonian copy of a bilingual incantation names ^dGÌR lugal-máš-anše-ke₄ = ^dGÌR *be-el bu-li-im* ^dGÌR (*PRAK* II C 1 rev. 16–17), but ^dGÌR lugal-máš-anše-ke₄ = ^dMIN *be-el nam-[ma] šše-e* (BM 54918+64270 rev. 6).

The material presented so far divides naturally into two groups. First, there is the material from administrative texts dealing with domestic animals, where AMA-gan(-ša) qualifies donkeys. This material extends from the end of the Early Dynastic Period to the Third Dynasty of Ur. Secondly, in literary contexts, ^dGÌR is concerned with quadrupeds generally and with the plant life on which they live. In this group, Šakkan is never connected with donkeys, except for the Šulgi hymn, and more than once he has some kind of connection with the šeg₉ and šeg₉-bar, which are generally understood to be wild sheep. The first attestation of this usage is presumably that from the lament over the Gutí invasion, if it was written soon after the event, or in the following Ur dynasty. Most of the passages, however, come from the period of the Isin dynasty, in which Falkenstein puts the composition of *Enki und die Weltordnung* (ZA 56 [1964] 45). The usage and writing of the economic and administrative texts ceased with the Third Dynasty of Ur, and it is not recorded in *Urra* or its forerunners and only survived in corrupted form in god-lists (see below). The literary usage in contrast is recorded in *Urra* as quoted above, and it continued into Late Babylonian times. The distinction, however, is not just one of period but of concept also, but no explanation of it can yet be attempted.

Two Old Babylonian god-lists from Nippur offer Šakkan with Laḫar, but in unhelpful contexts:

^d GÌR	^d la-ḫa-ar
^d U ₈	^d GÌR ša-am-ka-an
SLT 122 III 19–20	Diri Nippur, MSL XV 36 40–41

The spelling Šamkan is an uncontracted form, since much earlier a form Šamagan occurs, as quoted below. A third Old Babylonian god-list can be introduced by a seal inscription from the same period: ^dGÌR dumu ^dutu (Delaporte in *Mélanges Dussaud* 909–10 and pl. iv no. 18). This first mention of Šakkan's parentage, “son of Utu,” is paralleled in a late copy of a Sumerian incantation: ^dGÌR dumu ^dutu (*ASKT* 105 rev. 10), but it would not be a safe assumption that this view was the only one. A bilingual from Boğazköy has Šakkan as a vizier in the court of Šamaš: ^dšá-kan suka-l-maḫ^d [. . . = šá-kan *sukkallu ši-ru ša* [. . . (KUB IV 11 obv. 4–5). The god-list referred to, TCL 15 pl. xxvff., is arranged systematically, and in the place where the dependents of Šamaš appear, one finds: ^dšeg₉, ^dsikil-la-me-si (188–89). De Genouillac in *RA* 20 (1923) 102 and 25 (1928) 134 misread the first name as ^dGÌR, but copied the sign as a clear ^dšeg₉. As will be shown later, An = *Anum* takes over these two lines, proves by a modification that the first name is to be pronounced šeg, and specifies the latter name as the wife of the former. šeg₉ and šeg₉-bar have been found referring to Šakkan and his sphere of influence before, but it is curious that the ordinary name of the god does not occur in this list at all. The reason may be suggested by following up the epithet lugal-edin-na, “master of the open country.” This is used of Šakkan in a bilingual exorcistic text

which no doubt goes back to Old Babylonian times at least, though the late copies from which it is known may have been edited at a later time:

^dGÌR dumu [^dut]u-ke₄ lugal-edin-na- . . .
^dšak-kan mar ^dšamaš be-e[l še-ri . . .
 ArOr 21 (1953) 384 15–16 (collated)

The Emesal litany quoted above also applied this epithet to Šakkan, but in the god-list under discussion, the title is given far removed from ^dšeg₉ and within another context:

342 ^dedin-na-ní-sì-ma
^dlugal-edin-na
^dlugal-šu-ùr-ra [níg-šu-úr = nam-maš-tú: MSL VIII/2 43 401]
 345 ^dlugal-zag-è
^dlú-làl
^dsa-è
^[d]x-edin-na
^[dš]ará

(A later form of this list is CT 25 37 rev.) This section is related to a section of an exorcistic text dealing with ^dá-nu-kúš-ù (ArOr 21 [1953] 376 47ff.), whose obscurity is relieved by the citation of other names of his: ^dlugal-edin-na, ^dlú-làl, ^dmunsùb-maḥ, and ^dšára. Lugal is well known from the *Descent of Inanna* as a god of Bad-Tibira, in Akkadian also known as *Lā-tarāk*. Since Lugal was his ordinary name, one can but suspect that originally two gods were involved, though later they were identified, since Lugal comes not at the head of these two lists. Thus, there is little hope of knowing if Lugal-edinna in these two sources is Šakkan under another name or a similar but originally unrelated god. The duplication in the god-list is very clear. The name ^dsa-è is a very clear example of an epithet having become a name, since zag-è, with the gloss *a-ša-re-du*, occurs in the *Descent of Inanna* 329 (JCS 5 [1951] 13) as a description of Lugal. (Another interpretation of this zag-è is offered in Reisner, SBH p. 92 19 = Langdon, SBP 162 30: *šá a-še-e*.) Lugalzage is of course a doublet of this. munsùb is Emesal for lú-sipa: the scribal tradition equates the normal and simple lú with the dialectal reduplicated and dissimilated mulu (MSL IV 13 6), but this is not the whole truth. For DUR+NUN, the pronunciations mu-su-ub and mu-un-su-ub are attested (CT 11 18 vi 33), so one must acknowledge here the Emesal mu “man” and sub “shepherd.” The writing PA.MUSUB (mu₆-sùb) documented by Sjöberg (*Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen* [Stockholm, 1960] p. 62), further complicates the problem. We are then in a context strongly redolent of the ancient shepherd god, associated here with Bad-Tibira, the city of Tammuz. *Maqlû* VI 7 and *Šurpu* II 177–78 both have together ^dlugal-edin-na and ^dla-ta-rak.

Against this background, we may now proceed to the Akkadian hymn in honour of Šamaš which deals with his indispensable help in the activities of certain other gods. It is known from two incomplete copies, one from Assur and one from Boğazköy. Ebeling edited them in *Or. NS* 23 (1954) 209ff. and concluded that they rest on an Old Babylonian original. One section is devoted to Šakkan (p. 211 1ff.), and his attributes are limited to clothing: he is “the coverer of the nakedness of the lands” (*mu-ka-at-tim bu-ul-tim ša ma-ta-a-tim*). There is nothing more specific about animals than that he is called “shepherd.” The reason for his being stripped of his chief attribute is that the next section takes up *Lā-tarāk*, and he is “master of the open country” (*šar še-ri-im*) and all other things that one expects Šakkan to be. The conclusion to draw from the Old Babylonian evidence is

that Šakkan at this time was an uninstitutionalized centre of emotions, not clearly attached to any city cult, and as a consequence, he was integrated in the official cults in various ways. A connection with Šamaš existed, presumably some aspect of the cult of Sippar or Larsa. One may wonder if the name of Šamaš ^dsag-bar-šu-du₇ (An = *Anum* III 123: CT 25 25 27 restored by K 14760; CT 25 27, K 4365 5) conceals a variant spelling of šeg₉-bar. Cf. also a Šulgi hymn:

a-zi-gu₄-nindá-a-ru-a-gim sag-bar gùn-gùnu-me-èn
SRT 14 4; Römer, SKIZ 249

Like reliable offspring that a breeding bull begat, I am a full-grown *wild sheep*.

If Šamaš had some mythological association with the šeg₉-bar, then the reason for attaching Šakkan to him is clear. The god-list with šeg₉ does not put Šakkan at this point (or indeed anywhere), but the possibility was clearly open. The Šamaš hymn, however, already being committed to assigning all shepherd-god emotions to Lulal (*Lā-tarāk*), had to strip Šakkan of these and left him with the animals' wool, the basic stuff of clothing, for his attribute. No doubt he was conceived himself as having a long fleece, and for this reason the uncivilized Enkidu is described in the Akkadian Gilgameš as being "clothed with clothing like Šakkan" (*lu-bu-uš-ti la-biš kīma* ^dGÌR: I ii 38), which means clothed only with natural hair.

In the Middle Babylonian period, we have to depend on god-lists, since nothing else can be dated with certainty to this period. Both An = *Anum* and CT 29 44–47 (*Diri*?) offer related Šakkan sections, and a small Ashurbanipal fragment, K 7722+9244, offers another recension of the latter. First, the passages of An = *Anum* and *Diri*?:

^d GÌR	dumu- ^d utu-ke ₄	^d dumu-zi	^d SIPA
^d .su-mu-qa-an ^d GÌR	^d GÌR	su-mu-ug-ga	^d GÌR
^d .min ^d GÌR-ama-a-ni-i-x-gán	<MIN>	šak-kan	^d GÌR
(^d GÌR-ama-NI-gan-du-gán-ne-du)		2	^d GÌR-gazi-a-an
^d .min ^d ama-gan-dù	<MIN>	3	^d gan
^d .min ^d maš	<MIN>	4	^d ama-ša-gan-DU ^{gu-ub}
^d .min ^d ú-kú	<MIN>	5	^d .ma-ša-ku ^d maš
^d .min ^d ú-a	<MIN>		
^d .min ^d a	<MIN>		
[^d .min-si-ki ^d si]g	<MIN>		
^d sikil-la-me-si	dam-bi-SAL	6	^d U ₁₀
^d .l[^a -ḥar ^d U ₈	š]u	ga-a-a-ú	^d U ₁₀
^d .min ^d si ^d g	<MIN>	2	^d U ₈
^d túg ^{me} -S[UD]	<MIN>	še-er-du	^d U ₈
^d du ₆ ([!] tablet: BA)-kù-ga	<MIN>		
An = <i>Anum</i> III 191–205		CT 29 46 7–17	

The text of An = *Anum* here is reconstructed from the two Middle Assyrian copies. One late copy preserves the end of this section with variants:

^d ama-MIN-ki-ú-kú	dumu- ^d utu-[ke ₄]
^d .min ^d ú-ḥi-a ^{ba} -ku	MIN
^d .min-si-ki ^d si ^d g	[MIN]
^d sikil-la-me-si	dam-bi-SAL

^d la-ḫarU ₈	šu
^d nin-síg	MIN
^d nin-túg-SUD	MIN
^d nin-du ₆ -kù-ga	MIN

CT 25 20 1–5

In the first two lines, there is some corruption. The name ú-kú seems to occur twice in variant writings, the first time mixed up with bits of other names. But even the Middle Assyrian copies are not free from error, as will be shown. The last three names here have a nin which is lacking from the older copy, but that makes no real difference. The small Ashurbanipal fragment is as follows:

^d GÌR	= šu
^d GÌR	= šu
^d GÌR-ama-GÌR-ša-ga-ne-d[u]	= [KIMIN]
^d GÌR-ama-du-NI	= [KIMIN]
^d nin-ú-kú	= K[IMIN]
^d hi- ^{bi} máš	= KI[MIN]
^d máš-anše	= KI[MIN]
^d x-RU.EN.ŠÚ.ÁŠ.LAM(= ŠÉŠ)	= KIM[IN]
[^d] x x x x	= K[IMIN]

K 7722 (CT 25 46)+9244 (Pl. 72)

The first observation to be made on these lists is the different contexts in which the first two place the shared parts. In CT 29, Šakkan and Gaʿu are placed between Tammuz and his mother Zerdu. Šara also follows Zerdu. Thus, Šakkan is conceived in some relationship to Tammuz the shepherd, but since the list has a primarily philological rather than theological bias, the relationship is not expressed. In this context, Šakkan is given with Gaʿu. In An = *Anum*, in contrast, the compiler, accepting Šakkan as son of Šamaš, used the two entries in the Old Babylonian forerunner, but somewhere in the process ^dšeg₉ was turned into ^dsíg “Wool”! This is the theology of the Old Babylonian Šamaš hymn; for the rest, however, Šakkan is presented in two juxtaposed lists which clearly imply his shepherd characteristics. The first list also occurs in CT 29 and K 7722+9244, but the second is lacking from CT 29. First, the two spellings of the name are given. An = *Anum*, it is true, does not actually spell out Šakkan, but in Akkadian texts ^dGÌR for Šakkan is sufficiently common that this was certainly assumed to be the correct reading of the first line. Since the second occurrence of ^dGÌR is glossed, the first is to be pronounced differently from the second. Then follow three names which correspond to four in CT 29. The first, which is very long, was evidently written in two lines in an archetype of CT 29, and then in error the GAN, which was put on the following line, was misunderstood as an independent name. Hence, one must delete the determinative and restore the GAN to the end of the previous line. gazi corresponds to ama in An = *Anum* and is certainly in error. What we have here is a conflation of two writings of Šakkan, ^dAMA-gan and ^dGÌR. Seeing that the writing AMA-gan ceased with the Third Dynasty of Ur, it is no surprise that the gloss, needed to explain it, was soon misunderstood and so appears as part of the name. It is also very probably corrupt. The first part in each case is similar: a-ni/a-an. The A is no doubt corrupt for šá (note the corresponding šà in K 7722+9244), and the gloss therefore gave the pronunciation of Šakkan. K 7722+9244 is even more corrupt in one respect, that it has GÌR twice in the line. After they have been deleted, the traces may be restored: AMA-ša-g[a-an-G]Á[N]. The traces of the line in An = *Anum* have been correctly copied by King in CT 24 32 113, and the I does seem to be

this rather than GAN. The two heads of the incomplete sign are too wide apart to be the beginning of GAN, though the final gán certainly glosses that sign. In CT 29, one may well ask if the gloss is not incompletely preserved.

The next line offers the old writing of Šakkan with one further sign. This, too, is very old, for a seal inscription from Lagaš contains just this:

^dedin-mu-gi sukal ^dGÌR AMA-gan-ša-DU ur-^dlugal-edin-na a-zu èr-zu
RA 11 (1914) 103; Delaporte, *Louvre* I pl. 54

(The owner of the seal was contemporary with Ur-Ningirsu of Lagaš, son of Gudea, as established by M. Lambert, RA 42 [1948] 209.) AMA-gan-ša-DU is an epithet, which, as often, became a secondary name. The sense of the DU is disputed as between An = *Anum* and CT 29, since the one has converted it into dù, while the other glosses it gu-ub. The NI in the corresponding line of K 9244 is no doubt a corruption of dù, so agreeing with An = *Anum*. They might intend “the creator of donkeys/quadrupeds,” and CT 29 in contrast, “who makes donkeys/quadrupeds stand.” But better sense is given if du is taken as a phonetic writing of du₃: “who makes donkeys/quadrupeds prosper.” The occurrence of Šakkan with the divine determinative immediately followed by the same vocable without is not impossible. The series Aa (CT 12 31, BM 38177) and the vocabulary S^b (MSL III 99 and IX 150 43–44) both list GÌR and ^dGÌR as separate entries, and the former assigns the value ša-ka-an to both, but the later gives the Akk. *i-me-ri* “donkey” as the value of the first but ša-gan for the second.

The last common entry in the god-lists, ^dmaš/máš, is to be understood as *būlu*. The following three entries in An = *Anum* and the related fourth line of K 7722+9244 can be partially grasped: ú-kú = *ú-ma-mu* (MSL VIII/2 42 388); ú-a can be interpreted through the equivalences *rītu mašqītu*, also a could be the equivalent of *rehû* in view of *Maqlû* VII 24: *ki-ma* ^dGÌR *ir-ḫu-ú bu-ul-šú*, but the literal interpretation of this passage adopted by W. F. Albright (*JAOS* 40 [1920] 320ff.; *AfO* 3 [1926] 181–83) is unnecessary. The penultimate line of K 7722+ 9244 is obviously corrupt, but the present writer would not care to guess what the underlying original was.

Another Middle Babylonian list with a Šakkan section is An = *Anum* = *ša amēli*:

^d GÌR	^d GÌR	šá bir-qi
^d kur-gal	MIN	šá te-lil-te
^d mar-dú	MIN	šá su-ti-i
an-mar-dú	MIN	šá su-ti-i
^d šár-šár	MIN	šá su-ti-i
^d GÌR	MIN	šá šadî ⁱ
^d šš-BU.NUN.KU.TU	MIN	šá šúm-ma-ni

CT 24 42 89–95

The first entry here is simple etymology: gîr = *barāqu*, but this is used of Martu in a seal inscription: *ba-ri-qu[m]* (J.-R. Kupper, *L'iconographie du dieu Amurru* [Brussels, 1961] 67). All the other names are well-known names of Martu or have well known connections with him. Šaršar is the ridge of high land, Jebel Bishri, from which the Martu nomads reached the Euphrates (G. Buccellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period* [Naples, 1966] 236–37; *JNES* 15 [1956] 134 38–39). The second GÌR is derived from the double GÌR (the second of which is often inverted) for Tidnu. Here, then, the name Šakkan is transferred to the better-established Martu. It is a totally different solution to that adopted in other texts. Martu is the son of Anu, not of Šamaš.

Other evidence from the middle or late periods connects Šakkan with domestic sheep. A late copy of an Uruk ritual states:

ina bīt dšamaš šir immeri(udu-nitá) a-na dGÌR ul i-qar-ru-ub
Thureau-Dangin, *Rit. acc.* 65 40

In the temple of Šamaš mutton shall not be offered to Šakkan.

This also confirms his position in the circle of Šamaš. In Assur the Sheep Gate (ká-gal udu^{mes}) is called the šu-maḥ of Šakkan (dGÌR); see R. Frankena, *Tākultu* [Leiden, 1953] 125 130 and *Belleten* 14 (1950) 236. In the *Tākultu* texts themselves, an epithet of dGÌR is “keeper of the sheep-pen” (*na-šir tar-ba-ši*: Frankena, *op. cit.* 7 viii 17).

Sufficient of the evidence has now been stated for conclusions to be drawn. First, the pronunciation. The Early Dynastic period offers both Šugan and Šagan, and Šagan is also attested by the Ur III seal. So far as Sumerian is concerned there seems to be no evidence for having k instead of g. The sign GAN is rendered ga-an in *Proto-Ea* (MSL II 84 694). However, *Proto-Diri* (?) from Nippur glosses the name ša-am-ka-an, and all later attestations of this basic form of the pronunciation agree in having k. The Middle Babylonian *Aa* offers ša-ka-an; the clearest writing of all, in a text of Nebuchadnezzar II, is *bu-ú-lu₄ ša-ak-ka-an* (PSBA 20 [1898] 156 5). Obviously, then, the bilingual Boğazköy fragment is to be read (d)šá-kan, as in CT 19 47 obv. 10, a lexical text, *bu-lu₄ šak-kan*. Generally it would seem that g belongs to the older, Sumerian stages, and k to the later Akkadian. We read S^b ša-gan, though it could equally well be taken as ša-kan. A late case of a plain g is the etymological god-list BM 40747 25: dšag-gán = šá pa-an na-mar [, but here the etymology required sag, not šak. This short form, as already noted, is contracted from šamkan. The longer form first occurs in an Akkadian name from Early Dynastic Mari: *i-ku-dša-ma-gan* (A. Parrot, *Mission archéologique de Mari III, Les temples d'Ishtar et de Ninni-Zaza* [Paris, 1967] 309–10). Then in the *Death of Gilgamesh* it appears as su-mu-gán(! copy: KAL). In the Emesal litany it is written su-mu-un-ga-an. An = *Anum* and the related list in CT 29 presume or offer both pronunciations, the longer of which is given as su-mu-qa-an and su-mu-ug-ga respectively. Of the five attestations of the longer form the one is certainly Emesal, and Emesal glosses commonly appear in god-lists from the Middle Babylonian period. A comparison with other Sumerian words such as en/um un favours taking the longer form as Emesal. That it also occurs in an Early Dynastic personal name (Akkadian) and in the Sumerian epic is not decisive evidence to the contrary. Since it is known that the scribal tradition on dialectal forms is not the complete truth, one may in their spirit say that this is the Emesal form of šagan. All Akkadian contexts, it will be observed, have Šakkan (cf. D. O. Edzard apud H. W. Haussig, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* I/1 118: “Šakan . . . akk. Sumuqan”).

Coming now to the form of the name in this theogony, d^ama-kan-dù, there can be little question that properly it should be read Šakkandu. However, seeing that the writing AMA-gan went out of fashion with the Third Dynasty of Ur, was not recorded in the lexical texts, and only survived in corrupt form even in the Middle Assyrian copies of An = *Anum*, we may much doubt if the proper reading was known to the author, and certainly it was not known to the Late Babylonian scribe. Indeed, in a theogony one can expect the basic form of the name, Šakkan, not an epithet, as Šakkandu really is. The very use of this form suggests that the author was not fully informed on the writing he chose, and so we use Šakkan.

As to the scope of this deity within the pantheon, one is confronted with much variety: he is god of donkeys at the end of the Early Dynastic period and also in the Third Dynasty of Ur. Yet he is called a wild sheep in an inscription of Gudea. More commonly from about this time and onwards

he is shepherd of, apparently, most quadrupeds. A Sumerian incantation, known only from a late copy, calls him “shepherd of everything” (sipa níg-nam-ma-ke₄; Haupt, ASKT 105 rev. 10). Yet in both Babylonian and Assyrian texts he is specifically connected with domestic sheep. *Maqlû* VII 24–25 in contrast specifies sheep, gazelles, and donkeys as his creatures. In addition to the animal connections, there are other aspects: the verdure of the desert, the wool of animals and the resultant clothing, and an underworld location. There is, thus, no simple way of giving his attributes, and the way he was variously attached to Tammuz and Bad-Tibira, Šamaš, and Martu partly accounts for the diversity of facets under which we see him. In the theogony, his being father of Laḥar at least suggests animal attributes as the most prominent in the author’s mind, but the juxtaposition with Laḥar requires a precise and not a general sphere. This point will be taken up after Laḥar and Ga^u have been considered.

- 6 [šá-l]u-ul-ti-šú as restored does not conform to the known way of expressing “thirdly” (von Soden, GAG § 71b), but so great a variety of constructions occur with numerals generally that this is not a fatal objection.
- 12 ušnīl for “laid to rest,” i.e., buried, cf. AfO 18 (1957/58) 292 30 and 298 37; Ebeling, *Tod und Leben* p. 57 5.
- 14 Laḥar. laḥru is the common noun in Akkadian for “ewe,” commonly related to the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic *rāḥēl*, etc. As a name, it is used without ending, and it corresponds to the Sumerian u₈. There may be occurrences of the deity in the Early Dynastic texts in the personal name ^du₈-DU (UET II 367 i) and in a Fara list (not a god-list) ^dla-ḥar šaḥ-ni-ta (Deimel, *Fara* II no. 55 v). From Sumerian texts, the contest U₈ and Ezinu offers the fullest information. The contest proper is introduced, as usual, by a mythological introduction, and this, we may suspect, consists of excerpts from a more general creation myth. It deals with the creation of Uttu, or at least begins to do so, but then ignores her altogether. The important lines for Laḥar are:

^du₈ amaš(-a) im-ma-ab-kur₄-kur₄-e
 ú-šim-níg-dagal-la mu-un-na-ba-e-ne
 UET VI 33 40–41 and dups.

For Laḥar they made a strong sheep-pen,
 Granting grass and plants in good measure.

While amaš is a sheep-pen and Laḥar is called shepherd (sipa), he and Ezinu are represented as supplying the basic necessities of life between them. We must not, then, insist on too narrow a view of Laḥar. He represents those who pasture animals and their products, while Ezinu represents those who till the fields and their produce. The parallel with Cain and Abel is noteworthy. Since Laḥar is philologically “ewe,” the question arises whether we are not dealing with a goddess. Kramer in *The Sumerians* (Chicago, 1963) p. 221, renders sipa “shepherdess.” Whether female shepherds existed is doubtful, and the only evidence for a female Laḥar comes from her identification with Aya, wife of Šamaš. A god-list, not earlier than Middle Babylonian, enters:

^dU₈ = ^da-a šá ku-né-e
 CT 25 9 15

Laḥar is Aya (as goddess) of caring for things

Also, astrologically, the star ^{mul}U₈ is explained as ^da-a in ^{mul}APIN (CT 33 1 i 18). Where the practical aspect of shepherding is clear, Laḥar is male, as in the *Theogony of Dunnu*. As quoted below,

Laḥar is identified with Gaʾu “shepherd of Sin” and with one of his sons. An = *Anum*, which gives this information, is always careful to distinguish gender, since the gods are arranged on family principles.

In the two Old Babylonian god-lists from Nippur (quoted above), Šakkan and Laḥar occur together, and one wonders if the lists intended to identify them. This is not unlikely, since in Akkadian texts Laḥar and Ašnan are a pair, symbolizing the fertility of flocks and grain, respectively. Now the Išme-Dagan Hymn quoted above lists four gods of fertility—Enki, Iškur, Ezinu and Šakkan—and this list also, apparently, occurred in the Epilogue to Lipit-Ištar’s code (AJA 52 [1948] 446 12–13), though only Ezinu and Šakkan are preserved. Of the four, Enki and Iškur stand apart from Ezinu and Šakkan, since the former pair supplied water: one from below, one from above. Thus, Ezinu and Šakkan stand here, where later one finds Ašnan and Laḥar. Since the Nippur lists are presumably compilations from the period of the Isin dynasty, they probably did intend to identify Šakkan and Laḥar. The other Old Babylonian list, TCL 15 xxv ff. has neither Šakkan nor Laḥar; Ezinu occurs but is put in the entourage of Enlil (line 320). An = *Anum*, which builds on this list, used ^dšeg, as quoted above, to introduce both Šakkan and Laḥar, and in the process šeg, “wild sheep” became síg “wool.” The motive for this change can now be investigated further. The compiler certainly understood little of the four names beginning with Laḥar, since his only equivalent is šu “the same” and there is no summing up. However, the four names clearly depend on the creation myth known to us from the Sumerian contest. It tells how U₈ and Ezinu were created in Dukuga (a name of the Apsû in this text) and how at Enki’s suggestion they were “brought up” (! e₁₁) to earth to perform their functions. Thus, the name Dukuga (Nindukuga) is explained. Síg (Nin-Síg) and Túg^{me}-S[UD] (Nin-Túg-SUD), involving “wool” and “garments,” clearly belong to Uttu, yet the MIN makes Síg a name of Laḥar. Even without this piece of evidence, there are two reasons for accepting that the source employed here has identified Uttu and Laḥar: (i) the Old Babylonian lists from Nippur apparently identified Šakkan and Laḥar, and since the version found in An = *Anum* gives Šakkan the name Síg, the same name following Laḥar is likely to refer to Laḥar. (ii) The contest specifies that Laḥar was born in Dukuga. No doubt, the full story said the same for Uttu. But even so, it is hard to believe that if Síg and Túg^{me}-SUD referred to Uttu, only she and not Laḥar also would be called Dukuga.

23 In PBS V 106 iv 24–27 (dup. BM 37240) É.KI.SÌ.GA (“house of offerings for the dead”) with the pronunciation [(.)]ùr-ri is equated with *qú-bu-rum* and *šu-ut-ta-tum*; and with the pronunciation [(.)]x-la-l with *la-aḥ-tum* and *ḥa-áš-tum*. Apart from *laḥtum*, which only occurs in lists, the other three Akkadian terms have well-known mortuary associations. The restoration *ka-am-š[i-ri]š* is based on the term *gan zir*, *gan šir*. To the passages given in CAD, add: *ana ga-an-šir* (Reisner, SBH p. 146 V 31); *ú-šá-aš-bit-su-nu-tú ga-an-šir* (BM 76498 obv. 8, p. 328 line 12); and the name of an underworld god ^d*ka-am-šir/muš* (CT 24 36 66).

25 The trace can be restored ^da-u₈, but this is not an attested divine name elsewhere. Gaʾu (the tablet’s ^dú-a-a-am is meaningless), like Šakkan and Laḥar, is a shepherd god. The earliest occurrence of his name seems to be in the forerunner of An = *Anum*, where ^dga-a-ú stands in the Sîn section (TCL 15 pl. xxvii 168). This line is taken up in An = *Anum*, and the name Laḥar is assigned to him also:

^d ga-a-a-ú	=	sipa ^d en-zu-na-ke ₄
^d .minU ₈	=	MIN

(The reading of CT 24 48 19 sipa ^den-nu-gi-ke₄ is in error; Ennugi in An = *Anum* occurs in the circle of Enlil, and the correct ^den-zu-na-ke₄ is given by KAV 179 6.) Then follows a list of deities, for which the second sub-column gives only šu, summed up as 8 dumu^{mes} ^dga-a-a-ú-[ke₄] utul-maḥ ^den-zu-na-ke₄ (CT 24 48 here has Sîn, not Ennugi!). An = *Anum* here is curious on two counts. First, a god to whom no spouse is attributed is assigned children. Secondly, at the second occurrence of the god's name, a different title is given, even though sipa and utul are in these cases synonymous. That Sîn should have a shepherd is to be expected. Since the new moon can be seen as the horns of a cow, Sîn in Sumerian hymns is often associated with cows (nos. 1, 4, and 7 especially in Sjöberg, *Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen* [Stockholm, 1960]), but he is not conceived as a cow himself but as their shepherd (utul or sipa). This in itself manifests a certain degree of sophistication, seeing that the moon was in some sense Sîn. Yet greater sophistication could have been expected simply from the general character of An = *Anum* and, sure enough, the shepherding aspect of Sîn is put in a god from his court. This much the compiler simply took over from his *Vorlage*. He knew, however, other names of shepherds of Sîn, but without the standing of Ga'u, so these were introduced superficially by making them sons of Ga'u, while he is elevated to the position of chief shepherd. One of them, however, was of sufficient standing to have Laḥar as a second name:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{d}^{\text{š}}\text{u-ni-d}^{\text{u}}\text{g} = \text{šu} \\ \text{d}^{\text{d.min}}\text{U}_8 = \text{šu} \\ \text{KAV 179 11-12} = \text{CT 24 48 22} \end{array}$$

The only other occurrences of Ga'u are in lexical contexts: as quoted above in the note on Šakkan; CT 29 46 gives both u₈ and u₁₀ as writings of his name; and the series *Aa* (CT 12 26 iv 14) and in *Ea* (YBT I 53 87) the sign U₈ is glossed ga-a-a-ú, but only in the former case is the rendering preserved: ^dšu.

Whether the god Ga'u is connected with the common noun in Mari texts *ga'um* is uncertain. A sufficient variety of opinions exists on its meaning (Dossin, *ARM* 5 p. 141; Finet, *ARM* 15 p. 200; Birot, *RA* 47 [1953] 127⁵ prefer a geographical sense: the area occupied by some kind of tribal grouping; Kupper, *Nomades* 20¹; Malamat, *JAOS* 82 [1962] 143; Edzard *ZA* 56 [1964] 144; Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names* [Baltimore, 1965] 180 prefer the tribal grouping itself) as to make clear that it is not certainly known, though it certainly is some aspect of the nomads so commonly mentioned in Mari texts. Thus, it is possible (though not of course certain) that the term *ga'um* was understood in Old Babylonian cities as "shepherd clan," so that the god would be the same word.

The problem of the differentiation of Šakkan, Laḥar, and Ga'u can now be attempted. The latter two are distinguishable in that Laḥar is particularly concerned with sheep and Ga'u with cows, but Šakkan, as already intimated, has such diverse attributes in different texts and periods that one hesitates to pick on any one as especially his, and the comparison with Laḥar and Ga'u does not solve the problem. But in any case, the *Theogony of Dunny* is concerned particularly with the process of succession and does not draw attention to the attributes of the various actors.

The other outstanding problem of Ga'u is the relationship of her to the next generation in the theogony. Since Ningēštinna is commonly sister of Tammuz, whether or not the brother who married her is Tammuz, certainly her mother should be the same as that of Tammuz. In a number of passages given by T. Jacobsen in *JNES* 12 (1953) 164¹⁴, she is called Duttu(r) (ordinary Sumerian), Zertu(r) in Emesal, and Dutturru in Akkadian. The only grounds of identifying this goddess with Ga'u (other than the context of the theogony) are that in CT 29 46 (quoted on p. 519) both she

and Ga²u are written with ^dU₈, but it should be noted that this list in fact treats the two as separate deities nevertheless.

33 The trace can only be restored as a name of Tammuz by reading [^da-m-a-ra-l]i, but this seems only to occur in TCL 15 pl. xxix 273.

37 With ^dḥa-mur-ni, cf. the beginning of what reads like an autobiography of Marduk:

^d ḥa-mur-num	[^d]ḥa-a-a-šum
^d a-nu-um	^d en-líl
^d nu-dím-[mud]	^d é-a

ZA 42 (1934) 79

Also, KAR 339a lists deities in sequence but gives first in each case a relatively obscure name which is identified with a more common one and is then described. So far as preserved, the first three name pairs are:

[^d]lugal-du ₆ -kù-ga	[^d]
^d ḥa-mur-ni	^d a-nu-[um]
^d ḥa- ^r ia ¹ -šū	^d BE

KAR 339a “2.Seite”

While the Marduk text just prefixes these hoary figures to the head of the traditional pantheon, the Assur fragment identifies them with the traditional heads of the pantheon. Our theogony breaks off before it can be seen if Hayašu follows Ḥamurnu here also, though one may suspect that he did.

Cuneiform Texts

List of Cuneiform Tablets in the Plates

<i>Museum Number</i>	<i>Text/Other Identification</i>	<i>Plate</i>
A 154	<i>Enūma Eliš VII I</i>	28–30
A 7882	<i>Damkina's Bond</i>	54
A 17634	<i>Unilingual/Bilingual Account of Creation</i>	65
AO 7036	<i>Enki and Ninmaḥ b</i>	60–61
BM 12845	<i>Enki and Ninmaḥ c</i>	62
BM 27776	<i>Damkina's Bond</i>	55
BM 32533	List of names of Marduk: see pp. 150–52	39–40
BM 32596	List of names of Zarpānītum: see p. 159	41
BM 32654+38193	<i>Enmešarra's Defeat</i>	44–49
BM 32791	<i>Murder of Anšar?</i>	53
BM 33483+33765+33775+33835	<i>Murder of Anšar?</i>	52–53
BM 33500	<i>Enmešarra's Defeat(?)</i>	46
BM 33572	<i>Enūma Eliš VI d</i>	26
BM 33697	<i>Enūma Eliš III d</i>	15
BM 33765	see 33483+	
BM 33775	see 33483+	
BM 33824	<i>Enūma Eliš IV f</i>	18
BM 33835	see 33483+	
BM 33891	<i>Enūma Eliš IV e</i>	17
BM 35506+	see 99642	
BM 36387	<i>Enūma Eliš IV k</i>	18
BM 36417	<i>Enūma Eliš II j</i>	14
BM 36666	<i>Enūma Eliš I j</i>	7
BM 36667	<i>Enūma Eliš IV j</i>	18
BM 36681+37849	<i>Enūma Eliš I q</i>	7
BM 37379	<i>Enūma Eliš VII h</i>	34
BM 37395(+)+37573	<i>Enūma Eliš IV h</i>	18
BM 37460	<i>Enūma Eliš I ii</i>	8
BM 37501	<i>Enūma Eliš II m</i>	14
BM 37562	<i>Enūma Eliš VII f</i>	34
BM 37573	see 37395(+)	
BM 37845	<i>Enūma Eliš I o</i>	7
BM 37849	see 36681+	
BM 37927	<i>Enūma Eliš VI g</i>	26
BM 37937+38060	<i>Enūma Eliš I t</i>	8
BM 37960	<i>Enūma Eliš III g</i>	16
BM 37969	<i>Enūma Eliš I bb</i>	8

Museum Number	Text/Other Identification	Plate
BM 37991	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> VI e	26
BM 38001	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> II i	14
BM 38005	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> II e	13
BM 38034	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I ff	6
BM 38043	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> VI f	26
BM 38051	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I dd	8
BM 38060	see 37937+	
BM 38193	see 32654+	
BM 38706+39843	List of names of Marduk: see pp. 134, 187	41
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BM 39798	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> VII i	34
BM 39843	see 38706+	
BM 43183	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I d	4
BM 43969	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> V o	20
BM 45528+	see 47173+	
BM 46567	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> V n	20
BM 46614+	see 47173+	
BM (45528+46614+)47173+ 47190+47917	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I b	5
BM 47190	see 47173+	
BM 47292	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I f	4
BM 47530	<i>Defeat of Enutila, Enmešarra, and Qingu</i>	56
BM 47889	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> VII e	34
BM 47917	see 47173+	
BM 50711	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> III l	16
BM 53510	“On That Day”: see p. 499	72
BM 54569	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I l	7
BM 54609(+)136879	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> V p	20
BM 54652	<i>Founding of Eridu</i> e	68
BM 54847	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I hh	7
BM 54855	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> VI h	26
BM 54856	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I s	7
BM 54930	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> II k	14
BM 55072	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> III j	16
BM 55099	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> V m	20
BM 55114+55194	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> VII d	34
BM 55194	see 55114+	
BM 55244	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I p	7
BM 55380	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> VI i	26
BM 59904+92632+93048+F 225+F 226	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> II b	11–12
BM 61433	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> V k	19
BM 61429+	see 82894	
BM 65461	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> III k	16
BM 66568	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> II c	13
BM 66606+72033	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> Comm. I y	37
BM 66885+76718	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I i	6
BM 66956+76498	<i>Defeat of Enutila, Enmešarra, and Qingu</i>	56
BM 67665	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I r	7

<i>Museum Number</i>	<i>Text/Other Identification</i>	<i>Plate</i>
BM 68434	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> III m	16
BM 69594	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> Comm. I x	36
BM 69668	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I v	8
BM 69953+99871	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> IV i, V j	18
BM 72033	see 66606+	
BM 72046	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I k	7
BM 74329 (collations)	<i>Theogony of Dumnu</i>	69
BM 76063+76205	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I u	8
BM 76205	see 76063+	
BM 76380	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> V l	20
BM 76498	see 66956+	
BM 76640	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> III h	16
BM 76718	see 66885+	
BM 76891	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I gg	7
BM 77118	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I ee	7
BM (61429+)82894	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> III a	15
BM 91139+93073+unnumbered	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> VII a	31–32
BM 92632	see 59904+	
BM 93014+	see 82-3-23, 101	
BM 93048	see 59904+	
BM 93073	see 91139+	
BM 93079	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I w	8
BM (35506+)99642	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> VII b	27
BM 99871	see 69953+	
BM 99961	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I aa	8
BM 134499	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> Comm. II	38
BM 136879	see 54609(+)	
CBS 344	<i>River Incantation</i> n	70
CBS 2168+11327+12738+13386+N 1889	<i>Enki and Ninmaḥ</i> a	57–59
CBS 11327	see 2168+	
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DT 184	Mythological fragment: see p. 327	56
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F 2	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> IV b	17
F 3	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> III e	15
F 217	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> VII c	27
F 218(+)219	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I h	6
F 219	see 218(+)	
F 221	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> IV g	18
F 225	see BM 59904+	
F 226	see BM 59904+	

