

THE ATRAHASIS EPIC
and Its Place in
Babylonian Literature

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the Degree of
Master of Philosophy
by
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S U M M A R Y

The purpose of this study is to present, for the first time, the Epic of Atrahasis, as far as extant, in transliteration and translation (chapters II, III), and to examine it beside other Babylonian compositions containing similar material. Until 1965 only some three hundred lines of the Epic were known. That year saw the publication of the cuneiform text of some late Assyrian fragments by W.G. Lambert, and of two large Old Babylonian tablets by the writer (Cuneiform Texts XLVI). This new material, together with some unpublished texts, brings the number of lines represented to nearly one thousand (chapter 1). The large number of manuscripts of the work attest its popularity and importance. When the narrative of the creation of man is compared with other Mesopotamian texts, clear affinities are apparent with certain Sumerian and Akkadian traditions. Moreover, it can be shown that it probably formed a major source for the compilation of the later 'Babylonian Genesis', Enuma elish (chapter V). The second major theme, the Flood, is compared with other Flood Stories; parts of that narrative contained in the Gilgamesh Epic are identical with passages in the Atrahasis Epic, from which it is shown they were very probably borrowed (chapter VI). Certain sections within the poem reveal political institutions or practices of interest for the study of 'Primitive Democracy', of Babylonian concepts of remote history, and of traditions preserved in

the King Lists (chapter VII). As a major literary work, the Epic of Atrahasis is shown to provide new material for investigation of the syntax and prosody of the 'Golden Age' of Akkadian literature (chapter IV). Obvious and important similarities to Hebrew tradition, closer in many points in Atrahasis than in any other Babylonian compositions, and the more remote comparisons with Greek legends fall beyond the scope of this investigation, but some indication of these is given (chapter VIII).

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

The edition of the text of the Epic of Atrahasis included in this study has arisen from the writer's discovery of the two large Old Babylonian tablets published in copy in Cuneiform Texts XLVI, pls. I-XXI. As this is the first presentation of this new material there are inevitably many uncertainties of translation and explanation. Some of these problems have been simplified or solved by Mr. W.G. Lambert, with whom much of the text has been discussed. Where his contribution is incorporated in the Notes (chapter III), the initials W.G.L. are added in parenthesis, although he is not responsible for their present formulation. Professor D.J. Wiseman has supervised the whole thesis and has freely supplied many references and provocative suggestions.

1. DISCOVERY OF THE EPIC

Modern knowledge of the Atrahasis Epic springs from the work of George Smith, a pioneer in the study of Akkadian literature. In his book The Chaldaean Account of Genesis¹ he translated parts of two fragmentary texts (a and k) preserved in the British Museum, having come from the Assyrian libraries at Nineveh, in which he observed certain incidents of a story recounting a series of punishments inflicted upon mankind. There was unrest among men, a mother shutting the door against her daughter, but a pious man Atarpi or Atarpi-nisi² sat by the river and interceded with his god by the river; an angry god called an assembly of the gods and announced a dearth as punishment to be inflicted upon sinful mankind; this duly occurred. The few lines of a record the directions of one god to another in the assembly of the gods. Undoubtedly Smith would have published these texts in full had he not died so tragically in 1876. He did edit another fragment of the poem, found during his excavations at Nineveh under the sponsorship of the Daily Telegraph. This is the text (m) which he thought filled a major gap in the Flood story he had already pieced together, incorporated in the Gilgamesh Epic. It contains the end of a speech by the god Ea to Atrahasis, whose name is spelled out syllabically, ordering him to build a ship

1. London, 1875, pp.153-156.
2. Smith's reading of Atrahasis.

and board it with his kin and his goods, and Atrahasis' request for details of the construction.³ It was soon realized that the fragment did not fit in the Gilgamesh narrative⁴ and accordingly it was printed separately in the second edition of Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia IV.⁵

No progress was made in the study of the story until H. Zimmern produced a transliteration and translation of ms. k in 1899.⁶ His discussion introduces two texts made known the previous year. T.G. Pinches had copied an Old Babylonian piece (B)⁷, the reverse of which Zimmern showed to be an earlier version of one column of k, describing the recitation of a spell by Ea and Mami and the creation of seven men and seven women from clay in a sort of birth-process. The obverse of B told of the creation of men from clay mingled with the blood of a slain god. He demonstrated that another column of K found an ancestral text in the corner of an Old Babylonian tablet studied by V. Scheil (E).⁸ In the first column of this is described the anger of a god at the multiplication and noise of mankind resulting in the imposition of a dearth to reduce it, while

3. Assyrian Discoveries², London, 1875, pp.97,186; T.S.B.A.III, (1874),pp.540-542, 11.35-52; C.I.W.A.IV¹, London,1875,pl.50, 11.36-52.

4. F. Delitzsh, Assyrische Lesestucke³, Leipzig (1885),p.101; P. Haupt, B.A.I (1889),pp.122,151; Das Babylonische Nimrod-Epos, Leipzig 1891, p.131, no.69.

5. London, 1890, Additions, p.9; see T.G. Pinches, E.T.XXI (1910),p.364.

6. Z.A. XIV,pp.277-292.

7. C.T. VI, no.5.

8. Receuil de Travaux XX, pp.55-59, plate at end of volume.

the last column mentions a flood. The colophon on the reverse indicated that this was the second tablet of a series entitled Inuma ilu awilum, 'When the gods, man'. These three texts, together with m, yielded sufficient information for Zimmern to give an outline of the story and to call it 'The Myth of Atrahasis'. The opening episodes remained as George Smith had found, rebellious mankind punished by the plagues and dearth. Zimmern could now add the incident of the Flood as the culmination of the gods' displeasure, and the escape of Atrahasis. The making of man from the blood-mixed clay he thought might represent a re-creation after the destruction by the deluge. In this article he established the correct reading of the hero's name previously rendered by Smith as Atarpi. Zimmern's text was the basis of the edition by P. Jensen in the Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek,⁹ actually published before Zimmern's own paper. A photograph of the larger side of k was printed in 1899¹⁰ and a copy was given by L.W. King three years later.¹¹ Thereafter translations of the poem appeared in various popular books.¹²

9. VI, Berlin, 1900, pp.288-291.

10. C. Bezold, Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection, V, London, pl. VIII.

11. C.T. XV, pl.49

12. e.g. E. Dhorme, Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens, Paris, 1907, pp.128-130; A. Ungnad in H. Gressmann, Altorientalische Texte und Bilder I¹, Gottingen, 1909, pp.57ff.; R.W. Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament¹, New York, 1912, pp. 103-107, 113-121.

The next stage was the re-edition of the texts. In a study of the Creation of Man, S. Langdon re-copied B and transliterated and translated the obverse.¹³ A revised text of the Old Babylonian ms. E was also published. It had passed into the Pierpont Morgan Library where it was cleaned and a new copy made by A.T. Clay.¹⁴ His study, incorporating the other known texts of the Epic drew attention to similarities in a Sumerian account of man's early history from Nippur.¹⁵ Clay's translation, and some of his readings, were severely criticized by D.D. Luckenbill for excessive reliance on Hebrew etymologies. Many of Luckenbill's suggestions have proved correct, as have those of R. Campbell Thompson who reviewed Clay's book (see Notes to Tablet II).¹⁶ Clay replied to his critics the following year, substantiating several of his readings with enlarged photographs of the pertinent signs.¹⁷

Nine years after Clay's publication, A. Boissier edited a fragment of an Old Babylonian tablet, the third and last in the series Inuma ilu awilum, according to the colophon,

13. Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man, P.B.S.X.1, 1915, pp.24-26, pls. III-IV.
14. A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform, Y.O.R.V.3, 1922; copy reproduced in Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan, IV, Newhaven, 1923, pl.1.
15. A. Poebel, Historical and Grammatical Texts, P.B.S.IV.1, pp.9-70, pls. 86-89.
16. A.J.S.L. XXXIX (1922-1923), pp.153-160; Times Literary Supplement, October 12, 1922, p.646.
17. The Origin of Biblical Traditions, Y.O.R.XII, pp.173-186 223-224.

and written by the same scribe as ms. E (F¹).¹⁸ Here the god Enki instructs Atrahasis to build a large boat in which to save himself and his family. At the same time E. Ebeling discovered, in a text copied many years before (j), a partial duplicate of the overlapping sections of mss. B and k concerning the incantation recited over the clay by Ea and Mami at the creation of man.¹⁹ His transliteration and translation of B and a composite text of j and k emphasizes the similarities, but its position in the story remained obscure and it was considered as a ritual for use in childbirth or at first as a secondary creation story.²⁰

Since the First War, the Atrahasis Epic has found a place in most anthologies of Akkadian literature or studies of 'Genesis' stories. Among the more recent of these the chief are A. Heidel's works and the translation by E.A. Speiser.²¹ However, there was no major progress in the understanding of the story until 1956 when J. Laessoe re-translated and discussed parts of E and perceived that the accepted order of the columns of k should be reversed, the obverse and the reverse of the tablet, hesitantly decided by the first decipherers, having been confused.²²

18. R.A. XXVIII (1931), pp.92-95.

19. Tod und Leben, Berlin, 1931, pp.172-177; K.D. Macmillan, B.A. V(1906), p.688, no.XLI.

20. L.W. King, Seven Tablets of Creation, London, 1902, p.LVII, n.1.

21. A. Heidel, The Babylonian Genesis², Chicago, 1951, pp.66-67 (B); The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels¹, Chicago, 1946, 21949, pp.106-116; E.A. Speiser in J.B. Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts, Princeton, 1950, pp.99-100 (B), 104-106.

22. Bibliotheca Orientalis XIII, 1956, pp.90-102.

The story thus re-arranged showed a more logical development and all doubt about the place of B was removed; it clearly belonged to the first tablet of the Epic as Zimmern had surmised. It was now plain that the creation of man by Mami to work in place of the gods was an integral part of the story, and that the multiplication of man and the ensuing plagues and flood were subsequent to it. W. von Soden quickly produced a study of B, based upon photographs with many improved readings.²³

Laessoe copied another small Assyrian fragment (1) which had been identified by W.G. Lambert, who published it together with a piece which may belong to the story (BM98977 + 99231).²⁴ The obverse of mss. 1 overlaps the beginning of ms. E, the complaint of Enlil, and the reverse may refer to the coming of the Flood. The second piece opens with a dialogue between Ea and Atrahasis and the commencement of a speech by Ea addressed to the reed hut. On the reverse is an account of the raging of the elements and Ishtar's regret at the occasion of the deluge. Publication of copies made by T.G. Pinches about 1896 brought to light a new part of an Old Babylonian text of the first tablet wherein Ea proposes the creation of man to undertake the gods' labour (D).²⁵

23. Or. XXVI (1957), pp.306-315.

24. J.S.S. V (1960), pp.113-123.

25. G.T. XLIV, no.20.

These recent advances alone would warrant a re-examination and re-translation of the Epic, although the story would still be far from complete. However, the writer's discovery of large parts of Old Babylonian copies of the first and third tablets (mss. A, C, F) in the British Museum, and W.G. Lambert's identification of a number of small Assyrian pieces in the Kuyunjik collections (mss. b, c, d, e, f, g, ²⁶h, j), has rendered possible the restoration of the larger part of the poem. More new text-material is available in a copy of Tablet II in the Museum of the Ancient Orient, Istanbul, (ms. G), examined by the writer in August 1965²⁷, and in transliterations of two fragments from Babylon now in the Berlin State Museum communicated to W.G. Lambert by F. Kocher (ms. H) and A. Falkenstein (ms. o). Combination of all these texts permits restoration or reconstruction of approximately three-quarters of the whole Epic; only the last one hundred and fifty lines remain largely unknown.

26. Credit for first identification of this piece belongs to Miss E. Reiner.

27. Noted by F.R. Kraus, J.C.S. I (1947), p.115., and Ein Edikt des König Ammi-Saduqa von Babylon, Leiden, 1958, p.13, n.3. Mme. M. Cig and the Director of the Museums kindly permitted the examination of the tablet.

CONTENT OF THE EPIC

The Epic of Atrahasis may be aptly called 'A Babylonian History of the Infancy of Mankind'²⁸, it describes the events resulting in the creation of the human race, the means of that creation, its unexpected consequences culminating in the divine decision to destroy mankind by the Flood, and the subsequent re-ordering of human affairs.

1.
i. At the outset the junior gods, the Igigu, are working to create a productive land, they dig out the river beds and define their courses to irrigate the soil. They are under the control of Enlil, 'counsellor' of the gods, to whom the earth had been assigned as his realm (the heavens had been allotted to Anu, the sweet subterranean waters to Enki). This labour is extremely wearisome to the gods who toil unceasingly, so they hold a meeting of protest. Someone proposes a change of taskmaster and, to ensure that their desire is met, one god suggests that Enlil be fetched forcibly from his house to face their assembly. A favourable
ii. reception is granted to this idea. The tools of their toil are set on fire and the gods advance on Enlil's house. It is night-time and Enlil is sleeping, but the doorkeeper Kalkal realises the danger and arouses Nusku, Enlil's vizier. Together the two servants investigate the noise, then Nusku wakens his master with the bad news. He calms his lord's fears with the suggestion of calling a council

28. cf. C.J. Gadd, Iraq IV (1937), p.34.

- of the senior gods to ponder the problem. Anu advises
- iii. the despatch of Nusku to discover the cause of the attack. Enlil, therefore, instructs Nusku in the message he is to deliver, and this is repeated when Nusku reaches the Igigu. Their reply is missing from the text, although part can be restored from Nusku's report of it to Enlil. Its tenor is clear, the burden must be alleviated. There may have been a greater threat to Enlil than is apparent, for he weeps upon hearing the reply, and virtually abdicates his position as lord of the terrestrial sphere, proposing to go with Anu to the heavens.
- iv. Damage obscures the course of the debate in the divine assembly; it seems that the gods eventually agree to kill one of the Igigu and make a substitute worker. This is what happens. Mami, the mother-goddess is called upon to create man. She objects that the task is beyond her ability and requests the aid of Enki who can purify everything and provide the clay. Enki accordingly ordains days of purification, to remove the guilt of killing, and instructs that Mami shall mix the flesh and blood of the dead god with the clay. So that the dead god may not sink into oblivion a shade will come from his flesh. The Anunna approve the scheme, which is put into execution. When Mami has
- v. prepared the mixture she calls the gods and the Igigu spit upon it. Thereupon Mami declares the task accomplished, the wearisome toil transferred to the shoulders of man. Joyfully the gods invest her with the title Belit-ili, 'Lady of the Gods'. The actual process of creation is

uncertain as a result of breaks in the text. Two

Assyrian fragments relate the formation of seven pairs of wombs each containing a piece of the clay. From these are born seven men and seven women. Mami forms them while

vi. yet in the womb and then supervises their birth. A pattern is now established for the continuance of humanity by procreation, and it is likely that some principles of life-order were laid down, but here the text is damaged again.

vii. Broken lines probably contained an account of man being set to work digging the canals and ditches. When the text is fully intelligible again the human race has so multiplied after a passage of years that its noise disturbs Enlil's sleep. He complains to the gods and declares that he will cause a plague to reduce the population. This comes to pass and Atrahasis, a figure not previously mentioned in the extant text, pleads with Enki on behalf of the people. Enki advises cessation of prayer and worship and an insult to Erra the plague-god. Thereby the gods will be forced

viii. to relent. Atrahasis summons the leaders of the people and tells them what to do. They obey and the plague ceases.

II.
i. As the years pass the problem recurs. Enlil decides upon a drought, Enki advises the same steps to counteract it, the insult being offered this time Adad, the rain-god, ii. and Enlil's device is again frustrated.

The fragmentary state of much of Tablet II renders a complete account its content impossible. The story can be traced through the following stages: after the drought, man again multiplies and probably some further

iii. disaster is threatened, for Atrahasis is found lamenting to Enki, possibly after a dream of what was imminent. He apparently proposes to descend to the Apsu to live with Enki, who agrees
 iv. that his life should be spared. Following a further break, another drought and consequent famine are described,
 v. continuing for several years with dire results. The sequel is uncertain, Enlil presently makes a speech assigning responsibility for heaven to Anu and Adad, for earth to himself, for the Apsu to Enki, the Anunna having agreed, presumably to a destructive act. Various agents are instructed about this. The next section is badly preserved,
 vi. there is a debate in the assembly. A gap destroys the continuity, but the outcome is an oath in which even Enki participates, to destroy man by a flood. Enki, however,
 vii. dissents from the proposed plan and produces his own. It may be assumed that the gods agree to this.

viii. Enki then reveals something of the future to Atrahasis.

III.
 1. He is told that he will be preserved in a boat and, upon his inquiry, is told of its form and construction, and of the time when he is to enter it. His neighbours are
 ii. given a false reason for the work. As the time arrives, Atrahasis feasts his workmen and lades the boat. The sky lowers, Atrahasis is overawed at the thought of the imminent catastrophe. The thunder rolls and the winds rise, the ship's door is sealed and she is loosed from her moorings. Many lines are devoted to the raging of the Flood and its
 iii. destructiveness. Nintu laments her part in the decision

- iv. and the fate that has overcome her creatures. The gods join her in grief, and in thirst and hunger for they have no nourishment. Seven days and nights the Flood continues. A large gap in the tablet breaks the narrative here.
- v. When it resumes, Atrahasis has emerged from his boat and is sacrificing to the gods who eagerly eat. Nintu forbids Enlil's attendance as punishment for originating the Flood,
- vi. and seems to make plans for the future. Enlil sees the boat and complains that the gods have broken the oath to destroy all men. Anu points to Enki as the culprit. Enki proceeds to excuse himself and indicates how inconsiderately Enlil has acted. The remainder of the story is only fragmentarily available. Enki and Nintu re-arrange the lot of mankind
- vii. so that in future their numbers will be controlled by infant mortality and other forms of sudden death. At the end of
- viii. the composition is a hymn of praise, probably to Enki, and an exhortation to all to listen to the story of 'the Flood'.

II. THE TEXT IN TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

1. Method of Reconstruction.

The three-tablet edition of the scribe Ellet-^dAya (c.1630.B.C., see ch.4, § 1.a) is taken as the basic text because it is the most extensively preserved.¹ Accordingly, the column and line numbering of that edition are employed here; incomplete preservation of several columns prevents consecutive numbering of the lines throughout each tablet. Where Ellet-^dAya's text is lacking restorations are made from the other texts or reconstructed where possible in conformity with the Old Babylonian style. Restorations made by the editor are enclosed in square brackets. The extent of the manuscripts is indicated by vertical rulings in the left-hand margin; variant readings are indicated in the footnotes. Unrestorable and illegible signs are represented by crosses, and untranslatable passages by points. Words following an oblique stroke have been written by the scribe beneath those preceding it as part of the same line.

1. The text of mss. G, H, o, (Tablet II) was not accessible until after the completion of the greater part of this study and has been placed in the Appendix, pp. except where it duplicates ms. E.

2. List of Manuscripts.

Capital letters denote texts of the Old Babylonian period, lower case the Assyrian and neo-Babylonian texts. References are given to the primary publication of the cuneiform text.

MS	Museum number	Position in Epic
<u>A</u>	B.M. 78941 + 78943 (Bu. 89, 4-26, 234 + 236) Copy by A.R. Millard, <u>C.T.</u> XLVI, no. 1, pls. I-XII.	I.i.1-49; ii; iii; iv.40-v.24; vi.1-27, 48-53; vii; viii; colophon.
<u>B</u>	B.M. 92608 (Bu. 91, 5-9, 269) Copy by T.G. Pinches, <u>C.T.</u> VI, no. 5; W.G. Lambert, <u>C.T.</u> XLVI, no. 4, pls. XXII, XXIII.	I.iii.9-28; iv.19-40; v.47-vi.20.
<u>C</u>	B.M. 17596A (94, 1-15, 310A) Copy by A.R. Millard, <u>C.T.</u> XLVI, no. 2, pl. VII.	I.ii.47-iii.10.
<u>D</u>	B.M. 78257 Copy by T.G. Pinches, <u>C.T.</u> XLIV, no. 20, pl. XVI.	I.iv.4-15?
<u>E</u>	Pierpont Morgan Library Collection Copy by A.T. Clay, <u>Y.O.R.</u> V. 3, Pls. I, II.	II.i.1-20; ii.9-19; vii.38-53; viii.33-37; colophon.
<u>F</u>	B.M. 78942 + 78971 + 80385 (Bu. 89, 4-26, 235 + 266 + Bu. 91, 5-9, 524) + <u>F</u> ^x Musee d'Art et Histoire, Geneva. <u>F</u> Copy by A.R. Millard, <u>C.T.</u> XLVI, no. 3, pls. XIII-XXI. <u>F</u> ^x Copy by A. Boissier, <u>R.A.</u> XXVIII (1931), pp. 93-94.	III.i.11-26; 29-50; ii.11-14, 18-20, 30-55; iii.4-54; iv.4-28, 39-47; v.29-52; vi.1-28, 36-50; vii.1-8; viii.8-19; colophon.
<u>G</u>	Ni. 2552 + 2560 + 2564 Transliteration made by A.R. Millard.	II.i.2-23; ii.4-32; iii.1-35; iv.1-26; v.1-36; vi.6-35; vii.30-53; viii.1-7.
<u>H</u>	Babylon Expedition 36669 Transliteration made by F. Kocher	II.iii.
<u>X</u>	C.B.S. 13532	III.i?

MS	Museum number	Position in Epic
<u>X</u>	continued Copy by H.V. Hilgrecht, <u>The Earliest Version of the Babylonian Deluge Story</u> , Philadelphia, 1910 pl.2. N.B. The age of this text is uncertain, see ch.	
<u>a</u>	K. 8562 Copy by W.G. Lambert, <u>C.T.</u> XLVI, no. 6, pl. XXIV	Obv: I.i.18-37 (var.) Rev: I.iii or iv (var.)
<u>b</u>	K. 10082 Copy by W.G. Lambert, <u>C.T.</u> XLVI, no. 7, pl. XXIV.	I.i.45-52 (var.)
<u>c</u>	K. 6235 (probably part of same tablet as <u>b</u> and <u>d</u>) Copy by W.G. Lambert, <u>C.T.</u> XLVI, no. 10, pl. XXV.	Obv: I.ii.12-24. Rev: I.iii.55-iv.6 (var.)
<u>d</u>	K. 7109 + 9979 (probably part of same tablet as <u>c</u>) Copy by W.G. Lambert, <u>C.T.</u> XLVI, no. 11, pl. XXV.	I.iii.49-9v.11.
<u>e</u>	K. 6831 Copy by W.G. Lambert, <u>C.T.</u> XLVI, no. 12, pl. XXV.	Obv: I.ii.50-iii.8. Rev: I.iii.55-iv.4
<u>f</u>	Bu. 89, 4-26, 97. Copy by W.G. Lambert, <u>C.T.</u> XLVI, no. 8, pl. XXIV.	I.iv.2-16.
<u>g</u>	K. 6634 Copy by W.G. Lambert, <u>C.T.</u> XLVI, no. 9, pl. XXIV	Obv: I.iv.11-21 (var.) Rev: I.vii.27-30?
<u>h</u>	K. 4539 Copy by W.G. Lambert, <u>B.W.L.</u>	I.vi.? Pl.65.
<u>j</u>	K. 7816 + 13863 Copy by W.G. Lambert, <u>C.T.</u> XLVI, no. 13, pl. XXVI.	Obv: I.v.14-33. Rev: I.vi.8-26.
<u>k</u>	K. 3399 + 3934 Copy by L.W. King, <u>C.T.</u> XV, Pl. 49.	Obv: I.v.? Rev: I.vii.19-II.i.37 (var.); iii; iv ?.

- l Sm. 292 Obv:I.viii.22-II.i.11.
 Copy by A.R. Millard, C.T.
 XLVI,no.14,p1.XXVII. Rev:II. ?
- m D.T. 42
 Copy by A.R. Millard, C.T.
 XLVI,no.15,p1.XXVII III.i.x-20 (var.)
- n B.M. 98977 + 99231 (Ki.1904,
 10-9,6 + 263) Obv:III.i.x (extracts ?)
 Copy by W.G. Lambert, J.S.S.
 V(1960),p.116. Rev:III.iii,iv.14.
- o Babylon Expedition 39099,
 transliteration made by
 A. Falkenstein. II.ii,iii,v,vi.

Tablet I

A

- i. 1. i-nu-ma i-lu a-wi-lum
 2. ub-lu du-ul-la iz-bi-lu šu-up-ši-ik-ka
 3. šu-up-ši-ik i-li ra-bi-[i]
 4. du-ul-lu-um ka-bi-it ma-a-a'd ša-ap-ša¹-qum
 5. ra-bu-tum ^dA-nun-na-ku si-bi-it-tú
 6. du-ul-lam ú-ša-az-ba-lu ^dI-gi-gi
 7. A-nu a-bu-šu-nu ša[r-ru]
 8. [ma-li-ik-šu-nu qú-ra-[du] ^dEn-líl
 9. [gu-ur-z-za-lu-šu-nu ^d[Nin]-urta
 10. [ù] gal-lu-šu-nu ^dEn-nu-gi
 11. qa-tam i-ru-zu qa-ti-ša
 12. is-qá-am id-du-ú i-lu iz-zu-zu
 13. A-nu i-te-li ša-me-e-ša
 14. [x x x] x x x ba-ú-la-tu-uš-šu
 15. [ši-ga-ra-am na-aḥ-ba-lu ti-a-am-tim
 16. [it-ta-ād-nu a-na ^dEn-ki na-aš-ši-[ki]
 17. [iš-tu A-nu]m i-lu-ú ša-me-e-ša
 18. [ù ^dEn-ki a-na a]p-si-i it-ta-ar-du
 19. [x x x x x] ú x [x ša-ma-i
 20. [x x x x x x] x [x] lu ^dI-gi-gi

a

1. ša over erasure.

I.

- i. 1. When the gods, man-like,
2. Bore the toil, carried the load,
3. The load of the gods was great,
4. The toil heavy, the trouble excessive.
5. The great Anunnaku, the Seven (?)
6. Had made the Igigu bear the toil.
7. Anu, their father, was king;
8. Their counsellor heroic Enlil;
9. Their bearer Ninurta,
10. And their beadle Ennugi.
11. They took one hand in the other,
12. They cast the lot, the gods made division.
13. Anu went up to heaven,
14.for his dominion.
15. The lock, the bar of the salt sea
16. They had given to Enki the prince.
17. When Anu had gone up to heaven,
18. And Enki had descended to the Apsu,
- 19.....and heaven,
20. They made the Igigu bear the toil.

Tablet I

- $\frac{A}{\uparrow}$ $\frac{a}{\downarrow}$ i.
21. [mu-ši ù ur-ri] i-hi-ir-ru-nim
 22. [na-ra-am n]a-pí-iš-ti ma-tim
 23. [mu-ši ù ur-ri i]-hi-ir-ru-nim
 24. [Pu-ra-at-tam na]-pí-iš-ti ma-tim
 25. [x x x x x x Idiqlat na-ra-am
 26. [x x x x x x x ma-á]š-qí-tam
 27. [x x x x x x x i-n]a na-aq-bi
 28. [x x x x x x šu-nu iš-t]a-ak-nu
 29. [x x x x x x x x] x -a
 30. [x x x x x x] x x ma-tim
 31. [x x x x x x x]-a qí-ri-ib-šu
 32. [x x x x iš]šu-ú ri-ši-šu
 33. [x x x x x] x la ša-di-i
 34. [x x x x x x] ša šu-up-ši-ik-ki
 35. [x x x x x x n]a? šu-ši-a ra-bi-a
 36. [x x x x] nu-ú ša šu-up-ši-ik-ki
 37. [x x x x] x 40 mu.ḫi.a at-ra-am
 38. [du-ul-lam iz-bi-lu mu-ši ù ur-ri
 39. [id-bu]-bu-ma i-ik-ka-lu ka-ar-ši
 40. [ut-ta]-za-mu i-na ka-la-ak-ki

21. Night and day they were digging
22. The river, the life of the land.
23. Night and day they were digging
24. The Euphrates, the life of the land.
25.the river Tigris,
26.the watering.
27.from the source
28.they established.
29.
30.the land
31.its midst
32.they raised its head (?).
33.mountains,
34. They counted the months of the labour.
35.the great marsh,
36. They counted the months of the labour
37.40 years....
38. They toiled night and day.
39. They grumbled and maligned,
40. They wept in the river-bed.

Tablet I

- A
- i. 41. [i-na pu-úh-r]i-ni gu.za.la i ni-im-hu-ur-ma
 42. [ka-a]b-tam du-ul-la-ni li-ša-sí-ik el-ni
 43. [ma]li-ik i-li qú-ra-dam
 44. [al<ka>nim i ni-iš-ši-a i-na šu-ub-ti-šu
 45. [^dEn-líl] ma-li-ik i-li qú-ra-dam
 46. [al<ka>nim i-ni-iš-ši-a i-na šu-ub-ti-šu
 b
 47. [x x] pí-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma
 48. [iz-za-kàr a-na i-li ah-hi-šu
 49. [x x] x gu.za.la la-bi-ru-tim
 50. [x x x x] i-ša-ka-na ^dEn-líl
 51. [x x x] ša]né-e i-ša-ka-an
 52. [x x x x] ú-tè-eq-qú-ú-un-ni

Remainder lost (4 lines ?)

- ii. 1. ma-li-ik] i-[li] qú-ra-dam
 2. al<ka>n]im]i ni-iš-ši-a i-na šu-ub-ti-šu
 3. ^dEn-líl] ma-li-ik i-li qú-ra-dam
 4. al<ka>n]im]i ni-iš-ši-a i-na šu-ub-ti-šu
 5. a-nu-um-ma ti-si-a tu-qú-um-tam
 6. ta-ha-za i ni-ib-lu-la qá-ab-la-am
 7. i-lu iš-mu-ú zi-ki-ir-šu

41. "Let us face the task-master in our assembly,
 42. Let him remove our heavy toil from us.
 43. The counsellor of the gods, the hero,
 44. Come, let us bring him from his dwelling!
 45. Enlil, the counsellor of the gods, the hero,
 46. Come, let us bring him from his dwelling!"
 47.spoke up
 48. And said to the gods, his brothers,
 49. ".....the old taskmasters,
 50.Enlil will install.
 51. Now he will install a second taskmaster."
 52. The gods pay heed to this word.

ii. 1. The counsellor of the gods, the hero,
 2. Come, let us bring him from his dwelling!
 3. Enlil, the counsellor of the gods, the hero,
 4. Come, let us bring him from his dwelling!
 5. Now you have roused (?) for battle,
 6. Let us mingle war and contest!
 7. The gods heeded his speech.

Tablet I

A

- ii. 8. i-ša-tam ne-pí-ši-šu-nu id-du-ú-ma
 9. ma-ar-ri-šu-nu ^dI-ša-ta-am
 10. šu-up-ši-ik-ki-šu-nu ^dGirru
 11. it-ta-ak-šu
 12. i-ta-aḥ-zu-nim i-il-la-ku-nim
 13. ba-bi ša ad-ma-ni qú-ra-di ^dEnlíl
 14. mi-ši-il ma-aṣ-ša-ar-ti mu-šum i-ba-aš-ši
 15. é la-wi i-lu ú-ul i-di
 16. mi-ši-il ma-aṣ-ša-ar-ti mu-šum i-ba-aš-ši
 17. é.kur la-wi ^dEn-lil ú-ul i-di
 18. ú-te-eq-qí ^dKal-kal ú-te-[eš-ši]
 19. il-pu-ut si-ik-ku-ra i-ḫi-iṭ x x]
 20. ^dKal-kal id-di-ki ^d[Nusku]
 21. ri-ig-ma i-še-em-mu-ú ša i-ša-ti-am]
 22. ^dNusku id-di-ki be-[el-šu]
 23. i-na ma-ia-li ú-še-et-[bi-šu]
 24. be-lí la-wi bi-[it-ka]
 25. qá-ab-lum i-ru-ša a-[na ba-bi-ka]
 26. ^dEn-líl la-wi bi-iṭ-ka
 27. qá-ab-lum i-ru-ša a-[na ba-bi-ka]

C

8. They set fire to their tools
11. They brought (?)
9. The fire god to their spades,
10. Flame to their hods
12. They took hold of it (?), they come
13. To the gate of the abode of heroic Enlil.
14. It was night, half-way through the watch,
15. The house was surrounded, the god did not know,
16. It was night, half-way through the watch,
17. Ekur was surrounded, Enlil did not know.
18. Kal-kal kept watch, he grew confused,
19. He touched the bolt, he looked carefully.
20. Kal-kal aroused Nusku
21. They listened to the noise of the fire (?).
22. Nusku aroused his lord,
23. He made him rise from bed.
24. "My lord, your house is surrounded,
25. War has come to your gate.
26. Enlil, your house is surrounded,
27. War has come to your gate."

Tablet I

A

- ii. 28. dEn-líl x x-ki ú-ša-ar-di a-na šu-ub-ti-šu
 29. dEn-líl pa-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma
 30. a-na sukkal dNusku iz-za-kàr
 31. dNusku e-di-il ba-ab-ka
 32. Ka-ak-ki-ka li-qi i-zi-iz ma-aḥ-ri-ia
 33. dNusku i-di-il ba-ab-šu
 34. ka-ak-ki-šu il-qi it-ta-zi-iz ma-har dEn-líl
 35. dNusku pí-a-šu i-pu-ša-~~am~~-ma
 36. iz-za-kàr a-na qú-ra-di dEnlíl
 37. be-lí bi-nu bu-nu-ka
 38. ma-ru ra-ma-ni-ka mi-in-šu ta-du-ur
 39. dEn-líl bi-nu bu-nu-ka
 40. ma-ru ra-ma-ni-ka mi-in-šu ta-du-ur
 41. šu-pu-ur A-nam li-še-ri-du-~~ni-ik-ku~~
 42. dEn-ki li-ib-bi-ku-nim a-na ma-aḥ-ri-ka
 43. iš-pu-ur A-nam ú-še-ri-~~du-ni-]š-šu~~
 44. dEn-ki ib-bi-ku-nim a-na ma-aḥ-ri-šu
 45. wa-ši-ib A-nu šar-ri ša-me-e
 46. šar-ri ap-si-i dEnki i-~~me-re-eq~~-qi
 47. ra-bu-tum dA-nuḥ-na wa-aš-bu
 48. dEn-líl it-bi-ma ša [x x]-di/ki-nu

C

42,44 Text has ^den-líl.

28. He....Enlil, brought him down to his hall,
29. Enlil spoke up
30. And said to this vizier Nusku,
31. "Nusku, shut your gate!
32. Take up your weapon stand before me!"
33. Nusku shut his gate,
34. Took up his weapon, took his stand before Enlil,
35. Nusku spoke up
36. And said to heroic Enlil,
37. "My lord, the sons are of your nature,
38. They are your own children, why are you troubled?
39. Enlil, the sons are of your nature,
40. They are your own children, why are you troubled?
41. Send for Anu, let them bring him down to you
42. Let them fetch Enki to your presence!"
43. He sent for Anu, they brought him down to him
44. They fetched Enki into his presence.
45. There was sitting Anu, king of heaven;
46. The king of the Apsu, Enki, was present;
47. The great Anunna were sitting down.
48. Enlil arose and.....

Tablet I

ACe

- ii. 49. dEn-líl pí-a-šu i-[pu-ša-a]m-ma
 50. iz-za-kàr a-n[a i-li ra-bu-tim]
 51. ia-a-ši-im-ma-a it-[x x x] x
 52. ta-ḥa-za e-ep-pu-uš? ša x x x
 53. i-ni mi-na-a a-mu-ur a-[n[a-ku]
 54. qá-ab-lum i-ru-ša a-na ba-bi-ia
 55. A-nu pí-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma
 56. iz-za-kàr a-na qú-ra-di dEn-líl
 57. zī-ik-ra ša dI-gi-gu
 58. il?-mu-ú é bi iš ka

a

- iii. 1. li-se-ma [dNusku li-il-li-ik]
 2. te-er-ša?[-ta?-šu-nu li-iš-me]
 3. a-na ma-[aḥ-ri-ka li-tu-ur]
 4. dEn-líl pí-a-šu[i-pu-ša-am-ma]
 5. iz-za-kàr a-[na sukkal dNusku]
 6. dNusku pí-te[ba-ab-ka]
 7. ka-ak-ki-ka lī-qí x x x x]
 8. i-na pu-úḥ-ri š[a i-li ra-bu-tim]
 9. ki-mi-is i-zi-[iz qí-ba-šu-nu-tim]
 10. iš-pu-ra-a-n-ni[a-bu-ku-nu]A-nu

B

49. Enlil spoke up
50. And said to the great gods,
51. "To me....."
52. They will do battle.....
53. What do my eyes see?
54. War is at my gate".
55. Anu spoke up
56. And said to heroic Enlil,
57. " the Igigu
58. They surrounded your house(?)

- iii. 1. Let Nusku go forth.....
2. The decision (?) let him hear (?)
3. Let him return to your presence."
4. Enlil spoke up
5. And said to Nusku, the vizier,
6. "Nusku, open your gate,
7. Take up your weapon, go forth.....
8. In the assembly of all the gods (?)
9. Bow, stand up, say to them,
10. "Your father Anu has sent me,

Tablet I

<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>
----------	----------

- | | |
|------|--|
| iii. | 11. <u>ma-li-ik-ku-nu</u> [qú-ra-du ^d En]-líl |
| | 12. <u>gu-uz-za-lu</u> -[ku-nu ^d Nin]-urta |
| | 13. ù <u>gal-lu-ku-nu</u> [u ^d En-nu]-gi |
| | 14. <u>ma-an-nu-um-mi</u> [be-el qá]-ab-lim |
| | 15. <u>ma-an-nu-um</u> -[mi x x x ta]-ba-zi |
| | 16. <u>ma-an-nu-um</u> -[mi x x] x <u>ma-at-tam</u> |
| | 17. [x x x x x x x x] x <u>ra-ar</u> |
| | 18. [x x x x x x x x x]-e-x |
| | 19. [x x x x x x] x x x ^d En-líl |
| | 20. [x x x x x x k]a-la i-li-ma |
| | 21. [ik-mi-is it-ta]-zi-iz? ip-šu-ur |
| | 22. [iš-pu-ra-an-ni a]-bu-ku-nu A-nu |
| | 23. [ma-li-ik-ku-nu qú-r]a-du ^d En-líl |
| | 24. [gu-uz-za-lu-ku-nu ^d Nin]-urta |
| | 25. ù [ka-lu-ku-nu ^d En]-nu-gi |
| | 26. <u>ma-an-nu-um-mi</u> be-el qá]-ab-lim |
| | 27. <u>ma-an-nu-um-mi</u> x x x ta]-ha]-zi |
| | 28. <u>ma-an-nu-um-mi</u> x x x <u>ma-at-tam</u> |
| | 29. <u>ga</u> -[x x x x x x x] x x |
| | 30. <u>i-na</u> p[u-hu-ur ša ka-la i-li?] |

11. Your counsellor, heroic Enlil,
12. Your bearer Ninurta,
13. And your beadle Ennugi.
14. Who is the one responsible for the war(?)?
15. Who is the one responsible for the conflict(?)?
16. Who is....."
17.
18."
19.Enlil
20. He went forth and come into the assembly of all
the gods.
21. He bowed, he stood up, he explained(?)
22. "Your father Anu has sent me,
23. Your counsellor, heroic Enlil
24. Your bearer, Ninurta,
25. Your beadle, Ennugi.
26. Who is the one responsible for the war(?)?
27. Who is the one responsible for the conflict(?)?
28. Who is.....?
29.
30. In the assembly of all the gods....."

Tablet I

A

- III. 31. ib-ba/ka x x x x x x x x]
32. ku-ul-la-at? x x x x x x x]
33. ni-iš-šu-ús [x x x x x x x]
34. i-na zu-[x x x x x x x x x]
35. šu-up-ši-ik-[ka-nu ra-bi-i]
36. ka-bi-it du-[ul-la-ni ma-a-atl ša-ap-ša-qum]
37. ù ku-ul-l[a-ni x x x x x x]
38. ub-la pí-i-ni[x x x x x x]
39. ^dNusku il-qí ka-ak-ki-šu]
40. il-li-ik ú-[ta-ar a-wa-tam a-na ^dEn-líl?]
41. be-lí a-[na x x x x x]-an-ni
42. al-lí-i-ik x x x x x] ti
43. ap-šu-[ur x x x x] x ra-bi-tam
44. na-ab-[x x x x x] x x x -zi
45. x x [x x x x x] ma-mi
46. ni-ig-ra-am tu-qu-um-ta-am
47. ní- x x x x] x-ni i-na ka-al-ak-ki
48. [x x x x] x li-du-uk ni-a-ti (?)
49. [ka-bi-it du-ul- la-ni-ma ma-a-atl ša-ap-ša-
qum]
50. [an-ni-tum ia-wa-at ka-la i-li-ma

Dd

48. D] uq an-ni-a-am
50. D] mes -ma

31.
32. "All of us.....
33.
34. In.....
35. Our load is great,
36. Our toil heavy, our trouble excessive
37. And all of us.....
38. We have decided....."
39. Nusku took up his weapon,
40. Went back and reported to Enlil,
41. "My lord.....
42. I went.....
43. I explained (?).....the great.
44.
45.
46. We waged war.
47.in the river bed.
48.us
49. Heavy is our toil, excessive the difficulty
50. This is the message of all the gods."

Tablet I

A d iii. 51. x [x x] x x x x x -bi it-ti ^dEn-líl
c
 52. iš-[me]a-aw-tam šu-a-ti
 53. ^dEn-líl i-[il-l]a-ka di-ma-šu
 54. ^dEn-líl ú-[ta]-ar a-wa-as-su
e
 55. iz-za-k[ar a-na qú-r]a-di A-nim
 56. e-te-e[li li iš-ti]-ka a-na ša-ma-i

iv. 1. pa-ar-sa-am ta-ba-al-ma li-qi id-ka

2. aš-bu ^dA-nun-na-ki ma-ḥar-ka

3. i-lu iš-te-en ši-si-ma li-id-du-šú tam-ta

One Old Babylonian text and Assyrian text supply

4.' ^dA-nu pa-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma iz-za-ak-kàr ana
 i-li aḥ-ḥe-šu

5.' mi-nam kar-ši-šú-nu ni-ik-ka-al

6.' ka-bi-it dul-la-šu-un [ma-a-a]t ša-ap-ša-ḡ-šu-un

7.' u₄-mi-ša-am-ma ir-š[i-tum?] x x x [na-a-tu

8.' tu-uq-qum ka-bi-it [ma ni-ši]-im-e ri-ig-ma

9.' i-ba-aš-ši [x x x x x x x x] e-pe-ši

10.' wa-aš-ba-at ^dbe-li-it-i-li sa-as-[su]ra-a-tu?

11.' li-ib-ni-ma lu-ux [lu x x x x x x]

12.' ab-ša-nam li-bi-il [x x x x x x]

13.' [ab-ša]nam li-bi-il [ši-pí-ir ^dEn-líl]

14.' tu-up-ši-ik-ku ilī a [me-lum li-iš-ši]

4' D ^dé-a, iz-za-kàr, ilī meš 5.' D kar-ši-šú-nu
 11' g inserts sa-as-su-ru lú-u_xlu x and has l.14' before
 11'.
 12' D ab-ša-nu g ab-šá-a-nam 14' g has this line before
 11'.

51.with Enlil.
52. He heard the message,
53. Enlil's tears flowed.
54. Enlil made answer,
55. He spoke to heroic Anu,
56. "I would ascend with you to heaven,
- iv. 1. Give the order,
2. The Anunnaki will be sitting before you,
3. Summon one god and let them assign him to
destruction(?)".
- 4'. Anu spoke up and said to the gods his brothers,
- 5'. "What complaint have we against them?(?)
- 6'. Heavy is their toil, excessive their difficulty.
- 7'. Daily the earth
- 8'. The noise is grievous and we hear the clamour.
- 9'. There is.....to do(?).
- 10'. There sits Belit-ili the mother-womb,
- 11'. Let her create man.....
- 12'. He shall bear the yoke.....
- 13'. He shall bear the yoke, the task of Enlil.
- 14'. The load of the gods man shall carry".

Tablet I

- B g? iv. 19. wa-aš-ba-at ^dBe-li-it ì-lí sa-assú-ru
 20. sa-as-sú-ru li-x-x-a li-ib-ni-ma
 21. šu-up-ši-ik ili a-wi-lum li-iš-ši
 22. il-ta-am is-sú-ú i-ša-lu
 23. tab-sú-ut ilī^{meš} e-ri-iš-tam ^dMa-mi
 24. at-ti-i-ma sa-as-sú-ru
 25. ba-ni-a-at a-wi-lu-ti
 26. bi-ni-ma lu-ul-la-a li-bi-il, ab-ša-nam
 27. ab-ša-nam li-bi-il, ši-pí-ir ^dEn-líl
 28. šu-up-ši-ik ili a-wi-lum li-iš-ši
 29. ^dNin-tu pí-a-ša te-pu-ša-am-ma
 30. iz-za-kàr a-na ilī^{meš} ra-bu-ti
 31. it-ti-ia-ma la na-tú a-na e-pe-ši
 32. it-ti ^dEn-ki-ma i-ba-aš-ši ši-ip-ru
 33. šu-ú-ma ú-ul-la-al ka-la-ma
 34. ti-it-ṭa-am li-id-di-nam-ma [a]n-na-ku lu-pu-uš
 35. ^dEn-ki pí-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma
 36. iz-za-kàr a-na ilī^{meš} ra-bu-ti
 37. i-na ar-ḫi se-bu-ti ù ša-pa-at-ti
 38. te-li-il-tam lu-ša-aš-ki-in ri-im-ka

20ff g cited at ll. 11'-14' may belong here.

19. "There sits Belit-ili, the mother-womb,
20. Let the mother-womb.....and create,
21. The load of the gods man shall carry".
22. They summoned the goddess, they requested
23. The mid-wife of the gods, skilly Mami,
24. "You are the mother-womb,
25. Creatress of mankind;
26. Then create man, he shall bear the yoke,
27. He shall bear the yoke, the task of Enlil,
28. The load of the gods man shall carry".
29. Nintu spoke up
30. And said to the great gods,
31. "It is not possible for me to do so,
32. But the task lies in Enki's power.
33. For he can purify everything.
34. Let him give me clay, then I will do it".
35. Enki spoke up
36. And said to the great gods
37. "On the first day of the month, the seventh,
and the fifteenth,
38. I will ordain a purificatory washing

Tablet I

A B

- iv. 39. ila iš-te-en li-iṭ-bu-ḥu-ma
 40. li-te-el-li-lu i-lu i-na ṭi-i-bi
 41. i-na ši-ri-šu ù da-mi-šu
 42. ^dNin-tu li-ba-al-li-il ṭi-iṭ-ṭa
 43. i-lu-um-ma ù a-wi-lum li-ib-ta-al-li-lu
 44. pu-ḥu-ur i-na ṭi-iṭ-ṭi
 45. aḥ-ri-a-ti-iš u₇mi up-pa i ni-iš-me
 46. i-na ši-i-ir i-li e-ṭe-em-mu li-ib-ši
 47. ba-al-ṭa it-ta-šu li-še-di-šu-ma
 48. aš-šu la mu-uš-ši-i e-ṭe-em-mu / li-ib-ši
 49. i-na pu-úḥ-ri i-pu-lu a-an-na
 50. ra-bu-tum ^dA-nun-na-ku
 51. pa-ḡí-du ši-ma-ti
 52. i-na ar-ḥi se-bu-ti ù ša-pa-at-ti
 53. te-li-il-tam ú-ša-aš-ki-in ri-im-ka
 54. ^dWe-e-i-la ša i-šu-ú te₇e-ma
 55. i-na pu-úḥ-ri-šu-nu ša ṭa-ab-ḥu
 56. i-na ši-ri-šu ù da-mi-šu
 57. ^dNin-tu ú-ba-li-il ṭi-iṭ-ṭa
 58. aḥ-ri-a-ṭi-iš x x x]x x
 v. 1. i-na ši-i-ir i-li e-ṭe-~~em-mu~~ i-ba-aš-ši]

43. B ilum-ma; libtallilu is placed in 44.

44. B e_x(PI)-ṭe-em-mu, i-tab-ši.

48. do. do.

