The Seven Tablets of Creation, Vol. I

Leonard William King

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THE SEVEN TABLETS OF CREATION.

Reverse.
Part of the Sixth Tablet of the Creation Series recording the Creation of Man
(Brit. Mus., No. 92,629).
THE SEVEN TABLETS

OF

CREATION,

OR THE BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN LEGENDS
CONCERNING THE CREATION OF THE WORLD
AND OF MANKIND.
EDITED BY

L. W. KING, M.A, F.S.A,,

ASSISTANT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES BRITISH MUSTUM,

VOL. I.

LNGLISH TRANSLATIONS, ETC.

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1902.

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HERTFORD
PRINTED BY STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS,
Oreface.

Prruaes no section of Babylonian literature has been more generally studied than the legends which record the Creation of the world. On the publication of the late Mr. George Smith's work, “ The Chaldean Account of Genesis,” which appeared some twenty-seven years ago, it was recognized that there was in the Babylonian account of the Creation, as it existed in the seventh century before Christ, much which invited comparison with the corresponding narrative in the Book of Genesis. It is true that the Babylonian legends which had been recovered and were first published by him were very fragmentary, and that the exact number and order of the Tablets, or sections, of which they were composed were quite uncertain; and that, although they recorded the creation of the heavens and of the heavenly bodies, they contained no direct account of the creation of man. In spite of this, however, their resemblance to the Hebrew narrative was unmistakable, and in consequence they at once appealed to a far larger circle of students than would otherwise have been the case.

After the appearance of Mr. Smith’s work, other scholars produced translations of the fragments which

he had published, and the names of Oppert, Schrader, and Sayce will always be associated with those who were the first to devote themselves to the inter- pretation of the Creation Legends. Moreover, new fragments of the legends have from time to time been acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum, and of these the most important is the fine text of the Fourth Tablet of the Creation Series, containing the account of the fight between the god Marduk and the dragon Tiamat, which was published in 1887 by Dr. Wallis Budge, and translated by Professor Sayce in the same year. Professor Sayce’s translation of the Creation Legends marked a distinct advance upon those of his pre- decessors, and it was the most complete, inasmuch as he was enabled to make use of the new tablet which restored so much of the central portion of the story. In the year 1890, in his important work Die Kosmologie der Babylonier, Professor Jensen of Marburg gave a translation of the legends together with a transliteration and commentary; in 1895 Professor Zimmern of Leipzig translated all the fragments then known, and a year later Professor Delitzsch of Berlin also published a_ rendering. Finally, two years ago, Professor Jensen issued a new and revised translation of the Creation Legends in the opening pages of the first part of his

work MLythen und Epen, the second part of which, containing his notes and commentary, appeared some months ago.

PREFACE. XUL

In the course of the year r1goo, the writer was entrusted with the task of copying the texts of a number of Babylonian and Assyrian legends for publication in the series of Canetform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum, and, among the documents selected for issue, were those relating to the Creation of the world. Several of the texts of the Creation Legends, which had been used by previous translators, had never been published, and one tablet, which Mr. George Smith had consulted in 1876, had not been identified by subsequent workers. During my work I was so fortunate as to recognize this tablet, and was enabled to make copies of all the texts, not only of those which were previously known, but also of a number of new duplicates and fragments which I had meanwhile identified. These copies appeared in Cuneiform Texts, Part XIII (1901), Plates 1-41. The most interesting of the new fragments there published was a tablet which restored a missing portion of the text of the Second Tablet of the Creation Series, and of this, on account of its interest, I gave a translation in a note to the plate on which the text appeared. It was not my intention at that time to publish anything further upon the subject of the Creation Legends.

While I was engaged, however, in searching for fragments of other Babylonian legends for publication officially, it was my good fortune to come across a fine duplicate of the Second Tablet of the Creation

XIV PRIEFACE.

Series. A further prolonged search was rewarded by the finding of other fragments of the poem, and a study of these showed me that the earlier portions of the text of the Creation Story, as already known, could be considerably augmented. Among them, moreover, was a fragment of the poem which refers to the Creation of Man; this fragment is extremely important, for in addition to its valuable contents it also settles the disputed question as to the number of Tablets, or sections, of which the Creation Series was composed. In view of the additional information as to the form and contents of the poem which this new material afforded, it was clearly necessary that a new translation of the Creation Legends should be made, and this I undertook forthwith.

The new fragments of the poem which I had identified up to the summer of last year are inscribed upon tablets of the Neo- Babylonian period. At the conclusion of the examination of tablets of this class, I lithographed the newly identified texts in a series of plates which are published in the second volume of the present work. These plates were already printed off, when, at the beginning of the present year, after my return from Assyria, I identified a fresh group of fragments of the poem inscribed, not upon Neo-Babylonian, but upon Assyrian tablets. At that time I was engaged on making a detailed catalogue, or hand-list, of the smaller fragments in the various collections of Assyrian tablets from

PREFACE. xv

Kuyunjik, and, as a result of previous study of the
legends themselves and of the Assyrian commentaries

to the Seventh Tablet of the series, I was enabled to identify ten new fragments of the poem which are inscribed upon tablets from the library of Ashur-bani-pal at Nineveh. In order to avoid upsetting the arrangement of the plates in Vol. II, the texts of the new Assyrian fragments are published by means of outline blocks in Appendices I and II to the present volume.

Those who have studied the published texts of the Creation Series will remember that the material used by previous translators of the legends has consisted of some twenty-one tablets and fragments inscribed with portions of the poem. The number of new tablets and fragments belonging to the Creation Serics which are here used and translated for the first time reaches the total of thirty-four, but, as I have joined up six of these to other similar fragments, this total has been reduced to twenty-eight. Thus, in place of the twenty-one tablets previously known, forty- nine separate tablets and fragments have now been identified as containing portions of the text of the Creation Series.

The new information, furnished by the recently discovered material regarding the Story of Creation, may here be briefly summarized. Hitherto our knowledge of the contents of Tablets I and II of the series has been very fragmentary. After the

narrative of the creation of the great gods in the opening lines of the poem, and a fragmentary reference to the first symptoms of revolt exhibited by the primeval monsters, Apsii and Tiamat, and Mummu, the minister of Apsi, there occurred a great gap in the text, and the story began again with the account of how Tiamat prepared to wage war against the gods. Apsii and Mummu have at this point entirely disappeared from the narrative, and the ally of Tiamat is the god Kingu, whom she appoints to command her forces. What followed the creation of the great gods, what was the cause of the revolt, what was the fate of Apsi and Mummu, and what were the events which led up to Tiamat’s preparations for battle, are questions that have hitherto remained unanswered. We now know that the account of the creation of the gods was no fuller than that which has come down to us from Damascius. After the birth of Lakhmu and Lakhamu, Anshar and Kishar, Anu, Bél (ie, Enlil, or Illil), and Ea (Nudimmud), the text does not proceed to narrate in detail the coming forth of the lesser deities, but plunges at once into the story of the revolt of the primeval forces of chaos. We now know also that it was Apsi, and not Tiamat, who began the revolt against the gods; and that, according to the poem, his enmity was aroused, not by the creation of light as has been previously suggested, but by the disturbance of his rest in consequence of the new “way” of the gods, which tended to produce order in place of chaos.

One of the most striking facts which the new fragments furnish with regard to the contents of the legends is the prominent part played by the god Ea in the earlier episodes of the story. After Apst and Mummu had repaired to Tiamat and had hatched with her their plot against the gods, it was the god Ea, who, abounding in all wisdom, detected their plan and frustrated it. The details of Ea’s action are still a matter

of uncertainty, but, as I have shown in the Introduction, it is clear that Apsi and Mummu were overthrown, and that their conqueror was Ea. More- over, it was only after their downfall, and in order to avenge them, that Tiamat began her preparations for battle. She was encouraged in her determination by the god Kingu, and it was in consequence of the assistance he then gave her that she afterwards appointed him leader of her host.

Another point which is explained by the new fragments concerns the repetitions in Tablets I, II, and III of the lines containing the account of Tiamat's preparations for battle. The lines describing this episode are given no less than four times: in Tablet I, in Tablet II, and twice in Tablet III. We now know that the first description of Tiamat's preparations occurs after the account of her determination to avenge her former allies ; and in the Second Tablet the lines are put into the mouth of Ea, who continues to play a prominent part in the narrative, and carries the tidings to Anshar. How Anshar repeated the lines

to Gaga, his messenger, and how Gaga delivered the message to Lakhmu and Lakhamu, is already well known.

Perhaps the most striking of all the new fragments of the poem here published is that which contains the opening and closing lines of the Sixth Tablet, and, at last, furnishes us with a portion of the text describing the Creation of Man. We now know that, as in the Hebrew narrative, the culminating act of Creation was the making of man. Marduk is here represented as declaring to Ea that he will create man from his own blood, and from bone which he will form; it is im- portant to note that the Assyrian word here used for "bone," zsszmedu, which has not hitherto been known, corresponds to the Hebrew word 'esem, "bone," which occurs in Gen. ii, 23, in connection with the account of the creation of woman. The text thus furnishes another point of resemblance between the Babylonian and the Hebrew stories of Creation. The new fragment also corroborates in a remarkable degree the account given by Berossus of the Babylonian version of the creation of man. According to the writer's rendering of the passage, Marduk declares that he will use his own blood in creating mankind, and this agrees with the statement of Berossus, that Bél directed one of the gods to cut off his (ie. Bél's) head, and to form mankind from his blood mixed with earth. This subject is discussed at length and in detail in the Introduction, as well as a number of new points

of resemblance between the Babylonian and the Hebrew accounts of the Creation which are furnished by other recently identified fragments of the poem.

With regard to the extent and contents of the Creation Series, we now know that the Tablets of which the series was composed are seven in number ; and we also possess the missing context or frame- work of the Seventh Tablet, which contains addresses

to Marduk under his fifty titles of honour. From this we learn that, when the work of Creation was ended, the gods gathered together once more in Upshukkinakku, their council-chamber ; here they seated themselves in solemn assembly and proceeded to do honour to Marduk, the Creator, by reciting before him the remarkable series of addresses which form the contents of the last Tablet of the poem. Many of the missing portions of the Seventh Tablet, including the opening lines, it has been found possible to restore from the new fragments and duplicates here published.

In the following pages a transliteration of the text of the Creation Series is given, which has been constructed from all the tablets and fragments now known to be inscribed with portions of the poem, together with a translation and notes. For com- parison with the legends contained in the Creation Series, translations have been added of the other Babylonian accounts of the history of Creation, and of some texts closely connected therewith. Among

these mention may be made of the extracts from a Sumerian text, and from a somewhat similar one in Babylonian, referring to the Creation of the Moon and the Sun; these are here published from a so-called " practice-tablet," or student's exercise. A remarkable address to a mythical river, to which the creation of the world is ascribed, is also given.

In the first Appendix the Assyrian commentaries to the Seventh Tablet 'are examined in detail, and some fragments of texts are described which bear a striking resemblance to the Seventh Tablet, and are of con- siderable interest for the light they throw on the literary history of the poem. Among the texts dealt with in the second Appendix one of the most interesting is a Babylonian duplicate of the tablet which has been supposed to contain the instructions given by Marduk to man after his creation, but is now shown by the duplicate to be part of a long didactic composition containing moral precepts, and to have nothing to do with the Creation Series. Similarly, in the fourth Appendix I have printed a copy of the text which has been commonly, but erroneously, supposed to refer to the Tower of Babel. The third Appendix includes some hitherto unpublished astrological texts of the period of the Arsacidae, which contain astrological interpretations and explanations of episodes of the Creation story; they indicate that Tiamat, in her astrological character, was regarded as a star or constellation in the neighbourhood of the ecliptic,

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and they moreover furnish an additional proof of the identification of her monster brood with at any rate some of the Zodiacal constellations.

During the preparation of this work I have, of

course, consulted the translations and renderings of the Creation Legends which have been made by other workers on the subject, and especially those of Professors Jensen, Zimmern, and Delitzsch. I have much pleasure in expressing here my indebtedness to their published works for suggestions which I have adopted from them.

To Mr. R. Campbell Thompson J am indebted for the ready assistance he has afforded me during my search for new fragments and duplicates of the legends.

In conclusion, my thanks are due to Dr. Wallis Budge for his friendly suggestions which I have adopted throughout the progress of the work.

L. W. KING.

Lonpon, July 31st, 1902.

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Introduction.

Tue great Assyrian poem, or series of legends, which The Creation narrates the story of the Creation of the world and of “Enna man, was termed by the Assyrians and Babylonians Enuma els, “When in the height,” from the two opening words of the text. The poem consisted of some nine hundred and ninety-four lines, and was divided into seven sections, each of which was inscribed upon a separate Tablet. The Tablets were numbered by the Assyrian scribes, and the separate sections of the poem written upon them do not vary very much in length, The shortest Tablet contains one hundred and thirty-eight lines, and the longest one hundred and forty-six, the average length of a Tablet being about one hundred and forty-two lines. The poem embodies the beliefs of the Babylonians and Assyrians con- cerning the origin of the universe; it describes the coming forth of the gods from chaos, and tells the story of how the forces of disorder, represented by the primeval water-gods Apsi and Tiamat, were over- thrown by Ea and Marduk respectively, and how Marduk, after completing the triumph of the gods over chaos, proceeded to create the world and man. The poem is known to us from portions of several Assyrian and late-Babylonian copies of the work, and from

gnscrtion extracts from it written out upon the so-called “practice- au" tablets,” or students’ exercises, by pupils of the

Babylonian scribes. The Assyrian copies of the work are from the great library which was founded at Nineveh by Ashur-bani-pal, king of Assyria from B.c. 668 to about B.c. 626; the Babylonian copies and extracts were inscribed during the period of the kings of the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods ; and one copy of the Seventh Tablet may probably be assigned to as late a date as the period of the Arsacidae. All the tablets and fragments, which have hitherto been identified as inscribed with portions of the text of the poem, are preserved in the British Museum. Fist From, the time of the first discovery of fragments ublication ‘ - : 2 4 pgranry of the poem considerable attention has been directed Gooree Seni towards them, for not only are the legends themselves the principal source of our knowledge of the Baby- lonian cosmogony, but passages in them bear a striking resemblance to the cognate narratives in the Book of Genesis concerning the creation of the world. The late Mr. George Smith, who was the first to publish an account of the poem, recognized this resemblance and emphasized it in his papers on the subject in 1875.1 In the following year in

1 Mr. Smith described the legends in a letter to the Daily Telegraph, published on March 4th, 1875, No. 6,158, p. 5, col. 4. He there gave a summary of the contents of the fragments, and on November 2nd.in the same year he read a-paper on them before the

his work “The Chaldean Account of Genesis”? smits he gave translations of the fragments of the poem ee which had been identified, and the copies which he

had made of the principal fragments were published.?

After Smith’s death the interest in the texts which he

had published did not cease, and scholars continued

to produce renderings and studies of the legends.®

Society of Biblical Archeology. In noting the resemblance between the Babylonian and the Hebrew legends it was not unnatural that he should have seen a closer resemblance between them than was really the case. For instance, he traced allusions to “the Fall of Man” in what is the Seventh Tablet of the Creation Series; one tablet he interpreted as containing the instructions given by “the Deity” to man after his creation, and another he believed to represent a version of the story of the Tower of Babel. Although these identifications were not justified, the outline which he gave of the contents of the legends was remarkably accurate. It is declared by some scholars that the general character of the larger of the Creation fragments was correctly identified by Sir H. C. Rawlinson several years before.

1 The Chaldean Account of Genesis, London, 1876; German edition, edited by Delitzsch, Leipzig, 1876. New English edition, edited by Sayce, London, 1880.

? By November, 1875, Smith had prepared a series of six plates containing copies of portions of the First and Fifth Tablets, and also of the Fourth Tablet which he entitled “War between the Gods and Chaos,”. and of the Seventh Tablet which he styled “Tablet describing the Fall.” These plates were published in the Zransactions of the Society of Biblical Archeology, vol. iv (1876), and appeared after his death.

3 See the papers by H. Fox Talbot in T.S.B.A. » Vol. viv, pp- 349 ff., and vol. v, pp. 1ff., 426 ff., and Records of the Past, vol. ix (1877), pp. 115 ff, 135 ff.; and the translations made by Oppert in an appendix to Ledrain’s Histoire d’Isracl, premitre partie (1879), pp. 411 ff, and by Lenormant in Les origines de

Recent trans-
lations of the
legends,
XXVIII INTRODUCTION.

In 1883 Dr. Wallis Budge gave an account of a fine Babylonian duplicate of what proved to be the Fourth Tablet of the Creation Series ; this document restored considerable portions of the narrative of the fight between Marduk and the dragon Tiamat, and added considerably to our knowledge of the story of Creation and of the order in which the events related in the story took place! In the Hibbert Lectures for 1887 Professor Sayce translated the new fragment of the text,’ and in the following year published a

complete translation ® of all fragments of the Creation Legends which had up to that time been identified. In 1890 Professor Jensen, in his studies on the Babylonian cosmogony, included a translation of the legends together with a transliteration and a number of valuable philological notes and discussions. In 1895

Phistoire (1880), app. i, pp. 494 ff. The best discussion of the relations of the legends to the early chapters of Genesis was given by Schrader in the second edition (1883) of his Kedlin- schriften und das Alte Testament, English translation, 1885~1888 ; I hear from Professor Zimmern that the new edition of this work, a portion of which he is editing, will shortly make its appearance.

1 The tablet was numbered 82-9-18, 3,737; see below, p. cvi,

No. 29. Budge gave a description of the tablet in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology for Nov. 6th, 1883, and published the text in P.S.B.A., vol. x (1887), p. 86, pls. 1-6. - ® See Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians (Hibbert Lectures for 1887), pp. 379 ff. ;

3 In Records of the Past, new series, vol. i (1888), pp. 122 ff.

* See Die Kosmologie der Babylonier (Strassburg, 1890), pp. 263 ff.

Professor Zimmern published a translation of the Recent trans- legends, similar in plan to Sayce's earlier edition ; in eons ct me it he took advantage of some recently identified fragments and duplicates, and put forward a number

of new renderings of difficult passages! In 1896

a third German translation of the legends made its appearance ; it was published by Professor Delitzsch

and included transliterations and descriptions of the

various tablets and fragments inscribed with portions

of the text? Finally, in 1900 Professor Jensen published a second edition of his rendering of the legends in his Mythen und Epen;* this work was the best which could be prepared with the material

then available.'

1 Zimmern published his translation as an appendix to Gunkel's Schipfung und Chaos in Urzett und Endzeit (Gottingen, 1895), pp. 401 ff.

* Das Babylonische Weltschipfungsepos, published in the Adhand- lungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Kinigl. Stichsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, xvii, No. ii.

3 Assyrisch-Babjlonische Mythen und Epen, published as the sixth volume of Schrader's Keehinschrifiliche Bibliothek ; part 1, containing transliterations and translations (1900); part 2, containing com- mentary (1901).

4 In addition to the translations of the legends mentioned in the text, a number of papers and works containing descriptions and discussions of the Creation legends have from time to time been published. Among those which have appeared during the last few years may be mentioned the translations of portions of the legends by Winckler in his Kerlinschriftliches Textbuch sum Alten Testament, ii (1892), pp. 88 ff.; Barton's article on Tiamat, published in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. xv (1893), pp. 1ff.; and the translations and discussions of the

Identification In the most recent translations of the Creation Series, onew tS those of Delitzsch and Jensen, use was made in all of twenty-one separate tablets and fragments which had been identified as inscribed with portions of the text of the poem!' In the present work thirty-four

legends given in Jastrow's Religion of Babylonia and Assyria (1898), pp. 407 ff.,.in my own Babylonian Religion and Mythology (1899), pp. 53 ff, by Muss-Arnolt in Assyrian and Babylonian Literature, edited by R. F. Harper (1901), pp. 282 ff., and by Loisy, Les mpthes babyloniens et les premiers chapttres de la Genése (1901). Discussions of the Babylonian Creation legends and their connection with the similar narratives in Genesis have been given by Lukas in 'Die Grundbegriffe in den Kosmogonien der alten Volker (1893), pp. 1-46, by Gunkel in Schép/ung und Chaos in Uraeit und Endzett (1895), pp. 16 ff., by Driver in Authority and Archeology, edited by Hogarth (1899), pp. 9 ff., and by Zimmern in Beblische und babylonische Urgeschichte (Der alte Orient, 1901); an exhaustive article on "Creation" has also been contributed by Zimmern and Cheyne to the Encyclopedia Biblica, vol. i (1899), cols. 938 ff. _' Delitzsch's list of fragments, enumerated on pp. 7 ff. of his work, gave the total number as twenty-two. As No. 21 he included the tablet K. 3,364, but in Appendix II (pp. 201 ff.) I have proved, by means of the Neo-Babylonian duplicate No. 33,851, that this tablet is part of a long composition containing moral precepts, and has no connection with the Creation Series. He also included K. 3,445 +R. 396 (as No. 20), but there are strong reasons for believing that this tablet does not belong to the series Lnuma elis, but is part of a variant account of the story of Creation; see further, Appendix II, pp. 197ff. On the other hand he necessarily omitted from his list an unnumbered fragment of the Seventh Tablet, which had been used by George Smith, but had been lost sight of after his death; this fragment I identified two years ago as K.9,267. It may be added that the total number of fragments correctly identified up to that time was twenty-five, but, as four of these had been joined to others, the number of separate tablets and fragments was reduced to twenty-one.

additional tablets and fragments, inscribed with Identification portions of the text of the Creation Series, have been employed; but, as six of these join other similar fragments, the number of separate tablets and

fragments here used for the first time is reduced to twenty-eight. The total number of separate fragments of the text of the Creation Series is thus brought up to forty-nine." The new material is distributed among the Seven Tablets of the Creation Series as follows :— To the four known fragments of the First Tablet may now be added eight others,' consisting of two fragments of an Assyrian tablet and four Babylonian fragments and two extracts inscribed upon Babylonian "' practice-tablets." To the three known fragments of the Second Tablet may be added four others,® consisting of parts of one Assyrian and of three Babylonian tablets. To the four known fragments of the Third Tablet may be added five others,'

* On pp. xcvii ff. brief descriptions are given of these forty- nine separate fragments of the Creation Series, together with references to previous publications in which the text of any of them have appeared. The whole of the old material, together with part of the new, was published in Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British' Museum, part xiii. The texts of the new tablets and fragments which I have since identified are published in the lithographed plates of Vol. II, and by means of outline blocks in Appendices I and II (see pp. 159 ff.). For the circumstances under which the new fragments were identified, see the Preface to this volume.

* See below, p. xcviiif., Nos. 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12,

% See below, p. ci, Nos. 13, 14, 15, and 18.

* See below, p. ciiif., Nos. 22, 24, 25, 26, and 27.

Identification
of new texts.
The birth of
the gods.
XXXII INTRODUCTION.

consisting of fragments of one Assyrian and one Babylonian tablet and extracts inscribed upon three Babylonian " practice-tablets.". To the five known fragments of the Fourth Tablet only one new duplicate can be added,' which is inscribed upon a Babylonian " practice-tablet." To the three known fragments of the Fifth Tablet may be added two others,? consisting of parts of two Assyrian tablets. Of the Sixth Tablet no fragment has previously been known, and its existence was only inferred from a fragment of the catch-line preserved on copies of the Fifth Tablet ; fragments of the text of the Sixth Tablet are published for the first time in the present work from part of a Babylonian tablet.* Finally, to the two known fragments of the Seventh Tablet may now be added seven others,' inscribed upon five Assyrian fragments and portions of two Babylonian tablets.

The new fragments of the text of the First and Second Tablets of the Creation Series throw light on the earlier episodes in the story of Creation, and enable us to fill up some of the gaps in the narrative. By the identification of the Tablet K. 5,419¢,' George Smith recovered the opening lines of the First Tablet, which describes the condition of things before Creation

1 See below, p. cvi, No. 32.

2 See below, p. eviii, Nos. 37 and 38.

8 See below, p. cix, No. 40.

4 See below, p. cixf., Nos. 41, 42, 44, 46, 47; 48, and 49.
5 See below, p. xeviif., No. 1.

when the primeval water-gods, Apsii and Tiamat, per- sonifying chaos, mingled their waters in confusion. The text then briefly relates how to Apst and Tiamat were born the oldest of the gods, the first pair, Lahmu and Lahamu, being followed after a long interval by Anshar and Kishar, and after a second interval by other deities, of whose names the text of K. 5,419¢ only preserves that of Anu. George Smith perceived that this theogony had been reproduced by Damascius in his summary of the beliefs of the Babylonians concerning the creation of the world.t| Now, since Damascius mentions “IAAwos and Ads along with ‘Avos, it was clear that the text of the poem included a description of the birth of the elder Bél (ie. Enlil or Illil) and of ‘Ea in the passage in which Anu’s name occurs. But as the text inscribed upon the obverse of K. 5,419¢,

' The following is the text of the passage in which Damascius summarizes the Babylonian beliefs: —Té» é& BapBdpwr corkact BaBurdyvioe pév Thy pilav tov Ghwv dpxv orp mapevat, Evo bé woety TavOé cai Arasiy, tov pév Aracwy dvépa tis TavOé rowbovtes, Tavtyy 56 pytépa Ooty dvopafovtes, eE &v povoyer} maida yevvyOjvar tov Mwipiv, abtov oar tov voytoy Koopov ex tiv dvoivy dpxdy Tap- ayopevov, "Ex 6€ rv abtiev ddrAWv yevedy mpocrOeiv, Aaxjy cai Aayor. Eka at tpéryy é« tév adtav, Kiocap) nai ’Acowpov, €E ay yevéoOa apets, "Avov cal "INduwor kai ’Aov' rod 6¢ “Aod nat Aadxys viov yevéaOae zov Bidov, ov dypeoupyor iva’ paow.—Quaestiones de primis principiis, cap. 125 (ed. Kopp, p. 384). The Aaxyv and Aaxov of the text should be emended to Aayyy and Aaxov, which correspond to Lahamu and Lahmu. Of the other deities, Taveé corresponds to Tiamat, *Avacwy to Apsti, Krooep9 to Kishar, ’Acowpos to Anshar, and “Aves to Anu; Mwupés corresponds to Mummu (see below, p. xxxviii, note 1).

‘The birth of
the gods.
The birth of
the gods.
Damascius and

the birth of
Marduk

and of its Neo-Babylonian duplicate 82-7-14, 402, breaks off at 1. 15, the course of the story after this point has hitherto been purely a matter for conjecture. It appeared probable that the lines which followed contained a full account of the origin of the younger gods, and from the fact that Damascius states that ByaAos, the Creator of the world, was the son of Ads (ie. Ea) and Aavky (ie. Damkina), it has been concluded that at any rate special prominence was given to the birth of Bél, ie. Marduk, who figures so

prominently in the story from the close of the Second Tablet onwards.

The new fragments of the First Tablet show that the account of the birth of the gods in the Creation Series is even shorter than that given by Damascius, for the poem contains no mention of the birth and parentage of Marduk. After mentioning the birth of Nudimmud (i.e. Ea),? the text proceeds to describe his marvellous wisdom and strength, and states that

he had no rival among the gods; the birth of no

other god is recorded after that of Ea, and, when Marduk is introduced later on, his existence, like that of Mummu and of Gaga, appears to be tacitly assumed. It would seem, therefore, that the reference made by

1 See below, p. xcvili, No. 2.

? It is interesting to note that Ea is referred to under his own name and not by his title Nudimmud upon new fragments of the poem in Tabl. I, |. 60 (p. 12 f.), Tabl. IT, 1. 5 (p. 22 f.), and Tabl. VI, 1. 3 (p. 86f.) and 1. 11 (p. 88 f.).

PLATE II.

Part of the First Tablet of the Creation Series (Brit. Mus., No. 45,528 + 46,614).

Damascius to Marduk's parentage was not derived
from the text of the Creation Series, but was added
by him to complete his summary of the Babylonian
beliefs concerning the origin of the gods.
This omission of Marduk's name from the earlier ta the hero of lines of the First Tablet and the prominence given or eke Creation to that of Ea may at first sight seem strange, but it ae is in accordance with the other newly recovered portions of the text of the First and Second Tablets, which indirectly throw an interesting light on the composite character and literary history of the great poem.' It will be seen that of the deities mentioned

- in these earlier lines Nudimmud (Ea) is the only god. whose characteristics are described in detail ; his birth, moreover, forms the climax to which the previous lines lead up, and, after the deseription of his character, the story proceeds at once to relate the rebellion of the primeval gods and the part which Ea played in. detecting and frustrating their plans. In fact, Ea and not Marduk is the hero of the earlier episodes of the Creation story.

The new fragments of the text show, moreover, The cause of that it was Apsti and not Tiamat who began the tebelion, rebellion against the gods. While the newly created. gods represented the birth of order and system in the universe, Apsii and Tiamat still remained in confusion and undiminished in might. Apsi, however, finding

* See further, pp. lxvi ff.

The cause of
Apst's
rebellion,
XXXVIII INTRODUCTION.

that his slothful rest was disturbed by the new order of beings whom he had begotten, summoned Mummu,' his minister, and the two went together to Tiamat, and lying down before her, took counsel with her

1 The Mwiinés of Damascius; see above, p. xxxili, n. 1. The title Mummu was not only borne by Apsi's minister, who, according to Damascius, was the son of Apsi and Tiamat, but in Tabl. I, 1. 4, it is employed as a prefix to the name of Tiamat herself. In this passage I have conjecturally rendered it as ‘‘ chaos" (see p. 2 f.), since the explanatory text S. 747, Rev., 1. 10 (see below, pp. 162, 170), gives the equation Mu-um-mu = rig-mu, There is, however, much to be said for Jensen's suggestion of the existence of a word mummu meaning "form," or ‘ mould," or " pattern" (cf. Mythen und Epen, p. 302f.). Jensen points out that Ea is termed mu-um-mu ba-an ha-la, "the mummu (possibly, pattern) who created all" (cf. Bettrage zur Assyriologie, ii, p. 261), and he adds that the title might have been applied in this sense to Tiamat, since in Tabl. I, 1. 113, and the parallel passages, she is described as pa-ti-Ra-at ka-la-ma, and from her body heaven and earth were created; the explanation, given by Damascius, of Mummu, the son of Apsii and Tiamat, as voyrés xéopos is also in favour of this suggestion. Moreover, from one of the new fragments of the Seventh Tablet, K. 13,761 (see p. 102 f.), we now know that one of Marduk's fifty titles was Mummu, which is there explained‘as ba-a[n.... . J, i-e., probably, da-a[x ka-da], " Creator {of all]" (cf. Ea's title, cited above). In view of the equation Mu-um-mu = rig-mu (Jensen's suggested alternatives sim-mu and bi-18-mu are not probable), we may perhaps conclude that, in addition to the word mummu, ‘form, pattern," there existed a word mummu, ‘chaos, confusion," and that consequently the title Mummu was capable of two separate interpretations. If such be the case, it is possible that the application of the title to Tiamat and her son was suggested by its ambiguity of meaning ; while Marduk (and also Ea) might have borne the name as the "form" or "idea" of order and system, Tiamat and her son might have been conceived as representing the opposing "form" or "idea" of chaos and confusion.

THE NEW MATERIAL, XXXIX

regarding the means to be adopted to restore the

old order of things. It may be noted that the

text contains no direct statement that it was the creation of light which caused the rebellion of the pis patred of primeval gods.!. Apsii merely states his hatred of «jmne ™* the adkatu or ‘‘way" of the gods, in consequence

of which he can get no rest by day or night; and,

from the fact that he makes use of the expressions

“by day” and “by night,” it may be inferred that

day and night were vaguely conceived as already in existence. It was therefore the substitution of order

in place of chaos which, according to the text of

the poem, roused Apsii’s resentment and led to his
rebellion and downfall.”
! Jensen’s translation of what is 1. 50 of the First Tablet tepresents Mummu as urging Apsi to make the way of the gods “like night,” and implies that it was the creation of light which caused the rebellion. L. 50, however, is parallel to 1. 38, and it is certain that the adv. mu-Sif is to be rendered “ by night,” and not “like night.” In]. 38 Apsi complains that ‘by day” he cannot rest, and “by night” he cannot lie down in peace; Mummu then counsels him to destroy the way of the gods, adding in l. 50, “Then by day shalt thou have rest, by night shalt thou lie down {in peace)”; see pp. 3 ff. Jensen’s suggested rendering of im-ma as-ru-nim-ma, in place of tm-ma-as-ru-nim-ma, in Tabl. I, 1. 109 and the parallel passages, is therefore also improbable.

2 This fact does not preclude the interpretation of the fight between Marduk and Tiamat as based upon a nature-myth, representing the disappearance of mist and darkness before the rays of the sun. For Marduk was originally a solar deity, and Berossus himself mentions this interpretation of the legend (see further, p. Ixxxii, and the quotation on p. livf., notes 2 and 1).

‘The overthrow
of Apsit and
the capture of
Mummuby Ea.
Tiamat’s
determination
to avenge
Apsii and
Mummu, due
to Kingu's
prompting.
XL INTRODUCTION.

Our knowledge of the part played by Ea in the overthrow of Apsii and Mummu is still fragmentary, but we know from 1. 60 of the First Tablet that it was he who detected the plot against the gods ; it is also certain that the following twenty lines recorded the fate of Apst and his minister, and there are clear indications that it was Ea to whom their overthrow was due. In Tablet HH, ll. 53 ff, Anshar, on learning from Ea the news of Tiamat’s preparations for battle, contrasts the conquest of Mummu and Apsi with the task of opposing Tiamat, and the former achievement he implies has been accomplished by Ea. It is clear, therefore, that Ea caused the overthrow of Apsti' and the capture of Mummu,? but in what way he brought it about, whether by actual fighting or by “his pure incantation,” ® is still a matter for conjecture. In view

of the fact that Anshar at first tried peaceful means for overcoming Tiamat‘ before exhorting Marduk to wage battle against her, the latter supposition is the more probable of the two. The subjugation of Apsi by Ea explains his subsequent disappearance from the Creation story. When Apsii is next mentioned, it is as “the Deep,”’® and not as an active and malevolent deity.

After the overthrow of Apst, Tiamat remained
unconquered, and she continued to represent in her
* Cf. Tabl. 1, 1. 97. * Cf. Tabl. 1, 1. 98.
3 Cf. Tabl. I, 1. 62. ‘Cf, Tabl. II, ll. 75 ff
5 Cf. Tabl. IV, |. 142.
THE NEW MATERIAL, XLI

own person the unsubdued forces of chaos.’ But, as at first she had not herself begun the. rebellion, so now her continuation of the war against the gods’ was due to the prompting of another deity. The speech in which this deity urges Tiamat to avenge Apsti and Mummu occurs in Tablet I, Il. 93-104, and, inasmuch as she subsequently promoted Kingu to be the leader of her forces “‘ because he had given her support,” it may be concluded that it was Kingu who now prompted her to avenge her former ra's continued spouse.? Ea, however, did not cease his active the forces of opposition to the forces of disorder, but continued eae to play the chief réle on the side of the gods. He heard of Tiamat’s preparations for battle, he carried the news to Anshar, his father, and he was sent by him against the monster. It was only after both he and Anu had failed in their attempts to approach and appease Tiamat * that Anshar appealed to Marduk to become the champion of the gods. Another point completely explained by the new The repetitions

in the First,
fragments of the text is the reason for the repetitions Second, and |
which occur in the first three tablets of the series.
It will be seen that Tablet I, Il. 109-142, are repeated
in Tablet H, ll. 15~48; that Tablet IT, Il. 11-48, are

‘ It is possible that the fragments of 1. 88 f. of Tabl. 1 are not to be taken as part of a speech, but as a description of Tiamat’s state of confusion and restlessness after learning of Apsi’s fate.

? See also p. 14, n. 1.

3 On the probable order of the attempts made by Ea and Anu respectively to oppose Tiamat, see Appendix II, p. 188, n. 1.

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The repetitions repeated in Tablet III, ll. 15-52; and that Tablet III,

Second ana UL. 1 5-66, are repeated in the same Tablet, Il. 73-124.

Tara THe “The lines which are repeated have reference to Tiamat’s preparations for battle against the

gods, and to Anshar's summons of the gods in order that they may confer power on Marduk as their champion. From the new fragments of the text we now know that the lines relating to Tiamat's preparations occur on the First Tablet in the form of narrative, immediately after she had adopted Kingu's suggestion that she should avenge the overthrow of Apsi and Mummu; and that in the Second Tablet they are repeated by Ea in his speech to Anshar, to whom he carried the news. The context of the repetitions in the Third Tablet is already known; Anshar first repeats the lines to his minister Gaga, when telling him to go and summon the gods to an assembly, and later on in the Tablet Gaga repeats the message word for word to Lahmu and Lahamu.

Berossusand 'The constant repetition of these lines was doubtless

brood of "intended to emphasize the terrible nature of the opposition which Marduk successfully overcame ; and the fact that Berossus omits all mention of the part played by Ea in the earlier portions of the story is also due to the tendency of the Babylonian priests to exalt their local god at the expense of other deities. The account which we have received from Berossus of the Babylonian beliefs concerning the origin of the universe is largely taken up with a description of

PLaTE III.

Part of the Second Tablet of the Creation Series (No. 40,559}.

THE NEW MATERIAL. XLV

the mythical monsters which dwelt in the deep at kerossus and
. . * the monster-
a time when the world had not come into being and brood of
: Tiamat.
when darkness and water alone existed.!. Over these
monsters, according to Berossus, reigned a woman
named 'Opopxa, who is to be identified with Tiamat,?

' The account of the Creation given by Berossus in his history of Babylonia was summarized by Alexander Polyhistor, from whom Eusebius quotes in the first book of his Chronicon; the following is his description of the mythical monsters which existed before the creation of the world :—IevécOae Gyoi xpovov év YJ 10 wav oxdtos cai Bwp elvar, cal év rodrous Cia reparddy, Kai idiopuels rds lddas exovra Cwoyovetsba dvOpwrovs yap serrépovs yevvyOijvat, evdovs 8é Kai terparzépous Kai Surpoowrous' Kat cua pev exovtas bv, Kepadas 8é bdo, dvépecay re Kal yuvarxedav, nai aidoia &é diacd, dppev kai Oru" kat éxépovs dvOpwrovs Tods pev aiyy oxedy Kai Képata exovras, Tous bE irrov mobas, tous 86 7a driow pev péepy tmmwy, ta be . eurpocbcy dvOpwrwy, ods immoxevtavpovs ry tddav etvat. ZwoyovnOijvac dé Kal ravpous dvOpwrwy xeharas exovtas kai xivas rTeTpaswpdtous, odpas ixOdbos ex riav drisOev pepby exovtas, Kai trrous Kuvoxepddous Kat dvOpwrrovs, kai érepa Cia kepadas pev Kat odbpata inrwy éxovta, obpis 68 ixObwv' Kat ddda Sé CHa TavrodaTev Onpiwy pophas éxovra. TIpos 6€ todrors ixOdas wai épretd wai oes wai d\Na Cia wretove Ouvpacta Kat rapydraypevas tas Sets GAPAWY exovTa' av Kal Tas cixovas év 1H 700 Biyhov vap dvaxetoOu, dpxew 6€ tovTwy mdvtwr quvatka oT] dvona 'Opmopxa civat' tod7o 6€ Xudéaioti pev Oadard, 'EMAquiati 8& pcOeppyvederar Oddaooa [xara 82

isdyrypov cedjvy |.— Eusebi chronicorum liber prior, ed. Schoene, col. 14 f.

2 The reading ’Oepea is an emendation for opopwea, cf. op. cit., col. 16, n. 6; while for @a\a76 we should probably read Gapzd, ie., the Babylonian 7am/u, “sea, ocean” = Tiamat, cf. Robertson- Smith, Zeits. fiir Assyr., vi, p. 339. The name “Oncpea may probably be identified with Ummu-Hubur, “the Mother-Hubur,” a title of Tiamat which occurs in Tabl. I, 1. 113 and the parallel passages. The first part of the name gives the equation On=Ummu, but how Hubur has given rise to the transcription opxa is not clear. Jensen has attempted to explain the difficulty

Omorka and
Bél.

while the creatures themselves represent the monster- brood which Tiamat formed to aid her in her fight against the gods.!| Compared with the description of the monsters, the summary from Berossus of the incidents related on the Fourth Tablet is not very full; the text states that Bijdos (ie. Bél) slew ’Opopxa,

by suggesting that "Opcpxa = Ummu-urki, and urki he takes as an Assyrian translation of Hubur. For Hubur he suggests the meaning “that which is above, the North” (mainly from the occurrence of Hu-bu-ur*! = Su-bar-tum, the Upper or Northern part of Mesopotamia, in IIR, pl. 50, 1. 51, cf. also VR, pl. 16, 1. 19); and, since what is in the North would have been regarded by the Babylonians as “behind,” the title Hudur might have been rendered in Babylonian as urku. This explanation is ingenious, but that the title Hubur, as applied to Tiamat, had the meaning “that which is above, the North,” cannot be regarded as proved (cf. also Mythen, p. 564). Gunkel and Zimmern, on the other hand, see in ’Opepea the equivalent of the Aramaic words 'Om ’orga, “Mother of the Deep,” the existence of which they trace to the prevalence of the Aramaic dialect in Babylonia at the time of Berossus (see Schipfung und Chaos, p. 18 f., n. 1); according to this explanation the title "Oucpxa would be the Aramaic equivalent of Ummu-Hubur, for Zusur may well have had the meaning “deep, depth.” Thus, on the fragment S. 2,013 (sce below, p. 196 f.) the meaning ‘‘depth,” rather than “the North,” is suggested by the word; in |. 9 of this fragment the phrase Wu-dur pal-ka-ti, “the broad Hubur,” is employed in antithesis to Samie) ru-ku-u-ti, “the distant heavens,” precisely as in the following couplet 7i-amat sap-li-ti, ‘the Lower Ocean (Tiamat),” is opposed to Tt-amat e-li-t, “the Upper Ocean (Tiamat).” For a possible connection between the lower waters of Tiamat and Hubur, the River of the Underworld, see below, p. Ixxxiii, n. 2, and p. xcivf., n. 3.

* According to the poem, Tiamat is definitely stated to have created eleven kinds of monsters. The summary from Berossus bears only a general resemblance to the description of the monsters in the poem.

“(9106 “ony “spy “Wg) seueg uoNVaID eyI Jo IIqUL WMO] sy} Jo eT

‘AI Givid

and having cleft her in twain, from one half of her he

made the earth, and from the other the heavens,
while he overcame the creatures that were within her,
ie. the monsters of the deep.!
The actual account of the creation of the world by Thecreation of Marduk, as related in the Creation Series, begins hese me towards the end of the Fourth Tablet,? where the eas narrative closely agrees with the summary from Berossus. Marduk is there related to have split Tiamat into halves, and to have used one half of her as a covering for heaven. The text then goes on to state that he founded heaven, which is termed E-shara,

a mansion like unto the Deep in structure, and that he caused Anu, Bél, and Ea to inhabit their respective districts therein. The Fifth Tablet does not begin with the account of the creation of the earth, but records the fixing of the constellations of the Zodiac, the founding of the year, and Marduk's charge to the Moon-god and the Sun-god, to the former of whom he entrusted the night, his instructions relating to the phases of the Moon, and the relative positions of the Moon and the Sun during the month. The new fragments of the Fifth Tablet contain some interesting variants to this portion of the text,* but,

1 See below, p. livf., note 1. 2 Cf. Il. 135 ff.

5 For instance, the fragment K. 13,774 (see below, pp. 1go ff.) in |, 8, in place of ' He set the stations of Bél and Ea along with him," reads "' He set the stations of Bél and Anu along with him." According to the text Marduk appoints Nibir (Jupiter), Bél (the

D

with the exception of the last few lines of the text, they throw no light on what the missing portions of

The creation of the Tablet contained. In view, however, of the

the earth and
of vegetation,
The creation
of man.
statement of Berossus that from one half of Tiamat Bél formed the earth, we may conjecture that an account of the creation of the earth occurred upon some part of the Fifth Tablet. It is also probable that the Fifth Tablet recorded the creation of vegetation. That this formed the subject of some portion of the poem is certain from the opening lines of the Seventh Tablet, where Marduk is hailed as " Asari, ' Bestower of planting,' '{ Founder of sowing],' 'Creator of grain and plants,' ' who caused [the green herb to spring up]!'"; and the creation of plants and herbs would naturally follow that of the earth.

From the new fragment of the Sixth Tablet,
No. 92,629, we know that this portion of the poem
related the story of the creation of man. As at the
north pole of the equator), and Ea (probably a star in the extreme south of the heavens) as guides to the

stars, proving that they were already thus employed in astronomical calculations. In place of Ea, K. 13,774 substitutes Anu, who, as the pole star of the ecliptic, would be of equal, if not greater, importance in an astro- nomical sense. Another variant reading on K. 13,774 is the substitution of kakkaba-su, ‘his star,” in place of “ Mannar-ru, the Moon-god, in]. 12; the context is broken, but we cannot doubt that suk-nat mu-si, “a being of the night,” in 1. 13 refers to the Moon-god, and that Marduk entrusted the night to the Moon-god according to this version also. Further variants occur in |. 17f. in the days enumerated in the course of Marduk’s address to the Moon-god ; see below, p. 191 f.

PLATE V.

Part of the Fifth ‘l'ablet of the Creation Series (KK. 3,567 + K, 8,588).

THE NEW MATERIAL. LUT

beginning of his work of creation Marduk is said to The creation have “devised a cunning plan”?! while gazing upon oa the dead body of Tiamat, so now, before proceeding

to man’s creation, it is said that “his heart prompted

him and he devised [a cunning plan].”? In the repetition of this phrase we may see an indication of the importance which was ascribed to this portion

of the story, and it is probable that the creation of man was regarded as the culmination of Marduk’s creative work. It is interesting to note, however, that the creation of man is not related as a natural sequel to the formation of the rest of the universe,

but forms the solution of a difficulty with which Marduk has been met in the course of his work as Creator. To overcome this difficulty Marduk devised

the “cunning plan” already referred to; the context

of this passage is not very clear, but the reason for man’s creation may be gathered from certain indications in the text. :

We learn from the beginning of the Sixth Tablet The reason of that Marduk devised his cunning plan after he had™ “heard the word of the gods,” and from this it is clear that the Fifth Tablet ends with a speech of the gods. Now in Tablet VI, 1. 8, Marduk states that he will create man ‘that the service of the gods may be established”; in l. 9 f., however, he adds that

1 See Tabl. IV, 1. 136.
? See Tabl. VI, Ll. 2.
LIV INTRODUCTION.

The ressonot he will change the ways of the gods, and he appears to threaten them with punishment. It

may be con- jectured, therefore, that after Marduk had completed the creation of the world, the gods came to him and complained that there were no shrines built in their honour, nor was there anyone to worship them. To supply this need Marduk formed the device of creating man, but at the same time he appears to have decided to vent his wrath upon the gods because of their discontent. It is possible, however, that Ea dissuaded Marduk from punishing the gods, though he no doubt assisted him in carrying out the first part of his proposal.

Pie seconnt Tn Il. 5 ff. of the Sixth Tablet Marduk indicates the

man'screation means he will employ for forming man, and _ this portion of the text corroborates in a remarkable manner the account given by Berossus of the method employed by Bél for man’s creation. The text of the summary from Berossus, in the form in which it has come down to us,’ is not quite satisfactory, as the

1 See below, p. Iviii.

? After the description of the monsters of the deep referred to above (see p. xlv), the summary from Berossus records the creation by Bél of the earth, and the heavens, and mankind, and animals, as follows:—Odrws 6€ tdy Chwy cvveoryKotwy, eravedOovTa Bjdov oxioat THY Yyovaica peony, Kal 7o pév Fuso adrhs Tojoue yiv, To bE ado Hyucv odpavoy, kai 7a év airy faa adavioar, dddrAnyopixs b€ Pyar robt0 medvawwdoyhabu bypod yap bv70s Tob mavros Kai Cuwy ev abt yeyevrynpéver, todt0v Tov Ocby dpedeiv Tv éavt0d Kehadyy, Kai To puey alua rods dddovs Ocovs Pupaou 7H yi, Kai diawAdou rods dvOpwrovs* 810 vocpods te elvar Kat Ppovpcews Oeius petéxew. Tov dé Bidov, ov

course of the narrative is confused. The confusion Confusion in is apparent in the repetition of the description of man’s creation and in the interruption of the naturalistic explanation of the slaying of Omorka. An ingenious but simple emendation of the text, however, was suggested by von Gutschmidt which removes both these difficulties. The passage which interrupts the naturalistic explanation, and apparently describes a first creation of man, he regarded as having been transposed; but if it is placed at the end of the extract it falls naturally into place as a summary by Eusebius of the preceding account of man’s creation which is said by Alexander Polyhistor to have been given by Berossus in the First Book of his History.'. By adopting this emendation we obtain

Ada peOeppnvedouar, pecov tepdvra TO oKdTOS Xwplout yy Kal odpavor dx? GMdpwr, Kai SatdEar tov xécpov. Ta b¢ Coa ode eveyedvra my 708 Qwros Sdvamw POapivar, iSdvra 6 tov BHdov xwpav epynpov Kai kapropspov Keredoar evi rdv Octiv ty Kepadjv dhedovTe avr0d Tp droppvevr aiuate. pupacat ry yiv wat diarddoat avOpwrovs Kai Onpia ra Suvdpeva tov dépa hépew. “Arorehécar dé tov Bijdov kai dotpa Kai Bow Kal ceMjvyv Kal rods wévte Thav}ras. Taira Gyow 6 rodvicrwp *ANeEavdpos ‘tov Bypwoody év 1H tpuity paoxew.—Luseb. chron. lid. pri., ed. ScHoene, col. 16f. For the probable transposition of the passage which occurs in the text after yeyevyyuevwv, see the following note.

' The t#ansposition of the passage suggested by von Gutschmidt necessitates only one emendation of the

text, viz. the reading of rot&vde in place of tov 6c before BjAov. The context of this passage would then read iypod yap dvt0s to wavtos Kat Cwwy ev adrp yeyeveypever roudvdc, Bidov, bv Aca weOeppyvedtovot, pécov Temovta 70 oxoTos xwploa yfv cal otpavay dx addpwr, cai deatdkuc tov

The employ-
ment of
Marduk's
blood for
man's creation,

a clear and consecutive account of how Bél, after the creation of heaven and earth, perceived that the land was desolate ; and how he ordered one of the gods to cut Off his (i.e. Bél's) head, and, by mixing the blood which flowed forth with earth, to create men and animals.

This passage from Berossus has given rise to con- siderable discussion, and more than one scholar has attempted to explain away the beheading of Bél, the Creator, that man might be formed from his blood. Gunkel has suggested that in the original legend the blood of Tiamat was used for this purpose ;' Stucken,® followed by Cheyne,* has emended the text so that it may suggest that the head of Tiamat, and not that of Bél, was cut off; while Zimmern would take the original meaning of the passage to be that the god

xoopov; and the summary by Eusebius, at the end of the extract, would read Tadra gyow 6 rodvictwp "AdéEavépos tov Bypwoooy ev ri mpwry Pdoxew rodrov tov Beov dhedety rv éavtod Kepadijv, Kal 10 puey aina rods dddrovs Ocods hupaca 7) Ys kat Svamdoat rods dvOpwrous' 615 voepods re elvac Kai Ppovycews Peias petéxery ; cf. Schoene, of. ci#., col. 16 f., note 9. The emendation has been accepted by Budde, Die Biblische Urgeschichte, p. 477 §., by Jensen, Kosmologie, p. 292, and by Gunkel and Zimmern, Schipfung und Chaos, p. 19 f.

Cf. Schipfung und Chaos, p. 20 f.

* For éav7od in both passages Stucken would read adie; cf. Astralmythen der Hebraeer, Babylonier und Aegypler, i, p. 55-

% Cheyne, who adopts Stucken's suggestion, remarks: " It "stands to reason that the severed head spoken of in connection "with the creation of man must be Tidmat's, not that of the "Creator"; cf. Encyclopedia Biblica, i, col. 947, note.

beheaded was not Bél, but the other deity whom he The employ- addressed! In 1. 5 of the Sixth Tablet, however, Maral' Marduk states that he will use his own blood for mar'screation. creating man ;? the text of this passage from Berossus

is thus shown to be correct, and it follows that the

account which he gave of the Babylonian beliefs concerning man's creation does not require to be emended or explained away.

1 In the Zeits. fur Assyr., xiv, p. 282, Zimmern remarks: " Somit " darf man wol doch nicht... . annehmen, dass urspriinglich " das Blut der Tiamat gemeint sei, allerdings auch nicht das Blut " des Schdpfergottes selbst, sondern das irgend eines Gottes..., "der zu diesem Zwecke geschlachtet wird." In making this suggestion Zimmern was influenced by the episode related in col. iii of the fragmentary and badly presérved legend Bu. 91-5-9, 269 (cf. Cuneiform Texts, pt. vi, and Mythen, p. 275, note), which he pointed out contained a speech by a deity in which he gives orders for another god to be slain that apparently a man may be formed from his blood mixed with clay (cf. Z.A., xiv, p. 281). The episode, however, has no connection with the first creation of man, but probably relates to the creation of a man or hero to perform some special exploit, in the same way as Uddushu-namir was created by Ea for the rescue of Ishtar from the Underworld, and as Ea-bani was created by the goddess Aruru in the First Tablet of the Gilgamesh-epic (cf. also Jensen's remarks in his Mythen und Epen, p. 275 f.). 1 learn from Professor Zimmern and Professor Bezold that it was the tablet Bu. 91-5-9, 269, and not an actual fragment of the Creation Series, to which Professor Zimmern refers on p. 14 of his Brblische und babylonische Urgeschichte. Although, as already stated, this fragment is not, strictly speaking, part of a creation-legend, it illustrates the fact that the use of the blood of a god for the creation of man was fully in accordance with Babylonian beliefs.

? See below, p. 86 f., n. 7.

Ea's share in man's creation, The method of

man's creation,

Jensen has already suggested! that the god whom Bél addressed was Ea, and the new fragment of. the Sixth Tablet proves that this suggestion is correct. In the Sixth Tablet Marduk recounts to Ea his intention of forming man, and tells him the means he will employ. We may therefore conclude that it was Ea who beheaded Marduk at his request, and, according to his instructions, formed mankind from his blood. Ea may thus have performed the actual work of making man, but he acted under Marduk's directions, and it is clear from Tablet VII, Il. 29

and 32, that Marduk, and not Ea, was regarded as
man's Creator.
According to Berossus, man was formed from the blood of Bél mixed with earth. The new fragment of the Sixth Tablet does not mention the mixing of the blood with earth, but it is quite possible that this detail was recounted in the subsequent narrative. On the other hand, in the Babylonian poem Marduk declares that, in addition to using his own blood, he will create bone for forming man. Berossus makes no mention of bone, but it is interesting to note that isstmtu, the Assyrian word here‘ used for " bone,"? is doubtless the equivalent of the Hebrew word ‘esezz,

1 See Kosmologie, p. 293.

? The word is here met with for the first time, the reading of
GIR-PAD-DU(var. DA), the ideogram for " bone," not having ‘been
known previously.

"bone," which occurs at the end of the narrative of
the‘creation of woman in Gen. ii, 23.
The blood of Bél, according to Berossus, was The creation employed not only in man's creation but in that of oe animals also, and it is possible that this represents the form of the legend as it was preserved upon the Sixth Tablet. Though, in that case, the creation of animals would follow that of man, the opening lines of the Sixth Tablet prove that man's creation was regarded as the culmination of Marduk's creative work. The "cunning plan," which Marduk devised in order to furnish worshippers for the gods, concerned the creation of man, and if that of animals followed it must have been recorded as a subsidiary and less important act.1. In this connection it may be noted that the expression 7a Svvapeva Tov dépa pépev, which Berossus applies to the men and animals created from the blood of Bél, was probably not based on any description or episode in the Creation story as

1 On p. 200 it is remarked that, until more of the text of the Fifth and Sixth Tablets is recovered, it would be rash to assert that the fragment K. 3,445 +R. 396 (cf. Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 24 f.) cannot belong to the Creation Series. The phrase #-kun kakkada (Obv., l. 35) might perhaps refer to the head of Tiamat (cf. ru-pu- uk-tu Sa Ti-a{mat], inl. 29), which would not be inconsistent with the fragment forming part of the Fifth Tablet as suggested on p. 198. Ifthe fragment were part of the Sixth Tablet, the kafkadu in l. 35 might possibly be Marduk's head (compare also ¢k-sur-ma in |. 31 with Zv-uwk-sur in Tabl. VI, 1. 5). In view, however, of the inconsistencies noted on p. 199 f., it is preferable to exclude the fragment at present from the Creation Series.

_recorded on the Seven Tablets, but was suggested by

The supposed
instructions to
man after his
creation,

The final scene
in the Creation
story.

the naturalistic interpretation of the legend furnished
by Berossus himself.
With reference to the creation of man, it was suggested by George Smith that the tablet K. 3,364 was a fragment of the Creation Series, and contained the instructions given to man after his creation by Marduk. This view has been provisionally adopted by other translators of the poem, but in Appendix II? I have shown by means of a duplicate, No. 33,851, that the suggestion must be given up. Apart from other reasons there enumerated, it may be stated that there would be no room upon the Sixth Tablet of the Creation Series for such a long series of moral precepts as is inscribed upon the tablets K. 3,364 and No. 33,851. It may be that Marduk, after creating man, gave him some instructions with regard to the worship of the gods and the building of shrines in their honour, but the greater part of the text must have been taken up with other matter.

The concluding lines of the Sixth Tablet are partly preserved, and they afford us a glimpse of the final scene in the Creation story. As the gods had previously been summoned to a solemn assembly that they might confer power upon Marduk before he set out to do battle on their behalf, so now, when he had vanquished Tiamat and had finished his work of

1 See pp. 20: ff.

PLATE VI.

ear
eas
OAS hind
Gavan
Part of the Seventh Tablet of the Creation Series (Brit. Mus., No. 91,139+93,073).

creation, they again gathered together in Upshukki- The finat scene naku, their council-chamber, and proceeded to magnify none Creation him by every title of honour. We thus obtain the

context or setting of the Seventh, and last, Tablet of

the Creation Series, the greater part of which consists

of the hymn of praise addressed by the gods to

Marduk as the conqueror of Tiamat and the Creator

of the world.

The hymn of the gods takes up lines 1-124 of the The Seventh Seventh Tablet, and consists of a series of addresses in Creation" which Marduk is hailed by them under fifty titles of e honour. The titles are Sumerian, not Semitic, and each is followed by one or more Assyrian phrases descriptive of Marduk, which either explain the title or are suggested by it. Of the fifty titles which the hymn contained, the following list of eleven occur in the first forty-seven lines of the text :—

Asari: ™ Asar-ri, Tabl. VII, Lr; p. 92 f. The Fifty Titles

Asaru-alim : " Asaru-alim, Tabl. VII, 1.3; p.92f.

Asaru-alim-nuna : " Asaru-alim-nun-na, Tabl. VII,
15; p.o2f.
Tutu: " Zw-¢u, Tabl. VII, 1.9; p. 92f.

Zi-ukkina : Z7-ukkin-na, var." Zi-ukkin, Tabl. VI,
115; p.o4f.
Zi-azag: "Zt-azag, Tabl. VII, 1.19; p. 96f.;. var.
™ Na-at-azag-g|a|, p. 161. ;
Aga-azag : ™ Aga-azag, Tabl. VII, 1. 25; p. 96f.

Mu-azag : ™ Mu(ie. ka+11)-azag, Tabl. VII, |. 33;

ie

var. ™ Mu/(i.e. Sar)-azag, p. 173.

'TheFifty Titles Shag-zu : ™ Sag-2it, Tabl. VII, 1.35; p.98f.

Zi-si: ™ Zi-sz, Tabl. VH, 1.41; p. roof.

Sub-kur: " Sus-kur, Tabl. VII, 1. 43; p. roof.

In the gap in the text of the Seventh Tablet,
between ll. 47 and 105, occur thé following ten titles
of Marduk, which are taken from the fragments
K. 13,761 and K. 8,519 (and its duplicate K. 13,337),
and from the commentary K. 4,406 :—
Agi]... .]: "A-gi[t? . . . . J, Tabl. VII

(K. 13,761); p. ro2f.; var." G2[ ], p. 163.

Zulummu : "Zu-lum-nu, Tabl. VIL (K. 133761) ;

p. 102f.
Mummu : “ Ma-wm-mu, Tabl. VIL (K. 13,761) ;
p. 102 f.
Mulil: “Afw-d2, Tabl. VII (K. 13,761); p. rozf.
Gishkul : Gzs-kud, Tabl. VII (K. 13,761) ; p. 102 f.
Lugal-abl ... .]: ™“ZLugal-ab-[....], Tabl. VIL
(K. 13,761); p. 102 f.
Pap[.... J]: “Papf.... |, Tabl. VII
(K. 13,761); p. 102 f.
Lugal - durmah : “Lugal-dur- mah, Tabl. VII
(K. 8,519), and K. 4,406, Rev., col. ii, 1. 8;
pp. 104f., 165.
Adu-nuna : “A-du-nun-na, Tabl. VII (K. 8,519) and K. 4,406, Rev., col. ii, lL. 23; pp. 104 f, 166.

Lugal-dul(or du)-azaga: “ Lugal-dul-azag-ga, Tabl.
VII (K. 8,519); p. 106f.
THE NEW MATERIAL. LXV

Four other titles, occurring in the concluding portion The FiftyTitles
f
of the text of the Seventh Tablet, are :—
Nibiru : “W72-d¢-ru, var. [\Ne-di-rz7, Tabl. VU,
1. 109; p. 108 f.
Bél-matati : de-ef matati, var. ™ Bel matati, Tabl.
VII, 1 116, p. r1of.; cf also En kur-KUR
(i.e. 682 matatc), p. 168.
Ea: ™£-a, Tabl. VII, 1. 120; p. riof.
Yansha: Hansa**”, var. Ha-an-sa-a, Tabl. VII,
1,123, p. 110f.; cf. also ™ Hansa, p. 178.
From the above lists it will be seen that the recovered portions of the text of the Seventh’ Tablet furnish twenty-five out of the fifty names of Marduk. From the list of the titles of Marduk preserved on K. 2,107 + K. 6,086,! and from No. 54,228, a parallel text to the Seventh Tablet,’ seven other names may be obtained, which were probably among those occurring in the missing portion of the text ; these are :—

Lugal-en-ankia : ™ Lugal-en-an-ki-a, K. 2,107, col. ii,

L.19; p. 173.

Gugu : ™ Gu-gu, K. 2,107, col. ii, 1. 22; p. 173.

Mumu: “™ Mu-mu, K. 2,107, col. ii, 1. 23; p. 173.

Dutu: “ Du-tu, K. 2,107, col. ii, 1. 24; p. 173.

) See pp. 171 ff.
2 See pp. 175 ff
The Fifty Titles
of Marduk,
‘The epilogue
to the Creation
Series,
The composite
nature of the
CreationSeries,
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Dudu: ™ Du-du,. K. 2,107, col. ii, 1. 25; p. 173.

Shag-gar (?): Sag-gar, No. 54,228, Obv.,l. 13; p. 177.

En-bilulu : “ Eu-dc-lu-lu, No. 54,228, Obv., 1. 14;

p. 178.7

By these titles of honour the gods are represented as conferring supreme power upon Marduk, and the climax is reached in ll. 116 ff. of the Seventh Tablet, when the elder Bél and Ea, Marduk’s father, confer their own names and power upon him. Marduk’s name of Hansha, “ Fifty,” by which he is finally addressed, in itself sums up and symbolizes his fifty titles. At the conclusion of these addresses there follows an epilogue ® of eighteen lines, in which the study of the poem is commended to mankind, and prosperity is promised to those that rejoice in Marduk and keep his works in remembrance.

The story of the Creation, in the form in which it has come down to us upon tablets of the seventh and later centuries before Christ, is of a distinctly

* In view of the fact that the Semitic name Bé-md/aii occurs as one of Marduk’s titles, it is not impossible that the title Bé/-dani, which is applied to him in the Epilogue to the Seventh Tablet (1. 129, see p. 112), also occurred as one of his fifty titles in the body of the text. It is unlikely that the name Marduk itself was included as one of the fifty titles, and in support of this view it may be noted that the colophon to the commentary R. 366, etc. (see p. 169), makes mention of “fifty-one names” of Marduk, which may be most easily explained by supposing that the scribe reckoned in the name Marduk as an additional title.

* See below, p. 169.

COMPOSITION OF THE POEM. LXVII

composite character, and bears traces of a long pro-

cess of editing and modification at the hands of the Babylonian priests. Five principal strands may be

traced which have been combined to form the poem ;

these may be described as (1) The Birth of the gods; Component (2) The Legend of Ea and Apsu ; (3) The Dragon- Creation Myth; (4) The actual account of Creation ; and (5)

The Hymn to Marduk under his fifty titles. Since

the poem in its present form is a glorification _ of Marduk as the champion of the gods and the Creator

of the world, it is natural that more prominence should

be given to episodes in which Marduk is the hero

than is assigned to other portions of the narrative in

which he plays no part. Thus the description of Tiamat and her monster-brood, whom Marduk conquered, is repeated no less than four times,' and the preparations of Marduk for battle and his actual fight

with the dragon take up the greater part of the Fourth

Tablet. On the other hand, the birth of the older

gods, among whom Marduk does not figure, is con-

fined to the first twenty-one lines of the First Tablet ;

and not more than twenty lines are given to the piementsin account of the subjugation of Apsi by Ea. That unednnectea these elements should have been incorporated at all es in the Babylonian version of the Creation story may

be explained by the fact that they serve to enhance

the position of prominence subsequently attained by

1 See above, p. xlif.

The
Dragon-Myth.

Marduk. Thus the description of the birth of the older gods and of the opposition they excited among the forces of disorder, was necessarily included in order to make it clear how Marduk was appointed their champion; and the account of Ea's success

against Apsii served to accentuate the terrible nature of Tiamat, whom he was unable to withstand. From the latter half of the Second Tablet onwards, Marduk alone is the hero of the poem.

The central episode of the poem is the fight between Marduk and Tiamat, and there is evidence to prove that this legend existed in other forms than that under which it occurs in the Creation Series. The conquest of the dragon was ascribed by the Babylonian priests to their local god, and in the poem the death of Tiamat is made a necessary preliminary to the creation of the world. On a fragment of a tablet from Ashur-bani-pal's library we possess, however, part of a copy of a legend' which describes the conquest of a dragon by some deity other than Marduk.? Moreover, the fight is there described as taking place, not before creation, but at a time when men existed and cities had been built. In this version

» See below, pp. 116 ff. |

2 Jensen makes Bél the slayer of the dragon in this legend (cf. Mythen und Epen, p. 46), from which it might be argued that Marduk is the hero in both versions of the story. But Jensen's identification of the deity as Bél was due to a mistake of Delitzsch, who published an inaccurate copy of the traces of the deity's name upon the tablet; see below, p. 120, n. I.

men and gods are described as equally terrified at the dragon's appearance, and it was to deliver the land from the monster that one of the gods went out and slew him. This fragmentary tablet serves to prove that the Dragon-Myth existed in more than one form in Babylonian mythology, and it is not improbable that: many of the great cities of Babylonia possessed local versions of the legend in each of which the city-god figured as the hero.'

In the Creation Series the creation of the world variant is narrated as the result of Marduk's conquest of Cou the dragon, and there is no doubt that this version of the story represents the belief most generally held during the reigns of the later Assyrian and Babylonian kings. We possess, however, fragments of other legends in which the creation of the world is not connected with the death of a dragon. In one of these, which is written both in Sumerian and Babylonian,' the great Babylonian cities and temples are described' as coming into existence in consequence of a movement in the waters which alone existed before the creation of the world. Marduk in this

} The so-called ''Cuthaean Legend of the Creation" (cf. pp. 140 ff.) was at one time believed to represent another local version of the Creation story, in which Nergal, the god of Cuthah, was supposed to take the place of Marduk. But it has been. pointed out by Zimmern that the legend concerns the deeds of an Old-Babylonian king of Cuthah, and is not a Creation legend; see below, p. 140 f., note 1.

' # See below, pp. 130 ff.

Variant accounts of the Creation.

version also figures as the Creator, for, together with the goddess Aruru,! he created man by laying a reed upon the face of the waters and forming dust which he poured out beside it; according to this version also he is described as creating animals and vegetation. In other legends which have come down to us, not only is the story of Creation unconnected with the Dragon-Myth, but Marduk does not figure as the Creator. In one of these “the gods” generally are referred to as having created the heavens and the earth and the cattle and beasts of the field;? while in another the creation of the Moon and the Sun is ascribed to Anu, Bel, and Ea.’

From the variant accounts of the story of Creation and of the Dragon-Myth, which are referred to in the preceding paragraphs, it will be clear that the priests of Babylon made use of independent legends in the composition of their great poem of Creation’; by

* Elsewhere this goddess figures in the réle of creatress, for from the First Tablet of the Gilgamesh-epic, col. ii, Il. 30 ff., we learn that she was credited with the creation of both Gilgamesh and Ea-bani. Her method of creating Ea-bani bears some resemblance to that employed in the creation of man according to the Sumerian and Babylonian version above referred to; she first washed her hands, and then, breaking off a piece of clay, she cast it upon the ground and thus created Ea-bani (cf. Jensen, Mythen und Epen, p. 120 f.).

? See below, p. 122 f.

5 See below, pp. 124 ff.

‘In addition to the five principal strands which have been described above as forming the framework of the Creation Series,

assigning to Marduk the conquest of the Dragon' and

the creation of the world they justified his claim to the

chief place among the gods. As a fit ending to the

great poem they incorporated the hymn to Marduk, consisting of addresses to him under his fifty titles. The hymn to This portion of the poem? is proved by the Assyrian MMs iy tiles commentary, R. 366, etc.,* as well as by fragments of parallel, but not duplicate, texts* to have béen an independent composition which had at one time no connection with the series Exuma elif. In the poem

the hymn is placed in the mouth of the gods, who

at the end of the Creation have assembled together

in Upshukkinaku ; and to it is added the epilogue of eighteen lines, which completes the Seventh Tablet of

the series.

it is possible to find traces of other less important traditions which have been woven into the structure of the poem. Thus the association of the god Kingu with Tiamat is probably due to the incorporation of a separate legend with the Dragon-Myth.

It may be here noted that the poem contains no direct description of Tiamat, and it has been suggested that in it she was conceived, not asa dragon, but as a woman. The evidence from sculpture and from cylinder-seals, however, may be cited against this suggestion, as well as several phrases in the poem itself (cf. e.g., Tabl. LV, ll. 97 ff). It is true that in one of the new fragments of the poem Tiamat is referred to as sinmisatu, ie. “woman” or “ female” (cf. Tabl. II, 1. 122), but the context of this passage proves that the phrase is employed with reference to her sex and not to her form.

? Tabl. VII, ll. 1-124.

* See below, p. 169.

4 See below, pp. 175 ff.

“‘LXXH INTRODUCTION.

