

# Akkadian Myths and Epics

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

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

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

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

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

## The Creation Epic

The struggle between cosmic order and chaos was to the ancient Mesopotamians a fateful drama that was renewed at the turn of each new year. The epic which deals with these events was therefore the most significant expression of the religious

literature of Mesopotamia. The work, consisting of seven tablets, was known in Akkadian as *Enūma elīš* "When on high," after its opening words. It was recited with due solemnity on the fourth day of the New Year's festival.

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

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

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

The poem is cast in metric form. One seventh-century copy of Tablet IV, for instance, still shows plainly the division of lines into halves, thus bringing out the two beats of each half. Theological, political, and exegetical considerations have led to various changes and additions, but these are readily recognized for the most part thanks to the underlying metric framework.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, a translation cannot make use of this type of evidence, however obvious it may be. In general, the successive revisions have marred the poetic effect of the whole. Nevertheless, enough passages have come down intact to bear witness to a genuine literary inspiration in many instances.

### Tablet I

When on high the heaven had not been named,

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

Firm ground below had not been called by name,  
Naught but primordial Apsu, their begetter,  
(And) Mummu<sup>2</sup>-Tiamat, she who bore them all,  
Their<sup>3</sup> waters commingling as a single body;  
No reed hut<sup>4</sup> had been matted, no marsh land had  
appeared,

When no gods whatever had been brought into being,  
Uncalled by name, their destinies undetermined—  
Then it was that the gods were formed within them.<sup>5</sup>  
Lahmu and Lahamu were brought forth, by name  
they were called. (10)

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

The divine brothers banded together,  
They disturbed Tiamat as they surged back and forth,<sup>10</sup>  
Yea, they troubled the mood<sup>11</sup> of Tiamat  
By their *hilarity*<sup>12</sup> in the Abode of Heaven.  
Apsu could not lessen their clamor  
And Tiamat was speechless at their [ways].  
Their doings were loathsome unto [ . . . ]  
Unsavory were their ways; they were overbearing.<sup>13</sup>  
Then Apsu, the begetter of the great gods,  
Cried out, addressing Mummu, his vizier: (30)  
"O Mummu, my vizier, who rejoicest my spirit,<sup>14</sup>  
Come hither and let us go to Tiamat!"  
They went and sat down before Tiamat,  
Exchanging counsel about the gods, their first-born.  
Apsu, opening his mouth,  
Said unto *resplendent*<sup>15</sup> Tiamat:

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

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

<sup>4</sup> In this epic *gipuru* indicates both the primitive building material—as in this passage; cf. F. Douglas Van Buren, *Orientalia*, xiii (1944), 32—and a cult hut (Tablet I, 77). Both meanings can be reconciled on the basis of W. Andrae's researches into the origin of Mesopotamian shrine architecture; cf. his *Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im alten Orient* (1930). Note, however, that the initial *gi* of this word is not to be confused with Sumerian *gi* "reed."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

She was wroth and called out to her husband.  
She cried out aggrieved, as she raged all alone,  
Injecting woe into her mood:  
"What? Should we destroy that which we have built?  
Their ways indeed are most troublesome, but let us  
attend<sup>17</sup> kindly!"

Then answered Mummu, giving counsel to Apsu;  
[*Ill-wishing*] and ungracious was Mummu's advice:  
"Do destroy, my father, the mutinous ways.  
Then shalt thou have relief by day and  
rest by night!" (50)

When Apsu heard this, his face grew radiant  
Because of the evil he planned against the gods, his sons.  
As for Mummu, by the neck he embraced him  
As (that one) sat down on his knees to kiss him.<sup>18</sup>  
(Now) whatever they had plotted between them,  
Was repeated unto the gods, their first-born.  
When the gods heard (this),<sup>19</sup> they were astir,  
(Then) lapsed into silence and remained speechless.  
Surpassing in wisdom, accomplished, resourceful,  
Ea, the all-wise, saw through their<sup>20</sup> scheme. (60)

A master design against it he devised and set up,  
Made artful his spell against it, surpassing and holy.  
He recited it and made it subsist in the deep,<sup>21</sup>  
As he poured sleep upon him. Sound asleep he lay.<sup>22</sup>  
When Apsu he had made prone, drenched with sleep,  
Mummu, the adviser,<sup>23</sup> was powerless to stir<sup>24</sup>  
He loosened his band, tore off his tiara,  
Removed his halo<sup>25</sup> (and) put it on himself.<sup>26</sup>  
Having fettered Apsu, he slew him.  
Mummu he bound and left behind lock. (70)

Having thus upon Apsu established his dwelling,  
He laid hold on Mummu, holding him by the nose-ropes.  
After Ea had vanquished and trodden down his foes,  
Had secured his triumph over his enemies,  
In his sacred chamber in profound peace had rested,  
He named it "Apsu," for shrines he assigned (it).  
In that same place his cult hut<sup>27</sup> he founded.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>26</sup> The rich crop of variant readings which the Akkadian versions furnish for this passage, and the consequent variety of interpretations, appear to be due to the use of an archaic pronominal form (*šua*); cf. W. v. Soden, *ZA*, xl (1932), 182.

