

TABLETS FROM THE SIPPAR LIBRARY VI. ATRA-ḤASIS

By A. R. GEORGE and F. N. H. AL-RAWI

The Babylonian myth known to the ancients as *Enūma ilū awēlum*, “When the Gods Were Man”,¹ and to modern scholarship as the Epic of Atra-ḥasis, tells the wondrous story of the creation of mankind, of the attempts of the king of the gods, Enlil, to reduce the overpopulation that resulted from its unchecked reproduction — by plague, drought, famine and, most disastrously, the Deluge — and of the measures then taken by the gods to keep mankind’s future numbers in check. Since its reconstruction some twenty-five years ago, by W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard,² there have come to light very few new sources for this composition. Several small additional fragments have been published by Lambert,³ and a further piece by Groneberg and Durand.⁴ The most significant discovery of new text has been the several tablets that were found in the library excavated by the late Dr Walid Al-Jadir of the University of Baghdad in the Neo-Babylonian temple of Šamaš at Sippar. This find led to a preliminary report in this journal that “there are tablets 1, 2, 3 and one other of the Standard Babylonian recension (as it must now be called) of Atra-hasis”.⁵

A review of these tablets, as far as the authors’ knowledge allowed in 1991, was given in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 49 (1992), 759–61. Since then photographs have become available, which allow a more authoritative account of the tablets, and so it has been thought appropriate to give a fuller treatment — though still provisional — in the present series of articles on the tablets of the Sippar Library.⁶

The four tablets of Atra-ḥasis discussed here are, as already stated in *BiOr* 49, all complete (or nearly complete) single-columned tablets of a little more than fifty lines per side. This seems therefore to have been the standard format for the text at Sippar in the late period. Such tablets thus hold rather less than a third of the text of Tablets of the Old Babylonian recension copied by Kasap-Aya,⁷ and we can therefore imagine that there were at least ten or eleven Tablets in the Standard

¹ The famously problematic incipit of the OB text has been rendered in various ways, without a consensus emerging. Most scholars opt for either “When the gods were man” or “When the gods like man”, though other translations have also been tried (for histories of the argument see G. Pettinato, *OrAnt* 9 (1970), p. 76; T. Jacobsen, *Finkelstein Mem. Vol.*, p. 113; more recently note K. Oberhuber, *Zikir Šumim*, p. 281: “als (die) Götter an Menschen Statt”). The line caused problems for ancient scholars, too: see the note below on SB I 1. We take *awilum* as a metaphor, following W. L. Moran, *Biblica* 52 (1971), p. 59². For examples of comparison expressed by the construction noun + complement as predicate, see now B. Groneberg, *Afo* 26 (1978–9), p. 20, who translates the incipit as “als die Götter wie Menschen waren”. M.-J. Seux, *RA* 75 (1981), pp. 190–1, has pointed out a compelling parallel in OB Atram-ḥasis I 93 // 95, as understood by R. Borger, *HKL* 2, p. 158: *be-li* (95: *en-lil*) *bi-nu bu-nu-ka*, “My lord/Enlil, your features are a tamarisk” (i.e., as pale as its wood when cut: cf. the simile *kima nikis bini* in similar contexts). There, as in the incipit, a plural subject is complemented by a singular noun as predicate, without *-ma*, to yield a vivid figurative expression.

² W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Babylonian Literary Texts* (CT 46; London, 1965), Nos. 1–15; eid., *Atra-ḥasis. The Babylonian Story of the Flood* (Oxford, 1969). Tablet I has been re-edited by W. von Soden, “Die erste Tafel des altbabylonischen Atramḥasis-Mythus. ‘Haupttext’ und Parallelversionen”, *ZA* 68 (1978), pp. 50–94. The most recent treatments of the whole myth are the translations by Bottéro, “La grande Genèse babylonienne”, in J. Bottéro and S. N. Kramer, *Lorsque les dieux faisaient l’homme. Mythologie mésopotamienne* (Paris, 1989), pp. 526–64; by S. Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 1–38; by

B. R. Foster, *Before the Muses* (Bethesda, Md, 1993), pp. 158–201 (with full bibliography), repeated with minor alterations in idem, *From Distant Days* (Bethesda, Md, 1995), pp. 52–77; and by W. von Soden, “Der altbabylonische Atramchasis-Mythos”, in K. Hecker *et al.* (eds.), *Mythen und Epen II* (TUAT III/4; Gütersloh, 1994), pp. 612–45. The whole text is the subject of an unpublished edition by Jesús García Recio, “Inūma ilū awilum”, whose kindness in sending us a draft copy we acknowledge.

³ W. G. Lambert, “New evidence for the first line of *Atra-ḥasis*”, *Or* NS 38 (1969), pp. 533–8; “New fragments of Babylonian epics. Atra-ḥasis”, *Afo* 27 (1980), pp. 71–6; “Three new pieces of Atra-ḥasis”, in *Mélanges Garelli*, pp. 411–14. Note also the new copy of VAT 17099 (BE 36669, Lambert and Millard’s MS y) by J. van Dijk, published as *VAS* 24 93 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 13).

⁴ B. Groneberg, “Atramhasis, Tafel II iv–v”, in *Mélanges Garelli*, pp. 397–410, with a copy of HE 529 by J.-M. Durand. A further fragment, as yet unplaced, seems to be Bo 809/z (*KBo* 36 26; cf. J. Siegelová, *ArOr* 38 (1970), p. 138).

⁵ *Iraq* 49 (1987), p. 249.

⁶ *Iraq* 52 (1990), pp. 1–13; *ibid.*, pp. 149–57; *Iraq* 56 (1994), pp. 135–48; *Iraq* 57 (1995), pp. 199–223; *ibid.*, pp. 225–8. The Sippar tablets are published by kind permission of the University of Baghdad and the Iraqi Directorate General of Antiquities. Work on the tablets was once again supported by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, to whom all thanks are due. A draft of this article was read by W. G. Lambert with customary acumen, and his patient corrections are gratefully acknowledged. Where we are still in error is our fault alone.

⁷ Or Nūr-Aya; the reading of the scribe’s name is disputed: see von Soden, *ZA* 68, p. 50¹; Lambert, *Afo* 27, p. 71¹.

Babylonian series as it was arranged at Sippar. The division of the text into these short Tablets seems also to have been known to one of the two Kuyunjik editions of Atra-ḫasis, the one that does not use Assyrian dialect forms: Lambert and Millard's MS L preserves a ruling and traces of what may be a colophon after the line that corresponds to OB I 110,⁸ and l. 111 turns out to be the incipit of Tablet II at Sippar too. On the other hand, the transition from Tablet IV to Tablet V in the late Sippar tradition, which occurs at a line that is lost in the Old Babylonian text (somewhere near the top of OB II ii, as arranged on MS B), is not marked by the Kuyunjik fragment MS Q (SB V 1 = MS Q rev. 9'). So it would appear that not all Kuyunjik manuscripts acknowledged the divisions into Tablets that are found in the Sippar copies.

That aside, textual study of the new tablets reveals that only very rarely are they in conflict with the relevant fragments of the Kuyunjik edition, and they appear to represent the same recension of the text. The Late Babylonian tablet from Babylon (Lambert and Millard's MS x), which holds text corresponding to Sippar Tablets II–III and V–VI, can now be seen very probably to be part of the same edition. The new tablets confirm Lambert and Millard's opinion that this recension of Atra-ḫasis is much more nearly a direct descendant of the Old Babylonian text than the edition that uses Assyrian forms (MSS STU). Now that we have manuscripts of the late recension from Sippar, Babylon and Aššurbanipal's libraries, it can be assumed to have been the standard text of Atra-ḫasis current in Babylonia in the first millennium.

The new manuscripts are noteworthy for their orthography and grammar, which display some interesting archaizing tendencies, though without complete consistency. The spelling is sometimes conventional Late Babylonian, and sometimes what one might call pseudo-Old Babylonian. By this we mean the self-consciously learned orthographic style used most typically in some building inscriptions of Nabopolassar and his successors, in which mimation is commonly expressed (though not always correctly), half-syllable signs are preferred to closed syllable signs (e.g., *ku-ul-la-at* not *kul-lat*), signs are used in obsolete phonetic values (e.g., *à, pí, qá, qú, úh*), and long vowels in non-final position are often written *plene*.⁹

With regard to grammar, as in the Old Babylonian text the 3rd fem. sg. of the prefix-conjugation can be *taprus* as well as *iprus*, and the corresponding precativ *i taprus* as well as *liprus*:

tazzaqqar (II 82); *i tešme* (II 109); *tēpušamma* (II catch-line); but contrast *libni* (II 69.71); *liballil* (II 94); *iblula* (II 113)

More remarkable is the use in the new manuscripts of apocopated prepositions prefixed to the noun, where that noun begins with a consonant. This usage is consistent in Tablets I–IV, so far as they are known to us:

ik-kalakki (I 39, II 34.46); *ab-bāb(ika)* (I 71'.73', II 18.30); *as-sukkalli(šu)* (I 104' = II 6); *ap-puḫri* (I 106' = II 8.20); *ip-puḫri* (I 107' = II 9.21.31); *ab-bābiška* (II 3); *ew-warḫi* (II 89.101); *iq-qerbi* (II 92); *iš-širi(šu)* (II 93.98.105); *iṭ-ṭiṭta* (II 96.108); *ar-rigmīšina* (IV // OB II 4); *ak-karšišina* (IV // OB II 10)

In Tablet V, on the other hand, orthographies prevail that indicate detached prepositions (assuming that AŠ and DIŠ represent *ina* and *ana* as usual):

ina šērēti (V 15.31.37); *ana šibūti* (V 20); *in māti* (V 24); *a-na rigmēšina* (V 46); *ina ḫubūrišina* (V 50); *ana miṭrati* (V 65); *ina mūši* (V 69); *ana pūt* (V 71.72); *ana šunūti* (V 75); *ina kār* (V 80); *ana maḫrika* (V 85.94); *ina maḫar* (V 92); *ana qerbu* (V 96); *ina merīti* (V 112); but contrast *im-mātu* (V 8); *aq-qudmīšu* (V 12.28); *im-mūši* (V 14.30.36); *ab-bitīššu* (V 18); *an-nāši* (V 85.94)

Attached prepositions and 3rd fem. sg. in *ta-* are features characteristic of "hymno-epic"-style, high literary Babylonian.¹⁰ In the editions known to us, the impression is that OB Atram-ḫasis makes slightly less use of this style than the later text does, as far as it is represented by the new manuscripts.¹¹ At all events, the older text does not use attached prepositions. The abundant use of such prepositions observed in the new tablets is exceptional for the first millennium. So few other

⁸ As suspected in *Atra-ḫasis*, p. 35: "L obverse has a ruling and some damaged signs just above it that seem to be colophonical. If this is a correct understanding of the traces, L is derived from a series of which one (presumably the first) tablet ended with l. 110." As we can now see, the traces above the line are of *ab-bāb* (see fn. 12) and so belong to the line that corresponds to OB I 110, but after the ruling, before

^d*a-num*, the word that opens the line corresponding to OB I 111, there is a trace of extra material that is likely to part of a brief colophon (see further below, the note on II 1).

⁹ Cf. W. von Soden and W. Röllig, *AnOr* 42⁴, p. xxxv.

¹⁰ See W. von Soden, *ZA* 41 (1933), pp. 134–6, 148–51.

¹¹ For "hymno-epic" features in the OB text see Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasis*, p. 30.

fragments of the Standard Babylonian version are preserved, that it is difficult to judge whether attached prepositions are typical of the SB version as a whole, or particular to the copying tradition represented by the manuscripts from the Sippar library.¹² Another question relating to the same copying tradition is why, from SB V 15, the attached preposition suddenly falls out of favour, and is less and less attested for the remainder of that Tablet. The distribution is such that the distinction between attached and detached forms cannot be a matter of metrics. It is a question of orthography, and looks as though a redactor began to introduce attached prepositions in emulation of older texts, but was interrupted for some reason and did not complete the task.

Now that so much more of the Standard Babylonian version of Atra-ḥasis is available, there is scope for a thorough examination of the editorial changes imposed on the older text in, one supposes, the latter centuries of the second millennium. The notes that are here appended to the editions of Sippar SB I, II and V, make a start in that direction by pointing out where the wording has been changed significantly. In the light of the several corruptions that have found their way into the text,¹³ one may comment more generally, that whoever worked over the Old Babylonian text and produced the more self-consciously literary version known to the first millennium, it is clear he did not always understand the text before him.

Before presenting our editions we may consider a matter raised by the new tablets that is of importance to Mesopotamian mythology. This is the revelation that in this version of the text the leader of the mutinous gods (SB I 42), whose flesh and blood are mixed with clay to make mankind (SB II 103), is the minor deity Alla.¹⁴ This deity is also the victim in the bilingual account of creation from Middle Assyrian Aššur, in which the Anunnaki propose to Enlil:

^dNAGAR. ^dNAGAR im.ma.an.šum.en.zé.en
^dalla. ^dalla i ni-īṭ-bu-ḥa
 úš.úš.e.ne nam.lú.u₁₈.lu mú.mú.e.dé
 i-na da-me-šu-nu i ni-ib-na-a a-mi-lu-ta
 KAR 4, 25–6¹⁵

“Let us slaughter the Alla-gods,
 to fashion mankind from their blood!”

Elsewhere Alla is well known as a dead god, attested in two parallel cultic explanatory texts among Dumuzi, Qingu (who is, of course, the victim in the version of the creation myth retailed in *Enūma eliš*), Mummu, Asakku, Alala and other captive and defeated gods, and in Dumuzi texts in the company of Damu, Ningišzida, Ištarān and other dying deities;¹⁶ the “Alla-gods” of the bilingual text can perhaps be identified as some such group. The new information about the fate of Alla presented in SB Atra-ḥasis is thus seen to fit with a well-established tradition.

In the passage of Old Babylonian Atram-ḥasis that deals with man’s creation the name of the slaughtered god is conventionally read ^dPI-e (Wê, Geštu’e) or ^dPI-e-i-la (Wê-ila, etc.), depending on whether the noun *ila*, “god”, is taken as part of the name or as apposition.¹⁷ In the line of the older

¹² In the manuscripts from Nineveh and Babylon the only diagnostic phrases are: a) showing detached prepositions: MS L rev. 2’ (= SB II 57): *ana š[amāmi]*; MSP obv. 11 (// OB I 249): *a-na bit*; obv. 20: *a-na šumēli*; K 17752 = *AFO* 27, p. 75, 2’ (// OB I 290): *ina b[ū]*; MS Q rev. 5 (// OB II ii 5’): *ana ḥalāqi*; rev. 16’ (= SB V 8): *in māti*; MS x rev. i 3 (= SB V 50): *ina ḥubūrišin*; i 18 (= SB V 65): *a-na [mītrati]*; i 24.25 (= SB V 71.72): *i-na pūt*; i 34 (= SB V 80): *i-na [kār]*; ii 6: *a-na niši*; ii 13: *ana niši*; ii 15: *ana mār*; ii 31: *a-na qurādi*; ii 45: *[a]-na puḥur*; ii 46: *a-na māmitu*; ii 47: *i-na pāni*; MS W, 16’: *ina qaqqari*; and b) showing attached prepositions: MS L obv. 5’ (= SB I 99): *ab-bā[h]*; K 17853 = *AFO* 27, p. 74, 5’ (= SB II 89): *ew-warḥi*; MS x rev. i 40 (= SB V 85): *an-nāši*. This makes 22 instances in the manuscripts not from Sippar of *ina* and *ana* before nouns beginning with a consonant, of which only three are attached. However, two factors should caution us against leaping to the conclusion that the attached preposition is a peculiarity of the copying tradition represented by the Sippar library manuscripts. First, 12 instances of detached prepositions in the manuscripts not from Sippar are from a single manuscript, MS x; second, 13 are from SB

V, where even the Sippar manuscripts show a preponderance of detached prepositions. In SB I–IV the score in the manuscripts not from Sippar is at present 5 : 2, which from so small a sample is not conclusive.

¹³ See SB I 2, 5, 53’, II 97, 103–4, 109, V 6, 16 // 32 // 38, 61.

¹⁴ On this god in general see W. G. Lambert in B. Alster (ed.), *Death in Mesopotamia* (CRR 26; Copenhagen, 1980), pp. 63–4.

¹⁵ Edited with duplicates by G. Pettinato, *Das altorientalische Menschenbild und die sumerischen und akkadischen Schöpfungsmythen* (Heidelberg, 1971), p. 25.

¹⁶ See Lambert, loc. cit.; the two cultic texts are now republished by A. Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works . . .* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 194–9.

¹⁷ Wê: G. Pettinato, *OrAnt* 9 (1970), p. 80; R. Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique* (Paris, 1970), p. 29; T. Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness* (New Haven, 1976), p. 118; Bottéro, *Lorsque les dieux*, p. 537; W. L. Moran, *Studies Reiner*, p. 249¹⁵; Geštu’e: von Soden, *passim*; Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, p. 15; Wê-ila: Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḥasis*, p. 153; We-ilu: Foster, *Before the Muses* I, p. 166; etc.

text corresponding to SB I 42 the leading mutineer's name is almost entirely missing (OB I 47: [d(x)]x *pí-a-šu i-pu-ša-anī-ma*), but since we now know that the later version has the same god in both episodes one may expect the older text to have done so too. The available space and the extant trace¹⁸ — such as it is — both suggest [d_{PI}]-r^e rather than [d_{PI-e-i}]-a.

The question then arises, what is the relationship between ^dPI-e and Alla? This is not easy to answer. Lambert and Millard's reading of the name as Wê-ila encouraged in some the observation of a double word-play: man (*awēlu*) and his spirit (*eṭemmu*) were seen to derive in part from the being of a slaughtered god (*Wê-ila*), who possessed intelligence (*tēmu*).¹⁹ Going further, one might be emboldened to read ^daw-e-i-la,²⁰ and to view this as a contorted spelling of Alla which deliberately draws attention to the essential idea, that the deity who was turned into man already had man and god as part of his very make-up.²¹ Such a spelling would be an early example of the kind of speculative orthography that was typically used as a hermeneutic tool by the learned scholars of much later periods when interpreting Sumerian names.²² The most obvious example of a contrived orthography in Babylonian literature is not so late, however, for it appears in *Enūma eliš* I 101, where, in a short paean to the newborn Marduk, the god's name — properly Marūduk < Marūtuk²³ — is written phonetically as *ma-ri-ú-tu*, var. *ma-ri-iu-ú-tu*, *ma-ri-ú-ti*, etc. These orthographies bear witness to an interpretation of Marūtuk as meaning “the son, the Sun God”, which partly anticipates and justifies the appellation *māri šamši šamši ša ili*, “the son, the Sun God, sun of the gods”, in the next line.

However, there are objections that stand in the way of such a conclusion. First, the OB name, whether ^dPI-e or ^dPI-e-i-la, takes precedence as the older reading and as the *lectio difficilior*. Then there is the question of the spelling: ^dPI-e-i-la is not a writing which conveys the ideas of “man” and “god” as obviously as *ma-ri-ú-tu* conveys “son” and “Sun God”; why not simply ^da-wi-i-la? Finally, as a god known to have been slaughtered at man's creation, Alla might be the resort of a Middle Babylonian or later scribe confronted with the obscure ^dPI-e. For these reasons the question of the relationship between ^dPI-e and Alla is fraught with difficulty and cannot yet be settled for certain.

Tablet I

The tablet numbered IM 124646, from niche 6 A of the library, which was excavated in October 1986 but in 1989 was awaiting conservation for salt crystals and was therefore not available for study, can now be read in large part from three sets of photographs. Unfortunately most of the

¹⁸ Collated by Lambert in *Atra-ḫasis*, Pl. 11, No. 1, 47.

¹⁹ See A. D. Kilmer, *Or NS* 41 (1972), p. 164; T. Abusch in K. van der Toorn et al. (eds.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (Leiden, 1995), 588. The proposal of W. L. Moran, *Biblica* 52 (1970), pp. 53–5, that man's *eṭemmu* is the ghost of the dead god, offers a different slant on the passage but does not disallow the word-play. The dissenting view of W. von Soden, *Symbolae Böhl*, pp. 350 ff., that a word (*w*)*edimmu* < Sum. *idim* is meant, was answered by J. Bottéro, whose article on “La création de l'homme et sa nature dans le poème d'Atraḫasis”, *Studies Diakonoff*, pp. 24–32, explores the significance of the word-plays to the full. However, the argument *eṭemmu* vs. (*w*)*edimmu* continues: see von Soden, “Die Iḡu-Götter in altbabylonischer Zeit und Edimmu im Atramḫasis-Mythos”, in L. Cagni and H.-P. Müller (eds.), *Aus Sprache, Geschichte und Religion Babyloniens* (Naples, 1989), pp. 339–49; idem, “Der Urmensch im Atramḫasis-Mythos”, in L. De Meyer and H. Gasche (eds.), *Mésopotamie et Élam* (CRRA 36; Ghent, 1991), pp. 47–51; cf. B. Gronenberg, *AoF* 17 (1990), pp. 252–3.

²⁰ So now Foster, who in his revised translation of the myth notes the variant Alla and has changed the name from We-ilu to Aw-ilu (*From Distant Days*, p. 59). For the sign *wa* with the value *aw* in the early second millennium, see I. J.

Gelb, “*wa* = *aw*, *iw*, *uw* in cuneiform writing”, *JNES* 20 (1961), pp. 194–6; idem, *Or NS* 39 (1970), p. 539.