39. They will slaughter one god, then
 40. Let the gods be purified by immersion.
 41. With his flesh and blood
 42. Nintu shall mix clay.
 43. So god and man will be mingled
 44. Together in the clay.
 45. Forever after may we hear the drum-beat.
 46. Let a shade come from the god's flesh,
 47. Let it know life as its lot,
 48. That he may not be forgotten let there be a
shade".
 49. In the assembly they responded "Yes",
 50. The great Anunna
 51. On the first day of the month, the seventh,
and the fifteenth
 53. He ordained a purificatory washing.
 54. It was Weila who received the sentence,
 55. Who was slaughtered in their assembly.
 56. With his flesh and blood
 57. Nintu mixed the clay.
 58. Forever after.....
- v. 1. From the god's flesh there came a shade,

Tablet I

A

- v. 2. ba-al-ṭa it-ṭa-šu ú-še-ḫi-šu-ma
 3. aš-šu la mu-uš-ši-i e-ṭe-em-mu [i-ba-aš-ši]
 4. iš-tu-ma ib-lu-la ṭi-ṭa-ša x
 5. is-si ^dA-nun-na i-li ra-bu-ti
 6. ^dI-gi-gu i-lu ra-bu-tum
 7. ru-uṭ-tam id-ḫu-ú e-lu ṭi-iṭ-ṭi
 8. [^dMa-mi pí-a-ša te-pu-ša-am-ma
 9. [iz-za-ḫàr a-na i-li ra-bu-tim
 10. [ši-iḫ-ra ta-aḫ-bi-a-ni-im-ma
 11. ú-ta-ak-li-il
j
 12. i-lam ta-at-bu-ḫa qá-ḫu ṭe-ṭi-mi-šu
 13. ka-ab-tam ḫu-ul-la-ku-nu ú-ša-as-sí-ik
 14. šu-up-ši-ik-ka-ku-nu a-wi-lam e-mi-id
 15. ta-as-ta-'a-da ri-ig-ma a-na a-wi-lu-ti
 16. ap-ṭú-ur ul-la an-ḫu-ra [ra-am aš-ku]-un
 17. iš-mu-ma an-ni-a-am qá-[ba-ša]
 18. iṭ-ṭa-ar-ru-ma ú-na-a[š-ši-qú še-pe-e-ša]
 19. pa-na-mi ^dMa-mi ni-ša-si-ki
 20. i-na-an-na be-li-it ka-la i-li
 21. lu-ú šu-um-ki

12,13. j []ú ul-la-x, []a-me-lu-tim

16. j []x ta? ṭe-mi-šu

18. j has a ruling after this line.

2. It was informed life was its lot
3. That he might not be forgotten there was a
shade.
4. When she had mixed her clay.....
5. She called the Anunna, the great gods,
6. The Igigu, the great gods
7. Spat upon the clay.
8. Mami spoke up
9. And said to the great gods,
10. "The task you commanded me
11. Now I have finished!
12. You have slaughtered the god according to his
sentence;
13. I have abolished your heavy load!
14. I have imposed your load on man;
15. You have.....the clamour to mankind;
16. I have undone the yoke and made freedom!"
17. They heard this speech of hers
18. They danced about (?) and kissed her feet.
19. "Previously we called you Mami,
20. Now 'Lady of all the Gods'
21. Shall be your name".

Tablet I

- A v. 22. i-te-er-bu a-na bi-it ši-ma-ti
 23. ni-is x x ^dEn-ki e-ri-iš-tu ^dMa-mi

j k

The neo-Assyrian texts continue:

24. 'sa-as-su-ra-a-tum pu-úh-hu-ra-ma
 25. 'ti-iṭ-ṭa i-kab-ba-sa-am ma-aḥ-ri-ša
 26. 'ši-i ši-ip-ta it-ta-na-an-di
 27. 'ú-šam-na-ši ^dÉ-a a-ši-ib ma-aḥ-ri-ša
 28. 'iš-tu-ma ig-mu-ru ši-pa-as-sa₆?
 29. 'qa-as-sa ta-at-ta-di eli ṭí-iṭ-ṭí-šá
 30. 'ki-ir-ši 14 uk-ta-ar-ri-iš
 31. '7 ki-ir-ši a-na i-mi-it-ti
 32. '7 ki-ir-ši a-na šu-me-li iš-kun
 33. 'i-na be-ri-šu-nu it-ta-di li-bit-ti
 34. '[x x]a ap-pa-ri ba-ti!-ik a-bu-un-na-te lu-te-ši
 35. 'pa-aḥ-ra-ma ir-še-ti mu-te-ti
 36. '7 ù 7 šà-su-ra-ti: 7 ú-ba-na-a zikāri (erì.meš)
 37. '7 ú-ba-na-a sinnišāti (saḷ.meš)
 38. 'šà-su-ru ba-na-at ši-im-tu
 39. 'ši-na-šan^{šá-na} ú-ka-la-la-ši-na

k has in one line what j has in two

- 26' k ^dÉ-a iz-za-kàr 27' k ú-šam-šá-amna-ši
 28' k tam-nu ši-ip-ta iš-tu tam-nu-ú ši-pa-sa j has a
 30' k 14 gi-ir-ši tak-ri-iš: 7 gi-ir-ši ana imitti taš-
 32' k ana šumeli taš-ku-un 33' k i-ta-di libitta
ku-wi
libitta

22. They entered the house of destinies

23.Enki, skilly Mami

24.' The mother-wombs were assembled,

25.' He was treading the clay before her,

26.' She was reciting the incantation

27.' Ea, sitting before her, repeated it,

28.' When she finished her incantation,

29.' She put her hand on her clay.

30.' Having broken off fourteen pieces

31.' Seven pieces on the right, she placed,

32.' Seven pieces on the left.

33.' Between them she placed the bricks

34.'cutting of the navel....

35.' The skilly women were assembled,

36.' Seven mother-wombs and seven, seven were
bearing males,

37.' Seven were bearing females.

38.' The mother-womb who creates forms

39.' Finished them two by two,

Tablet I

k

- v. 40.' ši-na-šan^{šá-na} ú-ka-la maḥ-ru-šá
 41.' ú-ṣu-ra-te šá niše^{meš} -ma ú-ša-ar ^dMa-mi

B

- 46.' [x x x x x x] x x [x x]
 47.' [x x x x x x x] i-ir-ti-ša
 48.' [x x x x x x] x x zi-iq-nu
 49.' [x x x x x x] x li-it eṭ-li
 50.' [x x x x x] -ra-ti ù šu-li-i
 51.' [x x] -ti ù? aš-ša-tum ù mu-us-sà
 52.' [sa-as] sú-ra-tum pu-úh-ḥu-ra-ma
 53.' [wa-aš-ba] at ^dNin-tu
 54.' [i-ma] an-nu ar-ḥi
 55.' [bi-ti-iš] ši-ma-ti is-sú-ú eš-ra-tam

A

- vi. 1. x -ru-x il-li-ka-am-ma
 2. [iš-lu-up pa-li-e si-li-tam ip-te
 3. na-am-ru-ma ḥa-ḏu-ú pa-nu-ša
 4. u'-pu-ur qà-aq-qá-as-sà
 5. ta-ab-sú-ta-am i-pu-uš
 6. qá-ab-li-šá i-te-zi-bu
 7. i-ka-ar-ra-ab
 8. i-ṣi-ir qé-ma ù li-bi-it-ta id-di

jk

8. k continues from 42' i-na bīt a-li-te ḥa-riš-ti: 7
ūmē^{meš} li-na-di libittu, i-tuq-qa! ^dmaḥ e-riš-ta
^dMa-mi

- 40.' Two by two she finished them before her
- 41.' Mami designed the features of the people.
- 47.'her breast
- 48.'a beard
- 49.'the man's cheek
- 50.'and raising (?)
- 51.'the wife and her husband.
- 52.' The mother-wombs were assembled,
- 53.' Nintu was sitting
- 54.' They were counting the months.
- 55.' They summoned the skilly one to the house
of destinies,

- vi. 1.she came
2. She drew out the needles (?), opened the
womb.
3. Her face was bright with joy,
4. She adorned her head.
5. They left her belly,
6. She did the work of the midwife (?)
7. She uttered a benediction,
8. She drew the flour-circle and placed the
brick.

Tablet I

- A B j k vi. 9. a-na-ku-mi ab-ni i-pu-ša qá-ta-ia
 10. ta-ab-sú-tum i-na bi-it qá-di-iš-ti li-iḥ-du
 11. a-li a-li-it-tum ú-ul-la-du-ma
 12. um-mi še-er-ri
 13. ú-ha-far-ru-ú ra-ma-an-ša
 14. 9 u₇mu li-in-na-di li-bi-it-tum
 15. i-tu-uq-qa bi-it ^dNin-tu / sa-as-su-ru
 16. ^dMa-mi[x x x]-nu i-ta-ab-bi
 17. i-ta-fad-ki-ša sa-as-sú-ra
 18. i-ta-ad-ki-ša ki-x x
 19. i-na[x x x]na-de-e e-er-ši
 20. li-i²-ti[aš-ša]tum ù mu-sà
 21. i-nu-ma[aš-šu]tti ù mu-tu-ti
 22. i-na bi-it[x x] -a i-ta-aḥ-du iš-tar
 23. 9 u₇mi [li-iš-ša-ki-in ḥi-du-tum
 24. iš-tar[li-it-ta]ad-bu-ú ^dIš-ḥa-ra
 25. i-na [bi-it ši-ma]tti si-ma-nu ši-im-ti
 26. [x x x x x] x ab-bi[x x]
 27. [x x x x x] x ir x x [x x]

Lines 28-40 missing.

41. ri-[x x x x x x x x x]

42. ^d[x x x x x x x x x x]

9. j qá-ta-afa 10. k šab-su-tu-um-ma, bīt ha-riš-ti
 11. j [ú-ul]la-du-u-ma k ak-ki a-li-it-tu ú-la-du-ma
 12,13 B one line, ú-ḥar-ru-ú j ra-ma-an-šá k ummu šer-ri
lu-ḥar-ri-ša ra-ma-an-šá 14. j li-bit-tum 15. B ^dbe-li-it-
ì-lí j [x-tu-ú-tim 16. j [sa-as-su-ru] ^dmaḥ. 17,18 B one line
j i-ta-ad-ke-e-šá 19. B ^giš ná 20. B mu-us-sà 24. j [li]teb-bu?
 26. j ma/la? tu x

9. "I myself have created, my hands have done it.
10. Let the midwife rejoice in the house of the
nurse,
11. Where the pregnant woman gives birth,
12. And the mother
13. Delivers (?) the child herself!
14. Let the brick lie in place for nine days".
15. The mother-womb shall wait (?) at the house
of Nintu (?)
16. Mami.....calls,
17. She rouses her (?) the mother-womb,
18. She rouses her.....
19. In.....placing of a bed,
20. The wife and her husband
21. When wifehood and husband-hood.....
22. In the house.....the goddess rejoices (?)
23. For nine days rejoicing shall be instituted.
24. Let them call the goddess Ishara,
25. In the house of destinies, the time of destiny,
26.

Tablet I

A

- vi. 44. ú- [x x x x x x x x x x]
45. [x x x x x x x x x x x x]
46. [x x x x x x x x x x x x]
47. i-[x x x x x x x x x x x]
48. a-wi-lum [x x x x x x x x x]
49. su-uk-ki? mu-ša [x x x x x x x]
50. ma-ru a-na a-bi-šú x x x x x x]
51. x -gi-iš x [x x x x x x x x]
52. id-đu x x ma-ni x x x x x x]
53. šu-ú na-ši x [x x x x x x x]
- vii. 1. i-mu-ur-ma [x x x x]
2. ^dEn-líl x [x x] -ar i- [x x x x]
3. i-ta-a'-zu la qá-ti x [x x x x x]
4. al-li ma-ar-ri ib-nu-ú eš-re-ti
5. i-ki ib-nu-ú ra-bu-tum
6. bu-bu-ti-iš ni-ši ti-i-ti-iš [x x x]
7. [x x x x x x x x] li [x x x]
8. a- [x x x x x x x x x x x] / [x x x]
pa- [x]
9. [x x x x x x x x x] šu x tim
10. [x x x x x x x x x] šu x nu

48. The man.....
49.
50. The son to his father.....
51.
52.
53. He, carrying (?).....
- vii. 1. He saw and.....
2. Enlil.....
3. He.....
4. With picks and spades they made the
cultivable lands (?),
5. They made the great canals
6. Hungrily the people....for sustenance (?)

Tablet I

A

- vii. 11. [x x x x x x x x x] li-ib-nu
 12. [x x x x x x x x x] a-wi-lim
 13. [x x x x x x x x x] ki-il
 14. [x x x] li-x x [x x] ša am na
 15. [x x x] x -ka-an [x x] x -ša
 16. [x x x x x x x x x] na-an-na
 17. [x x x x x x x x x] x la ki
 18. [x x x x x x x x x] še-er-ra
 19. [x] x [x x x x x] 600 mu. hi.a
 20. [ma-tum ir-ta-pi-iš] ni-šu im-ti-da
 21. ma-tum ki-ma li-i i-ša-ab-bu
 22. i-na hu-bu-ri-ši-na i-lu it-ta-a³-da-ar
 23. [^dEn-líl iš-te-me] ri-gi-im-ši-in
 24. [iz-za-kàr a-na] i-li ra-bu-tim
 25. [ik-ta-ab-ta] ri-gi-im a-wi-lu-ti
 26. [i-na hu-bu-ri-ši-na] ú-za-am-ma ši-it-ta
 27. [x x x x] x šu-ru-ub-bu-ú li-ib-ši
 28. [x x x x x x] x uq ši x ti x x [x]
 29. x [x x x x x x] x x [x x x]
 30. li-x [x x x x x x x x x]

19. k[]meš 28. g[]li ik še[]
 20. k one line with 19. 29. g[]ri-gim-ši-na ki-ma[]
 22. k rig ri-gi-me-ši-na it-tā-dir. 30. g[]šu-ru-ub-bu-u

-|k

-|g

- 11.....let them make
12.of man
- 13.
18.the child.
19.1200 years
20. The inhabited land had expanded, the people
the people multiplied.
21. The land was bellowing like a bull...
22. The god had been disturbed by their clamour,
23. Enlil had heard their din.
24. He said to the great gods,
25. "Grievous has grown the din of mankind,
26. Through their clamour I lose sleep.
27.let there be sickness,
28.
30. Let.....

Tablet I

 $\frac{A}{T}$ $\frac{k}{T}$

- vii. 31. ù šu[x x x x x x x x x x]
 32. il-šu ^dEn-ki ú-ba-[x x x x x]
 33. i-ta-mu x [x x x]
 34. ù šu-ú il-šu it-t[í-šu i-ta-mu]
 35. ^rAt-ra-am-ḥa-si-is pí-a[šu i-pu-ša-am-ma]
 36. iz-za-kàr a-na[^dEn-ki be-li-šu]
 37. a-di Ma-mi ib-[nu]-ú-n[í-a-ti]
 38. mu-ur-ša i-im-mi-du-ni-a-ti a-[x x]
 39. ^dEn-ki pí-a-šu i-pu-ša-a[m-ma]
 40. iz-za-kàr a-na ar-di-[šu]
 41. ši-bu-ti si- x -ni i-[x]
 42. -ra-ni-a qí-ri-ib bi-ti-iš-k[ḥa]
 43. [í-]iq-ba-mi li-is-su-ú na-gi-ru
 44. ri-[ig]ma li-še-ib-bu-ú i-na ma-t[im]
 45. e ta-ap-la-ḥa i-li-ku-un
 46. e tu-sa-al-li-a [i]š-ta-ar-ku-un
 47. ^dEr-ra x ši-a ba-ab-šu
 48. bi-la e-lí-ta a-na qú-ud-mi-šu
 49. li-il-li-im-šu ma-aḥ-ḥa-tum ni-[qú-ú]
 50. li-ba-aš-ma i-na ka[at-ri-e]

31. And he, Atrahasis (?)
32. His god, Enki,.....
33. He spoke.....
34. And he, his god, was speaking with him (?)
35. Atrahasis spoke up
36. And said to Enki his lord,
37. "Since (?) Mami created us
38.have inflicted us with illness".
39. Enki spoke up
40. And said to his servant,
41. "...the elders.....
42. into your house.
43. Let the heralds announce and proclaim
44. Let them raise a cry in the land.
45. "Do not révere your god,
46. Do not pray to your goddess!"
47. Erra (?).....his gate
48. Bring a cook into his presence,
49. Let there come to him improper sacrifices (?)
50. He will be shamed by the offerings.

Tablet I

- vii. 51. li-ša-aq-qí-il qá-as-su
 52. ^mAt-ra-am-ḥa-si-is il-qí-a te-er-tam
 53. ši-bu-ti ú-pa-aḥ-ḥi-ir [a-na] ba-bi-šu
 54. ^mAt-ra-am-ḥa-si-is pí-a-šu [i]-pu-ša-am-ma
 55. [iz]za-kàr a-na ši-bu-ti
 56. ši-bu-ti x x ni x
- viii. 1. [x -ra-ni-a qí-ri-ib bi-ti-iš-ka
 2. [li-iq-bu-ma li-is]su-ú na-gi-ru
 3. [ri-ig-ma li-se-eb]bu-ú i-na ma-tim
 4. [e ta-ap-la-ḥa]i-li-ku-un
 5. [e tu-sa-al-li-a iš-ta-ar-ku-un
 6. ^dèr-ra x x ši-a]ba-ab-šu
 7. [bi-la e-pí-ta a-na qú-ud-mi-šu!
 8. [li-il-li-ik-šu ma-aḥ-ḥa-tum ni-qú-ú]
 9. [li]ba-aš-ma i-na ka-at-re-e
 10. [li-ša-aq-qí-il qá-as-su
 11. [ši-bu-tum iš-mu-ú zi-ki-ir-šu]
 12. nam-ta-ra i-na a[li x x]
 13. x -nu-ú bi-ti- x x x]
 14. [iq]bu-ma is-su-ú [na-gi-ru]
 15. [ri-ig-ma ú-še-eb-bu-ú i-na ma-tim]

51. He will withhold his hand".
52. Atrahasis received the direction,
53. He gathered the elders to his gate.
54. Atrahasis spoke up
55. And said to the elders,
56. "Elders!.....

- viii. 1.into your house.
2. Let the heralds announce and proclaim,
3. Let them raise a cry in the land.
4. "Do not revere your god,
5. Do not pray to your goddess!"
6. Erra.....his gate
7. Bring a cook into his presence,
8. Let there come to him improper sacrifices (?)
9. He will be shamed by the offerings,
10. He will withhold his hand".
11. The elders heeded his speech,
12. The plague in their city.....
13. They.....their houses (?)
14. The heralds announced and proclaimed,
15. They raised the cry in the land.

Tablet I

A

- viii. 16. [ú-ul] ip-la-ḫu i-[li-šu-un]
 17. [u-ul] ú-se-el-lu-ú [iš-ta-ar-šu-un]
 18. [nam-ta-ra x -ši-ir x x x
 19. [ub-lu] e-pí-tam a-na qú-ud-mi-šu
 20. [i-il-li-ik-šu ma-aḫ-ḫa-tum ni-[qú-ú]
 21. [i-ba-aš-ma i-na ka-at-re-[e]
 22. [u-ša-aq-qi-il qá-as-su
 23. [x x x te-xi]-ib-ši-na-ti
 24. [x x x x x x] it-tu-ru-ma
 25. [x x x x x x] x -ru- x [x]
 26. [x x x x x x x x x x x]
 27. [x]-am ku-um [x x x x x x x]
 28. [x] ik/id-bi-il ik-[x] 600.600 mu.ḫi.a

I

16. They did not revere their god,
17. They did not pray to their goddess.
18. Erra.....his gate
19. They brought a cook into his presence,
20. There came to him improper sacrifices (?)
21. He was shamed by the offerings,
22. He withheld his hand.
23. The plague (?) left them
24.they returned
25.they returned
26.
27.the child(?)
28.1200 years.

Tablet II

- E G i. 1. x -bi-il [x]ik 600.600 mu.ḫi.a
 2. ma-tum ir-ta-pí-iš ni-šu im-ti-da
 3. [mā-tum ki-ma li-i i-ša-ab-bu
 4. [i-na] ḫu-bu-ri-ši-na i-lu it-ta-a'-da-ar
 5. [^dEn-]líl iš-te-me ri-gí-ilm-ši-in
 6. [iz] za-qār a-na i-li ra-bu-tim
 7. ik-ta-ab-ta ri-gi-im a-we-lu-ti
 8. i-na ḫu-bu-ri-ši-na ú-za-am-ma ši-it-ta
 9. [pu] ur-sa a-na ni-ši te-i-ta
 10. [x] x -bu-ti-ši-na li-še-ṣu ša-am-mu
 11. zu-un-ni-šu ^dadad li-ša-aq-qí-il
 12. ša-ap-li-iš a-ia il-li-ka
 13. mi-lu i-na na-aq-bi
 14. li-il-li-ik ša-ru
 15. ka-aq-qá-ra li-e-er-ri
 16. er-pí-e-tum li-iḫ-ta-an-ni-ba
 17. ti-ku a-ia it-tu-uk
 18. li-iš-šu-ur a.šà iš-pi-ki-šu
 19. li-[x]-x -x -li ir-ta-ša ^dnisaba
 20. a-ia ib-ši ši-na-ši-šu x x x x

9. E tam over ta, see Note.
 10. E li-wi?-ṣu
 12. E, G ḫi-pi -iš, see Note.

- i. 1.1200 years
2. The inhabited land had expanded, the
people multiplied.
3. The land was bellowing like a bull.
4. The god had been disturbed by their clamour,
5. Enlil had heard their din.
6. He said to the great gods,
7. "Grievous has grown the din of mankind,
8. Through their clamour I lose sleep.
9. Cut off sustenance from the people,
10. Let the plants be few in ? their.....!
11. Let Adad withhold his rain,
12. From below let there not rise
13. The water from the spring!
14. Let the wind come,
15. Let it sweep the earth bare!
16. Let the clouds pile up,
17. Let no drop of rain fall!
18. Let the field withdraw its yield,
19. Let Nisaba..... her breast.
20. Let there not be.....

Tablet II

G

- i. 21. lu-ú ku-ut-te-eb-ba-/ma [x x x x]
 22. a-ia x [x x x x x x x x]
 23. x x [x x x x x x x x]

Remainder lost.

- ii. 1,2 Lost.

3. [li-iq-bu-ma li-is-su-ú na-gi-ru]

4. ri-ig-ma li-še-eb-bu-ú i-na ma-tim

5. e ta-ap-l[a-ḥa i-li-ku-un]

6. e tu-sa-al-li[a iš-tar-ku-un]

7. ^dadaḏ x [x x ba-ab-šu]

8. bi-la e-pí-ta [a-na qú-ud-mi-šu]

9. li-il-li-ik-šu [ma-aḥ-ḥa-tum ni-qú-ú]

10. li-ba-aš-ma [i-na ka-aḫ-re-e

11. li-ša-aq-qí-[il] qá-as-su

12. i-na še-ri-im ib-ba-ra li-ša-az-ni-in

13. li-iš-ta-ar-ri-ik i-na mu-ši-ma

14. li-ša-az-ni-in na-al-ša

15. a.šà ki-ma ša-ar-ra-qí tu-šu-a li-iš-ši

E

14. E na-ās-ša

21.

Remainder missing.

- ii. 3. Let the heralds announce and proclaim
 4. Let them raise a cry in the land.
 5. "Do not revere your god,
 6. Do not pray to your goddess!"
 7. Adad..... his gate.
 8. Bring a cook into his presence,
 9. Let there come to him improper sacrifices (?)
 10. He will be shamed by the offerings,
 11. He will withhold his hand.
 12. In the morning he will cause a mist
 13. He will prolong it at night,
 14. He will make the dew.
 15. The field, like a thief, shall

Tablet II

- E G ii. 16. ša ^dadad i-na a-li ib-nu-ú bi-is-su
 17. iq-bu-ma is-su-ú na-gi-ru
 18. ri-ig-ma ú-še-eb-bu-ú i-na ma-tim
 19. ú-ul ip-la-~~hu~~ i-li-šu'-un
 20. [ú-ul] ú-se-el-lu-ú iš-tar-šu'-un
 21. [^dadad x] x -ú ba-ab-šu
 22. [ub-lu] e-pí-ta a-na qú-ud-mi-šu
 23. [i-il-li] ik-šu ma-aḫ-ḫa-tum ni-qú-ú
 24. [i-ba] aš-ma i-na ka-at-re-e
 25. [ú] ša-aq-qí-il qá-as-su
 26. [i] na še-ri-im ib-ba-ra ú-ša-az-ni-in
 27. [iš] ta-ar-ri-ik i-na mu-ši-im-ma
 28. [ú] ša-az-ni-in na-al-ša
 29. [a.šà ki-ma ša-ar-rā-qí tu-šu-a iš-ši
 30. [x x x x x] ṭe -zi-ib-ši-na-ti
 31. [x x x x x] ši na-id šèr-ru
 32. [x x x x x] x ú ri x x x

Remainder lost.

26. im over another sing.

27. Erasure before i-na

16. Since Adad built his house in the city.
17. The heralds announced and proclaimed,
18. They raised the cry in the land.
19. They did not revere their god,
20. They did not pray to their goddess.
21. Adad..... his gate.
22. They brought a cook into his presence,
23. There came to him improper sacrifices (?)
24. He was shamed by the offerings,
25. He withheld his hand.
26. In the morning he caused a mist,
27. He prolonged it at night,
28. He made the dew.
29. The field, like a thief, raised the.....
30.left them
- 31.

Tablet II

G

vii.

30. [x x x] x [x x x x x x]

31. [š-u-up-ši-ik-ka-ku-f-nu x x x]32. [ta-aš-~~ta~~-a'-da ri-ig-ma a-na a-we-lu-ti]33. [x] ta-aš-bu-ha ga-am- [x x x x]34. [x] ta-aš-ba-ma ta-ar-x [x x]35. [x x] ši-i-ma ú-ub-ba-al [x x]36. [x x] li-ib-ba-ku-nu ur [x x x]37. x [x] li-tu-ur a-na nu- [x x x]38. i- [x x] x-am-mu-nu ma-áš- [x x]39. ^den-ki blank ? ni-iš [x x x]40. ^den-ki pí-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma]41. iz-za-kàr a-na i-[li aḥ-ḥi-šu]42. a-na mi-nim tu-ta-am-ma-ni]43. ú-ub-ba-al gá-ti a-na []44. a-bu-bu ša ta-qá-ab-bi]45. ma-an-nu šu-ú a-na-ku [ú-ul i-di]46. a-na-ku ú-ul-la-da [a-bu-ba]47. ši-pí-ir-šu i-ba-aš-ši it- [x x]48. li-ib-te-ru šu-ú [x x x x]49. ^dšu-ul-la-at ù ^dga-ni-iš]50. li-il-li-ku i-na [ma-aḥ-ra]51. ta-ar-ku-ul-li ^dir[ra-ka]/[li-na-as-si-iḥ]]52. li-il-li-ik ^dnin-urta]53. li-ir-[di mi-iḥ-ra]]

54. x [x x x x x x x x]

E

- vii. 30.
31. ... your load.....
32.you have..... the cry to mankind
33.you have slaughtered
34.you
35.it/I will bear
36.your heart
37.will return to
38.they
39. Enkithe oath
40. Enki spoke up
41. And said to the gods, his brothers,
42. "To what would you have me swear?
43. I will put my hand to
44. The flood which you ordain
45. What is it? I do not know.
46. I will bring forth a flood
47. Its work will be
48. It will
49. Shullat and Hanish
50. Will march in the van;
51. Errakal will tear out the posts,
52. Ninurta will come,
53. It will overflow the dam".

Tablet II

- G viii. 1'. x x x [x x x x x x]
 2'. pu-úh-ra x ni?[x x x x]
E 3'. iš? ta-aš-mi-a a-na ar?[x x x]
 4'. i-lu iq-bu-ú ga-me-er-~~tam~~
 5'. ši-ip-ra li-im-na a-na ni-ši / i-pu-uš ^den[líl]
 6'. ^lat-ra-am-ḥa-si-is pí-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma
 7'. iz-za-kàr a-na be-li-šu

Tablet III

- i. 1. ^l[At-ra-am-ḥa-si-is pí-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma]
 2. [iz-za-kàr a-na be-li-šu]

F

11. [^lAt-ra-am-ḥa-si-is] pí-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma
 12. [iz-za-kàr] a-na be-li-šu
 13. [x x x lu-ud-di--a qí-ri-ib-ša
 14. [x x lu-ud-di lu-uš-te-e si-ib-ba-as-sa
 15. [^dEn-ki] pí-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma
 16. [iz-za-kàr a-na ar-di-šu
 17. [x] x šu-um-ma lu-uš-te-i ta-qá-ab-bi
 18. ši-ip-ra ša a-qá-ab-bu-ka
 19. šu-uš-se-er at-ta
 20. i-ga-ru ši-ta-am-mi-a-an-ni

6'. G i-pu-ša-ma

- viii. 1'.
 2'. Together
 3'.
 4'. The gods spoke in unison.
 5'. Enlil did an evil thing to the people.
 6'. Atrahasis spoke up
 7'. And said to his lord.

- Tablet III. i. 1. Atrahasis spoke up
 2. And said to his lord,

 11. Atrahasis spoke up
 12. And said to his lord,
 13. ".....show me its interior
 14.show, explain its prow (?)".
 15. Enki spoke up
 16. And said to his servant,
 17.explain', you say!
 18. The work with which I charge you
 19. Guard carefully!
 20. Wall attend to me!

Tablet III

- F
- i. 21. ki-ki-šu šu-uš-še-ri ka-la zi-ik-ri!-ia
 22. ú-bu-ut bi-ta bi-ni e-li-ip-pa
 23. ma-ak-ku-ra sé-er-ma
 24. na-pí-iš-ta bu-ul-li-iṭ
 25. e-li-ip-pu ša ta-ba-an-nu-ú]
 26. []
 27. []
 28. []
 29. [kī-ma ap-si-i šu-a-ti su-ul-li-il-ši
 30. a-ia i-mu-ur ^dšamaš qí-ri-ib-ša
 31. lu-ú šu-ul-lu-lu^lum e-li-iš ù ša-ap-li-iš
 32. lu-ú du-un-nu-na ú-ni-a-tum
 33. ku-up-ru lu-ú da-a-an e-mu-qa šu-ur-ši
 34. a-na-ku ul-li-iš ú-ša-az-na-na-ak-ku
 35. hi-iš-bi iš-su-ri pu-du-ri nu-ni
 36. ip-te ma-al-ta-ak-ta šu-a-ti / ú-ma-al-li
 37. ma-a-aš a-bu-bi 7 mu-ši-šu iq-bi-šu
 38. ¹At-ra-am-ḥa-si-is il-qí-a te-er-tam
 39. ši-bu-ti ú-pa-aḥ-ḥi-ir a-na ba-bi-šu
 40. ¹At-ra-am-ḥa-si-is pí-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma

21. Fence guard all my words!
22. Pull down the house, build a boat!
23. Scorn goods,
24. But save life!
25. The boat which you build
26.
27.
28.
29. Like the Apsu roof it
30. So Shamash may not see inside it,
31. Let there be a cover above and below.
32. Let the tackle be strengthened,
33. Let the pitch be strong, give it force.
34. Presently I will rain upon you
35. A plenty of birds, unlimited fish!"
36. He opened the gauge, he filled it,
37. The outflow of the flood for seven nights he
ordained.
38. Atrahasis received the direction.
39. He gathered the elders to his gate.
40. Atrahasis spoke up

Tablet III

F

- i. 41. [iz]{za-kàr a-na ši-bu}{ti]
 42. [it]{ti i-li-ku-nu i-li}[x x x]
 43. [i]{te-te-zi-zu ^dEn-ki ù [^dEn-líl]
 44. [it]{ta-ar-ðu-ni-in-ni i-na}[x x x]
 45. [iš]{tu-ma ap-ta-na—x}[x x x x]
 46. x ki an ni[x x x x x]
 47. [ú-ul]{ú-uš-ša-ab i-na ša}{ma-i ša A-nim]
 48. [i-na]{ir-ši-it ^dEn-líl ú-ul a}{ša-ak-ka-an
še-pí-ia]
 49. [it]{ti i-li ú}{uš-ša-ab i-na ap-si-i]
 50. [x] x iq-bi-a-ti[x x x x x]

ii.

Lines 1-8 destroyed.

9. ik/ri[x x x x x x x x x]
 10. ši-bu}{tum x x x x x x x x}

- 41. And said to the elders,
- 42. "With your god my god.....
- 43. Enki and Enlil have become angry with each
other (?)
- 44. They would send me from
- 45. When I
- 46.
- 47. I cannot dwell in the heavens of Anu (?),
- 48. Upon Enlil's earth I may not set my foot,
- 49. With my god I will dwell in the Apsu.
- 50.

ii.

- 9.
- 10. The elders

Tablet III

F

- ii. 11. na-ga-ru? x x x x x x x x]
 12. at? ku? up? [x x x x x x x x]
 13. ku-up-ra [x x x x x x x x]
 14. la-ab-nu [x x x x x x x x]
 15. ú [x x x x x x x x x x]
 16. tam-ta x [x x x x x x x x]
 17. bu- [x x x x x x x x x x]
 18. ¹At-r̄a-am-ḥa-si-is x x x x]
 19. ú-li [x x x x x x x x x]
 20. i- [x x x x x x x x x x]
 21. x [x x x x x x x x x x]

Lines 22-27 destroyed.

28. x [x x x x x x x x x x]
 29. ú-ub-ḥa-al x x x x x x x]
 30. mi-im-ma i-šú-ú e-še-en-ši ka-as-pi]

- ii. 11. The carpenters (?).....
12.
13. Pitch
- 14.
15. And
16.
17.
18. Atrahasis
19.
29. He brings (?)
30. Whatever he has in the way of silver (?),

Tablet III

F

- ii. 31. mi-im-ma i-šu-ú e-še-en-ši hu-ra-ši
 32. el-lu-ti it-[x x x x x] x
 33. ka-ab-ru-ti [x x x x x x] -ri
 34. i-bi-ir [x x x x x x x] -ib
 35. mu-up-pa x [x x x x x] ša-ma-ia
 36. pu-ti [x x x x x x x] x ka-an
 37. na [x x x x x x x x] x še-ri
 38. x [x x x x x x x] uš-te-ri-ib
 39. [x x x x x x x x x] il ar-ri
 40. [x x x x x x x] ni-ši-šu ik-ri
 41. [x x x x x x] a-na ki-ri-ti
 42. ša-la-ta-šu ù ki-im-ta-šu uš-te-ri-ib
 43. [x x x] i-ik-ka-al
 44. iš-tu-ú i-ša-at-ti
 45. i-ir-ru-ub ù ú-uš-ši
 46. ú-ul ú-uš-ša-ab ú-ul i-ka-am-mi-is
 47. hi-pí-i-ma li-ib-ba-šu i-ma-aš ma-ar-ta-am
 48. u₇mu iš-nu-ú pa-nu-ú-šu
 49. iš-ta-ak-na ^dAdad i-na er-pí-ti
 50. i-lu! iš-mu-ú ri-gi-im-šu

31. Whatever he has in the way of gold (?)
32. Clean ones (?)
33. Fine ones (?)
34.
35.heavens
36.
37.the wild animals (?)
38.he made enter.
39.
40.his people he summoned.
41.to the feast.
42. His wife's family and his kin he made enter.
43. They eat (?) he eats,
44. They drink, he drinks.
45. He goes in and he goes out,
46. He does not sit, he does not kneel,
47. His heart is broken, he is depressed (?).
48. The appearance of the weather changed;
49. Adad has taken his place in the cloud,
50. The gods heard his clamour.

Tablet III

F

- ii. 51. [ku-up-ru ba-bi-il i-pí-iḫ-ḫi ba-ab-šu
 52. iš-tu-ma i-di-lu ba-ab-šu
 53. ^dAdad i-ša-aḡ-gu-um i-na er-pí-ti
 54. ša-ru uz-zu-zu i-na te-bi-šu
 55. ur-ru-uk ma-ar-ka-sa e-li-ip-pa/ip-ṭú-ur

iii.

3. [x x x x] x x x [x x]
 4. [x x x x x x] pu-ra-i
 5. [u₄-ma iš-t]e-en me-ḫu-ú
 6. [ù a-ša-as-ša-tu?] iṣ-ša-am-ḏu
 7. [x x x i-na] ṣu-up-ri-šu
 8. [x x x x x x] ša-ma-i
 9. [x x x x x x] ma(?) -tam-am
 10. [ki-ma ka-ar-pa-ti ṛi-gi-im-ša iḫ-pí
 11. [x x x x x x] a-bu-bu
 12. [ki-ma qá-ab-l]i e-li ni-ši i-ba-a' /ka-šu-šu
 13. [ú-ul] i-mu-ur a-ḫu a-ḫa-šu
 14. [ú-ul] ú-te-eḏ-ḏu-ú i-na ka-ra-ši
 15. [a-bu-bu] ki-ma li-i i-ša-ab-bu
 16. [x x x x] -ri-i na-e-ri

51. Pitch is brought, he caulks his door.
52. As soon as he shut his door,
53. Adad thunders in the cloud,
54. The winds grow furious at his approach.
55. The mooring-rope is paid out, he cast off the
boat.

- iii.
- 1,2 missing.
 3. traces.
 4.?
 5. For one day the tempest,
 6. And the storm-wind they were joined together.
 7.with his claws
 8. He rent (?) the heavens.
 9.the land (?)
 10. Like a pot (?) her cry smashed.
 11.came/blew the flood.
 12. Like battle over the people came the destroyer.
 13. Not a man saw his fellow,
 14. They could not be distinguished in the disaster.
 15. The flood (?) bellows like a bull
 16.roar (?)

Tablet III

- F iii. 17. [x x] x ša-ru
18. [x x x e]tú-tu ^dŠamaš la-aš-šu
19. [x x x x] x šu ki-ma su-up-pí
20. [x x x x x x] x a-bu-bi
21. [x x x x x x x x] i?-hu/uz-zu
22. [x x x x x x x x] -bu
23. [x x x x] ri-gi-im a-wi-lu-ti
24. [^dEn-ki qá]bi i-li uš-ta-ka-an
25. [ú-ul] iš-ta-ni ęe-e-em-šu
26. [x x] ma-ru-šu ub-bu-ku
27. [i-na] ma-aḫ-ri-šu
28. [^dNi]h-tu be-el-tum ra-bi-tum
29. [pu-ul]-hi-ta ú-ka-la-la ša-ap-ta-ša
30. [^dḪ]-nun-na i-lu ra-bu-tum
31. [wa-aš-ḫu] i-na su-mi ũ bu-bu-ti
32. [i]-mu-ur-ma il-tum i-ba-ak-ki
33. ta-ab-su-ut i-li e-ri-iš-ta ^dMa[mi]
34. u₄mu-um li-id-da-i-[im]
35. li-tu-ur li-ki-[il]

17.the wind
18. Darkness fell (?), there was no sunshine.
19.like a prayer (?)
20.of the flood.
21.they held (?)
22.the flood (?)
23.the clamour of mankind
24. Enki has brought about the decision
25. He has not changed his mind.
26.his children were destroyed
27. Before him
28. Nintu, the great lady
29. Fearfully her lips tremble with fear.
30. The Anunna, the great gods,
31. Sit thirsting and hungry.
32. The goddess saw and weeps,
33. The midwife of the gods, skilly Mami,
34. "Let the day be dark,
35. Let it go back, let it become dark.

Tablet III

- F iii. 36. a-na-ku i-na pu-úh-ri ša i-li]
 37. ki-i aq-bi
 38. it-ti-šu-nu ga-me-er-ta-am]
 39. ^dEn-líl it-pí-ra ú-ša-aq-bi pí-i-ifa]
 40. ki-ma ti-ru-ru šu-a-ti
 41. ú-ša-a'->i₁₀ pi-i-š[a]
 42. a-na ra-ma-ni-ia ù pa-ag-ri-ia
 43. i-na se-ri-ia-ma ri-gi-im-ši-na eš-me
 44. e-li-nu-ia ki-ma su-up-pí
 45. i-wu-ú li-il-li-du
 46. ù a-na-ku ki-i a-ša-bi
 47. i-na bi-it di-im-ma-ti ša-ḫu-ur-ru/ri-ig-mi
 48. e-te-el-li-i-ma a-na ša-ma-i
 49. tu-ša wa-aš-ba-a-ku
 50. i-na bi-it na-ak-ma-ti
 51. e ša a-a-nu il-li-kam be-el te₇mi
 52. i-lu ma-ru-šu iš-mu-ú zi-ki-ir-šu
 53. ša la im-ta-al-ku-ma iš-ku-nu a-bu-ba
 54. ni-ši ik-mi-su a-na ka-ra-ši]

36. I in the assembly of the gods,
37. How could I speak
38. In agreement with them?
39. Enlil ? ? caused my mouth to speak
40. Like the Tiruri-demon
41. Her mouth twitched (?)
42. 'At me my very self,
43. Against me I heard their clamour.
44. Against me (?) like a.....?
45. The little ones changed.
46. And I, how can I sit (?)
47. In the mouse of moaning, with the ceasing of
clamour?
48. I will ascend to heaven,
49. Perhaps I may sit
50. In the treasure-house.
51. Would that the one responsible may not come
thither.
52. The gods his children heard his speech,
53. The one who did not take counsel, but
ordained the flood,
54. Consigned the people to destruction,

Tablet III

F iv.

4. ú-na-ab-ba ^dNin-tu x x x x]
5. a-bu-ba ^dul-d[a- x x x x]
6. ti-a-am-ta ki-ma ku-li-li
7. im-la-a-nim na-ra-am
8. ki-ma a-mi-im i-mi-da a-na sa-[x x]
9. ki-ma a-mi i-na še-ri i-mi-da/a-na ki-ib-ri
10. a-mu-ur-ma e-li-ši-na ab-ki
11. ú-qá-at-ti di-im-ma-ti/i-na še-ri-ši-in
12. ib-ki-i-ma li-ib-ba-ša ú-na-ap-pí-iš
13. ú-na-ab-ba ^dNin-tu
14. la-la-ša iš-ru-up
15. i-lu it-ti-ša ib-ku-ú a-na ma-tim
16. iš-bi ni-is-sà-tam
17. ša-mi-a-at ši-ik-ri-iš
18. ši-i a-šar uš-bu i-na bi-kā-ti
19. uš-bu-ma ki-ma im-me-ri
20. im-lu-nim ra-ṭa-am

16. tam UD over TA

- iv. 4. Nintu laments
5. "The flood
6. The sea like dragon-flies
7. They filled the river.
8. As a raft touches
9. As a raft in the country touches the shore.
10. I saw and I wept over them".
11. She ceased from mourning for them.
12. She wept and solaces her heart.
13. Nintu laments,
14. She burnt up her passion.
15. The gods wept with her for the land.
16. She was sated with mourning;
17. She thirsted for drink.
18. She was subdued (?) they sat in tears,
19. And they sat as sheep
20. Fill the water-hole.

Tablet III

- F
iv. 21. ša-mi-a ša-ap-ta-šu-nu pu-ul-ḫi-ta
22. i-na bu-bu-ti
23. i-ta-na-ar-ra-ar-ru
24. 7 u-mi 7 mu-ši-a-tim
25. il-li-ik ra-du me-ḫu-ú a[bu-bu]
26. a-šar iš-rī x x x x x x x]
27. sa-ki-iḫ x x x x x x x]
28. ša x[x x x x x x x x]

39. ib-[x x x x x x x x x x]
40. iš- x [x x x x x x x x x]

Tablet III

- F
iv. 41. bi-[x x x x x x x x x x]
42. x [x x x x x x x x x x]
43. x [x x x x x x x x x x]
44. ú-[x x x x x x x x x x]
45. i-na[x x x x x x x x x x]
46. id- x [x x x x x x x x x x]
47. il-[x x x x x x x x x x]
48. x [x x x x x x x x x x]

v.

8. x [x x x x x x x x x x]
9. x [x x x x x x x x x x]
10. ú-[x x x x x x x x x x]
11. i-[x x x x x x x x x x]
12. e-[x x x x x x x x x x]
13. šu-[x x x x x x x x x x]
14. x [x x x x x x x x x x]

Lines 15-27 missing

28. x [x x x x x x x x x x]
29. i-si[x x x x x x x x x x]
30. a-na ša-a-ri x x x x x x]
31. it-ta-di[x x x x x x x x]
32. i-za-an-nu-un[x x x x x x]

- iv. 41.
42.
43.
44.
45. In
46.
47.
48.
- v. Lines 1-7 missing.
8.
9.
10.
11.
12.
13.
14.
- Lines 15-27 missing.
28.
29.
30. To the winds
31. He put
32. He prepares (?)

Tablet III

- F v. 33. [x x x x x x x x] x
 34. [i-ši-nu i-lu e-ri-ša
 35. [ki-ma zu-um-bi e-lu-ni-qi-i pa-aḥ-ru
 36. [x x i-lu i-ku-lu-ni-qi-a-am
 37. [^dNin-tu it-bi-e-ma
 38. [i-na ma-ḥa-ar-šu-nu ut-ta-az-za-am
 39. e ša a-a-nu il-li-ka-am
 40. be-el te₄e-mi
 41. ^dEn-líl it-ḥi-a a-na qú-ut-ri-ni
 42. ša la im-ta-al-ku-ú-ma/iš-ku-nu a-bu-ba
 43. ni-ši ik-mi-su a-na ka-ra-ši
 44. ub-la pí-i-ku-nu ga-me-er-tam
 45. el-lu-tum x mu-ši-na a'-a-at-ru
 46. ù ši-i iṭ-ḥi-e-ma/a-na su-pí-e ra-bu-ti
 47. ša A-nu i-qú-ma i-pa-an ga[x x]
 48. ia-a-at-tum ni-iṣ-ša-ma-[x]
 49. lu-ú ši-im-ti i-ba-[x]
 50. li-še-ša-an-ni-ma i-na ni-el-x [x]
 51. pa-ni-ia li-ib- x [x]
 52. lu-ú zi-ši-a x [x x/na? x [x x x x]

Two or three lines missing.

44. tam, UD over TA

33.
34. The gods smell the savour.
35. Like flies they are gathered over the sacrifice.
36.The gods ate the sacrifice.
37. Nintu arose and
38. Wept in their presence;
39. "Would that there may not come
40. The responsible one,
41. Enlil approach the offering,
42. Who did not take counsel but ordained the flood,
43. Consigned the people to destruction.
44. Your decision was unanimous (?)
45. The pure(?)"
46. And she came near to the great feast (?)
47. Which Anuin front of them all
48. "Mine is the(?)
49. Letof destiny(?)
50. Let them bring me out (?) from
51. My face let
52. Let

Two or three lines missing.

Tablet III

F

- vi. 1. i-na ma-[x x x x x x x x] / [x x x x]
 2. zu-up-pu-ú-[x x x x x x x]
 3. lu-u uq!-ni ki-ša-di x [x x x]
 4. lu-uḫ-zu?na su ba mi [x x x] / zi [x x x]
 5. ma-ku-ra i-ta-ma-ar q[ú-ra-du ^dEn-líl]
 6. li-ib-ba-ti ma?-li ša ^dI-gi[gi]
 7. ra-bu-tum ^dA-nun-na ka-lu-ni
 8. ub-la pí-i-ni iš-ti-ni-iš ma-mi-tam
 9. a-ia-a-nu ú-ši <na> pí-ti-iš-tum
 10. ki-i ib-lu-uḫ a-wi-lum/i-na ka-ra-ši
 11. A-nu pí-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma
 12. iz-za-kàr a-na qú-ra-[di] ^dEn-líl
 13. ma-an-nu an-ni-tam
 14. ša la ^dEn-ki i-ip-pu-uš
 15. [x id]-du-ú ša-ap-ta zi-ik-ra
 16. [^dEn-ki] pí-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma
 17. [iz-za-kàr] a-na i-li ra-bu-ti
 18. [x x x]-pu-uš i-na pa-ni-ku-nu
 19. [x x] x ši-ra na-pí-iš-tam / [x x x [x x]
 20. [x x x x] i-li [ra-bu-tim] x

- vi. 1. In
2. The fly-amulets (?)
3. I shallthe lapis-lazuli on my neck
4. I shall"
5. He saw the ship, the hero Enlil (?)
6. His heartagainst (?) the Igigi
7. "The great Anunna all of us
8. Agreed together to the oath
9. That no life should survive (?)
10. How has man lived through the catastrophe?"
11. Anu spoke up
12. And said to heroic Enlil,
13. "Who could do this
14. Without Enki?
15. His lips let a word slip."
16. Enki spoke up
17. And said to the great gods,
18. "In your presence I created (?),
19. Now I have saved life(?)"
20.the great gods

Tablet III

F

- vi. 21. [x x x x x x x a-bu-ba
 22. [x x x x x tā-aš-ku-un
 23. [x x x x x] li-ib-ba-ka
 24. [x x x x x] ru-um-mi
 25. [x x x x] nim šu-ku-un še-ri-it-ka
 26. [x x] -ia ú ša ú-ša-as-sa-ku / a-wa-at-ka
 27. [x x x x x] pu-úh-ra

Lines 28-37 missing.