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

Ea and Damkina,<sup>28</sup> his wife, dwelled (there) in splendor.  
In the chamber of fates, the abode of destinies,  
A god was engendered, most able and  
wisest of gods.

(80)

In the heart of Apsu<sup>29</sup> was Marduk<sup>30</sup> created,  
In the heart of holy Apsu was Marduk created.  
He who begot him was Ea, his father;  
She who bore him was Damkina, his mother.  
The breast of goddesses he did suck.<sup>31</sup>

The nurse that nursed him filled him with awesomeness.  
Alluring was his figure, sparkling the lift of his eyes.  
Lordly was his gait, commanding from of old.  
When Ea saw him, the father who begot him,  
He exulted and glowed, his heart filled  
with gladness.

(90)

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

Perfect were his members beyond comprehension,  
Unsuited for understanding, difficult to perceive.  
Four were his eyes, four were his ears;  
When he moved his lips, fire blazed forth.  
Large were all four<sup>34</sup> hearing organs,  
And the eyes, in like number, scanned all things.  
He was the loftiest of the gods, surpassing was his  
stature,  
His members were enormous, he was  
exceeding tall.

(100)

"My little son, my little son!"<sup>35</sup>  
My son, the Sun! Sun of the heavens!"  
Clothed with the halo of ten gods, he was strong to the  
utmost,  
As their awesome flashes were heaped upon him.  
Anu brought forth and begot the fourfold wind  
Consigning to its power the leader of the host.

He fashioned . . . , *station[ed]* the whirlwind,<sup>36</sup>  
He produced streams to disturb Tiamat.  
The gods, given no rest, *suffer in* the storm.  
Their heart(s) having plotted evil,  
To Tiamat, their mother,<sup>37</sup> said:  
"When they slew Apsu, thy consort,  
Thou didst not aid him but remainedst still.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[ . . . ] thou papest about distraught,  
[ . . . without ce]ase. Thou dost not love us!  
[ . . . ] pinched are our eyes,

(120)

[ . . . ] without cease. Let us have rest!  
[ . . . to bat]le. Do thou avenge them!  
[ . . . ] and render (them) as the wind!"  
[When] Tiamat [heard] (these) words, she was  
pleased:<sup>40</sup>

"[ . . . ] you have given. Let us make *monsters*,  
[ . . . ] and the gods in the mid[st . . . ].  
[ . . . let us do] battle and against the gods [ . . . ]!"  
They thronged and marched at the side of Tiamat.  
Enraged, they plot without cease night and day,  
They are set for combat, growling, raging,

(130)

They form a council to prepare for the fight.  
Mother Hubur,<sup>41</sup> she who fashions all things,  
Added matchless weapons, bore monster-serpents,  
Sharp of tooth, unsparing of *fang*.  
[With venom] for blood she has filled their bodies.  
Roaring dragons she has clothed with terror,  
Has crowned them with haloes, making them like gods,  
So that he who beholds them shall perish abjectly,  
(And) that, with their bodies reared up, none might  
turn [them back].<sup>42</sup>

She set up the Viper, the Dragon,  
and the *Sphinx*,

(140)

The Great-Lion, the Mad-Dog, and the Scorpion-Man,  
Mighty lion-demons, the Dragon-Fly, the Centaur—  
Bearing weapons that spare not, fearless in battle.  
Firm were her decrees, past withstanding were they.  
Withal eleven of this kind she brought [forth].  
From among the gods, her first-born, who formed [her  
Assembly],

She elevated Kingu, made him chief among them.  
The leading of the ranks, command of the Assembly,  
The raising of weapons for the encounter, advancing to  
combat,

In battle the command-in-chief—  
These<sup>43</sup> to his hand she entrusted as she seated him in  
the Council:

(150)

"I have cast for thee the spell, exalting thee in the  
Assembly of the gods.  
To counsel all the gods I have given thee full power.<sup>44</sup>  
Verily, thou art supreme, my only consort art thou!

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>44</sup> The literal translation of this idiomatic phrase is "Into thy hand(s) I have charged (filled)."