²¹ This would be a position close to that adopted by Matouš and Oberhuber, for whom the signs in question were not a proper noun but a compound of two common nouns, i.e., “god-man”: L. Matouš, *ArOr* 35 (1967), p. 7⁴⁰; *ila-(a)wēla*; K. Oberhuber, *Zikir Šumim*, p. 280: *ilam aw-e-ila*, with the comment “daß hier eine Art ‘Krypto’-graphie zum Zwecke einer ‘Aitio’-logie beabsichtigt ist”.

²² The method is best exemplified by the well-known commentaries on the names of Marduk (J. Bottéro, *Finkelstein Mem. Vol.*, pp. 5–28; W. G. Lambert, “Etymology, Ancient Near Eastern”, in R. J. Coggins and J. L. Houlden (eds.), *A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (London and Philadelphia, 1990), pp. 214–16), and by abnormal spellings of Sumerian temple names and city epithets in the expository lists collected in A. R. George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts* (OLA 40; Leuven, 1992). For speculative spellings in these lists see in particular No. 1: *Tintir* I 4–7; No. 5: E-sagil Commentary, *passim*; No. 18: Nippur Compendium, § 6; No. 19: Nippur Temple List, 1'–10'.

²³ On the development *amar utu-(ak) > Marūtuk* etc., see W. Sommerfeld, *Der Aufstieg Marduks* (AOAT 213; Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1982), pp. 7–12; W. G. Lambert, *BSOAS* 47 (1984), pp. 7–8.

middle of the obverse is not clear enough to read from any of the photographs, and much of the reverse is affected by damage.

There are 52 lines of text on the obverse, 46 on the reverse and one on the left edge. A single line of colophon is inscribed on the top edge. On tablets of this edition it is common for lines of poetry to be doubled up on to a single line of tablet, so this tablet might be expected to hold considerably more than 99 lines. In fact it can be seen that the tablet covers roughly the first third of Tablet I of the Old Babylonian edition as known from Kasap-Aya's copies, corresponding to OB I 1–131. It is therefore SB Tablet I in the version of the myth current at Sippar. The tablet turns following a line that corresponds to OB I 75, which in that edition falls after what cannot be far short of 74 lines of poetry.²⁴ We have been able to detect thirteen doubled-up lines on the obverse of the new tablet, so this point corresponds in the present numeration to SB I 66'. This figure may still be slightly too low, however, for we are not yet in a position to fix a definitive line-numbering after l. 46. The passage of three lines that follows this line appears short in comparison with the older text (SB I 44–48' // OB I 50–6), though the situation is complicated by the fact that the parallel is the lacuna at the bottom of MS A col. i (see fn. 24). Since these three lines might contain as many as six lines of poetry, the numeration from l. 49' might be raised by as much as three. That aside, some lines of the older text appear to have dropped out in the intervening millennium: certainly the four that correspond to OB 42–5, since OB I 41 and 46 have been conflated to become SB I 41.

The damage suffered by the reverse of the tablet places similar difficulties in our way, but the situation is less acute, for the 51 lines currently numbered SB I 67'–117' correspond more nearly in number to the equivalent text of the older version, which has 55 lines of poetry written on 56 lines of tablet (OB I 76–131). The shortfall of four is partly explained by the fact that two further lines of the older text are missing (OB I 116–17). Otherwise, the undeciphered passage of fifteen lines (SB I 75'–89'), which corresponds to seventeen lines of poetry in the older text (OB I 84–100), may, or may not, have contained one or two doubled-up lines. Whether or not more doubled-up lines are discovered on obverse or reverse, the observed absence of six lines means that SB Tablet I presents a slightly more condensed version of the opening episodes than that given in the Old Babylonian text.

The story-line of this part of Atra-hasis is well known from the Old Babylonian version, and needs scant recapitulation: before the creation of mankind, the great gods Anu, Enlil and Ea have partitioned the universe and so arranged matters that the lesser gods, the Igigi, are required to dig the Tigris and Euphrates rivers in order to irrigate the land and provide the sustenance of all (SB I 1–26). After a time these gods tire of their labour and mutiny, burning their work tools. Under the leadership of Alla, they lay siege at night to the residence of Enlil, the senior god who resided among them on earth (ll. 42–64'). Enlil's gate-keeper, Kalkal, wakes his minister, Nuska, who in turn rouses his master and advises him to convene a meeting with Anu and Ea (ll. 65'–99'). Anu suggests that Enlil send Nuska out to the mutineers to discover the reason for their strike (ll. 100'–17').

The text of the beginning of the composition in its Standard Babylonian version was previously known only from three scraps, the fragmentary MSS JKL from Aššurbanipal's libraries (CT 46 7, 10 and 12). For ease of reference transliterations of these fragments are added in the right-hand margin at the appropriate places. All have been collated.

The following edition of IM 124646 is based on the photographs, backed up by Al-Rawi's notes on some lines made from the original in Baghdad. In the absence of an extended personal study of the tablet, it must be stressed that the transliteration given below is of necessity provisional. When collation becomes possible a renewed study of the tablet will, we hope, correct whatever errors of reading we have perpetrated and, at the same time, surrender what secrets it has withheld from us. The limitations of the photographs are such that we cannot offer a complete decipherment of the middle portions of both the obverse, where the surface is badly abraded, and the reverse, where there is considerable damage. In other places, where the photographs are too dark to read, we have

²⁴ The OB MS A rarely spreads a line of poetry over two lines, especially in its first few columns. In those of the first 75 lines that are fully preserved, the only line of poetry so arranged is ll. 66–7. The damaged section at the bottom of MS A col. i, ll. 49 ff., held either six lines or eight, depending on whether the column was 54 or 56 lines long (the total on

the lower edge is broken). It may thus have contained as many as four couplets (so Lambert and Millard's edition, ll. 49–56), but no fewer than two. If four couplets, the column contained 56 lines of poetry; if two, 52. Accordingly, we can be sure that OB I 1–75 represents between 70 and 74 lines of poetry.

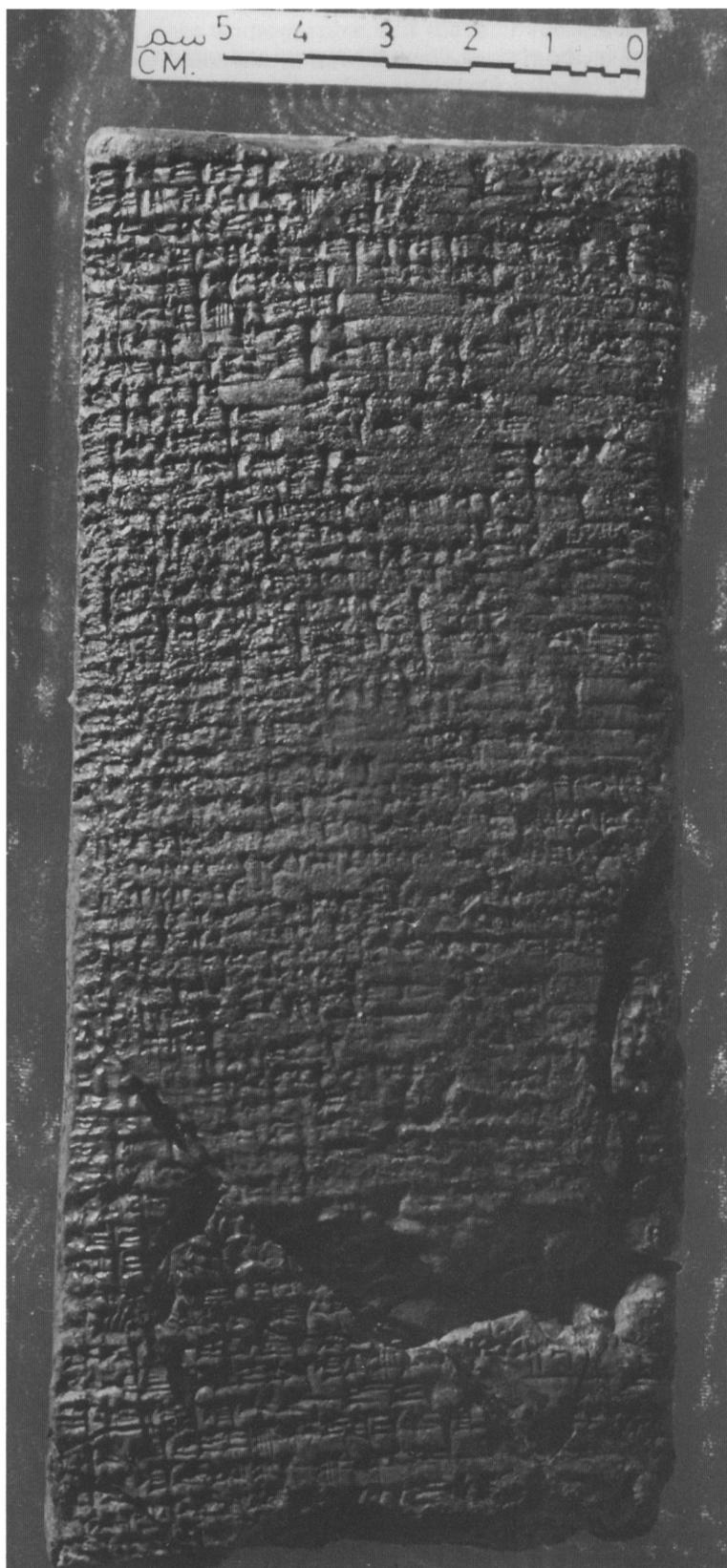


Fig. 1 IM 124646, obv.: SB Atra-ḫasis I 1-23, 25-66'.

utilized the duplicates and parallels where they can be sure to yield secure readings. Signs that are included in the transliteration on the basis of such assumptions are distinguished from the readily legible parts of the text by their enclosure in round brackets.

IM 124646 (Sippar Excavation No. 2341, Season No. 8/178). Photographs: Figs. 1–7.

Text of legible passages

obv.

- 1 *e-nu-ma i-lu a-^Γme^Γ-lu*
 2 *i-lu ni-ra ib-nu-ú tu-up-ši-ik-^Γku^Γ*
 3 *tu-up-ši-ik i-lu ra-bi-i-ma*
 4 *du-ul-lu ka-bi-it-ma ma-a-ad ša-ap-ša-qu*
 5 *ra-bu-tu an-κA-uk[?]-ku še-bi-it-ta* (// OB I 5)
 6 *du-ul-lu ú-šá-az-ba-lu i-gi₄-gi₄*
 7 *^da-nu a-bu-šu-nu šar-ru*
 8 *ù ma-li-ik-šu-nu qú-ra-a-du ^den-líl*
 9 *guzzalú(gu.za.lá)-šu-nu ^dnin-urta*
 10 *ù gal-lu-šu-nu i-lu ^den-nu-gi* (// OB I 10)
 11 *x-ti i-ḫu-zu le-ti-i-ša*
 12 *is-qá id-du-ú šu-nu iz-zu-zu*
 13 *^da-nu i-te-li ša-me-e-šu*
 14 *^den-líl i-ḫú[?]-zu er-še-tam ba-ú-la-tu-uš-šu*
 15 *ši-ga-ra na-aḫ-ba-li ti-a-am-ti* (// OB I 15)
 16 *it-ta-ad-nu a-na ^dé-a ^dni-iš-ši-i-ki*
 17 *šu-ú-ut ^da-nim i-lu-ú ša-me-e-šu*
 18 *šu-ú-ut ^dé-a ap[?]-sa[?]-a-šu it-tar-du*
 19 *ir-te-qú e-x x šu[?]-ú-ut[?] šá-ma-a-mi*

Translation

- 1 When the gods were man,
 2 the gods fashioned the yoke, the soil-basket,²⁵
 3 the burden of the gods was great,
 4 the labour was hard, the suffering was much.
 5 The great Anunnaki, the Seven,
 6 made the Igigi undertake the labour:
 7 Anu, their father, was king,
 8 and their chancellor was the hero Enlil;
 9 their steward was Ninurta,
 10 and their sheriff was the god Ennugi.
 11 They held the . . . by its cheeks,
 12 threw the lots and made a division:
 13 Anu went up to heaven,
 14 Enlil occupied earth for his subjects.
 15 The bolt that keeps the sea in check
 16 they gave to Ea the Prince.
 17 Those of Anu went up to the heavens,
 18 those of Ea went down to the Deep.
 19 They were free of work, . . . those of the heavens,

²⁵ Or, "the six hundred gods fashioned the soil-basket." carried the soil-basket."
 The line is a corruption of OB "they bore the work and



Fig. 2 IM 124646, obv.: SB Atra-ḫasis I 1-23, 25-66'.

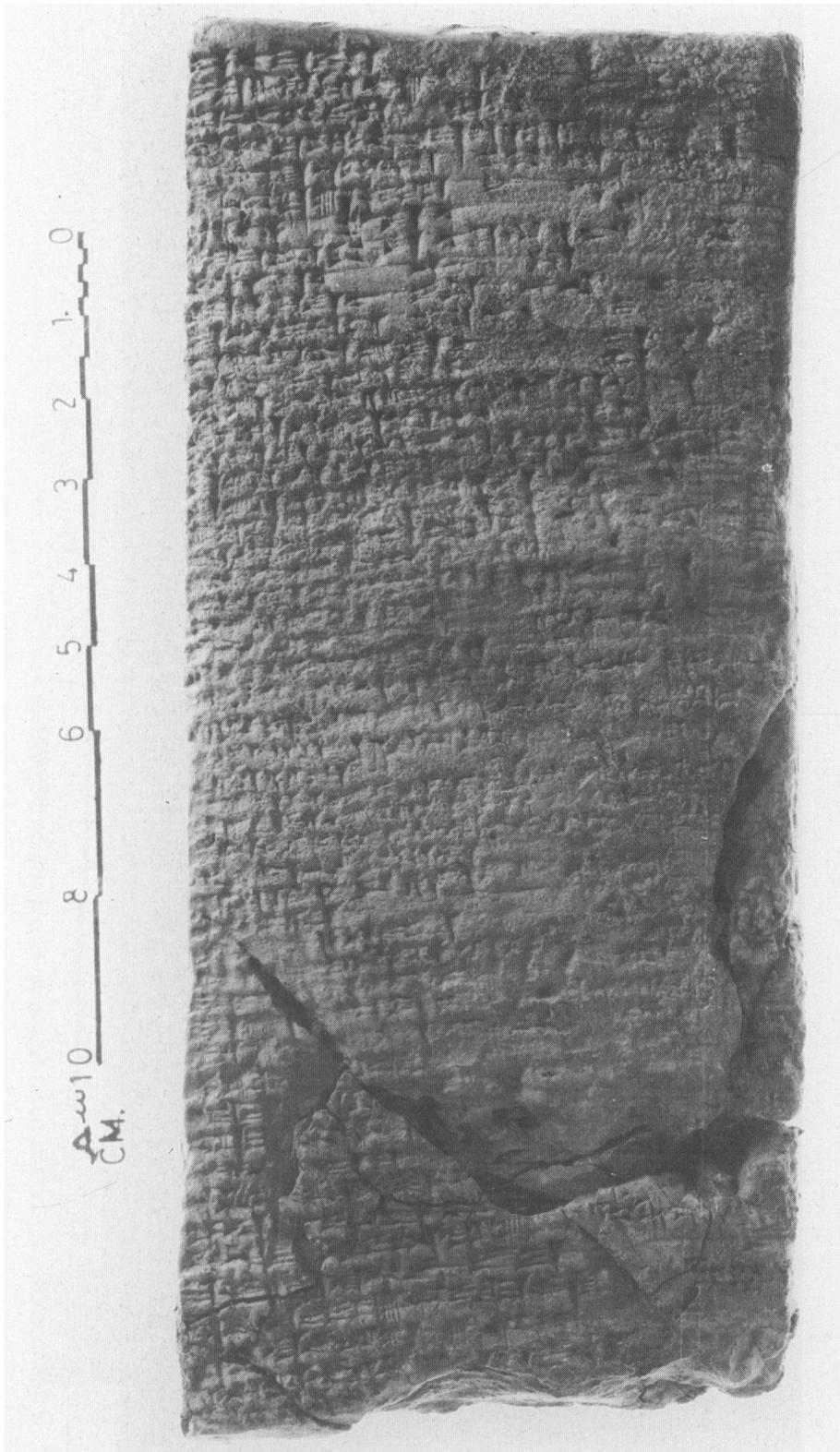


Fig. 3 IM 124646, obv.: SB Atra-ḫasis I 1-23, 25-66'.



Fig. 4 IM 124646, rev.: SB Atra-ḫasis I 67'-117'.



Fig. 5 IM 124646, rev.: SB Atra-ḫasis I 67'-117'.

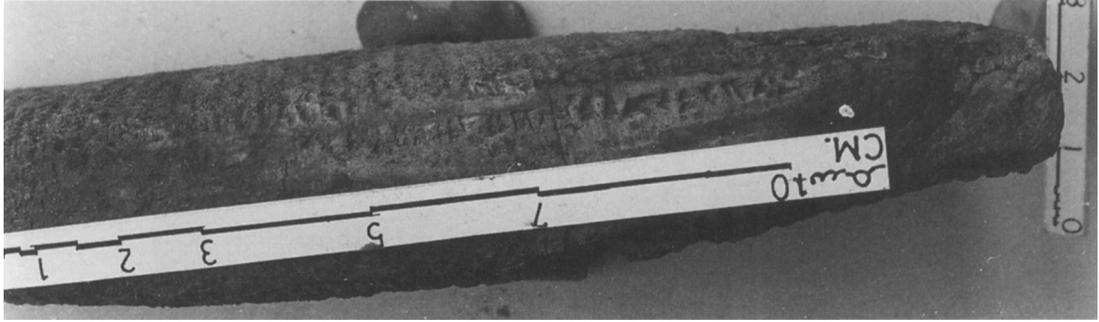


Fig. 6 IM 124646, left edge: SB Atra-ḥasis I 24.

- 20 *du²-ul-lu² iz²-za-ab-bi-lu² šu²-ú-ut² ^den-líl* (// OB I 20)
 21 *x x x x-ni i-ḥe-er-ru-u-ni*
 22 *mi-iṭ-ra-ta i-li na-piš-ti ma-a-ti*
 23 *x x x x i-ḥe-er-ru-u-ni*
 24 *mi-iṭ-ra-at i-lu na-pa-áš-ti ma-a-tim²⁶*
 25 *x x x x x ^{id}idiqlat(idigna)* (// OB I 25)
 26 *x x x ^{id}pu-ra-x x x x x-tú²*
 27–8 largely illegible, in one line
 29–30 largely illegible, in one line
 31 *x x x x x-a qé-re-eb-šú :* (// OB I 31)
 32 *x x x ul-lu-ú re-š[i-šu]*
 33 *x x-a-ni ka-la x x x*
 34 *x x x ib-nu-ú a- :*
 35 illegible, in one line with 34 (// OB I 35)
 36 *x x x ib-nu-ú nu²- :*
 37 illegible, in one line with 36
 38 *x x du-ul-lu iz-bi-lu x x x x :*
 39 *x x x x-ma ik-ka-[lu ka-ar-š]*
 40 *ut-ta-az-za-mu ik-ka-la-ak-(kī)* (// OB I 40)
 41 *al-ka-a-nim guzzalâ(gu.za.lá)^{at} i ni-na-ra-^rx x¹* J:]-a i ni-^rna-ra¹-a[š-šú]
 41a Sippar omits J:]x i ni-iš-bi-ir ni-ra
 42 ^dalla(NAGAR) *pa-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-(ma)* J:] i-pu-ša-am-ma
 43 *iz-za-^rka-ra² a-na i-li aḥ-ḥe-(e-šu)* J: -r]a ana i-lu aḥ-ḥe-e-šu
 44 *ni-x x x-ma guzzalê(gu.⟨za⟩.lá)^e la-bi-(ru)-ú-(tī)* J:]x gu.za.lá-e la-bi-ru-tim
 45 *i-x x x x i-ša-ak-^rka-na¹ ^den-(líl)* (// OB I 50) J:] i-šá-ak-ka-na ^den-líl
 46–8⁷ three illegible lines, some or J:]-né-e i-ša-ka-an
 all possibly doubled up J:]x x iq-qú-ú x x x x
 49⁷ *i-lu ma-^rli¹-ik x[. . . :]*
 50⁷ [(in one line with 49⁷)]
 51⁷ ^den-líl *ma-li-ik x[. . . :]*
 52⁷ [(in one line with 51⁷)] (// OB I 60)
 53⁷ ^da-nu-[u]m-ma *lu-ga-[ar-ri? . . . :]*
 54⁷ [(in one line with 53⁷)]
 55⁷ *ilū(dingir)^{meš} ^riš-mu¹-ú si-qar-šu :*
 56⁷ ^ri¹-[ša-ta né-pe-ši-šu-nu id-du-ú-ma]
 57⁷ *mar-ri-^ršú-nu¹ i-ša-tu ⟨:⟩* (// OB I 65)
 58⁷ *⟨tu⟩-up-ši-[ik-ki-šú-nu ^dgirra it-ta-ak-šu]*

²⁶ This line was left out by mistake, and was later added on the left edge of the tablet (Fig. 6).

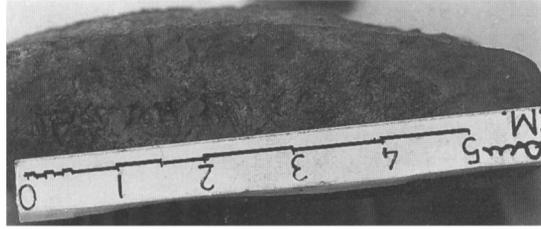


Fig. 7 IM 124646, top edge: colophon.

