



THE ASHUR VERSION OF THE SEVEN TABLETS
OF CREATION

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It was early in the year 1875 that George Smith first called attention to some fragments of cuneiform tablets in the British Museum on which he had discovered "the Chaldean account of Genesis." In view of the acrimonious debate which Langdon's *Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man* (1914) precipitated, it may be of interest to remark, incidentally, that Smith's account of the seventh tablet of the Babylonian creation story was entitled "Tablet Describing the Fall." The story of the early attempts at reconstructing the Babylonian account of the creation out of the scraps of texts available is an interesting one, and has been well told by King in the Introduction to his *The Seven Tablets of Creation* (1902). That the discovery of new tablets or parts thereof would be sure to work havoc with restorations of the text and assignments of the different fragments to their proper places in the epic was probably expected by most of those who indulged in this sort of dissipation. But such mistakes are easily made. Even King's assignment of the fragment K. 11,641 to the fifth tablet has turned out to be an error. And King, with many new fragments at hand, could and did profit by the example of others.

Since the appearance of King's work, almost two decades ago, considerable progress has been marked in our knowledge of Babylonian accounts of beginnings. However, this advance was made, not through new fragments of the *Enuma elish*, but through the discovery of older, Sumerian, legends. With the publication of the documents found by the Germans at the ancient capital of Assyria our interest again returns to the "Seven Tablets." By a most remarkable chance—the initiated know how tantalizingly fate has dealt with us in these matters—the Ashur texts practically close up the two serious gaps in the *Epic of Creation*, the one in the first tablet where the creation of the gods is described, the other in

the sixth where the creation of mankind is the theme. These texts were published by Ebeling in *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, religiösen Inhalts* (hereafter abbreviated *KAR*).¹ Ebeling also gave a preliminary translation of parts of these new tablets in the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (No. 58, August, 1917). He has found a few additional fragments which will no doubt be published along with his critical study of this new version. Meanwhile I am sending out a translation of the first and sixth tablets, realizing that the fragments to which I did not have access will surely correct some of my readings, but feeling confident that I have contributed a small mite to the understanding of the texts. I have been able to fill in a number, but not all, of the lines left blank by Ebeling.

I shall let the tablets tell their own story. But I cannot help commenting on one point, namely the "gentle cynicism" of the author or authors of this epic. Man was created, not, as had been conjectured, from Marduk's blood, but out of the blood and bone of the inventor of war, Kingu.² The author of the *Gilgamesh Epic* has a harlot introduce Engidu, the man of nature, into the amenities of civilization (we speak of the "civilizing influence" of "fire water"). I cannot follow Gressmann in his learned comments on this episode of the *Gilgamesh* story. Another Semitic story-teller reminded his hearers that murder was committed just as soon as there were two brothers on this earth to get into a quarrel. Semitic humor is apt to be grim and biting.

As an appendix I have added a translation of a Sumerian "creation" text, published by Barton in *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions*, No. 8. A new copy of the text (it cried to heaven for one) was given by Langdon in *Le poème sumérien*, Plates VII and VIII. My translation, made from the photograph, had practically the same shape it has now before Langdon's work appeared, but the delay in publication, occasioned by a visit to the scenes of the exploits of the Sumerian and Babylonian heroes, allowed me to profit by Langdon's study of the text.

¹ Besides the texts containing the first and sixth tablets, Ebeling found and published parts of Tablets II and III. But the latter have added nothing new (except some philological points) to our knowledge of the great epic.

² According to the bilingual text *KAR*, 4, ll. 25 f., the Lamgas (plural, not singular, as Ebeling and Landersdorfer construe) were slaughtered, and out of their blood mankind was formed. Just what class of divine beings the Lamgas represent is still uncertain.

TABLET I

Text KAR, 118, 162, 163, and King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*.

- e-nu-ma e-liš la na-bu-u ša-ma-mu¹*
šap-liš am-ma-tum² šu-ma la zak-rat³
apsu-um-ma riš-tu-u za-ru-šu-un
mu-um-mu ti-amat mu-al-li-da-at⁴ gim-ri-šu-un
 5 *mê^{pl}-šu-nu iš-te-niš i-ḫi-ḫu-ma⁵*
gi-pa-ra⁶ la ki-i-š-šu-ru šu-ša-a la še-⁷-u⁷
e-nu-ma ilâni⁸ la šu-pu-u ma-na-ma
šu-ma la zuk-ku-ru ši-ma-ta⁹ la ši-i-mu¹⁰
ib-ba-nu-ma ilâni ki-rib-šu-un
 10 *^dlaḫ-mu ^dla-ḫa-mu uš-ta-pu-u šu-mi¹¹ iz-zak-ru*
a-di-i¹² ir-bu-u i-ši-ḫu
an-šar ^dki-šar ib-ba-nu-u e-li¹³-šu-nu at-ru
ur-ri-ku umê^{pl} u-š-ši-pu šanâte^{pl14}
^da-nu-um a-pil-šu-nu ša-nin¹⁵ abê^{pl16}-šu
 15 *an-šar ^da-nu-um bu-uk-ra-šu u-maš-šil-ma¹⁷*
u ^da-nu-um tam-ši-la-šu u-lid ^dnu-dim-mud
^dnu-dim-mud ša abê-šu ša-liṭ-šu-nu šu-u¹⁸
pal-ka uz-ni ḫa-sis e-mu-ḫan pu-uk-ḫu-ul¹⁹
gu-uš-šur ma-⁷-diš a-na a-lit abi-šu an-šar
 20 *la i-ši ša-nin ina ilâni^{pl} at-ḫe-e-šu²⁰*
in-nin-du-ma at-ḫu-u ilâni^{pl}(ni)²¹
e-šu-u ti-amat kiššat(?)²² na-šir-šu-nu iš-tab-bu²³
da-al-ḫu-nim-ma ša ti-amat kar-as-sa²⁴

¹ 162, *mi*.⁵ *Ibid.*, *i-ḫi-ḫu-ma*.⁵² *Ibid.*, *ab-ba-tu*.⁶ *Ibid.*, *ru*.³ *Ibid.*, *ru*.⁷ *Ibid.*, *i*.⁴ *Ibid.*, *ât*.⁸ *AN-AN*, used interchangeably with *AN-MEŠ* in these texts.⁹ 162, *te*.¹⁶ 118, *AD-AD*.¹⁰ *Ibid.*, *ši-mu*.¹⁷ *Ibid.*, over erasure.¹¹ 118, *šu-la-pu-u-šu-nu*.¹⁸ 162, *šu-ma*; 163 omits.¹² *Ibid.*, *a-di-ma(?)*.¹⁹ 162 and 163, *pu-un-gul*.¹³ *Ibid.*, *eli*.²⁰ 163, *AD-MEŠ = abê^{pl}*.¹⁴ *MU-AN-NA-MEŠ*.²¹ *Ibid.*, *nu*.¹⁵ 162, *ša-ni-nu*.²² 118 seems to have *kiš = kiššat*, while 163 has end of [*kiš-š*]at.²³ So 163; 118 has *la*.²⁴ 163, *ka-ras-sa*.