38. [x x x x x] x ši-a-ti
 39. [x x x x] iš-ku-nu
 40. [x x x x] x-iš li-ib-bi
 41. [^dEn-líl] pī-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma
 42. [iz-za-kàr a-na ^dEn-ki ni-iš-ši-ki
 43. [x x x sa-as-sú-ra ^dNin-tu ši-si-ma
 44. [at-ta] ù ši-i mi-it-li-ka/i-na pu-uh-ri
 45. [^dEn-ki] pī-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma
 46. [iz-za-kàr] a-na ^dNin-tu sa-as-sú-ri
 47. [at-ti-i-ma sa-a]s-sú-ru ba-ni-a-at/ši-ma-ti
 48. [x x x x] a-na ni-ši
 49. [x x x x x x x] li-li
 50. [x x x x x x] li-ib-ši
 51. [x x x x x x x x] x

A few lines missing.

vi.

21.the flood
 22.how could you ordain?
 23.your heart,
 24.and be lenient.
 25.place your anger (?)
 26.which annuls your edict (?)
 27.the assembly."

Lines 28-37 missing.

- 38?her
 39.they set.
 40.of heart.
 41. Enlil (?) spoke up
 42. And said to Enki, the regent,
 43. ".....call the mother-womb, Nintu,
 44. Do you (?) and she take counsel in the
 assembly."
 45. Enki spoke up
 46. And said to Nintu the mother-womb,
 47. "You are the mother-womb, creatress of
 destinies.
 48.to/for the people.
 49.
 50.let there be.
 51.

A few lines missing.

Tablet III

F

- vii. 1. x x -na ša-lu-uš-tum li-ib-ši/i-na ni-šk
 2. i-na ni-ši a-li-it-tum-ma la a-li-it-tum
 3. li-ib-ši-ma i-na ni-ši pa-ši-it-tú
 4. li-iš-ba-at še-er-ra
 5. i-na bi-ir-ku a-li-it-ti
 6. šu-uk-ni ú-uq-ba-ak-ka ti-e-ne-ti
 7. ù e-gi-ši-a-ti
 8. lu-ú ik-ki-bu-ši-na
 9. a-la-da x pu- x -ra
 10. [x x] ni x x x x [x] x di-tam
 11. [x x x x] ù [x x x x] x tam
 12. [x x x x] ra ma [x x] ra na
 13. [x x x x] bi li [x x] ši-in
 14. [x x x x x x x x] x mi-šu
 15. [x x x x x x x x x x x] tum
 16. [x x x x x x x x x x] x
 17. id-[x x x x x x x x x x] / [x x x]
 18. li-[x x x x x x x x x x]
 19. be ma[x x x x x x x x x]
 20. a-ši[x x x x x x x x x x]

- vii.
1.a third let there be among the
people,
 2. Among the people the mother no more a mother.
 3. Let there be a destroyer among the people,
 4. Let it snatch the child
 5. From its mother's lap.
 6.(?)
 7. And(?)
 8. Let their uncleanness (?)
 9.(?)

Remainder virtually lost.

Tablet III

F

- vii. 21. ^dEn-líl x x x x x x x x]
22. x ta/ga[x x x x x x x x x]
23. x [x x x x x x x x x]
24. ma ta/ga[x x x x x x x x]
25. me-hu[x x x x x x x x x]
26. ma-ta[x x x x x x x x x]
27. x [x x x x x x x x x]
-
36. i[x x x x x x x x x]
37. ri[x x x x x x x x x]
38. ma[x x x x x x x x x]
39. i[x x x x x x x x x]
40. ^dEn-líl/ki[x x x x x x x x]
41. x [x x x x x x x x x]

Tablet III

F
viii.

6. [x x x x x x x x x x x]
7. [x]ma ù [x x x x x x x]
8. ib-ba-šu [x x x x x x x x]
9. ki-ma ni-iš-ku-ur(?) x x x x x]
10. a-wi-lum ib-lu-ur i-na ka-ra-ši]
11. at-ta ma-li-ik i-li ra-bu-ti x x]
12. te-ri-ti iš-[x x x]
13. ú-ša-ab-ši ga-[x x]
14. ša-ni-it-ti iš[x]
15. an-ni-a-am za-ma-ra]
16. li-iš-mu-ma ^dI-gi-gu]
17. li-iš-ši-ru na-ar-bi-ka
18. a-bu-ba a-na ku-ul-la-at ni-ši
19. ú-za-am-me-er ši-me-a

- viii. 6.
7.
8.
9. According to your oath (?) ...
10. Man survived the disaster (?)
11. You are counsellor of the great gods (?)
12. The orders he
13. He caused to be
14. The second (?)
15. This song
16. Let the Igu heed,
17. Let them guard thy glory.
18. 'The Flood' to all people
19. I will sing. Listen!

Colophons.

Tablet I, A

416

dub 1 kám.ma i-nu-ma i-lu a-wi-lum

mu.šid.bi 416

šu kù ^dA-a dub.sar turiti^bár.zag.gar u₄ 21 kámmu Am-mi-ša-du-qá lugal.e

alam.a.ni máš.gab.tab.ba šu.a x

ù alam.a.ni ba!di ab?bi?x.aTablet II, Bdub 2 kám.ma i-nu-ma i-lu a-wi-lum

mu.šid.bi 439

šu kù ^dA-a dub.sar turiti^zíz.a u₄ 28 kámmu Am-mi-ša-du-qá lugal.ebád Am-mi-ša-du-qá^{ki}ka íd buranunu^{ki}.ra.ta

in.ga.an.dím.ma.a

Tablet III, F

al.til

dub 3 kám.ma

i-nu-ma i-lu a-wi-lum

mu.šid.bi 390

šu.nigin 1245

ša 3 tup-pa-timšu kù ^dA-a dub.sar.turiti^gu₄.si.sá u₄ x kám

(Year as I)

Colophons.

Tablet I. First tablet of inuma ilu awilum,
 Number of lines 416,
 Hand of Ellet-Aya, junior scribe.

Nisan, 21st.

Year king Ammisaduqa ... his statue
 with a sacrificial lamb held to the
 breast (?), and his statue....

Tablet II Second tablet of inuma ilu awilum,
 Number of lines 439,
 Hand of Ellet-Aya, junior scribe.

Shabat, 28th.

Year king Ammisaduqa built Dur-Ammissa-
 duqa at the mouth of the Euphrates.

Tablet III Complete

Third tablet of
inuma ilu awilum,
 Number of lines 390,
 Total of 1245 lines
 Of three tablets,
 Hand of Ellet-Aya, junior scribe.

Ayar, xth.

(For the year names see B.E. Morgan, Manchester Cuneiform
 Studies II (1952), p. 34.)

CHAPTER III.

NOTES ON THE TRANSLITERATION AND THE
TRANSLATIONTablet I

i. 1. This line has been known as the commencement of the poem since the discovery of the colophon on E which uses it as the title of the composition. It is probably also found as the catch-line at the end of a copy from Nineveh of the bilingual creation story to which is attached the Silbenalphabet, but it does not occur in the duplicate of this text from Assur (K.A.R. 4; cf. C.J. Gadd, Iraq IV(1937) pp.33-4). Tablet I of Atrahasis is not a sequel to the bilingual story (see Ch. V), rather it recounts a related tale, so that it was probably similarity of content which resulted in the conjunction of the two in the Nineveh library.

The context now makes clear the meaning of the line, previously translated 'When God, man...' (Clay, Heidel, Speiser) or 'When the gods....man' (Laessøe). awīlum can only be interpreted as a noun with the adverbial termination -um, 'as a man'. Although no other examples of this use of the locative termination in um have been found, the fact of its interchange with -iš in other meanings allows it to be viewed as an equivalent of -iš, 'like', here (cf. W. von Soden, Z.A. XLI, n.F.VII (1932), pp. 90ff, 128-30; G.A.G §§66, 67c). (W.G.L.)

2. The labourings of the gods are described by the phrases dullam abālu, dullam zabālu (I.i.38), šupšikkam zabālu, šupšikkam našû (I.iv.2 B, 28 B), abšanam abālu (I.iv.26 B, 27 B). Their condition is called šapšaqum (I.i.4,iii.49); imposition of the toil is rendered by dullam šuzbulu (I.i.6), and šupšikkam emēdu (I.v.14), its removal by dullam šussuku (I.i.42, v.13).

The verb most commonly found with dullu is epēšu, dullam abālu is otherwise known only from two texts from Susa (V.Scheil, M.D.P. XXII, no.125; XXIII, no.273; v.C.A.D. 3 (D), pp.173-7). At Susa the dullu is almost certainly some form of tax, levied in labour, as was frequently done from Middle Babylonian times (C.A.D. loc.cit.). Here the word has the more general sense of 'toil, labour', with the overtone of menial, unfitting tasks.

The expression dullam zabālu is also rare, apparently surviving elsewhere only in the apodosis of an omen;... du-ul-la i-za-bil (F.R. Kraus, Texte zur babylonischen Physiognomatik, Berlin, 1939, no.3b.iii.40; cf. M.V.A.G. XL 2 (1935), p.86, CXX) where it could mean 'He will do labour' (so Kraus as well as 'He will bear misfortune' (C.A.D. 21 (Z), p.3), especially as the apodosis of another omen contains the similar tupšikku zabālu; šumma mu-ra-aš-ši mu-šá-zi-iq il-šú tup-šik-ku ú-šá-az-bal-šú, 'If a man is fractious or an anarchist, his god will make him bear the workman's hod.'

(F.R. Kraus, op. cit., no.57a.I.8; cf. Z.A. XLIII, n.F.IX(1936), p.92, no.6B).

šupšikku is elsewhere written with initial t, cf. W.von Soden, Or. N.S. XXVI(1957), p.312). It is possible that this variation with š represents an older form (W.G.L.). The word is supposedly a loan from Sumerian dušig₄, 'a board for carrying bricks, a hod', although this cannot be substantiated except by etymology. It denotes, in fact, a basket or other container carried on the head (cf. Har.gud to Har.ra:hub-ullu IX, M.S.L. VII, p.69, l.32, gi.íl (glossed du.su): tup-šikku:ku-du-ru; W.G. Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom Literature, p.307), whether by kings at foundation ceremonies, as commemorated in various figures and reliefs, or by the labourers and prisoners of war who were often devoted to such work (y.B.Meissner, M.A.O.G. XI(1937), pp.47-9; cf. A.Salonen, Die Hausgeräte der alten Mesopotamier, Helsinki, 1965, pp.247-9). J. Lewy's contention that tupšikku can only mean board seems to base too much on the assumed etymology (Or.N.S. XIX(1950), p.5). (The occurrence of the Sumerian zub-sig in Enki and Ninmah, 32,39, referring to the toil of the gods, may possibly have influenced the writing with initial š by false etymology, cf. J.J.van Dijk, loc.cit., p.30, n.76 end, for this word.) All instances of šupšikku in this text are best taken as abstract uses in the sense of 'labour', except for I.ii.10 where it is one of the implements of labour.

4. sapsaqum, 'toil, distress, difficulty', is also used of the state of the gods in Enuma elish, but there it denotes the mortal peril in which they stood before Tiamat's onslaught, VI.126 ilī abbē^{meš}-šu i-ti-ra ina šap-šá-qí, 'He saved the gods his fathers from dire peril. 'For the relative form of the word y. E.A. Speiser, J.C.S. VI (1952), p.85.
5. d^a-nun-na-ku is the only certain example of the spelling with final ku in the Old Babylonian mss. The other preserved passages have d^a-nun-na (I.v.5; III.iii.30, vi.7), the more common form in Old Babylonian Akkadian texts, However, a similar inconsistency appears in the Code of Hammurabi, rev.xxviii.73 d^a-nun-na; obv.i.2 d^a-nun-na-ki. For the office of these gods see note on I.iv.51. sib/pittam is obscure; possibly this line and the next are to be read as three parts of words: rabūtum d^aAnunnaku/ sipittam dullam/ ušazbalu d^aIgigi. sipittam is then in apposition to dullam and the phrase must mean something like 'grievous toil'.
6. d^aI-gi-gi is treated as a Semitic noun and declined, cf.ii.57, v.6 etc.
7. The composition of the divine government is the same as that in Gilgamesh XI.15-18. Regrettably, this line does not aid the restoration of Gilgamesh XI.15 [x x] x-ma abu-šu-nu d^aA-nu-um, as examination of the only manuscript, a neo-Babylonian copy, BM.35380 shows that the traces preceding

-ma could be ku,tu or šar (cf. C.T. XLVI,pl.XXXV,no.35)

Thus the restoration of Th. Bauer [im-tal]-ku!-ma followed by W. von. Soden (Z.A. LIII.n.F.XIX(1959),p.232)

cannot be proved.

A-nu is consistently written in A without the determinative, a frequent usage where the first syllable of the noun is the same as the syllabic value of the determinative

(B. Landsberger, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes LVII (1961),p.3.)

9. guzalû is only known from this text (cf.iii.12,24) and Gilgamesh XI.17 as a title of Ninurta, although it is commonly found with various minor deities (v. K.Tallquist, Akkadische Götterepitheta, Helsinki,193,p.75). The normally given meaning 'chair-bearer' (C.A.D. 5 (G), pp.146-6;A.Hwb.p.300) is nowhere substantiated precisely by context, it rests upon the Sumerian writing gu.za.la. In the lexical series Erimhuš it is listed with civic functionaries (šīb āli,gugallu,vi.19). Literary usage indicates a more general connotation, 'official, agent' or perhaps 'fore-runner' (cf. Šullat ù Haniš il-la-ku ina maḥ-ri il-la-ku guzalû^{meš} sadû^u u ma-a-tum Gilgamesh XI.99-100; the Seven Evil Demons are mārē šip-ri šá nam-ta-ru šú-nu gu-za-lu-ú šá Ereškigal šú-nu and gu-uz-za-lu-ú šá ili^{meš} šú-nu su-la-a a-na da-la-ḥi ina sūqi it-ta-nam-za-az-zu šú-nu C.T.XVII 13.iii.9,11;15.v.13,52).

In two passages in Atrahasis the word is probably a specific term for 'taskmaster' (I.i.41,49). Combination

of the evidence of all these texts leads to the conclusion that it is used for a 'deputy' or 'agent', a possible extension from the primary sense of 'chair-bearer' as a man close to and trusted by the ruler, a result already obtained by B. Beissner, Beiträge zum Assyrischen Wörterbuch II, Chicago, 1932, pp.16-18.

10. Ennugi is known as an earth-god and underworld deity (v. K. Tallquist, op.cit., p.305) and is also called 'official' of Enlil (guzalû, C.T. XXIV,10,6). The term gallu is not applied to him elsewhere, nor to any other god, apparently. It is a loan-word from Sumerian gal₅.la, 'police constable' (C.A.D. G, p.19), describing a class of demons in Akkadian. The Sumerian meaning was preserved at least by grammarians of later times who grouped it with guzalû and šib āli as equivalent of Sumerian (eme-sal) libir, 'official' (Erimbuš VI.18). In Sumerian literature the gal₅.la is found principally as the agent of the underworld powers, sent, for example, to fetch Innin from the earth to Ereshkigal (S.N. Kramer in Ur Excavations, Texts VI.I, pp.2-4; Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society CVII (1963), pp.492-3). It seems probable that this meaning has also survived here in the title of Ennugi. Indeed, it is appropriate to him as a chthonic deity and is consonant with his other, almost synonymous epithet, guzalû, 'agent'.

The fact that the otherwise duplicate list in Gilgamesh

XI has gugallu as Ennugi's epithet raises the question of whether one text has an error, gallu for gugallu or vice-versa. While Ennugi is connected with agriculture and irrigation, as his titles šākin eqli and bēl iki u palgi, 'tiller of the field' and 'lord of ditch and channel' show (K. Tallquist, op.cit., p.305), and therefore gugallu might be apposite, his other title guzalû assigns him a wider sphere of duty. As 'constable' or 'beadle' (gallu), he is parallel to Ninurta in this list, which produces two pairs of gods, Anu and Enlil who command, Ninurta and Ennugi who ensure performance. If this parallelism be deemed correct, then the gugallu of Gilgamesh may be considered erroneous. The proximity of guzalûšunu to u gallušunu could give rise to the mistake either through dictation or copying through the similarity of sound.

11,12. Restoration is made by comparison with Gilgamesh III.i.19 iš-šab-tu-ma qa-tu qa-tu-uš-šu-un, 'They took each other by the hand', qa-ti-ša being understood as a defective writing of qa-ti-iš-ša (W.G.L.). The purpose of the action is not clear, whether they (the gods) shook hands of held hands, their own or one another's. The phrases qātu aḫāzu/šabātu frequently mean 'to help, assist' (C.A.D. A.1, p.179; Š, pp.31-2), whence this line might indicate unity of action. qa-ti-ša is the only instance of Ellet-Aya using the sign GA to represent the phoneme q(a) (e.g. qā-ab-lum I.ii.6 etc.

qá-du I.v.12).

13. ša-me-e-ša is interpreted as a noun with locative-terminative suffix ša, a new example of this suffix without mimation (v. W. von Soden, Z.A. XLI (1934), pp.111-5, especially p.113, nn.2,4). For a discussion of the locative-terminative in Semitic generally see E.A. Speiser, I.E.J. IV (1954), pp.108-115.

15. Restoration from II, ms. o, ii.6. With šigaru in a cosmic context, compare Enuma Eliš V.10 ši-ga-ru ud-dan-ni-na šu-me-la u im-na 'He made the locks strong on the right and the left' referring to the gates of heaven. The same are mentioned as opened by Shamash (4R.17,5ff.) and Ishtar (G. Reisner, Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen, Berlin, 1896, no.53.42ff.), and are almost identical with sikkuru, 'lock' (C.T. XVIII 3, r.ii.32; cf. P.B.S. 1/1, no.12.11 where Shamash opens the sikkūr šamē). šigaru describes a blockade in a river in an Old Babylonian poem in which Ishtar (^dInnin) i-na ku-ut-la-ti sí-pa-ar-ri ši-ga-ri we-ri-im ^{íd}idiqlat is-ke-er, 'She barred the Tigris with locks of bronze and bolts of copper' (C.T.XV.2, viii.9).

naḫbalu is associated with šigaru and other words denoting obstacles and traps in Har.ra:hubullu VI.195-200 (M.S.L. VI, pp.70-1). The description of Enki's realm does not explain the form of the Apsu, but shows that it was the barrier preventing the influx of the ocean over, presumably the earth.

16. The title niššiku is peculiar to Enki and rarely found, the Agušaya poem and one text from Assur provide the only other occurrences (A.iv.12,v.16,28;B.viii.17;K.A.R. 38 r.8) outside this text (I.vi.42). That the word in this line is the same despite the different spelling (naššiku against niššiku as in III.vi.42) can hardly be doubted. It may throw light upon the etymology of the word as it has the appearance of a parris type of noun, but the shift to i in the first syllable is inexplicable and the second syllable may have a long vowel (written -ši-i-ki in all the Agusaya passages). Proposed derivation from Sumerian ensi, ninsi (A.Poebble, O.L.Z. XVIII (1915), col.134, n.4, followed by H. Zimmern, loc.cit., p.33) has been disproved by A. Falkenstein (Z.A.XLI.n.F.VIII(1934), p.154,n.1). Connection with the term nisakku(Sumerian nu.eš) was doubted by W. von Soden (Z.A.XLI n.F.VIII(1934), p.166,n.6) and is rendered improbable if that term be identified, as T. Jacobsen suggests (Analecta Biblica XII.III (1959),pp.138-9), with the god's cup-bearer. The spelling is also against this (s/š, single k). Another possibility is to link niššiku with neo-Assyrian nasiku, 'prince', also found in Aramaic (Ahiqar 119,A.Cowley, Aramaic Papyri, Oxford,1923,pp.216,240) and later Hebrew (E.ben Jehuda, Thesaurus Totius Hebraicitatis, Berlin,n.d.s.v.), 'one installed' i.e. 'king,prince'.

19-20. These lines presumably describe the place of the other gods. Line 20 may be restored after 6:du-ul-lam

ú-šá-az-ba-lu ^di-gi-gi.

21-24. Conjectural restoration of mu-ši ù ur-ri is made in the light of 1.38.

mātum 'inhabited, cultivable land', see below on I.vii.20. The epithet napišti mātim is applied to arable land in some passages, e.g. a-na eqlim^{lim} e-ri-ši la te-eg-ge-e ki-ma na-pi-iš-ti ma-ti eqlum^{lum} ma ú-ul ti-de-e, 'Do not be careless about the tilling, are you not aware that the field is the life of the land?', Old Babylonian letter, Y.O.S. II,48.12-15; G.R. Driver, Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts III, p.47; E.Ebeling, M.A.O.G XVI (1943), p.30; Era I.83, na-piš-ti ma-a-ti gi-pa-ra ra-ḫi-iš bu-lum, 'The cattle are trampling the meadow, the life of the land,' R. Frankena, Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux XVI (1959-62), p.42; cf. The Shamash Hymn, 1.18, W.G. Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom Literature, p.126. However, it is more probably used of the Euphrates here, as in a 'Lipsur Litany', ^{íd}Purattu ki,min (lip-šur) na-piš-ti ma-a-ti, 'May the Euphrates absolve, the life of the land.' (E. Reiner, J.N.E.S. XV (1956), p.134, l.49). This is supported by the traces of Idiglat in 1.25, to which the counterpart, Pu-ra-at-tam may have stood in 1.24, and na-ra-am in 1.22, following the pattern indefinite noun - proper name found in ii.15,17 etc. Examples of the similar phrase napišti niši have been collected in W.G. Lambert, op.cit., p.293.

- 27-36. The remaining words of these lines suggest that they told of the course of the rivers from source (nagbi, 27) to mouth (in the marsh, suṣea rabia, 35).
40. Kalakku is here the river-bed, as in some texts from Mari and mathematical problems, v.J.R. Kupper, R.A. XLV (1951). p.150, n.1; AHwb., p.423).
42. This line finds its complement in, and is restored from, v.13, in which Mami proclaims ka-ab-tam du-ul-la-ku-nu ú-ša-as-sí-ik ...¹⁶ap-ṭú-ur ul-la an-du-ra-ra-am aš-ku-un 'I have done away with your labour ... I have freed the yoke, I have made a release'. The verb šussuku, written defectively in this line (for lišassik), is most plausibly taken as III.1 of nasāku, 'to throw down', with W. von Soden (Ar.Or. XVII (1949), pp.366-367; cf. G.R. Driver, The Babylonian Laws II, Oxford, 1955, pp.285-286; I.J. Gelb, Glossary of Old Akkadian, Chicago, 1957, p.209, is non-committal). There are several examples of the verb in contexts closely similar to the present: Tiglath-pileser I mentions a people ša bilat-su-nu ù ma-da-at-ta-šu-nu ú-šam-si-ku-ni ni-ir bēlū-ti-ia kabta eli-šu-nu ú-kin, 'who had rescinded their tax and tribute, I imposed the heavy yoke of my rule upon them' (Sir E.A. Wallis Budge and L.W. King, The Annals of the Kings of Assyria, London, 1902, p.47, ii.91-94): Enuma elish vii.28: ab-ša-na en-du ú-ša-as-si-ku eli ilī na-ki-re-šu, 'he removed from the gods his enemies the yoke imposed'; several inscriptions of Sargon II mention the abolition of corvee labour

previously required from certain cities: ú-šá-áš-šik
tup-šik-ki ... ú-šap-ši-ḫa nišē-šú-un, 'I abolished
the corvee ... I relieved the people (of those cities)'
(Display Inscription 8,9; cf. Stele I.13-17; Pavement iv.16;
Bull 6; Cylinder 5; Reverse of slabs 5; Bronze Plaque 11-12:
v.H.Winckler, Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons, Leipzig, 1889,
passim), and in other passages the king states, of the same
cities, an-du-ra-ar-šu-un áš-kun, 'I made a release' (Annals,
Room XIV, 4-5; cf. Annals 362-363; Display Inscription
136-137; Threshold Inscription v. 7-9), so providing a close
parallel to the two lines of Atrahasis. The basic meaning
indicated for šussuku is 'to reverse an established order',
applied in the abstract to the removal or revocation of taxes,
and literally to the throwing over of inscribed monuments
(see G.R. Driver, op.cit.; B. Landsberger, J.C.S. VIII (1954)
p.32,n.10).

44. The repetition of this line in ii.2,4 shows the first sign
to be al, but the second sign is there obscured by damage.
al-nim, resulting from a combination of all four lines, is
unintelligible. al-⟨ka⟩-nim is proposed by comparison with
II,ms.o.ii.46', alkani kalani ana māmīt abūbi, 'let us all go
to take oath about the flood'. While there is just possibly
space for the al-ka in 44,46, the signs would be closely
written, and it appears more probable that the same writing
was to be found in all four lines. Nevertheless, the
repeated error seems unlikely.

45. Although the space available is small, restoration of en-líl^d is required by the repetition in ii.3, and by the poetic form.

47. The name of the speaker cannot be restored as the name of the god later executed because his name, as written in iv.54, is too long for the space.

piašu ipušamma izzakar is translated 'spoke up and said' as in C.A.D. 21 (Z), p.21, although the sequence of tenses may require a rendering such as 'while saying' for izzakar (G.A.G. §159, cf. §158) or 'opened his mouth to speak' for the whole phrase (so E.A. Speiser, The World History of the Jewish People I, London, 1964, p.116). Until a minute examination of Old Babylonian syntax has been undertaken the nuance of such a construction remains uncertain.

ii.5. tisiā is probably the verb esû equated with zi in Nabnitū B.135 (esû ša awātim) and Antagal F.267 (C.T. XIX 32.iv.42), with ka-sar.sar, lá, and zi.zi in Nabnitū K, 92-94 (ibid., 42.ii.5-7: R.A. XVIII(1921), p.38.15; v.C.A.D. 4 (E), p.388; AHwb., p.250). zi or zi.zi are elsewhere translated into Akkadian by tebû, dekû, and šuḫuzu, lá commonly by našû (A. Deimel, Šumerisches Lexicon, s.v; cf. C.A.D. 1(A.1), p.174, D, p.124), suggesting a meaning 'to incite, arouse' for esû in the context of war here, its first occurrence in a connected text (for comparable uses of šuḫuzu and dekû, v.C.A.D. 1(A.1), p.181, 9a, 4', 3(D),

p.125,2b,2').

8. nēpišu is an abstract noun, 'action, procedure' (e.g. A.R.M.T. XV,p.233; O.Neugebauer and A. Sachs, Mathematical Cuneiform Texts, New Haven, 1945, p.169), and in a technical sense, 'ritual' (C.A.D.4 (E),p.213). A second nēpišu is 'ingot' in Old Assyrian texts (M. Held, J.B.L. LXXXIV (1965),p.277,n.23). There is another nēpišu, a piece of equipment employed in sieges (Sir E.A. Wallis Budge and L.W. King, The Annals of the Kings of Assyria, London, 1902, p.379,l.111,together with sapitu, 'tower', and pilšu, perhaps a tool for mining cf. M.S.L. VI,p.18,'plough-share (?)'; Synchronistic History, ii.3,5).

18. (waqû, 'to respect, attend, wait' has also been translated 'to be brought low' in the II.2 theme (J.J. Finkelstein, J.C.S. XI (1957), p.87), but here it may retain the sense of 'await' or 'be aware'. ^dkal.kal was door-keeper of Ekur (A.Deimel, Pantheon Babylonicum, Rome, 1914, no.1667). In an entry in the expository text C.T. XLVI pl.XLIX,no.51,r.24' ^dkal.kal is called dan-dan-nu, 'mighty', which may be taken as a learned play upon the writing of the name.

19. lapātu has the sense of 'to work on' materials in the II theme and it is possible that this connotation might be found in the simple theme in such a context as this (English 'to put one's hand to' implies doing the work) cf. AHwb. p.535.

The second verb may be completed as i-~~hi~~-[it], 'he watched', and an object provided (ilī ?), or as i-~~hi~~-fiš-ša-am-ma, 'he hurried in'.

20. Restoration of ^dNusku is required by the following lines.

The name of this god is usually written ^dpa.ku (A.Deimel, Pantheon Babylonicum, Rome, 1914, no.2367) which is explained as ri-³-ú a-kil te-e-mi mu-ša-pu-ú ... on the basis pa:aklu, šupû, ku:te³mu, but ri³u: pa+lu (C.T. XXV 49, r.4; A.Ungnad, O.L.Z. XIV (1911), sp. 153-154). The last item is to be noted here, for in mss. A, C, G the name is consistently written ^dpa+lu. No reason for this, apart from error, is clear, but the equation cited shows that it was known to later scribes. Nusku was vizier of Enlil (1.30; cf. K.Tallqvist, Akkadische Götterepitheta, p.433; in a literary composition, the 'Story of the Seven Evil Demons', C.T. XVI.20.112-115) and as such is entitled 'keeper of the secrets of Enlil' in an incantation from the series bīt mēsēri (B.M.134513 na-sir pi-riš-ti ^den-líl). The god has been identified with the planet Mercury, H. and J. Lewy, Or.N.S.XVII (1948), pp.146-159.

21. The line could be completed with ili, as proposed for 1.19, but išātīm might be preferred in the light of a Fire Incantation, la i-šem-mu-ú ri-gim hu-še-ki (unpublished, courtesy W.G.L.

25. râšû has been shown to be a verb of motion by W.G. Lambert, Journal of Jewish Studies V (1954), pp.40-41 and Babylonian Wisdom Literature, p.88, comm.1.288, p.310. This first

example of its use in a connected text supports a meaning 'to come to' (with the Ventive suffix) which could underlie the meaning 'to help', i.e. 'to come to' in a good sense. (The cognate Hebrew רוץ 'to run' may have friendly or hostile undertones.)

28. ārādu suggests that the bed-chamber (mayālu) was above the main room of Enki's abode, as in many ancient houses, and so the question arises of whether there may be a reflection of the arrangements of the Ekur at Nippur in this line. About that building information is lacking, at Babylon the somewhat confused evidence could be used to strengthen such a reconstruction to some extent (see further Iraq XXVI (1964), p.23, n.40). šubtu would have the specific connotation of 'sitting room', distinct from mayālu, 'bedroom'. Enlil does not descend from heaven, for that was strictly Anu's habitat (cf.iii.56).
31. The 'gate' is that leading from Ekur outside of which the gods are gathered, and through which Nusku must pass to their assembly (ii.6). Later in the poem, Atrahasis summons the elders to the gate of his dwelling to instruct them, and other sources show the important place of the gate of a city or important building in city life (most recently, D.G. Evans, Journal of Religious History II (1962-63), pp.1-12).
32. The 'weapon' of Nusku was a staff or wand, symbol of his vizier-ship (v.C.A.D.6(H) p,155, ḥaṭṭu 2b and K.Tallqvist,

Akkadische Götterepitheta, p.143 for references to Nusku as nāš(i) haṭṭi), and is thought to be the zodiacal light of Mercury by H. and J. Lewy, loc.cit.

37-40. binū būnūka is taken as a parallel to mārū ramanīka, although binu, 'son', is rarely found in Akkadian, except in lexical texts and in personal names (AHwb., p.127; I.J. Gelb, La lingua degli Amoriti, Rome, 1958, p.147, §2.2. 3). The sense is thus 'they are sons just like you', they are sons of your own nature' (for ramānu v.A.L. Oppenheim, J.A.O.S. XXIII (1943), p.33).

42,44. ^den-líl, scribal error for ^den-ki.

Restoration of maḥrika, maḥrišu is supported by the similar line in the Old Babylonian poem C.T. XV 3.10,11:
bi-li-it i-li li-ib-ba-ku-nim li-ši-ri-bu-ni-iš-ši a-na
maḥ-ri-ia bi-li-it i-li ib-bu-ku-šum-ma, 'let them bring Belit-ili, let them bring her into my presence. They brought Belit-ili to him.'

46. ú-te-eg-qi can be restored here as a synonym of (w)ašābu.

52.A break renders the words following ta-ḥa-za illegible.

57. zi-ik-ra may be an adverbial form (cf. G.A.G. § 113b), 'at the word', but it might be an error for zi-ik-ru 'it is the order'. The traces of the first word of 58 do not favour it-mu-ú, which would support this.

58. il-mu-ú In ii.15,17,24,26, lawú is written with w, in contrast to the m here. If correctly interpreted this is an indication that the change from w to m found in

Middle and Late Babylonian was already commencing in late Old Babylonian orthography (v.G.A.G. § 21c).

The final group of signs is understood by assuming a scribal confusion, namely an attempt to write bītiška with the ideogram É having been abandoned, but not erased, syllabic spelling was employed, with ti omitted.

However, the abrasion at the bottom of the column allows some doubt in the reading of the signs.

iii.1. ^d[Nusku] is restored from a and e. A verb of motion might complete the line, perhaps simply [li-il-li-ik].

2. Restoration of [li-iš-me] is suggested by the action following.

3. Restoration of ma-ah-ri-ka li-tu-ur] rests on the same basis.

7. Probably complete the line with [se-e-ma], agreeing with l.

8,9. Cf. aii.10', 11'. Similar actions by Kaka, vizier of Anshar and Anu, show that this was a recognised protocol for envoys (Enuma elish III.68-71; Nergal and Ereshkigal' i.28-30 = O.R. Gurney, Sultantepe Tablets I, London, 1957, no.28; cf. A.L. Oppenheim, Or. N.S.XVI (1947), p.223; E.A. Speiser, J.C.S. XI (1957), pp.43-44). Notice that Nusku does not pay homage by kissing the ground before the assembled gods, they are neither the superiors nor the peers of Enlil, his master. The introductory phrase of the message is common, and has Sumerian echoes (W.G. Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom Literature, p.295, bottom).

- 10-13. These lines help to restore and are restored by i.7-10,
q.v.
14. B suggests the reading gā-ab-lim, be-el is conjectural.
15. The traces on B could be the end of ta-ha-zi, and, if be-el were again supplied, would make a synonymous parallel with 14.
30. Comparison with 18-20 suggests that Nusku's speech ended in this or the previous line, being a repetition of Enlil's words.
- 35-36. The reading is obtained by comparison with i.3-4, iii.49.
38. The phrase pû (w)abālu recurs in II.v.50', III.v.44, vi.8, with first or second person plural suffixes. It seems to mean 'to decide', cf. III.vi.8, ub-la pí-i-ni iš-ti-ni-iš ma-mi-tam, 'we decided unanimously to take the oath'. No other examples are known outside of this text; the isolated phrase in a neo-Assyrian letter cited in C.A.D. 1(A.1), p.19 is to be kept apart. It is noteworthy that (w)abālu with libbu or kabattu is uniformly written with the Ventive ending (ibid., pp.21-22).
46. Restoration is made from D.
54. Restoration dubious; for a discussion of the verb turrum (awātam) see M. Held, J.C.S. XV (1961), p.10, XVI (1962), p.38
- iv. Observations made by W. von Soden in his study of ms. B, Or. N.S. XXVI (1957), pp.312-313, are cited by the author's name alone.
19. The divine name could be d^ama-mi or d^anin-tu, perhaps the

former in view of 1.23, but see next note.

šassūru is consistently written with initial sa in this text (cf. 20, 24, v. 52, vi. 15, 17, III. vi. 43, 46), except for 1.24 in B where šà is used. W. von Soden has characterized this as 'word play', presumably due to the Sumerian writing šà.tur although the word itself may derive from Sumerian sensesar, as in 'Enki and Ninmah' 1.28, (J.J. van Dijk, Ac.Or. XVIII(1964), p.28). The word certainly denotes the womb, cf. malku:šarru I.122-124, ummu:bāntu,agarinnu,šassūri (A. Draffkorn-Kilmer, J.A.O.S. LXXXVII (1963), p.426; A.L. Oppenheim, History of Religions, V(1966), p.257, n.26), the various Assyrian royal inscriptions referring to the divine choice of the king before birth i-na šà.tur a-ga-ri-in-ni a-lit-ti-ia, 'in the womb of my mother, my bearer' (D.D. Luckenbill, The Annals of Sennacherib, Chicago, 1924, p.117.3; cf. R. Borger, Die Inscriften Asarhaddons, Graz, 1956, p.115 § 82.8, p.119 § 101.3) and in a medical text such as K.A.R. 195.15. Thus it does not mean 'midwives' as W.F. Albright maintains (B.A.S.O.R. 167(1962), p.24, n.5; 173(1964), p.52) As a title of Nintu or Belit-ili, šassūri is found in lists (P.S.B.A. 1914, pl. xii, r. 9-10 ^{1d} šà-sur-ra ^d be-lit ilī ^{āl} ur-rak^{ki}; M.S.L. IV, Emesal Vocabulary 1.35 ^d se-en-tu: ^d nin-tu:šá-as-su-rum) and in connection with blessing before birth it is associated with Belit-ili in the Sennacherib passage cited and in the 'Legend of Naram-Sin'

- 1.35, šà-sur-su-nu ^dbe-lit-i-lí ú-ban-ni, 'their mother-womb, Belit-ili, blessed them' (O.R. Gurney, A.S. V (1955), p.100). However it extends in meaning to 'mother' (pars pro toto) in such a context as: kišadu libba 4 sa-as-su-ra-tù uqnī mārē-šu-nu i-na bu-ur-ki-šu-nu ú-ka₄al, 'a necklace including 4 lapis-lazuli figures of šassūrus holding their children on their laps' (inventory from Qatna, J. Bottero, R.A. XLIII (1949), p.160; C.A.D. 2(B), p.256). As it was the parents who held children on their knees or laps, the meaning is clear, cf. III.vii. 4,5, and passages cited in C.A.D. 2(B), pp.255-6.
23. The meaning of šabsūtum, 'midwife', has been established by W. von Soden, A.f.O. XVIII (1957-8), pp.119-121. This rendering is confirmed by the equation šabsūtum: mušalittu, malku:šarru I.127(A. Draffkorn-Kilmer, J.A.O.S. LXXXIII (1963), p.426). For the alternation of the initial š and t see von Soden and cf. i.2, note.
26. lullu is a generic term for humankind, with the specific connotation of uncivilised man in many Akkadian texts (A.L. Oppenheim, Or.N.S. XVII (1948), pp.25-26; F.W. König, Archiv fur Volkerkunde VIII (1953), p.147). The Sumerian lú.ulù from which it is borrowed is equated simply with amēlu and nišu in lexical texts (A. Deimel, Š.L., no.330.25; cf. F.Köcher, A.f.O. XVIII (1957-8), p.87, l.13, and, for the Sumerian reading, A. Falkenstein, Z.A. XLV, n.F. XI (1939), p.29; A. Bergmann, Z.A. LVI, n.F. XXII (1964),

p.41). With this passage may be compared Enuma elish VI.6-8 where lullu is perhaps explained as amēlu:

lu-uš-ziz-ma lul-la-a lu-u a-me-lu šum-šu, lu-ub-ni-ma
lú.ulù^{la} -a a-me-lu, lu-u en-du dul-li ilī^{meš} -ma šu-nu

lu-u pa-aš-hu. 'I will raise a lullu, 'Man' shall be his name. I will create lullu, 'Man', the toil of the gods shall be imposed upon him, they shall have rest.'

28. šupšik ilī is the equivalent of the dulli ilī in Enuma elish VI.8.

29. tēpušamma recurs in v.8 (A) and provides one of the rare examples of the third person feminine singular of the verb with prefixed t in Old Babylonian. Perhaps this is an instance of a scribe failing to 'modernise' his text, since all other verbs with feminine subjects in this composition are in the 'masculine' form, as is usual in the Old Babylonian period, cf. W. von Soden, Z.A. XLI, n.F.VII (1933), pp.148-151.

31. itti, 'in the power of', is documented in C.A.D. I/J, p.303; Agušaya A v.15-19 in a similar context of creation is comparable: la na-tú-šu-nu-ši a-na ni-ši-i-ki^d é-a
ú-še-er-nú si-ik-ra-am iš-ti-i-ka lu na-tú an-nu-ú
e-pi-šu-um, '...it was beyond their ability. They addressed the prince Ea. "This work is within your power"....' In that instance he used the dirt of his finger-nails as the substance of creation, in this the clay, which was apparently viewed as one of the products of his fresh-water realm.

33. elēlu The introduction of the cleansing motif in Nintu's speech may connect with a suggestion of killing a god made earlier, in the divine council, and not preserved in the Old Babylonian texts, but found in the neo-Assyrian fragment d, otherwise it anticipates the instructions given by Enki in II.37-40. Alternatively, it could be that elēlu is employed here in the meaning 'to consecrate, sanctify', implying that Enki has the power to prepare any material for divine use. If this were so, the word would be used in a slightly different sense in the subsequent lines, where it is unmistakably 'to purify' (in conjunction with teliltu and rimku).
37. B. Landsberger, Der kultische Kalender, Leipzig, 1915, pp.98,134, and Z.D.M.G. LXIX (1915), p.528, established the significance of the sequence of these days as marking the progress of the moon to its fulness, so showing šapattu to be the fifteenth day of period of fifteen days.
38. The teliltu and the rimku were closely associated purificatory ceremonies in the Assyrian period (J. Laessøe, Studies in the Assyrian Ritual and Series bīt rimki, Copenhagen, 1955, p.86,n.170), the ūm rimki being the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth day of the month, and the ūm telilti the first (B. Landsberger, op.cit., pp.75,n.6,143-145). The ūm rimki was also the same

day as the ūm kispi the 'day of funeral meals' (S.Langdon, Babylonian Menologies and Semitic Calendars, London, 1935, p.148; cf. W.von Soden, A.Hwb., p.135 for the connection of this day with the bubbulu, the disappearance of the moon). While the presence of these two words in the passage concerning the plan to create Man need not involve the actual celebration of the rituals later known by these names, their use in this context becomes clear. These rites refer to mourning and death, and to the cleansing of the living from any pollution sustained through involvement therewith. They, or similar ceremonies, seem to have been performed particularly after a criminal execution (T.Jacobsen, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 107.6 (1963), p.480, n.22). Therefore, the appropriate purification is prescribed for the gods who slaughter one of their number. The setting of the specific days for the execution may relate to the favourable waxing of the moon, as against less propitious days later in the month. Whether the choice in the Epic was ever used to explain the performance of certain rites at those times, whether the author of the poem was attempting to promulgate the observance of rites upon these days, or reflecting current practice, or whether, even, this passage was connected with their origin must remain a matter of speculation.

40. W. von Soden collected three examples of ṭibu which he rendered 'immersion, dipping'. Of these, the rendering seems plausible in only one instance, C.T. XXXVIII.38,72, ...ana nāri ur-rad-ma sibi-šu i-ṭi-bu ina pān sibi-i ṭi-bi ša pi-šu ana nāri inaddi-ma '...he shall go down to the river and dip (?) seven times, before the seventh dipping he shall throw into the river what he has in his mouth'. The other inscriptions are either too badly damaged to yield connected sense (H.Radau, Letters to Kassite Kings, Philadelphia, 1908, pl.42, no.54, l.6) or employ the word in a slightly different sense, i-na ṭi-bi šā būri kun-nu (blocks) were set in the sinking of the well' (L. Messerschmidt and O.Schroeder, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, historischen Inhalts, Berlin, 1911, no.64, l.10). Although 'dipping' is clearly the meaning only in the one occurrence, since that is in a context of purification also, it may be similarly interpreted here.
- 42,3: balālu W.von Soden's translation 'smeared' (also A.Hwb., p.98) is less appropriate than 'intermixed', for this is the action which Nintu was to perform, and the result was to be man (cf. C.A.D. 2(B), p.42).
44. puhur for the form see G.A.G. § 62.
45. aḫriātiš is the certain reading of A and is most likely in B. Therefore the word dariātiš, which von Soden read here, must be deleted from the dictionaries (C.A.D. 3(D), p.112; A.Hwb., p.164, darītu, e).

The form is not found elsewhere, ahrītiš ūmi being twice attested in Old Babylonian and ahrātaš in later texts (C.A.D. 1(A.1), pp.193,193). It is composed from the feminine plural ahriāt (ūmi) (L.W.King, Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi, London, 1898, no.60, pl.115, iv.3 = C.T. XXI,42, iv.3) in the way von Soden has surmised for *dariātiš (Z.A. XLI, n.F.VII (1933), p.109; G.A.G. § 67, a, d).

uppu was understood by von Soden as a 'drum', a meaning consonant with the verb nišme and attested by lexical and other literary passages (cf., in addition to the passages he cited, Har.gud to Har.ra XI,1.190, ^{kuš}ub : up-pu : li-li-is-su, M.S.L. VII, p.153, and the variant huppu a drum-skin, cited in C.A.D. 6(H), p.239). (The various other usages, or homonyms, of uppu may all be linked to the root hff in Arabic and Hebrew, 'to surround, enclose', with the basic meaning of 'socket or tube'. Thus it is part of a boat and a chariot, having a peg, sikkatu, A.Salomen, Nautica Babylonica, Helsinki, 1942, p.130; Die Landfahrzeuge des alten Mesopotamiens, Helsinki, 1951, p.97; of a pick-axe, Har.ra:hubullu VII A,24, M.S.L. VI, p.105; of the body, H. Holma, Die Namen der Korperteilen, Helsinki, 1911, p.114, cf. C.A.D. 6(H), p.137 uppi ahi 'clavicle', 1(A.1) p.207, 'shoulder'; it is a metal instrument for introducing medicaments into the body by blowing,

R.C. Thompson, Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology, Oxford, 1936, p.118. Discussion has arisen over uppu in connection with doors. E.Ebeling has suggested that it was the socket in which the bolt moved (Stiftungen und Vorschriften für assyrische Tempel, Berlin, 1954, p.27; R.A. XLVIII (1954), p.188), while W.G. Lambert has argued that it was a thong used as a handle to move the bolt (Babylonian Wisdom Literature, pp.248-249). Lambert's objection to Ebeling's identification that a golden bolt (mentioned in Or. N.S.XVII (1948), p.1.32, l.8) would be too soft to function may be countered with the fact that doors were often plated with gold and so may these bolts have been (cf. giš⁵ ig kù.gi, daltu hurašu, C.A.D. 3(D), pp.53-54). The proverb which aroused Lambert's investigation may be explained in the light of an unpublished fragment of Har.ra:hubullu XIII reading bulug.šà.gud.ra zabar :up-pu, 'a bronze ox-drover's goad' (courtesy D.J. Wiseman), as 'Do you hit the face of a moving ox with a goad?'. R.C. Thompson surmised that there might be some connection between uppu, 'drum', and the words cited above all having a basic sense of 'tube' or 'socket', observing the employment of 'baked clay cylinders ... with the end covered by parchment' as drums (loc.cit., p.118, n.1).

The sound of the drum heard by the gods could either be for their praise (so W. von Soden), or a work signal, formerly summoning the gods to their labours, but now

calling their substitute, man, and thus a sign of their rest.

46. eṭimmu The writing PI-ti-im-mu in ms B misled von Soden in his study. Explanation of this spelling may be sought in the use of PI to represent the semi-vowel w, so weakened as to become little more than a long vowel. In the present example it may represent the initial letter of the Sumerian gidim from which eṭimmu is derived. For similar usage of PI see W. von Soden, Das Akkadische Syllabar, Rome, 1948, p.200; J. Nougayrol, Revue Biblique, LIX (1952), p.248, n.3; I. J. Gelb, J.N.E.S. XX (1961) pp.194-196; cf. the possibly parallel development of IA = ay, E. Reiner, From the Workshop of the Assyrian Dictionary, Chicago, 1964, pp.167-180. Since eṭimmu never refers to a living person it must here be the shade of the slaughtered god which will continue his existence apart from his body 'so that he may not be forgotten' (1.43), the annihilation most to be feared. Such ghosts were considered to be individually recognisable, A. Heidel, The Gilgamesh Epic ... pp.154-157; H.W.F. Saggs, Faith and Thought XC (1958), pp.167-168.

51. pāqidū šimāti does not appear in other texts; šāmu is the verb normally found with šimāti (K. Tallquist, Assyrische Götterepitheta, pp.152-153, 222-223). paqādu has the connotation of arranging and drawing up lists, as well as of caring and superintending, so that it is appropriate to the work of these deities in allocating the destinies of mankind (see E.A. Speiser, B.A.S.O.R. (49 (1958), pp.17-25,

especially 23-24). The Anunnaki are given a similar title in the first line of the Old Babylonian legend of Etana, ra-bu-tum ^da-nun-na ša-i-mu ši-im-tim, 'The great Anunnaki who determine fate ...' (A.T. Clay, A Hebrew Deluge Story.., Pls.III,VII). The seven gods who fix the fate in Enuma Elish may also have been included among the Anunnaki (VI.80, cf. III.130; T. Jacobsen, J.N.E.S. II (1943), p.168, n.50).