20 (while) those of Enlil undertook the labour.
 21 they were digging,
 22 the watercourse of the gods, the life of the land.
 23 they were digging,
 24 the watercourse of the gods, the life of the land.
 25 the River Tigris,
 26 . . . the River Euphrates

27–38 *not well enough deciphered for translation*

39 they were making [accusations,]
 40 grumbling in the diggings:
 41 “Come, let us slay the steward!”
 41a [.] let us break the yoke!²⁷
 42 Alla opened his mouth
 43 and said to his fellow gods:
 44 “We . . . the steward of old,
 45 [.] Enlil will establish.
 46 [.] . . . will establish,

47–8’ *not well enough deciphered for translation*

49’ The god, the chancellor of [the gods, the hero,]²⁸
 50’ [come, let us fetch him from his dwelling]
 51’ Enlil, the chancellor of [the gods, the hero,]
 52’ [come, let us fetch him from his dwelling]
 53’ Anu himself I will oppose(?) [.]²⁹
 54’ [.]”
 55’ The gods heard what he said,
 56’ [they set] fire [to their tools;]
 57’ [they put] fire to their shovels,
 58’ [flame to their] carrying baskets.

²⁷ This line occurs in MS J only.

²⁸ The three lines of tablet represented by SB I 49’–54’ are

restored as three couplets after OB I 57–62.

²⁹ Corrupt. OB I 61 has: “Now then, shout for war!”

- 59' *ig-dar-¹š-u-ú²-ni i-il-la-ku-ú-¹ni* :¹ K: -n]i [
60' ¹ba¹-a-bi-iš¹ x x x x¹ (. . .) K: in one line with 59?
61' *ma-aš-ša-ra-at mu-ši i-ba-[áš]-ši* (// OB I 70) K: [x šum² da at ma [
62' *é.kur la-wi i-lu ú-ul i-de* (:)
K: [bi-t]i la-wi i-lu u[l
63' *ma-aš-ša-ra-¹at mu-ši¹ i-ba²-[áš-ši]* K: in one line with 62?
64' *é.kur la-wi^den-líl ú-ul i-de²* K: [bi-t]i la-wi^den-líl
65' *úh-ta-ak-ki-im¹ kal-kal¹ i-^hi-¹it² x x¹* K: [u]h-ta-ki-im [
66' *il-pu-ut² ši²-ik²-[ku-ra]* (// OB I 75) K: [i]l-pu-ut [š]i-ik-ku-r[a
rev.
67' illegible K omits?
68' *(rig-ma) i-še-em-mu²-x x x [. . .]* K: [ri-t]g-ma i-še-em-m[u-
69' *(^dnuska) i-d-ke be-el-šu :* K: in one line with 68?
70' [(in one line with 69')] K: [ina/im-m]a-a-a-al [mu-ši ú-še-et-bi-šu?]
71' *(be-lí la-wi) bi-it-k[a :]* (// OB I 80) K: [bi-t]i la-wi b[e-lí
72' *[qá-ab-lum i-ru-ša ab-b]a-bi-ka*
73' *(^den-lí)l la-wi bi-í[t-ka :]*
74' *[qá-ab-lum] i-ru-ša a[b-ba-b]i-ka*
- 75'–89' largely illegible
- 90' *a-ši-ib^da-nu šar-[ri ša-ma-a-mí]* (// OB I 101)
91' *šar-ri ap-[si-i^dé-a . . .]*
92' *ra-bu-¹ú¹-[tum^da-nun-na-ki áš-bu]*
93' *^den-líl [it-bé-e-ma ša-kin di-i-nu]*
94' *^den-líl [pa-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma]* (// OB I 105)
95' *iz-[za-ka-ra a-na i-li aḥ-ḥe-e-šu]* L:]-qar ana ¹i-lí¹ aḥ-
96' *ia-[a-ši-im-ma . . .] . . .* L: -i]m-ma-¹a it¹-te-né-ep-[pu-šu-(ú)-ní?]
97' *ta-ḥa-[za e-ep-pu-uš ša . . .] . . .* L:] x x x x-ú-ti [
98' *x x mi-na-a [a-mu-ur . . .] . . .* L:] ¹mi¹-[na]-¹a¹ a-¹mu-ur¹ a-[na-ku]
99' *qá-ab-li [i-ru-ša ab-ba-a-bi-ia]* (// OB I 110) L: -]um i-ru-ša ab-ba-
100' *¹a-nu-um¹ pa-a-šu [i-pu-ša-am-ma]* L: [x^da-nu-um pa-a-
101' *i-zak-¹kar¹ a-na [a-ḥi-šu^den-líl]* L: [iz-za-a]q-qar ana a-ḥi-šu [
102' *šì-iq-r[a šá^di-gi₄-gi₄ ip-ḥu-ru-nim a-ab-ba-bi-iš-ka]* L: [šì-iq]-r[a š]a^di-g[₄-
103' *[i]-ši-ma^d[nuska li-il-ma-da a-mat-su-un]* (// OB I 115) L: [i]-ši-ma^dnuska ¹lil¹-
104' *^da-nu-um (sic!) pa-a-š[u i-pu-ša-am-ma]* L: [^den-lí]l pa-a-šu i-
105' *as-sukkal-li-šu²^dnuska ¹iz¹-za-[aq-qar]* L: [iz-za-a]q-qar ana i-¹lí?
106' *^dnuska pi-¹te¹ ba-a²-[ab-ka]* (// OB I 120) L: [^dnusk]a pi-te [
107' *ka-ak-ki-ka li-qé-ma ši-i ap-pu-(úh-ri)* L: [ka-a]k-¹ki-ka¹ [
108' *ip-pu-ú-uh-ri ka-la i-lí-i-(ma)* L: [ip-pu-uh]-ru [
109' *ki-mi-is-ma i-zí-iz te-e-er-ti šu-(un-ni)*
110' *um-ma iš-pu-ra-an-ni-mi a-bu-ku-nu^da-(nu-um)*
111' *ú ma-li-ik-ku-nu qú-ra-a-du (^den-líl)* (// OB I 125)
112' *guzzalú(gu.za.lá)-ku-nu^d(nin-urta)*
113' *ú gal-lu-ku-nu i-lu^den-(nu-gí)*
114' *ma-an-nu-um-ma i-lu be-el qá-ab-lim*
115' *¹ma¹-an-nu-um-ma i-lu be-el ta-ḥa-zi*
116' *[ma]-an-nu-um-ma šá¹ ¹ib-lu-lu¹ tu-qum-tam :* (// OB I 130)
117' *(qá-ab-lu i-ru-ša ab-ba-a-ba^den-líl)*
- top edge *a-na pí(ka) šá²-tír², “Written according to dictation”*

- 59' They set off, making their way
 60' to the gate of [the hero Enlil's sanctuary.]
 61' It was a watch of the night,
 62' E-kur was surrounded but the god did not know;
 63' it was a watch of the night,
 64' E-kur was surrounded but Enlil did not know.
 65' Kalkal noticed (them), and watched,
 66' he slid the bolt [and watched.]
 67' [Kalkal woke Nuska,]
 68' they listened to the noise . . . [. . .]
 69' Nuska woke his master,
 70' [rousing him from his night-time] bed:
 71' "Master, your house is surrounded,
 72' [conflict has run right up] to your gate;
 73' Enlil, [your] house is surrounded,
 74' [conflict] has run right up to your [gate.]"
 75'–89' *not well enough deciphered for translation*
 90' Anu was present, the king [of the heavens,]
 91' the king of the [Deep, Ea, . . .]
 92' The great [Anunnaki were seated,]
 93' Enlil [arose, the case was convened.]
 94' Enlil [opened his mouth]
 95' and said to [his] fellow gods:
 96' "Dare they behave like this to me?
 97' [Am I then to do] battle [*with them?*]
 98' What did I myself see . . . ?
 99' conflict [has run right up to my gate!]"
 100' Anu [opened] his mouth
 101' and said to his brother [Enlil:]
 102' "The reason why the Igigi [gathered at your gate —]
 103' let Nuska go out to [learn their business.]"
 104' Enlil [opened] his mouth,
 105' and said to (his) minister Nuska:
 106' "Nuska, open [your] gate,
 107' take up your mace, go out to the gathering.
 108' In the gathering of all the gods
 109' kneel down, then stand and repeat my message,
 110' saying 'Anu your father has sent me,
 111' and your chancellor, the hero Enlil;
 112' your steward Ninurta,
 113' and your sheriff, the god Ennugi.
 114' Who is the god responsible for the conflict?
 115' who is the god responsible for the combat?
 116' Who is the one that stirred up the fighting,
 117' so that conflict ran right up to the gate of Enlil?" "

Tablet II

The tablet now numbered IM 124649, also from niche 6 A of the library, was written, according to its colophon, by one Nanāy-apla-iddina, an exorcist. It offers a nearly complete text of 116 lines plus catch-line, and runs parallel with Tablet I 111–235 of the Old Babylonian version of Atram-ḫasis, as it is known from Lambert and Millard's MSS AEF (respectively CT 46 1, 4 and 2), and the variant MS G (CT 44 20). The recovery of Standard Babylonian Tablet II, as this tablet must be in the edition current at Sippar in the first millennium, means that the lacuna which falls in the Old Babylonian text between the bottom of column iii of MS A (OB I 170) and the start of column iii on

MS E (OB I 188 in Lambert and Millard's numeration) is now completely filled. In addition, many other damaged sections are restored and some long-standing obscurities have been resolved.

Since this part of the story is also well known in the Old Babylonian version, there is no need to do more here than to provide the briefest preview of the contents of SB Tablet II. The text begins with a passage that exactly replicates the end of the preceding Tablet (SB I 100'–117'). Anu advises Enlil to send out his minister, Nuska, to discover why the divine labour-gang has mutinied and placed Enlil's house under siege, and who is the instigator of the revolt (ll. 1–18). Nuska duly does as he is told, the gods reply that the toil is too much for them and they are all responsible for the revolt, and Nuska communicates this information to his master (ll. 19–50). Enlil is troubled by this report and reacts in panic, offering to resign his powers and retreat to the heavens (ll. 51–60). Anu offers a more considered counsel, that the Mother Goddess should create a being to relieve the gods of their burden (ll. 61–74). The Mother Goddess is commissioned to perform this service, and she responds that she has the power to do it, but Ea must first purify the raw material (ll. 75–86). Ea, in turn, calls for the institution of ritual ablutions, and then outlines the method by which the new being is to be made: a god must be slaughtered, and into his flesh and blood the Mother Goddess is to mix clay, so that the result will be a creature with a spirit (ll. 87–100). The ritual ablutions are duly instituted, the god Alla is slaughtered, his flesh and blood are mixed with clay so that the new creature has a spirit, and all the gods spit on the mixture (ll. 101–16). From here the text would have continued on SB Tablet III, for which we have only the incipit preserved as the catch-line.

The late version of this part of the composition was previously represented only by a number of small and disconnected fragments of text from Aššurbanipal's libraries at Kuyunjik (Lambert and Millard's MSS KMNOV and K 17853) and the obverse of a tablet from Babylon (MS x). The place of these pieces in relation to one another was roughly fixed by the better-preserved Old Babylonian text, but they can now be securely pegged into the numeration of SB Tablet II, as current at Sippar. For ease of use, the collated text of these fragments, where they duplicate the new tablet, is included in the margin of the present transliteration. A concordance is given in the following table:

ll. 48–66	// MS M (CT 46 11)
ll. 53–64	// MS K rev. (CT 46 10)
ll. 55–62	// MS L rev. (CT 46 12)
ll. 59–68	// MS N (CT 46 8)
ll. 68–74	// MS V (CT 46 9)
ll. 85–91	// K 17853 (Lambert, <i>Afo</i> 27, p. 74)
ll. 106–15	// MS O (Lambert, <i>Atra-ḫasis</i> , Pl. 5, K 14697)
ll. 114–16	// MS x obv. col. i 7–9 (ibid., Pl. 4, BE 39099)

The transliterated text of IM 124649 was established by a collaboration of the authors in 1989. The photograph, and the copy made from it, shows the tablet before the discovery and location in the correct position of a number of small fragments that had become detached from the tablet during or after excavation. One such fragment could not be glued in the correct position without dismantling the entire tablet and remained unjoined; a copy of it was made in Baghdad and is given separately (Fig. 12). In all other respects the transliteration, not the photograph and copy, must be regarded as the primary witness to the tablet at its most complete.

IM 124649 (Sippar Excavation No. 2344, Season No. 8/181, Niche No. 35/6A). Copy and photographs: Figs. 8–13.

Text

obv.

- 1 [ᵀa]-nu-um pa-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-[ma]
- 2 [iz-za]-aq-qar a-na a-ḫi-šu ᵀen-[lil]
- 3 [si-iq]-ra šá ᵀi-gi₄-gi₄ ip-ḫu-ru-nim a-ab-ᵀba¹-bi-iš-k[a]
- 4 [li-š]i-ma ᵀnuska li-il-ma-da a-[mat]-su-[un] (// OB I 115)
- 5 ᵀen-lil pa-a-šu i-p[u-š]a-am-[ma]
- 6 [as-sukkal-l]i ᵀnuska iz-za-ᵀaq¹-qar
- 7 [ᵀnuska] pi-te ba-a-ab-ka (// OB I 120)
- 8 k[a-ak]-ki-ka li-i-qé ši-i ap-pu-úḫ-r[i]

- 9 *ip-[pu]-úh-ri ka-la i-li-i-[ma]*
 10 *[ki-m]i-is-ma i-zi-iz te-e-er-ti šu-un-n[i]*
 11 *[iš-pu-r]a-an-ni-mi a-bu-ku-nu ^{r^d}a-nu-um*
 12 *[ù] ma-li-ik-ku-nu qú-[ra-a]-du ^den-líl* (// OB I 125)
 13 *[gu]-za-^rlu¹-ku-nu ^{r^d}nin-urta*
 14 *[ù] ga[^l]lu-ku-nu i-lu ^den-nu-^rgi¹*
 15 *ma-a[n-nu]-um-mi i-lu be-el qá-ab-lim*
 16 *ma-an-[nu-u]m-mi i-lu be-el ta-ḥa-zi*
 17 *ma-an-[nu-u]m-mi šá ib-lu-lu tu-qum-tam* (// OB I 130)
 18 *q[á]-a[b]-lam i-ru-ša ab-ba-a-ba ^den-líl*
 19 *^dnuska il-qé te-e-er-ta*
 20 *ip-te-ma ba-a-ba it-ta-ši ap-^rpu-úh¹-ri*
 21 *ip-pu-úh-ri ka-la i-li-i-ma*
 22 *ik-mi-is-ma iz-zi-iz te-er-tam it-^rta¹-d[in]* (or *id-{ras.}-d[in]*) (// OB I 135)
 23 *iš-pu-ra-an-ni-mi a-bu-ku-nu ^da-nu-um*
 24 *ù ma-^rli¹-ik-ku-nu qú-ra-a-du [^d]en-líl*
 25 *gu-za-^l[u-k]u-nu ^dnin-urta :*
 26 *ù gal-lu-ku-nu [i-^l]u ^d[en-n]u-gi*
 27 *ma-a[n-nu]-um-mi i-lu be-el qá-ab-[lim]* (// OB I 140)
 28 *ma-a[n]-nu-um-mi i-lu be-el ta-ḥa-z[i]*
 29 *ma-[a]n-nu-um-mi šá ib-lu-lu tu-^rqum¹-[tam]*
 30 *q[á-a]b-^l[a]m i-ru-ú-ša ab-ba-a-[ba ^den-líl]*

Translation

- 1 Anu opened his mouth
 2 and said to his brother Enlil:
 3 “[The] reason why the Igigi gathered at your gate —
 4 [let] Nuska go out to learn their business.”
 5 Enlil opened his mouth,
 6 and said [to (his) minister] Nuska:
 7 “[Nuska,] open your gate,
 8 take up your mace, go out to the gathering.
 9 In the gathering of all the gods
 10 kneel down, then stand and repeat my message:
 11 ‘Anu your father [has sent] me,
 12 [and] your chancellor, the hero Enlil;
 13 your steward Ninurta,
 14 [and] your sheriff, the god Ennugi.
 15 Who is the god responsible for the conflict?
 16 who is the god responsible for the combat?
 17 Who is the one that stirred up the fighting,
 18 so that conflict ran right up to the gate of Enlil?’”
 19 Nuska received the instruction,
 20 opened the gate and went out to the gathering.
 21 In the gathering of all the gods
 22 he knelt down, then stood and delivered the message:
 23 “Anu your father has sent me,
 24 and your chancellor, the hero Enlil;
 25 your steward Ninurta,
 26 and your sheriff, the god Ennugi.
 27 Who is the god responsible for the conflict?
 28 who is the god responsible for the combat?
 29 Who is the one that stirred up the fighting,
 30 so that conflict ran right up to the gate [of Enlil?’”]

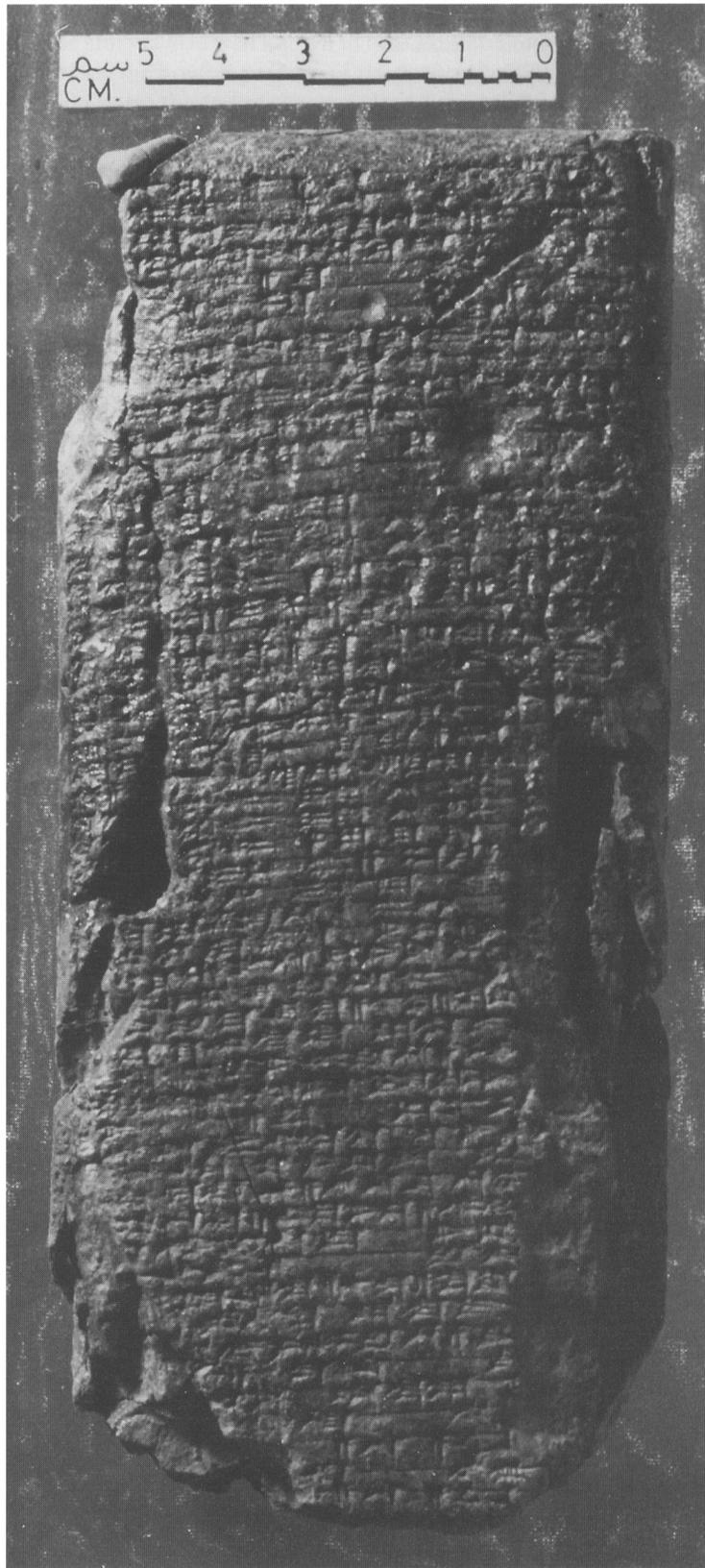


Fig. 8 IM 124649, obv.: SB Atra-ḫasis II 1–55.

