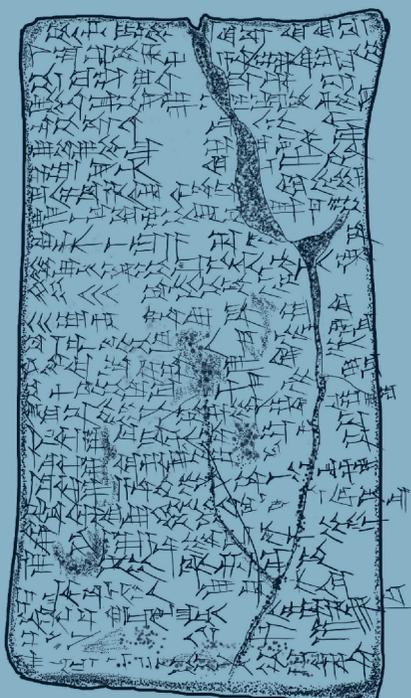


Nathan Wasserman

# The Flood: The Akkadian Sources

A New Edition, Commentary,  
and a Literary Discussion



**PEETERS**

## **THE FLOOD: THE AKKADIAN SOURCES**

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*To Samuel Sabbatai*

I build my bellowing ark  
To the best of my love  
As the flood begins

Dylan Thomas, Author's Prologue



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On the 31<sup>st</sup> of May 2019, on the completion of this book, our son, Samuel Sabbatai, was born. I dedicate it to him with love.

Nathan Wasserman  
Jerusalem

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 TRANSMISSION

The memory of a primeval cataclysmic Flood which wiped out all life on earth and brought humanity to the verge of extinction is deeply rooted in Mesopotamian tradition. It is mentioned directly, or alluded to indirectly, in different parts of the Mesopotamian literary system – myths, lamentations, historiographic texts, even incantations<sup>1</sup> – from the early 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium onwards.<sup>2</sup> Remarkably, however, the removal of kingship resulting from this massive Flood, a pivotal theme in the Sumerian King List, in city lamentations, and in the Curse of Agade, is not mentioned at all in the Flood story. In fact, neither king nor kingship as an institution, are alluded to in the Flood, as we know it.

The written witnesses of the Flood from the West – the cuneiform tablets from Ugarit, the Hittite-Anatolian fragments,<sup>3</sup> and the much later biblical accounts<sup>4</sup> – all draw from the Mesopotamian reservoir.<sup>5</sup> Starting with the writings of 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE Berossos, this rich collection of Babylonian literary material was poured into Greek and Latin literary vessels where the various accounts of the Flood fermented.<sup>6</sup> In turn, the biblical and the Greek-Latin accounts ignited the European imagination, giving rise to a plethora of textual and visual representations of the Flood and of the Ark – in popular, theological, and scientific sources,<sup>7</sup> until this very day.<sup>8</sup> Interestingly, no mention of a great Flood is found in ancient Egyptian literature.<sup>9</sup>

The hero of the Flood is variously called: Atra-ḫasīs (“Exceeding in wisdom”) in the older, Old Babylonian version; Ziusudra (“Life of long days”)

<sup>1</sup> An unmistakable echo of the opening lines of Atra-ḫasīs is found in a text which merges magic and laudatory speech (CUSAS 32, no. 55: 15–16): *inūma ilū kīma awilī anāku dannāku šadi ušapakūma tupšikkam ušaaddi* “when the gods were like man I (Ningirsu) was the strong(est). They were heaping up the mountains but I enabled (them) to throw down the earth-basket” (George 2016c, 160 and 162).

<sup>2</sup> Chen 2013 (cf. Foster 2015; Lenzi 2015).

<sup>3</sup> Archi 2007, 186.

<sup>4</sup> Kvanvig 2011; Pfof 2014 (with previous literature).

<sup>5</sup> Schmidt 1995, 2338–2343.

<sup>6</sup> Schmidt 1995, 2344–2345; Lang 2008, 216–225.

<sup>7</sup> The literature of Western thought’s engagement with the story of the primeval Flood is vast. Only a selection of studies will be mentioned here: Lewis 1978, focuses on the Flood in Jewish and Christian exegetical literature; the well-illustrated Cohn 1996, and Seguin 2001 who addresses the subject of the Flood in writings of the Age of Enlightenment. On reflections on the meeting between Gilgameš and the hero of the Flood in Muslim sources, see Annus 2016, 97–99.

<sup>8</sup> See *Noah*, a 2014 American epic biblical drama directed by Darren Aronofsky, starring Russell Crowe.

<sup>9</sup> Schmidt 1995, 2338.

in the Sumerian story and in the Hellenistic account based on Berossos (and in ms. **z**); and *Ūta-napišṭi* (“I/He found (eternal) life”) in the version of the Flood in Gilg. XI<sup>10</sup> and in the Hittite recension.<sup>11</sup> A similar variation exists in the different sources in relation to the other actors in the myth. This lack of consistency, which persists in the biblical and Classical traditions,<sup>12</sup> suggests a free-but-firm mode of transmission, in which “individual scribes had a free hand in rewriting the text, but [...] nevertheless [remained] sufficiently close to justify the belief in a single, specific point of origin of the poem”.<sup>13</sup> In order to fully appreciate the complicated textual and thematic relations between the different sources, the reader may consult two tables:

- Table I: Textual Parallels between the Different Mss. (4ff.) and
- Table II: Comparison of Acting Figures and Dates in the Different Mss. (12ff.)

## 1.2 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The present book deals only with the Akkadian sources. I refer occasionally to biblical,<sup>14</sup> post-biblical and rabbinic parallels, without purporting to present an inclusive or systematic comparative study.<sup>15</sup> Beyond the practical reason of wishing to avoid an unwieldy project, the ancient texts themselves justify the decision to limit the scope of the book to the Flood itself. Stories about the Flood were composed and copied in Antiquity as separate oeuvres, suggesting that the Flood was known a stand-alone myth. The inscription of Ipiq-Ištar of Malgium with its reference to the Flood (see Literary Discussion 3.9) further supports the notion that the Flood was a stand-alone story already in the Old Babylonian period. The fact that the story of the Flood was included in the Epic of Gilgameš shows that the Flood was a well-defined, independent mythological tale. Lastly, the doxology-like sub-colophon *abūba ana kullat nišṭ uzammer šimeā* “I have sung of the Flood to all the people.

<sup>10</sup> George 2003, 152–155; Lambert 2005 200–201; George 2007, 238–239. The switch from *Ūta-napišṭi* to *Atra-ḫašis* in Gilg. XI 49 and 179 is usually understood as an editorial slip (e.g. Bachvarova 2016, 59). The Sumerian name of the Flood hero, *Zi(u)sudra* re-surfaces in the Late Babylonian ms. **z**, where it is changed to its Akkadian equivalent *Ūt(a)-napišṭi* as a result of an explicit decision by Enlil: “You are *Zisudra*, (from now on) let [your name] be *Ūt-napišṭim*” (**z** v 17). On the possibility that the name of the hero of the Flood is corrupted as *Ūta-rapšatim* in the Old Babylonian pseudo-autobiographical text known as *Sargon, the Conquering Hero*, see Goodnick Westenholz 1997, 68–70: 57–59 and George 2003, 152.

<sup>11</sup> Bachvarova 2016, 72–77 and Soysal 2007.

<sup>12</sup> For an overview of the Classical traditions, see Schmidt 1995, 2344–2345.

<sup>13</sup> van Koppen 2011, 144. He continues: “... the Old Babylonian manuscripts [of *Atra-ḫašis*] all represent what is basically the same text, provided we accept the liberty of the scribes to alter it as they saw fit”.

<sup>14</sup> All biblical references lean on the English translation of the New Jewish Publication Society of America Tanakh, with occasional modifications of mine.

<sup>15</sup> For a short and enlightening essay on some of the methodological questions involved in comparative studies in the humanities, from a cognitive perspective, see Annus 2016, 111–117.

Hear it!” (C<sub>1</sub> viii 18’–19’), which comes just before the final colophon of the three-tablet Sippar recension (dub-3-kám-ma *inūma ilū awīlum* “Tablet 3 of “*When gods like man*”, C<sub>1</sub> viii 21’–22’), bolsters the idea that the ancient author considered Tablet III of Atra-ḥasīs as a quasi-independent unit – *abūbu*, “the Flood” – set within the boundaries of the complete composition.<sup>16</sup>

### 1.3 EDITION AND TRANSLATION

The present study draws on the work of previous scholars,<sup>17</sup> first and foremost Lambert/Millard 1969 *Atra-ḥasīs* – perhaps the longest-lasting edition of any single Akkadian literary text. Half a century, however, has passed since its publication, during which time new texts have come to light (notably the Ark Tablet = Finkel 2014), reading has improved and new translations have appeared.<sup>18</sup> Having worked on Mesopotamian literature for some years, I felt that the time was ripe for an updated exhaustive study of the Flood story.

The different sources of the Flood are presented (Table III: The Manuscripts (14ff.)),<sup>19</sup> without any attempt to present a unified text (as Wilcke did in his unpublished edition). Nonetheless, I strove to show the textual ties between the different sources, line by line. First are the Old Babylonian recensions, then the post-Old Babylonian separate tablets, and finally the most complete version of the Flood in Tablet XI of the Epic of Gilgameš.

The edition of each Akkadian version is followed by a philological commentary. Broader literary subjects are examined in the Literary Discussion.

Tablets housed in the British Museum were collated by the author in November 2018, when the Ark Tablet was copied for the first time. For tablets kept in other collections I used photographs to verify readings.

Editions live or die according to the quality of their translations. I have offered new English translations for all the versions of the Flood (also to Gilg. XI, even though George’s 2003 masterful edition remains virtually unchanged). Translating the texts anew it became apparent to me that the Flood, in its manifold versions, is predominantly constructed of two-line units. My translation reflects this couplet-based structure.

<sup>16</sup> The difficulty in distinguishing between epics and myths in ancient Mesopotamian literature is well known and the methodological aspects involved will not be reiterated here (see Vanstiphout 1986; Röllig 1987). I prefer the epithet ‘the Flood’ without generic designation or the appending of the label ‘story’. When treating the Flood in Gilg. XI, the term ‘myth’ is sometimes employed, in order to distinguish Ūta-napišṭi’s story (the myth of the Flood) from the framework in which his story is embedded (the epic of Gilgameš). Note that Lambert (e.g. in 2005, 195) and Chen (2013, 197 and *passim*) takes a different path, calling it “The Flood Epic”.

<sup>17</sup> In the first stages of my work, I made use of Claus Wilcke’s unpublished edition and collations of Atra-ḥasīs (see Acknowledgements).

<sup>18</sup> Shehata 2001 is still of much help in this respect, but this work is now almost 20 years old.

<sup>19</sup> See the useful summary of the different sources of the Flood in Lambert 2005, 196.

TABLE I: TEXTUAL PARALLELS BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT MSS.

Numbers indicate lines in each ms. Exact parallels are indicated in **bold**.

Subject matter	C <sub>1</sub> +C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>0</sub>	Ark	I
<b>Gods decide on annihilation of mankind</b>		iv 2'	49	
<b>Introduction to the hero's address to Enki/Ea</b>	i 11'-12'	iv 8'-9'		
<b>Introduction to Enki's/ Ea's statement to the hero</b>	i 15'-16'	iv 11'-12'		
<b>Beginning of Enki's/ Ea's address to the wall</b>	i 20'-21'		1	14
<b>Injunction to the hero to pay attention to the advice of Enki/Ea</b>			2	15
<b>"Get away from your house, build a boat!"</b>	<b>i 22'-23'</b>		<b>4</b>	
<b>"Save life!"</b>	i 24'		5	
<b>Instructions concerning the boat's structure</b>	i 25'-28'		6-8	
<b>"Roof it over like the Apsû"</b>	<b>i 29'</b>			
<b>The hero's reply to Enki/ Ea</b>				
<b>Instruction on roofing the upper and lower decks of the boat</b>	i 31'			
<b>Promised downpouring of birds and fishes</b>	i 34'-35'			
<b>Introduction to Atra-ḥasīs' address to the city elders</b>	i 40'-41'			
<b>Atra-ḥasīs informs us that Enki told him to leave</b>	i 45'-46'			
<b>"I will not dwell in your city"</b>	i 47'-49'			
<b>"This is what my god Enki told me"</b>	i 50'			

I <sub>1</sub>	I <sub>2</sub>	J	J <sub>1</sub>	U	W	Z	Gilg. XI
				3-4			
				14-16			21-22
		6'					24-26
							26-27, 84
					1'-2', 16'		28-30, 60
							<b>31</b>
					17'		33-34
		9'			3'		31, 136
							43-44
			8'-10'				
			2'				
			3'				40-42
			4'				

Subject matter	C <sub>1</sub> +C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>0</sub>	Ark	I
Kilns loaded with bitumen			21, 25, 31	
Carpenter and reed-worker with their tools	ii 11'–12'			
Items brought by the rich and the poor	ii 13'–14'			
Dividing the boat into decks and compartments			17	
Quantities of bitumen and lard/oil used			18–24	
Quantities of oil put aside by the workmen			33, 58	
The boat loaded with silver and gold	ii 30"–31"			
Slaughtering of sheep and bulls	ii 32"–33"		43	
Livestock and craftsmen brought aboard	ii 36"–38"			
“The month reached its end”	ii 39"	iv 6'	50	
“Then he sent his family into the boat”	ii 42"		34–35	
Eating and drinking aboard the boat	ii 43'–44'		38	
Atra-ḥasīs is unquiet	ii 46'			
Sudden change of the weather	ii 48'			
Adad thundered	ii 49'–50'			
The boat's door is closed	ii 51'			
Calamity intensifies at dawn				
Adad thundered	ii 53'			
Strong wind sent the boat adrift	ii 54'–55'			
Ninurta and Errakal assisted in bringing on the flood				

<b>I<sub>1</sub></b>	<b>I<sub>2</sub></b>	<b>J</b>	<b>J<sub>1</sub></b>	<b>U</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>Z</b>	<b>Gilg. XI</b>
			7'				
							<b>50–51</b>
							<b>55–56</b>
							61–63
							66–68
							69–70
							82–83
							71–72
		r. 11'			9'		86
	1						
		r. 13'			6', 8'		85
							138
							92–93
				r. 2'			
B 1'				r. 3'	4'		94
				r. 12'			48, 97
							99
				r. 4'			
				r. 14'–15'			102–103

<b>Subject matter</b>	<b>C<sub>1</sub>+C<sub>2</sub></b>	<b>C<sub>0</sub></b>	<b>Ark</b>	<b>I</b>
<b>“For one day the storm...”</b>	iii 5'			
<b>Anzu ripped the heavens with his talons</b>	iii 7'–8'			
<b>Land shattered like a pot</b>	iii 9'–10'			
<b>Winds blew from all sides</b>				
<b>Annihilation came upon the people like a battle</b>	iii 11'–12'			
<b>“One person did not see another”</b>	iii 13'–14'			
<b>“The flood bellowed like a bull”</b>	iii 15'			
<b>Gods took refuge in the heaven</b>	iii 20'–22'			
<b>Anum afraid of the flood</b>	iii 23'–24'			
<b>The gods huddled together</b>	iii 26'–27'			
<b>Mother goddess in distress</b>	iii 28'–29'			
<b>Complaint of the mother-goddess</b>	iii 33'–38'			
<b>The mother-goddess wailing</b>	iv 4'			
<b>It is she who gave birth to the people</b>	iv 5'			
<b>People’s corpses fill the riverbank / the sea</b>	iv 7'			
<b>The mother-goddess brought her feelings to exhaustion</b>	iv 14'			
<b>The gods wept with her</b>	iv 15'			
<b>Where she sat weeping, they sat</b>	iv 18'			
<b>The gods in distress</b>	iv 21'			
<b>The flood’s duration</b>	iv 24'–25'			
<b>Dove sent away and came back</b>				
<b>Crow/crane sent away (did not come back)</b>				

<b>I<sub>1</sub></b>	<b>I<sub>2</sub></b>	<b>J</b>	<b>J<sub>1</sub></b>	<b>U</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>Z</b>	<b>Gilg. XI</b>
							109
				r 16'			
B 5'-6'				r 17'			[108]
				r 6'			110
		r 4'		r 18'-19'			111
							112-113
				r 13'			108
							114-116
				r 20'-21'			114, 111
				r 22'			
							118
							117-120
							118
							123
							124
				r 23'			
				r 24'-25'			125
							126
							127
				r 7'			128-129
	11-13						148-150
	14						154-156

<b>Subject matter</b>	<b>C<sub>1</sub>+C<sub>2</sub></b>	<b>C<sub>0</sub></b>	<b>Ark</b>	<b>I</b>
<b>The hero offered sacrifice</b>	v 30"-31"			
<b>The gods gathered around the offering</b>	v 34"-35"			
<b>The mother goddess arose to complain</b>	v 37"			
<b>Accusation directed at Enlil</b>	v 41"-43"			
<b>Necklace of flies on the mother-goddess' neck</b>	v 46"-47"			
<b>Enlil enraged at the sight of the boat</b>	vi 5-6			
<b>"How did man survive?"</b>	vi 9-10			
<b>Introduction to the address to Enlil by Anu/Ninurta</b>	vi 11-12			
<b>"Who but Enki/Ea could do this?"</b>	vi 13-17			
<b>"How could you bring the Flood without deliberation?"</b>	vi 20-22			
<b>Only the criminal himself should be punished</b>	vi 25			
<b>Plagues which could be brought instead of the Flood</b>				
<b>Enlil helped the hero descend from the boat</b>				
<b>Enlil placed the hero and his wife with the gods</b>				
<b>Enlil touched the brow of the hero and his wife</b>				
<b>Immortality for the hero and his family</b>				

<b>I<sub>1</sub></b>	<b>I<sub>2</sub></b>	<b>J</b>	<b>J<sub>1</sub></b>	<b>U</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>Z</b>	<b>Gilg. XI</b>
							157–160
							161–163
							164
							168–171
							165–167
							172–173
							175–176
							177–178
							179–182
						v 2'–3'	183–184
						v 11'–12'	185–186
						v 4'–7'	188–195
						v 15'–16'	199–200
						v 18'–19'	204
						v 20'–23'	201–202
						v 17'–19'	203–204

TABLE II: COMPARISON OF ACTING FIGURES AND DATES  
IN THE DIFFERENT MSS.

	$C_1+C_2$	$C_0$	Ark	I	$I_1$	$I_2$
<b>The hero's name</b>	Atra(m)- ḥasīs	Watra(m)- ḥasīs	Atra(m)- ḥasīs	Atra(m)- ḥasīs		
<b>The hero's city</b>						
<b>The god telling the hero about the Flood</b>	Enki	Ea		Ea		
<b>The god responsible for the Flood</b>	Enlil	Enlil	Enlil	The gods		
<b>The goddess weeping over the destruction of humankind</b>	Nintu/Mami					
<b>Birds released by the hero at the end of the Flood</b>						Dove, crane
<b>Those saved from the Flood</b>	The hero, his wife and fam- ily, animals and a group of crafts- men(?)		The hero, his wife and family	The hero and his wife		
<b>Other gods mentioned</b>	Adad, Anu, Anunnaki, Igigi		Sîn			Ea
<b>Date of the beginning of the Flood</b>	End of a lunar month	End of a lunar month	End of a lunar month			
<b>Duration of the Flood</b>	7 days + 7 nights					

<b>J</b>	<b>J<sub>1</sub></b>	<b>U</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>Z</b>	<b>Gilg. XI</b>
	Atra(m)- ḫasīs	[Atra- ḫasīs]	Atra- ḫasīs	Zisudra, Ūtt-na- pištim	Ūta-napišti ) Atra-ḫasīs in ll. 49, 197)
					Šuruppak
	Ea	Ea	Ea		Ea
		Adad, Ni- nurta, Erra- kal, Anzu			Enlil
		[Nintu]			Bēlet-ilī
					Dove, swallow, raven
The hero, his wife and family, animals, birds			The hero, his wife and family, work-men, animals	The hero, his wife and daughter	The hero, his family, crafts- men and ani- mals
		Anu		Enlil, Ninlil, Anu, Antu	Anu, Ennugi, Šamaš, Adad, Šullat, Ḫaniš, Ninurta, Erra- kal, Anunnaki
					6 days + 7 nights + 7 days before the water subsided

## 2 THE TEXTS

### 2.1 THE MANUSCRIPTS

In order to avoid confusion, the symbols of the different manuscripts follow the List of Manuscripts in Lambert/Millard 1969, 40–41, with the exception of texts unknown at the time: The two-column early Old Babylonian text from the Schøyen collection (CUSAS 10, 2) = ms. **C<sub>0</sub>** (similarly to the other two large Old Babylonian pieces, mss. **C<sub>1</sub>** and **C<sub>2</sub>**); the Ark Tablet (Finkel 2014) = ms. **Ark**; the two new Ugarit texts (Arnaud 2007, 128–130 and Arnaud 2007, 201–202 with Cavigneaux 2007) = mss. **I<sub>1</sub>** and **I<sub>2</sub>** respectively (following ms. **I** in Lambert/Millard 1969); the new Middle Babylonian text from Ḫattusa KBo 36, 26 (identified by C. Wilcke) = ms. **J<sub>1</sub>** (following the other Middle Babylonian fragment, ms. **J**, in Lambert/Millard 1969, 126–127); the new Neo-Assyrian text (Lambert 1980, 75) = ms. **W<sub>1</sub>** (continuing the other Neo-Assyrian source in Lambert/Millard 1969, ms. **W**); the new Late Babylonian text (Lambert 2005) = ms. **z** (following mss. **x** and **y** used by Lambert/Millard 1969 for the other Late Babylonian mss.).

TABLE III: THE MANSUPTS

Period	Sym- bol	Siglum	Provenance; Period	Copy; Photo	Edition
Old Bab. mss.	<b>C<sub>0</sub></b>	MS 5108	Larsa area; Early OB	CUSAS 10, pls. VI, VIII; CUSAS 10, pls. V, VII	George 2009, 19–22
	<b>C<sub>1</sub></b>	BM 78942+ 78971+80385	Sippar; Late OB	CT 46, 3 (pls. XIII–XXI); Mitchell 1988, 27 and on the British Muse- um website <sup>20</sup>	Lambert/Mil- lard 1969, 88–105
	<b>C<sub>2</sub></b>	MAH 16064	Sippar; Late OB	Lambert/ Millard 1969 pls. 7–8; Bois- sier 1931 and CDLI P285811	Lambert/Mil- lard 1969, 88–105

<sup>20</sup> [https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1338126&partId=1&searchText=78942&page=1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1338126&partId=1&searchText=78942&page=1) (last visited: 4 May 2019).

<b>Middle Bab. mss.</b>	<b>Ark</b>	-/- (Douglas Simmonds collection)	unknown; Late OB or MB	-/-; Finkel 2014, 107, 109, pl. after p. 150 (and cf. 188, 309)	Finkel 2014, 105–110, 357–368
	<b>I</b>	RS 22.421	Ugarit; MB	Ugaritica V 167 (p. 441); -/-	Nougayrol et al. 1968, 300–304; Lambert/Millard 1969, 131–133
	<b>I<sub>1</sub></b>	RS 20.161+ RS 20.171B	Ugarit; MB	Arnaud 2007, pl. XI, no. 41; -/-	Arnaud 2007, 128–130
	<b>I<sub>2</sub></b>	RS 94.2953	Ugarit; MB	Arnaud 2007, pl. XXIX, no. 65; -/-	Arnaud 2007, 201–202; Cavigneaux 2007; Darshan 2016, 509–510
	<b>J</b>	CBS 13532	Nippur; MB	Hilprecht 1910, the end of the vol.; CDLI P268565	Hilprecht 1910, 48–58; Lambert/Millard 1969, 126–127
	<b>J<sub>1</sub></b>	Bo. 809/z	Ḫattusa; MB	KBo 36, 26; Hethitologie-Portal B1411b <sup>21</sup>	in Wilcke's collations (private manuscript)

<sup>21</sup> <http://www.hethport.adwmainz.de/fotarch/bildausw.php?n=809/z&b=+B1411b> (last visited: 4 May 2019).

Period	Sym- bol	Siglum	Provenance; Period	Copy; Photo	Edition
Neo-Ass. mss.	<b>R*</b>	K 4539	Nineveh; NA	Lambert 1960a pl. 65; CDLI P395624	Lambert/ Millard 1969, 104–105
	<b>U</b>	BM 98977+99231	Nineveh; NA	Lambert 1960b 116; <sup>22</sup>	Lambert/ Millard 1969, 122–125
	<b>W</b>	DT 42	Nineveh; NA	CT 46, 15; Finkel 2014, 5; CDLI P285823	Lambert/ Millard 1969, 128–129
	<b>W<sub>1</sub>*</b>	Sm. 365	Nineveh; NA	British Mu- seum website <sup>23</sup>	Lambert 1980a, 75
Late-Bab. mss.	<b>z</b>	MMA 86.11.378A	Unknown; LB	Lambert 2005, pls. 59–60; CDLI P412215	Lambert 2005, 197– 200, no. 42

\* Mss. **R** (Lambert/Millard 1969, 41, 104–105) and **W<sub>1</sub>** (Lambert 1980a 75) are listed in the table but are not included in the reconstruction of the text, as there is no conclusive proof that they belong to the Flood (see commentary to **C<sub>1</sub>** ii 39<sup>ff</sup> and **C<sub>1</sub>** vii 17–18). It is also far from certain that ms. **I<sub>1</sub>** is part of the Flood, but this Ugarit fragment is nonetheless included in the study.

## 2.2 THE OLD BABYLONIAN RECENSIONS

Two multi-tablet recensions from the Old Babylonian period are known so far: a two-column, early Old Babylonian recension, stemming probably from the vicinity of Larsa, and a four-column, late Old Babylonian Sippar recension (copied by Ipiq-Aya). In these two recensions, the Flood seals a larger myth about the relationship between Enlil and the lesser gods, and the creation of man.

### 2.2.1 Ms. *C<sub>0</sub>* (*Atra-ḫasis: The Two-Column, Early OB, ‘Larsa’ Recension*)

Copy: CUSAS 10, pls. VI, VIII

Tablet Siglum: MS 5108

<sup>22</sup> [https://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival\\_view.php?ObjectID=P422071](https://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival_view.php?ObjectID=P422071) (last visited: 4 May 2019. No photo).

<sup>23</sup> [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details/collection\\_image\\_gallery.aspx?assetId=1513204001&objectId=298768&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=1513204001&objectId=298768&partId=1) (last visited: 4 May 2019).

Photo: CUSAS 10, pls. V, VII. CDLI P254176  
 Edition: George 2009, 19–22  
 Collection: Schøyen Collection, Oslo  
 Provenance: Southern Mesopotamia, the Larsa area?  
 Measurements: 12.5 x 11.5 x 4.0 cm.  
 Period: Early OB

Based on grammatical, epigraphic and orthographic observations, this two-column recension of the Flood story appears to be “the oldest witness to this composition yet extant” (George 2009, 16). The god of wisdom is mentioned here by his Akkadian name Ea, instead of the Sumerian name Enki under which he figures in the late Old Babylonian Sippar recension. The human protagonist’s name appears in an archaic form, Watram-ḫasīs (C<sub>0</sub> iv 8’).

Only col. iv of ms C<sub>0</sub> is edited here, since only this column is relevant for the Flood story.

- C<sub>0</sub> iv 1’            *ṛi-na-an-na a-a iš-me-a a-na a-wa<sup>1</sup>{AT}-ta*  
 C<sub>0</sub> iv 2’            *i-lu-ú iq-bu-ú ga-ma-er-tam*  
                       Ark 49 <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL° *i-na kussi(ṛGISṛGU<sup>1</sup>,ṛZA<sup>1</sup>)-ṛštu<sup>1</sup> [it-ta-m]e ga-ma-ar-tam*  
                       Atr. II viii 34 *i-lu iq-bu-ú ga-me-er-t[am]*
- C<sub>0</sub> iv 3’            *ši-ip-ra-am le-em-nam*  
 C<sub>0</sub> iv 4’            *a-na ni-ši i-pí-iš<sup>d</sup>En-líl*  
                       Atr. II viii 33–35 *e ta-aš-mi-a a-na ši-ṛi<sup>1</sup>-[bu-tim]<sup>24</sup> i-lu iq-bu-ú ga-me-er-t[am]*  
                       *ši-ip-ra le-em-na a-na ni-ši i-pu-uš<sup>d</sup>E[n-líl]*
- C<sub>0</sub> iv 5’            *i-na pu-úḫ-ri-im iq-bu-ú*  
 C<sub>0</sub> iv 6’            *a-bu-ba-am a-na ú-um wa-ar-ḫi-im*  
                       C<sub>1</sub> ii 39” *[...ú-b]i-il ar-ḫu*  
                       Ark 50 *[... i-na u<sub>4</sub>-mi-im] ṛe-ṛi<sup>1</sup>-i[m (x x x)]*  
                       I<sub>2</sub> 1 *i-na pí-i bi-ib-li i-na re-eš arḫi(ITI)*
- C<sub>0</sub> iv 7’            *{ú-ba-lu-ú} ni-pe-iš / ši-ip-ra-am*  
 C<sub>0</sub> iv 8’            *Wa-at-ṛra-am<sup>1</sup>-ḫa-sí-ṛi<sup>1</sup>-sí*  
 C<sub>0</sub> iv 9’            *ka-ma-s[i-í]š ma-ḫa-ar É-a*  
 C<sub>0</sub> iv 10’           *i-la-ka ṛdi<sup>1</sup>-[ma]-ṛa<sup>1</sup>-šú*  
 C<sub>0</sub> iv 11’           *É-a pa-a-šú i-pu-ṛša<sup>1</sup>-am-ma*  
 C<sub>0</sub> iv 12’           *i-za-kà-ra-am-ma a-na wa-ar-di-/šú*  
                       C<sub>2</sub> i 15–16 *[<sup>d</sup>En-ki p]í-a-šú i-pu-ša-ṛam<sup>1</sup>-ma [iz]-za-kàr a-na ar-di-šú*
- C<sub>0</sub> iv 13’           *iš-ti-ta-am a-ṛna ni<sup>1</sup>-ši / [t]a-ṛba<sup>1</sup>-ki-i*  
 C<sub>0</sub> iv 14’           *ša-ni-ta-ṛam<sup>1</sup> ka-am-ša!(TA)-ti*  
 C<sub>0</sub> iv 15’           *a-di-ri at-ṛta<sup>1</sup>*  
 C<sub>0</sub> iv 16’           *i-ba-aš-ši ši-ip-ru-ú*

<sup>24</sup> Reading following George 2009, 24.

C <sub>0</sub> iv 17'	<i>a-na e-pe-ši-im at-ta</i>
C <sub>0</sub> iv 18'	<i>a-na aš-ri-im tu-ra-šu</i>
C <sub>0</sub> iv 19'	<i>la ti-di-i</i>

### Translation

col. iv

C <sub>0</sub> iv 1'	“Now, they (the people) should not hear the matter,
C <sub>0</sub> iv 2'	(for) the gods have commanded an annihilation –
C <sub>0</sub> iv 3'–4'	an evil act Enlil will do to the people.
C <sub>0</sub> iv 5'–6'	In the assembly they decided about the Flood:
C <sub>0</sub> iv 6'–7'	“By the day of the new moon we shall do the task!” (they said).
C <sub>0</sub> iv 8'–10'	Atra-ḫasīs, kneeling in the presence of Ea, his tears were flowing.
C <sub>0</sub> iv 11'–12'	Ea opened his mouth, addressed his servant:
C <sub>0</sub> iv 13'–14'	“Firstly, you are crying for the people; secondly, you are kneeling (in prayer):
C <sub>0</sub> iv 15'	You are (indeed) the one who reveres me!
C <sub>0</sub> iv 16'–17'	There is a task to be done –
C <sub>0</sub> iv 18'–19'	but you, you don't know at all how to bring it to its completion”.

### Commentary

C<sub>0</sub> iv 1'–3': As pointed out by George (2009, 22), these lines correspond to Atr. II viii 33–35. The Sippar recension proceeds immediately with Atra-ḫasīs addressing Ea (Atr. II viii 36–37 = III i 1–2), but here the dialogue between Atra-ḫasīs and Ea develops differently (see George 2009, 18).

C<sub>0</sub> iv 1': With George (2009, 22), the subject of the 3 pl. f. form *iš-me-a* must be *nišū*, and the interdiction (*ay išmeā*; no vowel contraction) concerns the effort of the gods to hide their decision to bring about a flood from the people. – I prefer a simpler restoration than George's (*a-wa-/at ta<aqbbū>*): *a-wa-/ {AT} -ta*.

C<sub>0</sub> iv 5'–7': The syntax is not easy as the sentences run over the lines (cf. also the mistakenly written verb *ubbalū* in l. 7'). – The date of the Flood was set at the end of the lunar month, on the darkest night of the month when the moon is invisible (so C<sub>0</sub> iii 16'–17', C<sub>1</sub> ii 39", I<sub>2</sub> 1 from Ugarit, and Ark 50: “dimming day”).<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> The Flood triggered much calendrical interest in the biblical account. The Flood began on the 17<sup>th</sup> of the second month (17/2), when Noah was at the age of 600 (Gen. 7:11); the boat rested on Mount Ararat on 17/7 (Gen. 8:4); the first mountain peaks were seen on 1/10 (Gen. 8:5); the boat was first opened on 1/1, when Noah was 601 years old (Gen. 8:13); the earth

C<sub>0</sub> iv 8'–9': Atra-ḫasīs' supplication convinced Ea to instruct his devotee on how to survive the coming calamity. Only the introductory lines of the divine speech are extant (C<sub>0</sub> iv 13'–19'); the instructions themselves are missing. In any event, in contrast to Gilg. XI 197, there is no hint that Ea's orders were delivered to Atra-ḫasīs in a dream (George 2009, 18).

C<sub>0</sub> iv 18'–19': The use of the negation particle *lā*, where *ul* is expected, could carry the emphatic meaning of “totally not” (cf. GAG<sup>3</sup> § 122a)

2.2.2. Ms. C<sub>1</sub> (+) C<sub>2</sub> (*Atra-ḫasis III: The Four-Column, Late OB, Sippar Recension*)

Copy:	CT 46, 3 (C <sub>1</sub> ) (+) Lambert/Millard 1969 pls. 7–8 (C <sub>2</sub> )
Tablet Sigla:	78942+78971+80385 (C <sub>1</sub> ) (+) MAH 16064 (C <sub>2</sub> )
Photo:	Mitchell 1988, 27; Photo on the British Museum website <sup>26</sup> (+) Boissier 1931. CDLI P285811
Edition:	Lambert/Millard 1969, 88–105
Collection:	The British Museum, London; Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Genève
Provenance:	Sippar
Measurements:	11.43 x 15.24 x 3.5 cm (C <sub>1</sub> )
Period:	Late OB

Two pieces of the same tablet (three-columns on each side), with an indirect join between them.<sup>27</sup> The text was copied by the scribe Ipiq-Aya,<sup>28</sup> dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> year of Ammi-ṣadūqa.

Obv.

col. i

C<sub>1</sub> i 1 [mAt-ra-am-ḫa-si-is pi-a-šu i-pu-ša-ma]

C<sub>1</sub> i 2 [iz-za-kàr a-na be-lí-šu]

(lines 3–9 missing)

C<sub>2</sub> i 10' [. . .] x x

C<sub>2</sub> i 11' [mAt-ra-am-ḫa-si-is] ᵀpi-a-šu i-pu-ša<sup>1</sup>-am-ma

is dry and Noah leaves the boat on 27/2 (see, Draffkorn Kilmer 2007, 159 and 166). In post-biblical Jewish texts, when the dispute between the traditional lunar/solar calendar and the purely solar sectarian calendar surged, interest in the dates of the Flood intensified, as demonstrated in material from Qumran (4Q252 i–ii) and in Flood story in The Book of Jubilees (Chaps. 5–6) (Werman 2015, 6, 74f. 209–229 and Darshan 2016).

<sup>26</sup> [https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1338126&partId=1&searchText=78942&page=1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1338126&partId=1&searchText=78942&page=1) (last visited: 4 May 2019).

<sup>27</sup> See Lambert/Millard 1969, 32–33.

<sup>28</sup> For this scribe and his social milieu, see van Koppen 2011. The correct reading of his name was established by Wilcke 1999, 68f.

- C<sub>2</sub> i 12' [iz-za]-<sup>r</sup>kàr<sup>1</sup> a-na be-lí-šu  
 C<sub>0</sub> iv 8'-9' Wa-at-<sup>r</sup>ra-am<sup>1</sup>-ḫa-sí-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-sí ka-ma-s[i-i]š ma-ḫa-ar É-a  
 U 3-4: [<sup>m</sup>A-tar-ḫasīs] ik-mis uš-kin i-ta-ziz <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [x (x)] [KA-šú] DÚ<sup>ša</sup>-ma MU<sup>ár</sup>
- C<sub>2</sub> i 13' [ša šu-ut-ti w]u-ud-dí-a qé-re-eb-ša  
 C<sub>2</sub> i 14' [re-e-sà l]u-dí lu-uš-te-e si-ib-ba-as-sà  
 C<sub>2</sub> i 15' [<sup>d</sup>En-ki p]í-a-šu i-pu-ša-<sup>r</sup>am<sup>1</sup>-ma  
 C<sub>2</sub> i 16' [iz]-za-kàr a-na ar-dí-šu  
 C<sub>0</sub> iv 11'-12' É-a pa-a-šu i-pu-<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-am-ma i-za-kà-ra-am-ma a-na wa-ar-di-šu  
 C<sub>2</sub> i 17' [u]r!<sup>1</sup>-šu-um-ma lu-uš-te-i ta-qá-ab-bi  
 C<sub>2</sub> i 18' ši-ip-ra ša a-qá-ab-bu-ku  
 C<sub>2</sub> i 19' šu-uš-ši-ir at-ta  
 C<sub>2</sub> i 20' i-ga-ru ši-ta-am-mi-a-an-ni  
 C<sub>2</sub> i 21' ki-ki-šu šu-uš-ši-ri ka-la zi-ik-ri!(ZI)-ia  
 Ark 1 i-ga-ar i-ga-a[r k]i-ki-iš ki-ki-iš  
 I 14 [i]-ga-ru-ma ši-m[e. . .]  
 U 14-16 [iz-za-ka]r a-na ki-ki-ši [. . .] ki-kiš ki-k[iš] [. . . ši]-ta-ma-ni  
 Gilg. XI 21-22 ki-ik-kiš ki-ik-kiš i-gar i-gar ki-ik-ki-šu ši-me-ma i-ga-ru ḫi-is-sa-as  
 C<sub>2</sub> i 22' ú-pu-ud bi-ta bi-ni e-le-ep-pa  
 Ark 4 ú-pu-ud bītam(É) bi-ni eleppam(MÁ) m[a-a]k-ku-ra-am ze-e[r-ma]  
 J 6' [. . .] eleppam(<sup>gis</sup>MÁ) ra-bi-tam bi-ni-ma  
 Gilg. XI 24 ú-qur būta(É) bi-ni eleppa(<sup>gis</sup>MÁ)  
 C<sub>2</sub> i 23' ma-ak-ku-ra zé-e-er-ma  
 Ark 4 m[a-a]k-ku-ra-am ze-e[r-ma]  
 Gilg. XI 25 muš-šir mešrám(NÍG.TUKU)-ma  
 C<sub>2</sub> i 24' <sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-pí-iš-ta bu-ul-li-ī  
 Ark 5 na-pí-iš-tam šu-ul-lim  
 Gilg. XI 26-27 še-<sup>3</sup>i-i napšāti(ZI<sup>mcs</sup>) [m]a-ak-ku-ru ze-er-ma na-pi-š-ti bul-li[š]  
 u-li-ma zēr(NUMUN) nap-šá-a-ti ka-la-ma a-na lib-bi eleppi(<sup>gis</sup>MÁ)  
 C<sub>2</sub> i 25' [e]-le-ep-pu ša ta-ba-an-nu-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[ši]  
 Gilg. XI 28 eleppu(<sup>gis</sup>MÁ) šá ta-ban-nu-ši at-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>  
 C<sub>2</sub> i 26' [. . .] mi-it-ḫ[u-ra-at . . .]  
 C<sub>2</sub> i 27' [. . .]  
 C<sub>1</sub> i 28' [. . . k]i!<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ip!<sup>1</sup>-pa-ti<sup>1</sup> [. . .]  
 Ark 6-8 eleppam(MÁ) te-ep-pu-šu e-[š]e-er-ši-ma e-še-er-ti ki-[i]p-pa-tim lu  
 mi-it-ḫa-ar ši-id-da-[š]a ù pu-u[s-sa]  
 W 1'-2' [x x x]-<sup>r</sup>sá?<sup>1</sup> lu <sup>r</sup>min?<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>du?<sup>1</sup>-[da? . . .] [x x x] ki-ma <sup>r</sup>kip-pa-ti<sup>1</sup> [. . .]  
 W 16' [<sup>d</sup>É]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> ina qa-q-a-ri e-[š]ir ú-šur-tu  
 Gilg. XI 28-30 [<sup>gis</sup>eleppa(MÁ) šá ta-ban-nu-ši at-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup> lu-ú mìn-du-da mi-na-tu-  
<sup>r</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> [l]u-ú mīt-ḫur ru-pu-us-sa ù mu-rak-šá  
 C<sub>1</sub> i 29' [k]i-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> Ap-si-i šu-a-ti šú-ul-li-<sup>r</sup>il-š<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>  
 Gilg. XI 31 [k]i-ma Apsī(ABZU) šá-a-ši šu-ul-lil-ši

- C<sub>1</sub> i 30' *a-ia i-mu-ur* <sup>d</sup>Šamaš(UTU) *qé-re-eb-ša*  
 C<sub>1</sub> i 31' *lu-ú šú-ul-lu-la-at e-li-iš ú ša-ap-li-iš*  
 J r 9' [ . . . ] x *šú-lu-la dan-na šú-ul-lil*  
 W 3' [*šulūlu/šulūša*] *lu da-an e-liš u š[ap-liš]*  
 Cf. Gilg. XI 31
- C<sub>1</sub> i 32' *lu-ú du-un-nu-na ú-ni-a-tum*  
 C<sub>1</sub> i 33' *ku-up-ru lu-ú da-a-an e-mu-qá šu-ur-ši*  
 C<sub>1</sub> i 34' *a-na-ku ul-li-iš ú-ša-az-na-na-ak-ku*  
 Gilg. XI 43 [*ana k*] *a-a-šú-nu ú-šá-az-na-[n]ak-ku-nu-ši nu-uḫ-šam-ma*  
 C<sub>1</sub> i 35' *ḫi-iš-bi iš-šú-ri bu-du-ri nu-ni*  
 Gilg. XI 44 (*ušazanakkunūši...*) [*ḫi-šib*] *iššurāti*(MUŠEN<sup>mes</sup>) *bu-zu-ur nūnī*(KU<sub>6</sub><sup>mes</sup>)-*ma*
- C<sub>1</sub> i 36' *ip-te ma-al-ta-ak-ta šu-a-ti / ú-ma-al-li*  
 C<sub>1</sub> i 37' *ba-a-a' a-bu-bi 7 mu-ši-šu iq-bi-šu*  
 C<sub>1</sub> i 38' <sup>m</sup>*At-ra-am-ḫa-si-is il-qé-a te-er-tam*  
 C<sub>1</sub> i 39' *ši-bu-ti ú-pa-aḫ-ḫi-ir* <sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup>-*na ba-bi-šu*  
 C<sub>1</sub> i 40' <sup>m</sup>*At-ra-am- ḫa-si-is pí-a-šu i-pu-ša-a*<sup>r</sup>*am-ma*<sup>1</sup>  
 C<sub>1</sub> i 41' [*i*]z-*za-kār a-na ši-bu-*[*ti*(*m*)]  
 J<sub>1</sub> 8<sup>1</sup>-10<sup>1</sup> [ . . . *pi*]-*i-šu i-ip-pu-ša-am-m*[*a iqabbi* . . . ] [ . . . *pu*]-*ḫu-ur ša-a* <sup>lú</sup>š[*i-bu-ti* . . . ] [ . . . ] <sup>m</sup>*At-ra-am-ḫa-si-iš* <sup>lú</sup>š[*i-bu-ti* . . . ]
- C<sub>1</sub> i 42' [*i*]-*ti i-li-ku-nu i-li* <sup>r</sup>*ú*<sup>1</sup>-[*ul ma-gi-ir*]  
 C<sub>1</sub> i 43' [*i*]-*te-te-zi-zu* <sup>d</sup>*En-ki* <sup>r</sup>*ú*<sup>1</sup> [<sup>d</sup>*En-lil*]  
 C<sub>1</sub> i 44' [*it*]-*ṭa-ar-du-ni-in-ni i-na* [*āliya/mātiya*]  
 C<sub>1</sub> i 45' [*iš*]-*tu-ma ap-ta-na-a*[*l-la-ḫu* <sup>d</sup>*En-ki*]  
 C<sub>1</sub> i 46' [*a-w*]*a-tam an-ni-*[*tam aq*!-*bi*]  
 J<sub>1</sub> 2' [ . . . *a-wa-t*]? *ú-ša-an*-[*na/ni* . . . ]
- C<sub>1</sub> i 47' [*ú-ul*] *ú-uš-ša-ab i-na* U[RU-*ku-nu-ma*]  
 C<sub>1</sub> i 48' [*i-na*] *er-še-et* <sup>d</sup>*En-lil* *ú-ul a-*[*ša-ak-ka-an še-pí-ia*]  
 J<sub>1</sub> 3' [ . . . *i-na*] *er-še-e*[*t* . . . ]  
 Gilg. XI 40–41 [*u*] *uš-šab ina* <sup>r</sup>*āli*(URU)<sup>1</sup>-[*ku*]-*nu-ma* [*ina*] *qaq-qar* <sup>d</sup>*En-lil* *ul a-šak-ka-n*[*a še-p*]*i-ia-a-ma*
- C<sub>1</sub> i 49' [*it*]-*ti i-li* *ú-*[(*ur*)-*ra-ad a-na Apsī*]  
 Gilg. XI 42 [*ur-r*]*ad-ma ana Apsī*(ABZU) *it-ti* <sup>r</sup>*d*É-*a* [*b*]*e-lí-ia áš-ba-ku*
- C<sub>1</sub> i 50' [*an-ni-ta*]*m* <sup>r</sup>*iq-bi-a*<sup>1</sup>-*a*[*m i-li* <sup>d</sup>*En-ki*]  
 J<sub>1</sub> 4' [ . . . <sup>d</sup>É]-<sup>r</sup>*a*?<sup>1</sup> *pí-i-š*<sup>r</sup>*u ip*<sup>1</sup>-*pu-*<sup>r</sup>*ša*<sup>1</sup>-[*am-ma iqabbi*]

(c. 4–5 lines missing)

col. ii

(lines 1–8 missing)

C<sub>2</sub> ii 9' *i*[*q*-. . . ]C<sub>2</sub> ii 10' *ši-bu-*[*tum* . . . ]