54. ^dwe-e-i-la is difficult of reading and interpretation. It is unique. Two explanations are proposed very tentatively.
- (a) It is to be read as a compound of two words ^dwe-e i-la. The second part may be amended to i-lu on the basis of the scribal error i-la for i-lu in III.ii.50, resulting in 'X was the god who...', or viewed as a predicate form in -a ('West Semitic', W.G.L.) with the same meaning (cf. I.J. Gelb in Symbolae Linguisticae in Honorem Georgii Kurylowicz, pp.72-80). No ^dwe-e is known to the Sumero-Babylonian pantheon, however. (A. Deimel, Pantheon Babylonicum, Rome, 1914, no.2987, is to be read ^dšamši ši in the first instance, according to R. Frankena, Tākultu, Leiden, 1954, p.6, l.26, and in the second is probably only part of the personal name ^dpi-li-ḫa).
- (b) This is a concocted name, somehow related to Atra-hasis. Read as Sumerian PI.e.i.la it might be interpreted PI:tal:ḫasasu, la:lalû, 'understand' and 'plenty' respectively (A. Deimel, Š.L., s.vv.), but the i remains unexplained. Could this be substantiated it might imply that the eṭimmu

of the dead god was personified in Atrahasis, who thus ensured that he was not forgotten. (The final a of the name, if all the signs are read together, shows that this is not an Akkadian word, and so militates against any attempt to find an obscure word-play or compound involving the words ilu, 'god', and awēlu, 'man'.) The name of Subarian chief A.wi.illa in a letter to Shulgi could perhaps be related, but this cannot be demonstrated (v. H. Freydank, Ar.Or. XXXIII (1965), p.532.

58. The parallelism with 1.45 suggests the restoration. The description of the intermingling of man and god and of the purification of the gods is therefore not actually related (cf. 11.43, 44, 40).

v.6. It is noteworthy that the Igigu are here described as ilū rabūtum, a title elsewhere applied to the Anunnaki (1.5, cf. 1.5 passim), although I.i.5,6 indicates their subjection to them. This is the tenor of the Epic, that the Igigu are the agents working out the schemes of the Anunnaku.

The relationship of the two groups is discussed by W. von Soden in Compte Rendu de l'XI^{me} Rencontre Assyriologique, Leiden, 1964, pp.104-6, with the conclusion that they were not considered separate in the Old Babylonian period, an opinion borne out by this text in which the Anunnaki seem to be superior within the Igigu (cf. G.R. Driver, Babylonian Laws II, p.116).

7. ru'tam iddû the common expression for 'to spit', may here be seen as a technical term for preparing clay derived from

the potter's craft.

8. cf. on iv.29.

9. ilī rabūtīm applies here to the Anunnaki who ordered the work (iv.49-51) and to the Igigu who are now liberated.

13. cf. on i.42. Additional comparisons may be made with Enuma elish VI.34-6: i-mid dul-li ilāni^{meš} -ma ilāni^{meš} um-taš-šer iš-tu a-me-lut-ti ib-nu-ú^d é-a er-šú dul-li ilāni^{meš} i-mi-du-ni ša-šu, 'He imposed the toil of the gods and set the gods free. After skilled Ea had created mankind, had imposed upon it the toil of the gods ...' and 130: dul-li ilāni^{meš} i-mid-du-ma šu-nu ip-pa-áš-ḥu, 'They imposed the toil of the gods, and they were given ease'.

15. taštaṭa is understood as from the root šṭ 'to draw, carry', but this is not certainly correct.

16. anduraru, 'release', has been discussed by J. Lewy, Eretz Israel V (1961), pp.21-31 and J.J. Finkelstein, J.C.S. XV (1961), p.104,n.19.

18. iṭṭarruma is taken as from the root ṭararu 'to trouble'.

The expression in this line also occurs in the Zu Myth:

iš-mu-ma^d í-gì-gì an-na-a qa-ba-a-šu, i-ṭar-ru-ru^d í-gì-gì ú-na-áš-šá-qu šepē-šú (Neo-Assyrian version, E. Reiner, R.A. XLVIII (1954), p.146; cf. Old Babylonian (Susa) version II. 34-5, 41-2: iṭ-ru-ru, iš-ši-quí, J. Nougayrol, R.A. XLVI (1952), p.90).

19,20. Enuma elish V.109,110 has a similar form: pa-na-a-mi
^dMarduk ma-ru na-ram-ni, i-nanna šar-ra-ku-un qí-bit-su
qa-la, 'Formerly Marduk was our dear son, now he is
your king, proclaim his title' (B. Landsberger and
J.V. Kinnier Wilson, J.N.E.S. XX (1961), p.164).

The title belit-ilī is regularly used elsewhere of the
Mother-goddess (K.Tallquist, Akkadische Götterepitheta,
s.v.); mss B and D in I.iv. are technically guilty
of prolepsis in using this title before the narrative
mentions its bestowal.

- vi. This column, like iv, has been studied in part by
W. von Soden whose article is cited simply by his name.
1. The first three signs are not clearly legible in either
ms. A or B. Whilst a subject is required for the verb,
von Soden's proposed Nin-subur does not appear likely
from the traces. The third sign is clearly written with
a broken vertical and so is not UD, unless it is
written abnormally by the scribe.
2. iš-lu-up pa-le-e Although the signs are damaged,
this reading seems more consonant with the traces and
the spacing than von Soden's attempt [i?-r]a hu?-up-pa-le-e
'with an axe'. For šalāpu 'to draw (a sword etc.)'
see W. von Soden, Z.A. LIII, n.F. XIX (1959), p.218.
palū is tentatively explained as a loanword from
Sumerian giš^šbal (= pilaqu, 'spindle', cf. A. Salonen,
Die Hausgeräte der alten Mesopotamier, Helsinki, 1965,
pp.151-4) with the sense of a stick or thin rod of some
sort.

3. The first sign is certainly na in ms. A (so the entry in C.A.D. 6(Ĥ), p.26 should be corrected) making a good example of hendiadys.
4. u²-pu-ur With von Soden, this is tentatively associated with apāru 'to adorn the head', although the purpose of such an action is not clear.
5. tabšūtam epēšu 'to make a midwife' is possibly to be understood as 'to act as, do the work of, a midwife', which finds support in the following action, 'they left her womb'.
8. The object of Išir can only be ki ma, signs susceptible of only one reading, g^é-ma 'flour', unless the kīmu, 'Korperteil' given by C. Bezold, Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar, Heidelberg, 1926, p.134b, can be substantiated. Outlines of persons or objects were traced in flour in the course of some magical rites (cf. C.A.D. 4(E), p.346) and a circle of flour had protective powers against evil demons.
libitta On this 'brick' see E.Ebeling, Tod und Leben, Berlin, 1931, p.109.
10. gadištu Conjunction of gadištu and tabšūtu is also found in the Harem Edict of Ashur - uballiṭ I (c.1362-1327 B.C.) and W. von Soden has advanced the translation 'nursemaid' for the former largely on the basis of that passage and this (v. E.F. Weidner, A.f.O. XVII (1954-6), p.268, l.11; W. von Soden, A.f.O. XVIII (1957-8), pp.120-1).
11. The alliteration of the l s and dentals in this line is

noteworthy.

12. Ms. B um-mu suggests that A um-mi may be erroneous.
13. ú-ha-ar-ru-ú may be derived from arû 'to conceive' (Hebrew hrh), although it is not known elsewhere in the II form.
14. 9 úmi. If uharrû is rightly interpreted, this line suggests that the birth-brick was to be put in place at the commencement of a nine-day period of gestation which might be associated with the nine days in the 'Enki and Ninhursag' myth (v. S.N.K. Kramer, Enki and Ninhursag, B.A.S.O.R. Supplementary Studies I (1945), 11.77-85), but the counting of months in v.54 is against this. The time may cover, therefore, the period of labour and the days immediately thereafter. In this case a different sense will need to be assigned to uharrû, perhaps 'will give birth'.
- 15-18. Despite the existence of several mss. it has not been possible to extract much sense from these lines. Apparently they refer to the preparedness of the 'mother-wombs'.
20. li-i'-ti[..] could be 'strong' but does not have the expected nominative termination. Possibly it is rather to be completed as li-i'-ti[lu] 'they will lie', (W.G.L.) but no convincing explanation of the second sign can be offered; a doubling of the t is expected.
- Ms. h may cover the ground of these lines, but it has not been included in the text as its relationship to the Epic

is uncertain. If it does belong it would be an abbreviated version; it could be an extract for some other purpose. Lines 4'-10' read: 4'. [ša-am-ni [...]
 5'. ú-su-ra-at ni-ši x [...] 6'. zi-ka-ru [...]
 7'. a-na ar-da-ti [...] 8'. ar-da-tum [...] 9'. eṭ-lu a-na
ar-da-ti ...] 10'. li?-il-qí aḫ?-da?-tum?] While line 5' could correspond to v.41', 10' may be a version of this line.

21. The third sign is not clear, allowing the possibility of i-nu-ma ana (W.G.L.), but this use of DIŠ is not found in the remainder of the Old Babylonian mss.
22. i-ta-aḫ-du The last sign is incorrectly copied, collation confirms du. If the verb is na'ādu, 'to watch', an i vowel is expected before the final radical (v. G.A.G. §107,n) so possibly read i-ta-'i-du.
24. Išhara was the goddess who presided over sexual intercourse, cf. Gilgamesh, Old Babylonian version, II.v.28, and the cylinder seals with her symbol the scorpion beneath a bed, H. Frankfort, Iraq I (1934), p.8,n.3.
50. The words remaining here suggest that the missing part of the column contained instruction in the art of living for the first men.
- vii. The first few lines probably describe Enlil's setting man to the work which the Igigu had left, although the sense of the first three lines is obscure.
4. eš-[ra]-ti is usually written with initial i (cf. passages

cited in C.A.D. 7(I/J),p.261) but in a single instance initial e is found (A.R.M. II.no.113,1.18; there is a possibility that this is a variant of ašru, 'place', A.R.M.T. XV,p.176). The meaning appears to be specifically an irrigated or cultivated area from the passages quoted in C.A.D.

6. ti-i-ti-iš is perhaps a form of te'ītu 'sustenance', which has various spellings, see Note on II.i.9.
18. še-er-ra is read from II.ii.31 (šèr-ru) and ms. 1 obv. 8' šèr-ru, both parallel to viii.27. Presumably the birth of children was related, causing the increase in population mentioned next.
19. This line is parallel with viii.28=II.i.1, but in no case is sufficient of the text preserved to restore the whole line. The number of years, 1200, alone is clear. For another description of a passage of time see Anatolian Studies VI (1956),p.163: [100 mu.m]eš ina nasah^{hi}, [x mu.m]eš ina a-la-ki.
20. mātum refers to the inhabited or cultivated land as opposed to the desert or steppe throughout this poem, v.i.22 where the river-water is its 'life'; cf. A.Heidel, J.N.E.S. VIII (1949), p.233,n.4; G.R. Driver, The Babylonian Laws II,p.160; H.W.F. Saggs, J.S.S. III (1958), pp.72-3. ma.da the Sumerian loan-word (?) conveys the same idea, e.g. Gudea, Cylinder A. XIV. 8 ma.da gū.sag sár.sár.ra.na 'his ma.da abounding in early vegetables'

beside, 11,12 uru.dù.a á.dam.gar.ra.ma 'in his (lands) built with cities and settled with peoples', T. Jacobsen, J.C.S. VII (1953), p.40,n.47 (but Jacobsen's explanation 'flat land at the edge of the desert' seems less likely than 'irrigated and cultivated land around a town').

mātam ruppūšu is employed by Assyrian kings to denote the expansion of their realm through the addition of conquered territory (e.g. D.D. Luckenbill, The Annals of Sennacherib, Chicago, 1924,p.29,ii.32) and here describes the expansion of the cultivated ground to feed the growing population.

21. lū The rendering 'lyre' proposed by J. Laessøe (Bib. Or. XIII (1955),pp.90-1) has nothing to favour it above the generally accepted 'ox' (Clay, Speiser, Heidel 'cattle'). lū 'ox' is frequently employed in similes and metaphors in literary texts as a symbol of strength e.g. lugal.e,I.32; D.D. Luckenbill, The Annals of Sennacherib, Chicago, 1924, p.47.vi.26-27. The musical instrument may have been named after the animal lū by reason of its sound, the meultu, 'dance', and kippu, 'bull-roarer?', listed with it in some texts produced loud noises or roarings (A.L. Oppenheim, The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East, Philadelphia, 1956, p.286,n.130).
- šabû It is now certain that this is a verb meaning 'to make a loud noise' and is to be distinguished from šabû 'to be silent' (see W.G. Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom

Literature, p.285; on the second verb see M. Held, J.C.S. XV (1961),p.14). It usually has the voice as agent.

The association with šasû and rigma in 43,44,viii.14,15 etc. finds a partial parallel in li-iš-še-bu ri-gim-šá ši-si-sa a-a[]. 'Let her cry ring out, let not her call be silent?' (Nisaba and Wheat' iv.8;W.G. Lambert, op.cit.,p.172).

22. huburu. R.C. Thompson proposed the translations 'crowd, noise?' in the Times Literary Supplement, October 12,1922, p.646, and the latter was substantiated by B. Landsberger, Kleinasiatische Forschung I (1929),p.328; cf. J.J. Finkelstein, J.B.L. LXXV (1956),pp.328-31.
- ilu cf. I.ii.15,17 for the same designation of Enlil as 'the god'.
26. The reading ú-za-am-ma ši-it-ta was first established by S. Smith, R.A. XXII (1925),p.67. The motif of loss of sleep through noise is common: two passages using huburu as the cause are Erra I.82: ^dAnunnaki ina hu-bur nišē ul i-re-eh-hu-ú [šit-tam]. 'At the din of the people the Anunnaki will not pour out sleep' (R. Frankena, Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux XVI (1959-62).p.46), and 'The Underworld Vision' l.61, ina hu-bur-ri-ši-ri šam-ra-a-ti a-a ir-hi-i-ka ši-it-tá, 'Through their raging din may sleep not overcome you' (W. von Soden, Z.A. X LIII,n.F.IX(1936), p.18). Disturbance by noise is also found in Enuma elish I.21-6, 37-40 and the text K.3657, abv.i.10-11 published by L.W. King, The Seven Tablets of Creation II, London,

1902, pp. 73-4; cf. J.J. Finkelstein, loc.cit., R. Frankena, Kanttekeningen van een Assyrioloog bij Ezechiël, Leiden, 1965, pp. 9-12.

27. Šuruppu is variously translated, 'ague' C.A.D. 3(D), p.165b, 'tetanus, cerebro-spinal fever' A. Goetze, J.C.S. IX (1955), pp.12-13 (deriving it from šarāpu 'to freeze, congeal'), cf. R. Labat, Traité akkadien de diagnostics et prognostics medicaux, Paris, 1951, pp.159,272.
37. The reading of this line is uncertain; restoration of the latter half is made from k which demands a feminine subject for the verb (tebnû? Assyrian dialect form for tabnû), supporting the reading ma-mi as the goddess' name, although it has no divine determinative. The verb in k is also subjunctive thus requiring a preposition at the commencement of the sentence, but a-di remains problematic, for there is no evidence that it can mean 'since', the sense most fitting here.
- 41-51. These lines are repeated almost exactly in vii.56-viii.10, viii.12-22, II.ii.9-11, 17-19, and can be partly restored by comparing and combining the readings of these passages.
- 41,42. The address spoken to Atrahasis by Enki and his repetition of it to the elders appear to be identical, without any distinction of persons, thus šibūti cf. 1.56, but bītiška, cf. vii.1. This could be explained as a distributive construction 'each to your own house'.
41. The verb of this line and of 56 has not been deciphered.

42. The verb is incompletely preserved in each occurrence (viii.1,13); the traces suggest a root with a final weak letter (x-xni-a, x-xnu-ú).
43. The place of the heralds here represents an earlier stage in the development of that office than the court-appointment found in many texts (cf. G.R. Driver, The Babylonian Laws, II,p.156). An Old Babylonian letter offers comparison and contrasts with the actions ordered in the subsequent lines: i-na a-li-im i-ba-aš-šu-ú mu-ta-a-nu ... [na-gi]-ru-[um] li-is-si-ma] ta-ap-ḥu-ri i-na iš-ri-im a-na ilim-ma šu-uk-na-a-ma i-la-am su-ul-li-ma i-lu-um li-nu-úḥ a-di ta-ap-ḥu-ri-šu 'There is plaque in the city ... let the herald make proclamation and arrange assemblies (?) for the god in the holdings and pray to the god so that he will be appeased as long as there is an assembly for him' (C.T. XXIX 1b.7-22,cf. A. Ungnad, Babylonische Briefe, Leipzig, 1941,no.201; C.A.D. 7(I/J),p.261,išru B). The action of the herald was šisītu, 'proclamation', v. G.R. Driver, loc.cit.
- 45,46. Contrast the letter cited above and Enuma elish VI.113-6: li-ad-di-ma šal-mat qaqqadi pa-la-ḥi-iš-šú ba-'-ú-la-tum lu ḥi-is-su-sa ila-ši-na li-iz-zak-ra ip-tu pi-i-šu
^diš-tar-riš li-siq-qa, nin-da-bi-e li-in-na-šá-a ila-ši-ḥi
^diš-tar-šun, 'Let him teach mankind to revere him, let the subjects respect their god. At his utterance let them attend to the goddess, let offerings be brought for their god and goddess'.

47. ^dErra (W.G.L.) as plague-god is an appropriate restoration here, cf. Adad in II.ii.7. None of the duplicate passages enable restoration of the verb.
48. cf. II.ii.8 for the restoration.
49. maḥḥātum is tentatively associated with maḥḥu, 'mad', in the sense of religiously wrong, cf. R. Borger, Asarhaddon, Nin. A. 41,2 aḥḥē-ia im-ma-ḥu-ma mimma ša eli ilāni ù a-me-lu-ti la ṭāb e-pu-šu-ma 'My brothers went mad and did whatever was wrong against gods and man'.
50. libāšma may be derived either from bâšu, 'to be shamed' (I.1) or from ba'āšu, 'to stink'. While the second verb might apply to sacrifices, it is not otherwise attested before the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, 'he will be shamed' is therefore preferred.
51. šaqālu qātam is interpreted in the same way as šaqālu zunna in II.i.11, see Note on that line.
53. The bābu is presumably the entrance of Atrahasis' dwelling, identified with Enki's shrine in the Ras Shamra fragment (J. Nougayrol, Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, 1960, p.170), possibly thus prohibited ground to the elders.
- viii.12. The traces could be restored as [nām-ta-ra i-na [a-ba-ki] 'to take away the plague'.
23. Restored by comparison with II.ii.30 and 1.
- 27,28. See Notes on I.vii.18,19.

Tablet II

In the following Notes 'Clay' refers to A.T. Clay,
A Hebrew Deluge Story , 'Laessøe' to J. Laessøe,
Bib. Or. XIII (1956), pp.90-102.

i.1-8. See Notes on I.vii.19-26.

9. The traces on E and G favour the reading [pu]-ur-sa,
 consonant with k pur-sa-ma, rather than Clay's
lip-par-sa and Laessøe's lup-ru-sa.

te-i-tam. G has the final sign clearly, ta, in E it is
 indistinct. Clay and Laessøe read it as na,
 translating 'fig-tree' and 'flour' respectively.

R.C. Thompson, Times Literary Supplement, October 12,
 1922, p.646, and D.D. Luckenbill, A.J.S.L. XXXIX (1922),
 p.156, both read ta, the former rendering it 'food', the
 latter 'fig-tree'. The difficulty has been resolved
 by W.G. Lambert who observed that the sign in E is
 corrected, UD written over another sign, na (J.S.S.
 V (1960), p.156). In fact the underlying sign was more
 probably ta as the traces of two small verticals are
 visible in Clay's enlarged photograph in The Origin of
Biblical Traditions, New Haven, 1923, p.233, (cf. p.178, n.45
 in which he seems to have reached the same conclusion)
 exactly as at III.iv.16 where ta is corrected to UD
 (nissatam). The proposal of Thompson and Lambert that
 the word is a variant form of te'ūtu, 'food, sustenance',
 is supported by the forms ti-²-u:ti-it-tu (Synonym List D,

1.124, W. von Soden, Z.A. XLIII,n.F.IX (1936),p.238),
^dti-it-tú, variant ti-'-tú (v. R. Frankena, Bib.Or. XVIII
 (1961), p.206), and by similar variations with še'itu,
 'neighbour' (W.von Soden, Z.A.LII,n.F.XVIII(1957),p.232).

10. W.F. Albright proposed [i-na kar-ša]-ti-ši-na, 'in their
 bellies' on the basis of k (A.J.S.L. XL (1923-4),pp.134-5),
 and Laessle [i-na lib-ba]-ti-ši-na, 'in their bellies'
 (which libbatu does not mean), but the traces in G
 support rather something like [a-na bu-bu]-ti-ši-na 'for
 their hunger'.

li-še-su is clear in G, Clay's enlarged photograph of
 the second sign in E shows it to be wi.

Either could be the correct reading, k li-me-su supports E.

11. That šaqaḷu can mean 'to make scarce, withhold' is shown
 by several omen texts in which this verb is used with
zunnu and such words as še'u, šamaššammu, to indicate
 paucity of supply or lack of those things (cf. Th. Bauer,
Z.A. XLIII,n.F. IX (1936),p.311,n.6). The Assyrian
 version's lu-ša-qir (k.iv.44,54), 'make rare' confirms this
 (cf. A.L. Oppenheim, The Interpretation of Dreams in the
Ancient Near East, Philadelphia, 1956, p.282,n.105; C.A.D.
Z,s.v. zunnu).

12. The photograph given by C.H.W. Johns, Cuneiform Inscriptions,
 New York, 1907,p.11, shows clearly that E had hi-pi iš.
 There is no trace of šu after the iš, in either ms., and

the surface is not so damaged as to permit its restoration, so that hi-pí iš-šu 'new break' is wrong (A. Heidel, The Gilgamesh Epic, p.108,n.19; E.A. Speiser, A.N.E.T., p.104,n.5; Laessle; C.A.D. 6(H),p.196).

D.D. Luckenbill attempted to read ša-ap-li-iš 'below' on the basis of the Assyrian text, k.iv.45,55. li-is-sa-kir šap-liš ia iš-ša-a me-lu i-na na-aq-bi, 'Let it be stopped up from below that the flood rise not from the source' (A.J.S.L. XXXIX (1923),p.157), but this was refuted by A.T. Clay who interpreted hi-pí-iš as 'injured' (Origin of Biblical Traditions, pp.180,224). Such a form from hepû is not possible and can also be rejected. The solution is to read hi-pí 'broken', a scribal note, and understand iš as the first sign visible to the scribe(s) on the exemplar, the remnant of ša-ap-li-iš 'from below', as found in iv.2.

13. mīlu. See E.A. Speiser, B.A.S.O.R. 140 (1955),p.10.

Threats of lack of rain and flood-water, similarly phrased, are found in curse formulae and omen apodoses, and, with opposite verbs, in blessings; e.g. (^dAdad) zu-ni i-na ša-me-e mi-lam i-na na-aq-bi-im li-te-er-šu 'May Adad deprive him of rain from heaven and flood-water from the source' (Codex Hammurabi rev.xxvii.68-71); zunnu ina šamē mīlu^uina naqbi ipparasū 'rains from heaven, water from the spring will be cut off' (C. Virolleaud, L'Astrologie Chaldéenne, Paris, 1908, Sin XXXIII. 11.38, 39, 42,43), zu-un-na i-na ša-me-e ù mi-la i-na naq-bi,

H. Radau, Letters to Cassite Kings, Philadelphia, 1908, n.24, ll.20, 21, p.103, pl.18.I.

15. ka-aq-gá-ra G substantiates the restoration of E already made by W.F. Albright (A.J.S.L. XL (1923-4), p.135, and followed by W. von Soden A.Hwb, p.247, cited by E.E. Knudsen, J.C.S. XV (1961), p.86, and must replace Clay's reading na-ak-bi-ra. The first syllable is written with ka as Knudsen expected (cf. kaqqassa I.vi.4). li-e-er-ri is from Erû 'to be bare' as E.A. Speiser saw (A.N.E.T., p.104; cf. A.Hwb.p.247); the phrases ur-ru-u šá šāri, 'to make bare, said of the wind' (:se.se.ki, II R 30c, 23, K.2039, alam:lānu) and māta lu e²-er-ru 'it shall sweep bare the land (IV R 16a.47, Nabnitu L), already cited in this connection by W.F. Albright (A.J.S.L. XL (1923-4), p.135), may be noted in this context.
16. lihtanniba is to be preferred as a reading to Clay's limtannima (followed by Albright, loc.cit., and A.Heidel, The Gilgamesh Epic, p.108) and to Laessøe's lihtannima (followed by W. von Soden, A.Hwb., p.320) as the ih is clear and the last sign has the, slightly oblique, bottom stroke shorter than the top in contrast to ma which has them virtually parallel and equal in length. The verb is understood as descriptive of the massy clouds, cf. C.A.D. 6(H), p.76.
17. tīku supplied by G corrects the restoration zunnu proposed in C.A.D. 6(H), p.76.
19. Restoration li-ni-i³ on the basis of k (Clay, Laessøe) is

not supported by the traces in G.

20ff. The traces in E and G are not consonant with direct restoration from k. The missing thirty or more lines presumably described the dearth and its effects and contained Atrahasis' second intercession with Enki and his reply.

ii.1-11. See Notes on I.vii.42-51.

12. ibbara. Assimilation of the m of imbaru is attested only in this line (cf. W.F. Albright, A.J.S.L. XL (1923-4), p.135), and, with našša in the next line but one, might be taken as evidence of dictation.

14. našša. The meaning 'dew' for nalšu was established by B. Landsberger, Z.A. XLII, n.F.VIII (1934) pp.160-1, cf. E.F. Weidner, A.f.O. XIV (1944), p.340. For other examples of l assimilated to š in the Middle-Babylonian period see K. Balkan, Kassitenstudien, New Haven, 1954, p.199, n.64.

15. tu-šu-a is apparently a new word and its meaning has not been defined.

17-20. See Notes on I.vii.41-51.

18. V. Scheil's copy of E (Receuil de Travaux XX (1898), p.56) has correctly ú-še-eb-[x x] rather than u-se-lu [x x] as read by Clay and Laessøe.

25-30. Restoration is made from 12-16.

vii.31-33. These lines are restored tentatively from I.v.14,15,12.

39. Possibly it-ma-a, 'he swore', should be supplied after Enki, but there are no traces in G of any signs before ni-iš-[x x]
 Gilgamesh XI.19 ^dnin.igi.kù ^dé-a it-ti-šu-nu ta-me-ma

might support this if the translation 'Ninigiku, Ea, was a party to the oath with them' prove acceptable (v. I.M. Diakonov, Bib.Or. XVIII (1961), p.63 for a recent defence of the reading ta-me instead of ta-šib as upheld by W. von Soden, Z.A. LIII, n.F. XIX (1959), p.232).

41. Restoration of the plural i-li rather than Laessøe's singular i-lim depends upon the interpretation of line 44; rabûti or ahhîšu could follow, Enki speaks to i-li ra-bu-ti in I.iv.36, III.vi.17.
42. If the traces of the last preserved sign are to be read nî] as the photographs suggest, it may be interpreted either as the pronominal suffix or as the beginning of nî-iš x x] 'the oath'. If line 39 is understood as proposed, the former gains likelihood. tutammani has then a causative force rather than Laessøe's 'Why do you conjure....?'
43. qātam (w)abālu usually has a hostile sense, as Laessøe has remarked (cf. C.A.D. 1(A.1), p.19), probably here signifying interference in the plan of the gods.
44. abūbu. Laessøe claimed that 'a good case can be made in favour of the translation 'wind'' from its appearance together with several winds as a weapon of Marduk (Enumma elish IV.49), from the depiction of a 'winged abūbu' on reliefs (J.C.L. III, 1.373, abūbu mupparšu), and from its parallelism with mehū in a prayer (K.9759.5,6; R.C. Thompson, The Epic of Gilgamesh, pl.10) and probably in Gilgamesh XI.108,9. He contended that abūbu (as 'wind')

He contended that abūbu (as 'wind') was 'the most essential element of the disaster' and so gave its name to the whole. This assertion can be contradicted with the discovery of ms. F relating the 'Flood' story.

Winds, rains, and storms act together with the abūbu, but the last was the most overpowering and, as such, was employed in metaphors and similes for irresistible might, e.g. Lugal.e II.38-39, a-bu-bu širu ša la immahharu 'a mighty abūbu which no-one can withstand'; more important, its action was to ruin the cities, ma-sú a-na til a-bu-bi-im li-te-er, 'may he turn his land into a ruin-mound' (Codex Hammurabi rev. xxvii.79-80), and this was effected by water, bu-bu-lu a-bu-bu la maḥ-ru ul-tu eršēti^{ti} li-la-a-ma na-áš-pa-an-ta-ku-nu liš-kun, 'Let there come up from the earth a deluge, a flood not to be withstood, and bring your ruin' Esarhaddon Vassal Treaty, l.488 (D.J. Wiseman, Iraq XX (1958)) and mīlu kaššu tamšil abūbi 'a huge flood, a second abūbu' (R. Berger, Esarhaddon, p.14, Ep.7, l.41; cf. C.T. XXXIX. 17,54). Clearly upsurging water was the chief strength of the abūbu, and this alone or whipped by winds could made a roaring sound comparable to angry cries, Hum-ba-ba rig-ma-šu a-bu-bu 'Humbaba whose shout is an abūbu' (Gilgamesh II.v.3). Therefore it is as a watery mass that the abubu must be explained, and as such it gave its name to the whole disaster (cf. III.vii.18).

taqabbi [...] may be restored either as the simple form

taqabbia, or with a suffix taqabbianni. The traces of the last sign appear to be the heads of two horizontals, not obliques as Laessøe's taqabbû would require. gabû retains the i of the root in this text, cf. I.v.10, so taqabba need not be 'expected' with a plural subject as Laessøe argued.

46. Laessøe's restoration of a-bu-ba is necessitated by the fact that it is Enki who ordains the pattern of the Flood in the following lines. The gods having decided upon this means of destroying mankind, Enki, as the god of skill, must plan the means by which it is to be accomplished, although registering his disagreement. Thus [nišû] taken from Gilgamesh XI.122 by E.A. Speiser must be rejected (a-na-ku-um-ma ul-la-da ni-šu-u-a-a-ma).

48. libteru No solution other than Laessøe's (II.2 of bêru, 'may they be cleared') presents itself to the writer.

49-53. The passages Gilgamesh XI.99,101,102 and B.M. 98977 + 99231 r.14',15' allow some restoration:

G.XI.99. ^dSullat u ^dHaniš il-la-ku ina maḥ-ri

101. tar-kul-li ^dErra-kal 102. il-lak ^dNinurta mi-iḥ-ra
i-na-as-si-iḥ ū-šar-di

BM.98977 + r.14' il-lak ^dNinurta 15' ^dera^{ra}-kal ū-na-sa-ha
mi-iḥ-ra [ū-šar-di] ṭar-kul-li

49. The correct reading of the divine names here was recognised by D.D. Luckenbill, A.J.S.L. XXXIX (1923) pp.158-9. The pair, 'despoilment and submission' often march as outriders with an army, see I.J. Gelb, Ar. Or. XVIII (1950), pp.189-198.

50. For the form mahrā, restored by Laessøe, see G.A.G. § 118, i.

51. tarkullu is translated 'mooring-post' in nautical contexts, v. A. Salonen, Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien, Helsinki, 1939, pp.111-3, 127 and Notes on III.ii.55, but 'posts of a (cosmic) dam' is the sense usually given in this context, with Ninurta bursting through after Errakal (ibid).

52,53. It is doubtful whether l.52 should be completed li-ša-ar-di mi-iḫ-ra as Laessøe suggested because there would not be space for the signs. Although, as he notes citing B. Landsberger, Z.D.M.G. LXIX (1915), p.495, redū only means 'to cause water to overflow' in the III theme, there is no evidence that it cannot mean 'to overflow' in the simple theme, so that l.53 can be read li-ir-di mi-iḫ-ra, 'let it (sc. water) overflow the dam'.

viii.2'-15'. These lines may represent a first revelation of impending disaster by Enki to Atrahasis.

Tablet III

Note. For convenience of reference in comparisons with Gilgamesh XI Flood Story (=G.XI), the names found in the Atrahasis Epic are employed in discussion throughout these notes.

i.1,2. The last line of Tablet II is the second half of the standard phraseology introducing a speech, so it may be deemed most likely that the last two lines were repeated here.

14. sibbassa. The only word giving this form is zibbatu, which is written in some other Old Babylonian texts with initial si (e.g. C.T. VIII.8c.1), and is applied to part of a chariot and of a mace in lexical texts, but its meaning is not known precisely in such contexts (C.A.D. 21(Z), pp.100-2). Clearly it is a part of the boat, metrically balanced with qirbu (line 13); to translate by 'stern' (i.e. 'tail') would exceed the evidence.

17. The remains of the sign before šu suggest reading ib/p.
 20, 21.G.XI.21, 22: ki-ik-kiš ki-ik-kiš i-gari-gar, ki-ik-ki-šu ši-me-ma i-ga-ru hi-is-sa-as. In contrast to G.XI, Enki addresses Atrahasis directly with a command to preserve secrecy about his task, and then invokes the wall, employing the same verb, šusser(i). What Enki had sworn in the council of the gods is last (II.vii), but no attempt is made to disguise his revelation to Atrahasis in the manner understood from G.XI.21, 22 and 186, 7:
a-na-ku ul ap-ta-a pi-riš-ti ilāni rabûti, At-ra-ha-sis šu-na-ta ú-šab-ri-šum-ma pi-riš-ti ilāni iš-me, 'I did not reveal the secret of the great gods, I let Atrahasis dream and he heard the secret of the great gods' (cf. A. Heidel, The Gilgamesh Epic, pp.228-9; J.V. Kinnier Wilson in Documents from Old Testament Times, London, 1958, p.25 renders 'I did not oppose', but without explanation).
 G.XI.23 follows the address to the wall in addressing Atrahasis, the opposite order to that found here,

suggesting to many the following explanation: 'The rash decision of the gods.... was divulged to Uta-napishtim by the whispering of the wind passing through his primaeval reed-hut' (A.L. Oppenheim, Or. N.S.XVII (1948), p.51).

The Sumerian Flood Story and the unpublished Ras Shamra text make it clear that Atrahasis was within the shrine of Enki. An alternative explanation of the invocation of the wall may be found by comparison with English usage 'keep within these four walls' when imparting confidential information. The sequel shows that Atrahasis was not permitted to divulge the imminence of the cataclysm to enable others to endeavour to escape, or even its nature.

igaru, kikkišu are examples of the vocative in -u, found adjacent to absolute forms as vocatives in the parallel G.XI.21,22 (kikkiš, igar). The absolute form is attested in Old Babylonian (e.g. e-ti-il e-eš ta-ḫi-ša-am. 'Hero where are you hastening?', Gilgamesh, Pennsylvania Tablet iv.18, cited by W. von Soden, G.A.G. § 62j), but the form with -u is probably more common (see I.J. Gelb, Bib.Or. XII (1955), p.108). A thorough examination of all possible examples of 'vocative' cases is necessary before any principle or distinction may be formulated in the usage of the two types notes. (Gilgamesh X provides further occurrences, with difference evident between the Old Babylonian text and the neo-Assyrian: OB.iii. x+3' mi-nam sa-bi-ti ta-ta-wi-i[...] 'What did you say, Ale-wife'

(?'my dear Ale-wife') cf. nA.ii.16 [. . .] sa-bit
mi-nu-ú har-ra-an.. '[x]Ale-wife, which is the way...';
 OB.iv.12. i-na-an-na su-ur-su-na-bu a-ta-mar pa-ni-ka,
 'Now, Sursunabu, I have seen your face'; for the texts
 see Iraq XXVI (1964), pp.99-105). Metrical and rhymical
 requirements not yet understood may underlie such a
 distinction as that in G.XI.21,22. The Old Babylonian
 fragment containing speeches to a friend has the form
ru-e 'O friend' (C.T. XLVI, pl.XL,no.44,ii.11).

zikriya F.W. Geers proposed this emendation of the
 unintelligible zi-ik-zi-ia (apud A. Heidel, G.E., p.109,n.25).

22. G.XI.24: ú-qur bīta bi-ni^{is} eleppa. The difference of the
 initial verb (ubut:uqur) is attributed to scribal error
 in C.A.D. A.1,p.45, the ubut being held to be wrong.

This is supported by understanding the line as a direction
 to dismantle the house and build a boat of its wood,
naqāru being the common word for 'taking apart'.

However, although abātu is used of complete destruction
 (ibid.), it may also be employed of demolition and become
 a near synonym of naqāru, as the lexical text T.C.L. VI.
 17,17- shows by giving both words as meanings of
 Sumerian gul (cited ibid., p.42). None of the scribal
 errors noticed in this text involve two adjacent signs,
 or two so different in form and sound (ú-bu-ut:ú-qú-ur),
 to give rise to the possibility here. The alliteration
 of the line in Atrahasis ubut bīta bini eleppa may
 suggest its priority as the author's original, but it

could have arisen equally well as an 'improvement' by a later scribe on an original uqur (For other examples of alliteration cf. I.ii.37,38,53).

i.25.cf. G.XI.28: iš eleppu ša ta-ban-nu-ši at-ta.

26-28.G.XI.29-30: lu-u mìn-du-da mi-na-tu-šá, [lu-ú mit-hur
rú-pu-us-sa ù mu-rak-šá probably contain the words employed in the three missing lines, although restoration of their actual form cannot be made on the basis of the traces in ll.26,28.

29. There is no doubt that the first sign is ki and, therefore, that G.XI.31 should read [ki-ma ap-si-i ša-a-ši šu-ul-lil-ši with W. von Soden and others (Z.A.LIII,n.F.XIX (1959),p.232; C.A.D. S,p.239). The contention of G.R. Driver that R.C. Thompson's reading e-ma is to be preferred in the G.XI, passage is hereby rendered unlikely (J.S.S. IX (1964), p.347).

The traces in the ms. of G.XI.31 quoted by Driver from a collation by O.R. Gurney may still be the remains of an -e, the word being written ki-e-ma, a variation of the spelling with -i- sometimes found in Old Babylonian texts (e.g. Ur ea:naqu A.i.23,M.S.L. II,p.127). The word ēma read by Driver following Thompson (The Epic of Gilgamesh, p.60) does not mean 'on, on to', as he suggests, but is an indefinite indicator of time or location, 'whenever, wherever' (G.A.G. § 114 i, 116f; C.A.D. E, s.v.; A.Hwb.s.v.). šullilši is derived from sullulu 'to cover, roof', not

sullulu 'to make lie down, to launch' (II theme of salālu, otherwise unattested; the III theme is used as causative) as proposed by G.R. Driver, loc.cit. The next line 'Its interior shall not see the sunlight' is proof that the craft was to be covered over - an open vessel would have been swamped in the heavy rain-storm and rising flood (pace Driver '... the difficulty of wondering why a boat intended to convey two (sic!. cf. G.XI.84,85; Atrahasis III.42) persons requires anything so peculiar as a "strong cover"!'). Furthermore there is no certain indication that a 'launching' was envisaged at all, for the flood would float the ship. (A.L. Oppenheim, Or. N.S. XVII (1948), p.53. suggested that the damaged section G.XI.77-79 described the launching, but this is superseded by the interpretation of l.78 given in C.A.D. A.1, p.27, 'they made the germadē correspond above and below', perhaps a counterpart to l.31 here.)

apsū The subterranean waters are specifically understood as covered over by the earth in this context, any suggestion of the horizon or of celestial waters is excluded (as E.A. Speiser, Or. N.S. XXV (1956), p.320 and, against him, W.L. Moran, Analecta Biblica XII.III (1959), pp.262-265). There is no evidence that kīma apsī refers to the shape of the boat as J.V. Kinnier Wilson has proposed (in D.W. Thomas ed., Documents from Old Testament Times, London, 1958, p.25).

i.30 dšamaš is not personified here, simply denoting 'sunlight' as in iii.18.

31. sullulum The scribe has written la for lu as the penultimate sign, a mistake also found in III.ii.50. The word is taken as a verbal adjective from sullulu. Complete sealing of the vessel is intended.

33. kupru is 'dry bitumen' for plugging the seams of a boat according to R.C. Thompson, Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology, p.42. A.Lamaštu ritual mentions 'bitumen for a boat' together with 'bitumen for a boat's gear' (esir.ud.a giš.mà ... esir ud.a ú-nu-ut giš.mà Lamaštu III.i.48,49, 4 R.55; D.W. Myhrman, Z.A. XVI (1902), p.48).

emuqa This use of emuqa as the attribute of an inanimate subject is unusual; the word is employed of the physical power of man (e.g. Gilgamesh, Yale Tablet, l.89: aḫāya irmama emuqi iniš 'my arms went limp, my strength failed') or of military and regal might, either in the abstract or as a term for 'armed forces' (e.g. Ashurbanipal, Rassam prism, i.127 ummanat māṭ Aššur emuq bēlūtīya 'the army of Assyria, my lordly might').

34. ulliš may have a temporal connotation here 'within the immediate future' rather than simply meaning 'moreover' (W. von Soden, Or. N.S. XXI (1952), p.77).

ušaznanakku In contrast to G.XI the rain is here promised by Enki to Atrahasis alone, whether or not he in turn told

The elders is unknown by reason of the loss of the last lines of the column, G.XI.43 relates the announcement as made by Atrahasis: [eli ka]-a-šu-nu ū-šá-az-na-nak-ku-nu-ši... 'He will rain down upon you ...' and, although no subject is named, this has been taken to be Enlil (C.A.D. 21(Z),p.43) who has taken a dislike to Atrahasis (G.XI.39) but will give prosperity to the land. However, G.XI.42 does mention Enki ([ur]-rad-ma ana apsi it-ti ^dé-a be-li-ia áš-ba-ku 'I will go down to the Apsu and dwell with Ea my lord') so that he could be the subject of the following lines, the sender of the rain, as he is here. (Enki may also be the subject of G.XI.87,90. Shamash is not necessarily the sender of the rain; his mention in l.86 (a-dan-na ^dšamaš iš-ku-nam-ma 'Shamash set the time for me') is only as indicator of its coming (see also note to line 35). Thus there is no need to see evidence of two versions of the Gilgamesh story with Enki (or Enlil) fore-telling the flood in 36-47 and Shamash in 86-90 as suggested in A. Schott and W. von Soden, Das Gilgamesh Epos, Stuttgart, 1963,p.89,n.13).

35. G.XI has four lines which must be considered in conjunction with this.

44. [hi-iš-bi iššurī ^{meš} pu-zu-ur 45.]]-ši meš-ra-a
nunī ^{meš} -ma e-bu-ra-am-ma

46. [i-na še-er] ku-uk-ki 47. [ina li-la-a-ti
ú]-šá-az-na-na-ku-nu-ši
šá-mu-ut ki-ba-a-ti

There can be little doubt that the commencement of 44. is to be restored from this line; 46,47 are partly reconstructed from G.XI.87,90.

pu-du-ri The reading of the middle sign is dependant upon the interpretation of the word. There are two possibilities:

(i) reading DU as tù, pu-tù-ri, a nominal form from pataru 'to release, loosen', meaning 'a release', but tu is elsewhere written with TU in this text, in common with other texts from northern Babylonia (A. Goetze, apud O. Neugebauer and A. Sachs, Mathematical Cuneiform Texts, p.147), and in the same root: ap-tù-ur I.v.16; ip-tù-ur III.ii.55 (cf. ch.IV §4);

(ii) taking p/buduri from proto-Semitic *bdr 'to scatter' (Arabic بَدَرَ also بَرَزَ; Hebrew פזר; Aramaic בדר) and assuming that it was a loan-word into Akkadian, perhaps from 'Amorite', retaining the d which normally becomes z, as in G.XI.44 pu-zu-ur.

The whole of l.35 promises an abundance of foodstuffs when taken at its face value, and it seems improbable that there is any hidden meaning or paranomasia within it. Without recourse to the recondite ambiguity of the famous 'Glassmaker's Tablet' (C.J. Gadd and R.C. Thompson, Iraq III (1936), pp.87-96) it is hard to find any double-meaning. There is puḍru 'x of ox dung' (Har.ra:ḥubullu II.316 and a second noun M.S.L. V,p.75) and a second

noun hisbu 'wood-shavings, splinters' and the puzru of G.XI.44 could mean 'hiding, secret' indicating a very meagre rain of birds and fish rather than a plenteous one, but this is a weak counterpart to the 'outpouring of birds, abundance of fish'. The demonstration that G.XI.43-47 does not contain a hidden significance (see below) is strong ground for asserting that there is none here and that it is simple an ominous sign.

Two interpretations of the G.XI passage are found in current translations:

(a) There is a word-play in ll.46,47 based on kukku said to mean both 'bran' and 'disaster' and kibtu 'wheat' and 'oppression' (y.C.Frank, Z.A. XXXVI,n.F.II(1925),p.218, following P. Jensen, Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek VI.2, Berlin, 1900,p.486; A. Heidel, The Gilgamesh Epic, pp.81-2; E.A. Speiser, A.N.E.T., p.193; J.V. Kinnier Wilson in Documents from Old Testament Times, pp.21,25).

(b) These lines refer to omens which will occur, a rain of 'bread' and 'wheat' (W. von Soden, O.L.Z. L(1955),sp.516; A. Schott and W. von Soden, Das Gilgamesh-Epos, p.88, n.5; cf. A.L. Oppenheim, Or. N.S. XVII (1948),p.53,n.8,

'...either the nature of the phenomenon or the specific circumstances accompanying it, were so portentous that not only Ut-napishtim, but also the inhabitants of Suruppak could not have failed to understand their significance'.)

Explanation (a) has little foundation, despite its wide acceptance. Akkadian kukku is attested as 'bread',

a loan-word from Sumerian gúg (A.Hwb., p.500), but the only passages in which it may have an ill-omened meaning are Syllabar b, I.159, ku(variant gu)uk-ku : gu.ug, 'darkness' (M.S.L. III, p.111) and ku.uk.ku : GE₆.GE₆ : etutu and other words for darkness (F. Kocher, A.f.O. XVII (1954-6), p.120, and the first of these is said to mean 'bread' in A.Hwb., p.500. Where gúg is equated with dalahu and bullulu it is to be read lù, this disposing of any possibility of a loan-word kukku therefrom (T.C.L.VI.35.iv.17, Erim.ḥuš). Kibtu, 'oppression, disaster' is non-existent: the phrase kabat qaqgadi adduced in support as meaning 'headache' is in fact an idiom for 'respected' (A.Hwb., p.416).

Explanation (b) is more acceptable. There are omens forecasting rains of these and other foodstuffs among various portents, e.g. ...kibta (še.gig) izannun abufbu iššakan?], 'it will rain wheat, there will be a flood' (C. Virolleaud, L'Astrologie Chaldéene, Paris, 1908-11, Adad 12-15), ...kakka (gú.tur)izannun 'it will rain bread' (ibid, 16,17), suluppu izannun], '...it will rain dates' (ibid., 18). These may, of course, be derived from the Flood Story, just as other omens are derived from historical events. It is uncertain whether they are to be understood literally, or not. S. Langdon thought that hail-stones the size of wheat-grains were implied (J.R.A.S. 1925, pp.718-20), but these would not be abnormally large

(personal observation; cf. Naval Intelligence Division Handbook Iraq, London, 1944, p.177, hailstones there 'are remarkable for their size'). The ominous nature of the sign is further indicated by the setting of its occurrence by Shamash, the god of omens and extispicy (v. K. Tallquist, Akkadische Götterepitheta, p.42 and Note to l.34; cf.

Tukulti-Ninurta Epic iv.30, a-di a-da-an ^dšá-maš i-kun-na, Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology XX (1933), pl.102.

36. maltakta This line appears to give the earliest specific indication of the use of the maltaktu as 'a measuring jar or water-clock', otherwise known in the Old Babylonian period only from mathematical texts (see F. Thureau-Dangin, R.A. XXIX (1932), pp.133-136; XXX (1933), pp.51-52 (Egyptian comparisons); A.L. Oppenheim, J.N.E.S. XI (1952), p.136; W. von Soden, Or. N.S. XX (1951), p.136). The use of petû indicates that the vessel was covered in some way. For ancient examples of the water-clock v. R.W. Sloley, J.E.A. XVII (1931), pp.174-8.

37. ma-a-aš The initial sign could be ba as the bottom stroke is slightly shorter and more oblique than the upper.

However no word bāšu is known and it cannot be a form of bašāšu 'to drip' (A.Hwb., p.110) as it is followed by a genitive. As a nominal form of wašû it gives good sense and must be considered, therefore, as another example of the development w > m (in script at least) found in the middle Babylonian period (cf. ilmû I.ii.58).