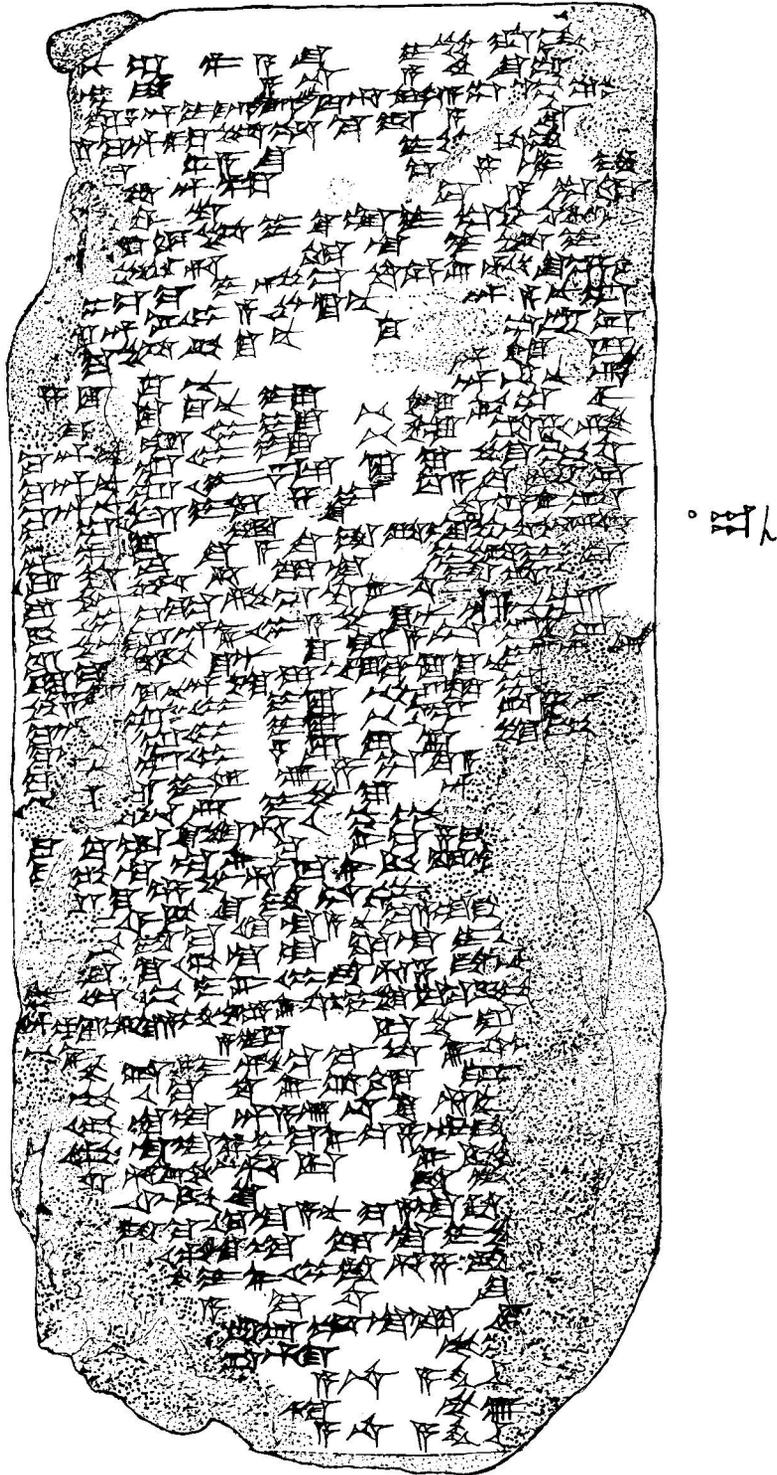


Fig. 9 IM 124649, obv.: SB Atra-ḫasis II 1–55.



Fig. 10 IM 124649, rev.: SB Atra-ḫasis II 56–116.

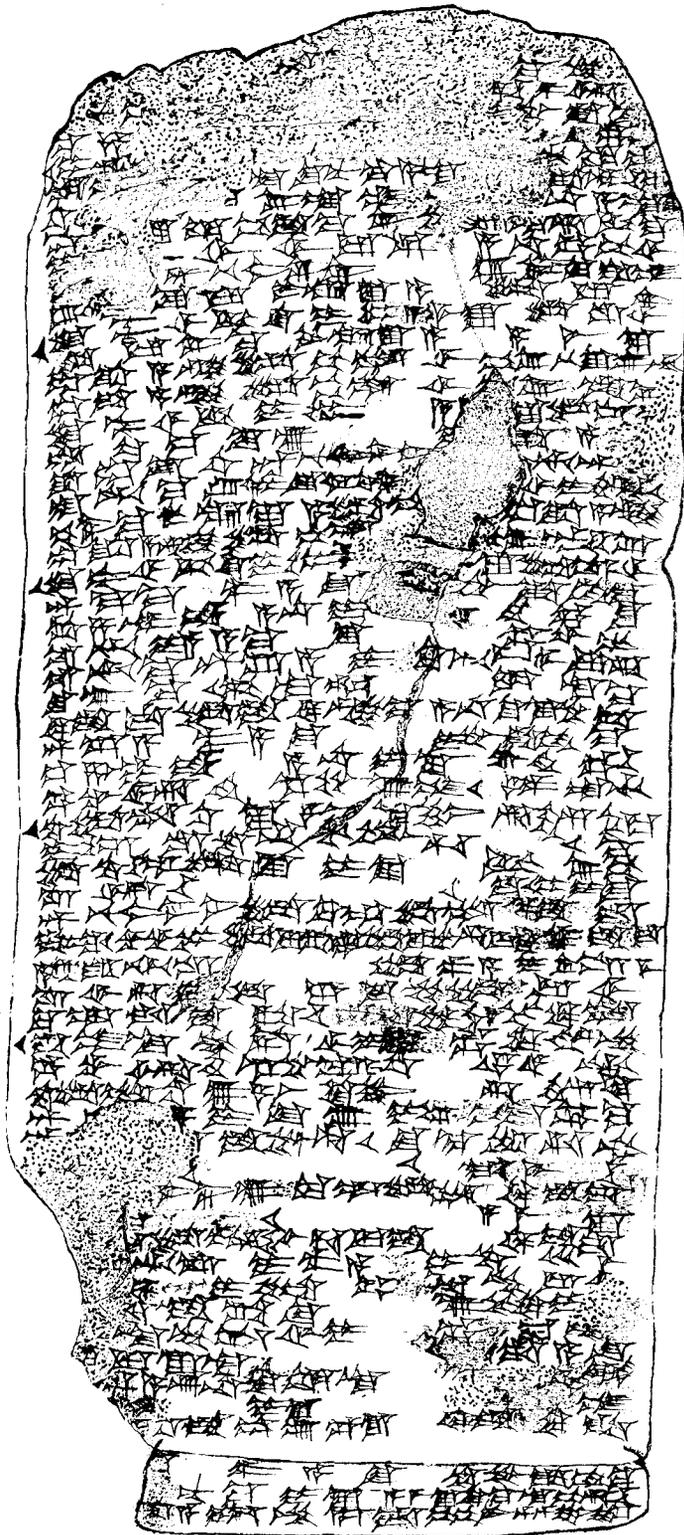


Fig. 11 IM 124649, rev.: SB Atra-ḥasis II 56–116.

- 31 [ip-pu-ú]h-ri i-pu-lu ^d[i-gi₄-gi₄?]
 32 ^rib^r-ba-al-ki-tu hu-u-up-šum [x x x] (// OB I 145)
 33 k[u-u]l-la-at-ni-ma ni-iz-za-qa[r tu-qum-tam]
 34 [ni-i]š-ku-un pu-hu-ur-ni ik-ka-l[a-ak-ki]
 35 [tu-u]p-ši-ik-ki id-du-uk-[ni-a-ti]
 36 [ka-b]i-it-ma dul-la-a-nu ma-a-ad š[a-ap-ša-aq-ni] (// OB I 150)
 37 [x] ^rú^r ku-ul-la-at ka-la i-l[i-i-ma]
 38 ^rub-lam^r pi-i-ni mi-it-hu-ša it-t[i ^den-líl]
 39 ^dnuska il-qé-a-am te-e-er-tam :
 40 i-tu-ur-ma ^riq^r-bi [ab-be-lí-šu?]
 41 be-lí a-šar taš-pu-ra-[an-ni] (// OB I 155)
 42 [am]-mu-uš az-zi-iz-ma te-er-tam a[t-ta-din] (or a[d-din])
 43 [iš]-mu-u-ma te-er-ta-ka ra-[bi-tam]
 44 [ku]-ul-la-at ^da-nun-na-ki hu-up-š[um x x x]
 45 [ku]-ul-la-[a]t-ni-i-ma ni-iz-za-aq-qa[r tu-qum-tam]
 46 [ni-i]š-kun pu-hu-ur-ni ik-k[a-la-ak-ki] (// OB I 160)
 47 [tu-up]-ši-ik-ki id-du-[uk-ni-a-ti]
 48 [ka-bi]-it-ma dul-la-a-nu ma-a-ad ša-[ap-ša-aq-ni] M: -ša]q-ni
 49 [ú ku]-ul-la-at ka-la i-l[i-i-ma] M:] ^ri-lí^r-ma
 50 [ub-lam p]i-i-ni mi-it-hu-ša i[t-ti ^den-líl] (// OB I 165) M:]-^ri-ni mit-hu-ša ki^r ^den-líl
 51 [iš-me-ma] a-ma-tam š[u-a-ti] M:] šu-a-tu
 52 [ú ša ^de]n-líl il-la-ka d[i-ma-a-šu] M: i]l-la-ka di-ma-a-šu
 53 [i-lum i]-ta-dar mu-^rú^r-[du-us-su] K: [i-l]u ^ri^r-t[a- M: -s]u :
 54 [iz]-za-[aq-qar] a-na a-ḫi-šú [^da-nu-um] M: iz-za-aq-qar ana a-ḫi-šú ^da-nu
 55 [^den]-^rlí^r [i-ta]-dar mu-ú-[du-us-su] K: ^den-líl i-ta-^rdir^r m[u- L: -t]a-^rdar^r mu-^rdu^r-u[s-
 56 [iz]-^rza-aq^r-[qar] a-na a-ḫi-šú [^da-nu-um] M: i]z-^rza-aq^r-qar ana a-ḫi-šú ^da-nu
 rev.
 57 [e]-te-e[l-li iš-t]i-ka [aš-ša-ma-mi] (// OB I 170) K: e-tel-li iš-ti-k[a
 L: i]š-ti-ka ana ^ršá^r-[M: šá-m]a-mi
 58 [pa]-ar-ša-a[m ta-ba-a]l-mi [i-qé q]á^d-at K: par-ša-am ta-ba-a[l-
^ri^r-[di-ka?]
 L: t]a-ba-al-ma ^rli-qé^r x[M:]x i[d]-ka
 59 [áš]-bu [^da-nun]-na-k[i] ma-ḫar-[ka] K: aš-bu ^da-nun-na-k[i N: ^d]a-nun^r-n[a-
 L: -nu]n-na-ki ma-ḫar-[M:]-ḫar-ka
 60 [i]-lam [iš-te-en ši-si-ma] ^rlí^r-i[d-d]i-šú K: i-lu iš-te-en š[i- N: -t]e-en ši-si-m[a
 pa-ar-[ší] L: -e]n ši-si-m[a]i-i[d- M:]i-id-du-šú par-ši
 61 [^da]-nu-u[m pa-a-šu i-p]u-ša-a[m-ma] K: ^da-nu pa-a-šu i-pu-šá-
 N: -n]u pa-a-šu ^ri^r-[L: -s]u i-p[u-
 62 iz-za-[aq-qar a-na i-li aḫ-h]e-e-[šu] (// OB I 175) M:]-aq-qar ana i-li aḫ-ḫe-šú
 N: -a]q-qar a-na i-li [L:] ^ri^r-[i
 63 mi-n[am kar-ši-šú-nu ni-i]k-ka-a[l] K: mi-nam kar-ši-šú-nu n[i-
 N:] kar-ši-šú-nu [M:]-ka-al
 64 ka-[bi-it-ma dul]-la-šu-nu ma-a-a[d
 ša-ap]-ša-aq-šú-u[n] K: ^rka-bit-ma du-ul^r-[N: d]ul₆-la-šú-un m[a-
 M: -a]d ša-ap-ša-aq-šú-un
 65 u₄-[mi-ša-am]-^rma^r er-še-tum x[(x) x]-na-a-at N: -m]a er-[M:]x-na-a-tu
 66 d[u-ul-l]u ka-bi-it-ma ni-š[e-e]m-^rme-ma^r ri-ig-ma N: -b]i-i[t- M: -e]m-me ri-ig-ma
 67 ^ri^r-[ba-a]š-ši ši-ip-ru a-na e-pé-ši (// OB I 180) M: -n]a e-pe-ši
 68 [aš-bat] ^dbe-let-i-lí sa-as-su-ra-tum V: [á]š-bat ^dbe-le-et-i-lí sa-as-[M: -s]u-ra-a-tu
 69 sa-^ras^r-su-ru lullâ(lú.u₁₈.lu)^a li-ib-ni (// OB I 190) V: sa-as-su-ru lú.u₁₈.l[u-
 70 tu-^rup^r-ši-ik-ki i-lum a-me-lu li-iš-ši V: tu-up-ši-ik-ku i-li ^ra^r-[
 71 li-i]b-ni-ma lullâ(lú.u₁₈.^rlu^r)^a a-me-lu V: li-ib-ni-ma lú.u₁₈.
 72 ab-ša-a-nam li-bi-il ši-p[i]-ir be-lu-ú-ti V: ^rab-šá-a^r-nam li-bi-i[l
 73 ab-ša-a-nam li-bi-il ši-p[i]-ir ^den-líl V: -n]am li-bi-i[l
 74 tu-up-ši-ik i-lum a-m[e]-lu li-iš-[ší] V: i]-^rlí^r [
 75 il-tam is-su-ú ^ri^r-[š]a-a-[lu]

31 The [Igi(?)] answered [in the] meeting,
 32 they mutinied, the labour-gang [. . . :]
 33 “All of us declared [for war,
 34 and convened our meeting in the excavation.
 35 Carrying the baskets was killing [us,
 36 too hard was our labour, [our suffering] too much.
 37 And so every one of all the gods
 38 determined to do battle with [Enlil.”]
 39 Nuska received the instruction,
 40 went back and spoke [to his master(?):]
 41 “Master, to the place that you sent [me
 42 [I] went, I stood and delivered the message.
 43 They listened to your weighty message,
 44 all the Anunnaki, the labour-gang [. . . :]
 45 ‘All of us declared [for war,
 46 and convened our meeting in the [excavation.]
 47 Carrying the baskets was killing [us,
 48 too hard was our labour, our suffering too much.
 49 [And so] every one of all the gods
 50 determined to do battle with Enlil.’”
 51 Enlil [listened to] these words
 52 [and] his tears began to flow.
 53 [The god was] distressed at [what he had] learned,
 54 he said to his brother Anu —
 55 Enlil was distressed at what [he] had learned,
 56 he said to his brother Anu:
 57 “My lord, with you to the heavens
 58 take away (my) duties! Take your . . . !
 59 The Anunnaki are present before you:
 60 summon one god and let them renew the divine regulations!”
 61 Anu opened his mouth
 62 and said to the god his brother:
 63 “What blame can we accuse them of?
 64 Too hard was their labour, their suffering too much.
 65 Every day the earth [. . .] . . . ,
 66 the labour was too hard, we could hear the tumult.
 67 But there is a task to do —
 68 Bēlet-ili is present, (and) the mother goddesses.
 69 Let the mother goddess create human-kind,
 70 so man can bear the soil-basket of the gods.
 71 Let her create human-kind,
 72 so it can carry the yoke, the task imposed by rulership.
 73 Let it carry the yoke, the task imposed by Enlil,
 74 let man bear the soil-basket of the gods.”
 75 They summoned the goddess and asked her:

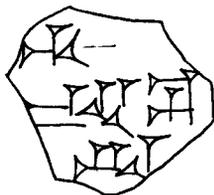


Fig. 12 Unnumbered fragment, joins IM 124649: SB Atra-ḫasis II 103–5.

- 76 *ša-ab-su-tam* ^d*be-let-i-lí* [*e-ri-iš*]-*ti* ^d[*ma-ma*]
 77 *at-ti-ma sa-as-su-ru* ^r*ba*¹-*n*[*i-a-at*] *ši-i-í*[*m-t*]*i*
 78 *bi-ni-ma lullâ*(*ú.u*₁₈.*lu*)^a *li-bi-í*[*il*] *ab-ša-a-nam* (// OB I 195 // MS G ii' 16)
 79 *ab-ša-a-nam li-bi-í*^r [*ši-p*]*í-ir* ^d*en-líl*
 80 *tu-up-ši-ik-ki i-lum* [*a-m*]*e-lu li-iš-ši*
 81 ^d*ma-ma pa-a-šu* [*te*]-*pu-ša-am-í*^r*ma*¹
 82 *ta-za-aq-qar a-na i-í*[*li a*]*h-ḥe-e-šu*
 83 *iš-ti-ia-a-ma lu e-pe-šum* (// OB I 200)
 84 *iš-ti-ma* ^d*é-a i-í*^r*ba*¹-*aš-ši ši-ip-ri*
 85 *šu-ú-ma ul-í*^r*la-a*^r *ka-la-ma* K 17853: [*š*]*u-í-ma*^r [
 86 *ti-í-ṭa li-id-di-nam-m*[*a*] *a-na-í*^r*ku*¹ *lu-pu-uš* K 17853: *ti-í-ṭi* [
 87 ^d*é-a pa-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma* K 17853: ^d*é-a p*[*a-*
 88 *iz-za-aq-qar a-na i-lu aḥ-ḥe-e-šú* (// OB I 205) K 17853: [*í*]*z-za-aq-qar*^r
 89 *e-wa-ar-ḥi se-bu-ú-tum u šá-pa-at-ti* K 17853: ^r*e*¹-*wa-ar-í*
 90 *te-lí-il-tam lu-šá-aš-ki-in ri-im-ka* K 17853: [*t*]*e-lí-il-í*
 91 *i-lam iš-te-en liṭ-bu-ḥu-u-ma* K 17853:]-*lam íš-*
 92 *li-te-el-li-lu i-lu iq-⟨qé⟩-er-bi*
 93 *iš-ši-ri-šú u da-mi-i-šú* (// OB I 210)
 94 ^d*be-let-í-lí li-ba-al-li-il* [*í-í*]*ṭ-ṭa*
 95 *i-lum-ma u à-wi-lum* :
 96 *li-ib-ta-al-li-lu pu-ḥu-ur* ^r*í*¹-*ṭi-í*[*ṭ-ṭ*]*a*
 97 *a-aḥ-ra-ti-iš li-pa-a i ni-iš-me*
 98 *iš-ši-ri* ^r*í*¹-[*í*]*e-ṭém-mu li-ib-ši* (// OB I 215)
 99 *ba-al-ṭa* ^r*í*¹-*ta-í*^r*šú*¹ *li-še-di-i-šu*
 100 *it-tum la mu-uš-ši-i e-ṭe-em-mu*
 101 *e-wa-ar-ḥi se-bu-ú-tú u šá-pat-ti*
 102 *te-lí-í*^r-*tam ú-šá-aš-ki-in ri-im-ki*
 103 ^d*alla*(NAGAR) *šá i-šu-ú i-lam ṭe-e-ma*
 104 ^r*alla*¹ ^d*en-líl iṭ-bu-ḥu-ú*²-*šu ma-aḥ-ri-tim*
 105 [*iš-ši*]-*ri-šú u da-me-šú* (// OB I 225)
 106 [^d*be-le*]*t-í-lí ú-ba-al-li-il* *ṭi-í-ṭa* O:] *ṭi-í*^r-*ṭi*¹-*ṭ*[*a*]
 107 [*i-lum-m*]*a u a-me-lu* O:] *à-wi-lu*[*m*]
 108 [*ub-ta-a*]*l-lí-il pu-ḥu-ur iṭ-ṭi-ṭa* O:] *ṭi-í-ṭ*[*í*]
 109 [*a-aḥ-ra-t*]*i-iš i-pa-a i te-eš-me* O:] *ú-še-eš-m*[*e*]
 110 [*iš-ši-r*]*i i-lí e-ṭém-mu ib-š*[*í*]
 111 [*ba-al-ṭ*]*a it-ta-šu ú-še-di-i-í*[*šu*]
 112 [*it-tum*] *la mu-uš-ši-i e-ṭém-í*^r*mu*¹ (// OB I 230) O:]-*ši-i e-ṭém-m*[*u*]
 113 [*iš-tu-m*]*a ib-lu-í*^r*la*¹ [*ṭi*]-*ṭa-a-šu* O:] *ṭi-ṭa-a-š*[*a*]
 114 [*is-sí*] ^r*a-nun-na-ki ka-la* ^r*í*^d[*í*]-^r*gi*₄¹-*gi*₄ x:] *uz-na šá* [O: ^d*í*^r-*gi*₄-*g*[*i*₄]
 115 [^d*í-gi*₄-*gi*₄] *i-lu* [*ra-b*]*u-ú-tum* x:] ^r*i-lu ra*¹-[O:]-*b*]*u-í*[*um*]
 116 [*ru-u*]-*tam id-du-ú e-lu* *ṭi-í-ṭi-ša* x:]-*d*]*u-ú e-*[
- III 1 [^d*ma-m*]*a pa-a-šu te-pu-ša-am-ma* (// OB I 235) x:]-*e*]*p-pu-ša-a*[*m-*
 [dub 2-kam *e*]-*nu-ma i-lu a-me-lu ki-ma la-bi-ri-šú*



Fig. 13 IM 124649, top edge:
 catch-line (SB Atra-ḥasis III 1) and
 colophon.