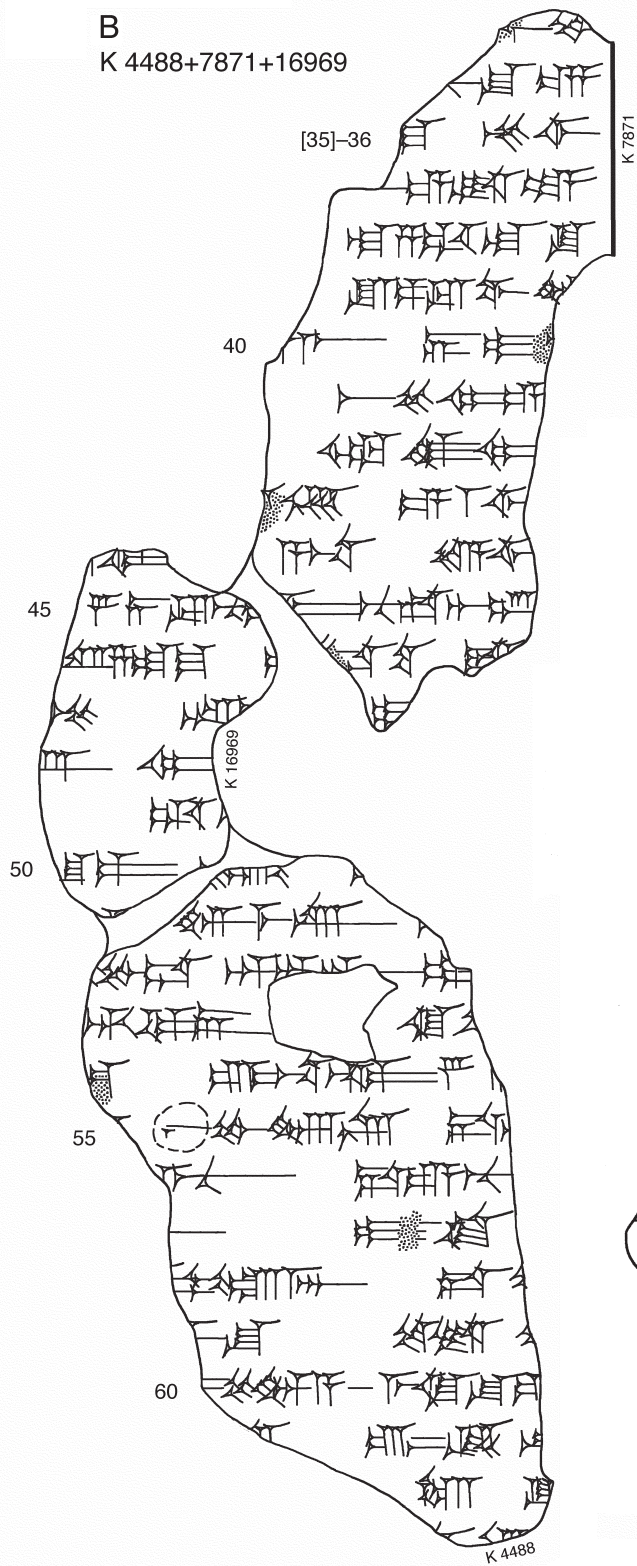
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IB 591	<i>Unilingual/Bilingual Account of Creation</i>	67
IM 60953	<i>Enūma Eliš II K</i>	9
K 1711+2168+4896+5027+5054	<i>Enki and Ninmaḥ</i>	63
K 2168	see 1711+	
K 2577	<i>River Incantation I</i>	70
K 2854+15650+17249	<i>Enūma Eliš VII A</i>	27
K 3213	Organization of universe: see pp. 179–80	43
K 3445+	see 17124	
K 3657+Rm 114+405	<i>Toil of Babylon</i>	51
K 4175+Sm 57+80-7-19, 184(+)82-3-23, 146	<i>Unilingual/Bilingual Account of Creation</i>	65–66
K 4488+7871+16969	<i>Enūma Eliš I B</i>	1
K 4657+7038+9427+9911+10008+12102+ 16818+Sm 747	<i>Enūma Eliš Comm. I Z</i>	35
K 4896	see 1711+	
K 4932	<i>Enki and Ninmaḥ</i>	64
K 5027	see 1711+	
K 5054	see 1711+	
K 5066	<i>Enki and Ninmaḥ</i>	64
K 5211	<i>Founding of Eridu b</i>	68
K 5661+11641	<i>Enūma Eliš V D</i>	19
K 5923	<i>Enūma Eliš VI I</i>	22
K 5981	<i>Enūma Anu Enlil XXIII</i> : see p. 177	42
K 6538	<i>Triple-Column God-List</i>	38
K 6650+	see 13782	
K 6794+9418	<i>Town of Zarpānītum</i>	50
K 6916	Incantation, theogonies of Anu and Enlil: see pp. 410, 417	71
K 7038	see 4657+	
K 7052	<i>Toil of Babylon</i>	50
K 7722+	see 9244	
K 7871	see 4488+	
K 8512	<i>Enūma Eliš VI E</i>	21
K 8524+13093+22093	<i>Enūma Eliš I D</i>	1
K 8525	<i>Toil of Babylon</i>	50
K 8585	<i>Enūma Eliš Comm. I X</i>	36
K (7722+)9244	God-list: see p. 520	72
K 9417+12931	Incantation, theogonies of Anu and Enlil: see pp. 410, 417	71
K 9418	see 6794+	
K 9427	see 4657+	
K 9501	Expository text: see p. 214 n. 8	43
K 9511	<i>Enūma Eliš II C</i>	9
K 9883	<i>Enūma Eliš VI H</i>	22
K 9911	see 4657+	

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K 9992	Incantation, theogonies of Anu and Enlil: see pp. 410, 417	71
K 10008	see 4657+	
K 10817+11118	Organization of universe: see pp. 178–79	42
K 11118	see 10817+	
K 11169+13614	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> Comm. II	38
K 11641	see 5661+	
K 11653	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> II B	9
K 11863	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> IV E	17
K 11867	<i>Enūma Anu Enlil</i> (?): see p. 177	42
K 12000b+13878+13886+16062	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> VI D	21
K 12102	see 4657+	
K 12693	“On That Day”: see pp. 499–500	72
K 12931	see 9417+	
K 13093	see 8524+	
K 13299+Rm 504	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I G	2
K 13456	<i>Enki and Ninmah</i>	64
K 13540	<i>Enki and Ninmah</i>	63
K 13614	see 11169+	
K (6650+)13782	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> III B	15
K 13865+21856	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> VI J	22
K 13866	Commentary: see pp. 482, 485	38
K 13867+19614	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> VI F	21
K 13878	see 12000b	
K 13886	see 12000b	
K 15650	see 2854+	
K 16062	see 12000b	
K 16706	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> IV A	17
K 16818	see 4657+	
K 16969	see 4488+	
K 17095	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> VII D	27
K (3445+)17124(+Rm 396)	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> V E	19
K 17249	see 2854+	
K 17591	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> VII F	27
K 17842	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I C	1
K 18576	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> VII H	27
K 19614	see 13867+	
K 20949	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> III i	16
K 20957	<i>Defeat of Enutila, Enmešarra, and Qingu</i>	56
K 21855	<i>Founding of Eridu c</i>	68
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K 22093	see 8524+	
Kish 1924 790+1813+2081	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I a	3–4
Kish 1924 1813	see 790+	
Kish 1924 1828+1926 373+374	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> VI b	23–24
Kish 1924 2081	see 790+	

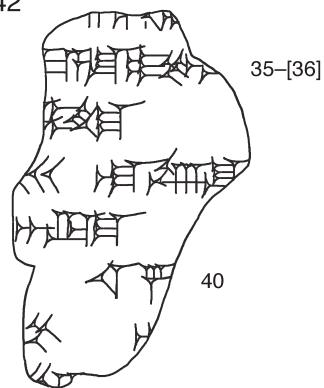
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Kish 1926 373	see 1924 1828+	
Kish 1926 374	see 1924 1828+	
Kish 1926 375	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> III f	15
N 1889	see CBS 2168+	
ND 3416	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> VI K	22
ND 6208	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> II K	9
Rm 97	<i>Founding of Eridu</i> F	69
Rm 101	<i>The First Brick</i>	69
Rm 114	see K 3657+	
Rm 396+	see K 17124+	
Rm 405	see K 3657+	
Rm 504	see K 13299+	
Rm II 418	Incantation, theogony of Enlil: see p. 410	70
Rm II 535	Organization of universe: see p. 176	42
RSM Edinburgh 1909 405.36	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> II f	14
Sm 57	see K 4175+	
Sm 91	<i>Founding of Eridu</i> D	68
Sm 747	see K 4657+	
Sm 1829	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I I	2
Sm 1875	Hymn to Ninurta: see pp. 206–7	43
SU 51/47	see SU 51/unnumbered	
SU 51/63+	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> VII J	27
SU 51/237	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> VI L	22
SU 51/(47+) unnumbered	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> IV M	17
VAT 440	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> II h	14
VAT 10345	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I U	2
VAT 10616	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> Comm. I V	36
VAT 11363	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> VI C	21
VAT 11616	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> Comm. I V	36
VAT 11857	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> IV J	17
VAT 12240	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> IV I	17
VAT 12915	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> V I	19
VAT 13834+	see 14093	
VAT 14037+14192+14196+14200+unnumbered	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> II J	10
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VAT 14125	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> I T	2
VAT 14192	see 14037+	
VAT 14196	see 14037+	
VAT 14200	see 14037+	

<i>Museum Number</i>	<i>Text/Other Identification</i>	<i>Plate</i>
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W 17718 jg+lg (VAT 14511+)W 17718vw+W 17721b W 17721b	<i>Enūma Eliš</i> VI c <i>Enūma Eliš</i> VII g see 17718vw+	25 33
80-7-19, 184	see K 4175+	
82-3-23, 101(+BM 93014) 82-3-23, 146	<i>Founding of Eridu</i> a see K 4175+	68

B
K 4488+7871+16969

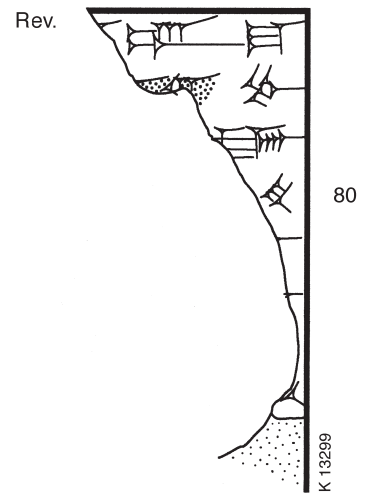
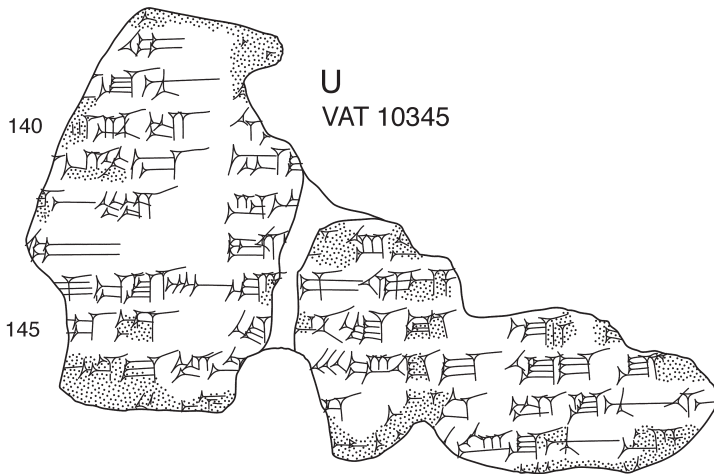
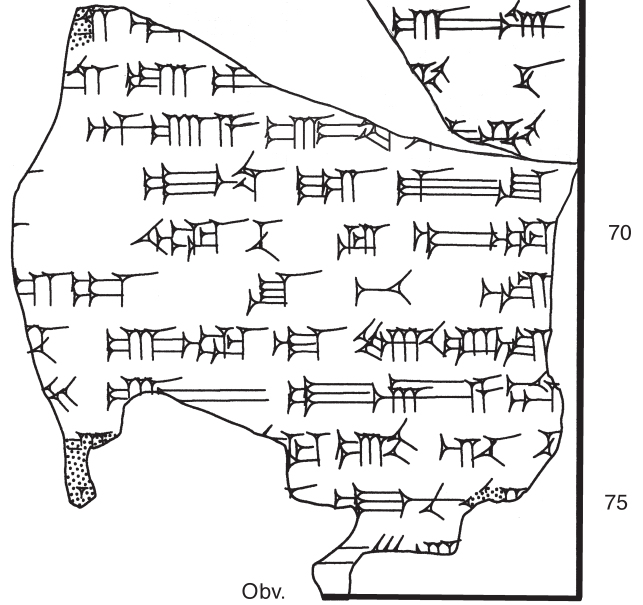
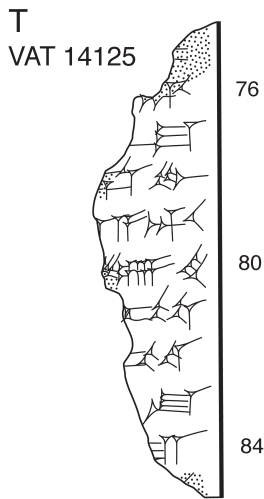
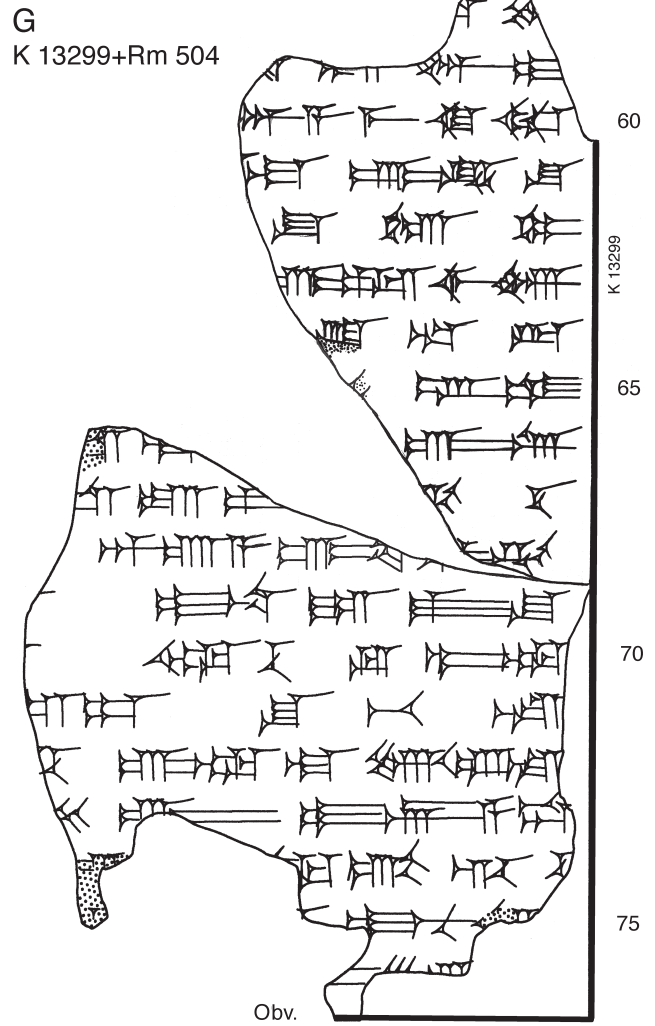
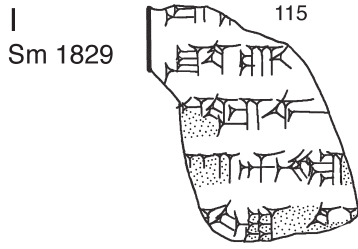


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K 17842

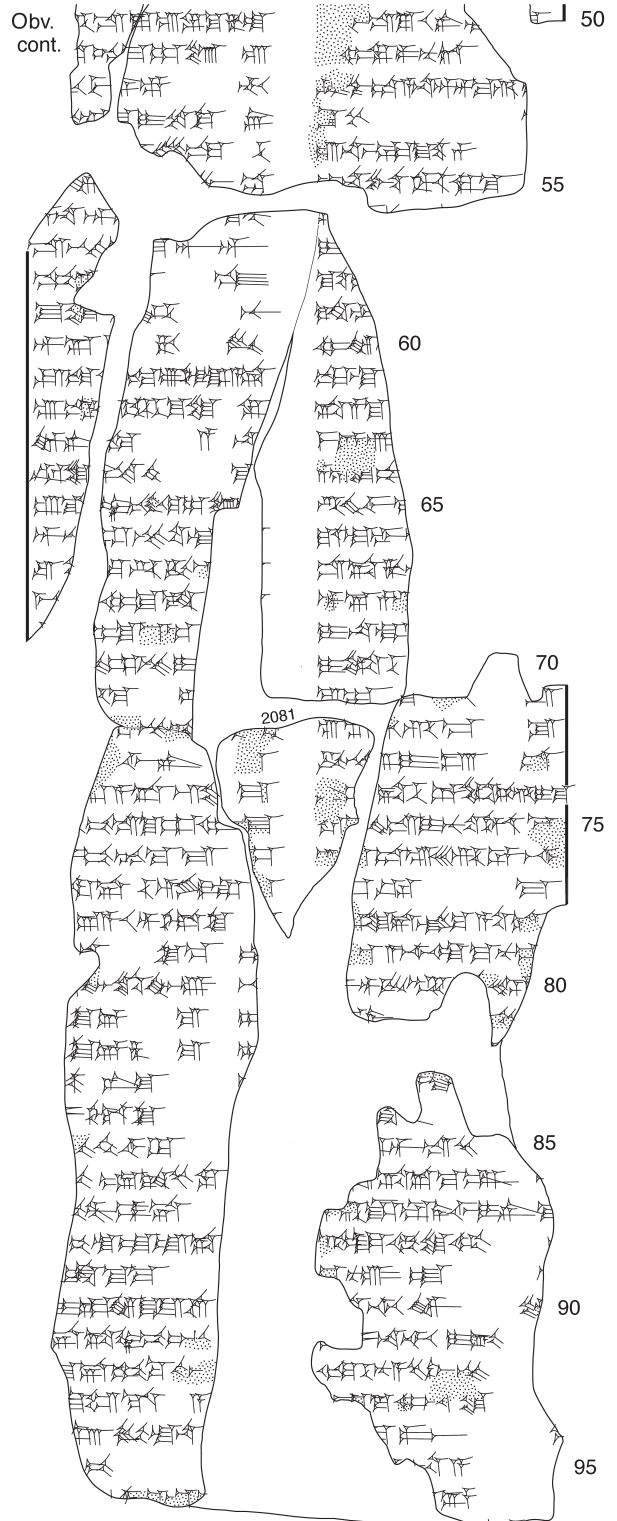
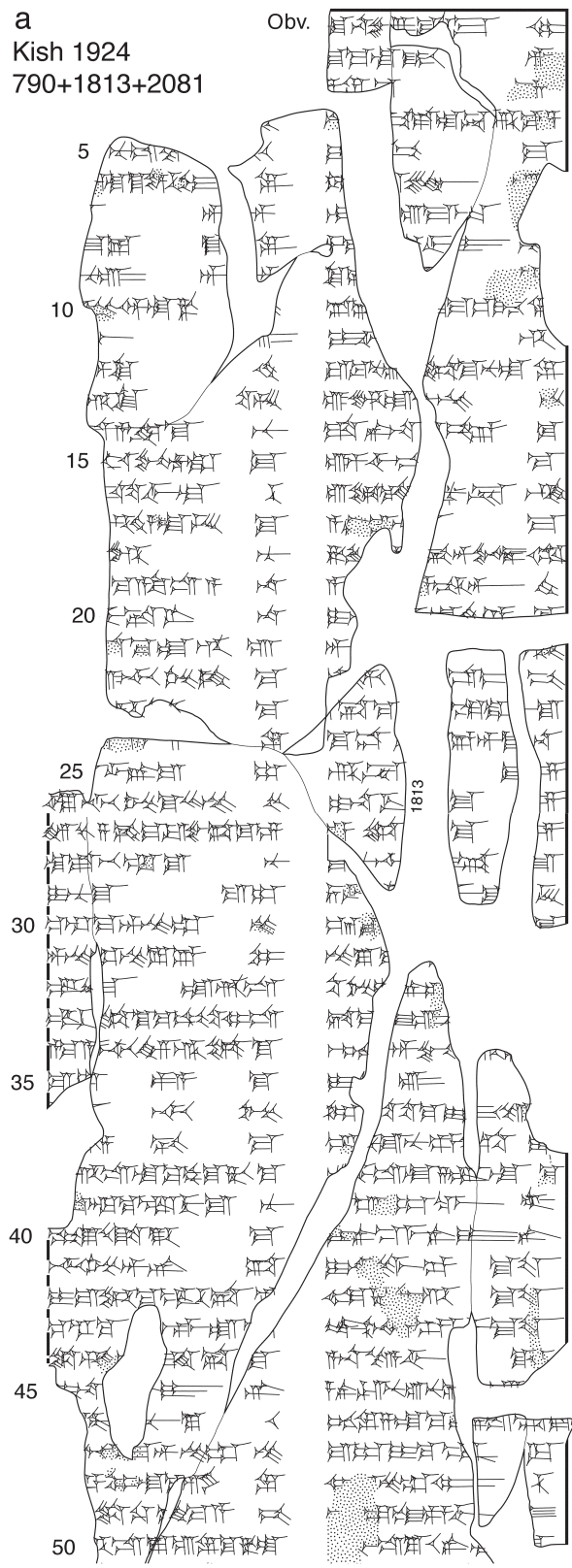


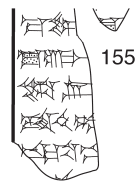
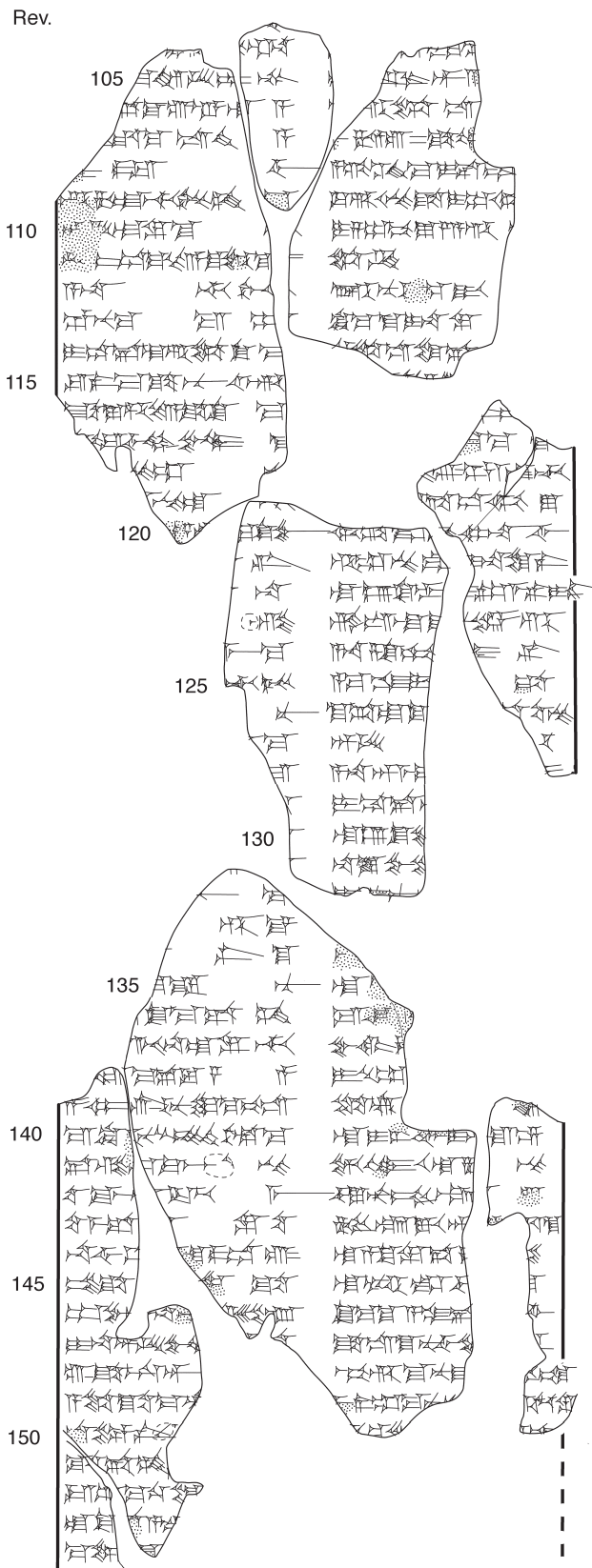
D
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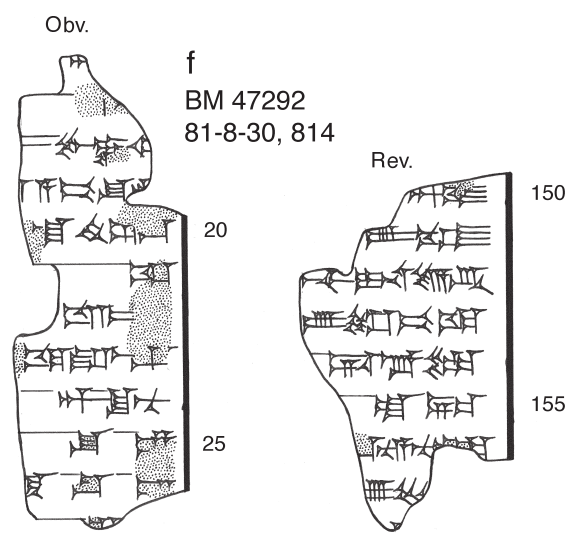
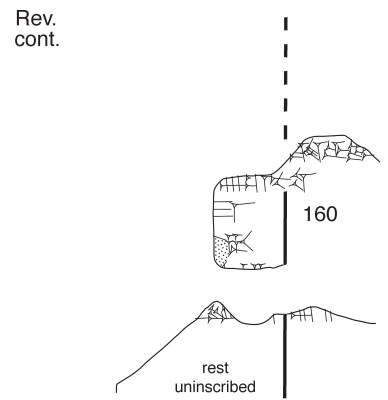


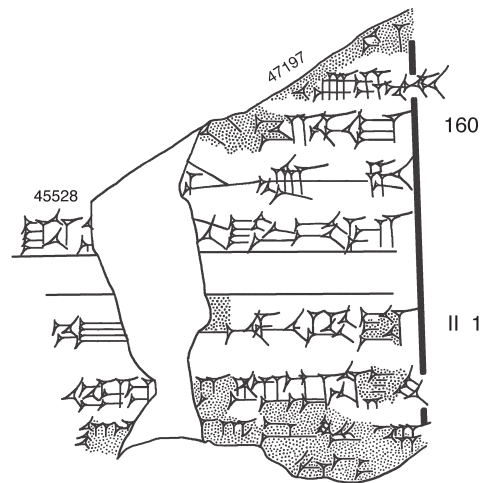
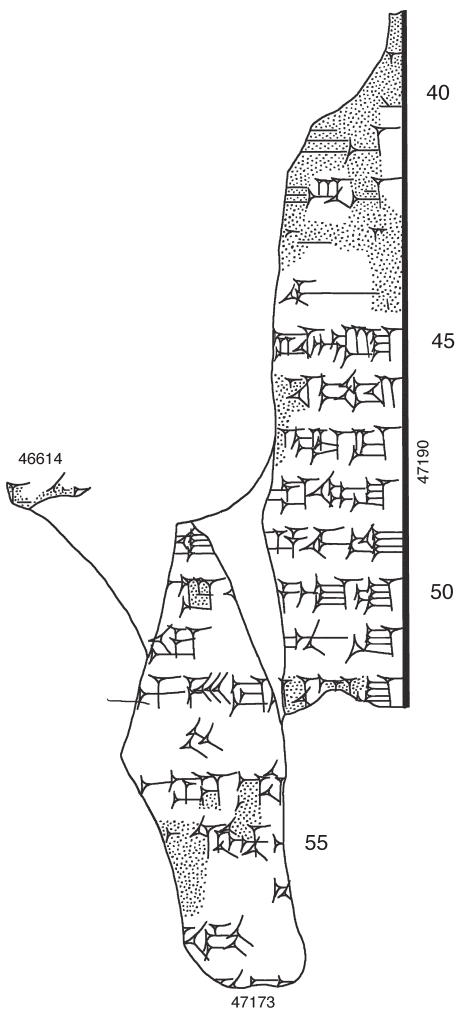
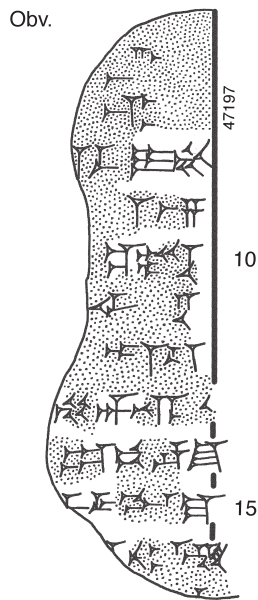
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790+1813+2081





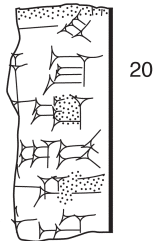
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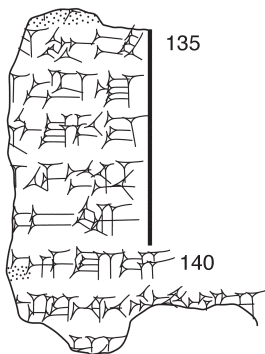


ff
BM 38034
80-6-17, 1063

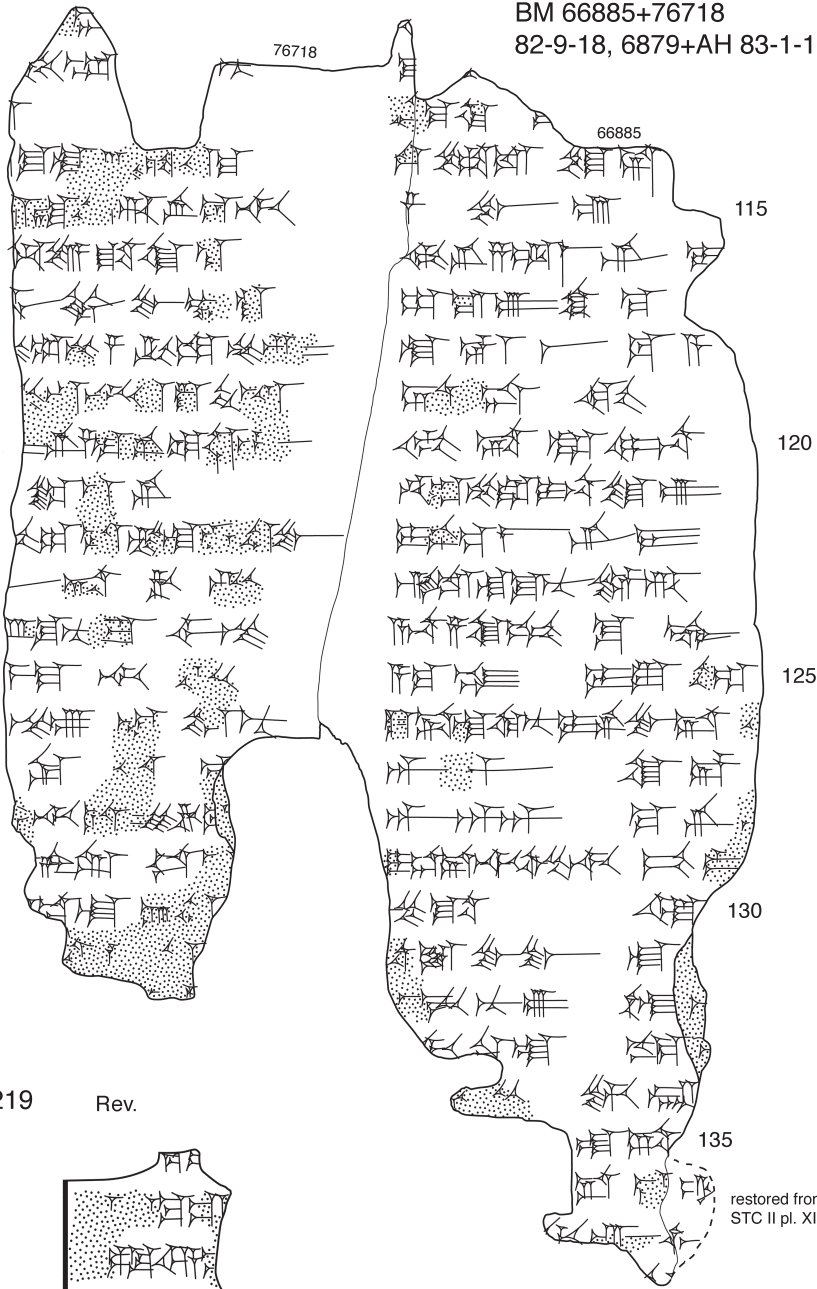
Obv.



Rev.

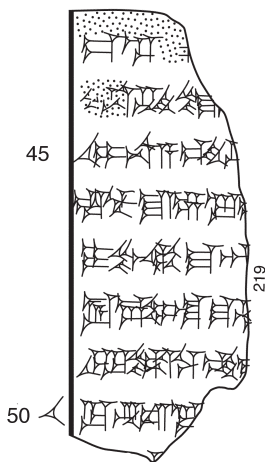


i
BM 66885+76718
82-9-18, 6879+AH 83-1-18, 2089

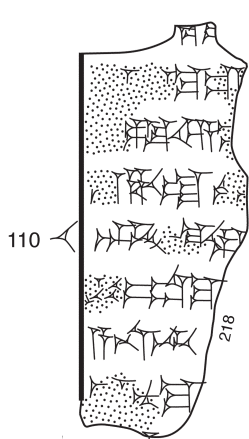


h
F 218(+)+219

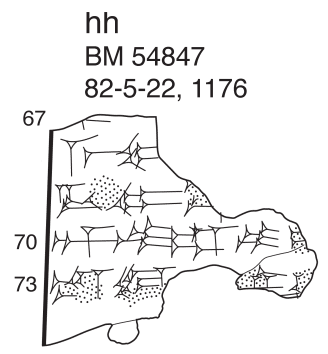
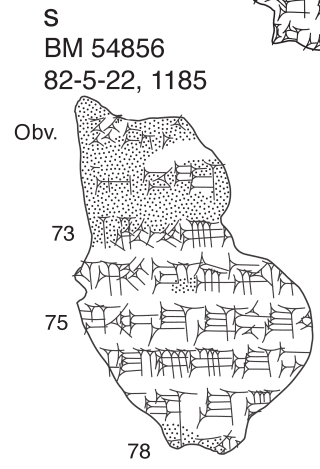
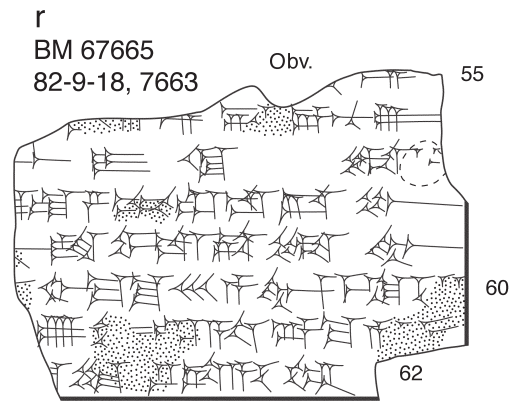
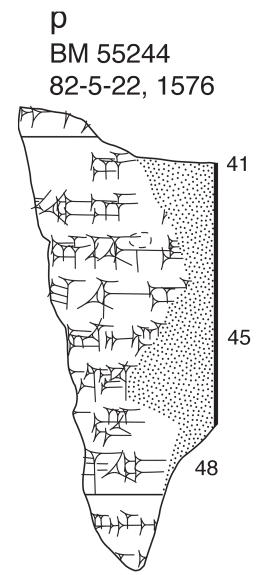
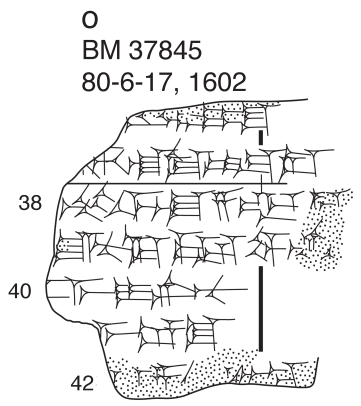
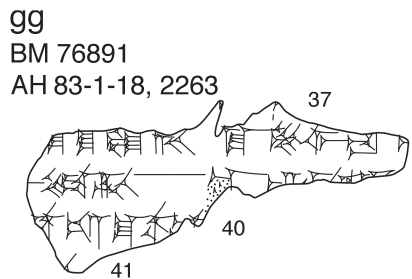
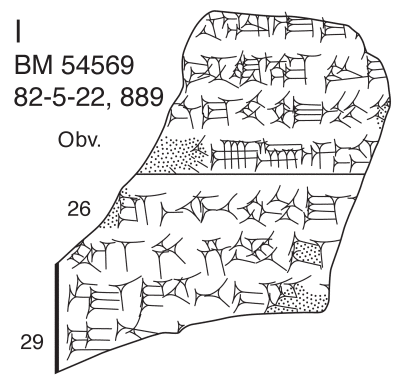
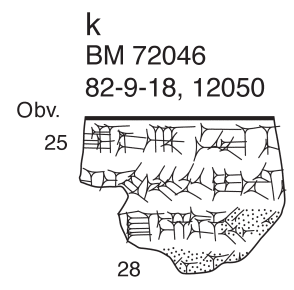
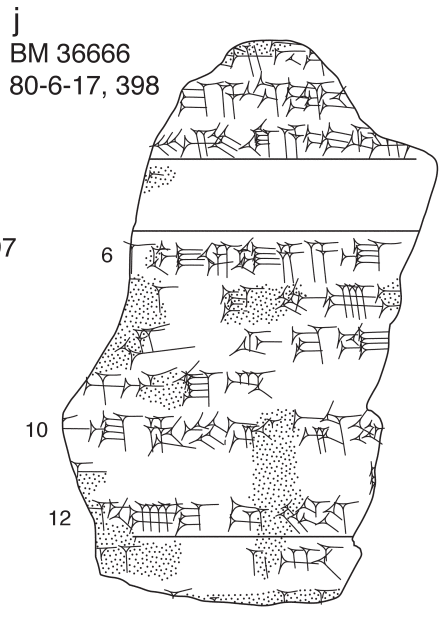
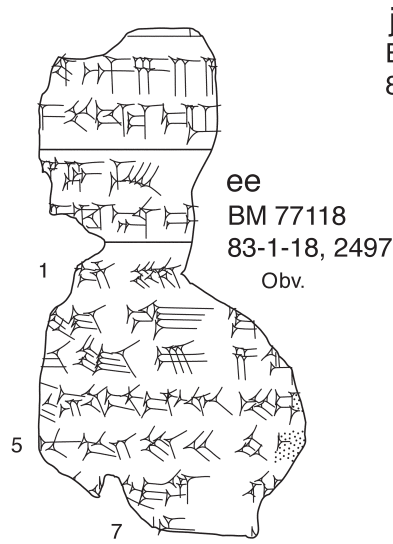
Obv.



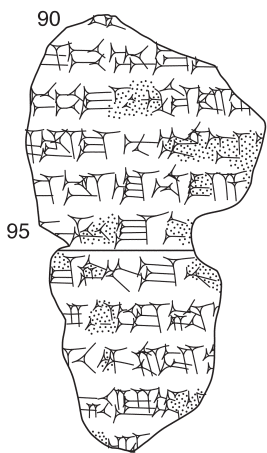
Rev.