For the duration of the Flood see III.iv.24 and Note.

This is not indicated in G.XI at this juncture, although there is mention of a time-lapse between Enki's revelation and the commencement of the Deluge (56.ina ha-an-si ūmi^{mi}
at-ta-di bu-na-ša 'On the fifth day (sc. of construction I had made its frame').

42. There is insufficient space for restoration of ši-bu-ti as in the address of Atrahasis to the elders in I.vii.41,56, and the trace of the sign before ti supports the suggested it-ti.
43. [i]-te-te-zi-zu presents the first example of the I.3 theme of ezēzu (a.II.3 [ú]-te-te-zi-zu is equally possible) with 'defective' spelling, for i-te-te-ez-zi-zu, cf. li-ša<as>si-ik I.i.42 and Note.
- 47-49.G.XI.40-2: ul uš-šab ina [āli?-ku]nu-ma, ina qaqgar^d En-líl
ul a-šak-ka-na [še]-pi-ia-a-ma, [ur]-rad-ma ana apsi it-ti
^dĒ-a be-li-ia áš-ba-ku.

The traces of the sign following ina in 47 do not form part of ālu; ša is the most likely reading, making Atrahasis consider each of the three realms of the earth (cf. I.i.12-18) and explain why he must join Enki. As a mortal, Anu's celestial abode was beyond his reach. It must be stated that this is only an hypothetical reconstruction and, as it disagrees with the G.XI passage otherwise parallel, may be disproved.

The crowded writing of l.48 suggests that the scribe had a longer line to write, consistent with a reconstruction from

G.XI.41 ...ul a-ša-ak-ka-an še-pi-ia; for the phrase see W.G. Lambert, J.S.S. V (1960), p.121.1.49 has no room for urrad at the beginning as in G.XI.42, and mention of the Apsu can only follow, thus demanding restoration as proposed.

ii. The missing lines of the first half of the column almost certainly described the building of the boat, parallel to the description in G.XI.50-69. The traces na-ga-ru? 'the carpenters (?)' in l.11 and ku-up-ra 'pitch' in l.13 support this (cf. G.XI.54 šer-ru [it-ta]ši kup-ra 'a child brought the pitch'.)

30-31. G.XI.80-83: [mi-im-ma i-šu-ú e-še-en-ši, mim-ma i-šu-ú e-še-en-ši kaspi, mim-ma i-šu-ú e-še-en-ši ħuraši, mim-ma i-šu-ú e-še-en-ši zēr napšāti ka-la-ma provides a, longer, parallel, but it is not possible to discover what items were named in the two corresponding lines, although the possibility that the next two lines referred to animals (see next Note) might suggest that kaspi and ħuraši should be supplied.

32-33. The significance of the two extant words ellūti and kabrūti must remain uncertain until the missing signs can be recovered. However, the fact that reference to animals entering the boat was made in all other extant Akkadian fragments gives some reason for finding here adjectives describing animals, ellu is used especially of ritually pure beasts (references in C.A.D. E, p.103) while kabru

is employed to denote 'good condition' (e.g. Alpum šu-ú ma-di-iš ka-ba-ar 'this ox is very fine' A.R.M. I.86.11).

The other texts read: [ú-ma-am se-rim iš-sur ša-me-e, X.11'; [bu-ul] šēri ú-ma-am šēri, m.8'; bu-ul šēri ú-ma-am šēri, G.XI.85, not actually mentioning the quality of the animals, a fact which may be against the present proposal (but, cf. Genesis 7.2).

35. The occurrence of šamai at the end of the line could indicate that birds were mentioned here as included in the boat, as in X.11' (see previous Note).
37. se-ri may show that the animals were listed here instead of in 11.32,33, as suggested, or in addition, these perhaps the wild ones (umāmu, cf. A.L. Oppenheim, Or. N.S. XVII (1948), p.53, n.7).
- 40-41. The feast is possibly that recorded in G.XI.70-75 before the lading of the vessel, i-sin-na ip-pu-šú ki-ma u₇mi a-ki-tim-ma, 'I made them a feast like the New Year's celebration' (74).
47. hi-pí-i-ma li-ib-ba-šu This is an idiom describing worry (see C.A.D. H, p.174, cf. hīp libbi, ibid., p.196, E. Dhorme, L'Emploi métaphorique des Noms de Parties du Corps, Paris, 1963 (reprint), p.120) and must be complementary to the next phrase i-ma-as/š/z ma-ar-ta-am 'he?? bitterness' for which no comparison can be found. Restoration as i-ma-~~ra~~aš might be made from the phrase libbu marāšu 'to worry', v. Studies in Honour of B. Landsberger, Chicago, 1965, p.192.

48. Cf. G.XI.91,92: ša u₄mi at-ta-tal bu-na-šu, u₄mu a-na i-tap-lu-si pu-luḫ-ta i-ši, 'I examined the state of the weather, the aspect of the weather was frightening to see'. The specification that the weather changed could refer back to the omen in i.34-35; in G.XI.89-90 the omen of the rain of 'bread' and 'wheat' is repeated immediately before the description of the weather.
50. i-la; a further example of the error la for lu (see i.31, Note), the word can only be the subject of iš-mu-ú here, therefore must be read i-lu!
51. pehû 'to caulk!', A. Salonen, Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien, pp.152-153 and G.R. Driver, The Babylonian Laws, II.pp.257-8.
- 51,52. Cf. G.XI.93-95: e-ru-ub a-na lib-bi iš eleppi-ma ap-te-ḫi ba-a-bi, a-na pi-ḫi-i ša iš eleppi a-na pu-zu-ur^d amurri amēl malaḫi, ekalla at-ta-din a-di bu-še-e-šu, 'I entered the boat and closed my door, for caulking the boat I gave my palace and its goods to Puzur-Amurri the boatman', and B.M. 98977 + 99231, r.3' [x-ma ip-ḫa-a iš eleppa '... and he caulked the boat?' The 'caulking' in these lines is the sealing of the entrance of the boat, obviously any caulking of the whole structure must have taken place before it was occupied. In the Atrahasis version it appears that the hero himself seals the door whereas in G.XI this is the work for which Puzur-Amurri is regarded. W. von Soden in A. Schott & W. von Soden, op.cit., p.90,n.14 suggests this interpretation which gives an easier structure to the line and avoids

calling the boat an ekallu 'palace'; he believes the intention was to mislead the people of Shuruppak thereby. In addition, it may be pointed out that Atrahasis suffered no loss in disposing of his palace so soon to be destroyed!

52-54. Cf. G.XI.96-98: mim-mu-ú še-e-ri ina na-ma-ri, i-lam-ma iš-tu i-šid šamē^e ur-pa-tum sa-lim-tum, ^dadad ina lib-bi-šá ir-tam-ma-am-ma, 'When the rays of dawn appeared there arose a dark cloud from the horizon. Adad thunders within it...'; B.M. 98977 + 99231, r.5' ^dadad ina šār erbetti ir-ta-kab pa-re-e-š[u] 'Adad rode on the four winds, his mules...' G.XI implies a night's interval from the moment of entering the boat until the commencement of the deluge; it follows immediately in Atrahasis. In both accounts its imminence is apparent from the threatening weather (see 1.48, Note).

55. urruk is II.1 stative of arāku with causative sense and could be either active 'he pays out' or passive 'is paid out' followed by the Preterite iptur denoting the completion of the action.

markasu is the mooring-rope in this passage, cf.

A. Salonen, Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien pp.114,120.

With this line may be compared the curse from a treaty

imposed upon Ba'alu of Tyre by Esarhaddon: ^dba-al-sa-me-me

^dba-al-ma-la-ge-e ^dba-al-ša-pu-nu šāru lem-nu ina iš

eleppēti meš-ku-nu lu-šat-ba iš-mar-kas-si-na lip-tu-ur

iš tar-kul-la-ši-na li-is-su-ḫu e-du-u dan-nu ina tam-tim

li-ṭa-bi-ši-na 'May Ba'al-shamem, Ba'al-malage, Ba'al-sapun raise a storm wind against your boats, may it loosen their cables, may they tear out the mooring posts and may a great tide sink them in the sea' (R. Borger, Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Graz, 1956, §69,r.iv.10'-13').

iii.1-4. There was obviously the beginning of the description of the flood-storm in these missing lines, but the space is not sufficient, nor do the traces in 3,4 support restoration of the description of the gods of the storm, found at approximately this stage in G.XI.99-104 and B.M. 98977 + 99231.r.14',15', and anticipated by Enki in II.vii.49-53.

5,6. G.XI.108, ištēn ^{en} u₇ma me-ḥu-u x x] suggests restoration of [u₇ma iṣ-tē-en, but damage precludes further suggestion. The verb at the end of line 6, iṣ-ša-am-du 'they join together', permits a guess at reconstruction of this pair of lines (it is not quite certain that they belong together, but probable if the interpretation of ll.7-10 offered below is correct) on the basis of a description of a battle on a boundary-stone of the period of Nebuchadrezzar I (c.1124-1103 B.C.), a text which is of relevance to ll.12-14 also. The inscription recounts a battle between the Babylonians and the Elamites:

in-nin-du-ma šarrāni ^{meš} ki-lal-la-an ip-pu-šu taḥaza i-na
bi-ri-šu-nu in-na-pi-iḥ i-šá-tu i-na tur-bu-ʾ-ti-šu
na-ʾ-du-ru pān dšamši ^{ši} a-šam-šá-tu iṣ-ša-nan-du i-sa-ar

me-ḥu-ú i-na mi-ḥi-e ta-ḥa-zi-šu-nu eṭ-lu bēl iṣ narkabti
ul ip-pal-la-sa šá-na-a šá it-ti-šu, 'The kings both take
 up their positions and engage in battle. Fire flashes
 between them, the sun is obscured by their dust-clouds, the
 storm-winds join together, the tempest rages (?), in the
 tempest of their fighting the warrior-commander of a chariot
 cannot see the second man who is with him' (L.W. King,
Babylonian Boundary Stones, London, 1912, no.VI.i.29-34).
 Lines 5,6 could be restored [u₄-ma iṣ-tē-en], as the second and
 third components of a six-stress verse, me-ḥu-ú[ú
a-ša-am-ša-tu iṣ-ša-am-du 'On one day (or for one day)
 storm-wind and tempest were joined together', following the
 phrasing quoted.

7,8. It is possible that B.M. 98977 + 99231 r.16' [x] x i-na
ṣu-up-ri-šu šamē^ex [x x] is related to this couplet, and
 perhaps a word for 'tear' or 'rend' should be provided;
 there is no indication of the subject, abūbu might be
 hazarded, or some other word for a tempest or a wind-god
 (mention of 'nails, claws' suggests the bird Anzu, but this
 cannot be substantiated).

9,10. Cf. GXI.107. [māta kīma ^{du}_g karpatī ih-pū (or ih-ḥē-pi],
 von Soden); B.M. 98977 + 99231.r.17, [x x māta ki-ma
karpatī mi-lik-šá is-pū-uh]. The small wedge by the first
 remaining sign of l.9 may be accidental damage, not part
 of the sign, thus permitting the reading ma. If this is
 correct then B.M. 98977 + 99231 r.17 should also be read

māta, not ^diš-tar as previously suggested (J.S.S. V(1960), pp.118,120,121). The suffixes of rigimša and milikša indicate a feminine subject, perhaps a storm-wind. There is just sufficient space for ki-ma kar-pa-ti in l.10, yielding '[x x] her clamour smashed the land[like a pot].'

11. G.XI.109.ḥa-an-tiš i-zi-qam-ma [x x]a-bu-bu; B.M. 98977 + 99231.r.18' [x x x] i-ta-ša-a a-bu-bu may give a clue to the restoration of the line. If i-ta-ša-a of B.M. 98977 + may be taken as a II.1 preterite of wašû written defectively for it-ta-ša-a (instead of deriving it from našû 'remove' as Lambert, loc.cit), a plausible sense is obtained, 'The flood went forth ...'

12,14.Cf.GXI.110-112. ki-ma qab-li eli [nišē i-ba-²-ú][ka-šu-šu], ul im-mar a-ḥu a-ḥa-šú, ul ú-ta-ad-da-a nišē^{meš} ina šamē^e; B.M. 98977 + 99231.r.19[x x x x x x] ana ni-še i-ba-a ka-šu-šu. The obvious identity of the phraseology of Atrahasis and G.XI permits restoration of the latter (collation of the copy K.3375 confirms that there is space at the end of the line for kašūšu) and allows for the beginning of B.M. 98977 + 99231.r.19 to be restored appropriately. The end of that line must be understood similarly as 'the scourge came upon the people' rather than '...Summon the mighty one!' as Lambert first proposed (loc.cit.)(W.von Soden has also realised this in A.Hwb.p.463b). Kašūšu apparently denotes the might of a conqueror or

irresistible force and as such is used of the power of a god, e.g. ^dNergal dan-nu-um i-na ì-lí, qā-ba-al la ma-ḥa-ar, ... i-na ka-šu-ši-šu ra-bi-im ki-ma i-ša-tim iz-zi-tim ša a-pí-im ni-ši-šu li-iq-me, 'May Nergal, mighty among the gods, the irresistible fighter ... consume his people with his great power like a fire in the reeds'. (Codex Hammurabi, rev. xxviii.24-26, 29-34) as well as of kings in battle (see W. von Soden, Or. N.S. XX (1951), pp.160-161; A.Hwb., pp.463b,464a; Iraq XXV (1963), p.136). In this line it denotes the overwhelming force of the flood as an invincible army. The simile kīma qabli heightens the idea of a war, a comparison which is probably to be understood in the following line as well in the light of the description of a battle already cited in which 'the chariot-commander cannot see the second man in the chariot at his side' for the dust raised (see Note to 5,6, cf. also Zu Myth, Old Babylonian version III.74-7). It is not clear whether it was dust that obscured the people in the Flood narrative or the rising waters or the general confusion resulting from a combination of dust-storm, rain-storm, and flood. The whole is described as karāšu, 'catastrophe' (cf. III.iii.54, Note, V.43, vi.10).

15. The phrase used to describe the disturbance caused by mankind (I.vii.21; II.i.3) is here employed of the heaven-sent flood coming to annihilate man's noise, an example of the skilful composition of the poem.

16,17. The description of the flood probably continued in these lines. na-e-ri may be associated with a

verb used of Lamastu, nu-?-u-rat ki-ma ur.mah, uš-ta-na-al-ḥab ki-ma uridimmi (Lamaštu II.iii.41-2 IV R².58, ZA. XVI (1905), p.180) and with u₇mu na-?-ri, a 'meaning' of ^{mul} ud.ka.duḥ.a, followed by ilu šāgimu 'the thundering god' (VR.46.1,43; cf.K.250,r.v.14, C.T. XXVI.41), thus denoting a loud noise of 'roar'.

18. [e]-tú-tu 'darkness', is suggested in contrast to ^dšamaš 'daylight' (cf.III.i.30). i-na ma-ti or some similar phrase may have stood at the beginning of the line.

la-aš-šu is found mostly in Assyrian texts (Old - neo - Assyrian, G.A.G. § 111a; A.Hwb., p.539b) but is also known in Old Babylonian, e.g. amut Šarrumken ša maḥra la-aš-šu 'Omen of Sargon who had no rival' (R.A.XXVII (1930), p.149, quoted in C.A.D.7(I), p.293).

19. suppi see note to iii.44

24,5. uš-ta-ka-a[n] for uš-ta-ak-ka-an, cf. li-ša-sí-ik I.i.42. The lines might be restored [^den-ki qá+bi i-li uš-ta-ka-an 'Enki had carried out the gods' command', [ú-ul iš-ta-ni ṭe-e-em-šu 'he had not changed his mind'. For the idiom ṭēma šanû see B. Meissner, M.V.A.G. XI (1937), pp.73-74.

26. Cf. B.M. 98977 + 99231.r.22'. [x mārū ^{meš}-šá ub-bu-ku a-na pi-šá 'her children were destroyed at her pronouncement'. Perhaps the line began with [aš-šum] 'so that his children were destroyed'. ubbuku is

attached to abāku B 'to overturn' in C.A.D. 1(A.1), p.9b, but it could as easily be a form of abāku A 'to send, fetch' which can mean 'to drive away' in the II theme (ibid., p.8a), destruction being understood.

29. [pu]hita cf. iv.21 ša-mi-a ša-ap-ta-šu-nu pu-ul-ḫi-ta. No derivative of palāhu 'to fear' has been found which would yield this form; it is near to puluhtu 'fear' but differentiated by the second vowel. The final a suggests the possibility that this is an adverbial form, 'fearfully, in fear', which is appropriate to both passages (for the form cf. G.A.G. § 113b).

ū-ka-la-la The writing with KA favours association with the root kl1, for qa and ga are elsewhere represented by GA (e.g. a-qa-ab-bu-ka III.i.18; ga-me-er-tam III.v.44). kullulu 'to cover' is not employed passively or reflexively in the II theme, as would be required here, however (cf. A.Hwb., p.503b), so that another root may be involved. Although it has initial g, gll, used of rolling the eyes may be involved (Esarhaddon Vassal Treaties 1.628, ēnā^{II} -šu-nu ū-ga-li-lu-u-ni 'their eyes roll' D.J. Wiseman, Iraq XX (1958), pp.77,89), here denoting trembling of the lips. (It may be observed that a comparable verb is employed for this in Hebrew. וַיִּבְּבֵן לִפְיָי 'my lips trembled at the voice' (Habakkuk 3.16). Both gll and sll have the onomatopoeias). B.M. 98977 + 99231.r.23' [x] la-lu šá x [x] x may be restored as a counterpart to this line

[x x x ú-ka-a]l-la-lu ša-a]p-ta-š]a.

31. With this line is introduced the there of the plight of the gods after the destruction of mankind: their substitutes are no longer available to produce and provide them with food and drink. This ironical theme is enlarged by the poet through the remainder of the poem.

32,33. Cf. GXI.116,117: i-šis-si ^diš-tar ki-ma a-lit-ti,
ú-nam-ba ^dbe-lit-ilī ta-bat rig-ma 'Ishtar cried out like a woman in travail, sweet-voiced Belit-ili lamented'. The simile of the woman in travail is frequent in Ugaritic and Hebrew in descriptions of distress, see D.R. Hillers, Z.A.T.W. LXXVII (1965), pp.86-90.

34,35. G.XI.118: u]mu ul-lu-ú a-na ti-it-ti lu-ú i-tur-ma.
The use of lu-ú should imply that this line is an emphatic statement (G.A.G. § 81f) and it is normally translated as such ('In truth the olden time has turned to clay', Heidel) yet 1.165 must be interpreted as containing a wish for the future although constructed in the same way, ūmē ^{meš} an-nu-ti lu-ú a]h-su-sa-am-ma
'I shall remember these days ...' (see G.A.G. §183,f C.A.D. (A.1.), p.219). The present passage suggests that G.XI.1.118 should be interpreted as a future-looking statement 'Would that that day would turn to 'clay' or as 'Would that that day had turned to clay'. A comparable sentiment is found in Job 3.3-9, especially 4;5:

היום ההוא יהי חושך אל ידרשהו אלוה ממעל ואל תופע עליו ונהרה
 בגאלהו חושך וצלמות תשכן עליו עונה יבעתהו כמרירי יום

'May that day become darkness, may God not enquire after it from above, nor light shine upon it. May darkness claim it and the shadow of death, may cloud it over, may the darkness[?] of day overwhelm it'.

36-38.G.XI.119,120: áš-šú a-na-ku ina pu-ḥur ilī aq-bu-ú
lemutta; ki-i aq-bi ina pu-ḥur ilī lemutta "...when I
 commanded evil in the assembly of the gods. How could
 I command an evil thing in the assembly of the gods?"
gamertam may be explained as an adverbial form, like
pulḥita in 1.29 above, 'as a whole', although not
 found elsewhere. Some support for this is given by
 other occurrences in this composition, II.viii.34
 x x x iq-bu-ú ga-me-er[x]; III.v.44 ub-la pí-i-ku-nu
ga-me-er-tam when compared with II.v.50^x ub-la pí-i-ni
iš-ti-ni-iš x [x x] in which ištiniš 'together' appears
 to replace gamertam.

39. id-pí-ra The roots d/ṭpr have been examined by
 W. von Soden in Or. XVIII (1949), pp.394-395 with the
 conclusion that they have the basic meaning of 'to be
 distant' (duppur) and 'expel, remove' (ṭuppuru),
 but no example of the simple theme was found. There
 is possibly a verb dapāru 'to be sated' C.A.D. D,p.104),
 and if a transitive sense may be attached to it, some
 sense might be obtained, that Enlil 'put the words in'

40-41. Tiruru is listed as a form of Ishtar and called šariqat napišti 'giver of life' (C.T. XXIV.41, l.78; XXV.30, r. l.18; K.A.V.48, l.11b; 173, l.15 ^dIštar kaš?-šul-ti; K. Tallquist, Akkadisches Götterepitheta, p.472).

In a list of statues of divine creatures, the Tiruru is described as having a bird's head, man's hands, woman's body, eagle's feet, and wings (F. Köcher, M.I.O. I (1953), pp.80-82, 106-107). The simile in these lines shows that a feature of the Tiruru was the movement of the mouth (see below on uša³'i) and this in turn supports derivation of the name from the root ṭrr/ṭarr 'to tremble'. ú-ša-a³-i₁₀ is II.l of šâ³u 'to flutter, to fly' with causative force. In its application to the mouth here it may be rendered 'to make, let, twitch'. The simple form is used of the heart in a prayer to Ishtar, i-ša-³it-ta-nap-raš lib-bi ki-ma iṣ-sur ša-ma-mi, 'My heart fluttered, it flew about like a bird of the sky' (L.W. King, Seven Tablets of Creation, London, 1902, I.p.230, II.pl.80, ll.63,64; E. Ebeling, Die akkadische Gebetsrie Šu-ila 'Handerhebung', Berlin, 1953, p.132).

42-43. The conjunction of ramānu and pagru makes an emphatic reflexive occurring in other contexts to connote personal action, of one's own free-will (cf. Old Babylonian contracts from Tirqa, F. Thureau-Dangin, Syria V (1924), p.270, ll.1,2; p.271, l.2; Old Babylonian Naram Sin Epic, iii.15, J.J. Finkelstein J.C.S. XI (1957), p.84; F.R.Kraus, Ein Edikt des Königs Ammi-šaduqa von Babylon, Leiden,

1958,p.169). ina šēria for this usage where later texts have eli, see W. von Soden, Z.A. XLI,n.F.VII (1933),p.143, n.2; XLIX,n.F.XV (1950),p.178. It is not common with adversative sense, but cf. A.R.M. V, 75. 5-7, 2',3':

^{1d}Sin-ti-ri i-na še-ri-ia iš-ša-bi-it-ma ù ka-ar-šī-ia a-na šarrim i-ku-ul, ù a-wa-tim la ši-na-ti i-na še-ri-ia ú-šā-ṭà-ar, 'Sin-tiri was required to appear as a witness against me and slandered me to the king ... and he has had improper things written against me (v. C.A.D. (§),p.11).

44-45.elēnu here 'apart from', cf. C.A.D. E,p.

suppu recurs in a damaged simile in III.iii.19 x x x x ki-ma su-up-pi. The only noun known in Akkadian is suppu 'prayer', which is difficult to interpret in this context. A verb suppû 'to carry off, kidnap' is attested (B. Landsberger, Z.A. XLIII,n.F.IX (1935),p.315, n.4; W. von Soden, Z.A. XLIX,n.F.XV (1950),p.181) and this word is explicable as a verbal-adjective with passive sense, 'something carried away'. Arabic is used of the wind blowing dust 'E.W. Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon, London, 1863-1893, p.1377). The comparison of the floating corpses? to dragon-flies on the water (iv.6) adds some likelihood to this interpretation, for, without Nintu's aid, mankind is an aimless crowd, 'sheep without a shepherd'.

lillidu 'adolescent', see now A.Hwb., p.553a.

46. kī ašābi is understood as 'instead of sitting', see J. Aro, Die akkadischen Infinitivkonstruktionen, Helsinki,

1961, pp. 285-289. Although ki is not found in this sense elsewhere before texts of the middle-Babylonian period (kīma is used in Old Babylonian), the presence of other 'middle-Babylonian' features in this text might permit recognition of this also (e.g. interchange of w, m I.ii.58, vii.33; erratic use of mimation).

49. tuša This word has been discussed fully by M. Held, J.C.S.
-50. XV (1961), p. 22, who confirmed the suggestion that it denotes an unreal event, translating 'as if'. In this sentence Nintu plans to hide herself away, probably in order that her grief may be concealed. The bīt nakmati is the 'store' or 'treasury', therefore a secluded place (cf. Reallexicon für Assyriologie I, p. 181; A.R.M. II, 91. 5', 9').
51. The syntax of this line is obscure, although the general sense is clear; Nintu wishes that Enlil may not come to the place where she is. It is repeated in v. 39-40 in a similar context (Enlil should not share Atrahasis' offering), and there the negative force is continued into the next line, e ša a-a-nu il-li-ka-am be-el te₄e-mi^d en-líl
it-ḫi-a a-na qú-ut-ri-ni. G.XI.167 is parallel, ^den-líl
a-a il-li-ka a-na sur-qi-ni. The problem lies mainly in the interpretation of a-a-nu, cf. a-ia-a-nu, vi. 9; G.XI.173 a-a-un-ma. According to the orthography of the remainder of the text a-a should indicate a (cf. da-a-an III.i.33), a+y is written with ia (cf. a-ia II.i.12, 17; III.i.30; ma-ia-li I.ii.23; ia-a-ši-im I.ii.51,

var. ia-ši-im). However, there is no word anu known to Akkadian, nor does combination with the ša or e + ša yield any sense. Therefore some suspicion may fall on the spelling, and there is some uncertainty regarding the writing of /y/ in cuneiform (see E. Reiner, Studies Presented to A.L. Oppenheim, Chicago, 1964, pp.167-180). Tentatively it is interpreted as yānu 'there is not', although not hitherto recorded in Old Babylonian (G.A.G. §81b; C.A.D. 7 (I/J), p.323; A.Hwb., p.411; laššu was similarly unknown at this period until recently compare G.A.G. §81a with A.Hwb., p.539 and iii.18 above). E could be the ejaculatory particle 'No!', although this is only found in a personal name in the Old Babylonian period (A.Hwb., p.180a; cf. C.A.D. 4 (E), p.1). It can be better understood as the negative or vetitive particle aya 'may not', which is written e before consonants (G.A.G. §81.i), and elsewhere in this text written a-ia (II.i.12,17; III.i.30, all before initial i). If this is so, the separation of the particle from the verb by ša a-a-nu is extraordinary, no example is given in the passages cited in C.A.D. 4 (E), pp.218-219. The intervening ša a-a-nu may thus relate to or qualify the e, and the translation 'May he not come, unlikely as that is, ...' could be hazarded on this assumption.

53. Restoration is confirmed by the repetition in v.42, ša la im-ta-al-ku-ū-ma / iš-ku-nu a-bu-ba; cf. G.XI.168, aš-šu la im-tal-ku-ma iš-ku-nu a-bu-bu.

54. Restoration from v.43 and cf. G.XI.169, ù nišē ^{meš} -ia
im-nu-ú ana ka-ra-ši. The Gilgamesh text shows that
the verb bere is kamāsu I, 'to gather' rather than
kamasu II 'to bow'. A similar usage is found in three
parallel passages in texts referring to Sargon of Agade;
ana kakki ik-mi-su-ma referring to māt Subartu (L.W.King,
Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings, London,
1907, II, p.7, l.14; p.36, l.6; p.43, l.3), which must be
rendered 'he consigned Subartu to the "sword" (with A.Hwb.,
p.43la, against A.K. Grayson, Studies Presented to
A.L. Oppenheim, Chicago, 1964, p.92), cf. for the use of
manû, Tukulti-Ninurta Epic, ms. C, rev.20, im-nu ma-a-ta
a-na ri-i[h-si] (W.G. Lambert, A.f.O. XVIII (1957-8), p.48).
iv.4. Cf. G.XI.117. ú-nam-ba ^d belit-ilī ta-bat rig-ma.
Possibly [ta-ba-at ri-ig-ma] could be restored here after
^d nin-tu.
5. The damage renders impossible any certain interpretation
of this line. If l.6. and l.7. are a pair, then it
should belong with l.4 in describing the lamentation;
^d ul-dā? x x x] might be a title of Nintu (from walādu?).
6. kulīlu. For identification as the dragon-fly see
B. Landsberger, Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien, Leipzig,
1934, p.123, and cf. M.S.L. VIII.2, pp.26, 234. The
subject of this and the next three lines is apparently
the corpses of drowned mankind which floated on the
flood-water. Since the verbs imlānim, imīda, are
feminine plural, and the suffering elišina šērišin, as

well, the word šalmātu, 'corpses', may have stood earlier in the column (lines 1-3). G.XI.123. ki-i māre meš nunē^{hi.a} ú-ma-al-la-a tam-ta-am-ma 'like fish-spawn' (or 'fish' simply) 'they fill the sea' has a very close connection in idea, although not identically expressed, with 1.6.

8. The final traces do not favour sa-pā-an x x x] 'the edge of x'.
12. The phrase libba nuppušu 'to relax oneself, to be relieved' is discussed by G.R. Driver in Babylonian Laws, II, pp.286,287; cf. A.R.M.T. V.20.6.
14. While sarāpu ša lalī is 'to burn with desire' (C.A.D. 16.(§) pp.102,103, quoting á:A:naqu III.2.145 and Tukulti-Ninurta Epic iii.28), this line gives a transitive sense lalā sarāpu 'to burn up desire, to exhaust one's vitality'.
15. Cf. G.XI.124. ili^{meš} šu-ut A-nun-na-ki ba-ku-ú it-ti-šá.
16. nissatu 'grief' is perhaps 'despair' (M. Held, J.C.S. XV (1961), pp.16,17).
18. Cf. G.XI.125. ili aš-ru áš-bi i-na bi-ki-ti. W. von Soden's suggested ina libbi! for ina bikiti can be disregarded in view of the close similarity of the lines (Z.A.LIII, n.F. XIX (1959), p.232).
G.XI.124,125, have 'the gods' as subjects, corresponding to iv.15,18b, not presenting the description of Nintu which intervenes in iv.16,17. Hence the form of wašāru in G.XI.125 is plural, and both that and áš-bi are in the same tense as concomitant events. With

Nintu as the subject in Atrahasis the verb is stative following the preterite išbi (1.16) and refers to her condition subsequent to the events described already. G.XI. has used the stative of the gods' action in 1.24 (bakû) and, consistently, employs the stative of wašābu in 1.125. Atrahasis, on the other hand, has a preterite of the gods' action in iv.15 (ibkû) and equally in 1.18 (ušbû).

wašāru 'to be humiliated, humble' is frequently used in royal inscriptions to describe the obedience and self-abasing attitude of kings with regard to the gods (G.R. Driver and Sir John C. Miles, The Babylonian Laws, II.p.123; cf. S. Langdon, Die Neubabylonischen Königsinschriften, Leipzig, 1912, p.319, s.v.). Nintu's self-deprecatory lament could substantiate the paraphrase 'she had no more spirit in her' here, providing that a-šar is understood as stative where wašrat would be expected, with few exceptions, as in G.A.G. § 132h.

20. rāṭam The meaning of this word has not been finally settled. A common rendering is 'pipe, tube' (A.L. Oppenheim, J.N.E.S. VI (1947), p.128, following E. Ebeling, M.A.O.G. VII. 1-2 (1933), p.55, n.q), but in no instance is the context sufficient to prove this. A bilingual proverb from Bogazkoy states: ra-a-ṭum ša a-na nu-hur ša-a-ri, me-e ku-uz-ba ub-bá-[all], 'A rāṭum in the direction of the wind brings a copious supply of water' (W.G. Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom Literature, p.279,

pl.72, Bo.4209 + 4710, ll.9,10) and the Akkadian line of a bilingual creation story reads: i-nu ša qí-rib tam-tim ra-tu-um-ma 'The spring in the midst of the sea is a rāṭum' (C.T.XIII, pl.35, l.11). A rāṭum can be 'opened' according to the incomplete line G.XI.298, ra-a-ta ki-i ap-tu-u[at]-ta-bak ú-nu-tú, where E.A. Speiser translates 'pipe' (A.N.E.T., p.66, n.62), but W. von Soden 'channel' (Z.A.LIII, n.F.XIX(1959), p.233). Elsewhere a rāṭum may contain a poplar? tree (C.A.D.7(I/J), p.70b, s.v.ildakku, translating 'caisson') and it is equated with libbu 'heart, centre' in a lexical text (B. Meissner, Beiträge zum Assyrischen Wörterbuch II, Chicago, 1932, p.50, V.A.T.9718. iii.22, =W. von Soden, Die Lexikalischen Tafelserien der Babylonier und Assyrer, II, Berlin, 1933, XLIII.123).

Altogether, the available evidence suggests that rāṭum denotes a place where water collects and from whence it may flow, as opposed to a static well, thus perhaps a 'source' or 'pool'. The proverb and the creation story could bear this interpretation (no evidence is offered for the translation 'irrigation pot' in the latter case by C.A.D.7(I/J), p.158a; A. Heidel, The Babylonian Genesis p.62, n.7,8, observes that freshwater can well-up in the salt), and it finds some confirmation in the Hebrew and Syriac cognate which is a trough for watering animals, in one case filled by hand (Exodus 2:16).

The implication of the simile is not clear. kīma

can govern only immerī (this would be in the nominative case if subject of the following verb), so that it is the gods who 'fill' the rāṭam, which should be some piece or part of the divine residence. Since the sequel shows that it is lack of offerings which has caused the gods' hunger and thirst, it could be the means whereby libations were drunk, a 'pipe' up which they might be sucked, or, in the light of the discussion above, the source from which they flowed into heaven. Sheep can be seen in the Near East thirstily drinking from pool or trough huddled shoulder to shoulder.

It is noticeable that ll.19,20 are similar in wording, and express exactly the opposite sense, to ll.6,7 (especially imlûnim rāṭam: imlânim nāram), and could be a deliberate 'echo' of them; while mankind was scattered like dragon-flies over the excess of water, the gods were huddled, thirsting, around the dry source.

21. pulḥita see Note to III.iii.29.



G.XI.126 may be connected, kat-ma (variant ms.C.,K.7752 šab-ba)šap-ta-šu-nu [x x x]-ia/e/ a pu-uḥ-ri-e-ti

'Their lips were shut' (variant 'dry') '... together (?)'

(For šabābu, see W. von Soden, Or. XXV (1956), p.242, n.1).

In its present incomplete state G.XI.126 has only šaptašunu in common with this line, but it could be restored with a form of šamû, increasing the similarity, the traces before pu-uḥ may be a.

24. G.XI.127: 6 ur-ri-ù[] mu-ša-a-ti. The figure 7 agrees

with Enki's ordinance in III.1.37, mâš abūbi 7 mušišu iqbišu. Collation of the texts of G.XI. suggested to the writer that 7 ur-ri should be read there also. The figure is complete only in K.2252 (R.C. Thompson's ms. A) and is very small, it could be ; K.7752 (ms. C) has . If this reading is correct, all the cuneiform accounts of the Deluge would be in agreement about its duration. G.XI.129 does not contradict this, for the Babylonians reckoned inclusively, so that cessation during the seventh day would mean that it lasted for seven days, cf. the Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus, A.S.VIII (1958), p.52, ll.26,27,29.

25. G.XI.128: il-lak ša-a-ru a-bu-bu me-~~hu~~-ú i-sap-pan māti (variant, K.7752, ms. C., ra-a-du mi-~~hu~~-ú a-bu-bu).

The variant to G.XI. supports restoration of a-bu-bu here.

26-v.29. The remaining traces in this column do not permit reconstruction of the narrative. Assuming that there were fifty-five lines in iv, twenty-nine have been lost from there and a further twenty-nine from V, i.e. fifty-eight lines are missing. It has been shown in the foregoing notes that there are close correspondences with the narrative of G.XI, both in events and actual wording, up to l.128. When the text of A. continues, the same close similarities can be observed from G.XI.156 onwards, so that it may be conjectured with some probability that the missing fifty-eight lines of Atrahasis contained the substance of the matter related in the intervening

twenty-six lines of G.XI (129-155, the lines of G.XI are often longer than those of A., so that the difference in number of lines need not mean that A. contained much more text). The episodes which would then be assigned to this gap are (i) the cessation of the storm, (G.XI.129-131), (ii) Atrahasis' observation of the desolation caused (132-139), (iii) the grounding of the boat on Mount Nisir (140-144), (v) the despatch of birds in search of dry land (145-154).

30. Perhaps restore a-na ša-a-fri er-bi-ti it-ta-qi ni-qa-a after G.XI 155 a-na irbitti šārī ^{meš} at-ta-qi ni-qa-a
31. it-ta-di is certain, and may be the counterpart of G.XI. 156 aš-kun sur-qin-nu ina eli ziq-qur-rat šadīⁱ 7 u 7 ^{dug} adagura uk-tin.
32. i-za-an-nu-un apparently 'he/it is raining, will rain' from zanānu I, 'to rain', rather than zanānu II, 'to supply food,' which has a present tense in a, and yet it is difficult not to understand the latter here where it would be appropriate in the context of sacrifice; variation in the second root vowel of certain vowels is attested and applies here (cf. G.A.G. § 87d).
34. Restored from G.XI.159, ilani i-ši-nu i-ri-ša.
35. Cf. G.XI.161, ilāni ki-ma zu-um-bi-e eli bēl niqē ip-taḥ-ru. The trace of an oblique wedge before e-lu supports restoration from this line.
37. Cf. G.XI.162, ul-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma ^{dmaḥ} ina ka-ša-di-šu.

39-43. See Notes to iii.51-4, 41 is extra here.

44. See Notes on I.iii.38 and, for the final sign, on II.i.9.

45. Damage has interrupted the sense of the remainder of the column.

48-52. Reading and sense of these lines is uncertain, except in so far as they contain a further speech of Nintu.

If the interpretation of v.3,4 is correct, she here commences a list of self-imprecations lest she permit another catastrophe.

vi.2.G.XI.163: iš-ši nim meš rabûti meš ša ^dA-nu-um i-pu-šu
ki-i šu-hi-šu suggests that zu-up-pu may be understood as zubbû for zumbû, 'flies', i.e. the lapis lazuli pendants mentioned in the next line.

3. G.XI.164: ilāni an-nu-ti lu-u ^{za}₄ gìn kišadi-ia a-a am-ši,
but restoration remains problematic: on uqnu (za₄.gìn) see now M. Dietrich and O Loretz, Die Welt des Orients III (1966), pp.227-31.

5,6.G.XI.171-2: i-mur ^{giš}mà-ma i-te-ziz ^den-líl, lib-ba-ti
im-ta-li ša ilāni ^dIgigi. The reading ma!-li is conjectural, the first sign has too many strokes for ma.

9,10.Cf.G.XI.173: a-a-um-ma ú-ši na-piš-ti : a-a ib-luṭ amēlu
ina ka-ra-ši. bi-ti-iš-tum is taken as a scribal error for na-pí-iš-tum. The Atrahasis Epic turns the second sentence into a question by the introductory kī; for ayānu see Notes on III.iii.51.

11-15.Cf.G.XI.174-6: ^dNinurta pa-a-šu ipušam-ma iqabbi:

izakkar ana qú-ra-di ^den-líl, man-nu-um-ma ša la ^dé-a
a-ma-tu i-ban-nu, u ^de-a i-de-e-ma ka-la šip-ri. No
 explanation of the the variation Anu: Ninurta can be
 offered.

22. Cf.G.XI.179: ki-i ki-i la tam-ta-lik-ma a-bu-ba taš-kun.
24. Cf.G.XI.181: ru-um-me a-a ib-ba-ti-iq šu-du-ud a-a
ifr -x x but how the line might be restored is unknown.
25. W. von Soden, Or. N.S.XII (1953), p.207 states that
šakānu II is only used in late texts as a technical term
 for the installation of a governor, but the present state
 of the text makes interpretation difficult.
42. niššiki see Notes on I.i.16.
- vii.3. pašitūm is particularly an epithet of Lamashtu, see
 W. von Soden, Bib.Or. XVIII (1961), p.72.
5. birkū. The preposition should govern an oblique case,
birkī; for the concept cf. Notes on I.iv.19.
- viii.8-19. These lines are assumed to contain a hymn of praise
 to Enki, but see Notes on l.11.
9. Perhaps a reference back to Enki's oath in II.vii.
10. Restored from vi.10.
11. mālik ilī. There is hardly space for addition of
ra-bu-tim. mālik ilī is the office in I.i.8,43 etc.,
 and could show that he is the one addressed here. On
 the other hand, the sense of this line may be that it is
 Enki who really deserves this title.
- 16,17. Cf. Erra I.62: ^di-gi-gi liš-mu-ma li-šar-bu šum-ka.

18,19. abūba appears to be employed as the title of the composition, perhaps K.A.R. 158, r.iii.27 šur-bu-ta a-na nišī^{meš} a-za-am-n[u-ur], 'I will sing 'the majesty' to all people', may be compared as a title, and the end of the Agushaya Hymn, i-da-at du-un-ni-ša ka-la ni-ši ū-še-eš-mi, '(Ea) made known to all people the form of her might' (B.viii.18-19), and the commencement of the hymn C.T. XV.L; 1,2: [za-ma-ar^d bi-li-it-ì-lí a-za-ma-ar, ib-ru uš-še-ra qú-ra-du ši-me-a 'I will sing the song of Belit-ili; pay heed, O friends, hear, O heroes!' all show a similar intent to diffuse knowledge of the story (cf. also Erra V. 49-61, W.G. Lambert, Iraq XXIV (1962), pp.124-5).

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OLD BABYLONIAN TEXTS

(i) Description of the Manuscripts

a. The Tablets of Ellet-^dAya. The colophons of three texts (A, E, F) state that they are the work of Ellet-^dAya, a pupil-scribe (dub.sar tur), and give dates in the reign of Ammisaduga of Babylon (c.1646-1626 B.C.).¹ These are large tablets (A is 25x19.4 cms, F 23.5⁺x17.8 cms) with four columns of writing on either side. Every tenth line is marked by the sign for ten and the total of each column is inscribed upon the lower edge of the tablet at the end of the column, there being an average of fifty-three lines in each column. The total number of lines varies slightly from tablet to tablet (A 416, E 439, F 390). The words are usually well-spaced, rarely crowded, and put in a half-line where they are too many for a single line. Each whole line is ruled off, and the last line of each tablet is followed by a double ruling. This last line served as the catch-line in the case of Tablets I and II (A.viii.28=E.i.1). The first line of the whole composition was used by Ellet-^dAya as the title for the whole, inuma ilū awīlum, in each colophon.

Where the exemplar was broken at one point the notation 'break' was entered in the copy (hi-pí II.i.12).

1. Following the chronology proposed by S. Smith in Alalakh and Chronology, London, 1940, and M.B. Rowton in C.A.H. ch.VI.2.

Now exactly the same notation is observable in the duplicate copy of Tablet II which does not have a colophon (G).

At the very least this demonstrates use of a common exemplar by two scribes, it could suggest that E was copied from G or vice-versa, but most likely is the opinion that both manuscripts came from the hand of the same scribe (the provenance is probably the same, see §3, p. 203).

This is substantiated by the form of the tablet - it is arranged and ruled in the same manner - and by the handwriting, which is identical in appearance to that of A, E, and F. The dimensions are similar when allowance is made for the loss of the lower quarter and the right edge (19.3x16.8 cms). Yet this tablet has no colophon and no total of all the lines at the end, possibly signifying that it was discarded.

Existence of duplicate copies of Tablet II apparently written by the same man may explain the unexpected date sequence in the colophons. Tablets I and III (A and F) are dated 21:i:12 Ammisaduqa and x:iii:12 respectively, but Tablet II (E) over a month earlier, 28:xi:11. Clearly Ellet-^dAya may have made more than one copy of the Epic. Alternatively, the tablets may have been copied at random as school exercises.

Ellet-^dAya's hand may have been responsible for another literary text, a poetic story about Naram-Sin. The ductus and orthography of a piece in the Morgan Library Collection are very similar, to judge from the photograph and copy published by J.J. Finkelstein.² An unpublished hymn or

2. J.C.S. XI. (1957), pp. 83-90

prayer in the British Museum also bears his signature, but is not at present available for study.³

b. The other Tablets. The four other Old Babylonian texts of Atrahasis, dated palaeographically, may be considered individually. All have been examined except H which is in the Berlin State Museum. B belongs to the same collection in the British Museum as part of F (91, 5-9 collection) and it has been suggested that it is also the work of Ellet-dAya.⁴ Although its surface is very worn, examination of the fragment beside A and F reveals several forms of signs which differ : TA is written ~~𒀭𒀭~~ (vi.5 etc.) against A ~~𒀭𒀭~~ UD is written ~~𒀭𒀭~~ (v.55) and ~~𒀭𒀭~~ (vi.2), A has ~~𒀭𒀭~~ , RU is written ~~𒀭𒀭~~ , A has ~~𒀭𒀭~~ . These are sufficient to indicate that it was written by another scribe. Its text is almost identical with A, i-tab-ši where the latter has li-ib-ši (iv. 46,48) being the only verbal difference, apart from the variation be-li-it-lí-lí:^dNin-tu (vi.15). In three instances consonant-vowel-consonant signs are employed by B where A has two signs, consonant-vowel and vowel-consonant (tab-sú-tum: ta-[ab-su]-tum vi.10, i-tab-bi: i-ta-ab-bi vi.16, ú-ḫa[r]-ru-ú : ú-ḫa-ar-ru-ú vi.13), and etimmu is written with initial PI (= ex) iv.46,48. B uses logograms in two places where A spells the word in Akkadian; dingir(mes):i-lu/li (iv. 40,43,46) and ^{giš}ná: e-er-ši (vi.19).

3. Information from Dr. E. Sollberger.

4. J.J. Finkelstein, loc. cit., p.84, n.7.

The order of words and lines is identical except in iv.43-44 where B has li-ib-ta-al-li-lu in the second line, but this is of no significance as the two lines belong together metrically, and in vi. 15-18 where the damage to both manuscripts is such that it is not possible to discover how they differed.

These variations are so slight that it can be stated without doubt that B belongs to the same textual tradition as A, and could even be copied from the same exemplar.

Manuscript C, a small flake showing part of two columns, has a different line arrangement from A and B, for in twelve lines is contained matter occupying twenty-two lines of A. The two columns are separated by a space, they do not impinge upon each other as in A and B. Signs are written larger and give the impression of a more cursive hand than B and certainly than A. Although calculation is impossible, if the tablet originally had two columns on either side and were approximately the size of A⁵, it could have included all of Tablet I in four broad columns. These differences in formal arrangement and in script show that it is the product of another scribe. The small amount of text preserved, however, is identical with A (apart from three different orthographies, ia-ši-im-ma C: ia-a-ši-im-ma-a A (ii.51),

5. Old Babylonian literary tablets of two columns on either face are rare; the major example is the Gilgamesh 'Meissner' fragment, with a width of about 14.5 cms, cf. A.R. Millard, Iraq XXVI (1964), p.100.

An-nu : A-nu (ii.55, iii.4), pa-a-šu : pí-a-šu (ii.55, iii.4), (but A has pa-a-šu in ii.29), and indicates again a common tradition, or even exemplar.

Manuscript D corresponds to passages missing or badly damaged in the main manuscript, A, so that comparison of text is difficult. It is the upper right corner of a smaller tablet than A (it is thinner) with at least two columns of writing on either face. The lines are ruled off in pairs. Like C it has pa-a-šu (D.ii: 1) and like B employs the logogram dingir (meš) (D.ii. 2,12). For ^dEn-ki D writes d^áE-a. Where it seems to correspond to I.iv.19ff, it is not identical with the text as represented in B (see ch. 2, p. above), through insertion of lines found in iv.26-27 in place of 20. Without more text available little significance can be attached to this variant which does not alter the sense.⁶

Only a transliteration of Manuscript H has been available, but Dr. F. Kocher characterises it as a school text. It is the extreme left edge of the tablet only, with a maximum of seven letters remaining in any line. Like D it has d^áE-a for ^dEn-ki, and unlike A, E, F, G writes at-ra-h(a-si-is) not at-ra-am-ha-si-is, and omits the masculine determinative. The passage it contains is not extant in G, the other Old Babylonian copy of Tablet II, but is found in the neo-Babylonian text o as far as line 11, with slight variation in arrangement of words.

6. Compare the variants in manuscripts of the Epic of Zu (or Anzu, B. Landsberger, W.Z.K.M. LVII (1961), pp.1-23) noted by E. Reiner, R.A. XLVIII (1954), p.145.

