Ancient Near Eastern Texts
Relating to the Old Testament
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# Contents

**THIRD EDITION WITH SUPPLEMENT**

## Introduction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>xix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to the Third Edition</td>
<td>xxv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>677</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## I. Myths, Epics, and Legends

### Egyptian Myths, Tales, and Mortuary Texts (John A. Wilson)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creation and Myths of Origins</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Creation by Atum</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another Version of the Creation by Atum</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Theology of Memphis</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Repulsing of the Dragon and the Creation</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Men Created Equal in Opportunity</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thebes as the Place of Creation</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Assignment of Functions to Thoth</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Primeval Establishment of Order</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mythological Origin of Certain Unclean Animals</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deliverance of Mankind from Destruction</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heroic Tales—Exploits of Gods and Human Beings</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Repulsing of the Dragon</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The God and His Unknown Name of Power</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Contest of Horus and Seth for the Rule</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astarte and the Tribute of the Sea</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of Si-nuhe</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Taking of Joppa</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of Two Brothers</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Journey of Wen-Amon to Phoenicia</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Legend of the Possessed Princess</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tradition of Seven Lean Years in Egypt</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortuary Texts: Life after Death</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Conquest of Death</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Fields of Paradise</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Good Fortune of the Dead</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Protestation of Guiltlessness</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTENTS

SUMERIAN MYTHS AND EPIC TALES (S. N. Kramer)

Enki and Ninhursag: a Paradise Myth 37
Dumuzi and Enkimdu: the Dispute between the Shepherd-God and the Farmer-God 41
The Deluge 42
Gilgamesh and Agga 44
Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living 47
The Death of Gilgamesh 50
Inanna’s Descent to the Nether World 52
The Duties and Powers of the Gods: Inscription on the Statue of King Kurigalzu 57

AKKADIAN MYTHS AND EPICS 60

The Creation Epic (E. A. Speiser) 60
The Creation Epic—Additions to Tablets V-VII (A. K. Grayson) 501
The Epic of Gilgamesh (E. A. Speiser) 72
The Epic of Gilgamesh—Notes and Additions (A. K. Grayson) 593
Creation of Man by the Mother Goddess (E. A. Speiser) 99
A Cosmological Incantation: The Worm and the Toothache (E. A. Speiser) 100
Adapa (E. A. Speiser) 101
Nergal and Ereshkigal (E. A. Speiser) 103
Nergal and Ereshkigal—Additions (A. K. Grayson) 597
Atrahasis (E. A. Speiser) 104
Atrahasis—Additional Texts (A. K. Grayson) 512
Descent of Ishtar to the Nether World (E. A. Speiser) 106
A Vision of the Nether World (E. A. Speiser) 109
The Myth of Zu (E. A. Speiser) 111
The Myth of Zu (A. K. Grayson) 514
Etana (E. A. Speiser) 114
Etana—Additions (A. K. Grayson) 517
The Legend of Sargon (E. A. Speiser) 119
A Babylonian Theogony (A. K. Grayson) 517

HITTITE MYTHS, EPICS, AND LEGENDS (Albrecht Goetze) 120

The Moon that Fell from Heaven 120
Kingship in Heaven 120
The Song of Ullikummis 121
The Myth of Illuyankas 125
The Telepinus Myth 126
El, Ashertu and the Storm-god 519

UGARITIC MYTHS, EPICS, AND LEGENDS (H. L. Ginsberg) 129

Poems about Baal and Anath 129
II. LEGAL TEXTS

COLLECTIONS OF LAWS FROM MESOPOTAMIA AND ASIA MINOR

The Laws of Ur-Nammu (J. J. Finkelstein) 159
Sumerian Laws, YBC 2177 (J. J. Finkelstein) 523
The Edict of Ammisaduqa (J. J. Finkelstein) 526
Lipit-Ishtar Lawcode (S. N. Kramer) 159
The Laws of Eshnunna (Albrecht Goetze) 161
The Code of Hammurabi (Theophile J. Meek) 163
The Middle Assyrian Laws (Theophile J. Meek) 180
The Hittite Laws (Albrecht Goetze) 188
The Neo-Babylonian Laws (Theophile J. Meek) 197

EGYPTIAN AND HITTITE TREATIES

Egyptian Treaty (John A. Wilson) 199
Treaty between the Hittites and Egypt 199
Hittite Treaties (Albrecht Goetze) 201
Treaty between Hattusilis and Ramses II 201
Treaty between Mursilis and Duppi-Tessub of Amurru 203
God List, Blessings and Curses of the Treaty between Suppiluliumas and Mattiwaza 205
Treaty of Suppiluliumas and Aziras of Amurru 529

AKKADIAN TREATIES FROM SYRIA AND ASSYRIA (Erica Reiner)

Treaty between Niqmepa of Alalakh and Ir-4IM of Tunip 531
Treaty between Idrimi and Pilliya 532
Treaty between Ashurnirari V of Assyria and Mati'ilu of Arpad 532
Treaty of Esarhaddon with Baal of Tyre 533
The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon 534

HITTITE INSTRUCTIONS (Albrecht Goetze)

Instructions for Palace Personnel to Insure the King's Purity 207
Instructions for Temple Officials 207
From the Instructions for the Commander of the Border Guards 210

DOCUMENTS FROM THE PRACTICE OF LAW

Egyptian Documents (John A. Wilson) 212
A Royal Decree of Temple Privilege 212
The Vizier of Egypt 212
### III. HISTORICAL TEXTS

**EGYPTIAN HISTORICAL TEXTS (John A. Wilson)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brief Texts of the Old Kingdom</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asiatic Campaigns under Pepi I</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Kingdom Egyptian Contacts with Asia</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Egyptian Mines in Sinai</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Inscription of Khu-Sebek, Called Djaa</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asiatics in Egyptian Household Service</td>
<td>553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hyksos in Egypt</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The War against the Hyksos</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The War against the Hyksos (Continued)</td>
<td>554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Expulsion of the Hyksos</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Asiatic Campaigns of Thut-mose III</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lists of Asiatic Countries under the Egyptian Empire</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Trip to the Lebanon for Cedar</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharaoh as a Sportsman</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Asiatic Campaigning of Amen-hotep II</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Syrian Captive Colony in Thebes</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTENTS

Scenes of Asiatic Commerce in Theban Tombs ........................................ 248
The Egyptians and the Gods of Asia .................................................... 249
Texts from the Tomb of General Hor-em-heb ........................................ 250
Tut-ankh-Amon's Restoration after the Amarna Revolution ..................... 251
The Era of the City of Tanis .................................................................. 252
A Campaign of Seti I in Northern Palestine ........................................... 253
Campaigns of Seti I in Asia .................................................................. 254
Beth-Shan Stelae of Seti I and Ramses II .............................................. 255
The Asiatic Campaigning of Ramses II .................................................. 255
The Journal of a Frontier Official ......................................................... 258
The Report of a Frontier Official ........................................................... 259
The Pursuit of Runaway Slaves ............................................................. 259
A Syrian Interregnum ......................................................................... 260
From the Lists of Ramses III ................................................................. 260
The War against the Peoples of the Sea ................................................ 262
The Megiddo Ivories .............................................................................. 263
The Campaign of Sheshonk I ................................................................. 263

BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN HISTORICAL TEXTS (A. Leo Oppenheim) .... 265

Texts from the Beginnings to the First Dynasty of Babylon ...................... 265
  Historiographic Documents .................................................................. 265
    The Sumerian King List .................................................................. 265
    The "Sargon Chronicle" .................................................................. 266
  Historical Documents ......................................................................... 267
    Sargon of Agade .............................................................................. 267
    Naram-Sin in the Cedar Mountain ................................................. 268
    Gudea, ensi of Lagash .................................................................... 268

Texts from Hammurabi to the Downfall of the Assyrian Empire ............... 269
  Historiographic Documents ................................................................ 269
    List of Date Formulae of the Reign of Hummurabi ......................... 269
    List of Year Names: Samsuiluna, King of Babylon ......................... 271
    The Babylonian King List B ......................................................... 271
    The Babylonian King List A ........................................................... 272
    The Synchronistic Chronicle ......................................................... 272
    Excerpts from the Lists of Assyrian Eponyms ................................. 274
    The Assyrian King List .................................................................. 274
  Historical Documents ......................................................................... 274
    Shamshi-Adad I (about 1726-1694): First Contact with the West ....... 274
CONTENTS

The Dedication of the Shamash Temple by Yahdun-Lim 556
The Story of Idrimi, King of Alalakh 557
Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076): Expeditions to Syria, the Lebanon, and the Mediterranean Sea 274
Ashurnasirpal II (883-859): Expedition to Carchemish and the Lebanon 275
The Banquet of Ashurnasirpal II 558
Shalmaneser III (858-824): The Fight against the Aramean Coalition 276
Adad-nirari III (810-783): Expedition to Palestine 281
Tiglath-pileser III (744-727): Campaigns against Syria and Palestine 282
Sargon II (721-705): The Fall of Samaria 284
Sennacherib (704-681) 287
Esarhaddon (680-669) 289
Ashurbanipal (668-633) 294

The Neo-Babylonian Empire and its Successors 301

Historiographic Documents 301
Text from the First Year of Belibni to the Accession Year of Shamashshumukin 301
Text from the First Year of Esarhaddon to the First Year of Shamashshumukin 303
Text from the Tenth to the Seventeenth Year of Nabopolassar: Events Leading to the Fall of Nineveh 303
Text from the Accession Year of Nabodinus to the Fall of Babylon 305
The Uruk King List from Kandalanu to Seleucus II 566
A Seleucid King List 566

Historical Documents 307
Nebuchadnezzar II (605-562) 307
The Conquest of Jerusalem 563
Nabonidus (555-539) 308
The Mother of Nabodinus 560
Nabonidus and his God 562
Cyrus (557-529) 315
Xerxes (485-465) 316
Antiochus Soter (280-262/1) 317

Hittite Historical Texts (Albrecht Goetze) 318
Suppiluliumas Destroys the Kingdom of Mitanni 318
Suppiluliumas and the Egyptian Queen 319
Hattusilis on Muwatallis’ War against Egypt 319

Palestinian Inscriptions (W. F. Albright) 320
The Gezer Calendar 320
The Moabite Stone 320
The Ostraca of Samaria 321
### CONTENTS

1. The Siloam Inscription 321
2. The Lachish Ostraca 321
3. A Letter from the Time of Josiah 568
4. Three Ostraca from Arad 568

### IV. RITUALS, INCANTATIONS, AND DESCRIPTIONS OF FESTIVALS

#### EGYPTIAN RITUALS AND INCANTATIONS (John A. Wilson) 325
- A Ritual for Offering Food 325
- The Daily Ritual in the Temple 325
- Circumcision in Egypt 326
- Charms against Snakes 326
- Curses and Threats 326
- Magical Protection for a Child 328
- The Execration of Asiatic Princes 328
- Religious Drama in Egypt 329

#### AKKADIAN RITUALS (A. Sachs) 331
- Temple Program for the New Year’s Festival at Babylon 331
- Ritual to be Followed by the Kalū-Priest when Covering the Temple Kettle-Drum 334
- Temple Ritual for the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Days of an Unknown Month at Uruk 338
- Ritual for the Repair of a Temple 339
- Program of the Pageant of the Statue of the God Anu at Uruk 342
- Daily Sacrifices to the Gods of the City of Uruk 343

#### HITTITE RITUALS, INCANTATIONS, AND DESCRIPTION OF FESTIVAL (Albrecht Goetze) 346
- Ritual for the Purification of God and Man 346
- Ritual to Counteract Sorcery 347
- Ritual against Pestilence 347
- Purification Ritual Engaging the Help of Protective Demons 348
- Ritual against Impotence 349
- Ritual against Domestic Quarrel 350
- Evocatio 351
- The Soldiers’ Oath 353
- Ritual before Battle 354
- Removal of the Threat Implied in an Evil Omen 355
- Ritual for the Erection of a House 356
- Ritual for the Erection of a New Palace 357
- The Festival of the Warrior-God 358
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**V. HYMNS AND PRAYERS**

**EGYPTIAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS** (John A. Wilson)  
365
- A Hymn to Amon-Re  
365
- A Universalist Hymn to the Sun  
367
- Amon as the Sole God  
368
- The God Amon as Healer and Magician  
369
- The Hymn to the Aton  
369
- Hymns to the Gods as a Single God  
371
- Hymn to the Nile  
372
- The Hymn of Victory of Thut-mose III  
373
- From Amen-hotep III’s Building Inscription  
375
- Hymn of Victory of Mer-ne-Ptah (The “Israel Stela”)  
376
- Joy at the Accession of Mer-ne-Ptah  
378
- Joy at the Accession of Ramses IV  
378
- A Prayer of Thoth  
379
- A Prayer to Re-Har-akhti  
379
- A Prayer for Help in the Law Court  
380
- Gratitude for a God’s Mercy  
380
- A Penitential Hymn to a Goddess  
381

**SUMERIAN PETITION** (S. N. Kramer)  
382
- Petition to a King  
382

**SUMERIAN HYMNS** (S. N. Kramer)  
573
- Hymn to Enlil, the All-Beneficent  
573
- Hymn to Enlil as the Ruling Deity of the Universe  
576
- Hymn to Ninurta as God of Vegetation  
576
- Hymn to Ninurta as a God of Wrath  
577
- Ishkur and the Destruction of the Rebellious Land  
577
- Self-Laudatory Hymn of Inanna and Her Omnipotence  
578

xii
CONTENTS

Hymnal Prayer of Enheduanna: The Adoration of Inanna in Ur 579
Hymn to the Ekur 582
Ur-Nammu Hymn: Building of the Ekur and Blessing by Enlil 583
The King of the Road: A Self-Laudatory Shulgi Hymn 584

HITTITE PRAYERS (Albrecht Goetze) 393
Prayer of Pudu-hepas to the Sun-Goddess of Arinna and her Circle 393
Plague Prayers of Mursilis 394
Daily Prayer of the King 396
Prayer to be Spoken in an Emergency 397
Prayer of Arnuwandas and Asnu-Nikkal Concerning the Ravages Inflicted on Hittite Cult-Centers 399
Prayer of Kantuzilis for Relief from his Sufferings 400

VI. DIDACTIC AND WISDOM LITERATURE

FABLES AND DIDACTIC TALES 405
Egyptian Didactic Tales (John A. Wilson) 405
A Dispute over Suicide 405
The Protests of the Eloquent Peasant 407

Akkadian Fable 410
Dispute between the Date Palm and the Tamarisk (Robert H. Pfeiffer) 410
Dispute between the Tamarisk and the Date Palm (Robert D. Biggs) 592

PROVERBS AND PRECEPTS 412
Egyptian Instructions (John A. Wilson) 412
The Instruction of the Vizier Ptah-hotep 412
The Instruction for King Meri-ka-Re 414
The Instruction of King Amen-em-het 418
The Instruction of Prince Hor-dedef 419
The Instruction of Ani 420
The Instruction of Amen-em-Opet 421

Akkadian Proverbs and Counsels 425
Proverbs (Robert H. Pfeiffer) 425
Proverbs (Robert D. Biggs) 593
The Instructions of Shuruppak (Robert D. Biggs) 594
Counselling of Wisdom (Robert H. Pfeiffer) 426
Counselling of Wisdom (Robert D. Biggs) 595

Aramaic Proverbs and Precepts (H. L. Ginsberg) 427
The Words of Ahiqar 427

xiii
CONTENTS

Observations on Life and the World Order

Egyptian Observations (John A. Wilson)

The Divine Attributes of Pharaoh
In Praise of Learned Scribes
The Satire on the Trades

Sumerian Wisdom Text (S. N. Kramer)

Man and his God: A Sumerian Variation of the "Job" Motif

Akkadian Observations on Life and the World Order

"I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom" (Robert H. Pfeiffer)
Ludlul Bél Némeqi, "I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom" (Robert D. Biggs)
A Pessimistic Dialogue between Master and Servant (Robert H. Pfeiffer)
The Dialogue of Pessimism (Robert D. Biggs)
A Dialogue about Human Misery (Robert H. Pfeiffer)
The Babylonian Theodicy (Robert D. Biggs)

Oracles and Prophecies

Egyptian Oracles and Prophecies (John A. Wilson)
The Admonitions of Ipu-wer
The Prophecy of Nefer-rohu
The Divine Nomination of Thut-mose III
The Divine Nomination of an Ethiopian King
A Divine Oracle through Visible Sign
A Divine Oracle through a Dream

Akkadian Oracles and Prophecies
An Old Babylonian Oracle from Uruk (Robert D. Biggs)
Oracles Concerning Esarhaddon (Robert H. Pfeiffer)
Oracles Concerning Esarhaddon (Robert D. Biggs)
A Letter to Ashurbanipal (Robert H. Pfeiffer)
A Letter to Ashurbanipal (Robert D. Biggs)
Oracle of Ninlil Concerning Ashurbanipal (Robert H. Pfeiffer)
An Oracularch Dream Concerning Ashurbanipal (Robert H. Pfeiffer)
An Oracular Dream Concerning Ashurbanipal (Robert D. Biggs)
Prophecies (Robert H. Pfeiffer)
Prophecies (Robert D. Biggs)

VII. LAMENTATIONS

Sumerian Lamentations (S. N. Kramer)

Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur
Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur
CONTENTS

VIII. SECULAR SONGS AND POEMS

EGYPTIAN SECULAR SONGS AND POEMS (John A. Wilson) 467
A Song of the Harper 467
Love Songs 467
Songs of the Common People 469
In Praise of the City Ramses 470

IX. LETTERS

AN EGYPTIAN LETTER (John A. Wilson) 475
A Satirical Letter 475
A SUMERIAN LETTER (S. N. Kramer) 480
Letter of King Ibbi-Sin 480
AKKADIAN LETTERS (W. F. Albright) 482
The Mari Letters 482
The Amarna Letters 483
AKKADIAN LETTERS (William L. Moran, S.J.) 623
Divine Revelations (Appendix k-x) 623
The Substitute King 626
A Happy Reign 626
A Royal Decree of Equity 627
A Letter to a God 627
Punishment by Fire 627
Treaties and Coalitions (a-b) 628
"The God of my Father" 628
A Loan between Gentlemen 629
A Boy to his Mother 629
Divine Revelations (Appendix, k-x) 629

ARAMAIC LETTERS (H. L. Ginsberg) 491
Letters of the Jews in Elephantine 491
Assignment to a New Lessor of Land Abandoned in the Egyptian Rebellion of 410 B.C. 633
(For letters in Hebrew see the Lachish Ostraca, pp. 321-322)

X. MISCELLANEOUS TEXTS

EGYPTIAN TEXTS (John A. Wilson) 495
The Authority of Ancient Documents 495
The Interpretation of Dreams 495
CONTENTS

SUMERIAN SACRED MARRIAGE TEXTS (S. N. Kramer) 637
  Dumuzi and Inanna: Pride of Pedigree 637
  Dumuzi and Inanna: Love in the Gipar 638
  Dumuzi and Inanna: Courting, Marriage, and Honeymoon 638
  Dumuzi and Inanna: The Ecstasy of Love 639
  Inanna and the King: Blessing on the Wedding Night 640
  Dumuzi and Inanna: Prayer for Water and Bread 641
  Dumuzi and Inanna: Prosperity in the Palace 642
  "Lettuce is my Hair": A Love-Song for Shu-Sin 644
  "Life is your Coming": The King as Brother and Son-in-law 644
  "The Honey-man": Love-Song to a King 645
  "Set me Free, my Sister": The Sated Lover 645

SUMERIAN MISCELLANEOUS TEXTS (S. N. Kramer) 646
  The Curse of Agade: The Ekur Avenged 646
  Ua-uaa: A Sumerian Lullaby 651

SUMERIAN LOVE SONG (S. N. Kramer) 496
  Love Song to a King 496

HITTITE OMEN (Albrecht Goetze) 497
  Investigating the Anger of the Gods 497

CANANITE AND ARAMAIC INSCRIPTIONS (Franz Rosenthal) 653
  Building Inscriptions 653
    Yehimilk of Byblos 653
    Azitawadda of Adana 653
    Kilamuwa of Y'dy-Sam'al 654
    Barrakab of Y'dy-Sam'al 655
  Cultic Inscriptions 655
    Ben-Hadad of Damascus 655
    Kilamuwa of Y'dy-Sam'al 655
    Zakir of Hamat and Lu'ath 655
    Yehawmilk of Byblos 656
    The Marseilles Tariff 656
    The Carthage Tariff 657
    The King of Kedar 657
    Punic Ex-voto Inscriptions 658
  Incantations 658
    The Amulet from Arslan Tash 658
    The Uruk Incantation 658
# CONTENTS

Political Documents 659  
The Treaty between *KTK* and Arpad 659  
Sepulchral Inscriptions 661  
Ahiram of Byblos 661  
Agbar, Priest of the Moon-god in Nerab 661  
Tabnit of Sidon 662  
Eshmun'azar of Sidon 662  
SOUTH-ARABIAN INSCRIPTIONS (A. Jamme, W.F.) 663  
Sabaean Inscriptions 663  
Minaean Inscriptions 665  
Qatabanian Inscriptions 667  
Hadrami Inscriptions 669  

X1. SUPPLEMENT 671  

ADDENDA 683  
Index of Biblical References 683  
Index of Names 687  

xvii
Introduction

The ancient Near East, until about a century ago, had as its chief witness the text of the Hebrew Bible. Relatively insignificant was the evidence recovered from sources outside the Bible; that which had been found had not been sufficiently understood to serve as a reliable historical source. Through explorations and excavations carried on within the last century in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and Syria, a wealth of new information has become available. This new light from extrabiblical texts has served not only to enlarge immeasurably the horizon for a knowledge of the ancient Near East, but it has also sharpened considerably the understanding of the content of the Bible itself. Not infrequently has an interest in biblical history and literature led those who pursued it into fields of discovery which have had far-reaching significance for humanistic studies in general. Hitherto unknown languages with considerable literatures have been the by-products of activity begun by those interested primarily in biblical research. The results of the labor of those whose interest led them beyond the narrower confines have now become the tools of all biblical scholars.

The purpose of this work is to make available to students of the ancient Near East—serious students of the Old Testament, we believe, are necessarily such—the most important extrabiblical texts in translations which represent the best understanding which present-day scholarship has achieved. Many of the relevant texts have been hitherto accessible only in obscure and highly technical journals. Some have been circulated widely in translations which represent a stage of understanding now happily superseded by more thorough study. Yet other texts included here have not hitherto been published in translation into a modern language.

This is not the first attempt of its kind. Extrabiblical sources have long been considered important for an understanding of the Hebrew Bible. Almost three centuries ago, John Spencer, Master of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, sought to interpret the ritual laws of the Hebrews in the light of the relevant material from Egypt, Greece, and Rome. As early as 1714, Hadrian Reland of Utrecht published his monumental work on Palestinian geography, in which he recognized the importance of the monuments for biblical study. W. Robertson Smith and Julius Wellhausen, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, found in the literature of Arabia a point of vantage for a better understanding of biblical customs and institutions.

The importance of Assyriology for biblical studies was widely heralded through the spectacular announcements of George Smith. In a paper read before the Society of Biblical Archaeology on December 3, 1872, Smith gave translations from the Assyrian account of the flood and predicted that “we may expect many other discoveries throwing light on these ancient periods.” Two years later he described the fragments of an extrabiblical account of creation in a letter to the London Daily Telegraph. These sensational announcements served to create interest among biblical scholars in the science of Assyriology, as well as to elicit popular support for further excavation and research.

At about the same time that England was becoming aware of the significance of cuneiform studies, Eberhard Schrader published his Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament (1872), a work which enjoyed the popularity of successive editions in German and an English translation. Schrader’s arrangement of the relevant cuneiform material was in the form of a commentary upon the canonical books. Later, H. Winckler published a textbook of the cuneiform inscriptions illustrating the biblical material; this appeared in three editions.

1 De legibus Hebraeorum ritualibus et eorum rationibus (Cambridge, 1685).
2 Palaestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata.
3 Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia (1885).
4 Reste arabischen Heidentums (1887).
5 Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, ii (1873), 213-234.
6 March 4, 1875.
8 Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum alten Testament (Leipzig, 1892, 1903, 1909).
INTRODUCTION

In the same year in which the third edition of Winckler's textbook appeared, Hugo Gressmann published his *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum alten Testament* (1909). As general editor, Gressmann was responsible for the choice of the pictures and the accompanying descriptions; A. Ungnad and H. Ranke translated the texts. Ranke's translations of the Egyptian texts marked the first important collection of Egyptian material made with special reference to the Old Testament. Gressmann, in his general introduction to the work, emphasized the goals of objectivity and completeness. The translations should serve, he maintained, not only for comparison and illustration, but for contrast. This cooperative enterprise was successful, in that this work quickly became a standard work of reference for biblical scholars. By 1926 the discoveries of new texts and the improved understanding of old ones warranted an entirely new edition of Gressmann's *Texte und Bilder*. The quantity of translations was almost doubled. Ranke translated the Egyptian texts; E. Ebeling was responsible for the Babylonian-Assyrian ones; Gressmann offered the North Semitic inscriptions and papyri; and N. Rhodokanakis translated a selection of South Arabic inscriptions. This work has remained until now as the most useful collection of extrabiblical material bearing upon the Old Testament. For the service rendered to French readers, mention should be made of Charles-F. Jean, *La littérature des Babyloniens et des Assyriens* (Paris, 1924), where many of the relevant texts are translated. A more popular treatment of the significance of the extrabiblical material appeared in A. Jeremias, *Das alt Testaments im Lichte des alten Orients*, which first appeared in 1904. This book appeared in four German editions and in a two-volume translation into English.¹⁰

R. W. Rogers was the first to assemble and to present in English translation a collection of the cuneiform texts bearing upon the Old Testament. In 1912 there appeared his *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, in which the available material was given in transliteration and translation; a second edition appeared in 1926. Even more widely used by English-speaking students of the Bible was G. A. Barton's *Archaeology and the Bible*, which first appeared in 1916, containing in Part II a generous selection of translations of Near Eastern texts, those from cuneiform having been translated by Barton himself. The translations were interspersed with notes calling attention to the biblical parallels. Barton revised this book periodically, bringing in new texts as they appeared; the seventh edition was published in 1937. Invaluable service has been rendered by this popular book in making widely known the epigraphic material which is of importance for biblical study. For English translations of Egyptian literature, students have been able to make use of the works of J. H. Breasted,¹¹ A. Erman,¹² and T. E. Peet.¹³

The embarrassing wealth of comparative material from the ancient Near East has made the task of selecting texts for the present volume a difficult one. Two criteria have been used in choosing the material. First, an attempt has been made to include those texts which have, from time to time, been cited in recognized commentaries as parallel to, or illustrative of, certain passages in the Old Testament. Frequently the appearance of a biblical name has been the criterion for inclusion. In other cases a treatment of a biblical theme by the writer of a text has occasioned the selection. In yet other instances a text has been included because it is representative of a type of literature—such as prayer, lamentation, ritual—which figures prominently in the Old Testament. In no case does the selection of a text commit the editor or the translator to a particular view with regard to the relationship of a biblical passage to extrabiblical material. Secondly, an attempt has been made in selecting texts for this volume to give representative types of literary expression from each of the linguistic and cultural areas of the ancient Near East. This standard has arisen out of a desire to give as broad an interpretation as possible to parallels. Relationships of the Israelites to their neigh-

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¹⁰ Bildet appeared in 1927.
¹² Ancient Records of Egypt, 1v (Chicago, 1906-07); Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt (New York, 1913); The Dawn of Conscience (New York, 1934).
¹³ The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians, translated into English by A. M. Blackman (London, 1927).
bors can be seen to best advantage only when there is a fairly comprehensive picture of the neighbors. Thus there has been attempted a fair sampling of the extant literature from quarters contiguous to Palestine. This broader selection of materials serves yet another purpose: it makes the collection of use to students of other phases of the history of the ancient Near East.

While this is the largest collection of translations of texts relating to the Old Testament yet made, two practical considerations have limited our attainment of the goal of a truly representative selection. First, the accidents of discovery have frequently—to judge from past experience—presented anything but a representative sampling of the epigraphic material of a particular culture. Thus it may well be that certain types of literary expression from a given area have turned up in abundance, while other types of texts remain either entirely unrepresented, or with but few examples. In appraising any area or period one must keep in mind the real possibility that the sampling obtained from excavations may not necessarily be representative. Secondly, the availability of competent scholars, who could give useful translations of the known texts, has limited at a few points the selection offered in this volume. Certain areas are represented by only a few examples of texts because of the limitations which other duties or interests imposed on the scholars best equipped to make trustworthy translations. No compromise in the quality of translation was considered worth making in the interest of achieving the ideal of a completely representative selection. It should be noted, however, that the number of competent scholars who have contributed to this project is several times more than that of those who have engaged hitherto in such an undertaking.

Particularly baffling has been the problem of selecting Babylonian and Assyrian historical texts. Obviously the more important records of Babylonian and Assyrian kings mentioned in the Old Testament should be included—particularly those texts which describe campaigns conducted in Palestine and Syria. The reference in a text to a place or person known from the Bible often has been the criterion for inclusion. This selection with its index should place within ready reach the cuneiform texts containing geographical information about Syro-Palestine as it was recorded by the royal scribes of the invaders from Mesopotamia. While no claim is made for an exhaustive listing of the Palestinian place names in the records from Mesopotamia, one may expect to find here the more important references found in the texts preserved from each of the major periods of Mesopotamian history from the beginning down through the early part of the third century B.C.

In addition to the specifically historical material there has been included for each major period of Mesopotamian history a representative selection of historiographic documents, as illustrations of the methods employed by the chroniclers of the names of kings, the years, and the important events in history. These texts, while obviously not relevant to the content of the Old Testament, have been considered important as background material, throwing light upon the methods of ancient historical science.

While Gressmann's *Altorientalische Texte zum alten Testament* has served as a basis for discussion in the making of the present choice, the selection is a new one. The editor has had the cooperation of the contributors in this task. He, rather than they, must shoulder the final responsibility for the choice made. References are frequently given to significant discussions of the relationship of the texts to biblical passages in order that the student may form his own opinion of the relation of Israel to the surrounding world. The references in the footnotes to biblical material are intended to help the honest student, not to cajole him. It is hoped that this volume of translations, intended primarily for students of the Old Testament, will serve to give a perspective for a better understanding of the likenesses and the differences which existed between Israel and the surrounding cultures.

The arrangement of the texts is according to literary types. The advantage of this order over that followed by Gressmann was first suggested by Professor Ferris J. Stephens: the greatest number of readers will approach this work from an interest in the Old Testament rather than primarily from an interest in one of the other linguistic or cultural areas. For those whose interest is regional or linguistic, there has been compiled a second table of contents listing the texts according to languages.

The form of the presentation of each text aims at supplying the reader with the greatest amount
INTRODUCTION

of help within the least possible space. Brief introductions are given, as a rule, to the translations. They are calculated to supply, when available, the following information: a title which indicates something of the contents of the text, the provenience, the date of composition and of the actual writing of the particular text translated, the original or official publication, important translations, references to important discussions or commentaries, and other bibliographical references which might be useful to the reader. In some cases, where the contents of the text are very obscure, a brief note of interpretation has been added. An attempt has been made to keep the introductions brief so that as many texts as possible could be included in the volume. The introduction to the text and the annotations printed in the footnotes are the work of the translator whose name appears at the beginning of the section.

The general form of citation and of reference claims only the authority of general usage. At many points, what prevails as general usage in a particular discipline has been surrendered in the interest of consistency throughout the volume. Only in rare instances could the editor find such ancient authority for his demands as in the case of the numbering of every tenth line of poetry, a practice to be seen, for example, in certain cuneiform texts. More frequently he has had to adopt a rule and adhere to it, in spite of the good-natured taunts of the contributors. In the interest of readability the text of the translation proper has been kept as free as possible from diacritics. Normalized spellings of proper names have been employed within the translations. This means, for example, that proper names from cuneiform sources have the simple h for the ħ, to which cuneiformists are accustomed. Thus, every ħ in proper names from cuneiform texts, except those preceded by s, represents the ħ. Also, in the normalization of proper names the ḫ is rendered as sh. Unless some serious misunderstanding is likely to result, the differences between s and š, t and ẖ, are not indicated in proper names appearing in the translations. The name of the Assyrian god Asur has been normalized to Ashur, despite the fact that this form so widely used in English publications does not indicate the doubling of the š. Italics within the translations have been used for two purposes: first, to designate a doubtful translation of a known text; secondly, to indicate transliterations. While this second use of italics has been the general rule, in some cases it was necessary to differentiate the languages in transliterations. Here practices prevailing in the particular discipline to which the text belongs have been followed. For example, in texts where it was necessary to indicate that the transliteration was Sumerian, letter-spaced Roman was used; italic was used for the Akkadian; small capitals were used to indicate the ideogram or the cuneiform sign. In transliterations of Akkadian words diacritics have been omitted from all determinatives (indicated by superior letters).

Square brackets have been used for restorations; round brackets (parentheses) indicate interpolations made by the translator for a better understanding of the translation. Obvious scribal omissions have been placed between triangular brackets; braces indicate instances of scribal repetition of material. In the translations from Ugaritic, half square brackets have been used to designate a text which has been partly restored.

A lacuna has been indicated by three dots; in case the lacuna comes before a final sentence dot, four dots appear. Following customary usage in some disciplines, a lacuna in which the text is wholly damaged or missing has been indicated in some translations by three dots enclosed within square brackets. The length of a long broken portion of text has sometimes been indicated by the translator with a statement within parentheses. Short breaks generally have not been indicated as to length; three dots may thus mean a break from as little as one sign or symbol to entire lines or passages. It has been assumed that readers who could make effective use of the information concerning the length of the missing portion of the text would be likely to have access to the original text or its transliteration.

References to the tablets, columns, lines of the text have been given usually in parentheses either within the translation, as in prose, or in the right-hand margin, when the form is poetry. Capital Roman numerals indicate the number of the tablet or some other well-recognized division; lower-

14 e.g. CT, xii (1901), 14-15; K 13,761 (King, STC, i, 164).

xxii
INTRODUCTION

case Roman numerals have been used for columns; Arabic numerals indicate the line or lines. The Egyptian hieratic texts often used rubrics for emphasis or punctuation: passages in red ink, where the general context was in black ink. The translations of these texts use small-capital letters to indicate such rubrics.

It is a source of considerable pride that there have been eleven translators who have cooperated to produce this volume. Each is a specialist within the field with which he deals. The competence of the several translators is attested by the scientific literature which they have contributed upon various problems within their respective fields. In many cases the translators have had first-hand acquaintance with the texts themselves; in every case the translator has made use of the original or scientific publication of the text which he has translated. Because of the original character of this work the contributors to the volume have frequently felt it necessary to include in the footnotes matters of considerably more technical nature than the non-specialist is likely to utilize. These notes, it is hoped, will not distract the general reader. They will be of service, where they appear, to the more specialized reader in enabling him to see the grounds for some of the newer readings and translations offered in this volume.

The spirit of cooperative scholarship has been apparent throughout the four years this volume has been in preparation. On occasions it has been possible for members of the group to meet together for discussion of the various problems arising out of this collaboration. An advisory committee of three of the contributors has frequently advised the editor on problems which have arisen. The spirit of give-and-take has been evident in the willingness of each of the contributors to submit his completed manuscript to another member of the group for careful reading before publication. While each of the translators bears the sole responsibility for his work, not infrequently have criticisms given by colleagues been gratefully incorporated into the final draft.

A word should be said about the particular difficulty of finding general agreement on chronology. Each translator has been responsible for the dates found within the introductions and notes to his own contribution. Attempt has been made, however, to iron out as much of the discrepancy as possible and to offer to the reader a chronology which represents fairly widely held views.

Egyptian chronology is still in a state of flux, with major uncertainty for dates before 2500 B.C. and the possibility of minor adjustment for dates after 2000 B.C. The dates suggested in this volume are tentative and are often given in terms of the nearest round number. For example, Amen-em-het III is stated to have reigned “about 1840-1790” rather than “1839-1791, with about two years’ margin of error”; the Old Kingdom is dated “about 2700-2200” rather than “about 2664-2181.” For later periods there is little deviation from such standard reference works as The Cambridge Ancient History.

For the dates used in the section devoted to Babylonian and Assyrian historical texts, reference may be made to A. Poebel, The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad, JNES, II (1943), pp. 85-88. The dates as given by Poebel have been used in other places as well. Frequently references in the footnotes will direct the reader to other discussions of chronology upon which the translator has relied.

One point at which this volume differs from its predecessors is the inclusion of a sizable body of translations of Hittite texts. These are scattered widely in the various sections of the volume. Since these texts have not been widely discussed as to their relation to the Old Testament, the following paragraphs will serve as orientation for the general reader.

Almost all Hittite texts which we possess come from ruins near the Turkish village Boğazköy in the center of Anatolia. The ruins represent what is left of Hattusa, the capital of the Hittite empire which flourished between 1800 and 1200 B.C. The texts are written—according to a custom which the Hittites adopted from the inhabitants of Mesopotamia—on clay tablets in cuneiform. They once belonged to “archives” or “libraries” buried under the debris when Hattusa was destroyed about
INTRODUCTION

1225 B.C. This means that all of them are older than this date. A more exact date can be assigned to those which were composed by, or in the name of, specific kings. For this reason the sequence of the kings, at least for the so-called "later Hittite kingdom" may be given here:

- Arnuwandas: 15th century
- Tudhaliyas: 15th century
- Suppilliumas, Tudhaliyas' son: about 1390-1354
- Mursilis, Suppilliumas' son: about 1353-1323
- Muwatallis, Mursilis' son: about 1323-1300
- Urhi-Tessub, Muwatallis' son: about 1300-1293
- Hattusilis, Mursilis' son: about 1293-1270
- Tudhaliyas, Hattusilis' son: about 1270-1240
- Arnuwandas, Tudhaliyas' son: about 1240-1225

The Bogazköy texts, the greater number of which are preserved in the museums of Istanbul and Ankara, a smaller collection being in the Vorderasiatische Abteilung of the Staatliche Museen at Berlin, have been published in various series.\(^{18}\)

For general orientation on the Hittites and the problems connected with them the reader may be referred to the following books: A. Götze, Das Hehitter-Reich (=AO, xxvii/2 [1928]); A. Götze, Kleinasien in Kulturgeschichte des alten Orient (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, iii, 1, 3) (1933); L. Delaporte, Les Hittites (1936); E. Cavaignac, Le problème hittite (1936); G. Furlani, La religione degli Hittiti (1936).

\(^{18}\) KBo = Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, i-vi (1916-21); KUB = Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, i-xxxiv (1921-44); HT = Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from Tablets in the British Museum (1920); BoTU = Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift (Leipzig, 1922-26); VBoT = Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte (Marburg, 1930); IBOT = Istanbul arkeoloji müzelelerinde bulunan Bogazköy tableteri I and II (Istanbul, 1944 and 1947); ABoT = Ankara arkeoloji müzelelerinde bulunan Bogazköy tableteri (Istanbul, 1948).

INTRODUCTION TO THE SECOND EDITION

In the preparation of the second edition each of the translators who contributed to the first edition has had opportunity not only to make corrections of mistakes and misprints, but to add to footnotes and introductions the most urgent bibliographical notations of the advancing research on the texts. Two entirely new sections have been included: a selection of Canaanite and Aramaic Inscriptions, prepared by Franz Rosenthal, of the University of Pennsylvania; and South-Arabic Inscriptions, translated by A. Jamme, of the Society of the White Fathers of Africa. An Addenda has also been added, composed of additional texts of Akkadian Myths and Epics, translated by E. A. Speiser. An index to the names in the additional materials follows the general index.

The translator of the Egyptian texts has modified some of the dates used in the first edition for the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, in order to provide the needed synchronism between Akh-en-Aton and Ashur-uballit I of Assyria, who began to reign about 1356 B.C. See especially M. B. Rowton's article in JEA, xxxiv (1948), 57-74. Readers should make the following tentative adjustments in dates given below for individual reigns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amen-hotep II</td>
<td>1439-1406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thut-mose IV</td>
<td>1406-1398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amen-hotep III</td>
<td>1398-1361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akh-en-Aton</td>
<td>1369-1353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smenkh-ka-Re</td>
<td>1355-1352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tut-ankh-Amon</td>
<td>1352-1344</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eye</td>
<td>1344-1340</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hor-em-heb</td>
<td>1340-1303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramses I</td>
<td>1303-1302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seti I</td>
<td>1302-1290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramses II</td>
<td>1290-1224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mer-ne-Ptah</td>
<td>1224-1214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amen-meses</td>
<td>1214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si-Ptah</td>
<td>1214-1207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seti II</td>
<td>1207-1202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrian interregnum</td>
<td>1202-1197</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction

TO THE THIRD EDITION

Since Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament was first published in 1950, many new texts have been discovered and some of the older ones have come to be better understood. In 1955 a second, revised edition appeared with changes and corrections in the text and the addition of two new sections, Canaanite and Aramaic Inscriptions and South-Arabian Inscriptions, which were obviously relevant for the study of the Old Testament. Now after eighteen years we have made a more extensive revision in an attempt to keep pace with new discoveries and research.

Each surviving contributor to the former editions has been asked to make necessary corrections to his earlier translations, to bring the references in his annotations up to date wherever desirable, and to contribute translations of any relevant texts that have been discovered or published since the earlier selections were made. In addition to the translations from original participants the work of five new contributors appears in this volume. A. K. Grayson kindly consented to bring up to date Akkadian Myths and Epics, which had been contributed by the late E. A. Speiser. J. J. Finkelstein assumed responsibility for additional Akkadian Legal Texts, a section for which the late T. J. Meek was previously responsible, as well as for the translation of the Sumerian laws of Ur-Nammu. With the recent emergence of interest in the concept of covenant in Old Testament studies, it has seemed appropriate to include an entirely new genre of texts, Akkadian Treaties from Syria and Assyria, translated by Erica Reiner. The understanding of Akkadian Didactic and Wisdom literature has been greatly improved since the late Robert H. Pfeiffer made his translations and new material has become available. Robert D. Biggs has made entirely new translations of the texts within this section. William L. Moran, S.J. has provided translations of a number of new Akkadian letters that belong to the extensive corpus of tablets from Mari. A perusal of the Table of Contents will make it clear that not only these new contributors but a number of the former translators have labored to enlarge considerably the volume of material provided in the earlier editions.

Since the additions fall neatly into the general categories and literary types of the first edition and generally supplement rather than antiquate the former translations it was apparent that they could be published in a separate volume. By it an owner of the first or the second edition can bring his collection of ancient Near Eastern texts up to date without discarding an expensive and possibly annotated volume. The third edition of ANET incorporates these additions of the Supplement and includes those line corrections which translators felt were essential. Whenever these corrections and additions could not be fitted into the line and page of the former edition they have been included in a section on Addenda with reference to the quarter of the page to which the addition applies. It is hoped that the user of the Supplement can see readily the place to which the addition or change belongs.

The additional texts of the second edition have been included in the Supplement, so that it will serve to bring up to date the first edition as well as the second. An entirely new index has been constructed for the names appearing in the book.
Creation and Myths of Origins

THE CREATION BY ATUM

The following text served in the dedication ritual of a royal pyramid by recalling the first creation, when the god Atum of Heliopolis was on a primeval hillock arising out of the waters of chaos and there brought the first gods into being. In like manner, the god is now asked to bless the rising pyramid, an analogue of the hillock.

The text was carved inside the pyramids of Mer-ne-Re and Pepi II (Nefer-ka-Re) of the Sixth Dynasty (24th century B.C.), from which the following translation is made. Parts of the text were popular in later times, to promote the immortality of individuals.

The hieroglyphic text appears in K. Sethe, Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte, ii (Leipzig, 1910), §652-56. Excerpts from the whole utterance have occasionally been translated, for example, J. H. Breasted, Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt (New York, 1912); 76 f. (See Addenda).

O Atum-Kheprer, thou wast on high on the (primeval) hill; thou didst arise as the ben-bird of the ben-stone in the Ben-House in Heliopolis; thou didst spit out what was Shu, thou didst sputter out what was Tefnut. Thou didst put thy arms about them as the arms of a ka, for thy ka was in them.

(So also), O Atum, put thou thy arms about King Nefer-ka-Re, about this construction work, about this pyramid, as the arms of a ka. For the ka of King Nefer-ka-Re is in it, enduring for the course of eternity. O Atum, mayest thou set thy protection over this King Nefer-ka-Re, over this his pyramid and this construction work of King Nefer-ka-Re. Mayest thou guard lest anything happen to him evilly throughout the course of eternity, as thou didst set thy protection over Shu and Tefnut.

O Great Ennead which is in Heliopolis, Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Seth, and Nephthys, whom Atum begot, spreading wide his heart (in joy) at his begetting (you) in your name of the Nine Bows, may there be none of you who will separate himself from Atum, as he protects this King Nefer-ka-Re, as he protects this pyramid of King Nefer-ka-Re, as he protects this his construction work—from all gods and from all dead, and as he guards lest anything happen to him evilly throughout the course of eternity.

ANOTHER VERSION

OF THE CREATION BY ATUM

An ancient Egyptian's title to eternal happiness was often asserted by associating him with various superhuman forces, including the greatest gods of the land. Thus he secured their invincible immortality. The following extract from the popular 17th chapter of the Book of the Dead sets the deceased Egyptian in juxtaposition with the creator-god Atum, implicitly securing renewed creation of life.

This text was used all over Egypt for many centuries. The following translation is taken from the Eighteenth to Twenty-First Dynasties version of the Book of the Dead (1500-1000 B.C.). The text goes back at least as far as the Middle Kingdom (2000 B.C.), when it was inscribed in the coffins of nobles. By the Eighteenth Dynasty, the text had been amplified with explanatory and confirmatory glosses.

The current translation of the opening lines of the 17th chapter is made from H. Grapow, Religiöse Urkunden (Urkg. v. Leipzig, 1915-17), 4-13, including a translation into German. Translations into English are needed for the Book of the Dead. A rendering into German will be found in G. Roeder, Urkunden zur Religion des alten Aegypten (Jena, 1923), 237 ff.

Title

The beginning of exaltations and beatifications; going up and down in the necropolis; being an effective spirit in the beautiful west; being in the retinue of Osiris; being satisfied with the food of Wen-nofer. The spell for coming forth by day, assuming any forms that he may wish to assume, playing at the draughtboard, sitting in the arbor, and coming forth as a living soul, by X, after he moors. It is of benefit to him who may do it on earth, when the speech of the Lord of All takes place:

Speech of the Creator, with Glosses

"I am Atum when I was alone in Nun; I am Re in X's (first) appearances, when he began to rule that which he had made."

6 The Nine Bows were the nine traditional, potential enemies of Egypt. There is a play on the "Nine (Gods)" and the "Nine (Bows)" here. The magic of the spell protects against the potential enmity of these gods.

"I am Osiris." The magic spell which enables the dead to come forth from the tomb. At X are inserted the title and name of the deceased. "Moors" is a euphemism for "dies."

9 There is a promise of benefit to any living person who recites this spell on behalf of the deceased.

11 Osiris.

17 The waters of chaos, out of which life arose.
Who is he? This "Re, when he began to rule that which he had made" means that Re began to appear as a king, as one who was before the liftings of Shu had taken place, when he was on the hill which is in Hermopolis. . . .

"I am the great god who came into being by himself." Who is he? The great god who came into being by himself" is water; he is Nun, the father of the gods. Another version: He is Re.

He who created his names, the Lord of the Ennead." Who is he? He is Re, who created the names of the parts of his body. That is how these gods who follow him came into being. . . .

"I am he among the gods who cannot be repulsed." Who is he? He is Atum, who is in his sun disc. Another version: He is Re, when he arises on the eastern horizon of heaven.

"I am yesterday, while I know tomorrow." Who is he? As for "yesterday," that is Osiris. As for "tomorrow," that is Re on that day on which the en-

horizon of heaven!

Another version: He is Re.

"Who is he? "The great god who came into being by himself." Another version: He is Re.

Another version: He is Re. When the First Dynasty established its capital at Memphis, it was necessary to justify the sudden emergence of this town which he had made" means that Re began to appear as a king, as one who was before the liftings of Shu had taken place, when he was on the hill which is in Hermopolis. . . .

1 The original, rediscovered in the time of Sha-ba-ka, was presumably on papyrus, wood, or leather.

2 The nine great gods attended Geb, the earth-god, for his judicial ruling on the contest between Horus and Seth for the rule of Egypt.

3 Osiris.

4 Here the text exhibits most clearly its form for dramatic purposes. A notation is used for speakers and for stage directions. "Seth—Upper Egypt" meant either that the priestly actor playing the part of Seth points out the direction to the actor who played Seth or that the Seth-actor was to go off to the south.

5 Geb revised his first decision to divide and gave all of his dominion, the earth, to Horus. A form of Ptah was Ta-tenen, "the land arising" (out of the primeval waters, so that creation might take place).
Tefnut were the first deities to be spoken. Their speech with teeth and lips. Pronouncing a name was creative. Shu and Tefnut brought forth Atum, the creator-god of the Heliopolitan theology. Thoth was both Nun, the abysmal waters, and his consort Naunet, and in these capacities he associated and their quarreling ceased in the place in which the Two Lands are united.

The intertwining tutelary plants of Upper and Lower Egypt, the reed(?) and the papyrus, symbolize the reconciliation of the two parts of Egypt, and that Horus was correctly identified as both the God of the rising land and that Horus was the king of Egypt. Hence Horus was correctly located at Memphis.

Thus all the gods were formed and his Ennead was completed. Indeed, all the divine order really came into being through what the heart thought and the tongue commanded. Thus the ka-spirits were made and the hemnus-spirits were appointed, they who make all provisions and all nourishment, by this speech. (Thus justice was given to) him who does what is liked, (and injustice to) him who does what is disliked. Thus life was given to him who has peace and death was given to him who has sin. Thus were made all work and all crafts, the action of the arms, the movement of the legs, and the activity of every member, in conformance with (this) command which the heart thought, which came forth through the tongue, and which gives value to everything.

(Thus) it happened that it was said of Ptah: "He who made all and brought the gods into being." He is indeed Ta-tenen, who brought forth the gods, for everything came forth from him, nourishment and provisions, the offerings of the gods, and every good thing. Thus it was discovered and understood that his strength is greater than (that of the other) gods. And so Ptah was satisfied, after he had made everything, as well as all the divine order. He had formed the gods, he had made cities, he had founded nomes, he had put the gods in their shrines, (60) he had established their offerings, he had fashioned their shrines, he had made their bodies like that (with which) their hearts were satisfied. So the gods entered into their bodies of every kind of wood, of every kind of stone, of every kind of clay, or anything which might grow upon him, in which they had taken form. So all the gods, as well as their ka's gathered themselves to him, content and associated with the Lord of the Two Lands.

The Great Seat, which rejoices the heart of the gods, which is in the House of Ptah, the mistress of all life, is the Granary of the God, through which the sustenance of the Two Lands is prepared, because of the fact that Osiris drowned in his water, while Isis and Nephthys watched. They saw him and they were distressed at him. Horus commanded Isis and Nephthys repeatedly that they lay hold on Osiris and prevent his drowning. (63) They turned (their) heads in time. So they brought him to land. He entered the mysterious portals in the glory of the lords of eternity, in the steps of him who heart conceives and releases thoughts, which the tongue, as a herald, puts into effective utterance.

1 The crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt.
2 The province (nome) of Memphis was named "White Wall."
3 The intertwining tutelary plants of Upper and Lower Egypt, the reed(?) and the papyrus, symbolize the reconciliation of the two parts of Egypt and of their gods.
4 Or, with Junker: "who have (their) form in Ptah."
5 Three other forms of Ptah appear in badly broken context. These forms of Ptah apply to the statement that follows. Pah was both Nun, the abysmal waters, and his consort Naunet, and in these capacities he brought forth Atum, the creator-god of the Heliopolitan theology.
6 Ptah thought of and created by speech the creator-god Atum ("Totality"), thus transmitting the divine power of Ptah to all other gods. The gods Horus and Thoth, a commonly associated pair, are equated with the organs of thought and speech.
7 Literally, "every word of the god."
8 Upon Ptah, in his form of the "rising land." Note that divine images were not the gods themselves, but only places in which they might assume appearance.
9 The determinative shows that "the God" was Ptah Ta-tenen.
10 Or, "he who does what is liked."
11 The dignity (or worth or reverence) of everything.
shines forth on the horizon, on the ways of Re in the Great Seat. He joined with the court and associated with the gods of Ta-tenen Ptah, the lord of years.

Thus Osiris came to be in the land in the “House of the Sovereign” on the north side of this land, which he had reached. His son Horus appeared as King of Upper Egypt and appeared as King of Lower Egypt, in the embrace of his father Osiris, together with the gods who were in front of him and who were behind him.

THE REPULSING OF THE DRAGON AND THE CREATION

This text employed myth for ritual and magical recitation. In Egyptian belief the ship of the sun-god Re made a journey through the skies above by day and the skies below by night. Every night this ship faced the peril of destruction from a demon lurking in the underworld, Apophis. An important part of the ritual of Egyptian temples was the repulsing of this dragon, and thus the repulsing of the perils which might face nation or people. The following ritual is an extract from a papyrus containing a group of texts, for which the general heading is: “The beginning of the book of overthrowing Apophis, the enemy of Re and the enemy of King Wen-nofer—life, prosperity, health!—the justified, performed in the course of every day in the Temple of Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Preceding over Karnak.” The particular interest of the section given below is that it adds to these spells against Apophis a statement about creation.

The text is preserved in the Papyrus Bremner-Rhind (British Museum 10188), which may have come from Thebes. The present manuscript is dated about 310 B.C., but the text makes a deliberate attempt to preserve a language two thousand years older than that date. There is no doubt that the basic material derives from a relatively early period. Photographic facsimiles of the papyrus were published by Budge in Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, First Series (London, 1910), Pls. i-xx. Faulkner gave a transcription from hieratic into hieroglyphic in The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, iii, Brussels, 1933). The latest study and translation of the entire papyrus was given by Faulkner in JEA, xxii (1936), 121 ff.; xxiii (1937), 10 ff., 106 ff.; xxiv (1938), 41 ff.; with the section below (xxvi 21—xxviii 20) treated in xxviii, 173 ff.

For another reference to the repulsing of a monster at creation, see p. 417, n.49. For another account of the Repulsing of the Dragon, see pp. 11-12.

(xxvi 21) . . . The book of knowing the creations of Re and of overthrowing Apophis. The words to be spoken. The All-Lord said, after he had come into being:

I am he who came into being as Khepri. When I had come into being, being (itself) came into being, and all beings came into being after I came into being. Many were the beings which came forth from my mouth, before heaven came into being, before earth came into being, before the ground and creeping things had been created in this place. I put together (some)

1 Papyrus Bremner-Rhind xxii 1: Wen-nofer is a name for Osiris.
2 Capital letters show words rubricized in the manuscript. The following words are so spoken as the magical ritual.
3 Khepri was the morning sun-god, conceived as a scarab beetle. In the following context there is a play on the name Khepri and the word kheper “come into being.”
4 Creation was effected by the commanding utterance of Re.
(very) spirit of magic, for they were ordered to annihilate my enemies by the effective charms of their speech, and I sent out these who came into being from my body to overthrow that evil enemy.

He is one fallen to the flame, Apophis with a knife on his head. He cannot see, and his name is no (more) in this land. I have commanded that a curse be cast upon him; I have consumed his bones; I have annihilated his soul in the course of every day; I have cut his vertebræ at his neck, severed with a knife which hacked up his flesh and pierced into his hide. Drive thou away, consume thou, burn up every enemy of pharaoh—life, prosperity, health!—whether dead or living.

(Thus) thou shalt be in (14) thy shrine, thou shalt journey in the evening-barque, thou shalt rest in the morning-barque, thou shalt cross thy two heavens in peace, thou shalt be powerful, thou shalt be healthy, thou shalt make thy states of glory to endure, thou shalt drive away thy every enemy by thy command; for these have done evil against pharaoh—life, prosperity, health!—with all evil words: all men, all folk, all people, all humanity, and so on, the easterners of every desert, and every enemy of pharaoh—life, prosperity, health!—whether dead or living, whom I have driven away and annihilated. Thou dissolvest, fallen, Apophis. Re is triumphant over thee, Apophis—(to be repeated) four times. Pharaoh—life, prosperity, health!—is triumphant over his enemies—(to be repeated) four times.

This spell is to be recited over Apophis drawn on a new sheet of papyrus in green color and put inside a box on which his name is set, he being tied and bound and put on the fire every day, wiped out with thy left foot and spat upon four times in the course of every day. Thou shalt say as thou puttest him on the fire: "Re is triumphant over thee, O Apophis!"—four times, and "Horus is triumphant over his enemy!"—four times, and "Pharaoh—life, prosperity, health!—is triumphant over his enemies!"—four times.

Now when thou hast written these names of every male and female who is to be overthrown, (18) of whom thy heart is afraid, that is, every enemy of Pharaoh—life, prosperity, health!—whether dead or alive, and the names of their fathers, the names of their mothers, and the names of (their) children, inside the box, they are to be made in wax and put on the fire following the name of Apophis and burned up at the time when Re shows himself. Thus thou shalt do the first time at the height of the sun and (again) when Re sets in the west, when the sunlight is fleeing from the mountain. These things are in truth more advantageous to thee than any (other) procedure. It will go well with him who does them on earth or in the necropolis.

ALL MEN CREATED EQUAL IN OPPORTUNITY

The Middle Kingdom was a period in which social justice and the rights of the common man were emphasized. The text which follows purports to give the words of the creator-god in making all men equal in access to the basic necessities of life.

The text is inscribed on four wooden coffins from el-Bersheh in Middle Egypt and dates to the Middle Kingdom (2000 B.C.). Thus far, it is known only from that period.

The hieroglyphic text is as yet unpublished, except for the reference and translation given by J. H. Breasted, The Dawn of Conscience (New York, 1933), 221 ff. It will be published in the volumes by A. de Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts (OIP). The present translation was made from photographs for Coffin B3C (Cairo Museum 28085) and B6C (Cairo 28094) and—in part—BtC (Cairo 28083). The text also appears on BtBo (Boston Museum 20.1822-27) (See Addenda).

Other texts below deal with creation and origins. For example, Amon as creator is presented in the text of pp. 388-390, Aton as creator in pp. 370-371. Other myths of origins deal with the founding of the city of Tanis (pp. 252-253) or the setting up of an estate of a god (pp. 31-32).

The All-Lord says in the presence of those stilled from tumult on the journey of the court: "Pray, be prosperous in peace! I repeat for you four good deeds which my own heart did for me in the midst of the serpent-coil, in order to still evil. I did four good deeds within the portal of the horizon."

I made the four winds that every man might breathe thereof like his fellow in his time. That is (one) deed thereof.

1 These instructions for the manual activity accompanying the recitation show that the interest of the exorcism is the application of magic against the dragon-demon to the damnation of the enemies of the pharaoh.

2 In the entourage of the sun-god on the daily journey of his barque are the dead who have been released from the cares of this world.

3 Creation is a sort of release from involvement. Here the creator-god, who is also the sun-god, has freed himself from the serpent-dragon which threatened his daily journey; see pp. 6-7 above. Apparently, the god's good deeds were the means of his release, stilling the evil of the serpent by stilling inequality in this world.

4 That is, at dawn or at the beginning.
"I made the great inundation that the poor man might have rights therein like the great man. That is (one) deed thereof.

"I made every man like his fellow. I did not command that they do evil, (but) it was their hearts which violated what I had said." That is (one) deed thereof.

"I made their hearts to cease from forgetting the West, in order that divine offerings might be given to the gods of the nomes." That is (one) deed thereof.

"I brought into being the four gods from my sweat, while men are the tears of my eye."  

THEBES AS THE PLACE OF CREATION

Every important cult-center of Egypt asserted its primacy by the dogma that it was the site of creation. The following is an extract from a long hymn extolling Thebes and its god Amone-Re. It is dated shortly after the Amarna Revolution and is a renewed confirmation of Theban domination. The manuscript is dated to the reign of Ramses II (about 1301-1234 B.C.).

The hieratic text of Leyden Papyrus I 350 was published by C. Lermans, Monumenta aegyptiaca du musée d'antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide (Leyden, 1841-82), ii, Pls. CLIX-CLXII. The text was studied by A. H. Gardiner in ZAS, XLII (1905), 12-42, and by A. Erman, Der Leidener Amonshymnus (SPAW, 1923, 62-81). It is translated in Erman, LAE, 293-302.

TENTH STANZA. 1

Thebes is normal beyond every (other) city. The water and land were in her from the first times. (Then) (ii 11) sand came to delimit the fields and to create her ground on the hillock; (thus) earth came into being. 2

Then men came into being in her, to found every city with her real name, for their name is called "city" (only) under the oversight of Thebes, the Eye of Re. 3

Her majesty came as the Sound Eye and the Beneficial Eye, 4 to bind the land thereby together with (her) ku, coming to rest and alighting in Ishru in her form as Sekhmet, the Mistress of the Two Lands. 5 "How rich she is," they say about her, "in her name of Thbes!" 6

She remains sound in her name of the Sound Eye, the eye within, which is in his sun disc; Opposite-her-Lord, appearing and appointed in her place in her name of Appointed-of-Places, without her peer. 7 Every (other) city is under (her) shadow, to magnify themselves through Thebes. She is the norm.

THE ASSIGNMENT OF FUNCTIONS TO THOTH

The Egyptians, like the Hebrews, were fond of punning explanations of names and phenomena. The following text provides the explanation of a number of cosmological or mythological phenomena. The sun-god Re here assigns responsibility for the moon to the god Thoth, who thus becomes the "place-taker" for the sun, an adjunct of the gods.

The text is found on the Tut-ankh-Amon shrine, now in the Cairo Museum, and in the Theban tombs of Seti I, Ramses II, and Ramses III. It thus ranges from the middle of the 14th century to the middle of the 13th century B.C. However, its original was probably much earlier. The parallel texts are presented by Ch. Maystre in BIFAO, xx. (1941), 93-98. The line numbers, 62-74, follow the Seti I version. There is a translation in G. Roeder, Urkunden zur Religion des alten Aegypten (Jena, 1923), 147-48 8 (See Addenda).

Then the majesty of this god 9 said: "Pray, summon to me Thoth!" Then he was brought immediately. Then the majesty of this god said to Thoth: "Behold ye, 10 I am here in the sky in my (proper) place. Inasmuch as I (65) shall act so that the light may shine in the Underworld and the Island of Baba, 11 thou shalt be scribe there and keep in order those who are in them, 12 those who may perform deeds of rebellion against me, (70) the followers of this dissatisfied being. 13 Thou shalt be in my place, a place-taker. Thus thou shalt be called: 'Thoth, the place-taker of Re.' Moreover, (I) shall have thee tread upon those greater than thou. 14 That is how the ibis of Thoth came into being. 15 Moreover, I shall have thee stretch out thy hand' in the face of the primordial gods, who are greater than thou. 16 My speech is good, if thou actest (so)." That is how the ibis of Thoth came into being. 17 Moreover, I shall have thee encompass the two heavens with thy beauty and with thy rays. That is how the moon of Thoth came into being. 18

11 Pun: wser "rich" and wsr "Thbes." 12 Opposite-her-Lord (i.e. Amon) was an epithet of Thebes. "Appointed-of-Places" was the name of the Temple of Karnak.

10 Re's commands are for all the attendant gods.

12 An otherwise unknown designation for a part of the Underworld. It may mean a subterranean cavern.

15 Re cannot do full justice to the denizens of the world and to the denizens of the Underworld. Since he feels a responsibility to illumine the latter, he assigns the moon, Thoth, to be his deputy there.

17 A corrupt passage. In the first part there may be reference to mankind's rebellion, as in the passage on the destruction of mankind, pp. 6-7, 11-12.

18 A play on words: fkh "speech" and tkh, another term for the ibis.

19 Another play on words: inh "encompass" and iah "moon."
"Moreover, I shall have thee go all the way around the Hau-nebut." That is how the baboon of Thoth came into being. That is how he became the vizier. Moreover, thou shalt be my place-taker, and the faces of all who see thee shall be opened through thee; so that the eye of every man praises god for thee."

**THE PRIMEVAL ESTABLISHMENT OF ORDER**

A responsibility of the creator-god Atum was to bring the world into order and to assign places and functions. The conquest of hostile forces and the delimitation of the next world are themes of the following text. Insofar as it deals with the place and functions of Osiris, it has been used as a magic spell for the preservation of the dead man, himself an Osiris.

Here translated from the 175th chapter of the Book of the Dead, as in the Eighteenth Dynasty (1550-1350 B.C.) Papyrus of Ani (British Museum 10470; The Papyrus of Ani, ed. by E. A. W. Budge [London, 1913], iii, Sheet 29).

**Title**

(1) SPELL FOR NOT DYING A SECOND TIME. WORDS TO BE SPOKEN BY ANI, THE TRIUMPHANT.

**Atum's Question**

"O Thoth, what is it that has happened? It is among the children of Nut. They have made an uproar; they have seized upon quarreling; they have done evil deeds; they have created rebellion; they have made slayings; (5) they have created imprisonment. Moreover, in everything which we might do, they have made the great into the small. Give thou greatly, Thoth!" Thus spoke Atum.

**Thoth's Reply**

"Thou shalt not see (such) evil deeds, thou shalt not suffer, (for) their years are cut short and their months are curbed, inasmuch as the destruction of hidden things was made for them through all that thou hast done." Words of the Deceased

"I am thy palette, O Thoth, and I have offered up to thee thy inkwell. I am not among those whose hidden things should be damaged. Damage should not be done to me."

**Words spoken by the Osiris Ani (10):** "O Atum, what is it? I am departing to the desert, the silent land!"

15 Another play, am atum "turn back," possibly "go around," and amman the baboon sacred to Thoth. The Hau-nebut were peoples to the north of Egypt, thus in an outer range of circuit.
16 The play on words which led to this identification has dropped out. Thoth was the vizier of the gods.
17 In the absence of the sun, men can see because of the moon.
18 Men are grateful.

1 The concept was originally related to the kingship, the dead pharaoh becoming Osiris, while his son and successor became Horus.
2 That is, among the partisans of Seth, who was the "son of Nut."
3 This seems to be the answer of Thoth, assuring Atum that the punishment of evil resides in the system which Atum created.
4 By identifying himself with the scribal equipment of Thoth, the deceased dissociates himself from the rebellious beings.
5 The deceased asks the creator-god to describe the land of burial.

**Atum's Answer**

"It has no water, it has no air—deep, deep, dark, dark, boundless, boundless—in which thou livest in the peace of heart of the silent land. Sexual pleasures are not enjoyed in it, (but) a blessed state is given to (thee) in recompense for water, air, and sexual pleasure, and peace of heart in recompense for bread and beer." Thus spoke Atum.

**Protest of the Deceased**

"In the sight of thy face? Indeed, I cannot bear the lack of thee! Every (other) god has assumed his place in the forefront of (the sun barque) Millions-of-Years!"

**Atum's Reply**

"Thy place belongs to thy son Horus"—thus spoke Atum—"Indeed, it shall be that he sends forth the great, (15) while he also shall rule thy place, and he shall inherit the throne which is in the Island of Flame. It is further decreed that a man shall see his fellow, (so that) my face shall see thy face." 10

**Question of the Deceased, as Osiris**

"O Atum, what is (my) duration of life?"—thus he spoke.

**Atum's Answer**

"Thou art (destined) for millions of millions (of years), a lifetime of millions. I have caused that he send out the great ones. Further, I shall destroy all that I have made, and this land will return into Nun, into the floodwaters, as (in) its first state. I (alone) am a survivor, together with Osiris, when I have made my form in another state, serpents which men do not know and gods do not see.

"How good is what I have done for Osiris, distinct from all (other) gods! I have given (20) him the desert, the silent land, with his son Horus as heir upon his throne which is in the Island of Flame. Further, I have made his place in the barque of Millions-of-Years. Horus remains upon his throne, for the purpose of founding his monuments also. The soul of Seth has been sent away from all (other) gods, because I have caused the restraint of his soul, which is in the (sun) barque, because he wishes to fear the divine body."
Words of Horus

"O my father Osiris, maybest thou do for me what thy father Re did for thee! I remain upon earth, so that I may establish my place."

Words of Osiris

"My heir is healthy, my tomb endures; they are my adherents (still) on earth. (25) My enemies have been given into woe, for Selqet is binding them. I am thy son, my father Re. Thou dost these things for me for the sake of life, prosperity, and health, while Horus remains upon his throne. Mayest thou cause that this my time of passing to a state of reverence may come."

THE MYTHOLOGICAL ORIGIN OF CERTAIN UNCLEAN ANIMALS

The Egyptians viewed certain animals as devoted for a definite purpose and therefore taboo for other purposes, specifically as unclean for eating. The following text is a mythological explanation of a taboo against eating pork. Not all of the text is clear, but it involves two well-known elements: the conflict of Horus and Seth for the rule, and a damage to one of Horus' eyes, which were the two heavenly luminaries.

The text first occurs in the coffins of the Middle Kingdom, from which it is here translated, and is continued into the Book of the Dead, being used for many centuries.

The hieroglyphic text is given by A. de Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, 11 (OIP, XXX, Chicago, 1938), Spell 157, pp. 326 ff. It later became the 158th chapter of the Book of the Dead and is studied and translated by K. Sethe et al. in ZAsS (1923), LVII, 1ff. One Middle Kingdom coffin, which treats Spells 157 and 158 consecutively without break, has an instruction at the end of Spell 158: "Not to be spoken while eating pork."2

The Efficacy of This Text

BEING DESTINED FOR FOOD IN THE NECROPOLIS. BEING FAVORED AND LOVED UPON EARTH. BEING AMONG THE FOLLOWERS OF HORUS AND HIS RETINUE. A MYSTERY WHICH ONE LEARNED IN THE HOUSE. KNOWING THE SOULS OF BUTO.3

The Claim of Exceptional Knowledge

O Bat of the evening, ye swamp-dwellers, ye of Mendes, ye of the Mendes nome, ye of the Butine House of Praise, ye of the Shade of Re which knows not praise, ye who brew stoppered beer4—do ye know why Buto was given to Horus? Ye do not know it, (but) I know remain in the sun barque, where he had the important duty of fighting the Apophis demon, cf. pp. 6-7 above and pp. 11-12 below.

10 More literally: "that is how the pig became an abomination to Horus."

11 Homonyms, ma-`kedj "see-white" and ma-`kedj "oryx." The oryx was a beast of Seth, and thus also unclean to Horus. The sense of the passage must be that Horus failed to see what Re saw.

12 Following the reasoning of Sethe, an old sign for "black" has degenerated into a mere stroke, following the word for "part" or "mark." It is not clear how Horus, covering his uninjured eye, could see the injury in his wounded eye.

13 The line numbers below are those of the Seti I version. There is a translation in Erman, LAB, 47-49.

Deliverance of Mankind from Destruction

The themes of this myth are the sin of mankind, the destructive disappointment of their creator, and the deliverance of mankind from annihilation. However, the setting of the present text shows that its purpose was magical protection rather than moral teaching. On the walls of three royal tombs of the Empire, it accompanies certain charms to protect the body of the dead ruler. This implies that the former deliverance of mankind from destruction will be valid also in this individual case.

The text appears on the walls of the tombs of Seti I, Ramses II, and Ramses III at Thebes. Its date is thus 14th-12th centuries B.C., although the language used and the corrupted state of the text show that it followed an older original. The texts were published together by Ch. Maystre in BIFAO, XL (1941), 53-73. The line numbers below are those of the Seti I version. There is a translation in Erman, LAB, 47-49.

Other reference to man's rebelliousness and the god's punishment of men will be found in pp. 8-10, 417.
It happened that... Re, the god who came into being by himself, when he was king of men and gods all together. Then mankind plotted something in the (very) presence of Re. Now then, his majesty—life, prosperity, health!—was old. His bones were of silver, his flesh of gold, and his hair of genuine lapis lazuli.

Then his majesty perceived the things which were being plotted against him by mankind. Then his majesty—life, prosperity, health!—said to those who were in his retinue: "Pray, summon to me my Eye," Shu, Tefnut, Geb, and Nut, as well as the fathers and mothers who were with me when I was in Nun, as well as my god Nun also. He is to bring his court (5) with him. Thou shalt bring them secretly: let not mankind see; let not their hearts escape. Thou shalt come with them to the Great House, that they may tell their plans, since the [times] when I came from Nun to the place in which I came into being."

Then these gods were brought into being, and these gods [came] beside him, putting their heads to the ground in the presence of his majesty, so that he might make his statement in the presence of the father of the eldest, who made mankind, the king of people. Then they said in the presence of his majesty: "Speak to us, so that we may hear it."

Then Re said to Nun: "O eldest god, in whom I came into being, O ancestor gods, behold mankind, which came into being from my Eye—they have plotted things against me. Tell me what ye would do about it. Behold, I am seeking; I would not slay them until I had heard what (10) ye might say about it." Then the majesty of Nun said: "My son Re, the god greater than he who made him and mightier than they who created him, sitting upon thy throne, the fear of thee is great when thy Eye is (directed) against them who scheme against thee!" Then the majesty of Re said: "Behold, they have fled into the desert, their hearts being afraid because I might speak to them." Then they said in the presence of his majesty: "May thy Eye be sent, that it may catch for thee them who scheme with evil things. (But) the Eye is not (sufficiently) prominent therein to smite them for thee. It should go down as Hat-Hor."

So then this goddess came and slew mankind in the desert. Then the majesty of this god said: "Welcome, Hat-Hor, who hast done for me the deed for which I came!" Then this goddess said: "As thou livest for me, I have prevailed over mankind, and it is pleasant in my heart!" Then the majesty of Re said: "I shall prevail over them as a king (15) by diminishing them!" That

is how Sekhmet came into being, the (beer)-mash of the night, to wade in their blood from Herakleopolis.10 Then Re said: "Pray, summon to me swift and speedy messengers, so that they may run like the shadow of a body." Then these messengers were brought immediately. Then the majesty of this god said: "Go ye to Elephantine and bring me red ochre very abundantly."11 Then this red ochre was brought to him. Then the majesty of this great god caused . . . [and He-With-the-Side-Lock who is in Helio] 12

Now when day broke for (20) the slaying of mankind by the goddess at their season of going upstream,13 then the majesty of Re said: "How good it is! I shall protect mankind with it!" Then Re said: "Pray, carry it to the place in which she expected to slay mankind." Then the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Re went to work early in the depth of the night to have this sleep-maker poured out. Then the fields were filled with liquid for three palms,14 through the power of the majesty of this god.

Then this goddess went at dawn, and she found this (place) flooded. Then her face (looked) beautiful therein. Then she drank, and it was good in her heart. She came (back) drunken, without having perceived mankind.

(The remainder of this story has to do with the origin of certain names and customs, such as the use of strong drink at the Feast of Hat-Hor.)

Heroic Tales—Exploits of Gods and Human Beings

THE REPULSING OF THE DRAGON

When the boat of the sun entered the western darkness at evening, it faced the peril of a serpent or dragon, which might destroy the sun; cf. pp. 6-7 above. Then it was the function of the god Seth to repel this beast, so that the sun might cross the underworld by night and be reborn in the morning. In like manner, man should survive death and be reborn.

1 The eye of the sun-god was an independent part of himself, with a complicated mythological history.
2 The abysmal waters, in which creation took place.
3 Was Re unwilling that mankind repent its rebellious purposes?
4 Uncertain. The translation assumes that Re is asking advice on the changed conditions since creation.
5 Nun.
6 Mankind originated as the tears of the creator-god. See pp. 6, 8, 366.
7 It seems to be argued that the Eye in its normal form is not adequate to the work of destruction, so that it should assume its form as Hat-Hor.
8 The introductory formula of an oath.
9 Uncertain. The translation assumes the sense that Re can rule mankind if they are fewer in number. It is also possible to translate: "I shall prevail over them. But do not diminish them (any further)." At any rate, it soon becomes clear that Re wishes the destruction to cease, whereas Hat-Hor is unwilling to halt her lustful annihilation.
10 The formula by which the origin of a name was explained. Sekhmet, "She Who Prevails," the goddess of violence, is here given as a form of Hat-Hor. Herakleopolis, "the Child of the King," seems to be in punning relation to the previous word, "king." The mash of the night" is used in meaningless anticipation here, as it belongs to that part of the story which follows.
11 Didi was a red coloring material, but it is not certain whether it was mineral or vegetable. Red ochre has been found in the region of Elephantine, and hematite in the eastern desert.
12 An epithet of the High Priest of Re.
13 The meaning of this phrase is not clear.
14 The fields were covered with the blood-red beer, the "sleep-maker," to a height of about 9 inches.
The text is taken from Middle Kingdom coffins and survived into the Book of the Dead.

Hieroglyphic text in A. de Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, II (OIP, xl ix, Chicago, 1938), Spell 160, pp. 373 ff. Later the 108th chapter of the Book of the Dead, with contributions to the 107th, 111th, and 149th chapters, studied by K. Sethe et al. in ZÄS, 12 (1944), 73 ff.

References to the repulsing of the dragon enemy of the sun-god are common in the Egyptian texts here translated: pp. 6-7, 8, 9-10, 14, n.7; 253; 263; 366; 367.

Title

NOT DYING BECAUSE OF A SNAKE. GOING IN AND OUT OF THE WESTERN DOORS OF HEAVEN. FLOURISHING UPON EARTH, ON THE PART OF A LIVING OR DEAD SOUL. KNOWING THE WESTERN SOULS.¹

The Dragon of the West

I know that mountain of Bakhu upon which heaven rests.² It is of ti-iaat-stone, 300 rods in its length and 120 rods in its width.³ Sobek, Lord of Bakhu, is on the east of this mountain. His temple is of carnelian.⁴

A serpent is on the brow of that mountain, thirty cubits in its length, three cubits of the front thereof being of flint.⁵ I know the name of that serpent: "He Who is on the Mountain That He may Overthrow" is his name.

Now at the time of evening it shall turn its eye against Re. Then there shall come a halt among the crew and great stupefaction in the midst of the journey.⁶ Then Seth shall bend himself in its direction. The speech which he says as magic:

"I stand beside thee, so that the journey may progress (again). O thou whom I have seen from afar, close thou thine eye! I have been blindfolded; I am the male.⁷ Cover thy head, so that thou may be well and I may be well. I am the Rich-in-Magic; (it) has been given to me (to use) against thee. What is that? It is being an effective personality.⁸ O thou who goest upon his belly, thy strength belongs to thy mountain; (whereas), be-hold me—when I go off by myself, thy strength (will be) with me, for I am he who lifts up strength.⁹ I have come that I might despoil the earth-gods.¹⁰ O Re, may he who is in his evening¹¹ be gracious to me, when we have made the circuit of heaven. (But) thou²² art in thy fetters—that is what was commanded about thee previously."

Then Re goes to rest in life.

The Western Souls


THE GOD

AND HIS UNKNOWN NAME OF POWER

To the ancient, the name was an element of personality and of power. It might be so charged with divine potency that it could not be pronounced. Or the god might retain a name hidden for himself alone, maintaining this element of power over all other gods and men. The following myth tells how the supreme god Re had many names, one of which was hidden and was thus a source of supremacy. The goddess Isis plotted to learn this name and thus to secure power for herself. For this purpose, she employed the venom of a snake against Re. The text thus came to be employed as a conjuration against the bite of a scorpion, and this use probably accounts for the survival of the myth.

The two manuscripts have been dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty (1350-1200 B.C.). The Turin text is ascribed to Lower Egypt, the Beatty text to Thebes.


The spell of the divine god, who came into being by himself, who made heaven, earth, water, the breath of life, fire, gods, men, small and large cattle, creeping things, birds, and fishes, the king of men and gods at one time, (for whom) the limits (go) beyond years, abounding in names, unknown to that (god) and unknown to this (god).

Now Isis was a clever woman. Her heart was craftier than (cxxxii 1) a million men; she was choicer than a million gods; she was more discerning than a million of the noble dead. There was nothing which she did not know in heaven and earth, like Re, who made the content of the earth. The goddess purposed in her heart to learn the name of the august god.

Now Re entered every day at the head of the crew, taking his place on the throne of the two horizons.¹⁴ A divine old age had slackened his mouth. He cast his spittle upon the ground and spat it out, fallen upon the soil. Isis kneaded it for herself with her hand, together

¹ The title is rubricized. As in pp. 10, 33 there is a claim to exceptional knowledge. One element about the present charm is that it protected the dead, buried in the ground, from serpents.

² The mountain of the far western limits of earth.

³ Probably about 10 by 4 miles.

⁴ The rest of sunset. The crocodile-god Sobek was a western god.

⁵ The serpent was over 50 feet long, with its front 5 feet armored in flint.

⁶ The journey of the sun barque through the western skies. The gaze of the serpent is fascinating.

⁷ A pun on tsam "blindfolded" and tsay "male." If the passive, "have been blindfolded," is correct, Seth has taken measures against the hypnotic stare of the serpent. But a variant text gives: "I have bound thee," suggesting that we should read: "I have blindfolded (thee)."

⁸ The question and answer are probably a gloss inserted for the mortuary purposes of the text. What, for the benefit of the dead man, is this magic against the destructive serpent? It is that the funerary ritual has made the dead man an atk, an "effective being."

⁹ The serpent's effective power is not its own and may easily be carried off by Seth.

¹⁰ Who have the forms of serpents.

¹¹ Re himself.

¹² The serpent.

¹³ Rubricized. A few texts replace Re by Atum, who was the sun at evening. Since Seth was, according to another myth, the enemy of Osiris and thus of the dead, most texts replace Seth by "Hat-Hor, Lady of the Evening." Since the dead entered the west, an acquaintance with the powerful forces of the west and the afterworld was of use to the dead.

¹⁴ He made the daily journey between east and west in his sun barque.
with the earth on which it was. She built it up into an August snake; she made it in the form of a sharp point. She took the earth which was not alive before her, (but) she left it at the crossroads past which the great god used to go according to the desire of his heart throughout (5) his Two Lands.

The august god appeared out of doors, with the gods from the palace accompanying him, so that he might stroll as on every day. The august snake bit him. The living fire came forth from his own self, and it vanished among the grass.2 When the divine god could gain his voice, the noise of his majesty reached the heavens. His Ennead said: “What is it? What is it?”, and his gods said: “What? What?” (But) he could not find his voice to answer about it. His lips were trembling, and all his members shuddered. The poison took possession of his flesh as the Nile takes possession (of the land) after it.

When the great god had composed his heart, he cried out to his retinue: “Come to me,” ye who came into being in my body, ye gods who came forth from me, that I may make known to you what has happened! Something painful has stabbed me. My heart does [not] recognize it, my eyes have not seen it, my hand did not make it, and I do not recognize it in all that I have made. I have not tasted a pain like unto it, and there is nothing more painful (10) than it.

“I am a noble, the son of a noble, the fluid of a god, who came into being as a god. I am a great one, the son of a great one. My father thought out my name. I am abounding in names and abounding in forms. My forms exist as every god; I am called Atum and Horus-of-Praise. My father and my mother told me my name, (but) it was hidden in my body before I was born, in order that the power of a male or female magician might not be made to play against me. While I was going out of doors to see what I had made (and to) stroll in the Two Lands which I have created, something has stabbed me—I know not what. It is not really fire; it is not really water; (but) it was hidden in my body before I was born, in order that the power of a male or female magician might not be made to play against me. While I was going out of doors to see what I had made (and to) stroll in the Two Lands which I have created, something has stabbed me—I know not what. It is not really fire; it is not really water. My heart is on fire, my body is trembling, and all my members have a birth of chill.

“Let the children of the gods be brought to me, the beneficent of speech, who know their (magic) spells, whose wisdom reaches the heavens.”

(cxxxiii r) So the children of the gods came, every one of them having his mourning, (but) Isis came with her skill, her speech having the breath of life, her utterances expelling pain, and her words reviving him whose throat was constricted.3 She said: “What is it, what is it, my divine father? What—a snake stabbed weakness into thee? One of thy children lifted up his head against thee? Then I shall cast it down with effective magic. I shall make it retreat at the sight of thy rays.”

The holy god opened his mouth: “It is that I was going along the way, strolling in the Two Lands and the foreign countries, for my heart desired to see what I had created, when I was bitten by a snake, without seeing it. It is not really fire; it is not really water; (but) I am colder than water, I am hotter than fire. (5) My entire body is sweating, while I am shivering. My eye (is) not steadfast, and I cannot see. The heavens are beating upon my face as at the time of summer.”

Then Isis said: “Tell me thy name, my divine father, for a person lives with whose name one recites (magic).”

“I am he who made heaven and earth, who knotted together the mountains, and created what is thereon. I am he who made the waters, so that the Heavenly Cow might come into being.6 I am he who made the bull for the cow, so that sexual pleasures might come into being. I am he who made the heaven and the mysteries of the two horizons, so that the soul of the gods might be placed therein. I am he who opened his eyes, so that light might come into being, who closed his eyes, so that darkness might come into being, in conformance with whose command the Nile flows, (but) whose name the gods have not learned. I am he who made the hours, so that days might come into being. I am he who opened the year and created the river.7 I am he who made the living fire, in order to bring into being (10) the work of the palace.8 I am Khepri in the morning, Re at noon, and Atum who is in the evening.”

(But) the poison was not checked in its course, and the great god did not recover.

Then Isis said to Re: “Thy name is not really among these which thou hast told me. If thou tellest it to me, the poison will come forth, for a person whose name is pronounced lives.”

The poison burned with a burning. It was more powerful than flame or fire.

Then the majesty of Re said: “Let thy ears be given to me, my daughter Isis, that my name may come forth from my body into thy body. The (most) divine among the gods concealed it, so that my place might be wide in the Barque of Millions (of Years).”9 If there should take place a first time of (its) issuing [from] my heart, tell it to (thy) son Horus, after thou hast threatened him with an oath of the god and hast placed the god in his eyes.”10 The great god divulged his name to Isis, the Great of Magic.

“Flow forth, scorpion poison! Come forth from Re, O Eye of Horus! Come forth from the burning god (Ixxvii r) at my spell! It is I who acts; it is I who sends (the message). Come upon the ground, O mighty poison! Behold, the great god has divulged his name, and

The last clause probably corrupt.4
Common in the sense of “Help me!”
This was the hidden name, distinct from his many other names, through which names he appeared in many other gods. We should not be too much concerned with the literary formula which gives the creator-god a father and mother. They appear solely to confer his unknown name upon him.
One who had suffered a bite or sting could not breathe the “breath of life.”

* Mehet Wret “the Great Flood” carries the concept of the heavens as an ocean in the form of a cow, upon which the barque of the sun sailed.
1 The creator-god made time and the marking of time, including the annual inundation.
If the word be really “palace,” the claim may be that Re established the kingship.
3 These forms of deity in which the sun crossed the sky.
9 The sun barque was Re's place of command. It had greater scope if he possessed a secret name of power.
10 If Re had to divulge his name, he was willing that Isis communicate it to Horus, but only on condition that Horus be laid under an oath to keep it secret.
Re is living, the poison is dead. So-and-so, the [son] of So-and-so, is living, and the poison is dead, through the speech of Isis the Great, the Mistress of the Gods, who knows Re (by) his own name.

Directions for the Use of this Charm

Words to be spoken over an image of Atum and of Horus-of-Praise, a figure of Isis, and an image of Horus, painted (on) the hand of him who has the sting and licked off by the man—or done similarly on a strip of fine linen, placed at the throat of him who has the sting. It is the way of caring for a scorpion poison. (Or) it may be worked up with beer or wine and drunk by the man who has a scorpion (bite). It is what kills the poison—really successful a million times.

THE CONTEST

OF HORUS AND SETH FOR THE RULE

Lower Egypt and Upper Egypt are two distinct lands, but are united by contiguity, common dependence upon the Nile, and isolation from other lands. Egyptians have always been conscious of the difference between the "Two Lands," and the reconciliation of two competing areas is a recurrent theme in mythology and the dogma of rule. The commonest expression of this theme is a contest between the gods Horus and Seth to inherit the rule of Osiris, father of Horus and brother of Seth, with a final reconciliation of the two feuding gods to become a united pair.

The following tale draws from this myth for a lusty folk story, told for entertainment rather than didactic purpose. The language, style, and treatment of the tale are colloquial—and will be so translated—and the gods are depicted as petty and childish. The setting of the story is juridical, with the supreme tribunal of the gods, the Ennead, attempting to settle the contest. The president of this tribunal is the sun-god Re.

The manuscript of the story was written in Thebes in the Twentieth Dynasty (12th century B.C.). The hieratic text is on Papyrus Chester Beatty I, recto i 1-xxvi 8. Published with photographs, a transcription into hieroglyphic, translation and commentary by A. H. Gardiner, The Library of A. Chester Beatty. Description of a Hieratic Papyrus with a Mythological Story, Love-Songs, and Other Miscellaneous Texts (Oxford, 1931). Gardiner gives another transcription into hieroglyphic in Late-Egyptian Stories (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, i, Brussels, 1932), 37-60.

I (i 1-ii 2)

The judging of Horus and Seth [took place], the strange of form, the greatest and mightiest of princes who (ever) were; when a [divine] child sat before the All-Lord, claiming the office of his father Osiris, the beautiful of appearances, [the son] of [Pt]ah, who lights up [the west] with his [appearance], while Thoth was presenting the Eye [to] the mighty prince who is in Heliopolis.

Then Shu, the son of Re, said before [Atum, the] mighty [prince] who is in Heliopolis: "Just is the Lord, strong and . . . is he, in saying: Give the office to [Horus]!" (5) Then Thoth said to the [Ennead: "Right! a million times!" Then Isis [gave] a great cry, and she rejoiced very, very much, and she stood] before the All-[Lord,] and she said: "North wind, (go) to the west! Give the good news to King Wen-nofer—life, prosperity, health!" (6) Then Shu, the son [of Re,] said: "[The] presenting of the Eye is the justice of the Ennead!"

What the All-Lord said: "Here—what do you mean by taking action alone?" Then . . . said: "He has [taken] the name-ring of Horus, and the [White] Crown has been [put] on his head!" (7) Then the All-Lord was silent for a long [time, for] he was angry [at] the Ennead.

Then Seth, the son of Nut, said: "Have him dismissed (to) along with me, so that I may show you how my hand prevails over his hand [in the] presence of the Ennead, for nobody knows [any (other)] way [to] strip him!" Then Thoth said to him: "Shouldn't we know the guilty one? Now, should the office of Osiris be given to Seth, when [his] son Horus is standing (here in court) ?"

Then the Re-Har-akhti was very, very angry, for it was the wish of the Re (ii 1) to give the office to Seth, the great of strength, the son of Nut. And Onuris gave a great cry before the Ennead, saying: "What are we going to do!"

II (ii 2-7)

(In their confusion, the gods appeal to a god of generation, who might—as a sort of obstetrician—advise them on the legitimacy of the two contestants. This god evades the responsibility of a decision and suggests that they might ask the ancient goddess Neith, an old crone whose lore might be decisive.)

III (ii 7-iii 7)

Then the Ennead said to Thoth in the presence of the All-Lord: "Please write a letter to Neith, the Great, the God's Mother, in the name of the All-Lord, the Bull Residing in Heliopolis." Then Thoth said: "I will do (it), yes, I will, I will!" Then he sat down to write a letter, and he said:

8 At a time when the moon-god Thoth was offering to the sun-god Re the sacred eye, which was both an eye of heaven and a symbol of justice, the youthful Horus put in his claim to his father's rule.

9 The north wind was the propitious wind. Osiris Wen-nofer was ruler in the west, the realm of the dead.

10 This member of the Ennead, whose name is lost in a lacuna, regards the election of Horus to the rule as an accomplished fact; Horus' name written in the royal cartouche and the crown of Upper Egypt—Seth's province—upon his head. Re disagrees, as he favors Seth (cf. n.7 below).

11 The advocate Thoth takes the legal position that a court of justice has a responsibility to establish the rights and wrongs of a case when a client has made a formal appeal.

12 Re's partiality to Seth may be a result of Seth's activity in repelling the monster which nightly threatened to destroy the barque of Re (cf. pp. 11-12 above).
before his face." Then the great god laughed at her. Then he got up, and he sat down with the Great Ennead, and he said to Horus and Seth: "Say your say!"

The discussion immediately breaks down into wrangling. When Isis, the mother of Horus, intervenes on her son's behalf, Seth is furious and threatens to kill one of the gods every day. He refuses to take part in the trial while Isis is present. The gods therefore isolate themselves on "Central Island" and charge the ferryman not to transport any woman resembling Isis.

VI (v 6-vi 2)

(Isis disguises herself and bribes the ferryman to take her over to "Central Island.")

VII (vi 2-viii 1)

(In the guise of a maiden, Isis lures Seth away from the Ennead and, by a play on words, tricks him into validating the claim of Horus.)

VIII (viii 1-6)

(Over the protest of Seth, the Ennead awards the office to Horus.)

IX (viii 6-ix 7)

(Seth succeeds in staying the award by challenging Horus to an ordeal. They become two hippopotamuses and try to stay under water for three full months, with the office to be given to the one who lasts longest under water. However, Isis complicates the contest by trying to harpoon Seth. He appeals to her sisterly feeling, and she withdraws the harpoon from his hide.)

X (ix 7-xi 1)

(Horus is angry at his mother's change of heart and cuts off her head. The Ennead permits Seth to punish Horus by removing his eyes and burying them "to illuminate the earth." Hat-Hor restores Horus's sight with drops of gazelle milk. Re appeals to the two contestants to stop quarreling. This episode must have some relation to the sun and the moon as the two eyes of Horus in his function as sky-god.)

XI (xi 1-xiii 2)

(A bawdy episode, in which Seth attempts to impugn the virility of Horus but is outwitted by Isis.)

XII (xiii 2-xiv 4)

(Then Seth made a great oath to god, saying: "The office shouldn't be given to him until he has been dismissed (from court) with me and we have built ourselves some stone ships and we have a race, the two (of us)!

Then the one who beats his opponent, (xiii 5) the office of Ruler—life, prosperity, health!—shall be given to him!"

14 Hat-Hor was the goddess of love. Her role here was to caoile the supreme god out of his sulkiness and bring him back to the tribunal.)
Then Horus built himself a ship of cedar, and he plastered it with gypsum, and he launched it on the water in the evening time, without any man who was in the entire land having seen it. Then Seth saw the ship of Horus, and he thought it was stone, and he went to the mountain, and he cut off a mountain peak, and he built himself a stone ship of 138 cubits. Then they embarked in their ships in the presence of the Ennead. Then the ship of Seth sank in the water. Then Seth changed himself into a hippopotamus, (10) so that he might cause the wreck of Horus' ship. Then Horus took his harpoon, and he threw it at the majesty of Seth. Then the Ennead said to him: “Don’t throw it at him!”

Then he took the water weapons, and he laid them in his ship, and he sailed downstream to Sais to speak (to) Neith, the Great, the God’s Mother: “Let me be judged with Seth, since we have been in the court for eighty years up to now, (xiv i) but no one is able to pass judgment on us! He has not been declared right over me, but a thousand times up to now I have been right over him every day! But he pays no attention to anything that the Ennead says. I contested with him in the broad hall (named) ‘Way-of-Truths,’ and I was declared right over him. I contested with him in the broad hall (named) ‘Horus-Foremost-of-Horns,’ and was declared right over him. I contested with him in the broad hall (named) ‘Field-of-Reeds,’ and I was declared right over him. I contested with him in the broad hall (named) ‘the-Field-Pool,’ and I was declared right over him. I contested with him in the broad hall (named) ‘Way-of-Truths,’ and I was declared right over him. I contested with him in the broad hall (named) ‘Field-of-Reeds,’ and I was declared right over him.”

And the Ennead said to Shu, the son of Re: “Horus, the son of Isis, is right in all that he has said!”

XIII (xiv 5-xv 10)

So Thoth said to the All-Lord: “Have a letter sent to Osiris, so that he may pass judgment on the two boys.” Then Shu, the son of Re, said: “What Thoth has said to the Ennead is right a million times!” Then the All-Lord said to Thoth: “Sit down and write a letter to Osiris, so that we may hear what he has to say.” Then Thoth sat down to complete a letter to Osiris, saying: “The Bull: the Lion that Hunts for Himself; the Two Goddesses: Protecting the Gods and Curbing the Two Lands; the Horus of Gold: Discoverer of Mankind in the Primeval Time; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Bull Residing in Heliopolis—life, prosperity, health!—the Son of Ptah: Beneficial One of the Two Banks, Who Appears as Father of His Ennead, while he eats of gold and every (kind of) precious fayence—life, prosperity, health!” Please write us what we are to do for Horus and Seth, so that we may not do something in our ignorance.”

Now after (many days) after this, then the (xv) letter reached the king, the Son of Re: Great of Overflow, Lord of Provisions. Then he gave a great cry when the letter was read out before him. Then he answered it very, very quickly to the place where the All-Lord was with the Ennead, saying:

“Why should my son Horus be cheated, since I am the one who made you strong? Now I am the one who made barley and emmer to keep the gods alive, as well as the cattle after the gods! And no (other) god or goddess at all found himself (able) to do it!”

Then the (xv i) letter of Osiris reached the place where the Re-Har-akhti was, sitting with the Ennead in Xois at the bright(est) time.” Then it was read out before him and the Ennead. And the Re-Har-akhti said: “Please answer for me the letter very quickly to Osiris, and say to him about the letter: ‘Suppose that you had never come into being, or suppose that you had never been born—barley and emmer would still exist!’

Then the letter of the All-Lord reached Osiris, and it was read out before him. Then he sent to the Re-Har-akhti again, saying:

“Very, very fine is everything that you have done, you discoverer of the Ennead as a deed (accomplished) while justice was permitted to sink down into the Underworld! Now look at the case again, yourself! As to (5) the land in which I am, it is filled with savage-faced messengers, and they are not afraid of any god or goddess! I can send them out, and they will bring back the heart of anyone who does wrong, and (then) they will be here with me! Why, what does it mean, my being here resting in the West, while every single one of you is outside? Who among them is stronger than I? But see, they discovered falsehood as an accomplishment. Now when Ptah, the Great, South-of-His-Wall, Lord of the Life of the Two Lands, made the sky, didn’t he say to the stars which are in it: ‘You shall go to rest (in) the West every night, in the place where King Osiris is?’ And, after the gods, the people and the folk shall also go to rest in the place where you are—so he said to me.”

Now after (many days) after this, the letter of Osiris reached the place where the All-Lord was with the Ennead. Then Thoth took the letter, and he read it out titles of the addressee, given in imitation of the fivefold titulary of a pharaoh. Attention might be directed to the interesting epithet of Re: “Discoverer of Mankind in the Primeval Time.” Osiris (see the next note) it treated as the ruler of another realm, that of the dead. A royal name for Osiris as the god of grain. 21 Xois in the Delta was a cult-seat of Re. “The bright time” may be high noon. Re abandons the real issue and argues Osiris’s claim to have made the grain which keeps the gods alive.

In the sarcastic view of Osiris, Re’s preoccupation with building up his circle of gods has led him to neglect justice.

Hades for evildoers, from which Osiris may send out angels (“messenger”) to claim evildoers. Si, but read “you.” Osiris's argument of superior authority is that he is the god of the dead and that stars, gods, and humans ultimately come to be under his rule.
before the Re-Har-akhti (10) and the Ennead. THEN
they said: “Right, right in all that he has said is the
(King): Great of Overflow, Lord of Provisions—life,
prosperity, health!”

XIV (xx xv-xvi 8)

THEN Seth said: “Let us be taken to the Central
Island, so that I may contend with him.” THEN he went
to the Central Island, and Horus was conceded the right
over him. THEN Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, the
Heliopolitan, sent to Isis, saying: “Fetch Seth, fastened
in handcuffs!” THEN Isis fetched Seth, fastened in
handcuffs, he being a prisoner. THEN Atum said to him:
“Why didn’t you allow judgment to be passed on (the
two of) you, instead of taking the office of Horus for
yourself?” THEN Seth said to him: “No, my good lord!
Let Horus the son of Isis, be called and given the office
of (xvi) his father Osiris!”

THEN Horus, the son of Isis, was brought, and the
White Crown was set upon his head, and he was put in
the place of his father Osiris. And it was said to him:
“You are the good king of Egypt; you are the good
Lord—life, prosperity, health!—of Every Land up to
eternity and forever!” THEN Isis gave a great cry to her
son Horus, saying: “You are the good king! My heart
rejoices that you light up the earth with your color!”

THEN Ptah, the Great, South-of-His-Wall, Lord of the
Life of the Two Lands, said: “What is to be done for
Seth? For, see, Horus has been put in the place of his
father Osiris!” THEN the Re-Har-akhti said: “Let Seth,
the son of Nut, be given to me, so that he may live with
me and be a son to me. And he shall speak out in the
sky, and men shall be afraid of him.”

THEN they (5) went to say to the Re-Har-akhti:
“Horus, the son of Isis, has arisen as the Ruler—life,
prosperity, health!” THEN the Re rejoiced very much,
and he said to the Ennead: “You should be glad! To
the ground, to the ground, for Horus, the son of Isis!”
THEN Isis said: “Horus has arisen as the Ruler—life,
prosperity, health! The Ennead is jubilant, and heaven
is in joy!” They took wreaths when they saw Horus, the
son of Isis, arisen as the great Ruler—life, prosperity,
health!—of Egypt. The hearts of the Ennead were con-
tent, and the entire earth was in jubilation, when they
saw Horus, the son of Isis, assigned the office of his
father Osiris, Lord of Busiris.

It has come to a happy ending in Thebes, the Place
of Truth.

ASTARTE AND THE TRIBUTE OF THE SEA

The excuse for introducing so damaged a document is
that we may have here the Egyptian version of a tale current
in Asia. The badly damaged papyrus gives us little certainty
about the purport of the story, but it may be guessed that it told
how the gods—in this case, the Egyptian gods—were freed
of the obligation to pay tribute to the sea. The Phoenician goddess

Astarte, whom the Egyptians of the Empire had introduced
into Egypt and who here appears as the “daughter of Ptah,” was
instrumental in this deliverance from tribute. Any reconstruc-
tion must be treated with great reserve.

The Astarte Papyrus, formerly in the Amherst collection and
now in the Morgan collection in New York, dates from the
Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty (1550-1200 B.C.). Photographs
of the papyrus were given by P. E. Newberry, The Amherst
Papyri (London, 1899), Pls. xix-xxi. Photographs, a translation,
and commentary were given by A. H. Gardiner in Studies
points out a general similarity between the Astarte tale and
Enuma elish, the Babylonian account of the creation, in which
the enemy of the gods is Tiamat, the sea (cf. pp. 60-72). A. H.
Sayce called attention to possible Hittite parallels in JEA, xiv
(1933), 56 ff. A transcription into hieroglyphic was given by
Gardiner in Late-Egyptian Stories (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, 1,
Brussels, 1932), 76-81.

(At the visible beginning of the text all seems to be
well with the gods, of whom Ptah, the Sky, and the
Earth are mentioned. In what follows, it seems that the
Sea claims tribute from the gods as their ruler and that
the harvest-goddess Renenut delivered this.)

(i x+8) ...[his] throne of Ruler—life, prosperity,
health! And he —carried to him tribute ... from the
tribunal. Then Renenut carried [this tribute to the Sea,
as it was due to him] as Ruler—life, prosperity, health!
[One of the gods said]: “... sky. Now, behold, tribute
must be brought to him, ... (x+11) ... his ... , or
he will carry us off as booty... our own for ...”
[Then] Renenut [carried] his tribute of silver and gold,
lapis lazuli, ... the boxes. ... .

(At this point the Ennead of gods seems to express
apprehension and ask questions. Perhaps their relations
with the Sea have worsened through his added demands.
Apparently they need an intermediary and pick Astarte
as suitable for that purpose. It seems that Renenut sent
a bird to appeal to Astarte to undertake this mission on
behalf of the gods.)

(ii x+3) ... And Renenut took a ... Astarte. Then
said [Renenut to one of certain] birds: “Hear what I
shall say; thou shouldst not go away... another. Come,
that thou mayest go to Astarte... [and fly to] her house
and speak under [the window of the room where] she
is sleeping and say to her: ‘If [thou art awake, hearken my
voice.] If thou art asleep, I shall waken thee. The En-
nead must send tribute to the] Sea as Ruler over the
[Earth and as Ruler over] (x+7) the Sky. Pray, come
thou to them in this [hour]! ... (x+12) ... that thou
go thyself, carrying the tribute of [the Sea] ...’” Then
Astarte wept ...

(Astarte is apparently persuaded and undertakes the
mission. She must cajole the Sea and appeal to his sym-
pathy, perhaps because the tribute which she brings is
insufficient.)

(x+17) ... So [she] bore [the tribute of] the [Sea.
She reached the Sea,] singing and laughing at him.
[Then the Sea] saw Astarte sitting on the shore of the
Sea. Then he said to her: “Whence comest thou, thou
daughter of Ptah, thou furious and tempestuous

27 The special attachment of Re and Seth is again indicated; cf. n.7 above.
Seth was to be located, as the thunder-god, in the heavens with the sun-god;
cf. pp. 27, n.23; 249.
goddess? Are (thy) sandals which (are on thy) feet broken, are thy clothes which are upon thee torn by the going and coming which (thou) hast made in heaven and earth?” Then [Astarte] said to him... 

(Here a long lacuna intervenes. Astarte seems to win the desire of the Sea, without necessarily palliating his demand for tribute. Apparently the Sea sends her back to Ptah, with a request that the Ennead surrender the goddess to him. The next words may be his message to Ptah.)

(iii y-2) “… [the Ennead]. If they give to me thy [daughter]... them, what should I do against them myself?” And Astarte heard what the Sea [said] to her, and she lifted herself up to go before the Ennead, to [the] place where they were gathered. And the great ones saw her, and they stood up before her. And the lesser ones saw her, and they lay down upon their bellies. And her throne was given to her, and she sat down. And there was presented to her the...

(Thus Astarte was accepted as a member of the Ennead. Several lacunae follow, with brief passages of text. It seems that the Sea is unyielding in his demands for tribute, so that the gods must put their personal jewelry into the balances to make up the required weight.)

[Then] (iv y) the messenger of Ptah went to tell these words to Ptah and to Nut. Then Nut untied the beads which were at her throat. Behold, she put (them) into the scales... 

(v y)... It means [arguing] with the Ennead. Then he will send and demand... the seal of Geb... [to fill] the scales with it. Then...

(The remainder of a long tale is confined to meaningless scraps. The three brief excerpts given below show that the contest between the Ennead and the Sea continued through a number of episodes.)

(xi y)... and he will cover the ground and the mountains and...

(xy y) “… [come] to fight with him, because... seating himself calmly. He will not come to fight with us.” Then Seth sat down...

(verso b)... and the Sea left...

THE STORY OF SI-NUHE

A strong love of country was a dominant characteristic of the ancient Egyptian. Though he might feel the responsibilities of empire-building, he wished the assurance that he would close his days on the banks of the Nile. That sentiment made the following story one of the most popular classics of Egyptian literature. An Egyptian official of the Middle Kingdom went into voluntary exile in Asia. He was prosperous and well established there, but he continued to long for the land of his birth. Finally he received a royal invitation to return and join the court. This was his real success in life, and this was the popular point of the story. Much of the tale is pompous and over-styled in wording and phrasing, but the central narrative is a credible account, which fits the period as we know it. If this was fiction, it was based on realities and deserves a respected place in Egyptian literature.

The story opens with the death of Amen-em-het I (about 1971-1928 B.C.) and continues in the reign of his successor, Sen-Usert I (about 1928-1927 B.C.). Manuscripts are plentiful and run from the late Twelfth Dynasty (about 1800 B.C.) to the Twenty-First Dynasty (about 1000 B.C.). There are five papyri and at least seventeen ostraca. The most important papyri are in Berlin (3022 [the B manuscript] and 1099 [the R manuscript]), and were published by A. H. Gardiner, in Berlin, Staatlichen Museen. Hieratische Papyrus, V. Die Erzählungen des Sinuhe ... (Leipsig, 1909), Pls. 1-15. G. Maspero studied the texts in Les Mémoires de Sinouhit (Bibliothèque d'Etude, 1, Cairo, 1908). The definitive study of the texts was made by A. H. Gardiner, Notes on the Story of Sinuhe (reprinted from Recueil de travaux ..., Vols. xxxii-xxxvi, Paris, 1916), in which reference is given to the antecedent literature. A. M. Blackman gives a transcription of the texts into hieroglyphic in Middle-Egyptian Stories (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, 11, Brussels, 1932), 1-41. Since Gardiner’s edition, several additional documents have come to light, summarized in B. van de Walle, La Transmission des textes littéraires égyptiens (Bruxelles, 1948), 68-69. The most imposing of these new copies has been published by J. W. B. Barns, The Ashmolean Ostracon of Sinuhe (Oxford, 1952). There are interesting comments on Si-nuhe in Syria by J. J. Cléret in Mélanges offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud (Paris, 1939), 1, 829-840. The story is also translated in Erman, LAE, 14-29.*

(R1) THE HEREDITARY PRINCE AND COUNT, Judge and District Overseer of the domains of the Sovereign in the lands of the Asiatics, real acquaintance of the king, his beloved, the Attendant Si-nuhe. He says:

I was an attendant who followed his lord, a servant of the royal harem (and of) the Hereditary Princess, the great of favor, the wife of King Sen-Usert in (the pyramid town) Khenem-sut, the daughter of King Amen-em-het (R5) in (the pyramid town) Qa-nefru, Nefru, the lady of reverence.1

YEAR 30, THIRD MONTH OF THE FIRST SEASON, DAY 7.2 The god ascended to his horizon; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Schetep-ib-Re was taken up to heaven and united with the sun disc. The body of the god merged with him who made him.3 The Residence City was in silence, hearts were in mourning, the Great Double Doors were sealed shut. (R20) The courtiers (sat) head on lap, and the people were in grief.

Now his majesty had sent an army to the land of the Temeh-Libyans, with his eldest son as the commander thereof, the good god Sen-Usert, (R5) and even now he was returning and had carried off living captives of the Tehenu-Libyans and all (kinds of) cattle without number.

The courtiers of the palace sent to the western border to let the King’s Son know the events which had taken place at the court. The messengers met him on the road, (R20) and they reached him in the evening time. He did not delay a moment; the falcon4 flew away with his attendants, without letting his army know it. Now the royal children who had been following him in this

1 Si-nuhe’s service was to Nefru, the daughter of Amen-em-het I and wife of Sen-Usert I.  
2 Around 1960 B.C., the date of Amen-em-het I’s death, as given here, would have fallen early in March.  
3 The pharaoh was the “Son of Re,” the sun-god. At death he was taken back into the body of his creator and father.  
4 The new king Sen-Usert I. Although he had been coregent with his father for ten years, he had to go immediately to the capital before word of his father’s death became widely known. See the next note.
army had been sent for, (B1) and one of them was summoned. While I was standing (near by) I heard his voice as he was speaking and I was a little way off. My heart was distraught, my arms spread out (in dismay), trembling fell upon all my limbs." I removed myself by leaps and bounds to seek a hiding place for myself. I placed (5) myself between two bushes, in order to cut (myself) off from the road and its travel.

"I set out southward, (but) I did not plan to reach this Residence City, (for) I thought that there would be civil disorder, and I did not expect to live after him. I crossed Lake Ma'atty near Sycamore, and I came to Snefru Island. I spent the day there on the edge of (10) the fields. I came into the open light, while it was (still) day, and I met a man standing near by. He stood in awe of me, for he was afraid. When the time of the evening meal came, I drew near to Oxtown. I crossed over in a barge without a rudder, by aid of the west wind." I passed by the east of the quarry (I5) above evening meal came, I drew near to Ox-town. I crossed Lake Ma'atty near Sycamore, and I came to Snefru Island. I spent the day there on the edge of (10) the fields. I came into the open light, while it was (still) day, and I met a man standing near by. He stood in awe of me, for he was afraid. When the time of the evening meal came, I drew near to Oxtown. I crossed over in a barge without a rudder, by aid of the west wind.

"I passed by the east of the quarry (15) above Mistress-of-the-Red-Mountain." I gave (free) road to my wind." I passed by the east of the quarry (I5) above evening meal came, I drew near to Ox-town. I crossed Lake Ma'atty near Sycamore, and I came to Snefru Island. I spent the day there on the edge of (10) the fields. I came into the open light, while it was (still) day, and I met a man standing near by. He stood in awe of me, for he was afraid. When the time of the evening meal came, I drew near to Oxtown. I crossed over in a barge without a rudder, by aid of the west wind.

One foreign country gave me to another. I set off for Byblos and approached Oedem, and spent (30) a year and a half there. Ammi-enshi—he was a ruler of Upper Retenu—took me and said to me: "Thou wilt do well with me, and thou wilt hear the speech of Egypt." He said this, for he knew my character, he had heard of my wisdom, and the people of Egypt who were there with him had borne witness for me.

Then he said to me: (35) "Why hast thou come hither? Has something happened in the Residence City?" Then I said to him: "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Selenef-ib-Re is departed to the horizon, and no one knows what might happen because of it." But I said equivocally: "I had come from an expedition to the land of Temeh, when report was made to me. My heart quailed; it carried (40) me off on the way of flight. (Yet) no one had gossiped about me; no one had spat in my face; not a belittling word had been heard, nor had my name been heard in the mouth of the herald. I do not know what brought me to this country. It was as though it might be a god."

Then he said to me: "Well, what will that land be like without him, that beneficent god, the fear of whom pervaded (45) foreign countries like (the fear of) Sekhmet in a year of pestilence?" I spoke to him that I might answer him: "Well, of course, his son has entered into the palace and has taken the inheritance of his father. Moreover, he is a god without his peer. There is no other who surpasses him. He is a master of understanding, effective in plans and beneficent of decrees. Going forth and coming back are in conformance with (50) his command. He was it who subdued the foreign countries while his father was in his palace, and he reported to him that what had been charged to him had been carried out...." How joyful is this land which he has ruled! (71) He is one who extends its frontiers. He will carry off the lands of the south, and he will not consider the northern countries (seriously), (for) he was made to smite the Asiatics and to crush the Sand-Crossers. Send to him! Let him know thy name! Do not utter a curse against his majesty. He will not fail to do (75) good to the country which shall be loyal to him!"

Then he said to me: "Well, really, Egypt is happy that it knows that he is flourishing. Now thou art here. Thou shalt stay with me. What I shall do for thee is good."

He set me at the head of his children. He married me to his eldest daughter. He let me choose for myself of his country, (80) of the choicest of that which was with him on his frontier with another country. It was a good land, named Yaa. Figs were in it, and grapes. It had more wine than water. Plentiful was its honey, abundant its olives. Every (kind of) fruit was on its trees. Barley was there, and emmer. There was no limit to any (kind of) cattle. (85) Moreover, great was that which accrued apparently went east from Byblos, a location in the valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon is a possibility, but it would be wrong to push the evidence so closely. As it stands, the story gives a picture of Syria-Palestine in the patriarchal period.

Other exiles like Si-nuhe? He is in a land of refuge from Egypt. From the nature of this land it seems unlikely that there would have been many Egyptian merchants.

The goddess Sekhmet had to do with disease.

This translation omits some of the fulsome praise.
to me as a result of the love of me. He made me ruler of a tribe of the choicest of his country. Bread was made for me as daily fare, wine as daily provision, cooked meat and roast fowl, beside the wild beasts of the desert, for they hunted (go) for me and laid before me, beside the catch of my (own) hounds. Many ... were made for me, and milk in every (kind of) cooking.

I spent many years, and my children grew up to be strong men, each man as the restrainer of his (own) tribe. The messenger who went north or who went south to the Residence City (95) stopped over with me, (for) I used to make everybody stop over. I gave water to the thirsty. I put him who had strayed (back) on the road. I rescued him who had been robbed. When the Asiatics became so bold as to oppose the rulers of foreign countries,4 I counseled their movements. This ruler of (100) (Re)tenu had me spend many years as commander of his army. Every foreign country against which I went forth, when I had made my attack on it, was driven away from its pastureage and its wells. I plundered its cattle, carried off its inhabitants, took away their food, and slew people in it (105) by my strong arm, by my bow, by my movements, and by my successful plans. I found favor in his heart, he loved me, he recognized my valor, and he placed me at the head of his children, when he saw how my arms flourished.

A mighty man of Retenu came, that he might challenge me (110) in my (own) camp. He was a hero without his peer, and he had repelled all of it.5 He said that he would fight me, he intended to despoil me, and he planned to plunder my cattle, on the advice of his (own) heart. When he saw how my arms flourished. He said: "I do not know him. Certainly I am no confederate of his, (115) so that I might move freely in his encampment. Is it the case that I have (ever) opened his door or overthrown his fences? (Rather), it is hostility because he sees me carrying out thy commissions. I am really like a stray bull in the midst of another herd, and a bull of (these) cattle attacks him. ..."6

During the night I strung my bow and shot my arrows,7 I gave free play to my dagger, and polished my weapons. When day broke, (Re)tenu was come. (130) It had whipped up its tribes and collected the countries of a (good) half of it. It had thought (only) of this fight. Then he came to me as I was waiting, (for) I had placed myself near him. Every heart burned for me; women and men groaned. Every heart was sick for me. They said: "Is there another strong man who could fight against him?" Then (he took) his shield, his battle-axe, (135) and his armful of javelins. Now after I had let his weapons issue forth, I made his arrows pass by me uselessly, one close to another. He charged me, and I shot him, my arrow sticking in his neck. He cried out and fell on his nose. (140) I felled him with his (own) battle-axe and raised my cry of victory over his back, while every Asiatic roared. I gave praise to Montu,8 while his adherents were mourning for him. This ruler Ammi-enshi took me into his embrace. Then I carried off his goods and plundered his cattle. What he had planned to do (145) to me I did to him. I took what was in his tent and stripped his encampment. I became great thereby, I became extensive in my wealth, I became abundant in my cattle.

Thus did god to show mercy to him upon whom he had laid blame, whom he had led astray to another country. (But) today his heart is assured.9 ...

Now when the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Kheper-ka-Re, the justified,10 was told about this situation in which I was, then his majesty kept sending (175) to me with presentations from the royal presence, that he might gladden the heart of this servant11 like the ruler of any foreign country. The royal children in his palace let me hear their commissions.12

Copy of the decree which was brought to this servant about bringing him (back) to Egypt.

"The Horus: Living in Births; the Two Goddesses: Living in Births; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Kheper-ka-Re; the Son of Re: (180) Amen-em-het,13 living forever and ever. Royal decree to the Attendant Si-nuhe. Behold, this decree of the king is brought to thee to let thee know that:

"Thou hast traversed the foreign countries, starting from Qedem to (Re)tenu. One country gave thee to another, under the advice of thy (own) heart to thee. What hast thou done that anything should be done to thee? Thou hast not cursed, that thy word should be punished. Thou hast not spoken against the counsel of the nobles, that thy speeches should be opposed. (185) This plan (simply) carried away thy heart. It was in no heart against thee. This thy heaven which is in the palace14 is firm and steadfast today. Her head is covered with the kingship of the land.15 Her children are in the court.

"Mayest thou lay up treasures which they may give thee; mayest thou live on their bounty. Do thou return to Egypt, that thou mayest see the home in which thou didst grow up and kiss the ground at the Great Double Door and join with the courtiers. For today, surely, (190) thou hast begun to grow old; thou hast lost (thy) virility. Recall thou the day of burial, the passing by me uselessly, one close to another. He charged me, and I shot him, my arrow sticking in his neck. He cried out and fell on his nose. (140) I felled him with his (own) battle-axe and raised my cry of victory over his back, while every Asiatic roared. I gave praise to Montu, while his adherents were mourning for him. This ruler Ammi-enshi took me into his embrace. Then I carried off his goods and plundered his cattle. What he had planned to do (145) to me I did to him. I took what was in his tent and stripped his encampment. I became great thereby, I became extensive in my wealth, I became abundant in my cattle.

Thou hast traversed the foreign countries, starting from Qedem to (Re)tenu. One country gave thee to another, under the advice of thy (own) heart to thee. What hast thou done that anything should be done to thee? Thou hast not cursed, that thy word should be punished. Thou hast not spoken against the counsel of the nobles, that thy speeches should be opposed. (185) This plan (simply) carried away thy heart. It was in no heart against thee. This thy heaven which is in the palace is firm and steadfast today. Her head is covered with the kingship of the land. Her children are in the court.

"Mayest thou lay up treasures which they may give thee; mayest thou live on their bounty. Do thou return to Egypt, that thou mayest see the home in which thou didst grow up and kiss the ground at the Great Double Door and join with the courtiers. For today, surely, (190) thou hast begun to grow old; thou hast lost (thy) virility. Recall thou the day of burial, the passing to a revered state, when the evening is set aside for thee with ointments and wrappings from the hands of Tait. A funeral procession is made for thee on the day of

4 The Egyptian god of war.
5 It is not clear how Si-nuhe expiated his sins, except by being a successful Egyptian in another country. This translation omits in the following text a poetical statement of homesickness for Egypt.
6 Sen-Usert I. The manuscript incorrectly writes Kheper-ka-Re.
7 "This servant"= me.
8 They also wrote to Si-nuhe.
9 Sir, but read "Sen-Usert."
10 The Queen.
11 She wears the insignia of rule?
12 The goddess of weaving—here for mummy wrappings.
13 The Queen.
14 The gods.
interment, a mummy case of gold, with head of lapis lazuli, with the heaven above thee, as thou art placed upon a sledge, oxen dragging thee and singers in front of thee, when the dance (195) of the muu is performed at the door of thy tomb, when the requirements of the offering table are summoned for thee and there is sacrifice beside thy offering stones, thy pillars being hewn of white stone in the midst of (the tombs of) the royal children. It should not be that thou shouldst die in a foreign country. It is really the hand of a god. It is a terror that is in my heart. It may be all right to roam about when you are young, but now you should not be interred by bowmen. Do not, do not act thus any longer: (for) thou dost not speak (260) when thy name is pronounced! Yet (I) was afraid to respond, and I answered it with the answer of one who knows his land should be afraid, (for) Re has set his hand upon, and the god who ordained this flight shuddered, I did not hear a belittling word. 'My name had not been heard in the mouth of the herald. And yet—my body was like a man caught in the midst of (215) the majesty of the palace that this servant was afraid to say it. It is (still) like something (too) big to repeat.' FURTHER, may thy majesty command that there be brought Maki from Qedem, (220) Khenti-iaush from Khenkeshu, and Menus from the lands of the Fenkhu. They are men exact and reliable, young men who grew up in the love of thee—not to mention (Re)tenu: it is thine, like thy (own) hounds.

"Now this flight which the servant made, it was not planned, it was not in my heart, I had not worried about it. I do not know what severed me from (my) place. It was after (225) the manner of a dream, as if a man of the Delta were to see himself in Elephantine, or a man of the (northern) marshes in Nubia. I had not been afraid. No one had run after me. I had not heard a belittling word. My name had not been heard in the mouth of the herald. And yet—my body shuddered, my feet were trembling, my heart led me on, and the god who ordained this flight (230) drew me away. I was not at all stiff-backed formerly. A man who knows his land should be afraid, (for) Re has set the fear of thee throughout the earth, and the dread of thee in every foreign country. Whether I am at home or whether I am in this place, thou art he who covers this horizon, the sun disc rises at thy pleasure, the water in the River is drunk as thou wishest, and the air in the sky is breathed as thou biddest. This servant will hand over (235) the viziership which this servant has exercised in this place."

Then they came for this servant. . . . I was permitted to spend a day in Yaa handing over my property to my children, my eldest son being responsible for my tribe. (240) My tribe and all my property were in his charge: my serfs, all my cattle, my fruit, and every pleasant tree of mine.

Then this servant came southward. I halted at the "Ways of Horus." The commander there who was responsible for the patrol sent a message to the Residence to make (it) known. Then his majesty sent a capable overseer of peasants of the palace, with loaded ships in his train, (245) carrying presentations from the royal presence for the Asians who had followed me, escorting me to the "Ways of Horus," I called each of them by his name. Every butler was (busy) at his duties. When I started and set sail, the kneading and straining (of beer) was carried on beside me, until I had reached the town of Lish. When day had broken, very early, they came and summoned me, ten men coming and ten men going to usher me to the palace. I put my brow to the ground between the sphinxes, (250) while the royal children were waiting in a recess to meet me. The courtiers who usher into the audience hall set me on the way to the private chambers. I found his majesty upon the Great Throne in a recess of fine gold. When I was stretched out upon my belly; I knew not myself in his presence, (although) this god greeted me pleasantly. I was like a man caught in the dark: (255) my soul departed, my body was powerless, my heart was not in my body, that I might know life from death.

Then his majesty said to one of these courtiers: "Lift him up. Let him speak to me." Then his majesty said: "Behold, thou art come. Thou hast trodden the foreign countries and made a flight. (But now) elderliness has attacked thee; thou hast reached old age. It is no small matter that thy corpse be (properly) buried; thou shouldst not be interred by bowmen." Do not, do not act thus any longer: (for) thou dost not speak (260) when thy name is pronounced! Yet (I) was afraid to respond, and I answered it with the answer of one afraid: "What is it that my lord says to me? I should answer it, (but) there is nothing that I can do: it is really the hand of a god. It is a terror that is in my belly like that which produced the fated flight. Behold, he maintains the flattering fiction that he has been ruling his part of Asia on behalf of the pharaoh. The Egyptian frontier station facing Sinai, probably near modern Kantarah. cf. pp. 416, 478. He introduced the Asians to the Egyptians. The capital in the Faiyum. Si-nuhe traveled on a boat with its own kitchen. Ten were assigned to summon him and ten to escort him. Foreigners.
I AM BEFORE THEE. THINE IS LIFE. MAY THY MAJESTY DO AS HE PLEASETH.

HEREUPON the royal children were ushered in. Then his majesty said to the Queen: "Here is Si-nuhe, (265) come as a Bedu, (in) the guise of the Asiatics." She gave a very great cry, and the royal children clamped all together. Then they said to his majesty: "It is not really he, O Sovereign, my lord!" Then his majesty said: "It is really he!" Now when they had brought with them their bead-necklaces, their rattles, and their siistra, then they presented them to his majesty. . . . Loose the horn of thy bow and relax thy arrow! (275) Give breath to him that was stifled! Give us our goodly gift in this title

Then his majesty said: "He shall not fear. (280) He has no title to be in dread. He shall be a courtier among the nobles. He shall be put in the ranks of the courtiers. Proceed ye to the inner chambers of the morning (toilet), in order to make his position." 42

So I went forth from the midst of the inner chambers, with the royal children giving me their hands. (285) Thereafter we went to the Great Double Door. I was put into the house of a royal son, in which were splendid things. A cool room was in it, and images of the horizon. 44 Costly things of the Treasury were in it. Clothing of royal linen, myrrh, and prime oil of the king and of the nobles whom he loves were in every room. (290) Every butler was (busy) at his duties. Years were made to pass away from my body. I was plucked, and my hair was combed. A load (of dirt) was given to the desert, and my clothes (to) the Sand-Crossers. I was clad in fine linen and anointed with prime oil. I slept on a bed. I gave up the sand to them who are in it, (295) and wood oil to him who is anointed with it. I was given a house which had a garden, which had been in the possession of a courtier. Many craftsmen built it, and all its wood(work) was newly restored. Meals were brought to me from the palace three or four times a day, apart from that which the royal children gave, without ceasing a moment.

(300) There was constructed for me a pyramid-tomb of stone in the midst of the pyramid-tombs. The stonemasons who hew a pyramid-tomb took over its groundwork. The outline-draftsmen designed in it; the chief sculptors carved in it; and the overseers of works who are in the necropolis made it their concern. (305) Its necessary materials were made from all the outfittings which are placed at a tomb-shaft. Mortuary priests were given to me. There was made for me a necropolis garden, with fields in it formerly (extending) as far as the town, like that which is done for a chief courtier. My statue was overlaid with gold, and its skirt was of fine gold. It was his majesty who had it made. There is no poor man for whom the like has been done.

(310) I was under the favor of the king’s presence until the day of mourning had come. It has come (to its end), from beginning to end as it had been found in writing.

THE TAKING OF JOPPA

One of the important officers in the army of the empire-builder Thut-mose III (about 1490-1436 B.C.) was a certain Thoth (or Thuti), who has left us evidence of his responsible concern for the conquest and administration of foreign countries. 4 His fame continued for some generations, as he appears as the hero in the following tale in a manuscript of the Nineteenth Dynasty (dated to about 1300 B.C.).

Papyrus Harris 690, now 10060 in the British Museum, verso i-iii. The manuscript is said to have come from Thebes. Photograph in Fascimile of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Second Series, ed. by E. A. W. Budge (London, 1923), Pl. XLVII. Transcription into hieroglyphic in A. H. Gardiner, Late-Egyptian Stories (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, 1, Brussels, 1933), 82-85. A study by H. P. Bolk, De beide Volksverhalen van Papyrus Harris 500 Verso (Leyden, 1925) was reviewed by T. E. Peet, in JEA, xx (1925), 336-37. Translations by Peet, JEA, x (1925), 225-227, and by Erman, LaE, 167-69.

The language and style are relatively colloquial Late Egyptian, so that the following translation uses "you" instead of "thou," except in address of the gods. The beginning of the story is lost. One may assume that General Thoth has been besieging the port of Joppa in Palestine and is conferring with the Prince of Joppa to arrange some kind of terms. . . .

220(+x) mary[a]nu 4 . . . them according to the number of baskets. . . . [replied] to Thoth: "[Have] 100(+-x) [loaves given to] him. The garrison of Pharao—life, prosperity, health!—. . . . . their faces.

Now after an hour they were drunken, and Thoth said to [the Enemy of Joppa:] "I’ll deliver myself, along with (my) wife and children, (into) your own town. Have the (5) ma[r]yu[a] bring in [the horses and give] them feed, or an apru 4 may pass by . . . them." So they guarded the horses and gave them feed.

44 Until the day of death. Gardiner has pointed out that the story resembles an autobiography prepared for a tomb wall, and "its nucleus may be derived from the tomb of a real Sinuhe, who led a life of adventure in Palestine and was subsequently buried at Liath" (Notes on the Story of Si-nuhe, 168).

1 On a gold bowl in the Louvre, Thoth is called: "the trusted man of the king in every foreign country and the islands which are in the midst of the Sea; he who fills the storehouses with lapis lazuli, silver, and gold; the Overseer of Foreign Countries: the Commander of the Army." On other materials belonging to Thoth, he is called: "the Follower of the King in Every Foreign Country"; "the trusted man of the King in God’s Country," i.e. the East: "the Garrison Commander"; and "the Overseer of Northern Countries." See Sethe, Urkunden der 18. Dynastie (Urk., iv, 999-1002.

2 Apparently the Indo-Iranian word for "nobles," used in Egyptian texts for Asiatic warriors. cf. pp. 237, n.43; 245, n.15; 246, n.38; 261: 262: and 477.

3 The inclusion of wife and children makes it reasonable to assume that Thoth was offering to go over to the side of Joppa.

4 The "Apru" were foreigners, some of whom served the Egyptians at this time. For the probable connection of the term "Apru" with the term appearing in cuneiform as Haburu, the latter being the assumed origin of the word "Hebrew," see J. A. Wilson, in AJSL, xxix (1931), 275-80. Haburu was not an ethnic, and the present "Apru" was not a Hebrew as far as we have any evidence. cf. p. 247, n.47.
And [the Enemy of Joppa wanted to see the great staff of] King Men-kheper-Re—life, prosperity, health!—and they came and reported (this) to Thoth. Then [the Enemy of Joppa] said to Thoth: "I want to see the great staff of King Men-kheper-Re—life, prosperity, health!—of which the name is '...the Beautiful.' By the ka of King Men-kheper-Re—life, prosperity, health!—if you have it today, (to) ... good, and bring it to me!"

And he did so and brought the great staff of King Men-kheper-Re, [and he laid hold of] his cloak, and he stood upright, and said: "Look at me, O Enemy of Joppa! Behold the King Men-kheper-Re—life, prosperity, health!—the fierce lion, the son of Sekhmet!" Amon gave him his victory!" [And he] raised his hand and struck the Enemy of Joppa on the forehead. And he fell down, (iii) made prostrate before him. And he put him in fetters. And he ... pieces of metal, which [he had made to] punish this Enemy of Joppa. And the piece of metal of four nemset (weight) was put on his feet.

And he had the two hundred baskets brought which he had made, and he had two hundred soldiers get down (5) into them. And their arms were filled (with) bonds and fetters, and they were sealed up with seals. And they were given their sandals, as well as their carrying-poles and staves. And they had every good soldier carrying them, totaling five hundred men. And they were told: "When you enter the city, you are to let out your companions and lay hold on all the people who are in the city and put them in bonds (10) immediately."

And they went out to tell the charioteer of the Enemy of Joppa: "Thus speaks your lord: 'Go and tell your mistress: Rejoice, for Seth has given us Thoth along with his wife and his children! See the vanguard of their tribute.' (You) shall tell her about these two hundred baskets, which were filled with men in fetters and bonds.

Then he went ahead of them to bring the good news to his mistress, saying: "We have captured Thoth!" And they opened the locks of the city before the soldiers. (iii) And they entered the city and let out their companions and laid them in front of his field, [with] milk, with wood, and [with] every good thing of the fields, and he laid them in front of his elder, and Bate was the name of the younger. Now, the elder brother (5) was tending his cattle in his custom of drinking and he ate, and he ... pieces of metal, which [he had made to] punish this Enemy of Joppa. And the piece of metal of four nemset (weight) was put on his feet."

And they carried the two hundred baskets to the Enemy of Joppa, along with all his people, as well as his city! Send men to take them away as plunder, so that you may fill the House of your father Amon-Re, King of the Gods, with male and female slaves, who are fallen under your feet forever and ever!"

It has come to a happy ending, (written) by the ka of a scribe skillful with his fingers, the Scribe of the Army, ... 12

THE STORY OF TWO BROTHERS

This folk tale tells how a conscientious young man was falsely accused of adultery by the wife of his elder brother, after he had actually rejected her advances. This part of the story has general similarity to the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. The two chief characters are brothers named Anubis and Bate. These were the names of Egyptian gods, and the tale probably does have a mythological setting. However, it served for entertainment, rather than ecclesiastical or moral purpose. The story is colloquial and is so translated.

Papyrus D'Orbiney is now British Museum 10183. Facsimiled in Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character from the Collections of the British Museum, ii (London, 1860), Pls. ix-xix, and in G. Moller, Hieratische Texte, ii (Leipzig, 1927), 1-20. The manuscript can be closely dated to about 1225 B.C. in the Nineteenth Dynasty. Transcription into hieroglyphic in A. H. Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, 1, Brussels, 1932), 9-29. Translation in Erman, LAE, 150-61.

Now they say that (once) there were two brothers of one mother and one father. Anubis was the name of the elder, and Bate 1 was the name of the younger. Now, as for Anubis, he [had] a house and had a wife, [and] his younger brother (lived) with him as a sort of minor. He was the one who made clothes for him and went to the fields driving his cattle. He was the one who did the plowing and who harvested for him. He was the one who did all (kinds of) work for him which are in the fields. Really, his younger [brother] was a good (grown) man. There was no one like him in the entire land. Why, the strength of a god was in him.

[Now] after many days after this, 2 his younger brother (5) was tending his cattle in his custom of every [day], and he [left off] (to go) to his house every evening, loaded [with] all (kinds of) plants of the field, [with] milk, with wood, and [with] every [good thing of] the fields, and he laid them in front of his elder brother, who was sitting with his wife. And he drank and he ate, and [he went out to sleep in] his stable among his cattle [by himself].

Now when it was dawn and a second day had come, [he prepared food], which was cooked, and laid it before

5 "That-mose, III...
6 The Egyptian goddess of war.
7 Nemset might mean a weight or a clamp, to prevent the movement of the Prince of Joppa.
8 If the translation "carrying-poles" is correct, this equipment was issued to the 500 soldiers who carried the baskets (or sacks?), and not to the zoo who were carried. The similarity of the arrangement to that in the tale of "All Babu and the Forty Thieves" is obvious.
9 Probably this charioteer had driven the Prince of Joppa out to the parole and was waiting outside the Egyptian camp.
10 The wife of the Prince of Joppa.
11 The Egyptian god whom the Egyptians equated with gods of foreign countries.
12 The terminal point of the quotation is uncertain. It is possible to read: "(You) shall tell her about these two hundred baskets, which are filled with men in fetters and bonds," i.e. delivered to Joppa as prisoners. However, the point of the deception would then be lost. More likely the phrase is a parenthesis of the storyteller: Tell her about these two hundred baskets—supposedly filled with tribute, but actually filled with Egyptian soldiers.
13 The name of the copyist is illegible.
his elder brother. [And he] gave him bread for the fields. And he drove his cattle out to let them feed in the fields. He went along after his cattle, and they would say to him: “The grass [of] such-and-such a place is good,” and he would understand whatever they said and would take them to the place where good grass which they wanted. So the cattle which were before him became very, very fine. They doubled their calving very, very much.

Now at the time of plowing his [elder] brother said to him: “Get a yoke [of oxen] ready for us for plowing, for the fields have come out, and it is fine for plowing. Also come to the fields with seed, for we shall be busy (with) plowing in the morning.” So he spoke to him. Then [his] younger brother did all the things which his elder brother had told him to do.

Now when it was dawn [and a second] day had come, they went to the fields with their [seed], and they were busy [with] plowing, and [their hearts] were very, very pleased with their activity at the beginning of [their] work.

Now after many days after this, they were in the fields and ran short of seed. Then he sent his younger brother, saying: “Go and fetch us seed from the village.” And his younger brother found the wife of his elder brother sitting and doing her hair. Then he said to her: “Get up and give me (some) seed, (iii 1) for my younger brother is waiting for me. Don’t delay!” Then she said to him: “Go and open the bin and take what you want! Don’t make me leave my combing unfinished!” Then the lad went into his stable, and he took a big jar, for he wanted to carry off a lot of seed. So he loaded himself with barley and emmer and came out carrying them.

Then she said to him: “How much (is it) that is on your shoulder?” [And he] said to her: “(v) three sacks of emmer, two sacks of barley, five in all, is what is on your shoulder.” So he spoke to her. Then [she] talked with him, saying “There is [great] strength in you! Now I see your energies every day!” And she wanted to know him as one knows a man.

Then she stood up and took hold of him and said to him: “Come, let’s spend an [hour] sleeping (together)! Put on your curls!” So he spoke to me. But I wouldn’t listen to him: ‘Aren’t I your mother?—for your elder brother is like a father to you!’ So I spoke to him. But he was afraid, and he beat (me), so as not to let me tell you. Now, if you let him live, I’ll kill myself! Look, when he comes, don’t let him speak, for, if I accuse (him of) this wicked suggestion, he will be ready to do it tomorrow (again)!”

Then his elder brother became [like] a leopard, and he made his lance sharp, and he put it in his hand. Then his elder (brother) stood behind the door (of) his stable to kill his younger brother when he came back in the evening to put his cattle in the stable.

Now when the sun was setting, he loaded himself (with) all plants of the fields, according to his custom of every day, and he came back. When the first cow came into the stable, she said to her herdsman: “Here’s your elder brother waiting before you, carrying his lance to kill you! Run away from him!” Then he understood what his first cow had said. And (vi 1) another went in, and she said the same. So he looked under the door of his stable, and he saw the feet of his elder brother, as he was waiting behind the door, with his lance in his hand. So he laid his load on the ground, and he started to run away and escape. And his elder brother went after him, carrying his lance.

Then his younger brother prayed to the Re-Harakhti, (v) saying: “O my good lord, thou art he who judges the wicked from the just!” Thereupon the Re heard all his pleas, and the Re made a great (body of) water appear between him and his elder (brother), and it was full of crocodiles. So one of them came to be on one side and the other on the other. And his elder brother struck his hand twice because of his not killing him. Then his younger brother called to him from the

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5 It has been suggested that these were to make her vomit.
6 The wig of her festive attire.
and he was judged with her in their presence, and there
was agreement among them.10 And his elder brother
was brought to him, and he made him crown prince
in his entire land. And he (spent) thirty years as King
of Egypt. And he departed from life, and his elder brother
stood in his place on the day of death.

**THE JOURNEY OF WEN-AMON TO PHOENICIA**

When the Egyptian Empire disintegrated, it left a vacuum in
its place for a generation or two. Egyptians, Asiatics, and Afri-
cans continued to think in terms of an authority which was no
longer real. In the following tale Egypt had already become a
"bruised reed" but was continuing to assert traditional expres-
sions of dominance. The Asiatics were beginning to express their
scepticism and their independence of their great neighbor to the
south.

The story is almost picaresque in its atmosphere and must be
classed as a narrative. Nevertheless, it deals at close range with
actual individuals and situations and must have had a basis of
fact, here exaggerated by the conscious and unconscious humor
of the narrator. It does represent the situation in Hither Asia
about 1100 B.C. more tellingly than a document of the historical-
propagandistic category could do.

Wen-Amon, an official of the Temple of Amon at Karnak, tells
how he was sent to Byblos on the Phoenician coast to procure
lumber for the ceremonial barge of the god. Egypt had already
split into small states and did not support his mission with ade-
quate purchasing value, credentials, or armed force.

The papyrus, now in the Moscow Museum, comes from el-
Hibeh in Middle Egypt and dates to the early Twenty-first
Dynasty (11th century B.C.), shortly after the events it relates.
A transcript of some of the hieratic text may be seen in G.
Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke,* 11 (Leipzig, 1927), 29. The origi-
nal publication, out of his own collection, was by W. Golen-
scheff, in *Recueil de travaux... ,*** xxx (1899), 74-102. Trans-
scription into hieroglyphic is in A. H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian
Stories* (*Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca,* 1, Brussels, 1932), 61-76. A.
Erman published a translation in *ZAS,* xxxviii (1900), 1-14,
and again in *LAE,* 174-85. The present translation profited by
photographs of the manuscript. The text is written in the col-
loquial of Late-Egyptian and is so translated.*

**YEAR 5, 4TH MONTH OF THE 3RD SEASON, DAY 16:1** the
day on which Wen-Amon, the Senior of the Forecourt
of the House of Amon, [Lord of the Thrones] of the
Two Lands, set out to fetch the woodwork for the great
and august barque of Amon-Re, King of the Gods,

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1 In the poem on Ramses II's battle at Kadesh on the Orontes, the Valley
of the Cedar appears to be on or near the Lebanon. cf. p. 256 below.
*IEA,* xix (1933), 128.

2 The mutilation was a self-imposed ordeal to support his oath to the
sun-god. There was a familiar element in the swallowing of the phallus
by the fish. In the Plutarch account of the Osiris myths, it is related that
Seth dismembered Osiris and scattered the pieces. Then Isis went about
and buried each piece as she found it. However, she could not find the
phallus, which had been thrown into the river and eaten by certain
fishes, which thereby became forbidden food.

3 Thus showing his grief.

4 A circumlocution for the Pharaoh, who was now Bata himself.

5 The year was most likely the fifth of the "Repeating of Births,
" corresponding to the 23rd of the weak Ramses XI. Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded
and Heri-Hor are treated as effective rulers but not given royal titles.

6 As in other cases, the Egyptian avoids direct statement of the woman's
condemnation to death.

7 Qa-gabu was the master and Inena the pupil. cf. p. 259 below.

8 The god of writing.

9 Thus showing his grief.

10 A circumlocution for the Pharaoh, who was now Bata himself.
which is on [the River and which is named]; “User-het-Amon.” On the day when I reached Tanis, the place [where Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded] and Ta-net-Amon were, I gave them the letters of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, and they (5) had them read in their presence. And they said: “Yes, I will do as Amon-Re, King of the Gods, our [lord], has said!” I spent up to the 4th month of the 3rd season in Tanis.4 And Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded and Ta-net-Amon sent me off with the ship captain Mengebet, and I embarked on the great Syrian sea in the 1st month of the 3rd season, Day 1.

I reached Dor, a town of the Tjeker, and Beder, its prince, had 50 loaves of bread, one jug of wine, (10) and one leg of beef brought to me. And a man of my ship ran away and stole one [vessel] of gold, [amounting to] 5 deben, four jars of silver, amounting to 20 deben, and a sack of 11 deben of silver. [Total of what] he [stole]: 5 deben of gold and 31 deben of silver.4

I got up in the morning, and I went to the place where the Prince was, and I said to him: “I have been robbed in your harbor. Now you are the prince of this land, and you are its investigator who should look for my silver. Now about this silver—it belongs to Amon-Re, (15) King of the Gods, the lord of the lands; it belongs to Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded; it belongs to Heri-Hor, my lord, and the other great men of Egypt! It belongs to you; it belongs to Weret; it belongs to Mekmer; it belongs to Zakar-Baal, the Prince of Byblos!”

And he said to me: “Whether you are important or whether you are eminent—look here, I do not recognize this accusation which you have made to me! Suppose it had been a thief who belonged to my land who went on your boat and stole your silver, I should have repaid it to you from my treasury, until they (20) found this thief of yours—whoever he may be. Now about the thief who robbed you—he belongs to you! He belongs to your ship! Spend a few days here visiting me, so that I may look for him.”

I spent nine days moored (in) his harbor, and I went (to) call on him, and I said to him: “Look, you have not found my silver. [Just let] me [go] with the ship captains and with those who (go to) sea!” But he said to me: “Be quiet! . . . I went out of Tyre at the break of dawn. . . . Zakar-Baal, the Prince of Byblos, . . . (20) ship.” I found 30 deben of silver in it, and I seized upon it.18 And I said to the Tjeker: “I have seized upon your silver, and it will stay with me [until] you find [my silver or the thief] who stole it! Even though you have not stolen, I shall take it. But as for you, . . .”

So they went away, and I enjoyed my triumph [in] a tent (on) the shore of the [sea], (in) the harbor of Byblos. And [I hid] Amon-of-the-Road, and I put his property inside him.12

And the [Prince] of Byblos sent to me, saying: “Get out of (35) my harbor!” And I sent to him, saying: “Where should [I go to]? . . . If [you have a ship] to carry me, have me taken to Egypt again!” So I spent twenty-nine days in his [harbor, while] he [spent] the time sending to me every day to say: “Get out of (my) harbor!”

Now while he was making offering to his gods, the god seized one of his youths and made him possessed.13 And he said to him: “Bring up [the] god! Bring the messenger who is carrying him! (40) Amon is the one who sent him out! He is the one who made him come!” And while the possessed (youth) was having his frenzy on this night, I had (already) found a ship headed for Egypt and had loaded everything that I had into it. While I was watching for the darkness, thinking that when it descended I would load the god (also), so that no other eye might see him, the harbor master came to me, saying: “Wait until morning—so says the Prince.”

So I said to him: “Aren’t you the one who spend the time coming to me every day to say: ‘Get out of (my) harbor?’ Aren’t you saying ‘Wait’ tonight (45) in order to let the ship which I have found get away—and (then) you will come again (to) say: ‘Go away!’?” So he went and told it to the Prince. And the Prince sent to the captain of the ship to say: “Wait until morning—so says the Prince!”

When morning came, he sent and brought me up, but the god stayed in the tent where he was, (on) the shore of the sea. And I found him sitting (in) his upper room, with his back turned to a window, so that the waves of the great Syrian sea broke against the back (50) of his head.14

So I said to him: “May Amon favor you!” But he said . . .

4 Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded was the de facto ruler of the Delta, with Tanis as his capital. Ta-net-Amon was apparently his wife. At Thebes in Upper Egypt, the High Priest of Amon, Heri-Hor, was the de facto ruler. Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded and Heri-Hor were in working relations with each other, and were shortly to become contemporary pharaohs.

5 Irreconcilable with the date first given. See n.1.

6 Not an Egyptian name.

7 Dor is the town on the north coast of Palestine. The Tjeker (=Teukroi?) were one of the Sea Peoples associated with the Philistines in the great movements of the 11th to 12th centuries B.C. cf. p. 262. Their prince, Beder, considers it still necessary to show honor to an emissary from Egypt.

8 This value—about 450 grams (1.4 lb. Troy) of gold and about 2.8 kilograms (7.5 lb. Troy) of silver—was to pay for the lumber.

9 On the one hand, the gold and silver belong to the Egyptians who sent Wen-Amon. On the other hand, they belong to the Anatolians who would receive it. Beder thus has double responsibilities to recover them.

10 The remainder of Beder’s speech is badly broken but seems to combine reassurance and delay. Wen-Amon was apparently impatient, for the end of the broken context finds him in Tyre.

11 “A great boy of his great boys,” perhaps a court page, was seized with a prophetic frenzy. The determinative of the word “(prophetically) possessed” shows a human figure in violent motion or epileptic convulsion.

12 “Adequate of his great boy,” perhaps a court page, was seized with a prophetic frenzy. The determinative of the word “(prophetically) possessed” shows a human figure in violent motion or epileptic convulsion.

13 It is by no means certain that Wen-Amon appropriated this silver from the Tjeker. However, the restoration of the Tjeker in this context helps to explain their vengeful attitude later in the story (5 2 ff.).

14 Or “inside it,” the tent. Just as images of gods led the Egyptian armies into battle, so the emissary of the temple had an idol, a “traveling Amon,” to make his mission successful. The restoration “I hid” depends in part on a later statement that Amon-of-the-Road was to be withheld from public view. The divine image would have its daily cult and therefore its cultic apparatus. If the translation above is correct, this apparatus was stored within the hollow image.

15 A great boy of his great boys,” perhaps a court page, was seized with a prophetic frenzy. The determinative of the word “(prophetically) possessed” shows a human figure in violent motion or epileptic convulsion.
to me “How long, up to today, since you came from the place where Amon is?” So I said to him: “Five months and one day up to now.” And he said to me: “Well, you’re truthful! Where is the letter of Amon which (should be) in your hand? Where is the dispatch of the High Priest of Amon which (should be) in your hand?” And I told him: “I gave them to Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded and Ta-net-Amon.” And he was very, very angry, and he said to me: “Now see—neither letters nor dispatches are in your hand! Where is the cedar ship which Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded gave to you? Where is (55) its Syrian crew? Didn’t he turn you over to this foreign ship captain to have him kill you and throw you into the sea? (Then) with whom would they have looked for the god? And you too—with whom would they have looked for you too?” So he spoke to me.  

But I said to him: “Wasn’t it an Egyptian ship? Now it is Egyptian crews which sail under Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded! He has no Syrian crews.” And he said to me: “Aren’t there twenty ships here in my harbor which are in commercial relations15 with Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded? As to this Sidon, (ii 1) the other (place) which you have passed, aren’t there fifty more ships there which are in commercial relations with Werket-El, and which are drawn up to his house?”16 And I was silent in this great time.17

And he answered and said to me: “On what business have you come?” So I told him: “I have come after the woodwork for the great and august barque of Amon-Re, King of the Gods. Your father did (it), and you will do it too!” So I spoke to him. But he said to me: “To be sure, they did it! And if you give me (something) for doing it, I will do it! Why, when my people carried out this commission, Pharaoh-life, prosperity, health!—sent six ships loaded with Egyptian goods, and they unloaded them into their storehouses! You—what is it that you’re bringing me—me also?” And he had the journal rolls of his fathers brought, and he had them read out in my presence, and they found a thousand deben of silver and all kinds of things in his sculls. (10) So he said to me: “If the ruler of Egypt were the lord of mine, and I were his servant also, he would not have to send silver and gold, saying: ‘Carry out the commission of Amon!’ There would be no carrying of a royal-gift,18 such as they used to do for my father. As for me—me also—I am not your servant! I am not the servent of him who sent you either! If I cry out to the Lebanon, the heavens open up, and the logs are here lying (on) the shore of the sea21! Give (15) me the sails which you have brought to carry your ships which would hold the logs for (Egypt)! Give me the ropes [which] you have brought to lash the cedar logs which I am to cut down to make you . . . which I shall make for you (as) the sails of your boats, and the spars will be (too) heavy and will break, and you will die in the middle of the sea!22 See, Amon made thunder in the sky when he put Seth near him.23 Now when Amon (20) founded all lands, in founding them he founded first the land of Egypt, from which you come; for craftsmanship came out of it, to reach the place where I am, and learning came out of it, to reach the place where I am. What are these silly trips which they have had you make?”24

And I said to him: “(That’s) not true! What I am on are no ‘silly trips’ at all! There is no ship upon the River which does not belong to Amon! The sea is his, and the Lebanon is his, of which you say: ‘It is mine!’ It forms (25) the nursery for User-het-Amon, the lord of [every] ship!25 Why, he spoke—Amon-Re, King of the Gods—and said to Heri-Hor, my master: ‘Send me forth!’ So he had me come, carrying this great god. But see, you have made this great god spend these twenty-nine days moored (in) your harbor, although you did not know (it). Isn’t he here? Isn’t he the (same) as he was? You are stationed (here) to carry on the commerce of the Lebanon with Amon, its lord.26 As for your saying that the former kings sent silver and gold—suppose that they had life and health; (then) they would not have had such things sent! (30) (But) they had such things sent to your fathers in place of life and health!27 Now as for Amon-Re, King of the Gods—he is the lord of this life and health, and he was the lord of your fathers. They spent their lifetimes making offering to Amon. And you also—you are the servant of Amon! If you say to Amon: ‘Yes, I will do (it)!’ and you carry out his commission, you will live, you will be prosperous, you will be healthy, and you will be good to your entire land and your people! (But) don’t wish for yourself anything belonging to Amon-Re, (King of) the Gods. Why, a lion wants his own property!”28 Have your secretary brought to me, so that (35) I may send him to Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded and Ta-net-Amon, the officers29

15 Wen-Amon’s courteous salutation is set in contrast with the business-like brusqueness of the Phoenician.
16 Zakar-Baal feels that Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded has scarcely acted in good faith in permitting Wen-Amon to come without proper credentials. He argues that the Delta ruler had turned Wen-Amon over to a non-Egyptian sailor, so that Wen-Amon and “Amon-of-the-Road” might disappear without a trace.
17 A Semitic word for established trade contacts.
18 Werket-El or Warkatara (cf. JAGS, lxxi, 260) an Asiatic merchant living in Egypt, trading regularly with Sidon. “Drawn to his house” would mean either drawn up on the shore at his Sidonian office or towed along the waterways of Egypt.
19 Wen-Amon’s wording shows his inability to answer Zakar-Baal’s charge that there had been plenty of opportunity to supply him with credit and credentials.
20 A Semitic word written m-r-4, either derived from melek “king,” or from Canaanite mukw “royalty, dominion” (JAGS, lxxi, 261).
21 In Zakar-Baal’s boast of independent power, he can make it rain logs.
22 Zakar-Baal’s argument is not clear here. Perhaps: you have no proper exchange value to pay for the cedar; if I take the tackle of your ships, you will not be able to sail back to Egypt.
23 As god of thunder (p. 17, n.27 above; JAGS, lxxi, 264). Thus Amon and Seth were gods of all lands, not of Egypt alone.
24 In contrasting Wen-Amon’s meager mission with the glory of the Egyptian past, Zakar-Baal makes the remarkable statement that the god Amon founded (settled, first equipped) all lands, but Egypt first of all, and that skilled craftsmanship (technique) and learning (wisdom, education) had come to his land from Egypt.
25 The Lebanon is merely the “growing-place” for the sacred barque of Amon.
26 In contrast with the past, Wen-Amon has brought an actual god in “Amon-of-the-Road,” so that there may be spiritual rather than material advantages for Zakar-Baal.
27 Perhaps a proverb.
whom Amon put in the north of his land, and they will have all kinds of things sent. I shall send him to them to say: 'Let it be brought until I shall go (back again) to the south, and I shall (then) have every bit of the debt still (due to you) brought to you.' So I spoke to him.28

So he entrusted my letter to his messenger, and he loaded in the keel, the bow-post, the stern-post, along with four other hewn timbers—seven in all—and he had them taken to Egypt.29 And in the first month of the second season his messenger who had gone to Egypt came back to me in Syria. And Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded and Ta-net-Amon sent: (40) 4 jars and came back to me in Syria. And Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded and four other hewn timbers—seven in all—and he had them taken to Egypt.29 And in the first month of the second season his messenger who had gone to Egypt came back to me in Syria. And Ne-su-Ba-neb-Ded and Ta-net-Amon sent: (40) 4 jars and

I provided it (with) my ships and my crews. I caused them to reach Egypt, in order to ask fifty years of life from Amon for myself, over and above my fate. And it shall come to pass that, after another time, a messenger may come from the land of Egypt who knows writing, and he may read your name on the stela. And you will receive water (in) the West, like the gods who are (60) here!96

And he said to me: "This which you have said to me is a great testimony of words!"97 So I said to him: "As for the many things which you have said to me, if I reach the place where the High Priest of Amon is and he sees how you have (carried out this) commission, it is your (carrying out of this) commission (which) will draw out something for you." And I went (to) the shore of the sea, to the place where the timber was lying, and I spied eleven ships belonging to the Tjeker coming in from the sea, in order to say: "Arrest him! Don’t let a ship of his (go) to the land of Egypt!" Then I sat down and wept. And the letter scribe of the Prince came out to me, (65) and he said to me: "What’s the matter with you?" And I said to him: "Haven’t you seen the birds go down to Egypt a second time?"98 Look at them—how they travel to the cool pools! (But) how long shall I be left here! Now don’t you see those who are coming again to arrest me?"

So he went and told it to the Prince. And the Prince began to weep because of the words which were said to him: "Don’t let his heart take on cares!" And he sent to me, (70) to say: "Eat and drink! Don’t let your heart take on cares!" And he said to me: "Let him alone!"

And I went (to) the shore of the sea, to the place where the timber was lying, and I spied eleven ships belonging to the Tjeker coming in from the sea, in order to say: "Arrest him! Don’t let a ship of his (go) to the land of Egypt!" Then I sat down and wept. And the letter scribe of the Prince came out to me, (65) and he said to me: "What’s the matter with you?" And I said to him: "Haven’t you seen the birds go down to Egypt a second time?" Look at them—how they travel to the cool pools! (But) how long shall I be left here! Now don’t you see those who are coming again to arrest me?"

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We do not know who this Kha-em-Waset was. This was one of the names of Ramses IX, but is not here written as royal. The same pharaoh had a vizier of this name, which was quite common in Thebes at the time. At any rate, there is an implicit threat in the reference.

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When morning came, he had his assembly summoned, and he stood in their midst, and he said to the Tjeker: "What have you come for?" And they said to him: "We have come after the blasted ships which you are sending to Egypt with our opponents!" But he said to them: "I cannot arrest the messenger of Amon inside my land. Let me send him away, and you go after him to arrest him."42

So he loaded me in, and he sent me away from there at the harbor of the sea. And the wind cast me on the land of (75) Alashiya.43 And they of the town came out against me to kill me, but I forced my way through them to the place where Heteb, the princess of the town, was. I met her as she was going out of one house of hers and going into another of hers.

So I greeted her, and I said to the people who were standing near her: "Isn't there one of you who understands Egyptian?" And one of them said: "I understand (it)." So I said to him: "Tell my lady that I have heard, as far away as Thebes, the place where Amon is, that injustice is done in every town but justice is done in the land of Alashiya. Yet injustice is done here every day!" And she said: "Why, what do you (mean) (80) by saying it?" So I told her: "If the sea is stormy and the wind casts me on the land where you are, you should not let them take me in charge to kill me. For I am a messenger of Amon. Look here—as for me, they will search for me all the time! As to this crew of the Prince of Byblos which they are bent on killing, won't its lord find ten crews of yours, and he also kill them?"

So she had the people summoned, and they stood (there). And she said to me: "Spend the night ...."

(At this point the papyrus breaks off. Since the tale is told in the first person, it is fair to assume that Wen-Amon returned to Egypt to tell his story, in some measure of safety or success.)

THE LEGEND
OF THE POSSESSED PRINCESS

This text is a pious forgery of the end of the pharaonic period. The priests of a temple at Karnak wished to enlarge the fame of their god, composed a circumstantial tale of his ancient success as a healer, cast the tale back into the reign of Ramses II, and installed the inscription in their temple. Ramses II had reigned in the 13th century B.C., whereas this text may have come from the 4th or 3rd century B.C. However, it drew successfully on traditional elements of Egypt's past: the far reach of the Egyptian Empire, the reputation of Egyptian physicians in other countries, and the marriage of Ramses II to the daughter of the Hittite king.

44 The word used is the same as Hebrew mo'ed. e.g. Num. 16:2. cf. J. A. Wilson, in NES, IV (1945) 245.
41 The belaborod, belabored ships which you send to Egypt by our companions of quarreling." This either means that Wen-Amon's ships should be smashed up or is an abusive term like English "blasted."
42 Zakar-Baal's apparently cynical abandonment of Wen-Amon has its jurisdic- tional justification, since Wen-Amon's appropriation of Tyker property apparently took place somewhere between Tyre and Byblos.
43 Egyptian I-r-s, probably Cyprus.
44 Diplomatic exaggeration, rather than a quotation.

"The Bentresh Stela" was discovered near the Temple of Amon at Karnak, and is now Louvre C 284. It was published by E. Lecomte, *Les monuments égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1879-81), pls. xxxv-xliv. It has been translated by E. B. Breasted, *AR*, iii, 429-42. See also the comments of G. Posener in *BIFAO*, xxxiv (1934), 75-81.

The Horus: Mighty Bull, Pleasing of Appearances, Enduring of Kingship like Atum; Horus of Gold: Powerful of Arm, Repelling the Nine Bows; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re; Son of Re, of his body: Ramses Meri-Amon, beloved of Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, and all the Ennead of Thebes ...

Now his majesty was in Naharin according to his custom of every year, while the princes of every foreign country were come, bowing down in peace to the glory of his majesty (from) as far away as the marshlands. Their tribute of gold, [silver], lapis lazuli, (5) turquoise, and all the woods of God's Land was on their backs, each one leading his fellow.

Then the Prince of Bekhten caused that his tribute be brought, and he set his eldest daughter at the head thereof, giving honor to his majesty and asking [the breath] from him. And the woman was exceedingly pleasing to the heart of his majesty, beyond anything. Then her name was formally fixed as: the Great King's Wife, Nefru-Re. When his majesty reached Egypt, she fulfilled every function (of) King's Wife.

It happened that, in the year 23, 2nd month of the third season, day 23, while his majesty was in Thebes, the Victorious, the Mistress of Cities, performing the ceremonies of his father Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, at his beautiful Feast of Southern Opet, the place of his heart's (desire) of the first times, one came to say to his majesty: "There is a messenger of the Prince of Bekhten who has come bearing much tribute for the King's Wife." Then he was introduced into the presence of his majesty with his tribute. He said, in giving honor to his majesty: "Praise to thee, O Re of the Nine Bows! Behold, we live through thee!" Then he spoke and kissed the ground before his majesty. He spoke again in the presence of his majesty: "I have come to thee, O sovereign, my lord, on behalf of Bint-
rash, the younger sister of the King's Wife Neferu-Re. Sickness has pervaded her body. Grant that thy majesty may send a wise man to see her!"

Then his majesty said: "Bring me the staff of the House of Life and the official body (10) of the Residence." (They) were ushered in to him immediately. His majesty said: "Behold, ye have been summoned so that ye may hear this matter. Now bring me from amongst you one skilled in his heart, who can write with his fingers." So the Royal Scribe Thut-em-heb came into the presence of his majesty, and his majesty commanded that he go to Bekhten with this messenger.10

So the wise man arrived in Bekhten, and he found Bint-rash in the condition of one possessed of spirits. Indeed, he found an enemy with whom to contend. And the Prince of Bekhten again [sent to] his majesty, saying: "O my good lord, I act again before thee on behalf of the daughter of the Prince of Bekhten." Then Khonsu-in-Thebes-Nefer-hotep was conducted to Khonsu-the-Carrier-out-of-Plans, the great god, who expels disease-demons.18 Then his majesty said before Khonsu-in-Thebes-Nefer-hotep: "O my good lord, if thou turnest thy face toward Khonsu-(15)-the-Carrier-out-of-Plans, the great god, who expels disease-demons, he will be made to go to Bekhten." (There was) very much nodding.14 Then his majesty said: "Set thy magical protection with him, that I may make his majesty go to Bekhten to save the daughter of the Prince of Bekhten." (There was) very much nodding of the head of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Nefer-hotep. Then he made magical protection for Khonsu-the-Carrier-out-of-Plans-in-Thebes four times.16 His majesty commanded that Khonsu-the-Carrier-out-of-Plans-in-Thebes be taken to a great barque, five river-boats, and many chariots and horses (of) the west and the east.

This god arrived in Bekhten in the completion of one year and five months.17 Then the Prince of Bekhten came, with his army and his officials, before Khonsu-the-Carrier-out-of-Plans, and he placed himself upon his belly, saying: "Thou hast come to us. Mayest thou be merciful to us, by the command of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re!" Then this god went to the place where Bint-rash was. Then he made magical protection for the daughter of the Prince of Bekhten, that she might become well immediately.

Then this spirit which was with her said in the presence of Khonsu-the-Carrier-out-of-Plans-in-Thebes: "Welcome, O great god who expels disease-demons! Bekhten is thy home, its people are thy slaves, and I am thy slave! (20) I shall go to the place from which I came, in order to set thy heart at rest about that for which thou hast come. But may thy majesty command to celebrate a holiday with me and with the Prince of Bekhten."18 Then this god nodded to his prophet,19 saying: "Let the Prince of Bekhten make a great offering in the presence of this spirit." Now while these things which Khonsu-the-Carrier-out-of-Plans-in-Thebes did with the spirit were (taking place), the Prince of Bekhten was waiting with his soldiers, and he was very frightened. Then he made a great offering in the presence of Khonsu-the-Carrier-out-of-Plans-in-Thebes and this spirit, the Prince of Bekhten celebrating a holiday on their behalf. Then the spirit went peacefully to the place which he wished, by the command of Khonsu-the-Carrier-out-of-Plans-in-Thebes, while the Prince of Bekhten was rejoicing very much, together with every man who was in Bekhten.

Then he schemed with his heart, saying: "I will cause this god to stay here in Bekhten. I will not let him go (back) to Egypt." Then this god tarried for three years and nine months in Bekhten. Then, while the Prince of Bekhten was sleeping on his bed, he saw this god coming to him, outside of his shrine. He was a falcon of gold, and he flew (up) to the sky and (off) to Egypt. And (25) he awoke in a panic. Then he said to the

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8 A name bearing the consonants of this name, but with unknown vocalization, appears in the Aramaic papyri of Persian times found at Elephantine. The present vocalization Bint—"daughter of"—may be unjustified.

9 A. H. Gardiner, in JEA, xxx (1938), 157 ff., says that the "House of Life" was "a scriptorium where books connected with religion and cognate matters were compiled." The pharaoh was summoning the best and most skilled physician in the land to settle a matter of religion, magic, and medicine.

10 Egyptian physicians were held in respect in the ancient world. In the time of Darius an Egyptian doctor was sent by that king from one country to another to teach his medical and magical lore; see G. Posener, La premiere domination perse en Egypte (Cairo, 1936), 1 ff. The cuneiform documents from Bogazkoy provide earlier evidence of this demand; see A. H. Sayce in the journal Ancient Egypt, 1925, 67-68.

11 This is about 35 months after the date against n.6 above. The text against n.17 below will indicate that the journey from Egypt to Bekhten took 17 months. Then the 35 months provides the time for a round trip, including Thut-em-heb's unsuccessful mission in Bekhten.