The date of In discussing the question as to the date of the the Creation io Li oe : legends. Creation legends, it is necessary to distinguish clearly

between the date at which the legends assumed the form in which they have come down to us upon the Seven Tablets of the series Euuma els, and the date which may be assigned to the legends them- selves before they were incorporated in the poem. Of the actual tablets inscribed with portions of the text of the Creation Series we possess none which dates from an earlier period than the seventh century B.c. The tablets of this date were made for the library of Ashur-bani-pal at Nineveh, but it is . obvious that the poem was not composed in Assyria at this time. The legends in the form in which we possess them are not intended to glorify Ashur, the national god of Assyria, but Marduk, the god of Babylon, and it is clear that the scribes of Ashur- bani-pal merely made copies for their master of older tablets of Babylonian origin. To what earlier date we may assign the actual composition of the poem and its arrangement upon the Seven Tablets, is still a matter for conjecture; but it is possible to offer a conjecture, with some degree of probability, after an examination of the various indirect sources of evidence we possess with regard to the age of Babylonian legends in general, and of the Creation legends in particular. Internal With regard to the internal evidence of date fur-

evidence of

date, nished by the Creation legends themselves, we may

note that the variant forms of the Dragon-Myth and of the account of the Creation, to which reference has already been made, presuppose many centuries of tradition during which the legends, though derived probably from common originals, were handed down independently of one another. During this period we may suppose that the same story was related in different cities in different ways, and that in course of time variations crept in, with the result that two or more forms of the same story were developed along different lines. The process must have been gradual, and the considerable differences which can be traced in the resultant forms of the same legend may be cited as evidence in favour of assigning an early date to the original tradition from which they were derived.

Evidence as to the existence of the Creation legends pyigence from at least as early as the ninth century p.c. may be fopUiant deduced from the representations of the fight between ™* Marduk and the dragon Tiamat, which was found sculptured upon two limestone slabs in the temple of Ninib at Nimriid.1. The temple was built by Ashur- nasir-pal, who reigned from B.c. 884 to B.c, 860, and across the actual sculpture was inscribed the text of a dedication to Ninib by this king. The slab there- fore furnishes direct proof of the existence of the legend more than two hundred years before the

‘The slabs are preserved in the British Museum, Nimroud Gallery, Nos. 28 and 29.

formation of Ashur-bani-pal’s library. Moreover, the fight between Marduk and Tiamat is frequently found engraved upon cylinder-seals, and, although the majority of such seals probably date from the later Assyrian and Persian periods, the varied treatment of the scene which they present points to the existence of variant forms of the legend, and so indirectly furnishes evidence of the early origin of the legend itself.

From an examination of the Babylonian historical inscriptions which record the setting up of statues and the making of temple furniture, we are enabled to trace back the existence of the Creation legends to still earlier periods. For instance, in a text of Agum,' a Babylonian king who reigned not later than the seventeenth century B.c., we find descriptions of the figures of a dragon? and of other monsters * which he set up in the temple E-sagil at Babylon; and in this passage we may trace an unmistakable reference to the legend of Tiamat and her monster - brood. Agum also set up in the temple beside the dragon a great basin, or laver, termed in the inscription a tamtu, or “sea.”* From the name of the laver, and from its position beside the figure of the dragon,

» An Assyrian copy of this inscription, which was made for the library of Ashur-bani-pal, is preserved in the British Museum, and is numbered K. 4,149; the text is published in VR, pl. 33.

? Cf. col. iti, I. 13.

3 Cf. col. iv, ll. 50 ff.

* Cf. col. iii, 1. 33.

we may conclude that it was symbolical of the abyss Evidence from of water personified in the Creation legends by Tiamat eo, and Apsi. Moreover, in historical inscriptions of still earlier periods we find allusions to similar vessels termed afsé, i.e, “deeps” or “oceans,”! the presence of which in the temples is probably to be traced to the existence of the same traditions.

The three classes of evidence briefly summarized above tend to show that the most important elements in the Creation legends were not of late origin, but must be traced back in some form or other to remote periods, and may well date from the first half of the third millennium z.c., or even earlier. It remains to consider to what date we may assign the actual weaving together of these legends into the poem termed by the Babylonians and Assyrians Enuma elis. Although, as has already been remarked, we do not gyidence from possess any early copies of the text of the Creation ste

+ sos . 7 legends :—
Series, this is not the case with other Babylonian
legends. Among the tablets found at Tell el-Amarna,
which date from the fifteenth century z.c., were frag-
ments of copies of two Babylonian legends, the one (,) copies of
containing the story of Nergal and Ereshkigal,? and 52453"

1 Such “deeps” were set up by Bur-Sin, King of Ur about B.C. 2500 (cf. IR, pl. 3, No. xii, 1), and by Ur-Nina, a still earlier king of Shirpurla (cf. De Sarzec, Découvertes en Chaldeée, pl. ii, No. 1, col. iii, 1. 5 f.).

? Two separate fragments of this legend were found, of which one is in the British Museum and the other, made up of four

(2) Copies of
legends about
B.C, 2100,

the other inscribed with a part of the legend of Adapa and the South Wind.’ Both these compositions, in style and general arrangement, closely resemble the legends known from late Assyrian copies, while of the legend of Adapa an actual fragment, though not a duplicate, exists in the library of Ashur-bani-pal.? Fragments of legends have also been recently found in Babylonia which date from the end of the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon, about 3.c. 2100, and the resemblance which these documents bear to certain legends previously known from Assyrian copies only is not only of a general nature, but extends even to identity of language. Thus one of the recovered fragments is in part a duplicate of the so-called “Cuthaean Legend of Creation” ;* two others contain phrases found upon the legend of Ea and Atar-hasis, while upon one of them are traces of a new version

smaller fragments, is in Berlin, Their texts are published by Budge and Bezold, Zhe Tell el-Amarna Tablets, p. 140 f. and pl. 17 (Bu. 88-10-13, 69), and by Winckler and Abel, Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna, p. 164 f. (Nos. 234, 236, 237, and 239); cf. also Knudtzon, Bettriige sur Assyr., iv, pp. 130 ff. For a translation of the fragments, see Jensen, Mythen und Epen, pp. 74 ff.

\-' For the text, see Winckler and Abel, of. czz., p. 166 @ and 4,

and cf. Knudtzon, #.A., iv, pp. 128 ff. For translations, see E. T. Harper, 2.A., ii, pp. 420 ff., Zimmern in Gunkel's Schépfung und Chaos, pp. 420 ff., and Jensen, Mythen und Epen, pp. 94 ff.

? K. 8,214, published by Strong, P.S.B.A., xvi, p. 274f.; see Jensen, ALythen und Epen, pp. 98 ff.

3 See below, p. 146f., n. 4.

DATE OF CREATION LEGENDS. LXXVII

of the Deluge-story.' Still more recently the Trustees of the British Museum have acquired three fragments _ of Babylonian legends inscribed upon tablets which date from a still earlier period, i.e. from the period of the kings of the Second Dynasty of Ur, before B.c. 2200 ;?

* The old Babylonian fragment Bu. 91-5-9, 269 (cf. Cun. Texts, vi, and see above, p. lvii; n. 1), and the Deluge-fragment of the reign of Ammizaduga (published by Scheil, Receueil de travaux, xx, pp. 55 ff.) both contain phrases found upon the legend of Atar- hasis, K. 3,399; cf. Zimmern, Zedts. fir Assyr., xiv, p. 278 f. The text of K. 3,399, which has not hitherto been published, is included as plate 49 in part xv of Cuneiform Texts ; for trans- lations, see Zimmern, of. cit., pp. 287 ff., and Jensen, Mythen, Pp. 274 ff.

* The tablets are numbered 87,535, 93,828, and 87,521, and they are published in Cuneiform Texts, pt. xv (1902), plates 1-6. The opening addresses, especially that upon No. 87,535, are of con- siderable interest ; in this tablet the poet states that he will sing the song of Mama, the Lady of the gods, which he declares to be better than honey and wine, etc. (col. i, (1) [z]a-ma-ar ™ Bi-li- tt-tli a-za-ma-ar (2) tb-ru us-si-ra hu-ra-du $i-me-a (3) ** Ma-ma za-ma-ra-Sa-ma e-li di-ik-pi-i-im u ka-ra-nim ta-bu (4) fa-bu-u eli di-t8-pi u ka-ra-ni-i-im, etc.). The goddess Mama is clearly to be identified with Mami, who also bore the title Bz/it-d7 (cf. Jensen, Mythen, p. 286 f., n. 11); and with the description of her offspring in col. i, I. 8 ff. (% Ma-ma i§-t1-na-am u-li-td-ma ... . " Ma-ma Si-e-na u-li-id-ma .. . . ™ Ma-ma Sa-la-ti u-l[7}-1[d-ma}) we may compare Mami's creation of seven men and seven women in the legend of Atar-hasis (cf. Jensen, of. c7#., p. 286f.). The legend No. 93,828 also concerns a goddess referred to as Belit-ili, whom Bél summons into his presence (cf. col. i, ll. ro ff.). The texts are written syllabically almost throughout, and simple syllables preponderate ; and it is interesting to note that the ending # with the force of a preposition, which occurs in the Creation legends, is here also employed, cf. No. 87,521, col. iii, 1. 4, mu-ut-ti1 um-mi-Su, and possibly col. vi, 1. 3, gi-ir-bi-7 The texts are

(3) Copies of
legends before
B,C, 2200,

Copies of
legends before
B,C, 2200,
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and to the same period is to be assigned the fragment of a legend which was published a few weeks ago by Dr. Meissner,' and probably also the new fragment of the Etana-myth, published last year by Father Scheil.? These five fragments are of peculiar interest, for they show that early Semitic, as opposed to Sumerian, legends were in existence, and were carefully pre- served and studied in other cities of Mesopotamia

carefully written (it may be noted that a a,has been omitted by the scribe in No. 93,828, col. i, 1. 7), the lines vary considerably in length, and the metre is not indicated by the arrangement of the text. Though fragmentary the episodes described or referred to in the texts are of considerable interest, perhaps the most striking being the reference to the birth of Ishum in col. viii of No. 87,521, and the damming of the Tigris with which the text of No. 87,535 concludes. I intend elsewhere to publish translations of the fragments.

1 Hin alibabylonisches Fragment des Gilgamosepos, in the Mittedlungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, 1902, 1. The fragment here published refers to episodes in the Gilgamesh-epic, the name of Gilgamesh being written or8, ie. " Gré-ru-BAR. From the photographic reproductions published by Dr. Meissner, it is clear that the Gilgamesh fragment, in the nature of the clay employed, and in the archaic forms of the characters, resembles the three fragments in the British Museum. Unlike them, however, the lines of its text do not appear to be separated by horizontal lines ruled upon the clay.

? Father Scheil has published the text in late Assyrian characters in the Recueil de travaux, xxiii, pp. 18 ff., and he does not give a photograph of the tablet. From his description ("C'était une "belle grande tablette de terre cuite, avec, par face, trois ou quatre "colonnes . .°. L'écriture en est archaique et, sans aucun doute "possible, antérieure 4 Hammurabi'), we may conclude that it dates from the same period as the three tablets in the British Museum described above.

DATE OF CREATION LEGENDS. LXXIX

than Babylon, and at a period before the rise of that
city to a position of importance under the kings of
the First Dynasty.
The evidence furnished by these recently discovered tablets with regard to the date of Babylonian legends in general may be applied to the date of the Creation

legends. While the origin of much of the Creation sumerian . lust origin of much legends may be traced to Sumerian sources,' it is of the Creation

clear that the Semitic inhabitants of Mesopotamia at ree a very early period produced their own versions of the compositions which they borrowed, modifying and augmenting them to suit their own legends and beliefs. The connection of Marduk with the Dragon-Myth, and. with the stories of the creation of the

world and

See above, p. lxxv. Cf. also the Sumerian influence exhibited by the names of the older pairs of deities Lahmu and Lahamu, Anshar and Kishar, as well as in the names of Kingu, Gaga, etc.; while the ending 2%, employed as it constantly is in the Creation Series with the force of a preposition, may probably be traced to the Sumerian ku, later fu, @ (cf. Jensen, Kosmologie, p. 266). The Assyrian commentaries to the Seventh Tablet, moreover, prove the éxistence of a Sumerian version of this composition, and as the hymn refers to incidents in the Creation legends, the Sumerian origin of these, too, is implied. The Sumerian version of the story of the Creation by Marduk and Aruru (see below, pp. 130 ff.) cannot with certainty be cited as evidence of its Sumerian origin, as from internal evidence it may well be a later and artificial composition on Sumerian lines. That we may expect, however, one day to find the original Sumerian versions of the Creation legends is not unreasonable ; with respect to the recovery of the ancient religious literature of the Sumerians, the remarkable series of early Sumerian religious texts published in Cun. Texts, pt. xv, plates 7-30, may be regarded as an earnest of what we may look for in the future.

man, may with considerable probability be assigned to Probable date the subsequent period during which Babylon gradually of the . ele . . . . association of attained to the position of the principal city in Meso-

Marduk with Aas tos Z f
the Creation potamia, On tablets inscribed during the reigns of
legends, 3 =
kings of the First Dynasty we may therefore expect
to find copies of the Creation legends corresponding
closely with the text of the series Exuma elis. It is
possible that the division of the poem into seven
sections, inscribed upon separate tablets, took place
Probable date at a later period; but, be this as it may, we may
of the

composition of conclude with a considerable degree of confidence that

pom | ‘ 7

Enuma di the bulk of the poem, as we know it from late Assyrian
and Neo-Babylonian copies, was composed at a period
not later than B.c, 2000.

The political influence which the Babylonians exerted over neighbouring nations during long periods of their history was considerable, and it is not sur- prising that their beliefs concerning the origin of the universe should have been partially adopted by the

Influence ofthe races with whom they came in contact. That Baby-
Babylonian . : os
Creation lonian elements may be traced in the Phoenician

legends. : :
cosmogony has long been admitted, but the imperfect,
and probably distorted, form in which the latter has
come down to us renders uncertain any comparison
of details. Some of the beliefs concerning the

* For the account of the Phoenician cosmogony according to Sanchuniathon, see Eusebius, Praep. ev., i, 9 f., who quotes from the Greek translation of Philo Byblius; the accounts of Eudemus and Mochus are described by Damascius, cap. 125 (ed. Kopp,

creation of the world which were current among the Egyptians bear a more striking resemblance to the corresponding legends of Babylonia. Whether this resemblance was due to the proto-Semitic strain which probably existed in the ancient Egyptian race,' or ts to be explained as the result of later Babylonian influence from without, is yet uncertain. But, whatever explahation be adopted, it is clear that the conception of chaos as a watery mass out of which came forth successive generations of primeval gods is common to both races? It is in Hebrew literature, however, that the most striking examples of the influence of the Babylonian Creation legends are to be found.

The close relation existing between the Babylonian account of the Creation and the narrative in Genesis i, 1~ii, ga has been recognized from the time of the

p. 385). For summaries and comparisons of these cosmogonies,
see Lukas, Die Grundbegriffe in den Kosmogonien der alten Volker,
pp. 139
1 Cf. Budge, History of Leypt, vol. i, pp. 39 ff.

* Other Egyptian beliefs, according to which the god Shi separated heaven and earth and upheld the one above the other, may be compared to the Babylonian conception of the making of heaven and earth by the separation of the two halves of Tiamat's body. For detailed descriptions of the Egyptian cosmogonies, see Brugsch, Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter, pp. too ff. ; and for a convenient summary of the principal systems, see Lukas, op. cit., pp. 47 ff. Though the Babylonian and Egyptian cosmogonies, in some of their general features, resemble one another, the detailed comparisons of the names of deities, etc., which Hommel attempts in his Babylonische Ursprung der dgyptischen Kultur, are rather fanciful.

Points of
resemblance
between the
Creation
legends and
Gen, i, r=
ii, 4a i—~
(t) The
description of

chaos,
(2)The creation
of light.
LXXXII INTRODUCTION,

first discovery of the former,’ and the old and new points of resemblance between them may here be briefly discussed. According to each account the existence of a watery chaos preceded the creation of the universe ; and the Hebrew word ¢ehdm, translated “the deep” in Gen. i, 2, is the equivalent of the Babylonian 7zamat, the monster of the deep personi- fying chaos and confusion. In the details of the Creation there is also a close resemblance between the two accounts. In the Hebrew narrative the first act of creation is that of light (Gen. i, 3-5), and it has been suggested that a parallel possibly existed in the Babylonian account, in that the creation of light may have been the cause of the revolt of Tiamat. From the new fragments of the poem we now know that the rebellion of the forces of disorder, which was incited by Apsii and not Tiamat, was due, not to the creation of light, but to his hatred of the way of the gods which produced order in place of chaos.? A parallelism may still be found, however, in the original form of the Babylonian myth, according to which the conqueror of the dragon was undoubtedly a solar deity... Moreover, as has been pointed out above,* day and night are vaguely con- ceived in the poem as already in existence at the

’ See above, p. xxvi f.

? See above, p. xxxix, and below, p. 10, n. 1.
% See above, p. xxxix, n. 2.
* See above, p. xxxix.

HEBREW PARALLELS. LXXXIII

time of Apsi’s revolt, so that the belief in the
existence of light before the creation of the heavenly
bodies is a common feature of the Hebrew and the
Babylonian account.
The second act of creation in the Hebrew narrative (3)The creation is that of a firmament which divided the waters that Canes were under the firmament from the waters that were above the firmament (Gen. i, 6-8). In the Babylonian poem the body of Tiamat is divided by Marduk, and from one-half of her he formed a covering or dome for heaven, ie. a firmament, which kept her upper waters in place. Moreover, on the fragment S. 2,013 7 we find mention of a 7?-amat e-li-ti and a T7-amat Sap-li-ti, that is, an Upper Tiamat (or Ocean) and a Lower Tiamat (or Ocean), which are the exact equivalents of the waters above and under the firmament.”

1 See below, p. 196 f.

* According to Babylonian belief the upper waters of Tiamat formed the heavenly ocean above the covering of heaven; but it is not clear what became of her lower waters. It is possible that they were vaguely identified with those of Apst, and were believed to mingle with his around and beneath the earth. It may be suggested, however, that perhaps all or part of them were identified with Hubur, the River of

the Underworld which was believed to exist in the depths of the earth (cf. Jensen, AZythen, p- 307). The fact that Tiamat bore the title Ummu-Hubur, ‘the Mother Hubur,” may be cited in support of this suggestion, as well as the occurrence upon S. 2,013 (cf. p. 197) of the phrases Sami(e) ru-ku-u-ti and Hu-bur pal-ka-ti, corresponding to 7t-amat e-l-t and Ti-amat sap-li-1i respectively ; see also p. xlvi, note.

(a)Thecreation The third and fourth acts of creation, as narrated in

of vegetation. Gen, j, 9-13, are those of the earth and of vegetation. Although no portion of the Babylonian poem has yet been recovered.which contains the corresponding account, it is probable that these acts of creation were related on the Fifth Tablet of the series! Berossus expressly states that Bél formed the earth out of one half of Omorka’s body, and as his summary of the Babylonian Creation story is proved to be correct wherever it can be controlled, it is legitimate to assume that he is correct in this detail also. More+ over, in three passages in the Seventh Tablet the creation of the earth by Marduk is referred to: I. 115 reads, ‘Since he created the heaven and fashioned the firm earth” ;? the new fragment K. 12,830 (restored from the commentary K, 8,299) states, “He named the four quarters (of the world)” ;* and another new fragment, K, 13,761 (restored from the commentary K. 4,406), definitely ascribes to Marduk the title “Creator of the earth.”* That the creation of vege- tation by Marduk was also recorded in the poem may be concluded from the opening lines of the Seventh Tablet, which are inscribed on the new fragment K. 2,854, and (with restorations from the commentary S. 11, etc.) ascribe to him the titles “ Bestower of

1 See above, p. 1.

* See below, p. 109.
3 See below, p. 101.
4 See below, p. 103.

planting,” “Founder of sowing,” “Creator of grain
and plants,” and add that he “caused the green herb
to spring up.”?

To the fifth act of creation, that of the heavenly (s)Thecreation bodies (Gen. i, 14-19), we find an exceedingly close tole parallel in the opening lines of the Fifth Tablet of the series? In the Hebrew account, lights were created in the.firmament of heaven to divide the day from the night, and to be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years. In the Babylonian poem also the stars were created and the year was ordained at the same time; the twelve months were to be regulated by the stars; and the Moon-god was appointed “ to determine the days.” As according to the Hebrew account two great lights were created in the firmament of heaven, the greater light to rule the day and the lesser to rule the night, so according to the Babylonian poem the night was entrusted to the Moon-god, and the Moon-god’s relations to the Sun-god are described in detail. On the Seventh Tablet, also, the creation of heaven and the heavenly bodies is referred to; in 1. 16 Marduk is stated ‘to have established for the gods the bright heavens,”* and 1. 111 f. read, “For the stars of heaven he upheld the paths, he shepherded all the gods like sheep!” *

1 See above, p. I, and below, p. 93.
2 See below, pp. 78 ff.
3 See below, p. 95-

* See below, p. 109.

(6)Thecreation To the sixth and seventh acts of creation, ie., ofanimals. — ; A the creation of creatures of the sea and winged fowl, and of beasts and cattle and creeping things (Gen. i, 20-25), the Babylonian poem as yet offers no parallel, for the portion of the text which refers to the creation of animals is still wanting. But since Berossus states that animals were created at the same time as man, it is probable that their creation was recorded in a missing portion either of the Fifth or of the Sixth Tablet. If the account was on the lines suggested by Berossus, and animals shared in the blood of Bél, it is clear that their creation was narrated, as a subsidiary and less important episode, after that of man.' But, although this episode is still wanting in the poem, we find references on other Assyrian Creation fragments to the creation of beasts. Thus, for the creation of the creatures of the sea in Genesis, we may compare the fragmentary text K. 3445+R. 396, which records the creation of nakivé, "dolphins(?)."? And for the creation of beasts of the earth and cattle, we may compare the tablet D.T. 41,' which, after referring generally to the creation of "living creatures" by 'the gods," proceeds to classify them as the cattle and beasts of the field, and the creatures of the city, the two

* See above, p. lix.
? See above, p. lix, n, 1, and below, p. 198.
® See below, p. 122 f.-

classes referring respectively to wild and domesticated
animals,'
The account of the creation of man, which is (7) The creation recorded as the eighth and last act of creation in the Hebrew account (Gen. i, 26-31), at length finds its parallel in the Babylonian poem upon the new fragment of the Sixth Tablet, No. 92,629.? It has already been pointed out that the Babylonian account closely follows the version of the story handed down to us from Berossus,> and it may here be added that the employment by Marduk, the Creator, of his own blood in the creation of man may perhaps be com~ pared to the Hebrew account of the creation of man in the image and after the likeness of Elohim.* Moreover, the use of the plural in the phrase "Let us make man" in Gen. i, 26, may be compared with the Babylonian narrative which relates that Marduk imparted his purpose of forming man to his father Ea,

1 The portion of the text on which this reference to the creation of beasts is inscribed forms an introduction to what is probably an incantation, and may be compared to the Creation legend of Marduk and Aruru which is employed as an introduction to an incantation to be recited in honour of the temple E-zida (see below, p. 130f.,n.1). The account given of the creation of the beasts is merely incidental, and is introduced to indicate the period of the creation by Nin-igi-azag of two small creatures, one white and

one black, which were probably again referred to in the following section of the text.

* See below, pp. 86 ff. * See above, pp. liv ff.

* See also below, p. xciii. It may be also noted that, according to Babylonian belief, the great gods (cf. the plural of Elohim) were always pictured in human form.

(8) The instructions to man after his creation.

whom he probably afterwards instructed to carry out the actual work of man's creation.'

A parallel to the charge which, according to the Hebrew account, Elohim gave to man and woman after their creation, has hitherto been believed to exist on the tablet K. 3,364, which was supposed to contain a list of the duties of man as delivered to him after his creation by Marduk. The new Babylonian duplicate of this text, No. 33,851, proves that K. 3,364 is not part of the Creation Series, but is merely a tablet of moral precepts, so that its suggested resemblance to the Hebrew narrative must be given up. It is not improbable, however, that a missing portion of the Sixth Tablet did contain a short series of instructions by Marduk to man, since man was created with the special object of supplying the gods with worshippers and building shrines in their honour. That to these instructions to worship the gods was added the gift of dominion over beasts, birds, and vegetation is possible, but it must be pointed out that the Babylonian version of man's creation is related from the point of view of the gods, not from that of man. Although his creation forms the culmination of Marduk's work, it was conceived, not as an end and aim in itself, but merely as an expedient to satisfy the discontented gods.' This expedient is referred to in the Seventh

1 See above, p. lviii.

® See above, p. liiif., and below, p. 85, note 3, and p. 88 f., notes 1 and 3.

Tablet, 1. 29, in the phrase " For their forgiveness (ie. the forgiveness of the gods) did he create mankind," and other passages in the Seventh Tablet ténd to show that Marduk's mercy and goodness are extolled in his relations, not to mankind, but to the gods.' In one passage' man's creation is referred to, but it is in connection with the charge that he forget not the deeds of his Creator."

The above considerations render it unlikely that the Babylonian poem contained an exact parallel to the exalted charge of Elohim in which He placed the rest of creation under man's dominion. It is possible, however, that upon the new fragment of the Seventh Tablet, K. 12,830 (restored from the commentary K. 8,299),° we have a reference to the superiority of man over animals, in the phrase 'mankind [he created], [and upon] him understanding {he bestowed (?)...]"; and if this be so, we may compare it to Gen. i, 284, Moreover, if my sug- gested restoration of the last word in 1. 7 of the Sixth Tablet be correct, so that it may read "] will create man who shall inhabit [the earth],*" we may

* See especially, Il. 7 f., 9 ff, 15 ff., 23, and 27 f.

* L. 31f., which read, " May his (ie. Marduk's) deeds endure,
may they never be forgotten in the mouth of mankind whom his
hands have made!"
* See below, p. roo f.

* See below, p, 87; the account of Berossus is in favour of
this restoration.
(9) The
dominion of
man over
creation,
(ro) The word
of the Creator,
(tr) The order
of Creation,
XC INTRODUCTION.

compare it to Gen. i, 28a, in which man is commanded to be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.'

A suggestion has been made that the prominence given to the word of the Creator in the Hebrew account may have found its parallel in the creation by a word in the Babylonian poem. It is true that the word of Marduk had magical power and could destroy and create alike; but Marduk did not employ his word in any of his acts of creation which are at present known to us. He first conceived a cunning device, and then proceeded to carry it out by hand. The only occasion on which he did employ his word to destroy and to create is in the Fourth Tablet, Il. 19-26,? when, at the invitation of the gods, he tested his power by making a garment disappear and then appear again at. the word of his mouth, The parallelism between the two accounts under this heading is not very close.

The order of the separate acts of creation is also not quite the same in the two accounts, for, while in the Babylonian poem the heavenly bodies are created immediately after the formation of the firmament, in the Hebrew account their creation is postponed until after the earth and vegetation have been made. It is possible that the creation of the earth and plants has been displaced by the writer to whom the present form of the Hebrew account is due, and that the

1 The new parallel to Gen. ii, 23, furnished by 1. 5 of the Sixth
Tablet, is referred to below, p. xciv.
2 See below, p. 60 f.
HEBREW PARALLELS. XCI

order of creation was precisely the same in the original forms of the two narratives. But even according to the present arrangement of the Hebrew account, there are several striking points of resemblance to the

Babylonian poem. These may be seen in the existence of light before the creation of the heavenly bodies ; in the dividing of the waters of the primeval flood by means of a firmament also before the creation of the heavenly bodies ; and in the culminating act of creation being that of man.

It would be tempting to trace the framework of the fie) The Seren Seven Days of Creation, upon which the narrative Seven Tablets in Genesis is stretched, to the influence of the Seven Tablets of Creation, of which we now know that the great Creation Series was composed. The reasons for the employment of the Seven Days in the Hebrew account are, however, not the same which led to the arrangement of the Babylonian poem upon Seven Tablets. In the one the writer's intention is to give the | original authority for the observance of the Sabbath; in the other there appears to have been no special reason for this arrangement of the poem beyond the mystical nature of the number "seven." Moreover, acts of creation are recorded on all of the first six Days in the Hebrew narrative, while in the Babylonian poem the creation only begins at the end of the Fourth Tablet.' The resemblance, therefore, is somewhat superficial, but

} There is, however, a parallel between the Seventh Day on

it is possible that the employment of the number "seven" in the two accounts was not fortuitous. Whether the Sabbath was of Babylonian origin (as seems probable) or not, it is clear that the writer of the narrative in Genesis was keenly interested in its propagation and its due observance. Now in Exilic and post-Exilic times the account of the Creation most prevalent in Babylonia was that in the poem Exuma efis, the text of which was at this time absolutely fixed and its arrangement upon Seven Tablets invariable. That the late revival of mythology among the Jews was partly due to their actual study of the Babylonian legends at this period is sufficiently proved by the minute points of resemblance between the accounts of the Deluge in Genesis and in the poem of Gilgamesh.' It is probable, therefore, that the writer who was responsible for the final form of Gen. i- ii, 4a, was familiar with the Babylonian legend of Creation in the form in which it has come down to us. The supposition, then, is perhaps not too

which Elohim rested from all His work, and the Seventh Tablet which records the hymns of praise sung by the gods to Marduk after his work of creation was ended.

' See my Babylonian Religion and Mythology, pp. 138 ff. The fact that the Jews of the Exile were probably familiar with the later forms of Babylonian legends explains some of the close resemblances in detail between the Babylonian and Hebrew versions of the same story. But this is in perfect accordance with the borrowing of that very story by the Hebrews many centuries before; indeed, to the previous existence of ancient Hebrew versions of Babylonian legends may be traced much of the impetus given to the revival of mythology among the exiled Jews.

fanciful, that the connection of the Sabbath with the
story of Creation was suggested by the mystical
number of the Tablets upon which the Babylonian
poem was inscribed.
Further resemblances to the Babylonian Creation Points of

resemblance

legends may be traced in the second Hebrew between.
abylonian
: é 11 legends and the
account of the Creation which follows the first in (sendsandihe
Gen. ii, 46-7. According to this version man was scountof the formed from the dust of the ground, which may be compared to the mixing of Bél's blood with earth according to the account of Berossus, the use of the Creator's blood in the one account being paralleled by the employment of His breath in the other for the purpose of giving life to the dust or earth. Earth is not mentioned in the recovered portion of the Sixth Tablet, but its use in the creation of men is fully in accordance with Babylonian beliefs. Thus, according to the second Babylonian account of the Creation,! Marduk formed man by pouring out dust beside a reed which he had set upon the face of the waters. Clay is also related to have been employed in the creation of special men and heroes ; thus it was used in Ea-bani's creation by Aruru,' and it is related to have been mixed with divine blood for a similar purpose in the fragmentary legend Bu. 1-5-9, 269.° To' the account of the creation of woman in Gen. ii, 18 ff. we find a new parallel in 1. 5 of the

? See below, pp. 130 ff. ® See above, p. Ixx, n. 1.
3 See above, p. lvii, n. 1.

Sixth Tablet of the Creation Series, in the use of the word <zss¢mtu, "bone," corresponding to the Hebrew 'ese which occurs in the phrase "bone of my bones" in Gen. ii, 23. Paradise and In addition to the Babylonian colouring of much Creation. of the story of Paradise we may now add a new parallel from the Babylonian address to a mythical River of Creation, inscribed on S. 1704 and the Neo- Babylonian Tablet 82-9-18, 5311.1. This short composition is addressed to a River to whom the creation of all things is ascribed,' and with this river we may compare the mythical river of Paradise which watered the garden, and on leaving it was divided into four branches. That the Hebrew River of Paradise is Babylonian in character is clear; and the origin of the Babylonian River of Creation is also to be found in the Euphrates, from whose waters southern Babylonia derived its great fertility. The

1 See below, p. 128 f.

? With the Babylonian River of Creation, suggested by the Euphrates, we may compare the Egyptian beliefs concerning Hap or Hapi, the god of the Nile, who became identified with most of the great primeval Creation gods and was declared to be the Creator of all things. Considering the importance of the Nile for Egypt, it is easy to understand how he came to attain this position. Brugsch sums up his account of this deity in the words: " So ist der Nilgott im letzten Grunde der geheimnissvolle Urheber "

aller Wohithaten, welche die von ihm befruchtete agyptische Erde “ den Géttern und Menschen zu bieten vermag, er ist ‘der starke “‘Schépfer von allem’”; see Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypier, p. 641.

‘It is possible that this River, though suggested by the

life-giving stream of Paradise is met with elsewhere
in the Old Testament, as, for instance, in Ezekiel
xlvii, and it is probable that we may trace its
influence in the Apocalypse.*
It is unnecessary here to discuss in detail the probate dates

: . { Babylonia
evidence to prove that the Hebrew narratives of the jnauence on
; , f : Heb
Creation were ultimately derived from Babylonia, and mythology.
were not inherited independently by the Babylonians and Hebrews from a common Semitic ancestor.? For the local Babylonian colouring of the stories, and the great age to which their existence can be traced, extending back to the time of the Sumerian inhabitants of Mesopotamia,’ are conclusive evidence against the second alternative. On the other hand, it is equally unnecessary to cite the well-known arguments to prove

Euphrates, is to be identified with Hudur, the River of the Under- world, to whom an incantation in the terms of the one under discussion might well have been addressed. A connection between Tiamat and the river Hubur has been suggested above (cf. p. Ixxxiii, n. 2), and, should this prove to be correct, we might see in the phrase danat(at) ka-la-ma, applied to the River, a parallel to pa-ti-ka-at ka-la-ma, the description of Ummu-Hubur (Tiamat) in Tablet I, 1. 113 and the parallel passages.

‘The connection which Gunkel and Zimmern would trace between the River of Paradise and the River of Water of Life in the Apocalypse on the one side and the “ water of life,” mentioned in the legend of Adapa, on the other, cannot be regarded as proved. The resemblance in the expressions may well be fortuitous, since there are few other points of resemblance between the narratives in which the expressions occur.

? On these subjects, see my Bad. Rel. and Myth., pp. 108 ff.

® See above, pp. Ixxv and lxxix.

Probable dates the existence among the Hebrews of Creation legends
of Babylonian
influenceon similar to those of Babylonia for centuries before the mythology, = Exile. The allusions to

variant Hebrew forms of the Babylonian Dragon-Myth in Amos ix, 3, Isaiah li, 9, Psalm -Ixxiv, 13 f., and Ixxxix, 9 f, and Job xxvi, 12f,, and ix, 13, may be cited as sufficient proof of the early period at which the borrowing from Babylonian sources must have taken place; .and the striking differences between the Biblical and the known Babylonian versions of the legends prove that the Exilic and post-Exilic Jews must have found ready to their hand ancient Hebrew versions of the stories, and that the changes they introduced must in the main have been confined to details of arrangement and to omissions necessitated by their own more spiritual conceptions and beliefs. The discovery of the Tell el-Amarna tablets proved con- clusively that Babylonian influence extended through- out Egypt and Western Asia in the fifteenth century B.c., and the existence of legends among the letters demonstrated the fact that Babylonian mythology exerted an influence coextensive with the range of her political ties and interests. We may therefore con- jecture that Babylonian myths had become naturalized in Palestine before the conquest of that country by the Israelites. Many such Palestinian versions of Babylonian myths the Israelites no doubt absorbed ; while during the subsequent period of the Hebrew kings Assyria and Babylonia exerted a direct influence upon them. It is clear, therefore, that at the time of their

exile the captive Jews did not find in Babylonian
mythology an entirely new and unfamiliar subject,
but recognized in it a series of kindred beliefs, differing
much from their own in spiritual conceptions, but
presenting a startling resemblance on many material
points.
Now that the principal problems with regard to the ‘he forty-nine
tablets and
contents, date, and influence of the Creation Serics, tmgments
insoribed with
Enuma elis, have been dealt with, it remains to the text of te describe in some detail the forty-nine fragments and Se. tablets from which the text, transliterated and trans- lated in the following pages, has been made up. After each registration-number is given a reference to the published copy of the text in Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum, pt. xiii,

or in Vol. II of this work, or in Appendices I and II

of this volume; a brief description of each tablet is added, together with references to any previous publication of the text. After the enumeration of the known copies of each tablet, a list is given of the authorities for the separate lines of the tablet, in order

to enable the reader to verify any passage in the text
with as little delay as possible.
The following twelve tablets and fragments are Copies of the
inscribed with portions of the text of the First Tablet ane reason
of the series :-—
1. K. 5,419¢: Cuneiform Texts, pt. xiii (1901), pl. 1.
Obverse: Il. 1-16; Reverse: catch-line and

colophon,
XCVIII INTRODUCTION.

Copies of the Upper part of an Assyrian tablet, 34 in. by1Zin. For earlier First Lablet of publications of the text, see George Smith, 7.S.B.A., vol. iv, Series, p- 363f., pl.i; Fox Talbot, 7.S.B.A., vol. v, pp. 428 ff.;

Menant, Manuel de la langue Assyrtenne, p. 378 f.; Delitasch, Assyrische Lesestiicke, 1st ed., p. 40, 2nd ed., p. 78, 3rd ed., p- 93; Lyon, Assyrian Manual, p. 62; and my First Steps in Assyrian, p. 122 f.

2. No. 93,015 (82-7-14, 402): Cun. Texts, pt. xiit,
pls. 1 and 3. Obverse: Il. 1-16; Reverse:
Il. 124-142 and colophon.

Upper part of a Neo-Babylonian tablet, zt in. by 2}in. For an earlier publication of the text, see Pinches, Bab. Or, Rec., vol. iv, p. 26f. The fragment is probably part of the same tablet as that to which No. ro belonged.

3. No. 45,528 + 46,614: Vol. II, pls. i-vi. Obverse:
W. 1-48; Reverse: Il. 111-142, catch-line, and
colophon.
Part of a Neo-Babylonian tablet, formed from two fragments, which I have joined; 2}in. by 54in. This text has not been

previously published.
4. No. 35,134: Vol. II, pl. vii. Obverse: Il. 11-21;
no reverse.
Part of a Neo-Babylonian tablet, 1$in. by zin. This text
has not been previously published.
5. No. 36,726: Vol. II, pl. viii. Obverse : Il. 28-33.

Neo-Babylonian ‘ practice-tablet”; the text, which forms
an extract, measures 2 in. by 1tin. This text has not been
previously published.
6. 81-7-27, 80: Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 2. Obverse:
ll. 31-56; Reverse: Il. 118-142.
Part of an Assyrian tablet, 2fin. by 3in. This text, which was referred to by Pinches in the Bad. Or. Rec., vol. iv, p. 33, was used by Zimmern for his translation in Gunkel’s Schipfung

AUTHORITIES FOR TABLET I. XCIX

und Chaos, p. 402 f.; it was given in transliteration by Delitzsch,
Weltschipfungsepos, p. 25 f., and by Jensen, Mythen und Epen,
pp. 2 ff.
7. K. 3,938: Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 3. Obverse:

ll. 33-42; Reverse: Il. 128-142.
Part of an Assyrian tablet, rin. by 1fin. This fragment was used by George Smith, Chaldean Account of Genesis, p.93 f., and by subsequent translators; the text was given in trans- literation by Delitzsch, Weltschipfungsepos, p. 27.

8. K. 7,871: Vol. I, Appendix II, pp. 183 ff. Obverse :
ll. 33-47 ; no reverse.
Part of an Assyrian tablet, 1}in. by rin. The fragment
may belong to the same tablet as No. 11. This text has not
been previously published.
9. No. 36,688: Vol. I, pl. vii. Obverse: Il. 38-44.

Part of a Neo-Babylonian " practice-tablet" ; the text, which forms an abstract, measures 1} in. by 14in. This text has not been previously published.

10. No. 46,803: Vol. II, pls. ix-xi. Obverse: I. 46-67;
Reverse : Il. 83-103.
Part of a Neo-Babylonian tablet, 2 in. by2in. The fragment is probably part of the same tablet as that to which No. < belonged. This text has not been previously published.

11. K. 4,488: Vol. I, Appendix H, pp. 185 ff.
Obverse : Il. 50-63; no reverse.
Part of an Assyrian tablet, 12in. by 14 in.; see above, No. 8. This text has not been previously published.

12. 82-9-18, 6,879: Vol. II, pls. xii and xiii. No
obverse; Reverse : Il. 93-118.
Part of a Neo-Babylonian tablet, 13in. by 2$in. This text
has not been previously published.
Copies of the
First Tablet of
the Creation
Series.
se INTRODUCTION.

Authorities for
the lines of the
First Tablet. as follows :—

Il. 1-10
Tl. 11-16
I. 17-21
ll, 22-27
Il, 28-30
ll. 31-32
1. 33

Il. 34-37
Il. 38-42
1. 43
l. 44

1. 45

ll. 46-47
1, 48
1. ao

iL. 50-46
iL, 57-63
ll. 64-67
ll. 68-82
Il. 83-92
Il. 93-103
Il. 104-110:
Wo rrr-117:
: Nos.
1. 118

UL. 119-123 :
Il. 124-127 :
Il. 128-142 :
The authorities for the lines of the First Tablet are

Taswet I.

: Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

: Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4.
: Nos, 3 and 4.
: No. 3.

: Nos. 3 and 5.

: Nos.
: Nos.
: Nos.
: Nos.
: Nos.
: Nos.
: Nos.
: Nos.

: Nos.
: Nos.
: Nos.
: Nos.
: No. ro.
: Wanting.

: No. 10.

: Nos. 10 and 12.

3, 5, and 6.

3, 5, 6, 7, and 8.
3, 6, 7, and 8.
3, 6, 7, 8, and 9.
3, 6, and 8.
3, 6, 8, and 9.

3, 6, and 8.

3, 6, 8, and ro.
3, 6, and 10.
6 and 10.

6, 10, and 11.
to and 11.
No. 12.

Nos. 3 and 12.

3, 6, and 12.
Nos. 3 and 6.
Nos. 2, 3, and 6.
Nos. 2, 3, 6, and 7.
AUTHORITIES FOR TABLET II. cl

The following seven tablets and frag! inscribed with portions of the text of the Second Tablet ef the Creation

of the series :—

18.

14.

15.

16,

17.

18.

No. 40,559: Vol. II, pls. xiv-xxi. Obverse:
Il. 1-40; Reverse: Il. (111)-(140), catch-line, and
colophon.
Upper part of a Neo-Babylonian tablet, 2$in. by 44 in. This text has not been previously published.

No. 38,396: Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 4. Obverse:
Il. 11-29; Reverse: Il. (105)-(132).
Part of a Neo-Babylonian tablet, 3}in. by zin. This text
has not been previously published.
No. 92,632 + 93,048: Vol. II, pls. xxii-xxiv.
Obverse : Il. 14-29 ; Reverse: Il. (114)-(131).
Part of a Neo-Babylonian tablet, formed from two fragments
which I have joined; 1$in. by r$in. This text has not been
previously published.
K. 4,832: Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 5. Obverse:
Il. 32-58; Reverse: Il. (104)-(138).
Part of an Assyrian tablet, i¢in. by 3+in. This tablet
was known to George Smith, see Chald. Acc. of Gen., p. 923
its text was published by S. A. Smith, AZzscel/aneous Texts,
pl. 8f.
79-7-8, 178: Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 6. Obverse:
Il. (69)-(75); Reverse : Il. (76)-(85).
Part of an Assyrian tablet, 34in. by rfin. This text, which was identified by Pinches, was given in transliteration by

Delitzsch, Weltschépfungsepos, p. 30, and by Jensen, ALpthen
und Epen, p. 10 f.
K. 10,008: Vol. I, App. II, pp. 187 ff No
obverse ; Reverse : probably between Il. 85 and 104.
Part of an Assyrian tablet, 1gin. by ziin. This text has not
been previously published.
ments are Copies of the

CI INTRODUCTION.

19. K. 292: Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 6. No obverse ;

Reverse : Il. (131)-(140).
Lower part of an Assyrian tablet, 2} in. by 24 in.

of this tablet, which was known to George Smith, was given in transliteration by Delitzsch, Welschopfungsepos, p. 31, and

by Jensen, Mythen und Epen, p. 10.

Authorities for ‘The authorities for the lines of the Second Tablet

Second Tablet. are as follows :—

Il, t-10

I. 11-13

Il. 14-29

Ik. 30-31

IL. 32-40

Il. 41-58

Il. 59-(68)
Il. (69)-(85)
between Il. (86) and (103) : No. 18.

1. (104)

Il. (105)-(110) :
IL (111)-(113) :
I. (114)-(126) :
1. (127)

Il. (128)-(129) :

1. (130)
1. (131)
1. (132)
Il. (133)-(138) :
Il. (139)-(140) :
Taster IL.

: No. 13.

: Nos. 13 and 14.

: Nos. 13, 14, and 15.

: No. 13.

: Nos. 13 and 16.

: No. 16.

: Wanting.

: No. 17.

: No. 16.
Nos. 14 and 16.
Nos. 13, 14, and 16.
Nos. 13, 14, 15, and 16,
: Nos. 13, 15, and 16.
Nos. 13, 14, 15, and 16,
: Nos. 13, 15, and 16.

: Nos. 13, 15, 16, and 19.

: Nos. 13, 14, 16, and 19.
Nos. 13, 16, and 19.
Nos. 13 and 19.
AUTHORITIES FOR TABLET III. CHI

The following nine tablets and fragments are
inscribed with portions of the text of the Third
Tablet :—
20. K. 3,473 + 79-7-8, 296 + R.615: Cun. Texts,

21.

pt. xili, pls. 7-9. Obverse: Il. 1-85; Reverse:
Il. 86-138.
Parts of an Assyrian tablet, 2$in. by 8%in. The three fragments of this tablet, which have been recovered, join, but, as they are much warped by fire, they have not been stuck together. For earlier publications of the text, see S. A. Smith, Miscellaneous Texts, pis. 1-5, and my First Steps in Assyrian, pp. 124 ff. The text of K. 3,473 had been already recognized by George Smith, see Chald. Acc. Gen., p. 92 f.

No. 93,017 [88-4-19, 13]: Cun. Texts, pt. xiii,

pls. 10 and 11. Obverse: Il. 47-77; Reverse:
ll. 78-105.
, Part of a Neo-Babylonian tablet, 2} in. by 3fin. This text, which was identified by Pinches, was given in transliteration

by Delitzsch, Weltschipfungsepos, p. 36 f., and by Jensen, ALythen
und Epen, pp. 14 ff.
22. 82-9-18, 1,403+6,316 [No. 61,429]: Vol. II,

pls. xxv-xxviii. Obverse: Il. 5-15, 52-61; Reverse:
Il. 62-76, 124-128.
Part of a Neo-Babylonian " practice-tablet," inscribed with a series of five-line extracts from the text; 2in. by 3 in. A copy of the text of 82-9-18, 1,403, is given in Cun. Zexts, pt. xiii, pl. 13; since then I have joined to it the fragment 82-9-18, 6,316, and the text is therefore repeated in Vol. II. This text has not been previously published.

28. K. 8,524: Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 12. Fragment

from the end of Obv. or beginning of Rev. :
Il. 75-86.
Part of an Assyrian tablet, rZin. by igin. The text was

Copies of the
Third Tablet
of the Creation
Series.
Copies of the
Third Tablet
of the Creation
Series,
CIV

INTRODUCTION.

24.

25.

26.

27.

28.

referred to by Pinches in the Bad. Or. Rec., vol. iv, p. 30, and was given in transliteration by Delitasch,

Weltschipfungsepos,

p- 31.
82-9-18, 6,950 + 83-14-18, 1,868: Vol. II, pl. xxix.
Duplicate of Il. 19-26 and 77-84; variants are
noted in the text under Il. 19-26.

Neo-Babylonian ‘ practice-tablet”; the text forms an extract measuring 2$in. by 1tin. A copy of the text of 83-1-18, 1,868, is given in Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 12; since then I have joined to it the fragment 82-9-18, 6,950, and the text is therefore repeated in Vol. II]. This text has not been previously published.

K. 6,650: Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 9. Duplicate of Il. 38-55 and 96-113; variants are noted in the

text under Il. 38-55.

Part of an Assyrian tablet, 3 in. by 3$in. This text has not
been previously published.
No. 42,285: Vol. II, pls. xxx-xxxiii. Obverse :
Il. 46-68 ; Reverse: Il. 69-87.
Part of a Neo-Babylonian tablet, 2 in. by 2$in. This text
has not been previously published.
82-9-18, 5,448 + 83-1-18, 2,116: Vol. II, pl. xxxiv.
Obverse : Il. 64-72. ;
Part of a Neo-Babylonian “practice-tablet”; the text, which forms an extract, measures 22in. by 13 in. A copy of the text of 83-1~18, 2,116, is given in Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 12; since then I have joined to it the fragment 82-9-18, 5,448, and the text is therefore repeated in Vol. 11. This text has not been previously published.

K. 8,575: Cun. Texts, pt. xiil, pl. 12. Obverse :
Il. 69-76; Reverse : Il. 77-85.
Part of an Assyrian tablet, 2?in. by 2} in. This text, which was identified by Bezold, Catalogue, p. 941, was given in transliteration by Delitasch, Weltschipfungsepos, p. 38.

AUTHORITIES FOR TABLET III. CV

The authorities for the lines of the Third Tablet (yon

are as follows :—~

. T+4

2 5-15
. 16-18
. 29-26
+ 27-37

» 38-45
. 46
» 47-51
+ 52°55
- 56-63
. 64-68
. 69-72
» 73°74
75-76
77-84
. 85
. 86

87

. 88-95

» 96-105
. 106-113:
. [E4123 :
. 124-128 :
. 129-138
Third Tablet.

Taster ITI.

: No. 20.

: Nos. 20 and 22.

: No. 20.

: Nos. 20 and 24.

: No. 20.

: Nos. 20 and 25.

: Nos. 20, 25, and 26.

: Nos. 20, 21, 25, and 26.

: Nos. 20, 21, 22, 25, and 26.

: Nos. 20, 21, 22, and 26,

: Nos. 20, 21, 22, 26, and 27.

: Nos. 20, 21, 22, 26, 27, and 28.
: Nos. 20, 21, 22, 26, and 28.
: Nos. 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, and 28.
: Nos. 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, and 28,
: Nos. 20, 21, 23, 26, and 28,
: Nos. 20, 21, 23, and 26.
: Nos. 20, 21, and 26.
: Nos. 20 and 21.

: Nos. 20, 21, and 25.
Nos. 20 and 25.
No. 20,
Nos. 20 and 22.

: No. 20.

Copies ofthe The following six tablets and fragments are inscribed
Fourth Tablet
of the Creation with portions of the text of the Fourth Tablet :— 29. No. 93,016 [82-9-18, 3,737]: Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pls. r4-15. Obverse: ll. 1-44; Reverse: Il. 116-146. Upper part of a Neo-Babylonian tablet, 3$in. by 4% in. For an earlier publication of the text, see Budge, P.S.2.A., vol. x, p. 86, pls. 1-6. 80. K. 3,437+R.641: Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pls. 16-19. Obverse: Il. 36-83; Reverse: Il. 84-119.

Part of an Assyrian tablet, 3in. by 5)in. For an earlier publication of the text of K. 3,437, see George Smith, T.S.B.A., vol. iv, p. 363f., pls. § and 6; and of K. 3,437+ R. 641, see Delitasch, Assyrische Lesestiiche, pp. 97 ff., and my First Steps in Assyrian, pp. 137 ff.

81. 79-7-8, 251: Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 20. Obverse:

ll. 35-49; Reverse : Il. 103-107.

Part of an Assyrian tablet, rin. by 2tin. The text, which was identified by Pinches, was used in transliteration by Delitasch, Weltschopfungsepos, pp. 41 ff., and by Jensen, Adythen und Epen, pp. 22 ff. This fragment probably belongs to the same tablet as No. 34.

82. No. 93,051: Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 20. Obverse:
Il, 42-54; Reverse: Il. 85-94.
Part of a Neo-Babylonian “‘ practice-tablet,” inscribed with the text divided into sections of five lines; 24 in. by r$in. This text has not been previously published.

83. K.5,420¢: Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 21. Obverse:
ll. 74-92; Reverse : Il. 93-119.
Part of an Assyrian tablet, 3¢in. by 3+in. Restorations
and variants were taken from this tablet by George Smith for
his edition of K. 3,437; see above, No. 30.
84, R. 2, 83: Cun, Texts, pt. xiii, pl.19. No obverse ;
Reverse: Il. 117-129.
AUTHORITIES FOR TABLET IV.

CVII

Part of an Assyrian tablet, 2} in. by 1fin.

The text, which

was identified by Pinches, was given in transliteration by

Delitasch, Weltschipfungsepos, p. 45.

This fragment probably

belongs to the same tablet as No. 31. The authorities for the lines of the Fourth Tablet Autporities for

are as follows :—

the lines of the
Fourth Tablet,
Taster IV.
I. 1-34 =: No. 29.
1. 35 : Nos. 29 and 31.
Il. 36-41 =: Nos. 29, 30, and 31.
Il. 42-44 =: Nos. 29, 30, 31, and 32.
Il. 45-49 =: Nos. 30, 31, and 32.
Il, 50-54 =: Nos. 30 and 32.
Il. 55-73: No. 30.
ll. 74-84 : Nos. 30 and 33.
Il. 85-94 : Nos. 30, 32, and 33.
Ul. 95-102: Nos. 30 and 33.
Il. 103-107 : Nos. 30, 31, and 33.
Il. 108-115 : Nos. 30 and 33.
1. 116 : Nos. 29, 30, and 33.
Il. 117-119 : Nos. 29, 30, 33, and 34.
il, 120-129 : Nos. 29 and 34.
Il. 130-146 : No. 29.
The following five tablets and fragments are inscribed copies of the

with portions of the text of the Fifth Tablet -— 85. K. 3,567 +K. 8,588: Cua. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 22.

Fifth Tablet of
the Creation
Series.
Obverse : Il. 1-26; Reverse: catch-line.

Upper part of an Assyrian tablet, 3$in. by 2hin.

For

earlier publications of the text, see George Smith, 7.S.2.4., vol. iv, p. 363 f, pl. 2; Delitzsch, Assyrische Lesestiicke, 3rd ed., p. 94; and my First Steps in Assyrian, pp. 158 fi.

cVIIl INTRODUCTION.

Copies of the 86. K. 8,526: Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 23. Obverse :

Fifth ‘Vablet of
the Creation
Series,
Authorities for
the lines of the
Fifth Tablet.
37.

38.

Il. 1-18; Reverse : Il. (138)-(140).

Upper part of an Assyrian tablet, rin. by z¥in, The text was used by George Smith for his edition of No. 35, and in the other copies of that tablet mentioned above; it was given in transliteration by Delitzsch, Weltschipfungsepos, p. 48 f.

K. 13,774: Vol. I, Appendix IJ, pp. 190 ff.
Obverse : Il. 6-19; no reverse.
Part of an Assyrian tablet, iin. by thin. This text has
not been previously published.
K. 11,641: Vol. I, Appendix IJ, pp. 192 ff.
Obverse : Il. 14-22; Reverse: Il. (128)-(140),
catch-line, and colophon.
Part of an Assyrian tablet, 2}in. by 3$in. This text has
not been previously published.
89. K.3,449a: Cun, Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 23. Obverse:

as

ll. (66)-(74) ; Reverse : Il. (75)-(87).

Part of an Assyrian tablet, z}in. by r}in. This text, which was first identified and translated by George Smith, Chald. Ace. of Gen., p. 94f., was given in transliteration by Delitasch, Weltschépfungsepos, p. 50, and the reverse by Jensen, Mythen und Epen, p. 32.

The authorities for the lines of the Fifth Tablet are
follows :—
Taster V.
Il. 1-5 : Nos. 35 and 36.
Il. 6-13 : Nos. 35, 36, and 37.
ll. 14-18 : Nos. 35, 36, 37, and ‘38.
1. 19 : Nos. 35, 37, and 38.
Il. 20-22 : Nos. 35 and 38.
Il. 23-26 : No. 35.

_ AUTHORITIES FOR TABLETS V AND VL CIX

Il. 27-(65) : Wanting.
Il. (66)-(87) : No. 39.
Il. (88)-(127) : Wanting.
IL. (128)-(137) : No. 38.
Il. (138)-(140) : Nos. 36 and 38.
The following fragment is inscribed with a portion Copy of the
: Sixth Tablet of
of the text of the Sixth Tablet :— the Creation
Series,
40. No. 92,629: Vol. II, pls. xxxv and xxxvi.
Obverse: Il. 1-21; Reverse: Il. 138-146, catch-
line, and colophon,
Part of a Neo-Babylonian tablet, 2}in. by 2tin. This text
has not been previously published,
The following nine tablets and fragments are Copies of the
able!
inscribed with portions of the text of the Seventh of the Creation
Tablet :— ;
41. K. 2,854: Vol. I, Appendix I, p. 159. Obverse:
Il. 1-18; Reverse uninscribed.
Upper part of an Assyrian tablet, 2in. by rd in. This text
has not been previously published.
42. No. 91,139+93,073: Vol. II, pls. xxxviii-xlv.
Obverse : ll. 3-40; Reverse: Il, 106-141.

Part of a Neo-Babylonian tablet, 22in. by 4$in. This text
is made up of two fragments which I have joined; it has not
previously been published.
43. K. 8,522: Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pls. 26 and 27.
Obverse : Il. 15-45; Reverse: Il. 105-137.
Part of an Assyrian tablet, 2}in. by 34in. For earlier

publications of the text, see George Smith, Z.S.2.A., vol. iv,

p. 363f, pls. 3 and 4, and Delitzsch, Assyrische Lesestiiche,
3rd ed., p. 95 f.
cx

INTRODUCTION.

Copies of the 44. No. 35,506: Vol. II, pls. xlvi-xlviiii Obverse:

Seventh Tablet
of the Creation
Series.
45.

46.

47.

48.

49.

Il. 14-36; Reverse : Il. 105-142.

Part of a.Neo-Babylonian tablet, 24in. by 4¢in. This text, which probably dates from the period of the Arsacidae, has not been previously published,

K. 9,267: Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 28. Obverse :
Il, go-47 ; Reverse: Il. 109-138.
Part of an Assyrian tablet, 3$in. by 2in. Restorations and variants were taken from this tablet by George Smith for his edition of K, 8,522; see above, No. 43.

K. 12,830: Vol. I, Appendix I, p. 163. Obverse

or Reverse : between Il. 47 and 105.

Part of an Assyrian tablet, $in. by fin. This text has not

been previously published.
K. 13,761: Vol. I, Appendix I, p. 164. End of
Obverse and beginning of Reverse: between
Il. 47 and 105.

. Part of an Assyrian tablet, rfin. by rin. This text has
not been previously published.
K. 8,519: Vol. I, Appendix I, p. 165. End of
Obverse and beginning of Reverse: between
Il. 47 and 105.
Part of an Assyrian tablet, 12in. by rfin. This text has
not been previously published.*
K. 13,337: Vol. 1, Appendix I, p. 166. Duplicate
of No. 48; between Il. 47 and 105.
Part of an Assyrian tablet, fin. by rin. This text, which is a duplicate of K. 8,519, has not been previously published.

1] learn from Professor Zimmern that he also has identified this fragment as part of the Seventh Tablet by its correspondence with

the

commentary K. 4,406, published in IIR, pl. 31 (see below,

p. exviii).

“AUTHORITIES FOR TABLET VII, CXI

The authorities for the lines of the Seventh Tablet Authorities for

are as follows :—

the lines of the
Seventh
Tablet.
Taser VII.

Il. 1-2: No. 41.
Il. 3-13 : Nos. 41 and 42.
lL14 : Nos. 41, 42, and 44.
Il. 15-18 =: Nos. 41, 42, 43, and 44.
Il. 19-36 =: Nos. 42, 43, and 44.
Il. 37-39 «=: Nos. 42 and 43.
1. 40 : Nos. 42, 43, and 45.
Il. q1-45 =: Nos. 43 and 45.

Il. 46-47: No. 45.
between Il. 47 and 105: Nos. 46, 47, 48, and 49.
1. 105 : Nos. 43 and 44.
ll. 106-108 : Nos. 42, 43, and 44.
Il. 109-137 : Nos. 42, 43, 44, and 45.
1. 138 : Nos. 42, 44, and 45.
Il. 139-141 : Nos. 42 and 44.
lL. 142 : No. 44.
The above forty-nine tablets and fragments, inscribed peseription of

with portions of the text of the Creation Series, belong

to two distinct periods.
were made for the library of Ashur-bani- pal at
Nineveh, and they are beautifully written in the
Assyrian character upon tablets of fine clay.1. The
the tablets.

The older class of tablets

1 That the copies were not always made from Babylonian tablets is proved by the colophon of K. 292 (cf. Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 6), which states that this copy of the Second Tablet was made from

Description of
the tablets.

Neo-Babylonian tablets, on the other hand, are, as a rule, less carefully written ; they vary considerably in size and shape, and were made at different periods for private individuals, either for their own use,' or that they might be deposited in the temples as votive offerings? Some of these Babylonian copies

an Assyrian archetype (gad-ri "* Aséur*™), Upon some tablets Ashur-bani-pal's label was scratched after the tablet had been baked, e.g., K. 3,567 + K. 8,588 (Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 22). Other Assyrian copies, though giving the catch-line to the next tablet, are without colophons, e.g., K. 3,473, etc. (cf. Cun. Zexts, pt. xiii, pl. 9), and K. 8,526 (cf. Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 23); the copy of the last tablet, K. 2,854 (see below, p. 159), the reverse of which is blank, was probably also without a colophon.

1 Cf, No. 40,559 (vol. ii, pl. xxi), a copy of the Second Tablet which was made for a certain Nabii-ahé-iddina; and No. 45,528+ 46,614 (vol. ii, pl. vi), a copy of the First Tablet, which is described as the property of Nabii-meshétik-urri, a worshipper of Marduk and Sarpanitu, and is said to have been copied from an original at Babylon on the ninth day of Iyyar, in the twenty-seventh year of Darius. A certain Nabi-balatsu-ikbi, the son of Na'id-Marduk, appears to have owned a complete set of the Seven Creation Tablets, for we possess fragments of the First and of the Sixth Tablet in the series which belonged to him (cf. No. 93,015, Cun. Texts, pl. 3, where the first word of the second line of the colophon, which puzzled Delitzsch, is clearly Juiz; No. 46,803, vol. ii, pls. ix ff. ; and No. 92,629, vol. ii,

pl. xxxvii).

* Thus the fine copy of the Fourth Tablet, No. 93,016, which was written by the scribe Nabi-bélishu, was, according to its colophon (cf. Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 15), deposited by the smith Na'id-Marduk as a votive offering in the temple E-zida. In his transliteration of this colophon Delitzsch has made an odd blunder; he has not recognized the common phrase ana balat napiai'"'-su, "for the preservation of his life,' which occurs at the end of line 3 of the colophon, and has taken it as a proper name

DESCRIPTION GF THE TABLETS. CXIIL

are fine specimens of their class, e.g. Nos. 3, 13, 21, Description of 29, and 42,‘ and the characters and words upon them mae tani: are carefully written and spaced; others, however, consist of small, carelessly made tablets, on to which

the poem is crowded.? On all the tablets, whether Assyrian or Babylonian, which possess colophons,

the number of the Tablet in the Series is carefully given.' The extracts from the text, which were written out by students upon " practice-tablets," no

doubt in order to give them practice in writing and

at the same time to enable them to learn the text

by heart, are naturally rather rough productions.‘

One characteristic which applies to all the tablets,

™ rIN-z1"-Su (see Weltschopfungsepos, p. 41), a transliteration which turns the sentence into nonsense.

1 See pls. ii, iii, iv, and vi, and the frontispiece to Vol. II. Photographic reproductions of the reverse of No. 21 and the obverse of No. 29 are given in the Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, pls. vi and vii.

2 Cf. e.g., Nos. 93,015 (No. 2), 46,803 (No. 10), and 92,629 (No. 40), all of which were probably written by the same scribe.

3 Cf. the notes duppu I*4" E-nu-ma e-lié on No. 45,528, etc. (vol. ii, pl. vi); duppu E-nu-ma e-lis ri-eé on No. 93,015 (Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 3); [(dupplu L7*4% B-nu-ma e-lis on K. 292 (Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 6); duppu IV*X4""4 E-nu-ma e-lis, which follows a note as to the number of lines in the text upon No. 93,016 (Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 15); and dup-pi VX"? L-nu-ma e-li8 on K. 3,567 (Cun. Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 22).

4 The " practice-tablets" fall into two classes. In one class the tablets are wholly taken up with portions of the text of the Creation Series, which is written out upon them in sections of five verses separated by horizontal lines; cf. Nos. 82-g~-18,

H

The Assyrian
and Neo-
Babylonian
forms of the
text,
CXIV INTRODUCTION,

whether Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian, is that the text is never written in columns, but each line of the poem is written across the tablet from edge to edge! As a result, the tablets are long and narrow in shape, and are handled far more conveniently than broader tablets inscribed with two or more columns of writing on each side.

The forms of the text of the poem, which were in use in the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, are identical, and it is incorrect to speak of an Assyrian and a Babylonian "recension." At the time of Ashur-bani-pal the text had already been definitely fixed, and, with the exception of one or two phrases, the words of each line remained unchanged from that time forward. It is true that on the Babylonian tablets the words are, as a rule, written more syllabically, but this is a general characteristic of Babylonian copies of historical and literary texts. Moreover, upon several of the more carefully written tablets, the metre is indicated by the division of the

1,403 + 6,361 (No. 22) and 93,051 (No. 32). In the other class short extracts from the text are inscribed upon tablets containing other matter, all of which the pupil has written out for practice; cf. Nos. 36,726 (No. 5), 36,688 (No. 9), 82-9-18, 6,950 + 83-1-18, 1,868 (No. 24), and 82~9-18, 5,448 + 83~-1-18, 2,116 (No. 27). The second class are the more carelessly written of the two.

» The only apparent exceptions to this rule occur on some of the Neo-Babylonian tablets, in which two lines of the text are occasionally written on one line of the tablet when they are separated from each other by a division-mark. This is simply due to want of space, which necessitated the crowding of the text.

FORMS OF TEXT. CXV

halves of each verse,' an arrangement which is not met with on any of the Assyrian tablets. But both the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian copies represent the same "recension" of the text, and, as has already been indicated? are probably the descendants of a common Babylonian original. The following table will serve to show the number of Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian copies of each of the Seven Tablets under which the forty-nine separate fragments of the text

may be arranged :—

TABLET.	ASSYRIAN TEXT.	Neo-Bas. Text.	Neo-Bas. EXTRACTS.
I	Four copies (Nos. 1, 6, 7, 8, 11). Nos. 8 and 11 are probably parts of the same tablet.	Four copies (Nos. 2, 3, 4, 10, 12).	Two “ practice-tablets” (Nos. 5, 9). = Nos. 2 and 10 are parts of the same tablet. “
II	Four copies (Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19). Nos. 18 and rg are probably not parts of the same tablet.	Three copies (Nos. 13, 14, sy 5).	*
III	Four copies (Nos. 20, 23, 25, 28). Nos, 23 and 25 are probably not parts of the same tablet; it is possible, however, that No. 23 is part of a copy of Tabl. II, its text corresponding to Il, 13-24.	Two copies (Nos. 21, 26).	Three “ practice-tablets” (Nos. 22,24, 2 7).

1 See below, p. cxxii.

? See above, pp. Ixxii ff.

Table showing the number of Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian copies of the Seven Tablets,

Table showing

th ber of . Assyrianand &V	TABLET.	ASSYRIAN TEXT.	Neo-Bas. Text.	Neo-Bas. EXTRACTS.
Neo-Babylonian copies of the.Seven Tablets.	III	Three copies (Nos. 39, 31, 33, 34). Nos, 31 and 34 are probably		

bly parts of the same
tablet.
V Four, or five,
copies (Nos. 35,
36, 371 38, 39).
Nos. 35 and 39 are possi-
bly parts of the same
tablet,
VI

VII Four, or five,
-copies (Nos. 41,
43, 45, 46, 47,
48, 49).

-Nos, 41 and 46 are proba-
bly parts of the same
tablet, and Nos. 47 and
49 are probably parts of
another tablet; it is
possible that No. 45 is
a part of the same tablet
as Nos. 41 and 46.
Nuo-Bas. Text,

One copy
(No. 29).
One copy
(No. 40).
Two copies
(Nos. 42, 44).
Neo-Ban. EXTRActs.

One “practice-
tablet”
(No. 32).
Assyrian In the arrangement and interpretation of the

Commentaries

to the Seventh text .of the Seventh Tablet we receive considerable assistance from some fragments of Assyrian com- mentaries which have come down to us. These were compiled by the Assyrian scribes in order to explain that composition, and they are of the greatest value

Tablet,

for the study of the text.

The contents of these

documents, and their relation to the text of the Seventh

Tablet, are described in detail in Appendix I,' but the following facts with regard to the size of the tablets inscribed with the commentaries, and to previous publications of portions of them, may here be conveniently given.

The most important class of commentary takes the commentary form of a bilingual list, and, as has been pointed out a elsewhere," presupposes the existence of a Sumerian version of part of the text of the Seventh Tablet of the Creation Series. The text of the commentary is inscribed in a series of double columns; in the left half of each column it gives a list of the Sumerian words, or ideograms, and, in the right half, opposite each word is added its Assyrian equivalent. It is noteworthy that the list is generally arranged in the order in which the words occur in the Assyrian text of the Seventh Tablet. The columns of the com- mentary are divided into a number of compartments, or sections, by horizontal lines impressed upon the clay, and the words within each compartment refer either to separate couplets, or to separate lines, of the Seventh Tablet. Of this class of commentary we possess six fragments of two large tablets which were inscribed with five or six double columns of writing on each side; the two tablets are duplicates of one another, having been inscribed with the same

1 See below, pp. 157 ff.
? See above, p. Ixxix, n. 1, and below, p. 158.

version of the commentary. The following is a description of the six separate fragments, the two large tablets, to which they belong, being headed respectively A and B :—

Fragments of A
the first class of 44+
Commentary,

(1) S.11+5S. 980+S. 1,416. For the text, see Vol. II, pls. li-liii and lv; cf. also App. I, pp. 158 ff, 167 f.

The fragment is the top left hand portion of the tablet; it measures gin. by 7in. The text of S.11 +S, 980 was published in V R., pl. 21, No. 4. The fragment S. 1,416, which I have joined to the other two, has not been previously published.

(2) K.4,406. For the text, see Vol. II, pls. liv-lv ;
cf. also App. I, pp. 163 ff.
The fragment is-the top right hand portion of the tablet; it measures 4}in. by 4$in. The text has been previously published in II R., pl. 31, No, z.

(3) 82-3-23, 151. For the text, see Vol. II, pl. liv ;
cf. also App. I, p. 162.
The fragment measures 1$in. by 22 in.; it has not been
previously published.
(1) R. 366+ 80-7-19, 288+293. For the text,
see Vol. II, pls. lvi-lviii; cf. also App. I,
pp. 160, 168 f.
The fragment is from the left side of the tablet; it measures 2tin. by stin. The fragment R. 366 was published in V R., pl. 21, No. 3; 80~7-19, 293, was joined to it by Bezold, Catalogue, p. 1,608. The third fragment, 80-7-19, 288, was identified by Zimmern and published in the Zevs. fiir Assyr., xii, p. 401 f.

(2) K. 2,053. For the text, see Vol. II, pls. lix-Ix ;
cf. also App. I, pp. 161, 167 f.
This fragment measures 2$in. by 2}in.; it has long been known to be a duplicate of S. 11 4 S. 980 (see Bezold, Casalogue, p- 396), but its text has not been previously published.