- C<sub>2</sub> ii 11' *na-ga-[ru na-ši pa-as-su]*  
 Gilg. XI 50 <sup>10</sup>*naggāru*(NAGAR) *na-ši pa-as-[su]*
- C<sub>2</sub> ii 12' *at-ku-up-[pu na-ši a-ba-an-šu]*  
 Gilg. XI 51 <sup>10</sup>*atkuppu*(AD.KID) *na-ši a-b[a-an-šu]*
- C<sub>2</sub> ii 13' *ku-up-ra [it-ta-ši ša-ru-ú]*  
 Gilg. XI 55 [š]á-ru-u na-<sup>r</sup>ši<sup>1</sup> *kup-ra*
- C<sub>2</sub> ii 14' *la-ap-nu [hi-šiḫ-ta ub-la]*  
 Gilg. XI 56 *lap-nu* x [... *hi-š*]ḫ-tu *ub-la*
- C<sub>2</sub> ii 15' *ú-x [...]*
- C<sub>2</sub> ii 16' *ut-ta-a[k . . .]*
- C<sub>2</sub> ii 17' *bu-[. . .]*
- C<sub>2</sub> ii 18' <sup>m</sup>*At-r[a-am-ḫa-si-is . . .]*
- C<sub>2</sub> ii 19' *ú-li-x [...]*
- C<sub>2</sub> ii 20' *i-[. . .]*
- C<sub>2</sub> ii 21' *ru-[. . .]*  
 (lines 22–27 missing)
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 28" *me?-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-. . .]*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 29" *<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-ub-b[a-al . . .]*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 30" *mi-im-ma <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[šu-ú i-še-en-ši kaspa]*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 31" *mi-im-ma i-š[ú-ú i-še-en-ši ḫurāša]*  
 Gilg. XI 82–83 *mim-ma i-šu-ú e-še-en-ši kaspa*(KÙ.BABBAR) <sup>r</sup>*mim-ma i<sup>1</sup>-š[ú-ú]* <sup>r</sup>*e<sup>1</sup>-še-en-ši ḫurāša*(KÙ.SIG<sub>17</sub>)
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 32" *el-lu-ti iṭ-[bu-uḫ al-p]i*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 33" *ka-ab-ru-ti [iš-gi-iš im-me]-ri*  
 Gilg. XI 71–72 *a-na <sup>r</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-m[an-na-ti] uṭ-ṭàb-bi-iḫ alpī*(GU<sub>4</sub><sup>mes</sup>) <sup>r</sup>*áš-gi-iš immerī*(UDU.NÍTA<sup>mes</sup>) *u<sub>4</sub>-mi-šam-ma*  
 Ark 43 <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>o</sup> <sup>r</sup>áš<sup>o</sup>-<sup>r</sup>gi<sup>o</sup>-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>o</sup> . . . [... ] *e?* *ša-ap-ti-ia*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 34" *i-bé-er-[ma uš-te-r]i-ib*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 35" *mu-up-pa-a[r-ša iṣ-šú-ur] ša-ma-i*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 36" *bu-u[l . . . iṣ-ta]-ka-an*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 37" *na-[ma-aš-še]-<sup>r</sup>e?<sup>1</sup> še-ri*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 38" *mārī*(DU[MU<sup>mes</sup>]) *um-ma-ni(?) uš]-te-ri-ib*  
 W 9' *[bu-ul [š]ērī*(E)DIN) *ú-ma-am šērī*(EDIN) *ma-la urqētu*(Ú.ŠIM) *me-er-<sup>r</sup>i-sun]*  
 J r. 11' [... *bu-ul še*]-<sup>r</sup>*rim?*<sup>1</sup> *ú-ma-am še-rim iṣ-šur ša-me-e*  
 Gilg. XI 86 *bu-ul šēr*[i(EDIN)] <sup>r</sup>*ú<sup>1</sup>-ma-am šērī*(EDIN) <sup>r</sup>*mārī*(DUMU<sup>mes</sup>)<sup>1</sup> *um-ma-a-ni ka-li-šú-nu ú-še-li*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 39" [... *ú-b*]i-*il ar-ḫu*  
 C<sub>0</sub> iv 6' *a-bu-ba-am a-na ú-um wa-ar-ḫi-im*  
 Ark 50 [... *i-na u<sub>4</sub>-mi-im]* <sup>r</sup>*e-ti<sup>1</sup>-i*[m (x x x)]  
 I<sub>2</sub> 1 *i-na pí-i bi-ib-li i-na re-eš arḫi*(ITI)

- C<sub>1</sub> ii 40" [...] *ni-ši-šu iq-ri*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 41" [...] *ʿa<sup>1</sup>-na qé-re-ti*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 42" [...] x *ʿki<sup>1</sup>-im-ta-šu uš-te-ri-ib*  
 Ark 34–35 *ʿuš<sup>1</sup>-ta-na-ʿal<sup>1</sup>-[la?-ak?-šu?-nu?-ti? i?]-n)a? ri-a-ši a-na elep-  
 pi(MÁ) ʿr<sup>1</sup>-[ru-bu-ma] x x k[i-i]m ʿsa<sup>1</sup>-al-la-at*  
 J r. 13' *[šūli ana eleppi sa-lat-k]a u kin-ta-k[a!]*  
 W 6'–8' <sup>[e]S</sup>MÁ *e-ru-um-ma bāb(KÁ) eleppi(<sup>e]S</sup>MÁ) tir-[ra]... [DAM-k]a ki-  
 mat-ka sa-lat-ka u mārī(DUMU<sup>mes</sup>) um-m[a-nī]*  
 Gilg. XI 85 *uš-te-li a-[na] libbi(ŠÀ!) eleppi(<sup>e]S</sup>MÁ) ka-la kim-ti-ia u sa-lat-ia*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 43" *[a-ki-l]u i-ik-ka-al*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 44" *[ša]-tu-ú i-ša-at-ti*  
 Ark 38 *a-ki-lum i-ʿik<sup>1</sup>-k[a-a]l [ša-tu-um] i-ša-at-ti*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 45" *i-ir-ru-ub ú ʿú<sup>1</sup>-uš-ší*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 46" *ú-ul ú-uš-ša-ab ú-ul i-ka-am-mi-is*  
 Gilg. XI 138 *uk-tam-mi-is-ma at-ta-šab a-bak-ki*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 47" *[h]e-pí-i-ma li-ib-ba-šu i-ma-a<sup>2</sup> ma-ar-ta-am*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 48" *u<sub>4</sub>-mu iš-nu-ú pa-nu-ú-šu*  
 Gilg. XI 92–93 *šà u<sub>4</sub>-mi at-ʿta<sup>1</sup>-ʿtal bu-na-šu u<sub>4</sub>-mu a-na i-tap-lu-si pu-luḫ-ta i-ši*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 49" *iš-ta-ag-na <sup>d</sup>Adad(IŠKUR) i-na er-pé-ti*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 50" *i-la iš-mu-ú ri-gi-im-šu*  
 U r. 2' <sup>[d</sup>Adad(?) *iṭ]-ta-di ri-g[im-šú(?) . . .]*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 51" *[k]u-up-ru ba-bi-il i-pé-eh-ḫi ba-ab-šu*  
 I<sub>1</sub> B 1' *[ú]-pa-ḫi-šu [...]*  
 W 4' *[x (x)] ʿx<sup>1</sup>-e pi-ḫi <sup>e]S</sup>[MÁ]*  
 U r. 3' *[i-ru-u]m-ma ip-ḫa-a el[eppa...](<sup>e]S</sup>MÁ . . .)*  
 Gilg. XI 94 *e-ru-ub ana lib-bi eleppi(<sup>e]S</sup>MÁ)-ma ap-te-ḫe ba-a-bi*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 52" *iš-tu-ma i-dī-lu ba-ab-šu*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 53" <sup>d</sup>Adad(IŠKUR) *i-ša-ag-gu-um i-na er-pé-ti*  
 Gilg. XI 99 <sup>d</sup>Adad(IŠKUR) *ina lib-bi-šá ir-tam-ma-am-ma*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 54" *ša-ru uz-zu-zu i-na te-bi-šu*
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 55" *ip-ru-u<sup>2</sup> ma-ar-ka-sa e-le-ep-pa / ip-ṭú-ur*  
 U r. 4' *ša-ru <sup>be-pi eš-šú</sup>-il-ma ib-bak me-ḫ[u-u]*
- Lo. Edge 55

col. iii

(lines 1–2 missing)

- C<sub>1</sub> iii 3' [. . .] x x x [. . .]
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 4' [. . .] *bu!-ra-i*
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 5' *[u<sub>4</sub>-ma iš-t]e-en me-ḫu-ú*  
 Gilg. XI 109 *ʿl<sup>1</sup>-en u<sub>4</sub>-ma me-ḫ[u-ú . . .]*
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 6' [. . .] *i]š-ša-am-du*

- C<sub>1</sub> iii 7' [... *i-na š*]ú-up-ri-šu  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 8' [ú-ša-ar-ri-it š]a-ma-i  
 U r. 16' [x] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> *i-na šu-up-ri-šu* AN<sup>e</sup> <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[šar-riit]
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 9' [. . . m]a-ta-am  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 10' [ki-ma ka-ar-pa-ti r]i-gi-im-ša iḫ-pí  
 U r. 17' [x x x mā]ta([K]UR) *ki-ma karpati*(DUG) *mi-lik-ša is-p[u-uh]*  
 I<sub>1</sub> B 5'-6' *a-na mi-nim is-pu-[uh mi-lik ma-ti] ki ka-ar-pa-at-šu [ri-gim-ša iḫ-pí]*
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 11' [. . . it-ta-ša-a] a-bu-bu  
 U r. 18' [x x x] <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-ta-ša-a a-bu-bu  
 J r. 4' [. . .] *ti la-am a-bu-bi wa-še-e*
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 12' [ki-ma qá-ab-l]i <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-li ni-ši i-ba-a<sup>2</sup> ka-šu-šu  
 U r. 19' [ki-ma qab-li eli](UG)U *ni-še i-ba-a ka-šu-šu*  
 Gilg. XI 111 *ki-ma qab-li eli*(UGU) *nišī*(ÜG<sup>mes</sup>) *ú-ba-<sup>2</sup>-ú [ka-šú-šú]*
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 13' [ú-ul] <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-mu-ur a-ḫu a-ḫa-šu  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 14' [ú-ul] <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-te-ed-du-ú i-na ka-ra-ši  
 Gilg. XI 112–113 *ul im-mar a-ḫu a-ḫa-šu ul ú-ta-ad-da-a nišū*(ÜG<sup>mes</sup>) *ina <sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-r[a-ši]*
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 15' [a-bu-b]u ki-ma li-i i-ša-ap-pu  
 U r. 13' [i-r]a-ḫi-iš i-da-ak i-da-ás [x x x]  
 Gilg. XI 108 [i-r]i-iš *māta*(KUR) *kīma*(GIM) *alp[i(GU<sub>4</sub>) . . .] x iḫ-p[i-šá]*
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 16' [ki-ma] <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ri-i na-e-ri  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 17' [i-ša-as-sú-n]im ša-ru  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 18' [ša-pa-at e]-tú-tu <sup>d</sup>Šamaš(UTU) la-aš-šu  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 19' [li-il-li-du i-b]a-šu ki-ma zu!-ub-bi  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 20' [i-lu ip-la-ḫu ri-gi]-im a-bu-bi  
 Gilg. XI 114 *ilū*(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>) *ip-tal-ḫu a-bu-ba-am-ma*
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 21' [i-na ša-ma-i pu-uz-r]a [i]-<sup>r</sup>ḫu<sup>1</sup>-zu  
 Gilg. XI 115 *it-te-eḫ-su i-te-lu-ú ana šamē*(AN)<sup>e</sup> *šá <sup>d</sup>A-nim*
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 22' [i-na ka-ma-ti uš]-bu  
 Gilg. XI 116 *ilū*(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>) *ki-ma kalbi*(UR.GI<sub>7</sub>) *kun-nu-nu ina ka-ma-a-ti rab-šu*
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 23' [ip-la-aḫ-ma A-nu] ri-gi-im a-[bu-bi]  
 U r. 20' [ip(-ta)-lah-ma <sup>d</sup>A<sup>?</sup>-nu] KA a-bu-bi  
 Gilg. XI 114 *ilū*(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>) *ip-tal-ḫu a-bu-ba-am-ma*
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 24' [li-ib]-bi i-li uš-ta-ka-a[d]  
 U r. 21' [. . . DINGIR]<sup>mes</sup> *ul-ta-dar*  
 Gilg. XI 111 *ki-ma qab-li eli*(UGU) *nišī*(ÜG<sup>mes</sup>) *ú-ba-<sup>2</sup>-ú [ka-šú-šú]*
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 25' [A-nu i]š-ta-ni <sup>te</sup><sub>4</sub>-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-em-šu  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 26' [i-lu] ma-ru-šu up-<sup>r</sup>pu<sup>1</sup>-qú  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 27' [i-n]a ma-aḫ-ri-šu  
 U r. 22' [. . .] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> DUMU<sup>mes</sup>-šá *up-pu-qú a-na pi-šá*

- C<sub>1</sub> iii 28' [dNi]n-tu be-el-tum ra-bi-tum  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 29' [pu]-ul-hi-ta ú-ka-la-la ša-ap-ta-ša  
 Gilg. XI 118 ú-nam-bi<sup>29</sup> <sup>d</sup>Bēlet-ilī(MAḪ) ta-bat rig-ma  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 30' [d]A-nun-a i-lu ra-bu-tum  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 31' [aš]-b[u] i-na šú-mi ù bu-bu-ti  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 32' <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-mu-ur-ma il-tum i-ba-ak-k[i]  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 33' ta-ab-su-ut i-li e-ri-iš-ta <sup>d</sup>rMa<sup>1</sup>-m[i]  
 Gilg. XI 117–118 i-šas-si <sup>d</sup>Iš-tar [k]i-ma a-lit-ti ú-nam-bi <sup>d</sup>Bēlet-ilī(MAḪ) ta-bat rig-ma  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 34' u<sub>4</sub>-mu-um li-id-da-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[im]  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 35' li-tu-ur li-ki-[il]  
 Gilg. XI 119 u<sub>4</sub>-mu ul-lu-ú a-na ti-it-ti lu-ú i-tur-ma  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 36' a-na-ku i-na pu-úh-ri ša <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[li]  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 37' ki-i aq-[bi]  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 38' it-ti-šu-nu ga-me-er-ta-a[m]  
 Gilg. XI 120 áš-šú a-na-ku ina pu-hur il[ī(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>)] aq-bu-ú <sup>r</sup>lemutta(HUL)  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 39' <sup>d</sup>En-líl it-pí-ra ú-ša-aq-bi pí-i-[ia]  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 40' ki-ma Ti-ru-ru šu-a-t[i]  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 41' ú-ša-ah!-hi pí-i-i[a]  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 42' a-na ra-ma-ni-ia ù pa-ag-ri-i[a]  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 43' i-na še-ri-ia-ma ri-gi-im-ši-na eš-me  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 44' e-le-nu-ia ki-ma zu-ub-bi  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 45' i-wu-ú li-il-li-du  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 46' ù a-na-ku ki-i a-ša-bi  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 47' i-na bi-it di-im-ma-ti ša-hu-ur-ru / ri-ig-mi  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 48' e-te-el-li-i-ma a-na ša-ma-i  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 49' tu-ša wa-aš-ba-a-ku  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 50' i-na bi-it na-ak-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-ti  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 51' e-ša-a A-nu il-li-kam be-el te<sub>4</sub>-mi  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 52' i-lu ma-ru-šu iš-mu-ú zi-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-ir-šu  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 53' ša la im-ta-al-ku-ma iš-ku-<sup>r</sup>nu a<sup>1</sup>-[bu-ba]  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 54' ni-<sup>r</sup>ši ik-mi-su a-na ka<sup>1</sup>-[ra-ši]  
 Gilg. XI 170 áš-šú (Enlil) la im-tal-ku-ma<sup>30</sup> iš-ku-nu a-bu-bu

(one line missing)

Rev.

col. iv

(lines 1–2 missing)

C<sub>1</sub> iv 3' [. . .] <sup>r</sup>x x<sup>1</sup> [. . .]

<sup>29</sup> Ms. T<sub>2</sub> (Sm 2131+): ú-nam-ba “was wailing”.

<sup>30</sup> Ms. c<sub>2</sub>: áš-šú la im-tal-li-ku-[ma].

- C<sub>1</sub> iv 4' *ú-na-ab-ba* <sup>d</sup>Ni[n-tu...]  
 Gilg. XI 118 *ú-nam-bi*<sup>31</sup> <sup>d</sup>Bēlet-ilī(MAH) *ṭa-bat rig-ma*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 5' *a-bu-ma-an ul-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup> n[i-šī-ia]*  
 Gilg. XI 123 *ana-ku-um-ma ul-la-da ni-šu-ú-a-a-ma*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 6' *ti-a-am-ta ki-ma ku-li-li*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 7' *im-la-a-nim na-ra-am*  
 Gilg. XI 124 *ki-i mārī(DUMU<sup>mes</sup>) nūnī(KU<sub>6</sub><sup>há</sup>) ú-ma-al-la-a tam-ta-am-ma*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 8' *ki-ma a-mi-im i-mi-da a-na <sup>r</sup>sa-ḫi?<sup>1</sup>*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 9' *ki-ma a-mi-im i-na še-ri i-mi-da / a-na ki-ib-ri*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 10' *a-mu-ur-ma e-li-šī-na ab-ki*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 11' *ú-qá-at-ti di-im-ma-ti / i-na še-ri-šī-in*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 12' *ib-ki-i-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> li-ib-ba-ša ú-na-ap-pi-iš*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 13' *ú-na-ab-ba* <sup>d</sup>Nin-tu
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 14' *la-la-ša iṣ-ru-up*  
 U r. 23' . . . ] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> *la-lu-šá i[ṣ-ru-u]p*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 15' *i-lu it-ti-ša ib-ku-ú a-na ma-tim*  
 U r. 24' – 25' [. . . ] <sup>r</sup>MA LI<sup>1</sup> [. . . ] [. . . ]<sup>mes</sup> <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 Gilg. XI 125 *ilū(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>) šu-ut <sup>d</sup>A-nun-na-ki ba-ku-ú it-ti-šá*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 16' *iš-bi ni-is-sà-tam!*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 17' *ša-mi-a-at šī-ik-ri-iš*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 18' *šī-i a-šar uš-bu i-na bi-ki-ti*  
 Gilg. XI 126 *ilū(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>) aš-ru áš-bi i-na bi-ki-ti*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 19' *uš-bu-ma ki-ma im-me-ri*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 20' *im-lu-nim ra-ṭa-am*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 21' *ša-mi-a ša-ap-ta-šu-nu pu-ul-ḫi-ta*  
 Gilg. XI 127 *šab-ba šap-ta-šú-nu <sup>r</sup>le-qa<sup>1</sup>a bu-uh-re-e-ti*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 22' *<sup>r</sup>i-na<sup>1</sup> bu-bu-ti*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 23' *i-ta-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-ar-ra-ar-ru*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 24' *7 u<sub>4</sub>-mi 7 mu-š[i-a-ti]*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 25' *il-li-ik ra-<sup>r</sup>du me-ḫu-ú<sup>1</sup> [a-bu-bu]*  
 U r. 7' *si-qu siq-si-qu me-ḫu-ú rād[u](AGA[R<sub>x</sub>])*  
 Gilg. XI 128–129 6 *ur-ri ú <sup>r</sup>7<sup>1</sup> mu-šá-a-ti <sup>r</sup>il<sup>1</sup>-lak šá-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ru ra-a-du mi-ḫu-ú*  
*a-b[u-bu . . . ]*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 26' *a-šar is-r[i-ḫu? . . . ]*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 27' *sa-ki-ī[p . . . ]*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 28' *ša-x [. . . ]*
- (C<sub>1</sub>: ll. 29–38 are broken)
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 39" *i[b- . . . ]*
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 40" *is-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]*

<sup>31</sup> Ms. T<sub>2</sub> (Sm 2131+): *ú-nam-ba*.

C <sub>1</sub> iv 41"	<i>bi</i> -. . .]
C <sub>1</sub> iv 42"	<i>u</i> [š . . .]
C <sub>1</sub> iv 43"	ʿx <sup>1</sup> [. . .]
C <sub>1</sub> iv 44"	<i>ú</i> -. . .]
C <sub>1</sub> iv 45"	<i>i-n</i> [a . . .]
C <sub>1</sub> iv 46"	<i>it-t</i> [a . . .]
C <sub>1</sub> iv 47"	ʿx <sup>1</sup> [. . .]

(c. 12 lines missing)

col. v

(lines 1–7 missing)

C <sub>1</sub> v 8'	ʿx <sup>1</sup> [. . .]
C <sub>1</sub> v 9'	ʿx <sup>1</sup> [. . .]
C <sub>1</sub> v 10'	<i>ú?</i> -. . .]
C <sub>1</sub> v 11'	<i>i</i> -. . .]
C <sub>1</sub> v 12'	ʿe <sup>1</sup> -. . .]
C <sub>1</sub> v 13'	ʿx <sup>1</sup> [. . .]
C <sub>1</sub> v 14'	ʿx <sup>1</sup> [. . .]

(C<sub>1</sub> v 15–27 are broken)

C <sub>1</sub> v 28"	ʿx <sup>1</sup> [. . .]
C <sub>1</sub> v 29"	<i>i-š</i> [i? . . .]
C <sub>1</sub> v 30"	ʿa <sup>1</sup> - <i>na ša-a-r</i> [ <i>i er-bet</i> ]
C <sub>1</sub> v 31"	[ <i>i</i> ]- <i>ta-qí!</i> (DI) [ <i>ni-qá-a</i> ]

Gilg. XI 157–160 *ú-še-ši-ma a-na 4 šārī*(IM<sup>mes</sup>) *at-ta-qí áš-kun sur-qin-nu ina muḫḫi*(UGU) *ziq-qur-rat šadi*(KUR)-*i 7 u 7* <sup>du<sup>g</sup></sup>*adagurra*(A.DA.GUR<sub>5</sub>) *uk-tin i-na šap-li-šú-nu at-ta-bak qanā*(GI) <sup>si<sup>s</sup></sup>*erēna*(EREN) *u* <sup>sim</sup>*a*(GÍR)]

C <sub>1</sub> v 32"	ʿi- <i>za-an-nu-un</i> <sup>1</sup> [. . .]
C <sub>1</sub> v 33"	[. . .] ʿx x <sup>1</sup>
C <sub>1</sub> v 34"	[ <i>i-ši-nu i-l</i> ] <i>u e-re-ša</i>

Gilg. XI 161–162 *ilū*(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>) *i-ši-nu i-ri-šá ilū*(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>) *i-ši-nu i-ri-šá* *īāb*[*a*(DÙG.GA)]

C <sub>1</sub> v 35"	[ <i>ki-ma zu-ub-b</i> ] <i>i e-lu ni-qí-i pa-aḫ-ru</i>
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Gilg. XI 163 *ilū*(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>) *ki-ma zu-um-bé-e eli*(UGU) *bēl*(EN) *niqī*(SIS-KUR) *ip-taḫ-ru*

C <sub>1</sub> v 36"	[ <i>iš-tu-m</i> ] <i>a i-ku-lu ni-qí-a-am</i>
C <sub>1</sub> v 37"	[ <sup>d</sup> <i>Nin</i> ]- <i>tu it-bé-e-ma</i>

Gilg. XI 164 *ul-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma* <sup>d</sup>*Bēlet-ilī*(MAḪ) *ina ka-šá-di-šú*

C <sub>1</sub> v 38"	ʿna- <i>ap<sup>1</sup>-ḫa-ar-šu-nu ut-ta-az-za-am</i>
C <sub>1</sub> v 39"	<i>e-ša-a A-nu il-li-kam</i>
C <sub>1</sub> v 40"	<i>be-el</i> <i>ṭe<sub>4</sub>-e-mi</i>
C <sub>1</sub> v 41"	<sup>d</sup> <i>En-lil iṭ-ḫi-a a-na qú-ut-re-ni</i>

- Gilg. XI 168–169 *ilū*(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>) *lil-li-ku-ni a-na sur-qin-ni*<sup>d</sup> *En-lil a-a il-li-ka a-na sur-qin-ni*
- C<sub>1</sub> v 42" *ša la im-ta-al-ku-ú-ma / iš-ku-nu a-bu-ba*  
Gilg. XI 170 *áš-šú la im-tal-ku-ma iš-ku-nu a-bu-bu*
- C<sub>1</sub> v 43" *ni-ši ik-mi-su a-na ka-ra-ši*  
Gilg. XI 171 *ù niš̄(ÚG<sup>mes</sup>)-ia im-nu-ú ana ka-ra-ši*
- C<sub>1</sub> v 44" *ub-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup> pí-i-ku-nu ga-me-er-tam!*
- C<sub>1</sub> v 45" *<sup>r</sup>el<sup>1</sup>-lu-<sup>r</sup>tum zi!<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>-mu-ši-na i<sup>2</sup>-a-ad-ru*
- C<sub>1</sub> v 46" *ù ši-i i<sup>2</sup>-he-e-ma / a-na zu!<sup>1</sup>-bé-e ra-bu-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>*
- C<sub>1</sub> v 47" *ša A-nu i-lu!(ŠU)-lu!(MA) i-pa-an qá-a[d!<sup>1</sup>-mi!]*  
Gilg. XI 165–167 *iš-ši zumbē*(NIM<sup>mes</sup>) *rabūti*(GAL<sup>mes</sup>) *šá*<sup>d</sup> *A-num i-pu-šú ki-i šu-ḫi-šú ilū*(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>) *an-nu-tum lu-ú*<sup>na4</sup> *uqn̄*(ZA.GÌN) *kišādi*(GÚ)-*a ūmī*(U<sub>4</sub><sup>mes</sup>) *an-nu-ti lu-ú-uḫ-su-sa-am-ma ana da-riš a-a am-ši*
- C<sub>1</sub> v 48" *ia-a-at-tum ni-is-sà-s[ú-nu]*
- C<sub>1</sub> v 49" *lu-ú ši-im-ti-i-ma!*
- C<sub>1</sub> v 50" *li-še-ša-an-ni-ma i-na né-el-m[e-ni]*
- C<sub>1</sub> v 51" *pa-ni-ia li-ip-t[e]*
- C<sub>1</sub> v 52" *lu-ú-ší ši-a-ru-u[m? x] / mu-<sup>r</sup>x x x<sup>1</sup> [x x x]*
- col. vi
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 1 *i-na ma-[a-tim . . .]*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 2 *zu-ub-bu-ú a[n-nu-tum]*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 3 *lu-ú uq-ni ki-ša-di-i[a-a-ma]*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 4 *lu-uḫ-sú-ús-ma! u<sub>4</sub>-mi [. . .] / zi-[. . .]*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 5 *ma-ku-ra i-ta-ma-ar q[ú-ra-du*<sup>d</sup> *En-lil]*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 6 *li-ib-ba-ti ma-li ša*<sup>r</sup> *I-gi<sup>1</sup>-[gi]*  
Gilg. XI 172–173 *ul-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma*<sup>d</sup> *En-lil ina ka-šá-di-šú i-mur elep-pam*(<sup>g</sup>šMÁ)-*ma i-te-ziz*<sup>d</sup> *En-lil lib-ba-ti im-ta-li šá* *il̄*(DINGIR.DINGIR)<sup>d</sup> *ḡ-gi-gi ra-bu-tum*<sup>d</sup> *A-nun<sup>1</sup>-na*<sup>r</sup> *ka-lu-ni<sup>1</sup>*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 7 *ub-la pí-i-ni iš-ti-ni-iš ma-mi-tam*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 8 *a-ia-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-nu ú-ši pí-ri!-iš-tum*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 9 *ki-i ib-lu-uḫ*<sup>r</sup> *a-wi<sup>1</sup>-lu[m] /*<sup>r</sup> *i-na ka-ra-ši<sup>1</sup>*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 10 *Gilg. XI 175–176 [a-a-n]u-um-ma ú-ši na-pi-š-ti a-a ib-luḫ amēlu*(LÚ) *ina ka-ra-š[i]*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 11 *A-nu pí-a-šu i-<sup>r</sup>pu-š<sup>1</sup>a-am-ma*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 12 *iz-za-kàr*<sup>r</sup> *a<sup>1</sup>-na qú-ra-<sup>r</sup>dī<sup>1</sup>*<sup>d</sup> *En-lil*  
Gilg. XI 177–178 *Nin-urta pa-a-šú ṭpuš*(DÚ)-*ma iqabbi*(DUG<sub>4</sub>.GA) *izakkar*(MU)<sup>dr</sup> *ana qu-ra-dī*<sup>d</sup> *En-lil*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 13 *ma-an-nu an-ni-tam*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 14 *<sup>r</sup>ša la*<sup>d</sup> *En-ki<sup>1</sup> i-ip-pu-uš*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 15 *[ki-ki-š]a ú-ša-ap-ta zi-ik-r[a]*

- Gilg. XI 179–180 *man-nu-um-ma šá la* <sup>d</sup>*É-a a-ma-tu i-ban-ni* <sup>d</sup>*É-a i-de-e-ma ka-la šip-r[i]*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 16 [d*En-ki*] *pí-a-šu i-<sup>r</sup>pu-ša-am<sup>1</sup>-[ma]*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 17 [i*z-za-kàr*] *a-na i-li <sup>r</sup>ra-bu-ti<sup>1</sup>*
- Gilg. XI 181–182 <sup>d</sup>*É-a pa-a-šu* *īpuš(DÙ)-ma iqabbi(DUG<sub>4</sub>.GA) izakkar(MU)<sup>ár</sup> ana qu-ra-di* <sup>d</sup>*En-[lil]*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 18 [l*u-ú e*]-*pu-uš i-na pa-ni-<sup>r</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-n[u]*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 19 [ú-*uš-t*] *a-ši-ra na-pí-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-[tam . . .]*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 20 [at-*ta apkal*(ABGAL)] *i-li [qú-<sup>r</sup>a]-d[u<sup>1</sup>]*
- z v 2' *a*[t-*ta apkal*(ABGAL) *ilī*(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>) *qu-ra-du*]
- Gilg. XI 183 *at-ta apkal*(ABGAL) *ilī*(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>) *qu-ra-du*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 21 [k*i-i la ta-am-li-ik-ma a-b*] *u-ba*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 22 [( . . .) *ta-a*] *š-ku-un*
- z v3' *k*[i-*i ki-i la tam-ta-lik-ma a-bu-ba taš-kun*]
- Gilg. XI 184 *ki-i ki-i la tam-ta-lik-ma a-bu-bu taš-k[un]*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 23 [t*u-na-ap-pí-iš l*] *i-ib-ba-ka*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 24 [š*u-ud-di-id*] *ù ru-um-mi*
- Gilg. XI 187 *ru-um-me a-a ib-ba-ti-iq šu-du-ud a-a i[r-mu]*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 25 [be-*el ar-n*] *im šu-ku-un še-re-et-ka*
- z v 11'–12' *be-el* *š*[e-er-ti] *'e<sup>1</sup>-mid še-ret-s[u] be-el [gil-la-ti] e-mid gil-lat-s[u]*
- Gilg. XI 185–186 *be-el ár-ni e-mid hi-<sup>1</sup>ta-a-šu be-el gil-la-ti e-mid gil-lat-[su]*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 26 [ú] *'a<sup>1</sup>-iu-ú ša ú-ša-a[s]-sà-ku / a-wa-at-ka*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 27 [l*i-iš-ku*]-*nu pu-úh-ra* [ . . .]
- (lines 28–37 missing)
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 38' [ . . .] *'x<sup>1</sup> ši-a-ti*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 39' [ . . .] *iš-ku-nu*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 40' [ú-*na-ap-p*] *i-iš li-ib-bi*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 41' [<sup>d</sup>*En-lil p*] *i-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 42' [i*z-za*]-*kàr a-na* <sup>d</sup>*En-ki ni-iš-ši-ki*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 43' [g*a-na sa-a*] *s-sú-ra* <sup>d</sup>*Nin-tu ši-si-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 44' [at-*t*] *a ù ši-i mi-it-li-ka / i-na pu-úh-ri*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 45' [<sup>d</sup>*En-ki pí*]-*'a<sup>1</sup>-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 46' [i*z-za-kàr*] *'a<sup>1</sup>-na* <sup>d</sup>*Nin-tu sa-as-sú-ri*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 47' [at-*ti sa-a*] *s-sú-ru ba-ni-a-<sup>r</sup>at<sup>1</sup> / ši-ma-ti*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 48' [š*u-uk-ni mu-ta*] *'a<sup>1</sup>-na ni-ši*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 49' [a-*wi-la* (ina *qá-ab-ri*) *šu-uš*]-*'li<sup>1</sup>-li*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 50' [ . . .] *ša-ni-tum l*] *i-<sup>r</sup>ib-ši<sup>1</sup>*
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 51' [ . . .] *'x<sup>1</sup>*
- (one line missing)

col. vii

- C<sub>1</sub> vii 1 [a]p-<sup>r</sup>pu<sup>1</sup>-na ša-lu-uš-tum li-i[b]-ši / i-na ni-ši  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 2 i-na ni-ši a-li-it-tum-ma la a-li-it-tum  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 3 li-ib-ši-ma i-na ni-ši Pa-ši-it-tu  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 4 li-iš-ba-at še-er-ra  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 5 i-na bi-ir-ku a-li-it-ti  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 6 šu-uk-ni ú-ug-ba-ak-ka-ti e-ne-ti  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 7 ù e-gi-ši-a-ti  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 8 lu-ú ik-ki-bu ši-na-ma  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 9 <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-la-da-<sup>r</sup>am<sup>1</sup> pu-ur-<sup>r</sup>si<sup>1</sup>  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 10 [šú-uk]-ni a[d] <sup>r</sup>x x x x<sup>1</sup> [n]a?-di-tam  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 11 [šú-gi-tam] ù [qá-di?]-iš-tam  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 12 [. . .] <sup>r</sup>ra ma?<sup>1</sup> [x x] <sup>r</sup>x na?<sup>1</sup>  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 13 [šú-uz-b]i-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-[0]-ši-in  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 14 [x x] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [x x x x]-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-mi-šu  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 15 [. . .]-tum  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 16 [. . .] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 17 eṭ[. . .]  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 18 li-[. . .]  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 19 <sup>r</sup>x x<sup>1</sup> [. . .]  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 20 a-š[i-im . . .]  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 21 <sup>r</sup>dEn-líl<sup>1</sup> [. . .]  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 22 <sup>r</sup>x x<sup>1</sup> [. . .]  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 23 <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [. . .]  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 24 ma-<sup>r</sup>si<sup>1</sup>-. . .]  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 25 me-<sup>r</sup>hu-x<sup>1</sup>(-)[. . .]  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 26 ma-ta-[. . .]  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 27 <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [. . .]

(lines 28–35 missing)

- C<sub>2</sub> vii 36' <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [. . .]  
 C<sub>2</sub> vii 37' hu-[. . .]  
 C<sub>2</sub> vii 38' ba-[. . .]  
 C<sub>2</sub> vii 39' i-[. . .]  
 C<sub>2</sub> vii 40' ib-[. . .]  
 C<sub>2</sub> vii 41' <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> [. . .]

(c. 16–22 lines missing)

col. viii

(lines 1–2 missing)

- C<sub>1</sub> viii 3' [. . .] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>  
 C<sub>1</sub> viii 4' [. . .] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>

C <sub>1</sub> viii 5'	[. . .] ṛx <sup>1</sup>
C <sub>1</sub> viii 6'	[x] ṛx x <sup>1</sup> [. . .] <i>da</i>
C <sub>1</sub> viii 7'	[x] ṛ <i>ma ši</i> x <sup>1</sup> [. . . <i>tu</i> ] <i>m</i>
C <sub>1</sub> viii 8'	[i] <i>b-ba-š[u? -ú? . . .]</i> ṛ <i>ni?</i> <sup>1</sup>
C <sub>1</sub> viii 9'	<i>ki-ma ni-iš-ṛku<sup>1</sup> -[nu a-bu-b]a</i>
C <sub>1</sub> viii 10'	<i>a-wi-lum ib-lu-[tu i-na ka-ra-ši]</i>
C <sub>1</sub> viii 11'	<i>at-ta ma-li-ik i-[li(-ma)]</i>
C <sub>1</sub> viii 12'	<i>te-ri-ti-iš-[ka]</i>
C <sub>1</sub> viii 13'	<i>ú-ša-ab-ši qá-a[b-la]</i>
C <sub>1</sub> viii 14'	<i>ša-ni-it-ti-iš-[ka]</i>
C <sub>1</sub> viii 15'	<i>an-ni-a-am za-ma-r[a]</i>
C <sub>1</sub> viii 16'	<i>li-iš-mu-ma<sup>d</sup> I-gi-g[u]</i>
C <sub>1</sub> viii 17'	<i>li-iš-ši-ru na-ar-bi-ka</i>
C <sub>1</sub> viii 18'	<i>a-bu-ba a-na ku-ul-la-at ni-ši</i>
C <sub>1</sub> viii 19'	<i>ú-za-am-me-er ši-me-a</i>
=====	
C <sub>1</sub> viii 20'	al-til 19
C <sub>1</sub> viii 21'	dub-3-kám-ma
C <sub>1</sub> viii 22'	<i>i-nu-ma i-lu a-ṛwi<sup>1</sup>-lum<sup>a-ṛwi-lu?</sup></i>
C <sub>2</sub> viii 23'	ṛmu-šid-bi 390 <sup>1</sup>
C <sub>2</sub> viii 24'	šu-nigin 1245
C <sub>2</sub> viii 25'	<i>ša 3 tu<sup>p</sup>-pa-t[i]</i>
C <sub>2</sub> viii 26'	šu sig- <sup>d</sup> A-a dub-sar tur
C <sub>2</sub> viii 27'	itu gu <sub>4</sub> -si-sá ṛu <sub>4</sub> ? <sup>1</sup> [x-kám]
C <sub>2</sub> viii 28'	mu <i>am-mi-ša-d[u-qá</i> lugal-e]
C <sub>2</sub> viii 29'	alan-a-[ni máš gaba tab-ba šu an-du <sub>8</sub> -a]
C <sub>2</sub> viii 30'	ṛú <sup>1</sup> [alan-a-ni šu silim-ma ab-bé-e-a]
C <sub>2</sub> viii 31'	[é-tùr-kalam-ma-šè in-ne-en-ku <sub>4</sub> -ra]

*Translation*

col. i

- C<sub>1</sub> i 1–2 [Atra-ḫasīs opened his mouth and addressed his lord,]  
(C<sub>1</sub> i 3–9 missing)
- C<sub>2</sub> i 10' [. . .] . . .
- C<sub>2</sub> i 11'–12' Atra-ḫasīs opened his mouth and addressed his lord:  
C<sub>2</sub> i 13'–14' “Teach me the meaning [of *the dream*], so that I may kn[ow  
*its reason*] and look for its *purpose*”.
- C<sub>2</sub> i 15'–16' [Enki] opened his mouth and addressed his servant:  
C<sub>2</sub> i 17' “Should you say: ‘How am I to search (for it) in (my) bed-  
room?’
- C<sub>2</sub> i 18'–19' Observe well, you, the task that I will tell you:

- C<sub>2</sub> i 20'–21' 'Wall, listen to me carefully! Reed wall, reed wall, observe all my words!
- C<sub>2</sub> i 22'–24' *Depart* from (your) house, build a boat! Spurn property and save life!
- C<sub>2</sub> i 25'–26' The boat which you will build [. . .should] be equal [( . . .)]
- C<sub>2</sub> i 27' [. . .]
- C<sub>1</sub> i 28' [. . .] a circle . . . [. . .]
- C<sub>1</sub> i 29'–30' Roof her over like the Apsû, so that the sun shall not see inside her.
- C<sub>1</sub> i 31'–32' Let her be roofed over above and below, let (her) *frame* be very strong.
- C<sub>1</sub> i 33' Let the bitumen be tough, thus strengthen (the boat).
- C<sub>1</sub> i 34'–35' Later I will rain down upon you an abundance of birds, *baskets* of fishes”.
- C<sub>1</sub> i 36'–37' He opened the water-clock, filled it; He told him of the coming of the Flood, its seven nights.
- C<sub>1</sub> i 38'–39' Atra-ḥasīs received the instruction. He assembled the elders to his gate.
- C<sub>1</sub> i 40'–41' Atra-ḥasīs opened his mouth and addressed the elders:
- C<sub>1</sub> i 42' “My god [came to a] dis[agreement] with your god,
- C<sub>1</sub> i 43'–44' hence Enki and [Enlil] became steadily angry (with one another), (and) expelled me from [my city/land].
- C<sub>1</sub> i 45'–46' Since I lastingly revere [Enki], [he told (me)] of th[is m]atter.
- C<sub>1</sub> i 47'–48' I will [not] dwell in [your cit]y, I cannot [*set my feet on*] the earth of Enlil.
- C<sub>1</sub> i 49' With my god I shall [*go down to the Apsû*]”.
- C<sub>1</sub> i 50' [This] is what [my god Enki] told me.
- (c. 4–5 lines missing)

col. ii

(lines 1–8 missing)

- C<sub>2</sub> ii 9' . [. . .]
- C<sub>2</sub> ii 10' The elders [. . .]
- C<sub>2</sub> ii 11'–12' The carpenter [carried his axe], the reed-worker [carried his *stone*].
- C<sub>2</sub> ii 13'–14' [The rich man carried] the bitumen, the poor man [brought the necessary (things)].
- C<sub>2</sub> ii 15' . [. . .]
- C<sub>2</sub> ii 16' He/They . . . [. . .]
- C<sub>2</sub> ii 17' . [. . .]
- C<sub>2</sub> ii 18' Atra-ḥasīs [. . .]

- C<sub>2</sub> ii 19' . . . [ . . . ]  
 C<sub>2</sub> ii 20' . [ . . . ]  
 C<sub>2</sub> ii 21' . [ . . . ]  
 (C<sub>2</sub> ii 22–27 missing)  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 28" . [ . . . ]  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 29" Bringing [ . . . ]  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 30"–31" Whatever [silver] he h[ad] [he loaded on her]; whatever [gold] he h[ad], [he loaded on her].  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 32"–33" Pure [*sheep*] he bu[tchered], fat [*bulls* he slaughtered].  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 34"–35" He chose [and put on board] winged [birds of] the heavens.  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 36"–37" The herds [*of Sumuqan(?)*] he p[ut] in, (and) wi[ld] animals of the steppe.  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 38" cra[ftsmen(?)] he made enter aboard.  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 39" [ . . . ] the month rea[ched its end].  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 40"–41" [ . . . ] he invited his people [ . . . ] to a banquet,  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 42" [ . . . ] . then he sent his family into (the boat),  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 43"–44" While the one (who wanted) to eat was eating, (and) the one (who wanted) to drink was drinking,  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 45"–47" he kept going in and out. He could not sit, could not squat, for his heart was broken and he was vomiting gall.  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 48"–49" The day changed its appearance, then Adad thundered from the clouds.  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 50" They (Atra-ḫasīs' family) heard the god, his uproar.  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 51" Bitumen was brought for him to close his door.  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 52"–53" Just as he had locked his door, Adad thundered from the clouds.  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 54"–55" An infuriated wind, as it rose, cut off the cable and set the boat adrift.

## col. iii

(lines 1–2 missing)

- C<sub>1</sub> iii 3' [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ]  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 4' [ . . . ] the reed mats.  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 5' [*for one day*] the storm . . . ,  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 6' [ . . . ] were yoked.  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 7'–8' [Anzu(?) with] his talons [*ripped apart*] the heavens.  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 9'–10' [He . . . . .] the land and shattered its noise [like a pot].  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 11'–12' [ . . . ] the Flood came forth, annihilation came upon the people [like a battle array].  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 13'–14' A brother did [not] see his brother, they were [not] recognizable in the destruction.

- C<sub>1</sub> iii 15'–17' [The Flood] bellowed like a bull, [like] a screeching eagle the winds [howled].
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 18' The darkness [was dense], there was no sun.
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 19' [The offspring (of humankind)] were (*scattered*) like flies.
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 20'–22' [The gods feared the *noi*]se of the Flood, they took [refuge in heaven], they crouched [outside].
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 23'–24' [Anum became afraid of] the noise of the Flood. The gods' [heart] was seized by fear.
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 25'–27' [Anum] was beside himself, [while the gods], his sons, were huddled together before him.
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 28'–29' Nintu, the great lady, her lips were covered with distress.
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 30'–31' The Anunna, the great gods, were sitting in thirst and hunger.
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 32'–33' The goddess saw it and wept, the midwife of the gods, the wise Mami (said:)
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 34'–35' “Let the day become dark, let it turn and be gloomy!
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 36'–38' In the assembly of the gods, how did I, with them, render the annihilation?
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 39'–41' Enlil pressed and made me utter it: like that Tiruru, he confused my words.
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 42'–43' Contrary to my own nature, against my very self, I have listened to (Enlil's command regarding) their (the people's) noise.
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 44'–45' It is my blame that my offspring have become like flies!
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 46'–47' And I, how like in a house of lamentation, where noises are silenced, is my dwelling?
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 48'–50' It is as if I were dwelling in a treasure house: I shall go up to heaven!
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 51'–52' Where has Anu gone, who calls the shots? (whose) sons, the gods, obeyed his command,
- C<sub>1</sub> iii 53'–54' who did not deliberate, and thus brought about the Flood, delivering the people to destru[ction]?”
- (one line missing)

col. iv

(lines 1–2 missing)

- C<sub>1</sub> iv 3' [. . .] . . . [. . .]
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 4'–5' Nintu [. . .] was wailing: “Had only father give birth [to my people] (and not me)!
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 6'–7' (They have filled) the sea like dragonflies fill a river,
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 8'–9' like a raft they leaned against a drenched land, like a raft they leaned against a steppe on a river bank.

- C<sub>1</sub> iv 10'–11' I have seen and I wept over them, I have ended my lamentation for them".
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 12'–14' She wept and eased (the burden) of her heart. By wailing, Nintu brought her feelings to exhaustion.
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 15' The gods wept with her over the land.
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 16'–17' She was replete with grief and thirsted for beer.
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 18'–19' Just where she sat weeping, they too sat:
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 19'–20' like sheep, they filled the trough.
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 21'–23' Their lips were dry with distress, they were unceasingly convulsed from hunger.
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 24'–25' For seven days and seven nights came the downpour, the storm, [the Flood].
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 26' Where it *des[troyed(?)*. . .]
- C<sub>1</sub> iv 27' [. . .] was thrown down.
- (c. 30 lines missing or too broken for translation)

col. v

(lines 1–29 missing or too broken for translation)

- C<sub>1</sub> v 30"–31" To the [four] winds he offered [sacrifice],
- C<sub>1</sub> v 32" Providing food [. . .]
- C<sub>1</sub> v 33" [. . .] . . .
- C<sub>1</sub> v 34"–35" [The gods sniffed] the scent, they grouped [like flies] over the offering.
- C<sub>1</sub> v 36"–38" [After] they had eaten the offering, Nintu arose to complain against all of them:
- C<sub>1</sub> v 39"–40" "Where has Anu gone, who calls the shots?
- C<sub>1</sub> v 41"–43" Has Enlil come to the incense, he who did not take counsel, brought about the Flood, and consigned the people to destruction?
- C<sub>1</sub> v 44"–45" Your mouth issued a final verdict, (now) their bright faces are dark (forever)".
- C<sub>1</sub> v 46"–47" Then she approached the big flies which Anu hung up in front of the g[ods]:
- C<sub>1</sub> v 48"–49" "The wailing over them is mine, it is my destiny.
- C<sub>1</sub> v 50"–51" May he (Anu) get me out of this agony and give me comfort.
- C<sub>1</sub> v 52" May I go out in the morni[ng's rise . . . . .]

col. vi

- C<sub>1</sub> vi 1 In the la[nd . . .]
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 2–4 Let [these] flies be the lapis lazuli around my neck, that I may remember the days [. . .]".

- C<sub>1</sub> vi 5–6 [The warrior Enlil] saw the boat and was filled with rage at the Igigi:
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 7–8 “All we great Anunnaki decided together on oath!
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 9–10 Whence did the *secret* escape? How did man survive the destruction?”
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 11–12 Anu opened his mouth and addressed the warrior Enlil:
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 13–15 “Who but Enki could do this? He had the word revealed [to a reed wall]”.
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 16–17 [Enki] opened his mouth [and addressed] the great gods:
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 18–19 “I did it [indeed] in front of you! [I have] protected life [. . .] . [ . . . ]
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 20–22 [You, the sage(?) of] the gods, [the hero,] [how did you bring] the Flood [without deliberation?]
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 23–24 (As the saying goes:) [relax] your heart, [pull tight,] then slack.
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 25–26 Impose your penalty [on the criminal,] [and] (on) whoever disregards your command!
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 27 [Let them call] the assembly [. . . ]  
(vi 28–37 missing)
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 38' [. . .] her/it
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 39' [. . .] he/she/they put.
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 40' [I have ea]sed (the burden of) my heart”.
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 41'–42' [Enlil] opened his mouth and addressed Enki the prince:
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 43'–44' “[Come], call for Nintu, the Womb, [you] and she, parley in the assembly”.
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 45'–46' [Enki] opened his mouth and [addressed] Nintu, the Womb:
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 47'–49' “[You, the W]omb, creatress of destinies, [assign Death] to the people, [put a man] to sleep [(in the grave)].
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 50' [Second,] let there be [. . . ]
- C<sub>1</sub> vi 51' [. . . ] .  
(one line missing)
- col. vii
- C<sub>1</sub> vii 1–2 Moreover, let there be a third class among the people. Among the people – (let there be) women who bear and women who cannot bear.
- C<sub>1</sub> vii 3–5 Let there be among the people the *Pāšittu* (demoness) to seize the baby from the lap of the woman who gives birth.
- C<sub>1</sub> vii 6–8 Create the *ugbaltu*-priestesses, *entu*-priestesses and *igišītu*-priestesses and let them be off-limits.
- C<sub>1</sub> vii 9 Cut out childbirth!