12 "Khonsu in Thebes, Good of Peace," was the name of the chief manifestation of Khonsu and his name as a member of the Theban triad of Amon, Mut, and Khonsu.

13 This entrepreneur Khonsu was apparently a subordinate form of Khonsu, who "did plans" to meet specific demands. One such function was the exorcism of disease, called "making distant the wanderers," or "strange intruders," or "demons of disease." He had a temple east of the great Amon enclosure at Karnak, not far from the temple of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Nefer-hotep. On his name, see ZA, liv (1933), 156-57.

14 "Nodding" was the affirmative response of the oracle of the god Khonsu. The scene at the top of this stela shows this god being carried by priests in his ornate barque, in which he undoubtedly traveled to visit the other Khonsu. The oracle was given either by a visible forward bending of the image of the god or by the priestly interpretation of such signs. On the oracular role of Egyptian deities see pp. 448-449 below; A. M. Blackman, in JEA, xxv (1935), 249-55; xvi (1936), 176-85; J. Cerny, in BSA, xxx (1930), 491 ff; xxxv (1935), 41 ff.

15 The god.

16 "Four times" was a customary tag indicating the prescribed number of recitations to make magic effective. This shows that the "magical protection" was a conferred spiritual power, rather than such a visible element as an amulet.

17 The journey from Egypt to Bekhten, by water and land, took 17 months.

18 The spirit which possessed the princess bargained for formal recognition through a festival before he would leave the princess.

19 The image of the god was accompanied and served by a priest, whose title we conventionally render "prophet." In the scene at the top of the stela, this individual is depicted censing the barque of his god, with the legend: "The name of the prophet and priest of Khonsu-the-Carrier-out-of-Plans-in-Thebes (a) Khonsu-her-hotep-neter." An individual of this name is known at the very end of the Egyptian Empire: JEA, xxvii (1941), 70.
prophet of Khonsu-the-Carrier-out-of-Plans-in-Thebes:
“This god is (still) here with us. He should go (back) to Egypt. So let his chariot go to Egypt.” Then the Prince of Bekhten let this god proceed to Egypt, after he had been given very much tribute of every good thing, and very many soldiers and horses.

They arrived successfully in Thebes. Then Khonsu-the-Carrier-out-of-Plans-in-Thebes went to the House of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Nefer-hotep, to set the tribute of every good thing which the Prince of Bekhten had given him before Khonsu-in-Thebes-Nefer-hotep, (but) without his delivering everything thereof into his House.20 Khonsu-the-Carrier-out-of-Plans-in-Thebes arrived successfully at his (own) House in the year 33, and month of the second season, day 19,21 of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, for whom “given-life” is made, like Re forever.

THE TRADITION
OF SEVEN LEAN YEARS IN EGYPT

The prosperity of Egypt depends upon the satisfactory flow of the Nile, particularly upon its annual inundation, and that river is antic and unpredictable. Ancient Egyptian texts have frequent references to hunger, “years of misery,” “a year of low Nile,” and so on.1 The text which follows tells seven years of low Niles and famine. In its present form the text derives from the Ptolemaic period (perhaps around the end of the 2nd century B.C.). However, its stated setting is the reign of Djoser of the Third Dynasty (about 28th century B.C.). It states the reasons why a stretch of Nile land south of Elephantine had been devoted to Khnum, god of Elephantine. It is a question whether it is a priestly forgery of some late period, justifying their claim to territorial privileges, or whether it correctly recounts an actual grant of land more than 2,500 years earlier. This question cannot be answered in final terms.2 We can only affirm that Egypt had a tradition of seven lean years, which, by a contractual arrangement between pharaoh and a god, were to be followed by years of plenty.

The inscription is carved on a rock on the island of Siheil near the First Cataract. It was published by H. K. Brugsch, Die biblischen sieben Jahre der Hungersnot (Leipzig, 1891), and by J. Vander, La famine dans l’Egypte ancienne (Caire, 1936), 212-29. Photographs were also used for the following translation.

Other heroic tales given below are the Story of Apophis and Osorkon, The Stolen Name: “What is the birthplace of the Nile?...from which the Nile rises, named Elephantine. It is the Beginning of the Beginning, the Beginning Nome, (facing) toward Wawat. It is the joining of the land, the primeval hilltop of earth, the throne of Re, when he reckons to cast life beside everybody. ‘Pleasant of Life’ is the name of its dwelling. ‘The Two Caverns’ is the name of the water; they are the two breasts which pour

Year 18 of the Horus: Netjer-er-khet; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Netjer-er-khet; the Two Goddesses: Netjer-er-khet; the Horus of Gold: Djoser, and under the Count, Mayor, Royal Acquaintance, and Overseer of Nubians in Elephantine, Madir. There was brought to him this royal decree:

To let thee know. I was in distress on the Great Throne, and those who are in the palace were in heart’s affliction from a very great evil, since the Nile had not come in my time for a space of seven years.4 Grain was scant, fruits were dried up, and everything which they eat was short. Every man robbed his companion. They moved without going (ahead). The infant was wailing; the youth was waiting; the heart of the old men was in sorrow, their legs were bent, crouching on the ground, their arms were folded. The courtiers were in need. The temples were shut up; the sanctuaries held [nothing but] air. Every[thing] was found empty.

I extended my heart back to the beginnings, and I asked him who was the Chamberlain, the Ibis, the Chief Lector Priest Ii-em-(ho)tep,4 the son of Ptah, South-of-His-Wall: “What is the birthplace of the Nile? Who is...the god there? Who is the god?”

Then he answered (5) me: “I need the guidance of Him Who Presides over the House of the Fowling Net, ...for the heart’s confidence of all men about what they should do. I shall enter into the House of Life and spread out the Souls of Re, (to see) if some guidance be in them.”

So he went, and he returned to me immediately, that he might instruct me on the inundation of the Nile, ...and everything about which they had written. He uncovered for me the hidden spells thereof, to which the ancestors had taken (their) way, without their equal among kings since the limits of time. He said to me:

“There is a city in the midst of the waters [from which] the Nile rises, named Elephantine. It is the Beginning of the Beginning, the Beginning Nome, (facing) toward Wawat. It is the joining of the land, the primeval hilltop of earth, the throne of Re, when he reckons to cast life beside everybody. ‘Pleasant of Life’ is the name of its dwelling. ‘The Two Caverns’ is the name of the water; they are the two breasts which pour

8 To Madir, the Governor at Elephantine.
9 Or: “in a pause of seven years.”
10 “Found empty” may be used of the desolation of buildings. However, it is particularly common as a scribal notation to mark a lacuna in an older text. Its appearance here might be raised as an argument that our inscription derived from an earlier and damaged original.
11 Ii-em-hotep was the famed minister of Djoser, whose reputation for wisdom (cf. pp. 433, n.4; 467, n.4 below) later brought him deification. On his career, see K. Sethe, Ii-em-hotep, der Asklepios der Aegypter (Untersuch., n. Leipzig, 1903), 95-118.
12 Thoth of Hermopolis, the god of wisdom and of priestly lore.
13 For this passage see A. H. Gardiner in JEA, xxiv (1938), 166. The House of Life was the scriptorium in which the sacred and magic books were kept. “The Souls of Re,” or emanations from the creator-god, were the books themselves.
14 As the southernmost of Egyptian administrative districts, Elephantine was the “Nome of the Beginning.” Wawat was that part of Nubia immediately south of the First Cataract.
15 In a context which has many uncertainties, it is certain that Elephantine is likened to the mound on which creation took place; see p. 4, n.7.
forth all good things. It is the couch of the Nile, in which he becomes young (again). . . . He fecundates (the land) by mounting as the male, the bull, to the female; he renews (his) virility, assuaging his desire. He rushes twenty-eight cubits (high at Elephantine); he hastens at Diospolis seven cubits (high). Khnum is there as a god. . . .

(18) . . . As I slept in life and satisfaction, I discovered the god standing over against me. I propitiated him with praise; I prayed to him in his presence. He revealed himself to me, his face being fresh. His words were:

"I am Khnum, thy fashioner. . . . I know the Nile. When he is introduced into the fields, his introduction gives life to every nostril, like the introduction (of life) to the fields . . . The Nile will pour forth for thee, without a year of cessation or laxness for any land. Plants will grow, bowing down under the fruit. Renenut will be at the head of everything. . . . Dependents will fulfill the purposes in their hearts, (22) as well as the master. The starvation year will have gone, and (people's) borrowing from their granaries will have departed. Egypt will come into the fields, the banks will sparkle, Egypt will come into the fields, the banks will sparkle, and contentment will be in their hearts more than that which was formerly."

Then I awoke quickly, my heart cutting off weariness. I made this decree beside my father Khnum:"

"An offering which the King gives to Khnum, the Lord of the Cataract Region, Who Presides over Nubia, in recompense for these things which thou wilt do for me:

"I offer to thee thy west in Manu and thy east (in) Bakhu, from Elephantine as far as [Takompso], for twelve tiers on the east and west, whether arable land or desert or river in every part of these tiers . . ."

(The remainder of the text continues Djoser's promise to Khnum, the essence of which is that the land presented to the god shall be tithed for his temple. It is finally provided that the decree shall be inscribed on a stela in the temple of Khnum.)

Mortuary Texts: Life after Death

THE CONQUEST OF DEATH

These two extracts from the Pyramid Texts insist upon the immortality of the pharaoh. The device used is to identify him with the gods, whose death would not come into question, particularly with Osiris and his son Horus.

These two texts are carved inside the pyramids of Unis of the Fifth Dynasty and Pepi II of the Sixth Dynasty (25th and 24th centuries B.C.). Originally used for the pharaoh only, the texts were extended to queens by the end of the Sixth Dynasty and to worthy nonroyal persons by the Eleventh-Twelfth Dynasties (21st century B.C. and after). The pyramid of Unis and Pepi II are at Sakkarah. The material used in these two utterances is demonstrably much older than the Fifth Dynasty, as indicated by the archaic linguistic usages and—less certainly—by mythological references.

The texts are published in K. Sethe, Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte, 1 (Leipzig, 1908), and Uebersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten, 1 (Glückstadt und Hamburg, undated). Extract a, which is Pyramid Utterance 213, will be found as §134-35; extract b, from Utterance 219, as §167-93.

O King Unis, thou hast not at all departed dead, thou hast departed living! For thou sittest upon the throne of Osiris, with thy scepter in thy hand, that thou mightest give command to the living, and with the grip of thy wand in thy hand, that thou mightest give command to those secret of place. Thy arm is Atum, thy shoulders are Atum, thy belly is Atum, thy back is Atum, thy rear is Atum, thy legs are Atum, and thy face is Anubis. The regions of Horus serve thee, and the regions of Seth serve thee.

O Atum, the one here is that son of thine, Osiris, whom thou hast caused to survive and to live on. He lives—(so also) this King Unis lives. He does not die—(so also) this King Unis does not die. He does not perish—(so also) this King Unis does not perish. He is not judged—(so also) this King Unis is not judged. (But) he judges—(so also) this King Unis judges. . . .

What thou hast eaten is an eye. Thy belly is rounded out with it. Thy son Horus leaves it for thee, that thou

1 In Egyptian mythology the Nile emerged from two underground caverns at Elephantine.
2 Semeh-bekhep = Diospolis Inferior has been located by A. H. Gardiner at Tell el-Balamun in the northern Delta; IEA, xxx (1944), 23-41. In context with Elephantine, it was the "Dan to Beersheba" of the Egyptians. It is not easy to interpret the measurements given here, since we do not know what zero datum was used. The Nile was 38 cubits high (about 14.5 m. or 48 ft.) at Elephantine, and 7 cubits (about 3.75 m. or 12 ft.) at Diospolis. Baederker's Asyrapy and der Sudan (8th ed., Leipzig, 1928), lxviii, gives the mean average difference between low and high Nile at Assuan as 7 m. (23 ft.) and at Cairo as 4.9 m. (16 ft.).
3 I-em-hetep's report goes on to recite the divine powers of the god Khnum and of the other deities of Elephantine, as well as the mineral wealth of the region. Having received the report, the pharaoh performed services for the gods of Elephantine, as well as the gods of the Nile.
4 Khnum appeared to the pharaoh in a dream. It is not easy to interpret the measurements given here, since we do not know what zero datum was used. The Nile was 38 cubits high (about 14.5 m. or 48 ft.) at Elephantine, and 7 cubits (about 3.75 m. or 12 ft.) at Diospolis. Baederker's Asyrapy and der Sudan (8th ed., Leipzig, 1928), lxviii, gives the mean average difference between low and high Nile at Assuan as 7 m. (23 ft.) and at Cairo as 4.9 m. (16 ft.).
5 The goddess of the harvest.
6 The dead.
7 The deceased is here the god of the dead, Anubis, who is depicted as jackal-headed on a human body. Thus here the parts of the body other than the head are equated with the god Atum, who is depicted in human form.
8 Lower and Upper Egypt.
9 The deceased is introduced to Atum as his (great-grand)son Osiris. Thus the deceased shares the immortality of Osiris.
10 In a destructive stanza, the deceased is then introduced as Osiris to Shu, Tefnuit, Geb, Nut, Isis, Seth, Nephtys, Thoth, Horus, the Great Ennead, the Little Ennead, and Naunet (?). The language is almost the same in every case, except for such variants as relationship would require. For example, it would be absurd to state that Seth, who had murdered Osiris, had caused him to live on. In that case the address therefore runs: "O Seth, the one here is that brother of thine, Osiris, who has been caused to survive and to live on, that he might punish thee." Following the addresses to the several gods, the text proceeds to enumerate the immortality of Osiris in each of several cult-centers.
mayest live on it.' He lives—this King Unis lives. He does not die—this King Unis does not die. He does not perish—this King Unis does not perish. He is not judged—this King Unis is not judged. He judges—this King Unis judges.

Thy body is the body of this King Unis. Thy flesh is the flesh of this King Unis. Thy bones are the bones of this King Unis. When thou departest, this King Unis departs. When this King Unis departs, thou departest.

THE FIELDS OF PARADISE

As the sun went to rest every night and was gloriously reborn every morning, so also a mortal left this world but was reborn for eternal happiness in the other world. The eastern horizon of heaven was thus an analogue for entry into paradise. The following text gives a few of the wonders of that home of the blessed.

The spell first occurs in the coffins of the Middle Kingdom. The hieroglyphic text is given by A. de Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, 11 (OIP XLIX, Chicago, 1938), Spell 159, pp. 363 ff. It later became the 199th chapter of the Book of the Dead and is studied by K. Sethe et al. in ZAS, LIX (1924), 1 ff. (cf. also the 197th and 195th chapters and the vignette to the 110th chapter).*

Title

GOING IN AND OUT OF THE EASTERN DOORS OF HEAVEN AMONG THE FOLLOWERS OF RE. I KNOW THE EASTERN SOULS.1

The Place of Rebirth

I know that central door from which Re issues in the east.2 Its south is the pool of kha-birds, in the place where Re sails with the breeze; its north is the waters of ro-fowl, in the place where Re sails with rowing.3 I am the keeper of the halyard in the boat of the god; I am the rower who does not weary in the barque of Re.4

I know those two sycamores of turquoise-green between which Re comes forth, the two which came from the sowing of Shu at every eastern door at which Re rises.5

I know that Field of Reeds of Re.6 The wall which is around it is of metal. The height of its barley is four cubits; its beard is one cubit, and its stalk is three cubits.7 Its emmer is seven cubits; its beard is two cubits, and its stalk is five cubits.8 It is the horizon-dwellers, nine cubits in height,9 who reap it, by the side of the Eastern Souls.10

Conclusion

I KNOW THE EASTERN SOULS. THEY ARE HAR-AKHTI, THE KHURER-CALF, AND THE MORNING STAR.11

THE GOOD FORTUNE OF THE DEAD

The Egyptians looked upon death as a continuation of this life and a fulfillment of the good things of this life. The following text sets forth the quietude which is the happy lot of the dead.

Carved on the wall of the tomb of Nefer-hotpot at Thebes (Tomb No. 50) and dated to the reign of Hor-em-heb (about 1349-1319 B.C.). From the same tomb comes the Song of the Harper (p. 457 below). Published by A. H. Gardner in PSBA, XXXV (1913), 165-70, and by M. Lichtheim, with translation and bibliography, in JNES, IV (1945), 275-98, 212. The setting and significance of the text are discussed by Gardner, The Attitude of the Ancient Egyptians to Death and the Dead (Cambridge, 1935), 32.

The Singer with the Harp of the God’s Father of Amon, Nefer-hotpot, the triumphant, said:

All ye excellent nobles, the Ennead of the Mistress of Life,1

Hear ye how praises are made to the God’s Father, With homage paid to the excellent noble’s efficacious soul,

Now that he is a god living forever, Magnified in the West.

May they become a remembrance for the future, For all who come to pass by.

I have heard those songs which are in the ancient tombs

And what they tell in magnifying (life) on earth And in belittling the necropolis.

Why is it that such is done to the land of eternity, The right and true, without errors? Quarreling is its abomination,

And there is no one who arrays himself against his fellow.

This land which has no opponent—

1 Almost 7 feet tall, of which the ear was about 20 inches long.
2 About 12 feet tall, of which the ear was about 41 inches long.
3 Over 15 feet tall. We are not clear about the “horizon-dwellers.” Some later texts change them from akhhtu to aku “effective personalities,” that is, the blessed dead.
4 The vignette to the 110th chapter of the Book of the Dead shows the fields of paradise. For example, in the Papyrus of Ani (British Museum 10470; E. A. W. Budge, The Book of the Dead [London 1898], Translation Volume, I, opp. p. 179), fields surrounded and cut by waterways are shown, with the deceased plowing, reaping, and threshing. Part of this area is labeled as the “Field of Reeds” and as the place of the effective personalities, whose length is 7 cubits; the barley is 3 cubits. It is the noble dead who reap it.
5 Har-akhti, that is, Horus of the (Morning) Horizon, and the Morning Star are obviously in place in the east. We know little about the khurer-calf, possibly a newborn suckling calf.
6 The song is addressed to the honored dead and the gods of the necropolis.
THE PROTESTATION OF GUILTLESSNESS

Among the literary remains from ancient Egypt, a large proportion of the texts seeks to secure eternal happiness for the deceased individual. Under the Empire and later, such mortuary texts were normally on papyrus and have been gathered together by modern scholars under the title, the "Book of the Dead." A common part of this collection of miscellaneous texts envisages the deceased as testifying before a posthumous court and denying any guilt in various crimes and shortcomings. This so-called "negative confession" is one of our few sources for Egyptian social law. Its negative protestations must be studied together with the positive attitudes in the wisdom literature (pp. 412-425).

The following translation takes extracts from a portion of the 125th chapter of the Book of the Dead, as gathered by Ch. Maystre, *Les déclarations d'innocence* (Livre des morts, chapitre 125), (Caire, 1937). Maystre's text runs from the Eighteenth through the Twenty-first Dynasty (1550-950 B.C.).

Many other texts here translated were employed for mortuary purposes, e.g., pp. 3-4, 10-55, I5-52, etc. For a funerary ritual, see p. 325. For the judgment after death, see p. 415. For attitudes toward death, see pp. 412-414, 467. For a brief description of an Egyptian funeral, see pp. 20-21.

What is said on reaching the Broad-Hall of the Two Justices, absolving X of every sin which he has committed, and seeing the faces of the gods:

Hail to thee, O great god, lord of the Two Justices! I have come to thee, my lord, I have been brought that I might see thy beauty. I know thee; I know thy name and the names of the forty-two gods who are with thee in the Broad-Hall of the Two Justices, who live on them who preserve evil and who drink their blood on that day of reckoning up character in the presence of Wen-nofer. Behold, "Sati-merti, Lord of Justice," is thy name. I have come to thee; I have brought thee justice; I have expelled deceit for thee.

(A1) I have not committed evil against men.

(A2) I have not mistreated cattle.

(A3) I have not committed sin in the place of truth.

(A4) I have not known that which is not.

(A5) I have not seen evil...

(A7) My name has not reached the Master of the Barque.

(A8) I have not blasphemed a god.

(A9) I have not done violence to a poor man.

(A10) I have not done that which the gods abominate.

(A11) I have not defamed a slave to his superior.

(A12) I have not made (anyone) sick.

(A13) I have not made (anyone) weep.

(A14) I have not killed.

(A15) I have given no order to a killer.

(A16) I have not caused anyone suffering.

(A17) I have not cut down on the food-(income) in the temples.

(A18) I have not damaged the bread of the gods.

(A19) I have not taken the loaves of the blessed (dead).

(A20) I have not had sexual relations with a boy.

(A21) I have not defiled myself.

(A22) I have neither increased or diminished the grain-measure.

(A23) I have not discontinued the aroura.

(A24) I have not falsified a half-aroura of land.

(A25) I have not added to the weight of the balance.

(A26) I have not weakened the plummet of the scales.

(A27) I have not taken milk from the mouths of children.

(A28) I have not driven cattle away from their pasturage.

(A29) I have not snared the birds of the gods.

(A30) I have not caught fish in their marshes.

(A31) I have not held up the water in its season.

(A32) I have not built a dam against running water.

(A33) I have not quenched a fire at its (proper) time.

(A34) I have not neglected the (appointed) times and their meat-offerings.

(A35) I have not driven away the cattle of the god's property.

(A36) I have not stopped a god on his procession.

I am pure!—four times. My purity is the purity of that great benu-bird which is in Heracleopolis, because I am really that nose of the Lord of Breath, who makes all men to live, on that day of filling out the Eye (of Horus) in Heliopolis, in the second month of the second season, the last day, in the presence of the lord of this land. I am the one who has seen the filling out of the...
Eye in Heliopolis. Evil will never happen to me in this land or in this Broad-Hall of the Two Justices, because I know the names of these gods who are in it, the followers of the great god.18

(B1) O Wide-of-Stride, who comes forth from Heliopolis, I have not committed evil.

(B2) O Embracer-of-Fire, who comes forth from Babylon,19 I have not stolen.

(B3) O Nosey, who comes forth from Hermopolis, I have not been covetous.

(B4) O Swallow-er-of-Shadows, who comes forth from the pit, I have not robbed.

(B5) O Dangerous-of-Face, who came forth from Rostau, I have not killed men.

(B6) O Ruti, who comes forth from heaven, I have not damaged the grain-measure.

(B7) O His-Eyes-are-of-Flint, who comes forth from the shrine, I have not caused crookedness.

(B8) O Flamer, who comes forth backward, I have not stolen the property of a god.

(B9) O Breaker-of-Bones, who comes forth from Herakleopolis, I have not told lies.

(B10) O Commander-of-Fire, who comes forth from Memphis, I have not taken away food.

(B11) O Dweller-in-the-Pit, who comes forth from the west, I have not been contentious.

(B12) O White-of-Teeth, who comes forth from the Fayyum, I have not trespassed.

(B13) O Eater-of-Blood, who comes forth from the execution-block, I have not slain the cattle of the god.

(B14) O Eater-of-Entrails, who comes forth from the Thirty.20 I have not practised usury.

(B15) O Lord-of-Justice, who comes forth from Ma‘ati, I have not stolen the bread-ration.

(B16) O Wanderer, who comes forth from Bubastis, I have not gossiped.

(B17) O Aadi, who comes forth from Heliopolis, my mouth has not gone (on unchecked).

(B18) O Djudju-serpent, who comes forth from Busiris, I have not argued with some one summoned because of his property.

(B19) O Wamenti-serpent, who comes forth from the place of judgment, I have not committed adultery.21

(B20) O Maa-Intef, who comes forth from the Temple of Min, I have not defiled myself.

(B21) O Superior-of-the-Nobles, who comes forth from Imau, I have not caused terror.

(B22) O Wrecker, who comes forth from the Saite Nome, I have not trespassed.

(B23) O Mischief-Maker, who comes forth from the sanctuary, I have not been (over)heated.

(B24) O Child, who comes forth from the Heliopolitain Nome, I have not been unresponsive to a matter of justice.

(B25) O Ser-keru, who comes forth from Wensi, I have not been quarrelsome.

(B26) O Bastet, who comes forth from the sanctum, I have not winked.22

(B27) O His-Face-Behind-Him, who comes forth from Tep-het-aja, I have not been perverted; I have not had sexual relations with a boy.

(B28) O Hot-of-Leg, who comes forth from the twilight, I have not swallowed my heart.23

(B29) O Dark-One, who comes forth from the darkness, I have not been abusive.

(B30) O Bringer-of-His-Peace, who comes forth from Sais, I have not been (over)-energetic.

(B31) O Lord-of-Faces, who comes forth from the Heroonpolite Nome, my heart has not been hasty.

(B32) O Plan-Maker, who comes forth from Ustenet, I have not transgressed my name; I have not washed the god.24

(B33) O Lord-of-Horns, who comes forth from Siut, my voice is not (too) much about matters.

(B34) O Nefer-tem, who comes forth from Memphis, I have not committed sins; I have not done evil.

(B35) O Tem-sep, who comes forth from Busiris, I have not been abusive against a king.

(B36) O Acting-with-His-Heart, who comes forth from Tjebu, I have not waded in water.25

(B37) O Flowing-One, who comes forth from Nun, my voice has not been loud.

(B38) O Commander-of-the-People, who comes forth from his shrine, I have not been abusive against a god.

(B39) O Neheb-nefert, who comes forth from the Saite Nome, I have never made puffings-up.26

(B40) O Neheb-kau, who comes forth from the town, I have not made discriminations for myself.

(B41) O High-of-Head serpent, who comes forth from the cavern, my portion has not been (too) large, not even in my (own) property.

(B42) O In-af serpent, who comes forth from the cemetery, I have not blasphemed against my local god.

Words to be spoken by X:27

Hail to you, ye gods who are in this Broad-Hall of the Two Justices! I know you; I know your names. I shall not fall for dread of you. Ye have not reported guilt of mine up to this god in whose retinue ye are; no deed of mine has come from you. Ye have spoken truth about me in the presence of the All-Lord, because I acted justly in Egypt. I have not been abusive to a god. No deed of mine has come from a king who is in his day.

Hail to you who are in the Broad-Hall of the Two

18 In the B part of this protestation, which follows, the deceased addresses each of the 42 divine jurors by name. Some of the names defy translation; some show power or frightfulness, but many apply to the judgment scene rather indifferently.

19 Egyptian Babylon, near modern Cairo.

20 A law court of Egyptian magistrates in this world.

21 "I have not had sexual relations with the wife of (another) male."

22 Winked at injustice?

23 Have not been evasive, over-secret?

24 Meaning of both parts obscure.

25 An idiom?

26 The abysmal waters.

27 An idiom?

28 X stands for the name and title of the deceased. One text has: "those words which follow (the hearing in) the Broad-Hall of the Two Justices." From here on the translation is based on one manuscript; see n.1 above.
Justices,59 (5) who have no deceit in your bodies, who live on truth and who eat of truth in the presence of Horus, who is in his sun disc. May ye rescue me from Babi, who lives on the entrails of elders on that day of the great reckoning.60 Behold me—I have come to you without sin, without guilt, without evil, without a witness (against me), without one against whom I have taken action. I live on truth, and I eat of truth. I have done that which men said and that with which gods are content. I have satisfied a god with that which he desires. I have given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothing to the naked, (10) and a ferry-boat to him who was marooned.61

(8) rescue me, you; protect me, you. Ye will not make report against me in the presence [of the great god.] I am one pure of mouth and pure of hands, one to whom “Welcome, welcome, in peace!” is said by those who see me and one who was marooned.61 I have provided divine offerings for the gods and mortuary offerings for the dead.62 (So) rescue me, you; protect me, you. Ye will not make report against me in the presence [of the great god.] I am one pure of mouth and pure of hands, one to whom “Welcome, welcome, in peace!” is said by those who see him, because I have heard those great words which the ass discussed with the cat in the house of the hippopotamus, when the witness was His-Face-Behind-Him and he gave out a cry.63 I have seen the splitting of the ished-tree in Rostau.64 I am one who has a concern for the gods, who knows the nature of their bodies. I have come here to testify to justice and to bring the scales65 (15) to their (proper) position in the cemetery.

O thou who art high upon his standard, Lord of the Atef-Crown, whose name has been made “Lord of Breath,”66 mayest thou rescue me from thy messengers who give forth uncleanness and create destruction, who have no covering up of their faces,67 because I have effected justice for the Lord of Justice, being pure—my front is pure, my rear is clean, my middle is in the flowing water of justice; there is no part of me free of justice. . . .68

36

Instructions for the Use of the Spell

To be done in conformance with what takes place in this Broad-Hall of the Two Justices. This spell is to be recited when one is clean and pure, clothed in (fresh) garments, shod with white sandals, painted with stibium, and anointed with myrrh, to whom cattle, fowl, incense, bread, beer, and vegetables have been offered. Then make thou this text in writing on a clean pavement with ochre smeared with (50) earth upon which pigs and (other) small cattle have not trodden. As for him on whose behalf this Book is made, he shall be prosperous and his children shall be prosperous, without Greed, because he shall be a trusted man of the king and his courtiers. Loaves, jars, bread, and joints of meat shall be given to him from the altar of the great god. He cannot be held back at any door of the west, (but) he shall be ushered in with the Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, and he shall be in the retinue of Osiris.

Right and true a million times.

of the door demand that he give his magical names before he passes through. Then the pavement of the hall will not let him tread upon it until he tells the magical names of his two treading feet. He passes these informations tests successfully, and then is confronted by the doorkeeper.


40 The restored eye of Horus, symbol of offerings.
Sumerian Myths and Epic Tales

TRANSLATOR: S. N. KRAMER

Enki and Ninhursag:
A Paradise Myth

"Enki and Ninhursag" is one of the best preserved of the Sumerian myths uncovered to date. The story it tells is well nigh complete and at least on the surface most of the details of its rather complicated plot are reasonably intelligible. Unfortunately, the main purpose of the myth as a whole is by no means clear and the literary and mythological implications of its numerous and varied motifs are not readily analyzable. Nevertheless it adds much that is significant for the Near Eastern mythological horizon, and perhaps even provides a number of interesting parallels to the motifs of the biblical paradise story as told in the second and third chapters of Genesis. Briefly sketched, the contents of "Enki and Ninhursag" run as follows: The poem begins with a eulogy of Dilmun, described as both a "land" and a "city," where the action of the story takes place. This Dilmun-Utu (according to our poet) is a place that is pure, clean, and bright (lines 1-13). It is a land in which there is probably neither sickness nor death (lines 14-30). It is a city which, by the command of the Sumerian water-god Enki, has become full of sweet water and of crop-bearing fields and farms and has thus become known as "the house of the bank-quays of the land" (lines 31-64).

Following a brief passage whose interpretation is far from clear (lines 65-73), the main action of the myth begins. Enki impregnates the goddess Ninhursag, "the mother of the land," who, after nine days of pregnancy gives birth, without pain and effort, to the goddess Ninmu. Enki then proceeds to impregnate his daughter Ninmu, who in the same way as her mother Ninhursag, gives birth to the goddess named Ninkurra (lines 89-108). Enki then impregnates his granddaughter Ninkurra, and the latter gives birth to the goddess Uttu (lines 109-127). Enki is now evidently prepared to impregnate his great-granddaughter Utta when Ninhursag, the great-grandmother, intervenes and offers the latter some pertinent advice. Unfortunately the relevant passage (lines 126-152) is almost completely destroyed. But to judge from the passage that follows (lines 153-185) Uttu may have been instructed by Ninhursag not to cohabit with Enki until and unless he brings her a gift of cucumbers, apples, and grapes. Be that as it may, we next see Enki obtain the cucumbers, apples, and grapes from a gardener who probably brought them to him in gratitude for his watering the dikes, ditches, and uncultivated places (lines 153-185). Enki brings them to Uttu as a gift, and the latter now joyfully receives his advances and cohabits with him (lines 196-217).

But of this union probably no new goddess is born. Instead, Ninhursag seems to utilize Enki's semen in a way which leads to the sprouting of eight different plants: the "tree"-plant, the "honey"-plant, the roadweed-plant, the apasur-plant, the thorn-plant, the super-plant, a plant whose name is illegible, and the cassia-plant (lines 186-195). And now Enki commits a sinful deed. As he looked about him in the marshland, he noticed the eight plants and probably determined to decide their fate. But first, it seems, he had to know their heart, that is, he probably had to taste what they were like. And so his messenger, the two-faced god Ishum, plucks each of the eight plants for Enki, and the latter eats them one by one (lines 196-217). Angered by this act, Ninhursag, the goddess who is so largely responsible for their first coming into existence, utters a curse against Enki, saying that until he dies she will not look upon him with the "eye of life." And, as good as her word, she immediately disappears.

Whereupon, Enki no doubt begins to pine away, and the Anunnaki, the "great" but nameless Sumerian gods, sit in the dust. At this point the fox comes to the rescue; he asks Enil, the leader of the Sumerian pantheon, what would be his reward if he brought Ninhursag back to the gods. Enil names his reward, and the fox, sure enough, succeeds in some way in having Ninhursag return to the gods in Dilmun (lines 221-249). Ninhursag then seats the dying Enki by her vulva, and asks where he feels pain. Enki names an organ of the body which hurts him, and Ninhursag then informs him that she has caused a certain deity to be born for him, the implication being that the birth of the deity will result in the healing of the sick member. All in all, Ninhursag repeats the question eight times. Each time Enki names an organ of the body which pains him, and in each case Ninhursag announces the birth of a corresponding deity (lines 250-268). Finally, probably at the request of Ninhursag, Enki decreed the fate of the newborn deities, the last of whom, Enakh by name, is destined to be "the lord of Dilmun."

The text of "Enki and Ninhursag" is based primarily on a fairly well-preserved six-column tablet excavated in Nippur and

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1 For a discussion of the aims and techniques of the Sumerian mythographers, cf. the writer's review of The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man in ICS, n. 619.
2 cf. BASOR 55, No. 1, 8-9.
3 For a detailed discussion of Dilmun and its location, cf. the writer's Dilmun, the Land of the Living, BASOR, 96, 18-28; for a contrary opinion, cf. now F. B. Cornwall, BASOR, 103 (1946), 9-11.
4 The suggestion in SS, No. 1, that the passage "may contain a description in anthropomorphic terms of the poet's notion of the formation of the marshlands in the neighborhood of the deltas bordering the Persian Gulf" (pp. 4-5) is highly dubious and might perhaps better not have been made in the first place.
5 The mythological motifs involved in the birth of the goddesses Ninmu, Ninkurra and Utta (note, too, that according to a variant of our text, a goddess by the name of Ninisig is to be added as a fourth in this chain of births) are obscure; Ninmu and Ninisig, to judge from their names ("the Lady who brings forth" and "the Lady who makes green"), seem to be deities whose activities originally concerned vegetation; the goddess Ninkurra, "Lady of the mountain-land" or perhaps "Lady of the nether world," is a deity whose activities seem to be restricted to stone-working; the goddess Uttu seems to be a deity whose activities had to do with clothing (cf. now Jacobson, JNES, V, 143).
6 The presence of the gardener is not to be taken as an indication that our myth deals in any way with human beings; the gardener is no doubt to be considered as one of a host of minor deities in charge of a particular activity in the service of the gods.
7 Note that the number of Enki's sick organs corresponds to the number of plants which he had eaten.
8 Actually the text seems to say "in her vulva."
9 For the difficulties involved in the interpretation of the relevant lines, cf. SS, No. 1, 6, note 32.
10 The correspondence between the sick member and the healing deity rests on the superficial and punlike etymologizing of the ancient scribes: the Sumerian word for the sick organ contains at least one syllable in common with the name of the deity. Thus e.g. one of the organs that pained Enki was the "mouth," the Sumerian word for which is An, and the deity created to alleviate this pain is called Ninsui; similarly, the goddess born to alleviate the pain of the rib, the Sumerian word for which is An, is named Niniti, etc.
now in the University Museum; it was copied and published by Stephen Langdon under the title *Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood, and the Fall of Man* in *PBS*, x, Pt. 1 (1915). Since then a fragment of unknown provenience has been published by Henri De Genouillac in *TRS*, 62, but the nature of its contents was first recognized by Edward Chiera (cf. *JAOS*, lxxv, 417). Both tablets were actually inscribed some time in the first half of the second millennium B.C.; the date when the myth was first composed is unknown. A transliteration and translation of the poem were published by the writer in *BASOR* SS No. 1 (1945); here will be found references to earlier literature. A translation of the poem based on the transcription in SS No. 1 has been published by M. Witzel in *Orientalia NS*, xv (1946), 239-285. A résumé of the contents of the myth and a translation of the first 25 lines were published by T. Jacobsen in *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, pp. 157-160 (cf. the present writer’s comment in *ICJS*, ii, 58, note 40).

14 The place is [pure]...,

... [the land] Dilmun is pure;
The land Dilmun is pure; the land Dilmun is clean;
The land Dilmun is clean, the land Dilmun is most bright.

Who had lain by himself in Dilmun—
The place, after Enki had lain with his wife,
That place is clean, that place is most bright; (Who had lain) by himself (in Dilmun)—
The place, (after) Enki (had lain) by Ninsikilla,
That place is clean, (that place is bright).
In Dilmun the raven utters no cries;

The ittilu-bird utters not the cry of the ittilu-bird,
The lion kills not,
The wolf snatches not the lamb,
Unknown is the kid-devouring wild dog,
Unknown is the grain-devouring...,

[Unknown] is the...widow,
The bird on high...s not its...,
The dove droops not the head,
The sick-eyed says not "I am sick-eyed,"
The sick-headed (says) not "I am sick-headed,"
Its old woman (says) not "I am an old woman,"
Its old man (says) not "I am an old man,"
Unbathed is the maid, no sparkling water is poured in the city,

Who crosses the river utters no..., The wailing priest walks not round about him,
The singer utters no... By the side of the city he (utters) no lament.

Ninsikilla says to her father Enki:

"The city thou hast given, the city thou hast given, thy...,
Dilmun, the city thou hast given, the city (thou hast given, thy...),
Has not... of the river;
Dilmun, the city thou hast given, the city (thou hast given, thy...),

... furrowed fields (and) farms;

[... (40)]

[Father Enki answers Ninsikilla, his daughter]:
"Let Utu... standing in heaven,
From the... the breast of his...,
From the... of Nanna,
From the 'mouth whence issues the water of the earth,' bring thee sweet water from the earth;"
Let him bring up the water into thy large...,
Let him make thy city drink from it the waters of abundance,
(LET him make) Dilmun (drink from it) the waters of ab(undance),
Let thy well of bitter water become a well of sweet water,

[Let thy furrowed fields (and) farms bear thee grain],
Let thy city become the bank-quay house of the land,

Now Utu is a..."

Utu standing in heaven,
From the... the breast of his...,
From the... of Nanna,
From the "mouth whence issues the water of the earth," brought her sweet water from the earth;
He brings up the water into her large..., Makes her city drink from it the waters of abundance, Makes Dilmun (drink from it) the waters of ab(undance),
Her well of bitter water, verily it is become a well of sweet water,
Her furrowed fields (and) farms bore her grain,
Her city, verily it is become the bank-quay house of the land
Dilmun, (verily it is become) the bank-(quay) house (of the land),

Now Utu is...; verily it was so.
Who is alone, before the wise Nintu, the mother of the land,

21 Note that this rendering differs slightly from that in SS No. 1.
22 Utu (not to be confused with the goddess Uttu) is the sun-god.
23 Nanna is the moon-god.
24 This line must have been accidentally omitted by the scribe, cf. line 61; note too, the slightly varying rendering of these two lines from that in SS No. 1.
26 The Sumerian word here rendered "land" usually refers to Sumer; but since "thy city" refers to Dilmun, the implications of the line are not too clear.
27 The first half of this line corresponds to line 59.
28 Perhaps the rendering of this line and the next should read: "Who is alone, the wise, before Nintu, the mother of the land; Enki, the wise, before Nintu, the mother of the land," cf. SS No. 1, 24; for the word "land" cf. note 26.
Enki (before) the wise Nintu, (the mother of the land),
Causes his phallus to water the ditches, 29
Causes his phallus to submerge the reeds,
Verily causes his phallus to 30 . . . ,
Thereupon he said, “Let no one walk in the marshland.”
Thereupon Enki said: (“Let no one walk in the marshland.”)
He swore by the life of Anu. 31
His . . . of the marshland, . . . of the marshland, Enki . . . d his semen of Damgalnunna. 32
Poured the semen in the womb of Ninhursag.
She took the semen into the womb, the semen of Enki.
One day being her one month,
Two days being her two months,
Three days being her three months,
Four days being her four months,
Five days (being her five months),
Six days (being her six months),
Seven days (being her seven months),
Eight [days] (being her eight months),
Nine [days] being her nine months, the months of “womanhood,”
Like . . . fat, like . . . fat, like good princely fat,
[Nintu], the mother of the land, like . . . fat, (like . . . fat, like good princely fat),
Gave birth to [Ninmu].
Ninmu . . . d at the bank of the river, 33
Enki in the marshland looks about, looks about, 34
He says to his messenger Isimud:
“Shall I not kiss the young one, the fair?
(Shall I not kiss) Ninmu, the fair?”
His messenger Isimud answers him:
“Kiss the young one, the fair,
(Kiss) Ninmu, the fair.
For my king I shall blow up a mighty wind, I shall blow up a mighty wind.”
First he set his foot in the boat, 35
Then he set it on dry land,
He embraced her, he kissed her,
Enki poured the semen into the womb,
She took the semen into the womb, the semen of Enki,
One day being her one month,
Two days being her two months,
Nine days being her nine months, the months of “womanhood,”
Like . . . fat, like . . . fat, like good princely fat,
Ninmu, (like) . . . fat, (like . . . fat, like good princely fat),
Gave birth to Ninkurra.
Ninkurra . . . d at the bank of the river,
Enki in the marshland looks about, looks about, 36
He [says] to his messenger Isimud:
“Shall I not [kiss] the young one, the fair?
(Shall I not kiss) Ninkurra, the fair?”
His messenger Isimud answers him:
“Kiss the young one, the fair,
(Kiss) Ninkurra, the fair.
For my king I shall blow up a mighty wind, I shall blow up a mighty wind.”
First he set his foot in the boat,
Then he set it on dry land,
He embraced her, he kissed her,
Enki poured the semen into the womb,
She took the semen into the womb, the semen of Enki,
One day being her one month,
Nine days being her nine months, the months of “womanhood,”
Like . . . fat, like . . . fat, like good princely fat,
Ninkurra, (like) . . . fat, (like . . . fat, like good princely fat),
Gave birth to Uttu, the fair lady.
Nintu says [to] Uttu, [the fair lady]:
“Instruction I offer thee, [take] my instruction,
A word I speak to thee, [take] my word.”
Someone in the marshland looks about, looks about,
Enki in the marshland looks about, looks about,
The eye . . . (approximately io lines destroyed)
. . . Uttu, the fair lady . . .
. . .
. . . in his . . .
. . . heart . . .
Brung the cucumbers in their . . .
Bring the apples in their . . .
Bring the grapes in their . . .
In the house may he take hold of my leash, 37
May Enki there take hold of my leash.”
A second time while he was filling with water, He filled the ditches with water,
He filled the ditches with water,
He filled the uncultivated places with water.
The gardener in the dust in his joy . . . ,
He embraced him.
“Who art thou who . . . [my] garden?”
Enki [answers] the gardener:
“. . .
[Bring me the cucumbers in their . . .],
[Bring me the apples in their . . .],
[Bring me the grapes in their . . .].”
[He] brought him the cucumbers in their . . .,
He brought him the apples in their . . .
39 “He” probably refers to Enki.
80Note that the scribe does not repeat days two to eight.
81“Dikes” instead of “ditches,” as in SS No. 1.
82Should have been italicized as doubtful in SS No. 1.
83Anu is the god of heaven, who early in Sumerian history was the leading deity of the pantheon.
84The implications of the phrase “the semen of Damgalnunna” are obscure: Damgalnunna is well known as the wife of Enki, and it is hardly likely that she is identical with the goddess Ninhursag (also known as Nintu throughout our poem) mentioned in the following line, cf. too, n.53.
85Note the new rendering which differs considerably from that in SS No. 1; so also line 109.
86The rendering is based on the assumption of a scribal error; cf. lines 115-116.
87Note the new renderings of lines 98-99 and 118-119.
88Note that the scribe does not repeat days three to eight.
Ninhursag seated Enki by her vulva:
"Nintulla I have caused to be born for thee." 40
"My brother, what hurts thee?" "My jaw hurts me." 41
"Ninutu I have caused to be born for thee." 42
"My brother, what hurts thee?" "My tooth hurts me." 43
"Abu I have caused to be born for thee." 44
"My brother, what hurts thee?" 45
Enki answered the fox:
"If thou wilt bring Ninhursag before me, I will plant trees (and) fields for thee, verily thy name will be uttered." 46

The fox, as one ...d his skin, As one, painted his face.

Enki took his joy of Uttu,
He embraced her, lay in her lap,
He ...s the thighs, 47 he touches the ... 48
He embraced her, lay in her lap,
With the young one he cohabited, he kissed her.

Enki took his joy of Uttu,
Uttu, the fair lady...s the... for him,... sthe...
Gives the grapes in their....he heaped them
Gives the apples in their... ,
Gives the cucumbers in their... ,
"I, the gardener, would give thee cucumbers,
"Thou, who art thou?"
To Uttu Enki directed his step.
Enki, his face turned green, he gripped the staff,
He brought him the grapes in their....he heaped them
"[My king, the thorn-plant," he (says to him);
"[My king, the roadweed-plant," he (says to him);
"[My king, the "honey"-plant," he says to him;
"[My king, the "tree"-plant," he says to him;
His messenger Isimud answers him:
"What, pray, is this? What, pray, is this?"
Interpreted the..., Uttu Enki poured the semen into the womb,
Gives the cucumbers in their... ,
Gives the apples in their... ,
Gives the grapes in their... ,
Uttu, the fair lady...

Enki, his face turned green, he gripped the staff,
He brought him the grapes in their....he heaped them
He plucks it for him, he eats it.
He plucks it for him, he eats it.
He plucks it for him, he eats it.
"My brother, what hurts thee?" "My mouth hurts me." 49
"Ninutu I have caused to be born for thee." 50
"My brother, what hurts thee?" "My tooth hurts me." 51
"Ninutu I have caused to be born for thee." 52
"My brother, what hurts thee?" "My jaw hurts me." 53
"My brother, what hurts thee?" "My mouth hurts me." 54
"Ninkasi I have [caused] to be [born] for thee." 55
"My brother what hurts thee?" "My ...[hurts me]."

40 "Thereupon" should have been placed in parentheses in SS No. 1.
41 The eye of life" had its opposite in the "eye of death," cf. e.g. line 168 of "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World" on p. 55.
42 Instead of "buttocks" as in SS No. 1; cf. too, line 187.
43 The fox, as one...d his skin, As one, painted his face.
44 Actually the text seems to say "in her vulva."
45 Note that the words "my brother" are to be taken literally, Enki and Ninhursag were conceived as brother and sister, at least by the mythographers of this period; at present it is not clear how this concept was justified.
46 Note that if the words "my brother" are to be taken literally, Enki and Ninhursag were conceived as brother and sister, at least by the mythographers of this period; at present it is not clear how this concept was justified.
47 For the correspondence between the sick members and the healing deities listed in this passage, cf. n.13. As for the deities listed throughout this passage, they are relatively minor and comparatively little known of their place in the Sumerian pantheon; among the better known are the god Abu; Ninkasi, the goddess of strong drink; Ninazu, a netherworld deity (cf. SM, 46, for the story of his birth); for the god Ningishzida, cf. E. Douglas Van Buren's study in Iraq, 1, 60-89.
48 For a leading god like Enki to give something as a "so be it," may be another way of saying "to present as a permanent gift."
49 Actually the text seems to say "in her vulva."
50 Note that if the words "my brother" are to be taken literally, Enki and Ninhursag were conceived as brother and sister, at least by the mythographers of this period; at present it is not clear how this concept was justified.
51 For the nature of the correspondence between the sick members and the healing deities listed in this passage, cf. n.13. As for the deities listed throughout this passage, they are relatively minor and comparatively little known of their place in the Sumerian pantheon; among the better known are the god Abu; Ninkasi, the goddess of strong drink; Ninazu, a netherworld deity (cf. SM, 46, for the story of his birth); for the god Ningishzida, cf. E. Douglas Van Buren's study in Iraq, 1, 60-89.
“Nazi I have caused to be [born] for thee.”
“My brother, what hurts thee?” “[My] arm [hurts me].”
“Azimu I have [caused] to be [born] for thee.”
“My brother, what hurts thee?” “[My] rib [hurts me].”
“Ninti I have caused to be [born] for thee.”
“My sister [sends], what hurts thee?” “My . . . [hurts me].”
“Enshag I have caused to be [born] for thee. For the little ones which I have caused to be born....

Dumuzi and Enkimdu: the Dispute between the Shepherd-God and the Farmer-God

This poem is one of a group of Sumerian compositions whose plot is based on what may not inapty be described as the “Cain-Abel” motif; their contents consist in large part of disputes between two gods, two demigods, or two kings,1 each of whom attempts to convince the other of his superiority by extolling his own virtues and achievements and belittling those of his opponent. To be sure, in all our extant compositions, the dispute ends in a reconciliation, or at least in a peaceful settlement, rather than in a murder; indeed in the case of the present poem, one of the characters, the farmer-god, is an unusually meek and peaceful person who takes the wind out of his opponent’s sails by refusing to quarrel in the first place.2 But the psychological ingredient is the same throughout, an aggressive attitude on the part of one of the characters resulting, at least in some cases, from a feeling of inferiority and frustration. In the case of the present poem, it is Dumuzi, the shepherd-god, who, having been rejected by the goddess Inanna in favor of the farmer-god,3 is impelled to enumerate his superior qualities in elaborate detail, and to pick a quarrel with his peace-loving rival.

The characters of our poem are four in number: the goddess Inanna; her brother, the sun-god Utu; the shepherd-god Dumuzi; and the farmer-god Enkimdu. Its contents may be summarized as follows: Following a brief introduction, whose contents are largely fragmentary (lines 1-9), we find Utu addressing his sister and urging her to become the wife of the shepherd Dumuzi (lines 10-19). Inanna’s answer (lines 20-344) consists of a flat refusal; she is determined instead to marry the farmer Enkimdu. Following several fragmentary lines of uncertain meaning (lines 35?-39), the text continues with a long address of the shepherd, directed probably to Inanna, in which he details his superior qualities (lines 40-64). We then find the shepherd rejoicing on the riverbank, probably because his argument had convinced Inanna and induced her to change her mind.5 There he meets Enkimdu and starts a quarrel with him (lines 65-73). But the latter refuses to quarrel and agrees to allow Dumuzi’s flocks to pasture anywhere in his territory (lines 74-79). The latter, thus appeased, invited the farmer to his wedding as one of his friends (lines 80-85). Whereupon, Enkimdu offers to bring him and Inanna several selected farm products as a wedding gift (lines 86-87). The poet then ends the composition with the conventional literary notations.

The text of the poem is reconstructed from three tablets and fragments excavated in Nippur; they date from the first half of the second millennium B.C. A transcreation and translation of the poem prepared recently by the writer will be found in JCS, II (1948), pp. 60-68. A preliminary sketch of the plot of the poem under the title Inanna Prefers the Farmer, together with translations of several excerpts from the poem was published by the writer in SM, (1944), 101-103. An interpretation of the contents of the poem under the title The Wooing of Inanna: Relative Merits of Shepherd and Farmer, was published by Thorkild Jacobsen in The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man (1946), 166-168.

Who is a maid, the stable . . .
The maid Inanna, the sheepfold . . .
Kneeling in the furrows . . .
Inanna . . .
A garment . . .
. . . I am not . . .
From . . .
. . . wife of the shepherd . . .
Her brother, the hero, the warrior, Utu
Says [to] the pure Inanna:
“O my sister, let the shepherd marry thee,
O maid Inanna, why art thou unwilling?
His fat is good, his milk is good,
The shepherd, everything his hand touches is bright,
O Inanna, let the shepherd Dumuzi marry thee,
O thou who . . . , why art thou unwilling?
His good fat he will eat with thee,
O protector of the king, why art thou unwilling?”
“[Me] the shepherd shall not marry,
In his new [garments] he shall not drape me,
When I . . . he shall not . . . me,
Me, the maid, let the farmer marry,

1 cf. for the present the poems “Enmesh and Enten” (SM, 49-51), “Cattle and Grain” (ibid., 53-54), “Emmerkar and Enuskiusharanna” (PAPIS, xc, 1946), 122-123). The motif was extended to include disputes between animals and inanimate objects; cf. the four wisdom compositions mentioned on p. 15 of SM; cf. also Jacobsen in The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man, 165-166.
2 Note, on the other hand that, in the Cain-Abel story as told in the book of Genesis, it is the farmer, Cain, who seems to be the more aggressive throughout.
3 In the Cain-Abel story, it is the farmer who feels rejected by his god.
4 The reader will do well to note that there is no introductory statement to indicate who addresses whom in any of the speeches in our poem except in case of the first, that is, in the case of Utu’s address to Inanna; in all other instances it is only from the context that we can gather who the speaker is. Helpful to the translator, however, is the Sumerian dialect in which the speech is reproduced; when it is in the Emesal dialect, the speaker must be Inanna.
5 It must be stressed, however, that this is only an inference from the context, it is not expressly stated anywhere in the text.
The farmer who makes plants grow abundantly,  
The farmer who makes grain grow abundantly,  
... (Approximately 8 lines are destroyed.)

Me...  
This matter...  
To the shepherd...  
The king of [dike, ditch, and plow]...  
The shepherd Dumuzi...  
... to speak...

"The farmer[ more] than I, the farmer[ more] than  
I, the farmer what has he more (than I)?" (40)  
Enkimdu, the man of dike, ditch, and plow...  
(More) than I, the farmer, what has he more (than I)?...  
Should he give me his black garment,  
I would give him, the farmer, my black ewe for it,  
Should he give me his good bread,  
I would give him, the farmer, my small cheeses  
... (More) than I, the farmer, what has he more (than I)?  
Should he give me his good garment,  
I would give him, the farmer, my black ewe for it,  
Should he give me his good bread,  
I would give him, the farmer, my yellow milk for it  
... (More) than I, the farmer, what has he more (than I)?...  
Should he give me his good date wine,  
I would pour him, the farmer, my plant-milk for it,  
Should he give me his...date wine,'  
I would pour him, the farmer my...milk for it,  
Should he give me his good date wine,  
I would pour him, the farmer, my yellow milk for it

Enkimdu, the man of dike, ditch, and plow,  
"...to speak...

The shepherd Dumuzi...  
The king of [dike, ditch, and plow]...  
To the shepherd...  
The shepherd, moreover, [led] the sheep on  
the riverbank.  
To the shepherd walking to and fro on the riverbank,  
To him who is a shepherd, the farmer [approached],  
The farmer Enkimdu [approached].  
(Dumuzi, the farmer, the king of dike and ditch...  
In his plain, the shepherd in his [plain starts] a quarrel  
with him,  
The shepherd Dumuzi in his plain starts a quarrel  
with him.  
"I against thee, O shepherd, against thee, O shepherd, I  
against thee  
Why shall I strive?  
Let thy sheep eat the grass of the riverbank,  
In my meadowland let thy sheep walk about,  
In the bright fields of Erech let them eat grain,  
Let thy kids and lambs drink the water of my Unun canal."  

"As for me, who am a shepherd, at my marriage,  
O farmer, mayest thou be counted as my friend,  
O farmer Enkimdu, as my friend, O farmer, as my  
friend,  
Mayest thou be counted as my friend."  
"I would bring thee wheat, I would bring thee beans,  
I would bring thee...  
O thou who art a maid, whatever is...to thee,  
O maid Inanna... I would bring thee."  
In the dispute which took place between the shepherd  
and the farmer,

O maid Inanna, thy praise is good.  
It is a balbale.*

The Deluge  
This Sumerian myth concerning the flood, with its Sumerian  
counterpart of the antediluvian Noah, offers the closest and most  
striking parallel to biblical material as yet uncovered in Sumerian  
literature. Moreover, its introductory passages are of considerable  
significance for Mesopotamian cosmogony; they include a number  
of important statements concerning the creation of man, the  
origin of kingship, and the existence of at least five antediluvian  
cities. Unfortunately, only one tablet inscribed with the myth  
has been uncovered to date, and of that tablet only the lower  
third is preserved. As a result, much of the context of the story  
is obscure, and but a few of the passages can be rendered with  
yany degree of certainty. Briefly sketched, the contents run as  
follows: Following a break of about 37 lines, we find a deity1  
addressing other deities and probably stating that he will save  
mankind from destruction.2 As a result, the deity continues, man  
will build the cities and temples of the gods. Following the  
address are three lines which are difficult to relate to the context;  
they seem to describe the actions performed by the deity to  
make his words effective. These lines are in turn followed by  
four lines concerned with the creation of man, animals, and,  
perhaps, plants. Here another break of about 37 lines follows,  
after which we learn that kingship was lowered from heaven,  
and that five cities were founded. A break of about 37 lines now  
follows; these must have dealt largely with the decision of the  
gods to bring the flood and destroy mankind. When the text  
becomes intelligible again we find some of the gods dissatisfied  
and unhappy over the cruel decision. We are then introduced to  
Ziusudra, the counterpart of the biblical Noah, who is described  
as a pious, a god-fearing king,3 constantly on the lookout for  
divine revelations in dreams or incantations. Ziusudra seems to  
station himself by a wall, where he hears the voice of a deity4  
informing him of the decision taken by the assembly of the gods  
to send a flood and “to destroy the seed of mankind.” The text  

1 To judge from the other compositions of this literary genre, one might  
have expected here a line reading approximately “The shepherd having  
proved the victor over the farmer.”

2 Balbale is the technical name for a category of Sumerian compositions  
which, to judge from the extant material, are hymnal in character; the  
actual meaning of the complex is still uncertain.

3 There is some possibility that it is more than one deity who is speaking;  
the relevant Sumerian verbal forms in this passage seem to be inconsistent  
regard to the use of the singular and plural. The name of the speaker  
or speakers) is destroyed; probably it is either Enki or Anu and Enlil  
(perhaps better Anu Enlil; cf. n.34.)

4 The nature of this destruction is not known; it is rather unlikely that it  
refers to the deluge.

5 The text does not give the name of the state over which he ruled, but  
we know from the Sumerian king list that he is supposed to have ruled over  
Sumer from his capital city Shuruppak; cf. AS 11, p. 26, n.34.

6 Probably Enki; the name of the deity is not given in the text.
must have continued with detailed instructions to Ziusudra to build a giant boat and thus save himself from destruction. But, all this is missing since there is another break of about 40 lines at this point. When the text becomes intelligible once again, we find that the flood in all its violence had already come upon the land, and it raged there for seven days and nights. But then the sun-god Utu came forth again, bringing his precious light everywhere, and Ziusudra protrasted himself before him and offers sacrifices. Here again there follows a break of about 39 lines. The last extant lines of our text describe the deification of Ziusudra. After he had protrasted himself before Anu and Enlil, he was given "life like a god" and breath eternal, and translated to Dilmun, "the place where the sun rises." The remainder of the poem, about 39 lines of text, is destroyed.

The "deluge" tablet, or rather the lower third of it which is extant, was excavated in Nippur, and is now in the University Museum. It was published by Arno Poebel in PBS, v (1914), No. 1; a transliteration and translation of the text, together with a detailed commentary, were published by the same author in PBS, iv, Pt. 1, pp. 9-70. Poebel's translation is still standard, and except for slight modifications, underlies the present translation.

(approximately first 37 lines destroyed)

"My mankind, in its destruction I will..."

To Nintu[1] I will return the... of my creatures,

I[2] will return the people to[3] their settlements,

Of the cities, verily they[4] will build their places of (divine) ordinances,

Of our[5] houses, verily they will lay their bricks in pure places.

(a)ATHER the exalted... of kingship had been lowered from heaven,

The fifth, Shuruppak, he gave to Sud.

He brought... Established the cleaning of the small rivers as...
The flood...  

...Thu[s w]as treated...  
Then did Nin[tu weep] like a...  
The pure Inanna [set up] a lament for its... people, 
Enki took coun[sel] with himself,  
Anu, Enlil, Enki, (and) Ninhursag...  
The gods of heaven and earth [uttered] the name of...  
Anu (and) Enlil.  
Then did Ziusudra, the king, the pališa...  
Build giant...;  
Then did Ziusudra, the king, the...  
The gods of heaven and earth [uttered] the name of”...  
Anu (and) Enlil.  
Enki took coun[sel] with himself,  
The pure Inanna [set up] a lament for...  
Then did Nin[tu...  
Thus was treated”...  

Ziusudra, the king,  
Prostrated himself before Anu (and) Enlil.  
Anu (and) Enlil cherished Ziusudra,”  
Life like (that of) a god they give him, 
Breath eternal like (that of) a god they bring down for him.  
Then, Ziusudra the king,  
The preserver of the name* of vegetation (and) of the seed of mankind,  
In the land* of crossing,” the land of Dilmun, the place where the sun rises, they* caused to dwell.  

(Remainder of the tablet, about 39 lines of text, destroyed.)

Gilibamesh and Agga

The Sumerian poem, "Gilibamesh and Agga," is one of the shortest of all Sumerian epic tales; it consists of no more than 115 lines of text. In spite of its brevity, however, it is of unusual significance from several points of view. In the first place, its plot deals with humans only; unlike the rest of the Sumerian epics, it introduces no mythological motifs involving any of the Sumerian deities. Secondly it is of considerable historical importance; it provides a number of hitherto unknown facts concerning the early struggles of the Sumerian city states. Finally, it is of very special significance for the history of political thought and practice. For as Thorkild Jacobsen was the first to point out, it records what are, by all odds, the oldest two political assemblies
Kish and Erech must have overlapped to a large extent. The contents of the poem may be summarized as follows:

Agga, the king of Kish has sent envoys to Gilgamesh in Erech (lines 1-2); the purpose of the mission is not stated, but the context makes it obvious that they brought an ultimatum demanding of the Erechites to submit to Kish or take the consequences. Gilgamesh seeks the advice of the assembly of elders and urges them, for reasons that are far from clear, to fight rather than submit (lines 3-8). But the elders are contrary-minded; they would rather submit to Kish than fight it out (lines 9-14). Gilgamesh, displeased with this answer, now turns to the assembly of "men," that is, of arms-bearing males, and repeats his plea for war with Kish rather than submission to its rule (lines 15-23). In a long statement ending with a eulogy of Gilgamesh and highly encouraging words of victory, the assembly of "men" declares for war and independence (lines 24-35). Gilgamesh is now well pleased; in a speech to Enkidu, in which he seems to urge him to take to arms, he shows himself highly confident of victory over Agga (lines 40-47). In a very short time, however, Agga besieges Erech, and in spite of their brave words, the Erechites are completely unprepared (lines 48-50). Gilgamesh then addresses the "heroes" of Erech and asks for a volunteer to go before Agga (lines 51-54). A hero by the name of Birhurturri readily volunteers; he is confident that he can confound Agga's judgment (lines 55-58). No sooner does Birhurturri pass through the city gates, however, than he is seized, beaten, and brought before Agga. He begins to speak to Agga, but before he has finished, another hero from Erech, one Zabaru...ga by name, ascends the wall (lines 59-67). There now follows a series of passages which are of utmost importance for the understanding of the plot of the tale, but which, for reasons outlined in notes 19, 20, and 22 are difficult and obscure. Certain it is, however, that in some way Agga has been induced to take a more friendly attitude and probably to lift the siege (lines 68-99). We then come to a passage whose meaning is quite certain; it consists of an address by Gilgamesh to Agga thanking him for all his kindness (lines 100-106). The poem concludes with a paean of praise to Gilgamesh (lines 107-end).

The text of "Gilgamesh and Agga" is reconstructed from eleven tablets and fragments; ten were excavated in Nippur, while the eleventh is of unknown provenience. All the pieces date from the first half of the second millennium B.C.; the date of the actual composition of the poem, however, is still unknown.

A transliteration and translation of the poem based on the four of the six texts then known was published by M. Witzel, "SUMERIAN MYTHS AND EPIC TALES"

The convened assembly of the men of his city answer Gilgamesh:

To complete the [wells], to complete all the wells of the land,

To dig the wells, to complete the fastening ropes, Let us not submit to the house of Kish, let us smite it with weapons.

The convened assembly of the elders of his city answer Gilgamesh:

"To complete the wells, to complete all the wells of the land,"

To complete the wells (and) the small bowls of the land,

To dig the wells, to complete the fastening ropes, Do not submit to the house of Kish, let us smite it with weapons."

The convened assembly of the men of his city answer Gilgamesh:

"O ye who hold, O ye who sit,"
O ye who are raised with the sons of the king,  
O ye who press the donkey’s thigh,  
Whoever holds its life,  
Do not submit to the house of Kish, let us smite it with weapons.

Erech, the handiwork of the gods,

Eanna, the house descending from heaven—
It is the great gods who have fashioned its parts—
Its great wall touching the clouds,
Its lofty dwelling place established by Anu,
Thou hast cared for, thou who art king (and) hero.

O thou . . . headed, thou prince beloved of Anu,
How hast thou feared his coming!
Its army is small, it is scattered behind it,
Its men do not hold high (their) face.”

Then—Gilgamesh, the lord of Kullab—
At the word of the men of his city his heart rejoiced, his spirit brightened;
He says to his servant Enkidu:
“Therefore let the Jukara-impliment be put aside for the violence of battle,
Let the weapons of battle return to your side,
Let them produce fear (and) terror.
As for him, when he comes, verily my great fear will fall upon him,
Verily his judgment will be confounded, verily his counsel will be dissipated.”

The days were not five, the days were not ten,  
Agga, the son of Ennebaraggesi besieged Erech;
Erech—its judgment was confounded.  
Gilgamesh, the lord of Kullab,
Says to its heroes:
“My heroes frown;
Who has heart, let him stand up, to Agga I would have him go.”

Birhurturri, his head . . . man,
Utters praises to his king:
“I would go to Agga,
Verily his judgment will be confounded, verily his counsel will be dissipated.”

Birhurturri went out through the city gate.
As Birhurturri went out through the city gate,
They seized him at the entrance of the city gate,
Birhurturri—they crush his flesh;
He was brought before Agga,
He speaks to Agga.
He had not finished his word (when) Zabar . . . ga ascends toward the wall;
He saw Agga.

Birhurturri says to him:  
“O servant of the stout man, thy king  
The stout man—is he not also my king?  
Verily the stout man is my king,
Verily it is his . . . forehead,
Verily it is his . . . face,
Verily it is his beard of lapis lazuli,
Verily it is his gracious finger.”

The multitude did not cast itself down, the multitude did not rise;  
The multitude did not cover itself with dust,  
(The people) of all the foreign lands were not overwhelmed

On the months of (the people) of the lands, dust was not heaped,
The prow of the magaruru-boat was not cut down,
Agga, the king of Kish, restrained not his soldierly heart.
They keep on striking him, they keep on beating him,  
Birhurturri—they crush his flesh.
After Zabar . . . ga, Gilgamesh ascends toward the wall,
Terror fell upon the old and young of Kullab,
The men of Erech held their battle weapons at their sides,
The door of the city gate—they stationed themselves at its approaches,
Enkidu went out toward the city gate,
Gilgamesh peered over the wall,
He saw Agga:  
“O servant of the stout man, thy king”

10 “Its” presumably refers to Erech.
11 Eanna was the main temple of Erech; literally it is “the House of Anu.”
12 “His” presumably refers to Agga.
13 “Its” presumably refers to Kish.
14 The Jukara is probably an agricultural implement.
15 “Him” presumably refers to Agga.
16 A Sumerian idiomatic expression for a very brief passage of time.
17 The Sumerian verb for “besieged,” is a third person plural; perhaps therefore the poet intended to include Agga’s army as well.
18 “They” presumably refers to Agga’s men.
The stout man is my king."

As he spoke, the multitude cast itself down, the multitude rose.

The multitude covered itself with dust, (The people) of all the foreign lands were overwhelmed.

On the mouths of (the people) of the lands dust was heaped.

The prow of the magurru-boat was cut down.

The multitude covered it with dust.

The multitude cast itself down, the multitude rose.

The contents of the poem may be briefly summarized as follows: The "lord" Gilgamesh, realizing that, like all mortals, he too must die sooner or later, is determined at least to raise up a name for himself before he meets his destined end. He therefore sets his heart on journeys to the far distant Land of the Living with the probable intention of felling its cedars and bringing them to Erech. He forms his loyal servant and constant companion, Enkidu, of his proposed undertaking, and the latter advises him first to acquaint the sun-god Utu with this plan, for it is Utu who has charge of this cedar land (lines 1-12). Acting upon his advice, Gilgamesh brings offerings to Utu and prays for his support of the contemplated journey to the Land of the Living (lines 13-18). Utu at first seems rather skeptical about Gilgamesh's qualifications. But Gilgamesh only repeats his plea in more persuasive language (lines 19-33). Utu takes pity on him and decides to help him, probably by immobilizing in some way the seven vicious demons personifying the destructive weather phenomena that might menace Gilgamesh in the course of his journey across the mountains situated between Erech and the Land of the Living (lines 34-45). Overjoyed, Gilgamesh gathers fifty volunteers from Erech, untrained men who have neither "house" nor "mother" and who are ready to follow him in whatever he does (lines 46-53). After having weapons of bronze and wood prepared for himself and his companions, they cross the seven mountains with the help of Utu (lines 54-61). Just what happens immediately after the crossing of the last of the seven mountains is not clear, since the relevant passage (lines 62-70) is poorly preserved. When the text becomes intelligible again we find that Gilgamesh had fallen into a heavy sleep from which he is awakened only after considerable time and effort (lines 71-83). Thoroughly aroused by this unexpected delay, he swears by his mother Ninlil and by his father Lugalbanda that he will enter the Land of the Living and brook no interference from either man or god (lines 84-97). Enkidu pleads with him to turn back, for the guardian of the cedars is the fearful monster Huwawa, whose destructive attack none may withstand (lines 98-105). But Gilgamesh will have none of this caution. Convinced that with Enkidu's help no harm can befall either of them, he bids him put away fear and go forward with him (lines 106-119). Spying from his cedar house, however, is the monster Huwawa who seems to make vain, but frantic, efforts to drive off Gilgamesh and his adventurous band (lines 120-126). Following a break of some lines we learn that, after cutting down seven trees, Gilgamesh had probably come to Huwawa's inner chamber (lines 127-141). Strangely enough, at the very first, and seeming covered;2 even so, it is recognizable as a literary creation which must have had a profound emotional and aesthetic appeal to its highly credulous ancient audience. Its motivating theme, man's anxiety about death and its sublimation in the notion of an immortal name, has a universal significance that lends it high poetic value. Its plot structure reveals a careful and revealing selection of just those details which are essential to its predominately poignant mood and heroic temper. Stylistically, too, the poet obtains the appropriate rhythmic effect by the skillful use of an uncommonly varied assortment of repetition and parallelism patterns. All in all, there is little doubt that the poem before us is one of the finest Sumerian literary works as yet uncovered.

The poem "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living" is one of the Sumerian epic tales probably utilized by the Semitic authors in their redaction of the Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh.3 Unfortunately, to date only 175 lines of the poem have been re-

1 For a detailed discussion of the Sumerian sources of the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh, cf. JAOS, lxxxiv (1944), 8-23; note that our poem is there entitled "Gilgamesh and Huwawa."

2 There is some possibility that the fragmentary extract of a Sumerian poem tentatively entitled "The Death of Gilgamesh," might belong to our poem; cf. BASOR, No. 94 (1944), 2-12, and particularly n.4. Note that the line numbering in JCS, I, 346, is off by one, following line 70.

3 For the possibility that Dilmun was the Land of the Living, cf. BASOR, No. 96 (1944), 18-28. Note, however, that to judge from the contents of lines 146-150, particularly when compared with the text quoted in JCS, I (1947), 45, note 252 (it reads: Huwawa answers Gilgamesh: "My mother who gave birth to me is the 'land' (so, instead of 'highland') Hurram, My father who begot me is the mountain Hurram, Utu has made me dwell all alone with him in the 'land':""); it is perhaps the highland Hurram which is to be taken as the Land of the Living.

Gigamesh and the Land of the Living

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ingly very light, attack on the part of Gilgamesh, Huwawa is overcome with fright: he thereupon utters a prayer to the sun-god Utu and adjures Gilgamesh not to kill him (lines 142-151). Gilgamesh would like to act the generous victor, and in riddle-like phrases suggests to Enkidu that Huwawa be set free. But Enkidu, fearful of the consequences, advises against such unwise action (lines 152-161). Following Huwawa's indignant criticism of Enkidu's ungenerous attitude, our two heroes proceed to cut off his neck (lines 162-166). They then seem to bring Huwawa's corpse before Enlil and Ninlil, but what follows is quite uncertain, for after several fragmentary lines our available material comes to an end.

The text of "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living" is reconstructed from fourteen tablets and fragments; eleven were excavated in Nippur, one in Kish, while the provenience of two is unknown. All the available tablets and fragments date from the first half of the second millennium B.C. A scientific edition of the poem, including copies of unpublished material in the University Museum, transliteration, translation, and commentary, was published by the writer in JCS, 1 (1947), 3-46; here, too, will be found a copy of a tablet in the Yale Babylonian Collection, copied by Ferris J. Stephens, and a copy of a tablet in the Oriental Museum of the University of Illinois, copied by Albrecht Goetz.

The lord, toward the Land of the Living set his mind,
The lord, Gilgamesh, toward the Land of the Living set his mind,
He says to his servant Enkidu:
"O Enkidu, not (yet) have brick and stamp brought forth the fated end,
I would enter the 'land,' I would set up my name,
In its places where the names have not been raised up, I
would raise up the names of the gods."
His servant Enkidu answers him:
"O my master, if thou wouldst enter the 'land,' inform Utu,
Inform Utu, the hero Utu—
The 'land,' it is Utu's charge,
The Land of the cut-down cedar, it is the hero Utu's charge—inform Utu.
Gilgamesh laid his hands on an all-white kid,
A brown kid, an offering, he pressed to his breast,
In his hand he placed the silver staff of his . . .,
He says to Utu of heaven:
"O Utu, I would enter the 'land,' be thou my ally,
I would enter the Land of the cut-down cedar, be thou my ally."
Utu of heaven answers him:
"... verily thou art, but what art thou to the 'land'?"
"O Utu, a word I would speak to thee, to my word thy ear.
I would have it reach thee, give ear to it.
In my city man dies, oppressed is the heart,
Man perishes, heavy is the heart,
I peered over the wall,
Saw the dead bodies . . . floating on the river;
As for me, I too will be served thus; verily 'tis so.
Man, the tallest, cannot stretch to heaven,
Man the widest, cannot cover the earth.
Not (yet) have brick and stamp brought forth the fated end,
I would enter the 'land,' I would set up my name,
In its places where the names have not been raised up, I
would raise up my name,
In its places where the names have not been raised up, I
would raise up the names of the gods."
Utu accepted his tears as an offering,
Like a man of mercy, he showed him mercy,
The seven heroes, the sons of one mother,
The first, . . . that . . .,
The second a viper that . . .,
The third, a dragon that . . .,
The fourth, a scorching fire that . . .,
The fifth, a raging snake that turns the heart, that . . .,
The sixth, a destructive deluge that floods the land,
The seventh, the speeding . . . [lightning] which cannot be [turned back].
These seven . . .,
He brings into the . . . of the mountains.
Who felled the cedar, acted joyfully,
The lord Gilgamesh acted joyfully,
In his city, as one man, he . . .
As two companions, he . . .
"Who has a house, to his house! Who has a mother,
to his mother!"
Let single males who would do as I (do), fifty, stand at my side."
Who had a house, to his house; who had a mother, to his mother,
Single males who would do as he (did), fifty, stood at his side.
To the house of the smiths he directed his step,
The . . ., the . . .-axe, his "Might of Heroism" he caused to be cast there.
To the . . . garden of the plain he [directed] his step,
The . . .-tree, the willow, the apple tree, the box tree, the . . .-[tree] he [felled] there.
The "sons" of his city who accompanied him [placed them] in their hands.
The first, . . . that . . .,
Having been brought] into the . . . of the mountains,
The first [mo]untain they cross, he comes not upon his . . .
Upon their crossing the seventh mountain, . . . he did not wander about,
[The lord Gil]gamesh fells the cedar.
. . . to Gilgamesh,
. . . Gilgamesh . . . brought,
. . . stretched out,
. . . like . . . seized,

* So, instead of as in JCS. Note, too, that the present translation varies from that in JCS in lines 14, 22, 25, 26, 35, 42, 83, 85, 94, 100, 106, 121, 136, 139, 145, 174; most of the variations are very slight.

* Note the omission of a line approximating: "Gilgamesh answers him."
From his forehead which devours trees and reeds none
"Who art lying, who art lying,
He speaks to him, he [an]swers not.
He touches him, he rises not,
...silence...
[The "sons" of his city] who accompanied
The three-ply cloth will not be cut,
"For me another will not die, the loaded boat will not sink,
The three-ply cloth will not be cut,
If the caught bird goes (back) to its place.
If the caught man returns to the bosom of his mother,
Thou wilt not return to the city of the mother who gave
birth to thee."

Huwawa says to Enkidu:
"Against me, O Enkidu, thou hast spoken evil to him,
O hired man who . . . the food, who stands next to the
. . . of the rival, thou hast spoken evil words to him."
When he had thus spoken,
They cut off his neck,10
They placed upon him . . .
They brought him before Enlil and Ninlil.
Enlil brought forth his palace servant
from the sea,
And Ninlil brought forth . . .
When Enlil and Ninlil . . .
"Why thus . . . ?
. . . let him come forth, let him seize,
. . ."

The Death of Gilgamesh

The “Death of Gilgamesh” consists of a text which is but a
small part of a poem of unknown length.1 Fragmentary as the
text is, its contents are of rather unusual significance for the light
they shed on the Sumerian ideas concerning death and the nether
world. The text is divided into two sections, A and B, between
which there is a break of unknown size.2 The contents of A may
be briefly sketched as follows: Following a passage whose mean-
ing is altogether obscure, Gilgamesh is informed that he must
cherish no hope for immortality; that Enlil, the father of all the
gods, has not destined him for eternal life. He is not to take it
to heart, however, for Enlil has granted him kingship, promi-
nence, and heroism in battle. There follows the death of Gilga-
mesh, described in a passage of typical Sumerian poetic form,
consisting of at least ten lines ending with the refrain “lies, rises
not,” the first part of eight of the lines containing epithets de-
scriptive of Gilgamesh. The section ends with a description of
the ensuing mourning.

Section B consists of the last forty-two lines of the poem.3 It
begins with a list of Gilgamesh’s family and retinue—wives,
children, musicians, chief valet, attendants—and continues with
the presentation by Gilgamesh of his gifts and offerings to the
numerous deities of the nether world. That is, according to at
least one plausible interpretation of the available material, Gilga-
mesh has died and descended to the nether world to become its
king.4 Moreover, we must reckon with the possibility that a large
palace retinue was buried with Gilgamesh—if so, we have here
the first mention of human sacrifices of the type uncovered by

10 Note this important new rendering.
11 A variant and considerably expanded version of our poem is found on
a fragmentary tablet from Nippur dating from the same period as the other
Nippur tablets and fragments; its contents were found transliterated and
analyzed in the ICS study in notes 205, 206, 217, 222, 226, 241, 245, 250, 252.

1 There is some possibility that the text of our poem is a continuation of
the epic tale “Gilgamesh and Huwawa”; cf. pp. 47-70 of the present volume.
2 It is by no means certain, however, that the two sections are part of
the same poem.
3 That this section contains the last lines of whatever poem it is a part of,
is certain from its last line which is typical of the end of Sumerian com-
positions.
4 That Gilgamesh was conceived by the Sumerian theologians and myth
makers as king of the nether world is known especially from a text dis-
cussed in BASOR, No. 94, 6, n.11.

Woolley in the tombs of Ur—and that Gilgamesh performs the
placation rites essential to their comfortable sojourn in the nether
world. The remainder of the poem is poorly preserved; it prob-
lably ends with a special tribute to the glory and memory of
Gilgamesh.

The text of the “Death of Gilgamesh” is reconstructed from
three tablets excavated in Nippur, dating from the first half of
the second millennium B.C. A translation and transliteration of
the available material, together with a copy of one of the tablets,
have been published by the writer in BASOR, No. 94 (1944),
2-12.

Section A

. . . the road taken . . .
. . . who brings up from its . . .
. . . with the killing from its . . .
. . . daily unto distant days.
After . . . had been placed,
. . . which had been granted,
. . . destruction old and ancient,
. . . the weapon which he brought up,
. . . which he directed,
. . . the flood which destroyed the land,
. . . the son of Utu?
In the nether world, the place of darkness, verily will
give him light.
Mankind, as much as has been named,
Who beside him will build its form unto distant days?
The mighty heroes, the seers, like the new moon verily have
Who beside him has directed the power and the might
before them?
In the month of Ab, the . . . of the shades,
Without him verily there is no light before them.
Enlil, the great mountain, the father of the gods—
O lord Gilgamesh, the meaning of the dream (is)—
Has destined thy fate, O Gilgamesh, for kingship, for
eternal life he has not destined it.
(But) . . . of life, be not sad of heart,
Be not aggrieved, be not depressed.
Who of man committed a wrong . . .
The forbidden, thy bond cut loose . . .
The light (and) darkness of mankind
he has granted thee,9
Supremacy over mankind he has granted thee,
Unmatched . . . he has granted thee,
Battle from which none may retreat he has granted thee,
Onslaughts unrivalled he has granted thee,
4 The present translation differs somewhat from that in BASOR; the more
significant variations are pointed out in the notes.
5 Because of the fragmentary condition of lines 1-10, the attempted ren-
derings are to be taken as pointers only; the punctuation, too, is of course
altogether uncertain.
6 Lines 25-49 form part of an address by some deity or individual whose
name was no doubt stated in the lines now destroyed. In lines 25-32, the
crucial difficulty involves the subject of the verbal forms; from the extant
text it seems impossible to offer an intelligent conjecture.
7 Lines 25-49 form part of an address by some deity or individual whose
name was no doubt stated in the lines now destroyed. In lines 25-32, the
crucial difficulty involves the subject of the verbal forms; from the extant
text it seems impossible to offer an intelligent conjecture.
8 Note the new rendering which omits the translation of the last two
complexes of this line; their rendering in BASOR with “verily made (sic!) the
thresholds with them” is based on a literal interpretation of the text
which may be unjustified. Note, too, the new rendering of line 31.
9 If the rendering is correct, which is not too likely, the line might be
taken to indicate the extent of Gilgamesh’s power and influence.
Attacks from which none may escape, he has granted thee.
Do not...thy faithful...palace servant,
Before Utu thou shalt...,
A garment...;
The leader... (break of approximately 10 lines)
Who [destroyed] evil [lies, rises not],
Who [established justice in the land] lies, rises not],
Who...[es, rises not],
Who is firm of muscle, lies, [rises not],
The lord of Kullab lies, rises not],
Who is wise of features, lies, [rises not],
Who...lies, [rises] not,
With him who ascends the mountain he lies, he [rises] not,
On the bed of Fate he lies, he rises not,
[On] the multicolored...couch he lies, he rises not.
The standing are not silent, the sitting are not silent, they set up a lament, (70)
Who eat food are not silent, who drink water are not silent, they set up a lament.
Namtar...is not silent,
Like...fish he has stretched out,
Like a gazelle held fast by the gibburru, he...the couch.
Namtar who has no hands, who has no feet, [who drinks] no water, [who eats no food],
(2 lines destroyed)....made heavy,
...Gilgamesh,
After its...had been interpreted, (80)
...which he interpreted to them,
...they answer:
...[w]hy dost thou cry?
...why has it been made?
...that which Nintu has not fashioned,
...he brought forth.
...there is not.
...strength, firm muscle...,
...escaped not the hand.
...he looked not upon,...
...from the...he seized.

...upon which he looked,

15 Note that this line was omitted in the translation in BASOR.
16 A more literal rendering may perhaps be "lay down" instead of "lies."  
17 Note the new rendering for this line; "who ascends the mountain" may perhaps be a euphemism for "who dies." "The bed of Fate" in the next line refers, of course, to death.
18 "The standing" and "the sitting" may perhaps refer to those citizens who participate in the city assembly; cf. now Kramer, A/4, 1,1, 14.
19 Namtar, "Fate," is the nether-world demon responsible for death.
20 For the gibburru, cf. lines 195 and 220 of the "Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur."
21 Note the new rendering of the line.
22 Because of the fragmentary condition of lines 76-95, the attempted renderings and punctuation are to be taken as pointers only; note the new rendering of line 81, the restoration of the Sumerian word for "why" is reasonably certain. In line 85, the goddess Nintu, also known under the names Ninhursag, Ninmah, etc., is particularly noted for her activities in the creation of man; cf. e.g. SM, 68-75.

Section B
His beloved wife, [his] be[loved] son,
The...wife, [his] be[loved] concubine,
His musician, [his beloved] entertainer,
[His] beloved chief valet, [his beloved]...,
[His] be[loved] household, the palace attendants,
His beloved caretaker;
The purified palace...the heart of Erech—whoever lay with him in that place,
Gilgamesh, the son of Ninsun,
Weighed out their offerings to Ereshkigal,
Weighed out their gifts to Namtar,
Weighed out (their) presents to Dimpikug,
Weighed out their bread-offerings to Neti,
Weighed out their bread-offerings to Ningishzida and Dumuzi.
To Enki and Ninki, to Enmul and Ninnmul,
To Endukugga and Nindukugga,
To Enindashurimma and Nindashurimma,
To Enmu...la and Enmesharra,
The parents of Enil,
Shulpae, the lord of the table,
Sumugan, Ninhursag,
The Anunnaki of the Dukug
The Igigi of the Dukug,
The dead...the dead...sangu,
The mahhu, entu...,
The palištu, clad in linen...
Offerings...,
The lord [Gilgamesh] weighed out their bread-offerings.

Note the new rendering; it is due to the suggestion of Frederick Geer, of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, that the second Sumerian sign in the line is ši rather than xuG.
23 The new rendering assumes that the contents of this line parallel those of the preceding lines; a more literal rendering might perhaps read "one who puts (his) hand on everything."
24 Note the new rendering; the real meaning of the line and its relationship to what precedes and follows, remain obscure.
25 The gods listed in lines 9-13 are all underworld deities: Ereshkigal is the well-known queen of the nether world; Namtar is the demon of death; Dimpikug's duties are unknown; Neti is the chief gatekeeper of the nether world; Ningishzida and Dumuzi are two well-known chthonic deities.
26 The deities listed in lines 14-17 are described in line 18 as "the parents" of the leading Sumerian deity Enlil; they are all known as such from other texts, and were no doubt conceived by the theologians and mythographers as dwelling in the nether world.
27 Note the new renderings in lines 19-28; particularly the word "to" at the beginning of lines 19-26 is by no means assured; nor is the assumption that the deities and priests listed in them are to be thought of as inhabiting the nether world. In the present fragmentary state of the text, and particularly of the crucial lines 26-27, it is difficult to get at the real meaning of the passage contained in lines 14-28. As for the deities mentioned, Shulpae, "the lord of the table," is the husband of Ninhursag, one of the four creating deities of Sumer (see note 17); Sumugan is known as the god in charge of the "plain," and the animal and plant life which fills it; the Anunnaki and the Igigi are groups of deities whose individual members are unnamed (the Anunnaki in particular are frequently mentioned as participating in the divine assemblies); the Dukug is the chamber in heaven where Igigi and particularly the Anunnaki are said to live; it seems to be described in one text as "the place of the creation of the gods."
28 The sangu, mahhu, and palištu are priests; the entu is a priestess.
29 "Offerings" instead of "to the seer" in BASOR.
30 The word "bread" was erroneously omitted in BASOR.
At the place of libations...poured out date wine,
...caused to be inhaled for him.
The people of Erech,... have no possessions,... of their... in dust. 
In those days,... the lord28 Gilgamesh,

For... who neglected not Enlil—

Gilgamesh, the son of Ninsun,
Of... their rival king has not been
born to Ninu;
Who has no [rival], who is without [equal],
O Gilga[mesh, lord of] Kullab, good is thy [praise].

Inanna's Descent to the Nether World

The Sumerian myth "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World" is highly significant for the light on the Sumero-Babylonian religious tenets, particularly those concerning death and the nether world. Moreover, as the predecessor and prototype of the Semitic myth "Ishtar's Descent to the Nether World," it provides us with an ancient and highly instructive example of literary borrowing and transformation. Briefly sketched, its contents run as follows: For some unknown reason,1 Inanna, queen of heaven, has set her heart upon visiting the nether world. She therefore collects all the appropriate divine ordinances, adorns herself with her queenly robes and jewels, and is ready to enter the "land of no return." Queen of the nether world is her older sister, and—at least so it seems—bitter enemy, Ereshkigal. Fearing lest her sister put her to death in the nether world, Inanna instructs her messenger Ninshubur, who is always at her beck and call, that if after three days she shall have failed to return,2 he is to set up a hue and cry for her in heaven, in the assembly hall of the gods. He is then to go to Nippur, the city of Enlil, and plead with the latter to save Inanna and not let her be put to death in the nether world. If Enlil refuses he is to go to Ur, the city of the moon-god Nanna, and repeat his plea. If Nanna, too, refuses, he is to go to Eridu, the city of Enki, the god of wisdom, and the latter, who "knows the food of life," who "knows the water of life," will surely come to her rescue.

Inanna then descends to the nether world but approaches Ereshkigal's temple of lapis lazuli. At the gate she is met by the chief gatekeeper, upon instructions from his mistress, leads her through the seven gates of the nether world. As she passes through each of the gates her garments and jewels are removed piece by piece in spite of her protests. Finally, after entering the last gate, she is brought stark naked and on bended knees before the "food of life," and the "water of life," with instructions to proceed to the nether world and sprinkle this "food" and "water" (probably) sixty times upon Inanna's impaled corpse.3 This they do, and Inanna revives. As she leaves the nether world, however, she is accompanied by the dead and by the beggars and harpies who have their home there. Surrounded by this ghostly, ghastly crowd she wanders from city to city in Sumer.4

The text of "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World," is reconstructed from thirteen tablets and fragments, all of which were excavated in Nippur and are now either in the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul or in the University Museum in Philadelphia. All were actually inscribed in the first half of the second millennium B.C. but the date of the first composition

1 The Anunnaki, to judge from the available Sumerian material, are the unnamed "great gods" of the Sumerian pantheon who participated in the assemblies called by the leading deities before making final decisions; they were conceived as begotten by the heaven-god Anu on the "mountain of heaven and earth" (cf. SM, 72-3). Presumably, therefore, they were sky gods, and just how the Sumerian mythographers got seven of them to the nether world to act as judges in it (cf. line 63 of our myth) is as yet unknown.

2 This seems to be the literal meaning of the Sumerian; presumably, the stake projected from a wall and pierced the dead body which thus "hung from it."

3 Enki gave the two creatures quite a number of additional instructions, which would, no doubt, prove highly revealing for Sumerian mythological concepts and religious tenets concerning death and the nether world, but unfortunately the relevant lines (224-242 and lines 246-265) are largely destroyed.

4 To this summary, which is based on the text of the myth as reconstructed in PAPS, LXXXV (cf. the paragraph following our summary) there can now be made a most important addition based on an as-yet-unpublished tablet in the Yale Babylonian Collection, which I had the opportunity of studying some time ago through the courtesy of Ferris J. Stephens, curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection, and Albrecht Goetze, his colleague. This tablet contains 91 lines of text; it begins with line 264 of the text as reconstructed in PAPS and duplicates the latter until line 325; from there on the text of the Yale tablet fills in part of the 40-line gap mentioned on p. 302 of PAPS, LXXXV. With the help of this new material, the events which took place upon Inanna's departure from the nether world are thus to be as follows: As soon as Inanna leaves the nether world with her ghostly and demoniac companions, she is met by her messenger Ninshubur, who throws herself at her feet, sits in the dirt, and dresses in mourning. The demons accompanying Inanna seem to threaten to carry him off to the nether world, but Inanna tells them who he is and how he had served her faithfully, and—this is not quite certain—that consequently they should do him no harm. They then proceed to Umma and its temple Sigkursaggag; here Shara, the tutelary deity of Umma, throws himself at her feet, sits in the dirt and dressed in mourning. The demons accompanying Inanna seem to threaten to carry him off to the nether world, but Inanna (if the interpretation is correct) dissuades them. They then proceed to Badtibira and its temple Emushkalamma; here Latarak, the tutelary deity of Badtibira, throws himself at her feet, sits in the dirt, and dressed in mourning. Once again the demons seem to threaten to carry him off to the nether world, but Inanna seems to dissuade them. They then proceed to a city whose name is uncertain; it may perhaps be Inanna's own city Erech, since its temple complex seems to be named Kullab, a district in, or adjacent to, Erech. And here comes what is, no doubt, the most surprising and revealing part of the text. In Kullab(?), the god Dumuzi, unlike the gods Ninshubur, Shara of Umma, and Latarak of Badtibira, does not throw himself at Inanna's feet; nor does he show any signs of mourning. Instead, he seats himself on a "high seat" totally unmindful of Inanna and her companions. Whereupon Inanna hands Dumuzi over into the hands of the demons, no doubt to carry him off to the nether world. Dumuzi bursts into tears and raises his hands in prayer to the sun-god Utu to save him from the demons. At this point our text breaks off, so that the end of the myth is still unknown.
of the myth is unknown. A first edition of the text of the myth, based on the eight tablets and fragments then available, was published by the writer in RA, xxxiv (1937), 93-134. Following the publication of several additional pieces belonging to the myth, the writer published a new edition of the text based on all the thirteen pieces in PAPS, lxxxv (1942), 293-323. Pls. I-X. A study and translation of the text based on the writer's first edition, that in RA, xxxiv, were published by A. Falkenstein in AfO, xiv (1942), 113-138. A study and translation of the text based on the writer's first edition and on the additional material published by the writer in RA, xxxvi, together with an analysis of the Falkenstein article in AfO, xiv, were published by Maurus Witzel in Orientalia NS, xiv (1945), 24-69.

From the "[great above]" she set her mind toward the "great below,"
The goddess, from the "great above," she set her mind towards the "great below,"
Inanna, from the "great above," she set her mind towards the "great below,"

My lady abandoned heaven, abandoned earth, to the nether world she descended,
Inanna abandoned heaven, abandoned earth, to the nether world she descended,
Abandoned lordship, abandoned ladyship, to the nether world she descended.

In Erech she abandoned Eanna, to the nether world she descended,
In Badtibira she abandoned Emushkalamma, to the nether world she descended,
In Zabalam she abandoned Giguna, to the nether world she descended,
In Adab she abandoned Esharra, to the nether world she descended,
In Nippur she abandoned Baratushgarra, to the nether world she descended,
In Kish she abandoned Hursagkalamma, to the nether world she descended,
In Agade she abandoned Eulmash, to the nether world she descended.

She arrayed herself in the seven ordinances,

"ordinances" which attempts to render the Sumerian word me,
7 cf. RA, xxxv (1939), 68-80; BASOR, 79 (1940), 18-27.
8 cf. also B. A. van Pooijt in IEJOL, vi (1939), 138-147. B. Landsberger has sent me some valuable comment on the PAPS edition, some of which will be quoted in the notes.
9 The "great above" is the space above the sky; the "great below" is the space below the surface of the earth.
10 This and the following lines mention seven important cities of Sumer together with Inanna's temple in each; the order is not significant since it varies considerably in one of the duplicates.
11 For "ordinances" which attempts to render the Sumerian word me, cf. p. 43 of this work. It is to be noted that judging from our text, these "ordinances" seem to be concrete and tangible objects; note, too, that in the myth "Inanna and Enki: The Transfer of the Arts of Civilization from Eridu to Erech" (SM, 64-65), they were transported on a boat. The rendering of lines 14-25 varies to some extent from that in PAPS, lxxxv. In line 14, the new rendering is based on Landsberger's (cf. note 8) note that "SIR is equated with S'INNAN in CT, xvi, 25, 19 (Falkenstein's interpretation of the compound in AfO, xiv, 115 and L.A. xlvii, 161 f., is therefore incorrect). For "gathered" instead of "bought out" in line 14, cf. Falkenstein, AfO, xiv, 115; for "twine" instead of "radiance," in line 18 cf. ibid., 172-173; for "twin" the new rendering of line 19, cf. Witzel's excellent comment in Orientalia NS, xiv, 32-33; Landsberger, moreover, refers to the Burney Relief discussed by Frankfort in AfO, xii, 195 ff. which actually shows the rod and line in the hands of a female deity. While, therefore, the translation "measuring rod" and "line" are reasonably certain, there is some difficulty with the words "of lapis lazuli" since the "line" should, of course, be made of rope, not of stone; Landsberger therefore suggests the possibility that "lapis lazuli" is here used for the color "blue." In line 21, "twin" may be preferable to "sparkling"; the Sumerian word is ambiguous. For "put about" instead of "gripped in," (line 21) cf. Falkenstein, loc. cit., 117; for the new rendering of line 24, cf. ibid., 116-117; "kohl" (line 25) was suggested by Landsberger, but cf. already Falkenstein, loc. cit., 33.
12 One of the duplicates has an interesting variant for lines 29-31, which reads as follows: "Come, my faithful messenger of Eanna, Instruction I offer thee, take my instruction, A word I speak to thee, give ear to it." 13 "True" rather than "supporting" as in PAPS, lxxxv, cf. Falkenstein, loc. cit., 130.
14 The translation assumes that "the house of the gods" (line 36) and the "assembly shrine" of the preceding line refer to places in heaven where the gods meet in assembly. Perhaps, however, the two lines refer to Ninhursag's making the rounds of the gods in Nippur, Ur, and Eridu; if so, "house" and "house" (lines 35, 36) should read "shrines" and "houses," and "rush about" might perhaps read "make the rounds."
15 For the rendering "scratch" is suggested by Landsberger. cf. perhaps, the similar practices in connection with the dead, which are prohibited in the Old Testament.
16 "For the rendering "with man," cf. Falkenstein, loc. cit., 119.
17 "All alone" was accidentally omitted in PAPS, lxxxv.
18 For "be covered" instead of "be ground up," in PAPS, lxxxv, cf. Falkenstein, loc. cit., 120. It is difficult to see what "thy good metal" be covered with the dust of the nether world;

She gathered the ordinances, placed them in her hand, All the ordinances she set up at (her) waiting foot, The sugarra, the crown of the plain, she put upon her head, The wig of her forehead she took, The measuring rod (and) line of lapis lazuli she gripped in her hand, Small lapis lazuli stones she tied about her neck, Sparkling ... stones she fastened to her breast, A gold ring she put about her hand, A breastplate which ... she tightened about her breast, With the pala-garment, the garment of ladyship, she covered her body,
Kohl which ... she daubed on her eyes.
Inanna walked towards the nether world,
Her messenger Ninshubur walked at her [side],
The pure Inanna says to Ninshubur: "O (thou who art) my constant support," My messenger of favorable words,
My carrier of true[13] words, I am now descending to the nether world.
When I shall have come to the nether world, Fill heaven with complaints for me,
In the assembly shrine cry out for me, In the house of the gods rush about for me;[14] Scratch thy eyes for me, scratch thy mouth for me,[15] Scratch thy large ... s not with man,[16] Like a pauper in a single garment dress for me,
To the Ekur, the house of Enlil, all alone direct thy step.[17]
Upon thy entering the Ekur, the house of Enlil,
Weep before Enlil:
'O Father Enlil, let not thy daughter be put to death in the nether world, Let not thy good metal be covered with the dust of the nether world;
Let not thy good lapis lazuli be broken up" into the stone of the stoneworker,
Let not thy boxwood be cut up into the wood of the woodworker,
Let not the maid Inanna be put to death in the nether world.'

If Enlil stands not by thee in this matter, go to Ur.
In Ur, upon thy entering the house of ... of the land, 20
The Ekishnugal" the house of Nanna,
(50)
Weep before Nanna:
'O Father Nanna, let not thy daughter be put to death
in the nether world,
Let not thy good lapis lazuli be broken up into the stone
of the stoneworker,
Let not thy boxwood be cut up into the wood of the
woodworker,
Let not the maid Inanna be put to death in the nether world.'

If Nanna stands not by thee in this matter, go to Eridu.
In Eridu, upon thy entering the house of Enki,
(60)
Weep before Enki:
'O Father Enki, let not thy daughter be put to death
in the nether world,
Let not thy good lapis lazuli be broken up into the stone
of the stoneworker,
Let not thy boxwood be cut up into the wood of the
woodworker,
Let not the maid Inanna be put to death in the nether world.'

Father Enki, the lord of wisdom, 22
Who knows the food of life, who knows the water of life,
He will surely bring me to life." 23
Inanna walked towards the nether world,
To her messenger Ninshubur she says:
(70)
'Go, Ninshubur,
The word which I have commanded thee do not neglect.' 24
When Inanna arrived at the lapis lazuli palace of the
nether world, 25
At the door of the nether world she acted evilly, 26
In the palace of the nether world she spoke evilly:
"Open the house, gatekeeper, open the house,
Open the house, Neti, 97 open the house, all alone I would enter."
Neti, the chief gatekeeper of the nether world,
Answers the pure Inanna:
"Who, pray, art thou?"
"I am Inanna of the place where the sun rises." 28
(80)
"If thou art Inanna of the place where the sun rises,
Why pray hast thou come to the land of no return?
On the road whose traveler returns not, how hath thy
heart led thee?" 29
The pure Inanna answers him:
"My elder sister Ereshkigal,
Because her husband, the lord Gugalanna, had been
killed, 30
To witness his funeral rites,
...
(90)
Neti, the chief gatekeeper of the nether world,
Answers the pure Inanna:
"Stay, Inanna, to my queen let me speak,
To my queen Ereshkigal let me speak, ... let me speak."
Neti, the chief gatekeeper of the nether world,
Enters the house of his queen Ereshkigal (and) says to
her:
"O my queen, a maid,
Like a god ... ,
The door ..., ...
In Eanna ..., she has arrayed herself in the
seven ordinances, 88
She has gathered the ordinances, has placed them in her
hand,
All the ordinances she has set up at (her) waiting foot,
The sugurra, the crown of the plain, she has put upon
her head,
The wig of her forehead she has taken,
The measuring rod (and) line of lapis lazuli she has
gripped in her hand,
Small lapis lazuli stones she has tied about her neck,
Sparkling ... stones she has fastened to her breast,
A gold ring she has put about her hand,
A breastplate which ..., she has tightened about her
breast,
Kohl which ..., she has daubed on her eyes, 110
With the pala-garment, the garment of ladyship, she has
covered her body."

Then Ereshkigal ..., [Answers] Neti, her chief gatekeeper:
"Come, Neti, chief gatekeeper of the [nether world],
The word which I (shall) have commanded thee, do
[not] neglect." 33

87 Pronunciation of the first syllable of the name is still uncertain.
88 Note the rendering which varies somewhat from that in PAPS, lxxxv,
89 The mythological implications of the statement made in this line are
unknown.
90 Note the new rendering of this line, and cf. ICS, 1, 35, note 214.
91 For lines 100-111, cf. lines 14-25, but note the inverted order of the
last two lines of the passage.
92 The new rendering is based on a collation of text A (cf. PAPS, lxxxv,
Of the seven gates of the nether world, [open their locks],
Of the gate [Ganzir, the face of the nether world,]
define its rules.

Upon her entering, Bowed low....

Neti, the chief gatekeeper of the nether world,
Of the seven gates of the nether world, [he opened]
Heeded the word of his queen.

Upon her entering the second gate,
The measuring rod (and) line of lapis lazuli were removed.

“Be silent, Inanna, the ordinances of the nether world
are perfect,”
O Inanna do not [question] the rites of the nether world.

Upon her entering the third gate,
The small lapis lazuli stones of her neck were removed.

“Be silent, Inanna, the ordinances of the nether world
are perfect,”
O Inanna do not [question] the rites of the nether world.

Upon her entering the fourth gate,
The sparkling ... stones of her breast were removed.

“Be silent, Inanna, the ordinances of the nether world
are perfect,”
O Inanna do not [question] the rites of the nether world.

Upon her entering the fifth gate,
The breastplate which... of her breast was removed.

“Be silent, Inanna, the ordinances of the nether world
are perfect,”
O Inanna do not [question] the rites of the nether world.

Bowed low....
The pure Ereshkigal seated herself upon her throne,
The Anunnaki, the seven judges, pronounced judgment before her,

“What, pray, is this?”

O Inanna, do not [question] the rites of the nether world.

Bowed low....
The pure Ereshkigal seated herself upon her throne,
The Anunnaki, the seven judges, pronounced judgment before her,

“What, pray, is this?”

O Inanna, do not [question] the rites of the nether world.

“Be silent, Inanna, the ordinances of the nether world
are perfect,”
O Inanna do not [question] the rites of the nether world.

Bowed low....
The pure Ereshkigal seated herself upon her throne,
The Anunnaki, the seven judges, pronounced judgment before her,

The sick “woman” was turned into a corpse,
The corpse was hung from a stake.

After three days and three nights had passed,
Her messenger Ninshubur, Her messenger of favorable words,
Her carrier of true words,
Fills the heaven with complaints for her,
Cried out for her in the assembly shrine,
Rushed about for her in the house of the gods,
Scratched his eyes for her,
Scratched his mouth for her,
Scratched his large... which... s not with man,
Like a pauper in a single garment dressed for her,
To the Ekur, the house of Enlil, all alone
he directed his step.

Upon his entering the Ekur, the house of Enlil,
Before Enlil he weeps,
"O, Father Enlil, let not thy daughter be put to death
in the nether world,"
Let not thy good metal be covered with the dust of the nether world,
Let not thy good lapis lazuli be broken up into the stone of the stoneworker,
Let not thy boxwood⁴⁸ be cut up into the wood of the woodworker,
Let not the maid Inanna be put to death in the nether world."⁴⁹

Father Enlil answers Ninshubur:
“My daughter has asked for the ‘great above,’ has asked for the ‘great below,’”⁵⁰
Inanna has asked for the ‘great above,’ has asked for the ‘great below,’
The ordinances of the nether world, the ... ordinances, the ordinances—she has reached their place,⁴¹ (190)
Who is it that to their place ... ?"⁵²

Father Enlil stood not by him in this matter, he [went] to Ur.

In Ur, upon his entering the house of ... of the land,
The Ekishnugal, the house of Nanna,
Before Nanna he weeps:
“O Father Nanna, let not thy daughter be put to death in the nether world,
Let not thy good metal be covered with the dust of the nether world,
Let not thy good lapis lazuli be broken up into the stone of the stoneworker,
Let not thy boxwood be cut up into the wood of the woodworker,
Let not the maid Inanna be put to death in the nether world.” (200)

Father Nanna answers Ninshubur:
“My daughter has asked for the ‘great above,’ has asked for the ‘great below,’
Inanna has asked for the ‘great above,’ has asked for the ‘great below,’
The ordinances of the nether world, the ... ordinances, the ordinances—she has reached their place,
Who is it that to their place ... ?”

Father Nanna stood not by him in this matter, he went to Eridu.

In Eridu upon his entering the house of Enki,
Before Enki he weeps:
“O Father Enki, let not thy daughter be put to death in the nether world,
Let not thy good metal be covered with the dust of the nether world,
Let not thy good lapis lazuli be broken up into the stone of the stoneworker,
Let not thy boxwood be cut up into the wood of the woodworker,
Let not the maid Inanna be put to death in the nether world.”

Father Enki answers Ninshubur:
“What has happened to my daughter!⁵⁶ I am troubled,
What has happened to Inanna! I am troubled,
What has happened to the queen of all the lands! I am troubled,
What has happened to the hierodule of heaven! I am troubled.”

From his fingernail⁵⁶ he brought forth dirt (and) fashioned the kurgarru,
From his red-painted fingernail⁵⁶ he brought forth dirt (and) fashioned the kalaturru.

To the kurgarru he gave the food of life,
To the kalaturru he gave the water of life,
Father Enki says to the kalaturru and kurgarru:
“... (nineteen lines badly damaged)"²²

Upon the corpse hung from a stake direct the pulhu (and) the melammu,²³
Sixty times the food of life, sixty times the water of life, sprinkle upon it,
Surely Inanna will arise.”

(266)
The pure Ereshkigal answers the kalaturru and kurgarru:
“The corpse ...”
Upon the corpse⁵⁴ they ...
Upon the corpse hung from a stake they directed the pulhu (and) the melammu,
Sixty times the food of life, sixty times the water of life, they sprinkled upon it,
Inanna arose.

Inanna ascends from the nether world,
The Anunnaki fled,⁵⁶
Who now of the dwellers of the nether world will descend peacefully to the nether world!⁵⁶

When Inanna ascends from the nether world,
Verily the dead hasten ahead of her.
Inanna ascends from the nether world,
The small demons like the spear shafts,⁵⁷
The large demons like ... s,⁵⁸
Walked at her side.

⁴⁸ "Boxwood" should have been italicized as doubtful wherever it appears in PAPS, lxxxv.
⁴⁹ Note the new renderings of lines 189-190; it is due primarily to Landsberger's suggestion that ad-dug, is equal to ad-dug, AKK. dugga, "to desire," etc.; the lines may also be rendered "My daughter has desired it (death?) in the 'great above,' has desired it in the 'great below,'" etc.
⁵₀ Note the attempted new rendering of this difficult but crucial line.
⁵¹ Note the slightly modified rendering from that in PAPS, lxxxv.
⁵² For this variant rendering, cf. Witzel's excellent comment (loc. cit., 47); cf. now especially JCS, 1, 10, line 27.
⁵³ Witzel as well as Landsberger read the Sumerian sign for this word correctly.
⁵⁴ This probably correct rendering was suggested by Landsberger who read the Sumerian complex du-benn-su-le-gin(!)-na.
⁵⁵ These lines contained a number of instructions to the kalaturru and kurgarru (cf. note 5); many of the broken lines end in a second person plural imperative.
⁵⁶ Note the variant rendering of the end of the line; for some possible interpretations of the pulhu and melammu, cf. Oppenheim's study of the words in IAOS, lxxvii, 31-34.
⁵⁷ Note the new rendering.
⁵⁸ "Fled" should have been rendered as doubtful in PAPS, lxxxv.
⁵⁹ The rendering of this line is quite uncertain and its implications are obscure; as it stands now, it seems to say that the incoming dead may raise difficulties, now that the Anunnaki, the judges in the nether world (cf. note 5), are no longer there to judge them. For the suggestion that this line contains a rhetorical question, cf. Falkenstein, loc. cit., 127.
⁶⁰ The new rendering of the line follows Falkenstein's excellent comment, loc. cit., 127-128. The "demons" throughout the text refer to a type known as gulla-demons.
⁶¹ Landsberger notes that the gi-dub-ba-an probably has nothing to do with tablet styluses, and the present evidence seems to bear him out.
Who by his face was no [messenger], held a staff in her hand.

Who by his body was no [carrier], carried a weapon on the loin.

They who accompanied her,70
They who accompanied Inanna,
(Were beings who) know not food, who know not water,
Who eat not sprinkled flour,
Who drink not libated [water],41
Who take away the wife from the loins of man,
Who take away the child from the ... of the nursemaid.69

Inanna ascends from the nether world.

Upon Inanna’s ascending from the nether world,
[Her messenger] Ninshubur threw himself44 at her feet,
Sat in the dust, dressed in sackcloth.45

The demons say to the pure Inanna:
“O Inanna, wait before thy city, let us carry him off.”65

The pure Inanna answers the demons:
“My messenger of favorable words,46
My carrier of true words,
(Who) fails not my directions,
Neglected not my commanded word,
Fills the heaven with complaints for me,
Cried out for me in the assembly shrine,
Rushed about for me in the house of the gods,
Scratched his eyes for me, scratched his mouth for me,
Scratched his large ... which ... not with man,
Like a pauper in a single garment dressed for me,
To the Ekur, the house of Enil,49
In Ur, to the house of Nanna,
In Eridu, to the house of Enki,
He brought me to life.”50

“Let us accompany her, in Umma to the Sigkursagga
let us accompany her.”69

In Umma, from the Sigkursagga,
Shara threw himself47 at her feet,
Sat in the dust, dressed in sackcloth,
The demons say to the pure Inanna:

“O Inanna, wait before thy city, let us carry him off.”

The pure Inanna answers the demons:
(three lines broken and unintelligible)71

“Let us accompany her, in Badtibira to the
Emushkalamma let us accompany her.”

In Badtibira, from the Emushkalamma
Latarak threw himself at her feet,
Sat in the dust, dressed in sackcloth.
The demons say to the pure Inanna:
“O Inanna, wait before thy city, let us carry him off.”
The pure Inanna answers the demons:
(rest of the myth still unknown)72

The Duties and Powers of the Gods: Inscription on the Statue of King Kurigalzu

Aqar Quf, the tell covering the ancient city Dur-Kurigalzu, is situated approximately twenty miles west of Baghdad. Excavations at the site in recent years have laid bare several temples, the most important of which is the Eupal, that is probably the house of the great lord,” dedicated to the god Enlil. In the debris covering this temple, or in its immediate neighborhood, were found four inscribed fragments of a larger-than-life statue of the Kasite King Kurigalzu.73 The inscription, written thoroughly in the Sumerian language and not in the Semitic Akkadian that was actually current in those days, is of great importance for the light it sheds on the religious tenets of the Babylonians of the second millennium B.C. For, fragmentary and obscure as the extant text is, it is clear that much of the original inscription was devoted to a description of the duties and powers of the more important deities of the Sumerian pantheon. A scientific edition of the text of the four fragments, including copies of the originals, and a transliteration and translation of the more intelligible portions, was published by Selim Levy, Taha Baqir, and the present writer in Sumer, iv (1948), 1-29+ix plates.4

Fragment A

This fragment begins with a passage running from col. i to perhaps col. v, which seems to concern the Igigi, the gods

1 Some one word or complex ends and another begins.
2 Probably Kurigalzu I; cf. Poebel, AS, No. 14, 5 ff. and note 20; he lived sometime in the fifteenth century B.C.

Unfortunately there is but little that can be gleaned with certainty from the contents of these fragments. In the first place they contain but a small portion of the entire text of the statue. Moreover, none of the pieces joins; there is a break of unknown length between each two of them, and so there is very little connected text to provide us with a controlling context. In addition we find, of course, the expected number of roots and complexes whose meaning is either uncertain or altogether unknown. And, to crown all these difficulties which the cuneiformist has learned more or less to expect as routine, our Kurigalzu inscription presents an unusual feature which is particularly confounding. As was first pointed out by C. J. Gadd, the columns are divided into cases usually containing two or three signs written without any regard to the expected word division, so that it is often difficult to tell where one word or complex ends and another begins.


5 The order of the four fragments is far from assured; cf. Sumer, iv, 2-3, for a discussion of the problems involved.
Badna, and the Anunnaki; it is so fragmentary, however, that its sense escapes us. Beginning with, perhaps, the middle of col. v and ending with col. viii, we find a description of the duties assigned to the moon-god Nanna which ends in a passage stating that the Igigi directed the cult-rites for Nanna from the Eugal of heaven, and that Kurigalzu reestablished "the ancient days; in other words, a passage which, except for the name of the deity, is identical with that which closes the portion of the text of A, dealing with the god Nanna. The fragment then continues with the duties and powers assigned to the god Nergal, the husband of Ninisinna and king of the nether world; it, too, probably ends with the "cult-rites" passage that marks the close of the Nanna and Ninisinna passages. The fragment then seems to continue with the "portions" and "lots" assigned to the goddess Inanna.

(i) (practically entirely destroyed)

(ii) (Only the phrases "[Enlil and Nin]ilil," "wife-
hood," and the temple name "Eugal" can be made out.)

(iii) Enlil and Ninlil as fate . . . to make . . . very wisel y from its (their?) good garment . . . whatever is brought forth, Enlil and Ninlil . . .

(iv) [From the Eugal of heaven, the place of the wide-knowing Anu, the Igigi . . . who are kings who pronounce the word, who are [pure gods]; from the place of Enlil and Ninlil, the Igigi . . . who are kings who pronounce the word, who are gods of true decrees, directed the cult-rites for Ninisinna from him who knows the heart. [I, Kurigalzu, who caused the Eugal to appear . . . set up there the old days unto future days].

(vi) . . .; of the pure places of the fisherman of the gods, he returned their . . . To return to Nammu, they charge the mission of . . . To raise up . . . ; to multiply riches and treasure . . .

(ix) After he had fashioned there . . . , as the exalted head-goat of his chosen heir, Enlil and Ninlil . . .

**Fragment B**

This fragment consists of two parts, a and b, whose relative positions in the inscription are quite uncertain. Bb is here given first since it seems to treat of matters involving the moon, and its text may therefore have preceded or followed that of fragment A.

(Bb i) For the . . . of his trust they made known its

*B The rendering "the gods Badna" is quite uncertain; according to a suggestion from Falkenstein, it may represent a phrase descriptive of the preceding Igigi.

cf. preceding note.

9 It begins with a phrase which seems to read "held (so! not "hold") as in Sumer, iv, 6) in their arms." This is followed by the end of the sentence which seems to read: "A naditu-priestess [in Sumer, iv, 6 masmu-dil is an error for sal-mek]; a hierodule who marks the . . . of the fields in accordance with the judgment of the (sun-god) Utu (and) the lord filled with wailing prepared . . . (so) a betrothal." The remaining cases contain the words "sickness," "lament," and "sneezing."


11 Nammu, the mother of the Sumerian water-god and god of wisdom, Enki, is probably the goddess of the primeval sea and was said to have given "birth to heaven and earth," cf. SM, 39 and 68 ff.

12 Ashgirbabbar (the reading of the name is uncertain) is the name of the god of the new moon. Urash is the wife of the heaven-god Anu.

13 To judge from this phrase, the deity involved might be Ninurta, cf. p. 37 of this volume.

14 Ninisinna, as her name indicates, is the queen of Isin, a city dominant in Babylonia in the first quarter of the second millennium B.C. Nergal is the husband of Ninisinna.

15 "Him" refers to Nergal, the king of the nether world.
decrees, directed the cult-rites for Nergal from him who knows the heart. I, Kurigalzu, who caused the Eugal to appear... set up there the old days unto future days...).

(vii) The great Igigi who parade in the sky, whose brilliance, like fire, the evening and the black night, did not at all enlarge the... As for Belitili who crosses the sky, in the earth... from the district(s) of the sky...

(viii) As for her who, like... had been put out from the district(s) of the sky, they gave her as (her) portion the built Eshaga, the Eshaga, where all good things are stored; they filled her hands with the good word which soothes the flesh and the spirit for wife and husband... On those who heed her, a firm eye...

(ix) they gave to Inanna... as a share; they built for Belitili the... the large grove, her abode of lordship; [they] adorned for her...

16 Belitili seems to be used in this inscription as another name of Inanna; note that in Sumer, iv, 12 ff., the name was erroneously read as Ninzalli (note 66 on p. 26 of Sumer, iv, is to be omitted altogether); cf. Poebel, AS, No. 14, 18 ff.

17 "Her" refers to the goddess Inanna.

18 Note that the rendering "they" here, and in col. ix is probably not to be questioned as it is in Sumer, iv, 13; cf. Poebel, AS, No. 14, p. 18 and note 49 for the reading of the sign GU following mu-na-an-sti as mu, while it is not unlikely that the sign GANAM had the reading sl4, so that we have here a plural form of the verb.

19 Eshaga, literally rendered, probably means "the house of the heart."

20 For the rendering of this passage, cf. also Poebel, AS, No. 14, 18-19.

(x) (This seems to deal with parts of a temple; its relation to what precedes is obscure. It reads:)...; its outside which is...; its shrines which are bright; its rooms which are pure; its... which are...

(xi) (almost entirely destroyed)

Fragment D

This fragment, too, seems to deal with the tasks and duties assigned to the goddess Inanna. Col. i is practically entirely destroyed. In col. ii only the phrase "that mankind might do its work" is intelligible. Col. iii is almost altogether unintelligible in spite of the fact that the signs are well preserved; the major difficulty lies with the extreme uncertainty of the word division. The remainder of the fragment reads:

(iv) To devour the...; to... as...; to raise high the position of those who turn evil to good, they gave to Inanna... among her portions....

(v) [From the Eugal of heaven, the place of the wide-knowing Anu, the Igigi... who are kings who pronounce the word], who are [pure gods; from] the place of [Enlil and Ninlil], the Igigi... who are kings who pronounce the word, who are gods of true decrees, [directed the cult-rites for Inanna from him who knows the heart. I, Kurigalzu, who caused the Eugal to appear... set up there the old days unto future days...].

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

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

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

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

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

The Creation Epic

The struggle between cosmic order and chaos was to the ancient Mesopotamians a fateful drama that was renewed at the turn of each new year. The epic which deals with these events was therefore the most significant expression of the religious literature of Mesopotamia. The work, consisting of seven tablets, was known in Akkadian as Enuma eli “When on high,” after its opening words. It was recited with due solemnity on the fourth day of the New Year’s festival.

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

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

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

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

Table 1

When on high the heaven had not been named, 1

A metric rendering of Tablet I into Dutch has been published by F. M. Th. Böhl in REOL, ix (1944), 145 ff.
Firm ground below had not been called by name, Naught but primordial Apsu, their begetter, (And) Mummu-Tiamat, she who bore them all, Their waters conmingling as a single body; No reed hut had been matted, no marsh land had appeared, When no gods whatever had been brought into being, Uncalled by name, their destinies undetermined— Then it was that the gods were formed within them.4 Lahmu and Lahamu were brought forth, by name they were called. Before they had grown in age and stature. Anshar and Kishar were formed, surpassing the others. They prolonged the days, added on the years.5 Anu was their heir, of his fathers the rival; Yea, Anshar's first-born, Anu, was his equal. Anu begot in his image Nudimmud.7

When no gods whatever had been brought into being, No reed hut had been matted, no marsh land had appeared, Their waters conmingling as a single body; Naught but primordial Apsu, their begetter, Firm ground below had not been called by name, etymological objections. "(spoke) with raised voice" (cf. Tablet III, 125) would have to contend with

"Their ways are verily loathsome unto me. By day I find no relief,18 nor repose by night. I will destroy, I will wreck their ways, That quiet may be restored. Let us have rest!" (40) As soon as Tiamat heard this, She was wroth and called out to her husband. She cried out aggrieved, as she raged all alone, Injecting woe into her mood: "What? Should we destroy that which we have built? Their ways indeed are most troublesome, but let us attend kindly!"

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

When Apsu heard this, his face grew radiant Because of the evil he planned against the gods, his sons. As for Mummu, by the neck he embraced him As (that one) sat down on his knees to kiss him.18 (Now) whatever they had plotted between them, Was repeated unto the gods, their first-born. When the gods heard (this),18 they were astir, (Then) lapsed into silence and remained speechless. Surpassing in wisdom, accomplished, resourceful, Ea, the all-wise, saw through their scheme. (60) A master design against it he devised and set up, Made artful his spell against it, surpassing and holy. He recited it and made it subsist in the deep,19 As he poured sleep upon him. Sound asleep he lay.20 When Apsu he had made prone, drenched with sleep, Mummu, the adviser,21 was powerless to stir. He loosened his band, tore off his tiara, Removed his halo (and) put it on himself.22 Having fettered Apsu, he slew him. Mummu he bound and left behind lock. (70) Having thus upon Apsu established his dwelling, He laid hold on Mummu, holding him by the nose-robe. After Ea had vanquished and trodden down his foes, Had secured his triumph over his enemies, In his sacred chamber in profound peace had rested, He named it "Apsu," for shrines he assigned (it). In that same place his cult hut27 he founded.
Ea and Damkina, his wife, dwelled (there) in splendor.
In the chamber of fates, the abode of destinies,
A god was engendered, most able and
wisest of gods.

In the heart of Apsu was Marduk created,
In the heart of holy Apsu was Marduk created.
He who begot him was Ea, his father;
She who bore him was Damkina, his mother.
The breast of goddesses he did suck.38
The nurse that nursed him filled him with awesomeness.
Alluring was his figure, sparkling the lift of his eyes.
Lordly was his gait, commanding from of old.

When Ea saw him, the father who begot him,
Alluring was his figure, sparkling the lift of his eyes.

In the chamber of fates, the abode of destinies,
Labimu for the Babylonian Ea and Damkina; similarly, Anshar-Ashur rendered him perfect and endowed him with a double godhead.43

Greatly exalted was he above them, exceeding throughout.
Perfect were his members beyond comprehension,
Unsuited for understanding, difficult to perceive.
Four were his eyes, four were his ears;
Large were all four hearing organs,
And the eyes, in like number, scanned all things.
He was the loftiest of the gods, surpassing was his stature;
His members were enormous, he was exceeding tall.

“My little son, my little son!”
My son, the Sun! Sun of the heavens!”
Clothed with the halo of ten gods, he was strong to the utmost,
As their awesome flashes were heaped upon him.
Anu brought forth and begot the fourfold wind
Consigning to its power the leader of the host.
He fashioned . . . , station[ed] the whirlwind,44
He produced streams to disturb Tiamat.
The gods, given no rest, suffer in the storm.
Their heart(s) having plotted evil,
To Tiamat, their mother, said:
“When they slew Apsu, thy consort,
Thou didst not aid him but remainedst still.

When they saw Marduk didst thou in the midst of their host,
When they saw Marduk didst thou in the midst of their host,

When the dread fourfold wind he created,
Thy vitals were diluted and so we can have no rest.
Let Apsu, thy consort, be in thy mind!46
And Mummu, who has been vanquished! Thou art left alone!

[. . . ] thou pacest about distraught,
[. . . ] without cease. Thou dost not love us!
[. . . ] pinched are our eyes,
[. . . ] without cease. Let us have rest!
[. . . ] to battle! Do thou avenge them!
[. . . ] and render (them) as the wind!”

[When] Tiamat [heard] (these) words, she was pleased:48

“[. . . ] you have given. Let us make monsters,
[. . . ] and the gods in the midst . . . .
[. . . ] let us do] battle and against the gods [. . . . ]”
They throned and marched at the side of Tiamat.

Enraged, they plot without cease night and day,
They are set for combat, growling, raging,
They form a council to prepare for the fight.
Mother Hubur,49 she who fashions all things,
Added matchless weapons, bore monster-serpents,
Sharp of tooth, unsparing of fang.
[With venom] for blood she has filled their bodies.
Roaring dragons she has clothed with terror,
Has crowned them with haloes, making them like gods,
So that he who beholds them shall perish abjectly,
(And) that, with their bodies reared up, none might turn [them back].48

She set up the Viper, the Dragon,

The Great-Lion, the Mad-Dog, and the Scorpion-Man,
Mighty lion-demons, the Dragon-Fly, the Centaur—
Bearing weapons that spare not, fearless in battle.
Firm were her decrees, past withstanding were they.
Withal eleven of this kind she brought forth.
The raising of weapons for the encounter, advancing to combat,

The leading of the ranks, command of the Assembly.

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

In battle the command-in-chief—

She set up the Viper, the Dragon,

From among the gods, her first-born, who formed [her Assembly].
She elevated Kingu, made him chief among them.
The leading of the ranks, command of the Assembly,

In battle the command-in-chief—

From among the gods, her first-born, who formed [her Assembly].
She elevated Kingu, made him chief among them.
The leading of the ranks, command of the Assembly,

In battle the command-in-chief—

From among the gods, her first-born, who formed [her Assembly].
Thy utterance shall prevail over all the Anunnaki!
She gave him the Tablet of Destinies, fastened on his breast:
"As for thee, thy command shall be unchangeable,
[Thy word] shall endure!"
As soon as Kingu was elevated, possessed of [the rank of Anu],
For the gods, his sons, they decreed the fate:
"Your word shall make the first subside, (160)
Shall humble the "Power-Weapon," so potent in (its) sweep!"

Tablet II

When Tiamat had thus lent import to her handiwork, She prepared for battle against the gods, her offspring. To avenge Apsu, Tiamat wrought evil. That she was girding for battle, was divulged to Ea. As soon as Ea heard of this matter, He lapsed into dark silence and sat right still. Then, on further thought, his anger subsided, To Anshar, his (fore)father he betook himself. When he came before his grandfather, Anshar, All that Tiamat had plotted to him he repeated:
"My father, Tiamat, she who bore us, detests us. She has set up the Assembly and is furious with rage. All the gods have rallied to her; Even those whom you brought forth march at her side. They throng and march at the side of Tiamat, Enraged, they plot without cease night and day. They are set for combat, growling, raging, They have formed a council to prepare for the fight.
Mother Hubur, she who fashions all things, Has added matchless weapons, has born monster-serpents, Sharp of tooth, unsparing of fang.
With venom for blood she has filled their bodies. Roaring dragons she has clothed with terror, Has crowned them with haloes, making them like gods, So that he who beholds them shall perish abjectly, (And) that, with their bodies reared up, none might turn them back. She has set up the Viper, the Dragon, and the Sphinx, The Great-Lion, the Mad-Dog, and the Scorpion-Man, Mighty lion-demons, the Dragon-Fly, the Centaur—Bearing weapons that spare not, fearless in battle.
Firm are her decrees, past withstanding are they. Withal eleven of this kind she has brought forth. From among the gods, her first-born, who formed her Assembly,
She has elevated Kingu, has made him chief among them.
The leading of the ranks, command of the Assembly, The raising of weapons for the encounter, advancing to combat, In battle the command-in-chief— These to his hands [she entrusted] as she seated him in the Council:
"[I have cast the spell] for thee, exalting thee in the Assembly of the gods. [To counsel all the] gods [I have given thee] full power." (40)
[Verily, thou art supreme, my only consort] art thou! [Thy utterance shall prevail over all the Anunnaki!]
[She has given him the Tablet of Destinies, fastened on his breast]:
"[As for thee, thy command shall be unchangeable],
[Thy word shall endure]!"
[As soon as Kingu was elevated, possessed of the rank of Anu],
[For the gods, her sons, they decreed the fate:]
"[Your word] shall make the fire subside,
Shall humble the "Power-Weapon," [so potent in (its) sweep]!"
[When Anshar heard that Tiamat] was sorely troubled, [He smote his loins and] bit his lips. (50)
[Gloomy was his heart], restless his mood. [He covered] his [mouth] to stifle his outcry: "[...] battle.
The weapon thou hast made, up, bear thou! [Lo, Mummu and] Apsu thou didst slay. [Now, slay thou Kingu, who marches before her. [...] wisdom."
[Answered the counselor of] the gods, Nudimmud. (The reply of Ea-Nudimmud is lost in the break. Apparently, Ea had no remedy, for Anshar next turns to Anu:)
[To Anu,] his son, [a word] he addressed:
"[...] this, the most puissant of heroes, Whose strength [is outstanding], past resisting his onslaught.
[Go] and stand thou up to Tiamat, That her mood [be calmed], that her heart expand. [If] she will not hearken to thy word, Then tell her our [word], that she might be calmed." When [he heard] the command of his father, Anshar, [He made straight for her way, following the road to her.]
[But when Anu was near (enough)] to see the plan of Tiamat,
[He was not able to face her and] he turned back. [He came abjectly to his father], Anshar. [As though he were Tiamat] thus he addressed him:
"[...] this, the most puissant of heroes, Whose strength [is outstanding], past resisting his onslaught.
[Go] and stand thou up to Tiamat, That her mood [be calmed], that her heart expand. [If] she will not hearken to thy word, Then tell her our [word], that she might be calmed."
When [he heard] the command of his father, Anshar, [He made straight] for her way, following the road to her. (80)

44 Var. "her."
45 Tiamat and Kingu.
46 The word play of the original gafru : maglaru is difficult to reproduce. For this passage see A. L. Oppenheim, Orientalia, xvi (1947), 219. I retain, however, ki-mu-ru in place of Oppenheim's ki-mu-ru.
47 For the all-important place of the puhrum or "assembly" in Mesopotamian society, celestial as well as human, cf. Th. Jacobsen, Primitive Democracy in Mesopotamia, JNES, xi (1943), 159 ff., and my remarks on Some Sources of Intellectual and Social Progress in the Ancient Near East, Studies in the History of Culture (1943), 51 ff. When used in its technical sense, the word has been capitalized in this translation.
48 cf. note 47.
49 Tablet 1, 159 has "his."
50 As a sign of distress.
51 cf. Oppenheim, loc. cit., 220, n.1. Note also the intransitive forms of this verb in the Legend of Zu (below), A 23, B 52. The suffix -hi in the next line makes it apparent that the statement addressed to Anshar is an exact quotation of Anu's previous speech to Tiamat. The context bears out this interpretation.
“My hand does not for me to subdue thee.”

Speechless was Anshar as he stared at the ground, Hair on edge, shaking his head at Ea. All the Anunnaki gathered at that place; Their lips closed tight, [they sat] in silence. “No god” (thought they) “can go [to battle and],”

Facing Tiamat, escape [with his life].”

Lord Anshar, father of the gods, [rose up] in grandeur, Facing Tiamat, escape [with his life].”

“No god” (thought they) “can go [to their lips closed tight, [they sat] in silence. All the Anunnaki gathered at that place; Hair on edge, shaking his head at Ea. Speechless was Anshar as he stared at the ground, “My [Anshar], be not muted; open wide thy lips. When Anshar saw him, his heart filled with joy. He approached and stood up facing Anshar. The lord rejoiced at the word of his father; He who is keen in battle, Marduk, the hero!”

Ea called [Marduk] to his place of seclusion. [Giv]ing counsel, he told him what was in his heart:

"0 Marduk, consider my advice. Hearken to thy father, When facing Anshar, approach as though in combat; Stand up as thou speakest; seeing thee, he will grow restful.”

The lord rejoiced at the word of his father; He approached and stood up facing Anshar. When Anshar saw him, his heart filled with joy. He kissed his lips, his (own) gloom dispelled. “[Anshar], be not muted; open wide thy lips. I will go and attain thy heart’s desire. [Anshar], be not muted; open wide thy lips. I will go and attain thy heart’s desire! What male is it who has pressed his fight against thee? [It is but] Tiamat, a woman, that flies at thee with weapons!

[O my father-]creator, be glad and rejoice; The neck of Tiamat thou shalt soon tread upon! [O my father-]creator, be glad and rejoice; The neck of Tiamat thou shalt soon tread upon!”

“My son, (thou) who knowest all wisdom, Calm [Tiamat] with thy holy spell. On the storm-chariot proceed with all speed. From her [presence] they shall not drive (thee)! Turn (them) back!”

The lord [rejoiced] at the word of his father. His heart exulting, he said to his father: “Creator of the gods, destiny of the great gods, If I indeed, as your avenger, Am to vanquish Tiamat and save your lives, Set up the Assembly, proclaim supreme my destiny! When jointly in Ubshukinna® you have sat down re-joying, Let my word, instead of you, determine the fates. Unalterable shall be what I may bring into being; Neither recalled nor changed shall be the command of my lips.”

Tablet III

Anshar opened his mouth and

Reading: [im]-li-ka-ma ak li-bi-lu i ta-mi-lu.

Reading: [im]-li-ka-ma ak li-bi-lu i ta-mi-lu.

Reading: [im]-li-ka-ma ak li-bi-lu i ta-mi-lu.

Reading: [im]-li-ka-ma ak li-bi-lu i ta-mi-lu.

Reading: [im]-li-ka-ma ak li-bi-lu i ta-mi-lu.

Reading: [im]-li-ka-ma ak li-bi-lu i ta-mi-lu.

Reading: [im]-li-ka-ma ak li-bi-lu i ta-mi-lu.

Reading: [im]-li-ka-ma ak li-bi-lu i ta-mi-lu.

Reading: [im]-li-ka-ma ak li-bi-lu i ta-mi-lu.

Reading: [im]-li-ka-ma ak li-bi-lu i ta-mi-lu.

Reading: [im]-li-ka-ma ak li-bi-lu i ta-mi-lu.

Reading: [im]-li-ka-ma ak li-bi-lu i ta-mi-lu.

Reading: [im]-li-ka-ma ak li-bi-lu i ta-mi-lu.

Reading: [im]-li-ka-ma ak li-bi-lu i ta-mi-lu.

Reading: [im]-li-ka-ma ak li-bi-lu i ta-mi-lu.
As for thee, thy command shall be unchangeable,
Thy word shall endure!'
As soon as Kingu was elevated, possessed of the rank of Anu,
For the gods, her sons, they decreed the fate: (50)
'Your word shall make the fire subside,
Shall humble the "Power-Weapon," so potent in (its) sweep!'
I sent forth Anu; he could not face her.
Nudimmud was afraid and turned back.
Forth came Marduk, the wisest of gods, your son,
His heart having prompted him to set out to face Tiamat.
He opened his mouth, saying unto me:
'If I indeed, as your avenger,
Am to vanquish Tiamat and save your lives,
Set up the Assembly, proclaim supreme my destiny!' (60)
When jointly in Ubshukinna you have sat down rejoicing,
Let my word, instead of you, determine the fates.
Unalterable shall be what I may bring into being;
Neither recalled nor changed shall be the command of my lips!
Now hasten hither and promptly fix for him your decrees,
That he may go forth to face your mighty foe!'"70
Gaga departed, proceeding on his way.
Before Lahmu and Lahamu, the gods, his fathers,
He made obeisance, kissing the ground at their feet.
He bowed low as he took his place to address them:
"It was Anshar, your son, who has sent me hither,
Charging me to give voice to the dictates of his heart,
Saying: 'Tiamat, she who bore us, detests us.
All the gods have rallied to her,
Even those whom you brought forth march at her side.
They throng and march at the side of Tiamat.
Enraged, they plot without cease night and day.
They are set for combat, growling, raging,
They have formed a council to prepare for the fight.
Mother Hubur, she who fashions all things,
Has added matchless weapons, has born monster-serpents,
Sharp of tooth, unsparing of fang.
With venom for blood she has filled their bodies,
Roaring dragons she has clothed with terror,
Has crowned them with haloes, making them like gods,
So that he who beholds them shall perish abjectly,
(And) that, with their bodies reared up, none might turn them back.
She has set up vipers,88 dragons, and sphinxes,
Great-lions, mad-dogs, and scorpion-men,
Mighty lion-demons, dragon-flies, and centaurs—

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

Bearing weapons that spare not, fearless in battle.
Firm are decrees, past withstanding are they.
Withal eleven of this kind she has brought forth.
From among the gods, her first-born, who formed her Assembly,
She has elevated Kingu, has made him chief among them.
The leading of the ranks, command of the Assembly,
The raising of weapons for the encounter, advancing to combat,
In battle the command-in-chief—
These to his hands she has entrusted as she seated him in the Council:
'I have cast the spell for thee, exalting thee in the Assembly of the gods.
To counsel all the gods I have given thee full power.
Verily, thou art supreme, my only consort art thou!
Thy utterance shall prevail over all the Anunnaki!'
She has given him the Tablet of Destinies, [fastened on his breast]:
'As for thee, thy command shall be unchangeable,
Thy word shall endure!'110
As soon as Kingu was elevated, [possessed of the rank of Anu],
For the gods, her sons, [they decreed the fate]:
'Your word shall make the fire subside,
[Shall humble the "Power-]Weapon," so potent in (its) sweep!'
I sent forth Anu; he could not [face her].
Nudimmud was afraid [and turned back].
Forth came Marduk, the wisest [of gods, your son],
[His heart having prompted him to set out] to face Tiamat.
He opened his mouth, [saying unto me]
'If I indeed, [as your avenger],
Am to vanquish Tiamat [and save your lives],
Set up the Assembly, [proclaim supreme my destiny]
When jointly you sit down rejoicing,
Let my word, instead of [you, determine the fates].
Unalterable shall be what [I] may bring into being;
Neither recalled nor changed shall be the command [of my lips]!' (120)
Now hasten hither and promptly [fix for him] your decrees,
That he may go forth to face your mighty foe!" When Lahmu and Lahamu heard this, they cried out aloud,
All the Igigi81 waited in distress:
"How strange that they should have made [this] decision!
We cannot fathom the doings of Tiamat!"
They made ready86 to leave on their journey,
All the great gods who decree the fates. (130)
They entered before Anshar, filling [Ubshukinna].
They kissed one another in the Assembly.

88 The heavenly deities.
86 Lit. "What has turned strange?"
81 cf. Oppenheim, Orientalia, xvi (1947), 223.
They addressed themselves to Marduk, their avenger, they fixed the decrees.

Tablet IV

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

To raise or bring low—these shall be (in) thy hand.

Thy utterance shall be true, thy command shall be unimpeachable.

No one among the gods shall transgress thy bounds!

Adornment being wanted for the seats of the gods, Let the place of their shrines ever be in thy place.

O Marduk, thou art indeed our avenger. Thy weapons shall not fail; they shall smash thy foes!

O lord, spare the life of him who trusts thee, Thy weapons shall not fail; they shall smash thy foes!

Thy decree is unrivaled, thy command is Anu. Thy decree is unrivaled, thy word is Anu. The lord approached to scan the inside of Tiamat, Towards the raging Tiamat he set his face, The lord went forth and followed his course, In his lips he held a spell; A plant to put out poison was grasped in his hand.

The gods, his fathers, milled about him, the gods milled about him. Then they milled about him, the gods milled about him. Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.

To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him. Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon. He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying.

He had the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying. He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four, The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless Wind; Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.

To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him. Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon. He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying.

He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four, The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless Wind; Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.

To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him. Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon. He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying.

He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four, The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless Wind; Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.

To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him. Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon. He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying.

He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four, The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless Wind; Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.

To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him. Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon. He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying.

He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four, The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless Wind; Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.

To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him. Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon. He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying.

He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four, The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless Wind; Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.

To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him. Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon. He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying.

He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four, The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless Wind; Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.

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To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him. Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon. He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying.

He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four, The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless Wind; Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.

To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him. Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon. He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying.

He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four, The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless Wind; Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.

To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him. Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon. He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying.

He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four, The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless Wind; Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.

To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him. Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon. He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying.

He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four, The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless Wind; Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.

To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him. Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon. He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying.

He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four, The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless Wind; Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.

To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him. Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon. He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying.

He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four, The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless Wind; Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.

To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him. Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon. He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying.

He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four, The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless Wind; Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.

To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him. Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon. He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying.

He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four, The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless Wind; Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.

To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him. Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon. He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying.

He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four, The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless Wind; Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.

To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him. Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon. He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying.

He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four, The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless Wind; Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.

To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him. Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon. He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying.

He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four, The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless Wind; Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.

To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him. Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon. He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying.

He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four, The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless Wind; Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.

To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him. Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon. He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying.
And the eleven creatures which she had charged with awe,
The whole band of demons that marched on her right,
He cast into fetters, their hands he bound.
For all their resistance, he trampled (them) underfoot.
And Kingu, who had been made chief among them,
He bound and accounted him to Uggae.\(^*\) (120)
He took from him the Tablet of Destinies, not rightfully his,
Scaled (them) with a seal\(^*\) and fastened (them) on his breast.

When he had vanquished and subdued his adversaries,
Had . . . the vainglorious foe,
Had wholly established Anshar’s triumph over the foe,
Nudimmud’s desire had achieved, valiant Marduk
Strengthened his hold on the vanquished gods,
And turned back to Tiamat whom he had bound.
The lord trod on the legs of Tiamat,
With his unsparing mace he crushed her skull. \(^{130}\)
When the arteries of her blood he had severed,
The North Wind bore (it) to places undisclosed.
On seeing this, his fathers were joyful and jubilant,
They brought gifts of homage, they to him.
Then the lord paused to view her dead body,
That he might divide the monster and do artful works.
He split her like a shellfish into two parts:
Half of her he set up and ceiled it as sky,
Pulled down the bar and posted guards.
He bade them to allow not her waters
to escape. \(^{140}\)
He crossed the heavens and surveyed the regions.
He squared Apsu’s quarter,\(^{28}\) the abode of Nudimmud,
As the lord measured the dimensions of Apsu.
The Great Abode, its likeness, he fixed as Esharra,
The Great Abode, Esharra, which he made as the firmament.
Anu, Enil, and Ea he made occupy their places.

*Tablet V*

He constructed stations for the great gods,
Fixing their astral likenesses as the Images.
He determined the year by designating the zones:
He set up three constellations for each of the twelve months.

After defining the days of the year [by means] of (heavenly) figures,
He founded the station of Nebiru\(^{42}\) to determine their (heavenly) bands,
That none might transgress or fall short.
Alongside it he set up the stations of Enil and Ea.
Having opened up the gates on both sides,
He strengthened the locks to the left
and the right. \(^{10}\)

\(^{78}\) God of death.
\(^{80}\) This was an essential act of attestation in Mesopotamian society.
\(^{81}\) For this rendering cf. A. Schott, ZA, xlvi (1934), 137.
\(^{82}\) i.e. the planet Jupiter. This station was taken to lie between the band (rēka; cf. l. 6) of the north, which belonged to Enil, and the band of the south, which belonged to Ea.
In her belly he established the zenith.
The Moon he caused to shine, the night (to him) entrusting.
He appointed him a creature of the night to signify the days:

"Monthly, without cease, form designs with a crown.
At the month's very start, rising over the land,
Thou shalt have luminous horns to signify six days,
On the seventh day reaching a [half]-crown.

At full moon stand in opposition in mid-month.
When the sun overtakes thee at the base of heaven, Diminish [thy crown] and retrogress in light."

(See Supplement.)

Tables VI
When Marduk hears the words of the gods,
His heart prompts (him) to fashion artful works.
Opening his mouth, he addresses Ea
To impart the plan he had conceived in his heart:

"Blood I will mass and cause bones to be.
I will establish a savage, 'man' shall be his name.
Verily, savage-man I will create.
He shall be charged with the service of the gods
That they might be at ease!"

The ways of the gods I will artfully alter.
Though alike revered, into two (groups) they shall be divided."

Ea answered him, speaking a word to him,
Giving him another plan for the relief of the gods:

"Let but one of their brothers be handed over;
He alone shall perish that mankind may be fashioned.
Let the great gods be here in Assembly,
Let us build a shrine whose name shall be called
What shall be our homage to thee?"

"Now," 0 lord, thou who hast caused our deliverance,
The Anunnaki opened their mouths
And said to Marduk, their lord:

"The king of the gods of heaven and earth."

The Igigi, the great gods, replied to him,
To Lugalmimneranka, counselor of the gods, their lord:

"It was Kingu who contrived the uprising,
And made Tiamat rebel, and joined battle."

They imposed on him his guilt and severed his blood (vessels).
Out of his blood they fashioned mankind.
He imposed the service and let free the gods.
After Ea, the wise, had created mankind, Had imposed upon it the service of the gods—

That work was beyond comprehension;
As artfully planned by Marduk, did Nudimmud create it—

Marduk, the king of the gods divided
All the Anunnaki above and below.
He assigned (them) to Anu to guard his instructions.
After he had ordered all the instructions, To the Anunnaki of heaven and earth had allotted their portions,

The Anunnaki opened their mouths
And said to Marduk, their lord:

"Now," 0 lord, thou who hast caused our deliverance,
What shall be our homage to thee?
Let us build a shrine whose name shall be called
Lo, a chamber for our nightly rest'; let us repose in it!

Let us build a throne, a recess for his abode!
Let us build a sanctuary. whose name shall be called
'Construct Babylon, whose building you have requested,
Let it be fashioned. You shall name it "The Sanctuary."

The Anunnaki applied the implement;
For one whole year they molded bricks.
When the second year arrived,

Do (now) the truth on oath by me declare?"
Who was it that contrived the uprising,
And made Tiamat rebel, and joined battle?
Let him be handed over who contrived the uprising.
His guilt I will make him bear. You shall dwell in peace!

The Igigi, the great gods, replied to him,
To Lugalmimneranka, counselor of the gods, their lord:

"It was Kingu who contrived the uprising,
And made Tiamat rebel, and joined battle."

They bound him, holding him before Ea.

For this and the preceding line cf. v. Soden, loc. cit.

References below; see now LKA, 7 and 8.
They raised high the head\(^9\) of Esagila equaling Apsu.\(^{100}\)
Having built a stage-tower as high as Apsu,
They set up in it an abode for Marduk, Enlil, (and) Ea
In their presence he was seated in grandeur.
To the base of Esharra\(^{101}\) its horns look down.
After they had achieved the building of Esagila,
All the Anunnaki erected their shrines.
The three hundred Igigi . . . . all of them gathered,
The lord being on the lofty dais which they had built
as his abode,
The gods, his fathers, at his banquet\(^{102}\) he seated:
"This is Babylon, the place that is your home!\(^{103}\)
Make merry in its precincts, occupy its broad [places].\(^{104}\)
The great gods took their seats,
They set up festive drink, sat down to a banquet.
After they had made merry within it,
In Esagila, the splendid, had performed their rites,\(^{105}\)
The norms had been fixed (and) all [their] portents,
All the gods apportioned the stations of heaven and earth.\(^{106}\)
The fifty great gods took their seats.
(80)
The seven gods of destiny set up the three hundred [in heaven].\(^{107}\)
Enlil raised the bow, his weapon,\(^{108}\) and laid (it) before them.
The gods, his fathers, saw the net he had made.
When they beheld the bow, how skillful its shape,
His fathers praised the work he had wrought.
Raising (it), Anu spoke up in the Assembly of the gods,
As he kissed the bow: "This is my daughter!"
He named the names of the bow as follows:
"Longwood is the first, the second is Accurate;\(^{109}\)
Its third name is Bow-Star, in heaven I have made (it) before it shine." 

(Lines 86-112, hitherto largely or wholly destroyed, have now been filled in by another Sultantepe duplicate; cf. Gurney, *Anatolian Studies*, ii, 33. A translation of lines 91-104 will be found on p. 503. Labat’s assumed lines 98 is to be deleted, following von Soden, *ZA*, xl. (1932), 169, but his line count has been retained for convenience.)

"Most exalted be the Son, our avenger;
Let his sovereignty be surpassing, having no rival.
May he shepherd the black-headed ones,\(^{110}\) his creatures.
To the end of days, without forgetting, let them acclaim his ways.
May he establish for his fathers the great food-offerings;\(^{110}\)
(110)
Their support they shall furnish, shall tend their sanctuaries.

-\(^9\) A play on the sense of Sumerian "Esagila."
-\(^{100}\) Meaning apparently that the height of Esagila corresponded to the depth of Apsu’s waters.
-\(^{101}\) cf. v. Soden, loc. cit.
-\(^{102}\) ibid.
-\(^{103}\) Var. "which you love," a virtual homonym of "your home" in Akkadian.
-\(^{105}\) ibid.
-\(^{106}\) ibid.
-\(^{107}\) ibid. 108 ibid. 109 ibid.
A common Akkadian metaphor for "the human race." In the preceding line the term *ēnūtu* has been taken to reflect the primary sense of Sumerian *ē* a "lord" rather than "high priest."

May he cause incense to be smelled,... their spells,
Make a likeness on earth of what he has wrought in heaven.
May he order the black-headed to reverence him,
May the subjects ever bear in mind to speak of their God,
And may they at his word pay heed\(^{111}\) to the goddess.
May food-offerings be borne for their gods and goddesses.
Without fail let them support their gods!
Their lands let them improve, build their shrines,
Let the black-headed wait on their gods.\(^{120}\)
As for us, by however many names we pronounce, he is our god!
Let us then proclaim his fifty names:\(^{112}\)
He whose ways are glorious, whose deeds are likewise,
(1) MARDUK, as Anu, his father,\(^{113}\) called him from his birth;\(^{114}\)
Who provides grazing and drinking places, enriches their stals,
Who with the flood-storm, his weapon, vanished the detractors,
(And) who the gods, his fathers, rescued from distress.
Truly, the Son of the Sun,\(^{115}\) most radiant of gods is he.
In his brilliant light may they walk forever!
On the people he brought forth, endowed with life,
(130)
The service of the gods he imposed that these may have ease.
Creation, destruction, deliverance, grace—
Shall be by his command.\(^{116}\) They shall look up to him!
(2) MARUUKA verily is the god, creator of all,
Who gladness the heart of the Anunnaki, appeases the Igigi.
(3) MARUTUKKU verily is the refuge of his land, city, and people.
Unto him shall the people give praise forever.
(4) BARASHAKUSHU\(^{117}\) stood up and took hold of its\(^{118}\) reins;
Wide is his heart, warm his sympathy.
(5) LUGALDIMMERANKIA is his name which we proclaimed in our Assembly.
(140)
His commands we exalt above the gods, his fathers.
Verily, he is lord of all the gods of heaven and underworld
The king at whose discipline the gods above and below are in mourning.\(^{119}\)

\(^{111}\) v. Soden, loc. cit., 7 reads *i-pi-i-*qu; but note Gurney, *ad loc.*

\(^{112}\) A penetrating discussion of these names has been furnished by F. M. Th. Böhl in *AfO*, xi (1936), 191-218. The text etymologizes the names in a manner made familiar by the Bible; the etymologies, which accompany virtually every name on the long list are meant to be cabalistic and symbolic rather than strictly linguistic, although some of them happen to be linguistically sound. The name count has in each case been indicated in parentheses.

\(^{113}\) Here and elsewhere "father" is used for "grandfather" or "ancestor."

\(^{114}\) Lit. "emergence."

\(^{115}\) cf. Tablet I, 101-02.

\(^{116}\) Reading *ba-l*-li-*ma* in this line and *a-ba/-tu* in the line above, with v. Soden, loc. cit., 7. For nannu "command" see *ZA*, lxiv (1938), 42.

\(^{117}\) Var. Shumukkukhekunu.

\(^{118}\) i.e. those of the land.

(6) NARI-LUGALDIMMERANKIA is the name of him
Whom we have called the monitor \(^{120}\) of the gods;
Who in heaven and on earth founds for us retreats \(^{121}\) in trouble,
And who allots stations to the Igigi and Anunnaki.
At his name the gods shall tremble and quake in retreat.
(7) ASARULUDU is that name of his
Which Anu, his father, proclaimed for him.
He is truly the light of the gods, the mighty leader,
Who, as the protecting deities \(^{22}\) of gods and land,
In fierce single combat saved our retreats in distress.
Asaruludu, secondly, they have named \(^{8}\) NAMTILLAKU,
The god who maintains life, \(^{123}\)
Who restored the lost gods, as though his own creation;
The lord who revives the dead gods by his pure incantation,
Who destroys the wayward foes. Let us praise his prowess! \(^{124}\)
Asaruludu, whose name was thirdly called (9) NAMRU,
The shining god who illumines our ways.
Three each of his names \(^{26}\) have Anshar, Lahmu, and Lahamu proclaimed;
Unto the gods, their sons, they did utter them:
“We have proclaimed three each of his names.
Like us, do you utter his names!”
Joyfully the gods did heed their command,
As in Ubshukinna they exchanged counsels:
“Of the heroic son, our avenger,
Of our supporter we will exalt the name!”
They sat down in their Assembly to fashion \(^{26}\) destinies,
All of them uttering his names in the sanctuary.

Table VII

(10) ASARU, bestower of cultivation, who established water levels;
Creator of grain and herbs, who causes vegetation to sprout. \(^{127}\)
(11) ASARUALIM, who is honored in the place of counsel, who excels in counsel;
To whom the gods hope, \(^{128}\) not being possessed of fear.
(12) ASARUALIMNUNNA, the gracious, light of the father, [his] begtter,
Who directs the decrees of Anu, Enil, Ea and Ninigiku.
He is their provider who assigns their portions,
Whose horned cap \(^{23}\) is plenty, multiplying . . . 
(13) TUTU is he, who effects their restoration.

\(^{120}\) This verse confirms the equation of alur with Sumerian nari made by S. N. Kramer, BASOR, 79 (1940), 25, n. 25. The meaning “monitor” for this form and “admonition, instruction” for alur would seem to fit all known instances.

\(^{121}\) Lit. “seats.”

\(^{122}\) The Idu and lamarsu.


\(^{124}\) Ibid.

\(^{125}\) The reading nin-lim on a new fragment brings the numbers into agreement with the actual enumeration and eliminates the discrepancies entailed in previous mistaken readings.

\(^{126}\) Vai, “proclaim.”

\(^{127}\) Another metaphor for “mankind.”


\(^{129}\) For lines 21-45 cf. A. Falkenstein, Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk (1931), No. 38, obv.

\(^{130}\) Akk. ukinna, a word play on the -UKINNA of the name.

\(^{131}\) Another metaphor for “mankind.”


\(^{133}\) cf. Landsberger, Die Welt der Offizi, 1 (1950), 163.

Let him purify their shrines that they may have ease.
Let him devise the spell that the gods may be at rest.
Should they rise in anger, let them turn [back].
Verily, he is supreme in the Assembly of the gods;
No one among the gods is his equal.
Tutu is (14) ZUKKINNA, life of the host of [the gods],
Who established \(^{19}\) for the gods the holy heavens;
Who keeps a hold on their ways, determines [their courses];
He shall not be forgotten by the beclouded. \(^{180}\) Let them [remember] \(^{122}\) his deeds!
Tutu they thirdly called (15) ZIKU, who establishes holiness,
The god of the benign breath, the lord who hearkens and acceeds;
Who produces riches and treasures, establishes abundance; \(^{120}\)
Who has turned all our wants to plenty;
Whose benign breath we smelled in sore distress.
Let them speak, let them exalt, let them sing his praises!
Tutu, fourthly, let the people magnify as (16) AGARU,
The lord of the holy charm, who revives the dead;
Who had mercy on the vanquished gods,
Who removed the yoke imposed on the gods, his enemies,
(And) who, to redeem them, created mankind;
The merciful, in whose power it lies to grant life.
May his words endure, not to be forgotten,
In the mouth of the black-headed, whom his hands have created.
Tutu, fifthly, is (17) TUKU, whose holy spell their mouths shall murmur;
Who with his holy charm has uprooted all the evil ones.
(18) SHAZU, who knows the heart of the gods,
Who examines the inside;
From whom the evildoer cannot escape;
Who sets up the Assembly of the gods, gladdens their hearts;
Who subdues the insubmissive; their wide-spread [pro]tection;
Who directs justice, roots [out] crooked talk,
Who wrong and right in his place keeps apart.
Shazu may they, secondly, exalt as (19) ZIST,
Who silences the insurgent;
Who banishes consternation from the body of the gods,
His fathers. \(^{124}\)
Shazu is, thirdly, (20) SUHRIM, who with the weapon roots out all enemies,
Who frustrates their plans, scatters (them) to the winds;
Who slays out all the wicked ones who tremble before him.

\(^{180}\) Lines 41-130, for which see now the text in LKA, 8, have been translated by v. Soden in ZA, xi.vii (1942), 10-17.
Let the gods exult in Assembly!

Shazu is, fourthly, (21) SUHGURIM, who insures a hearing for the gods, his fathers,
Creator of the gods, his fathers,
Who roots out the enemies, destroys their progeny;
Who frustrates their doings, leaving nothing of them.

May his name be evoked and spoken in the land! (50)

Shazu, fifthly, they shall praise as (22) ZAHRIM, the lord of the living,
Who destroys all adversaries, all the disobedient;
Who all the fugitive gods brought home to their shrines.
May this his name endure!

Shazu, moreover, they shall, sixthly, render all honor as (23) ZAHGURIM,
Who frustrates their doings, leaving nothing of them.
Who roots out the enemies, destroys their progeny;
Who all the foes destroyed as though in battle.

Enbilulu, thirdly, they shall praise as (26) ENBILULU-
Dam and ditch regulates, who delimits the furrow;
Who forms fine plow land in the steppe,
Who the corpse of Tiamat carried off with her weapon;
Who directs the land—their faithful shepherd.

Enbilulu, secondly, they shall glorify as (25) EPADUN,
Irrigator of heaven and earth, who establishes seed-rows,
Who ever regulates for the land the grazing and watering places;
Who opened the wells, apportionings waters of abundance.

The mighty one who named them, who instituted roast-offerings;
Who creates the clouds above the waters, makes enduring aloft.

Enbilulu is (27) HEGAL, who heaps up abundance for the people’s consumption,
Who provides wealth, enriches all dwellings,
Who furnishes millet, causes barley to appear.

Lord of abundance, opulence, and of ample crops,
Who provides wealth, enriches all dwellings,
Who furnishes milk, causes barley to appear.

Who forms fine plow land in the steppe,
Dam and ditch regulates, who delimits the furrow;
Enbilulu, thirdly, they shall praise as (26) ENBILULU-
GUGAL,
The irrigator of the plantations of the gods;
Lord of abundance, opulence, and of ample crops,
Who provides wealth, enriches all dwellings,
Who furnishes milk, causes barley to appear.

Who causes rich rains over the wide earth, provides vegetation.
(28) sirsir, who heaped up a mountain over her,
Tiamat,
Who the wide-spreading Sea vaults in his wrath,
Crossing (her) like a bridge at the place of single combat.

Sirsir, secondly, they named (29) MALAH—and so forth—
Tiamat is his vessel and he the rider.

(30) GH, who stores up grain heaps—massive mounds—
Who brings forth barley and millet, furnishes the seed of the land.

(31) GILMA, who makes lasting the lofty abode of the gods,
Creator of security,
The hoop that holds the barrel together, who presents good things.

(32) AGILMA, the exalted one, who tears off the crown from the wrong position,
Who creates the clouds above the waters, makes enduring aloft.

(33) ZULUM, who designates the fields for the gods, allot the creation,
Who grants portions and food-offerings, tends the shrines.

(34) MUMMU, creator of heaven and earth, who directs... The god who sanctifies heaven and earth is, secondly,
(35) ZULUMMAR,
Whom no other among the gods can match in strength.

(35) GISHNUMUNAB, creator of all people, who made the (world) regions,
Destroyer of the gods of Tiamat; who made men out of their substance.

(36) LUGALABDUBUR, the king who frustrated the work of Tiamat,
Rooted out her weapons;
Whose foundation is firm in front and in the rear.

(37) PAGALGUENNA, the foremost of all the lords, whose strength is outstanding;
Who is pre-eminent in the royal abode, most exalted of the gods.

(38) LUGALDURMAH, the king, bond of the gods, lord of the Durmah,
Who is pre-eminent in the abode of the gods, most exalted of the gods.

(39) ARANUNNA, counselor of Ea, creator of the gods, his fathers,
Whose princely ways no god whatever can equal.

(40) DUMUDUKU, whose pure dwelling is renewed in Duku,
Dumuduku, without whom Lugalkuduga makes no decision.

(41) LUGALLANNA, the king whose strength is outstanding among the gods,
The lord, strength of Anu, who became supreme at the call of Anshar.

(42) LUGALDUGGA, who carried off all of them amidst the struggle,
Who all wisdom encompasses, broad in perception.
(43) Irkingu, who carried off Kingu in the thick of the battle,
Who conveys guidance for all, establishes rulership.

(44) KINMA, who directs all the gods, the giver of counsel,
At whose name the gods quake in fear, as at the storm.

(45) Esizkux shall sit aloft in the house of prayer;
May the gods bring their presents before him,
That (from him) they may receive their assignments;
None can without him create artful works.
Four black-headed ones are among his creatures; Aside from him no god knows the answer as to their days.

(46) Gisht, who maintains the sharp point of the weapon,
Who creates artful works in the battle with Tiamat;
Who has broad wisdom, is accomplished in insight,
Whose mind is so vast that the gods, all of them, cannot fathom (it).

(47) ADBU be his name, the whole sky may he cover,
May his beneficent roar ever hover over the earth;
May he, as Mummu, diminish the clouds;
Below, for the people may he furnish sustenance.

(48) ASHARU, who, as is his name, guided the gods of destiny;
All of the people are verily in his charge.

(49) NEBRU shall hold the crossings of heaven and earth,
So that they (the gods) cannot cross above and below,
They must wait upon him.
NEBRU is the star which in the skies is brilliant.
Verily he holds the central position, they shall bow down to him,
Saying: 'He who the midst of the Sea restlessly crosses,
Let 'Crossing' be his name, who controls its midst.
May he uphold the course of the stars of heaven;
May he shepherd all the gods like sheep.
May he vanquish Tiamat; may her life be strait and short!
Into the future of mankind, when days have grown old,
May she recede without cease and stay away forever.

Because he created the spaces and fashioned the firm ground,
Father Enlil called his name (50) 'Lord of the Lands.'

When all the names which the Igigi proclaimed, Ea had heard, his spirit rejoiced,
Thus: 'He whose names his fathers have glorified, He is indeed even as I; his name shall be Ea.
All my combined rites he shall administer;
All my instructions he shall carry out!'
With the title "Fifty" the great gods Proclaimed him whose names are fifty and made his way supreme.

Epilogue
Let them be kept (in mind) and let the leader explain them.
Let the wise and the knowing discuss (them) together.
Let the father recite (them) and impart to his son.
Let the ears of shepherd and herdsman be opened.
Let him rejoice in Marduk, the Enlil of the gods,
That his land may be fertile and that he may prosper.
Firm in his order, his command unalterable,
The utterance of his mouth no god shall change.
When he looks he does not turn away his neck;
When he is angry, no god can withstand his wrath.
Vast is his mind, broad his sympathy,
Sinner and transgressor may come before him.

(See the Supplement for the remainder of the Epilogue.)

The Epic of Gilgamesh

The theme of this epic is essentially a secular one. The poem deals with such earthly things as man and nature, love and adventure, friendship and combat—all masterfully blended into a background for the stark reality of death. The climactic struggle of the protagonist to change his eventual fate, by learning the secret of immortality from the hero of the Great Flood of long ago, ends in failure; but with the failure comes a sense of quiet resignation. For the first time in the history of the world a profound experience on such a heroic scale has found expression in a noble style. The scope and sweep of the epic, and its sheer poetic power, give it a timeless appeal. In antiquity, the influence of the poem spread to various tongues and cultures. Today it captivates student and poet alike.

The Akkadian title of the poem, which was taken as usual from the opening words, is Ṣa na₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇₇¢imuru, "He who saw every-thing." The prevailing meter has the normal four beats to a line. The work is divided into twelve tablets. The longest of these contains over three hundred lines. It happens to be the so-called Flood Tablet (XI), virtually in a perfect state of preservation. The rest has survived in portions, some of considerable size and others in relatively small fragments. All but a few of the Ak-
Akkadian myths and epics

Kadian texts come from the library of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh. Unlike the Creation Epic, however, the Gilgamesh Epic is known also from versions which antedate the first millennium B.C. From the middle of the second millennium have come down fragments of an Akkadian recension current in the Hittite Empire, and the same Bogazköy archives have yielded also important fragments of a Hittite translation, as well as fragments of a Hurrian rendering of the epic. From the first half of the second millennium we possess representative portions of the Old Babylonian version of the epic, which pertain to Tables I-III, and X. That this version was itself a copy of an earlier text is suggested by the internal evidence of the material. The original date of composition of the Akkadian work has to be placed at the turn of the second millennium, if not slightly earlier.