Thy utterance shall prevail over all the Anunnaki!"  
 She gave him the Tablets of Fate, fastened on his breast:  
 "As for thee, thy command shall be unchangeable,  
 [Thy word] shall endure!"  
 As soon as Kingu was elevated, possessed of [the rank of  
 Anu],  
 For the gods, his<sup>45</sup> sons, [they<sup>46</sup> decreed] the fate:  
 "Your word shall make the fire subside, (160)  
 Shall humble the 'Power-Weapon,' so potent in (its)  
*sweep!*"<sup>47</sup>

## Tablet II

When Tiamat had thus lent import to her handiwork,  
 She prepared for battle against the gods, her offspring.  
 To avenge Apsu, Tiamat wrought evil.  
 That she was girding for battle, was divulged to Ea.  
 As soon as Ea heard of this matter,  
 He lapsed into dark silence and sat right still.  
 Then, on further thought, his anger subsided,  
 To Anshar, his (fore)father he betook himself.  
 When he came before his grandfather, Anshar,  
 All that Tiamat had plotted to him  
 he repeated: (10)  
 "My father, Tiamat, she who bore us, detests us.  
 She has set up the Assembly<sup>48</sup> and is furious with rage.  
 All the gods have rallied to her;  
 Even those whom you brought forth march at her side.  
 They throng and march at the side of Tiamat,  
 Enraged, they plot without cease night and day.  
 They are set for combat, growling, raging,  
 They have formed a council to prepare for the fight.  
 Mother Hubur, she who fashions all things,  
 Has added matchless weapons, has born  
 monster-serpents, (20)  
 Sharp of tooth, unsparing of *fang*.  
 With venom for blood she has filled their bodies.  
 Roaring dragons she has clothed with terror,  
 Has crowned them with haloes, making them like gods,  
 So that he who beholds them shall perish abjectly,  
 (And) that, with their bodies reared up, none might  
 turn them back.  
 She has set up the Viper, the Dragon, and the *Sphinx*,  
 The Great-Lion, the Mad-Dog, and the Scorpion-Man,  
 Mighty lion-demons, the Dragon-Fly, the Centaur—  
 Bearing weapons that spare not,  
 fearless in battle. (30)  
 Firm are her decrees, past withstanding are they.  
 Withal eleven of this kind she has brought forth.  
 From among the gods, her first-born, who formed her  
 Assembly,

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

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

<sup>47</sup> The word play of the original *gašru* : *magšaru* is difficult to reproduce. For this passage see A. L. Oppenheim, *Orientalia*, xvi (1947), 219. I retain, however, *kit-mu-ru* in place of Oppenheim's *šit-mu-ru*.

<sup>48</sup> For the all-important place of the *pušrum* or "assembly" in Mesopotamian society, celestial as well as human, cf. Th. Jacobsen, *Primitive Democracy in Mesopotamia*, *JNES*, II (1943), 159 ff., and my remarks on Some Sources of Intellectual and Social Progress in the Ancient Near East, *Studies in the History of Culture* (1942), 51 ff. When used in its technical sense, the word has been capitalized in this translation.

She has elevated Kingu, has made him chief among  
 them.  
 The leading of the ranks, command of the Assembly,  
 The raising of weapons for the encounter, advancing to  
 combat,  
 In battle the command-in-chief—  
 These<sup>49</sup> to his hands [she entrusted] as she seated him in  
 the Council:  
 '[I have cast the spell] for thee, exalting thee in the  
 Assembly of the gods.  
 [To counsel all the] gods [I have given thee] full  
 power.'<sup>40</sup> (40)  
 [Verily, thou art supreme, my only consort] art thou!  
 [Thy utterance shall prevail over all the Anun]naki!  
 [She has given him the Tablets of Fate, fastened on his  
 breast]:  
 '[As for thee, thy command shall be unchangeable],  
 They word shall endure!  
 [As soon as Kingu was elevated], possessed of the rank  
 of Anu,  
 [For the gods, her<sup>50</sup> sons, they decreed the fate:  
 '[Your word] shall make the fire subside,  
 Shall humble the "Power-Weapon," [so potent in (its)  
*sweep!*]' "<sup>51</sup>  
 [When Anshar heard that Tiamat] was sorely troubled,  
 [He smote his loins<sup>51</sup> and] bit his lips. (50)  
 [Gloomy was his heart], restless his mood.  
 [He covered] his [mouth] to stifle his outcry:<sup>52</sup>  
 "[. . .] battle.  
 [The weapon thou hast made], up, bear thou!  
 [Lo, 'ummu and] Apsu thou didst slay.  
 [Now, slay thou Kin]gu, who marches before her.  
 [. . .] wisdom."  
 [Answered the counselor of] the gods, Nudimmud.  
 (The reply of Ea-Nudimmud is lost in the break.  
 Apparently, Ea had no remedy, for Anshar next turns  
 to Anu:)  
 [To Anu,] his son, [a word] he addressed:  
 "[. . .] this, the most puissant of heroes,  
 Whose strength [is outstanding], past resisting his on-  
 slaught.  
 [Go] and stand thou up to Tiamat,  
 That her mood [be calmed], that her heart expand.  
 [If] she will not hearken to thy word,  
 Then tell her our [word], that she might be calmed."  
 When [he heard] the command of his father, Anshar,  
 [He made straight] for her way, following  
 the road to her. (80)  
 [But when Anu was near (enough)] to see the plan of  
 Tiamat,  
 [He was not able to face her and] he turned back.  
 [He came abjectly to his father], Anshar.  
 [As though he were Tiamat<sup>53</sup> thus he] addressed him:

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

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

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

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

<sup>53</sup> The suffix *-ki* in the next line makes it apparent that the statement addressed to Anshar is an exact quotation of Anu's previous speech to Tiamat. The context bears out this interpretation.

