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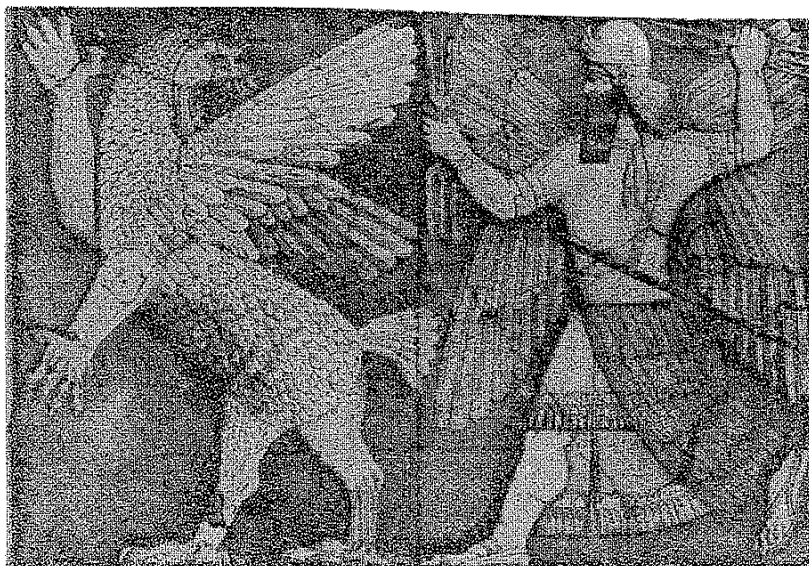


*Myths from Mesopotamia*  
*Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh,*  
*and Others*



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*with an Introduction and Notes by*  
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*Revised edition*



Ninurta attacks Anzu to regain the stolen Tablet of Destinies. From a stone sculpture found in the temple of Ninurta at Nimrud, Iraq. (Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, ii, plate 5)

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## THE EPIC OF CREATION

### TABLET I

When skies above were not yet named!<sup>1</sup>  
Nor earth below pronounced by name,  
Apsu, the first one, their begetter  
And maker Tiamat, who bore them all,<sup>2</sup>  
Had mixed their waters together,  
But had not formed pastures, nor discovered  
reed-beds;

When yet no gods were manifest,  
Nor names pronounced, nor destinies decreed,  
Then gods were born within them.  
Lahmu (and) Lahamu emerged, their names  
pronounced.<sup>3</sup>

As soon as they matured, were fully formed,  
Anshar (and) Kishar were born, surpassing them.  
They passed the days at length, they added to the  
years.

Anu their first-born son rivalled his forefathers:  
Anshar made his son Anu like himself.<sup>4</sup>  
And Anu begot Nudimmud in his likeness.  
He, Nudimmud, was superior to his forefathers:  
Profound of understanding, he was wise, was very  
strong at arms.

Mightier by far than Anshar his father's begetter,  
He had no rival among the gods his peers.  
The gods of that generation would meet together  
And disturb Tiamat, and their clamour reverberated.  
They stirred up Tiamat's belly,  
They were annoying her by playing inside  
Anduruna.

Apsu could not quell their noise  
And Tiamat became mute before them;  
However grievous their behaviour to her,  
However bad their ways, she would indulge them.

Finally Apsu, begetter of the great gods,  
Called out and addressed his vizier Mummu,  
'O Mummu, vizier who pleases me!

Come, let us go to Tiamat!  
They went and sat in front of Tiamat,  
And discussed affairs concerning the gods their  
sons.

Apsu made his voice heard  
And spoke to Tiamat in a loud voice,

'Their ways have become very grievous to me,  
By day I cannot rest, by night I cannot sleep.  
I shall abolish their ways and disperse them!  
Let peace prevail, so that we can sleep.'

When Tiamat heard this,  
She was furious and shouted at her lover;  
She shouted dreadfully and was beside herself with  
rage.

But then suppressed the evil in her belly.  
'How could we allow what we ourselves created to  
perish?

Even though their ways are so grievous, we  
should bear it patiently.'

(Vizier) Mummu replied and counselled Apsu;  
The vizier did not agree with the counsel of his  
earth mother.

'O father, put an end to (their) troublesome ways,  
So that she may be allowed to rest by day and  
sleep at night.'

Apsu was pleased with him, his face lit up  
At the evil he was planning for the gods his sons.  
(Vizier) Mummu hugged him,  
Sat on his lap and kissed him rapturously.  
But everything they plotted between them  
Was relayed to the gods their sons.

The gods listened and wandered about restlessly;  
They fell silent, they sat mute.  
Superior in understanding, wise and capable,  
Ea who knows everything found out their plot,  
Made for himself a design of everything, and laid it  
out correctly.

Made it cleverly, his pure spell was superb.  
He rectified it and it stilled the waters.

He poured sleep upon him so that he was sleeping  
soundly,

Put Apsu to sleep, drenched with sleep.  
Vizier Mummu the counsellor (was in) a sleepless  
daze.

He (Ea) unfastened his belt, took off his crown,  
Took away his mantle of radiance and put it on  
himself.

He held Apsu down and slew him;  
Tied up Mummu and laid him across him.

He set up his dwelling on top of Apsu,  
And grasped Mummu, held him by a nose-rope.

When he had overcome and slain his enemies,  
Ea set up his triumphal cry over his foes.  
Then he rested very quietly inside his private  
quarters

And named them Apsu and assigned chapels,  
Founded his own residence there,

And Ea and Damkina his lover dwelt in splendour.  
In the chamber of destinies, the hall of designs,  
Bel, cleverest of the clever, sage of the gods, was  
begotten.

And inside Apsu, Marduk was created;

Inside pure Apsu, Marduk was born.

Ea his father created him,

Damkina his mother bore him.

He suckled the teats of goddesses;

The nurse who reared him filled him with  
awesomeness.

Proud was his form, piercing his stare,  
Mature his emergence, he was powerful from the  
start.

Anu his father's begetter beheld him,<sup>5</sup>

And rejoiced, beamed; his heart was filled with joy.  
He made him so perfect that his godhead was  
doubled.

Elevated far above them, he was superior in every  
way.

His limbs were ingeniously made beyond  
comprehension,  
Impossible to understand, too difficult to perceive.  
Four were his eyes, four were his ears;  
When his lips moved, fire blazed forth.  
The four ears were enormous  
And likewise the eyes; they perceived everything.  
Highest among the gods, his form was outstanding.  
His limbs were very long, his height (?)  
outstanding.

(*Anu cried out*)

'Mariutu, Mariutu,<sup>6</sup>  
Son, majesty, majesty of the gods!<sup>7</sup>  
Clothed in the radiant mantle of ten gods, worn  
high above his head  
Five fearsome rays were clustered above him.  
Anu created the four winds and gave them birth,  
Put them in his (Marduk's) hand, 'My son, let them  
play!<sup>1</sup>  
He fashioned dust and made the whirlwind carry it;  
He made the flood-wave and stirred up Tiamat.  
Tiamat was stirred up, and heaved restlessly day  
and night.  
The gods, unable to rest, had to suffer . . .  
They plotted evil in their hearts, and  
They addressed Tiamat their mother, saying,  
'Because they slew Apsu your lover and  
You did not go to his side but sat mute,  
He has created the four, fearful winds  
To stir up your belly on purpose, and we simply  
cannot sleep!  
Was your lover Apsu not in your heart?  
And (vizier) Mummu who was captured? No  
wonder you sit alone!  
Are you not a mother? You heave restlessly.  
But what about us, who cannot rest! Don't you  
love us?  
Our grip(?) [is slack], (and) our eyes are sunken.