The connection between the Epic of Gilgamesh as we know it in its Akkadian form, and its various Sumerian analogues, has been clarified in recent years thanks to the work of C. J. Gadd on the Epic of Gilgamesh, Table XII, RA, xxxi (1933), 126 ff., and especially by the studies of S. N. Kramer; see his summary in The Epic of Gilgamesh and its Sumerian Sources, JAOS, lxiv (1944), 7 ff. It has been demonstrated that Tablet XII is not of a piece with the other eleven tablets of the poem, but is instead a literal translation from the Sumerian. The epic presents on the other hand, while utilizing certain motifs which are featured in Sumerian poems, does so largely in the course of developing a central theme that has no Sumerian prototype. In other words, the first eleven tablets of the Akkadian poem of Gilgamesh constitute an instance of creative borrowing which, substantially, amounts to an independent creation.1

The text of the Assyrian version is now available in the model edition published, with transliteration and notes, by R. Campbell Thompson under the title of The Epic of Gilgamesh (1930). Thompson's arrangement and line count have been adopted in this translation, except for the passages that have been allocated otherwise, as will be noted in each given instance. The sources of the texts not given by Thompson will be cited in detail in the course of the translation.

Of the literature on the subject only a small selection can be listed. One cannot fail, however, to cite the work of Peter Jensen, antiquated though it may be in some respects, for no scholar has done more than he to bring the epic to the attention of the modern world. The translation, transliteration, and notes in his Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen (Keilschriftliche Bibliothek, vi, 1900) remain useful to this day; and his monumental Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur (Vol. 1, 1906; Vol. 11, 1926) testifies to his enduring preoccupation with this subject. Important progress was made by A. Ungnad and H. Gressmann, Das Gilgamesch-Epos (1915), and Ungnad returned to the subject on two subsequent occasions: Die Religion der Babylonier und Assyrier (1921), and Gilgamesch-Epos und Odyssee (Kulturfragen, 4/5, 1923). E. Ebeling contributed a translation to AOT (and ed., 1926). The standard German translation is now that of A. Schott, Das Gilgamesch-Epos (1934). In English we have R. Campbell Thompson's translation into hexameters, titled The Epic of Gilgamesh (1928). To W. E. Leonard we owe a rendering into free rhythms, entitled Gilgamesh (1934), based on a German translation by H. Ranke. The book of G. Contenau, L'épopée de Gilgamesh is more valuable perhaps for its general orientation than for the particular contribution of the translation. An informed translation accompanied by brief notes has been published by F. M. Bohl under the Dutch title Het Gilgamesch-Epos (1941). The latest and most dependable translation in English, with brief notes and an extensive discussion of the biblical parallels is that of A. Heidel, The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels (1946). I have profited considerably from Heidel's treatment, as I have also from that of Schott (see above). The same holds true of Schott's notes, published in ZA, xxi (1934), 92 ff., and of the notes by A. L. Oppenheim, Mesopotamian Mythology II, Orientalia, xviii (1948), 17 ff.

Tablet I

(i)

He who saw everything [to the end] of the land, [Who all things experienced, [considered all]]2 [ [... together [...].] [... of wisdom, who all things [...].]

The [hi]dden he saw, [laid bare] the undisclosed. He brought report of before the Flood, Achieved a long journey, tiring and resting. All his toil he engraved on a stone stela. Of ramparted Uruk the wall he built, Of hallowed Eanna, the pure sanctuary. Behold its outer wall, whose cornice3 is like copper, Peer at the inner wall, which none can equal! Seize upon the threshold, which is from of old! Draw near to Eanna, the dwelling of Ishtar, Which no future king, no man, can equal. Go up and walk4 on the walls of Uruk, Inspect the base terrace, examine the brickwork: Is not its brickwork of burnt brick? Did not the Seven [Sages]5 lay its foundations? (Remainder of the column broken away. A Hittite fragment [cf. J. Friedrich, ZA, xxxix (1929), 2-5] corresponds in part with the damaged initial portion of our column ii, and hence appears to contain some of the material from the end of the first column. We gather from this fragment that several gods had a hand in fashioning Gilgamesh, whom they endowed with superhuman size. At length, Gilgamesh arrives in Uruk.)

(ii)

Two-thirds of him is god, [one-third of him is human]. The form of his body [...] (mutilated or missing—see the Supplement) (3-7) He is made fearful like a wild ox, lofty [...] (8) The onslaught of his weapons verily has no equal. By the drum6 are aroused [his] companions. The nobles of Uruk are worried in [their chambers]: "Gilgamesh leaves not the son to [his] father; [Day] and [night] is unbridled his arrogance." Is this Gilga[mesh], [the shepherd of ramparted] Uruk? Is this [our] shepherd, [bold, stately, wise]? [Gilgamesh] leaves not [the maid to her mother],

1 cf. S. N. Kramer, loc. cit., 23, n.16. To the material listed in that article add now id., JCS, 1 (1917), 3-46.
2 For the restoration of the first two lines cf. GETh, 111, and Bohl, HGE, 1112.
4 The temple of Anu and Ishtar in Uruk.
5 Oppenheim, Orientalia, xviii (1948), 19, n.2.
6 Text: im-tal-ak "take counsel," but the parallel passage, XI, 30 ff., reads i-tal-ak "walk about."
7 For the seven sages, who brought civilization to seven of the oldest cities in the land, see H. Zimmermann, ZA, xxxv (1933), 151 ff.
8 For puku cf. the introduction to Tablet XII and note 233. Here perhaps the reference is to the abuse for personal purposes of an instrument intended for civic or religious use.
9 For the various writings of the name cf. GETh, 8 f.; Th. Jacobsen, The Sumerian King List (1930), 89 f., n.128; and S. N. Kramer, JAOS, lxiv (1944), 11, n.15, and A. Goette, JCS, 1 (1937), 254.
The warrior's daughter, [the noble's spouse]!'

The gods heartened them to their plain,
The gods of heaven Uruc's lord [they ... ]:
"Did not [Aruru]" bring forth this strong
wild ox?

The onslaught of his weapons verily has no equal.
By the drum are aroused his [companions].
Gilgames leaves not the son to his father;

Day and night [is unbridled his arrogance].
Is this the shepherd of [ramparted] Uruc?
Is this their [ ... ] shepherd,
Bold, stately, (and) wise? ...
Gilgames leaves not the maid to [her mother],
The warrior's daughter, the noble's spouse!

When [Anu] had heard out their plaint,
The great Aruru they called:

"Thou, Aruru, didst create [the man];
Create now his double;"

His stormy heart let him match.
Let them contend, that Uruc may have peace!"

When Aruru heard this,
A double of Anu she conceived within her.

Aruru washed her hands,
Pinched off clay and cast it on the steppe.

[On the step]pe she created valiant Enkidu,
Offspring of ... , essence of Ninurta.
[Sha]gger with hair is his whole body,
He is endowed with head hair like a woman.
The locks of his hair sprout like Nisaba.
He knows neither people nor land;
Garbed is he like Sumugan.
With the gazelles he feeds on grass,
With the wild beasts he jostles at the watering-place.

With the teeming creatures his heart delights in water.
(Now) a hunter, a trapping-man,
Faced him at the watering-place.
[One] day, a second, and a third
He faced him at the watering-place.

When the hunter saw him, his face became motionless.

He and his beasts went into his house, [Sore a]fraid, still, without a sound,
(While) his heart [was disturbed], overclouded his face.
For woe had [entered] his belly;
His face was like that [of a wayfarer] from afar.

The hunter opened [his mouth] to speak,
Saying to [his father]:
"My father, there is [a] fellow who [has come from the hills],
He is the mightiest in the land; strength he has.
Like the essence of Anu, so mighty [his strength]!
Ever he ranges over the hills,
Ever with the beasts [he feeds on grass].
Ever sets he his feet at the watering-place.
I am so frightened that I dare not approach him!
He filled in the pits that I had dug,
He tore up my traps which I had set,
The beasts and creatures of the steppe
[He has made slip through my hands].
[He does not allow] me to engage in fieldcraft!

[His father opened his mouth to speak],
Saying to the hunter:
"[My son], in Uruc [there lives] Gilgamesh.
[No one is there more mighty] than he.
Like the essence of Anu, so mighty is his strength!
Go, then, toward Uruc set thy face,
[Speak to him of] the power of the man.
[Let him give thee a harlot-lass]. Take (her) [with thee];
[Let her prevail against him] by dint of [greater] might.
[When he waters the beasts at] the watering-place,
[She shall pull off] her cloth[ing, laying bare] her ripeness.
[As soon as he sees] her, he will draw near to her.
Reject him will his beasts [that grew up on] his steppe!"
The beasts and creatures [of the steppe]
He tore up my traps [which I had set],
He filled in the pits that [I] had dug,
I am so frightened that I dare not approach [him]!
Ever [sets] he his feet at the watering-place.
Ever with the beasts [he feeds on grass],
The barbarous fellow from the depths of the steppe:
With the gazelles he feeds on grass,
The creeping creatures came, their heart delighting in water.
One day, a second day, they sat by the watering-place.
On the third day at the appointed spot they arrived.
Forth went the hunter, taking with him a harlot-lass.
Reject him will his beasts that grew up on his steppe!
As soon as he sees her, he will draw near to her.
She shall pull off her clothing, laying bare her ripeness.
"Go, my hunter, take with thee a harlot-lass.
Gilgamesh says to him, [to] the hunter:
He does not allow me to engage in fieldcraft!"
"Thou art [wi]se," Enkidu, art become like a god!
Why with the wild creatures dost thou roam over the steppe?
Come, let me lead thee [to] ramparted Uruk,
To the holy temple, abode of Anu and Ishtar,
Where lives Gilgamesh, accomplished in strength,
And like a wild ox lords it over the folk.
As she speaks to him, her words find favor,
His heart enlightened, he yearns for a friend.
Enkidu says to her, to the harlot:
"Up, lass, escort thou me,"
To the pure sacred temple, abode of Anu and Ishtar,
Where lives Gilgamesh, accomplished in strength,
And like a wild ox lords it over the folk.
I will challenge him [and will boldly address him,
[v]
The wild beasts of the steppe drew away from his body.
Startled was Enkidu, as his body became taut,
His knees were motionless—for his wild beasts had gone.
Enkidu had to slacken his pace—it was not as before;
But he now had [wi]sdom, [broader understanding].
Returning, he sits at the feet of the harlot.
He looks up at the face of the harlot,
His ears attentive, as the harlot speaks;
[The harlot] says to him, to Enkidu:
"There he is, 0 lass! Free thy breasts,
And la[ss]es[... 
Their ripeness [ ... ] full of perfume.
They drive the great ones from their couches!
To thee, 0 Enkidu, who rejoicest in living,
Look thou at him, regard his face;
He is radiant with manhood, vigor he has.
With ripeness gorgeous is the whole of his body,
Mightier strength has he than thou,
Never resting by day or by night.
O Enkidu, renounce thy presumption!
Gilgamesh—of him Shamash is fond;
Anu, Enlil, and Ea have broadened his wisdom.
Before thou comest down from the hills,
Gilgamesh will see thee in (his) dreams in Uruk:
For Gilgamesh arose to reveal his dreams,
Saying to his mother:
'My mother, I saw a dream last night:
There appeared the stars in the heavens.
Like the essence of Anu it descends upon me.
I sought to lift it; it was too stout for me.
I sought to drive it off, but I could not
remove it.

Uruk-land was standing about it,
The land was gathered round it,
The populace jostled towards it,
The nobles thronged about it.
[... ] my companions were kissing its feet.
I loved it and was drawn to it as though to a woman.
And I placed it at thy feet,
Thou didst make it vie with me.'

[Says to Gilgamesh, who is versed in all knowledge,]

Beloved and wise Ninsun, who is versed in all knowledge,
Says to Gilgamesh:

'Thy rival, the star of heaven,
Which descended upon thee like the essence of Anu;
Thou didst seek to lift it, it was too stout for thee;
Thou wouldst drive it off, but couldst not remove it;
Thou didst place it at my feet,
It was I who made it vie with thee;
Thou didst love it and was drawn to it as though to a woman—

[A stout comrade who rescues a friend is come to thee.
Thou didst love it and was drawn to it as though to a woman,
It was I who made it vie with thee;
Thou didst love it and was drawn to it as though to a woman—

[Beloved and wise Ninsun], who is versed in all knowledge,
Says to Gilgamesh:

'Like the essence of Anu, so mighty his strength.'

Thou didst make it vie with me.

[My mother, I] saw another dream:

To me, by Enlil's command, is a counsellor descended,
I have a friend and counsellor,
[And to him] shall I be a friend and counsellor.'

[Thus did Gilgamesh reveal his dreams,
[And thus] did the lass narrate the dreams of
Gilgamesh to Enkidu,
[As they] sat, the two (of them).

Table II

OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION

In the Assyrian Version, Tablet II has come down in only a few disjointed and mutilated fragments. The text here followed (in agreement with Böhl and Heidel) is that of the Old Babylonian Version as found on the "Pennsylvania Tablet." It was published by S. Langdon in UM, s, 3 (1917), and was revised in transliteration by M. Jastrow and A. T. Clay; cf. their An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamesh Epic (1920; abbr. YOS, iv, 3), 62-68. The beginning of this tablet goes back to Tablet I, v, 25 of the Assyrian Version. The resulting repetition of some of the incidents should not prove to be unduly disturbing in an epic, particularly since the two accounts are by no means identical. It will be noted that many of the lines on the present tablet contain only two beats, an arrangement which affects the line count but does not alter the meter.

(i)

Gilgamesh arose to reveal the dream,
Saying to his mother:

"My mother, in the time of night
I felt joyful and I walked about
In the midst of the nobles.
The stars assembled in the heavens.
The handiwork of Anu descended towards me.
I sought to lift it; it was too heavy for me!
I sought to move it; move it I could not!

Uruk-land was gathered about it,
While the nobles kissed its feet.
As I set my forehead, They gave me support.
While the nobles kissed its feet.
In the Assyrian Version, Tablet II has come down in only a few disjointed and mutilated fragments. The text here followed (in agreement with Böhl and Heidel) is that of the Old Babylonian Version as found on the "Pennsylvania Tablet." It was published by S. Langdon in UM, s, 3 (1917), and was revised in transliteration by M. Jastrow and A. T. Clay; cf. their An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamesh Epic (1920; abbr. YOS, iv, 3), 62-68. The beginning of this tablet goes back to Tablet I, v, 25 of the Assyrian Version. The resulting repetition of some of the incidents should not prove to be unduly disturbing in an epic, particularly since the two accounts are by no means identical. It will be noted that many of the lines on the present tablet contain only two beats, an arrangement which affects the line count but does not alter the meter.

(ii)

Gilgamesh speaks to his mother:

"Thou didst make it vie with me.

[Means that he will never forsake thee.
This is the meaning of thy dream.
Again Gilgamesh says to his mother:
[My mother, I] saw another dream:

In ramparted Uruk lay an axe;
This is the meaning of thy dream.'

Says to her son:

Beloved and wise Ninsun, who is versed in all knowledge,
Says to Gilgamesh: 'The axe which thou sawest is a man. Thou wilt lead him to me.'
The mother of Gilgamesh, who knows all,
Says to Gilgamesh:

"Forsooth, one like thee Was born on the steppe,
And the hills have reared him.
When thou seest him, thou wilt rejoice.

The nobles will kiss his feet;
Thou wilt embrace him and they; Thou wilt lead him to me."

He lay down and saw another
[He] arose and said to his mother:

[My mother], I saw another

[In the confusion.] In the street
[Of] broad-marted Uruk

34 cf. above, n.14.
35 Reading al-tab-lak-ki-is-su (from bikt), with Ungnad and Landsberger, cf. ZA, xliii (1934), 102 and n.2.
36 cf. above, n.27.
There lay an axe, and
They were gathered round it.
That axe, strange was its shape.
As soon as I saw it, I rejoiced.
I loved it, and as though to a woman,
I was drawn to it.
I took it and placed it
At my side."

The mother of Gilgamesh, who knows all,
[Says to Gilgamesh]:

(smaller break)

(ii)

"Because I made it vie with thee."
While Gilgamesh reveals his dream,
Enkidu sits before the harlot.
The two of them make love together.
He forgot the step where he was born.
For six days and seven nights Enkidu came forth
Mating with the lass.
Then the harlot opened her mouth,
Saying to Enkidu:

(30)

"As I look at thee, Enkidu, thou art become like a god;
Wherefore with the wild creatures
Dost thou range over the steppe?
Up, I will lead thee
To broad-marted Uruk,
To the holy temple, the abode of Anu,
Enkidu, arise, I will lead thee
To Eanna, the abode of Anu,
Where lives Gilgamesh, accomplished
And thou, like..."

He hearkened to her words, approved her speech;
The woman's counsel
Fell upon his heart.
She pulled off (her) clothing;
With one (piece) she clothed him,
With the other garment
She clothed herself.
Holding on to his hand,
She leads him like a child
To the shepherd-hut,
The place of the sheepfold.
Round him the shepherds gathered.

(several lines missing)

(iii)

The milk of wild creatures
He was wont to suck.

43 See above, n.37.
44 Reading ki-la-ul-um, cf. Schott, ZA, xliii, 104.
45 cf. Thompson, EG, 16 (line 15). The designation Uruk-rihum "Uruk-of-the-broad-place(s)" in the Old Babylonian Version alternates with Uruk-unum "Uruk-of-the-enclosure(s)" in the Assyrian Version.
46 Lit. "accepted."
47 Reading referens.
48 See CAD, v (G), 118 and AHW, 298.

Food they placed before him;
He gagged, he gaped
And he stared.
Nothing does Enkidu know
Of eating food;
To drink strong drink
He has not been taught.
The harlot opened her mouth,
Saying to Enkidu:

(30)

"Eat the food, Enkidu,
As is life's due;
Drink the strong drink, as is the custom of the land."
Enkidu ate the food,
Until he was sated;
Of strong drink he drank
Seven goblets.
Carefree became his mood (and) cheerful,
His heart exulted
And his face glowed.
He rubbed the shaggy growth,
The hair of his body,
Anointed himself with oil,
Became human.
He put on clothing,
He is like a groom!
He took his weapon
To chase the lions,
That shepherds might rest at night.
He caught wolves,
He captured lions,
The chief cattlemen could lie down;
Enkidu is their watchman,
The bold man,
The unique hero!
To [... ] he said:

(several lines missing)

(iv)

(some eight lines missing)

He made merry.
When he lifted his eyes,
He beheld a man.
He says to the harlot:

(30)

"Lass, fetch the man!
Why has he come hither?
His name let me hear."

The man opened his mouth,
Saying to Enkidu:

(30)

"Into the meeting-house he has intruded,
Which is set aside for the people,

49 Reading [ma-li-], with Schott, ZA, xliii, 105.
50 Reading lu-ul-mel with Köhl, HGE, 133.
51 Reading with Schott, OLZ, 1933, 520: i-ku-ul-lu .
... for wedlock. On the city he has heaped defilement, imposing strange things on the hapless city. For the king of broad-marted Uruk, the drum of the people is free for nuptial choice.

For Gilgamesh, king of broad-marted Uruk, the drum of the people is free for nuptial choice; that with lawful wives he might mate! He is the first; the husband comes after. By the counsel of the gods it has (so) been ordained. With the cutting of his umbilical cord it was decreed for him!

At the words of the man his face grew pale.

Tablet III

OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION

In the Assyrian Version, this tablet is extant only in fragments, which will be translated below, under B. The older text is that of the "Yale Tablet" (YOS, iv, 3, Pls. 1-7), which continues the account of the "Pennsylvania Tablet."

To Gilgamesh [ ... ] in his might.

... (some three lines missing)

(some five lines missing)

Gilgamesh [ ... ]

On the steppe [ ... ]

Sprouts [ ... ];

He rose up and [ ... ]

Before him.

They met in the Market-of-the-Land.

Enkidu barred the gate.

With his foot, not allowing Gilgamesh to enter.

They grappled each other, holding fast like bulls.

They shattered the doorpost, as the wall shook.

Gilgamesh and Enkidu grappled each other, holding fast like bulls; they shattered the doorpost, as the wall shook.

As Gilgamesh bent the knee—

His foot on the ground—

His fury abated and he turned away.

When he had turned away, Enkidu to him spoke up, to Gilgamesh:

"As one alone thy mother bore thee,

The wild cow of the steer-folds, Ninsunna!

Raised up above men thy head.

Kingship over the people Enlil has granted thee!"

Tablet III

OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION

In the Assyrian Version, this tablet is extant only in fragments, which will be translated below, under B. The older text is that of the "Yale Tablet" (YOS, iv, 3, Pls. 1-7), which continues the account of the "Pennsylvania Tablet."

(i)

(Mutilated or missing. Gilgamesh has decided on an expedition against monstrous Huwawa [Assyrian Humbaba], who resides in the Cedar Forest. Enkidu tries to dissuade him, but is unsuccessful, as may be gathered from the following verses.)

"[Why] dost thou desire to do [this thing]?

..."
They kissed each other
And formed a friendship.

(remainder missing or mutilated)

(ii)

(some twenty-five lines missing or mutilated)
The eyes [of Enkidu filled] with tears.
[Ill was] his heart,
[As bitterly] he sighed.
[Ya], En]kidu's eyes filled with tears.
[III was] his heart,
[As bitterly] he sighed.
[Gilgamesh], bearing with him,

[Says] to Enkidu:

["My friend, why] do thine eyes
Fill with tears?"
[Is ill] thy heart,
[As bitterly thou sigh]est?"
En[kidu opened his mouth],

Saying to Gilgamesh:

"A cry, my friend,
Chokes my throat;"
My arms are limp,
And my strength has turned to weakness."   
Gilgamesh opened his mouth,
Saying to Enkidu:

(iii)

(some four lines missing)

["In the forest resides] fierce Huwawa.
[Let us, me and thee, slay [him].
[That all evil from the land we may ban]ish!"
(too fragmentary for translation)
Enkidu opened his mouth,
Saying to Gilgamesh:

"I found it out, my friend, in the hills,
As I was roaming with the wild beasts.
For ten thousand leagues extends the forest.
[Who is there] that would go down into it?
[Huwawa]—his roaring is the storm-storm,
His mouth is fire,
His breath is death!
Why dost thou desire
To do this thing?
An unequal struggle
Is (tangling with) the siege engine, Huwawa."]
Gilgamesh opened his mouth,
Saying to Enkidu:

["The cedar]—its mountain I would scale!"
(mostly destroyed)
Enkidu opened his mouth,

Saying to [Gilgamesh]:

"How can we go
To the Cedar Forest?
Its keeper is Wer.
He is mighty, never rest[ing].
Huwawa, Wer [...]
Adad [...]  
He [...]"

To safeguard [the Cedar Forest],
As a terror to mortals has Enlil appointed him]."

(Here fits in the fragment of the Assyrian Version, II,
v, published in GETh, Pl. x, top. Line 4 of this text is restored from a Neo-Babylonian fragment published by A. Heidel, JNES, xi (1952), 140-43.

"To safeguard the Cedar Forest,
As a terror to mortals has Enlil appointed him.
Humbaba—his roaring is the storm-flood,
His mouth is fire, his breath is death!
At sixty leagues he can hear the wild cows of the forest;
Who is there that would go down to his Forest?
To safeguard the cedars,
As a terror to mortals has Enlil appointed him;
Weakness lays hold on him who goes down to the forest.”

(the Old Babylonian Version continues)

Gilgamesh opened his mouth,
Saying to [Enkidu]:

"Who, my friend can scale he[aven]?
Only the gods [live] forever under the sun.
As for mankind, numbered are their days;
Whatever they achieve is but the wind!
Even here thou art afraid of death.
What of thy heroic might?
Let me go then before thee,
Let thy mouth call to me, 'Advance, fear not!'
Should I fall, I shall have made me a name:
'Gilgamesh'—they will say—against fierce Huwawa
Has fallen!' (Long) after
My offspring has been born in my house,”

(obscure; 18-21 mutilated)

["Thus calling] to me, thou hast grieved my heart.
[My hand] I will poise
And [will fell] the cedars.
A [name] that endures I will make for me!
[...] my friend, the smith I will commission,
[Weapons] they shall cast in our presence.
[...] the smith they commissioned,
The artisans sat down to discuss it).
Mighty adzes they cast;
Axes of three talents each they cast.
Mighty swords they cast—
The blades, two talents each,
The knobs on their sheaths, thirty minas each,

Lit. "men."

Reading it-to-al-gi-di-ma.
For this idiom cf. Schott, ZA, xlii (1914), 107.
The noun ta-ah-bi-a-tum is generally derived from tappû and taken to refer, in the sense of "female companions," to "Enkidu's sorrow at the loss of his Love"; cf. Thompson, EG, 20. The context, however, would seem to favor Schott's derivation as based on nubbû "to wall," loc. cit., 107.
Lit. "has bound my neck veins."
Lit. "double-hours," a measure of distance as well as of time.

Lit. "men."
of the swords, thirty minas gold each. Gilgamesh and Enkidu were each laden with ten talents. [In the] gate of Uruk, whose bolts are seven, [... ] the populace gathered. [... ] in the street of broad-marted Uruk. [... ] Gilgamesh [... ] of broad-marted [Uruk]. [... ] sat down before him, [Sp]eaking [... ]:
"[...] of broad-marted [Uruk]."
(one line missing)

"Him of whom they speak, I, Gilgamesh, would see, At whose name the lands are ever in terror. I will conquer him in the Cedar Forest! How strong is the offspring of Uruk I will cause the lands to hear! My hand I will poise and will fell the cedars, A name that endures I will make for me!"

The elders of broad-marted Uruk Said to Gilgamesh in reply:
"Thou art yet young, Gilgamesh, thy heart has carried thee away.
That which thou wouldst achieve thou knowest not.
We hear that Huwawa is wondrous in appearance; Who is there to face his weapons?
For ten thousand leagues extends the forest; Who is there that would go down into it?
Huwawa—his roaring is the storm-flood, His mouth is fire, his breath is death! Why dost thou wish to do this thing?
An unequal struggle is (tangling with) the siege engine, When Gilgamesh heard this speech Huwawa,
of his counsellors, He looked round, smiling, towards [his] friend:
"Now, my friend, thus...",(Rest of the speech destroyed. When the text again becomes intelligible, the elders are addressing Gilgamesh):
"May thy god [protect] thee. [May he lead thee] on the road back in safety.
To the landing-place at Uruk [may he bring thee back]!"

Gilgamesh kneels down [before Shamash], The words which he speaks [... ]:
"I go, O Shamash, my hands [raised up in prayer].
May it henceforth be well with my soul.
Bring me back to the landing-place at [Uruk]; Establish [over me] (thy) protection!"
Gilgamesh called [his] friend [And inspected] his omen.

(This appears to have been unfavorable, for the text continues after a small break:)

Tears run down [the face] of Gilgamesh:
When the elders heard this speech of his, They sent [off] the hero upon his way: “Go, Gilgamesh, may [ . . . ], May thy god [be at thy side].”

ASSYRIAN VERSION: Tablet III

The beginning of this section links up with column vi of the preceding so that there is only a slight overlap.

(i)


He who goes in front saves the companion; He who knows the path protects his friend. Let Enkidu go in front of thee.

He knows the way to the Cedar Forest, He has seen battle, is versed in combat.

Enkidu shall protect the friend, safeguard the companion.

Over the pitfalls he shall carry his body! We, the Assembly, entrust the King to thee.

Deliver thou back the King unto us!”

Gilgamesh opened his mouth to speak, Saying to Enkidu: “Up, my friend, let us go to Egalmah, To the presence of Ninsun, the great Queen.

Ninsun, the wise, who is versed in all knowledge, Will lend reasoned steps to our feet.”

Grasping each other, hand in hand, Gilgamesh and Enkidu go to Egalmah, To the presence of Ninsun, the great Queen.

Gilgamesh came forward as he entered [the palace]: “O Ninsun, I make bold [ . . . ]

A far journey, to the place of Humbaba. An uncertain battle” [I am about to face],

An uncertain [road I am about to travel]. [Until the day that I go and return],

[Until I reach the Cedar Forest], [And banish from the land all evil, hateful to Shamash], [Pray thou to Shamash on my behalf]”

(The above restorations are based on column ii 12 ff. The remainder of the break cannot be restored.)

(ii)

[Ninsun] entered [her chamber],

[ . . . ]

She put on a garment] as beseems her bo[dy],

[She put on an ornament] as beseems her breast,

[ . . . ] and donned her tiara.

[ . . . ] the ground . . .

* In accordance with Landsberger’s reading (cf. n.70, above) and a personal suggestion by Goetze, the first word should be [i]-na-ka. I read the last word of this line tu4ki.[ii].

* “The Great Palace.”

* Reading ag-da-sir, with Landsberger, ZA, xxii (1934), 114. n.3. For the meaning, cf. the D-form agdallasu “who lords it,” i, iv, 46.

* Lit. “a battle I know not.”

She cl[imbed the stairs], mounted to the parapet, Ascended the [roof], to Shamash offered incense. The smoke-offering set up, to Shamash she raised her hands:

“Why, having given me Gilgamesh for a son, With a restless heart didst thou endow him?

And now thou didst affect him to go On a far journey, to the place of Humbaba, To face an uncertain battle, To travel an uncertain road!

Until the day that he goes and returns, Until he reaches the Cedar Forest, Until he has slain the fierce Humbaba, And has banished from the land all evil thou dost hate— In day time, when thou . . . ,

May Aya, thy bride, fearlessly” remind thee, And may she [commend] him to the watchmen of the night!”

(remainder of the tablet destroyed)

Tablet IV

For this tablet, and for several of the following, the sequence of the extant texts is at times uncertain since the context must be pieced together from scattered Assyrian fragments and from such additions as have come to light elsewhere, particularly at Boğazköy (in Hittite as well as in Akkadian). The arrangement here followed has been adopted from A. Schott, cf. ZA, xlili (1934), 113 ff. No existing fragments can be assigned with certainty to any of the first columns of the Assyrian Version. A small portion of the missing record of the journey to the Cedar Forest is preserved on a fragment from Uruk, published by A.

* Reading, with two of the copies (cf. ZA, xliii, 112 n.1) li-i a-a i-dur-ka “may she not fear thee.”

* cf. Oppenheim, Orientalia, xvii (1948), 33 f.
When he goes [in front], he guards himself
And safeguards the companion.

[Even though] they fa[ll], they have made a name.
[At the] green [mountain] the two arrived. (40)
Their words were [silence], they themselves stood still.

Tablet V

(i)
They stood still and gazed at the forest,
They looked at the height of the cedars,
They looked at the entrance to the forest.
Where Humbaba was wont to walk was a path;
Straight were the tracks and good was the going.
They beheld the cedar mountain, abode of the gods,
Throne-seat of Innini.

From the face of the mountain
The cedars87 raise aloft their luxuriance.
Good is their shade, full of delight.
There is cover in their brushwood, cover in their [...].

(The remainder of the column is missing or mutilated, and the same applies to column iii. An Akkadian fragment from Bogazköy—published by E. F. Weidner, KUB, iv [1922], 12, and Pl. 48—helps to fill in some of the gaps while duplicating other parts.)

They grasped each other to go for their nightly rest.
Sleep overcame [them]—the surge of the night.
At midnight, sleep [departed] from him.88
A dream he tells to Enkidu, [his] friend:
"If thou didst not arouse me, why [am I awake]?
Enkidu, my friend, I must have seen a dream!
Didst thou arouse me? Why [...]?

Aside from my first dream, a second [dream] I saw:
In my dream, my friend, a mountain [toppled].
It laid me low, taking hold of my feet [...].
The glare was overpowering! A man [appeared].
The fairest in the land was he; his grace [...].
From under the mountain he pulled me out,
Gave me water to drink; my heart qui[eted].
On the ground he set [my] feet."

Enkidu said to this god [...],
To Gilgamesh: "My friend, let us go [...]."

(remainder fragmentary)

(ii)
"[The other] dream which I saw:
In [mountain gorges] [...]
A mountain [toppled] [...]
Like small reed flies we [...]."
Who was born on the steppe, Enkidu, said to his friend, explaining the dream: "My friend, favorable is thy dream, the dream is most precious. The mountain, my friend, which thou sawest, is Humbaba. We shall seize Humbaba, shall kill him, and shall cast his corpse on the plain."

At twenty leagues they broke off a morsel; at thirty (further) leagues they prepared for the night. Before Shamash they dug a well. Gilgamesh went up to the mountain, his fine-meal he offered up. "Mountain, bring me a dream! Furnish for him!"

The mountain brought a dream for Enkidu, it furnished for him. A cold shower passed over him; it made him lie down, and like mountain barley. Gilgamesh plants his chin on his knees. Sleep, which is shed on mankind, fell on him. In the middle watch he ended his sleep. He started up, saying to his friend: "My friend, didst thou not call me? Why am I awake? Didst thou not touch me? Why am I startled? Did not some god go by? Why is my flesh numb? My friend, I saw a third dream, and the dream that I saw was wholly awesome! The heavens shrieked, the earth boomed, daylight failed, darkness came. Lightning flashed, a flame shot up, the clouds swelled, it rained death! Then the glow vanished, the fire went out, and all that had fallen was turned to ashes. Let us go down! Outside we can take counsel."

Thereupon Huwawa replied to Gilgamesh: "Let me go, Gilgamesh; thou wilt be my master, and I shall be thy servant. And of the trees which I have grown, I shall... strong... cut down and houses..."

But Enkidu said to Gilgamesh: "To the word which Huwawa has spoken, hark not: let not Huwawa..."

Then Huwawa let up. Thereupon Huwawa replied to Gilgamesh: "Let me go, Gilgamesh; thou wilt be my master, and I shall be thy servant. And of the trees which I have grown, I shall..."

When Gilgamesh had put on his tiara, Glorious Ishtar raised an eye at the beauty of Gilgamesh: "Come, Gilgamesh, be thou my lover! Do but grant me of thy fruit. I will harness for thee a chariot of lapis and gold, whose wheels are gold and whose horns are brass."

He washed his grimy hair, polished his weapons. The braid of his hair he shook out against his back. He cast off his soiled things, put on his clean ones, wrapped a fringed cloak about and fastened a sash. When Gilgamesh had put on his tiara, Glorious Ishtar raised an eye at the beauty of Gilgamesh: "Come, Gilgamesh, be thou (my) lover! Do but grant me of thy fruit. Thou shalt be my husband and I will be thy wife. I will harness for thee a chariot of lapis and gold, whose wheels are gold and whose horns are brass."
Thou shalt have storm-demons to hitch on for mighty mules.

In the fragrance of cedars thou shalt enter our house.

When our house thou enterest,
Threshold (and) dais shall kiss thy feet!

Humbled before thee shall be kings, lords, and princes!

The yield of hills and plain they shall bring thee as tribute.

Thy goats shall cast triplets, thy sheep twins,
Thy chariot horses shall be famed for racing,
[Thine ox] under yoke shall not have a rival!!

[Gilgamesh] opened his mouth to speak,
[Saying] to glorious Ishtar:
["What am I to give thee, that I may take thee in marriage?

Should I give oil for the body, and clothing?
Should I give] bread and victuals?
[...] food fit for divinity,
[...] drink fit for royalty.

(mu[t]lated)

[... if I] take thee in marriage?
[Thou art but a brazier which goes out]

A palace which crushes the valiant [...];
A turban whose cover [...];
Pitch which [soils] its bearers;
A waterskin which cuts its bearer;
Limestone which springs the stone rampart;
A siege engine which des[troy]s the enemy land; (40)
A shoe which pinches [the foot] of its owner!
Which lover didst thou love forever?
Which of thy shepherds pleased [thee for all time]?
Come, and I will [name thy lovers]:

Of ... [...]...
For Tammuz, the lover of thy youth,
Thou hast ordained wailing year after year.

Having loved the dappled shepherd-bird,
Thou smotest him, breaking his wing.

In the grooves he sits, crying "My wing!"
Then thou lovedst a lion, perfect in strength;
Seven pits and seven thou didst dig for him.
Then a stallion thou lovedst, famed in battle;
The whip, the spur, and the lash thou ordainedst for him.

Thou decreedst for him to gallop seven leagues,

Thou decreedst for him the muddied to drink;
For his mother, Silili, thou ordainedst wailing!
Then thou lovedst the keeper of the herd,
Who ash-cakes ever did heap up for thee,
Daily slaughtered kids for thee,
Yet thou smoteest him, turning him into a wolf,
So that his own herd boys drive him off,
And his dogs bite his thighs.

Then thou lovedst Ishullanu, thy father's gardener,
Who baskets of dates ever did bring to thee,
And daily did brighten thy table.

Thine eyes raised at him, thou didst go to him:
"O my Ishullanu, let us taste of thy vigor!
Put forth thy "hand" and touch our "modesty!"

Ishullanu said to thee:
"What dost thou want with me?
I have my mother not baked, have I not eaten,
That I should taste the food of stench and foulness?

Does reed-work afford cover against the cold?
As thou didst hear this [his talk],
Thou smoteest him and turn[edst] him into a mole.
Thou placest him in the midst of...

He cannot go up... nor can he come down...
If thou shouldst love me, thou wouldst [treat me] like them..."

When Ishtar heard this,
Ishtar was enraged and [mounted] to heaven. (80)

Forth went Ishtar to weep before Anu, her father,

Her tea[rs] flow in the presence of Antum, her mother:
"My father, Gilgamesh has heaped insults upon me!
Gilgamesh has recounted my stinking deeds,
My stench and my foulness!"

Anu opened his mouth to speak,
Saying to glorious Ishtar:
"Art thou the father? Didst thou not quarrel with king Gilgamesh?

And so Gilgamesh has recounted thy stinking deeds,
Thy stench and [thy] foulness."

Gilgamesh opened her mouth to speak,
Saying to An[u], her father:
"My father, please give me the Bull of Heaven that he
smite [king] Gilgamesh... in his home.
[And] fill Gil[gamesh ...]!
If thou [dost not] give me [the Bull of Heaven],
I will smash [the doors of the nether world],
I will pla[ce those above] below,
I will raise up the dead eating (and) alive,
So that the dead shall outnumber the living!"

Anu opened his mouth [to speak],
I will raise up the dead eating (and) alive,
So that the dead shall outnumber the living!"
Saying to glorious Ishtar:

"If thou dost desire of me the Bull of Heaven,
[There will be] in the land of Uruk seven years of (barren) husks.
Hast thou gathered [grain against the (years of barren) husks?]
Hast thou grown grass [for the beasts]?

[Ishtar opened her mouth] to speak,
[Saying to Anu, her father:
"[Grain for the people] I have stored,
[Grass for the beasts] I have provided.
[If there should be seven] years of husks,
[I have gathered] grain for the people,
[I have grown] grass [for the beasts]."

(Lines 114-116, which contained the rest of Ishtar's speech, are missing. For lines 117-131 see p. 505.)

Enkidu opened his mouth to speak,
Saying [to Gilgamesh]:
"My friend, we have gloried [ ... ]."

(Lines 135-49 mutilated, but the course of the battle is made plain by the following:)

Between neck and horns [he thrust] his sword.
When they had slain the Bull, they tore out his heart,
Placing it before Shamash.
They drew back and did homage before Shamash.
The two brothers sat down.

Then Ishtar mounted the wall of ramparted Uruk,
Sprang on the battlements, uttering a curse:
"Woe unto Gilgamesh because he insulted me"
By slaying the Bull of Heaven!"
When Enkidu heard this speech of Ishtar,
He threw the right thigh of the Bull of Heaven,
Tossing it in her face:
"Could I but get thee, like unto him.
I would do unto thee.
His entrails I would hang at thy side!"
(Hereupon) Ishtar assembled the votaries,
The (pleasure-)lasses and the (temple-)harlots.
Over the right thigh of the Bull of Heaven she set up a wail.

But Gilgamesh called the craftsmen, the armorers,
All (of them).

The artisans admire the thickness of his horns:
Each is cast from thirty minas of lapis;
The coating on each is two fingers (thick); (170)
Six measures of oil, the capacity of the two,
He offered as ointment to his god, Lugalbanda.
He brought (them) and hung them in his princely bed-chamber. (115)

In the Euphrates they washed their hands,
They embraced each other as they went on,
Riding through the market-street of Uruk.
The people of Uruk are gathered to gaze [upon them].
Gilgamesh to the lyre maids (of Uruk)
Says (these) words:
"Who is most splendid among the heroes?
Who is most glorious among men?"
"Gilgamesh is most splendid among the heroes,
[ Gilgamesh is most glorious among men."

(Tabk VII)

The first two columns of this tablet are missing in the Assyrian Version. Enkidu's dream, however, is the subject of KUB, viii, 48, and this Hittite text has been dealt with by J. Friedrich in ZA, xxxix (1939), 16-19. See p. 505.

[ ... ] ... Then daylight came.
[And] Enkidu answered Gilgamesh:
"[He]ar the dream which I had last night:
Anu, Enlil, Ea, and heavenly Shamash
[Were in council].
And Anu said to Enlil:
'Because the Bull of Heaven they have slain, and Huwawa
They have slain, therefore'—said Anu—'the one of them Who stripped the mountains of the cedar
[Must die!]'
But Enlil said: 'Enkidu must die;
Gilgamesh, however, shall not die!' (10)

Then heavenly Shamash answered valiant Enlil:
'Was it not at my command'

112 The Bull's.
113 For this meaning of ish(a)bdw cf. Oppenheim, loc. cit., 40, n.2. The singular is common in the Nuzi texts.
114 The gur-measure was the equivalent of about 250 quarts.
115 For this meaning of urli hammi cf. Landsberger, MAOG, iv (1928/29), 299, n.2.
116 The context calls clearly for musicians or singers, not servant girls; hence neither impunu (cf. n.111) nor tukdu can underlie the present term. However, Heb. nebel "psaltery" suggests an excellent semantic and morphological background.
117 Catch-line of the following tablet.
118 Text "thy." See, however, Schott, GE, 45, n.1.
That they slew the Bull of Heaven and Huwawa?
Should now innocent
Enkidu die? But Enlil turned
In anger to heavenly Shamash: "Because, much like
One of their comrades, thou didst daily go down to
them."
Enkidu lay down (ill) before Gilgamesh.
And as his tears were streaming down, (he said):
"O my brother, my dear brother! Me they would
Clear at the expense of my brother!"

Furthermore:
"Must I by the spirit (of the dead)
Sit down, at the spirit's door,
Never again [to behold] my dear brother with (mine)
eyes?"
(The remainder is lost. In a deathbed review of his life, Enkidu seems to bemoan the events that had led up to this sorry state, cursing the successive steps in his fated life. One of his curses, preserved in an Assyrian fragment, is directed against the gate that lamed his fated life. One of his curses, preserved in an Assyrian fragment, is directed against the gate that lamed his fated life.

Enkidu [. . .] lifted up [his eyes],
(Speaking with the door as though [it were human]:
"Thou door of the woods, uncomprehending,
Not endowed with understanding!
At twenty leagues away I found choice thy wood,
(Long) before I beheld the lofty cedar.
There is no counterpart of thy wood [in the land].
Six dozen cubits is thy height, two dozen thy breadth [. . .].
Thy pole, thy pole-ferrule, and thy pole-knob [. . .].
A master-craftsmen in Nippur built thee [. . .].
Had I known, O door, that this [would come to pass]
And that this [thy] beauty [. . .],
I would have lifted the axe, would have [. . .],
I would have set a reed frame upon [thee]!"

(See the Supplement.)

(iii)
Destroy his wealth, diminish his power!
May his [way be repugnant] before thee.
May [the beasts he would trap] escape from before him.
[Let not] the hunter at[tain] the fullness of his heart!"
[Then his] heart prompted (him) to curse [the harlot-lass]:
"Come, lass, I will decree (thy) fate,
[A fa]ce that shall not end for all eternity!

I will curse thee with a great curse,
With great speed let my curses attack thee.
Thou shalt not build a house for thy charms. (10)
(See p. 505.)

... which is over people shall not be ... in thy house.
[. . .] the road shall be thy dwelling place,
[The shadow of the wall] shall be thy station,
[. . .] thy feet,
[The besotted and the thirsty shall smite thy cheek]! (25)
(mutilated)

Because me [thou hast ...]
And because [ . . . ] upon me."

When Shamash heard [these words] of his mouth,
Forthwith he called down to him [from] heaven:
"Why, O Enkidu, curset thou the harlot-lass,
Who made thee eat food fit for divinity,
And gave thee to drink wine fit for royalty,
Who clothed thee with noble garments,
And made thee have fair Gilgamesh for a comrade?
And has (not) now Gilgamesh, thy bosom friend,
Made thee lie on a noble couch?
He has made thee lie on a couch of honor,
Has placed thee on the seat of ease, the seat at the left,
That [the princes] of the earth may kiss thy feet!
He will make Uruk's people weep over thee (and) lament,
Will fill [joyful] people with woe over thee.
And, when thou art gone,!
He will his body with uncut hair invest,
Will don a lion skin and roam over the steppe."

[When] Enkidu [heard] the words of valiant Shamash,
[. . .] his vexed heart grew quiet.
(Short break. Relenting, Enkidu changes his curse into a blessing. He addresses himself once again to the girl:) "Come, lass, I will decree thy fate,
(iv)
My mouth which cursed thee shall turn and bless thee.
Governors and nobles shall love thee.
He who is one league away shall smite his thigh."
He who is two leagues away shall shake his hair.
[. . . the young] shall unloose his girdle.
[. . .] carnelian, lapis, and gold.
May he be paid [back] who defiled thee,
[May his home be emptied], his heaped-up storehouse.
[To the presence of] the gods [the priest] shall let thee enter,

119 Text "his."
120 Referring to Gilgamesh; cf. Friedrich, loc. cit., 51.
121 The episode of the gate (K. 1588, GET 1, Pls. 14-15) was assigned by Thompson to the beginning of Tablet IV. See, however, Schott, ZA, xi.11 (1914), 113 ff.
122 For the meaning of the terms employed in this line cf. my note in JCS, u (1948/49), 235 ff.
123 Perhaps w-asar-ki-da "made ride upon."
124 Reading :i-mi-il-la.
[On thy account] shall be forsaken the wife, (though) a mother of seven." (10)

[... Enki]du, whose mood is bitter,
[...] lies down all alone.

That night [he pours out] his feelings to his friend:
"... My friend, I saw a dream last night: The heavens shouted, the earth responded;(" 180

While I was standing between them
(There was) a young man whose face was dark,
Like unto Zu was his face.
[... like] the talons of an eagle were his claws.
[... ] he overpowered me.
[... ] he leaps.
[... ] he submerged me.

(mutilated or missing) (23-30)

[... ]... he transformed me,
So that my arms were [...] like those of a bird.
Looking at me, he leads me to the House of Darkness,
The abode of Irlkallu,
To the house which none leave who have entered it,
On the road from which there is no way back,
To the house wherein the dwellers are bereft of light,
Where dust is their fare and clay their food.
They are clothed like birds, with wings for garments,
And see no light, residing in darkness."

In the House of Dust, which I entered, I looked at [rulers], their crowns put away;
I [saw princes], those (born to) the crown,
Who had ruled the land from the days of yore.
[These doubl]e[139] of Anu and Enlil were serving meat roasts;
They were serving bake[meats] and pouring
Cool water from the waterskins.
In the House of Dust, which I entered,
Reside High Priest and acolyte,
Reside incantatory and ecstatic,
Reside the laver-anointers of the great gods,
Resides Etana,133 resides Sumuqan.134
Ereshkigal [lives there], Queen of the nether world,
[And Beli-Seri, recorder of the nether world, kneels]
before her.
[She holds a tablet] and reads out to her.
[Lifting] up her head, she beheld me:
[Saying: `Who has brought this one hither?"

(The remainder of the tablet in the Assyrian Version is missing. The following fragment [GETh, 34; Pls. 15-16] may be relevant, as argued by Schott, ZA, xlII [1924], 113 ff.)

"Remember all my travels [with him]!"
My friend saw a dream whose [portents] were unfavorable:

Tablet VIII

(The extant texts of the Nineveh version contain only a few fragmentary lines of the first column of this Tablet. The gap has recently been filled in part by the Sultantepe text S.U. 51, 7, published by O. R. Gurney, with transliteration, translation and textual notes, in JCS, viii (1954), 99-95. The reverse duplicates for the most part the Nineveh material for column ii and has therefore been incorporated in the lines which follow. They contain the lament of Gilgamesh uttered before the elders of Uruk at the deathbed of Enkidu:)

"Hear me, 0 elders [and give ear] unto me!
It is for Enkidu, my friend, that I weep,
Moaning bitterly like a wailing woman.
The axe at my side, my hand’s trust,..'
The dirk in my belt, the shield in front of me,
My festal robe, my richest trimming—
An evil demon rose up and robbed me!
O my younger137 friend, thou chasedst
The wild ass138 of the hills, the panther of the steppe!
Enkidu, my younger friend, thou who chasedst
The wild ass of the hills, the panther of the steppe!
We who [have conquered all things, scaled
the mountains,
Who seized the Bull [and slew him],
Brought affliction139 on Hubaba,140 who [dwelled] in the Cedar Forest!
What, now, is this sleep that has laid hold on thee?
Thou art benighted and canst not hear [me]!"
But he lifts not up his head;

139 In CT, xlii, 24 read: [i]-[r]-a-da. Cf. ii-[ ... ] in 79-7-8, 320 (GETh, pl. 27) and iv(?)-[ma]-ma in UET, vi, No. 354:51.
140 Lines 35-39 are paralleled in Decent of Ishtar, obv. 4-10.
131 The verb Ispalü offers a close semantic parallel to Heb. pg “touch, afflict.”
131a Variant of Humbaba, the Huwawa of the Old Babylonian and Bogazkoy texts.
He touched his heart, but it does not beat.  
Then he veiled (his) friend like a bride [...],  
Storming over him like a lion,  
Like a lioness deprived of (her) whelps.

He paces back and forth before [the couch],  
Pulling out (his) hair and strewing [it ...],  
Tearing off and flinging down (his) finery,  
[As though] uncle[lean]141

With the first glow [of dawn], Gil[gamesh ...].  

(long break)

(iii)

"On a couch [of honor I made thee lie]."142  
I placed thee [on the seat of ease, the seat at the left],  
That the princes of the earth [might kiss thy feet]!  
Over thee I will make [Uruk's] people weep (and) [lament],  
Joyful people [I will fill with woe over thee].  
And, when thou art gone,  
[I shall invest my body with uncut hair],  
And, clad in a [lion] skin, [I shall roam over the steppe]!"

With the first glow of dawn, [Gilgamesh]  
Loosened his band [...].

(The remainder of the tablet is missing or too fragmentary for translation, with the exception of the following lines:)

(v)

With the first glow of dawn, Gilgamesh fashioned [...],  
Brought out a large table of elammaqu wood,  
Filled with honey a bowl of carnelian,  
Filled with curds a bowl of lapis,  
[...] he decorated and exposed to the sun.

Tablet IX

(i)

For Enkidu, his friend, Gilgamesh  
Weeps bitterly, as he ranges over the steppe:  
"When I die, shall I not be like Enkidu?  
Woe has entered my belly.  
Fearing death, I roam over the steppe.  
To Utnapishtim,148 Ubar-Tutu's146 son,  
I have taken the road to proceed in all haste.  
When arriving by night at mountain passes,  
I saw lions and grew afraid,  
I lifted my head to Sin' to pray.  
[... of the gods went out my orisons.  
[... preserve thou me!"

141 The new Gurney fragment, Anatolian Studies, 11, 37, appears to read a-ra[k-ki]l? "like a thing proscribed, taboo."
142 cf. VII, iii, 41 ff.
143 For Utnapishtim (Old Babylonian Utanapishtim), Mesopotamian hero of the Flood—Sumerian Ziusudra and Greek Xisouthros—cf. Th. Jacobsen, The Sumerian King List (1939), 76-77, n.34.
144 On this name see Jacobsen, op. cit., 75-76, n.32.
145 The moon-god.

As at night he lay, he awoke from a dream.  
There were [...], rejoicing in life.  
He raised his axe in his hand,  
He drew [the dirk] from his belt.  
Like an ar[row] he descended among them.  
He smote [them] and hacked away at them.

(The remainder of the column is broken away. When he next appears, Gilgamesh had arrived before a mountain.)

(ii)

The name of the mountain is Mashu.  
When [he arrived] at the mountain range146 of Mashu,  
Which daily keeps watch over sun[rise and sunset]—  
Whose peaks14' [reach to] the vault of heaven  
(And) whose breasts reach to the nether world below—  
Scorpion-men guard its gate,  
Whose terror is awesome and whose glance was death.  
Their shimmering148 halo sweeps the mountains  
That at sunrise and sunset keep watch over the sun.

When Gilgamesh beheld them, with fear (10)  
And terror was darkened his face.  
Regaining148 his composure, he approached them.  
A scorpion-man calls to his wife:  
"He who has come to us—his body is the flesh of the gods!"

His wife answers the scorpion-man:  
"Two-thirds of him is god, one-third of him is human."  
[The scori]on-man calls to the fellow,  
Addressing (these) words [to the offspring] of the gods:  
"[Why hast thou come on this] far journey?  
[Why hast thou arrived] before me, (20)  
[Traversing seas]150 whose crossings are difficult?  
[The purpose of thy com]ing I would learn."

(remainder of the column broken away)

(iii)

(Lines 1-2 destroyed. Gilgamesh replies:)  
"On account of Utnapishtim, my father, [have I come],  
Who joined the Assembly [of the gods, in search of life].  
About death and life [I wish to ask him]."

The scorpion-man opened his mouth [to speak],  
Saying to [Gilgamesh]:  
"Never was there, Gilgamesh, [a mortal who could achieve that]."151  
The mountain's trail no one [has traveled].  
For twelve leagues [extends its] interior.  
Dense is the darkness and [light there is] none.  
To the rising of the sun [...];  
To the setting of the sun [...]."

(remainder mutilated or broken)

146 For this passage cf. H. and J. Lewy, HUCA, xvi (1945), 13 ff.
147 Since the name means "twins" in Akkadian, it is treated in the text either as singular or plural.
148 cf. Oppenheim, Orientalia, xvi (1948), 46, n.3.
149 Reading is-bat. Lit. "he seized his sense and."
150 For the restoration cf. Heidel, Ge, 66, n.141.
151 ibid.
(iv)

(top missing)

“Whether in sorrow [or pain],
In cold or [heat],
Sighing [or weeping—I will go].
Now [open the gate of the mountain]!”
The scorpion-man [opened his mouth to speak];
To Gilgamesh he [says]:
“Go, Gilg[amesh... .].
The mountains of Mushu [...].
The mountains (and) ranges [...].
In safety may [...].
The gate of the mountain [is open to thee]!”
When Gilg[amesh heard this],
To the word [of the scorpion-man he gave heed].
Along the road of the sun [he went].
When one league [he had attained],
Dense is the dark[ness and light there is none];
He can [see nothing ahead or behind].
When two leagues [he had attained]

(v)

(top broken)

When four leagues [he had attained],
Dense is the dark[ness and light there is none];
He can [see nothing ahead or behind].
When five leagues [he had attained],
Dense is the dark[ness and light there is none];
He can [see nothing ahead or behind].
[When six league]s he [had attained],
Dense is the darkness and [light there is none];
He can [see nothing ahead or behind].
When seven leagues he had attained,
Dense is the darkness and [light there is none];
He can [see nothing ahead or behind].
Eight leagues he has tr[aveled] and he cries out.
Dense is the dark[ness and] light there is none;
He can [see nothing ahead or behind].
Nine leagues [he has traveled and he feels] the north wind
[... fan]ning his face.154
[Dense is the darkness and] light there is [none];
[He can see nothing at] head or behind.
[When ten leagues] he [had attained],
[... ] is near;
[...] of the league.

152 Apparently from east to west; cf. X (Old Babylonian Version), iv, 11.
In favor of this direction may be cited the fact that the ale-wife Siduri, whom Gilg[amesh encounters in the course of his present journey, is a Hurrian term for “young woman” used to describe Ḫebat, a form of Ishtar in the Hurrian texts; cf. e.g. KUB, xxxvi, 35, iv, 8; 43; obs. 23. Note also the Hurrian fragment of the epic, KUB, viii, 61, which writes this name with 3 (line 4), thus confirming Jensen’s old suggestion that Siduri and S[du]ri should be equated.
153 Lit. “It permits him not [to see the fr]ont of it or his back”; restored from col. v, 34 and 41.
154 For the entire passage cf. Oppenheim, loc. cit., 47.

[When eleven leagues he had attained], the dawn breaks.155
[And when he attained twelve leagues], it had grown bright.
On seeing the grove of stones, he heads for [...].156
The carnelian bears its fruit;
It is hung with vines good to look at.
The lapis bears foliage;
It, too, bears fruit lush to behold.

(vi)

(This entire column is mutilated or lost. What little remains suggests a further account of the marvels to be seen in this garden of jewels.)

Tablet X

This tablet, which traces further the successive stages in Gilgamesh’s quest of immortality, happens to be represented by as many as four separate versions. Two of these, however, the Hittite (cf. ZA, xxxix [1929], 20 ff.) and the Hurrian (cf. ZA, xxxv [1924], 133 ff.), are extant only in fragments that are too slight for connected translation. Substantial portions are available, on the other hand, in the Old Babylonian and Assyrian recensions. The Old Babylonian material was published by B. Meissner, MVAG, vii (1902).

OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION

(i)

(top broken away)

“[... ]...
With their skins [he clothes himself].157 as he eats flesh.
[...]... O Gilgamesh, which has not happened
As long as my wind drives the waters.”
Shamash was distraught, as he betook himself to him;
He says to Gilgamesh:
“Gilgamesh, whither rovest thou?
The life thou pursuest thou shalt not find.”
Gilgamesh says to him, to valiant Shamash:
“After marching (and) roving over the steppe,
Must I lay my head in the heart of the earth
That I may sleep through all the years?
Let mine eyes behold the sun
That I may have my fill of the light!
Darkness withdraws when there is enough light.
May one who indeed is dead behold yet the radiance of the sun!”

(ii)

(Beginning lost. Gilgamesh is addressing Siduri, the ale-wife:)

“He who with me underwent all hard[ships]—
Enkidu, whom I loved dearly,
Who with me underwent all hardships—
Has now gone to the fate of mankind!
Day and night I have wept over him.
I would not give him up for burial—

155 ibid.
156 ibid.
157 Supplying [il-ta-ba-all].
In case my friend should rise at my plaint—
Seven days and seven nights,
Until a worm fell out of his nose.
Since his passing I have not found life,
I have roamed like a hunter in the midst of the steppe.
O ale-wife, now that I have seen thy face,
Let me not see the death which I ever dread.”
The ale-wife said to him, to Gilgamesh:

(See the Supplement.)

(iv)
In his wrath he shatters them.
When he returned, he goes up to him.
Sursunabu his eyes behold.
Sursunabu says to him, to Gilgamesh:
“Tell me, thou, what is thy name?
I am Sursunabu, (he) of Utanapishtim the Faraway.”
Gilgamesh said to him, to Sursunabu:
“As for me, Gilgamesh is my name,
Who have traversed the mountains,
A distant journey, as the sun rises.”
O Sursunabu, now that I have seen thy face,
Show me Utanapishtim the Faraway.”
Sursunabu [says] to him, to Gilgamesh.

(See the Supplement.)

188 For this approximate meaning of the particle -man, cf. ZA, xl (1931), 200, n.4.
189 Reading s-adil
189a Interpreting bi-su-ur-tu as the imperative form hitaddu, with Landsberger, ZA, xlii (1934), 134, n.1.
190 See the booteam.
191 The Urshanabi of the Assyrian Version. For a suggested value zur as a reading of the first syllable in the Assyrian form of the name cf. A. Poebel, AOS, lvi (1937), 54, n.22.
192 Assyrian Utanapishtim. Perhaps “I have found life,” (in a somewhat anomalous grammatical construction), in contrast to the warning kalلام لا تفتيح (i, 8; iii, 2) “life thou shalt not find,” with which Gilgamesh is confronted.
193 This time the entire phrase seems to be treated as a grammatical compound, which would explain the Akkadian genitive as referring to the whole; unless, of course, an error is to be assumed.
194 Reading la ci-su-na-am, with W. von Soden, ZA, xlii (1934), 135.
195 For this approximate meaning of the particle -man, cf. ZA, xl (1931), 200, n.4.
196 Reading s-adil
197 Interpreting bi-su-ur-tu as the imperative form hitaddu, with Landsberger, ZA, xlii (1934), 134, n.1.
199 The Urshanabi of the Assyrian Version. For a suggested value zur as a reading of the first syllable in the Assyrian form of the name cf. A. Poebel, AOS, lvi (1937), 54, n.22.
200 Assyrian Utanapishtim. Perhaps “I have found life,” (in a somewhat anomalous grammatical construction), in contrast to the warning kalلام لا تفتيح (i, 8; iii, 2) “life thou shalt not find,” with which Gilgamesh is confronted.
201 This time the entire phrase seems to be treated as a grammatical compound, which would explain the Akkadian genitive as referring to the whole; unless, of course, an error is to be assumed.
202 Reading la ci-su-na-am, with W. von Soden, ZA, xlii (1934), 135.
203 See above, p.152.
[As in quest of a wind-puff\(^{170}\) thou roamest over the steppe?]"

[Gilgamesh says to her, to the ale-wife]:

"[O ale-wife, why should my cheeks not be so wasted],
[So sunken my face],

[So sad my heart, so worn my features]?\(^\text{(50)}\)

[(Why) should there not be woe in my belly],
[My face not be like that of a wayfarer from afar],
[Not be so seared my countenance with cold and heat],
[And in quest of a wind-puff should I not roam over the steppe]?\(^{171}\)

[My younger friend],

[Who chased the wild ass of the hills, the panther of the steppe],

[Enkidu, my younger friend],

[Who chased the wild ass of the hills, the panther of the steppe],

[We who conquered all things, scaled the mountains],

\(\text{(ii)}\)

[Who seized the Bull of Heaven and slew him],

[Brought affliction on Humbaba who dwelled in the Cedar Forest]—

[My friend, whom I loved so dearly],

[Who underwent with me all hardships],

[Him has overtaken the fate of mankind]!

[Six days and seven nights I wept over him],

[Until the worm fell out of his nose],

[Fearing death, I roam over the steppe];

The matter of my friend [rests (heavy) upon me].

[On faraway paths] I roam [over the steppe];

The matter of Enkidu, [my friend, rests (heavy) upon me].

[How can I be silent? How can I be still?]

[My friend, whom I loved, has turned to clay!]

[Must I, too, like him, lay me down,

[Not to rise] again for ever and ever?"

[Gilgamesh] also says to her, to the ale-wife:

"[Now], ale-wife, which is the way to Utnapishtim?
[What are] its markers? Give me, O give me, its markers!
If it be seemly, the sea I will cross;
If it be not seemly, over the steppe I will range!"

[My friend, whom I loved so dearly],

[Who chased the wild ass of the hills, the panther of the steppe],

[Enkidu, my younger friend],

[Who chased the wild ass of the hills, the panther of the steppe],

[We who conquered all things, scaled the mountains],

\(\text{(iii)}\)

[Urshanabi said to him, to Gilgamesh:

"Why are thy cheeks wasted, is sunken [thy face],
[So sunken my face],

[My face not be like that of a wayfarer from afar],
[Not be so seared my countenance with cold and heat],
[And in quest of a wind-puff should I not roam over the steppe]?"

[Gilgamesh] said [to him], to [Urshanabi]:

"[Urshanabi, why should my] cheeks [not be so wasted],
[So sunken my face],

[My face not be like that of a wayfarer from afar],
[Not be so seared [my countenance with cold and heat],
[And in quest of a wind-puff should I not roam over the steppe]?"

[My younger friend],

[Who chased the wild ass of the hills, the panther of the steppe],

[Enkidu, my younger friend],

[Who chased the wild ass of the hills, the panther of the steppe],

[We who conquered all things, scaled the mountains],

[Who seized the Bull of Heaven and slew him],

[Brought affliction on Humbaba who dwelled in the Cedar Forest]—

[My friend, whom I loved so dearly],

[Who underwent with me all hardships],

\(\text{(20)}\)

And in between are the Waters of Death that bar its approaches!
Where then, O Gilgamesh, wouldst thou cross the sea?
On reaching the Waters of Death, what wouldst thou do?

Gilgamesh, there is Urshanabi,\(^{172}\) boatman to Utnapishtim.

With him are the Stone Things.\(^{173}\) In the woods he picks "urnû-snakes."

Go! Let thy face behold.
If it be suitable, cross thou with him;
If it be not suitable, draw thou back."

When Gilgamesh heard this,
He raised the axe in [his hand],
Drew the dirk [from his belt], slipped into (the forest),
And went down to them.\(^{174}\)

Like a spear he descended among them,

(See the Supplement.)

\(^{170}\) For \textit{lišī} \textit{ābī} Oppenheim, \textit{Orientalia}, xviii (1948), 49, proposes "mirage." We obtain, however, much the same sense by translating "wind-puff." Lit. "Depot, creation of the wind." cf. the \textit{sīiqu-amēlātu} "wind-puff people." E. Ebeling, \textit{Tod und Leben} (1931), 30 and 33, 35; and, below, XII, 82.

\(^{171}\) For this passage see the rendering of Leonard, \textit{Gilgamesh}, 47 ff.

\(^{172}\) Sarsunabu in Old Babylonian.


\(^{174}\) In referring to this passage, Landsberger, \textit{Fauna} (1934), 63, points out that the \textit{urnû}-snake has long been supposed to be a favorite with sailors. At all events, whatever the meaning of the term may be in the present connection, its properties seem to be on a par with those of the Stone Things.
Enkidu, my friend, whom I loved so dearly,
Who underwent with me all hardships
[Him] has overtaken [the fate of mankind]
Six days [and seven nights I wept over him],
Until [the worm fell out of his nose].
Fear death, I roam over the steppe,
The matter of my friend rests (heavy) upon me.
On [faraway] paths [I roam over the steppe],
[On] distant roads [I roam over the steppe];
[The matter of my friend rests (heavy) upon me].
How can I be silent? How can I be still?
My friend, whom I loved, has turned to clay!
Must I too, like him, lay me down,
[Not to rise again forever and ever]?

Gilgamesh (further) says to him, to Urshanabi:
"Now, Urshanabi, which is [the road to Utnapishtim]?
What are its markers? Give me, O give me, its markers!
If it be seemly, the sea I will cross;
If it be not seemly, [over the steppe I will range]."

Urshanabi said to him, to Gilgamesh:
"Thy hands, Gilgamesh, have hindered the crossing!
Thou hast broken the Stone Things, hast picked [the 'urnu'-snakes].
The Stone Things are broken, the 'urnu' is not [in the woods].
Gilgamesh, raise the axe in [thy hand],
Go down to the woods and [cut down twice-sixty] poles
Of sixty cubits each.
Apply the bitumen and attach ferrules;
Then bring (them) to me!"
When Gilgamesh [heard] this,
He raised the axe in his hand,
Drew [the dirk from his belt],
Went down to the woods and cut [twice-sixty poles]
Of sixty cubits each.
He applied the bitumen and attached the ferrules;
And he brought [them] to him.
Gilgamesh and Urshanabi boarded [the boat].
They launched the boat on the waves and they sailed away.
A run of a month and fifteen days they left behind by the third day.
Urshanabi arrived thus at the Waters [of Death].

(v)
Gilgamesh also said to him, to Utnapishtim:
"That now I might come and behold Utnapishtim,
Whom they call the Faraway,
I ranged and wandered over all the lands,
I traversed difficult mountains,
And I crossed all the seas!
My face was not sated with sweet sleep,
I fretted myself with wakefulness;
I filled my joints with misery.
I had not reached the ale-wife's house,
When my clothing was used up.
I [sl]ew bear, hyena, lion, panther,
Tiger, stag, [and] ibex—
The wild beasts and creeping things of the steppe.
Their flesh I ate and their skins I wrapped about me."

(vi)
"Do we build a house for ever?
Do we seal (contracts) for ever?
Do brothers divide shares for ever?
Does hatred persist for ever in the land?
Does the river for ever raise up (and) bring on floods?
The dragon-fly leaves [its] shell
That its face might (but) glance at the face of the sun.

176 For the remainder of the column cf. the Hitite recension, ZA, xxxix (1929), 28-25.
177 cf. Thompson, EG, 48, n.1; OLZ, 1940, 307.
Gilgamesh said to him, to Utanapishtim, the Faraway:
"As I look upon thee, Utanapishtim, Thy features are not strange; even as I art thou.
My heart had regarded thee as resolved to do battle,
[Yet] thou liest indolent upon thy back!
[Tell me,] how joinedst thou the Assembly of the gods, In thy quest of life?"

Utanapishtim said to him, to Gilgamesh:
"I will reveal to thee, Gilgamesh, a hidden matter
And a secret of the gods will I tell thee:
Shurippak—a city which thou knowest,
[(And) which on Euphrates'] [banks] is situate—
That city was ancient, (as were) the gods within it,
When their heart led the great gods to produce the flood.
[There] were Anu, their father,
Valiant Enlil, their counselor,
Ninurta, their assistant,
Ennuge, their irrigator. 182
Ninigi-Ku-Ea was also present with them;
Their words he repeats to the reed-hut:184
'REED-HUT! WALL! WALL!
REED-HUT, HEARKEN! WALL, REFLECT!
Man of Shuruppak,' 185 son of Ubar-Tutu,
Tear down (this) house, build a ship!
Give up possessions, seek thou life.
Forswear (worldly) goods and keep the soul alive!
Aboard the ship take thou the seed of all living things.
Must, red wine, oil, and white wine...

I opened his mouth to speak,
Saying to me, his servant:
'I have learned that Enlil is hostile to me,
She as not reside in thy city,
Nor set my foot in Enlil's territory.
To the Deep I will therefore go down,
To dwell with my lord Ea.
[But upon] you he will shower down abundance,
'The choicest' birds, the rarest' fishes.
[The land shall have its fill] of harvest riches.
[He who at dusk orders] the husk-greens,
Will shower down upon you a rain of wheat."

With the first glow of dawn,
The land was gathered [about me].
(two fragmentary for translation)
The little ones [carried] bitumen,
While the grown ones brought [all else] that was needful.
On the fifth day I laid her framework.
One (whole) acre 181 was her floor space.
Ten dozen cubits the height of each of her walls,
Ten dozen cubits each edge of the square deck.
I laid out the contours (and) joined her together.
I provided her with six decks,
Dividing her (thus) into seven parts.
Her floor plan I divided into nine parts.
I hammered water-plugs into her.
I saw to the punting-poles and laid in supplies.
Six 'sar' (measures) 187 of bitumen I poured into the furnace.
Three sar of asphalt I also poured inside.
Three sar of oil the basket-bearers carried,
Aside from the one sar of oil which the cakling 188 consumed.
And the two sar of oil [which] the boatman stowed away.

I op[ened . . . ] ointment, applying (it) to my hand.

181 Lit. "draw, design."
182 For the sense of tagmir libbi cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, Histoire campagnes de Sargon (1912), line 52, and p. 11, n.7. And for the factitive force of the intensive conjugation cf. Heidel, EG, 80, n.164.
183 Lit. "the needful."
185 Schott and Landsberger, ZA, XLII (1934), 137.
186 The ship was thus an exact cube, cf. Heidel, EG, 82, n.173.
188 For O. Neugebauer's explanation of the plugs cf. ZA, XIII, 118.
189 Lit. "the needful."
190 Var. "three Lar." The Lar was the number 3,600. If the measure understood with it was the siku (seah), each Lar designated about 8,000 gallons; cf. Heidel, EG, 83, n.178.
191 See A. Poebel, ZA, xxxi (1929), 149.
[On the seventh [day] the ship was completed.]

[The launching] was very difficult,
So that they had to shift the floor planks above and below,
[Until] two-thirds of [the structure] had gone into the water.

[Whatever I had] I laded upon her:
Whatever I had of silver I laded upon her;
Whatever I had of gold I laded upon her;
Whatever I had of all the living beings I laded upon her.

All my family and kin I made go aboard the ship.
The beasts of the field, the wild creatures of the field,
All the craftsmen I made go aboard.
Shamash had set for me a stated time:
When he who orders unease at night, showers down that stated time had arrived:
He who orders unease at night, showers down a rain of blight.

I watched the appearance of the weather.
The weather was awesome to behold.
I boarded the ship and battened up the entrance.
To batten down the boatman, the boatman,
I handed over the structure together with its contents.

With the first glow of dawn,
A black cloud rose up from the horizon.
Inside it Adad thunders,
A black cloud rose up from the horizon.
With the first glow of dawn,
I handed over the structure together with its contents.

To batten down the boatman, the boatman,
I watched the appearance of the weather.
I boarded the ship and battened up the entrance.
To batten down208 the (whole) ship, to Puzur-Amurri,
I watched the appearance of the weather.
I boarded the ship and battened up the entrance.
To batten down the boatman, the boatman,
I handed over the structure together with its contents.

With the first glow of dawn,
A black cloud rose up from the horizon.
Inside it Adad thunders,
A black cloud rose up from the horizon.
With the first glow of dawn,
I handed over the structure together with its contents.

To batten down the boatman, the boatman,
I watched the appearance of the weather.
I boarded the ship and battened up the entrance.
To batten down the boatman, the boatman,
I handed over the structure together with its contents.

With the first glow of dawn,
A black cloud rose up from the horizon.
Inside it Adad thunders,
A black cloud rose up from the horizon.
With the first glow of dawn,
I handed over the structure together with its contents.
Then I sent forth and set free a raven. Since no resting-place for it was visible,212 it turned round. Then I sent forth and set free a raven. The raven went forth and, seeing that the waters had diminished, He eats, circles, caws, and turns not round. The raven went forth and, seeing that the waters had diminished, He eats, circles, caws, and turns not round.

When at length as the great goddess211 arrived, She lifted up the great jewels which Anu had fashioned to her liking:

Ye gods here, as surely as this lapis
Upon my neck I shall not forget,
I shall be mindful of these days, forgetting (them) never.

Let the gods come to the offering;
But let not Enlil come to the offering,
For he, unreasoning, brought on the deluge
Instead of thy bringing on the deluge.

Let the gods come to the offering;
Let the gods come to the offering;
(But) let not Enlil come to the offering,
(But) let not Enlil come to the offering,
For he, unreasoning, brought on the deluge
For he, unreasoning, brought on the deluge.

Standing between us, he touched our foreheads to bless us:
Standing between us, he touched our foreheads to bless us:
Instead of thy bringing on the deluge
Instead of thy bringing on the deluge.

Would that a famine had risen up to lay low mankind!
Would that pestilence217 had risen up to smite down mankind!
It was not I who disclosed the secret of the great gods.
I let Atrahasis218 see a dream,
And he perceived the secret of the gods.
Now then take counsel in regard to him!219
Thereupon Enlil went aboard the ship.
Holding me by the hand, he took me aboard.
He took my wife aboard and made (her) kneel by my side.

Standing between us, he touched our foreheads to bless us:
Standing between us, he touched our foreheads to bless us:
Instead of thy bringing on the deluge
Instead of thy bringing on the deluge.

Henceforth Utnapishtim and his wife shall be like unto us gods.
Utnapishtim shall reside far away, at the mouth of the rivers!
Thus they took me and made me reside far away,
At the mouth of the rivers.

But now, who will for thy sake call the gods to Assembly
That the life which thou seekest thou mayest find?
Up, lie not down to sleep
For six days and seven nights.

As he sits there on his haunches,
Sleep fans him like the whirlwind.
Utnapishtim says to her, to his spouse:
"Behold this hero who seeks life!
Sleep fans him like a mist."

His spouse says to him, to Utnapishtim the Faraway:
"Touch him that the man may awake,
That through the gate by which he left he may return to his land."

Utnapishtim says to her, to his spouse:
"Since to deceive is human, he will seek to deceive thee."
Up, bake for him wafers, put (them) at his head,
And mark on the wall the days he slept.
That he may return safe on the way whence he came,
That through the gate by which he left he may return to his land."

Gilgamesh says to him, to Utnapishtim the Faraway:
218 "Exceeding Wise," an epithet of Utnapishtim.
219 By asserting that he had not slept at all. Lit. "Mankind being wicked, he will seek to deceive thee." For raggū: raggū cf. B. Landsberger, anna issūlu (1937), 233.
220 cf., e.g., Lullul, Babylonian, vn (1942), 169, 35.
221 For the Heb. cognate kawwdn, cf. Jer. 7:18.
222 For hálú in reference to color cf. my remarks in JAOS, LXVIII (1948), 13. The entire episode, as has long been recognized (cf. especially, Landsberger, ZA, xlii, 141, n.1), depicts the progressive deterioration of the bread wafers (not loaves) day by day. The technical problem is how this was indicated. To add to the difficulty, the term for the sixth stage—hálú—is ambiguous in that it may mean either "cooked, ripe" or "light, fresh-colored." In the latter instance, stages 4-6 would be judged by the color.
Gilgamesh has come hither, toiling and straining.
What wilt thou give (him) that he may return to his land?
(260)

At that he, Gilgamesh, raised up (his) pole,
To bring the boat nigh to the shore.
Utnapishtim [says] to him, [to] Gilgamesh:
"Gilgamesh, thou hast come hither, toiling and straining.
What shall I give thee that thou mayest return to thy land?
I will disclose, O Gilgamesh, a hidden thing,
And [a secret of the gods I will] tell thee:
This plant, like the buckthorn is [its ...].
Its thorns will prick thy hands] just as does the rose.
If thy hands obtain the plant, [thou wilt find new life]."
(270)

No sooner had Gilgamesh heard this,
"Than he opened the water-pipe." 224
He tied heavy stones [to his feet].
They pulled him down into the deep [and he saw the plant].
He took the plant, though it pricked his hands.
He cut the heavy stones [from his feet].
The [s]eat 226 cast him up upon its shore.

Gilgamesh says to him, to Urshanabi, the boatman:
"Urshanabi, this plant is a plant apart,"
Whereby a man may regain his life's breath.
I will take it to ramparted Uruk,
Will cause [ ... ] to eat the plant ...!
Its name shall be 'Man Becomes Young in Old Age.'
I myself shall eat (it)
And thus return to the state of my youth."
(280)

After twenty leagues they broke off a morsel,
After thirty (further) leagues they prepared for the night.
Gilgamesh saw a well whose water was cool.
He went down into it to bathe in the water.
A serpent snuffed the fragrance of the plant;
It came up [from the water] and carried off the plant.
Going back it shed [its] slough.227

Thereupon Gilgamesh sits down and weeps,
(290)
His tears running down over his face.
[He took the hand] 228 of Urshanabi, the boatman:
"[For] whom," Urshanabi, have my hands toiled?
For whom is being spent the blood of my heart?
I have not obtained a boon for myself.
For the earth-lion 229 have I effected a boon!
And now the tide230 will bear (it) twenty leagues away!
When I opened the water-pipe231 and [ ... ] the gear,
I found that which has been placed as a sign for me:
I shall withdraw,
And leave the boat on the shore!" (300)

After twenty leagues they broke off a morsel,
After thirty (further) leagues they prepared for the night.

When they arrived in ramparted Uruk,
Gilgamesh says to him, to Urshanabi, the boatman:
"Go up, Urshanabi, walk on the ramparts of Uruk.
Inspect the base terrace, examine its brickwork,
If its brickwork is not of burnt brick,
And if the Seven Wise Ones laid not its foundation!
One 'sar' is city, one sar orchards,
One sar margin land; (further) the precinct of the Temple of Ishtar.
Three sar and the precinct comprise Uruk."

Table XII

Contents and circumstantial evidence mark this tablet as an inorganic appendage to the epic proper. The basic theme is concluded with the hero's failure to attain his quest. Moreover, the last lines of Tablet XI are the same as the final lines of the introduction to the entire work (1, i, 16-19). Lastly, Gadd (RA, xxxi [1933], 126 ff.) and Kramer JAOS, lxiv (1944), 7 ff. have demonstrated that Tablet XII is a direct translation from the Sumerian text will be indicated by square brackets. I had the Gadd's Sumerian text. Line i is, of course, given by the catch-line at the end of Tablet XI.

The spirits would tremble211 on thy account.
As a sojourner211 they would mark thee].238
My admonition(s)228 [heed thou well]:
With sweet oil from the cruse thou shalt not anoint thee!

Her holy shoulders are not covered with raiment,
Her cruse-shaped breasts are not wrapped with cloth.245

"That time when I verily ha[d]233 the Drum in the carpenter's house,
[(When) the carpenter's wife was verily like my mother who bore me],
[(When) the carpenter's daughter was verily like my younger sister!]
Lo, [who will bring up] the Drum [from the nether world]?
[Who will bring up] the Drumstick [from the nether world]?
"Enkidu234 [says to him, to] Gilgamesh, [his lord]:
"My lord, why criest thou (and) why [is so ill] thy heart?
Lo, I will bring [up] the Drum from the nether world,
I will bring [up] the Drumstick from the nether world."

Gilgamesh [says to him, to Enkidu, [his servant]:
"If [thou wilt go down] to the nether world,
[We speak a word to thee, take my word];235
My admonition(s)228 [heed thou well]:
A sound against the nether world thou shalt not make,
A staff into thy hands thou shalt not take!
A throw stick into the nether world thou shalt not hurl!
With sweet oil from the cruse thou shalt not anoint thee!

Who will bring up the Drumstick from the nether world?
When the carpenter's daughter was verily like my heart?
[(When) the carpenter's daughter was verily like my heart?]
Her holy shoulders are not covered with raiment,
Her cruse-shaped breasts are not wrapped with cloth.245

"That time when I verily ha[d]233 the Drum in the carpenter's house,
[(When) the carpenter's wife was verily like my mother who bore me],
[(When) the carpenter's daughter was verily like my younger sister!]
Lo, [who will bring up] the Drum [from the nether world]?
[Who will bring up] the Drumstick [from the nether world]?
"Enkidu234 [says to him, to] Gilgamesh, [his lord]:
"My lord, why criest thou (and) why [is so ill] thy heart?
Lo, I will bring [up] the Drum from the nether world,
I will bring [up] the Drumstick from the nether world."

Gilgamesh [says to him, to Enkidu, [his servant]:
"If [thou wilt go down] to the nether world,
[We speak a word to thee, take my word];235
My admonition(s)228 [heed thou well]:
A sound against the nether world thou shalt not make,
A staff into thy hands thou shalt not take!
A throw stick into the nether world thou shalt not hurl!
With sweet oil from the cruse thou shalt not anoint thee!

Who will bring up the Drumstick from the nether world?
When the carpenter's daughter was verily like my heart?
[(When) the carpenter's daughter was verily like my heart?]
Her holy shoulders are not covered with raiment,
Her cruse-shaped breasts are not wrapped with cloth.245

"That time when I verily ha[d]233 the Drum in the carpenter's house,
[(When) the carpenter's wife was verily like my mother who bore me],
[(When) the carpenter's daughter was verily like my younger sister!]
Lo, [who will bring up] the Drum [from the nether world]?
[Who will bring up] the Drumstick [from the nether world]?
"Enkidu234 [says to him, to] Gilgamesh, [his lord]:
"My lord, why criest thou (and) why [is so ill] thy heart?
Lo, I will bring [up] the Drum from the nether world,
I will bring [up] the Drumstick from the nether world."

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With sweet oil from the cruse thou shalt not anoint thee!

Who will bring up the Drumstick from the nether world?
When the carpenter's daughter was verily like my heart?
[He] put [on clean raiment];
[He] mar[ked him as a sojourners].
With [sweet] oil from the cruse he anointed himself: At the fragment of it they gathered about him.
[He] hurled the throw stick into the nether world;
[Those struck] with the throw stick surrounded him.  
A staff [he took into his] hand:
The spirits trembled [on his account].
Sandals to [his] feet he hardened,
A sound [against the nether world he made],
[He kissed] his beloved wife,
[He struck] his hated wife,
[He kissed] his beloved son,
He struck [his] hated son:
The wailing of the nether world seized him.
“She who rests, she who rests,
what the matter was.”
amat,notamatam,i.e. in a predicative and not in an objective sense: “in order to intercede for him in the matter.” It is noteworthy, also, that the noun is still, in the sense of ida apilu “to intercede for,” cf. J. J. Stamm,Die Geschichte der Schrift (1928), 183, where the entire clause meaning “did not satisfy in the matter”; or better suggest that apdlu should be taken in its common legal sense “to satisfy,” or to satisfy him.

Father Enlil did not intercede for him in the matter;...Nergal’s unsparing deputy did not seize him;
[The nether world seized him].
On the battlefield of men [he did not fall];
[The nether world seized him].
Father Ea [did intercede for him in the matter].
[To Eridu] he went:
“[Father Ea, lo, my Drum fell into the nether world],
[My Drumstick fell into the nether world].
[Enkidu, whom I sent to bring them up, the nether world seized].
Na[mtar did not seize him, Fever did not seize him];
[The nether world seized him].
Nergal’s unsparing deputy [did not seize him];
[The nether world seized him].
On the battlefield of men [he did not fall];
[The nether world seized him].
Father Ea [did intercede for him in the matter].
[To Ur] he went:
“[... I will sit down and weep].”
Nergal, the valiant hero, [hearkened to Ea],
Scarcely had he opened a hole in the earth,
When the spirit of Enkidu, like a wind-puff,
Issued forth from the nether world.
They embraced and kissed each other.  
“Tell me, my friend, tell me, my friend,
Tell me the order of the nether world which thou hast seen.”
“I shall not tell thee, I shall not tell thee!
(But) if I tell thee the order of the nether world which I have seen,
Sit thou down (and) weep!”
(10)

In the Akkadian copies of the text, the latter halves of lines 37 and 39 have been transposed. The correct sequence is indicated by lines 18-21, above.

234 i.e. Gilgamesh.
235 Lit. “the pucku fell for me.”
236 Lines 59-68 can now be almost completely restored with the aid of the fragment published by E. F. Weidner, AIO, x (1935/36), 165 ff.
237 Dr. Kramer has called to my attention the fact that the Sumerian (which is to be pieced together from texts already published and others which he expects to utilize for a connected publication of the whole tale) has here inimm.bibad.gub “in this matter he did not stand by him.” The corresponding Akkadian phrase amat ul ipalu-lu (preserved on the Weidner fragment) has hitherto been rendered “answered him not a word.” In view of the evidence of the Sumerian, however, I now suggest that apalu should be taken in its common legal sense “to satisfy,” the whole yielding thus “gave him no satisfaction in the matter”; or better still, in the sense of ida atul “to intercede for,” cf. J. J. Stamm. Die akkadische Namengebung (1939), 171, the entire clause meaning “did not intercede for him in the matter.” It is noteworthy, also, that the noun is amat, not amatam, i.e. in a predicative and not in an objective sense: “in what the matter was.”
238 The Sumerian omits this stage. But the analogy of the two other

relevant instances, and the space available on the Weidner fragment leave little doubt that Dr is to be supplied.

239 cf. ZA, xi (1932), 219; Sumerian Assig, personified, see Kramer, loc. cit., 21-22 and n.106.
240 cf. ZA, xI (1933), 219; Sumerian Assig, personified, see Kramer, loc. cit., 21-22 and n.106.
241 This important change in the usual restoration of the text is demanded by Kramer’s material which yields the reading inimm. b i b a . dib. gub; cf. ibid.
242 The Sumerian clearly reads U t u, but the Assyrian text has evidently Nergal in line 82; cf. Kramer, ibid.
243 For zakkubu “hole” cf. Jensen, Keilschriftliche Bibliothek vi, 528 f.
244 A hole in the lid of the gigantic sarcophagus of Ashurnasirpal II (cf. W. Andrae, Die wundererstenande Assur (1953), 139) may have been intended for just such a purpose of allowing the spirit of the dead to issue forth.
245 Reading ul-ta-la-qti, with E. Ebeling, AIO, vii (1932/33), 212.
246 In view of the corresponding Sumerian k id (Kramer), Thompson’s reading ul-ta-um-um-si (GETh, 65) proves right against Ebeling’s suggested ul-ta-um-um-si (loc. cit.) “conversed,” which Heidel has adopted (GE, 100).
"[My body . . .], which thou didst touch as thy heart rejoiced,
Vermin devour [as though] an old garment.
[My body . . .], which thou didst touch as thy heart rejoiced,
[. . .] is filled with dust."
He cried "[Woe!]" and threw himself [in the dust].
[. . .] has thou seen?" "I have seen."

(Lines 100-101 mutilated. 102-117, and 119-144 in Thompson's edition lost except for two signs. Probably before line 118 belongs the reverse of the Weidner fragment, AfO, x, 363, which supplies the concluding parts of twelve lines [numbered 2'-13' in the following translation]. Although Heidel's restorations from the Sumarian [Heidel, GE, 100-01] are probable, it seemed advisable at this time to render only what is available in Akkadian.)

"[. . .]" "I have seen: [ . . .] weeps over (it)."
"[. . .]" "I have seen: [ . . .] eats bread."
"[. . .]" "I have seen: [ . . .] drinks water."
"[. . .] hast thou seen?" "I have seen: [ . . .] his heart rejoices."
"[. . .] hast thou seen?" "I have seen: [ . . .] he enters the palace."
"[. . .] hast thou seen?" "I have seen: Like a beautiful standard [. . .]."

(twenty-six lines destroyed)
"Him who [fell down] from the mast hast thou seen?"
"[I have seen]:
Scarcey [ . . .] the pegs are pulled out."
"Him [who died] a sud[den] death hast thou seen?"
"[I have seen]:
He lies upon the night couch and drinks pure water."
"Him who was killed in battle hast thou seen?"
"I have seen:
His father and his mother raise up his head,
And his wife [weeps] over him."
"Him whose corpse was cast out upon the steppe hast thou seen?"
"I have seen:
His spirit finds no rest in the nether world."
"Him whose spirit has no one to tend (it) hast thou seen?"
"I have seen:
Lees of the pot, crumbs of bread, offals of the street he eats.

Creation of Man
by the Mother Goddess

The basic theme of this myth is the creation of man out of clay mixed with the flesh and blood of a slain god. Unfortunately, the Old Babylonian text which deals with this subject (A) is incomplete and in a singularly poor state of preservation. Furthermore, the account came to be used as part of an incantation to facilitate childbirth, with the result that the myth itself seems to have been restated only in its bare outlines. It is too important, however, to be ignored, in spite of its lacunae and its uncertainties.

The ritual part of this Old Babylonian text agrees closely with the concluding portion of the Assyrian Version of the Atrahasis Epic—a fact which was first recognized by E. Ebeling. Accordingly, the Assyrian analogue in question has been detached from the Atrahasis Epic—with which it has only an incidentally connection—and has been appended in this place as Version B.

Texts: (A) T. G. Pinches, CT, vi (1908), Pl. 5; republished with minor changes by S. Langdon, UM, x, 1 (1915), Plx. iii-iv.

OLD BABYLONIAN TEXT

(obsverse)

(preceding column and top of the present column destroyed)

"That which is slight he shall raise to abundance;
The work of god man shall bear!"
The goddess they called to enquire,¹
The midwife of the gods, the wise Mami:
"Thou art the mother-womb,
The one who creates mankind.
Create, then, Lullu and let him bear the yoke!
The yoke he shall bear, . . . [ . . . ];
The work of god man shall bear!"
Nintu opened her mouth,
Saying to the great gods:
"With me is the doing of (this) not suitable;²
With Enki is (this) work (proper)!
He purifies everything,
Let him give me the clay, then I will do (it)!" Enki opened his mouth,
Saying to the great gods:
"On the first of the month, the seventh and fifteenth days,
I will prepare a purification, a bath.

¹ Tod und Leben (1931), 172.
² It starts, however, with the first intelligible line and not with the first line of which there is any trace. Although Ebeling's additions and interpretations are offered with great reserve, they are not uniformly satisfactory. Reading: [i-lu-la] with von Soden, Orientalia NS, xxvi (1957), 308.
³ Read: Is-443-ik ilim with von Soden, Orientalia NS, xxvi (1957), 308.
Let one god be slain, (20)
And let the gods be purified by immersion
In his flesh and his blood.
Let Nin-tu' mix clay, (20)
God and man,
Let them together be smeared with clay.
Unto eternity let us hear the drum:"

(AKKADIAN MYTHS AND EPICS)

![Image](https://via.placeholder.com/150)

(E)a was kneeling on the mattng; he opened its

navel;

[... he called the wise wives.

(Of the) [seven] and seven mother-wombs, seven

brought forth males,

[Seven] brought forth females.

The Mother-Womb, the creatress of destiny,

In pairs she completed them,

In pairs she completed (them) before her.

The forms of the people Mami forms.

In the house of the bearing woman in travail,

Seven days shall the brick lie.

...from the house of Mah, the wise Mami.

The vexed shall rejoice in the house of the one in travail.

As the Bearing One gives birth, (30)

May the mother of the child bring forth by herself.

(remainder destroyed)

A Cosmological Incantation: The Worm and the Toothache

Among the incantations which contain cosmological material,
one of the best-known attributes toothache to a worm that had
obtained the permission of the gods to dwell among the teeth
and gums. The present text, which is designated ideographically
as an "Incantation against Toothache," dates from Neo-Babylonian
times and was published by R. Campbell Thompson in
CT, xvi (1903), Pl. 50. But the colophon indicates that the copy
had been made from an ancient text. And indeed, the Mari
documents of the Old Babylonian period include a tablet with
the Akkadian label li-pa-at tu-ul-tim "Toothache Incantation."
The text itself, however, is in Hurrian. But although it cites
various deities of the Hurrian pantheon—and is thus clearly
religious in nature—the context does not correspond to the Neo-
Babylonian legend, to judge from the intelligible portions.

Selected translations: B. Meissner, MVAG, ix/3 (1904), 42-
45; E. Ebeling, AOT, 133 f.; F. Thureau-Dangin, RA, xxxvi
(1939), 34; and A. Heidel, BG2, 72-73.

After Anu [had created heaven],

Heaven had created [the earth],
The earth had created the rivers,
The rivers had created the canals,
The canals had created the marsh,
(And) the marsh had created the worm—
The worm went, weeping, before Shamash,
His tears flowing before Ea:
"What wilt thou give for my food?
What wilt thou give me for my sucking?"

"I shall give thee the ripe fig,
(And) the apricot."

"Of what use are they to me, the ripe fig
And the apricot?
Lift me up and among the teeth
And the gums cause me to dwell!
The blood of the tooth I will suck,

[Of brick figure?]

11 cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, RA, xxxvi (1939), 1 ff.
Adapa

The story of Adapa* shares with the Epic of Gilgamesh the *motif* of man's squandered opportunity for gaining immortality. It is extant in four fragmentary accounts. The oldest and longest of these (B) comes from the El-Amarna archives (fourteenth century B.C.), whereas the other three (A, C, and D) derive from the library of Ashurbanipal. The order of presentation is contextual, except that C is roughly parallel to parts of B.


A

[Wis]dom... [\ldots].

His command was indeed... [\ldots] like the command of [Ea].

Wide understanding he had perfected for him to disclose the designs of the land.

To him he had given wisdom; eternal life he had not given him.

In those days, in those years, the sage from Eridu, Ea, created him as the model of men.

The sage—his command no one can vitiating—
The capable, the most wise among the Anunnaki is he;
The blameless, the clean of hands, the ointment priest, the observer of rites.

With the bakers he does the baking,

With the bakers of Eridu he does the baking;

Bread and water for Eridu daily he provides,

With his clean hand(s) he arranges the (offering) table,

Without him the table cannot be cleared.

He steers the ship, he does the prescribed fishing for Eridu.

In those days Adapa, the one of Eridu,

While [\ldots] Ea... upon the couch,

---

2 This is the instruction to the dentist, as pointed out by A. David, *Operation dentaire en Babylonie, RA*, xxv (1928), 95 ff.

3 According to E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, 274, an unpublished syllabary equates *a-da-ap* with "man" (hence "Adam").

4 Reading *kullu-mu*.

5 In the sense of "something to be followed." cf. *la ala riiddi* "unprincipled.

6 Akk. *arākāzia*, applied here as an epithet and not as a proper name.

Daily did attend to the sanctuary of Eridu.

At the holy quay, the Quay of the New Moon, he boarded the sailboat;

Then a wind blew thither and his boat drifted;

[With the o]ar he steers his boat\(^a\)... [\ldots] upon the wide sea.

(remainder destroyed)

B\(^a\)

\ldots [\ldots]

The south wind blew and submerged him,

[Causing him to go down] to the home [of the [fish]:

"South wind... [\ldots]. me all thy venom... [\ldots]."

I will break thy wi[ng]!" Just as he had said (this) with his mouth,

The wing of the sou[th wind] was broken. For seven days

The [south wind] blew not upon the land. Anu Calls \[10\] Ilhabrat, his vizier:

"Why has the south wind not blown over the land these seven days?"

His vizier, Ilhabrat, answered him: "My lord, Adapa, the son of Ea, the wing of the south wind has broken." When Anu heard this speech, He cried, "Mercy!" Rising from his throne: "[Let them] fetch him hither!"

At that, Ea, he who knows what pertains to heaven, took hold of him.

[Adapa], caused him to wear (his) [ha]i[r] unkempt, a mourning garb

[He made him put on], and gave him (this) [ad]vice: "[Adapa], thou art going [before Anu], the king;

[The road to heaven thou wilt take]. When to heaven

[Thou hast] go[ne up and] hast [approached the gate of Anu],

[Tammuz and Gizzida] at the gate of Anu (20)

Will be standing. When they see thee, they will [as]k thee: 'Man,

For whom dost thou look thus? Adapa, for whom

Art thou clad with mourning garb?'

'From our land two gods have disappeared, Hence I am thus.' 'Who are the two gods who from the land

Have disappeared?' 'Tammuz and Gizzida.' They will
glance at each other

And will smile.\(^a\) A good word they

Will speak to Anu, (and) Anu's benig[n face

They will cause to be shown thee. As thou standest before Anu,

When they offer thee bread of death,

\(^a\) For lines 19-21 cf. A. Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien* (1934), 51 ff. If should be added that Adapa's purpose was plainly to catch fish for Ea's temple, hence that god's primary interest in Adapa. For the importance of fishing to the temple economy cf. the so-called Weidner Chronicle, which employs this motif as a reason for the rise and fall of dynasties (and, incidentally, mentions Adapa). See especially H. G. Güterbock ZA, xl, 11 (1934), 51 ff.

\(^b\) This text lacks the normal metric form. For the sake of uniformity, however, each line has been treated in the translation as a verse of poetry.
Thou shalt not eat (it). When they offer thee water of death,
Thou shalt not drink (it). When they offer thee a garment,
Put (it) on. When they offer thee oil, anoint thyself (therewith).
(This) advice that I have given thee, neglect not; the words
That I have spoken to thee, hold fast!" The messenger
Of Anu arrived there (saying as follows): "Adapa the south wind's
Wing has broken, bring him before me!"

He made him take the road to heaven, and to heaven
he went up.

When he had ascended to heaven and to heaven
the gate of Anu,
Tammuz and Gizzida were standing at the gate of Anu.
When they saw Adapa, they cried, "Mercy!"
Man, for whom dost thou look thus? Adapa,
For whom art thou clad with mourning garb?"
"Two gods have disappeared from the land, therefore
with mourning garb
I am clad." "Who are the two gods who from the land
have disappeared?"
"Tammuz and Gizzida." They glanced at each other
And smiled.' As Adapa before Anu, the king,
Drew near and Anu saw him, he called:
"Come now, Adapa, wherefore the south wind's wing
Didst thou break?" Adapa replied to Anu: "My lord,
For the household of my master, in the midst
of the sea
I was catching fish. The sea was like a mirror.
But the south wind came blowing and submerged me,
Causing (me) to go down to the home of the fish. In
the wrath of my heart
I cursed the [south wind]." Speaking up at [his] side,
Tammuz
[And] Gizzida to Anu [a good word
Addressed. His heart quieted as he was ...
"Why did Ea to a worthless human of the heaven
And of the earth the plan disclose,
Rendering him distinguished and making a name for
him?
As for us, what shall we do about him? Bread
of life
Fetch for him and he shall eat (it)."
When the bread of life
They brought him, he did not eat; when the water of
life
They brought him, he did not drink. When a garment
They brought him, he put (it) on; when oil
They brought him, he anointed himself (therewith).
As Anu looked at him, he laughed at him:
"Come now, Adapa! Why didst thou neither eat nor
drink?"

\[\text{\footnotesize 6} \] Apparently pleased because Adapa mourned their loss.
\[\text{\footnotesize 7} \] For a suggested reading cf. Heidel, \textit{ad loc.}
\[\text{\footnotesize 8} \] Lit. "heart."
Namtar went forth to speak to the gods. 

Bringing saying: "The god [who] did not rise [before] sends Namtar back.)

Ereshkigal. When this has been reported to her, she failed to show the proper respect to the envoy of their great sister.

They[... and greeted] Namtar, He entered the place where the gods were conversing.

Namtar went up to lofty heaven. (Io)

The messenger of their great sister.

They[... and greeted] Namtar, (Io) They[... and greeted] Namtar, (Io)

Hence Ereshkigal sent Namtar, her vizier.

Send up, therefore, that they take thy food-portion.

Thou canst not come up to us. "Whereas we can go down to thee, To his [mis]tress: "My lady, [it is the god who months Ago [dis]appeared, not having risen [before] me!"

"Bring (him) in! [When he comes in, I will kill [him]!"

Out went Namtar [and said]: "Enter, my lord, Into the house of thy sister. [...] be thy departure."

They[... and greeted] Namtar, (Io) They[... and greeted] Namtar, (Io)

The messenger of their great sister. The messenger of their great sister.

When the gods were preparing a banquet, To their sister, Ereshkigal, They sent a messenger: To their sister, Ereshkigal, When the gods were preparing a banquet, To their sister, Ereshkigal, They sent a messenger:

When he saw him, rejoicing'[...] he said To his [mis]stress: "My lady, [it is the god who months Ago [dis]appeared, not having risen [before] me!"

"Bring (him) in! [When he c]omes in, I will kill [him]!"

Out went Namtar [and said]: "Enter, my lord, Into the house of thy sister. [...] be thy departure." [Answered] Nergal: "May thy heart rejoice in me."

Nergal and Ereshkigal

This Mesopotamian myth is so far known only from two fragments of a school text dating from the fourteenth century B.C. and unearthed at Tell El-Amarna, in Egypt. In antiquity the myth was evidently used to train the Egyptian foreign-language student in acquiring a knowledge of Akkadian, at that time the common cultural medium of the whole region. This secondary use, however, did not enhance the reliability of the text. Furthermore, the tablet has suffered badly since then, one fragment (A) now belonging to the British Museum (published by C. Bezold and E. A. Wallis Budge, The Tell El-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum, 1892, No. 82), and the other (B) to the Berlin Museum (published by O. Schroeder in V.A3, xxi [1915], No. 195). The basic study is that of J. A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln (1915), 969 ff.; Knudtzon's line count has here been retained. For later translations cf. Ebeling, AOT, 210 ff. and Heidel, GE, 129 ff. See the Supplement, p. 507.

(verse)

Fragment A

When the gods were preparing a banquet, To their sister, Ereshkigal, They sent a messenger: "Whereas we can go down to thee, Thou canst not come up to us. Send up, therefore, that they take thy food-portion." Hence Ereshkigal sent Namtar, her vizier. N'amtar went up to lofty heaven. He entered the place where the gods were conversing. They [...] and greeted Namtar, (Io) The messenger of their great sister.

(Nergal and Ereshkigal continued...)

Fragment B

Saying: "The god [who] did not rise [before] my messenger, Bring him to me that I may kill him." Namtar went forth to speak to the gods.

The gods hailed him to speak to him [...]:

"Look and, as for the god who rose not before thee, Take him to the presence of thy mistress."

When Namtar counted them, a god in the rear was bald. "The god is not here who did not rise before me."

[Off went Namtar to make] his report. "[...] I counted them, [A god in the rear was bald].

[The god who had not risen before me was not there]."

(Several lines mutilated or missing. In line 41 Ea is introduced into the story. Nergal appears to be in trouble, for the text goes on:) "Take (him) to Ereshkigal!" Weeping, [he goes]

Before Ea, his father: "When she sees [me], She will not let me live!"* "Be not afraid!

I will give thee seven and seven [...] To go with thee: [...] Mutabriqu, Sharabdu, [Rabisu, Tirid, Idibtu], Be[nnu, Sidanu, Miqit, Beluri], Ummu [(and) Libu. They shall go] With thee." [When Nergal arrives at the gate of Ereshkigal, he calls out: "Gate[keeper, open] thy gate, Loosen the latchstring] that I may enter!"

To the presence of thy mistress, Ereshkigal, I have been sent." Forth went the gatekeeper And said to Namtar: "A certain god is standing at the entrance of the gate. Come and inspect him that he may enter." Out went Namtar.

When he saw him, rejoicing[...] he said To his [mis]stress: "My lady, [it is the god who months Ago [dis]appeared, not having risen [before] me!"

"Bring (him) in! [When he c]omes in, I will kill [him]!"

Out went Namtar [and said]: "Enter, my lord, Into the house of thy sister. [...] be thy departure." [Answered] Nergal: "May thy heart rejoice in me."

(Several lines destroyed)

(reverse)

Fragment A

[...] at the third, Mutabriqu at the fourth, [Shar]abdu at the fifth, Rabisu at the sixth, Tirid At the seventh, Idibtu at the eighth, Bennu (70)

At the seventh, Idibtu at the eighth, Bennu (70)

At the ninth, Sidanu at the tenth, Miqit At the eleventh, Beluri at the twelfth, Ummu at the thirteenth, (and) Libu at the fourteenth Gate he stationed. In the court he cut down her [...] 1 The names of the first three demons are missing. Most of the extant names represent demons of disease; cf. ibid., n.1.


4 Lit. "rise, move."

5 Goddess of healing.
Nergal to his troop he gave (this) order: "The gates Are wide open! Now let me race to you!"

Inside the house he took hold of Ereshkigal, By her hair he brought her down from the throne To the ground, to cut off her head.

"Kill me not, my brother! Let me speak a word to thee!"

When Nergal heard her, his hands relaxed. She weeps,

"Be thou my husband and I will be thy wife. I will let

I will be mistress!" When Nergal heard this her speech,

So be it now!"

He took hold of her and kissed her, wiping away her tears:

"Oppressive has become the clamor of mankind. By their uproar they prevent sleep.

[Let] the clouds be blown up
[That rain from heaven] pour not forth.
[Let] the wind come,
[Let the wind] come,

Laying bare the . . .

Let the clouds be blown up
[That rain from heaven] pour not forth.
[Let] the land [with]draw its yield,
[Let it turn] the breast of Nisaba."

Atrahasis

The name Atrahasis (Old Babylonian Atramhasis), i.e. "Exceeding Wise," is associated with more than one hero of the epic literature of Mesopotamia. The Epic of Gilgamesh (XI, 196) applies it to Utanapishtim, the hero of the Flood. The poems of Etana and Adapa make use of the same epithet. More specifically, however, the name is associated with a large epic cycle dealing with man's sins and his consequent punishment through plagues and the deluge. This cycle, which thus provides a parallel to the biblical motivation for the Flood, bore originally the name Enûma ilû aœæä lûm "When God, Man . . . " Today it is commonly known as the Atrahasis Epic.

Fragments of this epic have come down to us in separate Old Babylonian and Assyrian recensions—as is also true of Gilgamesh. The Assyrian Version (Fragments C, D) dates from the time of Ashurbanipal. The Old Babylonian Version (Fragments A, B) is approximately a thousand years older, going back to the reign of Ammisaduqa, at which time it was copied from a still earlier text. Unfortunately, the extant material is but a small fraction of the original total. For according to the colophon on B, the Old Babylonian Version consisted of three tablets aggregating 1,245 lines, or about twenty times as many as are now available. The gaps in the Assyrian recension are only relatively less serious. The underlying relationship of all four pieces is assured by the joint evidence of phraseology, subject matter, and principal characters. Fragments of B and C, moreover, establish a direct connection with Gilgamesh, Tablet XI.

For the sake of convenience, a further fragment of an Old Babylonian flood text has been included in the present group. It has been marked as Fragment X and given a place immediately after Fragment B. For the present it cannot be determined whether this fragment ever did form an integral part of the earliest version of the epic; it might well have done so. On the other hand, column iv of Fragment D has been omitted from this context and placed instead at the end of Creation of Man by the Mother Goddess (pp. 99f.), where it clearly belongs. The eventual displacement is due to the fact that the present epic came to be used in Assyrian times (if not earlier) as an incantation for childbirth, for which column iv was apparently regarded as the proper accompaniment.

The source material is as follows: (A) A. T. Clay, YOS, v, 3 (1923), Pls. 14f. and Babylonian Records in the Morgan Library, iv (1923), 1, (B) A. Boissier, RA, xxvii (1931), 92-95. (X) H. V. Hilprecht, BE, n, v (1910), 1, (C) F. Delitzsch, Assyrische Lesezüge (1885), 101. (D) L. W. King, CT, xv (1902), 49. Recent translations: Clay, op. cit., 58 ff.; Ebeling, AOT, 200 ff.; A. Boissier, op. cit.; Heidel, GE, 105 ff.

OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION

A (Tablet II)

(i)

[...]

The land became wide, the people became numerous, The land bellowed like wild oxen. The god was disturbed by their uproar. (Enlil) heard their clamor (And) said to the great gods:

"Oppressive has become the clamor of mankind. By their uproar they prevent sleep."

[Let] the flour be cut off for the people, [In] their [bells] let the greens be too few. (Above) let Adad make scarce his [rain], [Below] let not flow [The flood, let it not rise from the] source. [Let] the wind come,

Laying bare the . . .

Let the clouds be blown up
[That rain from heaven] pour not forth.
[Let] the land [with]draw its yield,
[Let it turn] the breast of Nisaba."

(ii)

(beginning destroyed)

"In the morning let him cause . . . to pour [down],
Let it extend through the night [ . . . ],
Let him cause to rain [ . . . ]
Let it come upon the field like a thief, let . . .
Which Adad had created in the city [ . . . ]."

So saying, they called [ . . . ],
Raising up a clamor [ . . . ],
They feared not [ . . . ].

(over three hundred lines destroyed)

(vii)

Enki [opened] his mouth,
Saying to En[il]:
"Why dost thou swear [ . . . ]?
I will stretch out my hand at the [ . . . ]"

1 cf. v. Soden, ZA, xlii (1936), 261.
3 cf. Sidney Smith, RA, xvi (1925), 57-68. cf. also D iii, 3, 8, 41 and A, 2, 21.
4 For this noun cf. v. Soden, ZA, xlii (1936), 211. It is worth noting that various phrases from this epic recur in the omen-s, e.g., the failure of the water to rise from its source, or the resort of mankind to cannibalism; for such passages cf. Orientalia, v (1936), 212.
5 For the copyist's notation hi-pi if-[la] "new break," see Heidel, GE, 168, n.12.
6 For the rendition of this and the following lines cf. Fragment D, iii, 45 ff., 52 ff.
7 For the copyist's notation hi-pi if-[if] "new break," see Heidel, GE, 168, n.12.
8 See J. Lassègue, Bi. Or., xiii (1956), 92.
9 Nisaba was the goddess of grain. To "turn the breast" is "to repel." The whole phrase, which is repeated several times in the present epic, refers to the cessation of growth.
AKKADIAN MYTHS AND EPICS

NEO-ASSYRIAN VERSION I

The flood which thou commandest [...].
(For the translation of a few more lines see the Addenda.)

Atramhasis opened his mouth, saying to his lord:
(There follows the colophon which states that this is Tablet II of the series Enûma ilû awêlûm, that it consists of 439 lines, and that it was written by Ellit-Aya, the "junior" scribe, in the eleventh year of Ammisaduqa.)

B (Tablet III)

[Atramhasis] opened his mouth, saying to his lord:
"[...] make known unto me its content [...] that I may seek its..."

(Ea) opened his mouth, saying to his servant:
"Thou sayest 'let me seek...'
The task which I am about to tell thee
Guard thou well."

Wall, hearken to me,
Reed-hut, guard well all my words!10

Destroy the house, build a ship,
Renounce (worldly) goods,
Keep the soul alive!
The ship that thou shalt build."

(Middle Babylonian version)

X

(For the inclusion of this fragment cf. the introductory remarks. Largely destroyed.)

"[...] I will loosen.
[...] he will seize all the people together,
[...] before the flood appears,
[...] as many as there are,
I will cause overthrow, affliction,...
[...] build a large ship.
[...] of good...shall be its structure.
That [ship] shall be an ark," and its name Shall be 'Preserver of Life.'
[...] cell (it) with a mighty cover.
Into the ship which [thou shalt make,
[Thou shalt take] the beasts of the field,
The fowl of the heavens.

(remainder broken away)

8 See J. Laessöe, Bi.Or., xiii (1956), 93.
9 For the following lines cf. the virtually identical passage in Gilgamesh, XI, 21 ff.
11 cf. A. Salonen, Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien (1939), 57, under ešpu qurqurru.

NEO-ASSYRIAN VERSION II

D ("ii" = vi)

[When the third year [arrived],
The people became hostile in their [...].
When the fourth year [arrived],
Their places became cramped, Their wide [...] became too narrow.
Downcast[...] the people wandered in the streets.
When the fifth year arrived,
The daughter seeks entry to the mother,
(But) the mother opens not [her] door to the daughter.
The daughter watches the balances of the mother,
The mother watches the balances of the daughter.
When the sixth year arrived,
They prepared [the daughter] for a meal,
The child they prepared for food.
Filled were[...].

(remainder mutilated)

(""ii" = v"

(remainder missing)

Above [Adad made scarce his rain],
Below [was dammed up the flood],
[So that it rose not from the source].
The land withdrew [its yield],
[It turned the breast of] Nisaba.
[During the nights the fields turned white].
[The broad plain] brought forth sa[lt crystals],
[So that no plant came] forth, [no] grain [sprouted].

12 See Heidel, GE, 111, n.25.
13 That is, nobody trusted anyone.
14 cf. Sidney Smith, RA, xxxi (1925), 65-64.
[Fever was placed upon the people].
[The womb was bound so that it could not issue offspring].

[...]

When the second year arrived,
[... the stores].

When the third year arrived,
The people became hostile in their ...

When the fourth year arrived,
Their [places] became cramped,
Their wide ... became too narrow.
[Downcast the people wandered] in the streets.

When the fifth year arrived,
The daughter seeks [entry] to the mother,
[(But) the mother op]ens [not] her door [to the daughter].

[The daughter] watches [the balances of the mother],
The mother watches [the balances of the daughter].

When the sixth year arrived,
[They prepared] the daughter for a meal,
[The child] they prepared [for food].

Filled were ...

One [house] devoured the other.
[Like ghosts of the dead their faces] were veiled.
The people] lived [with bated] breath.
Endowed with wis]dom, the man Atrahasis—
His mind alert [to Ea, his lord]—
Converses with his god.
[His lord, Ea], converses with him.
[... the gate of his god].
Opposite the river he places his bed.
[... his rain ...]

(“iii” = iv)

(beginning destroyed)

[Because of] their clamor he is disturb[ed],
[Because of] their uproar [sleep] cannot seize him.
[En]il set up [his] Assembly,
[Saying] to the gods, his sons:
“Oppressive has become the clamor of mankind.
[Because of their] clamor I am disturbed,
[Because of th]eir [up]roar sleep cannot seize me.
[...] let there be chills.
The pestilence shall [prompt]ly put an end
to their clamor!
[Like] a storm it shall blow upon them
Aches, dizziness, chills, (and) fever.
[...] there developed chills.
The pestilence [prompt]ly put an end to their clamor.
[Like] a storm it blew upon them
Aches, dizziness, chills, (and) fever.
[Endowed with wis]dom, the man Atrahasis—
His mind alert [to] Ea, his [lord]—
Converses with his god.

At this point the tablet contains the scribal notation la-šu “there is not,” indicating a blank space in the original. The context, however, is not interrupted. cf. Heidel, GE, 113, p. 37.

Atrahasis evidently sought to obtain rain for his fellow men by means of some magic practices. Evidently he succeeded, but mankind presently reverted to its earlier ways.

Descent of Ishtar to the Nether World

This myth has as its central theme the detention of the goddess of fertility—Sumerian Inanna, Akkadian Ishtar—in the realm

15 To judge from the sequel, the plagues were halted once again, but only temporarily.

16 See B. Landsberger, WZKM, lvi (1960), 113, n. 16.
of the dead and her eventual return to the land of the living.

The cuneiform text is extant in Sumerian and Akkadian formulations. The Sumerian version is obviously primary. But although the Semitic version has various points of contact with the older source, it is by no means a mere translation from the Sumerian, for which cf. Kramer, pp. 52-57.

The Semitic version has come down to us in two recensions. The older of these (A) comes from Ashur. (For a fragment of a still older recension—which comes from Ashur and dates from the end of the second millennium B.C.—cf. the eleven initial lines published by Ebeling in Orientalia, xviii (1949), 33, 37. To judge from this small piece, this older version represented an independent formulation.) Its text has been published in KAR, No. 1 (Pls. 1-4), and p. 321. The other recension (N) comes from the library of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh. Its text is found in CT, 15, Pls. 45-48. The translations include those by Jensen, KB, vi, 80 ff. (N only); S. Geller, in OLZ, xx (1917), cols. 41 ff. (the first translation of recension A); Ebeling, in AOT, 206 ff.; and Heidel, GE, 121 ff. The present translation is a composite one in that it makes use, in common with all the renderings subsequent to the publication of A, of both the Nineveh and the Ashur version. Where the difference between the two is more than stylistic, the recension here followed will be explicitly indicated.

(Counterverse)

To the Land of no Return, the realm of Ereshkigal, Ishtar, the daughter of Sin, [set] her mind.1

Ye, the daughter of Sin set [her] mind
To the dark house, the abode of Irkal[la],2
To the house which none leave who have entered it,
To the road from which there is no way back,
To the house wherein the entrants are bereft of light,
(Where) they are clothed like birds, with wings
for garments,3
(And where) over door and bolt is spread dust.4
When Ishtar reached the gate of the Land of no Return,
She said (these) words to the gatekeeper:
"O gatekeeper, open thy gate,
Open thy gate that I may enter!
If thou openest not the gate so that I cannot enter,
I will smash the doorpost, I will move the doors,
I will smash the door, I will shatter the bolt,
If thou openest not the gate so that I cannot enter,
So that the dead will outnumber the living."5

The gatekeeper opened his mouth to speak,
Saying to exalted Ishtar:
"Stop, my lady, do not throw it down!
I will go to announce thy name to Queen E[reshk]igal."
The gatekeeper entered, saying [to] Eresh[kipal]:
"Behold, thy sister Ishtar is waiting at [the gate],
She who upholds6 the great festivals.
Who stirs up the dead before Ea, the k[ing]."7

When Ereshkigal heard this,

Her face turned pale8 like a cut-down tamarisk,
While her lips turned dark like a bruised kuni[nu]-reed.9

"What drove her heart to me? What impelled her spirit
hither?
Lo, should I drink water with the Anunnaki?
Should I eat clay for bread, drink muddied water for beer?
Should I bemoan the men who left their wives behind?
Should I bemoan the maidens who were bemoaned from
the laps of their lovers?
(Or) should I bemoan the tender little one who was sent
off before his time?10

Go, gatekeeper, open the gate for her,
Treat her in accordance with the ancient rules."11

Forth went the gatekeeper (to) open the door for her:
"Enter, my lady, that Cutu12 may rejoice
over thee,
That the palace of the Land of no Return may be glad
at thy presence."

When the first door he had made her enter,
He stripped14 and took away the great crown on her head.
"Why, O gatekeeper, didst thou take the great crown on
my head?"
"Enter, my lady, thus are the rules of the Mistress of the
Nether World.

When the second gate he had made her enter,
He stripped and took away the pendants on her ears.
"Why, O gatekeeper, didst thou take the pendants on
my ears?"
"Enter, my lady, thus are the rules of the Mistress of the
Nether World.

When the third gate he had made her enter,
He stripped and took away the chains round her neck.
"Why, O gatekeeper, didst thou take the chains round
my neck?"
"Enter, my lady, thus are the rules of the Mistress of the
Nether World."

When the fourth gate he had made her enter,
He stripped and took away the ornaments on her breast.
"Why, O gatekeeper, didst thou take the ornaments on
my breast?"
"Enter, my lady, thus are the rules of the Mistress of the
Nether World."

When the fifth gate he had made her enter,
He stripped and took away the girdle of birthstones on her hips.15

---

1 Lit. "esr." 
2 Ereshkigal, Queen of the Nether World. 
4 A add: "[. . .] stillness is poured out." 
5 A reads: "So that the living will outnumber the dead." 
6 The door. 
7 This meaning of anni[i] in N is indicated by A's anni. 
8 A reads mul-ki-it-tu. 
9 This half of the verse in A only.
10 From A. 
11 Word play Isaḫu "bruised": Inšaḫu-ki-eš "her lips." 
12 I.e. Ereshkigal would have cause for weeping if all these occupants of the nether world should be liberated by Ishtar. cf. Heidel, GE, 123, n.70. 
13 A name of the nether world, the Akkadian city-name Kuri. 
14 The form mušuš "spread out" (clothing), as in Gilgamesh, I, iv, 12, 18, is paralleled by lušunu "strip," ibid. iii, 43. It may well correspond to our mušuš, cf. already, Jensen, KB, vi, 396. cf. also the analogous construction cip tabal.
"Why, O gatekeeper, didst thou take the girdle of birthstones on my hips?"

"Enter, my lady, thus are the rules of the Mistress of the Nether World."

When the sixth gate he had made her enter, He stripped and took away the clasps round her hands and feet.

"Why, O gatekeeper, didst thou take the clasps round my hands and feet?"

"Enter, my lady, thus are the rules of the Mistress of the Nether World."

When the seventh gate he had made her enter, He stripped and took away the breechcloth round her body.

"Why, O gatekeeper, didst thou take the breechcloth on my body?"

"Enter, my lady, thus are the rules of the Mistress of the Nether World."

As soon as Ishtar had descended to the Land of no Return, Ereshkigal saw her and burst out at her presence.

As soon as Ereshkigal heard this, she smote her thigh, bit her finger: "Thou didst request of me a thing that should not be requested. Come, Asushunamir, I will curse thee with a mighty curse!"

The food of the city's gutters shall be thy food, The sewers of the city shall be thy drink. The shadow of the wall shall be thy station, The threshold shall be thy habitation. The besotted and the thirsty shall smite thy cheek!"

Ereshkigal opened her mouth to speak, saying (these) words to Namtar, vizier:

"Up, Namtar, knock at Egalgina,26
Adorn the thresholds with coral-stone, Bring forth the Anunnaki and seat (them) on thrones of gold, Sprinkle Ishtar with the water of life and take her from her body."

"Pray, Lady, let them give me the life-water bag To drink therefrom I may drink."25

As soon as Ereshkigal heard this, She smote her thigh, bit her finger: "Thou didst request of me a thing that should not be requested. Come, Asushunamir, I will curse thee with a mighty curse!"

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"Pray, Lady, let them give me the life-water bag To drink therefrom I may drink."25

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The food of the city's gutters shall be thy food, The sewers of the city shall be thy drink. The shadow of the wall shall be thy station, The threshold shall be thy habitation. The besotted and the thirsty shall smite thy cheek!"

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The food of the city's gutters shall be thy food, The sewers of the city shall be thy drink. The shadow of the wall shall be thy station, The threshold shall be thy habitation. The besotted and the thirsty shall smite thy cheek!"

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"Pray, Lady, let them give me the life-water bag To drink therefrom I may drink."25

As soon as Ereshkigal heard this, She smote her thigh, bit her finger: "Thou didst request of me a thing that should not be requested. Come, Asushunamir, I will curse thee with a mighty curse!"
When through the fourth gate he had made her go out,
He returned to her the ornaments for her breasts.
When through the fifth gate he had made her go out,
He returned to her the chains for her neck.
When through the sixth gate he had made her go out,
He returned to her the pendants for her ears.
When through the seventh gate he had made her go out,
He returned to her the great crown for her head.

"If she does not give thee her ransom price, bring her back."

As for Tammuz, the lover of her youth,
Wash him with pure water, anoint him with sweet oil;
Clothe him with a red garment, let him play on a flute of lapis.

Let courtesans turn [his] mood."

[When] Belili was string[ing] her jewelry,
[And her] lap was filled with "eye-stones,"\(^7\)
On hearing the sound of her brother, Belili struck the jewelry on [.....]

So that the "eye-stones" filled [.....] .

"My only brother, bring no harm to me!
On the day when Tammuz comes up to me,
When with him the wailing men and the wailing women come up to me,
When with him the lapis flute (and) the carnelian ring come up to me,
When with him the waiting men and the waiting women come up to me,
May the dead rise and smell the incense."

A Vision of the Nether World

Among the thirty-seven texts which E. Ebeling collected in his Tod und Leben (1931) there are several that bear on the subject of myths and epics. For the most part, however, the pertinent material is introduced indirectly, in connection with specific ritual processes.\(^8\) Only Nos. 31 and 32—the last and last in the book—are directly relevant to the present section and hence have been utilized.

Such understanding of No. 1 as we now enjoy is due primarily to W. v. Soden, who in ZA, xliii (1936) produced a thoroughly revised transliteration, accompanied by photographs, translation, introduction, and brief commentary (pp. 30-31). Ebeling came back with a new transcription in MAVG, x, 2 (1937), 5 ff., which adds a few further improvements. A translation of the reverse of the text (v. Soden's lines 41-75) is given also by Heidel, GE, 153-156.

28 This continuation of Ereshkigal's instructions appears to be out of place here, as regards the N version. A speck of the ronm before Ishdar is led away (see the preceding note). The mention of Tammuz is likewise startling in this context. There is no indication in the Sumerian version—contrary to earlier assumptions—that Tammuz had gone down to the nether world, (had) the head (of) the Zu-bird; his four hands (and) feet [.....].

29 This requires the context. It is by no means certain, however, that the final [.....] i-iv of A goes with [kabitu].
31 Interpreted as "beads" by R. Campbell Thompson, A Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology (1936), xl.

1 The same is true also of the large text (KAR, i, 1915, No. 143) which deals with the passion and eventual triumph of Bel-Marduk; cf. the study by H. Zimmerm., Berichte der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, lxx (1918), v, 1-53; see also S. Langdon, Babylonian Epic of Creation, 35-59, and the discussion by S. A. Pallis, The Babylonian Akitu Festival (1926), pp. 231-34.
3 For No. 37 cf. Creation of Man by the Mother Goddess, pp. 99-100.

The text is inscribed on a large tablet from Ashur, dating from the middle of the seventh century B.C. It is in the form of a prose poem whose lines average over fifty signs each. The background of the story is political, but its mundane allusions are enigmatic and are further obscured by the mutilated character of the obverse. What does emerge is that an Assyrian prince, who is called Kumma—evidently a pseudonym—is so presumptuous as to desire a view of the nether world. His desire is at last granted and the realm of Nergal and Ereshkigal is revealed to him in a dream, as recorded on the reverse of the tablet. In the following translation each line of the original is presented as a brief paragraph. The line count follows the count of the reverse; line 1 corresponds to v. Soden's 41, and so on.

(reverse)

[Kum]ma lay down and beheld a night vision in his dream: "[.....] I held and I saw his awe-inspiring splendor [.....].

[Na]matar, the vizier of the nether world, who creates the decrees, I beheld; a man stood before him; the hair of his head he held in his left, while in his right [he held] a sword [.....].

[Na]matur, (his) concubine, was provided with the head of a [kuriba], (her) hands (and) feet were human. The death-god was provided with the head of a serpent-drone, his hands were human, his feet were [.....].

The evil [.....] (had) the head (and) hands of men; his headgear was a crown; the feet were (those of) a... bird; with his left foot he trod on a crocodile. Alluhappu\(^3\) (had) the head (of) a lion, four human hands (and) feet.

"The Upholder of Evil" (had) the head of a bird; his wings were open as he flew to and fro, (his) hands (and) feet were human. 'Remove Hastily,' the boatman of the nether world, (had) the head (of) the Zu-bird; his four hands (and) feet [.....].

[.....] (had) the head (of) an ox, four human hands (and) feet. The evil Utukku (had) the head (of) a lion, hands (and) feet (of) the Zu-bird. Shulak was a normal lion standing on his hind legs.

[Ma]mitu (had) the head (of) a goat, human hands (and) feet. Nedu, the gatekeeper of the nether world, (had) the head (of) a lion, human hands, feet (of) a bird. 'All that is Evil' (had) two heads; one head was (that of) a lion, the other head [.....].

[.....] (had) three feet; the two in front were (those of) a bird, the hind one was (that of) an ox; he was possessed of an awesome brilliance. Two gods—I know not their names—one (had) the head, hands (and) feet (of) the Zu-bird; in his left [.....];

The other was provided with a human head; the headgear was a crown; in his right he carried a Mace; in his left [.....]. In all, fifteen gods were present. When I saw them, I prayed (to them).

\(^{a}\) The full form of the name is given in obverse, 27 as 'Kumma-ma-a.

This is normalized by v. Soden as "Kumma," and by Heidel as "Kummaya." Either view would seem tenable.

\(^{4}\) A demon pictured as a sphinx.

\(^{5}\) The term itself (a loan word from the Sumerian) means a "hunting net."

\(^{7}\) The term itself (a loan word from the Sumerian) means a "hunting net."

\(^{9}\) A demon pictured as a sphinx.

\(^{9}\) The term itself (a loan word from the Sumerian) means a "hunting net."
(10) A man (also), his body was black as pitch; his face was like that of Zu; he was clad in a red cloak; in his left he carried a bow, in his right he[ld] a sword; with the left fo[or] he trod on a ser[pent].

When I moved mine eyes, valiant Nergal was seated on a royal throne; his headgear was the crown of royalty; in his two hands he held two wrathful Maces; two heads [...].

[... ] they were cast down; from [ ... ] of his arms lightning was flashing; the Anunnaki, the great gods, stood bowed to the right (and) to the left [...].

The nether world[19] was filled with terror; before the prince lay utter stiffness[20]; [... ] took me by the locks of my forehead and drew[w] me before him.

When [I] saw him, my legs trembled as his wrathful brilliance overwhelmed me; I kissed the feet of his [great] godhead as I bowed down; when I stood up, he looked at me, shaking his [head].

With a fierce cry he shrieked at me wrathfully like a furious storm; the scepter, which befits his divinity, looked at me, shaking his [head].

He drew towards me in order to kill [me]; Ishum, his counselor, the intercessor who spares life, who loves truth,-and so forth, spoke up: `Put not the fellow to his counselor, the intercessor who spares life, who loves truth.'

He emitted a lamentation, [... ] saying, "Woe, my heart!"

Flying into the street like an arrow, he scooped up the dust of the road (and) market place into his mouth, as he kept sounding the fearsome cry, "Woe! Ah me!"

Why hast thou decreed this for me?" (Thus) calling, he poignantly praised, before the subjects of Ashur the valor of Nergal (and) Ereshkigal, who had helpfully stood by this prince.

And as for that scribe who had previously accepted bribe(s) as he occupied the post of his father, owing to the clever understanding which Ea had imparted to him, he heeded[21] in his heart the w[ord]s of praise, speaking thus inside him: "In order that the pacts for evil draw not close to me nor press upon me, I will carry out the deeds [that Nergal] has commanded!" He went forth and repeated it to the palace, saying: "This shall be my expiation."
The Myth of Zu

This myth deals, in its Akkadian formulation, with the theft of the Tablet of Destinies and the arrogation of the supreme authority of the gods by the bird-god, Zu, who is eventually vanquished by one of the benign deities. It is probable that Zu belongs to the realm of the nether world.\(^1\) The extant Sumerian material does not connect him with the episode that constitutes the core of the Akkadian myth. The Semitic versions are fragmentary, so that an adequate comparative study is as yet impossible. Until 1938 there was available only a portion of the Ashurbanipal recension (B). In that year, however, Father V. Scheil published two incomplete tablets of a Susa recension, which dates from Old Babylonian times and presents the two middle tablets—now largely mutilated—of what appears to have been originally a four-tablet composition. Recently collated and re-edited by J. Nougayrol, the Susa text has lately been supplemented by a close congener discovered among the Ashur tablets; it has been published in transliteration and translation by E. Ebeling. This combined new material (OB Version) helps to fill gaps in the Assyrian Version and carries the story farther. Since the conclusion, however, is still missing, the identity of the god who succeeded eventually in taming Zu remains uncertain. It may have been Ningirsu at the start (with Nougayrol), becoming supplanted by Ninurta (Ebeling) and eventually replaced by Marduk or the given local chief of the pantheon.

The translation of the OB Version, which precedes that of the Assyrian version, has been pieced together from the Scheil-Nougayrol and Ebeling publications.

The Myth of Zu is of outstanding importance in that it links supreme cosmic authority (Enlilship) to the control of the Tablet of Destinies (cf. Epic of Creation, 11, 156).


**OB Version**

(Tablet 1 missing)

**Tablet 2**

He\(^2\) took away the Enlilship; suspended were the norms.\(^3\)

Father Enil, their counselor, was speechless.

Blinding brightness spilled out, silence prevailed.

The Igigi, one and all, were upset.

The sanctuary took off its brilliance.

The gods of the land gathered one by one at the news.

Anu opened his mouth, saying to the gods:

"Which of the gods shall slay Zu?"

"His name shall be the greatest of all!"

They called the Irrigator,\(^4\) the son of Anu;

He who gives the orders addressed him:

"[In] thy resolute onslaught bring lightning upon Zu with thy weapons!"

[Among the gods, thy brothers], thou shalt [ha(ve) no equal.

[Glorified before] the gods, pot[ent] shall be thy name!"

[To Anu, his father, Adad add]re[ssed these words]:

"[My father, to the trackless mountain] w[ho] will ha[ve] [sten]?

[Who is like Zu] among thy sons?

[. . .] he deprived a god of [his] Enlilship!"

"Now what is there that could bring him to justice?"\(^20\)

[Behold,] his command is like that of the god of Durunki,

"[He who opposes] him becomes like clay,

[Ar] his [ . . . ] the gods waste away."

[Anu] bade him to forego the journey.

They called the [Fire-god], first-born of Anunitum;\(^6\)

He who gives the orders addressed him.

Shara they called, the first-born of Ishtar;

He who gives the orders addressed him.\(^8\)

As the gods calmed, [they exchanged counsel.

The Igigi assembled, [... ] troubled:

They [caused] to ascend to him the master of wisdom, who dwells in the Deep.\(^10\)

The matter that was in his mind [to Anu], his [father] he mentioned:

"I have disposed h[is] downfall [and . . .] of Zu I shall make known in the Assembly." Th[e gods of the land], hearing [this] his speech, Were [excited and] kissed his feet.

[As for Ea,] the pre-eminence of Mah,\(^11\) mistress of designs, he proclaimed in the Assembly:

"[Call] the potent, the resplendent, thy beloved,

The wide-breasted, who conducts the Seven to combat, [Ning]irsu,\(^12\) the potent, the re[plen]dent, thy beloved,

The wide-breasted, who conducts the Seven to combat."\(^40\)

When she had he[ard] this his speech, Pre-eminent Mah signified assent.

The gods of the land rejoiced at her word;

Excited, they kissed her feet.

Having issued the call in the Assembly of the gods, She instructed her son, her heart's beloved,

Saying to him:

"Before Anu and Dagan, the most exalted,

5 One of the several idioms combining rēlā and nālā (cf. A. L. Oppenheim, *JCS* 4, lxxi (1941), 252 ff. Before *u-ta-ri re-ši-[su] I would read [mir]-lā-[a]; cf. Gilgamesh, Yale Tablet, III iv, 10 and cf. ZA xi (1932), 200. N. (Nougayrol, RA, xlvi, 87 f.) 88, 20 translates "set out for" and supplements *[la-d]*-[i]-šu, which would seem to be grammatically precarious.

6 cf. below, n.16.

7 Reading [m[u-]a] with Nougayrol, *ad loc.*

8 A form of Ishtar.

9 The Assyrian version repeats with each god the same speech that is attributed to Adad. The OB version avoids this redundancy.

10 Namely, Ea.

11 Nougayrol's revised reading shows that the goddess in question is Mah, a synonym of Mannāti; the latter is indeed cited in line 48. And just as Mannāti is described as nīnīnī in the Assyrian text, which comes in the fragmentary introduction to the Assyrian version (CT, xxv, 39, 1, 4; cf. Nougayrol, RA, xlvi, 87, n.1).

12 For this god cf. Nougayrol, *loc. cit.* The Assyrian text, which comes in at line 32, substitutes Ninurta consistently.
... their regulations[128] they had proclaimed in the Assembly,
[With shrieks of pain I gave birth to them all.
... the equal of the gods? I, Mammi[128]
[Who] ascertained for my brother and for Anu
the kingship of heaven?
[The ...] of the kingship which I ascertained am I!
[... thy father I formed.
(51)
[... to appoint a time;
[For the gods whom I have fashioned bring forth light.
Launch thy [full] offensive, 
[...] let them ... the mountains, 
Capture [the fugitive] Zu,
And [(thus) bring peace to the earth which I created
While bringing chaos to his abode.
Heap up [things to frighten] him,
[Let thy terrifying offensive] rage [against him]. (59)
(Lines 60-63 are too broken for translation.)
Let the terror of thy (battle-)cry cast him down,
Let him experience darkness, let his sight change for the worse!
Let him not escape thee in the encounter;
Let his pinion(s) collapse.
Let thy visage change like a demon's!
Bring forth the cyclone so that he cannot recognize thy features.
(Two lines from Speiser's composite translation have been omitted at this point.)

Let not the sun shine forth on high!
Let the bright day turn for him to gloom!
Destroy his breath by taming Zu!
Let the winds carry his wings to places undisclosed,(70)
Towards Ekur, to his father!
(Five lines from Speiser's composite translation have been omitted at this point.)

[128] Here parru has its alternative sense of "rite, regulation," cf. AFO, ii, 67.
[129] I have followed Nougayrol in his interpretation of lines 47-51.
[130] Read perhaps (e)L-i-ta-pi-šu!—which form is unambiguous in the Assyrian version II, 7, for the meaning cf. Creation Epic, VII, 119.
[131] For the same phrase in omens cf. A. Goetze, JCS, 1 (1947), 256.

ASSYRIAN VERSION

(For column i see Supplement, p. 514.)

(ii)

And all the decrees of the gods he directed.19
To convey them he dispatched Zu,
Enlil entrusted to him the ... of the entrance to his shrine.
The [... jing of pure water before him.
The exercise of his Enlilship his eyes view.
The crown of his sovereignty, the robe of his godhead,
His divine Tablet of Destinies Zu views constantly.
As he views constantly the father of the gods, the god of Duranki,18
The removal19 of Enlilship he conceives in his heart.
As Zu views constantly the father of the gods, the god of Duranki,
The removal of Enlilship he conceives in his heart.
"I will take the divine Tablet of Destinies, I,
And the decrees of all the gods I will rule!"

18 Reading u-ma-[š]-tum. For the restoration of lines 2-3 cf. Nougayrol, RA, XLV (1952), 87, n.3.
19 Here and in A (2, 21; 3, 8) the Temple Tower at Nippur rather than the city of Dur.
I will make firm my throne and be the master of the norms,
I will direct the totality of all the Igigi."
His heart having thus plotted aggression,
At the entrance of the sanctuary, which he had been viewing,
He awaits the start of day.
As Enlil was washing with pure water,
His crown having been removed and deposited on the throne,
He[...]
Taking away the Enlilship; suspended were [the norms].
When Zu had flown away and repaired to[...]
Stillness spread abroad," si[lence] prevailed.
Father Enlil, their counselor, was speechless." The sanctuary took off its brilliance.
[The gods of the ]and rallied at the ne[ws].
Anu op[ened] his mouth to speak,
Saying to the gods, his sons:
"[Wh]o* will slay Zu,
And make his name the greatest [in] the settlements?"

They called the [Irriga]tor, the son of Anu;
[He who gi]ves the orders* addressed him.
They called Adad, the Irrigator, the son of Anu;
[He who gi]ves the orders addressed him:
"[Th]y potent one, all-conquering Adad—immovable thy onslaught—
[Bring] lightning on* Zu with thy weapons!
Thy [name] shall be the greatest in the Assembly of the great gods,
[Among the god]s, thy brothers, thou shalt have no equal!
[Let] built shrines [appear],
[In the] four [qu]arters establish thy cult sites,
Let thy [cult si]tes re-enter Ekur!
[Glori]fied before the gods and potent shall be thy name!"

Adad replied to the command,
Saying (these) words [to A]nu, his father:
"[My father, to the] trackless mountain who will hasten?"

Who is like Zu among the gods, thy sons?
[The Tablet of Destinies] he has seized in his hands,
[The Enlilship] he has taken away; suspended are the norms.
[Zu] has flown away repairing to his mountain.
His [utterance] has become like that of the god of Duranki.
[He who opposes] him will become [like clay],
[At] his [. . . the gods waste away]."

Anu bade him to forego the] journey.29

(First the twenty-three lines of this column [54-76 in consecutive line count] are almost totally destroyed, except for portions of the last five lines. These correspond to lines 49-53 above. Apparently another deity had been called in, but declined to go against Zu. It should be noted that in the Susa Version the first-born of Ishtar is the second god to be called [the third in the Assyrian Version]. Moreover, he appears to have accepted the challenge, unlike his counterpart in the present instance.)

[They] called [Shara], the first-born30 of Ishtar.
[He who gives the or]ders addressed him:
"[Thou pot]ent one, all-conquering Shara—
immovable thy onslaught—
[Bring] lightning upon [Zu] with thy weapons!
[Thy name] shall be the greatest in the Assembly of the great gods,
[Am]ong the gods, thy brothers, thou shalt have no equal!
Let built shrine appear,
In the four quarters establish thy cult sites,
Let thy cult sites re-enter Ekur!
[Glori]fied before the gods and potent shall be thy name!"

Zu has flown away repairing to his mountain.
[His] [utter]ance has [be]come [like that of the god of Duranki].
[He who opposes him] will become like clay],
[At] his [. . . the gods waste away]."

For the remainder of the tablet see the Supplement.

Another incomplete tablet [CT, xv, Pls. 41-42] belongs to the Lugalsbarda cycle—represented primarily in Sumerian—which tells us that Lugalsbada set out to conquer Zu by first plying him with intoxicants. In a hymn of Ashurbanipal it is Marduk who is celebrated as "the one who crushed the skull of Zu." And we have seen that the Susa text features Ningirsu, and the new text from Ashur has Ninurta, but the ultimate conqueror remains in doubt.)
Etana

The legendary dynasty of Kish which followed the Flood lists among its rulers "Etana, a shepherd, the one who to heaven ascended." Cylinder seals of the Old Akkadian period depict a shepherd rising heavenwards on the wings of an eagle. And a figure by the name of Etana—a mortal in all respects, except that his name may be written with the determinative for "god," a usage applied also to kings of the Old Akkadian and some of the succeeding dynasties—is the subject of an elaborate legend. The subject matter is thus clearly one of great antiquity. Its popularity, moreover, is attested by the fact that the legend has come down to us in fragments of three recensions: The Old Babylonian (A); the Middle Assyrian (B); and the Neo-Assyrian—from the library of Ashurbanipal (C). With the aid of these three versions, of which the latest is by far the best-preserved, the outlines of the story may be reconstructed as follows:

Etana had been designated to bring to mankind the security that kingship affords. But his life was blighted so long as he remained childless. The one known remedy appeared to be the plant of birth, which Etana must bring down in person from heaven. The difficult problem of the flight to heaven was eventually solved by Etana enlisting the aid of an eagle. The eagle had betrayed his friend, the serpent, and was languishing in a pit as a result of his perfidy. Etana rescues the bird and, as a reward, is carried by the eagle on a spectacular and fitful flight. The text fails us at the critical juncture. But the fact that the ending was a happy one after all.

The various texts which represent the Old Babylonian and the Neo-Assyrian recensions (A and C) have been republished by S. Langdon in Babyloniana, xxi (1931), Pls. xxvii-xxviii, and have been discussed by him, ibid., pp. 1-53. Our text references will be limited in the main to Langdon's copies, which furnish also an adequate guide to the respective sources. But Langdon's attempt to piece together a consecutive story from documents separated by more than a millennium has not been followed in this translation. Instead, the material has been grouped according to periods. Thirteen years after Langdon's publication, E. Ebeling was able to add to the Etana material by publishing fragments of a Middle Assyrian version, AJO, xiv (1944), Pls. ix-x, and pp. 298-303, together with new Neo-Assyrian fragments, ibid., Pls. xi-xii, and pp. 303-07. Older translations include those of P. Jensen, KB, vi, 1 (1900), 100-15, and 481-88; and of E. Ebeling, AOT, 235-40. Detailed references will be given with each of the headings in the translation which follows.

OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION

A-x

(1)
The great Anunnaki, who decree the fate, Sat down, taking counsel about the land. They who created the regions, who set up the establishments, The Igigi were too lofty for mankind, A stated time for mankind they decreed.

4 cf. also, P. Dhorme, Choix de textes religieux assyro-babyloniens (1907), 162-81.
5 Babyloniana, xxi (1931), Pl. xii and p. 10 ff.; KB, vi, v (1900), 528 ff.
6 A metaphor for "mankind."
7 Not "the seven gates were locked" (Langdon, Babyloniana, xxi, 11), but "the divine Seven (barred the gates)," cf., below, C-1, line 17, where these deities are equated with the Igigi.
8 Reading da-ad-mc, cf. da-ad-me in the parallel passage, C-1, 18; the word means "settlements and" by extension, "settlers," cf. B. Meissner, Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch, i (1931), 35-37. For this identification cf. R. Campbell Thompson, A Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology (1936), xxvi.
9 For this identification cf. R. Campbell Thompson, A Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology (1936), xxvi.
10 Babyloniana, xxi, Pls. xiii-xiv and pp. 14 ff.
11 This is the concluding part of the oath taken by the eagle and the serpent; cf. the Middle Assyrian Version (B), 4-7; and the Neo-Assyrian passage, C-2, lines 11-16.
12 cf. S. Langdon, "The Seven" had barred the gates against the settlers.
13 "0 Shamash, ta[ke] my hand [...]"
14 Me [...]"
15 Shamash op[ened] his mouth, [saying to the eagle]: "Thou hast dealt wickedly [...]"
16 The detested of the gods and the forbidden thou didst eat."
17 By his [...]and he seized him [...]"
18 In the eighth month he caused (him) to pass by his pit. The eagle, having received the food like a howling lion, Gained strength.
19 The eagle opened his [mouth], saying to Etana: "My friend, verily we are joined in friendship, I and thou! Say but to me what thou wilt of me, and I will grant it to thee."
20 Etana opened his mouth, saying to the eagle: "...[...]. a hidden thing."
21 tablet ends
22 (obverse)
23 "May the path be lost for him that he find not the way! May the mountain withhold from him its passage. May the darting weapon head straight for him!"
24 They swore (this) oath to each other. All were conceived, all were born. In the shade of the styrax-tree the serpent; On its crown begets the eagle.
When the serpent has caught a wild ox (or) a wild sheep,\(^{13}\)
The eagle feeds, his young feed.
When the serpent has caught a leopard (or) a tiger,\(^{14}\)
The eagle feeds, his young feed.

After his young had grown in age [and size],
[Their] wings had acquired... \(\text{[Their] wings had acquired...} \)

Then I will devour the young of the serpent [ ... ]
I will go up and in [heaven]
I will dwell [ ... ]?
Who is there that [ ... ]?

To the eagle, his father (these) words addressed:
"My father, [ ... ]."

Remainder of obverse destroyed

The serpent cast down [his burden] before [his young].
He glanced round: [his young] were not there!
With his claws he [scrapes] the ground;\(^{17}\)
[The dust of the nest covers] the sky.
[The serpent ...] weeps,
[His tears] flowing [before Shamash]:
"I put my trust in thee, valiant Shamash;
To the eagle I extended goodwill.
I revered and honored thine oath,
I upheld not evil against my friend.
Yet he, his nest is whole, but [my] nest is shattered,
The nest of the serpent has become a dirge;
His fledglings are whole, my young are not there!
He came down and devoured my offspring.
Know thou, 0 Shamash, that he pursues evil.
Thy net is the wide field,
Thy snare [is the faraway sky].
May the eagle not [escape] from thy net,
The doer of evil and abomination,
Who upholds evil against his friend!"

\(\text{MIDDLE ASSYRIAN VERSION}^{19}\)

(remainder of obverse destroyed)

May Shamash hand over the wicked one to the executioner!
May he place the wicked demon upon his plain!\(^{21}\)

On the crown of the tree the eagle begets,
At the base of the styrax-tree begets the serpent.

The eagle and the serpent formed a friendship,
Taking the oath to remain companions.

In the shade of that styrax-tree
The eagle feeds, withdraws,\(^{15}\)
His young feed.

When the serpent has caught mountain goats, gazelles of the steppe,
The [eagle's] feet, withdraws, his young feed.
When the serpent has caught [the leopard] of the steppe, the creatures of the earth,
[The eagle] feeds, withdraws, his young feed.
[After the young] of the eagle
[Had grown in age and size,]
Had acquired [stature],
[The eagle the young of] his [friend]
[To devour set] his [mind].

(remainder of column destroyed. Column ii too fragmentary for translation. The context corresponds to our C-3, 39 ff.)

\(\text{NEO-ASSYRIAN VERSION}^{15}\)

The great Anunnaki [who decree the fate],
[Sat] exchanging their counsels [about the land].
They who created the four regions [ ... ],
The command of all the Igigi the people [neglected].
The [ ... ] had not set up [a king].
In those days, [no tiara had been tied on, nor crown],
And [no] scepter had been [inlaid] with lapis.
The regions had not been created altogether.
The divine Seven against the people barred [the gates],
Against the settlers they barred [ ... ].
The Igigi had turned away [from the city].
Ishtar a shepherd [for the people ... ],
And a king she seeks [for the city].
Enlil inspects the quarters of heaven [ ... ],
As he continues searching [ ... ].
In the land a king [ ... ],
Kingship [ ... ].
Then [his heart] prompted Enlil [ ... ].
The gods [ ... ].

\(\text{13} \text{cf. B. Landsberger, Fauna (1934), 10, 144.}\)
\(\text{14} \text{Ibid., 8a.}\)
\(\text{15} \text{cf. the new fragment, AfO, xiv (1944), Pl. xii (K 5299) and pp. 304 f.}\)
\(\text{16} \text{Ibid., 305, line 9.}\)
\(\text{17} \text{Reading qa-qal-ri-am], cf. qa-qa-qa, AfO, xiv, loc. cit., 11.}\)
\(\text{18} \text{Reading di-l-ma-a-am], cf. ibid., 13 and n.52.}\)
\(\text{19} \text{E. Ebeling, AfO, xiv, Pl. ix and pp. 299-303; LKA, 14.}\)
\(\text{20} \text{Lit. "lift up his head," in the sense of "call to account"; cf. The Myth of Zu, p. 111, n.5.}\)
\(\text{21} \text{Oath sworn by the eagle and the serpent, cf. above, A-2, 1-3, and below C-3, 11-16.}\)
\(\text{22} \text{cf. Ebeling, loc. cit., 300 f., n.15.}\)
\(\text{23} \text{See Langdon, Babyloniaca, xii, 15, n.5.}\)
\(\text{24} \text{Babyloniaca, xii, Pl. vii and pp. 7 ff.; cf. A-1, above.}\)
\(\text{25} \text{Reading 4-im in place of Langdon's Id im-.}\)
Come, let us arise [ ... ],
We have sworn by the nether world [ ... ]!
The oath that they swore before valiant Shamash:

"He who has transgressed the bounds of Shamash,
May Shamash [hand him over] for evil to the executioner!
He who [has transgressed] the bounds of Shamash,
May [the mountain] remove from him [its] passage!
May the darting weapon head straight for him,
May Shamash hand him over for evil to the executioner!

\( ^{1} \) He who has transgressed the bounds of Shamash,
May [the eagle] not escape from thy net,
Thy snare is the [faraway] sky.
May [the eagle] not escape from thy net,

The concluding part of this fragment is pieced together from Bablylonica, xi, Pls. 1-11 and pp. 12 ff.; E. Ebeling, AOT, 235 ff., Fragment A.

For this episode cf. the Middle Assyrian fragment, AJO, xv, Pl. x, ii, and pp. 301 ff.; also the Neo-Assyrian fragment, ibid., Pl. xii, and pp. 304 ff.

The concluding part of this fragment is pieced together from Bablylonica, xi, Pl. ii, 43 ff. and AJO, xiv, Pl. xii (K. 5290), obv. 8 ff.

\( ^{26} \) Babyloniaca, xi, Pls. 1-11 and pp. 12 ff.; E. Ebeling, AOT, 235 ff., Fragment A.

\( ^{27} \) For this episode cf. the Middle Assyrian fragment, AJO, xv, Pl. x, ii, and pp. 301 ff.; also the Neo-Assyrian fragment, ibid., Pl. xii, and pp. 304 ff.

\( ^{28} \) The concluding part of this fragment is pieced together from Bablylonica, xi, Pl. ii, 43 ff. and AJO, xiv, Pl. xii (K. 5290), obv. 8 ff.

\( ^{29} \) Babyloniaca, xiii, Pls. 10-11 and 12-13 (Marsh Reverse); pp. 22 ff.; KB, viii, i, 104-08 (Jensen 1); AOT, 235-38 (Ebeling B).

\( ^{30} \) cf. AJO, xiv, 305, line 13.


\( ^{32} \) For this sense of "charm, cast a spell upon."

\( ^{33} \) This is the beginning of K. 3357 rev. (Bablylonica, xiii, Pl. iv), which Langdon provides with a separate line count, as he does also the sequel, viz., the reverse of the Jastrow Fragment, Pls. 11-13. Our line count is consecutive, paralleling that of Jensen's fragment 16, except only that Jensen's numbers are ahead by one; he had assumed a gap of one line after 21, which assumption proved subsequently to be erroneous.

\( ^{34} \) Reading šar-u-a-ti and adducing Aramaic-Hebrew šîl, or šîd, with W. F. Albright, RA, xvi (1919), 187. At any rate, the form cannot be read id'-la-a-ti with Ebeling, AJO, xiv, 305, n.57.
If the eagle but feared his ill fortune, 53
He would not eat the flesh with the (other) birds!
The eagle opened his mouth saying to his young:
"Come ye, let us go down and devour the flesh of this
wild ox!"
The little fledgling, exceeding wise,
To the eagle, his father, 55 (these) words addressed:
"Go [not] down, my father! Perchance
Inside this wild ox lurks the serpent?"
The eagle [consulting not] with [his heart], 57
[Said] (these) [words]:
"[I will go] down [and eat the flesh of the wild ox]!
How could [the serpent] devour me?"58
He heard them not, he heeded not the words of his son,
He came down and lighted upon the wild ox.
The eagle inspected the flesh,
He examined its front and its hind parts.
Again he inspected the flesh, examining its front and
its hind parts.
Proceeding cautiously, he groped to the recesses of the
interior.
When he entered the interior, the serpent seized him by
his wings: "Thou hast entered (and) altered my nest,
Thou hast entered (and) altered my nest!"59
The eagle opened his mouth, saying to the serpent:
"Have mercy upon me, and I will bestow
upon thee
A marriage gift, like unto a bridegroom!" (50)
The serpent opened his mouth, saying to the eagle:
"If I release thee, how shall I answer Shamash on high?
Thy punishment would be turned against me,
Who should impose punishment upon thee!"
He tore off his wings, his pinions, and his talons,
[He plucked him and cast him] into a pit,
[Saying]: "He shall die a death of hunger [and
thirst]!"
[... ] the eagle daily beseeches Shamash:
"Am I to perish in the pit?
Who knows how thy punishment was imposed
upon me?
Save the life of me, the eagle,
And I will sound thy name unto eternity!"
Shamash opened his mouth, saying to the eagle:
"Thou art evil and hast grieved me gravely!
The detested of the gods (and) the forbidden thou didst
eat.
Though thou hast sworn, I will not come to thee I
He will give thee the plant of birth!
Grant thou me the plant of birth!
Show me the plant of birth,
Remove my burden and produce for me a name!"60
Shamash opened his mouth, saying to Etana:
"Go on (thy) way, cross the mountain.
On seeing a pit, examine its inside!
Inside it lies an eagle;
He will give thee the plant of birth!"
At the command of valiant Shamash,
Etana went on (his) way, crossed the mountain.
When he saw the pit, he examined its inside;
Inside [it lay an eagle],
Inasmuch as [Shamash] had there caused him to await
him.
C-461
The eagle opened his mouth,
[Saying] (these) words to Shamash, his lord:
[... ]
"The young of a bird [ ... ],
[Let] ad him hither [ ... ].
[Wh]atever he says [ ... ],
[Wh]atever I say [ ... ]."
At the command of valiant Shamash [ ... ],
The young of a bird [ ... ].
The eagle opened his mouth, saying [to] Etana:
"Why thou didst come [tell me thou]!"
Etana opened his mouth, saying [to] the eagle:
"My friend, give me the plant of birth,
Show thou to me the plant of birth!
[Remove my burden and] produce for me a name!"
(At approximately this point comes in the Neo-Assyrian
fragment, AFQ, xiv, Pl. xi, and pp. 306-07. The
text is badly damaged and Ebeling's suggested
additions have been offered by him with all due reserve. The line
right count is that of Ebeling.)
(overse)
[ ... ] the eagle looked at [him],
Saying [ ... ] to Etana:
"Thou art, indeed, Etana, the king of animals!
Thou art Etana [ ... ]!
Lift [me] up from the midst [of this pit],
Give me [ ... ] ...
[And I will give thee] a human offspring!
[Unto] eternity I will sing thy praises."
Etana [says] (these) words [to the eagle]:
"If I save thy life [ ... ],
[And bring thee up from] the pit,
[Unto distant times we [ ... ]"
(remainder broken away)

53 Here begins the parallel text, Marsh Reverse, Babyloniaca, xii, Pls. ii-iv.
55 These words are supplied from AFQ, xiv, Pl. ix, ii, 4.
57 Ebeling, ibid., 305, line 3, would read it-ti [lib-îs-î ku im-lik-me],
which yields excellent sense; it should be noted, however, that the copy
(Langdon's Pl. n, 7) does not altogether favor these additions.
58 This reading by Ebeling (ibid., line 4), accords well with the traces on
the Marsh Fragment (Babyloniaca, xii, Pl. ii, line 8) and the new Ebeling
60 Meaning "son."
61 Babyloniaca, xii, Pl. viii, pp. 39 ff.; KB, vi, 1, 108-11 (Jensen ii);
AOT, 238 (Ebeling C).
When Etana [heard] this,
I will give thee [the plant] of birth!  

When he comes out of [ ... ]
From sunrise until [ ... ]
[ ... ]

"When he filled the front of the pit with [ ... ],
Next he put down two [ ... ],
[ ... ] jing down before him [ ... ].
The eagle [was unable] to rise from the pit; (10)
He [ ... ],
[ ... ] and [ ... ];
Again [he was unable] to rise from the pit;
He flaps [his] w[ings ... ]ly.
[ ... ] and [ ... ];
[For the third time from the p]it [he was unable] to rise.
[He] flaps [his] w[ings ... ]ly.

The eagle [opened] his mouth, [saying to Etana]
"My friend, bright [ ... ].
I looked as I go down [ ... ].
She was sitting in the midst of brilliance [ ... ],
[ ... ] she was laden [ ... ].
A throne was placed and [ ... ].
At the foot of the throne lions [ ... ].

As I got up, the lions [ ... ],
Then I awoke, trembling [ ... ]."

The eagle [says] to him, to Etana:
"My friend, bright [ ... ].
Up, I will bear thee to the heaven [of Anu]!
Upon my sides [place thou thine arms]!
Upon the feathers of my wings [place thou thy hands]!
When he had borne him aloft one league:
"My friend, take a glance at how the land [appears]!"
"Of the land [ ... ].
And the wide sea is just like a tub."
[When he had borne him aloft] a second league:
"My friend, cast a glance at how the land appears!"
"The land has turned into a furrow [ ... ],
And the wide sea is just like a bread basket." [When he had borne him aloft] a third league:
"My friend, cast a glance at how the land appears."
"As I glanced round, the land [had disappeared],
And upon the wide sea [mine eyes] could not feast!
My friend, I will not ascend to heaven!
Halt in (thy) tracks that [ ... ]!

One league he plunged down;
The eagle went down, and he abreast of him [ ... ].
A second league he plunged down;
The eagle went down, and he abreast [of him ... ].
A third league he plunged down;
The eagle went down, and he abreast [of him ... ].
[To within three cubits] of the ground [of Anu],
The eagle had fallen, and he abreast of him [ ... ].
[ ... ] the eagle [has been bruised]; of Etana [ ... ].

The sea has turned into the water [of a stream]"
When he had borne [him] aloft a second league,
The eagle says to [him], to Etana:
"See, my friend, how the land appears!"
"The land [ ... ]"
When he had borne him aloft a third league,
The eagle [says] to him, to Etana:
"See, my friend, how the land appears!"
"The land has turned into a gardener's ditch!"
After they had ascended to the heaven of Anu,
Had come to the gate of Anu, Enlil, and Ea,
The eagle (and) Etana together did obeisance.
[ ... ] the eagle (and) Etana.

Of the land [ ... ].
Leave [ ... ]
[ ... ]."

The eagle thus [speaks to him]:
"[ ... ]
I will bear thee [ ... ].
... [ ... ]...
The eagle [ ... ] a bird [ ... ]
There is not [ ... ].
Up, my friend, [ ... ],
With Ishtar, the mistress [ ... ],
Alongside Ishtar, the mistress [ ... ].
Upon my sides [place thou thine arms],
Upon the feathers of my wings [place thou thy hands]!
Upon his sides he placed [his arms],
Upon the feathers of his wings [he placed his hands].
[When he had borne him aloft] one league:
"My friend, take a glance at how the land [appears]!"

"See, my friend, how the land appears!
The land has turned into a gardener's ditch!
After they had ascended to the heaven of Anu,
Had come to the gate of Anu, Enlil, and Ea.
The eagle (and) Etana together did obeisance.
[ ... ] the eagle (and) Etana.

Of the land [ ... ].
Leave [ ... ]
[ ... ]."

The eagle thus [speaks to him]:
"[ ... ]
I will bear thee [ ... ].
... [ ... ]...
The eagle [ ... ] a bird [ ... ]
There is not [ ... ].
Up, my friend, [ ... ],
With Ishtar, the mistress [ ... ],
Alongside Ishtar, the mistress [ ... ].
Upon my sides [place thou thine arms],
Upon the feathers of my wings [place thou thy hands]!
Upon his sides he placed [his arms],
Upon the feathers of his wings [he placed his hands].
[When he had borne him aloft] one league:
"My friend, take a glance at how the land [appears]!"

As I glanced round, the land [had disappeared],
And upon the wide sea [mine eyes] could not feast!
My friend, I will not ascend to heaven!
Halt in (thy) tracks that [ ... ]!

One league he plunged down;
The eagle went down, and he abreast of him [ ... ].
A second league he plunged down;
The eagle went down, and he abreast [of him ... ].
A third league he plunged down;
The eagle went down, and he abreast [of him ... ].
[To within three cubits] of the ground [of Anu],
The eagle had fallen, and he abreast of him [ ... ].
[ ... ] the eagle [has been bruised]; of Etana [ ... ].

The sea has turned into the water [of a stream]"
When he had borne [him] aloft a second league,
The eagle says to [him], to Etana:
"See, my friend, how the land appears!"
"The land [ ... ]"
When he had borne him aloft a third league,
The eagle [says] to him, to Etana:
"See, my friend, how the land appears!"
"The land has turned into a gardener's ditch!"
After they had ascended to the heaven of Anu,
Had come to the gate of Anu, Enlil, and Ea,
The eagle (and) Etana together did obeisance.
[ ... ] the eagle (and) Etana.

Of the land [ ... ].
Leave [ ... ]
[ ... ]."

The eagle thus [speaks to him]:
"[ ... ]
I will bear thee [ ... ].
... [ ... ]...
The eagle [ ... ] a bird [ ... ]
There is not [ ... ].
Up, my friend, [ ... ],
With Ishtar, the mistress [ ... ],
Alongside Ishtar, the mistress [ ... ].
Upon my sides [place thou thine arms],
Upon the feathers of my wings [place thou thy hands]!
Upon his sides he placed [his arms],
Upon the feathers of his wings [he placed his hands].
[When he had borne him aloft] one league:
"My friend, take a glance at how the land [appears]!"

As I glanced round, the land [had disappeared],
And upon the wide sea [mine eyes] could not feast!
My friend, I will not ascend to heaven!
Halt in (thy) tracks that [ ... ]!

One league he plunged down;
The eagle went down, and he abreast of him [ ... ].
A second league he plunged down;
The eagle went down, and he abreast [of him ... ].
A third league he plunged down;
The eagle went down, and he abreast [of him ... ].
[To within three cubits] of the ground [of Anu],
The eagle had fallen, and he abreast of him [ ... ].
[ ... ] the eagle [has been bruised]; of Etana [ ... ].

The sea has turned into the water [of a stream]"
When he had borne [him] aloft a second league,
The Legend of Sargon

The legend concerning the birth of Sargon of Agade is available in two incomplete Neo-Assyrian copies (A and B) and in a Neo-Babylonian fragment (C). All three were published in *CT*, xiii (1901): A—Pl. 42; B and C—Pl. 43. Text B alone contains incomplete lines of a second column; it is uncertain whether this column bore any relation to the Sargon legend. A composite text of the actual legend, with variant readings, transliteration, and translation was published by L. W. King in his *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, ii (1907), 87-96. Latest (partial) translation and discussion: H. G. Güterbock, *ZA*, xlII (1934), 62-64. *(See Addenda.)*

Sargon, the mighty king, king of Agade, am I.
My mother was a high priestess, my father I knew not.
The brother(s) of my father loved the hills.
My city is Azupiranu, which is situated on the banks of the Euphrates.
My mother, the high priestess, conceived me, in secret she bore me.
She set me in a basket of rushes, with bitumen she sealed my lid.\(^1\)

She cast me into the river which rose not (over) me.\(^4\)
The river bore me up and carried me to Akki, the drawer of water.
Akki, the drawer of water lifted me out as he dipped his e[wer].\(^5\)
Akki, the drawer of water, [took me] as his son (and) reared me.
Akki, the drawer of water, appointed me as his gardener.
While I was a gardener, Ishtar granted me (her) love, And for four and [ ... ] years I exercised kingship.
The black-headed [people] I ruled, I go[verned]; Mighty [mountains] with chip-axes of bronze I conquered,
The upper ranges I scaled,
The lower ranges I [trav]ersed.
The sea [lan]ds three times I circled.
Dilmun my [hand] cap[tured],
[To] the great Der I [went up], I [ ... ],
[K]azallu I destroyed and [ ... ]\(^5\).
Whatever king may come up after me, [ ... ],
Let him r[u]le, let him govern] the black-headed [people];
[Let him conquer] mighty [mountains] with chip-axe[s of bronze],
[Let him scale] the upper ranges,
[Let him traverse the lower ranges],
Let him circle the sea [lan]ds three times!
[Dilmun let his hand capture],
Let him go up [to] the great Der and [ ... ]!\(^5\)
[ ... ] from my city, Aga[de ... ]
[ ... ] ... [ ... ].\(^5\)

 *(Remainder broken away. The remains of column ii, as extant in Text B, and *CT* 46, 46 are too fragmentary for translation.)*

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\(^1\) loc. cit., has even suggested *i-hal-lad* "he grinds" as a possible reading. In view, however, of the points made in the Introduction, it is improbable that the adventure ended in death.