TABLET I

Translation.

- When above the heaven was not named,
 below the earth was not called by name,
 but Apsu, the primeval, their progenitor,
 Mummu and Tiamat, who bore all of them,
 5 their waters as one they¹ mingled:
 (when) reeds were not yet matted together, marshes had not
 yet appeared,
 when the gods had not yet been fashioned, not one,
 none was called by name, destinies were not fixed:
 then the gods were created in their¹ midst.
- 10 Lahmu and Lahamu were fashioned, were called by name;
 as they grew they became mighty.
 Anshar and Kishar were created—they were (now) more than
 they.²
- Long were the days; years were added thereto:
 Anu, their son, rival of his fathers—
- 15 Anshar made Anu, his first-born, (their) equal.
 Then Anu begat Nudimmud (in) his (own) image.
 Nudimmud became master of his fathers;
 keen (open-eared), thoughtful, mighty in strength,
 stronger, by far, than his begetter, his father Anshar:
- 20 he had no equal among the gods, his brothers.
 So came into being the brothers, the gods.
 They perturbed Tiamat, they overpowered all³ of their guards,
 troubling the belly of Tiamat.

¹ The three elements of chaos, Apsu, Mummu, and Tiamat.

² Perhaps, "were stronger than they." I take it to mean that the gods were now in the majority.

³ The reading *kīššat*, "all," is not beyond question.

- i-na šu²-a-ru šu-du-ru¹ ki-rib AN-KUN-NA*
 25 *la na-ši-ir apsu-u ri-gim-šu-un*
u ti-amat [šu]-ka-am-mu-ma-[at . . . š]u-un²
im-ḥaṣ-ṣa-am-ma ip-še-ta-šu-nu [e-li-šu-un]
la ta-bat al-kat-su-nu šu-nu-ti i-ga-me-la³
i-nu-šu apsu za-ri ilâni ra-bi-u-tim
 30 *is-si-ma⁴ mu-um-mu suk-kal-la-šu i-zak-kar-šu*
⁴mu-um-mu suk-kal-li⁴ mu-ṭib-ba ka-bit-ti-ia
al-kam-ma ši-ri-iš⁵ ti-amat i ni-[il-lik]
il-li-ku-ma ku-ud-mi-iš⁶ ti-[amat]⁷ sak-pu
a-ma-ti im-tal-li-ku aš-šum ilâni [mârê-]šu-un
 35 *[apsû pa]-a-šu i-pu-[šam-ma] izakkar-ši*
a-na ti-amat el-li-tu-ma i-za[k-kar a-ma-tum]
im-[ḥaṣṣamma ?]⁸ al-kat-su-nu e-li-ia

Text KAR, 117, 162; CT, XIII, 31 (Rm. 982+80-7-17,178);
 and King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*.

- 53 *⁴mu-um-mu i-te-dir ki-šad-[su]⁹*
uš-ba-am-ma bir-ka-a-šu u-na-aš-šak¹⁰ ša-a-šu
 55 *mim¹¹-mu-u ik-pu-du ina puḥru-uš-[šu-un]*
 (5) *a-na¹² ilâni bu-uk-ri-šu-nu uš-tan-nu-ni*
iš¹³-mu-nim-ma ilâni¹⁴ i-dul-lu
ku-lu iṣ-ba-tu ša-ku-um-meš uš-bu
pal(?)-ka(?)¹⁴ uz-ni it-pe-ša¹⁵ te-li-[-a]
 60 *⁴e-a ḥa-sis mim-ma i-še²-a me-ki-šu-un*
 (10) *ib-šim-šum-ma uṣ-rat ka-li u-kin-šu*
u-nak-kil¹⁶ šu-tu-ra ta-a-šu el-lum
im-ni-šum-ma ina mē¹⁶ u-šap-ši-[iḥ(?)¹⁷]
šit-tu ir-te-ḥi-šu ṣa-lil tu-up-k[a-tum]

¹ Reading *šuduru* is based upon 118 + 163 + (45,528 + 46,614).

² Here the Ashur texts break off.

³ Very doubtful.

⁴ Vars., *lu, sukallu*.

⁵ Var., *riš*.

⁶ Var., *ḫud-meš*.

⁷ Var., *ta-a-ma-ti*.

⁸ Cf. l. 27.

⁹ So King.

¹⁰ Nineveh text, *ša-ka*.

¹¹ *ŠAL*-sign; 162, has *an-n[u-ti ?]*.

¹² 162, omits.

¹³ So 162, 117 has *it*.

¹⁴ 162, *šu-i* (cf. M-A, *šuwu*).

¹⁵ K. 4,488, *šu*.

¹⁶ Nineveh text, *ki-il*.

¹⁷ For restoration of this and following line, see Zimmern, *MDVG*, 21 (1917), 216.