Remove the yoke of us restless ones, and let us  
sleep!  
Set up a [battle cry] and avenge them!  
Conquer the enemy] and reduce them to  
nought!<sup>1</sup>  
Tiamat listened, and the speech pleased her.  
Let us act now, (?) as you were advising!  
The gods inside him (Apsu) will be disturbed.  
Because they adopted evil for the gods who begot  
them.<sup>1</sup>  
They crowded round and rallied beside Tiamat.  
They were fierce, scheming restlessly night and day.  
They were working up to war, growing and raging.  
They convened a council and created conflict.  
Mother Hubur, who fashions all things,<sup>8</sup>  
Contributed an unfaceable weapon: she bore giant  
snakes,  
Sharp of tooth and unsparing of fang (?).  
She filled their bodies with venom instead of blood.  
She cloaked ferocious dragons with fearsome rays  
And made them bear mantles of radiance, made  
them godlike,  
(*chanting this imprecation*)  
'Whoever looks upon them shall collapse in utter  
terror!  
Their bodies shall rear up continually and never  
turn away!<sup>1</sup>  
She stationed a horned serpent, a *mušhušu*-dragon,  
and a *lahmu*-hero,<sup>9</sup>  
An *ugallu*-demon, a rabid dog, and a scorpion-man,  
Aggressive *innu*-demons, a fish-man, and a  
bull-man  
Bearing merciless weapons, fearless in battle.  
Her orders were so powerful, they could not be  
disobeyed.  
In addition she created eleven more likewise.  
Over the gods her offspring who had convened a  
council for her

She promoted Qingu and made him greatest among them,  
 Conferred upon him leadership of the army,  
 command of the assembly,  
 Raising the weapon to signal engagement,  
 mustering combat-troops,  
 Overall command of the whole battle force.  
 And she set him upon a throne.  
 'I have cast the spell for you and made you  
 greatest in the gods' assembly!  
 I have put into your power rule over all the gods!  
 You shall be the greatest, for you are my only  
 lover!  
 Your commands shall always prevail over all the  
 Anukki!  
 Then she gave him the Tablet of Destinies and made  
 him clasp it to his breast.  
 'Your utterance shall never be altered! Your word  
 shall be law!  
 When Qingu was promoted and had received the  
 Anu-power  
 And had decreed destinies for the gods his sons, (he  
 said),  
 'What issues forth from your mouths shall  
 quench fire!  
 Your accumulated venom (?) shall paralyse the  
 powerful!  
 (Catchline)  
 Tiamat assembled his creatures  
 (Colophon)  
 First tablet, 'When skies above'. [Written] like [its]  
 original [and inspected].  
 Tablet of Nabû-balatsu-iqbi son of Na'id-Marduk.  
 Hand of Nabû-balatsu-iqbi son of  
 Na'id-Marduk [ ].

## TABLET II

Tiamat assembled his creatures  
 And collected battle-units against the gods his  
 offspring.  
 Tiamat did even more evil for posterity than Apsu.  
 It was reported (?) to Ea that she had prepared for  
 war.  
 Ea listened to that report,  
 And was dumbfounded and sat in silence.  
 When he had pondered and his fury subsided,  
 He made his way to Anshar his father;  
 Came before Anshar, the father who begot him  
 And began to repeat to him everything that Tiamat  
 had planned.  
 'Father, Tiamat who bore us is rejecting us!  
 She has convened an assembly and is raging out  
 of control.  
 The gods have turned to her, all of them,  
 Even those whom you begot have gone over to  
 her side,  
 Have crowded round and rallied beside Tiamat.  
 Eerie, scheming restlessly night and day,  
 Working up to war, growling and raging,  
 They have convened a council and created  
 conflict.  
 Mother Huhur, who fashions all things,  
 Contributed an unfaceable weapon: she bore giant  
 snakes,  
 Sharp of tooth and unsparing of fang (?).  
 She filled their bodies with venom instead of  
 blood.  
 She cloaked ferocious dragons with fearsome rays,  
 And made them bear mantles of radiance, made  
 them godlike,  
 (chanting this imprecation)  
 'Whoever looks upon them shall collapse in utter  
 terror!

Their bodies shall rear up continually and never turn away!"

She stationed a horned serpent, a *mušhušu*-dragon, and a *lahmu*-hero,  
 An *ugallu*-demon, a rabid dog, and a  
 scorpion-man,  
 Aggressive *ūmu*-demons, a fish-man, and a  
 bull-man.

Bearing merciless weapons, fearless in battle.  
 Her orders were so powerful, they could not be  
 disobeyed.

In addition she created eleven more likewise.  
 Over the gods her offspring who had convened a  
 council for her

She promoted Qingu, made him greatest among  
 them,  
 Conferred upon him leadership of the army,  
 command of the assembly,  
 Raising the weapon to signal engagement, to rise  
 up for combat,  
 Overall command of the whole battle force.  
 And she set him (*lit.* her) upon a throne.  
 "I have cast the spell for you and made you  
 greatest in the gods' assembly!  
 I have put into your power rule over all the  
 gods!

You shall be the greatest, for you are my only  
 lover!

Your commands shall always prevail over all the  
 Anuki!"

She gave him the Tablet of Destinies and made  
 him clasp it to his breast.  
 "Your utterance shall never be altered! Your  
 word shall be law!"

When Qingu was promoted and had received the  
 Anu-power,  
 And had decreed destinies for the gods her sons,  
 (he said),  
 "What issues forth from your mouths shall  
 quench fire!

Your accumulated venom (?) shall paralyse the  
 powerful!"

Anshar listened, and the report was very disturbing.  
 "Woe! he cried, he bit his lip,  
 His liver was inflamed, his belly would not rest.  
 His roar to Ea his son was quite weak.  
 My son, you who started the fight,  
 You remain responsible for what you have done.  
 You went and slew Apsu,  
 And Tiamat, whom you enraged—where else  
 is an opponent for her?"

Despairing of advice, the prince of good sense,  
 Creator of divine wisdom, Nudimmud,  
 With soothing speech, words of appeasement,  
 He answered Anshar his father nicely:

"Father, you are the unfathomable fixer of fates!  
 The power to create and to destroy is yours!  
 O Anshar, you are the unfathomable fixer of fates!  
 The power to create and destroy is yours!  
 For the moment stay quiet at the words I shall tell you.  
 Bear in mind what a good thing I did.  
 Before I slew Apsu,  
 Who else could he look to? Now (there are)  
 these (monsters),

Before I can rush up and extinguish him (Qingu)  
 He will surely have destroyed me! Then what?"

Anshar listened, and the speech pleased him.  
 His heart prompted him to speak to Ea.

"My son, your deeds were highly commendable,  
 You can make a strike fierce, unbeatable.  
 Ea, your deeds were highly commendable,  
 You can make a strike fierce, unbeatable.  
 But go towards Tiamat, sooth her uprising,  
 May her fury abate at your spell."

He listened to the words of his father Anshar.  
 He took the road, went straight on his way.  
 Ea went, he searched for Tiamat's strategy,  
 But then stayed silent and turned back.  
 He entered into the presence of the ruler Anshar,  
 In supplication he addressed him.  
 "My father, Tiamat's actions were too much for me.

I searched for her course, but my spell was not equal to her.  
 Her strength is mighty, she is completely terrifying.  
 Her crowd is too powerful, nobody could defy her.  
 Her noise never lessens, it was too loud for me.  
 I feared her shout, and I turned back.  
 But father, you must not relax, you must send someone else to her.  
 However strong a woman's strength, it is not equal to a man's.  
 You must disband her regiments, confuse her advice,  
 Before she can impose her power on us.'

(For the rest of this episode see Supplement 4, p. 342)

Anshar was speechless, and stared at the ground;  
 He gnashed his teeth (?) and shook his head (in despair) at Ea.  
 Now, the Igigi assembled, all the Anukki.  
 They sat silently (for a while), tight-lipped.

(Finally they spoke)

'Will no (other) god come forward? Is [fate] fixed?  
 Will no one go out to face Tiamat with [ ]?'  
 Then Ea from his secret dwelling called  
 [The perfect] one (?) of Anshar, father of the great gods,  
 Whose heart is perfect like a fellow-citizen or countryman (?),  
 The mighty heir who was to be his father's champion,  
 Who rushes (fearlessly) into battle: Marduk the Hero!  
 He told him his innermost design, saying,  
 'O Marduk, take my advice, listen to your father!  
 You are the son who sets his heart at rest!  
 Approach Anshar, drawing near to him,  
 And make your voice heard, stand your ground:  
 he will be calmed by the sight of you.<sup>n</sup>  
 The Lord rejoiced at the word of his father,

And he approached and stood before Anshar.  
 Anshar looked at him, and his heart was filled with joy.  
 He kissed him on the lips, put away his trepidation.

(Then Marduk addressed him, saying)

'Father, don't stay so silent, open your lips,  
 Let me go, and let me fulfil your heart's desire.  
 Anshar, don't stay so silent, open your lips,  
 Let me go, and let me fulfil your heart's desire.'