Langdon would fill part of the break with the small fragment K 8563 rev. (*Babyloniaca*, xii, Pl. lx, and p. 52). It is too slight and inconclusive for a connected translation. But mention is made in it of Etana’s wife, his ghost. Do we have here a speech addressed to Etana’s son, Balil, whom the king list places immediately after Etana (Th. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, 1939, 80-81)? At all events, the prevailing view that Etana’s flight resulted in misfortune would seem to stand in need of confirmation.


\(^3\) Lit. "door."

\(^4\) Reading *i-nu t[i]-ib d(u)-ù-[lu],* with Landsberger, *ZA*, xlii, 63, n.2.

The Moon that Fell from Heaven

Text: KUB, xxxvi, 5 and its duplicate 4; the text is bilingual, in Hittite and Hurrian. Literature: J. Friedrich, AF0, xi (1936/37) 76 f.; H. Th. Bosser, Asia (Istanbul, 1947), 164 ff.

(10) The Moon-god (Hattic: Kalku) fell down from heaven. He fell upon the kilammar. But no one saw him. The Storm-god (Hattic: Taru) sent rain after him, he sent rainstorms after him so that fear seized him (and) fright seized him.

(Kingship in Heaven

Text: KUB, xxxiii, 120. Literature: E. Forrer, Eine Geschichte der Götterkönigswm aus dem Hatti-Reiche (Annsnaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales, iv [1936], 687-713); H. G. Güterbock, Kumarbi Efsanesi (Ankara, 1945), 11-16; the same, Kumarbi, Mythen vom churritischen Kronos (Zürich-New York, 1946), 6-12; the same, AF0, li (1948), 123-125; H. Otten, Mythen vom Geste Kumarbi (Berlin, 1950), 5-13-

(i) [Let there listen the gods who are in heaven] and those who are in the dark earth! Let there listen the mighty [or] den gods, Naras, [Napasaras, Mink]is (and) Ammunkis! Let there listen Ammezadus and the gods of the olden days, the god's] fathers (and) mothers!

(5) Let there listen [Anus, Antlus (and) Isharas, the fathers (and) mothers! Let there listen Eilllas, [Ninilias and] also those who are mighty (and) firmly established gods!—Once in the olden days Alalus was king in heaven. (As long as) Alalus was seated on the throne, the mighty Anus, first among the gods, (10) was standing before him. He would sink at his feet and set the drinking cup in his hand.

Nine in number were the years that Alalus was king in heaven. In the ninth year Anus gave battle to Alalus and he vanquished Alalus. He fled before him and went down to the dark earth. (15) Down he went to the dark earth, but Anus took his seat upon the throne. (As long as) Anus was seated upon the throne, the mighty Kumarbis would give him his food. He would sink at his feet and set the drinking cup in his hand.

Nine in number were the years that Anus was king in heaven. In the ninth year Anus gave battle to Kumarbis and like Alalus Kumarbis gave battle (20) to Anus. (When) he could no longer withstand Kumarbis' eyes, (he) Anus, he struggled forth from the hands of Kumarbis. He fled, (he) Anus; (like) a bird he moved in the sky. After him rushed Kumarbis, seized (him) Anus, by his feet and dragged him down from the sky.

(25) He (Kumarbis) bit his "knees" and his manhood went down into his inside. When it lodged there, (and) when Kumarbis had swallowed Anus' manhood, he rejoiced and laughed. Anus turned back to him, to Kumarbis he began to speak: "Thou rejoicest over thine inside, because thou hast swallowed my manhood.

(30) "Rejoice not over thine inside! In thine inside I have planted a heavy burden. Firstly I have impregnated thee with the noble Storm-god. Secondly I have impregnated thee with the river Aranzahas, not to be endured. Thirdly I have impregnated thee with the noble Tasmisus. Three dreadful gods have I planted in thy belly as seed. Thou shalt go (35) and end by striking the rocks of thine own mountain with thy head!"

When Anus had finished speaking, he went up to heaven and hid himself. Out of his mouth spat [Kumarbis], the wise king. Out of his mouth he spat... [. . . ] (40) mixed with... That which Kumarbis spat out, [fell on] Mount Kanzuras; [. . . ] an awesome god therein.

Filled with fury Kumarbis went to Nippur, [...]. At the lordly... [. . . ] he settled down. Kumarbis did not [. . . ] (while) he counts [the months]. The seventh month came.

(lower third of column i missing)

(Columns ii and iii are in the worst possible state of preservation. This makes it very difficult to follow the course of events. What is offered here, is far from certain. For the most part I have to limit myself to a paraphrase..."

1 The nature of this publication has made it necessary to be liberal with restorations and to adopt sometimes rather free translations. Some scholars may feel that on occasion I have gone beyond the justifiable in this respect. It gives me great pleasure to express my thanks to Prof. R. A. Crossland, who has greatly assisted me in putting my translations in adequate English. For a general discussion of Hittite texts see Introduction, pp. xvii-xviii.

2 These translations are a makeshift. The real names of the gods are not known to us since they are always written with the respective ideograms.

3 This is a euphemism for "male parts."

4 The Hurrian name of the Tigris.

5 Later (see below, The Song of Ullikummis) Tasmissus is the attendant of the Storm-god.

6 The Mesopotamian city which was the center of the Sumero-Akkadian cult of Ili.
of such sections as seem intelligible. The main theme of column ii is the birth of the Storm-god.)

(Anus addresses the Storm-god who is still unborn inside Kumarbis and advises him of the various parts of Kumarbis’ body through which he may come forth [ii 1-3].

(The Storm-god answers from within Kumarbis: “Long life to thee! lord of the well-spring of wisdom! ... The earth will give me its strength, the sky will give me its valor, Anus will give me his manliness, Kumarbis will give me his wisdom, Naras will give me his ..., Napisaras will give me his ...” The giving of the bull Seris, a wagon or chariot and of other objects is also mentioned. It seems as though the Storm-god speaks of his future greatness and promises Anus to revenge him [ii 29-38].

(Anus repeats his advice as to the places from which the Storm-god may come forth, among them Kumarbis’ mouth and the “good place” [ii 33-28].

(The Storm-god replies: “... If I come forth from his ... it will derange (my) mind. If I come forth from his ... it will defile me at that spot ... it will defile me at the ear. ... If I come forth from the ‘good place,’ a woman will ... me.” In the following the Storm-god, it seems, is forewarned of what will happen, if he should come forth by rending asunder Kumarbis’ tawnasas [ii 39-54].

(As he walked along and took his place before Ayas, Kumarbis became [dizzy] and collapsed. ... Kumarbis began to speak to Ayas: ‘Give me my son, I want to devour [my son]!’ Indeed it seems that Kumarbis received something to eat. However it hurts his mouth and he begins to moan [ii 39-54].

(On Kumarbis’ complaint Ayas advises him to call in certain experts: ‘Let them go (and) summon the ‘poor’! Let the ‘poor’ work magic on the heroes, the lords (and) the bulls for thee! Let the ‘poor’ bring sacrifices of meal for thee!” This then is done [ii 55-70].

(They began to work magic [on him] with ... they kept bringing sacrifices of meal to him, they kept ...]. From the tawnasas [he wanted to come forth, but] they made Kumarbis’ tawnasas secure. Thus from the ‘good place’ came forth the valiant Storm-god” [ii 71-75].

(The birth of the Storm-god is completed and reported to Anus [ii 76-87].

(gap)

(Anus plots to destroy Kumarbis with the help of the Storm-god [iii 2-18].

(The Storm-god prepares for battle [iii 19-29].

(The outcome of the battle is not narrated on the preserved part of the tablet. Apparently the two other children that developed from Anus “manhood” that Kumarbis’ had spat out upon the earth also played a role therein [their birth being narrated in col. iv]. At any event, we have to assume that the Storm-god defeated Kumarbis and took over the kingship in heaven.)

The Song of Ullikummis

The texts are mentioned under the respective sections. Literature: H. G. Götberock, Kumarbi Efsanesi (Ankara, 1945); the same, Kumarbi, Mythen vom churritischen Kronos (Zürich-New York, 1946); the same, AJA, 11 (1945), 135-139; also A. Goetze, IJOS, 69 (1949), 178-183; H. Otten, Mythen vom Gotte Kumarbi, Neue Fragmente (Berlin, 1950); H. G. Götberock, The Song of Ullikummi (New Haven, 1952). Götberock offers a full reconstruction of the preserved parts of the composition.

(i-a) KUB, xxxiii, 96 i + Otten, No. 8.

[Of the god who ...], in whose mind there are wise thoughts, and who thinks them out in his mind [...], of the father of all gods, of Kumarbis let me sing!

Kumarbis thinks out wise thoughts in his mind. He nurses the thought of (creating) misfortune (and) an evil being. He plots evil against the Storm-god. He nurses the thought of (raising up) a rival for the Storm-god.

Kumarbis thinks out wise thoughts in his mind and strings them together like beads.

When Kumarbis had thought out the wise thoughts in his mind, he instantly rose from his seat. He took his staff in his hand, put swift shoes on his feet. He set forth from Urkis, his city, and betook himself to the ... [...].

In the ... a great rock lies. Her’ length is three double-hours, her width is [...] double-hours] and a half. ... His desire was aroused and he slept with the rock. His manhood [flowed] into her; five times he took her, [...] ten times he took her ...

(i-b) KUB, xvii, 7 + xxxiii, 93 ii

(Imbaluris, Kumarbis’ messenger, is being instruct ed:) “[Go to the Sea and tell her: ‘...] Kumarbis must remain father of the gods!” [When Imbaluris] saw (that) Kumarbis [had finished (?)], he walked on to the Sea.

(Imbaluris) began to repeat the words to the Sea: “The words which my lord has [told me to say, I want to pass on] to the Sea. I have [them] committed to memory: ‘...; Ku]marbis must remain father of the gods!’"

[When the Sea] heard [Imbaluris’ words, [the Sea] began to reply to [Imbaluris: “[Listen, O Imbaluris! and to the wor]ds which [I am speaking] to thee, [give] ear! [Go (and)] speak firm [words to Kumarbis: ‘Why hast thou come in anger], Kumarbis? [Turn in favor back to my house! Fear [has seized the hou]se...”"

(i-c) KUB, xxxiii, 98 ii 1-30 and duplicate KUB, xxxiii, 102 ii 1-37

Imbaluris began to answer the Sea: “Kumarbis shall
and betake thyself to the Waters! [These words put (thy) shoes on thy feet! From...set forth word I speak to thee! Take (thy) staff in (thy) hand, seven times. And Kumarbis began to speak to his vizier they drank five times, they drank six times, they drank twice, they drank three times, they drank four times, the cooks brought dishes, the cupbearers brought sweet wine for him to drink. They drank once, they drank twice, they drank three times, they drank four times, they drank five times, they drank six times, they drank seven times. And Kumarbis began to speak to his vizier Mukisanus: "Mukisanus, my vizier! Give ear to the word I speak to thee! Take (thy) staff in (thy) hand, put (thy) shoes on (thy feet)! [From...set forth] and [betake thyself] to the Waters! [These words [speak] in the presence of the Waters: [\'.\'.\']."]

Otten, Kumarbi, No. 7a and duplicates


Kumarbis began to say to his soul: "What name [shall I give] him? The child which the Good-women and the Mother-goddesses presented me, [for the reason that he] shot forth from (her) body (as) a shaft, let him go and [his] name be Ullikummis! Let him ascend to heaven for kingship! Let him vanquish Kummiya, the valiant king! They must not kill him! Not must see [him] Ishtar, the queen of Nineveh, the . . . woman! She must not crush him like a reed in the brake!"

Kumarbis began to speak [these words] to Imbaluris: "Imbaluris! To the words I speak [to thee] give ear! Take (thy) staff in (thy) hand and put swift shoes on thy [feet! Set forth and] go to the Irsirra deities! Tell the Irsirra deities these words of weighty import: 'Come ye here! Kumarbis, the father of the gods, [is calling you in! The errand on which he is calling you, [ye are not to know.] Come ye instantly!'

"[The Irsirra deities] shall take [him], (him) my son, and they [shall bring] him [down to the dark] earth. The Irsirra deities [shall hide him]. . . . Not must he see the fierce battles of the great gods.'"

(i-c) KUB, xxxii, 98 iii and duplicate 102 iii (immediate continuation)

[When] Imbaluris [heard these words, he took] (his) staff in (his) hand, put [(his) shoes on (his) feet] and journeyed. Imbaluris betook himself [to the . . . Irsir]ra deities.

[Imbaluris] began to [speak] these words to the Irsirra deities: "'Come ye here! Kumarbis, the father of the gods, [is calling you.] But the errand on which [he is calling] you, [ye are not to know!] Hasten and come!' [When [the Irsirra deities heard the words, [they hastened] (and) hurried. [They set forth and journeled and they covered the distance without stopping a single time. They betook themselves to Kumarbis and Kumarbis began [to speak] to the Irsirra deities: "[Take ye] [this child] and treat him caringly! Bring him to the dark earth! [Hasten] (and) hurry! Place him—a shaft—upon Ubelluris' right shoulder! In one day he shall increase a cubit, in one month he shall increase one acre. The stone which is added to his stature shall present an amazing spectacle. . . ."

(1-d) KUB, xvii, 7 + KUB, xxxiii, 93 + 95 + 96 +

When night [. . . ; when night] stood in the [. . . vigil [. . .; when night] stood in the [. . . vigil] [. . .] stone [moved] stone. [. . .], they attended her when she gave birth [. . .] the Rock [. . .] forth [. . .] and] Kumarbis' son [made his] appearance. The [. . .] women brought him into the world; the Good-women and the Moth[er-goddesses lifted the child and] placed [him upon Kumarbis'] knees. Kumarbis began to fondle his son [and] let him dance up and down. He proceeded to give [the child] a propitious name!

Kumarbis began to say to his soul: "What name [shall I give] him? The child which the Good-women and the Mother-goddesses presented me, [for the reason that he] shot forth from (her) body (as) a shaft, let him go and [his] name be Ullikummis! Let him ascend to heaven for kingship! Let him vanquish Kummiya, the valiant king! They must not kill him! Not must see [him] Ishtar, the queen of Nineveh, the . . . woman! She must not crush him like a reed in the brake!"

Kumarbis began to speak [these words] to Imbaluris: "Imbaluris! To the words I speak [to thee] give ear! Take (thy) staff in (thy) hand and put swift shoes on thy [feet! Set forth and] go to the Irsirra deities! Tell the Irsirra deities these words of weighty import: 'Come ye here! Kumarbis, the father of the gods, [is calling you in! The errand on which he is calling you, [ye are not to know.] Come ye instantly!'

"[The Irsirra deities] shall take [him], (him) my son, and they [shall bring] him [down to the dark] earth. The Irsirra deities [shall hide him]. . . . Not must he see the fierce battles of the great gods.'"

(i-c) KUB, xxxii, 98 iii and duplicate 102 iii (immediate continuation)

When the Irsirra deities heard [the] words, they took [the child] from Kumarbis' knees. The Irsirra deities lifted the child and pressed it to their breast like a cloth. They lifted him and placed him upon Ellil's knees. Ellil lifted his eyes and beheld the child as it stood in his divine presence. His body was made of diorite.

Ellil began to speak to him [his] words: "Who is that child whom the Good-women [and] the Mother-goddesses reared? No one among the great gods will see mightier battles. No one's vileness [equals] Kumarbis'. Just as Kumarbis raised the Storm-god, he has [now raised] this awesome diorite man as his rival."

When Ellil [had finished] his words, [the Irsirra deities took the child] and placed it—a shaft—upon Ubelluris' right shoulder. The diorite grows, the strong [waters] make him grow. In one day he increases one cubit, in one month
he increases one acre. The stone which is added to his stature presents an amazing spectacle.

When the 15th day came, the stone had grown high. He [was standing] in the sea with his knees (as) a shaft. It stood out above the water, the stone, and in height it (was) like [a pillar]. The sea reached up to its belt like a (loin) cloth. Like a tower the stone is raised up and reaches up to the temples and the kuntarra house in heaven.

The Sun-god looked down from the sky and caught sight of Ullikummis. Ullikummis saw the Sun-god. The Sun-god [said]: "What vigorous god [is standing there] in the sea? His body is not like (that of) the [other] gods."

The Sun-god of Heaven descended and went out into the sea. [. . .]. The Sun-god laid his hand to his forehead [. . .]. In wrath he shook his fists. The Sun-god [said]: "What vigorous god [is standing there] in the sea? His body is not like (that of) the [other] gods."

The Sun-god of Heaven descended and went out into the sea. [. . .]. The Sun-god laid his hand to his forehead [. . .]. In wrath he shook his fists.9

When the Sun-god of Heaven had seen Ullikummis, the Sun-god [entered] the horizon for a second time again, set forth [. . .] and [betook himself] to the Storm-god. When he [saw] the Sun-god coming, Tasmisus* began to speak these words: "Is this not the Sun-god of Heaven coming? The errand on which he is coming, that errand must be [momentous] . . . . It (must be) a grave vexation, [it] (must be) a grave menace. It fore[bodes] upheaval in heaven."*

The Storm-god began to speak to Tasmisus: "Let them set up [a seat for him on which to sit down]! Let them set a table from which to eat!"

No sooner had they spoken thus, than the Sun-god [reached] them. They set up a seat for him on which to sit down, but he [sat] not. They set a table (with food), but he served himself not. They gave him a cup, but he took not a drop.

The god, the Storm-god, began to speak to the Sun-god: "Who is the bad chamberlain who set up a chair for thee and thou sattest not? Who is the bad table man who set a table (with food) and thou eatest not? Who is the bad cupbearer who gave [thee wine] and thou drankest not? [. . . .]'"

(There must have followed the Storm-god’s report on what he had seen.)

(n-a) KUB, xxxiii, 87 + 113

[When these words] the Storm-god heard, in wrath [he] looked [his fists].3 [To the Sun-god of Heaven] the Storm-god began to speak: "[On the table the bread] shall become pleasant, so eat thou! [In the cup the wine] shall become pleasant, so [drink thou! Eat and] satisfy thy hunger, drink and quench thy thirst! [Then mount thy chariot and ascend to heaven]! [When these words] the Sun-god of Heaven heard, [he] rejoiced in [his soul]. [The bread on the table] became pleasant, so he ate. [The wine in the cup] became pleasant, so he drank. He mounted [his chariot] and ascended to heaven.

After [the Sun-god’s departure] the Storm-god thinks out wise thoughts in his mind. The Storm-god and Tasmisus took each other by the hands and [they set] forth from the kuntarra, the house of the gods. But Ishtar set out from heaven with . . . . and Ishtar spoke in her own mind: "where are they running to, the two brethren?" She . . . stopped, she Ishtar, and before the two brethren she stood up. They took one another by the hands and ascended Mount Hazziz1 while the king of Kummiya set his eye, his eye he set on the awesome diorite man. He looked at the awesome diorite man and in wrath he shook his fists.

The Storm-god sat down on the ground, while tears streamed [from his eyes] as in water courses. With tears streaming from his eyes the Storm-god speaks the word: "Who can bear to look upon so vexatious a sight? Who will dare go and battle [against the monster]? Who can bear seeing his terrifying [ . . . ] to whom sufficient courage [has been] given? Dost thou really not know the son whom [ . . . ] [have] begotten? [ . . . ]."

(ii-b) Otten, Kumarbi, No. 12 ii

Ishtar is singing and a . . . pebble from the sea she puts on. Out of the sea a great wave (rises) and the great wave speaks to Ishtar: "For whom waitest thou singing, for whom waitest thou filling your mouth with [song]? The man is deaf and hears not; in his eyes he is blind and sees not. He has no willing heart. Go away, O Ishtar, thy brother find while he has not yet become bold, while the skull of his head has not yet become dreadful!"

When Ishtar thus heard, she quenched [her song], harp and galgalturi2 she threw away; the gold (en jewelry) [she discarded] and wailing she went [to . . . ].

(Ishtar reports to the Storm-god.)

(ii-c) Otten, Kumarbi, No. 12 iii

(The Storm-god instructs Tasmisus:)

". . . . Let them mix fodder, let them bring fine oil! Let them anoint Serisu’s horns, let them plate with gold Tella’s tail!9 Let them turn the . . . , and let them provide them with strong . . . inside, but outside let them attach strong stones as a head-piece. Let them call out the thunder-storms which scatter the rocks for ninety furlongs . . . ! Let them call the rains (and) the winds! The lightning which flashes frightfully let them bring from the sleeping-chamber. Let them bring out the wagon and make it ready! Word bring me back!"

When Tasmisus the words heard, he hurried (and) hastened. Serisu [he drove] from Mount Imgairra. In the outer portal [he hitched] them. He brought fine oil and Serisu’s [horns he anointed], Tella’s tail he [plated with gold]. The . . . he . . . on the outside

87 87

* A musical instrument.
he attached strong stones as a head-piece. [The thunder storms he called out which scatter the rocks for ninety furlongs . . .].

(ii-d) KUB, xxxiii, 113 iv + Otten, Kumarbi,
Nos. 12 + 14 iv

... to fight he took a stand. Furthermore, his battle-gear he took, his wagon he took. From heaven he brought the clouds and the Storm-god set his face upon the doriote (man). He visualized him and in height he was [ . . . ], his height turned (out to be) . . . [ . . . ].
The Storm-god began to speak to Tasmisus: " . . . "
(The continuation shows that the battle was undecided.)

(iii-a) KUB, xxxiii, 106 i

When the gods heard the word, [they . . .]. They made ready their wagons and handed [ . . . to . . . ]. Astabis13 jumped [upon his wagon like a . . . ] and [drove] the wagon to [ . . . ]. He gathered the chariots together [ . . . ] and thundered the while, he Astabis. Amid thunder Astabis let [a . . . ] down into the sea. [With] the [ . . . ] they drew [up the water]13. Astabis [ . . . ] and the seventy gods held [the . . . ]. Yet he could not [ . . . ]. Astabis . . . and the seventy gods [tumbled] down into the sea. The doriote man [stayed unchanged], his body [even grew taller]. He made the heaven tremble and made [the earth shak e]. He [pushed upward] the sky like an empty garment. The doriote man increased in height [ . . . ]. Before [ . . . his height was] 9,000 leagues as he stood [upon the dark ear]th. Like a tower he was lifted up, (he) the doriote man, so that he reached up to the kuntarra house. [Altogeth er] his height was 9,000 leagues, that doriote man, and his girth 9,000 leagues. He stood [over] the gate of Kummiya like [a . . . ]. He, the doriote man, made Hebat14 leave her temple. Hence Hebat could no longer hear the message of the gods, nor could she see with her eyes the Storm-god and Suwaliyattas.14

Hebat began to speak this word to Takitis:15"I cannot hear the mighty word of the Storm-god. Nor can I hear the message of the gods, nor could she see with her eyes the Storm-god and Suwaliyattas."

Hebat began to speak this word to Takitis: "O Takitis, listen! Take thy staff in thy hand, put swift shoes on thy feet! Go and [call] the gods into a[ssembly! The doriote man may have killed [my husband, the no]ble king. [Bring] n[ews back] to me!"

[When Takitis heard Hebat's words], he hastened (and) hurried. Instantly he rose from his seat. The Storm-god began to speak to Tasmisus: "My lord! Hearken to my words! To the words I am telling thee give ear! Come! Let us go before Ea to Apsu,14 let us ask for the old tablets with the words [of fate]! [When] we arrive at the door of Ea's house [we shall bow] to Ea's doors [five times, and] we shall bow to Ea's . . . five times. [But when] we arrive [before E]a (himself), we shall bow down to Ea (himself) fifteen times. [By then] Ea's [heart] will perhaps have been softened and Ea [will] perhaps [listen] and do us a favor. He will hand over to us the old [ . . . tablets]."

[When the Storm-god] heard [Tasmisus'] words, he hastened (and) hurried. Instantly he rose from his seat. [The Storm-god] and [Tasmisus] took each other by the hand, covered the distance without stopping a single time and [arrived] in Apsu. [When the Storm-god] came [to the entrance of] Ea's house, [he bowed at] the front [door five times], and at] their [ . . . ] he bowed five times. [But before Ea (himself) he] bowed [fifteen] times.

(iii-c) KUB, xxxiii, 106 iii

[Ea . . . ], further[more . . . ]. They"17 [took each other] by the hand [and . . . ] until [they . . . ]. From the assembly [he went to Ellil]. [As he] began to lament, [Ellil began to speak to Ea:] "Long life to thee, Ea! [He] who worships [the gods, brings sacrifices to the gods, lavishes the fine and] soothing [cedarwood] on the gods—why hast thou [come to persecute] him?"

Ea [began to speak] to Ellil: "[Listen, Ellil!] To the word [which I am telling thee give ear] Kummaris has created] a rival to the Storm-god. [ . . . ] he has thrived and in height he is like a pillar], like [a tower] he is raised up [ . . . ]. [A rival] to thee [ . . . ] the olden [ . . . ] Doesst thou know that vig orous [god]?

[ . . . , but E]llil [did not know him].

124 HITTITE MYTHS, EPICS, AND LEGENDS

125

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124 Apsu, the watery deep where Ea is living, has become here a city.

125 Ea and who? Perhaps the Storm-god.

13 A warrior-god, probably brother of the Storm-god.

14 A warrior-god, probably brother of the Storm-god.

15 Serisu and Tella are the Storm-god's two bulls.

16 The Hurrian Warrior-god who was identified with Zamama or Ninurta.

17 This seems to be an attempt at preventing the monster's growth by depriving it of the water in which it is standing.

18 The Storm-god's wife.

19 A warrior-god, probably brother of the Storm-god.

20 Hebat's messenger.
When Ea [had ended his] words, he set forth and betook himself to Ubelluris.  

Tasmisus [lifted] (his) eyes and beheld him.  

Tasmisus began to speak to Ea: "Long life to thee, Ea! What makes thee come up [here]!"  

Ea wished life to Ubelluris [and] Ubelluris was standing on the dark earth, he upon whom [ . . . ] was built.  

Ea began to speak to Tasmisus: "Knowest thou not, O Ubelluris? Did no one bring thee the news? Doest thou not know, that vigorous god whom Kumarbis has fashioned to oppose the gods? or the frightful death which Kumarbis is plotting for the Storm-god? He is fashioning for him a rival who has in heaven the sea as a diorite stone. Doest thou not know him? Like a tower he is lifted up and has blocked off heaven, the holy houses of the gods, and Hebat. (Is it) because thou art far away from the dark earth, Ubelluris, (that) thou dost not know of that vigorous god?"

Ubelluris began to speak to Ea: "When they built heaven and earth upon me I did not know anything. When they came and severed the heaven from the earth with a cleaver, I did not know that either. Now my right shoulder is a little sore. But I do not know who that god is."

When Ea heard these words, he turned Ubelluris' shoulder as the diorite man stood upon Ubelluris' right shoulder like a shaft.

Ea began to speak to the olden gods the words: "Listen ye, olden gods, ye who know the olden words! Doest thou not know, that olden kings? Kummiya I shall destroy and the kuntarra house I shall take over. The gods I shall [drive out]ing!" Before [ . . . ] string together (thy) wise thoughts like pearls! [Up to heaven] I shall go to assume the kingship. Kummiya I shall destroy and the kuntarra house I shall take over. The gods I shall [drive out]ing from [heaven]."

(heard (him). They came to the place of assembly. All the gods began to bellow like cattle against Ullikummis, the diorite man.

The Storm-god jumped upon his chariot like a . . .

With thunder he went down to the sea and engaged him in battle, the Storm-god the diorite man.

The diorite man began to speak to [the Storm-god]: "What shall I say to thee, O Storm-god? Keep fighting!" Of his mind [ . . . ] while he stands (there) in.

"What shall I say to thee, O Storm-god! [Keep fighting!] Before [ . . . ] string together (thy) wise thoughts like pearls! [Up to heaven] I shall go to assume the kingship. Kummiya I shall destroy and the kuntarra house I shall take over. The gods I shall [drive out]ing from [heaven]."

(The closing lines are almost completely destroyed. They must have told how Ullikummis, despite his boasting, was defeated by the Storm-god.)

The Myth of Illuyankas


OLDER VERSION

(i) These are the words of Kellas, the "anointed" of the Storm-god of Nerik. What follows is the cult legend of the Purulli Festival of the Storm-god of Heaven, (the version which) they no longer tell:

(5) May the land flourish (and) prosper! May the land be (well) protected! If it flourishes (and) prospers, they will celebrate the Purulli Festival.

When the Storm-god and the Dragon Illuyankas came up to grips in Kiskilussa, the Dragon Illuyankas vanquished the Storm-god.

The Storm-god besought all the gods: "Come ye to my aid! Let Inaras prepare a celebration!"

(15) He made everything ready on a grand scale: amphorae of wine, amphorae of marnuwan (and) amphorae of walhi. The amphorae he had filled to the brim.

Inaras went to Zigaratta and encountered Hupasiyas, a mortal.

Thus spoke Inaras: "See, Hupasiyas! Such and such I want to do. I would have thee aid me!"

Thus spoke Hupasiyas to Inaras: (25) "So be it! Let me sleep with thee, and I will come (and) fulfill thy wishes!" And he slept with her.

Inaras took Hupasiyas to the place and hid him. Inaras (ii 5') put on her finery and lured the Dragon Illuyankas up from his lair: "See! I am holding a celebration. Come thou to eat and to drink!"

The Dragon Illuyankas came up with [his children]
(10) and they ate (and) drank. They drank every am-
phora dry and quenched their thirst.
Thereupon they are no longer able to descend to their
lair. Hupasiyas came (15) and trusted the Dragon
lluyankas with a rope.
"The Storm-god came and killed the Dragon Illu-
yankas and the gods were with him.
Inaras built herself a house on a cliff (15) in the land of
Tarukka. She made Hupasiyas live in that house.
Inaras instructs him: "When I go to the country, thou
shalt not look out of the window! If thou lookest out,
thou mayest see thy wife and thy children."
When twenty days had passed, that man opened the
window and [he saw] his wife and his children.
(25) When Inaras came home from the country, he
began to moan: "Let me go home!"
(ii') Thus spoke Inaras to Hupasiyas: "Thou shalt not
[open the] window again!" She [killed him] in
the quarrel and the Storm-god sowed sahia [over the
ruins of the house]. That man [came to a] grievous
end.
... she placed ... [in] the hand of the king. From the
time on that we celebrated the first Purulli Festival, the
hand of [the king has been supreme] in the ... of Inaras.
(There follow two more sections before a break. The
word "rain" seems to play an important part in them.)

LATER VERSION

iii') [This is the way in] which [ . . . ] told it [later]:
The Dragon Illuyankas vanquished the Storm-god and
took (his) heart and (his) eyes away from him. The
Storm-god [sought to revenge himself] upon him.
He took the daughter of the poor man (5) for his
wife and he begat a son. When he grew up, he took the
daughter of the Dragon Illuyankas in marriage.
The Storm-god instructs his son: (10) "When thou
goest to the house of thy wife, ask them for (my) heart
and (mine) eyes!"
When he went there, he asked them for (the) heart
and they gave that to him. (15) Later he asked for (the)
eyes, and they gave him those too. He brought them to
the Storm-god, his father. Thus the Storm-god got back
his heart and his eyes.
(20) When his frame had been restored to its old
state, he left to the Sea for battle. When he had engaged
the Dragon Illuyankas in battle, (25) he came close to
vanquishing him. But the son of the Storm-god, who
was with Illuyankas, shouted up to heaven to his father:
"Count me as with (him)! (30) Spare me not!" So
the Storm-god killed the Dragon Illuyankas and his son
too. In this way the Storm-god got even with the
Dragon Illuyankas.
(14) by which the rank and the order of the gods were estab-
lished. The most significant verb in the text is pu-u-
ul(-)iyaz; it may contain an etymology of the name of
the Purulli Festival. Unfortunately its meaning is not
clear; the context suggests "compete" or "race" as a
possibility.
All the gods arrive (15) and they compete. Of all the
gods Zashapunas of Kastama was the greatest. Because
Zaluniasis is his wife, and Tazzuwasis his concubine,
(20) they made these three live in Tanipiyas.
(An estate is endowed for them there.)

The Telepinus Myth

Texts: The main text is KUB, xvi, 10. Numerous additional
fragments of a similar character have been edited and classified
by H. Otten in KUB, xxxiii. The same author has dealt with
the whole material in great detail in his book Die Uberlieferungen
des Telepinus-Mythus (MVAG, xlvii/1 [1941]). He assigns the
surviving material to four different versions. A similar tale is
also associated with the Storm-god. Literature: Besides the book
just quoted, the translation of the main text by A. Götte in
Kulturgeschichte Kleinasiens (1933), 134 ff.; and ed. (1957),
143 ff. is still of interest; Otten's book does not deal with the
main text.

a. The God's Anger, His Disappearance and
Its Consequences

(The upper third of the tablet, about 20 lines, is
broken off. It probably told the reasons for the god's
anger.)

(i) Telepinus [flew into a rage and shouted:] "There
must be no inter[ference!] In his agitation he tried to
[put his right shoe] on his left foot and his left [shoe
on his right foot]. . . . [. . .].
(20) Mist seized the windows, smoke seized the house.
In the fireplace the logs were stifled, at the altars
the gods were stifled, in the fold the sheep were stifled, in
the stable the cattle were stifled. The sheep neglected its
lamb, the cow neglected its calf.
(10) Telepinus walked away and took grain, (fertile)
breeze, . . . . . . and satiation to the country, the
meadow, the steppe. Telepinus went and lost himself in
the steppe; fatigue overcame him. So grain (and)
spelt thrive no longer. So cattle, sheep and man no
longer (15) breed. And even those with young cannot
bring them forth.

The vegetation dried up; the trees dried up and would
bring forth no fresh shoots. The pastures dried up, the
springs dried up. In the land famine arose so that man
and gods perished from hunger. The great Sun-god
arranged for a feast and invited the thousand gods. They
ate, (20) but they did not satisfy their hunger; they
drank, but they did not quench their thirst.

b. The Search for the Vanished God

The Storm-god became anxious about Telepinus, his
son: "Telepinus, my son, (he said) is not here. He has

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8 From here on KUB, xvii, 6 is followed.
9 Second column of KBo, iii, 7.
10 A weed commonly found on ruins.
11 Third column of KBo, iii, 7.
12 Fourth column of KBo, iii, 7.
The great gods and the lesser gods began to search for Telepinus. The Sun-god sent out the swift Eagle (saying): “Go! Search every high (25) mountain!”

“Search the deep valleys! Search the watery depth!” The Eagle went, but he could not find him. Back to the Sun-god he brought his message: “I could not find him, him, Telepinus, the noble god.” The Storm-god said to Hannahannas: “What shall we do? (30) We shall die of hunger.” Hannahannas said to the Storm-god: “Do something, O Storm-god! Go! Search for Telepinus thyself!”

The Storm-god began to search for Telepinus. In his city he [knock[s] at the gate, but he is not there and opens not. He broke open his bolt and his lock, [but he has no luck], the Storm-god. So he gave up and sat down to rest. Hannahannas (35) sent [out the Bee]: “Go! Search thou for Telepinus!”

[The Storm-god] said to Hannahannas: “The great gods (and) the lesser gods have searched for him, but [did not find] him. Shall then this [Bee] go out [and find him]? Its wings are small, it is small itself. Shall they admit that it is greater than they?”

Hannahannas said to the Storm-god: “Enough! It will go (and) find him.” Hannahannas sent out the little Bee: “Go! Search thou for Telepinus! When thou findest him, sting him on his hands (and) his feet! Bring him to his feet! Take wax and wipe his eyes and his feet, purify him and bring him before me!”

The Bee went away and searched . . . the streaming rivers, and searched the murmuring springs. The honey within it gave out, [the wax within it] gave out. Then [it found] him in a meadow in the grove at Lihzina. It stung him on his hands and his feet. It brought him to his feet, it took wax and wiped his eyes and his feet, [it purified him] and [. . .].

[Telepinus . . .] declares: “For my part I had flown into a rage [and walked away. How dare] ye a[rouse me] from my sleep? How dare ye force me to talk when enraged?” He grew [still more infuriated. [He stopped] the murmuring springs, he diverted the flowing rivers and made them flow over their banks. He [blocked off] the clay pits, he shattered [the windo]ws, he shattered the houses.

He had men perish, he had sheep and cattle perish. [It came to] pass that the gods [despair]d (asking): “Wh[y has Te]lepinus become so infuriated? [Wh]at sh[all we do]? [What] shall we do?”

[The great Sun-god(?)] declares: “[Fetch ye] man! Let him [take the spring Hattara on mount Ammuna [as . . .]]! Let him (man) make him move! With the eagle’s wing let him make him move!” Let man make him move! With the eagle’s wing [let man make him move]!”

(A gap follows in which Kamrusepas, the goddess of magic and healing, is commissioned to pacify Telepinus and to bring him back.)

c. The Ritual

ENTREATY

(The beginning is multilated.)

(ii) “O Telepinus! [Here lies] sweet and soothing [cedar essence. Just as it is . . .], [even so let] the stiffed [be set right] again!

“Here [I have] upthrusting sap [with which to purify thee]. (10) Let it [invigorate] thy heart and thy soul, O Telepinus! Toward the king [turn] in favor!

“Here lies chafl [f]. Let his heart (and) soul be segregated [like it]! Here lies an ear [of grain]. Let it attract his heart [(and) his soul]!

“(15) Here lies sesame. [Let his heart (and) his soul] be comforted by it. Here [lie] figs. Just as [figs] are sweet, even so let Te[lepinus’ heart (and) soul] become sweet!

“Just as the olive [holds] oil within it, [as the grape] (20) holds wine within it, so hold thou, Telepinus, in (thy) heart (and thy) soul good feelings [toward the king]!

“Here lies ointment. Let it anoint Telepin[us’ heart (and) soul]! Just as malt (and) malt-loaves are harmoniously fused, even so let thy soul be in harmony with the affairs of mankind! [Just as spelt] (25) is clean, even so let Telepinus’ soul become clean! [Just as honey is sweet, as cream is smooth, even so let Telepinus’ soul become sweet and even so let him become smooth!]

“Sec, O Telepinus! I have now sprinkled thy ways with fine oil. So walk thou, Telepinus, over these ways that are sprinkled with fine oil! (30) Let sahi [wood and hapunialas] wood be at hand! Let us set thee right, O Telepinus, into whatever state of mind is the right one!”

Telepinus came in his fury. Lightning flashed, it thundered while the dark earth was in turmoil. (35) Kamrusepas saw him. The eagle’s wing made him move out there. It took off him (iii) the rage, it took off him the anger, it took off him [the ire], it took off him the fury.

KAMRUSEPAS’ RITUAL OF PURIFICATION

Kamrusepas tells the gods: “Come ye, O gods! See! Hapantallis is shepherding the Sun-god’s sheep. (5) Select ye twelve rams! I want to fix long days for Telepinus. I have taken death, one thousand eyes. I have strewn about the selected sheep of Kamrusepas.

“Over Telepinus I have swung them this way and that. (10) From Telepinus’ body I have taken the evil,

1 The name is ideographically written nin.yu or mar; she is the mother of the gods.
2 For the text of this and the next section see Otten, loc. cit., p. 9.
3 The text of the end of the mythological part of the text is regained by combining KUB, xxxiiii, 5 (and fragment Chantre), i.e. Otten’s B, with KUB, xxxiii, 9 and 15, i.e. Otten’s C. The reconstruction may not be correct as to its exact wording; it will, however, cover the course of events adequately.
4 A certain ritual.
5 The rendered text is mainly that of KUB, xvi, 10 ii 6 ff.; at the beginning parallel texts are used for restoration.
6 The meaning of this phrase is unclear.
I have taken the malice. I have taken the rage, I have taken the anger, I have taken the ire, I have taken the fury.

“When Telepinus was angry, his heart (and) his soul were stifled (like) firebrands. (15) Just as they burned these brands, even so let Telepinus’ rage, anger, malice (and) fury burn themselves out! Just as [malt] is barren, (as) people do not make it into bread (or) put it in the storehouse, even so let Telepinus’ rage, [anger], (20) malice (and) fury become barren!

“When Telepinus was angry, [his heart (and) his soul] were a burning fire. Just as this fire [is quenched], even so let (his) rage, anger (and) fury [be quenched] too!

“O Telepinus, give up thy rage, [give up] thine anger, (25) give up thy fury! Just as (water in) a pipe flows not upward, even so let Telepinus’ [rage, anger (and)] fury not [come] back!

“The gods [were gathered] in assembly under the hatakelnat tree. For the hatakelnat tree I have fixed long [years]. (30) All gods are now present, (including) the [Is]tustayas, the Good-women (and) the Mother-goddesses, the Grain-god; Miyatanzipas, Telepinus, Inaras, Häpantaliyas (and) the Patron of the field. For these gods I have fixed long years; I have purified him, [O Telepinus]!

(35) “[ ... ] I have taken the evil [from] Telepinus’ body, I have taken away his [rage], [I have taken away] his an[ger], I have taken away his [ire], [I have taken away] his fury, I have taken away his malice, [I have taken away his] ev[il].”

(small gap)

MAN’S RITUAL

(The beginning is lost, but Telepinus is addressed:)’

“... (When) thou [departedst] from the hatakelnat tree on a summer day, the crop got smutted. (When) the ox departed [with thee], (iv)” thou wastedst its shape. (When) the sheep departed with thee, thou wastedst its form. O Telepinus, stop rage, anger, malice (and) fury!

(When) the Storm-god comes in his wrath, the Storm-god’s priest (5) stops him. (When) a pot of food boils over, the (stirring) spoon stops it. Even so let the word of me, the mortal, stop Telepinus’ rage, anger, and fury!

“Let Telepinus’ rage, anger, malice, (and) fury depart! Let the house let them go, let the interior . . . let them go, (10) let the window let them go! In the . . . let the interior courtyard let them go, let the gate let them go, let the gateway let them go, let the road of the king let them go! Let it not go to the thriving field, garden (or) grove! Let it go the way of the Sun-god of the nether world!

“The doorkeeper has opened the seven doors, has unlocked the seven bolts. (15) Down in the dark earth there stand bronze cauldrons, their lids are of abaran-metal, their handles of iron. Whatever goes in there comes not out again; it perishes therein. Let them also receive Telepinus’ rage, anger, malice (and) fury! Let them not come back!”

d. The God’s Home-Coming

(20) Telepinus came home to his house and cared (again) for his land. The mist let go of the windows, the smoke let go of the house. The altars were set right for the gods, the hearth let go of the log. He let the sheep go to the fold, he let the cattle go to the pen. The mother tended her child, the ewe tended her lamb, (25) the cow tended her calf. Also Telepinus tended the king and the queen and provided them with enduring life and vigor.

Telepinus cared for the king. A pole was erected before Telepinus and from this pole the fleece of a sheep was suspended. It signifies fat of the sheep, it signifies grains of corn . . . (and) (30) wine, it signifies cattle (and) sheep, it signifies long years of progeny.

It signifies the lamb’s favorable message. It signifies . . . . It signifies fruitful breeze. It signifies . . . satisfaction. . . .

(end of the text lost)

7 Text for the first few lines is taken from KUB, xxxiii, 54 13-15.
8 Here the fourth column of KUB, xvii, 10 begins.
9 i.e. favorable omens when the intestines of the sacrificial lamb are inspected.
10 Compare KUB, xxxiii, 12 iv 15 ff. and 24 iv 19 ff.
Ugaritic poetry falls into distinct metrical units, but these were not indicated outwardly by the scribes. In the following translation, every colon is printed on a separate line. Isolated cola are not common. As a rule there are two, and sometimes there are three, to a stich. In the translation, the second and third cola in each stich are indented. The numbers in the right margin are those of the lines in the Ugaritic tablet, which, as has been explained, do not coincide with the cola.

Poems about Baal and Anath

Both large and small fragments of tablets containing poetic mythological texts in which the leading role is played by the rain- and fertility-god Baal and the next in importance by the warrior-goddess Anath came to light in the French excavations of Ras Shamra-Ugarit in the years 1930, 1931, and 1933, and at least one small fragment (which may be a duplicate of one of the others) in 1939. Because so many letters, words, lines, columns, and probably some whole tablets are missing, not all of the tablets can be declared, with certainty, to be parts of the great epic of Baal and arranged in their proper order within it. However, in the following translations, even small fragments whose pertinence to the larger epic is probable have been included (if only, in a few desperate cases, in the form of sketchy summaries) and assigned tentative positions within it. Tablets whose pertinence to the larger poem is doubtful have been added at the end by way of an appendix.

In view of all these uncertainties, the tablets will not be designated as B'L A, B'L B, etc., but by the original sigla of the first editor, Ch. Virolleaud. They are all studied together by C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Literature, Rome (1949), pp. 9-95 (56?). Other literature will be given separately for each tablet.

a. VI AB

Editions: Ch. Virolleaud, La déesse 'Anat (Paris, 1938), pp. 91-102 and the last photograph; C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Handbook, II, pp. 189-190, 'nt, pls. ix-x (transliteration only). Studies: A. Herdner, Syria, xxii (1942-43), 283-285. Owing to the very poor state of preservation, connected translation is possible only for groups of lines which, because they are stereotyped, can be completed with the help of parallels; while just the crucial passages are very doubtful. It seems, however, that El, the head of the pantheon, (1) instructs the craftsman-god Kothar wakhasis to build a palace on his (El's) grounds, the name of the latter being Khurshan-zur-kas (col. iii), (2) announces that his eldest (or favorite?) son is to be known as El's Beloved Yamm (= Sea) and as Master (cf. iv 15, 20 with II AB ii 34-35, and iv 17 with III AB B 17-33, 33-34), and (3) perhaps authorizes Yamm to banish Baal from his throne (iii 22-25).

b. III AB C

Editions: Ch. Virolleaud, Syria, xxiv (1944-45), 1-121; C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Handbook, II, Text 129. This fragment comprises 24 very mutilated lines from the right-hand column on one of the sides of a tablet with two very broad columns on each side. Such a tablet is the one of whose col. i, III AB B is the lower part, and of whose col. iv, III AB A is the upper part; Virolleaud therefore surmises that III AB C is part of (the lower half of) col. iii of the same tablet. For its content, however, a position between III AB B and III AB A seems strange; so, perhaps, it belongs to a tablet which preceded, and in outward disposition resembled, the tablet of which III AB B-A is a remnant.

In it, El instructs Kothar to build a palace for Yamm. Ashtar complains of not being accorded the like favor.

[... There] he is off on his way
To El of the Sources of the Two Oceans,
In the midst of the headwaters of the Two Oceans.
He penetrates [El]'s field and enters
The [pal]l[ion] of King [Father Shunem].
At El's feet he bows, and falls down,
Prostrates himself, doing [him] homage.

(All that can be made out is that Ashtar is displeased.)
Quoth the gods' Torch Shapsh,
"Hearken, I pray thee!
Quickly erect his palace,"

Build the house of Prince Yamm,
[El]ct the palace of Judge Nahar,
In the midst of [...]
Quickly his house shalt thou build,
Quickly erect [his palace].

(Shall thy father Bull [El] hear thee,
He will pull out [the pillars of thy dwelling]"
Yea, overturst [the throne of thy] kingship!
Yea, break the scepter of thy dominion!"
Quoth [Ashtar] of the [...]
"Oh, my father Bull El!
I have no house [like] the gods,
[Nor] court like [the holy on]es."
...[Quoth] Puissant Baal:
"[May'st thou be driven from thy throne of kingship, 
From thy seat of dominion!
(...)
Aya'mur' upon thy head, [Prince Yamm;
Upon thy back Yag'rus,° Judge Nahar.
May [Horon] break, [O Yamm, 
May Horon break] thy head, 
Ashtoreth [Name of Baal thy pate.
... ] down may'st thou fall in ... [ ... ]"

[Me]ssengers Yamm doth send.

"Depart ye, lad[s, don't tarry.
There now, be off] on your way
Towards the Assembled Body
In the midst of the Mount of Lala.
At the feet of El] fall not down,
Prostrate you not to the Assembled [Body.
Proudly standing] say ye your speech.
And say unto Bull [my] father [El,
Declare unto the Assembled ] Body:
'Message of Yamm your lord,
Of your master Judge Nahar.
Surrender the god with a following,
Him whom the multitudes worship:
Give Baal [to me to lord over,
Dagon's son whose spoil I'll possess:'"

The lads depart, they delay not.
[There, they are off] on their way
To the midst of the Mount of Lala,
Towards the Assembled Body.
Now, the gods were sitting toe[at],
The holy ones for to dine,
Baal attending upon El.
As soon as the gods esp[y] them,
Espy the messengers of Yamm,
The envoys of Judge Nahar,
The gods do drop their heads
Down upon their knees
And on their thrones of princeship.
Them doth Baal rebuke:
"Why, O gods, have ye dropt
Your head[s] down upon your knees
And on your thrones of princeship?
I see the gods are cowed
With terror of the messengers of Yamm,
Of the envoys of Judge Nah[r].
Lift up, O gods, your heads
From upon your knees,
From upon your thrones of princeship,
And I'll answer' the messengers of Yamm,
The envoys of Judge Nahar."

The gods lift up their heads
From upon their knees,
From upon [their] thrones of prin[ceship].
Then come the messengers of Yamm,
The envoys of Judge Nahar.
At El's feet they do [not] fall down,
Prostrate them not to the Assembled Body.
Prom[dy] standing, [they] say their speech.
Fire, burning fire, doth flash;
A whetted sword [are their] eyes.
They say to Bull his father El:
"Message of Yamm your lord,
Of your master Judge Nahar.
Surrender the god with a following,
Etc."

[Quoth] Bull, his father, El:
"Thy slave is Baal, O Yamm,
Thy slave is Baal [for eve]r,
Dagon's Son is thy captive;
He shall be brought as thy tribute.
For the gods bring [thy gift],
The holy ones are thy tributaries."—

Now, Prince Baal[1] was wroth.
[Seizing [a cudgel] in his hand,
A bludgeon in his right hand,
He [reached] to strike the lads.
[His right hand Ashtoreth] 'seizes,
Ashtoreth seizes his left hand.
"How [canst thou strike the messengers of Yamm,
The envoys of Judge Nahar?"

A messenger ... [ ... ] a messenger [bears];
Upon his shoulders the words of his lord,
And ... [ ... ]."

But Prince Baal was wroth.
The cudgel in hand he ... 
He [con]fronts the messengers of Yamm,
The [en]voys of Judge Nah[r].
... ]... "I say unto Yamm your lord,
[Your] ma[ster Judge Nahar]:
..."

(lines 46-47 too defective for understanding)
I. Now thine enemy, O Baal,
    Now thine enemy wilt thou smite,
    Now wilt thou cut off thine adversary.
Thou'll take thine eternal kingdom,
    Thine everlasting dominion."
Kothar brings down two clubs
    And gives them names.
"Thou, thy name is Yagrush ('Chaser').
    Yagrush, chase Yamm!
Chase Yamm from his throne,
    [Na]har from his seat of dominion.
Do thou swoop in the hand of Baal,
    Like an eagle between his fingers;
Strike the back of Prince Yamm,
    Between the arms of [Judge Nahar].
The club swoops in the hand of Baal,
    Like an eagle between his fingers;
It strikes the back of Prince Yamm,
    Between the arms of Judge Nahar.
Yamm is firm, he is not bowed;
    Nor breaks his frame.—
Kothar brings down two clubs
    And gives them names.
"Thou, thy name is Ayamur ('Driver').
    Ayamur, drive Yamm!
Drive Yamm from his throne,
    Nahar from his seat of dominion.
Do thou swoop in the hand of Baal,
    Like an eagle between his fingers;
Strike the pate of Prince Yamm,
    Between the eyes of Judge Nahar.
Yamm shall collapse
    And fall to the ground."
The club swoops in the hand of Baal,
    [Like] an eagle between his fingers;
It strikes the pate of Prince [Yamm],
    Between the eyes of Judge Nahar.
Yamm collapses,
    He falls to the ground;
His joints bend,
    His frame breaks.
Baal would rend, would smash Yamm,
    Would annihilate Judge Nahar.
By name Ashtoreth rebukes [him].
    "For shame, O Puissant [Baal];
For shame, O Rider of the Clouds!
    For our captive is Prince [Yamm],
Our captive is Judge Nahar."
As [the word] left [her mouth],
    Puissant Baal was ashamed . . .
    (The rest is too defective for any meaning to be extracted, except that Yamm seems to say twice "I am dying, Baal will reign." But apparently Yamm does not die, but is only confined to his proper sphere, the seas.

Hence there is still talk of him, e.g. at the end of col. ii of episode e.)

d. Fragment b

This is the current designation of a piece—representing the top of the middle column of the obverse or reverse of a tablet with three columns on each side—of which a copy was published by Ch. Virolleaud, Syria, xii (1932), 158; and transliterated by H. Bauer, AKTRSch., p. 57, and C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Handbook, ii, p. 1444, middle. Here Baal apparently sends his messengers to Anath to tell her to join him in a dénouement before Asherah with a view to procuring a palace.

"... Homage to Lady Asherah of [the Sea],
    Obeisance to the Progenitress of the Gods,
    (So) [she] will give a house to Baal like the [g]ods',
    And a court like [A]sherah's sons.'"—
Loudly to his lads Baal cries:
    "Look ye, Gapn and Ugar sons of Ghulumat,
    'Amamis twain, sons of Zulumat (Zlmt)
    The stately, win[g]-spreading, . . .
    Winged ones twain, flock of clouds,
    'Neath [ . . . ];
    Birdlike ones twain, fl[ock of . . . snow].
    " (obscure beginnings of 5 more lines)

c. II AB


    (some 20 lines missing, 3 obliterated)

But alas!
He cries unto Bull El [his father,
    To E]l the King [his begetter;
He cries unto Ash[eh]r [and her children],
    To [E]lath [and the band of] her [kindred:
Look, no house has Baal like the gods,
    Nor court like the children of Ashe[r];
    (So she) will give a house to Baal like the [g]ods',
    And a court like [A]sherah's sons."
    The abode of El is the shelter of his son.
    The abode of Lady Asherah of the Sea
    Is the abode of the perfect brides:
    'Tis the dwelling of Padriya daughter of Ar,
    The shelter of Talliya (tly) the daughter of Rabb,
    (And) the abode of Arsiya (ary) the daughter of Ya'abdar."

11 Means "darkness." Ghulumat is also known as the name of a goddess from RSh 1939, 1:19:3125.
12 The three names mean "Flashie (or, Lightningette) daughter of Light,
    Dewie daughter of Distillation, Earthie daughter of . . ." They are Baal's wives or daughters, and Baal is the god of rain and dew and "the Prince, Lord of the Earth."
And here's something more I would tell thee: (20)
Just try doing homage to Lady Asherah of the Sea, Obeisance to the Progenitress of the Gods.
Hayyin would go up to the bellows,
In Khasis' hands would be the tongs,
To melt silver,
To beat out gold.
He'd melt silver by the thousands (of shekels),
   Gold he'd melt by the myriads.
He'd melt . . . and . . . :
A gorgeous dais weighing twice ten thousand (shekels),
   A gorgeous dais cast in silver,
   Coated with a film of gold;
A gorgeous throne resting above
   A gorgeous footstool o'erspread with a mat;
A gorgeous couch having a . . . ,
   He pours it over with gold;
A gorgeous table which is filled
With all manner of game from the foundations of the earth;
Gorgeous bowls shaped like small beasts like those of Amurru,
   Stelae shaped like the wild beasts of Yam'an,
   Wherein are wild oxen by the myriads.19
(The first lines of the following scene perhaps show Asherah, "Lady Asherah of the Sea," presenting an offering of fish to El.)

   (some 16 lines entirely missing, then 4 defective and obscure.)
   Its skin, the covering of its flesh.
   She flings its vestment into the sea,
   Both its skins into the deeps.
She puts fire on the brazier,
   A pot upon the coals,
(And) propitiates Bull El Benign,
   Does obeisance to the Creator of Creatures.—
Lifting up her eyes she beholds.
The advance of Baal Asherah doth esp,
   The advance of the Maiden Anath,
   The onrush of Yabamat [Liimmim].
Thereat her feet [do stumble],
   Her loins [do crack be]hind her,
   Her [face breaks out in]sweat [above her].
Bent are the [joints of her loins],
   Weakened those of [her] back.20
She lifts up her voice and cries:
   "Why is Puissant [Baal] come?
   And why the Maiden Anath?"

Have my children slain [each other],
   O [r the b]and of my kinsmen [destroyed one another]?
   [The work] of silver Asherah doth esp,
   The work of silver and [. . .] of gold.
   Lady Asherah of the Sea rejoices;
   Loudly unto her lad [she] doth [cry]:
   "Look thou, Deft One, yea [give heed],
   O fisherman of Lady Asherah of the Sea.
   Take a net in thy hand,
   A large [seine] on thy two hands.
   [Cast it] into El's Beloved [Yamm]20
   Into the Sea of El Benign,
   Into the Deep of El . . . [. . .].
   . . . 
(Only the beginnings of 37-47 preserved, and no connected sense recoverable.)

   (some io lines missing, 9 lines defective)
(10)
Comes Puissant Baal,
Advances the Rider of the Clouds.
Lo, he takes his stand and cries defiance,
   He stands erect and spits
   In the midst of the assembly of the divine beings:
   "Abomination has been placed upon my table,
   Filth in the cup I drink.
   For two [kinds of] banquets Baal hates,
   Three the Rider of the Clouds:
   A banquet of shamefulness,
   A banquet of baseness,20
   A banquet of handmaids' lewdness.
Yet herein is flagrant shamefulness,
   And herein is handmaids' lewdness:"—
After this goes Puissant Baal,
   Also goes the Maiden Anath.
As they do homage to Lady Asherah of the Sea,
   Obeisance to the Progenitress of the Gods,
   Quoth Lady Asherah of the Sea:
   "Why do ye homage to Lady Asherah of the Sea,
   Obeisance to the Progenitress of the Gods?"
   Have ye done homage to Bull El Benign,
   Or obeisance to the Creator of Creatures?"
Quoth the Maiden Anath:
   "We do homage to [th]ee, Lady Asherah of the Sea,
   . . . "
(Rest of column badly damaged. It is clear that Asherah makes a feast for her visitors, and it may be inferred that they urge her to intercede for Baal with El, as she does in the next column.)

   (iv-v)
   (Some 10 lines missing; lines 1-2a too fragmentary to be restored.)
   [Loudly unto her lad] Asherah doth cry:

   13 "Deft," another name of the craftsman-god.
14 If the translation is correct: rhytons, or vessels having the shape of animals.
15 Uncertain rendering.
16 Of some beast or fish.
17 Apparently, Lady Asherah of the Sea.
18 Because she fears the unexpected visitors bring bad news (cf. Ezek. 31:13-15). This is the standard reaction of a female character to an unexpected visit.
19 Yamm (=Sea) is apparently still El's Beloved, despite what he went through above, in episode II AB A.
20 Dittography.
“Look thou, Qadesh wa-Amrur,
Fisherman of Lady] Asherah of the Sea!
[Saddle a donkey],
Harness a jackass.
[Attach trappings of] silver,
[A housing of gol[d],
Put on the trappings of [thy] she-asses.”
Qad[esh wa-Amrur obeys.
He saddles a donkey,
Harnesses a jackass.
He attaches trappings of silver,
A housing of gold,
Puts on the trappings of his she-asses.
Qadesh wa-Amrur embraces
And places Asherah on the donkey’s back,
On the beautiful back of the jackass.
Qades proceeds to lead,
Amrur is like a star in front;
The Maiden Anath follows,
While Baal leaves for Zaphon’s summit.—
There, she21 is off on her way
Towards El of the Sources of the Two Floods
In the midst of the headwaters of the Two Oceans.
She penetrates El’s field and enters
The pavilion of King Father Shunem.
At El’s feet she bows and falls down,
Prostrates her and does him reverence.
As soon as El espies her,
He parts his jaws and laughs.
His feet upon the footstool he puts
And doth twiddle his fingers.
He lifts up his voice and [cri:es:]
“Why is come Lady Asher[ah of the S]ea?
Why hither the Progenitress of the G[ods]?
Art thou become hungry and fa[int],
or art become thirsty and pa[rched]?
Eat, pray, yea drink.
Eat thou from the tables bread;
Drink from the flagons wine,
From the golden goblets blood of vines.
See, El the King’s love stirs thee,
Bull’s affection arouses thee.”
Quoth Lady Asherah of the Sea:
“Thy decree, O El, is wise:
Wisdom with ever-life thy portion.
Thy decree is: our king’s Puissant Baal,
Our sovereign second to none;
All of us must bear his gif[ft],
All of us [must b]ear his purse.22 [But alas!]
He cries unto Bull El his father,
To [El] the King his begetter;
He cries unto Asherah and her children,
Elath and the band of her kin[dred]:
Look, no house has Baal like the gods,
Nor court like the children of Asherah.

21 Asherah.
22 Must be tributary to him. But the translation is uncertain.

The abode of El is the shelter of his son.
The abode of Lady Asherah of the Sea
Is the abode of the perfect brides:
The abode of Padiya daughter of Ar,
The shelter of Talliya daughter of Rabb,
(And) the abode of Arsiya daughter of Ya’abdar.”
Quoth the Kindly One El Ben[ign]:
“Am I a slave, an attendant of Asherah?
Am I a slave, to handle . . .?
Or is Asherah a handmaid, to make bricks?
Let a house be built for Baal like the gods’,
And a court like the children of Asherah’s!”
Quoth Lady Asherah of the Sea:
“Art great indeed, O El, and wise,
Thy beard’s gray hair instructs thee,
. . . [. . .] to thy breast.
Now, too, the seasons of his rains will Baal observe,
The seasons of . . . with snow;
And (he will) peal his thunder in the clouds,
Flashing his lightnings to the earth.
The house of cedar—let him burn it;
Yea, the house of brick—remove it.
Be it told to Puissant Baal:
Summon weeds into thy house,
Herbs into the midst of thy palace.23
The mountains shall bring thee much silver,
The hills a treasure of gold;
They’ll bring thee god’s grandeur aplenty.
So build thou a silver and gold house,
A house of most pure lapis lazuli.”
The Maiden Anath rejoices,
Stamps with her foot so the earth quakes.
There, she is off on her way
Unto Baal upon Zaphon’s summit,
O’er a thousand fields, ten thousand acres.
Laughing, the Maiden Anath
Lifts up her voice and cries:
“Receive, Baal, the glad tidings I bring thee.
They will build thee a house like thy brethren’s(90)
Bull’s affection arouses thee.”
Quoth Lady Asherah of the Sea: (40)
And a court like unto thy kindred’s.
Summon weeds into thy house,
Herbs into the midst of thy palace.
The mountains shall bring thee much silver,
The hills a treasure of gold;
They’ll bring thee god’s grandeur aplenty.
So build thou a silver and gold house,
A house of most pure lapis lazuli.”
Puissant Baal rejoiced.
He summoned weeds into his house,
Herbs into the midst of his palace.
* The mountains did bring him much silver,
The hills a treasure of gold;
They brought him god’s grandeur aplenty.
Then he (se)nt unto Kothar wa-Khasis.

23 This seems—if the sense is correctly guessed—to imply that Baal had some sort of habitation before, but that it was not one worthy of a “ranking” god, such as Baal had become by vanquishing Yamm.
UGARITIC MYTHS, EPICS, AND LEGENDS

Lo, a [d]ay and a second,
  Fire feeds on the house,
  Flame upon the palace:

A third, a fourth day,
  [Fi]re feeds on the house,
  Flam[e] upon the palace.

A fifth, a s[ix]th day,
  Fire feeds [on] the house,
  Flame u[pon] the palace.

There, on the seventh d[ay],
  The fire dies down in the house,
  The f[l]ame in the palace.

The silver turns into blocks,
  The gold is turned into bricks.

Puissant Baal exults:
  “My h(ouse) have I builded of silver;
  My palace, indeed, of gold.”

For (his) house preparations [Baa]l makes,
  [Prepa]rations makes Hadd for his palace.

He slaughters both neat [and] small cattle,
  Fells bulls [together with] fatlings;
  Rams (and) one-year-old calves;
  Lambs ... k[i]ds.

He summons his brethren to his house,
  His k[i]ndred within his palace:
  Summons Asherah’s seventy children.

He sates the he-lamb gods with w[ine],
  He sates the ewe-lamb goddesses [ ... ?]

He sates the bull-gods with w[ine],
  He sates the cow-goddesses [ ... ?]

He sates the throne-gods with w[ine],
  He sates the chair-goddesses [ ... ?]

He sates the gods with jars of wine,
  He sates the goddesses with pitchers.

So eat the gods and drink.
  They sate them with fatness abundant,
  With tender [fat]ling by bounteous knife;26
  While drinking the [wine] from flag[ons],
  From gold cups the blood of vines.”

(2 or 3 lines missing?)

(vi)

Quoth Ko[thar wa-Khas]is:
  “Thou’lt heed [my words], O Baal.”

Again spake Ko[thar wa]-Khasis:
  “Hark, pray, Pu[is]sant Baal!
  A wi[nd]ow I’ll make in the house,
  A casement within the palace.”

But Puissant Baal replied:
  “Make not a w[ind]ow in the house,
  A casement within the palace.”

Let not [Padiya] daughter of Ar [be seen]
  Or T[alliya] daughter of Rabb be espied
  By [... ] El’s Beloved Yamm!”

[ ... ] cried defiance
  And spat [... ].

Quoth Kothar [wa-Khasis]:
  “Thou’lt heed my words, O Baal.”

[As for Baal] his house is built,
  [As for Hadd]28 his palace is raised.

They [... ] from Lebanon and its trees,
  From [Sir]ion its precious cedars.
  [... Le]banon and its trees,
  Si[r]ion its precious cedars.

Fire is set to the house,
  Flame to the palace.

24 No doubt refers to an earlier passage, lost to us, in which Baal dis-
  patched Gapn and Ugar to Kothar. The reciter is directed simply to repeat
  that passage verbatim here.

25 Another name of Baal.

26 Literally: They were sated with sucking of breast; by milch knife, with
  fatling’s teat. (cf. Isa. 60:16; 66:11.)

(110)
A casement shall be opened in the house,
A window within the palace.

Yea, I'll open rifts in the clouds

At thine word, O Kothar wa-Khasis!" (20)

Kothar wa-Khasis laughs,
He lifts up his voice and cries:
"Said he not to thee, Puissant Baal,
`Thou'lt heed my words, O Baal?'—

He opens a casement in the house,
A window within the palace.

Baal gives forth his holy voice,
Baal discharges the utterance of his lips. (30)

His holy voice convulses the earth... the mountains quake,
A-tremble are...

East and west, earth's high places reel.

Baal's enemies take to the woods,
Hadd's foes to the sides of the mountain.

Quoth Puissant Baal:
"Baal's enemies, why do you quake?
Why do you quake...?" (20)

Baal's eye seeks out for his hand
When the yew-club swings in his right hand.

So Baal dwells in his house.
"Nor king nor commoner
The earth my dominion shall...

Tribute I'll send not to Divine Mot," (20)
Not dispatch to El's Darling Ghazir.

Mot calls out in his soul,
The Beloved thinks in his heart,
`I alone will have sway o'er the gods
So that gods and men may feed...

Nor king nor commoner
The earth my dominion shall...
Tribute I'll send not to Divine Mot," (20)
Not dispatch to El's Darling Ghazir.

Mot calls out in his soul,
The Beloved thinks in his heart,
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The Beloved thinks in his heart,
`I alone will have sway o'er the gods
So that gods and men may feed...

Tribute I'll send not to Divine Mot," (20)
Not dispatch to El's Darling Ghazir.

Mot calls out in his soul,
The Beloved thinks in his heart,
`I alone will have sway o'er the gods
So that gods and men may feed...

Tribute I'll send not to Divine Mot," (20)
Not dispatch to El's Darling Ghazir.

Mot calls out in his soul,
The Beloved thinks in his heart,
`I alone will have sway o'er the gods
So that gods and men may feed, (50)
Who satisfies the multitudes of the earth."

Aloud unto [his]ads Baal doth cry:
"Look ye, [Gapn and] Ugar so(ths) of Ghulumat,
[‘Aman]i’s=twain, sons of Zulumat
[The stately, wing]=spreading, . . .;
Winged ones twain, flock of clouds,
[‘Neath...;
Birdlike ones twain, flock of...snow].

(some 5 lines missing)

(viii)
There now, be off on your way
Unto the Mount of Targhuzizza,
Unto the Mount of Tharumegi,
Unto the Ridge of the Loam of the Earth.

Lift the mount on your hands,
The elevation upon your palms,
And descend to the depth of the earth,
Be of those who descend into earth.

There now, be off on your way
Into his city Pit,
Low the throne that he sits on,
Firth the land of his inheritance.

Yet beware, divine messengers.
Approach not Divine Mot,
Lest he make you like a lamb in his mouth,
Ye be crushed like a kid in his gullet. (20)

Even the Gods' Torch Shapsh,
Who wings over heaven's expanse,
Is in Mot El's Beloved's hand! (20)

From a thousand fields, ten thousand acres, (20)
To Mot's feet bow and fall down,
Prostrate you and show him honor.

And say unto Divine Mot,
Declare unto El's Darling Ghazir:
Message of Puissant Baal,
Work of the Mighty Wå[rior]:
'My house I have builded [of silver,
My palace, indeed, of gold.]

..." (Ten lines of which only the ends are preserved, and approximately another 15 lines missing altogether.)

(Broken colophon in margin:)
[Written by Elimelech (?) Do]nated by Niqmadd,
King of Ugarit.

f. V AB

Only about one-half of this tablet is preserved, essentially the half containing the bottom of the obverse (cols. i-iii) and the top of the reverse (cols. iv-vi). Since the top of the first column on the reverse is always continuous with the bottom of the last column on the obverse, there are not six but only five pieces of continuous text. However, the first editor found it convenient to divide one of these into two episodes, making a total of six episodes designated as V AB A-F.

The position assigned to V AB in this translation of the Baal epic was determined by E 25-26; from which it appears that El's favorite-and-bully is now Mot, whereas he is still Yammin II (our e) vi 12. But final judgment must be reserved.


Studies: U. Cassuto, Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, x, 2-3 (1943), 47-54; xii (1945-6), 46-51; T. H. Gaster, Iraq, vi (1939), 131-143; H. L. Ginsberg, BASOR, 84 (Dec. 1941), 12-14; W. F. Albright, BASOR, 83 (Oct. 1941), 39-42; 84 (Dec. 1941), 14-17; C. H. Gordon, The Loves and Wars of Baal and Anat (1943), pp. 21-27; A. Goetze, BASOR, 93 (Feb. 1944), 17-20; J. Obermann, Ugaritic Mythology (1948), passim (see Index); J. Aistleitner, ZAW, 57 (1939), 193-211; A. Herdner, RES-Babyloniaca, 1 (1942-45), 33-49.

A

[...]

Serves Pu[sant] Baal,
Ministers to the Prince, Lord of Earth.
He rises, . . ., and gives him to eat.

He cuts the fat meat before him,
With bounteous knife fatling's tenderness.

(20) After Yammi, this is the next favorite-and-bully of El that Baal has to vanquish. That is logical; first the earth—Baal's domain—must be made safe from the encroachments of the sea, then from the blight of sterility.

(20) From a safe distance.
He stands, serves liquor, and gives him drink.
He places a cup in his hand,
A flagon in the grasp of his hand;
A vessel large and conspicuous,
A jar to dumbfound a mortal;
A holy cup of woman ne'er seen,
Only Asherah beholds such a flagon.
He takes a thousand pots of wine,
Mixes ten thousand in his mixture.
He rises, plays, and sings,
The musician plays the cymbals;
The sweet-voiced youth doth sing
Of Baal in the Fastness of Zaphon.—
Baal regards his lasses,
Looks at Padriya daughter of Ar,
Also at Talliya [daughter of Ra]bb.

Henna of seven maids,
Smell of coriander and ambergris.
She locked the gates of Anath's house
And met the picked fighters in...
Now Anath doth battle in the plain,
Fighting between the two towns;
Smiting the Westland's peoples,
Smashing the folk of the Sunrise.
Under her, heads like sheaves;
Over her, hands like locusts,
Like a grasshopper's mass heroes' hands.
She binds the heads to her back,
Fastens the hands in her girdle.
She plunges knee-deep in knights' blood,
Hip-deep in the gore of heroes.
With darts she drives...,
With the... of her bow...
Now Anath goes to her house,
The goddess proceeds to her palace.
Not sated with battling in the plain,
With her fighting between the two towns,
She pictures the chairs as heroes,
Pretending a table is warriors,
And that the footstools are troops.
Much battle she does and beholds,
Her fighting contemplates Anath:
Her liver swells with laughter,
Her heart fills up with joy,
Anath's liver exults;
For she plunges knee-deep in knights' blood,
Hip-deep in the gore of heroes.
Then, sated with battling in the house,
Fighting between the two tables,

[... ]... is the knights' blood,
Pours the fatness of [de]w in a bowl.
Ma[iden] Anath washes her hands,
Yabamat Liimmim her fingers;
[She washes her hands of knights' blood,
Her fingers of gore of heroes.
[...]... to chairs,
Table also to table;
Footstools turn back into footstools.
[She] draws some water and bathes;
Sky-[d]ew, fatness of earth,
Spray of the Rider of Clouds;
Dew that the heavens do shed,
[Spray] that is shed by the stars.
She rubs herself in with ambergris
[From a sperm-whale] whose home's in the sea.

B

Henna of seven maids,
Smell of coriander and ambergris.
She locked the gates of Anath's house
And met the picked fighters in...
Now Anath doth battle in the plain,
Fighting between the two towns;
Smiting the Westland's peoples,
Smashing the folk of the Sunrise.
Under her, heads like sheaves;
Over her, hands like locusts,
Like a grasshopper's mass heroes' hands.
She binds the heads to her back,
Fastens the hands in her girdle.
She plunges knee-deep in knights' blood,
Hip-deep in the gore of heroes.
With darts she drives...,
With the... of her bow...
Now Anath goes to her house,
The goddess proceeds to her palace.
Not sated with battling in the plain,
With her fighting between the two towns,
She pictures the chairs as heroes,
Pretending a table is warriors,
And that the footstools are troops.
Much battle she does and beholds,
Her fighting contemplates Anath:
Her liver swells with laughter,
Her heart fills up with joy,
Anath's liver exults;
For she plunges knee-deep in knights' blood,
Hip-deep in the gore of heroes.
Then, sated with battling in the house,
Fighting between the two tables,
Behind, her loins do break;
Above, her face doth sweat:
Bent are the joints of her loins,
Weakened those of her back.
She lifts up her voice and cries:
"Why come Gapn and Ugar?
What enemy's risen 'gainst Baal,
What foe 'gainst the Rider of Clouds?
Crushed I not El's Belov'd Yamm?
Destroyed I not El's Flood Rabbim?
Did I not, pray, muzzle the Dragon?
I did crush the crooked serpent,°
Shalyat[lyt]the seven-headed.
I did crush El's Belov'd Ar[... ?],
Cut off El's Bullock'Atak.
I did crush the Godly Bitch Hashat,
Destroy the house of El-Dhubub,
Who fought thee (and) seized the gold;
Who drave Baal from the Heights of Zaphon,
Sans frontlet," his ear pierced through;*
Chas'd him from his throne of kingship,
From the dais, the seat of his dominion.
What enemy's risen 'gainst Baal,
What foe 'gainst the Rider of Clouds?"—
[An]swer the lads twain make:
"No enemy's risen 'gainst Baal,
No foe 'gainst the Rider of Clouds!
Message of Puissant Baal,
Word of the Powerful Hero:
Take war away from the earth,
Bani[sh (all)] strife from the soil, etc. etc."
(see above, lines 10 ff.)
[An]swers the Maiden [An]ath,
Replies [Yabamat] Liimmim:
"I'll take war away [from the earth,
Bani[sh] (all)] strife from the soil,
Pour [peace] into earth's very bowels,
Mu[ch amity into] earth's bos[om].
Let Baal [...] ,
Let him [...] ...
I'll take war away from the earth, etc.
Yet another word will I say:
Go, go, attendants divine.
Ye are slow and I am swift.
From (my) Mount to the godhead afar,°
Enibaba° to the distant divinity,
Is two mathpads° under earth's furrows,
Three underneath the hollows."—
There, she is off on her way
To Baal of the Summit of Zaphon.
From a thousand fields, ten thousand acres,
His sister's approach Baal sees,
The advance of his own father's-daughter.
He dismisses (his) wives from her presence.
He places an ox before her,
A fatted one in front of her.
She draws some water and bathes
Sky-dew, fatness of earth;
Dew that the heavens do [sh]ed,
Spray that is shed by the stars.
She rubs herself in with amberg[ris]
From a sperm-whale
... [ ... ].

E

["..."
No house hath Baal like the gods',
Nor court like Asherah's] children’s. Etc. etc."°
Quoth [the Maiden Anath]:
"He'll heed me, will Bull El [my father],
He'll heed me for his own good!
[For I'll] fell him like a lamb to the ground,
[Make] his gray hair [flow with] blood,
The gray hair of his beard [with gore];
Unless he give
A house unto Baal like the gods',
[And a cour]t like Asherah's children's."—
[She stamps] her foot [and the ea]th [trembles].
[There, she is off on her] way
[Towards El of the S]ources of the Flo[ods,
In the midst of [the Headwaters of the Two
De]eps.
She penetrates El's Field and enters
[The pavilion of King Father [Shunem].
(couplet too damaged for sense)
Her voice Bull [El] her father [...] hea[rs].
[He replies in the seven cham[bers,
[In]side the eight enclosures:
(20)
"...
Even the God's Torch Shapsh,
[Who wings] the expanse of hea[v]en,
Is in El's Beloved Mor's hand."—
Quoth the Maiden Anath:
[...] O El,
... Rejoice not [...],
... [...]
[...]...
My long hand will [smash] thy skull.
I'll make thy gray hair flow [with blood],
The gray hair of thy beard with gore."—
El replies in the seven chambers,
Inside the eight enclosures:
["[I w]eened, daughter mine, thou wa[st gentle],
And contumely 'mong goddesses was not.
° In this speech Baal is explaining to Anath why he summoned her.
°° See e, beginning.
° The standard reaction of a female character to an unexpected visit: it must mean bad news!
°° His proper name is Lotan=Leviathan (Isa. 27:1); see g, beginning.
° If μ=Heb. μ, Exod. 25:36.
°°° i.e. Baal, the sender of the messengers.
°°°° Name of Anath's abode. Could it be Hurrian, meaning "god's mountain"?
°°°°° Measure of time or length?
What wouldst thou, O Maiden Anath?—
And the Maiden Anath replied:
"Thy decree, O El, is wise:
Wisdom with ever-life thy portion.
Thy decree: 'Our king's Puissant Baal,
Our ruler, second to none. Etc., Etc.'"

(see above, c, iv-v 41 ff.)

F

"...

[O'er] thousand ['fields' in the] sea,
Ten thousand [acres] in the floods.
[Traverse] Gabal, traverse Qa'al,
Traverse Ihat-nop-shamem.
Proceed, O Fisherman of Asherah,
Go, O Qadesh wa-Amur.18
There now, be off on thy way
To the midst of Hikpat-El, all of it,19
To Kaphtor the throne that he sits on,
Hikpat the land of his portion.
From a thousand fields, ten thousand acres,20
At Kothar's feet bow and fall down,
Prostrate thee and do him honor.
And say unto Kothar wa-Khasis,
Repeat unto Hayyin of the Handicrafts:
'Message of Puissant Baal,
Word of the Powerful Hero:

...']"

g. I* AB

Two fragments, discovered in 1930 and 1931 respectively, were found to fit together, but about an equal amount of text is still missing from the tablet to which they belong. Though the top of col. i happens to be preserved, it does not exhibit the copyist's signature "Pertaining to 'Baal'" which ought to have occupied line 1 according to rule. However, thanks to the circumstance that the bottom of col. vi is also preserved, it is obvious that the direct continuation of this tablet is I AB, which has the expected superscription.


Studies: U. Cassuto, Dissertaciones in Honorem Dr. Eduardi Mahler (Budapest, 1937), 53-57; Turris, xii (1941), 169-180.

Col. i lines 1-8 represent the conclusion of a message which Mot has been instructing Gapn and Ugar, the messengers of Baal, to deliver to the latter. In order to be in Mot's presence, they must previously have been sent to him by Baal. Since we read of just such a mission in the incomplete last column of II AB (our e), it is possible that if that column were complete its text would be found to precede ours directly, in other words, to end with the first half of Mot's message; but other considerations suggest that V AB (our f) may have intervened. In any case the first half of Mot's original speech can for the most part easily be restored, since the entire speech is repeated by Gapn and Ugar in full—though slightly damaged—in the first column of our tablet. But it is so obscure that we shall skip most of it.

18 Attendant of Asherah, but on this occasion, it seems, he for some reason acts as messenger for Baal (see end).
19 Hikpat il Alath, home of Kothar.
20 It is curious that this precaution (cf. e, viii 25 ff.) should be necessary with Kothar, who is otherwise an obliging deity and a friend of Baal.
The Godly Mot rejoices
[And lifting] his [voice] he cries:
"How humbled is [ ... ]."
(Several ends of lines, then about 20-25 lines missing.
Cols. iii-iv too damaged for connected sense.)

(About 25 lines missing at the top. Then 1-5 defective.)

But thou, take thy cloud, thy wind,
Thy ..., thy rains;
With thee thy seven lads,
Thine eight boars.
With thee Padiiya, daughter of Ar;
With thee Tatalliya (Tly), daughter of Rabb.
There now, be off on thy way
Unto the Mount of Kankaninya.
Lift the mount upon thy hands,
The elevation upon thy palms,
And descend to the depth of the earth,
Be of those who descend into earth,
And ..."—
Puissant Baal complies.
He desires a cow-calf in Dubr,
A heifer in Shihlemat-field (Id ilimmt);
Lies with her times seventy-seven,
[ ... ] ... times eighty-eight.
She [conc]eives and gives birth to Math.
(fragments of 3 more lines; another 11 missing)

[They* penetrate El's Field and enter
The pavilion of King El Father Shunem.
[And lifting their voices they cry:
"We went [ ... ],
...
We [ca]me to the pleasance of Dabr-land,
To the beauty of Shihlemat-field.
We came upon Baal
Fallen on the ground:
Puissant Baal is dead,
The Prince, Lord of Earth, is perished."
Straightway Kindly El Benign
Descends from the throne,
Sits on the footstool,
From the footstool,
And sits on the ground;
Pours dust of mourning on his head,
Earth of mortification on his pate;
And puts on sackcloth and loincloth.

He cuts a gash with a stone,
Incisions with ... etc.
He gash[es] his cheeks and his chin,

5 Addressed (by Mot?) to Baal.
6 A variant of Tly. For some reason this also occurs as a variant of the appellative H ("dew").
7 Probably Gapn and Ugar.

He harrows the roll of his arm.
He plows his chest like a garden,
Harrows his back like a plain.
He lifts up his voice and cries:
"Baal's dead!—What becomes of the people?
Dagon's Son!—What of the masses?
After Baal I'll descend into earth."

Anath also goes and wander
Every mount to the heart of the earth,
Every hill to the earth's very bosom.
She comes to the pleasance of Dabr-land,
To the beauty of Shihlemat-field.
She [comes] upon Baal
Fall[en] on the ground:
She puts on [sackcloth] and loincloth.

h. I AB

A tablet with three columns of writing on each side. It consists of two fragments: a larger one exhumed in 1930 and a smaller one brought to light in 1933. The latter constitutes the top of col. i and the bottom of col. vi and fits exactly onto the former.

Editions: Virolleaud, Syria, xi (1931), 193-224; Syria, xv (1934), 226-243; Montgomery-Harris, The Ras Shamra Mythological Texts, 49-57; Ginsberg, Kitbe Ugarit, 57-70; AKTRSch., 42-48; Ugaritic Handbook, ii, Texts 49 (PP-137-9) and 62 (pp. 146-7).

Studies: Albright, BASOR, 46 (Apr. 1932), 15-19; JPOS, x11 (1933), 97-123.

(Pertaining to "Baal.")
She cuts a gash with a stone,
Incisions with ... etc.
The beauty of Shihlmemat-field.  
I did masticate Puissant Baal.  
I made him like a lamb in my mouth;  
Like a kid in my gullet he’s crushed.
Even the Gods’ Torch Shapsh,  
Who wings over heaven’s expanse,  
Is in Mot the Godly’s hand."
A day, even days pass by,  
From days unto months.  
Then Anath the Lass draws nigh him.  
Like the heart of a cow for her calf,  
Like the heart of a ewe for her lamb,  
So’s the heart of Anath for Baal. 
She seizes the Godly Mot—
With sword she doth cleave him.  
With fan she doth winnow him—  
In the field she doth sow him.  
Birds eat his remnants,  
Consuming his portions,  
Plitting from remnant to remnant."

(iii–iv)

some 40 lines missing on top of col. iii)

"..."

[That Puissant Baal had died],  
That the Prince [Lord of Earth] had perished.  
And behold, alive is [Puissant Baal]!  
And behold, existent the Prince, Lord of Earth!  
In a dream, O Kindly El Benign,  
In a vision, Creator of Creatures,  
The heavens fat did rain,  
The wadies flow with honey.  
So I knew
That alive was Puissant Baal!  
Existent the Prince, Lord of Earth!  
In a dream, Kindly El Benign,  
In a vision, Creator of Creatures,  
The heavens fat did rain,  
The wadies flow with honey!"—
The Kindly One El Benign’s glad.  
His feet on the footstool he sets,  
And parts his jaws and laughs.  
He lifts up his voice and cries:  
“Now will I sit and rest  
And my soul be at ease in my breast.  
For alive is Puissant Baal,  
Existent the Prince, Lord of Earth!”

Loudly El doth cry  
Unto the Maiden Anath.  
“Hearken, O Maiden Anath!  
Say to the Gods’ Torch Shapsh:

[iii–iv]
UGARITIC MYTHS, EPICS, AND LEGENDS

(iv)

‘Parch’d is the furrow of Soil, O Shapsh;
Parched is El’s Soil’s furrow:
Baal neglects the furrow of his tillage.
Where is Puissant Baal?
Where is the Prince, Lord of Earth?’—
The Maiden Anath departs.
There, she is off on her way
Unto the Gods’ Torch Shapsh.
She lifts up her voice and cries:
“Message of Bull El thy father,
Word of the Kindly, thy begetter:
Parch’d is the furrow of Soil, O [Shapsh];
Parched is El’s Soil’s furrow:
Baal neglects the furrow of his tillage.
Where is Puissant Baal?
Where is the Prince, Lord of Earth?’—
Answer’d the Gods’ Torch Sha[psh]:
“. . . in the . . . [of thy brother],
In the . . . of thy sibling,
And I’ll look for Puissant Baal.”—
Quoth the Maiden Anath:
“. . . , O Shapsh;
. . .
May . . . [ . . . ] guard thee,
. . . [ . . . ]!(?)
. . .
. . . [ . . . ].
(some 35 lines missing)

(v)

Baal seizes the sons of Asherah.
Rabbim4 he strikes in the back.
Dokyamm he strikes with a bludgeon,
. . . he fells to the earth.
Baal [mounts] his throne of kingship,
[Dagon’s Son] his seat of dominion.
[From] days to months, from months to years.
Lo, after seven years,
The Godly Mot […]
Unto Puissant Baal.
He lifts up his voice and says:
“Upon thee . . . may I see,6
Downfall upon thee may I see.
Winnowing (with fan
Upon thee may I see.
Cleaving) with sword
Upon thee may I see.
Burning with fire
Upon thee [may I see.
Grind[ing] with hand-mill
Up[on thee] may I see;
Sift[ing] with s[ieve
Upon thee [may I see.
[ . . . ] . [ . . . ] in the soil

(vi)

Upon thee may I see.
Sowing on the sea
[. . . ] . [ . . . ].”
(Lines 20-28 defective and obscure. Some further 35 lines missing.)

(30)

Returning to Baal of Zaphon’s Fastness,
He lifts up his voice and cries:
“My brothers hast thou given, Baal, my . . . [s?]?
My mother’s sons, my . . .”
They . . . like camels:
Mot’s firm, Baal’s firm.
They gore like buffaloes:
Mot’s firm. Baal’s firm.
They bite like snakes:
Mot’s firm. Baal’s firm.
Above Shapsh cries to Mot:
“Hearken, now, Godly Mot!
Why striv’st thou with Puissant Baal? Why?
Should Bull El thy father hear thee,
He’ll pull out thy dwelling’s pillars.
Overturn thy throne of kingship,
Break thy staff of dominion!”
Sore afraid was Godly Mot,
Filled with dread El’s Beloved Ghazir.
Mot . . .
. . .
Thou’lt eat the bread of honor,
Thou’lt drink the wine of favor.
On the sea of monster and dragon,
Proceedeth Kothar wa-Khasis,
Kothar wa-Khasis doth journey.”

(46)

Thou’lt eat the bread of honor,
Thou’lt drink the wine of favor.
Shapsh shall govern the gathered ones,*
Shapsh shall govern the divine ones.
. . . gods . . . mortals,
. . . Kothar thy fellow,
Even Khasis thine intimate.”

(50)

On the sea of monster and dragon,
Proceedeth Kothar wa-Khasis,
Kothar wa-Khasis doth journey.”

(colophon)

Written by Elimelech the Shabnite.
Dictated by Attani-puruleni, Chief of Priests, Chief of (Temple)-herdsmen.
Donated by Niqmadd, King of Ugarit, Master of Yargub, Lord of Tharumeni.

APPENDIX. IV AB+R$ 319 (and BH)

There exist a large (IV AB) and a very small piece (R$ 319) of a tablet with three columns of writing on only one side. That they both belong to the same tablet is not certain but very

4 Apparently Baal is handing out rewards to his allies.
5 Or, “she’ll.”
6 The rephaim, or shades?
7 Or, “Because of thee . . . have I seen.” So also in the following.
He seizes and holds [her] womb;
Beholds a cow and proceeds a-walking,
We’ll thrust my foes into the earth,
The horns of thy... ,0 Maiden Anath,
And he lifts up his voice and cries:
Before her he rises,
Beholds the Maiden Anath,
Puissant Baal lifts up his eyes,
To Shimak Canebrake,
The God Hadd in the midst of his palace.
The maid of Baal make answer:
“Baal is not in his house,
[The God] Hadd in the midst of his palace.
His bow he has ta’en in his hand,
Also his darts in his right hand.
There he is off on his way
To Shimak Canebrake, the [buf]falo-filled.”—
The Maiden Ana[th] lifts her wing,
Lifts her wing and speeds in flight,
To Shimak Canebrake, the [buf]falo-filled.—
Puissant Baal lifts up his eyes,
Lifts up his eyes and beholds,
Beholds the Maiden Anath,
Fairest among Baal’s sisters.
Before her he rises, he stands,
At her feet he kneels and falls down.
And he lifts up his voice and cries:
“Hail, sister, and... !
The horns of thy... O Maiden Anath,
The horns of thy... Baal will anoint,
Baal will anoint them in flight.
We’ll thrust my foes into the earth,
To the ground them that rise ’gainst thy brother!”—
The Maiden Anath lifts up her eyes,
Lifts up her eyes and beholds,
Beholds a cow and proceeds a-walking,
Proceeds a-walking and proceeds a-dancing,
In the pleasant spots, in the lovely places.
(RS 319)
(8 or 9 badly damaged lines at the bottom)

He seizes and holds [her] womb;
[She] seizes and holds [his] stones.
Baal... to an ox.
[... the Mai]den Anath
[... ] to conceive and bear.

1 The inquirer is evidently Anath.
2 Semachonitis, the modern Lake Huleh in Galilee.

The Legend of King Keret

In the campaigns of 1930 and 1931 the French excavators of ancient Ugarit recovered fragments belonging to three clay tablets of an epic about a king designated by a name whose consonants are k-r-t and whose vowels are unknown; it is conventionally transcribed Keret.

There are six columns of writing (three on each side) on each tablet. According to the order in which they were published, they are designated as I K, II K, and III K, but according to their organic sequence as KRT A (= I K), KRT B (= III K), KRT C (= II K). KRT A was probably preceded, and KRT C was certainly followed, by one or more lost tablets. There may also be one or more missing between B and C.

Our text was copied in the reign of a certain king of Ugarit by the name of Niqmadd (see the colophon at the end of KRT C), who is known to have reigned in the second quarter of the fourteenth century B.C. That it contains a certain core of history is probable.

First publication: Of KRT A (with copies and photographs of the original), Ch. Virolleaud, La légende de Keret, roi des Sidoniens (Mission de Ras Shamra II), 1936. Of KRT B (with copies of the original), Ch. Virolleaud, Le mariage du roi Keret (III K), Syria, xxiii/3-4 (1942-43), actual date of publication 1945, 137-172. Of KRT C (with copies of the original), Ch. Virolleaud, Le roi Keret et son fils (II K), Syria, xxiii (1943), 105-136, 197-217; Syria, xxiv/1-2 (1943-44), 1-20. Other editions: H. L. Ginsberg, The Legend of King Keret (BASOR SS, 2-3), 1946 (includes bibliography). C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Handbook (Analecta Orientalia, xxv), 1947, II, pp. 162-166, 184-187; Texts 125-128, Krt (transliterations only). Other bibli-
KRT A

(i)

([Pertaining to “Ke]ret.”]¹

... The house of [a k]ing is destroyed,
Who had seven [bre]thren,
Eight mother’s sons.
Keret in offspring is ruined,
Keret is undermined of establishment.
His lawful wife he did find,
His legitimate spouse.
He married the woman, and she “departed.”²
Flesh of kinship had he:
He saw his offspring, doth Keret;
One-fifth pestilence gathered unto itself,
One-third died in health,
One-fourth of sickness;
One-fifth calamity;
One-seventh thereof fell by the sword.³—
He sees his offspring, doth Keret;
He sees his offspring ruined,
Wholly undermined his seat,
And in its entirety a posterity perishing,
And in its totality a succession.
(So) he enters his cubicle (and) weeps,
An inner chamber and cries.
His tears do drop
Like shekels to the ground.
His bed is soaked by his weeping,
And he falls asleep as he cries.
Sleep prevails over him, and he lies;
Slumber, and he reclines.
And in his dream El descends,
In his vision the Father of Man.
And he approaches asking Keret:
“What ails Keret that he weeps,
The Beloved, Lad of El, that he cries?
Is it a kingship like Bull his father’s he desires,
Or authority like the Father of Man’s?”

(At the bottom of col. i, lines 44-53 are abraded. They doubtless contained an offer by El of “silver and gold...and perpetual slaves” etc. [cf. lines 53 ff., 126 ff., 37 ff., 250 ff., 269 ff., 282 ff.] and the beginning of Keret’s reply, as follows: “What need have I of silver and yellow-glittering—)

(ii)

[Gold]; (54)

Friendship by convenant [and vassal]age for ever;
One-third of the chariot-[steeds]
In the stable of a handmaid’s son?
[Grant] I may beget [child]ren;
[Grant that] I multiply [kins]men.—
And Bull, his father El, [replied]:
“E[no]ugh for thee of weeping, Keret;
Of crying, Beloved, Lad of El.
Do thou wash and rouge thee.
Wash from hand to elbow,
From [thy] fing[ers] up to the shoulder.
Enter [the shade of a pavilion].
Take a lam[b in thy hand],
A lamb of sac[rifice in thy] right hand;
A kid in th[e grasp of thy han]d,
All thy most tempting food.
Take a surve[doe],
Bird of sacrifice.
[In a bo]wl of silver pour wine,
Honey in a bowl of [g]old.
{Go up to the top of a to[wer}.
And go up to the top of a to[wer];
Bestride the top of the wall];
Lift up thy hands to heaven,
Sacrifice to Bull, thy father El;
Honor Baal with thy sacrifice,
Dagon’s Son* with thine oblation.
Then descend, Keret, from the house tops.
Prepare thou corn for the city,
Wheat for Bet Khubur.*²
Let bread be baked for a fifth,
Food for a sixth month.
Muster the people and let it come forth,
The host of the troops of the people.
Yea, let come forth the assembled multitude,
Thy troops, a mighty force:
Three hundred myriads;
Serfs without number,
Peasants beyond counting.
They march in thousands serried,
And in myriads massed.
After two, two march;
After three, all of them.
The solitary man closes his house,
The widow locks herself in;
The sick man is carried in bed,
The blind man gropes his way.
E’en the new-wed groom*² goes forth.

¹ The first line in each tablet of a series indicates (where preserved) the series to which it belongs.
² A euphemism for “died.”
³ The poet either did not know or did not care if his fractions added up to more than unity.
⁴ cf. Ps. 6:7.
⁵ The word for “man” is identical with the proper name “Adam,” and “Father (i.e. Creator) of the First Man” may be the meaning intended. El is also frequently called “Creator of Creatures.”
⁶ This epithet, like “Servant of El” (below, 11. 153, 155, 299), has the connotations of “favorite” and “intimate.” cf. Num. 12:6-9; Deut. 34:5 etc.
⁷ i.e. of a (slave or) vassal; cf. Ps. 86:16; 111:16; Wisd. 9:5.
⁸ A dittography of the next line; cf. 11. 165 ff.
⁹ = Baal. In KRT B iv it is called simply Khubur.
¹⁰ This sense is strongly indicated by the parallelism, though hard to confirm etymologically.
¹¹ Who was sometimes exempted, Deut. 24:5 (cf. 20:7).
He drives\(^{12}\) to another his wife,
   To a stranger his well-beloved.
(They are)
Like the locusts that dwell on the steppe,
   (iii)
   Like grasshoppers on the borders of the desert.\(^{12}\)—
March a day and a second;
   A third, a fourth day;
   A fifth, a sixth day—
Lo! at the sun\(^{14}\) on the seventh:
   Thou arrivest at Udum the Great,
   Even at Udum the Grand.
—Now do thou attack the villages,
   (viii)
   Harass the towns.
\textit{Sweep} from the fields the wood-cutting \(^3\) wives,\(^{13}\)
   From the threshing floors the straw-picking ones;
\textit{Sweep} from the spring the women that draw,
   From the fountain those that fill.
Tarry a day and a second;
   A third, a fourth day;
   A fifth, a sixth day.
Thine arrows shoot not into the city,
   \textit{(Nor) thy hand-stones} flung headlong.
And behold, at the sun on the seventh,
   King Pabel will sleep
   Till the noise of the neighing of his stallion,
   \textit{(Until) the howling of the watchdog.}
Then will he send two messengers unto thee,
   Unto Keret, to the camp:
   \textit{Message of King Pabel:—}
   Take silver and yellow-glittering gold;
\textit{Friendship by covenant} and vassalage for ever;
One-third of the chariot-steeds
   In the stable of a handmaid's son.
Take it, Keret,
   \textit{(In peace, in peace.}
And flee, O king, from my house;
   Withdraw, O Keret, from my court.
Vex not Udum the Great,
   Even Udum the Grand.
Udum is a gift of El,
   Even a present of the Father of Man.'—
Then send thou the two messengers back to him:—
   \textit{What need have I of silver and yellow-glittering gold;}
\textit{Friendship by covenant} and vassalage for ever;
One-third of the chariot-steeds
   In the stables of a handmaid's son?
Nay, what's not in my house shalt thou give!
Give me Lady Hurriya (hry),
   \textit{The fair, thy first-begotten;}
Whose fairness is like Anath's fairness,
\textit{[Whose] beauty} like Ashthoreth's beauty;
Whose eyeballs are the pureness of lapis,
Whose pupils the gleam of jet;
\textit{... Let me bask in the brightness of her eyes;}
Whom in my dream El bestowed,
   \textit{In my vision the Father of Man.}
And let her bear offspring to Keret,
   \textit{And a lad to the Servant of El.'—}
Keret awoke, and (lo, it was) a dream;
   The Servant of El, and (lo, it was) a fantasy.—
Then wash'd he and roug'd him:
He washed from hand to elbow,
   From his fingers up to the shoulder.
He entered the shade of a pavilion,
   \textit{(edge)}
   Took a lamb of sacrifice in his hand,
   \textit{A kid in the grasp of his hand,}
\textit{All his most tempting food.}
He took a \textit{turtledove,}
   \textit{Bird of sacrifice.}
\begin{itemize}
   \item In a bowl of silver he poured wine,
   \item Honey in a bowl of gold.
   \item He went up to the top of a tower,
     \item Bestrode the top of the wall;
   \item Lifted up his [han]ds to heaven,
     \item Sacrificed to Bull, his father El;
   \item \textit{Honored Baal} with his sacrifice,
     \item Dagon's Son with his [ob]lation.
   \item Keret descended \textit{[from the housetop].}
   \item He prepared corn for the city,
     \item Wheat for Bet Khubur.
   \item Bread \textit{[was ba]ked for a fifth,}
     \item \textit{[Food] for a sixth mon[th].}
   \item He mu[st]ered the people and \textit{[it came forth,}
     \item \textit{The host} of the troops of the peop[le.}
   \item And forth came the assembled \textit{multitude,}
     \item His troops, \textit{[a mighty force]};
   \item \textit{Thr[ec] hundred myriads.}
   \item They march in thousands \textit{serried,}
     \item \textit{And in myriads massed.}
\end{itemize}
After two, two march;
   \item After three, all of them.
   \item The solitary man closes his house,
     \item The widow \textit{locks} herself \textit{in;}
   \item The sick man is carried in his bed,
     \item The blind man \textit{gropes his way.}
\textit{Forth comes,}\(^{16}\) too, the new-wed groom.
He drives to another his wife,
   \textit{And to a stranger his well-beloved.}
(They are) like the locusts that dwell on the steppe,
   \textit{Like grasshoppers on the border of the desert.—}
They march a day and a second;
   \item Then, at the sun\(^{11}\) on the third,
They come to the shrine of Asherah of Tyre,\textsuperscript{17}
Even that of Elath of Sidon.\textsuperscript{18}
There Keret the Noble goes:
"As Asherah of Tyre exists,
As Elath of Sidon!
If Hurriya to my house I take,
Bring the lass into my court,
Her double I'll give in silver,
And her treble in gold."\textsuperscript{19}
He marches a day and a second;
A third, a fourth day.
Then at the sun on the fourth,\textsuperscript{20}
He arrives at Udum the Great,
Even Udum the Great and.
He did attack the villages,
Harassed the towns.
He swept from the fields the wood-cutting (wives),
And from the threshing floors the straw-picking ones;

(v)
He swept from the spring the women that drew,
And from the fountain those that filled.
He tarry'd a day and a second,
A third, a fourth day.
And behold, at the sun on the seventh,
King Pabel slept
Till the noise of the neighing of his stallion,
Till the sound of the braying of his beast,
Until the lowing of the plow ox,
[(Until) the howling of the watchdog.]
[Strait]way [King Pabel]
[Loudly unto [his] wife doth [cry]]:
"Hearken, I pray thee, [O . . .] my wife,
[ . . .]
(lines 231-5 too fragmentary for rendering)
[To Keret] I will surely send [ . . .]."
(Loudly [unto . . . he doth] cry:
"[O . . ., mount ye an ass
(lines 240-5 destroyed except for a few letters)
[There now, be off on your way]
Towards [Keret the Noble].
And say unto Keret the Noble]:
'Message of (King Pabel):-
Take [silver and yellow-glittering gold];
[Friendship by covenants, vass[alage for ever;
Etc.] etc.'"

(see above, lines 125-136)

(vi)
(Lines 262-264, wanting, related how the two messengers did what Pabel had commanded in lines 239-245.)
There, they are off on their way

Toward[s Keret the Noble.
They raise their voices and cry:
"Message of King Pabel:
Take silver and yellow-glittering gold; etc.
etc."

(see above, lines 125-136)
And Keret the Noble replied:
"What need have I of silver and yellow-glittering gold]; etc., etc."
(Till "and a lad to the Servant of El" [see lines 136-153] minus the clause "let me bask in the brightness of her eyes.")
The messengers twain depart,
They tarry not.
There, they are off on their way
Towards King Pabel.

They raise their voices and cry:
"Message of Keret the Noble,'
Word of the [Beloved, [Lad of]

KRT B

(i)
(All but the bottom, or some 35 lines, missing. They repeated Keret's message more or less verbatim. Then they related that Pabel said, in effect, "Return and say unto Keret:—All right, you may have her. But we shall miss her sorely. Everybody loves her because she is the embodiment of virtue.
The starved she takes by the hand,
The parched she takes by the hand.
They will follow her lamenting
Unto Keret, to the camp.
They will follow her lamenting
Unto Keret, to the camp.
Towards Keret the Noble.
They will follow her [lamenting
Unto Keret, to the camp.
(As) the cow moans for her calf,
The young of the flock for their mothers,
Even so will Udum (or, the Udumians) wail."
Finally they told how:
The messengers twain depart,
They tarry not.
Behold, they do set (their) faces
Towards Keret the Noble.
They lift up their voices and cry: "Message of King Pabel:—All right you may have her. Etc.)

'The starved she takes] by the hand.
The parched she takes by the hand.
They will follow her [lamenting
Unto Keret, to the camp.
(As) the cow moans for her calf,
The young of the flock for their mothers,
Even so will Udum wail."

And Keret the Noble replied:

(ii)
(At the top of the column, 10 or more lines are missing altogether, and lines 1-10 of the remainder are very defective. The missing lines may have related how Keret fulfilled the vow of KRT A 199 ff. and how he

\textsuperscript{17} Perhaps better "the Tyrians," "the Sidonians." In either case, the shrine will have been situated not too far from Tyre and Sidon.
\textsuperscript{18} Or, "two parts (i.e. thirds) of her . . . and the third . . ."
\textsuperscript{19} Apparently a mistake for "fifth."
\textsuperscript{20} Perhaps better "the Udumians" (cf. n.17).
made new ones, referred to below, iii 23 ff. The defective lines tell that some of the leading gods are about to visit Keret and that Keret makes some obscure preparations.)

[The]n came the companies of the gods.

And Puissant Baal spake up:

“[Now] come, 0 Kindly One [El Be]nign! Wilt thou not bless [Keret] the Noble, Not beatify the Beloved, Lad of El?”—

A cup [El] takes [in] (his) hand,

A flagon in (his) [right hand].

Indeed he blesses [his servants].

El blesses Keret,

[Beatifi]es the Beloved, Lad of El:

“The wo[man thou tak’st] into thy house,

The maid thou bring’st into thy court,

Shall bear seven sons unto thee;

Yea, eight she’ll produce for thee.

She shall bear Yassib (ysb) the Lad,21

Who shall draw the milk of A[She]rah,

Suck the breasts of the maiden Anath,

The two wet nur[ses of the gods].”21a

(20)

(iii)

(10)

(20)

(10)

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(10)
Hearken...
That they might eat and drink.
And Lady Hurriya declared:
"To eat, to drink have I summoned you:
Your sire [Keret hath a sacrifice]."
Into Keret's presence they enter.
Like the speech of the peer[s] is their speech.

In a vision [ ... ] Keret.
(Some 40 lines missing. If KRT C is the direct continuation of KRT B, these 40 lines certainly indicated that Keret was ill, and that the opening lines of KRT C were what his son Elhau (iḥu) was advised—perhaps by his own heart (cf. KRT C vi 25 ff.)—to say to his father. Also, the passing of the years which presumably elapsed between the 7th year of Keret's marriage (above, iii 20-25) and the apparent maturity of Elhau and Thitmanet as well as Yassib is more likely to have been indicated in this lacuna than in any of the preceding ones.)

KRT C

(i-ii)

[Responding to] "Keret") "Like [a dog] thy aspect is changed,
Like a cur thy joyous countenance.
Wilt thou die, then, father, like the mortals,
Or thy joy change to mourning,
To a woman's dirge, 0 father, my song?
For thee, father, weeps the mount of Baal,
Zaphon, the sacred circuit.
The mighty circuit laments,
The circuit broad of span:
`Is, then, Keret a son of El,
An offspring of the Kindly One, and a holy being?'—
Into the presence of his father he goes,
Weeping bitter tears,
Giving forth his voice in weeping:
"In thy life, our father, we rejoiced,
Exulted in thy not dying.
(But) like a dog thine aspect is changed,
Like a cur thy joyous countenance.
Wilt thou die then, father, like the mortals,
Or thy joy change to mourning,
To a woman's dirge, O father, my song?
For thee, father, weeps the mount of Baal,
Zaphon, the sacred circuit.
The mighty circuit laments,
The circuit broad of span:
`Is, then, [Ke]ret a son of El,
An offspring of the Kindly One, and a holy being?'—
Into the presence of his father he goes,
Weeping bitter tears,
Giving forth his voice in weeping:
"In thy life, our father, we rejoiced,
Exulted in thy not dying.
(But) like a dog thine aspect is changed,
Like a cur thy joyous countenance.
Wilt thou die then, father, like the mortals,
Or thy joy change to mourning,
To a woman's dirge, O father, my song?
For thee, father, weeps the mount of Baal,
Zaphon, the sacred circuit.
The mighty circuit laments,
The circuit broad of span:
`Is, then, Keret a son of El,
An offspring of the Kindly One, and a holy being?'—
Into the presence of his father he goes,
Weeping bitter tears,
Giving forth his voice in weeping:
"In thy life, our father, we rejoiced,
Exulted in thy not dying.
(But) like a dog thine aspect is changed,
Like a cur thy joyous countenance.
Wilt thou die then, father, like the mortals,
Or thy joy change to mourning,
To a woman's dirge, O father, my song?
Shall, then, a god die,
Keret] is making a [sacrifice; [The king is] preparing a banquet.'

(ii)

(Of lines 63-78 only the beginnings are preserved, but it seems that Thitmanet asks a further question and Elhau's answer does not satisfy her; so that she tries to loosen his tongue with liquor,24 and then)
She approaches [her] brother27 [and asks]
"Why dost thou deceive me, [my brother]? How many moons hath he been sick",
How many hath Ker[et] been ill?"
And the youth [Elhau] replied:
"The king is [not] sick,
Thy sire Keret is not ill.
Keret] is making a [sacrifice; [The king is] preparing a banquet.'

She weeps bitter tears;
She gives forth her voice in weeping:
"In thy life, our [fa]ther, we rejoiced,
Exulted in thy not dying.
(But) like a dog thine aspect is changed,
Like a cur thy joyous countenance.
Wilt thou die then, father, like the mortals,
Or thy joy change to mourning,
To a woman's dirge, O father, my song?
Shall, then, a god die,
Keret] is making a [sacrifice; [The king is] preparing a banquet.'

(ii)

(30)
(40)
(50)
(60)
(80)
(100)
An offspring of the Kindly One not live?
For thee, father, weeps the mount of Baal,
Za[pho]n, the sacred circuit.
The mighty [circu]it laments,
The circuit b oad of [s][pan]:
'Is, then, Keret a son [of El],
An offspring of the Kindly One [and a holy being]?"—
And so she comes in [to her father's presence],
She enters the ch[amber of Keret].
(Of lines 114-120 only the beginnings preserved; 2-3 more lines entirely abraded.)

(iii)

(about 30 lines missing at the top)
They pour fat earth and sky;
Turn to the . . . of the earth,
To the . . . of the plowland.
Unto the earth Baal rains,
And unto the field rains 'Aliyy.80
Sweet to the earth is Baa[1's] rain,[r][a][i],
And to the field the rain of 'Aliyy,
'Tis sweet to the wheat in the plowland,
In the tilth to the emmer.

... The plowmen raise their heads,
Upward the growers of corn.81
Spent is the bread corn [from] their j[ars],
Spent the wine from their skin-bottles,
Spent the oil from [their] jugs.
Keret's house82 . . .

(iv)

(about 18 lines missing at the top)
(abraded)
El hath heard thy . . .
(Thou) hast insight like El,
Art wise as Bull the Kindly One.
Call the carpenter-god Ilish,
Ili[sh] and his wives the carpenter-goddesses,
... He calls the carpenter-god Ilish—
Ilish, carpenter of the house of Baal—
And his wives the carpenter-goddesses.
And the Kindly One, El Benign, spake:
"Hearken, 0 carpenter-god Ilish—
Ilish, carpenter of the house of Baal—
And thy wives the carpenter-goddesses.

29 If the reading is correct, the fat, or oil, is either literal, in which case we have a description of an act of sympathetic magic meant to induce precipitation; or figurative, in which case actual rain (cf. p. 136) is described.
80 Evidently identical with Baal. Baal is the god of rain; cf. p. 153.
81 All this certainly sounds more like the end of a drought (or dry season) than the beginning or middle of one, yet Keret is still ill. It is therefore anything but obvious that the drought is considered to be a consequence of the king's illness.
82a See new reading, A. Herdner, Corpus (Texte), p. 76a.
83 Or, "daughter."
84 Or, "her."
29a See new reading, A. Herdner, Corpus (Texte), p. 76a.
His desire for bread she opens,
    His appetite for food.
Death, on the one hand, is broken;
    Sha'atqat, on the other, has prevailed.—
Then Keret the Noble commands,
    Raising his voice and crying:
"Hearken, O Lady Hurriya.
    Prepare a lamb that I may eat,
A yea[ling] that I may dine."
Lady Hurriya hearkens.
She prepares a lamb and he eats,
    A yea[ling] and he dines.
Behold a day and a second,
    Keret returns to his former estate;
He sits upon the throne of kingship;
    Upon the dais, the seat of authority.
Now, Yassib sits in the palace,
And his inward parts do instruct him:
"Go unto thy father, Yassib;"—
    Go unto thy fa[ther] and speak,
Repeat unto Keret the Noble:—
    'List and incline [thine ear].
(One couplet unintelligible)
Thou hast let thy hand fall into mischief."¹⁴
Thou judgest not the cause of the widow,
    Nor adjudicat'st the case of the wretched.
Having become a brother of the sickbed,
    A companion of the bed of suffering,
Descend from the kingship—I'll reign;
    From thine authority—I'll sit enthroned.'"—
Yassib the Lad²⁰ departs,
    Enters his father's presence,
And lifts up his voice and cries:
"Hearken, I pray thee, Keret the Noble!
    List and incline thine ear.
(Here again the unintelligible couplet)
Thou hast let thy hand fall into mischief.
Thou judgest not the cause of the widow,
    Nor adjudicat'st the case of the wretched;
Driv'st not out them that prey on the poor;
Nor adjudicat'st the case of the wretched.
Feed'st not the fatherless before thee,
    Nor adjudicat'st the case of the wretched;—you judge not the case of the widows;
Thou hast let thy hand fall into mischief,
    Thou hast let thy hand fall into mischief.
'Shall I not know this thy deceit;
    Shall I not know this thy deceit?
Thou hast let thy hand fall into mischief—
    Thou hast let thy hand fall into mischief.
And his inward parts do instruct him:
"May Horon ³¹ break, O my son,
    May Horon break thy head,
Ashtoreth name of Baal thy pate.
May'st thou fall into...
    (Last line unintelligible)
(Colophon)
(Lengthwise of the left margin of col. vi is inscribed the following colophon:)

Written by Elimelech; donated by (Niqmadd, king of Ugarit).³⁸

The Tale of Aqhat

The rich epigraphic harvests of the French excavations of 1930 and 1931 at the site of ancient Ugarit included large portions of three tablets, and a possible fragment of a fourth, belonging to an epic about a youth whose name is spelled a-q-h-t and conventionally vocalized Aqhat. The text was at first called the Epic of Daniel, or Danel, for Aqhat's father; but on the one tablet of which the first line, containing the title of the composition to which the tablet belongs, is preserved, it reads "Pertaining to 'Aqhat,'" and closer study reveals that the text really tells about Daniel only what concerns Aqhat.

According to the order in which they were originally published, which is the descending order of magnitude, the three tablets are referred to as I D, II D, and III D (D = Daniel), or I Aq(h)a't, II Aq(h)a't, and III Aq(h)a't; but in accordance with their organic sequence they will be designated herein as AQHT A (= II D), AQHT B (= III D), and AQHT C (= I D). AQHT A originally counted 3 columns on each side, but the part containing col. iii on the obverse and col. iv on the reverse is missing entirely; AQHT B apparently contains parts of the first and last columns of a four-column tablet; while AQHT C is an almost complete tablet of four columns.

Part of the colophon of AQHT A is preserved, and enables us to date its copying in the same period as that of "The Legend of King Keret," namely about the second quarter of the fourteenth century B.C. (see below, n.26). The story borders on the mythical, and seems to have less of a historical core than that of Keret. There is a considerable probability that Aqhat's father, Daniel, is the ancient saint and sage of that name to whom the prophet Ezekiel refers in Ezek. 14:14, 20; 28:3.


AQHT A

(i)

(about 10 lines missing at top)
[... Straightway Daniel the Raph'a'man,...]
Forthwith [Ghazir the Harnamiyy'-man],
Gives obligation to the gods to eat;

³⁷ cf. the colophons on pp. 135, 141.

1 The name means "God judges." Judging the cause of the widow and the fatherless is Daniel's special concern; see v 4-8 etc. His wife's name, Dananitriy (v 16, 22), is from the same root.
² This Rapha is perhaps identical with the aboriginal giant race of Canaan; II Sam. 21:16, 18, 20, 22; cf. Gen. 14:5; Deut. 2:11, 20; 3:11, 13 etc.
³ As a common noun, 'ra means "boy."
⁴ Perhaps connected with 'raum, a Syrian locality named in an early Egyptian source; see p. 477 (Harnaim).
Gives oblation to drink to the holy ones.

_A couch of sackcloth_ he mounts and lies,

_A couch of [loincloth] and passes the night_.

Behold a day and a second,

Oblation to the gods gives Daniel,

Oblation to the gods to eat,

Oblation to drink to the holy ones.

A third, a fourth day,

Oblation to the gods gives Daniel,

Oblation to the gods to eat,

Oblation to drink to the holy ones.

A fifth, a sixth, a seventh day,

Oblation to the gods gives Daniel,

Oblation to the gods to eat,

Oblation to drink to the holy ones.

_A sackcloth couch doth Daniel,

A sackcloth couch mount and lie,

A couch of [loincloth] and pass the night._

But lo, on the seventh day,

Baal approaches with his plea:

"Unhappy is Daniel the Rapha-man,

A-sighing is Ghazir the Harnamiyy-man;

Who hath no son like his brethren,

Nor scion hath like his kindred.

Surely there's a son for him _like_ his brethren's,

And a scion like unto his kindred's!

He gives oblation to the gods to eat,

Oblation to drink to the holy ones.

Wilt thou not bless him, O Bull El, my father,

Beatify him, O Creator of Creatures?

So shall there be a son in his house,  

_A scion in the midst of his palace:_

Who sets up the stelae of his ancestral spirits

_In the holy place the protectors of his clan;_

Who frees his spirit from the earth,

From the dust guards his footsteps;

Who smothers the life-force of his detractor,

Drives off who attacks his abode;

Etc._

_Daniel's face lights up,

While above his forehead shines._

_He parts his jaws and laughs,

Places his foot on the footstool,

And lifts up his voice and cries:_

Now will I sit and rest

And my soul be at ease in my breast.

_For a son's born to me like my brethren's_

_A scion like unto my kindred's_

_Drives off who attacks his abode;_ Etc., etc.

_Who takes him by the hand when he's drunk,

Carries him when he's sated with wine;_

_Daniel goes to his house,

To his palace Daniel betakes him._

Consumes his funerary offering in Baal's house,

(Even) his portion in El's house;

Who plasters his roof when it leaks,

Washes his clothes when they're soiled._—

_With life-breath shall be quickened Daniel the Rapha-man,

With spirit Ghazir the Harnamiyy-man._

_With life-breath he is invigorated._

_Let him mount his bed [ . . . ]_

_In the kissing of his wife [she'll conceive],_

_In her embracing become pregnant._

**N.B.**

6 Literally "his son in a house."

8 Cf. Isa. 51:17 ff. (note verse 15).

9 This does not imply that Daniel's vigor was previously below average; cf. below, C 198-201.

10 Cf. n.6.

11 "Artistes."
Away from his house go the skillful ones, \[40\]
The daughters of joyful noise, the swallows.\[80\]
[... the fairness of the bed [of conception],
The beauty of the bed of childbirth.\[63\]
Daniel sits [and counts her months.
A month follows a month;
A third, a fourth (a fifth?) month.
But in the fifth (sixth?) month,
He goes [to the shrine of ...].\[82\]

(v)

(Some 13 lines missing at the top. The preserved portion begins in the middle of a speech of the craftsman-god addressed to Daniel:)

"... I myself will bring the bow,
Even I will convey the darts."
And behold, on the seventh day—
Straightway Daniel the Rapha-man,
Forthwith Ghazir the Harnamiyy-man,
Is upright, sitting before the gate,
Beneath a mighty tree on the threshing floor,
Judging the cause of the widow,
Adjudicating the case of the fatherless.
Lifting up his eyes, he beholds:
From a thousand fields, ten thousand acres,\[65\]
The march of Kotharla he espies,
He espies the onrush of Khasis,\[64\]
See, he bringeth a bow;
Lo, he conveyeth darts.
Straightway Daniel the Rapha-man,
Forthwith Daniel the Harnamiyy-man,
Loudly unto his wife doth call:
"Hearken, Lady Danatiya,
Prepare a lamb from the flock
For the desire of Kothar wa-Khasis,
Serve, honor him,
The Lord of Hikpat-El, all of it.
Lady Danatiya obeys,
She prepares a lamb from the flock
For the desire of Kothar wa-Khasis,
For the appetite of Hayyin of the Handicrafts.
Afterwards, Kothar wa-Khasis comes.
The bow he delivers into Daniel's hand;
The darts he places upon his knees.
Straightway Lady Danatiya
Gives food, gives drink to the godhead;
She serves, honors him,
The Lord of Hikpat-El, all of it.

(vi)

(Kothar departs for his tent,
Hayyin departs for his tabernacle.
Straightway Daniel the Rapha-man,
Forthwith Ghazir the Harnamiyy-man,
The bow doth [...].
The game of thy ... [...].
The first of thy ... [...]."

(20)

(Some 19 lines missing. Then come 15 broken lines which tell about a feast and about the warrior-goddess Anath coveting Aqhat's bow: Aqhat will have been entertaining her tête-à-tête.)

[She lifts up her voice and] cries:
"Hearken, I pray thee, [Aqhat the Youth!]
Ask for silver, and I'll give it thee;
For gold, and I'll bestow't on thee;
But give thou thy bow [to me;]
Let Yabamat-Liimmim take thy darts."

But Aqhat the Youth answers:
"I vow yew trees of Lebanon,
I vow sinews from wild oxen;
I vow horns from mountain goats,
Tendons from the hocks of a bull;
I vow from a cane-forest reeds:
Give (these) to Kothar wa-Khasis.
He'll make a bow for thee,
Darts for Yabamat-Liimmim."\[62\]

Then quoth the Maiden Anath:
"Ask for life, O Aqhat the Youth.
Ask for life and I'll give it thee,
For deathlessness, and I'll bestow't on thee.
I'll make thee count years with Baal,
With the sons of El shalt thou count months.\[63\]
And Baal when he gives life gives a feast,
Gives a feast to the life-given and bids him drink;
Sings and chants over him,
Sweetly serenades him:
So give I life to Aqhat the Youth."

But Aqhat the Youth answers:
"Fib not to me, O Maiden;
For to a Youth thy fibbing is loathsome.
Further life—how can mortal attain it?
How can mortal attain life enduring?
Glaze will be poured on my head,
Plaster upon my pate;\[64\]
And I'll die as everyone dies,
I too shall assuredly die.
Moreover, this will I say:
Or "from," if Daniel's tent is meant rather than Kothar's.
Perhaps Daniel here impresses upon his son the duty of offering some of his game to the gods. "First" may mean "choicest" here.
An alternative designation of the Maiden Anath; meaning doubtful.
Yew-wood, horn, sinew, and tendon go into the making of a composite bow; reed into that of arrows.
I.e. shall be immortal like them.
My hair will turn white.
My bow is [a weapon for] warriors.
    'Shall now females [with it] to the chase?'
—[Lou[d by] Anath doth laugh,
    While forging (a plot) in her heart:
"Give heed to me, Aqhat the Youth,
    Give heed to me for thine own good.
[ ... ] I'll meet thee in the path of arrogance,
[Encounter thee] in the path of presumption,
Hurl thee down at [my feet and trample] thee,
    My darling great big he-man!"
[She stamps with her feet] and traverses the earth.
There, [she is off on her way]
Towards El of the Source of the Floods
[In the midst of the headwaters] of the Two Oceans.
She penetrates El's field [and enters]
The pavilion of King Father Shunem. 26
[At El's feet she] bows and falls down,
Prostr[ates herself, doing him rever]ence.
She denounces Aqhat the Youth,
[Damns the child of Daniel] the Rapha-man.
Quoth [the Maiden Anath,
    Lifting up] her [voice] and crying:
(In 54-55 only the word "Aqhat" can be made out. A further 10 lines or so are missing. In them Anath may well have told a cock-and-bull story about the unaccommodating youth. In any case, El declared he could, or would, do nothing against Aqhat.)
(colophon on edge of tablet)
[Dictated by Attani]-puruleni. 28

AQHT B

(The preserved fragment of this four-column tablet bears the top of col. i on the obverse and the bottom of col. iv on the reverse, the surface of the obverse being largely abraded.)

(i)

[ ... But the Maiden Anath] [replied]:
"[ ... ], O El!
    [ ... ] rejoice not.
Re[joice not [ ... ,
    Exult] not [ ... ,
With] the might [of my] lon[g hand,
    I'll verily smash] thy [pate,]
Make [thy gray hair] flow [with blood,
    The gray hair of] thy [beard] with gore.
And [call] Aqhat and let him save thee,
    The son [of Daniel] and let him deliver thee,
From the hand of the Maiden [Anath]!"
—
Answered the Kindly One El Be[nign]:
"I ween'd, daughter mine, thou wast gentle,
    And goddesses fr[ee from] contumely.
On, then, perverse daughter;
[Thou'lt take]ke whatsoever thou wilt.

26 One of El's names; vocalization uncertain.
28 Known from the colophon at the end of the Baal epic to have been chief of priests in the reign of Nigmadd, king of Ugarit, second quarter of the 14th century B.C.
—She takes Yatpan the Drunken Soldier,
  Makes him like a vulture in her girdle,
  Like a swift flier in her pouch.
As Aqhat sits to eat,
Over him vultures soar,
A flock of swift fliers coasts.
[Among] the vultures soars Anath;
Above [Aqhat] she poses him.
He smites him twice [on the crown],
Thrice above the ear;
Pours out his blood [like]
Like juice to his knees.
His breath escapes like wind,
His soul [like vapor],
Like smoke [from his nostrils].
Anath, seeing his vigor extinguished—
[The vigor of Aghat]—doth weep.
"Woe!
Would I could heal thy corse!"
'Twas but for thy bow I slew thee,
'Twas but for thy darts.
But thou, would thou didst live.
and perished... [... ]"

AQHT C
(i)
(In the first 13 lines, defective in various degrees, it is only clear that Anath figures there. She is apparently speaking; it is not known to whom.)
"... I smote him but for his bow,
I smote him for his darts.
So his bow has been given to me.
But through his death...
The fruits of summer are withered,
The ear [in] its husk."—
Straightway Daniel the Rapha-man,
Forthwith Ghazir the Harnamiyy-man,
Is upright, [sitting before the gate,
Under a mighty tree on the threshing floor,
Judging] the cause [of the widow,
Adjudicating] the case [of the fatherless.
...]

(lines 25-28 almost entirely missing)
[Lifting] her eyes she beholds:
[...] on the threshing floors dries up;
[...] droops;
Blasted are the buds [...].
O'er her father's house vultures are soaring
A flock of swift fliers is coasting.
Paghat weeps in her heart,
Cries in her inward parts.
She rends the garment of Daniel the Rapha-man,
The vest(ment) of Ghazir the Harnamiyy-man."

83 Daniel's daughter Paghat.
84 Because she realizes the blight upon the land must be due to the murder of some innocent person. She has the gift of divination; see further on.

Straightway Daniel the Rapha-man,
... s a cloud in the heat of the season;
... s a cloud raining upon the figs,
Dew distilling upon the grapes."

"Seven years shall Baal fail,
Eight the Rider of the Clouds.
No dew,
No rain;
No welling-up of the deep."

No sweetness of Baal's voice."
For rent
Is the garment of Daniel the Rapha-man,
The vestment of Ghazir [the Harnamiyy-man]."
Loudly to his daughter he doth cry:

(ii)
"Hearken, Paghat who observes the water,
Who studies the dew from the drip,
Who knows the course of the stars.
Saddle a donkey, harness a jackass.
Attach my trappings of silver,
My golden housing."—
She obeys, Paghat who observes the water,
Who studies the dried [from the drip]
Who knows the course of the stars.
See, she saddles a donkey;
See, she harnesses a jackass.
See, she lifts up her father,
Places him on the donkey's back,
On the comely back of the jackass.—

Yadinel turns to the vegetable-patch;
He sees a stalk in the vegetable-patch;
Seeing a stalk in the seedbeds,
H[er] embraces the stalk and kisses it:
"Ah, if it may be, stalk,
Let the stalk grow in the vegetable-patch;
Let it grow in the beds of the plants.
May the hand of Aqhat the Youth gather thee,
Deposit thee in the granary.—

Yadinel(l) turns to the grainfields;
In the grainfield he sees a corn-ear;
Seeing an ear in the unwatered land,
He embraces the ear and kisses it:
"Ah, if it may be, corn-ear,
Let the corn-ear grow in the unwatered land;
Let it grow in the beds of the plants.
May the hand of Aqhat the Youth gather thee,
Deposit thee in the granary."

Scarce hath the word left his mouth,
His speech left his lips,
When he lifts up his eyes and they behold:"

(Lines 77-89 rather mutilated and obscure. The gist

93 In Syria rain sometimes falls in September.
94 Through springs; cf. Gen. 7:11b. What Daniel here either predicts or wishes, David wishes for Gilboa, the scene of Saul and Jonathan's death in battle; see II Sam. 1:21, where "nor welling up of the deep" (chu'mur) is to be read for "nor fields of offering."
95 Baal is the god of rain and thunder.
96 Apparently forms of weather-wisdom bordering on divination.
97 Apparently variant of "Daniel."
98 Or "as she (Paghat) lifts up her eyes, she beholds."
of them is that somebody finds out what has happened to Aqhat; either because Paghat sees two supernatural beings act it out in dumb show, or because two attendants of Daniel hear the tale from the dying boy.)

[... they come.]

They lift up [their] voice, [and cry]:

“Hearken, O Daniel the [Rapha]-man!
Aqhat the Youth is dead.

The Maiden Anath [has caused
His breath to escape] like [wind],
His soul like vapor.”

[Daniel’s legs] tremble.
Abo[ve, his face sweats;
Behind, he is broken] in the loins.

[The joints of his loins are bent].

Weakened [those of his back].

He lifts up his voice] and cri[es:

“Cursed be] the slayer [of my son].

(lines 100-104 missing)

Lift[ting up his eyes he beholds:

...vultures...

(iii)

He lifts up his voice ] and cries:

“The vultures’ wings may Baal bre(ak),
May Ba[al] br[ake the pinions of them].

Let them fall down at my feet.
I’ll spl[it their bellies and ] gaze.

If there be fat,
If there be [bone],
I’ll weep and inter it,
Lay’t in the hollows of the earth-ghosts.”

Scarce hath the word left his mouth,
His speech left his lips,
Samal’s wings [Baal doth break],
Baal doth break the pinions of her.

She doth fa[ll down at] his feet.
So he splits her belly and gazes.

There is fat,
There is bone.

Taking them for Aqhat he {we}eps,
Weeps and inters him.

He inters him in . . ., in . . .,
Then lifts up his voice and cries:

“The wings of the vultures may Baal break,
May Baal break the pinions of them,
An they fly over the grave of my son,
Rousing him from his sleep.”

Qiru-mayim40 the king doth curse:

“Woe to thee, O Qiru-mayim,
O[n] which rests the blood-guilt of Aqhat the Youth!
... the dwellers of the house of El;
Now, tomorrow, and for evermore,
From now unto all generations!”

Again he waves the staff of his hand,
And comes to Marurat-tagullal-banir.41

He lifts up his voice and cries:

“Woe to thee, Marurat-tagullal-banir,
On which rests the blood-guilt of Aqhat the Youth!
Thy root grow not in the earth;
In uprooter’s hand droop thy head—
Now, tomorrow, and for evermore,
From now unto all generations!”

Again he waves the staff of his hand,

40 Perhaps “Water-Sources.” In any case a locality near the scene of the murder.
41 Perhaps “Blessed One Harnessed with a Yoke.” See preceding note.
And comes to the city of Abelim,
Abelim the city of Prince Yarikh.42
He lifts up his voice and cries:
"Woe to thee, city of Abelim,
On which rests the blood-guilt of Aqhat the Youth!
May Baal make thee blind
From now for evermore,
From now unto all generations!"

Again he waves the staff of his hand.
Daniel goes to his house,
To his palace Daniel betakes him.
Into his palace come weeping-women,
Wailing-women into his court.43
He weeps for Aqhat the Youth,
Cries for the child, does Daniel the Rapha-man.
From days to months, from months to years,
Until seven years,
He weeps for Aqhat the Youth,
Cries for the child, does Daniel the [Rapha]-man.

But after seven years,
[Daniel] the Rapha-[man] speaks up,
Ghazir [the Harnamiyy-m]an makes answer.
[He] lifts up his voice and cries:
"Depart, weeping-women, from my palace;
Wailing-women, from my court."—
He takes a sacrifice for the gods,
Offers up a clan-offering to heaven,
The clan-offering of Harnamiyy to the stars.

Quoth Paghat who observes the flowing water:
"Father has sacrificed to the gods,
Has offered up a clan-offering to heaven,
The clan-offering of Harnamiyy to the stars.
Do thou bless me, so I'll go blessed;
Beatify me, so I'll go beatified.
I'll slay the slayer of my brother,
[Destroy] the [de]stroyer of my [sibling].—
[Daniel] the Ra[ph]a-man makes answer:
"With life-breath shall be quickened [Paghat],
Who studies the dew from the drip,
Who knows the courses of the stars.
With life-breath she is invigorated.
She'll slay the slayer [of her brother],
Destroy the destroyer of [her] sibling.
... in the sea she bat[hes],
And stains herself red with murex,
..."

She emerges, dons a youth's raiment,
Puts a k[nife] in her sheath,
A sword she puts in her scabbard,
And o'er all dons woman's garb.

At the rising of Gods' Torch Shapsh,44
Paghat...

At the setting of Gods' Torch Shapsh,
Paghat arriv[es] at the tents.

Word [is b]rought to Yat[pan]:
"Our hired woman has entered thy fields,
[...] has entered the [t(e)nts]."

And Yat[pa]n the Drunken Soldier makes answer:
"Take her and let her give me wine to drink.
[Let her place] the cup in my hand,
The goblet in my right hand."

Paghat [t]akes and gives him drink:
Pl[aces the cup] in his hand,
The goblet in his right hand.

Then spake Yat[pa]n the Drunken [Soldier]:
(one and one-half lines partly defective and obscure)
"The hand that slew [Aqha]t the Youth
Can slay thousands of foes."

A second time she gives the mixture to him to drink,
Gives the [mi]xt[ure] to drink (224)

(One and one-half lines obscure, except that Paghat's
"heart is like a serpent's," i.e. filled with fury.)

A second time she gives the mixture to him to drink,
Gives the [mi]xt[ure] to drink (224)

(Direction to the reciter, along the edge to the left of
172-186:)

Here one proceeds to tell about the daughter.
(The story, continuing on one or more missing tablets, no doubt went on to relate that [a] Paghat killed
Yatpan while he lay unconscious in the arms of Bacchus,
and [b] between El's pity and Anath's remorse some
modus was found for restoring Aqhat to his father,
perhaps only for half—the fertile half—of the year.
The familiar Adonis-Tammuz theme.)

42 The actual home of the murderer; see B i end and B iv.
43 It has been suggested that this is the proper name of Daniel's court.
44 The sun-goddess.
The Laws

1... which had been set up...

8 Restored, this could be "a" or "the"... the lawcode... of Sumer and Akkad. As for the last... the wife of a man... the child of a man.

2 Ninsinna, "Queen of Isin," is the tutelary deity of Isin, just as Marduk was that of Babylon.

3 The contents of our "code" tablet may be presumed to be identical with those of the original stela on which a scene similar to that on the Hammurabi stela may have been sculptured.


5 Nunammir is another name for the god Enlil; Lipit-Ishtar is frequently called "son of Enlil" in the relevant hymnal literature.

6 cf. preceding note.

7 A break of more than two columns of text follows; at some point in this break the prologue ended and the laws began.

8 Remainder of the column destroyed.
2: ... the property of the father's house from its...
3: ... the son of the state official, the son of the palace official, the son of the supervisor...
4: ... a boat ... a boat he shall.
5: If [a] man hired a boat (and) set it on a ... journey for him...
6: ... the gift ... he shall.
7: If he gave his orchard to a gardener to raise ... (and) the gardener ... to the owner of the garden...
8: If a man gave bare ground to (another) man to set out an orchard (and) the latter did not complete setting out that bare ground as an orchard, he shall give to the man who set out the orchard the bare ground which he neglected, as part of his share.
9: If a man entered the orchard of (another) man (and) was seized there for stealing, he shall pay ten shekels of silver.
10: If a man cut down a tree in the garden of (another) man, he shall pay one-half mina of silver.
11: If adjacent to the house of a man the bare ground of (another) man has been neglected and the owner of the house has said to the owner of the bare ground, "Because your ground has been neglected someone may break into my house; strengthen your house," (and) this agreement has been confirmed by him, the owner of the bare ground shall restore to the owner of the house any of his property that is lost.
12: If a slave-girl or slave of a man has fled into the heart of the city (and) it has been confirmed that he (or she) dwelt in the house of (another) man for one month, he shall give slave for slave.
13: If he has no slave, he shall pay fifteen shekels of silver.
14: If a man's slave has compensated his slaveship to his master (and) it is confirmed (that he has compensated) his master twofold, that slave shall be freed.
15: If a migatum is a grant of the king, he shall not be taken away.
16: If a migatum went to a man of his own free will, that man shall not hold him; he (the migatum) may go where he desires.
17: If a man without authorization bound (another) man to a matter to which he (the latter) had no knowledge, that man is not affirmed; he (the first man) shall bear the penalty in regard to the matter to which he has bound him.
18: If the master of an estate or the mistress of an estate has defaulted on the tax of the estate (and) a stranger has borne it, for three years he (the owner) may not be evicted. (Afterwards) the man who bore the tax of the estate shall possess that estate and the (former) owner of the estate shall not raise any claim.
19: If the master of an estate...
20: If a man from the heir(s) seized...
21: ... the house of the father ... he [married], the gift of the house of her father which was presented to her as her heir he shall take.
22: If the father (is) living, his daughter whether she be an entu, a nusitu, or a hierodule, shall dwell in his house like an heir.
23: If the daughter in the house of (her) living father...
24: [If the second wife whom [he had] married bore him [children] the dowry which she brought from her father's house belongs to her children, (but) the children of (his) first wife and the children of (his) second wife shall divide equally the property of their father.
25: If a man married a wife (and) she bore him children and those children are living, and a slave also bore children for her master (but) the father granted freedom to the slave and her children, the children of the slave shall not divide the estate with the children of their (former) master.
26: [If his first wife died (and) after her (death) he takes his [slave] as a wife, the [children] of [his first wife] [are his heirs]; the children which [the slave] bore for her master shall be like ..., his house they shall ...
27: If a man's wife has not borne him children (but) a harlot (from) the public square has borne him children, he shall provide grain, oil, and clothing for that harlot; the children which the harlot has borne him shall be his heirs, and as long as his wife lives the harlot shall not live in the house with his wife.
28: If a man has turned his face away from his first wife ... (but) she has not gone out of the [house], his wife which he married as his favorite is a second wife; he shall continue to support his first wife.
29: If a son-in-law has entered the house of his (prospective) father-in-law (and) he made his betrothal (but) afterwards they made him go out (of the house) and gave his wife to his companion, they shall present to him the betrothal-gifts which he brought (and) that wife may not marry his companion.
30: If a young married man married a harlot (from) the public square (and) the judges have ordered him not to visit her, (but) afterwards he divorced his wife, money ...
31: ... he has given him, after their father's death the heirs shall divide the estate of their father (but) the inheritance of the estate they shall not divide; they shall not "cook their father's word in water."
32: If a father while living has [set aside] a betrothal-gift for his eldest son (and) [in] the presence of the father who was still alive he (the son) [married] a wife, after the father’s death the heir... 29
33: If it has been confirmed that the... had not divided the estate, he shall pay ten shekels of silver.
34: If a man rented an ox (and) injured the flesh at the nose ring, he shall pay one third of (its) price.
35: If a man rented an ox (and) damaged its eye, he shall pay one half of (its) price.
36: If a man rented an ox (and) broke its horn, he shall pay one fourth of (its) price.
37: If a man rented an ox (and) damaged its tail, he shall pay one fourth of (its) price.
38: [he shall] pay.

Epilogue

Verily in accordance with the true word of Utu, I caused [Sumer and Akkad] to hold to true justice. Verily in accordance with the pronouncement of Enil, I, Lipit-Istar, the son of Enil,28 abolished enmity and rebellion; made weeping, lamentations, outcries... taboo; caused righteousness and truth to exist; brought well-being to the Sumerians and the Akkadians... 29

Verily when I had established the wealth of Sumer and Akkad, I erected this stela. May he who will not commit any evil deed with regard to it, who will not damage my handiwork, who will [not] erase its inscription, who will not write his own name upon it—be presented with life and breath of long days; may he rise high in the Ekur;26 may Enil’s bright forehead look down upon him. (On the other hand) he who will commit some evil deed with regard to it, who will damage my handiwork, who will enter the storeroom (and) change its pedestal, who will erase its inscription, who will write his own name upon it (or) who, because of this [curse], will substitute someone else for himself—[that man, who] ter he be a... [whether he] be a...26 may he take away from him... (and) bring to him... in his... whoever, may Ashnan and Sumugan,27 the lords of abundance, take away from him... his... may he abolish... May Uru, the judge of heaven and earth... take away... his... its foundation... as... may he be counted; let not the foundation of his land be firm; his king, whoever he may be, may Ninurta,26 the mighty hero, the son of Enil... 31

The Laws of Eshnunna

(Translator: Albrecht Goetze)

Texts: Iraq Museum 51059 and 52614 excavated at Tell Abu Harmal near Baghdad by the Iraq Directorate of Antiquities in Pre-Hammurabi layers.


1: 1 kor of barley is (priced) at 1 shekel of silver; 3 qa of “best oil” are (priced) at 1 shekel of silver; 1 seah (and) 2 qa of sesame oil are (priced) at 1 shekel of silver; 1 seah (and) 5 qa of lard are (priced) at 1 shekel of silver; 4 seah of “river oil” are (priced) at 1 shekel of silver; 6 minas of wool are (priced) at 1 shekel of silver; 2 kor of salt are (priced) at 1 shekel of silver; 1 kor is (priced) at 1 shekel of silver; 3 minas of copper are (priced) at 1 shekel of silver; 2 minas of refined copper are (priced) at 1 shekel of silver.

2: 1 qa of sesame oil la nishtām—its (value in) barley is 3 seah; 1 qa of lard la nishtām—its (value in) barley is 2 seah and 5 qa; 1 qa of “river oil” la nishtām—its (value in) barley is 8 qa.

3: The hire for a wagon together with its oxen and its driver is 1 pan (and) 4 seah of barley. If it is (paid in) silver, the hire is one third of a shekel. He shall drive it the whole day.

4: The hire for a boat is 2 qa per kor (of capacity), 1 seah 1 qa is the hire for the boatman. He shall drive it the whole day.

5: If the boatman is negligent and causes the sinking of the boat, he shall pay in full for everything the sinking of which he caused.

6: If a man... takes possession of a boat (which is) not his, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver.

7: The wages of a harvester are 2 seah of barley; if they are (paid in) silver, his wages are 12 grain.

8: The wages of winnowers are 1 seah of barley.

1 About 17 lines destroyed.
2 cf. n.5.
3 About 19 lines missing.
4 Enil’s main temple in Nippour.
5 About 7 lines destroyed.
6 Ashnan is the goddess of grain and Sumugan is the god of the “plain.”
7 In more exact language “the lords” should read “the lady and the lord.”
8 About 22 lines destroyed.
9 Ninurta, the son of Enil, is the god of the South Wind; for some of the heroic feats ascribed to him, cf. SM, 79-82.
10 Probably only a few lines missing.
9: Should a man pay 1 shekel of silver to a hired man for harvesting—if he (the hired man) does not place himself at his disposal and does not complete for him the harvest work everywhere, he [shall play] 10 shekels of silver. Should he have received 1 seah (and) 5 qa (of barley) as wages and leave the rations of [barley], oil (and) cloth* shall also be refunded.

10: The hire for a donkey is 1 seah of barley, and the wages for its driver are 1 seah of barley. He shall divide it the whole day.

11: The wages of a hired man are 1 shekel of silver; his provender is 1 pan of barley. He shall work for one month.

12: A man who is caught in the field of a *muikēnum* in the crop during daytime, shall pay 10 shekels of silver. He who is caught in the crop [at night], shall die, he shall not get away alive.

13: A man who is caught in the house of a *muikēnum*, in the house, during daytime, shall pay 10 shekels of silver. He who is caught in the house at night, shall die, he shall not get away alive.

14: The fee of a . . .*—should he bring 5 shekels of silver the fee is 1 shekel of silver; should he bring 10 shekels of silver the fee is 2 shekels of silver.

15: The *tamkarrum* and the *sabitum* shall not receive silver, barley, wool (or) sesame oil from a slave or a slave-girl as an investment.

16: To a coparcener or a slave a mortgage cannot be furnished.

17: Should the son of a man bring bride-money to the house of (his) father-in-law— if one of the two deceases, the money shall revert to its owner.

18: If he takes her (the girl) and she enters his house, but afterward the young woman should decease, he (the husband) can not obtain refunded that which he brought (to his father-in-law), but will retain the excess (in) his (hand).

18a: Per 1 shekel (of silver) there will accrue 1/6 shekel and 6 grain as interest; per 1 kor (of barley) there will accrue 1 pan and 4 seah as interest.

19: The man who gives (a loan) in terms of his retake shall make (the debtor) pay on the threshing floor.

20: If a man gives a loan . . . expressing the value of the silver in barley, he shall at harvest time receive the barley and its interest, 1 pan (and) 4(? ) seah per kor.

21: If a man gives silver (as a loan) at face value, he shall receive the silver and its interest, one sixth (of a shekel) and [6 grain] per shekel.

22: If a man has no claim against a(nother) man, but (nevertheless) distrains the (other) man's slave-girl, the owner of the slave-girl shall [declara]re under oath:

"Thou hast no claim against me" and he shall pay (him) silver in full compensation for the slave-girl.

23: If a man has no claim against a(nother) man, but (nevertheless) distrains the (other) man's slave-girl, detains the distraintee in his house and causes (her) death, he shall give two slave-girls to the owner of the slave-girl as a replacement.

24: If he has no claim against him, but (nevertheless) distrains the wife of a *muikēnum* (or) the child of a *muikēnum* and causes (their) death, it is a capital offence. The distrainer who distrained shall die.

25: If a man calls at the house of (his) father-in-law, and his father-in-law accepts him in servitude, but (nevertheless) gives his daughter to [another man], the father of the girl shall refund the bride-money which he received twofold.

26: If a man gives bride-money for a(nother) man's daughter, but another man seizes her forcibly without asking the permission of her father and her mother and deprives her of her virginity, it is a capital offence and he shall die.

27: If a man takes a(nother) man's daughter without asking the permission of her father and her mother and concludes no formal marriage contract with her father and her mother, even though she may live in his house for a year, she is not a housewife.

28: On the other hand, if he concludes a formal contract with her father and her mother and cohabits with her, when she is caught with a(nother) man, she shall die, she shall not get away alive. 8

29: If a man has been made prisoner during a raid or an invasion or (if) he has been carried off forcibly and [stayed in] a foreign [country] for a [long] time, (and if) another man has taken his wife and she has born him a son—when he returns, he shall [get] his wife back.

30: If a man hates his town and his lord and becomes a fugitive, (and if) another man takes his wife—when he returns, he shall have no right to claim his wife.

31: If a man deprives another man's slave-girl of her virginity, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver; the slave-girl remains the property of her owner.

32: If a man gives his son (away) for having (him) nursed and brought up, but does not give (the nurse) rations of barley, oil (and) wool for three years, he shall pay (her) 10 minas (of silver) for bringing up his son and shall take back his son.

33: If a slave-girl by subterfuge gives her child to a(nother) man's daughter, (if) its lord sees it when it has become older, he may seize it and take it back.

34: If a slave-girl of the palace gives her son or her daughter to a *muikēnum* for bringing (him/her) up, the palace may take back the son or the daughter whom she gave.

35: Also the adoptant of the child of a slave-girl of the palace shall recompense the palace with its equivalent.

* The last two sentences are rather uncertain.
* The *muikēnum* is a member of a social class which at Eshnunna seems to be closely connected with the palace or the temple.
* The undeciphered word must denote some kind of "money-lender" or "merchant."
* The official "finance officer" who has a state monopoly on certain commercial transactions.
* The woman to whom trade in liquor is entrusted.
* The last sentence is contained only in IM 51099.
LAWS FROM MESOPOTAMIA AND ASIA MINOR

36: If a man gives property of his as a deposit to ... and if the property he gives disappears without that the house was burglarized, the sippe broken down (or) the window forced, he (the depositary) will replace his (the depositor's) property.

37: If the man's (the depositary's) house either collapses or is burglarized and together with the (property of the) deposit (or) which he gave him loss on the part of the owner of the house is incurred, the owner of the house shall swear him an oath in the gate of Tishpak (saying): "Together with your property my property was lost; I have done nothing improper or fraudulent." If he swears him (such an oath), he shall have no claim against him.

38: If one of several brothers wants to sell his share (in a property common to them) and his brother wants to buy it, he shall pay ... 13

39: If a man is hard up and sells his house, the owner of the house shall (be entitled to) redeem (it) whenever the purchaser (re)sells it.

40: If a man buys a slave, a slave-girl, an ox or any other valuable good but cannot (legally) establish the seller, he is a thief.

41: If an ubarum, a napparum or a mudum3 wants to sell his beer, the sabitum4 shall sell the beer for him at the current price.

42: If a man bites the nose of a (another) man and severs it, he shall pay 1 mina of silver. (For) an eye (he shall pay) 1 mina of silver; (for) a tooth ½ mina; (for) an ear ½ mina; (for) a slap in the face 10 shekels of silver.

43: If a man severs a (other) man's finger, he shall pay two-thirds of a mina of silver.

44: If a man throws a (other) man to the floor in an altercation and breaks his hand, he shall pay ½ mina of silver.

45: If he breaks his foot, he shall pay ½ mina of silver.

46: If a man attacks a (other) man and breaks his ..., he shall pay two-thirds of a mina of silver.

47: If a man hits a (other) man accidentally, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver.

48: And in addition, (in cases involving penalties) from two-thirds of a mina to 1 mina, they shall formally try the man. A capital offence comes before the king.

49: If a man is caught with a stolen slave (or) a stolen slave-girl, he shall surrender slave by slave (and) slave-girl by slave-girl.

50: If the governor, the river commissioner (or) another official whoever it may be seizes a lost slave, a lost slave-girl, a lost ox, a lost donkey belonging to the palace or a maškēnum16 and does not surrender it to Eshnunna but keeps it in his house, even though he may let pass only seven days, the palace shall prosecute him for theft.

51: A slave or a slave-girl of Eshnunna which is marked with a kannum, a maškēnum or an abuttum remains in the custody of its master.

52: A slave or a slave-girl which has entered the gate of Eshnunna in the custody of a (foreign) envoy shall be marked with a kannum, a maškēnum or an abuttum but remains in the custody of its master.

53: If an ox gores an (other) ox and causes (its) death, both ox owners shall divide (among themselves) the price of the live ox and also the meat of the dead ox.

54: If an ox is known to gore habitually and the authorities have brought the fact to the knowledge of its owner, but he does not have his ox dehorned, it gores a man and causes (his) death, then the owner of the ox shall pay two-thirds of a mina of silver.

55: If it gores a slave and causes (his) death, he shall pay 15 shekels of silver.

56: If a dog is vicious and the authorities have brought the fact to the knowledge of its owner, (if nevertheless) he does not keep it in, it bites a man and causes (his) death, then the owner of the dog shall pay two-thirds of a mina of silver.

57: If it bites a slave and causes (its) death, he shall pay 15 shekels of silver.

58: If a wall is threatening to fall and the authorities have brought the fact to the knowledge of its owner, (if nevertheless) he does not strengthen his wall, the wall collapses and causes a free man's death, then it is a capital offence; jurisdiction of the king.

59: If a man divorces his wife after having made her bear children and takes [ano]ther wife, he shall be driven from his house and from whatever he owns and may go after him who will accept him.

(60 and 61 badly mutilated and therefore incomprehensible)

The Code of Hammurabi

(Translator: Theophile J. Meek)

Hammurabi (also spelled Hammurapi) was the sixth of eleven kings in the Old Babylonian (Amorite) Dynasty. He ruled for 43 years, from 1728 to 1686 according to the most recent calculations.1 The date-formula for his second year, "The year he enacted the law of the land," indicates that he promulgated his famous lawcode at the very beginning of his reign, but the copy which we have could not have been written so early because the Prologue refers to events much later than this. Our copy was written on a diorite stela, topped by a bas-relief showing Hammurabi in the act of receiving the commission to write the lawbook from the god of justice, the sun-god Shamash. The stela

1 For the most recent discussion, fully documented, see R. P. R. de Vaux, RB, lxx (1946), 128 ff.; also P. van der Meer, The Ancient Chronology of Western Asia and Egypt (1947). F. Cornelius, Klio, xxxv (1942), i ff.; B. L. van der Waerden, JBOL, x (1940), 414 ff.
was carried off to the old Elamite capital, Susa (the Shushan of Esther and Daniel), by some Elamite raider (apparently Shutruk-Nahhunte, about 1207-1171 B.C.) as a trophy of war. It was discovered there by French archaeologists in the winter of 1901-1902 and was carried off by them to the Louvre in Paris as a trophy of archaeology. All the laws from col. xvi 77 to the end of the obverse (from the end of §65 to the beginning of §100) were chiseled off by the Elamites, but these have been preserved in large part on other copies of the Code. The Prologue and Epilogue are written in semi-poetic style, marked by parallelism but not by regular metrical structure.

The original stela was published by V. Schell, Mémoires de la délégation en Perse, iv (1902), 11 ff. The best edition of the Code in all its known copies is A. Deimel, Codex Hammurabi (1930; 3rd ed. by E. Bergmann, 1953). The English edition by R. F. Harper, The Code of Hammurabi (1904), includes only the stela, and its translation is naturally antiquated. The best translation is that by Wilhelm Eilers, AO, xxxi (1931), Heft 3/4. The latest and quite exhaustive commentary is G. R. Driver and John C. Miles, The Babylonian Laws, i, Legal Commentary (1952), which is to be followed by a translation in Vol. ii. A tablet containing a slightly variant copy of the Prologue has been published by J. Nouyary, RA, xlvi (1951), 67-79. The present translation, like that of the following legal texts, is much influenced by two articles: A. Goetze, The t-Form of the Old Babylonian Verb, JAOS, lxi (1936), 297-334, and T. J. Meek, The Asyndeton Clause in the Code of Hammurabi, JNES, v (1946), 64-72.

THE PROLOGUE

(i)

When lofty Anum,8 king of the Anunnaki,9 (and) Enlil,10 lord of heaven and earth, the determiner of the destinies of the land, determined for Marduk,11 the first-born of Enki,12 the Enlil functions over all mankind, made him great among the Igigi,13 called Babylon by its exalted name, made it supreme in the world, established for him in its midst an enduring kingship, whose foundations are as firm as heaven and earth—at that time Anum and Enlil named me, Hammurabi, the devout, god-fearing prince, to cause justice to prevail in the land, to destroy the wicked and the evil, that the strong might not oppress the weak, to rise like the sun over the black-headed (people),14 and to light up the land.5

(ii) who purified the cult of Eabazu;
the one who strides through the four quarters of the world;
who makes the name of Babylon great;
who rejoices the heart of Marduk, his lord;
the one who throughout his lifetime stands responsible for Esagila;
the descendant of royalty, whom Sin10 begat;
the one who made Ur prosper;
the pious, suppliant one, who brought abundance to Egishnugal;
the wise king, obedient to mighty Shamash;11
the one who relaid the foundations of Sippar;
who made riches abound for Anum and Inanna;
the shelter of the land, who collected the scattered people of Isin;14
who makes the temple of Eabbar, which is like a heavenly dwelling—
the warrior, he who spared Larsa;16
the one who rebuilt Eabbar for Shamash, his helper;
the lord, who revived Uruk;18
who supplied water in abundance to its people;
who raised aloft the head of Eanna;
who made riches abound for Anum and Inanna;
the monarch of kings, full brother of Zababa;15
the refounder of the settlement of Kish,
who has surrounded Emete-ursag with splendor;
the one who has put the great shrines of Isin in perfect condition;

8 Duranki "bond of heaven and earth," was a time-honored Sumerian name of Nippur, the cult-center of Enlil, whose temple was Ekur.
9 The moon-god, the son of Enlil, father of Shamash, and consort of Ningal; worshiped especially in the temple of Egishnugal in Ur in southern Babylonia, modern Muqayyar.
10 The sun-god and the god of justice, the consort of Aya, worshiped especially in the temple of Ebabbar in Sippar in northern Babylonia, modern Abu Habbah.
11 Another cult-center of Shamash, situated in southern Babylonia, modern Senkeret, with a temple also called Eabbar. The city was captured by Hammurabi in the 36th year of his reign and its powerful dynasty brought to an end with the dethronement of its king, Rim-Sin. This event is set down as the formula for Hammurabi’s 31st year, but the formula for the year always comes from an event in the preceding year; hence our year-numbers will be one less than those generally given.
12 An ancient and important city in southern Babylonia, the biblical Erech (Gen. io ao), modern Warka, conquered by Hammurabi in the 6th year of his reign. It was the cult-center of Anum and Inanna, with its temple Eanna.
13 An ancient and important city in southern Babylonia, conquered by Rim-Sin of Larsa in his 29th year, and then by Hammurabi in the 6th year of his reign. It was the cult-center of Ninkarrak, with its temple Egalma.
14 A city south of Nippur in southern Babylonia, conquered by Rim-Sin of Larsa in his 29th year, and then by Hammurabi in the 6th year of his reign. It was the cult-center of Ninkarrak, with its temple Egalma.
15 A form of Ninurta, worshiped especially in the temple of Emete-ursag in Kish, northeast of Babylon, modern Tell el-Obeid.
the founder of dwelling places for them in abundance; the one who prescribed for all time splendid sacrifices for Enki and Damgalunna, who made his kingdom great; the first of kings; the subducer of the settlements along the Euphrates with the help of Dagan, his creator; the one who spared the people of Mera and Tutul; the devout prince, who brightens up the face of Tishpak; the provider of splendid banquets for Ninazu; the savior of his people from distress, who establishes in security their portion in the midst of Babylon; the shepherd of the people, whose deeds are pleasing to Ishtar; who installed Ishtar in Eulmash in the midst of Akkad square; who makes law prevail; who guides the people aright; who returned to Ashur its kindly protecting genius; who silences the growlers; the king, who made the name of Inanna glorious in Nineveh; the devout one, who prays fervently to the great gods; the descendant of Sumu-la-cl; the powerful son and heir of Sin-muballit, the ancient seed of royalty, the powerful king, the sun of Babylon, who causes light to go forth over the lands of Sumer and Akkad; the king who has made the four quarters of the world subservient; the favorite of Inanna am I. When Marduk commissioned me to guide the people aright, to direct the land, I established law and justice in the language of the land, thereby promoting the welfare of the people.

At that time (I decreed):

16 The Dagon of the Bible; a west Semitic grain-god, early imported into Mesopotamia and worshiped chiefly along the middle Euphrates.
17 Two cities on the middle Euphrates. Mera may possibly be Mari, modern Tell Hariri, conquered by Hammurabi in his 32nd year.
18 The god of medicine, worshiped particularly at Eshnunna in his temple Esikil. Tishpak was the chief god of Eshnunna.
19 An ancient city of northern Babylonia, founded by Sargon the Great as his capital; a seat of Ishtar, with her temple Eulmash.
20 The Semitic name of Inanna.
21 Lagash, modern Tell Ishar; here applied to his son Nabum, the god of writing. His cult-center was Borsippa, near Babylon, with its temple Ezida.
The Laws

1: If a seignior accused another seignior of murder, if he had proved it, his accuser shall be put to death.  
2: If a seignior accused another seignior of sorcery, if he had proved it, the one against whom the charge of sorcery was brought, upon going to the river, shall throw himself into the river, and if the river has then overpowered him, his accuser shall take over his estate; if the river has shown that seignior to be innocent and he has accordingly come forth safe, the one who brought the charge of sorcery against him shall be put to death, while the one who threw himself into the river shall take over the estate of his accuser.

3: If a seignior came forward with false testimony in a case, and has not proved the word which he spoke, if that case was a case involving life, that seignior shall be put to death.

4: If he came forward with false testimony concerning grain or money, he shall bear the penalty of that case.

5: If a judge gave a judgment, rendered a decision, deposited a sealed document, but later has altered his judgment, they shall prove that that judge altered the judgment which he gave and he shall pay twelvefold the claim which holds in that case; furthermore, they shall expel him in the assembly from his seat of judgment and he shall never again sit with the judges in a case.

6: If a seignior stole the property of church or state, that seignior shall be put to death; also the one who received the stolen goods from his hand shall be put to death.

7: If a seignior has purchased or he received for safekeeping either silver or gold or a male slave or a female slave or an ox or a sheep or an ass or any sort of thing from the hand of a seignior's son or a seignior's slave without witnesses and contracts, since that seignior is a thief, he shall be put to death.

8: If a seignior stole either an ox or a sheep or an ass or a pig or a boat, if it belonged to the church or to the state, he shall make thirtyfold restitution; if it belonged to a private citizen, he shall make good tenfold. If the thief does not have sufficient to make restitution, he shall be put to death.

9: When a seignior, some of whose property was lost, has found his lost property in the possession of another seignior, if the seignior in whose possession the lost property was found has declared, “A seller sold (it) to me; I made the purchase in the presence of witnesses,” and the owner of the lost property in turn has declared, “I will produce witnesses attesting to my lost property”; the purchaser having then produced the seller who made the sale to him and the witnesses in whose presence he made the purchase, and the owner of the lost property having also produced the witnesses attesting to his lost property, the judges shall consider their evidence, and the witnesses in whose presence the purchase was made, along with the witnesses attesting to the lost property, shall declare what they know in the presence of god, and since the seller was the thief, he shall be put to death, while the owner of the lost property shall take his lost property, with the purchaser obtaining from the estate of the seller the money that he paid out.

10: If the (professed) purchaser has not produced the seller who made the sale to him and the witnesses in whose presence he made the purchase, but the owner of the lost property has produced witnesses attesting to his lost property, since the (professed) purchaser was the thief, he shall be put to death, while the owner of the lost property shall take his lost property.

11: If the (professed) owner of the lost property has not produced witnesses attesting to his lost property, since he was a cheat and started a false report, he shall be put to death.

12: If the seller has gone to (his) fate, the purchaser shall take from the estate of the seller fivefold the claim for that case.

13: If the witnesses of that seignior were not at hand, the judges shall set a time-limit of six months for him, and if he did not produce his witnesses within six months, since that seignior was a cheat, he shall bear the penalty of that case.

14: If a seignior has stolen the young son of another seignior, he shall be put to death.

15: If a seignior has helped either a male slave of the state or a female slave of the state or a male slave of a deity, indicating that the river (the Euphrates) as judge in the case was regarded as god.

16: If a seignior has accused another seignior and another seignior and has not proved it, the one accused shall consider their evidence, and the witnesses in whose presence he has declared, “I will produce witnesses attesting to my lost property”; the purchaser having then produced the seller who made the sale to him and the witnesses in whose presence he made the purchase, and the owner of the lost property having also produced the witnesses attesting to his lost property, the judges shall consider their evidence, and the witnesses in whose presence the purchase was made, along with the witnesses attesting to the lost property, shall declare what they know in the presence of god, and since the seller was the thief, he shall be put to death, while the owner of the lost property shall take his lost property, with the purchaser obtaining from the estate of the seller the money that he paid out.

40: The word is mulkēnum, which in the Code ordinarily indicates a man of the middle class, a commoner, but here and in §§15, 16, 175, and 176 it manifestly refers to a private citizen as distinct from the church and state.

41: The laws on theft in the Code (§§6-13, 22, 23, 25, 259, 260, 265) do not agree among themselves, indicating that we have laws of different dates in the Code. According to the earliest laws (§§7, 9, 10, 22, 25), theft was to be punished by death; later (§6) the death penalty was confined to the theft of church or state property; later still severalfold restitution (§§8, 265) or a fine (§259, 265) came to be substituted for the death penalty; see T. J. Meek, Hebrew Origins (1936), pp. 61 f. For the Hebrew laws on theft see Exod. 20:15 (=Deut. 5:19); 22:1-4; Lev. 19:11, 13.

42: Lit., “he weighed out.” In the time of Hammurabi coinage had of course not yet been invented and the money (usually silver, as here) was weighed out in bars.

44: Lit., “he shall not return and sit.”
private citizen or a female slave of a private citizen to escape through the city-gate, he shall be put to death.

16: If a seignior has harbored in his house either a fugitive male or female slave belonging to the state or to a private citizen and has not brought him forth at the summons of the police, that household shall be put to death.

17: If a seignior caught a fugitive male or female slave in the open and has taken him to his owner, the owner of the slave shall pay him two shekels of silver.

18: If that slave has not named his owner, he shall take him to the palace in order that his record may be investigated, and they shall return him to his owner.

19: If he has kept that slave in his house (and) later the slave has been found in his possession, that seignior shall be put to death.

20: If the slave has escaped from the hand of his captor, that seignior shall (so) affirm by god to the owner of the slave and lie shall then go free.

21: If a seignior made a breach in a house, they shall put him to death in front of that breach and wall him in.

22: If a seignior committed robbery and has been caught, that seignior shall be put to death.

23: If the robber has not been caught, the robbed seignior shall set forth the particulars regarding his lost property in the presence of god, and the city and governor, in whose territory and district the robbery was committed, shall make good to him his lost property.

24: If it was a life (that was lost), the city and governor shall pay one mina of silver to his people.

25: If fire broke out in a seignior's house and a seignior, who went to extinguish (it), cast his eye on the goods of the owner of the house and has appropriated the goods of the owner of the house, that seignior shall be thrown into that fire.

26: If either a private soldier or a commissary, whose despatch on a campaign of the king was ordered, did not go or he hired a substitute and has sent (him) in his place, that soldier or commissary shall be put to death, while the one who was hired by him shall take over his estate.

27: In the case of either a private soldier or a commissary who was carried off while in the armed service of the king, if after his (disappearance) they gave his field and orchard to another and he has looked after his feudal obligations—if he has returned and reached his city, they shall restore his field and orchard to him and he shall himself look after his feudal obligations.