- In ———¹ they mourned(?) in the midst of ———.²
- 25 Apsu (could) not diminish their uproar,
and Tiamat was distressed by their . . . ;
their deeds "smote" [them],
their way was not good, they ———.
Then Apsu, the begetter of the great gods,
30 cried to Mummu, his messenger, saying unto him:
"Mummu, my messenger, who rejoicest my soul,³
come, to Tiamat let us go."
They went and before Tiamat they lay down.
They consulted on a plan concerning the gods, their sons.
- 35 Apsu opened his mouth, addressing her,
to the shining Tiamat he spoke:
"Their way annoys me."⁴

- 53 Mummu fell upon his neck,⁵
took him on his knees, kissed him.
- 55 Whatever they planned in their assembly
to the gods, their first-born was repeated.
The gods heard⁶ it, they rushed about(?),
they kept silent, they sat in sorrow.
Then the keen, the wise, the exalted,
- 60 Ea, perceiving all things, saw their plot,
he reproduced⁷ it, the outline of the whole he set down.
He cunningly applied his superior, holy (pure) incantation,
he told⁸ it off, with water he quieted him(?).
Sleep overcame him, lying in the cave;

¹ Ebeling translates "mit Gesang," which hardly fits the context.

² Ebeling, "Götterwohnung(?)." Is the god Duruna (*CT*, XXIV, 2, 11) a personification of "the heavenly abode"?

³ Literally, "liver."

⁴ For what follows, see King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, I, 8 f.

⁵ Very doubtful.

⁶ The variant reading has *itmu*, which Ebeling renders "cursed."

⁷ We would say, "he plotted it on paper."

⁸ "Counted."

- 65 *u-ša-aṣ-lil-ma apsa-am ri-ḥi šit-tu*
 (15) *ᵀmu-um-mu uṭ-la-tuš da-la-biš¹ ku-u-ru*
ip-ṭur rik-si-šu iš-ta-ḥat a-kit . . .
me-lam-me-šu it-ba-la šu-u u-ta-di-na[m(?)]²
ik-me-šu-ma apsa-am i-na-ra-aš-[šu]
- 70 *ᵀmu-um-mu i-ta-sir eli-šu ip-tar-ka*
 (20) *u-kin-ma eli apsī šu-bat-s[u]*
ᵀmu-um-mu it-ta-maḥ u-kal šir-rit-su
ul-tu ši-ni-e³-šu ik-mu-u i-sa-a-du
ᵀe-a uš-ziz-zu⁴ ir-nit-ta-šu⁵ eli⁶ ga-ri-šu
- 75 *kir-biš kum-mi-šū⁷ šup⁸-šu-ḥi-iš i-nu-uh-ḥu*
 (25) *im-bi-šum-ma apsū u-ad-du-u eš-ri-e-ti*
aš-ru-uš-šu gē-par-ra-šu⁹ u-šar-šid-ma
ᵀe-a (ᵀlaḥ-mu) ᵀla-ḥa-mu ḥi-ra-tuš ina rab-ba-a-te uš-bu
ina ki-iṣ-ši šimāte¹⁰ ad-ma-an ušurate¹¹
- 80 *li-ᵀ-u li-ᵀ-u-ti abkal¹² ilāni¹³ an-šar uš-tar-ḥi*
ina ki-rib apsī ib-ba-ni an-šar
ina ki-rib elli apsī ib-ba-ni an-šar
 (5) *ib-ni-šu-ma ᵀlaḥ-mu¹³ a-ba-šu*
ᵀla-ḥa-mu ummi-šu mur-ša-as-šu
- 85 *i-ti-nik-šu-ma šir-rit ᵀištārāte¹⁴*
ta-ri-tu it-tar-ru-šu pul-ḥa-a-ta uš-ma-al-li
šam-ḥat nab-[ni]¹⁴-su za-ri-ir ni-ši ēni-šu
 (10) *uṭ-ṭu-la-at¹⁵ ši-ta-šu mu-šir ul-tu ul-la*
i-mur-šu-ma ᵀlaḥ-mu¹⁶ ba-nu-u abu-šu
- 90 *i-riš im-mir lib-ba-šu ḥi-du-ta im-la*
uš-te-is¹⁷-bi-šum-ma šu-un-na-at ili uš-šip(?) -šu(?)
šu-uš-ḫi ma-diš eli-šu-nu a-tar mim-mu-u
 (15) *la na-da-a-ma¹⁸ nu-uk-ku-la mi-na-tu-šu*
ḥa-sa-siš la na-da-a a-ma-riš pa-aš-ḫa

¹ Nineveh text evidently had *dal-la-[biš]*.

² Cf. Nineveh text.

³ 163 omits.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *za*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *tuš*.

⁶ 163, *e-li*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, *ku-um-mi-šu*.

⁸ *Ibid.*, *ḫa* (probably error).

⁹ *Ibid.*, *gi-pa-ra*.

¹⁰ *NAM-MEŠ*.

¹¹ *GIŠ-HAR-MEŠ*.

¹² *NUN-ME*.

¹³ *CT*, XIII, 31, *dE-a*.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, *ni*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, *lat*.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, *da-[num]*.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, *ta-as*.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, *la lam-da-ma*.

- 65 he caused Apsu to lie down, overcome by sleep.
 As to Mummu, his manhood was woefully distressed,
 he (Ea) loosed his (Mummu's) "bands," tore off his . . . ,
 he took away his splendor, he (Mummu) lay there.
 He bound him, namely Apsu, and slew him.
- 70 Mummu he locked up, used violence upon him.
 He established his abode upon Apsu.
 Mummu he seized, holding him by his rope.
 After he had bound the two, and overpowered (them),
 Ea established his triumph over his foes,
- 75 and rested quietly in his chamber.
 He dragged him away, namely Apsu, and appointed (him)
 for shrines:
 in his place he founded his park(?).
 Ea (Lahmu) and Lahamu, his spouse, sat in splendor,
 in the abode of the fates, the dwelling of canons,¹
- 80 the mighty one of the mighty, the chief of the gods, Anshar
 he begat;
 in the midst of the Apsu he created Anshar,
 in the midst of the bright (holy) Apsu he created Anshar.
 There created him Lahmu, his father.
 Lahamu, his mother, bore him,
- 85 the breast of the goddesses suckled him,
 a nurse cared for him, she filled him with terrors.
 Mighty was his stature, brilliant the glance of his eye,
 noble (manly) his going forth, gracious(?) from of old.
 Lahmu, his begetter, his father, saw him,
- 90 he rejoiced, he beamed, his heart was full of joy.
 He caused him to be desired, equality with the gods he gave
 him in addition.
 He was exceedingly tall, in all respects greater than they (his
 parents).
 Beyond comprehension was the beauty of his members,
 beyond imagining, hard for the eyes to look upon.

¹ A prize should be offered for a good English rendering of *uṣurāte*.