- C<sub>1</sub> vii 10–11 [Create] . . . *nadītu*-women [*šugītum*-women] and *qadištu*-women  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 12 [. . .] . . .  
 C<sub>1</sub> vii 13 [Let] them carry [. . .]  
 (the rest of the column is too broken for translation)

col. viii

(lines 1–7 missing or too broken for translation)

- C<sub>1</sub> viii 8' [. . .] will come into being [. . .]  
 C<sub>1</sub> viii 9'–10' That we brought about [the Flood], but man survived [the destruction].  
 C<sub>1</sub> viii 11'–13' You, the counselor of the go[ds,] at [your] order I gave rise to battle.  
 C<sub>1</sub> viii 14'–17' For your praise, let the Igigi hear this song and exalt your glory.  
 C<sub>1</sub> viii 18'–19' I have sung of the Flood to all the people. Hear it!

=====

- viii 20' 19 (lines). Complete.  
 viii 21'–22' Tablet 3 of “*When gods like man*”.  
 viii 23' Number of lines: 390  
 viii 24'–25' Total: 1245 for 3 tablets  
 viii 26' Written by Ipiq-Aya, the junior scribe.  
 viii 27' Month Ayyāru, day [x],  
 viii 28'–31' year: “[King] Ammī-šadūqa [brought into the Eturkalamma (temple)] a statue of himself [in which he held a lamb clasping <his> breast] and [a statue of himself uttering a greeting]” (Ammī-šadūqa year 12).

*Commentary:*

C<sub>1</sub> i 1–2: Restoration based on the catch phrase in Atr. II viii 36–37.

C<sub>2</sub> i 13': In the Old Babylonian Sippar recension, Atra-ḥasīs' first contact with Enki is not described (in fact, even later on in the episode, the god's name is not preserved, as the beginning of C<sub>2</sub> i 15' is broken). In some way, however, the hero obtained a message from the deity, a message he did not understand, and he asked the god to explain it to him. More is preserved in the Assyrian recension from Nineveh (ms. U, below): Atra-ḥasīs tells Ea, in a badly broken context, that he recognizes him by his gait and look (U 11). Then the god's speech begins (“Reed hut! Reed hut! . . .”). Although the nature and medium of transmission of the hero's first encounter with Enki/Ea is unclear, a dream is the most plausible option (as in Gilg. XI 197). First, let us note that previously, in Atr. II iii 10, Enki was communicating with a devotee

(whose name is not preserved) through dreams: [. . .] <sup>d</sup>*Enki tamīma [uzna] išakkan ina šunāti* “He swore by [. . .] of Enki, giving [attention] to dreams”.<sup>32</sup> In the recently published Late Babylonian tablets of the myth from the Sippar library, this passage is almost complete. Atra-ḫasīs is described performing a nocturnal incubation ritual by the river. The purpose was clear: *anāku in mūši šutta lūmur* “so, I, in the night, do see a dream!”<sup>33</sup> The hint of a dream is found also in the Nippur ms. J r. 2'. In the younger account of the Flood in Gilg. XI, Ea tells the gods openly: “I myself did not reveal the secret of the great gods: I brought a dream to Atra-ḫasīs and so he heard the secret of the gods” (Gilg. XI 196–197). Finally, in C<sub>2</sub> i 17 a bedroom, *uršum*, is mentioned, referring elliptically to Atra-ḫasīs’ dream. In light of all this evidence, I fail to follow George’s (2009, 18) assertion that “it is improbable that in III i 13 Atram-ḫasīs begs Ea to explain the meaning of a dream. . .” and that “[s]ome alternative must be sought for the conventional restoration [*ša šu-ut-ti*] in that line”. Until a new piece comes up and fills the gap, I prefer the classical restoration [*ša šu-ut-ti w*] *u-ud-di-a qé-re-eb-ša* “Teach me the meaning [of the dream]” (Lambert/Millard 1969, 88),<sup>34</sup> over George’s suggestion [*ša a-wa-ti-ka w*] *u-ud-di-a qé-re-eb-ša* “Teach me the meaning [of what you said!]” (George 2009, 18) – *qerbu* in the sense of “meaning” is rare (CAD Q 227a). This unusual use plays here with the normal meaning of *qerbu* “inside” in the spatial sense, found in C<sub>1</sub> i 30' *ay īmur Šamaš qé-re-eb-ša* “so that the sun shall not see inside her (the boat)”. Namely, in *wuddi qerebša* the narrator prefigured a carrier, a boat, whose interior would contain precious freight.

C<sub>2</sub> i 14': This line presents two difficulties: how to restore the initial break, and the meaning of the final word. Von Soden 1994, 637 restored the opening break [*ki-ma ša-a*] *d-di lu-uš-te-e si-ib-ba-as-sà* “ich möchte [gemäß den Zei] chen aufsuchen sein”.<sup>35</sup> A different restoration was proposed by Borger 1975, 158: [*l*] *u-de*? Borger did not specify what preceded *lūde*, but his reading was accepted by Bottéro/Kramer 1989, 548 (“Que j’en comprenne [la portée] et saisisse les conséquences”) and Foster 2005, 247 (“[...] let me know, that I may look out for its consequence”). Pientka-Hinz’s reading (2013, 30) seems to me more accurate: “*Des Traumes Innere deute mir, seinen Anfang will ich wissen, seinen Endteil unentwegt suchen!*” If indeed *zibbatu* (*sibbatu*) “tail” is used here in a metaphorical abstract meaning “the end of something”, then the beginning of the line contained, presumably, [*rēssa/qaqqassa l*] *u-de*.

<sup>32</sup> Lambert/Millard 1969, 76.

<sup>33</sup> George/Al-Rawi 1996, 182: 69.

<sup>34</sup> Followed by von Soden 1994, 637; Pientka-Hinz 2013, 30; Bottéro/Kramer 1989, 548; Foster 2005, 247 and CAD Q 227a.

<sup>35</sup> Not found in AHW 1073 (*šaddu(m)* “Signal(holz), Zeichen”).

C<sub>2</sub> i 17': I take this line in a modal sense, as an optative,<sup>36</sup> a possibility raised by the god that Atra-ḫasīs might complain that he is unable to comprehend the god's words from the dream alone, lit. from his bedroom (*uršum*).<sup>37</sup> Hence, Enki orders Atra-ḫasīs to pay attention to the wall.<sup>38</sup>

C<sub>2</sub> i 18'–19': Chen (2013, 154–155) and Annus (2016, 18) points out that the formula with which Enki addresses Atra-ḫasīs continues the long tradition in which a superior gives a didactic speech to his subordinate in which he imparts practical information, notably in Instructions of Šuruppak and the Sumerian Flood Story.

C<sub>2</sub> i 21': On humans or deities talking to objects in Mesopotamian literature, see Wasserman 2016, 113, and more in Wasserman, forthcoming a. On the motif of leaking a secret from a divine council to humans in rabbinic tradition, see Weinfeld 1988. This literary topos comes to life in a Mari letter (A.2995+M.14337 = Ghouti 1991, 61–63). In this letter, Ibâl-pī-El tells his king, Zimrī-līm, how a man named Ḫamman heard from a certain man of Arduwan that Bašsum betrays him. In order to nail this important piece of information, Ḫamman summons three witnesses and hides them behind double doors. Then he asks the man of Arduwan to repeat his words of yesterday. The man of Arduwan, terrified that what he tells might cost him his life, demands that Ḫamman takes an oath to keep his secret, which Ḫamman does. With this assurance, the man of Arduwan, certainly not the most prudent person around, tells again his secret to Ḫamman who does not have to break his oath, as his witnesses overhear it behind the closed doors. On this, see Sasson 2019, 182–183.

C<sub>2</sub> i 22': Most commentators derive the verb at the beginning of the line from *abātum* “to destroy”,<sup>39</sup> although the imp. of this verb should be *abut* (G) or *ubbit* (D). AHW 5a listed *ú-bu-ut* under *abātum*, as “Imp. aB unreglm.”

<sup>36</sup> Von Soden (1994, 637) and Pientka-Hinz (2013, 30) took this as a regular indicative, but Ermidoro (2017, 104) feels the modal nuance: “Tu mi chiedi: Possa io comprendere il sogno”.

<sup>37</sup> The accepted reading [u]r!-šū-um-ma “in the bedroom” (locative) follows von Soden 1969, 431 (see also von Soden 1994, 637, AHW 1434a; Foster 2005, 247 and CAD U/W 251b). Earlier readings were: [m]a-šū-um-ma “what?” (Lambert/Millard 1969, 88–89) and [b]a-šū-um-ma “indeed” (Falkenstein (*apud* Pettinato 1970, 81).

<sup>38</sup> A similar use of *taqabbi* denoting possibility is found in Ark 12: ŠÁRx4 + 30 *ta-qab-bi-am li-[ku]-ul* “Should you say: (but) it will consume 14,430 (*qū* of fiber)!”.

<sup>39</sup> Lambert/Millard 1969 89: “Destroy your house”; Bottéro/Kramer 1989, 548: “Jette à bas ta maison”; Pientka-Hinz 2013, 30: “Trage dein Haus ab”; Chen 2013, 163: “Destroy the house”; Finkel 2014, 358: “Destroy (your) house” (re the parallel line in the Ark Tablet); Metzler 2015, 158: “zerstöre das Haus”. Foster 2005, 164 renders *ubbut* from the homonymic *abātum* “to run away” (“Flee house”), yet since this verb is not prima-N but N-stem of prima-alef (GAG § 971), the form *ubut* is not expected. Wilcke, in his edition, transcribes *ú-bu-ut*, no translation.

Later, von Soden (1994, 637 with n. 22a) changed his mind and translated *upud* “Trenn dich (von deinem Haus)”, from *napādum* “to detach, cut off, remove” (a possibility already anticipated by Hoffner 1976, 243). This suggestion is accepted here despite the reservations of George 2003, 879 (which probably go against Hoffner’s idea of extrapolating *zērma* from the putative verb \**šêrum*).

C<sub>2</sub> i 23': A word play between *makurru/makūru* “boat” and *makkūru* “property, possessions” may have been intended here (similarly, *zanānum* “to rain” vs. *zanānum* “to provision” in C<sub>2</sub> i 34 below).<sup>40</sup>

C<sub>2</sub> i 24': The order *napišta bulliṭ* “save life” is echoed in the boat’s name *nāširat napištīm* “The Life Saver” in J 8'.

C<sub>1</sub> i 28': This broken line supplies crucial information as to the form of the boat. Lambert/Millard (1969, 88–89) read *ur-pa?-ti*, without translation. Von Soden (1969, 431) referred to it as a form of *urpatum* “bedchamber”. Durand (1995) interpreted the same noun as “tent, waterproof cloth”. Tigay (1982, 293) took another direction: [*ki-ma k*]!*i*!*-ip!-pa-ti* “like a circle”, based on the occurrence of the same phrase in a later version (W 2').<sup>41</sup> The recently published Ark Tablet, with its detailed instructions for the building of the boat,<sup>42</sup> confirms Tigay’s reading.

C<sub>1</sub> i 29'–30': Interestingly, this line (with its parallel in Gilg. XI 31) is, to the best of my knowledge, the sole Akkadian literary reference which indirectly relates that the Apsû was roofed.<sup>43</sup> As the instructions on the construction of the boat come from Ea, it is only natural that the plan for the boat would be connected to the shape of the Apsû, his aquatic abode.<sup>44</sup> But this architectural detail is not accidental: by comparing the boat – soon to be unleashed into a massive body of water – to the Apsû, the author takes the reader to the earliest of times, to the creation of the world, when Apsû and Tiamat were mixed together, as narrated in the beginning of Enūma eliš:<sup>45</sup> *Apsû(mma) rēštū zārūšun mummu Tī āmat mu' allidat gimrišun mēšunu ištēniš iḫīqūma* “There existed Fresh-Water, the first, their begetter, (and) the creative spirit Ocean, who bore them all. They mingled their waters together. . .”<sup>46</sup> The

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Noegel 1991; Malul 1995, 338 n. 6; Noegel 2007, 67; Hurowitz 2007, 69 n. 14.

<sup>41</sup> Metzler (2015, 160) suggests, hesitantly, [*e-še-er-ti'*] in the initial break.

<sup>42</sup> Finkel 2014, 128, 105–110, 357–368.

<sup>43</sup> Horowitz 1998, 345; Streck 1999, 72 No. 37, 180 (but cf. George 2003, 510).

<sup>44</sup> Apsû could also refer to cultic installations in temples which, presumably, were covered with a roof (Lambert 2013, 217).

<sup>45</sup> The fact that Enūma eliš is recorded in writing later than Atra-ḫasīs does not preclude the possibility that some mythological material gathered in Enūma eliš was known in some earlier form in the Old Babylonian period. For hints that such mythological nuclei can be found in the Mari documentation, see Durand 1993 (esp. 52) and Durand 2002, 134–137 (no. 38).

<sup>46</sup> Lambert 2013, 51 (trans. Streck 2014, 394).

Apsû-shaped boat floating on the rising water signals that the Flood dragged the world back to its initial chaotic stage (Gilg. XI 119 “Days of yore have verily turned to clay. . .”). Strangely, however, the text stresses that the boat’s roof was not intended to prevent water from entering, but rather to stop *light* from penetrating. This description is odd: Given that Atra-ḫasīs put such great effort into sealing the boat, why is light specifically mentioned? In ancient Mesopotamian imagery, a closed dark body surrounded by turbulent waters is unmistakably symbolic of the womb, as seen in the much-cited Old Babylonian birth incantation: “In the fluid of conception the substance was created. In the fleshy tissue the *homunculus* was created. In the water of the ocean, so fierce, so frightening, in the water of the sea, so remote, a place where the little-one, his hands are bound, a place which is not lit by the eye of the sun. . .” (YOS 11, 86: 1–10).<sup>47</sup> This short line creates a complex metaphor: the boat and the rising water are Apsû and Ti’āmat together, as in the creation, and at the same time, the boat is a uterus surrounded by amniotic fluid.<sup>48</sup> Consequently, the inhabitants of the boat – humans and animals – are fetuses waiting to be delivered from their sealed vessel and to see the sun: to be (re-)born. The later version in Gilg. XI bolsters this image. The relenting Flood is described as: “The sea, which fought like a woman in confinement (*ḥayyālti*), rested” (Gilg. XI 132), and the hero’s difficult experience is over only when he sees the sunlight: “I opened an air vent and the sunshine fell on my cheek. I fell to my knees and sat weeping; the tears streaming down my cheek” (Gilg. XI 137–139).<sup>49</sup> For more on this, see Literary Discussion 3.6.

C<sub>1</sub> i 31': Shaffer (1985) proposed that *eliš* “above” and *šapliš* “below” should be understood horizontally as “front” and “back”,<sup>50</sup> respectively, namely bow and stern. But with the new, more detailed instructions for the construction of the boat gained from the Ark Tablet, it seems that these terms are used in their common meanings, referring to the upper and the lower decks of the boat.<sup>51</sup> Note, however, that the Ark Tablet does not mention a roof.<sup>52</sup>

C<sub>1</sub> i 32': CAD U/W 174b translates “let the equipment be strengthened. . .” Similarly, AHw 1422b 4a “verstärkt seinen *ú-ni-a-tum* (v. Arche)” and Fos-

<sup>47</sup> Parallel incantations with similar images are CUSAS 32, 26a; CUSAS 32, 28a and BM 115745 (to be published by U. Steinert).

<sup>48</sup> A fine example for the image of a pregnant woman as a heavy-loaded boat is found in the Old Babylonian bilingual incantation RA 70, 135/139.

<sup>49</sup> For an illuminating discussion of the metaphor boat ≈ womb, see Draffkorn Kilmer 2007.

<sup>50</sup> “It is not clear how the boat could be roofed over both ‘above’ and ‘below’” (Lambert/Millard 1969, 159).

<sup>51</sup> But cf. Gilg. XI 79, where *eliš u šapliš* clearly do mean “back and front”.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Finkel 2014, 179.

ter (2005, 247): “The gear should be very firm”. The context, however, deals with the construction of the boat itself, its roofing and waterproofing, not with the equipment brought into it (this comes only in col. ii). Hence, *uniātum* here seems to mean the body-parts of the boat, its frame.<sup>53</sup>

C<sub>1</sub> i 34': The word-play between *zanānum* “to rain” (characterizing Enlil) and *zanānum* “to provision” (related to Enki) has been noted by Lambert/Millard (1969, 159). See also commentary to C<sub>1</sub> v 32 below. – Note the chiasmic assonance reinforcing this line: *anāku ulliš ušaznanakku*.

C<sub>1</sub> i 35': The noun *buddurum* denotes reed(s) or a reed object (AHw 135b; CAD B 303b). Here it appears to be used with a derived meaning, “profusion”.<sup>54</sup> Foster (2005, 248) translates: “A windfall of birds, a spate(?) of fishes”, noting that “[b]irds and fish falling from the sky are known to be occasional consequences, though not harbingers, of severe storms”.<sup>55</sup> von Soden (1994, 638) retained the literal meaning, translating: “Fülle für Vögel (und) Rohr für Fische”.

C<sub>1</sub> i 36': On *maltaktu* “test, tested measure” used with the meaning “water-clock” (CAD M/1, 171b) see Shehata 2001, 137 for previous literature.

C<sub>1</sub> i 37': Von Soden's correction (1994, 638 n. 37a) *ba-a-aš' a-bu-bi* is not maintained here.<sup>56</sup> I prefer the reading of Lambert/Millard *ba-a-a' a-bu-bi*. The third sign, even if similar to AZ, is AḤ (*a'*), identical to the AḤ sign in *i-ma-a'* “he was vomiting gall” (C<sub>1</sub> ii 47). Von Soden's translation (“Er öffnete die Sanduhr, füllte sie, den Sand für die sieben Nächte der Flut (einzufüllen) truge er ihm auf”) is bumpy, whereas, *bā' abūbi* “the coming of the flood” fits well with *lām abūbi wašē* “before the rising of the flood” (J 4').<sup>57</sup> – For the possessive pronominal suffix in *mūšišu*, with *abūbum* “flood” as its antecedent, see Deller/Mayer 1984, 123. – “Its seven nights” refers to the duration of the Flood, as explicitly mentioned in C<sub>1</sub> iv 24'–25'. At this point, however, Atra-ḥasīs would rather know the time left *until* the Flood appears, as in W 5' [*ú-šur*] *a-dan-na šá a-šap-pa-rak-[ka]* “[Observe] the appointed time of which I will inform you”.<sup>58</sup>

C<sub>1</sub> i 37'–39': Alliterative chiasmus ties these lines together: *bā' abūbi... ana bābišu*.

<sup>53</sup> Although Akk. *unūtum* does not designate a ship, it is interesting to reflect that its Heb. and Ug. cognates (*any(t)* and *'oni*, respectively) both mean “ship” (cf. AHw 1422b).

<sup>54</sup> The derivation from Arab. *baḍara* “to scatter” is unlikely for phonological reasons (see Lambert/Millard 1969, 159).

<sup>55</sup> Foster 2005, 248 n. 1, referring to Millard 1987 and Finkel 2002.

<sup>56</sup> In his unpublished edition, Wilcke sided with von Soden.

<sup>57</sup> See also U rev. 18 <sup>r</sup>*i*<sup>1</sup>-*ta-ša-a a-bu-bu* and C<sub>1</sub> iii 11' [... *it-ta-ša-a*] *a-bu-bu*.

<sup>58</sup> So also the biblical account: “For in seven days' time I will make it rain upon the earth, forty days and forty nights.” (Gen. 7:4)

C<sub>1</sub> i 38'–41': The same formula appears in Atr. I vii 385–388 in a thematically similar situation: Atra-ḫasīs received advice from Enki on how to alleviate a generally distressing situation.

C<sub>1</sub> i 39'–41': In the Sippar recension, Atra-ḫasīs summons the elders on his own account, explaining his hurried departure as a result of some disagreement between Enki and Enlil. Gilg. XI 35–39 added a passage in which Atra-ḫasīs asks Ea first how to explain his departure to his city fellows, and Ea put the pretext of the divine argument in his mouth (on this, see Literary Discussion 3.8). The Middle Babylonian ms. J<sub>1</sub>, from Ḫattusa also probably contained Ea's speech to Atra-ḫasīs.

C<sub>1</sub> i 42'–44': Note the alliteration which opens the three lines of Atra-ḫasīs' speech, accentuating his words: *itti ilīkunu... itetezzizū... itardūninni* (perhaps also *ištuma*, l. 45). – *ilī* “my god” is Enki (Moran 1987, 251). – The pf. forms *itetezzizū* “they became angry” (l. 43) and *itardūninni* “they expelled” (l. 44) express temporal sequentiality (Metzler 2002, 412 and cf. commentary to C<sub>1</sub> ii 42).

C<sub>1</sub> i 46': [*iq-bi*], with Lambert/Millard 1969, 90. Von Soden 1994, 638: [*aq!-bi*].

C<sub>1</sub> i 49': Gilg. XI 42 raises the possibility of restoring *ú-[(ur)-ra-ad a-na Apsī]* (so Foster 2005, 248), *vel sim*.

C<sub>1</sub> i 50': The restoration proposed here follows Lambert/Millard 1969, 90, von Soden 1994, 638 and Foster 2005, 248. J<sub>1</sub> 4' (Ḫattusa) suggests, however, that C<sub>1</sub> i 50 does not conclude the preceding lines, but opens a speech by Enki (J<sub>1</sub> uses his Akkadian name, Ea). If we follow the testimony of the Ḫattusa ms., then the ca. 5 missing lines at the end of col. i and the beginning of col. ii of the Sippar recension contained Enki's speech. The fragmentary condition of the tablet makes it difficult to gauge the development of the plot here.

C<sub>2</sub> ii 11': Von Soden 1994, 638 proposed [*pa-as-ri!*] “[pole/rod]” referring to Lambert's collation of Gilg. XI 50, but the collation reads only *pa-as-[ri!]* (AHw 839a, s.v. *pasru*), Hence, *pa-as-[su]* “[his] axe”, proposed by George 2003, 706 is preferred (so also Lambert/Millard 1969, 90).

C<sub>2</sub> ii 12': In this context, *abārīšu* “his clamps” (von Soden 1994, 638) is not impossible, but I follow *abanšu* “his stone”, with Lambert/Millard 1969, 90 and George 2003, 706: 51.

C<sub>2</sub> ii 13': The restoration [*ša-ru-ú*] “rich” is based on the Gilg. XI 55 (after Stol 1988; contra Lambert/Millard 1969, 90–91: [*še-er-ru*] “[child]”).

C<sub>1</sub> ii 30"–38": This passage describes, in couplets, the supplying of the boat: silver and gold (C<sub>1</sub> ii 30"–31"),<sup>59</sup> assortment of viands (C<sub>1</sub> ii 32–33),

<sup>59</sup> One wonders what would be the purpose of these precious metals in a post-diluvial world. The author could not imagine, it seems, a world functioning without silver and gold,

birds – certainly domestic fowl, but also wild birds (C<sub>1</sub> ii 34–35),<sup>60</sup> livestock and wild animals (C<sub>1</sub> ii 36–37).

C<sub>1</sub> ii 30"–31": For the parallels between C<sub>2</sub> ii 30–31 ii 32–33 and Gilg. XI 82–83 and 71–72, respectively, see Pettinato 1970, 81.

C<sub>1</sub> ii 32"–33": Pettinato's (1970, 81) restoration *el-lu-ti it-[bu-uḥ ú-ri-ṣ]i ka-ab-ru-ti [ip-lu-uk bu-ú]-ri* should be rejected in front of the more plausible *[al-p]i* and *[im-me]-ri*, as in Gilg. XI 71–72 (so already W. Moran *apud* Foster 2005, 248 "[cattle] and [sheep?]").

C<sub>1</sub> ii 34": Lambert/Millard (1969, 93) took *i-bé-er-[ma]* as "he caught", although the expected pret. form of *bârum* is *ibār* (*ibid* 160). Their alternative suggestion was that this form stands for *ibil* (< *ebēlum* "to net, to catch with a net"), with the *r/l* interchange. Von Soden (1994, 638) translated "Er überquerte", from *ebērum*, marking that a direct object must be found in the break. A simpler solution, with Foster 2005, 248, is to derive this form from *bêrum* "to choose, select".

C<sub>1</sub> ii 35": An exact parallel to the phrase "birds of the heavens", in the same context of stocking the boat, is found in Gen. 7:3 (*ʿōf ha-šamāyim*). In both accounts, the Akkadian and the biblical, the author uses it to set the background for the later part of the story, when the hero of the Flood makes different wild birds fly from the boat to assess the level of the ebbing water.

C<sub>1</sub> ii 36": Lambert/Millard (1969, 160) proposed *bu-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>l</sup>-u[l ša-a]k-ka-an*, which is reflected in Foster's translation: "The cattle(?) [of the cat]tle-god" (Foster 2005, 248). However, I follow von Soden (1994, 639) who suggested *[iš-ta]-ka-an* "[he p]ut in", which is supported by C<sub>1</sub> ii 34 and C<sub>1</sub> ii 38, each of which ends with a 3 m. sg. pret. form. With regard to the text before the break, read *bu-u[l ...* (not *bu-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>l</sup>-u[l...]*). <sup>d</sup>GÌR in the break before *[išta]kan* is not impossible, especially as *būlu* alone is unexpected if *nammaššūm* in the following line is qualified by *ṣēri*.

C<sub>1</sub> ii 38": Gilg. XI 86 suggests the restoration DU[MU<sup>meš</sup> *um-ma-ni*].<sup>61</sup> Saving the craftsmen from the Flood would be perceived as a necessary step to ensure not only the biological survival of humankind, but also the survival of human civilization from destruction (Chen 2013, 206).

C<sub>1</sub> ii 39": The restoration *[ib-ba-b]il* (Lambert/Millard 1969, 92) presupposes a denominative verb *bibbulum/bubbulum*, derived from *biblum/bibbulum* "day of the disappearance of the moon", a verb which is not otherwise

or – a more practical explanation – the metals were meant to be used as payment for the provisioning of the boat.

<sup>60</sup> Note that one of the Ugarit texts mentions that the unnamed hero of the Flood sent off a *kumū* bird, probably a crane, to find dry land (I<sub>2</sub> 14). Hence, at least according to this tradition, the boat housed not only domestic fowl.

<sup>61</sup> The trace of the first sign allows also *ṣa[b!(ERÍN) um-ma-ni*.

attested.<sup>62</sup> Restoring [*ú-b*]-*i-il*, with von Soden 1994, 639 is preferred.<sup>63</sup> Note that in the opening of I<sub>2</sub> (Ugarit), the night when the moon is invisible is mentioned as the time when the hero of the Flood released a bird to check whether the water had subsided, not the day on which the Flood began (I<sub>2</sub> 1).<sup>64</sup>

C<sub>1</sub> ii 39"ff.: This is the scene in the Old Babylonian Sippar recension to which Lambert (1980a 75) proposed linking the Neo-Assyrian fragment Sm. 365 listed here as ms. W<sub>1</sub>.<sup>65</sup> Atra-ḫasīs (not mentioned by name) is looking at the sky, weeping in front of the growing darkness, when not even "the evening star" (*kakkab šimīti*, W<sub>1</sub> 6') is shining.<sup>66</sup> However, Lambert hesitated as to whether this fragment actually belongs to the story of the Flood,<sup>67</sup> and as there is no definite evidence connecting the fragment to it, I have not incorporated this fragment in the text.

C<sub>1</sub> ii 42": The pf. form *ušiērib* denotes a temporal sequence of actions, (Metzler 2002, 505, cf. commentary to C<sub>1</sub> i 42–44).

C<sub>1</sub> ii 43"–45": The pres. forms *irrub u ušši*, express the restlessness of Atra-ḫasīs, his repeated going in-and-out (Streck 1995, 45 no. 16 and 62–63 no. 103).<sup>68</sup>

C<sub>1</sub> ii 46"–47": Ark 39–40 describes the troubled Atra-ḫasīs differently: *ana-ku a-wa-<sup>r</sup>tum<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> [lib]bi([Š]À)-i[a?] i-ba-aš-ši-ma x na ti x [x x x l]i-ib-bi* "I, however, there was a thought in my heart, and . . . [ . . . ] (my) heart".

C<sub>1</sub> ii 46": Atra-ḫasīs is so worried that he cannot sit and enjoy the meal with his guests.<sup>69</sup> The same sequence of actions (sitting, squatting), only not negated, *uktammisma attasab*, is found in Gilg. XI 138, when Atra-ḫasīs is looking out of the boat, seeing the dismal view of the flooded earth, his tears flowing.

<sup>62</sup> Shehata 2001, 142.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. CAD A/1, 17a, s.v. *abālu* A 4a 4'.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Darshan 2016, 509f.

<sup>65</sup> [ . . . ] <sup>r</sup>x x x x <sup>r</sup> / [ . . . ip]-*pa-li-is šá-ma-mi* / [ . . . ] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> *i-bak-ki aš-ru-uš-šú* / [ . . . ]-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-*šú ik-ta-tam pa-ni-šú* / [ . . . ]-*a ad-riš ir-bi* / [ . . . ul *iš-r*]-*u-ur kakkab*(MUL) *ši-mi-ti* / [ . . . ]-*ḫa-šú mu-šá uš-ta-ni-i[h]* / [ . . . i-d]-*a-mu-ma re-ba-tu-š[ú]* / [ . . . ]-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-*sa-at ar-da-a[s-su]* / [ . . . ] *a/ i<sup>1</sup>-na ka-šá-di-šú/šá* / [ . . . ]-*tu it-tu-[x]* / [ . . . t]-*úb-qa-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[ti]* / [ . . . ] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ] " [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] looked at the sky [ . . . ] . crying. Where he was [ . . . ] his [ . . . ] . He covered his face [ . . . ] the sun(?) . set dimly [ . . . ] the evening star [did not] flicker [ . . . ] . . . He was in by night / [ . . . ] its/his squares were lamenting [ . . . ] his girl was . . . [ . . . ] when [he/she/it] arrived / [ . . . ] his/its sign / [ . . . ] the corners / [ . . . ] [ . . . ]" (Lambert 1980a, 75 with modifications).

<sup>66</sup> For the evening star, see Streck 2017a, 605.

<sup>67</sup> Lambert 1980a 75: "There is no proof that this fragment belongs to *Atra-ḫasīs*, though it may . . . If this new piece does belong to Atra-ḫasīs, the most unexpected thing is the 'girl' in line 9". Indeed, *ardatu* is an argument against identifying this fragment as part of the Flood: a lament is more plausible.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Dumuzi's going in and out Ningal's house, taking care of his comrades who are not allowed in: *illik illikma ubil u ublam* "He went and came back, he brought and offered" (Wasserman 2016, 112: 17).

<sup>69</sup> *wašābum* designates sitting on a chair while *kamāsum* reclining on the ground – two modes of positioning oneself at a meal, as attested at the Amorite royal courts (Charpin 1992).

C<sub>1</sub> ii 47": Reading *i-ma-a'* (< *mâ'um* "to vomit (bile)"). The similar AḤ sign (confirmed by Wilcke's collations) is found also in C<sub>1</sub> i 37 (*pace* von Soden's suggestion *ba-a-aš*, cf. above commentary to this line).

C<sub>1</sub> ii 48"–49": On the time when the Flood began, see commentary to Gilg. XI 92–94.

C<sub>1</sub> ii 48"–55": For Adad's role in first stage of the Flood, see Schwemer 2001, 423.

C<sub>1</sub> ii 50"–51": At this point, when the storm begins, the reverse of the Neo-Assyrian ms. U joins in, but no exact parallels between C<sub>1</sub> ii 50–51 and U r. 2'–3' can be established. The following lines of the Old Babylonian Sippar recension do not appear in the reverse of U. Instead, U r. 4'–15' proceeds with an episode of which only the first two lines find a parallel in the Old Babylonian Sippar recension (C<sub>1</sub> iii 5–6).

C<sub>1</sub> ii 50": Following von Soden (1994, 639); Jiménez Zamudio (1996) and Foster (2005, 249), *i-la* is "god" in a *casus pendens* (*pace* Lambert/ Millard 1969, 160: a conjunction "as soon as"). This construction is rare in Akkadian literary texts. The more common syntax would employ the anticipatory genitive (*ša ili išmû rigimšu*, or similar).

C<sub>1</sub> ii 51": For the pres. form *ipehhi*, expressing the result of a situation described by the preceding clause, namely carrying the prospective aspect, see Streck 1995, 69 no. 119 and Metzler 2002, 571.

C<sub>1</sub> ii 52"–53": The Sippar recension does not specify the hour on which the Flood began (Gilg. XI 97–98 is more exact: "When the first sign of dawn was seen, a black cloud rose from the horizon"). – For the pres. form *išaggum*, as expressing immediacy after the action in the preceding line, see Streck 1995, 47 no. 26.

C<sub>1</sub> ii 54"–55": If Atra-ḥasīs is the subject of *ipru'* and *iptur*,<sup>70</sup> then, most likely, he is also the subject of the infinitive *ina tebišu* "his/its rising" in C<sub>1</sub> ii 53 (so Lambert/Millard 1969, 93; von Soden 1994, 639; Foster 2005, 249). However, *ina tebišu* is more fitting for a non-human subject: Adad, or – as preferred here – the accompanying infuriated wind (*šāru uzuzzu*, sg.!).<sup>71</sup> According to this understanding, Atra-ḥasīs and his family are sitting passively in the closed boat, and it is the wild weather which sets it adrift. In the Assyrian recension (U r. 3') Atra-ḥasīs sealed the boat – perhaps from within ("[He] entered and shut up the [boat...]"). For the author of Gilg. XI it was clear that it could not be Atra-ḥasīs who sealed the boat and set it off, for he was already inside it. Gilg. XI 95–96 reads therefore: "to the one who sealed the boat, the shipwright Puzur-Enlil, I left the palace with all its goods". The biblical story (Gen. 7:16) had a more radical answer to this very question:

<sup>70</sup> Note the alliterative chiasmic construction of the line: *ipru' markasa eleppa iptur*.

<sup>71</sup> Borger 1975, 158; Bottéro/Kramer 1989, 550; CAD M/1, 283a; Pientka-Hinz 2013, 33.

God himself sealed the boat from outside: “Thus they that entered comprised male and female of all flesh, as God had commanded him. And the Lord shut him in”.

C<sub>1</sub> iii 4': For the reading *bu!-ra-i* “reed mats”, see von Soden 1994, 639.

C<sub>1</sub> iii 5': In their commentary to this line, Lambert/Millard (1969, 160) proposed two alternative readings: *[i-t]e<sub>4</sub>-en* “it grinds” (adopted by von Soden 1994, 639) and *[u<sub>4</sub>-ma iš-t]e-en* “[o]ne [day]”, based on Gilg. XI 109: *ʾl<sup>1</sup>-en u<sub>4</sub>-ma me-ḥ[u-ú . . .]* “for one day the gale [. . .]” (followed by Saporetta 1986, 74).<sup>72</sup> Since *ṭēnum* is predominantly technical, “to grind to flour”, and only rarely carries an abstract meaning,<sup>73</sup> the latter restoration seems preferable. – For a list of different winds and other meteorological phenomena related to the Flood, see Chen 2013, 214–215.

C<sub>1</sub> iii 6': This mostly damaged line might have a thematic parallel in U r. 5' which mentions the four winds as the riding animals of the storm-god Adad.

C<sub>1</sub> iii 7'–8': Lambert/Millard (1969, 92) restored this couplet on the basis of U r. 16'. Reading here *[An-zu i-na ṣ]ú-up-ri-šu [ú-ša-ar-ri-iṭ] ṣa-ma-i* “[Anzu with] his talons [rent] the heavens” is tempting,<sup>74</sup> but still conjectural.<sup>75</sup> Support for this reading comes from C<sub>1</sub> iii 16–17 *[ki-ma] ʾe<sup>1</sup>-ri-i na-e-ri [i-ša-as-sú-n]im ṣa-ru* “[Like] a screeching eagle the winds [howled]” which, if correctly restored, could echo the description of Anzu. Still, the restored form *[ušarriṭ]* is questionable, as *šarāṭum* “to tear, to tear into strips, to shred” (CAD Š/3, 59ff.), is typical to post-Old Babylonian literature, but only rarely attested in Old Babylonian texts. Other verbs could be found in the break, perhaps *ḥarāṣum*, *marāṭum*, or *naqārum*.

C<sub>1</sub> iii 10': The antecedent of the pronominal suffix *-ša* in *rigimša*, “its (lit., her) noise”, is probably *mātum* “land” in the previous line (*pace* von Soden 1994, 640). – Note the unusual collocation of *ḥepūm* “to break” with *rigmum* “noise”, caused by the comparison with *karpatum* “pot” (on this image, see Streck 1999, 125 No. 178; Rendu-Loisel 2010, 286).

C<sub>1</sub> iii 12': *kašūšu* is an overwhelmingly divine weapon with devastating results (CAD K 296ff.). This line focuses on the effect of the divine action, hence, “annihilation” (see also Chen 2013, 219 n. 50).

C<sub>1</sub> iii 13'–14': Similar phraseology is found in The Curse of Agade 215–216: “May no one find his acquaintances there, may brother not recognise brother!” (Cooper 1983, 60 and ETCSL c.2.1.5).

<sup>72</sup> U r. 4' mentions a “new break” at this point and cannot be used here.

<sup>73</sup> See the examples in CAD T 100a 2', all post-Old Babylonian.

<sup>74</sup> There are two wedges after the break U r. 16' which could fit to /zu/ sign. Wilcke, in his collations, reads [x] x.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. von Soden 1994, 639 n. 8a.

C<sub>1</sub> iii 15'–27': The reading, restoration and translation of this passage follow Wilcke 1999, 89–90 and n. 47.

C<sub>1</sub> iii 15': For the identification of the verb in this line as *šapûm* “to be dense, thick, loud”, see Shehata 2001, 88 on col. i 354. The image of the flood bellowing like a bull belongs to a larger category of bovine metaphors for the Flood (Chen 2013, 51, 218, 228f.).

C<sub>1</sub> iii 16'–17': After von Soden (1969, 431: “[wie] ein kreischender Geier”), it is accepted that the vehicle of this image is an eagle, *a/erû*. It still remains unclear whether *na-e-ri* is a form of *na'ārum* “to roar”, or *nêrum* “to strike, kill”. In his translation, von Soden (1994, 640) changed his mind and derived the verb from *nêrum* (“mordender Adler”), but Streck (1999, 81 no. 63, 175) returns to the sound imagery: “kreischender Adler”.<sup>76</sup>

C<sub>1</sub> iii 19': *lillidum* “offspring”, restored at the beginning of the line by Wilcke (1999, 89 n. 47), refers to humankind in general (see also C<sub>1</sub> iii 45). Another restoration was proposed by von Soden (1994, 640 n. 19a): [*ip-pa-ar*]-*šû* “[die... .. flatter]ten umher wie Fliegen”. – For the image of the files here (and in C<sub>1</sub> iii 44; v 46; vi 2–3), see Draffkorn Kilmer 1987.

C<sub>1</sub> iii 23': For the name of the god in the break, see Wilcke (1999, 89 n. 46) who noticed the parallel line in U r. 20'.

C<sub>1</sub> iii 26': Following Wilcke (1999, 89f.), I read *up-<sup>l</sup>pu<sup>l</sup>-qû* from *epêqum*-D “to huddle together, to congregate” (lit. “to be thick, massive”), not from *abākum*, as was previously common (see Wilcke 1999, 90 n. 48).

C<sub>1</sub> iii 28': The mother-goddess is called here by a Sumerian name, Nintu(r). A few lines below she is referred to as Mami (C<sub>1</sub> iii 33). For the different names and epithets of the Mesopotamian mother-goddess, see Krebern timer 1993–1997, 503–507.

C<sub>1</sub> iii 29': Matouš (1967, 15) expanded the basic meaning of *pulhîtu* (CAD P 503b: “a sore or blister”) to render the physiognomic expression of a strong emotion (“Furcht”). Von Soden (1994, 640) joined him with “Verängstigung”. – Metzler (2002, 551) proposed reading *ú-qà-la-la*: “(her lips) shrunk”, instead of *ú-ka-la-la* (*kullulum*-D). The verb *qalālum*-D, however, is transitive and requires a direct object, which would result in “her lips diminished the *pulhîtu*”, yielding little sense. Rather, *pulhîta* here is an adverbial accusative: “regarding distress – her lips were covered”, and more smoothly “Her lips were covered with distress”.

C<sub>1</sub> iii 32': For the verbal form *ibakki* as introducing direct speech, see Streck 1995, 53, no. 54. Differently, Wilcke 1999, 91.

<sup>76</sup> So also, Pientka-Hinz 2013, 33; Ermidoro 2017, 108. See also Rendu-Loisel 2010, 91 n. 347.

C<sub>1</sub> iii 33': The accusative *erišta* appears to be a scribal mistake for the nominative *erištu* "wise" (Lambert/Millard 1969, 162; von Soden 1994, 640).

C<sub>1</sub> iii 34': The goddess' speech begins by cursing the day on which the gods took the decision to bring about the Flood. She asks that this day remain dark, i.e. would be unborn, and consequently, that all that happened in it be annulled.<sup>77</sup> The same bitter curse is found *in extenso* at the beginning of Job's first defying speech: "Now Job raised his voice and said: 'Would the day in which I was to be born be lost, and the night when one said, 'A man has been conceived. May that day be dark; let God not seek it from above, and let no light shine upon it. May darkness and the shadow of death defile it; let pitch darkness dwell upon it; let them frighten it like demons of the day. That night – may pitch darkness take it; it shall not rejoice among the days of the year; in the number of months it shall not come. Behold that night shall be lonely; no joyful singing shall come therein'" (Job 3:3–7). – The verb *da'āmum* may be analyzed either as a Gtn "to be(come) dark, dim", or the passive Dt "to be made dark, to be darkened". Von Soden (1994, 640) and Foster (2005, 250) opted for the ingressive Gtn-stem, but I prefer the passive meaning of the Dt, implying the wish to reverse the rising of this day and turn it to darkness.

C<sub>1</sub> iii 38': *Pace* von Soden (1973, 354 n. 5) and Metzler (1995), here *gamertum* means not final (judicial) verdict, but total destruction (so Lambert/Millard 1969, 95). This key term (repeated in C<sub>1</sub> v 42) is found in **Ark** 49 <sup>d</sup>EN.LL<sup>o</sup> *i-na kussī(ēi)G[U.ZA]-šu it-ta-m]e ga-ma-ar-tam* "Enlil, from [his thr]one, [took an oath (?)] regarding the annihilation" and in the 'Larsa' recension, C<sub>0</sub> iv 2': *i-lu-ú iq-bu-ú ga-ma-er-tam* "(for) the gods have commanded an annihilation".

C<sub>1</sub> iii 39': *it-pi-ra* from *ṭapārum* "to press towards smth." (correct Lambert/Millard 1969, 94–95, 184 who took *id-pi-ra* (< *dapārum*-G) to mean "to be sated"). Von Soden (1969, 431) suggested emending this form to the adj. *it-pé-ša!* ("Enlil liess seinen klugen Mund reden"). Moran (1981, 44 n. 3) called these readings into question, deriving instead this form from *dapārum* "'to become strong', or the like". Dalley (1989, 32), Wilcke (1999, 91) and Foster (2005, 250) followed this interpretation. Not much different from Moran is von Soden's later translation (1994, 640): "Enlil drängte sich heran" (*it-pi-ra* < *ṭapārum*-G). Without taking a side between *dapārum* and *ṭapārum*, Mami seems to explain that Enlil had somehow overpowered her, making her utter the verdict of destruction against her own inclination. – For *pi-i-[a]* "m[y] mouth, utterance" at the end of the line see Moran 1981, 44

<sup>77</sup> Is this wish connected to the tradition that the Flood started on a dark night, when the new moon is born? See Finkel 2014, 209 and commentary to I<sub>2</sub> 1.

n. 3 (contra Lambert/Millard 1969, 94–95 who read *bi-i-š[a]* “evi[1]”) and Wilcke 1999, 91 n. 52. With Wilcke, this line, and the next ones, present a positive statement, rather than a rhetorical question (as Moran, Foster, and Pientka-Hinz 2013, 34 have suggested).

C<sub>1</sub> iii 40': For Tiruru, a goddess or a female demon identified with Ištar, see Lambert/Millard 1969, 162 and Krebernik 2014–2016.

C<sub>1</sub> iii 41': Lambert/Millard 1969, 94–95, 190 read *ú-ša-as-ḫi* (< *saḫû/seḫû* “to become troublesome, rebellious”). But since Š-stem is not attested with this verb, von Soden (1994, 640) emended the text to *ú-ša-aḫ-ḫi* (< *šuhḫû-D* “to remove, make unrecognizable, invalid”), a suggestion adopted by Dalley (1989, 32), Wilcke (1999, 91) and Foster (2005, 250). This reading found its way to CAD S 209, 2b) as a form of *seḫû-D* (a scribal mistake – or a spontaneous phonetic variant? – of *usaḫḫi*): “like that Tiruru, he confused my words”. This understanding is accepted here.<sup>78</sup>

C<sub>1</sub> iii 42'–43': For the hendiadys *pagrum-ramānum*, see Wasserman 2003, 7 no. 2.1.1. – Dalley (1989, 32) stressed the adversative sense of the propositions *ana* and *ina* in this couplet: “I heard their cry leveled at me, against myself, against my person”. According to Dalley, the people cried to the mother-goddess for help. As there is no hint for this, I assume that the mother-goddess speaks elliptically: her regrets concern not the fact of hearing the clamor of humankind, but following Enlil’s demand to eradicate its source by flooding the earth. – The excessive noise raised by the humans appears to be perceived as an infringement of the divine sphere, hence the severe punishment by the gods which it provoked (Oden 1981). The notion of noise (in the first two tablets of Atra-ḫasis: *ḫubūru*, in the Flood: *rigmu*) runs like a thread through the myth’s plot (Chen 2013, 228–229. For more, see Literary Discussion 3.2).

C<sub>1</sub> iii 44': Von Soden (1994, 641) translated *elēnūya* as a locative, “über mir”, admitting that this meaning is not entirely clear.<sup>79</sup> Other scholars understood *elēnum* in this line as a preposition indicating separation. Lambert/Millard 1969, 95: “cut off from me”; Bottéro/Kramer 1989, 551: “sans que j’y puisse rien”; Foster 2005, 250, based on Wilcke 1999, 92: “with no help from me”; Dalley 1989, 32: “beyond my control(?)”. This sense is well attested for *elēnum* (CAD E 85b–86b), and it produces the best meaning for this line. – The last word in the line was read *zu-ub-bi* “flies” by Lambert/Millard 1969, 94–95, followed by the majority of later translations.<sup>80</sup> In con-

<sup>78</sup> Similarly, Pientka-Hinz 2013, 34: “Wie diese (Göttin) Tiruru hatte er (womöglich) meinen Mund sich auflehnen lassen?”

<sup>79</sup> Also, Metzler 2015, 171.

<sup>80</sup> Bottéro/Kramer 1989, 551; von Soden 1994, 641; Wilcke 1999, 92; Foster 2005, 250; Metzler 2015, 171.

trast, Dalley (2000, 32, 38 n. 40), read *šú-up-pi* “white sheep” (following von Soden 1969, 431). The central role of the image of the flies in the last part of the myth, where the gods are compared to flies, led to the belief that here too, flies are meant (however, cf. C<sub>1</sub> iv 19'–20' where the gods are likened to sheep).

C<sub>1</sub> iii 46': Lambert/Millard (1969, 94–95) understood *a-ša-bi* as the noun *waššābum* “tenant, resident, occupant”. However, the fact that this word is followed by the adverbial construction *ina bīt dimmati* “in the house of lamentation”, rather than by a nominal construct chain, calls for a G-stem infinitive *ašābī* with 1 sg. possessive suffix, “my dwelling” (so Dalley 1989, 32; Wilcke 1999, 92; von Soden 1994, 641; Foster 2005, 250).

C<sub>1</sub> iii 48': I see no reason to take this line as a question (*pace* Metzler 2015, 171). Mami refuses to stay any longer on earth in its catastrophic state and pronounces emphatically her intention to go up to heaven (similarly, von Soden 1994, 641).

C<sub>1</sub> iii 49': The modal particle *tuša*, expressing, mostly in letters, counter-assertion (“it seems that. . . but in fact. . .”), carries here the meaning of contrastive statement (“one could think it is so, but we all know it is not. . .”, see Wasserman 2012, 94–114, esp. 109–110).