[^{md}na-n]a-a-apla(ibila)-iddina(mu) mār(a) ^mda-bi-bi ^{lu}ašipu(maš.maš) ištur(in.sar)

- 76 “Midwife Bēlet-ili, wise Mamma,
 77 You are the mother goddess, creatress of destiny:
 78 create human-kind to carry the yoke.
 79 Let it carry the yoke, the task imposed by Enlil,
 80 let man bear the soil-basket of the gods.”
 81 Mamma opened her mouth
 82 and said to her fellow gods:
 83 “Though the power to do it indeed is mine,
 84 the way it is done is the business of Ea.
 85 He alone can render everything pure:
 86 let him give me clay that I may do it.”
 87 Ea opened his mouth
 88 and said to his fellow gods:
 89 “On the first, the seventh and the fifteenth of the month
 90 I will institute a cleansing rite, a bath.
 91 Let one god be slaughtered
 92 and the gods be thereby cleansed.
 93 With his flesh and his blood
 94 let Bēlet-ili mix some clay,
 95 so that god and man
 96 are mixed together in the clay.
 97 In future time let it appear so we may hear,³⁰
 98 from the flesh of a god let the spirit be produced.
 99 It shall reveal its sign in a living being,
 100 a sign not to be forgotten, the spirit!”
 101 On the first, the seventh and the fifteenth of the month
 102 he instituted a cleansing rite, a bath.
 103 Alla, a god who had the capacity to reason (!),³¹
 104 Alla they slaughtered, an Enlil of old (!?).³²
 105 [With] his flesh and his blood
 106 Bēlet-ili mixed some clay,
 107 so that [god] and man
 108 were mixed together in the clay.
 109 [In future] time it appeared so she might hear,³³
 110 [from the flesh] of a god the spirit was produced.
 111 It revealed its sign in a living [being,]
 112 [a sign] not to be forgotten, the spirit.
 113 [After she] had mixed her clay
 114 [she summoned] the Anunnaki and all the Igigi.
 115 [The Igigi,] the great gods,
 116 spat on her clay.

III 1 Mamma opened her mouth.

[Tablet II.] “When the Gods Were Man”: the exorcist Nanāy-apla-iddina, son of Dābibu, wrote (it) like its original.

³⁰ Corrupt. OB I 214 has: “So that in future days we may hear the drum,” i.e., the heart.

³¹ Text in disorder, see the note on this line.

³² Text in disorder, probably corrupt; see the note.

³³ Corrupt. The OB text probably had: “In future [days] they [heard the drum].”

Tablet III

To our knowledge this tablet does not survive in the Sippar Library. Its incipit, preserved as the catch-line at the end of Tablet II, corresponds to OB I 235. We know from Tablet IV (see below) that Tablet III would have ended at a line corresponding to OB I 355. It would thus have been approximately 121 lines long, and would have dealt with the creation of mankind and the establishing of the human institutions associated with procreation, the rituals that accompanied confinement, childbirth and marriage, and with the successful reproduction of the first men. The only surviving witnesses of the Standard Babylonian text of this part of the myth are at present the Kuyunjik fragments K 7816 + 13863 (*CT* 46 13, Lambert and Millard's MS P) and K 17752, which probably belongs to the same tablet (Lambert, *AfO* 27, p. 75), and the continuation of the fragmentary obverse of MS x (Lambert, *Atra-ḥasis*, Pl. 4, BE 39099, 10–27).

Tablet IV

The very damaged tablet of *Atra-ḥasis* from niche 1 D, reported in *BiOr* 49, remains inaccessible to us, but it may be useful to repeat here the few facts that were given in the previous report. The text of this tablet starts at I 356 of the OB recension, for which it offers the variant line ^denlil(50) *iš-ta-ka-[an] pu-ḥu-ur-š[u]*, “Enlil reconvened his assembly” (as also at OB II 5, with MS Q obv. 13'). It must be Tablet IV of the SB edition current at Sippar. Its catch-line (^dé-a *pa-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma*) is now confirmed as the same line as OB II ii 9' of Lambert and Millard's edition by the discovery of SB Tablet V. The ground covered is therefore Enlil's imposition of plague, Ea's circumvention of Enlil's plan, the renewed increase in human population, and Enlil's imposition of drought. The SB edition of this part of the text is otherwise only preserved in three scraps, MS V rev. and MS Q obv. and rev. 1'–8', but more is preserved on the Assyrian recension (MS S col. iv).

We can add a few comments only: in the line corresponding to OB I 412 the first word is ^dnam-tar; the SB version of OB II 4 begins *ar-ri-ig-mi-ši-na*, replacing [*i-n*]a *ḥu-bu-ri-ši-na*; the line corresponding to OB II 10 begins *ak-ka-ar-ši-ši-na*, replacing [*a-n*]a *bu-bu-ti-ši-na* (cf. the Assyrian recension, MS S iv 43: *i-na kar-ši-ši-na*).

Tablet V

The perfect tablet of *Atra-ḥasis* reported in *BiOr* 49 as at one time on public display in the Iraq Museum, among other tablets from the Sippar library, is IM 124483, from niche 6 A. It is now available in photograph, and turns out to begin with the catch-line of the tablet discussed immediately above. It is therefore Tablet V of the SB edition current at Sippar. Since the first sixty lines of SB Tablet IV would bring the text of the myth approximately to the end of OB Tablet I, the remaining lines would have carried the story forward about another 50 or 60 lines, so that SB Tablet V should begin at roughly OB II 50 or 60. If so, the lacuna that intrudes between the break at the bottom of column i of MS D (OB II 23) and the resumption of the OB text towards the top of column ii of MS D would be something like 25 or 35 lines.

Tablet II of the Old Babylonian edition is not well preserved, and the recovery of the text in its later version is extremely important. SB Tablet V begins with a complete account of the means by which Ea subverts the second sanction imposed by Enlil on mankind to curb its population, namely drought, and continues with Enlil's imposition of a third sanction, namely famine (ll. 1–58). Though the text is now complete for the first time, this part of the myth is predictable and could already be restored from parallel passages of the composition. However, a significant variant is the lapse of time that passes between Enlil's bouts of misanthropy. In the Old Babylonian text this period is restored as 1200 years. In the late text the figure has been expanded to “three *šār*”, i.e. 10,800 years (SB V 43).³⁴

More interestingly, the new tablet allows reconstruction of the episode that follows, in which *Atra-ḥasis* performs a ritual to incubate a dream. In this dream he hopes to communicate with his divine master, Ea, to seek a way to alleviate the famine, which is brought about by a complete embargo on all

³⁴ See further the note on this line.

sources of fresh water, rain and groundwater — the implication being that irrigation is impossible and animal life will fail — and by the barring of the sea so that fish are not available either.³⁵

The end of this dream episode is not yet fully legible, but the ritual preparations are now recovered (ll. 59–73). Atra-Ḫasis takes quantities of a special substance called *maššakku* (OB *muššakkū*, pl.) to the bank of a river. This substance is known from other literary texts, which show its use to be confined to rituals conducted by the *šā'ilu*, a certain kind of diviner among whose specializations lay the explanation of dreams.³⁶ Because it is explained in a commentary on one of these texts as “the scatter-incense of the *šā'ilu*-diviner”,³⁷ Oppenheim made a guarded suggestion that *maššakku* might have been thrown on to a censer by the dream-interpreter in an act of divination by patterns, movement and colour of smoke, a suggestion reproduced without reservation in CAD's rendering “incense used for libanomancy”.³⁸ The only time that *maššakku* is possibly associated with censuring would seem to be the bilingual *eršahunga*, cited in fn. 36, which relates the plight of a man in distress:

azu.e máš.a.ta si nu.mu.ni.íb.sá.e
 ba-ru-ú ina bi-ri ul uš-te-šer-šú
 ensi.e še.e.ta i.bí.a nu.mu.un.na.an.bad.dè
 šá-i-lu ina mu-uš-šá-ak-ka ul i-pe-te-šú

IV R² 22 no. 2, 8'–11'; cf. S. M. Maul, *Herzberuhigungsklagen*, p. 332

By extispicy the haruspex cannot obtain a clear result for him,
 with barleycorn the dream-diviner cannot reveal (anything) to him in the smoke (Sum.) or
 with *muššakku* the dream-diviner cannot reveal (anything) to him (Akk.).

Leaving aside for the present the problems posed by the two versions of the second line of this passage, the new information provided by our tablet of Atra-Ḫasis seems to indicate that in rituals preparatory to incubation, at least, this substance was not censured but strewn. When the night is half passed and the water is quiet, Atra-Ḫasis pours out a libation on to the surface of the river, and presumably the substance so offered is the *maššakku* which he has brought with him. He prays that the river take what he sends in this manner (*šūbultu*) into the presence of Ea, so that the god remembers him and causes him to see a dream. From this we see that *maššakku* was a substance light enough to float on water, and in view of its similarity to, or use as, a scattered incense, we should best view it as a kind of powder.

The casting of a light substance on water before the incubation of a dream is also found in Gudea's account of the preparations undertaken for his third dream:

maš.a šu i.gíd maš.a.ni i.ša₆
 a.MIR.e³⁹ še ba.si igi.bi si íb.sá
 gù.dé.a sag.šè.ná
 mu.ná inim mu.na.ta.è

Cyl. A xx 5–8

He conducted extispicy, his omens were favourable.
 He cast barleycorn on the current, its appearance was correct.
 Gudea had the dream-revealer
 lie down (with him),⁴⁰ and thus a message came forth to him.

³⁵ Here we agree with Foster, *Before the Muses* I, p. 174³, in viewing the eventual release of the sea's produce (*miš-irtu*) as a salvation, not as “a calamity”, *pace* CAD M/2, p. 124.

³⁶ SB Etana II 135; IV R² 22 No. 2 = S. M. Maul, *Herzberuhigungsklagen*, p. 332, 11'; *Ugaritica* V 162, 6'; *Ludlul* II 7. See further Lambert, *BWL*, pp. 288–9; Oppenheim, *Dreams*, pp. 221–2; W. H. Ph. Römer, *JAOS* 86 (1966), p. 145, on *CT* 15 5–6, vi 2'; and CAD Š/1, pp. 111–12.

³⁷ *Ludlul* II 7: *maš-šak-ku* = *sur-qí-nu šá lú šā'ili(ensi)*.

³⁸ CAD M/2, p. 279; cf. Š/1, p. 111: “this incense, called *maššakku*, served as offering or in libanomancy.” *AHW*, p. 684, repeats the explanation of the ancient commentator,

but also assumes that the incense is a fumigant: “Räucheropfer des Traumdeuters”.

³⁹ *PSD* A/1, p. 115, reads so, but does not translate: “(meaning unknown)”. Thorkild Jacobsen translates the complex as “on fresh waters” (*The Harps that Once . . .*, p. 412), while in *Angim* 172 Jerrold S. Cooper reads a.mir and associates it with a.ma.ru, “flood”, and mir, “storm” (*AnOr* 52, p. 135), though he did not see that meaning as appropriate for Gudea Cyl. A xx 6. Instead one is tempted to read in both passages a.aga (or ^aaga), as a variant of aga and a.gi₆.a, “river-wave, current”.

⁴⁰ Following A. Falkenstein in *La divination en Mésopotamie ancienne* (CRRA 14), p. 55.

Here, as has long been recognized, the scattering of barleycorn on the river is an act of divination which accompanies, and confirms, the preceding extispicy. So too, in our passage, the pouring of *maššakku* on to water should be seen not just as a ritual in aid of divination, but also as an opportunity for communication with the gods, that is, an act of divination. Divination by casting substances on water is often considered insignificant as a mantic activity in ancient Mesopotamia, whether the substance is oil in a bowl (lecanomancy) or flour (aleuromancy). The fact that so little of this type of divination is found in the written tradition of the scribes, however, is because it was the preserve of the poor and illiterate, as is made clear by a famous passage of an incantation prayer to Šamaš:

na-šak-ka mār(dumu) lú bārī(hal) giš erēna(eren) f al-mat-tú mašhata(zì.mad.gá) la-pu-un-tú šamna(i.giš) šá-ru-u ina šá-ru-ti-šú na-ši puḫāda(udu.sila₄)

K 3333 = Oppenheim, *Dreams*, Pl. 2, 9'–10'; cf. *KAR* 25 ii 19

The professional diviner offers you cedar, the widow, *mašhatu*-meal; the poor woman offers oil, the rich man, a lamb from his riches.

Here we are reminded that the medium for divination constitutes a gift to the god addressed, usually Šamaš, so that in our passage the libation of *maššakku* by Atra-ḫasis can be both a ritual offering and an opportunity for divination. Other than by allusion of the kind found in the incantation prayer, divination by aleuromancy may be attested in a single, late Old Babylonian tablet of omens published by Jean Nougayrol.⁴¹ In this text there are two substances involved, *ku* and *áš*, which Nougayrol read as *zì* (i.e., *qēmu*, “flour”) and *zíz* (i.e., *kunāšu*, “emmer wheat”); nevertheless, some have described the text as “incense omens”.⁴² Though the medium in which these materials are observed in the act of divination is not explicitly specified, the text talks of “strewing” flour (*sarāqu*) to form seven observable scattered patterns, so that the smoke of a censer in air is less likely the ominous material under comment than substances flung on the ground or on water. Nougayrol further pointed out that knowledge of a tradition of aleuromancy which utilized a mixture of wheat and flour survived until the time of Rabelais.⁴³ In this regard, it is interesting to observe that we have so far noted two examples of dream incubation rituals in ancient Mesopotamian literature, in one of which the material scattered was grain (Gudea), in the other, the substance *maššakku* (Atra-ḫasis). One may also recall that the use of these same two materials in the rituals of the dream-diviner is explicit in the bilingual *eršahunga* cited earlier, where the Sumerian text has grain and the Akkadian *maššakku*. A third material is also known to have been used. In another incubation ritual preserved in literature, Enkidu repeats an elaborate ceremony for Gilgameš which includes libation of *mašhatu*-meal on (and to) the mountain which will bring the dream (SB Gilgameš IV, *passim*). If we wanted to conflate the evidence offered by these passages, we might suggest, in the light of the traditional use in aleuromancy of a mixture of grain and flour, that *maššakku* was itself a mixture of grain (*še*) and the scented, floury meal known as *mašhatu*; but while the word's etymology remains uncertain it would be unwise to speculate further.

To return to our text, having conducted his brief ritual Atra-ḫasis makes his bed by the river, and in due course the current of water takes his offering down to Ea in the *Apsû*, the cosmic level of groundwater below the earth.⁴⁴ There Atra-ḫasis's prayer is duly communicated to the god. In the passage that follows (ll. 74–96), Ea sends a number of his servants, the *lahmu*'s, to question the supplicant. They cross the sea and introduce themselves to Atra-ḫasis, and there follows a conversation which is not entirely legible. Though it is not explicitly stated at this point that the medium of this communication between Atra-ḫasis and Ea's emissaries was a dream, the use of the

⁴¹ AO 3112: J. Nougayrol, “Aleuromancie babylonienne”, *Or NS* 32 (1963), pp. 381–6.

⁴² So *CAD* Q, p. 4, s.v. *qablitu* l.d.

⁴³ Rabelais III/25: “aleuromantie, meslant du froment avecques de la farine”. Aleuromancy was practised in classical antiquity, of course, but Greek and Latin sources are reticent about the details: see A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* 1 (Paris, 1879), p. 182; W. R.

Halliday, *Greek Divination* (London, 1913), p. 185.

⁴⁴ This incident is a further demonstration that according to ancient belief, rivers eventually unloaded their waters into the source from which they took them, the cosmic domain of Ea. In terms of practical geography this belief was of course grounded in the very evident fact that the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates flowed into the marshes and not directly into the sea.

special substance *maššakku* in order to incubate a dream (so ll. 61 and 69), and parallel episodes of the myth make this certain.⁴⁵

Whatever ruse it was that Ea devises in order to secure an end to the famine, which comes about when eventually he unbars the deep and releases fish back into the sea, is likely to have been revealed in Ea's speech near the end of this tablet (ll. 97–108), but this too is not yet entirely legible. The tablet ends with a description of the effects of the famine (ll. 109–end), and the episode in which the suffering of mankind is relieved for the third time must have fallen in the following tablet, which at Sippar would have been SB Tablet VI.

Very little of the first-millennium text of this part of the composition was previously available. In Lambert and Millard's edition it is represented by the reverse of MS Q (from Kuyunjik) and column i of the reverse of MS x (from Babylon). A concordance indicating how these manuscripts fit into the text of the new tablet is given below, and the text supplied by these fragments is included in the margin of the transliteration, as also are parallel lines from the obverse of MS Q. The concordance also indicates where the extant Old Babylonian text, as it is known from MSS ABDy and HE 529, runs parallel to the Sippar tablet:

- ll. 1–12 // MS Q rev. 9'–20' (CT 46 14)
- ll. 5–10 represent a repetition, mostly lost in OB II, of OB I 374–9, as known from MS A col. vii (CT 46 1)
- ll. 8–16 and 34–40 run parallel to OB II, as known from MSS B col. ii (BRM IV 1) // D col. ii (Lambert, *Atra-ḫasis*, Pl. 2)
- ll. 38–50 run parallel to OB I 412–II 8, as known from MSS A col. viii and B col. i // D col. i, and to SB MS Q obv.
- ll. 48–89 // MS x rev. col. i (Lambert, *Atra-ḫasis*, Pls. 9–10) and run parallel to OB MS y (VAS 24 93)
- ll. 60–78 and 109 ff. run parallel to OB II, as known from MS D cols. iii and iv // HE 529 obv. (copy J.-M. Durand, *Mélanges Garelli*, p. 409)

The layout of lines indicates that the tablet proved not quite big enough for the text it was intended to hold. Many lines of poetry are doubled up on to one line of tablet, where they are separated by the conventional notation, the Trennungszeichen (transliterated as a colon). This doubling-up becomes particularly frequent towards the end of the text. The top and left edges of the tablet were also pressed into service, but the barest traces only are visible on the photographs of the tablet's reverse side, and these cannot be read as yet. Presumably these lines contain the catch-line, and, if there is one, a colophon.

Here again, as with Tablet I, the absence of a personal study of the tablet means it must be stressed that the transliteration given below is provisional, pending a future collation. The limitations of the photographs are especially acute towards the bottom of the reverse, where we are unable in some lines to make out clearly more than a few signs. The edges of the tablet were not photographed at all and remain invisible to us, so that where lines of text continue on to the right edge, as typically happens on the many occasions when two lines of poetry are doubled up on to a single line of tablet, we are unable to be certain of exactly what signs are hidden from view. For the ends of such lines, as too for those places where the tablet is too difficult to read for other reasons, we have again utilized the duplicates and parallels where they can be sure to yield secure readings. As before, signs that are included in the transliteration on the basis of such assumptions are distinguished from the legible parts of the text by their enclosure in round brackets.

IM 124473 (Sippar Excavation No. 2180, Season No. 8/17). Photographs: Figs. 14–17.

Text

obv.

- | | | |
|---|--|----------------|
| 1 | ^d é-a pa-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma | Q: -p]u-šam-ma |
| 2 | iz-zak-kar ana ardi(ir)-šu | Q: i]r-šu |
| 3 | [it ¹]-ti-šem-me di-nu šá-kin pu-uḫ-ru | Q: p]u-uḫ-ru |

⁴⁵ This is clearer from the fragmentary OB source, which states that Atram-ḫasis was at this time paying special attention to dreams (OB II iii 7–10), than it is from the new text.