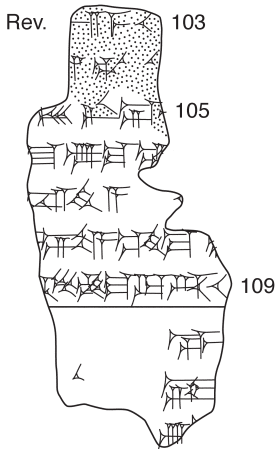
restored from
STC II pl. XIII



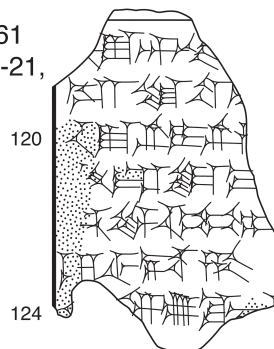
t
BM 37937+38060
80-6-17, 1766+1890



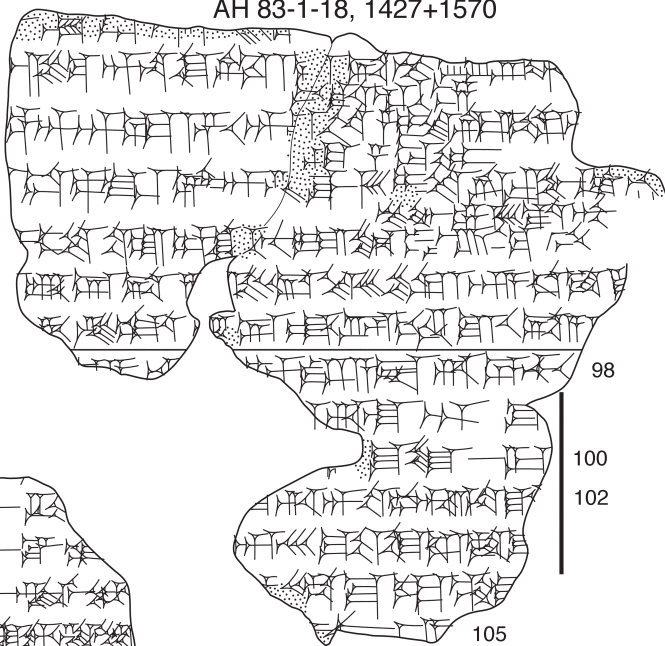
v
BM 69668
82-9-18, 9666



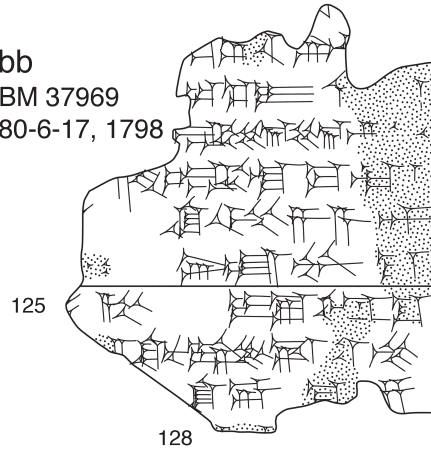
aa
BM 99961
AH 83-1-21,
9666



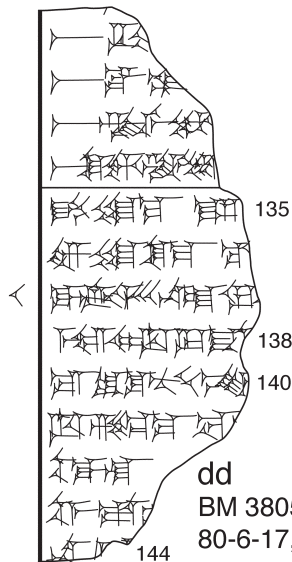
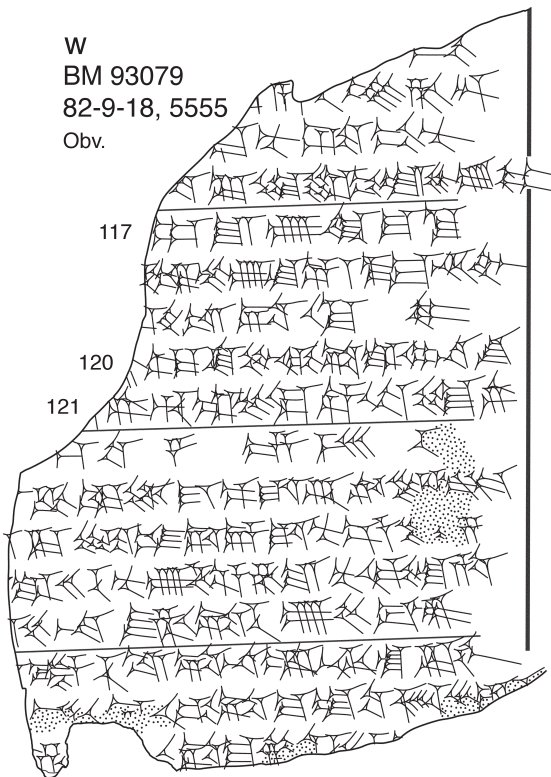
u
BM 76063+76205
AH 83-1-18, 1427+1570



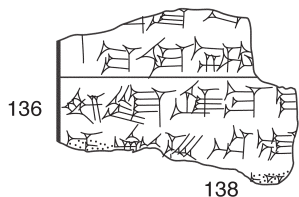
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BM 37969
80-6-17, 1798



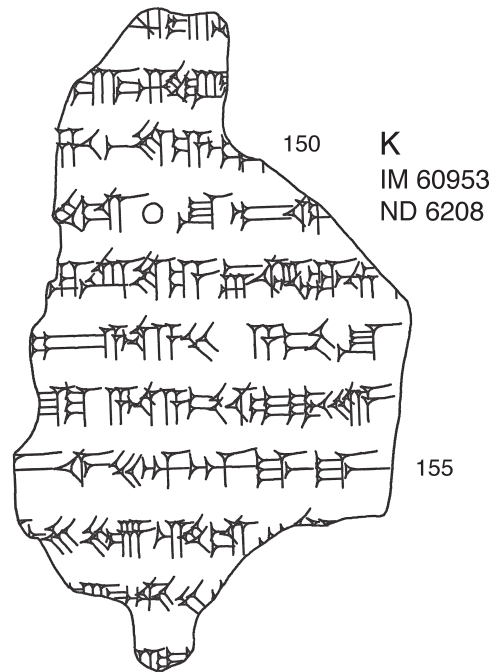
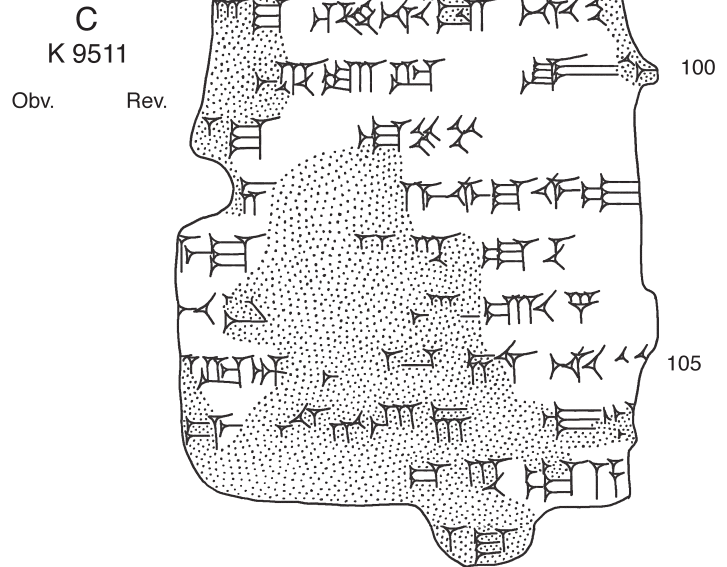
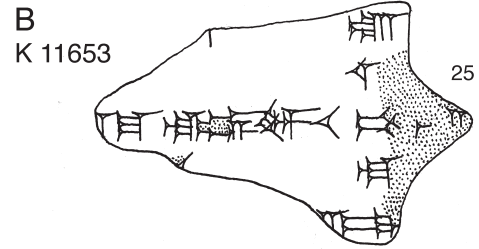
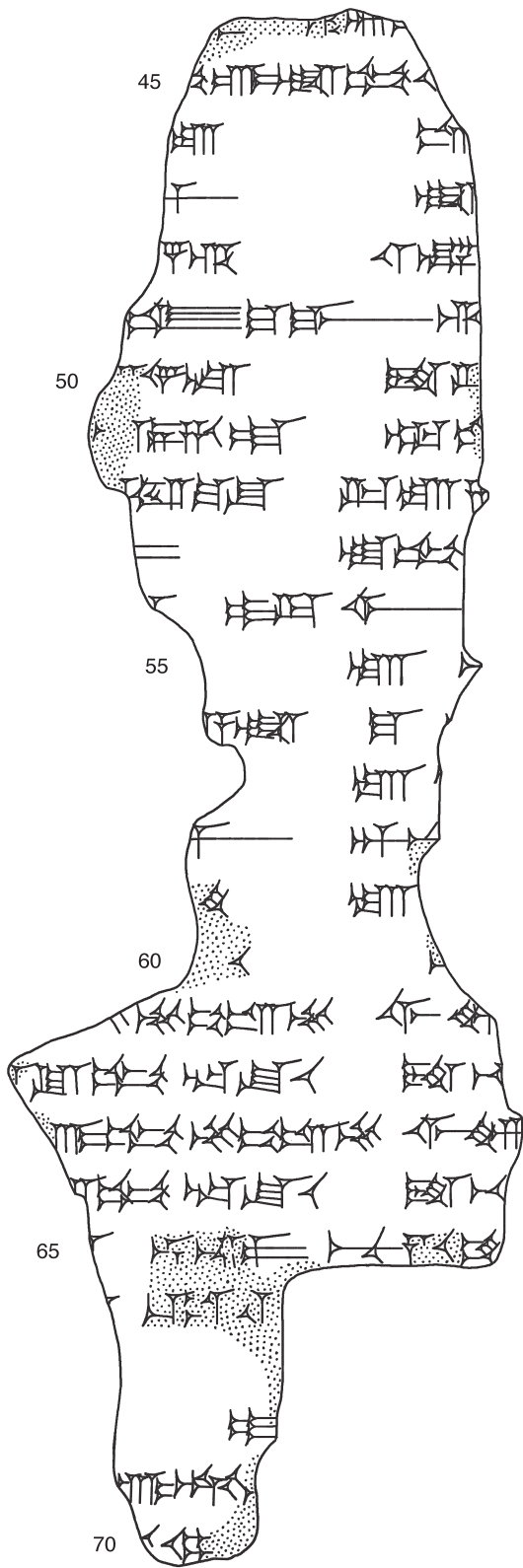
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BM 93079
82-9-18, 5555
Obv.

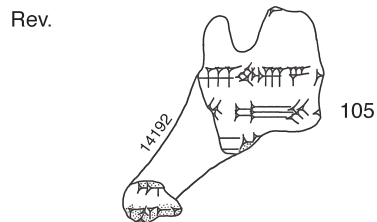


ii
BM 37460
80-6-17, 1217



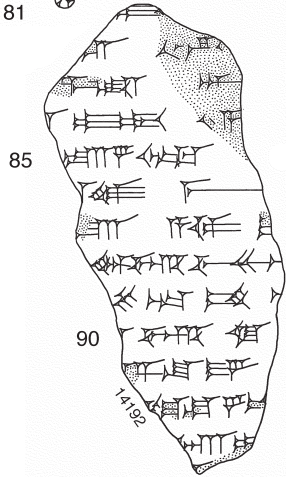
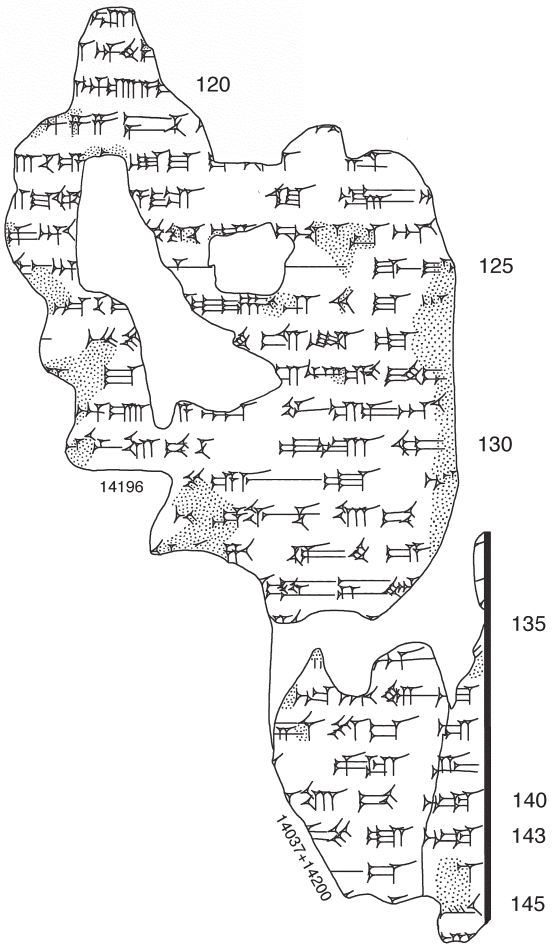
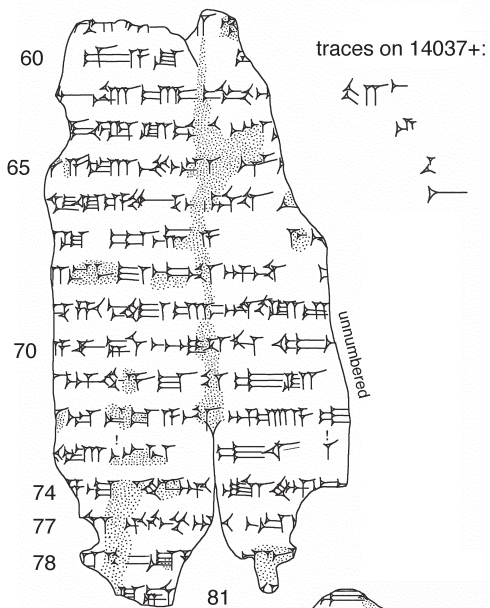
dd
BM 38051
80-6-17, 1880

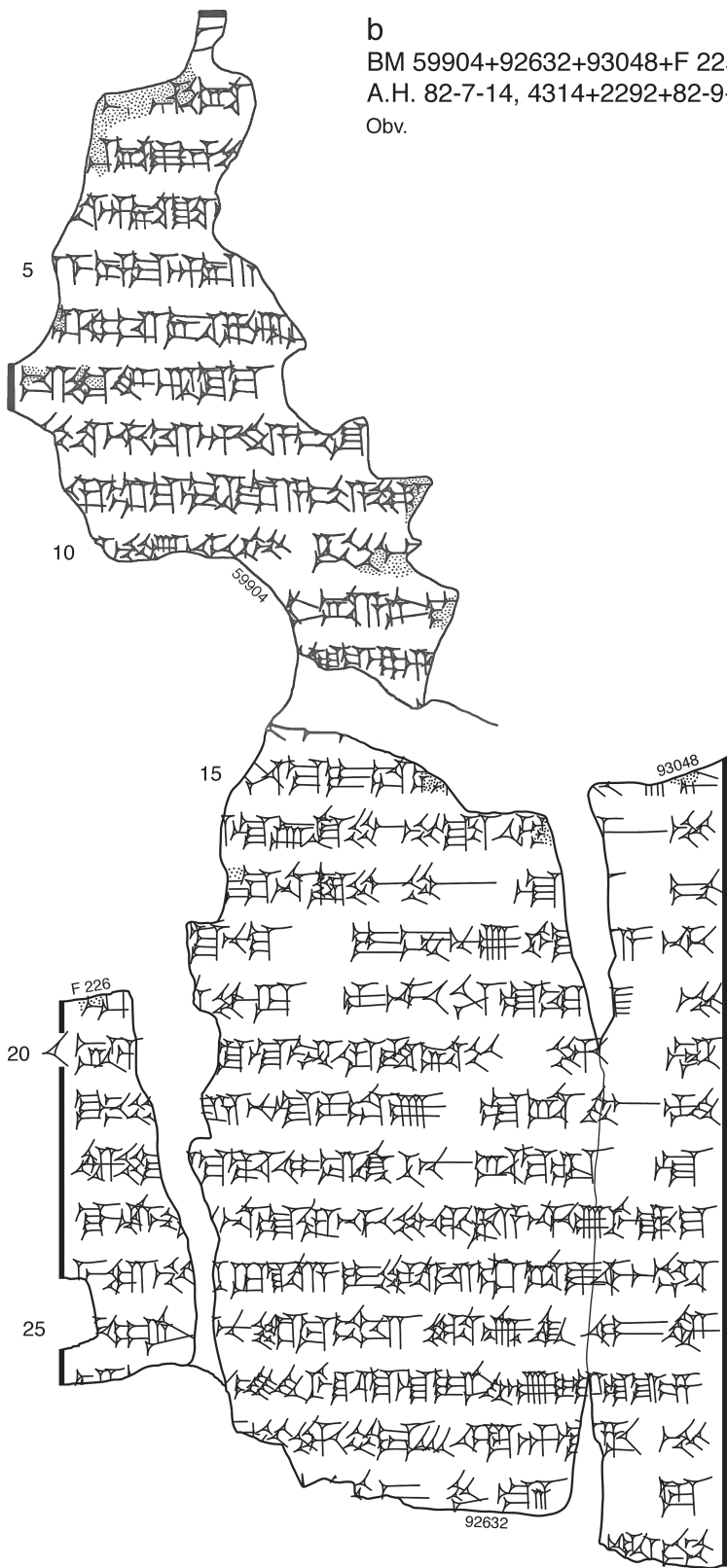




J
 VAT 14037+14192+14196+14200
 (+) unnumbered piece

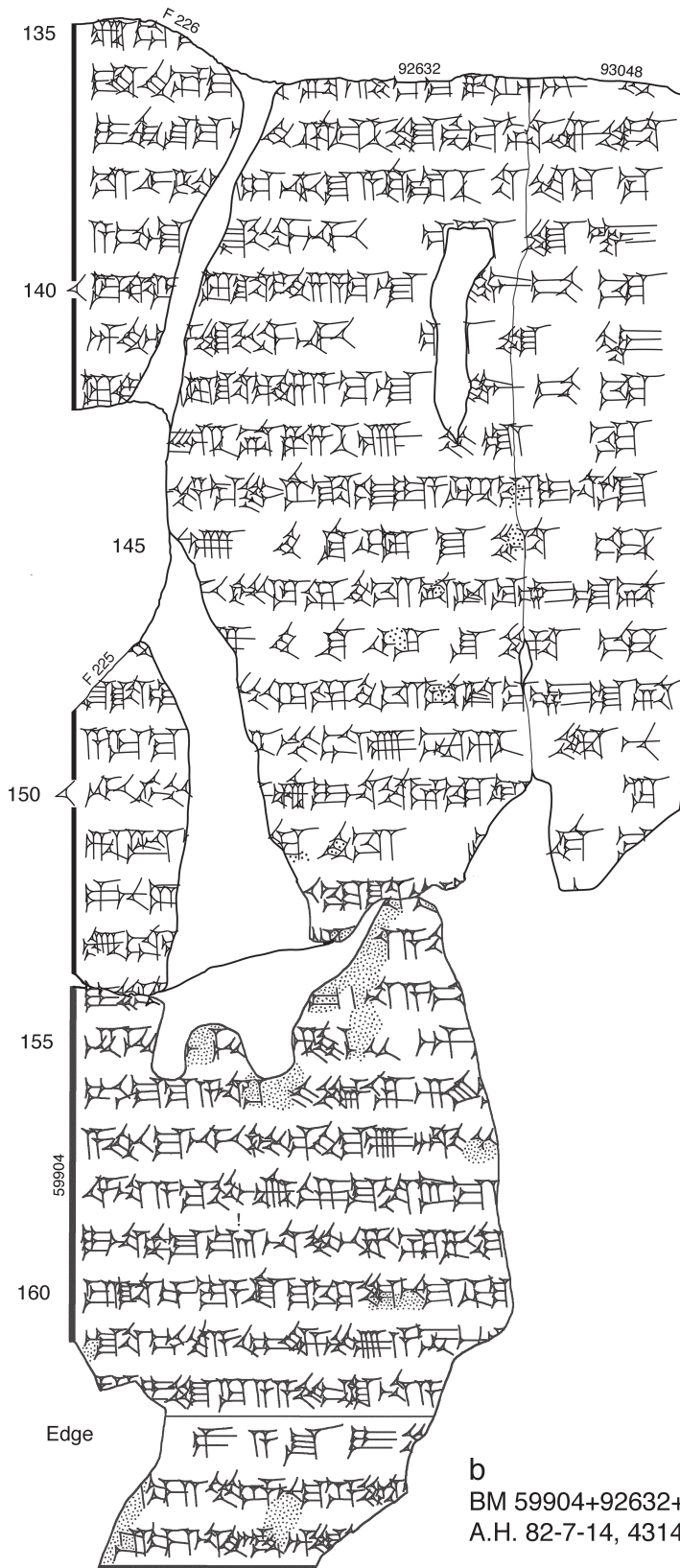
N.B. The unnumbered piece is loose
 and its position is not fixed precisely



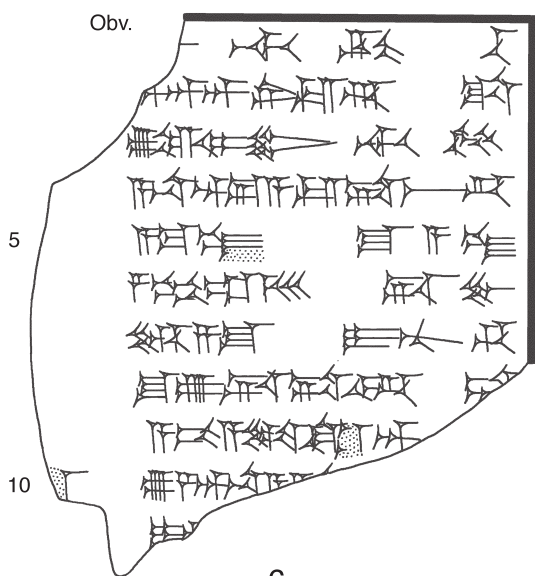


b
 BM 59904+92632+93048+F 225+F 226
 A.H. 82-7-14, 4314+2292+82-9-18(?)
 Obv.

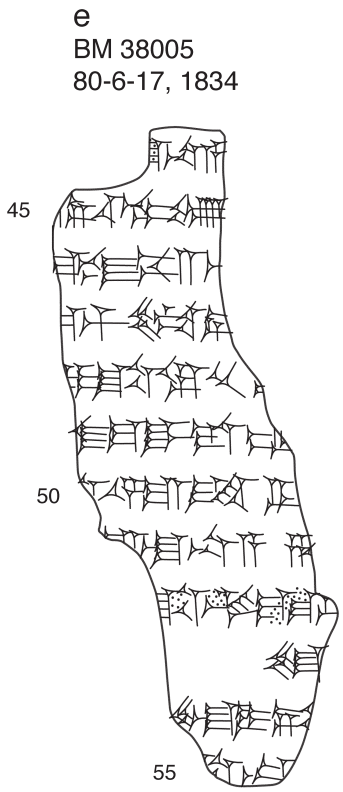
Rev.



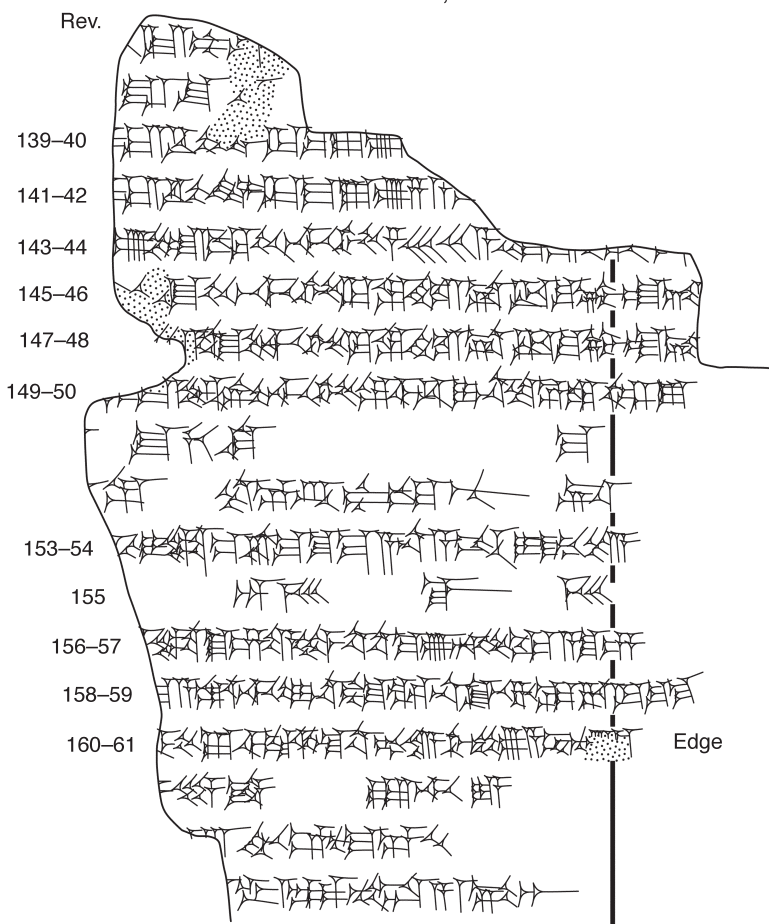
b
 BM 59904+92632+93048+F 225+F 226
 A.H. 82-7-14, 4314+2292+82-9-18(?)



C
BM 66568
82-9-18, 6561



e
BM 38005
80-6-17, 1834



Rev.

139-40

141-42

143-44

145-46

147-48

149-50

153-54

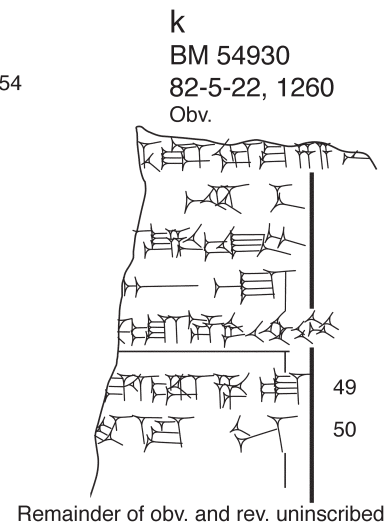
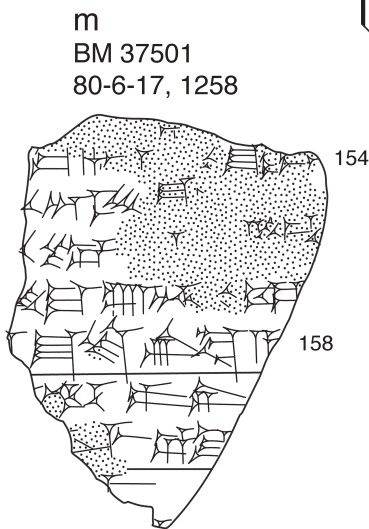
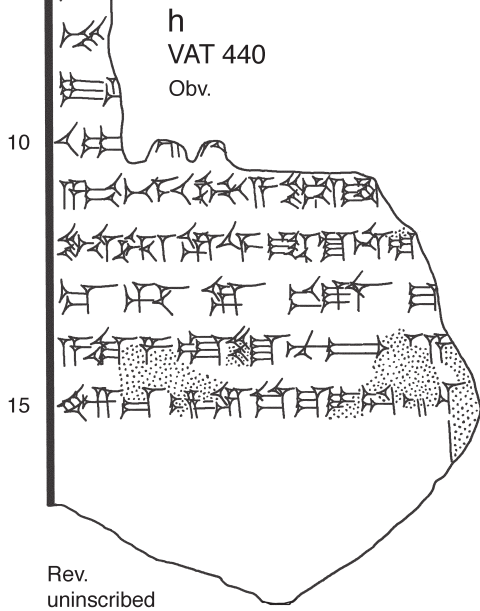
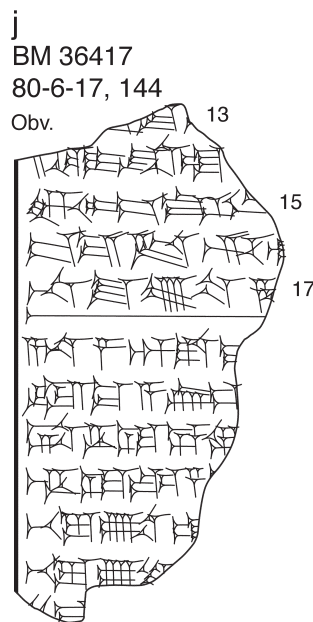
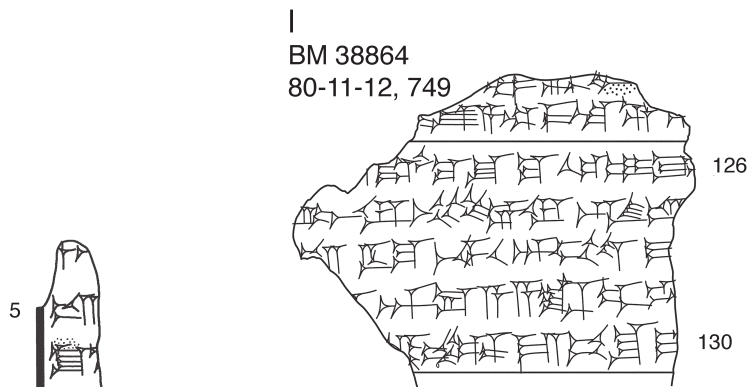
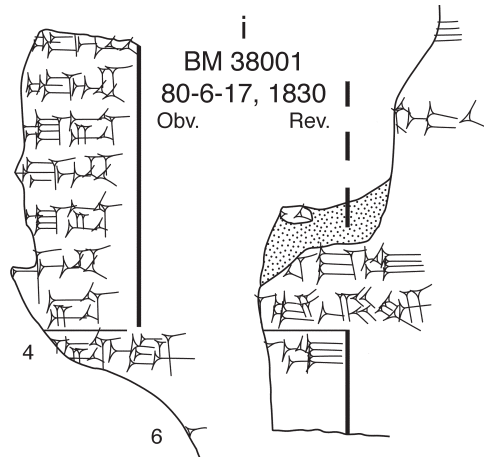
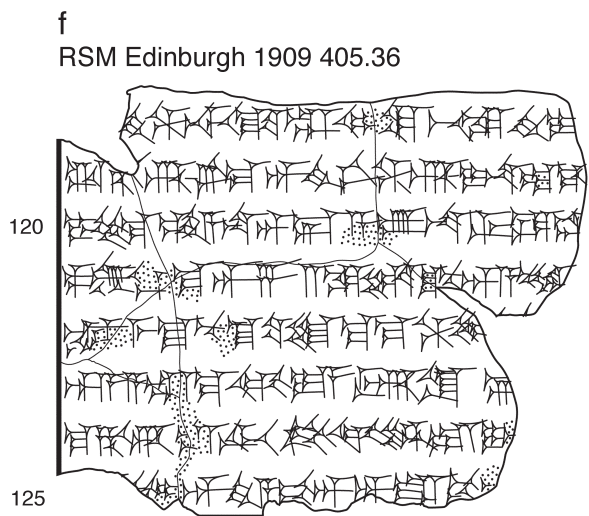
155

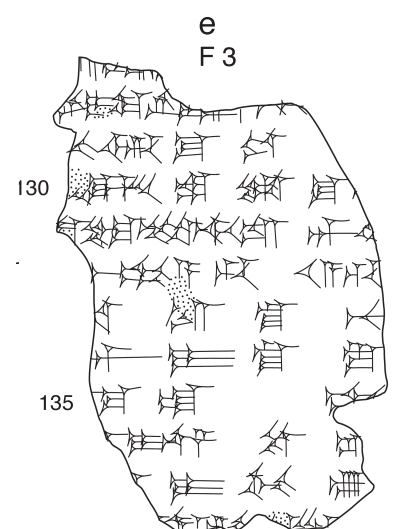
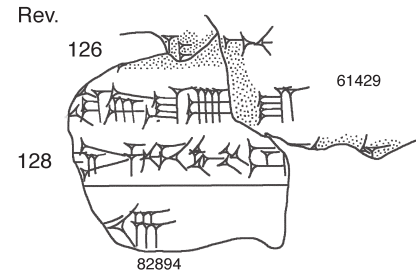
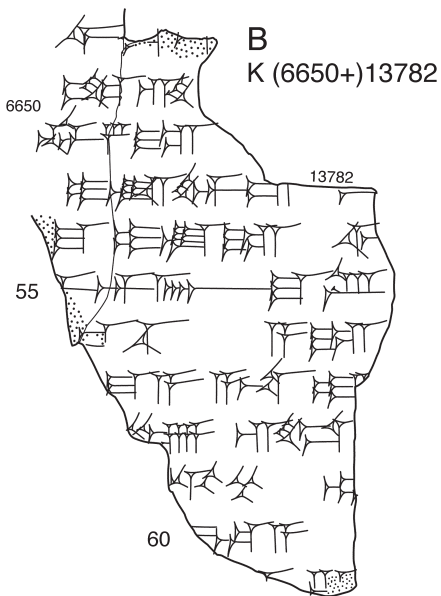
156-57

158-59

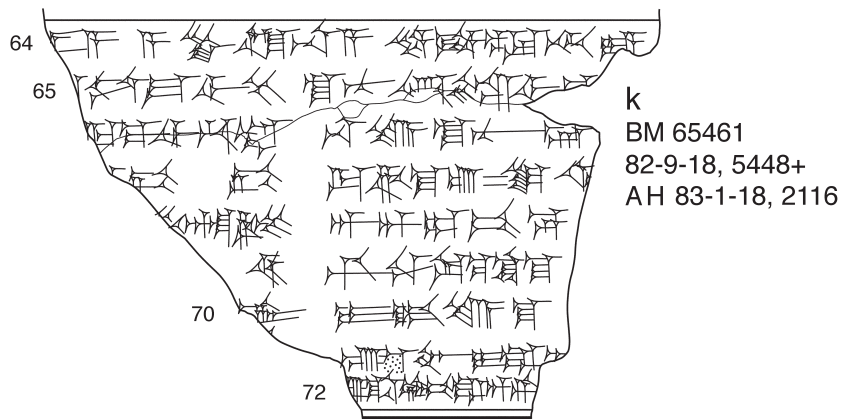
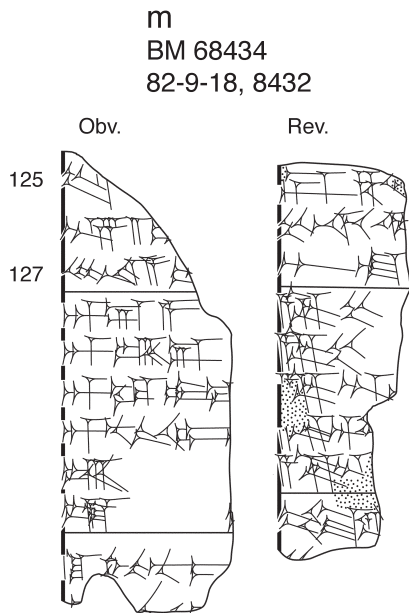
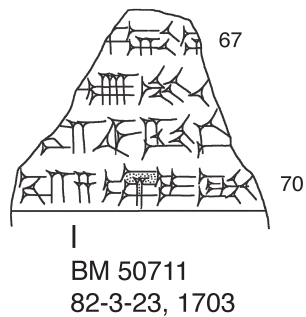
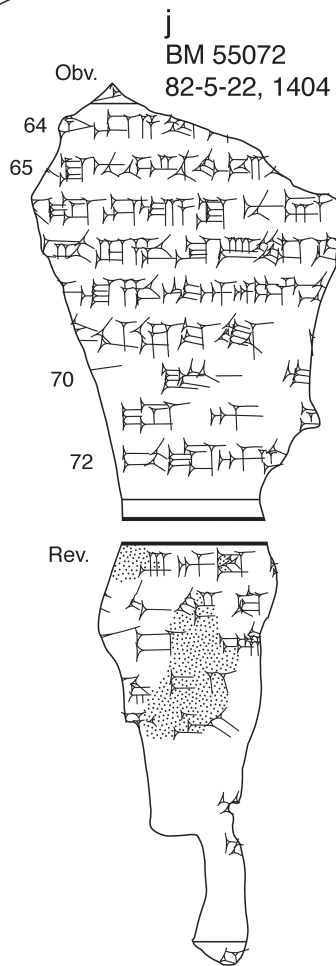
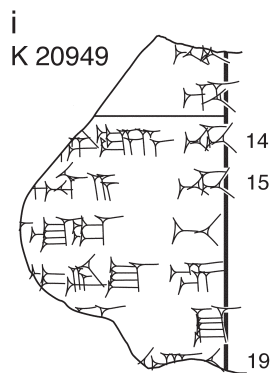
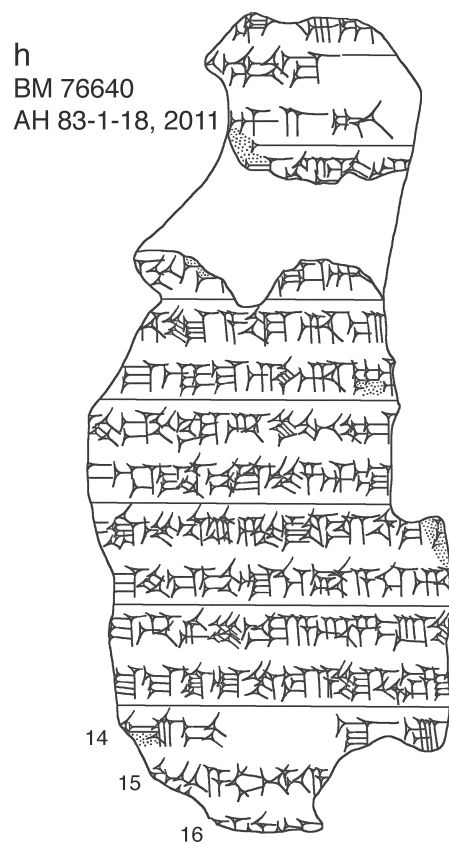
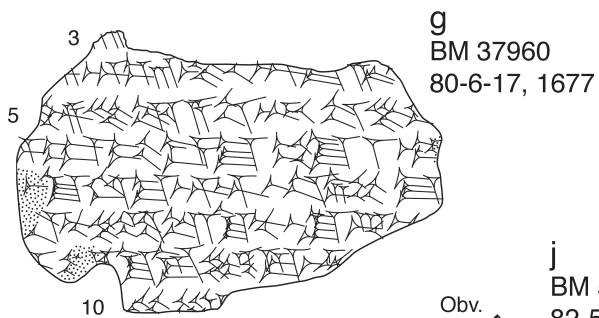
160-61

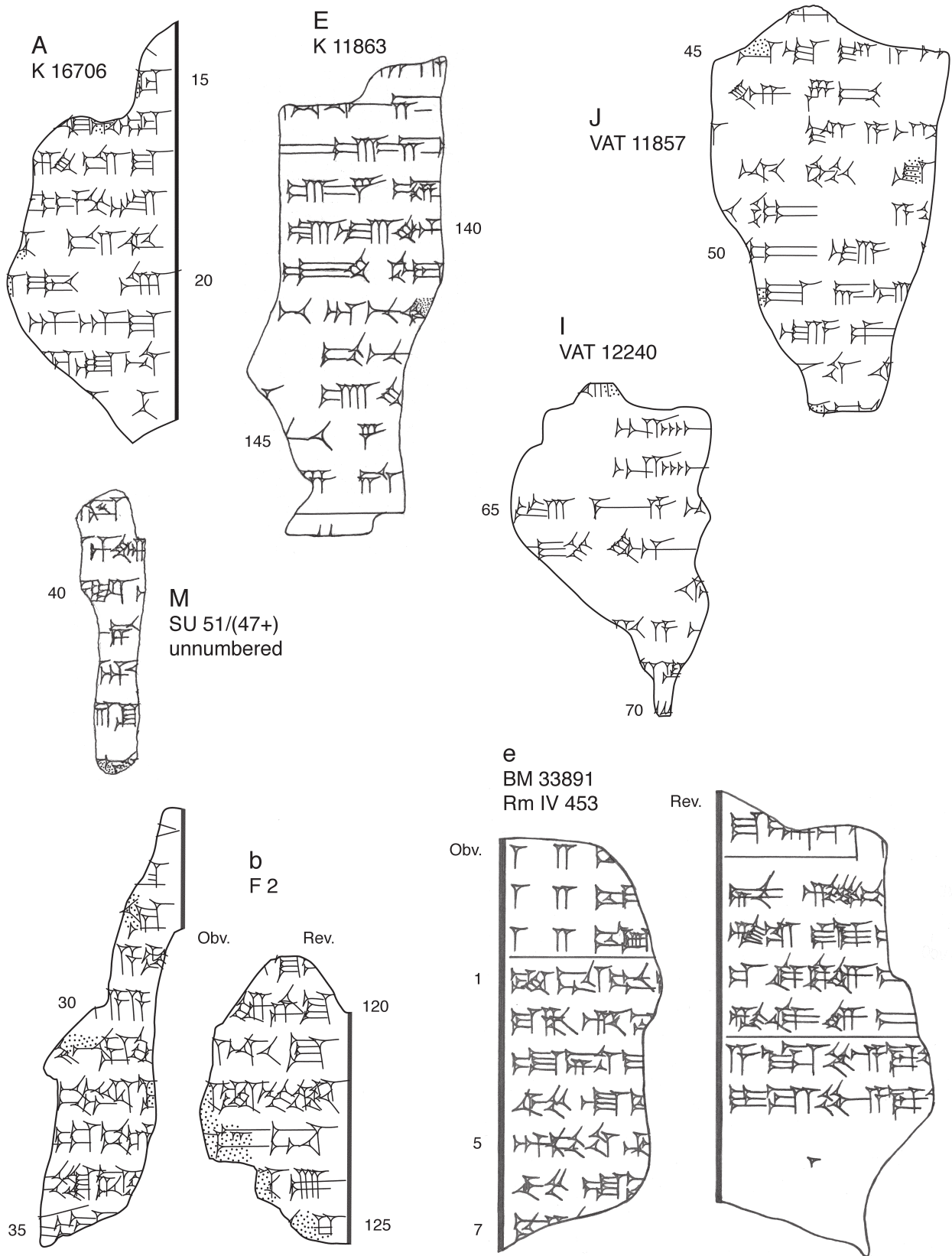
Edge

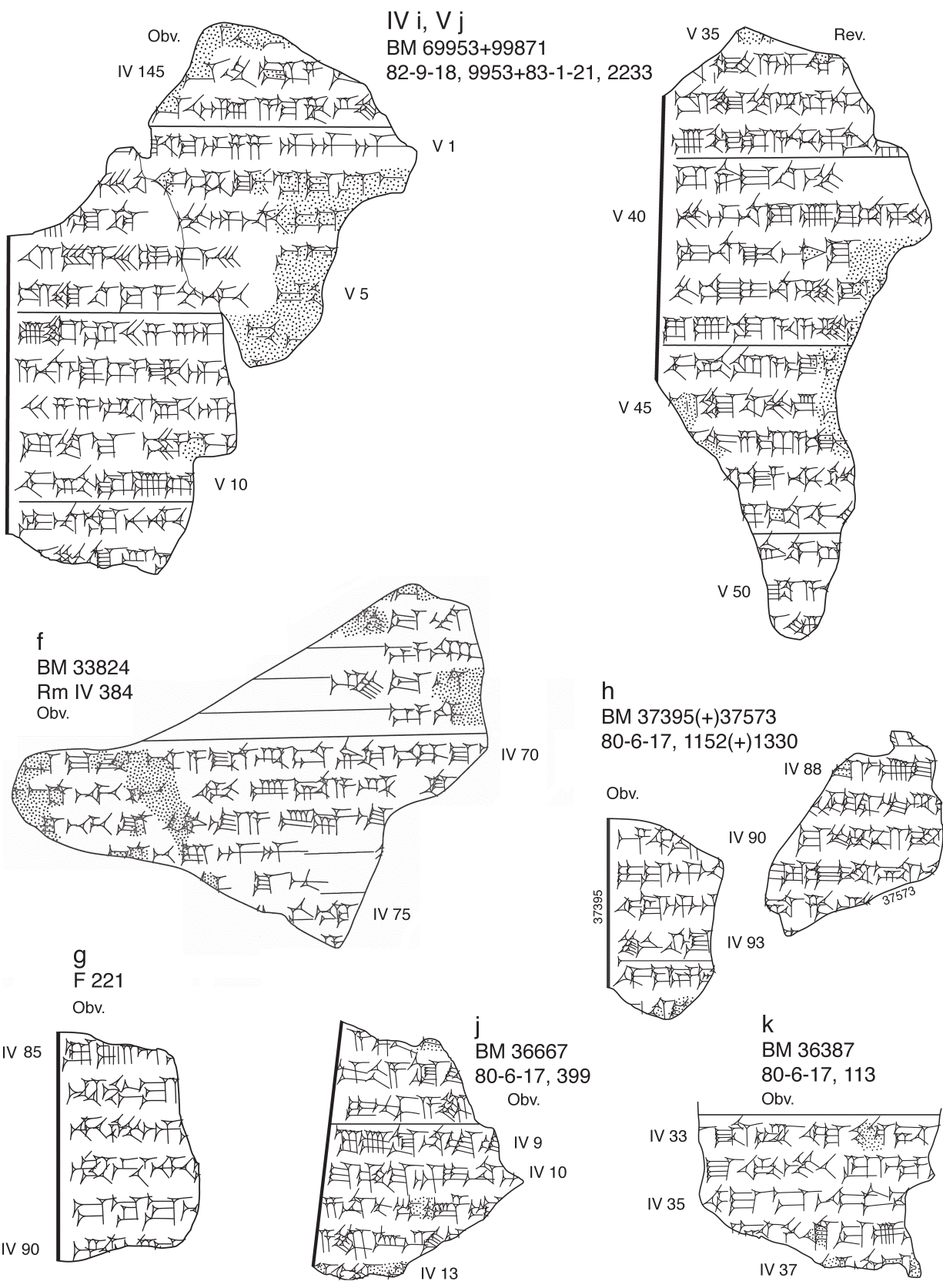




MS c (CT 13 11) rev. 27 = l. 104, coll.:







IV i, V j
 BM 69953+99871
 82-9-18, 9953+83-1-21, 2233

V 35 **Rev.**
V 40
V 45
V 50

f
 BM 33824
 Rm IV 384
 Obv.

h
 BM 37395(+37573)
 80-6-17, 1152(+1330)

Obv.
IV 88
IV 90
IV 93
 37395
 37573

g
 F 221
 Obv.