C<sub>1</sub> iii 50': Lambert/Millard (1969, 94–95) took *na-ak-<sup>f</sup>ma<sup>l</sup>-ti* as a by-form of *nakkamtu* “treasure”. Von Soden (1994, 641) suggested reading *na-aq-[d]u<sup>l</sup>-ti*, pl. of *naqdu* “one in a critical state” (followed by Pientka-Hinz 2013, 34: “in einem Haus (mit lauter) Bedrohten”). Wilcke (1999, 92 n. 57) upheld the earlier reading *na-ak-<sup>f</sup>ma<sup>l</sup>-ti* and interpreted it as a f. pl. form of the adj. *nakmu* “heaped up” (referring, in his view, to corpses). While Wilcke’s morphological and lexical interpretation appears reasonable, it is not clear why the heavens would be a house in which corpses are piled up. Foster (2005, 250, also reading *na-ak-<sup>f</sup>ma<sup>l</sup>-ti*) translated “I would take up my dwelling in a [well-lardered] house”, interpreting the sky as a place (“house”) where provisions are heaped up and where one can safely survive the unfolding catastrophe.<sup>81</sup> Metzler (2015, 171) posits “Haus der Verbrennungen” which is unclear to me. In my opinion, what the mother-goddess says should be understood in light of the modal particle *tuša*. After expressing her regrets for not standing up against Enlil who commanded the Flood, she declares her shock caused by the many dead surrounding her, and adds, in bitter irony (*tuša*), that her present location is not a treasure house (but a house of bereavement). In other words, *bīt nakmāti* is not a designation of heaven, but a sarcastic reference to *bīt dimmati* (C<sub>1</sub> iii 47').

<sup>81</sup> Dalley’s (1989, 32) translation “and live as in a cloister (?)” is unclear to me.

C<sub>1</sub> iii 53'–54': Contrary to previous translations,<sup>82</sup> I take the subordinate clause starting with *ša lā* . . . as referring to the gods, Anu's children mentioned in the previous line, not to Anu alone (thus, in pl.: *ša lā imtalkūma iškunū a[būba]*).<sup>83</sup> Grammatically, it is easier to hook this relative clause onto *ilū mārūšu* rather than to the remoter Anu, and thematically, the text stresses that all the gods, not only Anu, acted unreasonably when accepting Enlil's command. Finally, in C<sub>1</sub> v 42 (and in Gilg. XI 170) this relative clause is indisputably in pl. (see Chen 2013, 231–232).

C<sub>1</sub> iii 54': Restoration after C<sub>1</sub> v 43.

C<sub>1</sub> iv 4'–11': Considering the nearly parallel line Gilg. XI 123, Wilcke (1999, 92–93) provided the restoration [*nišīya*] by the end of the line.

C<sub>1</sub> iv 5': The interpretation of the first word, *a-bu-ma-an*, poses a problem. Lambert/Millard (1969, 97, 162) understood it as the interjection *aba* “what!” suffixed by the irrealis particle *-man*.<sup>84</sup> Von Soden (1994, 641) offered *a-bu-ba-an* “two floods” (du.). Wilcke (1999, 93 n. 59) proposed what appears the most likely solution: the noun *abum* “father” with the modal particle *-man*.<sup>85</sup> The syntax of this line is that of a monopartite irrealis conditional sentence without *šumma/šumman*. Such constructions tend to express the speaker's dissatisfaction, anger and irritation (see Wasserman 2012, 127–129). A *locus classicus* of this construction is Gilgameš's cry over the dead Enkidu *ibrīman itabbiam ana rigmiya* “Had only my friend risen at my cry!” Thus, in her agony, caused by the total destruction of the human race, Nintu declares that she wishes a father would have given birth to humankind, pointing perhaps sarcastically to Anu, the father of the gods.

C<sub>1</sub> iv 6'–7': Lambert/Millard (1969, 162) interpreted this couplet: “Nintu, seeing only bodies where the sea should be, declares that the human race has begotten it”.<sup>86</sup> Following Wilcke (1999, 92–93), this interpretation cannot be upheld, since the noun *tīāmta* “sea” is not connected to *ulda* but to *imlānim*, namely that C<sub>1</sub> iv 5 and C<sub>1</sub> iv 6–7 form two syntactically distinct units. – The notion of an inundation carrying the bodies of dragonflies is common in Mesopotamian sources (see CAD K 503a). The image of the wholesale destruction of human life connects the myth of Atra-ḥasīs with other Mesopotamian compositions focusing on a catastrophe, mostly dating to the Ur III and the Isin-Larsa periods (see Chen 2013, 205f.).

<sup>82</sup> Lambert/Millard 1969, 97; Dalley 1989, 32; von Soden 1994, 641; Foster 2005, 250; Pientka-Hinz 2013, 34; Ermidoro 2017, 109.

<sup>83</sup> For the sequence of tenses pf. → pret., see Metzler 2002, 367.

<sup>84</sup> Ermidoro (2017, 109) similarly: “Come? Hanno dato vita a questo tumultuoso? mare?”

<sup>85</sup> Dalley (1989, 32) too read here “father”.

<sup>86</sup> Lambert/Millard 1969, 96–97, 162. Similarly, Dalley 1989, 32; von Soden 1994, 641; Pientka-Hinz 2013, 34; Ermidoro 2017, 109.

C<sub>1</sub> iv 8': Lambert/Millard (1969, 96–97) read *s[a-pa]n-[ni]*, for *sapanum* “flatland, plain” (translated metaphorically as “the edge”). Von Soden (1994, 641) corrected to *sa-ḫi!* “meadow, waterlogged land” (CAD S 56), despite the fact that this reading was explicitly rejected by Lambert (1969, 537). Adopting von Soden’s translation, Wilcke (1999, 93) was more cautious, indicating *ṣa-ḫi?*<sup>87</sup> with a question mark. – For a discussion of the raft metaphor denoting solitariness and abandonment, see Wasserman 2003, 156. This image suggests that as result of the Flood, the earth was not totally submerged under high water such that it was invisible, but rather that it was washed by a huge tidal wave.<sup>87</sup>

C<sub>1</sub> iv 11': The pret. form *uqatti* goes against Dalley’s (1989, 33) idea of this line being a rhetorical question (“Shall I (ever) finish weeping for them?”).

C<sub>1</sub> iv 14': The noun *lalûm* (CAD L 49a–51b: “wish, desire, wealth, happiness, . . . pleasant appearance, charms” and AHW 530b: “Fülle, Üppigkeit”) has no sexual connotations here (see Wasserman 2016, 53). In this line, *lalûm* has been routinely translated as an abstract term: “emotion”.<sup>88</sup> The parallel to *libbaša unappiš* (C<sub>1</sub> iv 12) hints that the phrase *lalâm šarāpum* is a verbal expression of powerful emotions. If *lalâša* is a du. form, then it probably stands metaphorically for the two lips. – The question of the (etymologically?) different two or three *šarāpum* verbs cannot be addressed here. The context leaves no doubt, however, that in the present instance *šarāpum* belongs to *verba dicendi* (AHW 1084b “laut werden (Klage usw)”. – For the sequence of the tenses here (pres. → pret.), see Metzler 2002, 542.

C<sub>1</sub> iv 16': As noted by Metzler (1994, 369), at the end of the line, the sign *ta* was corrected to *tam*, to restore the mimation (see also commentary to C<sub>1</sub> v 44).

C<sub>1</sub> iv 17': The terminative suffix *-iš* in *šikriš* carries an abstract meaning: the mother-goddess is thirsty *for* beer.

C<sub>1</sub> iv 18'–23': Where are the gods at this point of the story? If the mother-goddess went up to heaven (C<sub>1</sub> iii 48), and if “where she sat, they sat”, then the other gods are presumably in the sky too. This location explains further the gods’ distress: not only have all humans been destroyed by the Flood,

<sup>87</sup> This description conflicts with the biblical account, where the Flood fully covered the mountains: “When the waters had swelled much more upon the earth, all the highest mountains everywhere under the sky were covered. Fifteen cubits higher did the waters swell, as the mountains were covered. And all flesh that stirred on earth perished. . . .” (Gen. 7:19–21).

<sup>88</sup> See Lambert/Millard 1969, 97; Foster 2005, 251; Borger 1975, 159: “schönes (Antlitz)”; Bottéro/Kramer 1989, 552: “émou(?)”; Dalley 1989, 33: “passion”; von Soden 1994, 641 and Wilcke 1999, 94: “Sehnsucht”.

leaving the gods with no supply, but the gods are far from the source of their sustenance, their temples.

C<sub>1</sub> iv 20': The syntax of this line is most easily construed if the noun *rātam* is taken as the direct object of *imlūnim* "they filled" (*pace* von Soden 1994, 641, who understood *rātam* as an adverbial accusative: "tranken sich satt an der Rinne", that is the sheep, the gods, quenched their thirst at the trough). The noun *rātum* can refer both to canals as topographical features, dug for the purposes of irrigation or drainage, and to troughs as conduits of liquids in an architectural complex (see CAD R 219b–220a). In this instance, the image is that of sheep gathered at a drinking trough (Lambert/Millard 1969, 97), or at the streambed of a canal (Foster 2005, 251). In any event, the sense is that "the gods are hoping to find water to drink" (Foster 2005, 251 n. 1).

C<sub>1</sub> iv 21': The choice of *šamū* "to thirst" is worth noting: the world is flooded with water but the gods' lips are dry. Gilg. XI 127 is less oxymoronic, using *šabābu* "to glow, to parch". – For *pulhūta*, again in adverbial accusative, see the commentary to C<sub>1</sub> iii 29 above.

C<sub>1</sub> iv 24': The duration of the Flood is mentioned here as seven days and seven nights, one day longer than the duration mentioned in the parallel passage of Gilg. XI 128 (one ms. in Gilgameš mentions the duration of the flood as six days and six nights, see George 2003, 710–711). For biblical accounts regarding the extent of the Flood (40 days, or 150 days), see Darshan 2016, 512 n. 28 and Draffkorn Kilmer 2007.

C<sub>1</sub> iv 26'ff.: The text lost in the long break at the end of col. iv and the beginning of col. v must have included a description of the end of the Flood. A similar description, or a part of it, is preserved in the Middle Babylonian tablet from Ugarit, ms. I<sub>2</sub>, and the late 1<sup>st</sup> millennium ms. z. When the narration resumes in the Old Babylonian Sippar recension (C<sub>1</sub> v 30), the Flood hero, who has survived, is offering a sacrifice to the gods.

C<sub>1</sub> iv 25': A sequence of three (or in Gilg. XI 129, four) terms belonging to the same semantic field, as *rādu meḥū abūbu* in this line, is a literary device typical of hymnic texts. Similar cases of *accumulatio* are, e.g., *naplāsušša bani bu'āru bāštum mašrḥū lamassum šēdum* "At her (Ištar's) glance prosperity is created – dignity, splendor, protective spirit (and) genius" (Ištar hymn of Ammī-ditāna = RA 22, 170f.: 15–16),<sup>89</sup> *ḥaṭṭi šarrūti kussū agū šarkūši* "The scepter of kingship, the throne, the tiara are bestowed on her (Ištar) (Agušaya A = VS 10, 214 iv 1–2),<sup>90</sup> and *ḥaṭṭum meānum kubšum u šibirru qudmīš Anim ina šamā'ī šaknū* "Scepter, turban, tiara and shepherd's

<sup>89</sup> See Streck 2013.

<sup>90</sup> Groneberg 1997, 77.

crook were placed before Anum in the heavens” (OB Etana Morgan tablet i 11–12).<sup>91</sup>

C<sub>1</sub> iv 26': After *ašar* I cautiously restore *is-r[i-ḫu? ...]* from *sarāḫum* “to destroy” (AHw 1028a: “zerstören”; CAD S 171f.: “uncert. mng.”).<sup>92</sup>

C<sub>1</sub> v 30"–35": Following Matouš 1967, 15, the reading of these lines is based on the parallel in Gilg. XI 157–163. Hence, <sup>r</sup>*a<sup>1</sup>-na ša-a-r[i]* (C<sub>1</sub> v 30) is preferable to <sup>r</sup>*a<sup>1</sup>-na ša-a-t[i]* “therefore” (proposed by von Soden 1994, 642) and *it-ta-qi!* (C<sub>1</sub> v 31) preferred to *[i]t-ta-di* (so Lambert/Millard 1969, 98).

C<sub>1</sub> v 32": Although at this point in the plot the heavy rain has probably ended, the pres. form *izannun* (*u*) must be derived from *zanānum* (*u*) “to rain” (with von Soden 1994, 642 and Pientka-Hinz 2013, 35), and not from *zanānum* (*a/u*) “to provision” (as understood by Lambert/Millard 1969, 99; Dalley 1989, 33 and Bottéro/Kramer 1989, 552). Foster (2005, 251 n. 2), suggested a word-play in this line between the two *zanānum* verbs (see commentary to C<sub>1</sub> i 34 above).

C<sub>1</sub> v 36": The initial word is restored as *[iš-tu-m]a* “[afte]r”, (with Lambert/Millard 1969, 98), but *[i-nu-m]a* “when” (suggested by von Soden 1994, 642) cannot be excluded.

C<sub>1</sub> v 37"–47": Nintu’s accusatory speech finds a parallel in Gilg. XI 164–171 (for the differences between the two accounts, see Literary Discussion 3.5). – I do not accept von Soden’s (1994, 62) proposal to emend the final sign in C<sub>1</sub> v 38 from *am* to *mu*, which would result in the Dt pres. form *uttazzamū* “they were complaining” instead of *uttazzam* “she was complaining”.

C<sub>1</sub> v 41"–43": According to von Soden (1994, 642), Enlil attended the offering, while Anu did not. My understanding is that this line contains a rhetorical question “Has Enlil come to the incense...?!” with the implied answer: “No, Enlil did not come to the incense!” The parallel in Gilg. XI 169–171 supports this view. The mother-goddess invites the gods to the offering, but forbids Enlil to attend, since “he lacked counsel and caused the Flood, and delivered my people into destruction” (cf. C<sub>1</sub> iii 53 where this accusation refers to Anu and his children, the gods, and Literary Discussion 3.8).

C<sub>1</sub> v 44": As in C<sub>1</sub> iv 16, the sign *ta* at the end of the line was corrected to *tam*, restoring the word-final mimation (see Metzler 1994, 369). – Pettinato (1970, 82) proposed *pi-i-šū!-nu* “their mouth”, but the sign is a good *ku* (so also Wilcke’s collations and Wilcke 1999, 95). Thus, “your mouth”, ad-

<sup>91</sup> Kinnier Wilson 1985, 30.

<sup>92</sup> It was believed that ARM 10, 25 offered another case where *sarāḫum* is used in the context of heavy rain, describing rising water. However, a collation (checked on ARCHIBAB) has disproved this reading. Instead of *is-r[i?-ḫ]u*, the collated line is: *mu-ú 1 GI iṣ-ṣ[é°]-nu* “l’eau a emplí une canne” (< *šēnum*). (Last visted: 20 August 2018).

dressed to all the gods, not just to Anu and Enlil, is retained. – For *gamertum*, see commentary to C<sub>1</sub> iii 38 above.

C<sub>1</sub> v 46"–47": Lambert/Millard (1969, 163) read *su-bé-e*, but Wilcke collated *zu!-bé-e* (similarly to *zu!-ub-bi* in C<sub>1</sub> iii 19, for which see Wilcke 1999, 89 n. 47). Von Soden (1969, 431) has already noted the difficulty in differentiating between the signs /su/ and /zu/ in this text. – Flies form a central image in the Flood (C<sub>1</sub> iii 19, 44 and iv 7).<sup>93</sup> The dead look like flies, the gods gather around the offering like flies, and the mother-goddess wears a necklace made of (golden) flies, a *symbolon* serving to remind her of the horrors of the Flood.<sup>94</sup> – On pieces of jewellery in the form of insects and flies, see Lion/Michel 1997, 722–724. For an exquisite faience necklace with fly-shaped beads excavated in one of the queens' tombs in Nimrud (ND 1988.46a), see Hussein 2016, pl. 14.

C<sub>1</sub> v 47": I adopt von Soden's (1994, 642) *i-lu!-lu!* (*alālum* 3 sg. pret. subj.) and *i-pa-an qá-a[d!-mi!]* "in front of the go[ds]", contra *i-<pu>-šu-ma* "he made", and *i-pa-an-qa-l[u]/a[l]* "he was carryin[g]" (Lambert/Millard 1969, 98–99).<sup>95</sup>

C<sub>1</sub> v 48"–49": With von Soden (1994, 642), I read *ni-is-sà-s[ú-nu]* "their wailing" (i.e., "the wailing over them", objective genitive) and *ši-im-ti-i-ma* "(it is) my destiny".<sup>96</sup>

C<sub>1</sub> v 51": For the idiom "to make happy" (lit. "to open the face"), see CAD P 351b.

C<sub>1</sub> v 52": Von Soden (1994, 643) suggested restoring *ši-a-ri-[iš]* "Ich möchte fortgehen am Morg[en. . .]". This proposal is attractive, but one should note that *šiārum* "morning, tomorrow" is otherwise attested only in Assyrian, and never in Old Babylonian literary texts. More importantly, the last fully preserved sign in the line is clearly a *ru*, not *ri* (so also Wilcke's collatio). Hence, *ši-a-ru-u[m]*, with a locative, "in the morning".

C<sub>1</sub> vi 1: Reading with von Soden 1994, 643.

C<sub>1</sub> vi 4: Reading with von Soden 1994, 643 (contra Lambert/Millard 1969, 100 who read *lu-uḫ-sú-ús-sú!*, followed by Metzler 2015, 149).

C<sub>1</sub> vi 9: The final word of this line, commonly read *pí-ti-iš-tum*, is a stubborn crux. Lambert/Millard (1969, 100–101, 164) amended this substantive

<sup>93</sup> See Lambert/Millard 1969, 163; Draffkorn Kilmer 1987; Dalley 1989, 38 n. 42.

<sup>94</sup> On the concept of *symbolon*, cf. Wasserman 2012, 85. An object serving as a sign by which to remember a dramatic event is mentioned in Enūma eliš V 73–76, where Marduk "made images of them (the eleven creatures of Tīāmat) and stationed them at the [Gate] of the Apsū to be a sign never to be forgotten" (Lambert 2013, 100–103).

<sup>95</sup> Saporetti (1982, 60) proposed *i-bá-an-qa-a[m]* (< *baqāmum* "to pluck"), but this does not fit the context.

<sup>96</sup> Already Bottéro/Kramer 1989, 553: "Ce mien désespoir à leur sujet, c'était donc mon destin!" See also Dalley 1989, 34; Foster 2005, 252.

to *na!-pi!-iš-tum*, based on Gilg. XI 175, but emendation of two signs out of four is not easy.<sup>97</sup> Von Soden (1994, 643) cautioned against emending this noun and left it untranslated (AHw 1583 “unkl.”). Metzler (2015, 149) retained the signs and suggested reading *bi-ti-iš-tum*, for *bītištum* “das Hausartige”, viz. a descriptive term for the boat. Notwithstanding his and others’ interpretations,<sup>98</sup> which show theological and hermeneutical ties between the boat and a ziggurat (esp. in Gilg. XI),<sup>99</sup> the ad-hoc word *bītištum* must be rejected. Exegesis cannot overcome grammar, and a substantivization of a noun appended with the adverbial *-iš*, is simply impossible in Akkadian. A different, no less problematic explanation to this compound was offered by Freydank (2017). He suggested reading the last two signs of the compound as *mil-tum*, namely *mēltu/mīltu* “Flut, Hochflut”, a by-form of the more common *mīlum*. His translation of the sentence under discussion is: “Wo ist (je) ein Leben(der) der Flut entkommen, wie überlebte (je) ein Mensch in der Katastrophe?” Freydank’s suggestion is countered not only by an inability to provide a satisfactory sense to the first two signs of the compound, BI-TI, but also by the fact that the term for flood in the myth is always *abūbu*, and never *mīlu*.

Against the above proposals, I submit reading *pi-ri!-iš-tum* which requires a light emendation of /ti/ to /ri/. The result is a logically evolving couplet: Enlil is furious about the leaking of the secret of the Flood (C<sub>1</sub> vi 9) which leads to the survival of mankind (C<sub>1</sub> vi 10). Indeed, Anu’s answer to Enlil’s words (C<sub>1</sub> vi 13–15) refers to the way the secret of the gods was revealed: “Who but Enki could do this? He had the word revealed [to a reed wall]”. Furthermore, *pirištum* is precisely the term used by Ea in Gilg. XI 196–197, when he explains his actions: *anāku ul aptâ pirišti ilī rabûti Atra-ḥasīs šunata ušabrīšumma pirišti ilī išme* “I myself did not reveal the secret of the great gods: I brought a dream to Atra-ḥasīs and so he heard the secret of the gods”,<sup>100</sup> and also in Ūta-napišti’s words in Gilg. XI 9–10 (cf. Gilg. XI 281–282). – The use of *wašûm* here echoes the description of the “coming out of the Flood”, as found in J r. 4’ ([. . .] *ti la-am a-bu-bi wa-še-e*) and U r. 18’ (*i<sup>1</sup>-ta-ša-a a-bu-bu*). The line in the Sippar recension is, regrettably,

<sup>97</sup> Forcing the Old Babylonian version to correspond with the younger version in Gilg. XI (as do Tigay 1982, 220f.; Dalley 1989; Bottéro/Kramer 1993, 553; Foster 2005, 252) is problematic. Gilg. XI 175–176 focuses on one topic only, the appearance of man after the Flood: “[From] where escaped (this) living creature? No man should survive the destruction!” By contrast, C<sub>1</sub> vi 9–10 contains a twofold argument: Enlil’s wrath at the leaking of the divine plan: “Whence did the secret escape?” and his anger at the re-emergence of a human after the Flood: “How did man survive the destruction?”

<sup>98</sup> Notably Holloway 1991; Baumgart 1999, 499–526; Glassner 2002. For more on this, see Literary Discussion 3.9.

<sup>99</sup> See George 2003, 513.

<sup>100</sup> George 2003, 717.

broken, but probably has a similar formulation (C<sub>1</sub> iii 11' [... *it-ta-ša-a*] *a-bu-bu*). Using the same verb, *wašûm*, makes it clear that the *pirištum* was the Flood.<sup>101</sup>

C<sub>1</sub> vi 15: Different proposals were made with regard to the reconstruction of the first word in this line. Lambert/Millard (1969, 100) hesitantly read the preserved sign as *ul*, and do not restore the preceding lost signs. Falkenstein (*apud* Pettinato 1970, 82) proposed reading [*a-wi-l*]i! Von Soden (1994, 643) restored [*ki-ki*]-iš! based on C<sub>1</sub> i 21 where Enki had the divine plan revealed to a reed wall. Shehata (2001, 160) noted that the collation of this sign (Lambert/Millard 1969 pl. 11) fits neither of the proposed readings.<sup>102</sup> Wilcke's collations suggest [*ki-ki-š*]a, which is adopted here.

C<sub>1</sub> vi 19: Reading [*ú-uš-t*]a-ši-ra, with Lambert/Millard (1969, 100–101). Von Soden's (1994, 643) [*lu! up!-t*]a-zí-ra "I have concealed" (*pazārum* - D) is less likely, as *puzzurum* has technical meanings, found mostly in Assyrian texts.

C<sub>1</sub> vi 20–24: Reading with Wilcke 1999, 96 n. 61. My restoration of C<sub>1</sub> vi 20 is based on Gilg. XI 183 (contra Wilcke, *ibid*: [*at-ta ma-li-ik*] *i-li*). Enlil, indeed, is called *māliku* "counselor" of the gods in C<sub>1</sub> viii 11' *at-ta ma-li-ik i-[li(-ma)]* and in Gilg. XI 16, but here his title seems to be *apkallu*.

C<sub>1</sub> vi 23–24: As in Gilg. XI 187, I understand this sentence to be proverbial advice, a caution not to be too severe when judging complicated moral matters.

C<sub>1</sub> vi 25–26: Lambert/Millard 1969, 101 translated: "Impose your penalty [on the criminal and] whoever disregards your command", followed by most scholars. Wilcke (1999, 96) differs: "Welcher Gott könnte Dein Wort umstoßen!" (restoring [*i-lu*] in his collations). In other words, Wilcke takes *ayyûm* as an interrogative, not an indefinite pronoun, and the line forms a couplet with the following one (C<sub>1</sub> vi 27), where Enki recommends Enlil to summon an assembly of the gods. However, since in the other two parallel texts this statement is built as a diptych (z v 11'–12' and Gilg. XI 185–186), I don't accept Wilcke's interpretation, but follow Lambert/Millard.

C<sub>1</sub> vi 48': For the restoration of the lost text at the beginning of the line, see Lambert 1980b 58. – This line describes the creation of natural death as a biologically unavoidable process (as opposed to death in an unexpected cataclysm) devised by the gods to put a limit on the growth of human population (Chen 2013, 162–163).

C<sub>1</sub> vi 49'–51': The suggested restoration of these lines – presenting the second (*šanītum*) device introduced by the gods to limit the proliferation of humankind – follows Wilcke's collations.

<sup>101</sup> For the co-location of *pirištum* and *wašûm-Š*, see CAD P 399b.

<sup>102</sup> The sign, as shown in Lambert/Millard's collations, does look like /ul/.

C<sub>1</sub> vii 1–3: The text resumes here with a third device used by the gods to limit humankind – the creation of groups of women who cannot bear children: either due to natural causes or because of legal norms and social prohibitions (see Oden 1981, 207–208; Chen 2013, 249).

C<sub>1</sub> vii 3: *Pāšittum* (the “eraser”-demoness) is Lamaštum, the fearful baby-killer demoness (see von Soden 1994, 644 n. 3a). The repeated phrase *ina nišī* “among the people” stresses that, although ordered by the gods, the *Pāšittu*-demoness is considered a mundane and natural cause of death.

C<sub>1</sub> vii 6–11: For the different kinds of female cultic personnel mentioned in these lines, see Renger 1967; Harris 1975, 302–331 and Stol 2000.

C<sub>1</sub> vii 10–11: The restorations *[n]a?-di-tam*, *[šu-gi-tam]* and *[qá-di]-iš-tam* follow Draffkorn Kilmer 1972, 171 n. 47 and von Soden 1994, 644. Of these three categories of female cultic personnel, *qadištum* and *šugītum* could legally marry and bear children (Renger 1967, 178–181; Harris 1975, 321, 329). It appears that they were mentioned here by association, after other female cultic personnel who could not legally marry (ending with *nadītum*). – Restoring *[šuk]nī* with Wilcke’s collations.

C<sub>1</sub> vii 13: Reading *[šu-uz-b]i-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-ši-in* with Wilcke’s collations.

C<sub>1</sub> vii 17–18: Lambert/Millard (1969, 104–105) submitted that the heavily broken, small Neo-Assyrian fragment K 4539, ms. R according to their notations, aligns with these lines.<sup>103</sup> However, nothing in this fragment can be related to the Flood with any certainty, and the little that can be ascertained suggests that it might describe cross-dressing or even cross-gender rituals, similar to the Neo-Assyrian bilingual proverb BWL 226, 1–7) (see Streck/Wasserman 2018, 5 n. 8).

C<sub>1</sub> viii 11: The damaged space at the end of the line appears insufficient to accommodate *i-[li ra-bu-ti]* (Lambert/Millard 1969, 104). The restoration adopted here follows Wilcke’s collations. Note that in C<sub>1</sub> vi 20 Enlil is probably referred to as *apkalu* (*[at-ta apka](ABGAL)] i-li*), based on the parallel with Gilg. XI 183.

C<sub>1</sub> viii 13': Reading *ú-ša-ab-ši qá-ab-[la]* (Lambert/Millard 1969, 104f.) fits the context better than *ga-ab-[ra-am]* “co[py]”, proposed by Foster (2005, 280). The identity of the divine speaker who “gave rise to battle” is unclear: Lambert/Millard (1969, 165) proposed the mother-goddess as a plausible candidate, while von Soden (1994, 645) leaves this question open. – For the image of battle (*qablum*) as a metaphor for the Flood, see Chen 2013, 25, 59, 219–220.

<sup>103</sup> [ . . . ] 'x x<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ] / [ . . . ] 'x<sup>1</sup> ra a 'x<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ] / [(x)] 'x<sup>1</sup> i ba li a 'x<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ] / 'ša<sup>1</sup>-am-ni [ . . . ] / ú-šá-ra-at ni-ši 'x<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ] / zi-ka-ru [ . . . ] / a-na ar-da-ti [ . . . ] / ar-da-tum [ . . . ] et-lu a-na ar-d[a-ti . . . ] / 'li<sup>1</sup>-il-qí a[r-da-tum . . . ] “[ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] Oil [ . . . ] The rules of humankind [ . . . ] The male [ . . . ] to a maiden [ . . . ] the maiden [ . . . ] The young man to a mai[den . . . ] Let the m[aiden] take [ . . . ] (collated).

C<sub>1</sub> viii 14': *šanittum*, a by-form of *tanittum* "praise" (CAD T 173b, 174a, and already Lambert/Millard 1969, 165), stands in parallelism to *anniam zamāra* "this song" in C<sub>1</sub> viii 15.<sup>104</sup> This hymnic term designates also two of the Papulegara's hymns (Streck/Wasserman 2008, 346).

C<sub>1</sub> viii 17': The form *lišširū* is more likely to be derived from *uššurum* "to listen attentively" (von Soden 1994, 645; CAD U/W 288a) than from *šurrum* "to extol" (as understood by Lambert/Millard 1969, 104f., 165).

C<sub>1</sub> viii 19': This line, with which the myth comes to an end, suggests that the whole composition was sung in a public performance. It is possible that the address to Enlil, "the counselor of the gods" (C<sub>1</sub> viii 11–13), is also put in the mouth of the performer, rather than that of one of the myth's divine protagonists (Metzler 2002, 319–320).

C<sub>1</sub> viii 20'–22': Only the first three lines of the colophon are recorded in ms. C<sub>1</sub>, followed by a blank space of at least three lines. In ms. C<sub>2</sub>, the final column begins directly with the next line of the colophon (C<sub>2</sub> viii 24') whose signs are partly damaged at the top. Nonetheless, it is possible that parts of the colophon were separated by an empty space of several lines – cf. the spacing after C<sub>2</sub> viii 26' and C<sub>2</sub> viii 27'.

C<sub>2</sub> viii 22': For the superscript *a-<sup>r</sup>wi-lu?*<sup>1</sup> after *a-<sup>r</sup>wi<sup>1</sup>-lum*, see Metzler 1994, 371.

C<sub>2</sub> viii 26': For the correct reading of the scribe's name, see Wilcke 1999, 68f. n. 10 and van Koppen 2011.

C<sub>2</sub> viii 28'–31': The restoration of the name of the 12<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Ammī-šadūqa (see Horsnell 1999, II, 340f.) is based on the fact that this year-name is mentioned in the better-preserved colophon of Tablet I of the Old Babylonian Sippar recension (Hunger 1968, 26f.). Given the part of the year-name which is preserved in the colophon, its restoration as the 5<sup>th</sup> or the 15<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Ammī-šadūqa might also be possible (Shehata 2001, 165).

### 2.3 THE LATER RECENSIONS

The group of Flood narratives edited in this section are all posterior to the Old Babylonian period (with the possible exception of ms. **Ark** whose dating might be late Old Babylonian, although Middle Babylonian is more likely).<sup>105</sup> These sources are shorter than the Old Babylonian recensions (the two-tablet 'Larsa' recension, ms. C<sub>0</sub>, and the three-tablet Sippar recension, ms. C<sub>1</sub> (+) C<sub>2</sub>), at least in their present state of preservation. As such, they present dif-

<sup>104</sup> For a possible *jeu de mots* between *šanittum* "praise" and *šanītum* "something strange, hostile", corresponding to *qabla* "battle" in C<sub>1</sub> viii 13, see Noegel 1995.

<sup>105</sup> See Streck 2017b, 141.

ferent versions of the Flood than those found in the earlier Old Babylonian sources. Narratively speaking, the main innovation in this group of younger and shorter texts is the autobiographical angle. The hero recounts the events of the Flood from his own perspective, in the first-person: how he prepared the boat, how the Flood arrived, and what happened in its aftermath. The first-person voice is evident in mss. **Ark, I, I<sub>2</sub>, U, and z**. However, ms. **W** is not a first-person account; neither are, in all likelihood, mss. **J, J<sub>1</sub>**. One should not forget the most complete account of the Flood, in Gilg. XI, which is also told as a first-person story. The switch from a descriptive narration, with embedded dialogues, to a first-person tale with inserted descriptions, is the most significant editorial transformation in the transmission of the Flood from the Old Babylonian period to later times.

Geographically speaking, the later texts demonstrate the spread of second-mill. Babylonian literature westward and to Anatolia: three mss. stem from Ugarit, one from Ḫattusa. This process is also well-known from the development of the Epic of Gilgameš.

### 2.3.1 Ms. Ark

Copy:	See below (NW)
Tablet Siglum:	
Photo:	Finkel 2014, 107, 109, 188, 309, plates (after p. 150)
Edition:	Finkel 2014, 105–110 and 357–368
Collection:	Private collection of Mr. Douglas Simmonds (a cast is kept at the British Museum)
Provenance:	
Measurements:	11.2 x 6.2 x 2.5 cm
Period:	Late OB? MB?

This unnumbered tablet from the Douglas Simmonds collection was thoroughly studied by Finkel (2014 and 2014<sup>pb</sup>) who called it the *Ark Tablet*. I concur with Streck (2017b, 141)<sup>106</sup> in dating this elongated tablet, whose reverse is in bad condition, to the late Old Babylonian or Middle Babylonian period.<sup>107</sup> The fact that this tablet begins with the known address, *igār igār kikkiš kikkiš*, ordering Atra-ḫasīs to leave all his possessions behind and build a boat, may hint that the Ark Tablet was part of a fuller recension of the Flood, now lost (but the tablet contains no colophon to prove this). A large

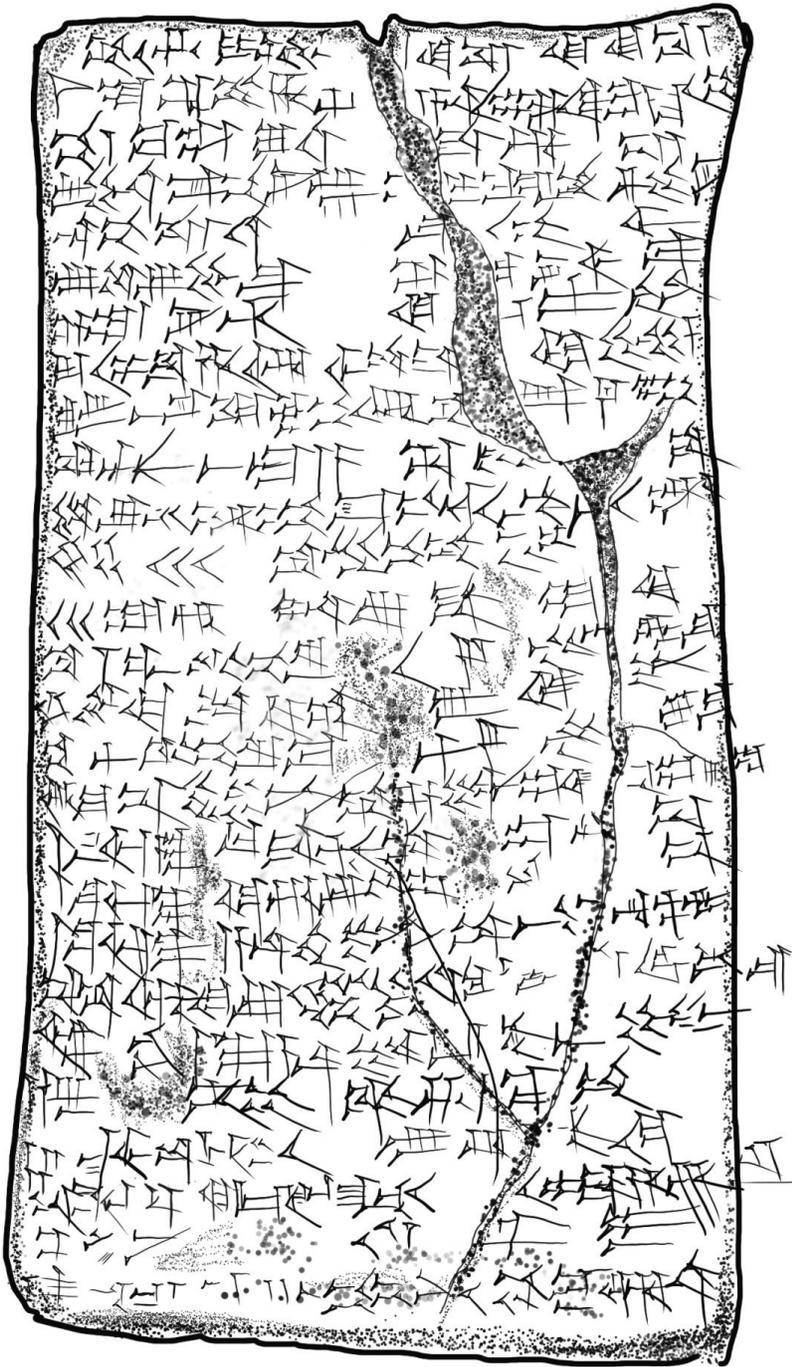
<sup>106</sup> “A date somewhere between the end of the Old Bab. and the beginning of the Middle Bab. period seems probable”.

<sup>107</sup> For more arguments supporting this relatively late date, see commentary to ll. 1 and 6–7 below.

part of the text presents detailed instructions about the size and shape of the boat – unknown from any other source.<sup>108</sup> The text makes clear that Atra-ḫasīs’ boat was meant to be round, a kind of a huge coracle.<sup>109</sup> The tablet – more precisely, its excellent cast kept in the British Museum – was collated and copied by the author in November 2018.

<sup>108</sup> Based on the details supplied by the Ark Tablet, a boat was built in India, proving the feasibility of the tablet’s plan (see Finkel 2014<sup>pb</sup> Chap. 15). A public lecture on the topic, held at the Oriental Institute, Chicago, can be viewed on [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s\\_fkpZSnz2I](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s_fkpZSnz2I) (last visited: 4 May 2019).

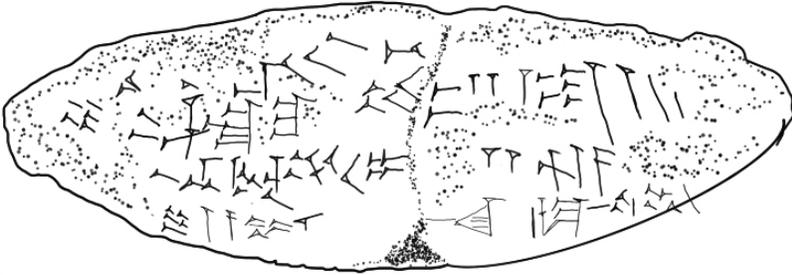
<sup>109</sup> The boat’s circular shape (*kippatum*), known in modern Iraq as *quffa*, is mentioned not only in the late Old Babylonian **Ark** and the Neo-Assyrian **W**, but also in the Old Babylonian C<sub>1</sub> i 28’ (see Finkel 2014, 128, and already Tigay 1982, 293). Visual depictions of Noah’s ark, with the animals embarking or disembarking, are found in different Byzantine mosaics: in the synagogue at Gerasa (Jordan), the church (or synagogue?) in Mopsuestia (Misis) in Cilicia and in the recently discovered synagogue in Huqoq (Northern Israel). In all these cases, the ark is depicted as a wooden chest supported by four legs (Magnes et al. 2018, 102f. and Hachlili 2009, 65–72. Refs. courtesy Sh. Miller). A bronze coin from the time of Gordian III (AD 234–244) shows Noah and his wife standing in a small rectangular ark, with a dove and a tree branch above them. The coin was found in Apameia in Phrygia, near a mountain which local tradition identified as Mount Ararat (Mynott 2018, 325). A very similar depiction is found in a fresco from early Christian catacomb in Rome (<https://www.theartist.me/art-movement/early-christian-art/attachment/noah-praying-in-the-ark-roman-catacombs/> (last visited: 1 November 2019)). In a recent paper, Yuditzy (2017) showed that the author of a fragment of the *Genesis Apocryphon* from Qumran (1Q20) imagined an ark with a sloping roof, probably shaped like a rectangular box. On the origin of the notion of the rectangular ark in Western thought, see Cohn 1996, 38ff.



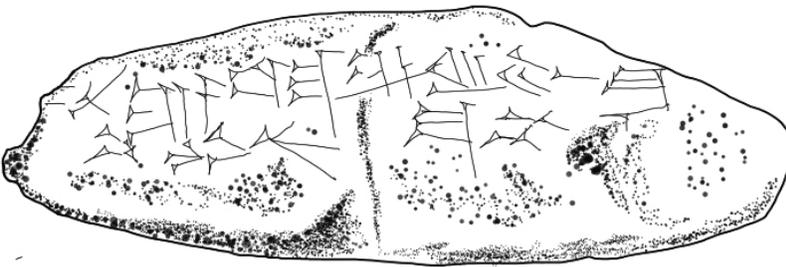
The Ark Tablet Obv.



The Ark Tablet Rev.



The Ark Tablet Lower Edge



The Ark Tablet Upper Edge

Obv.

Ark 1

*i-ga-ar i-ga-a[r k]i-ki-iš ki-ki-iš*C<sub>2</sub> i 20'-21' *i-ga-ru ši-ta-am-mi-a-an-ni ki-ki-šu šu-uš-ši-ri ka-la zi-ik-ri!(ZI)-ia*

I 14 [i]-ga-ru-ma ši-m[e. . .]

U 14-16 [iz-za-ka]r a-na ki-ki-ši [. . .] ki-kiš ki-k[iš] [. . . ši]-ta-ma-ni

Gilg. XI 21-22 *ki-ik-kiš ki-ik-kiš i-gar i-gar ki-ik-ki-šu ši-me-ma i-ga-ru hi-is-sa-as*

Ark 2

<sup>m</sup>*At-ra-am-ḥa-si-i[s] a-na mi-il-ki-ia qú-ul-[ma]*

I 15 [ana? mi?]-ki?-ma q[ù-ul. . .]

Ark 3

*ṭa-ba-al-lu-uṭ [d]a-ri-iš*

Ark 4

*ú-pu-ud bītam(É) bi-ni eleppam(MÁ) m[a-a]k-ku-ra-am ze-e[r-ma]*

Ark 5

*na-pí-iš-tam šu-ul-lim*C<sub>2</sub> i 22'-24' *ú-pu-ud bi-ta bi-ni e-le-ep-pa ú-pu-ud bi-ta bi-ni e-le-ep-pa ma-ak-ku-ra zé-e-er-ma na-pí-iš-ta bu-ul-li-ṭ*Gilg. XI 24-25 *ú-qur bīta(É) bi-ni eleppa(É<sup>is</sup>MÁ) muš-šir mešrām(NÍG.TUKU)-ma še-<sup>3</sup>-i napšāti(ZI<sup>mes</sup>)*Gilg. XI 27 [š]u-li-ma zēr(NUMUN) nap-šá-a-ti ka-la-ma a-na lib-bi elep-pi(É<sup>is</sup>MÁ)Gilg. XI 84 *mim-ma i-š[u-ú e-še-e]n-ši zēr(NUMUN) napšāti(ZI<sup>mes</sup>) ka-la-ma*

Ark 6

*eleppam(MÁ) te-ep-pu-šu e-[š]e-er-ši-ma*W 16' [dÉ]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> ina qaq-qa-ri e-[šir ú-šur-tu]Gilg. XI 60 *ad-di la-an-[ša] šá-a-ši e-šir-ši*

Ark 7

*e-še-er-ti ki-[i]p-pa-tim*

Ark 8

*lu mi-it-ḥa-ar ši-id-da-[š]a ù pu-u[s-sa]*C<sub>2</sub> i 25'-26' [e]-le-ep-pu ša ta-ba-an-nu-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[ši] [. . .] mi-it-ḥ[u-ra-at . . .]Gilg. XI 29-30 *lu-ú mìn-du-da mi-na-tu-<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> [l]u-ú mit-ḥur ru-pu-us-sa ù mu-rak-šá*W 1'-2' [x x x]-<sup>r</sup>sá<sup>1</sup> lu <sup>r</sup>min?<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>du?<sup>1</sup>-[da? . . .] [x x x] ki-ma <sup>r</sup>kip-pa-ti<sup>1</sup> [. . .]