(Anshar replied)

'What kind of man has ordered you out (to) his war?  
 My son, (don't you realize that) it is Tiamat, of womankind, who will advance against you with arms?'

(Marduk answered)

'Father, my creator, rejoice and be glad!  
 You shall soon set your foot upon the neck of Tiamat!  
 Anshar, my creator, rejoice and be glad,  
 You shall soon set your foot upon the neck of Tiamat.'

(Anshar replied)

'Then go, son, knowing all wisdom!  
 Quell Tiamat with your pure spell!  
 Set forth immediately (in) the storm chariot,  
 Let its [ ] be not driven out, but turn (them?) back!  
 The Lord rejoiced at the word of his father;  
 His heart was glad and he addressed his father,  
 'Lord of the gods, fate of the great gods,  
 If indeed I am to be your champion,  
 If I am to defeat Tiamat and save your lives,  
 Convene the council, name a special fate,  
 Sit joyfully together in Ushu-ukkinakur:

My own utterance shall fix fate instead of you!  
 Whatever I create shall never be altered!  
 The decree of my lips shall never be revoked,  
 never changed!

(*Catchline*)

Anshar made his voice heard

(*Colophon*)

Second tablet, 'When skies above'. [Written]

according to [ ] a copy from Assur.

[ ]

### TABLET III

Anshar made his voice heard  
 And addressed his speech to Kakka his vizier,

'O Kakka, vizier who pleases me!

I shall send you to Lahmu and Lahamu.

You know how to probe, you are skilled in

speaking.

Have the gods my fathers brought before me;

Let all the gods be brought to me.

Let there be conversation, let them sit at a

banquet,

Let them eat grain, let them drink choice wine,

(And then) let them decree a destiny for Marduk

their champion.

Set off, Kakka, go and stand before them, and

Everything that I am about to tell you, repeat to

them,

"Anshar your son has sent me,

He has told me to report his heart's message,

To say, 'Tiamat who bore us is rejecting us!

She has convened a council, and is raging out of

control.

The gods have turned to her, all of them,

Even those whom you begot have gone over to

her side,

Have crowded round and rallied beside Tiamat.

They are fierce, scheming restlessly night and  
 day.

They are working up to war, growling and  
 raging.

They convened a council and created conflict.

Mother Hubur, who fashions all things,

Contributed an unfaceable weapon: she bore giant

snakes,

Sharp of tooth and unsparing of fang (?).

She filled their bodies with venom instead of

blood.

She cloaked ferocious dragons with fearsome rays,

And made them bear mantles of radiance, made

them godlike,

(*chanting this imprecation*)

"Whoever looks upon them shall collapse in utter  
 terror!

Their bodies shall rear up continually, and never  
 turn away!"

She stationed a horned serpent, a *mušhuššu*-

dragon, and a *lahmu*-hero,

An *ugallu*-demon, a rabid dog, and a

scorpion-man,

Aggressive *innu*-demons, a fish-man, and a

bull-man

Bearing merciless weapons, fearless in battle.

Her orders were so powerful, they could not be

disobeyed.

In addition she created eleven more likewise.

Over the gods her offspring who had convened a

council for her

She promoted Qingu, made him greatest among

them,

Conferred upon him leadership of the army,

command of the assembly,

Raising the weapon to signal engagement, to rise

up for combat,

Overall command of the whole battle force.

And she set him upon a throne.

"I have cast the spell for you and made you  
greatest in the gods' assembly!  
I have put into your power rule over all the gods!  
You shall be the greatest, for you are my only  
lover!  
Your commands shall always prevail over all the  
Anunnaki!"  
She gave him the Tablet of Destinies, and made  
him clasp it to his breast.  
"Your utterance shall never be altered! His  
(! Your) word shall be law!"  
When Qingu was promoted and had received the  
Anu-power<sup>12</sup>  
And had decreed destinies for the gods her sons,  
(he said),  
"What issues forth from your mouths shall  
quench Fire!  
Your accumulated venom (?) shall paralyse the  
powerful."  
I sent Anu, but he was unable to face her.  
Nudimmud panicked and turned back.  
Then Marduk, sage of the gods, your son, came  
forward.  
He wanted of his own free will to confront  
Tiamat.  
He addressed his words to me,  
"If indeed I am to be your champion,  
To defeat Tiamat and save your lives,  
Convene the council, name a special fate,  
Sit joyfully together in Ushu-ukinaku:  
And let me, my own utterance, fix fate instead of  
you.  
Whatever I create shall never be altered!  
Let a decree from my lips never be revoked, never  
changed!"  
Hurry and decree your destiny for him quickly,  
So that he may go and face your formidable  
enemy!"  
Kakka set off and went on his way,  
And before Lahmu and Lahamu the gods his fathers

Prostrated himself and kissed the earth in front of  
them,  
Then straightened up and stood and spoke to  
them,  
'Anshur your son has sent me.  
He has told me to report his personal message,  
To say, "Tiamat who bore us is rejecting us!  
She has convened a council, and is raging out of  
control.  
The gods have turned to her, all of them,  
Even those whom you begot have gone over to  
her side,  
Have crowded round and rallied beside Tiamat.  
Fierce, scheming restlessly night and day,  
Working up to war, growing and raging,  
They have convened a council and created  
conflict.  
Mother Hubur, who fashions all things,  
Contributed an unfaceable weapon: she bore giant  
snakes,  
Sharp of tooth and unsparing of fang (?).  
She filled their bodies with venom instead of  
blood.  
She cloaked ferocious dragons with fearsome rays,  
And made them bear mantles of radiance, made  
them godlike,  
(*chanting this imprecation*)  
"Whoever looks upon them shall collapse in utter  
terror!  
Their bodies shall rear up continually, and never  
turn away!"  
She stationed a horned serpent, a *mušhušir*-  
dragon, and a *lahmu*-hero,  
*Ugallu*-demons, rabid dogs, and a scorpion-man,  
Aggressive *unu*-demons, a fish-man, a bull-man  
Bearing merciless weapons, fearless in battle.  
Her orders were so powerful, they could not be  
disobeyed.  
In addition she created eleven more likewise.

Over the gods her offspring who had convened a council for her  
 She promoted Qingu, made him greatest among them,  
 Conferred upon him leadership of the army,  
 command of the assembly,  
 Raising the weapon to signal engagement, to rise up for combat,  
 Overall command of the whole battle force.  
 And she set him upon a throne.  
 "I have cast the spell for you, and have made you greatest in the gods' assembly!  
 I have put into your power rule over all the gods!  
 You shall be the greatest, for you are my only lover!  
 Your commands shall always prevail over all the Anunaki!"  
 She gave him the Tablet of Destinies, and made him clasp it to his breast.  
 "Your utterance shall never be altered! Your word shall be law!"  
 When Qingu was promoted and had received the Anu-power  
 And had decreed destinies for the gods her sons, (he said),  
 "What issues forth from your mouths shall quench Fire!  
 Your accumulated venom (?) shall paralyse the powerful!"  
 I sent Anu, but he was unable to face her.  
 Nudimmud panicked and turned back.  
 Then Marduk, sage of the gods, your son, came forward.  
 He wanted of his own free will to confront Tiamat.  
 He spoke his words to me:  
 "If indeed I am to be your champion,  
 To defeat Tiamat and to save your lives,  
 Convene the council, name a special fate,  
 Sit joyfully together in Ushu-ukinaku:

And let me, my own utterance, fix fate instead of you.  
 Whatever I create shall never be altered!  
 Let a decree from my lips never be revoked, never changed!"  
 Hurry and decree your destinies for him quickly,  
 So that he may go and face your formidable enemy."  
 Lahmu and Lahamu listened and cried out aloud.  
 All the Igigi then groaned dreadfully,  
 "How terrible! Until he (Anshar) decided to report to us,  
 We did not even know what Tiamat was doing.  
 They milled around and then came,  
 All the great gods who fix the fates,  
 Entered into Anshar's presence and were filled with joy.  
 Each kissed the other: in the assembly [ ]  
 There was conversation, they sat at the banquet,  
 Ate grain, drank choice wine,  
 Let sweet beer trickle through their drinking straws.  
 Their bodies swelled as they drank the liquor.  
 They became very carefree, they were merry,  
 And they decreed destiny for Marduk their champion.  
 (Catchline)  
 They founded a princely shrine for him

TABLET IV

They founded a princely shrine for him,  
 And he took up residence as ruler before his fathers,  
 (who proclaimed)  
 "You are honoured among the great gods.  
 Your destiny is unequalled, your word (has the power of) Anu!  
 O Marduk, you are honoured among the great gods.  
 Your destiny is unequalled, your word (has the power of) Anu!