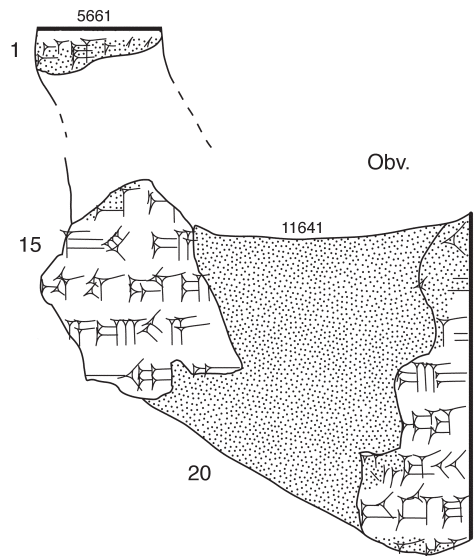
IV 85
IV 90

j
 BM 36667
 80-6-17, 399
 Obv.

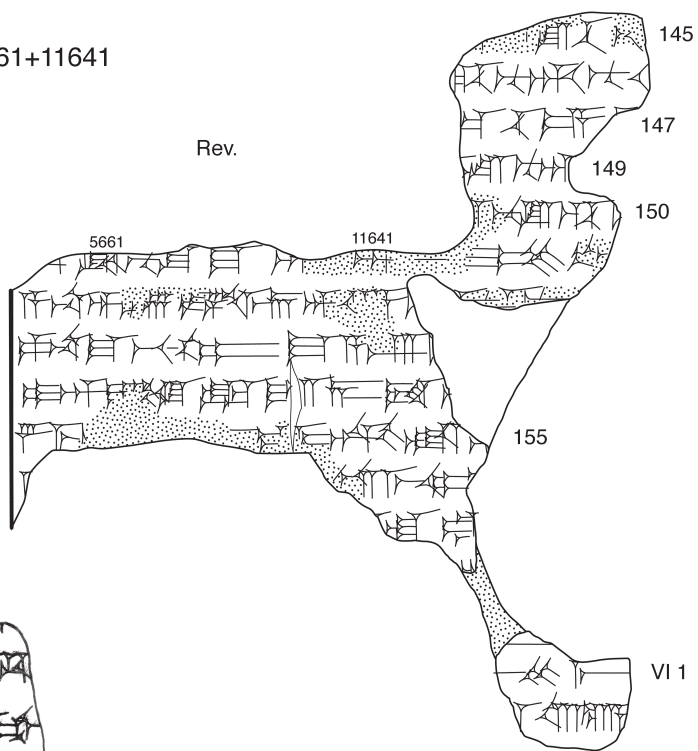
IV 9
IV 10
IV 13

k
 BM 36387
 80-6-17, 113
 Obv.

IV 33
IV 35
IV 37



D
K 5661+11641



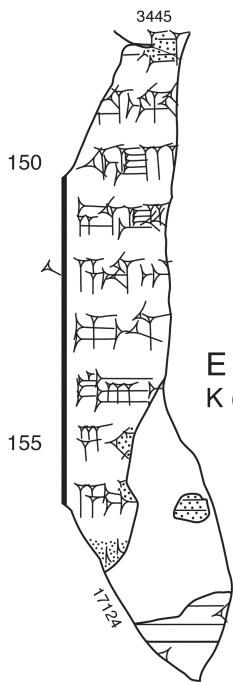
I
VAT 12915



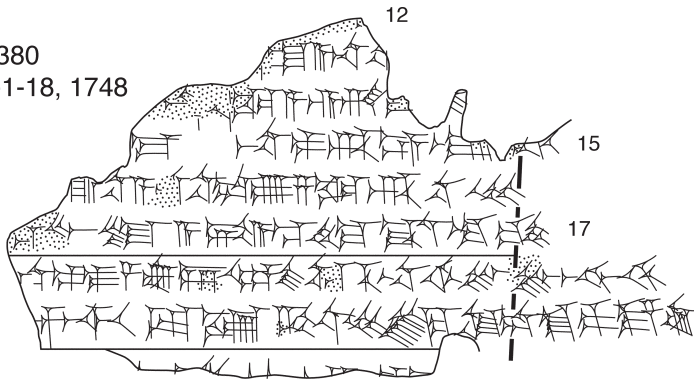
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BM 61433
AH 82-9-18, 1407



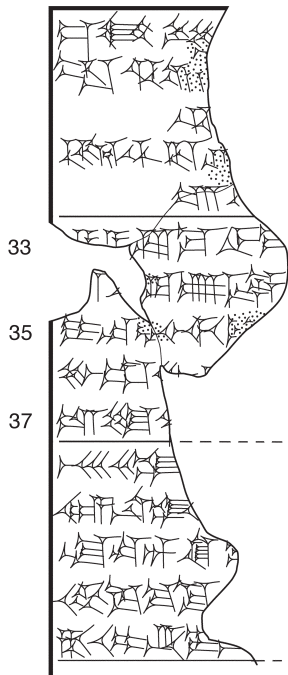
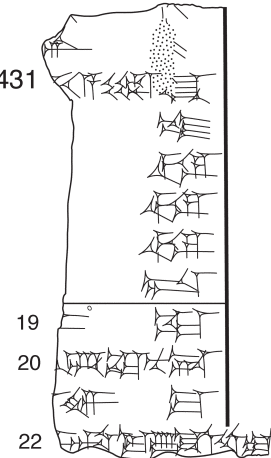
E
K (3445+)+17124(+Rm 396)



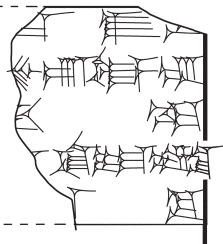
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BM 76380
AH 83-1-18, 1748
Obv.



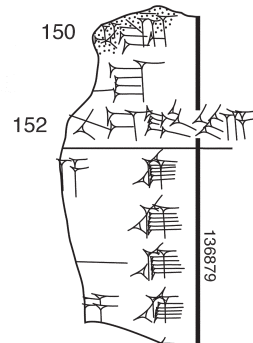
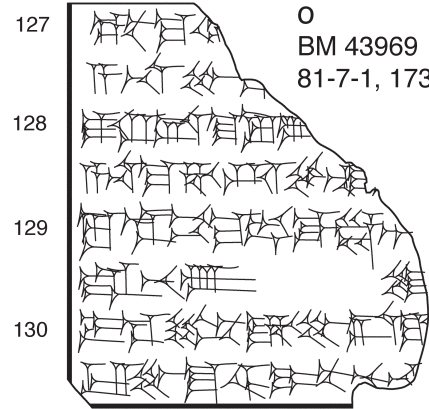
m
BM 55099
82-5-22, 1431



n
BM 46567
81-8-30, 33
Obv.

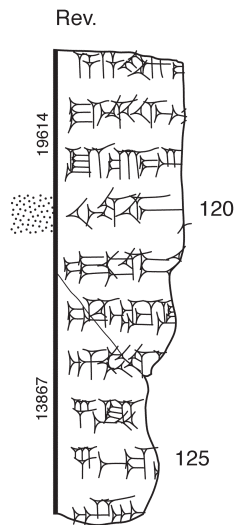
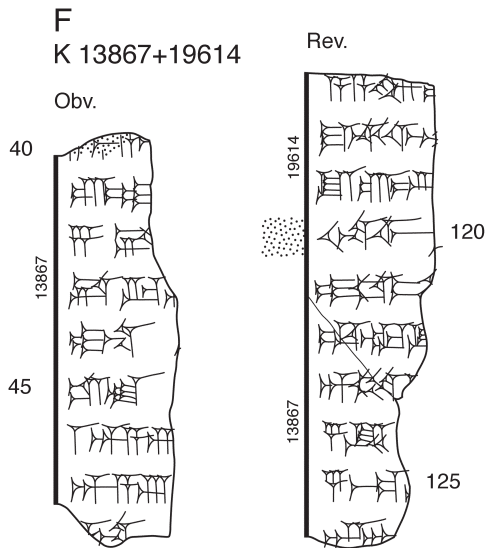
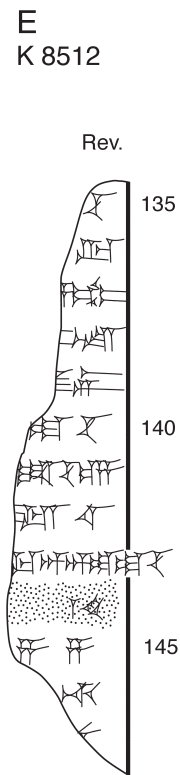
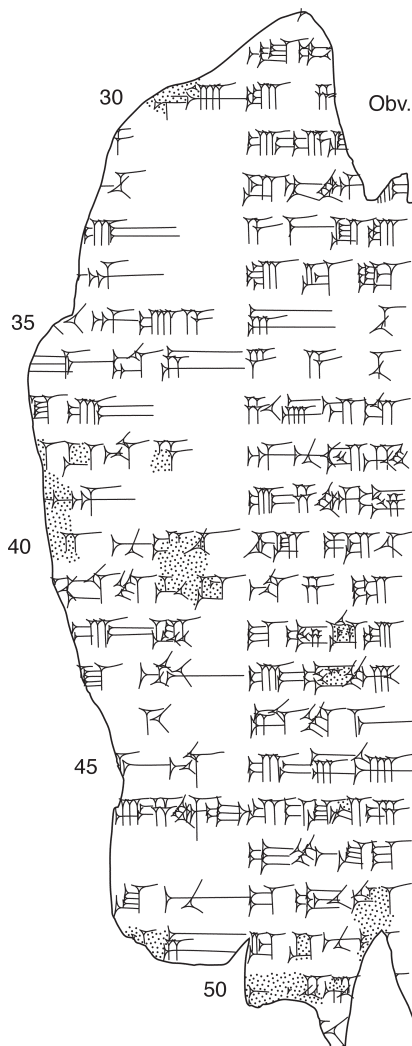
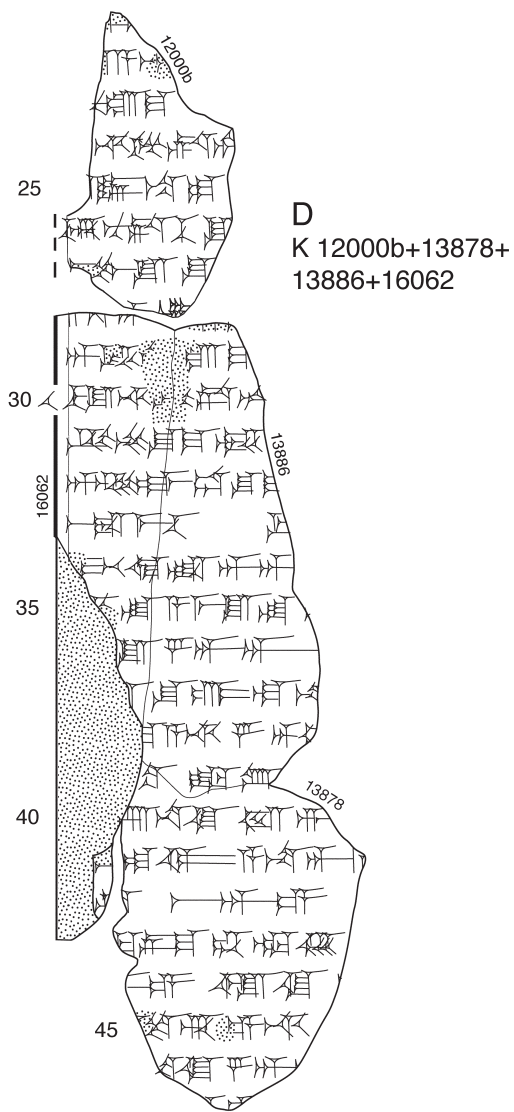
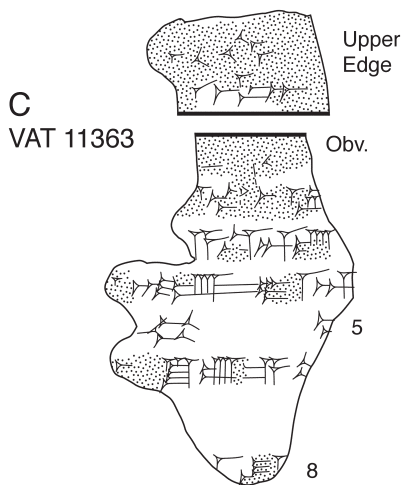


o
BM 43969
81-7-1, 1730



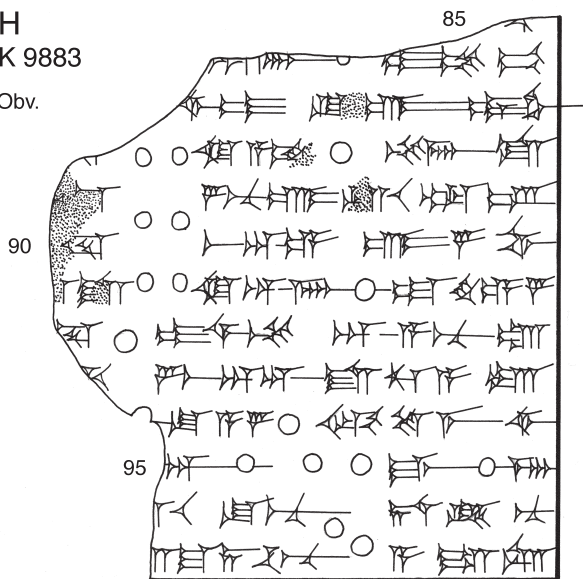
p
BM 54609(+)
82-5-22, 929(+)
1785



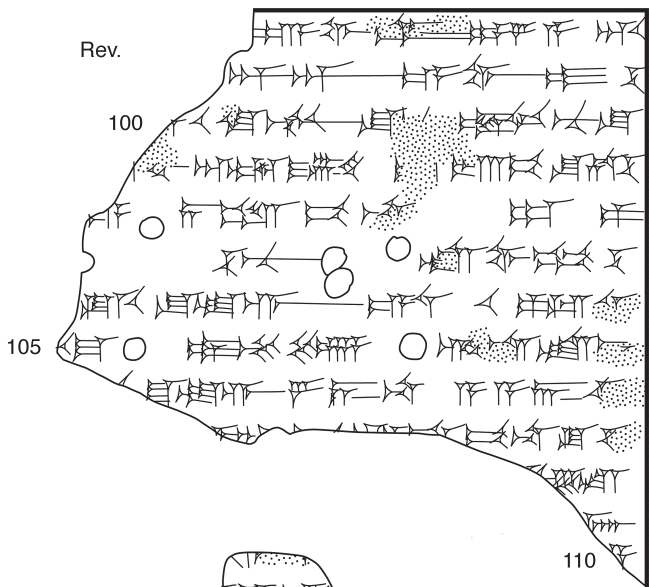


H
K 9883

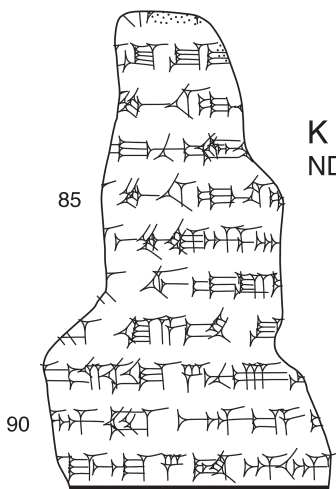
Obv.



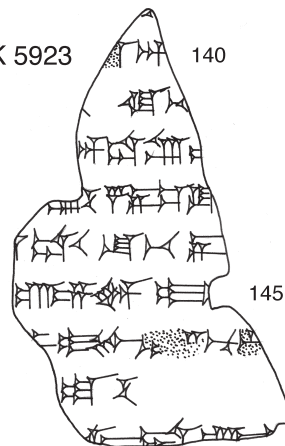
Rev.



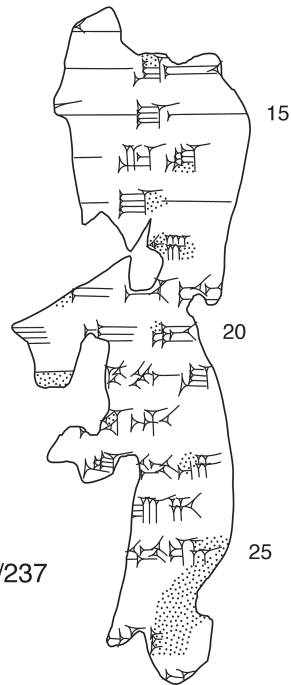
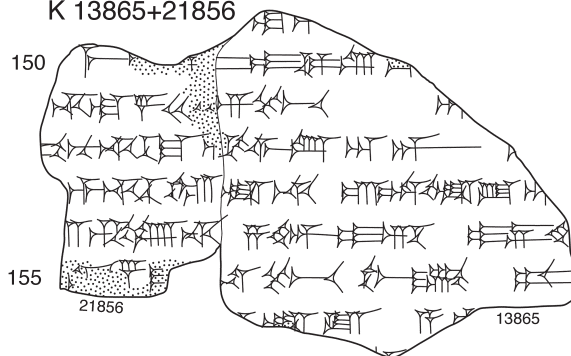
K
ND 3416



I
K 5923



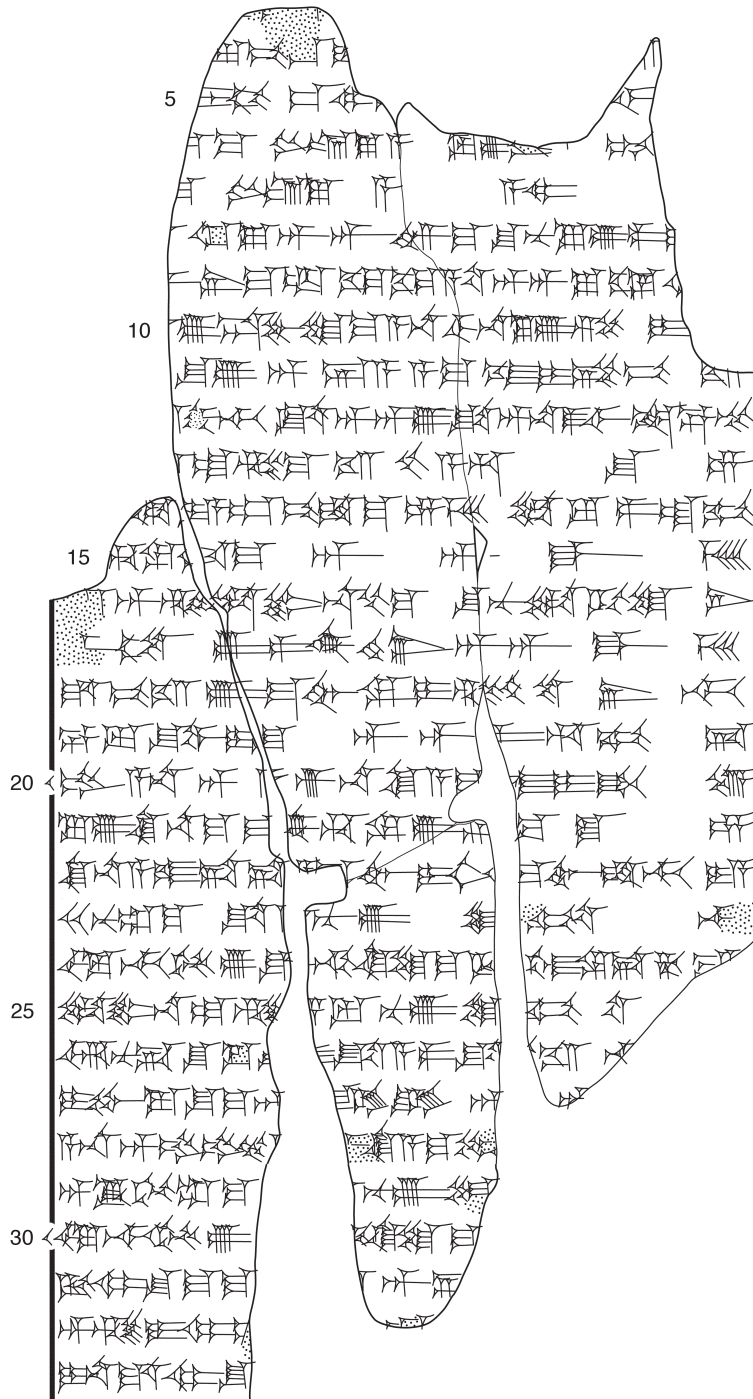
J
K 13865+21856



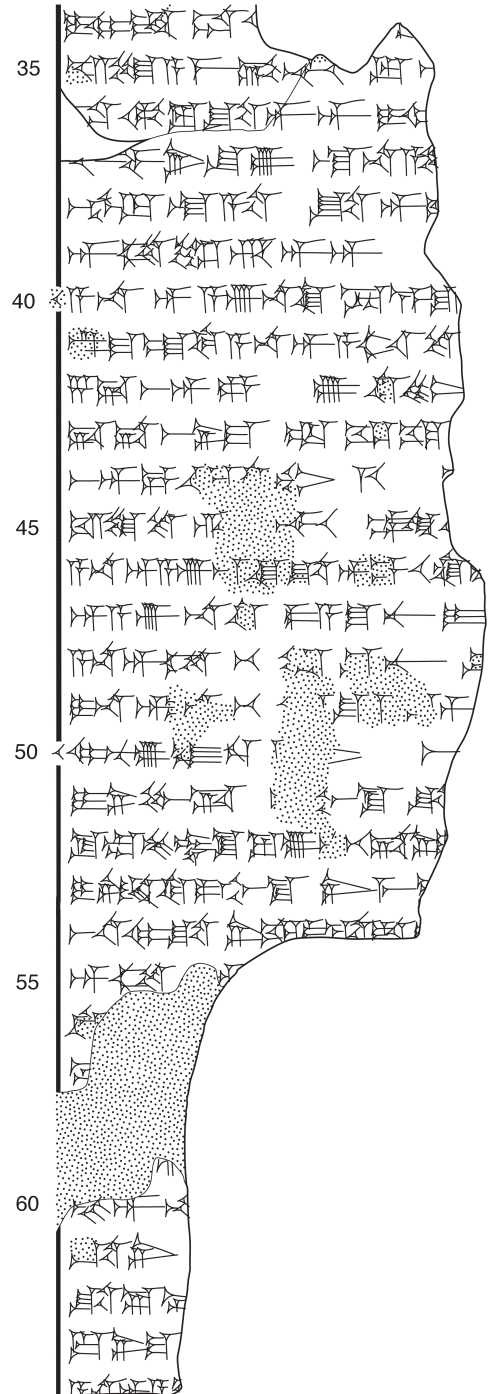
L
SU 51/237

b
Kish 1924 1828+
1926 373+374

Obv.



Obv. cont.



b
Kish 1924 1828+
1926 373+374

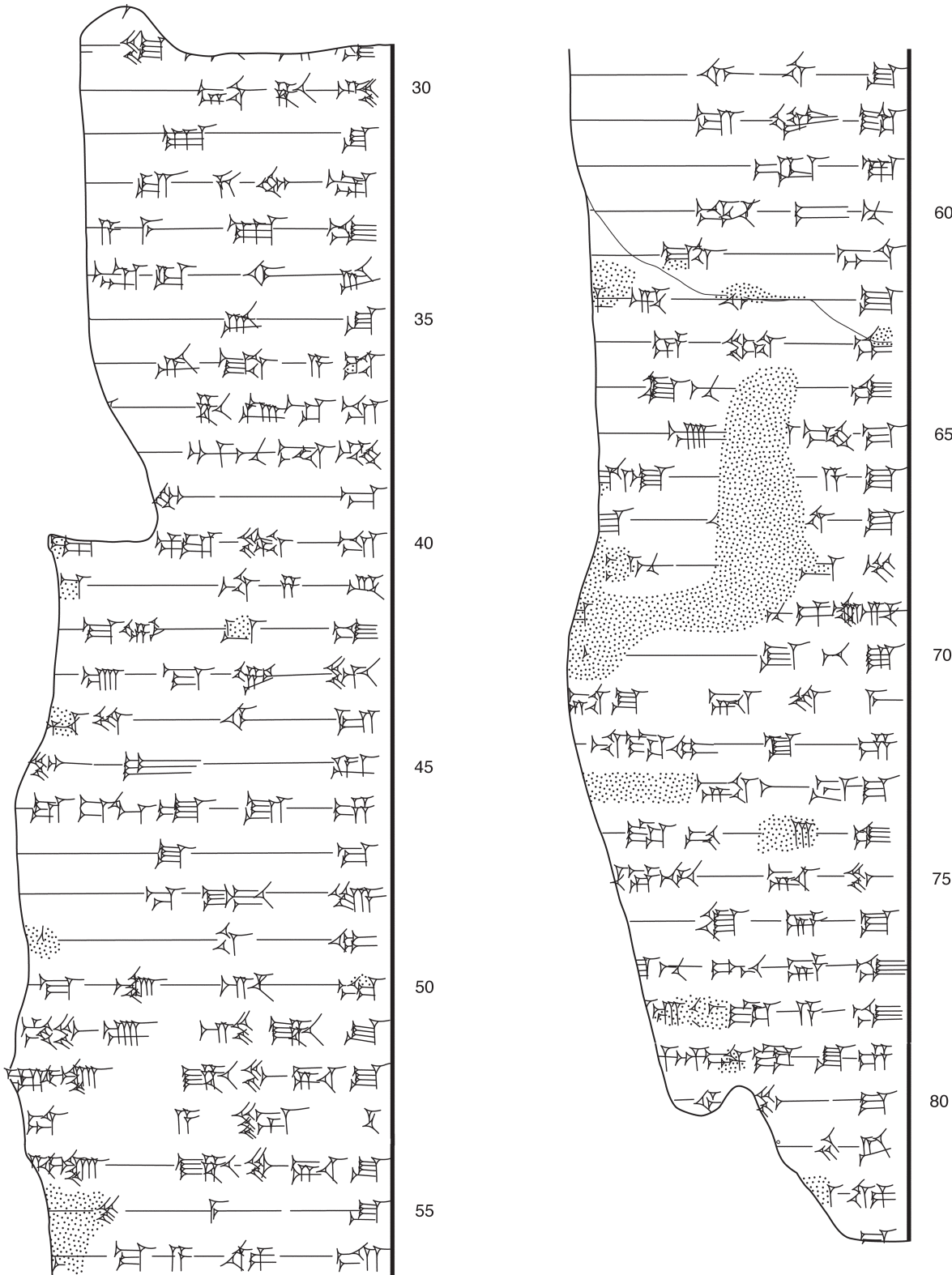
Rev.

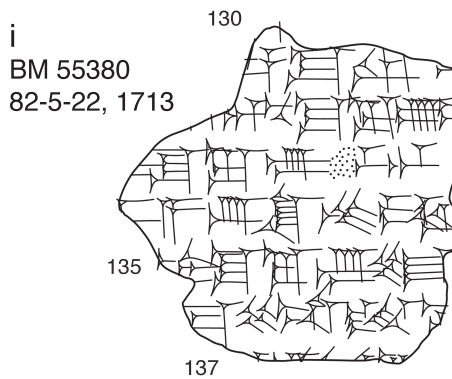
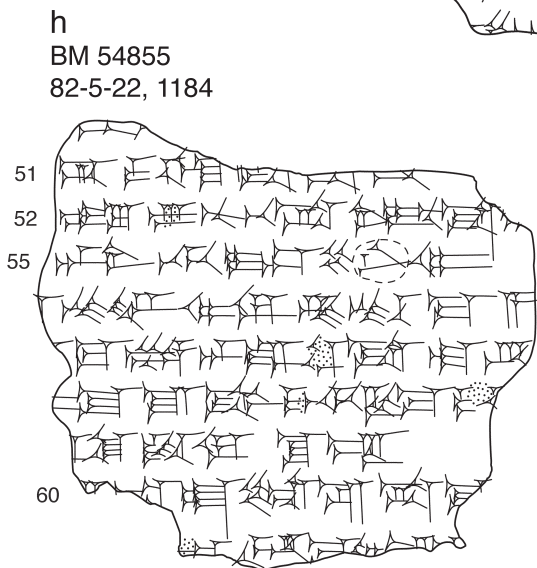
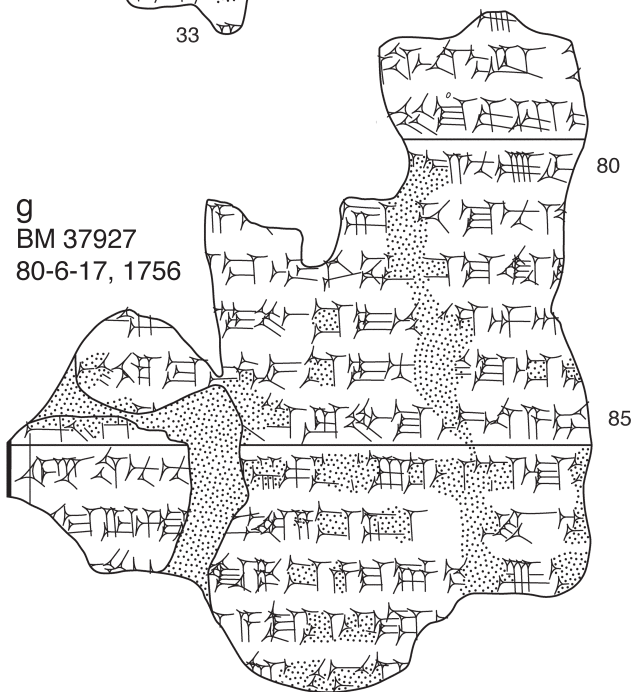
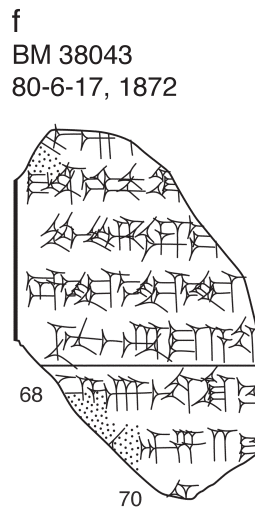
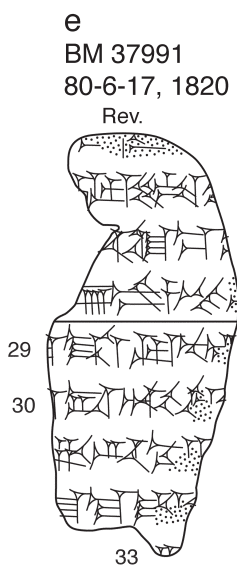
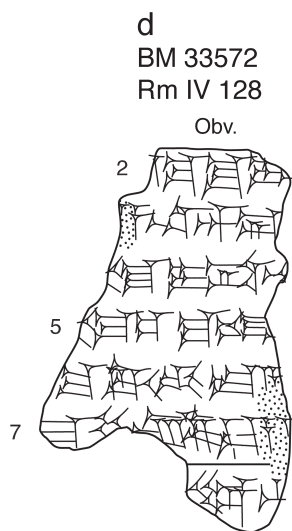
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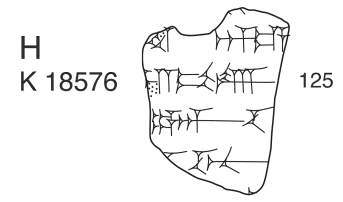
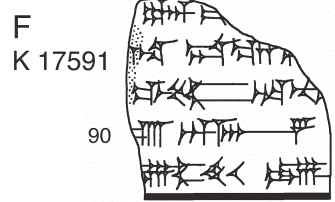
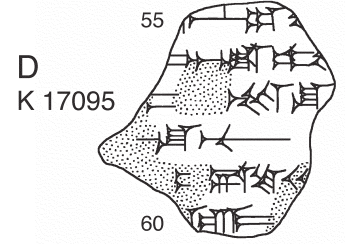
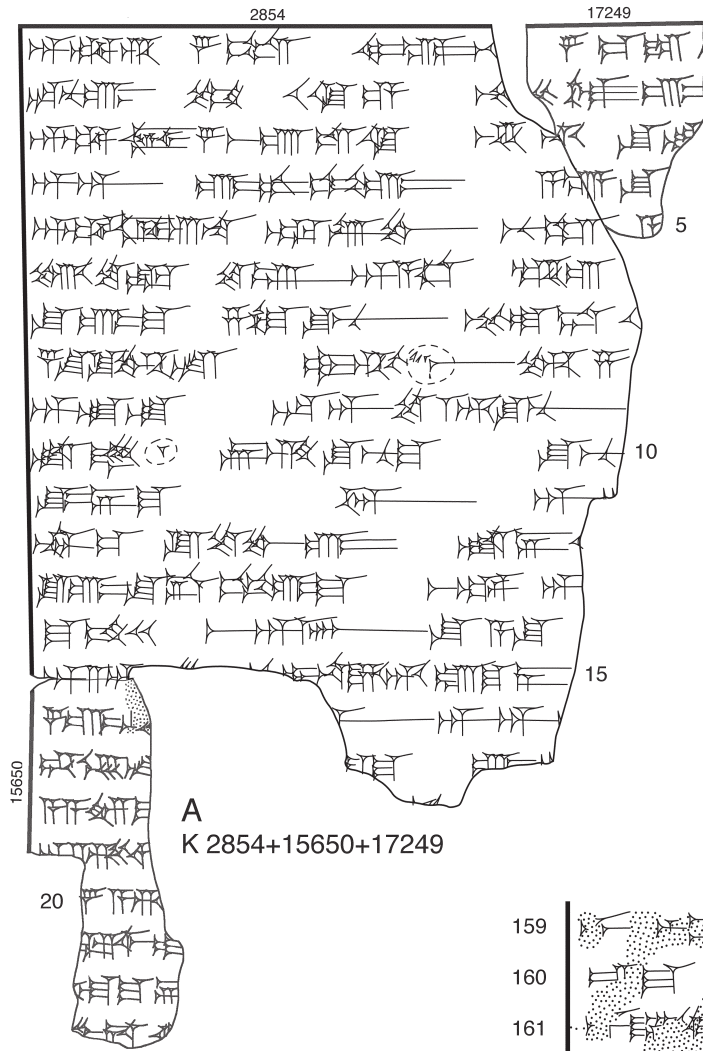
100
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135
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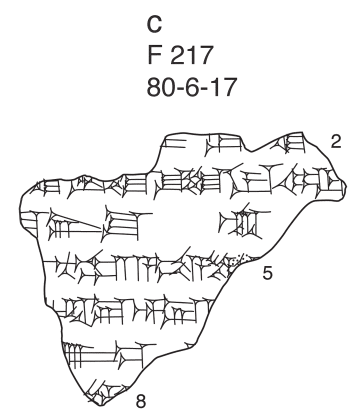
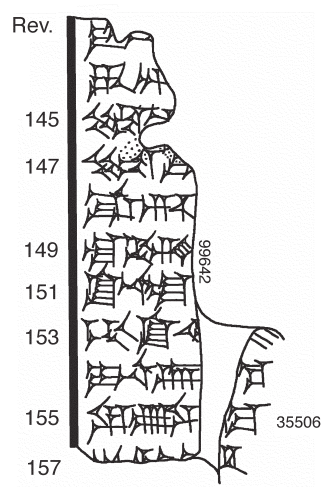
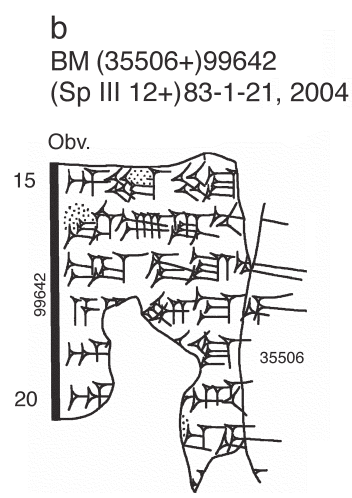
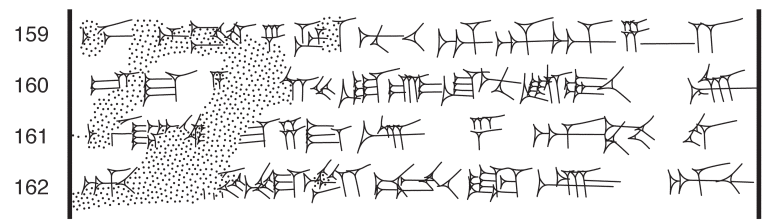
C
W 17718 jg+lg