- 95 *irba*¹ *ênâ-šu* *irba uznâ[-šu]*
*šap-ti*²-*šu ina šu-ta-pu-li girri*³
*ir-bu-u*⁴ *4-ta-a-an*
- (20) *u ênâ ki-ma*⁵ *šu-a-tu i-maš-[-ša-lu-ni]*
*ul-lu-ma*⁶ *ina ilâni*
- 100 *meš-ri-tu-šu*
. . . -*ši ilu*
. . . -*tu*
- (25) . . . -*me*

TABLET VI

Text KAR, 164; King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, Pl. XXXV, 92,629; CT, XIII, 24, K. 12,000, b, and 23, K. 3,449, a.

[^dmar]duk zik-ri ilâni ina še-mi-šu [ub]-bal lib-ba-šu i-ban-na-a
nik-la-a-te

[ip]-šu pi-i-šu a-na ^de-a i-[zak-kar] ša ina lib-bi-šu uš-ta-mu-u
i-nam-din mil-ku

da-mi lu-uk-šur-ma iš-ši-im-tum lu-šab-ši-ma
lu-uš-ziz-ma LU-GAL-LU-a lu a-me-lu šum-šu

- 5 *lu-ub-ni-ma LU-GAL-LU-a a-me-lu*
*lu-u en-du dul-lî*⁷ *ilâni-ma šu-nu lu-u-pa-aš-ḥu*
*lu-ša-an-ni-ma al-ka-kat*⁸ *ilâni lu-u-nak-kil*⁹
*iš-te-niš lu-kub-bu-tu-ma ana*¹⁰ *ši-na lu-u-zi-zu*
*i-pul-šu-ma*¹¹ ^de-a *a-ma-tu*¹² *i-ḫab-bi-šu*

- 10 *aš-šu tap-šu-uḫ-ti ša ilâni u-ša-an-na-aš-šu ṭe-e-mu*
li-in-na-ad-nam-ma iš-ten a-ḥu-šu-nu | šu-u li-ab-bit-ma nišê^{pl}
lip-pat-ḫu

lup-ḥu-ru-nim-ma ilâni rabûti^{pl} *an-ni li-in-na-din-ma šu-nu*
*lik*¹³-*tu-nu*

^dmarduk *u-paḫ-ḫir*¹⁴-*ma ilâni*^{pl} *rabûte*^{pl} *mil-kuš*¹⁵ *u-[ma-]a-ar*¹⁶
i-nam-din ter-tu

¹ *Ibid.*, *ir-ba*.

² *Ibid.*, *ta*.

³ *dGIŠ-BAR*.

⁴ *CT*, *ir-bu-?-[u]*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *ki-ma*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *ul-lu-u-ma*.

⁷ 92,629, *lu*.

⁸ *Ibid.*, *ka-ti*.

⁹ *Ibid.*, *ki-i[l]*.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, *a-na*.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, *i-pu-ul-lu-šu-ma*.

¹² *Ibid.*, *tum*.

¹³ *Ibid.*, *li-i[k]*.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, *ḫi-ir*.

¹⁵ Very doubtful.

¹⁶ 92,629, *ma-?-a-ra*.

- 95 Four were his eyes, four his ears;
 his lips breathed out fire, like those of the fire-god.
 There grew for him four ears,
 and of eyes he had the same number.
 Exalted was he among the gods,
- 100 His members

TABLET VI

Translation.

When Marduk heard the word of the gods, his heart was moved and he devised cunning plans;
 he opened his mouth, to Ea he spoke, as to that which he had planned in his heart, he gave counsel.
 "Blood will I fashion (lit., bind) and bone will I cause to be. I will set up an *amelu*, man shall be his name,
 5 I will create the *amelu*, man.
 They (mankind) shall perform the service of the gods, these (the gods) shall be pacified.
 I will change the 'ways' of the gods, cunningly will I contrive it. All alike shall they be honored, and to their (several ways) let them be assigned."
 Ea answered him, the word he spoke,
 10 for the pacification of the gods, he imparted to him a plan.
 "Let one of their brothers be offered up, let him be destroyed and let people be formed.
 Let the gods gather together, let this one be offered up, let them remain."
 Marduk assembled the great gods, he put forth his plan(?), his command he gave.

*ip-šu pi-i-šu ilâni u-paḫ-ḫad | šarru a-na ^da-nun-na-ki a-ma-ta
i-zak-kar*

15 *lu-u-ki-nam-ma maḫ-ru u-nim-bu-ku-un*

ki-na-a-ti a-ta-ma-a i-nim-ma-a it-ti-ia

a-nu-um-ma ša ib-nu-u tu-ḫu-un-tu

^dti-amat u-ša-bal¹-ki-tu-ma ik-ṣur-ru ta-ḫa-zu

li-in-na-ad-nam-ma ša ib-nu-u tu-ḫu-un-tu

20 *ar-nu-uš-šu lu-u-ša-aš-ša-a pa-ša-ṭu lušešiba(ba)*

i-pu-lu-šu-ma ^digigi ilâni rabûte^{pl}

a-pil šarri dim-me-ir šamê iršitim ma-lik ilâni be-la-šu-un

^dk[in]-gu-ma ša ib-nu-u tu-ḫu-un-tu

ti-a[mat] uš-bal-ki-tu-ma [i]k-ṣu-ru ta-ḫa-zu

25 *ik-mu-š[u] maḫ-riš ^de-a u-[r]u-šu | an-nam i-me-du-šu-ma da-
*me-šu ip-tar²-u**

ina da-me-šu ib-[na] a-me-lu-tu | i-na [dul]-li ilâni-ma ilâni
um-taš-šir

ul-tu a-me-lu i-i[b-ba]-nu-u ^de-a i[r-t]e-šib dul-lu ilâni i-mi-du
a-ša-a-šu

*šip-ru šu-u la na-ṭu-u ḫa-sa-siš | ina nik-la-a-ti ša ^dmarduk
*. . . ^dnu-dim-mud**

^dmarduk šar ilâni u-za²-iz | ^da-nun-na-ki e-liš u šap-liš

30 *u-ad-di a-na ^da-num te- . . na-ša-ru lib-bi . . . ma-šar-tu*

uš-taš-ni-ma al-ka-kat iršitim(tim) [šamê](e) u iršitim
(tim)

ul-tu te-ri-e-tim ^d[marduk] u-ma-[p-a]-ru

^da-nun-na-ki ša šamê(e)

^da-nun-na-ki [ša iršitim(ti)m]. nu(?) . i-še

35 *a-na ^dmarduk be-la-šu-nu šu-nu iz-zak-[ru]*

i ^dnannaru(ŠEŠ-KI) be-lí ša šu-bar-ra-ni iš-ku-nu-ma
mi-nu-u du-muḫ-ḫa-ni ina maḫ-ri-ka

¹ K. 12,000, b, uš-bal.