Ark 9

*lu-ú 1 ikú(IKU) ka-aq-qá-ar-š[a lu]-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> 1 nindanum(NIN-DA) i-ga-r[a-tu-ša]*

Ark 10

*ka-an-nu aš-la-a <lu> ṭá-mu-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> [a-na libbi(ŠÀ)]-ša*

Ark 11

*li-ip-ti-il-kum bītī(É<sup>bi-ti</sup>) pí-[t]i-il-tam*

Ark 12

ŠÁR (x) 4 (+) 30 *ta-qab-bi-am li-[ku]-ul*

Ark 13

30 *še-ri i-na libbi(ŠÀ)-ša a[d]-di*

Ark 14

*ša 1 parsiktum(PI) ik-bi-ru 10 nindanum(NINDA) mu-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-ak-šu*

Ark 15

ŠÁR *im-di i-na libbi(ŠÀ)-ša ú-ki-in*

Ark 16

*ša ½ <parsiktum(PI)> ik-bi-ru-ma ½ nindanum(NINDA) mu-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-ak-šu*

- Ark 17** *ar-ku-ús hi-in-ni-ša° e-le-nu-um* <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> ša-ap-lu°-um  
Gilg. XI 61–62 *ur-tag-gi-ib-ši ana 6-šú [a]p-ta-ra-a[s-s]u a-na 7-šú*
- Ark 18** 1 šu-ši iṭṭâm(ESIR) ki°-da-ti-ša ap-[r]u-ús
- Ark 19** 1 šu-ši iṭṭâm(ESIR) qí-ri-ib-ša <sup>1</sup>ap<sup>1</sup>-[r]u-ús
- Ark 20** 1 šu-ši iṭṭâm(ESIR) a-na hi-in-ni-ša aš-[t]a-pa-ak
- Ark 21** *uš-ta-ar-ki-ib ŠÁR (x) 8? kupram*(<sup>1</sup>ESIR.UD.DU.A<sup>1</sup>) [i-n]a  
<sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-<ra>-ti-ia  
J<sub>1</sub> 7' [ . . . ] <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> ki-ra-a-[(x)] <sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>? [ . . . ]
- Ark 22** *ù ŠÁR iṭṭâm*(ESIR) a-na li-ib-bi aš-pu-uk
- Ark 23** *iṭṭâm*(ESIR) ú!-ul iq-r[i]-ba-am-ma
- Ark 24** 5 šu-ši na-<sup>1</sup>ha<sup>1</sup>-[a]m ú-<sup>1</sup>re<sup>1</sup>-[e]d-di  
Gilg. XI 66–68 3 šár ku-up-ri at-ta-bak ana ki-i-ri 3 šár ESIR(.)x [ . . . ] a-na  
lib-bi 3 šár šābū(ÉRIN<sup>mes</sup>) na-áš<sup>gis</sup> su-us-su-ul šá i-zab-bi-lu šamnu(Ī.GIŠ)
- Ark 25** *uš-<sup>1</sup>ta-ar<sup>1</sup>-[k]i-ib <sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-ra-ti-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> mi-it-<sup>1</sup>ha-ri-iš*  
J<sub>1</sub> 7' [ . . . ] <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> ki-ra-a-[(x)] <sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>? [ . . . ]
- Ark 26** *bīnam*(<sup>gis</sup>[<sup>s</sup>]ŠINIG<sup>1</sup>) <sup>1</sup>gis<sup>1</sup>x-i
- Ark 27** x x x e? na? as tum i? bi? ma? ba-<sup>1</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>-tam
- Lo. Ed.
- Ark 28** x x x (x)<sup>mes?</sup> x [x x x]
- Ark 29** *i-<sup>1</sup>il<sup>1</sup>-la-ku bi-<sup>1</sup>rit<sup>1</sup>? <sup>1</sup>še-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-[x-x]*
- Ark 30** [x x] x nam-mi [x] x x [x x]
- Ark 31** [ . . . ki?-ra?-ti?]-ia i-x [x x] ki ESIR.<sup>1</sup>UD?.DU?<sup>1</sup>  
J<sub>1</sub> 7' [ . . . ] <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> ki-ra-a-[(x)] <sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>? [ . . . ]
- Rev.
- Ark 32** *kupru*(<sup>1</sup>ESIR UD.DU<sup>1</sup>) ki-du-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> [ša k]i-ra-ti x x x
- Ark 33** *e-zu-ub 2 (× 60) kur*(G[UR]) <sup>1</sup>ú-pa-az-zi-<ru°> um-mi-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>  
Gilg. XI 69–70 *e-zu-ub šár šamni*(Ī.GIŠ) <sup>1</sup>šá i<sup>1</sup>-ku-lu ni-iq-qu 2 šár šamni(Ī.GIŠ) [šá] ú-pa-az-zi-ru malāhu<sup>(lu)</sup>MÁ.LAH<sub>4</sub>)  
<sup>1</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>-ta-na-<sup>1</sup>al<sup>1</sup>-[la?-ak?-šu?-nu?-ti? i?]-n]a? ri-a-ši
- Ark 34** a-na eleppi(MÁ) <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[ru-bu-ma] x x k[i-i]m? <sup>1</sup>sa<sup>1</sup>-al-la-at
- Ark 35** C<sub>1</sub> ii 42" [ . . . ] x <sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-im-ta-šu uš-te-ri-ib  
J r. 13' [šūli ana eleppi sa-lat-k]a u kin-ta-k[a!]  
W 6'-8' [<sup>gis</sup>MÁ] e-ru-um-ma bāb(KÁ) eleppi(<sup>gis</sup>MÁ) tir-[ra]... [DAM-k]a ki-mat-ka sa-lat-ka u mārī(DUMU<sup>mes</sup>) um-m[a-ni]  
Gilg. XI 85 *uš-te-li a-[na] libbi*(ŠÁ!) eleppi(<sup>gis</sup>MÁ) ka-la kim-ti-ia u sa-lat-ia
- Ark 36** *ha-du-ú* <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [x x x] <sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>?<sup>1</sup> [x x] x e-mu-tim
- Ark 37** *ù za-bi-il* <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>?<sup>1</sup> [x x x] <sup>1</sup>x x x<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ri-ia°-<sup>1</sup>tum<sup>1</sup>
- Ark 38** *a-ki-lum i-<sup>1</sup>ik<sup>1</sup>-k[a-a]l [ša-tu-um] i-ša-at-ti*  
C<sub>1</sub> ii 43"–44" [a-ki-l]u i-ik-ka-al [ša]-tu-ú i-ša-at-ti

- Ark 39** *a-na-ku a-wa-<sup>r</sup>tum<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[na] [lib]bi([Š]À)-i[a] i-ba-aš-ši-ma*  
**Ark 40** *ta<sup>o</sup>-na-ti <sup>r</sup>a<sup>o</sup>?<sup>1</sup>-[x x x l]i-ib-bi*  
**Ark 41** *ša<sup>o</sup>-ap- [tu?]-ú-a*  
**Ark 42** *bi-ni-it? x x [. . .] . . . i?- <sup>r</sup>na<sup>o</sup><sup>1</sup>-ia<sup>o</sup>*  
**Ark 43** *<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>o</sup><sup>1</sup> áš<sup>o</sup>-<sup>r</sup>gi<sup>o</sup><sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>o</sup><sup>1</sup> . . . [. . .] e? ša-ap-ti-ia*  
*C<sub>1</sub> ii 32<sup>o</sup>-33<sup>o</sup> el-lu-ti ú-[bu-uh al-p]i ka-ab-ru-ti [iš-gi-iš im-me]-ri*  
*Gilg. XI 71-72 a-na <sup>r</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-m[an-na-ti] u<sup>t</sup>-<sup>t</sup>âb-bi-i<sup>h</sup> alpī(GU<sub>4</sub><sup>meš</sup>) áš-gi-iš*  
*immerī(UDU.NÍTA<sup>meš</sup>) u<sub>4</sub>-mi-šam-ma*
- Ark 44** *[x x]-ne? <sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-bi-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [x x x]-ma<sup>o</sup> ši<sup>o</sup>-ib!?(BI)-qum aš-la-al*  
**Ark 45** *[e-li] a-na ú-ri <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[sa-ap-pi(?) a]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU be-li*  
**Ark 46** *<sup>r</sup>x x x<sup>1</sup> li-ib-bi? [ta?-ta?-a]b-ba-al*  
**Ark 47** *x x ri x ak? [x x x x] x ti?-bi ik-la*  
**Ark 48** *<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-na <sup>r</sup>li?<sup>o</sup><sup>1</sup>-[ib?-bi?]-ia*  
**Ark 49** *<sup>d</sup>EN.LÍ<sup>o</sup> i-na kussī(<sup>r</sup>giš<sup>1</sup><sup>r</sup>GU<sup>1</sup>.<sup>r</sup>ZA<sup>1</sup>)-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> [it-ta-m]e ga-ma-ar-tam*  
*C<sub>0</sub> iv 2' i-lu-ú iq-bu-ú ga-ma-er-tam*  
*Atr. II viii 34 i-lu iq-bu-ú ga-me-er-t[am]*
- Ark 50** *<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> ar-m[u-tam i-na u<sub>4</sub>-mi-im] <sup>r</sup>e-<sup>t</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-i[m (x x x)]*  
*C<sub>0</sub> iv 6' a-bu-ba-am a-na ú-um wa-ar-<sup>h</sup>i-im*  
*C<sub>1</sub> ii 39" [. . .ú-b]i-il ar-<sup>h</sup>u*  
*I<sub>2</sub> 1 i-na pí-i bi-ib-li i-na re-eš ar<sup>h</sup>i(ITI)*
- Ark 51** *ú na-ma-aš-t[um i-na še]-ri-i[m (. . .)]*  
**Ark 52** *<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-na eleppa(MÁ) <sup>r</sup>lu?<sup>1</sup>-[ú x x x x] x x x [x x x x]*  
**Ark 53** *5 šikara(KAŠ) ar-m[a?] x x uš-t[a-x x x x]*  
**Ark 54** *11 ú!<sup>o</sup>12 <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-za-ab-ba-<sup>r</sup>lu<sup>1</sup> x (x) [x x x]*  
**Ark 55** *3 úš-i-ig-bi u[k?-ta-x x] x x x x*  
**Ark 56** *1/3 ú-ku-lu-ú [x-x]-<sup>r</sup>mu?/gu?<sup>1</sup> [kur?]-din?-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>*  
**Ark 57** *1 šu-ši na-<sup>h</sup>a-am a-na <sup>r</sup>gi-ri<sup>1</sup>-ma-de-e <sup>r</sup>aq?-ta?<sup>1</sup>-[na?-bi?]*  
**Ark 58** *e-zu-ub 30 kur(GUR) ú-pa!?-az-zi-ru<sup>o</sup> lú!(BI<sup>o</sup>).meš<sup>o</sup>um-mi-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[nu]*  
*Gilg. XI 69-70 e-zu-ub šár šamni(Í.GIŠ) <sup>r</sup>šá i<sup>1</sup>-ku-lu ni-iq-qu 2 šár šamni(Í.GIŠ)*  
*[šá] ú-pa-az-zi-ru malā<sup>h</sup>u(<sup>lú</sup>MÁ.LAH<sub>4</sub>)*
- Up. Ed.  
**Ark 59** *<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-nu-ma a-na-ku e-ru-bu-ma*  
**Ark 60** *pi-<sup>h</sup>i pí<sup>t</sup> ba-bi-<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>*

*Translation*

Obv.

**Ark 1**

“Wall, wall! Reed fence, reed fence!

**Ark 2-3**Atra-<sup>h</sup>asīs, pay attention to my advice, so that you live forever!

- Ark 4–5** Depart from (your) house, build a boat! Spurn property [and] keep (your) life intact!
- Ark 6–7** The boat which you will build, *I* will draw it out (for you) – a circular plan:
- Ark 8–9** Her length and breadth should be equal, her base should be one *ikû*; her hull (lit. walls) should be one *nindanu* (high).
- Ark 10** [Let] the cords – each *ašlu* long – be woven [*inside(?)*] it.
- Ark 11–12** Should you say: ‘(But) this will consume 14,430 (*qû* of fiber)!’ – Let my temple (personnel) twist the fibers into a rope for you”.
- Ark 13–14** I put up thirty ribs which are one *parsiktu*-vessel thick, ten *nindanu* long.
- Ark 15–16** I have installed 3,600 stanchions in it which are half (a *parsiktu*-vessel) thick, half a *nindanu* long.
- Ark 17** I arranged her cabins above and below.
- Ark 18–19** I allocated sixty (kors) of crude bitumen for her outsides, I allocated sixty (kors) of crude bitumen for her interior.
- Ark 20** I have poured sixty (kors) of crude bitumen onto her cabins.
- Ark 21–22** I loaded my kilns with 28,800 (*qû*) of dry bitumen, I poured (additional) 3,600 (*qû*) of crude bitumen within –
- Ark 23–24** (yet) the bitumen did not reach (the required amount), (so) I set out 300 (*qû*) of lard.
- Ark 25–26** I loaded [my] kilns evenly with tamarisk wood(?) and . . . a wood of (?).
- Ark 27** . . . . .
- Lo. Ed.
- Ark 28** . . . . .
- Ark 29** They are going between . . .
- Ark 30** . . . . .
- Ark 31** [...] my [*kilns(?)*] . . . dry(?) bitumen . . .
- Rev.
- Ark 32–33** [I applied(?)] on the outside the dry bitumen [from the k]ilns, apart from the 120 kors which the workmen had cached.
- Ark 34–35** Ordering [*them*] to go joyfully, (my) kith and kin [entered into] the boat . . . ;
- Ark 36–37** Happy . . . [ . . . ] . . . of my in-laws and the bearer(s) of [ . . . ] and the pregnant (women).
- Ark 38** The one (who wanted) to eat was eating; [the one (who wanted) to drink] was drinking,

- Ark 39–40** I, however, there was a (heavy) thought in my heart, and *I have ... the praises(?)*. . . [. . .] (my?) heart.
- Ark 41–42** *My li[p]s(?)*, *the creation(?)* . . . [. . .] of *my eyes*,
- Ark 43** and I slaughter[ed (animals)] . . . of my lips.
- Ark 44–45** [*I was*] greatly [*worried as*] the *plan(?) was* [. . .]; I lied down. I went up on the roof and [*prayed(?)*] to Sîn, my lord: “*Remove(?) the... of my heart!*”
- Ark 46** “*Remove(?) the... of my heart!*”
- Ark 47–48** . . . . . *darkness(?)* into my *he[art]*.
- Ark 49–40** Enlil, from [*his thr*]one, [*took an oath (?)*] regarding the annihilation and de[solation(?) on the] dimming [*day*].
- Ark 51–52** And so, wild anima[*ls* from the s]teppe [( . . .)], *two by two*, [*I*] did [*make enter*] into the boat . . . [. . .].
- Ark 53–54** I had . . . five (measures) of beer . . . [. . .]. They were transporting eleven or twelve [. . .].
- Ark 55–56** Three (measures) of *šiqbum*-plant . . . [. . .], one-third (measure) of fodder, . . . and *kurdinnu*-plant(?),
- Ark 57–58** sixty (*qû*) of lard for the *germadû*-poles for the slipway – I meticulously commanded (to bring), apart from the thirty kors which the workmen had put aside.
- Ark 59–60** When I have entered the boat, (I ordered:) “Caulk the frame of her door!”

### Commentary

**Ark 1:** The god who speaks remains unknown: one assumes it was Ea, but he is nowhere mentioned by name in this text, only Sîn and Enlil are found (**Ark 45, 49**). – Note that the address in **Ark 1** is closer to Gilg. XI, while the parallel line in **I 14** (Ugarit) is textually closer to the Old Babylonian Sippar recension. This suggests that the Ugarit recension probably had an Old Babylonian textual layer, while **Ark** is closer to the later version of the Flood as found in Gilg.

**Ark 4–5:** These lines resemble closely **C<sub>2</sub> i 22–24** (with the exception of the imp. *šullim* “save!” replacing the imp. *bullit* “keep alive!” in the Old Babylonian recension). Remarkably, the Ark Tablet, a late Old Babylonian or early Middle Babylonian tablet, employs mimation in both *makkuram* and *napištam*, although it is absent in the Old Babylonian recension. – On the word play of *makkûru* “possessions” vs. *makûru* “boat” and *zēr* “spurn!” vs. *zēr* “seed” (const.), see Hoffner 1976 and Hurowitz 2007, 69 (with n. 14) and commentary to **C<sub>2</sub> i 23**’.

**Ark 4:** For the reading *upud* (< *napādum*), see commentary to **C<sub>2</sub> i 22**.

**Ark 6–7:** The detailed instructions on how to build the boat begin with drawing (*ešērum*) the plan (*ešertum*, a variant of *ušurtum*) of the boat-to-

be. Finkel (2014, 358f.) translates l. 6 *eleppa*(MÁ) *teppušu e-[š]e-er-ši-ma* “Draw out the boat that you will make” (hence, *ešer*, imp.). This conforms with Gilg. XI 60 *šaši ēširši* “I (Ūta-napištī) drew up her plan”. I suggest, however, reading *e-[š]e-er-ši-ma* for *eššeršima*,<sup>110</sup> “I (i.e. Ea) will draw it (the boat’s plan)”, having in mind **W** 16' which reads [dÉ]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> *ina qaq-qa-ri e-[šir ú-šur-tu]* “[E]a drew (*ēšir*) [the plan] on the ground”. – The Old Babylonian version is incomplete at this point (C<sub>2</sub> i 25'–C<sub>1</sub> i 33'), supplying no detailed measurements, and more importantly, making no reference to any drawing. Thus, the drawing offers a valuable link between ms. **Ark** and the Neo-Assyrian ms. **W**, pointing once again at the relatively late date of the Ark Tablet.

**Ark 9:** Finkel’s (2014, 359) [*lu*]-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>, a typo no doubt, is corrected in Finkel 2014<sup>pb</sup> 377. The broken sign is a damaged *ú*.

**Ark 10:** My reading follows George (2016a, 445),<sup>111</sup> although *ṭam/wū* is unusual when referring to the preparation of ropes; this verb virtually always refers to wool, textiles and brades. – With George (ibid) and Streck (2017b 140), *ašlu* is a measure of length making 10 *nindanum*, ca. 60 m.<sup>112</sup> The distributive suffix *-ā* (*ašlā*) indicates that each and every one of the *kannu*-cords must reach this length.

**Ark 11:** Collation confirms George’s (2016, 445) reading.<sup>113</sup> – The relation between the two terms *kannu* and *pitiltum* is not clear. George (ibid), in agreement with Finkel (2014, 161–162), suggests that the boat was “constructed from a huge coil of palm-fibre rope (*pitiltum*), sewn into shape with lengths of ribbon or tape (*kannū*)”. Rather than assuming two different kinds of strands (an idea based on modern ethnographical evidence), *kannu* and *pitiltum* may refer to two *components* of essentially *one* building material. In other words, I suggest that ll. 10–11 describe the *chaîne opératoire* of the rope which served as the main building material of the boat. Namely, *kannu*-cords were made from ropes (*pitiltum*), which in turn were twisted (*patālum*) from vegetal fibers. Note that in Gilg. XI 54, only one kind of rope is mentioned: *pitiltum*.

**Ark 12:** This line presents the god’s (Ea’s?) reassuring words to Atra-ḥasīs’ expected doubts regarding the feasibility of preparing such a long

<sup>110</sup> But note the plene spelling in **Ark 12**, *taqabbiam*.

<sup>111</sup> “[Let] tapes, each 120 cubits long, be laced [inside] it” (correcting *-šá* to *-ša*). Finkel 2014, 359 read: *ka-an-nu aš-la-a ta-mu-u[r] ša [MÁ]* “You saw *kannu* ropes and *ašlu* ropes/rushes for [a coracle before!]”.

<sup>112</sup> Powell 1987–1990, 464. On the use of length measurements in daily-life Old Babylonian letters, see Durand/Chambon 2018 (with previous literature).

<sup>113</sup> Finkel 2014, 359: *li-ip-ti-il-kum GIŠ ṛár<sup>1</sup>-ti pí-[t]i-il-tam* “Let someone (else) twist the fronds and palm-fibre for you!” Note that Lambert (Folio 16317, courtesy A. George) hesitated between reading É or GIŠ.

rope.<sup>114</sup> As Finkel graphically explains (2014, 166 and 341), the length of the rope was roughly “the distance from London to Edinburgh”, and the coracle described in the Ark Tablet was about thirty times larger than a regular coracle in daily use in Mesopotamia (assuming the latter to be similar to modern Iraqi *quffa*).<sup>115</sup>

**Ark 13–14:** *še-ri* for *šēlī* “ribs”, see Finkel 2014, 360 and Streck 2017b, 141 (cf. **Ark 29**).<sup>116</sup> In this context, “ribs” designate the wooden planks sown into the basketwork hull of the coracle, down the walls and across the base, in order to solidify her structure (Finkel 2014, 347 and CAD § 124 lex. sec. and 126b).

**Ark 15–16:** The stanchions (*imdum*) are columns supporting the upper and the lower decks of the coracle. Their height is half the total height of the boat, meaning that the coracle is depicted here as having two decks only (cf. Finkel 2014, 349–350).

**Ark 17:** For *hinnum* “cabin”, attested almost exclusively in lexical texts, see Finkel 2014, 171 and AHw 347a.<sup>117</sup> – At first, Finkel (2014, 360) read *ša-ap-lu!-um*, but later (2014<sup>pb</sup>, 378), he corrected his reading to *ša-ap-<sup>r</sup>la-nu-um*. Indeed, the merism *elēnum u šaplum* is unusual,<sup>118</sup> and my collation confirms *e-le-nu-um* <sup>r</sup>ū<sup>1</sup> *ša-ap-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-<nu>-um*.

**Ark 18–20:** The KI sign is faultily written. Reading *ki<sup>o</sup>-da-ti-ša* is confirmed by collation. – Streck 2017b, 140f. made it clear that *šu-ši* stands for *šūši* “sixty”, not ŠU.ŠI, a variant for ŠU.SI = *ubānum* “finger” (as rendered by Finkel 2014, 174, 360–361). But the text does not specify the units by which the crude bitumen (*iṭṭūm*) was measured, so “sixty” of what measures?<sup>119</sup> Continuing with Streck (ibid), “it would be highly unusual that substances like bitumen and lard are measured in units of length and not in units of capacity or weight”. Thus, the missing units must be kors (as in **Ark 33** and **58**). The Ark Tablet therefore uses two capacity measures when referring to bitumen: large units, kors (gur), expressed in low numbers, and small units,

<sup>114</sup> A similar use of *taqabbi* “should you say. . .” is found in **C<sub>2</sub>** i 17'. For pres. verbal forms denoting the modal function of possibility and eventuality, see Wasserman 2012, 5, 55, 163, 210.

<sup>115</sup> Finkel 2014, 161: “. . . about half the size of a soccer pitch (roughly 7,000 m<sup>2</sup>)”.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. *šēru pal-ku-ú* (Lambert/Millard 1969, 100: 58) vs. *šēru pa-ar-ku* (Atr. II iv 8) and CAD P 67. More cases of the // > /r/ are known in late Old Babylonian or Middle Babylonian literary texts, as e.g. *arkat* < *alkat* and *arkassunu* < *alkassunu* in Ištar-Louvre i 54 and ii 17 (Streck/Wasserman 2018, 11).

<sup>117</sup> *hi-in-ni-ša*, not *šá*, with Streck 2017b, 140 (collated). This typo is retained in Finkel 2014<sup>pb</sup> 378.

<sup>118</sup> Most merisms denoting ‘up-and-down’ are *elēnum-šaplānum* (common), *elēnum-šapliš* (see CAD E 84–86, CAD Š/1 461–465), *eliš-šaplānum* (see Wasserman 2003, 81), or *eliš-šapliš* (as in **C<sub>1</sub>** i 31'). Note also the Neo-Babylonian text *zēru. . . ša elēnu u šapālum ḥarrān PN* (TuM 2–3 135: 3; cited in CAD E 85a).

<sup>119</sup> For the different kinds of bitumen, see Stol 2012.

*qû* (sila), expressed in higher numbers (1 kor = 300 *qû*).<sup>120</sup> – Mark that two different procedures are described in these lines: the first with the verb *aprus* (Ark 18–19), the second with *aštapak* (Ark 20). By *aprus*, the text is saying: “I (Atra-ḥasīs) have set aside such-and-such a quantity of bitumen necessary for this task”. By *aštapak*, the text is saying that Atra-ḥasīs has actually *used* the bitumen allocated for the sealing. The corollary of this is that the caulking of the boat required  $3 \times 60$  kors: 60 kors for the outsides, 60 kors for the boat’s interior and 60 kors for the cabins.<sup>121</sup> The same three-pronged process of waterproofing can be detected in Gilg. XI 66–68, where the unspecified units must be *qû*: 3 (var. 6<sup>122</sup>) ŠÁR *kupri attabak ana kīri* 3 ŠÁR ESIR.x [... ..] *ana libbi* 3 ŠÁR *šābū nāš sussul ša izabbilū šamnu* “10,800 [var. 21,600] (*qû*) of dry bitumen I poured into the kiln(s), 10,800 (*qû*) of crude bitumen [(I poured)] within, 10,800 (*qû*) of oil was what the ewer-carriers brought” (trans. mine; George 2003, 706f. differently). When adding up these numbers one realizes that the quantities of caulking material in Gilg. XI are smaller than those listed in the Ark Tablet. However, by adding to these lower numbers also the quantities of oil listed in Gilg. XI 69–70 (those labeled as *ezub* “apart from the above, in addition to”), the two sources match (if we follow ms. j of Gilg. XI, the sole Babylonian witness to Tablet XI):<sup>123</sup>

<b>Ark 18–19</b>	<b>Gilg. XI 66–68</b>
180 kors (3 x 60 kors) of crude bitumen	108, var. 144 kors (= 32,400, var. 43,200 <i>qû</i> ) of dry bitumen, crude bitumen and oil
	<b>Gilg. XI 69–70</b>
	36 kors (= 3,600 + 7,200 <i>qû</i> ) of oil
<b>180 kors</b>	144, var. <b>180 kors</b>

It appears that the Ark Tablet and Gilg. XI share the same literary tradition regarding (a) the total amount of caulking material, (b) the need for three batches of caulking material (c) the use of bitumen (dry or crude), complemented by oil (or fat). The actual process of sealing, however, is not identical in the two versions.

**Ark 21:** The sign after ŠÁR was read by Finkel as the numeral 8 but I am unable to decipher it (perhaps ŠÁR. ŠÁR?). For want of a better idea, I retain Finkel’s reading. – ‘ki’-<ra>-ti-ia confirmed by collation.

<sup>120</sup> Powell 1987–1990, 497.

<sup>121</sup> The text distinguishes between the cabins (*hinnū*) and the the inner part of the hull (*qiribša*).

<sup>122</sup> The variant is from ms. j of the epic, from Babylon.

<sup>123</sup> Finkel (2014, 180) reached the same conclusion.

**Ark 21–23:** Having poured 60 kors of bitumen into waterproofing the cabins, Atra-ḥasīs must amass the rest of the bitumen required for caulking the exterior and interior of the boat: 60 + 60 kors that were set aside from the outset. Atra-ḥasīs filled the kilns with liquid bitumen and dry bitumen in order to ensure that the necessary amount of sealing material would be at hand. The numbers relating to the unnamed measures in ll. 21–22 are higher than in ll. 18–19, so they cannot refer to kors, but to *qūs* (sila). 28,800 (*qū*) of dry bitumen (l. 21 – if read correctly, see commentary to l. 21) and 3,600 (*qū*) of liquid bitumen (l. 22) are added to the kilns.<sup>124</sup> But this is not enough (28,800 *qū* + 3,600 *qū* = 32,400 *qū*; 3,600 *qū* short of 120 kors = 36,000 *qū*). The lack is expressed by the phrase *ittūm ul iqribamma* (l. 23): “(but) the bitumen did not reach (the required amount)”.<sup>125</sup> Hard pressed, Atra-ḥasīs added 300 (*qū*) of animal fat (*nāḥum*) to the mixture, hoping to arrive at the needed quantity of caulking material (l. 24).<sup>126</sup> Even this was not sufficient: 3,300 *qū* were still needed to reach the 120 kors of bitumen required for completion of the work. It is possible that the damaged lines at the end of the obverse (ll. 26–27) describe how vegetal compounds – tamarisk and a plant whose name is broken off – were mixed with the mastic sealant in order to thicken it and arrive at the required volume of caulking material.<sup>127</sup>

**Ark 24:** After *ittūm*(ESIR) the *ú!* sign looks like PA. – *ureddi* is used in its technical meaning “to arrange, to set out, to place in sequence substances in a technical procedure” (CAD R 237a), a usage typical of recipes for the preparation of glass to designate different materials being placed in kilns.<sup>128</sup>

**Ark 25:** *ki-ra-ti-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>* “my kilns”: Streck’s (2017b, 141) reading is confirmed by collation (also in Finkel 2014<sup>pb</sup> 379). Cf. also l. 31.

**Ark 26:** Vegetal substances added to the sealant to harden it?

**Ark 27:** I am unable to translate this line. (Finkel 2014, 27: “I completed the mixture(?)”).

**Ark 28–29:** I cannot decipher the traces on the lower edge. My reading is similar to Finkel’s edition.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>124</sup> In order to make dry bitumen usable as a caulking material, it had to be heated and liquefied in an oven (Stol 2012, 50).

<sup>125</sup> Pace Finkel 2014, 361: “The bitumen did not come to the surface (lit. up to me)”.

<sup>126</sup> The sequence of lard, *nāḥu*, after bitumen, *kupru*, is found also in the canonical Lamaštu series (Farber 2014, 146 I 32–35 = 190 III 64–66).

<sup>127</sup> The signs are hard to read, but at this point it is unlikely that a tamarisk would be used as fuel: the kilns are already running and the main concern is to obtain the needed amount of bitumen.

<sup>128</sup> As, e.g., *ana kūri ša 4 pānīša [ka]šīti tušērid[ma] ina birit pānīša [ta]reddi išāta [tābta] lā qātirta tašarrap* “You put down (the components of the glass) into a cold kiln with four openings and set them out (*tareddi*) between them. You ignite good, smoke-less fire. . . .” (K 203+ i 25; see <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/glass/corpus> (last visited: 4 May 2019)).

<sup>129</sup> Finkel 2014<sup>pb</sup>, 380: x x x (x)<sup>mes</sup> x in?-bi? / <sup>r</sup>il<sup>1</sup>-la-ku bi-rit <sup>r</sup>še-e-ri<sup>1</sup>-ša / x nam? x x x . . .

**Ark 32–33:** Albeit broken, these lines indicate that the dry bitumen is measured in kors. 120 kors (= 36,000 *qû*) in **Ark 33** correspond to two times sixty (kors) in **Ark 18–19**. – For *um-mi-[a-nu]* (nom.), see Streck 2017b, 141. – Unlike Finkel, I cannot see any trace of <sup>1</sup>*ru* in *upazzirû*.

**Ark 34–35:** <sup>1</sup>*uš<sup>1</sup>-ta-na-<sup>1</sup>al<sup>1</sup>-[la?-ak?-šu?-nu?-ti? i?]-n]a? ri-a-š<sup>i</sup>*: Finkel’s (2014, 363) reconstructed *uštanâl* “I lay myself down (?)” is difficult. First, *nâlum-Št* with passive-reflexive meaning is not attested,<sup>130</sup> and it is unlikely that at this climactic point Atra-ḥasīs would lie down (sleeping is mentioned only in **Ark. 44**). The fact that in the next line the hero’s extended family enters the boat (*ana eleppi i[rubû] kîm u sallât*)<sup>131</sup> strengthens the notion that in **Ark 34** Atra-ḥasīs was leading (*alākum-Štn*) his kinsmen into the finished boat, as in Gilg. XI 85, not lying down to sleep.

**Ark 37:** The context is damaged,<sup>132</sup> but I assume that this and the next lines continue the description of the gathering of Atra-ḥasīs’ family. – The spelling <sup>1</sup>*e<sup>1</sup>-ri-ia<sup>o</sup>-<sup>1</sup>tum<sup>1</sup>* (collated) fits Middle Babylonian.

**Ark 38:** This line, repeating verbatim **C<sub>1</sub> ii 43**–**44**”, preserves the word-final mimation which is absent from the Old Babylonian Sippar recension (see commentary to **Ark 4–5** above).

**Ark 39:** While the workmen are merrily eating and drinking, Atra-ḥasīs is lost in thought about the difficulties ahead of him (cf. **C<sub>1</sub> ii 45**–**47**”). Restoring [*ul*] in the break before *ibaššîma* (so Finkel 2014, 363) seems wrong.

**Ark 40:** The line begins with *ta<sup>o</sup>-na-ti-a<sup>o</sup>* (collated).

**Ark 41:** *ša<sup>o</sup>-ap-[tu?]-ú-a* (collated) is a plausible reading. The widely spaced two last signs indicate that in the break only one sign is missing.

**Ark 42:** The end of the line has *i?-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>o</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>o</sup>* (collated).

**Ark 43:** The combination *áš-gi* (collated) leads to *šagāšum* “to slay, to murder, to slaughter animals”.<sup>133</sup> This verbal form is found in Gilg. XI 72, in the same point of the plot, i.e. when the workers are celebrating the successful construction of the boat. The first sign in this line is <sup>1</sup>*û<sup>o</sup>* (collated).

**Ark 44:** My reading differs from Finkel’s.<sup>134</sup> Assuming *pîqum* before *ašlal* poses two problems: first, as l. 60 proves, the Ark Tablet uses *pi*, not *pî* (correct Finkel), and secondly, *pîqum*, “narrow”, is an adj. qualifying objects and topographic features, rarely also a substantivized noun “distress, difficulty” (CAD P 394) – but is never used as an adverb, hence translating

<sup>130</sup> Cf. *uštarkib* in Il. 21 and 25, with Streck 2017b, 141, is also not Št, but Š pf.

<sup>131</sup> For the hendiadys-construction *kim sallât* “(my) kith and kin”, in the absolute state, see Streck 2017b, 141.

<sup>132</sup> I cannot see [x x x]-*ru ki-ma e-ri-a-tim*, as transcribed by Finkel (2014<sup>pb</sup> 381).

<sup>133</sup> Finkel 2014, 364: . . . *áš-na/gi-an?*; no translation.

<sup>134</sup> Finkel 2014, 364 (= 2014<sup>pb</sup> 382): . . . ne ra? bi . . . [. . .]-it *pi-qum*, “. . . [. . .] . . ., I slept with difficulty” (commenting: *pîqum*, ‘with difficulty’ (colloquial for ‘hardly at all?’)).

“with difficulty, hardly at all” is problematic. Hard-pressed, I hesitantly suggest that the sequence ŠI BI QUM stands for *šibqum*, “plan, stratagem, plot, trick” (CAD Š/2, 381–382), with the not unknown vowel mistake, BI for IB. My translation of this line remains tentative.

**Ark 45:** Reading <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU is fairly secure. It seems that in the Ark Tablet, it is the moon-god who is particularly close to the hero – or is <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU a mistake for <sup>d</sup>En-ki? (*pace* Finkel, **Ark 49** has <sup>d</sup>EN.LL°, not <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU).

**Ark 46:** I could not make out Finkel’s (2014, 364) <sup>r</sup>GAZ? *lib?-bi?*<sup>r</sup> *li-ib-/[i...]*.

**Ark 49:** Read Enlil, not Sîn (collated). This line, therefore, is in agreement with other versions of the Flood, all of which relate that it was Enlil who was responsible for the decision to wipe out all life on earth (cf. esp. Gilg. XI 169–170).

**Ark 50:** The “dimming day” refers to the night separating two lunar months, when the moon is invisible and the sky is dark (see commentary to **I<sub>2</sub>** 1).

**Ark 51–52:** The animals, entering the boat two by two (*šanā*, with the distributive suffix *-ā*), resemble the biblical story of the Flood (Gen. 7:8–9). The reading, however, is not certain.

**Ark 53–57:** *aqtanabbi* by the end of **Ark 57** governs the preceding list of provisions. The Gtn stem stresses the diversity of items which Atra-ḫasīs commanded be brought onto the boat.

**Ark 54:** Collation proves that the line begins with 11 ù!°12 (or, less likely, 11 {11} 12).

**Ark 56:** Reading [*kur?*]-*din?*-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>r</sup> is possible, but the signs are not definitive.

**Ark 57:** With Streck (2017b, 141), *germadû/girimadû* are “poles for the slipway”.<sup>135</sup> The lard was intended to serve as a lubricant. In Gilg. XI 79 another term for the poles of the slipway is found: <sup>r</sup>gi-ir<sup>r</sup> *tarkullī*(MÁ. MUG!.MEŠ<sup>r</sup>).

**Ark 58:** The thirty kors which the workmen put aside cannot refer to lard, as this substance comes in small quantities (cf. **Ark 24**). Gilg. XI 69–70 hints that oil was meant here: *ezub ŠÁR šamni ša īkulu niqqu 2 ŠÁR šamni ša upazziru malāḫu* “in addition to the 3,600 (*qû*) that were used for libation (and) the 7,200 (*qû*) that the shipwright stowed away”. 10,800 *qû* equal 36 kors, similar, but not identical to the 30 kors of the Ark Tablet. – Collation shows clearly *ú-pa!?-az-zi-ru*<sup>o</sup> <sup>lú!</sup>(BI°).meš<sup>o</sup> *um-mi-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>r</sup>-[nu]* (as **Ark 33**).

<sup>135</sup> *Pace* Finkel 2014, 181: “wooden roller ... for smoothing over the surface of the bitumen”.

2.3.2 Ms. J (*Nippur*)

Copy:	Hilprecht 1910, plate by the end of the volume
Tablet Siglum:	CBS 13532
Photo:	Hilprecht 1910, plate at the end of the volume (BE 5, pl. I-II); CDLI P268565
Edition:	Hilprecht 1910, 48–58; Lambert/Millard 1969, 126–127
Collection:	University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia
Provenance:	Nippur
Measurements:	
Period:	MB

The obverse of the tablet is almost entirely broken. On the reverse, a god whose name is missing, no doubt Enki/Ea, orders his devotee, whose name is also missing, to build a boat, to stock it with provisions and save his and his family's life, for a Flood is coming.

Obv.

J 1'–3'	(broken)
J 4'	[. . .] x
J 5'	[. . .]
J 6'	[. . .] x
J 7'	[. . .]- <sup>r</sup> x <sup>1</sup> - <i>bi</i>
J 8'	[. . .]
J 9'	[. . . <i>ma</i> ]-[ <i>l</i> ]a <i>i-ba-aš-šu-ú</i>
J 10'	[. . .]
J 11'	[. . . - <i>ti</i> ]m?
J 12'	[. . . <i>mala i-ba</i> ]- <i>aš-šu-ú</i>

Rev.

J r. 1'	[. . .] <sup>r</sup> x <sup>r</sup> a <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup> - <sup>r</sup> wa <sup>1</sup> - <sup>r</sup> ti- <sup>r</sup> ia <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup> [ <sup>r</sup> x x] <sup>r</sup> x <sup>1</sup> - <i>ka</i>
J r. 2'	[. . .] <i>a-pa-aš-šar</i>
J r. 3'	[. . .] <i>ka-la ni-ši iš-te-niš i-ša-bat</i>
J r. 4'	[. . .] <i>ti la-am a-bu-bi wa-še-e</i> C <sub>1</sub> iii 11' [... <i>it-ta-ša-a</i> ] <i>a-bu-bu</i> U r. 18' <sup>r</sup> i <sup>1</sup> - <i>ta-ša-a a-bu-bu</i>
J r. 5'	[. . .] <i>qá?-a-ni ma-la i-ba-aš-šu-ú lu su-ub-bu-ku lu pu-úh-ḫu-ru-šu</i>
J r. 6'	[. . .] <i>eleppam</i> <sup>(<sup>giš</sup>MÁ)</sup> <i>ra-bi-tam bi-ni-ma</i> C <sub>2</sub> i 22 <i>ú-pu-ud bi-ta bi-ni e-le-ep-pa</i>
J r. 7'	[. . .] <i>i-na qá-ne-e ṭa-bi lu bi-nu-us-sà</i>

- J r. 8'** [. . .] *ši-i lu makurkurrum*<sup>(gisMÁ.GUR.GUR)</sup>-*ma šum-ša lu na-ši-rat na-piš-tim*
- J r. 9'** [. . .] x *šú-lu-la dan-na šú-ul-lil*  
 C<sub>1</sub> i 31' *lu-ú šú-ul-lu-la-at e-li-iš ú ša-ap-li-iš*  
 W 3' [*šulūlu/šulūša*] *lu da-an e-liš u š[ap-liš]*  
 Gilg. XI 31 [*k*]i-*ma Apsi*(ABZU) *šá-a-ši šu-ul-lil-ši*  
 Gilg. XI 136 *ki-ma ú-ri mit-ḥu-rat ú-šal-lu*
- J r. 10'** [. . .] *te-ep-pu-šu*
- J r. 11'** [. . .] *bu-ul še*]-<sup>r</sup> *rim?*<sup>1</sup> *ú-ma-am še-rim iš-šur ša-me-e*  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 36"-38" *bu-u[l . . . iš-ta]-ka-an na-[ma-aš-še]-<sup>r</sup>e?*<sup>1</sup> *še-ri* DU[MU]<sup>mes</sup> *um-ma-ni(?) uš]-te-ri-ib*  
 W 9' [*bu-ul šēri*(E)DIN] *ú-ma-am šēri*(EDIN) *ma-la urqētu*(Ú.ŠIM) *me-er-<sup>r</sup>i-sun*  
 Gilg. XI 86 *bu-ul šēr*[i(EDIN)] <sup>r</sup>*ú<sup>1</sup>-ma-am šēri*(EDIN) <sup>r</sup>*māri*(DUMU)<sup>mes</sup> <sup>1</sup>*um-ma-a-ni ka-li-šú-nu ú-še-li*
- J r. 12'** [. . .] *ku-um-mi-ir!*(NI)
- J r. 13'** [*šūli ana eleppi sa-lat-k*] *a u kin-ta-k[a!]*  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 42" [. . .] x <sup>r</sup>*ki<sup>1</sup>-im-ta-šu uš-te-ri-ib*  
 Ark 35 *a-na eleppi*(MÁ) <sup>r</sup>*i<sup>1</sup>-[ru-bu-ma] x x k[i-i]m?* <sup>r</sup>*sa<sup>1</sup>-al-la-at*  
 W 6'-8' [<sup>gis</sup>MÁ] *e-ru-um-ma bāb*(KÁ) *eleppi*<sup>(gisMÁ)</sup> *tūr-[ra]*... [DAM-*k*] *a ki-mat-ka sa-lat-ka u māri*(DUMU)<sup>mes</sup> *um-m[a-ni]*  
 Gilg. XI 85 *uš-te-li a-[na] libbi*(ŠÀ!) *eleppi*<sup>(gisMÁ)</sup> *ka-la kim-ti-ia u sa-lat-ia*  
 (traces)

*Translation*

Obv.

- J 1'-8'** (broken)
- J 9'** ... [as much] as there is
- J 10'-11'** (broken)
- J 12'** ... [as much as th]ere is  
 (rest broken)

Rev.

- J r. 1'** [...] my word ... your...
- J r. 2'-3'** [. . .] I will reveal: “[. . . a Flood] will seize all the people together.
- J r. 4'-5'** [. . .] . before the coming forth of the Flood, [*cut re*]eds(?) as many as they are, let them be weaved, let them be gathered for it!
- J r. 6'-7'** [. . .] build a large boat, [... made of] fine reeds – so be her structure.
- J r. 8'-9'** [. . .] let her be a *maqurqurrum*-boat with the name ‘The Life Saver’. [. . .] roof her over with a strong covering.

- J r. 10'-11'** [Into the boat] which you will make [*bring herds of the steppe*], wild creatures of the steppe, birds of heavens!
- J r. 12'-13'** [*Gather stock and food and*] heap (*them*) up! [*Bring up you*]r [*wife*] and your kith!
- J r. 13'-14'** (broken)

### Commentary

**J r. 1'**: Reading follows Wilcke's collations.

**J r. 2'**: The first-person *apaššar* introduce Ea's instructions. The use of *pašārum* strengthens the notion that the god's original message to Atra-ḫasīs was transmitted by means of a dream, as in Gilg. XI 197 (see commentary to C<sub>2</sub> i 13').

**J r. 4'**: The setting out of the Flood is worded similarly in the Assyrian recension, **U r. 18'**: *it-ta-ša-a a-bu-bu* and in the Old Babylonian recension C<sub>1</sub> iii 11' (where the line is partly broken). Usually, the action of bringing about the Flood, *abūbum*, is expressed by the verb *šakānum* (CAD A/1, 77), but at times, *ba'ūm* is found (CAD A/1, 80a), or once, *šapārum* (Gilg. V 105).<sup>136</sup> The arrival of seasonal flooding, *mīlum*, is commonly expressed by the verbs *alākum*, *teḫūm*, or *našūm* (CAD M/2, 70ff.), and the devastating high-water, *biblum*, comes with *wabālum* and *bašūm* (CAD B 222). The collocation of *wašūm* with massive water phenomena is quite rare. When used,<sup>137</sup> it describes the flow of a river from a specific water source. Is this what the the story tries to express? Hardly. Nowhere is it said that the Flood had one specific source. On the contrary, the different recensions emphasize that the Flood came at once from all sides, like a battle array (C<sub>1</sub> iii 12', restored), or like engulfing winds, surging from all directions (**U r. 6'-16'**). The use of *wašūm* in this context, I submit, serves to explain that the Flood was seen not merely as a water-related phenomenon but as a cataclysmic event, characterized not so much by gushing water as by a sudden change of light to darkness, similar to Enkidu's third dream: *ūmu ušḫarrir ūšā eklētum* "the day grew still, darkness went forth" (Gilg. IV 102).

**J r. 5'**: Reading with von Soden 1969, 432 (*pace* Lambert/Millard 1969, 126: [. . .]-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-*a-ni ma-la i-ba-aš-šu-ú lu kin up-pu-ḡu lu pu-ut-tu ḫu-ru-šu*).<sup>138</sup> The attached pron. -*šu* cannot refer to the boat, since this would require a f. form, as in **J r. 7'**.

<sup>136</sup> George 2003, 606–607.

<sup>137</sup> I know of this example only: *mē Puratti ellūti sa ištu kuppi ana* <sup>kur</sup>*Hašur ašūni* "pure water of the Euphrates which flows from the well toward Mount Hašur (KAR 34:15, cited in CAD A/2, 367 h)1'.

<sup>138</sup> Finkel 2014, 122: "[Fine reeds], as many as possible, should be woven (?), should be gathered (?) for it", having in mind *qani*, at the beginning of the line.

**J** r. 7': Reading with von Soden 1969, 432 (*pace* Lambert/Millard 1969, 126: *qá-ne-e gáb-bi*).<sup>139</sup> Unlike the Ark Tablet, where ropes are mentioned, here Atra-ḥasīs is instructed to build a boat from reeds.

**J** r. 8': For *makurkurrum* (<sup>gis</sup>MÁ.GUR.GUR) “great boat”, see Finkel 2014, 120f..

**J** r. 13': Restoring [*sa-lat-k*]a, not *aš-šat-k*]a contra Wilcke.

### 2.3.3 Ms. J<sub>1</sub> (Ḫattusa)

Copy:	KBo 36, 26
Tablet Siglum:	Bo. 809/z
Photo:	Hethitologie-Portal B1411b ( <a href="http://www.hethport.adwmainz.de/fotarch/bildausw.php?n=809/z&amp;b=+B1411b">http://www.hethport.adwmainz.de/fotarch/bildausw.php?n=809/z&amp;b=+B1411b</a> )
Edition:	Wilcke's collations (private manuscript)
Collection:	Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
Provenance:	Ḫattusa
Measurements:	
Period:	MB

Based on the partial match between **J**<sub>1</sub> 2'–4' and **C**<sub>1</sub> i 46, 48, 50, one may assume that **J**<sub>1</sub> 1' stands in parallel to **C**<sub>1</sub> i 44, where Atra-ḥasīs explains that he is building a boat since he cannot stay in Enlil's land any longer on account of a dispute between Enlil and his god, Ea. The concluding lines of **J**<sub>1</sub> preserve the end of col. i and the beginning of col. ii, lost in the Old Babylonian Sippar recension.

<b>J</b> <sub>1</sub> 1'	[. . . u]l?-'lum?¹-m[a? . . .]
<b>J</b> <sub>1</sub> 2'	[. . . a-wa-t]i? ú-ša-an-[ni . . .] <b>C</b> <sub>1</sub> i 45'–46' [iš]-tu-ma ap-ta-na-a[l-la-ḫu <sup>d</sup> En-ki] [a-w]a-tam an-ni-[tam aq!-bi]
<b>J</b> <sub>1</sub> 3'	[. . . i-na] er-še-e[t <sup>d</sup> En-lil. . .] <b>C</b> <sub>1</sub> i 48' [i-na] er-še-et <sup>d</sup> En-lil ú-ul a-[ša-ak-ka-an še-pi-ia] Gilg. XI 40–42 [u]l uš-šab ina <sup>r</sup> āli(URU)-[ku]-nu-ma [ina] qaq-qar <sup>d</sup> En-lil ul a-šak-ka-n[a še-p]i-ia-a-ma [ur-r]ad-ma ana Apsī(ABZU) it-ti <sup>r</sup> d <sup>1</sup> É-a [b]e-lí-ia áš-ba-ku
----	
<b>J</b> <sub>1</sub> 4'	[. . . <sup>d</sup> É]- <sup>r</sup> a?¹ pi-i- <sup>r</sup> šu ip¹-pu- <sup>r</sup> ša¹-[am-ma iqabbi] <b>C</b> <sub>1</sub> i 50' [an-ni-ta]m <sup>r</sup> iq-bi-a¹-a[m i-li <sup>d</sup> En-ki]
<b>J</b> <sub>1</sub> 5'	[. . . -n]u i bi-lam-mi pi- <sup>r</sup> i¹ [ . . .]

<sup>139</sup> Finkel 2014, 122: “Let its structure be [interwoven (?)] entirely of fine reed”, maintaining probably *gáb-bi*. So also Wilcke in his collations.

J <sub>1</sub> 6'	[. . .] <sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup> -nu-um-ma <sup>1</sup> a-wa <sup>1</sup> -at <sup>1</sup> x <sup>1</sup> [. . .]
J <sub>1</sub> 7'	[. . .] <sup>1</sup> x <sup>1</sup> ki-ra-a-[(x)] <sup>1</sup> ti? <sup>1</sup> [. . .]
	Ark 21 uš-ta-ar-ki-ib ŠÁR x 8 kupram <sup>(ESIR.UD.DU.A<sup>1</sup>)</sup> [i-n]a ki-ra-ti-ia
	Ark 25 uš- <sup>1</sup> ta-ar <sup>1</sup> -[k]i-ib <sup>1</sup> ki <sup>1</sup> -ra-ti- <sup>1</sup> ia <sup>1</sup> mi-it-ḫa-ri-iš
	Ark 31 [. . . ki?-ra?-ti?]-ia i-x [x x] ki ESIR. <sup>1</sup> UD?.DU? <sup>1</sup>
----	
J <sub>1</sub> 8'	[. . . pi]-i-šū i-ip-pu-ša-am-m[a iqabbi . . .]
J <sub>1</sub> 9'	[. . . pu]-ḫu-ur ša-a <sup>1</sup> úš[i-bu-ti . . .]
J <sub>1</sub> 10'	[. . .] <sup>m</sup> At-ra-am-ḫa-si-iš <sup>1</sup> úš[i-bu-ti . . .]
	C <sub>1</sub> i 40'-41' <sup>m</sup> At-ra-am- ḫa-si-is pi-a-šū i-pu-ša- <sup>1</sup> am-ma <sup>1</sup> [i]-z-za-kàr a-na ši-bu- [ti(m)]
J <sub>1</sub> 11'	[. . . i]t-tú-ul a-wa-tam iš-me [. . .]
J <sub>1</sub> 12'	[. . . zi-i]k?-ra-a-ma an-ni- <sup>1</sup> i-tam iq! <sup>1</sup> -bi-ma <sup>1</sup> [. . .]
J <sub>1</sub> 13'	[. . .] <sup>1</sup> x x <sup>1</sup> [. . .]