From this day onwards your command shall not be altered.  
 Yours is the power to exalt and abase.  
 May your utterance be law, your word never be falsified.  
 None of the gods shall transgress your limits.<sup>13</sup>  
 May endowment, required for the gods' shrines  
 Wherever they have temples, be established for your place.  
 O Marduk, you are our champion!  
 We hereby give you sovereignty over all of the whole universe.  
 Sit in the assembly and your word shall be pre-eminent!  
 May your weapons never miss (the mark), may they smash your enemies!  
 O lord, spare the life of him who trusts in you,<sup>14</sup>  
 But drain the life of the god who has espoused evil!<sup>15</sup>  
 They set up in their midst one constellation,<sup>15</sup>  
 And then they addressed Marduk their son,  
 'May your decree, O lord, impress the gods!  
 Command to destroy and to recreate, and let it be so!  
 Speak and let the constellation vanish!  
 Speak to it again and let the constellation reappear.  
 He spoke, and at his word the constellation vanished.  
 He spoke to it again and the constellation was recreated.  
 When the gods his fathers saw how effective his utterance was,  
 They rejoiced, they proclaimed: 'Marduk is King!  
 They invested him with sceptre, throne, and staff-of-office.  
 They gave him an unfaceable weapon to crush the foe.  
 'Go, and cut off the life of Tiamat!

Let the winds bear her blood to us as good news!<sup>16</sup>  
 The gods his fathers thus decreed the destiny of the lord  
 And set him on the path of peace and obedience.  
 He fashioned a bow, designated it as his weapon,  
 Feathered the arrow, set it in the string.  
 He lifted up a mace and carried it in his right hand,  
 Slung the bow and quiver at his side,  
 Put lightning in front of him,  
 His body was filled with an ever-blazing flame.  
 He made a net to encircle Tiamat within it,  
 Marshalled the four winds so that no part of her could escape:  
 South Wind, North Wind, East Wind, West Wind,  
 The gift of his father Anu, he kept them close to the net at his side.  
 He created the *imhullu*-wind (evil wind), the tempest, the whirlwind,<sup>17</sup>  
 The Four Winds, the Seven Winds, the tornado, the unfaceable facing wind.  
 He released the winds which he had created, seven of them.  
 They advanced behind him to make turmoil inside Tiamat.  
 The lord raised the flood-weapon, his great weapon,  
 And mounded the frightful, unfaceable storm-chariot.  
 He had yoked to it a team of four and had harnessed to its side  
 'Slayer', 'Pitiless', 'Racer', and 'Flyer';  
 Their lips were drawn back, their teeth carried poison.  
 They know not exhaustion, they can only devastate.  
 He stationed on his right Fieresome Fight and Conflict.  
 On the left Battle to knock down every contender (?).  
 Clothed in a cloak of awesome armour,<sup>18</sup>  
 His head was crowned with a terrible radiance.

The Lord set out and took the road,  
And set his face towards Tiamat who raged out of  
control.

In his lips he gripped a spell,  
In his hand he grasped a herb to counter poison.  
Then they thronged about him, the gods thronged  
about him;

The gods his fathers thronged about him, the gods  
thronged about him.

The Lord drew near and looked into the middle of  
Tiamat.<sup>19</sup>

He was trying to find out the strategy of Qingu her  
lover.

As he looked, his mind became confused,<sup>20</sup>  
His will crumbled and his actions were muddled.  
As for the gods his helpers, who march(ed) at his  
side,<sup>21</sup>

When they saw the warrior, the leader, their looks  
were strained.

Tiamat cast her spell. She did not even turn her  
neck.

In her lips she was holding falsehood, lies,  
(wheeling),<sup>22</sup>

['How powerful is] your attacking force, O lord of  
the gods!

The whole assembly of them has gathered to your  
place!

(But he ignored her blandishments)

The Lord lifted up the flood-weapon, his great  
weapon

And sent a message to Tiamat who feigned  
goodwill, saying:

'Why are you so friendly on the surface  
When your depths conspire to muster a battle  
force?<sup>23</sup>

Just because the sons were noisy (and)  
disrespectful to their fathers,  
Should you, who gave them birth, reject  
compassion?

You named Qingu as your lover,  
You appointed him to rites of Anu-power,  
wrongfully his.

You sought out evil for Anshar, king of the gods,  
So you have compounded your wickedness against  
the gods my fathers!

Let your host prepare! Let them gird themselves  
with your weapons!

Stand forth, and you and I shall do single  
combat!

When Tiamat heard this,  
She went wild, she lost her temper.

Tiamat screamed aloud in a passion,  
Her lower parts shook together from the depths.  
She recited the incantation and kept casting her  
spell.

Meanwhile the gods of battle were sharpening their  
weapons.

Face to face they came, Tiamat and Marduk, sage of  
the gods.

They engaged in combat, they closed for battle.

The Lord spread his net and made it encircle her,  
To her face he dispatched the *imhullu*-wind, which  
had been behind:

Tiamat opened her mouth to swallow it.

And he forced in the *imhullu*-wind so that she could  
not close her lips.

Fierce winds distended her belly;

Her insides were constipated and she stretched her  
mouth wide.

He shot an arrow which pierced her belly,

Split her down the middle and slit her heart,  
Vanquished her and extinguished her life.

He threw down her corpse and stood on top of her.  
When he had slain Tiamat, the leader,

He broke up her regiments; her assembly was  
scattered.

Then the gods her helpers, who had marched at her  
side,

Began to tremble, panicked, and turned tail.

Although he allowed them to come out and spared their lives,  
 They were surrounded, they could not flee.  
 Then he tied them up and smashed their weapons.  
 They were thrown into the net and sat there ensnared.  
 They covered back, filled with woe.  
 They had to bear his punishment, confined to prison.  
 And as for the dozens of creatures, covered in fearsome rays,  
 The gang of demons who all marched on her right,  
 He fixed them with nose-ropes and tied their arms.  
 He trampled their battle-filth (?) beneath him.  
 As for Qingu, who had once been the greatest among them,  
 He defeated him and counted him among the dead gods.<sup>24</sup>  
 Wrested from him the Tablet of Destinies,  
 wrongfully his,<sup>25</sup>  
 Sealed it with (his own) seal and pressed it to his breast.  
 When he had defeated and killed his enemies  
 And had proclaimed the submissive (?) foe his slave,  
 And had set up the triumphal cry of Anshar ov all the enemy,  
 And had achieved the desire of Nudimmud, Marduk the warrior  
 Strengthened his hold over the captive gods,  
 And to Tiamat, whom he had ensnared, he turned back.  
 The Lord trampled the lower part of Tiamat,  
 With his unsparing mace smashed her skull,  
 Severed the arteries of her blood,  
 And made the North Wind carry it off as good news.<sup>26</sup>  
 His fathers saw it and were jubilant: they rejoiced,  
 Arranged to greet him with presents, greetings gifts.<sup>27</sup>  
 The Lord rested, and inspected her corpse.

He divided the monstrous shape and created marvels (from it).  
 He sliced her in half like a fish for drying:  
 Half of her he put up to roof the sky,  
 Drew a bolt across and made a guard hold it.  
 Her waters he arranged so that they could not escape.  
 He crossed the heavens and sought out a shrine;  
 He levelled Apsu, dwelling of Nudimmud.  
 The Lord measured the dimensions of Apsu  
 And the large temple (Eshgalla), which he built in its image, was Esharra:  
 In the great shrine Esharra, which he had created as the sky,  
 He founded cult centres for Anu, Ellil, and Ea.  
 (Cathline)  
 He fashioned stands for the great gods  
 (Colophon)  
 146 lines. Fourth tablet 'When skies above'. Not complete.  
 Written according to a tablet whose lines were cancelled.  
 Nabu-belshu (son of) Na'id-Marduk, son of a smith,  
 wrote it for the life of himself  
 And the life of his house, and deposited (it) in Ezida.