- He opened his mouth, gave the gods their orders: as king to the Anunnaki he addressed the word:
- 15 "The former (word) which I spoke to you, surely it shall abide; trustworthy are the words I utter; 'tis a 'word' from me. Who was it who created warfare, who let loose Tiamat, who 'joined' battle? Let him be offered up who created warfare.
- 20 I will let him bear his penalty (sin), 'oblivion' I will cause him to inhabit."
- Then answered him the Igigi, the great gods:
 "Son of a king, god of heaven and earth, counselor of the gods, our lord:
 Kingu it was who created warfare, who let loose Tiamat, who 'joined' battle."
- 25 They bound him, before Ea they brought him, punishment they laid upon him, they pierced him to the blood. From his blood he¹ made mankind, from the service of the gods² he released the gods. After he had created man, Ea organized the service of the gods, they laid it on him (man). This work was not done (very) carefully, through the cunning of Marduk Nudimmud (Ea) [made it acceptable]. Marduk, the king, made a division among the gods, the Anunnaki [he assigned to places] above and below.
- 30 To Anu he assigned the station . . . to guard in the midst (of heaven) a watch. He changed the "ways" of earth of heaven and and earth(?)
- After Marduk had issued his commands,
 the Anunnaki of heaven
 the Anunnaki [of earth]
- 35 To Marduk their lord they spoke:
 "O Nannar, lord, who hast established our freedom, what grace have we before thee (how can we find grace before thee)?

¹ Note that Ea creates mankind, Marduk makes the proposal.

²Ebeling takes this phrase with what goes before.

- i ni-pu-uš pa-rak-ki ša na-bu-u zi-kir-šu*
ku-um-mu lu [n]u-bat-ta-ni i nu-šap-ši-iḫ ki-rib-šu
 40 *i nit-ti-pa-[aš] ni-me-da a-a[d-man]*
ina úme(me) ša ni-kaš-ša-da nu-šap-šiḫ kir-bu-uš
^dmarduk a-ni-tu ina še-me-e-šu
[ki-m]a úmu(mu) im-me-ru zi-mu-šu ma-²-diš
ipšá(DIM-ša) [^{al}v Báb-ilê^{pl} ki ša te-ri-ša ši-pir-šu
 45 *lib-ba-na alu lip-pa-ti-iḫ-ma pa-[r]ak-ka ip-ra*
^d[a]-nun-na-[ki] it-ru-ḫi al-lu šat-tu iš-ta-at li-bit-ta-šu [il-bi-nu]
ša-ni-tu šattu (MU-AN-NA) ina ka-ša-di | ša e-sag-ila mi-iḫ-
rit apsî ul-lu-u r[i-e-ša-šu]
ib-nu-u-ma zig-gur-rat apsî e-li-te | a-na ^dmarduk ^den-lil ^de-a
u-ta-a-šu u-kin-nu lib-ba
ina tar-ba-a-ti ma-ḫar-šu-nu u-[šat]-ba-am-ma | šur-šeš u-[š]ab
i-na-aṭ-ṭa-lu ḫar-na-a-šu
 50 *ul-tu e-[sag]-ila i-pu-šu ši-pir-šu | ^da-nun-na-ki kal-šu-nu pa-rak-*
ki-šu-nu ib-taš-mu
a-na e-sag-ila ša¹ pát apsî kal-šu-nu paḫ-ru | i-na BAR-MAH
ša ib-nu-u šu-bat-su
iláni abê^{pl}-šu ṣu[r]²-ta-šu uš-te-šib | an-nam Ba-ab-i-lí šu-bat
na-ar-me-ku-un
nu-ḫa-a aš-ru-uš-š[u ṣ]u[r-t]a-šu . . . | u-ši-bu-ma iláni rabûte^{pl}
zar-ba-bu iš-ku-nu ina ki-ri-e-ti-[šu-nu] | ul-tu³ karana(na) iš-
ku-nu ki-rib-šu
 55 *ina e-sag-ila kas- [ta(?)]-kal-tu]*
kun-na te-ri-e-ti . . . mur(?) u-šu-ra-a-te
man-za-az šamê(e) u iršitim(tim) SAG-[DU] i-na(?)ilani gim-
ra-su-un

¹ So, apparently, Ebeling.

² Here and in the next line Ebeling seems to restore *ḫirêti*. But, if the text is at all as copied, this restoration does not seem possible.

³ K. 3,449, a, *iš-tu*.

- Come, let us make a shrine, whose name shall be proclaimed
 (afar),
 an abode in which we may have our rest at night.
- 40 Come, let us make for ourselves a room, a
 On the day that we accomplish this, let us rest therein.”
 When Marduk heard this,
 like the day, his face became exceedingly bright.
 “Build Babylon, whose construction you have desired;
 45 let a city be built, let there be fashioned a covered(?) shrine.”
 The Anunnaki carried the basket,¹ the first year [they made]
 its bricks.
 On the approach of the second year they raised aloft the head
 of Esagila, over against the Apsu,
 they built the *zigurra*t (temple-tower) of the upper Apsu,
 for Marduk, Enlil (and) Ea established his heart’s
 desire therein.
 In majesty before them he² let it rise up: he² sat on the
 ground, they looked up at his two horns.
- 50 After they had completed the construction of Esagila, the
 Anunnaki, all of them, built themselves shrines.
 To Esagila which is on the border (edge) of the Apsu, all of
 them gathered: in the great shrine which they had built
 for his abode,
 he caused the gods, his fathers, to sit down at his board (with
 the words): “This Babylon, let it be the abode of your
 dwelling.”
 “We will wait in his place, at his board [we will sit down].”³
 The great gods sat down,
 the bowl they set down at their(?) banquet. After they had
 put the wine therein,
 55 in Esagila [they feasted—and got drunk].
 Laws were laid down, canons [fixed].
 The station of heaven and earth, among(?) the
 gods, all of them.