(3) K. 8,299. For the text, see Vol. II, pl. Ix;
cf. also App. I, p. 162 f.
This fragment measures 3in. by r}in.; it has not been
previously published.
In addition to the above commentary in the form of a bilingual list, we possess single specimens of a second and a third class of explanatory text. The second class contains a running commentary to passages selected from other Tablets of the Creation Series in addition to the Seventh, and is represented by the tablet S.747.!_ The third class, represented by the obverse of the tablet K. 2,107 + K. 6,086,? gives explanations of a number of titles of Marduk, several of which occur in the recovered portions of the text of the Seventh Tablet. Each of these two commentaries furnishes information on various points with regard to

} The tablet S. 747, which measures 4? in. by 34 in., is published in Cun, Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 32, and its connection with the text of the Creation Series is described in Appendix I, p. 170 f. The text was given in transliteration by Delitzsch, Weltschipfungsepos, p- 58f.

» The tablet K. 2,107-+K. 6,086, which measures 4 in. by 5}in., is published in Vol. II, plate Ixif., and a transliteration and a translation of the text are given in Appendix I, pp. 171 ff. Col. ii of the single fragment K.2,107 was given in transliteration by Delitzsch, Weltschipfungsepos, p. 155.

The second
and third

classes of
Commentary.

the interpretation of the Seventh Tablet, but, as may be supposed, they do not approach in interest the six fragments of the commentary of the first class.

The The transliteration of the text of the Creation

reconstruction i . , . Sg :
ofthe text of Series, which is given in the following pages, has
the Creation

Series. been made up from the tablets, fragments, and extracts enumerated on pp. xcvii ff; while several passages in the Seventh Tablet have been con- jecturally restored from the Assyrian Commentaries just described. In the reconstruction of the text preference has usually been given to the readings found upon the Assyrian tablets, and the variant readings of all duplicates, both Assyrian and Neo- Babylonian, are given in the notes at the foot of the page. The lines upon each tablet of the Series have

Numbering of been numbered, and, where the numbering of a line is conjectural, it is placed within parentheses. Great assistance in the numbering of the lines of detached fragments of the text has been afforded by the fact that upon many of the, Neo-Babylonian copies every tenth line is marked with a figure “10” in the left- hand margin; in but few instances can the position of a detached fragment be accurately ascertained by its shape. The lines upon the Second and Fifth Tablets have been conjecturally numbered up to one hundred and forty. Upon the Sixth Tablet the total number of lines was one hundred and thirty-six or one hundred and forty-six ; and, in view of the fact that the scribe of No. 92,629 has continued the text to the bottom of

the reverse of the tablet, the larger number is the ‘The number of
A is Z ines upon the
more probable of the two. The following is a list of Tablets.

the total number of lines inscribed upon each of the

Seven Tablets of the Series :—

Tablet I, 142 lines.

» If, (140) ,,
joe LEM, F98e | 55
» IV, 146 ,,
» - V, (140).
» VI, 146 ,,

go WIT) tans 55
Although it is now possible to accurately estimate Gaps in me the number of lines contained by the Creation Series, ““* there are still considerable gaps in the text of several of the Tablets. The only Tablets in which the whole or portions of every line are preserved are the Third and Fourth of the Series. Gaps, where the text is completely wanting, occur in Tablet I, Il, 68-82, and in Tablet II, IL 59-(68).!. The greater part of the text of Tablet V is wanting, but by roughly estimating the position of the fragment K. 3,449@, which occurs about in the centre of the text, we obtain two gaps, between Il. 26 and (66) and between Il. (87) and (128). Of Tablet VI we possess only the opening and closing lines, the rest of the text, from 1. 22 to l. 137, being wanting. Finally, the gap in the text of

? In the gap in Tablet II, ll. 86-103, may probably be inserted the new fragment K. 10,008 ; see Appendix II, pp. 187 ff.

‘The metre of
the poem,
CXXIL INTRODUCTION.

Tablet VI, between Il. 47 and 105, is partly filled up by the fragments KK. 12,830, 13,761, 8,519, 13,337; which together give portions of thirty-nine lines.

Upon some of the Babylonian copies the metre is indicated in writing by the division of the halves of each verse, and, wherever this occurs upon any tablet or duplicate, the division has, as far as possible, been retained in the transliteration of the text. In accordance with the rules of Babylonian poetry, the text generally falls into couplets, the second verse frequently echoing or supplementing the first ; each of the two verses of a couplet is divided into halves, and each half-verse may be further subdivided by an accented syllable? This four-fold division of each

1 On Nos. 45,528 + 46,614 (No. 3), 82-9-18, 6,879 (No. 12), 38,396 (No. 14), 42,285 (No. 26), and 93,016 (No. 29); cf. also the ‘‘practice-tablets,” Nos. 82~-9-18, 1,403 + 6,316 (No. 22) and 82-9-18, 5,448 + 83-1-18, 2,116 (No. 27).

? For the first description of the metre of the poem, see Budge, PS.B.A,, vol. vi, p. 7; and for later discussions of the metre of Babylonian poetry in general, see Zimmern’s papers in the Zez/s. Jér Assyr., viii, pp. 121 ff, x, pp. 1 ff, xi, pp. 86 ff, and xii, pp. 382 ff.; cf. also D. M. Mueller, Die Propheten tn threr urspriing- lichen Form, i, pp. 5 ff. It may be noted that in addition to the division of the text into couplets, the poem often falls naturally into stanzas of four lines each. That the metre was not very carefully studied by the Neo-Babylonian scribes is proved by the somewhat faulty division of the verses upon some of the tablets on which the metre is indicated, and also by the fact that the pupils of the scribes were allowed, and perhaps told, to write out portions of the poem in sections, not of four, but of five lines each (see above, p. cxiiif., n. 4).

ARRANGEMENT OF TEXT. CXXIII

verse will be. apparent from the following connected ee mete transliteration of the first half-dozen lines of the

poem, in which the subdivisions of the verses are

marked in accordance with the system of the
Babylonian scribes as found upon the tablet
Sp. ii, 265@' :—

1f. enuma | ets || & nabt | Samamu
Saplis | ammatum || Suma | Mk zakrat
3h. Apsiima | ristit || zaru - sun
mummu | Tiamat || wuallidat | gimrisun
5f. mé - sunu || estends | thikitma
gipara | lakissura || susa | Za Set

It will be seen that the second verse of each couplet balances the first, and the caesura, or division, in the centre of each verse is well marked. The second half of verse 3 and the first half of verse 5, each of which contains only one word, may appear rather short for scansion, but the rhythm is retained by dwelling on the first part of the word and treating the suffix almost as an independent word. It is unnecessary to trans- literate more of the text of the poem in this manner, as the simple metre, or rather rhythm, can be detected without difficulty from the syllabic trans- literation which is given in the following pages.

* Published by Zimmern, Z.A., x, p. 17 f.

Transliterations
and
Translations,

The Seven Tablets of He History of

Creation.

The Cirst Tablet.

I. ¢-"u- ma e- lish

2, sap - lis?

3. Apsii- mat vis-tu-u
4. mu-~um-mu Tt-amat
5. mer” - Sm - nus
6. gi-pa-ra la ki-ts-su-ra?
7. @- Nu» ma ani” 9
8

9. tb-ba-nu-u-ma™ tine

am - ma - tune

. Su-ma la xuk-ku-ru

la na-bu-u sa-ma-mu
Su-mas la sak-vat
Bat - ru « Su - un
mu-al-li-da-at® gim-ri-Su-un
i8-te-nis i-hi-ku-u-ma
su-sa~ae la se-?
ma- na - nee
[8¢- ma]"

la Su-pu-u

Si-ma-tu la

hi -vi(b|8 $[a-ma-mi]*

1 No. 45,528 -+ 46,614, e-d7-2¥,

For the principles on which the

text has been made up, see the Introduction.

2 No.
* No.
* No.
® No.
7 No.
5 No.
* No.
45,528, etc., sap-lt-18,

93,018, su-sa-’,

3 No. 93,015, Su-mu.

45,528, etc., omits ma; No. 93,015 reads Apsu(u).
93,015, mu-um-ma-al-li-da-al (see the Glossary).
93,018, me*-su-un 3 No. 45,528, etc., mu-u-Su-ni.
93,015, gt-par-ra la hu-su-ru.
9 No. 45,528, etc., ddnz.

93,015, Su-um la su-uk-hu-ru.

" Conjectural restoration; it is probable that not more than two

signs are wanting on K. 5,419¢.

I.

The Seven Tablets of Be History of

Creation.

The Cirst Tabet.

1. When in the height heaven was not named,

2. And the earth beneath did not yet bear a name,

3. And the primeval Apst, who begat them,

4. And chaos, Tiamat, the mother of them both,—

5. Their waters were mingled together,

6. And no field was formed, no marsh was to be seen ;

7. When of the gods none had been called into being,

8. And none bore a name, and no destinies [were
ordained)" ;
9. Then were created the gods in the midst* of
heaven],
4 ma is omitted by Nos. 93,015 and 45,528, etc.

18 The traces of the character upon No. 48,528, etc., suggest 77d.

M The first sign of the word in No. 45,528, etc., is probably sa; the restoration of the second half of the line as &¢-77[8 | S[a-ma-mi], “in the midst of heaven,” is therefore possible. The existence of Sama&mu, or “heaven,” so early in the Creation-story is not inconsistent with Marduk’s subsequent acts of creation. After slaying Tiamat his first act was to use half of her body as a covering for the Sama@mu (cf. Tabl. 1V, 1. 138, $a-ma-ma u-sa-al-lil); it is therefore clear that the Jam@mu was vaguely conceived as already in existence.

4 j CREATION SERIES, TABLET I.

10. ™Lak-mu' ™ La-ha-mu us-ta-puu [... Jj?

ii. a- ai iv -bu-u food | id he: cat Sy aS,
12. An-sar*Ki-Sar 1b-ba-nu-u® e- ili} - su -[nu®

13. ur- rt - ku? ame" us-st®[. : J
14. "A-nu® a-pil™-su-nu [2... JruM >... . J
15. An-sar ™ A-num [. .]
16, u ™ A - num™ ut - [ ]
17. ™Nu-dim-mud sa abé"-su a - lid® - [res
18, pal- ka uz-nu ha-sis e@)-([.. . .. 7}
19. gu-us-Sur ma-a-di-is [
20. la ist S[a]-n{i]-ma® [2. 2...
21. tn-nin-dumat{...]-u® [. .
&

poru

1 Nos. 45,528, etc., and 93,015 insert the copula w.

2 The end of the line should possibly be restored as [mi?-fa-ris],
"together," or 'at one time."
5 No. 93,015 reads a-di-7. It is preferable to take the word as the plur. of the subs. ad#, rather than as the prep. adz, which is not written with the long final vowel.

4 Nos. 45,528, etc., and 35,134 insert the copula x.

5 No. 45,528, etc., 2b-da-nu-ma.

® If the reading e-/[7]-Su-[uz . . .] be correct, the second half of the line possibly refers to the precedence in rank taken by AnSar and Kigar over Lahmu and Lahamu. This suggestion is based on the fact that it is AnSar, and not Lahmu, to whom Ea appeals on hearing of the revolt of Tiamat, and that it is AnSar who subsequently directs the movements of the gods.

7 No. 48,528, etc., u-ur-ri-ku; No. 35,134, u-tr-ri-ku; No.
93,015, u-ri-ke,
® K.5,419c reads w[y- . . . J3 No. 45,528, etc., w-us-sz; in the translation I have taken the word as the Pret. Kal. from as#, but it is possible that the word is not complete.

THE BIRTH OF THE GODS. 5

10, Lahmu and Lahamu were called into being [..]?
11. Ages*increased,[. . - - J,
12. Then Ansar and KiSar were created, and over

them[....]

13. Long were the days, then there came forth*[. .]
14. Anu, theirson, [2... 2. 2 ee eee
15. AnSarandAnu[..... |
16. Andthe god Anu [. . . ; = iy i]
17. Nudimmud, whom his fathers [his] bedetrers# fe
18. Abounding in all wisdom, [. . . . .]¥
19. He was exceeding strongf . . . . . |

20. Hehadnorival[. . . . . 2...]

21. (Thus) were established and[were . . . . .”
the great gods (?)].
® Nos. 45,528, etc., 93,015, and 35,134 read ™ A-num.

1 Nos. 45,528, etc., and 35,134 prove that the traces of this sign on K. 5,419¢ and No. 93,015 are those of pz/, not dz.

u The traces upon No. 45,528, etc., suggest the reading
{da-ni }-nu.
@ No. 35,134, “A-nu-um. The traces which follow upon
No. 45,528, etc., are not clear.
8 The word may possibly be restored e-lid-[di-u], as suggested
in the translation.
4 No. 35,134, pal-ku. ha-sis is probably a participle.

%* L. 18 evidently contains a description of Nudimmud (Ea), and, in view of the important part he plays in the First and Second Tablets, it is not improbable that Il. 19 and 20 also refer to him.

6 This restoration is in accordance with the traces upon Nos,
35,134 and 45,528, etc.
W No. 35,134, [ea-nin-d]u-u[. . .).

8 uw is evidently the final syllable of a second verb. The subject of both verbs (possibly some such phrase as #/@nz rabiii, “ the great gods,” cf. I. 29) was contained in the second half of the line.

22. e-Su-u T[t-amat u Apsit!' . 2... 1 we we |]

23. da-al-hu-nim-ma sete Ge
24. tna su--a-ru? su-[2. 6 we ee ee |
25. la na-Sst-ir Apsit x i, aie Sa? BAT
26, u Ti-amat | su|-ka-am-mu-m[a}-a[t4]}* [. . . j
27. im-has-sa-am-m{ a t\p>-Sse-ta®-Su-un [. 1. . 2 2 |
28. la fa-bat al-kat-su-nu Su-nu{-)[t]27 ¢-ga- me®-la 29.0 - nu - su Apsit aza-vi ilaint rva-bi-u-ten

30. is-st-ma Mu-um-mu’ suk-kal-la-su t-zak-kar-su

31. Mu-uim-mu® — suk-kal-Li mu-tib-ba ka- bit-ti-ta 32. al-kam-ma si-rt-i8" Ti-amat™ toni - [il - li - ik]® 33. u-li-ku-~ma ku-ud-mi- 184 Ti-(amat]® sak- pu 34. a-ma-tt tm-tal-li-ku as-Sum ilant [ma-ri-e-su-un)'

35. Aplst pal- a- su i-pu-[S$am-ma 7-kab- bi]

1 This restoration is not certain, but it is consistent with the traces upon No. 45,528, etc., and it gives good sense. L. 21 thus concludes the account of the creation of the gods, and in 1. 22 the narrative returns to Apsi and Tiamat.

? The signs should possibly be divided as ¢-2a Su--a.

* The traces of the character after S« suggest du.

‘ This restoration is not quite certain. One sign is wanting at the beginning of the word; the traces of the two signs with which it concludes suggest the reading -ma-af, For the meaning of Sukammumu, cf. IIR, pl. 21, col. iv, 1. 18, Sa-Ram-mu-mu (not Su-gam-mu-mu as H-W-B., p. 640) Sa u-me (i.e. “ storms”). The word is peculiarly applicable to Tiamat.

* The traces seem to me to be those of 7, but Aa/ is possible.

* I think the signs are clearly se-éa, and not /; if the reading were i, the restoration [swk]-hal-/i-Su-un would be possible.

APSU CONSULTS TIAMAT. 7

22.

23.
24.
25.
26,

27.
28.
29.
30.
31.
32.
33:
34-
35-

But Tiamat and Apsi]! were (still) in con-
fusion[. . . . |,
They were troubled and [. . . .. .

Indisorder(??) . . — .. .

Apsi was not diminished in might [

And Tiamat roared*> . . .

She smote, and their deeds [

Their way wasevil . . [. J. .

Then Apsi, the begetter of the great gods,

Cried-unto Mummu, his minister, and said unto
him :
“ QO Mummy, thou minister that rejoicest my spirit,

“Come, unto Tiamat let us [go]*!”

So they went and before Tiamat they lay down,

They consulted on a plan with regard to the gods
[their sons].!®
Apsii opened his mouth [and spake],

ee ee ee ef

7 The sign upon No. 36,726 may be a carelessly written #7; we can hardly read tit-r3t (cf. Briinnow, No. 1,512). The text is taken from a practice-tablet, and several of the characters upon it are roughly made.

® The reading of ¢a a for ga me is also possible.

* No. 36,726, AZu-um-mu.

No. 36,726, suk-kal-lu ; 81-7-27, 80, sukkallu.

N 81-7-27, 80, ris.

- Y No. 36,726, Za-a-ma-t; 81-7-27, 80,**[2. . 2. J.

*8 Conjectural restoration. The end of the line should perhaps be restored as 7 ni-[2/-Zik ni-i-ni]; in any

case the line must have run over upon the edge of the tablet No. 36,726.

M 81-7-27, 80, kud-mes. % No. 36,726, Za-a-ma-ti.

%* The restoration of this and the following line is conjectural.

36. a-na[T]z-am([at] el-l-tu-ma i-za[k-kar a-ma-tum)'

37.tm-[2... | al-kat-su-n[u . . . . J
38. ur-[r]a la Su-up-Su-ha-ak® mu-si [la sal-la-ak]®
39. lu-us-hal-lik-ma al-kat-su-nu lu*-[1. 6 1 1. J
40. ku-u-lu® lis-sa-kin-ma 28 mi-ts-lal [ni-i-ni]}?
41. Té-amat an-ni-ta i-na [se - mi - sa}8
42. ¢-2u-uz-ma® il-ta-si e-li-[ta® . . . . |
43. [..] mar-si-ifug[..] e-[— 2... 2 ee. J
44. -mut-ta it-ta-di ana [Apsi t-zak-kar|* 45. [mi]-na-a ni-t-nu sa ni - i[p- pu - us]® 46. [all-kat-su-nu lu Sum-ru-sa-at-ma 7% ni-[is-lal ni-t-ni]*

47. [¢]-pu-ul-ma ™ Mu-um-mu Apsit® 7¢-ma-al-[li- ku) 48. [...] 48 la ma-gi-ru" mi-lik Mu-[um-mu (?))®

1 This line is conjecturally restored.

® 81-97-27, 80, [su-up]-iu-ha-ku.

® The end of the line obviously contained some parallel phrase to la $u-up-§u-ha-ak ; this has been restored from l. 50.

4 On No. 45,528, etc., there are traces of the character which follows Zz; it does not seem to be ws.

5 K. 3,938 and 81-7-27, 80, ku-lu.

® gis omitted by 81-7-27, 80.

7 For this restoration, see Il. 96, 100, and toz.

® Cf, Tablet IV, 1. 87.

® K. 3,938 reads [¢]-2/z-m[a].

0 For this restoration, cf. Tablet IV, 1. 89, and Tablet III, 1. 12s.

UNo. 36,688, #7.

THE PLOT AGAINST THE GODS. 9

36. And unto Tiamat, the glistening one, he addressed
[the word]': :
B75 8s oe ey, 2 Sitheir'way.[ses es

38. " By day I cannot rest, by night [I cannot lie
down (in peace)].*
39. " But I will destroy their way, Iwill[. . . |],

40. " Let there be lamentation, and let us lie down
(again in peace)."
41. When Tiamat [heard]* these words,

42. She raged and cried aloudf . . . . |}.

43. [She . . .]grievously[. . . . J,

44. She uttered a curse, and unto [Apsii she spake|":

45. ' What then shall we [do]*?

46. " Let their way be made difficult, and let us [lie
down (again) in peace].*"
47. Mummu answered, and gave counsel unto Apsii,

48.[. . .] and" hostile (to the gods) was the
counsel Mu[mmu gave] **:
® Conjecturally restored; another possible restoration is ¢-na
[ilani marta], ie, "She uttered a curse against [the gods,
her sons."
8 The line is conjecturally restored.

™ For the restoration, cf. |. 40, and p. 8, note 7.

No. 45,528, etc, 4p-[. . . j.

8 The traces upon 81-7-27, 80 suggest the copula w before /a; the first word of the line was probably another adj. descriptive of Mummu's counsel.

UV No. 46,803, ra.

8 The restoration Mu-[um-mu] is not certain, as in I. 47 on 81-7-27, 80 the name is written with the determinative.

10 CREATION SERIES, TABLET I.

49. [a]-4k k?\-at — al-ka-s[ul-ujn]? est-[2 1.]

◦

50. [ur-r]is le S$[ulp-su-Ra-at mu- Sif lu sal - la- [at] 51. [as -me)>-sum-ma Apsii im-met-ru
pa-nu-us-[S\u

52. [Sa Lim]3-ni-e-ti ik-pu-du a-na ilani® m{a)>-ri-e-su

53... .]) @-4-dr k-[.. ws J
54. [...-w]st-[...] bir-ka-a-su [2]-na-sa-ku8 Sa-a-su
55. [ek lim-ni-e-ti]® tk-pu-du bu-{ulk-ri-su-un

56.[2. 2 1. ww Jere - Su - md us - tan - nu - ni BFL ety pot te Ate, oo 8 nag aan GE a ig Selec Cage A Sede 58. ku-l[u . . 1. . . Sa-ku-um)j?-mi-is us - bu BOs aT Sh for UE een Atle des es eee eae, eS a BS ee

1 This passage is very broken, but the sign is possibly ’; it is probably not ma, as Jensen suggests. In the following line the reading of §(u]p-Su-fa-at upon $1-7-27, 80 is certain; and the precatives are to be taken as in the 2 m.s., not the 3 f.s. The parallelism of this passage with 1. 38, moreover, proves that mz-Sis is to be rendered “by night,” not “like the night”; and the expression cannot therefore be cited as proving that it was the creation of light which caused the revolt of Apst. For a further discussion of this point and of the suggested reading of im ma as-ru-nim-ma in |. 109, see the Introduction.

2 The last sign of the line preserved by 8:-7-27, 80 is either eorun, Ife, it is to be identified with the e of No. 46,803, and the preceding word must be read as ad-ka-s[u]; to read al-ka-fa] is consistent with the traces upon the tablet, but is hardly probable.

MUMMU’S COUNSEL. II

49. “Come, their way is strong, but thou shalt
destroy [it];
50. “Then by day shalt thou have rest, by night
shalt thou lie down (in peace).”
51. Apsi [hearkened unto]* him and his countenance
grew bright,
52. [Since] he (ie. Mummu) planned evil against the
gods his sons.
53-[.- . . .]hewasafraidf . . . .],

54. His knees [became weak(?)], they gave way®

beneath him,

55. [Because of the evil]* which their first-born had
planned.
56.[. . . . Jtheir[. . . they altered(?).

Sit) aoe St Bhs. OR ne en they [eee oes
58. Lamentation[. . . .] they sat in [sorrow] °
BOs iL cet. ay tcc ak nase ie wre eee ae

% Conjectural restoration. 4 No. 46,803, mz.

® The traces on No. 46,803 suggest the reading [dani].

5 This seems to be the reading of No. 46,803.

7 No. 46,803, Obv,, |. 8, contains ll. 53 and 54 of the text, and the division-mark is not preserved; the sign [«] may therefore belong to the second half of]. 53.

§ 81-7-27,.80 reads u(?)-na-as-Sa[k . . . J. In K. 2,056,

‘col. id (last three lines), a verb ma-Sa-ku forms a group with nadé and makitu; cf. also H-W-B., p. 486, col. a.

° Cf. Tablet II, 1. 6.

% L. 59 formed the first half of 1. 11 of the Obverse of No. 46,803, but mone of it has been preserved. The scribe of

Nos. 46,803 and 93,015 has written several couplets of the text in
single lines on his tablet.
12 CREATION SERIES, TABLET I.

60. [e-l]i-e ™“H-a ha-sis mi-tim [Bla-[s]u! é-se-’-a me-ki-su-un®

61[. Ste RE 8 Gag hdd te es
62. [- . Re ku su(?)-tu-rut ta-a-sSu el-lum
63.[. . . . flees Sa kit-tu kit-[. . . . jt
64.[. Se igs ME ar FEB eke A ae fe NE TS
65.[.]fu-tal-lat{ . 6 6 6) kueu-ru
66.[. J 67,-[. . . . = najym®
[Lines 68-82 are wanting.]
83. . - -4Je 84.[. . . - -alm-ra
85. [. ee fhe, ee Sa Se Eek ae ll ee, ee
863.[P (oie bee ee 8 eb BF gtl'- mil-
87.[.- ome of US eS a ia ce at Re ae Oe JS

83. — . » jga-am-ma® i-dal-lah® ™ Ti-amat
89. f . eee ee J) te du ul- [k]2
90. f .] da-a-vi- sam
CC) om ae } li-s mut- tum
1 The reading [4]a-[5]u is not quite certain; there are traces of
only two signs.
2? The word mekw occurs oe in Tablet II, l. 81 (me-hu-us Ti-a-ma-tt), and Tablet IV, 1. 66 (sa ™ Kin-gu me-ki-§u), and from the context of these passages it is clear that the word describes an act or state capable of inspiring terror. ILR, pl. 36, No. 3, Obv., 1. 49 f., explains the group [Kk]a-SAL as me-ku-u Sa KA (ie. pa or Sinnu), and a following group as " ditto" (ie. me-ku-u) $a am@li. If we may connect this me-ku-w with the meku in the passages quoted above, we may perhaps assign to it some such meaning as "' muttering, growling, snarling." It is probable that Apst, Mummu, and Kingu, as well as Tiamat, were conceived as monsters and not endowed with human forms.

EA LEARNS THE PLOT. 13

60. Then Ea, who knoweth all that [is],1 went up and
he beheld their muttering?
62.[. . . . |... . his pure incantation
64. [fg OO AE Ye Teena ahs Re Sy Ae wep can file
65. [i ede eS a ce ee Pmisery:
66. [Sears | OF ae 8 < er] S
[Lines 68-82 are wanting.]

896i [edits Sep de i BATE cae oat) ay] voto

85.[2. ew ee ee ee) . 6] the god Anu,
86.[. 2. 2. 2. ee ee ee an aven|ger.'
Fal ph hs it ke AeA Gh, tne Saylor fob cee SS 8 at Ul"
88. [. . . . J and®he shall confound Tiamat."
BOE etd ce ae Gl Ge Bh SNE! Ge oats, cept
9. [2... ee ee ee ee J for ever.
Otel). ate a am a ae ace « J] the evil,

3 No. 46,803, Obv., 1. 12, contained Il. 61 and 62 of the text.

' Li, 62 ff. are so broken that the reading of the signs which are
preserved is not certain.
5 No. 46,803, Obv., |. 14, contained I. 64 and 65 of the text.

* It is probable that No. 46,803, Obv., 1. 15, contained il. 66 and
67 of the text.
7 Conjectural restoration ; the reading of gd is not certain.

° No. 46,803, Rev., l. 5, contained ll. 87 and 88 of the text.

® Perhaps read a-ga-am-ma, “swamp”; but the a is not certain.

© Tiamat is possibly the subject of the verb.

1 Jt is possible that the verb in Tablet IV, II. 63 and 64, should be transliterated ¢-du/-/u-Su, and connected with the verb in the present passage and with ¢a-du-ui-i[z’] in 1. 99.

14 CREATION SERIES, TABLET I.

o2.[2... 2. 2 we ew.) teresa iz-zak-kar
93.-[... . 2...» J [. .]} bakit t-na-ru-ma
O4.[. - . . . J+Ai-ma ka- i+ if us- bu?
95. [6 Re oe ee pu- luh- tum
96.[. 2... 1...] al ni-sa-al-lal ni-i-ni
97. eee ee we | Apesuu har-ba-[..j*
mmr

98. «see ot ™ Mu-um-mu sa ik-ka-mu-u ina su-[. .]%

99. [- wee] aH ta- du- ul- Ur}?

to. [. 2. 1... J ot nt-tg-lal ni-t-[ni]§
rot. [ee ee) [Beef in-mu-ra® e-na-tu-u-[..
102. [eee ew ew ew) 2 ni-tg-lal ni-c- [ni]
103. [soe ee ee] gimil-la-su-nu tir-vi-[.,]"
ro4. [ee eee J ana sa-ki-ku su-uk-[...J
wo. ff . ee ee ee J? @fmla-tum tla el-[he)
1 The speech that follows is evidently addressed to Tiamat. The speaker refers to the evil fate which has overtaken Apsi and Mummu in their revolt against the gods (cf. Il. 97 and 98); he encourages Tiamat to take vengeance for them (]. 103), and, by continuing the struggle, to obtain with him the slothful peace which she desires (jl. roo ff.). From the fact that Tiamat sub- sequently promoted Kingu to lead her forces ‘“ because he had given her support ” (cf. 1, 127), and addressed him as her “ chosen spouse,” it may be inferred that the speaker of ll. 93 ff. was Kingu.

2 82-9-18, 6,879, ft iL Se ‘f

3 No. 46,803 also reads sa, preceded by traces of another sign.

4 One sign is wanting at the end of the line, perhaps ma.

5 No. 46,803, Rev., l. 14, contains ll. 97 and 98 of the text. It is possible that 1. 98 begins with the words w * Mu-um-mu, in which case Su (or ku) would form the last sign of line 97. Elsewhere on the tablet, however, the scribe has not omitted the division-signs when writing two lines of the text together; cf. No. 46,803, Obv., ll. g and ro. It is safer to assume that no part of 1. 98 has been preserved by No. 46,803.

g92.[... |]... . he spake:?

93. “[. 4 re ie .] he hath conquered and
94. “[.. 4] he [weepeth] ahd sitteth in tribulation (?).
95. “[2... i! cer RE ce. ee tf OF fear,
Os EYE oe a. Mes a we shall not lie down (in peace). 97. “[. . . . . 7] Apsii is laid waste (?),4 98. “[. . ..}and Mummu, who were taken captive,

99. “f . . . . | . . thoudidst . . . ;’

too. “[. . . . «J let us lie down (in peace).
tor “[.....]... they will smite(??)[...].
to2. “[. . . . « J] let us lie down (in peace).
103. “[. . .] thou shalt take vengeance for them,
104. “[.] unto the tempest shalt thou[.. . |!”
105. [And Tiamat hearkened unto}” the word ‘bE the
bright god, (and said) :
® 82-9-18, 6,879 gives a variant reading for the second half of the line: la e-dif ina ma-a-[. . .

* Cf. 1. 89, and p. 13, note rr.

8 829-18, 6,879 gives a variant aia for the second half of
the line: wi(-)éa-ra-mi{-)nal .
° The first two signs of the word are not quite certain.

© 82-9~18, 6,879, t-na-tu-u .

™ The word should probably be restored as fir-r?. [2], or der-ri-[ma].

® The first half of the line may possibly be restored as [28-me-ma Ti-amat), as suggested in the translation; or [%2-du-ma Ti-amat a-na], cf. Tablet II, 1. (113). According to this interpretation the speech of the god (Kingu) ends with 1. 104, Tiamat replies in 1. 106, and with |. 107 the narrative begins the description of Tiamat’s preparations for battle. It is possible that the speech does not end with 1. 104, but continues to J. 106; in that case 1, 106 may be restored in some such way as ‘“‘[The leadership of the gods unto me] shalt thou entrust,” and for a-[m]a-tum in]. 105 we should perhaps read a- [D]e-tum. The former inter- pretation seems to me preferable, as it assigns a line to Tiamat in which she assents to Kingu’s proposals.

wo6.[. . . . . «| Me ta-ad-di-nuini-pu-us[..}
wo7e-[. ... 2 . .] tani ktevrib [. . .]

ws. ff 2... 2... lan lant ba-ni-[... i}?
109. [¢m-ma-as-ru-nim-ma\ t-du-us Ti-amat ti-be-[u-ni}§

110. [ts-au kap:du la sa-ki-pu| mu - ga u [im - ma] iit. [nma-su-u tam-ha-rja na-szar-bu-bu la-[ab-bu] 112. [wnken-na Sit-ku-nu]-ma t-ban-nu-u su-l[a-a-ti] 113. [Um - mu - Hu - bulr* pa-ti-ka-at ka-lla-ma] 114. [us-vad-di kalk-ku la mah-ru it-fja-llad — sirmahke[*|

115. [eak-tu- ma Ssiln-ni la pa-d{u-u] at-ta-['-2]

116. [¢m-tu ki-ma] da-mu 2u-mur-[su-nu] us-ma-al-(li]

117. [usumgallé"| na-ad-ru-tum pu-ul-ha-[a]-ti u-sal-[bis-ma]

118. [me-lam-m]\e us-das-sa-a i-li-i$® [um - tas - sil]

119. [a-mi]r-su-nu Sar~ba-ba [l}if - Blar - mi - im]

120. [ze]-mur-su-nu lis-tah-}i-dam-ma lai-ni--u[i-rat-su-un]

* We may perhaps restore the end of the line as 7 ni-pu-ué
[Sa-as-ma]; cf. Tablet IV, 1. 86.
* The word may possibly be restored as Ja-n7-[a/].
* Lines rog-142 have been restored from Tablet III, ll. 19-52.
+ A title of Tiamat.
° In the parallel passages the majority of the duplicates read és, not 2H, which precludes the translation "'she made them even as

TIAMAT PREPARES FOR BATTLE. 17

14.

115.
116,
117.
118.
119g.
120.
"{...] shalt thou entrust! let us wage [war]!"*
[. . . .]the gods in the midst of [.. .]
| for the gods did she create.?
[They banded themselves together and] at the
side of Tiamat [they] advanced ; *
. [They were furious, they devised mischief without

resting] night and [day].

[They prepared for battle], fuming and raging ;
[They joined their forces] and made war.
{Ummu-Hubulr,* who formed all things,
[Made in addition] weapons invincible, she
spawned monster-serpents,
[Sharp of] tooth, and merciless of fang ;

[With poison instead of] blood she filled [their]
bodies.
Fierce [monster-vipers] she clothed with terror,

[With splendour] she decked them, [she made
them] of lofty stature.°
[Whoever beheld] them, terror overcame him,‘

Their bodies reared up and none could withstand
[their attack].
gods.” The same variety of reading occurs in a parallel expression in IVR, pl. 60* [67], B, Obv., 1. 31, and C, Obv., 1. 11, ¢a-na- da-a-tt Sarri e-li§ (so B; C, lis) u-mas-sil, “1 have made the honour of the king to be exalted.”

® No. 45,528, etc., sar-ba-bi-is Ui-th-hlar-mi-im], “he was overcome by terror,” or possibly, ‘his terror overcame him” ; of the two I think it preferable to assign a passive meaning to li-th-har-mi-im and to take Sar-ba-b7-i% as an adverb.

121. [ws-2¢]z! ba-as-mu® siv-rus u ™(La- ha-mm] 122. [ugall|e” UR - BE”3 takrab - amelie] 123. [u-m]e da-ab-ru-te® niin-améilu u ku - [sa - vik - ku] ® 124. [na-S}t hak-ku la pa-du-u la a-di-ru [ta-ha-zi] 125. [gab-sa] te-ri-tu-sa la mak-ra $t-[na-a-ma 126. [a] p-pu-na-ma' is-ten es-rit® kima® su-a-ti ul s-tab-st 127. t-na ilani™ bu-uk-rvi-sa™ su- ut is-ku-nu-[si pu-uf-r2] 128. u-Sa-as-ki 8 Kin-gu ina bi-vi-su- nu Sa-a-s(u us-vab-bi-is]

129. a-li-kut' mah-ri™ pa-an um-ma-ni mu--ir-ru-[ut puhri}* 130. [na]-as® kakku ti-ts-bu-tu'? te-bu-[u] a-na-|an- tu}

t No. 45,528, etc., [uS-a’z-m]a, or [us-27-2]z.

? In the list of monsters created by Tiamat, both here and in the parallel passages, it is probable that the words which occur in the singular are used collectively.

3 In ILR, pl. 6, col. i, 1. 26, [uR]-nE is explained as fal-du Se-gu-u, “raging hound”; the reading of the ideogram is not certain,

4 No. 45,528, etc., inserts w. ® No. 45,528, etc., um.

* Restored from Tablet II, I. 29; No. 45,528, etc., BE (or
GUD, but not fw)[... .
7 No. 93,015, [a]p-pu-na-a-la. 8 No. 93,015, e-ri-e-d2.

® No. 45,528, etc., Az-ma.

1 That is, eleven kinds of monsters; since the plural is used in

TIAMAT'S BROOD OF MONSTERS. 19

121.

122.

123.

-124.

125.

126,

[She set] up vipers,? and dragons, and the
(monster) [Lahamu],
{And hurricanes], and raging hounds,' and
scorpion-men,
And mighty [tempests], and fish-men, and
[rams];
[They bore] cruel weapons, without fear of [the
fight].
Her commands [were mighty], [none] could
resist them ;
After this fashion, huge of stature, [she made]
eleven (monsters).'°
127, Among the gods who were her" sons, inasmuch

128,

129.
130.
as he had given [her support],
She exalted Kingu; in their midst [she raised]
him [to power].

To march before the forces, to lead [the host],
To give the battle-signal, to advance to the attack,
the case of many of the classes, it is clear that Tiamat created more

than

an
2
3
u
15
16
n
18
wy
20

one of each.

No. 45,528, etc., [dani]™.

No. 93,015, bu-uk-ri-Su-nu, i.e. the sons of Apsii and Tiamat. Nos. 45,528, etc., and 93,015, ka.

No. 93,015, -ku-fu; No. 45,528, etc, [... -kJa[...]. No. 45,528, etc., [m]a-ah-ra; No. 93,015, mahri.

Nos. 45,528, etc., and 93,015, pa-nz.

No. 93,018, um-ma-nu mu-’-tr-ru-tu pu-ul f-ri}.

K. 3,938, na-se-e; No. 45,528, etc., ma-Se.

No. 45,528, etc., e-2s-bu-dum.

81-7-27, 80 reads di-ku-u, ‘‘to summon to the attack.”

20

CREATION SERIES, TABLET I.

131.
132.
133.

134.

135.
136,
137.

138,

139.

140.

141.

142.

Su-ud tam~ha-ru' ra-ab sik - kaw tu- iu?

ip-kid-ma_ ka-tus-Su* u-Se-$i-ba-as-Su ina [kar-r1] ad-di* ta-a-ka ina puhur’ ilani™® u - sar - bi - ka ma-li-kut™ ilani*’ gim-ra-at-su-nu ka tus-[Su us-mal-l]

lu Sur-ba-ta-ma ha-t-ri e- du- u at- ta li-ty-tab-bu u zik-ru-ka elt kali-[su-nu .. “A-nun-na-ki |“

id-din-§u-ma" dupsimati” 7¢-rva-[tu-us|]® — u-Sat-mi-ih ha-ta\ kibit-ka la in-nin-na-a U[t-kun si-it pt-i-ka] e-nin-na® ™Kin-gu® su -us-ku-u li-ku-u [A-nu-te} ina tlant [ma-r|i-e-su'® si - ma - [ta iS - ti-mu) ip-Sa pi-ku-nu ™Gibil® de - nt - th - ha

n@id ina™ kit-mu-ru ma-ag-Sa-ru® lis’ - [rab ~ bi - ib]

1
2
4
5
6
8
10
u
No. 45,528, etc., fa-am-ha-ru ; No. 93,015, fa-am-ha-a-ta.

No. 93,015, rab sik-kat-tu-tu. * No. 45,528, etc., ka-tu-[u]s-su. K. 3,938, a-d?; No. 93,015 reads KU, i.e. addi.

No. 45,528, etc., 2-[na] pu-hur.

No. 93,015, 2ant. 7 No. 45,528, etc., hu-ut.

K. 3,938, 2a[nz]. * No. 45,528, etc., /u-u.

No. 93,015, dz Su-ur-ba-ta-a ha-’-a-r7.

Restored from Tablet III, 1. 104. The Anunnaki are possibly

the subject of the sentence.

B

No. 45,528, etc., id-din-[S]um-ma ; No. 93,015, 1d-din-ma.

KINGU LEADS THE REBEL HOST. 2I

131. To direct the battle, to control the fight,

132

133.

134.

135

. Unto him she entrusted ; in [costly raiment] she

made him sit, (saying) :

“ T have uttered thy spell, in the assembly of the
gods I have raised thee to power.
“The dominion over all the gods [have I
entrusted unto him].
. “ Be thou exalted, thou my chosen spouse,
136.
“« May they magnify thy name over all [of them
the Anunnaki].”"
. She gave him the Tablets of Destiny, on [his]

breast she laid them, (saying) :

138. “ Thy command shall not be without avail, and

{the word of thy mouth shall be established].”

139. Now Kingu, (thus) exalted, having received [the
power of Anu],

140. [Decreed] the fate among the gods his sons,
(saying) :
141. “ Let the opening of your mouth [quench] the
Fire-god ;
142. “ Whoso is exalted in the battle, let him [display
(his) might}!”
% No. 93,085, ?-rat-Su. * No. 93,015, ka-afl 2 ws)s

1s

a2

No. 45,528, etc., 2-na-an-[w]a; No. 93,015, im-na-nu.
81-97-27, 80, ["Kr']-in-gu.
The scribe of No. 93,015 has written ma for Su by mistake. No. 45,528, etc., a-na tlan’* maré*-su, “for the gods his sons.” Nos. 45,528, etc., and 93,015, pi-7-hu-nu.

No, 93,015, “ BIL-GI; 81-7-27, 80 and No. 45,528, *GIS-BAR. ina is omitted by Nos. 45,528, etc., and 93,015.

81-79-27, 80, 7[a].

She Second Tablet.

u-kab-bilt}-ma’ Ti-a-ma-itum pi-ti-ik- Su
[im-ni-e-ti ik]*-ta-sar a-na ilant ni-ip-ri-su
[ana tu-ur gi-mil)®-li Apsi u-lam-mi-in Ti-amat
[2... -ulst ded ts-mi-da ana “H-a ip-ta-Sar®
Bo NE

5. [és-me-ma|® “EH-a a-ma-tum Ssu-a- tim
6 [mar-si}-is us-ha-ri-ir-ma Ssa-ku-um-mi-is us bu
7. [ame” =u) - ri - ku - ma Ug - fa - Su a- mu - hu
8
. [ur-fa-su as-ri|-is An-Sar a-bi-su Su-u us-tar-dé
9. [l-Lk]-ma mak-rut a-bi a-l-di- su An-sar
10. {mine-mu}-u Ti-amat ik-pu-du u-sa-an-na-a a-na sa-a-$u
I
mn

» [wm-ma Tt\’-amat a-lit-ti-a-nt t-at-ir-ra-an-na-a-tt

12. [pe]-ud-ru Sit*-ku-na-at-ma ag-gi-if la - ab - bat 13. [és|-Ru-ru-Sim-ma iland gi- mi- ir- su- un

14. [a-ds] sa at-tu-nu tab-na-a i-da-a-sa al- ka

1 The beginning of 1. r has been restored from the catch-line on Tablet I, preserved by No. 45,528 + 46,614.

* Conjectural restoration.

® For this restoration cf, Tablet I, 1. 103.

4 The sign is possibly ¢a.

6 The rendering of this line is a little uncertain. The beginning may perhaps be restored as [pu-uf-ru-ws; in that case a passive meaning must be assigned to #-éa-Sar, and the line translated, “How she had collected her [forces] unto Ea was divulged.”

Pe Pn

OMAN

10.
It.
12.
13.
14.
The Second Tablet.

Tiamat made weighty! her handiwork,

[Evil]? she wrought against the gods her children.

[To avenge]* Apst, Tiamat planned evil,

But how she had collected her [forces, the god

] unto Ea divulged.*

Ea fhearkened to]® this thing, and

He was [grievous]ly afflicted and he sat in sorrow.

[The days] went by, and his anger was appeased,

And to [the place of] Ansar his father he took
[his way].
[He went] and standing before’ Ansar, the father
who begat him,

[All that] Tiamat had plotted he repeated unto him,

[Saying, “TiJjamat our mother hath conceived
a hatred for us,
“ With all her force she rageth, full of wrath.

“ All the gods have turned to her,

“ [With] those, whom ye created, they go at her
side.
For i-ta-Sar we may also read 7-ta-hir, and for the object of ts-mi-da we may perhaps restore [arkab/u]§; the line may then be translated, “But when [. . . . J] had yoked his [chariot], unto Ea he repaired.” It may be noted that not very much is missing from the beginning of the line.

§ Lines 5-10 have been conjecturally restored.

7 Or, possibly, “addressing AnSar.”

® Lines 11-19 have been restored from Tablet ITI, ll. 73-81.

® No. 38,396, S¢-ct. 10 No. 38,396, ad-hu.

a

CREATION SERIES, TABLET II.

15.

16.

17;
18,
19.
20.
21.
22
23

24

25.
26.
[¢nc]-ma-as-ru-nim-ma t-du-us Tt-amat te-bu-u-ni'
[tz]-2u kap-du la sa-ki-pu mu-sa u tm - ma?
[na]-su-u tam-ha-ra* na-zar-bu-bu la-ab-bu

unken-na sit-ku-nu-ma t>-ban-nu-u — su-la-a-tum®
[U]m -ma- Hu-bu-ur' pa-ti-ik-ka-at® ka-la-mu
us-rad'-di kak-ku la mah-ru™ it-ta-lad — sir-ma-hu™
sak-tu-ma Sin-nu la pa-du-u at - ta - >. um

im-tu ki-ma da-am™ 2u-mur-su-nu us - ma - al - lu™ usumgalle” na-ad-ru-ti pu-ul-fa-a-ti® u ~ gal - bis’ - ma me-lam-mu uS-das-Sa-a i-li-is um-tas-$si-il'

a-mi-tr-su-nu Sar-ba-bi-is li - if - har - mi - im" eu-mur-Ssu-nu lis-tah-[i-da-aim ma la i-nt--e t-rat®-su-un

ile

us-2t-tz-ma ba-as-mu sirrussu® u ™ La-ha-mu

No. 38,396, 4e-b7-u-nu. ® No. 92,632 + 93,048, mz.
No. 38,396, 72. + No. 92,632, etc., dz.
No. 38,396, @. ® No, 92,632, etc., f.
No. 38,396, [U]m-mu-Hu-bur.

Nos. 38,396 and 92,632, etc., pa-/-ka-at.

No. 38,396, ra-ad. © No. 38,396, ma-har.
No. 92,632, etc., siv-mak; No. 38,396, sirmahe”.
No. 38,396, a¢-/a-’-u-um ; No. 92,632, etc., af-4a-’-am. No. 38,396, da-mu; No. 92,632, etc., da-mit.

EA CARRIES THE TIDINGS TO ANSAR. 25

15.

16,
17.
18,
19.
20.

21,
22.
23.

24.

25.
26.
27.

“They are banded together and at the side of
Tiamat they advance ;
“ They are furious, they devise mischief without
resting night and day.
“ They prepare for battle, fuming and raging ;

“ They have joined their forces and are making war.

“ Ummu-Hubur, who formed all things,

“ Hath made in addition weapons invincible, she
hath spawned monster-serpents,
“ Sharp of tooth, and merciless of fang.

“With poison instead of blood she hath filled
their bodies.
“ Fierce monster-vipers she hath clothed with
terror,
“With splendour she hath decked them, she hath
made them of lofty stature.’
“« Whoever beholdeth them is overcome by terror,"

“Their bodies rear up and none can withstand
their attack,
“She hath set up vipers, and dragons, and the
(monster) Lahamu,
4
wb
16
No.

Nos. 38,396 and 92,632, etc., da.

No. 38,396, [GA]t-BuR na-ad-ru-lum pu-ul-ha-a-tum.

So No. 38,396; No. 92,632, etc., reads um-fa-as $2-22, and 45,528 + 46,614, um-lak-J-ir (= umiasSil), For the phrase

2-l-t8 um-tas-s-1l, see above, p. 16 f., note 5.

wt

See above, p. 17. 18 Nos. 38,396 and 92,632, etc., dam.

No, 38,396, t-n7-’-1m; No. 92,632, t-m-u,

20

No, 92,632, ra-al. * No. 92,632, serrusst™,

26

CREATION SERIES, TABLET II.

28.

29.
30.
31.

32.

33.

34.

35.
36.
37-

3

3

40.

Al.

id

ro)

u- gal ~la UR - BE”? u akrab? - amélu

u-me da-ab-ru-ti nin-améilu u ku-sa-vik- ku

na-st kak-ku la pa-du-u la a-di-ru ta-ha-szi

gab-sa te-ri-tu-sa la ma-har-ra si-na-ma

ap-pu-na-ma is-ten es-vit hi-ma Su-a-ti us-tab-st tna ilani® bu-uk-vi-sa Swut iS-ku-nu-st pu-uh-ru u-sa-as-ka “ Kin-gu ina bi-vi-su-nu sa-a-su us-vab-bi-ts8

a-li-ku-ut mah-ru pa-ni um-ma-nu mu-ir-vu-tum* pu-uh-rus

na-se-e kak-ku tt-is-bu-tum te-bu-u —a-na-an-tuni®

[sa-u]d? ta-am-ha-vra va-ab Ssik- kat-u- tum

[~p-kid-m]a ka-tu-us-Su u-Se-St-ba-as-$t i-na® — kar-vi [ad-di ta-a\-ka i-na pu-hur ilani® u-Sar-bi-ka [ma-li-kut| ilani [gim-vat-su-nu ka-tuk-ka| us-mal-ld

[4 -u sur-ba-ta-ma fa-ti-ri e-du-u ajt-ta

a
2
3
5
For this ideogram see above, p. 18, note 3.
No. 38,396 prefixes the determinative ,
K. 4,832, [us]-rad-bi. 1K. 4,832, fu.
K. 4,832, pusre. ® K. 4,832, “2.
EA CARRIES THE TIDINGS TO ANSAR. 27

28.

20.
30.
3.
32.
33:

34.

35-
36.
37:
38.
39.

40.

4t.

“ And hurricanes and raging hounds, and scorpion-

men,
“ And mighty tempests, and fish-men and rams ;

“ They bear cruel weapons, without fear of the
fight.
“ Her commands are mighty, none can resist them ;

“ After this fashion, huge of stature, hath she
made eleven (monsters).
“ Among the gods who are her sons, inasmuch as
he hath given her support,
“She hath exalted Kingu; in their midst she
hath raised him to power.
“To march before the forces, to lead the host,

“To give the battle-signal, to advance to the
attack,
“{To direct]’ the battle, to control the fight,
“Unto him [hath she entrusted]; in costly
raiment she hath made him sit, (saying) :
“ «TT have uttered] thy [spell], in the assembly of
the gods | have raised thee to power,
“(The dominion over all] the gods have I
entrusted [unto thee].
cee

[Be thou exalted], thou [my chosen spouse],

7 Lines 37-48 have been restored from Tablet III, ll. 41-52 and
99-110.
® KK. 4,832, [. 6 - Jetu-u-dt °K, 4,832, da.
28 CREATION SERIES, TABLET II.

iS

42. [lt-tr-tab-bu-u zik-ru-ka elt satu eres }ub-bi? 43. [(ta-din-Sum-ma dupsimati® t-va-tu-us]
u-[Sal-m]e-th 44. [ka-ta kibit-ka la in-nin-na-a\ li-kun s{i-1}t pi t-ka 45. [¢u-na-nu = Kin-gu Su-us-kuj-u
fi-ku-u*™ A-nu-tt 46. [an tlant maré"-3a]) Si-ma-ta is -th-mu 47. (pp - su pi- ku ~ nul) ™Gibil l- ni- ik -
ha

48. [na’id tna kit-mu-ri] ma-ag-sa-va lis-vab-bi-ib

49. [#s'- me-ma “Ansar sa Ti-a-ma*-tu rabis dal-hat

BO fw sw a je oe oe Sa] pare se it - tas - ka

su.] @ na-~fat* ka-ras- su
52[..]-su Sa-gi-ma-su us-tah- ha-ak
ie Bae J- 4 lu - ku - un - tu
54. [coe eee ww Je persue i-Mas- St at-ta
55. [Mu - um - mu ul? Apsit ta - na ~ rab

1 In the parallel passage, Tablet III, 1. 104, No. 93,017 reads at the end of the line " A-nun-na-ki. This is in favour of Jensen's suggestion that the present passage should be restored as "" #-nw]- uk-ki; cf. the list of gods, K. 2,100 (published by Bezold, P.S.B.A., vol. xi, March, 1889), col. iv, |. 8, which explains "2-nu-uk-h? as 4 -nun-na-[hi].

? Conjectural restoration.

3 For the first half of the line Delitzsch suggests the restoration siinku imhasma, " he smote his loins."

ANSAR'S LAMENTATION. 29

42. "'{May they magnify thy name over all of
thei <2 5846 Sb EEE
43. '" {She hath given him the Tablets of Destiny, on
his breast she] laid them, (saying):
44. " '[Thy command shall not be without avail], and the [word] of thy mouth shall be established.'

45. '""[Now Kingu, (thus) exalted], having received

a the power of Anu,

46. " Decreed the fate [for the gods, her sons},
(saying) :
47. " 'Let [the opening of your mouth] quench the
Fire-god ;
48. " '[Whoso is exalted in the battle], let him display
(his) might !'"
49. [When AnSar heard how Tiamat]? was mightily
in revolt,
sof... . . . . J,® he bit his lips,
51.[. . . . .], his mind was not at peace,
52. His[. . .], he made a bitter lamentation :
5308 |] battle,
Bae Lg. oe ee. oe thou
55. "[Mummu and]? Apsi thou hast smitten,°
4 The reading faz is certain.

5 fa-na-ra | take as the Pret., not the Pres. From 1l. 93 ff. of the First Tablet it may be inferred that Apsii was conquered before Tiamat made her preparations for battle. It is clear, therefore, that in the present

passage /a-na-ra is to be taken as the Pret. and not as the Pres.; and, as AnSar is addressing Ea, it may be concluded that Ea was the conqueror of Apsi. In accordance with this con- clusion is the fact that it was the god Ea who first discovered the conspiracy of Apsi and Tiamat (see Tablet I, 1. 60).

30 CREATION SERIES, TABLET II.

56. [Zi-amat u-sa-as-ki ™Kin|-gu a-li' ma-har-sa

BAD et ae AS fe: ie SS oh]-2@ ta - Sim - ta
58 [. . . . . | dant] “N[u] - dilm - mud}?
[A gap of about ten lines occurs here.]

(OVP Ces ak b Sod eee le ob ee Gey ee we
(JO) 49302 oy od BO Ba a Seo a ec ot ea met
(ZU) 3, oe ee ee ise OE cee as hs a te Jest
(72) [“An-Sar ana] ma-ri-su [a-ma-tu 1 |-zak-kar
(73)[. . . . @e-nu-u ka-su-[su] kar-ra-di
(74) [Sa Sa-ka-a e-mu}-ka-a-su las ma-har —te-bu-Su
(75) [al-kam]-ma mut-tis Ti-amat i-ziz-za at-ta (76)[. . . . Jt hkab-ta-tas lib-bu-us' lip-pu-us

(77) [sum-ma-ma] la se-ma-ta a- mat - ka
(78) [@-ma-tlu-nt at-me-Sim-ma st-¢ lip-pa-as-ha?
(79) [és - me - ec] - ma sik - ri abi - Su An - Sar
(80)
us-te-Sir har|-ra-an-Sa-ma u-vu-uh-$a us tar-di

(81) [et-Ze-ma]® ™ A-num me-ku-us" Ti-a-ma-tt i-se-’-am-ma

> T think there is no doubt @- should be taken as the adv. “where?” The beginning of the line is conjecturally restored.

* The reading of Nudimmud at the end of the line is certain. Before the determinative the sign AN is visible.

* The numbers of the lines, when conjectural, are enclosed
within parentheses.
ANSAR SENDS ANU TO TIAMAT. 31

56. “ [But Tiamat hath exalted Kin]gu, and where’ is
one who can oppose her?”
STi wig ahs, . . . | deliberation

58 [.... the. . ofl dhe gods, N[u|di{mmud]?

[A gap of about ten lines occurs here. }

(69)* [

(FOV on OR Af Ste ota dy Ba As

GOs face [

(72) [Ansar unto] his son ee [the ora

(73) “C. |]... my mighty hero,

(74) “ [Whose] stretgtl [is great] and whose onslaught
cannot be withstood,
(75) “ [Go] and stand before Tiamat,

(76) “[That] her spirit [may be appeased],* that her
heart may be merciful.
(77) “ [But if] she will not hearken unto thy word,

(78) “ Our [word] shalt thou speak unto her, that she
may be pacified.” §
(79) [He heard the] word of his father AnSar

(80) And [he directed] his path to her, towards her he
took the way.
(81) Anu [drew nigh],° he beheld the muttering’ of
Tiamat,
7

4 The first part of the line probably contained some such phrase as lip-pa-aS-Sur, as suggested in the translation.

* The sense of the couplet seems to be that, should Tiamat not listen to Anu, she might perhaps respect the authority of AnSar.

8 For this restoration, cf. Tablet IV, 1. 65.
7 See above, p. 12, note 2.
32 CREATION SERIES, TABLET II.

(82) [wl i--’-a ma-har-Sa])' i-tu-va ar- kis

I ao ogy es Oo ee aes C] SS Ansar
(Bay [oe ee ee SE) eR Rar oe
bare e\li - ta
[A gap of about twenty lines occurs here.]

(104) [Cen ogocs oe al]
(105) [mu-tir] gi-mil-lu a-[.. }
(106) [wey Wi Rode Beh Ge] ars [aa]?®
(107) [coe ee ee] ae Sar pi-ris- tt -s{u)
(108) [ ] @-ta-mit-su
(109) [. | abi-ka
(110) at-ta-ma ma-ri mu-nap-pi-su > lib - bi - su
(t)[. . . 1 1. Btlt-ru-bi-is® t-hi-e- mat
[2... . .] ¢-ma-ru-uk~-ka® ni-t- hud
(113) 7-du-ma be-lum a-na a-ma-tum a- bi-su (114) tt-hi-e-ma it-ta-zi-iz ma-ha-ri-is An-Ssar (118) é-mur-Su-ma An-Sar lib-ba-iu tu-ub-ba-a-ti im-la®

1 This line has been restored from Tablet ILI, 1. 53.

2 The last word of the line may possibly be restored as a-[na-hu], in which case the line would form part of a speech of Marduk to An§ar.
8 This restoration is not certain. 4K. 4,832, me.

5 Literally, ‘‘ who maketh broad his heart”; cf. I. 71, 1-bu-us Uip-pu-us, “that her heart may be merciful.” The phrase, as applied to Marduk, implies that he shows mercy on the gods by

ANSAR APPEALS TO MARDUK. 33

(82) [But he could not withstand her], and he turned

back.
(83) Doe 2 eo ke ae ye ew Anbar
(84)[. . . . . J] he spake unto him:
(85) Te eee bee le eo pone
[A gap of about twenty lines occurs here.]

(104) [ ]

(1o5)[. . . . . Jamavenger[. . . }?
(106) [puss Bee AN oe] vafliant]*
(107) [. . . . . Jin the place of his decision
(108) [. . . . .). . Jhe spake unto him :
(109) EC og G Ske ae Sw, 9") thy father
(110) “ Thou art my son, who maketh merciful’ his heart.
(111) “[. . .]to the battle shalt thou draw nigh,
(112) “[. . .]he that shall behold thee shall have peace.”

(113) And the lord rejoiced at the word of his father, (114) And he drew nigh and stood before AnSar. (115) AnSar beheld him and his heart was filled with

joy:

consenting to become their avenger. This seems to me preferable to my previous translation, ‘(who maketh valiant his heart” (cf. Cun. Texts, part xiii, pl. 4, note).

© K, 4,832, des. 7 No. 40,559, f7-h7-ma.

"K. 4,832,[. . .]-0k

® No. 40,559, mi-i-ht; K. 4,832, u7-ip-ha.

10 K. 4,832, and Nos. 40,559 and 92,632, etc., rt.

Nos. 40,559 and 92,632, etc., /-ub-ba-ta im-li.

(116) [¢]s- 52-22 sap)-ti-su a-di-ra-su — ut-te-ts-si? (117) [@-b¢]> la Ssuk-tu-mat pi-tit Sa-ap-tu-uk® (118) lu-ul-lik-ma lu-sa-am-sa-a ma-la lib-bi-ka (119) [An-sar]® la = Suk-tu-mat = pi-tt+ — Sa-ap-tu-uk® (120) [lu-ul-L]k-ma lu-sa-am-sa-a ma-la lib-bi-ka? (121) a@-u ztk-1t ta-ha-za-su u-Se- gi-had (122) [..] Z2-amat $a si-in-ni-Sa-tum! ta-ar-ka™ i-na kak-ku™

(123)[. . .]P-xnu-u fi-di iu su~-l-i1% (124) Rt-Sa-ad = Ti-amat ur-ru-hi-is ta-kab-ba-as_ at-ta

(125)[. 2. 2. YP emu-u fi-di ou su-h-i18

(126) [At-sa-ad] Ti-amat ur-ru-fit-is ta-kab-ba-as at-ta

1 Nos. 40,559 and 92,632, etc., Ja-ap.

2 No. 40,559, sw.

* Conjectural restoration ; the traces of the second sign in the line on No. 38,396 may be those of d/ or sar.

* No. 40,559, pr-/a.

5 Nos. 40,559 and 92,632, Sap-/u-uk; K. 4,832, Sap-fuk.

® Conjectural restoration; for a somewhat similar change of one word when a couplet is repeated, see Tablet IV, ll. 3-6.

7 It is clear that at this point Marduk ceases to speak, and that AnSar's answer begins with the following line.

5 Literally, 'Of what man has his battle caused thee to go

MARDUK CONSENTS TO FIGHT TIAMAT. 35

(116) He kissed him on the lips and his fear departed
from him.
(117) "[O my father],* let not the word of thy lips
be overcome, :
(118) " Let me go, that I may accomplish all that is
in thy heart.
(119) "[O Ansar],° let not the word of thy lips be
overcome,
(120) ".[Let me] go, that I may accomplish all that is
in thy heart.""
(121) " What man is it, who hath brought thee forth
to battle ? §
(122) "[. . . } Tiamat, who is a woman, is armed
and attacketh thee."
(r23) 8 ee] . . rejoice and be glad ; "
(124) " The nese of Tiamat shalt thou swiftly trample
under foot.
(125) "[. .] . « rejoice and be glad; "

(126) " [The neck] of Tiamat shalt thou swiftly
trample under foot.
forth." No. 40,559 reads w-Se-st-ma; according to this reading it is possible to take g7k-r7 as the subject, and /a-ha-za-iu as the object, of the verb.

® No. 40,559, Sa st-tn-ni-sa-at.

1 7a-ar-ka I take as the Pres. Kal. from Gru, followed by the
direct accusative.
_ "K. 4,832, da Rake.

% It is possible that the first word of the line should be restored [2#-28-ba]-nu-u, in which case Aé-di and su-l-i2 must be taken as substantives, "let there be joy and gladness."

OK. 4,832, 2.

36 CREATION SERIES, TABLET II.

(127) [ma] - rt mu - At-u gim - rt) ug ~ NU (128) [Z?-ama]t Su-up-si-ik i-na te-e-hka® el-lu (129) [ur - ha

- ka} ur - ru ~ he - ig Su - tar -di- ma (130) [. . . .] Ja ut-tak-ka* Su-te-e-vi® ar-ka-nis

(131) [th-d]u-m[a ble-lum a-na® a-mat a- bi- su (132) [e]--2s Uib-ba-Su-ma a-na—a-bi-su™ —t-zak-kar (133) be - lum wlani® = st - mat® lant © rabiuti* (134) sum-ma-ma ana-ku mu-tir gi-mil-li-ku-un (135) a-kam-me Ti-amat-ma" u-bal-lat ka-a-su-un (136) suk-na-ma pu-uk-ra — Su-te-ra—t-ba-a—Sim-ti®

(137) tra Up-Su-ukkin-na-ki mit-ha-ris ha-dis tis-ba-ma'8 (138) ip-su pi-ta ki-ma ha-tu-nu-ma™ si-ma ta” lu-si-im

(139) fa ut-tak-kar = mim™-mu-u — a-ban-nu-u —a-na-ku (140) ai i-tur ai t-in-nin-na-a™— se-kar Sa-ap ®-ti-ia

‘K. 4,832, (gi-m)ir. 2 No. 38,396, ta de-e- he.

3 Ky 4,832, ed-d2.

4 ut-tak-ka is possibly Pres. Iftaal from nak, or Pres. Piel from eféku, with (or without) the 2 m. s. pron. suffix; if the former, the beginning of the line may perhaps be restored as [da-m-ka], as suggested in the translation.

5 K. 4,832,[. . . -t]r; No. 92,632, {a- . . . J.

® K. 4,832 seems to have read [7]a.

7K. 4,832, abi-su. 5 No. 40,559, [sani]”.

MARDUK’S REQUEST. 37

(127) “ O my [son], who knoweth all wisdom,

(128) “ Pacify [Tiama]t with thy pure incantation.

(129) “ Speedily sét out upon thy way, °

(130) “ For [thy blood (?)] shall not be poured out,*
thou shalt return again.”
(131) The lord rejoiced at the word of his father,

(132) His heart exulted, and unto his father he spake :

(133) “ O Lord of the gods, Destiny of the great gods,

(134) ‘If I, your avenger,

(135) ‘ Conquer Tiamat and give you life,

(136) “ Appoint an assembly, make my fate pre-
eminent and proclaim it.”
(137) “In Upsukkinaku seat yourselves joyfully
together,
(138) “ With my word in place of you will I decree
fate.
(139) “ May whatsoever I do remain unaltered,

(i40) “ May the word of my lips never be changed
nor made of no avail.”
® No. 40,559, d@mal™. 0 K. 4,832 and No. 40,559, dani’.

No. 40,559, [7]¢-amat-am-ma.

® In No. 40,559, 1. 136 reads: [. . . J-uh-ru Su-te-tr-ba-’ Sim-tum, “ [Appoint an as]sembly, make my fate pre-eminent.”

‘8 In No. 40,559, 137 reads: [. . . -f]u-whkin-na-ham
mit-ha-ri-ts ha-dt-is ti-i$-b[,a}-ma.
4 No, 40,559, ha-a-/u-nu-ma. ® No. 40,559, um.

% No. 40,559, mi-im. "No. 40,559, t-21-na-a.

8K. 292, s[ap}.

The Third Cabet.

1. An- Sar pa- a- su a- pu- Ssam- ma
2. [a-na ™“Ga-ga suk-kal-li]*-Su a-ma-tu — i-2zak-kar
3. [“Ga-ga suk-kal]?-lum mu-tib ka - bit - ti-ia
4. [a-na “™Lah-mu u ™La-hja*-mu ka-a-ta lu-us-pur-ka
5BE eee ee we YF We ts-bu- ru te-h-’
60... .. .. .) subika ana maf-ri-kat

aT ee ee ew ee ee Dint® — na~- gab®- su-un
8. [Z-sa-nu lis-ku-n\ut ina ki-vi-e-ti lis- bus
9. [as-na-an li-k\e-[l\ut lip-ti-ku ku-vu-na 10. [a-na™ Marduk muy-tir-ri gi-mit-li-su-nu" Ui-Si-mu sim-ta*

11. [a-“:k])® ™“Ga-ga kud-me-su-nu 7t- stz~-ma

12. [wim-mu-u| a-zak-ka-ru-ka su-un-na-a ana™ sa-a-su-un

1 The first two words in the line are restored from the catch-line in Tablet II; see K. 292 and No. 40,559.

2 Lines 2-4 are conjecturally restored; for the restoration of 1. 3, cf, the similar line spoken by Apsit when addressing Mummu in Tablet I, 1. 31.

® Jensen compares 1. 14, and suggests the restoration [/e-ri/ lib-bi-ra], i.e. ‘The purpose of my heart] thou canst understand.”

* 82-9-18, 1,403 + 6,316 reads ma-ah-ri-za, i.e. “thou shalt bring before me”; this reading gives better sense, as it is possible to refer the phrase to an answer to the summons, which Gaga is directed to bring from Lahmu and Labamu. As, however, the duplicate is merely a practice-tablet containing extracts from the text, I have retained the reading of K. 3,473, etc.

The Third TaBEet.

1. Ansar opened his mouth,! and
2. [Unto Gaga], his [minister],’ spake the word :
3. “[O Gaga, thou minis|ter? that rejoicest my
spirit,
Aus [Unto Lahmu and Lahjamu? will I send thee.
Ge Ne S5 2h. S . . .]* thou canst attain,
6, ETA Oa ; thou shalt cause to be brought
before thee.*
asf let]* the gods, all of them,
8. [Make ready for a feast]},” at a banquet let
them sit,
g. “ {Let them eat bread],’ let them mix wine,
1o, “ [That for Marduk],” their avenger, they may
decree the fate.
11, “[Go,]' Gaga, stand before them,
12. “{And all that] I tell thee, repeat unto them,
(and say) :
5 Jensen suggests the restoration [/z-/-li-ku-u-nd il |ani, “let the
gods come.”
§ 82-9-18, 1,403 + 6,316, [g]a-ad.

7 Lines 8 and g are restored from I]. 133 and 134.

8 82-9-18, 1,403 + 6,316, lu-us-bu.

® 82-g~18, 1,4.03 + 6,316, ku-ru-un-nu.

© Conjecturally restored.
K. 3,437, ete., reads Su-Su-nu, i.e. gimilli-su-nu.
82-9~18, 1,403 + 6,316, Sim-tum.
82-9-18, 1,403 + 6,316, ku-ud-mi-Su-nu 1-2i-12-ma.

M 82-9-18, 1,403 + 6,316, a-na.
n

at]

13

40

CREATION SERIES, TABLET III.

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26.
[An - Sar]! ma-vu-ku-nu u-ma-’-t-ra-an-nt

(te- rit]? lbbi-su u-sa-as-bi-ra-an-ni ia-a-ti
[um-ma Ti-a|jmat® a-lit-ta-ni4 —t-ztr-ra-an-na-si*
[pu-uhp-ru Sit-k\u®-na-at-ma ag-gis lab- bat
ts - fu - ru ~ Sim - ma tani gi - mir - Su - un
a-adi sa at-tu-nu tab-na-a t-da-sa al-ka
im-ma-as-ru-nim-ma t-du-uS 1 Ti-amat — te-bu-u-ni®
iz-au kap-du la sa-ki-pu mu-sa u im-ma

na-su-u tam-fa-ri na-zar-bu-bu lab- bu

unken-na — Sit-ku-nu-ma — t-ban-nu-u — su-la-a-{ti]*

Um -mu- Hu- bur pa-ti-kat® ka-la-([ma]
us-vad-di ka-ak-ki la mah-ri it-ta-lad sirmahé["]"

zak-tu-ma sin-nt® la pa-du-u at-ta-’-[/]%
im-tu ki-ma da-mi™ gu-mur-su-nu — us-ma-al-l[t |"
e

Restored from |. 71. * Restored from 1. 72.
Restored from I. 73. + 82-g-18, 1,403 + 6,316, mu,
82-9-18, 1,403 + 6,316, 7-22-17-ra-an-na-a-ti.
Restored from 1. 74.

829-18, 6,950 + 83-1-18, 1,868, c-du-su.

82-9-18, 6,950, etc., fe-bi-u-n7.

82-9-18, 6,950, etc., ¢m-mu. ' 82-9-18, 6,950, etc., ru. 82-9-18, 6,950, etc., /a-ab-bu. 82-9-18, 6,950, etc., [5 Jz.