TABLET V

He fashioned stands for the great gods.  
 As for the stars, he set up constellations corresponding to them.  
 He designated the year and marked out its divisions,  
 Apportioned three stars each to the twelve months.  
 When he had made plans of the days of the year,  
 He founded the stand of Neberu to mark out their courses,  
 So that none of them could go wrong or stray.  
 He fixed the stand of Ellil and Ea together with it,

Opened up gates in both ribs,  
Made strong bolts to left and right.

With her liver he located the heights;  
He made the crescent moon appear, entrusted night

(to it)

And designated it the jewel of night to mark out the  
days.

'Go forth every month without fail in a corona,  
At the beginning of the month, to glow over the  
land.

You shine with horns to mark out six days;  
On the seventh day the crown is half.

The fifteenth day shall always be the mid-point,  
the half of each month.<sup>28</sup>

When Shamash looks at you from the horizon,  
Gradually shed your visibility and begin to wane.  
Always bring the day of disappearance close to

the path of Shamash.<sup>29</sup>  
And on the thirtieth day, the [year] is always  
equalized, for Shamash is (responsible for) the

year.

A sign [shall appear (?): sweep along its path.  
Then always approach the [ ] and  
judge the case.

[ ] the Bowstar to kill and rob.<sup>30</sup>

(25 lines broken)

At the New Year's Festival

Year [ ]

May [ ]

The bolt of the exit [ ]

From the days [ ]

The watches of night and day [ ]

The spittle of Tiamat [ ]

Marduk [ ]

He put into groups and made clouds scud.

Raising winds, making rain,

Making fog billow, by collecting her poison,

He assigned for himself and let his own hand  
control it.

He placed her head, heaped up [ ]  
Opened up springs: water gushed out.

He opened the Euphrates and the Tigris from her  
eyes.<sup>31</sup>

Closed her nostrils, [ ]

He piled up clear-cut mountains from her udder,  
Bored waterholes to drain off the catchwater.

He laid her tail across, tied it fast as the cosmic  
bond,

And [ ] the Apsu beneath his feet.

He set her thigh to make fast the sky,

With half of her he made a roof, he fixed the earth.

He [ ] the work, made the insides of Tiamat  
surge,

Spread his net, made it extend completely.

He . . . [ ] heaven and earth

[ ] their knots, to coil [ ]

When he had designed its cult, created its rites,

He threw down the reins (and) made Ea take  
(them).

The Tablet of Destinies, which Qingu had

appropriated, he fetched

And took it and presented it for a first reading (?) to  
Anu.<sup>32</sup>

[The gods (?) of] battle whom he had ensnared were  
disentangled (?);

He led (them) as captives into the presence of his

fathers.

And as for the eleven creatures that Tiamat had

created, he [ ]

Smashed their weapons, tied them at his feet,

Made images of them and had them set up at the  
door of Apsu.<sup>33</sup>

'Let this be a sign that will never in future be  
forgotten!'

The gods looked, and their hearts were full of joy at  
him.

Lahmu and Lahamu and all his fathers

Embraced him, and Anshar the king proclaimed that  
there should be a reception for him.

Anu, Enlil, and Ea each presented him with gifts.  
 [ ] Damkina his mother exclaimed with joy  
 at him;  
 She made him beam [inside (?) ] his fine (?) house.  
 He (Marduk) appointed Usnu, who had brought his  
 greetings present as good news,  
 To be vizier of the Apsu, to take care of shrines.  
 The Igigi assembled, and all of them did obeisance  
 to him.  
 The Anunnaki, each and every one, kissed his feet.  
 The whole assembly collected together to prostrate  
 themselves.  
 [ ] they stood, they bowed, 'Yes, King  
 indeed!' ] his fathers took their fill of his  
 manliness,  
 [ ] They took off his clothes] which were enveloped in  
 the dust of combat.  
 [ ] the gods were attentive to him.  
 With cypress [ ] they sprinkled (?) his  
 body.  
 He put on a princely garment,  
 A royal aura, a splendid crown.  
 He took up a mace and grasped it in his right hand.  
 [ ] his left hand.  
 [ ]  
 He set a [mušhušu-dragon (?) ] at his feet,  
 Placed upon [ ]  
 Slung the staff of peace and obedience at his side.  
 When the mantle of radiance [ ]  
 And his net was holding (?) fearful Apsu,  
 A bull [ ]  
 In the inner chamber of his throne [ ]  
 In his cellar [ ]  
 The gods, all that existed, [ ]  
 Lahmu and Lahamu [ ]  
 Made their voices heard and spoke to the Igigi,  
 'Previously Marduk was (just) our beloved son  
 But now he is your king. Take heed of his  
 command.'

Next they spoke and proclaimed in unison,  
 'LUGAL-DIMMER-ANKIA is his name. Trust in  
 him!<sup>34</sup>  
 When they gave kingship to Marduk,  
 They spoke an oration for him, for blessing and  
 obedience.  
 Henceforth you shall be the provider of shrines  
 for us.  
 Whatever you command, we shall perform  
 ourselves.'  
 Marduk made his voice heard and spoke,  
 Addressed his words to the gods his fathers,  
 'Over the Apsu, the sea-green dwelling,  
 In front of (?) Esharra, which I created for you,  
 (Where) I strengthened the ground beneath it for  
 a shrine.  
 I shall make a house to be a luxurious dwelling  
 for myself  
 And shall found his cult centre within it,  
 And I shall establish my private quarters, and  
 confirm my kingship.  
 Whenever you come up from the Apsu for an  
 assembly,  
 Your night's resting place shall be in it, receiving  
 you all.  
 Whenever you come down from the sky for an  
 assembly,  
 Your night's resting place shall be in it, receiving  
 you all.  
 I hereby name it Babylon, home of the great  
 gods.  
 We shall make it the centre of religion.'  
 The gods his fathers listened to this command of  
 his,  
 ' [ ]  
 Who has [ ] your [ ]  
 More than you by yourself have created?  
 Who has [ ] your [ ]  
 More earth than you by yourself have created?  
 Babylon, whose name you have just pronounced,

Found there our night's resting place forever!  
 [ ] let them bring our regular offerings  
 [ ]  
 Whatever our work that we [ ]  
 There [ ] his toil [ ]  
 They rejoiced [ ]  
 The gods [ ] them  
 Who knows [ ] them light  
 He made his voice heard, his command [ ]  
 [ ] them [ ]  
 They did obeisance to him and the gods spoke to him,  
 They addressed their lord Lugal-dinner-anka,  
 'Previously the Lord was [our beloved] son.  
 But now he is our king. We shall take heed of his command.  
 [ ] gave long life [ ]  
 [ ] the mantle of radiance, the mace, and staff.  
 [ ] all the lore of sages. ]'  
 We [ ]  
 (Catchline)  
 When Marduk heard the speech of the gods  
 (Colophon)  
 Fifth tablet, 'When skies above'  
 Palace of Assurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria.

## TABLET VI

When Marduk heard the speech of the gods,  
 He made up his mind to perform miracles.  
 He spoke his utterance to Ea,  
 And communicated to him the plan that he was considering.  
 'Let me put blood together, and make bones too.  
 Let me set up primeval man: Man shall be his name.

Let me create a primeval man.  
 The work of the gods shall be imposed (on him),  
 and so they shall be at leisure.  
 Let me change the ways of the gods miraculously,  
 So they are gathered as one yet divided in two.'  
 Ea answered him and spoke a word to him,  
 Told him his plan for the leisure of the gods.  
 'Let one who is hostile to them be surrendered  
 (up),  
 Let him be destroyed, and let people be created  
 (from him).  
 Let the great gods assemble,  
 Let the culprit be given up, and let them convict him.'  
 Marduk assembled the great gods,  
 Gave (them) instructions pleasantly, gave orders.  
 The gods paid attention to what he said.  
 The king addressed his words to the Anunnaki,  
 'Your election of me shall be firm and foremost.  
 I shall declare the laws, the edicts within my power.  
 Whosoever started the war,  
 And incited Tiamat, and gathered an army,  
 Let the one who started the war be given up to me,  
 And he shall bear the penalty for his crime, that you may dwell in peace.'  
 The Igigi, the great gods, answered him,  
 Their lord Lugal-dinner-anka, counsellor of gods,  
 'It was Qingu who started the war,  
 He who incited Tiamat and gathered an army!  
 They bound him and held him in front of Ea,  
 Imposed the penalty on him and cut off his blood.  
 He created mankind from his blood,<sup>35</sup>  
 Imposed the toil of the gods (on man) and released the gods from it.  
 When Ea the wise had created mankind,  
 Had imposed the toil of the gods on them—  
 That deed is impossible to describe,

For Nudimmud performed it with the miracles of Marduk—

Then Marduk the king divided the gods,  
The Anunnaki, all of them, above and below.