¹ A free rendering of a well-known but obscure phrase.

² Marduk?

³ *Šurtu* is mentioned together with daggers, knives, etc. Cf. *KB*, VI¹, 62, and Sargon, “Annals,” l. 136. But this can hardly be the same word as that in our text.

- ilâni rabûti ħa-ar-[ra-an . . .] u-ši-bu-ma*
ilâni šimâti^{pl1} 7 šu-nu a-na [u]k-tin-nu
 60 *na-ši-ma² ^den-lil ^{is}[kakka ina pa]ni-šu-nu id-di*
sa-par³ ša i-te-ep-pu-šu i-mu-ru ilâni^{pl} abê^{pl}-šu
i-mu-ru-ma ^{is}kašta ki-i nu-uk-ku-lat bi-nu-s[a]⁴
ip-šit i-te-ep-pu-šu i-na-a-du abê^{pl}-šu
iš-ši-ma ^da-num ina puḥur ilâni i-ka-bi
 65 *^{is}kašta it-te-⁵šik ši-i im-bi-ma ša ^{is}kašti ki-a-am šumê-ša*
i-šu a-rik il-ti-nu-um-ma⁶ ša-nu
šal-šu šum-ša ^{kakkab}kašta ina šamê(e)
u-kin-ma gis-gal-la-ša⁷
ul-tu ši-ma-a-ti ša
 70 *[id]-di-ma ^{is}ḫussa*
[dan]-nu-um ina šamê
[ip]-ḫu-ru-ma
. ^dmarduk
. ki ru
(Lines 75-77, text completely gone.)
. ma
 79 *u-ša-tir*
 80 *a-na zik-ri-šu-nu*
ip-šu pî-šu li-din(?)
. . bi-ku . . ku . . . tu u an-ni
lu-u šu-uš-ḫu-ma ma-ru li-iš
e-nu-su lu-u šu-tu-rat . ni ru
 85 *li-pu-uš-ma ri-e-ut-ni . . . du na*
aḫ-ra-taš ûme(me) la ma-še-e še
li-kin-šu ana abê^{pl}-šu nin-[da-bi]-e
za-nin-us-su-un li-te-puš(?) su
li-še-ši-in ḫut-[rin-n]a a-
 90 *tam-šil ina šamê(e) i-te-ep[-pu-uš]*
li-ad-di-ma ina(?) sag(?) šu(?)
la-a u- ta-su kit

1 N A M-MEŠ.

2 K. 3,449, a, im-ḫur-ma.

3 Ibid., sa-pa-ra.

4 The text seems to call for *su*.

5 K. 3,449, a, ta.

6 Ibid., lu iš-te-nu-um-ma.

7 gi-is-gal-la-ša.

The great gods sat down [on their ways (paths)].

The gods of fate, seven are they, for were stationed.

60 Enlil lifted up his weapon, before them he laid it down;
the net which he had made, the gods, his fathers beheld it,
they beheld the bow, how cunning was its workmanship;
the work which he had done, his fathers praised it.

Anu took (it) up, in the assembly of the gods he spoke,
65 the bow he kissed (saying): it is and he called off
the names of the bow thus:

“Longwood is its first (name), its second

Its third name is Bow-star, in heaven(?) it”

He fixed its station

After the fates of (heaven and earth had been decreed)

70 and he set up a throne

Mighty in heaven

They gathered together

(Lines 73 to 78 are almost totally gone.)

79 He made greater

80 to their word

He opened his mouth

.
“Let him be exalted, the son, let him

His rule, truly it is resplendent

85 Let him exercise sovereignty over us

In days to come, let not be forgotten.

Let him establish the regular offerings for his fathers,
for their maintenance let him provide.

Let him cause (the gods, his fathers,) to smell the incense.

90 An image in heaven he has made

let him appoint(?) and

Let him (them?) not”

- ip-šu pî-šu li-šik-ku*
nin-da-b[i]-e li-in-na-ša-a ilu-ši-na¹ dîštar-ši-na
 95 *a-a im-ša-a ilu-ši-na li-kil-la*
ma- -ši-na liš-te-pa-a pa-rak-ki-ši-na li-tip-ša
lu-mes-sa-ma šal-mat kakkadi i-la-ni
[na]-a-ši ma-la šu-ma ni-im-bu-u šu-u lu-u el-ni
[i] | nim-bi-e-ma ha-ša-a šu-me-e-šu
 100 *si(?) -ka-tuš lu-u šu-pa-a ip-še-tuš lu-u maš-la*
dmarduk ša ul-tu ši-ti-šu im-bu-u-šu a-bu-šu d a-num
ša-ki-in me-ḥu-tu šuš-ku-tu² mu-daḥ-ḥi-du u-ri-šin
ša ina i³kakki-šu a-bu-bu ik-mu-u ša pu-ḥur(?)
ilāni abē^{pl}-šu i-di-ru ina šap-ša-ḫi
 105 *lu-u ma-ru-ti-šu ša ilāni ni-bu-u-šu-ma*
ina nu-ri-šu nam-ru lit-tal-la-ku šu-nu ka-a-a-na
nišē^{pl} ša ib-nu-u ši-kit-ti nab-(?)
dul-li ilāni i-mid-ma šu-nu ip-pa-aš-ḥu
. ti kakkab e-ni-nu
 110 *lu-u [na]p-lu-su šu-nu ša-a-šu*
ilu ma-ru-tuš lu-u ilu šu(ma)
mu-ṭib lib-bi d a-nun-na-ki mu-šap-ši[h] a
d ma-ru-du-uk-ku lu-u tu-kul-tu mât-su [u nišē]^{pl}-šu
ša-a-šu-ma lit-ta²-i-da i-šu nišē^{pl}
 115 *dBARA muštâlum (ŠĀ-KŪŠ-Ū) iz-zi-iz u šir-ri-sa*
ra-pa-aš lib-ba-šu la-a²-id ka-ras-[su]
dšarru dim-me-ir šamê iršitim ša šum-šu i-nim-bu-u pu-ḥur-ni
zik-ri pi-i-šu nu-ša-aš-šum | eli ilāni abe^{pl}-šu

¹ The feminine suffix refers to mankind, *amêlatu*.