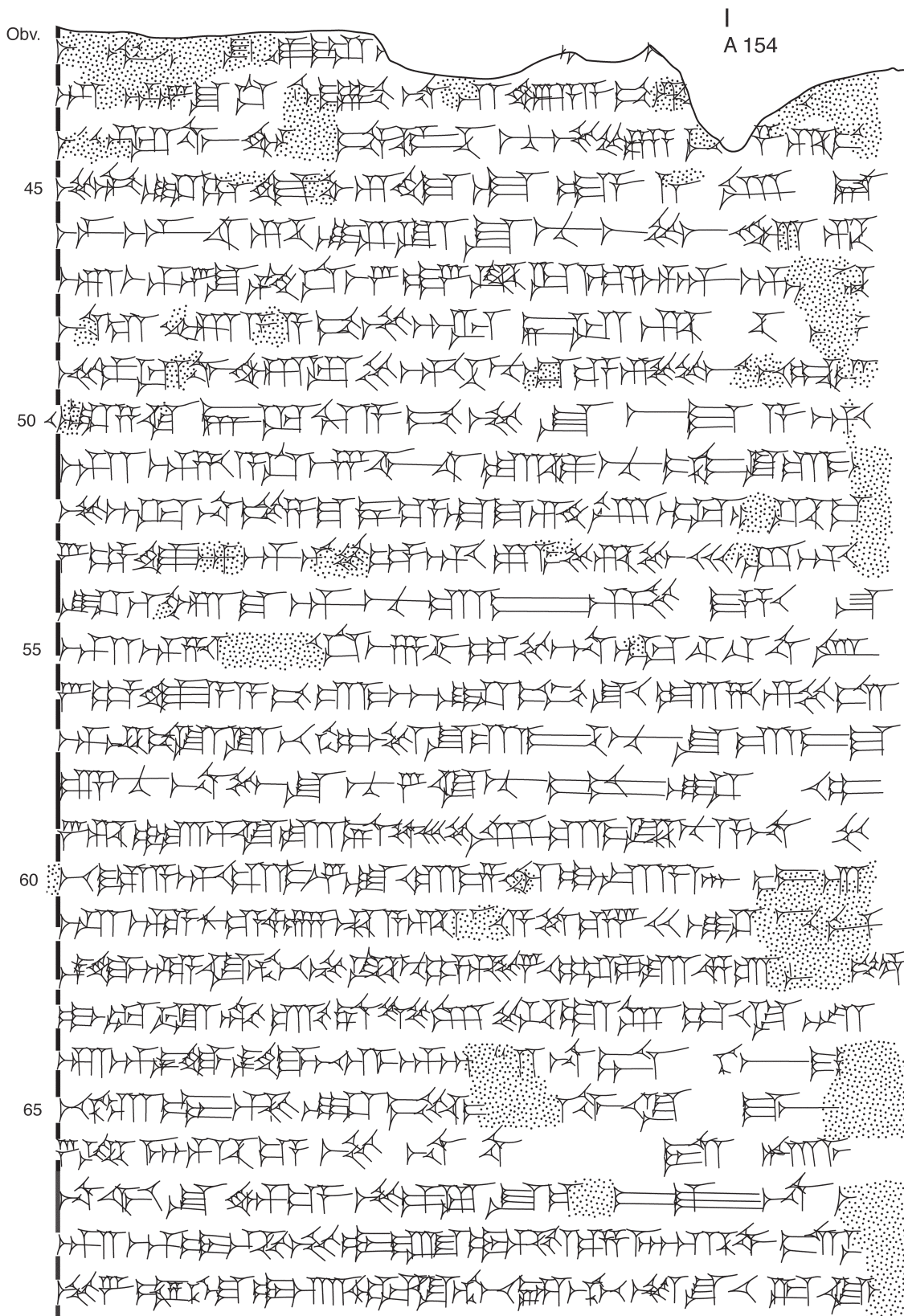


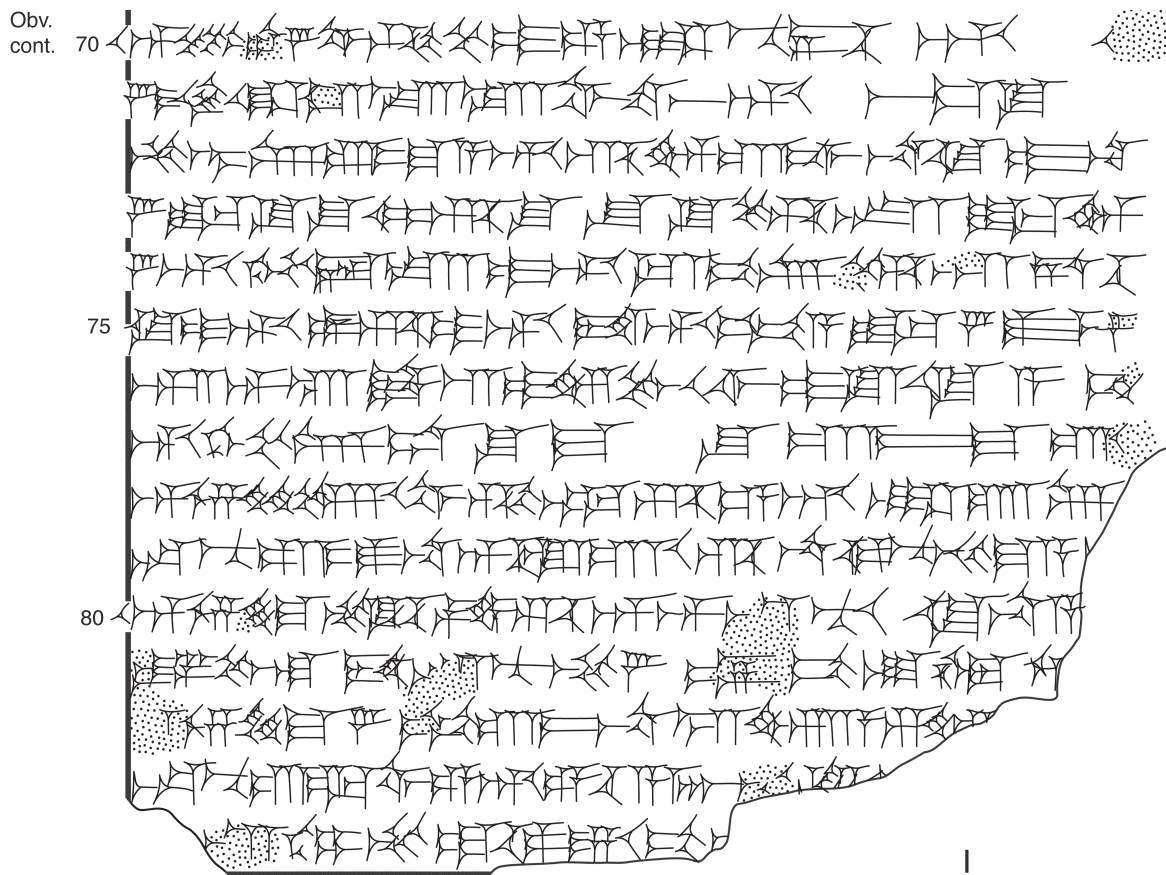




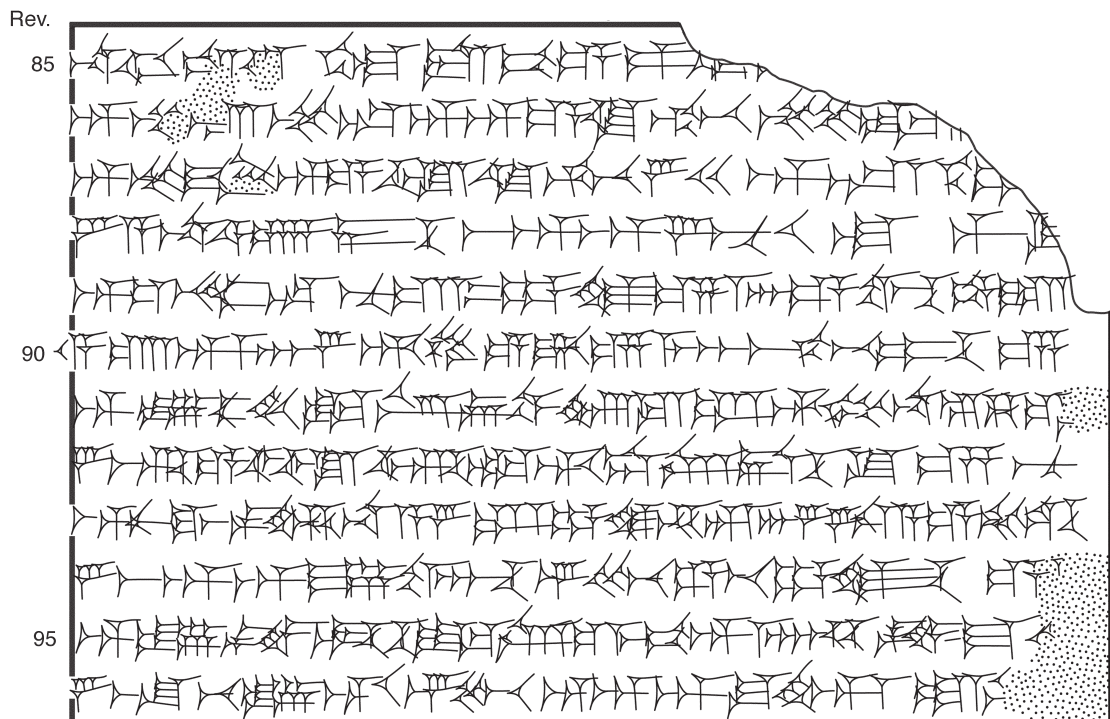
J
SU 51/63+

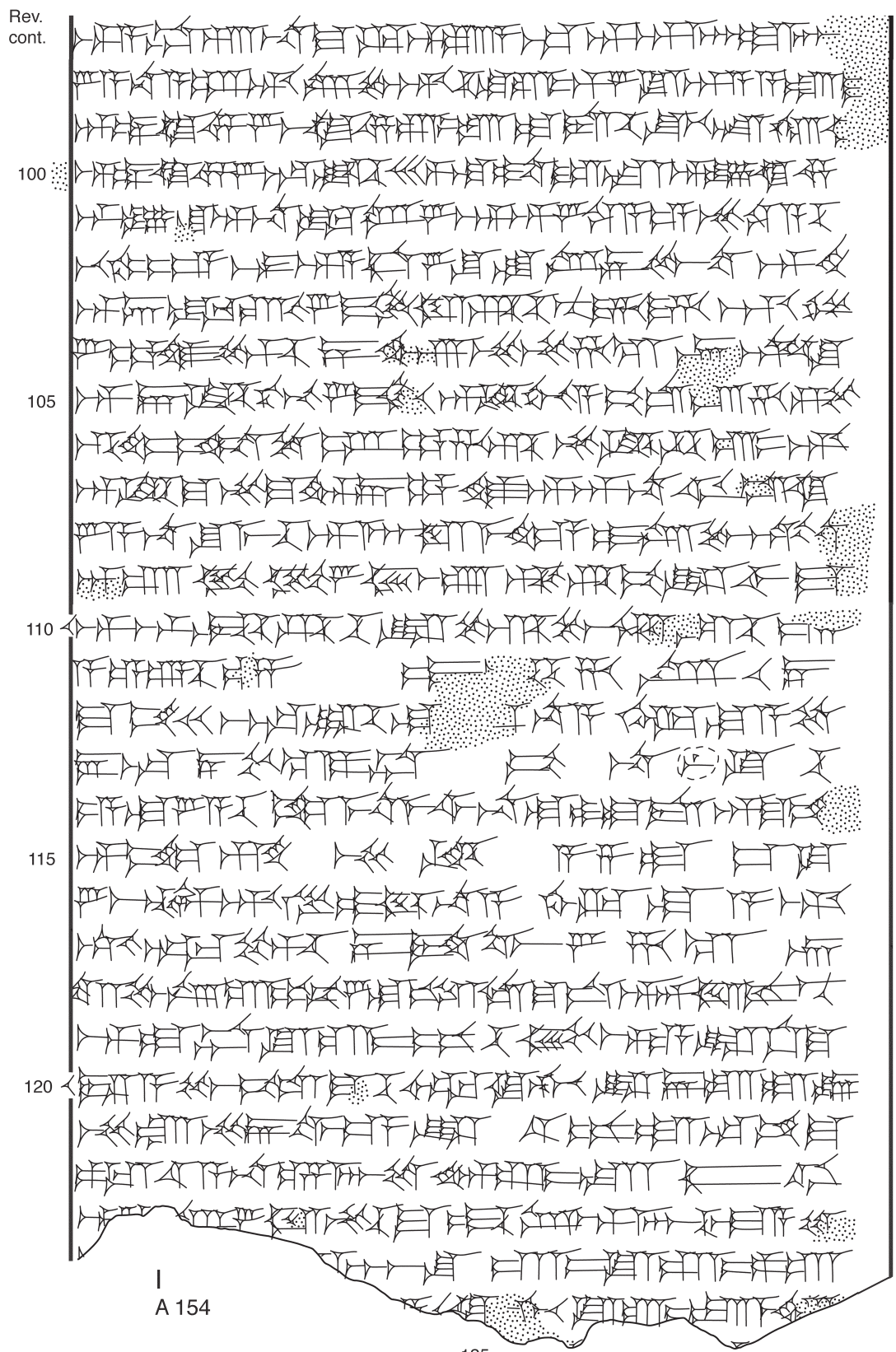


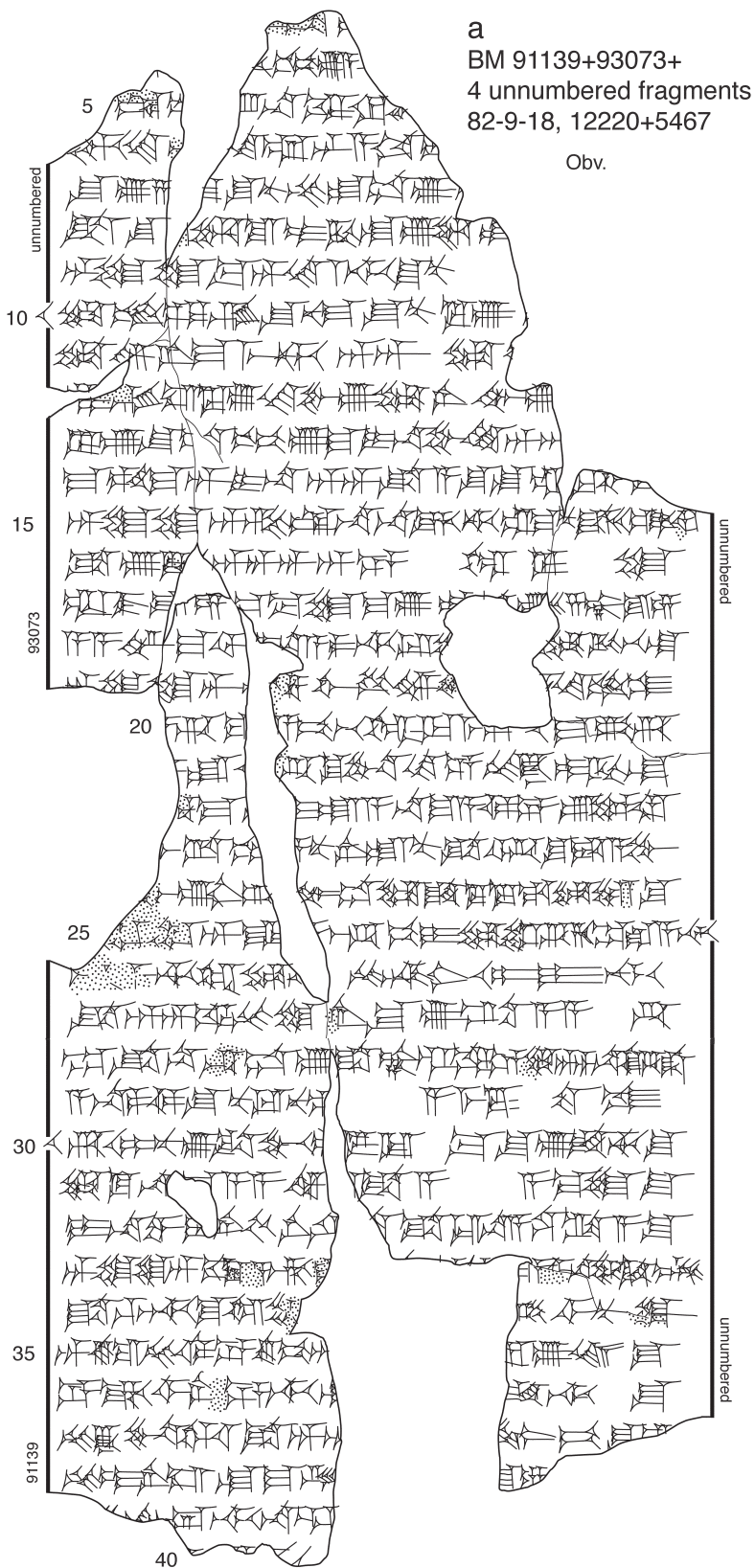




I
A 154

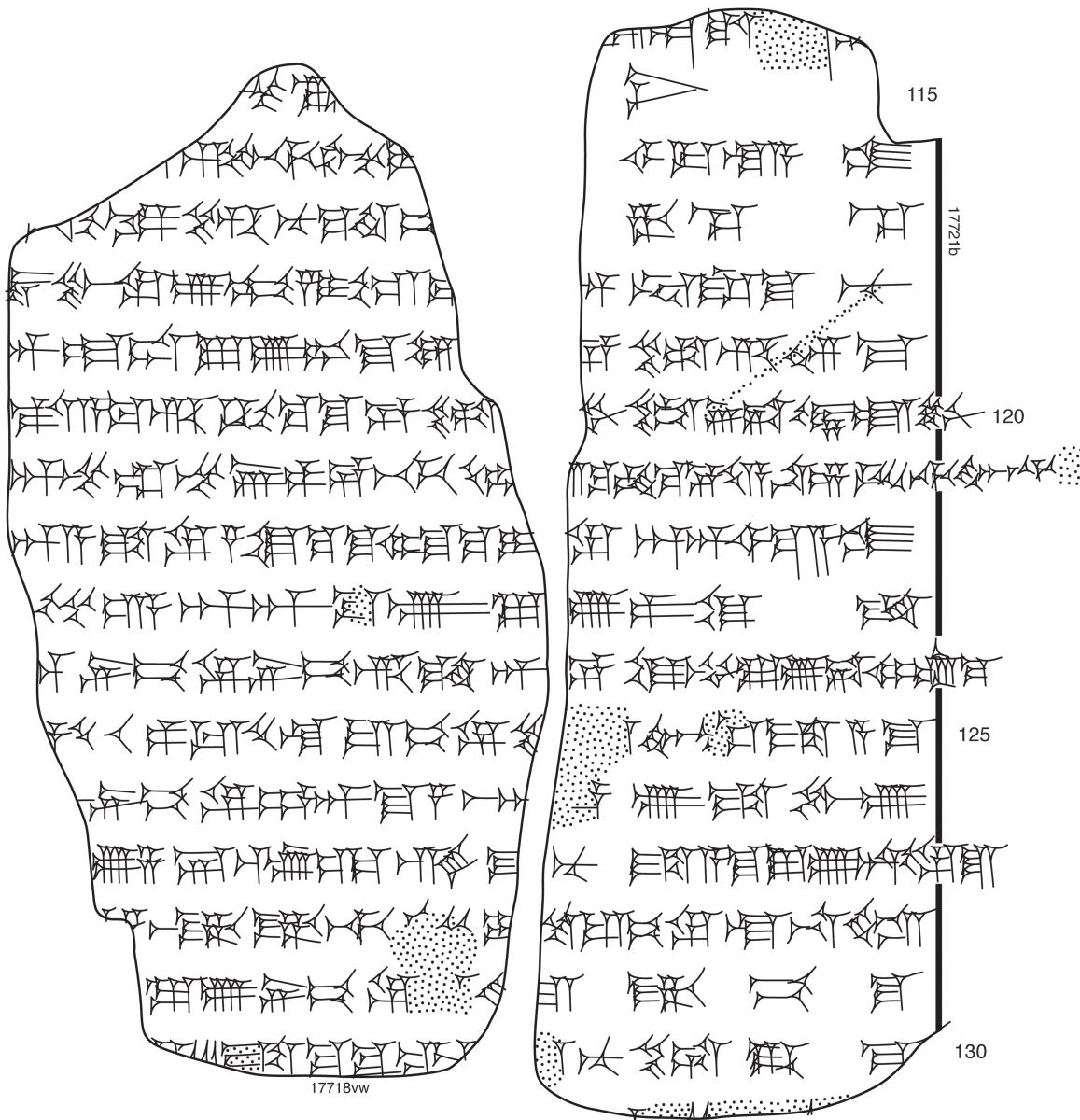




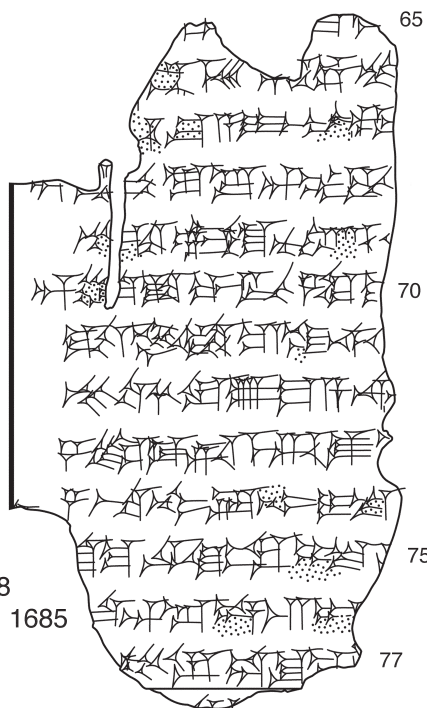
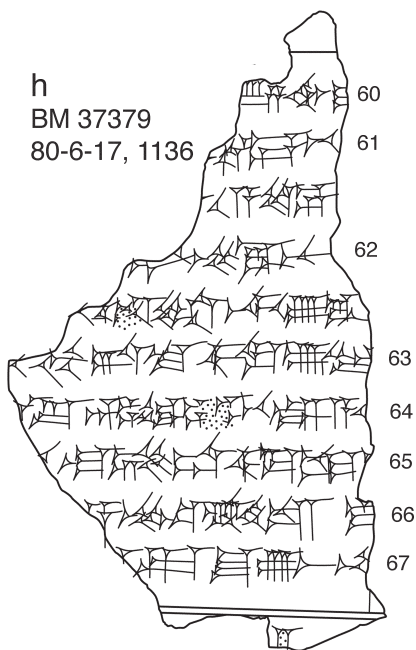
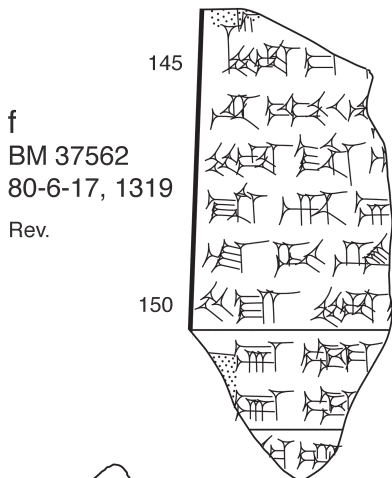
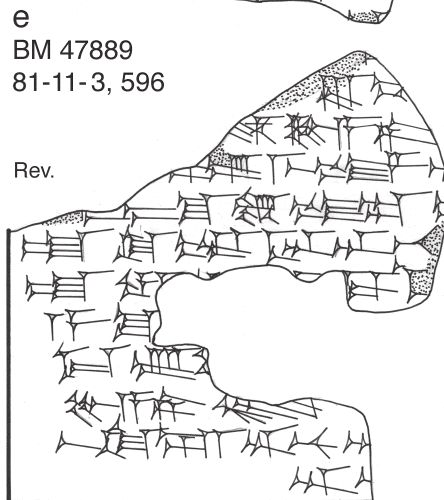
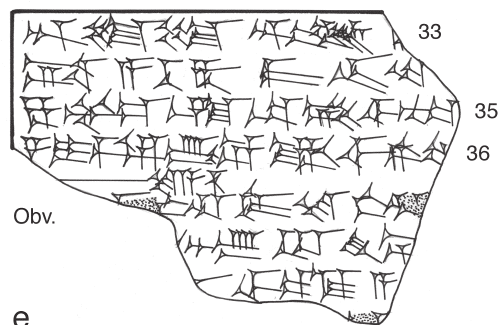
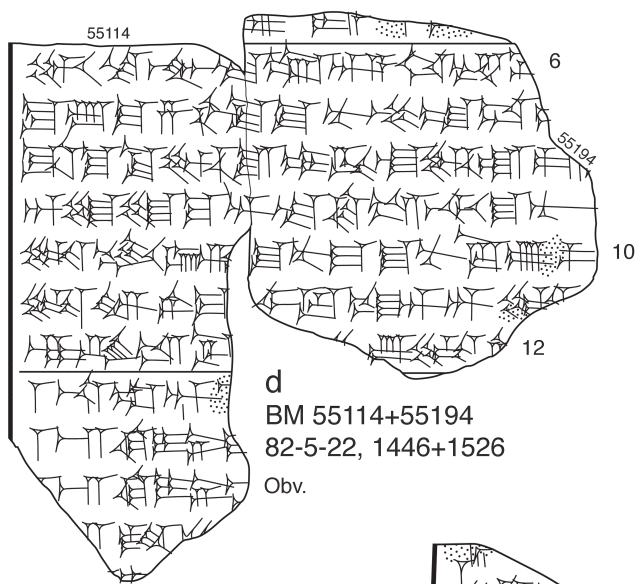


g
(VAT 14511+)W 17718vw+W 17721b

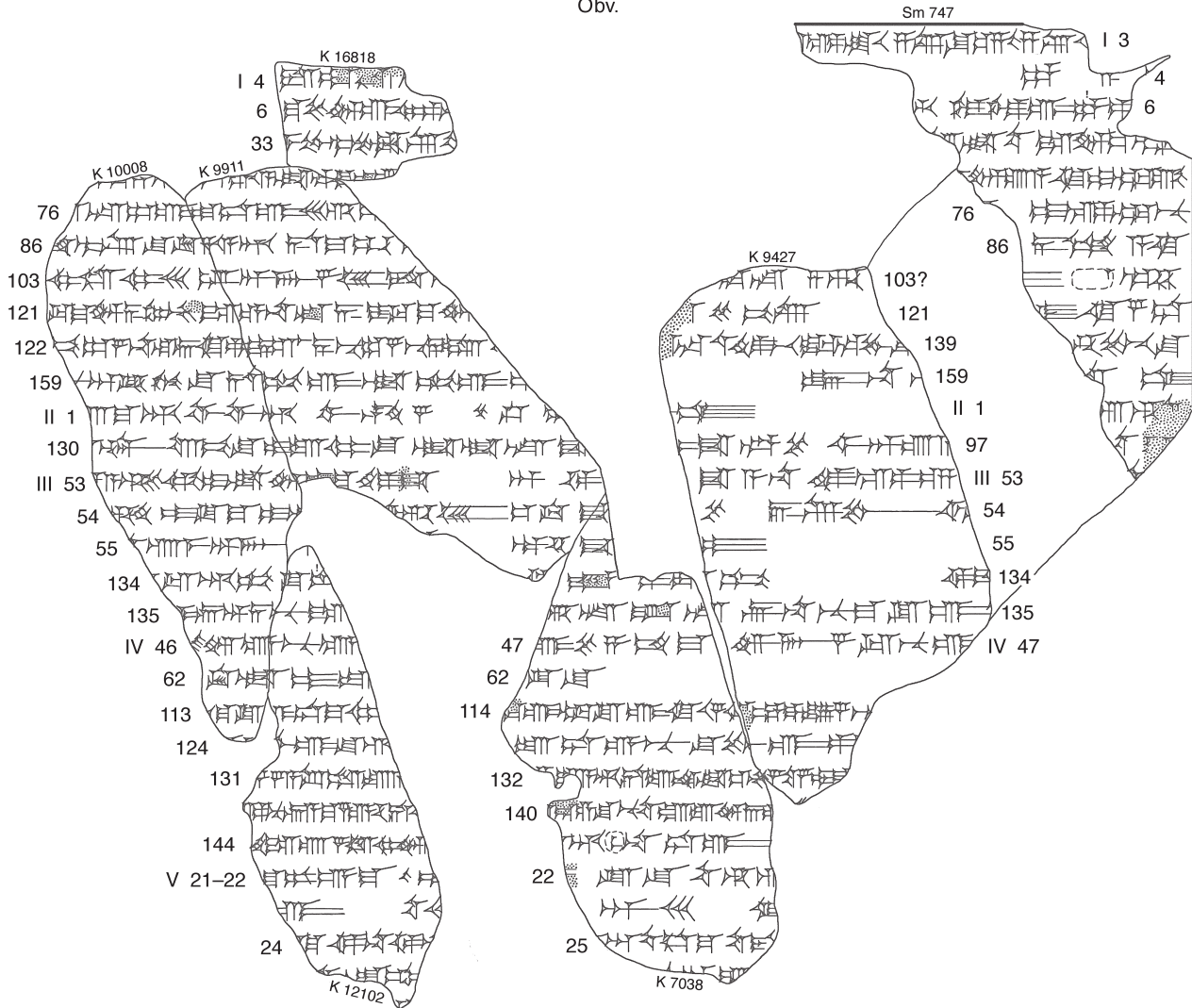
Rev.



(VAT 14511 would have joined here)



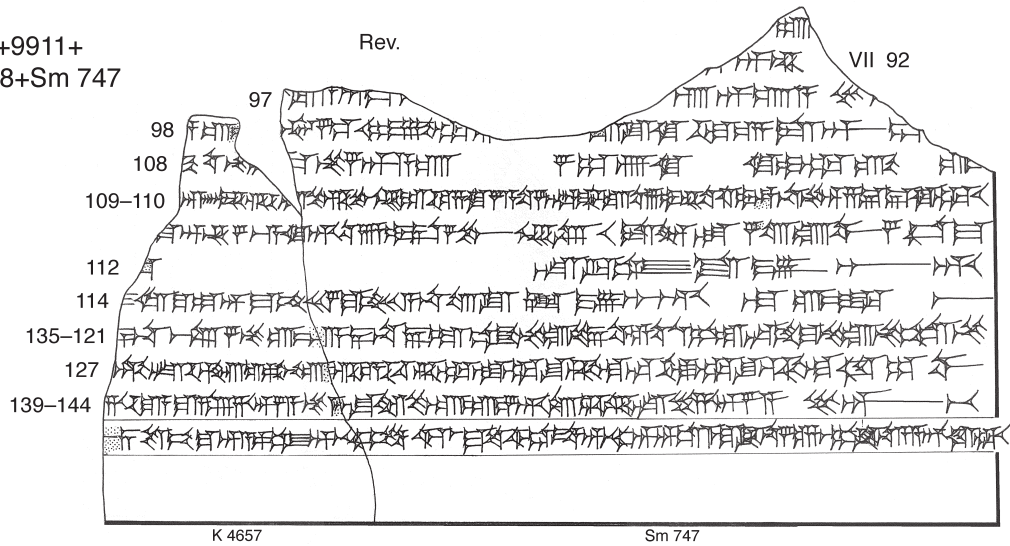
Obv.

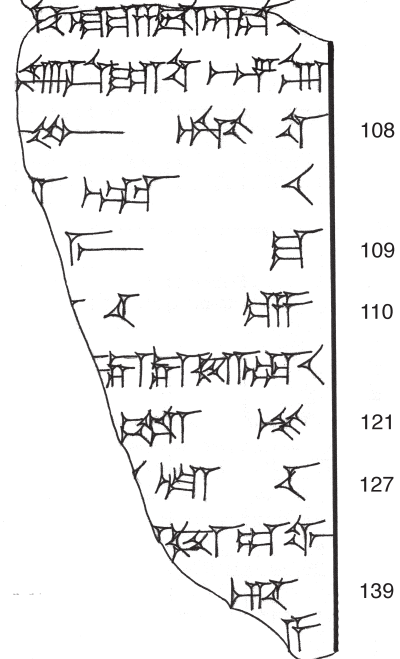
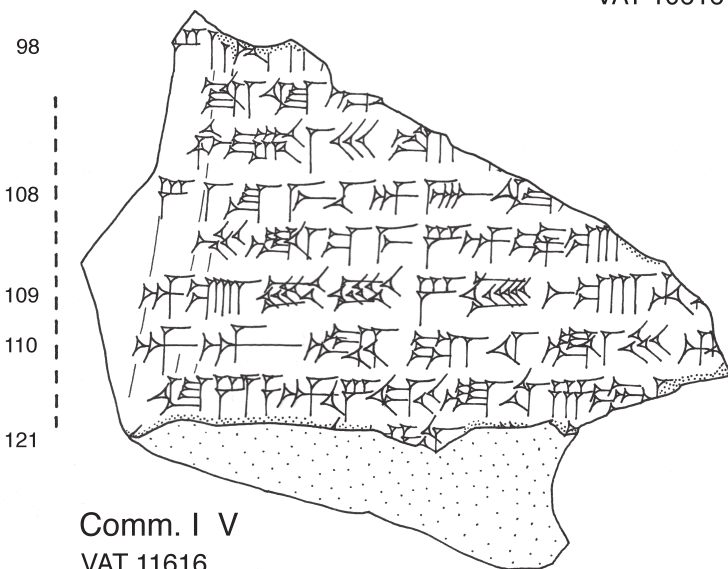
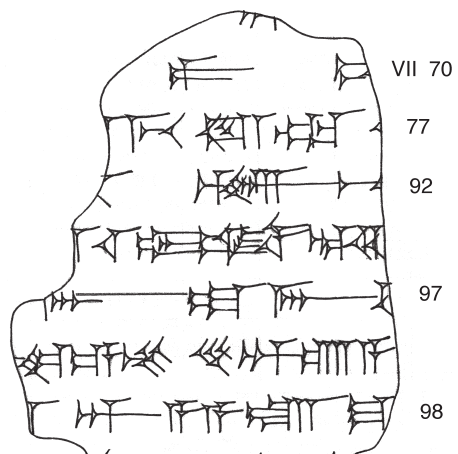
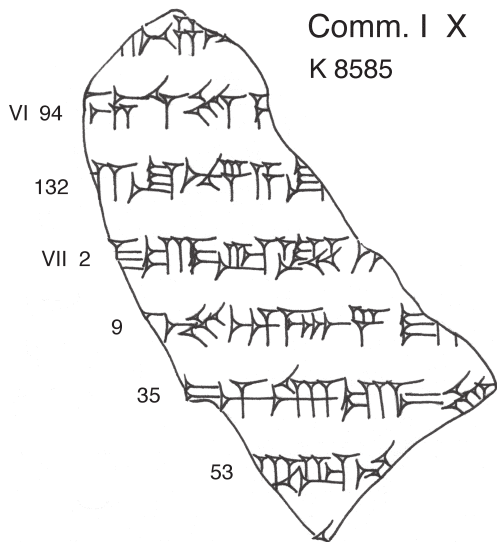


Comm. I Z

K 4657+7038+9427+9911+
10008+12102+16818+Sm 747

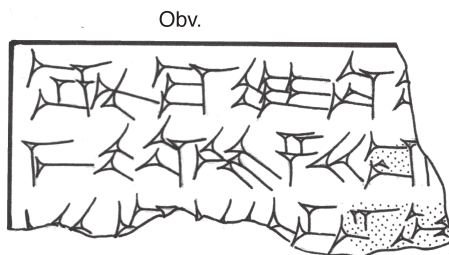
Rev.





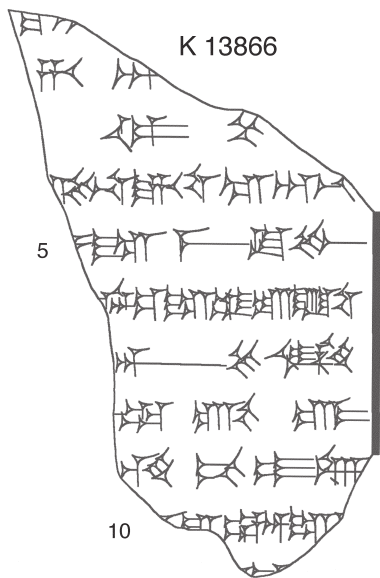
Comm. I V
VAT 11616
copy by A.R. George

Comm. I x
BM 69594
(82-9-18, 9591)

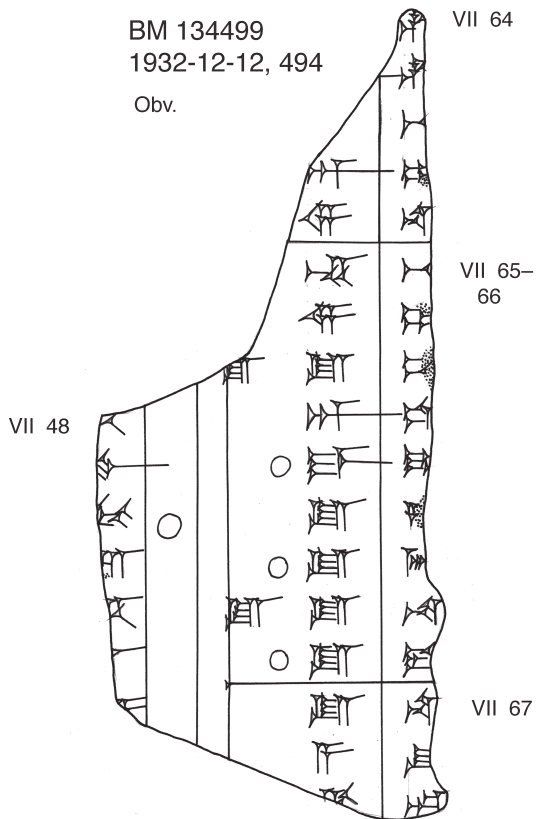


(Rev. blank)

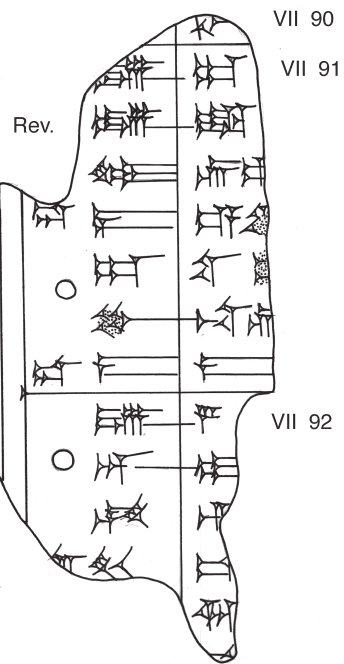
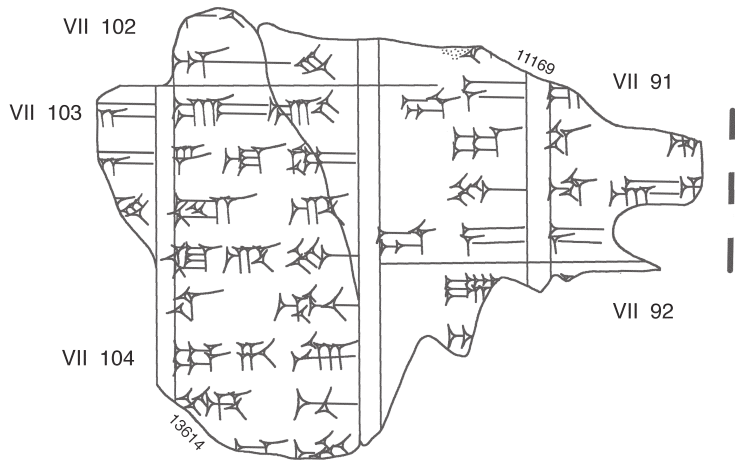




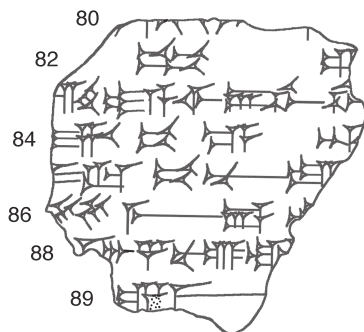
BM 134499
1932-12-12, 494
Obv.