- 4 *ub-lam pi-i-šu-nu i-lu ma-a-mi-tam* Q:] *ma-mi-tam*
5 *ši-bu-tu si-ma-né-(e)* Q:]-*né-e*
6 *x-ru-un[?]-ni-ma qer-bi-tum mil-ki* Q: -*tu*]m *mil-ki*
7 *qí-ba-a-ma lil-su-ú na-gi-ri* Q:] *na-gi-ru*
8 *ri-ig-ma li-še-ep-pú-ú im-ma-a-tú* Q:] *in ma-ti*
9 *e tap-la-ḥa i-li-ku-un* Q:] *ḥe¹-li-ku-un*
10 *e tu-sa-al-la-a iš-tar-ku-un* (// OB II ii 10) Q: -*ta*]r-*ku-un*
11 ^d*adad(iškur)-ma ši-'-a ba-ab-šu* Q: -*a*]b-*šu*
12 *bi-la e_x(WE)-pi-tam aq-qú-ud-mi[?]-šu* Q: -*š*]ú
13 *li-il-lik-šum-ma ma-aš-ḥa-tum ni-qú-(ú)*
14 *li-iš-ta[?]-ri-iq-ma im-mu-ši li-šá-az-nin (na-al-šu)*
15 *ina še-re-e-ti im-ba-ri li-šá-az-nin* (// OB II ii 16)
16 *eqlu(a.šà) ki-ma šar-ra-qí tu-ma-a-am li-iš-ši*
-
- 17 *at-ra-ḥa-sis il-qé-a te-e-er-tam*
18 *ši-bu-ú-tu ú-pa[?]-aḥ-ḥir ab-bi-ti[?]-šu*
19 *at-ra-ḥa-sis pa-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma*
20 *iz-za-aq-qar ana ši-bu-ú-(ti)*
21 *it-ti-¹šem¹-me di-nu šá-kin pu-uḥ-ru*
22 *ub-lam pi-šu-nu i-lu ma-a-mi-(tam)*
23 *qí-ba-¹a-ma[?] lil-su-ú na-gi-ri*
24 *ri-¹ig-ma li-še¹-ep-pú-ú in ma-a-ti*
25 *e tap-la-ḥa i-li-¹ku-un¹*
26 *e tu-sal-la-a iš-tar-ku-(un)*
27 ^d*adad(iškur)-ma ši-'-a ba-ab-šu :*
28 *bi-la (e)-pi-i-tam aq-(qú-ud-mi-šu)*
29 *lil-lik-šum-ma ma-aš-ḥa-tú ni-qú-(ú)*
30 *liš-tar-ri-iq-ma im-mu-ši li-šá-az-nin na-al-(šu)*
31 *ina še-re-e-ti im-ba-ru li-šá-az-(nin)*
32 *eqlu(a.šà) ki-ma šar-ra-qí tu-ma-a-am li-iš-ši*
-
- 33 *ši-bu-ú-tim iš-mu-ú si-qar-šu*
34 ^d*adad(iškur) ina āli(uru) ib-nu-ú bi-ti-šu* (// OB II ii 20)
35 *il¹(tablet: lil)-lik-šum-ma ma-aš-ḥa-tú ni-qú-ú*
36 *ḥi¹-tar-ri-iq-ma im-mu-ši ú-šá-az-nin na-al-š(u)*
37 *ina še-re-e-ti im-ba-ru ú-šá-az-nin* (// OB II ii 30)
38 *eqlu(a.šà) ki-ma šar-(ra)-qu tu-ma-a-am {li}-iš-ši*
39 *dam-qú-¹ú¹-tum zi-mu-ši-na it-tu-ra* (Q:] *it-tam-ru*)
40 *it-tab-ši maḥ-ru-ú ri-gi-im-ši-in :* (Q:]-¹ú¹ *ri-gim-ši-na*)
41 *u₄-me šu-ul-me-ši-(na it-tu-ru)* (// OB II ii 35) (Q:] *it-tu-ru*)
42 *re-e-mu pe-ti i-ba-an-ni še-er-ru* (Q: -*ba*]n-*ni šer-ru*)
43 *ul il-lik še-lal-ti šá-a-ri na-šá-a-ti (sic! for šá-na-a-ti)* (Q: -*á*]r *šá-na-a-tim*)
44 *ma-a-tum ir-te-piš ni-ši im-te-da* (Q: -*š*]i *im-te-da*)
45 *ma-a-tum ki-i-ma li-i i-ša-ap-pu* (Q:] *i-šá-ap-pu*)
46 *a-na ri-ig-me-ši-na ilu(dingir^{meš}) it-ta-'-dar* (Q: dingir]r.^{meš} *it-tar-du*)
47 ^d*en-lil iš-ta-na-ka-an pu-ḥur-šu* (Q: -*a*]n *pu-ḥur-šu*)
48 *iz-za-aq-qar an ili(dingir^{meš}) mārī(dumu)^{meš}-šu :* x: *iz-z[a-* (Q: dingir]r.^{meš} *ma-re-e-šu*)
49 *ik-tab-tam-ma ri-gim a-me-lu-(ti)* x: *ik-t[ab-* (Q: r]i-*ig-me a-me-lu-tim*)
50 *ina ḥu-bu-ri-ši-na ul i-šab-ba-tan-ni šit-tum* x: *ina ḥu-bu-[r]i-šin?/-ši-na[* (Q:] *ú-za-am-ma šit-tam*)
51 *qí-ba-a-ma li-iš-ṣu-ru^d a-num u^d adad(iškur) e-le-n(i)* x: *qí-[b]a-[a-m]a ḥi-iš-ṣu¹-r[u*

Translation

1 Ea opened his mouth
 2 and said to his servant:
 3 “The case has been heard, the assembly was convened,
 4 the gods agreed to swear an oath.
 5 The elders ,
 6 in the midst of counsel:⁴⁶
 7 ‘Command that the heralds proclaim,
 8 let them give loud voice in the land:
 9 “Do not reverence your gods,
 10 do not pray to your goddess!
 11 Seek out (instead) the gate of Adad,
 12 bring a baked loaf (and put it) before it!”
 13 Let the flour offering please him,
 14 so that at night surreptitiously he rains down dew,
 15 in the mornings he rains down mist,
 16 and the earth by stealth yields twins!”
 17 Atra-ḫāsis received the instruction,
 18 he gathered the elders to his house.
 19 Atra-ḫāsis opened his mouth
 20 and said to the elders:
 21 “The case has been heard, the assembly was convened,
 22 the gods agreed to swear an oath.
 23 Command that the heralds proclaim,
 24 let them give loud voice in the land:
 25 ‘Do not reverence your gods,
 26 do not pray to your goddess!
 27 Seek out (instead) the gate of Adad,
 28 bring a baked loaf (and put it) before it!’
 29 Let the flour offering please him,
 30 so that at night surreptitiously he rains down dew,
 31 in the mornings he rains down mist,
 32 and the earth by stealth yields twins!”
 33 The elders heard his word,
 34 a temple to Adad they built in the city.
 35 The flour offering pleased him,
 36 at night surreptitiously he rained down dew,
 37 in the mornings he rained down mist,
 38 and the earth by stealth yielded twins.
 39 Their fine features returned,
 40 their former noise started again,
 41 Their days of well-being returned,
 42 the womb was open and making babies.
 43 Three myriad years did not go by,
 44 the land had grown, the people had multiplied.
 45 The land was bellowing like a bull,
 46 the god became disturbed by the noise.
 47 Enlil reconvened his assembly,
 48 saying to the gods, his sons:
 49 “The noise of mankind has become too much for me,
 50 because of their din sleep cannot overtake me.
 51 Command that Anu and Adad stand guard in the heights,

⁴⁶ Corrupt; OB: inside your house.

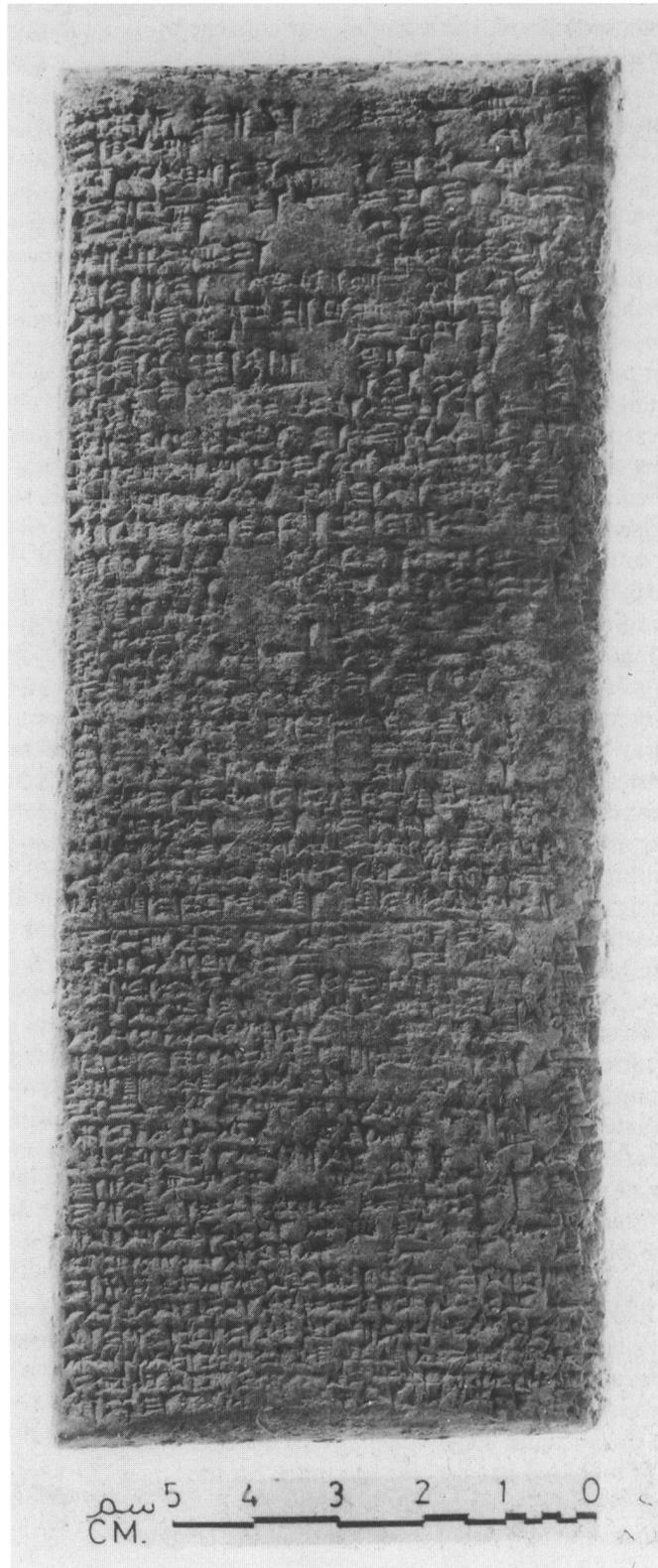


Fig. 14 IM 124473, obv.: SB Atra-ḫasis V 1-55.

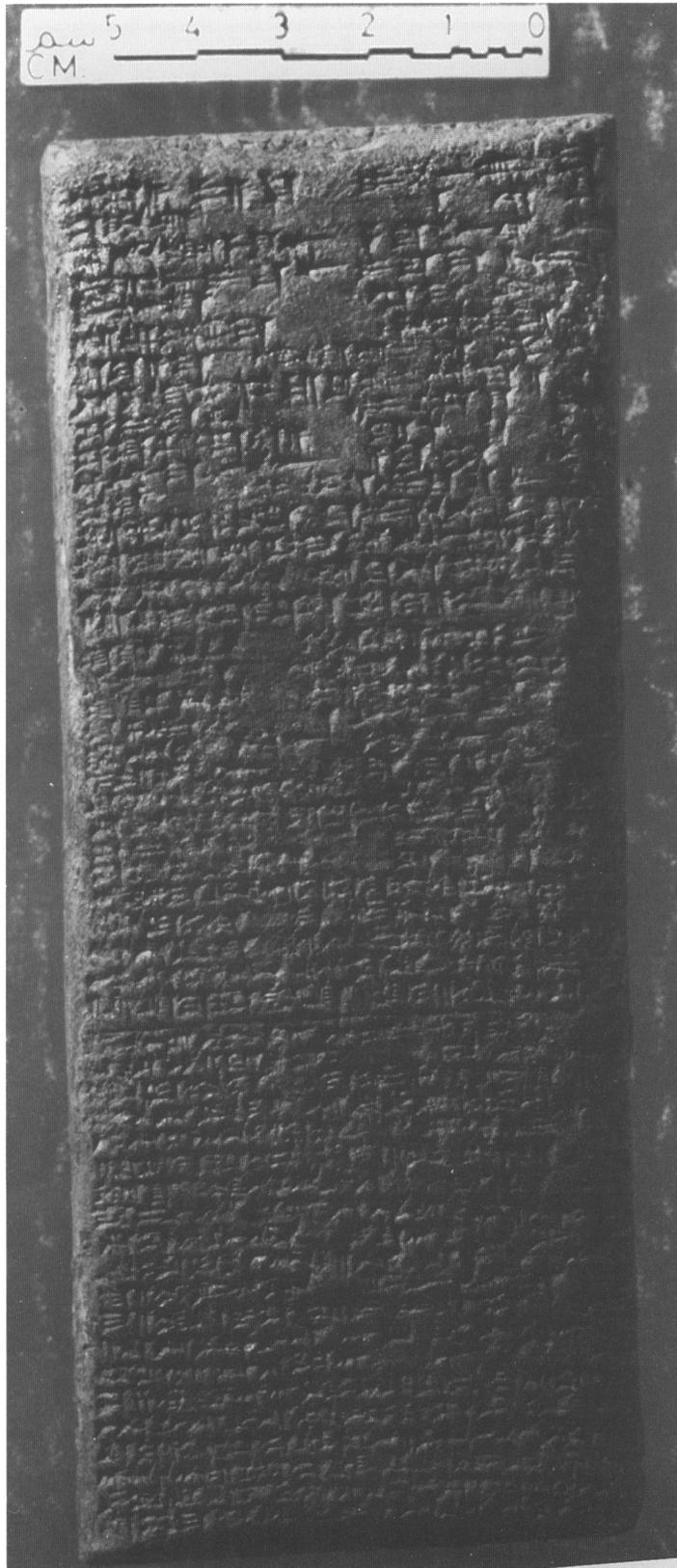


Fig. 15 IM 124473, obv.: SB Atra-ḫasis V 1-55.



Fig. 16 IM 124473, rev.: SB Atra-ḫasis V 56-117.

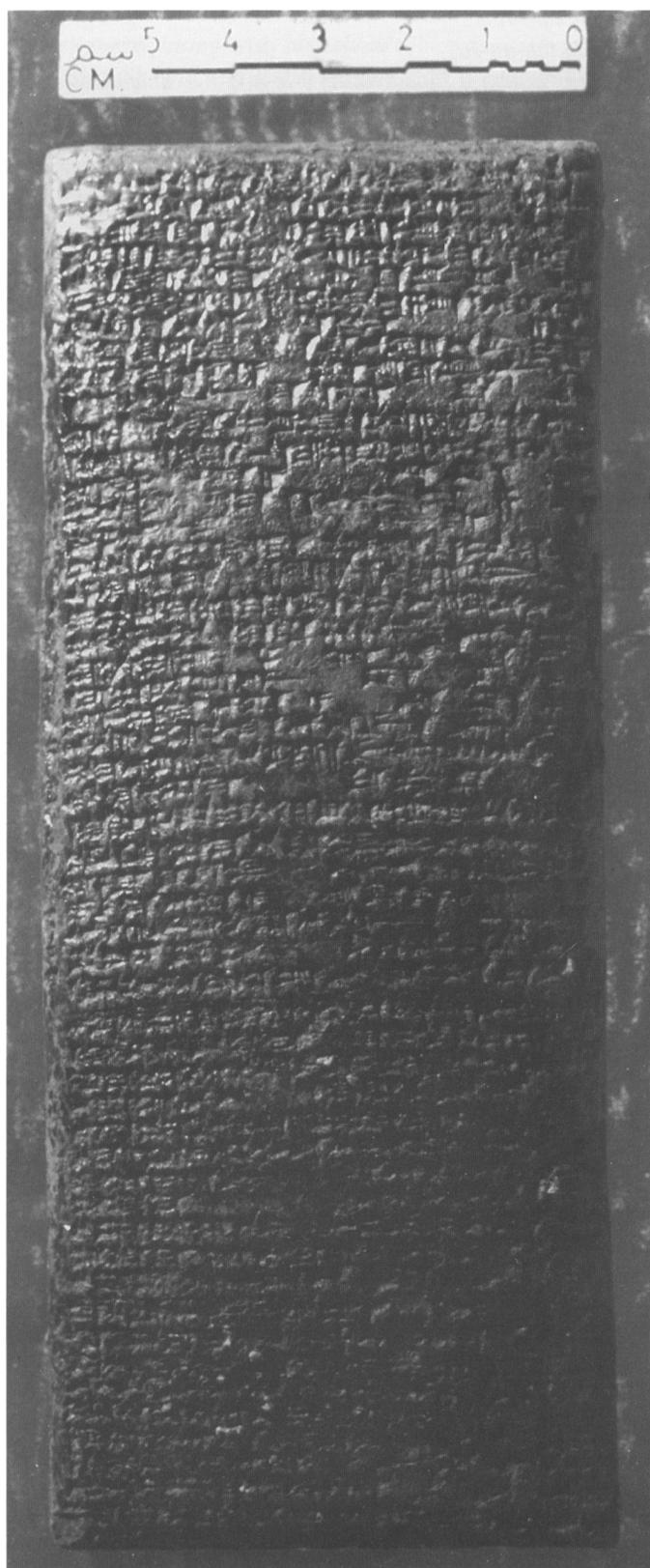


Fig. 17 IM 124473, rev.: SB Atra-ḫasis V 56–117.

- 52 ^dsin(30) u ^dnergal(u.gur) li-iš-šu-ru eršetu(ki)^{tim} qab-li-tim x: ^d30 u ^du.gur li-iš-[-
53 ši-ga-ru na-aḥ-ba-lu₄ tam-tim : x: ši-ga-ru na-aḥ-ba¹-[lu
54 ^dé-a li-iš-šu-ru qá-(du lāḥ-mi-šu) x: ^dé-a li-iš-šur qá-^d[u
55 qí(sic!)-bi-ma iṣ-šu-ru ^da-num u ^dadad(iškur) e-le-n(i) x: iq-bi-ma iṣ-¹[šu-ru¹ ^da-num u ^d[
rev.
56 ^dsin(30) u ^dnergal(u.gur) iṣ-šu-ru eršetu(ki)^{tim} qab-li-tú x: ^d30 u ^du.gur iṣ-šu-ru er-še-tim q[ab-
57 ši-ga-ru na-aḥ-ba¹-lu tam-tim : x: ši-ga-ru na-aḥ-ba-lu ta-am-[-
58 ^dé-a iṣ-¹[šu¹-ru qá-du (lāḥ-mi-šu) x: ^dé-a iṣ-šur qá-du lāḥ-m[i-
59 u šu-ú at-ra-ḥa-sis a-me-lu : x: ú šu-ú at-ra-ḥa-¹si¹-[s
60 u₄-me-šam-ma ib-ta-nak-(ki) x: u₄-mi-šam-ma ib-ta-x[
61 maš-šak-ku i-zab-bi-¹lu gi¹-par nāri(id) : (// OB II iii 5-6) x: maš-šak-ka
i-¹zab¹-bi-¹la/lu¹ gi[-
62 e-nu-ma miṭ-ra-tum šá-(ḥur-rat) (// OB II iii 15) x: e-nu-ma miṭ-ra-¹tum i¹-[-
63 mu-šu i-zu-uz-ma ni-qú-ú iq-qí x: mu-šu i-zu-uz-ma [
64 ši-it-tum il-la-¹ku² x¹-am-tum : x: š[i-i]t-¹tú il¹-[-
65 iz-za-kár ana miṭ-ra-ti x: iz-zak-kar a-na [
66 lil-qé-ma miṭ-rat li-bil nāru(id) x: lil-qé-e-ma m[iṭ-
67 ¹liš-šá¹-kin šu-bul-tum ma-ḥar ^dé-a be-lí-ia (// OB II iii 20-1) x: liš-šá-kin šu-bu-ul-[-
68 li-mur-ma ^dé-a li-iḥ-su-sa-an-ni x: li-mur ^dé-a ¹li¹-[-
69 ana-ku ina mu-ši šu-ut-ta lu-mur x: a-na-ku ina mu-ši š[u-
70 iṣ-tu iṣ-pu-ra mi-ṭir-tum : (// OB II iii 25) x: ¹iš¹-tu-¹ma¹[
71 ana pu-ut nāri(id) it-ta-šab i-(bak-ki?) x: i-na pu-ut [id
72 ana pu-ut (nāri(id)?) x (x) x-ma² amēlu(lú) : x: i-na pu-ut [
73 ana apsi(abzu) it-ta-rad ¹gim¹-lat-su x: a-na abzu [
74 iṣ-me-e-¹ma¹ ^dé-a ri-gim-šu x: iṣ-¹mi¹-e-m[a
75 x NE² x ¹x x x¹-ma ana šú-nu-tim iz-za-kár (// OB II iii 30) x: i²-bi-ik [lāḥ²-
76 amēlu(lú) šá an-¹nu¹-ú x-ib²-šú x: lú šá ina UD x[
76a Sippar omits x: an-nu-ú [
77 ga-na ḥu-um-ṭa-ma ter-ta-šú² bi-la²-ni x: ga-na ḥu-u[m¹-
78 u šá-la-a-šú-ma qí²-ba-a-ni a-mat ma²-a-ti-šú x: ¹x x x¹ [
79 i-bi-ru-ma ta-ma-tam rapašta(dagal)^{tim} : (// OB II iii 35) x: ¹i-bi¹[-
80 ina kar apsi(abzu) x x x (. . .) x: ¹i-na¹ [
81 ter-tam šá ^dea(idim) ana at-ra-ḥa-sis ú-šá-an-nu-ú x: x[
82 at-¹ta¹ ia-ú šá ta-bak-ku-ú x: at-ta ¹ia-ú¹ [
83 ana apsi(abzu) it-ta-rad gim-lat-ka x: a-na abzu [i-t-
84 iṣ-me-e-ma ^dé-a ri-gim-ka x: iṣ-mi-ma^d[
85 an-na-a-ši iṣ-pu-ra-an-na-ši ana maḥri(igi)-ka x: ú an-na-a-š[i
86 šum-ma ^dé-a iṣ-man-ni ia-a-ši : x: ¹šum¹-ma¹(AB) ^dre¹-[-
87 mi-nam x x x (. . .) x: mi-nam i-na x[
88 ul-la-nu-um-ma ip-pa-lu-šu x: ul-¹la-nu¹-um-[-
89 ana at-ra-ḥa-sis i-zak-ka-ru-šu : x: a-na at-¹ra-ḥa¹-[-
90 šit-tum il-la-ku² (x-am-tum)
91 il-qé-e-ma miṭ-ra-tum ú-bil ¹nāru(id)¹
92 iṣ-šá-kin šu-bul-tum ina maḥar(igi) ^dé-a be-lí-ka
93 i-mur-ma ^dé-a iḥ-su-sak-¹ka¹
94 u an-na-a-ši iṣ-pu-ra-an-na-ši ana maḥri(igi)-ka
95 iq-du-ud iṣ-šiq qaq-qa-ru ma-ḥar-šun²
96 ana qer-bu ta-ma-a-tú lāḥ-mu ú-x x x

97 ^dé-a pa-a-šu ipuš(dù)-ma iqabbi(dug₄.ga) :
98 iz-zak-kar ana ^dusmú(ara) ¹sukkalli(sukkal)-šú¹
99 ana at-ra-ḥa-sis ši-ma qí-bi-šu qí-b(i-ti?)
100 um-ma ṭè-em māti(kur) ki-i pī(ka)² ṭè-ma nišī(ùg)^{mes} x
101 ^dusmú(ara) sukkalli(sukkal) ^dea(idim) ana at-ra-ḥa-sis izzakkar(mu)(^{ár})

52 that Sin and Nergal stand guard on the earth in between.⁴⁷
 53 At the bolt that keeps the sea in check,
 54 let Ea stand guard, along with his *lahmu*'s."
 55 He commanded, and Anu and Ea stood guard in the heights,
 56 Sin and Nergal stood guard on the earth in between.
 57 At the bolt that keeps the sea in check,
 58 Ea stood guard, along with his *lahmu*'s.
 59 And he, the man, Atra-ḫasis,
 60 every day he would wail and cry,
 61 lugging a dream-oblation (to) a riverside meadow.⁴⁸
 62 When the waterway was quiet,
 63 he divided the night⁴⁹ and made an offering.
 64 As sleep was coming . . . ,
 65 he said to the waterway:
 66 "Let the waterway take it and the river bear it along,
 67 let my gift be delivered before Ea, my lord!
 68 Let Ea see it and think of me,
 69 so I, in the night, do see a dream!"
 70 After he had given the waterway his message,
 71 facing the river he sat down in tears(?).
 72 Facing (the river) the man . . . ,
 73 to the Apsû his favour descended.
 74 Ea heard his voice,
 75 he summoned(?) his *lahmu*'s(?), and said to them:
 76 "The man whose . . . this is,⁵⁰
 77 go quickly, bring me his demand,
 78 ask him too, and tell me, how fares his land!"
 79 They crossed the wide sea,
 80 from (*or*: at) the Quay of Apsû ,
 81 Ea's commission they repeated to Atra-ḫasis:
 82 "Whoever you are, who wail and cry,
 83 to the Apsû has descended your favour.
 84 Ea heard your voice,
 85 and us he sent here into your presence."
 86 "If Ea heard me,
 87 why (*or*: what) ?"
 88 Straightway they answered him,
 89 saying to him, to Atra-ḫasis:
 90 "As sleep was coming . . . ,
 91 the waterway took it and the river bore it along:
 92 your gift was delivered before Ea, your lord,
 93 Ea saw it and thought of you,
 94 and us he sent here into your presence."
 95 He bowed down and kissed the ground before them,
 96 the monsters *withdrew* to the midst of the seas.
 97 Ea opened his mouth and spoke,
 98 saying to his minister Usmû:
 99 "Go out to Atra-ḫasis and tell him what I say:
 100 'Thus it is said: the plight of a country is the same as the plight of its people.'"