(ii) Orthography

Where tablets not written by Ellet-^dAya diverge from his spelling, this fact has been indicated in the preceding section and in the critical apparatus of the text (ch. 2). It is the orthography of his manuscripts, A, E, F, G., which is described here. It is only in the compilation of lists of this sort that firm grounds for comparison of manuscript with manuscript and subsequent delineation of scribal traditions and territories can be found. A single example only is given for most items.

a. The Syllabary: 1. Vowels

The three vowels a, e, i, are represented by the common signs a, e, i. For u ú is employed except for the copula, ù, and the word ūmu day, u₄mi I.iv.45.

2. Semi-vowels

Y is always written with a in the diphthong ia, e.g. aya: a-ia II.1.12, (contra C.A.D. A.1, p.218,6), mayālu: ma-ia-li I.ii.23. W is represented by the sign P1 which assumes whatever subsequent vowel is required; wa-š₁-ib I.ii.45, ḏwe-e-i-la I.iv.54, la-wi I.ii.15, i-wu-ú III.iii.45.

3. Vowels plus Consonants The consonant is first indicated (xC), then the sign actually employed with each vowel.

<u>xb</u>	AB <u>ú-na-ab-ba</u> III.iv.4	IB <u>li-še-eb-bu</u> I.vii.44
	IB <u>ib-ba-ra</u> II.ii.12	UB <u>ub-lu</u> I.i.2
<u>xp</u>	AB <u>ta-ap-la-ḥa</u> I.vii.45	IB
	IB <u>š₁-ip-ra</u> III.i.18	UB <u>up-pa</u> I.iv.45
<u>xḏ</u>	AD <u>ma-a-ad</u> I.i.4	ID <u>ú-te-ed-du-ú</u> III.iii.14
	ID <u>id-du-ú</u> I.ii.8	UD <u>[lū-]ud-d₁-a</u> III.i.13

<u>xt</u>	AD <u>at-ma-ni</u> I.ii.13	UD <u>ib-lu-uṭ</u> III.vi.10
<u>xt</u>	AD <u>i-ša-at-ti</u> III.ii.44	ID <u>ú-še-et-(bi-šu)</u> I.ii.23
	ID <u>it-ta-ak-šu</u> I.ii.11	UD <u>qū-ut-ri-ni</u> III.v.41
<u>xʔ</u>	AḤ <u>it-ta-aʔ-da-ar</u> I.vii.22	AḤ <u>ru-uʔ-tam</u> I.v.7
<u>xh</u>	AḤ <u>ma-aḥ-ri-šu</u> III.iii.27	UḤ <u>pu-úḥ-ri</u> I.iii.8
	AḤ <u>ih-pí</u> III.iii.10	
<u>xg</u>	AG <u>pa-aḡ-ri-ia</u> III.iii.42	
	IG <u>ri-iḡ-ma</u> I.ii.21	
<u>xk</u>	AG <u>ka-la-ak-ki</u> I.i.40	UG <u>it-tu-uk</u> II.i.17
	IG <u>šu-up-ši-ik-ka</u> I.i.2	
<u>xq</u>	AG <u>ta-aḡ-bi-a-ni-im-ma</u> I.v.10	IG <u>ú-te-eq-qí</u> I.ii.18
	IG <u>iq-bi-šu</u> III.i.37	
<u>xl</u>	AL <u>ma-al-ta-ak-ta</u> III.i.36	EL <u>el-ni</u> I.i.42
	IL <u>mi-ši-il</u> I.ii.14	UL <u>du-ul-la</u> I.i.2
<u>xm</u>	AM <u>i-pu-ša-am-ma</u> I.i.47	IM <u>te-a-em-šu</u> III.iii.25
	IM <u>ri-gi-im</u> I.vii.25	UM <u>ma-an-nu-um-mi</u> I.iii.14
<u>xn</u>	AN <u>da-a-an</u> III.i.33	EN <u>(i)š-t)e-en</u> III.iii.5
	IN <u>ú-ša-az-ni-in</u> II.ii.26	UN <u>i-li-ku-un</u> I.vii.45
<u>xr</u>	AR <u>ú-ḥa-ar-ru-ú</u> I.vi.13	IR <u>ga-me-er-ta-(am)</u> III.iii.38
	IR <u>ú-pa-aḥ-ḥi-ir</u> III.i.39	UR <u>i-mu-ur-ma</u> III.iii.32
<u>xs</u>	AZ <u>sa-as-sú-ra</u> I.vi.17	
	IZ <u>li-is-su-ú</u> I.vii.43	
<u>xš</u>	AZ <u>ma-aš-ša-ar-ti</u> I.ii.14	UZ <u>šu-uš-še-er</u> III.i.19
	IZ <u>(i)š-sa-am-du</u> III.iii.6	
<u>xz</u>	AZ <u>u-sa-az-na-na-ak-ku</u> III.i.34	UZ <u>gu-uz-za-lu-šu-nu</u> I.i.9
	IZ <u>iz-zu-zu</u> I.i.12	
<u>xš</u>	AŠ <u>ú-ša-aš-ki-in</u> I.iv.53	EŠ <u>eš-me</u> III.iii.43
	IŠ <u>li-iš-mu-ma</u> III.viii.16	UŠ <u>ba-ú-la-tu-uš-šu</u> I.i.14

To these can be added er ERI er-ra I.vii.47, used only in this divine name.

4. Consonants plus Vowels

<u>bx</u>	BA <u>ta-ba-an-nu</u> III.i.25	BE <u>be-lí</u> I.ii.24
	BI <u>li-ib-bi-ku-nim</u> I.ii.42	BU <u>i-te-er-bu</u> I.v.12
<u>px</u>	PA <u>up-pa</u> I.iv.45	BI <u>er-pé-ti</u> III.ii.53
	BI <u>ú-na-ap-pi-iš</u> III.iv.12	BU <u>šu-ru-up-pu-ú</u> I.vii.27
<u>dx</u>	DA <u>it-ta-a³da-ar</u> I.vii.22	DI <u>na-de-e</u> I.vi.19
	DI <u>id-di-ki</u> I.ii.20	DU <u>id-du-ú</u> I.i.12
<u>tx</u>	DA <u>ba-al-ta</u> I.iv.47	TE <u>te₁e-ma</u> I.iv.54
		TU <u>ip-tú-ur</u> III.ii.55
<u>tx</u>	TA <u>at-ta</u> III.i.19	TE <u>ú-te-eq-qí</u> I.ii.18
	TI <u>aḥ-ri-a-ti-iš</u> I.iv.45	TU <u>mu-tu-ti</u> I.vi.21
<u>ʔx</u>	AḤ <u>i-ba-ʔa</u> III.iii.12	
<u>bx</u>	ḤA <u>ḥa-du-ú</u> I.vi.3	
	ḤI <u>ar-ḥi</u> I.iv.52	HU <u>ni-im-ḥu-ur-ma</u> I.i.41
<u>gx</u>	GA <u>ga-me-er-ta-[am]</u> III.iii.18	
	GI <u>na-gi-ru</u> I.vii.43	GU <u>i-ša-ag-gu-um</u> III.ii.55
<u>kx</u>	KA <u>ba-bi-ka</u> I.ii.27	
	KI <u>ka-ak-ki-ka</u> I.ii.32	KU <u>i-il-la-ku-nim</u> I.ii.12
<u>qx</u>	GA <u>qá-ab-li-sa</u> I.vi.6	KI <u>qé-ma</u> I.vi.8
	KI <u>li-qí</u> I.ii.32	KU <u>qú-ra-di</u> I.ii.56
<u>lx</u>	LA <u>du-ul-la-ni</u> I.i.42	LI <u>pa-le-e</u> I.vi.2
	LI <u>il-li-ik</u> I.ii.40	LU <u>gal-lu-šu-nu</u> I.i.10
<u>mx</u>	MA <u>ma-ar-ri-šu-nu</u> I.ii.9	ME <u>ša-me-e-ša</u> I.i.13
	MI <u>mi-in-šu</u> I.ii.38	MU <u>i-še-em-mu-ú</u> I.ii.21
<u>nx</u>	NA <u>mi-na-a</u> I.ii.53	NE <u>ne-pí-ši-šu-nu</u>
	NI <u>ni-iš-ši-a</u> I.i.44	NU <u>ma-an-nu-um-mi</u> I.ii.14
<u>tx</u>	RA <u>ra-ma-ni-ka</u> I.ii.38	RI <u>ka-at-re-e</u> II.ii.24
	RI <u>ri-ig-mi</u> III.iii.47	RU <u>ša-ḥu-ur-ru</u> III.iii.47
<u>sx</u>	SA <u>sa-as-sú-ru</u> I.vi.15	SI <u>ú-se-el-lu-ú</u> I.viii.17
	SI <u>ap-si-i</u> I.i.18	SU <u>ta-ab-su-ta-am</u> I.vi.5
<u>šx</u>	ŠA <u>mu-ur-ša</u> I.vii.38	ŠI <u>šu-uš-se-er</u> III.i.19
	ZI <u>ú-uš-sí</u> III.ii.45	SU <u>šu-ul-li-il-ši</u> III.i.29

zx ŠA ú-za-am-ma I.vii.26 ŠI zé-e-er-ma III.1.23
 ŽI i-zi-iz I.ii.32 ZU uz-zu-zu III.ii.54
šx ŠA ú-ša-ar-di I.ii.28 ŠE še-er-ra III.vii.4
 ŠI ni-iš-ši-a I.i.44 ŠU i-šu-ú I.iv.54

In addition to the uses listed above, the following anomalies are present.

lx NI be-lí I.ii.24 gx QA qa-ti-sa I.1.11 (see
tx DU pu-tu-ri III.i.35(uncertain, see Notes) Notes)
sx ŠA ni-is-sà-tam III.iv.16 sx ZU sa-as-sú-ru I.vi.15
sx ŽI li-ša-sí-ik I.11.42
gx KU gu₅-uz-za-la I.i.9

5. Closed Syllable Signs

dam DAM qú-ra-dam I.i.43 tam UD si-bi-it-tam I.1.5(see
tim TIM ti-a-am-tim I.i.15 Notes)
tum TUM ra-bu-tum I.1.5 tar TAR iš-tar I.vi.22
har HAR ma-har I.ii.34
gal GAL gal-lu-šu-nu I.1.10 kàr QAR iz-za-kàr I.ii.30
qum QUM ša-ap-ša-qum I.1.4 lam LAM du-ul-lam I.1.4
lum LUM a-wi-lum I.1.1 nim NIM i-ḫi-ir-ru-nim I.1.21
šar ŠAR šar-ru
šum SUM mu-šum I.1.14

To these can be added five signs used only in writing divine names: líl LÍL^d En-líl nam NAM a-nam I.ii.41 nin NIN^d nin-tu I.iv.57 nun NUN^d a-nun-na-(ku) I.1.5

b. Use of Signs. Logograms

These are few: a.šà 'field' II.i.18, idiqna 'Tigris' I.ii.25, mu(ḫi.a) 'year(s)' I.i.37, sukka1, 'vizier' I.ii.30 and are not written with phonetic complements. gu.za.lá 'chair-bearer' occurs in I.i.41, 49 but in other lines, where it has a pronominal suffix, it is spelt out gu₅uz-za-lu I.i.9, iii.12, and this is also the case with é 'house', which is spelt out when in construct or accusative cases, as well as with suffixes bi-it III.ii.47, bi-ta III.i.22, notice, however a-na sukka1 (I.ii.30), where the logogram is used in the oblique case. The only determinatives employed are DINGIR with divine names, DIŠ with Atrahasis and hi.a with mu.

2. Assimilation

The addition of third person suffixes to words ending in dentals or sibilants results in a double sibilant:

<u>qà-aq-qá-as-sà</u> I.vi.4	<u>mu-sà</u> (B:mu-us-sà)I.vi.20	<u>si-ib-ba-as-sà</u> III.i.14
<u>qá-as-su</u> I.vii.51	<u>bi-is-su</u> II.ii.16	<u>a-wa-as-su</u> I.iii.54

Other examples of assimilation are m to b in ib-ba-ra II.ii.12 and of l to š in na-aš-ša II.ii.14 E, but G has na-al-ša.

3. Errors

While attribution of unintelligible spellings to error is always dangerous without full knowledge of the circumstances

giving rise to the writing, the following examples may be accepted with reasonable assurance (where necessary, additional justification will be found in the Notes).

In two instances ta(TA) was corrected by the scribe to tam(UD), II.i.9, III.iv.16, and da(DA) to tam(UD) once III.v.44.

Other errors were not corrected: ^dEn-líl for ^dEn-ki I.ii.42, ša for šu I.viii.7, ku-un for šu-un II.ii.19, 20, zi for ri II.i.21, la for lu III.i.31, II.50. In the four times repeated phrase al<ka>nim i ni-iš-ši-a I.ii.44, 46, ii.2,4, ka appears to have been omitted.

Some defective writings are present: li-ša-sí-iq (for li-ša-as-sí-iq cf. I.v.13) I.i.42, ti-ṭa-ša (for ti-iṭ-ṭa-ša cf. I.iv.57) I.v.4, uš-ta-ka-a[n] (for uš-ta-ak-ka-an) III.ii.24, im-ta-al-ku-ma, subjunctive (for im-ta-al-ku-ú-ma, cf. III.v.42) III.iii.53.

c. Miscellaneous Observations on a and b

1. On a. 4: KA is employed for the initial syllable of qaqqaru II.i.15 and qaqqadu I.vi.4 as an allophone of q in accordance with the principles described by E.E. Knudsen in J.C.S.XV (1961), pp.84-90.

2. Sibilants: The writing of sibilants presents a confused picture at first glance. However, it may be formulated as follows: s is represented by the simple s signs, as listed: s is represented by the simple signs as listed, except when doubled or assimilating another consonant in which cases 'harder' sounds are employed, e.g. ni-is-ša-tam III.iv.16, sa-as-ZU-ru I.vi.15, ú-ša-as-ZI-ik I.v.13: s is represented by

ša, su, as, is, us, but ši may only be used for še as in none of its occurrences is an i sound essential, viz.

su-ši-a I.i.35, ka-ar-ši I.i.39, li-ši-ma I.iii.1,

šu-uš-ši-er III.i.19, šu-uš-ši-ri III.i.21, er-ši-et III.i.48,

ši-ri III.ii.37, ú-ši III.vi.9: where the š is doubled śí (ZI)

is employed, viz ú-uš-ZI III.ii.45, li-iš-ZI-ru III.viii.17;

in support of ši=še, not ši may be adduced the writing ši-e-er-ma III.i.23 (for zērma).

(iii) Indications of Provenance

a. From Orthography. Texts of the Old Babylonian period from

Babylonia proper are usually divided into norther and

southern groups.⁷ A major criterion for such distinction

is the orthography of the manuscripts, a subject which has

been studied especially by A. Goetze,⁸ and also employed by

F.R. Kraus, with certain modifications and reservations.⁹

Analysis of the signs employed by Ellet-^dAya results in the

following list of signs characteristic of 'northern texts':

TE=te₄ BI=pí SA=sa SI=si SU=su A+1A=aya(I.ii.23, III.i.30)

KI=qí KU=qú

Beside this list must be placed AZ=as, claimed as a 'southern' usage by Goetze, but found in a northern text by Kraus.

a-a-nu (III.ii.51, v.39) may also fall into this category,

contrasting with a-ia. The various writings of sibilants

7. G.A.G. §2d. 8. In O. Neugebauer and A. Sachs, Mathematical Cuneiform Texts, American Oriental Series 29, New Haven, 1945, pp.146-151, cf. W. von Soden, Das Akkadische Syllabar, Rome, 1948, pp. 4a, 15.

9. Ein Edikt des Königs Ammi-šaduqa von Babylon, Leiden, 1958, pp.14, 15.

are too little understood to provide any firm ground for distinction (cf.ii.b.2).¹⁰

It is clear from the list given that the orthography of Ellet-^dAya indicates north Babylonia as the area of his activity. The two apparent exceptions two Goetze's tabulation being either found in another 'northern' text (AZ-as), or of uncertain significance (see Notes to III.iii.51).

b. Other Indications. Although none of the Ellet-^dAya tablets were found in regular excavations, there is little doubt that they were all discovered at Sippar, modern Abu Habbah. This is the provenance of the two collections in the British Museum to which mss. A and F (also B) belongs (89,4-26:91,5-9).¹¹ The Istanbul text, ms. G, although bearing a Nippur registration number, may also have come from Sippar, as did other tablets marked 'Ni' in that Museum.¹² Sippar is also said to be the provenance of E and F⁺.¹³ These facts obviously confirm the evidence of the orthography, proving that Ellet-^dAya worked at Sippar.

(iv) Style and Language

a. The 'hymnisch-epische Dialekt'.

The morphology of the language of the major Akkadian literary compositions has been studied in detail by W. von Soden who demonstrated the presence of certain features

10. cf. A. Goetze, loc.cit.; R.A.LII(1958), pp.137-149; Kraus, op.cit.; pp.11,15.

11. Sir E.A. Wallis Budge, By Nile and Tigris, II, London, 1920, pp.124-5, 137, 260-291; J.J. Finkelstein, J.C.S.XI(1957), p.84, n.7.

12. F.R. Kraus, op.cit., pp.12-13.

13. V. Scheil, R.T.XX(1898), p.55; A. Boissier, R.A.XXVIII(1931), p.91.

which are peculiar to them alone.¹⁴ He gave the name 'Der hymnisch-epische Dialekt' to the mode of expression which embodied the following characteristics:

1. Apocopation of the pronominal suffix.
- 2.a. Use of the determinative pronoun šāt.
- b. Demonstrative pronoun annummu.
- c. Use of unusual interrogative pronouns.
- d. Use of the indefinite pronoun manama.
3. Construct state of nouns declined.
4. Adverbial terminations, a. -um and b. iš.
5. Unusual forms of certain numerals.
6. Propositions apocopated.
- 7.a. Third person feminine singular of some verbs with t prefix.
- b. III forms of verbs initial w and y tend to have u following the first consonant in the Preterite.
- c. Use of a III/II verbal form.
- 8.a. Use of words not found elsewhere.
- b. Use of prepositions išti, sēru.

It will be observed that these are matters of vocabulary and grammar, no investigation of the syntax of the compositions was made by von Soden, nor has any other scholar done so since his study appeared. Some doubt about von Soden's conclusion that this formed a special 'Dialekt' was

14. Z.A.XL, n.F.VI(1931), pp.163-227, XLI, n.F.VII(1933), pp.90-138, 236.

expressed by A. Poebel, who thought that the distinctive features were traces of vernacular speech.¹⁵ Although no detailed examination of the phenomenon has been published since von Soden wrote, his thesis is largely accepted with some modifications.¹⁶ By observation of the special features texts composed, copied, or modernised during the Old Babylonian period may be distinguished from those composed at a later time. The earlier works exhibit regular usage of the characteristic constructions, whereas the later ones frequently contain anomalous or even wrong usages, suggestive of deliberate imitation of the earlier style.¹⁷ In post-Old Babylonian times, therefore, a 'Dialekt' of this kind did exist. During the Old Babylonian period itself it cannot be so clearly isolated, for many of the characteristic forms can be found in non-literary texts, as von Soden repeatedly noted. Without a further investigation of all known Old Babylonian literary texts¹⁸ and further comparison with the language of incantations and omens, of letters and

15. Studies in Akkadian Grammar, Chicago, 1939, pp.71-74.

16. cf. L. Matouš, Ar.Or. XXIX(1961), pp.30-34; W.G. Lambert, A.f.O. XIX(1959), p.49.

17. Ibid.

18. Among the many texts published since von Soden's study was printed are: two tablets of Zû from Susa, J. Nougayrol, R.A. XLVI(1952), pp.87-97; parts of the Gilgamesh cycle from Ishjali, T. Bauer, J.N.E.S. XVI(1957), pp.254-262, from Tell Harmal, J.J. van Dyk, Sumer XIII(1957), p.66, pl.12, in the British Museum, A.R. Millard, Iraq XXVI(1964), pp.99-105, and C.T. XLVI, pl. XXVIII, no.16; a tablet about Sargon of Agade, J. Nougayrol, R.A. XLV(1951), pp.169-183; a wisdom text, J. Nougayrol, R.B. LIX(1952), pp.239-250; a fable, W.G. Lambert, B.W.L. pp.155-157, pls.39,40; a prayer to Marduk, C.T. XLIV, no.21; another prayer, C.T. XLIV, no.22; a 'Lover's Dialogue'. M. Held, J.C.S. XV(1961), pp.1-26, first edited by W. von Soden, Z.A. XLIX, n.F.XV(1960), pp.151-194; a fragment of a dialogue (?) C.T. XLVI, pl. XL, no.44.

and contracts, it is not possible to discover to what extent the 'hymnisch-epische Dialekt' was distinct from the common language, how much it represented survival of archaic expression, or how much of it was literary style.

b. The 'Dialekt' in the Atrahasis Epic.

Since a scientific characterisation of all the phenomena of the 'Dialekt' is lacking¹⁹, the following observations are offered only as a description of the language of the Atrahasis Epic in the light of von Soden's work. His list of features is followed as outlined above (section a.), but detailed investigation of the particular items is not included for the reason indicated: lack of any recent exhaustive examination of the subject. For any future linguistic study the Old Babylonian text of the Atrahasis Epic will be of importance for its length and for the fact that mss. A, E, F, (G), are the only major literary manuscripts of that period bearing indication of the date of copying, that given in the colophons (see (i)a. above, pp~~191~~³).²⁰

1. Apocoptation of pronominal suffixes. No example of a singular suffix so treated is displayed in the Epic, but in the plural can be found:

19. After the manner of Z.S. Harris, 'Linguistic Structure of Hebrew', J.A.O.S. LXI (1941), pp. 143-167.
20. Some other have internal termini post quem for their composition, e.g. Agushaya B.vii.26 refers to Hammurabi the 'Hymn to Nana', 1.251, to Samsuiluna, the 'Hymn to Ishtar', II.43,47, to Ammiditana, the 'Lovers' Dialogue', iv.6, to Hammurabi.

(a) third person masculine, -šu-un (II.ii.19,20).

(b) third person feminine, -ši-in (I.vii.23,=II.i.5;III.iv.II).

(c) second person masculine, -ku-un (I.vii.45,46,=viii.4,5=II.ii.5,6).

Reference to these passages will show that the apocopated form stands at the end of a line in each case, whereas elsewhere within a line the longer form is employed (cf. III.iii.43, i-na se-ri-ia-ma ri-gi-im-ši-na eš-me with I.vii.23,=II.i.5, en-líl iš-te-me ri-gi-im-ši-in). Thus von Soden's suggestion that metrical requirements govern the use of these forms is supported²¹, they possibly being a development of the Old Akkadian usage of a shortened feminine plural suffix -si-in.²²

2a. Determinative pronoun šāt. This is not present in the Atrahasis texts.

2b. Demonstrative pronoun annummu. There is one instance, I.ii.5, a-nu-um-ma.

2c. Unusual interrogative pronouns. None of these are found in the Epic. The common minu(m), mannu(m) do occur (I.ii.38,40,53,II.vii.42;I.iii.14ff,II.vii.45).

2d. Indefinite pronoun manama. This does not occur. Notice may be taken, however, of the construction of III.ii.30,31 mi-im-ma i-šu-ú (as distinct from mimma ša) which von Soden suspected could occur in Old Babylonian literary texts but of which he was only able to discover later examples.

21. Z.A.XL,n.F.VI(1931),pp.173-4.

22. I.J. Gelb, Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar,² Chicago, 1961, pp.128-131.

3. Construct state declined. The noun pûm, 'mouth', exhibits this in nominative and accusative singular with suffixes, pî-i-ni (I.iii.38, III.vi.8), pî-a-šu (I.ii.29 and often). In addition there are instances of a construct with a final 'overhanging' vowel: ša-hu-ur-ru ri-ig-mi (III.iii.47), pu-du-ri nu-ni (III.i.35).²³

4. Adverbial terminations, a.-um. The one probable example i-nu-ma i-lu a-wi-lum ub-lu du-ul-la (I.i.1,2) finds no parallel in Old Babylonian, but occurs in later texts as an alternative to a construction with kîma.²⁴

b.-iš. This is used as a locative or terminative in aḥ-ri-a-ti-iš u₇mi, 'for ever' (I.iv.45), ša-ap-li-iš, 'below', (II.1.12), ši-ik-ri-iš 'for drink', (III.iv.17), and with suffixes in qî-ri-ib bi-ti-iš-ka 'within your house (?)' (I.vii.42), and ba-ū-la-tu-uš-šu 'for his realm (?)' (I.i.14), this latter contradicting von Soden's view that -uš-šu was a later form.

5. Forms of numerals. ištēn used adjectivally remains undeclined in ila iš-te-en 'one god or 'a god', (I.iv.39, B). As an ordinal iš-ti-ta ša-at-tam (II.iv,9), 'in the first year' seems to be unique (the absolute išteat is otherwise found,

23. Ibid. pp.145-6 for this feature in Old Akkadian.

24. cf. Notes to I.i.1,p , the observations of J. Lewy, Or. N.S.XV(1946),pp.410-415, must be added to those of von Soden.

cf. šattu ištāt, Enuma elish VI,60, C.A.D. I/J, p.278), and may be contaminated by the following, and quite normal, ša-ni-ta ša-at-tam, 'in the second year' and ša-lu-uš-tum ša-at-tum il-li-[ka-am-ma] 'the third year came in' (II.iv.10,11).

6. Prepositions apocopated. No examples of the shortened forms i-, in-, a-, an-, can be found, although frequent in some other texts in the 'Dialekt' and in Old Akkadian.

7a. Third person feminine singular of some verbs with t prefix.

The only instance given by von Soden is that in the phrase ^dNintu pí-a-ša te-pu-ša-am-ma iṣ-za-kār known to him from ms. B (I.iv.30), and now found also in A (I.v.8).

It is noteworthy that the subsequent verb does not have the prefix, nor do other verbs with a feminine subject, e.g.

ib-lu-la (I.v.4, cf. verbs in I.vi.1-8, III.iii.32, iv.12).

These two passages are the only examples in 'narrative' texts in the 'Dialekt' (i.e. myths and epics as distinct from hymns and prayers) and may be classed as an archaism (see Notes to I.iv.30).

7b. Predominance of u in III Preterite forms of verbs initial w and y.

This feature is not apparent in the Epic of Atrahasis, and is not very common elsewhere according to von Soden.

7c. Use of a III/II verbal form. Again, this feature is absent. It is, indeed, so rare in Old Babylonian texts that it can hardly be used as a distinctive mark (von Soden cites two examples in the Kesh hymn, three in Hammurabi Code

Prologue and Epilogue, two in Agushaya cf. G.A.G. §95, a).

It is more common in later compositions such as Enuma elish.

8a. Use of words not found elsewhere. Many words supposedly peculiar to the 'Dialekt' were listed by von Soden. He noted that the Old Babylonian Gilgamesh texts did not contain words figuring in the list, and to this observation may be added the fact that he quoted only one word which was to be found in an Old Babylonian 'narrative' text and in the hymnal texts (epiatu, OB Etana, 11.2,6)

Scrutiny of the vocabulary of Atrahasis reveals that it uses right words which appear in the list as found in other texts in the 'Dialekt'; ahriatiš I.iv.45. ba'ulatu I.i.14, binu I.ii.37,39, eršu III.iii.33, kašušu III.iii.12, kullatu III.viii.18, niššiku, I.i.16, šapšaqu I.i.4. Of these words three are already known in Old Akkadian (ba'ulatu, binu, kullatu), two are divine epithets (eršu of Mami, niššiku of Enki), leaving only ahriatiš, kašušu, šapšaqu, as characteristic of the 'Dialekt'. In a composition of which some eight hundred lines survive or can be reconstructed, three words and epithets (likely to be conventional) cannot be counted sufficient to place the Atrahasis Epic in a class with the hymnal works also employing them. Thus the separation of Gilgamesh, observed in this respect by von Soden, and of Etana, as noted above, also applies to Atrahasis. This means that use of a special vocabulary is restricted to hymnal compositions (including Enuma elish among them), a factor which may be of significance with regard to the dating of their composition, and that of the

'narrative' texts, and to the further study of the 'Dialekt'. The distinction of a 'narrative' from a 'hymnal' mode of expression may be assumed on vocabulary grounds, at least.

8b. Use of prepositions išti, sēru. The form išti, rarely found after the Old Babylonian period, does not survive, but may be restored in I.iii.56. e-te-el-[li išt-ti]-ka q.v.

Another usage isolated by von Soden is ina sēri where later texts might write ina eli or ina muḫhi, and there are instances of this in Atrahasis (III.iii.43, iv.11, both parallel to eli). As in many texts eli and elu are written without apparent distinction, cf. [ki-ma qá-ab-li] e-li ni-ši i-ba' ka-šu-šu 'like battle the tempest swept over the people', III.iii.12 with [..]e-lu ni-qí-i pa-aḫ-ru 'they gathered over the offerings', III.v.35.

c. Other peculiarities in the language of the Epic.

In addition to these aspects of the 'Dialekt' discussed by W. von Soden, certain other points merit attention.

1. Locative termination. Beside the -iš form noted above (b.4.b) there are some examples of š with a different vowel: qa-ti-ša I.i.11, ša-me-e-ša I.i.13,17. These may be associated with the -iš forms, and with such as ba'ulatuššu and others noted by von Soden (G.A.G. §67g) to show that this suffix may have been originally š.²⁵

2. Adverbial termination -a(m). The forms pu-ul-ḫi-ta, III.iii.29, iv.22, and ga-me-er-ta(m), III.iii.38, v.44 are assigned

25. cf. E.A. Speiser, I.E.J. IV (1954), pp.108-115.

to this category in the Notes, the attribution of the latter being supported by the parallel use of ištiniš (see Notes to III.iii.38). The termination is otherwise found with words of time and manner, mainly in conventional phrases, but also with various nouns to which these are now added.²⁶

These observations and comparisons show that the Atrahasis Epic has several features of the 'Dialekt' described by W. von Soden, but lacks the more unusual or uncommon of them (šāt, apocopation of prepositions, III/II forms, special vocabulary). Its language may be characterised as that of a literary narrative as distinct from hymnal writings.

(v) The Epic as a Poem.

Understanding of Akkadian poetry has made little assured progress during the first century of Assyriology. No thorough study of the subject has been published.²⁷ Parallelism, the basic feature of much Semitic poetry, is readily observable and hardly excites comment. Matters of metre, rhythm, or stress have received little attention in recent years²⁸, while only occasional notes on the finer details of poetic composition can be found.²⁹ A complete examination of this aspect of a long, newly available, text such as Atrahasis is hampered, therefore, by lack of

26. Cf. G.A.G. §§ 72b, 113b, 146,147.
27. A resume is given by F. Gossman - Oesa, Das Era Epos, Wurzburg, 1956, pp.73-76.
28. cf. M. Held, J.C.S.XV (1961),pp.2-3.
29. As, for example, in A.L. Oppenheim, Amalecta Biblica XII (1959), pp.298-300.

established principles. The following items collected from the Epic may demonstrate the style and quality of its poetry.

a) Parallelism: This occurs in the simplest form, conveying the same meaning in parallel phrases using different words in I. i. 2: ublu dulla; izbilu šupšikka, and 3-4: šupšik illi rabilu; dullum kabit; mād šapšaqum.

Another form employs identical words in both parts except for one as in I. ii. 24-27: beli binu bunuka, maru ramanika, minšu tadur; Enlil binu bunuka, maru ramanika, minšu tadur. Other examples of this are I. i. 43-46, I. ii. 1-4, 14-17, 37-40. It is also a common feature of Sumerian poetry (e.g. Instructions of Shuruppak ll. 4-5³⁰).

A further type is 'advancing' or 'stair' parallelism in which the second half adds a word to the first, as in III. iv. 8-9: kima amim imida ana [xxx]; kima amim ina seri imida ana kibri.

The last form to be noted is that which is very common in Akkadian epic poetry, the repetition of a command as an action, as in I. ii. 31-32; 33-34: Nusku edil babka, kaki liqi, iziz mahria; Nusku idil babšu, kakkišu ilqi, ittaziz mahar Enlil (cf. I. ii. 41-42; 43-44): and related to this the repetition of a message when given to the messenger and when delivered, or found in I. iii. 10-16; 22-28.

b) Metrical arrangement. The scribe of mss. A, E, F and G was careful in the writing of the texts to ensure that

30. S.N. Kramer, Iraq XXV (1963), p.175; this also exemplifies Sumerian use of the simple form of parallelism noted above and other types mentioned below.

words overhanging in a long line were indented so that their position was clear. He did not divide the strophes with extra rulings as was often the practice (e.g. Agušaya, Hymn to Nana, Hymn to Ishtar). Observation of the incidence of parallelism and application of the rule that each verse ends in a trochee³¹ contributes to analysis of the metrical structure. The basic verse form is clearly that with six stresses, either in distichs or tristichs. The poem opens in tristichs: inuma ilu awilum, ublu dulla, izbilu šupšikka; supsik ili rabi[u], dullum kabit, mađ šapšaqu (I.i.1-4), showing incidentally that the conjunction inuma is unaccented, and the construct šupšik is counted as one with ili. A further distich shows that a vocative may not be stressed, I.ii.31,32: Nusku edil babka, kakkika liqi, iziz mahriya. On the other hand it is part of the distich beli lawi bitka, qablum iruša ana babika, I.ii.24-25, cf. 26-27. In lines containing a long word, this may bear two stresses as in III.i.34-35, anaku ulliš, ušaznanakku, hišbi iššuri puduri nuni, and I.1.9,10 guzzalušunu Ninurta, u gallušunu Ennugi.

c). Alliteration and Assonance. A number of passages appear to have a deliberate alliteration or assonance, although lack of knowledge of the tastes of Akkadian poets forces the caution that this might be accidental. The b/p sound is emphasised in III.i.22, ubut bita bini eleppa,

31. B. Landsberger, Islamica II (1926-7), p.371, quoted by M. Held, J.C.S. XV (1961), p.3, n.22).

and in I.ii.37, together with n and u, beli binu bunuka, and III.iv.12 with š, libbaša unappiš, and in I.i.3,4 is a verse commencing with šupšik and ending with šapšaqum. u and n are predominant in lu dunnuna uniatum (III.i.32) and r and k in urruk markasa (III.ii.55). There is an occasional assonance of the unaccented syllable as in I.ii.13, babi ša atmani quradi Enlil where i recurs in each noun, I.i.2 ublu dulla, izbilu šupšikka which has almost a rhyme in -a, and I.iv.27, abšanam libil šipir Enlil in -il.

d). Epithets. The use of epithets may help the poet to fit his words easily into the metre by providing an extra stress where his line is short. quradu Enlil, erištu Mami, rabûtum Anunna are frequent, Enki niššiku occurs twice (I.i.16; III.vi.42) exemplifying this: [it-ta-ad-]nu a-na^dEn-ki na-aš-ši-ki, iz-za-kàr a-na^dEn-ki ni-iš-ši-ki.

e). Similes. The poet has enhanced his work with several comparisons drawn from commonplace and from abstruse sources. The noise of the populated countryside and of the flood is likened to a wild bull's bellow (I.vii.21; II.i.3; III.iii.15), the huddled, thirsty gods to sheep at the pool (III.iv.19), the floating corpses (?) to dragon-flies covering the river (III.iv.6,7). There is a simile from the action of the thief (II.ii.15), and another from the grounding of a raft (III.iv.8,9). Comparison of Nintu with the legendary Tiruru-bird (III.iii.40) and of the covering of the ark with the Apsu (III.i.29) involve mythical-religious conceptions.

f). Word order. In the absence of a thorough study of Akkadian syntax, it is hard to know whether any weight should be placed upon the varying positions of the verb apart from such considerations of metre as obviously avoid placing it last in a line such as dullum kabit, mađ šapšaqu (I.i.4), such as ištakna ^dAdad ina erpiti and ^dAdad išaggum ina erpiti (III.ii.49,53).

g). Poetic construction. This heading describes features indicative of the author's consciousness that his creation is a unit. It is not a recitation of one event after another in a long list, but an interlocking whole. Two features demonstrate this.

1. Crossreference or verbal recollection of an earlier passage is seen in I.i.42, kabtam dullani lišasik elni and I.v.13 kabtam dullakunu ušassik.

2. Irony, closely related to 1, is the repetition of words or ideas in contrary circumstances. Four cases are easily seen. I.vii.21 mātum kīma li išabbu; III.iii.15 [abūb]u kīma li išabbu. providing the restoration is accepted (see Notes ad loc.), a contrast appears between the bull-like roaring of the populated land whereby Enlil was enraged, and the bull-like roaring of the deluge sent to silence it at Enlil's behest. I.iv.45, aḫriatis ūmi uppa i nišme; I.vii.22,23 ina ḫuburišina ilu itta' dar, Enlil išteme rigimšin. Here there may be an intentional contrast in the gods hearing not the orderly beat of the work-drum as they expected and intended, allowing them to take their ease, but the cacophony

of chaos and disturbance through the multiplication of man, actually preventing rest. III.iv.21,22, šamīa šaptašunu pulḫita, ina bubuti iṭanarrarru. No passage can be juxtaposed depicting the gods well-fed and satisfied, yet just this is the understood purpose in the creation of man. By destroying their creature they harm themselves.

Column vi of Tablet I seems to describe a pattern of birth which is to be an ideal; column vii of Tablet III recounts the introduction of plague as a means of controlling the populace. Here the first intent of the gods has almost been reversed.

This ironical undertone can be associated with the rather cynical religious attitude of the poet (see §VI below) providing, nonetheless, a skilful method of uniting the parts of the poem.

CHAPTER V

Atrahasis and the Babylonian Creation Stories

The Epic of Atrahasis actually recounts the creation of only two things, namely the landscape and mankind; it is not a creation story in the sense of a cosmogony, as are many other Babylonian creation narratives. However, the introductory passage does give some information about the state of the world at an early age, subsequent to its creation. Therefore there is material for comparison with other Babylonian accounts of the creation of the earth as well as with descriptions of the making of man. The intention in making such comparisons is to discover whether Atrahasis belongs to any visible tradition or group of traditions and whether it may itself have influenced other stories.

For comparative purposes a list of major features relative to this theme may be drawn up as found in the Atrahasis Epic:

- (i) The world is divided by lot into Anu's realm (heaven), Enlil's realm (earth), Enki's realm (fresh-water).
- (ii) Under the direction of the Anunnaki, the Igigu labour to render the earth fruitful.
- (iii) The Igigu revolt against this toil.
- (iv) In a council held to consider how to appease the Igigu, creation of a substitute is proposed.
- (v) Enki suggests slaying one god, mixing his flesh and blood with clay, and making mankind therefrom.
- (vi) Enki and the Mother-goddess do this.

(vii) The Igigu relax from their toil; all the gods now have their needs met through the toils of man.

These features will be cited in order as applicable to each creation story.

A. Enuma elish. Although this is the most well-known, as well as the longest, of the Babylonian Creation Stories, its composition is to be dated fairly late in the history of Babylonian literature, probably towards the end of the second millennium B.C.¹ Therefore it is later in date than Atrahasis as a whole, but it clearly embodies earlier materials,² which could include themes found in Atrahasis. The examination of this possibility is the purpose of the following paragraphs.

(i) The Division of the Universe. The specific dividing by lot is not present in Enuma Elish; the divine triad, Anu, Enlil, Enki, is recognised and treated as the seat of government (IV.146: dA-num dBel u dE-a ma-ḥa-zi-šu-un uš-ram-ma, 'He (Marduk) caused Anu, Enlil, and Enki to occupy their residences; cf. VII.6). The primacy of Anu (Šarru, Atrahasis I.i.7) is seen in the endowment of Marduk with authority like that of Anu (IV.4,6: sè-gar-ka dA-nu-um, cf. VII.102), and in the fact that it is he who enthrones Marduk (VI.93,94). The place of Enlil in Enuma elish is negligible, so that it has been

1. L. Matous, Ar.Or. XXIX (1961), pp.30-34, using grammatical criteria; W.G. Lambert in W.S. McCullough (ed), The Seed of Wisdom, Toronto, 1964, pp.3-13, on the date of Marduk's exaltation as head of the pantheon.
2. R. Labat, Le Poeme babylonien de la creation, Paris, 1935,

suggested that Marduk replaced him in adaptation of an earlier story, a suggestion perhaps supported by VII.149: ^dMarduk ^dEn-lil ilani, 'Marduk, the Enlil of the gods'. However, Enlil is mentioned in the triad with Anu and Enki in IV.146; V.80, and with Marduk and Enki in VI.64, and also as one who prosecutes the lauding of Marduk in VI.82 and VII.136,³ all of which would be inconsistent had Marduk absorbed him entirely. The position of Enki in both poems is similar, his activity in the creation of man is considered under (iv) and (v).

(ii) The Role of the Igigu. The Atrahasis Epic opens with the picture of the Igigu toiling to render the earth productive at the behest of the Anunnaki (I.i.5,6). No parallel occurs in Enuma elish in the same context. However, certain references are made to the toils of one group of gods who had been the followers of Tiamat and were subjugated by Marduk who set them to work to supply the needs of the gods (IV.107-121, 127; V.147,148)⁴. Marduk is later acclaimed as the one who has restored the 'dead gods' to life and released them from their toil by creating man; (VI.152,153;VII.27-29)⁵. Yet it is the Anunnaki who first claim to have been released from their toil by man's creation (VI.49), although the identification of these gods and distinction from the Igigu, if any, is not clear in Enuma elish.⁶ There is, then, a concept of inferior gods labouring on earth present in Enuma elish, with the reason for

3. Ibid., pp.40-44.

4. Cf. B. Landsberger and J.V. Kinnier Wilson, J.N.E.S.XX(1961), pp.178-9.

5. Cf. ibid.

6. A. Heidel, The Babylonian Genesis, p.47, n.115.

this situation that they were defeated enemies.

(iii) The Revolt of the Igigu. Enuma elish knows nothing of a revolt by these defeated gods against the toil imposed upon them. The revolts recounted in it are those of the younger generation of gods, led by Anu, against Apsu and Tiamat their ancestors, and these were not revolts against labour as puerile pranks and noisy behaviour (I.21-51; 105-108). There is no similarity of incident with the revolt in the Atrahasis Epic since the characters and setting are different. In addition contrasts may be noted between the procedure of consultation among the gods in the face of Tiamat's attack when Enki and Anshar make the decision to name Marduk as champion and acquiesce to his demands and then summon the assembly of the gods (II.5-49,92-95,122-129; III.4-10,129-IV.29) and Enlil's re-action to the attack of the Igigu which is to convene the assembly and debate his problem (Atrahasis I.ii.43ff).

(iv) A Council is held and a Substitute proposed; (v) Method of making Man. Although Atrahasis I.iv. is incomplete, it appears from the reconstructed lines that the proposal to create man as a substitute for the toiling gods came from Enki, but it is not clear whether he was responsible for first suggesting the slaughter of one of these gods. In Enuma elish Marduk is credited with the idea of forming man as the god's substitute, 'I will collect blood together, I will cause bone to be' (VI.5: da-mi lu-uk-sur es-me-ta lu-šab-ši). Enki elaborates upon this statement, introducing the concept of the slaughter of a rebellious god as a means towards the creation

of man (VI.11-16), Marduk announces this plan to the gods (Igigu and Anunnaki, VI.20,27), Kingu, the instigator of Tiamat's attack, was executed, and man was created from his blood, largely by Enki in accordance with Marduk's plans (VI.28-38).

Enuma elish agrees with Atrahasis in requiring the death of a god before the substitute can be made, and in depicting Enki as the originator of this idea. How the man was made is not explained by Enuma elish, nor is any component other than blood mentioned. By contrast, specially prepared clay is an essential ingredient in the Atrahasis' account. As in (iii) above, the idea is first discussed privately by Marduk and Enki, then brought to the council in Enuma elish, whereas in Atrahasis the idea arises during the council's sitting.

(vi) Enki and the Mother-goddess make Man. Atrahasis describes Nintu as making man on Enki's instructions; Enuma elish relates Enki doing the work on Marduk's advice, ina nik-la-a-ti-ša ^dMarduk ib-na-a ^dNu-dim-mud, 'in accordance with Marduk's plans did Nudimmud create' (VI.35), so that the work can still be called Marduk's (VII.90: a-bit ilāni ^{meš} ša ti-amat e-piš nišē ^{meš} ina mim-me-šu-un; 113: er-ba šal-mat qaqqadi bi-na-tuš-šu). The key position of Enki is found in both accounts; Nintu is absent from Enuma elish.

(vii) The Igigu relax; Man supplies the Needs of the Gods.

The purpose and result of man's creation are the same in both compositions, cf. Atrahasis I.iv.28; v.13.16 and Enuma elish VI.34 i-mid dul-li ilāni ^{meš} -ma ilāni ^{meš} um-taš-šer, 'He imposed the service of the gods (upon man) and set the gods

free, also VI.8,49, 110-119; VII.26-29.

(viii) Various Comparable Themes. There are a few passages in Enuma elish which have counterparts in Atrahasis in addition to those already examined. The most striking is the motif of the noise of a lesser creation disturbing its elders. In Enuma elish the gods provoke Apsu and Tiamat in this way; in Atrahasis Man provokes Enlil. This motif of loss of sleep by the higher order of beings occurs in other literary texts (see Notes to I.vii.26), so it may be a common literary theme and not indicate any connection between the two compositions in question. Yet it may be that there is an intentional reflection of one in the other as a conscious device to illustrate the cycle of history, which the use of historical omens suggests was a Babylonian belief?⁷

The author of Enuma elish may have taken the idea from Atrahasis, of which it is an integral part, and applied it to the primaeval period to explain why Tiamat was angry with the gods, depicting them as behaving like mankind.

A second common concept may possibly be found in Atrahasis I.i.15 (ši-ga-ra-am na-aḥ-ba-lu ti-a-am-tim and the description of the formation of the earth by Marduk in Enuma elish V. There one half of Tiamat's corpse forms the sky with locks and gates (9,10), and the other half is formed into the earth with the Tigris and Euphrates flowing from the eyes and the nostrils (53-58). While this may not be closely parallel, both accounts

7. Cf. C.J. Gadd, Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient Near East, London, 1948, p.55.

imply the confinement of a great ocean.

(ix) Conclusions. From these comparisons it appears that three of the seven major features of Atrahasis have close similarities in Enuma elish: (i) the divine triad, (iv) creation of a substitute from a dead god is proposed by Enki, (vi) the gods rest, man providing their needs.

B. Other Babylonian Creation Stories. The other known Babylonian Creation Stories are all either written in Sumerian or are bi-lingual or are Akkadian texts with Sumerian content and therefore almost certainly originally written in Sumerian,⁸ with the possible exception of one text preserved in a single neo-Babylonian copy. This is the cosmogony, discovered by the writer, which relates the history of creation as a series of generations. Since it makes no reference to man nor to any of the deities or events related in Atrahasis it is not relevant here except in so far as it is witness to a completely separate tradition.⁹ The other texts will be considered separately under the headings already listed.

1. The Creation Story K.A.R.4.

All copies of this text are written in three columns, the parallel Sumerian and Akkadian being preceded by the signs of the so-called 'Silbenalphabet' which is known to have been used in elementary education.¹⁰ The reason for the inclusion

8. The exclusively Sumerian names employed are sufficient indication of this.

9. Copied: C.T. XLVI, pls. XXXIX, XL, no. 43; preliminary translation by W.G. Lambert, *Kadmos* IV (1965) pp. 64-68.

10. Cf. M.Cig, H.Kizilyay, B.Landsberger, Zwei altbabylonische Schulbücher aus Nippur, Ankara, 1959.

of these signs is not known,¹¹ and they are not relevant for comparative purpose. Also obscure, but important here, is the significance of the colophon attached to copies of the text from Nineveh (not found in the Assur copy) entitling the work tuppi 2 kám.ma i-nu-ma i-lum a-wi-lum¹², the first line, and consequently 'title', of Atrahasis. This has been commented upon in the Notes to I.i.1 (Ch.III).

(i) Division of the Universe. K.A.R.4 gives no information about the realms of the gods; Shamash is added to the divine triad (1.7).

(ii) The Labour of the Igigu. This motif is entirely absent; canals and rivers were 'given their right courses' but no agent is named (11.5,6). A later passage implies a class of labouring gods, however (see (v) below).

(iii) The Revolt of the Igigu. Consequently this is also not found.

(iv) A Council is held; a Substitute proposed. While it follows that no substitute is necessary, the gods in council ponder a further creation to the earth and then propose to make man.

(v) Enki suggests slaughtering a God. It is the Anunnaki who propose the slaughter of workmen gods (^dlamga.lamga 1.25) from whose blood mankind would be made to serve the gods and tend the earth (11.24 - rev.12).