K 11169+13614

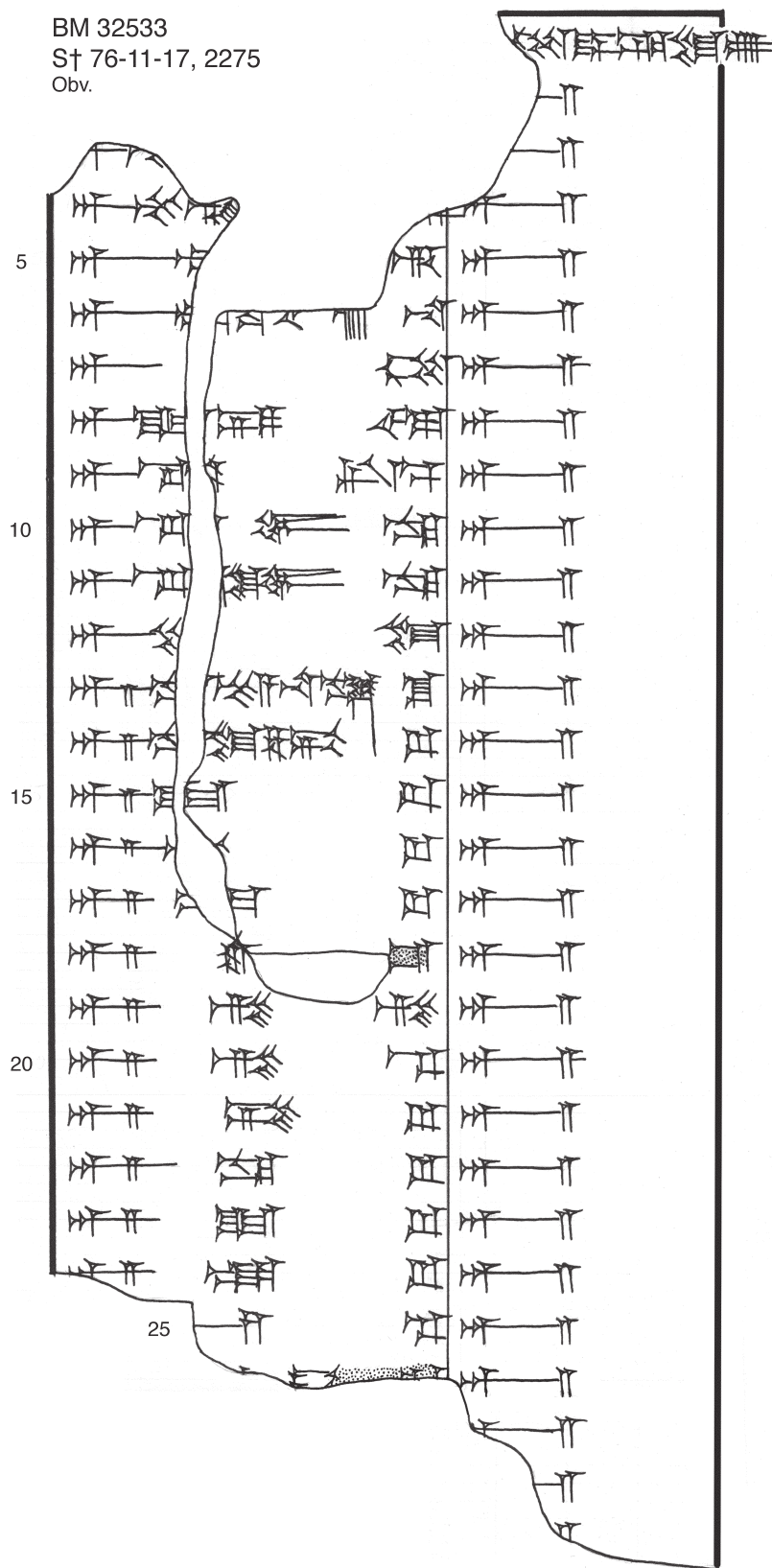


K 6538

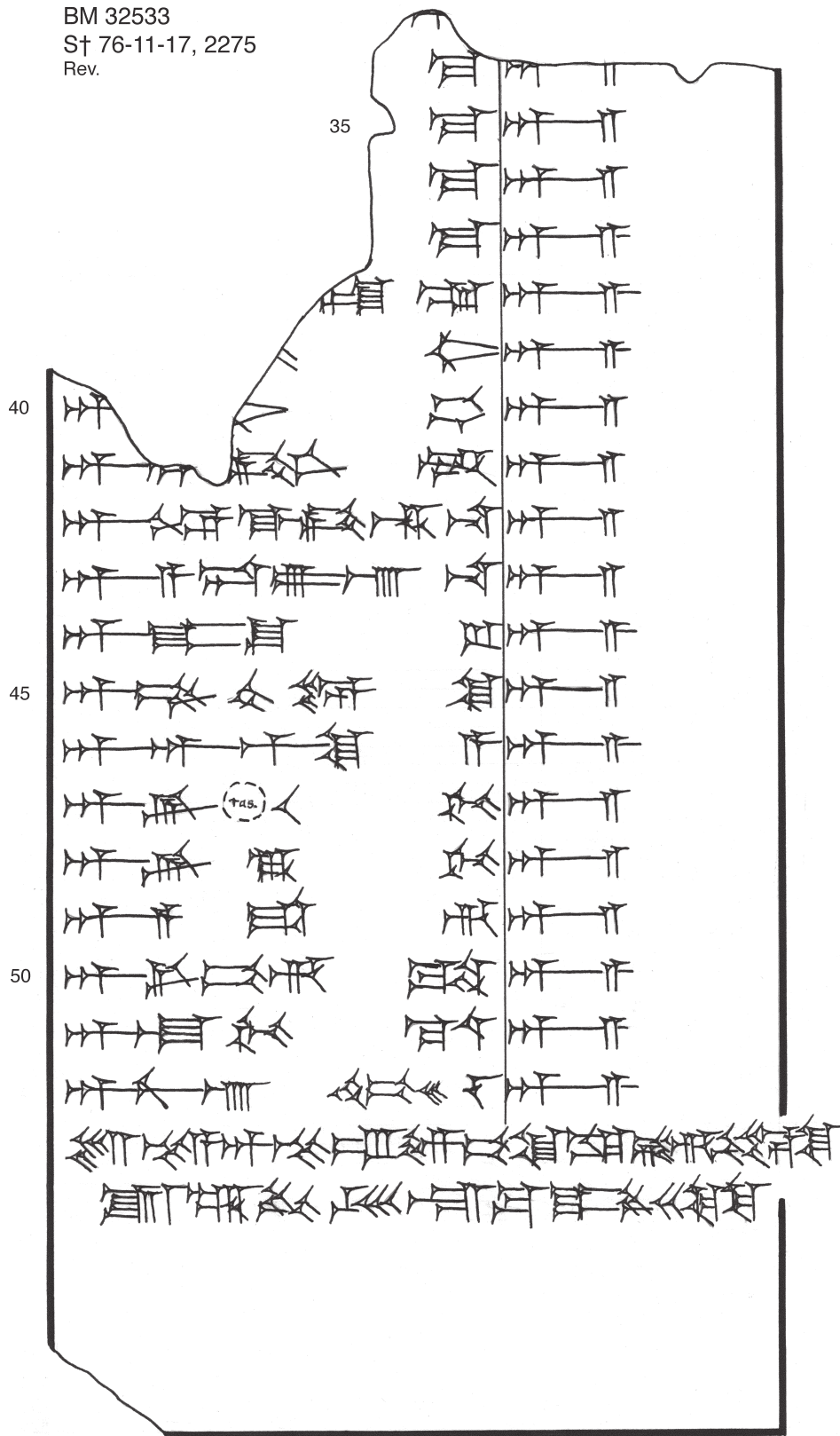


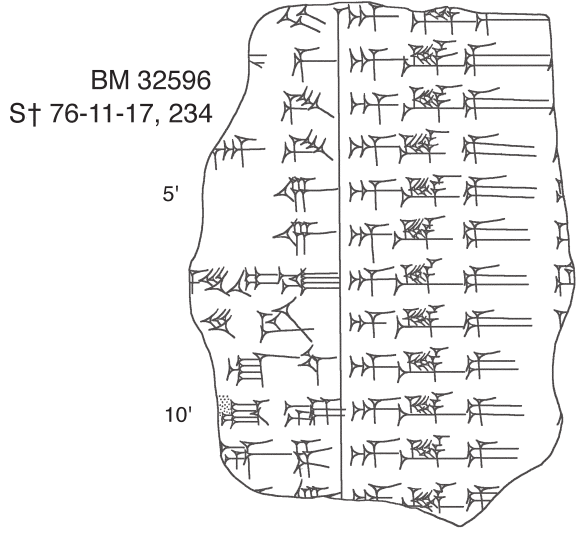
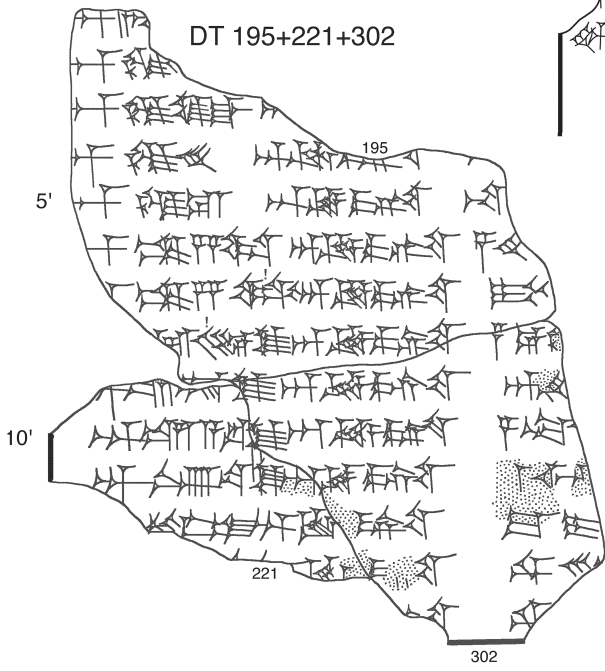
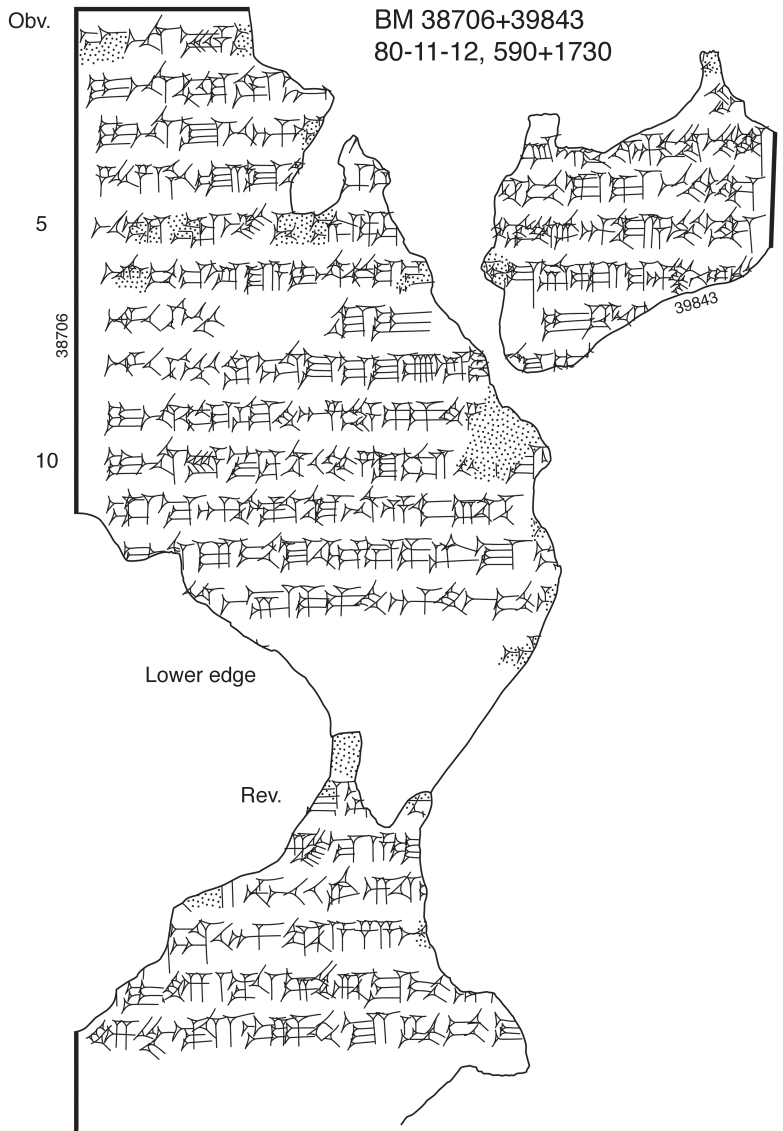
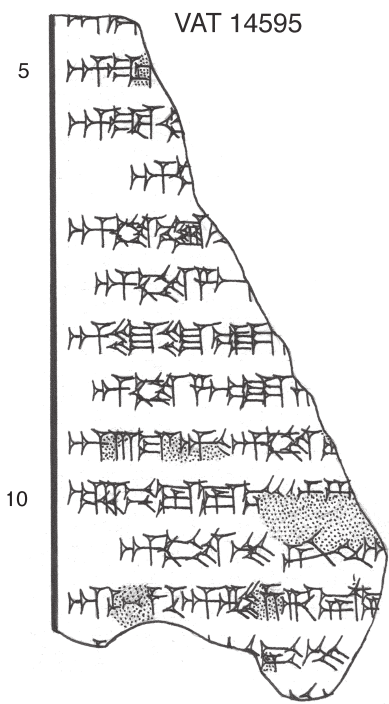
Copy by Alan Millard

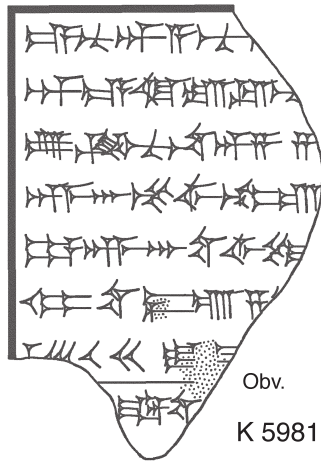
BM 32533
St 76-11-17, 2275
Obv.



BM 32533
St 76-11-17, 2275
Rev.



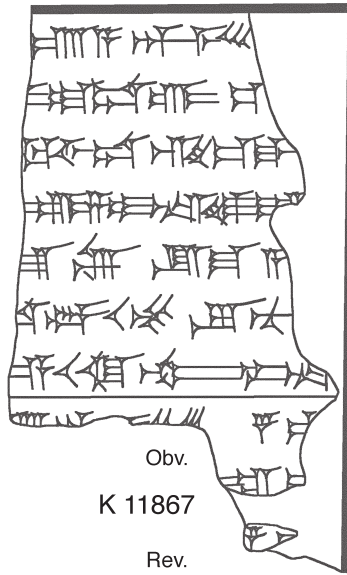
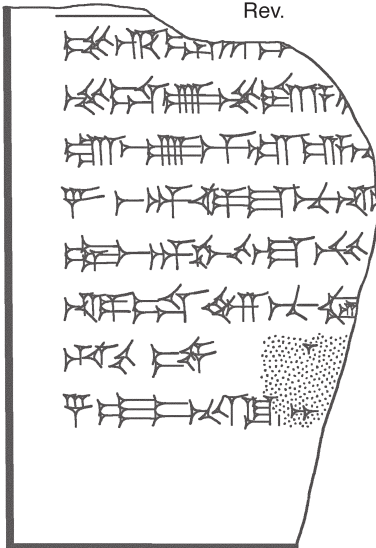




Obv.

K 5981

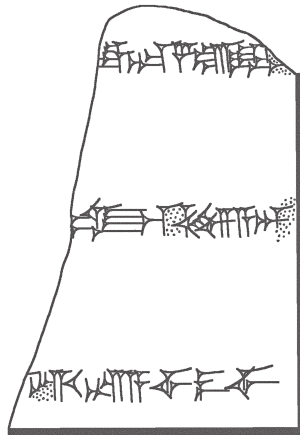
Rev.



Obv.

K 11867

Rev.



K 10817+
11118

5

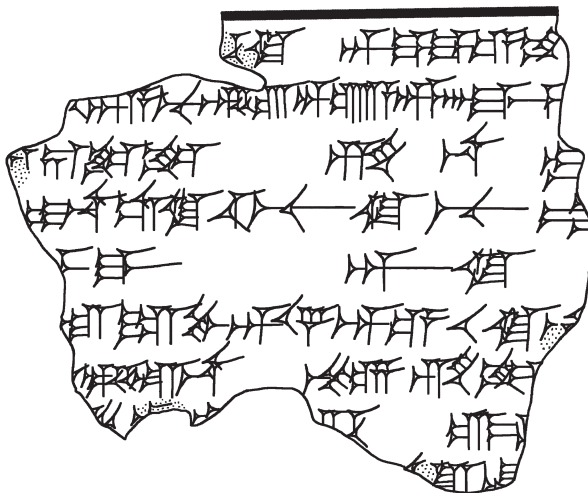
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11118

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10817

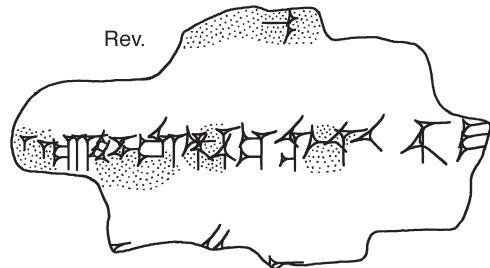
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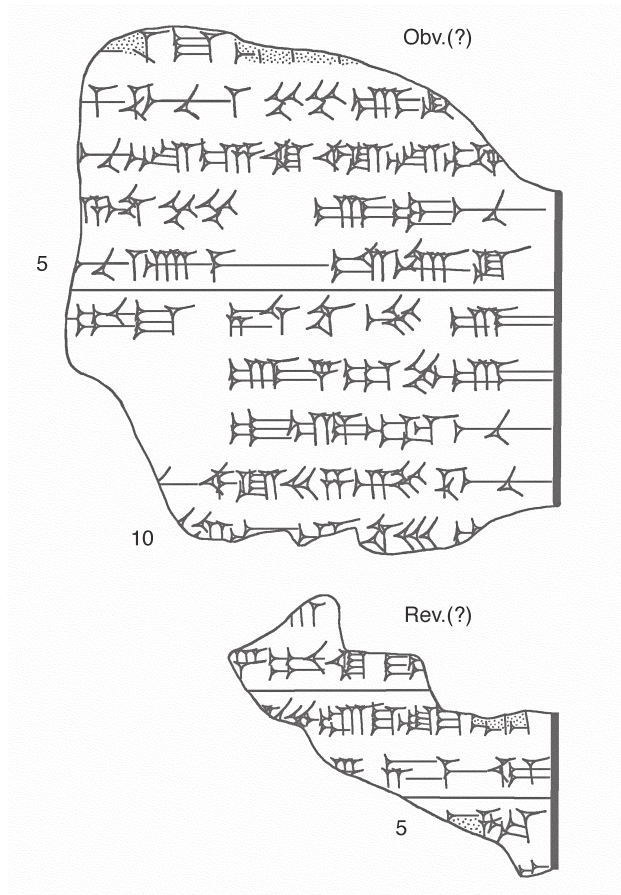
Obv.

Rm II 535

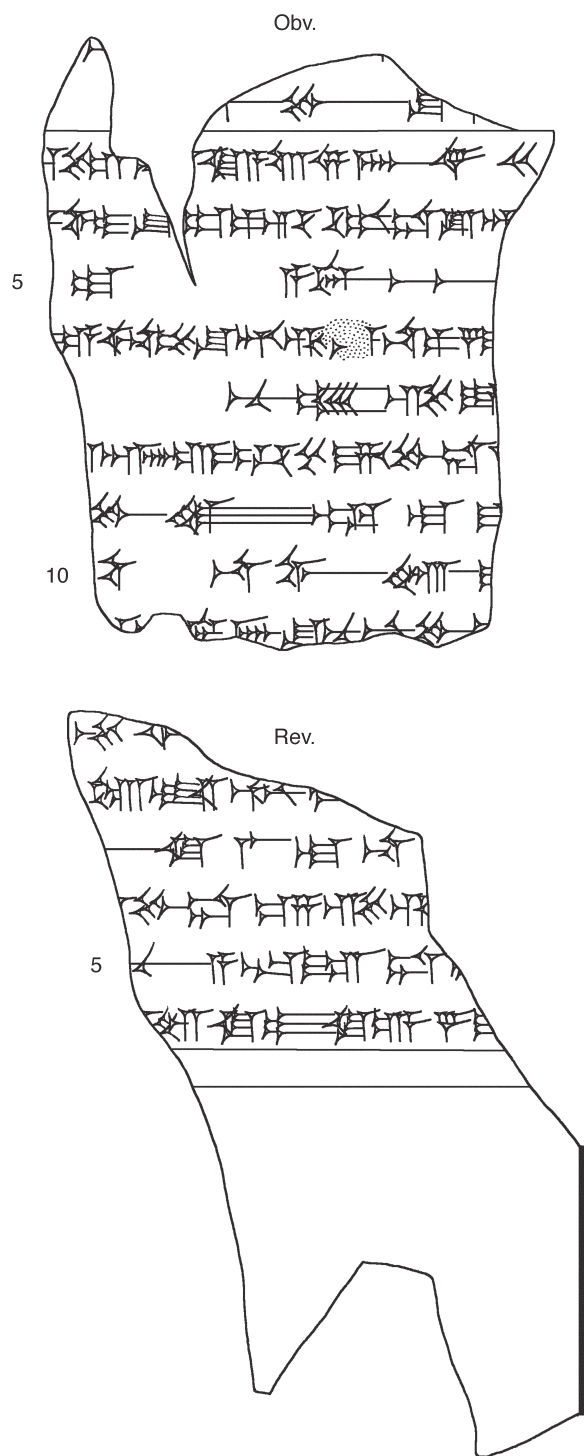
Rev.



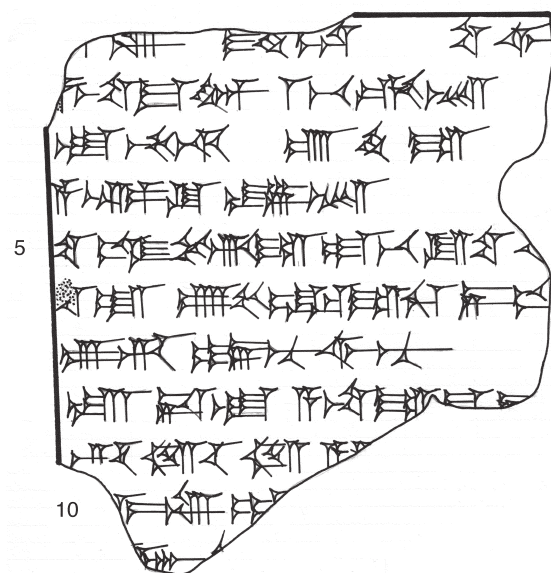
K 3213



K 9501

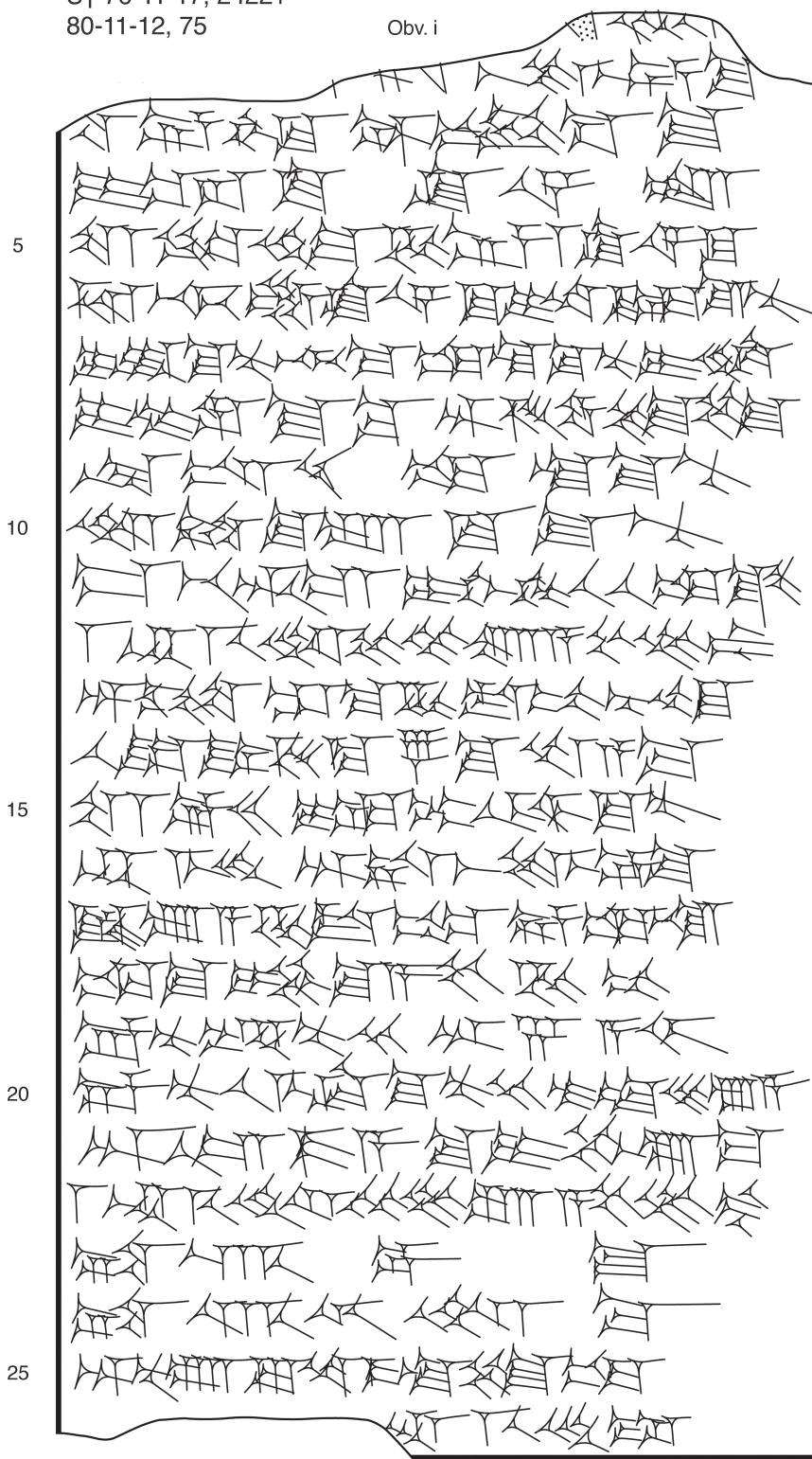


Sm 1875



BM 32654+38193
St 76-11-17, 2422+
80-11-12, 75

Obv. i



BM 32654+38193
St 76-11-17, 2422+
80-11-12, 75

Obv. ii

5

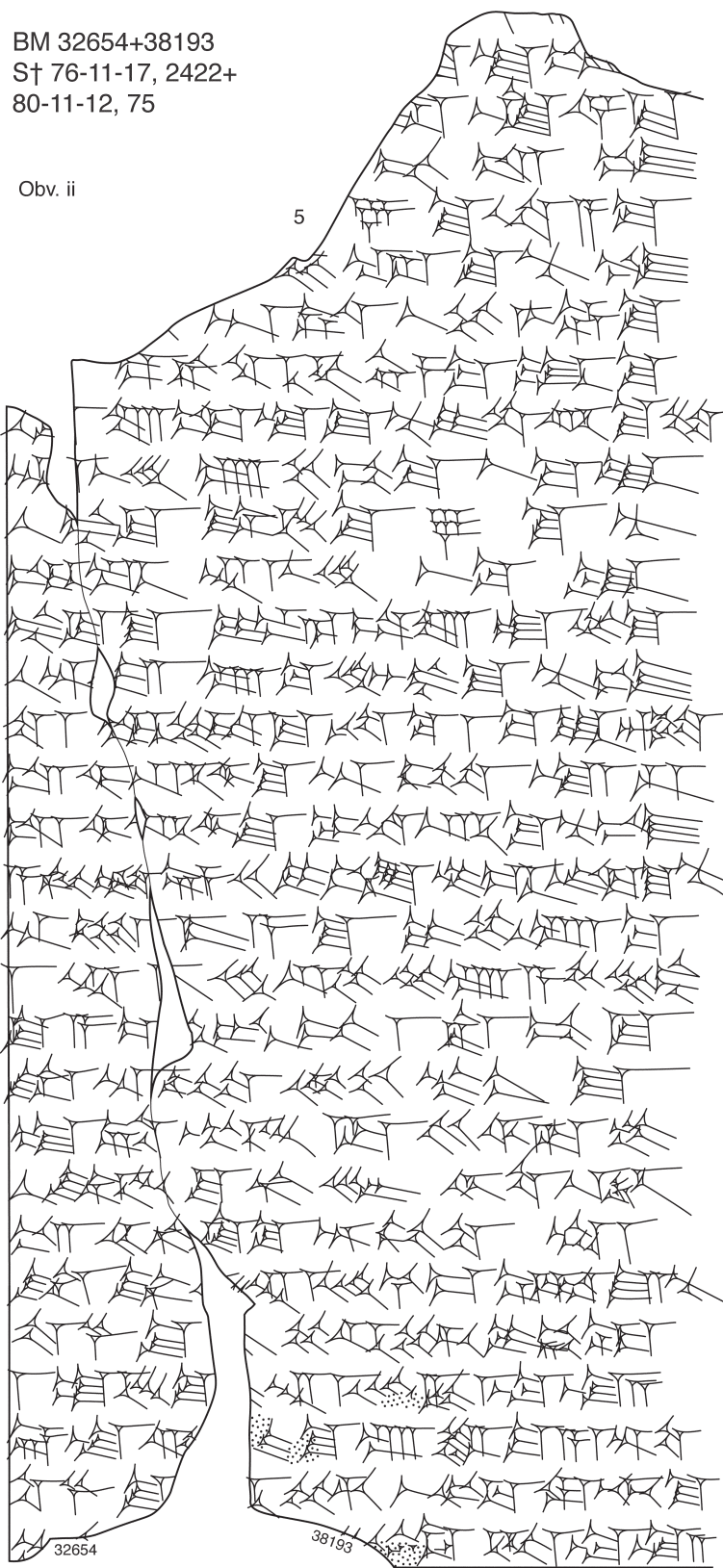
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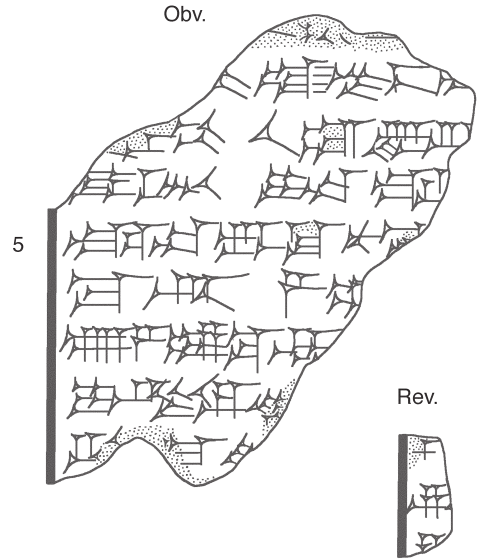
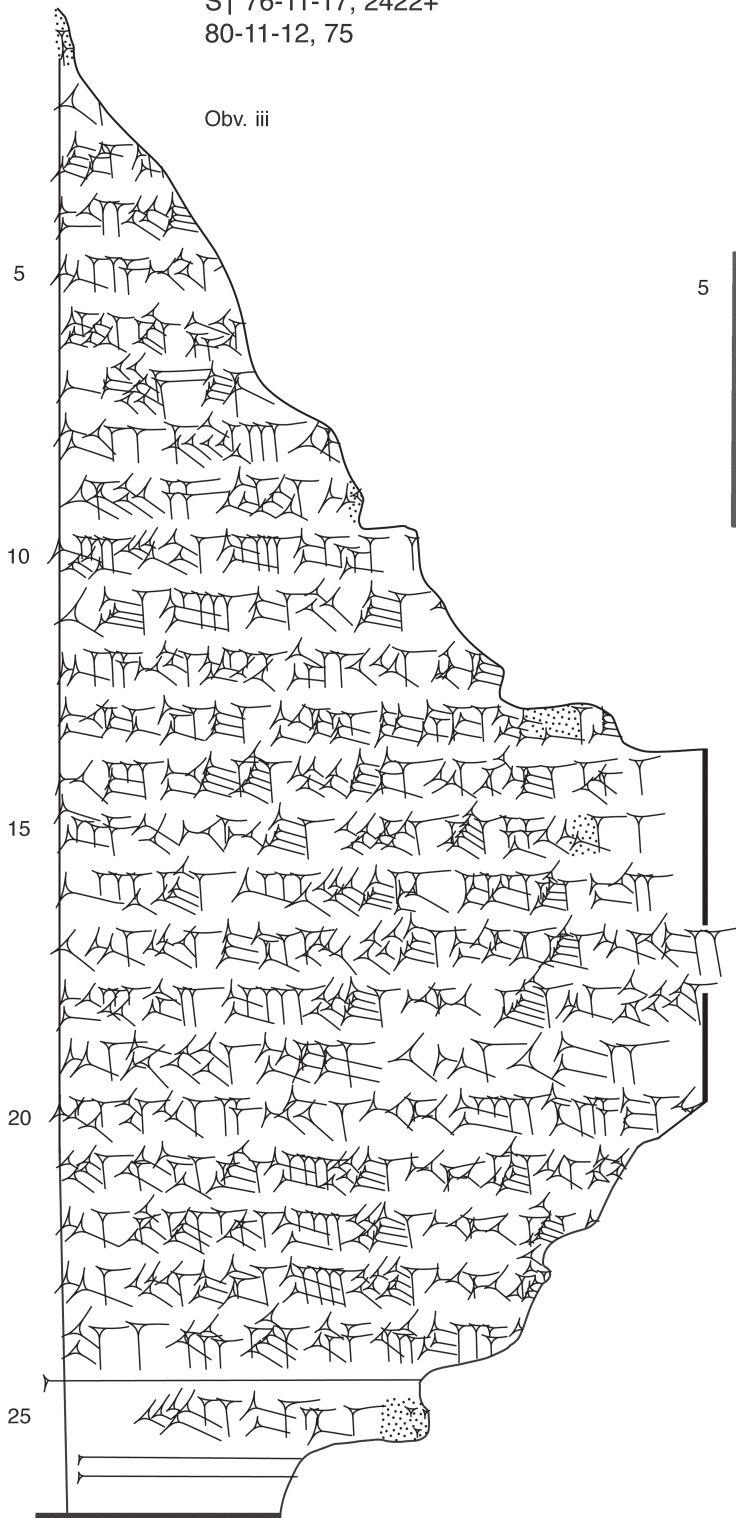
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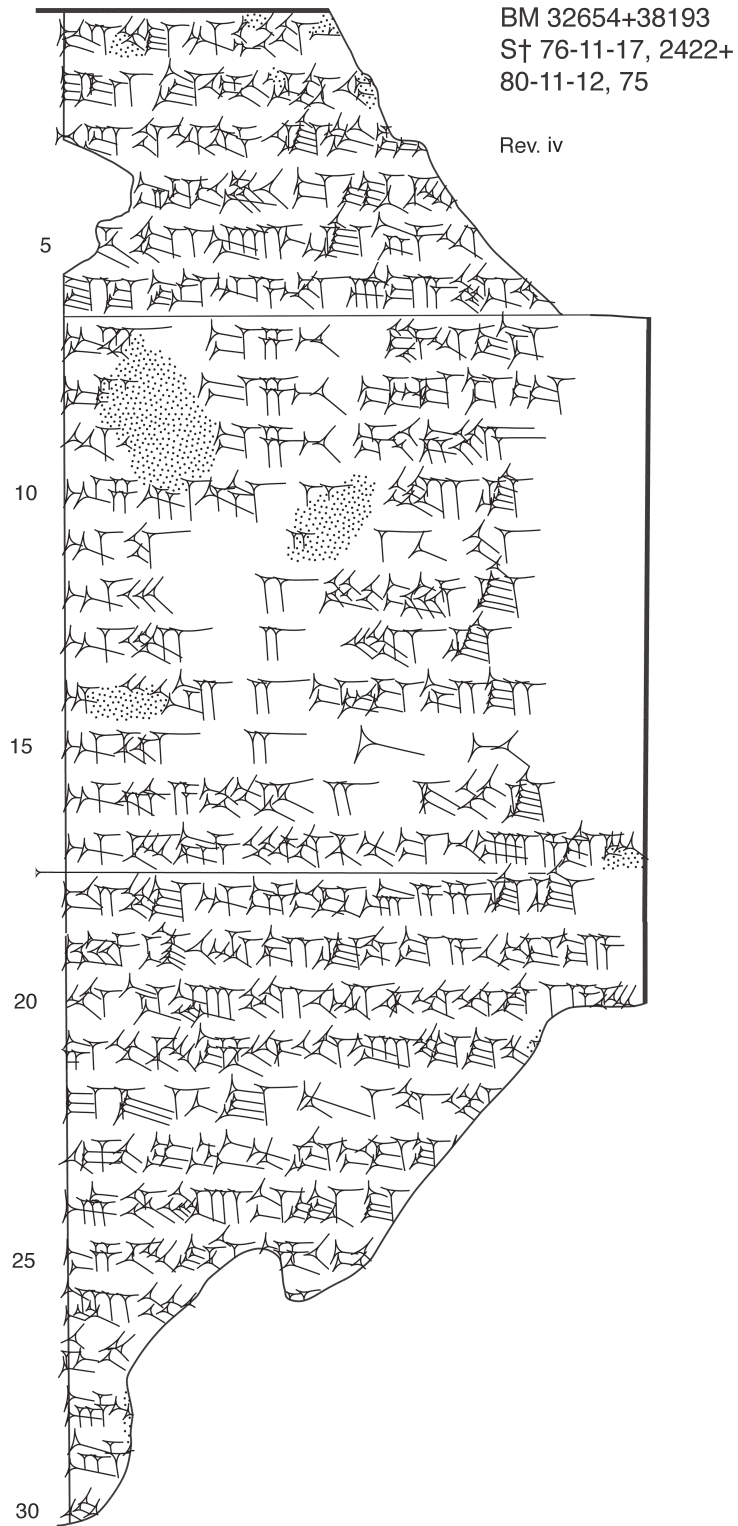
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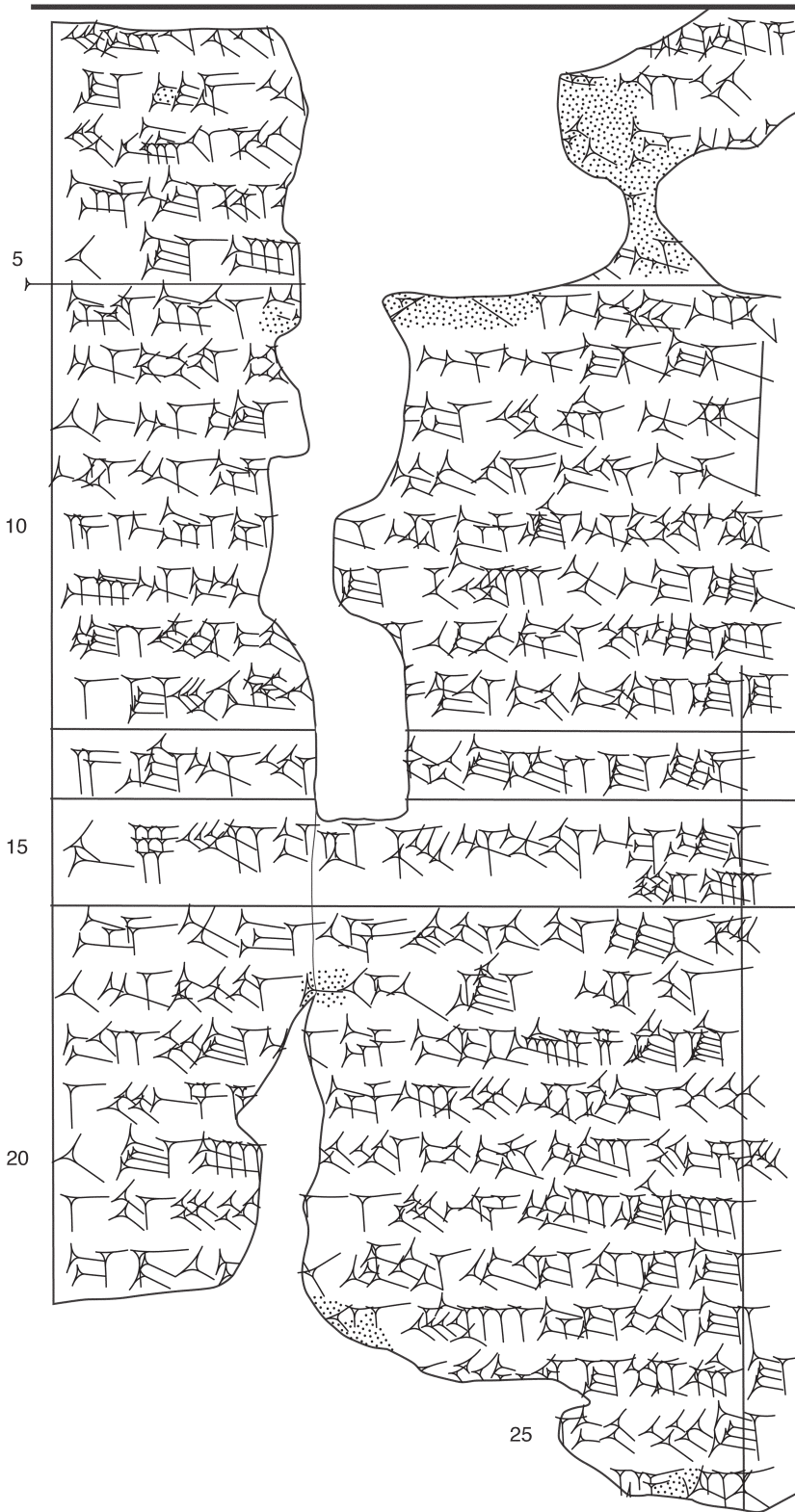


BM 32654+38193
S† 76-11-17, 2422+
80-11-12, 75

BM 33500
Rm IV 55

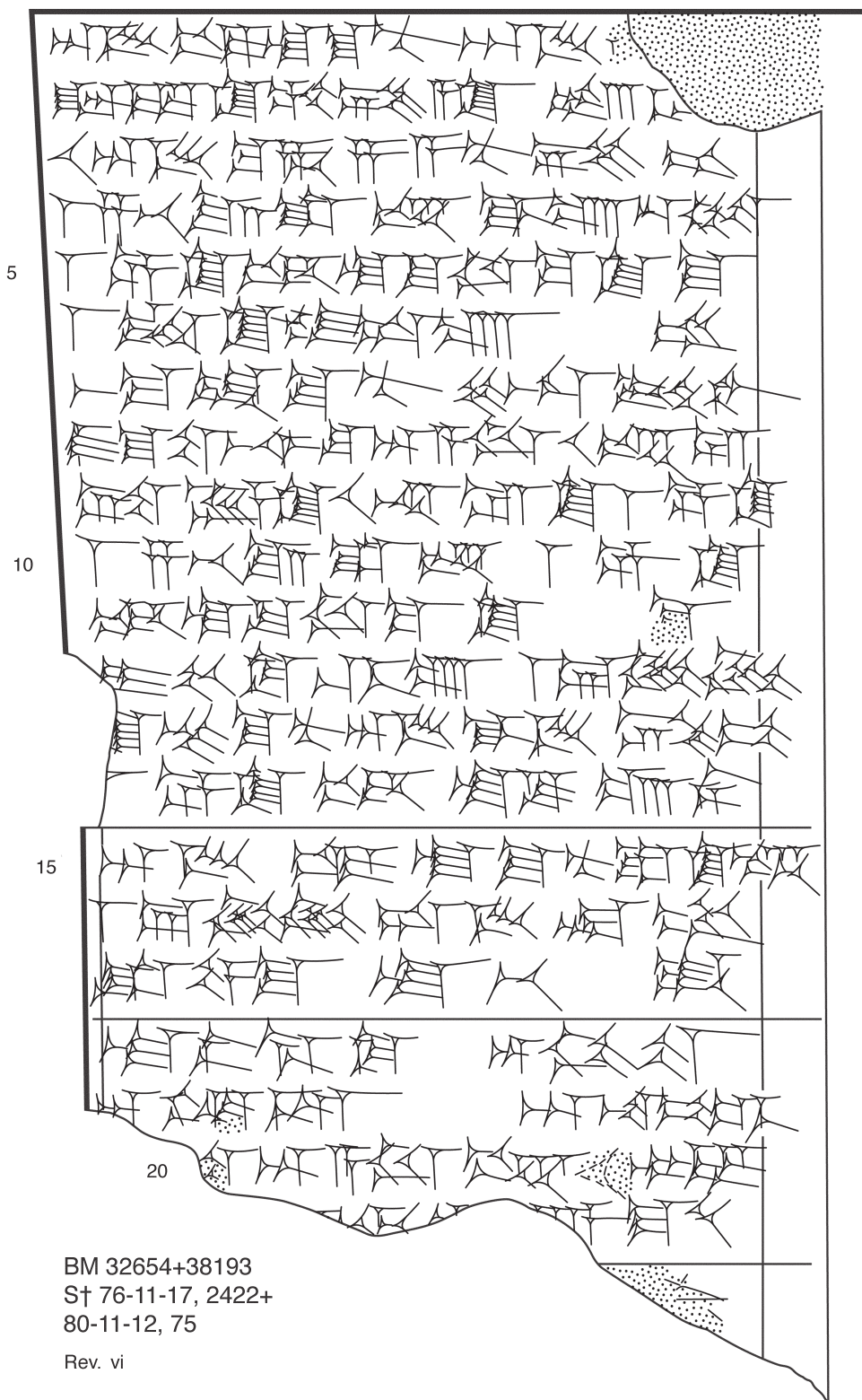






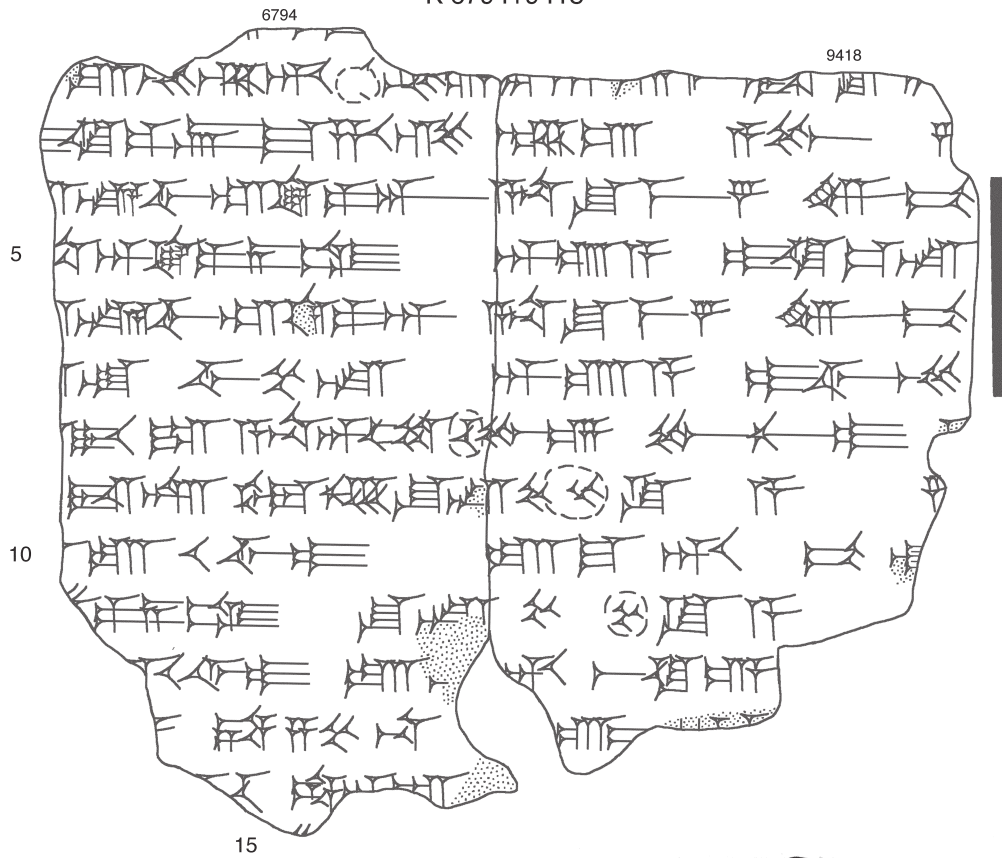
BM 32654+38193
S† 76-11-17, 2422+
80-11-12, 75