ANSAR’S INSTRUCTIONS TO GAGA. 4t

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26.
“ {Ansar|,’ your son, hath sent me,

“(The purpose]? of his heart he hath made
known unto me.
“THe saith that Tialmat* our mother hath con-
ceived a hatred for us,
[With all]® her force she rageth, full of wrath.

“ All the gods have turned to her,

“With those, whom ye created, they go at her

side.
“ They are banded together, and at the side of
Tiamat they advance ;
“ They are furious, they devise mischief without
resting night and day.
“ They prepare for battle, fuming and raging ;

“ They have joined their forces and are making
war.
“ Ummu-Hubur, who formed all things,

“ Hath made in addition weapons invincible, she
hath spawned monster-serpents,
“ Sharp of tooth and merciless of fang.

“With poison instead of blood she hath filled
their bodies.
13

u

16

u

19

20

ah

Restored from |. 80; 82-9-18, 6,950, etc., reads /um. 82-9-18, 6,950, etc., du-ur. ® 82-9-18, 6,950, etc., ka-as. Restored from 1. 81 ; 82-9-18, 6,950, etc., reads mu.

Restored from 1. 82. 18 82-9-18, 6,950, etc., S2-7%-na. Restored from |. 83; 82-9-18, 6,950, etc., reads an-/a-’-a[m). 82-9-18, 6,950, etc., da-me.

Lines 26-32 have been restored from Jl. 84-90.

42

CREATION SERIES, TABLET III.

27.

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4i.

usumgalle”® na-ad-ru-u-ti pul-ha-a-ti _u-Sal-bis-[ma]
me-lam-me us-das-sa-a e-liS um - tas- [sil]
a-mir- su-nu Ssar-ba-ba lis- har - [mi - im]
au-mur-su-nu lis-tap-ht-dam-ma la t-ni--u i-rat-su-[un]
us- az ba-as-mu sir-rus-su u “La-ha-[mi]
u- gal- lum UR- BE? «4 akrab- amél{u)
u-mi da-ab-ru-ti niin-amilu u_ ku-sa-rik-[ku}>
na-as kakke* la pa-di-i la a-di-ru ta-h{a-ai)*
gab-sa te-ri-tu-Sa la ma-har si-na-a-{ma] ap-pu-un-na-ma es-tin es-ri-lum kima su-a-tu us-tab-[S] tna tlani
. bu-uk-ri-sa Su-ut is'-kun-& [pu-uh-rt] u-Sa-as-ki ™ Kin-gu ina bi-ri-su{nu §a-a-$u) us-rab-[di-s]

[a]-ti-kut mah-ri pa-an um-ma-ni {mu-ir-ru-ut puri] [na-a]s kakke*> ti-ts-bu-tu — te-[bu-u —a-na-an-tu

[su-ud) tam-ha-ri va-ab_ sik-[ka-tu-ti

See above, p. 16 f., note 5. ® See above, p. 18, note 3.
Restored from Tablet II, I. 29.
ANSAR’S INSTRUCTIONS TO GAGA. 43

27.
28.

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37:
38.
39:
40.
41.

‘«‘ Fierce monster- vipers she hath clothed with terror,
“ With splendour she hath decked them, she hath made them of lofty stature.
“ Whoever beholdeth them, terror overcometh him,
“Their bodies rear up and none can withstand their attack.
“She hath set up vipers, and dragons, and the (monster) Lahamu,
“ And hurricanes, and raging hounds, and scorpion-men,
« And mighty tempests, and fish-men, and rams ;

“ They bear merciless weapons, without fear of the fight.
“Her commands are mighty, none can resist them ;
“ After this fashion, huge of stature, hath she

made eleven (monsters).

‘Among the gods who are her sons, inasmuch as he hath given her [support],
“ She hath exalted Kingu; in their midst she hath raised [him] to power.
“To march before the forces, [to lead the host],

“TTo] give the battle-signal, to advance [to the attack],
“(To direct] the battle, to control the [fight],

4 Lines 34-45 have been restored from 1]. 92-103.
5K. 6,650, [na-Sa-Ja, or [ma-Se-Je, hakhu,
44 CREATION SERIES, TABLET IIL.

42 [p-kid|-ma fa-tus-su u-se-si-ba-as-{Su ina kar-ri] 43. [ad-d|i ta-a-ka ina puhur tani [u-sar-bi- ka] 44. [ma]-li-ku-ut ilant gi-mir[Su-nu' ka-tuk-ka* us-mal-li}

45. [le-u] sur-ba-ta-ma ha-'-i-vi® e-du-[u at-tal 46. li-ir-tab-bu-u 2ik-ru-ka eli kali-su-n{u . . ”
A-nun-na-ki|*

47. td-din-Sum>-ma dupsimati” § t-va-tu-us® — u-Sat-mi-ih 48. ka-ta kibit-ka la in-nin-na-a li-kun si-it pi-i-tka]’ 49. in-na-nu “™ Kin-gu su-us-Ru-u li-ku-u ["A-nu-ti]8

50. an tlant = médré*-Sa® st-ma-ta is'- ¢[d - mu\™
hi. p- su pi-ku-nu® “Gribils t-ni-ih- ha
52. naid ina” kit-mu-ri® ma-ag-sa-vi lis’- rab-bi-ib"

1K. 6,650, gim-rat-su-nu.

2 K. 6,650, ka-dus-§[u]; according to this reading, 1. 44 does not form part of Tiamat’s speech, or we may suppose that in this line Tiamat addresses her followers and not Kingu (cf. note 7).

3 K. 6,650, Aa--ri.

* Restored from 1. 104; the Anunnaki are possibly the subject of the sentence (see below, p. 52 f., note 8).

5 K. 6,650, Su.

® So No. 42,285; K. 6,650 reads #-ra-a[t-su].

7 Restored from Tablet II,]. 44; No. 42,285 reads pr-7-su, “the word of his mouth shall be established,” i.e., Tiamat addresses her followers in the second half of the line.

® Restored from Tablet II, |. 45; No. 42,285 reads e-nu-tr,
“tordship, rule.”
ANSAR’S INSTRUCTIONS TO GAGA. 45

42.
43.
44.
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47.
48.

49.
50.
51.
52.

“Unto him [hath she entrusted; in costly
raiment] she hath made him sit, (saying) :
“ «TT have] uttered thy spell, in the assembly of
the gods [I have raised thee to power],
«“<«?The} dominion over all the gods [have I
entrusted unto thee].
*«(Be] thou exalted, [thou] my chosen spouse,

“« May they magnify thy name over all of [them
: the Anunnaki].’
“ She hath given him the Tablets of Destiny, on
his breast she laid them, (saying) :
«“ «Thy command shall not be without avail, and
the word of [thy]’ mouth shall be established.’
“Now Kingu, (thus) exalted, having received
{the power of Anu},*
“ Decreed the fate for the gods, her sons, (saying):

“«Let the opening of your mouth quench the
Fire-god '*;
“ «Whoso is exalted in the battle, let him display
(his) might!’
9
10
wu
K. 6,650, miré-fa ; No. 93,017, ma-ri-e-Ja. No. 93,017, st-ma-tu; No. 42,285, Stma-tt, Restored from Tablet II, 1. 46; No. 42,285 reads ws-#-u, or

us-ti-Sam.

1
13
1¢
No
16
16
K.

Mw

K. 6,650, [7-8 ja.

K. 6,650, pr-t-ku-nu; No. 93,017, pi-ku-un.

K. 6,650 and No. 93,017, *BriL-ct; K. 3,473, etc., and
. 42,285, “ GIS-BAR.
ina is omitted by K. 6,650 and No. 93,017.

No. 93,017, &il-mu-ra ; 82-9-18, 1,403 + 6,316, ket-mu-ru. 6,650 probably reads 2 (not S2#)-mu-ra.

82-g~18, 1,403, etc., 4-ra-ab-bi-7b.

46

CREATION SERIES, TABLET III.

53.
54.
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57.

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69.
61.

62
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64,
65

as-pur-ma “A-nu-um' ul i-l-’-a?® ma-har*-sa
“ Nu-dim-mud i-dur-mat i-tu-rva ar~ kis?
‘-ar ™ Marduk ab-kal-lu® ilani ma-ru-ku-uni
ma-ha-vts® Ti-amat® lib-ba-su a-va ub-la
ip-Su pi-t-su i-ta-ma-a a-na ta-a-ti
Sum-ma-ma a-na-ku mu-tir™ gi-mil-li-ku-un
a-kam-me Ti-amat-ma u-bal-lat ka-su-un™
Suk-na-a-ma'* pu-uh-vu su-ti®-rat-ba-a—Sim-td
t-na Up-su-ukkin-na-ki™ mit-ha-vis 8 ha-dis™ tas-ba-ma®
ip-Su pi-ia ki-ma ka-tu-nu-ma™ $i-ma-tu lu-sim-ma™
la ut-tak-kar mim™®-mu-u a-ban-nu-w a-na-ku

ai t-tur™ at in-nin-na-a se-kar Ssap-ti-ia®

hu-um-ta-nim-ma $t-mat-ku-nu ar-qis* si-ma-su

re

®

12

K. 6,650, No. 93,017, and 82-9-18, 1,403, etc., “A-num. 82-9-18, 1,403, etc, @L-’-im; No. 42,285, t-d7--7.

No. 42,285, Za-ar. # 82-9-18, 1,403, etc., 2-du-ur-ma.
No. 42,285, Aé-25.
No. 93,017, 82-9~18, 1,403, etc., and No. 42,285, abhad. No. 42,285, ma-ruk-ku-un. ® 82-9-18, 1,403, etc, 72-28. No. 93,017, Z?-a-ma-ti. 10 82-9-18, 1,403, etc., 2-2. 82-g-18, 1,403, etc., mu-Lir-re.

No. 93,017, Zam-tfam-ma; 82-9-18, 1,403, etc., and No. 42,285,

Ti-amat-am-ma.

ANSAR’S INSTRUCTIONS TO GAGA. 47

53. “I sent Anu, but he could not withstand her ;

54. “ Nudimmud was afraid and turned back.

55. “ But Marduk hath set out, the director of the gods, your son ;
56. “To set out against Tiamat his heart hath prompted (him).
57. “ He opened his mouth and spake unto me,

(saying) :

58. “ ‘If J, your avenger,

59. “ * Conquer Tiamat and give you life,

60. “* Appoint an assembly, make my fate pre-eminent and proclaim it.
61. “In Upgukkinaku seat yourselves joyfully to-gether ;
62. “ ‘With my word in place of you will 1 decree fate.

63. “ ‘ May whatsoever I do remain unaltered,

64. “‘ May the word of my lips never be changed
nor made of no avail.’
‘ Hasten, therefore, and swiftly decree for him
the fate which you bestow,
65.

1 No. 42,285, ha-a-Su-un. 4 No. 93,017, suk-na-ma.

% No. 93,017, 7a. © 82-9-18, 1,403, etc, fe.

1 No. 93,017, &u 3 82-9-18, 1,403, etc., ham.

8 82-918, 1,403, etc., me-dl-ha-ri-[23].

19 No. 42,285, d-z5. 2 No, 42,285, fa-as-ba-ma.

1 82-9-18, 1,403, etc., ka-a-tu-[nu-ma].

% No, 42,285, s2-ma-dum lu-si-im. ™ 82-9-18, 1,403, etc., md-27m,

* 829-18, 1,403, ete., fa-u7, % No. 42,285, Sap-d7-2,

© 829-18, 1,403, etc., No. 42,285 and 82-9-18, 5,448 + 83-1-18,
2,116, ar-fi-28,
48 CREATION SERIES, TABLET III.

66. Zil- lik! lim-fu-va? na-kar-ku-nu dan-nu
67. i -lik “Ga - ga ur -ha- su u-Sar - di-ma
68. as- rif ™Lah-mu u ™ La-ha-me> ilani”™* aber-sud 69. us-kin-ma is-sik® kak-ka-va’ Ssa- pal-su-un
70.2 - Siv9 tz - atz - ma 7 - sak - kar - Su - un

71. An-Sar" ma-ru”-khu-nu u+ma-’-ir-an-ni

72. te-vit lib-bi-su u-Sa-as-bi-ra-an-ni™ ta-a-ti 73. um-ma Ti-amat a-lit-ta-ni™ i-sir-ra-an-na-$i™

74. pu-uh-ru® sit!®-ku-na-at-ma ag-gis™® lab - bat
75. tS - hu-ru- sim - ma lini gli -mir™ ~ §u-un
76.a-di ga at-tu-nu tab-na-a t-da-sa® al-ku™
77. tm-ma-as-ru-nim-ma t-du-us™ Ti-a-ma-ti® te-bu-ni™

82-g-18, 1,403, etc., and 82-9-18, 5,448, etc., insert ma.
No. 42,285,[. . . J-der.

82-9-18, 1,403, etc., and 82-9-18, 5,448, etc., @ La-ha-mu.
82~-9-18, 1,403, etc., No. 42,285 and 82-9-18, 5,448, etc., ani.
No. 42,285 and 82-9-18, 5,448, etc., ab-67-e-su.
829-18, 1,403, etc., Se-2k.
No. 42,285 and 82-09-18, 5,448, etc., 7v; K. 8,575, 77.
82-9-18, 1,4.03, etc., No. 42,285 and 82-9-18, 5,448, etc., read
ma-har-iu-un, ‘ before them.”
® No. 93,017 reads zk-mzs, “he bowed himself down.”

© 82-9~18, 1,403, etc., 7z-2a-az; No. 42,285 and 82-9-18, 5,448,
ete, [. . . J-az
4 No. 93,017 and 82-9-18, 1,403, An-Sar-ma,

No. 93,017, 77.

ese aoe ew

GAGA GOES TO LAHMU AND LAHAMU. 49

66.
67.
68.
69.
70.
71.
72,
73:

74.
75:
76.
77
“That he may go and fight your strong enemy |”

Gaga went, he took his way and

Humbly before Lahmu and Lahamu, the gods;
his fathers, ;
He made obeisance, and he kissed the ground at
their feet.
He humbled himself;® then he stood up and
spake unto them, (saying) :
“« AnSar, your son, hath sent me,

“The purpose of his heart he hath made known

unto me.
“ He saith that Tiamat our mother hath conceived
a hatred for us,
“ With all her force she rageth, full of wrath.

“ All the gods have turned to her,

“ With those, whom ye created, they go at her side.

“They are banded together and at the side of
Tiamat they advance ;
3

82-9-18, 1,403, etc., and 82-9-18, 5,448, etc., u-ma--1-

ra-an-[ni'}. .

vy
16
ots
82-9-18, 1,403, etc., [re-r]e-t Lbdi-su. No. 93,017, u-Sa-as-bir-an-nt. © 829-18, 1,403, me. 82-9-18, 1,403, 7-20-17-ra-an-na-ti; No. 42,285, ¢3-at-dr-ra~

an-na-a-tt,

18

a

2

No. 93,017, 7a. 9 829-18, 1,403, etC., Sach.
82~9~18, 1,403, etc., and No. 42,285, gr-2i.
No. 93,017, 829-18, 1,403, etc., and No. 42,285, /a-ab, 82-9-18, 1,403, etc., and No. 42,285, mz-r.

K. 8,575, ¢-da-a-Ssa. * No. 42,285, a/ ka.

K. 8,575, ¢-du-su.

K. 8,524 and K. 8,575, Zea-a-ma-ti; No. 42,2%5, Ti-amat.

No. 42,285, fe-d7-27.

50

78.

79
80.
81.
82.
83
84.
85

86.

87.
88.
tg-su kap-du la sa-hki-pu mu-st' u im-ma*

na-Ssu-u tam-fa-ri? na-zar-bu-bu lab - but

unken-na> sit-ku-nu-ma t-ban-nui-u® su-la-a-tt?

Um - mu - Hu - bur pa- ti - kat® ka - la - ma®
us-rad-di kakké* la mah-ri it-ta-lad sirmahe”™
zak~-tu-ma Ssin-ni la pa-du-u at-ta-’-7«
im-ta kima da-a-mi™ gu-mur-su-nu™ us-ma-al-li
usumgalle” na-ad-ru-ti pul-ha-a-ti® u-$al-bis- ma
me -lam-me us-das-sa-a i-lis" um-tas- sis
a-mir-si-nu Ssar-ba-ba li- th - har - mi-im
au-mir-su-nu™ L3-tah-hi-dam-ma la i-ni--u trat-su-un
89. us-siz ba-as-mui sir-rus-su® u ™La-ha-mt
90. # - gal - lum UR - BE* u akrab - amélu
1K, 8,575 and No. 42,285, mu-sa.

? No. 42,285, m-mu. 5 No. 93,017, 7a.

* No. 42,285 and No. 93,017, /a-ab-bu.

5 No. 93,017, un-hi-en-na. ® No. 42,285, [7-da]n-nu-ma.

7 No. 93,017, fam. ® No. 42,285, ka-at.

® No. 42,285, mu. ® No. 93,017, hakku la ma-har.

2

No. 42,285, ser-mah; No. 93,017, si7-mah-t. No. 42,285 reads /a-af-’-7m, a scribal error for a¢-/a-’-1m.

GAGA’S MESSAGE. Sr

78.

79-
80.
81.
82.
83.
84.
85.
86.
87.
88.
89.

90.

“ They are furious, they devise mischief without
resting night and day.
“ They prepare for battle, fuming and raging ;

“They have joined their forces and are making
war.
“ Ummu-Hubur, who formed all things,

“ Hath made in addition weapons invincible, she
hath spawned monster-serpents,
“ Sharp of tooth and merciless of fang.

*«‘ With poison instead of blood she hath filled their
bodies.
“ Fierce monster-vipers she hath clothed with
terror,
“With splendour she hath decked them, she hath
made them of lofty stature.”
“ Whoever beholdeth them, terror overcometh him,

“Their bodies rear up and none can withstand
their attack.
“She hath set up vipers, and dragons, and the
(monster) Lahamu,

“ And hurricanes, and raging hounds, and scorpion-
men,
”
14
8
iW
ot
20
2
No. 93,017, cm-tu ki-ma da-mi.
No. 42,285 seems to have had a variant reading.
No. 42,285, la. 6K. 8,524, pul-ha-ia.
K. 8,524, e-de; see above, p. 16 f., note 5.
No. 42,285, [1 Jm-/as-s7-11. 8 No. 93,017, 3e-mur-su-nu.
No. 93,017, @ SIR-RUS™,
No. 93,017, UD-GAL” UR-BE”; for the ideogram UR-BE, see
above, p. 18, note 3.

52

CREATION’ SERIES, TABLET III.

Qt. tne” § da-ab-ru-ti niin-amilu u [hku-sa-rik- ku}
92. na-as kakke*? la pa-di-i la a-di-ru ta-ha-2
93. gab-Sa te-ri-tu-Sa la ma-har Si-~na-ma
94. ap-pu-un-na-ma* i§-tin es-rit ki-ma Su-a-tu us-tab-st

96.

97.
98.
99.
100.
IOl

102.

103
104.
105

.tnat lant bu-uk-vi-sa Su-ut iS-ku-nu-S pu-uh-rt
u-Sa-as-ki ™ Kin-gu ina bi-ri-Su-nu sa-a-su us-rab-bi-is
a-li-ku-ut mak-ri> pa-an um-ma-ni mu-tr-ru-ut pubrt
na-as kakké** ti-is-bu-tu te-bu-u a-na-an-tt

Su-ud tam-ha-ri? ra-ab_ Sik-ka-tu-ti
ip-kid-ma ka-tus-su u-se-Si-ba-as-Su ina kar-vi
.ad-di ta-a-ka ina puhur tlani u-sar-bi-ka
ma-li-kut tlani gim-rat-su-nu ka-tuk-ka — us-mal-li

le-nu sur-ba-ta-ma fa-t-ri e-du-u at-ta . L-ir-tab-bu-u zik-ru-ka eli kali-Su-nu ,, . A-nun-na-[ki 8

. ta-dfin-SJum-ma dupsimati" t-ra-alt-su u-Sat-nit-1f]*

1

Restored from Tablet II, 1.29; No. 93,017 reads Hal erasure]-K1.

2 No, 93,017, Aak~kut. * No. 93,017, ap: pu-na-nta. * No. 93,017, tna. 5 No. 93,017, a-l2-kut ma-har. ® No. 93,017, #a-se-e kakhu. 7 No. 93,017, 7a

e

In the parallel passage in 1. 46, K. 6,650 reads KAKX (i.e. ha/Z)-

GAGA'S MESSAGE, 53

91. "And mighty tempests, and fish-men, and
[rams] ;?
92. " They bear merciless weapons, without fear of the
fight.
93. " Her commands are mighty, none can resist them ;

94. " After this fashion, huge of stature, hath she
made eleven (monsters).
95. '" Among the gods who are her sons, inasmuch as
he hath given her support,
96. " She hath exalted Kingu; in their midst she hath
raised him to power.
97. 'To march before the forces, to lead the host,

98. " To give the battle-signal, to advance to the attack,

99. " To direct the battle, to control the fight,

too. " Unto him hath she entrusted ; in costly raiment
she hath made him sit, (saying) :
tor, " 'IT have uttered thy spell, in the assembly of the
gods I have raised thee to power,
102. " 'The dominion over all the gods have I

entrusted unto thee.
103. “ ‘Be thou exalted, thou my chosen spouse,

104, “ ‘ May they magnify thy name over all of them
‘ the Anunna[ki].’
105. ‘She hath given him the Tablets of Destiny,
on [his] breast [she laid them], (saying) :
Su-n[u . . .], In the present line on No. 93,017 there are

traces of kali-su-nu followed by traces of two signs and by the word * A-nun-na-[ki] which ends the line. The Anunnaki are possibly the subject of the sentence.

® Line 105 has been restored from 1. 47.

54

CREATION SERIES, TABLET III.

106,

107,

108.

109.

I10. @

III,
112.
113.
114.

115.

116.

ih
118.
119.

120.
I2t,
122.
ka-ta kibit-ka la in-nin(ua-a li-kun si-it pi-i-ka*

in-na-na ™Kin-gu Su-us-ku-[u li-ku-u ™ A-nu-ti]
an ilani mare" ~Sa Si-[ma-ta is- te - mu]
ip-su pi-i-ku-nu ™Gibil [li - ni - ih - hal
wid ina kit-mu-ru ma-ag-s[a-ri_ lis'- rab - bi- ib}
as-pur-ma ™A-nu-um ul i[li-’-a ma-har- sa}
™ Nu-dim-mud e-dur-ma t-[tu-ra ar- kis}
>. tr ™ Marduk ab-kal-[lu i\a[ni ma-ru-ku-un]
ma-ha-vis Ti-amat li{b-ba-su a-va ub- lal
ip-su pi-i-su [i-ta-ma-a a-na ia-a-ti]
Sum-ma-ma a-na-ku [mu-tir gi-mil-li-ku-un]|
a-kam-me Ti-amat-mla u-bal-lat ka-su-un]
Suk-na-a-ma pu-upvu s[u-ti-ra t-ba-a sim-ti]
t-na Up-Su-ukkin-na-ki milt-ha-vis fa-dis tas-ba-ma]
ip-su pi-ia ki-ma Ra-tu-nu-ma st-ma-tu lu-Sim-ma]
la ut-tak-kar — mim-miluj-u = a-ban-nu-u —_ [a-na-ku]

[ale ¢-tur [ad tm]-nin-na-a se-kar [sap-ti-ia}

1 Lines 106-108 have been restored from Il. 48-50 and Tablet II, ll. 44-46.

GAGA’S MESSAGE. 53

106.

107.

108.

109.

110,

Itt.
I12.
113.

114.

115.

116.

117.
118.
119.

120.
20.
122.
“«« Thy command shall not be without avail, [and
the word of thy mouth shall be established], ?
“ Now Kingu, (thus) exalted, [having received
the power of Anu],
“TDecreed the fate] for the gods, her sons,
(saying) :
“Let the opening of your mouth [quench]? the
Fire-god ;
“«* Whoso is exalted in the battle, [let him display]
(his) might!’
“T sent Anu, but he could not [withstand her];

“ Nudimmud was afraid and [turned back].

“ But Marduk hath set out, the director of the

[gods, your son];

“To set out against Tiamat [his heart hath
prompted (him)].
“He opened his mouth [and spake unto me],
(saying) :
“ «Tf I, [your avenger,

«Conquer Tiamat and [give you life],

“Appoint an assembly, [make my fate pre-
eminent and proclaim it].
“«JIn Upgukkinaku [seat yourselves joyfully
together] ;
“ «With my word in place of [you will I decree fate].

“ « May whatsoever [1] do remain unaltered,

«May the word of [my lips| never be changed
nor made of no avail.’
* Lines 109-124 have been restored from ll, 51-66.

123.

124.
125.
126.
127.
128.
129.
130.
131.
132.
133.
134.
135.
136.
137.
138.
[Alu-um-ta-nim-ma $i-mat-ku-nuar-his — [st-ma-Ssu]

[4-42 lim-hu-va na-kar-ku-nu dan-nu
[2]s'- mu-ma ™Lah-ha ™ La-ha-mu ts-su-u e-li-tum
™ Teigi nap-har-su-nu i-nu-ku mar -si- ws

mi-na-a nak-vra a-di ir-suu si-bi-tt mle... jI
la ni-i-di ni-i-ni sa Ti-amat e-plis-ti-sa}*
tk - Sa - Su - nim - ma il ~ lak - [ku ~ ni\>
ilanit rabiti ka-li-su-nu mu-Ssim-(mu Ssim-ti]§
t-riu-bu-ma mut-ti-is An-Sar im-luu [. J
in-nis-ku* a-pu-u a-hi ina pupri [. . . . |
li-Sa-nu is-ku-nu ina ki-ri-e-ti [us'- bul
as-~na-an i-ku-lu ip-ti-ku [ku-ru-na\s
St-vi-sa mat-ku u-sa-an-nt [... }[rJa-[d]c?-su-[un]
Si-ik-ru ina Sa-te-e ha-ba-su zu-um-[ri}®
ma-?-dis e-gu-u ka-bit-ta-su-un® i-te-el-[ti}> a-na™ Marduk mu-tir gi-mil-li-Su-nu t-sim-new
Sim-—[tu]§

1 The characters s¢-b:-2¢ are clearly written on 82-9-18, 1,403, etc., and they are followed by traces of the sign ze.

* There is room for this restoration.

* Conjectural restoration.

4 in-nis-ku may be taken as the. Nifal of nasaku; cf. Tablet I, 1. 116, where An§ar is described as kissing

Marduk upon the lips.

THE BANQUET OF THE GODS. 57

123.

124.
125.
126.
127.
128,
129.
130.
131.
132.
133:
134.
135;
136.
137.
138.
“ Hasten, therefore, and swiftly [decree for him]
the fate which you bestow,
“ That he may go and fight your strong enemy!”

Lahmu and Lahamu heard and cried aloud,

All of the Igigi wailed bitterly, (saying) :

“What has been altered so that they should

“ We do not understand the dfeed] of Tiamat!”

Then did they collect and go,

The great gods, all of them, who decree [fate].

They entered in before An§ar, they filled]...];

They kissed one another,‘ in the assembly [. . . }.

They made ready for the feast, at the banquet
[they sat];
They ate bread, they mixed [sesame-wine].°

The sweet drink, the mead, confused their [. .],

They were drunk with drinking, their bodies
were filled.
They were wholly at ease, their spirit was exalted ;

Then for Marduk, their avenger, did they decree
the fate.
5 It is possible that more than two signs are wanting, in which case a longer form of the verb must have been employed.

® Restored from 1. 9.

* The traces are possibly those of m7; one sign is wanting at the
beginning of the word. :
® The reading a-bit-/a-Su-un is certain.

The GKourth Tablet.

I. id- du- sum- ma pa ~ vak vi - bu - tim’
2. ma-ha-ri-is ab-bi-e-Su a-na ma-li-ku-tum tr-me?*
3. at-ta-ma kab-ta-ta t-na ilini ra-bu-tum
4. St-mat-ka la ga-na-an se - kar - ka 4 ~ nui
5. ™ Marduk kab-ta-ta i-na iléni va- bu-tum
6. Si-mat-ka la Sa-na-an se -kar-kha “A - num

7. if-tu u-mi-im-ma la in-nin-na-a hi- bit-ka

8. su-us-ku-u u Ssu-us-pu-lu Si-i lu-u ga-at-ka 9. lu-u ki-na-at si-it pi-i-ka la sa-ra-ar se-kar-ka

10. ma-am-ma-an i-na ilant i-tuk-ka la it-ti-tk

Il. sa-na-nu-tum ir-Sat pa- rak ilant- ma
12,@- Sar sa-gi-su-nu lu-u ku-un as-ru-uk-ka
13. ™ Marduk at-ta-ma mu-tir-ru gi-mil-li-ni 14. ni-id-din-ka Sar-ru-tum —kis'- Sat kal gim-vi-e-ti

15. t-sam-ma i-na pu-hur® lu-u Ssa-ga-ta a-mat-ka

16. kak-ki-ka ai ip-pal-tu-u li-va-i-su na-ki-ri-ka

* The catch-line on the Third Tablet, preserved by K. 3,473, etc.,
reads ru-bu-u-ti.
2 The lines which follow contain the words addressed by the gods to Marduk, after he had taken his seat in their presence.

The Gourth Tabet.

They prepared for him a lordly chamber,
. Before his fathers as prince he took his place.”
“ Thou art chiefest among the great gods,
“ Thy fate is unequalled, thy word is Anu !
“O Marduk, thou art chiefest among the great
gods,
. “ Thy fate is unequalled, thy word is Anu!
7. “ Henceforth not without avail shall be thy
‘command,
8. “ In thy power shall it be to exalt and to abase.
g. “Established shall be the word of thy mouth,
irresistible shall be thy command ;
io. “ None among the gods shall transgress thy
boundary.
11. ‘“ Abundance, the desire of the shrines of the gods,
12, “ Shall be established in thy sanctuary, even
though they lack (offerings).
13. “ O Marduk, thou art our avenger!
14. “ We give thee sovereignty over the whole world.
15. “ Sit thou down in might,’ be exalted in thy
command,
16. “ Thy weapon shall never lose its power, it shall
crush thy foe.
wm & Oop

an

5 This is preferable to the rendering “take thy seat in the

assembly (of the gods)”’; for the other gods had an equal right to
sit in the assembly.
60

CREATION SERIES, TABLET Iv.

17.

18.

19.

20,

21.

22.

23.
24.
25.
26.
27.
28.
29.
30.
31.
32.
be- lum Sa tak-lu-ka na-pis-ta-su gi-mil-~ma
u ile Sa lim-ni-e-ti i-hu-eu tu-bu-uk nap - Sat - su
Pa ‘ rare y By
us-at-2u-ma i-na bi-ri-Su-nu lu~ba-su is = ten
a-na™ Marduk bu-uk-vi-Su-nu $u~nu ig - gak~ vu
St - mat - ka be - lum lu-u mah-va-at iuani-ma
a-ba-tum u ba-nu-u ki- bi H-itk - lu - nu

ip- Sa pi- t- ka li-’-a-bit lu-ba- sn
tu-ur ki-bi-sum-ma la-~ba- su hi-is- lim
tk-bi-ma i-na pi-t-Su ?-a- bit lu - ba~ su
t-tu-ur tk-bi-'um-ma lu - ba Su it - tab + nt
ki- ma gi-it pi-t-su i-mu-ru ilani ab-bi-e-Su
th-du-u th-ru- bu ™Marduk - ma sar - ru
u- use si- pu- Su ™hatta "kuss&® u pala(a)'
id-di-nu-su kak-ku la ma-ah-ra da--i-bu ga-ai-ri

a-lik-ma sa Ti-amat nap-Sa-tu-us pu-ru-’-ma>
Sa-a-ru da-mi-Sa ana pu-uas-ra-tum U-bil-le-ndt
' The translation of pa/w as “ring” is provisional; the palz was certainly a symbol of power.
THE GODS CONFER POWER ON MARDUK. 61

pass

19.
20,
21.
22.

23.

24.

25.

26,

27

28.

29.

30.

3h.

32.

. ©©O lord, spare the life of him that putteth his

trust in thee,

“ But as for the god who began the rebellion,
pour out his life.”
Then set they in their midst a garment,

And unto Marduk their first-born they spake :

“May thy fate, O lord, be supreme among the
gods, °
“To destroy and to create ; speak thou the word,
and (thy command) shall be fulfilled.
“ Command now and let the garment vanish ;

“And speak the word again and let the garment
reappear !”
Then he spake with his mouth, and the garment
vanished ;
Again he commanded it, and the garment re-
appeared.
When the gods, his fathers, beheld (the fulfilment
of) his word,
They rejoiced, and they did homage (unto him,

' saying), “ Marduk is king!”

They bestowed upon him the sceptre, and the
throne, and the ring,’
They give him an invincible weapon, which over-
whelmeth the foe.
“ Go, and cut off the life of Tiamat,?

“ And let the wind carry her blood into secret
places.”
2 Lines 31 and 32 contain the final address of the gods to
Marduk before he armed for the fight.
62

CREATION SERIES, TABLET IV.

33.
34.
35.
36.

37.
38.
39.
40.
4l.
42.
43.
44.

45

46.

z-St-mu-ma sa “Bel si-ma-tu-us lini ab-bi-e-Su u-ru-uh Su-ul-min u tas-me-e us-ta-as-bi-tu-us har-ra-nit

2b - Sim- ma “Rasta kak-~ha- su u- ad - di
mul-mul-lum us-tar-ki-ba u-kin-su* ba -at~-nu
is - 3 - ma ™mittat im-na-su u-Sa-hi-iz
Rasta uw "iS pa-tum® i-du-us- su i-lu-ul®
is - kun bi- tr - ku’ ¢- na pa- ni- Su
nab-lu® mus-tah-mi-tu zu-mur-su — um-ta-al-la”
i-pu-us-ma sa-pa-ra Ssul-mu-u kir-bis’ Ti-amat™
tr-bit-tt Sa-a-vi® us-te-ts-bi-ta ana la a-si-e mim-mi-sa
Situ iltéinu Sadi aharrit

t-du-us sa-pa-ra" us-tak-vi-ba® ki-is-td abi-su® ™ A-nim
tb-ni im-Qul-la Sava lim-na" me-ha-a® a-sam-Su-tum
ve
Sar arbai sar sibi® sara @ Sara la Sanan™

1
3
K. 3,437, etc., omits Zum. 2K. 3,437, etc. se. The scribe of No. 93,016 does not make a clear distinction

between the signs da and ma, and it is possible that the word is ma-at-nu; its meaning is not certain.

4
5
©

a
12
K. 3,437, ete., mif-fa.

K. 3,437, etc., omits the determinative.

K. 3,437, ete., 2-ud.

K. 3,437, etc., and 79-7-8, 251, NUM-GIR, i.e. dirku.

K. 3,437, etc., and 79-7-8, 251, da.

K. 3,437, etc., me. 0K. 3,437, etc., wm-fal-le,
No. 93,016, &z[7]-d[2]-2¥ Zam-tim.
No. 93,016, ¢rbiétim(tim) sare".

MARDUK ARMS FOR BATTLE. 63

33.
34.
35:
36.
37:
39.
40.
4I.
42.

44.

45.

After the gods his fathers had decreed for the
lord his fate,
They caused him to set out on a path of prosperity
and success.
He made ready the bow, he chose his weapon,

He slung a spear upon him and fastened it... ?

He raised the club, in his right hand he grasped (it),

. The bow and the quiver he hung at his side.

He set the lightning in front of him,

With burning flame he filled his body.

He made a net to enclose the inward parts of
Tiamat,
The four winds he stationed so that nothing of
her might escape ;
The South wind and the North wind and the
East wind and the West wind
He brought near to the net, the gift of his father
Anu. ‘
He created the evil wind,” and the tempest, and
the hurricane,
. And the fourfold wind, and the sevenfold wind,

and the whirlwind, and the wind which had no
equal ;
8 No. 93,016, mt-im-me-Sa. M No. 93,051, rt.

® After us-fak-rt-ba, No. 93,051 reads a-mal . . .

® No. 93,016, (a-b]z-5[«]

™ No. 93,051, Sa-ar lim-nu. This phrase must be taken as an explanation of zm-2ul-la, i.e. “the evil wind,” and not as the name of a separate wind; for the list only comprises seven winds (cf. 1. 47).

8 No. 93,051, me-hu-u. ® No. 93,051, VII-di-7m.

0 For Im-Nu-p1-a, No. 93,051 reads IM-DI-A-NU-DI-[A].

64: CREATION SERIES, TABLET IV.

47. u-Se-sa-am-ma $ave"! — fa tb-nu-u —_si-bit-ti-su-un 48. Rir-bis? = Ti-amat $u-ud-lu-hu —ti®-bu-u—aarhi-sut4 49. 1S-$t-ma be-lum a-bu-ba> kakka-su raba(a)®

50. narkabla u-mu? la mah-ri ga-lit-ta® tr-kab

51. ¢s-meid-sim'-ma ty-bit na-as-ma-di i-du-us-sa i-lud 8

52. [Sa].gi-su! la padu-u ra-fi-su — mu-up-par-sa®
53. [. . . .]8-t Sin-na-su-nu na-Ssa-a im-ta™
4.[. 2 . «8 2) -du-u sa-pa-na lam-du™
55.[2... - .]-8@ va-as-ba [tye - ku - un - tum
86. Su-me-la u [im-na...]-a tpatifu.... elu-d[zP! 57. na-ah-llap-ti-su . . . . \~ti pul-ha-ti [ha|-lip-ma

1 No, 93,051, Sa-a-72. ® No. 93,051, [Air-bi-2 |S.
3 No. 93,651, 4. * No. 93,051, ar-i-Su.
5 No. 93,051, bu. ® No. 93,051, hak-ha-Su ra-ba-a-am.
7 K. 3,437) etc., reads w-mu, ‘a storm,” not s7-krn, “a con- struction”; and this reading is supported by the duplicate No. 93,051. Marduk is represented driving the storm as his chariot, drawn by fiery steeds.

8 No. 93,051, rt. ® No. 93,051, /um.

” No. 93,051, 27-ka-ab. 4 No. 93,051, sum.

® No. 93,051, ZV na-as-ma-du. 8 No. 93,051, -du-uS-Su t-lu-ul.

“™ No. 93,05r reads[. . . J-gt-§¢; only one sign is wanting from the beginning of the line, and this is conjecturally restored

MARDUK’S CHARIOT AND HORSES. 65

47. He sent forth the winds which he had created, the
seven of them;
48. To disturb the inward parts of Tiamat, they
followed after him.
49. Then the lord raised the thunderbolt, his mighty
weapon,
50. He mounted the chariot, the storm’ unequalled for

"terror,

51. He harnessed and yoked unto it four horses,

52. Destructive," ferocious, overwhelming, and swift of

pace ;
53. [- . + « + J were their teeth, they were
flecked with foam ;
54. They were skilled inf . . . J, they had been
trained to trample underfoot.
55.[. . . . . « J,,mighty in battle,

56. Leftand[right . . . 2. 2... 2. JP

57. His garment was[. . . . J], he was clothed
with terror,
as Sa in the transliteration. The new duplicate disproves the restorations which have previously been suggested.

® No. 93,051, Su.
® Delitzsch suggests the restoration, [mala riz}#7, "‘ full of slaver."
No. 93,051, ‘um.
Delitzsch suggests the restoration J/as@ma, "galloping" ;
Jensen, kamara, " casting down."
© K. 3,437, etc., gives traces of 2.

No. 93,051, [/]a-a[m]-d[w}.

1 Lines 55 and 56 are taken by Delitasch as referring to Marduk, and by Jensen as referring to the horses; their suggested restorations differ accordingly.

n

318

66 CREATION SERIES, TABLET IV.

58. me-lam-mi-su sah-[pu al-pi-ir rlal-su-us- su

59. us-te-sir-ma [far-rva-an-su1 uly-ha-su u-Sar-di-ma 60. as-vis Ti-amat [sa ag]®-gat pa-nu-us-su is-kun
61. ¢- na Sap oti a he YP au - kal - lu 62. u-mti-im-ta [.. .]-¢! ta-me-th lak-tus-su 63. 2- na u-mi-su
t-t[ulj-lu-su® lant ¢-tud-lu-su 64. tant abé- su t-tul-lu-su ilani i - tul-lu- Su

65. zt-hi-ma be-lum kab-lu-us Ti-a-ma-ti i-bar-ri

66. sa ™"Kin-gu ha-’-vri-§a i-se-’-a me-ki-sus

67. 2 - na - at - tal - ma e- st ma - lak - Su

68. sa-pi-th te-ma-su-ma st-ha-ti ip-Sit-su

69. « alant” ri - su - su a-tli- ku i- di - su 70. t-mu-vul . . -almi-ta a-Sa-ri-du— nt-til-Su-un 1-84

7i. [d]a-di-[. . J8 Te-amat ul u-ta-ri hi-Sad-sa 72.t-na Ssap-t{?] sa lul-la-a? u-kal sar-ra-a-ti®

There is just room upon the tablet for this restoration.

? It is possible that more than two signs are wanting.

* In the broken portion of the line there is not room for more
than three signs.
* Jensen reads sam-mi-im ta-m{?]-7, “a plant of magical power.” If, however, fa and 7 are parts of the same word it is certain that at least two signs are wanting between them.

5 The verb is possibly not to be taken from za¢alu, but should perhaps be transliterated 7-dul-/u-su; see above, p. 13, note 11.

MARDUK SETS OUT. 67

58.

59.
60.
61.

62. .

63.
64.
66
67
68
69.
7O
71.
72.
With overpowering brightness his head was

crowned.
Then he set out, he took his way,
And towards the [rag]ing Tiamat he set his face.
On his lipsheheldf . . . J,
. .]*he grasped in his hand.

Then hey beheld* him, the gods beheld him,

The gods his fathers beheld him, the gods beheld
him.

. And the lord drew nigh, he gazed upon the

inward parts of Tiamat,
He perceived the muttering® of Kingu, her spouse.
As (Marduk) gazed, (Kingu) was troubled in his
gait,
His will was destroyed and his motions ceased.
And the gods, his helpers, who marched by his side,
Beheld their leader's[. . . Jj,' and their sight
was troubled.
But Tiamat[. . .], she turned not her neck,
With lips that failed not® she uttered rebellious
words :°

5 See above, p. 12, note z.

7 The sign is am or kar; not more than one sign is wanting
before it. :
5 The first sign in the line seems to be zd; there is not more
than one sign wanting.
® Lit., ''that were full"; Z/-/a-a is probably Perm. Piel from
lala (cf. H-W-B., p. 377):
%© Lit., 'she held fast.rebellion."

73-(. . flaf 2. © J) Sa be-lum ilani ti-bu-ka
74. [aS]-ru-us-Su-un ip-hu-ru su-nu as -ruk-ka®
75. [ts-S¢]8-ma be-lum a-bu-ba kakka- su vraba(a)
76.[. . . Ti)*-amat sa th-mi-lu ki-a-am is-pur-4
77-[+ + 6 6 Jo ba-a-ti e-lS na-sa-ti- [ma]
78 [2. 1. «]8-ba-ki-ma di-ki a-na-an-[ti]
79. soe ee ee) abe -Su-nu i-da-[...]
80. [. . . .]-Su-ne ta-azi-rvi? ri-e-[1... J
8.f . . . "Kin- glu a-na fa-'-ru- ¢t[i>- ki]
82.[. . . .]-se a@-na pa-va-as " An-nu-ti"
83. - 1 + lim-nyi-e-ti te- fe -' -e - ma 84.{ . . . alani? abee)-a li-mut-ta-hi® — tuk-tin-ni 85. [le
sla-an-da-at um-mat-ki lu rit-ku-su su-nu kakhé® -ki

86. en-di-im-ma a-na-ku u ka-a-si i ni-pu-us Sa-as-ma

* One sign is wanting at the beginning of the line, and there are traces of three signs after éa.

? As the beginning of 1. 73 is wanting, the meaning of Tiamat's taunt is not quite clear. :
% Conjectural restoration ; cf. 1. 37.

* Possibly restore [a-na 77]-amat.
Probably restore [af-/2-ma ra]-ba-a-tt.
Possibly restore [w-b2-lu lib]-ba-ki-ma.
MARDUK REPROACHES TIAMAT. 69

px
74.
75:
76.
77:
78.

79+
80.
81.
82.
83.
84.
85.

86.

"T . . . . | thy coming as lord of the gods,

"From their places have they gathered, in thy place are they!""?
Then the lord [raised]* the thunderbolt, his mighty weapon,
[And against]* Tiamat, who was raging, thus he sent (the word) :
"[Thou]* art become great, thou hast exalted thyself on high,
" And thy [heart hath prompted]* thee to call to battle. .
oe . . © |theirfathers[. . . J,

oP ay theirf[. . .]thou hatest{ . . .],

s [Thou hast exalted Raat to be Fibyisp spouse,

"Thou hast . . . J] him, that, even as Anu,

he should issue decrees.
“fo... .] thou hast followed after evil,

“ And [against]” the gods my fathers thou hast
contrived thy wicked plan.
“ Let then thy host be equipped, let thy weapons
be girded on!
“ Stand! I and thou, let us join battle!”

7K. 5,4200¢, fa-gir-rt.

® Possibly restore [/u-Sa-as-hi ™ Kin-g]u; cf. Tablet I, ll. 128 and 135, and the parallel passages in Tablets II and UI.

®* K. 5,420¢ gives traces of ¢2.

°K. 5,420¢, “A 2...)]. MK. 5.4200, feei-[2...

” Probably restore [a-na iJani. K. 5,4200, ha.

4 No, 93,051, ka-a-Su.

7O

CREATION SERIES, TABLET IV.

87.
88.
89.
90.
gl.
92.

93-

95
96.
97.
98
99
100.
Iol.
102,
103.

Ti -amat an-ni-ta i-na_ Se- mi - sa

mah ~ pu -tis’* i-te-mi? u-sa-an-ni' te-en- Sa

ts - st - ma Ti-amat Sit - mu- ris? e-li-ta
Sur - St8® ma-al-ma-lis? it-ru-ra is-da-a-[sa]®
@-man-ni Sip-ta it-ta-nam-di ta-a-{sa]®
u ildnt sa tahéet u-sa-’-lu Su-nu kakké*-su-u{n}™
in-nin-du-ma Ti-amat abkal ilani® * Marduk
Sa-as-meS it-tib-bu kit-ru-bu ta-ha- ae -is

us-pa-ri-ir-ma be-lum sa-pa-ra-su u-sal-mi-st

im-hul-lu™ sa-bit ar-ka-ti pa-nu-us-§u™ um-das-sir

ip-te-ma pi-t-sa Ti-amat a-na la-’-a-ti-su
im-Qul-la us-te-ri-ba ana la ka-tam Ssap-ti-su
ig-2u-ti sare" kar -Sa-sa i-sa-nu-ma
in-ni-haz lib-ba-sa-ma pa-a-sa us-pal-ki
is- suk mul-mul-la th-te-pi ha-vas-sa'
kir-bi-Sa u-bat-ti-ka u-sal-lit lib-ba
th - mi - Si - ma nap - sa - tas u-bal-k

* No. 93,051, tna Se-me-e-Sut. * No. 93,051, f-75.

% No. 93,051, me. + No. 93,051, 2x.

5 No. 93,051, 72-28. ® No. 93,051, [Sec]¥.

7 No. 93,051, [2-2]§. 5 No. 93,051, tt-ru-ru i8-da-a-ku.
® No. 93,051, Za-a-Su.
THE DEATH OF TIAMAT. 71

87.

88.

89.

go.

gl.

92.

93.

94-

95:
96.
97:
98.
99.
100.
When Tiamat heard these words,

She was like one possessed, she lost her reason.

Tiamat uttered wild, piercing cries,

She trembled and shook to her very foundations.

She recited an incantation, she pronounced her spell,
And the gods of the battle cried out for their weapons.
Then advanced Tiamat and Marduk, the counsellor of the gods ;
To the fight they came on, to the battle they drew nigh.
The lord spread out his net and caught her,

And the evil wind that was behind (him) he let loose in her face.
As Tiamat opened her mouth to its full extent,

He drove in the evil wind, while as yet she had not shut her lips.
The terrible winds filled her belly,

And her courage was taken from her, and her mouth she opened wide.
101. He seized the spear and burst her belly,

102.

103.

He severed her inward parts, he pierced (her)

heart.
He overcame her and cut off her life ;
© K. 5,420¢, u~fa--a-lu; No. 93,051,[- - + -s ja-a-lu.
U No. 93,051, kak-Re-Ku. % K, 5,420¢, me.
KK. 5,4200¢, da. , «K. 5,420¢, fa.
* K. 5,420¢, sum. 8 K. §,420¢, su.
72

CREATION SERIES, TABLET Iv,

104. sa - lam - Sa! id-da-a eli - $a Z-2a-sa* 108. ud - tu Tt - amat a-lik pa-ni t-na-ru 106 ki-is-ri-sa up-tar-ri-ra pu-hur-sa is-sap-ha 107. % tldint vt - su - Sa a-l- ku i- di - sa 108, 2t-tar-ru ip-la-fiu u-sah-fi-ru ar-kat-su-un§ 1OQ. @ - Se - Sa - ma nap - sa ~ tus e@- fi - 1M 110. ni-ta la-mu-u na-par-su-dis* la h-’-e Vii. [e]- str -Su-nu-t- mai kakke#-su-nu u~ sab-bir 112. sa~pa-vrif na-du-ma ka-ma-ris us - bu 113.0...]o+du tub-ha-a-ti ma-lu-u du-ma-mu 114, Se-7it- su na-Su-u ha-lu-u hi suk - his 115. w is-ten es-vit nab-ni-ti su-ut pul-ha-ti t-sa-nu® 116. 192 -tl-la gal-li-e a-li-ku ka-(.. .8-n]i-sa 117. it-ta-di9 siv-vi-e-th t@-di-Su-nfu.... | 118. ga-du tuk-ma-ti-su-nu Sa-pal-su [ik]-0[]-us ° 1K. 5,420¢ and 79-78, 251, Sa-lam-tuk. 2K, 5.4200, 22-22-20. 8K. 5,4.20¢, w-sah-ht-ra al-hat-su-un, 1K, 5,4.20¢, dts.

5 The sign begins with a single horizontal wedge; we cannot therefore read [as]-Aup. It is possible that the first word is a verb in the Permansive, parallel to za-du, us-bu, and ma-lu-u; we may perhaps read [em]-du, and translate the line, “standing in the 4, they were filled with lamentation.”

THE ROUT OF THE REBEL HOST. 73

104. He cast down her body and stood upon it.

105. When he had slain Tiamat, the leader,

106. Her might was broken, her host was scattered.

1o7. And the gods her helpers, who marched by her
side,
108. Trembled, and were afraid, and turned back.

109. They took to flight to save their lives ;

110. But they were surrounded, so that they could not
escape.
111. He took them captive, he broke their weapons ;

112. In the net they were caught and in the snare
they sat down.
113. The [. .] . . of the world they filled
with cries of grief.

114. They received punishment from him, they were
held in bondage. ;
115. And on the eleven creatures which she had filled
with the power of striking terror,
116, Upon the troop of devils, who marched at
There fs ss ee > te
117. He brought affliction, their strength [he . . .];

118. Them and their opposition he trampled under
his feet.
® So K. 5,420c; in K. 3,437, etc., the sign which follows # is
a} Ala) or [a]. .
7 In No. 93,016 the line begins: TE-LaL-MkS, i.e. gall7".

® There are traces of at least three signs betwcen da and the last sign but one in the line, which is [#]2, or [7]r.

® No. 93,016, #f-ta-ad-d[7'}.

© I think there is no doubt that the sign is as.

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CREATION SERIES,

TABLET IV.

119.

120.

121.

122.

123.

124.
125.
126.
127.
128.

129.
130.

131.
132.
133.

“

th-mt-Su-ma

2 ~ kim - Su - ma

t-na ki-§tb-bt

as - tu lim - ni - 5u®
ai - bul mut -ta-'- du
ir-nit-ti An-Sar e-li
iti ™ Dug-ga(-je su*-a[.
dupsimati®
th-nu-kam-ma

na-ki-ru9

™ Kin-gu sa iv-tab-bu-u\ ina [e?-i)-su-un

. emn-ni-su

la

Si- ma-ti- sut

iv -tu-us> it-mu-uh

tk-mu-u t-sa-au

¥ Yee
U-SA-PU-U SU-VI-Samt
ha-li-is uS- si - But

ni-is-mat ™ Nu-dim-mud tk-Su-du Marduk kar-du

elt ilini*® ka-mu-tum

gi-r0-1g
tk-bu-us-ma be - lum
tna mi-t-su la pa-di-t
>

u- par -ri-? - ma

fa-a-ru il-ta- nu

i-mu-ru-ma ab-bu-su

Ti-amat™ ga tk-mu-u

si-bit-ta-Su u-dan-nin-ma

i-tu-ra ar-ki-is

Sa Tt-a-ma-tum™ i-sid-sa
u-nat-ti mu-uh-ha
us - la-at da-mi-sa
a-na pu-us-rat us-ta- bil
th-du-u i-t- su

1 Rm. 2, 83, ¢r-4a-bu-u.

2 The beginning of the sign ¢ is preserved by K. 5,420¢.

® The sign is clearly written and is sw, not /a as Delitzsch and Jensen transliterate it; the end of the line may perhaps be restored as Su-a-[Su] tm-ni-Su.

* Rm. 2, 83, da si-m[a@l- . .

}.

MARDUK RETURNS TO TIAMAT. 75

119.
120.
12k.
122.
123.
124.
125.
126.
127.
128.
129.
130.
131.

132.
133.

Moreover, Kingu, who had been exalted over
them,
He conquered, and with the god Dug-ga he
counted him.
He took from him the Tablets of Destiny that
were not rightly his,
He sealed them with a seal and in his own
breast he laid them.
Now after the hero Marduk had conquered and
‘cast down his enemies,
And had made the arrogant foe even like... ,

And had fully established Ansar’s triumph over
the enemy,
And had attained the purpose of Nudimmud,

Over the captive gods he strengthened his
durance,
And unto Tiamat, whom he had conquered, he
returned.
And the lord stood upon Tiamat’s hinder parts,

And with his merciless club he smashed her skull.

He cut through the channels of her blood,

And he made the North wind bear it away into
secret places.
His fathers beheld, and they rejoiced and were
glad ;
5 Rm. 2, 83, ev-dus. 5 Rm. 2, 83, d2m-nt-e-3u.

™ Rm. 2, 83, bz. ® Rm, 2, 83, mut-la-du.

* Rm. 2, 83, elf na-hi-ri. 1 Rm. 2, 83, and ka-mu-u-ft.
" Rm. 2, 83 probably read fa-d Je.
@ Rm. 2, 83, Li-a-ma-H. 3 Rm. 2, 83, [7]-a[mas].

76

CREATION SERIES, TABLET IV,

134.
135.
136.
137.
138.
139.
140.
141.
142.

143.
144.
145.
146.
Si-di-e Sul-ma-nu

t-nu-uh-ma be-lum
Sir ku-pus u-sa-a-2u
th-pi-$t-ma ki-ma nu-nu
av vee. ae
tt-t5-lu-us-$a 1s-ku-nam-ma
7§-du-ud par-ku ma-as-sa-rit
me-e-Sa la Ssu-sa-a
Samé(e) i-bi-ir
us-tam-hi-ir mi-ik-vat apsi

tm-Su-uh-ma be-lum sa
es-gal-la tam-Ssi-la-su
E - $ar - va
™ Bal 4 ™ Bea
es - gal-la
mh Anum
u-sa-bi-lu

y v y
SU-NiU ANA Sa-a-Su
Sa-lam-tu-us t-bar-ri
t-ban-na-a— ntk-la-a-ti
mas-di-e ana S$tna-Su

Sa-ma-ma u-sa-al- lil?

bi - it
um -ta-'~ ir
u“- S@ - as -

Su - nu - th
as-va-tum t-hi-tam-ma
Su - bat ™ Nu - dim - mud

apsi bi-nu-tu-us- su
u-ki-in E - sar - va
Sa tb-nu-u Sa-ma- mu
ma-ha-2i-Su-un us-ram-na

1 The meaning of ku-pu is uncertain; Jensen takes Sir as a determinative, and assigns to ku-fu the meaning “trunk, body.” 2 See above, p. 3, note 14.

THE STABLISHING OF THE HEAVENS, 77

134.
135.
136.
137.
138.
139.
140.
141.
142.

143.
144.
145.
146.
Presents and gifts they brought unto him.

Then the lord rested, gazing upon her dead body

While he divided the flesh of the . . . |}
and devised a cunning plan.
He split her up like a flat fish into two halves ;

One half of her he stablished as a covering for
heaven.?
He fixed a bolt, he stationed a watchman,

And bade them not to let her waters come forth.

He passed through the heavens, he surveyed the
regions (thereof),
And over against the Deep* he set the dwelling

of Nudimmud.
And the lord measured the structure of the Deep,

And he founded E-Sara, a mansion like unto it.

The mansion E-Sara which he created as heaven,

He caused Anu, Bél, and Ea in their districts to
inhabit.
3’ For the reason of this change in the use of the word afsz, in
contrast with its personal meaning in the First Tablet, see the
Introduction.
The Gifth TaBeet.

1. u- ba-as-Sim man-za-sa an ilani ‘vabatit)
2. kakkabani*® tam -Sil-su-nu lu-ma-st® us'-2t-iz
3. u-ad-di Satta mi-is-ra-ta u-ma-as- sir
4. X/l arhe” = kakkabani® TTT 44" ys ~ gi ~ ig
5. if-tu u-mi sa Ssatti us-sli . . .] wsgu-ra-ti
6. u-Sar-sid man-2za-az ™ Ni-bi-rvi* ana ud-du-u rik-si-su-un
a-na la e-pis an-nt la e-gu-u ma-na-ma
man-2za-as “Bel u “E-a u-[k}n it-te- su
ip-te-ma abullé* ina gi-h ki-lal-la-an
oo aos

Si-ga-ru ud-dan-ni-na su-me-la u im-na

Il. tna ka~bit-ti-Sa-ma*t is-ta-kan e-la-a-ti
12, “Nannar-ru us-te-pa-a wu-sa ik-ti-pa
13. w-ad-di-sum-ma $su-uR-nat mu-Si a-na ud-du-u u-me

14. ar-hi-sam la na-par-ka-a ina a~gi-[e] u-sir

+ The catch-line on the Fourth Tablet, preserved by No. 93,016, reads: u-ba-as-Sim ma an-za-2a an tant ra bi-u-tum. ? A list of the seven /vmast-stars, or constellations, is given in

The Gifth Tablet.

. He.(iie. Marduk) made the stations for the great
gods ; .
2. The stars, their images, as the stars of the Zodiac,’
he fixed.
3. He ordained the year and into sections he divided it;

4. For the twelve months he fixed three stars.

5. After he had[... | the days of the year[... |
images,
6. He founded the station of Nibir® to determine
their bounds ;
7. That none might err or go astray,

8. He set the station of Bél and Ea along with him.

9. He opened great gates on both sides,

10. He made strong the bolt on the left and on the

right.

11. In the midst‘ thereof he fixed the zenith ;

12, The Moon-god he caused to shine forth, the night
he entrusted to him.
3. He appointed him, a being of the night, to deter-
mine the days ;
14. Every month without ceasing with the crown he

covered (?) him, (saying) :

IIR, pl. 57, No. 6, ll. 53-56; see further, Jensen, Kosmologie,
pp. 47 f.
5 Le. Jupiter.

4 This meaning is conjecturally assigned to habzviu,

80 CREATION SERIES, TABLET y,

15. ¢-na v8 arhi-ma na-pa-hi [i-nal ma-a-ti
16, karv-nt na-ba-a-ta' ana ud-du-u VI u-mi?
17¢-na timi VILEAN — a-ga-a [Sum - sul - la

18. [wmje XIV-tu lu-u su-tam-hu-rat mes-l[d... ju
19. [e-7]u-ma Samas ina sid Samé(e) [.... }ha
20.[2... a su-tak-si-ba-am-ma bint ar{ . . Ja-us’

alte

2u[....]..4 a-na far-ra-an ™ Samas Ssu-tak-rib-[ma]

p
22. [ena tind... |*4" lu Su-tam-hu-rat ™ Samas lu sa-na[..]
23-0 2 6 1. . Je Ste um> ba-''-t u-ru-up- sa

24. f 1. ee we ee Se-tak-ri-ba-ma di-na di-na

Bee bow Seg ee oe ae a ole] aa eee
260 | a0 Sey Ga a ee ee oe So) Se ee eee
1 na-ba-a-la is possibly the Perm. from zadz#; Jensen takes it as the Infinitive from maéafu with an Imperative meaning.

2 The reading of VZ w-md is certain. K. 3,567 + K. 8,588 reads VI... J-mt, while the duplicate K. 8,526 reads[| . . . Ju-mu (see also First Steps in Assyrian, p. 160). George Smith's reading Sa-ma-mu, "to determine heaven," which has been followed by Zimmern and Delitzsch, gives little sense; Jensen reads a(s)a(?)-me, which he does not translate. The reading ana ud-du-w VI u-mt,

MARDUK'S CHARGE TO THE MOON-GOD. 81

15. " At the beginning of the month, when thou
shinest upon the land, ,
16. " Thou commandest! the horns to determine six
days,"
17. " And on the seventh day to [divide] the crown.

18. " On the fourteenth day thou shalt stand opposite,

the half [. . .].

19. " When the Sun-god on the foundation of heaven
[i.e a2et feng] thes;
20." The{ . . . Jthoushalt causeto . . . ,
and thou shalt make his—_ . . . |.
ar "[.. . . J]. . unto the path of the Sun-god
shalt thou cause to draw nigh,
22. "[And on the . . . day] thou shalt stand
opposite, and the Sun-god shall .. [.. .]
23. "[2. . . 4. . . . « J] to traverse her way.

24. "f 2. . . . | thou shalt cause to draw nigh,
and thou shalt judge the right.
a5 "E . 2 ew ew «J to destroy

26 ky ee ie ke ku De eames

" "

“to determine six days,” agrees well with 1. 13, where Marduk is described as appointing the Moon-god a-na ud-du-u u-me, “to determine the days”; moreover, the phrase is appropriately followed in 1, 17 by the statement of the Moon-god’s duty on the seventh day.

5 One sign is wanting. * Perhaps read a7da’t.

® Possibly read zé¢u.

(66)

(67)
(68)
(69)
(70)
(71)
(72)
(73)
(74)
(75)
(76)
7)
(78)
(79)
(80)
(81)

(82)

[The following twenty-two lines are taken from K. 3,4492, and probably form part of the Fifth Tablet.*]

uw-([.]
sar - ba - bu [J
BS ES Pe a's]
ina E ~ sag - gil [ ]
kun - na [|
man - 2a - age “{ 7]
want” § rabute” [fae
thant PAB Ne oo Aces ent Bb OR os oe ne ed wy
im-hur-ma[... 2.2... eee ee J
sa-pa-ra Sa t-te-ip-pu-Su i-mu-ru ilani® [abé*-su

emu-rvuma “Rasta kit nu-uk-ku-lat [ip?-sit-sa

ip-$it i-te-ip-pu-su i-na-a-diu

is-3i-ma ™ A-num ina puhur ilani® { .

Rasta it - ta - Stk card (MEraeaere oan |

im-bi-ma Sa *kasti ki-a-am [Sumé” - Sa

ag-su a-vik lu is-te-nu-um-ma_ sa-nu [

Sal-su sum-$a **** Kastu ina Samée) [.

1 If K. 3,449@ forms part of the Fifth Tablet, the position of the fragment may be roughly ascertained from the fact that the end of the obverse and the beginning of the reverse are preserved. The first line preserved was probably not earlier, though it may have been some Jines later, than the 66th line of the text.

MARDUK’S BOW IN HEAVEN. 83

[The following twenty-two lines are taken from K. 3,4492,
and probably form part of the Fifth Tablet.'}
(66). [
(O7)m Soc, Be ‘[e ames Fhe oP gr ak cir Stig cs oar a]

(68) From [.

(69) In E-sagil [

(70) To establish [

(71) The station of [

(72) The great gods [

(73) The gods [

(74) Hetookand [. .]

(75) The gods [his fathers] beheld ies net Weick he
had made,
(76) They beheld the bow and how [its work] was
accomplished.

(77) They praised the work which he had done
[}
(78) Then Anu raised [the . . . . J] in the
assembly of the gods.
(79) He kissed the bow, (saying), “Itis[.... J!”

(80) And thus he named the names of the bow,
(saying),
(81) “‘Long-wood’ shall be one name, and the
second name [shallbe . . . . J,
(82) “And its third name shall be the Bow-star, in
heaven [shall it . . . . J!”
* The traces upon the tablet are possibly those of wp. For the
restoration cf. IVR, pl. 12, Obv., 1. 24; Delitzsch suggests the
reading epiissa.
84 CREATION SERIES, TABLET V.

(83) w-Rin-ma gi-is-gal-la-sa [
(84) wl- tu St-ma-a-ti sa [
(85) [7d -d]i- ma ™kussa [

(86)[. . . . J da sameé[(e)
(87)[- . + .]- meef
[The following traces of the last thirteen lines of the Fifth Tablet are taken from the reverse of K. 11,641 and from the reverse of K. 8,526.!

(128) [2. we wee ee Jeet [

(29) [2 6 ee w]e te n-th ne - |
(90)[2 1. ee we wt bla- su ee
(131) [. rrr on 2, ce ee

(32)[2. ee ee ne le laf a Ai
2. Eland t- kab - bul - u
(133) Do. ee es
(34) [. 6. . J samee)? [.
(35)[. . . «] ma-a- ru-k[u- un
(136) [6 ew we ew Je et it -[
(137)[2 6. ee J we bal - li - itt
(138) [. . . mel-lam-me mit... | ust

(30) [. 1. . | f@ um-[. 2.) ne-[

CEA) ise ce detect as we ete ah]

ee a

ey ei ee

ni - 2 - te

1 The reverse of K, 8,526 gives traces of the last three lines of the text; the greater part of the traces are taken from the reverse of K. 11,641, The obverse of K. 11,641 gives portions of ll. 14~22 ;

for the text, see Appendix JI.

* The reading Sama(e) is probable; there is not room on the

tablet for the restoration ™ [Z7]-a.

THE COMPLAINT OF THE GODS. 85

(83) Then he fixed a station for it [aoe]
(84) Now after the fate of [. . . ....- J
(85) [Heset]athrone [;]
(86)[. . . . Jin heaven [|
[The following traces of the last thirteen lines of the Fifth Tablet are taken from the reverse of K. 11,641 and from the reverse of K, 8,526.!]

(128) "— . . 2. » Jhim— . . . . - J”
(129) “[. Jthem[..... |”
(130)860 kos ces, “Phim sae ce
(7331) “—[-. - Jthm[..... J”
(132) “[... Jtheir— . ... Jmay[....]”
(993)h DE eS ew es ‘| the gods spake,
(134)[+. + + +]theheavens— . . . Js?
(735) “[+ +. + your}Json[. . .
(136) “[....Jjourf....]hathhef....]”
(137) “[.... .] he hath caused to live... . J”
(138) “[. . . . Jsplendourf . . . - J”
(139) “[Jnote[y se ee fet)”
(140) “[. jJwef 2... J!”
3 In the speech that follows it may be conjectured that the gods complained that, although Marduk had endowed the heavens with splendour and had caused plants to live upon the earth, yet there were no shrines built in honour of the gods, and there were no worshippers devoted to their service; see below, p. 88, note 1.

The Sixth Tablet.

1. ™ Marduk Bik - v0 tlant ina Se - mi - su)

2. [wb]? - bal lib-ba-su i-ban-na-a [nik-la-a-ti)§

3. [p]-su pi-t-Su a-na “E-a_ [i*~- sak - kar}

4. [Sa]® ina lib-bi-Su us-ta-mu-u t-nam-din [ana S§a-a-su]®

5. da-mi™ ly-uk-sur-ma ts-si-im-[tuju® lu-[. . . J?
6. lu-us-stz-ma améla(a) lu a-melu..[... |]
7. lu-ub-ni-ma amélaja) a-sib [— 2... JY
' The end of the line has been restored from the catch-line of Tablet V, preserved by K. 8,526; the traces upon-K. 3,567, etc., suggest the reading ima Se-[m]i-[e-stu]; K. 11,641 reads [7]na Se-me-[. .

? Conjectura! restoration.

* For this restoration, cf. Tablet IV, 1. 136.

4 The beginning of the sign 7 is visible.

5 One sign only is missing at the beginning of the line.

® Conjectural restoration.

7 It is possible that the final vowel of da-m7 is not the 7 of the 1 sing. pron. suffix; in that case the phrase should be translated “Blood will I take.” In view of the fact, however, that, according to Berossus, Bél first formed mankind from his own blood mixed with earth, it appears to me preferable to take the 7 as the pron. suffix and translate da-mz as “ my blood.” Berossus does not state that Bél used his own bone for forming man, and this agrees with the

The Sirth Tablet.
1. When Marduk heard the word of the gods,'
2, His heart prompted him and he devised [a cunning
plan].
3. He opened his mouth and unto Ea [he spake],

4. [That which]|* he had conceived in his heart he
imparted [unto him]®:
5. “ My blood? will I take and bone § will I [fashion],®

6. “ J will make man, thatman may ..[... }

7. “1 will create man who shall inhabit [the earth],’

absence of the.pronominal suffix from 7s-gi-¢m-[tu]m. According to my rendering of the line, Marduk states his purpose of forming man from his own blood, and from bone which he will create; see further,

the Introduction.

® The traces of the last sign of the word appear to be those of tum. Ithink there can be no doubt that 2s-s¢-zm-[/u]m corresponds to the Hebrew ‘esem, “bone,” which is employed in Gon. ii, 23, in the phrase ‘esem measdmat, “bone of my bones.” In connection with the feminine form of the word 7s-s¢-m-[éu]m, it may be noted that, in addition to the plur. ‘dsamim, the fem. form ‘ésami¢h is also found.

® The verb may perhaps be restored as /u-[ud-ni], as suggested
in the translation. :
” The last word of the line may perhaps be restored as ¢rsitim,
as suggested in the translation.
88 CREATION SERIES, - TABLET VI.

8. lu-u en-du dullu ilani-ma su-nu lu-u pa-pa[!... J g. lu-Sa-an-ni-ma_al-ka-ka-ti ilani lu-nak-ki-lir ... J?
10. is-te-nis’ lu kub-bu-tu-ma* a-na liin-na lwu [...

11. 2- pu-ul-lu-su-ma *"E-a a-ma-tum i-alak-kar

5

12. [. . |-¢[eae S]ee-ret sal-fu(?)-tene* Sa tléni u-sa-an-[... |

13.[. . 2. . t]e%ad-nam-ma is-ten a-[,]
14.[.. . Win-nja'-ab-bit-ma nise™ hil-[
i [2. ee ee ew]- ma lint 5

16.]-na-din-ma su-nu li-[... J

[
7. . 1 ee ef erma ilénd [
WBE... 1. we J) @-ra t-[nJam-[
19 [eo ey 2 oe ek aa ee
2o.[. 1... 1. “A)-nun-na-ki [
21. Met pote 8 Se oe Re Re Ee betes
1 The word is probably papahu; literally the line reads, “ Let the service of the gods be established, and as for them let [their] shrines [be built].” It is interesting to note the reason that is here implied for the creation of mankind, i.e., that the gods may have worshippers. There is clearly a reference to this in 1. 29 of the Seventh Tablet, where, after referring to Marduk’s mercy upon the gods, his enemies, the text goes on a-na pa-di-Su-nu tb-nu-u a-me-lu-tu, ‘‘ For their forgiveness did he create mankind.”