"My hand [suff]ices not for me to subdue thee."  
Speechless was Anshar as he stared at the ground,  
Hair on edge, shaking his head at Ea.  
All the Anunnaki gathered at that place;  
Their lips closed tight, [they sat] in silence.  
"No god" (thought they) "can go [to  
battle and], (90)

Facing Tiamat, escape [with his life]."  
Lord Anshar, father of the gods, [rose up] in grandeur,  
And having pondered in his heart, he [said to the  
Anunnaki]:

"He whose [strength] is potent shall be [our] avenger,  
He who is [seen] in battle, Marduk, the hero!"  
Ea called [Marduk] to his place of seclusion.  
[Giving counsel, he told him what was in his heart,<sup>54</sup>  
"O Marduk, consider my advice. Harken to thy father,  
For thou art my son who comforts his<sup>55</sup> heart.  
When facing Anshar, approach as though in  
combat, (100)  
Stand up as thou speakest; seeing thee, he will grow  
restful."

The lord rejoiced at the word of his father;  
He approached and stood up facing Anshar.  
When Anshar saw him, his heart filled with joy.  
He kissed his lips, his (own) gloom dispelled.

"[Anshar], be not muted; open wide thy lips.

I will go and attain thy heart's desire.

[Anshar], be not muted; open wide thy lips.

I will go and attain thy heart's desire!

What male is it who has pressed his fight  
against thee? (110)

[It is but] Tiamat, a woman, that flies at thee with  
weapons!

[O my father]-creator, be glad and rejoice;

The neck of Tiamat thou shalt soon tread upon!

[O my father]-creator, be glad and rejoice;

[The neck] of Tiamat thou shalt soon tread upon!"

"My son, (thou) who knowest all wisdom,

Calm [Tiamat] with thy holy spell.

On the storm-ch[ariot] proceed with all speed.

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

The lord [rejoiced] at the word of his father. (120)

His heart exalting, he said to his father:

"Creator of the gods, destiny of the great gods,

If I indeed, as your avenger,

Am to vanquish Tiamat and save your lives,

Set up the Assembly, proclaim supreme my destiny!

When jointly in Ubshukinna<sup>56</sup> you have sat down re-  
joicing,

Let my word, instead of you, determine the fates.

Unalterable shall be what I may bring into being;

Neither recalled nor changed shall be the command of  
my lips."

### Tablet III

Anshar opened his mouth and

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

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

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

To Gaga, his vizier, a word he addressed:

"O Gaga, my vizier, who gladdenest my spirit,

To Lahmu and Lahamu I will dispatch thee.

Thou knowest discernment, art adept at fine talk;

The gods, thy fathers, produce thou before me!

Let all the gods proceed hither,

Let them hold converse, sit down to a banquet,

Let them eat festive bread, poured<sup>57</sup> wine;

For Marduk, their avenger, let them fix

the decrees. (10)

Be on thy way, Gaga, take the stand before them,

And that which I shall tell thee repeat thou unto them:

'Anshar, your son, has sent me hither,

Charging me to give voice to [the dictates] of his heart,

[Saying]: "Tiamat, she who bore us, detests us.

She has set up the [Assembly] and is furious with rage.

All the gods have rallied to her;

Even those whom you brought forth march at her side.

They throng and march at the side of Tiamat.

Enraged, they plot without cease night

and day. (20)

They are set for combat, growling, raging,

They have formed a council to prepare for the fight.

Mother Hubur, she who fashions all things,

Has added matchless weapons, has born monster-ser-

pents,

Sharp of tooth, unsparing of *fang*.

With venom for blood she has filled their bodies.

Roaring dragons she has clothed with terror,

Has crowned them with haloes, making them like gods,

So that he who beholds them shall perish abjectly,

(And) that, with their bodies reared up, none

might turn them back. (30)

She has set up the Viper, the Dragon, and the *Sphinx*,

The Great-Lion, the Mad-Dog, and the Scorpion-Man,

Mighty lion-demons, the Dragon-Fly, the Centaur—

Bearing weapons that spare not, fearless in battle.

Firm are her decrees, past withstanding are they.

Withal eleven of this kind she has brought forth.

From among the gods, her first-born, who formed [her

Assembly],

She has elevated Kingu, has made [him] chief among

them.