² Or *me-ik-tim tuš-šu?*

- He opened his mouth . . . “. . . . let them kiss.
 Let offerings be brought for their god, their goddess.
- 95 Let them not forget, their god let them uphold (maintain).
 Let them adorn their ——, their shrine let them build.
 Let them, the gods cleanse(?) the blackheads (the people).
 We, by whatever name we call (him), he is our god.
 We will surely mention his fifty names.
- 100 His ——, truly it (they) are splendid, his works, truly they
 are ever the same.
 Marduk, who, on his going forth, was proclaimed by his
 father, Anu,
 he establishes ——, he enriches their stalls(?).
 He it was who bound the flood with his weapon, who saved
 the totality of
 the gods, his fathers, in (their) distress.
- 105 His sonship of the gods, they proclaimed it for him.
 In his bright light let them walk, they, continuously.
 (On) the people whom he created, creatures of life(?),
 the service of the gods he imposed, and these were pacified.
 the star
- 110 May they look upon with favor(?), they, upon him.
 The god, truly his sonship
 He it is who gladdens the heart of the Anunnaki, who pacifies
 the Igigi(?)
 Merodach,¹ truly the mainstay of his land and his people
 (is he).
 Him let them praise, let his people have(?) ——.
- 115 (As) the god Bara, the umpire (decider) he stood(?), the
 scepter(?)
 wide was his heart, warm his bowels.²
 Sharru (king), god of heaven and earth, whose name was
 proclaimed by our assembly,
 the word of his mouth let us cause to be borne to the gods,
 his fathers.

¹ Note that Maruduk rather than Marduk is the correct pronunciation of the name of the chief god of Babylon.

² I take it he was possessed of bowels of compassion.

- lu-u mu-lid ilâni ša šamê(e) u iršitim ka-li-šu-nu*
 120 *šarru tak-pîr-ti-šu ilâni lu-u uš-šap-šu*
^ana-ri šar gim-me-ir šamê iršitim šum-šu ša ni-iz-kur a-šar
ilâni ka-la-ma
ša ina šamê(e) u iršitim(tim) it-ta-ad-du-u šu-bat-ni ina pu-
uš-ki
ana ^digigi u ^da-nun-na-ki u-za-²-i-zu man-za-zu
ana šu-me-šu ilâni liš-tar-i-bu li-nu-šu aš-ru-ti
 125 *^aasar-lu-šar šum-šu ša im-bu-u a-bu-šu ^da-num*
šu-u lu-u nu-ru ša ilâni GIS-ṬU-U(ḫuddu) dan-nu
ša ki-ma ma-la par-si ili u ma-a-ti
ina ša-aš-me dan-ni e-ti-ru šu-bat-ni ina puški
^dasar-lu-šar il(u) balâti (DINGIR NAM-TI-LA-ŠÛ) ša-niš
im-bu-u^d širu(muš)-man-na(?)
 130 *ša ki-ma bi-nu-ti-šu-ma ig-še-ru-ni ilâni ab-tu-ti*
be-lum ša ina šip-ti-šu ellitim(tim) u-bal-li-ṭu ilâni mâtûti^{pl}
mu-ab-bit ik-ru-ti za-²-i-ru
. ilu nam-ru ša in-na-bu ^{pl}-šu
ilu el-lu mu-ul-lil a-lak-ti-ni
 135 *. . . . [i]m-bu-u an-šar ^dlaḫ-mu u ^dla-ḫa-mu*
a-na(?) -šu-nu iz-zak-ru
ni ni-it-ta-bi šumê^{pl}-šu
ki¹ na -zuk-ra
iḫ-du-u . . . [i]š-mu-u zi-kir-šu-un
 140 *ina up-šu-ukin-na-ku uš-ta-ad [-di(?)]-šu-nu iš-kat-su-un*
ša ma-ru kar-ra-du mu-tir gi-mil-li-ni
ni-i-nu ša za-ni-ni² nu-ul-li šum-šu
u-ši-bu-ma ina ukkin-na³-šu-nu i-nam-bu-u ši-ma-a-šu
ina mi-e-si⁴ na[k]-meš-tu⁵-šu-nu u-zak-ka-ru-ni šum-šu
-
- 145 *^dasar-ri ša-rik mi-riš-ti iz-ra-a-te u-kin-nu*
. 6^{kam} E-nu-ma e-liš
. gis-ṭu-u

¹ 92,629, rev., *ki-i na*.⁴ *Ibid.*, *su*.² *Ibid.*, seems to have omitted one *ni*.³ *Ibid.*, omits, reading *puḫri*?⁵ *Ibid.*, *na-gab*.

Truly he is the begetter of the gods of heaven and earth, all of them.

120 The king, whose purification they have caused to be made.

(He is) the river-god, king of all of heaven and earth, whose name we have mentioned: a place for all of the gods who are in heaven and earth, he established as our abode in our need.

To the Igigi and the Anunnaki he assigned (their) stations. At his name let the gods tremble, let the holy places shake.

125 (He is) Asar-lu-shar, whose name his father Anu gave him; he, surely he is the light of the gods, powerful torch(?), who like ——— every ——— of god and land, who, in the mighty conflict, saved our abode in our distress. Asar-lu-shar, god of life, secondly they named (him), ———, 130 who through his creative power, strengthened the perishing gods;

the lord, who with his holy incantation restored to life the dying gods.

Destroyer of ———, hater of

. . shining god, who

Bright god, brightener of our path,

135 Anshar, Lahmu, Lahamu, their . . . they called we spoke his names.”

They rejoiced, with gladness they heard their names.

140 In Upshukkinnaku he caused them to throw aside their fetters. “Of the heroic son, our avenger, we, of our patron, will exalt the name.”

They sat down, in their assembly they proclaimed his worth, in the ——— of all of them, they mentioned his name.