### Translation

J <sub>1</sub> 1'	[. . .] thereupon(?) [. . .]
J <sub>1</sub> 2'	I/he repeated [the words . . .]
J <sub>1</sub> 3'	[. . . in/on] the earth [. . .]
----	
J <sub>1</sub> 4'	[. . . E]a opened his mouth [and addressed Atra-ḫasīs:]
J <sub>1</sub> 5'	“Bring me the [...] (for/at) the command/opening [of . . .]”
J <sub>1</sub> 6'	[. . .] now, the word [of . . .]
J <sub>1</sub> 7'	[. . .] <i>the kiln</i> [s. . .]
----	
J <sub>1</sub> 8'	[Atra-ḫasīs] opened his mouth and [addressed. . .:]
J <sub>1</sub> 9'	[In(?)] the assembly of the elders [of . . .]
J <sub>1</sub> 10'	[. . .] Atra-ḫasīs the elders [. . .]
J <sub>1</sub> 11'	He looked at [. . .], he heard the word [. . .]
J <sub>1</sub> 12'	“[. . .] the utterance, thus he said: [. . .]
J <sub>1</sub> 13'	[. . .] . . . [. . .]

### Commentary

J<sub>1</sub> 5': Wilcke, in his collations, hesitates between: [. . . n]u?-bi-<sup>1</sup>lam mi-im<sup>1</sup>-m[u?. . .] and ub!<sup>1</sup>-lam-mi pi(sic)-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[. . .]. The clear photo of the tablet in the Mainzer Photoarchiv confirms Wilcke's first option: a broken /nu/ at the beginning of the line, followed by a /bi/. – The particle -mi is not found in any other version of the Flood story.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>140</sup> Nougayrol's (1968, 302) reading of I<sub>1</sub> 6 <sup>m</sup>At-ra-am-ḫa-si-sum-mi a-na-ku-m[a?] is now corrected to <sup>m</sup>At-ra-am-ḫa-si-<is> pašišu(GUDU<sub>4</sub>) a-na-ku-m[a] (see commentary on

**J<sub>1</sub> 7'**: The comparison with **Ark 21** and **25** suggest reading *ki-ra-a*-[(x)] *ʿtiʿ*<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ] “kilns”.

### 2.3.4 Ms. I (Ugarit)

Copy:	Ugaritica V 167 (p. 441)
Tablet Siglum:	RS 22.421
Photo:	
Edition:	Nougayrol et al. 1968, 300–304; Lambert/Millard 1969, 131–133
Collection:	National Museum of Syria, Damascus(?)
Provenance:	Ugarit
Measurements:	
Period:	MB

The first thirteen lines of the Middle Babylonian ms. **I** from Ugarit contain a text which has no direct parallel in any other recension of the Flood. All its thematic blocks, however, are known from other texts: the gods make up their mind to bring about the Flood; the divine scheme is made known to Atra-ḥasīs – here specifically referred to as a priest (*pašišu*)<sup>141</sup> – when the god leaks the secret to him by talking to the reed wall. The formulation of the first line, “When the gods took counsel. . .”, suggests the beginning of a story. Accordingly, Nougayrol (1968, 301) pointed out some similarities between this Ugarit fragment and the beginning of the Flood in Gilg. XI 8–14. However, the story of Ūta-napišti does not open with *i/enūma* “when”, nor is it found in any other version of the story (although, let us not forget, it opens Tablet I of Atra-ḥasīs). Moreover, reading the initial damaged signs in ms. **I** 4 as *šú*?-[*ru*?]-*pá*-*a*[*k*?] (as proposed by Nougayrol 1968, 302–303 on the basis of the Gilg. XI, 11) is doubtful. This text, therefore, is probably the compositional work of a scribe, Nu<sup>c</sup>me-Rašap, writing it for his own purposes.

Obv.

<b>I</b> 1	<i>ʿe</i> <sup>1</sup> - <i>nu</i> - <i>ma</i> <i>ilū</i> (DINGIR <sup>meš</sup> ) <i>im-tal!</i> - <i>ku</i> <i>mil-kà</i>
<b>I</b> 2	<i>i-na</i> <i>mātāti</i> (KUR <sup>meš</sup> - <i>tī</i> ) <i>a-bu-ba</i> <i>ʿi</i> <sup>š</sup> - <i>ku</i> <sup>1</sup> - <i>nu</i>
<b>I</b> 3	<i>i-na</i> <i>kí-ib-ra-ti</i>
----	
<b>I</b> 4	<i>ʿx</i> (x) x x (x) x <sup>1</sup> <i>i-šám-me</i> -[ <i>šú</i> ?]- <i>m</i> [ <i>a</i> ?]
<b>I</b> 5	<i>i</i> -[ <i>n</i> ] <i>a</i> ? <i>ʿx</i> <sup>1</sup> [x (x)] <i>ʿi-na</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>bīti</i> (É- <i>tī</i> ) <sup>4</sup> <i>É</i> - <i>a</i> <i>ina</i> <i>libbi</i> (ŠÀ)- <i>š</i> [ <i>u</i> ]
----	

this line).

<sup>141</sup> The title *pašišu* creates an intertextual knot between the hero of the Flood and Adapa, see Annus 2016, 17.

- I 6 <sup>m</sup>*At-ra-am-ḥa-si-<is> paššū(GUDU<sub>4</sub>) a-na-ku-m[a]*  
 I 7 *i-<sup>r</sup>na bit(É)<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>É-a bēli(EN)-ia aš-ba-[ku]*  
 I 8 *<sup>r</sup>kà-la<sup>1</sup>-ma i-d[e<sub>4</sub>?-ma?]*  
 ----  
 I 9 *i-de<sub>4</sub> mil-kà ša ilū(DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>) ra-ab-bu-ti*  
 I 10 *i-de<sub>4</sub> ma-mì-it-šu-nu ù ú-ul*  
 I 11 *i-pa-at-tu-ú a-na ia-a-ši*  
 ----  
 I 12 *a-ma-te-šu-nu a-na ki-ik-ki-[ši]*  
 I 13 *i-ša-an-[ni/na]*  
 ----  
 I 14 *[i]-ga-ru-ma ši-m[e- . . .]*  
 C<sub>2</sub> i 20'-21' *i-ga-ru ši-ta-am-mi-a-an-ni ki-ki-šu šu-uš-ši-ri ka-la zi-ik-ri!(ZI)-ia*  
 Ark 1 *i-ga-ar i-ga-a[r k]i-ki-iš ki-ki-iš*  
 U 14-16 *[iz-za-ka]r a-na ki-ki-ši [ . . . ] ki-kiš ki-k[iš] [ . . . ši]-ta-ma-ni*  
 Gilg. XI 21-22 *ki-ik-kiš ki-ik-kiš i-gar i-gar ki-ik-ki-šu ši-me-ma i-ga-ru ḥi-is-sa-as*  
 I 15 *[ana? mi!?]-ki?-ma q[ù-ul. . .]*  
 Ark 2 <sup>m</sup>*At-ra-am-ḥa-si-i[s] a-na mi-il-ki-ia qú-ul-[ma]*

Rev.

- I r. 1' *[ . . . ] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> ilū(DINGIR.<sup>m[es]</sup>) ba-l[a-ṭá . . .]*  
 I r. 2' *[x x (x)] <sup>r</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-ta aššat(DAM)-ka <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [ . . .]*  
*z v 18' mā[r(DU[MU-ka] ašš[at(DA)]M-ka u mārāt(DUMU.SAL)-ka ta-*  
 I r. 3' *[x] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> a tuk-la-at ù <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [ . . .]*  
 I r. 4' *ki-i ilī(DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>) ba-la-ṭá lu-ú [ . . .]*  
*Gilg. XI 204 e-nin-na-ma <sup>m</sup>UD-napištī(ZI) u sinništa(MUNUS)-šú lu-u e-mu-ú*  
*ki-ma ilī(DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>) na-ši-ma*

====

----

- I r. 5' ŠU <sup>m</sup>SIG<sub>5</sub>-<sup>d</sup>NÈ. IRI<sub>x</sub>. GAL  
 I r. 6' <sup>r</sup>x (x)<sup>1</sup> AN. ŠU. ŠÁ. KU?. NA

----

*Translation*

Obv.

- I 1-2 When the gods took counsel *concerning* (lit.: in) the lands  
 I 2-3 and brought about a Flood in the regions of the world.

----

- I 4 . . . *when* he was hearing *it* [ . . . ]  
 I 5 the . . . [ . . . ] in the temple of Ea, inside it.

----

I 6–8 “I am Atra-ḥasīs the priest. I live in the temple of Ea, my lord. *I k[<sup>now</sup>]* everything:

----

I 9 I know the counsel of the great gods,  
I 10–11 I know of their oath, although they did not reveal it to me”.

----

I 12–13 He (Ea) repeated their words to the reed wall:

----

Rev.

I r. 1' “[. . .] . the gods life [. . .]  
I r. 2' [. . .] you, your wife . [. . .]  
I r. 3' [. . .] . help and . [. . .]  
I r. 4' Life like the gods [you will] indeed [possess]”.

=====

----

I r. 5' Written by Nu<sup>c</sup>me-Rašap,  
I r. 6' property(?) of . . .

----

### Commentary

I 1: *im-tal!-ku mil-kà*: Against the unclear *im-taš-ku mil-ká* (Lambert/ Millard 1969, 132) and the morphologically difficult *im[(?)-]lik-ku* (Nougayrol et al. 1968, 302, accepted by Huehnergard 1989, 49 n. 75), I suggest (with Arnaud 2007, 128) reading RI (*tal*), not UR (*taš* or *lik*), resulting in the expected form *imtalkū*.

I 1–3: For the similarity of these lines and the beginning of the Ipiq-Ištar inscription, see Literary Discussion 3.9.

I 4: *i-šám-me-šu?-ma*: Reading with van Soldt 1991, 434 n. 84, against the fanciful suggestion of Arnaud (2007, 128) *i-šám me-[lám]-ma* (< *šīāmum*). The subject of *išammēšu*, if read correctly, must be Atra-ḥasīs, most probably overhearing the gods’ plan to bring about the Flood. (Cf. the beginning of the Assyrian recension, where Atra-ḥasīs hears the sound of Ea’s footfall, U 1–8.

I 5: Reading based on van Soldt’s (1991, 424) collations. Arnaud’s (2007, 189) rendering of this line (*i-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> l[a-bi-ri ... li]-bit-ti* “(Quant à) Šuruppak qui attribue l’éclat [...], depuis l[ongtems,] s’y [trouvait le bâ]timent d’Ea”) cannot be upheld.

I 6: Reading <sup>m</sup>*At-ra-am-ḥa-sí-<is> pašīšu*(GUDU<sub>4</sub>), with Arnaud 2007, 128. Atra-ḥasīs is a priest not only because he “lives in a temple”. His priestly character comes to relief also in the fact that, first thing he does when

he comes out of the boat after the Flood is sacrificing to the gods (Gilg. XI 157–160).

**I 8:** *ʿká-la<sup>1</sup>-ma i-d[e<sub>4</sub>?-ma?*]: Reading the beginning of the line with van Soldt 1991, 265 n. 38. The restoration of the broken end of the line is conjectural.<sup>142</sup>

**I 15:** The parallel with **Ark 2** raises the possibility that the Ugarit text has [*ana mil?*]-*kí?-ma q[ù-ul-(ma)]* “pa[y attention to this (-ma) adv]ice”, instead of [*mil?*]-*kí?-ma i-[...]* that was suggested by Lambert/Millard 1969, 132. One expects an imp. or some other prefixless form, hence a verbal form starting with *i-* is difficult.<sup>143</sup> If restoring [*mil*]*ki(m)ma* is correct, then the form should depend on a prep., probably *ana*.

**I r. 1’–3’:** Arnaud’s (2007, 128) suggestion for these lines is speculative ([*a-na da-ri-t*]*i* DINGIR<sup>mes</sup> *ba-l[a-ṭa]* “Les dieux [offrirent] la vie à j[amais]”; [*x x l*]*i-dá-nin-ka e-[du-uk-ka]* “[... qu](’il) te renforce toin [seul]”; [*um-m a-a tuk-la-at ù x*] “[en pronon]çat: ‘qu’ il y ait force et . [...]”).

**I r. 5’:** On Nu<sup>c</sup>me-Rašap the scribe, see van Soldt 1991, 10, 22.

### 2.3.5 Ms. I<sub>1</sub> (Ugarit)

Copy:	Arnaud 2007, pl. XI, no. 41
Tablet Sigla:	RS 20.161+RS 20.171B
Photo:	
Edition:	Arnaud 2007, 128–130
Collection:	National Museum of Syria, Damascus(?)
Provenance:	Ugarit
Measurements:	
Period:	MB

A badly preserved literary tablet which, according to Arnaud (2007, 128–130), contains another witness to the story of the Flood.<sup>144</sup> The tablet is made up of two pieces: Fragment A, perhaps a magical text (edited in Arnaud 2007, 89 as no. 23) and Fragment B, a ‘Récit du Déluge’ (no. 41 in Arnaud’s edition). There is no thematic connection between the two pieces. The turning axis of the tablet is vertical, and the two texts continue directly one after the other. The juxtaposition of two different texts and the unusual arrangement of the tablet along the vertical axis strongly suggest that it is a draft, most

<sup>142</sup> Arnaud’s suggestion (2007, 128) *i-š[e-er-ta]* for *aširta* “sanctuaire” is unclear to me.

<sup>143</sup> Nougayrol (1968, 302): [*ši-mi-i*]*m-ma i[-gar(?) i-gar(?) ?]*.

<sup>144</sup> Del Olmo Lete/Márquez Rowe 2014, 37: “fragment RS 20.161+20.171, face A; only few signs are preserved, partly effaced (face B is inscribed with a version of the Babylonian Flood story)”.

likely a pupil's failed exercise. Nothing indicates for sure that this fragment contains a story of the Flood: the name of the hero is not mentioned, nor are divine protagonists, or key-words (as *abūbu* or *eleppu*, etc.). Even the lines I<sub>1</sub> B 1', I<sub>1</sub> B 5' and I<sub>1</sub> B 6', which seem to have parallels with other versions of the Flood story, are heavily restored and could be read differently. The text, nonetheless, is included in this study, as I cannot disprove its relation to Atra-ḫašīs. The text was not collated, nor was it possible to consult a photo of it.

I <sub>1</sub> B 1'	[ú]-pa-ḫi šu- [...] C <sub>1</sub> ii 51" [k]u-up-ru ba-bi-il i-pé-éḫ-ḫi ba-ab-šu U r. 3' [i-ru-u]m-ma ip-ḫa-a <sup>61</sup> [ <sup>8</sup> MÁ] W 4' [x (x)] 'x <sup>1</sup> -e pi-ḫi <sup>61</sup> [MÁ] Gilg. XI 94 e-ru-ub ana lib-bi eleppi( <sup>61</sup> MÁ)-ma ap-te-ḫe ba-a-bi
I <sub>1</sub> B 2'	[(x)?] sak-pá BE/NU- <sup>r</sup> x <sup>1</sup> -[x]- <sup>r</sup> x <sup>1</sup> ra-aḫ- <sup>r</sup> ša! <sup>71</sup> [...]
I <sub>1</sub> B 3'	[x x] <sup>r</sup> x <sup>1</sup> (-)ša-ba-ru?-[x-x i-sa-p]a?-aḫ KUR?
I <sub>1</sub> B 4'	[x x] x x x x [x] x [...]
I <sub>1</sub> B 5'	a-na mi-nim ís-pu-[uḫ mi-lik ma-ti]
I <sub>1</sub> B 6'	ki ka-ar-pa-at-šu [ri-gim-ša iḫ-pí] C <sub>1</sub> iii 9'-10' [. . . m]a-ta-am [ki-ma ka-ar-pa-ti r]i-gi-im-ša iḫ-pi U r. 17' [x x m]āta(K[UR]) ki-ma karpatí(DUG) mi-lik-ša is-p[u-uḫ] Gilg. XI 108 [ir-ḫ]i-i-š māta(KUR) kīma(GIM) alp[i(GU <sub>4</sub> ) . . .] x iḫ-p[i-šá]
I <sub>1</sub> B 7'	i-na mu-ši i-ra-[gu-um . . .]
I <sub>1</sub> B 8'	al ḫa-tú-a ú-sà-tu-a [...]
I <sub>1</sub> B 9'	kiš?-ša-tu <sup>r</sup> li <sup>1</sup> -rib-ba x [...]
I <sub>1</sub> B 10'	ar-ki-ni išātu(IZI) ra-ag- [...]
I <sub>1</sub> B 11'	šap- <sup>r</sup> ka?-tu? <sup>71</sup> li-ma-ši [ <sup>d</sup> En-lil]
I <sub>1</sub> B 12'	x x [x] li-li-ka [U <sub>4</sub> ]. <sup>rmeš<sup>1</sup></sup> 3 [...]
I <sub>1</sub> B 13'	[...] x x [...]

### Translation

I <sub>1</sub> B 1'	[I/He] sealed ...
I <sub>1</sub> B 2'	The... were thrust, the... were washed away(?)
I <sub>1</sub> B 3'	... .. [scatt]er the land.
I <sub>1</sub> B 4'	... ..
I <sub>1</sub> B 5'	Why did he scatt[er the counsel of the land]?
I <sub>1</sub> B 6'	Like his pot [he shattered its (the land's) noise].
I <sub>1</sub> B 7'	In the night [...] sho[uted].
I <sub>1</sub> B 8'	Where (are) those who offend me? my help...?
I <sub>1</sub> B 9'	May the (person given as) distrainee repay ...
I <sub>1</sub> B 10'	Behind us, fire . . . . .
I <sub>1</sub> B 11'-13'	... ..

*Commentary*

**I<sub>1</sub> B 1'**: [ú]-*pa-ḥi šu*-[...]: This line, with its half-broken verb, is the only possible link between the Ugarit fragment and the Flood. In all the other sources *peḥûm* governs the direct object *eleppam* or *bābam*, not a personal pron., hence [*u*]*paḥḥi šu*[...].

**I<sub>1</sub> B 2'**: Arnaud's (2007, 129) reads [ú?] *sak-pá pi-t[t-ta-t]i ra-aḥ-<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>* [*eqlēti*] “[et?] étaient renversés les can[to]ns; étaient piétinés [les champs.]”, of which only *sakpā* seems certain to me. – Instead of Arnaud's *ra-aḥ-<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>*, read perhaps *raḥṣā* “washed away”?

**I<sub>1</sub> B 3'**: I don't concur with Arnaud's reading [x x r]*i-sà-ba qér<sup>2</sup>-[be-ti ip-pa-r]a<sup>2</sup>-aḥ* KUR?! “[... étaient écrasées les emb[lavures, étaient déch]iré le pays.” By the end of the line, restore perhaps *isappaḥ māta*?

**I<sub>1</sub> B 5'–6'**: Arnaud (ibid) had in mind the parallels with C<sub>1</sub> iii 9'–10' and U r. 17', but the formulation in these mss. is different, and in any case, the key-terms *rigmu* and *milik māti* are both restored.

**I<sub>1</sub> B 6'**: *ki ka-ar-pa-at-šu* is ungrammatical. Perhaps a construct phrase *ki ka-ar-pa-at šu*-[...]?

**I<sub>1</sub> B 7'**: Arnaud (2007, 129 and 130) suggested that Nintu is the subject of the restored *iraggum*. However, in other versions (C<sub>1</sub> iv 4', C<sub>1</sub> iv 13'–14'), *nabûm-D* “to wail” is used to describe Nintu's moaning. (If the broken verb does indeed render the uttering of a sound, one could restore *i-ra*-[...] as *iraṣṣun* “to sound out repeatedly”). The reading of this line is not assured and its connection to the Flood story is far from certain.

**I<sub>1</sub> B 9'**: *kiššātu*: not “totality, universe” as Arnaud suggested, but “dis-traint”, and *li-rib-ba* must be derived from *riābum* “to replace, restore, repay”, not from *ra'ābum* “to shake, tremble” (*pace* Arnaud 2007, 130).

**I<sub>1</sub> B 10'–13'**: I do not agree with Arnaud's reading in these lines and I am unable to offer a reasonable translation. – Note that restoring [<sup>d</sup>*En-lil*] in **I<sub>1</sub> B 11'** is purely hypothetical.

2.3.6 Ms. I<sub>2</sub> (Ugarit)

Copy:	Arnaud 2007, pl. XXIX, no. 65
Tablet Siglum:	RS 94.2953
Photo:	
Edition:	Arnaud 2007, 201–202; Cavigneaux 2007; Darshan 2016, 509–510
Collection:	National Museum of Syria, Damascus(?)
Provenance:	Ugarit
Measurements:	
Period:	MB

This text was originally published by Arnaud (2007) as a story on the construction of the temple of Ba'al, but soon enough was understood to be a first-person account of the Flood (Cavigneaux 2007). According to George (2007, 254), it could be “either a piece of the Epic of Gilgamesh or a fragment belonging with RS 22.421 [here, ms. I]”. The protagonist of this Flood narrative remains unnamed (in I 6, also from Ugarit, he is explicitly called <sup>m</sup>*At-ra-am-ḥa-sí-<is>*). The inelegant division of lines in the first half of the text, with its awkward line-breaks (ll. 2–3, 3–4; 4–5; 5–6; 7–8), is not unknown from other Babylonian poetical compositions from the West.<sup>145</sup> It may indicate that the text was an exercise, or a swift copy of an original with longer lines, originating perhaps from Mesopotamia.

- I<sub>2</sub> 1            *i-na pí-i bi-ib-li i-na re-eš arḥi*(ITI)  
                   C<sub>0</sub> iv 6' *a-na ú-um wa-ar-ḥi-im*  
                   C<sub>1</sub> ii 39" [...*ú-b*] *i-il ar-ḥu*  
                   Ark 50 [... *i-na u<sub>4</sub>-mi-im*] <sup>r</sup>*e-ṭi<sup>1</sup>-i*[*m* (x x x)]
- I<sub>2</sub> 2            <sup>d</sup>*É-a be-lu rabû*(GAL) *i-na aḥi*(GÚ)-*ia*  
 I<sub>2</sub> 3            *iz-zi-za-ma li-qé-ma* <sup>giš</sup>*mar-ra*  
 I<sub>2</sub> 4            *ù ḥa-ši-in-na*<sup>urudu</sup>! *ap-ta*  
 I<sub>2</sub> 5            *e-pu-uš a-na muḥḥi*(UGU)<sup>hi</sup> *uš-ši-ir*  
                   Gilg. XI 137 *ap-ti nap-pa-šá-am-ma šētu*(UD.DA) *im-ta-qut eli*(UGU)  
                   *dūr*(BĀD) *ap-pi-ia*
- I<sub>2</sub> 6            *iššūra*(MUŠEN)-*ma li-mu-rak-ka kib-ra*  
 I<sub>2</sub> 7            *a-qu-ul a-na-ku i-na qí-bi-ti*  
 I<sub>2</sub> 8            <sup>d</sup>*É-a be-li-ia ma-li-ki rabî*(GAL)  
 I<sub>2</sub> 9            *al-qé-ma marra*(<sup>giš</sup>MAR) *ù ḥa-ši-na*<sup>urudu</sup>  
 I<sub>2</sub> 10          *ap-ta e-pu-uš a-na muḥḥi*(UGU)<sup>hi</sup> *ia*  
 I<sub>2</sub> 11          *dan-na-ta kap-pi su-ma-ta*<sup>mušen</sup>  
 I<sub>2</sub> 12          *ú-maš-ši-ir il-lik i-tú-ra-ma*  
 I<sub>2</sub> 13          *ú-ša-ni-ḥi kap-pí-ša*  
                   Gilg. XI 148–150 *ú-še-ši-ma summata*(TU<sup>mušen</sup>) *ú-maš-šar il-lik summatu*  
                   (TU<sup>mušen</sup>) *i-pi-ra-am-m[a] man-za-zu ul i-pa-ás-šim-ma is-saḥ-r[a]*
- I<sub>2</sub> 14          *aš-ni-ma a-na-ku ku-ma-a*<sup>mušen</sup> *ú-ma-ši-ir-ma*  
                   Gilg. XI 154–156 *ú-še-ši-ma a-ri-ba ú-maš-šir il-lik a-ri-bi-ma qa-ru-ra šá*  
                   *mē*(A<sup>mes</sup>) *i-mur-maik-kal i-šá-aḥ-ḥi i-tar-ri ul is-saḥ-ra*

### Translation

- I<sub>2</sub> 1            At the beginning of the invisibility of the moon, at the beginning of the month,  
 I<sub>2</sub> 2–3          Ea, the great lord, stood at my side, (saying:)

<sup>145</sup> George 2007, 249.

- I<sub>2</sub> 3–5 “Take a wooden spade and a copper axe, and make a window at the top.  
 I<sub>2</sub> 5–6 Release bird, let it find for you a shore!”  
 I<sub>2</sub> 7–8 I heeded the words of Ea, my great lord and advisor.  
 I<sub>2</sub> 9–10 I took a wooden spade and a copper axe. I made a window at the top above me.  
 I<sub>2</sub> 11–12 I released a dove, strong-of-wings.  
 I<sub>2</sub> 12–13 She went forth and came back, exhausted her wings.  
 I<sub>2</sub> 14 I did this again and released a *crane*.

### Commentary

I<sub>2</sub> 1: *ina pî bibli ina rēš arḫi*:<sup>146</sup> This text is not the only cuneiform Flood narrative which describes the calendrical framework of the Flood, like the biblical account (*pace* Darshan 2016, 508 and 511), and other recensions of the myth also contain chronological notes, reflecting the tradition that the Flood started when the moon was invisible.<sup>147</sup> The early Old Babylonian version: *ana ūm warḫim* “by the day of the new moon” (C<sub>0</sub> iii 16’–17’ and iv 6’); in the later Sippar recension: [...*ú-b*]*i-il ar-ḫu* “[. . .] the month rea[ched its end]” (C<sub>1</sub> ii 39”), and in the Middle Babylonian Ark Tablet, in a broken context: [... *i-na u<sub>4</sub>-mi-im*] *ṛe-ṭi<sup>1</sup>-i*[*m* (x x x)] “[. . . on the] dimming [day]” (Ark 50). Markedly, the Old Babylonian versions mention the day of the new moon as the date of the *beginning* of the Flood, while the Ugarit text explains that this day was set by Ea to create a window to let the dove fly out, i.e., when the Flood was almost over.

I<sub>2</sub> 3–4: The mention of a copper axe to carve out a window (also in l. 9)<sup>148</sup> furnishes a crucial hint as to the fact that the Ugarit version envisioned a boat made of wood, unlike the Mesopotamian versions of the Flood which describe a boat made of rope (Ark 10–12), or of reeds (J 7’).<sup>149</sup> This literary adaptation is only to be expected, as wood was the regular material for shipbuilders on the Mediterranean coast. The aperture at the top of the boat finds a parallel in Gilg. XI 137 *apti nappašamma šētu imtaqut eli dūr ap-piya* “I opened an air vent and the sunshine fell on my cheek”. The reason

<sup>146</sup> For *rēš (w)arḫi(m)* as the boundary between two adjacent lunar months, the time when the moon is invisible, see Heimpel 1996.

<sup>147</sup> See Finkel 2014, 209.

<sup>148</sup> Spades and axes appear together in some daily-life texts: AbB 1, 57: 13 (with bitumen!) and AbB 2, 89: 18–20. The purpose, however, of a wooden spade in the process of making a window remains unclear to me and may result from the fact that *marru u ḥaššimmu* became a literary cliché, designating working tools in general, as is the case in Aramaic, where מרא ומצננה מרא designates working tools (Bab. *Erubin* 76b).

<sup>149</sup> The younger account in Gilg. XI is less concrete about the building material of the boat, see Gilg. XI 51, 54.

for opening the window in the boat is, however, different: in Gilg. XI Ūtanapištī opens the vent to ascertain that the Flood is over. In the Ugarit text, it is opened in order to release the birds. A nice parallel to this section of the plot is found in Gen. 6:16 and 8:6, but in the biblical account Noah creates a window before the Flood, whereas in Gilg. XI and the Ugarit text, the window is cut only when needed, i.e. when the Flood is already over (Darshan 2016, 511). This discrepancy reflects the emphasis of the Mesopotamian story-teller on the efforts made to seal the boat. The carving out of the window (here, in Gilg. XI 137, and in the biblical account) presumes that the boat had a firm roof (as indicated in C<sub>1</sub> i 31, J r. 9' and W 3' and Gilg. XI 31 and 136).

I<sub>2</sub> 13: *ú-ša-ni-ḫi* instead of the expected ventive form *ú-ša-ni-ḫa* (*ušāniḫa*).

I<sub>2</sub> 14: Following Veldhuis (2004, 242f.), the *kumū* bird can be identified as a crane, inherently associated with shallow water.<sup>150</sup> Hence, unlike the dove, the swallow and the raven in Gilg. XI 148–156 (or the raven and the dove in Gen. 8), the crane could more easily find a resting place and stay outside.<sup>151</sup>

### 2.3.7 Ms. W (*Nineveh*)

Copy:	CT 46, 15
Tablet Siglum:	DT 42
Photo:	Finkel 2014, 5; CDLI P285823
Edition:	Lambert/Millard 1969, 128–129
Collection:	The British Museum, London
Provenance:	Nineveh
Measurements:	4.7 x 4.8 x 0.9 cm
Period:	NA

Ea instructs Atra-ḫašis to build the boat and commands him as to the supplies with which it needs to be furnished. Atra-ḫašis asks for better explanations, as he has never built a boat before. Ea draws a plan on the ground. Rest broken.

W 1' [x x x]-<sup>r</sup>sà?<sup>r</sup> lu <sup>r</sup>mìn?<sup>r</sup>-<sup>r</sup>du?<sup>r</sup>-[da? . . .]

W 2' [x x x] *ki-ma* <sup>r</sup>kip-pa-ti<sup>r</sup> [. . .]

C<sub>1</sub>+C<sub>2</sub> i 25'–28' [e]-le-ep-pu ša ta-ba-an-nu-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>r</sup>-[šī] [. . .] mi-it-ḫ[u-ra-at . . .]

[. . .] [. . . k]i<sup>r</sup>-ip<sup>r</sup>-pa-ti<sup>r</sup> [. . .]

Ark 6–8 *eleppam*(MÁ) *te-ep-pu-šu e-[š]e-er-ši-ma e-še-er-ti ki-[i]p-pa-tim lu mi-it-ḫa-ar ši-id-da-[š]a ù pu-u[s-sa]*

<sup>150</sup> Darshan 2016, 510: “water-bird – perhaps a pelican”.

<sup>151</sup> Curiously, the goddess Ino comes to rescue Odysseus from the storm in the form of a sea mew (Odyssey 5. 337). On this, see Literary Discussion 3.4.

Gilg. XI 29–30 *lu-ú min-du-da mi-na-tu-<sup>f</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> [I]u-ú mit-*ḫ*ur ru-pu-us-sa ù mu-rak-ša*

**W 3'** [*ṣulūlu/ṣulūša*] *lu da-an e-liš u š[ap-liš]*

C<sub>1</sub> i 31' *lu-ú ṣu-ul-lu-la-at e-li-iš ù ša-ap-li-iš*

J r. 9' [ . . . ] x *ṣu-lu-la dan-na ṣu-ul-lil*

**W 3'** [*ṣulūlu/ṣulūša*] *lu da-an e-liš u š[ap-liš]*

Gilg. XI 31 [*k*]i-ma *Apsī*(ABZU) *ša-a-ši ṣu-ul-lil-ši*

Gilg. XI 136 *ki-ma ú-ri mit-ḫu-rat ú-šal-lu*

**W 4'** [x (x)] *ṛx<sup>1</sup>-e pi-ḫi* <sup>gi</sup>[<sup>s</sup>MÁ]

C<sub>1</sub> ii 51 [*k*]u-up-ru ba-bi-il i-pé-éḫ-ḫi ba-ab-šu

I<sub>1</sub> B 1' [ú]-pa-ḫi-šu [ . . . ]

U r. 3' [*i-ru-u*]m-ma ip-ḫa-a <sup>gi</sup>[<sup>s</sup>MÁ]

Gilg. XI 94 *e-ru-ub ana lib-bi eleppi*(<sup>gi</sup>MÁ)-ma ap-te-ḫe ba-a-bi

**W 5'** [*ú-šur*] *a-dan-na šá a-šap-pa-rak-[ka]*

**W 6'** [*eleppa*(<sup>gi</sup>MÁ)] *e-ru-um-ma bāb*(KÁ) *eleppi*(<sup>gi</sup>MÁ) *tir-[ra]*

**W 7'** [*zi-ib-la ina / šu-li ana*] *lib-bi-šá uṭṭat*(ŠE.BAR)-*ka bušá*(NÍG.ŠU)-*ka u makkūr*(NÍG.GA)-[*ka*]

**W 8'** [*aššat*(DAM)-*k*]a *ki-mat-ka sa-lat-ka u mārī*(DUMU)<sup>mes</sup> *um-m[a-ni]*

C<sub>1</sub> ii 42' [ . . . ] x *ṛki<sup>1</sup>-im-ta-šu uš-te-ri-ib*

**Ark** 34–35 *ṛuš<sup>1</sup>-ta-na-<sup>f</sup>al<sup>1</sup>-[la?-ak?-šu?-nu?-ti? i?]-n*a? *ri-a-ši a-na elep-pi*(MÁ) *ṛi<sup>1</sup>-[ru-bu-ma] x x k[i-i]m ṛsa<sup>1</sup>-al-la-at*

J r. 13' [*šūli ana eleppi sa-lat-k*]a u *kin-ta-k[a!]*

Gilg. XI 85 *uš-te-li a-[na] libbi*(ŠÁ!) *eleppi*(<sup>gi</sup>MÁ) *ka-la kim-ti-ia u sa-lat-ia*

**W 9'** [*bu-ul [ṣ]ēri*(E)DIN) *ú-ma-am šēri*(EDIN) *ma-la ur-qītu*(Ú.ŠIM) *me-er-[<sup>1</sup>i-sun]*

C<sub>1</sub> ii 36"–38" *bu-u[l . . . iš-ta]-ka-an na-[ma-aš-še]-<sup>f</sup>e?<sup>1</sup> ṣe-ri DU[MU]<sup>mes</sup> um-ma-ni(?) uš]-te-ri-ib*

J r. 11' [ . . . bu-ul ṣe]-<sup>f</sup> rim?<sup>1</sup> *ú-ma-am ṣe-rim iṣ-šur ša-me-e*

Gilg. XI 86 *bu-ul šēr*[i(EDIN)] *ṛú<sup>1</sup>-ma-an šēri*(EDIN) *ṛmārī*(DUMU)<sup>mes</sup><sup>1</sup> *um-ma-a-ni ka-li-šú-nu-úš*

**W 10'** [*a-šap*]-*pa-rak-kúm-ma i-na-aṣ-ša-ru bāb*(KÁ)-*k[a]*

----

**W 11'** [<sup>m</sup>*At-r*]a-ḫa-sis pa-a-šú *īpuš*(DÚ)-*ma iqabbi*(DUG<sub>4</sub>.G[A])

**W 12'** [*i-zak*]-*kar ana* <sup>d</sup>*É*-a be-l[*i-šú*]

**W 13'** [*ma-t*]i-ma-a *eleppa*(<sup>gi</sup>MÁ) *ul e-pu-uš* <sup>f</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [x]

**W 14'** [*ina qaq-q*]a-ri e-šir *ú-[šur-tú]*

**W 15'** [*ú-šur*]-tu *lu-mur-ma eleppa*(<sup>gi</sup>MÁ) [*lu-pu-uš*]

**W 16'** [<sup>d</sup>*É*]-<sup>f</sup>a<sup>1</sup> *ina qaq-qa-ri e-[šir ú-šur-tu]*

**Ark** 6 *eleppam*(MÁ) *te-ep-pu-šu e-[ṣ]e-er-šī-ma*

**W 17'** [*am?-gur? b*]e-lí *šá taq-ba-<sup>f</sup>a<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ]*

Gilg. XI 33–34 [am-g]ur be-li šá taq-ba-a at-ta ki-a-am [at]-ta<sup>2</sup>-id a-na-ku  
ep-pu-uš

*Translation*

- W 1'–2'** ["he]r [. . .] let it correspond [. . .] [. . .] like a circle [. . .]  
**W 3'–4'** Let [the roof(?)] be strong above and below, [. . .] . . . caulk  
the b[oa]t!  
**W 5'–6'** [Observe] the appointed time of which I will inform you,  
enter [the boat] and close the boat's door.  
**W 7'–8'** [Carry in (or: send up into)] her your barley, your goods,  
[your] property, yo[ur wife], your kith, your kin, and the  
workmen.  
**W 9'–10'** [I] will send to you [herds] of the steppe, the wild animals of  
the steppe, all [wh]ose pasture is grass, and they will wait at  
your door".  
 ----  
**W 11'–12'** Atra-ḥasīs opened his mouth, speaking, addressing Ea, [his]  
lord:  
**W 13'–15'** "I have never built a boat . . . [.] draw the plan on the ground  
that I may see [the plan] and [build] the boat".  
**W 16'** [E]a drew [the plan] on the ground.  
**W 17'** "[I agree], my lord, with what you commanded [. . .]"

*Commentary*

**W 1'**: Reading follows Wilcke's collations.

**W 3'**: Based on the Old Babylonian version (C<sub>1</sub> i 33), Lambert/Millard (1969, 128) restore [ku-up-ru] lu da-an e-liš u š[ap-liš] "Let [the pitch] be strong above and below".<sup>152</sup> But with lu-ú šú-ul-lu-la-at e-li-iš ù ša-ap-li-iš "Let it be roofed over above and below" (C<sub>1</sub> i 31) and [. . .] x šú-lu-la dan-na šú-ul-lil "[. . .] roof her over with a strong covering" (J 9'), restoring here šulūlu "roof" seems preferable.

**W 4'**: Photo shows GI[Š], not M[A] as in the copy.<sup>153</sup> The text aligns, therefore, with U r. 3' [i-ru-u]m-ma ip-ḥa-a<sup>gi</sup>[šMÁ].

**W 5'**: The appointed time (*adānu/adannu*) refers to night of the moon's disappearance by the end of the lunar month, as is made clear by the early Old Babylonian 'Larsa' recension (C<sub>0</sub> iii 16'–17' and iv 6') and the Ugarit text (I<sub>2</sub> 1).

<sup>152</sup> So also in Wilcke's collations.

<sup>153</sup> Already Lambert/Millard 1969, 128.

W 7': Jiménez 2017, 185 suggests [*zi-ib-la ina...*] “[carry into] it (sc. the Ark) your barley, your goods and your properties”, instead of Lambert/Millard 1969, 128 [*šu-li ana...*], followed by CAD U/W 351b.

W 17': In the break, after *bēlī ša taqbâ*, one expects *lutta'ad anāku, vel sim* (cf. Gilg. XI 33–34).

### 2.3.8 Ms. U (Nineveh)

Copy:	Lambert 1960b 116
Tablet Sigla:	BM 98977+99231
Photo:	Courtesy the British Museum
Edition:	Lambert/Millard 1969, 122–125
Collection:	The British Museum, London
Provenance:	Nineveh
Measurements:	5.4 x 9.2 x 2.6 cm (the joint tablet)
Period:	NA

The attestation of some grammatical features typical of the Assyrian dialect led Lambert/Millard (1969, 36–38) to refer to this text as ‘The Assyrian Recension’ of the Flood. Atra-ḫasīs hears Ea approaching. He presents himself humbly and asks him to reveal the secret of the coming Flood – probaby after having seen a preliminary sign of it in a dream. Ea talks to the reed wall. After a fragmentary passage, the Flood begins with horrifying winds from all directions. At dawn, a cloud rises (metaphorically referred to as the “chariot of the gods”). The gods wreak havoc on the world. Anu panics and Nintu’s children gather together in fear.

Obv.

U 1	[ <sup>d</sup> É]- <sup>r</sup> a <sup>1</sup> <i>bēl</i> (EN) <i>e-re-ba-ka</i> [ <i>áš-me-ma</i> ]
U 2	[ <i>ú-t</i> ]- <i>e-qí-ma šikna</i> (GAR) <i>ki-ma šikin</i> (GAR) <i>šēp</i> [ <i>ē</i> ][ <i>Ĝ</i> ][ <i>R</i> <sup>II</sup> meš]- <i>ka</i> ]
----	
U 3	[ <sup>m</sup> A- <i>tar-ḫasīs</i> ] <i>ik-mis uš-kin i-ta-zi-iz</i> <sup>r</sup> x <sup>1</sup> [ <i>x</i> (x)] C <sub>0</sub> iv 8 <sup>1</sup> -9 <sup>1</sup> <i>Wa-at-<sup>r</sup>ra-am<sup>1</sup>-ḫa-sí-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-sí ka-ma-s</i> [ <i>i-i</i> ] <i>š ma-ḫa-ar É-a</i>
U 4	[ <i>pâ</i> (KA)- <i>šú</i> ] <i>īpuša</i> (DÚ) <sup>ša</sup> - <i>ma izzakar</i> (MU) <sup>ár</sup> C <sub>1</sub> i 11–12: [ <sup>m</sup> A- <i>ra-am-ḫa-si-is</i> ] <i>‘pí-a-šu i-pu-ša<sup>1</sup>-am-ma</i> [ <i>iz-za</i> ]- <sup>r</sup> kàr <sup>1</sup> <i>a-na bēlī-šu</i>
U 5	[ <i>ma bēl</i> (EN)] <i>e-re-ba-ka áš-me-ma</i>
U 6	[ <i>ú-te-qí</i> ]- <sup>r</sup> ma <sup>1</sup> <i>šikna</i> (GAR) <i>ki-ma šikin</i> (GAR) <i>šēpē</i> (Ĝ <sup>I</sup> R <sup>II</sup> meš)- <i>k[a]</i>

- U 7 [dÉ-a bē]l(E)N e-re-ba-ka áš-me-m[a]
- U 8 [ú-te-q]i-ma šikna(GAR) ki-ma šikin(GAR) šēpē(GĪR<sup>limes</sup>)-  
[ka]
- 
- U 9 [x x m]a? ki-i 7 šanāti(MU<sup>me</sup>[š] . . .)
- U 10 [ . . . ] ṛx<sup>1</sup>-ma-ka ú-še-mi ḥaš-ḥa-[ku?]
- U 11 [ . . . ] ṛx<sup>1</sup> <sup>he-pi eš-šú</sup>-ka a-ta-mar pa-ni-k[a]
- U 12 [ . . . ] ṛx<sup>1</sup>-ru-ku-nu qí-ba-a ia-a-š[i]
- 
- U 13 [dÉ-a p]â(K)A)-šu īpuša(DÙ)<sup>ša</sup> i-qab-bi
- U 14 [iz-za-ka]r a-na ki-ki-ši
- U 15 [ . . . ] ki-kiš ki-k[iš]
- U 16 [ . . . šī]-ta-ma-ni
- C<sub>2</sub> i 20'-21' i-ga-ru ši-ta-am-mi-a-an-ni ki-ki-šu šu-uš-ši-ri ka-la zi-ik-ri!(ZI)-  
ia
- Ark 1 i-ga-ar i-ga-a[r k]i-ki-iš ki-ki-iš
- I 14 [i]-ga-ru-ma ši-m[e . . .]
- Gilg. XI 21-22 ki-ik-kiš ki-ik-kiš i-gar i-gar ki-ik-ki-šu ši-me-ma i-ga-ru ḥi-is-  
sa-as
- U 17 [ . . . ] ṛx<sup>1</sup> biš ṛx<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ]
- U 18 [ . . . ] ṛx<sup>1</sup> ia [ . . . ]
- U 19 [ . . . ] ṛx<sup>1</sup> i ta [ . . . ]
- U 20 [ . . . ] ṛx x x<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ]
- Rev.
- U r. 1' [ . . . ] ṛx x<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ]
- 
- U r. 2' [dAdad(?) it]-ta-di ri-g[im?-šú(?) . . .]
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 49"-50" iš-ta-ag-na <sup>dAdad</sup>(IŠKUR) i-na er-pé-ti i-la iš-mu-ú ri-gi-im-šu
- U r. 3' [i-ru-u]m-ma ip-ḥa-a el[eppa . . . ](<sup>gi</sup>[šMÁ . . . ])
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 51" [k]u-up-ru ba-bi-il i-pé-eḥ-ḥi ba-ab-šu
- I<sub>1</sub> B 1' [ú]-pa-ḥi-šu [ . . . ]
- W 4' [x (x)] ṛx<sup>1</sup>-e pi-ḥi <sup>giš</sup>[MÁ]
- Gilg. XI 94 e-ru-ub ana lib-bi eleppi(<sup>giš</sup>MÁ)-ma ap-te-ḥe ba-a-bi
- U r. 4' ša-ru <sup>he-pi eš-šú</sup>-il-ma ib-bak me-ḥ[u-u]
- C<sub>1</sub> ii 54"-55" ša-ru uz-zu-zu i-na te-bi-šu ip-ru-u' ma-ar-ka-sa e-le-ep-pa ip-tú-  
ur
- U r. 5' <sup>dAdad</sup>(IŠKUR) i-na šār erbetti(IM.LIMMU.BA) ir-ta-kab  
pa-re-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[šú]
- U r. 6' šu-ú-tu il-ta-nu šadû(KUR)<sup>ú</sup> a-mur-[ru]
- Gilg. XI 110 ḥa-an-tiš i-zi-qam-ma x [ . . . ]-ši šadâ(KUR)<sup>a</sup> ṛa<sup>1</sup>-[bu-bu?]