28: In the case of either a private soldier or a commissary, who was carried off while in the armed service of the king, if his son is able to look after the feudal obligations, the field and orchard shall be given to him and he shall look after the feudal obligations of his father.

29: If his son is so young that he is not able to look after the feudal obligations of his father, one-third of the field and orchard shall be given to his mother in order that his mother may rear him.

30: If either a private soldier or a commissary gave up his field, orchard and house on account of the feudal obligations and has then absented himself, and after his (departure) another took over his field, orchard and house and has looked after the feudal obligations for three years—if he has returned and demands his field, orchard and house, they shall not be given to him; the one who has taken over and looked after his feudal obligations shall himself become the feudatory.

31: If he has absented himself for only one year and has returned, his field, orchard and house shall be given back to him and he shall look after his feudal obligations himself.

32: If a merchant has ransomed either a private soldier or a commissary, who was carried off in a campaign of the king, and has enabled him to reach his city, if there is sufficient to ransom (him) in his house, he himself shall ransom himself; if there is not sufficient to ransom him in his house, he shall be ransomed from the estate of his city-god; if there is not sufficient to ransom him in the estate of his city-god, the state shall ransom him, since his own field, orchard and house may not be ceded for his ransom.

33: If either a sergeant or a captain has obtained a soldier by conscription or he accepted and has sent a hired substitute for a campaign of the king, that sergeant or captain shall be put to death.

34: If either a sergeant or a captain has appropriated the household goods of a soldier, has wronged a soldier, superior in a lawsuit, has appropriated the grant which the king gave to a soldier, that sergeant or captain shall be put to death.

35: If a seignior has bought from the hand of a soldier the cattle or sheep which the king gave to the soldier, he shall forfeit his money.

36: In no case is the field, house or property belonging to a soldier, a commissary, or a feudatory salable.

37: If a seignior has purchased the field, orchard, or house belonging to a soldier, a commissary, or a feudatory, his contract-tablet shall be broken and he shall also forfeit his money, with the field, orchard, or house reverting to its owner.

38: In no case may a soldier, a commissary, or a feudatory deed any of his field, orchard, or house belonging to a soldier, a commissary or a feudatory.

48 A weight of about 8 gr.
49 cf. Exod. 22:2, 3a-
50 A weight of about 500 gr., divided into 60 shekels.
51 With §§33 and 24 cf. Deut. 21:1 ff.
52 The exact meaning of these two military terms, dekīm and luppattum, is uncertain. The former means literally "follower" and is regularly used for the ordinary foot-soldier; the latter means literally "fisher, hunter," hence "commissary" here.
53 Lit., "hiring."
to his fief to his wife or daughter, and in no case may he assign (them) for an obligation of his.

39: He may deed to his wife or daughter any of the field, orchard, or house which he purchases and accordingly owns, and he may assign (them) for an obligation of his.

40: A hierodule, a merchant, and a feudatory extraordinary may sell his field, orchard and house, with the purchaser assuming the feudal obligations of the field, orchard and house which he purchases.

41: If a seignior acquired by barter the field, orchard, or house belonging to a soldier, a commissary, or a feudatory, and also made an additional payment, the soldier, commissary, or feudatory shall repossess his field, orchard, or house, and he shall also keep the additional payment that was made to him.

42: If a seignior rented a field for cultivation, but has not produced grain in the field, they shall prove that he did no work on the field and he shall give grain to the owner of the field on the basis of those adjoining it.

43: If he did not cultivate the field, but has neglected (it), he shall give grain to the owner of the field on the basis of those adjoining it; furthermore, the field which he neglected shall be broken up with mattocks, harrow and return to the owner of the field.

44: If a seignior rented a fallow field for three years for development, but became so lazy that he has not developed the field, in the fourth year he shall break up the field with mattocks, plow and harrow (it), and he shall return (it) to the owner of the field; furthermore, he shall measure out ten kur of grain per eighteen iku.

45: If a seignior let his field to a tenant and has already received the rent of his field, (and) later Adad has inundated the field or a flood has ravaged (it), the loss shall be the tenant's.

46: If he has not received the rent of the field, whether he let the field for one-half or one-third (the crop), the tenant and the owner of the field shall divide proportionately the grain which is produced in the field.

47: If the tenant has asked (another) to cultivate the field because he did not get back his investment in the previous year, the owner of the field shall not object; his (new) tenant shall cultivate his field and at harvest-time he shall take grain in accordance with his contracts.

48: If a debt is outstanding against a seignior and Adad has inundated his field or a flood has ravaged (it) or through lack of water grain has not been produced in the field, he shall not make any return of grain to his creditor in that year; he shall cancel his contract-tablet and he shall pay no interest for that year.

49: When a seignior borrowed money from a merchant and pledged to the merchant a field prepared for grain or sesame, if he said to him, “Cultivate the field, then harvest (and) take the grain or sesame that is produced,” if the tenant has produced grain or sesame in the field, the owner of the field at harvest-time shall himself take the grain or sesame that was produced in the field and he shall give to the merchant grain for his money, which he borrowed from the merchant, together with its interest, and also for the cost of cultivation.

50: If he pledged a field planted with (grain) or a field planted with sesame, the owner of the field shall himself take the grain or sesame that was produced in the field and he shall pay back the money with its interest to the merchant.

51: If he does not have the money to pay back, (grain or) sesame at their market value in accordance with the ratio fixed by the king he shall give to the merchant for his money, which he borrowed from the merchant, together with its interest.

52: If the tenant has not produced grain or sesame in the field, he may not change his contract.

53: If a seignior was too lazy to make [the dike of] his field strong and did not make his dike strong and a break has opened up in his dike and he has accordingly let the water ravage the farmland, the seignior in whose dike the break was opened shall make good the grain that he let get destroyed.

54: If he is not able to make good the grain, they shall sell him and his goods, and the farmers whose grain the water carried off shall divide (the proceeds).

55: If a seignior, upon opening his canal for irrigation, became so lazy that he has let the water ravage a field adjoining his, he shall measure out grain on the basis of those adjoining his.

56: If a seignior opened up the water and then has let the water carry off the work done on a field adjoining his, he shall measure out ten kur of grain per eighteen iku.

57: If a shepherd has not come to an agreement with the owner of a field to pasture sheep on the grass, but has pastured sheep on the field without the consent of the owner of the field, when the owner of the field harvests his field, the shepherd who pastured the sheep on the field without the consent of the owner of the field shall give in addition twenty kur of grain per eighteen iku to the owner of the field.

58: If after the sheep have gone up from the meadow, when the whole flock has been shut up within the city-
gate, the shepherd drove the sheep into a field and has then pastured the sheep on the field, the shepherd shall look after the field on which he pastured and at harvest-time he shall measure out sixty kur of grain per eighteen iku to the owner of the field.

59: If a seignior cut down a tree in another seignior’s orchard without the consent of the owner of the orchard, he shall pay one-half mina of silver.

60: If, when a seignior gave a field to a gardener to set out an orchard, the gardener set out the orchard, he shall develop the orchard for four years; in the fifth year the owner of the orchard and the gardener shall divide equally, with the owner of the orchard receiving his preferential share.

61: If the gardener did not set out the whole field, but left a portion bare, they shall assign the bare portion to him as his share.

62: If he did not set out the field that was given to him as an orchard, if it was a cultivated field, the gardener shall pay to the owner of the field rent for the field for the years that it was neglected on the basis of those adjoining it; also he shall do the (necessary) work on the field and return (it) to the owner of the field.

63: If it was fallow land, he shall do the (necessary) work on the field and return (it) to the owner of the field; also he shall measure out ten kur of grain per eighteen iku for each year.

64: If a seignior gave his orchard to a gardener to pollinate, the gardener shall give to the owner of the orchard two-thirds of the produce of the orchard as rent of the orchard as long as the orchard is held, with himself taking one-third.

65: If the gardener did not pollinate the orchard and so has let the yield decline, the gardener shall measure out rent for the orchard on the basis of those adjoining it.

66: When a seignior borrowed money from a merchant and his merchant foreclosed on him and he has nothing to pay (it) back, if he gave his orchard after pollination to the merchant and said to him, “Take for your money as many dates as there are produced in the orchard,” that merchant shall not be allowed; the owner of the orchard shall himself take the dates that were produced in the orchard and repay the merchant for the money and its interest in accordance with the wording of his tablet and the owner of the orchard shall in turn take the remaining dates that were produced in the orchard.

67: If a seignior built a house, his neighbor...
before witnesses that he will bring (it), while the merchant shall accept (it) without making any objections.

97: . . . he shall be put to death.

98: If a seignior gave money to a (nother) seignior for a partnership, they shall divide equally in the presence of god the profit or loss which was incurred.

99: If a merchant lent money at interest to a trader a for the purpose of trading [and making purchases] and sent him out on the road, the trader shall . . . on the road [the money which was entrusted] to him.

100: If he has realized a profit where he went, he shall write down the interest on the full amount of money that he borrowed and they shall count up the days against him and he shall repay his merchant.

101: If he has not realized a profit where he went, the trader shall repay to the merchant double the money that he borrowed.

102: If a merchant has lent money to a trader as a favor and he has experienced a loss where he went, he shall pay back the principal of the money to the merchant.

103: If, when he went on the road, an enemy has made him give up whatever he was carrying, the trader shall (so) affirm by god and then he shall go free.

104: If a merchant lent grain, wool, oil, or any goods at all to a trader to retail, the trader shall write down the value and pay (it) back to the merchant, with the trader obtaining a sealed receipt for the money which he pays to the merchant.

105: If the trader has been careless and so has not obtained a sealed receipt for the money which he paid to the merchant, the money with no sealed receipt may not be credited to the account.

106: If a trader borrowed money from a merchant and has then disputed (the fact) with his merchant, that merchant in the presence of god and witnesses shall prove that the trader borrowed the money and the trader shall pay to the merchant threefold the full amount of money that he borrowed.

107: When a merchant entrusted (something) to a trader and the trader has returned to his merchant whatever the merchant gave him, if the merchant has then disputed with him whatever the trader gave him, that trader shall prove it against the merchant in the presence of god and witnesses and the merchant shall pay to the trader sixfold whatever he received because he had a dispute with his trader.

108: If a woman wine seller, instead of receiving grain for the price of a drink, has received money by the large weight and so has made the value of the drink less than the value of the grain, they shall prove it against that wine seller and throw her into the water.

109: If outlaws have congregated in the establishment of a woman wine seller and she has not arrested those outlaws and did not take them to the palace, that wine seller shall be put to death.

110: If a hierodule, a nun, who is not living in a convent, has opened (the door of) a wineshop or has entered a wineshop for a drink, they shall burn that woman.

111: If a woman wine seller gave one (flask) of piyum—drink on credit, she shall receive fifty qu 82 of grain at harvest-time.

112: When a seignior was engaged in a (trading) journey and gave silver, gold, (precious) stones, or (other) goods in his possession to a (nother) seignior and consigned (them) to him for transport, if that seignior did not deliver whatever was to be transported where it was to be transported, but which he did not deliver, and that seignior shall pay to the owner of the goods to be transported fivefold whatever was given to him.

113: If a seignior held (a debt of) grain or money against a (nother) seignior and he has then taken grain from the granary or threshing floor without the consent of the owner of the grain, they shall prove that that seignior took grain from the granary or threshing floor without the consent of the owner of the grain and he shall return the full amount of grain that he took and he shall also forfeit everything else that he lent.

114: If a seignior did not hold (a debt of) grain or money against a (nother) seignior, but has distrained (someone as) his pledge, he shall pay one-third mina of silver for each distraint.

115: If a seignior held (a debt of) grain or money against a (nother) seignior and distrained (someone as) his pledge and the pledge has then died a natural death in the house of his distrainer, that case is not subject to claim.

116: If the pledge has died from beating or abuse in the house of his distrainer, the owner of the pledge shall prove it against his merchant, and if it was the seignior's son, they shall put his son to death; if it was the seignior's slave, he shall pay one-third mina of silver and also forfeit everything else that he lent.

117: If an obligation came due against a seignior and he sold (the services of) his wife, his son, or his daughter, or he has been bound over to service, they shall work (in) the house of their purchaser or obligee for

82 This word may be in apposition to the preceding or the particle "or" may be understood before it. The exact meaning of the word, entum, is not known, but the ideogram means literally "lady of a god," hence my translation "nun."

83 The exact meaning of phum is not known.

84 The original has di-ip-tim, but this is a scribal error for qi-ip-tim.

85 A measure equal to a little more than 1/4 of a quart, dry measure.

86 Lit., "goods of his hand."

87 The verb is impersonal plural, a scribal error for the singular.

88 Lit., "In accordance with his fate."

89 Lit., "If with respect to a seignior (emphatic accusative of specification) an obligation has seized him."

90 The verb used here, ittadin, is IV 2 pretic with passive force, and not I 2 present, as regularly interpreted. For a discussion of this section and the following two see T. J. Meeks, JNES, vii (1948), 180-3.
three years, with their freedom reestablished in the fourth year.  

118: When a male slave or a female slave has been bound over to service, if the merchant foreclosed, he may sell (him), with no possibility of his being reclaimed.

119: If an obligation came due against a seignior and he has accordingly sold (the services of) his female slave who bore him children, the owner of the female slave may repay the money which the merchant paid out and thus redeem his female slave.

120: If a seignior deposited his grain in a(nother) seignior's house for storage and a loss has then occurred at the granary or the owner of the house opened the storage-room and took grain or he has denied completely (the receipt of) the grain which was stored in his house, the owner of the grain shall set forth the particulars regarding his grain in the presence of god and the owner of the house shall give to the owner of the grain double the grain that he took.

121: If a seignior stored grain in a(nother) seignior's house, he shall pay five qu of grain per kur of grain as the storage-charge per year.

122: If a seignior wishes to give silver, gold, or any sort of thing to a(nother) seignior for safekeeping, he shall show to witnesses the full amount that he wishes to give, arrange the contracts, and then commit (it) to safekeeping.

123: If he gave (it) for safekeeping without witnesses and contracts and they have denied (its receipt) to him at the place where he made the deposit, that case is not subject to claim.

124: If a seignior gave silver, gold, or any sort of thing for safekeeping to a seignior in the presence of witnesses and he has denied (the fact) to him, they shall prove it against that seignior and he shall pay double whatever he denied.

125: If a seignior deposited property of his for safekeeping and at the place where he made the deposit his property has disappeared along with the property of the owner of the house, either through breaking in or through scaling (the wall), the owner of the house, who was so careless that he let whatever was given to him for safekeeping get lost, shall make (it) good and make restitution to the owner of the goods, while the owner of the house shall make a thorough search for his lost property and take (it) from its thief.

126: If the seignior's property was not lost, but he has declared, "My property is lost," thus deceiving his city council, his city council shall set forth the facts regarding him in the presence of god, that his property was not lost, and he shall give to his city council double whatever he laid claim to.

127: If a seignior pointed the finger at a nun or the wife of a(nother) seignior, but has proved nothing, they shall drag that seignior into the presence of the judges and also cut off half his (hair).

128: If a seignior acquired a wife, but did not draw up the contracts for her, that woman is no wife.

129: If the wife of a seignior has been caught while lying with another man, they shall bind them and throw them into the water. If the husband of the woman wishes to spare his wife, then the king in turn may spare his subject.

130: If a seignior bound the (betrothed) wife of a(nother) seignior, who had had no intercourse with a male and was still living in her father's house, and he has lain in her bosom and they have caught him, that seignior shall be put to death, while that woman shall go free.

131: If a seignior's wife was accused by her husband, but she was not caught while lying with another man, she shall make affirmation by god and return to her house.

132: If the finger was pointed at the wife of a seignior because of another man, but she has not been caught while lying with the other man, she shall throw herself into the river for the sake of her husband.

133: If a seignior was taken captive, but there was sufficient to live on in his house, his wife [shall not leave her house, but she shall take care of her person by not entering [the house of another].

134: If that woman did not take care of her person, but has entered the house of another, they shall prove it against that woman and throw her into the water.

135: If the seignior was taken captive and there was not sufficient to live on in his house, his wife may enter the house of another, with that woman incurring no blame at all.

136: If, when a seignior was taken captive and there was not sufficient to live on in his house, his wife has then entered the house of another before his (return) and has borne children, (and) later her husband has returned and has reached his city, that woman shall return to her first husband, while the children shall go with their father.

137: If, when a seignior deserted his city and then ran away, his wife has entered the house of another after his (departure), if that seignior has returned and wishes to take back his wife, the wife of the fugitive shall not return to her husband because he scorned his city and ran away.
137: If a seignior has made up his mind\textsuperscript{106} to divorce a lay priestess,\textsuperscript{107} who bore him children, or a hierodule who provided him with children, they shall return her dowry to that woman and also give her half of the field, orchard and goods in order that she may rear her children; after she has brought up her children, from whatever was given to her children they shall give her a portion corresponding to (that of) an individual heir in order that the man of her choice\textsuperscript{108} may marry her.

138: If a seignior wishes to divorce his wife who did not bear him children, he shall give her money to the full amount of her marriage-price and he shall also make good to her the dowry which she brought from her father's house and then he may divorce her.

139: If there was no marriage-price, he shall give her one mina of silver as the divorce-settlement.

140: If he is a peasant,\textsuperscript{109} he shall give her one-third mina of silver.

141: If a seignior's wife, who was living in the house of the seignior, has made up her mind to leave in order that she may engage in business, thus neglecting her house (and) humiliating her husband, they shall prove it against her; and if her husband has then decided on her divorce, he may divorce her, with nothing to be given her as her divorce-settlement upon her departure.\textsuperscript{110} If her husband has not decided on her divorce, her husband may marry another woman, with the former woman\textsuperscript{111} living in the house of her husband like a maidservant.

142: If a woman so hated her husband that she has declared, 'You may not have me,' her record shall be investigated at her city council, and if she was careful and was not at fault, even though her husband has been going out and disparaging her greatly, that woman, without incurring any blame at all, may take her dowry and go off to her father's house.

143: If she was not careful, but was a gadabout, thus neglecting her house (and) humiliating her husband, they shall throw that woman into the water.

144: When a seignior married a hierodule and that hierodule gave a female slave to her husband and she has then produced children, if that seignior has made up his mind to marry a lay priestess, they may not allow that seignior, since he may not marry the lay priestess.

145: If a seignior married a hierodule and she did not provide him with children and he has made up his mind to marry a lay priestess, that seignior may marry the lay priestess, thus bringing her into his house, (but) with that lay priestess ranking in no way with the hierodule.

146: When a seignior married a hierodule and she gave a female slave to her husband and she has then borne children, if later that female slave has claimed equality with her mistress because she bore children, her mistress may not sell her; she may mark her with the slave-mark and count her among the slaves.

147: If she did not bear children, her mistress may sell her.

148: When a seignior married a woman and a fever\textsuperscript{112} has then seized her, if he has made up his mind to marry another, he may marry (her), without divorcing his wife whom the fever seized; she shall live in the house which he built and he shall continue to support her as long as she lives.

149: If that woman has refused to live in her husband's house, he shall make good her dowry to her which she brought from her father's house and then she may leave.

150: If a seignior, upon presenting a field, orchard, house, or goods to his wife, left a sealed document with her, her children may not enter a claim against her after (the death of) her husband, since the mother may give her inheritance to that son of hers whom she likes, (but) she may not give (it) to an outsider.

151: If a woman, who was living in a seignior's house, having made a contract with her husband that a creditor\textsuperscript{113} of her husband may not distrain her, has then had (him) deliver a written statement;\textsuperscript{114} if there was a debt against that seignior before he married that woman, his creditors may not distrain his wife; also, if there was a debt against that woman before she entered the seignior's house, her creditors may not distrain her husband.

152: If a debt has developed against them after that woman entered the seignior's house, both of them shall be answerable to the merchant.\textsuperscript{115}

153: If a seignior's wife has brought about the death of her husband because of another man, they shall impale that woman on stakes.

154: If a seignior has had intercourse with his daughter, they shall make that seignior leave the city.

155: If a seignior chose a bride for his son and his son had intercourse with her, but later he himself has lain in her bosom and they have caught him, they shall bind that seignior and throw him\textsuperscript{116} into the water.

156: If a seignior chose a bride for his son and his son did not have intercourse with her, but he himself has lain in her bosom, he shall pay to her one-half mina of silver and he shall also make good to her whatever she brought from her father's house in order that the man of her choice may marry her.

157: If a seignior has lain in the bosom of his mother after (the death of) his father, they shall burn both of them.

158: If a seignior after (the death of) his father has

\textsuperscript{106} Lit. "has set his face."

\textsuperscript{107} The exact meaning of the word used here, k\textsuperscript{110}or\textsuperscript{111}um, is unknown, but it indicates some kind of priestess.

\textsuperscript{108} Lit., "the man of her heart," mutm libbila, where the suffix -la may be interpreted as objective, "the man who chooses her," but is probably better interpreted in the usual manner as subjective, "the man of her choice."

\textsuperscript{109} The word is mulk\textsuperscript{112}um; see note 44 above.

\textsuperscript{110} Lit., "her journey," a noun in the adverbial accusative of manner.

\textsuperscript{111} Lit., "that woman."

\textsuperscript{112} The exact meaning of the word used here, lel\textsuperscript{118}um, is not known.

\textsuperscript{113} Lit., "the owner of a debt," here to be construed as singular, but elsewhere in this paragraph as plural because of the plural verbs to which they belong.

\textsuperscript{114} Lit. "a tablet."

\textsuperscript{115} i.e. the money-lender who made the loan.

\textsuperscript{116} Through a scribal error the original has "her."
been caught in the bosom of his foster mother \(^{118}\) who was the bearer of children, that seignior shall be cut off from the parental home. \(^{119}\)

159: If a seignior, who had the betrothal-gift brought to the house of his (prospective) father-in-law (and) paid the marriage-price, has then fallen in love with another woman and has said to his (prospective) father-in-law, “I will not marry your daughter,” the father of the daughter shall keep whatever was brought to him.

160: If a seignior had the betrothal-gift brought to the house of the (prospective) father-in-law (and) paid the marriage-price, and the father of the daughter has then said, “I will not give my daughter to you,” he shall pay back double the full amount that was brought to him.

161: If a seignior had the betrothal-gift brought to the house of his (prospective) father-in-law (and) paid the marriage-price, and then a friend of his has so maligned him that his (prospective) father-in-law has said to the (prospective) husband, \(^{120}\) “You may not marry my daughter,” he shall pay back double the full amount that was brought to him, but his friend may not marry his (intended) wife.

162: If, when a seignior acquired a wife, she bore him children and that woman has then gone to (her) fate, her father may not lay claim to her dowry, since her dowry belongs to her children.

163: If a seignior acquired a wife and that woman has gone to (her) fate without providing him with children, if his father-in-law has then returned to him the marriage-price which that seignior brought to the house of his father-in-law, her husband may not lay claim to the dowry of that woman, since her dowry belongs to her father’s house.

164: If his father-in-law has not returned the marriage-price to him, he shall deduct the full amount of her marriage-price from her dowry and return (the rest of) her dowry to her father’s house.

165: If a seignior, upon presenting a field, orchard, or house to his first-born, who is the favorite in his eye, wrote a sealed document for him, when the brothers divide after the father has gone to (his) fate, he shall keep the present which the father gave him, but otherwise they shall share equally in the goods of the paternal estate.

166: If a seignior, upon acquiring wives for the sons that he got, did not acquire a wife for his youngest son, when the brothers divide after the father has gone to (his) fate, to their youngest brother who did not acquire a wife, to him in addition to his share they shall assign money (enough) for the marriage-price from the goods of the paternal estate and thus enable him to acquire a wife.

167: If, when a seignior acquired a wife and she bore him children, that woman has gone to (her) fate (and) after her (death) he has then married another woman and she has borne children, when later the father has gone to (his) fate, the children shall not divide according to mothers; they shall take the dowries of their (respective) mothers and then divide equally the goods of the paternal estate.

168: If a seignior, having made up his mind to disinherit his son, has said to the judges, “I wish to disinherit my son,” the judges shall investigate his record, and if the son did not incur wrong grave (enough) to be disinherited, the father may not disinherit his son.

169: If he has incurred wrong against his father grave (enough) to be disinherited, they shall let him off the first time; if he has incurred grave wrong a second time, the father may disinherit his son.

170: When a seignior’s first wife bore him children and his female slave also bore him children, if the father during his lifetime has ever said “My children!” to the children whom the slave bore him, thus having counted them with the children of the first wife, after the father has gone to (his) fate, the children of the first wife and the children of the slave shall share equally in the goods of the paternal estate, with the first-born, the son of the first wife, receiving a preferential share.

171: However, if the father during his lifetime has never said “My children!” to the children whom the slave bore him, after the father has gone to (his) fate, the children of the slave may not share in the goods of the paternal estate along with the children of the first wife; freedom for the slave and her children shall be effected, \(^{121}\) with the children of the first wife having no claim at all against the children of the slave for service; the first wife shall take her dowry and the marriage-gift which her husband, upon giving (it) to her, wrote down on a tablet for her, and living in the home of her husband, she shall have the usufruct (of it) as long as she lives, without ever selling (it), since her heritage belongs to her children.

172: If her husband did not give her a marriage-gift, they shall make good her dowry to her and she shall obtain from the goods of her husband’s estate a portion corresponding to (that of) an individual heir; if her children keep plaguing her in order to make her leave the house, the judges shall investigate her record and place the blame on the children, so that woman need never leave her husband’s house; if that woman has made up her mind to leave, she shall leave to her children the marriage-gift which her husband gave her (but) take the dowry from \(^{22}\) her father’s house in order that the man of her choice may marry her.

173: If that woman has borne children to her later husband in the place that she entered, and afterwards

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\(^{118}\) The text has ra-bi-ili, but this must be a scribal error for mu-ra-bi-ili.

\(^{119}\) Lit., “the house of the father.” With the laws in §§154-158 cf. Lev. 18:6-18; 20:10-21; Deut. 27:20, 22 f.

\(^{120}\) Lit. “has then stared at, has made eyes at.”

\(^{121}\) The active form of the verb used here, il-ta-ak-ha-an, must be a scribal error for the passive, il-la-ak-ha-an.

\(^{122}\) Lit. “belonging to.”
that woman has died, the earlier with the later children shall divide the dowry.

174: If she has not borne children to her later husband, only the children of her first husband shall receive her dowry.

175: If either a palace slave or a private citizen's slave married the daughter of a seignior and she has borne children, the owner of the slave may not lay claim to the children of the seignior's daughter for service.

176: Furthermore, if a palace slave or a private citizen's slave married the daughter of a seignior and when he married her she entered the house of the palace slave or the private citizen's slave with the dowry from her father's house and after they were joined together they set up a household and so acquired goods, but later either the palace slave or the private citizen's slave has gone to (his) fate, the seignior's daughter shall take her dowry, but they shall divide into two parts whatever her husband and she acquired after they were joined together and the owner of the slave shall take one-half, with the seignior's daughter taking one-half for her children.

176a: If the seignior's daughter has no dowry, they shall divide into two parts whatever her husband and she acquired after they were joined together and the owner of the slave shall take one-half, with the seignior's daughter taking one-half for her children.

177: If a widow, whose children are minors, has made up her mind to enter the house of another, she may not enter without the consent of the judges; when she wishes to enter the house of another, the judges shall investigate the condition of her former husband's estate and they shall entrust her former husband's estate to her later husband and that woman and they shall have them deposit a tablet (to the effect that) they will look after the estate and also rear the young (children), without ever selling the household goods, since the purchaser who purchases the household goods of a widow's children shall forfeit his money, with the goods reverting to their owner.

178: In the case of a nun, a hierodule, or a votary, whose father, upon presenting a dowry to her, wrote a tablet for her, if he did not write for her on the tablet which he wrote for her (permission) to give her heritage to whomsoever she pleased and did not grant her full discretion, after the father has gone to (his) fate, the seignior's daughter shall take her dowry, without selling (it or) willing (it) to another, since her patrimony belongs to her brothers.

179: In the case of a nun, a hierodule, or a votary, whose father, upon presenting a dowry to her, wrote a sealed document for her, if he wrote for her on the tablet which he wrote for her (permission) to give her herit- age to whomever she pleased and has granted her full discretion, after her father has gone to (his) fate, she may give her heritage to whomever she pleases, with her brothers having no claim against her.

180: If a father did not present a dowry to his daughter, a hierodule in a convent or a votary, after the father has gone to (his) fate, she shall receive as her share in the goods of the paternal estate a portion like (that of) an individual heir, but she shall have only the usufruct of (it) as long as she lives, since her heritage belongs to her brothers.

181: If a father dedicated (his daughter) to deity as a hierodule, a sacred prostitute, or a devotee and did not present a dowry to her, after the father has gone to (his) fate, she shall receive as her share in the goods of the paternal estate her one-third patrimony, but she shall have only the usufruct of (it) as long as she lives, since her heritage belongs to her brothers.

182: If a father, since he did not give her to a husband, a hierodule of Marduk of Babylon, did not write a sealed document for her, after the father has gone to (his) fate, she shall share along with her brothers in the goods of the paternal estate to the extent of her one-third patrimony, but she shall not assume any feudal obligations, since a hierodule of Marduk may give her heritage to whomever she pleases.

183: If a father, upon presenting a dowry to his daughter, a lay priestess, when he gave her to a husband, wrote a sealed document for her, after the father has gone to (his) fate, she may not share in the goods of the paternal estate.

184: If a seignior did not present a dowry to his daughter, a lay priestess, since he did not give her to a husband, after the father has gone to (his) fate, her brothers shall present her with a dowry proportionate to the value of the father's estate and they shall give her to a husband.

185: If a seignior adopted a boy in his own name and has reared him, that foster child may never be reclaimed.

186: If a seignior, upon adopting a boy, seeks out his father and mother when he had taken him, that foster child may return to his father's house.

187: The (adopted) son of a chamberlain, a palace servant, or the (adopted) son of a votary, may never be reclaimed.

188: If a member of the artisan class took a son as a servant, or the (adopted) son of a votary, may never be reclaimed.

174 Lit. "lifted up."

175 The exact meaning of the word used here, ZI.K.R.U.M, is not known, but it manifestly indicates some kind of priestess.

176 Lit. "cause her to attain her full heart."

176a The exact meaning of the word used here, kulmasitum, is not known, but it manifestly indicates some kind of priestess.

177 Lit. "took into sonship."

178 Lit. "made her heart good."

179 Lit. "rubbed her heart."

180 Lit. "made her heart good."
foster child and has taught him his handicraft, he may never be reclaimed.

189: If he has not taught him his handicraft, that foster child may return to his father’s house.

190: If a seignior has not counted among his sons the boy that he adopted and reared, that foster child may return to his father’s house.

191: If a seignior, who adopted a boy and reared him, set up a family of his own, has later acquired children and so has made up (his) mind to cut off the foster child, that son shall not go off empty-handed; his foster father shall give him from his goods his one-third patrimony and then he shall go off, since he may not give him any of the field, orchard, or house.

192: If the (adopted) son of a chamberlain or the (adopted) son of a votary has said to his foster father or his foster mother, “You are not my father,” “You are not my mother,” they shall cut out his tongue.

193: If the (adopted) son of a chamberlain or the (adopted) son of a votary found out his parentage and came to hate his foster father and his foster mother and so has gone off to his paternal home, they shall pluck out his eye.

194: When a seignior gave his son to a nurse and that son has died in the care of the nurse, if the nurse has then made a contract for another son without the knowledge of his father and mother, they shall prove it against her and they shall cut off her breast because she made a contract for another son without the knowledge of his father and mother.

195: If a son has struck his father, they shall cut off his hand.

196: If a seignior has destroyed the eye of a member of the aristocracy, they shall destroy his eye.

197: If he has broken a (nother) seignior’s bone, they shall break his bone.

198: If he has destroyed the eye of a commoner or broken the bone of a commoner, he shall pay one mina of silver.

199: If he has destroyed the eye of a seignior’s slave or broken the bone of a seignior’s slave, he shall pay one-half his value.

200: If a seignior has knocked out a tooth of a seignior of his own rank, they shall knock out his tooth.

201: If he has knocked out a commoner’s tooth, he shall pay one-third mina of silver.

202: If a seignior has struck the cheek of a seignior who is superior to him, he shall be beaten sixty (times) with an oxtail whip in the assembly.

203: If a member of the aristocracy has struck the cheek of a (nother) member of the aristocracy who is of the same rank as himself, he shall pay one mina of silver.

204: If a commoner has struck the cheek of a (nother) commoner, he shall pay ten shekels of silver.

205: If a seignior’s slave has struck the cheek of a member of the aristocracy, they shall cut off his ear.

206: If a seignior has struck a (nother) seignior in a brawl and has inflicted an injury on him, that seignior shall swear, “I did not strike him deliberately,” and he shall also pay for the physician.

207: If he has died because of his blow, he shall swear (as before), and if it was a member of the aristocracy, he shall pay one-half mina of silver.

208: If it was a member of the commonalty, he shall pay one-third mina of silver.

209: If a seignior struck a (nother) seignior’s daughter and has caused her to have a miscarriage, he shall pay ten shekels of silver for her fetus.

210: If that woman has died, they shall put his daughter to death.

211: If by a blow he has caused a commoner’s daughter to have a miscarriage, he shall pay five shekels of silver.

212: If that woman has died, he shall pay one-half mina of silver.

213: If he struck a seignior’s female slave and has caused her to have a miscarriage, he shall pay two shekels of silver.

214: If that female slave has died, he shall pay one-third mina of silver.

215: If a physician performed a major operation on a seignior with a bronze lancet and has saved the seignior’s life, or he opened up the eye-socket of a seignior with a bronze lancet and has saved the seignior’s eye, he shall receive ten shekels of silver.

216: If it was a member of the commonalty, he shall receive five shekels.

217: If it was a seignior’s slave, the owner of the slave shall give two shekels of silver to the physician.

218: If a physician performed a major operation on a seignior with a bronze lancet and has caused the seignior’s death, or he opened up the eye-socket of a seignior and has destroyed the seignior’s eye, they shall cut off his hand.

219: If a physician performed a major operation on a commoner’s slave with a bronze lancet and has caused (his) death, he shall make good slave for slave.

220: If he opened up his eye-socket with a bronze lancet and has destroyed a seignior’s eye, he shall pay one-half his value in silver.

221: If a physician has set a seignior’s broken bone, or has healed a sprained tendon, the patient shall give five shekels of silver to the physician.
222: If it was a member of the commonalty, he shall give three shekels of silver.
223: If it was a seignior’s slave, the owner of the slave shall give two shekels of silver to the physician.
224: If a veterinary surgeon performed a major operation on either an ox or an ass and has saved (its) life, the owner of the ox or ass shall give to the surgeon one-sixth (shekel) of silver as his fee.
225: If he performed a major operation on an ox or an ass and has caused (its) death, he shall give to the owner of the ox or ass one-fourth its value.
226: If a brander cut off the slave-mark of a slave not his own without the consent of the owner of the slave, they shall cut off the hand of that brander.
227: If a seignior deceived a brander so that he has cut off the slave-mark of a slave not his own, they shall put that seignior to death and immure him at his gate; the brander shall swear, “I did not cut (it) off knowingly,” and then he shall go free.
228: If a builder constructed a house for a seignior and finished (it) for him, he shall give him two shekels of silver per sar of house as his remuneration.
229: If a builder constructed a house for a seignior, but did not make his work strong, with the result that the house which he built collapsed and so has caused the death of the owner of the house, that builder shall be put to death.
230: If it has caused the death of a son of the owner of the house, they shall put the son of that builder to death.
231: If it has caused the death of a slave of the owner of the house, he shall give slave for slave to the owner of the house.
232: If it has destroyed goods, he shall make good whatever it destroyed; also, because he did not make the house strong which he built and it collapsed, he shall reconstruct the house which collapsed at his own expense.
233: If a builder constructed a house for a seignior and has not done his work properly so that a wall has become unsafe, that builder shall strength that wall at his own expense.
234: If a boatman calked a boat of sixty kur for a seignior, he shall give him two shekels of silver as his remuneration.
235: If a boatman calked a boat for a seignior and did not do his work well with the result that that boat has sprung a leak in that very year, since it has developed a defect, the boatman shall dismantle that boat and strengthen (it) at his own expense and give the strengthened boat back to the owner of the boat.
236: If a seignior let his boat for hire to a boatman and the boatman was so careless that he has sunk or wrecked the boat, the boatman shall make good the boat to the owner of the boat.

237: When a seignior hired a boatman and a boat and loaded it with grain, wool, oil, dates, or any kind of freight, if that boatman was so careless that he has sunk the boat and lost what was in it as well, the boatman shall make good the boat which he sank and whatever he lost that was in it.
238: If a boatman sank the boat of a seignior and has then refloated it, he shall give one-half its value in silver.
239: If a seignior hired a boatman, he shall give him six kur of grain per year.
240: If a rowboat rammed a sailboat and has sunk (it), the owner of the boat whose boat was sunk shall in the presence of god set forth the particulars regarding whatever was lost in his boat and the one in charge of the rowboat which sank the sailboat shall make good to him his boat and his lost property.
241: If a seignior has distrained an ox as a pledge, he shall pay one-third mina of silver.
242, 243: If a seignior hired (it) for one year, he shall give to its owner four kur of grain as the hire of an ox in tandem, three kur of grain as the hire of a young lead-ox.
244: If a seignior hired an ox or an ass and a lion has killed it in the open, (the loss) shall be its owner’s.
245: If a seignior hired an ox and has caused its death through carelessness or through beating, he shall make good ox for ox to the owner of the ox.
246: If a seignior hired an ox and has broken its foot or has cut its neck tendon, he shall make good ox for ox to the owner of the ox.
247: If a seignior hired an ox and has destroyed its eye, he shall give one-half its value in silver to the owner of the ox.
248: If a seignior hired an ox and has broken its horn, cut off its tail, or injured the flesh of its back, he shall give one-quarter its value in silver.
249: If a seignior hired an ox and god struck it and it has died, the seignior who hired the ox shall (so) affirm by god and then he shall go free.
250: If an ox, when it was walking along the street, gored a seignior to death, that case is not subject to claim.
251: If a seignior’s ox was a gorer and his city council made it known to him that it was a gorer, but he did not pad its horns (or) tie up his ox, and that ox gored to death a member of the aristocracy, he shall give one-half mina of silver.
252: If it was a seignior’s slave, he shall give one-third mina of silver.
253: If a seignior hired an ox or an ass to oversee his field, and lending him feed-grain, entrusting him with oxen, contracted with him to cultivate the field, if that seignior stole the seed or fodder and it has been found in his possession, they shall cut off his hand.
254: If he appropriated the feed-grain and thus has

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140 Lit. “physician of an ox or an ass.”
141 A measure equal to about 42 1/5 square yards.
142 Lit. “out of his own goods.”
143 Lit. “of his own money.”
starved the oxen, he shall make good twofold the grain which he received.\textsuperscript{148}

255: If he has let the seignior's oxen out on hire or he stole the seed-grain and so has raised nothing in the field, they shall prove it against that seignior and at harvest-time he shall measure out sixty kur of grain per eighteen iku.

256: If he was not able to meet his obligation, they shall drag him through that field with the oxen.

257: If a seignior hired a cultivator, he shall give him eight kur of grain per year.

258: If a seignior hired a cattle-herder, he shall pay him six kur of grain per year.

259: If a seignior stole a plow from a field, he shall give five shekels of silver to the owner of the plow.

260: If he has stolen a seeder or a harrow, he shall give three shekels of silver.

261: If a seignior hired a shepherd to pasture cattle or sheep, he shall give him eight kur of grain per year.

262: If a seignior . . . and ox or a sheep to . . .

263: If he has lost [the ox] or sheep which was committed to him, he shall make good ox for [ox], sheep for [sheep] to their owner.

264: If [a shepherd], to whom cattle or sheep were given to pasture, became unfaithful and hence has altered the cattlemark or has sold (them), they shall prove it against him and he shall make good in cattle and sheep to their owner tenfold what he stole.

265: If a shepherd, to whom cattle or sheep were given to pasture, became unfaithful and hence has altered the cattlemark or has sold (them), they shall prove it against him and he shall make good in cattle and sheep to their owner tenfold what he stole.

266: If a visitation of god has occurred in a sheepfold or a lion has made a kill, the shepherd shall prove himself innocent in the presence of god, but the owner of the sheepfold shall receive from him the animal stricken in the fold.\textsuperscript{149}

267: If the shepherd was careless and has let lameness develop in the fold, the shepherd shall make good in cattle and sheep the loss through the lameness which he let develop in the fold and give (them) to their owner.\textsuperscript{149}

268: If a seignior hired an ox to thresh, twenty qu of grain shall be its hire.

269: If he hired an ass to thresh, ten qu of grain shall be its hire.

270: If he hired a goat to thresh, one qu of grain shall be its hire.

271: If a seignior hired oxen, a wagon and a driver for it, he shall give 180 qu of grain per day.

272: If a seignior hired simply a wagon by itself, he shall give forty qu of grain per day.

273: If a seignior hired a laborer, he shall give six le of silver per day from the beginning of the year till the

\textsuperscript{148} Reading ta-[a]-na for ta-a-na and im-hu-ru for im-ri-ru.
\textsuperscript{149} cf. Exod. 22:9 ff.
I caused light to rise on them.
With the mighty weapon which Zababa and Inanna entrusted to me,
with the insight that Enki allotted to me,
with the ability that Marduk gave me,
I rooted out the enemy above and below;
I made an end of war;
I promoted the welfare of the land;
I made the peoples rest in friendly habitations;
I did not let them have anyone to terrorize them.
The great gods called me,
so I became the beneficent shepherd whose scepter is righteous;
my benign shadow is spread over my city.
In my bosom I carried the peoples of the land
of Sumer and Akkad;
they prospered under my protection;
I always governed them in peace;
I sheltered them in my wisdom.
In order that the strong might not oppress
the weak,
that justice might be dealt the orphan (and) the widow,
in Babylon, the city whose head Anum and Enlil raised aloft,
in Esagila, the temple whose foundations stand firm like heaven and earth,
I wrote my precious words on my stela,
and in the presence of the statue of me, the king of justice,
I set (it) up in order to administer the law
of the land,
to prescribe the ordinances of the land,
to give justice to the oppressed.
I am the king who is preeminent among kings;
my words are choice; my ability has no equal.
By the order of Shamash, the great judge of heaven and earth,
may my justice prevail in the land;
by the word of Marduk, my lord,
may my statutes have no one to rescind them;
in Esagila, which I love, may my name be spoken in reverence forever!

Let any oppressed man who has a cause
come into the presence of the statue of me, the king of justice,
and then read carefully my inscribed stela,
and give heed to my precious words,
and may my stela make the case clear to him;
may he understand his cause;
may he set his mind at ease!
"Hammurabi, the lord,
who is like a real father to the people,
bestirred himself for the word of Marduk, his lord,
and secured the triumph of Marduk above and below,
effaced my name inscribed (thereon),
and has written his own name,
(or) he has commissioned another (to do so) because
of these curses—
as for that man, whether king or lord,
or governor or person of any rank,155 may mighty Anum, the father of the gods, who pro-
claimed my reign,
deprive him of the glory of sovereignty,
may he break his scepter, may he curse his fate!
May Enlil, the lord, the determiner of destinies,
whose orders cannot be altered,
who made my kingdom great,
incite revolts against him in his abode which cannot be
suppressed,
misfortune leading to his ruin!
May he determine as the fate for him a reign of woe,
days few in number, years of famine,
darkness without light, sudden death!
May he order by his forceful word the destruction of his
city,
the dispersion of his people, the transfer of his kingdom,
the disappearance of his name and memory from
the land!
May Ninlil,155 the mighty mother,
whose orders carry weight in Ekur,
the lady who prospers my wishes,
vitiates his word at the place of judgment and
decision in the presence of Enlil!
May she have Enlil, the king, decree156 the ruin of his
land,
the destruction of his people, the pouring-out of his life
like water!
May Enki, the mighty prince whose decrees
take precedence,
the wisest of the gods who knows every sort of thing,
(reverse xxvii)
who prolongs the days of my life,
deprive him of knowledge and understanding,
and constantly lead him astray!
May he dam up his rivers at the source;
may he not let there be grain, the life of the people,
in his land!
May Shamash, the mighty judge of heaven and earth,
who guides aright living creatures,
the lord, my support, overthrow his kingdom;
may he not accord (him) his rights!
May he confuse his ways;
may he cause the foundations of his nation to crumble;
may he prepare for him in his vision an evil omen

154 Lit. "person who is called a name."
155 The consort of Enlil.
156 Lit. "may she put in the mouth of Enlil, the king."
and may they carry him away in bonds to a land hostile to him!

May Nergal, the strong one among the gods, the fighter without peer, who achieves victory for me, burn his people in his great power, (30) like the raging fire of swamp-reeds!

May he cut him off with his powerful weapons, and break his body in pieces like an earthen image!

May Nintu, the exalted mistress of the lands, the mother who bore me, deny him an heir; may she not let him receive a name or beget a male descendant in the midst of his people!

May Ninkarrak, the daughter of Anum, my advocate in Ekur, inflict upon him in his body a grievous malady, an evil disease, a serious injury which never heals, whose nature no physician knows, (60) which he cannot allay with bandages, which like a deadly bite cannot be rooted out, and may he continue to lament (the loss of) his vigor until his life comes to an end!

May the mighty gods of heaven and earth, the Annunaki in their totality, the guardian spirit of the temple, (and) Lebettum of Ebabbar, curse him, his descendants, his land, his warriors, his people, and his nation, with a foul curse!

May Enlil, by his word which cannot be altered, curse him with these curses, and may they come upon him quickly!

The Middle Assyrian Laws

(Translator: Theophile J. Meek)

The Middle Assyrian Laws are preserved to us, not on a stela as in the case of Hammurabi's laws, but on clay tablets, some of which are unfortunately badly broken, and the lacunae have not as yet been filled. The tablets were unearthed by German archaeologists in the course of their extensive excavation of ancient Ashur, modern Qal'at Shergat, from 1903 to the spring of 1914. The tablets themselves date from the time of Tiglath-pileser I in the 12th century B.C., but the laws on them may go back to the 15th century.

The texts were published by Otto Schroeder, KAV, supplemented later by five fragments published and translated by Ernst F. Weidner in AF0, xi (1935), 50 ff. The most elaborate treatment of the former texts is G. R. Driver and John C. Miles, The Assyro-Babylonian Laws, with Translation and Commentary (1935), where the extensive literature is cited in full. Driver's translation is one of the best and is far superior to that by D. D. Luckenbill and F. W. Geers in J. M. P. Smith, The Origin and History of Hebrew Law (1931). In the present translation Tablets C and G of the Driver-Miles edition are joined and Tablets D, H, and J are omitted altogether since it is now recognized that they do not belong here. The restoration of parts of Tablets C + G, M, and F follows closely that of M. David in Symbolae ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentes Paulo Koschaker dedicatae (1939), pp. 121 ff. Tablet K and the first part of Tablet L are hortatory in character and hence probably constituted the introduction to the laws, like the hortatory introduction to the laws in Deuteronomy.

The Laws

TABLET A

1: If a woman, [whether] the wife of a seignior or the daughter of a seignior, has entered the temple of a god, has stolen something belonging to the sanctuary [from] the temple of the god, (and) it has been found [in her possession], when they have prosecuted [her] or convicted [her], [they shall take] the indictment and make inquiry of the god; as he orders [the woman to be treated], they shall treat her.

2: If a woman, whether the wife of a seignior or the daughter of a seignior, has uttered blasphemy or indulged in loose talk, that woman shall bear the penalty due her; they shall not touch her husband, her sons, (or) her daughters.

3: If, when a seignior was either sick or dead, his wife has stolen something from his house (and) has given (it) either to a seignior or to a lady or to anyone else, they shall put the seignior's wife to death along with the receivers as well. Also, if the wife of a seignior, whose husband is alive, has stolen (something) from her husband's house (and) has given (it) either to a seignior or to a lady or to anyone else, the seignior shall prosecute his wife and inflict the (proper) punishment; also the receiver who received (it) from the hand of the seignior's wife shall give up the stolen (property) and they shall inflict on the receiver the same punishment that the seignior inflicted on his wife.

4: If either a male slave or a female slave has received something (stolen) from the hand of a seignior's wife, they shall cut off the nose (and) ears of the male or female slave, thus compensating for the stolen (property), while the seignior shall cut off his wife's ears. However, if he lets his wife go free, without cutting off her ears, they shall not cut off those of the male or female slave and so they shall not compensate for the stolen (property).

5: If a seignior's wife has stolen something from another seignior's house, exceeding the value of five minas of lead, the owner of the stolen (property) shall swear, "I never let her take (it); there was a theft from my house," if her husband (so) desires, he may give up the stolen (property) and ransom her (but) cut off her ears. If her husband does not wish to ransom her, the owner of the stolen (property) shall take her and cut off her nose.

1 Schroeder, KAV, No. 1, pp. 1-14.
6: If a seignior’s wife has made a deposit abroad, the receiver shall be liable for the stolen (property).  
7: If a woman has laid hands on a seignior, when they have prosecuted her, she shall pay thirty minas of lead (and) they shall flog her twenty (times) with staves.  
8: If a woman has crushed a seignior’s testicle in a brawl, they shall cut off one finger of hers, and if the other testicle has become affected along with it by catching the infection even though a physician has bound (it) up, or she has crushed the other testicle in the brawl, they shall tear out both her [eyes].  
9: [If] a seignior laid hands on the wife of a (another) seignior, thereby treating her like a young child, when they have prosecuted him (and) convicted him, they shall cut off [one] finger of his. If he has kissed her, they shall draw his lower lip along the edge of the blade of an ax (and) cut it off.  
10: [If] either a seignior or a lady entered a (another) seignior’s [house] and killed [either a man] or a woman, [they shall give] the murderers [to the next-of-kin], and if he chooses he may put them to death, or [if he chooses] he may spare (them but) take [their property]. [However, if] the murderers have nothing at home [to give], either a son or [a daughter] . . . in the house . . . belonging to . . .  
11: (not preserved)  
12: If, as a seignior’s wife passed along the street, a (another) seignior has seized her, saying to her, “Let me lie with you,” since she would not consent (and) kept defending herself, but he has taken her by force (and) lain with her, whether they found him on the seignior’s wife or witnesses have charged him that he lay with the woman, they shall put the seignior to death, with no blame attaching to the woman.  
13: When a seignior’s wife has left her own house and has visited a (another) seignior where he is living, if he has lain with her, knowing that she was a seignior’s wife, they shall put the seignior to death and the woman as well.  
14: If a seignior has lain with the wife of a (another) seignior either in a temple-brothel or in the street, knowing that she was a seignior’s wife, they shall treat the adulterer as the seignior orders his wife to be treated. If he has lain with her without knowing that she was a seignior’s wife, the adulterer is guiltless; the seignior shall prosecute his wife, treating her as he thinks fit.  
15: If a seignior has caught a (another) seignior with his wife, when they have prosecuted him (and) convicted him, they shall put both of them to death, with no liability attaching to him. If, upon catching (him), he has brought him either into the presence of the king or into the presence of the judges, when they have prosecuted him (and) convicted him, if the woman’s husband puts his wife to death, he shall also put the seignior to death, but if he cuts off his wife’s nose, he shall turn the seignior into a eunuch and they shall mutilate his whole face. However, if he let his wife go free, they shall let the seignior go free.  
16: If a seignior [has lain with a (another) seignior’s] wife at her invitation, ’no blame attaches to the seignior; the (married) seignior shall inflict such punishment on his wife as he thinks fit. If he has lain with her by force, when they have prosecuted him (and) convicted him, his punishment shall be like that of the seignior’s wife.  
17: If a seignior has said to a (another) seignior, “People have lain repeatedly with your wife,” since there were no witnesses, they shall make an agreement (and) go to the river (for the water ordeal).  
18: If a seignior said to his neighbor either in private or in a brawl, “People have lain repeatedly with your wife; I will prosecute (her) myself,” since he is not able to prosecute (her and) did not prosecute (her), they shall flog that seignior forty (times) with staves (and) he shall do the work of the king for one full month; they shall castrate him and he shall also pay one talent of lead.  
19: If a seignior started a rumor against his neighbor in private, saying, “People have lain repeatedly with him,” or he said to him in a brawl in the presence of (other) people, “People have lain repeatedly with you; I will prosecute you,” since he is not able to prosecute (him) (and) did not prosecute (him), they shall flog that seignior fifty (times) with staves (and) he shall do the work of the king for one full month; they shall castrate him and he shall also pay one talent of lead.  
20: If a seignior lay with his neighbor, when they have prosecuted him (and) convicted him, they shall lie with him (and) turn him into a eunuch.  
21: If a seignior struck a (another) seignior’s daughter and has caused her to have a miscarriage, when they have prosecuted him (and) convicted him, he shall pay two talents thirty minas of lead; they shall flog him fifty (times) with staves (and) he shall do the work of the king for one full month.  
22: If in the case of a seignior’s wife one not her father, nor her brother, nor her son, but another person, has caused her to take to the road, but he did not know that she was a seignior’s wife, he shall (so) swear and he shall also pay two talents of lead to the woman’s husband. If [he knew that she was a seignior’s wife], he shall pay the damages [and swear], “I never lay with her.” However, if the [seignior’s] wife [has declared], “He did lie with me,” when the man has paid the damages to the seignior, he shall go to the river, although he had no (such) agreement; if he has turned back from the river, they shall treat him as the woman’s husband treated his wife.

6 Lit. “in accordance with her mouth.”  
7 Lit. “one month of days.”  
8 A talent contained 60 minas.  
9 Lit. “one month of days.”  
11 Other laws on the same topic are §§50-52 below, with all of which cf. Exod. 21:22-25; cf. also CH §§209-14.
23: If a seignior’s wife, having taken a(nother) seignior’s wife into her house, has given her to a man to lie with and the man knew that she was a seignior’s wife, they shall treat him like one who has lain with a married woman and they shall treat the procuress as the woman’s husband treats his adulterous wife. However, if the woman’s husband does nothing to his adulterous wife, they shall do nothing to the adulterer or the procuress; they shall let them go free. However, if the seignior’s wife did not know (the situation), but the woman who brought her into her house brought the man to her under pressure and he has lain with her, if when she left the house she has declared that she was ravished, they shall let the woman go free, since she is guiltless; they shall put the adulterer and procuress to death. However, if the woman has not (so) declared, the seignior shall inflict on his wife such punishment as he sees fit (and) they shall put the adulterer and the procuress to death.

24: If a seignior’s wife, having deserted her husband, has entered the house of an Assyrian, whether it was in the same city or in some neighboring city, where he set her up in a house, (and) she stayed with the mistress of the house (and) spent the night (there) three (or) four times, without the master of the house knowing that the seignior’s wife was staying in his house, (and) later that woman has been caught, the master of the house whose wife deserted him shall cut off (the ears of) his wife but take her back; they shall cut off the ears of the man’s wife with whom his wife stayed; if he wishes, her husband may pay three talents thirty minas of lead as the (redemption) price for her, or if he wishes, they may take his wife away. However, if the master of the house knew that the seignior’s wife was staying in his house with his wife, he shall pay the (extra) third. However, if he has denied (it) by declaring, “I did not know (it),” they shall go to the river (for the water ordeal). However, if a man in whose house the (other) man’s wife was staying has turned back from the river, he shall pay the (extra) third; if the seignior whose wife deserted him has turned back from the river, he is quit since he fulfilled the total (requirement) for the river (ordeal). However, if the seignior whose wife deserted him does not cut off (the ears of) his wife (and) takes her back, there is no punishment at all.

25: If a woman is living in her father’s house and her husband is dead, since the brothers of her husband have as yet made no division (of the estate) and she has no son, the brothers of her husband, having made no division, shall take whatever ornaments her husband bestowed on her (and) are not lost; they shall have whatever remains submitted to the gods (and then) make claim (and) take (it); they shall not be forced to take the river (ordeal) or the oath.

26: If a woman is living in her father’s house and her husband is dead, if her husband has sons, they shall take whatever ornaments her husband bestowed on her; if her husband has no sons, she shall take (them) herself.

27: If a woman is living in her father’s house (and) her husband has been coming in frequently, any marriage-gift, which her husband gave her, he may take back as his own, (but) he may not touch what belongs to her father’s house.

28: When a widow has entered a seignior’s house (as wife) and she has her infant son with her, if he has grown up in her (second) husband’s house but no deed of adoption for him was written, he shall not receive a portion from the estate of his foster father (and) he shall not be liable for debts; he shall receive a portion according to his title from the estate of his real father.

29: If a woman has entered her husband’s house, her dowry and whatever she brought from her father’s house or what her father-in-law gave her on her entry are vested in her sons, with her father-in-law’s sons having no claim to (them); however, if her husband cut her off, he may give what he chooses to his sons.

30: If a father has conveyed (or) brought the betrothal-gift to the house of his son’s (prospective) father-in-law, with the woman not yet married to his son and another son of his, whose wife is living in her father’s house, died, he shall give his dead son’s wife in marriage to his other son to whose father-in-law he brought (the gift); if the girl’s master, who has received the gift, is not willing to give up his daughter, if he wishes, the father who brought the gift may take his (prospective) daughter-in-law (and) marry (her) to his son; however, if he wishes, he may take back in full as much as he brought: lead, silver, gold, (and) what is not edible, (but) with no claim to what is edible.

31: If a seignior brought the betrothal-gift to his (prospective) father-in-law’s house and his (prospective) wife died, with his (prospective) father-in-law having other daughters, if the father-in-law wishes, he may marry a(nother) daughter of his father-in-law in place of his dead wife; or, if he wishes, he may take back the money which he gave, (but) they shall not give back to him either grain or sheep or anything edible; he shall receive only the money.

32: If a woman is still living in her father’s house and her marriage-gift has been given (to her), whether she is taken or is not taken to her father-in-law’s house, she shall be liable for the debts, misdemeanors, and crimes of her husband.

33: If a woman is still living in her father’s house, her husband died and she has sons, (she shall live where she chooses in) a house of theirs. (If) she has no [son, her father-in-law shall marry her to the son] of his choice . . . or if he wishes, he may give her in marriage to her father-in-law. If her husband and her father-in-law are both dead and she has no son, she becomes a widow; she may go where she wishes.

12 Lit. “betaken herself away from the face of her husband.”
13 This term may indicate a status lower than that of seignior, or the status of citizen in contrast with that of foreigner.
14 i.e. divorce her.
15 i.e. he shall pay 1½ times the marriage-price.
17 Lit. “his begetter.”
18 Lit. “the principal.”
for two years, she becomes a wife; she need not leave. To live with the man of her choice; her husband. If she has sons (and) they hire themselves out for five years (and) not go to live with a(nother) husband. If she has sons (and) they hire themselves out having even an ear of grain brought to her from the field, that woman shall remain true to her husband the woman, anything at all that he brings becomes wholly the woman's.

If a woman is still living in her father's house or her husband made her live apart and her husband has gone off to the fields, without leaving her either oil or wool or clothing or food or anything at all (and) without having even an ear of grain brought to her from the field, that woman shall remain true to her husband for five years (and) not go to live with a(nother) husband. If she has sons (and) they hire themselves out and earn their living, the woman shall wait for her husband (and) not go to live with a(nother) husband. If she has no sons, she shall wait for her husband for five years; on the advent of the sixth year she may go to live with the man of her choice; her husband upon coming back may not claim her; she is free for her later husband. If upon coming back he can prove that he was delayed beyond the period of five years (and) did not keep himself away of his own accord, since either an adversary seized him and he had to flee or he was seized as a miscreant and so has been delayed, he shall give a woman equivalent to his wife and take back his wife. However, if the king has sent him to another country (and) he has been delayed beyond the period of five years, his wife shall wait for him (and) not go to live with a(nother) husband. However, if she has gone to live with a(nother) husband before the five years and has also borne children, her husband upon coming back shall get her back and her children as well because she did not respect the marriage-contract but got married.

If a seignior wishes to divorce his wife, if it is his will, he may give her something; if it is not his will, he need not give her anything; she shall go out empty.

If a woman is still living in her father's house and her husband has divorced her, he may take back the ornaments which he himself bestowed on her; he may not claim the marriage-price which he brought since it is vested in the woman.

If a seignior has given one not his daughter to a husband, if, her father being previously in debt (and) she made to live as a pledge, the earlier creditor has come forward, he shall be reimbursed for the value of the woman by the one who gave the woman (in marriage); if he has nothing to give, the seignior shall take the one who gave (her in marriage); but, if she was treated with cruelty, she is quit of the one who (so) treated her. However, if the seignior who became the husband of the woman, whether they have induced him to write a tablet or they have received a guarantee from him, makes restitution for the value of the woman, then the one who gave (her in marriage) is quit.

Neither wives of seigniors nor [widows] nor [Assyrian women], who go out on the street [may have] their heads [uncovered]. The daughters of a seignior whether it is a shawl or a robe or [a mantle], must veil themselves; [they must not have] their heads [uncovered]. Whether or or or they must [not veil themselves, but] when they go out on the street alone, they must veil themselves. A concubine who goes out on the street with her mistress must veil herself. A sacred prostitute whom a man married must veil herself on the street, but one whom a man did not marry must have her head uncovered on the street; she must not veil herself. A harlot must not veil herself; her head must be uncovered; he who has seen a harlot veiled must arrest her, produce witnesses, (and) bring her to the palace tribunal; they shall not take her jewelry away, (but) the one who arrested her may take her clothing; they shall fling her fifty (times) with staves (and) pour pitch on her head. However, if a seignior has seen a harlot veiled and has let (her) go without bringing her to the palace tribunal, they shall fling that seignior fifty (times) with staves; his prosecutor shall take his clothing; they shall pierce his ears, thread (them) with a cord, (and) tie (it) at his back, (and) he shall do the work of the king for one full month. Female slaves must not veil themselves and he who has seen a female slave veiled must arrest her (and) bring her to the palace tribunal; they shall cut off her ears (and) the one who arrested her shall take her clothes. If a seignior has seen a female slave veiled and has let her go without arresting her (and) bringing her to the palace tribunal, when they have prosecuted him (and) convicted him, they shall fling him fifty (times) with staves; they shall fling his ears, thread (them) with a cord, (and) tie (it) at his back; his prosecutor shall take his clothes (and) he shall do the work of the king for one full month.

If a seignior wishes to veil his concubine, he shall have five (or) six of his neighbors present (and) veil her in their presence (and) say, "She is my wife," (and so) she becomes his wife. A concubine who was not veiled in the presence of the men, whose husband did not say, "She is my wife," is not a wife; she is still a concubine. If a seignior died (and) his veiled wife has no sons, the sons by concubines become (legitimate) sons; they shall receive a share (of the estate).

If a seignior poured oil on the head of a(nother) seignior's daughter on a holiday or brought betrothal-

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21 Lit. "captive woman," the fate of whom was to become a concubine or secondary wife.
22 Reading i-ta-ar-ri for i-ta-ar-ri.
23 Lit. "to the mouth of the palace."
24 In this section we have a mixture of casuistic and apodictic law, just as we have in Hebrew legislation; see also Tablet A, §§57-59; Tablet B, §§6; Code of Hammurabi, §§36, 38-40; and the Neo-Babylonian Laws. Hence those scholars are clearly wrong who say that apodictic law was unique and original with the Hebrews.
43: If the seignior either poured oil on (her) head or brought betrothal-presents (and) the son to whom he assigned the wife either died or fled, he may give (her) to whichever he wishes of his remaining sons from the oldest son to the youngest son who is at least ten years old. If the father died and the son to whom he assigned the wife also died, but the dead son has a son who is at least ten years old, he shall marry (her), but if the grandsons are younger than ten years, the girl's father, if he wishes, may give his daughter (to one of them); or if he wishes, he may make an equitable return (of the gifts). If there is no son, he shall return in full as much as he received, precious stones and whatever is not edible, but he need not return what is edible.

44: If there is an Assyrian man or if there is an Assyrian woman who is living in a seignior's house as a pledge for as much as his value (or) he was taken for the total value, when he deserves it, he (the seignior) may pull out (his hair); he may mutilate his ears by piercing (them).

45: When a woman has been given (in marriage) and the enemy has captured her husband, if she has no father-in-law and no son, she shall remain true to her husband for two years. During those two years, if she has not sufficient to live on, she shall come forward and (so) declare; she shall become a ward of the palace; her . . . shall support her (and) she shall do his work. [If she is the wife] of a peasant, . . . [shall support her (and) she shall do his work]. However, [if her husband held] a field and [a house as a fief in his city], she shall come forward [and say to the judges], ["I have nothing] to live on"; the judges shall inquire of the mayor (and) elders of the city (and) since he held a field in that city as a fief, they shall acquire the field and house for two years for her support (and) give (them) to her; she shall live (there) and they shall draw up her lease; she shall complete two years (and then) she may go to live with the husband of her choice, (and) they shall write a tablet for her as a widow. If in later days her missing husband has returned home, he may take back his wife who was married to an outsider; he may not claim the sons whom she bore to her later husband, but her later husband shall take (them). The field and house which were leased to an outsider at the total value as her support, if he did not re-enter the armed service of the king, he shall pay for and take over (on the same terms) as they were leased. However, if he has not returned (but) died in another land, the king shall allocate his field and house where he wishes to allocate (them).

46: If a woman whose husband died does not wish to leave her house on her husband's death, if her husband assigned her nothing in writing, she shall live in a house of her sons where she chooses; her husband's sons shall support her; they shall make a contract with her for her food and drink as for a bride whom they love. If she is a later (wife and) has no sons, she shall live with one (of her husband's sons, and) they shall support her in common; if she has sons (and) the sons of the earlier (wife) are not willing to support her, she shall live in a house of her own sons where she chooses; it is her own sons who shall support her and she shall do their work. However, if there was actually one among her husband's sons who married her, it is the one who married her [that shall support her]; her own sons need not support her.

47: If either a man or a woman made up magical preparations and they were found in their possession, when they have prosecuted them (and) convicted them, they shall put the maker of the magical preparations to death. The man who saw the making of the magical preparations (or) heard (of it) from the mouth of an eyewitness who declared to him, "I myself have seen (it)," shall come forward as an earwitness (and) so declare to the king; if the eyewitness has denied to the king what he said, he shall declare in the presence of the Bull-god, the son of Shamash, "He did indeed say (it)," (and then) he is quit. As for the eyewitness who made a statement and then denied (it), the king shall interrogate him as he is able (and) investigate his past; when the exorcist is brought, he shall make the man speak and he himself shall say, "He (the king) will not absolve you from the oath which you were made to swear to the king and his son; it is in accordance with the wording of the tablet which you were made to swear to the king and his son that you are sworn."

48: If a seignior, whose debtor's daughter is living in his house as (pledge for) a debt, asks her father, he may give her to a husband, (but) if her father is not willing, he may not give (her). If her father is dead, he shall ask one of her brothers and the latter shall speak to her (other) brothers; if a brother says, "I will redeem my sister within one full month," if he does not redeem her within one full month, the creditor, if he wishes, may declare her quit (of all claim and) give her to a husband. [However, if he wishes, he may] sell her [in accordance with] the terms [of his contract . . . her . . . them . . . them . . . him.

49: . . . as a brother . . . However, if the harlot died, because her brothers (so) declare, her . . . shall divide a share as a brother with the brothers of their mother.

50: [If a seignior] struck a(nother) seignior's [wife] and caused her to have [a miscarriage], they shall treat [the wife of the seignior], who caused the (other) seignior's wife to [have a miscarriage], as he treated her; he shall compensate for her fetus with a life. However, if that woman died, they shall put the seignior to death; he shall compensate for her fetus with a life. But, when that woman's husband has no son, if someone struck her so that she had a miscarriage, they shall put the striker to death; even if her fetus is a girl, he shall compensate with a life.

Lit. "her tablet."

Lit. "to the land."

51: If a seignior struck a (nother) seignior's wife who does not rear her children and caused her to have a miscarriage, this punishment (shall hold): he shall pay two talents of lead.

52: If a seignior struck a harlot and caused her to have a miscarriage, they shall inflict blow for blow upon him; he shall compensate with a life.

53: If a woman has had a miscarriage by her own act, when they have prosecuted her (and) convicted her, they shall impale her on stakes without burying her. If she died in having the miscarriage, they shall impale her on stakes without burying her. If someone hid that woman when she had the miscarriage [without] informing [the king]....

54: (only a few signs preserved)

55: In the case of a seignior's daughter, a virgin who was living in her father's house, whose [father] had not been asked (for her in marriage), whose hymen had not been opened since she was not married, and no one had a claim against her father's house, if a seignior took the virgin by force and ravished her, either in the midst of the city or in the open country or at night in the street or in a granary or at a city festival, the father of the virgin shall take the wife of the virgin's ravisher and give her to be ravished; he shall not return her to her husband (but) take her; the father may give his daughter who was ravished to her ravisher in marriage. If he has no wife, the ravisher shall give the (extra) third in silver to her father as the value of a virgin (and) her ravisher shall marry her (and) not cast her off. If the father does not (so) wish, he shall receive the (extra) third for the virgin in silver (and) give his daughter to whom he wishes.

56: If the virgin has given herself to the seignior, the seignior shall (so) swear and they shall not touch his wife; the seducer shall give the (extra) third in silver to her father as the value of a virgin (and) the father shall treat his daughter as he wishes.

57: Whether it is flogging or... [of] a seignior's wife [that] is prescribed [on] the tablet, [let it be done in the presence of the judges].

58: In all penalties, [whether tearing out (the eyes) or] cutting off (the ears) of [a seignior's wife], let the official be informed [and let him come] (and do) as [it is prescribed on the tablet].

59: Apart from the penalties for [a seignior's wife] which [are prescribed] on the tablet, [when she deserves it], a seignior may pull out (the hair of) his wife, mutilate (or) twist her ears, with no liability attaching to him.

The month of Sha-sarate, the 2nd day, the eponymy of Sagiui.

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1: [If brothers divide the estate of their father... the orchards and wells on] the land, [the oldest son] shall choose (and) take two portions [as his share29] and then his brothers one after the other shall choose (and) take (theirs). The youngest son shall divide up any cultivated land along with all the (produce of their) labors; the oldest son shall choose (and) take one portion and then cast lots with his brothers for his second portion.

2: If one among brothers who have not divided (the inheritance) took a life, they shall give him up to the next-of-kin; if he chooses, the next-of-kin may put him to death, or if he chooses, he may be willing to settle [and] take his share.

3: If one among brothers who have not divided (the inheritance) uttered treason or ran away, the king (shall deal) with his share as he thinks fit.

4: [If, when brothers are in (joint occupation of) an undivided field, one brother among them... cultivated field... one brother] has come forward (and) [taken the grain] of his brother's tillage [for] the second time, when they have prosecuted him (and) convicted him, [the brother who cultivated the field] shall take [his share] as soon as the former comes forward.

5: [If, when brothers are in (joint occupation of) an undivided field, one brother among them] dug up [the field with spades]... [and... has come forward.]

6:... he shall acquire by purchase.30 Before he acquires the field [and] house by purchase, he shall have the herald make proclamation within the city of Ashur (if the property is there) three times during one full month (or) he shall have (him) make proclamation three times within the city of the field and house that he is about to acquire, saying, "I am about to acquire by [purchase] the field and house of so-and-so, the son of so-and-so, in the precincts of this city; let those who have a claim to possession produce their deeds, lay (them) before the registrars, set forth their claim, show a clear title, and take (the property). Those who have produced their deeds for me during this one full month, while there is still time without forgetting it, (and) have placed (them) before the registrars—(such) person is secured to the extent of his field (and) shall take (it)." When the herald has made proclamation within the city of Ashur, one of the ministers (who stands) before the king, the city-clerk, the herald, and the king's registrars shall convene—in the case of another city where he is about to acquire a field and house, the mayor (and) three elders of the city shall convene—they shall have the herald make proclamation; they shall write their tablets (and) deliver (them), saying, "During this one full month the herald has made proclamation three times. He who has not produced his deed during this one full month (and) laid (it) before the registrars lost title to31 the field and house; they are free to him who had the herald make proclamation." Three...
tables containing the herald’s proclamation belonging to the judges they shall write; one [tablet] the registrars.

7: [If a seignior destroyed the house of his neighbor,]...as much as [the owner of the house] claims...for...and the value of the house...which he destroyed...twofold on the value of the house...he shall give to the owner of the house;...for the one talent of lead they shall flog him five (times) [with staves] (and) he shall do the work of the king for one [full] month.

8: If a seignior has encroached on the more important bounded property4 of his neighbor, when they have prosecuted him (and) convicted him, he shall give up one-third as much field as he encroached on; they shall cut off one finger of his; they shall flog him one hundred (times) with staves (and) he shall do the work of the king for one full month.

9: If a seignior infringed upon the less important bounded property9 of his neighbor, when they have prosecuted him (and) convicted him, he shall pay one talent of lead (and) give up one-third as much field as he encroached on; they shall flog him fifty (times) with staves (and) he shall do the work of the king for one full month.

10: If a seignior dug a well (or) constructed a dike in a field not his, he lost title to his well (or) his dike; they shall flog him thirty (times) with [staves] (and) [he shall do] the work of the king for twenty days. The encroachment on the ground...in the...the dike...he shall swear,...I did...I did not...the well; I did not...the dike"; the owner of the field...in...the well...and...

11:...and...a creditor...to do...or...the creditor...the tablets...the produce of the labors...to do...the field...to the creditor...he shall give.

12: If a seignior set out an orchard, [dug] a well, (or) grew trees in [his neighbor’s] field, with the owner of the field looking on (and) not [objecting], the orchard is free to the one who set it out, (but) he shall give field for field to the owner of the orchard-ground.

13: If a seignior either set out an orchard or dug a well or grew vegetables or trees on ground not his, when they have prosecuted him (and) convicted him, as soon as the owner of the field comes forward, he shall take the orchard together with (the produce of ) his labors.

14: If a seignior set up brick-molds on ground not his and made bricks, when they have prosecuted him (and) convicted him, he shall give up one-third as much ground (and) they shall appropriate his bricks; they shall flog him fifty (times) with staves (and) he shall do the work of the king [for one full month].

15: [If a seignior]...on ground not his (and) made bricks, they shall appropriate [his bricks]; they shall flog him [fifty times with staves] (and) he shall do [the work of the king for one full month].

16: (not preserved)

17: [If there is] water on the land [which can] be brought39 on to the irrigated land in order to prepare (it), the owners of the fields shall assist one another; each shall do the work to the extent of his field (and) irrigate his field. However, if there is no cooperation among them, the cooperative one among them shall apply to the judges (and) procure the judges' written order,40 and then he may do the work, take that water for himself (and) irrigate his field, with no one else irrigating (from it).

18: If there is rain water39 which can be brought on to the irrigated land in order to prepare (it), the owners of the fields shall assist one another; each shall do the work to the extent of his field (and) irrigate his field. However, if there is no cooperation among them and the cooperative one among them receives the judges' written order against the uncooperative ones, the mayor and five elders [of the city shall convene]...they shall flog him [fifty (times) with staves] (and) he shall do [the work of the king for one full month].

19: [If a seignior] wishes to cultivate his neighbor's field, and an official hindered him (and) invoked the oath by the king against him, and yet he cultivated it, when the owner of the field has come forward, the cultivator of the field shall cut [the grain] at the time for harvesting, thresh it, store [the impost] in a public granary, convert [the field] into a pasturage, (and) [in accordance with] the yield of the city fields he shall give [a double] portion [to the owner] of the field.

20: [If a seignior]...in a field not his, surrounded (it) with a boundary-wall, set up a boundary-stone (and) declared, “The field was a gift,” when they have prosecuted him (and) convicted him, ....

TABLET C + G

1:...their master...and if the taker...which I redeemed...[he shall compensate for the male slave at the rate of]...talents of lead (and) for the female slave at the rate of four talents of lead. .... However, if the receiver declares,...he shall (so) swear in the presence of god and he shall take as much as ... .

2: [If a seignior sold] to another seignior [either a man of the aristocracy] or a woman of the aristocracy40 who was living [in his house] as (security for) money or as [a pledge, or] he sold [anyone else] who was living in his house, [when they have prosecuted him], he shall forfeit41 his money; he shall give [his equivalent in accordance with his value to] the owner of the

4 Lit. "can come."
41 Lit. "tablet."
39 Lit. "tablet."
38 Schroeder, KAP, No. 6, pp. 20 f., plus No. 143, p. 89. The two tablets are combined by Weidner, op. cit., Tafel 25, No. 1.
40 Lit. "the son of a seignior or the daughter of a seignior," where "son" and "daughter" are used in a technical sense, meaning one who belongs to the class of seigniors.
41 Lit. "his hand shall go up from."
property; they shall flog him . . . (times) [with staves] (and) he shall do the work of the king for twenty days.

3: [If a seignior] sold into another country [either a man of the aristocracy] or a woman of the aristocracy who was living in his house as (security for) money or as a pledge, [when they have prosecuted him] (and) convicted him, he shall forfeit his money; he shall give [his equivalent in accordance with his value to] the owner of the property; they shall flog him . . . (times) [with staves] (and) he shall do the work of the king for forty days. [If the man that he sold] died in the other owner of the property; they shall flog him . . . (times) [with staves] (and) he shall give [his equivalent in accordance with his value to] the owner of the property; they shall flog him . . . (times) [with staves] (and) he shall do the work of the king for twenty days.

4: [If a seignior] sold [either an ox or] an ass or a horse or any beast not [his own which] was stabled in his house [as a pledge], he shall give [a beast like it in value], [but] he need not return the money. If [he did not give] a beast, he shall forfeit [his money]; the owner of the property whose [beast] was stabled [in the seignior's house] shall seize his beast, while the receiver [of] the beast [shall be reimbursed] for his money by the seller.

5: [If a seignior], upon stealing either an ox or an ass or a horse [or any other beast] from the pasture, [sold it] to a(nother) seignior at the proper price and the purchaser [paid the proper] price without knowing [that it was stolen], should it be found [in his possession], the seller shall compensate [in full] for the thing stolen, as much as it turned out to be.

6: [When a seignior found either a] . . . or a beast or anything else [that was lost] and witnesses [saw it, if the seignior sold it and] the owner of that property recognized [his property] in the possession of [the purchaser] (and) seized (it), but the seignior [declared, "I purchased it," the owner of the property shall [not] take his property [from his hand; he shall give it back] and get (it) from the hand of the seller and . . . [Furthermore, the seignior] who bought the property and from whose hand [the owner of the property did take his property shall be reimbursed] by the seignior who sold (it) to him. [If the seller declares, "I did not [know] that his property was lost," the witnesses who saw (it) shall prosecute [him]. . . .

6a: . . . he shall take and . . . which for money . . . two goats to the owner of the silver . . . has come forward and whatever . . . he shall not take from him.

7: [If there was a] . . . or anyone who was living [in the house of] an Assyrian as a pledge [or as (security for) money] and the time expired . . . if he . . . the money for as much as his value, he shall take . . .; if he did not . . . his money value . . . he shall acquire and take . . . he shall make known; the principal of the money . . . there is not.

8: [If a seignior stole a] . . . or a beast or anything else, when they have prosecuted him (and) convicted him, he shall pay . . . [minas of lead; they shall flog him fifty (times) with staves (and) he shall do [the work of the king for . . . days]. The judges of the land [shall give] this judgment. [If the stolen] (property) has reached [the value of] . . . [minas of lead] and [he has sold] the stolen (property), as much as he stole, [for the full price], small or great, the king shall inflict on him such [punishment] as he thinks fit.

9: [If, when a seignior] entrusted everything of every sort [either to his wife] or to a slave, [something from the house] was placed in deposit elsewhere [and the receiver], in whose house the deposit was made, did not report [the deposit to the seignior], who entrusted his house, [and the property] was found [in] his possession, [the owner of the property shall take his property], while that seignior shall be liable for the stolen (property).

10: [If a seignior] has overvalued [a trust] from his neighbor (and) has put (it) in writing, when they have prosecuted him (and) convicted him, since he is a thief, (he shall bear) the punishment which the king, [as he thinks fit], inflicts on him.

11: [If a seignior] has overvalued . . . (and) has put (it) in writing [so as to] make the creditors lose [their money], when they have prosecuted him (and) convicted him, [because] he wrote down [too large an amount], they shall flog him . . . (times) with staves . . . the hand of the creditors . . . the clerk and . . .
beast which he sold...[since he is a thief], they shall mutilate his face; they shall.

TABLET K

1:...and he himself.
2:...of the king you must not [take...]bail in
money from...you must not take; bail...you must
not take; bail.
3:...silver let him produce, any falling off before
...let him pass over, let him...these...of silver and
his quota...

TABLET L

1:...from him...you must not take.
2:...to the burgher...which was established.
3:...bribed a citizen of his land and...when
they have prosecuted him (and) convicted him,
...he shall complete it and...
4:...of the judge his debtor to his house...
the debtor need not repay the...of the judge; if...
which his plaintiff.
5:...which he keeps...the bribe...to...

TABLET M

1:...on his own initiative..."Sell (it) to me,"
...it sank...whether it sank or was altered...they
must make good the boat with its cargo...or they
shall compensate that person who has laid claim to the
boat...; the boatman who...did not swear by the
king shall not be reinstated.
2:...a boat whether it was drifting down-
stream" crossing from one bank to the other, with
the current...carelessly rammed a loaded boat and has
sunk (it) [or...rammed an empty boat and [has
sunk it], as much cargo as was lost...
3:...a seignior], while [he was making] a journey,
gave clothing to a clothier to wash [and when he re-
turned the clothier] declared, "It is lost," [he shall make
good] in full to the owner of the clothing whatever
clothing was lost. However, if he sold (it) and it has
been heard of [in the city, when they have prosecuted
him] and convicted him, [or] it was found [in the
possession of the purchaser], the seignior's...[shall
make]...fold [restitution] for the stolen (property).

TABLET N

1:...a seignior [said] to a(nother) seignior...in a
brawl, "You uttered blasphemy...and you have
profaned the temple of god,...they shall flog him...times with staves..."
2:...a seignior [said] to a(nother) seignior...in a
brawl, "You uttered blasphemy...and you have
profaned the temple of god,...since he is not [able
to prosecute (him) and did not prosecute (him), they
shall flog] that seignior [forty (times) with staves (and)
he shall do the work of the king] for one [full] month.

TABLET O

1:...prescribed...for his sons, they shall
do...
2:...his mind was changed...his house he does
not determine...which they did...
3:...on the days...the houses which...the
male slaves...and the orchards...after this...the
tables which...and the witnesses as many as...
4:...divide] the estate of [their] father...the
orchards and the wells [on the land, the oldest son
shall choose (and) take two] portions [and then his
brothers one] after the other shall choose (and) [take
(theirs). The youngest son shall divide up any] cul-
tivated land [along with all] the (produce of their)
labor; [the oldest son shall choose (and) take one
portion and then cast lots with his brothers for his second
portion].
5:...their [fem.] water...they shall
make claim and give.
6:...If there is water on the land in [the wells which
can be brought on to the irrigated land in order to prepare
(it)], the owners [of the fields shall assist one another];
each shall do the work [to the extent of his field] (and)
irrigate his field. [However, if] there is no cooperation
[among them, the cooperative one among them] shall
apply to [the judges] (and) procure the [judges'] written
order, [and then he may do the work, take] that
water for [himself (and) irrigate his field, with no one
else irrigating (from it)].
7:...his freedom...he cut off, he shall pay one
mina of silver...he shall pay...minas of silver...
...he shall pay four qu...by proper reckoning...they
shall take.

The Hittite Laws
(Translator: Albrecht Goetze)

The laws, as they have come down to us, represent two
tablets of a series called "If anyone." A label which is accidentally
preserved (ABoT, 52) proves that—possibly in a different
arrangement—there existed a third tablet.

The standard translation is now J. Friedrich, Die hethitischen
Gesetze (Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui, viii,
1953). Note the critical reviews by H. G. Gitterbock, JCS, xv
(1961), 62-78, xvi (1962), 17-23, and by A. Kammenhuber,
BiOr, xviii (1961), 77-81, 124-27. Additional fragments not
included by Friedrich appeared as KB, xi, 48 and 49, and in
AJO, xxi (1966), 1-12.

Other independent translations were presented by the follow-
ing authors: F. Hrozny, Code Hittite provenant de l'Asie
Mineure (1922); A. Walther in J.M.P. Smith, The Origin and
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TABLET I

1: If anyone kills a man or a woman in a quarrel, he
shall be declared liable for him/her. He shall give four
persons, man or woman, and pledge his estate as
security.

2: If anyone kills a male or a female slave in a quarrel,
his estate as security. He shall give security.

3: If anyone strikes a free man or woman and he/she
dies, (only) his hand doing wrong, he shall be declared
liable for him/her. He shall give two persons and
pledge his estate as security.

4: If anyone strikes a male or a female slave and
he/she dies, (only) his hand doing wrong, he shall be
liable for him/her. He shall give one person and pledge
his estate as security.

Later version of 3 and 4: [If anyone strikes a woman
and she dies, (only) his hand doing wrong, he shall give
shekels of silver; but if the woman is a slave, he
shall give 2 minas of silver.

5: If anyone kills a Hittite merchant, he shall give 100
minas of silver and pledge his estate as security. If (it
happens) in the country of Luwiya or in the country of
Pala, he shall give 100 minas of silver and replace his
goods; if (it happens) in the Hatti land, he shall be
declared liable for the merchant himself.

Later version of 5: If anyone kills a Hittite merchant
for (his) goods, he shall give [x minas of silver] and
shall make threefold compensation for (his) goods. [If]
he had no goods with him, and anyone kills him in a
quarrel, he shall give 6 minas of silver. But if (only)
the hand is doing wrong, he shall give 2 minas of silver.

6: If a person, man or woman, dies in another town,
his estate as security. He shall give 6 shekels of silver.

Later version of 6: If a man dies on the field (or)
fallow of another man, in case he is a free man, he
shall give field (and) fallow, house (and) 1 mina (and) 20
shekels of silver.* But if there is no other man's field
(and) fallow, a distance of three leagues in one direction
and (a distance) of three leagues in the other direction
shall be taken) and whatever village is found to fall
within it, he shall take care of him. He shall give 2
shekels of silver. But in case he is temporarily crippled.

7: If anyone blinds a free man or knocks out his teeth,
they would formerly give 1 mina of silver, now he shall
give 20 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

8: If anyone blinds a male or female slave or knocks
out his/her teeth, he shall give 10 shekels of silver and
pledge his estate as security.

Later version of 7 and 8: If anyone blinds a free man
in a quarrel, he shall give 1 mina of silver. If (only)
his hand does wrong, he shall give 20 shekels of silver.—
If anyone blinds a slave in a quarrel, he shall give 30 (?)
shekels of silver. If (only) his hand is doing wrong, he
shall give 10 shekels of silver.—If anyone knocks out
the teeth of a free man, in case he knocks out 2 teeth
or 3 teeth, he shall give 12 shekels of silver. If it is a
slave, he shall give 6 shekels of silver.

9: If anyone batters a man's head, they would for-
merly give 6 shekels of silver; he who was battered
would receive 3 shekels of silver, and they would re-
ceive 3 shekels of silver for the palace. Now the king
has abolished the (share) of the palace and only he who
was battered receives 3 shekels of silver.

Later version of 9: If anyone batters a man's head,
the battered shall receive 3 shekels of silver.

10: If anyone batters a man so that he falls ill, he
shall take care of him. He shall give a man in his stead
who can look after his house until he recovers. When
he recovers, he shall give him 6 shekels of silver, and he
shall also pay the physician's fee.

Later version of 10: If anyone injures a free man's
head, he shall take care of him. He shall give a man in
his stead who can look after his house until he re-
coers. When he recovers, he shall give him 10 shekels
of silver, and he shall also pay the physician's fee. If
it is a slave, he shall pay 2 shekels of silver.

11: If anyone breaks a free man's hand or foot, he
shall give him 20 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as
security.

12: If anyone breaks the hand or foot of a male or a
female slave, he shall give 10 shekels of silver and pledge
his estate as security.

Later version of 11 and 12: If anyone breaks a free
man's hand or foot, in case he is permanently crippled,
he shall give him 20 shekels of silver. But in case he is
not permanently crippled, he shall give him 10 shekels
of silver.—If anyone breaks a slave's hand or foot, in
case he is permanently crippled, he shall give him 10
shekels of silver. But in case he is not permanently
crippled, he shall give him 5 shekels of silver.

13: If anyone bites off a free man's nose, he shall give
1 mina of silver and pledge his estate as security.

Later version of 13: If anyone bites off a free man's
nose, he shall give 30 shekels (!) of silver and pledge
his estate as security.

14: If anyone bites off the nose of a male or female
slave, he shall give 30 (?) shekels of silver and pledge
his estate as security.

Later version of 14: If anyone bites off a slave's
nose, he shall give 15 shekels (!) of silver.

15: If anyone tears off a free man's ear, he shall give
15 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

Later version of 15: If anyone tears off a free man's
car, he shall give 12 shekels of silver.

16: If anyone tears off the ear of a male or female
slave, he shall give 6 shekels of silver.

Later version of 16: If anyone tears off the ear of a male
slave, he shall give 12 shekels of silver.

* A measure, probably a cubit.
2 i.e. the heir.
**Later version of 16:** If anyone tears off a slave's ear, he shall give 6 shekels of silver.

17: If anyone causes a free woman to miscarry—if (it is) the 10th month, he shall give 10 shekels of silver, if (it is) the 5th month, he shall give 5 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

**Later version of 17:** If anyone causes a free woman to miscarry, if (it is) the 10th month, he shall give 5 shekels of silver.

18: If anyone causes a slave-woman to miscarry, if (it is) the 10th month, he shall give 5 shekels of silver.

**Later version of 18:** If anyone causes a slave-girl to miscarry, he shall give 10 shekels of silver.

19 (A): If any Luwian steals a person—man or woman—from Hattusa and carries him to the country of Arzawa, but his master traces him out, he shall be declared liable for his estate. (B): If in Hattusa any Hittite steals a Luwian and carries him to the country of Luwia, they would formerly give 12 persons, now abandoned the (share) of the palace, and only the man shall get his children.

20: If any Hittite steals a Hittite slave from the country of Luwia and carries him to the Hatti land, but his master traces him out, he shall give him 12 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

21: If anyone steals the slave of a Luwian from the country of Luwia and carries him to the Hatti land, but his master traces him out, he shall give him 12 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

22: If a slave runs away and anyone brings him back—if he seizes him in the vicinity, he shall give him shoes; if on this side of the river, he shall give him 2 shekels of silver; if on the other side of the river, he shall give him 3 shekels of silver.

23: If a slave runs away and goes to the country of Luwia, he shall give to him who brings him back 6 shekels of silver. If a slave runs away and goes to an enemy country, whoever brings him nevertheless back, shall receive him (the slave) himself.

24: If a male or female slave runs away, the man at whose hearth his master finds him/her, shall give him/her wages for 1 year, (namely) $x$ shekels of silver, but a woman's wages for 1 year, (namely) $x^2$ shekels of silver.

25: If a man fouls a storage vessel or a cistern, they would formerly give 6 shekels of silver; he who fouled would give 3 shekels of silver and for the palace they would take at random 3 shekels of silver. The king has now abandoned the (share) of the palace, and only the one who fouled gives 3 shekels of silver and pledges his estate as security.

26: (preserved only in traces)

26 (A): If a woman send away a man, she shall give him... and... The man shall get his children.

26 (B): If a man divorces a woman, and she... he may sell her; whoever [buys her] shall give 12 shekels of silver.

27: If a man takes a wife and carries her to his house, he takes her dowry with her. If the woman dies, they turn her property into (property) of the man, and the man also receives her dowry. But if she dies in the house of her father, and there are children, the man will not receive her dowry.

28: If a girl is promised to a man, but another (man) elopes with her, as soon as he elopes, he shall compensate the first man for whatever he [has given]; her parents will not make any compensation. But if the parents give her to another man, the parents will make compensation. If the parents refuse (to make compensation), they shall withhold her from him.

29: If a girl is betrothed to a man and he has given the bride-price for her, but the parents subsequently abrogate it (i.e. the contract) and withhold her from the man, they (i.e. the parents) shall make double compensation.

30: If the man has not yet taken the girl and refuses her, he forfeits the bride-price which he has brought.

31: If a free man and a slave-girl (are) lovers and they cohabit, he takes her for his wife, they found a family and have children, but subsequently, either (as) they quarrel or (as) they reach a friendly agreement, they break up the family, the man receives the children, but the woman receives one child.

32: If a slave takes a free woman, the provision of the law is the same for them.

33: If a slave takes a slave-girl, the provision of the law is the same for them.

34: If a slave brings the bride-price for a woman and takes her for his wife, no one shall change her social status.

35: If an overseer or a shepherd elopes with a free woman and does not bring the bride-price for her, she becomes a slave for three years.

36: If a slave brings the bride-price to the son of a free man and takes him as antiyanza, no one shall change her (?) social status.

37: If anyone elopes with a woman and an avenger goes after them, if two men or three men die, there be no compensation (the reason being): "Thou hast become a wolf."

38: If men are implicated in a lawsuit and an avenger comes for them, (if) then the defendants get enraged and (one of them) strikes the avenger so that he dies, there will be no compensation.

39: If the inhabitant of a town has possession of another (inhabitant)’s fields, he shall also perform (the respective) service to the liege lord. If he refuses the socage, he (thereby) gives up the fields, but he must not sell them.

40: If a craftsman disappears (and) a socman is assigned (in his stead), (if) the socman says: “This is my craftsman’s fee, but this (other one) is my socage,” he shall secure for himself a sealed deed concerning the fields; then he has (legal) possession of the craftsman’s socage.

8 Lit.: "makes her run."
8 i.e., the authorities shall withhold the girl from the second man.
7 i.e., son-in-law entering the family of the father-in-law.
8 The implications of this formula are not known.
fee and shall also perform the socage. If he refuses the craftsman’s service, they will declare the fields of the craftsman vacant and the people of the town shall work them. If the king gives deportees, they shall give him the fields and he shall become a (landed) craftsman.

41: If a socman disappears (and) a craftsman is assigned (in his stead), (if) the craftsman says: “This is my craftsman’s fee, but this (other one) is my socage,” he shall secure for himself a sealed deed concerning the fields; then he has (legal) possession of the craftsman’s fee and shall also perform the socage. If he refuses the socage, they take the fields of the socman for the palace, and the socage expires.

42: If anyone hires a man and he goes to war and dies, if the hire has been given, there will be no compensation. If his hire has not been given, he shall give one person and as hire he will give 12 shekels of silver, and as the hire of a woman he will give 6 shekels of silver.

43: If a man customarily fords a river with his ox, another (man) pushes him aside, seizes the tail of the ox and crosses the river, but the river carries the owner of the ox away, they shall receive that very man.

44: If anyone pushes a man into a fire so that he dies, he will give his son. If anyone has performed a rite of purification on a man and disposes of the remnants of the offerings, if he disposes of them in anyone’s field or house, it is sorcery and (a case for the) court of the king.

**Later version of 44**: [ ... ] he shall purify him again. If anything in the house goes wrong, he shall purify him again. For whatever perishes in it, he shall make compensation once.

45: If anyone finds implements, he shall return them to their owner; he shall reward him. If he does not give them (back), he becomes a thief.

**Later version of 45**: If anyone finds implements or an ox, a sheep, a horse (or) an ass, he shall drive it back to its owner and he shall reward him. If he does not find the owner, but secures witnesses for himself, and (if) afterward its owner finds it out, he shall replace for him whatever was destroyed of the respective (property). But if he does not secure witnesses for himself, and afterward its owner finds it out, he shall be considered a thief and shall make threefold compensation.

46: If in a village anyone holds fields under socage as inheritance—if the fields have all been given to him, he shall render the services; if the fields have been given to him only to a small part, he shall not render the services, they shall render them from his father’s house. If he usurps fields of the estate-leaver or the people of the village give a field (to him), he shall render the services.

**Later version of 46**: (The first part is almost identical with the earlier version. The second part is as follows:) If the field (and) fallow of the testator are vacant or the people of the village give him field (and) fallow, he shall render the services.

47: If anyone holds fields as a gift from the king, he shall not render the services. The king will take a loaf from (his) table and give it to him. If anyone buys all the fields of a craftsman, he shall render the services. If he buys a great (part of) the fields, he shall not render the services. If he usurps the fields or the people of the village give them (to him), he shall render the services.

**Later version of 47**: If anyone holds field (and) fallow as a gift from the king and if the king exempts him, he shall not render the services. If anyone buys all the field (and) fallow of a craftsman and the owner of the field (and) fallow perishes, he shall perform the socage which the king imposes upon him. But if the owner of field (and) fallow is alive or the house of the owner of field (and) fallow is continued either in this country or in another country, he shall not perform the socage. If anyone holds field (and) fallow as a gift from the king, he shall render the services connected with the fields. If he is exempted by order of the palace, he shall not render the services. If anyone buys all the fields of a craftsman, they shall ask the king, and he shall perform those services which the king orders. If there remain fields in the hands of the man from whom he buys, he shall not render the services. If field (and) fallow are vacant or the people of the village give it to him, he shall render the services.

48: A hipparas man renders the services, but no one shall transact business with a hipparas man. No one shall buy his son, his field (or) his vineyard. Whoever transacts business with a hipparas man, shall forfeit the purchasing-price. Whatever the hipparas man sold, he shall receive back.

**Later version of 48**: (It is virtually identical with the older version.)

49: If a hipparas man steals, there will be no compensation. If he is considered a felon, the community to which he belongs will make compensation. If one would indict them for theft, all of them were criminals or would have to be considered as thieves. Whether this (man) seize one (of them), or that (man) another, they would ... (a penalty).

50: The people who live in Nerik, in Arinna (and) in Ziplanta, (and) the priests in every town—their houses (shall be) exempt. But their associates shall render the services. The house of a man who stays in Arinna for 11 months, and he at whose gate an eyan is erected, (shall be) free.

51: Formerly the house of a man who had become a weaver in Arinna (was) exempt, also his associates and his relations (were) exempt. Now (only) his own house (is) exempt, but his associates and his relations perform socage and render the services. In Zippalantiya it is just the same.

52: The slave of the seal-house, the slave of a royal prince (and) the master of a ... who hold a field among craftsmen, render the services.

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9 i.e. the authorities of the respective village or town.

10 The following precedes §46 of the later version.

11 The following has its place after §46 of the later version.

12 Otherwise translated by "pole."
53: If a craftsman and his associate live together, but decide when quarrelling to divide their household, if there are on their land ten heads (of slaves), the craftsman receives 7 and his associate receives 3. The cattle (and) sheep on their land they shall divide in the same ratio. If anyone holds a royal gift with (special) deed, —in case they divide an old estate, the craftsman receives 2 parts of the gift and his associate receives one part.

54: Previously the Manda people, the Sala people, the people of the cities Tamalki, Hatra, Zalpa, Tashiniya, Hemuwa, the archers, the carpenters, the grooms and their karubhala men did not render any services and did not perform socage.

55: When the Hittites, socmen, came (to) petition the father of the king and announce: "No one pays any wage and they refuse us (with the words): 'You are (only) socmen,'" the father of the king [rose] in the assembly and declared under his seal: "Go ye! Ye shall be just as your comrades!"

56: No one of the metal workers shall be freed from participating in a royal campaign in a fortress, (and) from cutting a vineyard. The gardeners shall render the full services.

57: If anyone steals a bull—if it is a weanling, it is not a bull; if it is a yearling, it is not a bull; if it is a two-year-old, that is a bull—they would formerly give 30 (head of) cattle. Now they shall give 15 (head of) cattle, (specifically) 5 two-year-olds, 5 yearlings (and) 5 weanlings and he shall pledge his estate as security.

58: If anyone steals a stallion—if it is a weanling, it is not a stallion; if it is a yearling, it is not a stallion; if it is a two-year-old, that is a stallion—they would formerly give 30 (head of) cattle. Now they shall give 15 (head of) cattle, (specifically) 5 two-year-olds, 5 yearlings (and) 5 weanlings and he shall pledge his estate as security.

59: If anyone steals a ram, they used to give formerly 30 sheep. Now he shall give 15 sheep, (specifically) 5 ewes, 5 rams (and) 5 lambs.

60: If anyone finds a bull and removes the brand, (if) its owner traces it out, he shall give 7 (head of) cattle; he shall give (specifically) 2 two-year-olds, 3 yearlings (and) 2 weanlings and he shall pledge his estate as security.

61: If anyone finds a stallion and removes the brand, (if) its owner traces it out, he shall give 7 (head of) cattle; he shall give (specifically) 2 two-year-olds, 3 yearlings (and) 2 weanlings and he shall pledge his estate as security.

62: If anyone finds a ram and removes the brand, (if) its owner traces it out, he shall give 7 sheep; he shall give (specifically) 2 ewes, 3 rams, (and) 2 lambs and he shall pledge his estate as security.

63: If anyone steals a plow-ox, they would formerly give 15 (head of) cattle. Now he shall give 10 (head of) cattle; he shall give (specifically) 3 two-year-olds, 3 yearlings (and) 4 weanlings and he shall pledge his estate as security.

64: If anyone steals a draft horse, its treatment is the same.

65: If anyone steals a tamed buck or a trained wild-goat or tamed mountain sheep, the compensation is as for a buck; and the compensation for it is the same.

66: If a plow-ox or a draft horse or a (milk-giving) cow or a brood ass-mare attaches itself to the corral, or if a tamed buck or a ewe or a ram attaches itself to the fold (and) its owner finds it, he shall receive the respective (animal); there shall be no question of a thief.

67: If anyone steals a cow, they would formerly give 12 (head of) cattle; now he shall give 6 (head of) cattle; he shall give (specifically) 2 two-year-olds, 2 yearlings (and) 2 weanlings and he shall pledge his estate as security.

68: If anyone steals a brood mare, its treatment is the same.

69: If anyone steals a ewe or a ram, they used to give formerly 12 sheep. Now he shall give 6 sheep; he shall give (specifically) 2 ewes, 2 rams (and) 2 lambs and he shall pledge his estate as security.

70: If anyone steals *a* horse, a mule or an ass and its owner traces it out, he shall receive the respective (animal). In addition he (the thief) shall give it a second time and he shall pledge his estate as security.

71: If anyone finds an ox, a horse (or) a mule, he shall drive it to the king's court. If he finds it in the country, the elders may assign it to him and he may harness it. When its owner finds it, he shall receive the respective animal; there shall be no question of a thief. If the elders do not assign it (to him), he becomes a thief.

72: If an ox dies in anyone's field, the owner of the field shall give 2 oxen and pledge his estate as security.

73: If anyone disposes of a living ox (found on his property), he is as if he had committed theft.

74: If anyone breaks the horn or the foot of an ox, he shall receive that (animal) and give one in good condition to the owner of the ox. If the owner of the ox says: "I want to have my own ox," he shall receive his ox and he (i.e. the offender) shall give him 2 shekels of silver.

75: If anyone yokes an ox, a horse, a mule (or) an ass and it dies, or a wolf devours it or it gets lost, he shall give (the value of) the respective animal. But if he contends: "It died by the hand of god," he shall take an oath.

76: If anyone appropriates an ox, a horse, a mule (or) an ass and it dies at his place, he is declared liable for it and he shall pay its hire.

77 (A): If anyone hits a bearing cow and causes it to miscarry, he shall give 2 shekels of silver. If anyone hits a bearing mare and causes it to miscarry, he shall give 2 shekels of silver.

77 (B): If anyone blinds the eye of an ox or a horse, he shall give 6 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

78: If anyone hires an ox, applies to him the lash or the whip and its owner finds him out, he shall give 1 parism of grain.

79: If oxen go upon a field and the owner of the field finds them, he may yoke them for one day till the stars
come out, and shall (then) drive them back to their owner.

80: If anyone throws a sheep to the wolves, its owner shall receive the meat and he himself shall keep the hide.

81: If anyone steals a fattened pig, they would formerly give 1 mina of silver. Now he shall give 12 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

82: If anyone steals an ordinary pig, he shall give 6 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

83: If anyone steals a bearing pig, he shall give 6 shekels of silver. They shall also count the little pigs, and he shall give 1 parasu of grain for each 2 little pigs.

84: If anyone strikes a bearing pig so that it dies, its treatment is the same.

85: If anyone separates a little pig and steals (it), he shall give 1 parasu of grain.

86: If a pig goes to a threshing floor, or a field (or) a garden, and the owner of the threshing floor, the field (or) the garden strikes it so that it dies, he shall return it to its owner. If he does not return it, he becomes a thief.

87: If anyone strikes the dog of a herdsman so that it dies, he shall give 20 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

88: If anyone strikes the dog of a dog fancier so that it dies, he shall give 12 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

89: If anyone strikes an ordinary dog so that it dies, he shall give 6 shekels of silver.

90: If a dog devours pig's lard and the owner of the lard finds him out, he may kill it and recover the lard from its stomach. There will be no compensation.

91: If anyone steals bees from a swarm, they would formerly give 1 mina of silver. Now he shall give 5 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

92: If anyone steals two beehives or three beehives, formerly (it meant exposure to) bee-sting; now he shall give 6 shekels of silver. If anyone steals a beehive while no bees are therein, he shall give 3 shekels of silver.

93: If they seize a free man in (side) an enclosure before he has entered the house, he shall give 12 shekels of silver. If they seize a slave in (side) an enclosure before he has entered the house, he shall give 6 shekels of silver.

94: If a free man steals in a house, he shall give (back) the respective goods; they would formerly give for the theft 1 mina of silver, now he shall give 12 shekels of silver. If he has stolen much, they shall impose a heavy fine upon him; if he has stolen little, they shall impose a small fine upon him. If his master says: "I will make compensation in his stead," he may do so; but if he refuses, he will lose the slave.

95: If anyone steals an ordinary pig, he shall give 6 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

96: If a free man steals in a granary and obtains grain in the granary, he shall fill the granary with grain and give 12 shekels of silver and he shall pledge his estate as security.

97: If a slave steals in a granary and obtains grain in the granary, he shall fill the granary with grain and give 6 shekels of silver and he shall pledge his estate as security.

98: If a free man sets a house on fire, he shall rebuild the house. Whatever was lost in the house, whether it is man, cattle or sheep, he shall replace as a matter of course.

99: If a slave sets a house on fire, his master shall make compensation in his stead. They shall cut off the slave's nose (and) ears and shall give him back to his master. But if he does not make compensation, he will lose that slave.

100: If anyone sets a shed on fire, he shall feed his cattle and be declared liable till spring, he shall (also) give back the shed. If there was no straw therein, he shall just rebuild the shed.

TABLET II

101: If anyone steals vine or fruit branch, or...s, or onions, they would formerly give for 1 vine x shekels of silver, for 1 fruit branch 1 shekel of silver, for 1...x shekel of silver, for 1 bunch of onions 1 shekel of silver, and they would strike him with the spear in the palace. Formerly they proceeded like this. Now he shall give, if a free man, 6 shekels of silver, and if a slave, 3 shekels of silver.

102: If anyone steals timber from a pond—if (it is) 1 talent of wood, (he shall give) 3 shekels of silver; if (it is) 2 talents of wood, he shall give 6 shekels of silver; if (it is) 3 talents of wood, (it is a case for) the court of the king.

103: If anyone steals freshly planted things—if (it is) 1 gipešar14 of planting, he shall replant it and give one shekel of silver; if (it is) 2 gipešar of planting, he shall replant it and give 2 shekels of silver.

104: If anyone cuts down pomegranate trees or medlar trees, he shall give x shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

105: If anyone makes fire in...and (the fire) spreads to a fruit bearing orchard—if vines, fruit trees, pomegranate trees or medlar trees get burnt up, he shall give 6 shekels of silver for each tree; the planting he shall replant and he shall pledge his estate as security. If he is a slave, he shall give 3 shekels of silver.

106: If anyone makes fire on his field and sets another man's bearing field on fire, who set the fire shall take the burnt-over field for himself and give a good field to the owner of the (burnt-over) field and (that man) shall reap it.

13 A measure of capacity.

14 See n.1.
107: If a man turns (his) sheep into a vineyard under cultivation and they ruin it—if (it is) fruit bearing, he shall give 10 shekels of silver for each acre, but if (it is) bare, he shall give 3 shekels of silver.

108: If anyone steals tendrils from a fenced-in vineyard—if (there are) 100 trees, he shall give 6 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security. But if they (are) not fenced-in, and he steals tendrils, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.

109: If anyone disposes of fruit from an irrigated (orchard)—if (there are) 100 trees, he shall give 6 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security. If anyone loads (it) in a cart, leaves it in the fields and (if) anyone steals it, he shall give 3 shekels of silver.

110: If anyone plasters from a bin—however much he steals, he shall give the same amount a second time over.

111: If anyone steals plaster (mud) in [a . . . ], it is sorcery (and a case for) the court of the king.

112: If they give [for . . . ] the field of a craftsman (which produces) grain, for 3 years he shall not perform socage, he will begin to perform socage from the fourth year on, and shall rank with the craftsmen.

113: If anyone cuts down . . . vine, that (man) shall receive the cut-down vine and give a good one to the owner of the vine and he will vindemiate. [Until] that man's vine [recovers, he keeps the offender's vine. Afterward] he takes [his own back].

[several sections mutilated or missing]

119: If anyone steals a bird from a pond or a trained . . . , they would formerly give x shekels of silver. Now he shall give 12 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

120: If anyone steals . . . birds . . . —if (they are) ten birds, he shall give 1 shekel of silver.

121: If anyone, a free man, steals a plow and its owner finds it out, he shall put him upon the . . . and . . . Formerly they proceeded in this way. Now he shall give 6 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security. If he is a slave, he will give 3 shekels of silver.

122: If anyone steals a cart with all its accessories, they would formerly give 1 shekel of silver. . . . Now he gives x shekel of silver and pledges his estate as security.

123: If [anyone steals a . . . , it was formerly considered] a capital crime. [Now . . . ], he shall give three shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

124: If anyone steals a liiyama, he shall give 3 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security. If anyone loads a cart, leaves it in the fields and (if) anyone steals it, he shall give 3 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

125: If anyone steals a water trough, he shall give x shekels of silver. If anyone steals a lash or a whip, he shall give 1 shekel of silver.

126: If anyone steals a sāhrai(-emblem) in the gate of the palace, he shall give 6 shekels of silver. If anyone steals a bronze spear in the gate of the palace, he shall die. If anyone steals a copper nail, he will give one-half pārisu of grain. If anyone steals curtains (to the amount) of 1 (bolt of) cloth, he shall give x bolt of wool cloth.

127: If anyone steals a door in a quarrel, he shall replace everything that may get lost in the house. He will also give 1 mina of silver and pledge his estate as security.

128: If anyone steals bricks—however much he steals, he shall give the same amount a second time over. If anyone steals stones out of a foundation, for two (such) stones he shall give 10 stones. If anyone steals a stone . . . [- ] or a stone harmiyalli, he shall give 2 shekels of silver.

129: If anybody steals the reins, the (leather) annanu . . . , the (leather) gaszimmel (or) the bronze katar of a horse (or) a mule, they would formerly give 1 mina of silver. Now he shall give 12 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

130: If anybody steals the . . . . . . of an ox or a horse, he shall give x shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

131: If anyone steals a (leather) happut . . . , he shall give 6 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

132: If anyone, a free man, steals [a . . . ], he shall give 6 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security. If he is a slave, he shall give 3 shekels of silver.

133: If anyone, a free man, steals [a . . . ], he shall give x shekels of silver. If he is a slave, he shall give x shekels of silver.

(see n.13)
149: If anyone has sold a trained man and (afterward) says: "He has died," but his owner traces him out, he shall receive him. In addition he shall give him 2 persons and pledge his estate as security.

150: If a man hires himself out for wages, his wages for 1 month shall be 1 shekel of silver. If (it is) a woman, her wages for one month shall be 1 shekel of silver.

151: If anyone hires a plow-ox, its hire for 1 month shall be 1 shekel of silver. If anyone hires a [ ... ], its hire for 1 month shall be one-half shekel of silver.

152: If anyone hires a horse, a mule (or) an ass, he shall give (as its hire) for 1 month 1 shekel of silver.

(There is no gap between 152 and 157.)

157: If a bronze axe weighs 3 (?) mina, its rent for 1 month is 1 shekel of silver. If an axe weighs 1 mina of silver, its rent for 1 month is one-half shekel of silver. If a bronze tapulli weighs 1 mina, its rent for 1 month is one-half shekel of silver.

158: If a man hires himself out for the harvest (on the understanding) that he will bind the sheaves, (that) the bound (sheaves) will get on the wagon, (that) he will bring it into the barn and (that) they will clear the threshing floor, his wages for three months shall be 30 pārisu16 of grain. If a woman hires herself out for the harvest, her wages for 2 months shall be 12 pārisu of grain.

159: If anyone yokes a team of oxen for 1 day, its hire shall be one-half pārisu of grain.

160: If a smith makes a box weighing one-half mina, his wages are one and a half pārisu of grain. If he makes an axe of two mina weight, his wages are 1 pārisu of spelt.

161: If he makes an axe of one mina weight, his wages are 1 pārisu of grain.17

162: If anyone diverts a watering ditch, he shall give 1 shekel of silver. ... *163: If anyone's animals are branded and (anyone) else removes the brand and drives them away, (if) he puts them in (as his share) in a company, does not tell his partner and the partner unknowingly drives his (the other man's) animals away and they perish, there shall be compensation.

164: If anyone goes (to a place) to get a pawn, starts a quarrel and spoils either the sacrificial loaf or the wine destined for libations, (16518), he shall give 1 sheep, 10 loaves (and) 1 jug of strong beer and shall make his house holy again. Until a year has elapsed, he shall keep away from his house.

166: If anyone sows seed upon seed, his neck shall be put upon the plow. They shall harness two yokes of oxen and direct the face of one (of them) this way, and the face of the other one that way; the man shall die, and the oxen shall die too. He who sowed the field first, shall take it for himself. Formerly they proceeded thus.

167: Now a sheep is substituted for the man, and two sheep are substituted for the oxen. He shall give 30 loaves of bread (and) 3 jugs of strong beer and shall resanctify it. He who sowed the field first, shall reap it.

168: If anyone violates the boundary of a field and takes a furrow off (the neighbor's field), the owner of the field shall cut 1 gipellar19 of field (from the other's field) and take it for himself. He who violated the boundary, shall give 1 sheep, 10 loaves (and) 1 jug of strong beer and resanctify the field.

169: If anyone buys a field and then violates the boundary, he shall take a sacrificial loaf, break it for the Sun-god and say: "Thou hast planted my balance in the ground." Thus he shall say; (whether it is) the Sun-god (or) the Storm-god, does not make any difference.

170: If a free man kills a snake while pronouncing another man's name, he will give 1 mina of silver. If he (the offender) is a slave, he shall die.

171: If a mother draws her garment away from a son of hers, she is repudiating her sons. If her son enters (her house) again, and (if) she takes the door and moves it, takes his ikkišana (and) his kappulli and moves it, then she accepts them again. She makes her son her son again.

172: If a man saves a free man's life in a year of famine, he shall give (a person) like himself. If he is a slave, he shall give 10 shekels of silver.

173: If anyone rejects the judgment of the king, his house shall be made a shambles. If anyone rejects the judgment of a dignitary, they shall cut off his head. If a slave rises against his master, he shall go into the pit.20

174: If men fight one another and one of them is killed, he (who killed) shall give one person.

175: If a shepherd or an overseer takes a free woman in marriage, she shall be a slave either for two years or for four years. ...

176 (A): If anyone keeps a bull outside the pen, it is (a case for) the court of the king. They shall put (it) up for sale. —It breeds in the third year; the plow-ox, the wether (and) the he-goat breed in the third year.

176 (B): If anyone buys a craftsman, either a potter, a smith, a carpenter, a leatherworker, a fuller, a weaver or he buys a maker of kapulli garments, he shall give 10 shekels of silver.

177: If anyone buys a trained bird-fancier, he shall give 25 shekels of silver. If he buys a man or a woman who are not fully trained (therein), he shall give 20 shekels of silver.

178: The price of a plow-ox is 12 shekels of silver. The price of a bull is 10 shekels of silver. The price of a full-grown cow is 7 shekels of silver. The price of a one-year-old plow-ox (or) cow is 5 shekels of silver. The price of a weaned calf is 4 shekels of silver. If the cow is with calf, the price is 8 shekels of silver. The price of a calf is 3 shekels of silver. The prices for a stallion

16 See n.13.
17 A variant offers "spelt" instead of "grain."
18 The dividing line found here in our text should be disregarded.
19 See n.1.
20 The implications of this formula are obscure.
21 A kind of punishment.
179: If it is a sheep, its price is 1 shekel of silver. The price for 3 goats is 2 shekels of silver. The price for 2 lambs is 1 shekel of silver. The price for 2 kids is one-half shekel of silver.

180: If it is a draft-horse, its price is 20 shekels of silver. The price for 1 mule is 1 mina of silver. The price for a horse in the pasture is 15 shekels of silver. The price for a one-year-old colt is 10 shekels of silver. The price of a one-year-old filly is 15 shekels of silver.

181: The price of a weaned colt and of a weaned filly is 4 shekels of silver. The price of 4 minas of copper is 1 shekel of silver. The price of 1 tub of flour is 1 shekel of silver. The price of an iskalleitar garment is 3 shekels of silver. The price of 1 tub of honey is 1 shekel of silver, of 2 cheeses is 1 shekel of silver, of 3 (pieces) of yeast is 1 shekel of silver.

182: The price of a happulanza garment is 12 shekels of silver. The price of a fine garment is 30 shekels of silver. The price for a blue woollen garment is 20 shekels of silver. The price of an adapis garment is 10 shekels of silver. The price of an iskalleitar garment is 3 shekels of silver. The price of an . . . is 4 shekels of silver . . . The price of 1 fine shirt is 3 shekels of silver. [The price] of 1 (ordinary) shirt is x shekels of silver]. The price of 1 (bolt of) cloth of 7 mina weight is x shekels of silver. . . . The price of 1 fine shirt is 3 shekels of silver. [The price] of 1 (ordinary) shirt is x shekels of silver]. The price of 1 (bolt of) cloth of 7 mina weight is x shekels of silver. The price of 1 great (bolt of) linen is 5 shekels of silver.

183: The price of 3 pāritis of spelts is 1 shekel of silver. [The price] of 4 pāritis of . . . is x shekels of silver]. The price of 1 pāritis of wine is one-half shekel of silver, of a pāritis [of . . . x shekels of silver]. The price of 1 acre of . . . field is 3 [shekels of silver]. The price of 1 acre of “partition” field is 2 shekels of silver. If the field is farther out, he [shall give] 1 shekel of silver.

184: This is the tariff. As it is (valid) in a village, it is also valid in the capital.

185 (A): The price of 1 acre of vineyard is 1 mina of silver. The price of the hide of a full-grown ox is 1 shekel of silver. The price of 5 hides of weanlings is 1 shekel of silver, of 10 calf-hides is 1 mina of silver, of a shaggy sheepskin is 1 shekel of silver, of 10 plucked sheepskins is 1 shekel of silver, of 4 goatskins is 1 shekel of silver, of 15 sheared goatskins is 1 shekel of silver, of 20 lambskins is 1 shekel of silver, of 20 kidskins is 1 shekel of silver.

186 (B): Whoever buys the meat of 2 full-grown cattle shall give 1 sheep. Whoever buys the meat of 2 one-year-old cattle shall give 1 sheep. Whoever buys the meat of 5 weanlings shall give 1 sheep. Whoever buys the meat of 10 calves shall give 1 sheep. Whoever buys the meat of 10 sheep shall give a sheep, the meat of 20 lambs shall give 1 sheep, the meat of 20 goats shall give 1 sheep.

187: If a man does evil with a head of cattle, it is a capital crime and he shall be killed. They bring him to the king’s court. Whether the king orders him killed, or whether the king spares his life, he must not appeal to the king.

188: If a man does evil with a sheep, it is a capital crime and he shall be killed. They bring him to the king’s court. Whether the king orders him killed, or whether the king spares his life, he must not appeal to the king.

189: If a man violates his own mother, it is a capital crime. If a man violates his daughter, it is a capital crime. If a man violates his son, it is a capital crime.

190: . . . If a man violates his stepmother, there shall be no punishment. (But) if his father is living, it is a capital crime.

191: If a free man cohabits with (several) free women, sisters and their mother, with this one in one country and that one in another country, there shall be no punishment. But if (it happens) in one and the same place knowing (of their relationship), it is a capital crime.

192: If a man’s wife dies (and) he marries his wife’s sister, there shall be no punishment.

193: If a man has a wife and then the man dies, his brother shall take his wife, then his father shall take her. If in turn also his father dies, one of his brother’s sons shall take the wife whom he had. There shall be no punishment.

194: If a free man cohabits with (several) slave-girls, sisters and their mother, there shall be no punishment. If blood-relations sleep with (the same) free woman, there shall be no punishment. If father and son sleep with (the same) slave-girl or harlot, there shall be no punishment.

195: If however a man sleeps with the wife of his brother while his brother is living, it is a capital crime. If a man has a free woman (in marriage) and then touches also her daughter, it is a capital crime. If a man has the daughter in marriage and then touches also her mother or her sister, it is a capital crime.

196: If his slave (or) his slave-girl commit a capital crime, they move them away and have them settled the one in this town, the other in that town; a sheep will be proffered in this one’s stead and a sheep in that one’s stead.

197: If a man seizes a woman in the mountains, it is the man’s crime and he will be killed. But if he seizes her in (her) house, it is the woman’s crime and the woman shall be killed. If the husband finds them, he may kill them, there shall be no punishment for him.

198: If he brings them to the gate of the palace and declares: “My wife shall not be killed” and thereby spares his wife’s life, he shall also spare the life of the adulterer and shall mark his head. If he says, “Let them die both of them!” . . . The king may order them killed, the king may spare their lives.

199: If anyone does evil with a pig, (or) a dog, he shall die. They will bring them to the gate of the palace and the king may order them killed, the king may spare
their lives; but he must not appeal to the king. If an ox
leaps at a man, the ox shall die, but the man shall not
die. A sheep may be proffered in the man’s stead and
they shall kill that. If a pig leaps at a man, there shall
be no punishment.

200 (A): If a man does evil with a horse or a mule,
there shall be no punishment. He must not appeal to
the king nor shall he become a case for the priest.—
If anyone sleeps with a foreign (woman) and (also)
with her mother or [her] sister, there will be no
punishment.

200 (B): If anyone gives his son to be trained either
as a carpenter, or as a smith, [or as a potter,] or as a
leather-worker, or as a fuller, he shall give (as a fee) for
the training 6 shekels of silver. If he has made him an
expert, he shall give him one person.

The Neo-Babylonian Laws

(Translator: Theophile J. Meek)

These laws are found on a tablet in the British Museum,
published and translated by E. E. Peiser, SPAW, 1889, pp. 823-
8 and Tafel iv. They have been translated by B. Metzner, ibid.,
1918, pp. 280-97, and the better preserved portions of the tablet
have been most recently translated by E. Ebeling in AOT, pp.
422-3. The tablet originally contained some sixteen paragraphs,
of which only nine are well preserved. Peiser suggests a date in
the time of Ashurbanipal, but what he regards as the
remnants of a date is unquestionably a part of the legislation in
§1. However, the script, orthography, and wording, all clearly
indicate a date in the Neo-Babylonian Period.

1: (only a few words preserved)

2: . . . when they bring about his conviction, he shall
give [rent in] one amount for the field [to] the owner of
the field on the basis of those adjoining [and for the
field which he did not] look after he shall give grain
[on the basis of] those adjoining.

3: [The seignior, who opened] his well for irrigation
purposes, but did not make [his dike] strong and hence
caused a flood and inundated [a field] adjoining his,
shall give [grain to the owner of the field on the basis
of] those adjoining.

4: (only a few signs preserved)

5: In the case of a seignior, who sealed a tablet and
deed for the owner of a field [or house] with the name of
another and did not conclude an agreement in accord-
ance with the terms thereon and also did not obtain a
duplicate of the tablet—the seignior with whose name
the tablet and deed were inscribed shall take that field or
house.

6: In the case of a seignior, who sold a female slave
when there was a claim outstanding against (her) and
she was taken away—the seller shall give money to the
purchaser in accordance with the terms of the deed in
its full amount; if she bore children, he shall give her
one-half shekel of silver for each.

7: The woman, who was guilty of using or of cutting
(wood) from the field of a seignior or who cut off
(wood) from [a boat] or from an oven or from any
sort of thing, shall give to the owner of the field three
times the amount of wood that she cut from there; if
she cut off (wood) from a boat (or) cut off (wood)
from an oven or from any sort of thing, she shall give
three times the reduction that she caused in the field.
When in the month . . . its [i.e. the paragraph’s] law is
not completed and so is not written.1

8: (not preserved)

9: In the case of a seignior, who gave his daughter
(in marriage) to (a)other seignior’s son and the father
set down a certain amount on the document and gave
(it) to his son and the seignior set the dowry2 for his
daughter and they wrote a contract with one another—
they may not contest their contract; the father may not
make a deduction from anything that he wrote down
for his son on the contract and indicated to his (son’s)
father-in-law. If, when fate carried off the father’s wife,
he has acquired another wife and she has borne him
children, the children of the later (wife) shall take one-
third of the remainder of his property.

10: The seignior, who promised a dowry to his daugh-
ter or wrote a deed for her, but whose property later
wilt ned, shall give his daughter a dowry commen-
surate with his property that is left; the father-in-law
and son-in-law may not join together to contest (it).

11: In the case of a seignior, who gave his daughter a
dowry and she had no son or daughter when fate
carried her off—her dowry shall revert to her father’s
house . . . toward the son . . . she may give her dowry to
her husband or to anyone that she chooses.

12: In the case of a wife, whose dowry her husband
took, who had no son (or) daughter and whose hus-
bond fate carried off—a dowry shall be given her from
her husband’s property as large as the dowry should be.
If her husband has presented her with a marriage-gift,3
she shall take her husband’s marriage-gift along with
her dowry and then she is quit. If she has no dowry, the
judges shall appraise her husband’s property (and)
something commensurate with her husband’s property
shall be given her.

13: When a seignior acquired a wife and she bore
him children, when fate later carried off that seignior
and that woman has made up her mind to enter the
house of another—she may take the dowry which she
brought from her father’s house and whatever her hus-
bond presented her with and the husband that chooses
them may not contest (it). The father may not
contest his contract; the father-in-law and son-in-law may
not join together to contest (it).

14: (not preserved)

1 This is a notation by the scribe, indicating that the tablet from which he
was copying had this paragraph only partly preserved.

2 In these laws nudum is “dowry” and tereq is “marriage-gift,” which
represents an interchange of meanings between the two words from the
earlier laws.
15: In the case of a seignior, who acquired a wife and she bore him children and, when fate carried off his wife, he acquired another wife and she bore him children—after the father has gone to (his) fate, the sons of the earlier (wife) shall take two-thirds of the property of the paternal estate and the sons of the later (wife) one-third; their sisters who are living in the paternal home and...

16: (Not preserved. At the end of the colophon the one word “Babylon” is preserved.)
The reign of Ramses II began in hostility against the Hittite state. However, by this pharaoh's twenty-first year (about 1280 B.C.), both powers were ready to conclude a treaty, so that they might turn their attention to other problems, such as the encroachments of the "Sea Peoples." The offensive and defensive alliance set forth in the following document mentions no effective frontier between the two empires. Perhaps there was no one firm line, but Egyptian hegemony was recognized in Palestine and southern Phoenicia, Hittite hegemony in Syria and northern Phoenicia.

Since Akkadian was the diplomatic language of the day, the Egyptian text was a translation, edited to give greater prominence to the role of Egypt in granting peace. The Hittite version (pp. 201-203) was probably much closer to the text formally agreed upon, and the two versions should be read together.

The Egyptian version was carved upon the walls of the Temple of Amon at Karnak and of the Ramesseum. The most satisfactory copy is by W. M. Müller in *MVAG*, vi (1902), No. 5. The standard study, with a comparison of the cuneiform and hieroglyphic texts, was made by S. Langdon and A. H. Gardiner, in *JEA*, vi (1920), 179-205. There is also a translation of the Egyptian text in *JEA*, xi, 367-391* (See Addenda).

Year 21, 1st month of the second season, day 21, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: User-maat-Re; Son of Re: Ramses Meri-Amon, given life forever, beloved of Amon-Re; Har-akhti; Ptah, South-of-His-Wall, Lord of Life of the Two Lands; Mut, the Lady of Ishru; and Khonsu Nefer-hotep; appearing on the Horus-Throne of the Living, like his father Har-akhti forever and ever.

On this day, while his majesty was in the town of Per-Ramses Meri-Amon, doing the pleasure of his father Amon-Re; Har-akhti; Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan; Amon of Ramses Meri-Amon; Ptah of Ramses Meri-Amon; and [Seth], the Great of Strength, the Son of Nut, according as they give him an eternity of jubilees and an infinity of years of peace, while all lands and all foreign countries are prostrate under his soles forever—there came the Royal Envoy and Deputy . . . Royal Envoy . . . [User-maat-Re] Setep-en-Re . . . [Tar]-Teshub*; and the Messenger of Hatti, ...silis, carrying [the tables of silver which] the Great Prince of Hatti, Hattusilis [caused] to be brought to Pharaoh—life, prosperity, health!—by the hand of his envoy (5) Tar-Teshub, and his envoy Ra-mose,* in order to beg peace from the majesty of [User-maat-Re], Son of Re: Ramses Meri-Amon, the bull of rulers, who has made his frontier where he wished in very land.

### Preamble

The regulations* which the Great Prince of Hatti, Hattusilis, the powerful, the son of Murulis, the Great Prince of Hatti, the powerful, the son of the son of Suppi[iuliumas, the Great Prince of Hatti, the] powerful, made upon a tablet of silver for User-maat-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, the powerful, the son of Men-maat-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, the powerful, the son of Men-pehti-Re,* the great ruler of Egypt, the powerful; the good regulations of peace and of brotherhood, giving peace ... forever.

### Former Relations

Now from the beginning of the limits of eternity, as for the situation of the great ruler of Egypt with the Great Prince of Hatti, the god did not permit hostility to occur between them, through a regulation. But in the time of Muwatallis, the Great Prince of Hatti, my brother, he fought with [Ramses Meri-Amon], the great ruler of Egypt. But hereafter, from this day, behold Hattusilis, the Great Prince of Hatti, [is under] a regulation for making permanent the situation which the Re and Seth* made for the land of Egypt with the land of Hatti, in order not to permit hostility to occur between them forever.

### The Present Treaty

Behold, Hattusilis, the Great Prince of Hatti, has set himself in a regulation with User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, beginning from this day, to cause that good peace and brotherhood occur between us forever, (10) while he is in brotherhood with me and he is at peace with me, and I am in brotherhood with him and I am at peace with him forever.

Now since Muwatallis, the Great Prince of Hatti, my brother, went in pursuit of his fate,* and Hattusilis sat as Great Prince of Hatti upon the throne of his father,

* Tar-Teshub bears a Hittite name, Ra-mose an Egyptian name. However, in the broken context above, two Hittite names appear. See E. Edel in *JNES*, vi (1948), 17-18.
* The "prescribed form," used throughout this inscription for the treaty.
* Ramses II, the son of Seti I, the son of Ramses I.
* Reference to a previous treaty (in the reign of Hor-em-heb?).
* Whose best-known encounter with Ramses II was at the Battle of Kadesh, 16 years earlier; cf. pp. 255-256 below.
* Cuneiform version: "the Sun-god and the Storm-god." See n.15 below.
* This is an example of the non-Egyptian language resulting from a translation of the cuneiform.

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1 Around 1280 B.C., this date would fall toward the end of November.
2 The capital city of Ramses in the Delta.
Behold, I have come to be with Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, for we are together in our peace and our brotherhood. It is better than the peace or the brotherhood which was formerly in the land.

Behold, I, as the Great Prince of Hatti, am with [Ramses Meri-Amon], in good peace and in good brotherhood. The children of the children of [of] the Great Prince of Hatti are in brotherhood and peace with the children of the children of [Ramses Meri-Amon], the great ruler of Egypt, for they are in our situation of brotherhood and our situation [of peace, The land of Egypt], with the land of Hatti, [shall be] at peace and in brotherhood like unto us forever. Hostilities shall not occur between them forever.

Mutual Renunciation of Invasion

The Great Prince of Hatti shall not trespass against the land of Egypt forever, to take anything from it. And User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not trespass against the land [of Hatti, to take] from it forever.

Reaffirmation of Former Treaties

As to the traditional regulation10 which had been here in the time of Suppiluliumas, the Great Prince of Hatti, as well as the traditional regulation which had been in the time of Muwatallis,11 the Great Prince of Hatti, my father, I seize hold of it. Behold, Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, seizes hold of (15) [the regulation which he makes] together with us, beginning from this day. We seize hold of it, and we act in this traditional situation.

A Defensive Alliance—for Egypt

If another enemy come against the lands of User-maat-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, and he send to the Great Prince of Hatti, saying: “Come with me as reinforcement against him,” the Great Prince of Hatti shall [come to him and] the Great Prince of Hatti shall slay his enemy. However, if it is not the desire of the Great Prince of Hatti to go (himself), he shall send his infantry and his chariotry, besides returning answer to the land of Hatti. Now if the servants of the Great Prince of Hatti trespass against him, and Ramses Meri-Amon....

The Contingency of Death?

...the [land] of Hatti and the land [of Egypt] (20) ...the life. Should it be that I shall go [in] pursuit of my fate, then Ramses Meri-[Amon], the great ruler of Egypt, living forever, shall go and come [to] the [land of] Hatti, ...to cause ..., to make him lord for them, to make User-maat-Re Setep-en-[Re], the great ruler of Egypt, silent with his mouth forever.10 Now after he ... the land of Hatti, and he returns ... the Great Prince of Hatti, as well as the....

Extradition of Refugees to Egypt

[If a great man flee from the land of Egypt and come to] the Great Prince of Hatti, or a town belonging to the lands of Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, and they come to the Great Prince of Hatti, the Great Prince of Hatti shall not receive them. The Great Prince of Hatti shall cause them to be brought to User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, their lord, [because] of it. Or if a man or two men—no matter who14—flee, and they come to the land of Hatti to be servants of someone else, they shall not be left in the land of Hatti; they shall be brought to Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt.

Extradition of Refugees to Hatti

Or if a great man flee from the land of Hatti and [come to User-maat-[Re] Setep-en-Re, the [great] ruler of Egypt, or a town or a district or a ... belonging to the land of Hatti, and they come to Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, (then) User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not receive them. Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, shall cause them to be brought to the Prince [of Hatti]. They shall not be left. Similarly, if a man or two men—(25) [no] matter who14—flee, and they come to the land of Egypt to be servants of other people, User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not leave them. He shall cause them to be brought to the Great Prince of Hatti.

The Divine Witnesses to the Treaty

As for these words of the regulation [which] the Great Prince of Hatti [made] with Ramses [Meri-Amon], the great ruler [of Egypt], in writing upon this tablet of silver—as for these words, a thousand gods of the male gods and of the female gods of them of the land of Hatti, together with a thousand gods of the male gods and of the female gods of them of the land of

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10 The former treaty.
11 Muwatallis was the brother of Hattusilis; Mursilis the father of Hattusilis. There seem to have been two former treaties—or one which was valid in two reigns.
12 It is clear from the context and from the parallel above that the negative has dropped out.
13 The meaning of this section is uncertain, but it seems to provide that Ramses II shall take helpful action in the succession to the Hittite throne, if Hattusilis dies. If so, the reciprocal section about Egypt does not appear. Cf. the Hittite version.
14 "They are unknown." The clause provides for the same treatment of individuals and of subject princes or subject states.
Egypt, are with me as witnesses [hearing] these words: the Re, the lord of the sky; the Re of the town of Arinna; Seth, the lord of the sky; Seth of Hatti; Seth of the town of Arinna; Seth of the town of Zippalanda; Seth of the town of Pe(tt)iyarik; Seth of the town of Hissas(ha)pa; Seth of the town of Sarissa; Seth of the town of Aleppo; Seth of the town of Lihzina; Seth of the town; . . . ; Seth of the town of Sahpin; Antaret; of the land of Hatti; the god of Zihari(as); the god of Karzis; the god of Hapantaliyas; the goddess of the town of Karahna; the goddess of . . . . . . . ; the Queen of the Sky; the gods, the lords of oaths; this goddess, the Lady of the Ground; the Lady of the Oath, Ishara; the Lady (30) (of the) mountains and the rivers of the land of Hatti; the gods of the land of Kizuwadna; Amon; the Re; Seth; the male gods; the female gods; the mountains; and the rivers of the land of Egypt; the sky; the earth; the great sea; the winds; and the clouds.

Curset and Blessings for this Treaty

As for these words which are on this tablet of silver of the land of Hatti and of the land of Egypt—as for him who shall not keep them, a thousand gods of the land of Hatti, together with a thousand gods of the land of Egypt, shall destroy his house, his land, and his servants. But, as for him who shall keep these words which are on this tablet of silver, whether they are Hatti or whether they are Egyptians, and they are not negligent of them, a thousand gods of the land of Hatti, together with a thousand gods of the land of Egypt, shall cause that he be well, shall cause that he live, together with his houses and his (land) and his servants.

Extradition of Egyptians from Hatti

If a man flee from the land of Egypt—or two or three—and they come to the Great Prince of Hatti, the Great Prince of Hatti shall lay hold of them, and he shall cause that they be brought back to User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the great ruler of Egypt. But, as for the man who shall be brought to Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, do not cause that his crime be raised against him; do not cause that his house or his wives or his children be destroyed; [do not cause that] he be [slain]; do not cause that injury be done to his eyes, to his ears, to his mouth, or to his legs; do not let any [crime be raised] against him.

Extradition of Hittites from Egypt

Similarly, if men flee from the land of Hatti—whether he be one or two or three—and they come to User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, (35) the great ruler of Egypt, let Ramses Meri-Amon, the [great] ruler [of Egypt], lay hold [of them and cause] that they be brought to the Great Prince of Hatti, and the Great Prince of Hatti shall not raise their crime against them, and they shall not destroy his house or his wives or his children, and they shall not slay him, and they shall not do injury to his ears, to his eyes, to his mouth, or to his legs, and they shall not raise any crime against him.

Description of the Tablet

What is in the middle of the tablet of silver. On its front side: figures consisting of an image of Seth embracing an image of the Great Prince [of Hatti], surrounded by a border with the words: “the seal of Seth, the ruler of the sky; the seal of the regulation which Hattusilis made, the Great Prince of Hatti, the powerful, the son of Mursilis, the Great Prince of Hatti, the powerful.” What is within that which surrounds the figures: the seal [of Seth. What is on] its other side: figures consisting of a female image of [the] goddess of Hatti embracing a female image of the Princess of Hatti, surrounded by a border with the words: “the seal of the Re of the town of Arinna, the lord of the land; the seal of Putu-hepa, the Princess of the land of Hatti, the daughter of the land of Kizuwadna, the [priestess] of the town of Arinna, the Lady of the Land, the servant of the goddess.” What is within the surrounding (frame) of the figures: the seal of the Re of Arinna, the lord of every land.

Hittite Treaties

(Translator: Albrecht Goetze)

Treaties, rare in other parts of the ancient Near East, are relatively frequent among the Hittite texts. Most of the surviving examples of this type have been translated previously. The most important publications are the following two: E. F. Weidner, Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasiern (Boghaski Studien, vii and ix, 1923). J. Friedrich, Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache (MVAG, xxvi/1, 1926 and xxxiv/1, 1930). From the legal point of view the treaties have been dealt with in the following book: V. Koßobocz, Hethitische Staatsverträge. Ein Beitrag zu ihrer juristischen Wertung (Leipziger Rechtswissenschaftliche Studien, 13, 1931).

TREATY BETWEEN
HATTUSILIS AND RAMSES II

Texts: KBo, 1, 7 + KUB, iii, 121 and its duplicates KBo, 1, 25, KUB, iii, 11 + Fragment. Likhachev (Zapiski Youstovskago Otdeleniya Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva, xxv [1918], p. 98) and KUB, iii, 120. Literature: B. Meissner, ZDMG, lxxii (1918), 46-57; A. H. Gardiner and S. Langdon, JEA, vi (1920), 179-205; H. Zimmern in Lehmann-Haas, Textbuch zur Religionsgeschichte (2nd ed., 1922), 332; E. F. Weidner, Politische
Treaty of Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, the valiant, with Hattusilis, the great king of the Hatti land, his brother, for establishing [good] peace [and] good brotherhood [worthy of] great [king]ship between them forever.

Preamble

These are the words of Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the great king of the land of Egypt, the valiant of all lands, the son (5) of Min-mua-rea, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, the valiant, the grandson of Min-pakhta-rea, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, the valiant, (spoken) to Hattusilis, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, the valiant, the son of Mursilis, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, the valiant, the grandson of Suppiluliumas, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, the valiant.

Relations up to the Conclusion of the Treaty

Now I have established good brotherhood (and) good peace between us forever. In order to establish good peace (and) good brotherhood in [the relationship] of the land of Egypt with the Hatti land forever (I speak) thus: Behold, as for the relationship between the land of Egypt (10) and the Hatti land, since eternity the god does not permit the making of hostility between them because of a treaty (valid) forever. Behold, Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, in order to bring about the relationship that the Sun-god and the Storm-god had brought about (25) for the land of Egypt with the Hatti land (calls for) peace and brotherhood so as not to make hostility between them. Behold, Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, has seized hold of it in order to bring about well-being from this day on. Behold, the land of Egypt (in its relation) with the Hatti land—they are at peace and brothers like us forever.

The Present Treaty

Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, has entered into a treaty (written) upon a silver tablet (15) with Hattusilis, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, [his] brother, [from] this day on to establish good peace (and) good brotherhood between us forever. He is a brother to me and I am a brother to him and at peace with him forever. And as for us, our brotherhood and our peace is being brought about and it will be better than the brotherhood and the peace which existed formerly for the land of Egypt with the Hatti land.

Future Relations of the Two Countries

Behold, Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the king of the land of Egypt, is in good peace (and) in good brotherhood with [Hattusilis], the great king, the king of the Hatti land.

Behold the sons of Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the king of the land of Egypt, (20) are in peace with (and) brothers of the sons of Hattusilis, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, forever. They are in the same relationship of brotherhood and peace as we.

And as for (the relationship of) the land of Egypt with the Hatti land, they are at peace and brothers like us forever.

Mutual Renunciation of Aggression

Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, shall not trespass into the Hatti land to take anything therefrom in the future. And Hattusilis, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, shall not trespass into the land of Egypt to take anything therefrom in the future.

Defensive Alliance

If an enemy from abroad comes against the Hatti land, and Hattusilis, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, sends to me saying: "Come to me to help me against him," Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, (30) shall send his foot soldiers (and) his charioteers and they shall slay [his enemy and] take revenge upon him for the sake of the Hatti land.

And if Hattusilis, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, is angry with servants belonging to him (and if) they have failed against him and sends to Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, on their account—lo! Rea-mashesha mai Amana shall send his foot soldiers (and) his charioteers and they shall destroy all those with whom he is angry.

If an enemy from abroad comes against the land of Egypt and Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the king of the land of Egypt, your brother, sends to Hattusilis, (35) the king of the Hatti land, his brother, saying: "Come here to help me against him"—lo! Hattusilis, the king of the Hatti land, shall send his foot soldiers (and) his charioteers and they shall slay my enemies.

And if Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the king of the land of Egypt, is angry with servants belonging to him (and if) they have committed sin against him and I send] to Hattusilis, the king of the Hatti land, my
Succession to the Throne

(40) Behold, the son of Hattusilis, the king of the Hatti land, shall be made king of the Hatti land in place of Hattusilis, his father, after the many years of Hattusilis, the king of the Hatti land. If the noblemen of the Hatti land commit sin against him—lo! [Rea-masheshâ mai Amana, the king of Egypt, shall send foot soldiers] (and) charioteers to take revenge upon them [for the sake of the Hatti land. And after they have re-established order] in the country of the king of the Hatti land, [they shall return'] to the country [of Egypt].

(Corresponding provision concerning Egypt lost in a gap.)

Extradition of Fugitives

(reverse 7) [If a nobleman flees from the Hatti land and if] one (such) man comes [to Rea-masheshâ mai Amana, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt] in order to enter his services—[be it a ... belonging to Hattusilis, the king of the Hatti land, (to) be it a ... or a single town—[Rea-masheshâ mai Amana, the great king, the king of the land Egypt, shall seize them and] shall have them brought back to the king of the Hatti land.

(several badly broken lines)

(18) [If a nobleman] flees [from Rea-masheshâ mai Amana, the king of the land of Egypt, and if one (such) man] comes to the [Hatti] land, [Ha]trusilis, (20) [the great king, the king of the Hatti land, shall seize him and] shall have him brought back to R[ea-masheshâ mai Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, his brother.

If one man flees from the [Hatti land or] two men, [or three men and come to] Rea-masheshâ mai [Amana, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt,] [Rea-masheshâ] mai Amana, the great king, [the king of the land of Egypt, shall seize them and have them brought back to] Hattusilis, his brother. [Rea-masheshâ mai Amana and Hattusilis are verily] brothers; hence [let them not exact punishment for] their sins, [let them not tear out [their eyes; (25)] let them not take revenge upon] their people [... together with] their [wives and w[i]th their children.

If one man flees from Egypt] or two men or three men [and come to Hattusilis, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, Hattusilis, the great king], the king of the Hatti land, his brother, shall seize them and have them brought [back to Rea-masheshâ mai Amana, the great king, the king of] the land of Egypt. [Hattusilis, the king of the Hatti land], and Rea-masheshâ, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, are verily brothers; hence [let them not exact punishment for their sins,] (30) [ ...] let them not tear out their eyes; [let them not take revenge upon] their people ... together with] their [wives (and) with their children.

(Treaty between Mursilis and Duppi-Tessub of Amurru)


Preamble

1. These are the words of the Sun¹ Mursilis, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, the valiant, the favorite of the Storm-god, the son of Suppiluliumas, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, the valiant.

Historical Introduction

2. Aziras² was the grandfather of you, Duppi-Tessub. He rebelled against my father, but submitted again to my father. When the kings of Nuhasse land³ and the kings of Kinza⁴ rebelled against my father, Aziras did not rebel. As he was bound by treaty, he remained bound by treaty. As my father fought against his enemies, in the same manner fought Aziras. Aziras remained loyal toward my father [as his overlord] and did not incite my father’s anger. My father was loyal toward Aziras and his country; he did not undertake any unjust action against him or incite his or his country’s anger in any way. 300 (shekels of) refined and first-class gold, the tribute which my father had imposed upon your father, he brought year for year; he never refused it.

3. When my father became god⁵ and I seated myself on the throne of my father, Aziras behaved toward me just as he had behaved toward my father. It happened that the Nuhasse kings and the king of Kinza rebelled a second time against me. But Aziras, your grandfather, and nu-Tessub, your father, [did not take their side]; they remained loyal to me as their lord. [When he grew too old] and could no longer go to war and fight, nu-Tessub fought against the enemy with the foot soldiers and the charioteers of the Amurru land just as he had fought with foot soldiers and charioteers against the enemy. And the Sun destroyed them.

(gap in which the reign of nu-Tessub was dealt with)

6. (nu-Tessub recommends his son as his successor:) “[... When I die, accept my son] Duppi-Tessub as your vassal.”

7. When your father died, in accordance with your

¹ Sun is the title with which the Hittite king is addressed.
² The region between Halba (Aleppo) and the Orontes River.
³ The king of Amurru who is well known from the Amarna letters.
⁴ This restoration is suggested by the Egyptian parallel.
⁵ I.e. died.
⁶ The first part of the name is an ideogram, the Hurrian pronunciation of which is not known; in this case even the meaning of the ideogram is obscure.
father's word I did not drop you. Since your father had mentioned to me your name with great praise, I sought after you. To be sure, you were sick and ailing, but although you were ailing, I, the Sun, put you in the place of your father and took your brothers (and) sisters and the Amurru land in oath for you.

Future Relations of the Two Countries

8. When I, the Sun, sought after you in accordance with your father's word and put you in your father's place, I took you in oath for the king of the Hatti land, the Hatti land, and for my sons and grandsons. So honor the oath (of loyalty) to the king and the king's kin! And I, the king, will be loyal toward you, Duppi-Tessub. When you take a wife, and when you beget an heir, he shall be king in the Amurru land likewise. And just as I shall be loyal toward you, even so shall I be loyal toward your son. But you, Duppi-Tessub, remain loyal toward the king of the Hatti land, the Hatti land, my sons (and) my grandsons forever! The tribute which was imposed upon your grandfather and your father—they presented 300 shekels of good, refined first-class gold weighed with standard weights—you shall present them likewise. Do not turn your eyes to anyone else! Your fathers presented tribute to Egypt; you [shall not do that!]

(gap)

Military Clauses

9. [With my friend you shall be friend, and with my enemy you shall be enemy. If the king of the Hatti land is either in the Hurri land, or in the land of Egypt, or in the country of Astata, or in the country of Alse—any country contiguous to the territory of your country that is friendly with the king of the Hatti land—(or in) any country contiguous to the territory of your country that is friendly with the king of the Hatti land—as the country of Mukis, the country of Halba and the country of Kinza—but turns around and becomes inimical toward the king of the Hatti land while the king of the Hatti land is on a marauding campaign—if then you, Duppi-Tessub, do not remain loyal together with your foot soldiers and your charioteers and if you do not fight wholeheartedly; or if I should send out a prince (or) a high officer with foot soldiers and charioteers to re-enforce you, Duppi-Tessub, (for the purpose of) going out to maraud in another country—if then you, Duppi-Tessub, do not fight wholeheartedly (that) enemy with your army and your charioteers] and speak as follows: "I am under an oath of loyalty, but [how am I to know] whether they will beat the enemy, or the enemy will beat them?"; or if you even send a man to that enemy and inform him as follows: "An army and charioteers of the Hatti land are on their way; be on your guard!"—(if you do such things) you act in disregard of your oath.

10. As I, the Sun, am loyal toward you, you extend military help to the Sun and the Hatti land. If an evil rumor originates in the Hatti land that someone is to rise in revolt against the Sun and you hear it, leave with your foot soldiers and your charioteers and go immediately to the aid of the king of the Hatti land! But if you are not able to leave yourself, dispatch either your son or your brother together with your foot soldiers (and) your charioteers to the aid of the king of the Hatti land! If you do not dispatch your son (or) your brother with your foot soldiers (and) your charioteers to the aid of the king of the Hatti land, you act in disregard of the gods of the oath.

11. If anyone should press you hard, Duppi-Tessub, or (if) anyone should revolt against you, (if) you then write to the king of the Hatti land, and the king of the Hatti land dispatches foot soldiers and charioteers to your aid—(if you treat them in an unfair manner)—you act in disregard of the gods of the oath.

12. If they take Hittites—foot soldiers and charioteers—through Duppi-Tessub's territory and Duppi-Tessub provides them while passing through (his) towns with food and drink—if that army engages in any misconduct—pilfering in his country or his towns or in an attempt at deposing Duppi-Tessub from his kingship—it acts in disregard of the oath.

Dealings with Foreigners etc.

13. If anyone of the deportees from the Nuhasse land or of the deportees from the country of Kinza whom my father removed and myself removed escapes and comes to you, (if) you do not seize him and turn him back to the king of the Hatti land, and even tell him as follows: "Go! Where you are going to, I do not want to know," you act in disregard of your oath.

14. If anyone utters words unfriendly toward the king or the Hatti land before you, Duppi-Tessub, you shall not withhold his name from the king. Or if the Sun (iii) gives you an order in secrecy (saying): "Do this or that!" (if) that order cannot be executed, petition about it on the spot (stating): "This order I cannot execute and will not execute" and the king will reconsider it then and there. But if you do not execute an order which can (well) be executed and deceive the king, or (if) you do not keep to yourself the word which the king told you in secrecy, you act in disregard of the oath.

15. If a country or a fugitive takes to the road and while betaking themselves to the Hatti land pass through your territory, put them on the right way, show them the way to the Hatti land and speak friendly words
to them! Do not send them to anyone else! If you do not put them on the right way, (if) you do not guide them on the right way to the Hatti land, but direct them into the mountains or speak unfriendly words before them, you act in disregard of the oath.

16**. Or if the king of the Hatti land is getting the better of a country and puts them to flight, and they come to your country, if then you desire to take anything from them, ask the king of the Hatti land for it! You shall not take it on your own! If you lay hand on it by yourself or conceal it, (you act in disregard of the oath).

17**. Furthermore, if a fugitive comes to your country, seize him!...

Invocation of the gods16

18**. [The Sun-god of Heaven, the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god of Heaven, the Hattian Storm-god, Seris (and) Hurris, Mount Nanni (and) Mount Hazzi, the Storm-god of Halab, the Storm-god of Zippalanda, the Storm-god of Nerik, the Storm-god of Lihzina, the Storm-god of Hissashapa, the Storm-god of Sabina, the Storm-god of Tahaya, the Storm-god of Bettiyarik, the Storm-god of Samuha, the Storm-god of Hurma, the Storm-god of Saressa, the Storm-god of Uda, the Storm-god of Kizzuwatna, the Storm-god of Ishupitta, the Storm-god of Nuhasse; the Patron-god, the Hattian Patron-god, Zithariyas, Hantidassus of Hurma, Abaras of Samuhas, Katahhas of Ankuwa, the Queen of Katapa, Ammammas of Tahurpa, Hallaras of Dunna, Huwassanas of Hupisna, Tapisuwa of Ishupitta, the "Lady" of Landa, Kunniyawanis of Landa, NIN.PISAN.PISAN of Kinza, Mount Lablana, Mount Sariyana, Mount Pisaisa, the Lulahhi gods (and) the Hapiri gods, Ereskigal, the gods and goddesses of the Hatti land, the gods and goddesses of Amuru land, all the olden gods, Naras, Napsaras, Minki, Tuhusi, Ammunki, Ammizadu, Allalu, Anu, Antu, Apanut, Ellil, Ninil, the mountains, the rivers, the springs, the great Sea, heaven and earth, the winds and the clouds—let these be witnesses to this treaty and to the oath.

Curses and Blessings

20**. The words of the treaty and the oath that are inscribed on this tablet—should Duppi-Tessub not honor these words of the treaty and the oath, may these gods of the oath destroy Duppi-Tessub together with his person, his wife, his son, his grandson, his house, his land and together with everything that he owns.

21**. But if Duppi-Tessub honors these words of the treaty and the oath that are inscribed on this tablet, may these gods of the oath protect him together with his person, his wife, his son, his grandson, his house (and) his country.

GOD LIST, BLESSINGS AND CURSES OF THE TREATY BETWEEN SUPPILULIUMAS AND KURTIWAZA

Text: KBo, 1, 1 (and duplicates) reverse 35 ff. (in Akkadian).

A duplicate of this tablet has been deposited before the Sun-goddess of Arinna, because the Sun-goddess of Arinna regulates kingship and queenship.

In the Mitanni land (a duplicate) has been deposited before Tessa, the lord of the kurinnu of Kahat. At regular intervals shall they read it in the presence of the king of the Mitanni land and in the presence of the sons of the Hurri country. Whoever will remove this tablet from before Tessa, the lord of the kurinnu of Kahat, and put it in a hidden place, if he breaks it or causes anyone else to change the wording of the tablet—at the conclusion of this treaty we have called the gods to be assembled and the gods of the contracting parties to be present, to listen and to serve as witnesses: The Sun-goddess of Arinna who regulates kingship and queenship in the Hatti land, the Sun-god, the lord of heaven, the Storm-god, the lord of the Hatti land, Seris (and) Hurris, the mountains Nanni (and) Hazzi, the Storm-god, the lord of the kilam, the Storm-god, the lord of the encampment, the Storm-god, the lord of aid, the Storm-god of Bettiyarik, the Storm-god of Nerik, the Storm-god, the lord of the mounds, the Storm-god of Halab, the Storm-god of Lihzina, the Storm-god of Samuha, the Storm-god of Hurma, the Storm-god of Saressa, the Storm-god of Sapinuwa, the Storm-god of Hissashapa, the Storm-god of Tahaya, the Storm-god of ..., the Storm-god of Kizzuwatna, the Storm-god of Uda, the Hattian Patron-god of Karahna, Zithariyas, Karzis, Hantidassus, the Patron-god of the field, the Patron-god of the shield, Seris (and) Hurris, the mountains Nanni (and) Hazzi, the Storm-god, the lord of the kurinnu of Kahat, and together with everything that he owns.

1 The bracketed part is again taken from the treaty with Tette of Ugarit.
2 A duplicate of this tablet has been deposited before Tessa, the lord of the kurinnu of Kahat. At regular intervals shall they read it in the presence of the king of the Mitanni land and in the presence of the sons of the Hurri country. Whoever will remove this tablet from before Tessa, the lord of the kurinnu of Kahat, and put it in a hidden place, if he breaks it or causes anyone else to change the wording of the tablet—at the conclusion of this treaty we have called the gods to be assembled and the gods of the contracting parties to be present, to listen and to serve as witnesses: The Sun-goddess of Arinna who regulates kingship and queenship in the Hatti land, the Sun-god, the lord of heaven, the Storm-god, the lord of the Hatti land, Seris (and) Hurris, the mountains Nanni (and) Hazzi, the Storm-god, the lord of the kilam, the Storm-god, the lord of the encampment, the Storm-god, the lord of aid, the Storm-god of Bettiyarik, the Storm-god of Nerik, the Storm-god, the lord of the mounds, the Storm-god of Halab, the Storm-god of Lihzina, the Storm-god of Samuha, the Storm-god of Hurma, the Storm-god of Saressa, the Storm-god of Sapinuwa, the Storm-god of Hissashapa, the Storm-god of Tahaya, the Storm-god of ..., the Storm-god of Kizzuwatna, the Storm-god of Uda, the Hattian Patron-god of Karahna, Zithariyas, Karzis, Hantidassus, the Patron-god of the field, the Patron-god of the shield, Seris (and) Hurris, the mountains Nanni (and) Hazzi, the Storm-god, the lord of the kurinnu of Kahat, and together with everything that he owns.
Moon-god lord of the oath, Ishara queen of the oath, Hebat queen of heaven, Hebat of Halba, Hebat of Uda, Hebat of Kizzuwatna, the Warrior-god, the Hattian Warrior-god, the Warrior-god of Ellaya, the Warrior-god of Arziya, Yarris, Zappanas, Hasammelis, Hantidas-sus of Hurma, Abaras of Samuha, Katahhas of Ankuwa, Katahhas of Katapa, Mammas of Tahurpa, Hallaras of Dunna, Huwassanas of Hupisna, the “Lady” of Landa, Kunniyawannis of Landa, the Laluhhi gods (and) the Hapiri gods, all the gods and goddesses of the Hatti land, the gods and goddesses of the country of Kizzuwatna, Ereskigal, Nara, Namsara, Minku, Amminku, Tussi, Ammizadu, Alalu, Anu, Antu, Ellil, Ninil, Bêlat-Ekalli, the mountains, the rivers, the Tigris (and) the Euphrates, heaven and earth, the winds (and) the clouds;

Tessub, the lord of heaven and earth, Kusuh and Simigi, the Harranian Moon-god of heaven and earth, Tessub lord of the kurinnu of Kahat, the ... of Gurta, Tessub lord of Uhusuman, Ea-sarru lord of wisdom, Anu and Antu, Ellil and Ninil, the twin gods Mitra and Varuna, Indar, the Nassyatiyana gods, ELLAT, Samaminuhi, Tessub lord of Wassukkanni, Tessub lord of the kamari of Irrite, Partahi of Suta, Nabarbi, Suruh, Ashur star, Sala, Bêlat-Ekalli, Damkina, Ishara, the mountains and the rivers, the gods of heaven and the gods of the earth:

at the conclusion of the words of this treaty let them be present, let them listen and let them serve as witnesses. If you, Kurtiwaza, the prince, and (you) the Hurri men do not fulfill the words of this treaty, may the gods, the lords of the oath, blot you out, (you) Kurtiwaza and (you) the Hurri men together with your country, your wives and all that you have. May they draw you like malt from its hull. Just as one does not obtain a plant from bubuwahi, even so may you Kurtiwaza with a second wife that you may take, and (you) the Hurri men with your wives, your sons and your country have no seed. These gods of the contracting parties may bring misery and poverty over you. May they overturn your throne, (yours), of Kurtiwaza. May the oaths sworn in the presence of these gods break you like reeds, you, Kurtiwaza, together with your country. May they exterminate from the earth your name and your seed (born) from a second wife that you may take. Much as you may seek uninterrupted peace for your country, from the midst of the Hurrians may that be banned. May the earth be coldness so that you fall down slipping. May the soil of your country be a hardened quagmire so that you break in, but never get across. May you, Kurtiwaza, and (you), the Hurrians, be hateful to the thousand gods, may they pursue you.

If (on the other hand) you, Kurtiwaza, the prince, and (you), the Hurrians, fulfill this treaty and (this) oath, may these gods protect you, Kurtiwaza, together with your wife, the daughter of the Hatti land, her children and her children’s children, and also (you), the Hurrians, together with your wives, your children, and your children’s children and together with your country. May the Mitanni country return to the place which it occupied before, may it thrive and expand. May you, Kurtiwaza, your sons and your sons’ sons (descended) from the daughter of the Great King of the Hatti land, and (you), the Hurrians, exercise kingship forever. May the throne of your father persist, may the Mitanni country persist.

4 Much discussed in connection with the question as to whether the Hapiri, ubiquitous in cuneiform texts of the times, are to be equated with the Hebrews.
5 The Hurrian form of the Storm-god.
6 The Hurrian Moon-god.
7 The Hurrian Sun-god.
8 Mitra and Varuna, the Indian gods, appear here among the Hurrian pantheon.
9 Indra, also an Indian god.
10 The Nasatyas of the Indians.
11 A kind of sanctuary or shrine.
Instructions for Palace Personnel to Insure the King's Purity


(Less than half of the tablet—parts of the columns ii and iii—yields an intelligible text.)

(ii) [If] anyone does something [in an unclean] way (or if) anyone arouses [the king's displeasure], (but) you say as follows: "[The king] is not seeing us," (be aware of the fact that) the king's gods will certainly observe you. They will treat you as a goat and pursue you over the mountains, they will treat you as a sheep and pursue you over the rocks.

When some day the king's anger is aroused and I (the king) summon you, all the kitchen personnel, and hand you over to the River (for an ordeal)—whoever will be proven innocent, will remain the king's servant. But whoever will be proven guilty, I, the king, would not wish (to retain) him. Together with his wife and his children they shall put him to death.

Further: You, all the kitchen personnel—the cup-bearer, the table-man, the cook, the baker, the tawal man, the walhi man, the cellarius, the patandalai, the dairy man, the kiplialai, the surralai, the tappalai, the keeper of the loaves, the zappalai—you will have to swear an oath of loyalty to the king every month. Fill a bitumen cup with water and pour it out toward the Sun-god and speak as follows: "Whoever does something in an unclean way and offers to the king polluted water, (iii) pour you, O gods, that man's soul out like water!"

Further: You who are water carriers, be very careful with water! Strain the water with a strainer! At some time I, the king, found a hair in the water pitcher in Sanahutta. The king became angry and I expressed my anger to the water carriers (saying): "This is scandalous." Then Arnilis (said): "Zuliyas was careless." The king said: "Let Zuliyas go to the place where the loaves are prepared! If he proves innocent, let him clean himself! If he is found guilty, he shall be killed!"

Zuliyas went to the place where the loaves are prepared and was found guilty. They placed Zuliyas [in Su]res, the king [h]im and he died.

Instructions for Temple Officials

Texts: KUB, xiii, 4 and its duplicates KUB, xiii, 5+KUB, xxx, 95, KUB, xiii, 6+19 and furthermore KUB, xiii, 17, 18; KUB, xxvi, 31; KUB, xxxi, 92, 93 and 94, several of which may be remnants of the same tablet or belong to one of the duplicates. Literature: E. H. Sturtevant, JAOS, lxxv (1934), 363-406, also separately as Publications of the American Oriental Society, Offprint Series, No. 4 (1934). Text, transliteration and translation are also found in Sturtevant-Bechtel, A Hittite Chronicles (1935), 127-174.

(The beginning of column i has not been recovered as yet.)

2. Furthermore, let those who prepare the daily loaves be clean. (15) Let them be bathed (and) groomed, let their (body) hair and nails be removed. Let them be clothed in clean dresses. [While unclean], let them not prepare (the loaves); let those who are [agreeable] to the gods' soul and person prepare them. The bakers' house in which they prepare them—let that be swept (and) scrubbed. (20) Furthermore, let a pig or a dog not stay at the door of the place where the loaves are broken. Are the minds of men and of the gods generally different? No! With regard to the matter with which we are dealing? No! Their minds are exactly alike. When a servant is to stand before his master, he is bathed and clothed in clean (garments); he either gives him his food, or he gives him his beverage. (25) And because he, his master, eats (and) drinks, he is relaxed in spirit and feels one with him. But if he (the servant) is ever remiss, (if) he is inattentive, his mind is alien to him. And if a slave causes his master's anger, they will either kill him or they will injure him at his nose, his eyes (or) (30) his ears; or [they will seize] him, his wife, his children, his brother, his sister, his in-laws, his kin whether it be a male slave or a slave-girl. They may (either) impose the extreme penalty, (or) they
may do to him nothing at all. If ever he is to die, he
will not die alone; his kin will accompany him.

3. If then, on the other hand, anyone arouses the anger
of a god, (35) does the god take revenge on him alone?
Does he not take revenge on his wife, his children, his
descendants, his kin, his slaves, and slave-girls, his cattle
(and) sheep together with his crop and will utterly
destroy him? Be very reverent indeed to the word of a
god!

4. Further: The festival of the month, the festival of
the year, the festival of the stag, the festival of autumn,
(40), the festival of spring, the festival of thunder, the
festival of hiyaral, the festival of pullahal, the festival
of isuwal, the festival of [ ... ]alatal, the festival of
the rhyton, the festivals of the holy priest, the festivals
of the Old Men, the festivals of the mothers-of-god, the
festival of dahiyal, the festivals of the upati men, the
festivals of pulal, the festivals of hahrutar, (45) or what-
ever festival else (will be celebrated) in Hattusa—if
you do not celebrate them with all the cattle, sheep,
loaves, beer (and) wine set (before the gods), and if
you, the god's priests, make a deal with those who give
all that, you can be sure that the gods will notice what is
amiss.

5. (50) Or if you ever take (sacrifices that have been)
set (before the gods) and do not carry them right to
the gods themselves, (if) you withhold (it) from them,
keep (it) in your houses, and your wives, children (or)
servants consume it, (if) you give it to a relative or some
ubaru befriended with you who happens to visit (you),
if you give it to him (55) and take it away from the god
and do not carry it right to him, (or if) you give it
(to him) in several portions—you will be held respon-
sible for that matter of dividing. Do not divide it. He
who divides it, shall be killed; there shall be no recourse
for him.