He assigned his decrees to Anu to guard,  
Established three hundred as a guard in the sky;  
Did the same again when he designed the

conventions of earth,  
And made the six hundred dwell in both heaven and earth.

When he had directed all the decrees,  
Had divided lots for the Anunnaki, of heaven and of earth,<sup>36</sup>

The Anunnaki made their voices heard  
And addressed Marduk their lord.

'Now, O Lord, that you have set us free,  
What are our favours from you?

We would like to make a shrine with its own name.

We would like our night's resting place to be in your private quarters, and to rest there.

Let us found a shrine, a sanctuary there.  
Whenever we arrive, let us rest within it.'

When Marduk heard this,  
His face lit up greedily, like daylight.

'Create Babylon, whose construction you requested!

Let its mud bricks be moulded, and build high the shine!'

The Anunnaki began shovelling.  
For a whole year they made bricks for it.

When the second year arrived,  
They had raised the top of Esagila in front of (?) the

Apsu;  
They had built a high zigurrat for the Apsu.  
They founded a dwelling for Anu, Ellil, and Ea likewise.

In ascendancy he settled himself in front of them,  
And his 'horns' look down at the base of Esharra.<sup>37</sup>  
When they had done the work on Esagila,

(And) the Anunnaki, all of them, had fashioned their individual shrines,

The three hundred Igigi of heaven and the Anunnaki of the Apsu all assembled.

The Lord invited the gods his fathers to attend a banquet

In the great sanctuary which he had created as his dwelling.

'Indeed, Bab-il (is) your home too!<sup>38</sup>  
Sing for joy there, dwell in happiness!'

The great gods sat down there,  
And set out the beer mugs; they attended the banquet.

When they had made merry within,  
They themselves made a *taqribtu*-offering in splendid Esagila.

All the decrees (and) designs were fixed.  
All the gods divided the stations of heaven and earth.

The fifty great gods were present, and

The gods fixed the seven destinies for the cult.  
The Lord received the bow, and set his weapon

down in front of them.

The gods his fathers looked at the net which he had made,

Looked at the bow, how miraculous her construction,  
And his fathers praised the deeds that he had done.

Anu raised (the bow) and spoke in the assembly of gods,

He kissed the bow, 'May she go far!<sup>39</sup>  
He gave to the bow her names, saying,

'May Long and Far be the first, and Victorious the second;

Her third name shall be Bowstar, for she shall shine in the sky.'

He fixed her position among the gods her companions.

When Anu had decreed the destiny of the bow,  
He set down her royal throne. 'You are highest of the gods!'

And Anu made her sit in the assembly of gods.  
 The great gods assembled  
 And made Marduk's destiny highest; they  
 themselves did obeisance.  
 They swore an oath for themselves,  
 And swore on water and oil, touched their throats.<sup>40</sup>  
 Thus they granted that he should exercise the  
 kingship of the gods  
 And confirmed for him mastery of the gods of  
 heaven and earth.

Anshar gave him another name: ASARUHI.  
 'At the mention of his name we shall bow down!  
 The gods are to pay heed to what he says:  
 His command is to have priority above and below.  
 The son who avenged us shall be the highest!  
 His rule shall have priority; let him have no  
 rival!  
 Let him act as shepherd over the black-headed  
 people, his creation.  
 Let his way be proclaimed in future days, never  
 forgotten.  
 He shall establish great *ninābū*-offerings for his  
 fathers.  
 He shall take care of them, he shall look after  
 their shrines.  
 He shall let them smell the *qutrinu*-offering,  
 and make their chant joyful.  
 Let him breathe on earth as freely as he always  
 does in heaven.  
 Let him designate the black-headed people to  
 revere him,  
 That mankind may be mindful of him, and name  
 him as their god.  
 Let their (interceding) goddess pay attention when  
 he opens his mouth.  
 Let *ninābū*-offerings be brought [to] their god  
 (and) their goddess.  
 Let them never be forgotten! Let them cleave to  
 their god.

Let them keep their country pre-eminent, and  
 always build shrines.  
 Though the black-headed people share out the  
 gods,<sup>41</sup>  
 As for us, no matter by which name we call him,  
 he shall be our god.  
 Come, let us call him by his fifty names!  
 His ways shall be proclaimed, and his deeds  
 likewise!  
 MARDUK  
 Whose father Anu designated him at the moment  
 of his birth,  
 To be in charge of pasturage and watering places,  
 to enrich their stalls,  
 Who overwhelmed the riotous ones with his  
 flood-weapon  
 And saved the gods his fathers from hardship.  
 Let THE SON, MAJESTY OF THE GODS be his name!  
 In his bright light may they walk forever more:  
 The people whom he created, the form of life that  
 breathes.  
 He imposed the work of the gods (on them) so  
 that they might rest.  
 Creation and abolition, forgiveness and  
 punishment—  
 Such are at his disposal, so let them look to him.  
 MARUKKA—he is the god who created them.<sup>42</sup>  
 He pleases the Anunnaki and gives rest to the  
 Iggi.  
 MARUTUKKU—he is the help of country, city, and  
 his people.  
 Him shall the people revere forever.  
 MERŠAKUSHU—fierce yet considerate, furious yet  
 merciful.<sup>43</sup>  
 Generous is his heart, controlled are his  
 emotions.  
 LUGAL-DIMMER-ANKA—his name which we gave  
 him in our assembly.  
 We made his command higher than the gods his  
 fathers'.

He is indeed *bel* of the gods of heaven and earth,  
all of them,  
The king at whose instruction the gods are awed  
above and below.

*narri-lugal-dimmer-ankia* is a name that we have  
given him as director of all the gods,  
Who founded our dwellings in heaven and earth  
out of difficulties,

And who shared out the stations for the *Igigi* and  
*Anunnaki*.

At his names may the gods tremble and quake in  
(their) dwellings.

*asarlumi* (first) is his name which his father *Anu*  
gave him,  
He shall be the light of the gods, strong leader,  
Who like his name is the protecting spirit of god  
and country.

He spared our dwellings in the great battle despite  
difficulties.

Second, they called him *Asarlumi* as *namtula*, the  
god who gives life,<sup>44</sup>

Who restored all the damaged gods as if they  
were his own creation.<sup>45</sup>

*Bel*, who revives dead gods with his pure  
incantation,

Who destroys those who oppose him but . . . s the  
enemy.

*Asarlumi* third as *namru*, whose name was given  
(thus),

The pure god who purifies our path.<sup>46</sup>

*Anshar*, *Lahmu*, and *Lahamu* called his three names,  
They pronounced them to the gods their sons,

'We have given him each of these three names.

Now you, pronounce his names as we did!'

The gods rejoiced, and obeyed their command.

In *Ubsnu-ukinaku* they deliberated their counsel.

'Let us elevate the name of the son, the warrior,

Our champion who looks after us!'

They sat in their assembly and began to call out the  
destinies,  
Pronounced his name in all their rites.

(*Catchline*)

*Asare*, bestower of ploughland, who fixes (its)  
boundaries

#### TABLET VII

'*asare*, bestower of ploughland, who fixes (its)  
boundaries,<sup>47</sup>

Creator of grain and linseed, producer of  
vegetation.

*asar-alim*, whose weighty counsel in the  
Chamber of Council is most valued;

The gods, even those who know no fear, pay heed  
to him.

*asar-alim-nuna*, the honoured one, the light of  
the father who begot him,

Who directs the orders of *Anu*, *Ellil*, *Ea*, and  
*Dilankina*?]

He indeed is their provider, who allocates their  
incomes,

Whose farmland makes a surplus for the country.

He is *ruuru*, (first) as creator of their renewal.

He shall purify their shrines, that they may stay  
at rest.

He shall invent an incantation, that the gods may  
be at peace.

Even if they should rise up in anger, he shall turn  
them back.

He shall be pre-eminent in the assembly of the  
gods his fathers;

None among the gods shall rival him.

He is *Tutu*, (second) as *zi-ukkinu*, the inspiration  
of his people,

Who fixed the pure skies for the gods,<sup>48</sup>

Who set their ways and marked out their  
stations.