2 It is probable that the end of the line contained some
expression parallel to a/-ka-ha-d2,
3 It seems to me preferable to assign to the Piel of [Aadasu] its usual meaning “‘to oppress,” rather than to render the passage as

10.

It.
12.
13.
14.
15.
16,
18.
19.
20.
2.
“ That the service of the gods may be established,

and that [their] shrines’ [may be built].
. But I will alter the ways of the gods, and I will
change [their paths] ;?

“ Together shall they be oppressed,’ and unto
evil shall [they . . . . }”
And Ea answered him and spake the word :

ca ieee \the{ . . . . J of the gods
I have [changed] * ;
[.... J]. . andone. [| ... J

[. +». shall be dejstroyed’ and men will I

[... . . jand the gods— .. . -

[.... J. . andthey[.. . . J

[. + + J. . andthegodst . . . .]

[nd ee oe wr “the gods lo: en do]

[.. . . . Jthe Anunnaki[2. . . |

“ Together shall they be honoured.” The sense seems to be that Marduk, by the creation of man, will establish the worship of the gods, but at the same time will punish the gods for their complaints, It is possible that in his speech that follows Ea dissuades Marduk from carrying out the second part of his proposal.

4 The signs at the beginning of the line are not very clear. The signs read as w/, $a, and Zu are probably not to be taken as the single character #4. °

5 Possibly, “1 have [related |.”

® Possibly [Ja.

’ The word is conjecturally restored.

go CREATION SERIES, TABLET VI.

{The rest of the text is wanting ! with the exception of the last few lines of the tablet, which read as follows.]

TSS ID) ‘sg Be ee we Sb i ee ee OT 2 ara
£36, DS Ge te ge oe, Ye! eras GA al oer: ar
140. ki-¢ ma-[2... 1. J] me f[aa |
141. -du-u [....]J-mu-u [.. oa
142. ¢-na Up-su-ukkin-na-ka uS- ta-ad-[wf
143. Sa ma-ru kar-va-du mu-tir [gi-mil-li-su-nu . . . |
144. ni-¢-nu Sa za-ni-nu ul-lu-[.....]
145. u-si-bu-ma ina pupri-su-nu — t-nam-bu-[ ]
146.[.. . }se na-gab-su-nu u-zak-k[a-ru-su . . . J]?
1 It is probable that the missing portion of the text corresponded closely with the account of the creation of man and animals given by Berossus; for a further discussion of this subject, see the Introduction. The tablet K. 3,364 (Cum. Texts, part xiii, pl. 29 f.) has been thought to belong to the Creation Series, and to contain the instructions given by Marduk to man after his creation. Had this been so, it would have formed part of the Sixth Tablet. On plates lxiv ff. of Vol. II is published the text of a Neo-Babylonian tablet, No. 33,851, which gives a duplicate text to K. 3,364; and in Appendix II I have given reasons for believing that the text inscribed upon K. 3,364 and No. 33,851 has no connection with

THE LAST ASSEMBLY OF THE GODS. gt

[The rest of the text is wanting ' with the exception of the last few lines of the tablet, which read as follows.]

T38e[, e fe Ck a wee wD |
P30u(b eta Se Bema Al eh |
140. When [. .... J]. £ j
141. They rejoiced [. . J. . |
142. In Upgukkinnaku they set [their dwelling].

143. Of the heroic son, their avenger, [they cried]:

144. “ We, whom he succoured, . . [. . . J!”

145. They seated themselves and in the assembly they
~namedfhim . . . . J,
146. They all [cried aloud (?)], they exalted [him . .. |

the Creation Series, but is part of a long composition containing moral precepts. Another fragment which it has been suggested belongs to one of the later tablets of the Creation Series is K. 3,445 +R. 396 (Cun. Texts, part xiii, pl. 24f.; cf also its duplicate K. 14,949, pl. 24); but there are strong reasons against the identification of the text as a fragment of the series Luma elif, though it may well be part of a parallel version of the Creation story (see further, Appendix IT).

* The address of the gods to Marduk forms the subject of the
Seventh Tablet of the series.
The Seventh Tabhfet,

1. Asar-+t Sa-rie — mi-vis-t[t' = mu-kin — t2-va-td]?

2. ba-nu-u Se-am u ki-e mu-sle-si ur-ki-ti}®

=

3. ™ Asaru-alim sa ina bit mil-ki kab-t{u a-tar mil-ki|

4. dant =u - tak - ku-u a- air

a

5. ™ Asaru-alim-nun-na ka-ru-bu nu-ur [a-bt a-li-di-§u}

6. mus-te-Sir te-vit “A-nim ™Bal [uw ™“E-al?

7. Su-u-ma za-nin-Su-nu— mu-ud-du-u [. ... |

8. Sa Su-ku-us-su fegaliu® us-sa% [. . . . J

9. ™ Tu-tu ba-an te-dis-ti-Su-nu [su - wu]

1 No. 92,629 (catch-line), me-r[s- . . J.

? The end of the line has been restored from the commentary S. 11 +5. 980, Obv., col. i, Il. 4 and 5; see Appendix I.

3 Restored from S. 11, etc., Obv., col. i, ll. g and 10; see
Appendix I.
4 Restored from S. 11, etc., Obv., col. i, 1. 15 and 16, which gives the words a/-ru and mil-ku as occurring

at the end of the line; the restoration a/-ru mil-ki-Su, “ whose counsel is mighty,” is also possible.

5 The end of the line may perhaps be restored from the

The Seventh Tablet.

1. O Asari, “ Bestower of planting,” “(Founder of sowing],”?
2. “ Creator of grain and plants,” “who caused [the green herb to spring up]!”*
3. O Asaru-alim, “who is revered in the house of counsel,” ‘‘[who aboundeth in counsel],”*
4. The gods paid homage, fear [took hold upon them]!*
5. O Asaru-alim-nuna, “the mighty one,” “the Light of [the father who begat him],” °
6. “ Who directeth the decrees of Anu, Bel, [and

Ea]!”?
7. He was their patron, he ordained [their . . . .];
8. He, whose provision is abundance, goeth forth
g. Tutu [is]!® “He who created them anew ;”

commentary S. 11, etc., in some such way as a-d[r 7-hu-us-su-nu-tt\; see Appendix I.
* The restoration is taken from the astrological fragment, No. 32,574, Obv., 1. 3; see Appendix III.

7 Conjectural restoration. ® No. 91,139 + 93,073, Aegalla(la).

® No. 91,139, etc., w-us-s[7'].

% Restored from the commentary R. 366-+80-7-19, 288-4293; Obv., ll. 1-4 (see Appendix I). The title Tutu is there explained as da-a-nu, “creator,” while its two component parts (ru + TU) occur in the Sumerian version of the line as the equivalents of ba-nu-u and e-di-su.

94 CREATION SERIES, TABLET VII.

10. &-Hil sa-gi-su-nu-ma’ Su-nu— lu-u— [pa-as-feu-ni]? 11. 4b - ni - ma> — sipti* tani li ~ [nu - ful? 12. ag-gis? lu8S te-bu-u li-ni-’-u [t-rat-su-nu]* 13. dunt Su-us-ku-u-ma ina puhur’ tlind [.... 8

14. ma-am-man ina tlani® Su-a-$u la um-—[mas-sa-lu] 15." Tu-tu ™Zi-ukkin-na" na-pis-ti um-ma-ni [ilént]*

16. Sa u-kin-nu an itlani Ssamée(e) el - lu - [t7] 17. al-kat-su-un ts-ba-tu-ma’ u-ad-du-u [. . . . |%

18. ai im-ma-Si i-na® a-pa-tiM ip-Se-ta[su ... .]8

' No. 91,139, etc., sag-gi-Su-nu-ma,

* Lines 10-12 have been conjecturally restored from the commentary R. 366, etc., Obv., ll. 5-18 (see Appendix I); the sentences I take as conditionals. For another occurrence of the verb sag@ (1, 10), see Tablet IV, 1. 12.

5 No. 91,139, etc., [de]d-[n]7-ma.

4 No. 91,139, etc., S¢p-d2.

5 No. 91,139, etc., [a]g-gi-2%.

5 No. 91,139, etc. du-w,

7 No. 91,139, etc., ena pu-fur.

® It is probable that another precative came at the end of the line, and if this was so the verb was given in 1. 24 of the Obv. of the commentary R. 366, etc. In No. 91,139, etc,, not very much is wanting at the end of the line.

» No. 91,139, etc., ma-am-ma-an t-na tant.

© No. 91,139, etc., Sa-a-su.

THE HOMAGE OF THE GODS TO MARDUK. 95

10. Should their wants be pure, then are they
_ [satisfied] ;?
11. Should he make an incantation, then are the gods
[appeased] ;?
12, Should they attack him in anger, he withstandeth
(their onslaught]! ?
13. Let him therefore be exalted, and in the assembly
of the gods [lethim J;8
14. None among the gods can [rival him]!

15. Tutu is Zi-ukkina, “the Life of the host [of the
gods],””
16. Who established for the gods the bright heavens.

17. He set them on their way, and ordained [their
path (?)];™
18. Never shall: his [. . . . | deeds be for-

, gotten among men.

"No, 35,506, ™ Zi-ukhin.

" The end of the line is conjecturally restored from K. 2,107 K. 6,086, Obv., col. ii, 1. 29 (see pl. lxii), which explains the title ™ Z1-UKKIN as nap-Sal nap-har tani".

3 No. 35,506 and K. 8,522, a-na.

M No. 35,506, ts-ba-tu-u,

% Some such word as ur-ha-Su-nu should possibly be restored at the end of the line; for a fragment of the commentary to the line, see Appendix I.
' K, 8,522, ina.

" K, 8,522 and No. 35,506, a-pa-a-tt.

* According to S. 11 +S. 980, Obv., col. ii, 1. 7, a word ku-u[l- . . .] occurred at the end of the line, but this is not certain, as the commentary evidently gives a variant reading for the beginning of the line (see Appendix I); Jensen's suggested restoration is disproved by No. 35,506 (see pl. xlvi).

96 CREATION SERIES, TABLET VII.

19. ™Tu-tu ™Zi-azag Sal-sis' im-bu-u mu-kil' te-Lil-té 20. 2 sa-a-ri fa-a-bi —be-el_— taS-me-e = ma-ga-ri? 21. mu-Sab-Si si-im-vi u® ku-bu-ut-te-e mu-hin hegalli & 22. Sa mimma-ni> i-su® ana ma-'-di-e' u-tir-ru

23. t-na pu-us-ki dan-ni® ni-si-nu® SsGr-su ta-a-bu 24. Uk-bu-u lit-ta-'-du"™ lid-lu-la® da-l-li-su

25. ™ Tu-tu¥™ A ga-azag ina™ ribitt)" li-sar-ri-hu ab-ra-a-te™ 26. be-el'® Sip-tu'® —ellitim(tim)" = mu-bal-lit® § — mia -t-td

27. Sa an™ ilani ka-mu-ti® ir-Su-u ta-at-ru% 28. ap-sa-na en-du™® u-Sa-as-si-ku® eli ilani*™™ na-ki-vi-su®

1 The text of the commentary read mu-kin, i.e. "the Founder of Purification " ; for other variant readings in the line, see Appendix I.
® The text of Il. 20 and 21 corresponds to that of the commentary.
5 w is omitted by Nos. 91,139 + 93,073 and 35,506.
* No. 91,139, etc., hegalla(la).
No. 91,139, etc., [a2-2]m-ma-n[z'].
Nos. 35,506 and 91,139, etc., 7-s2.

No. 91,139, etc., ma-a-di-e.
No. 91,139, etc., [plu-us-ku [da}n-nu; No. 35,506 reads
{ pu-u|s-ka and omits the adjective.
» No. 35,506, m2-s7-n7.
Nos. 35,506 and 91,139, etc., fa-ar-Su,
No. 35,506, d2-it-fa-'-7d.
No. 91,139, etc., U-td-iu-lu; No. 35,506, lid... . . i.
K. 8,522, here and in ll. 33, 41, and 43, reads " min (i.e.
5
6
7
8
THE TITLES OF MARDUK. 97

19.
20.
2l.
22.
24.
25.
20.
27.
28.
Tutu as Zi-azag thirdly they named, "the
Bringer ' of Purification,"
" The God of the Favouring Breeze," " the Lord
of Hearing and Mercy,"
" The Creator of Fulness and Abundance," " the
Founder of Plenteousness,"
" Who increaseth all that is small."

"In sore® distress we felt his favouring breeze,"

Let them say, let them pay reverence, let them
bow in humility before him !
Tutu as Aga-azag may mankind fourthly magnify!

"The Lord of the Pure Incantation,' 'the
Quickener of the Dead,"
"Who had mercy upon the captive gods,"

" Who removed the yoke from upon the gods his
enemies,"
Tutu), which is written in small characters on the edge of the
tablet.

Mu

No. 35,506, z-na.

Nos. 35,506 and 91,139, 72-d2-7.

No. 91,139, etc., 2a.

No. 91,139, etc., 47.

No. 91,139, etc., 87. :

No. 91,139, etc., Sip-227; No. 35,506, [#]s-7p-4i.
Nos. 35,506 and 91,139, etc., ed-/2-t.
No. 35,506, /{i-7f].
an is omitted by No. 91,139, etc.

No. 91,139, etc., 4a; No. 35,506, dum.
No. 91,139, etc., 77.
No. 35,506, dz.

No. 91,139, etc., ka.

Nos. 35,506 and 91,139, etc., e-/¢ danz.
No. 91,139, etc., Ja.
98

CREATION SERIES, TABLET VII.

29.a-na pa-di-su-nu' ib-nu-u a~me~lu-tu?
30. ri-~ me?-nu-u sa bult-lu-tu ba-su-u it-th-su
31. u-ku-na-ma ai im-ma-sa-a a-ma-tu- su
32. ina® pi-t sal-mat kakkadu® sa ib-na-a ka-ta-a-Su
33. Tu-tu ™ Mu-azag ina® hansi(si)® ta-asu ellu
pa-st-na"— Lit }®-tab-bal
34. Sa ina Sipti-Su™ ellitim(tim)"* is-su-hu na-gab lim-nu-ti'
a Sag-au mu-di-e lib-bi ilani® sa t-bar-ru-u kar-su
36. e- pis lim-ni-e-ti la u-se-su-u it-ti-~su
37. mu-kin pulriM sa ilani [. . . . Lib -bi-Su-un
38. mu-kan-ns la ma-gi-[vi ss... . . J
39. mu - Se - Sir kit-te na-[.....]
40. Sa Sa - ar - u 1: oa ae |
' See above, p. 88, note 1.

2 No. 35,506, a-me-lu-t; No. 91,139, etc., a-me-lu-ut-/um.

5 Nos. 35,506 and 91,239, etc., mi.

+ Nos. 35,506 and 91,139, etc., du-wd.

5 Nos. 35,506 and 91,139, etc., 7-na.

5 No. 91,139, etc., kak-Ra-[d]u.

” Literally, “ the black-headed ones.”

8

9
0
u
No. 35,506, [7]-na.

No. 35,506, fa-an-iu; No. 91,139, etc., ha-a[m- . . .
No. 35,506, e/-lu.
No. 91,139, etc., p[a]-a--na.

THE TITLES OF MARDUK. 909

29. “ For their forgiveness ' did he create mankind,” 30. “ The Merciful One, with whom it is to bestow

life!”

31. May his deeds endure, may they never be for-
gotten
32. In the mouth of mankind’ whom his hands have
made!
33. Tutu as Mu-azag, fifthly, his “Pure Incantation”
may their mouth proclaim,
34. ‘Who through his Pure Incantation hath de-
stroyed all the evil ones!” ;
35: Sag-zu, “who knoweth the heart*
“ who seeth through the innermos}
36. “ The evil-doer he hath not caus
with him!” deleetie Go tee
37. “ Founder of the assembly of ‘the gods,” “ ‘Twho
. . . . | their heart!”
38. “ Subduer of the disobedient,” Sins Sante. Se

39. “ Director of Righteousness,” “[o. . 2 . J,”

40. “ Who rebellion and[. . . 2. . 1. dE”

Y No, 91,139, etc., L-zt.

® No. 91,139, etc., Sp-A-su.

* No. 91,139, etc. e-H-[. . . J; No. 35,506,[. 2. J-dee2.

4 No. 91,139, etc., du.

© No. 35,506, tb-rul . . .],

“ No. 91,139, etc., pu-uh [ru]; the scribe has omitted the vw by mistake.
Jensen suggests the restoration [mu-/7-75], i.e. “ [who gladdened] their heart.”
® No. 91,139, etc., 27-28.

100 CREATION SERIES, TABLET VII.

qu. [Tae- tu] ™Zi- st mu-sat)-[2. 6 1 we]
42. mu-uk-khis su-mur-~ra-t [..... j?
43. [Tu - tu] Sup - kur Ssal- sis? na-si[h at- b¢]*

44. mu-[sap|-pi-ch [ki]p>-di-su-nu [

45. mlu-bal- [nap-hjar rag - gf{t

go 0...) #D...]-& [

ry el ee ea ad a

(ieee Ae

(The following lines are taken from the fragment K. 12,830,® but their position in the text is uncertain.]

eee yay

[Be Pe Be -ra-a-te] sal-mat [hakkadi ib-ni-ma\?

te-[e-mu . . . 1. « J
j- gt mu- |
] T@t-amat [. 1...
] we- Tw. way

De eset ee Wet <b FP RR ope eh
[Roe eh Blea SIRE alan ne
ee

1 The reading of K. 9,267, I think, is se/ rather than Se.

* The end of this line may perhaps be restored from K. 2,107, etc., col. ii, 1. 30 (see pl. Ixii and Appendix I), as na-st-th $a-bu-t0, ‘‘who destroyed the mighty.”

3 This does not appear to agree with ll. 25 and 33, but the
reading of K. 9,267 is clear. :
* The sign following za is broken, but the reading s2% is possible. On K. 2,107, etc., col. ii, 1. 31 the title Suh-kur is explained as mu-bal-lu-u at-bi, and, though the following lines give explanations of other titles, they contain the synonymous expressions mu-bal-lu-u

THE TITLES OF MARDUK. 10l

41. Tutuas Zi-si, “the[. 2. 2 2. wee],
42. ‘““ Who put an end to anger,” “[who . . . . J!"?
43- Tutu as Sub-kur, thirdly,’ “the [Destroyer of
the foe],”*
44. “ Who put their plans to confusion,” “[... . 4,”
45. ‘“ Who destroyed all the wicked,” “[. . . . J,”
46.[. .. . . Jletthem[. ..... J!
[The following lines are taken from the fragment K. 12,830,° but their position in the text is uncertain.]

[He named the four quarters (of the world)],
mankind {he created],”
[And upon] him understanding[. . . . 48

[ly woe Fe: J] amab se aio a Se

‘ane » . jdistantt . . 2. 2... J

[soak vee Sapam’ 3 4 soca d ca J]

nap-har at-bi na-st-if rag-gi and na-st-if nap-har rag-gi (see pl. \xii
and Appendix I).
5 The traces of the sign on K. 9,267 are those of A7p, not a@.

° That the fragment K. 12,830 belongs to a copy of the Seventh Tablet is proved by the correspondence of its first two lines with the fragment of the commentary K. 8,299, Rev. (see pl. Ix). Its exact position in the gap between ll. 47 and ros is not certain.

* The line has been conjecturally restored from the commentary K. 8,299, Rev., ll. 3-6; see Appendix I.

® The first part of the line has been restored from the commentary K. 8,299, Rev., Il. 7~9; see Appendix I.

102

CREATION SERIES, TABLET VIL.

[The following lines are taken from the fragment K. 13,761.']

(Oy PP Se ado 9

(10)

vab - bu [,

A - gill

ba-nu-ui [trsttim(tim)*
Zu -lum-mu ad-di- {
na- din mil-ki u mim- mia

™ Mu-um-mu ba-aln
Mu-lil samé(e) [. .
Sa ana du- un - ni - |
“Gis’- kul lit - ba -[
Gere dad Eo aoe eS
™ Lugal - ab - [*
$A Fa, [ahs i Bc Wak Sots
Pape | ug oe wok ee
cf et a a

ihe [.

wa
a
1 That the fragment K. 13,761 belongs to a copy of the Seventh Tablet is proved by the correspondence of its fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth lines with the commentary K. 4,406, col. i (pls. livf., and see Appendix I). As the sixth line preserved by the fragment is the first line of the reverse of the tablet, it may be concluded that its place is about in the middle

Rev.,

of the text.

The arrangement of the text, however, upon different

copies of the same tablet varies considerably, a large space being

THE TITLES OF MARDUK.

103

(The following lines are taken from the fragment K. 13,761."]

[ae 3
(10)? [Behe te Sot
“The mighty one[.....
Agil re
“The Creator of [the earth *
Zulummu i ws ew Lt
“The Giver of counsel and of whatsoever

Ealtece eae

Mummu, “the Creator [of ..... J!”

Mulil, the heavens[. . . . we.
Who for us: a. [Pe ah weap Ps
Giskul, let[. 2... .
(so) “ Who brought the gods to naught [... .]

Lugal-ab[. . . .

“Who if [3202-6 ald ao a ees

Pap{ . . a) Ase50) air ae, foe
OWhiosini | ai. ee Rie he BO hme
,

”

sometimes left blank at the end of the reverse; thus the reverse of the copy of the Seventh Tablet, of which K. 8,519 is a fragment

(see p. 104 f.), begins at a different point.

2 In the margin of the fragment K. 13,761 every tenth line is

indicated by the figure ‘“ 10.”

3 For the commentary to this line, see Appendix I.
* Restored from the commentary K. 4,406, Rev., col. i, 1. 9.

5 The commentary K. 4,406 presupposes a variant reading for

this line; see Appendix I.

104, CREATION SERIES, TABLET VII.

[The following lines are taken from the fragment K, 8,519 and its duplicate K. 13,3373! this portion of the text was not separated by much from that preserved by K. 13,761.?]

6 obs ayo bd oh ce me Se a oh Re
- kit - me - sa
nap - har be - lim
Sa-hka)-a e-mu-ka- Sut

aoe

[“ Lugal-dur-mag Sar m|\ar°-[kas tana” be-el dur-ma-hi®

$a tna Su - bat Sarru-u- tt Sur - bu- ut

[‘a]® ina tlani ma-? - dis gt - ru
[* A-du-nun-na\® ma-lik ™ B-a ba-an ilani® abe” ~Su
sa a ~ [xual tal ~ lak - tt vu - bua - th ~ su

1 That the fragments K. 8,519 and K. 13,337 belong to two copies of the Seventh Tablet is proved by their correspondence with the commentary K. 4,406, Rev., col. ii (pl. livf.).

2 This is clear from the fact that col. i of the reverse of K. 4,406 gives the commentary to the earlier lines preserved by the preceding fragment, K. 13,761. The three columns of the commentary, parts of which are preserved on one side of K. 4,406, are probably cols. i, ii, and iii of the reverse of the tablet; if this is so, it follows that the lines on K. 8,519 and K. 13,337 follow those on K. 13,761. But, as it is possible that K. 4,406 gives the last three columns of the obverse of the tablet, a conjectural numbering of the lines of the text has not been attempted.

8 With the phrase [. . . . #]ap-har de-lim, compare the explanations of a title of Marduk given by K. 2,107 + K. 6,086 (see pl. Ixi and Appendix I), Obv, col. iijlg,[— . 6. . 6 nap-har be-li a-Sa-rid nap-har be-li, “{The . . . J of all lords, the Chief of all lords.”

4 The commentary K. 4,406 presupposes a variant reading for

THE TITLES OF MARDUK. 105

[The following lines are taken from the fragment K. 8,519 and its duplicate K. 13,33731 this portion of the text was not separated by much from that preserved by K. 13,761.7]}

ie: bette beset

Eo soe + ee « “the Chief (?) of] all lords,”

LS arot » + . . Supreme] is his might!*

[Lugal- sauna, “the King]* of the band of the
gods,” “the Lord of rulers,” ®
“ Who is exalted in a royal habitation,”’

“{Who]*® among the gods is _ gloriously
supreme!” ;
[Adu-nuna],? “the Counsellor of Ea,” who
created the gods his fathers,
Unto the path of whose majesty

this line; cf. Appendix I, With the phrase given in the text, which is repeated ten Jines lower down, compare the explanation of a title of Marduk on K, 2,107, etc., l. 16, be-lum Sa e-mu-ka-a-Su Sa-ka-a, “The Lord whose might is supreme.”

° For the restoration of the beginning of the line from the commentary K. 4,406, Rev., col. ii, ll. 8 ff., see Appendix I.

* The word durmahu was employed as a Babylonian priestly title. It may here be rendered by some such general phrase as “ruler,” unless it is to be taken as a proper name.

7 This line and the one that follows it are rather shorter than usual, but, according to the commentary K. 4,406 (see Appendix IT), nothing appears to be missing at the beginning of either. It may be noted that the arrangement of the four lines that follow differs on the duplicate K. 13,337.

® Conjectural restoration.

* This line and the two which follow it are restored from the commentary K. 4,406, Rev,, col. ii, ll.. 23 ff (see Appendix I); for the title “ A-du-nun-na, cf. also K. 2,107, etc., |. 20.

106 CREATION SERIES, TABLET VII.

Ya-a ul- mas -sa- lu ilu ai - um- ma

woes ew) Dul - azsag u-ta- da- su

[2... ee ee ul - bat - su el - lit

[2 oe... jbar la has-su ™ Lugal-dul-azag-ga
2 oe ee we) Sa-ha-a e-mu-ka-su
toe ee ee we Sane ker-bis Tam-tim

[eee ee ee ee tee bi- ka ta-ha-at

[The numbering of the following lines is based on the marginal numbers upon No. 91,139 + 93,073.!]

TOSS De. ee Sh tk BIR) ee es ee] Saree 106.[. . . . -*]u kakkaba sla t-na sa-me-e Su-pu-u]* 107. lu-u sa-bit® resu-arkat' su-nu Sa-a-su lu-u pal-su| ..]®

108, ma-a $a kir-bis? Ti-amat 7-tib®-bi-[ru la a-ni-u}®

' See pls. xl, xiii f

2 The end of the line has been restored from S. 11, etc., Rev., col. ii, Il. 3~6 (see pl. lii and Appendix I).

8 No. 91,139, etc., [de-7]é. :

4 ré{u-arkat is written KUN-SAG-GI on Nos. 35,506, 91,139, etc., and K. 8,522. The expression 7#su-arkdé, literally “ the beginning -the future,” may be taken as implying Marduk’s complete control over the world, both at its creation and during its subsequent existence. It is possible that Se-nw is the pronominal suffix and should be attached to the preceding word, i.e. 2éu-arka/u-su-nu, ‘their beginning and future,” that is, “the beginning and future of mankind.”

THE TITLES OF MARDUK. 107

[No] god can ever attain!

[.j. + +. in] Dul-azag he made it known,
[. |... . . . . J pure is his dwelling!
f .J. . . the . . . J of those without
uhderstanding is Lugal-dul-azaga !
ae s - + « . . J] supreme is his might!
[os heh |their[. . . Jin the midst
of Tiamat,
[- hb... ee] «ss ofthe battle!
[The numbering of the following lines is based on the marginal * numbers upon No. 91,139 + 93,073-']

TOS. [ay dee ae las oe ee ohm;

106.[. . . . .]« the star, which [shineth in
the heavens].?
107. May’ he hold the Beginning and the Future,‘
may they ® pay homage ® unto him,

108. Sayiag, “ He who forced his way through the
midst of Tiamat [without resting],°
5 T.e., mankind.

5 Possibly restore pal-su-[u] or pal-su-[ni]; it is also possible that nothing is wanting. The meaning assigned to galasu in the translation is conjectural.

7 No. 91,139, tna hir-be.

® No. 91,139 appears to read -A[7(or#) . . . J.

® The end of the line is restored from the commentaries S. 11, etc., Rev., col. ii, ll. 19-21, and K. 2,053, Rev., col. ii, ll. 3-5 (cf. pls. lii and lix, and Appendix I).

109. Sum-su lu’ “Ni-bi-rut a-hi-au® kir-bi-sut 110. Sa kakkabani*#® sa-ma-me® al-hat-su-nit [i-ki-tl-lu?
Il. Rima® si-e-ni® li-ir-ta-a ilani gim-va-su-un™

112. ik-me Ti-amat ni-sir-ta-Sa® li-si-dk ui lik-ri

113. ak - va - tas'* nite* la - ba - ris™ 4 - me

114. Zis-s¢-ma" la uk-ta-U8 L-bi-il™ ana sa-a-tt

115. as-Su% as-r+1™ ib-na-a ip-ti-ka® dan-ni-na*

1 No. 91,139, lu-u.

2 Cf. Tablet V, 1. 6; No. 35,506, [* |Ne-bi-r7.

3 No. 35,506, a-h7-22.

‘ It is possible that in No. 35,506, Rev., 1. 4 (second half of the line), an additional line of the text was inserted between ll. 109 and 110 of the text; it is also possible that the second half of the line was left blank. From the traces upon the tablet ity would seem that at the end of 1. 109 the scribe has written his ih three times.

5 No. 91,139, etc., kakkabu.

6 K. 9,267 and Nos. 35,506 and 91,139, etc., mz.

" For i-ki-il-lu the commentaries S. 11, etc., and K. 2,053 (see
Appendix I) give the variant reading /yhim, i.e. ‘he ordained their
paths.”

§ Nos. 35,506 and 91,139, etc., Ai-ma.

* No. 91,139, etc., nu.

© No. 91,139, ete., Zz-27-’-a.

"The commentaries presuppose a variant text for the end of the
line (cf. Appendix I).
» No. 91,139, etc., Ui-tk-mi; No. 35,506,[. . . . -mji

of division

THE HOMAGE OF MANKIND TO MARDUK. 109

109. “ Let his name be Nibiru, ‘the Seizer of the
Midst’! #
110. “ For the stars of heaven he upheld’ the paths,

111. “ He shepherded all™ the gods like sheep!

112. “ He conquered Tiamat, he troubled and ended
her life,”
113. In the future of mankind, when the days grow old,

114. May this be heard without ceasing, may it hold
sway” for ever !
115. Since he created the realm (of heaven)” and
fashioned the firm earth,”
8 Nos, 35,506 and 91,139, etc., na-pis-ta-iu; K. 9,267, na-

- . . J, ie. na-[pif-ta-Sa]; the text of the commentary

S. 11, etc., also read napistu. mnaszrlu, lit. “treasure,” is evidently to be taken in this passage as synonymous in meaning with napiS/u.

M4 No. 91,139, etc., fa-as.

Nos. 35,506 and 91,139, etc., 72-75.

No. 35,506, w-mu.

No. 91,139, etc., Zi-ds-st-e-ma; No. 35,506, Uv-ts-st-e-[. .].
No. 91,139, etc., Zu.
® No. 91,139, etc., [dé-r]é-1k, “ may it endure.”

No. 91,139, etc., a-n[a].

No, 91,139, etc., as-sSum.

2 K. 9,267, ra; No. 91,139, etc., 7z. That asvu, lit. ‘ place,” in this passage refers to heaven is proved by the commentary R. 366, etc., Rev., col. ii, 1. 3 f. (see pl. lvii), which gives the equations AN = a-ru, and a-ru = Sa-mu-u.

3 No. 91,139, etc., -t-ku; No. 35,506, ip-id-7k; K. 9,267,
(ot).
* No. 35,506, wz; No. 91,139, etc., mz. The commentary R. 366, etc. (see above, n. 22), |. 7 f., explains danminu as referring to the earth by the equations RU = dan-ni-ni and dan-ni-nu= irsitim(tim).

5
16
Ww
18
TIO CREATION SERIES, TABLET VII.

116. de-el matati} sum-su it-ta-bi a-bi? ™ Bes 117. stk- vit = =™Igigtg =im-bu-u na - gab - Su - un®
118. 2s°- me-ma® “E-a ka-bit-ta-su i-te-en- gu’

119. ma-a sa abe*-su8 u-Sar-ri-hu zik-ru-u-su®
120, Su-u hki-ma ia-a-ti-ma “E-a lu-u sum-su
121. ri-kis par-si-ia ka-l-su-nu li- bil- ma”
122. gim-vi te-vi-ti-ia" — fu-u st - tab - bal
123. ina atk ~ rt Hansa 47" 8 lant rabiitt
124. hansa*4™ 4 Sumée” -Su™ im-bu-u u-sa-ti-ru® al-kat-su™

Epifogue,

125. di-is-sab-tu-ma® mak®-ru-u li-kal-lim

1 Nos. 35,506 and 91,139, etc., ” Bél matali.

2 No. 91,139, etc., a-du.

3 The text of ll. 116 and 117 corresponds to that followed by the commentary R. 366, etc. (see Appendix I).

4 No. 91,139, etc., va ath-ri.

5 No. 35,506, zu. The text of the commentary R. 366, etc., gave a variant and fuller reading for the second half of the line.

® Nos. 35,506 and 91,139, etc., 2-me-e-ma.

7 No. 91,139, etc., ¢-¢a-an-gi. Lines 118-123 are omitted by K. 9,267, possibly by mistake, in consequence of z7k-r7 occurring at the beginning of |. 117 and also of I..123.

8 No. 91,139, etc., ab-bi-[e]-Su.

® Nos. 35,506 and 91,139, etc., 2e-hirsu.

© No. 91,139, etc., -d7-el-ma.

THE FIFFY TITLES OF MARDUK. Til

116.

117.

118,

119.
120.
121,
122.
123.
124.
125,

“ The Lord of the World,” the father Bél hath
called his name.
(This) title, which all the Spirits of Heaven
proclaimed,® ;
Did Ea hear, and his spirit was rejoiced, (and
he said) ot
“ He whose name his fathers have made glorious,

“ Shall be even as I, his name shall be Ea!

“The binding of all my decrees shall he control,

“ All my commands shall he make known!”

By the name of “ Fifty ” did the great gods

Proclaim his fifty names, they made his path
pre-eminent.”

Epifogue.

Let them” be held in remembrance, and let the
first man proclaim them ;
"No. 91,139, etc., e-r7-e-t7-ta.
*% No, 91,139, etc., 7-7.
Nos. 35,506 and 91,139, etc., Ha-an-Sa-a.

*K. 9,26%.[« 2 « « Jeep Novgr,1g9, ete. [2. & xed

16

Ww

Nos. 35,506 and 91,139, etc., Se-m2-e-St.
K. 9,267, -sa-tir.
From the commentary R. 366, etc., and the explanatory text
S. 747, it may be concluded that the Seventh Tablet, in its original form, ended at |. 124. It is probable that ll. 125-142 were added as an epilogue at the time when the composition was incorporated in the Creation Series (see Appendix I).

*® No. 91,139, etc., [dei]-sa-ab-fu.

© No. 91,139, etc., [ma]-ah. * T.e., the names of Marduk.

112 CREATION SERIES, TABLET VII.

126. en- ku! mu-du-u mit-ha-ris lim-tal-ku*
127. i-Sa-an-ni-ma a-bu® ma-vit l-Sa-hi-izs
128. sa" 9P'75 4 na-ki-di? Ui-pat-ta-a uz-na-su-un®
129. d-ig-gi-ma® a-na “Bel ilant “ Marduk
130. mat-su lid-dis-sa-a” $su-u lu Ssal-~ma¥
131. ki-na-at a-mat-su la e-na-at® ki- bitM-su
132. g¢-1¢ pi-i-su la us-te-pi-il® ilu ai-um-ma
133. 2k-ki-lim-mu-ma® ul u-tar-ra" ki- sad -su®

134. ina sa-ba-st-Su uz-za-su ul t-mah-har-su ilu ma-am-man?

135. 74 -u-ku lib-ba-su™ va-pa-as™ ka-rals-su]®

1 Nos. 35,506 and 91,139, etc., insert the copula w.

2 No. 91,139, etc., mi-tt-ha-ri-t5 Li-im-tal-ku.

3 No. 35,506, a-ba; K. 9,267 probably read abu.

£ Nos. 35,506 and 91,139, etc., ma-ri-28; K. 9,267, mart,

® K. 9,267, Zu-Sa-hi-[2. 2]e

® No. 91,139, etc, [2 2 2 6 Jee

7 K. 9,267, na-hid; Nos. 35,506 and 91,139, etc., ma-ki-du.

® K. 9,267, wana" -Su-[. .]; No. 91,139, etc., uz-n7-Su.

® No. 91,139, ete., [2 Ja ig &.aeenn "ils

No. 91,139, etc., U-7d-[di]-ef-Sa-a; K. 9,267 and No. 35,506,
it. ire fen leit, Si
: K. 9,267 and No. 91,139, etc., Zu-z.
% No. 91,139, etc., Sa-al-ma.
EPILOGUE. 113

126. Let the wise and the understanding consider
them together !
127. Let the father repeat them and teach them to

his son ;

128. Let them be in the ears of the pastor and the
shepherd!
129, Let-a man rejoice in Marduk, the Lord of the
gods,
130. That he may cause his land to be fruitful, and
that he himself may have prosperity !
131. His word standeth fast, his command is un-
altered ;
132. The utterance of his mouth hath no god ever
annulled. ;
133. He gazed in his anger, he turned not his neck ;

134. When he is wroth, no god can withstand his
indignation.
135. Wide is his heart, broad® is his compassion ;

® K.9,267,[. . . .]-na-ta.
4 No. 35,506, d2-z#.
No. 91,139, etc., uS-le-pi-el-l[u].
No. 35,506,[. . . . -m uuu.

K. 9,267, [u]-far; No. 91,139, etc., w-la-ré.
8K. 9,267, kisad-[.
K. 9,267, man-[..

® No. 91,139, etc., [ ]-2- ba: Su.

* So Nos. 35,506 and 91,139, etc.; K. 9,267, [rJa-pa-as. K. 8,522 gives the variant reading su-'-zd, "firmly established (?) is his compassion."
™ So K. 9,267; K. 8,522 reads da[r]- als ee No. 35,506, ha-ra-ai-sa ; No. 91,139, etc., ka-['
8

Tig CREATION SERIES, TABLET VII.

136. Sa an-ni u hab-la-ti ma-har-su ba'-[...]

137. ta[k]-lim-ti mah-ru-u id-bu-bu pa-nu-us- su]

138 [. . .] tor [... }han ana tef.... J
139.[. ... ;at ™ Marduk lu-u ilani [....]
140.[. . . . . jmat-tu-u Su-ulm- ©. 2. . . . Jj
que... . 1.] d-hu-u-ma [....]
TAQ ss oe th be Pe et 8 Grp ae Doane ode bo dy Oo JB
? So K. 9,267 and No. 91,139, etc.; K. 8,522,2[. . . . J.

2 This is probably the last line of the tablet. It may here be noted that, for the text of the Seventh Tablet given in the preceding pages, only those fragments have been used which are proved by the commentaries to contain missing portions of the text. Several other fragments, which from their contents and style of writing may possibly belong to copies of the text, have not been

EPILOGUE. 1I5

136. The sinner and evil-doer in his presence

[at ees

137. They received instruction, they spake before him,

138.1, afte Mew ee unto oe aces J:
139.[. . . . . J] of Marduk may the gods
140. [May]they[.... his]name[.... |!
141.[. . . .]they took and[. .. .];
TAP Swe Syed Cocke a ge OM ie te ae eo a

included. The text of one such fragment (S. 2,013) is of peculiar interest and is given in Appendix II; in]. 10f. it refers to Z?-amat e-li-tt and Ti-amat sap-li-ti, “The Ocean (Tiamat) which is above” and ‘The Ocean (Tiamat) which is beneath,” a close parallel to “the waters which were above the firmament” and “the waters which were under the firmament” of Gen. i, 7; see the Introduction.

Il.
OfBer Gecounts of the History of
Creation,

lL. GnotBer Werston of fhe Mragon-Wtypth,’

Onvy,

I. tta-an- fu alini” nise” adla-]

21 - da -ta-a@ niseX e - [ ]

3.a-na tk-kil-li-Si-na ul [... i

4.a-na vin-ma-ti-si-na ul t-sab-[.. +]
man = nub - uit - ma Ste [ie ierore ye ee be
tam - th» um ~- ma suru [oe te ban, ote Ri i
™ Bel ina Sam@(e) ¢-te-sir {[. se. ss |
L kas~pu mu-rak-su Il kas-p(u.. .. je
PX an

1 For the text, see Cunevform Texts, part xiii, pl. 331, Rm. 282; for a previous publication, cf. Delitzsch, Assyrisches Worterbuch, p- 390f.; translations have been given by Zimmern in Gunkel’s Schépfung und Chaos, pp. 417 ff., and by Jensen in Schrader’s Kein. Bibl., vi, pp. 44. ff. Strictly speaking, the text is not a creation legend, though it gives a variant form of the principal incident in the history of creation according to the version Zauma elis. In the tablet Rm. 282 the fight with the dragon did not precede the creation of the world, but took place after men had been created and cities had been built; see further the Introduction.

2 The form of the name here used is Tamu, ‘the Sea.”

5 The faspu is the space that can be covered in two hours travelling, i.e., about six or seven miles. These general dimensions of the size of the dragon are in accordance with the statement made in 1. 8f. of the reverse to the effect that after the dragon had been slain his blood flowed for more than three years, The

i
OtBer Cecounts of Be History of
Creation.
Another Version of the Mragon-Utpts.'

Oxy.
1. The cities sighed, men [i|é
2. Men uttered lamentation, [they |,
3. For their lamentation there was none [to hele
4. For their grief there was none to take [them by
the hand}.
5. Who wasthe dragonf{ . . . . . |?
6. Tiamat? wasthe dragon{[. . . . . |!
7. Bél in heaven hath formed £ :
8. Fifty pales in his on one kaspu ‘This height ht],®
second measurement in the line is taken by Zimmern to refer to the dragon’s breadth, but, as Jensen points out, this is not consistent with the measurement of the mouth given in the following line. Even Zimmern’s readings of 60 Gar in 1]. 10 and 65 GAR in l. 11 do not explain, but render still more anomalous, the $ GAR inl. 9. Without going into the question of the probable length of the Babylonian cubit, it is obvious that the dragon's breadth can hardly have been given as so many miles, if its mouth only measures so many feet. This difficulty can be got over by restoring sirafiiu in place of the suggested rupussu at the end of 1. 8. We then have a consistent picture of the dragon as a long thin snake, rearing his head on high; his coils might well have been believed to extend for three hundred or three hundred and fifty miles, and the raising of his head in the air to a height of six or seven miles would not be inconsistent with the measurement of his mouth as six cubits, i.e., some ten feet or more across.

118

OTHER ACCOUNTS OF CREATION.

9
10.
It.
12.
13.
14.
15.
16.

Wy
18.
19.
20.
2t.
22.
23.

24.

$ GAR pi-2-+-su J GAR [...
J GAR k-ma-a-ti Sa uas- . . .,
ana’ V GAR ws - su - vi ¢-[2...
t-na mée*® IX ammatu t-Sad-da-[ad
u-Se-tk-ki zei-im-bat-su i-[.
ilint sa Samé(e) ka-li-su-nu [. .
tna Samé(e) tlani® ka-an-su ana pan [
u sa ™Sin ina ulinni-su ur-ru-[.
man-nu tl-lak-ma lab-t . .
ma-a-tum ra-pa-as-tum u-se~ta-[
“u Sarru-u-te ip - pu-aufs 2...
a- lik “Tishus lab-bi alu- ..
ma-a-ta ra-pa-as-ta Su-zi-da .
u Sarru-u-ta e~ pu-us [..
tas-pu-ra-an-nt be-el dal-fu-ut* nari [.

ul i-di-e-ma Sa lab-bi [...

[The rest of the Obverse and the upper part of the Reverse of the

tablet is wanting.>}

so ee

1

See Jensen, Kerlins. Bibi., vi, p. 3643; Zimmern takes the

upright wedge as part of the number, cf. the preceding note. 2 Lines 17-19 are the appeal of the gods to the Moon-god; ll. 20-22 contain the address of the Moon-god to TiShu; and Il. 23 &. give TiShu’s answer to the Moon-god. 3 For this value of the sign sux, cf. Briinnow, No. 3,013, and Jensen, Ked/ins. Bibi., vi, p. 365.

THE SIZE OF THE DRAGON. 119

9. Six cubits is his mouth, twelve cubits [his . . . .], 10. Twelve cubits is the circuit of his [ears . .. .]; 11. For the space of! sixty cubits he... .]a bird; 12. In water nine cubits deep he draggeth[. ...]. 13. He raiseth his tail on high. ge ey ae de Ts 14. Allthe godsofheaven[. . ..... |.

15. In heaven the gods bowed themselves down
before [the Moon-god . . . . J;
16. The border of the Moon-god’s robe they hasti{ly
grasped]:
17. “ Who will go and [slay] the dragon,”

18. “ And deliver the broad land [from 2

19. “And become king [over . . . . . J?”

20. “ Go, Tishu,? [slay] the dragon,

21. “ And deliver the broad land [from a>

22. ‘And become king[over . . . . . |!”

23. “ Thou hast sent me, O lord, [to . . . . |
the raging (creatures) * of the river,
24. ‘ But I know not the[. . . .] of the Dragon!”

[The rest of the Obverse and the upper part of the Reverse of the
tablet are wanting.®]
4 Jensen, 77-fu-ut, which he renders as “moisture.” The plural, dalhiiti, may perhaps be explained by supposing that, according to this version also, the dragon had other creatures to help her in the fight.

5 Of ll. 25 and 26 the following traces are preserved: (25)

{.-. ..] mak-fa- 2... J, 6) Fe ee J

meet. <%

REVS “Seas Ge Og We a Tce :
I1.f . . .] pa-a-sSu t-pu-us-ma ana ™'— . 1.]
2. Su-us-hi-it urpa mi-ha-a [.....]
3. ku-nu-uk-ku na-pis-ti-ka t-na pa-ni-ka [. . . J
4. us - kam - ma lab - ba oe rn oe ae re |
5.u-Sa-as-li-it ur-pa mi-ha-a [ ]
6. ku-nu-uk-ku na-pis-ti-su ina pa-ni-su {. j
g7.ts- su- kam- ma lab- bi [1. .]
8. LIT sanati*®” LTT arhe” timu I*** u [. . . . JP
9. Sa lab- bi il-la-ku da-mu-su [.... jh
1 Jensen suggests the restoration “ B[2], which he deduces from the traces upon the tablet as published by Delitzsch; for, as he states, the only other restoration possible would be ™ [tar], and this is rendered unlikely by the masculine form of the imperatives in ll. 2 and 4. This would prove that the slayer of the dragon was Bél, or Marduk, in both the versions of the story. As a matter of fact, the traces are incorrectly given by Delitzsch ; they represent the sign AN and not the conflate sign AN-+- EN (cf. Cun. Txts., pt. xiii, pl. 34), and it is not possible to conclude from the text who is the hero of this version.

Jensen suggests the restoration af . KAS-PU], i.e., “ for three years, three months, a day and[. hours].”

The trace of the

THE SLAYING OF THE DRAGON, 121

1. [And . . . . J] opened his mouth and [spake]
unto the god'[. . . . J:
2. “ Stir up cloud, and storm [and tempest]!
3. “ The seal of thy life [shalt thou set] before thy
face,
4. “ Thou shalt grasp it, and thou shalt [slay] the
_ dragon.”
He stirred up cloud, and storm [and tempest],
He [set] the seal of his life before his face,
He grasped it, and [he slew] the dragon.
aon nn

For three years and three months, one day and
[one night]?
9. The blood of the dragon flowed[. . . . J
next character after w is the single diagonal wedge (cf. Cun. Txts., pt. xiii, pl. 34); according to Jensen’s restoration this sign can only be the number “10,” ie. X Kas-Pu, ‘twenty hours,” a not very probable reading. The diagonal wedge is more probably the beginning of the sign Mz, i.e. maiz, and the end of the line may be restored as wmu I®4" u [miisu T*4"]; this may be rendered “ one day and one night,” or possibly, as Zimmern in his translation suggests, “ day and night.”

8 Line 9 is the last line of the text. The lower part of the tablet is taken up with the common colophon found upon tablets from ASur-bani-pal’s palace. :

122 OTHER ACCOUNTS OF CREATION.

Il. @ reference fo the Creation of the Cattfe and

the Beasts of the Giefd.'

1. e-nu-ma ilani® t-na pu-uh-ri-su-nu tb-nu-u [
2. u-ba-as-$im-mu [bu}-ru-mi ik-su-[ur
3. u-sa-pu-u [stk-na}at na-pis-ti [
4. bu-ul sévi [u-ma-alm séri u nam-mas-se-e [

5. w[Z)-tu®[. . . .) ana Sik-na-at na-pis-ti[.. .

6.[. . 4.]% strié u nam-mas-Se-e ali u-za-’-[1-2u

7. L.. . pu-ule-ri nam-mas-ti gi-mir nab-ni-ti[....

8 [. . . . | Sa tna pu-uh-ri kim-ti-ia s(e- .

}?

48

{*

1 For the text, see Cunezform Texts, part xiii, pl. 34, D.T. 41; for a previous publication, cf. Delitzsch, Assyrische Lesestiiche, 3rd ed., p. 34f.; and for previous translations, see George Smith, Zhe Chaldean Account of Genesis, p. 76f., Zimmern in Gunkel's Schépfung und Chaos, and Jensen in Schrader's Keilius. Bibl., vi, p. 42 f. This fragment, which George Smith suggested might be part of the Seventh Tablet of the Creation Series, does not belong to that series; it contains the introduction or opening lines of a text," and describes the creation of two small creatures by Nin-igi-azag,

OTHER ACCOUNTS OF CREATION. 123

Il. @ reference to the Creation of the Cattfe and
he Beasts of the Giefd,
1. When the gods in their assembly had made [the
world,'
2. And had created the heavens, and had formed [the
earth],*
3. And had brought living creatures into being

4. And {had fashioned|* the cattle of the field, and the beasts of the field, and the creatures [of

the city],—

5. After® [they had . . . . J} unto the living
creatures[. . . . J,
6. [And between the beasts|® of the field and the
creatures of the city had dividedf . . . . J,
7. {And had . . . . J all creatures, the whole
ofcreation[. . . .],
8. [And had . . . . J], which in the whole of
my family[. . . . |,
"The lord of clear vision." The reference to the creation of cattle and beasts of the field is merely incidental; it occurs in the long opening sentence and indicates the period at which the two smail creatures were made; see further the Introduction.

? Possibly restore kud/atu at the end of the line.

5 Possibly restore zs7#/; Jensen suggests dan-ni-nu (cf. p. 108,
1. 145).

* Probably restore a/7 bn at the end of the line.

5 The reading u([/]-tu is certain from the traces on the tablet.

® Probably restore the beginning of the line as ana bud.

124 OTHER ACCOUNTS OF CREATION.

9. [....]l-t-ma ™ Nin-igt-azag Sind su-fa[ri. ...]
10. [. . . pul-uh-ri nam-mas-ti us-tar-ri-t[h . .. .
tn... . ™)]Gu-la ha-ma-a-ni inf... . . J
w2[. . . . . jétha pi-st [u sa-al-mi. . . . |
13.[. . . . .]iééa pi-si u sa-[al-mi . . . . |
VoD oe oe oe ee Pes aaa ee oe J
[The rest of the text is wanting.]

@ reference fo Be Ereation of the Woon
and the Sun.*
1, uD> AN-NA (DINGIR) EN-LIL-LA (DINGIR) EN - KI
DINGIR - [E - NE]®
1 Possibly restore the verb as [24-m7']-7-ma; Jensen suggests the restoration [¢-¢e-/2]-2-ma and adds 7b-na-a at the end of the line.

® Restore ina at the beginning of the line; at the end of the line Jensen suggests the reading mab-nzt-su-un,

3 The traces of the character before s7 are those of fa or ¢; we cannot, therefore, read [. . . pi]-s¢ nfm dc}, “[-] he calleth the white one by name [. . i It is probable, however, that the second section of the text also dealt with the two smail creatures whose creation is described in the first paragraph.

* The text is taken from the obverse of the tablet 82-7-14, 4,005, which is published in vol. ii, pl. xlix. The tablet is one of the so-called ‘ practice-tablets,” or students’ exercises, and contains on the obverse an extract from a Sumerian composition (Il. 1-7), an extract from a Babylonian composition (il. 8-14) very similar to the Sumerian extract which precedes it, and on the lower part

OTHER ACCOUNTS OF CREATION. 125

g. [Then did] Nin-igi-azag [fashion]! two small
; creatures[..
10. [Among] all the Beasts he made [their form]?
glorious
II. . . . . J|the goddessGula . . [

12. . 2. . . J. . one white [and one black

:
dove cha ls
F-gt ey bsg
13. one white and one black

3
PA Se eat Geko Vy ae ee GA eee Se
{The rest of the text is wanting.]
& reference fo the Creation of the Utoon
and the Sun.’
1, When® the gods® Ana, Enlil, and Enki
of the tablet a number of grammatical notes arranged in three columns and referring to the extracts given above. The first word of 1. 8 is broken, but the traces suggest the word J[a]-n[7]-[¢], which may be rendered ‘‘ version.” Lines 8—14 are not, however, a literal translation of Il. 1-7, though they appear to have been taken from a somewhat similar Babylonian text. It is clear that the extracts formed the opening lines of the compositions to which they belonged, and that the scribe has written them out for comparison, adding notes on some of the expressions which occur.

* That both the Sumerian and Babylonian extracts are to be taken as single sentences, and not broken up into separate phrases, is proved by the note in 1. 15. Here the scribe equates uD with e-nu-ma, and to e-nu-ma adds the grammatical note 7-41 $u-ta-mu-u mal-ma-lis, “ corresponding to Sifami.”

® The end of the line should possibly be restored as DinGrR-
[GAL-GAL-La}, * the great gods.”
126 OTHER ACCOUNTS OF CREATION.

2. (MAL + GAR)!-NE-NE-GI-NA-TA ME?-GAL-GAL-LA-[TA]

3. MA-TU? (DINGIR) EN-ZU-NA MU -UN-GI-NE-E[S]
4.U- SIR SIR- SIR-DA* ITU U-TU- UD- DA
U -iTt AN - KI-A MU - UN - GI - NE - ES
6.MA-TU® AN-NA IM-PA-UD-DU SA-A-NE
. SAG AN - NA. IGI - BAR - RA_ TA - UD - DU
wn

N

8. s[a]-n[z]}-[e]? e-nu-maS “A-num “Boal ™ E-a
9. tlant® rvabati*’ ina mil-ki-su-nu ki-¢-nu
10, usurati”™ Samb(e) u irsitim(tim) is - ku - nu
11.a@- na kate" ilant® vabiti” u - kin - nu
12.u-mu ba-na-a arha ud-du-su sa inattali” 13. a-me-lut-tum * Samas® ina libbi bab asi-ku i-mu-ru

14. ki-vib Same(e) u_ irsitim(tim) ki-nis — us-ta-mu-u

‘ Cf. Briinnow, No. 5,525.

2 Cf. Br., No. 10,374.

* The group MA-TU occurs in the Cylinder Inscription of Tiglath- pileser I, col. i, 1. 6, in the expression fa-4u-u Ma-TU, applied to Sin; and, from the occurrence of the parallel expression sa-ku-u nam-ri-ri on the obelisk of Shalmaneser II, 1. 6, ma-Tu is rendered namriru, “brightness.” In 1. 17 of the text the scribe furnishes the new equation Ma-TU = “"SES-KI-RU, and at the end of the line he adds the explanation Ru =e-di-iu. MA-TU, therefore, signifies the brightness of the New Moon, and in the present passage may be translated “ renewal.”

* The group SIR-SIR = dani (Br., No. 4,304); as# (No. 4,302),

CREATION OF THE MOON AND SUN. 127

2. Through their sure counsel’ and by their great
commands?
3. Ordained the renewal * of the Moon-god,

4. The reappearance of the moon,* and the creation
of the month,
And ordained the oracle® of heaven and earth,

. The New Moon® did Ana cause to appear,

7. In the midst of heaven he beheld it come forth.

nw

8. [Version].’. When* Anu, Bél and Ea,
9. The great gods, through their sure counsel
ro. Fixed the bounds of heaven and earth,
11. (And) to the hands of the great gods entrusted
12. The creation of the day and the renewal of the
month which they might behold,
13. (And) mankind beheld the Sun-god® in the gate
of his going forth,
14. In the midst of heaven and earth they duly
created (him).!°

and napaju (No. 4,327); in l. 18 the scribe equates u-sIR with ar-ha, but, as ITU occurs in the second half of 1. 4, it is preferable to take u-SIR as referring to the moon itself (cf. Br., No. 7,860).

* Cf. Br., No. 9,426.

® See above, note 3.

7 See above, p. 125, note 4.

® See above, p. 125, note 5.

® It is interesting to note that in the Semitic version the creation of the sun is substituted for that of the moon, although in the preceding line the renewal of the month is referred to.

The reverse of the tablet, which is badly preserved (see vol. ii, pl. 1), is inscribed with some grammatical and astrological notes.

128 OTHER ACCOUNTS OF CREATION.

IV. Gn Mddress fo Be River of Ercation.’

I. Siptu at - ti? naru banatlat)® ka - la - mu]
2.€ - mu - ma th - ru - ki tlénd * rabiti™
3.ima a- hi- kit [es - ku - nu] dunt - kat
4. ina libbi-ki ™#H-a Sar ap-si-t ib-na{a Su-bat-su®

a-bu-ub la ma-har ka-a-si i$-ruk-[ku]?
@-Sa-tun usz-sa na-mur-rva-ti pu-luh- tit}
“Ea uo ™Marduk® is-ru-ku-nik-kim-ma
a[t]-ni te-ni-se-e-ti ta-din-ni at-ti®

Sey ay

navu vabititi) ndru sir-tt ndvu es-1t-e-ti™

1 This mystical river of creation was evidently suggested by the Euphrates, on the waters of which the fertility of Babylonia so largely depended; for a comparison of similar conceptions of a river of creation both in Egyptian and in Hebrew mythology, see the Introduction. The text forms the opening words of an incantation and is taken from the reverse of S. 1,704, with restorations and variant readings from the obverse of 82-9-18, 5.311 (cf. Appendix II). A translation of the former tablet has been given by Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 403.

? 82-9-18, 5,311, atta.

82-9-18, 5,311, ba-na-a-i_um].

82-9-18, 5,311, 2a a-hi-ha.

82-9~18, 5,311, dum-ki; the division of Il. 2-4 in the text is
taken from 82-9-18, 5,311.
§ 829-18, 5,311, ma kir-bi-ka *™ Ea (AN-BAT) Sar apst ib-na-a §u-bat-su; it is possible that the line in

S. 1,704 read dum-ka ina Libbi-ki * Ea Sar ap-st-i ib-na-[a}.

3

ry

5

OTHER ACCOUNTS OF CREATION. ~ 129

IV. @n Ardress to he River of Creation.’

. O thou River, who didst create all things,

4

nN

. When the great gods dug thee out,

w

. They set prosperity upon thy banks,®
. Within thee Ea, the King of the Deep, created
his dwelling,®
as

5. The deluge they sent not before thou wert!”

6. Fire, and wrath, and splendour, and terror

7. Have Ea and Marduk ® presented unto thee!

8. Thou judgest the cause of mankind!

g. O. River, thou art mighty! O River, thou art
supreme! O River, thou art righteous!”
7 Upon 82-9-18, 5,311, ll. 5-7 read as follows: (5) #-ru-uh-hu im-ma uz-zu na-mur-tum pu-luh-tum (6) a-bu-bu la mah-ri ka-a-su im-bi-ka (7) [p]e-hé ™ Ea (an. Bat) u ™ Marduk (AN. ASAR.LU.SAR) i-ru-ku im-ma. It may be noted that the duplicate in 1. 5 reads im-ma, “daylight,” for 7-Sa-/um, “fire,” and for 1. 7 gives the interesting variant reading “At thy word did Ea and Marduk bestow the daylight.”

® AN. ASAR.LU. SAR.

® 82-9-18, 5,311 reads [. .]-u te-nd-Se-e-tum ta-dan-nu al-ta,

82-9-18, 5,311 omits 1. 9, and from this point onwards it seems probable that the tablets ceased to be duplicates, The invocation to the river ceases with |. 9, the lines which follow on each tablet containing the personal petitions of the suppliant (cf. Appendix II).

130

OTHER ACCOUNTS OF CREATION.

V.

Oxy,
I.
Gnother Version of the Creation of he Worfd
Bp Utarduf.'
EN? E AZAG-GA E DINGIR-E-NE KI MIN NU MU-UN-RU bitu el-lim bit ilint" ina as-vi el-lim ul e-pu-us

2. GI NU E ais NU DIM
ka-~nu-u ul a-st Z- st ul ba - ni
3. MUR) -NU SUB GIS-U-RU NU DIM
Ui-bit-ti ul na-da-at na-al-ban-ti ul ba-na-at
4. E NU RU URU NU DIM
bitu ul e- pu-us alu ul ba - nt
5. URU NU DIM A- DAM NU MU-UN-[GAR]
alu ul e-pu-us nam-mas-su-u ul sa- hin
6. EN - LIL(K1) NU RU E-KUR-RA NU DIM
Ni-ip-pu-ru ul e-pu-us E-kur ul ba-ni
7. UNUG(KI) NU RU E-AN-NA NU DIM
U -vuk ul e- pu-us E- MIN wl ba-ni
8. ABZU NU RU NuUN(KI) NU DIM
ap-su-u ul e-pu-[us|) "Eridu ul ba-ni
' For the text, see Cuneiform Texts, part xiii, pls. 35 ff. (82-5—
22, 1,048); and for previous translations, see Pinches, /.R.A.S.,
vol. xxiii (new series), pp. 393 ff.; Zimmern in Gunkel's Schipfung und Chaos, p. 419f.; and Jensen in Schrader's Kedlins. Bibl., vi,

Pp-

38 ff. The variant legend of the creation is contained on the

portion of the obverse of the tablet which has been preserved, but it docs not form the principal subject of the composition ; it

OTHER ACCOUNTS OF CREATION. 131

V. Another Mersion of the Creation of te World
By WMarduk.
Osv.
1. The holy house, the house of the gods, in the
holy place had not yet been made ;
2. No reed had sprung up, no tree had been created.

3. No brick had been laid, no building had been
set up ;
4. No house had been erected, no city had been
built ;
5. No city had been made, no creature had been
created.
6. Nippur had not been made, E-kur had not been

built ;

7. Erech had not been created, E-ana had not been
built ;
8. The Deep had not been created, Eridu had not
been built ;
is merely an elaborate introduction to an incantation which was intended to be recited in honour of E-zida, the great temple of Nabi at Borsippa. The reverse of the tablet contains the concluding lines of the incantation. For a further discussion of the legend on the obverse, see the Introduction.

2 gn, ie. s#p/u, “incantation,” the word placed at the beginning of most religious and magical compositions intended for recitation.

132 OTHER ACCOUNTS OF CREATION.

9. E AZAG DINGIR-RI-E-NE KI-DUR-BI NU DIM
bitu el-lum bit ilani® su-bat-su ul ip-se-it
Io, [NIGIN] KUR-KUR~-RA-GE A-AB-BA-A-BA
nap - har ma-~-~ta-a- tu tam - tum - ma
11. [u] Sac A-AB-BA-GE RAD - NA - NAM
t-nu sa ki-rib tam-tin ra -tu- uit- ma
12. [U-BI-A NUN(KI)] BAa-RU E-SAG-IL-LA BA-DIM

13.

14.

15.

16.

17.

18.

19.

ina u-mi-su “Evidu e-pu-us E-MIN ba- ni

[E-SAG-IL]A SAG ABZU E-E-NE (DINGIR) LUGAL-
DUL-AZAG-GA MU-NI-IN-RI-A
E-MIN Sa ina ki-rib ap-si-t * Lugal-dul-azag-ga ir-mu-u
[Ka-DINGIR-RA](KI BA-RU E-SAG-IL-LA $U-UL
Babilu*’ e - pu - [us| E-sag-ila suk - lul
((DINGIR) A]-NUN-NA-GE-E-NE URU-BI BA-AN-RU

uani® “A~nun-na-ki mit-ha-vis e-pu-us

[URU] AZAG-GA KI-DUR SAG-DUG-GA GE-E-NE-MU-
MAH-A MI-NI-IN-SA-A
alu el-lum Su-bat tu-ub lib-bi-Su-nu si-ris im-bu-u

[(PINGIR)] GI-SI-MA “GI-DIR I-NE-NA A NAM-MI-NI-
IN-KESDA
™ Marduk a-ma-am ina pa-an me-e ir-ku-us

SAHAR-RA NI-SAR A-KI A-DIR NAM-MI-IN-DUB

@-pi-ri ib-ni-ma it-ti a-mi as - pu - uk

DINGIR-RI-E-NE KI-DUR SAG-DUG-GA NE-IN-DUR-RU-
NE-ES-A-MA
ilani ina Ssu-bat tu-ub lib-bi ana su-su- bi

THE CREATION OF DRY LAND. 133

10.

12,

13.

16.

17.

18.

. Of the holy house, the house of the gods, the

habitation had not been made.

All lands were sea.

. At that time there was a movement in the sea;

Then was Eridu made, and E-sagil was built,

E-sagil, where in the midst of the Deep the god
Lugal-dul-azaga' dwelleth ;
. The city of Babylon was built, and E-sagil was

finished.

. The gods, the Anunnaki, he’ created at one time ;

The holy city, the dwelling of their hearts’ desire,
they proclaimed supreme.
Marduk laid a reed upon the face of the waters,

He formed dust and poured it out beside the reed.

. That he might cause the gods to dwell in the

habitation of their hearts’ desire,

* Or, Lugal-du-azaga. * Le, Marduk,

134 OTHER ACCOUNTS OF CREATION.

20. NAM- LU- GISGAL- LU BA- RU
a- me ~- lu - a ib - ta - ne
21. (DINGIR) A-RU-RU KUL do, DINGIR-TA! NE-IN-SAR

22.

23.

24.

25

26,

27.

28.

29.

30

31.

32.

“MIN g#-ir a-me-lu-ti it-ti-su ib-la-nu
BIR - ANSU GAR - ZI - 1G EDIN - NA BA - RU
bu-ul sévi si-kin na-pis-ti ina sgi-e-vi ib-ta-ni
(1D) IDIGNA (1D) BURANUNU ME-DIM KI GAR-RA-DIM
MIN # MIN 7-ai-ma ina as-vi if-ku-un
MU ~-NE-NE-A NAM - DUG MI-NI-IN-SA-A
Sum - Si ~ na ta - bis im ~ bt
GI-BE GI-SE-RU SUG GIS-GI GIS-TER-GID-GE BA-DIM
us-Su di-it-ta ap-pa-ri fa-na-a u ki-su ib-ta-ni
U - RIG EDIN - NA BA - RU
ur - ki - it gt - vim ib - ta - ni
[KUR - KU]R - RA SuG GIS - GI- NA - NAM
ma-ta-a-tum ap - pa-rt a- pu - um - ma
[. . . .] GUD-Lip-BA GE SURIM... LU AMaS-A
lit-lu pu-ur-Sa me-ru la-ah-ru pu-had-sa im-mir su-pu-ri

[os Sr sec, Pe TER GiS - TER - BI - NA- NAM
ki - va ~ tu u ki- Sa- tu- ma
ieee aera a | MI- NI-IN-LU-UG
a- tu - au sap - pa - vt 1% - BA - az - Yu - Su
[ue aes @ «] (ZAG AsAB-BA-GE [2 se a « J]
be-lum ™ Marduk ina pa-at tam-tim tam-la-a u-mal-l

» . . | GIS-Gt PA-RIM NE-[IN- GAR]

[
[.. . . -x]Ja a-pa na-ma-la is - ku - un
THE CREATION OF MANKIND. 135

20.

2I.

22.
23.
24.
25.
26.
27.
28.
29.
30.
31.
32.

He formed mankind.

The goddess Aruru together with him! created
the seed of mankind.
The beasts of the field and living creatures in the
field he formed.
He created the Tigris and the Euphrates, and he
set them in their place ;
Their names he declared in goodly fashion.

The grass, the rush of the marsh, the reed, and
the forest he created,
The green herb of the field he created,
The lands, the marshes, and the swamps ;

The wild cow and her young, the wild calf; the
ewe and her young, the lamb of the fold;
Plantations and forests ;
The he-goat and the mountain-goat . . . . him.

The lord Marduk laid in a dam by the side of the
sea,
[He . . . . Jaswamp, he made a marsh,

* The Sumerian version reads “together with the god.”

OTHER ACCOUNTS OF CREATION.

33.
34.
35-
36.
37-
38.
39.
40.
[The
Rev.
I.
Lena % O65) MU - UN - TUK
; 7 * us ~ ta - Si
[Gr BA - RU] GIs BA - DIM
ka -na-a@a ib-tla-ni d- sa ih - ta - ni
Eats eke eee, cert KI- A BA - DIM
[ ] tna af-ri ib-ta-ni
{MUR BA-AN-SuB] GIS-U-RU BA- AN-RU
[i - bit-tu id-di ma-all-ban-tu tbh-ta-ni

[E BA - RU] URU MU - UN - DIM
[ditu e- pu - us alu ib - ta - nie
URU. MU-UN-DIM] A-DAM KI MU-UN-GAR-[RA]
[alu e@ - pu- us nam -~- mas - Su-ui is-tja- kan
EN - LIL(KI) BA- RU] E-KUR-RA-GE BA- DIM
[Ni -ip-pu-ru e-pu-us E - kur tb - ta ~ ni)
[UNUG(KI) BA - RU E - AN - NJA_ BA - D[IM]
[U - uk e- pu-us E- MIN @ - ta - nt]
rest of the Obverse and the beginning of the Reverse of the tablet are
wanting,
[‘ ose terns 3]

[ ]- mat par-si [ ]

[oe]

[te-ki-lin-mu-u [ ]

[GAL}AN-ZU KI-GAL DINGIR-RI-[E-NI-GE]

4. suk-kal-la-ka si-t-ru ™ Pap-sukal ir-su ma-lik tlani®

. (DINGIR) NIN-A-HA-KUD-DU DU (DINGIR) EN-KI-GA-GE

“MIN mar - tt “E- a

33-
34
35:
36.
37:
38.
39:
40.

] he brought into existence.

[Reeds he form]ed, trees he created ;

[. . . . . he made in their place.

[Bricks he laid], buildings he set up ;
[Houses e made], cities he built ;
[Cities he made], creatures he created.
[Nippur he made], E-kur he built ;
[Erech he made, E-an]a he built.

[The rest of the Obverse and the beginning of the Reverse of the tablet are

wanting.]

Rev,

I.

2.

[.. . . .]thedecree[2... . J

Pia evened ta bee co

3f. Thy exalted minister is Papsukal, the wise

5-

counsellor of the gods.

May Nin-aha-kudu, the daughter of Ea,

NIG-NA-[. . . .] HU-MU~-RA-AB-EL-LA
ina nike - na - ki el - lu ul - lil - ka
7. GI-BIL-LA EL-[LA] HU-MU-RA-AB-~LAH-LAH-GA

tna MIN th - bi ub - bi - ib - ka

. DUK-A-GUB-BA [EL-LA ABZU] KI NER-DU-NaA-ZU
U-MU-UN-NA-AZAG
ina MIN-e el-la sa ap-st-i a-Sar tal-lak-ti-ka ul-lu

10, MU - DUG-GA (DINGIR) ASAR - LU - SAR LUGAL

II

12.