11. C.J. Gadd, Iraq IV(1937), pp.33-34, suggests they were considered as specimens of man's first speech.

12. Cf. ibid.

(vi) Enki and the Mother-goddess create Man. Enki plays no special part in K.A.R.4, nor is a description of the process or method of creation given. The Mother-goddess does fix the life-span of the creatures (rev.17,18).

(vii) The Igigu relax; Man provides for the Gods. No mention is made of relief for the working gods, but man does have as his purpose the worship and cult of the gods.

(viii) Conclusions. Despite the absence of many features K.A.R.4 has some basic ideas common also to Atrahasis, namely:

(ii) the earth cultivated by gods, (iv) the proposal in council to make man, (v) man to be made from the blood of dead gods,

(vii) man provides for the gods.

2. A Creation Story within a Ritual.

A few lines within a ritual for the restoration of a temple found at Babylon contain a summary of the events of creation.¹³

(i) Division of the Universe. Anu created heaven, Enki the Apsu and apparently the features of the earth (marsh, forest, mountain, sea); Enlil is not mentioned.

(ii) The Igigu Labour. This is not explicit, but Enki created various workmen gods associated with the trades employed in temple construction, and deities of food and drink for furnishing the nourishment of the gods.

(iii-v) Enki and the Mother-goddess make Man. Enki alone created the king for maintaining temples and man for worshipping

13. F.H. Weissbach, Babylonische Miscellen, Leipzig, 1903, pp.32-34, pl.12.

the gods. Since at the beginning of his work, Enki had pinched clay in the Apsu (dé-a ina apsi ik-ru-ša ti-ta-lam, l.26), it may be that man as well as the other beings were made from this, but it may only apply to the Brick-god mentioned in the next line.

(vii) The Igigu Relax: Man Labours. While the first feature is not present, man's purpose was to do something (lib-ni a-me-lu-ti x x x x ana i-pi-šu? x x], l.38).

(viii) Conclusions. This abbreviated story shares with Atrahasis the concept of Enki as creator of man, possibly from clay (vi), with the purpose of serving the gods (vii). Other points are not sufficiently clear to warrant a claim of common ground (i,ii).

3. The Bilingual Creation Story.

This text also formed a part of a ritual,¹⁴ a service of purification of a temple.¹⁵ It commences by listing what was not, then relates their creation. Marduk is the creator, only one other deity is mentioned; (i-v) do not apply.

(vi) Enki and the Mother-goddess make Man. Marduk makes man, but not alone, d a-ru-ru ze-er a-me-lu-ti it-ti-šu ib-ta-nu 'Aruru with him created the seed of mankind' (l.21), Aruru being a name of the Mother-goddess.

(vii) The Igigu Relax: Man Labours. The Igigu do not appear, but ilāni ina šu-bat tu-ub lib-bi ana šu-šu-bi a-me-lu-ti

14. It may be observed that Enuma elish falls into the same category in that it was recited during the New Year Ritual in certain cities.

15. C.T.XIII, pls.35-38; A.Heidel, The Babylonian Genesis, pp.61-63.

ib-ta-ni 'He created mankind to allow the gods to dwell in the abode of delight' (ll.19,21).

(viii) Additional Comparison. Marduk is credited with creation of the Tigris and Euphrates, cf. Atrahasis I.i. where this is the labour of the Igigu.

(ix) Conclusions. This story has little in common with Atrahasis except for the creation of Man with the aid of the Mother-goddess.

4. Other 'Creation Stories' in Akkadian.

The collection of creation stories compiled by A. Heidel in common with others includes certain 'creation' passages which are not complete stories but refer to creation.

However these are not relevant for comparison in detail.

One believed to refer to the creation of man may not do so at all.¹⁶

The introduction to the omen series Enuma Anu ellil has reference only to the creation of sun and moon.

Noteworthy for association with Atrahasis I.i. is the River

Incantation which begins at-ti nāru banat ^{at} ka-la-ma e-nu-ma

ih-ru-ki ilāni rabûti 'O river, creator of all! When the

great gods dug you out...'¹⁷

The famous 'Worm and Toothache' incantation and similar texts belong with the tradition of the composition noted above, p.224n.9.¹⁸

16. C.T.XIII, pl.34, D.T.41; it is part of a disputation or fable cf. W.G. Lambert, J.C.S. XVI(1962), p.72.

17. L.W. King, The Seven Tablets of Creation I, London, 1902, pp.128-9, 200-1.

18. C.T. XVII, pl.50; B. Landsberger and T. Jacobsen, J.N.E.S. XIV (1955), pp.15-18; XVII (1958), p.56.

C. Sumerian Creation Stories. Many Sumerian compositions refer to creation of the universe and a few to the making of man. Most of these are allusive or represent traditions differing widely from Atrahasis (such as man springing up like a plant). Several do contain the theme of man created to serve the gods (e.g. 'Cattle and Grain').¹⁹ Two Sumerian works have closer relevance. These are the creation story in the 'Sumerian Deluge Tablet' and the introduction to the story of Enki and Ninmah.

1. The 'Sumerian Deluge'.

Although only one third of the text survive, it is sufficient to show that it originally contained a history of mankind from his creation until the Flood (cf. ch. VI § (ii) and ch. VII).²⁰ The first column alone refers to creation, and its interpretation is uncertain. Man is, however, the creation of Nintu with Anu, Enlil, and Enki (i.12',13'), and emphasis on cult-establishments and rituals suggests man may have been intended for their service (i.5'-9'), and apparently cleaning of the watercourses was also a part of his lot (ii.22'). No trace of other gods toiling or requiring a substitute is present.

2. Enki and Ninmah.

The introduction to this story has recently been edited by J.J. van Dijk.²¹ This depicts the gods as divided between

19. Cf. S.N.Kramer, Sumerian Mythology², New York, 1961, pp.30-75; T. Jacobsen, J.N.E.S.V(1946), pp.128-152.

20. A. Poebel, Historical Texts, P.B.S. IV.1, Philadelphia, 1914, pp.9-70; S.N.Kramer, op.cit., pp.97-8, A.N.E.T. pp.42-4.

21. Acta Orientalia XXVIII(1964), pp.24-31.

heaven and earth, the 'great gods' (dingir.šár.šár) supervising the junior ones (dingir.tur.tur) who toil to provide food. The gods complain and Nammu, the Mother-goddess, arouses Enki, who is sleeping, and suggests he makes substitute workers. Enki accordingly prepares 'mother-wombs' (si₁₂.en.si₁₂.šár.šár) and, with clay from the Apsu commands the formation of man in the wombs. One line is of debateable content but may imply that Nammu had a god killed for the creation (1.32: ama.ni mud mu.gar.ra.zu ì.gál.la.àm...)?²²

D. Conclusions. The result of these comparisons is to show a widely attested tradition, going back into Sumerian culture, that Man was made from clay by the Mother-goddess to serve the gods in cultivating and ordering the earth and worshipping them. In some cases more detailed comparisons can be made, leading to the following tabulation:

- (i) Division of the Universe found in: A (largely) B.1 (not related) C.2 (partly)
- (ii) Labour of the Igigu found in: A (implied) B.1 (implied) B.2 (possibly) C.2
- (iii) Revolt of the Igigu found in: C.2
- (iv) Council and proposal of a substitute found in: A (no council) B.1 (not specifically substitute) C.2 (no council)
- (v) Slaughter of a god and mixing with clay found in: A (blood only) B.1 (no clay) C.2. (possibly)
- (vi) Enki and the Mother-goddess create Man found in: A (Enki only) B.1 (Mother-goddess only) B.2 (Enki only) B.3 (Marduk and Goddess) C.1 (with Anu and Enlil) C.2

22. ibid., p.29,n.76.

(vii) The Igigu Relax: Man Labours found in: A B.1 (man labours, only) B.2 (do.) B.3 C.1 C.2

In summary: Enuma elish has many points in common with Atrahasis and could have borrowed from it, being later in date; B.1 has many identical themes; C.2 tells almost the same story. There must be some close connection between all three accounts and Atrahasis, and our poem may be considered a translation or adaptation of a Sumerian tale very similar to C.2, if not identical with it.²³

23. The accounts of Damascius and Berossus (preserved only at third hand) have not been treated in detail; the former summarises Enuma elish, the latter states that men were made from a god's blood and earth, cf. A. Heidel, The Babylonian Genesis, pp.75-78.

Chapter VI.

ATRAHASIS AND OTHER BABYLONIAN FLOOD STORIES

While lower Mesopotamia is exceptionally liable to severe flooding¹, Sumerian-Akkadian tradition enshrined an account of one flood more disastrous than all others from which only one man escaped alive. The historical aspect of this tradition is investigated in the next chapter (7), here the account of the Atrahasis Epic is compared with the other Akkadian and Sumerian narratives to discover any connections there may be between them.

(i) Atrahasis and Gilgamesh XI. 8-195.

The only Akkadian narrative of the Flood apart from the Atrahasis Epic is that contained in Gilgamesh XI. Obvious correspondences of many lines in these two compositions have already been observed in the Notes, especially on Tablet III (pp. 151 ff). The many broken passages in Tablet III (ms. F), preclude comparison with the whole of the Gilgamesh XI text. As the latter is known only from neo-Assyrian and neo-Babylonian manuscripts, there is a gap of almost a millennium between the texts compared. The text of Gilgamesh XI as now known is probably the result of the editing of the Old Babylonian version late in the second millennium B.C. by Sin-Lege-Unninni. Since his 'edition' seems to have been the only one current thereafter, it may be referred to as the 'canonical' version.² No

1. E. de Vaumes, Iraq XXVII (1965), pp. 92-94.

2. W.G. Lambert, J.C.S. XVI (1962), p. 77.

account of the Flood survives in the fragments of the Old Babylonian version, but that it was included is assured by the surviving pieces equivalent to the 'canonical' Tenth Tablet which describe the journey of Gilgamesh to visit Uta-napishtim in order to learn the secret of his immortality.³ Comparison of the surviving Old Babylonian texts of Gilgamesh with the corresponding passages occasionally preserved in the canonical version has shown that they present the same basic story. The later version is longer, it contains more repetition, the contents of speeches or the persons who express certain views are not always the same, there are variations in details of fact, and, occasionally, complete episodes present in one are absent from the other version.⁴ It can be assumed, therefore, that should an Old Babylonian equivalent of the 'canonical' Eleventh Tablet ever be discovered, it would not differ very greatly from that text. Nevertheless, it must be reiterated that there could be a considerable number of differences in the manner exhibited by the known parallel passages of other tablets (notably Two and Three, also Ten). A second point to be noted before comparison is made is that the Flood story in Gilgamesh XI is narrated by Uta-napishtim throughout, whereas the Atrahasis Epic is an impersonal recitation.

3. A.R. Millard, Iraq XXVI (1964), pp.99-105

4. J.R. Kupper in P. Garelli, ed, Gilgamesh et sa Légende, Paris, 1960. pp.97-102.

(1)a. Comparison of the Texts:

In the following tabulation the order of lines of the Atrahasis Epic is followed (designated A), the appropriate lines of Gilgamesh XI (G.XI) being placed opposite. For convenience, the hero of the Flood is here called Atrahasis, Ea is Enki, Ishtar is Mami or Nintu.

The first parallel passage is found in the Introduction of A.I. where the divine government is described, and at the beginning of the G.XI narrative, where it is also a part of the introductory description:

A.I.i.7. Anu abušunu šarru	G.XI.15. ()ma abušunu ^d Anum
8. mēlikšunu quradu ^d Enlil	16. malikšunu quradu ^d Enlil
9. guzzalušunu ^d Ninurta	17. guzalušunu ^d Ninurta
10. u gallušunu ^d Ennugi	18. gugallušunu ^d Ennugi
	19. ^d Ninigiku ^d Ea ittišunu tašibma ⁵

The similarity of these two passages suggests connection at least through a common source. The peculiar title of Ennugi (see Notes) and the fact that no other identical formulation has yet been found support a connection. The position of either passage is introductory, revealing the supernatural order of governance at the outset of the story. In A, Enki has no place here, although mentioned a few lines later, but his presence is essential in G.XI from the start, as he is the first actor in the narrative. The line

5. The final word is read thus by W. von Soden, *Z.A.* LIII, n.F.XIX (1959), p.232, following Jensen, Delitzsch and others (translated from this reading by Heidel and Speiser), but the reading ta-me-ma 'he was party to the oath', preferred by I.M. Diakonov, *Bib.Or.* XVIII (1961), p.63 (also by R.C. Thompson), may be adjudged more probable in the light of A.II.vii, where Enki does join the gods in their oath.

naming him (G.XI.19) differs from those preceding in giving two names for the god and is metrically at variance, having, apparently, three feet, like the next line (amatsunu ušanna ana kikkišu). G.XI.19 is thus seen to be separate from lines 15-18 in its form. This difference and the identity of the preceding lines with A.I.i.7-10 could be considered sufficient evidence for an assumption of adaptation of the Atrahasis passage by the writer of G.XI. At this stage no definite conclusion is desirable; the remainder of the material must first be compared.

The next parallels are found in the badly broken lines A.II.vii. 49-53 in which Enki apparently ordains the course of the Flood's implementation and in G.XI. 99-102 where the happening is described:

A.II.vii 49.	^d Šullat u ^d [Hanis]	G.XI.99.	^d Šullat u ^d Hanis
50.	lilliku ina [maḥra]		illaku ina maḥri
		100.	illaku guzale šadū u mātum
51.	tarkulli ^d Er[rakal]	101.	tarkulli ^d Errakal inassah
	li[nassah]		
52.	lilli[k ^d Ninurta]	102.	illak ^d Ninurta miḥra ušardi
53.	lir[di miḥra]		

The broken condition of A.III.iii,iv,v, allows the possibility that this section was repeated in the account of the Flood (see Notes). G.XI.100 is not represented in A.II, and is an expansion of line 99, producing a parallel stichos. A. would appear to preserve a simpler text in this instance.

A.III provides the major series of comparative passages so the whole is cited in parallel with G.XI before comment is made.

A.III.i.15. [^dEnki] piašu ipušamma GXI.20. (^dEa) amatsunu
ušanna ana kikkišu

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 16. [izz]akar ana ardišu | |
| 17. []šumma luštei taqabbi | |
| 18. šipra ša aqabbuka | |
| 19. šušser atta | |
| 20. igaru šitammianni | 21. kikkiš kikkiš igar
igar |
| 21. kikkišu šušseri kala
zikiya | 22. kikkišu šimema igaru
ḥissas |
| | 23. amēl šuruppakū mār
Ubar ^d Tutu |
| 22. ubut bita bini eleppa | 24. uqur bita bini iṣ
eleppa |
| | 25. muššir mešrē še'i
napšāti |
| 23. makkūra zêrma | 26. makkūra zêrma
napišta bulliṭ |
| 24. napišta bulliṭ | 27. [šū]līma zēr napšāti
kalama ana libbi iṣ
eleppi |
| 25. (e)leppa ša tabannu[ši atta] | 28. iṣ eleppa ša
tabannuši atta |
| 26. [] | 29. lū minduda minatuša |
| 27. [] | 30. lū miṭṭur nupussa u
murakša |
| 28. [] | |
| 29. [k]īma apsi šuati ṣullilši | 31. [kī]ma apsi šāši
ṣullilši |

A. here continues with details of the construction, then gives the indication of the Flood's beginning

G.XI. narrates Atrahasis' acceptance and query about an excuse to the people. Enki instructs him and indicates the sign of the Flood's beginning.

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 34. anaku ulliṣ ušaznanakku | 43. eli kāšuma
ušaznakkunuši
nuḥšamma |
| 35. ḥiṣbi iṣṣuri puṭuri nuni | 44. [ḥiṣbi] iṣṣuri
puzur nunima |

Atrahasis now addresses the elders as commanded to do previously in G.XI.

42. [it]ti ilikuni ilī []	
43. [i]tetezizu ^d Enki u [	]	39. mindema iáši ^d Enlil izêrannima
44. [it]tarduninni ina []	
45. [iš]tuma apta []	
46. []x tam anni []	
47. [ul]uššab ina š[amai ša		40. ul uššab ina ālik u numa
Anim ?]		
48. [ina]eršet ^d Enlil ul a[šak kan	41. ina qaqqar ^d Enlil ul	
šepīya]	ašakkana [še]pēyama	
49. [it]ti ili u[ššab	]	42. urradma ana apsi itti ^d Ea
		bēlīya ašbāku

The remainder of A.III.i. is missing; the traces of 11.10-20 may parallel G.XI.54-69 (see Notes). The lading of the vessel is extant in both narratives.

A.III.ii.30. mimma i[šû	]	G.XI.80. mimma išû ešenši
31. mimma iš[û	]	81. mimma išû ešenši kaspi
32. elluti it[	]	82. mimma išû ešenši ħuraši

Four lines badly broken.

37. na[	būl]i šēri	85. būl šēri umām šēri
38. [	uš]terib	māre ummāni kališunu
		ušēli

The next lines described a feast and compare with an earlier passage in G.XI.

40. [	]nišišu ikri	70. ana [ummāni ?] uṭṭibbiḫ
		alpē
41. [	]ana kiriti	71. ašgiš immerē ūmišamma
		72. širi[šu kur]unna šamma
		u iš karana
		73. umma[ri ištū] kīma mē
		narima
		74. isinna ippušu kīma ūmi
		akītimma

G.XI. here describes the lading already mentioned in A, then both have the entry of the family:

42. [šalatašu u] kimtašu uštērib	84. uštēli ana[mu]ḫḫi
	iš eleppi k.ala kimtiya
	u šalātia

The ensuing description of Atrahasis' action is absent from G.XI. which relates the sign foretold by Enki, both stories continue with the outbreak of the Flood.

A.III.ii.47. ħipīma libbašu imāṣ martam	G.XI 91. ša ūmi attataḷ bunašu
48. ūmu iṣnû panūšu	92. ūmu ana itaplusi puluḫta iṣi
49. iṣtakna ^d Adad ina erpēti	
50. ilū iṣmû rigimšu	
51. kupru bābil ipiḫḫi bābšu	93. ērub ana libbi iṣ eleppima apteḫi bābi
	94. ana piḫi ša iṣ eleppi ana Puzur ^d Amurri amēl malaḫi
52. iṣtuma idilu bābšu	95. ekalla attadin adi busesu
53. ^d Adad iṣaggum ina erpēti	96. mimmu šēri ina namāri
54. šārū uzzuzu ina tebišu	97. ilamma iṣtu iṣid šamē urpatum ṣalintum
	98. ^d Adad ina libbiša irtammamma

The next lines of G.XI. have been discussed above (p.) in comparison with A.II.vii.49-53, but may have had another parallel in the missing lines of A.III.iii, following the description of the casting-off not in G.XI (ii.55)

A.III.4. []purai	
5. [uma iṣt]en meḫū	G.XI.108. iṣten uma me(ḫū)
6. [aṣamṣatu i]ssamdu	
7. []ina]ṣuprišu	
8. []šamai	
9. []m]ātam	
10. [kīma karpati ? r]igimša	107. []māti kīma karpati iḫpi (?) iḫḫ[epi ?]
11. [ḫantiš ? iziqam ?] abubu	109. ḫantiš iziqamma [] a[bubu]
12. [kīma qab]li ēli niši iba' kašušu	110. kīma qabli ēli niši [ib]a'u [kašušu]
13. [ul] imur aḫu aḫašu	111. ul immar aḫu aḫašu
14. [nišū ul] uteddū ina karaši	112. ul utaddā nišē ina šamē

The continuation of A. elaborates upon the devastation caused by the Flood, partly in the laments of Nintu (28-55). Three lines at the end of the lament are found again in v.39-43, with which passage their single occurrence in G.XI.

is parallel. Since the order of lines of A. is here followed, the G.XI passage is quoted at this point as well as at the later point.

A.iii.51.e ša ayanu illikam	G.XI.167. ^d Enlil aya illika ana
bēl tēmi	surqinni
52.ilū marušu išmû	
zikiršu	
53.ša la imtalkūma	168.aššu la imtalkūma
išku[nu abuba]	iškunu abubu
54.nišī ikmisu ana	169.u nišēia imnû ana karaši
[karaši]	

The preceding lines of the lament find other counterparts in Nintu's lament in G.XI:

A.iii.28.[^d Ni]ntu bēltum	G.XI.116.išissi ^d Ištar kīma alitti
rabītum	
29.[pu]lḫita uqalala	117.unabba ^d Bēlit-i[lī]
šaptāša	ṭābat rigma
30.[^d]Anunna ilū	
rabūtum	
31.[wašbu ?] ina šumi u	
bubuti	
32.[I]murma iltum	
ibak[ki]	
33.tabsūt ili erišta	
^d Ma[mi]	
34.ūmum liddai[m]	118.ūmu ullu ana tiṭṭi lu
	iturma
35.litur liki[l]	
36.anaku ina puḫri ša	119.aššu anaku ina puḫur illi
i[lī]	aqbû limutta
37.kī aq[bi]	120.kī aqbi ina puḫur illi
	limutta
38.ittišunu gamerta[m]	

A. continues with twelve lines not found in G.XI, then the passage quoted above (51-54). After a small gap (iii.55-iv.3) are some incomplete lines possibly echoed in G.XI.

A.IV.4.unabba ^d Ni[ntu]	G.XI.(117.unabba ^d Belit i[11]
5.abuba ^d ulda ?[]	ṭābat rigma)
6.ṭiamta kima kulīli	122.anakumma ullada
[iktumu ?]	nišūama
7.imlānim nāram	123.lu mārē nunē umallā
	tamtamma

Again after a few lines peculiar to A. there are further parallels.

A.IV.15.ilu ittiša ibkū	G.XI.124.ilū šūt ^d Anunnaki bakū
ana mātīm	ittiša
16.išbi nissatam	
17.šamiat šikriš	
18.ši ašar ušbu ina	125.ilī ašru ašbi ina bikiti
bikiti	
19.ušbuma kīma immeri	

A.IV.20.imlūnim rāṭam	
21.šamia šaptašumu	G.XI.126.šabba/katma šaptašunu
puḫita	[] puḫreti
22.ina bubuti	
23.iṭanarrarru	
24.7 ūmi 7 muš[iāti]	127.6 urri u [7] mušāti
25.illik radu meḫu [abubu]	128.illak šāru abu[bu m]eḫe
	isappan māti

The remainder of A.IV, and V.1-29 is broken away, apart from traces too minute to allow reconstruction and comparison; The grounding of the boat on the mountain top, perhaps preceded by the incident of the release of the birds, and the emergence of Atrahasis from the boat must have occupied some of the space (as demonstrated in the Notes, pp.), in parallel to G.XI.129-154. The traces in A.V.30.ff, describing the offering of sacrifice by Atrahasis, can be placed beside the similar passage in G.XI:

A.v.30.ana šar[]	G.XI.155.ušešima ana irbitti šārī
31.ittadi[]	attaqi niqa
32.izannum[]	156.aškun surqinnu ina eli
	zikkuraṭ šadi
33.[]	157.7 u 7 ^{duḡ} adagura uktin
	158.ina šaplišunu attabak qana
	is ^{erenna} u ^{sim} aša
34.[išinu i] lu eriša	159.ilu išinu iriša
	160.ilu išinu iriša ṭāba

35. [] elu niqi ipaḥru 161. ila kima zumbi eli bel
niqe iptahru
36. [] i] lu ikulu niqiam
37. [^dNin] tu itbema 162. ultu ullanumma ^dIštar ina
kašadišu
38. ina maḥarsunu uttazzam
39. e ša ayanu illikam 166. ilu lillikuni ana surqini
40. bēl tēmi
41. ^dEnlil iṭḥia ana qutrinni 167. ^dEnlil ay illika ana
surqini
42. ša la imtalkūma iškunu 168. aššu la imtalkūma iškunu
abuba
43. nišī ikmisu ana karaši 169. u nišeya imnû ana karaši

The remainder of Ishtar's speech in A.V. is not paralleled in G.XI, which passes immediately to the arrival of Enlil.

However, A.vi. seems to commence with the action described earlier in the speech in G.XI, continuing with Enlil's arrival.

- A.vi.2. zubbu u- [] G.XI.163. ašši zumbē rabūti ša
^dAnum ipušu ki subišu
3. lu uqni kišadi [] 164. ilani annuti lu ^dabnu
ugnu kišadia ay amši
4. ? ? ? 165. ūmē annuti lu aḥsusamma
ana dariš ay amši
5. makura itamar qu [radu 170. ultu ullanumma ^dEnlil ina
^dEnlil] kašadišu
6. libbati [x]-li ša ^dIgi [gi] 171. imur ⁱ eleppama iteziz
^dEnlil
7. rabūtum ^dAnunna kaluni 172. libbati imtali ša ili
^dIgigi
8. ubla pini ištiniš
mamitam
9. ayanu uši napištum(?) 173. ayumma uši napišti
ay ibluṭ amēlu ima
karaši
10. ki ibluṭ awīlum ina karaši 174. ^dNinurta pašu ipušamma
izakkar ana quradi ^dEnlil
11. Anu piašu ipušamma 175. mannumma ša la ^dEa amatu
ibannu
12. izakkar ana quradi ^dEnlil
13. mannu annitam
14. ša la ^dEnki ippuš 176. u ^dEa idema kala šipri
15. [y i] du šapta zikr(a) (?) 177. ^dEa pašu ipušamma
izakkar ana quradi ^dEnlil
16. [^dEnki] piašu ipušamma
17. [izakkar] ana ili rabūti
18. [] -puš ina panikun
19. [] -šira napiš [tam]

20. {	]il-[ī rabūti ?]	
21. {	ab]ūba	179.kī kī lā tamtalikma abūba taškun
22. {	t]aškun	
23. {	l]ibbaka	
24. {	]u rummi	181.rumme ay ibbatiq šūdud ay ir[puđ]
25. {	-n]im šukun šēritka	
26. {	]ia ušassaku	
27. {	]awatka	186.anaku ul aptā pirišti ilī rabūti
28. {	]puḫra	

No further lines of A. find counterparts in G.XI; the narration of Atrahasis' translation to the 'mouth of the rivers' (pī narātīm) may have occupied the passage at the end of vii, but naturally the terminations of the stories differ according to their separate contexts and purposes. In A. apparently, steps were taken to re-populate the earth with devices for limiting human expansion, a topic of no interest to Gilgamesh who wanted to know simply how Atrahasis gained his long life.

(i)b. Types of Difference: The fact that A. and G.XI are recounting the same tale has been made obvious by this comparison, despite lacunae and divergences. Several types of difference may be distinguished:

1. Verbal differences: in certain cases the lines are identical but for one word:

A.i.20.21. šitammianni, šuššeri	G.XI.22. šimema, ḫissas
i.22. ubut bīta	24.uqur bīta
i.48. eršet	41.qaqqar
ii.38.42. uštērib	84.85.uštēli
53. išaggum	98.irtammam
iii.54. ikmīsu ana karaši	169.imnū ana karaši
v.37. itbema	162.kašadišu
41. qutrinni	167.surqini
vi.5. makūra	171.eleppa

Explanation of some of these variations may lie in the difference in date of the extant manuscripts, some words having given place to others in the interval in literary usage. The hand of Sin-leqe-unninni late in the Kassite period may have been responsible for 'modernisation' in this way (see (i), beginning). The pair ersetu:qaggaru may be interpreted historically, for qaggaru is used more than ersetu in the sense of 'territory' (the sense of both words here) from the middle-Babylonian period onwards. None of the other pairs can be certainly explained on this basis. abātu and naqāru are both renderings of the same Sumerogram, GUL, in a lexical text (T.C.L.VI.17,11.17- ; C.A.D. A.I.,p.42b), as are tebû and kašādu of KUR (A. Deimel, Š.L., no.366:13,24). Našāru and hasāsu are synonymous in the sense 'take care' (cf. C.A.D..H.,p.128). A slight semantic difference is apparent between makura and elippa in that the former is a Sumerian word for a large vessel (see Note on vi.5), but elippa is used elsewhere in A., suggesting that this may be a stylistic variant by the poet. No other occurrences of Kamāsu ana karaši and manû ana karaši are known, nor do the verbs appear together in lexical lists, however it is clear that they are synonymous here (see Note to iii.54). The pair qutrinnu, surginu differ in that the latter is general, 'offering', the former specific, 'smoke, incense offering'. No reason for the use of the different words is plain; the second is more appropriate as a designation of the whole sacrifice, as it is employed in G.XI.156,166,167, but qutrinnu is used for the same

purpose in A.v.41 and is equally suitable since the offering was burnt. In a hymn šagāmu and ramāmu are found side by side as virtual synonyms (see Note to ii.53).

2. Expansion in G.XI. by addition of words synonymous with those found in A: several examples may be noted; A.i.20-21

igar šitammianni, kikkišu šusseri: G.XI.21-22, kikkiš kikkiš igar igar, kikkišu šimema igar hissas; A.i.23-24, makkura

zērma, napišta bullit: G.XI.25-26, muššir mešre še'i napšāti, makkura zērma napišta bullit; A.v.34, išinu ilū eriša;

G.XI.159, ilū išinu iriša, ilū išinu iriša ṭaba. In each case the extra material in G.XI. can be explained as expansion of the phrases present in A.

3. Expansion in G.XI. by addition of descriptive phrases:

e.g. A.ii.53, dAdad išaggum ina erpeti: G.XI.97-98, ilamma ištu išid šamē urpatum šalimtum, dAdad ina libbiša irtammamma;

A.iii.36-37, anaku ina puhri ša ilī, ki aqbi: G.XI.119-120, aššu anaku ina puhur ilī aqbu lemutta, ki aqbi ina puhur ilī lemutta.

4. Expansion in G.XI. by addition of factual narrative:

e.g. the description of the feast prior to the boarding of the boat occupies two or three damaged lines in A(ii.39?-41), but five lines in G.XI.(70-74); G.XI.75-79 describes construction of the boat not found in A.(so far as preserved); G.XI.43-47, 86-87, give Enki's warning of the coming storm in a longer riddle than A.i.34-37, while A does not repeat it at the outbreak of the Flood. Ishtar swears by the necklace Anu made for her in G.XI.162-165, a detail perhaps in A.vi.2ff; listing of the various measures available for

the reduction of mankind in number lengthen's Enki's rebuke to Enlil in G.XI.180-185, when compared with A.vi.23-26.

5. Omission from G.XI. of passages in A: e.g. A.i.30-33, concerning the reinforcement of the boat, not found in G.XI.30ff (which adds concerning the structure thereof, ss 4, above); Atrahasis' restlessness as the Flood is about to commence, A.ii.45-47, is not mentioned in G.XI.91f; details of the tempest contained in A.iii.4-8 find no parallel in G.XI.104f; Nintu's laments are longer in A (iii.34-55, iv.5-10) than in G.XI (118-123), partly because the latter omits the similes in A.iii.39-41, iv.6-9. The wish that Enlil might not come to the sacrifice is longer in A.v.39-43 than in G.XI.167-169 where a parallel clause is omitted.

6. Differences of fact: it is Anu who accuses Enki of saving Atrahasis in A.vi.II, but Ninurta in G.XI.174; the 'boat-man', Puzur-^dAmurri, does not feature in A. at all (G.XI.94, cf. A.ii.51-52).

7. Conclusions concerning these differences: items listed under paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 are explicable as recensional, the result of editing and revising a text similar to A, the 'omissions' of G.XI. (para. 5) may also be placed under this head. The factual additions in G.XI. (para. 4) could be derived from a different text tradition to that of A (and if so, provide an explanation of the presence of the other variations, but not of their original cause), or from extraneous matter inserted by the editor of G.XI. (presumably Sin-leqe-unninni, who is credited with the work,

see p.232, above, although the use of the name Uta-napishtim rather than Atrahasis is already found in the Old Babylonian (?) 'tablet X') from entirely separate sources, or even from his own invention. The elaborations upon the description of the boat's building, of the warning riddle, and of the means to reduce man's numbers, in several parallel phrases, suggest expansion of a briefer original, although such a judgement can only be subjective. Additions such as Puzur-^dAmurri and Nintu's necklace may be drawn from traditions unrelated to the Flood story (for the latter, cf. the jewellery of the goddess in 'Ishtar's Descent', ll.42-58)⁶. In no instance can the variations found be claimed as major differences demanding the hypothesis of a separate line of descent for each of the two texts A. and G.XI, at most they suggest a revision of A. by the 'editor' of G.XI, incorporating some material not found in A. (notably the hero's appellation Uta-napishtim).

(i)c. The Composition of the two texts compared.

Having established the close relationship of A. and G.XI. on grounds of general content and verbal similarity, it is necessary to examine certain details of the stories

6. Appearance of the motif of frightened gods fleeing from a storm to heaven (as in G.XI.114) in a bilingual hymn to Adad (K.4614, C.I.W.A.IV.28,2a, ll.18,19; S. Langdon, Babylonian Penitential Psalms, Paris, 1927, p.32) may indicate the existence of a literary topos drawn upon by the editor of G.XI, but, of course, the prayer could have borrowed from G.XI. (Angry gods also leave their shrines for heaven, cf. references in B. Landsberger, Brief des Bischofs von Esagila an Konig Asarhaddon, Amsterdam, 1965, p.20.)

for alleged or possible inconsistencies. This has been done by J. Laessle on the basis of the texts available before 1956⁷, and it is his study and conclusions which must be investigated in the light of the newly discovered manuscripts.

1. The powers creating the Flood: Laessle produced the following comparative tables in an attempt to show a difference between A. and G.XI. over this point.

'(A) Gods responsible for the Flood, according to

Gilg.	Atr.
11.14f (Anu	
(Enlil	Enlil
(Ninurta	
(Ennuge	
((Ea present)	Enki

11.167ff. Enlil

11.179ff. Enlil

11.121 Ishtar (advocated destruction)

(B) Gods participating in the destruction, according to

Gilg.	Atr.
Adad	
Sullat and Hanis	Sullat and (Hanis)
Irrakal	Ir(rakal)
Ninurta	Ninurta
Anunnaki	

(C) Forces (elements) active in the destruction, according to

Gilg.	Atr.
1.108 <u>mehu</u>	
1.109 <u>a(bubu)</u>	<u>abubu</u>
1.113 <u>abubu</u>	
1.128 <u>šaru abubu mehu</u>	
1.129 <u>mehu abubu</u>	
1.131 <u>imhullu abubu</u>	

Upon this evidence Laessle argued that Adad had no connection with the Flood (abubu) in the Atrahasis Epic.

7. Bib. Or. XIII (1956), pp.95-96

He suggested that the failure of the drought caused by Adad withholding rain (II.i.II) resulted in Enlil's dispensing with his services. He concluded, 'i.e. the Flood is produced not by rain but by water which pours forth when Irrakal 'tears up the poles', whereupon Ninurta lets the water flow over the dam (mihru) behind which it was stemmed up. In such a context the abubu could well represent a strong wind driving the masses of water all over the land. Fundamentally, this concept constitutes an Enlil tradition. In the Gilgamesh Epic, however, Adad is introduced as strongly involved in the Flood; on the other hand, Irrakal and Ninurta are not left out, so that in consequence we are here dealing with an Adad complex side by side with an Enlil complex, a situation which has somewhat obscured the inner nature of the deluge experienced by Utnapishtim. There is no indication that the author of the Atrahasis Epic worked with an idea of a war between the winds: in the extant parts of the Epic we hear of the abubu exclusively.' However, in the light of the new information from Tablet III(F), these tables may be re-written:

(A) Gods responsible for the Flood, according to

Gilg.	Atr.
11.14f(Anu	
(Enlil	Enlil
(Ninurta	
(Ennuge	
((Ea present)	Enki
11.167.f.Enlil	Enlil III.v.39.ff.
11.179.ffEnlil	(Enlil) vi.20.ff.
1.121 Ishtar	Ishtar (Nintu) iii.36.ff.
add 1.14 <u>ilu rabuti</u>	ilu iii.52;cf.II.vi-viii.

(B) Gods participating in the destruction, according to

Gilg.	Atr.
Adad	Adad. III.ii.49.ff.
Sullat and Hanis	SULLat and (Hanis)
Irrakal	Ir(rakal)
Ninurta	(Ninurta)
Anunnaki	

(C) Forces (elements) active in the destruction, according to

	Gilg.	Atr.
1.108	<u>meĥu</u>	<u>meĥu</u> III.iii.5
1.109	<u>a(bubu)</u>	<u>abubu</u> iii.11
1.113	<u>abubu</u>	<u>(abub)u</u> iii.15
1.128	<u>šaru</u> , <u>abubu</u> , <u>meĥu</u>	<u>šaru</u> ii.54
1.129	<u>meĥu abubu</u>	
1.131	<u>imĥullu abubu</u>	
add 1.128	<u>radu</u> (k.7752, JSS V (1960), p.122)	<u>radu</u> iv.25

It has been demonstrated (above p.234) that the list of gods in G.XI. 15-18 is virtually identical with that in A.I.i.7-10, and is an indication of the situation in divine government at the time of the story. It may not be intended as a notice of the deities responsible specifically in G.XI., therefore, but rather as an expansion of the ilani rabuti of 1.14. Their inclusion in table (A) is thus shown to be of doubtful merit.

The deduction that there was an 'Adad complex' in G.XI., absent from the account of the Flood in the Atrahasis Epic (table B), is disproved by the new material, for Adad is associated with the rise of the abubu. A distinction of strands of narrative on this basis now becomes inadmissible. Similarly, the new version of table (C) shows that the winds were implicated in the Atrahasis account.

Table (A) also led Laessle to conclude that there was inconsistency in G.XI. concerning the attribution of responsibility for the Flood, 'the narrator's indecision with regard to the question which god (or gods) was really responsible for the Flood. Whereas in Atr. no doubt is left that the abubu, as well as the preceding plagues, were to be attributed to EnlilGilg. incriminates a number of gods as tabulated...' The additions now made to table A result in a list from Atrahasis which corresponds sufficiently with G.XI. to remove any ground for a charge of disagreement. The inconsistency detected in G.XI. proves to be illusory in the light of Atrahasis, for the assembly of all the gods bears the responsibility, having approved Enlil's plan.

2. The reason for the Flood: A further distinction made by Laessle concerns the motive for the Flood in the two stories. In the Atrahasis Epic he claims, 'the flood is motivated as a final punishment for mankind, following a series of less severe plagues, the flood of Gilg. 11 is a caprice for which no reason whatever is given.' However, the tabulation of parallel lines (above, pp.235ff) shows that G.XI. takes no account of the events related in A. prior to the decision to send the Flood (except for the list of gods at the commencement), but begins with the actual decision and the story of the revelation by Enki to Atrahasis. In G.XI. Atrahasis himself is relating how he obtained immortality, therefore an explanation of the cause of the Flood is unnecessary for, while involving Atrahasis, it was not

relevant to the inquiry of Gilgamesh. The brief statement that 'the gods resolved to send a flood' (G.XI.14) provides sufficient introduction.

3. Different sources discernible in the stories: As a conclusion to his study of alleged differences, Laessle wrote, concerning the Flood story in G.XI, 'The inconsistencies which we have observed would seem to suggest..... that at least two different traditions have been reweven and worked into one composition.... by an editor who was not so painstaking that he succeeded in smoothing over all the differences between the original sources he used'. This suggestion of a combination of two traditions was made long before the appearance of Laessle's paper, but only one of his points is also made elsewhere, and that is one which he does not press to this end. This is the sudden use of Atrahasis as an epithet for Uta-napishtim in G.XI.187 (see ch.7. §2). H. Zimmern opined that Uta-napishtim and Atrahasis were two distinct persons⁸ and this idea was developed by M. Jastrow.⁹ Jastrow proposed that there were originally two stories; one local, the account of a minor inundation at Shuruppak with Uta-napishtim as hero and only Enlil angry, the other a nature myth arising from the fact of the annual flood of the rivers, with Atrahasis as hero and all the gods participating.

8. Babylonische Busspsalmen, Leipzig, 1885, p.26, n.1.

9. Z.A. XIII (1898), pp.288-301. A. Poebel, P.B.S. IV.I, pp. 47, 51-52, 54, 57-58 also finds indications of two or even three underlying strata.

This theory must be re-considered, taking into account the close relationship of the Flood story in the Gilgamesh Epic to that in Atrahasis. The grounds for Laessøe's suggestion, apart from the use of Atrahasis in one line, G.XI,187, have been shown to be the result of archaeological accident, they would not have received any attention had the whole of ms. F been available to him. Jastrow's criteria cannot be dismissed in quite the same way, except for the distinction of responsible gods (see §1 above). His only strong argument rests on the use of Atrahasis in G.XI,187 which is now regarded as simply an epithet, demonstrating the dependency of G.XI. on the Atrahasis Epic, according to Laessøe¹⁰ Moreover, no case for a distinction of two persons can be supported in the light of A. wherein a person named Atrahasis does the same things as a person called Uta-napishtim does in G.XI. Specific association of the hero with Shuruppak cannot count as an argument for limited location of the disaster because Atrahasis plainly lived somewhere (cf. ch. 7§5,p.), and the King-List implies a break in rulership throughout Sumer.

No case so far presented, therefore, succeeds in finding and proving the presence of two strata or complexes in the Flood story of Gilgamesh XI..

(i)d. Results of the Comparison.

The comparison of passages has shown that A. and G.XI. have so great a number of parallel phrases and incidents that the conclusion that both descended from a common original

10. Loc. cit., n.13.

cannot be denied. It has further been shown that it is reasonable to suggest that A. is directly ancestral to G.XI. The variations between the two texts are hardly greater than those observed between the Old Babylonian and the 'canonical' versions of the Gilgamesh Epic (see p. , above). A further argument for the primacy of A. may be derived from consideration of the purpose of the stories. The A. account is an integral part of the Atrahasis Epic, in G.XI. the narrative of the Flood is an aside, an explanation of how Atrahasis obtained his immortality. The secondary nature of the tale as included in G.XI. has been recognised by many scholars.¹¹ Both narations could have been translated separately from a Sumerian account or fore-runner (cf. § II , pp. 254 ff.)¹², to which their common features would be traceable, but the verbal similarities, and the types of the differences, support a much closer association (see (i)b.7.above, pp.245f.). On the evidence of the few texts available the nature of this connection cannot be stated categorically, but as a strong probability, namely that the Flood narrative of Gilgamesh XI. is borrowed from Atrahasis.

11. H. Gressmann, Das Gilgamesch-Epos, Göttingen, 1911, pp.190, 231; L. Matous in P. Garelli, ed., Gilgamesh et sa Légende, pp. 90,93; M. David, ibid., pp.153-159.

12. For the Sumerian fore-runners of the Gilgamesh Epic see S.N. Kramer, J.A.O.S. LXIV (1944), pp.11-23.

(ii) Atrahasis and the Sumerian Flood Story

The 'Sumerian Deluge Tablet' from Nippur has already been considered for its parallels with the earlier part of the Atrahasis Epic (ch. 5, C. 1 pp. 229). This is the only known Sumerian narrative of the Flood. Other texts mention the event as a datum (cf. ch. 7, § 8 , pp. 277 below) or include it in the introductory section of myths,¹³ but do not relate the history of the event.

(ii)a. Comparison of the Texts:1. Content.

The very incomplete state of the Sumerian text naturally limits the possible range of comparison, however a list of common points may be constructed: (PBS.IV.I is used to designate the Sumerian).

Atrahasis II.vii: PBS.IV.I,(iii)142-144 the gods take an oath concerning the Flood, but Enki makes reservations.

Atrahasis III,i: PBS.IV.I,(iv)152-160 Enki warns Atrahasis of the disaster while he is by (?) a well.

Atrahasis III.iii,iv: PBS.IV.I,(v)201-205 winds and flood last seven days and seven nights.

Atrahasis III.v,vi:PBS.IV.I,(vi)209-211 Atrahasis offers sacrifices after the Flood has subsided, and the boat has grounded

13. E.g. those cited by S.N. Kramer in The Times 14 November, 1964, p.9.

It is also necessary to notice certain differences, although again the fragmentary condition of the Sumerian text renders certainty impossible. Nintu laments over the people before the final decision to send the Flood is taken (iii) 140-141, a lament which is not found at this juncture in A.II. as far as it is extant, and following the decision is a description of Atrahasis' piety not found in, or missing from, A.II.vii,viii. A lacuna in A.III.vi. prevents comparison with the hero's action on emerging from his boat and offering sacrifice to the sun-god as related in the Sumerian account (^dutu may indicate no more than daylight here, as in A.III,1.30, see Note ad loc.)

2. Verbal connection

There is one possible verbal connection between A. and the Sumerian account. The description of the Flood in A.III.iii.12 (also G.XI.110) [ki-ma qá-ab-li e]-li ni-ši i-ba-a' ka-šu-šu, where kašušu is parallel to a-bu-bu of the previous line of the couplet, may be associated with (V) 201-204 where the 'raging' of the Flood is twice mentioned with the verb ur. In the angim.dimma epic this verb recurs in the line lugal a.ma.ru ba.ur.ta which is rendered into Akkadian as be-lum a-bu-ba-niš ib-ta-a' 'the lord swept across like a flood', and the equation of the two verbs is explicit in the lexical text G.T.XIX.47.iv.13 ur: ba'u. Nothing definite can be deduced from this, ba'u appears as the appropriate verb in the context of a flood. Two instances of the translation of ur by ba'u are insufficient to prove that the

passage in A. is a rendering of a Sumerian version, but they do support this possibility.

3. Deities involved.

The identity of the deities active in the Sumerian account with those in A. has already been noted (ch.5, as has the similarity in the portrayal of the hero (ch. 5.

4. Elements active in destruction.

The Sumerian account mentions two elemental agents, the 'rain-flood', a.ma.ru, and the 'storm-wind', im.hul (V) 201-205. These correspond to the abubu and the šaru in A.III.iii,iv (cf.(i)C.1,pp.247ffabove). Although there are other names employed in A. for the tempest (mehu,radu), they are descriptive of the same phenomena, storm-winds and rain. Therefore it is clear that the Sumerian account envisages a deluge caused by the same elements, and of the same nature, as that in A.

5. Result of comparison.

As a result of this comparison it is clear that the Sumerian account of the Flood is almost identical with that of A. in outline, but that it lacks the long description of the coming of the Flood and of Nintu's laments found in A.III ii.50-iv, and no doubt other descriptive passages since the forty lines missing from col.v. could not have contained all the material in A.III.i.21-iii.50.

6. Relationship of the Texts.

The discussion of the 'creation' section of the 'Sumerian Deluge Tablet' has shown that it contains a number of

features not included in A. This led to the conclusion that the Akkadian Atrahasis Epic is not derived from the Sumerian story as exhibited in that text - or vice-versa - but that both stem from one tradition (ch.5).

The differences between the two accounts of the Flood are not so great, and are of the same type as differences between Old Babylonian and 'canonical' texts of the Gilgamesh Epic (see (i) pp.233 above). While, therefore, A. could be a version of the Sumerian account, the fact that the earlier sections differ so much that only a common ancestor may be posited suggests that the same situation obtains here.

(iii) Conclusion

In section (i) it has been demonstrated that the Akkadian Flood narratives are basically identical, and the probability expressed that the version of the Atrahasis Epic represents the original story in its Akkadian rendering, that of Gilgamesh XI being a recension with slight alterations and additions. Section (ii) has shown that A. cannot be derived directly from the Sumerian Deluge text, but that both may share a common ancestor. The antiquity of that ancestor need be little greater than that of the Sumerian and Akkadian texts discussed, i.e. the Old Babylonian period, since both fall into the category of 'school-texts' as far as is known (the Sumerian texts from Nippur are characterised as such¹⁴, the Ellet-Aya copies of A. are school texts, see ch.IV. p.192), and could therefore be the first of their kind. On

the other hand the existence of several Old Babylonian copies of parts of the Atrahasis Epic suggests that it was well-known at that period and may therefore be a composition of an earlier epoch, or the very beginning of that one.

When all the occurrences of Atrahasis standing as proper name or as an epithet are collected (as, for example partly done by von Soden, see n.1.), it is found that it occurs in four forms:

- (i) Atra(m)hasis : at-ra-am-ḥa-si-is Atrahasis Epic, Old Babylonian version, passim.
- at-ra-ḥa-sis Gilgamesh XI.187, neo-Assyrian text.
- at-ra-ḥa-sis Hymn, neo-Assyrian, epithet (J.Bollenreicher, Gebete und Hymnen an Nergal, L.S.S.I, Leipzig, 19, p.32, K.69, 1.29).
- " Hymn, late Babylonian, epithet (G.Reisner, Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen, Berlin, 1896, no.64, 1.14).
- (ii) Atarhasis : a-tar-ḥa-sis^{sis}(GEŠTUG) Atrahasis Epic, neo-Assyrian version, k passim (m (-)ḥa-sis cannot be definitely assigned).
- (iii) Atarhasisa : a-tar-ḥa-si-sa Etana Epic, middle Assyrian text, epithet (AFO XIV(1944), pl.IX.ii.4).
- " epithet (K.A.R.38, r.21)
- (broken epithet()ḥa-si-sa may belong here or under iv; K.A.R.343.1).
- (iv) Atrahasisa : at-ra-ḥa-si-sa Adapa Epic, neo-Assyrian version, epithet (A.T. Clay, Y.O.R. V.3, pl .IV, 1.8).