May he not be forgotten by teeming humanity,  
 may they uphold his work.<sup>49</sup>  
 Thirdly, they named him Tutu as ziku, upholder  
 of purification,  
 The god of sweet breath, lord of obedience and  
 consent,  
 Producer of riches and abundance, who maintains  
 a surplus,  
 Who turns whatever is scant into plenty.  
 Even in the worst hardship we can smell his  
 sweet breath!  
 May they speak in worship and sing his praises!  
 Fourthly, let the people glorify Tutu as agaku,  
 Lord of the pure incantation, who revives the  
 dying,  
 Who showed mercy even to the captured gods,  
 Who removed the yoke imposed upon the gods  
 his enemies,  
 Who created mankind to set them free,  
 The merciful one who has the power to give life!  
 His words shall be firm; they shall never be  
 forgotten  
 In the mouth of the black-headed people whom  
 he created with his own hands.  
 Fifthly, let their mouths show forth Tutu as  
 tuku, whose spell (is) pure.  
 Who uprooted all the wicked with his pure  
 incantation.

He is shazu, aware of the gods' intentions, who  
 can see emotions,  
 Who does not allow evil-doers to escape him,  
 Establisher of the gods' assembly, gratifier of  
 their wishes,  
 Who makes the arrogant kneel beneath his wide  
 canopy.  
 Director of justice, who plucks out crooked  
 speech,  
 In whose place lies can be distinguished from  
 truth.

Secondly, let them worship Shazu as zisi, silencer  
 of the aggressor,  
 Expeller of deathly silence from the bodies of the  
 gods his fathers.  
 Thirdly, he is Shazu as sunkim, uprooter of all  
 the foe by force of arms,  
 Dispelling their plots, scattering them to the  
 winds,  
 Extinguishing all the wicked, wherever they may  
 be.  
 May the gods always proclaim the triumph in the  
 assembly!  
 Fourthly, he is Shazu as sungurim, responsible  
 for the obedience of the gods his fathers.  
 Uprooter of the foe, destroyer of their offspring,  
 Dispeller of their works, who left no trace of  
 them.  
 Let his name be proclaimed and spoken in the  
 land.  
 Fifthly, let future generations consider Shazu as  
 zahrim,  
 Destroyer of all enemies, every one of them  
 arrogant,  
 Who brought all the refugee gods into shines:  
 Let this be established as his name.  
 Sixthly, let them all praise Shazu as zangurim  
 too,  
 Who destroyed all the foe by himself in battle.  
 He is enbilulu, the lord, their enricher;  
 Their deity is mighty, responsible for sacrificial  
 omens,  
 Who looks after pasturage and watering places,  
 establishes them for the land,  
 Who opens up wells (?) and apportions the waters  
 of abundance.<sup>50</sup>  
 Secondly, let them address Enbilulu as eradun,  
 lord of the countryside and . . .  
 Canal-controller of heaven and earth, establisher  
 of the furrow,

Who maintains pure ploughland in the countryside,  
 Who directs ditches and canals and marks out the furrows.  
 Thirdly, let them praise Enbilulu as CUCAL  
 ("canal-controller") of the gods' irrigated land.  
 Lord of abundance and the luxuriance of great grain-piles.  
 Responsible for riches, who gives surplus to homes,  
 Giver of cereals, producer of grain.  
 Fourthly (?), he is Enbilulu as HEGAL  
 ("Abundance"), who heaps up a surplus for people,  
 Who brings rain of abundance over the broad earth, and makes vegetation grow profusely.

He is SIRSIR, who piled a mountain over Tiamat,  
 And took as booty the corpse of Tiamat, by his force of arms.  
 Governor of the land, their righteous shepherd,  
 Whose gifts are cultivation, garden plots and ploughland,  
 Who waded into the broad Sea-Tiamat in his fury:  
 Like a bridge he spanned her battlefield.  
 Secondly, they named SIRSIR as MALAH  
 ("Boatman")—may she, Tiamat,  
 Be his barque forever, and he her sailor.

He is GIL, who amasses mighty heaps and mounds of grain.  
 Producer of cereals and flocks, giver of the land's seed.  
 He is GILMA, who established the cosmic bond of the gods, who created stability;  
 The ring that encompasses them, who prepares good things.  
 He is AGLIMA, the lofty, who tore out flood-waves, and controlled snows,

And built the earth above the water, established the heights.  
 He is ZURUM who designated fields for the gods, and divided up what he had created.  
 Bestower of incomes and food offerings, supplier of shrines.  
 He is MUMMU, fashioner of heaven and earth, director of . . .  
 The god who purifies heaven and earth, secondly as ZULUM-UMMU  
 Whom no other god equals for strength.

GISH-NUMUN-AB, creator of all people, maker of the world's quarters,  
 Destroyer of Tiamat's gods, maker of people in their entirety.  
 LUGAL-AB-DUBUR, the king who scattered Tiamat's brood and snatched her weapon,  
 Who made a firm base in the van and the rear.  
 RAGAL-GUENNA, leader of all lords, whose might is supreme,  
 Who is greatest of the gods his brothers, prince of them all.

LUGAL-DURMAN, king, bond of gods, lord of the cosmic bond,  
 Who is greatest in the royal abode, highest of the gods by far.  
 ARANUNA, counsellor of Ea, creator of the gods [his (?)] fathers,  
 Whom no god equals in his princely way.  
 DUMU-DUKU, whose pure dwelling is marked out for him on the holy mound,  
 Dumu-duku, without whom rules cannot be decided, LUGAL-DUKU.  
 LUGAL-SHUNNA, king whose might is supreme among the gods.  
 Lord, might of Anu, who is pre-eminent as the namesake (?) of Anshar.  
 INUGA, who took them all captive from inside Tiamat,

Who unites all wisdom, and is broad of understanding.

IRINUCU, who took Qingu captive as foe (?) in (?) battle,

Who administers decrees for everything, who confirms supremacy.

KINMA, director of all the gods, giver of counsel, At whose name the gods themselves quake in fear as in a tempest.

As E-SISKUR, he shall sit highest in the house of prayer,

And the gods shall bring their presents before him,

As long as he accepts revenues from them. None may perform miracles without him.<sup>51</sup>

No (other) god shall designate the revenues of the black-headed people, his own creation.

Without him, nor decisions about their lifetimes.

GABU, who establishes the . . . of weapon(s), Who performed miracles in the battle with

Tiamat.

Profound in wisdom, skilled in understanding, (So) profound, that none of the gods can comprehend.

ABDU shall be his name: let him cover all the sky.<sup>52</sup>

And may his fine noise rumble over the earth.

May he shed water (?) from the clouds,

And give sustenance to the people below.

ASHARU, who like his name is responsible for the gods of destinies:

He does indeed take charge over every single person.

NEBERU: he does indeed hold the crossings of heaven and earth.

Neither up nor down shall they cross over; they must wait on him.

Neburu is his star which is bright in the sky.

He controls the crossroads; they must look to him,

Saying: "He who kept crossing inside Tiamat without respite, Shall have Neburu as his name, grasping her middle.

May he establish the paths of the heavenly stars, And may he shepherd all the gods like sheep.

Let him defeat Tiamat, constrict her breath and shorten her life,

So that for future people, till time grows old, She shall be far removed, not kept here, distant forever."

Because he had created the Place (heaven),

and fashioned Damina (earth),

ENKURRUR, father Ellil named him.

Ea heard that name, by which the Igigi all called him,

And was delighted, saying,

"He whose fathers have given him such a splendid name

Shall have the name Ea, just like me.

He shall have mastery over the arrangement of all my rites,

And shall direct every one of my decrees."

With fifty epithets the great gods

Called his fifty names, making his way supreme.

May they always be cherished, and may the older explain (to the younger).

Let the wise and learned consult together,

Let the father repeat them and teach them to the son.

Let the ear of shepherd and herdsman be open,

Let him not be negligent to Marduk, the Ellil of the gods.

May his country be made fertile, and himself be safe and sound.

His word is firm, his command cannot alter;

No god can change his utterance.

When he is angry, he does not turn his neck (aside);

In his rage and fury no god dare confront him.  
His thoughts are deep, his emotions profound;  
Criminals and wrongdoers pass before him.  
He (the scribe?) wrote down the secret instruction  
which older men had recited in his presence,  
And set it down for future men to read.  
May the [people?]'s of Marduk whom the Igigi gods  
created  
Weave the [tale?] and call upon his name  
In remembrance (?) of the song of Marduk  
Who defeated Tiamat and took the kingship.