13

AN - KI - SAR - RA - GE
ina MIN-e “Marduk sar kis-Sat samé(e) u ivsitim(tim)
. HE-GAL KUR-RA-GE -SAG-ZU — HA-BA-RA-AN-TU-TU
nu-kus ma-a-ti ana lib-bi-ka li-vu-ub
ME-ZU U-UL-DU-A-SU SU-HA-RA-AN-DU-DU
par-su-ka ana u-mu [sa]-a-ti lis-tak-li- lu
. E-Z1-DA KI-DUR MAH AN-NA (DINGIR) NINNI
KI - DUR, ME - EN
14. E-MIN sub-tum sir-tum na-ram lb-bi “™A-nu

15

u ™Ts~tar at-ta

. AN-GIM HE-EN-AZAG-GA [KI-GIM HE]-EN-EL-LA
SaG-AN-GIM HE?
162 [aire ee ee ES Ae HE - IM - TA - GUB?

1 The scribe has not written out the rest of the verb; it is

probable that he intended it to be read as fe-[en-lah-lah-ga|, as indicated in the translation. In Assyrian the line would read hima Samé lilil kima irsiti libib hima hirib Sam? limmir.

6. Purify thee with the pure censer,
7. And may she cleanse thee with cleansing fire!
8f. With a cup of pure water from the Deep shalt
thou purify thy way !
10. By the incantation of Marduk, the king of the
hosts of heaven and earth,
11. May the abundance of the Jand enter into thee, 12, And may thy decree be accomplished for ever! 13f.
O E-zida, thou glorious dwelling, thou art dear

unto the hearts of Anu and Ishtar!

15. May (Ezida) shine like the heavens, may it be
bright like the earth, may it [be glorious]' like
the heart of heaven,
16. [And may .°. . . | be firmly established!"

2 In Assyrian Zzez. Line 17 gives the title of the prayer as INIM-INIM-MA[. . . «] GA-GA-NE-GE; and
1. 18 gives the catch-line to the next tablet, which may perhaps be restored as Siptu 0% | Mar-gid-da|
sumbu Sa-ma-mi, ""O [Margida], thou

»

waggon of the heavens

140 OTHER ACCOUNTS OF CREATION.
Vi. EGe "Cuthacan Begend of the Creation." *
Couumn I.
[The upper half of the column is wanting.]
[a ..... J? 2 d@ MEeGan[....]
3. di-en-Su purussa [
4. utukku piru-su ekimmu piru-s{u . . . . . |
5. bal elati® u saplati® bel ™ A-nun-n[a-kt . . . |
6. Sa me" dal-hu-te isati{u) me" ga-ku-te Ila itsati(u))

7. Sa St-tk-la-su Sab-su ummanu su-a-tu th-mu-u

th - Su - au cd - Na ~ ru

8. ina nart® ul Ssatir ul esib-am-mat pag-ri ui pu-u-tds

1 The text is taken from the tablet K. 5,418@ and its duplicate K. 5,460 (see Cunetform Texts, part xiii,
pls. 39-41). The legend

was

Creati
or some years known as “the Cuthaean legend of the ion.” It was thought that the text was put in the mouth of

the god Nergal, who was supposed to be waging war against the brood of Tiamat; and it was assumed that Nergal took the place

of M
clear,
Baby
arduk in accordance with local tradition at Cuthah. It is however, that the speaker is not the god Nergal, but an old onian king, who recounts how the gods delivered him and

his land from hordes of monsters. In the description of the monsters in col. i, Tiamat is said to have suckled them, but this reference does not justify their identification with the monster brood of the Creation Series; it is more probable that Tiamat is called their foster-mother in order to indicate their terrible nature, In The Chaldean Account of Genesis, pp. 102 ff., George Smith gave

OTHER ACCOUNTS OF CREATION. 141

VI. The “Cuthacan Begend of the Creation.”

CoLumN I.
[The upper half of the column is wanting.]
if... .]* 2 Hewaslordof..[....]3

3. His judgment was the decisionfof . . . .].

4. The fiend was his offspring, the spectre was his
offspring [.. aes
5. He was lord of the height and of the depths, he
was lord of the Anunnaki[. . .].
6. A people who drink turbid water, and ae not
pure water,
7. Whose sense is perverted, had taken (men) captive,
had triumphed over them, and had committed
slaughter.
8. On a tablet nought was written, nought was left
(to write).* In mine own person?
a translation of the legend, and, though he describes it as a “Legend of Creation,” he correctly recognized the general character of its contents. For later translations see Sayce, Records of the Past, vol. xi, pp. 109 ff., and vol. i (new series), pp. 149 ff. ; Zimmern, Zeits. fiir Assyr., xii, pp. 319 ff.; and Jensen, Kezlins. Bibl, vi, pp. 290ff. For earlier publications of the text of K. 5,640, see S. A. Smith, Miscellaneous Texts, pl. 6f., and of the text of K. 5,418, see Winckler, Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten, ii, pl. 7of.

2 The first six lines which are preserved are taken from K. 5,640.

* K. 5,640," nazi.

4 Le. the land was in confusion, so that no business was
transacted and no records were kept.
5 Cf. Zimmern, Z.A., xii, p. 323-

9g. ina mati! ul u-se-si-ma ul ak-ta-vab-su

10, umman®” pag-ri is- sur? hur-ri a-me-lu- ti
a-vi- bu pa-~ nu - Su - un
Il.:2b - Su - nu - th - ma lan’? rabiuti®
12. ina kak - kar th ~ nu - u ilani® a- lu - su

13. Ti - a- ma- tu u- Se - nik - Su - nu -
14. Sa - sur - Su - nu ™ Be - lt-2t- li u- ban - ut
15. ma ki-rib Ssadi(¢) tir-ti-bu-ma® t-te-it-lu-ma
w-ta- St- tu mi - na - tt

16. VII sarréni* (ni)® at-hu-u su-pu-u ba-nu-tu
17, CCCLX .M1*4" um - nia - na - tu - Su - nu
18. An-ba-ni-nt abu-su-nu Ssarru ummu-su-nu
[sar] - ra - tu 4Me-li-k
19. ahu-Su-nu rabii(u) a-lik pa-ni-su-nu” Me-ima-an-gab sum-Su

20. sanii(u) alu-[Su-nul® "“Me-du-du sum - iu

m

21. salsu{su) abu - [Su - nu -.)- dul sum - su

1 The reading is not certain; mu is possible, i.e. faéfa, “for
a year.” The phrase is omitted by K. 5,640, in which the line
begins with ud.
2 K. 5,640, zssur.

5K. 5,640, fa.

4 Literally, “ city.”

9.

Io.

Il
12.
13.

14.

15.

16,
17,
18.

19.

20.

21.

From my land! I went not forth, and I did not
give them battle.
A people who had the bodies of birds of the
hollow, men who had the faces of ravens,
Had the great gods created,

And in the ground the gods created a dwelling-
place‘ for them.
Tiamat gave them suck,

The Lady of gods brought them into the world.

In the midst of the mountain (of the world) they
became strong, they waxed great, they multi-
plied exceedingly.
Seven kings, brethren, fair and comely,

Three hundred and sixty thousand’ in number
were their forces,
Anbanini, their father, was king; their mother,
Melili, was queen.
Their eldest brother, their leader, was named
Memangab ;

[Their]® second brother was named Medudu ;

{Their] third brother was named[. . . . Jlul;

5 K, 5,640, 2r-/e-[bu]-u-ma; the scribe has omitted du by mistake.

6 K. 5,640 omits mz.

7 It is probable that 360,000, and not 6,000, should be read, in view of the large numbers which occur in col. ii, Il. 19 ff.

® The restoration of the pronominal suffix in this and the
following lines is conjectural.
144 OTHER ACCOUNTS OF CREATION.

24,

Il.

. vibii(2) al[fu-Su-nu *.... -dja-da sum-su
. hanSu(su) [ahu-su-nu "oo...]-dak Ssum- su
se[sSu(su) ahu-su-nu ™. i... -r]a) sum-su
[stbi(u) aku-Su-nue ™ . . . 1 . | Sum-su?

Corumn II.
[The upper half of the column is wanting.]
2. [a-tuk (?)]-Re [rJa-[d]é-se lim-nu-te [2. . 6... J

3.7 - dt -u te-en-su u-tlr- ... |
400 [oo 5 we & Tse al - plu - . . . |
5.[. 6. jst arvat Limuttt matati” it-ta-[. . . J
6. a[Z]5 - si mare aye" ou - ma -’ - [ir]
7. (Vil a-na pa-an\ VIT ™"*" puhadu al - pu - tluy®
8. [a - kin guhhe|*? elluti*
9. a@ - Sal - mia] tlani®™ rabiiti™
0. “Ttar ™E 1 ww. | ™ Za-ma-ma ™ A-nu-ni-tum
7
™TpaAs . 6. www |) ™Samas ku - ra - du
12, 2-[2... 2... | tlani*® ana a-la-ki-ia
[.. 2... J-@ wl t-di-na-am- ma

1 Possibly Sac.

? This is the last line of the column.

3 The missing portion of the column probably continued the description of the hordes of monsters, who were oppressing the land. The king then enquires of the gods whether he should give the enemy battle (cf. ll. 6 ff.).

« This rendering is conjectural.

THE “CUTHAEAN LEGEND.” 145

22. [Their] fourth brother was named [.. . . dada;

23. [Their] fifth [brother] was named[. . . . jdah;

24. [Their] sixth [brother] was named[. . . . rju;

25. [Their seventh brother] was named[. . . . |?
CoLuMN IL.
[The upper half of the column? is wanting.]

2. Evil [fiends] and demons that lie in wait[.. .]

3. Pursuing after (a man), turned [him] from his
purpose.
4.1ny, eee ee did EE eo cee So}

5-[. . .« . Jan evil curse was [cast upon (?)]
the lands.‘ ;
6. [I]* cried unto the magicians, and I directed them,

7. I set out the lambs for sacrifice [in rows of] seven.

8. [I placed there also] the holy[. . . . 4,’

g. And I enquired of the great gods,

ro. Of IStar, andf[. . . . 4], and Zamama, and
Anunitum,
i. And[. . . . jand Samaé, the warrior.

12. And the gods [commanded me] that I should go,
but{ . . . . J] they gave not (unto me).
® The beginnings of ll. 6-8 are restored from col. tii, Il. 18-z0.

® The sign is TU, not TU (= a2).

" The ideogram is explained as gu-uh-}[w] in K. 4,174 (see Thompson, Cun. Texts, part xi, pl. 47, and

Jensen, K.Z., vi, p. 294). The traces of the third sign upon the tablet are those of Au, not du.

® Restored from col. iii, 1. 23.

10

146 OTHER ACCOUNTS OF CREATION.

13. ki - a@ - am ak - bt a@- na hb - bi - ta

um - ma la - u@ a- na - ku - mat
Iq. a@-u UR-BAR-[..... 1...»] 6-0”
IS. aé-% UR-BAR-[..... . |] Sa-d-tu
16. lul-lik ki-¢ at®*-kil [. . .]-pis hib-bi-ia

17,% lu-ud-adi> sa parsilli ta-a-ti lu-us - bat
18, sattu mah - ri - tu ina ka - §a - adi*
? The exclamatory phrase Zu- -u a-na-ku-ma may perhaps be best
rendered in this way.
* The sign is ar, not TUR; in other signs the scribe tends to carry through his horizontal wedges.

* The word /u-ud-di evidently refers to a weapon of some kind.

* It was pointed out by Zimmern (Z.A., p. 317.) that another version of this portion of the legend is preserved on a fragment of an Old-Babylonian tablet, the text of which is published in Neo- Assyrian characters by Scheil, Recueil de travaux, xx, p. 65 f. According to Scheil, the fragment in question forms the third or fourth column of a tablet, and in 1], 8 he read the name of the king Tukulti-bél-niSi; but its parallelism with I. 22 f. of col. ii of the “Cuthaean Legend,” as Zimmer pointed out, disproved the reading, and in place of Scheil’s 17-Ku-#7 [i.e. /uhkulfi(t’)], a-ka-st [or ad], and @-na-as in 1. 8 f. we may probably read ¢s-s7-hu, a-ka-la, and a-na-}7 (cf. also Jensen’s transliteration and translation of the text in A.B., vi, pp. 298 ff.). The column of text preserved by the fragment reads as follows: (1) 7m-ta-ha-as fa-ap-da-a u-ul 1-21- [.. - e ed (2) buna Sa-nt-i TT {u)-s(¢] l-mu um-ma-ni u-Se-si-am-ma (3) im-ta-ha-as ta-ap-da-a u-ma-al-li si-ra (4) t-na Sa-al-S Su-8 H-mi um-ma-na u-ke-si-am-ma (5) e-li Sa pa-na u-wa (ie. pr)-at-te-cr Su-a-tt (6) i8-tu VI Su-8i li-mt um-ma-ni t-nt-ru (7) tm-ta-ha-as ta-ap-da-a ra-bi-a (8) a-na-ku is-si-hu en-nt-s¢ (9) a-ka-la a-na-hi a-Su-us am-ti-ma (10) um-ma a-na-hu $U(?)-AN a-na pali-ia mi-nam ub-lam (11) a-na-ku Sar-rum la mu-sa-lim [ma}- “i-Su (12) [wu] r@a@ la mu-sa-lim ni-S-Su (13) ta-a-8 pale(e) mi-nam ub-lam (14) hi-t lu-us-ta-ag-[?]-ma (15) pa-ag-ri u um-ma-ni lu-se-st

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13. Then spake I unto my heart,
: Saying: “ By my life !?
14, Whois . . [. . . .]my friend?

15. Whois . . f[. . . . Jasorcerer?

16. But I will go, since -I have put my trust in the
[. . . . Jof my heart,
17. And my weapon? of iron will I take!”
18. As the first year drew nigh,*
(16) a-na hu-ul-lu-uk si-ri Ak-ka-di-¢ (17)? nakra da-an-na

td-ki-am-ma (18) C - + ee fe fal?)-am-fa-ri-a t-[?)-gt-a (19) [2 2s J gu-uk-ha-ni-e (20) . Ak-ha-di-t tarpasnn C aeteeah va J, (1) He fought, and conquered

(lit. “ he fought a defeat”), and left not [one remaining]. (2) The second time, one hundred and twenty thousand warriors I sent forth, and (3) he fought, and conquered, and filled the plain (with their bodies). (4) The third time, sixty thousand warriors I sent forth, and (5) I caused them to be mightier than before. (6) After he had slain the three hundred and sixty thousand warriors, (7) and had fought, and had achieved a mighty victory, (8) I was desperate, powerless, (9) and afflicted, I was cast down and full of woe, and I lamented, (10) saying: ‘As forme . . . what have I brought upon my realm? (11) lama king who hath brought no prosperity unto his country, (12) and a shepherd who hath brought no prosperity unto his people. (13) As for me and my realm, what have I brought upon (upon us) (14) by . . . « and (15) causing myself and my warriors to go forth? (16) To destroy the plain of Akkad (17) he hath summoned a SEN. foe, and (18) [i -2 Sed ee ae Go). 2s

(20) re J to overwhelm Akkad [. oral aa From the summary in 1 6, the last line of the preceding column may probably be restored, as ‘‘ The first time, one hundred and eighty thousand warriors I sent forth.” Jensen also connects the fragment K. 8,582 (see Haupt, Mimrodepos, p. 78) with the ‘ Cuthaean legend,” since it describes in the first person the putting to flight and capture of twelve warriors, and contains the formula {/]:-a-am ak-bi ana hib-bi-a[a]; cf. K.B., vi, p. 300f.

148 OTHER ACCOUNTS OF CREATION.

19. fT Susi. MM ummanu u-Sse-si-ma ina lbbi-su-nu
asten(en) baltu ul ititra(ra)
20. Sanitum(tum) Ssattu ina kasadi(di) XC.M ado.
21. salultum(tum) Sattu ina kasadidi) LX.M+VII.C do.

22, is - si - fu en - ni - Su a-ha la

a- Su - us us - ta - ni ~ th
23. ki-a-am ak-bi a-na lib-bi-ta um-ma lu-u, a-na-ku-ma
24.'a - na pa-l-e mi - na - a e - sip)
25.a-na-ku sarru la mu-sal-li-mu mati - Su

Cozumn III.

1. rt-e-um la mu-Ssal-li-mu um-ma-ni- su
2. ki lu-us-tak-kan-ma pag-ri u pu-ti lu- se-si

3. Sa-lum-mat ni-si mu-$ mu-u-tu namlaru a-ru-ur-tu
. na-mur-va-tu har-ba-su ni-pil-su . a nt-tb-ri- tu
. [fa-sa-ak]-hu di-lb-tu ma-la ba-su-u
- + J+ Se - ne wt- tar - da

To. - ee ee 4 i] - Sa - hin a - bu - be

SMA E
=
[ek ee ce ee oe a ba ba panst*

T Lit., “added to.”

THE “CUTHAEAN LEGEND.” 149

19.

20.

21.

22.

23.
24.
25.
Ow ans

One hundred and twenty thousand warriors I sent
out, but not one returned alive.
As the second year drew nigh, ninety thousand
warriors I sent out, but not one returned alive.
As the third year drew nigh, sixty thousand
seven hundred warriors I sent out, but not one
returned alive.
Despairing, powerless, and afflicted, I was full of
woe, and I groaned aloud,
And I spake unto my heart, saying: “ By my life!

“ What have I brought upon! my realm?

“T am a king who hath brought no prosperity
unto his country,
Coiumn III.
“ And a shepherd who hath brought no prosperity

unto his people.
. “But (this thing) will I do. In mine own person

will I go forth!

. “The pride of men, and night, and death, and

disease, and trembling,
“ And fear, and terror, and . . . , and hunger,
. “And [famine], and misery of every kind

“Pursue after their[. . 2. 2. 1. 1...
“TBut . . . . let] there be a deluge,
“To... . . the] deluge of old time!”
2 The reading of 81 as paz7 is not certain.

150 OTHER ACCOUNTS OF CREATION.

Oe Ty satay Be, ob wis PR ce eel, AS BABS 805
10. ¢-sak-[ka-ru . ww ww ew we ww JO SU
PE SeaRiE Rel GN Ay aa’ SBN OR te ae OE oso se
12. tak-ba-nin-ma*® [.. . 2. 1 we ee le
13.4 Sub-su-u [.. . 2... 1 1 ww se J- pe
PE os BUR mE ee ee a a J
14. sag-muk sa ributdd) Sati . . . 1 . .)- pa
15. wa te-me-ki Sa “E-a[..... j-a
Sa wlan” [rabar |” *
16. nike sag-muk elati”m” [2 2. 1. ww we ws J

17. te-ri-e-te elliti® — 2. ee we ew wee J
18. al - st mare™ we bay" uw - [ma -? - t]r
19. VIJ a-na pa-an VII ”"**puhadu al - plu - tu
20, u - kin guhhers ell [adi |?’4
21. a - Sal - ma tlani* ral bits |**
22. ™Is-tar [™ . 2. 2 ™Za-ma-ma ™ A-nu-nt-tjum

23.pap 2. ww wee Sama hu - va - die
2ghimar? [ook dee Te 2838S ee ee ae ee on
[The lower half of the column is wanting,® except for traces of what is probably the last line of the column, preserved by K.5,640.]

Ate [e Boater eR Rite ed ae ee ae

1 The fragments of the tablet K. 5,418¢ are not quite correctly put together, the beginnings of ll. 9 ff. being one line higher on the tablet than the ends of the lines to which they correspond.

2 It would seem that one of the gods urged the king to make offerings and supplication at the Feast of the New Year, before undertaking his fourth expedition. From Hl. 14ff. it is clear that the king followed the god’s advice; and, from the conclusion of col. iv, it may be inferred that he at last met with success against his enemies.

9. 'Thenthe god[..... .. J spake,?

10. Andsaidf . 2... 1. ee ee ed:
#re*Dherpods [2 cod ce va hk en Be]
12. “ Thou didst speak unto me®and[..... |
13. “Andto make[f . . 2. . 1... ws]
those. gets sk he, ody ene ty AE A" tes
14. The New Year’s Feast in the fourth y[ear . . . |,
15. With supplication unto Ea,[the . . . .]of
the great gods,
16. Pure offerings for the Feast of the New Year
bios SK All
17. Pureomens[. . . . .]-
18. I cried unto the magicians, and I [directed them],
19. I set [out] the lambs for sacrifice in rows of seven.
20. I placedthere also the holy . 2. . ff
21. And I enquired of the great gods,
22. Of Istar, [and . . . . , and Zamama, and
Anunitjum, a
23. Andf . . . . , and Samas, the warrior.
24. ‘The-son'{ iss. 2 2 5e-b we eo Oe |
[The lower half of the column is wanting,® except for traces of what is probably the last line of the column, preserved by K. 5,640.]

> Possibly the 2nd pers. plur., ‘ye commanded and”; but as the god appears to be addressing the king, the rendering in the translation is preferable.

4 The end of the sign mg is preserved.

5 See above, p. 145, 0. 7-

6 It is clear that in the missing portion of the column the king describes the defeat of his foes, since in col. iv he refers to the record of his history as an encouragement to future princes who may succeed him on the throne.

Cotumn IV.
weeele . . 2. . J 2 mise*e fT . 2. J
3. al nak-[yi . . . .) 4. alu Saals ... |
Bete ME [oe ee ee ae | Fe Sf = a]
6. Sarru dan-[mu . . . . J w-lu-[ow...]
7. tani” [2... enje-te w-[2. 2 1.]
8. fa-die . . 2 1]-R wd [ww plil-su-nu-ti
g. at-ta sarru issakku ruba le mamma Sa-na-ma
10. sa ilu. i-nam- bu- su Sarvu-ta — ippus(us).
ul, duppa-[si-nja! e-pu-us-ka nara as-tur- kha
12,2 - na Kuta ina E - Sid - lam
13.2 - na pa - pak * Nergal e- a - bak - ka
14. nara an -na-a a+ mur - ma
15. $a pi-i “nar an~na-a i s-me-ma
16. la te - st- th - hu? la te ~ en - nis - Su
17. la ta - pal - lah? la ta - tar - ru - ur
18. is - da - a‘ ~ ka li ~u ki ~ na
19. at-ta ina su-un sinnisti-ka S$t-pir lu tippus(us)
20, diivan’™ - ka tuk - kil
21. fi - ra - ti ~ ka me # mul - bi
1K, 5,640, se.
2K, 5,640, la ée-th-st-1h-hu.

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Oo ON A

12.
13.
14.
15.
16.
17.
. Stablish thyself firmly,
19.
20.
aq.
_ Corumn IV.
. Together with [. . . ..] 2. The people
didnotf . . . . j
. The city of the [foe . . . . J] 4. That city
.Unto [| . . . 1. . . . . J there was
. Amighty king) 2... J... ET... |

.Thegods[....]... D~.. ss J
. Myhand[. . . . did not conquer them.
. Thou, O king, or ruler, or prince, or anyone

whatsoever,

. Whom the god shall call to rule over the kingdom,
I.
A tablet concerning these matters have I made
for thee, and a record have I written for thee.
In the city of Cuthah, in the temple E-shidlam,

In the shrine of Nergal, have I deposited it for
thee.
Behold this memorial tablet,

And hearken unto the words thereof,

And thou shalt not despair, nor be feeble,

And thou shalt not fear, nor be affrighted.

Sleep in peace beside thy wife,
Strengthen thy walls,
Fill thy trenches with water,
3 K. 5,640, da-ag.
4K. 5,640 omits a.
154 OTHER ACCOUNTS OF CREATION.

22, pi-sa-an-na-ti-ka Se-im-ka kaspa - ka

busi - ka makkura - ka
23.[...])) - Ha ul- nu - ti - kha Su - rib
24.[. . . . wue-klu-us-ma tub-ka-a-ti e-mid
25. [pa - gar - ka} u- sur pu-ut-ka sul -~ lim

26) Pos. eke we Ae ks SOS A ar] e tu - gt - su
27... 6. ee eee ee Joma e ta-as-nik-su
BBE ici bP ae se At Sheva vlmapr tbe Sah oe RA
[The lower half of the column is wanting.]

1 One sign is wanting at the beginning of the line; the traces suggest GUD, i.e. alpu-ka, “ thy cattle.” The reading of the second sign as 4a is not certain.

2 In this address to future rulers, the general moral which the king would draw from his own history

appears to be, that safety is to be found in following the commands of the gods. Further- more, he recommends his successors upon the throne, not to take

22. Bring in thy treasure-chests, and thy corn, and thy silver, and thy goods, and thy possessions,

23. Andthy[. . .],' and thy household stuff.

24. Fix firmly{the . . . J, and build surrounding
walls.
25. Guard [thy body] and take heed for thy person.

26.[. . . .], thou shalt not go out unto him,

27.[. . . . J, thou shalt not draw nigh unto him.

Orley gs yea a TENG Soe, ead

[The lower half of the column is wanting.}

the field against an invading foe, but to shelter themselves behind the walls of the city of Cuthah. It will be seen from the above translation that the text does not contain a legend of creation (cf. p. r40f., note 1). The reference to Tiamat in col. i, however, is of considerable interest from the evidence which it furnishes with regard to the early date of the dragon-myth; see further, the Introduction.

Appendices.

I

Aooprian Commentaries and Parafler Certs to the
Seventh Tablet of the Creation Series,

THE Seventh Tablet of the Creation Series was a composition which received much attention from the Babylonian and Assyrian scribes, and specimens of three classes of com- mentaries have come down to us, which were compiled to explain the whole, or portions, of its contents. The first and most important class consists of a commentary to each line of the text; and of this class we have a single version inscribed upon fragments of two large tablets, duplicates of one another. A second class seems to have contained a kind of running commentary to passages selected not only from the Seventh Tablet, but also from the other tablets of the Creation Series ; the fragment S.747 belongs to this class of explanatory text. A third class, represented by K. 2,107 + K. 6,086, gives explanations of a number of titles of the god Marduk, several of which occur in those portions of the text of the Seventh Tablet which have been recovered. The greater part of this Appendix deals with these commentaries, and with the information which they supply concerning the contents and interpretation of the Seventh Tablet. At the end of the Appendix some fragments of texts are discussed, which bear a striking resemblance to the Seventh Tablet, and prove that the religious literature of Babylonia included parallel texts composed on very similar lines. The evidence

which the commentaries and the fragments of parallel texts furnish, with regard to the form and literary development of the Creation Series, is also of considerable value.

To the commentary of the first class, which refers to every line of the Seventh Tablet, the following fragments belong :

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S.11 +S. 980+ S. 1,416, K. 4,406, 82-3-23, 151, R. 366+ 80-7-19, 288 + 293, K. 2,053, and K. 8,299. These six fragments are separate portions of two large tablets, which were inscribed with duplicate texts. I think there is little doubt that S. 11 + S. 980 + S. 1,416 (vol. ii, pls. li ff. and Iv) and K. 4,406 (pl. livf.) are parts of the same tablet, a large one inscribed with five or six double columns of writing on each side ; 82-3-23, 151 (pl. liv) is a smaller fragment of the same tablet. The remaining three fragments R. 366 + 80-7- 19, 288 + 293 (pls. lviff.), K. 2,053 (pl. lixf.), and K. 8,299 (pl. lx) are parts of a duplicate commentary to the Seventh Tablet. The commentary is in the form of a bilingual list, and presupposes the existence of a Sumerian version of the Seventh Tablet of the Creation Series; it gives a list of the Sumerian words, or ideograms, and opposite each word is added its Assyrian equivalent, generally in the order in which the words occur in the Assyrian text. The compart- ments, or sections, into which the columns of the commentary are divided, refer to the separate couplets, and frequently to the separate lines of the Seventh Tablet ; and it will be seen that it is often possible to restore the text of the Seventh Tablet from the information which they furnish! The following paragraphs deal with the sections of the commentary which have been preserved :—

S. 11 + S. 980, Obv., col. i (pl. li), Il. 1-10, the commentary to ll. 1 and 2 of the text, read: (1) [] ASAR-RI sa-rik (2) RU: Sa-ra-ku (3) SAR: mtinris-tu (4) A: ts-va-tu (5) SI- DU: ka-a-nu (6) RU: ba-nu-u (7) SAR: Se-tm (8) SAR: fu-u (9) MA: a-su-u (10) SAR: ar-ku. From this we may restore IL 1 and 2 of the Seventh Tablet (see the text of K. 2,854 in the block on p. 159) as “Asar-vi Sa-rik mt-ris-t[¢ mu-kin

* For references to previous publications of various portions of the commentary, see the Introduction. The text of five additional fragments of the Seventh Tablet, which I came across after the lithographed texts in vol. ii had been printed off (see Appendix IT), are published in this Appendix near the paragraphs dealing with the portions of the commentary which refer to them.

ASSYRIAN COMMENTARIES. 159

iz-ra-ti}, and ba-nu-u Se-am u ki-e mu-s([e-si ur-ki-ti], As the verb sa-ra-ku occurs in |, 2 of the commentary, it would be possible to take the signs GAR and RIG in 1. 1 as part of the title, and transliterate the line as [*] ASAR-RI-GAR-RIG ; and this would agree with the explanations of the title given in the Seventh Tablet, as GAR = 4anu (cf. Briinnow, No. 11,962) and RIG = urkitu (cf. Br, No. 5,165). But in 1. 1 of the Seventh Tablet the signs GAR-RIG are clearly to be rendered

Creation Series, Tablet VIT, I, 1-18 (K. 2,854}.

Sa-rig, and it is preferable to render them in this way also in the commentary. The title “ ASAR-RI is therefore explained as Sa-rtk (as in R. 366, etc. Obv., col. i, lL. 1, “Tu-TU is explained as ba-a-nu); or,

which is perhaps preferable, the scribe wrote the two opening words of the Semitic version of the text as a heading to the commentary.

S. 11, etc., Obv., col. i, Il. 11-16, the commentary to 1. 3 of the text, read: (11) ""ASARU-ALIM (12) SA: 47-2-du (13) SA: mil-ku (14) ALIM: kab-tu (15) SA: at-ru (16) SA: meil-ku.

The text reads" Asaru-alim sa ina bit mil-ki kab-t[u ....]; the end of the line may therefore be restored as a-tar mitl-ki, or possibly as at-ru mil-kiv3u, Lines 17-20, the commentary to 1. 4 of the text, read (17) DINGIR: 7-/um (18) SA: u-ku-u (19) [DIJR-DIR: a-da-ru (20) [DIR]-DIR: a-fa-zu. The text reads tani u-tak-ku-u a-d[ir . . . .]; the end of the line may perhaps be restored as a-d[2r 7-hu-us-su-nu-ti }. Lines 21-22, the beginning of the commentary to l. 5 of the text, give the title [] As[ARU]-ALIM-NUN-NA, and_ the

explanation [. .]-ru-6u, which may be restored from the text as [ka]-ru-bu. The text reads ™ Asaru-alim-nun-na ka-vru-bunu-ur{ . . . . 4; see further, p. 93, n. 6.

R. 366 + 80-7-19, 288 4+ 293, Obv., col. i (pl. Ivi), IL 1-4, corresponding to 1. 9 of the text, read: (1) "TU-TU: ba-a-nu (2) TU: ba-nu-u (3) TU: e-de-su (4) DA: Su-u. From this 1. 9 may be restored as ™ Tu-tu ba-an te-dis-ti-su-nu [su-u], see above, p. 93, n. 10. Lines 5-9 (cf. also S. 1,416, col. i, pi. lv), corresponding to |. 10 of the text, read: (5)[ ] KU: el-lum (6)[DJU: sa-gu-w (7) [DJA: Su-u (8)[S]A: leu (9){ . .]: pa-Sa-hu. The text of the line reads 4-"i1 sa-gi- su-nu-ma Su-nu luu{. . . . J; the end of the line may be conjecturally restored as /u-u [pa-as-hu-nz], see above, p.94f. Lines 10-13, corresponding to 1. 11 of the text, read : (10) TU: [ba-wu]-u (11) MU: Sip-tum (12) DINGIR: 2-d[unz] (13) TI: va-a-hu ; 1, 11 may therefore be conjecturally restored as lib-ni-ma sip-ti ilani li-[nu-hu], see above, p.94f. Lines 14-18, corresponding to |. 12 of the text, read: (14) IB: a-ga-gu (15)SA: leu (16) IB: ¢e-bu-u (17) TU: m0--u (18) GABA : ¢v-¢um, from which 1. 12 may be restored as ag-gzs' lu te-bu-u li-ni-'-u [i-rat-su-ni], see above, p.94f. Lines 19-24, which form two sections upon the tablet, read: (19) DA: lu-u (20) DA: Sa-ku-u (21) TA: z-x[a] (22) MU: ple- ty (23) DINGIR: [zum] (24)[.. . .]: [}. It will be seen that these two sections correspond to a | singie line (I. 13) of the text, which reads: /u-w su-us-ku-u-ma ina puhur iant[. . . . J; from 1. 22 of the commentary we therefore obtain the new value MU = f[u-ub-rw].

K, 2,053, Obv. (pl. lix), I. 1-4 (ef. pl. li, S. 11 +S. 980, Obv., col. ii, 1. 1), the commentary to 1. 17 of the text, read:

(yest. 42 Tease. aw 2 ete fs ed
(4)NA:[. . . .]. The text reads al-kat-su-un is-ba-
tu-ma wu-ad-du-u[. . . . J; 1. 2 of the commentary may
therefore be restored as ZI: [sa-ba-tu], cf. Br, No. 2,330; zu in |. 4 is the equivalent of u-ad-du-u, and the equivalent of NA in |. 4 may possibly be restored as sw-zu, the 3 m. pl. pron. suffix (but cf. p. 95, 0.15). S.1£-+5S. 980, Obv., col. ii, Il. 2-7 (cf. also K. 2,053, Obv., Il. 5-10), which form two sections upon the tablet, correspond to |. 18 of the text and read: (2)TA: af . . . | (3) KU: def . © © J (4) TA: #f{xa] (5)

UKKIN : a-p[a-t2] (6) 1B: tp-Se-[t7] (7) GAB: ku-u[l- . . . The text reads ad tm-ma-Si t-na a-pa-ti ip-se-taf. . .. «45 it is clear therefore from 1. 3 that the commentary gives a slightly variant text, or at any rate a variant reading for the second word in the line. Lines 8-13 (cf. also K. 2,053, Obyv., 1. 11), corresponding to |. 19 of the text, read: (8) “do. # NA-ZI-AZAG-G[A] (9) RU: ba-nu-[u] (10) RU: n2-bu-[u] (11) Zt: &a-a-nu (12) AZAG : el-dum (13) AZAG : ¢e-Uil-tum. The text reads ™ Tu-tu ™Zi-azag Sal-sts im-bu-u mu-kil ze-lil-ti; the commentary thus gives a variant form of the title, and presupposes a longer (or an alternate) form of the line, for no equivalents occur in the text to Il. (9) and (12); while for mu-kil the text of the commentary read mu-hin (as in J. 21 of the text, cf. 1. 23 of the commentary). Lines 14-19, corresponding to |. 20 of the text, read: (14) DINGIR : 7-lum (15) TU (so glossed): sa-a-ri (16) DU (so glossed): ¢a-a-bi (17) DINGIR:: be-lei (18) ZL: Se-mu-u (19) ZL: ma-ga-ru. The text reads 7 sa-a-ré ta-a-bi be-el tas-me-e u ma-ga-rt. Lines 20-24, corresponding to |. 21 of the text, read: (20) ZI: ba-Su-u (21) AZAG: st-tut-ru (22) UA: ku-bu-ut-te-e (23) ZI: ka-a-n[u](24)[. . |: Zeglallul. The text reads su-sab-si se-tm-ri u ku-bu-ut-te-e mu-kin hegalli.

S. 1,416, col. ii (see pl. lv), joining S. 11, etc., gives traces of two sections of the commentary which should correspond to about 1. 25 of the text. S. 11 + S.980, Obv,, col. iii (pl. li)

YI

gives traces of three sections of the commentary. The third section (l. 9) begins with a title of Marduk; this may possibly refer to }. 33 or 1. 35 of the text, but the traces of the preceding section do not appear to correspond to |. 32 or 1. 34. According to its position in the commentary, however, this fragment should refer to about that portion of the text. The fragment 82-3-23, 151 (pl. liv) includes traces of the right half of three sections of the commentary ; the second section consists of the following words : w#t-seu, ir-pi-e-tu, ma-lu-u, ka-st-pu, ni-St, tt-’-u-tu, and na-da-nu. The signs us-mu, taken in conjunction with zv-f7-e-¢u, may perhaps be compared with the phrase Mu-use-mu ir-pi-e-tu ut-tak-st- ba-am-ma, which occurs in the explanatory text S. 747, Rev., 1, to (see below, p. 170), where it is followed by the comment Mu-um-mu = rig-mu. We might perhaps restore the first line of the section as “Alu-um-mu, running across the column ; but Mummu, explained as vzgiz, is certainly not the title of Marduk, but the name of Apsii’s minister ; it is therefore possible wse-mu in the commentary refers to Tiamat, and may perhaps be regarded as a title (cf. Ummu-Hubur). The sense of the second half of the line appears to be that Marduk is the guardian of mankind and gives them nourishment.

K. 8,299, Obverse (pl. 1x) gives traces of the right half of three sections of the commentary. The Reverse, Il. 3-14 give the right half of the commentary to the first two lines preserved by the fragment K. 12,830 (see the block on

p. 163). Lines 3-6 read: (3) [. . . J: mé(?)-dee-[u] (4)... . J: &b-ra-a-te (5)[. . . J: sal-mat kabkadi (6) [.. . . J]: ba-nu-u. The first line preserved by K. 12,830 reads[. . . 1 . J sal-mat{[. . . hs

this may conjecturally be restored as [26-7 £2b-va-a-de] s ‘sal mat [kakkadi 1b-ni-ma]. The first sign in 1. 3 of K. 8,299 is broken and its reading as mz is not certain; zr is possible, as suggested in the copy on pl. Ix. Lines 7—14, from the right half of the commentary to the second line preserved by K. 12,830, read:

(7)[. . . Ji ede (8)[. . .]:

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Sa-a-Su (9)[. . . J: tee-mu (1o)[. . . J: — . . J
mu (tI)[... J {4Je-a (22)[. . . J: Gig
(13) [- Ji [.. . em (4yC- - eat ae
The text ‘tends [.... . jasetel. . . Tg
the first part of the line may therefore be eatored: as tek
Sal-a-5u te-[e-mu. . . . J, but the restoration of the
second half of the line is ‘not certain. K. 4,406, Reverse,! col. i (pls. livf.), corresponding to the fourth line preserved by the fragment K. 13,761 (see the

Fragment of the Seventh Tablet of the Creation Series (K, 12,830).

block on p. 164), read: (1) GIL: ma-[. .] (2) IL: Sa-ku-[u] (3) MA: na-sa-[ku(?)] (4) GIL: a-gu-[u] (5) GIL: a-Sa-[vu] (6) GIL: Sal-¢[um(?)] (7) Sar a-gi-e: Sar-ra-[. .

Of the text only the beginning of the title is preserved, MA-gifl . . . . . J; in lL 1 of the commentary the sign A is omitted before GIL, and it is possible that ma-[. .] in the right half of the line is not to be taken as an explanation of the title, but as part of the title itself. Lines 8-13, corresponding to the next line of the text, read:

1 It is possible that the text of K. 4,406 is from the obverse and not from the reverse of the tablet ; see above, p. 104, n. 2.

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(8) MA: ba-nu-u (9) IM: tr-s[e-d] (10) AN: e-[/at-w] (11) GIS: mul. . . | (12) GIN: &la-a-nu(?)] (13) DINGIR: [2-Ze72(?)]. Of the text only the first word, da-nu-u, has been preserved. Lines 14-25 correspond to the next two lines of the text, and the title in I. 14 may be restored from the text as * ZU-[LUM-MU}. The next line of the text reads ™ AZv-uin- mu ba-aln . . . . . |; the commentary, Il. 26-209, evidently presupposes a variant reading for this line, for it does not begin with the title “ Mu-uM-Mu, although MU-UM-M[U], without the determinative, occurs in ll. 27 and 29.

[BROKEN SURFACE}

OBVERSE. Reverse.
Fragment of the Seventh Tablet of the Creation Series (I. 13,761).
K. 4,406, Rev., col. ii, ll. 1-7 give the following words in the explanatory half of the column: ¢-wa, i-Lum, a-fu, su-ru- bu-u, va-bu-u, e-til-lum, and nap-har-rum. They should correspond to the fourth line preserved by the fragment K. 8,519 (see the blocks on p. 165), which reads [

S§a-ka]-a e-mu-ka-su. Vt is clear therefore that they presuppose a variant reading for the line, which may perhaps be con- jecturally restored as ¢-wa ilénd a-hi-e-Su Sur-bu-u ra-bu-u e-til nap-ha-ri, “He is mighty

among the gods his brethren,

ASSYRIAN COMMENTARIES. 165

great is the lord of all!" With e-tel-dum and nap-har-ru may be compared []ap-har be-lim, which occurs at the end of the preceding line preserved by K. 8,519. Lines 8-13,

cot for TT EES YA

OBVERSE.
Fragment of the Seventh Tablet of the Creation Series (K. 8,539).
the commentary to the following line on K. 8,519, read: (8) ["] LUGAL-DUR-MAH (9) LUGAL: Sar-vu (10) DUR: mar-ka-su (11) DINGIR: @-dunt (12) LUGAL: be-dem (13) DUR-

TE ATT TE ot ot wf gE f}——

REVERSE.
Fragment of the Seventh Tablet of the Creation Series (K. 8,519).
MAH: dur-ma-hu. The text of K. 8,519 and its duplicate

K. 13,337 (see the block on p. 166) may be restored as (* Lugal-dur-mah sar m)ar-\k\as ilani" be-el dur-ma-hi. Lines

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14~22, the commentary to the following couplet on K. 8,519, read : (14) LU: sa-a (15) KU(DUR?): za (16) DUR: sub-cum (17) LUGAL: Sar-ru (18) MAH: vu-bu-u (19) KU (DUR?) : @-na (20) DINGIR : #-dus (21) MAH: ma-'-dt (22) MAH: si-2-ru. The text of the two lines reads sa ina Su-bat sarru-u-ti Sur-bu-u and [sa] ina tlant*" ma--dis si-ru. Lines 23-28, the commentary to the following line on K. 8,519, read: (23) * A-DU-NUN-NA (24) A-DU: wdl-ku (25) NUN: ™ E-a (26) RU (so glossed) : da-nu-u (27) DINGIR : t-luat (28) A: a-bu, The text may therefore be restored as [" A-du-nun-na] ma-lik ™E-a ba-an ilani™® abe*-su, Vines 29-35, the

Fragment of the Seventh Tablet of the Creation Series (IX. 13,337). Duplicate of K. 8,519.
commentary to the following couplet on K. 8,519, read: (29) RA: Sa-a (30) RA: a-na (31) A[D]U: a-lak-tu (32). .]: [rz]1-du-w (33) NU: la-a (34) RU (?): [s2a-$a-lu (?)] (35) DIN[GIR]: [2-lem]. The text of the two lines may therefore be restored as sa a-[na] tal-lak-t ru-bu-ti-su and d[a-a u)-mas-sa-lu tle ai-um-me.

K. 4,406, Rev., col. iii (pls. liv and Iv) gives traces of four sections of the commentary. Of the first section only the ends of words in the right half of the column remain. The second section reads: (9) [. . .
J-SIGISSE-SIGISSE

* The sign is much defaced (cf. the traces given on pl. lv), but

is probably rz.
ASSYRIAN COMMENTARIES. 167

(10) UD-DU: sa-Ru-u (11) RA: t-2a (12) E: b¢-2-tu (13) SIGISSE- SIGISSE: zk-ri-bu (14) RA: ra-mu-u (15) RA: a-Sa-bu. Line 9 appears to give the end of a title of Marduk, which is perhaps explained as sa-ku-u ina bitati", "Who is exalted in the temples"; the second half of the line probably contained a second explanatory phrase. Lines 16-19 read: (16) DINGIR: z-lum (17) IGi: mah-ru (18) [T]U: e-ve-bu (19)[. . . Js kat-ru-u ; from this it is possible to build up the line as ¢/auz ma-har-Su h-se-ri-bu kat-ra-Su-un, " Let the gods bring their gifts into his presence" ; a reference to this line is sesaibly contained in the explanatory text, S. 747, Rev., 1. 6, which begins [. . . . be-se-rt-bu kat-ra-su-un (see below, Pp. 170); the fourth section gives the first word of the next line as a-d,

S.11 + S. 980, Rev., col. i (pls. liif.), and its duplicates, K. 2,053, Rev., col. i (pls. lix f.), and R. 366 + 80-7-19, 293, Rev., col. i (pl. Ivii), give traces of seven sections of the commentary, which appear to correspond to a portion of the text between Il. go and 100. S. 11 +S. 980, Rev., col. ii (r lii), ll. 1-6, corresponding to 1. 106 of the text, read:

Te cf » jee (2) Ce 2 we |:

Lea ye [he a-if 0) G) [R]a: fafa] (4) RA: ¢-2a (5) AN: Sa-me-e (6) DU-DU: Su-pu-u. The text reads [[. . 2 or) hakkaba sja . . . .],so that the end of the fine may be conjecturally restored as §[a ¢-na Sa-me-e Su-pu-u]. LI. 7-12, corresponding to |. 107 of the text, read: (7) RA: du-w (8) RA:: sa-ba-tu (9) KUN-SAG-GE: rt-e-s% ar-kat (10) AN: ri-e-Su (11) RU: ar-kat (12) [. . JSA-A-RU: pa-la-su. The text reads lu-u sa-bit resu-arkat §u-nu $a-a-su lu-w tp], see above, p. 106f. Lines 13-21 (cf. pl. lix for

the duplicate commentary, K. 2,053, Rev., col. ii, Il, 1-5), corresponding to 1. 108 of the text, read: (13) [ ] MA: ma-a (14) [ ] MA: ma-ru (15) RA: Sa-a se) RA: @-a (£7) IR (so glossed on S. It, ete, cf 1. 26): &iy-be (18) NE-RU (possibly ERIM, cf. Briinnow, No. 4,603): ¢am-tine (19) GID: e-bi-ru (20) RA: la-a (21) NE: na-a-hu. The text reads ma-a $a kir-bis Ti-amat i-tib-bi[. . . . . J, and from the

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commentary the end of the line may conjecturally be restored as 2-t2b-bi-[ru la a-ni-hu). Lines 22-26 (K. 2,053, Il. 6-10), corresponding to I. 10g of the text, read: (22) NE: su-aus-su (23) RA: duu (24) NI-BI-RU : Ne-bi-ru (25) RA: a-ha-2u (26) IR (so glossed): &ér-bu. The text reads sam-Ssu lu Ni-bi-ru a-ht- zu kir-bi-su. Vines 27-31 (K. 2,053, ll. 11-14), corresponding to l. 110 of the text, read: (27) RA: Sa-a (28) AN: Lak-ka-bu (29) AN: Samé(e) (duplicate sa-me-e) (30) RA (so glossed) : a-la-ku (31) RA (so glossed): #a-a-nu. The text reads sa kakkabani*® §a-ma-me al-kat-su-nu lieki-tl-lu ; for li-ki-dl-la the commentaries thus give the variant reading /ékin, "he ordained." Lines 32~38 (K. 2,053, ll. 15-21), corresponding to 1. 121 of the text, read: (32) HAR: &i-ma (33) RI: se-e-nu (34) RI: r2--u (35) DINGIR: 2-lume (36) HAR: /2b-07 (37) SAG: lib-bi (38) SAG: pu-u-ru. The text reads hima st-e-nd H-tr- ta-a tlini gim-ra-su-un ; thus for gim-ra-su-un the text of the commentaries evidently gave a variant reading. Lines 39-44, corresponding to 1. 112 of the text, read: (39) IR: ha-meu-uw (40) NE-RU (see above): ¢am-tim (41) IR: si{ . .] (42) Si: na-p[2s-tu} (43) KIR: sa- [a-Fe] (4A IR S| oo ah. The text reads: Wk-me Ti-amat ni-sir-ta-Sa (var. na-pis- ete) li-si-ik u lik-vi; the commentary thus supports the variant reading to the text.

:

R. 366 + 80-7-19, 293, Rev., col. ii (pl. Ivii), 1. 1, which reads[. . . J]: [sa]-a-¢[z], corresponds to the last word of l. 114 of the text. Lines 2-8, corresponding to |. 115 of the text, read: (2) IR: su-u (3) AN: aS-ru (4) as-ru: Sa-mu-u (5) RU (so glossed): ba-nu-u (6) RU: pa-ta-ku (7) RU: dan- ni-ni (8) dan-ni-nu : irsitim(tim). The text reads as-Su as-vt ib-na-a ip-ti-ka dan-ni-na; \\. 4 and 8 of the commentary explain asvu as referring to heaven, and danzinw as referring to the earth; a reference to this line also possibly occurs in the explanatory text, S. 747, Rev., I. 10 (see below, p. 170). Lines 9-13, corresponding to 1. 116 of the text, read: (9) EN KUR-KUR (i.e. 62 matati): sum-su' (10) MA: Su-mu (11) MA: na-bu-u (12) A: a-bu (13) EN KUR-KUR: “EN-LIL (ie. ™ Bel); 1. 9 thus explains 62 matdi? as “his name,”

i.e. Marduk’s name, and 1. 13 gives it as the title of Enlil, or the elder Bél, who in the text transfers it to Marduk. The text of the line reads be-el madlati Sum-su it-ta-bi a-bi “ Bel, Lines 14-17, corresponding to |. 117 of the text, read: (14) MA: stk-r? (15) AN: ““Jg¢gd (16) MA: nzt-bee (17) UzU: nag-bu. The text reads sik-ri (var. ina zih-ri) “ Tgigt tm-bu-u na-gab-su-un, Vines 18-23, corresponding

to 1 118 of the text, read: (18) [. . «J: Seemu-u Gg) [. . . J: “[B-a] (20) [. . . J: Ma-bit-tv] (21) [Jur: val: . . J (22) [J] ut: na-g[ux] (23) [ ] ui: #e[. . .]. The text of the line reads

is-me-ma “E-a ka-bit-ta-su i-le-en-gu; the text of the commentary therefore gave a fuller form for the second half of the line. Lines 24-27, corresponding to |. 119 of the text, read: (24) A: ma-[a] (25) A: a[bu] (26) A: sur-r[a-Qz] (27) MA: atk-[rz]. The text of the line reads ma-a sa abé*-su u-Sar-rt-lwu gik-ru-u-su.

At this point the scribe of R. 366, etc. ceases to give the commentary in the form of a bilingual list, and in Il. 28-34 he writes out the text of the Assyrian version of ll. 120-124 of the composition. Then follows a colophon of three lines

which read: (35) an-nu-u-tu(?)ul kali u[. .] (36). Sa LI sume” Sa [. . . . . | (37) Sa ina libbi “Asar-ri[. . . . |, “These are not all (?) and [ie Se te of the fifty-one names of{ . . . . . J which are in (the composition entitled) ‘Asarif . owe

The reading of 1. 35 is not certain, but the colophon seems to imply that the commentary was not complete, or else that the fifty (or fifty-one) names of Marduk were not all given in the composition itself. Two important facts may be deduced from the colophon. The first is that the Seventh Tablet of the Creation Series is here treated as an independent composition which takes its title from its opening line. The second is that in this independent form the composition ended with |, 124 of the tablet. It is clear, therefore, that I]. 125-142 of the Seventh Tablet are in the nature of an epilogue, which was added to the composition at the time it was incorporated as the concluding tablet in the series Enuma elis.

The supposition that the text of the Seventh Tablet ended originally at 1 124 receives additional support from the ‘ explanatory text S.747 (see Cunetform Texts, pt. xiii, pl. 32).! When complete it is probable

that the tablet, of which S. 747 formed a part, contained a kind of running commentary to the whole of the Creation Series; only fragments of the beginning and of the end of the commentary are prescrved by S.747, and these refer to the First Tablet and to the Seventh Tablet of the Series respectively. Thus, S.747, Obv.,

1.1, which reads [. . 2... rt8=tueu sa-ru-su-un, followed by the comment za-ru-w=[. . . . . refers to Tablet I, 1. 3; 1 3, which reads[. . 2... -t]e gu-su-u nap-pa[. . . |, refers to Tablet I, 1.6; and the

mention of Za in 1. 5 is in accordance with the prominent part which the god plays in Tablet I, in detecting and defeating the plot of Apsii and Tiamat. On the other hand, the reverse of S. 747 appears to deal with the Seventh Tablet of the Series ; thus, 1. 3 may perhaps be compared with the equation NUN =" £-a, given by K. 4,406, Rev., col. ii, 1. 25, in the commentary to a line of the Seventh Tablet (see above, p. 166); 1. 6 possibly contains a reference to the line of the Seventh Tablet to which the commentary K. 4,406, Rev., col. iii, Il. 16-19, corresponds (see above, p. 167); the words inl. 1o,[. . . | dan-ni-na (or [. . . u}-dan-ni-na) ty-si-tum, possibly refer to |. 115 of the Seventh Tablet, while the second half of the same line perhaps contains a reference to the line of the Seventh Tablet, to which the commentary 82~3-23, 151, section 2, corresponds (sec above, p. 162, and for the verb u¢-/ak-s2-ba-am-ma, cf. Tablet V, 1. 20); and the words rz-e-su ar-ka-tu in 1. 11 clearly refer to 1. 107 of the Seventh Tablet. Line 12 of S. 747 quotes 1. 124 of the Seventh Tablet, followed by the explanatory equations L (ie. “Fifty”) = Ha-an-sa-a (ice. Marduk’s last title) and L=“ Bel. Now, as |. 12 is the last ‘ line of S. 747, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the

1 See above, p. 157.

portion of text it explains came at the end of the com-
position to which the commentary refers.
The tablet K.2,107 -+ K. 6,086 (pls. |xif.), which has already been referred to,' is not strictly a commentary to the Seventh Tablet of the Creation Series, but is of value for explaining some of the titles of Marduk which occur therein. The second column is subdivided by a perpendicular line; in the left half of the column are inscribed the titles of Marduk, and in the right half the explanations are set opposite them. Lines 9-18 form a single section, and probably give a number of alternative explanations referring to a single title which was written in the left half of 1.9. In the following trans- literation of the text a translation of each Assyrian rendering in the right half of the column is added beneath it :-—

TITLE. EXPLANATION.
i. [Wanting. j : [-
soe. fd ma-tim ali un nist
“[The . . .] of land, city, and people.”
2. [Wanting J: [ma-tijn ai wu ni- st

“(The . of lajnd, city, and people.”

3. [Wanting Js... . | mas-hi-ti ana ali u ni-

“(The . . . . J of drink unto city and
people.”
4-[Wanting J: [.-...] a-i-id “ Sin u Samas
“(The . . .] Begetter of the Moon and
the Sun.”
5. { Wanting] : [...] nap-har be-li a-sa-rid nap-har be-li
“(The . . .] of all lords, the Chief of all
lords.”
6. [Wanting J: [-n\i ka-la ti-me-a-ti

“[The Creator(?)} of all words(?).”

* See above, p. 157.

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APPENDIX I.

10.

Il.

TITLE.
[Wanting.
mal Wanting.
):

}:

EXPLANATION.

(ces -1\¢ nap-har tt-me-a-ti*
“(The Creator(?)] of all words(?).”
[« «]* sar ka-la ili u Sarre
“[The .. . Jofthe[. ..], the King
of all gods and kings.”
| ace ee | dln?
“[The . . . Jof the gods.”
[. . . Samlee) u — ivsttim(tim)
“(The . . . of healven and earth.”
[.. . Ssame\e) u irsitin(tim)
“(The . . . of heaven] and earth.”
[j we Boy

“fThe . . . . . Jof Bal”

be-lum [. . . Ssamje(e) u irsitim(tim)

“The Lord [. . .] of heaven and
earth.”
be - lum a-S$t-ir lant #
“The Lord, the Blesser of the gods.”
be - lui ga-me-tl dlani*
“The Lord, the Benefactor of the gods.”
be-lum sa e-mu-ka-a-su sa-ka-a
“The Lord, whose might is supreme.”
be - et Babili ®*
“The Lord of Babylon.”
mud - dis Babli ™
“The Renewer of Babylon.”
‘ This line gives a slightly variant explanation of the title in |. 6.

TITLES OF “MARDUK. 173

TITLE. EXPLANATION,
19. * LUGAL-EN-AN-KI-A : be-el ilini” sa Samé u irsiti Sar
tlani® sa same u irsité
“The Lord of the gods of heaven
and earth, the King of the
gods of heaven and earth.”
20. “A -DU-NUN-NA: ma-lik “Bel uo “E-a
“The Counsellor of Bél and Ea.”
ar. ™Tu - TU : mu-al-lid ilani*® mu-ud-di-is
wani*
“The Begetter of the gods, the
Renewer of the gods.”
22, "Gu - GU : mu - tak - kil alent”

“The Strengthener of the gods.”

23. “Mu - MU :mu- us - pi - is ilani™
¢ “The . . . of the gods.”
24. Du - TU : ba - nit ka - la tlani™
“The Creator of all the gods.”
25. Du - DU 1 miu-ut-tar-ru-u wlan”

; “The Leader of the gods.”
26. Mu - AZAG : Sa 84 - pat - su el - hit
“Whose Incantation is pure.”
27, "Mu - AZAG : sa tu - uw - Su el - lit

“Whose Spell is pure.”
28. * Sac (- SUD) - ZU : mu-di-e Libbi ilani™ ib-bu ru-u-hu
(hi-bi es-Su)*
“Who knoweth the heart of the
gods, the wide heart (recent
break}.”
1 The note f7-b7 ef-Su, which is written in. smaller characters, signifies that the end of the line was broken in the original tablet from which the scribe was copying.

TITLE.
29. ZI (~ do.) - UKRIN
30. “Zi (- do) ~ St

31. ™ Suu (- do) - KUR:

32. ™T 2 2. i(-do.)-KUR :
33. [Wanting.]
34. [Wanting. J :
35. [Wanting. ye
36. [Wanting. J:
EXPLANATION,

: nap - Sat nap - har wlant*

“The Life of all the gods.”

ma - st - th Sa - bu - tt

“The Remover! of the mighty.”
mu - bal - le - u at ~ bi
“The Destroyer of the foe,”
nut-bal-lu-w nap-har ai-bi na-si-ift
rag-gt
“The Destroyer of all foes, the
Remover of the wicked.”
:na-st-th nap-har vag - gt

“The Remover of all the wicked.”

[. . 4. valg-gt e-su-u vag-gt

“(The . . . of the] wicked ; the
Annihilator of the wicked.”

{ . 0. ragl-gi e-su-u nap-har
rag-gt
“(The . . . of the wicked; the
Annihilator of all the wicked.”
We Bs Hease eater oe hate

In the earlier part of the text the titles which were given on the left side of the column in [1]. 1-6 and 8 and 9 are wanting, but the explanations on the right side recall many phrases of the Seventh Tablet, from among which we may compare those given in 1. § with the end of the 3rd line preserved by the fragment K. 8,519 (see above, p. 104f.), and that in 1, 16 with the 4th and rqth lines of the same fragment. Of the

» Le., “ Destroyer.”

titles given in ll. 19 ff, compare |. 20 with * A-du-nun-na and its explanation in the 8th line preserved by K. 8,519; 1. 21 with 7x-zz in 1, 9 of the Seventh Tablet (see above, p. 92f.); l. 27 with “ Mu-azag in 1. 33 (see above, p. 98f); 1. 28 with % Sag-au in 1, 35 (see above, p. 98f.); L. 29 with ™ Zi-ukkin-na in 1. 1§ (see above, p. 94f.); lL 30 with Zz-s7 in I. 41 (see above, p. toof.); and 1. 31 with “Suh-kur in 1. 43 (see above, p. roof). It is possible that col. i of the Obverse of K. 2,107 + K. 6,086 (see pl. lxi) also contained explanations of the Seventh Tablet, or at any rate referred to the Creation Series,as].qreads[..... jApsiand is... .. Tt (?) -amat.

It was stated on p. 157 that fragments exist of compositions very similar in character to the Seventh Tablet of the Creation Series. Remains of one such composition are preserved by the fragment of a Neo - Babylonian tablet, No. 54,228, the text of which is published in vol. ii, pl. xiii, and by its two Assyrian duplicates, R. 395 (see vol. ii, pl. 1xii) and R. 2, 538 (see the block on p. 176). R. 2, 538 is a duplicate of No, 54,228, Obv., ll. 6-15 ; R. 395, Rev., ll. 3-5 correspond to No. 54,228, ll. 8, 10, and 12, The Obverse of R. 395, which does not correspond to any portion of the text preserved by the other two fragments, reads as follows :—

WE ac .ele th) tet Jee bce J

3.a@ ib -ba-S-[mja ™[.]
4. tp-te-ma ina iné” sa nérati[™]
5. e-pis zib-bat-sa tur-ma [ ]
6. vi-es ta-mar-ti it- fa-]
7. is-mi-ma “Bel pa-su j
8. is- S- ma mett-ta tle - }
Ot 8b oe tus 2 oo TOR MP ae J
If this fragment is in the form of narrative, it follows that ll. 1~6 are the concluding lines of a speech, since 1. 7 reads

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“Bél hearkened and his mouth[. . . . J.” Bél did not answer, however, for 1. 8 reads “ He raised the club[. .. .].” Now the phrase 2s-s7-ma m7t-ta occurs in Tablet IV of the Creation Series, 1. 37, but the context on this fragment does not suggest a variant account either of the arming of Marduk for battle or of the actual fight with Tiamat. Moreover, the Reverse of the fragment, which is in part a duplicate of No. 54,228 and R. 2, 538 (see above), is inscribed with addresses in honour of Marduk under some of the titles

Fragment of a parallel text to the Seventh Tablet of the Creation Series (R. 2, §38). Duplicate of No. 54,228.

which occur on the Seventh Tablet of the Creation Series. It is therefore probable that the Obverse of R. 398 contains a part of the same composition. Line 4, which reads “ He opened[. . . . Jat the sources of the rivers[. . . . j” would in that case refer to some act of creation on the part of Marduk, and the lines which follow would celebrate incidents in the battle with Tiamat.

PARALLEL TEXTS TO TABLET VIL. 177

Only a few traces of characters are preserved on the Reverse of R. 395, but enough is left to prove that ll. 3, 4, and 5 are duplicates of No. 54,228, Obv., Il. 8, 10, and i2. The following is the text of No. 54,228 with restorations and variants from R. 395 and R. 2, 538 :—

Ov.

LD... fol...) ale. Ba bf]
3.4 -pu-us is-ri-[2... eae]
4.%u a-vrik is- kur?) nut-[— ... as |
5. GIS-GID-DA a-rnk [??
6. Asar-ri Sa-vik me-[yis-8 2...
vA ig - ra - tum a-f[

8. ba-nu-u — Se- im “u gu-e [

9. glu] - «4 gt - hiy - tlu .

10. Tu -tu ba-an® te-dis-[ti- su-nu
wi.) Sum = ilani” «sa oma-ha- wt? [
12. ™ Sag- au mu-di-e lib-bi illani*?
13. @Sag-gar(?)8 ba-ru-u hb- oi [
Fg ee ee ee

1 Possibly 2[a-

2 It will be noticed that il. 4-17 are written in couplets, the second half of each couplet being set back a little from the edge of the tablet. It is just possible that these second lines give explanations of phrases in the lines which precede them. It appears on the whole more probable, however, that they form part of the

actual text; in that case the couplets in ll. 8f., 10f., and 12 f. are written as single lines on the fragment R. 395.

3 Restored from Tablet VII, 1. 1, see above, p. 92.

4 So the traces upon No. 54,228 appear to read; R. 2, 538

{g]u-um.
5 R. 395, a7
6 For 1. 11, R. 2, 538 reads Sa ina Babili*"[. i
7 The traces of the following lines upon R. 395 do not correspond to the portions of the text preserved by No. 54,228. 8 R. 2, 538 omits the title at the beginning of the line.

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14, “En-bt-lu-lu be-lum mu-dis mati-su [..]
15. na-mad su-’-u' mu-sab-su [i
16. Tutu? sa pi-t-ik mati i-[‘|
17; “Tutu ™ Marduk tam~-tum Oa?) -]
18, Zi-amat iddu(du) su-lu-[j
19. Sa ina vi-e- Si u ar -ka- {u®]
20. ™ Nabit ina BAR-NAM** amu VIF [2... J
ai,“A-du-nun-na ma-lk ™[. . 1 .]
22, ™ Ninib ™ Hansa 76 -[J
23... .] @-lak-ti m-[. .]
a4{ .. .) sei — 2... J 25]
REV.
t [-% te Sy ar tae DAY on |
3. gi-pa-vi [. . . J 4. mi-[.. J-7@)-[.-..]
5.a-st-tum [... J] 6E.... ma [....]
Fragmentary as the text of No. 54,228 is, a glance at the above transliteration will suffice to show that it preserves part of a composition which is very similar in character to the Seventh Tablet. That it does not form a missing portion of the text of that composition, is clear from the occurrence of certain phrases and titles of Marduk found in parts of the text of the Seventh Tablet which have already been identified ; moreover, they are here arranged in a different order and with a different context. Thus, |. 6f. correspond to the

© R. 2, 538, 2%

2 In this and the following line Tu +7v is written as a conflate sign.
5 Conjectural restoration.

4 Possibly ina parakki Simati®.

PARALLEL TEXTS TO TABLET VII. 179

opening line of Tablet VII; 1. 8 corresponds to Tab, VII, 1, 21; 1. 10 corresponds to Tab. VII, 1. 9; 1. 12 corresponds to Tab, VII, 1. 35,2 and 1. 13 may be compared with the second half of the same line; 1. 19 is clearly parallel to Tab. VII, 1. 107; 1. 21 corresponds to the line of Tab. VII preserved by K. 8,519, 1. 8 (see above, p. 104) ; with Hansa in 1. 22, cf. Tab. VII, | 123; and with 1. 23, cf. K.8 519, 1. 8, and the commentary to this line, K. 4,406, Rev., col. ii, 1. 31 (see above, p. 166, and vol. ii, pl. lv), which gives the reading a-dak-tu. It may also be noted that in Il. 4 and 5 we have a reference to isu avik, “Long-bow,” the first name given by Anu to Marduk’s bow upon K. 3,449a, which probably forms part of the Fifth Tablet (see above, p. 82 f); GIS-GID-DA in |, 5 is evidently the Sumerian form of the name. The title of Marduk, En-bilulu, which occurs in 1. 14, and is there explained as “the Lord who hath renewed his land,” is found also upon the fragment K. 5,233, which is described in the following paragraph.

‘It may here be noted that on the fragment S. 298 occur

the eure lL. 8 - +] ba-nu-u Se-im u hie mu-dis-Su [os . 4 “ft # .], Creator of grain and plants, Renewer ‘of Ewaec ¥ 73 as two other lines of the same fragment read c eR «| mus-te-Si-ru Bae exe ey dh “T 2...] Director of the ‘decrees off. . 1,” and [nha hari ss bal-nu-u tenis... .. Wf .. J Creator of mankind[..... 4,” it is clear that the fragment is part of

a composition containing addresses to Marduk as lord of Creation. Too little is preserved to show whether in this text, as in the Seventh Tablet, he was addressed under his Sumerian titles.

* On an Assyrian fragment of a hymn, K. 12,582, occurs the
following couplet :—
™ Sag-2u mu-dive lib-b[¢

a-pir a-gi-e belu-u-tu [ova vel Ss tat as oes, RN et Sag- zu, who knoweth the heart fof the ods eta ‘ j «Who weareth the crown of dominion[. . oo y us

It is possible that this fragment also belonged to a ; composition, similar in character to the Seventh Tablet of the Creation Series.

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It has already been remarked that the commentaries to the Seventh Tablet presuppose the existence of a Sumerian version of the text, and in the fragment K. 5,233, the text of which is given in the accompanying block, we may see a confirmation of this supposition. The fragment is part of an Assyrian tablet inscribed with a bilingual composition, and in each line of the Sumerian text which is preserved Marduk is addressed under a new title. In the following

EN Seance eT
wi SY orf ge rf

Fragment of a bilingual composition in honour of Marduk (K. 5,233).

transliteration and translation of the fragment the first couplet preserved is numbered “1,” but it should be noted that it does not mark the beginning of the text :—

I. [2°02

OM BE Pes Ye oe
™ Marduk sa tu-u-se [. .. 2... J
Marduk, whose spell[. 2 2 2 2. 2. 2. Y!
BILINGUAL ADDRESS TO MARDUK. 181

2, PNGIR ASARU-ALIM-NUN-NA ZI SU-UD-GAL[. . . .]
™ Marduk na-din na-plis-t) 2... |
Marduk, the giver of [life . . .. J!

3. PNG | | NAM-ISIB-BA-A-NI-KU GA[R- . . . - J
“ Marduk sa ina sip-ti-su H-[. . . . J
Marduk, who by his incantation{ . .. . J!

4. PNCRTY ~TU SAR-AZAG-GA-BI [...-..- J
Mardi sa ina SAR-AZAG-gi-su [. -]
Mara\k, whobyhis . . . [..]!

3. PERSaG- zu" Sun -[KUR eee
* Marduk ™ Mu-bal-[lu-u ai-bi . . . . |
Marduk, the Destroyer [of the foe]!

6. 78k EN - BI - LU - LU GABI=i[. dre a age ep
Marduk MUS] 2. n> 2G ek, J]
Marduk, : who: ff) ass et oe
It is possible that the title in 1. 1 may be restored as PINCRMIG-~AZAG from Tab. VII, 1 33. Of the other titles under which Marduk is here addressed, ASARU-ALIM-NUNA (. 2) occurs in Tab. VII, 1. 5, Tutu (1. 4) in Tab. VII, |. 9, Sac-zu (1. 5) in Tab. VH, 1. 35, and SUH-KUR in Tab. VII, 1. 43. The restoration of the Assyrian version of |. 5 is taken from K. 2,107 + K. 6,086, Obv., col. ii, 1. 31 (see above, p. 174, and vol. ii, pl. Ixii). The title EN-BILULU also occurs in the parallel text to the Seventh Tablet preserved by No. 54,228 and R. 2, 538 (see above, p. 178 f.).

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II.

On some fragments of the Series
“Enuma efish.” and on some terts relating to the
History of Creation.