Rev. v

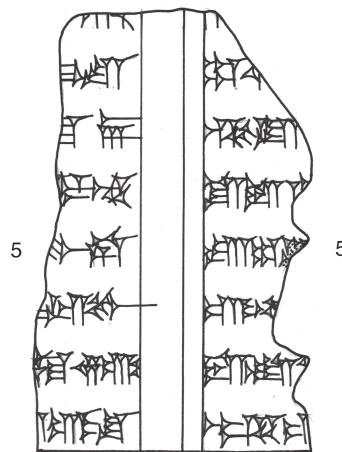
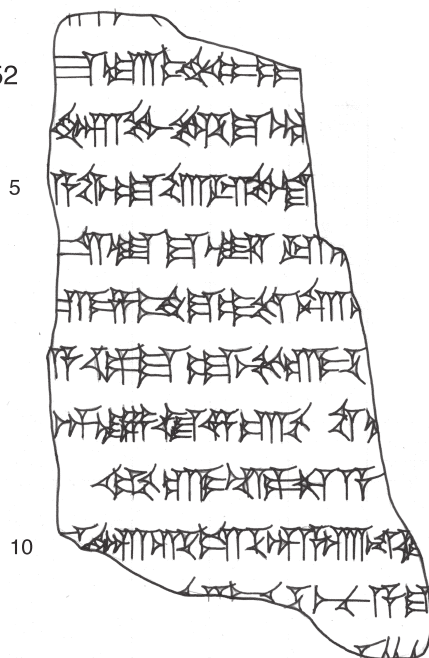


BM 32654+38193
 St 76-11-17, 2422+
 80-11-12, 75
 Rev. vi

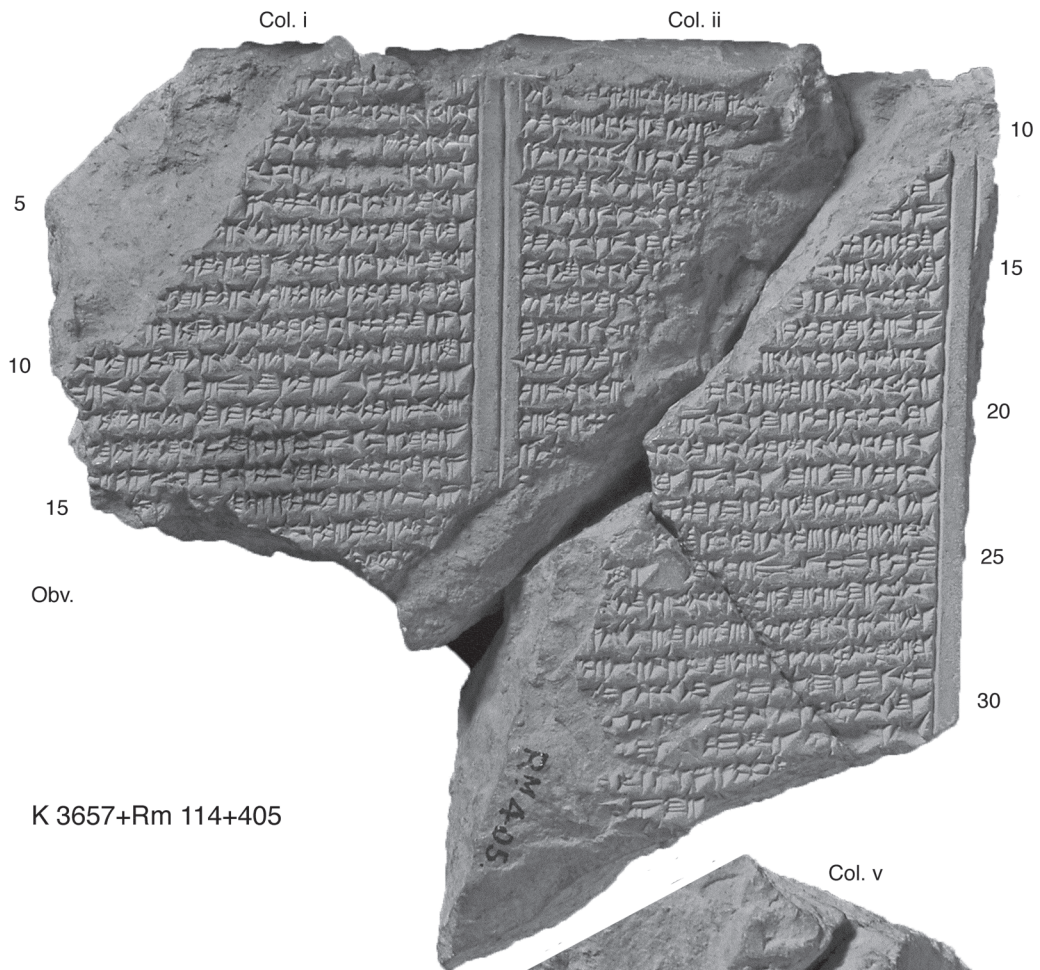
K 6794+9418



K 7052



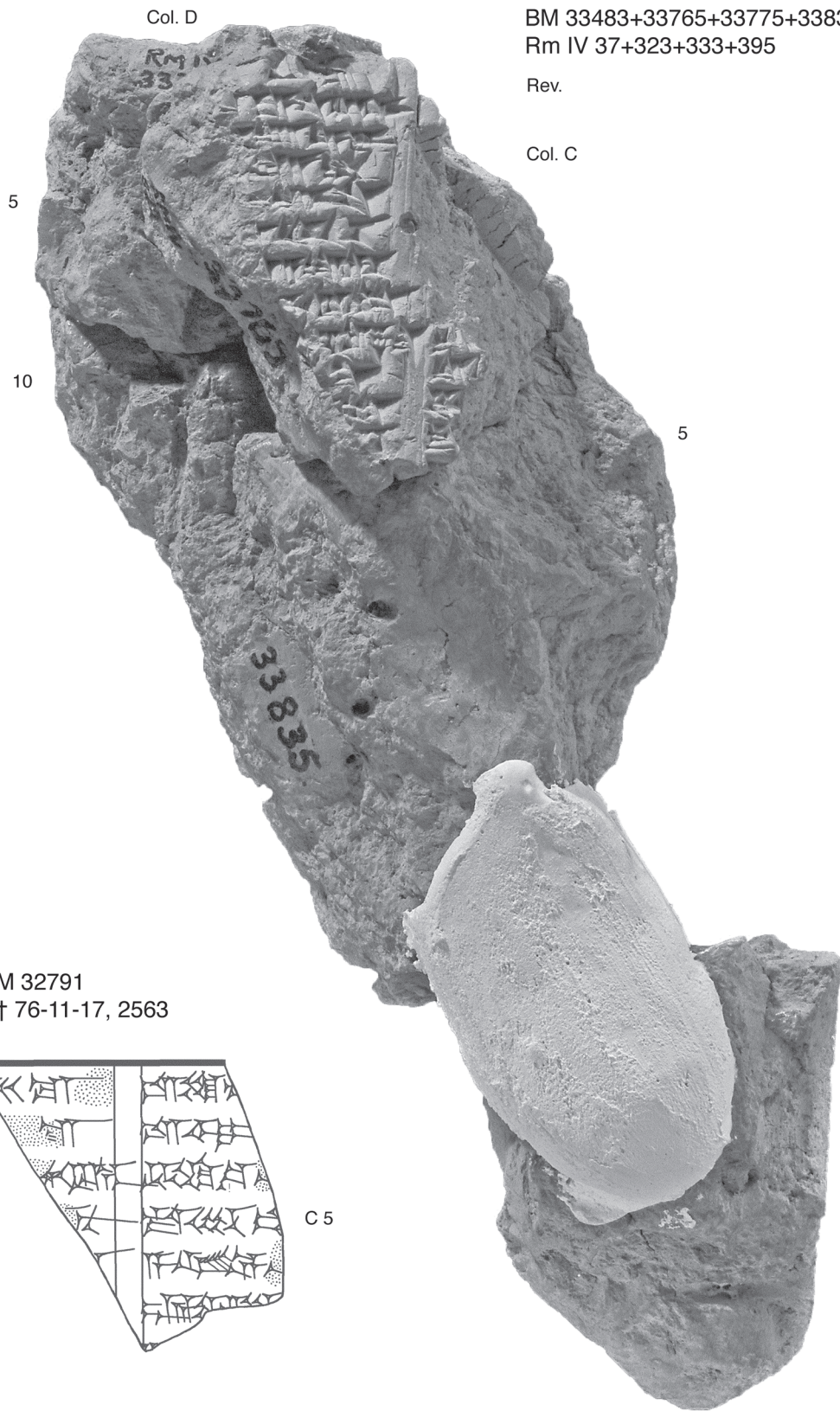
K 8525



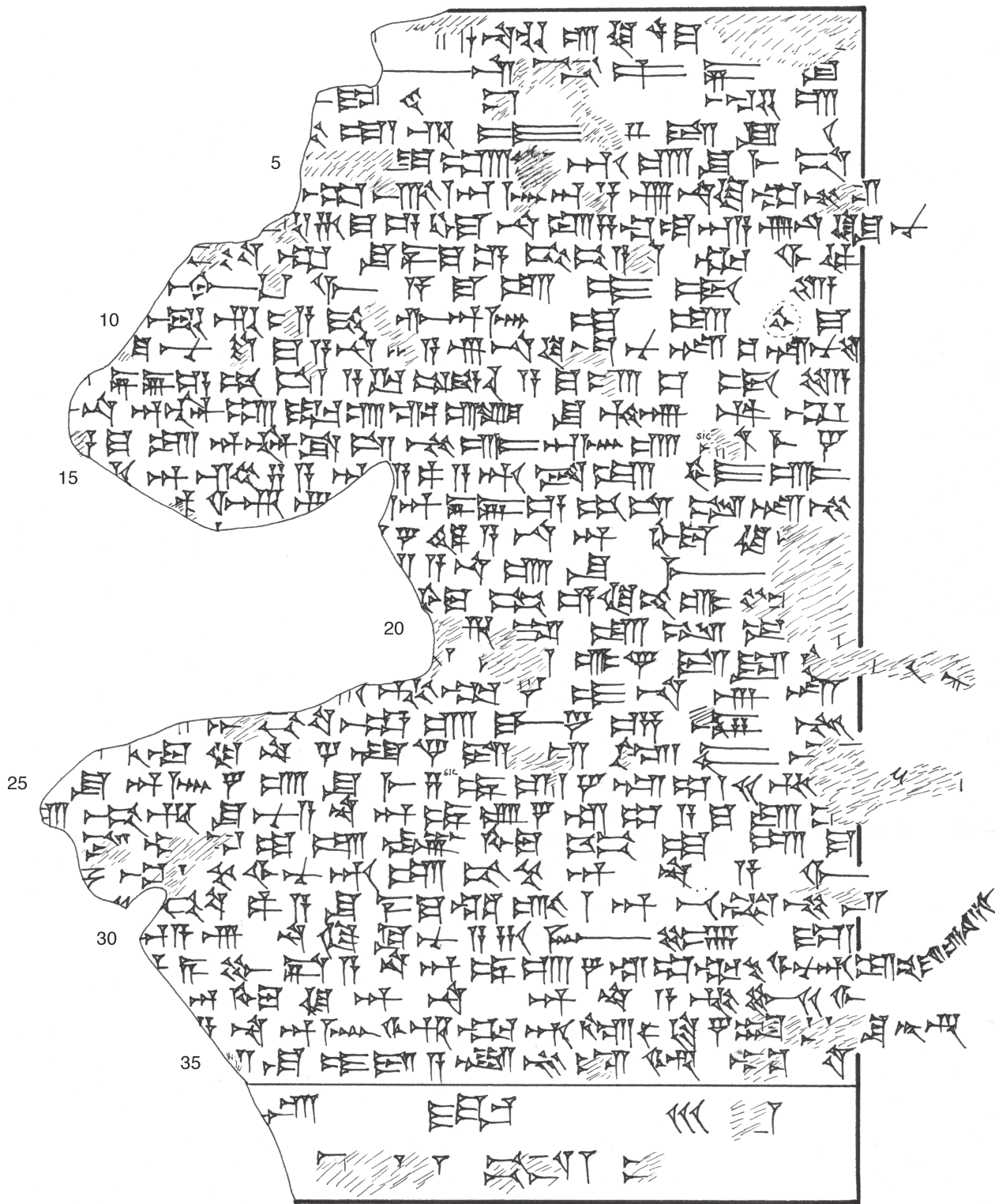
BM 33483+33765+33775+33835
Rm IV 37+323+333+395

Obv.



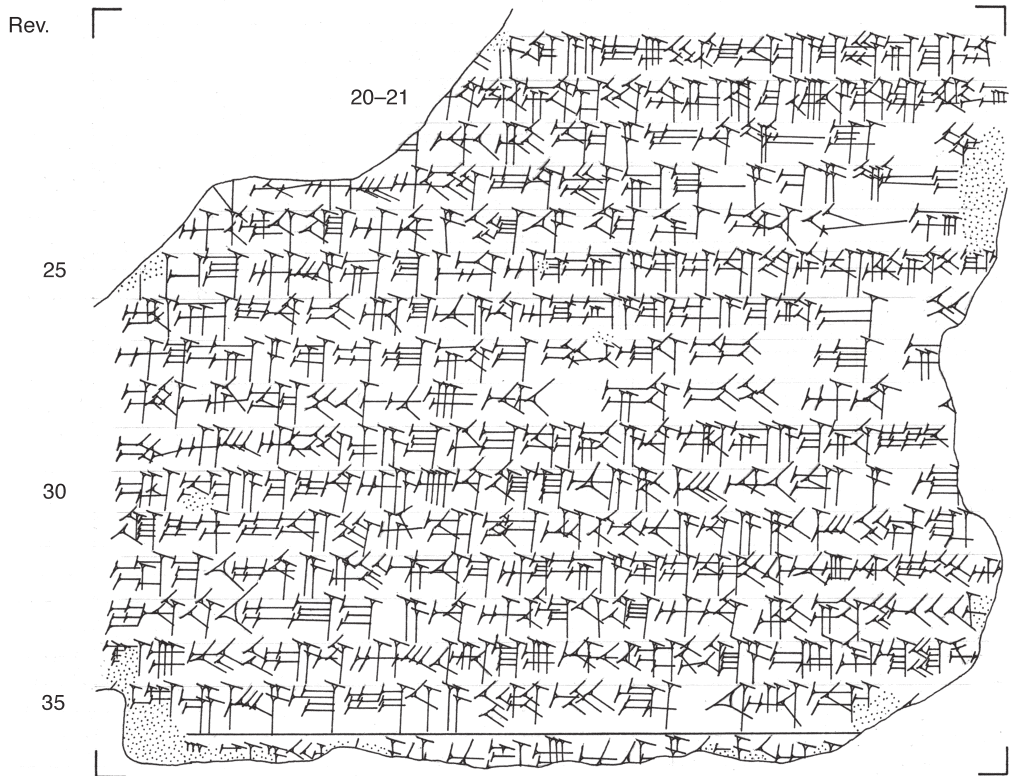
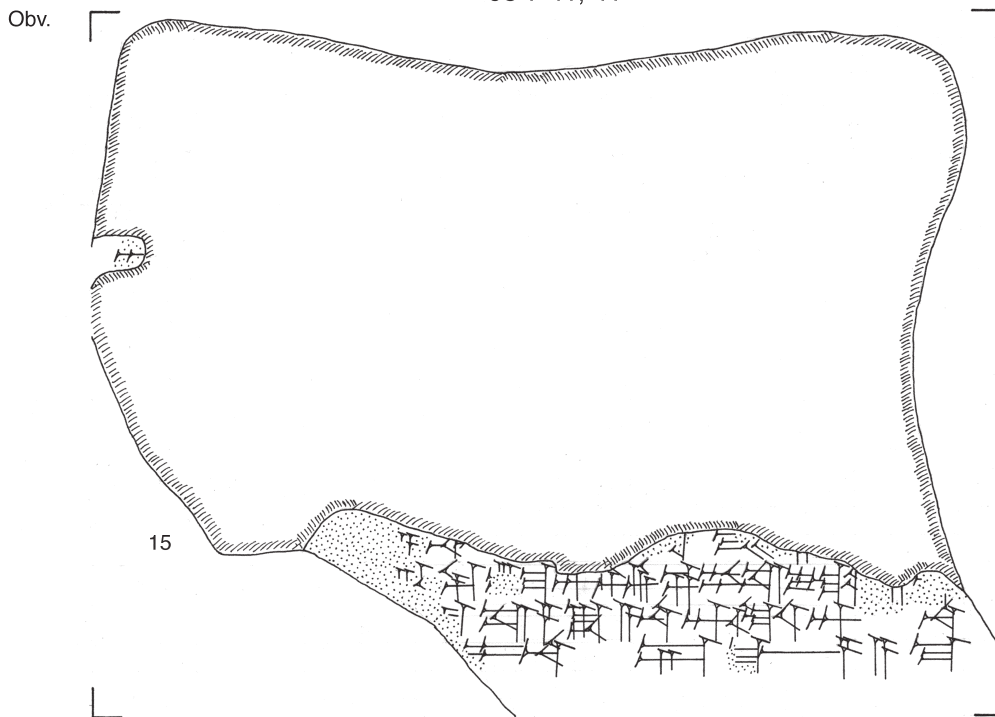


A 7882



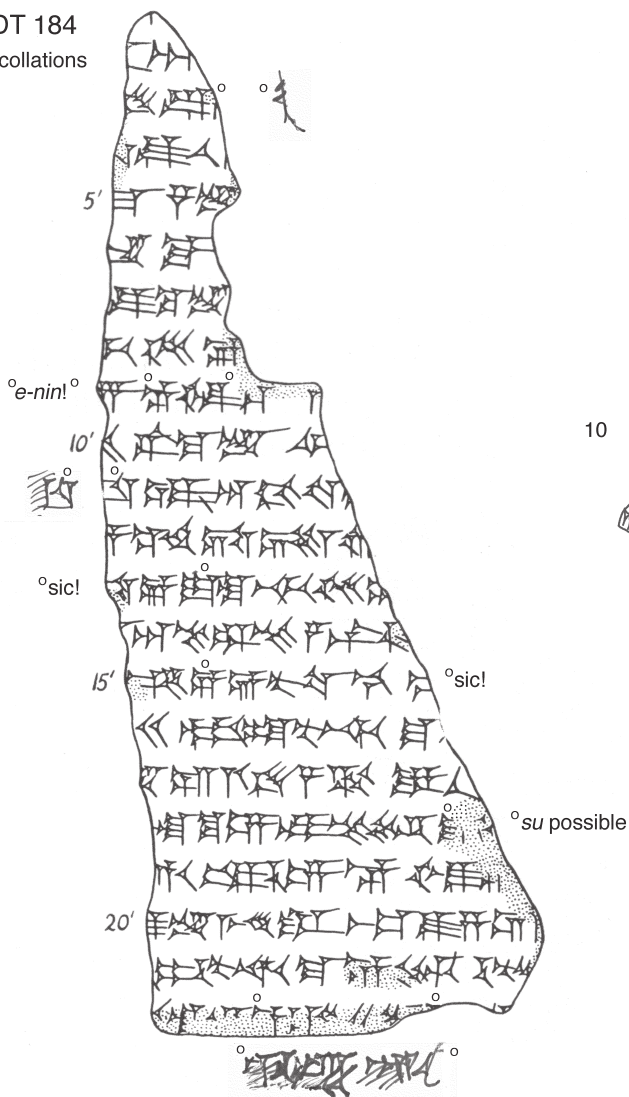
Copy by Robert D. Biggs

BM 27776
98-7-11, 41

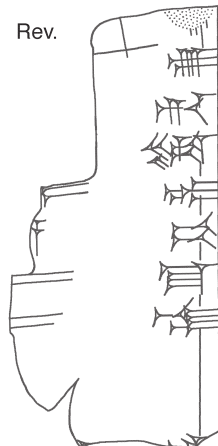
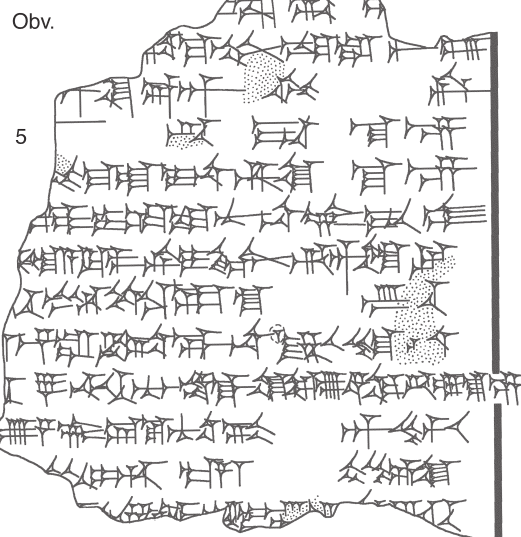


Copy by C. B. F. Walker

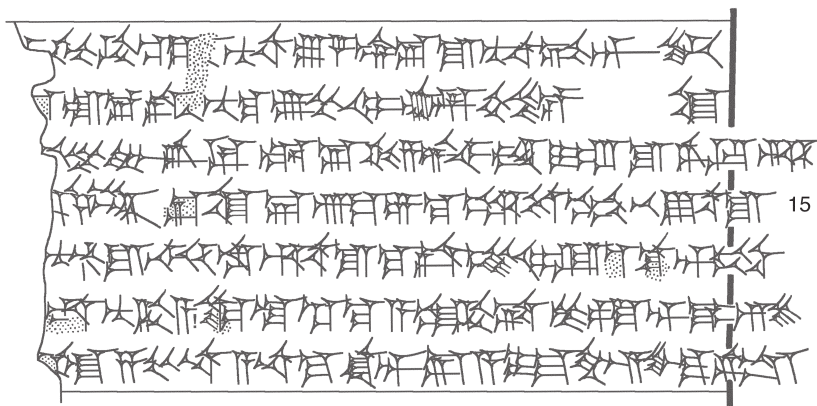
DT 184
+ collations



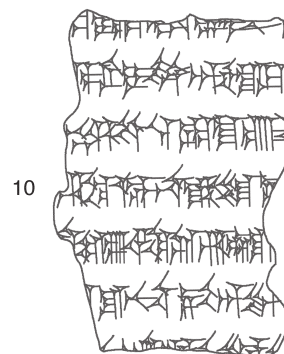
BM 47530
B 81-11-3, 235



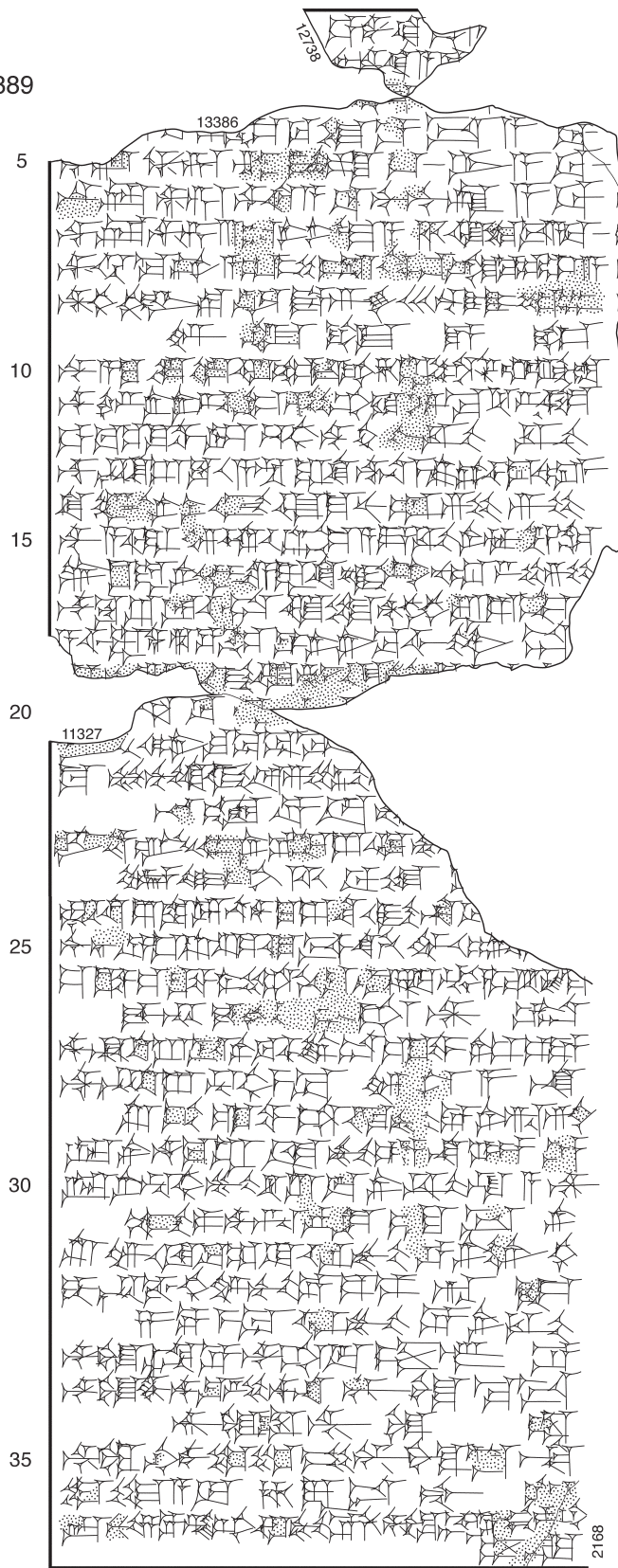
BM 66956+76498
82-9-18, 6950+AH 83-1-18, 1868 Obv. 9-15

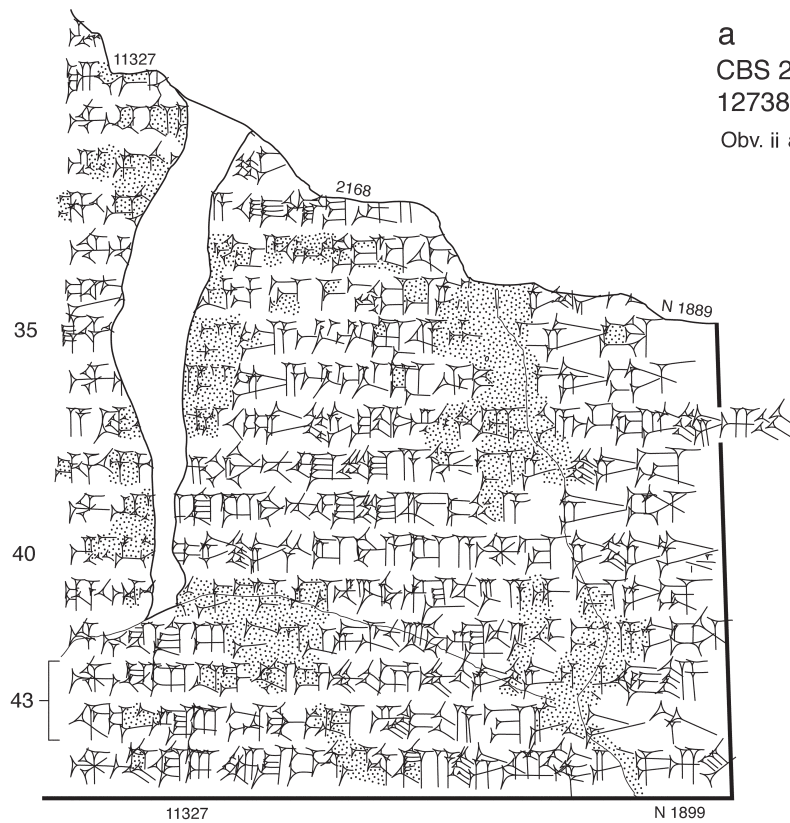


K 20957

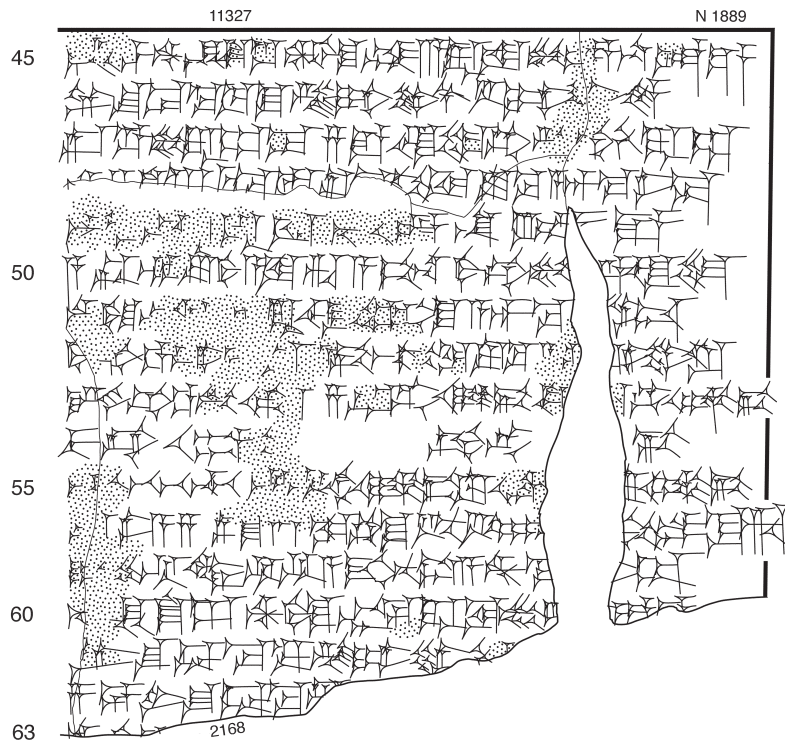


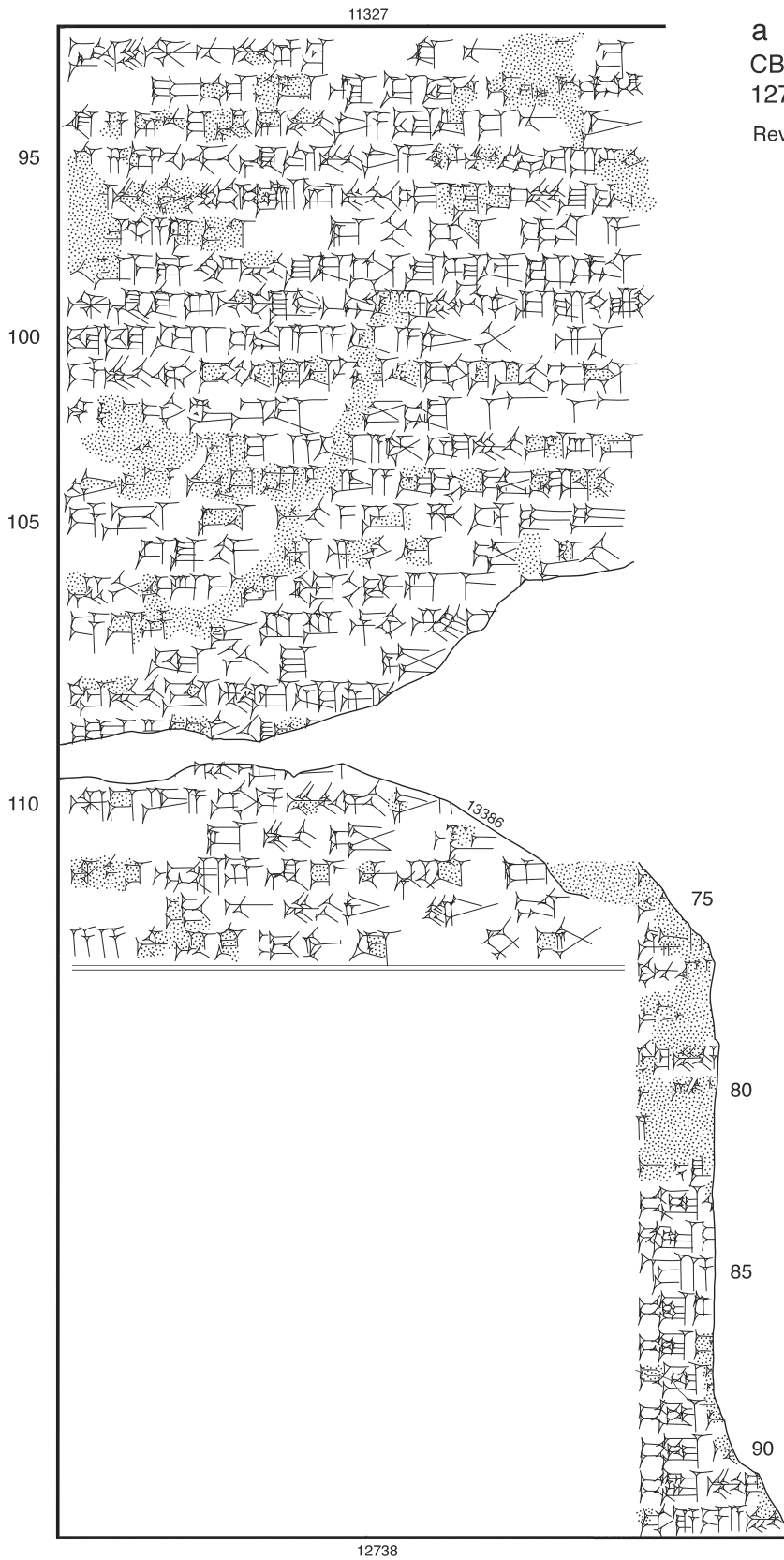
a
 CBS 2168+11327+
 12738+13386+N 1889
 Obv. i





a
CBS 2168+11327+
12738+13386+N 1889
Obv. ii and Rev. iii (top)

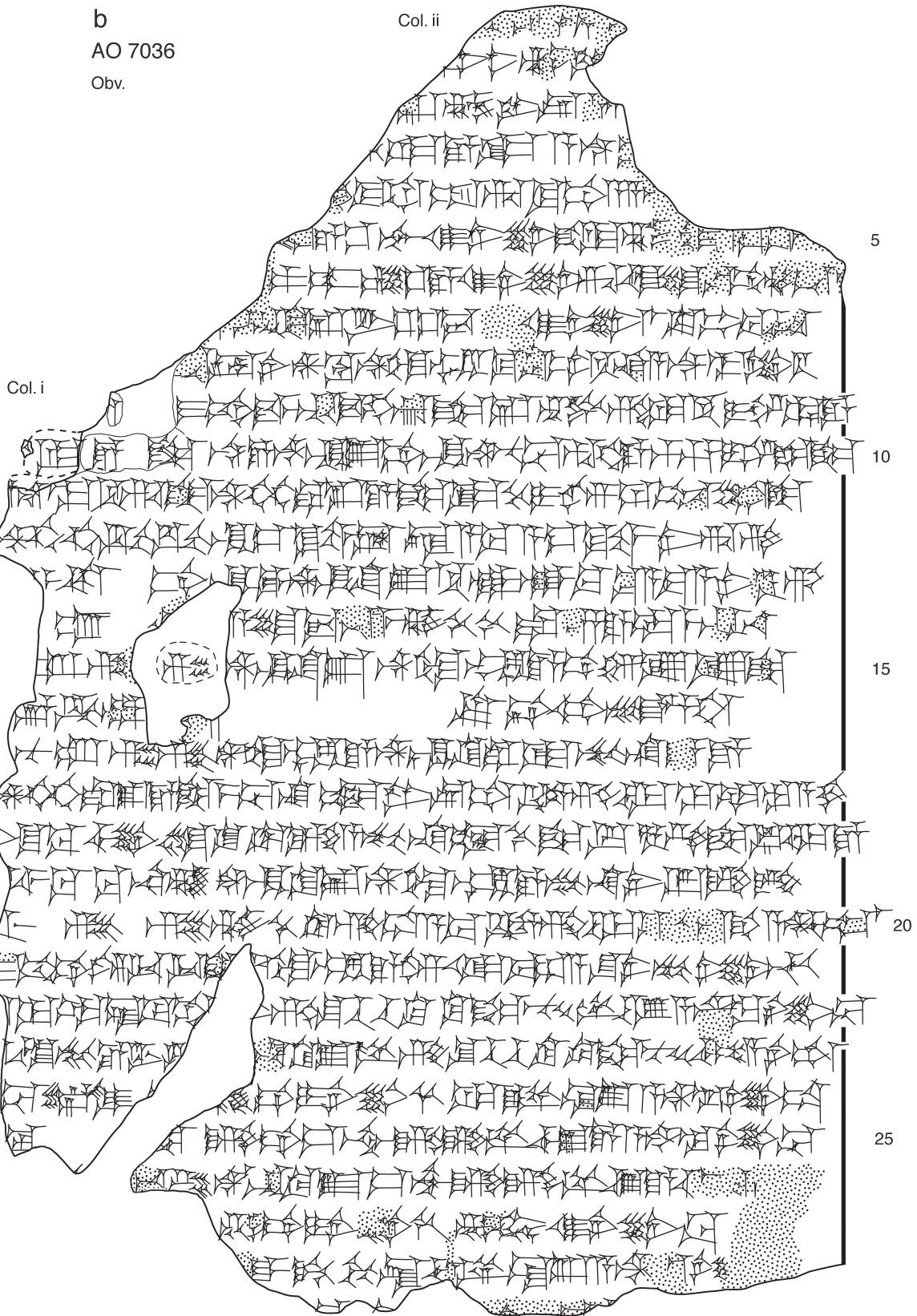




a
CBS 2168+11327+
12738+13386+N 1889
Rev. iii (bottom) and iv

b
AO 7036
Obv.

Col. ii



Col. i

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9

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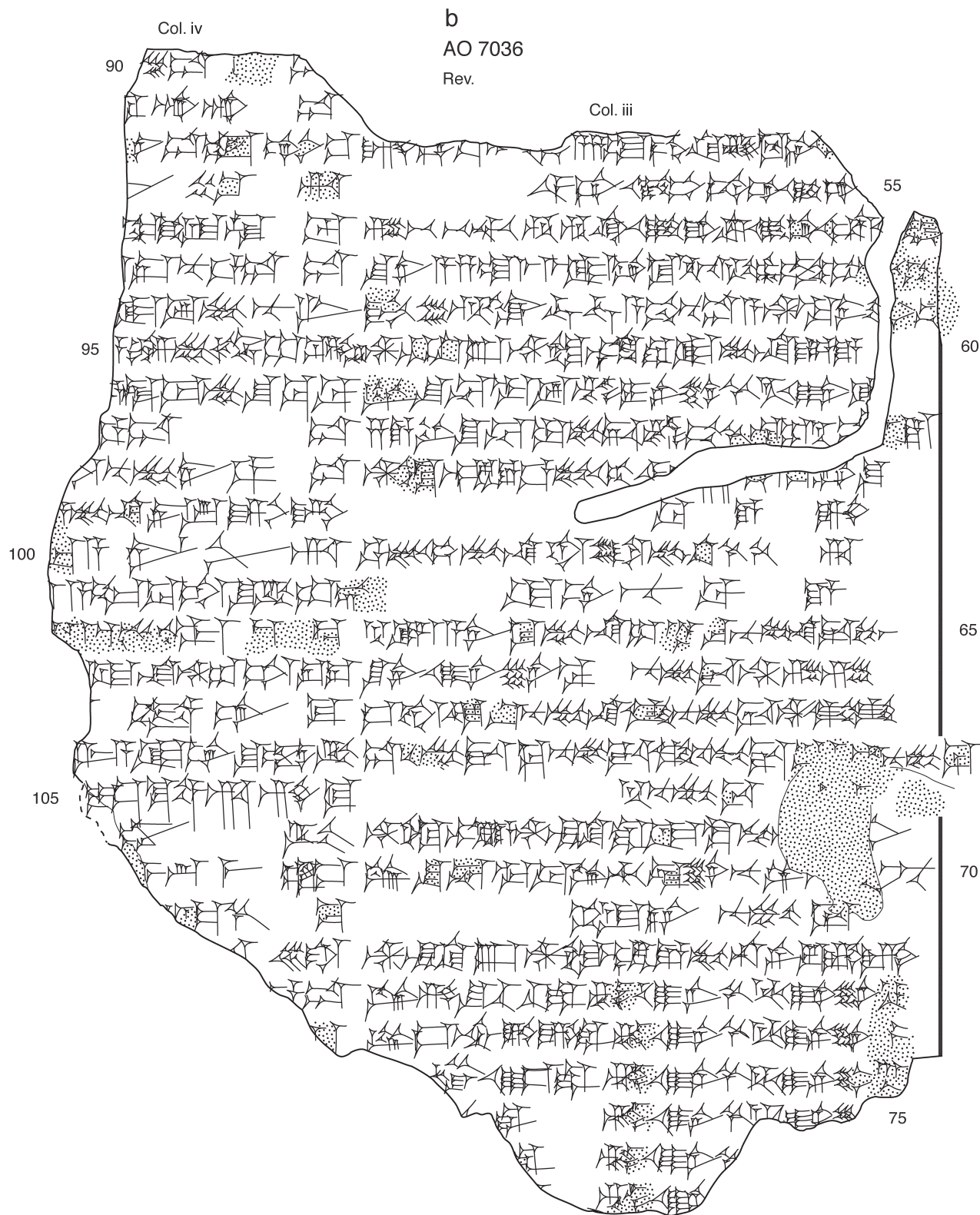
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C
BM 12845
96-3-26, 37

Obv.