Forms (i) and (ii) are difficult to explain. The presence or absence of the m in (i) can be attributed simply to the loss of mimation known from the late Old Babylonian period onwards⁶. The fact that both (i) and (ii)

6. G.A.G. §63d.

are used of the hero of the Atrahasis Epic suggests that there is no significant difference of meaning between them. The only distinction lies in the form of the first element, atra(m) : atar. Grammatically these words may be either (a) accusative and construct forms respectively of the noun atru(m) 'extra, more'⁷ (according to von Soden the first might also be a construct, as in Old Akkadian, see above), or (b) the stative of the verb (w)atāru, 'to excel, exceed', in the ventive and unaugmented forms⁸.

Any explanation of the second element is problematic if hypothesis (a) is accepted. The writing ha-si-is reveals that the second syllable is long, so that the word cannot be a participle (i.e. hāsīs)⁹, but if it is a noun in the absolute form, its relationship to the noun atra(m), atar is difficult to define, as von Soden has shown. Even on the basis of possibility (b) it is necessary to construe hasīs as a noun in the absolute state. However, it is submitted that this explanation is the more plausible; the first element being a verb, the second its object. Form (i) may employ the ventive, with the sense of 'self-ward'¹⁰,

7. Assuming that the element is formed from the root wtr.

8. TAR may be read tara in neo-Assyrian (K. Deller, Or, N.S. (), p.) but such a reading cannot be proven here. *a-tara could stand for at^ara or atar^a and would not help to solve the problem.

9. So I.J. Gelb, Bib.Or. XII(1955), p.108; notice, however, personal names such as Šul-gi-ḥa-si-is and other passages employing the participle, e.g. la nāsir adê la ḥa-si-is tābti, contradict this (passages cited in C.A.D. H, pp.123, 124). The ideographic writing in form (ii) is only found for the nominal form, so militating against recognition of a verbal form in this name (cf. ibid., pp.122, 126; A.H.W., pp.329, 330).

10. I.J. Gelb, loc. cit.

simply to emphasise the verb, for it is an amissable feature, as shown by form (ii). Support for this explanation may be gained from form (iii) wherein the second element may be seen to have the accusative termination appropriate to the object of the verb, and also form form (iv) which retains both ventive and accusative terminations.

b. Meaning. In whatever way the formation of the elements of the name is explained, its general meaning is not in doubt (unless the identification of the roots is disputed, see n.7.). It implies that the bearer was unusually endowed with the quality of hasis. While this is usually rendered 'wise, understanding' (see n.5) in this name, a more closely-defined nuance may apply when it is used of the Flood-hero. The root hss and its derivatives frequently imply devotion or respect.¹¹ Now it can be seen that devotion, to Enki especially, is the characteristic of the hero in the Sumerian 'Deluge' text, in the Atrahasis Epic where it is he alone who converses with the god (also in Gilgamesh XI), and, in the fragment from Ugarit, he lives in the shrine of Enki. The expression in Atrahasis I.vii.52, III.i.38 'Atramhasis ilqia tertam, 'Atrahasis accepted the command' might suggest great skill or wisdom in understanding the god's words, however his special relationship to Enki enable him to be in the position to understand. Accordingly 'the one who is exceedingly devout, attentive (to a god)' would be a more

11. cf. C.A.D. H, p.122

fitting translation of Atrahasis as the connotation of the hero of the Flood, than 'the one who is exceedingly wise'. The use of Atrahasis to designate the hero in Enki's defence of his action in saving him from the Flood could thus itself be the reason for the appellation, the one saved was 'exceeding devout' and so worthy to live (Gilgamesh XI.187, see also 2 below).

2. The Use of the Name Atrahasis.

The hero of the Atrahasis Epic is given no appellation except that of Atrahasis (unless a name was preserved in a passage now lost). In the Flood narrative of Gilgamesh XI, closely related to Atrahasis (see ch. 6), the hero is named as (Ūt-napištim), son of Ubar-tutu, native of Shuruppak (1.23), while in one passage he is called Atrahasis in a manner which suggests that this was an epithet or title (1.187. at-ra-ḫa-sis šu-na-ta u-šab-ri-šum-ma pi-riš-ti illi meš iš-me, 'I caused the Exceeding Devout to see a dream, he heard the decision of the gods'). Ūt(a)-napištim is attested as the name of the hero elsewhere in Gilgamesh (e.g. IX.i.6; X.iv.6, Old Babylonian text, spelt ú-ta-na-iš-tim by error) and by a lexical equation with the name of the Sumerian hero (zi.sud.da : ut-na-púš-te, C.T.XVIII.30,iv.9.). It is also found in the middle Assyrian version of 'The Instructions of Shuruppak', as son of Shuruppak, son of Ubar-Tutu, where the Sumerian version has Ziusudra.¹² Ūta-napištim is

12. W.G. Lambert, B.W.L., pp.92-95.

probably an Akkadian version of the Sumerian Ziusudra, and may be rendered 'the one who found life', although its grammatical form is unclear.¹³ The Sumerian name may mean 'who gained long life' or 'who made life long'.¹⁴

Ziusudra and Ūt(a)-napištim were the names by which the hero of the Flood was known to later generations. The meanings of both show them to be retrospective names, applied, post facto, in the light of the dominant event of the bearer's career.¹⁵ Whereas the Sumerian 'Deluge' text refers to the hero throughout as Ziusudra (and is thus technically guilty of an anachronism on our understanding of the name's significance), it is notable that such a prolepsis is not found in the Gilgamesh XI Flood Story. At the commencement of that narrative, Enki calls upon the hero as 'man of Shuruppak, son of Ubar-Tutu' without actually naming him (1.23) and refers to him as Atrahasis, not Ūt(a)-napištim, in 1.187 (see above). Naturally, the fact that the hero himself was the narrator reduces the opportunity for introduction of his name. In the only place where it occurs, the Flood has passed and Enlil is bestowing immortality upon the hero and his wife, this is the earliest moment upon which the name could become actuality (11.193-195). (Were columns vi. and vii of Atrahasis III preserved, this incident, and the name, might

13. A. Heidel, GE, p.227; W. von Soden, J.N.E.S. XIX(1960), p.165.

14. A. Poebel, HGT, pp.48-50; A. Heidel, GE, p.227; T. Jacobsen, SKL, p.76, n.34, for list of various spellings.

15. A. Heidel, GE, p.227.

be found in the Epic). Therefore the personal name of the 'Babylonian Noah' remains unknown, although his father's name is recorded¹⁶(Ubar-Tutu).

3. The Status of Atrahasis.

Throughout the Atrahasis Epic, the only person named is Atrahasis. In the discussion of the meaning of the name (1b, above) it was noticed that he had close connection with the god Enki. Nowhere in the Epic is he given any title, so that his rank or office can only be deduced from the role assigned to him. There is no circumstantial evidence in the Old Babylonian version that he held kingly office, it was as spokesman of Enki that the elders were instructed by him at his gate. His only action which might denote him a priest was the sacrifice after the Flood, when, however, no-one else was alive to officiate. The Ugarit fragment is of importance in that it describes Atrahasis as living in the shrine of Enki, a more definite indication of a priestly office. This is supported by the evidence of the Sumerian 'Deluge' text in which the hero is a lugal and a pašišu priest. So in the Old Babylonian period's Epic traditions, Atrahasis was a priest-king. Curiously, this knowledge is lost in the Assyrian texts. The neo-Assyrian version of Atrahasis, ms. k, places the epithet amēlu (lú) after the hero's name (iv.17',v.28',

16. T. Jacobsen, SKL, pp.75-76, n.33; S.N. Kramer, J.C.S. I(1947) p.33,n.208, argues that Shuruppak was the father of Atrahasis, Ubar-Tutu the grandfather.

probably with honorific, but not regal, intent, as 'the gentleman, the noble'.¹⁷ In Gilgamesh XI the hero has no title or distinction.

In the Sumerian King-Lists (see further 4 below), Atrahasis (Ziusudra) has a place as a lugal, 'king' where he appears. However, lugal is not limited to the concept of 'king' in its significance. It is equated with en, bēlu, 'lord', as well as šarru, 'king'¹⁸, so it might be possible to suppose that there is no distinction on this point between the Lists and the Epic on a lexical basis. Historical studies show that the early rulers of Babylonia were probably both priests and kings,¹⁹ and this explains the diverse titles and the role of Atrahasis.

4. The Sumerian King Lists and the Atrahasis Epic.

The great list of Sumerian Kings, probably first composed c. 2100 B.C.,²⁰ originally began with the First Dynasty of Kish which followed the Flood.²¹ At an unknown time before the writing of extant Old Babylonian copies, some scribes prefixed to the body of the List a table of rulers whose reigns had fallen before the Flood.²² Lists of these Kings were also written out separately, and three of these have been discovered (from Larsa, Nippur, and the Diyala region).²³ The fact that those lists which include the

17. cf. J.J. Finkelstein, J.C.S.XVII(1963),p.48.

18. A. Deimel, SL,p.364,no.151; J.J. Finkelstein, loc.cit.

19. C.J. Gadd, The Cities of Babylonia, CAH²,I.XIII,1962,pp.14-15.

20. M.B. Rowton, J.N.E.S.XIX(1960),pp.156-162.

21. T. Jacobsen, SKL,pp.57-64.

22. J.J. Finkelstein, J.C.S.XVII(1963),pp.44-45.

23. Ibid.

antediluvian rulers and the later monarchs have a ruling dividing the former from the latter demonstrates that a clear distinction was felt to exist, at least on grounds of literary composition.²⁴ The introduction to the List is the same in both sections, implying an entirely new start after the Flood. It may be that this introduction (nam.lugal an.ta e,,de.a.ba, 'king-ship came down from heaven') was original to the post-diluvian list, its appearance at the head of the pre-Flood list being an attempt at harmony within the whole.²⁵ The argument has been advanced that 'there is nothing in the preserved Sumerian traditions to suggest that kingship reverted to heaven during the flood.'²⁶ The corollary of this must be that there was no 'kingship' before the Flood in the sense in which the compiler of the list of later rulers understood it. Whether or not this hypothesis is accepted, the different traditions of the King-List agree in having a new start with the First Dynasty of Kish.

Attempts to correlate information from the King Lists with information from the Epic are hindered by the absence of any other personal name than Atrahasis and of any place-name at all. Thus none of the events described in the Epic before the Flood can be associated with events or names in the King-Lists apart from Atrahasis. It follows that the

24. This persisted into the Selencid period, cf. the list of rulers and counsellors from Uruk, J.J. van Dyk in H. Lenzen, UVB XVIII, pp.44-45, pl.27.
 25. W.W. Hallo, J.C.S. XVII(1963),pp.56-57.
 26. Ibid.

Epic passes over the period after the creation of man without remark, a period reckoned by the King-Lists as anything from 168,000⁺ years to 420,000 years, not counting Ziusudra's rule at all.²⁷ The Epic does provide an indication of a passage of time in the repeated mention of 1200 years (I.vii.19,viii.28=II.1.1), but the illegibility of each line concerned leaves some doubt as to its interpretation. If, as is most probable, it denotes the lapse of time between the divine visitations, and, in the first instance, a period after some lost event (or actually man's creation), comparison with the King Lists would suggest that all took place well within the period of Atrahasis' existence - assuming the same basis of reckoning - for the texts that ascribe a reign to him allow 18,000⁺, 36,000, and 64,800 years.²⁸

Alternatively, if the first 1200 year span is regarded as the interval between the creation of man and the first visitation, there is a direct contradiction between the Epic and its sources and the King Lists.

5. The Identity of Atrahasis.

One means of harmonising the divergencies just noted is the possibility that the name Atrahasis denotes more than one person. Although the passages of 1200 years mentioned in the Epic (see above, 4) fall easily within the reign allocated to Atrahasis - Ziusudra by one tradition of the King List, the Epic makes it clear that at least one, and probably

27. J.J. Finkelstein, loc.cit., p.46, table.

28. Ibid., UCBC 9-1819, WB.62, Berossus.

several, generations passed in each interval, because it was the multiplication of man that caused Enlil's anger each time. Throughout the narrative of these successive expansions one name only is mentioned, Atrahasis. The possibility may be advanced that the king-priest was marked by longevity above his subjects, or even that all men lived long, thus causing an ever more rapidly increasing population, but no support can be found for these conjectures. There is slightly more likelihood in the hypothesis that Atrahasis was a title or epithet applied to several rulers. The absence of any named domicile for Atrahasis is peculiar as there was a very strong tradition associating a king with a particular city, as shown for example by the King List.²⁹ This helps only to make the figure of the 'hero' more vague. If the Epic does endeavour to say that the first plague occurred 1,200 years after the appearance of man, the second 1,200 years later, the third after a similar interval, and then the Flood, it may conceal under Atrahasis the several rulers known from the King List, while tacitly rejecting its chronology. The figure of Atrahasis does not find its place in any office other than that of king-priest (cf. 3 above, 6, below), so it is not possible to attempt an identification with, for example, the 'sages' (apkallu) who enjoyed Enki's special favour and protection when their actions angered the gods.³⁰

29. cf. G. Buccellati in R.D. Biggs and J.A. Brinkman, eds, Studies Presented to A.L. Oppenheim, Chicago, 1964, pp 54-61.

30. This applies at least to the apkallu after the Flood; v. E. Reiner, Or. N.S. XXX (1961), pp.1-11 and J.J. van Dyk, UVB XVIII, pp. 45-52.

While this hypothesis may be allowed, there can be cited against it the evidence of the neo-Assyrian fragment K.11261+11624 (C.T. XLVI, Pl.XXIII, no.5). Here the ante-diluvian rulers are listed, including Ziusudra, and, after the summary 'five cities; nine kings...' (1.14), is related an incident concerning Enlil and noise (hubūru; cf. I.vii.22). Since the list of kings is uninterrupted from the first preserved name, Enmengalanna, the fourth ruler, onwards, this incident could be either the first occasion of Enlil's disturbance, or the arousing of his final fury which culminated in the Deluge. If the former alternative is correct there is no place for the passage of time between the first visitation and the Flood indicated in the Epic, apart from the span of the reign of Ziusudra - Atrahasis, who is then one person in both Epic and Lists. If it is the latter which is correct, then the text must have omitted to recount the plagues, probably on the ground that they did not interrupt the sequence of rulers and kingdoms as did the Flood. This text cannot be held to refute the argument for Atrahasis as an epithet of all the pre-Flood rulers, therefore.

(As comparative evidence, the Hebrew tradition may be introduced against the hypothesis (Genesis 6. 1-4). Only a short period may there be envisaged (120 years) between God's first wrath at the sins of multiplying mankind and the Flood.³¹)

31. The expression may refer to the length of human life, not to the interval before the Flood.

6. 'Political Organization' In The Atrahasis Epic.

The position of Atrahasis in society has already been examined (3, above), in this section the evidence of the Epic for reconstruction of early political patterns will be scrutinised.

A thorough investigation of available sources bearing on this topic for the ages prior to the Dynasty of Agade has been undertaken by T. Jacobsen.³² The organization revealed by the myths to obtain among the gods is taken by him as a reflection of the earliest stage in earthly development. He concluded that the 'assembly' (unkin, puhrum) held sovereign power and 'was called when a crises would threaten the community'³³ to combine experience and concert energies for the relief of the situation. If necessary, a leader could be chosen for qualities of administrative ability or good judgement in an internal, economic crisis, or of martial prowess on occasion of attack from outside. Eventually one of these 'leaders' retained the power entrusted to him for a limited spell and became sole ruler.

a. The Terrestrial State.

The recovery of the Atrahasis Epic provides the first portrayal of the period before the Flood, or at least purported portrayal, apart from a reference in Gilgamesh XI.35, of which the value in this context is uncertain.³⁴ In this

32. J.N.E.S. II (1943), pp. 159-172; Z.A. LII, n.F. XVIII (1957), pp. 91-140. A. Falkenstein has proposed a different reconstruction in Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale I (1954), pp.

33. Z.A. LII, p. 102.

34. J.J. Finkelstein, J.C.S. XVII (1963), p. 48, n. 31.

portrayal the terrestrial state has a simple form; a priestly ruler intervenes with a god on behalf of his people and announces the divine oracles to the 'elders' (šībūtum) who obey unquestioningly. No trace of consultation among the elders or between them and Atrahasis appears, nor does any preserved passage speak of an election of Atrahasis to leadership in the time of crisis - the characteristic Jacobsen would expect to find in the earliest form of 'primitive democracy'. The exalted position of that Atrahasis who endured the Deluge was probably due to no more than his parentage, son of Ubar-Tutu, also a ruler, as recorded in group of King List texts and by Gilgamesh XI. At least Jacobsen is agreed that the lugal 'was ... of noble family'.³⁵

Some limitation of this position may be tendered in the light of Jacobsen's studies. Atrahasis acted in a period of unusual and widespread difficulty. If he enjoyed general recognition as a divine spokesman the community may have expected his help in a moment of divine visitation, and likewise that of a 'king' at a time of political unrest or hostile invasion. However, were there such a practice in the society exhibited in the Epic, it has not passed into the literary tradition, for the elders do not approach Atrahasis first, nor, as remarked, is there any consultation between them.

Jacobsen showed that many of the later kings also had priestly attributes, and suggested that in some instances a

35. Z.A. LII, p.103.

lugal may have retained his power, in others the socio-religious leader, the En.³⁶ A. Falkenstein has suggested that the ruler was originally a religious functionary, residing in the god's sanctuary.³⁷ Of these two views, Falkenstein's is clearly more correct in so far as the Atrahasis Epic bears upon the question. Although he is never entitled En, it may be assumed that Atrahasis held the sort of position Falkenstein described.

b. The Heavenly State. In contrast, the practices of the heavenly realm are much more similar to the pattern Jacobsen has posited. The divine assembly is required at least to give its approval to a decision of moment, like the creation of man, which is proposed to it only after discussion by the leading figures, Anu, Enlil, and Enki (cf. I.iv.). The system has its imperfections as Nintu's regret at being persuaded to agree to the sending of the Flood makes plain (III.ii,iv). In this instance, Enlil failed to follow the customary procedure of consulting with his colleagues, according to Nintu (III.iii.53, ša lā imtalkūma 'who did not take counsel'), as he had done earlier when the Igigu rebelled (I.ii.iii) and when man first disturbed him (I.vii). Nevertheless the gods agreed to his proposition and the one dissentient, Enki, was forced to give way (II.vii,viii). In this divine society, two ranks of gods existed. The Anunna, the 'ruling class' constituted the assembly which gave its Yea to divine plans (I.iv.49-51), while the Igigu carried out

36. Ibid, p.107,n.32.

37. Loc. cit., p.798; cf. Jacobsen's comments, n.35.

the decision if it required a large force (cf. I.i.5,6; v.6-7).

c. Conclusion. The very fact of the divergence between the terrestrial and the celestial modes of government in the Atrahasis Epic as now extant suggests that the description of the priest-king in the earthly state may be derived from a remote age and represent a procedure which was actually followed in the period to which the Epic attributes it. On the other hand, the 'democratic' government of the gods which, according to Jacobsen's analysis, was also an actual usage, may represent the situation at a slightly later date. This is arguable from the fact that the epics centred on Gilgamesh or other early, post-diluvian Sumerian heroes disclose closely similar situations on earth. Thus both Jacobsen's thesis and Falkenstein's have truth in them; further careful study and distinction of types of source material (historical inscriptions, literary or religious traditions among them) may result in a more precise delineation than any so far produced.

In summary, Atrahasis appears to be a priest-king who mediates the will of the god(s) to the people, who have but to obey. The general situation finds a close similarity in the Israelite nation under Moses or Samuel.

7. Religious Outlook

If the politico-social organisation visible in the Atrahasis Epic can be considered to represent actual patterns of existence, it may be that the same is true in the religious sphere. Now the conservation of religious belief above all

other thought can mean that the concepts of a later age differ little from those of an era centuries earlier. Little investigation of the history of religious thought in ancient Mesopotamia has been made,³⁸ so that no more than a description is given of the situation in the Epic.

a. The Pantheon. The Epic exhibits that form of the Sumerian-Babylonian pantheon found in many other sources. Anu is supreme, the king (šarru), heaven is his domain. Enlil is the counsellor (malku), charged with the good ordering of the earth and dwelling in the Ekur. As officers there are Ninurta the 'throne-bearer' (guzalû), and Ennugi the 'beadle' (gallu). These four are the leading figures among the Anunna, the 'ruling class' and the workers, the Igigu. Apart from these four is Enki, king of the sweet waters under the earth (apsû), the barrier restraining the seas of chaos (I.i.15,16,ii.46). One goddess appears in the Epic, variously called Mami or Nintu, the mother-figure (tabsûtum 'midwife', šassûru 'birth-goddess, womb'), and honoured as 'Mistress of the gods' (I.v.19-21). The lord Enlil has a vizier (sukkal), Nusku, who acts as advisor and as messenger, and a doorkeeper Kalkal (I.ii.18-42,ii.5-50). Other gods are named simply as personified activities. Thus Utu or Shamash is the sunlight (III.i.30,iii.18), Adad (IM, Iškur) is the weather, especially rain-storm (II.i.11;III.ii.49,53), and a group of gods act to loose the destructive Flood, Shullat and Hanish, Nergal, and Ninurta (II.vii.49-52). Finally there

38. For one attempt see T. Jacobsen in G.E. Wright, ed., The Bible and the Ancient Near East (Albright Festschrift), London, 1961, pp.267-278.

is the mysterious god who was slaughtered to provide matter from which man could be made. His name, wē ila, and probable position as leader of the rebellious Igigu are discussed in the Notes to I.iv.54. The organisation of the pantheon is discussed in section 6b, above.

b. Man and the Gods. The Epic teaches clearly that man's end is to relieve the gods of the toil and labour of so caring for the earth that it will produce their food. Any other work of mankind is secondary, the creature is expected to obey his masters in every respect (cf. I.iv,v). The effect of the Deluge in depriving the gods of their source of supply emphasises the food-producing purpose of man (cf. III.iv.17-23,v.34-36). Above all, this is demonstrated in the advice of Enki to Atrahasis on the method of countering and ending the divine oppression; all worship and prayer is to cease, sacrifices and offerings are to be unfit (I.vii.45-50). Here is an idea contrary to all that is known of Sumerian and Babylonian worship, that divine wrath may be stopped by ceasing from worship, by bribery in fact. In all other texts the anger of the gods is seen as a result of some failure on man's part, a failure to be remedied by prayer and humility.³⁹ On two, and possibly three, occasions the Epic represents this as a successful strategem. It is found not only in the Old Babylonian manuscripts,

39. E.g. S.N. Kramer in M. Noth and D.W. Thomas, eds, Wisdom in the Ancient Near East (Rowley Festschrift), Supplement to Vetus Testamentum III, Leiden, 1955, pp.170-182; W.G. Lambert, B.W.L., passim.

but also in the neo-Assyrian (k, l), so that the story of how man frustrated the gods for a time must have been known to literates throughout the intervening period. The effect of such knowledge upon religious attitudes cannot be known. Several factors are likely to have softened the harsh outline drawn above, a picture according rather with the view of a Hebrew prophet than a Babylonian sage. Firstly, the distress was primarily the result of Enlil's discomfort, and since he had charge of the earth, he could do as he pleased there, with restrictions only on complete destruction, so that Enki may be seen to be demonstrating through his advice the effect the plagues would have eventually, that is the cessation of all sustenance. Secondly, man was hardly responsible for his natural increase, so that the visitation was unfair, as Enki implied in his rebuke to Enlil, 'on the sinner lay his sin ...' (III.vi.18-25, cf. Gilgamesh XI, 178-185). Thirdly, the Babylonian thinkers may have held that the situation was so different in the ante-diluvian age that it was irrelevant to their beliefs. Nevertheless, the fact remains that this remarkable instance of 'bringing the gods to heel' was contained in a much-copied literary composition in which may be detected other streaks of, to us, irreverent thought (see ch 4 , Irony). The full significance of this factor must be investigated by historians of religion.

8. The Flood

This common feature of the Atrahasis Epic, the Sumerian 'Deluge' Tablet, and the King Lists is studied in ch. 6 for

purpose of comparison. Here it is recognised as a part of the body of tradition, so strong in ancient Mesopotamia, of one Flood more terrible and destructive than all others. Admittedly, the story may have become exaggerated in the course of transmission, but that has to be proved just as much as a theory that the literary accounts give a true picture in relating the destruction of all men save one.

The Atrahasis Epic as the primary Akkadian narrative of the Deluge (see ch. VI) probably provided the source for many later references to the event such as ki-ma a-bu-ub me-e ša ib-ba-šu-ú i-na ni-ši (m)a-ah-ri-a-ti a k-ka]-di-i uš-te-mi 'I made the land of Akkad as it was after the flood of water which came upon the people of old'.⁴⁰ Other allusions do not find any counterpart in the Epic, suggesting that there was more traditional information than that given by the Epic. These are the statements of Ashurbanipal that he could read the difficult inscriptions of the pre-Flood period, and the other notices of information surviving from that age.⁴¹ Consonant with this is the statement of Berossus that the 'Babylonian Noah' should bury a history of the world in Sippar⁴² which he recovered after

40. J.J. Finkelstein, J.C.S. XI(1957),p.58; C.A.D. A/1,p.78

41. See W.G. Lambert, J.C.S. XVI (1962),p.72.

42. The fourth city in the list of pre-Flood foundations in the Sumerian 'Deluge' tablet, characterized in an Old Babylonian inscription as 'ancient', šātu (C.T.XXXVII.I.i.9, Samsu-iluna); Sippar was the provenance of four at least of the Old Babylonian manuscripts (see ch.VI), but this need be no more than coincidence.

the Flood.⁴³ Moreover, the Erra Epic states that ^{279.}'the
lord of lands did not let the flood pass over' the territory
of Sippar (ā1 si-par ā1 sa-a-ti ša dBēl mātāti i-na ugār
pa-ni-šú a-bu-bu lā uš-bi-šu IV.50, K.A.R.109.9). As a
witness to this tradition, the Atrahasis Epic has a major
place by reason of its antiquity and its length.

9. Summary

This chapter has shown that the figure of Atrahasis is
to be identified with the last ruler before the Flood,
whose actual name is unknown. Moreover, the figure in the
Epic may allude to more than one person under this epithet,
representing several ante-diluvian chiefs. As a source for
knowledge of very early political and religious situations
it has a unique place; it illuminates a position already
known from other texts increasing and altering to some
extent the current comprehension of those developments.
With a number of other texts, the Atrahasis Epic bears
witness to the strong tradition of an overwhelming catastrophe
at a remote period of Mesopotamian history, a catastrophe
closing an era different in many ways from that which followed.

THE ATRAHASIS EPIC IN BABYLONIA AND BEYOND

In the preceding chapters the Epic of Atrahasis has been discussed in juxtaposition with other texts of similar or related content. This has shown that many connections exist between various compositions, and these may be held to point to particular streams of traditional knowledge, they also show that Atrahasis was well-known among writers of literature. It is legitimate to ask whether the Epic was known to a wider circle, especially as the closing words are an exhortation to popularise the story. Information on this problem is limited to written texts, unless some pictorial representation can be said to reproduce an incident of the story without doubt. The fact that some of the extant mss. are school-texts (cf. ch. IV (i), p.491^(†)) implies that the story was well-known in some scribal circles from the days of their youth. Further than this it is impossible to go without doubt. Mention must be made, however, of the passage from Tablet II concerning the dire straits to which famine had reduced mankind and which is repeated in royal inscriptions, omens, a prophecy, and, most notably, in legal deeds, written during siege.¹ As the theme is also found in Sumerian texts, it cannot be stated that the passage was definitely cited from Atrahasis, where, indeed, it is only extant in the neo-Assyrian ms. k (II.iv.end), but it may be allowed as a strong possibility. It has also been

1. Cf. A.L. Oppenheim, Iraq XVII (1955), pp.78-80; A.K. Grayson and W.G. Lambert, J.C.S. XVIII (1964), p.21.

suggested in the Notes to III.i.35 that certain omen texts were based upon the Flood Story. The many allusions in Babylonian literature to creation of man do not agree absolutely with the Atrahasis Epic, although springing from the same traditions (e.g. Aruru makes man from clay pinched off by Enki in Theodicy 258, 276-8)². Now that so much of the Epic is available, more explicit citations or allusions may be found.

While Atrahasis was known throughout Babylonia, it was not limited to that region. Discovery of a piece of the text at Ugarit³ attests knowledge of it in Syria, and references in texts from Bogyzkoy imply that something of it was known in Hittite Anatolia at the same period (c.1400 B.C.)⁴. Reminiscences of the story may underlie tales of a flood preserved in Anatolia until classical times and finding their final reduction in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* I.318ff.

Another body of literature with which Atrahasis may be compared is the Hebrew. While no strife of gods or execution is found therein, man is made from clay to tend the earth and worship, and the account develops with a rebellious mankind eventually causing the Flood.

These hints belong to a separate study, but emphasise the wider importance of the Epic of Atrahasis.

3. J. Nougayrol, Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, 1960, p.170.
4. H.G. Guterbock, Kumarbi, Zurich, 1946, pp.30-1, 81-2; cf. Revue Hittite et Asiatique XIV (1956), p.109, no.247.

A P P E N D I X

THE TEXT OF TABLET II, TENTATIVELY RECONSTRUCTED

- E G i. 1 x -hi-il x ik 600.600 mu.hi.a
2. ma-tum ir-ta-pí-iš ni-šu im-ti-da
3. ma-tum ki-ma li-i i-ša-ab-bu
4. i-na hu-bu-ri-ši-na i-lu it-ta-a -da-ar
5. ^dEn-líl iš-te-me ri-gi-im-ši-in
6. iz-za-kàr a-na i-li ra-bu-tim
7. ik-ta-ab-ta ri-gi-im a-we-lu-ti
8. i-na hu-bu-ri-ši-na ú-za-am-ma ši-it-ta
9. pu-ur-sa a-na ni-ši te-i-ta
10. i-na bu-bu-ti-ši-na li-še-su ša-am-mu
11. zu-un-ni-šu ^dAdad li-ša-aq-qí-il
12. (ša-ap-li)-iš a-ia il-li-ka
13. mi-lu i-na na-aq-bi
14. li-il-li-ik ša-ru

-
- k (iv.37') ^dEn-líl il-ta-kan pu-hur-šu
- izakkar a-na ili mare-šu
- 38' x x -ra me-e-ta aš-ku-na-ši-na-ti
- 39' nišu la im-ta-a a-na ša pa-na i-ta-at-ra
- 40' eli rig-me-ši-na at-ta-a-dir
- 41' i-na hu-bu-ri-ši-na la i-sa-ba-ta-ni ši-tu
- 42' lip-par-sa-ma a-na ni-še-e ti-ta
- 43' i-na kar-ši-ši-na li-me-su šam-mu
- 44' e-liš ^dAdad zu-un-na-šu lu-šá-cir
- 45' li-is-sa-kir šap-liš ia iš-šá-a me-lu i-na na-aq- bi

- E G i. 15. ka-aq-aá-ra li-e-er-ri
 16. er-pí-e-tum li-ih-ta-an-ni-ba
 17. ti-ku a-ia it-tu-uk
 18. li-iš-šu-ur a.šà iš-pí-ki-šu
 19. li-x-x-x-li ir-ta-ša ^dNisaba
 20. a-ia ib-ši ši-na-ši-šu x x x x
 21. lu-ú ku-ut-te-eb-ba/ma x x x x
 22. a-ia x x x x x x x x x
 23. x x x x x x x x x x

Remainder lost.

- k 46' li-šur a.šà iš-pike-e-šu
 47' li-ni- i irta-šá ^dNisaba
mušati lip-su-ú ugaru
 48' seru pal-ku-ú lu-li-id id-ra-nu
 49' li-bal-kat ki-rim-šá
šam-mu ia ú-sa-a šu-ú ia i-i-ru
 50' liš-šá-kin-ma a-na niši a-sa-ku
 51' ummu lu-ku-sur-ma ia ú-še-šir šer-ra
 52' ip-par-su a-na ni-še-e ti-ta
 53' i-na kar-ši-ši-na e-me-su šam-mu
 54' e-liš ^dAdad zušanna-šu ú-šá-qir
 55' is-sa-kir šap-liš ul iš-šá-a mi-lu i-na na-ac ^{-bi}
 56' iš-šur a.šà iš-pi-ki-šú
 57' i-ni- i irta-šá ^dNisaba
mušati ip-su-ú ugaru
 58' seru pal-ku-ú ú-li-id id-ra-na
ib-bal-kat ki-ri-im-šá

47,57 read salmutu for mušati with G iv.7.

E G ii. 1,2 Lost.

3. li-ig-bu-ma li-is-su-ú na-gi-ru

4. ri-ig-ma li-še-eb-bu-ú i-na ma-tim

5. e ta-ap-la-ha i-li-ku-un

6. e tu-sa-al-li-a iš-tar-ku-un

7. ^dAdad x x x ba-ab-šu

8. bi-la e-pí-ta a-na qú-ud-mi-šu

E 9. li-il-li-ik-šu ma-ah-ha-tum ni-qú-ú

10. li-ba-aš-ma i-na ka-at-re-e

11. lā-ša-aq-qí-il qá-as-su

12. i-na še-ri-im ib-ba-ra li-ša-az-ni-in

13. li-iš-ta-ar-ri-ik i-na mu-ši-ma

14. li-ša-az-ni-in na-al-ša

15. a.šà ki-ma ša-ar-ra-qí tu-šu-a li-íš-ši

16. ša ^dAdad i-na a-li ib-nu-ú bi-is-su

17. iq-bu-ma is-su-ú na-gi-ru

18. ri-ig-ma ú-še-eb-bu-ú i-na ma-tim

19. ú-ul ip-la-hu i-li-šu-un

20. ú-ul ú-se-el-lu-ú iš-tar-šu-un

k 59' šam-mu ul ú-sa-a šu-ú ul i -ru

60' iš-šá-kin-ma a-na niši a-sa-ku

61' ummu ku-sur-ma ul ú-še-šir šer-ra

Remainder lost.

14. E na-aš-ša.

- G ii. 21. ^dAdad x x -ú baab-šu
 22. x x epí-ta a-na qú-ud-mi-šu
 23. i-il-li-ik-šu ma-ah-ha-tun niqú-ú
 24. i-ba-aš-ma i-na ka-at-re-e
 25. ú-ša-ac-qí-il qá-as-su
 26. i-na še-ri-im ib-ba-ra ú-ša-az-ni-in
 27. i-š-ta-ar-ri-ik i-na mu-ši-im-ma
 28. ú-ša-az-ni-in na-al-ša
 29. a.šà ki-ma ša-ar-ra-qí tu-šu-a iš-ši
 30. x x x x x te-zi-ib-ši-na-ti
 31. x x x x x ši na-id šer-ru
 32. x x x x x x ú ri x x x
- Remainder lost.

- iii. 1. x x x x x x x x -i-ki
 2. x x x x x x x i-li-šu
 3. x x x li-še-su-šu iš-ku-un
 4. u₄-mi-ša-am-ma ib-ta-na-ak-ki
 5. mu-uš-ša-ak-ki i-za-ab-bi-il
 6. x še-ri-ti
 7. x x -a i-li ta-mi-ma

H & o may belong here:

- o 1. x x
 2. ig? x
 3. ina hu-bu-x x
 4. ki- x x x x x
 5. ^dSin u ^dNergal li-is-su-ru ersetá o**b**-li-ta

- G iii. 8. x x i-ša-ak-ka-na i-na šu-na-a-ti
 9. x x x ^dEn-ki ta-mi-ma
 10. x x i-ša-ak-ka-na i-na šu-na-a-ti
 11. x x x x bi-it i-li-šu
 12. x x x x uš-ša-ab ib-ta-ak-ki
 13. x x x x x x x x id-di
 14. x x x x uš-ša-ab ib-ta-ak-ki
 15. i-x x x x x x x su-ra-at
 16. i-na x x x x x -a-šu ik-te
 17. ši-it-x x x x x x -a am-ru

- H o 6' ši-ga-ru na-aḥ-ba-lu [tam-ti]
 7' ^dÉ-a li-iš-šur qá-du-ú-me-šu
 8' iq-bi-ma iš-su-ru ^dA-nù [^dAdad e-le-nu]
 9' ^dSin u ^dNergal iš-su-ru er-se-ti [caḥ-li-ta]
 10' ši-ga-ru na-aḥ-ba-lu ta-am-[ti]
 11' ^dÉ-a iš-šur qá-du-ú-me-šu
 12' ù šu-ú At-ra-ḥa-si[-iḥ] il-šu ^dÉ-a-ma
 13' u₄-mi-šam-ma ip-ta-a[l-la-aḥ]
 14' maš-šak-ka ra-bi-i i[g? - x x]
 15' e-mid-na x x x x [x x x]
 16' mu-šu x x x x [x x x x]
 17' x x x x [x x x x x x]

- 9' H ^dEn-líl . 12' H has in two lines.
 14' H [maš-šak-ka i-za-ab[]]. H diverges: ^dA-nu ma-mi-it la[]
bi?-it i-zu-uš-ma[]

- G iii.18. iz-za-kà6 x x x x x x x -ri
 19. li-il-x x x x x x bi-il na-ru
 20. li-il-li/bu x x x x x x x bi-ti
 21. a-na ma-ah-x x x x x x -ia
 22. li-mu-ur x x x x x x x x
 23. li-ih- x x x x x x x x x
 24. a-na-ku i-na mu-ṣ̌i x x x x x x
 25. iṣ̌-tu-ma uṣ̌-x x x x x x x x x
 26. pu-ti-iṣ̌ na-ri x x x x x x x
 27. i-na ki-ib-ri x x x x x x x
 28. a-na ap-si-i ú-ur-ra-ad x x x x
 29. iṣ̌-me-e-ma ^dEn-ki a-wa-as-su

-
- o 18' iz-zak-kar a-na x x x x x x x
 19' il-qé-e-ma x x x x x x x x x
 20' liṣ̌-ṣ̌á-kin ṣ̌u-bu-ul-x x x x x x
 21' li-mur ^dá-a x x x x x x x x x
 22' a-na-ku i-na x x x x x x x x
 23' iṣ̌?-tu x x x x x x x x x
 24' i-na pu-ut x x x x x x x x x
 25' i-na pu-ut x x x x x x x x x
 26' a-na apsi x x x x x x x x x
 27' iṣ̌-me-e-ma x x x x x x x x

- G iii.30. a-na la-ah-mi ú-x x x x x x
 31. a-wi-lum ša-a-šú x x x x x
 32. an-nu-ú ba-li-it x x x x x
 33. al-ka-ma te-er-ta x x x x x
 34. ša la x x x x x
 35. x x x x x x x x x

Remainder destroyed.

-
- o 28' qu?x x x x x x x x x x
 29' x x x x x x x x x x x
 30' ^dnu-dím-mud x x x x x x x
 31' x x hu? x x x x x x x x
 32' x x x x x x x x x x x
 33' l-x x x x x x x x x x x
 34' x x x x x x x x x x x
 35' i-na x x x x x x x x x
 36' li-x x x x x x x x x x
 37' at?-ta x x x x x x x x x
 38' a-na apsi x x x x x x x x
 39' iš-me-ma ^dx x x x x x x x
 40' māhar é-an-na a-x x x x x x
 41' x x x ^{d?}x x x x x x x x
 42' mi-nam x x x x x x x x x
 43' ul x x x x x x x x x
 44' a-na x x x x x x x x x

- G v, 1. x za x x x x x x x x x
 2. it-tu? x x x x x x x x x
 3. et?-lu-tum ú-ša?-x x x x x x
 4. ú-x x x x x x x x x x x
 5. i-na 5 na? x x x x x x x x
 6. x x x x x x x x x x x
 7. et-lu-tum i-za-x x x x x x x
 8. sa-lu? xx x x x x x x x
 9. et-lu-x x x x x x x x x x
 10. i-lu a ar-di-šu? x x x x x x
 11. ki?-la-li ú x x x x x x x
 12. ar-ba?-na i-te-x x x x x x
 13. li-ib-ba-ti ma-li ša I-gi-gi?
 14. ra-bu-tum-mi ^dA-nun-na ka-lu-ni?
 15. ub-la pí-i-ni iš-ti-ni-iš ma-mi-tam?
 16. is-su-ur A-nu ^dAdad e-li-e-nu
 17. a-na-ku as-su-ur er-si-tam
 18. a-ša-ar ^dEn-ki x x x x x x
 19. ip-tu-ur ul-la x x x x x x
 20. ú x x x x x x x x x
 21. iš-ku-un? x x x x x x x x

-
- k v. 27' bel ta-šin-ti ¹A-tar-hasis
 28' a-na beli-šu ^dÉ-a pa-šu pi-ta-at
 29' i-ta-mu it-ti ili-šu
 30' x x x x x x bab ili-šu
 31' x x il?-pu-ut nara il-ta-kan ma-a-a-al-šu
 32' x x x me it-ra-tu-šu paq-rat

- G v.22'. ^dEn-líl pí-a-šu i-pū-ša-am-ma
 23'. a-na sukkalli ^dNusku iz-za-kàr
 24'. še-na x x ma-ri? li-ib-bi-ku x
 25'. li-x x -nu-ni a-na ma-ah-ri-ia?
 26'. še-na x x ma-ri ib-bi-ku x x
 27'. iz-za-kàr-šu-nu-ši qú-ra-du ^dEn-líl
 28'. ra-bu-tum-mi ^dA-nun-na ka-lu-ni?
 29'. ub-la pí-i-ni iš-ti-ni-íš x x x
 30'. is-su-ur A-nu ^dAdad e-li-e-nu
 31'. a-na-ku as-su-ur er-si-tam x x
 32'. a-ša-ar x ta-ta x x x x x/x x x

-
- o ii.2' x x ^dA-nu u ^dAdad i-na-as-sa-ru e-le-nu
 3' ^dSin u ^dNergal i-na-as-sa-ru er-se-ti ^{ti}gab-
 li-ta
 4' ši-ga-ru na-ah-ba-lu tam-ti
 5' ^dÉ-a ta-na-as-sa-ra ca-du-ú-mi-ka
 6' tuš-te-eš-šir a-na niši ^{meš} mi-šer-tú
 7' x x x x x-ta-ša ra-pa-áš-tú
 8' x x x ^dEn-líl a-na ^dÉ-a ú-šá-an-nu-ú
 9' i-nu-ma ^dA-nu ^dAdad is-su-ru e-le-nu
 10' ^dSin u ^dNergal i-na-as-sa-ru er-se-ti ^{ti}ga-ab-
 li-ti
 11' ši-ga-ru na-ah-ba-lu ta-am-ta
 12' at-ta ta-na-as-sa-ra qá-du-ú-me-ka
 13' tuš-te-eš-šir ana niši ^{meš} me-šer-tú
 14' ^dÉ-a pa-šu ipuš-ma i-qab-bi
 15' izzakkara ana mar šip-ri

- o ii.16' x x x taq-bi-ma ^dAdad is-sur e-le-nu
 17' x x x is-sur ersetu gab-li-tu₄
 18' ši-ga-ru na-ah-ba-lu tam-ti
 19' a-na-ku as-sur qá-du-ú-me-ia
 20' x x x x x x ki-i ú-šá-an-ni
 21' x x x x nuni^{meš} 1 šar nuni^{meš} 1 šar^{ta.àm}
 22' x x x x nuni^{meš} ú-gap-pi-šam-ma ih-liq-ma
 23' x x x x x-ru? iš-bi-ru mi-šil-šu

 24' x x x x x -du-me? ma-as-sa-ru tam-ti
 25' rema aš-kun-šu-nu-ti-ma e-te-nin-šu-nu-ti
 26' iš-tu-ma e-ni-nu-šu-nu-ti
 27' x x ram-ma šer-ta e-mi-id
 28' x x x x il-qu-ú še-e-ta

 29' x x x x ta-ša ra-pa-áš-tú
 30' x x x x x -ma ú-šá-an-nu-ú
 31' x x x x x a-na qu-ra-di ^dEn-líl
 32' x x x taq-bi-ma ^dA-nu ^dAdad is-su-ra
 33' ^dSin u ^dNergal is-su-ru er-se-tú gab-li-tú
 34' ši-ga-ru na-ah-ba-lu ti-am-ti
 35' a-na-ku as-su-ra qá-du-ú-me-ia
 36' x x ki-i ú-šá-an-ni
 37' x x x nuní^{meš} 1 šar nuni^{meš} 1 šar^{ta.àm}
 38' xx x x nuni^{meš} ú-gap-pi-šam-ma ih-liq-ma
 39' x x x -ru? iš-bi-ru mi-šil-šu

- G vi. 1'. x x x x x x x x x x-ti a qar šum
 2'. x x x x x x x x x -ši a-na x x
 3'. x x x x x x x x x x šu-nu-ti
 4'. x x x x x x x x x x x x
 5'. x x x x x x x x ri x x x šu-nu-ti
 6'. x x x x x x x x mu x x x x x
 7'. x x x x x x x x x ru x x x ri
 8'. x x x x x x x uš ni x x x am-ma
 9'. x x x x x x x i-x x x -ra
 10'. x x x x x nu? ^d Adad zu-un-ni-šu
 11'. x x x x x x im-lu-ú ú-bi?-ra
 12'. x x bi-tum ú-ka-la-la x x x x
 13'. x x x ka-la-nim te-er-še-šu
 14'. x x lu-bi-ra-nim nu-hu-uš ni-ši ^d Nidaba
 15'. x x -ma i-ta-šu-uš a-ša-ba-am
 16'. i-na pu-úh-ri ša-i-li si-ih-tum i-ku-ul-šu
 17'. x x x i-ta-šu-uš a-ša-ba-am
 18'. i-na pu-úh-ri ša-i-li si-ih-tum i-ku-ul-šu
 19'. x x x li-qi-ta i-na qa-ti-šum
 20'. x x x mi-a iš?-ti-šu
 21'. x x x ša i-li x x tam
 22'. x x x x x x x x ^d En-líl
 23'. x x x x x x x x x x
 24'. x x x x iš x x x x x
 25'. is-su-ur A-nu ^d Adad e-li-e-nu

G vi.26'. [x x] x x ù x la tam x ab x tam

27'. [x] x ši-ta ta-al-li-ku-ma

28'. [ta?-ap-tú-ur ul-la an-du-ra-ra ta-aš-ku-un

29'. [ta}aš-še-er a-na ni-ši mi-še-er-tam

30'. [x x x] x x i-na x la-lu x x ši / i-še-
x-x-ku

31'. [x x x x x x x qú}ra}du/i] ^d En-líl

For columns vii and viii see pp.67-69.

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AfO</u>	<u>Archiv für Orientforschung.</u>
<u>AJSL</u>	<u>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.</u>
<u>ANET</u>	J.B.Pritchard (ed.) <u>Ancient Near Eastern Texts</u> , Princeton, 1955.
<u>Ar.Or.</u>	<u>Archiv Orientálny.</u>
<u>Bib.Or.</u>	<u>Bibliotheca Orientalis.</u>
<u>C.A.D.</u>	<u>The Assyrian Dictionary</u> , Chicago, 1956- .
<u>C.A.H.²</u>	<u>The Cambridge Ancient History</u> , revised, 1963-.
<u>Deimel S.L.</u>	A.Deimel, <u>Sumerisches Lexicon.</u>
<u>D.O.T.T.</u>	D.Winton Thomas (ed.), <u>Documents from Old Testament Times</u> , London, 1958.
<u>G.A.G.</u>	W.von Soden, <u>Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik</u> , Rome, 1952.
<u>J.A.O.S.</u>	<u>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</u>
<u>J.C.S.</u>	<u>Journal of Cuneiform Studies.</u>
<u>J.N.E.S.</u>	<u>Journal of Near Eastern Studies.</u>
<u>K.A.R.</u>	E.Ebeling, <u>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts</u> , Leipzig, 1919, 1923.
<u>LSS</u>	<u>Leipziger Semitische Studien.</u>
<u>M.A.O.G.</u>	<u>Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft.</u>
<u>M.D.P.</u>	<u>Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse.</u>
<u>M.S.L.</u>	B.Landsberger, <u>Materialien zum sumerischen Lexicon</u> , Rome, 1937- .
<u>M.V.A.G.</u>	<u>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.</u>
<u>Or.</u>	<u>Orientalia.</u>
<u>R.A.</u>	<u>Revue d'Assyriologie.</u>
<u>R.T.</u>	<u>Recueil des Travaux.</u>
<u>Z.A.</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.</u>

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