In this appendix some unpublished fragments of tablets of the Creation Series are given, which I came across after the lithographed plates of vol. ii had been printed off. At the beginning of the present year, while engaged on making a hand-list of the smaller fragments in the various collections from Kuyunjik, I identified ten such fragments as belonging to copies of the First, Second, Fifth, and Seventh Tablets of the Creation Series. The texts of five of these (KK. 2,854, 12,830, 13,761, 8,519, and 13,337), which belong to copies of the Seventh Tablet, are included in Appendix I under the sections dealing with those portions of the commentary which rendered it possible to identify them. The texts of the remaining five fragments (KK. 7,871, 4,488, 10,008, 13,774, and 11,641), belonging to copies of the First, Second, and Fifth Tablets, are given in the following sections which are marked A, B, and C. In section D two small Assyrian fragments (K. 12,0006 and 79-7-8, 47) are described, which possibly contain portions of the text of the Creation Series. In section E the text is given of the fragment (S. 2,013), which contains a reference to Ti-amat e-Ui-ti and Ti-amat Sap-li-t?. Section F deals with the fragments K. 3,445 + R. 396 and K. 14,949, which probably contain an account of the creation of the world by AnSar, in place of Marduk. In section G the text is given of an address to the River of Creation which occurs in the opening lines of incantations upon the fragments S. 1,704 and 82-9-18, 5,311. Finally, in

1 It may be noted that all of them have been used for the text of the Seventh Tablet as transliterated and translated on pp. 92 ff.

section H the tablet K. 3,364, which has been supposed to contain the instructions given by Marduk to man after his creation, is shown to be part of a long text containing moral precepts.

A. TWO FRAGMENTS OF THE FirsT TABLET OF THE CREATION SERIES.— The fragment K. 7,871, the text of which is given in the accompanying block, is from the right-

Creation Series, Tablet I, ll. 33-47 (K. 7,871).

hand edge of the obverse of a tablet, and the ends of lines which it preserves correspond to Tablet I, ll. 33-47. As the first sheet of this volume had been printed off at the time I came across it, the information it supplies as to this imperfectly preserved portion of the text of the First Tablet? may be briefly noted.

1 See above, pp. 6-9.

In 1. 33 the new fragment supports the reading sak-pu at the end of the line; in 1. 34 it confirms the suggested restoration [ma-ri-e-su-un], probably reading [saré2 |" -su-un ; the couplet, Il. 35 and 36, which may be conjecturally restored as Ag[sa pa)-a-Su t-pu-[sam-ma i-kab-bi], a-na [T\-amlat) el-Li-tu-ma t-2alk-kar a-ma-tum, it condenses into a single line which may probably be restored as [Apsé pa-a-Su ¢-pu-sam]-ma izakkar-$1, "[Apsii opened his mouth] and spake unto her" ; the end of 1. 37 may now be restored as al-kat-su-nu e-li-ia, i.e. "their

way [is . . . . Junto me"; the suggested restoration of the end of |. 38 as wu-st [la sal-da-ak] is confirmed, the fragment reading [. . . . .] @@ sa-al-la-ku; the end of 1. 39

may now be restored as lu-Sap-pi-ih, ie. "Their way will I destroy and cast down"; the suggested restoration of the end of I. 40 as [mz-2-n2] is confirmed, the fragment reading ni-i-n{z]; the suggested restoration of the end of 1. 41 as ¢-2a [se-m-Sa] is confirmed, the fragment reading za Se-mi-e-[Sa], The suggested restoration (from Tab. IV, l. 89 and Tab. III, 1. 125) of the phrase 2/-ta-sd e-li-{ta] in 1. 42 is shown to be incorrect, the fragment reading [. . . . . jeki har-mi- { . .]; the line should run z-zu-wa-ma (var. [e]-272-m[a]}) i-ta-st e-li (var. elt) far-mi-[ga(?)]. For the end of 1. 43 K. 7,871 reads{ . . . . . J-gat e-dis-st-{ . .], and the verb preserved by No. 45,528 + 46,614 (see vol. ii, pl. iii) may probably be read ug-[g]x-ga[z]; the line may thus be partly restored as [. .] mar-st-28'! ug-[g]e-ga[?t] e-dis-st-[. 2. 1, "— .. J she was grievously angered, alone(she . . . . 4"; Kz, 871 probably gave a variant reading for the verb, as the traces it gives of the sign before gat (or £af) are not those of gu? The suggested restoration of the end of |. 44 as a-na [Apsé t-zak-kar] is shown by K. 7,871 to be incorrect, the fragment reading[. . . . . Jawa kar-st-[. .]; the

'It may here be noted that the principal traces of this line upon the obverse of 81-7-27, 80 (see Cun. Txts., part xiii, pl. 2) probably represent the word mar-sz-75.

® The restoration of the line as[. .] mar-si-i¥ ug-| g ju-gat ef... }-kate-di§-S-[. . J is also possible.

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line may probably be restored as -mut-ta (var. ti) it-ta-dé a-na kar-si-{sa (?)], " She plotted evil in [her] heart (?)." The end of |. 45, according to the fragment, reads[. . . . . je nu-us-hal-lak ; it is possible that we may restore the line as [mt]-na-a ni-t-nu $a nit p-pu-us lu)-u nu-us-hal-lak, "What, then, shall we do? Let us destroy!" The end of 1. 46, according to the fragment, reads[. . . . . }-du-tu da- [...]} unless this represents a variant reading, the suggested restoration ¢ mé-[7s-dal ni-¢-nd| is incorrect. For

Creation Series, Tablet I, Il. 50-63 (KK. 4,488).

1.47 the fragment reads[2 . 2... Jaf. . tn; which corresponds to é-ma-al-[li-kuv] at the end of the line. Another new fragment of the First Tablet is K. 4,488, which gives portions of the second halves of Il. 50-63; for the text see the accompanying block. For Il. §0 and 51 the fragment reads[. . . . . mju-Sis [uw . 1.] and [. . . . . J tme-me-vru pla. . ee | and gives no variants to the text as known from other tablets ;

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'for 1. 52the fragment reads[. . . . . @]b-pu-du an ilani mar, . . . |, which gives the variants ax for a-na and mar[2* -$) for m[a]-ré-e-5u ; the fragment reads[.... . }+ t-di-ir ki-sad-| . .] for 1. 53, which may probably be restored as[. . . .] &-te-dir (war.[.]-¢i-di-ir) hi-Sad- [se], "[. . . . his] neck was troubled." For 1. 54 the fragment reads[. . . . . -§]u u-na-Sak Sa-a[. . .];

it is clear, therefore, that for the restoration [2]-va-sa-ku we should read [z]-na-sa-ku, and that the duplicate 81-7-27, 80 reads u-na-as-Sa[k], as suggested on p. 11, n. 8 For 1. 55 the fragment reads[. . . |

pu-uf-ruus[. . J; for the suggested reading (upon 81-7-27, 80 and No. 46,803) bu-[u)e-ré-su-un, “their first-born,” we should read pu-[a]g-!

ri-Su-un, “ they all,” or “their assembly,” and the line may be translated “[Because of the evil] which they had planned together.” For 1. 56 the fragment reads[. . . . .- SJu-nu us-tan-nu-{ . .),and gives no variants to the text;

the verb at the end of 1. 57 may be restored from the fragment as 7-dul-lu, “they lay in wait.” For |, 58 the fragment reads [. . 2... |4u-um-mes us-[. . J, and confirms the

1 The traces of this sign upon No. 46,803 are those of wf, rather
than wk (see vol. ii, pl. ix).
® This verb occurs also in Tablet I, 1. 89, which reads[....] t-du-ul-[Ii], ie. “{ . . . . J he lay in wait,” and again in 1]. 99, which reads [| . . . . .]-At-d fa-du-ul-i[7], ie. se :] thou hast Iain in wait. ~” The meaning of the verb dl has been pointed out by Thompson in Hebraica, vol. xvii, p- 163, note 3, where he shows that its participle occurs in an Assyrian letter in the sense of “scout”; he also cites IV R, pl. 30%, Obv., 1. 16, where ¢-du-[ud] (var. 7-dul) may well have the meaning “to prowl” or ‘to lie in wait.” On p. 13, note 11 and p. 66, note § it was suggested that the verb ¢-fu-/u-Su, which occurs in Tablet IV, ll. 63 and 64, should be transliterated ¢-dud-/u-Su and connected with the verbs in Tablet J, Il. 89 and 99. The reading t-ful-lu-su, suggested by Delitzsch, gives good sense, but is not quite satisfactory from the omission of the doubled dental. Jensen (cf. K.B., vi, pp. 24.f., 334) reads 2-dud-lu-iu, and also suggests for

suggested restoration of the second half of the line as [se-ku-une]-mi-is' us-bu. Of 1. 59 the fragment gives the end as[. . . . .]-su ze-lé-[’(?)], the traces of the last sign reading HI[.]; in 1. 60 it gives the variant me-ki-Su-n[u] for me-ki-Su-un ; of 1. 61 it gives the last word as[.....] u-ki-s[u},“{ . . . .]he watched him”; in 1. 62 it gives the variant e¢-lu for el-lum, and of 1. 63 it only gives slight traces of two signs.

B. A FRAGMENT OF THE SECOND TABLET OF THE CREATION SERIES. The fragment K. 10,008 is probably a fragment of the Creation Series, and if this is so the only place to which it is possible to assign it is the gap between ll. (85) and (104) of the Second Tablet (see above, p. 32f.) ; this will be clear for the following reasons. It will be seen that the greater part of the fragment is inscribed with part of a speech of AnSar. Linesto andtrread[.... . ™“1A-nam ulili?[oo... jJand[..... |-mud i-dur-ma tt[u- 1...], and may be restored as [as-pur-ma “]A-nam ul i-li-’-[a ma-har-sal, [Nu-dim)-mud t-dur-ma t-tlu-ra ar-kis}, “{I sent] Anu, but he could not [withstand her]; {Nudim]mud was afraid and turned [back].” Now these lines occur in Tablet III, 1. 53f, in the course of AnSar’s instructions to Gaga, and again in 1. 111 f,, in AnSar’s message as delivered by Gaga to Lahmu and Lahamu. Now, although the phrase “ Marduk abkal ilani occurs in the following line in each of these passages, the rest of the context upon K. 10,008 shows that it is not a duplicate of the Third Tablet. It therefore follows that the fragment cannot belong to a later tablet than the Second. :

Now 11. (72)-(82) of the Second Tablet describe how Ansar sent Anu against Tiamat, and it is probable that in the gap

dalu the meaning ‘to run round,” “to prowl round.” In view of the use of the participle in the sense of “scout,” we may perhaps render the phrase in Tablet IV, ll. 63 f. as “the gods watched him from hiding”; the repetition of the phrase emphasises Marduk’s courage in setting out alone to do battle with Tiamat.

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after 1. 58 occurred the account of how Nudimmud was sent against Tiamat and how he turned back.! It therefore follows that the text of K.10,008 must be put in the gap between Il. (85) and (104). On this assumption the greater part of the fragment (at least down to 1. 12) carries on the speech of An§Sar, which begins at |. (85). In this speech Ansar refers to the fate of Apsii (K. 10,008, 1. 2), and the subsequent appointment of Kingu by Tiamat to lead the rebel forces?

1 In view of the fact that in Tablet ITI, ll. 53 f. and 111 f. Angar refers first to Anu’s attempt to oppose Tiamat, and then to that of Nudimmud, it might legitimately be urged that this represents the order in which the events took place. And, as Anv’s attempt is described in Tablet II, ll. (72)-(82), I was inclined, before I came across K. 10,008, to put Nudimmud’s attempt in the gap between Il. (85) and (104). But the order in which AnSar refers to the setting out of Anu and Nudimmud is not necessarily chronological. Morcover, as Nudimmud had already overcome Apsi, and as it was he who brought the news of Tiamat’s revolt to Angar, it would be only natural that he should be the first to be sent against her; in support of this view it may be further noted that Nudimmud’s name occurs in 1]. 58. On the other hand, if it be insisted that An§ar’s references in Tablet 1JI must be taken to imply that Nudimmud’s setting out against Tiamat followed that of Anu, it is necessary to place the account referring to Nudimmud after the line conjecturally numbered as (85). And, as the earlier lines of K. 10,008 do not appear to refer to this cpisode, it follows that the gap after I. 58 is less than ten lines and that after 1. (85) is greater than twenty lines; or else that K. 10,008 does not belong to the series Znuma els, but contains a variant account of the story of Creation. On the whole it appears to me preferable to suppose

‘that the order in which the events are referred to in An§ar’s speech is not to be taken as chronological, but as leading up to a climax; he says, “ Anu J sent, but he could not withstand her ; and even Nudimmud was afraid and turned back.”

? With the phrase m-lam-mi e§-rit in 1. 4 may be compared Tablet I, 1]. 118 and 126, and the parallel passages. The apparent reference to ten in place of eleven monsters is noteworthy.

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and carry on the war against the gods (1. 7f.); he then describes how he sent Anu and Nudimmud against Tiamat, and how they could not withstand her and turned back (l. tof), and in the following line (1. 12) he either begins his appeal to Marduk, or, as appears to me more probable,

Fragment of the Second Tablet of the Creation Series (K. 10,008).

states his intention of appealing to Marduk to become the
champion of the gods. The fragment may be transliterated

as follows :—
TP Mee teat re = ASR pee (Pana og ete: 3]
Bolte a: 83-3 BR ed ss ue OR ok Ge Se
3. .. . .] -tar-rmu-su [ww arae|
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] mi-lam-mi es rift
eu?) -ma--ni hum (?) -mu-r[a-
}-62 ap-sa-na la sa-ki-pa [
nyu ™ Kin-gu Su-us-[Ru-u
]-ma Ti-a-ma-ifz .
‘ j-ak lib-bi-su i-[Bane
10. [as-pur-ma ™|A-nam ul i-li-’-[a ma-har- sal
11. [Nu - dim|-mud i-dur-ma i-tu-ra ar - kis)
12... . ™Mardulk abkal ilini” [2... 2.]
cen hy ad, el

13 [ ] p-u-ku klu- j
14. [ ] 4-sa-an-nt [ ]
15. [ ] wpitu [ ]
16. [ ] bul- -[j
17. [|] ma-lu-{[i]
TBE [oe ce a ee tee a]
With 1, 13 we may compare /p-ti-ku ku-ru-na in Tablet IVI, 1. 9, and @-t¢-ku [Ru-ru-na] in |. 134; and with w-sa-an-nt we may compare Tablet III, 1 135. These phrases upon K. 10,008 may be explained by supposing that AnSar’s appeal to Marduk was accompanied by the mixing and drinking of wine.

C. Two FRAGMENTS OF THE FirtH TABLET OF THE CREATION SERIES—The first eleven lines of the fragment K. 13,774 correspond (with some interesting variants) to the text of the Fifth Tablet, 1]. 6-16; while the last three lines of the fragment give a variant text to that found in Il. 17-19 upon other copies of the Fifth Tablet. The unimportant variants may be first noted as follows: in 1. 6 K. 13,774 gives the variant vz as the last syllable of ’ Vz-d2-ri, and for ana reads a-na; in 1. to it reads w-dan-ni-na for ud-dan-ni-na ; in 1. 13 it reads s'k-nat for su-uk-nat; in |. 14 it reads ag[Z] for a-gi-[e]; and in I. 16 it reads a-va for ana, In 1, 8 it gives a more interesting variant, reading “A-num in place

FRAGMENT OF CREATION SERIES, TABLET V. IQt

of ” B-a; that is to say, I. 8, according to this version, would read, “He set the station of Bél and Anu along with him,” in place of “ He set the station of Bél and Ea along with him.” For a further discussion of this reading, see the Introduction.

In l. 12 occurs a still more interesting variant; according to K. 13,774 the first half of the line runs [[. . . ak]kaba- Su us-te-pa-a,“[. . . . J his star he caused to shine forth,” in place of ” NMannar-ru us-te-pa-a, “The Moon-god

Creation Series, Tablet V, Il. 6-19 (K. 13,774).

he caused to shine forth." As the beginning and end of the line are wanting, it would be rash to conjecturally restore them; but it may be regarded as certain that the phrase Suk-nat mu-st, "a being of the night," in 1. 13 refers to the Moon-god, and that the lines which follow contain Marduk's charge to him. In the course of Marduk's address to the Moon-god, in Il. 17 and 18, which upon other copies of the Fifth Tablet contain directions with regard to the 7th and 14th days of the month, K. 13,774 gives the variant readings

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C7) Ps ee xe ot PLEO PoE ae le fad
(8) . 2... 1 1" Vamut . . . . . 4 The
traces of |. 19 upon K. 13,774. do not correspond to the text
of this line as already known.
K. 11,641 is part of another copy of the Fifth Tablet, and contains on its obverse parts of ll. 14-22, and on its reverse

(BROKEN SURFACE)

" FBROKEN SURFACE]

Creation Series, Tablet V, ll. 14-22 (K. 11,641, Obverse).

parts of lines which may be conjecturally numbered as ll. (128)-(140). The information which the obverse of the fragment supplies with regard to the text of the Fifth Tablet

FRAGMENT OF CREATION SERIES, TABLET V. 193

is not very great, and may be noted as follows: the traces of ll. 14 and 17 upon K. 11,641 give no variants nor restora-

tions; for].1§ the fragment reads[. . . . . ~pla-hie- [.... . . }#é, and proves that the suggested restoration

[BROKEN SURFACE]

[BROKEN SURFACE}

Creation Series, Tablet V, the last thirteen lines (K. 11,641, Reverse).

[e-na] is incorrect; the end of this line should read e-[/]

ma-a-ti, which gives the same sense as before. In I. 16 the

fragment gives the variant [a]-a for ana; in 1. 18 for mes-/[7]

it gives the variant m7z-i(?)-[. . . . J]; in lL. 19 it gives
13
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traces of the last character but one in the line, which does not correspond to those given by K. 3,567 + K. 8,588; at the end of 1. 20 it gives the variant reading [a|v-a-n7s, and it is possible that K. 3,567, etc, read av-A[a-nu]-us'; in 1. 21 it confirms the suggested restoration of the sign ma at the end of the line; and in |. 22 it gives slight traces of the last two characters in the line.

The reverse of K. 11,641 has already been used on p. 84 f, in the transliteration and translation of the end of the Fifth Tablet. On p. 85, note 3, it is pointed out that the last six lines contain the complaint of the gods to Marduk in consequence of which he conceived the plan of creating mankind, It may here be noted that of the last line of the tablet, K. 11,641 seems to give traces of MES, the plural sign ;

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A possible fragment of the Creation Series (79-7-8, 47).

this may have been followed by a pronominal suffix, 4a, or
may have immediately preceded the word nz-2-nu preserved
by the fragment K. 8,526.
D. Two POSSIBLE FRAGMENTS OF THE CREATION SERIES.—In Cumeiform Texts, part xiii, pl. 24, the text is given of a small fragment, K. 12,000 4, of which the following

isatransliteration: (1)[. . -... J(@[... J
anla ... .. J@G)D . . .) amma [ede]
(4)[.....] Teamat wf... ..d)]@0...]
in-na-at-[. . . . . | (6) [a]r-nu-us-sulul . . 2 1. |]
(7) [e-pla-fu-se[o ... CS) Pies chins]. From the style
of the writing and the mention of Tiamat, it is possible that the fragment belongs to the Creation Series. Another possible fragment of the Creation Series is 79-7-8,

POSSIBLE FRAGMENTS OF CREATION SERIES. 195°

47, the text of which is given in the block on p. 194. In the character of the clay and the style of writing it closely resembles K. 11,641, which is a fragment of a copy of the Fifth Tablet (see above, pp. 192 ff); while the mention of the gods ™ La-fa-mu in |. 2, An-sar in 1. 3, and [Bl in 1 4 is in favour of its being a fragment of a tablet of the series.!

' Reference may also be made to the fragment R. 982 + 80~ 7-18, 178, of which the first few lines of the obverse are given in transliteration by Delitzsch, Weltschipfungsepos, p. 110f., note 135 for the text, see Cuneiform Texts, part xiii, pl. 31. In the character of its clay and in its style of writing this fragment resembles tablets of the Creation Series; cf. also 1. 2f. of the reverse, 2z@ hi-rib apst tb-n[a. 2. . . J, tb-mi-Su-ma™ Beal...

The fragments of legends, K. 7,067 and K. 8,572 ‘have been catalogued by Bezold as possibly belonging to tablets of the series L-nu-ma e-li$, and their texts are therefore given in Cun, Futs., part xiii, pl. 313 the first line preserved by K. 7,067

probably reads ™ &-a ina [ap]st |, . . « « « 4, followed by the line and” rabuti* im-tal-ku-ma[. . . . . J, while the first line of K, 8,572 reads [. . . « . da a-me-lu Sum-iu wo... . + J, but the grounds are slender for assigning

them to the Creation Series. To this series the minute fragment K. 11,048 (see Cun, Txts. part xiii, pl. 31) is assigned (with a query) by Bezold in the Ca/alogue, vol. v, p. 2,078, presumably from the character of the writing, unless K. 11,048 is a misprint. The fragment K. 12,000¢ (Cun. Txts., part xiii, pl. 31) is also assigned by Bezold to the series (see Catalogue, vol. v, p. 2,078). Its colophon states that it is the First Tablet of a series styled E-n[u-ma . . » . . J, but as the traces of the last four lines of the text do not correspond to the last four lines of the First Tablet of the series Hnuma eli‘, and as the catch-line does not correspond to the first line of the Second Tablet, it is clear that K. 12,000¢ is a fragment of the First Tablet of some other series. K. 10,791 (Cun. Zx/s., part xiii, pl. 31) is another fragment which Bezold suggests may belong to the series Luuma eh, presumably from the occurrence of the verbs 2b-a-n7 in ll. 2 and 3 and ib-ba~nu-u in |. 4. As, however, it belongs to a text which is arranged in columns and divided into sections, it is clear that it does not belong to the Creation Series.

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E. A REFERENCE TO “ THE WATERS THAT WERE ABOVE” AND “THE WATERS THAT WERE BENEATH” THE FIRMAMENT.—The text may here be given of an interesting fragment, S. 2,013, which has been copied by Bezold (cf. Jensen in Schrader’s Keilins. Bibl, vi, p. 307) and by Delitzsch (cf. Handworterbuch, p. xii), but has, I believe, not yet been published. If it is part (as is hardly probable) of the Creation Series, the reference to the upper and the lower Tiamat in |. 10 f. shows that it cannot belong to an earlier tablet than the Fifth; while in general style it appears to resemble the addresses found on the Seventh Tablet, rather

Fragment referring to the Upper Tiamat and the Lower Tiamat (S. 2,013).

than to be in narrative form. It will be seen, however, from the accompanying block that the lines are divided in writing into halves; this is characteristic of several neo-Babylonian copies of tablets of the Creation Series, but does not occur upon any of the Assyrian copies that have yet been identified. The text of the fragment may be transliterated as follows :—

THE UPPER AND THE LOWER TIAMAT. 197

] radii?) . 2.

i er
2. Shi] mu f]
“3. [oe ag me uf...]

4.[2 | fabli u ta-ha[ei...
5. ~ J) >... jee teatime [.]
6. { - | [mahkar bit zikkurrati' 1b-ba-[
7 -] nam-ru Ssal-ba-bu [

8. [. | sa Same) ru-ku-u-ti [ ]
9. [.] sa Hu-bur pal-ka-ti [.... J
10. .) sa ina Ti-amat e-li-ti [
i [.] sa ina Ti-amat Sap-li-ti{ . . . Jj
12. [J >...)] wrti-kis ka-l[a-mu(?) ..]
13. [TL...]#e@)hye. 2. |
For a discussion of the title Habur and of the phrases Ti-amat e-li-ti and Ti-amat Sap-li-ti, see the Introduction.

F. ANSAR AND THE HISTORY OF CREATION.—A frag- ment, which it has been thought may perhaps belong to one of the later tablets of the Creation Series,? is K. 3,445 +R. 396 (cf. Cun. Texts, part xiii, pl. 24f.)3; the smaller fragment K. 14,949 (op. cit, pl. 24) is a duplicate. Lines 1-26 of the obverse contain only traces of the beginnings of lines, among

1 Possibly read [ma]har E-igi-e-nir.

2 Cf. George Smith, Chaldean Account of Genesis, pp. 67 ff, Bezold, Ca/alogue, vol. ii, p. §34, and Delitasch, Weltschipfungsepos, pp- 19, 51 ff, 87f., 109f. The text of the reverse of K. 3,445 was given by S. A. Smith in Adzscellancous Tests, pl. 10.

3 In shape and writing the fragment resembles some of the tablets of the Creation Series. It may be noted that each tenth line of the text is indicated in the margin of the tablet by the figure "'10." Thus, on the Obv., ll. 2, 12, 22, and 32 are so marked, and on the Rev., Il. 7, 16, 25, and 35; on the Rev. sometimes two lines of the text are written in one line of the tablet.

which it may be noted that 1. 11 possibly begins with the name of Marduk. From |. 27 onwards the obverse reads:

(27) ul-tu u-me ul. Be 1 (28) ma-as-rat mu-Si u
tm[mi.....] (29)? ru, pus $a Ti-a{mat....]
(30) Ansar ip-ta[. . -] GD tk-sur-ma ana
[ee=2 » | (32) te-b2 Sa-a-vé tT ae tote Gea] (33) Su-uk-tur
im[. . . | (34) wad-di-ma ra- .
(35) és-kun Rakkada [woe nw SJ] CG ee- bu. sip ee it- 1s ete ete 167) ip-te-e-man[a- .....] (38) na-hi-ré Sa up[. . . . . J) (9) pu-uk n[a- , J (40) nam-ba-[. .]. The occurrence of the : names

of AnSar (1. 30) and possibly of Marduk (1. 11), the reference to "the slaver," or "the breadth," of Tiamat (1. 29) and possibly to her head (1. 35), and the mention of "springs" (1. 36£.), "deeps" (1. 40), and

monsters of the deep (“dolphins?”) in I, 38, would not be inconsistent with the fragment forming part of the Fifth Tablet of the Creation Series.

The reverse of the fragment reads as follows:—(1)[.....]
(2) ha-Sur-ru[2... VQ) Lhe wes]4e-tk-ma[.....]
(4)[-. 1+. me sarf ow... TOC -]
Adad[.....] (6) es-kun ef... .. 17) us-bar dation
[so. es J] (8) ul-te me-lam-me [:
(0) a-ga-mil-su apsit va-sub-[bu . . . . . T' (to) 2 rr
e-ma-si as-Sa[k- . . 2. . . | (11) ina si-ma-ak-hi-su
[ ] (12) tlant* ma-la ba-su-[u . . Al
(13) Dah -mu ue mPa, » . J 4) i-pue-s Su-ma
PaPyf.....] (15) pornerana An-sar[. ewe J
(16) ¢ ™ Six sa[r- . . - . | G7) sa-nu-u ig-eak-ru
[.. -. . . J) G8)"™E . 2... (19) e-nu-ma a-na
} The sign following éa is not wz, so that the reading 7b-éa-n7 is impossible.
® The duplicate K. 14,949 gives a variant reading for this line: Sul. .
8 Omitted by K. 14, vee
“ The traces of the first sign of the name upon K. 14,949 suggest La, ie. ™ Lfla-ha-mu].
ANSHAR AND THE CREATION. 199

[. . . . . J] (20) pil?)-ka ma-ak-tum ki- it. :] (21) wl-tu u-meat-laT .. 1... J (22) metin-meu-w at- la ta-kab-bu[. . . . . | (23) An-Sar pa-a-Su epus(us)-ma t-Rab-bi:a-na™[2... . | (24) e-li-nu ap-si-i Su-bat [. -. 20.) (25) mi-th-vit E-Sar-va $a ab-nu-u a-na-ku : a eee ee bos) Sap-lis as-ra-ta u-dan-ni- eo ee j (27) lu-pu us-ma bita lu su-bat{ . . . ~~ | (28) ae bu- us-Su ma-ha-za-su lu-Sar-Sid-ma:[.. . . . | (29) e-nu-ma ul-tu apsti-be[2. 6 2 © © | (30) as-vu [ash fe AG nu-bat-ta[..... J@GDel . .. . . j bat silt [a ee ae we ow P92): ese us = ¥ eS pee kun- Ess j-Au-nue[. 1 (33) on ave hi bitati ilani* rabati aot ee 4 ni-p ae + Can j Ga[.. - ram abu- -Suan-na-a[. se fe if a-su Leer 7 Cag [ite a ee ee ola hka-ma: elt minima Sa tb-na-a ka-ta-a-ka[. . . . « | (36) man-[nu Aa i-St: eli Rak-ka-vu $a ib-na-a ka- se elie eee (37) man-[nue . . . . . pRate-st: Assur™ Sa taz-ku-ra mu?)yfo. . . 1.] 8) asf 2. 2 1. Jani t-dé da-ri-gam{[2... . J GOL... . . jeuk-ka-ni Ui-bil-luent{ 2... . © J (o)ste . 1 1. mts ma- na-ma Sip-vi-nt Sa-ni (41) asvu[. 2... | na-ah ur- [.. 2...] (42) hdu[2. © ©. (43) tani” suf[. . . 1. 1 (44) Satdu[. . . . . J (45) p-te-e-

FE Aesth ed Ae A

The mention of Lahmu in |. 13 of the reverse may also be cited in favour of the fragment belonging to the Creation Series, while the references to Adad (1. 5) and to the city of ASSur (1. 37) are not necessarily inconsistent with this view. Lines 23 ff., however, can scarcely be reconciled with the end of the Fourth Tablet of the Creation Series. These lines read: “(23) AnSar opened his mouth and spake, and unto

the god[. . . . he addressed the word]: (24) ‘ Above the Deep, the dwelling of{ . . . .], (25) opposite E-Sara which I have created,{ . . . .] (26) I have strengthened the regions in the depth [. . . . Jj (27) I will

build

a house that it may be a dwelling for[. . . . J] (28)In

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the midst thereof will I found his district (lit. city, cf. Tabl. IV, lL 146)and[. . . . }’” In this speech Ansar, and not Marduk, appears as the god of creation, which is scarcely in harmony with the general tenour of the Creation Series. Moreover, in 1. 25 AnSar definitely states that he created E-Sara, whereas in Tablet IV, ll. 144-146, it is related that Marduk, and not An§Sar, created E-Sara. Until more of the text of the Fifth and Sixth Tablets is recovered, it would be rash to assert that the fragment cannot belong to the Creation Series ; meanwhile, in view of the inconsistencies noted, it is preferable to assume that it does not form part of that work, but is a fragment of a closely parallel version of the story in which AnSar plays a more prominent part.

G. THE RIVER OF CREATION.~On p. 128f. a trans- literation and translation are given of an address to a mystical

SEE RE TRE Dr PRG BT rte
ei ME Gt Ew
r¥Q SH af Ht K= Ff
RR RH eb os ATT BT fe Sey
BIE SH StH SAA AEE So ES
KS —S— COUR RAT Ge KEY
Saal wird dob Me EI Sf FY
PAR FS Wt OM we
Fragment of an incantation-tablet containing an address to the River of Creation (82-9-18, 5,311, Obverse),

river of creation, which forms the opening lines of incantations upon the reverse of S. 1,704 and the obverse of 82-9-18, 5,311. As the text of these fragments has not been previously published, the obverse of the one and the reverse of the other are given in the accompanying blocks. It will be noted that Il. 1~8 of 82-9-18, 5,311 correspond to Il. 1-7 of

THE RIVER OF CREATION. 201

S. 1,704. The eighth line of S. 1,704, which concludes the direct address, or invocation, to the river, is omitted by 82-9-18, 5,311, and from this point onward it would seem that the tablets cease to be duplicates. The insertion of the common formula, given in the ninth line of 82-9-18, 5,311, would not by itself prove this, but what remains of the tenth line of 82-9-18, 5,311 does not correspond to the ninth line

ate rte Hee BRT ites
AeA ey Gf meta HK OS
EH eS Se B=
Fragment of an incantation-tablet containing an address to the River of Creation (S. 1,704, Reverse).

of S.1,704. We are justified, therefore, in treating the address to the river as an independent fragment, which has been employed as the introduction to two different incantations.

H. THE SUPPOSED INSTRUCTIONS TO MAN AFTER HIS CREATION.—The tablet K. 3,364 (Cux. Tx¢s., pt. xiii, pl. 29 f) was thought by George Smith to contain the instructions given to the first man and woman after their creation. In

The Chaldean Account of Genesis, p. 80, he says, " The obverse ! of this tablet is a fragment of the address from the deity to the newly created man on his duties to his god" ; and a little later on he adds, " The reverse of the tablet appears, so far as the sense can be ascertained, to be addressed to the woman, the companion of the man, informing her of her duties towards her partner." In his Babylonische Weltschép-Sungsepos, pp. 19f, 54f. 88f, and 111f, Delitzsch also treats the tablet as forming part of the Creation Series. The recovered portion of the Sixth Tablet of the Creation Series, however, and the Neo-Babylonian duplicate of K. 3,364, the text of which is published in vol. ii, pls. lxiv-lxvi (No. 33,851), together disprove the suggested connection of K. 3,364 with the Creation Series. The reasons on which this conclusion is based may be briefly stated as follows :—(1) The recovered portion of the Sixth Tablet indicates that the description of the creation of man there given was very similar to the account furnished by Berossus; and it follows that the greater part of the text must have been in the form of narrative. If Marduk gave man any instructions after his creation, these can have occupied only a small part of the tablet. But both the obverse and reverse of K. 3,364 contain moral precepts, and the same is the case with columns ii and iii of the new duplicate No. 33,851.35 For such a long series of moral instructions there is no room upon the Sixth Tablet of the Creation Series. (2) Col. ii of No. 33,851 refers to certain acts which are good, and to others which are not good,

1 The side of the tablet which George Smith refers to as the obverse is really the reverse; this is rendered certain by the duplicate No. 33,851.
? In my Babylonian Religion and Mythology, p. 821., I also provisionally adopted this view.
3 In col. i of this tablet only the ends of lines are preserved, and in col. iv a part of the colophon.

in the eyes of Samas! This is quite consistent with the character of Samaé as the judge of heaven and earth, but he does not appear in this character in the Creation Series, where he is referred to merely as the sun which Marduk created and set upon his course. (3) In the duplicate, No. 33,851, the text is arranged in columns, two on each side of the tablet. This fact in itself is sufficient to prove that the composition has nothing to do with the series Enuma elis. The text upon tablets of the Creation Series is never arranged in columns, but each line is written across the tablet from edge to edge. This characteristic applies not only to the copies of the Creation Series from Kuyunjik, but also to the Babylonian copies of all periods, and even to the rough "practice - tablets" on which students wrote out extracts from the poem.

The text inscribed upon K. 3,364 and No, 33,851 is, in fact, a long didactic composition containing a number of moral precepts, and has nothing to do with the Creation Series." The composition in itself is of considerable interest, however, for enough of it remains to show that it indicates a high standard of morality.

1 Cf. l. 9, wl ta-a-bi eld #« Sama' [oe ee sy e "Seeand Lirg, fa-a-bi eli ™ Samasi-[. . . . «]. The signs an-up in these passages are clearly to be rendered ™ Samai, and not tlu-tu, "godhead," in the sense in which z/u-u-fi occurs in K. 3,364, Rev., l. 14.

2 It may be noted that the phrase a-h7l kar-s7 (K. 3,364, Rev., 1. 5, and No. 33,851, col. iii, 1. 4), which has been thought by some to be the title of a power of evil termed ''the Calumniator" (cf. Bezold, Catalogue, vol. ii, p. 526), is not a proper name or title, but should be rendered simply as "a slanderer."

Il.

On some traces of the History of Creation in
Refigions and Astrofogicaf Riterature.

THERE is abundant evidence to prove that under the late Assyrian kings, and during the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods, the history of the Creation as told upon the Seven Tablets of the series Zxuma elis' was widely read and studied, and there can be no doubt that it exercised a considerable influence on the religious literature which continued to gather around Marduk's name. In the fragmentary hymns and prayers which have come down to us, however, it is difficult to determine how far the priestly and popular conceptions of Marduk were influenced by the actual story of the Creation as we know it, and to what extent they were moulded by earlier legends and beliefs, and by Marduk's own position as the native god of Babylon. That actual phrases from the Seventh Tablet of the Creation Series were made use of in other similar compositions is sufficiently proved by the fragments published at the end of Appendix I; and in view of this fact we may perhaps hear echoes from the earlier tablets of the series in some of the phrases and attributes applied to Marduk in the contemporary religious texts. It would be impossible within the limits of the present work to attempt an exhaustive treatment of this subject, but, as a striking instance of such allusions to the Creation story, reference may here be made to the fragment K. 3,351, which, I believe, has not hitherto been translated.!

. A rather rough copy of this tablet is included in Craig's Religious Texts, pl. 43. As several signs, including 1. 4, are there omitted, and others are incorrectly copied, the text of the obverse is given in the block on p. 205.

The upper part of the tablet is broken and rubbed, but the greater part of the text is well preserved and clearly written, and may be transliterated as follows :—

if . ef til-lum mar E-al. . . «| mut-tal-lum
2...]&[estsat] Samee) u irsiti(te) m[u)-Sim $t-ma-a-ti

a ee a eee oe ee ae ea er at;
‘aif

1 ERAT FE PSE wT fr Bar Al PEAT ORT BIA
ol HT GES fer FM eo TT MTL
PET KT ES te F BPTI PRE EL
rf St 4H ET Ke PE Ail
earl pe HITE Foe BRT Foe HIE WIC
AT BE ot ore BEA Sr det MEF
BAT oe BK ba ol oh fer BERT WT
RR i oh he BY EMT
oof BY Saf ET TE mi ot RY AS
SW Re ieee oe ee a
: 7 Tee rd ET
Part of a Hymn to Marduk (K. 3,351).

] Oel-xfu]-t ™Tu- te
] Sar-ra-tum rabitum(tum) fi-rat ™ Sag-zu
4[

ee

6. [Je -d[um] ™ Biel rujoa sa su-tu-ru fa-si-su
zo
. . . | kabliu tahiet ina kat abkalli tlani® ™ Marduk

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8. [Sle a-na ta-ha-2i-su Sami(u) t-ru-ub- bu

9. a-na u-ta-az-2zu-mi-su id-dal-la-hu ap-su-u
10. a@- na al - kip hakki - Su tlani®” = i-tur-+u
Il.a-na te-bi-Su ig-2i Sa-’-ir-ru ul ib- st
12. be-lum ra-as-bu $a ina pu-kur ilani®™ rabati”
Sin-na-as-su la ib-ba-su-u

13.72-na bu-ru-mi elliti® Sa-ru-uk ta-lu-uk- su 14. tna E-kur bit tak-na-a-ti Sa-ku-u — par-su u-su 15. 2-na im-~ful-lue t-nam-bu-tu kakke”- Su 16. i-na nab-li-su u-tab-ba-tu Sadini” mar- su-ti 17. $a tam-tim gal-la-ti i-sa-am-bu-’ ru-up-pu-Sa 18. apil E-sar-ra_ zi-kir-§u— kar-rad tlani™ ni-bit-su 19. wl-tu a-sur-vak-ka be-lum ilani® Ssu-ut da-ad-me

20. i-na pa-an ‘*“kaSti-su ta-2zi-ti im-me-du Sa-ma-mi

21. Sa AB-MAH sal-lu-tum fa-mu-u uu Sa-ru
22f .. 2...) Sa] Balh]-su-nu ™ A-nun-na-ki

BEE ce ooh ee lease, Se De | Lgigt
BAA ee pean te Gen yak ie te tek OE a ed
The fragment contains the opening lines of a hymn to
Marduk,! of which the following is a translation :—
1.QOlord[... .],sonof Ea, theexalted[. ...],
2. [Who . . . .] the [hosts] of heaven and earth, who
ordaineth destinies !
' The composition is addressed to Marduk, who is named in 1. 7 and is referred to in the three preceding lines under his titles Tutu, Sagzu, and Bél; moreover, in]. 1 he is termed the ‘son of Ea.” The Reverse of the tablet contains the last five lines of Agur-bani-pal’s common colophon.

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oe

DAMP Y
mae
the . . . . Joffspring,

the . . . . off|spring is Tutu!
], the great queen, the consort of Sagzu!
O lord Bél, thou prince, who art mighty in understanding !

[The . . . . J of war and battle is in the hand of
Marduk, the director of the gods,
At whose battle heaven quaked,

g. At whose wrath the Deep is troubled!

Io.
fl.
12.
13.
14.
15.
16,
17.
18.
19.

20.
2r..
22.
23.
24.

At the point of his weapon the gods turned back !
To his furious attack there was no opponent !
O mighty lord, to whom there is no rival in the assembly
of the great gods!
In the bright firmament of heaven his course is supreme !

In E-kur, the temple of true worship, exalted is his
decree !
With the evil wind his weapons blaze forth,
With his flame steep mountains are destroyed !
He overwhelmeth the expanse of the billowing ocean!
The Son of E-Sara is his name, the Hero of the gods is
his title !
From the depth! is he lord of the gods of human
habitations !
Before his terrible bow the heavens stand fast !
plague and destruction, and tempest,
[.. . . .'. . Jofall the Aunnaki,
[Cas sertad: oh 2) «7)theigignt.
1 Tn this phrase we may probably see an antithesis to “the heavens” in the following line; for other passages in which the word asurrakku occurs, cf. Delitzsch, Handworterbuch, p. 111, and Muss-Arnolt, Concise Dict., p. 121.

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It will be noticed that in Il. 8-11 the hymn describes the quaking of the heavens at Marduk’s battle, the trouble of the Deep at his wrath, and the flight of the gods from the point of his weapon. We have here an unmistakable reference to the battle of Marduk with Tiamat, and the subsequent flight of the gods, her helpers. The reference in 1 12 to Marduk’s supremacy in the assembly of the gods does not necessarily refer to the Seventh Tablet of the Creation Series, but the tmhullu, or “evil wind,” in 1.15, and Marduk’s “ flame” in 1. 16 are clearly reminiscences of the Fourth Tablet, ll. 45 and 96, and 1, 4o; and in “the billowing ocean (¢am-tim)” in 1. 17 we may possibly see a reference to Tiamat. Finally, the mention of Marduk’s bow in |. 20 may be compared with the Fourth Tablet, |. 35, and with the fragment of the Fifth Tablet which describes the translation of the bow to heaven as the Bow-star (see above, p. 82 f.).

Such references to the Creation story are of considerable interest, but they do not add anything to the facts concerning Marduk’s character which may be gathered from the Creation Series itself An additional interest, however, attaches to some astrological’ fragments which I have come across, inas- much as they show that at a late period of Babylonian history the story of the fight between Marduk and Tiamat had received a very definite astrological interpretation. One of the fragments exhibits Tiamat as a star or constellation in the neighbourhood of the ecliptic, and, moreover, furnishes an additional proof of a fact which has long been generally recognized, viz., the identification of the monster-brood of Tiamat with at any rate some of the signs of the Zodiak.

The most important of the astrological fragments above referred to is made up of three pieces, Nos.

55,466, 55,486, and §5,627, which I have rejoined, and its text is published in vol. ii, pls. Ixvii-Ixxii. It measures 5/in. by 3Zin., and is part of a large tablet which was inscribed with two, or possibly three, broad columns of writing on each side. The fragment of the tablet recovered gives considerable portions of the first and last columns of the text, as well as traces of

the second column on the obverse and of the last column but one on the reverse. The colophon, which possibly contained the date at which the tablet was inscribed, has not been preserved, but from the character of the writing and the shape of the tablet it may be concluded that it does not belong to an earlier period than that of the Arsacide ; it may possibly be assigned to as late a date as the first century B.C.

From the first section which has been preserved of col. i it is clear that the text is closely connected with the story of the Creation. This will be apparent from the following transliteration and translation of the portions of Il. 1-7 which have been preserved: (1) [Jun sa kate Su

mul-mul is-si-ma[..... |{ay[ow... ™Kinj-gu ha-mi-vi-Su ina kakki la ga-ba-al i{t|-ta-kis-alm]-m{a] G3) E— . 2... 0.] Téamat tk-mu-u il-ku-u sarru-us-su (4) [.. 2... dup|stmati" sa ™ Kin-gu it-mu-hu pa-tu-us-Su (5)[. . . . . Jen ib-ni-ma bab ap-si-t u-sa-as-bit (6)[.. . . . Jjeweu ana la ma-st-e ip-Sse-e-ti Ti-amat QM)... . . .)wkal-lam ab-bi-e-Su,"()[. . 6 ee J whose hands removed the Spear, and [..... J (2)[. . . . . Kin]gu, her spouse,.with a weapon not of war was cut off, and (3) [2.2 | Tiamat he conquered, he took her sovereignty. (4)[. ... .] the Tablets of Destiny from Kingu he took in his hand. (s)[. . . . . J] he created, and at the Gate of the Deep he stationed. (6)[. . . . .] that the deeds of Tiamat should not be forgotten (7)[. . . . . J] he causeth his

fathers to behold."

In the first line we may probably see a reference to Marduk's drawing forth of the #zlmul/u, or spear, which we know from

' It is possible that mu/-mud is here, not Marduk's actual weapon, but Mul-mul, the Spear-star of Marduk; and the verb 7s-st-ma may have the intransitive meaning, " disappeared." In view of the fact that the following tines refer to episodes in the Creation story, I think the rendering suggested above is preferable.

4

Tablet IV of the Creation Serics,]. 101, he plunged into the belly of Tiamat, after he had filled her with the evil wind. Line 2 may be explained as referring to Marduk's conquest of Kingu after Tiamat's death, without further fighting, though it is possible that it has some connection with the obscure expression in Tablet IV,]. 120. In 1. 3 the text returns to Marduk's defeat of Tiamat ; and with the capture of the Tablets of Destiny from Kingu, referred to in 1. 4, we may compare Tablet IV, 1. 121 f. Line 5 possibly refers to an episode in the Creation which may have been recorded in the missing portion of Tablet V of

the Creation Series. With it we may compare the fixing of a bolt by Marduk and the stationing of a watchman, in order to keep the waters above the firmament in their place (cf. Tablet IV, 11.137 ff.); it is possible that a similar guardian was stationed by Marduk in order to restrain the waters of the Deep. Linc 6f. apparently refer to the instructions given by Marduk to the gods, “his fathers,” in order “that the deeds of Tiamat (ie. her revolt and subsequent conquest by himself) should not be forgotten.”! It is possible that the instructions which Marduk is here represented as giving to the gods refer to their positions in heaven and to the heavenly bodies associated with them. If this interpretation is correct, it follows that the later Babylonians, at any. rate, looked upon the astrological aspect of the Creation story as in accordance with definite instructions given by Marduk himself. While they believed that Marduk actually slew Tiamat and subsequently created the universe as narrated in the tablets of the Creation Series, they held that the association of the principal actors in the story with some of the more important stars and constellations was also Marduk’s work, his object being to ensure that the history of the creation of the world should always be kept in remembrance.

The first section which is preserved of the text, referring

‘ This rendering appears preferable to the possible reading, la ba-Si-e, icc. “that the deeds of Tiamat should be no more.”

as it does to some of the most striking episodes recorded in the Creation Series, appears to be of the nature of an introduction to what follows. The second section reads:

(8)[.. . . . ™Mardule(?) u-kal-la-mu par-si-su-[niu] (9)[. . . . .]-tm E-la-mu-u sa[2... 2. J a-Sak-[ku] (lo) ff... ee | Tt-amat itba-am-ma[.....] ni[fm . . . . . JCI . . Ty-amat ina lib-bi™ Sin in-n[am?)- . . .. . J 2). . . | “Marduk ina lib-bi “Tam-tim[. . 2. . | (13) Red Sa vu-bu-u ™ Marduk ana Sa-kan a-blu-bu . . . . . | (14) t-ma ri-kis st-pit-td u me-lul-ti-su t-kab[. . . . . | (18) e-lis’ a sap-lis he-

mut-tum u-sa-tar-ma\ i-kap-pu-du sur-va-[a-tum] (16) ina u-mu Su-u agit tas-ri-th-tum Sa nu-uk-ku-ri Sup-pal u-kal- Wi 2 2. | (17) ana muh-hi paras e-nu-tum sa la si-ma- a-tum t-Sah-kan pa-ni(?) - [su] (18) tani” ma -ha- st man A RRadi®! emi nise" Su-nu u-Sah-ha-su ul ul-la-a-tum?* (19) a-mat su-us-tum (?) t-dib-bu-bu i-kab-bu-u ma-ag-vi-tum (20) mt-tl-ki la tus-$ir(?) im-tal-lik t-te-ip-iu sur-ra-a-tum (21) tg-ga ag-na ™ Bel u-fal-lak es-ri-e-tum (22) E-la-ma-a ft-e-mu t-Sak-kan-ma t-sap-pan ma-a-tum (23) ana ku-ure Sa-kan a-bu-bu ana S§ul-mu \Z-DIM-MU epus(us) NAM-BUL-BL.

In this section Marduk and Tiamat appear in their ‘astro- logical characters, Marduk probably as Jupiter, and Tiamat as a constellation in the neighbourhood of the ecliptic. The approach of Tiamat and the Moon and of Marduk (ie. Jupiter) and Tiamat would seem from ll. 13 ff. to portend the sending of an abubu, or deluge,’ upon the earth, followed by rebellion and tumult among gods and men. If unchecked, the wrath of Bél (ic. Marduk) would result in the destruction of the temples and in the ruin of the land. To prevent the sending of a deluge and to change the omen to one of prosperity,

1 The sign is MA, not Iz. :

? For wl ul-la-a-tum, as parallel to ma-ag-ri-tum (cf. 1. 19), see
Jensen, Kosmologie, p. 121 f.
2 Or, possibly, a thunderbolt.

the text enjoins the performance of certain NAM-BUL-BI
prayers.!
The third and last section of the first column reads: (24) ina “* Diazu Sa ni-pi-su Sa sa-kap ° nakiri ina Babili™ ts pu us (2 5) ina lib-bi sa *™ Mustabarrii-miitanu u™ Sin ble” ni-sir-tum sa” Elamtu*! (26) NUM-LU*”? “ SAG-ME-GAR

Samas béle” ni-sir-tum $a” Akkadi®™ (27) 80[. . }- ioe idati ("| sa nu-uk-ku-vi pali Babili®' ?-u-kal- lia (28) NAM-BUL-BI ina ald i-te- pu-us KIS 27-sir-tum sa ™ Sin (29) TE Su-ci a Mul-mul TE ga Elamtu *! (30) Ki ni-sir-tum

sa ™ Samas TL U-KU-MAL ™[2... . (31) KI m-
sir-tum $a ™ Mustabarrit-mitanu [6 6... | (32) KI
ni-sir-tum Sa ™ SAG-ME-GAR **"T , 6... | (33) tna
ore" Tap - pat -tuim ina kar-nu-te di-[. . 1... J
G4) [. . . 2. }ba-ba-an paras e-nu-tum[2... . J
G5)[. . . . . J muk-fe Sip(?)-tum[. . }
This section is concerned with the positions of the planets Mustabarrit-miitanu (Mercury) and SAG-ME-GAR (Jupiter) and of the moon and sun, and of the stars SU-GI and Mulmul; and it would seem that a change in the dynasty ruling at Babylon was portended by the relative positions of Mercury and Jupiter. To that extent this section resembles the one that precedes it, but there is little apparent connection between this portion of the text and the Creation Series. It is possible, however, that this section was continued in col. ii, and that the missing portion had some connection with the legend.!

1 This may be the title of a special class of incantations (cf. my Magic and Sorcery, p- 129), or the expression may possibly be employed, as in some other passages, to indicate generally a class of incantations, or ceremonies, intended to avert the effects of an evil omen (cf. Thompson, Reports of Magicians and Astrologers,

xivii f.).

Ms Cf. Epping and Strassmaier, Z.A., vii, p. 221 f.

3 Possibly afar.

4 Of col. ii only traces of the beginnings of a few lines are preserved from the lower half of the. column ; they read: (1) e-

S TGel ne or SE a te ed

The greater part of the reverse of the fragment is inscribed with the upper half of the Jast column, which in some respects is the most interesting portion of the text. The lines that have been preserved read as follows: (1) ena “*" Tap-pat-tum

Sa nt-pi-su an-nu-tul . - . | (2) ana muh-hi™ Marduk alike(fu) ina kak-kar a soe ee. 1G) ue ™ Kin-gu Su-u :ab-bt : 7" AB: ab-[. - | (4) Te Bir! 7i-amat pu-uh-ri ana sal-tum ki-i[.. ea (5) epus(us) Ti-amat u ™ Kin-gt ana ts-ten ttiiri*®’-ma yan . | ©) a-ha-mes

in-nam-mar-ru- as-Su an-nt-t TE Enc - sa KI TE Akrabu PAD[. . . . .] (7) Bxsi-da: TE Enzu : ** Uh-2u Sum-Su par-st $a Ti-amat (8) kul-lu gi-tz-2a-ni-lum u pu-us- Sa-ni-tum Sa it-ti lib-bi YE” E(u) (9) ana muh-hi “* Engu u TE MULU-BAD? zna 26-62 TE BIR KA-BI 72-antat u™ Kin-gt (10) Su-nu : gi-iz-sa-ni-tu : ki-is-sa-ni-tu Sum-su ana mug-Qt TE Bir &t-dz-2u (11) pu-us-Sa-ni-tum pu-u-za-ni-tum Sum-Su ana mup-pi TE KA fa- bi (12) TE KA : TE MULU-BAD T7-amat tu-ra-am-tum Sum-su Sani pa-nu-su zikru u sinnistu su-u (13) tna lib-bi ki-t t-kat Sa VE Akrabu it-ti Nin-lil u ™ Nin- hi-gal (14) basi(u) ina muh-hi par-sa $a Ti-amat as-ba’ Gud u Akrabu is-ten §u-u (15) GIR : su-ka-ki-pu : GIR lu-u: UT... pi as-su an-ni-t ina?" Tap-pat-tum (16) 1 a-sak-ku TE Enzu ina KY TE MULU-BAD tna agi tas-ré-ift-tum illiku(ku) (7){ . . . . .)}da TE UYTU-KA-GAB-A iva Lb-bi te

4 ™C. (5). alu[. od (6) 9a) a 4g
Ce LOGS ii ee
{7 ae 4 (10) ud (ae i “Similarly only
traces remain of ‘the first column prserves upon the reverse of
the tablet, which read: (1) [. «) (2) “ Na-na-[a
1(3) Sa bu-laf... T (4) A hi-na- ale i
Gs, beginning a new section) ia “ard | (6) hai
1G) alle
“Le. Caper. The sign was read by Strasenaior and Epping as Sau, Sahu (see Astron. aus Bab., App., p. 7), but Jensen has shown that it is not Sau, but the sign Br. No. 2,024 (see Kosmologie, p- 313), which pethaps has the value Bir. As the tenth sign of the Zodiac it should possibly be read as Ladd.

2 Explained as pa-gar asakkd (Ip-pA) in VR., pl. 46, No. 1,
Obvy., lL. 28.

BIR KI ni-sir-tum sa” Blamtu[™] (8), . 2... | su-nu
u-tiv-ru-nim-ma ana sal-tum tz-st-su-u ™ Samas ina lib-bi
[..... JQ@9)[— ... . . J Sa * SAG-ME-GAR
ni-me-du TE KAK-SI-DI « TE PAN ina pa-ni "Ts.]
(20) [. . . . .) ta-fa-at ki-ma tz-ai-aurit..... |
(21)[..... Juibat.....]@2)C..---]
™ Samas [bellu ™ Nin-ib sum-su ana... [- 1... J
(23)[. 2... . jbaese TAB i-sak-ki-pu IGl MAR
™Nin-i[6 .. . . . 7] @a[... . - | hak-hu

Su-u kak ku a-bu-bu ™ Marduk ina sumi- su ka - bi)
(25)[. . . . . PIAN! a-bu-bu hak-ka-Su rabaa) as-su
Sa™ Nin-ib a-st aS-Su an-nt-tif..... TZ) se sachs]
t-kab-bu-u Ki SIR NAM LUL Sa timu XVITE"" ina KI SIG
[..-.. J@7 0... 1.) ™ Bel kar-va-du sa
ina ag-gu lib-bi-su a-sak-ku [..... Wii [soca 72 Se
t-si-fu tu-ku-un-lum ™ Nin[.....) (29) [.----]-tumn
ina idi-su [2]-leK-\lu(?) B-kur[oo... I GO) erga s }
ma-su[. vs. Jan-nakif..... Vb awa jer
WED ne a ce eR ee ge eee ee ie
Gat... --. 1G3)_]

It will be noticed that this portion of the text is in the main explanatory. Unlike col. i, these lines of the text do not run on in the form of connected sentences, but are broken up into a number of equations and explanations of terms and titles ; thus, some terms are explained by a play upon words (cf. ll. 3 and 10f.), while in other places the reason is given for certain titles (cf. Il. 6 and 7) or additional names (cf. lL. 12). With regard to the connection of passages in this column with the Creation Series, it may be noted that Kingu, in addition to Marduk and Tiamat, is introduced. He is here associated in an astrological sense with Tiamat, and their alliance in opposition to Marduk is clearly referred to in ll. 4-6. Moreover, the fact that Caper and Scorpio are mentioned in close connection with this passage shows that

! Either the Bow-star, or, possibly, [17-3]AN, ie. SY haste,
Marduk’s bow.

they here occur, not only in their astronomical sense as constellations of the Zodiac, but’ also in their mythical character as monsters in the host of Tiamat. The reference to Marduk’s “mighty weapon” in |. 24f. is also noteworthy. After the sheets of vol. ii had been printed off I came across two other fragments of somewhat similar astrological texts, which furnish additional illustrations of the manner in which the legends of the Creation were connected by the later Babylonians with astrological phenomena. The smaller of these fragments, No. 40,959, the text of which is given in

OBVERSE,

REVERSE,

Fragment of an astrological explanatory text (No. 40,959).

the accompanying block, preserves a few traces of signs from the beginning of the obverse and from the end of the reverse of the tablet. A few complete words occur in I. 2 of the reverse, which reads [. . . . . jedi: Mk-mi Ti-amat napista-su Je. . . 2 . 453 1 112 of the Seventh Tablet of the Creation Series reads /ik-me (var. li-ik-m2) Ti-amat nt-siv-ta-$u (var. na-pis-ta-su) li-st-ik u lik-ri (see above, p. 108 f.), and it is clear that this line is here quoted upon the fragment. Both the obverse and reverse of No. 40,959 resemble the last column of No. 55,466, etc, in being of an explanatory

nature, and it is probable that the quotation from the Seventh Tablet is here introduced in an astrological context.

The larger of the two fragments is No. 32,574, and the text of its obverse is published in the accompanying block. This text also is explanatory, and of an astrological character, and, like No. 40,959, it has in some respects a close connection with the Creation Series. Thus 1. 2 reads [é ALI]M-NUN-NA: nu-ur Sa ™ Anu ™ Bel u *[E-a:] a[sar]v : [. . 43 now ™ Asaru-alim-nun-na occurs as one of the titles of Marduk in 1. § of the Seventh Tablet of the

VERE nh oS C4 GE

Peake Ee SEL ET rE AST TPT AEE
ETE Oo PETE SPL oS woh 2
eRe A whe SRT FE RK
rhb Ee mt LE RR LY oP SRE
wf ET F Poh re GWT CE rf
Fragment of an astrological explanatory text (No. 32,574, Obverse).

Creation Series, and with the explanation of the title here given as “the Light of Anu, Bél, and Ea,” we may compare the explanation in 1. 6 of the Seventh Tablet, which reads mus-te-Sir te-rit ™ A-nim ™ Bel [u * E-al, “who directeth the decrees of Anu, Bdl, [and Ea].” Moreover, |. 3 of the fragment reads[. . . . . AJLIM-NUN-NA! ha-ru-ba nu-ur a-bi

‘ At the beginning of the line there is hardly room for the restoration [Asaru-A]LIM-NUN-NA; it is probable that the line read [" A]tImM-NUN-NA, which may be regarded as a shorter form of the same title.

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a-li-di-iu[.. . J]; now 1.5 of the Seventh Tablet reads ™ A sariu- alin nun-na ka-vru-bu nu-ur[.

and the end of the line may probably be restored eras the fragment as nu-ur [a-bi a-l-di-su) Line g of the fragment treads tm-bi Sumu-ka a-bi lant” NU-NAM-NIR[. 2... ale this also possibly refers to Marduk, and may be compared with the Seventh Tablet, 1. 116 and Il. 118 ff.

TT ALL HE re a GE < rE L
oo Ibe < SeF EE EF oF Kt
AeP ag Ach Wis ep baa
Fragment of an astrological explanatory text (No. 32,574, Reverse and Edge).

The text of the reverse of No. 32,574 (see the accompanying block) is also explanatory, and reads: (1) [(2) SIGISSE : ta-a-b¢: UR: zab-lum:[. 2. 2 . | (3) mu- su-u Sa sar Nippuri™ : sul-mu[. . » .) () Gi8-Srp KL-IN-GL-RA : fu-la me[.....] (5) K KI-IN-GI : Nippuru*’ :

1 See above, p. 92 f.

IR: Sa-la-la[.. 2.] 6)“ Zu-u im-has kap-pa-su ws-bir : Sip[... . . J () sa ana beli-su kar-nu sab-ru u mu-sa-kil-su[. . . . .] (8) ™ Kin-gu uu" Nisannu ga ™ Anu eM Bl gma Jl oe a ee ey er Le = KU - MALS ™ Dumu-si:™*Kin-g[u . 2. 2. . . JGo[.....] “ Al-ma-uu UD-DU AG: [. . . . « J (it) [#2] -¢g-meu Sak-na-at:; E-kur: EL... . . }. In ll 8f. Kingu is

introduced, but there is no other evidence of a connection between the Creation Series and this portion of the text; in fact, 1. 6, beginning, “Zi smote and broke his wing,” evidently gives a quotation from a legend of the Storm-god Zi, which has nothing to do with: the Creation Series. Indirectly, however, this line proves that other Babylonian legends were, like those of the Creation, connected by the later Babylonians with certain of the heavenly bodies. The four lines inscribed upon the edge of the tablet give a portion of the colophon, from the last line of which we learn that the tablet belonged to a series, the title of which reads[..... “| Marduk u ™ Sar-pa-ni-tum BE-SI;! and it is possible that the other astrological fragments above described (Nos. 55,466, etc., and 40,959) are parts of tablets belonging to the same series. The occurrence of Marduk’s name in the title is in accordance with the suggested connection between these fragments and the Creation Series.

* The last two signs are not very carefully written, but they are distinctly BE-Sr and not ES-BAR (i.e. purussz). With this title we may compare that which occurs at the beginning or upon the edge of many of the late Babylonian astronomical tablets, viz., 7z@ a-mat tt Bel u ™ Belti-ia purussu, “ At the word of the Lord and of my Lady, a decision!” ; cf., e.g., Epping, Astronomisches aus Babylon, p- 153. The Sé@ and Bélti-1a are probably Marduk and Sarpanitum.

IV.

Supposed Asoprian feqends of the Temptation
and the Tomer of Babel.

In vol. ii, pl. Ixxiiif. the text is given of a fragment of a legend (K. 3,657), which was thought at one time by George Smith and others! to contain an Assyrian version of the story of the Tower of Babel (cf. Gen. xi, 1 ff). The text is very broken, but from what remains of col. i it would appear to be part of a legend concerning a god, or possibly a king, who plotted evil in his heart and conceived a hatred against the father of all the gods. In col. i, Il. 5 ff. the passage occurs on which the supposed parallel with the story of the Tower of Babel was based, for these lines were believed to refer to the building of a tower at Babylon, and to describe how the tower erected by the builders in the day was destroyed in the night by a god, who confounded their speech and confused their counsel. There is, however, no mention of a tower or building of any sort, and Babylon is referred to as suffering through the evil designs of the god or king, described in Il. 2-4. Moreover, the lines supposed to recount the destruction of the tower by night really describe how the complaints of the oppressed people prevented the king, or possibly an avenger of the people, from getting any sleep at night upon his couch. The tablet is too broken to allow of a completely satisfactory explanation of the nature of the legend, but the rendering

1’See Chaldean Account of Genesis, pp. 160 ff., German ed. (edited by Delitzsch), p. 122 f.; cf. also Boscawen, 7'S.2.A,, v, pp. 3041, and Records of the Past, vol. vii, pp. 129 ff.

of Il. 1-14 given below! will suffice to show that the suggested connection between this legend and the story of the Tower of Babel was not justified.

As with the story of the Tower of Babel, so also has it been claimed that an Assyrian legend has been found which presents a close parallel to the story of the temptation of Eve in the garden of Eden, narrated in Gen. iii. That the description of paradise in Gen. ii shows traces of Babylonian influence is certain,? and it is not impossible that a Babylonian legend may at some future time be discovered which bears

1 The first fourteen lines of col. i may be rendered as follows :— (») [4 «+ sue) abD. JC « +} ui-Su Lib-Ja-Su a-le-1m-na (3) [ee e Ja-b7 ha- la ‘tani? teatmru (4) [2 0 eee tYi-Su lib- bak Pe te-im-na(5)[... 6. Babilu® | sa-mi-id a-na tl-ki-im (6) [si-th-ru u rja-bu-u u-ba-al-lu dul-la(7)[oe ee Bab\ilu® sa-mi-id a-na tl-hi-im (8) [st-th-ru] u ra-bu-u u-ba-al-lu dul-la (g)[. . . « . -t|m-ma-as-st-na ha-la u-mi t-Su-us (10) [i]-na ta-az-2t-im-ti-Si-na t-na ma-at-lt (11) w-ul u-kat-ta S1-tt-ta (12) [t-nja ug-ga-ti-su-ma_ te-me-ga-am ie kes -ah (13) [a-na] Su-ba-al-ku-ut pa-li-e ine 2-hu-un

4) [u5(?)- fjan-ni te-ma ut-tak-ki-ra mi- mace un. : i) [ke Rae j their [. pe EE os] aS heart plotted evil. (3) . . . . . J the ‘father of ‘the gods he hated; (4)[. . . - .] his heart plotted evil. (Cy eee ere Babylon] was yoked to forced labour; (6) [small and] great rendered(?) service. (7)[- . . . - Babjylon was yoked to forced labour ; (8) [small] and great rendered(?) service. (9) [Through] their [. . . .], all day was he afflicted; (10) through their lamentation, upon (his) couch (11) he obtained no sleep. (12) [In] the anger of his heart he put an end to (?) GUTH che (13) [to] overthrow the kingdom he set his face. (14) [He chan]ged (their) understanding, their counsel was altered ae) SE -’ Too little is preserved of cols. ii and iii to allow oft a connected translation, but it may here be noted that col. ii contains references to the gods “ LUGAL-DUL (or DU)-AZAG-GA (l. 1) and * En-ui (1. 2), and to the goddess “* Dam-hi-na (1. 8), and col. ili to the god “ Nu-Nam-nir (I. 5). ? For a further discussion of this subject, sce the Introduction.

a close resemblance to the story of the temptation of Eve by the serpent! The tablet which has been supposed to contain an Assyrian version of the story? is K. 3,473 + 79-7-8, 296 + R. 615, which is one of the principal copies of the Third Tablet of the Creation Series. The closing lines of the Third Tablet recount how the gods gathered to a feast at AnSar’s bidding before they decreed the fate for Marduk, their avenger*; the passage which recounts how the gods ate bread (1. 134) was believed to contain a reference to man’s eating the fruit of the trée of knowledge, and Marduk was supposed to be described in 1. 138, not as the avenger of the gods, but as the “ Redeemer” of mankind. This suggestion was never widely adopted and has long been given up, but it had meanwhile found its way into some popular works ; and, as enquiries are still sometimes made for the Assyrian version of the story of the Temptation, it is perhaps not superfluous to state definitely the fact of its non-existence.

1 The cylinder seal, Brit. Mus., No. 89,326, has been thought to furnish evidence of the existence of such a legend, as it represents a male and a female figure seated near a sacred tree, and behind the female figure is a serpent. George Smith published a woodcut of the scene in Zhe Chaldean Account of Genesis, p. gt 3 for a photographic reproduction of the impression of the seal, see my Bab. Rel. and Myth, p. 113.

? The suggestion was first made in the Bab. and Or. Rec., iv
(1890), pp. 251 ff.
3 See above, p. 56f., Il. 129-138.

V.

@ “Mraper of the Raising of the Hand”
fo Ishtar.

In the following pages a transliteration and a translation are given of a remarkable “ Prayer of the Raising of the Hand” to [Star, No. 26,187, the text of which is published in vol, ii, pls. Ixxvff An explanation is perhaps neccessary of the reasons which have led to the publication of this tablet in a book dealing with legends of Creation and with texts con- nected therewith. In a previous work, entitled “ Babylonian Magic and Sorcery,” I had collected all the texts belonging to the series of “ Prayers of the Raising of the Hand” which were known to me at the time ; when later on I came across the text of No. 26,187 it followed that it must necessarily be published by itself, apart from other tablets of its class, It would, of course, have been possible to delay its publication until it could be included in a work dealing with a number of miscellaneous religious compositions, but, in view of the Onv.

1, Siptu u-sal-li-ki be-lit be-li-e-ti i-lat t-la-a-tt

2. ™ Tstar Sar-ra-ti kul-lat da-ad-me mus-te-§i-rat te-nt-Se-e-tt

3. “Ir-ni-nt! mut-tal-la-a-ti va - bit © [gigi

4. gas-ra-a-ti ma-al-ka-a-ti su-mu-ki si-ru

5. at-ti-ma na-an-na-rat Sante) u trsitim(tim) ma-rat
& Sin ka ~ vit - te

1 IStar, to whom the prayer is offered (cf. 1. 106), is in this linc and in l. 105 addressed by the title Imini; in]. 12 she is addressed as Gutira. It is well known that in course of time IStar was identified by the Babylonians and Assyrians with other goddesses,

interesting nature of its contents, it has seemed preferable to make it available without further delay for students of Babylonian religion, by including it as an appendix to the present work. It will be seen that the text, both from the beauty of its language and from its perfect state of preserva- tion, is one of the finest Babylonian religious compositions that has yet been recovered. The tablet measures 6Zin. by 2%in., and

is of the long narrow shape which is one of the characteristics of the larger tablets of the series to which it belongs. From the colophon (cf. Rev, ll. 111 ff) we gather that it was copied from an original at Borsippa by a certain Nergal-balatsu-ikbi, who deposited it as a votive offering in E-sagila, the temple of Marduk at Babylon, whence it was probably removed before the destruction of the temple. The text is addressed to IStar in her character as the goddess of battle, and she is here identified with Irnini and with Gutira (see below, note). Lines 1-41 contain addresses to the goddess, descriptive of her power and splendour, and at 1, 42 the suppliant begins to make his own personal petitions, describing his state of affliction and praying for deliverance. A rubric occurs at the end of the text (cf. ll. 107 ff), giving directions for the performance of certain ceremonies and for the due recital of the prayer.

1. I pray unto thee, lady of ladies, goddess of goddesses !

2. O Ishtar, queen of all peoples, directress of mankind !

3. O Irnini} thou art raised on high, mistress of the Spirits
of heaven ;
4. Thou art mighty, thou hast sovereign power, exalted is
-thy name !
5. Thou art the light of heaven and earth, O valiant daughter
of the Moon-god.
e.g., Ninni, Nana, Anunitum, and Bélit; and when so identified she absorbed their names, titles, and attributes. In these passages we have two additional instances of her identification with other deities.