35

40

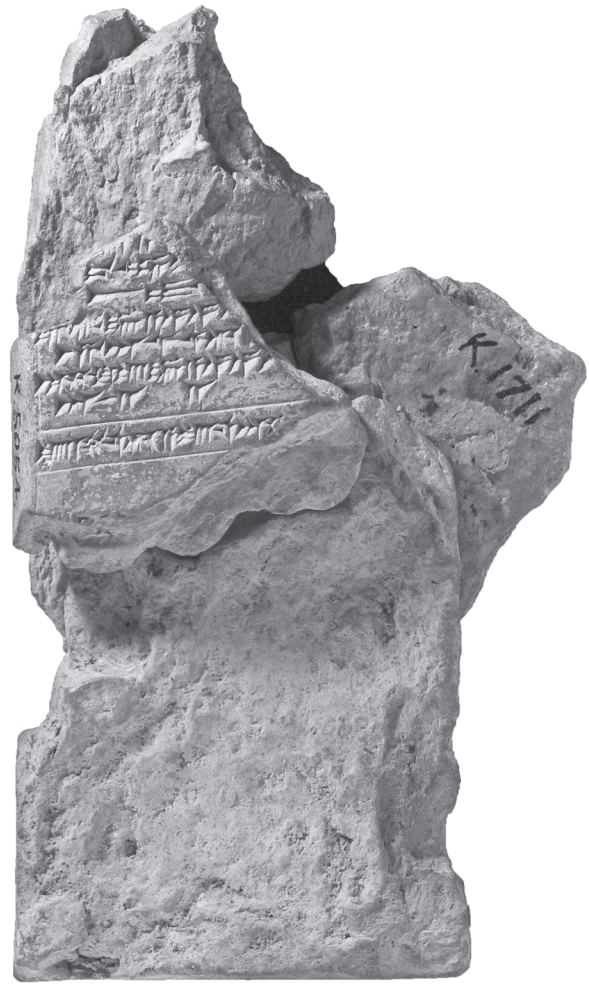
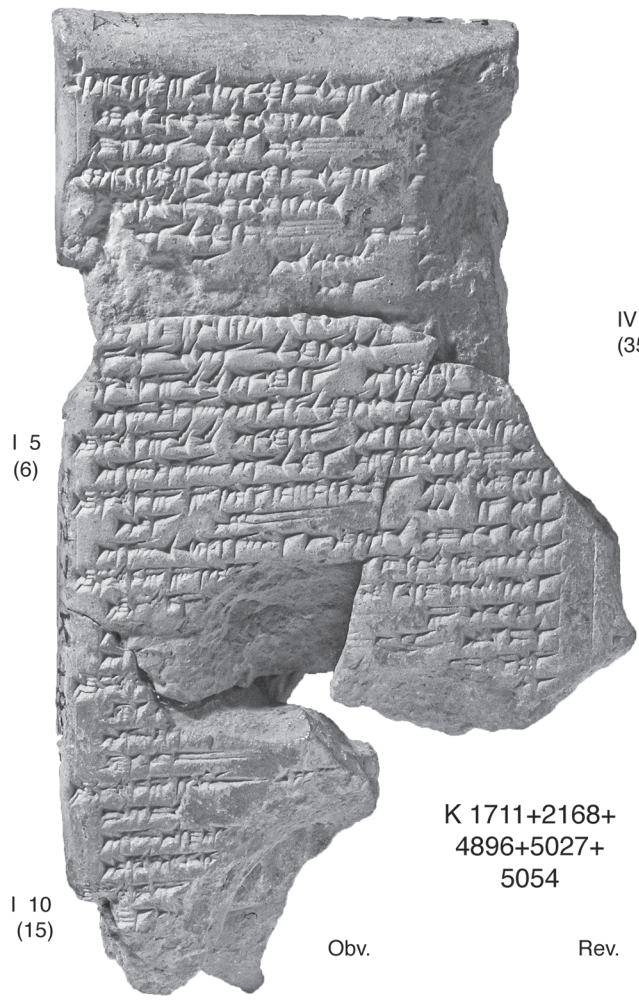
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Rev.

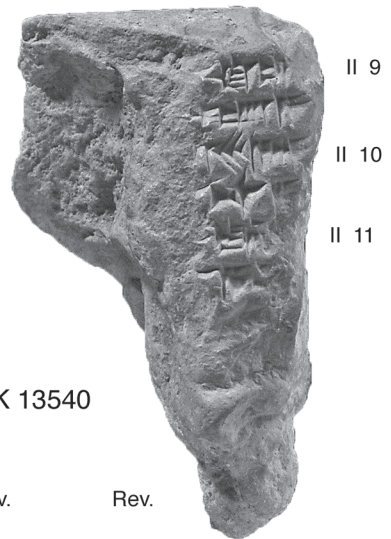
50

55

60



K 1711+2168+
4896+5027+
5054



K 13540

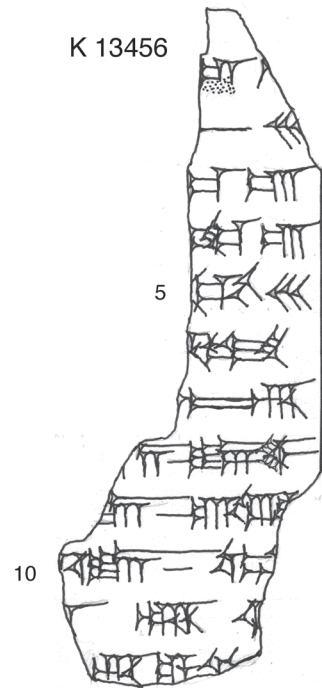
K 4932



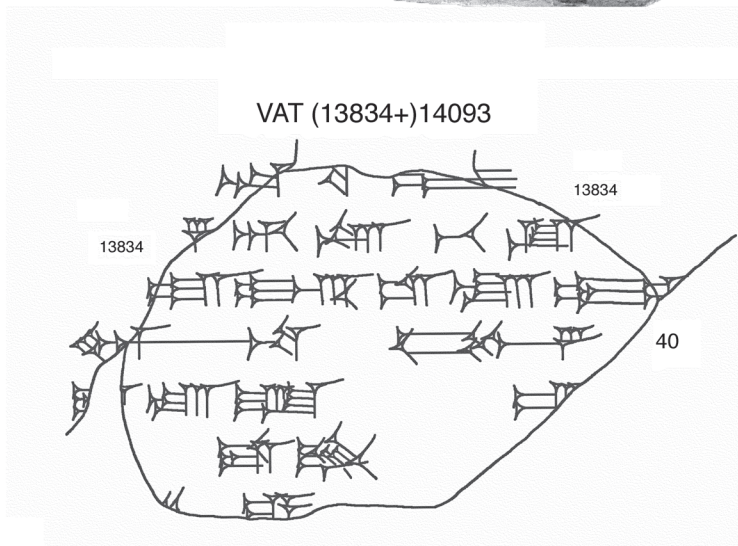
K 5066



K 13456

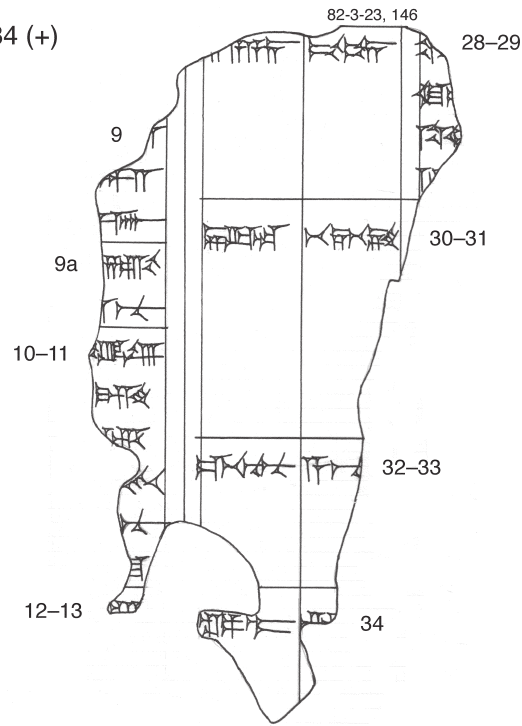


VAT (13834+)14093



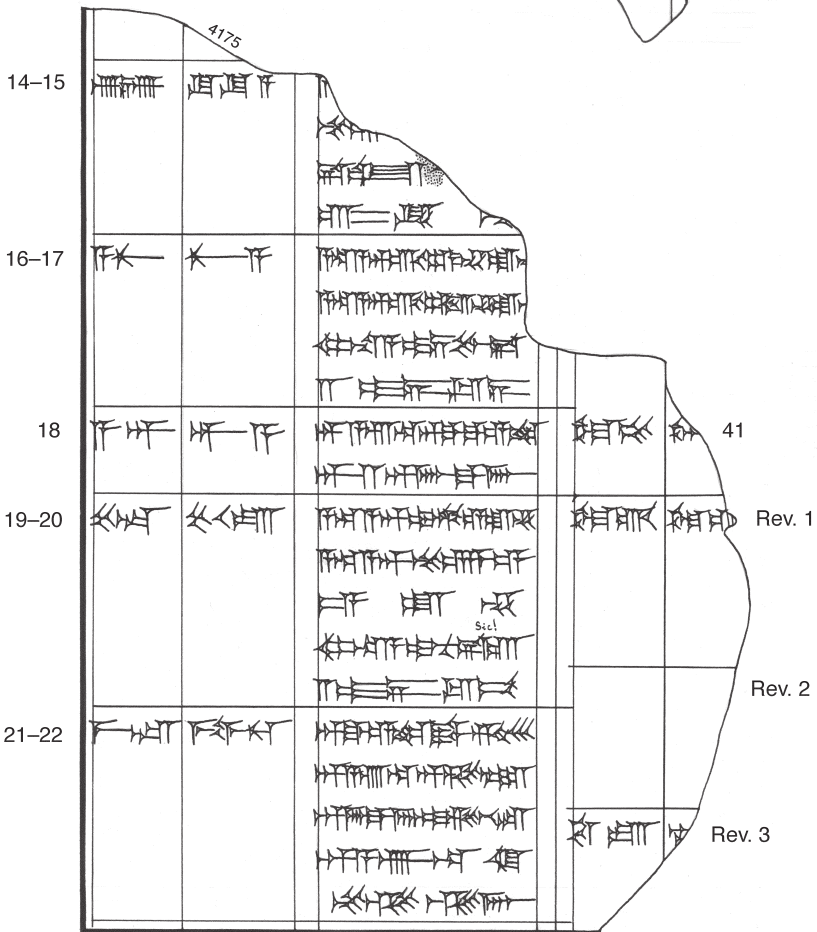
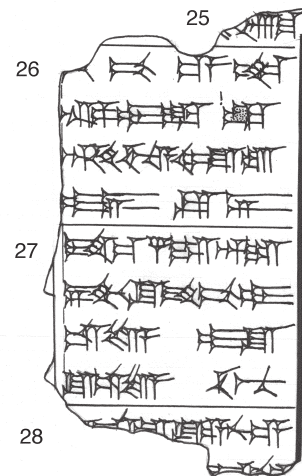
K 4175+Sm 57+80-7-19, 184 (+)
82-3-23, 146

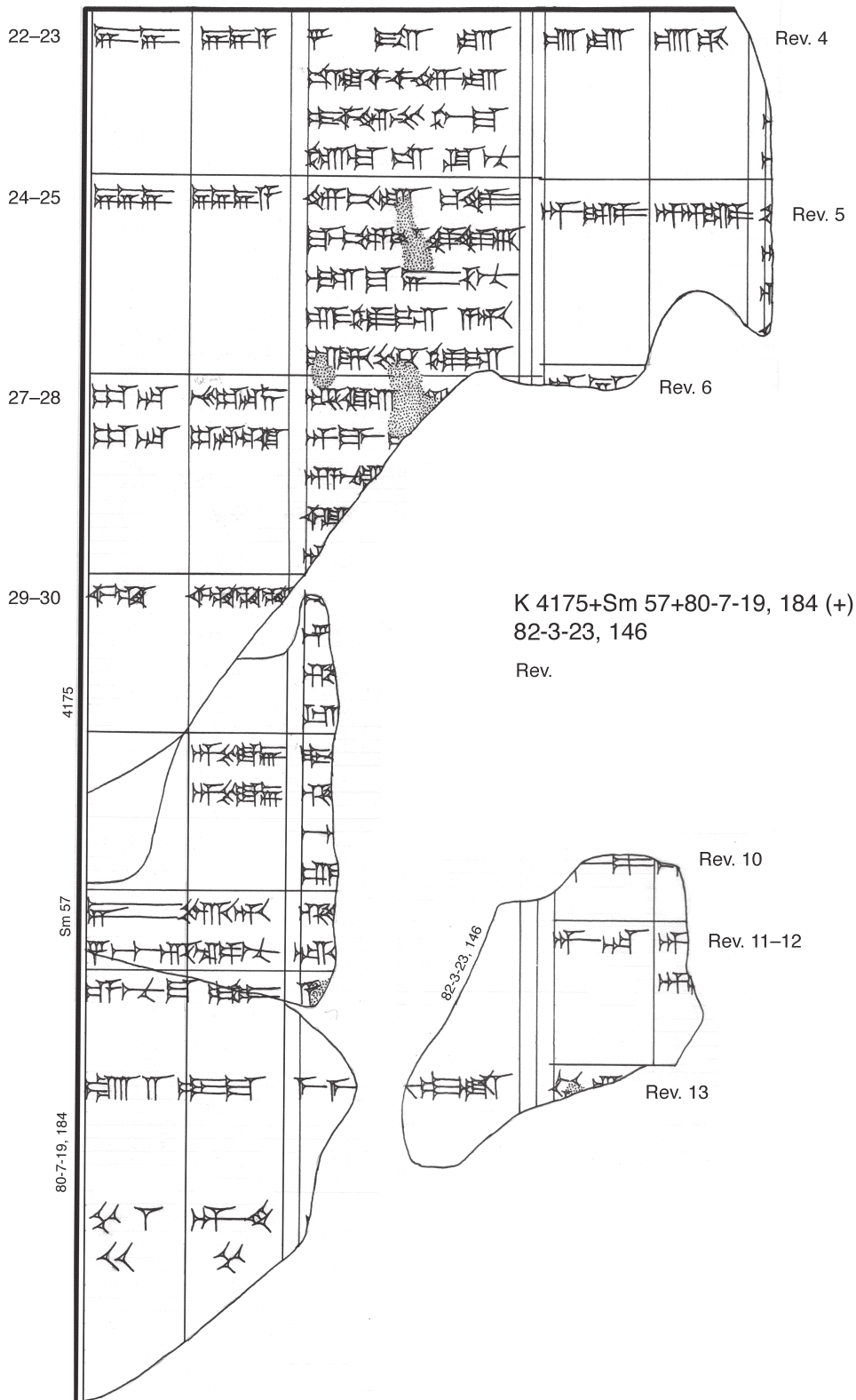
Obv.



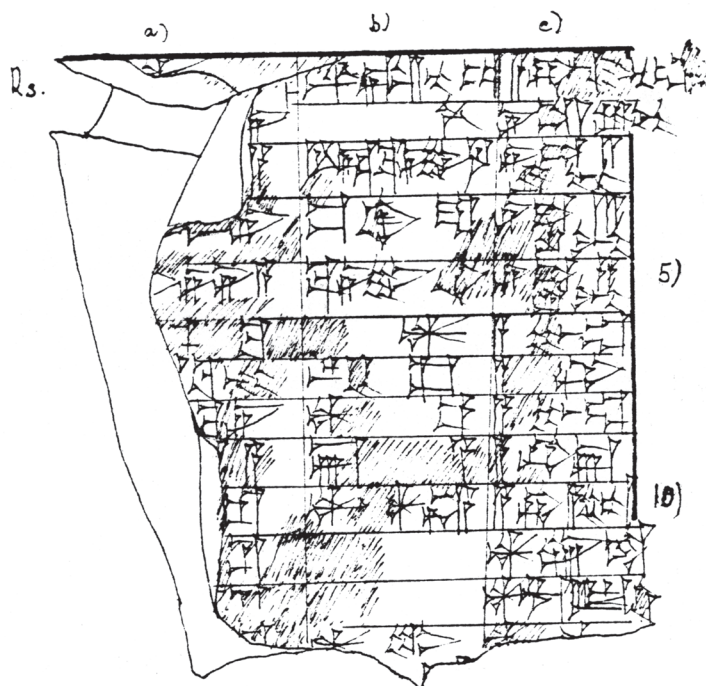
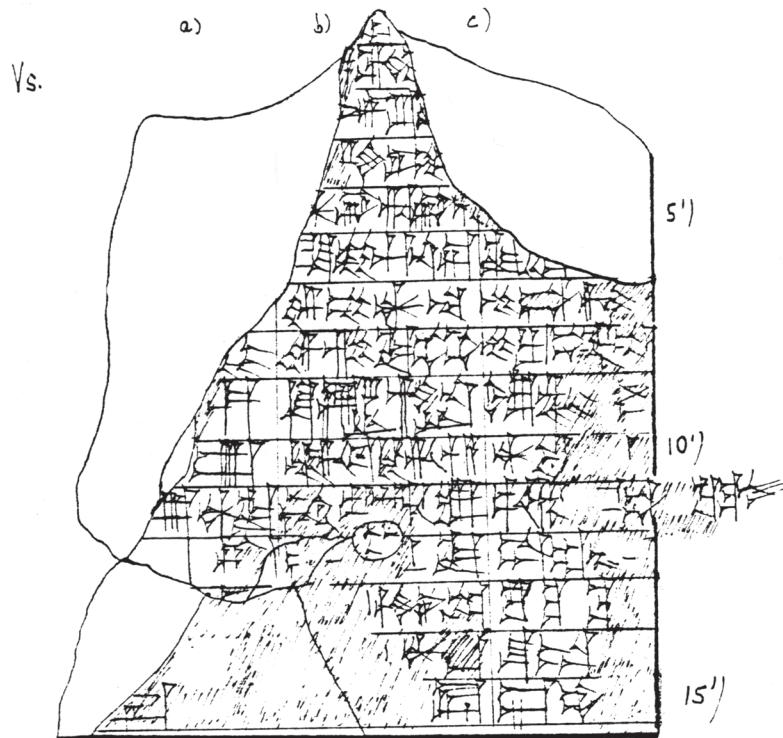
A 17634

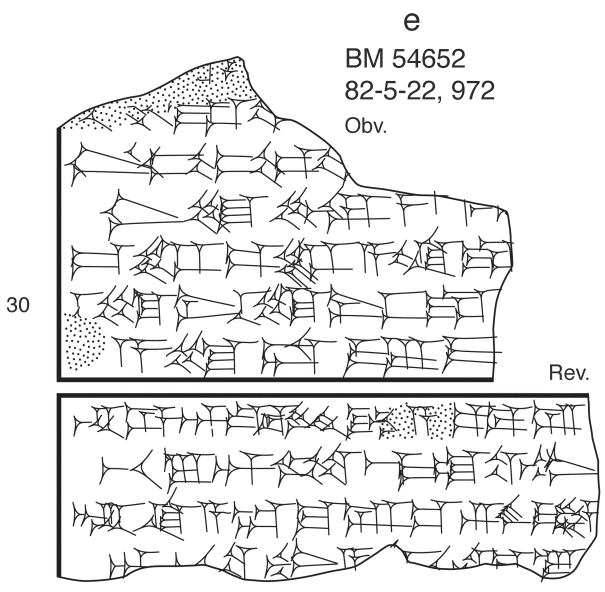
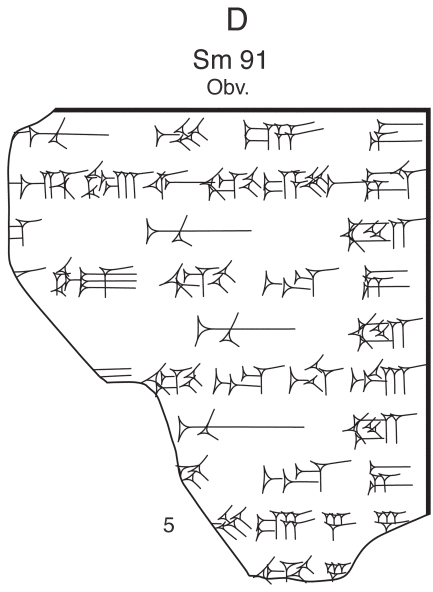
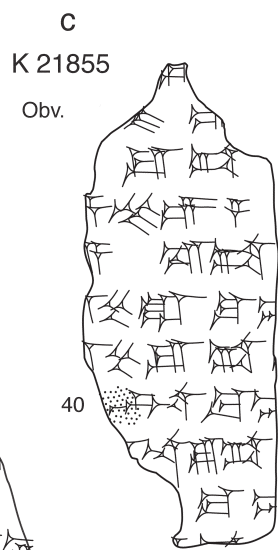
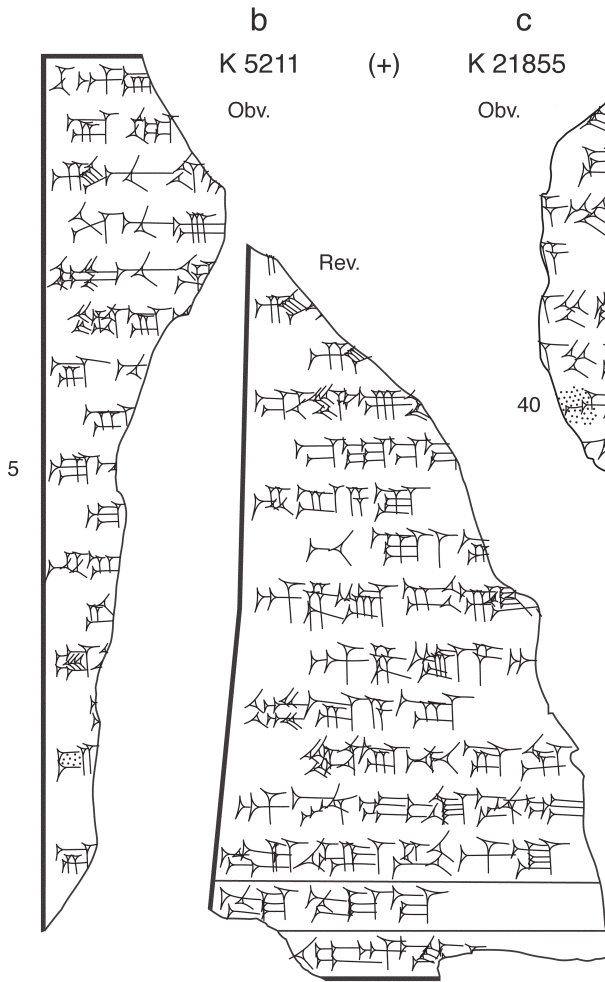
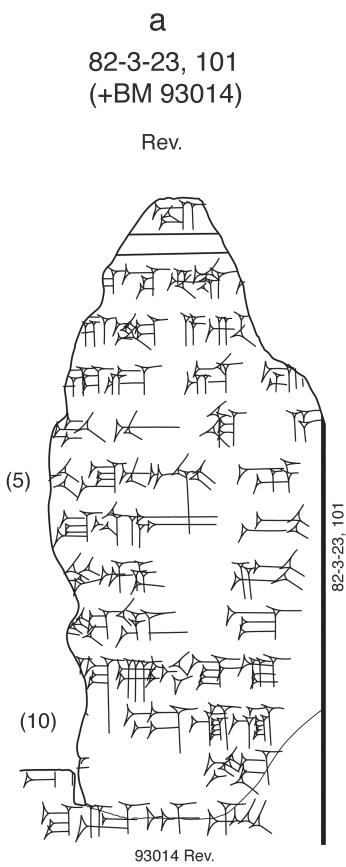
Obv.





IB 591





F
Rm 97

(5)

Obv.

(10)

Rev.

(15)

(18)

(19)

(20)

Rm 101

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BM 74329, collations

3 end:

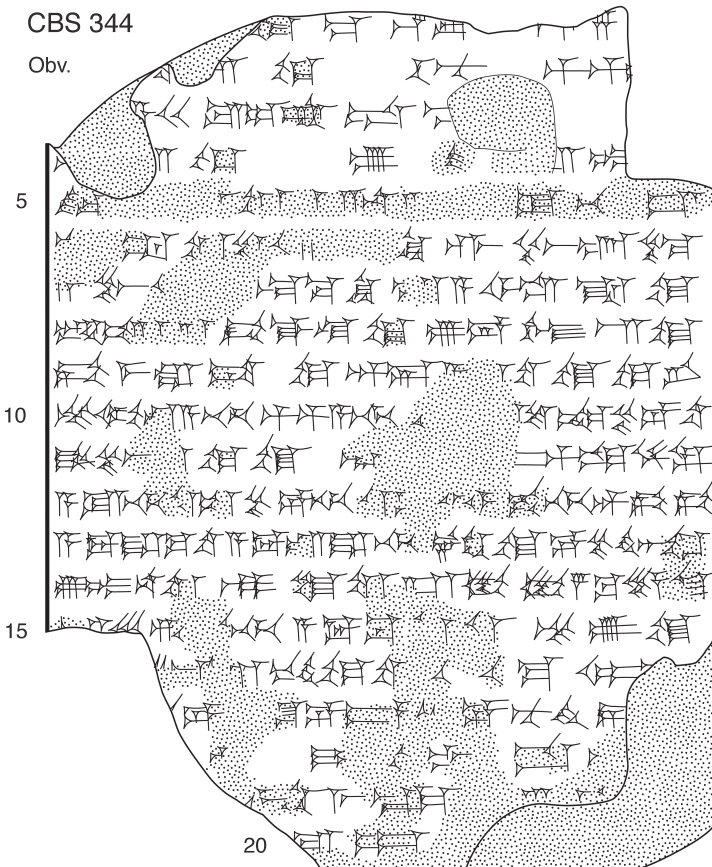
17: i-na

24 end:

39: il-qi-

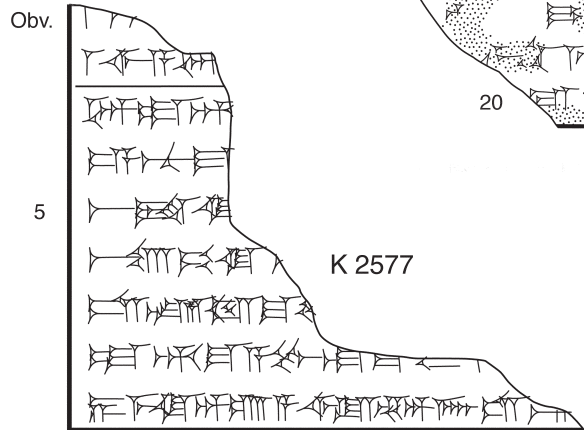
CBS 344

Obv.



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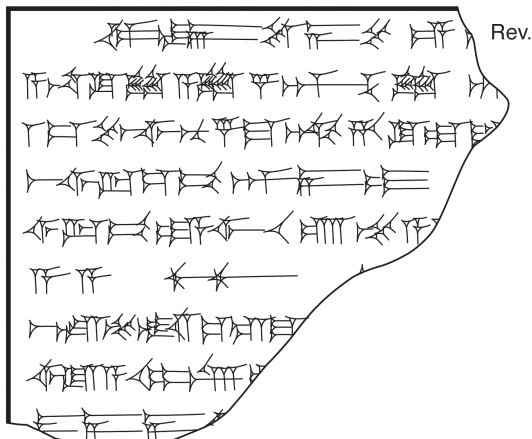
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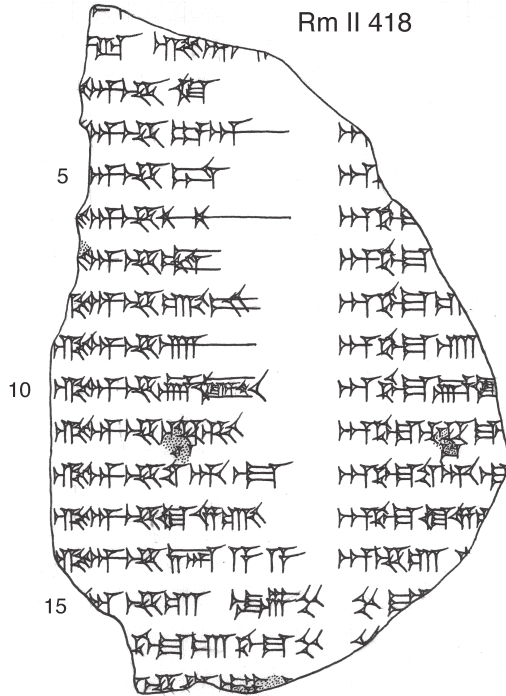
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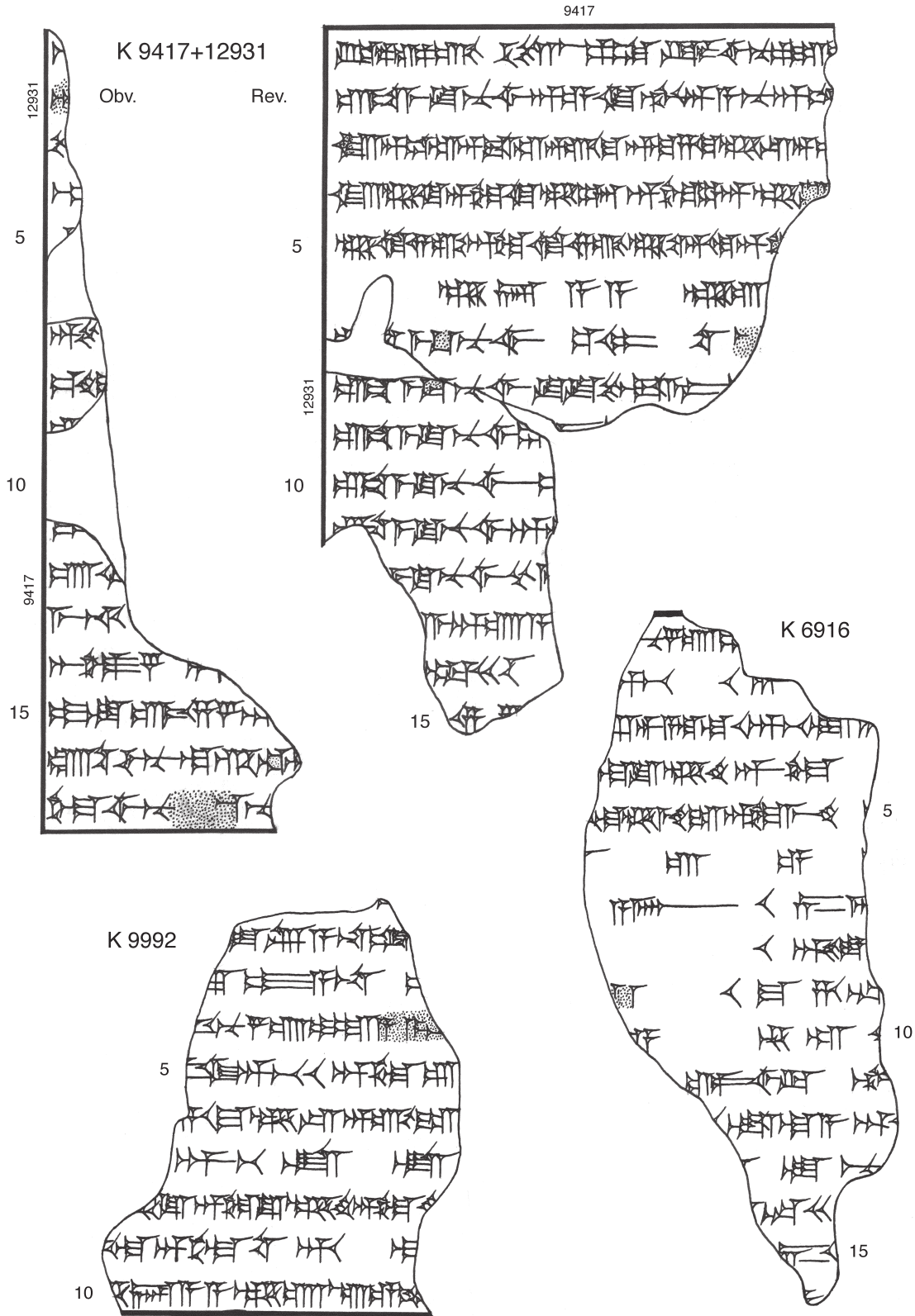
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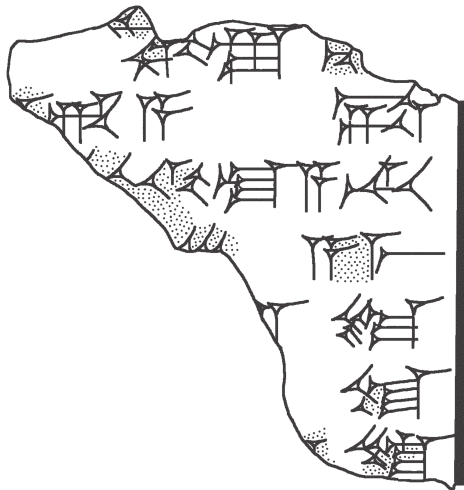
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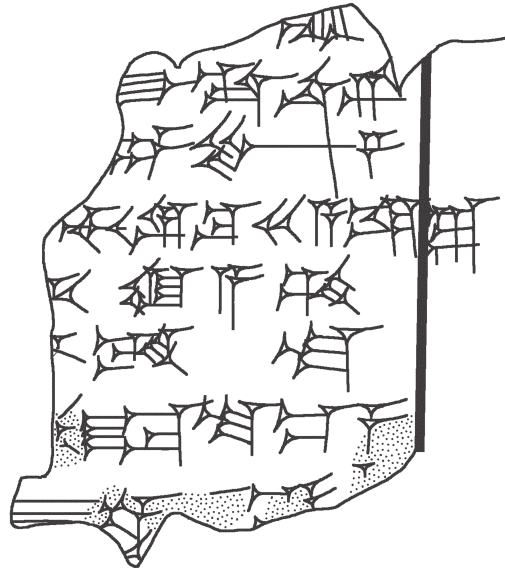


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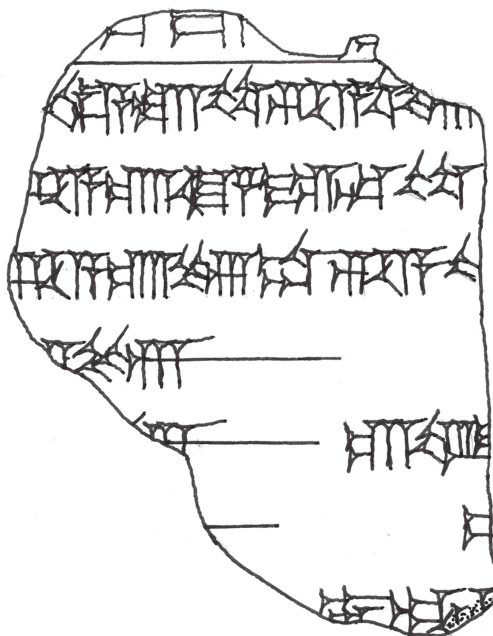
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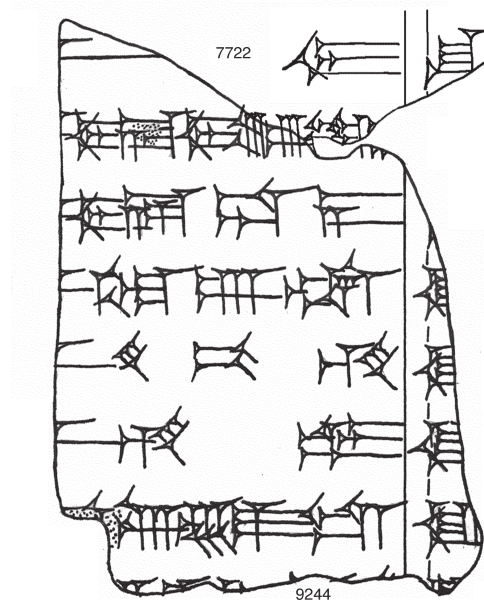
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Indexes

The indexes for *Babylonian Creation Myths* below were prepared by W. Horowitz in tribute to his teacher, W. G. Lambert.¹ First is a Select Subject Index, which collects proper nouns and other topics and terms deemed to be of interest to the reader. By its nature, any such index is in a sense subjective, all the more so when the index is prepared by someone other than the original author of the work, which regrettably is the case here. The indexer asks for the reader's indulgence, and the author's forgiveness for any sins of commission, and especially omission.

Following the subject index are an "Index of Sumerian and Akkadian Words Discussed in the Notes on Texts Edited in Part III," an "Index of Ancient Texts and Modern Authors and Studies," and an index of lines of *Enuma Eliš* that are discussed elsewhere in the book.

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170+ 188–89

250+ 183, 186

255+ 237

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1711+ 331, 335

2074 186

2096+ 215

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2115 186

2168 331

2331 217

2523 223

2573 399

2577 396

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2768 490

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2782 396

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3213 179–80

3275 486

3366 486

3424 434

3611 494

3657+ 301, 306–9

4175 350

4209 150, 152, 485

4210 150, 152, 489

4220 247

4365 519

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4559 150

4891 52

4896 331

4932 331, 335

5027 331

5066 331, 335

5069+ 304

5189 160

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6057 401

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6335 241

6606+ 469, 509

6794+ 299–300

6813 254

6916 410, 417

6928+ 488

7052 301, 309

7067 178

7568+ 144

7602 158, 431

7620 245

7662 420

7663+ 186

7688 150, 168

7722+ 519–21

8104 417, 485–86

8175 137

8211 484

8215+ 490

8222 452

8487 426

8525 301, 309

8978 265

9022 237

9336 429

9417+ 410, 417

9501 214

9542 430

9594+ 179

9876 282, 493

9902 219

9906 494

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10378 492

10817+ 178, 491

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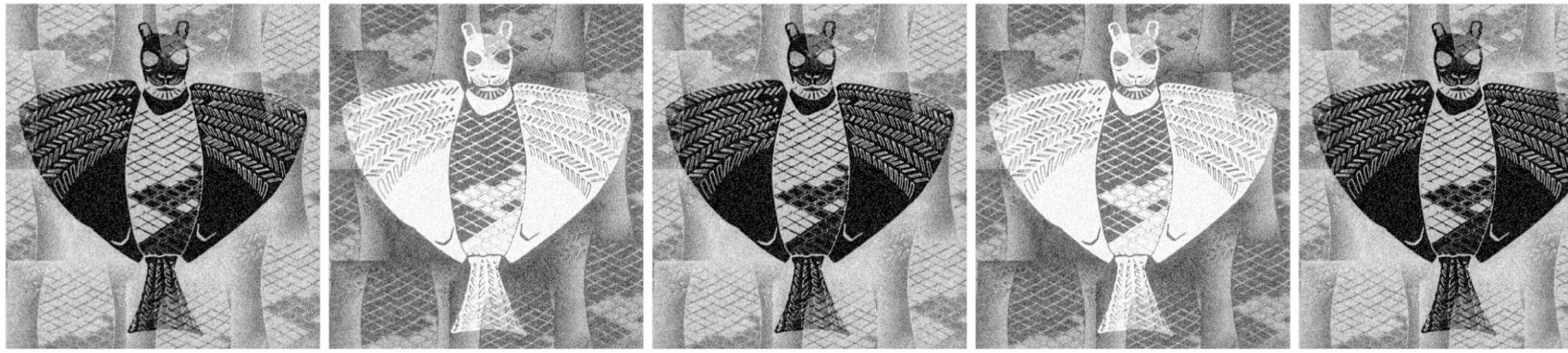
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