6. (60) Every bit of the loaves, the beer (and) the
wine keep in the temple. Let no one appropriate for
himself a sacrificial loaf of the god (or) a thin loaf.
Let no one pour out beer (or) wine from the cup. De-
vote every bit to the god. Furthermore, in the presence
of the god speak for yourselves (these) words: "Who-
ever has taken from thy divine loaves (65) (or) from
the libation bowl, may the god, my lord, [punish] him;
may he hold this man's house responsible for it!" (ii)
If you [wish] to eat and to drink [ ... ] on that day,
eat and drink. If you cannot finish it, keep on eating
(and) drinking [for] three days. But your wives, your
children (and) your servants (5) must in no circum-
stances [ ... cross] the threshold of the gods. But an
ubaru who may come to see someone is allowed to
enter the house of the god and he may also cross
the threshold of the king.1 So let that man (whom he is
visiting) conduct him up (to the temple) and let him
eat (and) drink. But if it is (10) [a foreigner], if it
is not a Hittite man, and he approaches the gods,
[he shall be killed]. And he who conducts him (into

1 The beginning of the second column is preserved only on KUB. xiii, 5. the temple), it makes him liable of the death penalty
too.

7. If an ox (or) a sheep is driven up to the god as
food, and you appropriate for yourselves either a fat-
tened ox or a fattened sheep and substitute a lean one
which you have slaughtered, (15) and (if) you either
consume that or put it into your pen, or put it under
the yoke, or (if) you put the sheep into your fold (20) or
kill it for yourselves, and (if) you see fit [to give it
away] or to turn it over to another man, or (if) you
accept a price for it and thus [take it away from] the
god and withhold it from (his) mouth, (if) you take
it for yourselves or give it to another man (25) and
speak as follows: "Since he is a god, he will not say
anything, and will not do anything to us"—just think
how the man reacts who sees his (choice)morsel
snatched away from before his eyes! The will of the
gods is strong. It does not make haste to seize, (30) but
when it seizes, it does not let go (again). Now be very
reverent of the will of the gods.

8. Further: Whatever silver, gold, garments or bronze
implements of the gods you hold, you are (merely)
their caretakers. You have no right to the silver, gold,
garments (and) bronze implements of the gods, and
none whatsoever to the things that are in the gods'
houses. (35) They belong to the god alone. Be very care-
ful and let no temple official have silver (or) gold. Let
him not carry it on his own body, and let him not make
it into an ornament for his wife (or) his children. But
if they give him (40) silver, gold, garments (and)
bronze implements as a gift from the palace, let them
be specified: "So-and-so, the king has given it to him."
How much its weight is, let also be set down. Further-
more let it be set down thus: "At such-and-such a
festival have they given it to him." Let also the wit-
nesses be set down at the end: "When they gave it to him,
so-and-so (45) and so-and-so were present." Further-
more let him not leave it in his house; let him offer it
for sale. But when he sells it, let him not sell it in a
secret place; let the Hittite lords be present and look on.
Let that which (anyone) buys be listed on a tablet and
let them seal it. If he puts them up for sale on his
own, he is liable to the death penalty. He who does not
put up for sale silver, gold, garments (or) implements
of bronze in the same way (as here described),* (55)
also he who receives it and hides it and does not bring
it to the king's court, both of them are liable to the
death penalty, they shall both be killed. They are [dis-
agreeable] to the gods. There shall in no circumstances
be recourse for them.

9. Further: You who are temple officials, if you do
not celebrate the festivals (60) at the time proper for
the festivals and (if) you celebrate the festival of spring
in the autumn, or (if)*—when in the course of time a
festival is about to be celebrated—he who is to perform
it comes to you, the priests, the "anointed," the mothers-
of-god, and to the temple officials (65) and embraces your knees (saying): "The harvest is before me, or arranging for (my) marriage, or a journey, or some other business. Do me a favor and let me finish that business first. But when that business of mine is finished, (70) I shall perform the festival as prescribed"—do not yield to a man's whim, let him not take precedence (of the gods). You must not make a deal of the gods' pleasure. Should with you a man take precedence (of the gods) and should you make a deal for yourselves, the gods will seek to take revenge on you in the future. (75) They will hold a grudge against you, yourselves, your wives, your children (and) your servants. So act only according to the pleasure of the gods! And you will eat bread, drink water and establish a family. But do not act according to the pleasure of a man. Do not sell the death penalty, but do not buy the death penalty either.

10. (80) Further: You who are temple officials, be very careful with respect to the precinct. At nightfall promptly go to be in (the temple); eat (and) drink, and if the desire for a woman [overcomes] anyone, let him sleep with a woman. (iii) But as long as [ . . . ] let him stay and let ( every one) promptly come up to spend the night in the temple. Whoever is a temple official, all high priests, minor priests, "anointed" or whoever else (5) is allowed to cross the threshold of the gods, let (them) not fail to spend the night in the temple one by one. Furthermore, there shall be watchmen employed by night who shall patrol all night through. Outside the enclosure guards shall watch, inside the temples shall the temple officials patrol all night through and they shall not sleep. Night by night one of the high priests shall be in charge of the patrols. Furthermore, someone of those who are priests shall be in charge of the gate of the temple and guard the temple. (15) In his own house no one (of these) shall spend the night with his wife. Whomsoever they will find down in his house, it will be a capital offense for him. Guard the temple very carefully and do not sleep. (Responsibility for) the precinct shall be divided among yourselves. He who commits an offense with respect to the precinct (20) shall be killed; he shall not be pardoned.

11. If anyone has some (official) duty to perform in Hattusa, and (either) a priest (or) an "anointed" is to admit people who are accompanied by guards, he will admit those too. If a guard is assigned to anyone, he may also enter the enclosure. (25) He must not speak thus: "I am guarding the house of my god, but I shall not go in there."—If there is some talk of enmity, (namely) that someone will undertake to defile Hattusa and (the guards) at the outer wall do not recognize him, but the temple officials recognize him inside, the guard shall definitely go after him. (30) (In) such (situation the) guard must not fail to spend the night with his god. If he fails however, in case they do not kill him, they shall humiliate him. Naked—there shall be no garment on his body—he shall bring three times water from the Labarnas' cistern to the house of his god. Such shall be his humiliation.

12. (35) Further: O priests, "anointed," mothers-of-god (and) temple officials! Some troublemaker may rise in the temple or another sacred building. If he rises in the temple and causes a quarrel and thereby interferes with a festival, they shall interfere with him. Let him celebrate that festival with the usual expenditure of sheep, bread (and) beer, (40) he must not even omit the thin loaf. Whoever fails (to provide) it and does not celebrate a fully set festival, it shall be a great offense for him and he shall make up for the festival. So be very careful with a quarrel.

13. Further: Be very careful with the matter of fire. (45) If there is a festival in the temple, guard the fire carefully. When night falls, quench well with water whatever fire remains on the hearth. But if there is any flame in isolated spots and (also) dry wood, (if) he who is to quench it (50) becomes criminally negligent in the temple—even if only the temple is destroyed, but Hattusa and the king's property is not destroyed—he who commits the crime will perish together with his descendants. Of those who are in the temple not one is to be spared; together with their descendants they shall perish. So for your own good be very careful in the matter of fire.

14. (55) Further: You who are kitchen servants of all the gods, cupbearers, table-men, cooks, bakers (or) vintners, be very careful with respect to the gods' mood. Spend much reverent care upon the gods' sacrificial loaves (and) libation bowls. The place where the bread is broken (60) shall be swept (and) scrubbed; (the regulations concerning) the threshold shall be enforced for pigs and dogs. As to yourselves, you shall be bathed and dressed in clean garments. Furthermore, your (body) hair and your nails shall be removed. Let the mood of the gods not befall you. (65) If a pig (or) a dog somehow approaches the implements of wood or bitumen which you have, and the kitchen servant does not discard it, but gives the god to eat from an unclean (vessel), to such a man the gods will give dung (and) urine to eat (and) to drink. Whoever is going to sleep with a woman, (70) he shall go to that woman in the same condition in which he performs a rite for the gods and gives the god his portion to eat and to drink. Furthermore, [at . . . ], as soon as the sun is up, he shall at once take a bath; and in the morning, at the time when the gods eat, he shall promptly be present. But, if he omits (to do so), it will be a sin for him. Whoever sleeps with a woman, (75) if his superior (or) his chief constrains (him), he shall say so. If he himself does not dare tell him, he shall tell his fellow servant and shall bathe anyway. But if he knowingly postpones it and without having bathed approaches the gods' sacrificial loaves (80) (and) libation bowl in an unclean condition, or (if) his fellow servant knows about him—namely that he placed himself first—but nevertheless conceals it, (if) afterward it becomes known, they are liable to the capital penalty; both of them shall be killed.
15. (iv) [Further: You who are the plowmen of the gods, ... ] The young animals which you, the plowmen, are supposed to have ready, have them promptly ready at the correct time. (5) Before a man has eaten from them, carry them promptly to the presence of the gods; let the gods not wait for them. If you delay them, you commit a sin. They will consult the oracles about you, and just as the gods, your lords, direct, so they will do to you. (10) They will fine you an ox and ten sheep and will pacify the mind of the gods.

16. Further: If you plant grain, and if the priest does not send you a man to plant the seed, you shall manage by yourselves. Should you plant much, (15) but tell the priest (that) it (was) little, or should the gods' field be thriving, but the field of the plowmen be barren and you call the gods' field yours, but your field that of the god, or should you when you store the grain declare one half, but conceal the other half (20) and should you proceed to divide it afterward among yourselves and should it! afterward become known—you may get away with appropriating it from a man, but you cannot appropriate it from a god—you will commit a sin. They will take all the grain away from you and put it in the magazines of the gods.

17. (25) Further: You who hold the plow-oxen of [the gods], if you sell a plow-ox, or kill it and consume it, (if) you appropriate it for yourselves (while it belongs) to the god (saying): “It died from emaciation, or it broke (its legs), or it ran away, or the bull gored it” (30) and consume it yourselves, and it afterwards becomes known, you will replace that ox. If however it does not become known, you will go before the god. If you are acquitted, (it is due to) your patron god; if you are convicted, it is considered a capital sin for you.

18. Further: You who are the gods' cowherds (and) the gods' shepherds, (35) if there is a rite for any god at the time of bearing young and you are supposed to have ready for him either a calf, a lamb, a kid or choice animals, do not delay them! Have them ready at the right time; do not let the gods wait for them. Before a man eats of the young animals, (40) bring it promptly to the gods. Or if there is a “festival of the cup” for any god, (even) while they repair the cup, do not allow it to lapse; celebrate it for him. If you do not bring the young animals promptly to the gods, but eat first of them yourselves (45) or send them to your superiors, but it afterward becomes known, it is considered a capital sin for you. If it does not become known—at whatever time you will bring them, you will bring them before the god with these words: “If we have given this young animal to ourselves first, (50) or have given it to our superiors, or to our wives, our children or to anyone else, we have offended the gods' feelings.” Then you will drink dry the rhyton of the god of life. If you are found innocent, (it is due to) your patron god; but if you are found guilty, you will perish together with (55) your wives (and) your children.

19. Further: If you ever make a selection (of animals) and they drive them up to the gods, your lords, the cowherd and the shepherd shall go with that selection. In the same condition in which they are selected from the pen (and) the fold, (60) shall they bring them to the gods. On the road they must not exchange them. But if any cowherd or shepherd does wrong on the road, exchanges either a fattened ox or a fattened sheep, or makes a deal or kills it and (65) they eat it up, and put in its place an emaciated (animal), and it becomes known, it is considered a capital sin for them; they have taken the gods' choice morsel. But if it does not become known, whenever they arrive they shall take the rhyton of the god of life from the cult stand, (70) and while doing so they shall declare as follows: “If we have for ourselves withheld from the mouth of the gods their (choice) morsel, and have given it to ourselves, or (if) we have sold it for ourselves, or if we have exchanged it, made a deal (75) and substituted in its place an emaciated (animal), then do thou, O god, pursue us together with our wives (and) our children on account of thy own (choice) morsel!”

From the Instructions for the Commander of the Border Guards

Text: KUB, xiii, 2 ii 26-iii 35 and its duplicates KUB, xxxi, 90 ii 7 ff. and KUB, xxxi, 86 iv 1 ff. (+) 88 iii 1 ff. Literature: V. Korolec, Zbornik znanstvenih razprav juridilne fakultete, viii (1942), 139-170 (with a summary in Italian).

In the town through which the commander of the border guards passes on his tour of inspection he shall attend to the necessary provisions for town-elders, priests, “anointed” (and) mothers-of-god. He shall speak to them as follows: “The sanctuary which exists in this town, whether it is of the Storm-god or of other gods, (30) is now collapsed and in disrepair. It is not provided with priests, mothers-of-god (and) ‘anointed.’ So provide it again with such (functionaries)! They shall restore it. As it was built previously, (35) so shall they rebuild it.”

Furthermore, due reverence shall be shown to the gods, but to the Storm-god special reverence shall be shown. If some temple has a leaking roof, the commander of the border guards and the town commandant shall put it right, or (if) any rhyton of the Storm-god (40) or any implement of any other god is in disrepair, the priests, the “anointed” (and) the mothers-of-god shall restore it.

Furthermore, the commander of the border guards shall make an inventory of the god's utensils and send it before the Sun. Furthermore, they shall worship the
I gods on the right dates. If a certain date is set for some
god, they shall worship him on that date. (45) If some
god has no priest, mother-of-god (or) "anointed," they
shall promptly appoint one.

(iii) [If] no provisions have been made [for sacrifices
to the gods'] stone pillars, provide for them now! They
shall arrange for them, and furthermore they shall
present whatever sacrifices have long been customary.

The rites which are established for the springs that
are in the town, (5) they shall go to them and celebrate
their rites. And those springs for which rites have not
been established, they shall go to them all the same. In
no circumstances shall they omit them. They shall
regularly give sacrifices to the mountains (and) to the
rivers for which such are established.

Furthermore, the commander of the border guards,
the town commandant and the elders shall judge and
decide legal cases (10) in accordance with the law. As
it has been from olden days—in a town in which they
have been accustomed to imposing the death penalty,
they shall continue to do so. But in a town where they
have been accustomed to imposing exile, they shall
continue that (custom). (15) Furthermore, the citizens
shall bathe afterward and there shall be a public an-
nouncement. No one shall let (the exiled) return. He
who lets him return, shall be put in prison.

And when they worship the gods, let no one start a
disturbance in the presence of the gods, let no one start
a disturbance in the house of festival. Furthermore let
reverence be paid to the priests, the lay brothers, the
"anointed" (20) (and) the mothers-of-god. Reverence
toward the gods shall be the duty of the priests, the
"anointed" and the mothers-of-god. If anyone brings
suit by means of a sealed brief, the commander of the
border guards shall judge it according to the law and
set it right. If the case is too much, he shall send it
before the Sun.

(25) He must not decide it in favor of his superior,
his must not decide it in favor of his brother, his wife or
his friend; no one shall be shown any favor. He must
not make a just case unjust; he must not make an un-
just case just. Whatever is right, that shall he do.

Whenever you arrive at a town, call all the people of
the town (30) together. For him who has a complaint,
judge it and set him right. If a man's slave or a man's
slave-girl or a widowed woman has a complaint (against
some one) judge it for them and set them right. Should
Kassiya people, Himmuwa people, Tagaramma people
and Isuwa people\(^1\) be there, (35) attend to them in every
way.

\(^1\) i.e., the Hittite king.
\(^2\) These are privileged classes of people. cf. 554 of the Hittite Laws.
Documents from the Practice of Law

Egyptian Documents

(Translator: John A. Wilson)

A ROYAL DECREES OF TEMPLE PRIVILEGE

No codes of laws have been found for ancient Egypt. This means either that such collections of laws were written on papyrus and leather and so have not survived or that pharaonic Egypt did not codify law, but rather operated on the basis of topical justice originating in the word of the god-king. We do possess royal decrees, framed to meet particular situations. Most common are the charters of immunity, granting a temple exemption from civil obligation. The following decree of the Fifth Dynasty Pharaoh Nefer-iri-ka-Re (26th century B.C.) freed the personnel of the Temple of Osiris at Abydos from forced labor for the state.

The stela was found at Abydos and is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (03.1896). The text was published by W. M. F. Petrie, Abydos II (London, 1903), pls. xiv, xviii, and by K. Sethe, Urkunden des alten Reichs (Urk., i, Leipzig, 1933), 170-72. It was studied by Sethe in GGA (1912), 733 ff., and by A. Moret in JA (1917), 429 ff.

Other royal decrees or references thereto will be found at pp. 31-32; 252, n.9; 327; 329. *(See Addenda). The text was published by R. Weill, Les decrets royaux de Pancien empire Egyptien (Paris, 1912); see also W. C. Hayes in JEA, xxxii (1946), 3-23. The decree of Hor-em-heb, following the Amarna Revolution, was studied by K. Pflüger in JNES, v (1946), 260-76. A decree of Seti I was studied by W. F. Edgerton in JNES, vi (1947), 219-30.


I

I do not permit that any man have the right to—take away any serfs who are (in) the District which thou art, for the corvée, or (to) the place of plowing, as well as any (other) work of the District, except to do service for the god himself in the temple in which he is and to conserve the temples (to) in which they are. They are exempt in the length of eternity by the decree of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Nefer-iri-ka-Re. There is no title to them in any (other) service.

II

(I do not permit that any man have the right to)—carry (off) the necessary [equipment] for any work to any (other) God's Field on which there is priestly service by any prophets. (They are exempt in the length of eternity by the decree of the King of Upper and

1 The decrees of the Old Kingdom were published together by R. Weill, Les decrets royaux de l'ancien empire Egyptien (Paris, 1912); see also W. C. Hayes in JEA, xxxii (1946), 3-23. The decree of Hor-em-heb, following the Amarna Revolution, was studied by K. Pflüger in JNES, v (1946), 260-76. A decree of Seti I was studied by W. F. Edgerton in JNES, vi (1947), 219-30.

2 The Horus name of Nefer-iri-ka-Re. The physical arrangement of the inscription permitted certain elements—here given in the long parenthetical sections—to be used in repetition. The present introductory words serve also as the introductory words for sections II and III below.

3 This is understood to mean a temple estate, including property within and without the temple precincts.

Lower Egypt: Nefer-iri-ka-Re. There is no title to them in any service.)

III

(I do not permit that any man have the right to)—take away any serfs who are on (any God's Field on which there is priestly service by any prophets), for the corvée, as well as any (other) work of the District. (They are exempt in the length of eternity by the decree of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Nefer-iri-ka-Re. There is no title to them in any service.)

IV

As for any man of the District who shall take away—(20) any prophets who are on the God's Field on which they do priestly service in this District, for the corvée, as well as any (other) work of the District, thou shalt consign him to the temple workhouse, he [him]self being put on [any] corvée, or (to) the place of plowing . . .

V

(As for any man of the District who shall take away)—any serfs who are on the God's Field, (for the corvée, as well as any work of the District, thou shalt consign him to the temple workhouse, he [him]self being put on [any] corvée, or the place of plowing . . .)

VI

Any official or royal intimate or agricultural officer who shall act contrary to these things which I have decreed shall [be removed] and turned over to the law court, while the house, fields, people, and everything in his possession shall be forfeited, he being put on any corvée.

(30) The Royal Person was present at the sealing. Second month of the third season, day 11 (+ 2). 3

THE VIZIER OF EGYPT

By dogma the pharaoh of Egypt was the state, but in actual practice he had to delegate authority to others. The most important civil official was the vizier, who was directly responsible to the pharaoh and to whom most of the other officials were responsible. We possess a fair amount of material with regard to the vizier under the Egyptian Empire. The following texts relate to Rekh-mi-Re, the Vizier of Upper Egypt under the reign of Thut-mose III (about 1490-1436 B.C.).

The texts are from the tomb of Rekh-mi-Re, No. 100 at Thebes. They have been published by N. de G. Davies, The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes (Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, xi, New York, 1943), two volumes, including translations. The texts were earlier presented in K.

* The original decree was on a scroll, and pharaoh gave his sanctioning presence to the sealing of this document. Around 2530 B.C. the date would fall in February or March.
DOCUMENTS FROM THE PRACTICE OF LAW

I. FROM THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF REKH-MI-RE

In a lengthy statement about his worldly position and success, the vizier tells about his appointment to that office. Davies, *op.cit.*, 79-83, Pls. xi-xii.

I was a noble, the second of the king and the fourth of him who judged the Pair... It was the first occasion of my being summoned. All my brothers were in the outer office. I went (5) forth... clad in fine linen... I reached the doorway of the palace gate. The courtiers bent their backs, and I found the masters of ceremonies clearing the way [before me]... My abilities were not as they had been: my yesterday's nature had altered itself, since I had come forth in the accoutrements of the vizier, having been promoted to be Prophet of Maat.

I was [summoned] again into the presence of the good god (Thutmos III)... His majesty opened his mouth and spoke his words veritably (10) in my presence: "Now behold, I see a face which I send to my heart, [for my majesty knows] that decisions are many, without limit to them, and the judging of cases never falls off. Would that thou mightest act in conformance with what I may say! Then Maat will rest in her place." He charged me very much: "Gather thyself together; be strong in action; do not flag..."

[I acted] in conformance with that which he had ordained. He gave me a tribunal under my authority, and there was none therein who could oppose me... I raised justice to the height of heaven; I made its beauty circulate to the width of earth, so that it rested in every heart... (40) When I judged (37) the petitioner, I was not partial. I did not turn my brow for the sake of reward. I was not angry [at him who came] as [a petitioner], nor did I rebuff him, (but) I tolerated him in his moment of outburst. I rescued the timid from the violent.

B. THE INSTALLATION OF THE VIZIER

Another long text gives the charge which Thut-mose III laid upon his newly appointed vizier. Davies, *op.cit.*, 84-88, PIs. xv-xv, with PIs. cxix-cxxi adding the same text from the tombs of two other viziers of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

The regulations laid upon the Vizier Re[kh-mi-Re], when the tribunal was ushered into audience hall of Pharaoh—life, prosperity, health!—and it was caused

1. He was the immediate assistant of the king, just as if he were a partner of the god Thoth in judging Horus and Seth—thus making a fourth to these three gods.

2. The goddess Maat was "Truth" or "Justice." In his capacity as the highest magistrate, Rekh-mi-Re was the priest of Maat.

3. Translation uncertain, assumed to mean: I see someone with whom I have sympathy because of his arduous duties. Davies: "My eyes send me to my heart"—grammatically impeccable, but unintelligible.

4. The same word *maat* as that of n.2 above, but not here determined with the picture of a goddess.

5. The north wind was Egypt's refreshing wind.

that the newly appointed Vizier [Rekh-mi-Re] be brought in.

(1) Then his majesty said to him: "Look thou to this office of vizier. Be vigilant over [everything that] is done in it. Behold, it is the support of the entire land. Behold, as to the vizierate, behold, it is not sweet at all, behold, it is as bitter as gall... Behold, it does not mean giving attention (only) to himself and to his officials and councillors, nor (yet) making [dependents] out of everybody... (5) Therefore, see to it for thyself that all [things] are done according to that which conforms to law and that all things are done in conformance to the precedent thereof in [setting every man in] his just deserts. Behold, as for the official who is in public view, the (very) winds and waters report all that he does; so, behold, his deeds cannot be unknown... Behold, it is the official's place of refuge to act in conformance with the regulations... (The) (12) abomination of the god is partiality. This is the instruction, and thus shalt thou act: 'Thou shalt look upon him whom thou knowest like him whom thou knowest not, upon him who has access to thee like him who is far away.'... (17)... Behold, thou shouldst attach to thy carrying out of this office thy carrying out of justice. Behold, what is desired is that the carrying out of justice be the produce of the vizier.'..."

C. THE JUDICIAL SITTING OF THE VIZIER

In a long and detailed text, Rekh-mi-Re tells of the several functions of his office. This translation deals only with the rules for the judicial hearings of the vizier in his hall of justice. Davies, *op.cit.*, 88-94; PIs. xxvi-xxviii, with PIs. cxix-cxxi giving parallels from the tombs of two other viziers of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and PIs. xxv-xv a scene showing the hall of justice, with the vizier enthroned, his supporting magistrates and clerks, court bailiffs, and humbly bowing appellants to the court.

(1) The regulations for the sitting of the Mayor and Vizier of the Southern City and of the Residence in the Hall of the Vizier.

As for everything which this official, the Vizier, shall do while holding hearings in the Hall of the Vizier—he shall sit upon a judgment-chair, with a matting on the floor, a matting over him, a cushion under his back and a cushion under his feet, a [cape] upon him, a sceptre at his hand, and the forty leather straps spread out in front of him, the Chiefs of Southern Tens' on two sides in front of him, the Overseer of the Cabinet on his right hand, the Supervisor of Clients on his left hand,

6 The word means "normal." Davies: "due regularity."

7 The execution of justice is the "outcome" or "output" of the vizier.

8 Shesmu, a critical word in the understanding of Egyptian law. The scene of hearing shows forty oblong or tubular things lying on mats in front of the vizier. The present word has a skin determinative. These have been assumed to be the scrolls of the law, written on leather, our only indication of codified law at this time. Unfortunately, Davies (pp. 31-32) shows evidence that they were used for maintaining authority or for punishment, citing a passage in which a man was "beaten with fifty stripes." He concludes that the forty which were spread out were symbols of authority.

9 A body of magistrates.
and the Scribe of the Vizier beside him, one confronting another, with every man opposite him.10

Let one be heard after his fellow, not permitting the last to be heard before an earlier. If one who is earlier should say: "There is no one hearing near me," then he is to be taken in charge by the messengers of the Vizier.11

RESULTS OF A TRIAL FOR CONSPIRACY

The Twentieth Dynasty has provided us with a mass of legal material, particularly on the proceedings occasioned by the plundering of Theban tombs.1 We shall present here extracts from a document of different nature, dealing with a harem conspiracy and the plot to supplant Ramses III upon his throne by one of his sons.2 It is uncertain whether the conspiracy was successful to the point of taking the life of Ramses III. In that case, the court of inquiry and punishment will have been constituted by Ramses IV in the name of his dead father. Alternatively, Ramses III survived the plot and himself constituted the court.

The manuscript is the Judicial Papyrus of Turin, dated to the end of the reign of Ramses III (about 1164 B.C.). The hieratic text was facsimiled by T. Deveria in Bibliotheque egyptologique (ed. by G. Maspero), v (Paris, 1897). It was translated by Breasted, AR, iv, §§416-53. Its most recent study was by A. de Buck in JEA, xxiii (1937), 152-64. The lost beginning of the manuscript probably gave the setting of the conspiracy.

Two other texts have a juridical setting: the story of the Eloquent Peasant (pp. 407-410) and the story of the contending of Horus and Seth (pp. 14-17), although the latter is a burlesque on court procedure. For advice on conduct in court, see the Instruction of Amen-em-Opet (p. 424). For a prayer against unfair advantage and is then to be arrested: "Should one who is seeking unfair advantage and is then to be arrested: "Should one who is seeking unfair advantage and is then to be arrested:

... they are (ii 1) the abomination of the land. I laid the charge upon: the Overseer of the Treasury Montu-em-tawi; the Overseer of the Treasury Pai-re-tawi; the Overseer of the Treasury Pai-rf-ru; the Standard-Bearer Kar; the Butler Pai-Bes; the Butler Qedendenen; the Butler Baal-mahar; the Butler Pai-sun; the Butler Thut-rekh-kef; the Royal Herald Pen-Renenut; the Scribe May; the Scribe of the Archives Pa-Re-em-heb; and the Standard-Bearer of the Garrison Hori, (s) saying: "As for the matters which the people— I do not know who—have said, go and examine them."

And they went and examined them, and they caused to die by their own hands those whom they caused to die—[1] do not know who—and they inflicted punishment [upon] the others—[1] do not know who also. But [1] charged [them strictly], saying: "Be careful, guard against having punishment inflicted (upon) a [person] irregularly [by an official] who is not over him." So I said to them repeatedly. (iii 1) As for all that they have done, it is they who have done it. Let all that they have done come upon their [own] heads, whereas I am privileged and immune unto eternity, since I am among the righteous kings who are in the presence of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, and in the presence of Osiris, Ruler of Eternity.4

(iv 1) Persons brought in because of the great crimes which they had committed, and turned over to the Place of Examination, in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination, in order to be examined by: the Overseer of the Treasury Montu-em-tawi; the Overseer of the Treasury Pai-rf-ru; the Standard-Bearer Kar; the Butler Pai-Bes; the Scribe of the Archives May; and the Standard-Bearer Hori.5 They examined them. They found them guilty. They caused their sentences to overtake them. Their crimes seized them.6

The great enemy Pai-bak-kamen,8 who had been Chief of the Chamber. He was brought in because he had been in collusion with Tyie and the women of the harem. He had made common cause with them. He had begun to take their words outside to their mothers and their brothers who were there, saying: "Gather people and stir up enemies to make rebellion against their lord!" He was placed in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination. They examined his crimes.

8 As de Buck suggests, the insistence of the pharaoh that he does not know who were the criminals against his throne and who was punished for conspiracy probably means that he accepts no personal responsibility for the fate of individuals. See the next note.

9 Although these are the "great officials" (cf. n.3 above), the criminals whom they try and sentence are not of such calibre that they are permitted to take their own lives, contrasting with those in sections II and III. The sentences which were imposed are not stated.

10 This Blind Slave." It has frequently been pointed out that some of these criminals have fictitious names. To be sure, the name Pa-tan-em-Amon, "The Breath of Life is With Amon," is a perfectly good Egyptian name. However, Mesed-su-Re, "He Hates Him," Pen-Huy-bin, "He of the Wicked Huy," Bin-em-Waset, "The Wicked One in Thebes," and probably Pa-Re-kamenef, "The Re Will Blind (Him)", are all names of orudereum, given either to degrade the criminals or to conceal their true and formerly honored names. See n.18 below.
They found that he had committed them. His crimes laid hold upon him. The officials who examined him caused his sentence to overtake him.

The great enemy Mesed-su-Re, who had been butler. He was brought in because he had been in collusion with Pai-bak-kamen, who had been Chief of the Chamber, and with the women, to gather enemies and to make rebellion against their lord. He was placed in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination. They examined his crimes. They found him guilty. They caused his sentence to overtake him...  

(6) The great enemy Pa-tjau-emdi-Amon, who had been Agent of the Harem in the Retinue. He was brought in because he had heard the words which the men had plotted with the women of the harem, without reporting them. He was placed in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination. They examined his crimes. They found him guilty. They caused his sentence to overtake him...

(v 1) The wives of the men of the gate of the harem, who had joined the men who plotted the matters, who were placed in the presence of the officials of the Place of Examination. They found them guilty. They caused their sentences to overtake them. Six women.

The great enemy Pa-iry, son of Rem, who had been Overseer of the Treasury. He was brought in because he had been in collusion with the great enemy Pen-Huy-bin. He had made common cause with him to stir up enemies and to make rebellion against their lord. He was placed in the presence of the great officials of the Place of Examination. They found him guilty. They caused his sentence to overtake him.

The great enemy Bin-em-Waset, who had been Troop Commander of Ethiopia. He was brought in because his sister, who was in the harem in the retinue, had written to him, saying: "Gather people, make enemies, and come back to make rebellion against your lord!" He was placed in the presence of Qedendenen, Baal-mahar, Pa-it-sun, and Thut-rekh-nefer. They examined him. They found him guilty. They caused his sentence to overtake him.

(5) The great enemy Pai-is, who had been Commander of the Army; the great enemy Messui, who had been Scribe of the House of Life; the great enemy Pa-Re-kamenef, who had been Chief (Lector Priest); the great enemy Ii-roi, who had been Overseer of the Priests of Sekhmet; the great enemy Neb-djefa, who had been butler; and the great enemy Shad-mesdjer, who had been Scribe of the House of Life. Total: six.

III

Persons brought, because of their crimes, in to the Place of Examination, in the presence of Qedendenen, Baal-mahar, Pa-it-sun, Thut-rekh-nefer, and Mer-usi-Amon. They examined them concerning their crimes. They found them guilty. They left them where they were. They took their own lives.

Pen-ta-Urt, he who had been called by that other name. He was brought in because he had been in collusion with Tiye, his mother, when she had plotted matters with the women of the harem about making rebellion against his lord. He was placed in the presence of the butlers in order to examine him. They found him guilty. They left him where he was. He took his own life.

The great enemy Henuten-Amon, who had been butler. He was brought in because of the crimes of the women of the harem, among whom he had been, which he had heard, without making report of them. He was placed in the presence of the butlers in order to examine him. They found him guilty. They left him where he was. He took his own life...

IV

(vi 1) Persons upon whom sentence was carried out by cutting off their noses and their ears, because they had abandoned the good instructions given to them. The women had gone. They had reached them at the...  

14 Either the particular crimes of which these persons were guilty called for suicide, or the criminals were of such a nature that they were permitted to take their own lives. cf. n.17.

15 The archives in which were kept the sacred and magical writings. The present group includes two clerks from those archives; a priest of Sekhmet, which means priest, physician, and magician; and a lector priest, versed in the magical writings. The present group was apparently guilty of using magical texts for the conspiracy.

16 It has been pointed out that this title gave rise to the word used (e.g. Gen. 41:8) for the Egyptian magicians; cf. de Buck, op. cit., 163.

17 Here, if Pen-ta-Urt was truly the pretender to the throne, the reason for permitting suicide is obvious. The prince was of too high a birth to incur a capital punishment.

18 Apparently the prince who was the pretender of the conspiracy, being advanced by his mother, Tiye. Breasted assumes that the trial gives him an assumed name, to protect his own name. De Buck suggests that the conspirators had given him another name for his claim to kingship, that is, a full royal titulary.

19 The translation omits two other officials, recorded in the same terms as Henuten-Amon.

20 Two of the following four had been judges in the court of examination, two were of the military or police, perhaps attached to that court. The instructions which they had "abandoned" were those of the pharaoh in constituting the court.
place where they were. They had caroused with them and with Pai-is. Their crime seized them.

The great enemy Pai-Bes, who had been butcher. This sentence was carried out on him: he was left, and he took his own life.

The great enemy May, who had been Scribe of the Archives.

The great enemy Tai-nakhtet, who had been Lieutenant of the Garrison.

(5) The great enemy Nanai, who had been Chief of Bailiffs.

V

PERSON who had been in common with them. He was rebuked severely with wicked words. He was left, and no penalty was carried out against him.

The great enemy Hori, who had been Standard-Bearer of the Garrison.

FROM THE RECORD OF A LAWSUIT

The following text has lost its beginning and its end, but it gives an adequate impression of legal proceedings under the Egyptian Empire. A merchant Raia offered the woman Iri-nofret a female slave from Palestine or Syria. Iri-nofret bought the slave for a price calculated in silver, but paid in goods, some of which she already had, but some of which she had to buy from other persons. Some time later, a soldier named Nekhy laid the legal charge that some of the payment for the slave had consisted of goods properly belonging to a woman named Bake-Mut. The court is examining this charge.

The papyrus was discovered by the Metropolitan Museum of Art at Thebes and is now Cairo Museum 6739. It dates to the Nineteenth Dynasty (13th century B.C.). It was published by A. H. Gardiner in JEA, xxi (1935), 140-46, Pls. xix-xlvi.

... SAIID BY THE WOMAN IRI-NOFRET: "As for me, I am the wife of the District Overseer Si-Mut, and I came to live in his house, and I worked and wove and took care of my (own) clothes. In the year 15, seven years after I had entered the house of the District Overseer Si-Mut, the merchant Raia approached me with the Syrian slave Gemni-her-imentet, while she was (still) a girl, and he (5) said to me: 'Buy this girl and give me the price for her—he spoke to me. And I took the girl and gave him [the price] for her. Now look, I shall tell the price which I gave for her:

1 shroud of Upper Egyptian linen, making 5 kidet of silver; 1 sheet of Upper Egyptian linen, making 3 1/2 kidet of silver; ... bought from the woman Kafy, 1 bronze jar, making 18 deben, making 1 2/3 kidet of silver; ... bought from the Chief Steward of the House of Amon, Tutu: 1 bronze jug, making 20 deben, making 2 kidet of silver; 10 shirts of fine Upper Egyptian linen, making 4 kidet of silver—

Total of everything, 4 deben, 1 kidet of silver. And I gave them to the merchant Raia, and there was nothing in them belonging to the woman Bake-Mut. And he gave me this girl, and I called her by the name Gemni-her-imentet."

(15) SAID BY THE TRIBUNAL OF JUDGES TO THE WOMAN IRI-NOFRET: "Take the oath of the Lord—life, prosperity, health!—with the words: 'Should witnesses be brought up against me that any property belonged to the woman Bake-Mut within the silver which I gave for this servant and I concealed it, I shall be (liable) to one hundred blows, while I am deprived of her.'"

OATH OF THE LORD—life, prosperity, health!—spoken by the woman Iri-nofret: "As Amon endures and as the Ruler—life, prosperity, health!—endures, should witnesses be brought up against me that any property belonged to the woman Bake-Mut within the silver which I gave for this servant and I concealed it, I shall be (liable) to one hundred blows, while I am deprived of her!"

SAID BY THE TRIBUNAL OF JUDGES TO THE SOLDIER NEKHY: (20) "Produce for us the witnesses of whom you said that they knew that this silver belonging to the woman Bake-Mut was given to buy the slave Gemni-her-imentet, as well as the witnesses about this tomb of which you said that it was the woman Bake-Mut who made it, but the woman Iri-nofret gave it to the merchant Nakht, and he gave her the slave Tener-Ptah in exchange for it."

QUANTITY OF WITNESSES WHOSE THE SOLDIER NEKHY NAMED IN THE PRESENCE OF THE TRIBUNAL: the Chief of Police Min-...; the Mayor of the West Ra-mose; the Priest Huy Phinehas, the elder brother of the District Overseer Si-Mut; the woman Kafy, (25) the wife of the Chief of Police Pa-shed, who is dead; the woman Weret-nofret: and the woman Hut-ia, the elder sister of the Huy Phinehas.

Thus the present piece of cloth (of Iri-nofret’s own weaving?) was worth about 45 grams of silver.

1 "They had made a beer-hall." For officers of the court of inquiry to carouse in a friendly way with the harem women whom they were trying was obviously a serious breach of judicial behavior.

2 "One fought with him with bad words strongly," i.e. he was let off with a reprimand. Apparently Hori—also one of the original judges—had been friendly with the preceding group, but had not acted with them in the carousing.

3 The translation omits three other payments of Iri-nofret's own linen, totaling 14 kidet of silver.

4 The translation omits four other purchases by Iri-nofret, of bronze vessels, beaten copper, and honey. One of these purchases was from the Priest Huy Phinehas, mentioned below as a witness against her. From the conversions of bronze or copper into silver, the ratio of silver to copper in the 19th dynasty was 100:1, calculated to the nearest convenient fraction.

5 The price of the Syrian slave girl was 4.1 deben of silver, about 375 grams or 1 Troy pound. J. 6erny, in Archiv Orientalis, vi (1933), 173 ff., showed that, at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th dynasty, 1 khar of emmer wheat was worth 1 deben of copper. Using the ratio of 100:1 of the preceding note, this would make 2.25 bushels of emmer worth 1 deben of copper, and the 4 deben of copper value given for the slave girl would work out at more than 900 bushels of emmer. But there are several uncertainties in the calculation; see Gardiner, op. cit., 146.

6 It is not clear how this transaction of the tomb and the purchase of a male slave figures in the accusation. It is apparently a second charge against Iri-nofret.
woman Bake-Mut—total: three men and three women; total: six. And they stood in the presence of the tribunal, and they took the oath of the Lord—life, prosperity, health—as well as the oath of the god, with the words: "We shall speak truthfully; we shall not speak falsely. Should we speak falsely, the servants shall be taken away from us."10

Said by the tribunal of judges to the Priest Huy: "Tell us the matter of the Syrian slave..."

Mesopotamian Legal Documents

(Translator: Theophile J. Meek)

Out of the thousands of tablets that have been published in this field it was difficult to make a selection. The following were chosen because (1) they represent different periods and different types, (2) most of them are short and hence permit the inclusion of a considerable variety, (3) they are quite well preserved, and (4) they are not too complex or involved so that their translation is fairly certain.

A. SUMERIAN

Notation re Laborers

Uru-ki-erima, En-udana, Lugal-nanga-ra-na, Ki-bi-batila, Shesh-tur, Ur-Enki, Ur-Ninsig, Lugal-mu, Nesag, (and) Lugal-sha-la-tuk, the overseer, have gone ahead; as for Uda, A-lu-lila, (and) En-tu, Lugal-sha-la-tuk, the fisherman, brought about their dispatch. A total of 12 men, who are sea-fishermen (in the employ) of the goddess Baba, have gone to the sea, with Lugal-sha-la-tuk as their overseer. The fifth year.

B. OLD AKKADIAN

(1) Amortization

94 copper utensils the recorder, Zuzu, received. 21 copper utensils in the case of Ishma-il, the son of Shu-Dada, (and) 5 copper utensils in the case of Name, are still outstanding as a balance against them.

(2) Receipt of Balance Due

110 qu of barley, the balance of the barley for rations, Ira-Shamash received. The month of Zalul.

(3) Receipt of Barley to be Sold

C. NEW SUMERIAN

(1) Divorce Settlement

Final judgment: Lu-Utu, the son of Nig-Baba, divorced Geme-Enlil. Dugidu, an officer and official, took oath that Geme-Enlil had taken her stand (and) said, "By the king! Give me 10 shekels of silver (and) I will not enter claim against you," (and) that she made him forfeit 10 shekels of silver. Ur... (was) the deputy; Ur-Lama (was) the governor. The year Harshi and Humurti were sacked.

(2) Receipt of Votive-gift

180 qu of barley, the votive-gift of Lu-Nanna, the governor of Zimudar, Ur-Gal-alim has received on behalf of the divine Shulgi-Nanna, on the bank of the canal Dur-ul.

The month of Shegurkud, the year the divine Shu-Sin became king.

(3) Loan at Interest

120 shekels of silver, with its interest at 5 shekels per 60 shekels, Adda-kala has borrowed from Ur-dul-azaga. In the month of Sigg he shall return it. By the king he swore.

(Names of three persons as witnesses, each preceded by the witness-sign.)

The month of Shegurkud, the year the divine Iibri-Sin, the king, sucked Simurru.

(Sealed in three places with a seal inscribed, "Adda-kala, the son of Ur-Sin.")

D. OLD ASSYRIAN

(1) Local Court Decision

The council of Kanish gave judgment having to do

... Akkadian kur of barley Ate, the merchant, received from Zuzu to be sold in Lulubum.

(4) Receipt of Barley for Rations

A certain Buzi at 120 qu, 4 workmen at 60 qu, 2 female slaves at 30 qu, 2 sons at 30 qu, 2 sons at 20 qu, 2 daughters at 20 qu, (making) 1 kur 260 qu of barley for rations per month: a total of 7 kur 140 qu of barley for rations for 4 months, the son of Absham of the city of Kinakum received.

G. NEW SUMERIAN

...
with Ashur-ammuram, the son of Enum-Ashur; Zibe-zibe, the daughter of Ashur-beli, (was) his wife; he divorced her and Ashur-ammuram gave Zibe-zibe, his wife, 1 mina of silver as her divorce-settlement, so his three sons shall revert to Ashur-ammuram; Zibe-zibe has no further claim against Ashur-ammuram or his three sons.

The month of Sin; the eponymy of Aweliya.

(2) Supreme (Ashur) Court Decision

(The names of nine persons, the last four being three sons and a daughter, Ahaha, of Pushu-ken, each preceded by "The seal of.")

As for the 40 minas of silver, with which Ikuppiya, the son of Ata’a, became indebted to Pushu-ken, in Kanish, and which money Ashur-muttabil and Belanum, the bailiff, got—for this money neither the (other) sons of Pushu-ken nor the daughter of Pushu-ken, the nun, may file claim against their brother, Ashur-muttabil. On his arrival the sons of Pushu-ken and the daughter of Pushu-ken, the nun, shall give to Ashur-muttabil in Kanish the tablet having to do with the debt of Ikuppiya, the son of Ata’a.

In conformity with the judgment of the city (i.e. Ashur) the sons of Pushu-ken and the daughter of Pushu-ken are content in the matter of the money. Idi-abum, the son of Ashur-malik, represented Ahaha.

(3) Divorce

(The seals of six persons, each preceded by "The seal of.")

Hashusharna, the son of Gudgariya, divorced his wife, Taliya. If Taliya tries to reclaim her (former) husband Hashusharna, she shall pay 2 minas of silver and they shall put them to death in the open. If Gudgariya and Hashusharna try to reclaim Taliya, they shall pay 2 minas of silver and they shall put them to death in the open.

E. OLD BABYLONIAN

(1) Lawsuit

(Legal) Document: For a house in Durum-eshshum belonging to Manutum, the daughter of Abdirah, Hamazirum, the daughter of Abihar, filed claim against Manutum, the daughter of Abdirah, whereupon the judges in the temple of Shamash put Manutum under oath to god. When Manutum swore by Aya, her lady, she (i.e. the plaintiff Hamazirum) renounced her claim. On no account shall Hamazirum ever again file claim

20 This happens to be the amount prescribed in the Code of Hammurabi, 1130.

21 This is the Assyrian method of dating, but since we do not have complete eponym lists for the Old Assyrian period we can only date the texts in the most general terms as belonging in or close to the early 20th century B.C.

22 Published by G. Contenau, Louvre IV: tablettes cappadociennes (1920), No. 79; translated by E. Chiera, Old Babylonian Contracts (1942), No. 230.

23 As abbreviated formula for the 9th year of Hammurabi, king of Babylon, about 1728-1696 B.C.

24 Published and translated by T. J. Meek, AJSL, xxxiv (1909), No. 5; most recently translated by P. Koschaker and A. Ungnad, Hammurabi’s Gesetze, i (1923), No. 1502.

25 This is also the prescription in the Code of Hammurabi, §353.

26 The date formula for the 10th year of Warad-Sin, king of Larsa, about 1771-1759 B.C.

27 Published by B. Meissner, Beiträge zur altbabylonischen Privatrecht (1893), No. 106; translated most recently by M. Schorr, op. cit., No. 184.

28 An abbreviated formula for the 9th year of Hammurabi, king of Babylon, about 1728-1686 B.C.

29 Published and translated by E. Chiera, Old Babylonian Contracts (1942), No. 230.

30 As abbreviated formula for the 7th year of Samu-iluna, king of Babylon, about 1685-1647 B.C.

31 Published in FS, vi (1909), No. 50; translated by M. Schorr, op. cit., No. 84.
vestigation (and) one month for epilepsy in order to clear her, in accordance with the ordinances of the king."

(The names of five persons and the scribe as witnesses, each preceded by the witness-sign.)

The month of Kislim, the 15th day, the year Ammiditana, the king, brought in his statue (representing him as) offering prayer, scepter in hand.  

F. LATE SUMERIAN

(1) "Hire of Laborer"

Shep-Sin hired Sin-ishmeanni from his foreman, Ahum; his hire per year (is to be) 6 shekels of silver, of which Ahum has received 4 shekels of silver.

(The names of three persons as witnesses, each preceded by the witness-sign.)

The month of Ab, the 30th day, the 30th year (after) Isin was conquered.  

(Scaled in two places.)

(2) "Marriage Contract"

Ama-sukkal, the daughter of Ninurta-mansum, has been taken in marriage by Enlil-izzu, the high priest of Enlil, the son of Lugal-azida; Ama-sukkal has brought 19 shekels of silver to Enlil-izzu, her husband (as dowry).

If Enlil-izzu ever says to Ama-sukkal, his wife, "You are no longer my wife," he shall return the 19 shekels of silver and she shall also forfeit the 19 shekels of silver and she shall also weigh out 2/3 mina of silver. In mutual agreement they have sworn together by the king.

(The names of eight men, two women, the scribe, and the notary as witnesses, each preceded by the witness-sign.)

(Sealed with two real, twice each.)

The month of Nisan, the 28th day, the year Samsu-iluna, the king, by the command of Enlil brought Kisurra and Sabum to obedience.  

G. MIDDLE BABYLONIAN

(1) "Court Decision"

One ox from pasture Igisha-Enlil, the son of Hashsha-Harbe, received from the hand of Belanu, the son of Urash-amela-uballit, to draw (water), and he broke its leg, whereupon Belanu spoke thus to Igisha-Enlil: "Bring me an ox that I may plow in the field so that you may not hinder me from plowing." Igisha-Enlil spoke thus to Belanu, "I will give you an ox in the month of Ab." Since Igisha-Enlil has not given the ox to Belanu in the month of Ab, Igisha-Enlil shall make good to Belanu the crop of the field.

(The names of two persons as witnesses, each preceded by the witness-sign.)

(Three thumbnail impressions on the left edge.)

The month of Sivan, the first year of Nazi-Maruttash, the all-powerful king.  

(2) "Release on Bail"

As for Mina-egu-ana-Shamash, the son of Salli-lumur, the governor—Awel-Marduk, his lord, shut him up in prison, but Arkat-Nergal, the son of Ardu-nubatti, went bail for him and got him released. So he (i.e. Arkat-Nergal) shall take 13 1/3 shekels of gold and give it to Marduk-irisu, and then Mina-egu-ana-Shamash and his wife, . . ., shall take (it) and give (it) to Awel-Marduk.

The month of Tammuz, the 9th day, the 8th year of Shagarakti-Shuriash, the king.

The thumbnail impression of Arkat-Nergal as his seal.

(Six thumbnail impressions on the left edge.)

H. NUZI AKKADIAN

(1) "Sale-Adoption"

The tablet of adoption belonging to Kuzu, the son of Karmishu: he adopted Tehip-tilla, the son of Puhishenni. As his share (of the estate) Kuzu gave Tehip-tilla 40 imes land of land in the district of Iphushishi. If the land should have a claimant, Kuzu shall clear (it) and give (it) back to Tehip-tilla. Tehip-tilla in turn gave 1 mina of silver to Kuzu as his honorarium. Whoever defaults shall pay 2 minas of silver (and) 2 minas of gold.

(The names of fourteen persons and the scribe as witnesses, each preceded by the witness-sign.)

(2) "Sale-Adoption"

The tablet of adoption belonging to Nashwi, the son of Ar-shennu: he adopted Wullu, the son of Puhishenni. As long as Nashwi is alive, Wullu shall provide food and clothing; when Nashwi dies, Wullu shall become the heir. If Nashwi has a son of his own, he shall divide (the estate) equally with Wullu, but the son of Nashwi shall take the gods of Nashwi. However, if Nashwi does
not have a son of his own, then Wullu shall take the
gods of Nashwi. Furthermore, he gave his daughter Nuhuya in marriage to Wullu, and if Wullu takes an-
other wife he shall forfeit the lands and buildings of Nashwi. Whoever defaults shall make compensation
with 1 mina of silver and 1 mina of gold.

(The names of five persons and the scribe as witnesses, each preceded by the witness-sign.)

(The names of four of the witnesses and the scribe, each preceded by “The seal of.”)

(3) Real Adoption

The tablet of adoption belonging to [Zike], the son of Akkuya: he gave his son Shennima in adoption to
Shuriri-ili, and Shuriri-ili, with reference to Shennina, (from) all the lands ... (and) his earnings of
every sort gave to Shennina one (portion) of his property. If Shuriri-ili should have a son of his own, as
the principal (son) he shall take a double share; Shennina shall then be next in order (and) take his proper
share. As long as Shuriri-ili is alive, Shennina shall revere him. When Shuriri-ili [dies], Shennina shall
become the heir. Furthermore, Kelim-ninu has been given in marriage to Shennina. If Kelim-ninu bears
(children), Shennina shall not take another wife; but if Kelim-ninu does not bear, Kelim-ninu shall acquire
a woman of the land of Lulu as wife for Shennina, and Kelim-ninu may not send the offspring away. Any
sons that may be born to Shennina from the womb of Kelim-ninu, to (these) sons shall be given [all] the
lands (and) buildings of every sort. [However], if she does not bear a son, [then] the daughter of Kelim-
ninu from the lands (and) buildings shall take one (portion) of the property. Furthermore, Shuriri-ili
shall not adopt another son in addition to Shennina. Whoever among them defaults shall compensate with
1 mina of silver (and) 1 mina of gold.

Furthermore, Yalampa is given as a handmaid to Kelim-ninu and Shatim-ninu has been made co-parent.
As long as she is alive, Yalampa shall revere him. When Yalampa [dies], Kelim-ninu shall acquire
his daughter Sululi-Ishtar as a handmaid to Tarmiya. Furthermore, Kelim-ninu may not send the offspring away. Any
sons that may be born to Sululi-Ishtar to (these) sons shall be given [all] the lands (and) buildings of every sort. [However], if she
does not bear a son, [then] the daughter of Kelim-ninu from the lands (and) buildings shall take one (portion) of the property. Furthermore, Shuriri-ili
shall not adopt another son in addition to Shennina. Whoever among them defaults shall compensate with
1 mina of silver (and) 1 mina of gold.

Tarmiya, the son of Huya, appeared with Shukriya
and Kula-hupi, with (these) two brothers of his, the
sons of Huya, in a lawsuit before the judges of Nuzi
with reference to the female slave [Sululi-Ishtar], where-
upon Tarmiya spoke thus before the judges, “My father,
Huya, was sick and lay on a couch; then my father
seized my hand and spoke thus to me, ‘My other sons,
being older, have acquired wives, but you have not acquired a wife; so I give you herewith Sululi-Ishtar as your wife.’” Then the judges demanded the witnesses of Tarmiya [and Tarmiya] had his witnesses appear [before the judges]: ... , the son of Hurshaya, ... , the son of Ikkiya, ... , the son of Itrusha, (and) ... , the son of Hamanna. [These] witnesses of [Tarmiya]
were examined before the judges, whereupon the judges
spoke to Shukriya and Kula-hupi, “Go and take the
oath of the gods against the witnesses of Tarmiya.”
Shukriya and Kula-hupi shrank from the gods
so that Tarmiya prevailed in the lawsuit and the judges assigned
the female slave, Sululi-Ishtar, to Tarmiya.

(The names of three persons, each preceded by “The seal of.”)

The signature of Iliya.

(5) Hebrew Slave Document

Mar-Idiglat, a Hebrew from the land of Assyria, on
his own initiative has entered (the house of) Tehip-
tilla, the son of Puhi-shenni, as a slave.

(The names of eleven persons and the scribe as wit-
nesses, each preceded by the witness-sign.)

(The names of two of the witnesses and the scribe, each preceded by “The seal of.”)

(6) Hebrew Slave Document

Sin-balti, a Hebrew woman, on her own initiative
has entered the house of Tehip-tilla as a slave. Now if
Sin-balti defaults and goes into the house of another,
Tehip-tilla shall pluck out the eyes of Sin-balti and sell
her.

(The names of nine persons and the scribe as wit-
nesses, each preceded by the witness-sign.)

(The names of two of the witnesses and the scribe, each preceded by “The seal of.”)

I. MIDDLE ASSYRIAN

(1) Deed of Gift

The [first-born’s] share of the palace together with
its grain, belonging to the estate of Mushtepish-ilu, the
son of Mar-Idigla, Ashur-uballit, the sovereign, has
given to Abi-ilu, the son of Adad-nerari.

The month of Kinate, the 6th day, the eponymy of
Adad-nasir.

(Sealed with a seal inscribed, “The seal of Ashur-
uballit, the king of Assyria, the son of [Eriba]-Adad.”)

45 i.e. they refused to take the oath in fear of its consequences and thus showed themselves in the wrong.
46 Published by E. Chiera, Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at
Nuzi (1934), No. 459.
47 Published by E. Chiera, Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at
Nuzi (1934), No. 459.
48 Published by E. Chiera, Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at
Nuzi (1934), No. 459.
49 Published by E. Chiera, Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at
Nuzi (1934), No. 459.
50 Published by E. Chiera, Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at
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51 Published by E. Chiera, Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at
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52 Published by E. Chiera, Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at
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58 Published by E. Chiera, Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at
Nuzi (1934), No. 459.
59 Published by E. Chiera, Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at
Nuzi (1934), No. 459.
60 Published by E. Chiera, Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at
Nuzi (1934), No. 459.
(2) Sale of House
The seal of Ashur-apla-eresh.
As for the 5 talents 30 minas of lead due Zer-iqisha, the son of Yakiya, debited to Ashur-apla-eresh, the son of Nusku-aha-iddina, the son of Ea-iddina, the gold-smith, of the inner city (i.e. Ashur)—he is in receipt of this lead as the price of his house in the inner city.

(The names of two persons and the scribe as witnesses, each preceded by the witness-sign.)

The month of Sin, the 23rd day, the eponymy of Tukulti-Ninurta, the sovereign.

(The names of two persons, each preceded by "The seal of ")

(Sealed in two places.)

(3) Loan
The seal of Shamash-tukulti.
He borrowed 12 homers of barley by the old measure belonging to Sin-apla-eresh, the son of Ashur-kashid, the son of Shamash-sharru, the son of Bel-qarrad. He shall [measure] out the principal of the barley at the threshing floor. When the time-limit has expired, the barley shall bear interest. As countervalue for this barley Sin-apla-eresh shall seize as security (and) have the usufruct of the unencumbered property of Shamash-tukulti.

(The names of three persons as witnesses, each preceded by the witness-sign.)

The month of Allanatu, the 16th day, the eponymy of Mushibshi-Sibita.

J. NEO-ASSYRIAN

(1) Loan at Interest
Three minas of silver according to (the mina) of Carchemish, belonging to Apliya (arc) at the disposition of Sukaya; they shall increase 6 shekels per month.

The month of Ab, the 2nd day, the eponymy of Bel-emuranni, the field-marshal.

(The names of five persons as witnesses, each preceded by the witness-sign.)

(2) Sentence for Murder
(The names of eleven persons, each preceded by "The seal of ")

Siri (is) the murderer who murdered Silim-ili. In their presence68 he shall compensate for that murder with either his wife or his brother or his son, whichever is forthcoming.

68 Published by E. Ebeling, KA1, No. 144; translated by E. Ebeling, MAOG, viii (1933), 74 f.
69 Tukulti-Ninurta became king of Assyria in 1243 B.C.
70 Not published; transliterated and translated by E. A. Speiser in Symbolae ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentes Paulo Koschaker dedicatae (1919), pp. 145-57.
71 A homer or donkey-load contained a little more than 2 ½ bushels.
72 The date formula for a year in the reign of Shalmanesar I, king of Assyria about 1260 B.C.
73 Published by C. H. W. Johns, Assyrian Deeds and Documents, i (1918), No. 28; translated by J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, Assyrische Rechtsurkunden (1913), No. 248.
74 The date is 695 B.C., in the reign of Shalmanasar II, king of Assyria, 858-907 B.C.
76 I.e. in the presence of the eleven witnesses just named.

(3) Receipt of Feudal Dues (Late Babylonian)

From 1½ minas of silver, the taxes on a field for the 33rd year of Artaxerxes, the king, belonging to Enil-aha-iddina, the son of GaNah, which is at the disposition of Enil-nadin-shumi, the son of Murashu—therefrom Enil-aha-iddina received (and) obtained payment of 1 mina from the hand of Enil-nadin-shumi.

68 The date is 656 B.C., in the reign of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, 668-633 B.C.
69 Published by G. Contenau, Louvre Xll, Contrats néo-babyloniens (1927), No. 27; translated by E. W. Moore, Neo-Babylonian Business and Administrative Documents (1935), No. 37.
70 i.e. Nebuchadnezzer II, 605-562 B.C.
71 Published by J. N. Strassmaier, Nbn., No. 199; translated by Morris Jastrow, Jr., The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria (1915), p. 354.
72 Nebuchadnezzar was the last king of Babylonia, 555-539 B.C.
73 Published by G. Contenau, op. cit., No. 198; translated by E. W. Moore, op. cit., No. 198.
74 I.e. Darius I, king of Persia, 521-486 B.C.
75 Published by Albert T. Clay, Business Documents of Mari and Sons of Nippur, Dated in the Reign of Artaxerxes I (1898), No. 33; translated by J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden (1911), No. 28.
(The names of seven persons and the scribe as witnesses, each preceded by the witness-sign.)

Nippur, the month of Tebet, the 9th day, the 33rd year of Artaxerxes, the king of the lands.

The thumbnail impression of Enlil-aha-iddina, the son of Gahla.

(5) Receipt of Provisions77 (Late Babylonian)

27 qu of barley as provisions, which Nabu-belshunu, the son of Bel-ahhe-iddina, the expiation priest, and Marduk-eriba, the son of Iddina-Bel, the brewer, have received.

The month of Sivan, the 4th day, the 6th year of Alexander, the son of Alexander.

The signet-ring impression of Nabu-belshunu and the signet-ring impression of Marduk-eriba.

(Sealed in one place.)

(6) Rent of House79 (Late Babylonian)

A kurubbu-house belonging to Nana-iddina, the son of Tanittum-[Anu], the descendant of Ah’utu, which (is) in the district of the great grove which (is) in Erech, which (is) alongside the kurubbu-house of Mushe-zibitum, the daughter of Ishtar-aha-iddina, and alongside the center of the field, (is) at the disposal of Anu-uballit, the son of Kidin-Anu, for 4 shekels of silver as the rent of the house per year. Half the money he shall pay at the beginning of the year (and) the rest as the rent of the house per year. The bareness of the money in the middle of the year. The bareness shall pay at the beginning of the year (and) the rest as the rent of the house per year. Half the money he shall pay at the beginning of the year (and) the rest as the rent of the house per year. Half the money he shall pay at the beginning of the year (and) the rest as the rent of the house per year. Half the money he shall pay at the beginning of the year (and) the rest as the rent of the house per year. Half the money he shall pay at the beginning of the year (and) the rest as the rent of the house per year. Half the money he shall pay at the beginning of the year (and) the rest as the rent of the house per year.

(Sealed in one place.)

The names of five persons and the scribe as witnesses, each preceded by the witness-sign.

The month of Tammuz, the 5th day, the 8th year of Seleucus, the king, that kurubbu-house (is) at the disposal of Anu-uballit, the son of Kidin-Anu, for rent at 4 shekels of silver per year.

(5) by the measuring-rod. Now do I, Mahseiah, say to you, Build and equip that site ... and dwell thereon with your wife. But you may not sell that house or give it as a present to others; only your children by my daughter Mibtahiah shall have power over it after you two. If tomorrow or some other day you build upon this land, and then my daughter divorces you and leaves you, she shall have no power to take it or give it to others; only your children by (10) Mibtahiah shall have power over it, in return for the work which you shall have done. If, on the other hand, she recovers from you, she [may] take half of the house, and [the] other half shall be at your disposal in return for the building which you will have done on that house. And again as to that half, your children by Mibtahiah shall have power over it after you. If tomorrow or another day I should institute suit or process against you and say I did not give you this land to build on and did not draw up this deed for you, I (15) shall give you a sum of 10 karshin by royal weight, at the rate of 2 R' to the ten, and no suit or process shall lie. This deed was written by 'Atharshuri b. Nabuzeribni in the fortress of Syene at the dictation of Mahseiah. Witnesses hereto (signatures).

IN LIQUIDATION
OF MIBTAHIAH’S SECOND MARRIAGE


CONTRACT OF MIBTAHIAH’S THIRD MARRIAGE

Text: Sayce-Cowley, G; Cowley, 15. Date: about 440 B.C.

On the 2[5]th of Tishri, that is the 6th day of the month Epiphii, of the detachment of Varizata, as follows: I have [co]me to your house that you might give me your daughter Mibtahiah in marriage. She is my wife and I am her husband from this day for ever. I have given you as the bride-price (5) of your daughter

Aramaic Papyri
from Elephantine
(Translator: H. L. Ginsberg)

MIBTAHIAH’S FIRST MARRIAGE


1 Egyptian month-name.
2 This must mean, “In the event of your divorcing her, in which case she does not forfeit all rights as when she divorces you.” Perhaps there is a lacuna in the text.
3 Probably stands for rukin “quarters” (of a shekel). Does 2/4 X 10 (= 5/2) indicate the proportion of alloy?
4 See n.c.
5 The name of Ashor’s father (sh') is preserved in another document. Both it and his own are Egyptian, but he eventually adopted the Hebrew one of Nathan.
Miphtahiah (a sum of) 5 shekels, royal weight. It has been received by you and your heart is content therewith. (Lines 6-16, Miphtahiah’s dowry.) (17) Should Ashor die tomorrow or another day having no child, male or female, by his wife Miphtahiah, Miphtahiah shall be entitled to the house, chattels and all worldly goods of Ashor. (20) Should Miphtahiah die tomorrow or another day having no child, male or female, by her husband Ashor, Ashor shall inherit her property and chattels. Should Miphtahiah, tomorrow or another day stand up in a congregation and say, I divorce my husband Ashor, the price of divorce shall be upon her head: she shall sit by the balance and weigh out to Ashor a sum of 7 shekels 2 R. But all that which she has brought in with her she shall take out, shred and thread, and go whither she will, without suit or process. Should Ashor tomorrow or another day stand up in a congregation and say, I divorce my wife Miphtahiah, [he shall] forfeit her bride-price, and all that she has brought in with her she shall take out, shred and thread, on one day at one stroke, and shall go whither she will, without suit or process. And whoever arises against Miphtahiah to drive her away from the house, possessions, and chattels of Ashor shall give her the sum of 20 karash, and the law of this deed shall [...] for her. And I shall have no right to say I have another wife besides Miphtahiah or other children besides any Miphtahiah may bear to me. If I say I have children and wife other than Miphtahiah and her children, I shall give to Miphtahiah a sum of 20 karash, royal weight. (35) Neither shall I have the right to wrest my property and chattels from Miphtahiah. If I take them away from her (erasure), I shall give to Miphtahiah [a sum of] 20 karash, royal weight. [This deed] was written by Nathan b. Ananiah [at the dictation of Ashor]. Witnesses: (signatures).

The bride-price was regularly added to the bride’s dowry. In the following lines the value of each item of the dowry is given, and so is the total value; but the latter exceeds the value of the items by exactly the amount of the bride-price.

In the light of 11.3, this sum is exactly 1½ times the bride-price Ashor paid for her (line 5).

A karash is 10 heavy shekels or 20 light ones.
III. Historical Texts
Egyptian Historical Texts
TRANSLATOR: JOHN A. WILSON

Brief Texts of the Old Kingdom

Inscriptions evidence on the relations of Egypt and Asia under the Old Kingdom is slight. For the most part, we rely upon
the uninscribed materials coming out of excavations in both
areas for evidence on the strength of such contacts. The following
are samples of texts playing on the problem of Egyptian interest
in Asia. (See Addenda.)

a

The jar-sealing of a Second Dynasty king, who lived about
2850 or 2800 b.c., may be read as the record of military activity
in Asia. Such sealings have been found at Abydos: W. M. F. Petrie, The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties, ii (London,
1901), Pl. xxii; E. Naville et al., The Cemeteries of Abydos, i
(London, 1914), Pl. x.

The Seth: Per-ibsen, the tribute of Asia. ¹

b

Three notations from the "Annals" of the Old Kingdom on
the reign of Snefru of the Fourth Dynasty (about 2650 or
2600 b.c.) show trade relations between Egypt and Phoenicia
and the use to which the timber brought from Asia was put.
These items are extracted from the records of three successive
years. The Palermo Stone, verso vi 2-4, was published by H. Schäfer, Ein Bruchstück älterer Annalen (APAW, 1902),
and the present extracts by K. Sethe, Urkunden des alten
Reichs (UrK., 1, Leipzig, 1933), 236-37. Translated by Breasted,
AR, i, §§146-49. On the interpretation of the text see K. Sethe,
in ZAeS, xlv (1908), 7-14.

Bringing forty ships filled (with) cedar logs.
Shipbuilding (of) cedarwood, one "Praise-of-the-Two-
Lands" ship, 100 cubits (long), and (of) melu-wood,
two ships, 100 cubits (long).
Making the doors of the royal palace (of) cedarwood. ²

We have somewhat more information about the Egyptians'
activity in Sinai, because of their interest in the turquoise and
copper mines there. However, under the Old Kingdom the
records in the mining area normally give little more than a
depiction of the pharaoh smiting a nomad, with the pharaoh's
name accompanying the scene. Such are the records of Semer-
khet of the First Dynasty (about 2950 or 2900 B.C.), and of
Djoser and Za-nakht of the Third Dynasty (about 2750 or
2700 B.C.), published in Gardiner and Peet, The Inscriptions
of Sinu, i (2nd ed., ed. by J. Cerny, London, 1952), Pls. 1., iv,
§§1-4.¹

The same publication (Pl. 11, Nos. 5, 7)² shows also scenes of
Snefru and Khufu of the Fourth Dynasty (2650 or 2600 B.C.)

[...]

When his majesty imposed punishment upon the Asians Who-are-Upon-the-Sands,³ his majesty made an

1 Per-ibsen identified himself as a king with the god Seth, rather than
the god Horus. The word Sejet, here translated "Asia," cannot as yet be
made more precise. It applied to regions east and northeast of Egypt.

2 The word here translated "cedar" probably applied to that wood and
other coniferous woods also. At any rate, it and meru-wood were conifers,
brought by sea from Phoenicia or Cilicia. The ships were over 50 meters
(over 175 feet) long.

3 These two texts also presented in Sethe's Urkunden des alten Reichs, i,
7-8, and translated in Breasted, AR, i, §§168-69, 176.

clubbing kneeling figures and accompanied by the following legends:

Snefru, the great god, . . . Subjugating foreign countries.
Khnum-Khufu, the great god. Smiting the nomads
[of Asia].

Asiatic Campaigns Under Pepi I

For the most part, it is an argument from silence to assume
that military contact between Egypt and Asia was slight under the
Old Kingdom. Rare bits of evidence indicate that a certain amount
of aggressive activity was normal on the part of Egypt. We
need to interpret the significance of the "prisoners" in Egyptian
ships returning from Asia in the time of Sahu-Re of the Fifth
Dynasty (about 2575 B.C.).³ There is a tomb scene of the late
Fifth or early Sixth Dynasty (2500-2450 B.C.) showing the
Egyptians making a successful attack on a fortress peopled
with Asians.⁴ Finally, there is the text which follows, which
may apply to a particularly aggravated situation or which may
represent a normal situation of fighting, not otherwise stated
to us. A certain career official of the Sixth Dynasty, named Uni,
left an inscription in his cenotaph at Abydos, giving us the
chief stages of his career under various pharaohs. Under Pepi I
(about 2375 or 2350 B.C.), Uni was particularly active as a
military commander against the Asiatics.

Cairo Museum 1435 has most recently been published by
L. Borchardt, Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (Catalogue général
... du Musée du Caire, Berlin, 1937), i, 115 ff., Pls. 29-30, with
antecedent bibliography. See also P. Tresson, L'inscription
d'Ouni (Bibliothèque d'Étude, viii, Cairo, 1919), and K. Sethe,
Urkunden des alten Reichs (Urk., 1, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1932),

For the presence of Asians in the Egyptian Delta between
the Old and Middle Kingdoms, see the Instruction for King
Meri-ka-Re [pp. 414-418 below], the Prophecy of Nefer-
rohu [pp. 444-446 below], and the Admonitions of Ipu-wer
[pp. 444-444 below].

For conditions at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, see
the Instruction of King Amen-em-het [pp. 418-419 below]
and the Story of Si-nehu (pp. 18-22 above).

When his majesty imposed punishment upon the Asians Who-are-Upon-the-Sands,³ his majesty made an
army of many ten-thousands, in the entire Upper Egypt, the south being Elephantine and the north being Aphroditopolis, and in Lower Egypt: in both of the (administrative) sides of the realms, (15) in the (frontier) fortress, and in the midst of the (frontier) fortresses; among the Nubians of Irtjet, the Nubians of Madjoi, the Nubians of Yam, among the Nubians of Wawat, among the Nubians of Kahan, and from the land of the Temeh-Libyans. His majesty sent me at the head of this army, while the counts, while the Seal-Bearers of the King of Lower Egypt, while the Sole Companions of the Palace, while the nomarchs and mayors of Upper and Lower Egypt, the companions and chief dragomans, the chief prophets of Upper and Lower Egypt, and the chief bureaucrats were (each) at the head of a troop of Upper or Lower Egypt, or of the villages and towns which they might rule, or of the Nubians of these foreign countries. I was the one who used to make the plan for them, although my office was (only that of) Chief Domain Supervisor of the Palace, because I was (so) fitted for the post that not one of them (so much as) laid a hand upon his fellow, (20) that not one of them appropriated (so much as) a lump of dough or a pair of sandals from a wayfarer, that not one of them carried off (so much as) a loincloth from any town, that not one of them carried off any goat from anybody. I led them to Northern Island, Doorway of li-hotep, and the District of Horus: Neb-maat, while I was in this office. ... All these troops explored for me; never had there been (such) exploration for any other servant.  

This army returned in safety,  
After it had hacked up the land of the [Sand]-Dwellers.  
This army returned in safety,  
After it had crushed the land of the Sand-Dwellers.  
This army returned in safety,  
After it had thrown down its 4 enclosures.  
This army returned in safety,  
After it had cut down its fig trees and its vines. (25)  
This army returned in safety,  
After it had cast fire into all its dwellings.  
This army returned in safety,  
After it had killed troops in it by many ten-thousands.  
This army returned in safety,  
[After it had taken troops] in it, a great multitude as living captives.  

Middle Kingdom Egyptian Contacts with Asia

The Egyptian Middle Kingdom saw a number of contacts with Asia, even though these do not loom large in inscriptional records. There was exceptionally vigorous activity in the area of the Sinai mines. Objects bearing the names of Twelfth Dynasty pharaohs or of members of their families have been found at Byblos, Beirut, and Ugarit on the Phoenician coast, and at Qena in north central Syria. At the minimum, these may have been royal gifts from Egyptian pharaohs to friendly but independent princes in Asia. At the maximum, they may show some kind of Egyptian hegemony in the area. Of a number of monuments found in Asia and bearing the names of Egyptian officials, two examples will suffice. At Megiddo in Palestine there was found the statuette base of Thut-hotep, son of Kay and Sit-Kheper-ka, a High Priest of Thoth at Hermopolis and Nomarch of the Hare Nome, in which Hermopolis lay. This was an official whose career, somewhere between 1900 and 1850 B.C., was well known from his tomb in Egypt.  

At Ugarit (Ras Shamra) on the Phoenician coast there was found the statue group of the

Mayor of the Pyramid City, Vizier, and Chief Justice, Sen-Usert-onekh, ... [to whom] [was given] the Gold of Honor in the presence of the courtiers.  
(The award of the “Gold of Honor” was normally considerable number. Sinai probably would not fit the case. Uni’s army must have moved into Palestine.  

The word translated “backsliders” seems to come from a root meaning “slide, be slippery.” In Egyptian propaganda these expeditions into other countries were always punitive against rebellion. The place “Antelope-Nose” (? ) cannot be located. The beast in question is not a gazelle; it is either a bubalis or a fallow deer. The place may have been a mountain range coming down to the sea, so-named by Egyptian sailors because of a characteristic profile. If so, the Carmel Range may be argued from the context which follows immediately.  

Uni’s army, having been landed against the “Sand-Dwellers.” For a more northerly expedition his army travelled by boat. Where would a range come to the water so clearly as the Carmel Range?  

The translation understands that Uni landed, marched inland, and won a victory while the rear half of his army was still on the march.
made for service outside of Egypt. The presence of the statues of such important officials in Palestine and Syria shows fairly intimate relations between Egypt and Asia. It is possible that they saw service as diplomatic agents or as resident Egyptian commissioners in areas of strong commercial and cultural interest.

(The ties between Egypt and Byblos [Gebal] on the Phoenician coast were particularly close. By the end of the Middle Kingdom princes of Byblos, bearing Asiatic names, used Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions showing that they boasted the Egyptian title hapy-a “Count,” which in Egypt was a title conferred by the pharaoh. Even though we cannot be sure that the same applied in Phoenicia, the evidence of cultural leadership is clear. Two of these Byblic princes were:)

The Count of Byblos, Yep-shemu-ib, who repeats life, son of the Count, Ib-shemu, the triumphant.

The Count of Byblos, Inten, who repeats life, son of the Count Reyen, the triumphant.

(Our evidence on Asiatics in Egypt is disappointingly slight. A testamentary enactment, probably of the time of Amen-em-het III [end of the 19th century B.C.], indicates the presence of Asiatic slaves or serfs in Egypt.)

The Royal Documents Scribe Nefer-hotep.

The Overseer of Hunters Khety.

(Sheshi of the Asiatic group is labeled.

The Ruler of a Foreign Country Ibsha.

(The general label for the scene runs:

The arrival, bringing stibium, which thirty-seven Asiatics brought to him.

(The occasion was significant enough for a rather formal record. The Egyptian scribe holds a docket with the following inscription.)

The Egyptian Mines in Sinai

Year 6, under the majesty of the Horus: Leader of the Two Lands; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Kha-kheper-Re. List of the Asiatics whom the son of the Count Khnum-hotep brought on account of stibium, Asiatics of Shuit. List thereof: thirty-seven.

The Egyptian Mines in Sinai

Mines in the southern part of the Sinai peninsula provided Egypt with copper, which was an important material for the advancement of her culture, and with turquoise, which the pharaohs valued for adornment. The Sinai mines were worked by Egypt from predynastic times down into the Twentieth Dynasty. The necessity for securing the ore provided a reason for external conquest and the beginnings of empire. One of the Egyptian records of mining activity is here given as an example.


The majesty of this god despatched the Seal-Bearer of the God, the Overseer of the Cabinet, and Director of Lances, Hor-ur-Re, to this mining area. This land was reached in the 3rd month of the second season, although it was not at all the season for coming to this mining area. This Seal-Bearer of the God says to the officials who may come to this mining area at this season:

Let not your faces flag because of it. Behold ye, Hat-Hor turns it (5) to good. I have seen (it so) with regard to myself; I have experienced the like in myself. I came from Egypt with my face flagging. It was difficult, in my experience, to find the (proper) skin for it, when the land was burning hot, the highland was in summer, and the mountains branded an (already) blistered skin. When day broke for my leading to the camp, I kept on addressing the craftsmen about it: “How fortunate is he who is in this mining area!” But they said: “Turquoise is (10) always in the mountain, (but) it is the (proper) skin which has to be sought at this season. We used to hear the like, that ore is forthcoming at this season, but, really, it is the skin that is lacking for it in this difficult season of summer!”

All the time that I was leading the men to this mining area, the glory of the king was directing me. Then I reached this land, and I began the work under

10 Ben-Uert II. The year would be about 1890 B.C. The reading of the name and the location of this Asiatic area are uncertain.

8 The reading of the name is the location of this Asiatic area are uncertain.
good auspices. (15) My entire army returned complete; no loss had ever occurred in it. My face did not flag at the prospect of the work. I succeeded in grasping the best auspices. I left off in the 1st month of the 3rd season, and brought away this noble stone. I had surpassed anyone (else) who had come or anything demanded. There was no: “Oh for a good skin!”, (but) eyes were in festivity. It was better than at its normal season. Offer (20) offerings to the Lady of Heaven; pray, satisfy ye Hat-Hor. If you do it, it will profit you. Ye shall surpass because of it; prosperity will be among you. I made my expedition very successfully. There (need be) no loudness of voice about my work: what I accomplished was the success of the expedition. . . .

The Inscription of Khu-Sebek, Called Djaa

The pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom have left us no direct record of their activities in Asia. Therefore we prize any indirect records, such as the following reference to an Asiatic campaign by Sen-Usert III (about 1880-1840 B.C.).


For the real and potential enemies of Egypt at the end of the Middle Kingdom or shortly thereafter, see the Execration of Asiatic Princes (pp. 328-329 below).

(6) The Hereditary Prince and Count, firm of sandal, confident of stride, treading the path of his benefactor, whose good repute the Lord of the Two Lands has granted, whose position his love has advanced, the Chief District Supervisor of the Town, Djaa. He says:
I made for myself this cenotaph, beauteous, with its place established at the stairway of the great god, the lord of life, who presides over Abydos, in the district “Lord of Offerings” and in the district “Mistress of Life,” that I might smell for myself the incense coming from the district “Mistress of Life.” Then I had his majesty had me work as a fighter behind and beside his majesty, with seven men of the Residence. Thereupon I showed keenness in his presence, and his majesty had me made an Attendant of the Ruler, and sixty persons were given to me. His majesty proceeded [southward] to overthrow (16) the nomads of Nubia. Then I smote a Nubian in Kenkef in the presence of my town. Then I sailed north, following (the king) with six (men) of the Residence. Then he made (me) Deputy of Attendants, and a hundred persons were given to me as a reward.

(1) His majesty proceeded northward to overthrow the Asiatics. His majesty reached a foreign country of which the name was Sekmem. His majesty took the right direction in proceeding to the Residence of life, prosperity, and health. Then Sekmem fell, together with the wretched Retenu.

While I was acting as rear guard, then I rallied together the individuals of the army to fight with the Asiatics. Then I smote an Asiatic. Then I had his weapons taken by two individuals of the army, without deviating from the fight, for my face was forward and I did not turn my back to the Asiatic.

As Se(n)-Usert lives for me, I have spoken in truth! Then he gave me a throw-stick of fine gold for my hand, a scabbard and a dagger worked with fine gold, together with accessories.

The Hyksos in Egypt

The greatest indignity suffered by the ancient Egyptians was the conquest and rule of their land by foreigners out of Asia, the so-called “Shepherd Kings,” or Hyksos (ca. 1725-1575 B.C.). There is surprisingly little in Egyptian literature, in view of the real change which this foreign domination made in the national psychology: the change from a confident sense of domestic security to an aggressive sense of national peril. To be sure, it was not in character for an ancient people to enlarge on defeat and subjection at the hands of others. Only the victorious elimination of peril would enter the literature. Josephus has given us something of the tradition of a harsh foreign rule.

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In an inscription written almost a century after the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt, the queen Hat-shepsut (about 1486-1469 B.C.) gives some of the national sense of indignation. This inscription was carved on the façade of a temple of hers at Speos Artemidos (Istabl Antar) in Middle Egypt. A new edition by A. H. Gardiner, based on a copy by N. de G. Davies, of the Hyksos from Egypt, the queen Hat-shepsut (about 1486-"thou."

which she ruled.

Official acts to obedience to orders given him by the deity."

Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum.

Flaming against my enemies. I have made distant those

had gone to pieces

heart. I have not slept forgetfully, (but) I have restored

be, I have done these things through the counsel of my

lines 35-42 of this inscription.

by Breasted, AR, JEA, 11, 383-91, and the translation

Speos Artemidos (Istabl Antar) in Middle Egypt. A new

inscription was carved on the facade of a temple of hers at

1469 B.C. gives some of the national sense of indignation. This

233. 252

the same site as Tanis, San el-Hagar, in the northeast Delta. Cf. Pp.

in Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character from the Collections

r3th century B.C.) in the colloquial language. It is facsimiled

Egyptian ruler. We lack the end of the story, but the logic of

loves, an insulting demand which threatened the dignity of the

Egyptian King Seqnen-Re at Thebes. Apophis laid before

Hyksos King Apophis in the Delta held suzerainty over the

carry the story of a contest between two rulers in Egypt. The

ration of eternity.'

falcon is high above (my) name-standard for the du-

rays over the formal titles of my majesty and my

mountains, (while) the sun disc shines forth and spreads

commanded. My (own) command endures like the

and there shall not occur damage to what Amon has

be made. They ruled without Re, and he did not act by divine command down to (the reign of) my

majesty. (Now) I am established upon the thrones of Re. I was foretold for the limits of the years as a born conqueror. I am come as the uraeus-serpent of Horus, flaming against my enemies. I have made distant those whom the gods abominate, and earth has carried off their foot (prints). This is the precept of the father of [my] fathers, who comes at his (appointed) times, Re, and there shall not occur damage to what Amon has commanded. My (own) command endures like the mountains, (while) the sun disc shines forth and spreads rays over the formal titles of my majesty and my falcon is high above (my) name-standard for the duration of eternity.

Another document on the Hyksos rule might perhaps be among folk tales treated above. It is a legend of later date, carrying the story of a contest between two rulers in Egypt. The Hyksos King Apophis in the Delta held suzerainty over the Egyptian King Seqnen-Re at Thebes. Apophis laid before Seqnen-Re one of those difficult problems which oriental literature loves, an insulting demand which threatened the dignity of the Egyptian ruler. We lack the end of the story, but the logic of the situation suggests that Seqnen-Re must have extricated himself from the indignity by returning to Apophis a proposition which counterchecked the problem set by the Hyksos king.

Papyrus Sallier I (British Museum 10185), recto i-iii 3; verso ii-iii, was written in the late Nineteenth Dynasty (end of the 13th century B.C.) in the colloquial language. It is facsimiled in Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character from the Collections of the British Museum, 1 (London, 1841), Pls. 1-11, and in Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum.

The gods have blessed Hat-shepsut's rule, confirming the names under which she ruled.

For example, the 2nd person singular is translated "you," rather than "thou."

Now it so happened that the land of Egypt was in distress. There was no Lord—life, prosperity, health!—or king of the time. However, it happened that, as for King Seqnen-Re—life, prosperity, health!—he was Ruler—life, prosperity, health!—of the Southern City. Distress was in the town of the Asiatics, for Prince Apophis—life, prosperity, health!—was in Avaris, and the entire land was subject to him with their dues, the north as well, with all the good produce of the Delta. Then King Apophis—life, prosperity, health!—made him Seth as lord, and he would not serve any god who was in the land [except] Seth. And [he] built a temple of good and eternal work beside the House of [King Apophis—life, prosperity, health!—] and he appeared [every] day to have sacrifices made . . . daily to Seth. And the officials [of the King]—life, prosperity, health!—carried wreaths, just exactly as is done (in) the temple of the Re-Har-akhti. Now then, as for (5) [King] A[pophis]—life, prosperity, health!—he wanted to [send] an irritating message (to) King Seqnen-Re—[life, prosperity, health!]—the Prince of the Southern City.

Now [after] many days following this, then King [Apophis—life, prosperity, health!]—had summoned . . .

(Here the papyrus is badly broken. Apophis appears to be in consultation with his "scribes and wise men," and they seem to suggest the arrogant demand about the hippopotamus pool at Thebes. If Seqnen-Re should accede to this demand he would lose face, but he was in no position to ignore it. His only recourse would be to devise a logical but equally absurd riposte.)

"[So we shall see the power of the god who] (ii 1) is with him as protector. He relies upon no god who is in the [entire land] except Amon-Re, King of the Gods."231

Now after many days following this, then King Apophis—life, prosperity, health!—sent to the Prince of the Southern City (with) the message which his scribes and wise men had told him. Now when the messenger of King Apophis—life, prosperity, health!—reached the Prince of the Southern City, THEN he was taken into the presence of the Prince of the Southern City. Then they said to the messenger of King Apophis—life, prosperity, health!: "Why were you sent to the Southern City? How did you come to (make) this trip?"

Then the messenger (5) said to him: "King Apophis—life, prosperity, health!—sends to you as follows: 'Have the hippopotamus pool which is in the orient of the City
The War Against the Hyksos

The expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt was not accomplished in a single generation. The Egyptians had to find their strength in a series of campaigns. The account of one such revolt against the foreign rule is found in a characteristic setting: the record of a pharaoh's superior judgment and prowess. Ka-mose, who reigned just before the Eighteenth Dynasty (before the record of a pharaoh's superior judgment and prowess. Ka-mose, who reigned just before the Eighteenth Dynasty (before the record of a pharaoh's superior judgment and prowess. Ka-mose, who reigned just before the Eighteenth Dynasty (before the record of a pharaoh's superior judgment and prowess. Ka-mose, who reigned just before the Eighteenth Dynasty (before the record of a pharaoh's superior judgment and prowess. Ka-mose, who reigned just before the Eighteenth Dynasty (before the record of a pharaoh's superior judgment and prowess. 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the upper part of our cabins, to seek out the Asiatics and to push back their positions. East and west had their fat, and the army foraged for things everywhere. I sent out a strong troop of the Madjoi, while I was on the day’s patrol... to hem in... Teti, the son of Pepi, within Nefrusi. I would not let him escape, while I held back the Asiatics who had withstood Egypt. He made Nefrusi the nest of the Asiatics. I spent the night in my boat, with my heart happy.

When day broke, I was on him as if it were a falcon. When the time of breakfast had come, I attacked him. I broke down his walls, I killed his people, and I made his wife come down (15) to the riverbank.1 My soldiers were as lions are, with their spoil, having serfs, cattle, milk, fat, and honey, dividing up their property, their hearts gay. The region of Nefrusi was something fallen; it was not (too) much for us before its soul was hemmed in.

The [region] of Per-shaq was missing when I reached it. Their horses were fled inside. The patrol...14

The Expulsion of the Hyksos

It is an irony of history that our best contemporaneous source on the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt comes from the biographical record of a relatively modest citizen of Upper Egypt, the captain of a Nile vessel. In relating his participation in the campaigns of Ah-mose I (about 1570-1545 B.C.) and of Thutmos I (about 1545-1495), Ah-mose, son of the woman Eben, tells of the successive attacks on the Hyksos in Egypt and then of the follow-up campaigns into Asia.

The inscriptions in Ah-mose’s tomb in el-Kab of Upper Egypt were copied in C. R. Leptius, Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Äthiopien (Berlin, 1849-59).13 III, 12 b, c, d, and are also set forth in K. Sethe, Urkunden der 18. Dynastie (Urk., iv, Leipzig, 1906), 1, 1-11, accompanied by a translation (Leipzig, 1914). The text was studied by V. Loret, L’incription d’Ahmès fils d’Abana (Bibliothèque d’Étude, iii, Cairo, 1910). There are translations by Breasted, AR, ii, §§1-13, 81-82, and by B. Gunn and A. H. Gardiner, in JEA, v (1918), 48-54.

The commander of a crew, Ah-mose, son of Eben, the triumphant, says:

I speak to you, all mankind, that I may let you know the favors which have come to me. I have been awarded gold seven times in the presence of the entire land, and male and female slaves in like manner, and I have been vested with very many fields. The reputation of a valiant man is from what he has done, not being destroyed in this land forever.

He speaks thus:

I had my upbringing in the town of el-Kab, my father being a soldier of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Seqnen-Re, the triumphant, his name being Bebe, (5) the son of (the woman) Ro-onet. Then I served as soldier in his place in the ship, “The Wild Bull,” in the time of the Lord of the Two Lands: Neb-pet-hi-Re, the triumphant, when I was (still) a boy, before I had taken a wife, (but) while I was (still) sleeping in a net hammock.

But after I had set up a household, then I was taken on the ship, “Northern,” because I was valiant. Thus I used to accompany the Sovereign—life, prosperity, health!—on foot, following his excursions in his chariot. When the town of Avaris was besieged, I then I showed valor on foot in the presence of his majesty. Thereupon I was appointed to the ship, “Appearing in Memphis.” Then there was fighting on the water in the canal Pâ-djëkhu of Avaris. Thereupon I made a capture, (10) and I carried away a hand. It was reported to the king’s herald. Then the Gold of Valor was given to me. Thereupon there was fighting again in this place. Then I made a capture again there and brought away a hand. Then the Gold of Valor was given to me over again.

Then there was fighting in the Egypt which is south of this town. Then I made a capture on the ship, “The Living God,” (as) living prisoner. I went down into the water—now he was taken captive on the side of the town—and crossed over the water carrying him. Report was made to the king’s herald. Thereupon I was awarded gold another time.

Then Avaris was despoiled. Then I carried off spoil from there: one man, three women, a total of four persons. Then his majesty gave them to me to be slaves.

Then (15) Sharuhen was besieged for three years. Then his majesty despoiled it. Thereupon I carried off spoil from there: two women and a hand. Then the

1 As B. Gunn has pointed out (JEA, xx [1926], 281), this is a proverb which occurs three times in 18th dynasty inscriptions.
2 One of the pharaohs named Seqnen-Re in the 17th dynasty.
3 Ah-mose I.
4 Perhaps: “I was (still) sleeping with the phallic shaft attachéd”? So B. Grdslof, in ASAE, xliii (1943), 357.
5 Note the first use of the horse and chariot by the Egyptians. The Hyksos had introduced this war force into Egypt, cf. p. 233A above.
6 “When one sat down at the town of Avaris.” We are abruptly confronted with a curt statement that the Egyptians attacked the Hyksos in the latter’s capital in the eastern Delta. It is significant that the following sentence names a boat as “He Who Has (Ceremonial) Appearance in Memphis,” suggesting that Memphis had already been recaptured by the Egyptians.
7 It was an Egyptian army custom to cut off the hand of a dead enemy as a proof of killing.
8 South of Avaris. This looks like a temporary retirement by the Egyptians.
9 Beside the town, but across a body of water from the Egyptian army.
10 In Ah-mose’s “list of the male and female slaves of the spoil,” most of the 19 names are good Egyptian. However, there appear a Pa-Asam, “The Asiatic;” a T’amutj, which is a feminine name similar to Amos, and an Ishtar-ummij, “Ishtar is My Mother.”
11 “Then one sat down at Sharuhen in three years.” Sharuhen (Josh. 10:6) lay in the extreme southwestern corner of the land of Canaan, in the territory of the tribe of Simeon. Perhaps it was modern Tell el-Far‘ah. It seems that it was the first stronghold of the Hyksos on their departure from Egypt. “In three years” is a little strange and may mean in three successive campaigning seasons, rather than an uninterrupted siege.
Gold of Valor was given to me, and my spoil was given to me to be slaves.

Now after his majesty had killed the Asiatics, then he sailed southward to Khenti-hen-nefer, to destroy the Nubian nomads. . . .

After this (Thut-mose I) went forth to Retenu, to assuage his heart throughout the foreign countries. His majesty reached Naharin, and his majesty—life, prosperity, health!—found that enemy while he was marshaling the battle array. Then his majesty made a great slaughter among them. There was no number to the living prisoners whom his majesty carried off by his victory. Now I was in the van of our army, and his majesty saw how valiant I was. I carried off a chariot, its horse, and him who was in it as a living prisoner. They were presented to his majesty. Then I was awarded gold another time: . . .

The Asiatic Campaigns of Thut-mose III

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN: THE BATTLE OF MEGIDDDO

Thut-mose III (about 1490-1436 B.C.) was the conquering pharaoh who set the Egyptian Empire on a foundation firm for almost a century. For twenty years he led campaigns into Asia almost every year. Some of these campaigns involved serious fighting, others were parades of strength. We have detailed information on his first campaign (perhaps 1468 B.C.), which attacked the focus of Asiatic resistance in the Canaanite city of Megiddo. The campaigns of subsequent years may have been just as fully recorded, but that detail has been condensed in the texts deriving from those years.

A. THE ARMANT STELA

A red granite stela, broken and reused in later constructions, was found at Armant in Upper Egypt and published in R. Mond and O. H. Myers, *The Temples of Armant. A Preliminary Survey* (London, 1940), Pls. xi, No. 5; lxxxviii, No. 8; and *EGYPTIAN HISTORICAL TEXTS*, Vol. 2, p. 234, with a translation and commentary by M. S. Drower. Like the Barkal Stela, treated below, this stela does not deal with events in chronological order. Those elements which belong to other campaigns will be noted in relation to those campaigns. Here only the material of the first campaign is translated.

Live the Horus: Mighty Bull, Appearing in Thebes; the Two Goddesses: Enduring of Kingship, like Re in Heaven; the Horus of Gold: Majestic of Appearances, Mighty of Strength; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Making Offerings: Men-kheper-Re; the Son of Re, of his Body: Thut-mose Heqa-Maat, beloved of Montu, Lord of Thebes, Residing in Hermothsis, living forever.

Year 22, 2nd month of the second season, day 10. Summary of the deeds of valor and victory which this good god performed, being every effective deed of heroism, beginning from the first generation; that which the Lord of the Gods, the Lord of Hermothsis, did for him: the magnification of his victories, to cause that his deeds of valor be related for millions of years to come, apart from the deeds of heroism which his majesty did at all times. If (they) were to be related all together by their names, they would be (too) numerous to put them into writing: . . .

His majesty made no delay in proceeding to the land of (10) Djahi, to kill the treacherous ones who were in it and to give things to those who were loyal to him; witness, indeed, [their] names, each [country] according to its time. His majesty returned on each occasion, when his attack had been effected in valor and victory, so that he caused Egypt to be in its condition as (it was) when Re was in it as king. [Year 22, 4th month of the second season, day . . . Proceeding] from Memphis, to slay the countries of the wretched Retenu, on the first occasion of victory. It was his majesty who opened its roads and forced its every way for his army, after it had made [rebellion, gathered in Megid]do. His majesty entered upon that road which becomes very narrow, as the first of his entire army, while every country had gathered, standing prepared at its mouth. . . . The enemy quailed, fleeing headlong to their town, together with the prince who was in . . . (13) . . . to them, beseeching [breath], their goods upon their backs. His majesty returned in gladness of heart, with this entire land as vassal . . . [Asiatics, coming at one time, bearing [their] tribute . . .

B. THE ANNALS IN KARNAK

The "Annals" of Thut-mose III's military campaigns are carved on the walls of the Temple of Karnak, in recognition of

1 On the detail for the first campaign, cf. n.39 below. On the abbreviation in the carved record of subsequent campaigns see the text of the seventh campaign (p. 239 below).

2 Hermothsis is modern Armant.

3 For the first twenty-two years of his reign, Thut-mose III had been overshadowed by the queen Hat-shepsut. Then he seized power with some show of violence and indulged his desire for military activity almost immediately. The present date is two and a half months earlier than Thut-mose's departure from the Egyptian frontier (n.9 below); Drower, op.cit., 183, n. 6, suggests that the present date may be the beginning of his sole reign.

4 Central Phoenicia, but here Syria-Palestine.

5 The formal departure from Memphis must have preceded the passing of the Egyptian frontier (n.9 below).

6 The pass through the Carmel range leading to Megiddo; cf. n.20 below.

The Horus: Mighty Bull, Appearing in Thebes; ... (Thut-mose III). 7

His majesty commanded that [the victories which his father Amon had given to him] should be established [upon] a monument in the temple which his majesty had made for [his father Amon, in order to set down] (5) each individual campaign, 8 together with the booty which [his majesty] carried [off from it, and the dues of] every [foreign country] which his father Re had given to him.

Year 22, 4th month of the second season, day 25. 9 [His majesty passed the fortress of] Sile, on the first campaign of victory [which his majesty made to extend] the frontiers of Egypt, in valor, [in victory, in power, and in justification]. Now this was a [long] time in years ... (10) plunder, while every man was [tributary] before ... 10 But it happened in later times 11 that the garrison which was there was in the town of Sharuhen, 12 while from Iursa to the outer ends of the earth 13 had become rebellious against his majesty.

Year 23, 1st month of the third season, day 4, the day of the feast of the king's coronation— as far as the town of "That-Which-the-Ruler-Seized," [of which the Syrian name is] Gaza. 14

[Year 23.] (15) 1st month of the third season, day 5— departure from this place, in valor, [in victory, in power, and in justification, in order to overthrow that wretched enemy, 17 and to extend the frontiers of Egypt, according to the command of his father Amon-Re, the [valiant] and victorious, that he should capture. Year 23, 1st month of the third season, day 16—as far as the town of Yehem. [His majesty] ordered a conference with his victorious army, speaking as follows: "That [wretched] enemy (20) of Kadesh has come and has entered into Megiddo. He is [there] at this moment. He has gathered to him the princes of [every] foreign country [which had been] loyal to Egypt, as well as (those) as far as Naharin and M[i]tanni (or Mitanni), them of Hurru, them of Kode, their horses, their armies, [and their people]; for he says— so it is reported— I shall wait [here] (25) in Megiddo [to fight against his majesty]."

Will ye tell me [what is in your hearts]? 19 They said in the presence of his majesty: "What is it like to go [on this road] which becomes (so) narrow? It is [reported] that the foe is there, waiting on [the outside, while they are] becoming (more) numerous. Will not horse (have to) go after [horse, and the army] (30) and the people similarly? Will the vanguard of us be fighting while the [rear guard] is waiting here in Aruna, unable to fight? 20 Now two (other) roads are here. One of the roads—behold, it is [to the east of] us, so that it comes out at Taanach. The other—behold, it is to the (35) north side of Djefti, and we will come out to the north of Megiddo. 21 Let our victorious lord proceed on the one of [them] which is [satisfactory to] his heart, (but) do not make us go on that difficult road!"

Then messages [were brought in about that wretched enemy, and discussion was continued] of [that] problem on which they had previously spoken. That which was said in the majesty of the Court—life, prosperity, health— 22 "I [swear]. (40) as Re loves me, as my father Amon favors me, as my [nostrils] are rejuvenated with life and satisfaction, my majesty shall proceed upon this Aruna road! Let him of you who wishes go upon these roads of which you speak, and let him of you who wishes come in the following of my majesty! 'Behold,' they will say, these (45) enemies whom Re abominates, 'has

7 The royal titulary, much as translated above for the Armant Stela.
8 "An expedition by its name." cf. n.39 below.
9 Tentatively, April 16, 1468 B.C., accepting, for this translation, the date for the battle of Megiddo (n.23 below), 25 given by L. Borchardt, Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Ermittlung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte (Quellen und Forschungen zur ägyptischen Geschichte, ii, Cairo, 1935), 120. The precise date will depend upon an establishment of what the ancient Egyptians meant by "a month.
10 Or Tjaru, the Egyptian frontier post, at or near modern Kantarah.
11 Sethe (see his justification in *EA*, xxvii [1910], 72-84) restores a context referring to the Hyksos rule in Egypt, as a forerunner of the present campaign of victory, which his majesty made to extend the frontiers of Egypt, in valor, in victory, in power, and in justification.
12 That wretched enemy (20) of Kadesh has come and has entered into Megiddo. He is [there] at this moment. He has gathered to him the princes of every foreign country [which had been] loyal to Egypt, as well as (those) as far as Naharin and Mitanni (or Mitanni), them of Hurru, them of Kode, their horses, their armies, [and their people]; for he says— so it is reported— I shall wait [here] (25) in Megiddo [to fight against his majesty]."
13 Not yet specified by name or title. The Prince of Kadesh—probably Kadesh on the Orontes—was the leader of the coalition against Egypt. See n.19 below.
14 May 7, 1468 (Borchardt). After leaving the Egyptian-held city of Gaza, the army's rate was notably slower through territory which was actually or potentially rebellious. Perhaps 60 miles were covered in 11 or 12 days. Yehem (possibly Jahmai or similar) is tentatively located by Nelson at Yennoma on the south side of the Carmel ridge.
15 It is probable from the nature of this coalition and from Thut-mose's subsequent campaigns that this Kadesh was the city on the Orontes. The Barkal Stela (p. 238) gives the coalition as 330 princes, i.e. rulers of city states. Naharin and Mitanni (restoration not certain) were at the bend of the Euphrates. Hurru (or Kharu) was generally Syria-Palestine, and Kode the coast of north Syria and of Cilicia.
16 Nelson's topographic reconstruction gives the situation confronting the Egyptians. If they went straight ahead on the narrow track debouching just south of Megiddo, they had to go in single file and would be particularly vulnerable. Aruna, perhaps modern Tell Ar'a in the pass, was not "here" at Yehem, since it was a few miles further north. It was "here" on the southern side of the mountain range.
17 Two safer mountain tracks were offered as alternatives, one debouching at Taanach, 4 or 5 miles southeast of Megiddo, and one debouching at an unknown point north (west) of Megiddo.
18 That is, the voice from the throne. The Court moved with the pharaoh.
his majesty set out on another road because he has become afraid of us?—so they will speak.”

They said in the presence of his majesty: “May thy father Amon, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Presiding over Karnak, act [according to thy desire]! Behold, we are following thy majesty everywhere that [thy majesty] goes, for a servant will be after [his] lord.”

[Then his majesty laid a charge] (90) upon the entire army: “[Ye] shall [hold fast to the stride of your victorious lord on] that road which becomes (so) narrow. Behold, his majesty has taken] an oath, saying: ‘I will not let [my victorious army] go forth ahead of my majesty in [this place!]” Now his majesty had laid it in his heart that he himself should go forth at the head of his army. [Every man] was made aware (95) of his order of march, horse following horse, while [his majesty] was at the head of his army.

Year 23, 1st month of the third season, day 19—the awakening in [life] in the tent of life, prosperity, and health, at the town of Aruna. Proceeding northward by my majesty, carrying my father Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, [that he might open the ways] before me,29 while Har-akhti established [the heart of my victorious army] (60) and my father Amon strengthened the arm [of my majesty]. . . .

Then [his] majesty issued forth29 [at the head of] his [army], which was [prepared] in many ranks. [He had not met] a single [enemy]. Their [southern wing] was in Taanach, [while their] northern wing was on the south side [of the Qina Valley]. Then (65) his majesty rallied them saying: “. . . They are fallen!” While that [wretched] enemy . . . [May] ye [give praise] to (70) [him; may ye extol the might of] his majesty, because his arm is greater than (that of) [any king. It has indeed protected the rear of] his majesty’s army in Aruna!”

Now while the rear of his majesty’s victorious army was (still) at [the town] of Aruna, the vanguard had come out into the [Qina] Valley, and they filled the mouth of this valley.

Then they said to his majesty—life, prosperity, health!—(75) “Behold, his majesty has come forth with his victorious army, and they have filled the valley. Let our victorious lord listen to us this time, and let our lord await for us the rear of his army and his people. When the rear of the army comes forth for us into the open, then we shall fight against these foreigners, then we shall not trouble our hearts [about] the rear of (80) our army.”

A halt was made by his majesty outside, [seated] there and awaiting the rear of his victorious army. Now the [leaders] had just finished coming forth on this road when the shadow turned.30 His majesty reached the south of Megiddo on the bank of the Qina brook, when the seventh hour was in (its) course in the day.31

Then a camp was pitched there for his majesty, and a charge was laid upon the entire army, [saying]: “Prepare ye! Make your weapons ready, since one32 will engage in combat with that wretched enemy in the morning, because one is . . .”

Resting in the enclosure of life, prosperity, and health.33 Providing for the officials. Issuing rations to the retinue. Posting the sentries of the army. Saying to them: “Be steadfast, be steadfast! Be vigilant, be vigilant!” Awakening in life in the tent of life, prosperity, and health. They came to tell his majesty: “The desert is well,”34 and the garrisons of the south and north also!”

Year 23, 1st month of the third season, day 21, the day of the feast of the true new moon.35 Appearance of the king at dawn. Now a charge was laid upon the entire army to pass by . . . (85) His majesty set forth in a chariot of fine gold, adorned with his accoutrements of combat, like Horus, the Mighty of Arm, a lord of action like Montu, the Theban, while his father Amon made strong his arms. The southern wing of his majesty’s army was at a hill south of [the] Qina [brook], and the northern wing was to the northwest of Megiddo, while his majesty was in their center, Amon being the protection of his person (in) the melee and the strength of [Seth pervading] his members.

Thereupon his majesty prevailed over them at the head of his army. Then they saw his majesty prevailing over them, and they fled headlong [to] Megiddo with faces of fear. They abandoned their horses and their chariots of gold and silver, so that someone might draw them (up) into this town by hoisting on their garments. Now the people had shut this town against them, (but) they [let down] garments to hoist them up into this town. Now, if only his majesty’s army had not given up their hearts to capturing the possessions of the enemy, they would [have captured] Megiddo at this time, while the wretched enemy of Kadesh and the wretched enemy of this town were being dragged (up) hastily to get them into their town, for the fear of his majesty entered

30 Three days after the arrival in Yehem. See n.18 above, n.35 below.
31 An impersonal expression for the beginning of the day with the king’s awaking.
32 The standard of Amon led the way. See it thus leading the way in the time of Ramses III, in the Epigraphic Survey. Menedez Flahau, I. The Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III (OIP, viii, Chicago, 1930), Pl. 17.
33 From the pass on to the Megiddo plain.
34 “Horn.” This was the Asiatic wing. Why they were drawn up opposite the mouth of the pass and yet had not held the pass against the thin Egyptian line is inexplicable.
35 The Qina is still represented by a brook flowing south of Megiddo.
36 The preceding verb means “summon,” rather than “cry out.” Thereafter, we should have Thut-mose’s rallying cry to his army behind him. When he said: “They are fallen!” he was anticipating the fall of the Asiatics, because they had failed to guard the pass.
EGYPTIAN HISTORICAL TEXTS

[their bodies], their arms were weak, [for] his serpent-diadem had overpowered them.

Then their horses and their chariots of gold and silver were captured as an easy [prey].

“Ranks of them were captured as an easy [prey].”

Then the entire army rejoiced and gave praise to Amon [because of the victory] which he had given to his son on [this day. They lauded] his majesty and exalted his victories. Then they presented the plunder which they had taken: hands, living prisoners, horses, and chariots of gold and silver and of painted work.

Then his majesty appointed princes anew for [every town].

Now the army [of his majesty] carried off [cattle]...387...1,929 cows, 2,000 goats, and 20,500 sheep.

List of what was carried off afterward by the king from the household goods of that enemy, who [was in] Yanoam, Nuges, and Herenkeru, together with the property of those towns which had made themselves subject to him...; 38 [maryanu] belonging to them, 84 children of that enemy and of the princes who were with him, 5 maryanu belonging to them, 1,796 male and female slaves, as well as their children, and 103 pardoned persons, who had come out from that enemy because of hunger—total: 2,503—apart from bowls of costly stone and gold, various vessels, (100)..., a large akunu-jar in Syrian work, jars, bowls, plates, various drinking vessels, large kettles, [x + ] 17 knives—making 1,784 deben; gold in discs, found in the process of being worked, as well as abundant silver in discs—566 deben and 1 kidet; a silver statue in the form of... [a statue]...with head of gold; 3 walking sticks with human heads; 6 carrying-chairs of that enemy, of ivory, ebony, and carob-wood, worked with gold, and the 6 footstools belonging to them; 6 large tables of

On the surrender, see also the Barkal Stela (p. 238).

Toward Egypt.

Elsewhere in the Temple of Karnak (Sethe, op.cit., 744), Thut-mose III states that he presented to Amon “three towns in Upper Retenu—Nuges the name of one, Yanoam the name of another, and Herenkeru the name of another—taxed with annual dues for the divine offerings of my father Amon.” “Upper Retenu” properly stands for the mountain territory of north Palestine and southern Syria, and Yanoam seems to have been in the Lake Huleh area. The three towns would then be somewhere in that area. See A. H. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastics (London, 1947), 1, 168* ff. We do not know what is meant by “that enemy” being in these towns. The dedicatory inscriptions translated under n below suggest that Thut-mose had time for a campaign in the Lebanon while Megiddo was under siege.

The maryanu were the warrior or officer class in Asia at this time. cf. p. 25, n.1. “Belonging to them” refers to listed individuals in the lost context above (474 are missing from the total), and probably includes the women of the Asiatic princes.

About 435 lb. Troy of metal value (probably reckoned in silver) in the listed pieces III (Sethe, op.cit., 104), we read: “I was the one who set down the victories which he achieved over every foreign country, put into writing as it was done.”

About 235 lb. Troy. Uncertain whether of silver only, or of the combined value of gold and silver.
ivory and carob-wood; a bed belonging to that enemy, of carob-wood, worked with gold and with every (kind of) costly stone, in the manner of a karker,\(^4\) completely worked in gold; a statue of that enemy which was there, of ebony worked with gold, its head of lapis lazuli \(...\); bronze vessels, and much clothing of that enemy.

Now the fields were made into arable plots and assigned to inspectors of the palace—life, prosperity, health! in order to reap their harvest. List of the harvest which his majesty carried off from the Megiddo acres: 207,300 \([+x]\) sacks of wheat,\(^7\) apart from what was cut as forage by his majesty's army, \(...\)

C. THE BARKAL STELA

In his 47th year, Thut-mose III erected at Gebel Barkal near the Fourth Cataract a granite stela summarizing some of the achievements of his reign. It was published, with photograph, transcription, and translation, by G. A. and M. B. Reisner in ZAes, LXXIX (1933), 24-39, PIs. iii-v. Only that part of the text which deals with the first campaign is translated below. Another extract will be found below under the eighth campaign.

I repeat further to you—hear, O people! (19) He\(^6\) entrusted to me the foreign countries of Retenu on the first campaign, when they had come to engage with my majesty, being millions and hundred-thousands of men, the individuals of every foreign country, waiting in their chariots—330 princes, every one of them having his (own) army.

When they were in the Qina Valley and away from it, in a tight spot, good fortune befell me among them, when my majesty attacked them. Then they fled immediately or fell prostrate. When they entered into Megiddo, my majesty shut them up for a period up to immediately or fell prostrate. When they entered into Megiddo, my majesty shut them up for a period up to seven months, before they came out into the open, pleading to my majesty and saying: “Give us thy breath, our lord! The countries of Retenu will never repeat rebellion another time”

Then that enemy and the princes who were with him sent out to my majesty, with all their children carrying abundant tribute: gold and silver, all their horses which were with them, their great chariots of gold and silver, as well as those which were plain, all their coats of mail, their bows, their arrows, and all their weapons of warfare. It was these with which they had come from afar to fight against my majesty, and now they were bringing them as tribute to my majesty, while they were standing on their walls, giving praise to my majesty, seeking that the breath of life might be given to them.

(24) Then my majesty had administered to them an oath of fealty, with the words: “We will not repeat evil against Men-kheper-Re, who lives forever, our good lord, in our time of life, inasmuch as we have seen his power, and he has given us breath as he wishes! It was his father who did it—[Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands]—it was not the hand of man!”

Then my majesty had them given leave to (go to) their cities. They all went on donkey(back), so that I might take their horses. I took captive the townspeople thereof for Egypt, and their possessions likewise.

D. FROM A DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION

In the Temple of Karnak Thut-mose III recorded the offerings and feasts which he established for the god Amon-Re in return for his victories. An extract from the beginning of this text gives further information on the first campaign. Perhaps during the seven months' siege of Megiddo, the pharaoh had been able to send a detachment north and establish a fortress outpost somewhere in the Lebanon. The text appears in Lepsius, \(op.\ cit.,\) 30b, and in Sethe, \(op.\ cit.,\) 739-40. It is translated in Breasted, \(op.\ cit.,\) §§5454-49.

... in the country of Retenu, in a fortress which my majesty built through his victories, a central point of the princes of Lebanon, of which the name shall be “Men-kheper-Re-is-the-Binder-of-the-Vagabonds.”

Now when he landed at Thebes, his father Amon was [in joy]... My majesty established for him a Feast of Victory anew, at the time when my majesty returned from the first victorious campaign, overthrowing the wretched Retenu and extending the frontiers of Egypt... in the year 23, as the first of the victories which he decreed to me.

SUBSEQUENT CAMPAIGNS

Thut-mose III conducted at least sixteen campaigns into Asia in a period of twenty years. Some campaigns involved difficult fighting, some were mere parades of strength to organize the new empire. The records of some campaigns consist simply of statements of “tribute” to Egypt—from Retenu, DjaH, and Cyprus; from Nubia, Ethiopia, and Punt; and from Naharin, Hatti, Assyria, and Babylonia. Obviously, some of this was truly tribute from conquered countries, but some of it consisted of gifts from distant and sovereign lands. This translation includes only those campaigns having greater interest.

For Thut-mose III’s Hymn of Victory, see pp. 373-375 below. For a legend about the capture of Joppa under Thut-mose III, see pp. 22-23 above.

A. FIFTH CAMPAIGN

By his fifth campaign, in his 29th year, Thut-mose was moving as far north as the towns of Tunip and Ardata, somewhere in north Syria. From the “Annals” in Karnak: Sethe, \(op.\ cit.,\) 685-88; bibliography on 680. Translation in Breasted, \(op.\ cit.,\) §§5454-62.

(3) Year 29.\(^1\) Now [his] majesty [was in DjaH], destroying the countries which had been rebellious to him, on the fifth victorious campaign. Now his majesty captured the town of Wartet.\(^2\) ... List of the plunder which was taken from this town, from the garrison of that enemy of Tunip: 1 prince of this town; 329 reher-

\(^{1}\) A date isolated in broken context on the Armant Stela (p. 234 above) gives: “Year 29, 4th month of the second season, day... ,” which would correspond to the earliest month dates in the first campaign. The Egyptian campaigning season normally fell just after the Egyptian harvest, but just before the Asiatic harvest, for maximum advantage to Egypt.

\(^{2}\) Unknown, but apparently a garrison town for Tunip, which seems to have been in the north Syrian plain.
warriors; 100 deben of silver; 100 deben of gold; lapis lazuli, turquoise, and vessels of bronze and copper.

Now there was a seizing of two ships, ... loaded with everything, with male and female slaves, copper, lead, emery, and every good thing, after his majesty proceeded southward to Egypt, to his father Amon-Re, with joy of heart.5

Now his majesty destroyed the town of Ardata, with its grain. All its pleasant trees were cut down. Now [his majesty] found [the] entire [land of] Djahi, with their orchards filled with their fruit. Their (7) wines were found lying in their vats, as water flows, and their grains on the threshing floors, being ground. They were more plentiful than the sands of the shore. The army over flowed with its possessions. ... Now his majesty’s army was as drunk and anointed with oil every day as if at feasts in Egypt.

B. SIXTH CAMPAIGN

In his 30th year, Thut-mose moved against the focal center of opposition to Egypt, Kadesh on the Orontes. The word “destroy,” used with reference to this town, is not to be taken literally; Thut-mose may have done no more than destroy its food supplies. The record of the year is notable for the statement of the policy of holding the heirs of Syrian princes in Egypt. From the “Annals” in Karnak: Sethe, op.cit., 689-90. Translation by Breasted, op.cit., §§463-67.

Year 30. Now his majesty was in the country of Retenu on his majesty’s sixth victorious campaign. Arrival at the town of Kadesh. Destroying it. Felling its trees. Cutting down its grain. Proceeding by passing Reyet6 and reaching the town of Simyra.7 Reaching the town of Ardata. Doing the same to it.

List of the tribute (10) brought to the glory of his majesty by the princes of Retenu in this year. Now the children of the princes and their brothers were brought to be hostages in Egypt. Now, whoever of these princes died, his majesty was accustomed to make his son go to be hostages in Egypt. Now, the record of the year is notable for the statement of the policy of holding the heirs of Syrian princes in Egypt.

C. SEVENTH CAMPAIGN

In his 31st year, Thut-mose captured the Phoenician town of Ullaza. He had now proceeded so far north that the control of the Sea was essential to the maintenance of empire. The record of this year tells of the Egyptian concern for holding the

3 A foreign word (perhaps Hittite) for chariot-warriors. cf. pp. 258, n.23; 263, n.12; and 469, n.10.
4 About 25 lb. Troy.
5 Unknown.
6 A town on the north Phoenician coast. Its location and that of Ardata are still to be established with precision.
7 Or “captives”; less likely: “to be in strongholds.”
8 Elsewhere in Karnak (p. 242 below), Thut-mose III listed “the foreign countries of Upper Retenu, ... whose children his majesty carried off as living prisoners to the town ... in Karnak.” The name given to this section of Karnak is unfortunately unreadable. cf. pp. 247, 248-49, 257.

Phoenician harbors. References as above: Sethe, op.cit., 690-96; Breasted, op.cit., §§468-75.

Year 31, 1st month of the third season, day 3. Summary of the plunder of his majesty in this year.

Plunder which was carried off from the town of Ullaza, which is on the shore of Meren:11 492 living captives, [7] commander belonging to the son of the enemy of Tunip, 1 superior of the ... was there—total: 494 men—26 horses, 13 chariots, (12) and their equipment of all (kinds of) weapons of warfare. Then his majesty captured this town within a short hour, all its goods being an easy prey.” ...

Now every port town which his majesty reached was supplied with good bread and with various (kinds of) bread, with olive oil, incense, wine, honey, fr[uit], ... They were more abundant than anything, beyond the experience of his majesty’s army, without equivocation.

15) They are set down in the daybook of the palace—life, prosperity, health! That the list of them has not been put upon this monument is in order not to multiply words and in order to put their content in that place [in which] I made [them].12 ... 

D. EIGHTH CAMPAIGN

In his 33rd year, Thut-mose achieved one of his most ambitious campaigns, crossing the bend of the Euphrates and fighting against “that enemy of the wretched Naharin.” It is not certain whether this opponent was the King of Naharin or was a lesser prince. He has four sources for the events of this campaign.

On the campaign in general, see the discussion by R. Faulkner, in JEA, xxxii (1946), 39-42.

D. A THE ANNALS IN KARNAK

The references are as above: Sethe, op.cit., 696-703; Breasted, op.cit., §§476-87.

Year 33. Now his majesty was in the country of Retenu.

Reach[ing the district of Qatna on the eighth victorious campaign. Crossing the Great Bend of Naharin by his majesty at the head of his army, to the [east of this water.]14 He set up beside the stela of his father, (20) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Aa-kheper-ka-Re,15 another (stela). Now his majesty went north,16 plunder—

10 This would be the last day of Thut-mose III’s 31st year. See n.16 on the first campaign above.
11 Reading and location uncertain. Ullaza was a north Phoenician coast town. The Egyptians located a garrison here; cf. against n.28 below.*
12 “Being a go-and-take.”
13 On the army daybook, cf. against n.39 of the first campaign.
14 Sethe’s restoration, used above, depends upon several other contexts. In a broken Karnak inscription (Sethe, op.cit., 188), there is reference to “... [the district] of Qatna on the 8th victorious campaign.” Qatna lay northeast of modern Homs. Part of the restoration depends upon the Hymn of Victory (p. 374 below): “Thou hast crossed the waters of the Great Bend of Naharin,” and on an inscription on the obelisk now in Istanbul (Sethe, op.cit., 387): “He who crossed the Great Bend of Naharin in valor and victory at the head of his army and made a great slaughter.” The general sense of the restoration is probably correct. On Naharin, see A. H. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, 1, 171* ff.
15 Thut-mose I (ca. 1525-1495 B.C.). Thut-mose III’s 33rd year should be about 1458 B.C.
16 In Egypt this word would mean both “go north” and “go downstream.” Since the Euphrates flows south, the direction is uncertain in the present context. See A. H. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica (London, 1947), 1, 160* ff.
...his stela in Naharin, (thus) extending the frontiers of towns and laying waste encampments of that enemy of the wretched Naharin....

[Then] he [pursued] after them an iter of sailing. Not one (of them) looked behind him, but was fleeing continually like a herd of desert beasts. [Now] there were galloping horses....

His majesty reached the town (23) of Ni, going south, when his majesty returned, after he had set up his stela in Naharin, (thus) extending the frontiers of Egypt....

D.-B THE ARMANT STELA

See the reference, Mond and Myers, as the first text translated under the first campaign, p. 234 above.

He finished off 120 elephants in the country of Ni, on his return from Naharin. He crossed the river Great Bend, and he crushed the towns of its two sides, consumed by fire forever. He set up a stela of victory on its [west] side....

D.-C THE BARKAL STELA

For the reference, G. A. and M. B. Reisner, see under the first campaign, p. 238 above.

(6) ... The many troops (of) Mitanni were overthrown in the completion of an hour, quite gone, as if they had never come into being. ... His southern frontier is to the horns of the earth, to the southern limit of this land; (his) northern to the marshes of Asia, to the supporting pillars of heaven. They come to him with bowed head, seeking his breath of life. He is a king, valiant like Montu, a taker, from whom no one can take, who crushes all rebellious countries.

There is none who can protect them in that land of Naharin, which its lord abandoned because of fear. I desolated his towns and his tribes and set fire to them. My majesty made them mounds, and their (re)settlement will never take place. I captured all their people, carried off as living prisoners, the (10) cattle thereof without limit, and their goods as well. I took away the very sources of life, (for) I cut down their grain and their (re)settlement will never take place. I captured all their people, carried off as living prisoners, the (10) cattle thereof without limit, and their goods as well. I took away the very sources of life, (for) I cut down their grain and felled all their groves and all their pleasant trees.... I destroyed it; it became a ... upon which there are no trees.

When my majesty crossed over to the marshes of Asia, I had many ships of cedar built on the mountains of God's Land near the Lady of Byblos. They were placed on chariots, with cattle drawing (them). They journeyed in [front of] my majesty, in order to cross that great river which lies between this foreign country and Naharin. A king indeed to be boasted of in proportion to (the success of) his arms in the melee, he who crossed the Great Bend in pursuit of him who had attacked him, as the foremost of his army, seeking for that wretched enemy [in] the countries of Mitanni, when he was a fugitive before my majesty to another land, a distant place, because of fear.

Then my majesty set up on that mountain of Naharin my stela, which was dug out of the mountain on the west side (of) the Great Bend....

When I proceeded (15) south to Egypt, after I had put the sword (to) Naharin, great was the terror in the mouth of the Sand-Dwellers. Their doors were closed because of it; they would not come out into the open for fear of the Bull....

Still another instance of the victory which Re decreed to me: he repeated for me a great (feat of) valor (at) the water hole of Ni, when he let me make droves of elephants and my majesty fought them in a herd of 120. Never was the like done since (the time of) the god by a king (of) them who took the White Crown. I have said this without boasting therein, and without equivocation therein....

Every year there is hewed [for me in Dja]hi genuine cedar of Lebanon, which is brought to the Court—life, prosperity, health! Timber comes to Egypt for me, advancing (31) ... New [wood] of Negau [is brought], the choicest of God's Land..., to reach the Residence City, without passing over the seasons thereof, each and every year. When my army which is the garrison in Ullaza comes, [they bring the tribute], which is the cedar of the victories of my majesty, through the plans of my father [Amon-Re], who entrusted to me all foreign countries. I have not given (any) of it to the Asians, (for) it is a wood which he loves....

D.-D THE BIOGRAPHY OF AMEN-EM-HEB

Amen-em-heb was an Egyptian soldier of moderate military rank, who has left us a lively account of his deeds of valor in following Thut-mose III. His autobiography is painted on the walls of his tomb (No. 85) in Thebes. Although he gives us no chronology, it has been argued that his narrative "almost certainly deals with the events of this one campaign in chronological order, the only exception being the second assault on Kadesh, which is the last battle in which Amenemhab fought" (A. H. Gardiner, on the authority of R. Faulkner, in JEA, xxxii [1946], 59). The text appears in W. M. Müller, Egyptianological Researches (Washington, 1906), i, Pls. xxxii—xxix, and in Sethe, op.cit., 889-97; a translation in Breasted, op.cit., §§574-92. See also A. H. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica (London, 1947), 1, 153 ff.

28 Or "[of]", the Euphrates. This feat of transporting boats from Phoenicia to the Euphrates gives some measure of the military genius of Thut-mose III.

29 Or "[of]"?

30 Or "of"?

31 The Asiatic nomads of the deserts near Egypt.

32 The following paragraph does not refer to the eighth campaign, but is a general statement of the pharaoh's power.

33 Probably a Lebanese or Phoenician area; cf. Syria, iv (1923), 181-92.
I made captives in the country of (5) Negeb.\textsuperscript{29} I took three men, Asiatics, as living prisoners. When his majesty reached Naharin, I took three men captive there, so that I might put them before thy majesty as living prisoners. Again I made captives within this campaign in the country, the Ridge of Wan, on the west of Aleppo. I took Asiatics as living prisoners: 13 men; 70 live asses; 13 bronze battle-axes; and . . . of bronze, worked with gold. Again I took booty within this campaign in the country of Carchemish. I took (10) . . . as living prisoners, and I crossed over the water of Naharin, while they were in my hand . . . ; I [placed] them before my lord. Then he rewarded me with a great reward; the list thereof: . . ., and two rings of silver. Again I saw how valiant he was, while I was in his retinue, when [he] captured the city of (15) Kadesh, without my swerving from the place where he was. I took two men, maryanu,\textsuperscript{30} as [living prisoners and set them] before the king, the Lord of the Two Lands: Thut-mose-Ruler-of-Thebes, living forever. He gave me gold because of my valor, in the presence of everybody . . . ; the list thereof: a lion, two necklaces, two flies, and four rings of finished gold.\textsuperscript{31} . . .

(20) Again I saw his victory in the country of the wretched Takhshi,\textsuperscript{32} in the town of Meriu . . . I took booty from it in the presence of the king; I took three men, Asiatics, as living prisoners. Then my lord gave to me the Gold of Favor; the list thereof: two necklaces, four rings, two flies, and one lion of gold; a female slave and a male slave. Again [I saw] another successful deed which the Lord of the Two Lands accomplished in Ni. He hunted 120 elephants at their mudhole.\textsuperscript{33} Then the biggest elephant which was among them began to fight before the face of his majesty. I was the one who cut off his hand\textsuperscript{34} while he was (still) alive, (25) in the presence of his majesty, while I was standing in the water between two rocks. Then my lord rewarded me with gold: . . ., and five pieces of clothing.

Then, when the Prince of Kadesh sent out a mare, which [was swift] on her feet and which entered among the army,\textsuperscript{35} I ran after her on foot, carrying my dagger, and I (ripped) open her belly. I cut off her tail and set it before the king. Praise was given to god for it. He gave joy, and it filled my belly, jubilation, and it imbued my body. (30) His majesty sent forth every valiant man of his army, to breach the new wall which Kadesh had made. I was the one who breached it, being the first of every valiant man, and no other did (it) before me. When I came out, I brought two men, maryanu, as living prisoners. Then my lord again rewarded me for it, with every good thing of heart's satisfaction.

Now really, I made these captures while I was a soldier of [User-het-A]mon.\textsuperscript{\textdagger} . . .

E. NINTH CAMPAIGN

The success of Thut-mose’s first eight campaigns seems to be reflected in the dull, statistical character of the records of the final campaigns. They consist chiefly of lists of “tribute” from dependent or friendly countries. The 9th campaign, in the 34th year, contains a slightly different statement about pharaoh’s concern for the harbors of Phoenicia. The references are to the “Annals” in Karnak: Sethe, op.cit., 707; Breasted, op.cit., §492.

Now every port town of his majesty was supplied with every good thing which [his] majesty received [in the country of Dja]hi, with Keftiu, Byblos, and Sektu ships of cedar,\textsuperscript{36} loaded with columns and beams, as well as (37) large timbers for the [major wood]working of his majesty . . . .

F. FINAL CAMPAIGN

In his 42nd year, Thut-mose conducted his 16th or 17th campaign, the last listed. Apparently he met somewhat more resistance than in other late campaigns. The references are to the “Annals” in Karnak; Sethe, op.cit., 729-34, with antecedent bibliography on 724; Breasted, op.cit., §§528-40.

. . . the Fenkhu.\textsuperscript{37} Now his majesty was on the coast road, in order to destroy the town of Irqata,\textsuperscript{38} together with those towns which (11) [were in its district]. . . . Arrival at Tunip. Destruction of the town. Cutting down its grain and felling its trees . . . .

Coming (back) successfully. Arrival at the region of Kadesh. Capturing three towns therein.\textsuperscript{39} . . .

[Now his majesty captured the foreigners] of the wretched Naharin, who were auxiliaries among them, together with their horses: 691 individuals; 29 hands; 48 horses . . . .

(20) . . . Now his majesty commanded that the victories which he had accomplished from the year 23 to the year 42 should be set down at the time when this monument was established in this chapel, in order that he might achieve “given-life-forever.”

\textsuperscript{29} Apparently the same as the modern Negeb, south of Palestine.
\textsuperscript{30} Ger, but read “his.”
\textsuperscript{31} Perhaps modern Sheidjar, northwest of Hama.
\textsuperscript{32} Cf. n. 43 on the first campaign.
\textsuperscript{33} Decorations of gold in various forms. Flies and lions’ heads of gold have been found in Egyptian excavation.
\textsuperscript{34} Takhshi lay near Damascus. Meriu . . . is unknown.
\textsuperscript{35} Their “slime-place”? Less likely: “because of their ivory.”
\textsuperscript{36} Lit., for “trunk.” See P. E. Newberry, in JEA, xx (1944), 75.
\textsuperscript{37} To stampede the stallions of the Egyptian chariots.
\textsuperscript{38} The sacred barge of Amon at Thebes. The implication seems to be that Amen-em-het was only an official of relatively low rank. The text goes on to record the death of Thut-mose Ill and Amen-em-het’s elevation to the rank of “Lieutenant of the Army” under Amen-hetep II.
\textsuperscript{39} Keftiu was Cioete—or the eastern Mediterranean coast generally—and Byblos was the Phoenician town. For the identification of the Sektu ships with Ugartic and Hebrew (lisaab, 2:16) words for ships, see the references given by W. F. Albright in JPOS, lxxi (1951), 26. The names of the three vessels indicate the commercial carriers of the time within the eastern Mediterranean. For tentative adjustments in dates see p. xviii.
\textsuperscript{40} Phoenicians.
\textsuperscript{41} Modern Arakah, northeast of Tripoli.
\textsuperscript{42} These words do not actually claim the capture of Kadesh itself, although that may have been one of the three towns.
Lists of Asiatic Countries
Under the Egyptian Empire

The conqueror Thut-mose III initiated the custom of listing the Asiatic and African countries which he had conquered or over which he claimed dominion. In the Temple of Amon at Karnak three of his lists bear superscriptions. The texts are published in K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* (Urk., iv, Leipzig, 1907), 780-81, with translations in Breasted, *AR*, ii, §492.

(a) Roster of the countries of Upper Retenu which his majesty shut up in the town of the wretched Megiddo, whose children his majesty carried off as living prisoners to the town . . . in Karnak, on his first victorious campaign, according to the command of his father Amon, who led him to the good ways.

(b) All the mysterious lands of the marshes of Asia which his majesty carried off as living prisoners, while he made a great slaughter among them, (lands) which had not been trodden by other kings except for his majesty. The reputation of a valiant man is from [what he has done], not being destroyed in this land [forever].

(c) Roster of the countries of Upper Retenu which his majesty shut up in the town of the wretched Megiddo, whose children his majesty carried off as living prisoners to the town of Thebes, to fill the workhouse of his father Amon in Karnak, on his first victorious campaign, according to the command of his father Amon, who led him to the good ways.

Subsequent kings followed Thut-mose III in compiling such lists. The result is only a partial historical gain. Identifications are often difficult or impossible, and some of the later lists are suspect as having a strong fictional coloring. Selections from these lists are given below, with attempted identifications. It will be understood that the name is not always the biblical site; it may be a Kadesh, a Hamath, or a Geba. Those names which are checked with numbers derive from the longer lists and—with the exception of Ramses III—may more truly represent historical achievement than those names which occur in briefer lists of strong propagandistic force (here checked with x).

The names are taken from J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia* (Leiden, 1937), in which antecedent bibliography is given. The numbers used below are those of Simons' lists. Important for the identification of place names are M. Burchardt, *Die altkananaischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im ägyptischen* (Leipzig, 1909), and W. F. Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (New Haven, 1934).*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Thut-mose III</th>
<th>Amen-Isept II</th>
<th>Amen-Isept IV</th>
<th>Hor-em-heb</th>
<th>Set I</th>
<th>Ramses II</th>
<th>Ramses III</th>
<th>Sheshonk I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aijalon</td>
<td>213(?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
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3 Achshaph
4 Acre
5 Adummin

1 The name of the town of captives at Karnak is unfortunately broken and untranslatable.
2 A proverb. See n.2 on p. 233.
3 Many identifications may be open to more question than is indicated.
A Trip to the Lebanon for Cedar

An official of Thut-mose III has left us an inscription—unfortunately badly damaged—on a commission which he undertook to secure cedar from the Lebanon. The inscription appears in the tomb of the Chief Treasurer Sen-nefer (No. 99 at Thebes). The text appears in K. Sethe, Eine Urkunden der Dynastie (Urk., iv, Leipzig, 1906), iii, 531-36, and was studied by Sethe, Eine Pharaon as a Sportsman

The following texts have place in the record of the Egyptian Empire because they present to us the invincible being who conquered and held foreign countries. As a god-king, he was placed beyond any mortals of his day. Yet he led his armies into battle and arrows were aimed at him. He had to present himself and he had to be presented by the dogma of the state as unsurpassed and unsurpassable in physical prowess. In addition to the accumulating legend of his triumphs in battle, a legend was fostered of his invincibility in competitive sport.

The first document deals with Thut-mose III (about 1490-1436 B.C.) and is extracted from his Armant Stela, for which the bibliography was given on p. 234 above.

(4) He shot at an ingot of copper, every shaft being split like a reed. Then his majesty put a sample there in the House of Amon, being a target of worked copper... Then his majesty put a sample there in the House of Amon, being a target of worked copper...

4 On the historical value of the names Yaa and Qedem, A. H. Gardiner, Notes on the Story of Sinuhe (Paris, 1916), 155, points out that in this one list the two names "occur beside one another, obviously reminiscences of the story of Sinuhe and without further historical value." cf. p. 19 above.

4 In the lost context there must have been reference to the goddess of Byblos, whom the Egyptians equated with their Hat-Hor. The "presentations" to her are a polite statement of the payment for cedar. The term kheni-ake, here translated "forest-preserve," was used in Egypt for royal domains.

3 Slightly over 100 feet long. The numeral is partly destroyed on the wall, but is considered by Sethe to be certainly 60.

3 Not literally sharp. This word is elsewhere used in various forms of approval, somewhat like the modern juvenile "keen, neat."

4 Perhaps: "When I [brought] them [down] upon the country of God's Land," i.e. the Orient in general, they were so many that "they reached as far as the forest-preserve..." [I sailed on the] Great [Green] Sea with a favorable breeze, land[ing in Egypt]...

... above the clouds. I entered the forest-preserve. ... [I caused] that there be presented to her offerings of millions of things on behalf of [the life, prosperity, and health of thy majesty]. ... (10) in Byblos, that I might give them to her lord for her [heart's] satisfaction. ... gave... of the choicest thereof. I brought away (timbers of) 60 cubits in [their] length... They were sharper than the beard of grain, the middle thereof as thick... I [brought] them [down] from the high-land of God's Land. They reached as far as the forest-preserve. ... [I sailed on the] Great [Green] Sea with a favorable breeze, land[ing in Egypt]...
he entered into his northern garden and found that there had been set up for him four targets of Asiatic copper of one palm in their thickness, with twenty cubits between one post and its fellow. Then his majesty appeared in a chariot like Montu in his power. He grasped his bow and gripped four arrows at the same time. So he rode northward, shooting at them like Montu in his regalia. His arrows had come out on the back thereof while he was attacking another post. It was really a deed which had never been done nor heard of by report: shooting at a target of copper an arrow which came out of it and dropped to the ground—except for the king, rich in glory, whom [Amon] made strong, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Aa-khepru-Re, heroic like Montu.

Now when he was (still) a lad, he loved his horses and rejoiced in them. It was a strengthening of the heart to work them, to learn their natures, to be skilled in training them, and to enter into their ways. When (it) was heard (28) in the palace by his father, the Horus: Mighty Bull, Appearing in Thebes, the heart of his majesty was glad when he heard it, rejoicing at what was said about his eldest son, while he said in his heart: "He it is who will act as Lord for the entire land, without being attacked, while the heart moves in valor, rejoicing in strength, though he is (only) a goodly, beloved youth. He is not yet sagacious; he is not (yet) at the time of doing the work of Montu. He is (still) unconcerned with carnal desire, (but) he loves strength. It is a god who puts (it) into his heart to act so that Egypt may be protected for him and so that the land defers to him." Then his majesty said to those who were at his side: "Let there be given to him the very best horses in my majesty's stable which is in Memphis, and tell him: 'Take care of them, instil fear into them, make them gallop, and handle them if there be resistance to thee!'" Now after it had been entrusted to the King's Son to take care of horses of the king's stable, well then, he did that which had been entrusted to him. Rashap and Astarte were rejoicing in him for doing all that his heart desired.

He trained horses without their equal: they would not grow tired when he took the reins, nor would they sweat (even) at a high gallop. He would harness with the bit in Memphis and stop at the rest-house of (25) Harmakhis, (so that) he might spend a moment there, going around and around it and seeing the charm of this rest-house of Khufu and Khaf-Re, the triumphant. His heart desired to perpetuate their names, (but) he still put it into his heart—so he said—until that which

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"The pharaoh wore a bull's tail in ceremonial appearance. There follows the account of the elephant hunt, translated on p. 240 above.

2 The pharaoh wore a bull's tail in ceremonial appearance. There follows a statue of the pharaoh wearing a bull's tail, from the temple of Amen at Thebes, translated on p. 240 above.

4 The pharaoh wore a bull's tail in ceremonial appearance. There follows a statue of the pharaoh wearing a bull's tail, from the temple of Amen at Thebes, translated on p. 240 above.

5 The pharaoh wore a bull's tail in ceremonial appearance. There follows a statue of the pharaoh wearing a bull's tail, from the temple of Amen at Thebes, translated on p. 240 above.

6 The pharaoh wore a bull's tail in ceremonial appearance. There follows a statue of the pharaoh wearing a bull's tail, from the temple of Amen at Thebes, translated on p. 240 above.

7 That is, the stela at the Euphrates, p. 239 above. There follows the text about the Battle of Megiddo, p. 234 above.

8 Drower, in Monn and Myers, op.cit., p. 12, translates this line as "That is, the beak of the falcon." However, I believe the intended meaning is "That is, the beak of the falcon." Thus, the correct translation should be "Thus, the beak of the falcon," as it is the beak of the falcon that is being referred to, not the beak of the elephant.

9 A Sudanese place name which occurs elsewhere, but which cannot be located.

10 That is, the stela at the Euphrates, p. 239 above. There follows the text about the Battle of Megiddo, p. 234 above.

11 The same claim in his Amada inscription, p. 247 below. Breastfed, AR, ii, p. 310, n. 4, calls attention to the legend in Herodotus (iii, 21) that Cambyses could not draw the bow of the king of Ethiopia.

12 The "falcon-boat" was the king's official barge. The word translated "stoke" may come from a root, "to destine, to determine."

13 Probably about a kilometer, five-eighths of a mile.

14 About 34 feet.

15 Probably about 4 miles.

16 "When he had counted his body," in the sense of developing to maturity.

17 The god of war.

18 "Thirst of the body."

19 The word means "puppy," but in no derogatory sense. Three centuries later, Thut-mose III.

20 "Thirst of the body."

21 The old warrior king apparently feels that his son's athletic preparation for kingship is god-given.

22 The Sphinx at Gizeh, dominated by the pyramids of Khufu (Cheops) and Khaf-Re (Chephren).

23 Two Asiatic deities. See pp. 249-50 below.

24 The Sphinx at Gizeh, dominated by the pyramids of Khufu (Cheops) and Khaf-Re (Chephren).
his father Re had decreed to him should have come to pass.  

After this, when his majesty was made to appear as king, the uraeus-serpent took her place upon his brow, the image of Re was established at its post, and the land was as (in) its first state, at peace under their lord, Aa-khepru-Re. He ruled the Two Lands, and every foreign country was bound under his soles. Then his majesty remembered the place where he had enjoyed himself in the vicinity of the pyramids and of Harmakhis, and One ordered that it be caused that a rest-house be made there, in which was set up a stela of limestone, the face of which was engraved with the Great Name of Aa-khepru-Re, beloved of Harmakhis, given life forever.

The Asiatic Campaigning of Amen-hotep II

Amen-hotep II (about 1447-1421 B.C.) gloried in his reputation for personal strength and prowess. His records therefore contrast with those of his predecessor and father, Thut-mose III, in emphasizing individual achievement. cf. the translations immediately preceding.

A. THE MEMPHIS AND KARNAK STELAE

There are two sources, in partial duplicate, for Amen-hotep's first and second campaigns into Asia. The more extensive text was recently discovered at Memphis, having been reused by a prince of the Twenty-second Dynasty as the ceiling of his burial chamber about 875 B.C. It was published by A. M. Badawi, Die neue historische Siele Amenophis' II, in ASAE, xlii (1943), 1-23, Pl. 1. The more damaged source is a stela standing at the south of the Eighth Pylon at Karnak. It was translated, with notes on antecedent bibliography, by Breasted, AR, ii, §§576-90. Both stelae were hacked up under the Amarna Revolution and restored in the Nineteenth Dynasty—badly restored, in the case of the Karnak stela. Both stelae were collated in 1946, the Memphis stela being mounted in the Cairo Museum under exhibition No. 6301. The line numbers below follow the Memphis stela. A study of both stelae by E. Edel, ZDPV, lxxix (1953), 97-176.

Year 7, 1st month of the third season, day 25, under the majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Sharp of Horns, the Two Goddesses: Rich in Dread, Made to Appear in Thebes; Horus of Gold; Carrying Off and Gaining Power over All Lands; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Aa-khepru-Re; the Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Lord of the Strong Arm: Amen-hotep-the-God-Ruler-of-Heliopolis, given life forever; the good god, likeness of Re, son of Amon upon

His throne, for He built him as strong and powerful in distinction to that which had been. His majesty has trod Naharin, which his bow has crushed, being devastated, carrying off by victory and power, like Montu adorned with his equipment. His heart is at rest when he sees them, (for) he has cut off the heads of the attackers. His majesty proceeded to Retenu on his first victorious campaign to extend his frontiers, made from the property of them who are not loyal to him, his face terrible like (that of) Bastet, like Seth in his moment of raging. His majesty reached Shamash-Edom. He hacked it up in a short moment, like a lion fierce of face, when he treads the foreign countries. (His) majesty was in his chariot, of which the name was: "Amon, the valiant..." List of the booty of his arm: living Asiatics: 35; cattle: 22.

His majesty crossed the Orontes (5) on dangerous waters, like Rashap. Then he turned about to watch his rear, and he saw a few Asiatics coming furiously, adorned with weapons of warfare, to attack the king's army. His majesty burst after them like the flight of a divine falcon. The confidence of their hearts was slackened, and one after another fell upon his fellow, up to their commander. Not a single one was with his majesty, except for himself with his valiant arm. His majesty killed them by shooting. He returned thence, his heart glad like Montu the valiant, when he had triumphed. List of what his majesty captured within this day: two princes and six maryannu, in addition to

26 The king.
27 A circumcision for the king.
28 God of war.
29 The slaughtering cat-goddess.

2 Around 1420 B.C., this date will have fallen in the latter part of May. The translator finds it impossible to reconcile the dates in these several stelae. The Memphis stela places the first campaign in Amen-hotep II's 7th year, the second in his 9th year. The Amarna stela below is dated in his 3rd year, to record a celebration in Egypt after the return from the first campaign! Further, it is understood that Amen-hotep was corynet with his father, Thut-mose III, for a minimum of 1 year and up to a possible 14 years. A possible reconciliation would be that the 7th year after the coregency began was the 3rd year of sole reign. See the criticism of this reconciliation by D. B. Redford, JEA, 41 (1955), 120-21.

11 The term maryannu (related to the Vedic mārya "male, noble") was used for Asiatic warriors in this period. cf. p. 22, n.2. Karnak variant: "He passed over what his majesty captured on this day, . . . the 2 horses, 1 chariot, a coat of mail, 2 bows, a quiver filled with arrows, . . . and an inlaid axe."
their chariots, their teams, and all their weapons of warfare.

His majesty, going south, reached Ni.16 His prince and all his people, male as well as female, were at peace with his majesty, (for) their faces had received a bedazzlement.17 His majesty reached Ikat.18 He surrounded everyone rebellious to him and killed them, like those who have never existed, put on (their) side, rounded everyone rebellious to him and killed them, dazzlement." His majesty reached Ikat.

Rest in the tent of his majesty19 in the neighborhood of Tjerekh on the east of Sheshrem. The settlements of Mendjet20 were plundered. His majesty reached Hejira.20 His prince came out in peace to his majesty, (10) bringing his children and all his goods. Submission was made to his majesty by Unqi.21 His majesty reached Kadesh. Its prince came out in peace to his majesty. They were made to take the oath of fealty, and all their children as (well). Thereupon his majesty shot at two targets of copper in hammered work, in their presence, on the south side of this town.22 Excursions were made in Rebi in the forest, and there were brought back gazelles, maset, hares, and wild22 asses without their limit.

His majesty proceeded by chariot to Khashabu,24 alone, without having a companion. He returned thence in a short moment, and he brought back 16 living marryanu on the two sides of his chariot, 20 hands at the foreheads of his horses, and 60 cattle being driven before him. Submission was made to his majesty by this town.

While his majesty was going south in the midst of the Plain of Sharon,25 he met a messenger of the Prince of Naharin, carrying a letter of clay at his throat.25 He took him as a living prisoner at the side of his chariot. His majesty went forth in chariot, by a track" to Egypt, (15) with the marrya26 as a living prisoner in the chariot alone with him.

His majesty reached Memphis, his heart joyful, the Mighty Bull. List of this booty:29 marryanu: 550; their wives: 240; Canaanites: 640; princes' children: 232; princes' children, female: 232; favorites29 of the princes of every foreign country: 270 women, in addition to their paraphernalia for entertaining the heart, of silver and gold, (at) their shoulders; total: 2,214,25 horses: 820; chariots: 730, in addition to all their weapons of warfare. Now the God's Wife, King's Wife, and King's [Daughter] beheld the victory of his majesty.23

Year 9, 3rd month of the first season, day 25.28 His majesty proceeded to Retenu on his second victorious campaign, against the town of Apheq.44 It came out in surrender to the great victory of Pharaoh—life, prosperity, health! His majesty went forth by chariot, adorned with weapons of warfare, against the town of Yehem.44 Now his majesty captured the settlements of Mepesen, together with the settlements of Khettenj, two towns on the west of Socho.44 Now the Ruler was raging like a divine falcon, his horses flying like a star of heaven. His majesty entered, and (20) its princes, its children, and its women were carried off as living prisoners, and all its retainers similarly, all its goods, without their limit, its cattle, its horses, and all the small cattle (which) were before him.

Thereupon his majesty rested. The majesty of this august god, Amon, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, came before his majesty in a dream, to give valor to his son, Aa-khepru-Re. His father Amon-Re was the magical protection of his person, guarding the Ruler.

28 An unknown em sibiy, with a determinative which looks like two plants. The tentative translation assumes that it is Hebrew šebîl "path"—perhaps "two tracks," not a road, but two traces of chariot wheels across the wilderness—and that the determinative is borrowed from the root which appears in Assyrian šubullatu "car (of grain)."
29 This seems to be the only occurrence of the singular marrya, for what normally appears in a plural or collective, marryana, n.15 above. Of course, the writing here may be defective.
30 The Karnak variant has a date: "...of the third season, day 27," followed by a broken and uncertain context, which seems to apply to the temple of Pah at Memphis: "His majesty came forth from the House...of the Beautiful of Face." Then, "[His majesty] proceeded [to] Memphis, bearing the boot which he had carried off from the country of Retenu. List of the booty: living marryanu: 550; the [ir w]est: 240; ed: 6,800 deben; copper: 500,000 deben;...total: 2,214,25 horses: 820; chariots: 730." Thus, the Memphite text's kin'anu, which can only be understood as Kenut'am "Canaanite," has been turned by the Karnak text into some object related to gold—perhaps kenvad' "baggage, pack," of Jer. 10:17. The gold would amount to about 1,700 lb. Troy, the copper to 125,000 lb. Troy.
31 Or "(woman) singers," particularly in view of their entertainment apparent itinerary best.
32 Of several Apheqs, the one at Ras el-Ain in Palestine seems to fit the part of November, an unusual season for an Egyptian campaign in Asia.
33 Of several names, only Socho can be identified. Karnak variant: "...of the third season, day 27," followed by a broken and uncertain context, which seems to apply to the temple of Pah at Memphis: "His majesty came forth from the House...of the Beautiful of Face." Then, "[His majesty] proceeded [to] Memphis, bearing the boot which he had carried off from the country of Retenu. List of the booty: living marryanu: 550; the [ir w]est: 240; ed: 6,800 deben; copper: 500,000 deben;...total: 2,214,25 horses: 820; chariots: 730." Thus, the Memphite text's kin'anu, which can only be understood as Kenut'am "Canaanite," has been turned by the Karnak text into some object related to gold—perhaps kenvad' "baggage, pack," of Jer. 10:17. The gold would amount to about 1,700 lb. Troy, the copper to 125,000 lb. Troy.
34 Or "(woman) singers," particularly in view of their entertainment paraphernalia. However, 270 women ministrals seems a very high number, and the translation assumes that these were simply harem women, who would also have entertainment paraphernalia.
35 Sir, 2,214, although the total by addition comes to 2,255.
36 Probably the queen Ti-zat or the queen Hat-hetepu II. Karnak variant: "The entire land beheld the victory of his majesty."
37 Sir, n.11 above. About 1,440 BCE, the present date would fall in the early part of November, an unusual season for an Egyptian campaign in Asia.
38 Of several Apheqs, the one at Ras el-Ain in Palestine seems to fit the apparent itinerary best.
39 On Yehem see p. 235, n.18 above.
40 Of these three names, only Socho can be identified. Karnak variant: "His majesty...ed the tribe of Khettien... Now the prince...[abandoned] the city for fear of his majesty. His princes (or officials), his women, his children, and all his retainers as well, were carried off. List of that which his majesty himself captured...his horses."
His majesty went forth by chariot at dawn, against the town of Iseren, as well as Migdol-jen.™ Then his majesty—life, prosperity, health!—prevailed like the prevailing of Sekhmet, like Montu over Thebes. He carried off their princes: 34; mervu;78 57; living Asians: 231; hands: 372; horses: 54; chariots: 54; in addition to all the weapons of warfare, every able-bodied man™ of Retenu, their children, their wives, and all their property. After his majesty saw the very abundant plunder, they were made into living prisoners, and two ditches were made around all of them. Behold, they were filled with fire, and his majesty kept watch over it until daybreak, while his (25) battle-axe was in his right hand, alone, without a single one with him, while the army was far from him, far from hearing the cry of Pharaoh.79

Now after daybreak of a second day, his majesty went forth by chariot at dawn, adorned with the equipment of Montu. The day of the Feast of the Royal Coronation of his majesty:™ Anabarat was plundered. List of the booty of his majesty alone within this day: living maryaru: 17; children of princes: 6; living Asians: 68; hands: 123; teams: 71; chariots of silver and gold: 7; in addition to all their weapons of warfare; bulls: 443; cows: 370; and all (kinds of) cattle, without their limit. Then the army presented very abundant booty, without its limit.

His majesty reached Huakht.™ The Prince of Geba-Shumen,™ whose name was Qaga,™ was brought, his wife, his children, and all his retainers as well. Another prince was appointed in his place.™

His majesty reached the town of Memphis, his heart appeared over all countries, with all lands beneath his soles. List of the plunder which his majesty carried off: princes of Retenu: 127;™ brothers of princes: (30) 179; Apiru:™ 3,600; living Shasu: 15,200; Kharu: 36,300; living Neges: 15,070; the adherents thereof: 30,652;

total: 89,600 men;™ similarly their goods, without their limit; all small cattle belonging to them; all (kinds of) cattle, without their limit; chariots of silver and gold: 60; painted chariots of wood: 1,032; in addition to all their weapons of warfare, being 13,050;™ through the strength of his august father, his beloved, who is thy™ magical protection, Amon, who decreed to him valor.

Now when the Prince of Naharin, the Prince of Hatti, and the Prince of Shanha™ heard of the great victory which I had made, each one vied with his fellow in making offering, while they said in their hearts to the father of their fathers, in order to beg peace from his majesty, seeking that there be given to them the breath of life: “We are under thy sway, for thy palace, O Son of Re: Amen-hotep-the-God-Ruler-of-Heliopolis, ruler of rulers, raging lion in . . . this land forever!”™

B. THE AMADA AND ELEPHANTINE STELAE

A different treatment of Amen-hotep II’s achievements emphasizes the nature of his triumphs in Egypt after his return from Asiatic campaigning. This is also on two monuments, both published in Ch. Kuentz, Deux stèles d’Aménophis II (Biblio-thèque d’Étude, x, Cairo, 1925). The stela in the Temple of Amada in Nubia was published by H. Gauthier, Le temple d’Amada (Les temples immergés de la Nubie, xiii, Cairo, 1913-1926), 19 ff., Pl. x. The stela from Elephantine is now divided between Cairo (No. 34059; P. Lacau, Stèles du nouvel empire [Catalogue général . . . du Musée du Caire, Cairo, 1903], 38-40, Pl. xiv) and Vienna (W. Wreszinski, Ägyptische Inschriften aus dem K. K. Hofmuseum in Wien [Leipzig, 1906], No. 141). Translation in Breasted, AR, ii, §§791-97. The line numbers below follow the Amada Stela.

Year 3, 3rd month of the third season, day 15,™ under the majesty of . . . Amen-hotep-the-God-Ruler-of-Heliopolis™ . . . He is a king very weighty of arm: there is none who can draw his bow™ in his army, among the rulers of foreign countries,™ or the princes of Retenu, because his strength is so much greater than (that of) any (other) king who has existed. Raging like a panther when he treads the field of battle; there is none who can fight in his vicinity. . . . Prevailing instantly over every foreign country, whether people or horses, (though) they have come in millions of men, (for) they knew not that Amon-Re (5) was loyal to him™ . . . (15) . . . Then his majesty caused that this stela be

57 Two unknown places. The translation ignores the final -t, which might make a Migdol-jenath.
58 Corrupt. Hardly to be emended to maryaru. Possibly to be emended to read: “their serfs.”
59 “Every strong of arm,” i.e. every adult.
60 This episode was sheer bravura on the part of the pharaoh, of a spectacular nature in order to create a legend of his personal prowess.
61 This was the 4th month of the first season, day 1 (cf. A. H. Gardiner in JEA, xxxi [1945], 27), or 6 days after the date against n.33 above.
62 Perhaps “the vicinity of Akti.” In either case, unknown.
63 Here Keb’asemen. Elsewhere Keb’asemen, which M. Burchardt, Die altugyräischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Agyptischen (Leipzig, 1909), II, 49-50, makes into a possible Geba-shemenon, “Hill of Eight.”
64 Badawi suggests a name like Cargur.
65 cf. the policy of Thut-mose III on Asiatic princes, p. 239 above.
66 Or 217 or 144.
67 The appearance of the Apiru (cf. pp. 22, 255, 261) in a list of Asiatic captives is significant. They are listed as the third element in a list, preceded by princes and princes’ brothers(?), followed by three terms having geographic connotation—Sham, the Bedouin, especially to the south of Palestine; Kharu “Horites,” the settled people of Palestine-Syria; and Neges, perhaps “Nukhashheh,” the people of northern Syria—and terminated by an expression of attribution, here translated: “the adherents(?) thereof,” with a misconceived sign, but perhaps to be read: “the families thereof” with the word aber “family.” The Apiru are notably greater in number than the princes and princes’ brothers; they are notably fewer in number than the regional lintees or the retainers (or families). It is quite clear that the Egyptians recognized the Apiru as a distinct entity from other peoples, clearly countable. See also A. H. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, 1, 184.
68 The figures given total 101,178, instead of 89,600. Even though two of the figures give questionable readings, no clear alternatives will supply the total given on the stela.
69 The phrasing is peculiar, and a palimpsestic text makes the reading uncertain.
70 Sic, but read “hit.”
71 Shinar, or Babylonia. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, 1, 269 ff.
72 The end of the inscription has been badly garbled by the restoration of the 10th dynasty. Of course, the historicity of the frightened submissiveness of distant and independent rulers is out of the question, and represents a literary device for the climax of a swashbuckling account.
73 See n.1 above. Around 1440 B.C., the present date would have fallen in July.
74 The long titles of the king and many of the epithets applied to him are omitted in this translation.
75 See the claims made for him in the text describing his athletic accomplishments, p. 244 above.
76 “Rule of foreign countries” here seems to be distinct from the princes of Syria-Palestine, and it was the term from which the designation “Hykos” arose; cf. pp. 20, n.16; 229, n.9 above.
77 “Was upon his water,” which normally means: “was subject to him.”
made and set up in this temple at the place of the Station of the Lord, engraved with the Great Name of the Lord of the Two Lands, the Son of Re: Amen-hotep-the-God-Ruler-of-Heliopolis, in the house of his fathers, the gods, after his majesty had returned from Upper Retenu, when he had overthrown all his foes, extending the frontiers of Egypt on the first victorious campaign.

His majesty returned in joy of heart to his father Amon, when he had slain with his own mace the seven princes who had been in the district of Takhshiti, who had been put upside down at the prow of his majesty's falcon-boat, of which the name is "Aa-khepru-Re, the Establisher of the Two Lands." Then six men of these enemies were hanged on the face of the wall of Thebes, and the hands as well. Then the other foe was taken upstream to the land of Nubia and hanged to the wall of Napata, to show his majesty's victories forever and ever in all lands and all countries of the Negro land; inasmuch as he had carried off the southerners and bowed down the northerners, the (very) ends of the (20) entire earth upon which Re shines, (so that) he might set his frontier where he wishes without being opposed, according to the decree of his father Re.

A Syrian Captive Colony in Thebes

Little is known of the activities of Thut-mose IV (about 1421-1413 B.C.) in Asia. The energies of Thut-mose III and of Amen-hotep II may have left him little need for military prowess. Some of the Asiatic regions which he claimed to have conquered will be found in the lists on pp. 242-43 above. He continued his predecessors' practice of introducing foreign captives into the Egyptian temple estates, as is evidenced by a brief text on a stela found in his mortuary temple in western Thebes. The inscription was published by W. M. F. Petrie, Six Temples at Thebes (London, 1896), Pl. 1, No. 7, and translated by Breasted, AR, 11, 821-22. For the "Dream Stela" of Thut-mose IV, see p. 449 below. For a hymn of victory of Amen-hotep III, see pp. 373-375 below.

The settlement of the Fortification of Men-kheper-Re, with the Syrians [of] his majesty's capturing in the town of Gezer, of his majesty's victories forever and ever in all lands and all countries of the Ends of Asia, bowing down in humility, with their tribute upon their backs, seeking that there be given them the breath of life and desiring to be subject to his majesty, for they have seen his very great victories and the terror of him has mastered their hearts. Now it is the Hereditary Prince, Count, Father and Beloved of the God, great trusted man of the Lord of the Two Lands, Mayor and Vizier, Rekh-mi-Re, who receives the tribute of all foreign countries.

Presenting the children of the princes of the southern countries, along with the children of the princes of the northern countries, who were brought as the best of the booty of his majesty, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Men-kheper-Re, given life, from all foreign countries, to fill the workshop and to be serfs of the divine offerings of his father Amon, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, according as there have been given to him all foreign countries together in his grasp, with their princes prostrated under his sandals.

Scenes of Asiatic Commerce in Theban Tombs

The Egyptian Empire brought an abundance of Asiatic goods to Egypt. The formal Egyptian records call all of this "tribute," whether it was enforced dues, the product of commerce, or came as princely gifts. Scenes in the Theban tombs often show subervient Asians humbly offering their produce and begging mercy from the pharaoh.

a

The first instance is from the Theban tomb (No. 100) of Rekh-mi-Re, vizier under Thut-mose III (about 1490-1436 B.C.). In two registers Asians are depicted bringing their characteristic goods to the vizier. It is definitively published by N. de G. Davies, The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes (Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, xi, New York, 1943), 1, 27-30; II, Pls. xxx-xxxi. Details of the scenes are shown in color by Davies, Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes (Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, x, New York, 1935), Pls. ix-xi. The text is also in K. Sethe, Urkunden der 18. Dynastie (Urk., iv, Leipzig, 1909), iv, 1101-03.

Coming in peace by the princes of Retenu and all northern countries of the ends of Asia, bowing down in humility, with their tribute upon their backs, seeking that there be given them the breath of life and desiring to be subject to his majesty, for they have seen his very great victories and the terror of him has mastered their hearts. Now it is the Hereditary Prince, Count, Father and Beloved of the God, great trusted man of the Lord of the Two Lands, Mayor and Vizier, Rekh-mi-Re, who receives the tribute of all foreign countries.

b

Men-kheper-Re-seneb was High Priest of Amon under Thut-mose III. The scenes and texts in his Theban tomb (No. 86) give us a suggestion of the importance of the riches of Asia to the temple of the imperial god Amon. See N. and N. de G. Davies, The Tombs of Menkheperrasenb, Amenmose, and Another (Theban Tomb Series, v, London, 1933), Pls. iv, vii, viii. Texts in K. Sethe, op.cit., 929-30. Details in color in N. M. Davies and A. H. Gardner, Ancient Egyptian Paintings (Chicago, 1936), 1, Pls. xxii-xxiv.

In the scenes, an individual labeled "the Prince of Keftiu" prostrates himself, "the Prince of Hatti" kneels in adoration, "the Prince of Tunip" presents his infant son, and "the Prince of Kadesh" offers an elaborate vessel. A procession of Asians voices their submission in a broken text, of which the final words are legible: "The fear of thee is in all lands. Thou hast annihilated the lands of Mitanni; thou hast laid waste their towns, and their princes are in caves." The general legend for this scene runs:

for the compound of his mortuary temple, including the temple storerooms, workshops, and quarters for the temple serfs.

1 Egyptian Khuru, or Horites.

2 Godet, probably to be completed Gezer, Gezer; less likely, to Qedjet, Gaza, which was more often written Gedje in Egyptian.

3 Crete and the Aegean world, probably including the Aegeanized coasts.

4 A city-state of north Syria.
Giving praise to the Lord of the Two Lands, kissing the ground to the good god by the princes of every land, as they extol the victories of his majesty, with their tribute upon their backs, consisting of every [substance] of God's Land: silver, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise, and every august costly stone, seeking that there be given them the breath of life.

Two generations later, under Thut-mose IV (about 1421-1413 B.C.), the form of expression remains the same, as in the Theban tomb (No. 74) of Tja'neni, an officer of the Egyptian army. The texts were published by Sethe, op.cit., 1907; full publication of the tomb by J. V. Scheil, Le tombeau de Djanni (Mission archéologique française au Caire. Mémoires, v, Paris, 1894), 591-603.

Presenting the tribute of Retenu and the produce of the northern countries: silver, gold, turquoise, and all costly stones of God's Land, by the princes of all foreign countries, when they come to make supplication to the good god and to beg breath for their nostrils, and by the real Scribe of the King, his beloved, the Commander of the Army, and Scribe of Recruits, Tja'neni.

c The Amarna Revolution drastically altered the direction of empire, but the modes of expression remained much the same—as, for example, in the Memphite tomb of Hor-em-heb, pp. 250-251 below. Huy, the Viceroy of Nubia under Tut-ankh-Amon (about 1361-1352 B.C.), continues the earlier scenes and texts in his Theban tomb (No. 40). The publication is G. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, The Tomb of Huy (Theban Tomb Series, iv, London, 1926), 28-30, Pls. xix-xx. Translated in Breasted, AR, ii, §§1027-33.

Presenting tribute to the Lord of the Two Lands, the produce of the wretched Retenu, by the princes of every Foreign Country, the King's Son of Ethiopia, the Overseer of Southern Countries, Amen-hotep, the triumphant.

Vessels of all the choicest and best of their countries: silver, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise, and every august costly stone.

The princes of Upper Retenu, who knew not Egypt since the time of the god, begging for peace before his majesty. They say: "[Give] us the breath which thou givest! Then we shall relate thy victories. There are none rebellious in thy vicinity, (but) every land is at peace!"

The Egyptians and the Gods of Asia*

In earlier history the Egyptians had identified foreign gods with their own deities, so that the goddess of Byblos was a Hat-Hor to them and various Asiatic gods were Seth to them. This is the orient as the land of the rising sun. Here Syria-Palestine—as the shipping source of the goods, not the native source of those ores listed.

1 The orient as the land of the rising sun. Here Syria-Palestine—as the shipping source of the goods, not the native source of those ores listed.

2 Since the time of the creator, i.e. for a long time.

3 For example, such was still the case in the Egyptian-Hittite treaty at process of extending their own into other countries continued under the Empire. Ramses III built a temple of Amon in Asia, and Pith had a sanctuary at Ashkelon. There were also two cosmopolitan forces at work: a worship of Asiatic gods as such at their shrines in Asia and a domestication of Asiatic gods in Egypt.