## NOTES TO EPIC OF CREATION

Text: composite cuneiform text for students: Lambert and Parker 1966; outdated edition Labat 1935; new edition announced Lambert and Millard 1969 still awaited.

1. The epic is often referred to by the first two words of the first line as Enuma Elish.
2. The word 'maker' is *munnu*; the *bit munni* was the term for a workshop that produced statues of deities.
3. The Assyrian version has Ea and Damkina instead of Lahmu and Lahamu.
4. The Assyrian version has Marduk instead of Anshar. Assur was assimilated with Anshar from the eighth century at least, perhaps because of similarity in names.
5. Variant has Lahmu instead of Anu.
6. This appears to be a play on the logogram for Marduk's name AMAR.UTU; it has also been interpreted as a possible diminutive of the word 'son'.
7. *šimši* is a title, literally 'my sun', meaning 'your/his majesty' which was taken by gods who headed their local pantheon and by great kings during the Late Bronze Age (c.1500–1000 BC).
8. Perhaps a pun: 'Hubur, river / huburu, hubbub'.
9. Compare this list of Tiamat's monsters with those with which Agum-lakime adorned the doors of Marduk's temple: 'I made a pair of great door leaves, pine door leaves, . . . I had them inlaid with a horned serpent, *lahmu*-hero, bull-man, *ugilla*-demon, rabid dog, fish-man, goat-fish in lapis lazuli, rock crystal, carnelian, and alabaster.' Either these creatures were there simply to ward off evil, or a different version of the Epic was in circulation, illustrated by the doors.

10. Alliteration, *libbuš libbuš*.
11. It has been suggested that *enarrukka*, translated here 'by the sight of you', is a name of Tiamat elsewhere unattested in Akkadian or Sumerian, corresponding to Omorka in Berossus' *Babyloniaca*, but Tiamat would be quite out of place in this sentence.
12. The variant *enūtu*, 'power of the en-priesthood', puns with *anūtu*, 'Anu-power'. The pun presumably applies also to other occurrences of this line.
13. Alliteration: *itukka la ittuq*.
14. Marduk's title 'Lord' (*bēl*) = same as that used for Ninurta in SBV Anzu.
15. 'Constellation', *lunāšu*, was previously misread as 'garment', *libāšu*; the cuneiform signs *ba* and *ma* are often very hard to distinguish.
16. Compare note 15 to Anzu. The phrase is identical here.
17. Apparently 'evil wind' is an explanatory gloss on *imhulu*, a Sumerian loan word, and seems quite unnecessary.
18. Alliteration on the letters HLP in the four words of this line. Cf. note 45 to SBV *Gilgamesh*.
19. Pun: 'middle/battle-force' (both Akkadian *gablu*).
20. Subject perhaps Qingu rather than Marduk.
21. Sennacherib's inscription, describing a scene from the Epic as depicted on the doors of his Temple of the New Year's Festival, makes it clear that the gods accompanied Assur into battle in the Assyrian version. A picture of Assur who goes inside Tiamat for battle; how he raises the bow in the chariot that he rides, the flood-weapon with which he is entrusted; Amurru who rides with him as riot-holder, . . . the gods march in front of him and march behind him, those who ride in a vehicle, those who march on foot, and how those in front of Assur are arrayed, and how those behind Assur are arrayed; Tiamat and the creatures of her insides, against whom Assur, king of the gods, marches to battle; a picture of Sennacherib king of Assyria; the gods Sharur, Shangaz, Kaka, Nusku, Madanu, Ishpak, Ninurta-of-the-wall, Kubu, Haya, Sebitti—these are the gods who march in front of Assur. Mullissu, Sherua, Sin, Nikkal, Shamash, Aya, Kippat-mati, Anu, Anzu, Adad, Shala, Ea, Damkina, Bel-et-il, Ninurta—these are the gods who march behind Assur. The conquering weapons are positioned in Assur's chariot.
22. 'Falsehood': see Borger 1980 for this interpretation.
23. A close parallel with this pair of lines is found in an inscription of Ashurbanipal (Streck 1916, p. 28, line 381).
24. The precise implication of 'dead gods' is uncertain.
25. Play on words and alliteration: *šimūti la simūti*.
26. The north wind was regarded as the most pleasant and favourable wind in ancient Mesopotamia as in Egypt.
27. 'Greetings gifts' may be an explanatory gloss of 'presents', and seems to be unnecessary.
28. The word for the fifteenth day of the month, *šabattu*, is cognate with the Sabbath.
29. i.e. the moon must disappear on the eastern horizon at sunrise.

30. A literary composition describing the Bowstar who is killed by Ea was published by Walker 1983. See also note 39 below.
31. The word *inu* means both 'eyes' and 'springs'.
32. Anu or Ea; the logogram is ambiguous.
33. This may allude to the decoration of Ea's temple in Eridu, or may alternatively be modelled on the display of Ninurta's trophies in Sumerian mythology. See Cooper 1978, 141-54.
34. Lugal-dimmer-anka: Sumerian for 'King of the gods of heaven and earth'.
35. The ambiguity of subject (Marduk or Ea) may be deliberate.
36. Division of land at inheritance among brothers was done by lot. See note 4 to *Atrahasis*.
37. Perhaps the pinacles; or a reference to the crown with bulls' horns which all gods wore.
38. Written phonetically, which is unusual, perhaps emphasizing its (secondary?) etymology as 'Gate of God'.
39. By a different reading of the same signs, 'May she go far' can alternatively be translated, 'She shall be my daughter', and may possibly be a learned pun. The bow almost certainly refers to Ishkar, daughter of Anu, as the Bowstar *elamatum*. See Walker 1983, 147, note 14. He publishes there a fragment from the seventh tablet of an otherwise unattested myth *Gerra and Elamatum* which bears some close resemblances to this epic and to Anzu. The month in which the great festival of Ishkar of Arbil was held is described as: 'Month of the heliacal rising of the Bowstar'.
40. This gesture is attested as accompanying treaty oaths in the Old Babylonian period.
41. The expression 'black-headed people' is normally understood to be a poetic term for mankind in general. It may also imply contrast with fair-haired people living beyond the bounds of ancient Mesopotamia.
42. This name Marutka and the following one play upon the name Marduk.
43. Meshakushu was previously read as Agashadlu.
44. The temple of Eilil in Babylon as 'lord of the lands' was E-namtila.
45. Perhaps this refers to the repair and restoration of divine statues in the workshops of Esagila; but there may also be an allusion to a feat of Ninurta.
46. There is play on various forms and secondary etymologies of the name of Eilil: *ellu*, 'pure', and *mullitu*, the Sumerian *eme-sal* dialect form of Eilil's name.
47. It is not possible to give an accurate translation or explanation for many of the following Sumerian titles of Marduk. In some cases, e.g. Asare, Tutu, Enbilulu, and Addu, he is assimilated with venerable deities whose independent existence is attested. In other cases the titles appear to be epithets which describe various aspects of his power; they are occasionally paraphrased and elaborated in the Akkadian description which follows each title, but often the elaboration consists largely of an esoteric play on words and logograms that is impossible to convey in English even when it is understood, and which can hardly have been meaningful in spoken form. The most comprehensive discussion is by Bottéro 1977,

- who uses an ancient, erudite commentary of extreme brevity to help explain the riddle-like complexities of the text.
48. The verb 'fixed', *ukinnu*, puns on the second element of the epithet, *Ukīna*.
49. The word 'veining', *opīli*, used to be translated 'bedclouded' owing to an incorrect etymology.
50. 'Wells', *berāni*, or 'irrigated land', *mirāni*. *be* and *mi* are both readings of a single sign.
51. This line seems to be intrusive according to the sense of the adjacent lines.
52. This is the only assimilation of Marduk with a major god of the Late Bronze-Iron Age pantheon as distinct from ancient Sumerian gods. An Old Babylonian text from Mari refers to Addu (the west-semitic form of the weather-god Adad) of Aleppo as the conqueror of Tiamat. This may show that a version of this creation story was current in west-semitic circles in the early second millennium, and may account for the specifically west-semitic form, phonetically written, of the god's name here. See J.-M. Durand 1993.