The leading of the ranks, [command of the Assembly],

The raising of weapons for the encounter,

ad[vancing to combat], (40)

In battle the comm[and]-in-chief—

These to his hands [she entrusted] as she se[ated him in

the Council]:

'[I have] cast the spell for thee, [exalting thee] in the

Assembly of the gods.

To counsel all the gods [I have given thee full power].

[Verily], thou art supreme, my [only consort art thou]!

Thy utterance shall prevail over all the [Anunnaki]!"

She has given him the Tablets of Fate, [fastened on his

breast:

<sup>57</sup> This use of *paṭāqu* is attested for metallurgy.

'As for thee, thy command shall be unchangeable,  
Thy word shall endure!'

As soon as Kingu was elevated, possessed of the rank of  
Anu,

For the gods, her sons, they decreed the fate: (50)

'Your word shall make the fire subside,  
Shall humble the "Power-Weapon," so potent in (its)  
*sweep!*'

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

He opened his mouth, saying unto me:  
'If I indeed, as your avenger,  
Am to vanquish Tiamat and save your lives,  
Set up the Assembly, proclaim supreme  
my destiny! (60)

When jointly in Ubshukinna you have sat down re-  
joicing,

Let my word, instead of you, determine the fates.  
Unalterable shall be what I may bring into being;  
Neither recalled nor changed shall be the command of  
my lips!'

Now hasten hither and promptly fix for him your  
decrees,

That he may go forth to face your mighty foe!'" "

Gaga departed, proceeding on his way.

Before Lahmu and Lahamu, the gods, his fathers,  
He made obeisance, kissing the ground at their feet.  
He bowed low as he took his place

to address them: (70)

"It was Anshar, your son, who has sent me hither,  
Charging me to give voice to the dictates of his heart,  
Saying: 'Tiamat, she who bore us, detests us.

She has set up the Assembly and is furious with rage.

All the gods have rallied to her,

Even those whom you brought forth march at her side.

They throng and march at the side of Tiamat.

Enraged, they plot without cease night and day.

They are set for combat, growling, raging,

They have formed a council to prepare  
for the fight. (80)

Mother Hubur, she who fashions all things,  
Has added matchless weapons, has born monster-ser-  
pents,

Sharp of tooth, unsparing of *fang*.

With venom for blood she has filled their bodies,

Roaring dragons she has clothed with terror,

Has crowned them with haloes, making them like gods,

So that he who beholds them shall perish abjectly,

(And) that, with their bodies reared up, none might  
turn them back.

She has set up vipers,<sup>88</sup> dragons, and *sphinxes*,  
Great-lions, mad-dogs, and scorpion-men, (90)

Mighty lion-demons, dragon-flies, and centaurs—

<sup>88</sup> In view of the plurals in this passage (one text, however, retains the  
singulars), the names of the monsters are this time given in lower case.

Bearing weapons that spare not, fearless in battle.

Firm are decrees, past withstanding are they.

Withal eleven of this kind she has brought forth.

From among the gods, her first-born, who formed her  
Assembly,

She has elevated Kingu, has made him chief among  
them.

The leading of the ranks, command of the Assembly,  
The raising of weapons for the encounter, advancing to  
combat,

In battle the command-in-chief—

These to his hands she has entrusted as she  
seated him in the Council: (100)

'I have cast the spell for thee, exalting thee in the  
Assembly of the gods.

To counsel all the gods I have given thee full power.

Verily, thou art supreme, my only consort art thou!

Thy utterance shall prevail over all the Anunnaki!

She has given him the Tablets of Fate, [fastened on his  
breast]:

'As for thee, thy command shall be un[changeable,  
Thy word shall endure]!'

As soon as Kingu was elevated, [possessed of the rank  
of Anu],

For the gods, her sons, [they decreed the fate]:

'Your word shall make the fire subside,

[Shall humble the "Power-]Weapon," so potent  
in (its) *sweep!*' (110)

I sent forth Anu; he could not [face her].

Nudimmud was afraid [and turned back].

Forth came Marduk, the wisest [of gods, your son],

[His heart having prompted him to set out] to face  
Tiamat.

He opened his mouth, [saying unto me]:

'If I indeed, [as your avenger],

Am to vanquish Tiamat [and save your lives],

Set up the Assembly, [proclaim supreme my destiny]!

When in Ubshukinna [jointly you sit down rejoicing],

Let my word, instead of [you, determine  
the fates]. (120)

Unalterable shall be what [I] may bring into being;

Neither recalled nor changed shall be the command [of  
my lips]!

Now hasten hither and promptly [fix for him] your  
decrees,

That he may go forth to face your mighty foe!"

When Lahmu and Lahamu heard this, they cried out  
aloud,

All the Igigi<sup>89</sup> wailed in distress:

"How strange<sup>90</sup> that they should have made [this] de-  
cision!

We cannot fathom the doings of Tiamat!"