APPENDIX: A SUMERIAN STORY OF BEGINNINGS

OBVERSE

- gar-sag-an-ki-bi-da-ge*
ud an-ni dingir-dingir a-nun-na im-tu-de-eš a-ba
mu ^dezinu nu-ub-da-mud-da nu-ub-da-an-sig-ga
uku-e-bi ^dtak-ku nu-ub-da-an-dim-ma-aš
 5 *^dtak-ku-ra temen nu-mu-na-si-ga-aš*
u nu-gù-a sila nu-ub-ra
uz nu-me-a maš nu-ub-ra
u-e sil(a)-a-bi nu-ub-tu-ud
uz-e maš-a-bi nu-ub-tu-ud
 10 *mu-^dezinu kug-sud šurim-bi-da-ge*
^da-nun-na dingir-gal-gal-e-ne nu-mu-un-zu-uš-ám
še-šeš ud-ušu-ám nu-gál-la-ám
še-šeš ud-ninnu-ám nu-gál-la-ám
še-tur-tur še-ku-ur-ra še á-dam kug-ga nu-gál-la-ám
 15 *ku-gar ku-ku-bi nu-gál-la-ám*
^dtak-ku nu-ub-tu-ud men nu-íl
en dingir mer(aga)-si en-kal-kal nu-ub-tu-ud
^dug bar-tum-ma la-ba-ra-e(d)
nam-lù-gál-lu ud-ri-a-ge-e-ne
 20 *nig-kù-ù-bi nu-mu-un-zu-uš-ám*
tug-ga tug-tug-bi nu-mu-un-zu-uš-ám
uku giš-gi-a-na su-ga(?) mu-un-tum
udu-dim KA-ba ú-mu-ni-ib-kú
a-sar-sar-ra (or, mú-sar-ra) im-nag-nag-ne
 25 *ud-ba ki-sig e-ne*
e-bi

TRANSLATION

OBVERSE

- In the mountain of heaven and earth,
 when, above(?), the gods, the Anunna, were born,
 green and the grain-god had not (yet) sprouted, had not
 (yet) become green;
 his people, with Takku, had not (yet) been formed,
 5 for Takku they (his people) had not (yet) heaped up a temple
 platform.
 A ewe had not (yet) bleated, a lamb had not yet been dropped,
 a she-goat had not (yet) baaed, a kid had not (yet) been
 dropped.
 The ewe had not (yet) borne her lamb,
 the she-goat had not (yet) borne her kid.
 10 The grain of the grain-god and the fold (flocks)
 the Anunna—the great gods are they—knew not (yet);
shesh-grain of thirty days there was none,
shesh-grain of sixty days there was none,
turtur-grain, *kurra*-grain, shining *adam*-grain, there was none.
 15 There was no living in dwellings.
 Takku had not (yet) been born, had not (yet) worn the
 crown,
 the lord, the god of the horned tiara, the all-powerful lord,
 had not (yet) been born,
 the sun-god, brightness bringing, had not (yet) gone forth.
 Mankind, when they were created (on the day of their beget-
 ting),
 20 food and sleep they knew not of,
 garments for their covering they knew not of.
 The people brought all kinds(?) of reeds from the marshes(?)
 like sheep they ate grass with their mouths(?),
 water of the gardens [from the ditches] they drank.
 (*Rest of obverse too broken to allow of any translation.*)

REVERSE

.

.

(nam-)lù-gál-lu

. . . ba ^aEn-ki-ge(?)

- 5 a-a ^aEn-lil
 iti-kug-ga dub ma-da-an
 iti-kug-e(?) laḡ-ga-ám ma-da-ra-ab
^aEn-ki ^aEn-lil-bi inim-kug gab-ku gù
 šurim ^aezin(u)-bi iti-kug-ta im-ma-da-ra
- 10 šurim-e amaš-a im-ma-ab
 u-edin nig-dagar(?) -ra mu-un-na-ba-e-ne
^aezin(u) . . . e mu-un-na-gá-gá-ne
 sib(?) kap-par-bi mu-un-na-ba-e-ne
 šurim amaš-a-na gub-ba-ni
- 15 sib amaš-a ḡe-li dù-dù-a
^aezin(u) ab-sin-na gub-ba-ni
 ki-el sig-ga ḡe-li gur-ru-ám
 gan-ni-ta sag-zi il-la-ni
 ḡe-gal an-na-ta du-du(laḡ?) -a-ne
- 20 šurim ^aezin(u)-bi ḡad-e mu-un-ag-eš
 ukkin-na ḡe-gál mu-da-an-gál-li-eš
 kalam-ma zi-šá-gal mu-da-an-gál-li-eš
 me-dingir-dingir-ri-e-ne si-im-di-di-e-ne
 erim-ma kalam-ma-ka ninda mu-ni-ib-lu-lu-un-aš
- 25 ama-kalam-ma-ka dugud mu-un-ne-gál-aš
 ama(?) uku-ra saḡar ki-uš-sa-a-ba
 u-mu-un-mu-ne-eš ḡe-gál mu-da-an-gál-li-eš
 man-na-ne-ne sag-ki- . -ne-ne ba-an-gub-bu-uš-a
 dugud-bi e-a ni-tag-me-eš

REVERSE

The opening lines, of which there may have been one or two more than the numbering shows, are too fragmentary to permit of any attempts at restoration. Mankind (l. 3) and the gods Enki and "Father" Enlil (ll. 4 and 5), representing the "great gods, the Anunna," are the dramatis personae.

In a favorable month a tablet was
 (in) a favorable month—it was a joyous one—the
 for

Enki and Enlil uttered an incantation
 flocks and grain (the grain-god) in the favorable month they
 for

- 10 The flocks the fold.
 Grass of the plain in abundance they gave them,
 grain they put before them,
 shepherds (?) and under-shepherds they gave them.
 The flocks stood in their fold,
- 15 the shepherd brought abundance to the fold.
 The grain stood in the ear,
 the "green maiden" brought abundance.
 In the fields the head was lifted on high,
 abundance (of rain) came from heaven,
- 20 flocks and grain "blossomed forth."
 The gatherings (of people) were blessed with abundance,
 the (whole) land was blessed with renewal of life.
 The law of their gods they promulgated,
 the storehouses of the land they filled with food,
- 25 the mercy (favours) shown the land was abundant (heavy).
 The prostrate ———, trampled in the dust,
 lords they became (?), rich abundance was theirs.
 Both of them in ——— stood.