The first of these processes began at least as early as the time of Thut-mose III (15th century B.C.). A stela found at Beisan in Palestine shows the Egyptian architect Amen-em-Opet and his son worshiping the local god Mekal. "Mekal, the god of Beth-Shamaim," is depicted as unarmed in fear of a being with a pointed beard and a conical headdress with streamers.

Beisan also yielded a stela of the Ramses III level (14th century B.C.), on which an Egyptian is shown worshiping the goddess "Anath, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of All the Gods." Near Sheikh Sa'd, east of the Sea of Galilee, a badly worn stela was found depicting Ramses II making offering to a deity with an elaborate headdress. The name of this deity, with some uncertainty, might be read as Adon-Zaphon, "Lord of the North." From about the same period (13th century B.C.) comes a stela found at Ugarit (Ras Shamra) on the north Phoenician coast. Here the "Royal Scribe and Chief Steward of the Palace Meni" addresses his mortuary prayer to "Ba'al-Zaphon, the great god," a being with the Asiatic conical cap with streamers.

From the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty on (14th century B.C.), there is an abundance of evidence on Asiatic gods worshiped in Egypt. The most frequently mentioned deity was Baal. As the god of the heavens, the mountain tops, and thunder—the Semitic Baal-Shamaim—he was the counterpart of the Egyptian god Seth, and his name was used in figures of speech relating to the pharaoh in battle:

His battle cry is like (that of) Baal in the heavens. In this terrorizing capacity the texts equate him with the Egyptian war-gods Montu and Seth. He was used in magical texts to frighten away evil forces:

Baal smites thee with the cedar tree which is in his hand.

However, his role might be beneficent, as when a woman musician wrote from Memphis, appealing to various gods on behalf of her correspondent:

...to the Ennead which is in the House of Ptah, to the time of Ramses II (13th century); cf. pp. 200-201 above: Seth of Hatti, equated to the Storm-god of the land of Hatti; Seth of various Hittite towns, equated to the Storm-gods of those towns; Re, lord of the sky, equated to the Hittite Sun-god. Cf. p. 231, n.9.

4 W. F. Albright, in AASOR, vi, 14-15; Pl. 33.

5 Ibid., 32-33; Pl. 50, No. 2.

6 So W. F. Albright, in AASOR, vi (1926), 25-26, n.104. This so-called "Job Stone" was originally published by G. Schumacher in an article by A. Erman, in ZDPV, xv (1892), 205-21. Erman, in ZAS, xxx, (1893), 100-101, tentatively read the name as Arcana-Zaphon.


8 Most of the occurrences of the name of Baal in Egyptian texts were covered by H. Gressmann, in Beiträge zur ZAW, xxxiii (1918), 191 ff.

9 The Epigraphic Survey, Later Historical Records of Ramses III (Medinet Habu, ii, OIP, ix, Chicago, 1932), Pls. 79-82; 87-93. Translated in W. F. Edgerton and J. A. Wilson, Historical Records of Ramses III (SAOC, 12, Chicago, 1916), 73, 94.

10 In the Poom on Ramses III's Battle of Kadesh, a Luxor text makes the pharaoh say: "I was like Seth in his time (of might)," where the Abydos text has "Montu" and a papyrus text has "Baal" (J. A. Wilson, in AFS, xi, 1917, 271). The same poem puts into the mouths of the enemy the words: "It is not a man who is in our midst, (but) Seth, the great in strength, or Baal in person." (Ibid., 272).

11 Papyrus Leyden 345, recto, iv 12-2, quoted in Gressmann, op.cit., 201.
Baal had his own priesthood in Egypt from the late Eighteenth Dynasty on.13 Toward the end of the Empire, the presence in Egypt of such a personal name as Baal-khepeshef, “Baal-is-(Upon)-His-Sword,”14 corresponding to good Egyptian names like Amon-her-khepeshef, Montu-her-khepeshef, and Seth-her-khepeshef, shows the domestication of this immigrant god from Asia.

Also popular in Egypt were the Semitic goddesses Anath and Astarte (Ishtar).15 They served as war-goddesses, with a particular interest in horses and chariots. As early as Thut-mose IV (late 15th century), the pharaoh was described as “mighty in the chariot like Astarte.”16 In a poem in praise of the king’s war chariot (13th century), a dual part of the chariot is likened to Anath and Astarte.17 It was said of Ramses III (12th century):

Montu and Seth are with him in every fray; Anath and Astarte are a shield to him.18

By the Eighteenth Dynasty, Astarte had become a goddess of healing in Egypt, in the name of “Astar of Syria.”19 Anath, Astarte, and Qedesh each bore the Egyptian title, “Lady of Heaven,” generally equivalent to the Hebrew Melkekheth Ketem, “Queen of the Heavens.” Like Baal, Astarte had her own priesthood in Egypt.20 The Egyptianization of Anath and Astarte is indicated by the compounding of their names into personal names of normal formation.21

Something has already been said about the goddess Qedesh, “the Holy,” and about the god Rashap (or Resheph or Reshpu).22 These two, together with the Egyptian god Min, are associated on a stela in Vienna, where the goddess Qedesh stands on the back of a lion.23 So also, on a stela in the British Museum, a goddess Kenet stands on the back of a lion, flanked by Min and by “Rashap, the great god, lord of heaven, and ruler of the Ennead.”24 On a stela in Turin are associated “Qedesh, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of All the Gods, the Eye of Re, without her peer,” and “Rashap, the great god, lord of heaven, ruler of the Ennead, and lord of eternity.”25 A stela in Aberdeen shows the worship of “Rashap-Shulman.”26 Rashap, like Baal, was a war-god and thunder-god. It was said of Ramses III’s army:

The chariot-warriors are as mighty as Rashaps.27

Finally, as a forceful and exotic deity, Rashap was used in magical texts, as in this formula against some ailment:

with the poisons of the Upper God and Nekor, his wife; the poisons of Rashap and Item, his wife.28

Texts from the Tomb of General Hor-ebhem

History may reach a point where the repetition of old and successful formulae is more important than the recording of contemporary events. The historian often cannot be sure whether he is dealing with truthful records or with stereotyped claims of accomplishment. The following extracts constitute a case in point. Under the Amarna Revolution, Egypt lost the greater part of her Asiatic Empire. A commander of the Egyptian armies at that time was the Hor-ebhem-who later became pharaoh (reigning about 1359-1339 B.C.). While still an official, he erected a tomb at Sakkarah, of which the remains are now scattered in three continents. The claims of foreign conquest and tribute may enlarge a limited reality or may be the protestations which covered failure.

The texts of (a) below are in the British Museum, the Cairo Museum, and the Louvre; of (b) in a private collection in Alexandria; of (c) in the Civic Museum in Bologna; of (d) in the Rijksmuseum at Leyden; and of (e) in the Vienna Museum. The bibliography for these pieces is in B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, III. Memphis (Oxford, 1931), 195-97. Translations in Breasted, AR, III, §§1-21.

2

The titles of Hor-ebhem in his tomb show his responsibilities toward Asiatic countries. He was the “Hereditary Prince, Pan(-asmu),” the “Great King of the Two Lands.”29

13 E.g. Anath-em-nebu and Astart-em-eb in H. Ranke, Die ägyptischen Personennamen, i (Gluckstadt, 1939), 6915 and 7117.
14 Notes 12, 18, and 19 above. For the latest statement on Rashap, see W. K. Simpson’s note in AJA, xxi (1924), 77-86.
15 For Qedesh see J. Leivich’s study, Ätteste, xxi (1924), 27-86.
16 This is the British Museum stela showing Anath in war panoply, mentioned in n. 21 above.
17 W. R. Dawson and T. E. Peet in JEJ, xxi (1933), 169-74; translated in Earnest, EAE, 280-81.
18 Edgerton and Wilson, op.cit., 75. For Anath with shield and spear, see W. M. F. Petrie, Memphis, i (London, 1909), Pl. xv, No. 37, of the 19th dynasty. For Anath similarly equipped, see British Museum stela 101 (Exhibition No. 645), in A Guide to the Egyptian Collections of the British Museum (London, 1909), opp. p. 248. Papyrus Chester Beatty vi, verso i 8. 19 For Astarte on horseback, with shield and spear, in the 19th dynasty, see C. R. Chester, Chester Beatty Gifts, ed. by A. H. Gardiner (London, 1935), i, 62-63 has a passage in a myth about Anath, in which her warlike nature is taken up in the words: “Anath, the goddess, the victorious, a woman acting (as a man), clad as a male and arm as a female.” For Anath in the name of Sen T’ia team, see p. 254. For the delight of Astarte and the god Rashap in horsemanship, see p. 244.
22 W. H. Brugsch, Thesaurus inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum, vi (Leipzig, 1891), 1434. A late 18th dynasty stela (Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stela, etc., in the British Museum, vi, ed. by H. R. Hall (London, 1937), Pl. 41) has a hymn to Rashap.
23 F. L. Griffith, in PSBA, xxx (1900), 271-72, with Plate; W. F. Albright, in AJA, vii (1933-35), 167.
24 Edgerton and Wilson, op.cit., 75. Here the plural may be a true plural or a plural of majesty.
25 A passage in a Leyden papyrus (I 343), discussed by A. H. Gardiner in Anath, i (1906), 97. “The Upper God” is assumed to be the sun-god, and Nekor may stand for the Babylonian Ningal. The wife of Rashap, as here given, is unknown, but might be a goddess Edom.* See also Helck, op.cit., 301-03.
the treatment of restless enemy peoples.

formal presentation of tribute of Africa and Asia.

north”; and the “Sole Companion, he who is by the feet of his lord on the battlefield on that day of killing Asians.”

Army”; the “attendant of the King in his footsteps in the foreign countries of the south and the north”; and the “Sole Companion, he who is by the feet of his lord on the battlefield on that day of killing Asians.”

Bearer on the King’s Right Hand, and Chief Commander of the Army”; the “attendant of the King in his footsteps in the foreign countries of the south and the north”; and the “Sole Companion, he who is by the feet of his lord on the battlefield on that day of killing Asians.”

He was sent as King’s Messenger as far as the sun disc shines, returning when he had triumphed, when his [conquest] was effected. No land could stand before him, (but) he [captured] it in the completion of a moment. His name is pronounced in [awe in] the country of . . . , and he does not [leave] off in going north.

Now his majesty appeared upon the throne of the offering of tribute, which the [countries] of the south and the north offered, while the Hereditary Prince Hor-em-heb, the triumphant, was standing beside . . .

The following lines probably come from the same scene of the presentation of foreign tribute.

. . . introducing the tribute into its place and what was selected from it to clothe . . . the army, filling the storehouse of the god, who was satisfied of heart, . . . which Syria gave to him. . . he was serviceable to the king.

When Hor-em-heb introduced to the unnamed pharaoh Asiatics, the king was graciously pleased to reward the general with gold.

. . . The princes of all foreign countries come to beg life from him. It is the Hereditary Prince, Sole Companion, and Royal Scribe Hor-em-heb, the triumphant, who will say, when he answers [the king: “The countries] which knew not Egypt—they are under thy feet forever and ever, for Amon has decreed them to thee. They mustered [every] foreign country [into a confederacy] unknown since Re. Their battle cry in their hearts was as one. (But) thy name is flaming [against them, and they become] subject to thee. Thou art the Re [who causes] that they [abandon] their towns . . .

Hor-em-heb issued an order to his subordinate officers on the treatment of restless enemy peoples.

. . . Now Pharaoh—life, prosperity, health!—has put them into your hands to guard their boundaries . . . of Pharaoh—life, prosperity, health!—after the manner of their fathers’ fathers since the first times . . . that certain of the foreigners who know not how they may live have come . . . Their countries are starving, and they live like the beasts of the desert . . . The Great of Strength will send his mighty sword before . . . destroying them and desolating their towns and casting fire . . . (so that) the foreign countries will set others in their places.

Tut-ankh-Amon’s Restoration after the Amarna Revolution

The Amarna movement barely survived the reign of Akh-en-Aton. His son-in-law Tut-ankh-Amon was forced to make his peace with the older priesthoods and civil officials and return to Thebes. On a stela erected in the Temple of Amon at Karnak, he tells of his pious acts of restoration after the heresy. The stela was later usurped by Hor-em-heb (about 1349-1319 B.C.), who inserted his name in place of the name of Tut-ankh-Amon (about 1361-1352 B.C.), since the latter had been stained by relation to the heresy.

The stela was found by G. Legrain at Karnak, and is now 34183 in the Cairo Museum. It was published by Legrain in Recueil de travaux . . . , xxix (1907), 162-73, and by P. Lacau, Siècles du nouvel empire (Catalogue général . . . du Musée du Caire; Cairo, 1909), 224 ff., Pl. xxx, with the fragment of a duplicate inscription, Cairo 34184, on p. 230 f. There is a translation and commentary by J. Bennett in JEA, xxv (1939), 8-19. The year date at the beginning of the inscription is unfortunately lost.

. . . The good ruler, performing benefactions for his father (Amon) and all the gods, for he has made what was ruined to endure as a monument for the ages (5) of eternity and he has expelled deceit throughout the Two Lands, and justice was set up [so that it might make] lying to be an abomination of the land, as (in) its first time.

Now when his majesty appeared as king, the temples of the gods and goddesses from Elephantine [down] to the marshes of the Delta [had . . . and] gone to pieces. Their shrines had become desolate, had become mounds overgrown with [weeds]. Their sanctuaries were as if they had never been. Their halls were a footpath. The land was topsy-turvy, and the gods turned their backs upon this land. If [the army] was sent to Djahi to extend the frontiers of Egypt, no success of theirs came at all. If one prayed to a god to seek counsel from him, he would never come [at all]. If one made supplication to a goddess similarly, she would never come at all.
Their hearts were hurt in their bodies, (10) (so that) they did damage to that which had been made.

Now after days had passed by this, [his majesty] appeared [upon] the throne of his father. He ruled the regions of Horus; the Black Land and the Red Land were under his authority, and every land was bowing down to the glory of him.

Now when his majesty was in his palace which is in the House of Aa-kheper-ka-Re, like Re in the heavens, then his majesty was conducting the affairs of this land and the daily needs of the Two Banks. So his majesty deliberated plans with his heart, searching for any beneficial deed, seeking out acts of service for his father Amon, and fashioning his august image of genuine fine gold. He surpassed what had been done previously. He fashioned his father Amon upon thirteen carrying-poles, his holy image being of fine gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise, and every august costly stone, whereas the majesty of this august god had formerly been upon eleven carrying-poles. He fashioned Ptah, South-of-His-Wall, Lord of Life of the Two Lands, his august image being of fine gold, [upon] eleven [carrying-poles], his holy image being of fine gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise, and every august costly stone, whereas the majesty of this august god had formerly been on [x + 1]3 carrying-poles.

Then his majesty made monuments for the gods, [fashioning] their cult-statues of genuine fine gold from the highlands, building their sanctuaries anew as monuments for the ages of eternity, and provisioning their food-ments for the ages of eternity, established with possessions forever, setting for them divine offerings as a regular daily observance, and provisioning their food-offerings upon earth. He surpassed what had been previously, [he] went beyond what had [been done] since the time of the ancestors. He has inducted priests and prophets from the children of the nobles of their towns, (each) the son of a known man, whose (own) name is known. He has increased their [property] in gold, silver, bronze, and copper, without limit in [any respect]. He has filled their workhouses with male and female slaves, the product of his majesty's capturing [in every foreign country]. All the [property] of the temples has been doubled, tripled, and quadrupled in silver, [gold], lapis lazuli, turquoise, every (kind of) august costly stone, royal linen, white linen, fine linen, olive oil, gum, fat, (21) . . . incense, benzoin, and myrrh, without limit to any good thing. His majesty—life, prosperity, health!—has built their barques upon the river of new cedar from the terraces, of the choicest (wood) of Negau, worked with gold from the highlands. They make the river shine.

His majesty—life, prosperity, health!—has consecrated male and female slaves, women singers and dancers, who had been maidservants in the palace. Their work is charged against the palace and against the . . . of the Lord of the Two Lands. I cause that they be privileged and protected to (the benefit of) my fathers, all the gods, through a desire to satisfy them by doing what their ka wishes, so that they may protect Egypt.

The hearts of the gods and goddesses who are in this land are in joy; the possessors of shrines are rejoicing; the regions are in jubilee and exultation throughout the [entire] land:—the good [timers] have come! The Ennead of gods who are in the Great House, (raise) their arms in praise; their hands are filled with jubilees [for] (25) ever and ever; all life and satisfaction are with them for the nose of the Horus who repeats births, the beloved son [of Amon], . . . for He fashioned him in order that He (Himself) might be fashioned.

The Era of the City of Tanis

About the year 1330 B.C., when Hor-em-heb was pharaoh, a vizier of Egypt named Seti came to the city Tanis in the Delta to celebrate a four hundredth anniversary. This anniversary took the form of the worship of the Egyptian god Seth, who is represented in the scene carved on the stela as an Asiatic deity in a distinctively Asiatic dress. Somewhere close to four hundred years before 1330 B.C., the Hyksos had begun their rule in Egypt, and the Hyksos capital Avaris was probably the later Tanis and the later city Ramses, while the god of the Hyksos was equated by the Egyptians with Seth. The celebration therefore commemorated the four hundredth year of the rule of Seth as a king, and apparently also the four hundredth year since the founding of Tanis. It was, of course, out of the question that the Egyptians should mention the hated Hyksos in such a commemoration, but Seth held a high position under the Nineteenth Dynasty, with two pharaohs named Seti, "Seth's Man."

Later the father of this vizier Seti became the pharaoh Ramses I and founded a dynastic line. Seti himself became the pharaoh Seti I. When his son Ramses II enlarged the city Tanis to be his capital city Ramses, he set up a stela to justify Tanis' claim to rule, on the ground that the god Seth had ruled there for four hundred years.

6 Negau lay in or near the Lebanon, a region of coniferous woods: see Helck, op.cit., 277.
8 The use of the first person singular in this sentence suggests that it was a quotation from a royal decree for the immunity of temples from taxes. The expenses of the slaves and musicians whom the pharaoh gave to the temples were charged against the royal estate and not against the temples.
9 Since this is the home of the Ennead, it is probably the Temple of Heliopolis.
10 Pictorially a god held the hieroglyph of life to the nose of the king; or he might hold strings of "year" or "jubilee" hieroglyphs for the king's long life.
12 Amon made Tut-ankh-Amon the divine king in order that Amon might be advanced.
13 The portable statues of Amon and Ptah seem to have had an "august image" (titi shepset) and also a "holy image" (titi diesret), the distinction between which is not clear. These were carried by priests, the number of carrying-poles being a factor in the number of priests and thus in the honor paid to the god.
14 In this sentence and the following, "theirs" refers to the gods.
15 Negau lay in or near the Lebanon, a region of coniferous woods: see Helck, op.cit., 277.
The “Stela of the Year 400” was found at Tanis. See the latest publication by P. Montet in Kemi, iv (1933), 191-215. The significance of the stela was stated by K. Sethe in Z.A.E., lxv (1930), 85-89. There is a translation in Breasted, AR, iii, §§538-42. The scene above the inscription designates the Asiatic-garbed Seth as “Seth of Ramses,” thus locating him in the residence city of that name.

(1) Live the Horus: Mighty Bull, Who Loves Truth, ... (Rameses II). (5) His majesty commanded the making of a great stela of granite bearing the great name of his fathers, in order to set up the name of the father of his fathers (and of) the King Men-maat-Re, the Son of Re: Seti Mer-ne-Phah, enduring and abiding forever like Re every day:

“Year 400, 4th month of the third season, day 4,” of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Seth-the-Great-of-Strength; the Son of Re, his beloved: The-Om-bite, beloved of Re-Har-akhti, so that he exists forever and ever. Now there came the Hereditary Prince; Mayor of the City and Vizier; Fan-Bearer on the Right Hand of the King, Troop Commander; Overseer of Foreign Countries; Overseer of the Fortress of Sile; Chief of Police, Royal Scribe; Master of Horse; Conductor of the Feast of the Ram-the-Lord-of-Mendes; High Priest of Seth; Lector Priest of Uto, She-Who-Opens-the-Two-Lands; and Overseer of the Prophets of All the Gods, Seti, the triumphant, the son of the Hereditary Prince; Mayor of the City and Vizier; Troop Commander; Overseer of Foreign Countries; Overseer of the Fortress of Sile; Royal Scribe; and Master of Horse, Pa-Ramses, the triumphant, and child of the Lady of the House and Singer of the Re, Tiu, the triumphant. He said: “Hail to thee, O Seth, Son of Nut, the Great of Strength in the Barque of Millions,” felling the enemy at the prow of the barque of Re, great of battle cry. . . . Mayest thou give me a good lifetime serving [thy] ka, while I remain in [thy favor] . . .”

A Campaign of Seti I in Northern Palestine

Internally and externally the Amarna Revolution had dealt a serious blow to Egyptian empire. Domestic reorganization was the first need. Then, when Seti I (about 1318-1301 B.C.) became pharaoh, he returned to campaigning in Asia. This stela from Palestinian soil gives a brief statement of his energy in meeting an attempted coalition of Asiatic princes.

A basalt stela, found by the University of Pennsylvania in the mound of Beisan (Beth-Shan) and now in the Palestine Museum at Jerusalem. Published by A. Rowe in Museum Journal, Uni-

1 Around 1328 B.C., this date fell late in May.
2 Bastet, an Egyptian cat-goddess, merged with Sekhmet, the lioness goddess of war.
3 Kharu, Syria-Palestine in general.
4 The date at the beginning of the inscription.
5 Not necessarily the Prince of Hamath, for which we should expect “the wretched foes of the town of Hamath.” This may have been a prince from the north; note that Seti sends one army division north to Yanoam.
6 Ancient Beth-Shan is modern Tell el-Husn, just northwest of modern Beisan. Hamath is almost certainly Tell el-Hammeh, about 10 mi. south of Beisan. Pella or Pelah is Khirbet Falah, about 7 mi. southeast of Beisan and across the Jordan. Rehob is probably Tell es-Sarem, about 3 mi. south of Beisan. These cities all seem to have lain within a small range. It would seem that Hamath and Pella were acting against Beth-Shan and Rehob.
7 “First army” has something of the sense of corps d’elite.
8 As in Ramses II’s campaign against Kadesh, each division of the Egyptian army marched under the aegis of a god, whose image led the way, cf. pp. 255-56.
9 Seti I’s dispositions were rapid and effective. One problem here is the reason for sending a unit against Yanoam, which was apparently considerably north of the center of disaffection. Yanoam may be modern Tell el-Nâ‘ameh, north of Lake Huleh and thus nearly 50 mi. north of Beisan. Perhaps the real opposition to Egypt lay to the north, in the territory dominated by the Hittites. Perhaps the leader of this coalition came from the north; cf. 95 above. By throwing a road-block against reinforcements from the north, Seti I would be able to deal with a localized rebellion around Beth-Shan, without outside interference.
of Upper and Lower Egypt: Men-maat-Re; the Son of Re: Seti Mer-Ne-Ptah, given life.

Campaigns of Seti I in Asia

On the north exterior wall of the great hypostyle hall at Karnak Seti I (about 1318-1301 B.C.) has left scenes of his military activity with at least four objectives: against the Shasu-Bedouin of Sinai and southern Palestine, against the mountain region of Palestine-Syria, against the Hittites in central and northern Syria, and against the Libyans. Extracts from this material will illustrate the problem which this pharaoh faced in attempting to reconstitute the Egyptian Empire.

Bibliography of the publications and translations of the texts will be found in Breasted, AR, III, §§58-196, and bibliography also in B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, Topographical Bibliography ... II. Theban Temples (Oxford, 1929), 19-23. A convenient transcription of the texts, but without improvement over the earlier copies, will be found in C. E. Sander-Hansen, Historische Inschriften der 19. Dynastie (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, IV, Brussels, 1933), 3-12.

In the following (a) is Breasted, scene 8 = Porter and Moss, scene 57 bottom; (b) is Breasted, scenes 8, 2, and 1 = Porter and Moss, scenes 55-57 bottom; (c) is Breasted, scenes 3, 4, and 5 = Porter and Moss, scenes 54, and 55 top; (d) is Breasted, scenes 9-10 = Porter and Moss, 59 top and bottom; (e) is Breasted, scenes 16, 17, 19 = Porter and Moss, scenes 62 top, 62 bottom, and 64 bottom.

This scene gives Seti’s return from a campaign, but the text states the reasons for his activity. The restlessness in Palestine was an aftermath of the disturbances in the Amarna period.

Year 1 of the Renaissance, and of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Men-maat-Re, given life. Then one came to say to his majesty: “The foe belonging to the Shasu are plotting (5) rebellion. Their tribal chiefs are gathered in one place, waiting on the mountain ranges of Kharu. They have taken to clamoring and quarreling, one of them killing his fellow. They have no regard for the laws of the palace.” The heart of his majesty—life, prosperity, health!—was glad at it.

Now as for the good god, he exults at undertaking combat; he delights at an attack on him; his heart is satisfied at the sight of blood. He cuts off the heads of the perverse of heart. He loves (15) an instant of trampling more than a day of jubilation. His majesty kills them all at one time, and leaves no heirs among them. He who is spared by his hand is a living prisoner, a prisoner of the perverse of heart. He loves (I5) an instant of health!—was glad at it.

The heart of his majesty—life, prosperity, health!—was an aftermath of the disturbances in the Amarna period. The return [of] his majesty from Upper Retenu, having extended the frontiers of Egypt. The plunder which his majesty carried off from these Shasu, whom his majesty himself captured in the year 1 of the Renaissance.

Other scenes show Seti I engaged with the Hittites in Syria. He is shown attacking a mountainous settlement, “the town of Qeder in the land of Henem,” which cannot be located. However, the local rulers are “the great princes of Lebanon,” and the descriptive legend runs:

... Lebanon. Cutting down [cedar for] the great barque upon the river, “[Amon]-U[ser-h]et,” as well as for the great flagpoles of Amon ...
Egyptian Historical Texts

The Asiatic Campaigning of Ramses II

By length of years and sheer self-assertiveness Ramses II (about 1301-1234 B.C.) left his name scrawled across Egyptian history out of all proportion to his personal achievement. In physical content his texts bulk large, but they lack historical relevance or clear applicability to the Old Testament.

A. THE FIRST TWO CAMPAIGNS

At the mouth of the Dog River (Nahr el-Kelb) between Beirut and Byblos, Ramses II left three nearly illegible stelae of triumph, one of which bears the date, "Year 4," and testifies to his consolidation of territory north to that point by that date.¹

In the following year the pharaoh engaged upon the exploit of his life, the battle against the Hittite king Muwatallis at Kadesh on the Orontes. No other text occupies so much wall space in Egypt and Nubia. However, it is clear that Ramses did not win a victory, but succeeded only in extricating himself from a tight spot by his personal valor. The full statement of this campaign is of little immediate concern here, as the action took place north in Syria and the Hittite confederation was almost completely northern. We give here only those extracts which relate to his crossing Palestine and southern Syria on his way to Kadesh.

The texts have been best gathered in Ch. Kuentz, La bataille de Qadesch (Memoires pub. par les membres de l'Institut Francais d'Archéologie Orientale, lv, Cairo, 1928), to which the most recent addition is an extract in Papyrus Beatty iii (Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series. Chester Beatty Gift, ed. by A. H. Gardiner [London, 1935], t. 24-32; pls. 24-32). The texts appear also in Selim Hassan, Le poème dit de Pentawor et le rapport officiel sur la bataille de Qadesh (Cairo, 1929). There are translations in Breasted, AR, iii, §§398-395; and by J. A. Wilson in AJSL, xliii (1927), 266-89; The poem is also translated by Erman, LAE, 260-70.

The poem on the battle deals briefly with the departure from Egypt, the organization of the Egyptian army, and the approach to Kadesh (Kuentz, op.cit., 220-25, 230-33).

Now then, his majesty had prepared (8) his infantry, his chariotry, and the Sherden² of his majesty's capturing, whom he had carried off by the victories of his arm, equipped with all their weapons, to whom the orders of combat had been given. His majesty journeyed northward, his infantry and chariotry with him. He began to march on the good way in the year 5, 2nd month of the third season, day 9, (when) his majesty passed the fortress of Sile.³ [Hc] was mighty like Montu⁴ when he goes forth, (so that) every foreign country was trembling before him, their chiefs were presenting their tribute, and all the rebels were coming, bowing down through fear of the glory of his majesty. His infantry went on the narrow passes as if on the highways of Egypt. Now after days had passed after this, then his majesty was in Ramses Meri-Amon, the town which is

² One of the Peoples of the Sea who served as Egyptian mercenaries. cf. Josh. 11:1. The Egyptian god of war.
³ C. R. Lepsius, Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien (Berlin, 1849-59), iii, 197; F. H. Weissbach, Die Denkmäler und Inschriften an der Mundung des Nahr el-Kelb (Berlin and Leipzig, 1922), 17-25.
⁴ Or Tjaru, the fortress at the Suez frontier. The date, around 1396 B.C., would fall around the middle of April.
in the Valley of the Cedar. His majesty proceeded northward. After his majesty reached the mountain range of Kadesh, then his majesty went forward like his father Montu, Lord of Thebes, and he crossed (12) the ford of the Orontes, with the first division of Amon (named) "He Gives Victory to User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re." His majesty reached the town of Kadesh. 

Now the wretched foe belonging to Hatti, with the numerous foreign countries which were with him, was waiting hidden and ready on the northeast of the town of Kadesh, while his majesty was alone by himself (17) with his retinue. The division of Amon was on the march behind him; the division of Re was crossing the ford in a district south of the town of Shibbata, at the distance of one iter from the place where his majesty was; the division of Prat was on the south of the town of Arnaim; and the division of Seth was marching on the road. His majesty had formed the first ranks of battle of all the leaders of his army, while they were (still) on the shore in the land of Amurr. 

The brief account of the battle, called the Record, adds only a few details to the account of the march toward Kadesh (Kuentz, op. cit., 328-30).

Year 5, 3rd month of the third season, day 9, under the majesty of (Rameses II). Ten hours after his majesty was in Djahi on his second victorious campaign, the godly awakening in life, prosperity, and health was at the tent of his majesty on the mountain range south of Kadesh. After this, at the time of dawn, his majesty appeared like the rising of Re, and he took the adornments of his father Montu. The lord proceeded northward, and his majesty arrived at a vicinity south of the town of Shibbata.

The arrival of the Nearin-troops of Pharaoh—life, prosperity, health—from the land of Amurr. 

The campaigns of Ramses II's subsequent years cannot be arranged in historical sequence and ran from southern Palestine to northern Syria. This is true for the activities of his eighth year, as indicated by the legends attached to four of a number of Asiatic strongholds, shown on the back of the first pylon of the Ramesseum at Thebes. These were published by W. M. Müller, Egyptological Researcher (Washington, 1906), ii, Pls. 100-03; W. Wreszinski, Atlas zur aegyptischen Kulturgeschichte, ii (Leipzig, 1935), 90-91. Translations in Breasted, AR, iii, §§356-62.

The town which his majesty desolated in the year 8, Merom. The town which his majesty desolated in the year 8, Salem. The town which his majesty desolated on the mountain of Beth-Anath, Kerep. The town which his majesty desolated in the land of Amurr, Deper. Here Beth-Anath is probably in Palestine, but Deper (not Tabor) is to be located in north Syria, in the general region of Tunip. In one of these campaigns Ramses II took action against Ashkelon in southern Palestine. The scene showing the storming of this town is carved in the Temple of Karnak, was published by Wreszinski, op. cit., 58, and was translated by Breasted, AR, ii, §§355-55.

The wretched town which his majesty took when it was wicked, Ashkelon. It says: "Happy is he who acts in fidelity to thee, (but) woe (to) him who transgresses thy frontier! Leave over a heritage, so that we may relate thy strength to every ignorant foreign country!"

The Egyptians related all this disturbance to the machinations of the Hittites, even down into Palestine, A scene in Karnak (Müller, op. cit., Pls. 37-38; Wreszinski, op. cit., 55a) shows an attack upon the "town which his majesty desolated, Acre," and has a broken text in which one may read the words: "when the princes of Kadesh see him, the [terror] of him is in their hearts." The Hittite confederation of the Battle of Kadesh was still considered the main foe of Ramses II.

Of the same general attitude are the references to the excursions into the region of Tunip and Deper in north Syria, as shown in scenes in the Temple of Luxor and the Ramesseum (Müller, op. cit., Pls. 44-45; Wreszinski, op. cit., 77-80; 107-09; Breasted, op. cit., §§364-66). There the claim of Ramses II that he fought "the fallen ones of Hatti" shows this larger restlessness, covering all of the empire which he claimed in Asia.

C. PEACE BETWEEN EGYPT AND HATTI

Ultimately, both the Egyptians and the Hittites found the war expensive of energies which had to be saved against the encroachments of the Peoples of the Sea. In the 21st year of Ramses II (perhaps 1280 B.C.), a treaty was concluded between Egypt and Hatti, providing for an offensive and defensive alliance; see pp. 199-201.

By Ramses II's 34th year (perhaps 1267 B.C.), the alliance between Egypt and Hatti was given visible expression through a royal marriage between the pharaoh and the eldest daughter of the Hittite king. This was not the first international marriage, as the pharaohs preceding the Amarna period had taken royal marriages. The picture of the marriage of the name Merom is a man with arms raised high in the air, corresponding to the meaning of "bright" for the word Merom. The pictured determinative of the name Salem shows a man with arms raised in greeting or salutation, corresponding to the meaning of "Peace!" for this word.
EGYPTIAN HISTORICAL TEXTS

wives from the Mitannian princesses. Egyptian texts treated such a marriage as a surrender of the Hittites, on the theme that the princess was the chief element of "tribute" sent to Egypt, after Hatti had been defeated by the pharaoh. The "Marriage Stela" is a document which minglest bombast with genuine relief at a successful peace after years of fighting.

The stelae at Karnak, Elephantine, and Abu Simbel are presented, with translation, by Ch. Kuentz in ASAE, xxv (1925), 181-238. A recently discovered version at Amarah in the Sudan is still unpublished (JEA, xxiv [1938], 155). An abbreviated version of the text from Karnak, published by G. Lefebvre in ASAE, xxv (1935), 34-45, aids in giving the end of the text. The earlier treatment of the text is given in Breasted, AR, iii, §§415-24.

... Then the (21) great princes of every land heard of the mysterious qualities of his majesty. Then they were dismayed and afraid, and the terror of his majesty was in their hearts, while they lauded his glory and gave praise to his beautiful face, ... [making offering to him with their children, namely the great lords of Retenu and of strange countries—no matter which]—in order to appease the heart of the Bull and to beg peace from him. *Ramses II.15 They despoiled themselves of their own goods, being charged with their annual dues, with their children at the head of their tribute, in praise and homage to his [name]. *Ramses II. So every foreign country was in humility under the feet of this good god, for he made his frontiers (so that) they were held in [check]—except for that land of Hatti. It did not do the same as these princes.

Words spoken by his majesty: "As my father Re favors me forever as Ruler of the Two Lands, as I rise like the sun disc and shine like Re, as the heaven is firm upon its supports, I will attain the limits of my land of Hatti. It did not do the..."

Then his majesty prepared his infantry and his chariotry, and they were launched in the land of Hatti. He despoiled them alone by himself16... entirely, so that he [made] himself a name forever in the midst of it. *Ramses II. They have memory of the victories of his arm. He makes the survivors of his hand curse, for his prowess among them is like a blazing torch. No prince(s) remain upon their thrones, or their brothers [either]. *Ramses II.

They fulfilled many years while they were destroyed and... from year to year through the prowess of the great living god, *Ramses II. Then the Great Prince of Hatti sent [to] his majesty, magnifying his prowess and extolling... saying: "... We are charged with [dues], and we [carry] them to thy august palace. Behold, we (30) are under thy feet, O victorious king! May we act according to all that thou hast commanded! *Ramses II." So the Great Prince of Hatti sent and appeased his majesty year by year. *Ramses II. (But) he never listened to them.

Now after they saw their land in this destroyed state under the great prowess of the Lord of the Two Lands, *Ramses II, then the Great Prince of Hatti said to his army and his officials: "What is this? Our land is desolated; our lord Seth is angry with us, and the skies do not give water over against us." ... Let us despoil ourselves of all our goods, with my eldest daughter at the head of them, and let us carry gifts of fealty18 to the good god, so that he may give us peace, that we may live! *Ramses II." Then he caused to be brought [his] eldest daughter, with noble tribute before her: gold, silver, many great ores, horses without limit to them, cattle, goats, and sheep by the ten-thousands, without limit to the products of their [land]. *Ramses II.

Then one] came to make communication to his majesty, saying: "Behold, even the Great Prince of Hatti! His eldest daughter is being brought, carrying abundant tribute of everything. They cover the [valleys with] their [numbers], the daughter of the Prince of Hatti and the [daughter of the] Great Princess of Hatti among them. They have passed difficult mountains and wicked ravines. *Ramses II. They have reached the frontier of his majesty. Let (35) our [army] and the officials [come] to receive them. *Ramses II." Then his majesty received [great] joy, and the palace was in happiness, when he heard these mysterious matters, which were completely unknown in Egypt.22 So he despatched the army and the officials hastily, in order to make the reception before them. *Ramses II.

Then his majesty took deliberate counsel with his heart, saying: "How will it be with those whom I have sent, going on a mission to Djahi,"21 in these days of rain and snow which come in winter?" Then he offered a great oblation to his father Seth, appealing to him about [it] with the words: "Heaven is in thy hands, and earth is under thy feet. What happens is what thou commandest. Mayest thou [delay] to make the rain, the cold wind, and the snow, until the marvels which thou hast assigned to me shall reach me." *Ramses II."

Then his father Seth heard all that he had said. So the skies were peaceful, and days of summer fell to [him], while his army went, being gay, their bodies free-striding, their hearts in joy. *Ramses II. So the daughter of the Great Prince of Hatti marched to Egypt, while the infantry, chariotry, and officials of his majesty accompanied her, mingling with the infantry and chari-
iothy of Hatti, for they were (40) teher-warriors like
the troops of *Rames II and like his chariotry, all the
people of the land of Hatti being mingled with those
of Egypt. They ate and drank together, being of one heart
like brothers, without shunning one another, for peace
and brotherhood were between them, after the manner
of the god himself, *Rames II.

Then the great princes of every land, when they
passed by them, were dismayed, turned back, shrinking,
when they saw all the people of Hatti as they [joined]
with the army of the king *Rames II. So one of these
princes said to his fellow: "What his majesty has said is
ture. . . . How great are these [things] which we have
seen with our own faces! Every foreign country is with
[him] as slaves, in one accord with [Egypt]!* *Rames II.
That which had been the land of Hatti, behold, it has
come to be like Egypt with him. What is the heaven?
It (also) is under his seal, so that it acts according to all
that he has wished! *Rames II."

Now after [many days they] reached (the city) Ram-
es Meri-Amon, . . . and we celebrated the great marvells
of valor and victory in the year 34, 3rd month of the
second season.* *Rames II. Then they ushered the
daughter of the Great Prince of Hatti, who had come
marching to Egypt, into the presence of his majesty,32
with very great tribute following her, without limit. . . .
Then [his] majesty saw that she was fair of face [like]
a goddess. Now (it was) a great, mysterious, marvellous,
and fortunate affair. It was unknown, unheard of from
mouth to mouth, not mentioned in the writings of the
ancestors . . . *Rames II. So she was beautiful in the
heart of his majesty, and he loved her more than any-
thing, as a good fortune for him through [the command
of] his father Ptah-tenen.* *Rames II. "Then his
majesty caused that her name be made to be: the King's
wife Maat-nefru-Re,28 the daughter of the Great Prince
of his father Ptah-tenen.28 *Ramses II. "Then his
thing, as a good fortune for him through [the command
of] his father Ptah-tenen."

And so it was that, if a man or a woman proceeded on
their mission to Djahi, they could reach the land of
Hatti without fear around about their hearts, because
of the greatness of the victories of his [majesty].

For the treaty of peace between Egypt and the Hittites in
the reign of Ramses II, see pp. 199-201 above.

For the "Israel Stela," a hymn of victory of Mer-ne-Ptah, see
pp. 376-378 below.

For a literary document giving a satirical account of conditions
in Syria-Palestine from the standpoint of an Egyptian official, see
pp. 475-479 below.

27 In the account of the Battle of Kadesh, this term is applied to the
Hittite chariot-warriors. See also p. 230, n. 3.
28 About 1250 B.C., this date would coincide generally with the month of
January.
29 The relief above the inscription in the temple of Abu Simbel shows the
Hittite king and his daughter coming into the presence of Ramses II.
30 In the "Blessing of Ptah" (Breasted, AR, m., §410), it is this god who
delivers Hatti and its princes to Ramses II.
31 From this point on, the longer texts are badly damaged, and the trans-
lation uses the abbreviated version: Lefebvre, op.cit., 40-41, lines 16-18.
32 In Egyptian: "She Who Sees the Beauty of Re"; cf. p. 29.
health!—which is in the district of the Aram,11 Pa-merkhatem, son of Ani, who had with him two different despatches for the place where One was: the Commander of the Garrison Pa-Re-em-heb, one despatch; the Deputy Pa-Re-em-heb, one despatch.12

IV

(8) Year 3, 1st Month of the 3rd Season, Day 25. The Charioteer of the Great Stable of Ba-(cn)-Re Meri-Amon—life, prosperity, health!—of the Court, Inwau, went up.

The Report of a Frontier Official

In a group of letters which served as models for schoolboys, one communication presents the form in which an official on the eastern frontier of Egypt might report the passage of Asiatic tribes into the better pastorage of the Delta.

Papyrus Anastasi VI (British Museum 10245), lines 51-61 (= iv 11-v 5), of the late Nineteenth Dynasty (end of the 13th century b.c.) and presumably from Memphis. Facsimiled in Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character from the Collections of the British Museum, iii (London, 1844), Pls. cxxv-cxxvi. Transcription into hieroglyphic by A. H. Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, vii, Brussels, 1937), 76-77. Translated by Breasted, AR, iii, §§636-38.*

(51) The Scribe Inena communicating to his lord, the Scribe of the Treasury Qa-g[a]bu, ... —In life, prosperity, health! This is a letter [to] let [my lord] know: An[other communication to] my lord, to wit:1

[...] have carried out every commission laid upon me, in good shape and strong as metal. I have not been lax.

Another communication to my [lord], to [wit: We] have finished letting the Bedouin tribes of Edom pass the Fortress [of] Mer-ne-Ptah Hotep-hir-Maat—life, prosperity, health!—which is (in) Tjeku,6 (56) to the pools4 of Per-Atum4 of Mer-[ne]-Ptah Hotep-hir-Maat, which are (in) Tjeku, to keep them alive and to keep their cattle alive, through the great ka of Pharaoh—life, prosperity, health!—the good sun of every land, in the year 8, 5 [intercalary] days, [the Birth of] Seth.4

I have had them brought in a copy of the report to the [place where] my lord is, as well as the other names of days5 when the Fortress of Mer-ne-Ptah Hotep-hir-Maat—life, prosperity, health!—which is (in) [T]je[k]u, may be passed. ...

The Pursuit of Runaway Slaves

Among the model letters set for the instruction of schoolboys, there is one reporting the pursuit of two slaves escaping from Egypt into Asia.

Papyrus Anastasi V (British Museum 10244), xix 2-xx 6, of the end of the 13th century b.c. and probably from Memphis. Facsimiled in Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character from the Collections of the British Museum, iii (London, 1844), Pls. cxxii-cxxiv. Transcribed into hieroglyphic by A. H. Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, vii, Brussels, 1937), 66-67. Translated by Erman, LÆ, 198-99, and an extract by A. H. Gardiner in JEA, vi (1920), 109-10.*

The Chief of Bowmen of Tjeku, Ka-Kem-ker, to the Chief of Bowmen Ani and the Chief of Bowmen Bak-en-Ptah:

In life, prosperity, health! In the favor of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, and of the ka of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: User-keperu-Re Setep-en-Re—life, prosperity, health!—our good lord—life, prosperity, health! I say to (xix 5) the Re-Har-akhti: "Keep Pharaoh—life, prosperity, health!—our good lord—life, prosperity, health! In health! Let him celebrate millions of jubilees, while we are in his favor daily!"

Another matter, to wit: I was sent forth from the broad-halls of the palace—life, prosperity, health!—in the 3rd month of the third season, day 9, at the time of evening, following after these two slaves.* Now when I reached the enclosure-wall of Tjeku on the 3rd month of the third season, day 10, they told [me] they were saying to the south that they had passed by on the 3rd month of the third season, day 10. (xx 1) [Now] when [I] reached the fortress,3 they told me that the scout had come from the desert [saying that] they had passed the walled place north of the Migdol of Seti Mer-ne-Ptah—life, prosperity, health!—Beloved like Seth.3

When my letter reaches you, write to me about all that has happened to [them]. Who found their tracks? Which watch found their tracks? What people are after them? Write to me about all that has happened to them and how many people you send out after them.10

[May your health] be good!

1 Or Tjeku. Probably not Succoth, Gardiner (JE A, vi (1920), 109) locates it at Tell el-Maskhuteh in the Wadi Tumilat. It seems more likely that it is not yet identifiable, and it may be generally equivalent to the Wadi Tumilat.
2 Seti II (about 1222-1212 B.C.).
3 About 1220 B.C., this date would fall in the month of May.
4 For the Egyptian word baik as "slave," rather than "servant," cf. JEA, xxvi (1941), 36, n.1; 73-74.
5 The slaves, the two preceding uses of "they" are impersonal.
6 Thus on the same day, but, on rumor, further south.
7 Perhaps the frontier fortress of Sile, near modern Kantarah.
8 For the location of this Migdol at Tell el-Far'ah in Sinai and about a dozen miles northeast of Sile, see Gardiner in JEA, vi (1920), 109-10.
9 Bearded, AR, iii, §§636-38.*
A Syrian Interregnum

For an unknown number of years between the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties Egypt was in a chaotic state and for a part of the time was under the rule of a Syrian. All that we know of this episode comes from the following text.

The Great Papyrus Harris comes from Thebes and dates to the end of the reign of Ramses III (about 1194 B.C.), forming a kind of last will and testament for him. The troubles which he here describes lay between the reign of the last king of the Nineteenth Dynasty (about 1205 B.C.) and the beginning of the reign of Ramses III's father, Set-takht (about 1197 B.C.).


Said King User-maat-Re Meri-Amon—life, prosperity, health!—the great god,1 to the officials and leaders of the land, the infantry, the chariotry, the Sherden,2 the many bowmen, and all the souls of Egypt:

Hear ye, that I may make you aware of my benefactions which I accomplished while I was king of the people. The land of Egypt had then cast aside, with every man being his (own standard of) right. They had no chief spokesman for many years previously up to other times. The land of Egypt was officials and mayors,3 one slaying his fellow, both exalted and lowly. Other times came afterwards in the empty years,4 and . . . ,5 a Syrian (5) with them, made himself prince. He set the entire land as tributary before him. One joined his companion that their property might be plundered. They treated the gods like the people, and no offerings were presented in the temples.

But when the gods reversed themselves to show mercy and to set the land right as was its normal state, they established their son, who had come forth from their body, to be Ruler—life, prosperity, health!—of every land, upon their great throne: User-kha-Re Setep-en-Re—life, prosperity, health!—of every land; the great god,6 to the officials and leaders of the land of Djahi to thy great treasuries in Thebes—the-Victorious.

The course of the Egyptian Empire was marked by a rapid increase in the wealth and power of the Egyptian temples. We have a kind of testamentary enactment of Ramses III (about 1195-1164 B.C.) of the Twentieth Dynasty stating the accumulated properties of the temples through his benefactions. One authority has estimated that at the close of this pharaoh's reign the temples owned about 20% of the population of Egypt as serfs and about 30% of the arable land.7 Our interest in the long document will be confined to the indications of Egyptian contacts with Asia.

Papyrus Harris I (British Museum 10053), edited by S. Birch in Facsimile of an Egyptian Hieratic Papyrus of the Reign of Ramses III, now in the British Museum (London, 1876). Transcribed into hieroglyphic by W. Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, v, Brussels, 1933). Translated by Breast, AR, iv, §§397-99. The extracts given below, with the §§ of Breast's translation are: (a) activity on the Mediterranean: Papyrus Harris viii 7—Breasted §211; xxix 1—§270; xlvii 6—§328; (b) temple in Asia: ix 1-3—§219; (c) towns of Amon's estate: xi 10-11—§226; lxvii 1-2—§384; (d) serfs of the temples: vii 9—§217; x 15—§225; xxxi 2—§278; xxxi 8—§281; xlvii 10—§323; lia 9—§338; (e) temple cattle: xiib 8—§229; lxix 6—§375; (f) temple papyri: xxix 10—§207; liiia 9—§345; lxvii 14—§279; (g) temple cedar: xvb 12-13—§234; liia 12—§345; lxix 14—§379; lxixia 11—§391; (i) summary of northern wars: lxvi 6-11—§403-04.

A. Activity on the Mediterranean

Section for Amon of Thebes

(vii 8) I made for thee qerer-ships, menesh-ships, and bariships,8 with bowmen equipped with their weapons on the Great Green Sea. I gave to them troop commanders and ship's captains, outfitted with many crews, without limit to them, in order to transport the goods of the land of Djahi and of the countries of the ends of the earth to thy great treasures in Thbes—the-Victorious.

Section for Re of Heliopolis

(xxiv 1) I made for thee qerer-ships and menesh-ships, outfitted with men, in order to transport the goods of God's Land9 to thy treasury and thy storehouse.

Section for Ptah of Memphis

(xlvii 6) I made for thee qerer-ships and menesh-ships in the midst of the Great Green Sea, outfitted with crews of menesh-ships in abundant number, in order to transport the goods of God's Land and the dues of the land of Djahi to thy great treasures of thy city Memphis.

B. Temple of Amon in Asia

(ix 1) I built for thee a mysterious house in the land of Djahi,10 like the horizon of heaven which is in the

From the Lists of Ramses III

1 Ramses III (about 1195-1164 B.C.).
2 The ciphoth normally means that the king is already dead. For the thesis that Papyrus Harris was actually promulgated by Ramses IV in the name of his father Ramses III, see W. Struve, in Aegyptus, vii (1926), 3 ff.
3 These terms, as in the rest of the text, are of Egyptian origin.
4 Egyptian captive or mercenary troops, coming from the Mediterranean area. Cf. p. 355, n. 2.
5 That is, broken down under local rule only, without king or other central government.
6 Either years void of orderly rule, or years of emptiness, i.e. of economic distress.
7 This translation treats the text on the assumption that the actual name of the Syrian has dropped out, leaving only the determinatives which show a foreigner. Alternatively, instead of translating "made himself," one may treat these elements as a proper name and read: "and Irau, a Syrian, was with them as prince." In either case, the rule of an otherwise unknown Syrian ("Horite") is certain.
8 For an unknown number of years between the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties Egypt was in a chaotic state and for a part of the time was under the rule of a Syrian. All that we know of this episode comes from the following text.
9 Three separate types of ships, perhaps all cargo vessels capable of sea travel.
10 The text generally, the Arabian or east African coast as well as the Palestinian-Phoenician coast.
11 Djahi here clearly includes "the Canaan" and is an area to which the people of Reunu (the Syrian-Palestinian highland) normally would come. One may point to a settlement of Ramses III at Beth-Shan in Palestine, but this may have been one of several such settlements; see A. Rowe, The Topography and History of Beth-Shan (Philadelphia, 1930), 38 ff.
12 So H. D. Schaedel, Die Listen des grossen Papyrus Harris (Leipziger ägyptologische Studien, 6, Gliickstadt, 1936), 67. However, the true meaning of the list is still in debate, and the number of unknown factors is large. Breast, op. cit., §§166-67, estimated that the temples owned 2% of the people and 15% of the land.
13 Three separate types of ships, perhaps all cargo vessels capable of sea travel.
14 The text generally, the Arabian or east African coast as well as the Palestinian-Phoenician coast.
15 Djahi here clearly includes "the Canaan" and is an area to which the people of Reunu (the Syrian-Palestinian highland) normally would come. One may point to a settlement of Ramses III at Beth-Shan in Palestine, but this may have been one of several such settlements; see A. Rowe, The Topography and History of Beth-Shan (Philadelphia, 1930), 38 ff.
sky, (named) "the House of Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis—life, prosperity, health!—in the Canaan," as the vested property of thy name. I fashioned thy great cult image which rests in it, (named) "Amon of Ramses-Ruler-of-Heliopolis—life, prosperity, health!" The foreigners of Retenu come to it, bearing their tribute before it, according as it is divine.

C. TOWNS OF AMON’S ESTATE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theban Section</th>
<th>Summarizing Section</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(xi 10) Towns of Egypt</td>
<td>(lxixia 1) Towns of Egypt</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towns of Syria and Ethiopia</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D. SERFS OF THE TEMPLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theban Section</th>
<th>Summarizing Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| (vii 9) I fashioned thy august cult image. . . I filled its house with male and female slaves whom I had carried off from the lands of the Asians. (x 15) Syrians and Negroes of the captivity of his majesty—life, prosperity, health!—whom he gave to the House of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, the House of Mut, and the House of Khonsu: 2,093 cases.
| (xxxii 2) I made for thee a fresh foundation from the many classes whose sons I carried off to thy house, (named) "Taking the Others." (xxxii 8) Warriors, sons of (foreign) princes, maryanu, apiru,* and people settled who are in this place: 2,093 persons. |

Memphite Section

(xlvii 10) I made for thee workshops for the Feasts of Epiphany in thy divine house. They were built upon a ground effected with labor. I filled them with slaves whom I had carried off in captivity, in order to serve thy divine offerings, full and pure, in order to provision the House of Ptah with food and supplies, and in order to double what was before thee, O South-of-His-Wall! Thy Ennead is content of heart and gay over them.

The foreign towns are credited to the god Amon.

The word translated "beams" is used in shipbuilding—apparently for the ribs or side-planks.

The word translated "slabs" might mean "beams" or similar. The amounts in volume of the men-jar measure and of the mesekh-jar measure are unknown.

F. TEMPLE OIL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theban Section</th>
<th>Summarizing Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(xi 15) Syrian grain: 40 heket.</td>
<td>(lxia i) Syrian grain: 45 heket.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(lia 0) Oxen, steers, various long-horns, short-horns, and cattle from the dues of the lands of Syria: 19.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Small Temples Section


H. TEMPLE CEDAR

| A mast of cedar: 1. |

Memphite Section

(liia 12) Beams of cedar: 8.10

10 Four or five terms for cattle are used, and we do not know enough about the different kinds to translate with precision. Further, it is not clear whether we have four kinds followed by a fifth or whether we have four kinds followed by an apposition: "(which are the) cattle from the dues of the lands of Syria." Ammon’s Asiatic cattle numbered 19, out of a total of 866 presented annually to his temple. For the argument that this was annual delivery, see A. H. Gardiner in JEA, xxvii (1931), 72-73. The summarizing section, here translated immediately after the Theban section, shows that only Amon received these Asiatic cattle.

11 The term maryanu was used for Asiatic warriors in this period. cf. p. 22, n.2. The term apiru was argued to mean "aliens," particularly applicable to foreign slave labor, perhaps the same word as Habiru, and thus etymologically related to "Hebrew"—but not implying that these captives were Israelites. See p. 247, n.47 above.
I. SUMMARY OF NORTHERN WARS

I extended all the frontiers of Egypt and overthrew those who had attacked them from their (lxxvi 7) lands. I slew the Denyen in their islands, while the Tjeker and the Philistines were made ashes. The Sherden and the Weshesh of the Sea were made nonexistent, captured all together and brought in captivity to Egypt like the sands of the shore. I settled them in strongholds, bound in my name. Their military classes were as numerous as hundred-thousands. I assigned portions for them all with clothing and provisions from the treasuries and granaries every year.

I destroyed the people of Seir among the Bedouin tribes. I razed their tents: their people, their property, and their cattle as well, without number, pinioned and carried away in captivity, as the tribute of Egypt. I gave them to the Ennead of the gods, as slaves for their houses.

The War Against the Peoples of the Sea

In the latter half of the second millennium B.C. there were extensive movements in the eastern Mediterranean area. Masses of homeless peoples moved slowly across the sea and its coasts, displacing or merging with the older populations. These migrations ended the Minoan civilization in Crete, contributed to the historical populations of Greece and Italy, wiped out the Hittite Empire, thrust the Philistines into Canaan, and washed up on the shores of Egypt. In Ramses III's eighth year (about 1188 B.C.) the pharaoh met and checked their attempt to push into the rich lands of the Nile. The victory was only a check, because the Egyptian Empire in Asia ended shortly after. The following accounts of this war come from Ramses III's temple of Medinet Habu at Thebes.

The texts were published by the Epigraphic Expedition, 

The Epigraphic Survey, Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III (Medinet Habu, 1, OIP, viii, Chicago, 1930). They are translated in W. F. Edgerton and J. A. Wilson, Historical Records of Ramses III (SAOC, 12, Chicago, 1936), and by Breasted, AR, iv, §§59-82. See also the extract from Papyrus Harris, p. 262a above. In the following (a) is Pl. 46 of the Epigraphic Expedition publication; (b) Pl. 28; (c) Pl. 31; and (d) Pls. 37-39.

For the harem conspiracy at the end of the reign of Ramses III, see pp. 214-216 above.

a

(1) Year 8 under the majesty of (Ramses III)...

(16) The foreign countries made a conspiracy in their islands. All at once the lands were removed and scattered in the fray. No land could stand before their arms, from Hatti, Kode, Carchemish, Arzawa, and Alashiya on, being cut off at [one time]. A camp [was set up] in one place in Amor. They desolated its people, and its land was like that which has never come into being. They were coming forward toward Egypt, while the flame was prepared before them. Their confederation was the Philistines, Tjeker, Shekelesh, Denyen(n), and Weshesh(n), lands united. They laid their hands upon the lands as far as the circuit of the earth, their hearts confident and trusting: "Our plans will succeed!"

Now the heart of this god, the Lord of the Gods, was prepared and ready to ensnare them like birds. I organized my frontier in Djahi, prepared before them: princes, commanders of garrisons, (20) and maryanu. I have the river-mouths prepared like a strong wall, with warships, galleys and coasters, (fully equipped), for they were manned completely from bow to stern with valiant warriors carrying their weapons. The troops consisted of every picked man of Egypt. They were like lions roaring upon the mountain tops. The chariots consisted of runners, of picked men, of every good and capable chariot-warrior. The horses were quivering in every part of their bodies, prepared to crush the foreign countries under their hoofs. I was the valiant Montu, standing fast at their head, so that they might gaze upon the capturing of my hands...

Those who reached my frontier, their seed is not, their heart and their soul are finished forever and ever. Those who came forward together on the sea, the full
flame was in front of them at the river-mouths, while a stockade of lances surrounded them on the shore. They were dragged in, enclosed, and prostrated on the beach, killed, and made into heaps from tail to head. Their ships and their goods were as if fallen into the water.

I have made the lands turn back from (even) mentioning Egypt; for when they pronounce their name in their land, then (25) they are burned up. Since I sat upon the throne of Har-akhti and the Great-Magic was fixed upon my head like Re, I have not let foreign countries behold the frontier of Egypt, to boast thereof to the Nine Bows. I have taken away their land, their frontiers being added to mine. Their princes and their tribespeople are mine with praise, for I am on the ways of the plans of the All-Lord, my august, divine father, the Lord of the Gods.

The northern countries quivered in their bodies, the Philistines, Tjekker, and... They were teher-warriors on land; another (group) was on the sea. Those who came on land were overthrown and killed... Amon-Re was after them, destroying them. Those who entered the river-mouths were like birds ensnared in the net... Their leaders were carried off and slain. They were cast down and pinioned... This is a scene showing Ramses III and his troops on the march against the Peoples of the Sea. It moves forward into a scene (Pl. 32 of the publication), in which the pharaoh is engaged in a land battle with the invaders. The logic of this arrangement is that the land battle was in Djahi.

His majesty sets out for Djahi, like unto Montu, to crush every foreign country that violates his frontier. His troops are like bulls ready upon the field of battle; his horses are like falcons in the midst of small birds...

This scene shows a naval battle, in which the Egyptian ships grapple with the vessels of the Sea Peoples, while the pharaoh and his land troops fight from the shore.

Now then, the northern countries which were in their islands were quivering in their bodies. They penetrated the channels of the river-mouths. Their nostrils have ceased (to function, so) their desire is to breathe into their bodies. They are capsized and overwhelmed where they are. Their heart is taken away, their soul is flown away. Their weapons are scattered upon the sea. His arrow pierces whom of them he may have wished, and the fugitive is become one fallen into the water. His majesty is like an enraged lion, attacking his assailant with his arms; plundering on his right hand and powerful on his left hand, like Seth destroying the serpent "Evil of Character." It is Amon-Re who has overthrown for him the lands and has crushed for him every land under his feet.

The Megiddo Ivories

A large collection of "Phoenician ivories" was found by excavation in a palace at Megiddo in Palestine. The carved designs were cosmopolitanly derived from various culture areas of the ancient Near East. The excavator tentatively dates the manufacture of the pieces between 1350 and 1150 B.C. Among the ivories are five bearing Egyptian hieroglyphs. A model pen case of an Egyptian envoy to foreign countries bears the name of Ramses III (about 1195-1166 B.C.), setting the terminus ad quem for the collection. The ivories were published by G. Loud, The Megiddo Ivories (OIP, 141, Chicago, 1939), with a translation of the hieroglyphic inscriptions by J. A. Wilson on pp. 11-13. Photographs of the Egyptian pieces appear on Pls. 62-63.

Three plaques, which may have been used for inlay in furniture, bear the name of the Singer of Ptah, South-of-His-Wall, Lord of the Life of the Two Lands, and Great Prince of Ashkelon, Kerker.

Kerker (or Kurkur or Kulku) seems to have been a woman minstrel for the Egyptian god Ptah in Palestine, like the woman singer at the court of Byblos in the Wen-Amon story (pp. 28, n.39; 246, n.30, above). The first two of Ptah's titles apply to his cult-home at Memphis in Egypt, the third—"Great Prince of Ashkelon"—implies a cult-seat at that Palestinian city.

For the relations of Egypt and Asia about 1100 B.C., see the Journey of Wen-Amon to Phoenicia (pp. 25-29 above).

The Campaign of Sheshonk I

Sheshonk I (about 945-924 B.C.) is the Shishak of the Old Testament. It is disappointing to find that the Egyptian texts do not enlarge our understanding of his campaign in Palestine in a sense which constitutes a real addition to the biblical account. To be sure, he has left us a listing of the Palestinian and Syrian towns which he claimed to have conquered, and this list may be reconstructed into a kind of itinerary. There is, however, no narrative account of the campaign by the pharaoh. The references in his inscriptions to "tribute of the land of Syria" or to his victories over the "Asiatics of distant foreign countries" are vague and generalized. How unhistorical his large claims were is clear from a statement to the pharaoh by the god Amon: "I have subjugated [for] thee the Asiatics of the armies of..." 13

11(51) ... The northern countries quivered in their bodies, the Philistines, Tjekker, and... They cut off their (own) land and were coming, their soul finished. They were teher-warriors on land; another (group) was on the sea. Those who came on land were overthrown and killed... Amon-Re was after them, destroying them. Those who entered the river-mouths were like birds ensnared in the net... Their leaders were carried off and slain. They were cast down and pinioned...

12 The scene shows the capsized boats, the drowning Peoples of the Sea, and Ramses III shooting with unerring arrows.

13 The god Seth defended the barque of the sun-god from a dragon, theserpent "Evil of Character." It is Amon-Re who has overthrown for him the lands and has crushed for him every land under his feet.
Mitanni. Mitanni as a nation had ceased to exist at least four centuries earlier.

In addition to the list of towns, we do possess two documents attesting the name of Sheshonk on Asiatic soil. At Megiddo in Palestine was found a fragment of a monumental stela bearing the name of Sheshonk I and permitting the conclusion that the pharaoh had set up a triumphal monument there. At Byblos in Phoenicia another fragment, this time the chair of a seated statue, bears his name, although this monument may well be a princely gift, rather than a symbol of conquest.

Finally, the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore has a basalt statuette of an Egyptian, the "Envoy of the Canaan and of Palestine, Pa-di-Eset, the son of Apy," which may date to the Twenty-second Dynasty. This piece does not involve conquest, but rather diplomatic relations.

2 J. Lammeyer, Das Siegesdenkmal des Königs Scheschonk I. zu Karnak (Neuss a. Rhein, 1907), 29. This text and the list noted above are treated by Breasted, AR, iv, §§709-22, where additional bibliography will be found.

3 R. S. Lamon and G. M. Shipton, Megiddo i (OIP, xli, Chicago, 1939), 60-61.


5 G. Steindorff in JEA, xxv (1939), 30-31, Pl. vn. Steindorff points out that the father's name may be Canaanite in origin.
Babylonian and Assyrian Historical Texts
TRANSLATOR: A. LEO OPPENHEIM

Texts from the Beginnings to the First Dynasty of Babylon

For this section, two documents have been selected to illustrate the content and the stylistic features of early Mesopotamian historiography, while two groups of texts have been translated to represent the historical source material, which is rather rare in this period.

The texts of the first part are: (1) an excerpt of the Sumerian King List, and (2) the "Sargon Chronicle." The second part contains (1) two inscriptions from statues of Sargon of Agade, (2) an excerpt from an inscription of Naram-Sin, and (3) excerpts from three inscriptions of the well-known Gudea of Lagash.

HISTORIOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTS

I. THE SUMERIAN KING LIST

In his book The Sumerian King List (AS, No. 11), Thorkild Jacobsen offers not only a critical edition of the entire text material¹ and an excellent translation,² but also critical examination of all textual, stylistic, and historical problems involved.

On the basis of a systematic study of the numerous variant readings, Jacobsen has shown that all extant "manuscripts" go back to one single original written at the time of Utu-hegal, king of Uruk, the liberator of Sumer from the yoke of the Gutti domination. To demonstrate that his country had always been united under one king—though these kings were ruling successively in different capitals—the learned and patriotic author compiled this interesting document from two types of literary sources: from lists containing the names of the kings, the places and the lengths of their rules (established originally for practical chronological purposes), and from epical texts, legendary stories, local anecdoct traditions, etc., dealing with the biography and the marvelous deeds of some of these primeval kings. This literary material is referred to in very succinct sentences scattered throughout the monotonous enumeration of royal names, figures, and place names. To this opus has later been added a section dealing with the events before the Flood. This "preamble" has an entirely different literary background³ and does not appear in all manuscripts.

The entire text material has been utilized by Thorkild Jacobsen (The Sumerian King List) to establish a "standard version" of this document on the basis of the most extensive "manuscript" published by S. Langdon from the Weld-Blundell Collection (= Oxford Edition of Cuneiform Texts, Vol. 11 [Oxford, 1923]), No. 199, 444 pp. 13 ff. and Pls. 1-iv.

The following translation contains lines 1—iv 5 with the "ante-diluvian" preamble (cf. above) and the historical survey from the beginnings to the end of the First Dynasty of Ur. This section has been selected because it contains the names of the kings who ruled for an excessive length of time as well as nearly all the passages of mythological and literary interest.

¹ An additional text has been published since by V. Scheil, Liste susienne des dynasties de Sumer-Accad, in Mémoires, inst. franç. d'archéol. orientale, . . . du Caire (1934), (=Mélanges Maspero, 1), 393-402.
² My translation differs only slightly and in minor points from that of T. Jacobsen.
³ cf., for a more detailed discussion, Jacobsen, op.cit., pp. 63 f.

When kingship was lowered from heaven, kingship was (first) in Eridu. (In) Eridu, A-lulim' (became) king and ruled 28,800 years. Alalgar ruled 36,000 years. Two kings (thus) ruled it for 64,800 years.

I drop (the topic) Eridu (because) its kingship was brought to Bad-tibira. (In) Bad-tibira, En-men-lu-Anna ruled 43,200 years; En-men-gal-Anna ruled 28,800 years; the god Dumu-zī, a shepherd, ruled 36,000 years. Three kings (thus) ruled it for 108,000 years.

I drop (the topic) Bad-tibira (because) its kingship was brought to Larak. (In) Larak, En-sipa-zi-Anna ruled 28,800 years. One king (thus) ruled it for 28,800 years.

I drop (the topic) Larak (because) its kingship was brought to Sippur. (In) Sippur, En-men-dur-Anna became king and ruled 21,000 years. One king (thus) ruled it for 21,000 years.

I drop (the topic) Sippur (because) its kingship was brought to Shuruppak. (In) Shuruppak, Ubar-Tutu became king and ruled 18,600 years. One king (thus) ruled it for 18,600 years.

These are five cities, eight kings ruled them for 241,000 years. (Then) the Flood swept over (the earth).

After the Flood had swept over (the earth) (and) when kingship was lowered (again) from heaven, kingship was (first) in Kish. In Kish, Ga( . . . ) ur became king and ruled 1,200 years—(original) destroyed! legible (only) to heavenly Nidaba (the goddess of writing)—ruled 660 years. [Pala-katini(a( ruled 900 years; Nangish-lisma ruled . . . years];² Bah[i]na ruled . . . years; BUAN . . . um] ruled [8]40 ye[ars]; Kalibum ruled 960 years; Qalumum ruled 840 years; Zuqaqip ruled 900 years; Atab ruled 600 years; [Mashda, son]³ of Atab ruled 840 years; Arwi'um, son of Mashda, ruled 720 years; Etana, a shepherd, he who ascended to heaven (and) who consolidated all countries, became king and ruled 1,560 (var.: 1,500) years; Balih, son of Etana, ruled 400 (var.: 410) years; En-me-nunna ruled 660 years; Melam-Kishi, son of En-me-nunna ruled 900 years; Bar-sal-nunna, son of En-me-nunna, ruled 1,200 years; Samug, son of Bar-sal-nunna, ruled 140 years; Tizkara, son of Samug, ruled 305 years; Ilku' ruled 900 years; Ilta-sadum ruled 1,200 years; En-men-barage-si, he who carried away as spoil the "weapon" of Elam, became king and ruled 900 years; Aka, son of En-men-barage-si, ruled 629 years. Twenty-three kings (thus) ruled it for 24,510 years, 3 months, and 3½ days.

² For a late (Neo-Assyrian) reference to this first king of Mesopotamia, cf. my note in BASOR, 92 (1944), 16-27.
³ The passage in square brackets does not appear in the Weld-Blundell text.
Kish was defeated in battle (lit.: was smitten with weapons), its kingship was removed to Eanna (sacred precinct of Uruk).

In Eanna, Mes-kiag-gasher, the son of the (sun) god Utu, became high priest as well as king, and ruled 343 years. Mes-kiag-gasher went (daily) into the (Western) Sea and came forth (again) toward the (Sunrise) Mountains; En-me-kar, son of Mes-kiag-gasher, who built Uruk, became king and ruled 420 years; the god Lugal-banda, a shepherd, ruled 1,200 years; the god Dumu-zi-is, a Sú-pész-fisherman—his (native) city was Ku’a(ra)—ruled 100 years; the divine Gilgamesh, his father was a lilli, a high priest of Kullab, ruled 126 years; Ur-Nungal (var.: Ur-lugal), son of Gilgamesh, ruled 30 years; Utul-kalamma, son of Ur-nun-gal (var.: Ur-lugal), ruled 15 years; Laba[...] lir ruled 9 years; En-nun-dara-Anna ruled 8 years; Mesi(?).tu, a smith, ruled 36 years; Melam-Anna ruled 6 years; Lugal-ki-tun(?) ruled 36 years. Twelve kings (thus) ruled it for 2,310 years.

Uruk was defeated in battle, its kingship was removed to Ur.

In Ur, Mes-Anne-pada became king, ruled 80 years; Mes-kiag-Nanna became king, ruled 36 years; Elulu ruled 25 years; Balulu ruled 36 years. Four kings (thus) ruled it for 177 years. Ur was defeated in battle.

2. The “Sargon Chronicle”

While in the Sumerian King List the references to legendary, pseudo-historical, and historical traditions occur only sporadically and are subordinated to the chronological framework elaborated by the author, here they have overgrown the basically annalistic structure in a type of chronicle to be represented by two tablets of the same series.1 This literary work centers its attention around the most interesting of the historical figures and reports their outstanding achievements in peace and war with special regard to the unique and the memorable. Important events in neighboring countries as well as foreign invasions are recorded from time to time. For a literary evaluation of this document, cf. H. G. Güterbock, ZA, xli (NF viii), 1 ff.


Sargon (Šarru-kēn), king of Agade, rose (to power) in the era of Ishtar2 and had neither rival nor opponent. He spread his terror-inspiring glamour over all the countries. He crossed the Sea in the East and he, himself, conquered the country of the West, in its full extent, in the 11th year of (his rule). He established there a central government (lit.: he made its mouth be one). He erected his stelae in the West. Their booty (i.e. the booty of the countries in the Eastern and Western Seas) he ferried over on rafts. He made his court officials live (around his residence, thus covering an area) of five double-miles, and held sway over the totality of the countries, without exception.

He marched against the country of Kazalla3 and turned Kazalla into ruin-hills and heaps (of rubble).4 He (even) destroyed (there every possible) perching place for a bird.

Afterwards, in his old age, all the countries revolted against him and they besieged him in Agade. (But) Sargon made an armed sortie and defeated them, knocked them over, and crushed their vast army.

Later on, Subartu rose with its multitudes, but it bowed to his military might. Sargon made sedentary this nomadic society.5 Their possessions he brought into Agade. He took away earth from the (foundation-) pits of Babylon and he built upon it a (mother) Babylon beside the town of Agade. On account of the sacrilege he (thus) committed, the great lord Marduk became enraged and destroyed his people by hunger. From the East to the West he alienated (them) from him and inflicted upon [him] (as punishment) that he could not rest (in his grave).6

Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, marched against the town of Apishal7 and made a breach (in its wall to conquer it). He personally caught Rish-Adad, king of Apishal, and the sukkal of Apishal. He (also) marched against the country Magan and personally caught Mannu-dannu, king of Magan.8

Shulgi,9 son of Ur-Nammu, took very good care of the town of Eridu which is on the seashore (but) he had evil intentions and he removed the property of the

1 The British Museum text K 2130, a collection of hepatoscopy ominous referring to historical events and personalities (first published in Rawlinson, Vol. iv, Pl. 34, No. 1), gives the name of the king of Kazalla, to wit: Kashtili. 2 For this translation of the well-known nouns tilu a karus cf. E. F. Weidner in Mélanges syriens, xi, 924, n.5. 3 My translation differs from the usual by emending the vertical wedge before me-su-dara. The use of the verbs tebad and kuduratu its much better into the thus corrected phrase, and so does the word gilpu, which normally describes an unorganized army and therefore seems more likely to refer to the army of Subartu than to that of Sargon. The lines 19-20 (abkêa-ib-ib im-ba-k ša-me-te-su-nu il-umম to-nu il-kum i̇m-ba-k ša-me-te-su-nu il-kum um-man-ib-ib) have been omitted as an erroneous repetition of lines 12-13. 4 Conjectural translation, text in disorder. 5 This passage (and its parallel in the so-called "Weidner-Chronicle," cf. H. G. Güterbock, ZA, xlii [NF viii], 47 ff., rev. 17) has been lately elucidated by Güterbock, in A/O, xiii (1940-41), 30, who connected it with ša-te "pit." The passage seems therefore to suggest that the contents (clean earth and sand) of the well-known deep pits under the emplacements of the images were considered endowed with the very essence of the "holiness" which pervaded the image, its temple, and its sacred city. 6 The subject of all three verbs is necessarily Marduk. 7 For this translation, cf. L. W. King in his Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings (London, 1907), ii, 113-119. Transliteration and translation: op.cit., pp. 3-14. Latest complete translation: Ebeling in AOT, 335-336. 8 For this translation of the well-known noun stillu a karmu cf. E. F. Weidner in Mélanges syriens, xi, 924, n.5. 9 My translation differs from the usual by emending the vertical wedge before me-su-dara. The use of the verbs tebad and kuduratu its much better into the thus corrected phrase, and so does the word gilpu, which normally describes an unorganized army and therefore seems more likely to refer to the army of Subartu than to that of Sargon. The lines 19-20 (abkêa-ib-ib im-ba-k ša-me-te-su-nu il-um� to-nu il-kum i̇m-ba-k ša-me-te-su-nu il-kum um-man-ib-ib) have been omitted as an erroneous repetition of lines 12-13. 10 Conjectural translation, text in disorder. 11 For this town, cf. I. J. Gelb, AJSL, 26 (1940), 265, n.26. 12 For this punishment, cf. lately E. F. Weidner, A/O, xiii (1940-41), 238, n.26.
temple Esagila and of Babylon sacrilegiously. Bel be[came angry] and his corpse (i.e. of Shulgi) he (illegible) him.

Irra-imitti,12 the king, installed Bel-ibni, the gardener, on his throne as a "substitute king"13 and he (Irra-imitti) (even) placed his own royal crown on his (i.e. Bel-ibni's) head. (During the ceremonial rule of Bel-ibni) Irra-imitti died in his palace while sip[ping] hot porridge, and Bel-ibni who was (still) sitting on the throne did not rise (any more), he (thus) was elevated to (real) kingship.

Catchline:14 Ishumma was king of Assyria in the time of Su(mu)abu (king of Babylon).15


(obverse 8—reverse 17)

Hammurabi, king of Babylon, called up his army and marched against Rim-Sin, king of Ur. He personally conquered Ur and Larsa, he took their possessions to Babylon. The . . . of . . . he threw down, the [booty of . . .] he carried away.

[Samsuiluna, king of Babylon, son of Habbakkuk], the king, [did . . ., his army he cal]led up and . . . Rim-Sin . . . he marched. He personally conquered [Ur and Larsa]; [he caught] him alive in the palace. . . . He marched [against . . .] and laid siege . . . its inhabitants.

(end of obverse and beginning of reverse destroyed)
[Ilima-ilum . . . water, he built . . . and made an attack against him . . ., their corpses [filled] the sea. For a second time, Samsuiluna rose to [attack] Iluma-ilum and [he inflicted] a defeat [upon his army].

Abishi (= Abishuh), son of Samsuiluna, did . . . to defeat Iluma-ilum and he had the idea of damming up the Tigris;16 he actually dammed up the Tigris, but he did not [catch] Iluma-ilum.

In the time of Samsuditana, the country of Hatti [marched] against Akkad.17


After him, Ulamburiash, brother of Kashtiliash, of the country of the Kasites, called up his army and con-

12 The ninth king of the Dynasty of Isin.
14 According to the very suggestive expression of A. Ungnad in Orientalia, NS xx (1943), 194 ff., this rite was performed on account of an eclipse of the moon which portended evil for the king. For sarapu "to sip," cf. H. G. Götterbock, ZA, xiii (NF vm), 60, n.2.
15 This "catchline" (colophon) indicates the first line of the next—here the third—tablet of the series.
16 The founder of the First Dynasty of Babylon ("Hammurabi Dynasty").
17 For the strategic use made in war of the changing levels of the Mesopotamian rivers, cf. also the damaged evidence contained in the report on the first campaign of Samsuiluna against Iluma-ilum of the Sea-Country, cf., further, n.1a, p. 270. cf. also CT, 36, 415 f. (Ashduni-Erim, of Kish).
18 These words are written, in smaller characters, over the line which separates the paragraphs.

army and marched against the Sea-Country. He held (thus) sway over the (entire) country.

Agum, son of Kashtiliash, called up his army and marched against the Sea-Country. He conquered the town Dur-Ea. He demolished the temple é.g. a r a. urù.na18 of Ea in Dur-Ea.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

I. SARGON OF AGADE

The tablet is large, with 14 columns on either side, containing copies of inscriptions on votive objects and statues set up in the temple Ekur in Nippur. According to its paleographic features, the tablet was written soon after the rule of the Dynasty of Agade. The inscriptions are those of Lugalzaggisi, king of Uruk, and of Sargon, Rimush, Manishtusu, kings of Agade. Two fragments of this tablet have been successively published by A. Poebel in Historical and Grammatical Texts (Philadelphia, 1914, UM, v), Pl. xx, No. 34, and by L. Legrain, The Museum Journal (University of Pennsylvania), xix (1923), 203 ff., Figs. 42-44. Transliterations and translations: Poebel (UM, v), 173 ff.; Legrain (UM, xiv), 12 ff.; G. A. Barton, The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad (New Haven, 1929), pp. 101 ff. (Inscription AB). Latest translation of v-vi 5-52, Ebeling, AOT, 338.

(i-ii 1—iii-iv 44)

Sargon, king of Agade, overseer of Ishtar, king of Kish,1 anointed priest of Anu, king of the country, great n e s12 of Enlil; he defeated Uruk and tore down its wall; in the battle with the inhabitants of Uruk he was victorious. Lugalzaggisi, king of Uruk, he captured in (this) battle, he brought him in a (dog) collar to the gate of Enlil. Sargon, king of Agade, was victorious in the battle with the inhabitants of Ur, the(ir) town he defeated and tore down its wall. He defeated (the town) E-Ninmar and tore down its wall and defeated (also) its (entire) territory from Lagash as far as the sea. His weapon (then) he washed in the sea. In the battle with the inhabitants of Umma he was victorious, the (ir) town he defeated and tore down its wall.

Enlil did not let anybody oppose Sargon, the king of the country. Enlil gave him (the region from) the Upper Sea (to) the Lower Sea. From the Lower Sea onwards, natives of Agade are holding the governorships. Mari and Elam are standing (in obedience) before Sargon, king of the country. Sargon, king of the country, restored Kish, he ordered them to take (again) possession of the (ir) city.

May Shamash destroy the potency19 and make perish every offspring of whosoever damages this inscription.

Inscription on the pedestal of (a statue of) Sargon, king of the country.

19 Not in Deimel, SL. For the sign a g a r a, cf. R. T. Hallock, The Chicago Syllabary and the Louvre Syllabary, AO 7661 (*AS, No. 7 [1940], line 244 = bit ku-mu-re = "store house." The name é.g. a r a. urù.na could therefore mean "temple . . . with an urunakku" (cf. Deimel, SL, 331/20, for this building [1]).
3. GUDEA, ENSI OF LAGASH

a


(xvi 1—xvi 24)

... from Elam came the Elamite(s), from Susa the Susan(s). Magan and Meluhha collected timber from their mountains, and—in order to build the temple of Ninigisur—Gudea brought (these materials) together in his town Girsu.

After the god Ninzagga had given him a (pertinent) order, they brought copper for Gudea, the temple-builder as if it be na-šem a-bi; after the god Niniskila had given him a (pertinent) order, they brought great willow-logs, ebony-logs, together with a ša-ba-a-logs to the e-ni, the temple-builder. Gudea, the e-n-priest of Ninigisur, made a path in(to) the Cedar Mountain which nobody had entered (before); he cut its cedars with great axes. With axes he fashioned (them) for the ša-nu-šar, the “Right Arm of Lagash,” the “Floodstorm-Weapon” of his king. (Like) giant snakes, cedar rafts were floating down the water (of the river) from the Cedar Mountain, pine rafts from the Pine Mountain, "ša-ba-lu-m"-wood rafts from the "ša-ba-lum"-wood Mountain, and with them were floating downstream (stream) large rafts with great logs of "ša"-wood, "tu-lu-bum"-wood and of "er-a-lum"-wood, in the main quay of Kasurra...

[In the quarries which nobody had entered (before), Gudea], the e-n-priest of Ninigisur, ma[de] a path and (thus) the stones were delivered in large blocks. Boats (loaded) with "ša-lu-nu"-stone, boats (loaded) with "na-lu"-stone, they brought to Gudea, e-n-priest of Ninigisur, also bitumen (filled) in buckets, i.e. e-gur-bi-tumen' and gypsum from the mountains of Madga as (if they be) boats bringing in barley from the fields. Many other precious materials were carried to the e-ni, the builder of the Ninnu-temple: from the copper mountains of Kimash—(after) the soil had been prospected (for copper ore)—its copper was mined in clusters;"gold was delivered from its mine (lit.: mountain) as dust for the e-ni who wanted to build a house for his king, for Gudea they mined silver from its mine (lit.: mountain), delivered red stone from Meluhha in great amounts. In the ši-r-quarry, they mined ši-r-stone (alabaster) for him.

b


(vi 21—40, vi 53—vi 63)

When he (Gudea) was building the temple of Ninigisur, the e-n-priest of Ninigisur, ma[de] a path and (thus) the stones were delivered in large blocks. Boats (loaded) with ša-lu-nu-stone, boats (loaded) with "na-lu"-stone, they brought to Gudea, e-n-priest of Ninigisur, also bitumen (filled) in buckets, i.e. e-gur-bi-tumen' and gypsum from the mountains of Madga as (if they be) boats bringing in barley from the fields. Many other precious materials were carried to the e-ni, the builder of the Ninnu-temple: from the copper mountains of Kimash—(after) the soil had been prospected (for copper ore)—its copper was mined in clusters;"gold was delivered from its mine (lit.: mountain) as dust for the e-ni who wanted to build a house for his king, for Gudea they mined silver from its mine (lit.: mountain), delivered red stone from Meluhha in great amounts. In the ši-r-quarry, they mined ši-r-stone (alabaster) for him.

1 Probably, "bitumen from a well."

2 Text: u-ša-ba-ba which could refer to copper ore found in globular druses, rather than describe the way in which the ore was transported from the mine. For u-ša-ba "nest, basketlike boat," cf. Deimel, Sts, 85/342.
girsu, Ningirsu, his beloved king, opened up for him (all) the (trade) routes from the Upper to the Lower Sea. In (lit.: from) the Amanus, the Cedar Mountain, he formed into rafts cedar logs 60 cubits long, cedar logs 50 cubits long (and) ku-wood logs 25 cubits long, and brought them (thus) out of the mountain. He fashioned (from this wood) for him (i.e. Ningirsu) the sâr.îr, his Floodstorm-Weapon for the battle, and he made for him the sâr.gaz-mace with seven copper knobs (lit.: eyes). In the town Ursu1 in the mountains of Ibla, he formed into rafts the timber of the mountain region: z a b a l u -logs, great u.KU-wood logs and t u l u b u m -logs. He made them into roof beams for (lit.: in) the Ninnu-temple. In (lit.: from) Umania, in the mountains of Menua, he quarried great blocks of stone (and also) in Basalla, in the mountains of Martu (i.e. the Westland). He made stelae of them and set them up in the courtyard of the Ninnu-temple.

From Tidanum2 in the mountains of Martu (Westland) he brought alabaster in great blocks and fashioned it into u r. p a d. a -slabs and erected them in the temple as barriers. In Kâg al â b, a mountain (region) in Kimash, he mined copper and fashioned it into the Mace-of-the-Relentless-Storm. He imported (lit.: brought out) e sî -wood from the mountains of Meluhha and built (...). He imported nîr-stone and made it into a mace with three lion-heads; from the Hahhum3-mountains, he imported gold in dust-form and mounted with it the mace with the three lion-heads. From the mountains of Meluhha he imported gold in dust-form and made (out of it) a container (for the mace). He (also) imported a b rî, he imported willow logs from Gubin in the Willow Mountains and fashioned (them) into the bird(-shaped part) of the sâr.îr-mace. From Madga in the mountains of the Luruda river, he imported bitumen4 and built (with it) the supporting wall (k i s a) of the Ninnu temple. He imported (also) hâ u m -earth. From the mountains of Barsip he loaded nâ l u a -stones on large boats and surrounded (with them) the foundation of the Ninnu temple.

Texts from Hammurabi to the Downfall of the Assyrian Empire

The six texts of the first part (Historiographic Documents) illustrate the development of official historiography in Mesopotamia; at the same time, they give the chronological framework (in terms of the sequence of dynasties) and most of the royal names from the First Babylonian Dynasty to the end of the Assyrian domination in Babylonia.

The first text (1) contains the full wording of the names of the forty-three years during which Hammurabi was king of Babylon. The present list is based upon the compilation of A. Ungnad in his article, Datenlisten, in the Reallexikon der Assyriologie, ii, 187 ff., in which he collected the names and arranged them in the sequence indicated by the official lists of abbreviated year-names. Such a list, compiled for obvious practical purposes, is given in the next text (2) which covers the thirty-eight years of the rule of Samsuiluna, son of Hammurabi. The so-called Babylonian King List B, translated here under (3), shows a further step of this development. It contains the names of all the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon with the lengths of their reigns and—as a rule—their relation to their predecessors. The last line sums up the number of kings and indicates the name of the dynasty. The reverse of the same tablet lists the kings of another dynasty in exactly the same way. The unfortunately damaged tablet known as Babylonian King List A (4) lists first the kings of the Hammurabi Dynasty and continues the sequence of dynasties to the domination of Babylon by Assyrian kings, Kandalunu, the Babylonian successor of Shamashshumukin, being the last name before a break. With this "raw material" the historiographers of later periods compiled such lists as are exemplified in the famous Assyrian King List of Khorsabad, for which I refer— provisionally—to the articles of A. Poebel in the JNES, i, 247 ff., 460 ff.; and ii, 56 ff. (cf., also, E. F. Weidner, AJO, xxv [1944], 362 ff.).

The Synchronistic Chronicle (5) deals with the period covered by the preceding text; its author, however, is not interested in dynasties and lengths of rule, but in relating chronologically, or synchronizing, the kings of Assyria (left column) with those of Babylonia (right column). The basic principle of arrangement is to mention within the same paragraph the names of the kings of one country who ascended the throne during the reign of the king of the other country. As an interesting innovation, the name of the vizier is mentioned in certain cases beside that of the ruling king.

The Excerpts from the Lists of Assyrian Eponyms (6) illustrate these Assyrian historiographic documents as a source of historic information.

HISTORIOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTS

I. LIST OF DATE FORMULAE OF THE REIGN OF HAMMURABI

This list has been compiled by A. Ungnad, in Reallexikon der Assyriologie, ii, 178-182. For the official lists containing the abbreviated names of the years of the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon, cf. the text material collected by Ungnad, op.cit., pp. 164 ff.

1. Hammurabi (became) king.
2. He established justice1 in the country.

1 This refers to a royal act aiming at the restoration of the social equity whenever economic or other changes created a discrepancy between the social status established and protected by law (termed k i t t u "correct/normal [status]") and the needs, or claims, of certain groups of the population. Under such circumstances, it is the official duty of the king to "make (Akk.: i k d n u ; Sum.: g a r) m i l a r u (Sum.: n i g . s i . s d )" i.e., to readjust the law to the necessities of an ever changing world. In practice, however, m i l a r u i k d n u refers probably always to a remission of (certain) debts or to a moratory. cf. also B. Landsberger, Die bab-
3. He constructed a throne for the main dais of the god Nanna (var. adds: in the temple).  
4. The wall of (the sacred precinct) Gagia was built.  
5. He constructed the enka.aš.bar.ra.  
6. He constructed the ŠUR of the goddess Laz.  
7. Uruk and Isin were conquered.  
8. The country Emutbal (var.: the land on the embankment of the Shumundar-canal').  
9. The canal (called) Hammurabi-hegal (was dug).  
10. Army (var.: City) (and) inhabitants of Malgia were crushed.  
11. He conquered Rapiqum and Shalibi (var.: Rapiqum and Ibiq-Adad).  
12. He constructed a throne for the goddess Sarpanit.  
13. A copper stand for a royal statue (and) the pertinent ū ba, m a b ā.  
14. He constructed a throne for the goddess Inanna of Babylon.  
15. The seven statues.  
16. He constructed the throne of the god Nabium (Nebo).  
17. He made the image of the goddess Inanna of Kibalbarru “as high as the sky.”  
18. He constructed the main dais for Enlil in Babylon.  
19. The big wall of Igi-hursag.  
20. The year following: “The wall of Igi-hursag.” Also: The throne of Meri (i.e., Adad).  
21. The wall of the town Bazu² was built.  
22. The statue of Hammurabi (as) king (granting) justice.  
23. The APIN³ of the wall of Sippar.  
24. He redug the tilidda-canal for (the benefit of the temple of) Enlil, and (also the bed of) the Euphrates.  
25. The great wall of Sippar⁴ was built (var.: for the gods Shamash and Shenirda).  
26. The great daises of gold.  
27. He constructed the main emblem of reddish gold which is carried in front of the army, for the great gods, his helpers.  
28. The temple e.n a m.ḫ ē (“House of Abundance”) of Adad in Babylon was built.  
29. He constructed the image of the goddess Shala.  
30. The year following, “He constructed the image of Shala.”  

Also: The leader, beloved of Marduk, after having defeated the army which Elam—(counting) from the frontier of Marhashi, also Subartu, Gutium, Eshnunna, and Malgi—had raised in masses, through the mighty power of the great gods, re-established/consolidated the foundations of (the empire of) Sumer and Akkad.

31. (Encouraged) by an oracle (given) by Anu and Enlil who are advancing in front of his army, (and) through the mighty power which the great gods had given to him, he was a match⁵ for the country (var.: army) of Emutbal and its king Rim-Sin, and . . . and (thus) forced Sumer and Akkad to (obey) his orders.  
32. The hero who proclaims the triumphs of Marduk, overthrew in battle with his powerful weapon the army of Eshnunna, Subartu (and) Gutium and was a match (also) for the country Mankizum and the country along the bank of the Tigris as far as (the frontier of) the country Subartu.  
33. He redug the canal (called) “Hammurabi-(spells)-abundance-for-the-people, the Beloved-of-Anu-and-Enlil,” (thus) he provided Nippur, Eridu, Ur, Larsa, Uruk (and) Isin with a permanent and plentiful water supply, and reorganized Sumer and Akkad from (its) confusion (lit.: scattering). Mari and Malgi he overthrew in battle and made Mari, and . . . and also several other cities of Subartu, by a friendly agreement, (listen) to his orders.  
34. He built the temple e.t u r. k a l a m. m a (“Fold of the Country”) for Anu, Inanna and Nana.  
35. Upon the command of Anu and Enlil he destroyed the wall(s) of Mari and Malgia.  
36. He restored the temple e.m e.t e.u r.s a g (“The Pride of the Hero”) and built the temple tower, the mighty abode of Zababa (and) Inanna, whose top is sky-high and (thus) he greatly increased the glamor of Zababa as well as of Inanna in a pious manner.  
37. Through the great power of Marduk he overthrew the army of (var.: Sutium), Turukku, Kakmu and of the country Subartu.  
38. Upon the command of Anu and Enlil—and with the splendid wisdom with which Marduk has endowed him—he . . . Eshnunna which a flood had destroyed⁶. . .  
39. With the mighty power which Anu (and) Enlil have given him, he defeated all his enemies as far as the country of Subartu.

The translation of this year name follows T. Jacobsen, Philological Notes on Eshnunna and Its Inscriptions (AS, No. 9 [1934]), p. 7.  
10 The text uses the verb s i . . . s which, in legal texts, means “to correspond in value.”  
12 The reference to the wisdom which inspired this warlike exploit seems to suggest an attack made by Hammurabi upon the stricken city. This would offer an interesting parallel to the incident reported by the Pharaoh Pi-ankhi at the conquest of Memphis.
40. He made the temple é m e s . i a m (“Temple of the spreading m e s -tree”) as high as a mountain.
41. The goddess Tashmetum (who listens) to his supplication.
42. After the year “Tashmetum.”
   Also: He made the great wall at the embankment of the Tigris high as a mountain, called its name “Pier of Shamash,” and built also the wall of Rapiqu at the embankment of the Euphrates.
43. (As to) Sippar, the primeval city of the sun-god Utu, he provided (it) with a wall made of piled-up earth.  

2. LIST OF YEAR NAMES:

SAMSUILUNA, KING OF BABYLON

British Museum Bu 91-5-9, 284, published in CT, vi, Pls. 9 f. (rev. iii 45—iv 35) and by L. W. King, Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi, etc. (London, 1898 f.), ii, Nos. 101, 217 ff.  
Latest translation: A. Ungnad, Reallexikon der Assyriologie, ii, Nos. 146-183, p. 165 f.  
Year: Samsuiluna (became) king.
Year: He established freedom (from taxation)  
for Sumer and Akkad.
Year: Canal Samsuiluna-naqab-nuhhi (“Samsuiluna is a source of prosperity [for the people]”).
Year: Canal Samsuiluna-h e g a l (“Samsuiluna is a abundance”).
Year: b i z e m m i -throne.
Year: Statues of adorants.
Year: Emblem weapon.
Year: Copper stand for royal statue.
Year: Kassite army.
Year: Army of Idamaras.
Year: Wall of Ur.
Year: All the enemies.
Year: Kisurra as well as Sabu.
Year: The evil usurper-king.
Year: The wall of Isin was demolished.
Year: The sky-reaching wall.
Year: The several great walls.
Year: e b a b b a r (the temple of the sun-god) Utu in Sippar.
Year: The two golden thrones for the dais.
Year: The rebellious (lit.: not obedient) foreign countries.
Year: The throne for the great dais.
Year: The temple tower, the mighty abode.
Year: (Through) the terrible power.
Year: Wall of Kish.

3. THE BABYLONIAN KING LIST B

British Museum 80,11-12-3 (now No. 38122), published by H. Winckler, Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte (1889), p. 145, and P. Rost, MVAG, ii/2 (1897), 240. Latest translation: E. Ebeling in AOT, 332.  
(Reverse)

Sumuabi, king, 15 years.
Sumulail, 35 years.
Sabu, his son, same (i.e. king) 14 years.
Apil-Sin, his son, same, 18 years.
Sinmuballit, his son, same, 30 years.
Hammurabi, his son, same, 55 years.
Samsuiluna, his son, same, 35 years.
Ebishum, his son, same, 25 years.
Ammiditana, same, 25 years.
Ammisaduga,  same, 22 (!) years.
Samsuditana(!), same, 31 years.
Eleven kings, dynasty of Babylon.

Ten (sic) kings, dynasty of Uruku (g).

£.  
1 For these names (meaning and language), cf. Th. Bauer, Die Ostka-nümmer (Leipzig, 1946), pp. 10, 13, 19, and 38.
2 For the figures of this list, cf. A. Poebel, The Use of Mathematical Mean Values in Babylonian King List B (Study v, Miscellaneous Studies of AS, No. 14 [1947]).
3 For these names, cf. A. Poebel in A/0, (1933-4), 241 ff., col. ii 27.
4 For the figures of this list, cf. A. Poebel, A/0, (1933-4), 241 ff., col. ii 27.
5 cf. W. F. Albright in BASOR, 88 (1942), 33, for this date formula; also, A. Poebel in A/0, ix (1933-4), 283 ff.
6 cf. for this institution, E. F. Weidner, ZA, xliii (NF 18), 122.
4. THE BABYLONIAN KING LIST A


(i)

(11 lines missing)

[... ] (years), 11 kings, dynasty of Babylon

60 (years) Ilima',
56 Itili,
36 Damqili,
15 Ishki,
26 Shushshi, brother
55 Gulki...
50 Peshgal,
28 Aiadara,
26 Ekurul,
7 Melamma,
9 Eaga

368 (sic) (years), 11 kings, dynasty of Uruku (g)

16 Gandash,
12 Agum the First, his son
22 Kashtiliahi,
8 Ushshi, his son
[... ] Abirattash
[... ] Tazzigurumash

(ii)

(more than 13 lines missing)

x + 22 (years) [... ]
26 [... ]
18 [... ]
[... ] Kadas[... ]
6 Kudur-[Enlil], his [so]n
13 Shagarak[ti], his [so]n
8 Kashtil, his son
1 year 6 months Ellilnadinshumi
1 year 6 months Kadas[... ]
6 Adadnadinshumi
30 Addadumnasir
15 Melishipak
13 Mardukaplaiddin, his son
1 year Zababa [shumiddin]
3 Ellilnadin [ahhe]

576 (years) 9 months, 36 kings, dynasty of [...].

17 (years) Marduk[shapikzeri]
6 [... ]

(destroyed)

(iii)

(destroyed)

22 (years) [... ]
1 year 6 months Marduka[hheriba]

5 The names of the kings of this dynasty appear here in abbreviated forms; cf. King List B for the full names.
6 Follows one horizontal wedge (as between lines 5 and 6) of obscure meaning.

12 Mardukzer [... ]
8 Nabushum[libur]

132 (years) 6 months, 11 kings, dynasty of Isin.
18 (years) Simmashshi
5 months Eamukin
3 (years) Kashshunadinahhe
21 (years) 5 months, 3 kings, dynasty of the Sea Country.

17 (years) Eulmarshashkinshumi
3 Ninurtakudurra
3 months Shi[riqi]-Shuqamu

20 (years) 3 months, 3 kings, dynasty of Bas[u].

6 (? ) (years) I [... ]

38 (?) (years) [... ]

8 months 12 [days ... ]

(destroyed)

(iv)

(destroyed)

[... ] Nabushumishkun [his] s[on]
[... ] Nabun[asir]
2 (years) Nabunadinzeri, his son,
1 month 12 days Nabushumukin, his son,
22 (years or kings?), dynasty of E.

3 (years) Ukinzer, dynasty of Shashi
2 Pul[u]
5 Ulula[a], dynasty of Bal-til
12 Mardukaplaiddin, dynasty of the Sea Country,
5 Sargon
2 Sennacherib, dynasty of Habigal,
1 month Mardukzakirshumi, son of Ardu,
9 months Mardukaplaiddin, a native of Habi,
3 (years) Belibni, dynasty of E,
6 Ashurnadinshumi, dynasty of Habigal,
1 Nergalushesib
5 Ushezib-Marduk, dynasty of E,
8 Sennacherib
 [... ] Esarhaddon
[... ] Shamashshum[ ]
[... ] Kandal[ ]

(destroyed)

5. THE SYNCHRONISTIC CHRONICLE


(i)

(destroyed)

Ad[asi, same (i.e., king of [Damqilishu, same (i.e., Assyria)]
king of Babylon)]

8 = Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria (744-727).
9 = Shalmaneser V of Assyria (726-723).
10 The name of this town (bal-bas or bal-til) was discussed recently by J. Lewy in *HUCA*, xix (1946), 467 ff. (especially, n.305), who considered it as denoting the "innermost, and, hence, oldest part of the city of Assur.
11 Short for Shamashshumukin, son of Esarhaddon and brother of Ashurbanipal.
12 Short for Kandalana (formerly identified with Ashurbanipal), a Babylonian successor of Shamashshumukin ruling in Babylon for 22 years. cf. W. H. Dubberstein, *INES*, ii (1944), 38 ff.
Belbani, same
Lubaia, same
Sharma-Adad, same
Lik.Kud-Shamash, same
Bazaia, same
Lulla, same
Shininua, same
Sharma-Adad, same
Erishu
Shamshi-Adad, same
Bazaia, same
Lulla, same
Shininua, same
Sharma-Adad, same
Erishu
Shamshi-Adad, same
Bazaia, same
Lulla, same
Shininua, same
Sharma-Adad, same
Erishu
Shamshi-Adad, same
Bazaia, same
Lulla, same
Shininua, same
Sharma-Adad, same
Erishu
Shamshi-Adad, same
Bazaia, same
Lulla, same
Shininua, same
Sharma-Adad, same
Erishu
Shamshi-Adad, same
Bazaia, same
Lulla, same
Shininua, same
Sharma-Adad, same
Erishu
Shamshi-Adad, same
Bazaia, same
Lulla, same
Shininua, same
Sharma-Adad, same
Erishu
Shamshi-Adad, same
Bazaia, same
Lulla, same
Shininua, same
Sharma-Adad, same
Erishu
Shamshi-Adad, same
Bazaia, same
Lulla, same
Shininua, same
Sharma-Adad, same
Erishu
Shamshi-Adad, same
Bazaia, same
Lulla, same
Shininua, same
Sharma-Adad, same
Erishu
Shamshi-Adad, same
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Sharma-Adad, same
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Shamshi-Adad, same
Bazaia, same
Lulla, same
Shininua, same
Sharma-Adad, same
Erishu
Shamshi-Adad, same
Bazaia, same
Lulla, same
Shininua, same
Sharma-Adad, same
Erishu

1 First of the royal names of the present list to be mentioned (as No. 33) in the Assyrian King List of Khorsabad, cf. A. Poebel in JNES, 1 (1942), 283.

2 cf. for this passage E. F. Weidner in AfO, in (1926), 75 f.

3 cf. below p. 308, n.9 for a possible different interpretation of the phrase mar Bit-Dakkuri.
Esarhaddon, son of Sennacherib, king of Assyria and of Babylonia
Nabuzerlishir (and) Istarshumeresh, his viziers,
Ashurbanipal, same
Shamashshumukin, same
Ashurbanipal, same
Istarshumeresh, his vizier.
82 kings of Assyria from (the time of) Erishu, son of
Ishushuma, to Ashurbanipal, son of Esarhaddon (cor-
respond to)
98 kings of Assakkad from (the time of) Sumulail to Kandalanu.

6. EXCERPTS FROM THE LISTS OF ASSYRIAN EPONYMS

In contradistinction to the Babylonian custom (attested from
the time of the kings of Agade to that of the Kassite rulers)
of naming each year after an important event, the Assyrians used
the names of certain high officials for the same purpose. The first
(full) year of the reign of a king is always named after himself,
the following years have originally been named after
that official who won when lots were thrown to determine the
eponym.3 Later on, the position of the official within the hier-
archy was decisive for the sequence, the highest official (tartanu)
following the king immediately, while important palace officers
(such as, e.g. the nāqir ekalli "overseer of the royal property,"
the chief cupbearer, etc.) and the governors of the foremost
provinces took their turn in well-established order. After the ex-
haustion of all eligible candidates for the office of the limu,
within the rule of one and the same king, the sequence of
officials started anew, beginning with the king.

For the throwing of lots (done by means of a "die" called puru
thrown into a bowl), cf. E. F. Weidner, AFO, xiii (1941), 308 ff.;
for the sequence of officials, cf. E. Forrer, Die Provinziein-
teilung des assyrischen Reiches (Leipzig, 1921), after p. 6, with
an instructive diagram.

For practical and chronological purposes, the Assyrian scribes
made elaborate lists1 of the names of the limu -officials which
either contain only name and rank (termed by Delitzsch)
C[an]on[*] or additional short notices referring to historical events (C[9].4 These lists have been studied and edited repeatedly,
the most recent studies being those of A. Ungnad in Real-
lexikon der Assyriologie, ii, sub Eponym, 412-457, and E. F.
Weidner, AJO, xiii (1941), 308-318.

The following excerpts utilize A. Ungnad's transliteration and
restoration of C9 on pp. 428 ff., to the arrangement of which the
numbering of lines refers.

(Reign of Adad-nirari II)
(Reign of Tiglath-pileser III)
(campaign) against the sea; a plague.
(Reign of Shalmaneser IV)
(campaign) against the sea; a plague.
(Reign of Sargon II)
(campaign) against Damascus (Di-māl-qa).
(campaign) against Palestine ("Pi-līl-tā)
(campaign) against Damascus (Di-māl-qa).

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

This part contains the records which ten kings of Assyria
have left us—on stone slabs, clay foundation documents, in-
scribed stelae, etc.—of their campaigns for the conquest of Syria,
Palestine, the island of Cyprus, Arabia, and, eventually, of Egypt.
I. SHAMSHI-ADAD I (ABOUT 1726-1694).1

FIRST CONTACT WITH THE WEST

L. Messerschmidt, KAH, i, No. 2. Transliteration and trans-
lation: B. Meissner, in Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Koenige,
(Altorientalische Bibliothek), i (Leipzig, 1920), 24 ff.
(iv 4—17)

At that time, I received in my town Ashur the tribute2
of the kings of Tukrish and of the kings of the Upper Country.3 I erected a stela (inscribed) with my great
name in the country Lab'an (La-ab-a-an) on the shore of
the Great Sea.

2. TIGLATH-PILESER I (1114-1076): EXPEDITIONS TO SYRIA, THE LEBANON, AND THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

a
Foundation document (clay) of the Anu-Adad temple in
Ashur. Published by O. Schroeder, in KAH, ii, No. 68. Trans-
laction: Luckenbill, AR, i, §§530-533. cf. also Schroeder, JSOR, x,
291.
(1—29)

Tiglath-pileser, the legitimate4 king, king of the world,5 king of Assyria, king of (all) the four rims (of

1 The dates given after the names of Assyrian kings are those of A. Puebel
in INES, ii (1943), pp. 85-89.
2 For the various terms appearing in the historical texts with the approxi-
mate meaning "tribute" or the like—such as bitu, mandattu, maḫallu, etc.—cf. W. J.
Martin, Tribut and Tributleistungen bei den Assyrern, Studia
Orientalia, viii (1936), 20 ff. The hendiadys bitu maḏattu is, in the
present pages, translated by one English term (to wit, "tribute"), because it
is not admissible to render literally the well-known stylistic feature of the
Akadian (cf. H. Ebeling, Ein Wortfolgeprinzip im Assyrisch-Babylonischen,
LSSt, vi /s (1916)) to use two nearly synonymous nouns to express one
concept on the level of a solemn and dignified diction. Therefore I translate,
e.g., qablu (u) taḫzus simply with "battle," bītu (u) maḵallu with "possessions," kītu (u) mīlaru with "justice," etc.
3 cf. B. Maisler, Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte und Ethnographie
Syriens und Palästinas (Gießen, 1930), p. 10.
4 In the title lugal kala.g (Akk.: lāru annu), the adjective kala (g) or annu has
definite meaning which is difficult to render exactly. From such references as e.g. naḫuru annu (cf. below p. 309, n.), nakkalu annu ("regular nakkalu -official"), etc., the meaning
"legitimate, orderly, correct" results (cf. also Dietrich, SB, 522/18 for the
Sum. verb kala (g) "to deliver regularly"), while other references point
towards annu in the meaning "potent, full-grown, powerful." With re-
gard to the ancient Near Eastern concept of kingship, it seems possible that
the title is meant to express both aspects: the legitimacy of the ruler and
his full personal vigor, both equally essential prerequisites for the exercise of kingship.
5 For the history of this age-old royal title, cf. p. 267, n.t. The rendering
the earth), the courageous hero who lives (guided) by the trust-inspiring oracles given (to him) by Ashur and Ninurta, the great gods and his lords, (and who thus) overthrew (all) his enemies; son of Ashurreshishi, king of the world, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Mutakkil-Nusku, also king of the world, king of Assyria.

At the command of my lord Ashur I was a conqueror (lit.: my hand conquered) from beyond the Lower Zab River to the Upper Sea which (lies towards) the Nusku, likewise king of Assyria, am a conqueror (of the regions) from the Great Sea which is in the country Amurru as far as the Great Sea which is in the Nairi country. I have marched three times against the Nairi country.

3. Ashurnasirpal II (883-859):

EXPEDITION TO CARCHEMISH AND THE LEBANON

From the annals inscribed on the large pavement slabs of the temple of Ninurta in Calah, the new royal residence built by Ashurnasirpal II. Published by Rawlinson, Vol. 1, Pls. 17-26; also, by King, AKA, p. 264 ff. (with transliteration and translation) and I. Y. Le Gac, Les inscriptions de Assur-nasir-aplu III (Paris, 1997), p. 3 ff. Translation: Luckenbill, AR, 1, §§475-479.

(iii 64–90)

I departed from the country Bit-Adini and crossed the Euphrates at the peak of its flood by means of (rafts made buoyant with inflated) goatskin (bottles). I advanced towards Carchemish. (There) I received from him(self) the tribute of Sangara, the king of the Hit-tites (amounting to): 20 talents of silver, a s'daru object of gold, a ring of gold, golden daggers, 100 talents of copper, 250 talents of iron, (furthermore) bull-images5 of copper, copper basin-and-ever sets6 for washing, a copper brazier—(all) his own furniture,8 the weights of which were not taken (separately),—(furthermore) beds of boxwood,9 a š1 t ı -chairs9 of boxwood, tables of boxwood, (all) inlaid with ivory, also 20 young females (clad in) linen garments with multicolored trimmings made of dark and reddish purple-dyed wool, (also) alabaster, elephants' tusks (and even) a shining chariot (and) a golden nimatu-chair12 with panels13—(his) own insignia. I took over the chariot (-corps), the cavalry (and) the infantry of Carchemish. The kings of all (surrounding) countries came to me, embraced my feet and I took hostages from them and they marched (with me) towards the Lebanon (Lab-na-na) forming my vanguard.

1 This translation is based upon the variants a m “wild bull,” and d i n g i r “(image of a god,) describing the very same object. cf. for these variants, L. W. King, AKA, t. 366, n.3.
2 The words harku and warka refer to the two containers needed in the Orient for washing and taking a bath: a spouted vessel to pour the water and a recipient with wide opening to collect it. cf. the corresponding Egyptian word harku.
3 Literally: “furniture of his palace”; the term e k a l u denotes in Mesopotamia the personal property of the king.
4 The reading zakurinu (instead of *urkuri) was indicated to me by Dr. B. Landesberger, who made reference to syllabic spellings in Old-Assyrian and texts from Nuhi as well as to Aaram. *ekiru “boxwood.”
5 The Sumerian words a š ti a ša refer to a special type of chair, often a royal throne.
6 This refers to linen garments decorated with sewn-on narrow woven bands or tresses made of wool thread in various colors (termed b h r n u). This typically Syrian technique is often depicted on Egyptian murals and reliefs. The Assyrian kings mention these garments always in their reports on booty or tribute received from Upper Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine.
7 A certain type of easy chair.
8 For the technical terms šu “frame, border, mounting” and tumš “panel, filling,” cf. e.g., F. Thureau-Dangin, Arvand Tash (Paris 1931), p. 159.
the earth), the courageous hero who lives (guided) by the trust-inspiring oracles given (to him) by Ashur and Ninurta, the great gods and his lords, (and who thus) overthrew (all) his enemies; son of Ashurreshishi, king of the world, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Mutakkil-Nusku, also king of the world, king of Assyria.

At the command of my lord Ashur I was a conqueror (lit.: my hand conquered) from beyond the Lower Zab River to the Upper Sea which (lies towards) the West. Three times I did march against the Nairi countries. The widespread Nairi countries I conquered from the country Tumme as far as Daiaeni, Himuia, and even as far as Paitei and Habi. I made bow to my feet 30 kings of the Nairi countries, I took hostages from them. I received as their tribute horses, broken to the yoke. I imposed upon them (regular) tribute and tamartu-gifts.

I went to the Lebanon (Lab-na-a-ni). I cut (there) timber of cedars for the temple of Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, and carried (them to Ashur). I continued (my march) towards the country of Amurru. I conquered the entire country of Amurru. I received tribute from Byblos (Gu-bal), Silon (Si-du-ni), and Arvad (Ar-ma-da). I crossed over in ships (belonging) to Arvad, from Arvad which is on the seashore, to the town Samuri which (lies) in Amurru (a distance of) 3 double-miles overland. I killed a narwhal\(^4\) which they call "sea horse," on high sea.

And (afterwards) on my return march (towards Ashur) I subjected the entire country of Great-Hatti, I imposed upon Illi-Teshup, king of Great-Hatti a tribute of [...] talents of [...] and of cedar beams.

Two excerpts from a fragmented octagonal prism (perhaps the foundation document of the royal palace). Published by O. Schroeder, in KAH, ii, No. 63. Translation: Luckenbill, AR, i, §§286 and 287.

(i) 10-16

Upon the command of Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, I went to the Lebanon mountains (Jade\(^5\) Lab-na-mi), I cut cedar beams for the temple of Anu and Adad.

(iii) 3-14 = KAH, ii, 71 [tablet] 19-23

Twenty-eight times (I fought) the Ahlamu peoples and the Arameans, (once) I even crossed the Euphrates twice in one year. I defeated them from Tadmor (Palmyra) which (lies) in the country Amurru, Anat\(^1\) which (lies) in the country Suhu as far as the town Rapiqu which (lies) in Kar-Duniash (i.e. Babylonia). I brought their possessions as spoils to my town Ashur.


(iii 64-90)

I departed from the country Bit-Adini and crossed the Euphrates at the peak of its flood by means of (rafts made buoyant with inflated) goatskin (bottles). I advanced towards Carchemish. (There) I received from him(self) the tribute of Sangara, the king of the Hitites (amounting to): 20 talents of silver, a sa'daru object of gold, a ring of gold, golden daggers, 100 talents of copper, 250 talents of iron, (furthermore) bull-images of copper, copper basin-and-ewer sets for washing, a copper brazier—(all) his own furniture,\(^6\) the weights of which were not taken (separately),—(furthermore) beds of boxwood,\(^3\) a 2 i t i -chairs of boxwood, tables of boxwood, (all) inlaid with ivory, also 200 young females (clad in) linen garments with multi-colored trimmings made of dark and reddish purple-dyed wool, (also) alabaster, elephants' tusks (and even) a shining chariot (and) a golden nimatu-chair with panels—(his own) royal insignia. I took over the chariot (-corps), the cavalry (and) the infantry of Carchemish. The kings of all (surrounding) countries came to me, embraced my feet and I took hostages from them and they marched (with me) towards the Lebanon (Lab-na-na) forming my vanguard.

1. This translation is based upon the variants a m "wild bull," and d i n g i r "(image of a) god," describing the very same object. cf. for these variants, L. W. King, AK A, t, §366, n.3.
2. This refers to linen garments decorated with sewn-on narrow woven bands or tresses made of wool thread in various colors (termed b h m s). This typically Syrian technique is often depicted on Egyptian murals and reliefs. The Assyrian kings mention these garments always in their reports on booty or tribute received from Upper Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine.
3. For the technical terms h s h "frame, border, mounting" and t m l l "panel, filling," cf. e.g., F. Thureau-Dangin, Arišī Tash (Paris 1931), p. 139.
4. This translation is based upon the variants a m "wild bull," and d i n g i r "(image of a) god," describing the very same object. cf. for these variants, L. W. King, AK A, t, §366, n.3.
5. This refers to linen garments decorated with sewn-on narrow woven bands or tresses made of wool thread in various colors (termed b h m s). This typically Syrian technique is often depicted on Egyptian murals and reliefs. The Assyrian kings mention these garments always in their reports on booty or tribute received from Upper Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine.
6. For the technical terms h s h "frame, border, mounting" and t m l l "panel, filling," cf. e.g., F. Thureau-Dangin, Arišī Tash (Paris 1931), p. 139.
I departed from Carchemish, taking the road between the mountains Munzigani and the Hamurga, leaving the country Ahanu on my left. I advanced towards the town Hazazu which belongs to Lubarna from Hattina. (There) I received gold and linen garments.

I proceeded and crossed the river Apra (where) I passed the night. From the banks of the Apra I departed and advanced towards the town Kunulua, the royal residence of Lubarna from Hattina. Afraid of the terrible weapons of my ferocious army, he embraced my feet to save his life. Twenty talents of silver (the equivalent of) one talent of gold, 100 talents of tin, 100 talents of iron, 1,000 (heads of big) cattle, 10,000 sheep, 1,000 linen garments with multicolored trimmings, easy chairs of boxwood with insets (and) mountings, beds of boxwood, beds provided with insets, tables with ivory (inlay) (on) boxwood—all his own furniture, the weights of which were not taken (separately), also female singers (with) [numerous kan [...]], large pagatsu-instruments (and) great en-objects I received from him as his tribute, and himself I pardoned. I took over the chariot (corps), the cavalry (and) the infantry of Hattina and seized hostages from him.

At that time I received (also) the tribute of Gusi from Iahani (consisting of): gold, silver, tin, iron, large and small cattle, linen garments with multicolored trimmings. From Kunulua, the royal residence of Lubarna from Hattina, I departed; I crossed the river Orontes ([Aran]tju) and passed the night on the banks of the Orontes. From the banks of the Orontes I departed, taking the road between the mountains Iaraqi and Ia'turi, and crossed over the [...] mountain to pass (the night) on the banks of the Sangura river. From the banks of the Sangura river I departed, taking the road between the mountains Saratini and Duppani, and (passed the night) on the banks of the [...][lake]. I entered Aribua, the fortress of Lubarna from Hattina, and seized (it) as my own (town). I harvested the grain as well as the straw of the Luhuti country and stored (them) therein. In his own palace I performed the talittu-festival and (then) settled natives of Assyria in it (the town). While I stayed in Aribua, I conquered the (other) towns of Luhuti, defeating their (inhabitants) in many bloody battles. I destroyed (them), tore down (the walls) and burned (the towns) with fire; I caught the survivors and impaled (them) on stakes in front of their towns. At that time I seized the entire extent of the Lebanon mountain and reached the Great Sea of the Ammuurri country. I cleaned my weapons in the deep sea and performed sheep-offerings to (all) the gods. The tribute of the seacoast—from the inhabitants of Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Mahallata, Maiza, Kaiza, Amuru, and (of) Arvad which (is an island) in the sea, (consisting of): gold, silver, tin, copper, copper containers, linen garments with multicolored trimmings, large and small monkeys, ebony, boxwood, ivory from walrus tusk—(thus ivory) a product of the sea,—(this) their tribute I received and they embraced my feet.

I ascended the mountains of the Amanus (Ha-

ma-ni) and cut down (there) logs of cedars, stone-pines, cypress (and) pines, and performed sheep-offerings to my gods. I (had) made a sculptured stela (commemorating) my heroic achievements and erected (it) there. The cedar beams from the Amanus mountain I destined/sent for/to the temple Esarra for (the construction of) a sarma-ku-sanctuary as a building for festivals serving the temples of Sin and Shamash, the light (giving) gods.

4. SHALMANESER III (858-824):
THE FIGHT AGAINST THE ARAMEAN COALITION

(a) Texts of a General Nature


(1—20)

(I am) Shalmaneser, the legitimate king, the king of the world, the king without rival, the "Great Dragon," the (only) power within the (four) rims (of the earth), overlord of all the princes, who has smashed all his enemies as if (they be) earthenware, the strong man, unsparing, who shows no mercy in battle,—the son of Ashurnasirpal, king of the world, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Tukulti-Ninurta, likewise king of the world, king of Assyria, a conqueror from the Upper Sea.
to the Lower Sea (to wit) the countries Hatti, Luhuti, Adri, Lebanon (Lab-na-na), Que, Tabali, Militene (Me-li-di); who has visited the sources (of both) the Tigris and the Euphrates.

I marched against Akkad (= Babylonia) to avenge Mardukhummiddin and inflicted a defeat upon [Mar-] dukbelusate, his younger brother. I entered Kutha, Babylon, and Borsippa, offered sacrifices to the gods of the sacred cities of Akkad. I went (further) downstream to Chaldea and received tribute from all kings of Chaldea.

(b) From the inscription on the bronze gates of Balawat. First publication, T. G. Pinches, in TSBA, vii (1886-7), 89 l.; translation: F. Delitzsch, in BA, vi/1 (1908), 133 ff., and Luckenbill, AR, i, §§616 ff.

(i 6–ii 5)

At that time [Ashur, the great lord . . . gave me scepter, staff] . . . necessary (to rule) the people, (and) I was acting (only) upon the trust-inspiring oracles given by Ashur, the great lord, my lord, who loves me to be his high priest and . . . the countries and mountain regions to their full extent. [I (am) Shalmaneser . . . conqueror from] the sea of the Nairi country and the sea of the Zamua country which is nearer (to Assyria) as far (text: and) the Great Sea of Amurrut. I swept over Hatti, in its full extent (making it look) like ruin-hills (left) by the flood . . . (thus) I spread the terror-inspiring glare of my rule over Hatti.

On my (continued) march to the sea, I made a stela (representing) myself as the supreme ruler and set it up beside that of the god Hirbe.1 . . . I marched [to the Great] Sea, washed my weapons in the Great Sea; I offered sacrifices (there) to my gods. I received the tribute from all the kings of the seacoast. [I made a stela representing myself as king and warrior] and inscribed upon [it the deeds which] I had performed [in the region of the] sea[coast]; I set it up by the sea.

(b) Annalistic Reports

First Year according to the so-called “Monolith Inscriptions” (from Kurkh), published by Rawlinson, Vol. iii, Pls. 7-8. Translation: Luckenbill, AR, i, §§599-600.

(i 29–ii 13)

In the month Aiaru, the 13th day, I departed from Nineveh; I crossed the Tigris, by-passed the countries Hasamau and Dihnunu and approached the town of La'la'te which (belongs to) Ahuni, man of Adini. The terror and the glamor of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed [them] . . . and they dispersed.2 I destroyed the town, tore down (its wall) and burnt (it) down. From La'la'ti I departed, I approached the town of Ki[ . . . qa] the royal residence] of Ahuni, man of Adini. Ahuni, man of Adini, [putting his trust] upon his numerous army, rose for a decisive battle . . . I fought with him upon a trust-inspiring oracle of Ashur and the (other) great gods, my lords, (and) inflicted a . . . defeat upon him. I shut him up in his town. From the town Ki[ . . . qa] I departed, the town Bur-mar'ana which (belongs to) Ahuni, man of Adini, [I approached]. I stormed and conquered (it). I slew with the sword 300 of their warriors. Pillars of skulls I erected in front of the town. I received the tribute of Hapini from the town Til-abna, of Ga'uni from the town Sa[ll]ate, (and) of Giria-Adad (to wit): . . . silver, gold, large and small cattle, wine. From Bur-mar'ana I departed, I crossed the Euphrates on rafts (made buoyant by means of) inflated goatskins and received the tribute of Qatazz[i] from Commagene (Kammuhi)3 (to wit): silver, gold, large and small cattle, wine. I approached the town of Pakurubomi (and) the towns of Ahuni, man of Adini, on the other side of the Euphrates. I defeated (his) country, turning his towns into ruins. I covered the wide plain with the corpses of his warriors: 1,500 of their battle-experienced soldiers I slew with the sword. From Pakurubomi I departed, I approached the towns of Mutall from Gurgume. I received the tribute of Mutall from Gurgume (to wit): silver, gold, large and small cattle, wine (and) his daughter with her big dowry. From Gurgume I departed and I approached Lutibu, the fortress town of Hani from Sam'al.4 Hani from Sam'al, Sapalu from Hattina, Ahuni, man of Adini, Sangara from Carchemish put their trust on mutual assistance, prepared for battle and rose against me to resist. I fought with them (assisted) by the mighty power of Nergal, my leader, by the ferocious weapons which Ashur, my lord, has presented to me, (and) I inflicted a defeat upon them. I slew their warriors with the sword, descending upon them like Adad when he makes a rainstorm pour down. In the moat (of the town) I piled them up, I covered the wide plain with the corpses of their fighting men, I dyed the mountains with their blood like red wool. I took away from him many chariots (and) horses broken to the yoke. I erected pillars of skulls in front of his town, destroyed his (other) towns, tore down (their walls) and burnt (them) down.

At that time, I paid homage to the greatness of (all) the great gods (and) extolled for posterity the heroic achievements of Ashur and Shamash by fashioning a (sculptured) stela with myself as king (depicted on it). I wrote thereupon my heroic behavior, my deeds in combat and erected it beside the source of the Saluara river which is at the foot of the mountains of the Amanus. From the mountain Amanus I departed, crossed the Oroontes river (Ar-a-an-su) and approached Alimus, the fortress town of Sapalume from Hattina. To save his life, Sapalulme from Hattina [called for] Ahuni, man of Adini, Sangara from Carchemish, Haianu from Sam'al, Kate from Que, Pihirim from Hilukka, Bur-Anate from Iasbuq, Ada[ . . . ] Assyria . . . .

1 Technical term: elk.

2 For this identification, cf. L. W. King, Kammu = Kommagene, in Manchester Egypt. and Oriental Soc., vii (1913), 47 ff.

3 To talnintu, cf. now von Soden in Orientalis, NS xvi (1946), 70 f.
Amurru and of the Western Sea (so that they became)
ing this battle I personally captured Bur-Anate from
broken to the yoke. I slew with the sword....Dur-
2,900 of [their] battle-experienced_soldiers; 14,600 I
I conquered the towns Taia, Hazazu, Nulia (and)
Hirbe is set up and erected (there) a(nother)statue
mountain region Atalur, where the statue of the god
Amanus, I cut there cedar and pine timber. I went to the
it] near the sea. I ascended the mountains of the
unopposed...throughout the wide seashore. I fashioned
the kings of the seashore. I marched straightaway,
like ruin-hills (left by) the flood. I received tribute from
Hattina.... I overthrew the...of the Upper [Sea] of
the town...I carried away as booty... , his horses,
278
washed my weapons in the sea, offered [sacrifices to]
112-114.
I departed from the sea; [I]n the first year of my rule, I crossed the Euphrates
AR, 1, Nos.
112-114. Translation: Luckenbill, AR, 1, §533.

(KAH, 11, 113:12—9)

[In] the first year of my rule, I crossed the Euphrates
at its flood and marched towards the Western Sea. I
washed my weapons in the sea, offered [sacrifices to]
the gods. I ascended the mountains of the Amanus and
cut (there) timber of cedar and pine. I ascended the
Lallar mountain, I erected (there) an image (represent-
ing) myself as king. The towns of the Hattineans,
those of] Ahuni, man of Adini, those (belonging)
to the peoples of Carchemish, (and) to the Mar-
Gus[i... ] ([in short] all the to[w]ns on the other em-
bankment of the Euphrates, I destroyed, tore down
the (walls) and burnt (them) down.

First Year according to the Annals inscribed on clay tablets
found in Ashur. Published by O. Schroeder, in KAH, ii, Nos.
Translation: Luckenbill, AR, 1, §533.  

(face B, 26—31)

In the first year of my rule, I crossed the Euphrates
at its flood; I marched to the Western Sea; my weapons
I cleaned (ritually) in the sea; sheep-offerings Iper-
formed his own weapons. I entered the towns
splendor of my fierce weapons, and killed their master'
on the river Balih. They became afraid of the terror em-
destroyed, tore down and burned down Karkara, his
month Aiaru, the 14th day, I departed from Nineveh. I
crossed the Tigris and approached the towns of Giammu
my gods/im-
In the first year of my rule, I crossed the Euphrates
another time at its flood on rafts (made buoyant by means) of (inflated) goatskins. In
Ina-Ashur-utir-asbat, which the people of Hattina call
the river Sagur, I received tribute from the kings of the other side of the Euphrates—that is, of Sanagara from Carchemish, Kundashpi from Commagene, of Arame,
man of Gusi, of Lall to Meltene (Melid), of
Haiani, son of Gabari, of Kalparuda from Hattina,
and) of Kalparuda of Gurgum—(consisting of): silver,
gold, tin, copper (or bronze), copper containers.
I departed from the banks of the Euphrates and ap-
proached Aleppo (Hal-man). They (i.e., the inhabitants
of A.) were afraid to fight and seized my feet (in sub-
mission). I received silver and gold as their tribute
and offered sacrifices before the Adad of Aleppo.
I departed from Aleppo and approached the two towns
of Irhuleni from Hamath (A tam). I captured the towns
Adennu, Barga (and) Argana his royal residence. I
removed from them his booty (as well as) his personal
(lit.: of his palaces) possessions. I set his palaces afire.
I departed from Argana and approached Karkara. I
destroyed, tore down and burned down Karkara, his
(text: my) royal residence. He brought along to help
him 1,200 chariots, 1,200 cavalrymen, 20,000 foot soldiers
of Adad-idri (i.e. Hadadezer) of Damascus (Imirtis),

The use of the Sumerian term in this context is rather puzzling. It
might indicate a peculiar social set-up which compelled the Assyrian scribes
to use this rare word.

The problem of the often changing (and apparently interchangeable)
Akkadian denominations for Damascus (apart from Di-ma-zi-il-qu/a is
still unsolved; for previous discussions I refer to A. T. Clay in YOS, i
8
(1945), 2, n.1; Streck, Assyrische Missellen (= VAB, vii), xi, 78, where litera-
ture is amply quoted. These denominations are Sama-neru, Sama-neri-
Sama-nerli (cf., e.g., C. Bezold, Catalogue, 1, 21) and Imerti with imtru
spelled either phonetically or respectively as x e and d u r. I would like to
take draw attention, on one hand, to the name of a town s a-m e re i o on
the stela of Shilhak-Ishubinak (V. Schell, Délégation en Perse, Mémoires,
x [1911], 42, No. 14), also attested in texts from Nuzi (cf. R. H.
Pfeiffer and E. A. Lacheman, Miscellaneous Texts from Nuzi, HSS, xvi
[1942], No. 433.6 [road leading from Nuzi to Sama-neri]); and, on
the other hand, to certain Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian nouns (of
the formation anat la xxx-lu) denoting traders in commodities (salt, wine,
pottery, fruit, etc.) or animals (for the latter, cf. C. H. W. Johns, Assyrian
also the name of the town Sama-nerli (Forres, Provinteneingangs, p. 107).

Read: [h]e-re-il.

(cf. also the lines 15—reverse of 8 of the basalt tablet published by
L. Mesonmach, KAH, i, 77 and transcribed; and translated by E.
Michel, Die Assur-Texte Salamassars III, Die Welt des Orientis, i
[1947], p. 11 f.)
700 chariots, 700 cavalrymen, 10,000 foot soldiers of Irhuleni from Hamath, 2,000 chariots, 10,000 foot soldiers of Ahab, the Israelite (\textit{A-\textipa{h}a-\textipa{b}u \textit{ma\textipa{t}Sir-i-la-a-a}), 500 soldiers from Que, 1,000 soldiers from Musri, 10 chariots, 10,000 soldiers from Iqanata, 200 soldiers of Matini-ba'lu from Arvad, 200 soldiers from Usanata, 30 chariots, 1,000 soldiers of Adunu-ba'lu from Shian, 1,000 camel-riders of Gindibu', from Arabia, [ ... ] 1,000 soldiers of Ba'sa, son of Ruhubi, from Ammon—(all together) these were twelve kings. They rose against me [for a] decisive battle. I fought with them with (the support of) the mighty forces of Ashur, which Ashur, my lord, has given to me, and the strong weapons which Nergal, my leader, has presented to me, (and) I did inflict a defeat upon them between the towns Karkara and Gilzau. I slew 14,000 of their soldiers with the sword, descending upon them like Adad when he makes a rainstorm pour down. I spread their corpses (everywhere), filling the entire plain with their widely scattered (fleeing) soldiers. During the battle I made their blood flow down the \textit{hur-pa-la} of the district. The plain was too small to let (all) their (text: his) souls descend\textsuperscript{10} (into the nether world), the vast field\textsuperscript{11} gave out (when it came) to bury them. With their (text: sing.) corpses\textsuperscript{9} I spanned the Orontes before there was a bridge. Even during the battle I took from them their chariots, their horses broken to the yoke.


(67—74 of the Billerbeck-Delitzsch Edition)

In the sixth year of my rule, I departed from Nineveh and approached the river Balih. [The country] became afraid of my powerful army and [they killed] Giammu [their "master"]. I entered Til-Turahi and seized that town for myself. From the region along the Balih river I departed, the river Euphrates I crossed at its flood. I received tribute from [all] the kings of Hatti. At that time Hadadezer \textit{of} Damascus, Irhulina from Hamath, as well as the kings of Hatti and (of) the seashore put their trust on their mutual strength and rose against me to fight a decisive battle. Upon the (oracle-) command of Ashur, the great lord, my lord, I fought with them (and) inflicted a defeat upon them. I took away from them their chariots, their cavalry-horses and their battle equipment, slaying 20,500 of their battle-experienced soldiers.


(6—11)

In the tenth year of my rule, I crossed the Euphrates for the eighth time ... [I departed] from the cities (belonging) to the people of Carchemish ... together with one thousand (smaller) cities in its neighborhood. ... At that time Hadadezer of Da[mascu]s ... put their trust on their mutual strength ... I inflicted a defeat upon them. [I took] their chariots. ...

\textbf{Eleventh Year} according to the Bull Incription (cf. above). Translation: Luckenbill, \textit{AR}, i, §§565.

(90—96 of the Billerbeck-Delitzsch Edition)

In the eleventh year of my rule, I departed from Nineveh, I crossed for the ninth time the Euphrates at its flood. I conquered 97 towns of Sangar, I conquered 100 towns of Arame, I destroyed (them), tore (their walls down) and burnt (them) down. I seized the region of the mountain Amanus, crossed over the mountain Iaruqu and descended (then) against the towns of (the inhabitants) of Hamath. I conquered the town Ashtamaku together with 90 (smaller) towns, I made a massacre (among) them and their booty I carried away. At that time, Hadadezer of Damascus, Irhuleni of Hamath together with 12 kings from the seacoast trusting their combined strength set out (to march) against me for a decisive battle. I fought with them.
and inflicted a defeat upon them. I slew in battle 10,000 of their experienced soldiers and took away from them their chariots, cavalry-horses and their equipment.

On my return march I conquered the town Apparazu, the fortress of Arame. At that time I received the tribute of Kargarundi, from Hattina, (to wit): silver, gold, tin, wine, large cattle, sheep, garments, linen. I ascended the Amanus (and) cut (there) cedar logs.

Eleventh Year according to the Black Obelisk (cf. above). Translation: Luckenbill, AR, 1, §568.

(face A [base], 87—89)

In the eleventh year of my rule, I crossed the Euphrates for the ninth time. I conquered countless towns. I descended towards the towns of Hatti (and) of the country of the inhabitants of Hamath; I conquered (there) 89 towns. Hadadezer of Damascus and 12 kings of Hatti stood together (trusting) in their combined strength. I inflicted a defeat upon them.

Fourteenth Year according to the Bull Inscription (Bull B) (cf. above). Translation: Luckenbill, AR, 1, §§658-659.

(99—102)

In the fourteenth year of my rule, I called up the innumerable (inhabitants) of my vast country and crossed the Euphrates, at its flood, with my army of 120,000 (men). At the same time, Hadadezer of Damascus, Irhuleni from Hamath as well as 12 (other) kings from the shore of the Upper and Lower Sea, called up the (ir) innumerable large army and rose against me. I fought with them and destroyed them. I did destroy their chariots (and) their cavalry-horses, taking away from them their battle equipment. To save their lives they dispersed.

Fourteenth Year according to the Black Obelisk (cf. above). Translation: Luckenbill, AR, 1, §571.

(face A [base], 91—93)

In the fourteenth year of my rule, I called up the country; I crossed the Euphrates. The twelve kings rose against me. I fought (and) defeated them.

Eighteenth Year according to the Black Obelisk (cf. above). Translation: Luckenbill, AR, 1, §575.

(face B [base], 97—99)

In the eighteenth year of my rule, I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael (Ha-Za'-il) of Damascus rose for battle. I took away from him 1,121 chariots, 470 riding horses as well as his camp.

Eighteenth Year according to the fragment of an annalistic text published in Rawlinson, Vol. iii, Pl. 5, No. 6. Translation: Luckenbill, AR, 1, §672.

In the eighteenth year of my rule I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael of Damascus (Im'-ri) put his trust upon his numerous army and called up his troops in great number, making the mountain Senir (Sa-ni-ru), a mountain, facing the Lebanon, to his fortress. I fought with him and inflicted a defeat upon him, killing with the sword 16,000 of his experienced soldiers. I took away from him 1,121 chariots, 470 riding horses as well as his camp. He disappeared to save his life (but) I followed him and besieged him in Damascus (Di-ma-d-q1), his royal residence. (There) I cut down his gardens (outside of the city, and departed). I marched as far as the mountains of Hauran (Is'de) mar 'Ha-á-ri-i),14 destroying, tearing down and burning innumerable towns, carrying booty away from them which was beyond counting. I (also) marched as far as the mountains of Bal'-ri-si which is a promontory (lit.: at the side of the sea) and erected there a stela with my image as king. At that time I received the tribute of the inhabitants of Tyre, Sidon, and of Jehu, son of Omri (Is'-a-a mdr Hu-um-ri-i).

Twenty-first Year according to the Black Obelisk (cf. above). Translation: Luckenbill, AR, 1, §578.

(face B [base], 102—104)

In my twenty-first year, I crossed the Euphrates for the twenty-first time. I marched against the towns of Hazael of Damascus. Four of his larger urban settlements (mahazu) I conquered. I received tribute from the countries of the inhabitants of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos.

(c) Various Inscriptions

(a) On a basalt statue; text published by L. Messerschmidt in KAT, 1, No. 30. Translation: Luckenbill, AR, 1, §581. cf. also Ernst Michel, Die Assur-Texte Salamassars III (858-824), Die Welt des Orients, 1 (1947), pp. 57 f.

(14—11 1)

I defeated Hadadezer of Damascus (Im'-ri) together with twelve princes, his allies (lit.: helpers). I stretched upon the ground 20,000 of his strong warriors like Su-bi,1 the remnants of his troops I pushed into the Orontes (Arantu) river and they dispersed to save their lives; Hadadezer (himself) perished. Hazael, a commoner (lit.: son of nobody), seized the throne, called up a numerous army and rose against me. I fought with him and defeated him, taking the chariots2 of his camp. He disappeared to save his life. I marched as far as Damascus (Di-ma-d-q1), his royal residence [and cut down his gardens].


(i 21 — 27)

Hadadezer, king of Damascus (Sa-imr'i), Irhuleni from Hamath, together with 15(1) kings from the

14 cf. for this region, J. Lewy, in HUCA, xvi, 449, n.107.


2 For this reading cf. B. Meissner, OLZ, xv (1912), p. 146, n.1.
towns of the region along [the sea], rose against me. I fought with them for the fourth time and inflicted a defeat upon them. [I took away from them their chariots, their cavalry-horses and] their battle equipment, they dispersed to save their lives.

(ii 14—17)

Hadadezer, king of Damascus (Ša-imēritiš), together with 12 kings of Hatti-land, rose against me. For the fourth time I fought with them and inflicted a defeat upon them. I took away from them their chariots, their cavalry-horses and their battle equipment. To save their lives they dispersed.

(c) Inscription from a marble slab published by O. Schroeder, in AJK, ii (1924), 70. Translation: Ebeling in AOT, 344.

Booτy (kiittu) of the temple of Sheru from the town of Mallaha, the royal residence of Hazael of Damascus (Imēritu) which Shalmaneser, son of Ashurnasirpal, has brought into the walls of Libbiāli.

(d) Epigraphs

From the rich iconographic documentation left by Shalmaneser III, five representations fall into the orbit of this book. They are provided with epigraphs which are given below in translation.


(Band m—Phoenicia, Tyre, Sidon, Gaza)

I received the tribute (brought) on ships from the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon.

(Band xn—Syria)

I conquered Ashtamaku,1 the royal residence of Irhuleni of Hatti, together with 86 (other towns).

(b) From the Black Obelisk. Epigraphs published in Layard, Inscriptions, Pl. 98. Translation: Luckenbill, AR, i, §§590, 591, 593.

II

The tribute of Jehu (la-t-a), son of Omri (Hu-um-ri); I received from him silver, gold, a golden saplu-bowl, a golden vase with pointed bottom, golden tumblers, golden buckets, tin, a staff for a king, (and) wooden paruštā.2

III

The tribute of the country Musri; I received from him camels whose backs were doubled,3 a river ox (hippo-4), the tribute of Karparunda from Hattina; I received from him silver, gold, tin, bronze, copper5 sīriḫu-pots, ivory, (and) ebony-wood.

5. ADAD-NIRARI III (810-783): EXPEDITION TO PALESTINE

(a) Stone Slab. From a broken stone slab found at Calah. Published by Rawlinson, Vol. 1, Pl. 55, No. 1. Translation: Luckenbill, AR, i, §§739-740.

(1—21)

Property of Adad-nirari, great king, legitimate king, king of the world, king of Assyria—a king whom Ashur, the king of the Igigi (i.e. the dei superi) had chosen (already) when he was a youngster, entrusting him with the position of a prince without rival, (a king) whose shepherding they made as agreeable to the people of Assyria as (is the smell of) the Plant of Life, (a king) whose throne they established firmly; the holy high priest (and) tireless caretaker of the temple ēsār-ra, who keeps up the rites of the sanctuary, who acts (only) upon the trust-inspiring oracles (given) by Ashur, his lord; who has made submit to his feet the princes within the four rims of the earth; conquering from the Siluna mountain of the Rising Sun, the countries Saban, Ellipi, Harhar, Araziaš, Musu, the (country of the) Medians, Gizilbunda in its (full) extent, the countries Munna, Persia (Parsuma), Allabria, Apadana, Na'iri with all its regions, Andiu which lies far away in the pithu of the mountains with all its regions, as far as the Great Sea of the Rising Sun (and) from the banks of the Euphrates, the country of the Hittites, Amuru-country in its full extent, Tyre, Sidon, Israel (mo-Hu-um-ri), Edom, Palestine (Pa-la-as-tu), as far as the shore of the Great Sea of the Setting Sun, I made them submit all to my feet, imposing upon them tribute.

I marched against the country Ša-imēritiš: I shut up Mari,2 king of Damascus (Imēritu) in Damascus (Di-ma-dl-qi), his royal residence. The terror-inspiring glamor of Ashur, my (text: his) lord, overwhelmed him and he seized my feet, assuming the position of a slave (of mine). (Then) I received in his (own) palace in Damascus (Di-ma-dl-qi), his royal residence, 2,300

1 The meaning "cavalry-horse" for pit-halli is well attested; only rarely does this word denote the chariot-horse, such as, e.g. in Thureau-Dangin, VIII* Campagne line 403 "one statue (representing king) Usri with his two slišmēnu pit-halli-su, his (chariot)-driver, together with its socle, made of cast bronze."

2 The name Libbi-dī denotes the central section of the town Ashur, cf. E. Unger in Reusslektion der Assyriologen, i, 173.

3 The meaning "cavalry-horse" for pit-halli is well attested; only rarely does this word denote the chariot-horse, such as, e.g. in Thureau-Dangin, VIII* Campagne line 403 "one statue (representing king) Usri with his two slišmēnu pit-halli-su, his (chariot)-driver, together with its socle, made of cast bronze."

4 The name Libbi-dī denotes the central section of the town Ashur, cf. E. Unger in Reusslektion der Assyriologen, i, 173.

5 The word sīrūru (usually "bronze") has to be translated here with "copper," because it refers to a container. The learned scribes in Mesopotamia were always rather careless in the use of the terms ur-a-üm ("copper") and za-bašu ("bronze"), while those of the temple and fiscal administration differentiate very exactly.

6 Text: pi-ḫu lādiū, cf. E. Ebeling, MAOG, vii/1-2 (1933), 64, n.h., for this expression.

7 The Assyrians have taken Aram, marru "my lord" to be the name of the king and not his title, cf. my article, Une glose hurrite dans les Annales de Teglath-Phalasar I, RHA, v (1939), 113, for this and similar cases of such misunderstandings.
282 BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN HISTORICAL TEXTS
talents of silver (corresponding to) 20 talents of gold, 5,000 talents of iron, garments of linen with multicolored trimmings, a bed (inlaid with) ivory, a nimattu-couch mounted and inlaid with ivory, (and) countless (other objects being) his possessions.

(b) Assyrians and Persians Prefects in Gezer, in Palästina Jahrbuch, xxxi über Palästina and Syria, in ZDPV, malaku of Edom Jehoahaz Ammon, Salamanu of Moab,... Mitinti of Ashkelon, Ishtunda,...[Ma]tan-be'l of Arvad, Sanipu of Bit-
Ushhitti of Tuna, Urballa of Tuhana, Tuhamme of Gumgum, Sulumal of Militene,... Uassurme of Tabal, Enil of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, Tarhulara of...[received] the tribute of Kushtashpi of Commagene'
astyriens (Louvain, 1938), index s.v.; and B. Landsberger, Sam'al, III, rois de Damas, RB (1932), 512 ff.; and R. de Vaux, La chronologie de Hazael et de Benhadad (1935), 75 ff.; A. Jepsen, Israel and Damaskus, in AfO, xrv (1945), 178 ff.; K. Galling, P. Naster, L'Asie Mineure, etc., p. 19, n. 33.

In the fifth year (of my official rule) I sat down solemnly on my royal throne and called up the country (for war). I ordered the numerous army of Assyria to march against Palestine (Pa-la-di-tu). I crossed the Euphrates at its flood. As to the numerous hostile kings who had rebelled in the time of my father Shamsi-Adad (i.e., Shamshi-Adad V) and had withheld their regular (tributes), [the terror-inspiring glam]or overwhelmed them (and) upon the command of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Adad (and) Ishtar, my trust-inspiring gods, they seized my feet (in submission). I received all the tributes [...] which they brought to Assyria. I (then) ordered [to march] against the country Damascus (Sa-imérilù), I invested Mari' in Damascus (Di-maš-gi) [and he surrendered]. One hundred talents of gold (corresponding to) one thousand talents of [silver], 60 talents of...[I received as his tribute].

6. TIGLATH-PILESER III (744-727): CAMPAIGNS AGAINST SYRIA AND PALESTINE
(a) Building Inscription
From a building inscription on clay preserved in various copies, published by Rawlinson, in Vol. i, Pl. 67. Translation: Luckenbill, AR, i, §580-801.

I installed Idi-bi'li as a Warden of Marches on the border of Musur. In all the countries which...[I received] the tribute of Kushtashpi of Commagene (Kummnuhu), Urik of Qu'e, Sibitti-be'l of Byblos,... Enil of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, Tarhulara of Gumgum, Sulamul of Miltene,... Uassurme of Tabal, Ushhilli of Tuna, Urballa of Tuhana, Ushamme of Ishunda,... [Ma]tan-be'l of Arvad, Sanipu of Bit-Ammon, Salamanu of Moab,... Mitinti of Ashkelon, Jehoahaz (la-ú-ha-zi) of Judah (la-ú-dá-a-a), Kaushmalaku of Edom (U-du-mu-a-a), Muzr[i...] Hanno


2 Text: a-nu mašlandur-in ina muḫḫi matšu Magar-in.
3 For the local names mentioned in this text, cf. P. Naster, L’Asie Mineure et l’Asie aux VIIIe et VIIe siècles av. J.-C., d’après les annales des rois assyriens (Louvain, 1953), index s.v.; and B. Landsberger, Sam'al, i, pp. 8 ff.
4 The term abur (Sumerogram: a₂₃₃₃) denotes a rarely used metal, probably magnetite (cf. R. C. Thompson, A Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology [Oxford, 1936], p. 116; and J. R.Partington, Origin and Development of Applied Chemistry [London, 1955], index a₂₃₃.). For unknown reasons, it has mostly been used for small objects and tools (spoon, axe, etc.) prescribed for ritual purposes. For a foundation inscription on abur, cf. Luckenbill, AR, ii, §§106 ff.
5 For this official, cf. e.g. W. Mannis, in ZA, xxiv (1910), 199 ff. and M. Bober, Babylonien und Assyrien (Heidelberg, 1920), i, p. 103.
6 For this country, cf. J. Lewy, in HUCA, xviii, 379 ff. cf. furthermore, P. Naster, L’Asie Mineure, etc., p. 19, n. 33.
7 For identification of these place names, cf. E. Forrer, Provinzeinteilung, Ph. 57 ff.
9 cf. J. Lewy, in HUCA, xviii, 449, n. 108.
both sides of them as well as the cities in their vicinity, the mountain Sarbua—the entire mountain,—the towns Ashhani (and) Iadabi, the mountain Iaraq—the entire mountain,—the towns... Iliartibi, Zitanu as far as Atinni,... Bumami—(together) 19 districts belonging to Hamath and the cities in their vicinity which are (situated) at the coast of the Western Sea and which they had (unlawfully) taken away for Azriau, I restored to the territory of Assyria. An officer of mine I installed as governor over them. [I deported] 30,300 inhabitants from their cities and settled them in the province of the town Ku[ ... ]; 1,223 inhabitants I settled in the province of the Ullaba country.

Year Unknown, Rost, op.cit., Pl. xv, xvi, text, pp. 26-27. Translation: Luckenbill, AR, i, 1772.

(150–157)

I received tribute from Kushtashpi of Commagene (Kummušu), Rezon (Ra-ja-a-na) of Damascus (Sa-imiriu), Menahem of Samaria (Me-ni-hi-im-me Se-me-ran-a-a), Hiram (Hi-ru-am-mu) of Tyre, Sibitti-bil of Byblos, Urkiki of Qu'e, Pisiris of Carchemish, I'nil of Hamath, Panamnu of Sam'al, Tarjulara of Gurgum, Sulumal of Militene, Dadilu of Kaska, Uasurme of Tabal, Ushhiti of Tuna, Urballa of Tuhana, Tuhamme of Ishtunda, Urime of Hubishna (and) Zabibe, the queen of Arabia, to (wit) gold, silver, tin, iron, elephant-hides, ivory, linen garments with multicolored trimmings, blue-dyed wool, purple-dyed wool, ebony-wood, boxwood-wood, whatever was precious (enough for a) royal treasure; also lambs whose stretched hides were dyed purple, (and) wild birds whose spread-out wings were dyed blue, (furthermore) horses, mules, large and small cattle, (male) camels, female camels with their foals.

After the 9th Year, Rost, op.cit., Pls. xxii, xxiii, text pp. 35-41. Translation: Luckenbill, AR, i, §§777-779.

(205–240)

I laid siege to and conquered the town Hadara, the inherited property of Rezon of Damascus (Sa-imiriu), [the place where] he was born. I brought away as prisoners 800 (of its) inhabitants with their possessions, ... their large (and) small cattle. 750 prisoners from Kurussa [ ... prisoners] from Irma, 550 prisoners from Metuna I brought (also) away. 592 towns ... of the 16 districts of the country of Damascus (Sa-imiriu) I destroyed (making them look) like hills of (ruined cities over which) the flood had swept.

45 The much-damaged stone tablet published by E. Nossouhi in MDOG, iii/1-4, as No. VII contains the names Ra-ja-a-na and Su-ru-ma-ad. The reading Ra-ja-a-na instead of Ra-ja-en-na has been shown by B. Landesberger in Sam'al (Veröffentlichungen der Turkischen historischen Gesellschaft, Series vii, No. 16 [Ankara, 1948]), p. 66, n.169.

46 For the female rulers of Arab tribes (attested in cuneiform documents from Tigris-pilesic III to Ashurbanipal, and perhaps [cf. n.7, p. 312] Nabonidus), cf. N. Abbot, Pre-Islamic Arab Queens, in ASL, LVII (1947), 1-12.

47 The terms used in this context are takiltu and argammus; the first denoting a darker, the second a reddish shade of blue-purple. cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, Un comptoir de laine pourpre à Ras Shamra, etc., in Syria, xv (1914), 141.

48 This unique reference seems to mention stuffed and decorated animals.

Samsi, the queen of Arabia who had acted against the oath (sworn) by Shamash and had ... town ... to the town l'zasi ... Arabia in the country of Sa[ba' ... in her camp ... she became afraid [of my mighty army] and [sent] to [me camels, camel-mares], ... [I put] an official/regent over her] and made (also) [the Bir'ians] bow to my feet. The inhabitants of Ma'sa, of Tema (and) the inhabitants of Saba', Haiappa, Badana, Hatti, the tribe of the Idiba'leans ... whose countries [(arc] far away], towards West, [heard] the fame of my rule [ ... and brought]—without exception (lit.: like one man)—as their tribute: gold, silver, [male and female ca]mels and all kinds of spices to [me and kis]ed my feet. ... I establ[ished] a palace as be[fitting for my position as their king in ...] and appointed Idibi'lu as governor over [the country Musru]. In my former campaigns I had considered all the cities [which ... as ...] and I had carried away as booty and ... the town Samaria only I left/ave/except ...] their king [ ... like a] fog/snow-storm ... districts of the country Bit-[ ... prisoners] of the town ... bar, 625 prisoners of the town ... of the town Himatuna, 650 prisoners of the town Qana[ ... of the town ... ]bari, 650 prisoners of the town Ir[ ... all these] people together with their possessions [I brought away ...] the town Aruma, the town Marum [ ... (as to) Mitinti from ...] Ashkelon (who) had [violated] the oath sworn to me [and had revolted], (when) he learned about [the defeat inflicted upon] Rezon he [perished in in]sanity. [Rukibu, son of Mitinti] sat (himself) on his throne. To ... and he implored me 500 ... I entered his town. Fifteen towns ... Idibi'lu of Arabia....

Year Unknown. From a fragmentary annalistic text published by Rawlinson, Vol. iii, Pl. to, No. 2,1-45; also, Rost, Pls. xxv-xxxvi, text, pp. 79-83. Translation: Luckenbill, AR, i, §§815-819; cf. also E. Forrer, Provinzeinteilung, pp. 59 ff.

(1–34)

... the town Hatarikka as far as the mountain Saua, [ ... the towns:] Byb[los], ... Simirra, Arqa, Zimarra, ... Uznu, [Siannu], Ri'-raba, Ri'-sisu, ... the towns ... of the Upper Sea, I brought under my rule. Six officers of mine I installed as governors over them. [ ... the town R]ashpuna which is (situated) at the coast of the Upper Sea, [the towns ... ]nite, Ga'za, Abilakka which are adjacent to Israel (Bit Hu-um-ri-a) [and the] wide (land of) [Naphita]li, in its entire extent, I united with Assyria. Officers of mine I installed as governors upon them.

As to Hanno of Gaza (Ha-a-nu-i-nu Ha-az-za-at-a-a) who had fled before my army and run away to Egypt, [I conquered] the town of Gaza, ... his personal property, his images ... [and I placed (?)] (the images of) my [ ... gods] and my royal image in his own palace ... and declared (them) to be (thenceforward) the gods of their country. I imposed upon th[em tribute]. [As for Menahem I ow]erwhelmed him [like a
I smashed [ed] like a flood-storm the country of Hamath
away as booty 27,290 inhabitants of it. I formed from among them a contingent of 50 chariots and made remaining (inhabitants) assume their (social) positions. I installed over them an officer of mine and imposed them the tribute of the former king. Hanno, king of Gaza and also Sib'e, the turtan of Egypt (Mu-su-ri), set out from Rapihu against me to deliver a decisive battle. I defeated them; Sib'e ran away, afraid when he (only) heard the noise of my (approaching) army, and has not been seen again. Hanno, I captured personally. I received the tribute from Pir'u of Musuru, from Samsi, queen of Arabia (and) Ir'amar the Sabaeans, gold in dust-form, horses (and) camels.


(11–15)

Isamani from Ashodod, afraid of my armed force (lit.: weapons), left his wife and children and fled to the frontier of M[usu-ru] which belongs to Meluhha (i.e., Ethiopia) and hid (lit.: stayed) there like a thief. I installed an officer of mine as governor over his entire large country and its prosperous inhabitants, (thius) aggrandizing (again) the territory belonging to Ashur, the king of the gods. The terror(-inspiring) glamor of Ashur, my lord, overpowered (however) the king of Meluhha and he threw him (i.e. Isamani) in fetters on hands and feet, and sent him to me, to Assyria. I conquered and sacked the towns Shinuhu (and) Samaria, and all Israel (lit.: "Omri-Land" Bit Hu-um-ri-ia). I captued, like a fish, the Greek (Ionians) who live (on islands) amidst the Western Sea.


(23–57)

In the second year of my rule, Ilubi'[di, from Hamath]... a large [army] he brought together at the town Qarqar and, [forgetting] the oaths [which they had sworn ...] the [cities of Arpad, Simirra], Damascus (Di-mal-qa"tm) and Samaria (volunteared against me) (lacuna of uncertain length) he (i.e. Hanno of Gaza) made [an agreement with him (i.e. the Pharaoh)] and he (i.e. the Pharaoh) called up Sib'e his turtan to assist him (i.e. Hanno) and he (i.e. Sib'e) set out against me to deliver a decisive battle. I inflicted a defeat upon them (i.e. Hanno and Sib'e) upon an (oracle-)order (given) by my lord Ashur, and Sib'e, like a s i p a (i.e. shepherd) whose flock has been stolen, fled alone and disappeared. Hanno (however), I captured personally and brought him (with me) in fetters to my city Ashur. I destroyed Rapihu, tore down (its walls) and burned (it). I led away as prisoners 9,033 inhabitants with their numerous possessions.


(33–37)

Ia'ubidi from Hamath, a commoner without claim to the throne, a cursed Hittite, schemed to become king of Hamath, induced the cities Arpad, Simirra, Damascus (Di-mal-qa") and Samaria to desert me, made them collaborate and fitted out an army. I called up the masses of the soldiers of Ashur and besieged him and his warriors in Qarqar, his favorite city. I conquered (it) and burnt (it). Himself I flayed; the rebels I killed in their cities and established (again) peace and harmony. A contingent of 200 chariots and 600 men on horseback I formed from among the inhabitants of Hamath and added them to my royal corps.


(72–76)

In the fifth year of my rule, Pisiri of Carchemish broke the oath sworn by the great gods and wrote messages to Midas (Mi-ta-a), king of Muski, (full) of hostile plans against Assyria. I lifted my hands (in prayer) to my lord Ashur (with the result that) I (quickly) made him, and also his family, surrender (lit.: come out) (of Carchemish), (all) in fetters and with the gold, silver and his personal possessions. And the rebellious inhabitants of Carchemish who (had) sided with him, I led away as prisoners and brought (them) to Assyria. I formed from among them a contingent of 50 chariots, 200 men on horseback (and) 3,000 foot soldiers and added (it) to my royal corps. In the city of Carchemish I (then) settled inhabitants of Assyria and imposed upon their (neck) the yoke of Ashur, my lord.


1To this meaning of ena, cf. ena discussed below, n.1, p. 280.
2For this Egyptian name (mentioned also in II Kings 17:4) and the historical problems involved, cf. G. Steindorff, Die keilschriftliche Wiedergabe aegyptischer Eigennamen (BA, ii, 339 ff.); also, Kees, GGd, 1926, p. 426; H. Ranke, Keilschriftliches Material zur aegyptischen Vokalierung, p. 58; and Helene von Zeisll, Aethiopen und Assyrer in Aegypten, p. 426; H. Ranke, Keilschriftliches Material zur aegyptischen Vokalierung, p. 58; and Helene von Zeisll, Aethiopen und Assyrer in Aegypten.
4The Assyrian word (attested since Shalmaneser III, but t e r t e r n s t i u a already in Boghazkoi-Akkadian, Köko, i, 3:29 and Ebeling, KAI, 245/17 omr-lu-te-ni-ia-ina) refers to a high military and administrative official, second in rank only to the king (cf. E. Unger's translation Vizekonigin in ZATW, 1925, 204ff.). Etymology uncertain; beside turtan, also tuertan is attested.
5To the thorny problem of the identification of both, name of king and name of country, cf. E. F. Weidner, AOJ, xiv (1941), 45 ff. Also Helene von Zeisll, op.cit., pp. 21 ff.
6"The text has nipur "order," cf. von Soden, ZA, xli (NF vn), 168.
7This is meant to be a pun. For the meaning of the term lu suicide in Akkadian (as well as Ugaritic) texts a special social class, cf. G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, The Assyrian Laws (Oxford, 1935), p. 485 (with references); further, W. F. Albright, BASOR, 63 (1934), 29 ff.; I. Mendellson, BASOR, 83 (1941), 36 ff.; and R. Lachman, BASOR, 86 (1942), 36 ff.
8Usually, the yoke of the king is mentioned in connection with the status of newly subdued peoples. The present reference to the "Yoke of Ashur" could therefore indicate a special status of the Assyrians forcibly settled in Carchemish.
Upon a trust (inspiring oracle given by) my lord Ashur, I crushed the tribes of Tamud, Ibadidi, Mar-

eimanu, and Haiaapa, the Arabs who live, far away, in the desert (and) who know neither overseers nor
official(s) and who had not (yet) brought their tribute to any king. I deported their survivors and settled
them in Samaria.

From Pir'u, the king of Musru, Samsi, the queen of

Arabia, I'tamra, the Sabaeans, the (se) are the kings of

the seashore and from the desert—I received as their
presents, gold in the form of dust, precious stones, ivory,

10 all kinds of aromatic substances, horses (and)
camels.

(5) Eleventh Year. According to A. G. Lie, op.cit.; (H. Winck-

Azuri, king of Ashdod, had schemed not to deliver
tribute (any more) and sent messages (full) of hostilities
against Assyria to the kings (living) in his neighbor-
hood. On account of the misdeed which he (thus)
committed, I abolished his rule over the inhabitants of
his country and made Ahimiti, his younger11 brother,
king over them. But the (se) Hitites, (always) planning
treachery, hated his (i.e. Ahimiti's) reign and
elevated to rule over them a Greek12 who, without claim
to the throne, knew, just as they (themselves),
respect for authority. [In a sudden rage] I marched
quickly—even in my state-chariot13 and (only) with
my cavalry which never, even in friendly territory,14
leaves my side—against Ashdod, his royal residence, and
I besieged and conquered the cities Ashdod, Gath
(Gi-im-tu) (and) Asdudimmu. I declared the gods re-
siding therein, himself, as well as the inhabitants of his
country, the gold, silver (and) his personal possessions
as booty. I reorganized (the administration of) these
cities,15 and placed an officer of mine as governor over
them and declared them Assyrian citizens and they
bore (as such) my yoke.16

According to the Display Inscription (H. Winckler, op.cit.,

Azuri, king of Ashdod, had schemed not to deliver
tribute any more and sent messages (full) of hostilities
against Assyria, to the kings (living) in his neighbor-
hood. On account of the (se) act(s) which he com-
mitted, I abolished his rule over the people of his
country and made Ahimiti, his younger brother, king
over them. But the (se) Hitites, always planning evil
deeds, hated his reign and elevated to rule over them a
Greek (Ia-ma-ni) who, without any claim to the throne,
had no respect for authority—just as they themselves.

In a sudden rage, I did not (wait to) assemble the full
might of my army (or to) prepare the camping equip-
ment, but started out towards Ashdod (only) with
those of my warriors who, even in friendly areas, never
leave my side. But this Greek heard about the advance
of my expedition, from afar, and he fled into the
territory of Musru—which belongs (now) to Ethiopia
—and his (hiding) place could not be detected. I be-
sieged (and) conquered the cities Ashdod, Gath, Asdud-
immu; I declared his images, his wife, his children,
all the possessions and treasures of his palace as well
as the inhabitants of his country as booty. I reorganized
the (administration of) these cities (and) settled therein
people from the [regions] of the East which I had con-
quered personally. I installed an officer of mine over
them and declared them Assyrian citizens and they
pulled (as such) the straps (of my yoke). The king of
Ethiopia who [lives] in [a distant country], in an in-
approachable region, the road [to which is . . . .], whose
fathers never—from remote days until now—had sent
messengers to inquire after the health of my royal fore-
fathers, he did hear, even (that) far away, of the might
of Ashur, Nebo (and) Marduk. The awe-inspiring
glamor of my kingship blinded him and terror over-
came him. He threw him (i.e. the Greek) in fetters,
shackles and iron bands, and they brought him to
Assyria, a long journey.

(c) From Broken Prisms

(1) The fragmentary prism Assur 1687 (= VA 8412), published by E. F. Weidner, in AJO, xiv (1941), 49 ff. (text: p. 43), reports in col. B, lines 5-11, on these events as follows:

... in the region of the town Nahal-m[u][usr (')] ... I made [my army] march [the road] towards sunset ... the sheik of the town Laban ... Shilkanni (or: Shil-
heni),4 king of Musri, who . . . the terror-inspiring
glamor of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed him and he
brought as tamartu -present 12 fine (lit.: big) horses from Musri which have not their equals in this country.