They made ready<sup>91</sup> to leave on their journey,  
All the great gods who decree the fates. (130)

They entered before Anshar, filling [Ubshukinna].

They kissed one another in the Assembly.

<sup>89</sup> The heavenly deities.

<sup>90</sup> Lit. "What has turned strange?"

<sup>91</sup> cf. Oppenheim, *Orientalia*, xvi (1947), 223.

They held converse as they [sat down] to the banquet.  
They ate festive bread, poured [the wine],  
They wetted their drinking-tubes<sup>62</sup> with sweet intoxicant.  
As they drank the strong drink, [their] bodies swelled.  
They became very languid as their spirits rose.  
For Marduk, their avenger, they fixed the decrees.

## Tablet IV

They created for him a princely throne.  
Facing his fathers, he sat down, presiding.<sup>63</sup>  
"Thou art the most honored of the great gods,  
Thy decree is unrivaled, thy command is Anu."<sup>64</sup>  
Thou, Marduk, art the most honored of the great gods,  
Thy decree is unrivaled, thy word is Anu.  
From this day unchangeable shall be thy pronouncement.

To raise or bring low—these shall be (in) thy hand.  
Thy utterance shall be true, thy command shall be unimpeachable.

No one among the gods shall transgress thy bounds! (10)

Adornment being wanted for the seats of the gods,  
Let the place of their shrines ever be in thy place.  
O Marduk, thou art indeed our avenger.  
We have granted thee kingship over the universe entire.  
When in Assembly thou sittest, thy word shall be supreme.

Thy weapons shall not fail; they shall smash thy foes!  
O lord, spare the life of him who trusts thee,  
But pour out the life of the god who seized evil."  
Having placed in their midst a piece of cloth,  
They addressed themselves to Marduk, their first-born: (20)

"Lord, truly thy decree is first among gods.  
Say but to wreck or create; it shall be.  
Open thy mouth: the cloth will vanish!  
Speak again, and the cloth shall be whole!"  
At the word of his mouth the cloth vanished.  
He spoke again, and the cloth was restored.  
When the gods, his fathers, saw the fruit of his word,<sup>65</sup>  
Joyfully they did homage: "Marduk is king!"  
They conferred on him scepter, throne, and vestment;  
They gave him matchless weapons that ward off the foes: (30)

"Go and cut off the life of Tiamat.  
May the winds bear her blood to places undisclosed."  
Bel's destiny thus fixed, the gods, his fathers,  
Caused him to go the way of success and attainment.  
He constructed a bow, marked it as his weapon,  
Attached thereto the arrow, fixed his bow-cord.  
He raised the mace, made his right hand grasp it;  
Bow and quiver he hung at his side.  
In front of him he set the lightning,

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

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

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

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

With a blazing flame he filled his body (40)  
He then made a net to enfold Tiamat therein.  
The four winds he stationed that nothing of her might escape,

The South Wind, the North Wind, the East Wind, the West Wind.

Close to his side he held the net, the gift of his father, Anu.

He brought forth Imhullu "the Evil Wind," the Whirlwind, the Hurricane,

The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless Wind;

Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.

To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him.  
Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon.

He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying. (50)

He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four, The Killer, the Relentless, the Trampler, the Swift. Sharp were their teeth, bearing poison.

They were versed in ravage, in destruction skilled.  
On his right he posted the *Smiter*, fearsome in battle,  
On the left the Combat, which repels all the zealous.<sup>66</sup>  
For a cloak he was wrapped in an armor of terror;<sup>67</sup>  
With his fearsome halo his head was turbaned.

The lord went forth and followed his course,  
Towards the raging Tiamat he set his face. (60)  
In his lips he held a spell;<sup>68</sup>

A plant to put out poison was grasped in his hand.  
Then they milled about him, the gods milled about him,  
The gods, his fathers, milled about him, the gods milled about him.

The lord approached to scan the inside of Tiamat,  
(And) of Kingu, her consort, the scheme to perceive.

As he looks on, his course becomes upset,  
His will is distracted and his doings are confused.  
And when the gods, his helpers, who marched at his side,

Saw the valiant hero, blurred became their vision. (70)

Tiamat emitted [a cry],<sup>69</sup> without turning her neck,  
Framing<sup>70</sup> "savage" defiance in her lips;<sup>71</sup>  
"Too important art thou [for]<sup>72</sup> the lord of the gods to rise up against thee!"

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

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

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

<sup>69</sup> cf. E. Weidner, *A/O*, 111 (1926), 123 for the reading [*rig*]a, although [*ra*]a "her incantation" is not impossible. For lines 64-83 see the fragment published by Weidner, *ibid.*, 122-24.

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

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

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

<sup>73</sup> Reading [*ka*]b-ta-t[*a a?*-n]a *la*, cf. *CT*, xiii, 17; the third sign does not appear to be adequately reproduced in *Dicmel*, *Enuma Eliš*, 17, and the fifth sign cannot be read *lu* (for [n]a) as is done by Labat, *PBC*, 128.