224 APPENDIX V.

Osy.
6. mut-tab-bi-la-at kakk@” Sa-ki-na-at tu - ku - un - ta
7. ha-mi-mat gi-mir par-si a-pi-rat a-gi-e be-lu-ti
8.. belt?! su-pu-ui nar-bu-ki eli ka-la tlani™ si-ru
9. mul-ta-nu-ka-a-ti mus-lam-hi-sa-at ale? mit-gu-ri-tt

10, mut - ta - ad - di - na - at it- ba ~ ru? il. it- dur-ti be-lit tu-sa-vi mut-tak-ki-pat® eristi-ia

12. “Gu-tir-a* Sa tu-ku-un-ta fal-pat la-bi-sat har-ba-sa

13. gam-ra-a-ti Sib-ta u purussé lik-ti irsitim(time) u sa-ma-mi>

14. suk-ku es-ri-e-ti ni-me-da u parakke”™ u-tuk-ku ka-a-si

15. e-ki-a-am la sumu-ki e-ki-a-am la par - su - ki

16. e-kt-a-am la us-su-ra usurdti*-ki e-ki-a-am la innadi*™
parakhé” - ki
17, e-ki-a-am la va-ba-a-ti e-ki-a-am la si-va-a- ti

18.“ A-num ™ Bel u * E-a ul-lu-u-ki ina ilani® u-sar-bu-u
be-lu-ut-ki
1 As the determinative AN is employed before the ideogram, it is possible that here and in Il. 29 and 104 it should be rendered as the proper name, or title, Bes (cf. the preceding note). Elsewhere in the prayer, however, the word takes in addition the 1 &. pron. suffix (cf. ll. 43, 56, 59, 72, 73, 79, 93, and 94); it seems more probable, therefore, that the ideogram is employed for the sub- stantive dé/tu, “lady.”

? This line probably continues the class of attributes ascribed to the goddess in the preceding line, and does not form a contrast to it; the meaning “strength” rather than “ friendship” is

on

10.
Il.
12,

13.

14.

15.

‘16.

17.
18,
Ruler of weapons, arbitress of the battle !

Framer of all decrees, wearer of the crown of dominion !

O lady,! majestic is thy rank, over all the gods is it
exalted ! ‘
Thou art the cause of lamentation, thou sowest hostility
among brethren who are at peace ;
Thou art the bestower of strength !?

Thou art strong, O lady of victory, thou canst violently
attain’ my desire!
O Gutira,t who art girt with battle, who art clothed with
terror,
Thou wieldest the sceptre and the decision, the control of
earth and heaven !°
Holy chambers, shrines, divine dwellings, and temples

worship thee !
Where is thy name not (heard)? Where is thy decree
not (obeyed) ?
Where are thine images not made? Where are thy
temples not founded ?
Where art thou not great? Where art thou not exalted ?

Anu, Bél, and Ea have raised thee on high, among the
gods have they made great thy dominion,
therefore to be assigned to i#-a-ru. In support of this view, cf. the attributes in the following lines, and the occurrence of 2/-bur-f in 1, 11, where any other meaning but ‘Thou art strong” is out of the question. _ * It is clear that in this passage we must assign some such active meaning to the Ifteal of nakapu. : See above, p. 222 f., n. t. * The second half of the line is in apposition to the phrase Sibfa u purussa, ‘‘the sceptre” representing the control of earth and ‘the decision” that of heaven.

15

Oxy,
19. u-sa-as-ku-ki ina nap-har ™ Igigi u-sa-ti-ru man-za-as-ki
20. a-na hi-is-sat Su-me-ki Sami(u) u trsitind tim) t-ru-ub-bu) 21. dani* i-ru-bu i-nar-rvu-tu A - nun -na-ki
22. Sumu-kt ra-as-bu is-tam-ma-ra te - ni - Se-~e- ti 23.at-tt- ma va-ba-a-ti u gsi-ra-a-t 24. nap-har sal-mat kak-Rka-di* nam-mas-su-u te-nt-Se-e-td t-dal-la-lu kur-di-ki 25. at-in ba-hu-la-a-ti ina kit-ti u mi-Sa-ri ta-din-ni at-ti 26. tap-pal-la-si hab-lu u sak-Su® tus-te-es-Se-vi ud-da-kam 27. a-4u-lap-ki be-lit Samé&e) u irsitim(tim) ri-e-a-at nise* a-pa-a-ti 28. a-hu-lap-ki be-lit E-an-na* kud-du-su su-tum-mu el-lu 29. a-hu-lap-ki™ belti® ul a-ni-ha stpa”"-ki la-si-ma bir-ka-a-kt 30. a-hu-lap-hi be-lit ta-ha-zi ka-li-su-nu tanm- fia- ri 31. su-pu-u-tum la-ab-bat “Teigi mu-kan-ni-sat ilani” Sab-su-ti

32. lt-’-a-at ka-li-su-nu ma-al-ku sa-bi-ta-at sir-vit Sarrani*™

33. pi-ta-a-at pu-su-um-me® sa ka-li-Si-na arditi #

‘ The verb radu is here used of the “ quaking” of the heaven and earth (see above, p. 206 f., 1. 8), and in the following line of the “trembling” of the gods; for its use in the former sense in the astrological reports, cf. Thompson, Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers, vol. ti, p. 129.

? Literally ‘the black-headed,” i.e. mankind.

19,
20.
21.
22.

23.
24.
25.
26,
27.
28,
29.
30.
31.
32.

33.

They have exalted thee among all the Spirits of heaven,
they have made thy rank pre-eminent.
At the thought of thy name the heaven and the earth
quake,
The gods tremble, and the Spirits of the earth falter.

Mankind payeth homage unto thy mighty name,

For thou art great, and thou art exalted.

AJ] mankind? the whole human race, boweth down before
thy power,
Thou judgest the cause of men with justice and
righteousness ;
Thou lookest with mercy on the violent man, and thou
settest right the unruly * every morning,
How long wilt thou tarry, O lady of heaven and earth,

’ shepherdess of those that dwell in human habitations ?

How long wilt thou tarry, O lady of the holy E-anna,!
the pure Storehouse? ;
How long wilt thou tarry, O lady,’ whose feet are
unwearied, whose knees have not lost their vigour ?
How long wilt thou tarry, O lady of all fights and of the
battle ?
O thou glorious one, that ragest among the Spirits of
heaven, that subduest angry gods,
That hast power over all princes, that controllest the
sceptre of kings,
That openest the bonds ® of all handmaids,

* The word sak-Su is practically synonymous with 4ad-/u, and conveys the meaning of ‘destruction ” or “violence,” rather than “ wrong.”
4
6
6
Le., the temple of [Star in the city of Erech.
See above, p. 224, n. 1.
The rendering of the word pusummu is conjectural.
228

APPENDIX V.

Osy.

34.
35.
36.
37.
38.
39.
40.
4l.
42.
43.
44.
45.
46.
47.
48.
49.

na-an-se-a-at na-an-di-a-at fa-vit-ti “ [star ra-bu-u
kuv-adi-kt
na-mir-tum di-par Same) u irsitim(tim) Ssa-ru-ur
kal da-ad-me
ta@-3at-it kab-lu la ma-far a-li-lat tam-ha-ri

a-ku-ku-u-tum' sa ana ai-bi nap-hat sa-ki-na-at
Sul-lu-ug-ti ik-du-ti :
mu-um-mil-tum “Is-tar mu-pah-hi-rat pu-uh-ri

t-lat stkriiti®” ™I§-tar sinnisati® sa la t-lam-ma-du
mi-lik-$u ma-am-man
a-Sar tap-pal-la-si i-bal-lut °”" mitu i-te-ib-bi mar-su

is - Si- ir la a- sa - ru a-mi-ru pa-ni-ki

ana-ku al-si-ki an-hu Su-nu-hu Sum-ru-su arad-ki a-mur-in-ni-ma ™ bélti-ia li-ki-e un- ni- ni- ta ki-nis nap-li-sin-ni-ma_ §i-mi-e tas - li - ti a-hu-lap-ia ki-bi-ma ka-bit-ta-ki lip- pa- as- ra a-hu-lap sumri-ia na-as-si sa ma-lu-u e-Sa-a-ti u dal-ha-a-tt a-hu-lap lib-bi-ia Sum-vu-su Sa ma-lu-u dim-ti u ta-ni-hi

a-hu-lap te-ri-ti-ia na-as-sa-a-ti e-Sa-a-ti u dal-ha-a-ti

a-hu-lap biti-ia $su-ud-lu-bu sa u-na-as-sa-su nissati®

1

For the meaning of the word akukiutum, cf. UR, pl. 39,

K. 2,057, Obv., col. ii, 1. 5, where a-ku-ku-/_um] and a-sam-Su-tum

A PRAYER TO ISHTAR. 229

34.

35-
36.
37.
38.
39.
40.

EN

42.
43.
44.
45.
46.
47.
48.

49.

That art raised on high, that art firmly established,—
O valiant Star, great is thy might!
Bright torch of heaven and earth, light of all dwellings,

Terrible in the fight, one who cannot be opposed, strong

in the battle!
O whirlwind,! that roarest against the foe and cuttest off
the mighty !
O furious Ishtar, summoner of armies !

O goddess of men, O goddess of women, thou whose
counsel none may learn !
Where thou lookest in pity, the dead man lives again, the
sick is healed ;
. The afflicted is saved from his affliction, when he beholdeth

thy face!

I, thy servant, sorrowful, sighing, and in distress cry unto
thee.
Look upon me, O my lady, and accept my supplication,

Truly pity me, and hearken unto my prayer !

Cry unto me “It is enough!” and let thy spirit be
appeased !
How long shall my body lament, which is full of restless-
ness and confusion ?
How long shall my heart be afflicted, which is full of
sorrow and sighing ?
How long shail my omens be grievous in restlessness and
confusion ?
How long shall my house be troubled, which mourneth
bitterly ?
occur as equivalents of two ideograms which form a section by themselves ; see also Delitzsch, Handwiriterbuch, p. $3.

230

APPENDIX V.

Orv.

50.
SI.
52.
53.
54.
55.
56.

a-hu-lap kab-ta-ti-ia $a us-ta-bar-ru-u dim-ti u_ ta-ni-hi ™ Ty-ni-ni [.. |}-¢-tum la-ab-bu na-ad-ru
lib-ba-ki li-nu-ha

rvi-t-mu Sab-ba-su-u_ka-bit-ta-ki lip- pa- as$- ra

damkati¥®? ima" -ki lib-Ssa-a e - i - ta

ina bu-nt-ki nam-ru-ti ki-nis’ nap-li-sin-ni ta-a-st

uk-ki-$i u-pi-sa limnéti® sa sumri-va ntiru-ki nam-ru
lu-mur
a-di ma-ti ™ belti-ia belé™ da-ba-bi-ia ni-kil-mu-u-in-ni-ma

Rev.

57.
58.
59.
60.
61.
62.
63.

64.

65.

ina sur-ra-a-ti u la ki-na-a-tt t-kap-pu-du-ni lim-ni-e-tt vi-du-u-a ha-du-u-a is-tam-ma-ru eli-ia a-di ma-ti
™ belti-ta lil-lu*® a-ku-u — t-ba--an-ni tb-na-an-ni muk-ku® ay-ku-um-ma ana-ku— am-mir-ki*

on -Su-ti id-ni-nu-ma ana-ku e-nt-is
a-Sab-bu-’ ki-ma a-gi-t sa up-pa-ku Saru lim-na
t-Sa-’ it-ta-nap-vas lib-bi hi-mais-sur Sa-ma-mi

a-dam-mu-uin ki-ma su-um-ma-tum mu-St uu ur- ra
na - an - gu -la- ku ~ ma> a-bak-ki sar - bis
* The scribe has erased the first character of the word and has
not rewritten it.
The meaning assigned to Z//x in the translation is conjectural ;

among other passages in which the word occurs, cf. especially IV R, pl. 27, No. 4, 1. 57, and its context; see also Delitzsch, Handwirterbuch, p. 377, and Muss-Arnolt, Concise Dictionary, p. 481.

* Some such general meaning is probably to be assigned to

50.
51.
52.
53.
34.
55.
56.
57.
58.
59.
60,
6I.
62.
63.

64.
63.
How long shall my spirit (be troubled), which aboundeth
in sorrow and sighing ?
O[. . . J! Irnini, fierce lioness, may thy heart have
rest !
Is anger mercy? Then let thy spirit be appeased !

May thine eyes rest with favour upon me;

With thy glorious regard truly in mercy look upon me!

Put an end to the evil bewitchments of my body ; let me
behold thy clear light !
How long, O my lady, shall mine enemies persecute me?

How long shall they devise evil in rebellion and
wickedness,
And in my pursuits and my pleasures shall they rage
against me?
How long, O my lady, shall the ravenous demon?
pursue me?
They have caused me continuous affliction,' but I have
praised * thee.
The weak have become strong, but [am weak ;

I am sated like a flood which the evil wind maketh to

rage.
My heart hath taken wing, and hath flown away like
a bird of the heavens ;
I moan like a dove, night and day.

I am made desolate,> and I weep bitterly ;

mukku in this passage; the subject of the verb is probably im- personal, and it may be taken as followed by the double accusative. ‘It is clear that in this passage an active meaning is to be assigned to mamaru; cf. im-mir-su-ma, V R, pl. §5, Il. 27 and 37,. and #-mu-ka nam-mar, 82-3-23, 4.344, etc. (P:S.B.A., xviii, p. 258), cited by Muss-Amolt, Concise Dictionary, p.. 684. 5 iv, 1 from nagalu, cf. Syr. x’ gal.

232 APPENDIX V.

Rev,

66. ina ’-u-a a-a Sum-ru-sa-at ka - bit - ue
67. mi-na-a e-pfu-us ithi-ia u “tis-tar-ia a-na-ku
68.

69.
70.
71.
72.
73

74.
75.
76.
77-
78
79.
80.
81.
82.
83.
84.

85.

ki-t la pa-lih tlita u “iStart-ia ana-ku ip -Se-ik

Sak-nu-nim-ma mur-su ti--i hu-lu-uk-ku-u u Sul-lu-uk-ti Sak-na-ni ud-da-a-ti suh-hur pa-ni u ma-li-e lib-ba-a-ti

us-2u ug-ga-ti me-nat’ ilint® uo a-me-lu- tt

a-ta-mar ™ belti-ta timé* uk-ku-lu-ti arhe* na-an-du-ru-ti
Sanati®™ Sa ni-zik-té
a-ta-mar “'bélti-ia Sib-ta t-Si-ti u sah - mas - ti

u-kal-la-an-ni mu-u-tu u Sap - Sa - ku
Su-har-ru-ur sa-gi-e-a Su-bar-vu-rat a ~- sir - “
elt bite babi u kar-ba-a-ti-ia Sa-ku-um-ma-ti tab-kat
ili-ia ana a-Sar sa-nim-ma suh-hu-ru pa - nu - Su
sap-hat ww-la-ti ta-bi-ni pur - ru - ur
u-pa-ka a-na ™ bélti-ia ka-a-s$i ib-Ssa-ki uana”- ai
u- sal-l- ki kRa-a-S ’-i-ti pu-ut-rv
pu-ut-ri ar-ni® Sir-ti hab-la-ti u fi- ti- te
mi-e-st hab-la-ti-ia li-ki-e un- ni- ni- ia
vu -um-mi-ia ki-vrim-ia su-bar-ra-ai suk-ni
$u-te-Si-rt kib-si nam-vris e-til-lis it-ti ameluti* lu-ba- siike

ki-bi-ma ina ki-bi-ti-ki ilu zi-nu-u l-is-lim

s

has

Literally, “‘ numbers of, the host of.” Under the line, and between the signs #7 and sr, the scribe written the division mark followed by the word “$4, “my

A PRAYER TO ISHTAR. 233

66.
67.
68.
69.
70.
71.
72.
73-
74.
75.
. Over my house, my gate, and my fields is affliction

77.

78.
79.

80.

81.

82.
83.
84.

85.

With grief and woe my spirit is distressed.

What have I done, O my god and my goddess?

Is it because I feared not my god or my goddess that
trouble hath befallen me?
Sickness, disease, ruin, and destruction are come upon me;

Troubles, turning away of the countenance, and fulness
of anger are my lot,
And the indignation and the wrath of all! gods and men.

I have beheld, O my lady, days of affliction, months of
sorrow, years of misfortune ;
I have beheld, O my lady, slaughter, turmoil, and
rebellion.
Death and misery have made an end of me!

My need is grievous, grievous is my humiliation ;

poured forth.

As for my god, his face is turned elsewhere ;

My strength is brought to nought, my power is broken !

But unto thee,O my lady, do I give heed, I have kept
thee in my mind ;
Unto thee therefore do I pray, dissolve my ban!

Dissolve my sin,? my iniquity, my transgression, and my
offence !
Forgive my transgression, accept my supplication!

Secure my deliverance, and let me be loved and carefully

tended !
Guide my footsteps in the light, that among men I may
gloriously seek my way!
Say the word, that at thy command my angry god may
have mercy,
confusion”; he probably had omitted the word by mistake and intended it to be inserted after a7-n7.

234

APPENDIX V.

Rev.

86.
87.
88.
89.
90.
gl.
92.
93.
94.

95-

96.

97.
98.
99.
100,
101.
102.

103.
104.
“tart sats = bu - sa
@- té- u su - sub
bi-k-ti! -in-na-pi-ik
sa-pi-th-tu td-tla- ti
tarbasu li-ir-pis Lis-tam-di-lu
mug-+t li-bi-en ap-pi-ia
ki - nis nap-li-sin-ni-ma

a-di ma-ti ™ bélti-a gi-na-ti-ma

li - ta - va
lim-me-ir — ki-nu-nt
ai - pa - vt
lip - hur
Su - pu - ve
Si-me-e su-pi-e-a

[erasure by the scribe] 2

suh-fu-ru — pa-nu-ki

a-di ma-ti™ béltt-ia va-’-ba-ti-ma ua-su-za-at kab-ta-at-ki

tir-vi ki-Sad ki sa istu ad-di-ia a-mat damigtin(tim)
pa-ni-ki Suk-ni
ki-ma me” pa-sir navi ka-bit-ta-ki lip- pa- as- ra

thk-du-ti-ia ki-ma kak-ka-ru lu- kab- bi- its

Sab-su-ti-ia kun-nu-sim-ma Su-pal-si-hi ina sap-li-da

su-pu-u-a u su-lu-u-a lil-l-ku eli-hi
ta-at-ra-tu-ki rab-ba-a-ti lib-Sa-a_ eli-ia
a-mi-ru-u-a ina stiki li-Sar-bu-u zi - ki - ki
u ana-ku ana sal-mat kakkadt tlu-ut-ki u kur-di-ki lu-sa-pi

mT§ tar -
“belti® -
ma si- rat “™[$-tar-ma_ sar-vat

ma §¢ - vat ™ belti-ma Sar-rat

1 Probably Perm. Kal from dé; the word, however, is possibly the lengthened form of 6é##, its occurrence being due to the necessities of rhythm.
A PRAYER TO ISHTAR. 235

86.
87.
88,
89.
go.
92.

93-
94.
95.
96.
97-
98.
99.

Too.
101.
102,

103.
104.
And that my goddess, who is wroth, may turn again !

The darkness hath settled down, so let my brazier be
bright ;
Thou art the ruler,' let then my torch flame forth!

May my scattered strength be collected ;

May the fold be wide, and may my pen be bolted fast !

. Receive the abasement of my countenance, give ear unto

my prayer,

Truly pity me, and [accept my supplication}!

How long, O my lady, wilt thou be angry and thy face
be turned away?
How long, O my lady, wilt thou rage and thy spirit be
full of wrath ?
Incline thy neck, which (is turned) away from my affairs,
and set prosperity before thy face ;
As by the solving waters of the river may thine anger be
dissolved !
My mighty foes may I trample like the ground ;

And those who are wroth with me mayest thou force into
submission and crush beneath my feet!
Let my prayer and my supplication come unto thee,

And let thy great mercy be upon me,

That those who behold me in the street may magnify
thy name,
And that I may glorify thy godhead and thy might
before mankind !
IStar is exalted! Star is queen!

My lady % is exalted! My lady is queen!

2 The scribe has erased the second half of the line; we may probably restore some such phrase as /:-Ai-e un-nz-ni-1a, as suggested in the translation,

3 See above, p. 224, n. 1.

APPENDIX V.

Rev.
105.
106.

107.

108.

109.

110.

Iti.

T12,

113.

™ Ty-ni-nt ma-rat ™ Sin ka-vit-ti ma-hi-va ul isat

INIM-INIM-MA §$U-IL-LA 7“ [NNANNA(NA)-KAN !

epus anna KI KIS TAR AD gusuru arku mit ellu tasallah
Iv kbnati™ libbi falaki(?)* tanaddi(di)
immeru telike(e) * sarbatu te-si-en igalu tanaddi(dt)
rikké*” upuntu burasu
tattabak(ak) mi-i-ha tanakki(ki)-ma li — tus-hin

mi-nu-tu an-ni-tu ana pan ™Is-tar
Salultu Sanitu tamannu(nu) KI-ZA-ZA-ma® ana arki-ka
la tabart
Siptu sa-ku-tum “TIs-tar mu-nam-mi-rat kib-va-a-ti*

gab-ri Bar-sip™ kima labiri-su ™* Nergal-balat-su-ip-bi
apil ™A-ta-rad-kal-me °°” asipu
ana baliti-su istur tibri-ma ina E-sag-ila u-kin

} Line 106 gives the title of the prayer; then follows a rubric of four lines giving directions for the performance of certain ceremonies and for the due recital of the prayer.

? In the four bricks, which, if the suggested rendering is correct,

A PRAYER TO ISHTAR. 237

105. Irnini, the valiant daughter of the Moon-god, hath not

a rival!

106. Prayer of the Raising of the Hand to [Star

107. This shalt thou do

a green bough shalt thou

sprinkle with pure water; four bricks from a ruin?
shalt thou set in place ;
108. a lamb shalt thou take; with sarbatu-wood shalt thou
fill (the censer), an

d thou shalt set fire (thereto) ;

sweet-scented woods, some upuntu-plant and some

cypress-wood
109. shalt thou heap up; a
thou shalt not bow
drink offering shalt thou offer, but
thyself down. This incantation
before the goddess Istar
110. three times shalt thou recite, ... and thou shalt
not look behind thee

ir. “O exalted [8tar, that givest light unto the (four)

quarters of the world

pra

112. (This) copy from Borsippa, (made) like unto its original, hath Nergal-balatsu-ikbi, the son of Atarad-kalme, the

magician,

113. written for (the preservation of) his life, and he hath revised it, and hath deposited it within the temple of

E-sagila.

are here directed to be brought from a ruin, we may perhaps see

a symbolical offering to I8tar
battle and destruction.
in her character of the goddess of

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Cun. Txts., XIII, pls. 1, 3- Cr. Ser., Tabl. I,
IL. 1-16, 124-142.
3 » pls. 14-15. Cr. Ser., Tabl.
IV, I. 1-44,
116-146.
An » pls. ro-nt. Cr. Ser., Tabl.
HI, ll. 47-105.
see No. 92,632.
Cun. Txts., XII, ph 20. Cr. Ser., Tabl. IV,
IL. 42-54, 85-94.
see No. 91,139.

Ill.

Glossary of Selected Words.

x

4, enclitic interrogative particle :
S$ab-ba-su-u, p. 230, 1. 52.
“deluge ; thunder -
bolt(?)”: @-bu-ba (var. bu),
Tabl. IV, 1. 49 (p. 64);
a-bu-ba, Tabl. IV, 1. 75

(p. 68).
abaku, III 2, ‘‘ to cause to bring,
to cause to be brought”:
Imper. S«-b2-ka, Tabl. III,
1, 6 (p. 38).
abalu, I1, ‘to bring”; I2, “to
bring out,to proclaim(?)”:
Lit (var. li-2#) -tab-bal,Tabl.
VII, 1. 33 (p. 98); a
(var. tt) -ta-bal, Tabl.
VII, 1. 122 (p. 110).
abaru, I1, ‘‘to be strong”;
12, dow: Perm. 7-bur-/7,
p. 224, 1. 11.
itbaru, “strength”: 7-da-ru,
_ p. 224, 1. 10.
ebéru, I 1: ¢-d7-ru, p. 167.
Iz, ‘to pass through, to
forcé a way into”: 7-47b-
bi-ru, Tabl. VII, 1. 108
(p. 106).
abatu, II 2, ‘to be destroyed”:
u-tab-ba-tu, p. 206, |. 16.
agagu, IL 1, ‘‘to make angry”:
Perm.ug-[g]u-ga[t],Tabl.
I, 1. 43 (p. 184).
abubu,

ugallu, “hurricane”: Tabl. I,
1. 122 (p. 18); Tabl. 1,
1. 28 (p. 26); Tabl. III,
1. 32 (p. 42), 1. 90 (p. 50).
adi, “age”: plur. a-d? (var.
a-di-t), Tabl. I,].11 (p. 4).
“course, way, affair”:
ad-di-ia, p. 234, 1. 95.
idu, “side”; zdus, ‘to the side
of": t-du-us sa-pa-ra
(var. vz), Tabl. IV, 1. 44
(p. 62).
idu, “to know; to choose (?)”:
e-du-u, Tabl. I, lL. 135
(p. 20); Tabl. II, 1. 47
(p. 26); Tabl. III, 1. 45
(p. 44), 1 103 (p. 52),

uddu, ‘ daylight.”
uddakam, adv., “in the morning, every morning”:
ud-da-kam, p. 226, 1. 26.
“trouble”: plur. «d-da-a-ti, p. 232, 1. jo.
edélu, I 1, “to bolt.”
Ill z, “to be bolted”:
Lis-tam-di-lu, p. 234; 1. 90.
adaru, Iz, “to be troubled”:
Pret. 7-/e-dir, var. [. .]-dt-di-ir, Tabl. I, 1. 53 (pp-10, 186).
({azimu], II 2, “to be angry(?)”:
Inf. u-fa-a2z-2u-mi-su, p. 206, 1. 9.
adi,

uddi,

GLOSSARY.

ahazu, I 1, ‘to take; to undertake, to begin”: ¢-Au-zu, Tabi. IV, |. 18 (p. 60).
IVi, “to be taken”: z#-nt-haz, Tabl. IV, 1. 100 (p. 79).
ahulap, interrog. adv., “how long ?”: a-fu-lap, p. 228, I. 46, 47, 48, 49, p. 230, 1. 50; with suffix, a-fu-lap-hki, p.226, 11.27, 28, 29, 30; with £262, by transference of meaning, “to ‘cry ‘It is enough!’ ”: a-hu-lap-ia ki-bi-ma, p. 228, 1.45.

etii, “to be dark” ; Inf. “darkhess”: e-fu-uw, p. 234, 1. 87.
ekiam, interrog. adv., ‘‘where?”:

e-hi-a-am, p. 224, ll. 15,
16, 17.
“hungry, ravenous ” :
a-hu-u, p. 230, 1. 59.
akukitu, “whirlwind”: a@-ku-
hu-u-tum, p. 228, |. 37.
[akalu], “to be afflicted”:
Pres. a-ka-la, p. 146, n. 43
p. 148, 1. 22.
ukkulu, “afflicted” :
lu-ti, p. 232, 1. 72.
[akan], Il1, ‘to put an end
to”: Imper. wk-ki-si, p.
230, 1. 55.
ali, interrog. adv., ‘‘where?”:
a-li, Tabl. II, 1. 56 (p. 30).
eli, “high”; fem. plur. ea¢,
“the height; the zen-
ith(?)”: e-da-a-t, Tabl.
V, 1. 11 (p. 78).
aki,

uk-ku-

aladu, I, ‘‘ to bear.”

Ilr, do.: Part. mu-al-li-
da-at, var. mu-um-ma-al-
Ui-da-at (= muwailidat),
Tabl. I, |. 4 (p. 2).
alaku, “to go.”
malaku, “ going, gait”: ma-
lak-Su, Tabl. IV, 1. 67
(p. 66).
ulinnu, “ border (?) of a robe”:
ulinni-Su, p. 118, 1. 16.
amu, “reed (?)": a-mz, p. 132,
1. 18; @-ma-am, p. 132,
1.17.
{amii], “to speak.”
amatu, ‘speech; thing, deed”:
a-ma-tu-su, Tabl. VII,
1. 31 (p. 98).
emi, [1, “to be like.”
Ill1, ‘‘to make like; to

create”: us-fa-mu-u, p.
126, 1. 143 §u-la-mu-u,
p. 125, n. 5.
“day”; isu amimma,

“henceforth”: 7-tu u-

mi-im-ma, Tab), IV, |. 7

(p. 58).

amu, “tempest”: Tabi. I, 1. 123
{p. 18); Tabl. II, 1. 29
(p. 26); Tabl. III, l. 33
imu,

(p. 42), l gt (p. 52)5
applied to Marduk’s
chariot, Tabl. IV, 1. 50
(p. 64).

emédu, IV 1, ‘‘to be established;
to advance”: tn-nin-du-
ma, var. [in-nin-d |u-u{,],
Tabl. I, 1.21 (p. 4); i#-
nin-du-ma, Tabl. IV, 1. 93
{p. 70).

imbullu, ‘evil wind”: 2m-Aul-
Zu (var. la), Tabl. IV,
1, 96 (p. 70); zm-Rul-la,
Tabl. IV, 1. 45 (p. 62),
1. 98 (p. 70); 2m-hel-le,
p- 206, 1. 15. :
[amalu], I11, intrans., “to be
furious”: Part. mu-um-
mil-tum, p. 228, 1. 38.
ammatu, ‘the sure earth”:
Tabl. I, 1. 2 (p. 2).
unkennu, ‘might, strength,
forces”: unken-na, Tabl.

I, l. 112 (p. 16); Tabl.
II, 1. 18 (p. 24); Tabl.
Ill, 1. 22 (p. 40), 1. 80
(p. 50); un-hi-en-na,
Tabl. IIL, I. 80 (var., p.
50, n. §).
[eséhu], “to despair”: Pres.
is-st-fu, p. 146, n. 43 p.
148, 1. 223; fe-st-2h-hu,
var. te-18(sic)-s?-1h-hu, p.
152, 1. 16.
asurakku, ‘bed ofariver; depth”:
a-sur-rak-ka, p. 206, |. 19.
apu, “swamp”: a-fa, p. 134,
1, 325 a-pu-um-ma, p. 134,
27° :
appunu, “huge”: [a]p-pu-na-
a-ta, Tabl. I, 1. 126 (var.,
p- 18).
appunama, adv., “of huge

size”: ap-pu-na-ma, Tabl.
I, |. 126 (p. 18); Tabl.
Il, 1. 32 (p. 26); Tabi.
IIL, 1. 94 (var., p. 52);
ap-pu-un-na-ma, Tabl.
III, 1. 36 (p. 42), 1 94
(p. 52).
epékn, II 1, ‘to cause to rage”:
up-pa-ku, p. 230, |. 62.
apparu, “marsh”: af-pa-ri, p.
134, ll. 25, 27.
upigu, “ bewitchment”: u-7-sa,
Pp- 230, I. 55.
agu, I1, “to go out”; IIL 1,
“to cause to go out; to
take oneself off, to take
to flight”: w-Se-su-ma,
Tabl. IV, 1. 109 (p. 72).
issimtu, “bone”: ¢-s7-7m-[éu]m,
Tabl. VI, 1. § (p. 86).
esépu, “to add to; to bring
upon”: Pret. e-s7p, p. 148,
1. 24.
ukii: w-ku-u, p. 160.

IIz, “to pay homage, to
worship”: wu-/fak-ku-u,
Tabl. VII, 1. 4 (p. 92);
u-tuk-ku, p. 224, 1, 14.
akrab-amélu, “ scorpion-man”:
Tab). I, 1. 122 (p. 18);
Tabl. II, 1. 28 (p. 26);
Tabl. III, 1. 32 (p. 42),
1. go (p. 50).
‘aru, aru, “to set out, to set out
against, to attack”: ’-7r,
Tabl. ITI, 1. 55 (p. 46),
1. 113 (p. 54)3 da-ar-ha,
Tabi. II, |. 122 (p. 34).
araku, 11, ‘“‘to be long, to
endure”: [/-r]i-zk, Tabl.
VII, 1. 114 (var., p. 108 f.).
II1, “to lengthen; to be

long”: ur-rt-ku, varr.

u-ur-ri-ku, u-ri-ki, Tabl.

I, 1. 13 (p. 4); [e}-rt-he-

ma, Tabl. II, 1. 7 (p. 22).

urris, adv., “ by day”: [wr-r]ii,
Tabl. I, lL. 50 (p. 10).
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GLOSSARY.

erésu, ‘‘ to desire.”
erigtu, “desire”: = erist7
(8a-D1)-da, p. 224, 1. rr.
esi, “to rage, to be in con-
fusion; to destroy”:
Imper.e-se{. . . J, Tabl.
I, 1. 49 (p. 10).
asabu, Iz, “to seat oneself”:
Imper. “#3'-ba-ma, var.
u-i§-bLa]-ma, Tabl. IL,
1. 137 (p. 36); ¢a8-ba-ma,
var. fa-as-ba-ma, Tabl.

ILI, 1. 61 (p. 46f.), 1. 119
(p. 54) 3 “-Sam-ma, Tabl.
IV, 1. 15 (p. 58).
eégallu, “mansion”: e§-gad-la,
Tabl. IV, 1. 144f. (p. 76).
ugumgallu, “monster - viper” :
usumgallé™, Tabl. 1.1. 117
(p- 16); Tabl. II, 1. 23
(p. 24); Tabl. III, 1. 27
(p. 42), 1. 85 (p. 50).
agaméutu, “hurricane”: a-fam-
Su-tum, Tabl. IV, 1. 45
(p. 62).
aéaru, “to humble oneself”:
Pret. ¢-Sr, Tabl. III, 1. 70
(p. 48).
asirtu, “humiliation”: @-str-t1,
p- 232, |. 75.
“place”; employed as
synonym for “heaven”:
aS-ru = $a-mu-u, p. 168;
as-ri (varr. ra, rte), Tabl.
VU, l. 115 (p. 108).
asri8, “towards”: as-r78, Tabl.
IV, 1. 60 (p. 66).
a’ru, ‘shrine, sanctuary”: af-
ru-uk-ka, Tabl. IV, l. 12
(p. 58).
airu,

ussu, “grass”:
1. 25.
etillig, “gloriously”: e-f-7s,
Pp» 232, 1. 84.
(ataru], IL 1, “to make exceed-
ing strong”: u-wati.e.
PI)-af-fe-tr, p. 146, nN. 4.
atta’u, “fang (?)”: Tabl. I,
l. 115 (p. 16); Tabl. II,
I. 21 (p. 24); Tabl. II,
1. 25 (p. 40), 1. 83 (p. 50).
USs-SU, Ps 134,

3

bélu, “to rule, control, hold sway”: /i-bil-ma, var. li-br-el-ma, Tab}. VII, 1. 122 (p. 110); (?) 4-d2-2, Tabl. VI, 1. 114 (p. 108).
(bari], III 1, “to tend carefully’: Inf. Su-bar-ra-ai, p. 232, 1. 83.
Ill"2, “to abound in”:

us -ta~bar-ru-t, p. 230, 1. 50.
burumu, “heaven”: dbx-ru-mi, p- 206, 1. 13; [bu |-ru-mi, p. 122, 1. 2.
basmu, “viper”: Tabl.I,1. 12¢ (p. 18); Tabl. II, 1. 27 (p. 24); Tabl. III, 1. 31 (p. 42), 1. 89 (p. 50).
batnu: éa(?)-at-nu, Tabl. IV, 1. 36 (p. 62).
A

gubhu: gubhe®, P. p- 150, |. 20. 144, 1. 8;

gall, ‘devil’: gal-l-e, var. galle#, Tabl. IV, 1. 116 (P72).
gisgallu, “station”: g?-7s-gal-Ja-Sa, Tabl. V, 1. 83 (p. 84).
giparu, “field (?),” or possibly : akind of tree: gi-pa-ra, var. gi-par-ra, Tabl. I, 1. 6 (p. 2).
gasaru, [1, “to strengthen.” IL1, “to make very strong”: Perm. gu-us-sur, Tabl. 1, 1. 19 (p. 4).

magiéaru, “might”: Tabl. 1,
1. 142 (p. 20); Tabl. II,
1. 48 (p. 28); Tabl. II,
1. 52 (p44), 1 10 (p.
54).
4

dabru, “mighty (?)”: Tabl. I,
1,123 (p. 18); Tabl. II,
1. 29 (p. 26); Tabl. III,
1. 33 (P- 42), 1. 91 (p. 52).
dalu, “to move about; to scout;
to prowl round, to watch
from hiding”: Pret. ¢-dul-
fu, Tabl. I, 1. 57 (p. 186);
t-du-ul-[Ir'], Tabl. I, 1. 89
(p. 12); fa-du-ul-I[t),
Tabl. I, 1. 99 (p. 14);
t-dul-lu-su, Tabl. IV, 1.
63 f. (pp. 66, 186 f.).
dalabu, III1, “to trouble”:
Perm. Se-ud-/u-bu, p. 228,
1. 49.
dullu, “service (of the gods)”:
dul-lu, Tabl. VI, 1. 8 (p.
88).
danninu, ‘firmness; the firm
earth”: dan -nt-nu=
irsitim(tim), p. 168; dan-
ni-na, Tabl. VII, L 115
(p. 108).
dupsimtu, pl. dupsimat’, “the
Tablets of Destiny”:
Tab). I. 1. 137 (p. 20);
Tabl. I, 1. 43 (p. 28);
Tab). TIL, 1. 47 (p. 44),
1. 105 (p. 52); Tabl. IV,
lL r2r (p. 74); p. 209,
1. 4.
durmahu, “ruler (?)”"': dur-ma-
&z, p. 104 (Tabl. VII);
dur-ma-hu, p. 165.
{dasii], Is, “to cause to be
fruitful”: dé@-dis-Sa-a, var.
li-td- [di] -ef-Sa-a, Tabl.

VII, |. 130 (p. 112).
TIL", “to cause to abound

in, to clothe with”; Pret.
us-das-Sa-a, Tabl. I, 1. 118
(p. 16); Tabl. I], 1. 24
(p. 24); Tabl. ITI, 1. 28
(p. 42), 1 86 (p. §0).
dittu, udittu, “rush”: di-d/-a,
p. 134, |, 25.
t
Zaza: i-2a-az-ru-su, Pe 1345
1. 30.
zakaru, I 1, ‘‘to be high.”
IL1, “to exalt”: w-zek-ka-
ru-su], Tabl. VI, 1. 146
(Pp. 90).
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GLOSSARY.

zakiku, “tempest”: za-ki-ku,
Tabl. I, 1. 104 (p. 14).
[zaru], Pret. zzir, “to hate, to
conceive a hatred for”:
Tabl. II, lL 11 (p. 22);
Tabl. III, 1. 15 (p. 40),
1. 73 (p. 48).
{zarbabu], IVs, ‘to fume, to
rage”: Perm. na-zar-bu-
bu, Tabl. I, 1. 111 (p.
16); Tabl. II, l. 17 (p. 24);
Tabl. UI, l..21 (p. 40),
1. 79 (p. 50).

n

habasu, “to be filled, to be
bloated (?)”: Perm. ha-
ba-su, Tabl. III, 1. 136
(p. 56).
halaku, Ill1, “to destroy”:
Pres. (not as Prec.) 2u-
us-hal-lak (== nusahlak,
Tabl. I, 1. 45 (p. 185).

“to destroy (?)”: fa-
mu-t, p. 206, |. 21.
hasdsu, “to think, to know”:
Part. fa-sts, Tabl. I, 1. 18
(p. 4), 1. 60 (p. 22).
hipi, 1 2, “to shatter, to burst”:
th-te-pi, Tab). IV, 1. 101
(p. 70).
haku, ‘to mingle together,”
intrans.: Pret. 7-47-hu-u-
ma, Tabi. I, 1. § (p. 2).
[harmamu], IIf1, ‘to destroy,
to overcome(?)”: Zf-far-
mi-im, Tabl. I, 1. 119 (p.
16); Tabl. III, 1. 29 (p.
42).
hami,

IV 1, do. (?): 2-2h-har-mi-
zm, Tabl. TI, }. 25 (p.24);
Tabl. III, 1. 87 (p. 50).
ic)

tabu, ‘‘to besound, tobehealed”:
Pres. 7-/e-1b-b7, p. 228,
1. go.
tubtu, “joy”: plur. 7u-2b-da-a-
“ #, Tab). II, 1. 115 (p. 32).
3

kabatu, {I 1, “to make weighty ;
to oppress”: u-kab-bi[/]-
ma, Tabl. II, 1. 1 (p. 22);
hub-bu-tu-ma, Tabl. VI,
1. 10 (p. 88).
kabittu, “ midst (?)”: ka-dit-
tt-Sa-ma, Tabl. V, 1. 11
(p. 78).
kubutti, “abundance”: u-
bu-ut-te-e, Tabl. VIL, 1. a1
(p- 96); Pp. 161.
kalu, II 1, “to uphold, to hold,
tobring”: Z-A2-2-/u,Tabl.
VII, 1. cro (p. 108}; mu-
kil, Tabi. VII, 1. 19 (p. 96).

Kali, II 1, ‘to make an end of”:
u-kal-la-an-nt, p.232,).74.
IIz, ‘to cease (?)”: (?) wh-
éa-li (var. lu), Tab). VII,
1. 114 (p. 108),
{kalamu], 111, “to inform.”
taklimtu, “instruction”: /a[k]-
lim-ti, Tabl. VII, 1. 137
(p. 114).
GLOSSARY. 257
{kalmii], IVi, “to look with | kasasu, “to collect (?)”: Pret.
anger upon,to persecute”: th-Sa-Su-nim-ma, Tabl.
Perm. 27-hil-mu-u-in-ni-
ma, p. 230, |. 56.
IV 1, ‘to be taken
captive”: Pret. c-ha-
mu-u, Tabl. 1, 1. 98 (p. 14).
kamaru, I 2, Inf. &ifmuru,
“battle”: Tabl. I, 1. 142

(p. 20); Tabl. IT, 1. 48

(p. 28); Tabl. ILL, 1. 52

(p- 44), 1. 110 (p. 54).
kamaru, “ snare.”
kamarii, “in the snare”:

ha-ma-rif, Tabl. IV, L112
(p. 72).
kami,

kanii, 111, ‘to tend carefully.” °

taknitu, ‘‘ fostering care, true
worship” : fak-na-a-tt,
p. 206, I. 14.
kiniinu, “brazier”: &t-nu-ni,
Pp. 234, 1. 87.
kisukku, “ bondage.”
kisukkis; ‘‘ in bondage ” :
hi-suk-kis, Tabl. 1V, lo reg
(p. 72).
kusarikku, “ram”: Tabl. I,
\. 123 (p. 18); Tabl. Il,

1, 29 (p. 26); Tabl. III,
1. 33 (p. 42) 1. 91 (p. 52).
kupu, “trunk (?)”: Sor ku-pu,
Tabl. IV, 1. 136 (p. 76).
kipdu, “plan”: [47 1p-d?-Su-nu,
Tabi. VIL, |. 44 (p. roo).
kirimmu, “love”: kz-rim-ia,
p. 232, 1. 83.
karru, “costly raiment (?)”:
Tabl. I, 1. 132 (p. 20);

* Tabi. II, 1. 38 (p. 26);
Tabl. IL], }. 42 (p. 44),
1, 100 (p. §2).
III, 1. 129 (p. 56).

katamu, ITI 1, ‘to overcome”:
Perm. suk-/u-mat, Tabl.
II, 119 (p. 32).
5

[Wi], “to be strong; to be able.”
la’atu, ‘full extent”: a-na
Ja-’-a-ti-su(var. $a), Tabl.
IV, L. 97 (p. 70)-
[lababu], “to rage”: Tabl. II,
l. 12 (p. 22), le 17 (p. 24)3
Tabl. III, ll. 16, 21 (p. 40),
1. 74 (p. 48), 1. 79 (p. $0) 5
p. 226, 1. 31.
labbu, “lion, lioness”: /a-ad-
bu, p. 230 (J. 51).
labbu,“ dragon”: lab-b7,p.118,
1.17, 20, 243 p. 120, ll. 7,
9; Jab-ba, p. 120, 1. 4.
labanu, lebénu, ‘‘to abase”:
Inf. Z-bi-en, p. 234, 1. 91.
Tuddu, a weapon: /u-ud-di,
p. 146, L147.
lala, 11, ‘to be full.”

Il1, “to make full”:

Perm. Zu-da-a, Tabl. IV,
1. 72 (p. 66).

lillu, “demon”: J/-dz, p. 230,
1. 59.
lami, “to surround.”
limitu, ‘‘circumference, cir-
cuit”: pl. &-ma-a-tz, p. 118,
1. 10.
7

liménu, Iz, “to plan evil’:

il-fe-1m-nad, P. 220, N. Te
II, ‘‘to do evil, to plan
evil”: Pret. «-lam-mi-in,
Tabi. 11, 1. 3 (p. 22).
lumagu, “zodiacal constella-
tion”: Ju-ma-5, Tabl. V,
1. 2 (p. 78).
lasamu, “to be vigorous”: le-
stma, p. 226, 1, 29.
lapatu, ‘to place, to set out (?)”:
al-pu-tlu], p. 144, 1.73
al-plu-t]u, p. 150, 1. 19.
a)

magaru, “to be favourable.”
mitguru, “peaceful”:
gu-ru-tt, p. 224, 1. g.

mehi, “tempest”: me-fa-a, var.
me-hu-u, Tabl. LV, 1. 45
(p. 62).
mibhu, “drink offering”: m7-
th-ha, p. 236, 1. 10g.
mahasu, III2, “to render hostile,
to cause hostilityamong”:
mus-tam-hi-sa-at, Pp. 224,
‘leg.
maharig, “over against, before”:
ma-ha-ri-i8(var.ris), Tabl,
UW, lorrg (p. 32); ma-fa-
ri-t8, Tabl. IV,]. 2 (p. 58).

mati, 11, “to lament”; am-fi-
ma, P. 146, n. 4.
12, do.: 7-da-ja-a, p. 116,

1.2.

mit-

mittu, “club (?)”: ““méffa, var.
mit-fa, Tabl. IV, 1. 37
(p. 62); me-ti-Su, Tabdl.
IV, 1. 130 (p. 74)3 mi#-da,
P- 175-
meku, ‘snarling, muttering”:
me-ki-iu-un(var. nu),
Tabl. I, 1. 60 (pp. 12, 187);
me-hu-us, Tabl. IL, 1. 81
(p. 30); me-At-Su, Tabl.
IV, L. 66 (p. 66).
mali, ‘to fill; to be full.”
tamli, “dam”:
134, Ll. 31.
millu, “troop (?)": md -d-Ja,
Tabl. IV, 1. 116 (p. 72).
malmalis, adv., ‘corresponding
with”: mal-ma-lis, p. 125,
n. 5.
mulmullu, “spear”: mul-mul-
lum, var. mul-mul, Tabi.
IV, 1. 36 (p. 62); mal-
mul, p. 209, lL. r.
mummu, “chaos”: Tabl. I, 1. 4
(p. 2); = rig-mu, p. 162.
{masaru], Il1, “to divide”:
u-ma-as-sir, Tabl. V, 1. 3
(p. 78).
misru, “section (?)” + plur. m-
is-ra-ta, Tabl. V, 1. 3
(p. 78). ,
[masaru], IV 1, “to be banded
ogether (?)”: tm-ma-as-
ru-nin-ma, Tabl. I, h. 109
(p. 16); Tab WH, Lo 15
(p. 24); Tabl. ILD, 1. 19
(p. 40); L. 77 (p. 48).

mukku, ‘“‘affliction(?)”: muk-hu,
Pp» 239, |. 60.
sam-la-a, p.

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GLOSSARY. 259

mararu, ‘to be bitter.”
namurratu, “anger, terrible
splendour; fear (?)”::
na-mur-ra-t, p. 128, 1.63
na-mur-ra-tu, p. 148, |. 4.
[méiu], “to forgive”: Imper.
mi-e-St, Pp. 232, 1. 82.
“by night”: mu-S,
Tabl. I, 1. 50 (p. 10).
“ flat (?)": mas-di-e,
Tabl. LV, 1. 137 (p. 76).
masalu, I 1, ‘to be like.”
II 2z, “to make like”: Pret.
um-tas-8i1, Tabl. I, 1. 118
{p. 16), Tabl. III, 1. 28
(p. 42), 1. 86 (p. 50);
um-tas-st-1l, vart. um-ta-as-
St-il, um-tas-si-ir, Tabl.
Il, 1. 24 (p. 24); um-
tas-Si-l, Tabl. ILI, 1. 86
(var., p. 51).
“before”: mut-Hi,
Tabl. II, 1. 75 (p. 30);
mut-ti-i, Tabl. ILL, 1. 131
(p. 56).
nabii, “to name, to proclaim”:
Imper. 7-da-a, Tabl. II,
1,136 (p. 36); Tabl. III,
1, 60 (p. 46), 1. 118 (p. 54).
nabatu, ‘‘to blaze forth”: z-zam-
bu-{u, p. 206, |. 15.
nagi, I1: na-g[u-w], p. 169.
IVz, “to be rejoiced”:
t-fe-en-gu, var. it-ta-an-gu,
Tabl. VII, 1. 118 (p. 110).
nagalu, 1Vi, “to be made
desolate” : Perm. na-an-

gu-la-ku-ma, p. 230, 1. 65.
miusis,

masdi,

muttis,

nadi, IV1, ‘to be placed, to
be established”: Perm.
na-an-dt-a-at (fr. nadi,
rather than IV1, Perm.
fr. em@du), p. 228, 1. 34.
(nadaru], “to rage.”
nanduru, “afflicted, sorrow-
ful”: mna-an-du-ru-t, p.
232, 1. 72.
niziktu, “misfortune”: m7-27k-17,
Pp. 232, 1. 72.
niknaku, “‘censer”:
p- 138, l. 6.
nakapu, Iz, ‘to violentlyattain”:
mut - tak- ki - pat, p. 224,
aur
namalu, ‘marsh (?)”:
p. 134, 1. 32.
namaru, ‘to be bright; to
praise”: am-mir-ki, p.
230, l. 60.
namurtu, “splendour”: xa-
mur-tum, Pp. 129, 0. 7.
nin-amélu, “ fish-man”: Tabl.
I, 1.123 (p. 18); Tabl. 11,
1. 29 (p. 26); Tabl. III,
1. 33 (p. 42)> 1. 91 (p. 52).
{mannartu], “light”: #a-an-na~
rat, p. 222, 1. 5.
nisi, 11, ‘‘to remove, to carry
away”: /~7s-st~e-ma,
Tabl. VII, 1. 114 (p. 108).
Ilz, ‘to disappear, to
depart”: Pret. w/-fe-2s-s7
(var. sw), Tabl. I, 1. 116
(p- 34)-
nasahu, ‘to carry off, to remove,
to destroy”: zs-sw-Au,

Tabl. VII, 1. 34 (p. 98).
nth-na-kt,

na-ma-la,

nasaku, ‘to place; to place the hand upon, to grasp, to seize”: zs-suk, Tabl. 1V, 1. ror (p. 70); 2s-st-ham-ma, p. 118, 1.73 us-hkam~ma, p. 118, 1. 4.
nasasu, II 1, with zzssatu, ‘to mourn bitterly”: «-na-as-Sa-Su, Pp. 228, 1, 49.
nassu, “sorrowful, grievous, lamenting”: ma-as-s?, p. 228, 1.46; na-as-sa-a-ft, p. 228, Ll. 48.
nissatu, ‘‘ mourning, lamentation”: nissatié”, p. 228, 1. 49.
napahu, “to flame out; to roar against (of a wind)”: nap-hat, p. 228, 1. 37-
nipra, “offspring, child”: 27-ip-ri-Su, Tabl. II, l. 2 (p. 22).
napagsu, Il1, ‘“‘to make broad, io make merciful” : Part. mu-nap-pi-su, Tabl. II, 1. tro (p. 32).
nisirtu, “treasure”; employed as synonym for “life”: at-sir-ta-su, var. na pis ta-uw, Tabl. VI, 1. 112 (p. 108).
naku, 11, ‘to lament.” IIIz,‘‘tocause lamentation”: mul-ta-nu-ka-a-ti, p. 224,]. 9.
naki, 112, ‘to be poured out”:

Pres. ut-/ak-ka(?), Tabl. .
II, 1. 130 (p. 36).
naratu, “to become weak, to

falter”: d-nar-re-in, p.

226, 1. ar.

1Vi1, ‘to be raised on

high”; Perm. za-an-Se-a-

at, p. 228, 1. 34.

nagaku, III 1, ‘to remove from”:
u- Sa-as-si~hu(var. ha),
Tabl. VII, 1. 28 (p. 96).
nagaku, I 1, “to kiss”: [7]s-32-78,
Tabl. II, 1. 116 (p. 34).
T2, do.: i-/a-Sk, abl. V,
1. 79 (p. 82).
Ve, “to kiss one another”:
Pret. in-nis-ku, Tabl. III,
1. 132 (p. 56).
nasaku, II1, “to give way
beneath (?)”: [w]-na-Sa-
ku, varr. u-na-as-ia{h .. },
u na-sak, Tabl. 1,1. 54 (pp.
To, 186).
nagaru, “to diminish”: Perm.
na-st-ir, Tab]. 1,1.25(p.6).
nasi,

is}

“to want, lack, need”:
Inf. sa-gu-u, p. 1603 sa-
gi-su-nu, Tabl. TV, l. 12
(p. 58); sa-gi-Su-nu-ma,
Tabl. VIL, 1. 10 (p. 94);
Sa-gi-e-a, p. 232, |. 75.
[sihi], ‘to cease”: Perm. sz: fa-
4, Tabl. IV, |. 68 (p. 66).
sakapu, ‘‘to lie down, to rest’:
Part. sa-ki-pu, Tabl. 1,

lL. 110 (p. 16), Tabl. II,
1. 16 (p. 24), Tabl. ILI,
1. 20 (p. 40), L. 78 (p. 50) ;
Perm. sak-pu, Tabl. I,
1. 33 (p. 6).
sagt,

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(sali},II1: “to pray, to supplicate”: Inf. su-lu-u-a,
P- 234, 1. 99.
sinnistu, ‘female, woman”:
st-in-nt-Sa-tum, var.
st-in-ni-Sa-at, Tabl. II,
1, 122 (p. 34).
[sap], II1, “to pray”: Inf.
Su-pUu-u-a, Pp. 234, |. 99.
sapahu, II1, “to make of no
effect, to cast down”:
Prec. /u-sap-pi-7h, Tabl. I,
1. 39 (p. 84).
saparu, “net.”
saparis, “in the net”: sa-pfa-
rt8, Tabi. IV, 1.112 (p.72).
supuru, “ fold” :
234, 1. go.
sararn, ‘‘to oppose, to resist(?)”:
sa-ra-ar, Tabl. IV, l. 9
(p- 58).
sarru, f. plur. sarra/7, ‘rebellion”: sar-ra-a-iti,
Tabi. IV, 1. 72 (p. 66).
su-pu-ri, p.

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pagru, “body”; pa-ag-r7, “ my
body, myself,” p. 146 f.,
n. 4; cf, also pale.
symbol of royalty,
“ring(?)”: pala(a), Tabl.
IV, 1. 29 (p. 60).

[{pélu], III 2, ‘to alter, annul”:
us-te-pi-tl, var. us-te-pi-el-
Wu], Tabl. VII, 1. 132
(p. 112). :
pali,

palasu, ‘‘to pay homage to(?)”:
pal-su[..], Tabl. VII,
1. 107 (p. 106); pa-la-su,
p. 167.
(palsit], [Vis nz-prl-su-u, p. 148,
4.
({palsahu}, III 1, “to crush”:
Imper. Su-pal-st-ht, p.234,
1. 98.
{paltii], IV 1, “to succumb, to
be defeated (?)”: 7p-pal-
tu-u, Tabl. IV, 1. 16
(p. 58).
pusummu, “bond (?)": pu-su-
um-me, p. 226, 1. 33.
pisannu, “ treasure-chest ” :
pi-sa-an-na-ti-ka, P. 154,
1, 22.
(paku], II 1, “to give heed to”:
u-pa-ha, p. 232, |. 79.
{parSadu], 1V 1, “to escape”:
na-par-su-dis (var. di-z),
Tabl. LV, 1. 110 (p. 72).
pasahu, IIl1, “to pacify”;
Perm. “to rest”: su-up-
Su-ha-ak (var. ku), Tabl. I,
1. 38 (p. 8); Sup-Su-ha-al,
Tabl. I, 1. 50 (p. 10).
{peséku], “to be in trouble”:
Pret. ip-Se-zk, p. 232, 1. 68.
pasaru, Iz, ‘to divulge(?)”:

ip-ta-Sar (?): Tabl. II,
1. 4 (p. 22).
pitu, “front; person”: pu-
ut-ka, p. 154,1.253 pag-rt
u pu-u-tt (var. pu-t7),
“my own person, my-
self,” p.140, 1.8, p.148, 1.2.

pitku, ‘‘ handiwork” : p7-di ch-Su,
Tabi. IL, 1..1 (p. 22).
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GLOSSARY.

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sabatu, I 1, ‘to take.”

Iz, Inf. éesdudu, “ to begin”:
Tabl. I, 1. 130 (p. 18);
Tabl. II, 1. 36 (p. 26);
‘Tabl. III, }. 40 (p. 42),
1. 98 (p. 52).
IV1, ‘to be held fast, to
be heldin remembrance”:
Ui-1s-sab-tu-ma, var. (li-7s |-
sa-ab-iu, Tabl, VII, 1. 125
(p. 110).
sabaru, 12, “to attain (?),” or
“to understand(?)”: Inf.
ti-ts-bu-ru, Tabl. III, 1. 5
(p. 38).
I 1, “to impart to, to make
known to”: Pret. w-sa-
as-bi-ra-an-ni, Tabl. III,
1. 14 (p. 40), 1. 72 (p. 48) 5
u-§a-ag-bir-an-ni, Tabl.
III, 1. 72 (var., p. 48 f.).
salalu, “to lie down, to lic
down to rest”: Pret.
ni-ts-lal, Tab). I, 1. 40
(p. 8), l. 46 (but cf. p. 185),
lL. 100, 102 (p. 14); Pres.
ni-sa-al-lal, Tabl. I, }. 96
(p. 14); Perm. sal-/a-[at],
Tabl. I, 1. 50 (p. 10);
sa-al-la-ku, Tabl. I, 1. 38
(p- 184).
sallitu, “plague”:
p. 206, l. zr.
sal-lu-tum,

simru, “fulness”: s/-im-ri,

Tab}. VII, 1. 21 (p. 96);
§-tm-rit, p. 161.
susi, “marsh”: sa-sa-a, var.
su-sa-’, Tabl. I, |. 6 (p. 2).
(saru?], Il1, ‘to cover (?)”:

u-sir, Tabl. V, Lo 14

(p. 78)-

“unto”: g¢-rd-t, var.

gt-r78, Tabl. I, 1. 32 (p. 6);

gt-ri-a, Tabl. IV, 1. 128

(p. 74).

sirmahu, plur. si7mahi, ‘‘monster-
serpent”: Tabi. I, L114
(p. 16); Tabl. II, 1. 20
(p. 24); Tabl. IIT, 1. 24
(p. 40), 1. 82 (p. 50).
sirritu, ‘“‘sceptre”: szr-rif, p.
226, |. 32.
sirrussu, “dragon”: Tabl. I,
l, rar (p. 18); Tabl. IT,
1. 27 (p. 24); Tabl. II,
1. 31 (p. 42), 1. 89 (p. 50).
siris,

P

kablu, “midst, inward parts”:
hab-lu-us Ti-a-ma- tt,
Tabl. IV, 1. 65 (p. 66).
kudmis, “before”: u-ud-mi-
i, var. kud-mes, Tabl. I,
1. 33 (p- 6).
kudduSa, “pure, holy”:
du-Su, p. 226, t. 28.
kapu, Iz, “to entrust to”:
th-tt-pa, Tabl. V, 1. 12
(p- 78)»
(Kas&buj, I1f 2: Imper. sa-/ak-

gf-ba-am-ma, Tabl. V, 1.20
(p. 80).

hud-

GLOSSARY.

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Kasaru, I1, “to collect, to
take”: Ze-wk-sur-ma, Tabl.
VI, J. 5 (p. 86).
Iz, “to make, to fix, to
form, to contrive”: Pret.
(ek]-¢a-sar, Tabl. II, 1. 2
(p. 22); Perm. &7-7s-su-ra,
Tabl. I, |. 6 (p. 2).
Il1, do.: Perm. hu-gu-ru,
Tabl. I, 1. 6 (var., p. 2).
karabu, I2, Inf. £etrubu, “battle.”
kitrubis, “to the battle”:
[Ae]t-ru-bi-dé (var. dif),
Tabl. II, l. 111, p. 32.
kirbu, “midst, inward parts”:
hir-biS (var. bi-i8) Tt-amat,
Tabl. IV, 1. 41 (p. 62),
1. 48 (p. 64); hur-ba¥
Tam-tim, p. 106; kir-bis
(var. t-na kir-b1) Ti-amat,
Tabl. VIL, 1. 108 (p. 106);
a-hi-su(var. 12) kir-b1-Su,
a title of Marduk, Tabl.
VII, 1. 109 (p. 108); hiv
bu, pp. 107, 168.
karbati, plur., “fields”: ar-ba-
a-ti-ia, Pp. 232, |. 76.
kisu, “forest”: Ar-su, p. 134,
I. 25.
kistu, “forest”: plur. dr-sa-
tu-Ma, Pp. 134, |. 29.
4

ra’abu, ‘to rage”: Perm. ra--,

ba-it-ma, Pp. 234, |. 94.

rabu, “to quake”: ¢-ru-ub-bu,
p. 206, 1.8; p. 226, 1.20;

t-ru-bu, p. 226, 1. 21.

rabi, IlI2, “to make pre-
eminent”: Imper. Su-/e~
tr ba’, Tabl. II, 1. 136
(var., p. 36f.).
(rababu}, IL 1, “‘to make great” :
li-ra-ab-bi-t6, Tabi, III,
1. 52 (p. 45):
Ut" 1, dow: dis-rab-br-1b,
Tabl. I, lL. 142 (p. 20);
Tabl. II, 1. 48 (p. 28);
Tabl. Ill, 1. 52 (p. 44),
1. 110 (p. 54).
“to follow,
Inf. ‘ pursuit,
tion”:
1h 58.
ratu, “ water-channel (on land);
"current, movement (in
water)”: va-fu-um-ma,
p- 32, Lord.
rakabu, III2, “to sling on
(a spear)”: w5-/ar-hi-ba,
Tabl. IV, 1. 36 (p. 62).
rakasu, ‘to fix, to lay”: dr-ku-us,
p. 132, 1. 17.
riksu, “limit, bound (?)”:
rth-st-$u-un, Tabl. V, 1. 6
(p. 78).
markasu, “band”: [m]ar-kas,
p. 104.5 mar-ka-st, p. 165.
rami, II 1, ‘‘to set free”: Inf.
“deliverance”: ru-um-
mi-ta, Pp. 232, 1. 83.
résu, I1, ‘‘to smite, to crush(?)”:

di-ra-i-su, Tabl. IV, 1. 16

(p- 58).

‘distant; wide, com-

passionate (of theheart)”:
ru-u-ku, Tabl. VU, 1.135
(p. 112), P. 173-
ridi, pursue” ;
occupa-
1t-du-U-a, P. 230,

riku,

résu-arkat, “the Beginning and
the Future”: zéu-arki?,
Tabl. VIL, 1. 107 (p. 106);
ri-e-Su-ar-kat, p. 167; cf.
also Sa ina ri-e-S¢ u ar-ka-
fis she epe ig 4-is.
y

6'n, ‘to take wing, to fly”:
t-Sa-’, p. 230, 1. 63.
Be’, “to seek, to look for; to
perceive, to behold”:
7-se’-a, Tabl. I, 1. 60
(p. 12), Tabl. IV, 1. 66
(p. 66); 7@-Se-~-am-ma,
‘Yabl. II, |. 81 (p. 30); 4
Se-’-e-ma, var. te-e-[... J,
Tabl. LV, |. 83 (p. 68);
Perm. se~ (= Se’), Tabl. I,
1. 6 (p. 2).
§a/alu, 11, ‘to ask.”

Il 1, “to demand, to cry
out for”: u-Sa’-lu, var.
u-Sa~-a-lu, Tabl.1V, |. 92
(p- 70).
Sabi, Iz, “to overwhelm”:
é-sa-am-bu-’, p. 206, 1. 17.
Sabaku, “ to turn, to pervert (?)”:
Sab-Su, p. 140, |. 7.
[Sudu], con. st. Jud, “ height,
supremacy”; sud tamhari,

“command in battle” :
Tabl. I, lL. 131 (p. 20);
Tabi. II, 1. 37 (p. 26);
Tabl. III, lL. 41 (p. 42),
1. 99 (p. 52)-
§adadu, ‘to drag”: Pres. ¢-5ad-
da-[ad], p. 118, 1. 12.
{Sahadu], I2, ‘to rear up”:
LS-tah-hi-dam-ma, Vabl. I,
1. 120 (p. 16); Tabl. III,
I. 30 (p. 42), 1. 88 (p. 50);
Lis-tah-hi-da-am (var.dan)-
ma, Tabi. IL, 1. 26 (p. 24).
Suharruru, “to be afflicted”:
Pret, us-ha-r7-ir-ma, Tabl.
II, l. 6 (p. 22); Perm.
Su-har-ru-ur, Su-har-rus
rat, p. 232, 1. 75.
Sahatu, 11, ‘‘to rage.”
Ill 1, ‘to cause to rage, to
stir up”: w-Ja-ab-i-t,
p. 120, 1 53 Su-us-f2-24,
p- 120, I. 2.
Siklu, ‘sense (?)”:
p. 140, 1. 7.
Sikkatu, “supremacy, control” ;
rab-Sikkati, “chief” ; rab-
Stkhatalu, ** chieftain -
ship”: Tabl. I, Ll 131
(p. 20); Tabl. II, 1. 37
(p. 26); Yabl. III, 1. 41
(p. 42), 1. 99 (p. §2).
Sakanu, ‘‘to set; to provide.”
Sukuttu, ‘‘provision” : Sa-hu-
us-su, Tab]. VII, 1. 8
(Pp. 92)-
Sakaru, ‘‘to drink”; Perm. “ to
be drunk (?) 2: se-ch-ru
(poss. subs., ‘‘ carouse’’),
‘Tabl. HI, 1. 136 (p. 6).
Salummatu, “glory, pride”:
Sa-lum-mat, p. 148, |. 3.
Salaku, ‘‘to cut out, to cut off.”
Sulluktu, *‘ cutting off, de-
struction”: 5ed-lu-uk-1t,

p. 228, l. 373 p. 232, 1. 69.
Sumu, “name,” plur. sem? : Sa-
mi-e-Su, Tabl. VII, lL. 124
(var., p. 120).
si-th-la-Su,

Semi, I r, ‘to hear.”
IV 1, “to be heard”:
(?) des-Si-ma (or nasi, 11;
cf. var. fr. nisi, p. 109,
n. 17), Tabl. VII, 1. 114
(p. 108),
§amaru, 12, ‘to rage”: 2s-/am-
ma-ru, p. 230, |. §8.
Sumurratu, ‘confusion, rage,
anger”: Su-mur-ra-tu,
Tabl. VII, |. 42 (p. roo).
Sitmuris, “ wildly” : Se/-mu-r2¥
(var. 77-28), Tabl. LV, 1. 89
(P- 70).
Bani, ‘‘to repeat”; Inf. Janu,
“version”: SLa]-n[7']-[e],
p. 126, |. 8.
Sananu, “to rival.”
Sinnatu, “rivalry” » s¢7-na-as-
Su, .p. 206, 1. 12.
Basi, I 2, “to cry”: d-/a-st,
Tabi. I, 1. 42 (p. 8).
Sipru, ‘‘ business, occupation ”:
Se-pir, p. 152, 1. 19.
sukammumu, ‘to roar”: Perm.
[Se]-ka-am-mu-m{a}-alt),
Tabl. I, 1. 26 (p. 6).
Bakummis, Sakumme, ady., “in
“sorrow”: [Sa-hu-um]-mi-
‘a8, var. (Sa’]-u-um-me,
Tabl. I, 1. 58 (pp. 10, 186) ;
Sa-ku-um-mi-is, Tabl. U1,
1. 6 (p. 22).
Bakasu, “to destroy.”
Saksu, ‘violent, unruly”:

Sak-Su, p. 226, |. 26.
Saru, “wind”: sar arba’d, “the fourfold wind”; sar s7éz (var. VIL -67-7m), ‘the sevenfold wind”; sara

@a, “the whirlwind” ;
Sara la Sanan, “ the wind which had no equal,”
Tabl. IV, 1. 46 (p. 62).
[Sarn], “to oppose (?)”: Part. $a’ -ir-ru, p. 206, |. 11.
sértu, ‘punishment ”: Se-ri/-sw, Tabl. IV, |. 114 (p. 72).
Sarbabu, “terror (?)”: Sar-da-6a, Tabl. I, 1. 119 (p. 16); Tabl. III, |. 29 (p. 42), 1. 87 (p. 50); sar-ba-bi-2s (probably with pron. suff., not adv.), Tabl. II, 1. 25 (p. 24).
Saraka, “‘to present, to furnish”: w-ruk-[hi], p. 128, 1. 55 -ru-uk-ku, Pp. 129, 0. 73 iS-ru-ku-ntk-kim-ma, p. 128, 1. 7.
Sariiru, “light”: Se-ru-ur, p. 228, 1. 35.
Suri8am, adv.(?): Se-ri- Sam, Tabl. IV, 1. 124 (p. 74).
Sa8mu, “ battle, fight.”

SaSme’, ‘‘to the fight”: Sa-as-mes, Tabl. IV, 1. 94 (p- 7°)-
Sutummu, ‘ storehouse”:

lum-mu, p. 226, |, 28.

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Su~

n
tabinu, “‘ power, might”: /a-d7-

ni, p. 232, L. 78.
tubuktu, “enclosing wall”:
tub-ha-a-tt, p. 154, le 24.
tahazu, “battle.”
tahazi8, “to the battle’: /a-
ha-zi-t8, Tabl. IV, Ll. 94
(p- 79)-
IV.

Inder fo names of Deities, Stars, Places, efe.

Adad, god: * Adad, p. 198,1.5.

Adu-nuna, title of Marduk:
i A-du-nun-na, Tabl. VII
(K. 8,519 and comm, K.
4,406, Rev., col. ii, 1. 23),
pp. 104 f., 166; p. 173, 1. 20;
p. 178, 1. 21.
Aga-azag, title of Marduk:
Aga-azag, Tabi. VII, |. 25
(p. 96 f.).
Agi[l .. .], title of Marduk:
™ A-gill...], Tabl. VII
(K. 13,761), p. 102 f.; var.
“ Gr], p. 163-
Akkadi, Akkad: Ak-ka-di-7, p.
147,note, 1.20; Akkadiu*’,
p. 212, 1.26; ™ Akkadi *’,
p- 211, 1.18; si-7¢Ahk-ha-di-i,
p- 147, note, |. 16.
Akrabu, Scorpio: Afrabu,p.213,
ll. 6, 13, 14.
Alim-nuna, possibly shorter form
of Asaru-alim-nuna, title of
Marduk: [... A]LIM-NUN-
NA, p- 216.
Almanu, deity:
p. 218, 1. ro.
Ana, the god Anu: AN-NA, p.
124, 1. 1; p. 126, 1. 6; see
also Anu.
Anbanini, mythical king: Ax-da-
ni-nt, p. 142, 1, 18.
te Al-ma-nu,

Aniar, god: An-Sar, Tabl. I, ll.
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