- U r. 7' *si-qu-šú siq-si-qu me-ḫu-ú rād[u]*(AGA[R<sub>x</sub>])  
 C<sub>1</sub> iv 24'-25' 7 *u<sub>4</sub>-mi 7 mu-š[i-a-ti] il-li-ik ra-<sup>r</sup>du me-ḫu-ú<sup>1</sup> [a-bu-bu]*  
 Gilg. XI 128-129 6 *ur-ri ú<sup>1</sup> 7<sup>1</sup> mu-šá-a-ti<sup>1</sup> il<sup>1</sup>-lak šá-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ru ra-a-du mi-ḫu-ú a-b[u-bu . . .]*
- U r. 8' *im-ḫul-lu AD MA ḪU LU te-bu-ú šār[ū]*(IM<sup>m</sup>[eš])
- U r. 9' *ur-<sup>be-pi</sup>qù-da it-ba a-<na> idi(Á)-šú šu-tu*
- U r. 10' *[i]-zi-qù a-na idi(Á)-šú a-mur-ru*
- U r. 11' *[x] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [x] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> i-ba-a<sup>3</sup> KI ŠI <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>*  
 ----
- U r. 12' *[i?-na?]* <sup>r</sup>še<sup>1</sup>-ri ru-ku-ub ilāni(DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>) muš-šu-ḫ[u?x x]
- Gilg. XI 97 *mim-mu-ú še-e-ri ina na-ma-ri*
- U r. 13' *[i-r]a-ḫi-iš i-da-ak i-da-áš [x x x]*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 15' *[a-bu-b]u ki-ma li-i i-ša-ap-pu*  
 Gilg. XI 108 *[ir-ḫ]i-iš māta(KUR) kīma(GIM) alp[i(GU<sub>4</sub>) . . .] x iḫ-p[i-šá]*
- U r. 14' *[il]-lak<sup>d</sup> Nin-urta mi-iḫ-ra [ú-šar-di]*  
 Gilg. XI 103 *il-lak<sup>d</sup> Nin-<sup>r</sup>urta<sup>1</sup> mi-iḫ-ri ú-šar-di*
- U r. 15' *[<sup>d</sup>]Ēr-ra-kal ú-na-sa-ḫa t[ar-kul-li]*  
 Gilg. XI 102 *<sup>r</sup>tar<sup>1</sup>-kul-li<sup>d</sup> Ēr-ra-kal i-na-as-ḫa*
- U r. 16' *[An-zu]u i-na šu-up-ri-šu šamē(AN)<sup>e</sup> <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[šar-riṭ]*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 7'-8' *[An-zu i-na š]ú-up-ri-šu [ú-ša-ar-ri-ṭ š]a-ma-i*
- U r. 17' *[x x x mā]ta([K]UR) ki-ma karpati(DUG) mi-lik-šá is-p[*u-uh*]*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 9'-10' *[. . . m]a-ta-am [ki-ma ka-ar-pa-ti r]i-gi-im-ša iḫ-pí*  
 I<sub>1</sub> B 5'-6' *a-na mi-nim ís-pu-[uḫ mi-lik ma-ti] ki ka-ar-pa-at-šu [ri-gim-ša iḫ-pí]*
- U r. 18' *[x x x] <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-ta-ša-a a-bu-bu*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 11' *[. . . it-ta-ša-a] a-bu-bu*  
 J r. 4' *[. . .] ti la-am a-bu-bi wa-še-e*
- U r. 19' *[ki-ma qab-li e]i([UG]U) ni-še i-ba-a ka-šu-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 12' *[ki-ma qá-ab-l]i <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-li ni-ši i-ba-a<sup>3</sup> ka-šu-šu*  
 ----
- U r. 20' *[ip(-ta)-lah-ma<sup>d</sup>]A?-nu rigim(KA) a-bu-bi*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 23' *[ip-la-aḫ-ma A-nu] ri-gi-im a-[bu-bi]*  
 Gilg. XI 114 *ilū(DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>) ip-tal-ḫu a-bu-ba-am-ma*
- U r. 21' *[. . . DINGIR]<sup>meš</sup> ul-ta-dar*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 24' *[li-ib]-bi i-li uš-ta-ka-a[d]*  
 Gilg. XI 111 *ki-ma qab-li eli(UGU) nišī(UG<sup>meš</sup>) ú-ba-<sup>r</sup>-ú [ka-šú-šú]*
- U r. 22' *[<sup>d</sup>Nin-t]u mārē(DUMU<sup>meš</sup>)-šá up-pu-qú a-na pi-šá*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 26'-27' *[i-lu] ma-ru-šu up-<sup>r</sup>pu<sup>1</sup>-qú [i-n]a ma-aḫ-ri-šu*  
 ----
- U r. 23' *[. . .] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> la-lu-šá i[š-ru-u]p*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iv 14' *la-la-ša iḫ-ru-up*

- U r. 24'           [. . .] 'MA LI<sup>1</sup> [. . .]  
 U r. 25'           [. . .]<sup>meš</sup> r<sub>X</sub><sup>1</sup> [. . .]  
 C<sub>1</sub> iv 15' *i-lu it-ti-ša ib-ku-ú a-na ma-tim*  
 Gilg. XI 125 *ilū*(DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>) šu-ut <sup>d</sup>*A-nun-na-ki ba-ku-ú it-ti-ša*

*Translation*

- U 1–2           “Ea, lord, [I heard] your entrance, [I] noticed a tread like the tread of [your f]eet”.  
 ----  
 U 3           [Atra-ḥašis] bowed down, prostrated himself, stood up . [. . .]  
 U 4           He opened [his mouth] and said:  
 U 5–6           “[Lord], I heard your entrance, [I noticed] a tread like the tread of [y]our feet.  
 U 7–8           [Ea, lord], I heard your entrance, [I noticed] a tread like the tread of [your] feet.  
 ----  
 U 9           [. . .] . like seven years  
 U 10           I was deprived of your [. . .], I desired  
 U 11           your [. . .] . <sup>(new break)</sup> . (Now that) I have seen your face,  
 U 12           [. . .] tell me your (pl.) . . [.]”  
 ----  
 U 13–14       [Ea] opened his mouth to speak, [addressed] the reed hut:  
 U 15–16       “[Wall, wall!] Reed fence, reed fence! [. . .] listen to me!”  
 (lines 17–20 missing)  
 Rev.  
 U r. 1'           [. . .] . . . [. . .]  
 ----  
 U r. 2'           [Adad(?) so]unded [his] vo[ice . . . ]  
 U r. 3'           [He] entered and sealed the b[oa]t . . . ].  
 U r. 4'           The [*infuriated* (?)] wind <sup>(new break)</sup> . . . leading the sto[rm].  
 U r. 5'–6'       Adad rode on the four winds, [his] mules: The South wind, the North wind, the East wind, the West wind.  
 U r. 7'–8'       The gale, the storm, the downpour blew for him, the wicked wind . . . the winds arose.  
 U r. 9'–10'     The South wind . <sup>(break)</sup> . . . arose at his side, the West wind blew at his side,  
 U r. 11'       [.] . [.] . reached . . .  
 ----  
 U r. 12'–13'    [*At*(?)] *dawn*, the chariot of the gods was *fla*[*shing*(?)]: [it] was flooding, it was killing, it was threshing [. . .]

- U r. 14'–15' Ninurta was going on and [made] the watercourses [overflow]. Errakal was tearing up [the mooring poles].
- U r. 16'–17' [Anz]û with his talons [*ripped apart*] the heavens, [he . . .] the land: like a pot, he scattered its counsel.
- U r. 18'–19' [. . .] the Flood came forth. Annihilation came upon the people [like a battle array].
- 
- U r. 20'–21' Anum(?) [*became afraid of*] the noise of the Flood, [the heart of the god]s was seized by fear.
- U r. 22' [Nintu] her sons were huddled together (waiting) for her pronouncement.
- 
- U r. 23' [. . .] . she brought her feelings to exhaustion,
- U r. 24'–25' . . . . . [the god]s(?) . . .

### Commentary

U 3: The mention of Atra-ḥasīs bowing down and prostrating himself before Ea finds a parallel in C<sub>0</sub> iv 8'–9', but is not found in the Old Babylonian Sippar recension.

U 5–8: This scene, which is likely to have taken place in a temple, shows a close contact between the god and his devotee. Atra-ḥasīs knows well the habits of the god, as if they were kin. A somewhat similar case of familial intimacy between god and servant is found in 1Sam 3, where Samuel, still a boy serving in the temple in Shiloh, hears his name called three times during the night, and thinks it is Eli, the chief-priest, calling him – but in fact it was God summoning him to hear a prophecy.

U 10: Lambert/Millard (1969, 122) read [. . .] 'x<sup>1</sup>-ma-ka ú-še-mi ḥaš-ḥa-[šá?] “[. . .] . your . . . had made the feeble thirsty”. Foster (2005, 276) followed in the same direction: “Your [. . .] has made the weak thirsty”. However, ú-še-mi cannot be taken from *šamûm* “to thirst”, since *ušammi* is expected; and one should prefer *zummû* “to be deprived of, to lack, to miss”, where forms colored with *e*-vowel occur. Consequently, Lambert/Millard’s reconstruction *ḥaš-ḥa*-[šá?] from the poorly attested *ḥašḥāšum* “lame, hobbling” must also be abandoned in favor of the common stat. *ḥašḥāku* with its (regrettably broken) object in the following line.

U 12: The pl. suffix *-kunu* is baffling. Atra-ḥasīs probably asks Ea to tell him the decision of the gods’ assembly.

U r. 2': Very little is left of the sign after the break, read as *g[im]*. Other readings are possible.

U r. 4'–5': The Old Babylonian parallel shows that the “new break” contained the stat. *uz-zu-zu* “infuriated”. – Choosing the unusual verb *abākum*

“to lead away, to dispatch”, mostly used with reference to animals and commodities rather than to storms, is not accidental: in the next line Adad, like Šamaš,<sup>154</sup> is described riding his four mules, the four winds (cf. CAD P 207a). – With *šār erbetti* “the four winds”, the Assyrian scribe plays on *erpēti* “clouds”, found in the Old Babylonian recension (C<sub>1</sub> ii 49<sup>n</sup>, 53<sup>n</sup>): *ištagna*<sup>d</sup> *Adad ina erpēti* “Adad thundered from the clouds”.

U r. 5'–8': This passage is comprised of two parallel couplets with four items each: ll. r. 5'–6' list Adad's beasts of burden, the winds, and ll. r. 7'–8' list the meteorological phenomena, the counterparts of the winds just mentioned: *ziqziqqu*, *meḥû*, *rādu* and *imḥullu*.<sup>155</sup> The Sumerian fragment CBS 15142, recently published by Peterson (2019), shows the same literary arrangement: four winds representing four kinds of destructive storms (“heroes”), in the service of Adad. The context is very broken but dykes, ditches and fields are mentioned. Four storms were also yoked to Marduk's fearful chariot in *Enuma eliš* IV 50–52 (Lambert 2013, 88f.). – The description of the storm here resembles the dramatic climatic conditions which prevailed before the killing of the guardian of the Cedar Forest (Gilg. V 133–141). But the storm which foretells the killing of Ḫumbaba, which Gilgameš saw in a dream (Gilg. IV 101–106), is differently described: the prominent elements in it are lightning and flames of fire, while winds are not mentioned.

U r. 9': Lambert/Millard (1969, 167) suggested restoring *ur-taq-qù-da*. Both dictionaries (AHw 957b; CAD R 167a) accepted this restoration, suggesting that the form is probably a scribal mistake for *ir-taq-qù-da* (*raqādum*-Gtn). – The context requires an adverbial phrase *ana idišu* “at his side”, hence *it-ba-a Á-šû* (as U r. 10').

U r. 12': Lambert/Millard (1969 124–125) had [x x] at the beginning of the line. These were restored by CAD R 411a as [*ina ma?*]-*še-ri ru-ku-ub ilāni*(DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>), without translation. The appearance of the chariot, or a processional boat of the gods, in this context is odd. I suggest restoring instead [*ina*] *šēri* “at dawn”, in parallel to Gilg. XI 97 where the beginning of the Flood is described in similar terms: *mimmû šēri ina namāri* “When the first sign of dawn was seen”. The next line, Gilg. XI 98, portrays a black cloud rising from the horizon (*ilâmma ištu išid šamê urpatum šalintum*) and it is in this vein that I understand *rukub ilāni*: a metaphorical designation of a cloud, or clouds.<sup>156</sup> – The last sign before the break by the end of this line is a broken /*ḥu*/ or /*ri*/ (collated). The resulting form *muš-šu-ḥ[u]* is not easy to render. The verb *mašāḥu* I “to measure” and *mašāḥu* II “to flash, shine” have

<sup>154</sup> For the Sun's steeds, see Wasserman 1997.

<sup>155</sup> See Schwemer 2001, 423.

<sup>156</sup> “Rider of clouds” is a known biblical appellation for god (Ps. 68:5; Ps. 104:3 and Isa. 19:1).

no D-stem, while *muššu*<sup>3</sup>u-D “to rub, to rub with liniments” refers only to the ailing body, which does not fit here. If the form is correctly restored, the more plausible solution to my mind is that *muš-šu-ḥ[u]* is a hitherto unattested D-stem of *mašāḥu* II “shining, flashing”, usually referring to celestial bodies (stars, meteors, etc.) but here, probably, to another weather phenomenon.

U r. 15': The alliteration in this line is hard to miss, strengthened by the chiasmic construction of the line (cf. *Errakal unassaḥa tarkullī* vs. *tarkullī Errakal inassaḥ*, Gilg. XI 102).

U r. 20': Restoration follows Wilcke 1999, 90 and n. 47.

U r. 21'–23': It is not clear who is the subject of these two lines. DUMU<sup>meš</sup>-šá “her sons” raises the possibility of restoring [*Bēlet*]-*ilī* in U r. 21', but the name of the goddess is never written *Be-let*-DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>: in all the Old Babylonian recensions it is either <sup>d</sup>*Nin-tu* (C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iii 28', iv 4', 13', v 37', vi 43', 46') or <sup>d</sup>*Māmi* (C<sub>1</sub> iii 33'). The subject of this line, therefore, must be *libbi ilī* “the heart of the gods”. Consequently, in U r. 22' “her sons” refers to Nintu: a recent photo of the tablet shows the end of */tu/*. That Nintu is to be restored in the broken beginning of U r. 22' is further bolstered by the fact that U r. 23' is paralleled by C<sub>1</sub> iv 14', where *lalāša išrup* is said of the goddess.

### 2.3.9 Ms. z

Copy:	Lambert 2005, plates 59–60
Tablet Siglum:	MMA 86.11.378A
Photo:	CDLI P412215
Edition:	Lambert 2005, 197–200, no. 42
Collection:	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Provenance:	
Measurements:	6.5 x 5.6 x 2.4 cm
Period:	LB or Achaemenid

On the obverse of this tablet, Enlil strives to reduce the human population by means of disease.<sup>157</sup> In col. v on the reverse (see below),<sup>158</sup> the gods accuse Enlil of having instigated the Flood and decide that other measures should be taken in the future to limit the proliferation of humankind, thus agreeing, by implication, not to bring on another Flood. Ms. z shows greater correspondence with Gilg. XI 181–204 than with the Old Babylonian Sippar recension

<sup>157</sup> Cf. Atr. I vii 27–30 = 359–363 and the Assyrian recension v 8–13 (Lambert/Millard 1969, 106).

<sup>158</sup> On the unusual difference between the size of the script on the obverse and the reverse and the number of columns on each side of the tablet, see Lambert 2005, 196.

(cf. C<sub>1</sub> vi 20ff.).<sup>159</sup> In light of the first-person forms in z v 16–21, it stands to reason that the whole narrative of ms. z was formulated in the first person. The tablet is late, perhaps of an Achaemenid hand.

Rev.

- z v 1'                    ʿx<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]
- z v 2'                    a[*t-ta apkal*(ABGAL) *ilī* (DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>) *qu-ra-du*]
- z v 3'                    k[*i-i ki-i la tam-ta-lik-ma a-bu-ba taš-kun*]  
 C<sub>1</sub> vi 20–22 [*at-ta apkal*(ABGAL)] *i-li* [qú-r]a-d[u!] [*ki-i la ta-am-li-ik-ma a-b*  
*u-ba* [( . . . ) *ta-a*]š-ku-un  
 Gilg. XI 183–184 *at-ta apkal*(ABGAL) *ilī*(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>) *qu-ra-du ki-i ki-i la*  
*tam-ta-lik-ma a-bu-bu taš-k[un]*
- z v 4'                    *ku-u*[*m taš-ku-nu a-bu-ba . . .*]  
 Gilg. XI 188 *am-ma-ku taš-ku-nu a-bu-ba*
- z v 5'                    *kūm taš-kunu abūba*(KI.MIN) <sup>d</sup>[*Èr-ra lit-ba-am-ma māta*(KUR)  
*liš-giš*]  
 Gilg. XI 194–195 *am-ma-ku taš-ku-nu a-bu-ba* <sup>d</sup>*Èr-ra lit-ba-am-ma māta*(KUR)  
*li[š]-'giš<sup>1</sup>*
- z v 6'                    *kūm taš-kunu abūba*(KI.MIN) *su-<sup>r</sup>un-qu<sup>1</sup>* [*liš-šá-kin-ma*  
*māta*(KUR) *liš-giš*]  
 Gilg. XI 192–193 *am-ma-ku taš-ku-nu a-bu-ba* *ḥu-šah-ḥu liš-šá-kin-ma māta*(KUR)  
*liš-[giš]*
- z v 7'                    *kūm taš-kunu abūba*(KI.MIN) *nēšu*(UR.MAH) *u barbaru*(UR.  
 BAR.RA) [*lit-ba-am-ma nišī*(ÜG<sup>mes</sup>) *li-še-eḥ-ḥi-ir*]  
 Gilg. XI 188–191 *am-ma-ku taš-ku-nu a-bu-ba nēšu*(UR.MAH) *lit-ba-am-ma*  
*nišī*(ÜG<sup>mes</sup>) *li-ša-aḥ-ḥi-i[r]* *am-ma-ku taš-ku-nu a-bu-ba barbaru*(UR.BAR.  
 RA) *lit-ba-am-ma nišī*(ÜG<sup>mes</sup>) *li-ša-[ḥi-ir]*
- z v 8'                    *kūm taš-kunu abūba*(KI.MIN) *pa-šuq-ti ša-la-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[ti . . . ]* ʿx<sup>1</sup>  
 [. . . ]
- z v 9'                    *ma-ta-a-ti* ʿx<sup>1</sup> [x x x (x)] *ti lu* [x x]
- z v 10'                  *dan-na* ʿx<sup>1</sup> [x x x (x)] *lib-[lu?]*
- z v 11'                  *be-el š[e-er-ti]* ʿe<sup>1</sup>-mid *še-ret-s[u]*
- z v 12'                  *be-el* [gíl-la-t]i *e-mid gíl-lat-s[u]*  
 C<sub>1</sub> vi 25 [*be-el ar-n*]im *šu-ku-un še-re-et-ka*  
 Gilg. XI 185–186 *be-el ár-ni e-mid ḥi-ṭa-a-šú be-el gíl-la-ti e-mid gíl-lat-[su]*
- z v 13'                  *iš-tu* ʿu<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>-[*mi-im-ma a-a iš-šá-kun a-bu-bu*
- z v 14'                  *ù nišī*(ÜG<sup>me[š]</sup>) *lu-ú* *da-ra-a a-na da-<sup>r</sup>riš<sup>1</sup>*
- 
- z v 15'                  *i-lam-ma* [<sup>d</sup>*En-l*]il *a-na lib-bi e[leppi]*(gí[šMÁ])

<sup>159</sup> Cf. Lambert 2005, 200.

- z v 16'** *iš-bat qa-ta [u]l-te-la-an-ni ul-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> lib-bi e[leppi](<sup>gi</sup>[<sup>s</sup>MÁ])*  
 Gilg. XI 199–200 *i-lam-ma <sup>d</sup>Enlil(IDIM) ana lib-bi eleppi(<sup>gi</sup>sMÁ) iš-bat qa-ti-ia-ma ul-te-la-an-ni ia-a-ši*
- z v 17'** *at-t[a-m]a <sup>m</sup>Zi-sù-ud-ra lu-ú Ut-napištīm(ZI-tim) [šùm-ka]*  
 Gilg. XI 203 *i-na pa-na <sup>m</sup>Ut-napištī(ZI) a-me-lu-tùm-ma*
- z v 18'** *mā[r(DU[MU-ka) ašš]at(DA)M-ka u mārat(DUMU.SAL)-ka ta-dir!(KAL)-ti lib-bi 'la?<sup>1</sup> [i?-šū?/du?]*
- z v 19'** *[lu]-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> šu-mat-ma it-ti ilī(DINGIR.DINGIR) ba-la-tu <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [x(x)]*  
 Gilg. XI 204 *e-nin-na-ma <sup>m</sup>UD-napištī(ZI) u sinništa(MUNUS)-šú lu-u e-mu-ú ki-ma ilī(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>) na-ši-ma*
- z v 20'** *[I]i-iz-ziz-ma sinništu(MUNUS) ina pu-ti-i[a]*  
 Gilg. XI 201 *uš-te-li uš-tak-mi-is sin-niš-ti ina i-di-ia*
- z v 21'** *[i]l-pu-ut pu-ta u pu-us-s[a]*
- z v 22'** *[i-na] bi-ri <sup>d</sup>A-nim u An-tu[m]*
- z v 23'** *[i-na b]i-ri <sup>d</sup>En-líl u <sup>d</sup>Nin-líl*  
 Gilg. XI 202 *il-put-tu pu-ut-ni-ma iz-za-az ina bi-ri-in-ni i-kar-ra-ban-na-ši*
- z v 24'** *[. . .] <sup>r</sup>x x (x)<sup>1</sup> [x] <sup>r</sup>x x x x<sup>1</sup>-ni-šū(?) [(x)]*
- z v 25'** *[. . .] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>En?-[líl?]*
- z v 26'** *[. . .] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> šī-bu-t[u]*
- z v 27'** *[. . . i]a-[x . . .]*

*Translation*

Rev.

- z v 1'** [. . .]
- z v 2'–3'** “Yo[u, the sage of the gods, the hero], ho[w could you lack counsel and bring about the Flood]?”
- z v 4'–5'** Inste[ad of bringing about a Flood, . . .]. Instead of bringing about a Flood, [Erra could arise and . . . *the land*].
- z v 6'–7'** Instead of bringing about a Flood, [a famine could be brought about to decimate the land]. Instead of bringing about a Flood, lions and wolves [could appear to reduce the population]
- z v 8'–10'** Instead of bringing about a Flood, suffering (and) strife [could have] . [. . .] the lands . [. . .] *may* [the *peop*]e(?) . [. . .] the strong . [. . .] *may* l[ive]
- z v 11'–12'** Make the criminal bear his crime! Make the evil-doer bear his wrong-doing!
- z v 13'–14'** From now on, let no Flood be brought about! Verily, let the people last for ever and ever!”

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z v 15'–16'	Enlil went up into the b[oa]t. He took my hand and escorted me from the boat:
z v 17'	“You are Zisudra, (from now on) let [your name] be Ūt-napištim.
z v 18'	[Your] son, your wife (and) your daughter [will not know(?)] <i>sorrow</i> of heart.
z v 19'	You will become like a god; [you will receive] life.
z v 20'	Let the lady stand opposite me”.
z v 21'	He touched my brow and her brow.
z v 22'	Between Anu and Antu,
z v 23'	between Enlil and Ninlil,
z v 24'	[. . .] his . . . [( . . . )]
z v 25'	[. . .] Enlil,
z v 26'	[. . .] the elders,
z v 27'	[. . .]

### Commentary

z v 4'–8': For *kūm* instead of *ammaki* in Gilg. XI, see Lambert 2005, 200.

z v 4': The notation “10” at the beginning of the line makes clear that at least 6 lines are missing from the beginning of the column (another such notation appears in z v 13')

z v 5': Lambert (2005, 198) restored [*nišī(ŪG<sup>meš</sup>)* . . .], but the comparison with Gilg. XI 194–195 suggests rather [*māta(KUR) liš-giš*].

z v 10': *lib-[lu?]*, following Lambert 2005, 200.

z v 11'–12': The principle of personal accountability, according to which every person atones for his own sin, and no collective punishment is meted out, is the basis of the post-diluvial moral system. It is not easy to find parallels in Mesopotamian wisdom literature to such a strict formulation, but a similar view is found in Ezek. 14:12–23 (see Daiches 1905; Bodi 2015 and commentary to C<sub>1</sub> vi 25).

z v 13': For the conflated form *iš-šá-kun*, see Lambert 2005, 200 (mistakenly commenting on l. 14').

z v 14': With the copy, read *da-ra-a a-na da-ri-iš* (Lambert 2005, 198 omitted *a-na*).

z v 15'–16': Entering and leaving the boat, here and in Gilg. XI 199, is described with the verb *elū*. Enlil goes up into the boat, just as Ūta-napištim's family did when entering it, just before the Flood started (Gilg. XI 85). – Note the unmistakable assonance in this line: *išbat qāta ultēlanni ultu libbi eleppi*. This alliteration emphasizes the movement of the protagonist from the boat to the exterior.

z v 15'–17': I do not know of another example in Mesopotamian literature where a god changes the name of a human hero as a sign of favor and covenant.<sup>160</sup> To find parallels to that, one must turn to the Bible. The prime example of name changing is Gen. 17:1–15: “And Abram was ninety-nine years old, and god appeared to Abram, and he said to him, ‘I am the almighty god; walk before me and be perfect. And I will place my covenant between me and between you, and I will multiply you very greatly’. And Abram fell upon his face, and god spoke with him, saying, ‘As for me, behold my covenant is with you, and you shall become the father of a multitude of nations. And your name shall no longer be called Abram, but your name shall be Abraham, for I have made you the father of a multitude of nations’”.<sup>161</sup>

z v 18': For *adirti libbi*, see Lambert 2005, 201. – The half-broken sign by the end looks like a /la/, leading to the plausible restoration 'lā' [īšû/īdû] “[will not know(?)/have(?)] sorrow of heart”.

z v 19': The assonance of *šumâtma* (*ew/mû-Š* 2 sg. stat.) plays on *mātu* “to die”, creating a semantic polarity with *balātu* at the end of the line.

## 2.4 GILGAMESH TABLET XI

Copy:	See Index of Cuneiform Tablets, George 2003, 977–986.
Tablet Sigla:	See Tablet of Manuscripts, George 2003, 700–702.
Photo:	
Edition:	George 2003, 702–717
Collection:	See Tablet of Manuscripts, George 2003, 700–702.
Provenance:	See Tablet of Manuscripts, George 2003, 700–702.
Measurements:	
Period:	SB (NA mss.)

The most complete version of the Flood is found in Tablet XI of the Epic of Gilgameš. The frame of this story is the meeting between Ūta-napišti and Gilgameš. Ūta-napišti tells Gilgameš all about the events that led to his joining the community of the gods and gaining eternal life.

The edition which follows is based on George's 2003 meticulous work, but a new translation is offered. The different manuscripts of Tab. XI are not distinguished, unless they contain divergent readings of substantial im-

<sup>160</sup> Unlike men, deities and demons often have different names, or appellations by which they are referred on different occasions, as e.g. the seven names of Lamaštu (Farber 2014, 145: 1–7). The moment at which a god receives a new name can be found in Enūma eliš VI 101, where Anšar calls Marduk by the name of Asarluhi (Lambert 2013, 116f.).

<sup>161</sup> See also Gen. 17:15 (Abraham's wife: Sarai → Sarah) and Gen. 32:29 (Jacob → Israel).

portance. When variants are mentioned, they follow the sigla of George's edition.<sup>162</sup>

- Gilg. XI 1 <sup>d</sup>GIŠ-gīm-maš a-na šá-šu-ma izakkara(MU)<sup>ra</sup> a-na <sup>m</sup>UD-napištī(ZI) ru-ú-qí
- Gilg. XI 2 a-na-at-ṭa-la-kum-ma <sup>m</sup>UD-napištī(ZI)
- Gilg. XI 3 mi-na-tu-ka ul šá-na-a ki-i ia-ti-ma at-ta
- Gilg. XI 4 ù at-ta ul šá-na-ta ki-i ia-ti-ma at-ta
- Gilg. XI 5 ṛgu-um-mur-ka<sup>1</sup> lib-bi ana e-peš tu-qu-un-ti
- Gilg. XI 6 [x] x a-ḥi ṛna-da<sup>1</sup>-at e-lu še-ri-ka
- Gilg. XI 7 [at-t]a ṛki-ki-i<sup>1</sup> ta-az-ziz-ma ina puḥur(UKKIN) ilī(DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>) ba-la-ṭa téš-ú
- 
- Gilg. XI 8 [<sup>m</sup>U]D-napištī(ZI)<sup>tim</sup> a-na šá-šu-ma izakkara(MU)<sup>ra</sup> a-na <sup>d</sup>GIŠ-gīm-maš
- Gilg. XI 9 lu-up-te-ka <sup>d</sup>GIŠ-gīm-maš a-mat ni-ṣir-ti
- Gilg. XI 10 ù pi-riš-ti šá ilī(DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>) ka-a-šá lu-uq-bi-ka
- Gilg. XI 11 [<sup>u</sup>]ṛŠu-ri-ip-pak ālu(URU) šá ti-du-šu at-ta
- Gilg. XI 12 ā[lu(URU)]? šá ina kišā[d(GÚ)]<sup>id</sup>Pu-rat-ti šak-nu
- Gilg. XI 13 [ā]u(URU) šu-ú la-bir-ma ilū(DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>) qer-bu-ṛšú<sup>1</sup>
- Gilg. XI 14 [a-n]a šá-kan a-bu-bi ub-la lib-ba-šú-nu ilī(DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>) rabūti(GAL<sup>meš</sup>)
- Gilg. XI 15 [it]-ma-ma abu(AD)-šú-nu <sup>d</sup>A-num
- Gilg. XI 16 ma-lik-šú-nu qu-ra-du <sup>d</sup>En-líl
- Gilg. XI 17 [gu]-za-lá-šú-nu <sup>d</sup>Nin-urta
- Gilg. XI 18 gú-ṛgal-la<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu<sup>163</sup> <sup>d</sup>En-nu-gi
- Gilg. XI 19 <sup>d</sup>Nin-ši-kù <sup>d</sup>É-a it-ti-šú-nu ta-mì-ma
- Gilg. XI 20 a-mat-su-nu ú-šá-an-na-a a-na ki-ik-ki-šú
- Gilg. XI 21 ki-ik-kiš ki-ik-kiš i-gar i-gar
- Gilg. XI 22 ki-ik-ki-šu ši-me-ma i-ga-ru ḥi-is-sa-as
- C<sub>2</sub> i 20'-21' i-ga-ru ši-ta-am-mi-a-an-ni ki-ki-šu šu-uš-ṣi-ri ka-la zi-ik-ri!(Text: ZI)-ia
- Ark 1 i-ga-ar i-ga-a[r k]i-ki-iš ki-ki-iš
- I 14 [i]-ga-ru-ma ši-m[e. . .]
- U 14-16 [iz-za-ka]r a-na ki-ki-ši [. . .] ki-kiš ki-k[iš] [. . . ši]-ta-ma-ni
- Gilg. XI 23 ṛšū-ru-up-pa-ku-ú mār(DUMU) <sup>m</sup>Ubara-<sup>d</sup>Tu-tu
- Gilg. XI 24 ú-qur bīta(É) bi-ni eleppa(<sup>gis</sup>MÁ)
- C<sub>2</sub> i 22' ú-pu-ud bi-ta bi-ni e-le-ep-pa

<sup>162</sup> New manuscripts of Gilg. XI were identified by E. Jiménez (personal communication). I did not have access to them.

<sup>163</sup> A textual corruption for *gallāšunu* "their sheriff".

- Ark 4 *ú-pu-ud bítam*(É) *bi-ni eleppam*(MÁ)  
 J 6' [ . . . ] *eleppam*(<sup>g</sup>isMÁ) *ra-bí-tam bi-ni-ma*  
 Gilg. XI 25 *muš-šir mešrám*(NÍG.TUKU)-*ma še-<sup>3</sup>-i napšāti*(ZImeš)  
 Gilg. XI 26 [m]a-ak-ku-ru ze-er-ma na-piš-ti bul-li-ít  
 C<sub>2</sub> i 23'-24' *ma-ak-ku-ra zé-e-er-ma* <sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-pi-iš-ta bu-ul-li-ít  
 Ark 5 *na-pí-iš-tam šu-ul-lim*  
 Gilg. XI 27 [š]u-li-ma zēr(NUMUN) *nap-šá-a-ti ka-la-ma a-na lib-bi*  
*eleppi*(<sup>g</sup>isMÁ)  
 Gilg. XI 84 *mim-ma i-š[u-ú e-še-e]n-ši zēr*(NUMUN) *napšāti*(ZImeš) *ka-la-ma*  
 Gilg. XI 28 *eleppu*([<sup>g</sup>is<sup>1</sup>]MÁ) *šá ta-ban-nu-ši at-<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>*  
 Gilg. XI 29 *lu-ú mìn-du-da mi-na-tu-<sup>1</sup>šá<sup>1</sup>*  
 Gilg. XI 30 [l]u-ú mīt-ḥur ru-pu-us-sa ù mu-rak-šá  
 C<sub>1</sub>+C<sub>2</sub> i 25'-28' [e]le-ep-pu ša ta-ba-an-nu-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[ší] [ . . . ] mī-it-ḥ[ur-ra-at . . . ]  
 [ . . . ] [ . . . k]i<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ip!<sup>1</sup>-pa-ti<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ]  
 Ark 6-8 *eleppam*(MÁ) *te-ep-pu-šu e-[š]e-er-ši-ma e-še-er-ti ki-[i]p-pa-tim lu*  
*mī-it-ḥa-ar ši-id-da-[š]a ù pu-ul[s-sa]*  
 W 1'-2' [x x x]-<sup>1</sup>sá?<sup>1</sup> lu <sup>1</sup>mīn?<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>du?<sup>1</sup>-[da?<sup>1</sup>. . . ] [x x x] ki-ma <sup>1</sup>kip-pa-ti<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ]  
 W 16' [<sup>d</sup>É]-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> ina qaq-qa-ri e-[šir ú-šur-tu]  
 Gilg. XI 31 [k]i-ma apšī(ABZU) *šá-a-ši šu-ul-lil-ši*  
 C<sub>1</sub> i 29'... i 31' [k]i-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> Ap-si-i šu-a-ti šú-ul-li-<sup>1</sup>il-šī<sup>1</sup>... lu-ú šú-ul-lu-la-at e-lī-iš  
 ù ša-ap-li-iš  
 J r. 9' [ . . . ] x šú-lu-la dan-na šú-ul-lil  
 W 3' [šulūlu/šulūša] lu da-an e-liš u š[ap-liš]  
 Gilg. XI 32 [a]-na-ku i-de-ma azakkara(MU)<sup>a</sup> a-na <sup>d</sup>É-a be-lī-ia  
 Gilg. XI 33 [am-g]ur be-lī šá taq-ba-a at-ta ki-a-am  
 Gilg. XI 34 [at]-ta-<sup>3</sup>-id a-na-ku ep-pu-uš  
 W 17' [am?-gur? b]e-lī šá taq-ba-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ]  
 Gilg. XI 35 [ki-m]i lu-pu-ul āla(URU) *um-ma-nu ù ši-bu-tum*  
 Gilg. XI 36 [<sup>d</sup>]É<sup>1</sup>-a pa-a-šú i-pu-uš-ma iqabbi(DUG<sub>4</sub>.GA)  
 Gilg. XI 37 *i-zak-ka-ra ana ardi*(ĪR)-šú ia-a-tú  
 Gilg. XI 38 <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> at-ta ki-a-am ta-qab-ba-áš-<sup>1</sup>šú-nu-ti<sup>1</sup>  
 Gilg. XI 39 [mī]n-de-ma ia-a-ši <sup>d</sup>En-líl i-ze-er-an-ni-ma  
 Gilg. XI 40 [u]l uš-šab ina <sup>1</sup>āli(URU)<sup>1</sup>-[ku]-nu-ma  
 Gilg. XI 41 [ina] qaq-qar <sup>d</sup>En-líl ul a-šak-ka-n[a še-p]i-ia-a-ma  
 Gilg. XI 42 [ur-r]ad-ma ana Apšī(ABZU) it-ti <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>É-a [b]e-lī-ia áš-ba-ku  
 C<sub>1</sub> i 47'-49' [ú-ul] ú-uš-ša-ab i-na U[RU-ku-nu-ma] [i-na] er-še-et <sup>d</sup>En-líl ú-ul  
 a-[ša-ak-ka-an še-pi-ia] [it-ti i-lī ú-[(ur)-ra-ad a-na Apšī]  
 J<sub>1</sub> 3' [ . . . i-na] er-še-e[t <sup>d</sup>En-líl. . . ]  
 Gilg. XI 43 [ana k]a-a-šú-nu ú-šá-az-na-[n]ak-ku-nu-ši nu-uḥ-šam-ma  
 Gilg. XI 44 [ḥi-šib] iṣšūrāti(MUŠEN<sup>meš</sup>) pu-zu-ur nūnī(KU<sub>6</sub><sup>meš</sup>)-ma  
 C<sub>1</sub> i 34'-35' a-na-ku ul-li-iš ú-šá-az-na-na-ak-ku ḥi-iš-bi iṣ-šú-ri bu-du-ri nu-ni

- Gilg. XI 45 *i[l?-. . .] x x x x meš-ra-a e-bu-ra-am-ma*  
 Gilg. XI 46 *ina ʿše<sup>1</sup>-er ku-uk-ki*  
 Gilg. XI 47 *ina li-la-ʿa-ti ú<sup>1</sup>-šá-az-na-na-ku-nu-ši šá-mu-ut ki-ba-a-ti*  
 ----  
 Gilg. XI 48 *mim-mu-ú ʿše-e<sup>1</sup>-ri ina na-ma-ʿa-ri<sup>1</sup>*  
 U r. 12' [i?-na?] ʿše<sup>1</sup>-ri ru-ku-ub ilāni(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>) muš-šu-ḥ[u?x x]  
 Gilg. XI 97 *mim-mu-ú še-e-ri ina na-ma-ri*  
 Gilg. XI 49 *ana bāb(KÁ) a-tar-ḥa-s[is] i-pa-aḥ-ḥur ma-a-[tum]*  
 Gilg. XI 50 *<sup>lú</sup>naggāru(NAGAR) na-ši pa-as-[su]*  
 C<sub>2</sub> ii 11' *na-ga-[ru na-ši pa-as-su]*  
 Gilg. XI 51 *<sup>lú</sup>atkuppu(AD.KID) na-ši a-b[a-an-šu]*  
 C<sub>2</sub> ii 12' *at-ku-up-[pu na-ši a-ba-ri-šu]*  
 Gilg. XI 52 *a-ga-si-li-ga-[šú? na-ši? . . .]*  
 Gilg. XI 53 *<sup>lú</sup>eḫlūtu(GURUŠ<sup>mes</sup>) i-x-[. . .]*  
 Gilg. XI 54 *ši-bu-ti i-[zab-b]i-ʿlu<sup>1</sup> pi-ʿtil!?-ta<sup>1</sup>*  
 Gilg. XI 55 *[š]á-ru-u na-ʿš<sup>1</sup> kup-ra*  
 Gilg. XI 56 *lap-nu x [. . . ḥi-š]iḥ-tu ub-la*  
 C<sub>2</sub> ii 13'-14' *ku-up-ra [it-ta-ši ša-ru-ú] la-ap-nu [ḥi-ših-ta ub-la]*  
 Gilg. XI 57 *ina ḥa-an-ši u<sub>4</sub>-mi [a]t-ta-di bu-na-šá*  
 Gilg. XI 58 *iki(1.IKU) kippat(GÚR)-sa 10 nindanā(NINDAN.TA.ÀM)*  
*šaq-qa-a igārātu(É.GAR<sub>8</sub><sup>mes</sup>)-šá*  
 Gilg. XI 59 *10 nindanā(NINDAN.TA.ÀM) im-ta-ḥir ki-bir muḥ-ḥi-šá*  
 Gilg. XI 60 *ad-di la-an-[šá] šá-a-ši e-šir-ši*  
 Gilg. XI 61 *ur-tag-gi-ib-ši ana 6-šú*  
 Gilg. XI 62 *[a]p-ta-ra-a[s-s]u a-na 7-šú*  
 Gilg. XI 63 *qer-bi-is-sú ap-ta-ra-as a-na 9-šú*  
 Ark 17 *ar-ku-ús ḥi-in-ni-ša<sup>o</sup> e-le-nu-um ʿú<sup>1</sup> ša-ap-lu<sup>o</sup>-um*  
 Gilg. XI 64 *<sup>giš</sup>sikkāt(GAG<sup>mes</sup>) mē(A<sup>mes</sup>) ina qabli(MURUB<sub>4</sub>)-šá lu-ú am-*  
*ʿḥaš<sup>1</sup>*  
 Gilg. XI 65 *a-mur pa-ri-su ù ḥi-ših-tum ad-ʿdi<sup>1</sup>*  
 Gilg. XI 66 *3 šár ku-up-ri at-ta-bak ana ki-i-ri*  
 J<sub>1</sub> 7' [. . .] ʿx<sup>1</sup> ki-ra-a-[(x)] ʿti?<sup>1</sup> [. . .]  
 Gilg. XI 67 *3 šár ESIR(.)x [. . .] a-na lib-bi*  
 Gilg. XI 68 *3 šár šābū(ÉRIN<sup>mes</sup>) na-áš<sup>o</sup> <sup>giš</sup>su-us-su-ul šá i-zab-bi-lu*  
*šamnu(Ì.GIŠ)*  
 Ark 18-24 *1 šu-ši iṭṭām(ESIR) ki-da-ti-ša ap!-[r]u-ús 1 šu-ši iṭṭām(ESIR) qí-*  
*ri-ib-ša ʿap<sup>1</sup>-[r]u-ús 1 šu-ši iṭṭām(ESIR) a-na ḥi-in-ni-ša aš-[t]a-pa-ak uš-ta-ar-*  
*ki-ib ŠÁR x 8 kupram(ʿESIR.UD.DU.A<sup>1</sup>) [i-n]a ki-ra-ti-ia ù ŠÁR iṭṭām(ESIR)*  
*a-na li-ib-bi aš-pu-uk iṭṭām(ESIR) ú-ul iq-r[i]-ba-am-ma 5 šu-ši na-ʿḥa<sup>1</sup>-[a]m*  
*ú-ʿre<sup>1</sup>-[e]d-di*  
 Gilg. XI 69 *e-zu-ub šár šamni(Ì.GIŠ) ʿšá i<sup>1</sup>-ku-lu ni-iq-qu*

- Gilg. XI 70 2 šár šamni(Ì.GIŠ) [šá] ú-pa-az-zi-ru malāhu(<sup>lú</sup>MÁ.LAH<sub>4</sub>)  
 Ark 33 e-zu-ub 2 (× 60) kur(G[UR]) 'ú-pa-az-zi-rù<sup>1</sup> um-mi-[a-nu]  
 Ark 58 e-zu-ub 30 kur(GUR) ú-pa!-az-zi-rù<sup>lú.mes</sup>um-mi-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[nu]  
 Gilg. XI 71 a-na 'um<sup>1</sup>-m[an-na-ti] uť-tāb-bi-iḫ alpī(GU<sub>4</sub><sup>mes</sup>)  
 Gilg. XI 72 áš-gi-iš immerī(UDU.NÍTA<sup>mes</sup>) u<sub>4</sub>-mi-šam-ma  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 32"-33" el-lu-ti iť-[bu-uh al-p]i ka-ab-ru-ti [iš-gi-iš im-me]-ri  
 Ark 43 'ú<sup>o1</sup> áš<sup>o-</sup>'gi<sup>o1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>iš<sup>o1</sup> . . . [ . . . ] e? ša-ap-ti-ia  
 Gilg. XI 73 si-ri-š[ú ku-ru]-un-nu šamna(Ì.GIŠ) ù karāna(GEŠTIN)  
 Gilg. XI 74 um-ma-n[i áš-qi] ki-ma mē(A<sup>mes</sup>) nārim(ÍD)-ma  
 Gilg. XI 75<sup>164</sup> i-sin-na ip-pu-šú ki-i u<sub>4</sub>-mi a-ki-tim-ma  
 Gilg. XI 76 <sup>d</sup>Šam[šú(UTU) ina a-še-e? ana?] piš-šá-ti qa-ti ad-di  
 Gilg. XI 77 [la-a]m <sup>d</sup>Šamši(UTU) ra-bé-e eleppu(<sup>gis</sup>MÁ) gam-rat  
 Gilg. XI 78 [ . . . ] x šup-šu-qu-ma  
 Gilg. XI 79 'gi-ir<sup>1</sup> tarkullī(MÁ.MUG!.'MEŠ<sup>1</sup>) 'nit<sup>1</sup>-tab-ba-lu e-liš u  
 šap-liš  
 Gilg. XI 80 [a-di? . . . il-l]i-ku ši-ni-pat-su  
 ----  
 Gilg. XI 81 [mim-ma i-šu-ú] 'e-še<sup>1</sup>-en-ši  
 Gilg. XI 82 mim-ma i-šu-ú e-še-en-ši kasp(KÙ.BABBAR)  
 Gilg. XI 83 'mim-ma i<sup>1</sup>-š[u-ú] 'e<sup>1</sup>-še-en-ši ḫurāša(KÙ.SIG<sub>17</sub>)  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 30"-31" mi-im-ma 'i<sup>1</sup>-[šu-ú i-še-en-ši kasp] mi-im-ma i-š[u-ú i-še-en-ši  
 ḫurāša]  
 Gilg. XI 84 mim-ma i-š[u-ú e-še-e]n-ši zēr(NUMUN) napšāti(ZI<sup>mes</sup>) ka-  
 la-ma  
 Ark 4-5 ú-pu-ud bītam(É) bi-ni eleppam(MÁ) m[a-a]k-ku-ra-am ze-e[r-ma]  
 na-pi-iš-tam šu-ul-lim  
 Gilg. XI 27 [š]u-li-ma zēr(NUMUN) nap-šá-a-ti ka-la-ma a-na lib-bi eleppi(-  
<sup>gis</sup>MÁ)  
 Gilg. XI 85 uš-te-li a-[na] libbi(ŠÀ!) eleppi(<sup>gis</sup>MÁ) ka-la kim-ti-ia u sa-  
 lat-ia  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 42" [ . . . ] x 'ki<sup>1</sup>-im-ta-šu uš-te-ri-ib  
 Ark 34-35 'uš<sup>1</sup>-ta-na-'al<sup>1</sup>-[la?-ak?-šu?-nu?-ti? i?]-n]a? ri-a-ši a-na eleppi(MÁ)  
 'i<sup>1</sup>-[ru-bu-ma] x x k[i-i]m 'sa<sup>1</sup>-al-la-at  
 J r. 13' [šūli ana eleppi sa-lat-k]a u kin-ta-k[a!]  
 W 6'-8' [<sup>gis</sup>MÁ] e-ru-um-ma bāb(KÁ) eleppi(<sup>gis</sup>MÁ) tir-[ra] . . . [DAM-k]a ki-  
 mat-ka sa-lat-ka u mārī(DUMU<sup>mes</sup>) um-m[a-ni]  
 Gilg. XI 86 bu-ul šēr[i(EDIN)] 'ú<sup>1</sup>-ma-am šēri(EDIN) 'mārī(DUMU<sup>mes</sup>)<sup>1</sup>  
 um-ma-a-ni ka-li-šú-nu ú-še-li

<sup>164</sup> At the beginning of the line, ms. T<sub>1</sub> has an unparalleled text, almost entirely broken: [ . . . ]-ri.

- C<sub>1</sub> ii 36<sup>n</sup>–38<sup>n</sup> *bu-u*[l . . . *iš-ta*]-*ka-an na*-[*ma-aš-še*]-<sup>r</sup>*e*?<sup>1</sup> *še-ri mārī*(DU[MU<sup>mes</sup>])  
*um-ma-ni*(?) *uš*]-*te-ri-ib*
- J r. 11' [ . . . *bu-ul še*]-<sup>r</sup>*rim*?<sup>1</sup> *ú-ma-am še-rim iš-šur ša-me-e*
- W 9' [*bu-ul* [š]ēri(E)DIN] *ú-ma-am šēri*(EDIN) *ma-la urqētu*(Ú.ŠIM) *me-er*-  
[<sup>r</sup>*i-sun*]
- Gilg. XI 87 *a-dan*-<sup>r</sup>*na*<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>*Šamaš*(UTU) *iš-ku-nam-ma*
- Gilg. XI 88 *ina še-er ku-u*[*k-k*]*i ina li-la-a-ti ú-šá-az-na-an-nu šá-mu-ut*  
*ki-ba-a-ti*
- Gilg. XI 89 *e-ru-ub ana* [*li*]*b-bi eleppim*(<sup>gis</sup>MÁ)-*ma pi-ḥe bāb*(KÁ)-*ka*<sup>165</sup>
- Gilg. XI 90 *a-dan-nu šu-ú ik-tal-da*
- Gilg. XI 91 *ina še-er ku-u*[*k-k*]*i ina li-la-a-ti ú-šá-az-na-na šá-mu-ut*<sup>166</sup>  
*ki-ba-ti*
- Gilg. XI 92 *šá u<sub>4</sub>-mi at*-<sup>r</sup>*ta*<sup>1</sup>-*ṭal bu-na-šu*  
C<sub>1</sub> ii 48<sup>n</sup> *u<sub>4</sub>-mu iš-nu-ú pa-nu-ú-šu*
- Gilg. XI 93 *u<sub>4</sub>-mu a-na i-tap-lu-si pu-luḥ-ta i-ši*
- Gilg. XI 94 *e-ru-ub ana lib-bi eleppim*(<sup>gis</sup>MÁ)-*ma ap-te-ḥe ba-a-bi*  
C<sub>1</sub> ii 51' [*k*]*u-up-ru ba-bi-il i-pé-eḥ-ḥi ba-ab-šu*
- I<sub>1</sub> B 1' [*ú*]-*pa-ḥi-šu* [ . . . ]
- U r. 3' [*i-ru-u*]*m-ma ip-ḥa-a* <sup>gis</sup>[MÁ]
- W 4' [x (x)] <sup>r</sup>*x*<sup>1</sup>-*e pi-ḥi* <sup>gis</sup>[MÁ]
- Gilg. XI 95 *a-na pe-ḥi-i šá eleppi*(<sup>gis</sup>MÁ) <sup>m</sup>*Pu-zu-ur*-<sup>d</sup>*Enlil*(KUR.GAL)  
*malāḥi*(<sup>lu</sup>MA.LAḤ<sub>4</sub>)<sup>167</sup>
- Gilg. XI 96 *ēkalla*(É.GAL) *at-ta-din a-di bu-še-e-šú*  
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- Gilg. XI 97 *mim-mu-ú še-e-ri ina na-ma-ri*  
U r. 12' [r?-na?] <sup>r</sup>*še*<sup>1</sup>-*ri ru-ku-ub ilāni*(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>) *muš-šu-ḥ*[*u*?x x]
- Gilg. XI 48 *mim-mu-ú* <sup>r</sup>*še*-*e*<sup>1</sup>-*ri ina na-ma*-<sup>r</sup>*a-ri*<sup>1</sup>
- Gilg. XI 98 *i-lam-ma iš-tu i-šid šamē*(AN)<sup>e</sup> *ur-pa-tum ša-lim-tum*
- Gilg. XI 99 <sup>d</sup>*Adad*(IŠKUR) *ina lib-bi-šá ir-tam-ma-am-ma*<sup>168</sup>  
C<sub>1</sub> ii 53<sup>n</sup> <sup>d</sup>*Adad*(IŠKUR) *i-ša-ag-gu-um i-na er-pé-ti*
- Gilg. XI 100 <sup>d</sup>*Šullat u* <sup>d</sup>*Ḥániš il-la-ku ina maḥ-ri*
- Gilg. XI 101 *il-la-ku guzalû*(GU.ZA.LÁ<sup>mes</sup>) *šadû*(KUR)<sup>ú</sup> *u ma-a-tum*
- Gilg. XI 102 <sup>r</sup>*tar*<sup>1</sup>-*ku-li* <sup>d</sup>*Ēr-ra-kal i-na-as-saḥ*  
U r. 15' [<sup>d</sup>]*Ēr-ra-kal ú-na-sa-ḥa* [*ar-kul-li*]
- Gilg. XI 103 *il-lak* <sup>d</sup>*Nin-urta*<sup>1</sup> *mi-iḥ-ri*<sup>169</sup> *ú-šar-di*  
U r. 14' [*il*]-*lak* <sup>d</sup>*Nin-urta mi-iḥ-ra* [*ú-šar-di*]

<sup>165</sup> Ms. W<sub>1</sub> (K.8517+): *pi-ḥe* <sup>gis</sup>MÁ.