Is it in their place that they have gathered, (or) in thy place?"

Thereupon the lord, having [raised] the flood-storm, his mighty weapon,

[To] enraged [Tiamat] he sent word as follows:

"Why art thou risen,<sup>74</sup> art haughtily exalted,  
Thou hast charged thine own heart to stir up conflict,  
. . . sons reject their own fathers,  
Whilst thou, who hast born them,  
hast foresworn love! (80)

Thou hast appointed Kingu as thy consort,  
Conferring upon him the rank of Anu, not rightfully his.<sup>75</sup>

Against Anshar, king of the gods, thou seekest evil;  
[Against] the gods, my fathers, thou hast confirmed thy wickedness.

[Though] drawn up be thy forces, girded on thy weapons,

Stand thou up, that I and thou meet in single combat!"

When Tiamat heard this,  
She was like one possessed; she took leave of her senses.  
In fury Tiamat cried out aloud.

To the roots her legs shook both together.<sup>76</sup> (90)

She recites a charm, keeps casting her spell,  
While the gods of battle sharpen their weapons.

Then joined issue Tiamat and Marduk, wisest of gods.

They strove<sup>77</sup> in single combat, locked in battle.

The lord spread out his net to enfold her,  
The Evil Wind, which followed behind, he let loose in her face.

When Tiamat opened her mouth to consume him,  
He drove in the Evil Wind that she close not her lips.

As the fierce winds charged her belly,  
Her body was distended<sup>78</sup> and her mouth

was wide open. (100)

He released the arrow, it tore her belly,  
It cut through her insides, splitting the heart.

Having thus subdued her, he extinguished her life,  
He cast down her carcass to stand upon it.

After he had slain Tiamat, the leader,  
Her band was shattered, her troupe broken up;

And the gods, her helpers who marched at her side,  
Trembling with terror, turned their backs about,

In order to save and preserve their lives,  
Tightly encircled, they could not escape. (110)

He made them captives and he smashed their weapons,  
Thrown into the net, they found themselves ensnared;

Placed in cells, they were filled with wailing;  
Bearing his wrath, they were held imprisoned.

<sup>74</sup> For lines 76-83 cf. now *Anatolian Studies*, II, 28 as well as the Weidner fragment cited in n. 69. The first (Gurney fragment) supplies the parts which were missing in the Weidner fragment—correcting some of the guesses of modern interpreters.

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

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

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

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

And the eleven creatures which she had charged with awe,

The band of demons that marched . . . before her,  
He cast into fetters, their hands . . .

For all their resistance, he trampled (them) underfoot.  
And Kingu, who had been made chief among them,

He bound and accounted him to Uggae.<sup>79</sup> (120)

He took from him the Tablets of Fate, not rightfully his,

Sealed (them) with a seal<sup>80</sup> and fastened (them) on his breast.

When he had vanquished and subdued his adversaries,  
Had . . . the vainglorious foe,

Had wholly established Anshar's triumph over the foe,  
Nudimmud's desire had achieved, valiant Marduk

Strengthened his hold on the vanquished gods,  
And turned back to Tiamat whom he had bound.

The lord trod on the legs of Tiamat,  
With his unsparing mace he crushed her skull. (130)

When the arteries of her blood he had severed,  
The North Wind bore (it) to places undisclosed.

On seeing this, his fathers were joyful and jubilant,  
They brought gifts of homage, they to him.

Then the lord paused to view her dead body,  
That he might divide the monster and do artful works.

He split her like a shellfish into two parts:  
Half of her he set up and ceiled it as sky,

Pulled down the bar and posted guards.  
He bade them to allow not her waters

to escape. (140)

He crossed the heavens and surveyed the regions.  
He squared Apsu's quarter,<sup>81</sup> the abode of Nudimmud,

As the lord measured the dimensions of Apsu.  
The Great Abode, its likeness, he fixed as Esharra,

The Great Abode, Esharra, which he made as the firmament.  
Anu, Enlil, and Ea he made occupy their places.

#### Tablet V

He constructed stations for the great gods,  
Fixing their astral likenesses as constellations.

He determined the year by designating the zones:  
He set up three constellations for each of the twelve

months.  
After defining the days of the year [by means] of

(heavenly) figures,  
He founded the station of Nebiru<sup>82</sup> to determine their

(heavenly) bands,  
That none might transgress or fall short.