101 Usmû, Ea's minister, said to Atra-ḫasis:

⁴⁷ Literally, "the middle earth", here meaning the cosmic level between the heavens and the domain of Ea; see Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasis*, p. 166.

⁴⁸ Apparently corrupt; OB: in the morning.

⁴⁹ I.e., he arose at midnight.

⁵⁰ MS x in two lines: "The man who by day(?) [. . .] / this [.]"

102 *um-ma tē-em māti(kur) ki-i pī(ka)² tē-ma nišī(ùg)^{meš} x (x)*
 103 *šum²-ma mû(a)^{meš} i-zi-bu-šu še² i-zi-bu x x meš² x*
 104 *x x ia-a-ši (x) na na (or: te te) x x x*
 105 *x-tu²-ma x x (x) x-zi-bu-ši-na-a-ti*
 106 *mātu(kur) kīma(gim) eṭ-lu² x (x) x bu-up-pa-ni-šá saḥ²-(pat²)*
 107 *x-tu²-ma x x x x x šer-ret² x*
 108 *mātu(kur) kīma(gim) x (x) ta-át-ta-bak ana muḥḥi(ugu)² x x x*

109 *e-liš ka-an-kát² šer-ret šá-ma-(a-mi)*
 110 *se-kir-ma šap-liš ul¹ il¹-li¹-ku mé(a)^{meš} (naq-bi)*
 111 *šal-mu-ú-tim ip-te-šu-ú ú-ga-r(u)* (// OB II iv 7)
 112 *ina me²-ri-ti šam-mu ul uš-ša-am-ma šu-ú ul x (x) x*
 113 *il-te-et šatta(mu.an.na) i-ku-lu la-bi-(ru)*
 114 *šá-ni-ta šatta(mu.an.na) ú-qat-ta-a na-¹kam¹-tum* (// OB II iv 10)
 115 *šá-lul-tum šattu(mu.an.na) ina ka-šá-di*
 116 *ina bu-bu-ú-tum zi-mu-ši-na it-tak-ru*
 117 and lines on top and left edges: illegible

102 “Thus it is said: the plight of a country is the same as the plight of its people.”
 103–8 *too little recovered for translation*
 109 On high the udder of heaven was sealed,
 110 below was blocked up, no water flowed in the deep.
 111 The black fields turned to white,
 112 in the pasture grass was not sprouting and cereals(?) did not grow(?).
 113 The first year they ate old grain,
 114 the second year they exhausted the reserves.
 115 When the third year arrived,
 116 their features had changed through hunger.
 117 ff. *not yet deciphered*

Notes on Tablets I, II and V

TABLET I

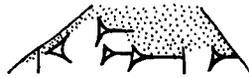
- 1–2. The second line of the opening couplet departs significantly from the OB version, which has *ublū dulla izbilū šupšikka* (I 2). It is easy to see how *ub-lu* and *iz-bi-lu* could be corrupted into *i-lu* and *ib-nu-ú* by a careless editor, but the substitution of *dulla* by *ni-ra* cannot be accounted for in the same way. As already translated, there are two ways of taking *ni-ra*: either it is *nīra*, i.e., the first object of *ibnū* (the sandwiching of a verb between two accusatives is also found in SB II 90), or it is *nēr*, the traditional number of the throng of junior gods. Our preference is marginally for the former, following SB I 41a, where the mutinous gods vow to break the yokes with which they carry their baskets of soil (*tupšikka*). However that may be, the remodelling of the couplet shows that, by this scribe at least, the first line was understood as a complete clause. The fact that the Assyrian recension nevertheless gives the incipit as *enūma ilū ki amili*, “when the gods like men” (Lambert, *Or NS* 38 (1969), p. 533–4), shows that the scribes of the first millennium were almost as divided as modern scholars by the syntax and meaning of the OB *inūma ilū awēlum* (see above, fn. 1).
5. The middle word, which replaces OB ^d*a-nun-na-ku*, must be a corruption of one-time *Anukkū* or *Enukkū*. At the end of the line, *šebetta*, for OB *se-bé-et-tam*, evidently exhibits Aramaic influence (W.G.L.). On the force of the accusative see Lambert, *JCS* 32 (1980), p. 84.
10. Here, and in the parallel passages of SB II, OB *Ennugi* is expanded to *ilu Ennugi*.
11. The first sign may be *šu*, but we cannot make good sense of *šu-ti* in the context. In the OB text the bottom horizontal wedge of the corresponding sign is too long for *ku* (as read by von Soden, *ZA* 68, p. 54), but could be ¹*šu* (coll.).
12. SB *šunu* replaces OB *ilū*.
14. The OB text is probably to be read [^d*en-lil il*]-¹*ḥu-uz*¹ (coll.).
- 17–18. The word *šamēšu* replaces OB *šamēša* < *šamā-iša(m)* (or < *šamē-ša(m)*: see Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḥasis*, p. 148). If correctly read, the word *Apsāšu*, replacing [*ana Apsī*], is coined by analogy with *šamēšu*, although we might have expected *Apsīša*, as in Abi-ešuh’s love lyrics (Lambert, *MIO* 12 (1966), p. 54, 4: *ap-si-ša*). As regards the restoration of the OB version, l. 17 looks to have held the same text as our tablet,

- i.e., [š^u-ut a-ni]m, but in l. 18 there does not seem enough space for [š^u-ut ^den-ki a-na a]p-si-i, and the exact wording there remains uncertain.
- 19–20. The OB couplet probably reads [ir-te-qú (i-lu) š^u]-ú-u[^t š]a-ma-i / [du-ul-lam ú-ša]-a[z-bi]-lu ^di-gi-gi (for l. 20 see already C. Wilcke, *ZA* 67 (1977), p. 160). In our l. 19 the sequence of signs e-x-x suggests *Enukkū*, the Anunnaki, but the traces are not secure. If we have read l. 20 correctly, the verb is no longer causative and the object *Igigi* has become the subject, *šūt Ellil*. In the Assyrian recension one may now read *š^u-ut ^denlil*(idim) at the end of MS S i 4 (*CT* 46 6).
24. This line, a repetition of l. 22 inadvertently omitted at the time of writing, and appended on the left edge in the conventional manner, is noteworthy for the spelling *na-pa-áš-ti*, against *na-piš-ti* in l. 22. Unless we account it a simple error, this must be explained as an archaism, for *napaštum* occurs in Old Akkadian, and once at Mari (*ARM* I 1, rev. 11', time of Yaḫdun-Lim). It is usual in Old Assyrian, of course.
- 34 and 36. These lines correspond to OB I 34 // 36, which are perhaps now to be read [x x x ib]-nu-ú ša š^u-up-ši-ik-ki. The first word of both lines of the Sippar tablet is possibly *i-lu-ú-ma*, “the gods themselves”, but after *ibnū* the two lines appear to differ from each other and from the older text.
41. This line is a conflation of OB I 41, restored by von Soden to read [la?-pu?-t]a?-ni guzzalām i nimḫurma (*ZA* 68, p. 56), and OB I 46: [alk]ānim i nišši'a ina šubtišu, but the late text exhibits a much readier recourse to violence.
42. On the OB equivalent of this line, OB I 47, see the discussion of Alla in the introduction.
- 53'. The adverb *anumma* (OB I 61) has been misunderstood as a divine name, but the illegibility of the new tablet prevents us from knowing how the late text made sense of the rest of the line. The restoration is a guess.
- 59'. The word *igdaršūni* replaces older *itaḫzūnim* (OB I 68). The scribe very likely had in mind *Enūma eliš* III 129: *ig-gar-š^u-nim-ma il-la-[ku-ni]* (W.G.L.).
- 61'–4'. In these two couplets the late text omits *mišil* and reworks the syntax accordingly. The double substitution of *bitu* by *é.kur* and *ilu* by *Ellil* in OB I 70–3 is reduced to the latter only, though the new tablet disagrees with MS K (*CT* 46 10) as to whether one should read *bitu* or *é.kur*.
- 65'. The late text replaces *uteqqi* (OB I 74) with *uhtakkim* (cf. von Soden, *ZA* 68, p. 87, b 5). The end of the line is also different, but not yet legible (but cf. OB I 75!).
- 98'. To our eyes the second sign is possibly *lu*, suggesting that the tablet has *i-lu*, which would mean that older *i-ni* (OB I 109, Lambert) has indeed been taken as *i-lí* (von Soden) at some stage.
- 100'–117'. These lines are restored from SB II 1–18, q.v.

TABLET II

- I 100' = II 1. The recovery of this line confirms that the SB text agrees closely with the older version (OB I 111: *Anu pi'āšu ipušamma*). Von Soden's reading of the traces before ^da-nu-um on MS L obv. 6' as [i-pu-u] (*ZA* 68, p. 88), must therefore be rejected. The only solution would appear to be that the trace he read as *u|* is instead the end of a brief colophon (possibly [x mu.šid.b]i), as such marking a dividing point between Tablets I and II on MS L that agrees with the situation at Sippar, as represented by SB II (though not, apparently, by SB I).
- I 101' = II 2. As in MS L, *aḫišu* replaces older *qurādi* (OB I 112); cf. SB II 54.
- I 102' = II 3. The mundane *iphurūnim* replaces the more vivid *ilmū* (OB I 114). In translating *siqra* we follow Lambert (also Bottéro, Foster); another such use of the word may be in OB *Gilgameš* II (P) 141–2: *a-na mi-nim il-^rlī-kam si-qi-ir-š^u lu-^ruš^r-me^r(š^u)*, “why he came here, I would hear his reason.”
- I 103'–4' = II 4–5. The OB couplet I 116–17 is omitted, as in SB MS L.
- I 105' = II 6. The order of the OB line (I 119: *issaqqar ana [šukkalli Nuska]*) is rearranged in the Sippar manuscript but not, apparently, in MS L.
- I 107' = II 8. The *plene* writing of the first vowel in *li-i-qé* (II 8) is unwanted, but reveals that for one LB scribe, at least, the I/1 imperative of *leqū* followed the pattern of *limad* and *rikab* (also *pišah*, *tikal*, *tišab*, etc.) rather than *maḫaš*. Among verbs III-weak (*e*), of course, the pattern followed by the imperative in Babylonian is usually uncertain because of the ambiguities of script: e.g. *pete* or *pite*, *šeme* or *šime*, *teḫe* or *tiḫe*? (cf. *GAG* §105 f). Verbs III-weak (*a*) with attested I/1 imperatives are rare, but *kila* is standard and *tima* (Bab.) is found alongside *tama* (Ass.); note also OA *kita* < *katā'um*. On this evidence, slim though it is, the pattern *limad* appears to be typical of such verbs, and presumably ought to be of verbs III-weak (*e*) also. Accordingly the spelling *li-i-qé* might be taken as orthographic evidence for an imperative *liqe* in preference to *leqe*, though obviously it would be foolish to insist that a variant *leqe* never occurred.
22. From the point of view of metre the form *iddin* is preferable to *ittadin*; the OB MS E had *ipšur* (OB I 135).
32. In the synonym list Explicit *Malku* II the word *ḫupš^u* is equated with *nišū* (A. D. Kilmer, *JAOS* 83 (1963), p. 442, j), and in a commentary on *Šumma ālu*, with *šābū*(*érin*)^{mes} [x] (T. J. Meek, *RA* 17 (1920), p. 140, K 4229, 12). These equivalences indicate only that *ḫupš^u* refers to a group of people. In the army the *ḫupš^u* is indeed the mass of common soldiers, but more relevant to our passage is its use to denote a labour gang engaged in public works, as in the omen apodosis *tib ḫup-ši mar-ri u tup-ši-[ik-ki]*, “mutiny of spade-gang and basket-gang” (*KAR* 442, rev. 2), and in an inscription of Sargon II: [. . .] *etlūti(guruš)^{mes}-šū il-ku tup-šik-ku mar-ši-iš ^rū^r im-ta-ni šāb(érin)^{mes} ḫup-šiš*, “[he imposed on] his male population the grievous burden of corvée-work and basket-carrying, [and] counted them among the labour gang” (Winckler, *Sammlung* II 1, 33). The curious *plene* writing of the first syllable is also found in the line of Explicit *Malku* cited above: [*ḫu*]-ú-up-š^u.
- 33 // 45. In OB I 146 // 159–60 *nigrām* is now shown to be wrong. MS G i' 3 (*CT* 46 20) can now be seen to read

- ni-is-sà-a*q-qá-ra-am (= OB I 160). MS A should probably be read $\lceil ku^1-u[l-l]a-[at-n]i-ma-mi^{160} ni-[is-sà-qar] \lceil tu-qú^1-um-ta-am$.
- 36 // 48. The verb indicates that *du-ul-la-a-nu* is singular, and thus is really for *dullani*, “our labour” (with OB I [150] // 163). The “wrong” final vowel is not a surprise in LB orthography, but the *plene* writing of the anaptyctic vowel is noteworthy.
- 38 // 50. The Sippar tablet agrees with MS M in reading *mithuša* for the obscure *na- $\lceil ba-ba^1-am$* (OB I [152] // 165, MS A). The alternative reading *na- $\lceil ka-ra^1-am$* proposed by J. P. van der Westhuizen in K. Hecker and W. Sommerfeld (eds.), *Keilschriftliche Literaturen* (CRRRA 32 = BBVO 6), p. 92, is not supported by the traces (coll.).
40. The SB text is very different from OB I 154, which has *il-li-ik ú-t[e-er? x (x)] x x (siqiršun?)*.
- 41–2. The first line of this couplet agrees exactly with the older text (OB I 155 should now be read simply *be-lí a- $\lceil šar^1 [ta-aš-pu-r]a-an-ni$*), but the second appears to differ somewhat, with *ammuš* for *allik*; the rest of OB I 156 is, however, too badly damaged to restore safely. A better balance to the late couplet would be achieved if the lines divided after *ammuš*, not before (W.G.L.).
43. OB’s *apšur* (I 157) is replaced with *išmûma*.
44. SB *kullat* replaces older *na-ap-[$\lceil ha-ar$]*, as OB I 158 can now be read. Here the Anunnaki appear to be the throng of junior gods, in contrast to the opening lines of the story, where they are the task-masters, and l. 59, where they are the senior gods assembled in council. At the end of the line one should like to restore *ibbalkit*, after l. 32, but considerations of space make this unlikely. Unfortunately, the last word of the OB line is damaged both in MS A, which has $\lceil x-x-is-si$ (coll.; W. L. Moran’s *ib*)- $\lceil bal-ki^1-is-si$, *Studies Reiner*, p. 249¹⁵, is not entirely supported by the traces), and in MS G.
53. In OB I 168 the verb can be $\lceil i^1-[ta-d]a- $\lceil ar^1$$, with Millard’s copy of MS A (coll., against von Soden’s $\lceil t-ta-š]a-ar$, *ZA* 68, p. 80).
- 54–6. In the SB text *aḫišu* again replaces older *qurādi* (cf. SB I 101’ = II 2) and the text is expanded by repetition of the couplet OB I 168–9, in which *ilum* is replaced with *Ellil*, according to the standard convention.
- 58–60. No OB text survives for these three lines ([OB I 171–3]; 174 // MS G ii’ 1). The main problems are the ends of ll. 58 and 60. In the former Lambert and Millard read *li-qi id-ka*, reconstructed from MSS LM (*CT* 46 12 and 11), but the new tablet suggests that there was a longer phrase. The traces of $\lceil x \lceil at^1 x \lceil$ were copied in Baghdad as follows:



However, for the moment the recovery of the end of l. 58 remains beyond us. From the context a translation along the lines of “Take (my duties) into your own possession!” would be expected.

In l. 60 the new tablet and collation of MS M reveals that the final word is *parši*. The line no longer appears explicitly to recommend the death of the strikers’ leader, as previously understood. The slaughter of a god is thus first mentioned specifically in SB II 91, where it is the suggestion of Ea. Here, Enlil’s proposal is less easy to determine, since we are handicapped by the manuscripts’ disagreement over the verb. MS M has $\lceil \lceil iddūšu$ (pl., *nadū*), with the Anunnaki as a plausible subject, but the new tablet appears to have *liddišu* (sing., *nadū*), which does not yield good sense, or *liddišū*, “let them renew” (pl., *edēšu*), which does. Not enough of MS L survives to know how the verb stood in that source. The Assyrian recension possibly has the imperative of *nadū* (MS S ii 7: *i-d[i-šu?]*).

In the reading offered by the Sippar tablet, we assume that Enlil’s wish is for the Anunnaki, here the great decision-making gods, to set about establishing a new order in the universe (*parši uddušu*). This is necessary because he himself has abdicated in favour of Anu. However, the search for the instigator of the conflict that began with Nuska’s mission is not to be given up. But there is a difficulty: because the mutinous gods have unanimously accepted joint responsibility for their strike, no one individual can be identified as prime mover. Accordingly, Enlil proposes that Anu summon “a certain god” (*ilam ištēn*), that is, any one of his choosing from among the rebels, into the presence of the divine council, which will, implicitly, decide his fate and in doing so establish a new order.

The reading preserved on the Kuyunjik manuscript, *liddūšu*, is open to a similar interpretation. The meaning of *parši nadū* is clear from the myth of Anzū, where the phrase describes the overturning of the natural order that follows Enlil’s involuntary loss of his powers (OB Anzū II 1: $\lceil en-lil-lu-tam i-te-ki-im na-du-ú pa-ar-šu$, “he snatched the Enlilship, the divine regulations were cast down”; cf. SB Anzū I 81: $\lceil en-lil-ú-ta il-te-qé na-du-ú [par-šu]$). In the present context this is perhaps a possible idiom, literally “let them cast down the divine regulations for him.” The natural order of things will be set aside to allow the punishing of one of the rebels, and thereafter re-established.