10 For 'alamu "younger brother," cf. in extenso P. Koschaker, Fratriarchat, Hausgemeinschaft und Mutterrecht in Keilschrifttexten, in ZA, xxxvii [NF XLI, 1945], p. 182, W. F. Albright suggested the translation "uterine brother."
11 The pertinent texts interchange the expressions Iamani (i.e. Ionian)

and Ia-mu; I declared his images, his wife, his children,
all the possessions and treasures of his palace as well
as the inhabitants of his country as booty. I reorganized
the (administration of) these cities (and) settled therein
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15 For the meaning of ana eJJdti, cf. B. Meissner, Babylonien und Assyrien (Heidelberg, 1920), i, p. 141.
16 A very similar version of this report is contained in the fragment
BfM 81-7-23,3 published by E. F. Weidner, in AJO, xiv (1941), 40, with
transliteration and translation on p. 50.

17 Lit.: "town (of the) Brook-of-Egypt." The location of this "brook" is
still uncertain; it has been identified with the isthmus between Egypt and
Palestine (cf. E. F. Weidner, AJO, xiv (1941), 43 f.), with the Wadi el-
Arish (Weissbach, in ZA, xxxvin [NF XLVIII], 36 ff.), and with a wadi near
the town of Raphia (H. Winckler, in MVAG, in/1 [1898], 1 tof.). cf. also
`Arish (Weissbach, in ZA, xxxvin [NF XLVIII], 36 ff.).

18 For this meaning of ametnasiku, cf. A. Alt in ZDPV, lv (1928), 331 ff.
19 The fragmentary prism Assur 1687 (= VA 8412), published by E. F. Weidner, in AJO, xiv (1941), 49 ff. (text: p. 43), reports in col. B, lines 5-11, on these events as follows:

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Thus, against J. Lewy, in HUCA, xix, 461.
(2) According to the broken Prism A published by H. Winckler, op. cit., i, 166-189, ii, 44. Translation: Luckenbill, AR, ii, §§193-195. Fragment D:

[Aziru, king] of Ashdod (lacuna) on account of [this crime ...] from ... Ahimi'ti ... his younger brother over [them ...] I made (him) ruler ... tribute ... like (those of) the [former] kings, I imposed upon him. [But these] accursed [Hittites] conceived [the idea] of not delivering the tribute and [started] a rebellion against their ruler; they expelled him ... (la-ma-ri) a Greek, comm[oner without claim to the throne] to be king over them, they made sit down [on the very throne] of his (former) master and [they ...] their city of (or: for) the at[tack] (lacuna of 3 lines) ... its neighborhood, a moat [they prepared] of a depth of 20+x cubits ... it (even) reached the underground water, in order to. ... Then [to] the rulers of Palestine (Pi-li-lat), Judah (la-a-di), Ed(om), Moab (and) those who live (on islands) and bring tribute [and] tāmar-tu -gifts to my lord Ashur—[he spread] countless evil lies to alienate (them) from me, and (also) sent bribes to Pir'u, king of Mus-r—(a potentate), incapable to save them—and asked him to be an ally. But I, Sargon, the rightful ruler, devoted to the pronouncements (uttered by) Nebo and Marduk, (carefully) observing the orders of Ashur, led my army over the Tigris and the Euphrates, at the peak of the flood, the spring flood, as (if it be) dry ground. This Greek, however, their king who had put his trust in his own power and (therefore) did not bow to my (divinely ordained) rulership, heard about the approach of my expedition (while I was still) far away, and the splendor of my lord Ashur overwhelmed him and ... he fled. ...


(8)

(Property of Sargon, etc.) the subder of the country Judah (la-a-di-du) which is far away, the uprooter of Hamath, the ruler of which—laubidi—he captured personally.8

8 Sennacherib (704-681)

(a) The Siege of Jerusalem9

(1) From the Oriental Institute Prism of Sennacherib, which contains—as does the so-called Taylor Prism (cf. Rawlinson, Vol.

9 Instead of Ahimitu, the parallel version has the name Ahimilki.

8 After his victory over lau-bidi at Qarqar, Sargon erected various stelae (1) Nimrud Inscription; published by H. Winckler, op. cit., i, 169-170; Vol. ii, Pl. 48. Translation: Luckenbill, AR, ii, §137.

9 (ii 37—iii 49)

In my third campaign I marched against Hatti. Luli, king of Sidon, whom the terror-inspiring glamor of my lordship had overwhelmed, fled far overseas and perished. The awe-inspiring splendor of the "Weapon" of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed his strong cities (such as) Great Sidon, Little Sidon, Bit-Zitti, Zarihhu, Mahalibba, Ushu (i.e. the mainland settlement of Tyre), Akzib (and) Akko, (all) his fortress cities, walled (and) well provided with feed and water for his garrisons, and they bowed in submission to my feet. I installed Ethba’al (Tuha’al) upon the throne to be their king and imposed upon him tribute (due to me) as his overlord (to be paid) annually without interruption. As to all the kings of Amurru—Menahem (Mi-in-hi-im-mu) from Samsimuruna, Tuha’al from Sidon, Abdil’iti from Arvad, Urumilki from Byblos, Mitinti from Ashdod, Budulii from Beth-Ammon, Kammusun-adbi from Moab (and) Aiarammu from Edom, they brought sumptuous gifts (igisu) and—fourfold—their heavy tāmar-tu -presents to me and kissed my feet. Sidqia, however, king of Ashkelon, who did not bow to my yoke, I deported and sent to Assyria, his family-gods, himself, his wife, his children, his brothers, all the male descendants of his family. I set Sharruludari, son of Rukibtu, their former king, over the inhabitants of Ashkelon and imposed upon him the payment of tribute (and of) katra'-presents (due to me) as overlord—and he (now) pulls the straps (of your yoke)!

In the continuation of my campaign I besieged Beth-Dagon, Joppa, Banai-Barqa, Azuru, cities belonging to Sidqia who did not bow to my feet quickly (enough); I conquered (them) and carried their spoils away. The officials, the patricians and the (common) people of Ekron—who had thrown Padi, their king, into fetters (because he was) loyal to (his) solemn oath (sworn) by the god Ashur, and had handed him over to Hezekiah, the Jew (Ha-za-qi-(1)a-ti—a king of Ethiopia (Meluhha), an army beyond counting—and they (actually) had come to their assistance. In the battle of Eltekh (El-ta-qu-a), their battle lines were drawn up against me and they sharpened their weapons. Upon a trust-inspiring oracle (given) by Ashur, my lord, I fought with them and inflicted a defeat upon them. In the mêlée of the battle, I personally captured alive the Egyptian chariotiers with the(ir) princes and (also) the chariotiers of the king of

8 For the enigmatic idiom lau-bidi—emfdu, cf. lately E. F. Weidner, AO, xi (1940), 233 f. with the proposed translation "to die an infamous death."

9 Note the social stratification indicated in this passage.
Ethiopia. I besieged Eltekeh (and) Timnah (Ta-am-nu-a-a), conquered (them) and carried their spoils away. I assaulted Ekron and killed the officials and patricians who had committed the crime and hung their bodies on poles surrounding the city. The (common) citizens who were guilty of minor crimes, I considered prisoners of war. The rest of them, those who were not accused of crimes and misbehavior, I released. I made Padi, their king, come from Jerusalem (Ur-sa-li-im-mu) and set him as their lord on the throne, imposing upon him the tribute (due to) me (as his) overlord. I still increased the tribute and the katriti-presents (due to) me (as his) overlord. I imposed (later) upon Sillibel, king of Gaza. Thus I reduced his country, but I took away from his country and gave them (over) to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, Padi, king of Ekron, and Sillibel, king of Gaza. Thus I reduced his country, but I still increased the tribute and the katriti-presents (due to) me (as his) overlord which I imposed (later) upon them. (b) The Death of Sennacherib

To illustrate the still mysterious circumstances of the death of Sennacherib, a passage of the annals of Ashurbanipal (Rassam Cylinder, published by Rawlinson, v, Pl. 1-10) is translated here. Translation: Luckenbill, op. cit.; AR, ii, ss595, 796.

And Luli, king of Sidon, was afraid to fight me and fled to the country Cyprus (Iadnana) which is (an isle) in the midst of the sea, and sought refuge (there). But even in this land, he met infamous death before the awe-inspiring splendor of the “Weapon” of my lord Ashur. I installed Ethba'al (Tuba'al) upon his royal throne and imposed upon him the tribute (due to) me (as his) overlord. I laid waste the large district of Judah and put Hezekiah (Ha-za-qi-a-a-a), its king, bow in submission. (3) From the Nebi Yunus Slab, published by Rawlinson, Vol. 1, Pl. 43. Translation: Luckenbill, op. cit., p. 86, and AR, ii, §§347.

(13—15)

I deprived Luli, king of Sidon, of his kingdom. I installed Ethba'al (Tuba'al) upon his throne and I imposed upon him the tribute (due to) me (as his) overlord. I laid waste the large district of Judah and put Hezekiah, its king, bow in submission. (4) Epigraph from a relief showing the conquest of Lachish. cf. A. Paterson, Assyrian Sculptures: The Palace of Sinacherib (The Hague, 1912-13). Pils. 74-76. Translation: Luckenbill, op. cit., p. 156.

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(iv 65—82)

I tore out the tongues of those whose slanderous mouths had uttered blasphemies against my god Ashur and had plotted against me, his god-fearing prince; I defeated them (completely). The others, I smashed alive with the very same statues of protective deities with which they had smashed my own grandfather Sennacherib—now (finally) as a (belated) burial sacrifice for his soul. I fed their corpses, cut into small pieces, to dogs, pigs, zibu -birds, vultures, the birds of the sky and (also) to the fish of the ocean. After I had performed this and (thus) made quiet (again) the hearts of the great gods, my lords, I removed the corpses of those whom the pestilence had felled, whose leftovers (after) the dogs and pigs had fed on them were obstructing the streets, filling the places of Babylon, (and) of those who had lost their lives through the terrible famine.

(a) The Fight for the Throne


(i 1—ii 11)

Property of Esarhaddon, great king, legitimate king, king of the world, king of Assyria, regent of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four rims (of the earth), the true shepherd, favorite of the great gods, whom Ashur, Shamash, Bel and Nebo, the Ishtar of Nineveh (and) the Ishtar of Arbela have pronounced king of Assyria (ever) since he was a youngster.

I was (indeed) the (ir) youngest (brother) among my elder brothers, (but) my own father, upon the command of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bel and Nebo, the Ishtar of Nineveh (and) the Ishtar of Arbela, has chosen me—in due form and in the presence (lit.: assembly) of all my brothers—saying: "This is the son to (be elevated to) the position of a successor of mine." (Then) he put this question before Shamash and Adad by means of an oracle and they answered him: "He (verily) is your replacement." He (i.e. Sennacherib) heeded their important pronouncement and called together the people of Assyria, young and old, my brothers (and all) the male descendants of (the family of) my father and made them take a solemn oath in the presence of (the images of) the gods of Assyria: Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Nebo (and) Marduk, (and) of (all) the (other) gods residing in heaven and in the nether world, in order to secure my succession.

In a propitious month, on a favorable day, I happily entered—upon their exalted (oracle-)command—the palace of the crown prince, this highly venerable place in which (those) live (who are) destined for the kingship. (When) the real meaning (of this act) dawned upon my brothers, they abandoned godliness, put their trust on bold actions, planning an evil plot. They originated against me slander, false accusation, (whatever is) disliked by the gods, and constantly were spreading evil, incorrect and hostile (rumors) behind my back. (Thus) they alienated from me—against the will of the gods—the heart of my father which was (formerly) friendly, (though) in the bottom of his heart there was (always) love (for me) and his intentions were (always) that I should become king. I became apprehensive and asked myself as follows: "Are their bold actions based upon trust in their own ideas" or could they have acted (that) evil against the will of the gods?" I implored Ashur, the king of the gods (and) the merciful Marduk, to (both of) whom baseness is an abomination, by means of prayers, lamentations and prostrations, and they (eventually) agreed to (give) the (oracle-)answer (that the brothers acted according to the decision of the great gods, my lords. And they (the gods) made me stay in a hiding place in the face of (these) evil machinations, spreading their sweet protecting shadow over me and (thus) preserving me for the kingship.

Thereupon, my brothers went out of their senses, doing everything that is wicked in (the eyes of) the gods and mankind, and (continued) their evil machinations. They (even) drew weapons in the midst of Nineveh (which is) against (the will of) the gods, and butted each other—like kids—to take over the kingship. Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bel, Nebo, the Ishtar of Nineveh (and) the Ishtar of Arbela looked with displeasure upon these doings of the usurpers which had come to pass against the will of the gods, and they did not help them. (On the contrary) they changed their strength into weakness and (thus) made them (eventually) bow beneath me. (Also) the people of Assyria which had sworn the oath of the great gods, by means of water and oil, to protect my claim to the kingship, did not come to their assistance. But I, Esarhaddon, who never turns around in a battle, trusting in the great gods, his lords, soon heard of these sorry happenings and I cried out "Woe!" rent my princely robe and began to lament loudly. I became as mad as a lion, my soul was aflame and I (called up the gods by) clapping my hands, with regard to my (intention of) assuming the kingship, my paternal legacy. I prayed to Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bel, Nebo and Nergal, (to) the Ishtar of Nineveh, the Ishtar of Arbela, and they agreed to give an (oracle-)answser. By means of their correct (and) positive answer, they sent me the (following) trustworthy oracle (received by) extispicy: "Go (ahead), do not tarry! We will march with you, kill your enemies!" I did not even wait for the next day,4 nor for my army, did not turn back (for a moment), did not muster the contingents of horses broken to the yoke or the battle equipment, I did not (even) pile up provisions for my expedition, I was not afraid of the snow and the cold of the month Shabatu (in which) the winter is (at its) hard(est)—but I spread my wings like the (swift-)flying storm(bird) to overwhelm my enemies. I followed that road to Nineveh which is difficult for traveling but short. In front of me, in the territory of Hanigalbat, all their (i.e. the brothers') best soldiers blocked the advance of my expeditionary corps, sharpening their weapons (for the battle). But the terror(-inspiring sight) of the great gods, my lords, overwhelmed them and they turned into madmen when they saw the attack of my strong battle array. Ishtar, the Lady of Battle, who likes me (to be) her high priest, stood at my side breaking their bows, scattering their orderly battle array. And then they spoke among themselves: "This is our king!" Upon her lofty command they went over in masses to me and rallied behind me. Like lambs they gamboled and (recognized) me as their lord by praying (to me). The people of

1 The term šadu (from ena “to change, replace”) corresponds exactly to Arabic caliph.
2 The reading šaru fits better into the context than the variant lamu.
3 Translation suggested by context.
4 Idiomatic expression, lit.: “one day, two days, I did not wait.”
Assyria which had sworn an oath by the life of the great gods on my behalf, came to meet me and kissed my feet. But they, the usurpers, who had started the rebellion, deserted their (most) trustworthy troops, when they heard the approach of my expeditionary corps and fled to an unknown country.

I reached the embankment of the Tigris and upon the (oracle-)command of Sin and Shamash, the (two) lords of the (celestial) embankment, I had all my troops jump over the Tigris as if it be a small ditch.

(ii)

In the month of Addar, a favorable month, on the 8th day, the day of the Nebo festival, I entered joyfully into Nineveh, the town in which I (exercise) my lordship and sat down happily upon the throne of my father. The Southwind, the breeze (directed by) Ea, blew (at this moment), this wind, the blowing of which portends well for exercising kingship, came just in time for me. (Other) favorable omen on the sky and on earth (which to interpret is) the work of the seer, the culpable military which had schemed to secure the sovereignty of Assyria for my brothers, I considered guilty as a collective group and meted out a grievous punishment to them; I (even) exterminated their male descendants.

(b) Texts of a General Nature

(1) From the Steinpattenschrift published by L. Messerschmidt, in KAH, 1, No. 75. Translation: Luckenbill, AR, 11, §§720.

(2—II obverse)

I cut down with the sword and conquered . . . I caught like a fish (and) cut off his head. I trod upon Arzâ at the 'Brook of Egypt.' I put Asshurili, its king, in fetters and took [him to Assyria]. I conquered the town of Bazu in a district which is far away. Upon Qanaia, king of Tilmun. I imposed tribute due to me as (his) lord. I conquered the country of Shupria in its full extent and slew with (my own) weapon Ik(!)-Teshup, its king who did not listen to my personal orders. I conquered Tyre which is (an island) amidst the sea. I took away all the towns and the possessions of Ba'lu its king, who had put his trust on Tirhakah (Tarqû), king of Nubia (Kātu). I conquered Egypt (Mûsu), Patur[i] and Nubia. Its king, Tirhakah, I wounded five times with arrowshots and ruled over his entire country; I caught out of the open sea, like a fish, Abdimilkutte, its king, who had fled before my attack into the high sea, and I cut off his head. I carried away as booty its piled-up possessions in large amounts (to wit): gold, silver, precious stones, elephant-hides, ivory, ebony and boxwood, garments (made) with multicolored trimmings and linen, all his personal valuables. I drove to Assyria his teeming people which could not be counted, (also) large and small cattle and donkeys. I (then) called together and made all the kings of the country Hatti and of the seashore (do corvé-work for me) by making them erect the walls of another [residence] and I called its name Kar-Esarhaddon. I settled therein people from the mountain regions and the sea (shore) of the East, (those) who belonged to me as my share of the booty. I set over them officers of mine as governors.

As for Sanduarri, king of Kundi and Sizu, an inveterate enemy, unwilling to recognize me as ruler (and) whom the gods (therefore) forsook,—(who) had put his trust upon the rugged mountains (of his country) and had made Abdimilkutte, king of Sidon, his ally (lit.: helper) by taking mutual oaths by the life of the great gods—they put their trust upon their own force while I trusted Ashur, my lord,—I caught him like a bird in his mountains and (likewise) cut off his

1 For Arzâ or Arzî cf. Weissbach, ZA, XXXVII, 108 ff.
2 cf. for this name M. J. Leibovitch, Pathros, in Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte, xxvi (1934-35), 69 ff.
3 Text: Nu-o-ru (identified with Knossos by Luckenbill, in ZA, xxviii, 95) but the tablet has actually Tar-ti-2 (cf. Meissner, DLZ, 1917, 410). Cf. also Weidner, Mélanges syriens, ii, 932, n.3. Albright, BASOR, 83, 21 ff.
4 (The door socket published (with transliteration and translation) by E. Nassouhi, Textes divers relatifs à l'histoire de l'Assyrie (MAOG, iii/1-2, Leipzig, 1927) No. 5, 19 ff.

To Ashur, his lord, Esarhaddon, king of the world, king of [Assyria], governor of Babylon, king of Kar-Duni[ash], king of kings, k[ing] of E[gypt] (Ma-su-pu), Patur[i] and Nubia (Kātu), [has dedicated this door/building] for his (own) life and the prosperity (intelmu) of his country.

(3) From a clay barrel found in Ashur and published by E. Nassouhi, ibid. as No. xii, 22 ff.

(7—8)

Conqueror of the town Sidon which is situated (on an island) in the midst of the sea . . . [who plundered the country Arsa] which is (situated) along the "Brook of Egypt" (i-te-e na-hal nu-Mu-[u]-ri), who put its [king] Asu[hill] in fetters together with his counselors (maliku)...

(c) The Syro-Palestinian Campaign


(i 9—54)

(I am Esarhaddon), the conqueror of Sidon, which lies (on an island) amidst the sea, (he) who has leveled all its urban buildings—I even tore up and cast into the sea its wall and its foundation, destroying (thus) completely the (very) place it (i.e. Sidon) was built (upon). I caught out of the open sea, like a fish, Abdimilkutte, its king, who had fled before my attack into the high sea, and I cut off his head. I carried away as booty his piled-up possessions in large amounts (to wit): gold, silver, precious stones, elephant-hides, ivory, ebony and boxwood, garments (made) with multicolored trimmings and linen, all his personal valuables. I drove to Assyria his teeming people which could not be counted, (also) large and small cattle and donkeys. I (then) called together and made all the kings of the country Hatti and of the seashore (do corvé-work for me) by making them erect the walls of another [residence] and I called its name Kar-Esarhaddon. I settled therein people from the mountain regions and the sea (shore) of the East, (those) who belonged to me as my share of the booty. I set over them officers of mine as governors.
head. (Then) I hung the heads of Sanduarii and of \textit{Abdimilkutte} around the neck of their nobles/chief-officials to demonstrate to the population the power of Ashur, my lord, and paraded (thus) through the wide main street of Nineveh with singers (playing on) samma-harps.

(ii 65—82)

\textit{Abdimilkutte}, king of Sidon, without respect for my position as lord, without listening to my personal orders, threw off the yoke of the god Ashur, trusting the heaving sea (to protect him). As to Sidon, his fortress town, which lies in the midst of the sea, I leveled it as (if) an \textit{ababu}-storm (had passed over it), its walls and foundations I tore out and threw (them) into the sea destroying (thus) its emplacement completely. I caught \textit{Abdimilkutte}, its king, who fled before my attack into the sea, upon an oracle-command of Ashur, made of a \textit{s\textsuperscript{n}a\textsuperscript{n}}-stone, statues of (female) abzaztu,\footnote{For this stone, cf. B. Meissner, in \textit{MAOG}, xi (1937), 21 (No. 17), for the stones called \textit{alilu} and \textit{s\textsuperscript{n}a\textsuperscript{n}} cf. respectively pp. 159 and 163 of R. C. Thompson, \textit{A Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology} (Oxford, 1918).} statues of protective deities (lit.: of Lamassu and Shedu) thresholds, slabs of limestone, of a \textit{s\textsuperscript{n}a\textsuperscript{n}}-stone, of large- and small-grained breccia, of \textit{alilu}-stone, (and) of \textit{g\textsuperscript{r}i\textsuperscript{n}.\textsuperscript{b}.\textsuperscript{l}.\textsuperscript{i}.\textsuperscript{b}}-stone.\footnote{For this enumeration of pre-Islamic Arab deities, cf. Weiss Rosmarin, \textit{Aribi and Arabien} in \textit{JSOR}, xvi (1932), 32.}

\textbf{d) The Campaign against the Arabs and Egypt}

(i) From the Prism B, published by R. Campbell Thompson, \textit{op.cit.} Translation: \textit{ibid.}, p. 20.

(iv i—13)

(From) Adumatu,\footnote{For Arabia at this period, cf. Trude Weiss Rosmarin, \textit{Aribi and Arabien} in \textit{JSOR}, xvi (1932), 32.} the stronghold of the Arabs which Sennacherib, king of Assyria, my own father, had conquered and (from where) he has taken as booty its possessions, its images as well as Iskallatu, the queen of the Arabs, and brought (all these) to Assyria, Hazael, the king of the Arabs, came with heavy gifts to Nineveh, the town (where I exercise) my rulership, as building material for my palace: big logs, long beams (and) thin boards from cedar and pine trees, products of the Sirara and Lebanon (\textit{Lab-na-na}) mountains, which had grown for a long time into tall and strong timber, (also) from their quarries (lit.: place of creation) in the mountains, statues of protective deities (lit.: of Lamassu and Shedu) made of a \textit{s\textsuperscript{n}a\textsuperscript{n}}-stone, statues of (female) \textit{abzaztu}, thresholds, slabs of limestone, of a \textit{s\textsuperscript{n}a\textsuperscript{n}}-stone, of large- and small-grained breccia, of \textit{alilu}-stone, (and) of \textit{g\textsuperscript{r}i\textsuperscript{n}.\textsuperscript{b}.\textsuperscript{l}.\textsuperscript{i}.\textsuperscript{b}}-stone.\footnote{For this enumeration of pre-Islamic Arab deities, cf. Weiss Rosmarin, \textit{JSOR}, xvi (1932), 32.}

Together 22 kings of Hatti, the seashore and the islands; all these I sent out and made them transport under terrible difficulties, to Nineveh, the town (where I exercise) my rulership, as building material for my palace: big logs, long beams (and) thin boards from cedar and pine trees, products of the Sirara and Lebanon (\textit{Lab-na-na}) mountains, which had grown for a long time into tall and strong timber, (also) from their quarries (lit.: place of creation) in the mountains, statues of protective deities (lit.: of Lamassu and Shedu) made of a \textit{s\textsuperscript{n}a\textsuperscript{n}}-stone, statues of (female) \textit{abzaztu}, thresholds, slabs of limestone, of a \textit{s\textsuperscript{n}a\textsuperscript{n}}-stone, of large- and small-grained breccia, of \textit{alilu}-stone, (and) of \textit{g\textsuperscript{r}i\textsuperscript{n}.\textsuperscript{b}.\textsuperscript{l}.\textsuperscript{i}.\textsuperscript{b}}-stone.\footnote{For this enumeration of pre-Islamic Arab deities, cf. Weiss Rosmarin, \textit{JSOR}, xvi (1932), 32.}
with her gods. As an additional tribute, I imposed upon him (the payment of) 65 camels (and) 10 foals (more than) before. When fate carried Hazai away, I set Iata', his son, upon his throne and assessed upon him an additional tribute of 10 minas of gold (and) 1,000 birûţu-stones, 50 camels, 100 kunzu-bags4 with aromatic matter (more than) his father (paid).

Afterwards, Wahb (Uabu) induced all the Arabs to revolt against Iata', (because) he wanted to become king (himself), but I, Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, king of the four rims (of the earth), who loves justice and to whom crookedness is an abomination, sent my army to the assistance of Iata', and they subdued all the Arabs. They threw Wahb and the warriors of his entourage in fetters and brought them (to me). I put collars on them and bound them to the posts of my gate.

(2) From the British Museum Fragment K 8523, published by H. Winckler, in ZA, 11 (1887), 299 ff., and Tafel 11 (after p. 314); cf. also, H. Winckler Altorientalische Forschungen (Leipzig, 1897), 1, 526. Translation: Luckenbill, AR, 11, §§550-552.

(13 obverse—end)

[Ar]zani which is (situated) on the “Brook of Egypt” I reached ... I destroyed

(reverse)

I brought [NN with he]avy [booty] to Assyria ..., like a pig I tied him [to the gate of] [... [As to Hazai, king of Arabia], my [awe-inspiring splendor] overwhelmed him and he brought to me gold, silver, precious stones [and ...] and kissed my feet. I imposed upon him 65 camels more than [the tribute] imposed by my father. Afterwards, Hazai [died and Iata', his son,] sat down [upon] his throne and I (again) imposed upon him an (additional) tribute of 10 minas of gold, 1,000 birûţu-stones, 50 camels above the tribute paid by his father. Wahb (however) induced all the Arabs to rebel against Iata' and ... [... But, I, Esarhaddon] to whom [ ... and crookedness is an abomination [sent out] (a contingent) of bowmen (mounted on) horse (back) from my army [and pa]cified the Arabs making (them) submit (again) to (him i.e. Iata'). They brought Wahb together with the [other leaders] to Assyria and they tied him (to) the left side of the Metal-worker's Gate in Nineveh and made (him) guard the Assyria and they tied him] to the left side of the Metal...


(6 obverse—18 reverse)

In my tenth campaign, I directed my march [against

... I ordered ...] towards the country ... which is called in the language of the people of Nubia (Kāsu) and Egypt (Musur)... I called up the numerous army of Ashur which was stationed in. ... In the month of Nisanu, the first month (of the year), I departed from my city Ashur. I crossed the Tigris and the Euphrates at (the time of) their flood; I advanced over the difficult territory (of my route) (as quick-footed) as a wild ox. In the course of my campaign I threw up earthwork (for a siege) against Ba'lu, king of Tyre who had put his trust upon his friend Tirhakah (Tarka), king of Nubia (Kāsu), and (therefore) had thrown off the yoke of Ashur, my lord, answering (my admonitions with) insolence. I withheld from them (i.e. the inhabitants of besieged Tyre) food and (fresh) water which sustain life. (Then) I removed my camp from Musru and marched directly towards Meluhha—a distance of 30 double-hours from the town of Apku which is in the region of Samaria (Sa-me-[ri-na]) as far as the town Raphiu (in) the region adjacent to the “Brook of Egypt”—and there is no river (all the way)! By means of cords,6 chains (and) buckets I had to provide water for my army by drawing from wells.

(reverse)

When the oracle-command of Ashur, my lord, came to my mind (during this calamity) my soul [rejoiced] (and) I put [water bottles] ... upon the camels which all the kings of Arabia had brought. ... A distance of 20 double-hours in a journey of 15 days through ... I advanced. A distance of 4 double-hours I marched over a territory covered with alum5 and mûṣu-stone.5 A distance of 4 double-hours in a journey of 2 days (there were) two-headed serpents [whose attack] (spelled) death—but I trampled (upon them) and marched on. A distance of 4 double-hours in a journey of 2 days (there were) green [animals]4 whose wings were batting. A distance of 4 double-hours in a journey of 2 days ... upper. ... A distance of 15 double-hours in a journey of 8 days, I advanced [through] ... (then) Marduk, the great lord, came to my assistance [he did ... and thus] kept my troops alive. For 20 days and 7 [double miles] (a town/region) which is on the frontier of ... Magan. [In ... ] I spent the night. From the town of Mag[da]li I advanced to the town of ... , a distance of 40 double-hours measured ... this territory was like ka[... ...]6-stone, [ ... sharp] like the point of a spear/arrow ... blood and pus ... the wicked

4 For this term denoting some kind of leather bag, cf. Ebeling, in MAoG, xx/i (1937), 29, n.13; cf. also R. C. Thompson, Notes to my Prisms of Esarhaddun, AAA, xx (1933), pp. 126 f.

5 For the words used in this context (dûšu, baršu, and kálûšu), cf. Landberger, in ZA, xlIII (NF IX), 75.

6 Text: abag-e. The alum of this region seems to have been exported to Egypt where it was denoted with a Semitic loan word: jašu, i.e. "stones."

7 A stone called mûṣu is well attested; cf. B. Meissner, OLZ, xviii (1914), 54, n.1; also E. F. Weidner, AB1, vm (1925-2), 58. In the present context, the word is, however, incompletely preserved.


9 Probably referring to obisidan.
enemy together as far as ... to the town of Ishhup[ri] (balance destroyed).

(4) From the fragment, British Museum 80-7-19,15. Transliteration and translation only by H. Winckler, Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte (Leipzig, 1889), p. 98.

I scattered their well arranged battle force ... his brother, his governors ... from Ishhupri as far as Memphis (destroyed).

(5) From the Senjiti Stela published by A. Ungnad, in FS, 1, No. 78 (cf. also, ibid., p. x). Translation: Luckenbill, AR, ii, §§58o.

(37–53 reverse)

From the town of Ishhupri as far as Memphis, his royal residence, a distance of 15 days (march), I fought daily, without interruption, very bloody battles against Tirhakah (Tarqa, king of Egypt and Ethiopia, the one accursed by all the great gods. Five times I hit him with the point of (my) arrows (inflicting) wounds (from which he should) not recover, and (then) I led siege to Memphis, his royal residence, and conquered it in half a day by means of mines, breaches and assault ladders; I destroyed it, tore down (its walls) and burnt it down. His "queen," the women of his palace, Ushanahu, his "heir apparent," his other children, his possessions, horses, large and small cattle beyond counting, I carried away as booty to Assyria. All Ethiopians I deported from Egypt—leaving not even one to do homage (to me). Everywhere in Egypt, I appointed new (local) kings, governors, officers (jaknu), harbor overseers, officials and administrative personnel. I installed regular sacrificial dues for Ashur and the (other) great gods, my lords, for all times. I imposed upon them tribute due to me (as their) overlord, (to be) paid annually without ceasing. I had (also) made (this) stela (bearing) my name-inscription and had written thereupon the praise of the valor of my lord Ashur, my own mighty deeds—when I was marching (against the enemy) upon the trustworthy oracles of my lord Ashur—as well as my triumphal personal achievements, and I erected it, for all days to come, (so that) it was to be seen by the entire country of the enemy.


(7–end)

I entered Memphis (Me-im-pi), his royal residence, amidst (general) jubilation and rejoicing: ... upon the ladaluurm which was plated with gold, I sat down in happiness ... weapons, ... [kunandit] of gold, silver, plate[s of] ... Afterwards ... I entered and his personal property (lit.: palace), the gods and goddesses of Tirhakah (Tarqa), king of Nubia (Kasu), together with their possessions ... I declared as booty. [His] "queen," the female servants of his court, Ushanahu, the heir to his throne, [ ...] miri, his court official(s) ... his possessions, ... was inlaid with kurstone, ivory, wooden ... the plating of which is of gold, their faucets/openings of ... (other) utensils of gold, silver, ... stone ... whatever was in the palace which had no equal in Assyria and/or was artfully/interestingly constructed. And I (also) opened the chests, the baskets and ... (in which were stored the tribute) of his kingdom, I did ... king ... they had left behind) as well as 16 [iiras] 30 headgears for "queens" ... stone slabs ... in large quantities. The treasuries (full) with gold, silver, antimony ... byssus-linen, ... the batbat of which is like ... copper, tin, abaru-metals, ivory, ... [his] sons-in-law, his family (ginnu) ... princes ... physicians, divination-experts, ... goldsmiths, cabinetmakers, ... the son of Binuzu ... which Tirhakah [has made] to their strongholds, ... (balance destroyed).

(7) In Altorientalische Forschungen, Vol. ii, p. 21, H. Winckler published a fragment of a prism in the British Museum (Bu 92-2-9, 218). This text of two columns has never been translated and is included here because it very likely refers to the Egyptian campaign of Esarhaddon. The first column parallels the enumeration of craftsmen and specialists deported from Egypt contained in the text of the badly damaged Dog River Stela. The second column lists the officials installed by the Assyrian conqueror in a series of cities, all mentioned with their new Assyrian names, and the regular sacrificial offerings imposed upon them.

(col. A)

... precious stones beyond counting ... which ... the offspring of his father's family ... third-men-on-chariots, charioeters ... [di]vers, bowmen, shieldbearers ... [ ...]s Bar.num-men Harr.di ... men, veterinarians, ... scribe[s], kisir, singers, bread-(bakers), ditto, ... brewers and their ... ditto, ... men, fishermen, ... men, ditto, ... cartwrights, shipwrights, ... their [ ...], ditto, ... black[smiths].

(col. B)

... over the town ... Jmukin-palu-kussu-abishu, ... over the town Mahri-gare-serri, Sa [ ...] over the


2 The damaged lines mention Tyre and Ashkelon as has been shown by E. F. Weidner in OLZ, xxvi (1924), 647. For a reference to the booty taken from Memphis, cf. also Th. Bauer, Assurbanipal, 1, Pl. 16, ii, 66.

3 This name of profession cannot be identified with certainty. Certain in- dications point to a connection with the manufacturing of textiles.


In my first campaign I marched against Egypt (Magan) and Ethiopia (Meluhha). Tirhakah (Tarqit), king of Egypt (Muṣur) and Nubia (Kuṣu), whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, my own father, had defeated and in whose country he (Esarhaddon) had ruled, this (same) Tirhakah forgot the might of Ashur, Ishtar and the (other) great gods, my lords, and put his trust upon his own power. He turned against the kings and regents whom my own father had appointed in Egypt. He entered and took residence in the town of Memphis (Me-im-pi), the city which my own father had conquered and incorporated into Assyrian territory. An express messenger came to Nineveh to report to me. I became very angry on account of these happenings, my soul was aflame. I lifted my hands, prayed to Ashur of office. (Thus) I seized anew (control over) Egypt and the great gods: 9 talents 19 minas of gold 300 1,585 garments 190 leather 10 horses 30,418 rams 19,323 donkeys as the tribute (paid for) the rule of Assyria...Ashur...

10. ASHURBANIPAL (668-633)

(a) Campaigns against Egypt, Syria, and Palestine


(153–ii 94)

In my first campaign I marched against Egypt (Magan) and Ethiopia (Meluhha). Tirhakah (Tarqit), king of Egypt (Muṣur) and Nubia (Kuṣu), whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, my own father, had defeated and in whose country he (Esarhaddon) had ruled, this (same) Tirhakah forgot the might of Ashur, Ishtar and the (other) great gods, my lords, and put his trust upon his own power. He turned against the kings and regents whom my own father had appointed in Egypt. He entered and took residence in the city which my own father had conquered and incorporated into Assyrian territory. An express messenger came to Nineveh to report to me. I became very angry on account of these happenings, my soul was aflame. I lifted my hands, prayed to Ashur and to the Assyrian Ishtar. (Then) I called up my mighty armed forces which Ashur and Ishtar have entrusted to me and took the shortest (lit.: straight) road to Egypt (Muṣur) and Nubia. During my march (to Egypt) 22 kings from the seashore, the islands and the mainland,

A list of these kings is contained in the text of Cylinder C, composed of various fragments by M. Streck, op.cit., pp. 139 ff. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, ii, §§786.

(i 24–49)

Ba’al, king of Tyre, Manasseh (Mi-in-ni-e), king of Judah (Isa-dî), Qausgabri, king of Edom, Musuri, king of Moab, Sil-Bel, king of Gaza, Mitinti, king of Ashkelon, Ikuasu, king of Ekron, Malkashapa, king of Byblos, Iakinu, king of Arvad, Abiba’al, king of Samisunurama, Arminnadi, king of Beth-Ammon, Ahamilk, king of Ashdod, Ekahtura, king of Edilir, Pilagura, king of Pitrusi, Isisu, king of Silua, Iuanda’al, king of...

For the name of Thebes, cf. recently W. Vycichl, in *ZAeS*, lxxvi (1940), 82 ff.


servants who belong to me, brought heavy gifts (tā-maru) to me and kissed my feet. I made these kings accompany my army over the land—as well as (over) the sea-route with their armed forces and their ships (respectively). Quickly I advanced as far as Kar-Baniti and Nubia, heard in Memphis of the coming of my expedition and he called up his warriors for a decisive battle against me. Upon a trust-inspiring oracle (given) by Ashur, Bel, Nebo, the great gods, my lords, who (always) march at my side, I defeated the battle-experienced soldiers of his army in a great open battle. Tirhakah heard in Memphis of the defeat of his army and the (terror-inspiring) splendor of Ashur and Ishtar blinded (lit.: overwhelmed) him (thus) that he became like a madman. The glamour of my kingship with which the gods of heaven and nether world have endowed me, dazzled him and he left Memphis and fled, to save his life, into the town Ni’ (Thebes). This town (too) I seized and led my army into it to repose (there).

Necho (Ni-kā-dā), king of Memphis and Sais (Sa-a-a), Sharruludari, king of Si’nu, Pishanuru, king of Nathu, Pakruru, king of (Pi)shaptu, Bukkannani’pi, king of Athribis (Ha-at-hi-ri-bi), Nahke, king of Hinimshi, Putubishi, king of Tanis (Sa-’nu), Unamunu, king of Nathu, Harsiaeshu, king of Sabnuti, BUAma, king of Pintiti, Shishak (Su-ši-in-qu), king of Busiris (Bu-i-ru), Tabnahti, king of Punubu, Bukkannani’pi king of Ahni, Iptihardeshu, king of Pihattihuruntu’pi(ki), Nahtihurunansi, king of Pishabdi’a, Bukurninip, king of Pahunni, Siha, king of Siut (Si-i-a-a-t-ta), Lamentu, king of Himunu (Hermopolis), Ishipimatu, king of Taini, Mantimane, king of Thebes; these kings, governors and regents whom my own father had appointed in Egypt and who had left their offices in the face of the uprising of Tirhakah and had scattered into the open country, I reinstalled in their offices and in their (former) seats of office. (Thus) I seized anew (control over) Egypt (Muṣur) and Nubia which (already) my own father had conquered; I made the garrisons stronger than before and the (iron) regulations (more) severe. With many prisoners and heavy booty I returned safely to Nineveh.

Afterwards, (however), all the kings whom I had appointed broke the oaths (sworn to) me, did not keep the agreements sworn by the great gods, forgot that I had treated them mildly and conceived an evil (plot). They talked about rebellion and came, among them...
and Heliopolis (Û-nu) his fortresses and assembled his (armed) might. He called up his battle-(experienced soldiers) to attack my troops, (and) the Assyrians stationed in Memphis. He surrounded these men and seized (all) their communications (lit.: exits). An express messenger came to Nineveh and told me about this.

In my second campaign I marched directly against Egypt (Mutur) and Nubia. urdamanè heard of the approach of my expedition (only when) I had (already) set foot on Egyptian territory. He left Memphis and fled into Thebes to save his life. The kings, governors, and regents whom I had installed in Egypt came to meet me and kissed my feet. I followed urdamanè (and) went as far as Thebes, his fortress. He saw my mighty battle array approaching, left Thebes and fled to Kipkipi. Upon a trust-(inspiring) oracle of Ashur and Ishtar I, myself, conquered this town completely. From Thebes12 I carried away booty, heavy and beyond counting: silver, gold, precious stones, his entire personal possessions, linen garments with multicolored trimmings, fine horses, (certain) inhabitants, male and female. I pulled two high obelisks, cast13 of shining zafaltung-bronze,14 the weight of which was 2,900 talents, standing at the door of the temple, out of their bases and took (them) to Assyria. (Thus) I carried off from Thebes heavy booty, beyond counting. I made Egypt (Mutur) and Nubia feel my weapons bitterly and celebrated my triumph. With full hands and safely, I returned to Nineveh, the city (where) I exercise my rule.

In my third campaign I marched against Ba'il, king of Tyre, who lives (on an island) amidst the sea, because he did not heed my royal order, did not listen to my personal (lit.: of my lips) commands. I surrounded him with redoubts, seized his communications (lit.: roads) on sea and land. I (thus) intercepted (lit.: strangled) and made scarce their food supply and forced them to submit to my yoke. He brought his own daughter and the daughters of his brothers before me to do menial services.15 At the same time, he brought his son Iahimilki who had not (yet) crossed the sea to greet me as (my) slave. I received from him his......
daughter and the daughters of his brothers with their
great dowries. I had mercy upon him and returned to
him the son, the offspring of his loins. Iakinlu, king of
Arvad, living (also) on an island who had not submitted
to (any of) the kings of my family, did (now) submit
to my yoke and brought his daughter with a great
dowry to Nineveh to do menial services, and he kissed
my feet.

(Lines 68-80 deal with kings of Asia Minor bringing
tribute, etc.)

After Iakinlu, king of Arvad, had perished,14 Aziba'!
Abiba', Aduniba', Sapatiba', Budiba', Balshapu,
Balhanunu, Balimalak, Abilmilki, Ahimilki, the sons
of Iakinlu who live (on an island) amidst the sea,
came from the sea to me with their heavy presents
(idmatru) and kissed my feet. I liked Aziba'! (lit.: I
looked with pleasure upon Aziba') and made him king
of Arvad. I clad Abiba', Aduniba', Sapatiba', Budiba',
Balshapu, Balhanunu, Balimaluk, Abilmilki (and)
Ahimilki in multicolored garments, put golden rings
on their hands and made them do service at my court.17

(2) From the Cylinder E (cf. A. C. Piepkorn, Historical Prim
Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal [AS, No. 5] [Chicago, 1933], i, 10;
also, M. Streck, op.cit., pp. 155 f.). Translation: Luckenbill, AR,
ii, §892.

(i 4—19)

Magan and Meluhha, a distant [region] . . . (to
which) Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, my own father,
had advanced and through which he had marched
defeating there Tirhakah, king of Nubia (Kâsâ), scat-
ttering his army. He conquered Egypt (Musur) and
Nubia and carried off (from) it booty (beyond) count-
ing. He ruled over the entire country and incorporated
it into the territory of Assyria. The former names of
the cities he changed, giving them new denominations.1
He installed his (own) servants as kings (and) gover-
nors in these towns. He imposed upon them [annual]
tribute to (be paid to) him as overlord.... allu' distance
. . . Memphis . . .

(3) From the British Museum text K 3083 (largely a parallel
to the preceding text); cf. M. Streck, op.cit., pp. 217 f., and
Th. Bauer, Das Inschriftwerk Assurbanipals (Leipzig, 1933),
i, 27. Translation: Luckenbill, AR, ii, §589.

(6—8)

Fifty-five of their statues of kings of Egypt . . . and
wrote [upon them . . . ] the triumph achieved by his
own hands. After my own father (i.e. Esarhaddon)
had died . . .

(4) From the British Museum text K 228 joined to K 2675

14 In AFO, xiii (1940), 233, Weidner conjectures that these sons of
the king of Arvad had murdered their father and—unable to settle the
problem of succession—appealed to Ashurbanipal for a pertinent decision.
17 For the meaning of this idiom, cf. my remarks in JPOS, xx (1941),
258.

1 This seems to refer to a renaming of the major cities with Assyrian
denominations; cf. e.g. the name Limmir-ilak — Assur, etc.
2 Text: allu qaqqar. One allu corresponds roughly to 60 yards, but it is
quite possible that the allu qaqqar denotes a larger unit.

The kings from East and West came and kissed my
feet. (But) Tirhakah (Tarqû), against (the will of)
the gods, planned1 to seize Egypt (and) to . . . He
thought little of the might of Ashur, my lord, and put
his trust in his own power; the harsh way in which
my own father had treated him, did not come to his
mind. He marched out and entered Memphis, taking
this town for himself. He sent his army against the
Assyrians who were in Egypt, servants belonging to me,
whom Esarhaddon, my own father, had appointed there
as kings, to kill, to make prisoners and booty. An ex-
press-messenger came to Nineveh to report to me. I
became very angry on account of these happenings,
my soul was aflame. I called the tartan — official, the
governors, and also their assistants and gave immediately
the order to my mighty (battle-) forces for quick
assistance to the kings and governors, servants who be-
long to me, and made them start out on the march to
Egypt. In mad haste they marched on as far as the town
Kar-Baniti.

(Lines 15-19 parallel the above translated report.)
He (i.e. Tarqû) left Memphis, his royal residence,
the place in which he had put his trust, to save his life,
boarded a ship, leaving his camp and fleeing alone.
He entered Thebes (Ni'). The warriors (of Assyria)
seized all the warships that were with him. They sent
me the good tiding through a messenger (who) also
reported to me orally. (Then) I ordered to add to my
former (battle-)forces (in Egypt) the rabiq — officer,
all the governors (and) kings (of the region) beyond
the river (Euphrates), servants who belong to me,
together with their forces and their ships, and (also)
the kings of Egypt, servants who belong to me, together
with their forces and their ships, to chase Tirhakah
out of Egypt (Musur) and Nubia. They marched
small forces of Thebes, the fortress-town of Tirhakah,
king of Nubia, (covering) a distance of a month march (in)
to days. Tirhakah, who had heard of the coming of my
army, left Thebes, his fortress-town, crossed the Nile
(jaru-û)2 and pitched camp on the other side (of the
river). Necho, Sharruludari (and) Pakruru, kings
whom my own father had installed in Egypt, did not
keep the agreements sworn by Ashur and the great gods,
my lords, they broke their oaths, forgot the friendliness
(with which) my own father (had treated them) and
began to plot.

(Lines 36-41 parallel the above translated report.)
They plotted constantly against the Assyrian army
massed (in Egypt), in order to save their own lives, they
schemed3 towards (their) complete annihilation. (But)

1 Text: ul-sam-sa-a; for the verb marâ in 2/2, cf. G. Meier, in AFO, xi
(1937-39), 142, n. 35 (with literature).
2 For the Semitic word denoting the Nile, cf. W. Voichl, ZAS, xxxvi
(1941), 79 ff.
3 This meaning of kardmu seems to be suggested by the context.
my officers heard of these matters and met their cunning with cunning. They arrested their mounted messengers together with their messages and learned (thus) about their rebellious plot. They arrested Sharruludari (and) Necho.

(Lines 47-51 parallel the above translated report.) And I, Ashurbanipal, [inclined towards] friendliness, had mercy upon Necho, my own servant, whom Esarhaddon, my own father, had made king in Kar-Bel-matate (= Sais).

(Lines 54-63 parallel the above translated report.) His son Nabu-reshu-banni I made king in Athribis (Hathariba), the (new) name of which is Limmir-eshak-Ashur.

(Lines 66-68 parallel the above translated report.) He (ur-damane) assembled his (armed) might; he made his weapons ready and marched on to deliver a decisive battle against my army. (But) upon a trustworthy oracle of Ashur, Sin and the great gods, my lords, they (my troops) defeated him in a great open battle and scattered his (armed) might. ur-damane fled alone and entered Thebes, his royal residence. They (i.e. my army) marched after him (covering) a distance of one month (in) 10 days on difficult roads as far as Thebes. They conquered this city completely, smashed (it as if by) a floodstorm. They moved out of his town

(reverse)
gold, silver—(found) in dust-form in his mountains,—precious stones, all his personal treasures, linen garments with multicolored trimmings, fine horses, male and female personnel, baz[i], pag[u], and uq[g]u —monkeys,' native in his (ur-damane's) mountains, (everything) in great quantities, beyond counting, and declared it booty. They brought (the booty) safely to Nineveh, the town (where I exercise) my rule, and kissed my feet.


(4—9) . . . in Egypt they assembled [ . . . Ne]cho, Sharruludari, Pakruru, the [ki[n]gs . . . ] in order to go to the place (from) where my army was marching out [ . . . P[i]shahu]ri whom [my own father] Esarhaddon [had installed] in Nathu, [forgot] the harsh way in which [I had treated] Necho, Sharruludari and Pa[kruru . . . ] and addressed the officers who marched at the front of my army . . . they said as follows: “At the time of the night. . . .”


(7—10) Ashurbanipal, the great king, the legitimate king, the king of the world, king of Assyria, king of (all) the four rims (of the earth), king of kings,1 prince without rival, who rules from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea and has made bow to his feet all the (other) rulers and who has laid the yoke (niru) of his overlordship (upon them) from Tyre which is (an island) in the Upper Sea and (read: as far as) Tilmun which is (an island) in the Lower Sea—and they pulled the straps (abi[u]nu) (of) his (yoke).

(7) From the inscription in the temple of Ishtar published (with autographs, transliteration, and translation) by R. C. Thompson, in *AAA*, xx (1933), 71 ff. Text: Pls. xc ff. Translation: *ibid.*, 90 ff.

(78—84) They (i.e. the great gods) made bo[w] to my yo[ke] all the countries from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea . . . and they pulled the straps (abi[u]nu) (of) my (yoke). Upon their mighty command, quickly1 . . . I conquered Thebes (Nī), the royal residence of Egypt (Musur) and Nubia (Kāsu), [brought] its heavy spoils to Assyria.

They made bow to my yoke Ba’lu, king of Tyre, who did not heed my royal orders, by surrounding him with earthworks and by seizing his communications on sea and land. (Also) Iakinlu, king of Arvad, and Sandasharme, king of Cilicia (Hilakku) who (both) did not submit to my royal forefathers, did bow to [my yoke].

(8) From the very small British Museum fragment K 6049 (published in *CT*, xxxv, Pl. 18) we learn that “[u]rdaman[e, son of the sister of Tirhakah, king of [Egypt]]’ had taken refuge in Elam. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, ii, 5117.

(b) Campaign against the Arabs1


(vii 82—x 5)

In my ninth campaign, I called up my troops (and) marched directly against Uate', king of Arabia (Aribu) because he had broken the (agreements protected by) oaths (sworn to) me, did not remember that I had treated him with clemency; he had cast away the yoke of my rule which Ashur (himself) has placed upon him and the ropes (abi[u]nu) (of) which he has been pulling (till now). He refused to come (and) to inquire about (the state of) my health and held back the presents (tāmaru) and his heavy tribute. He


listened—exactly as Elam (did)—to the rebellious propaganda of Akkad and did not care for the oaths sworn to me. He did leave me, Ashurbanipal, the holy high priest, the (ever) praying servant (of the gods), created by the hands of Ashur, and went (lit.: gave) his armed forces to Abiate' (and) Aamu, son of Te'ri. He ordered (them) expressly to the assistance of my evil brother Shamashshumukin. He persuaded the inhabitants of Arabia (to join) him and then plundered repeatedly those peoples which Ashur, Ishtar and the (other) great gods had given to me to be their shepherd and had entrusted into my hands. Upon the oracle-command of Ashur, and Ishtar (I called up) my army and defeated him in bloody battles, inflicted countless routs on him (to wit) in the girû of the towns of Azaril (and) Hira(-)tir, in Edom, in the pass of Ibradru, in Bist-Ammon, in the district of Haurina, in Moab, in Sa'arri, in Harge, in the district of Zobah.3 In the (se) battles I smashed all the inhabitants of Arabia who had revolted with him, but he himself escaped before the powerful "weapons" of Ashur to a distant region. They set fire to the tents in which they live and burnt (them) down. Uate' had misgivings and he fled, alone, to the country Nabate.


(ix 34—49)

[iau]ta'...[fled] to the country Nabaiati. [He went] to see Natnu (and) Natnu said as follows to (rata'): "(How) can I be saved (now) from Assyria (since) you have put me (by your visit) in your power?" Natnu was afraid, he was seized with anxiety and sent his messengers to inquire after my health and they kissed my feet. He implored me repeatedly—as his lord—to make a peace agreement (secured by) oaths (and) to become my servant. (Finally) I looked with friendliness upon him, turning to him a smiling face. I imposed upon him an annual tribute. (viii)

As to (that other) Uate', the son of Hazail, the nephew of Uate', the son of Bir-Dadda who had made himself king of Arabia, Ashur, the king of the gods, the Great Mountain, made him change his mind and he came to meet me (in submission). To demonstrate that Ashur and the great gods, my lords (are worthy of) the (highest) praise, I imposed (the following) heavy punishment (var.: he accepted the (following) verdict): I put a pillory (on) his (neck) together with a bear (and) a dog and made him stand on guard (duty) at the gate in Nineveh, (called) Nibir-masnaqt-adnî.4 Ammuladi, however, king of Qedar (Qi-î-dî) rose to fight the kings of the Westland whom Ashur, Ishtar and the (other) great gods, have given me as my property. Upon a trust-(inspiring) oracle (given by) Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bel, Nebo, the Ishtar of Nineveh—

the Queen of Kidmûra5—the Ishtar of Arbel, Ninurta, Nergal (and) Nusku, I inflicted a defeat upon him. They seized him alive and also Adia, the wife of Uate', king of Arabia, and brought (them) to me.

1 Here, the text British Museum K 2802 (cf. for publication and translation, M. Streck, op.cit., pp. 197 ff. and 203) adds a more detailed account. English translation: Luckenbill, AR, ii, §1084.

(v 26—30)

(As to) Adia, queen of Arabia, I inflicted a bloody defeat upon her, burnt down her tents, seized her alive (and) removed her, with many (other) prisoners, to Assyria.

Upon the (oracle- command of the great gods, my lords, I put a dog's collar on him and made him watch the bar (of the city's gate). Upon the (oracle-) command of Ashur, Ishtar and the great gods, my lords, I defeated in a bloody battle and routed the soldiers of Abiate' (and of) Aamu, son of Te'ri, who marched to the assistance of Shamashshumukin, my evil brother, (when they were about) to enter Babylon. The remainder(s) who succeeded to enter Babylon ate (there) each other's flesh in their ravenous hunger, and (later) they made a sortie from Babylon to save their lives. My forces, (however,) stationed (there) against Shamashshumukin, inflicted a second defeat upon him (so that) he (i.e. Abiate') escaped alone and seized my feet to save his own life. I had mercy upon him, made him take oaths by the life of the great gods, appointing him, instead of Uate', son of Hazail, as king of Arabia.


(viii 24—44)

Abiate', son of Te'ri, came to Nineveh and kissed my feet. I made a sworn agreement with him concerning his status as a servant of mine. I made him king instead of lata' (or) of somebody else. I imposed upon him as annual tribute gold, eye-shaped beads of on, al-stone, antimony, camels and studs-donkeys. With the help of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bel, Nebo, the Ishtar of Nineveh—the Queen of Kidmûra—the Ishtar of Arbel, Ninurta, Nergal (and) Nusku and by pronouncing my name which Ashur has made powerful, Kama-shaltu, king of Moab, a servant belonging to me, inflicted a defeat in an open battle upon Ammuladi, king of Qedar who, like him (Abiate'), had revolted and had continuously made razzias against the kings of the Westland. Ammuladi (himself) captured those of his (i.e. Abiate's) people who [escaped] before... put them in handcuffs and iron foot fetters and sent them to me to Nineveh.

But he came to an understanding with the country of the Nabaiateans, was not afraid of the (oaths sworn by the) life of the great gods and made constantly razzias into the territory of my country. Natnu, king of Nabiati which lies at a great distance and to whom Uate' had fled, heard—through an intervention of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bel, Nebo, the Ishtar of

9 Obscure word.
4 This seems to be the meaning of the idiom: marulta mahdru.
6 Cylinder B shows here the variant "in so-and-so."
7 Text: ia nakšiti. The context suggests that Ashurbanipal assumed that direct divine interference was instrumental in the submission of this king.
Nineveh—the Queen of Kidmuri—the Ishtar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal (and) Nusku—about the might of Ashur which endows me with strength, and he—who had never sent a messenger to my royal forefathers to greet them as kings by inquiring after their health—inquired (now)—afraid of the (ever) victorious arms of Ashur—very assiduously18 after my royal health. But Abiāte19, son of Te’rī, devoid of any good intentions, unmindful of oaths sworn (even) by the great gods, spoke of rebellion against me and came to an understanding with Natni, king of Nabaiaiti; they called up their forces for a dangerous attack against my territory.

Upon an (oracle-)command of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bel, Nebo, the Ishtar of Nineveh—the Queen of Kidmuri—the Ishtar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal (and) Nusku, I called up my army and took the direct road against Abiāte. They (i.e. my army) crossed safely Tigris and Euphrates at the time of their highest flood; they took (lit.: followed) a path (leading to) far-away regions. They ascended high mountain chains, winding18 their way through woods full of shadow, proceeding safely upon a thorny road between high trees and sidra19 (full) of spines. A distance of 100 double-hours from Nineveh, the town beloved by Ishtar, the spouse of Ellil, they marched forward through the desert where parching thirst is at home, where there are not even birds in the sky and wherein neither wild donkeys (nor) gazelles pasture, following Uate’, king of Arabia, and Abiāte who marched with the forces of the country of the Nabaiaiteans. I departed from the town Hadata in the month of Simanu—the month of Sin, first-born son of Ellil and leader (of his brothers)—on the 25th day—(the day of) the procession of the Lady-of-Babylon, the most important among the great gods. I pitched camp in Laribda, a city with a wall of undressed stones14 at the (last) water cisterns. My army drew water (there) for their drinking-supply and (then) marched forward to the regions of parching thirst, as far as Hurarina. I inflicted a defeat upon the Isamme, a confederation15 of (the worshipers of) the god Atarsamain, and of the Nabaiateans between the towns of Iarki and Azalla in a far-away desert where there are no wild animals and (where) not even the birds build their nests. I took as booty from them countless prisoners, donkeys, camels, and small cattle. After my army had marched unopposed through a distance of 8 double-hours, they returned safely and drank (again) water in Azalla to quench their thirst. (Then) they marched forward as far as the town Qurasiti, a distance of 6 double-miles (through) a territory of parching thirst. (There) I rounded up the confederation of (the worshipers of) the god Atarsamain (ix) and the Qedareans under Uate’, son of Bir-Dadda and made them march (with me) on the road to Damascus (Di-mal-qā), (also) his gods, his mother, his sister, his wife, his family (distaff side) (and) all the other women18 of Qedar, the donkeys, camels and small cattle as many as I caught with the help of Ashur and Ishtar, my lords.

In the month of Abu—the month of the Bow-Star, the mighty daughter of Sin—the third day—the day before (the festival) of Marduk, king of the gods—I departed from Damascus (Di-mal-qā); I marched forward as far as Hulhuliti, a distance of 6 double-hours, in a single night. I caught the confederation of Abiāte, son of Te’rī, (with) the Qedareans at the steep mountain Hukkuruna and inflicted a defeat upon him, carrying (some) booty away from him. During the battle, according to the (oracle-)command (given) by Ashur and Ishtar, my lords, I myself caught Abiāte (and) Aammu, son of Te’rī, alive and fettered them with iron fetters on hands and feet. I brought them to Assyria together with the booty (collected) in their country. Those fugitives who escaped my onslaught occupied in their terror the mountain Hukkuruna (which is) a steep mountain peak. I ordered soldiers to stand on guard in the towns of Manhabbi, Apparu, Tenuquri, Zaiuran, Marqana, Sadaten, Enzikarme, Ta’ina, Irrana, anywhere where there were cisterns or water in the springs, thus refusing them (the access to the) water (supply) which (alone) could keep them alive. I (thus) made water to be very rare for their lips, (and many) perished of parching thirst. The others slit open camels, their (only) means of transportation, drinking blood and filthy water against their thirst. None of those who ascended the mountain or entered (this region) to hide there, did escape; none was enough fleet of foot to get out of my hands. I caught them all myself in their hiding-places; countless people—male and female—donkeys, camels, large and small cattle, I led as booty to Assyria. They filled up completely and to its entire extent all my land(s) which Ashur has given me. I formed flocks and distributed camels as if they be sheep, dividing (them) up to all inhabitants of Assyria. Camels were bought within my country for less than one shekel18 of silver on the market place. The female tavern-keeper received camels, even slaves as a "gift," the brewer for ahapu (full of beer), the gardener for a basket of fresh dates.15 Irra, the Warrior (i.e. pestilence) struck down Uate’, as well as his army, who had not kept the oaths sworn to me and had fled before the onslaught of

8 Hendiyat: sanduq + haldlu.
9 For the word haldlu with the meaning “to walk through a wooded area” (lit.: “to slip through”), cf. the semantic parallel in baldlu attested in the Epic of Gilgamesh: cf. Thompson’s edition (Tablet X), Pl. 39, ii:34 (shu-ul-me vi-ar-da).
10 For this identification of amurdimnu, cf. W. F. Albright, ZA, xxxvii (NF m), 140 f.
11 Text: bed ari la na. l a g. The Sumerian word is to be read in this context l a g (and not: k ê l l i b “cylinder seal”) with regard to l a g a (b), i.e. undressed stone block.
12 The passages interchange šutam-ma and g i l. n a. cf. Deimel, S/L, 315/37. The contemporaneous royal correspondence (cf., e.g. Harper, ABL, n.114 rev. 17(1) and 1266 rev. 2) uses the writing ašulu.
Ashur, my lord,—had run away from them. Famine broke out among them and they ate the flesh of their children against their hunger. Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bel, Nebo, the Ishtar of Nineveh—the Queen of Kidmuri—the Ishtar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal (and) Nusku (thus) inflicted quickly upon them (all) the curses written (down) in their sworn agreements. Even when the camel foals, the donkey foals, calves or lambs were suckling many times (lit.: 7 times) on the mother animals, they could not fill (lit.: satiate) their stomachs with milk.18 Whenever the inhabitants of Arabia asked each other: "On account of what have these calamities befallen Arabia?" they answered: "On account of what have these calamities befallen Arabia?" they answered themselves: "Because we did not keep the solemn oaths (sworn by) Ashur, because we offended the friendliness of Ashurbanipal, the king, beloved by Ellil!"

And (verily) Ninil, the lordly Wild-Cow, the most heroic among the goddesses who rivals in rank (only) with Anu and Enlil, was butting my enemies with her mighty horns; the Ishtar who dwells in Arbela, clad in (divine) fire (and) carrying the melammū -headwear, was razing flames upon Arabia; Irra, the Warrior, armed with anunnutu,19 was crushing (underfoot) my foes; Ninurta, the Arrow, the great hero, the son of Ellil, was cutting the throats of my enemies with his sharp point; Nusku, the obedient messenger (of the gods) proclaimer of my lordship, who accompanied me upon the command of Ashur, (and) the courageous Ninil, the Lady of [Arbela],20 who protected me as king, took the lead of my army and threw down my foes. (When) the troops of Uate' heard the approach of the (se) mighty "weapons" of Ashur and Ishtar, the great gods, my lords, which during the battle had come to my assistance, they revolted against him. He became frightened and left the house (sanctuary) into which he had fled, so that I caught him personally according to my assistance, they revolted against him. He became frightened and left the house (sanctuary) into which he had fled, so that I caught him personally according to the trustworthy oracle of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bel, Nebo, the Ishtar of Nineveh—the Queen of Kidmuri—the Ishtar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal (and) Nusku—and brought him to Assyria. Upon an oracle-command of Ashur and Ninil I pierced his cheeks which (out of them) and added (it) to the large army which

On my return march, I conquered the town Ushu the emplacement of which is on the seacoast.21 I killed those inhabitants of Ushu who did not obey their governors by refusing to deliver the tribute which they had to pay annually, I took to task those among them who were not submissive. Their images and the (surviving) people I led as booty to Assyria. I killed (also) those inhabitants of Accho who were not submissive, hanging their corpses on poles which I placed around the city. The others I took to Assyria, formed a contingent (out of them) and added (it) to the large army which

Ashur has presented to me. During the battle I seized personally Aamu, son of Te'ri (who) had sided with Abiath, his brother; I (had) him flayed in Nineveh, the town (where I exercise) my rule.

(2) (From the inscription in the temple of Ishtar, published by R. C. Thompson, in AAE, xx (1933), 71 ff. Text: PIs. xx cf. and pp. 79 ff. Translation: pp. 90 ff.

113—114) I caught alive Uate', king of Ishmael (Su-mu-il) [who was in agreement] with him (i.e. Shamashshum-kin); Ammuladi, king of Qedar (Qi-da-ri), had fallen into the hands of my army in a battle engagement and they (i.e. the army) brought him (to me) alive.

114—121) I harnessed Tammaritu, Pa'e, Ummana[ldasi, king(s)] of Elam, (and) Iaute', king of Ishmael (Su-mu-il) whom I had captured personally upon the oracle-command of Ashur, Ninil and the Ish[ar dwelling in Arbela], like choice foals to my (triumphal) char, my royal means of transportation, after [I went forth in procession] from the temples ē.s a r a , ē. m a . ē. m a š . ē. [. . .] in order to make the sacrifices and to perform the rites—and they actually held the straps (ablānu) (to pull the char).

123—129) [Natru, king of Nabaijat], which is (a country) far away, who did not submit to my royal forefathers, did bow to my y[oke] and (therefore), upon the oracle-command of Ashur and Ninil, the great gods, my lords, who (thus) encouraged me, I defeated Iaute' who had put his trust upon (the assistance of) the Nabaiati country and [had therefore held back his tāmru]-gifts;23 I turned his cities into ruin-hills and heaps (of debris). I [led away] himself, his wife, his children... as the he[avy] spoils of his country. Nuhuru,4 his son, Nuhurutu, and his brother Nuhuru, both sons of Nupili, the king of Nabaijat, I took into captivity...
The Neo-Babylonian Empire and its Successors

The historiographic literature of this period is represented by excerpts from four chronicles translated in the first part of this section. They cover—sometimes overlapping—the period from the first year of Esarhaddon to the seizure of Babylon by Cyrus. For the literary form and the political tendencies of these documents, reference should be made to the remarks of Landsberger-Bauer, in ZA, xxxvii (NF iii), 61-65.

The second part contains historical inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II and of Nabonidus which refer to conquests made in the West (Syria and Palestine), to the foreign policy of the Chaldean dynasty, and describe, in his own words, Nabonidus' rise to royal power. To illustrate the particular background of this ruler, the Eski-Harran inscription is given, a memorial for the mother of the usurper. The end of this dynasty is illustrated by the account given by Cyrus on his famous cylinder and by the poetic text known under the misleading title of Persian Verse-Account of Nabonidus. Finally, the novel mood of the Persian domination is shown in one of the trilingual inscriptions of Xerxes and—to document the persistency of the literary tradition—an inscription of the Seleucid king Antiochus I, Soter, has been translated.

HISTORIOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTS

I. TEXT FROM THE FIRST YEAR OF BELIBNI TO THE ACCESSION YEAR OF SHAMASHSHUMUKIN


(ii 23–iv 38)

First year of Belibni: Sennacherib destroyed (lit.: broke) the towns Hirrima and Hararatum.

Third year of Belibni: Sennacherib marched down to the country of Akkad and carried away the booty (made) in Akkad. They brought Belibni and his nobles in fetters to Assyria. Three years was Belibni king in Babylon. Sennacherib placed his son Ashurnadinshumi upon the throne in Babylon.

First year of Ashurnadinshumi: Hallushu, the brother of Ishtarhundu, king of Elam, seized him (i.e. Ishtarhundu) and closed up the door (of his palace) in front of him. Eighteen years was Ishtarhundu king in Elam.

Sixth year of Ashurnadinshumi: Sennacherib marched down to Elam, he destroyed (lit.: broke) the towns Nagitung, Hilm, Pillatum and Hupapanu, and carried their booty away. Afterwards, Hallushu, king of Elam, marched against the country of Akkad; towards the end of the (month) Tashritu, he entered Sippar and killed its inhabitants. (The image of) Shamash did (therefore) not leave the temple Ebarra (in the procession). Ashurnadinshumi was made a prisoner and brought to Elam. Six years was Ashurnadinshumi king in Babylon. The king of Elam placed Nergalshub-
zib on the throne, in Babylon. He declared (a state of) h[oneiliti]s (against) Assyria.

First year of Nergalushzib: In the month of Tam-muz, the 16th day, Nergalushzib seized Nippur and (unintelligible). In the month of Tashritu, the 1st day, the Assyrian army entered Uruk; they carried away as booty the gods of Uruk and its inhabitants. (Thus while) Nergalushzib went after the Elamites (to ask for help), they (i.e. the Assyrians) snatched the gods of Uruk and its inhabitants. In the month of Tashritu, the 7th day, he (Nergalushzib) made an attack against the Assyrian army, in the province of Nippur, but he was seized in open battle and brought to Assyria. One year and 6 months was Nergalushzib king in Babylon.

In the month of Tashritu, the 26th day, his people made a rebellion against Hallushu, king of Elam, and they closed up the door (of the palace) in front of him and killed him. Six years was Hallushu king in Elam. Kudurru sat himself on the throne on Elam. Afterwards Sennacherib marched down to Elam and destroyed (lit.: broke) (the country) from the land of Rishi as far as Bit-Burnaki, and carried away the booty thereof. Mushezib-Marduk sat himself on the throne in Babylon.

First year of Mushezib-Marduk: In the month of Abu, the 8(?)th day, Kudurru, king of Elam, was seized in a rebellion and killed. Ten months was Kudurru king in Elam. Menanu sat himself on the throne in Elam. In an unknown year, Menanu called up the armies of Elam and Akkad and made an attack against Assyria in the town of Halule. He (also) made a raid against Assyria.

Fourth year of Mushezib-Marduk: In the month of Nisanu, the 15th day, Menanu, king of Elam, suffered a stroke, his mouth was paralyzed, he was unable to speak. In the month of Kislimu, the 1st day, the city (i.e. Babylon) was seized, Mushezib-Marduk was made a prisoner and brought to Assyria. Four years was Mushezib-Marduk king in Babylon. In the month of Addaru, the 7th day, Menanu, king of Elam, died (lit.: "fate"). Four years [was] Menanu king in Elam. Hummahaldashu sat himself on the throne in Elam.

For eight years there was no king in Babylon. In the month of Tammuz, the 3rd day, the gods of Uruk entered Uruk (again) from... In the month of Tashritu, the 23rd day, Hummahaldashu, king of Elam, was stricken at noon and [die]d at sun-set (of the same day). Eight years was Hummahaldashu king in Elam. Hummahaldashu, the second, sat himself on the throne in Elam. In the month of Addaru, the 29th day, Menanu, king of Elam, died. In the month of Tashritu, the 26th day, his people made a rebellion against Hallushu, king of Elam, and they closed up the door (of the palace) in front of him and killed him. Six years was Hallushu king in Elam. Kudurru sat himself on the throne in Elam. Afterwards Sennacherib marched down to Elam and destroyed (lit.: broke) (the country) from the land of Rishi as far as Bit-Burnaki, and carried away the booty thereof. Mushezib-Marduk sat himself on the throne in Babylon.

First year of Nergalushzib: In the month of Tam-muz, the 16th day, Nergalushzib seized Nippur and (unintelligible). In the month of Tashritu, the 1st day, the Assyrian army entered Uruk; they carried away as booty the gods of Uruk and its inhabitants. (Thus while) Nergalushzib went after the Elamites (to ask for help), they (i.e. the Assyrians) snatched the gods of Uruk and its inhabitants. In the month of Tashritu, the 7th day, he (Nergalushzib) made an attack against the Assyrian army, in the province of Nippur, but he was seized in open battle and brought to Assyria. One year and 6 months was Nergalushzib king in Babylon.

In the month of Tashritu, the 26th day, his people made a rebellion against Hallushu, king of Elam, and they closed up the door (of the palace) in front of him and killed him. Six years was Hallushu king in Elam. Kudurru sat himself on the throne on Elam. Afterwards Sennacherib marched down to Elam and destroyed (lit.: broke) (the country) from the land of Rishi as far as Bit-Burnaki, and carried away the booty thereof. Mushezib-Marduk sat himself on the throne in Babylon.

First year of Mushezib-Marduk: In the month of Abu, the 8(?)th day, Kudurru, king of Elam, was seized in a rebellion and killed. Ten months was Kudurru king in Elam. Menanu sat himself on the throne in Elam. In an unknown year, Menanu called up the armies of Elam and Akkad and made an attack against Assyria in the town of Halule. He (also) made a raid against Assyria.

Fourth year of Mushezib-Marduk: In the month of Nisanu, the 15th day, Menanu, king of Elam, suffered a stroke, his mouth was paralyzed, he was unable to speak. In the month of Kislimu, the 1st day, the city (i.e. Babylon) was seized, Mushezib-Marduk was made a prisoner and brought to Assyria. Four years was Mushezib-Marduk king in Babylon. In the month of Addaru, the 7th day, Menanu, king of Elam, died (lit.: "fate"). Four years [was] Menanu king in Elam. Hummahaldashu sat himself on the throne in Elam.

For eight years there was no king in Babylon. In the month of Tammuz, the 3rd day, the gods of Uruk entered Uruk (again) from... In the month of Tashritu, the 23rd day, Hummahaldashu, king of Elam, was stricken at noon and [die]d at sun-set (of the same day). Eight years was Hummahaldashu king in Elam. Hummahaldashu, the second, sat himself on the throne in Elam. In the month of Addaru, the 29th day, Menanu, king of Elam, died. In the month of Tashritu, the 26th day, his people made a rebellion against Hallushu, king of Elam, and they closed up the door (of the palace) in front of him and killed him. Six years was Hallushu king in Elam. Kudurru sat himself on the throne in Elam. Afterwards Sennacherib marched down to Elam and destroyed (lit.: broke) (the country) from the land of Rishi as far as Bit-Burnaki, and carried away the booty thereof. Mushezib-Marduk sat himself on the throne in Babylon.

First year of Nergalushzib: In the month of Tam-muz, the 16th day, Nergalushzib seized Nippur and (unintelligible). In the month of Tashritu, the 1st day, the Assyrian army entered Uruk; they carried away as booty the gods of Uruk and its inhabitants. (Thus while) Nergalushzib went after the Elamites (to ask for help), they (i.e. the Assyrians) snatched the gods of Uruk and its inhabitants. In the month of Tashritu, the 7th day, he (Nergalushzib) made an attack against the Assyrian army, in the province of Nippur, but he was seized in open battle and brought to Assyria. One year and 6 months was Nergalushzib king in Babylon.

In the month of Tashritu, the 26th day, his people made a rebellion against Hallushu, king of Elam, and they closed up the door (of the palace) in front of him and killed him. Six years was Hallushu king in Elam. Kudurru sat himself on the throne on Elam. Afterwards Sennacherib marched down to Elam and destroyed (lit.: broke) (the country) from the land of Rishi as far as Bit-Burnaki, and carried away the booty thereof. Mushezib-Marduk sat himself on the throne in Babylon.

First year of Mushezib-Marduk: In the month of Abu, the 8(?)th day, Kudurru, king of Elam, was seized in a rebellion and killed. Ten months was Kudurru king in Elam. Menanu sat himself on the throne in Elam. In an unknown year, Menanu called up the armies of Elam and Akkad and made an attack against Assyria in the town of Halule. He (also) made a raid against Assyria.

Fourth year of Mushezib-Marduk: In the month of Nisanu, the 15th day, Menanu, king of Elam, suffered a stroke, his mouth was paralyzed, he was unable to speak. In the month of Kislimu, the 1st day, the city (i.e. Babylon) was seized, Mushezib-Marduk was made a prisoner and brought to Assyria. Four years was Mushezib-Marduk king in Babylon. In the month of Addaru, the 7th day, Menanu, king of Elam, died (lit.: "fate"). Four years [was] Menanu king in Elam. Hummahaldashu sat himself on the throne in Elam.

For eight years there was no king in Babylon. In the month of Tammuz, the 3rd day, the gods of Uruk entered Uruk (again) from... In the month of Tashritu, the 23rd day, Hummahaldashu, king of Elam, was stricken at noon and [die]d at sun-set (of the same day). Eight years was Hummahaldashu king in Elam. Hummahaldashu, the second, sat himself on the throne in Elam. In the month of Addaru, the 29th day, Menanu, king of Elam, died. In the month of Tashritu, the 26th day, his people made a rebellion against Hallushu, king of Elam, and they closed up the door (of the palace) in front of him and killed him. Six years was Hallushu king in Elam. Kudurru sat himself on the throne in Elam. Afterwards Sennacherib marched down to Elam and destroyed (lit.: broke) (the country) from the land of Rishi as far as Bit-Burnaki, and carried away the booty thereof. Mushezib-Marduk sat himself on the throne in Babylon.
the 3rd, 16th and 18th days. On the 22nd day, Memphis (Me-im-bi), [its royal re]sidence [was con]quered. Its king escaped (but) his son and [brother] were [cap]tured. It (i.e. Egypt) was looted, its inhabitants were made prisoners, its possessions carried away.

Eleventh year: The king (remained) in Assyria. He executed m[any of his] officials.

Twelfth year: The king of Assyria [went to Egypt]. He fell sick on the way and died (lit.: “fate”) in the month of Arashamnu, the 10th day. For 12 years was Esarhaddon king of Assyria. Both his sons, Shamashshumukin in Babylonia, Ashurbanipal in Assyria, sat down upon the throne.

Accession-year of Shamashshumukin: In the month of Aiaaru, Bel and the (other) gods of Akkad went forth from Libbi-dli (i.e. Ashur) and entered Babylon in the month of Aiaaru, the 12th day. In the same year, the town Kirbitu was seized, its king was caught. In the month of Teshiti, the 20th day, Beletir, the (chief) justice of Babylon was seized and executed.

2. TEXT FROM THE FIRST YEAR OF ESARHADDON TO THE FIRST YEAR OF SHAMASHSHUMUKIN

The Esarhaddon Chronicle (British Museum 25,001) published by Sidney Smith, in Babylonian Historical Texts, Pls. i-iii; transliteration and translation, pp. 12 ff. It belongs to the same “series” as the text translated on pp. 266-267.

[First year: ...] the king of Elam ... Esarhaddon.

... In the month Ululu the Great God and the (other) gods of Den [went] ... the gods Humbabai and Shimali[a]. In the month Tashritu the (illegible) was inaugurated. In the month ...

Second year: The major-domo ordered a bihirta in Akkad. In the same year the town Arza[n]i[a] was seized, its booty ca[rried away ...], the [inhabitant]s made prisoners, king and crown[prince] put in [fet]ters. Battles were fought against the Bu[da] and the Cymmerians, (and) in Kushshni.

Third year: [ ... ]-ahshublim, the gu.e.n.na -official (and) Shamashshini, the “Dakkurean,” were brought to Assyria and killed in Assyria.

Fourth year: The town of Sidon (Si-da-nu) was seized, its booty carried away. In the (same) year the major-domo ordered a bihirta in Akkad.

Fifth year: In the month Du’uzu, the 2nd day, the troops of Assyria seized the town Bassa. In the month of [Tashritu] the head of the king of Sidon (Su-i-du-nu) was cut off and brought to Assyria.

Sixth year: The troops of Assyria marched against Miltene (Mi-il-du).7 They laid siege against Mugallu. In the month of Ululu, the 5th day, the life of Humbahaldashu, king of [El][a]m, came to an end in his palace; he was not sick but in good health. Humbahaldashu ruled as king in Elam for six years. His brother Urtagu sat down on the throne in Elam. The gu.e.n.na-official Nadinshumi (and) Kudurru, the “Dakkurean,” were brought away (to Assyria).

Seventh year: In the month of Addaru, the 8th day, the army of Assyria [fought] against the town Shamaele.4 In the same year, the Ishtar-(image) of Agade and the (other) gods of Agade [came] from [Elam], in the month of Addaru, the 10th day, [they entered] the town Agade.

Eighth year: In the month of Addaru, the 6th day, the wife of the king di[el].

(reverse)

In the month of Addaru, the 18th day, the troops of Assyria seized the country Shupr[isa], they carried away its booty.

Tenth year: In the month of Nisanu, the troops of Assyria [marched against Egypt]. In the month Du’uzu, the 3rd day, a battle [was fought] in Egypt.

Eleventh year: The king of Assyria [slew] many of his high officials.

Twelfth year: The king of Assyria went to Egypt. He fell sick on the journey and died in the month of Arashamnu, the 10th day. Esarhaddon ruled as king in Assyria for 12 years.

(For) 8 years (under) Sennacherib, (for) 12 years (under) Esarhaddon (in summa for) 20 years (the image of) Bel stayed in Ashur and the New Year’s Festival was (therefore) interrupted; Nebu did not come from Bo[si]ppa for the “Proc[ession of Bel.” In the month of Kislimu, Ashurbanipal, [his] son sat down on the throne in Assyria.

Accession-year of Shamashshumukin: In the month of Aiaaru, Bel and the (other) gods of [Akkad] went out from Ashur and, in the month of Aiaaru, the 25th day, [they entered] Babylon. Nebo and the (other) gods of Bor[si]ppa came to Babylon. In the same year the town of Kirbitu was seized, its king ca[rried away]. In the month of Tashiti, the 20th day, the (chief) justice of Babylon was sei[zed and executed].

First year of Shamashshumukin: [The army of Assyria marched] against [Egypt], Tirhakah (Targâ) king of Eg[ypt] ... the country of Eg[ypt] ... Necher-ka-ne-unu, the (chief) justice of Egypt ...

(balance broken)

3. TEXT FROM THE TENTH TO THE SEVENTEENTH YEAR OF NABOPOLASSAR: EVENTS LEADING TO THE FALL OF NINEVEH


Tenth year: In the month Aiaaru, Nabopolassar called up the army of Akkad and marched (upstream) on the
embankment of the Euphrates. The people of the countries Suhu and Hindanu did not fight against him, but deposited their tributes before him. In the month Abu, the Assyrian army took up battle position in the town Qablinu and Nabopolassar marched upstream against them. In the month Abu, the 12th day, he made an attack against the soldiers of Assyria and they fell back before him. A great defeat was (thus) inflicted upon Assyria and they took many of them as prisoners. They (also) seized the Mannaeans who had come to their (i.e. the Assyrians’) assistance and high officials of Assyria. The same day the town of Qablinu was captured. In the same month of Abu, the king of Akkad sent his soldiers against the towns Mane, Sahиру and Balihu and they took much booty from them and carried many of them as prisoners away. They (also) led their gods away. In the month Ululu, the king of Akkad and his army turned back and on his march he took the (inhabitants of the) town Hindanu and their gods to Babylon. In the month Tashritu, the army of Egypt and the army of Assyria advanced as far as Qablinu—in the pursuit of the king of Akkad—but did not overtake the king of Akkad (and) they turned back. In the month Addaru, the army of Assyria and the army of Akkad were fighting against each other in the town Madanu which (belongs to the district of) Arrapha. The army of Assyria fell back before the army of Akkad and they inflicted a great defeat upon them. They threw them into the river Zab. They seized their chariots and horses and took much booty from them. Many of his [high officials] they made cross the Tigris with them and brought them to Babylon.

[Eleventh year: The king] of Akkad called up his army and marched (upstream) on the embankment of the Tigris and pitched (camp) against the town of Ashur. In the month Simanu, the 4th day, he made an attack against the town and [took the town], and attacked them for 10 days but did not seize the town. The army of the king of Akkad (although) shut up in the citadel (thus) inflicted a great defeat on Assyria. The king of Assyria and his army made a turnabout and [returned to his country].

[Thirteenth year: In the month Ainaru the inhabitants of the country of Suhu revolted against the king of Akkad and resorted to hostilities. The king of Akkad called up his army and marched against Suhu. In the month Simanu, the 4th day, he made an attack against Rahilu, a town situated (on an island) amidst the Euphrates, and seized the town the very same day. (Then) he built a...; stones from the banks of the Euphrates they piled up in front of it...; against the city Anat he pitched (camp). [He constructed a turret [at] the west side...; he brought the turret near to the wall, and made an attack against the city [(but) he did not (?) seize it]. In the month... the king of Assyria and his army came downstream and the king of Akkad and his army made a turnabout and [returned to his country].

(reverse)

[Fourteenth year:] The king of Akkad called up his army and [Cyaxares] the king of the Medians (Umman-manda) marched towards the king of Akkad, [in... they met each other. The king of Akkad... and [Cyaxares]... [the... he ferried across and they marched (upstream) on the embankment of the Tigris and... [pitched camp] against Nineveh... From the month Simanu till the month Abu, three battles were fought, then] they made a great attack against the city. In the month Abu, [the... day, the city was seized and a great defeat] he inflicted [upon the] entire [population]. On that day, Sinsharishkun, king of Assyria fled to... many prisoners of the city, beyond counting, they carried... Nineveh... they rushed and seized the town of Tarbisu, a town belonging to the province of Nineveh, ... they went downstream on the embankment of the Tigris and pitched (camp) against Ashur. They made an attack against the town and [took the town], [the wall of] the town was torn down, a terrible defeat/massacre they inflicted upon the entire population. They took booty (and) carried prisoners away. The king of Akkad and his army who went to the aid of the Medians did not come (in time) for the battle. The town was already taken. The king of Akkad and Cyaxares (U-ma-ki-lar) met each other before the town and established among themselves good relations and friendship. [Cyaxares and his army returned to his country, the king of Akkad and his army returned to his country].

1 Following Landsberger-Bauer, ZA, xxxvii (NF m), 85.
2 For this town, cf. E. Forrer, Provinzinteilung, pp. 8, 24.
3 This restoration is suggested by the size of the break and by the context.
4 Instead of the usual id-ki-e-ma (cf., e.g. lines 1, 16, 32, etc.), the text has here: id-kam-ma.
5 Following Landsberger-Bauer, op.cit., p. 85.
6 For the expression umman-manda, cf. Landsberger-Bauer, ZA, xxxvii (NF m), 85.
7 Text: In amulhi (against Landsberger-Bauer, op.cit., pp. 85 f.).
8 The word sapitu refers here to a [wooden] tower used for the siege of a walled town. As indicated by the etymology of sapitu (sapd "to look out, watch"), the word seems to refer primarily to wooden structures erected outside of the cities to watch the approach to fields and orchards. cf. the Neo-Babylonian letter, Thompson, CT, xxxi 5310, referring to this watch-duty with ṣa-pi-um, and the contemporaneous text, Strassmaier, Cypr. 236:1, 6, VS, 56:15, 86:12, vi 271:16 (correct Ungnad, Glossar to NRV, 1, 1457), denoting the fee paid by the tenant of an orchard for this service equally with sapitu.
9 cf. J. Lewy, Forschungen zur alten Geschichte Vorderasiens (MVAG, xxxvi/1, 1957), 93, for this change of style. The "king of Akkad" is simply has here: id-kam-ma.
10 Restored after Gadd, op.cit., p. 34, n.3.
away. The city [they turned] into ruin-hills and heaps (of debris). The king and the army of Assyria escaped (however) before the king (of Akkad) and [the army] of the king of Akkad. . . . In the month Ululu, the 20th day, Cyaxares and his army returned to his country. Afterwards, the king of Akkad . . . marched as far as Nisibis. Booty and ga-lu-tu of . . . and (of) the country Rusapu they brought to the king of Akkad, to Nineveh. [In the month] . . . Ashuruballit . . . sat down in Harran upon the throne to become king of Assyria. Till the month . . . [the king of Akkad stayed] in Nineveh. . . . From the 20th day of the month [Tashritu] the king [of Akkad] . . . in the same month of Tashritu in the town . . .

Fifteenth year: In the month Du'uzu . . . [the king of] Akkad [called up his army and] marched against Assyria . . . [He marched around in Assyria] unopposed (lit.: like a ruler). The army of the country Hazzu, Han[ . . . ] and of the country Šš[ . . . ] he met/reached. [Their] bo[oty] they took and prisoners [they carried away] from there. In the month Aras̱hamnu, the king of Akkad [ordered] the return of his army and [pitched camp] against the town Rugguliti . . . he made an attack against the town and seized the town in the month Aras̱hamnu, the 28th day, not one man [escaped] . . . [and he] returned [to] his [country].

Sixteenth year: In the month Aiaru, the king of Akkad called up his army and marched against Assyria. From the month [Aiaru] to the month Aras̱hamnu they marched around in Assyria unopposed. In the month Aras̱hamnu, the Manda-hordes (Umman-manda) . . . came to the aid of the king of Akkad and they merged their armies and marched against Harran, against [Ashuruballit] who had sat down on the throne in Assyria. Fear of the enemy befell Ashuruballit and the soldiers of the country Gul[ . . . ] who had come [to his aid] and they [left] the town and . . . crossed [the river Euphrates]. The king of Akkad arrived at the town Harran and [made an attack and] seized the town. Many prisoners, beyond counting, he carried away from the town. In the month Addaru the king of Akkad . . . he dismissed/left, and he returned to his country and the Manda-hordes who had come to the aid of the king of Akkad we[nt and re]turned [to] their country.

Seventeenth year: In the month Du'uzu, Ashuruballit, king of Assyria, (and) a large [army of] E[gyp]pt [who had come to his aid] crossed the river (Euphrates) and [marched on] to conquer Harran. [He laid siege to the town and] entered it, but the garrison which the king of Akkad had laid therein killed them (the assault party) and (then) he pit[ched (camp)] against the town Harran. Till the month Ululu he made attack(s) against the town. Nothing, however, did he ac[[hieve] and they returned.

The king of Akkad came to the aid of his troops and . . . an attack. [Then] he went up to the country [I]ṣalla and . . . the towns of many regions . . . their . . . he burnt down. At the same time the army [of the Manda-hordes] . . . as far as the province of Urartu . . . in the country Ahṣ[a . . . ] they made booty . . . the garrisons which the king of Assyria . . . they [ . . . ]ed and to the town . . . they went up. [In the month] . . . the king of Akkad returned to his country.

Catchline: In the [eighteenth year]: [In the month] . . . the king of Akkad called up his army and . . .

4. Text from the Accession Year of Nabonidus to the Fall of Babylon


(i)

(First line destroyed, accession year) . . . his . . . he lifted. The king . . . their [ . . . ]mati they brought to Babylon. (one line destroyed).

[First year:] . . . they did (unintelligible) and he did not lift [his . . . ] All their families. . . . The king called up his army and . . . against (the country) Humē. (one line destroyed)

[Second year: In] the month Tebitu in the country of Hamath . . .

(one line not inscribed)

[Third year: In] the month of Abu, to the Amananus, the mountains of . . . fruit trees, all kinds of fruits . . . [he sent] from them to Babylon.

[The king fell] sick but he recovered. In the month Kislimu, the king [called up] his army . . . and Nabīdēn(?).DAN.šeš . . . of Ammurru to . . . [Against the town A]dumu they pitched (camp) . . . and the numerous troops . . . the town Shindinī . . . he killed him (one line destroyed).

[Sixth year: . . . King Ishtumegu] called up his troops and marched against Cyrus, king of Anshan, in order to meet him in battle. The army of Ishtumegu revolted against him and in fetters they delivered him to Cyrus. Cyrus (marched) against the country Agamtanu; the royal residence (he seized); silver, gold, (other) valuables . . . of the country Agamtanu he took as booty and brought (them) to Anshan. The valuables of . . .

15 Text: il-hu-hu-ma.
16 Text: ina gatherings pta.
17 The country Humē (cancel in Bezděz, Glossar, pp. 123 f. *humē, "Aufreher" against Zehnpfund-Langdon, VAR, iv, 303) is also attested in contemporaneous administrative documents, e.g. Strasmani, Nkb., 571, 135, 37, 40, Temayne, YOS, vi 210-14, and Dougherty, GCCI, vi, 53-52—in all cases as the homeland of iron. cf. also, E. F. Weidner, in Melanges Distant, ii, 955. For location, cf. also Albright, BASOR, 110, 21 ff.
18 The British Museum text Sp. II, 407 published by J. N. Strasmani, Hebrews, ii (1892), 4 f., transliterated and translated by E. F. Weidner, JSOR, vi (1923), 112 ff. seems to report more in detail on the events of the third year (mentioning the country Hattu and the town Am-ma-nā-nu). The nature of this text remains, however, obscure.
19 Text: ina qatādi'-yā-hi.
Seventh year: The king (i.e. Nabonidus, stayed) in Tema; the crown prince, his officials and his army (were) in Akkad. The king did not come to Babylon for the ceremonies of the month of Nisanu; the (image of the) god Bel did not come to Babylon, the (image of the) god Nebu did not come to Babylon, the (image of the) god Bel did not go out (of Esagila in procession), the fest[ival of the New Year was omitted], (but) the offerings within (the temples) Esagila and Ezida were given according to the complete (ritual); the urigalatu’-priest made the libation and aspered the temple.

Eighth year: (blank of two lines)

Ninth year: Nabonidus, the king, (stayed) in Tema; the crown prince, the officials and the army (were) in Akkad. The king did not come to Babylon for the (ceremony of the) month of Nisanu; the god Nebu did not come to Babylon, the god Bel did not go out (of Esagila in procession), the festival of the New Year was omitted. (But) the offerings in Esagila and Ezida for the gods of (Babylon) and Borsippa were given according to the complete (ritual). In the month of Nisanu the 5th day, the mother of the king died in Dur-karashu which is on the banks of the Euphrates, above Sippar. The crown prince and his army were in deep mourning for three days, a(n official) “weeping” was performed. In Akkad, a(n official) “weeping” on behalf of the mother of the king was performed in the month of Simanu. In the month of Nisanu, Cyrus, king of Persia, called up his army and crossed the Tigris below the town Arbela. In the month Aiatu [he marched] against the country Ly[dia]... killed its king, took his possessions, put (there) a garrison of his own. Afterwards, his garrison as well as the king remained there.

Tenth year: The king (stayed) in Tema; the crown prince, his officials and his army (were) in Akkad. The king did not come to Babylon for the (ceremonies of the) month Nisanu, Nebu did not come to Babylon, Bel did not go out (of Esagila in procession), the festival of the New Year was omitted, (but) the offerings in Esagila and Ezida for the gods of Babylon and Borsippa were given according to the complete (ritual). In the month of Simanu, the 21st day, of the country of the Elamites in Akkad... the governor in Uruk...

Eleventh year: The king (stayed) in Tema; the crown prince, the officials and his army (were) in Akkad. The king did not come to Babylon for the (ceremonies of the) month Nisanu, Nebu did not come to Babylon, Bel did not go out (from Esagila in procession), the festival of the New Year was omitted, (but) the offerings for the gods of Babylon and Borsippa were given according to the complete (ritual).

8 Nabonidus’ prolonged and apparently unmotivated stay in Tema has given rise to an extended literature which has been recently discussed by Julius Lewy, in HUCA, xix, 434 ff. (add: R. P. Dougherty, Misranim, 1 [1933], 140 ff., the same); JOS, xlvi [1922], 307 ff.; the same, in AJA, xxxvi [1930], 266 ff.; cf. also, W. F. Albright, JCS, 1925, 203 ff.)


10 Lit.: Walled Camp.

11 Text: til-la...ulis-sa-kin, literally: “trappings” (for armor and/or weapons were not put on.” cf. the parallel expression sub a, n. p. 315.

12 Text: til-la...ulis-sa-kin, literally: “trapping” (for armor and/or weapons were not put on.” cf. the parallel expression sub a, n. p. 315.

13 For kara na denoting stalks, cf. the syllabary passage, von Soden, ZA, xliii (NF ix), 327-81 ff. (= von Soden, Akkadische Synonymenlisten, No. 96) and the passages from Neo-Babylonian business documents: Dougherty, GGG, i, 192-3; e.g. [pa-re-ru] ida-ra-ni-e “torch made of (red) stalks,” and ibid., 11-12, iuta lu ka-ru-ni-e “barley on the stalk.”

14 For qaqaudu patru, cf. below n.4., p. 314.

15 The sign x[12] occurs here and in other Neo-Babylonian historical inscriptions (while the scribed inscription published by E. Ebeling,
of Nebo who...the bull...they came (and) made the “weaving” by means of the handle\textsuperscript{1a} and when [he let]d the image of Ne[bo ... sp]ears and leather quivers, from... Nebo returned to Esagila, sheep-offerings in front of Bel and the god Mār[r]-b[īt].

(\textit{iv} reverse)

(\textit{After lacuna, only the ends of 9 lines are preserved.})

\section*{I. NEBUCHADNEZZAR II (605-562)}

\subsection*{(a) The Expedition to Syria}


\textit{(ix 1—x 40)}

(\textit{Two lines destroyed} [from] the Upper Sea [to] the Lower Sea (one line destroyed)... which Marduk, my lord, has entrusted to me, I have made... the city of Babylon to the foremost among all the countries and every human habitation; its name I have [made/elevated] to the (most worthy of) praise among the sacred cities... The sanctuaries of my lords Nebo and Marduk (as a wise ruler)... always...

At that time, the Lebanon (\textit{La-ab-na-a-nu}), the [Cedar] Mountain, the luxurious forest of Marduk, the smell of which is sweet, the high cedars of which, (its) profession, another god [has not desired, which] no other king has [fe[i]led]... my nābā’ Marduk [had desired] as a fitting adornment for the palace of the ruler of heaven and earth, (this Lebanon) over which a foreign enemy was ruling and robbing (it of) its riches—its people were scattered, had fled to a far (away region). (Trusting) in the power of my lords Nebo and Marduk, I organized [my army] for a[n expedition] to the Lebanon. I made that country happy by eradicating its enemy everywhere (lit.: below and above). All its scattered inhabitants I led back to their former settlements (lit.: collected and reinstalled). What no former king had done (I achieved): I cut through (their) duties to take up position in my (official) suite; I ordered the (following) court officials in exercise of (their) duties to take up position in my (official) suite: As \textit{ma lênnu} -officials\textsuperscript{2} Nabuzeriddinam, the chief cook, Nabuzeribni, the chief armorer (Lord High Steward), [Erib...] in charge of the palace officials, Sinshar[i]lanī(?)], the major-domo, Atkal-ana-Mar-Esa-gila

\textit{(iv)}

\textit{(some names broken), Inaqibit-Bel [the [...], Bel-enish, the chief [...], Ardia, the \textit{ma lênnu} of the “House-of-the-Palace-Women,” Beluballit, the secretary of the “House-of-the-Palace-Women,” Silla,}

\textit{1 Text: na-a-bu-a’-n.}

\textit{2 Read: nū[l]-še-qa-[l-bīt].}

\textit{3 Text: na-a-bu-a’-n.}

\textit{4 Read: nū[l]-še-qa-[l-bīt].}

\textit{5 Text: na-a-bu-a’-n.}

\textit{6 Read: nū[l]-še-qa-[l-bīt].}

\textit{7 Text: na-a-bu-a’-n.}

\textit{8 Read: nū[l]-še-qa-[l-bīt].}

\textit{9 Text: na-a-bu-a’-n.}

\textit{10 Read: nū[l]-še-qa-[l-bīt].}
the chief master-of-ceremonies, Nabuahusur, the chief of the engineers, Mushallim-Marduuk, Nabu-usbibahi (and) Eribshu, the overseers (lit.: heads) of the slave-girls, Nabubelusur, overseer of the slave-girls, Nabu-zeribini, the cupbearer, Nergalresua, the chief of the singers, Ardi-Nabu, the sipimu-official of the crown prince, Eaidanni, the chief of the cattle, Rimutu, the chief of the cattle, Nabumarsharrusur, the chief of the sailors, (and) Hanunu, the chief of the royal merchants;

(and as) the officials of the country Akkad (i.e. Babylon): Eadaian, the governor of the sea-Country, Nergalsharurus, the Sin-magir, Emuqahi (?), (the governor) of Tupilash, Belshumishkun (the governor of Puqudu, Bibbea, the Dakkurean, Nadinahi, the "official" of the country Iaptiru, the "official" of the town of Ia-a-hu-du.

(v)

... Mushezib-Bel, the "official" of ...

(and as) the "officials": Shumkenum, the "official" of the town Dur-[Ia]-a-hu-du, Bania, the "official" of the town Limetum, Mardukzeribini, the "official" of the town Marduksharrani, the district officer of Su-mandar, Belidarum, the Amuqean; Rimutu, the regular governor of Zame, Beletirnapshate, the governor of the Sea-Country, Eadaian, the governor of the Sea-Country, Nabuahusur, the chief of the cattle, Nabumarsharrusur, the chief of the sailors, (and) Hanunu, the chief of the royal merchants;

... Mushezib-Bel, the "official" of ...

(and as) the "officials": Shumkenum, the "official" of the town Dur-[Ia]-a-hu-du, Bania, the "official" of the town Limetum, Mardukzeribini, the "official" of the town Marduksharrani, the district officer of Su-mandar, Belidarum, the Amuqean; Rimutu, the regular governor of Zame, Beletirnapshate, the governor of the Sea-Country, Eadaian, the governor of the Sea-Country, Nabuahusur, the chief of the cattle, Nabumarsharrusur, the chief of the sailors, (and) Hanunu, the chief of the royal merchants;

... Mushezib-Bel, the "official" of ...

(and as) the "officials": Shumkenum, the "official" of the town Dur-[Ia]-a-hu-du, Bania, the "official" of the town Limetum, Mardukzeribini, the "official" of the town Marduksharrani, the district officer of Su-mandar, Belidarum, the Amuqean; Rimutu, the regular governor of Zame, Beletirnapshate, the governor of the Sea-Country, Eadaian, the governor of the Sea-Country, Nabuahusur, the chief of the cattle, Nabumarsharrusur, the chief of the sailors, (and) Hanunu, the chief of the royal merchants;

... Mushezib-Bel, the "official" of ...

(and as) the "officials": Shumkenum, the "official" of the town Dur-[Ia]-a-hu-du, Bania, the "official" of the town Limetum, Mardukzeribini, the "official" of the town Marduksharrani, the district officer of Su-mandar, Belidarum, the Amuqean; Rimutu, the regular governor of Zame, Beletirnapshate, the governor of the Sea-Country, Eadaian, the governor of the Sea-Country, Nabuahusur, the chief of the cattle, Nabumarsharrusur, the chief of the sailors, (and) Hanunu, the chief of the royal merchants;
changed during the rule of the king Erba-Marduk removing her cella and unharnessing her team, (and who) therefore had left Eanna angry and stayed (hence) in an (un)seemly place while they had placed in her chapel some image ("Lamassu") which was not appropriate for Eanna, (this) Ishtar ("XXV") he (the king of Akkad) appeased and he (re)installed her in her cella putting to her (chariot) the seven lions which befri her godhead. The incorrect (image of) Ishtar ("XXV") he took out of Eanna and brought back to her shrine Eanna (the correct image of) Inanna (1 n. n i n. n a). (As to) the Ishtar ("Il-tar"), the lady of Elam, the princess who dwells in Susa (two lines missing)

(iv)

sitting/dwelling... which is in... whom nobody has seen for a long time, her throne he erected of abalaster shining like the sun (lit.: day) and of reddish gold. (As to) the goddess Anunitum residing in Sippar, whose residence in old times a (victorious) enemy had removed to Arrapha and whose sanctuary the Gutians had destroyed, and whose cult Neriglissar had renewed and whose (image) he had clad with an attire befitting her godhead, he made her stay ( provisionally)—her own temple being in ruins—in a chapel in Sippar-Ammanu arranging ( only) for her nībdū (subsistence)—offerings.

After (his) days had become full and he had started out on the journey of (human) destiny his son Labash-Marduk, a minor (who) had not (yet) learned how to behave, sat down on the royal throne against the intentions of the gods and (three lines missing).

(v)

They carried me into the palace and all prostrated themselves to my feet, they kissed my feet greeting me again and again as king. (Thus) I was elevated to rule the country by the order of my lord Marduk and (therefore) I shall obtain whatever I desire—there shall be no rival of mine!

I am the real executor of the wills of Nebuchadnezzar and Neriglissar, my royal predecessors! Their armies are entrusted to me, I shall not treat carelessly their orders and I am (anxious) to please them (i.e. to execute their plans).

Awe-Marduk, son of Nebuchadnezzar, and Labashi-Marduk, son of Neriglissar [called up] their [1,001]ps and... their... they dispersed. Their orders (7-8 lines missing)

(vi)

them and prayed to them; with regard to the impending constellation of the Great Star and the moon, I became

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(i)

two or three lines missing) [Against Akkad] he (i.e. Sennacherib) had evil intentions, he thought out crimes against the country (Babylon), [he had] no mercy for the inhabitants of the country. With evil intentions against Babylon he let its sanctuaries fall in disrepair, disturbed the (ir) foundation outlines and let the cultic rites fall into oblivion. He (even) led the princely Marduk away and brought (him) into Ashur. (But) he acted (thus against the country only) according to the wrath(ful will) of the gods. The princely Marduk did not appease his anger, for 21 years he established his seat in Ashur. (But eventually) the time became full, the (predetermined) moment arrived, and the wrath of the king of the gods, the lord of lords calmed down; he remembered (again) Esagila and Babylon, his princely residence. (Therefore) he made his own son murder the king of Subartu (Assyria), he who (once) upon the wrath(ful command) of Marduk (himself) had brought about the downfall of the country. (two or three lines missing)

(ii)

He (i.e. Marduk) provided him (i.e. the king of Babylon) with helpers, made him acquire a friend and caused the king of the Manda-hordes who has no rival, to bow to his orders in submission and to come to his assistance. (And) he (the king of the Manda-hordes) swept on like a flood storm, above and below, right and left, avenging Babylon in retaliation. The king of the Manda-hordes, without (religious) fear, demolished the sanctuaries of all the gods of Subartu (Assyria). He also demolished the towns within the territory of Akkad which had been hostile against the king of Akkad and had not come to his assistance (in his fight against Subartu). None of their cult(centers) he omitted, laying waste their (sacred) towns worse than a flood storm. The king of Babylon, however, for whom this sacrilegious action of Marduk was horrible, did not raise his hand against the cult(-places) of any of the great gods, but let his hair unkempt; slept on the floor (to express his pious desperation).

(iii)

The king of Akkad then rebuilt the temple of] those gods and [restored the (cult) of those whose sacred cities Marduk had expressly permitted to be resettled, and whose deserted ruin-hills—the (former) sanctuaries of the gods—he (Marduk) had put into his (Neriglissar's) hands. (Also) the Ishtar (Inanna) of Uruk, the exalted princess who (formerly) dwelt in a gold(clad) cella (and on a chariot) to which were harnessed seven lions, whose cult the inhabitants of Uruk had

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1 Lit.: "to blot out" (makhā). This seems to have been done to make it impossible to retrace the outlines of the original foundation-walls and therefore to rebuild the sanctuary.

2 For a translation of this column, cf. J. Leory, in MVAG, xxx/2 (1924), 80 ff.

3 For the phrase nālīē mālī, cf. B. Meissner, BAWk., i, 52 f.
apprehensive (but) (in a dream) a (I) man came to my assistance, saying to me: "There are no evil portents (involved) in the impending constellation!"

In the same dream, when my royal predecessor Nebuchadnezzar and one attendant (appeared to me) standing on a chariot, the attendant said to Nebuchadnezzar: "Do speak to Nabonidus, that he should report to you the dream he has seen!" Nebuchadnezzar listened to him and said to me: "Tell me what good (signs) you have seen!" (And) I answered him, saying: "In my dream I beheld with joy the Great Star, the moon and the sun and the great stars dwelling in heaven, the great witnesses (of my dream) I set up for them and prayed to them for a life lasting through many days, permanence of (my) throne, endurance of (my) rule, and that my words might be received favorably before Marduk my lord. (Then) I lay down and beheld in a night(ly vision) the goddess Gula who restores the health of the dead(ly sick) and bestows long life. I prayed (thus) indicating (her) mercy. I entered the temple ē. m i g. p a. k a l a m. m a. s u m. m u into the presence of Nebo, he who extends the length of (my) rule; he placed into my hands the correct scepter, the lawful staff, which (alone) ensures the aggrandizement of the country. I beheld the throne of the goddess Tashmetum (who is) Gula (in the role of) bestower of life. She did present my cause favorably before Marduk, my lord, with regard to the lengthening of (my) life into future days and the overthrowing of all opposition.11 And the wrath of Marduk, my lord, did (eventually) calm down and—full of awe—I dared to praise him; (then) with fervent prayers I approached his sanctuary and (eventually) addressed my prayers to him (directly), telling him my very thoughts as follows: "If I am in reality a king who pleases your heart—and I am not certain (yet), I (still) do not know (this)—one in whose (text: my) hands you, lord of lords, intend to entrust a kingship which is more (important) than that of the kings whom you have nominated in former times to exercise the rule12—do make my days last long; (if) I live through long years (lit.: if my years grow old), I shall care for the sanctuaries (of the gods)" (one line missing) [a fabric befitting a] god [... embossed and made sparkling with precious stones and gold-appliqués] was its front, I had made (lit.: fit) beautifully into garments befitting their godheads, for my lord Ea who increases my royal power, for Nebo, the administrator of all the upper and nether world, who lengthens the span of my life, for my lady Tashmetum who watches over my life. I furthermore made—what no former king had done—an arattu throne of reddish gold for my lord Ea, according to the (customs/models of the) past, and placed it, as a seat for him, in his shrine ē. k a r. z a. g i n. n a (Lapis-Lazuli Quay).

I am a king who always, daily (and) without interruption, is interested in the maintenance of the temples Esagila and Ezida. I had plated with shining silver the wooden door-leaves of (all) the rooms in the temple of the gods of the upper and the nether world (to wit) the mystery-room (lit.: room of seclusion) of Marduk and Sarpanit, and the door-leaves of the temple ki. d u r u n. k a12 which are on both sides of the temple ē. m a h, and (also) those of the gate of the goddess Beltia (Madonna) for the procession of Sarpanit, the beloved of Marduk, she who makes firm/steadfast the foundations of my royal throne. As to the main gate, the gate of the temple ē. m a h, the door-leaves of which consisted (each) of one leaf covered with (ordinary) wood, I rebuilt these door-leaves as lulimu doors made of cedarwood and mounted them with gold-bronze making them as shining as the sun, so that the coating could show that excellence which is befitting to these (door-leaves). On (unintelligible)13 I put them on (their) hinges (lit.: places). I [had also made] the bronze snakes which are upon the supporting walls of the temple ē. m a h and the bronze wild-oxen.

(ix)

(one line missing) I am (also) a caretaker who brings large gifts to the great gods. In the month of Nisanu, the 10th day, when Marduk, the king of the gods, as well as (all) the (other) gods from the upper and the

[11] This passage is very difficult; my translation is necessarily provisional, based upon the peculiar situation (Marduk as the natural protector of legitimacy versus Nabonidus as usurper troubled by his conscience). Exactly as in the Eski-Harran Memorial, longevity is considered here a gift with which the deity endows her favorites among men.

[12] The name of this temple or chapel must not be confused with that of the temple of the goddess Nin-Eanna in Babylon: ē. k i. d u r u n. p a n which appears sometimes (cf., e.g., Strassmaier, Nbk., 24712) as ē. k i. d u r u n. k a n i. The latter is also the name of a sanctuary in Kish, cf. J. A. Craig, Hebraica, ii (1897), 25, text BIM, Sm 239, obv.(?) line 11.

[13] The meaning of this term remains obscure.

[14] Text: ins k i 13 8 N a m m u. Meaning?
the other gods and goddess(es): I went to Uruk, Larsa and Ur and brought silver, gold (and) precious stones to Sin, Shamash and Ishtar. When I (then) proceeded, (unintelligible) to the town of the god Mah ... beer, abundant sacrifices ...

(x)

more than 10 lines missing) [as to the temples of the gods] whose storehouses [were empty] (and) where since ... their (gods) had not dwelt, these (temples) Marduk, my lord, called to my attention and entrusted me (lit.: put into my hands) with the restoration of their seats (to wit) predestined by the gods, the moment for the appeasement of the angry gods and the resettlement of their seats to (be the pious duty of) my rule. As to the temple ē.šıkur/sızkur, the chapel of the offerings, the aḫḫu -chapel of the "Lord of Justice," I brought in for them 100 talents (and) 21 minas of silver (corresponding in value to) 5 talents and 17 minas of gold, in (addition) to the annual gurru -offerings which (come) from tokens of homage, from the excessive abundance of the (flat) lands, the rich yield of the mountain regions, the incoming taxes of all inhabited regions, (from) tokens of esteem (given) by kings, (from) the vast treasures which the prince Marduk has entrusted to me, (all) as perpetual (and) voluntary gurru -offerings for Bel, Nebo and Nergal, the great gods who love my rule and watch over my life. To Nebo and Nergal, my divine helpers, I (also) dedicated as temple slaves 2,850 men of the prisoners from the country Hume to carry the (earth) baskets (because) Marduk, my lord, has given more (prisoners) into my hands than to (any of) my royal predecessors. After they had performed the festival of the aḫḫu -chapel, and Bel and the son of Bel (i.e. Nebo) had taken up their (respective) comfortable seats, I brought to them (further) sumptuous gifts. In the great sacred cities, I prostrated myself before (the other) god(s) and goddess(es): I went to Urk, Larsa and Ur and brought silver, gold (and) precious stones to Sin, Shamash and Ishtar. When I (then) proceeded, (unintelligible) to the town of the god Mah ... beer, abundant sacrifices ...

which keeps the great gods alive," in order not to (permit an) interruption of the oracles given by him (Sin) (by means of this seal?)

(xi)

(This column contains a list of quotations from hepatoscopy texts concerning the results obtained during the examination of the liver of a sheep sacrificed for that purpose probably when this stela was set up.)

(b) The Family of Nabonidus

Memorial written either for the mother or the grandmother of Nabonidus, published by H. Pogson, in Inscriptions sémites de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul (Paris, 1907), Pls. xii-xiii, and pp. 1 ff. For important corrections, cf. E. Dhorme, RB, 1908, 130 ff., and—superseding previous literature—J. Lewy, The Late Assyro-Babylonian Cult of the Moon and its Culmination at the time of Nabonidus (HUC, xix [1949], 405-486), as well as B. Landsberger, Die Basaltstele Nabonids von Eski-Harran, in Feld Edhem Hicaz Kitabi (Ankara, 1947); cf. also, S. Smith, Isaiah, Chapter XXI-XXV (Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1940), (London, 1944), pp. 22-28; and E. Dhorme, RA, xli (1947), pp. 1-22.

(i)

(one line destroyed); day and night through month(s) and year(s) 1 ... for the moment; holding the hem (of the garment) of Sin, the king of the gods, looking at him (every) night and (every) day; [in] supplication and prostration, I remained before them (i.e. the gods) saying: "May your return (i.e. Sin's) to your town take place so that (its) black-headed inhabitants can worship for all days to come your great godhead!" [Upon an idea prompted by my (personal) god and goddess [I did not (anymore) let touch] my body garments (made) of s a g cloth, silver[finery], new underwear nor perfumes, sweet(smelling) oil; I was clad [only in] ... and I was performing the religious duties [in] ... and in (ritual) silence. For the [ ...] of my town ... what my heart desired, all my finery ... to them [I offered] solemnly.

[During the time from Ashurbanipal], the king of Assyria, [in] whose [rule] I was born—(to wit): [21 years] under Ashurbanipal, [4 years under Ashur]-etilu-ilani, his son, [21 years under Nabupola]ssar, 43 years under Nebuchadnezzar, [2 years under Ewili-]

17 This seems to be an allusion to the well-established Mesopotamian concept that it is the function of the temple to receive and to transmit the sacrifices to the deity which "lives" on them.

18 The meaning of the text seems to suggest this translation and the proposed interpretation—although no Mesopotamian parallels can be adduced to support it.

3 J. Lewy proposes to restore this line as "[I am] Shumma ṣawa[a], the god[venom]."

8 Landsberger reads: ad-di n?; Lewy (HUCA, xix, 414, 4:50): ap(-) lab(-). 9 The term s i g . s a g does not denote "fine, first-class wool" as one would be inclined to think, but wool of a specific color. This results clearly from the Middle-Babylonian text, Clay, DM, 11/2, 4414-3, where various amounts of s i g . i g . i g . and s i g . s a g . s a g are summed up as s i g . p a . i.e. "colored wool," or from the text DM, 11/2, 135, 4:9-6, mentioning garments described as tu-bar-

15 Text: Jukind.

16 Text difficult: ina Mah. ... dina ṭiš ... ina i-te ... qa-ia.

17 This column contains a list of quotations from hepatoscopy texts concerning the results obtained during the examination of the liver of a sheep sacrificed for that purpose probably when this stela was set up.
had been put into office—they had given rich gifts, performed actually as much as a fumigation-offering, whereas I brought monthly, without interruption—in my best garments—offerings to their souls, fat lambs, bread, fine beer, wine, oil, honey, and all kinds of garden fruits, and established as perpetual offerings abundant fumigations (yielding) sweet smells for them and placed ... before them.

(Postscript) In the [ninth] year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, she died a natural death, and Nabonidus, king of Babylon, the offspring of her womb, the favorite of his mother, deposited her corpse (in the coffin) (clad in) fine (woolen) garments, shining linen, (with) golden A.LU(?), precious and costly stones [he decked her out]; [he sprinkled] her corpse with perfumed oil. They dep[osited] (the coffin) [in a] secure tomb and, in front of it, he (then) slaughtered cattle and fat sheep, and he assembled into [his] presence the inhabitants of Babylon and Borsippa (broken).

(c) Nabonidus and the Clergy of Babylon

The "Verse Account of Nabonidus" is preserved on the damaged tablet British Museum 38,299 which was published by Sidney Smith, in Babylonian Historical Texts, Pls. v-x, transliteration and translation, pp. 83 ff. The understanding of the difficult and partly very damaged poem was greatly furthered by Landsberger-Bauer, ZA, xxxvii (1926-27), (NF iii), 88 ff. The following translation is to a large extent based upon the interpretation given by Landsberger-Bauer. cf. also, S. Smith, in Isaiah, Chapter XL-LV Literary Criticism and History (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1940), London, 1944.

(i) 

(one line destroyed)

[... law (and) order are not promulgated by him, [... he made perish the common people through wjant, the nobles he killed in war, [... for] the trader he blocked the road.

[...] for the farmer] he made rare the kuru[ppu] [... there is no ... in the country [... the harvester] does not sing the alalu-song (any more)

[...] he does not fence in (any more) the arable territory. [...]

(ii) 

In his love for me who (always) worshiped his godhead, held (in prayers) the hem of his garment, Sin, the god of the gods, had pronounced (and therefore) I did see myself (how) Nabonidus, the king of Babylon (or: NIM), the offspring of my womb, reinstalled completely the forgotten rites of Sin, Ningal, Nusku (and) Sadarunna, (how) he rebuilt the temple ē. ĕ 1. ĕ 1. ĕ 1. and completed its construction. He (also) restored completely the town of Harran (making it bigger) than (it was) before. He led (the images of) Sin, Ningal, Nusku (and) Sadarunna from Babylon, his royal residence, to Harran and made them take their seats in the temple ē. ĕ 1. ĕ 1. ĕ 1., the sanctuary which pleases their hearts, under the jubilant rejoicing (of the population).

In his love for me who (always) worshiped his godhead, held (in prayers) the hem of his garment, Sin, the king of the gods, did what he never did before, gave (to me) what he had not given to anybody (else); (to wit) Sin, the king of the gods, chose me (lit.: lifted my head) and made my name famous in the world by adding many (lit.: long) days (and) years of (full) mental capacity (to the normal span of life) and (thus) kept me alive—from the time of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, to the 6th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, the son of my womb, (that is) for 104 happy years, according to what Sin, the king of the gods, had promised me (lit.: put into my heart). (And indeed all the time) my eyesight was keen, my hearing excellence, my hands and feet in perfect condition, my diction well chosen, food and drink agreed with me, ... I was in good spirits, ...

He' served them (the Assyrian kings) as an official, did always what was agreeable to them and made me a fine name before them (treating me) like their own daughter, (they) chose me (to become a governess). Afterwards they died; none of their children, none of their families and of their officials to whom—when they

3 For the alalu-song, cf. my remarks in BASOR, 103 (1946), 11 ff.
BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN HISTORICAL TEXTS

[... he took away] their property, scattered their possessions,
[...] he ruined completely,
[...] their corpses* on a dark/obscure [place,
[...] became narrow/small.

[...] their faces became changed/hostile,
[...] they do not parade along the wide street,
[...] you do not see happiness (any more);
[...] is unpleasant, they decided.

[As to Nabonidus] (his) protective deity became hostile to him,
[And he, the former favorite of the gods (is now) seized by misfortunes:
[...] against the will of the gods he performed an unholy action,
[...] he thought out something worthless:

[He had made the image of a deity] which nobody had (ever) seen in (this) country
[He introduced it into the temple] he placed (it) upon a pedestal;
[...] he called it by the name of Nanna,
[...] it is adorned with a ... of lapis lazuli,* crowned with a tiara,

[...] its appearance is (that of) the eclipsed moon,*
[...] the gesture* of its hand is like that of the god Lugal-Su-du,
[...] its head of hair reaches to the pedestal,
[...] in front of it are (placed) the Storm Dragon and the Wild Bull.

[When he worshiped it] its appearance became [like that of a ... demon crowned with] a tiara
[...] his [ ... became ...] his face turned hostile,
[...] his form became [ ...]
[ ...] was his name.

[ ...] at his [fe]et.

(ii)
(at least one line missing)
[His form] not (even) Ea-Mummu could have formed,
Not (even) the learned Adapa knows his name.

(Nabonidus said): "I shall build a temple for him, I shall construct his (holy) seat,

I shall form its (first) brick (for) him, I shall establish firmly its foundation,
I shall make a replica even to the temple Ekur,
I shall call its name eš u l. šu l for all days to come!

"When I will have fully executed what I have planned,
I shall lead him by his hand and establish him on his seat.
(Yet) till I have achieved this, till I have obtained what is my desire,
I shall omit (all) festivals, I shall order (even) the New Year's Festival to cease!"

And he formed its (first) brick, did lay out the outlines,
He spread* out the foundation, made high its summit,
By means of (wall-decorations made of) gypsum and bitumen he made its facing brilliant,
As in the temple Esagila he made a ferocious wild-bull stand (on guard) in front of it.

After he had obtained what he desired, a work of utter deceit,
Had built (this) abomination, a work of unholiness—when the third year was about to begin—
He entrusted the "Camp" to his oldest (son), the first-born,
The troops everywhere in the country he ordered under his (command).

He let (everything) go,* entrusted the kingship to him
And, himself, he started out for a long journey,
The (military) forces of Akkad marching with him;
He turned towards Tema (deep) in the west.

He started out the expedition on a path (leading) to a distant (region). When he arrived there,
He killed in battle the prince of Tema,
Slaughtered the flocks of those who dwell in the city (as well as) in the countryside,
And he, himself, took his residence in [Tem]a, the forces of Akkad [were also stationed] there.

He made the town beautiful, built (there) [his palace]
Like the palace in Šu-u-nu-a (Babylon), he (also) built [walls]

* Read: [pa]-ru-li-ru.
* Landsberger reads [ziqnu] za-qin.
* Obscure simile.
* For lēlā "to spread out," cf. Thureau-Dangin VIII* Camp. p. 134, n.9,
and R. C. Thompson, RA, xxvi (1929), 51, n.1.
* Idiomatic expression: qattarša; cf. also, F. R. Kraus, in ZA, xlii (NF xii), 109.
(For) the fortifications of the town and [...].
He surrounded the town with sentinels [...].

[The inhabitants] became troubled [...]
The brick form [and the brick basket he imposed upon them]
Through the (hard) work [they...]

(iii)
(two or more lines destroyed)
He killed the inhabitants [...]
Women and youngsters [...]
Their prosperity (lit.: possessions) he brought to an end [...]
(All) the barley which he found therein [...]

His tired/weary army [grumbled ...]
...[...]
The hazadnu-official of Cyrus [...]

(iv)
(This column contains now only ten lines, of which but few words at their beginnings are preserved, such as "after," "[the symbol] stylus," "the king is mad," "the Lord-of-the-Stylus," ..., "portents were observed...", "How?")

(v)
(break)
The praise of the Lord of Lords [and the names of the countries]
Which he has not conquered he wrote upon [this stela...].

(While) Cyrus (is) the king of the world whose throne (of all the countries) are true
And whose yoke the kings of all the countries are pulling,
He (Nabonidus) has written upon his stone tablets: "[I have made... bow to my feet
I personally have conquered his countries, his possessions I took to my residence."
[Big cattle he slaughtered with the axe,18 he slaughtered many asku-sheep18
Incense he put on the censer, the regular offerings for the Lord of Lords he ordered increased,
He constantly prayed to] the gods, prostrated on his face,
[To be/do ...] is dear to his heart.

[To build up/repair the town of Babylon] he conceived the idea
[And he himself took up hoe, spade and] earth basket and began to complete the wall of Babylon!
[The original plan of] Nebuchadnezzar they (the inhabitants) executed with a willing heart,
[ ... ... he built fortifications on the Imgur-Enlil-wall.

[The images of Babylon(ia), male and female, he returned to their cellas,
[The ... who] had abandoned their [cha]pels he returned to their mansions,
[Their wrath] he appeased, their mind he put at rest,
[ ... those whose power was] at a low he brought back to life
[Because] their food is served (to them) [regularly].

[ ... ] (these) deeds he effected,
[ ... which] he has constructed, all the sanctuaries
[ ... of his [royal rule ... he has eradicated,
[ ... of his ... the wind carried away.

[ ... ] his picture/symbol he effaced,
[ ... in all] the sanctuaries the inscriptions of his name are erased,
[ ... whatever he (Nabonidus) had created, he (Cyrus) let fire burn up
[ ... what he (Nabonidus) had created, he (Cyrus) fed to the flames!

[To the inhabitants of] Babylon a (joyful) heart is given now
[They are like prisoners when] the prisons are opened
[Liberty is restored to] those who were surrounded by oppression
[All rejoice] to look upon him as king!
(broken)

3. CYRUS (557-539)

Inscription on a clay barrel, published in Rawlinson, v, 35.

(one line destroyed)
... [r]iims (of the world) ... a weakling has been installed as the end1 of his country; [the correct images of the gods he removed from their thrones, imitations he ordered to place upon them. A replica of the temple Esagila he has... for Ur and the other sacred cities inappropriate rituals ... daily he did blabber [incorrect prayers]. He (furthermore) interrupted in a fiendish way the regular offerings, he did ... he established within the sacred cities. The worship of Marduk, the king of the gods, he [changed into abomination, daily he used to do evil against his (i.e. Marduk's) city. ... He [tormenteds its [inhabitants] with corvéework (lit.: a yoke) without relief, he ruined them all.

Upon their complaints the lord of the gods became terribly angry and [he departed from] their region, (also) the (other) gods living among them left their mansions, wroth that he had brought (them) into Babylon (Šu.an.na4). (But) Marduk [who does care for] ... on account of (the fact that) the sanctuaries of all their settlements were in ruins and the inhabitants of Sumer and Akkad had become like (living) dead, turned back (his countenance) [his] anger [abated] and he had mercy (upon them). He scanned and looked (through) all the countries, searching for a righteous ruler willing to lead him (i.e. Marduk) (in the annual procession).3 (Then) he pronounced the name of Cyrus (Ku-ra-at), king of Anshan, declared him (lit.: pronounced [his] name) to be(come) the ruler of all the world. He made the Guti country and all the Manda-hordes bow in submission to his (i.e. Cyrus') feet. And he (Cyrus) did always endeavour to treat according to justice the black-headed whom he (Marduk) has made him conquer. Marduk, the great lord, a protector of his people/worshippers, beheld with pleasure his (i.e. Cyrus') good deeds and his upright mind (lit.: heart) (and therefore) ordered him to march against his city Babylon (Ká.din.gir.ra). He made him set out on the road to Babylon (من.رئ) going at his side like a real friend. His widespread troops—their number, like that of the water of a river, could not be established—strolled along, their weapons packed away.4 Without any battle, he made him enter his town Babylon (Šu.an.na), sparing Babylon (Ká.din.gir.ra4) any calamity. He delivered into his (i.e. Cyrus') hands Nabonidus, the king who did not

1 The old Sumerian title appears here in a context which seems to indicate that the primitive concept concerning the intimate connection between the physical vitality of the ruler and the prosperity of the country, was still valid in the political speculations of the Babylonian clergy.
2 For this meaning of the idiomatic phrase qid ñ[N] šubub, cf. my remarks in IAOS, xxii (1941), 270.
3 Text: 9kkidli-šu-šu-an-du-ma.

15 Text: [d-pa]-li-qi from ṭalagū "to slaughter with the ṭalagū-axe" attested, e.g., in Tumuršu-Dingir, Rituals accændens, p. 14 (text p. 4) n:16; also, C. Muller-Weir, in JEA (1929), 354 (KAR 306), line 14 (in parallelism to ṭalagū). For the pertinent tool, cf., e.g., ṭalagūkiyāšimšē in the Obelisk of Man-sumu (V. Scheil, Délégation en Perse, Mémo., Vol. vi, face 0 vll:12).
worship him (i.e. Marduk). All the inhabitants of Babylon (din.tir4) as well as of the entire country of Sumer and Akkad, princes and governors (included), bowed to him (Cyrus) and kissed his feet, jubilant that he (had received) the kingship, and with shining faces. Happily they greeted him as a master through whose help they had come (again) to life from death (and) had all been spared damage and disaster, and they worshiped him (very) name.

I am Cyrus, king of the world, great king, legitimate king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four rims (of the earth), son of Cambyses, grandson of Cyrus, great king, king of Anshan, descendant of Teispes, great king, king of Anshan, of a family (which) always (exercised) kingship: whose rule Bel and Nebo love, whom they want as king to please their hearts.

When I entered Babylon (din.tir4) as a friend and (when) I established the seat of the government in the palace of the ruler under jubilation and rejoicing, Marduk, the great lord, [induced] the magnanimous inhabitants of Babylon (din.tir4) [to love me], and I was daily endeavouring to worship him. My numerous troops walked around in Babylon (din.tir4) in peace, I did not allow anybody to terrorize (any place) of the [country of Sumer] and Akkad. I strove for peace in Babylon (K á . d i n g i r . r a 4 a ) and in all his (other) sacred cities. As to the inhabitants of Babylon (din.tir4), [who] against the will of the gods [had/were . . . , I abolished] the corvée (lit.: yoke) which was against sacred cities. As to the inhabitants of Babylon (din.tir4), I did not allow anybody to terrorize (any place) of the [country of Sumer] and Akkad.

Ahuramazda is the great god who gave (us) this earth, who gave (us) that sky, who gave (us) mankind, who gave to his worshipers’ prosperity, who made Xerxes, the king, (rule) the multitudes (as) only king, give alone orders to the other (kings).

I am Xerxes, the great king, the only king (lit.: king of kings), the king of (all) countries (which speak) all kinds of languages, the king of this (entire) big and far-reaching earth,—the son of king Darius, the Achaemenian, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan (ar-ri-i)-of Aryan descent (lit.: seed).

Thus speaks king Xerxes: These are the countries—in addition to Persia—over which I am king under the "shadow" of Ahuramazda, over which I hold sway, which are bringing their tribute to me—whatever is commanded them by me, that they do and they abide by my law(s)—: Media, Elam, Arachosia, Urartu (Pers. version: Armenia), Drangiana, Parthia, (H)aria, Bactria, Sogdia, Chorasmia, Babylonia, Assyria, Sattagydia, Sardis, Egypt (Mi-sir), the Ionians who live on the salty sea and (those) who live beyond (lit.: on the other shore) of the salty sea, Maka, Arabia, Gandara, India, Cappadocia, Da’an, the Myryan Cimmerians (Pers. and Elam. versions: Sakans), the Cimmerians (wearing) pointed caps, the Skudra, the Akupish, Libya, Bannelsu (Carians) and Kush.
Thus speaks king Xerxes: After I became king, there were (some) among these countries (names of which) are written above, which revoluted (but I crushed (lit.: killed) these countries, after Ahuramazda had given me his support, under the "shadow" of Ahuramazda, and I put them (again) into their (former political) status. Furthermore, there were among these countries (some) which performed (religious) service (lit.: festival) to the "Evil (God)s," but under the "shadow" of Ahuramazda I destroyed (lit.: eradicated) these temples of the "Evil (God)s" and proclaimed (as follows): "You must not perform (religious) service to the 'Evil (God)s' (any more)!" Wherever formerly (religious) service was performed to the "Evil (God)s," I, myself, performed a (religious) service to Ahuramazda and the arta (cosmic order) reverently. Furthermore, there were other things which were done in a bad way, and these (too) I made in the correct way.

All these things which I did, I performed under the "shadow" of Ahuramazda and Ahuramazda gave me his support until I had accomplished everything.

Whosoever you are, in future (days) who thinks (as follows): "May I be prosperous in this life and blessed after my death!"—do live according to this law which Ahuramazda has promulgated: "Perform (religious) service (only) for Ahuramazda and the arta (cosmic order) reverently." A man who lives according to this law which Ahuramazda has promulgated, and (who) performs (religious) service (only) to Ahuramazda and the arta (cosmic order) reverently, will be prosperous while he is alive and—(when) dead—he will become blessed.

Thus speaks king Xerxes: May Ahuramazda protect me, my family and these countries from all evil. This I do ask of Ahuramazda and this Ahuramazda may grant me!

5. ANTIΟΧΟΣ ΣΩΤΕΡ (280-262/1)

Published in Rawlinson, Vol. v, Pl. 66; latest translation: F. H. Weissbach, Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden (VAB, iii, Leipzig, 1911), pp. 134 ff.

I am Antiochus (Ἀντίοχος, Ἀντίοχος), the great king, the legitimate king, the king of the world, king of Babylon (ass, king of all countries, the caretaker of the temples Esagila and Ezida, the first-born son of king Seleucus), king of Babylon (Seleucia), the Macedonian (Seleucia), king of Babylon.

When I conceived the idea of (re)constructing Esagila and Ezida, I formed with my august hands (when I was still) in the country Hatti (the first brick for Esagila and Ezida with the finest oil and brought (it with me) for the laying of the foundation of Esagila and Ezida. And in the month of Addaru, the 20th day, the 43rd year (of the Seleucid era), I did lay the foundation of Ezida, the (only) true temple of Nebo which is in Borsippa.

O Nebo, lofty son, (most) wise among the gods, splendid (and) worthy of all praise, first-born son of Marduk, child of Arua, the queen who fashioned all creation, do look friendly (upon me) and may—upon your lofty command which is never revoked—the overthrow of the country of my enemy, the fulfillment of (all) my wishes against my foes, constant predominance, a kingdom (ruled) in justice (to all), an orderly government, years of happiness, enough progeny (lit.: to be sated with progeny) be your permanent gift to the (joint) kingship of Antiochus and his son, king Seleucus!

When you, prince Nebo, born in (lit.: son of) Esagila, first-born of Marduk, child of Arua the queen, enter—under jubilant rejoicings—Ezida, the (only) true temple, the temple (befitting) your position as Anu (i.e. highermost of the gods), the seat which gladdens your heart, may—upon your trustworthy command which cannot be made void—my days (on earth) be long, my years many, my throne firm, my rule lasting, under your lofty scepter which determines the borderline between the heaven and the nether world. May (only words of) favor be on your sacred lips (lit.: mouth) with regard to me, and may I personally conquer (all) the countries from sunrise to sunset, gather their tribute and bring it (home) for the perfection of Esagila and Ezida.

O Nebo, foremost son, when you enter Ezida, the (only) true temple, may there be on your lips (lit.: mouth) (words of) favor for Antiochus, the king of all countries, for Seleucus, the king, his son (and) for Stratonike (Ἀστα-αρ-α-νι-κί-κου), his consort, the queen!

Antiochus was, at that time, in Syria; cf. W. W. Tarn, The Cambridge Ancient History, viii (Cambridge, 1953), 701 f.

Oil was presumably used to keep the brick, prepared by the king himself as his first royal act, in a state of "freshness" till it was actually deposited in the ground. For the use of substitutes for clay when this common matter was to be touched by royal hands, I refer here to two misunderstood passages; Nabopolassar (text: ZA, rv [1889], 129 ff., col. iii2-3) reports: "I made my first-born son Nebuchadnezzar carry clay (which was in reality) a mixture of wine, oil, and resin-cuttings (tsi-it-tam be-el-la-at karani samni) to the (joint) kingship of Antiochus and his son, king Seleucus!

Hittite Historical Texts
TRANSLATOR: ALBRECHT GOETZE

Suppiluliumas Destroys the Kingdom of Mitanni


I, the Sun Suppiluliumas, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, the valiant, the favorite of the Storm-god, went to war. Because of king Tusratta's presumptuousness I crossed the Euphrates and invaded the country of Isuwa. The country of Isuwa I vanquished for the second time and made them again my subjects. The countries which in the time of my father had crossed over into the country of Isuwa, (namely) people from Gurtalissa, people from Arawanna, the country of Zazziza, the country of Kalasma, the country of Tim(m)i,na, the mountain district of Haliwa, the mountain district of Karn, people from Turmitta, the country of Alha, the country of Hurma, the mountain district of Harana, half of the country of Tagaram, people from Tepuriya, people from Hazga, people from Armata—these peoples and these countries I vanquished, and reconquered them for the Hatti land. The countries which I captured I set free and they remained in their respective places; but all the people whom I set free, they returned to their people and the Hatti land took over their places.

(25) I, the Sun Suppiluliumas, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, the valiant, the favorite of the Storm-god, reached the country of Tegarama and captured the provincial center Kutmar. To Antar-atal of the country of Alse I presented it as a gift. I proceeded to the provincial center Suta and ransacked it. I reached Wasukanni. The inhabitants of the provincial center Suta together with their cattle, sheep (and) horses, together with their possessions and together with their deportees I brought to the Hatti land. Tusratta, the king, had departed, he did not come to meet me in battle.

(30) I turned around and (re)crossed the Euphrates. I vanquished the country of Halba and the country of Mukis. Takuya, the king of Neya, came before me to the country of Mukis to sue for peace. But in Takuya's absence, his brother Akit-Tessub persuaded the country of Neya and the city Neya to revolt. Akit-Tessub entered into a conspiracy with the mariyanna, (namely) Hismiya, Astri, Zulkiya, Utriy and Niruwa. Together with their charioteers and their foot soldiers they entered into a conspiracy with Akiya, the king of Arahti. They occupied Arahti and rebelled; this is what they said: "Let us battle with the great king, the king of the Hatti land!" (35) I, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, vanquished them at Arahti. I took prisoner Akiya, the king of Arahti, Akit-Tessub, Akuwa's brother, and their mariyanna, all of them with all that they owned and brought them to the Hatti land. I also brought Qatna with its possessions and all that they owned to the Hatti land.

When I proceeded to the Nuhasse land, I conquered all its countries. Sarrupi had met a violent death; I took prisoner his mother, his brothers and his sons and brought them to the Hatti land. Takib-sar, his servant, placed as king over Ukulzat. I proceeded to Apina without expecting that I would have to fight with the country of Kinza. However, Sutatarr together with Aitakama, his son, and together with his charioteers went out to fight with me. I defeated him and they retreated into Abzuya; I had Abzuwa besieged. I took prisoner Sutatarr together with his son, his mariyanna, his brothers and with all that they owned and brought them to the Hatti land. I then proceeded to the country of Apina; Ariwanahi, the king of Apina, Wambadura, Akparu and Artaya, his great, went out to fight with me. (45) I took prisoner all of them with their countries and with all that they owned and brought them to the Hatti land. Because of king Tusratta's presumptuousness I RAIDED all these countries in a single year and conquered them for the Hatti land. On this side I made Mount Niblani, on the other side the Euphrates my frontier.

1 The ruler of the Mitanni kingdom in Upper Mesopotamia and contemporary of the pharaohs Amen-hotep III and IV, well-known from the Amarna letters.
2 Region in the bend of the Euphrates near Harput.
3 The mentioned countries seem to stretch from the region of Malayat toward the northwest.
4 The text gives here Tegarama; this is clearly a mistake—Tegarama follows presently—which the parallel passage obverse 12 allows us to correct.
5 Biblical Togaraha.
6 Region on the upper Tigris.
7 Assyrian Kullimeri east of the Batman Su and north of the upper Tigris.
8 In the hill country between upper Tigris and the Habur.
9 The Mitannian capital, probably opposite Tell Halaf (near modern Ras el-Ain) on the upper Habur.

10 Aleppo.
11 Today Atchana (Tell Aṣaṣa) east of Antakya.
12 Near the northernmost point of the Orontes river.
13 The nobility of the Mitanni states.
14 Today Mishrife east of the middle Orontes.
15 Region south of Aleppo toward the Orontes.
16 He had been made king there by Suppiluliumas on an earlier campaign.
17 The region of Damascus. The name is the same as Aṣaṣa; the final -na is the Hurrian article.
18 Qadesh on the Orontes.
19 The Lebanon.
Suppiluliumas and the Egyptian Queen

From Suppiluliumas' annals compiled by his son Mursilis. Texts: KBo, v, 6 (= 2BoTU, 41) iii 1 ff. and its duplicate 639/1 (MDOG, lxxv, 63 f.). Literature: H. Zimmern, ZA, NF 1 (1923), 37 ff.; A. Götze, OLZ, 1924, 581 ff.; J. Friedrich, AO, xxiv/3 (1925), 12 ff.; E. Cavaignac, Les annales de Subbiluliuma (1931), 20 ff. For a second version (KUB, xxxiv, 24, 30 etc.) see H. G. Gütterbock, Ind. Forsch., LX (1950), 199-211.

(iii) While my father was down in the country of Karkamis,¹ he dispatched Lupakkis and Tessub-zalmas to the country of Amqa.² They proceeded to attack the country of Amqa and brought deportees, cattle (and) sheep home before my father. (5) When the people of the land of Egypt heard about the attack on Amqa, they became frightened. Because, to make matters worse, their lord Bibhururiyas' had just died, the Egyptian queen who had become a widow, sent an envoy to my father and wrote him as follows: "My husband died and I have no son. People say that you have many sons. If you were to send me one of your sons, he might become my husband."

... When my father heard that, he called the great into council (saying): "Since of old such a thing has never happened before me" (20) He proceeded to dispatch Hattu-zitis, the chamberlain, (saying): "Go! Bring you reliable information back to me. They may try to deceive me and do not really want one of my sons to (take over) the kingship," the Egyptian queen answered my father in a letter as follows: "Why do you say: 'They may try to deceive me'? If I had a son, would I (iv) write to a foreign country in a manner which is humiliating to myself and to my country? You do not trust me and tell me even such a thing. (5) He who was my husband died and I have no sons. Shall I perhaps take one of my servants and make him my husband? I have not written to any other country, I have written (only) to you. (10) People say that you have many sons. Give me one of your sons and he is my husband and king in the land of Egypt." Because my father was generous, he complied with the lady's wishes and decided for (sending) the son.

(From the text translated below on p. 395, we know that the Hittite prince never reached Egypt but was murdered on his way.)

Hattusilis on Muwatallis' War Against Egypt


At the time that Muwatallis took the field against the king of the land of Egypt and the country of Amurru, and when he then had defeated the king of the land of Egypt and the country of Amurru,¹ he returned to the country Apa.² When Muwatallis, my brother, had (also) defeated Apa, he [returned to] the Hatti land, but [left] me in the country of Apa.

¹ On the coast of the Mediterranean between the sea and the upper Orontes. The defeat was accomplished in the famous battle of Qadesh when Muwatallis met Ramses II.
² The region of Damascus.
Palestinian Inscriptions

TRANSLATOR: W. F. ALBRIGHT

The Gezer Calendar

This little inscription was discovered at Gezer in 1908 by R. A. S. Macalister; it is on a school exercise tablet of soft limestone. For a number of years its date was uncertain, but recent discoveries establish its relative archaism and point to the second half of the tenth century or the very beginning of the ninth as its probable time. The writer would date it in or about the third quarter of the tenth century—about 925 B.C. in round numbers. The language is good biblical Hebrew, in a very early spelling; it is written in verse and seems to have been a kind of mnemonic ditty for children.

The official publication will be found in Macalister, Gezer, ii, pp. 24-28, and iii, Pl. cxxxvii. For a nearly exhaustive bibliography up to 1934 see Diringer, Le iscrizioni antico-ebraiche palestinesi (Florence, 1934), pp. 1-20, supplemented by Albright, BASOR, 92, pp. 16-26. For subsequent bibliography and a full discussion see Sabatino Moscati, L'epigrafia ebraica antica 1935-1959 (Rome, 1951), pp. 8-26; see also A. M. Honeyman, JRAS, 1953, pp. 53-58.

His two months are (olive) harvest, (tricolon, 2:2:2)
His two months are planting (grain),
His two months are late planting;
His month is hoeing up of flax, (tricolon, 3:3:3)
His month is harvest of barley,
His month is harvest and feasting;
His two months are vine-tending, (bicolin, 2:2)
His month is summer fruit.

The Moabite Stone

This important inscription was discovered intact in 1868; it was subsequently broken by the Arabs and in 1873 it was taken to the Louvre. The best publication is found in Dussaud, Les monuments palestiniens et judaiques (Musée du Louvre), 1912, pp. 4-22, with a magnificent photograph of the stela and a good bibliography. The work of Smend and Sohn, Die Inschriften des Königs Mesi von Moab (1886), which was long standard, is not reliable, as was pointed out in detail by Renan and Clermont-Ganneau; see especially Lidzbarski, Ephemeris, i, pp. 1-10. The most recent competent translation is that of Gressmann, AOJ, pp. 440-42. On the question of the authenticity of the text, which was strangely disputed for a long time (in spite of the fact that no forger of that time could possibly have divided the correct forms of letters in the ninth century B.C.), cf. Albright, JQR, xxxv, 1945, pp. 247-250.

For details of translation which depend on recent discoveries see especially Poebel, Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen (Chicago, 1932), pp. 7-11; Albright, BASOR, 89, p. 16, n.35. There are a number of words which were formerly obscure but which have now been found in other Northwest-Semitic inscriptions.

The date of the Moabite Stone is roughly fixed by the reference to Mesha, king of Moab, in II Kings 3:4, after 849 B.C. How-ever, since the contents of the stela point to a date toward the end of the king's reign, it seems probable that it should be placed between 840 and 820, perhaps about 830 B.C. in round numbers.

I (am) Mesha, son of Chemosh-[ ... ], king of Moab, the Dibonite—my father (had) reigned over Moab thirty years, and I reigned after my father,—(who) made this high place for Chemosh in Qarhoh [ ... ] because he saved me from all the kings and caused me to triumph over all my adversaries. As for Omri, (5) king of Israel, he humbled Moab many years (lit., days), for Chemosh was angry at his land. And his son followed him and he also said, "I will humble Moab."

In my time he spoke (thus), but I have triumphed over him and over his house, while Israel hath perished for ever! (Now) Omri had occupied the land of Medeba, and (Israel) had dwelt there in his time and half the time of his son (Ahab), forty years; but Chemosh dwelt there in my time.

And I built Baal-meon, making a reservoir in it, and I built (10) Qaryaten. Now the men of Gad had always dwelt in the land of Aroth, and the king of Israel had built Aroth for them; but I fought against the town and took it and slew all the people of the town as satiation (intoxication) for Chemosh and Moab. And I brought back from there Arel (or Oriel), its chieftain, dragging him before Chemosh in Keroth, and I settled there men of Sharon and men of Ma-harith. And Chemosh said to me, "Go, take Nebo from Israel!" (15) So I went by night and fought against it from the break of dawn until noon, taking it and slaying all, seven thousand men, boys, women, girls and maid-servants, for I had devoted them to destruction for (the god) Ashtar-Chemosh. And I took from there the [ ... ] of Yahweh, dragging them before Chemosh. And the king of Israel had built Jahaz, and he dwelt there while he was fighting against me, but Chemosh drove him out before me. And (20) I took from Moab two hundred men, all first class (warriors), and set them against Jahaz and took it in order to attach it to (the district of) Dibon.

It was I (who) built Qarhob, the wall of the forests and the wall of the citadel; I also built its gates and I built its towers and I built the king's house, and I made both of its reservoirs for water inside the town. And there was no cistern inside the town at Qarhob, so I said to all the people, "Let each of you make (25) a cistern for himself in his house!" And I cut beams for Qarhob with Israelite captives. I built Aroer, and I made the highway in the Arnon (valley); I built Beth-bamoath, for it had been destroyed; I built Bezer—
for it lay in ruins—with fifty men of Dibon, for all Dibon is (my) loyal dependency.

And I reigned [in peace] over the hundred towns which I had added to the land. And I built (30) [ ... ] Medeba and Beth-diblathlen and Beth-baal-meon, and I set there the [ ... ] of the land. And as for Hauronen, there dwelt in it [ ... ] And] Chemosh said to me, "Go down, fight against Hauronen. And I went down [and I fought against the town and I took it], and Chemosh dwelt there in my time....

The Ostraca of Samaria

This name is applied to a homogeneous group of 63 dockets on Israelite potsheards which were found by G. A. Reisner in 1910, while excavating a floor-level from the first phase of the second period of palace construction at Samaria. Owing to a mistake in stratigraphy, which was subsequently corrected by J. W. Crowfoot and his associates, this level was first attributed to Ahab; it is now reasonably certain that it should be assigned to the reign of Jeroboam II (about 786-746 B.C.). These documents, though jejune in themselves, are of great significance for the script, spelling, personal names, topography, religion, administrative system, and clan distribution of the period.

The documents were published first by G. A. Reisner in his rare book, *Israelite Ostraca from Samaria* (no date). A revised form of this study was then incorporated in the *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, by Reisner, Fisher and Lyon (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), pp. 227-246. For a full bibliography up to 1932 by Diringer, *Le iscrizioni antico-ebraiche palestinesi* (Florence, 1934), pp. 21-68, especially pp. 66-68. Subsequent treatments see Diringer, *Mass., 1924*, pp. 227-246. For a full bibliography up to 1933 to the reign of Jeroboam II (about 786-746 B.C.). The four regnal years mentioned on the Ostraca extend from the ninth to the seventeenth (about 778-770 B.C.). These documents, though jejune in themselves, are of great significance for the script, spelling, personal names, topography, religion, administrative system, and clan distribution of the period.

The Ostraca were discovered at the site of an Israelite palace which had been destroyed in the Assyrian conquest of the northern kingdom of Israel around 722 B.C. The palace was built by Jeroboam II (786-746 B.C.), who was the first king of the northern kingdom after the death of Solomon. The Ostraca were discovered in the ruins of the palace, which were accidentally discovered in 1880 in the rock wall of the lower entrance to the tunnel of Hezekiah south of the temple area in Jerusalem. The inscription is now in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul. Its six lines occupy the lower half of a prepared surface, the upper part of which was found bare of inscription. It is, accordingly, almost certain that the first half of the original document is missing. Its contents and script point to the reign of Hezekiah (about 715-687 B.C.), a dating confirmed by II Kings 20:20 and especially II Chron. 32:30.

There is a very extensive bibliography, which is collected up to 1932 by Diringer, *Le iscrizioni antico-ebraiche palestinesi* (Florence, 1934), pp. 95-102. For later publications see Sabatino Moscati, *L'epigrafia ebraica antica 1935-1950* (Rome, 1951) and Albright, *BASOR*, 73, p. 21. 38.

*Samaria Ostracon, No. 1*

In the tenth year. To Shamaryau (Shemariah) from Beer-yam, a jar of old wine. Pega (son of) Elisha, 2; Uzza (son of) . . . , 1; Eliba, 1; Baala (son of) Elisha, 1; Jedaliah, 1.

*Samaria Ostracon, No. 2*

In the tenth year. To Gaddiyau from Azzo. Abibaal, 2; Ahaz, 2; Sheba, 1; Merib-baal, 1.

*Samaria Ostracon, No. 18*

In the tenth year. From Hazereth to Gaddiyau. A jar of fine oil.

*Samaria Ostracon, No. 30*

In the fifteenth year. From Shemida to Hillez (son of) Gaddiyau. Gera (son of) Hanniab.

*Samaria Ostracon, No. 55*

In the tenth year. (From the) vineyard of Yehau-eli. A jar of fine oil.

An Order for Barley from Samaria

In 1932 several ostraca were found at Samaria, and were published the following year by E. L. Sukenik. One of them is outstanding because of its length and relative completeness. The text is difficult, and the rendering below is tentative.

Baruch (son of) Shallum [ ... ]

O Baruch . . . pay attention and [give (?) to . . . (son of)] Yimnah (Imnah) barley (to the amount of) two (or three?) measures.

The Siloam Inscription

Accidentally discovered in 1880 in the rock wall of the lower entrance to the tunnel of Hezekiah south of the temple area in Jerusalem, the inscription is now in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul. Its six lines occupy the lower half of a prepared surface, the upper part of which was found bare of inscription. It is, accordingly, almost certain that the first half of the original document is missing. Its contents and script point to the reign of Hezekiah (about 715-687 B.C.), a dating confirmed by II Kings 20:20 and especially II Chron. 32:30.

There is a very extensive bibliography, which is collected up to 1932 by Diringer, *Le iscrizioni antico-ebraiche palestinesi* (Florence, 1934), pp. 95-102. For later publications see Sabatino Moscati, *L’epigrafia ebraica antica 1935-1950* (Rome, 1951) and Albright, *BASOR*, 73, p. 370. The language is perfect classical Hebrew prose, but the spelling is not entirely consistent; translations can easily be judged by the quality of Hebrew which they presuppose.

[ ... when] (the tunnel) was driven through. And this was the way in which it was cut through—While [ ... ] (were) still [ ... ] axe(s), each man toward his fellow, and while there were still three cubits to be cut through, [there was heard] the voice of a man calling to his fellow, for there was an overlap in the rock on the right [and on the left]. And when the tunnel was driven through, the quarrymen hewed (the rock), each man toward his fellow, axe against axe; and the water flowed from the spring toward the reservoir for 1,200 cubits, and the height of the rock above the head(s) of the quarrymen was 100 cubits.

The Lachish Ostraca

These ostraca were discovered in the ruins of the latest Israelite occupation at Tell ed-Duweir in southern Palestine, which unquestionably represents biblical Lachish. The first 18 were found by the late J. L. Starkey in 1935; three more (making 21 in all) were added during a supplementary campaign in 1938. Most of the ostraca were letters, while others were lists of names, etc., but only a third of the documents are preserved well enough to be reasonably intelligible throughout. Nearly all of the ostraca come from the latest occupation level.
of the Israelite gate-tower, and they are generally placed immediately before the beginning of the Chaldean siege of Lachish, perhaps in the autumn of 589 (or 588) B.C. Since they form the only known corpus of documents in classical Hebrew prose, they have unusual philological significance, quite aside from the light which they shed on the time of Jeremiah.

The texts were published by Harry Torczyner of the Hebrew University in *The Lachish Letters* (Lachish I), (London, 1938), and *Te`udot Lakhish* (Jerusalem, 1940). There is a large scattered bibliography, for which see Torczyner's second publication, pp. viii-x, and *BASOR*, 82, p. 18. Among the more useful items will be found Albright, *BASOR*, 61, pp. 10-16; 70, pp. 11-17; 73, pp. 16-21; 82, pp. 18-44; H. L. Ginsberg, *BASOR*, 71, pp. 24-26; 80, pp. 10-13; Roland de Vaux, *RB*, 1939, pp. 181-206; S. Birnbaum, *PEQ*, 1939, pp. 20-28, 91-110; Winton Thomas, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 40, pp. 1-15. For a mise-au-point of interpretation and bibliography see D. Diringer, in Olga Tufnell, *Lachish III—The Iron Age* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 331-339.

**Lachish Ostracon II**

To my lord Yaosh: May Yahweh cause my lord to hear tidings of peace this very day, this very day! Who is thy servant (but) a dog that my lord hath remembered his servant? May Yahweh afflict those who report an (evil) rumor about which thou art not informed!

**Lachish Ostracon III**

Thy servant Hoshaiah hath sent to inform my lord Yaosh: May Yahweh cause my lord to hear tidings of peace! And now thou hast sent a letter, but my lord did not enlighten thy servant concerning the letter which thou didst send to thy servant yesterday evening, though the heart of thy servant hath been sick since thou didst write to thy servant. And as for what my lord said, "Dost thou not understand?—call a scribe!", as Yahweh liveth no one hath ever undertaken to call a scribe for me; and as for any scribe who might have come to me, truly I did not call him nor would I give anything at all for him!

And it hath been reported to thy servant, saying, "The commander of the host, Coniah son of Elnathan, hath come down in order to go into Egypt; and unto Hodaviah son of Ahijah and his men hath he sent to obtain...from him."

And as for the letter of Tobiah, servant of the king, which came to Shallum son of Jaddua through the prophet, saying, "Beware!", thy servant hath sent it to my lord.

**Lachish Ostracon IV**

May Yahweh cause my lord to hear this very day tidings of good! And now according to everything that my lord hath written, so hath thy servant done; I have written on the door according to all that my lord hath written to me. And with respect to what my lord hath written about the matter of Beth-haraphid, there is no one there.

And as for Semachiah, Shemaiah hath taken him and hath brought him up to the city. And as for thy servant, I am not sending anyone thither [today(?), but I will send] tomorrow morning.

And let (my lord) know that we are watching for the signals of Lachish, according to all the indications which my lord hath given, for we cannot see Azekah.

**Lachish Ostracon V**

May Yahweh cause my lord to hear [tidings of peace] and good [this very day, this very day!] Who is thy servant (but) a dog that thou hast sent to thy servant the [letters...Now] thy servant hath returned the letters to my lord. May Yahweh cause thee to see [...]. How can thy servant benefit or injure the king?

**Lachish Ostracon VI**

To my lord Yaosh: May Yahweh cause my lord to see this season in good health! Who is thy servant (but) a dog that my lord hath sent the [letter of the king and the letters of the prince[s, saying, "Pray, read them!" And behold the words of the prince[s are not good, (but) to weaken our hands [and to slacken the hands of the man who are informed about them [... And now] my lord, wilt thou not write to them, saying, "Why do ye thus [even] in Jerusalem? Behold unto the king and unto [his house] are ye doing this thing!" [And,] as Yahweh thy God liveth, truly since thy servant read the letters there hath been no [peace] for [thy servant]....

**Lachish Ostracon VIII**

May Yahweh cause my lord to hear tidings of good this very day! [...]. *The Lord hath humbled me before thee. Nedabiah hath fled to the mountains [...]. Truly I lie not—let my lord send thither!*

**Lachish Ostracon IX**

May Yahweh cause my lord to hear [tidings of peace]! [... ] let him send [...] fifteen [... ]. Return word to thy servant through Shelemiah (telling us) what we shall do tomorrow!

**Lachish Ostracon XIII**

... they did not wish to do (any) work ... and Semachiah....
IV. Rituals, Incantations, and Descriptions of Festivals
Egyptian Rituals and Incantations
TRANSLATOR: John A. Wilson

A Ritual for Offering Food

The ancient Egyptian texts contain an abundance of material on the ritual to be performed in making offerings. The most common setting is the mortuary offering to the dead, in which the material offered is called "the Eye of Horus." The deceased was thought of as Osiris, and the servitor thus became his pious son Horus, who offered up his eye fighting on behalf of his father. The brief extract which follows is accompanied by the directions to the servitor for his manual acts.

The texts are from Berlin Papyrus 3055, facsimiled in Hieratische Papyri aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin, I (Leipzig, 1901), Ps. i-xxxvi. The manuscript comes from Thebes and dates to the Twenty-second Dynasty (25th-24th centuries B.C.). It was treated by O. von Lemm, Das Ritualbuch des Papyrus aus den koniglichen Museen zu Berlin, I (Leipzig, 1908), i, §§61-63c.

Words to be spoken: "O Osiris, King Nefer-ka-Re, take to thyself the Eye of Horus. Lift thou it to thy face." A lifting of bread and beer.

Lifting before his face. Words to be spoken: "Lift thy face, O Osiris. Lift thy face, O this King Neferka-Re, whose state of glory has departed." Lift thy face, O this King Neferka-Re, honored and keen, that thou mayest look at that which came forth from thee, . . . Wash thyself, O King Neferka-Re. Open thy mouth with the Eye of Horus. Thou callest thy ka, like Osiris, that it may protect thee from all wrath of the dead. O King Neferka-Re, receive thou this thy bread, which is the Eye of Horus." Laid on the ground before him.

The Daily Ritual in the Temple

The temple ceremonial on behalf of gods or deified pharaohs was elaborate and detailed. Brief extracts are here given of the ritual whereby Amon-Re of Karnak was awakened each morning and prepared for his daily activities. One episode has to do with the preliminary burning of incense, the other two with the opening of the shrine within which the god rested.

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1 Grammar uncertain, but not: whose glory is lost to him; rather: whose state of other-world being has departed (to the other world).
2 Probably some confusion of Osiris and Horus here, as the Eye came from Horus. Alternatively, the bread which was offered came forth from Osiris as god of the grain.
3 An elaborate ceremonial of "Opening the Mouth" was performed upon a statue of the deceased, in order to enable him to eat, drink, and speak.
4 It is clear that the Aa could function to protect the deceased from the malignity of other dead, but the significance of the phrase "like Osiris" is not clear.

For a text which was used in the daily ritual of the temple, see p. 6 above.

(1) The beginning of the utterances of the sacred rites which are carried out for the House of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, in the course of every day by the major priest who is in his day's (service).

The utterance for striking the fire. Words to be spoken: "Welcome, welcome in peace, O Eye of Horus,1 who art glorious, unharmed, and youthful in peace! It shines forth like Re upon the horizon. The power of Seth has hidden itself before the Eye of Horus, who took it away and brought it back, (so that) it is put in its place (again) for Horus. Triumphant is Horus because of his Eye.2 The Eye of Horus drives away enemies (5) [for] Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, wherever they may be. An offering which the king gives: I am pure."3 . . .

(iii 5) . . . The utterance for breaking the clay.4 Words to be spoken: "The clay is broken; the cool waters are opened; the veins of Osiris are drawn.5 I have certainly not come to drive the god from his throne; I have come to put the god upon his throne. (Thus) thou abidest upon thy great throne, O Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands. I am one whom the gods inducted. An offering which the king gives: I am pure."

The utterance for loosening the shrine.6 Words to be spoken: "The finger of Seth is drawn out of the Eye of Horus, (so that) it may become well." The finger of Seth is drawn out of the Eye of Horus, (so that) it may become well. The leather covering on the back of the god is laid off.7 O Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, (iv 1) receive thou thy two feathers and thy white crown as the Eye of Horus, the right eye.

1 The flame for the incense, like other offerings, was called the Eye of Horus.
2 "True is the voice of Horus because of his Eye," i.e. he triumphed in the legal contest against Seth.
3 Dogmatically the pharaoh was the priest of all the gods. Since it was impossible for him to fulfill this function, he delegated authority to priests, who were thus made pure for the designated activity. There follow this utterance the utterances for taking the censer, for laying the bowl of the censer upon its arm, for putting the incense upon the fire, and for proceeding to the shrine.
4 Breaking the clay sealing of the doors of the shrine.
5 The breaking of the clay is like the opening of an earthen dam in order to release irrigating waters. This, in turn, is likened to the opening of the veins of Osiris, god of the Nile waters.
6 The god, awakened from his night's sleep, must be assured that the priest has no hostile intention and is fit for his role.
7 A variant title in the daily ritual for the goddess Mut (Berlin Papyrus 3014, ii 10, in the same publication) gives: "The utterance for the drawing back of the bolt" (of the shrine door).
8 The door-bolt of the shrine is likened to the finger of Seth with which he damaged the eye of Horus. When the finger was withdrawn, the eye might heal.
9 If the translation is correct, this must refer to a shroud which covered the image of the god by night.
Egyptian Rituals and Incantations

TRANSLATOR: JOHN A. WILSON

A Ritual for Offering Food

The ancient Egyptian texts contain an abundance of material on the ritual to be performed in making offerings. The most common setting is the mortuary offering to the dead, in which the material offered is called “the Eye of Horus.” The deceased was thought of as Osiris, and the servitor thus became his pious son Horus, who offered up his eye fighting on behalf of his father. The brief extract which follows is accompanied by the directions to the servitor for his manual acts.

The passages come from the pyramids of Unis and Pepi I (Nefer-ka-Re) of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties (25th-24th centuries B.C.). Published by K. Sethe, Die ägyptischen Pyramidentexte (Leipzig, 1908), i, §§61c-63c.

Words to be spoken: “O Osiris King Nefer-ka-Re, take to thyself the Eye of Horus. Lift thou it to thy face.” A lifting of bread and beer.

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The Daily Ritual in the Temple

The temple ceremonial on behalf of gods or deified pharaohs was elaborate and detailed. Brief extracts are here given of the ritual whereby Amon-Re of Karnak was awakened each morning and prepared for his daily activities. One episode has to do with the preliminary burning of incense, the other two with the opening of the shrine within which the god rested.

The texts are from Berlin Papyrus 3055, facsimiled in Hieratische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin, i (Leipzig, 1901), Pls. i-xxxvii. The manuscript comes from Thebes and dates to the Twenty-second Dynasty (10th-9th centuries B.C.). It was treated by O. von Lemm, Das Ritualbuch des Amon-Re (Leipzig, 1882), and by A. Moret, Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Egypte (Paris, 1902). For a similar Amondienstes (Leipzig, 1882), and by A. Moret, Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Egypte (Paris, 1902).

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THE UTTERANCE FOR STRIKING THE FIRE. WORDS TO BE SPOKEN: “Welcome, welcome in peace, O Eye of Horus, who art glorious, unharmed, and youthful in peace! It shines forth like Re upon the horizon. The power of Seth has hidden itself before the Eye of Horus, who took it away and brought it back, (so that) it is put in its place (again) for Horus. Triumphant is Horus because of his Eye. The Eye of Horus drives away enemies (5) [for] Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, wherever they may be. An offering which the king gives: I am pure.”

(iii) ... THE UTTERANCE FOR BREAKING THE CLAY. WORDS TO BE SPOKEN: “The clay is broken; the cool waters are opened; the veins of Osiris are drawn. I have certainly not come to drive the god from his throne; I have come to put the god upon his throne. (Thus) thou abidest upon thy great throne, O Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands. I am one whom the gods inducted. An offering which the king gives: I am pure.”

THE UTTERANCE FOR LOOSENING THE SHRINE. WORDS TO BE SPOKEN: “The finger of Seth is drawn out of the Eye of Horus, (so that) it may become well.” The finger of Seth is loosed from the Eye of Horus, (so that) it may become well. The leather covering on the back of the god is laid off. O Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, (iv) receive thou thy two feathers and thy white crown as the Eye of Horus, the right...

1 Grammar uncertain, but not: whose glory is lost to him; rather: whose state of other-world being has departed (to the other world).
2 Probably some confusion of Osiris and Horus here, as the Eye came from Horus. Alternatively, the bread which was offered came forth from Osiris as god of the grain.
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