Alongside it he set up the stations of Enlil and Ea.  
Having opened up the gates on both sides,

He strengthened the locks to the left  
and the right. (10)

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

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

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

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

In her belly he established the zenith.  
 The Moon he caused to shine, the night (to him) entrusting.  
 He appointed him a creature of the night to signify the days:  
 "Monthly, without cease, form designs with a crown.  
 At the month's very start, rising over the land,  
 Thou shalt have luminous horns to signify six days,  
 On the seventh day reaching a [half]-crown.  
 At full moon<sup>88</sup> stand in opposition<sup>89</sup> in mid-month.  
 When the sun [overtakes] thee at the base of heaven,  
 Diminish [thy crown] and retrogress in light. (20)  
 [At the time of disappearance] approach thou the course  
 of the sun,  
 And [on the twenty-ninth] thou shalt again stand in  
 opposition to the sun."  
 (The remainder of this tablet is broken away or too  
 fragmentary for translation.)

Tablet VI

When Marduk hears the words of the gods,  
 His heart prompts (him) to fashion artful works.  
 Opening his mouth, he addresses Ea  
 To impart the plan he had conceived in his heart:  
 "Blood I will mass and cause bones to be.  
 I will establish a savage,<sup>88</sup> 'man' shall be his name.  
 Verily, savage-man I will create.  
 He shall be charged with the service of the gods  
 That they might be at ease!  
 The ways of the gods I will artfully alter,  
 Though alike revered, into two (groups) they  
 shall be divided." (10)  
 Ea answered him, speaking a word to him,  
 Giving him another plan for the relief of the gods:  
 "Let but one of their brothers be handed over;  
 He alone shall perish that mankind may be fashioned.<sup>87</sup>  
 Let the great gods be here in Assembly,  
 Let the guilty be handed over that they may endure."  
 Marduk summoned the great gods to Assembly;  
 Presiding<sup>88</sup> graciously, he issues instructions.  
 To his utterance the gods pay heed.<sup>89</sup>  
 The king addresses a word to the Anunnaki: (20)  
 "If your former statement was true,

<sup>88</sup> Tiamat's.

<sup>89</sup> Akkadian *Iapattu*, the prototype of the "Sabbath" in so far as the injunctions against all types of activity are concerned.

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

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

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

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

<sup>89</sup> Reading *u-paq-qu-ull* (var. *-ju!*), with W. von Soden, *ZA*, XLVII (1942), 3. Von Soden's notes on the remainder of Tablet VI and on Tablet VII, together with his translation of the hitherto unknown or obscure parts of Tablet VII—based on new fragments and on corrected readings of the text published by E. Ebeling in *MAOG*, XII (1939), part 4—(see *loc. cit.*, 1-26) have proved very illuminating, as may be seen from the numerous references below; see now *LKA*, 7 and 8.

Do (now) the truth on oath by me declare!<sup>90</sup>  
 Who was it that contrived the uprising,  
 And made Tiamat rebel, and joined battle?  
 Let him be handed over who contrived the uprising.  
 His guilt I will make him bear. You shall dwell in  
 peace!"  
 The Igigi, the great gods, replied to him,  
 To Lugaldimmerankia,<sup>91</sup> counselor of the gods, their  
 lord:<sup>92</sup>

"It was Kingu who contrived the uprising,  
 And made Tiamat rebel, and joined battle." (30)  
 They bound him, holding him before Ea.  
 They imposed on him his guilt and severed his blood  
 (vessels).

Out of his blood they fashioned mankind.  
 He<sup>93</sup> imposed the service and let free the gods.  
 After Ea, the wise, had created mankind,  
 Had imposed upon it the service of the gods—  
 That work was beyond comprehension;  
 As artfully planned by Marduk, did Nudimmud create  
 it—

Marduk, the king of the gods divided  
 All the Anunnaki above and below.<sup>94</sup> (40)  
 He assigned (them) to Anu to guard his instructions.  
 Three hundred in the heavens he stationed as a guard.  
 In like manner the ways of the earth he defined.  
 In heaven and on earth six hundred (thus) he settled.  
 After he had ordered all the instructions,  
 To the Anunnaki of heaven and earth had allotted their  
 portions,

The Anunnaki opened their mouths  
 And said to Marduk, their lord:  
 "Now,<sup>95</sup> O lord, thou who hast caused our deliverance,  
 What shall be our homage to thee? (50)  
 Let us build a shrine whose name shall be called  
 'Lo, a chamber for our nightly rest'; let us repose in it!  
 Let us build a throne, a recess for his abode!<sup>96</sup>  
 On the day that we arrive<sup>97</sup> we shall repose in it."  
 When Marduk heard this,  
 Brightly glowed his features, like the day:  
 "Like that of *lofty* Babylon, whose building you have  
 requested,

Let its brickwork be fashioned. You shall name it<sup>98</sup> 'The  
 Sanctuary.'  
 The Anunnaki applied the implement;  
 For one whole year they molded bricks. (60)  
 When the second year arrived,

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

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

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

<sup>93</sup> Ea.

<sup>94</sup> Here and elsewhere in this epic the Anunnaki are understood to be the celestial gods (normally Igigi) as well as those of the lower regions.

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

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

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

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