65. The end of this line also remains uncertain. MS G ii’ 5 probably has *er-še-t(a)* (*CT* 44 20).

66. OB *tukkum* (MS G ii’ 6) is replaced with *dullu*.

67–8. These lines demonstrate that the couplet restored as OB I 180–1 (from SB MS N) is the same as that numbered ll. 188–9 (MS E iii 1’–2’ // MS G ii’ 7–8); with the aid of the new text one can see that the traces at the end of MS E iii 1’ probably read simply $\lceil \lceil šī^1$ (*CT* 46 4; coll.). Though the lacuna between ll. 181 and 188

- is thereby eradicated, in the SB text at least, in the following we retain, for ease of reference, Lambert and Millard's numeration of the lines of OB Tablet I. In l. 68 OB [*šass*]ūru (MS E iii 2') is clumsily replaced with the plural *sassūrātu*.
69. The SB text's *lullā* replaces the difficult word in MS E iii 3' (Lambert: *li-gim?-ma?-a*; von Soden: *li-id-dī-a*); there only *li* and *a* are certain (coll.).
- 71–4. These two couplets are not present in the OB MS E, but they already appear in OB MS G (ii' 9–12).
75. The traces at this point in MS G allow a reading [*il-tam is-s*]ū-^rū¹ [*i-ša-lu*] (G ii' 13 // OB I 192).
76. OB *tabsūt ili* (I 193) is expanded to *šabsūtam Bēlet-ili*.
77. OB *bāni'at awēlūti* (I 194) becomes *bāni'at šimti* (similarly OB III vi 47; Assyrian recension MS S iii 11).
79. Note that the traces on MS G ii' 17–18 can now be read *ši-pi-ir be]-lu-tim* and *ši-pi-ir^de]n-lil*, and so attest to a version of the text in which this wish is expressed by two lines instead of one, after the pattern of ll. 72–3 and MS G ii' 10–11.
81. In the new tablet ^d*ma-ma* replaces MS A's ^d*nin-tu* (OB I 198), but note that another OB edition, represented by BM 22714b, already has ^d*ma-mi* (Lambert, *Mélanges Garelli*, p. 411).
- 82 // 88. SB *aḫḫēšu* replaces OB *rabūti* (I 199 // 205). Cf. below, on SB V 48.
83. This line offers a rare example of an SB line that is simpler than its older counterpart, which is *ittiyāma lā naṭu ana epēši* (OB I 200, MS E). The OB line is rather clumsy, and might have suffered from editorial meddling which did not affect the tradition ancestral to the Sippar tablet.
- 89 // 101. The spelling *e-wa-ar-ḫi* signifies *ew-warḫi* < *ina warḫi*, and one is thus relieved of the need to read [*ka*]/*wa-ar-ḫi* in K 17853 (Lambert, *AfO* 27, p. 74).
92. In the light of *iq-(qē)-er-bi*, one can see that in OB I 209 MS E reads *i + na qē-^rer¹-bi* (CT 46 4, coll.).
- 94 // 106. SB *Bēlet-ili* replaces OB ^d*nin-tu* (I 211 // 226).
97. SB *lipā* replaces older *u₄-mi up-pa* (OB I 214, MSS AE), presumably through a misreading. With this change much of the original meaning is lost. The derivation from *apū*, I/1 precativ, is assured by the narrative *ipā* in l. 109. Hitherto, the only attestation of this verb in the prefix-conjugation of the I/1 stem was the famous line of the Flood Story, *man-za-zu ul i-pa-āš-šim-ma*, “no standing place appeared to it” (SB Gilgameš XI 148 // 151). If we accept that the late version of these lines made sense to their readers, it must be assumed that *lipā* and *ipā* are ventive singular, and that their subject is *eṭemmu* in the following line.
- 100 // 112. Here the SB line is again simpler than its forerunner: *aššu lā muššī eṭemmu* (MS E: *we-ṭe-em-mu*) *libši* // *ibši* (OB I 217 // 230).
- 100–1. Between these lines the new text omits the OB couplet I 218–20.
103. The word *ilam* is a clumsy intrusion into the relative clause, and is evidently misplaced from earlier in the line (cf. OB I 223: ^d*pi-e ila ša išū ṭema*).
104. This line replaces older *ina puhrišunu iṭtabḫū* (OB I 224). The syntax is again in disarray, with the verb *iṭbuḫūšu* intruding into the unity of the possessive construction, *Ellil maḫrītīm* (if *maḫrītīm* seems unconvincing one may read *iṭbuḫūšūma aḫrīti*, but since the plural *maḫrātu* can mean “former times” there seems to us no reason why the singular should not also carry this meaning; cf. the attested analogous pairs *aḫritu* : *aḫrātu*, *arkitu* : *arkātu*, *pānitu* : *pānātu*). The phrase “an Enlil of old”, meaning a god who was once a senior figure but who later lost his position, is comparable with “the Enlils who rebelled” (^d*en.lil.lá^{mes} šá ik-kir-[ú]*) and “the seven conquered Enlils” (^d*en.lil^{mes} ki-šit-ti* // 7 *dingir. dingir^{mes}* (= ^d*il-^{mes}i*) *ki-šit-tu₄*) of mythology, and among these, equated with Anšar, Alla was indeed numbered: see W. G. Lambert, *CRRA* 26, p. 65 (the passages there cited have been recently edited by A. Livingstone, *Mystical Works*, pp. 155, 17; 194; 198, rev. 8).
- If the syntactical disorder of this line is not simply corrupt, we can only suggest that it is intended to highlight the shocking deed retailed. To our knowledge the most obvious parallel is in *Enūma eliš* I 81–2, where the great significance of the event described — the birth of Marduk — induces the poet to repeat the crucial line with an added adjective violating the unity of the possessive construction:
- ina qē-reb apsi(abzu) ib-ba-ni [^dmar]duk*
ina qē-reb elli(kù) apsi(abzu) ib-ba-ni [^dmarduk]
- 107–8. This couplet does not appear in the OB text.
113. SB *ṭiṭāša* (in triptotic declension) replaces OB *ṭiṭa šāti* (I 231).
114. SB *kala Igigi* replaces OB *ili rabūti* (I 232). MS x's *uz-na* may be a mirage. Since Lambert's copy was “given with reserve”, the tablet needs collating for ^d*a]-nun-na-k[i*.

TABLET V

- 3 // 21. We assume that *it-ti-šem-me* is an irregularly written IV/1 perfect, for *ittešme*.
6. The damaged word is surely a verb in the imperative, but without a personal collation of the tablet it is no less problematic than the OB parallel, which seems to be ^r*x-ra²-ni¹-a* (OB I 375, MS A). At the end of the line OB *qereb bitiška* has been transformed for the worse through a misreading of *iš* as *mil*.
- 11–16. K 761, the Babylonian astrological report, submitted to a Neo-Assyrian king by the exorcist Bēl-le'i, that quotes these lines as a rain-making ritual (Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasis*, pp. 27–8), has been republished as *SAA* VIII 461. For ease of reference we give the quotation in full:

- 11 ¹ [d]ad(iškur)-ma ši-'a bāb(ká)-šú
 12 bi-li ú-p[u-un-tú] ² 'a¹-na qu-du-mi-šú
 13 lil-lik-šum-ma ma-[aš-ḥa-tú] ³ ni-qu-ú
 15 ina še-re-e-ti im-ba-ru li-s[á]-a[z-nin]
 16 ⁴ eglu(a.šà) ki-i šar-ra-qu tu-ma-a-mu liš-š[i]

SAA VIII 461, rev. 1–4

- As would be expected, the report agrees closely with the SB text in matters of detail, the only point of disagreement being the rare *epītu* in l. 12, which is discarded in favour of the more common *upuntu*. However, the report omits the line that begins with *lištarriq* (SB II 14 // OB II ii 17–18), perhaps through carelessness.
12. The spelling *we-pi-tam*, apparently for *epītu*, calls to mind MS E's spelling *we-te-em-mu* for MS A's *e-te-em-mu* in OB I 215 and 217. The parallel passage, l. 28, has *pi-i-tam*, which is best explained as the result of haplography.
- 14–15 // 30–1. The order of these lines is inverted in comparison with the OB text, and one line has dropped out, both in the new tablet and in the astrological report: *libāšma ina katrê lišaqqil qāssu* (OB II ii 14–15, MSS BD). The same developments affect the narrative passage SB II 35–7 // OB II ii 27–32, MS D. However, in the parallel passage of narrative which in the OB edition falls at the end of Tablet I, the line has survived in the SB text, as witnessed by the Kuyunjik MS Q obv. 2': *-qil qa-as-su* (CT 46 14).
- 16 // 32 // 38. Whether in the OB text one reads *kima šarrāqitu šu'a* (Lambert) or *kima šarrāqi tušu'a* (von Soden), the quotation in the astrological report and l. 38 of the new tablet indicate that the late understanding of the line is *ki(ma) šarrāqi tūmām(u)* (i.e., *tū'āmu*, see already *AHW*, p. 1364, transliterating *tu-wa₆-a-mu*; cf. *GAG* §21h, and note the similar spelling in the commentary CT 41 43, 54595 obv. 2: *maš.tab.ba = tu-ma-m[u]*). The presence of *tū'āmu* is presumably to be explained by the sometime corruption of the signs *tu-šu-a* into *tu-ma-a* and the need to make sense of this (cf. already von Soden, *CRRA* 17, p. 146).
- 17–33. These lines represent a simple expansion of the older text, based on OB I 385–400.
18. SB has *ab-bitiššu* where the OB parallel reads *ana bābišu* (OB I 386, MS A).
28. For the emendation see the note on l. 12.
34. The new text reads simply *Adad* for OB *ša Adad* (II ii 20), and *bi-ti-šu* for the regular accusative *bissu*. The former change is comparable with the line *Adad ši'a bābšu* (ll. 11 and 27, with OB parallels), but the latter seems to ignore the rules of standard grammar.
- 34–5. Three of the couplets of direct speech, ll. 7–12 // 23–8, are not realized as narrative, as they were in the OB text (OB II ii 21–6, MSS BD). Just as MS D failed to adjust the second person references of the direct speech to third person in the narrative (OB II ii 23–4: *i-li-ku-un, iš-tar-ku-un*), so the later text is also inconsistent, retaining as it does precative forms instead of indicative in ll. 35 and 38.
- 38–9. By comparison both with OB II ii 34: . . . *i-t[e-zi-ib-ši-na-ti* (MS D), and with the OB and SB versions of the parallel earlier in the story (OB I 412; MS Q obv. 3'), between these two lines a third has fallen out, which described the cessation of the ill effects of the drought. The loss of this line leaves the possessive pronouns of the following lines without an explicit antecedent. Since they are 3rd fem. pl., the obvious referent is *nišū*, "people".
39. The new manuscript retains *ittūrū* from the older text (OB II ii 35, MS D, and the parallel OB I 413), though the Kuyunjik source's *it-tū-ru* (MS Q obv. 4') is probably better read *it-tam-ru*, "(their faces) had become cheerful (again)".
42. The recovery of this line enables the restoration of both the SB parallel, MS Q obv. 8', and one of the OB parallels (OB I 351:] *še-er-ra*). However, decipherment of OB I 415, which ought also to be a version of this line, remains elusive. In the Assyrian recension the results produced by famine are expressed with the opposite wording: *rēmu(arḥuš) ku-šur-ma ul ú-še-šir šēr-ra*, "the womb was closed tight and did not bring forth a baby" (MS S iv 61).
43. As noted above, in the OB text the interval that falls between Enlil's fits of desperation is restored by Lambert and Millard as 1200 years; the figure preserved in the late text, both here and probably also in the line corresponding to OB II 1, i.e. MS Q obv. 9', represents multiplication by the curious factor of nine. The exaggeration of the total is unsurprising, but the substitution of two units (OB 2 *nēr* = 1200) by three (SB: 3 *šār* = 10,800) is perhaps less expected. In this respect it is interesting to note that in the OB text the figure is damaged in all three instances on which it occurs: OB I 352 (CT 46 1 vii 19):] *gēš + u mu¹bi.a*; I 416 (viii 2):] *ú¹-ul il-(lī)-ik [x] gēš + u.gēš + u m[u^{bi.a}] // II 1 (BRM I 1, i 1):] *ú¹-ul il-[lī]-ik-m[a² x].gēš + u mu^{bi.a}*. As the sources now stand, it cannot entirely be excluded that, on each occasion, the figure was actually *gēš + u.gēš + u.gēš + u*, i.e., 3 *nēr* = 1800 (one half *šār*). If so, the SB text can be seen simply to have replaced the round number in question (*nēru* = 60 × 10) with the next unit up the sexagesimal scale (*šāru* = 60²), resulting in multiplication by a factor of six rather than nine.*
46. As *itta'dar* indicates, *ilu* is singular despite the plural determinative, and refers of course to Enlil, as it does in the parallel passages of the older text (OB I 355 and II 4). However, the SB parallel exhibits an editorial emendation, *ilū ittardū*, "the gods descended" (MS Q obv. 12'), which removes it further from the OB tradition.
47. This line and its SB parallels (MS Q obv. 13' // Sippar SB IV 1; Assyrian recension MS S iv 4) replace the older *Ellil išteme riḡimšin* (OB I 356 and II 5).

48. SB *mārišu* replaces OB *rabūtīm* (II 6). Cf. above, on SB II 82 // 88.
58. In MS x (Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḥasis*, Pls. 9–10) the reading *lāḥ-m[i-šu]* rather than *šam-m[i-šu]* follows F. Wiggermann, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits. The Ritual Texts* (Groningen, 1992), p. 164.
- 59–60. The line beginning *iššu Eāma*, current in the OB version represented by MS y (l. 10), is missing from the SB text.
61. The phrase *gipar nāri*, which is unsatisfactory in the absence of a preposition, replaces the older *ina šērēti* (OB II iii 6, MS D). It appears to be a corruption stemming from a simple misreading of *ina* and *še* as the sign *gi*, with the rest extemporized.
- 61–2. As was already evident from MS x, between these two lines the SB version omits eight lines of the older text, as it is known from MS D (OB II iii 7–14).
63. OB II iii 16 (MS D) should now be collated for *i-na [mu-ši ni-q]a¹-a-šu iq-qi¹*.
64. The word *x-am-tum* corresponds to MS D's *[x-a-am-ru¹]* (OB II iii 17); in both sources x may be *t* or *u*. What is wanted is a phrase for the resumption of sleep in the second half of the night, but *šittu tu'āmtu* is not an obvious way of expressing such an idea, and the matter must await collation.
65. SB *miṭrati* replaces older *nāri* (OB II iii 18).
66. The SB line represents a slight expansion of the corresponding OB line, in which there is only space for *li-il-q[é-(e)-ma li-b]i-il na-ru* (II iii 19).
67. OB II iii 20–1 can now be seen to yield a single line of poetry: *li-il-[i-ik šu-bu]ul-ti | a-na ma-aḥ-[ri^d en-ki be-ḥi-ia*.
68. OB II iii 22–3: *li-mu-u[r^d en-ki]i | li-iḥ-[su-sa-an-n]i*.
71. SB *ana* (MS x: *ina*) *pūt nāri* replaces older *pūtiš nāri* (OB II iii 26). The end of the line reads differently in the Assyrian recension: *[i-n]a pu-ut nāri(i)d il-ta-kán ma-a-a-al-šu* (MS S v 32).
72. SB *ana* (MS x: *ina*) *pūt* replaces *ina kibri* (OB II iii 27); a reading *ana še-na* is not impossible, though this would not be a conventional way of expressing the idea “for a second time”. In view of the older text we assume *nāri* has been omitted by mistake, because what follows *pūt* must be a verb. This has so far defied decipherment; neither *is-ki-ip-ma* nor *sa-ki-ip-ma* looks possible.
73. SB *ittarad* replaces *ú-[ri-id]* (OB II iii 28).
75. The new tablet reads differently from the older text, which starts *a-na la-aḥ-mi ú-* (OB II iii 30). In MS x Lambert and Millard interpreted the first word as *ibik*, but that does not seem admissible on the Sippar tablet. Either the first or the second word must surely be the antecedent of the pronoun *šunūti*, i.e., Ea's messengers. These are clearly identified as *lahmu*'s in l. 96, but without collation it is not possible to recover *lahmi* from the traces.
76. The Sippar tablet again differs from MS x and the OB text (II iii 31–2), which both knew this line in the expanded form of a couplet.
77. SB *gana ḥumtāma* replaces simple *alkāma* (OB II iii 33).
- 79–81. Compare, later in the SB text, the similar lines relating to another set of divine messengers: *[i-bi-ru] ta-ma-tú ra-pa-áš-tú | [ter-ti^d en]-líl a-na^d é-a ú-šá-an-nu-ú* (MS x rev. ii 7[–]8[–], with J. Klein, *NABU* 1990/99).
95. This line, and slight variants of it, are standard in the literary repertoire; cf. *Enūma eliš* III 69: *uš-ken-ma iš-šiq qaq-qa-ra ma-ḥar-šu-un* (var. *šá-pal-šu-un* from *CT* 13 10); Poor Man of Nippur 73: *[uš¹-kén-[m]a iš-ši-ig qaq-qa-ru ma-ḥar-šu* (*STT* I 38, coll. *STT* II, p. 23).
- 109–10. The couplet differs considerably from both the the OB text (MS D iv 1–3: *e-le-nu-um mi-[...] / ša-ap-li-iš ú-ul [l-li-ka] mi-lu i-na na-aq-b[ī]*) and the Assyrian recension (MS S iv 54–5 and parallels: *e-liš^d adad zu-un-na-šu ú-šá-qir | is-sa-kir šap-liš ul iš-šá-a mi-lu ina na-aq-bi*). The connection between the *šerret šamē* and rain is already known from two sources: a) a passage of the inscription of Agum-kakrime which calls for the king's reign to be blessed with plentiful rain (V R 33, vii 16–21): *šer-re-et šamē(an)^c rap-šu-ti li-ip-pé-ta-šu er-pé-tu zu-un-na [i-šá-az-ni-na-niš-šú?]*, “may the *š*. of the broad heavens open up for him, may the clouds [pour down] rain [on him!]”; b) a line in the Prayer to Marduk No. 2, which praises the god as source of all water (W. G. Lambert, *AJO* 19 (1959–60), p. 61, 9): *[mu-šá-a]z-nin na-al-ši ina šer-ret šá-ma-mi*, “who rains down dew from the *š*. of heaven”. The phrase *šerret šamē* is ambiguous: translated “nose-rope of heaven”, it can denote a cosmic cable (see George, *Topographical Texts*, pp. 256–7), and the dictionaries and others understand these passages in this light. That this is not the right reference in the context of rain, however, is shown by the Sumerian version of the metaphor that occurs in the prayer for prosperity that concludes Lugalzagesi's famous vase inscription (*BE* I 87, iii 27–8: *ubur an.na.ke₄ si ḥa.mu.dab₆.sá*, “may the udder of heaven be well regulated on my account” (see C. Wilcke, *Studies Moran*, p. 502). Accordingly it seems preferable to understand *šerretu* in our passage and the two quoted above as the variant of *šertu*, “teat, udder”, already known from *Enūma eliš* I 85 and *Šumma izbu* Commentary V 376g. The question then arises as to whether any other occurrences of *šerret šamē* should be translated “udder of heaven” rather than “nose-rope of heaven”. The idea that many diseases came down from the *šerret šamē* is known from several related incantations studied by A. Goetze, “An incantation against diseases”, *JCS* 9 (1955), pp. 8–18, esp. p. 14, where the etymology *šrr* should be discarded (the text with the variant *kakkab šamē*, “star of heaven”, is now available as *YOS* XI 8). A belief that disease could be transmitted from heaven by rain is just as plausible a notion, if not more so, than that it descended on a cosmic cable, or from the stars. Indeed, in adding a further variant, *zu-qú-ra-an ša-me-e*, “the heights of heaven”, to the phrases

- collected by Goetze, A. Cavigneaux has reached the same conclusion, and translates *še-re-et ša-me-e* as “mamelles du ciel” (*RA* 88 (1994), p. 159).
- 110–11. Between these lines three lines of the OB text have dropped out, as it is known from MS D II iv 4–6 and the recently published duplicate HE 529 (Groneberg and Durand, *Mélanges Garelli*, pp. 397–410).
- 111–12. The first line of this couplet differs from the older text only in the tense of the verb (*iptešū* v. *ipšū*, MS D II iv 7 // HE 529 obv. 4). The second line is entirely dissimilar (OB: *še-ru pa-ar-ku ma-li id-ra-na*), and compares more closely with a line of the Assyrian recension: *šam-mu ia ú-ša-a šu-ú ia i-im-ru* (MS S iv 49; coll. against *CAD* Š/3, p. 46) // *šam-mu ul ú-ša-a šu-ú ul i'-ru* (iv 59, v 8).
- 113–14. This couplet corresponds to MS D iv 9–10 (coll. Donbaz, *Mélanges Garelli*, p. 398¹²) // HE 529 obv. 6–8: *iš-ti-ta ša-at-tam i-ku-la la-bi-ra | ša-ni-ta ša-at-tam ú-na-ad|t-d|ti-a na-ak-ka-am-ta-am*. The obscure verb of the second line is replaced with the obvious one.
- 115–16. The new text has a couplet that is closer to the Assyrian recension (MS S v 13–14 and parallel passage vi 2–3), which differs only in interpolating *ni-šu* at the beginning of the second line, than the Old Babylonian, as read by Groneberg: *ša-lu-uš-tum ša-at-tum il-li-ka-am-ma | i-na bu-bu-tim zi-mu-ši-na ras.? wa'-at-ru* (D iv 11–12 // HE 529 obv. 9–10). There the phrase *zimū watrū* strikes us as odd; should the verb instead be *in-na-ad-ru*, “their faces became grey (with sickness)”⁵¹? Such a translation would be suggested by the apparent contrast in *Sakikku* IX 39–41 between *pānū adrū* (with *CAD* A/1, p. 104) and *pānū šalmū*, “(If his) face looks well” (Labat, *TDP*, p. 74).

APPENDIX: ADDENDUM TO *IRAQ* 57

The accompanying photograph (Fig. 18) of the top edge of IM 124648, the Sippar library manuscript of *Lugale* I, should have been reproduced in F. N. H. Al-Rawi's article “Tablets from the Sippar Library IV. *Lugale*”, *Iraq* 57 (1995), pp. 199–223.⁵¹ The photograph shows the tablet in an incomplete state, before the rejoining of the top-left corner, as will be clear from a glance at the photographs of the obverse and reverse of IM 124648 in *Iraq* 57, pp. 201 and 203. Accordingly, not all the colophon can be read from Fig. 18, but the photograph is published here for the sake of record.



Fig. 18 IM 124648, top edge: catch-line (SB *Lugale* 46) and colophon.

⁵¹ Correct the printer's error on p. 220, l. 599: for ‘ri’ read ‘i’.