<sup>166</sup> Ms. W<sub>1</sub>: *i-za-an-na-nu šá-mu-tu*.

<sup>167</sup> Ms. W<sub>1</sub>: *pe-ḥe*-<sup>r</sup>*e*<sup>1</sup>, *a-na Pu-zu*-<*ur*>-<sup>r</sup>*d*KUR<sup>1</sup>.GAL.

<sup>168</sup> Ms. W<sub>1</sub>: [*iš/ir-tag*]-<sup>r</sup>*gu-um*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>169</sup> Ms. C: *mi-iḥ-ra*.

- Gilg. XI 104 <sup>d</sup>*A-nun-na-ki iš-šu-ú di-pa-ra-a-ti*
- Gilg. XI 105 *ina nam-ri-ir-ri-šú-nu ú-ḥa-am-ma-ṭu ma-a-tum*
- Gilg. XI 106 *šá<sup>d</sup> Adad(IŠKUR) šu-ḥar-ra-as-<sup>r</sup>su<sup>1</sup> i-ba-<sup>3</sup>-ú šamē(AN)<sup>e</sup>*
- Gilg. XI 107 *[mi]m-ma nam-ru ana <sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-[<sup>3</sup>-u]m-[mat] ut-ter-ru*
- Gilg. XI 108 *[ir-ḥ]i-i-š māta(KUR) kīma(GIM) alp[i(GU<sub>4</sub>) . . .] x iḥ-p[i-šá]*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 15' *[a-bu-b]u ki-ma li-i i-ša-ap-pu*  
 U r. 13' *[i-r]a-ḥi-i-š i-da-ak i-da-ás [x x x]*  
 I<sub>1</sub> B 6' *ki ka-ar-pa-at-šu [ri-gim-ša iḥ-pí]*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 9'-10' *[. . . m]a-ta-am [ki-ma ka-ar-pa-ti r]i-gi-im-ša iḥ-pí*  
 U r. 17' *[x x m]āta(K[UR]) ki-ma karpatī(DUG) mi-lik-šá is-p[u-uh]*
- Gilg. XI 109 *<sup>r</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-en u<sub>4</sub>-ma me-ḥ[u-ú . . .]*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 5' *[u<sub>4</sub>-ma iš-r]e-en me-ḥu-ú*
- Gilg. XI 110 *ḥa-an-ṭiš i-zi-qam-ma x [. . .]šī šadā(KUR)<sup>a</sup> <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[bu-bu?]*  
 U r. 6' *šu-ú-tu il-ta-nu šadū(KUR<sup>b</sup>) a-mur-[ru]*
- Gilg. XI 111 *ki-ma qab-li eli(UGU) nišī(ÚG<sup>mes</sup>) ú-ba-<sup>3</sup>-ú [ka-šú-šú]*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 24' *[li-ib]-bi i-li uš-ta-ka-a[d]*  
 U r. 21' *[. . . DINGIR]<sup>mes</sup> ul-ta-dar*
- Gilg. XI 112 *ul im-mar a-ḥu a-ḥa-šū*
- Gilg. XI 113 *ul ú-ta-ad-da-a nišū(ÚG<sup>mes</sup>) ina <sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-r[a-šī]<sup>170</sup>*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 12'-14' *[ki-ma qá-ab-l]i <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-li ni-ši i-ba-a<sup>3</sup> ka-šū-šu [ú-ul] <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-mu-ur a-ḥu a-ḥa-šū [ú-ul] <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-te-ed-du-ú i-na ka-ra-ši*
- Gilg. XI 114 *ilū(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>) ip-tal-ḥu a-bu-ba-am-ma*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 23' *[ip-la-aḥ-ma A-nu] ri-gi-im a-[bu-bi]*  
 U r. 20' *[ip(-ta)-lah-ma<sup>d</sup>]A?-nu rigim(KA) a-bu-bi*
- Gilg. XI 115 *it-te-eḥ-su i-te-lu-ú ana šamē(AN)<sup>e</sup> šá<sup>d</sup> A-nim*
- Gilg. XI 116 *ilū(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>) ki-ma kalbi(UR.GI<sub>7</sub>) kun-nu-nu ina ka-ma-a-ti rab-šu*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 20'-22' *[i-lu ip-la-ḥu ri-gi]-im a-bu-bi [i-na ša-ma-i pu-uz-r]a [i]-<sup>r</sup>ḥu<sup>1</sup>-zu [i-na ka-ma-ti uš]-bu*
- Gilg. XI 117 *i-šas-si<sup>d</sup> Iš-tar [k]i-ma a-lit-ti<sup>171</sup>*
- Gilg. XI 118 *ú-nam-bi<sup>172</sup> <sup>d</sup>Bēlet-ilī(MAḤ) ṭa-bat rig-ma*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 28'-29' *[<sup>d</sup>Ni]n-tu be-el-tum ra-bi-tum [pu]-ul-ḥi-ta ú-ka-la-la ša-ap-ta-ša*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 33' *ta-ab-su-ut i-li e-ri-iš-ta<sup>dr</sup> Ma<sup>1</sup>-m[i]*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iv 4' *ú-na-ab-ba<sup>d</sup> Ni[n-tu. . .]*
- Gilg. XI 119 *u<sub>4</sub>-mu ul-lu-ú a-na ṭi-iṭ-ṭi lu-ú i-tur-ma*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 34'-35' *u<sub>4</sub>-mu-um li-id-da-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[im] li-tu-ur li-ki-[il]*

170 Ms. J<sub>1</sub>: *ina A[N<sup>d</sup>]*.171 Ms. J<sub>1</sub>: *<sup>d</sup>Iš-tar ma-lit-ti*.172 Ms. T<sub>2</sub>: *ú-nam-ba*.

- Gilg. XI 120 *áš-šú a-na-ku ina pu-ḫur il[ī(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>)]<sup>173</sup> aq-bu-ú<sup>f</sup>lemut-ta(HUL)*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 36'-38' *a-na-ku i-na pu-úḫ-ri ša<sup>r</sup> i<sup>r</sup>1-[li] ki-i aq-[bi] it-ti-šu-nu ga-me-er-ta-a[m]*
- Gilg. XI 121 *ki-i aq-bi ina pu-ḫur il[ī(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>)]<sup>174</sup> flemutta(HUL)*
- Gilg. XI 122 *ana ḫul-lu-uq nišī(UG<sup>mes</sup>)-ia qab-la aq-bi-ma*
- Gilg. XI 123 *ana-ku-um-ma ul-la-da ni-šu-ú-a-a-ma*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iv 5' *a-bu-ma-an ul-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>r</sup> n[i-ši-ia]*
- Gilg. XI 124 *ki-i mārī(DUMU<sup>mes</sup>) nūnī(KU<sub>6</sub><sup>há</sup>) ú-ma-al-la-a tam-ta-am-ma*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iv 6'-7' *ti-a-am-ta ki-ma ku-li-li im-la-a-nim na-ra-am*
- Gilg. XI 125 *ilū(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>) šu-ut<sup>d</sup>A-nun-na-ki ba-ku-ú it-ti-šá*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iv 15' *i-lu it-ti-ša ib-ku-ú a-na ma-tim*  
 U r. 24'-25' [ . . . ]<sup>r</sup>MA LI<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ] [ . . . ]<sup>mes</sup> r<sub>x</sub><sup>1</sup> [ . . . ]
- Gilg. XI 126 *ilū(DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>) aš-ru áš-bi i-na bi-ki-ti<sup>175</sup>*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iv 18' *ši-i a-šar uš-bu i-na bi-ki-ti*
- Gilg. XI 127 *šab-ba šap-ta-šú-nu<sup>r</sup>le-qa<sup>1</sup>-a bu-úḫ-re-e-ti*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iv 21' *ša-mi-a ša-ap-ta-šu-nu pu-ul-ḫi-ta*
- Gilg. XI 128 *6 ur-ri ú<sup>r</sup>1 mu-šá-a-ti<sup>176</sup>*
- Gilg. XI 129 *<sup>r</sup>il<sup>1</sup>-lak šá-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ru ra-a-du mi-ḫu-ú a-b[u-bu . . .]<sup>177</sup>*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iv 24'-25' *7 u<sub>4</sub>-mi 7 mu-š[i-a-ti] il-li-ik ra-<sup>r</sup>du me-ḫu-ú<sup>1</sup> [a-bu-bu]*  
 U r. 7' *si-qu-šú siq-si-qu me-ḫu-ú rād[u](AGA[R<sub>x</sub>])*
- Gilg. XI 130 *7-ú u<sub>4</sub>-<sup>r</sup>mu ina ka<sup>1</sup>-šá-di :*
- Gilg. XI 131 *it-ta-raq me-ḫu-ú [ . . . ]<sup>178</sup>*
- Gilg. XI 132 *šá im-taḫ-šu ki-ma ḫa-a-a-l-ti*
- Gilg. XI 133 *i-nu-úḫ tām-tu(A.AB.BA) uš-ḫa-ri-ir im-ḫul-lu a-bu-bu ik-la*
- Gilg. XI 134 *ap-pal-sa-am-ma<sup>179</sup> u<sub>4</sub>-ma šá-kin qu-lu*
- Gilg. XI 135 *ú kul-lat te-né-še-e-ti i-tu-ra a-na ṭi-it-ti*
- Gilg. XI 136 *ki-ma ú-ri mit-ḫu-rat ú-šal-lu*
- Gilg. XI 137 *ap-ti nap-pa-šá-am-ma šētu(UD.DA) im-ta-qut eli(UGU) dūr(BĀD) ap-pi-ia*  
 I<sub>2</sub> 3-5 *li-qé-ma<sup>gis</sup> mar-ra ú ḫa-ši-in-na<sup>urudu</sup>! ap-ta e-pu-uš (cf. I<sub>2</sub> 9-10)*
- Gilg. XI 138 *uk-tam-mi-is-ma at-ta-šab a-bak-ki*  
 C<sub>1</sub> ii 46" *ú-ul ú-uš-ša-ab ú-ul i-ka-am-mi-is*

<sup>173</sup> Ms. J<sub>1</sub>: *ma-ḫar* DINGIR.DINGIR.

<sup>174</sup> Ms. J<sub>1</sub>: *<sup>r</sup>šá a-na<sup>1</sup>-ku ina ma-ḫar* DINGIR.DINGIR.

<sup>175</sup> Ms. T<sub>1</sub>: *ina nu-ru-ub ni-is-<sup>r</sup>sa-ti ba<sup>1</sup>-k[u-ú it-ti-šá?]*.

<sup>176</sup> Ms. J<sub>1</sub>: *6 ur-ri ú mu-šá-a-ti*.

<sup>177</sup> Ms. J<sub>1</sub>: *il-lak šá-a-ru a-bu-<sup>r</sup>bu me<sup>1</sup>-ḫu-ú i-sap-pan* KUR.

<sup>178</sup> Ms. J<sub>1</sub>: *<sup>r</sup>te?-riq?<sup>1</sup> šu-ú a-bu-bu qab-la*.

<sup>179</sup> Ms. J<sub>1</sub>: *ap-pa-al-sa ta-ma-ta*.

- Gilg. XI 139 *eli*(UGU) *dūr*(BĀD) *ap-pi-ia il-la-ka di-ma-a-a*  
 Gilg. XI 140 *ap-pa-li-is kib-ra-a-ti pa-tu tām̄ti*(A.AB.BA)<sup>180</sup>  
 Gilg. XI 141 *a-na* 14.TA.ĀM<sup>181</sup> *i-te-la-a na-gu-ú*  
 Gilg. XI 142 *a-na šadī*(KUR) *Ni-muš i-te-mid eleppu*(<sup>giš</sup>MĀ)  
 Gilg. XI 143 *šadū*(KUR)<sup>ú</sup> <sup>KUR</sup>*Ni-muš eleppu*(<sup>giš</sup>MĀ) *iš-bat-ma a-na na-a-ši ul id-din*  
 Gilg. XI 144 *1-en u<sub>4</sub>-ma 2 u<sub>4</sub>-ma šadū*(KUR)<sup>ú</sup> *Ni-muš KIMIN (nāši ul id-din)*  
 Gilg. XI 145 *šal-šá u<sub>4</sub>-ma 4-a u<sub>4</sub>-ma šadū*(KUR)<sup>ú</sup> *Ni-muš KIMI[N] (nāši ul iddin)*  
 Gilg. XI 146 *5-šá 6-šá*<sup>182</sup> *šadū*(KUR)<sup>ú</sup> *Ni-muš KIMIN (nāši ul iddin)*  
 Gilg. XI 147 *7-ú u<sub>4</sub>-mu ina ka-šá-a-di*  
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 Gilg. XI 148 *ú-še-ši-ma summata*(TU<sup>mušen</sup>) *ú-maš-šar*  
 Gilg. XI 149 *il-lik summatu*(TU<sup>mušen</sup>) *i-pi-ra-am-m[a]*<sup>183</sup>  
 Gilg. XI 150 *man-za-zu ul i-pa-áš-šim-ma is-saḥ-r[a]*  
 I<sub>2</sub> 11–13 *dan-na-ta kap-pi su-ma-ta*<sup>mušen</sup> *ú-maš-ši-ir il-lik i-tú-ra-ma ú-ša-ni-ḥi kap-pi-ša*  
 Gilg. XI 151 *ú-še-ši-ma sinūnta*(SIM<sup>mušen</sup>) *ú-maš-š[a]r*  
 Gilg. XI 152 *il-lik sinūntu*(SIM<sup>mušen</sup>) *i-pi-ra-am-ma*<sup>184</sup>  
 Gilg. XI 153 *man-za-zu ul i-pa-áš-šim-ma is-saḥ-r*  
 Gilg. XI 154 *ú-še-ši-ma a-ri-ba ú-maš-šir*  
 Gilg. XI 155 *il-lik a-ri-bi-ma qa-ru-ra šá mē*(A<sup>meš</sup>) *i-mur-ma*  
 Gilg. XI 156 *ik-kal i-šá-aḥ-ḥi i-tar-ri ul is-saḥ-ra*  
 I<sub>2</sub> 14 *aš-ni-ma a-na-ku ku-ma-a*<sup>mušen</sup> *ú-ma-ši-ir-ma*  
 Gilg. XI 157 *ú-še-ši-ma a-na 4 šārī*(IM<sup>meš</sup>) *at-ta-qí*  
 C<sub>1</sub> v 30"–31" <sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup>-*na ša-a-r[i er-bet] [i]t-ta-qi!*(DI) [*ni-qá-a*]  
 Gilg. XI 158 *áš-kun sur-qin-nu ina muḥḥi*(UGU) *ziq-qur-rat šadī*(KUR)<sup>i</sup>  
 Gilg. XI 159 *7 u 7*<sup>DUG</sup> *adagurra*(A.DA.GUR<sub>5</sub>) *uk-tin*  
 Gilg. XI 160 *i-na šap-li-šú-nu at-ta-bak qanā*(GI) <sup>giš</sup>*erēna*(EREN) *u šim<sup>as</sup>as[a(GÍR)]*  
 Gilg. XI 161 *ilū*(DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>) *i-ši-nu i-ri-šá*  
 Gilg. XI 162 *ilū*(DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>) *i-ši-nu i-ri-šá ṭāb[a(DÙG.GA)]*  
 Gilg. XI 163 *ilū*(DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>) *ki-ma zu-um-bé-e eli*(UGU) *bēl*(EN) *niqí*(SISKUR) *ip-taḥ-ru*  
 C<sub>1</sub> v 34"–35" [*i-ši-nu i-l*] *u e-re-ša [ki-ma zu-ub-b]i e-lu ni-qí-i pa-aḥ-ru*

<sup>180</sup> Ms. T<sub>1</sub>: *ap-pa-lis kib-ra-a-ti a-n[a pa-at* A.AB.BA].

<sup>181</sup> Ms. J<sub>1</sub>: *a-na* 12.TA.ĀM.

<sup>182</sup> Ms. c<sub>3</sub>: *5-šá u<sub>4</sub>-ma 6-šá u<sub>4</sub>-ma*.

<sup>183</sup> At the end of the line, mss. J<sub>1</sub>, c<sub>3</sub> add: *i-tu-ram-m[a]*.

<sup>184</sup> At the end of the line, mss. J<sub>1</sub>, c<sub>3</sub> add: *i-tu-ram-m[a]*.

- Gilg. XI 164 *ul-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma* <sup>d</sup>Bēlet-ilī(MAH) *ina ka-šá-di-šú*  
 C<sub>1</sub> v 37" [<sup>d</sup>Nin]-tu it-bé-e-ma
- Gilg. XI 165 *iš-ši zumbē*(NIM<sup>meš</sup>) *rabûti*(GAL<sup>meš</sup>) *šá* <sup>d</sup>A-num *i-pu-šú ki-i*  
*šu-ḥi-šú*
- Gilg. XI 166 *ilū*(DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>) *an-nu-tum lu-ú* <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>uqni(ZA.GÌN) *kišādī*(GÚ)-*ia*  
 Gilg. XI 167 *ūmī*(U<sub>4</sub><sup>meš</sup>) *an-nu-ti lu-úḥ-su-sa-am-ma ana da-riš a-a am-ši*  
 C<sub>1</sub> v 46"-47" *ù ši-i ḫe-e-ma / a-na zu!-bé-e ra-bu-<sup>t</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> ša A-nu i-lu!*(ŠU)-lu!(MA)  
*i-pa-an qá-a[d!-mi!]*
- Gilg. XI 168 *ilū*(DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>) *lil-li-ku-ni a-na sur-qin-ni*  
 Gilg. XI 169 <sup>d</sup>En-líl *a-a il-li-ka a-na sur-qin-ni*  
 Gilg. XI 170 *áš-šú la im-tal-ku-ma*<sup>185</sup> *iš-ku-nu a-bu-bu*  
 Gilg. XI 171 *ù nišī*(ÙG<sup>meš</sup>)-*ia im-nu-ú ana ka-ra-ši*  
 C<sub>1</sub> iii 53'-54' (Anu) *ša la im-ta-al-ku-ma iš-ku-<sup>t</sup>nu a<sup>1</sup>-[bu-ba] ni-<sup>t</sup>ši ik-mi-su*  
*a-na ka<sup>1</sup>-[ra-ši]*  
 C<sub>1</sub> v 42"-43" (Enlil) *ša la im-ta-al-ku-ú-ma / iš-ku-nu a-bu-ba ni-ši ik-mi-su*  
*a-na ka-ra-ši*
- Gilg. XI 172 *ul-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma* <sup>d</sup>En-líl *ina ka-šá-di-šú*  
 Gilg. XI 173 *i-mur eleppam*(<sup>giš</sup>MÁ)-*ma i-te-ziz* <sup>d</sup>En-líl  
 C<sub>1</sub> vi 5-6 *ma-ku-ra i-ta-ma-ar q[ú-ra-du <sup>d</sup>En-líl] i-ib-ba-ti ma-li ša <sup>d</sup>I-gi<sup>1</sup>-*  
*[gi]*
- Gilg. XI 174 *lib-ba-ti im-ta-li šá ilī*(DINGIR.DINGIR) <sup>d</sup>I-gi-gi  
 Gilg. XI 175 [*a-a-n*]u-um-ma<sup>186</sup> *ú-šu na-pi-š-ti*  
 Gilg. XI 176 *a-a ib-luṭ amēlu*(LÚ) *ina ka-ra-š[i]*  
 C<sub>1</sub> vi 9-10 *a-ia-<sup>t</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-nu ú-ši pí-ri!<sup>1</sup>-iš-tum ki-i ib-lu-<sup>u</sup>ṭ <sup>t</sup>a-wi<sup>1</sup>-lu[m] / <sup>t</sup>i-na ka-ra-*  
*ši<sup>1</sup>*
- 
- Gilg. XI 177 <sup>d</sup>Nin-urta *pa-a-šú ipuš*(DÚ)-*ma iqabbi* (DUG<sub>4</sub>.GA)  
 Gilg. XI 178 *izakkar*(MU)<sup>ár</sup> *ana qu-ra-di* <sup>d</sup>En-[il]  
 C<sub>1</sub> vi 11-12 *A-nu pí-a-šu i-<sup>t</sup>pu-š<sup>1</sup>a-am-ma iz-za-kâr <sup>t</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-na qu-ra-<sup>t</sup>dī<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>En-lil*
- Gilg. XI 179 *man-nu-um-ma šá la* <sup>d</sup>É-a *a-ma-tu i-ban-ni*  
 Gilg. XI 180 *ù* <sup>d</sup>É-a *i-de-e-ma ka-la šip-r[i]*  
 C<sub>1</sub> vi 13-15 *ma-an-nu an-ni-tam <sup>t</sup>ša la <sup>d</sup>En-ki<sup>1</sup> i-ip-pu-uš [ki-ki-š]a ú-ša-ap-ta*  
*zi-ik-r[a]*
- 
- Gilg. XI 181 <sup>d</sup>É-a *pa-a-šú ipuš*(DÚ)-*ma iqabbi*(DUG<sub>4</sub>.GA)  
 Gilg. XI 182 *izakkar*(MU)<sup>ár</sup> *ana qu-ra-di* <sup>d</sup>En-[líl]  
 C<sub>1</sub> vi 16-17 [<sup>d</sup>En-ki] *pí-a-šu i-<sup>t</sup>pu-ša-am<sup>1</sup>-[ma] [iz-za-kâr] a-na i-li <sup>t</sup>ra-bu-ti<sup>1</sup>*
- Gilg. XI 183 *at-ta apkal*(ABGAL) *ilī*(DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>) *qu-ra-du*

<sup>185</sup> Ms. c<sub>2</sub>: *áš-šú la im-tal-li-ku-[ma]*.

<sup>186</sup> Mss. C, J<sub>1</sub>: *a-a-um-ma ú-ši*.

- Gilg. XI 184 *ki-i ki-i la tam-ta-lik-ma*<sup>187</sup> *a-bu-bu taš-k[un]*  
 C<sub>1</sub> vi 20–22 [*at-ta apkal*(ABGAL)] *i-li [qú-r]a-d[u!]* [*ki-i la ta-am-li-ik-ma a-b*]  
*u-ba [( . . ) ta-a]š-ku-un*  
 z v 2'–3' *a[t-ta apkal*(ABGAL) *ilī* (DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>) *qu-ra-du*] *k[i-i ki-i la tam-ta-lik-*  
*ma a-bu-ba taš-ku-n]*
- Gilg. XI 185 *be-el ár-ni*<sup>188</sup> *e-mid hi-ṭa-a-šú*
- Gilg. XI 186 *be-el gíl-la-ti e-mid gíl-lat-[su]*  
 C<sub>1</sub> vi 25 [*be-el ar-n*] *im šu-ku-un še-re-et-ka*  
 z v 11'–12' *be-el š[e-er-ti] 'e<sup>1</sup>-mid še-ret-s[u] be-el [gíl-la-ti] i e-mid gíl-lat-*  
*s[u]*
- Gilg. XI 187 *ru-um-me a-a ib-ba-ti-iq šu-du-ud a-a i[r-mu]*  
 C<sub>1</sub> vi 23–24 [*tu-na-ap-pí-iš l*] *i-ib-ba-ka [šú-ud-di-id] ù ru-um-mi*
- Gilg. XI 188 *am-ma-ku taš-ku-nu a-bu-ba*  
 z v 4' *ku-u[m taš-ku-nu a-bu-ba . . .]*
- Gilg. XI 189 *nēšu*(UR.MAĤ) *lit-ba-am-ma nišī*(ÛG<sup>meš</sup>) *li-ša-aḥ-ḥi-i[r]*
- Gilg. XI 190 *am-ma-ku taš-ku-nu a-bu-ba*
- Gilg. XI 191 *barbaru*(UR.BAR.RA) *lit-ba-am-ma nišī*(ÛG<sup>meš</sup>) *li-ša-*  
*[ḥi-ir]*  
 z v 7' *kūm taškunū abūba*(KI.MIN) *nēšu*(UR.MAĤ) *u barbaru*(UR.BAR.RA)  
 [*lit-ba-am-ma nišī*(ÛG<sup>meš</sup>) *li-še-eḥ-ḥi-ir]*
- Gilg. XI 192 *am-ma-ku taš-ku-nu a-bu-ba*
- Gilg. XI 193 *ḥu-šah-ḥu liš-šá-kin-ma māta*(KUR) *liš-[giš]*
- Gilg. XI 194 *am-ma-ku taš-ku-nu a-bu-ba*  
 z v 6' *kūm taškunū abūba*(KI.MIN) *su-<sup>1</sup>un-qu<sup>1</sup> [liš-šá-kin-ma māta*(KUR) *liš-*  
*giš]*
- Gilg. XI 195 *<sup>d</sup>Ēr-ra lit-ba-am-ma māta*(KUR)<sup>189</sup> *li[š]-<sup>r</sup>giš<sup>1</sup>*  
 z v 5' *kūm taškunū abūba*(KI.MIN) *<sup>d</sup>Ēr-ra lit-ba-am-ma māta*(KUR) *liš-giš]*
- Gilg. XI 196 *a-na-ku ul ap-ta-a pi-riš-ti ilī*(DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>) *rabūti*(GAL<sup>meš</sup>)
- Gilg. XI 197 *At-ra-ḥa-sis šu-na-ta ú-šab-ri-šum-ma pi-riš-ti ilī*(DINGIR-  
<sup>meš</sup>) *iš-me*
- Gilg. XI 198 *e-nin-na-ma mi-lik-šú mil-ku*
- Gilg. XI 199 *i-lam-ma <sup>d</sup>Enlil*(IDIM)<sup>190</sup> *ana lib-bi eleppi*(<sup>giš</sup>MÁ)
- Gilg. XI 200 *iš-bat qa-ti-ia-ma ul-te-la-an-ni ia-a-ši*  
 z v 15'–16' *i-lam-ma [<sup>d</sup>En-l]il a-na lib-bi e[leppi]*(<sup>giš</sup>MÁ) *iš-bat qa-ta [u]-te-*  
*la-an-ni ul-<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> lib-bi e[leppi]*(<sup>giš</sup>MÁ)
- Gilg. XI 201 *uš-te-li uš-tak-mi-is sin-niš-ti ina i-di-ia*  
 z v 20' [*l*] *i-iz-ziz-ma sinništu*(MUNUS) *ina pu-ti-ī[a]*

<sup>187</sup> Ms. c<sub>2</sub>: [*la tam*]-<sup>r</sup>*tal-lik*<sup>1</sup>-[*ma*].

<sup>188</sup> Ms. J<sub>1</sub>: *be-el hi-ṭi*.

<sup>189</sup> Ms. J<sub>1</sub>: ÛG<sup>meš</sup>.

<sup>190</sup> Ms. b: <sup>d</sup>*É-a* LUGAL.

- Gilg. XI 202 *il-pu-ut pu-ut-ni-ma iz-za-az ina bi-ri-in-ni i-kar-ra-ban-na-ši*  
 z v 21'-23' [i]l-pu-ut pu-ta u pu-us-s[a] [i-na] bi-ri <sup>d</sup>A-nim u An-tu[m] [i-na b]  
 i-ri <sup>d</sup>En-líl u <sup>d</sup>Nin-líl
- Gilg. XI 203 *i-na pa-na* <sup>m</sup>UD-napištī(ZI) *a-me-lu-tùm-ma*  
 z v 17' at-t[a-m]a <sup>m</sup>Zi-sù-ud-ra lu-ú Ut-napištīm(ZI-tim) [šùm-ka]
- Gilg. XI 204 *e-nin-na-ma* <sup>m</sup>UD-napištī(ZI) *u sinništa*(MUNUS)-šú *lu-u*  
*e-mu-ú ki-ma*  
*ilī*(DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>) *na-ši-ma*  
 I r. 2'-4' [x x (x)] 'at<sup>1</sup>-ta aššat(DAM)-ka 'x<sup>1</sup> [. . .] [x] 'x<sup>1</sup> a tuk-la-at ú 'x<sup>1</sup> [. . .]  
 ki-i ilī(DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>) ba-la-tá lu-ú [. . .]  
 z v 18'-19' mā[r(DU[MU-ka] ašš)at(DA)M-ka u mārat(DUMU.SAL)-ka  
 ta-dir!(Text:KAL)-ti lib-bi 'la?'<sup>1</sup> [i?-'šu?/du?] [lu]-'ú<sup>1</sup> šu-mat-ma it-ti ilī(DINGIR.  
 DINGIR) ba-la-tu 'x<sup>1</sup> [x (x)]
- Gilg. XI 205 *lu-ú a-šib-ma* <sup>m</sup>UD-napištī(ZI) *ina ru-ú-qí ina pi-i nārāti*(ÍD<sup>meš</sup>)
- Gilg. XI 206 *il-qu-in-ni-ma ina ru-qí ina pī*(KÁ) *nārāti*(ÍD<sup>meš</sup>) *uš-te-ši-*  
*bu-in-ni*

*Translation:*

- 1 Gilgameš addressed him, Ūta-napištī the Far-Away:
- 2-4 “I am looking at you, Ūta-napištī, and your features are not different, you are just like me. Indeed, you are not different, you are just like me.
- 5-6 My heart was ready to do battle with you, [but] my hand turned loose in front of you.
- 7 You, how did it happen that you attended the assembly of the gods, in search of life?”
- 
- 8 Ūta-napištī addressed him, Gilgameš:
- 9-10 “I will reveal to you, Gilgameš, a hidden matter, and let me tell you a secret of the gods:
- 11-13 Šuruppak, a city you know yourself, *the* [city that] is situated on the [banks] of the Euphrates – that city was ancient and the gods were in it.
- 14 The great gods decided to bring about the Flood.
- 15-18 Their father, Anu, took an oath. (So did) their counsellor, the hero Enlil, their chamberlain, Ninurta, their water inspector, Ennugi.
- 19-20 The Prince Ea, albeit likewise under oath, repeated their words to a reed fence:
- 21-22 ‘Reed fence, reed fence! Wall, wall! Listen, reed fence! Take notice, wall!

- 23–24 O man of Šuruppak, son of Ubār-Tutu, demolish the house,  
build a boat!
- 25–26 Renounce (your) wealth and seek survival! Spurn property  
and save life!
- 27 Order to enter into the boat the seed of all living creatures!
- 28–29 The boat which you will build, her measurements should  
correspond to each other:
- 30–31 her width and length should be equal. Roof her over like the  
Apsû”.
- 32 I comprehended and addressed Ea, my lord:
- 33–34 “[I ag]ree, my lord, with what you commanded. I took heed:  
I shall do it.
- 35 (But) how should I answer the city, (namely) the *crowd* and  
the elders?”
- 36–37 Ea opened his mouth to speak, addressing me, his servant:
- 38 “Then also you will say to them as follows:
- 39–40 ‘Enlil hates me no doubt, and I cannot sit in your city!
- 41–42 I cannot set my feet [on] Enlil’s ground: [I shall] go down to  
the Apsû to stay with Ea, my lord.
- 43–44 Upon you he will rain down abundance, [an abundance] of  
birds, a *riddle* of fishes!
- 45 [. . .] . . . riches (at) harvest-time!
- 46–47 In the morning he will rain down on you bread-cakes, in the  
evening, a torrent of wheat.”
- 
- 48–49 When the first sign of dawn was seen, the populace was gath-  
ering at Atra-ḫasis’s door.
- 50–52 The carpenter carried his axe, the reed-worker carried his  
*sto[ne]*, [the *sailor was carrying his*] *agasilikku* axe.
- 53–54 The young men were . . . [. . .] the old men were bearing the  
(long) rope.
- 55–56 The rich man carried the bitumen, the poor man brought the  
necessa[ry (things)].
- 57 On the fifth day I have set up her outer structure:
- 58–59 Her circumference was one *ikû*; ten *nindanu* high was her  
hull (lit. walls) – (indeed,) ten *nindanu* evenly (was the  
height) of the edge of her top.
- 60 I set up her body, I drew up her plan:
- 61–63 I roofed her with six decks, divided her (horizontally) into  
seven (floors). I divided her interior into nine (compart-  
ments).

- 64–65 I struck the water pegs into her belly. I checked the poles and set up the necessary things.
- 66 10,800 [var. 21,600] (*qû*) of dry bitumen I poured into the kiln(s),
- 67 10,800 (*qû*) of crude bitumen [(I poured)] within,
- 68 10,800 (*qû*) of oil was what the ewer-carriers brought.
- 69 In addition (to the above) there were 3,600 (*qû*) of oil which the libations consumed,
- 70 and 7,200 (*qû*) of oil [that] the sailors had cached.
- 71–72 I butchered oxen for the workmen, I slaughtered sheep daily.
- 73–74 [I gave] the expert workers [to drink] beer, ale, oil and wine like the waters of a river.
- 75 They made merry, as if it were the New Year's day!
- 76–77 At sun-[*rise*] I carried out the lubrication (of the boat) [(and) before] sunsent the boat was finished.
- 78 [. . .] were very difficult.
- 79–80 We were carrying continuously the *tarkullu*-poles for the slipway from back to front [*until*] two-thirds of it (the boat) went [(into the water)].
- 
- 81 [Whatever I had] I loaded on her (the boat):
- 82–83 Whatever silver I had, I loaded on her; whatever gold I had, I loaded on her.
- 84–85 Whatever seed, of all living creatures, I loaded on her;
- 85–86 I ordered all my kith and kin to enter into the boat; I ordered wild animals and beasts, (and) all sorts of craftsmen to enter (into the boat).
- 87–89 Šamaš had set me a fixed term: “In the morning he will rain down bread-cakes, in the evening, a torrent of wheat. Enter the boat and seal your door!”<sup>191</sup> –
- 90–91 that time had arrived. “In the morning he will cause to rain down<sup>192</sup> bread-cakes, in the evening, a torrent of wheat”.
- 92–93 The aspect of the day, I looked at it: the day was full of terror.
- 94 I entered the boat and sealed my door.
- 95–96 To the one who sealed the boat, the sailor Puzur-Enlil, I left the palace with its goods.
- 

<sup>191</sup> Var.: Seal the boat (ms W<sub>1</sub>).

<sup>192</sup> Var.: Rains will fall ms W<sub>1</sub>).

- 97–99 When the first sign of dawn was seen, a black cloud rose from the horizon. In it, Adad was bellowing recurrently.
- 100–101 Šullat and Haniš were going in the vanguard, the ‘throne-bearers’ walking over mountain and land.
- 102–102 Errakal was tearing up the mooring poles. Ninurta, while walking, made the watercourses overflow.
- 104–105 The Anunnaki carried torches, burning the land with their radiance.
- 106–107 Adad, his deadly silence went past the sky (and) all that was bright turned dark.
- 108 Like an ox [he] crushed the land, he smashed [it *like a pot*].
- 109 For one day the storm [. . .]
- 110–111 Quickly it blew and the [*Flood*. . .] the *East wind*, [annihilation] came upon the people like a battle array.
- 112–113 One person did not see another, they were not recognizable in the destruction.<sup>193</sup>
- 114–115 The gods feared the Flood, they withdrew, went up to the heaven of Anu.
- 116 The gods were curled up like dogs, they crouched outside.
- 117–118 The goddess (Bēlet-ilī, lit. Ištar) was screaming like a woman who gives birth,<sup>194</sup> Bēlet-ilī was wailing, the sweet-voiced:
- 119–120 “Days of yore have verily turned to clay, since I spoke evil in the assembly<sup>195</sup> of the gods.
- 121–122 How did I speak evil in the assembly of the gods, thus announcing a war to annihilate my people?
- 123–124 It is I who bear (them), they are my people! (Now) like little fish they fill the sea!”
- 125–127 The gods, those of the Anunnaki, were crying with her. The gods were meek, sitting in tears.<sup>196</sup> Their lips were burned, afflicted with fever.
- 128–129 For six days and seven nights<sup>197</sup> the wind was blowing, the downpour, the storm, the Fl[ood *flattened the land*.]<sup>198</sup>
- 130–131 When the seventh day arrived, the storm *relented*<sup>199</sup> [. . .]

<sup>193</sup> Var.: In the rain, or: from the sky (ms. J<sub>1</sub>).

<sup>194</sup> Var.: (Screaming) like a lament (ms. J<sub>1</sub>).

<sup>195</sup> Var. In front of the gods (ms. J<sub>1</sub>).

<sup>196</sup> Var.: They were wet with sorrow, crying wit[h her] (ms T<sub>1</sub>).

<sup>197</sup> Var.: Six days and nights (ms. J<sub>1</sub>).

<sup>198</sup> Var.: The wind was blowing, the Flood, the storm flattened the land (ms. J<sub>1</sub>).

<sup>199</sup> Var.: Relented it, was, the Flood, in its battle-like aspect (ms. J<sub>1</sub>).

- 132–133 The sea, which fought like a woman in confinement, rested.  
The windstorm grew still, the Flood stopped.
- 134–135 I looked at the weather<sup>200</sup> and there was silence: verily all  
people turned to clay.
- 136 The flooded flats were flattened like a roof.
- 137 I opened an air vent and the sunshine fell on my cheek.
- 138–139 I fell to my knees and sat weeping: the tears streaming down  
my cheek.
- 140–141 I looked around (lit. the shores), to the *extremities* of the sea:  
in fourteen<sup>201</sup> points emerged a landform.
- 142–143 On Mount Nimuš the boat landed. Mount Nimuš grasped the  
boat and did not let it go.
- 144 One day, a second day: Mount Nimuš grasped the boat and  
did not let it go.
- 145 A third day, a fourth day: Mount Nimuš grasped the boat and  
did not let it go.
- 146 A fifth (day), a sixth (day): Mount Nimuš grasped the boat  
and did not let it go.
- 147 When the seventh day arrived –  
----
- 148–150 I brought out a dove, releasing (it). Off went the dove and . .  
. . : no resting place appeared to it and it turned back to [me.]
- 151–153 I brought out a swallow, releasing (it). Off went the swallow  
and. . . : no resting place appeared to it and it turned back to  
me.
- 154–155 I brought out a raven, releasing (it). Off went the raven I sent  
(lit. *my* raven) and noticed the recession of the water.
- 156 It was gobbling, *hopping*, *jigging*: it did not return to me.
- 157–158 I brought out an offering and sacrificed to the four winds.  
I placed incense on the peak of the mountain.
- 159–160 I placed firm seven and seven canisters, below them I heaped  
up reed, cedar and myrtle.
- 161–163 The gods smelled the scent. The gods smelled the sweet  
scent. The gods grouped around the offering like flies.
- 164–165 As Bēlet-ilī came along, she lifted high the (necklace of)  
great flies that Anu had made when having his delight (in  
her, saying):

<sup>200</sup> Var.: I looked at the sea (ms. J<sub>1</sub>).

<sup>201</sup> Var.: In twelve points (ms. J<sub>1</sub>).

- 166–167 “These gods are indeed (like) the lapis lazuli (beads) around my neck! May I remember these days and never forget (them)!”
- 168–169 Let the gods come to the incense, (but) may Enlil not come to the incense,
- 170–171 for he lacked counsel and brought about the Flood, and delivered my people to destruction”.
- 172–173 As Enlil came along, he saw the boat – Enlil grew angry.
- 174–176 He was infuriated by the Igigi gods: “[From] where appeared (this) living soul? Not one man should live on after the destruction!”
- 
- 177–178 Ninurta opened his mouth to speak, addressing the hero Enlil:
- 179–180 “Who but Ea could accomplish (this) matter? Verily, only Ea knows all endeavours”.
- 181–182 Ea opened his mouth to speak, addressing the hero Enlil:
- 183–184 “You, the sage of the gods, the hero, how did you bring the Flood without deliberation?
- 185–186 Make the criminal bear his crime! Make the evil-doer bear his wrong-doing!
- 187 (as the saying goes:) ‘Slack off, lest it be snapped! Pull taut, lest it become [slack!]
- 188–189 Instead of the Flood that you brought about, a lion could appear to reduce the population!
- 190–191 Instead of the Flood that you brought about, a wolf could appear to reduce the population!
- 192–193 Instead of the Flood that you brought about, a starvation could be brought about to decimate the land!
- 194–195 Instead of the Flood that you brought about, Erra could arise to decimate the land!
- 196–197 I myself did not reveal the secret of the great gods: I brought a dream to Atra-ḥašis and so he heard the secret of the gods.
- 198 And now, take your decision about him”.
- 199–200 Enlil went up into the boat. He took my hand and escorted me from the boat.
- 201–202 He brought out my woman, made her kneel next to me. He touched our foreheads, standing between us, blessing us:
- 203–205 “Before Ūta-napišti belonged to mankind, but now Ūta-napišti and his woman become like gods, us! Ūta-napišti shall dwell in the distance, at the mouth of the rivers!”

206 They took me and made me sit in the distance, at the mouth of the rivers.

*Commentary:*<sup>202</sup>

1: The qualification *rūqu* describes Ūta-napišti not only as geographically distant, but also as unfathomable, deep and hard to comprehend (a term usually found in the construction *libbu rūqu*, as in Enūma eliš II 61, see CAD R 425a 4).

3–4: The sound unit **atta** (“you”) accentuates Gilgameš’s amazement upon his encounter with Ūta-napišti: *anattalkumma Ūta-napišti minātuka ul šanā kī yâtima attā u attā ul šanāta kī yâtima attā*. A fine example of literary Akkadian penchant for repetitive ending.

5, 6: (AG comm.)

7: (AG comm.) – *kīkī*, “how” (CAD K 351b), is not only more emphatic than the more common exclamation *kī*, but also resonates the beginning of Ea’s speech, *kikkiš kikkiš* “reed fence, reed fence!” (l. 21). This sound play comes to tell that Ūta-napišti reached the assembly of the gods as a direct result from Ea’s words to him.<sup>203</sup> – The verb *še’û* means only “to seek, to look for” (*pace* George 2003, 703: “and found life”).<sup>204</sup> Thus, with CAD Š/2, 356b, this line reads: “how did it happen that you attended the assembly of the gods, in search of life?”

9–10: This couplet (repeated in Gilg. XI 281–282) offers the clue to the crux in C<sub>1</sub> vi 9 (see also Gilg. XI 196–197).

11, 12, 13: (AG comm.)

14: In his translation, George adds a temporal conjunction and joins ll. 13–14 together: “that city was old and the gods were within it, (when) the great gods decided to cause the Deluge”. Linking the two lines, however, is unwarranted. The fact that l. 14 repeats explicitly “the great gods” (and does not refer to them anaphorically as “they”) makes it clear that this line opens a new syntactic and thematic unit. The emphasis on the presence of the gods in Šuruppak is meant to present the background to Ūta-napišti’s pretext for leaving his city in haste (cf. XI 39–42). It is not related to the decision of the gods to bring about the Flood.<sup>205</sup>

15–18, 19: (AG comm.)

<sup>202</sup> George’s comments on Gilg. XI (2003, 878–898) will not be repeated, only referred to by the notation “(AG comm.)”.

<sup>203</sup> The same word, *kīkī*, is chosen also in l. 184 (*kīkī lā tamtalikma abūbu taš[kun]*), where Ea accuses Enlil for his lack of wisdom in causing the Flood.

<sup>204</sup> The same reservation is found in Streck 2014, 393, regarding Enūma Eliš 6.

<sup>205</sup> Similarly, Hecker 1994, 729.

21–22: (AG comm.) – The Old Babylonian version of the call to the wall is simpler: *igāru šitammanni kikkišu šuṣsirī kala zikriya* (C<sub>2</sub> i 20'–21'). The Ark Tablet contains the rhythmic formula *igār igār kikkiš kikkiš* (Ark 1), which is kept, in an inverted order, in Gilg. XI. This is an important editorial link between these two texts. The Assyrian recension also contains the rhythmic formula (U 15–16): [. . .] *kikkiš kikk[iš]* [. . .] *šitammanni*, perhaps in the same order as in the Ark Tablet (*igār igār kikkiš kikkiš*) – but it includes the Old Babylonian verbal form *šitammanni*.

23: (AG comm.)

24–27: (AG comm.) – For this passage, see Worthington, 2019. Annus (2016, 23) describes intertextual threads connecting this passage to the story of Adapa.

24: the troublesome form *ú-pu-ud* (C<sub>2</sub> i 22' and Ark 4), deriving from the rare, only lexically attested verb *napādum*, is replaced by the common verb *naqārum*, “to demolish”.

27: It is unlikely that the resemblance between *šūlīma zēr napšāti* in this line and *makkūra zē[rma] napištam šullim* in Ark 5 is accidental. The imp. of *elūm-Š* and the imp. of *šalāmum-D* sound similar, as are *zēr* “spurn” and *zēr*, the construct form of *zērum* “seed”, so mistaken comprehension is not impossible, but a deliberately introduced word play is, in my opinion, more probable. If the latter is indeed the case, then another tie between the Ark Tablet and Gilg. XI is revealed: the author of Gilg. XI transformed *napištam šullim* (the *lectio difficilior*, as there is no parallel to this combination) into a simpler sentence which explains what is meant by the order “save life”! (*napištī bulliṭ* l. 26):<sup>206</sup> “Order to enter into the boat the seed of all living creatures!”<sup>207</sup>

28–31: (AG comm.)

29: *mindudā* (< *mitdudā*)<sup>208</sup> is the sole attestation of *madādum-Gt* (CAD M/1, 8a). The nasalization could be motivated not only by phonology, but also by the assonance with *minātuša* which follows.

31: For the enigmatic order to roof the boat “like the Apsū”, see commentary to C<sub>1</sub> i 29'–30'. Note that in the Ark Tablet there is no mention that the boat had a ceiling (Finkel 2014 170f., 179).

33, 35, 38–39, 40–42, 39–45: (AG comm.)

33–34: Highlighting the hero's humble submission to the deity is found only in later versions of the story (here and in the Neo-Assyrian ms. W 17'), not in earlier Old Babylonian versions. See also commentary to 95–96.

<sup>206</sup> The phrase *zēr napšāti* is found also in l. 84, only there with the *ešēnum*, not *elūm-Š*.

<sup>207</sup> Note the similar phrase in Gen. 7:3: “Also, of the fowl of the heavens, seven pairs, male and female, to keep seed alive on the face of the earth”.

<sup>208</sup> Late Babylonian var. *mindudā*, see George 2003, 879.

39: On the modal particle *minde*, see Wasserman 2012, 43–63.

44–47: Unable to offer a new or better explanation of this opaque passage, I follow George’s translation with his commentary (2003, 880). A long and detailed discussion of these lines is found in Worthington, 2019.

48: The first sign of dawn, describing the time of the beginning of the Flood, is mentioned also in l. 97.

49: (AG comm.) – The appellation *Atra-ḥasīs*, not *Ūta-napišṭī*, appears also in l. 197.

50–56, 52, 53, 54: (AG comm.)

54: For the reading *pi-ṯil!ʔ-ta¹*, see George 2003, 881. If *pitilta* is correct, the old men were carrying a single, probably very long rope, as in **Ark** 11. The Ark Tablet, however, speaks of *two* kinds of strands which were used for the construction of the boat (**Ark** 10–11). For the suggested relation between *kannu* and *pitiltum*, see commentary to **Ark** 11.

55: (AG comm.)

57: (AG comm.) – Details about the day of the coming Flood, and its duration, are found in different traditions (George 2003, 515–516), but no other source (not even the biblical account), gives the time needed for the construction of the boat (more precisely, for its first stage).

58: (AG comm.)

60: (AG comm.) – Drawing the plan of the boat at this point, when it is partially built, is odd. Other sources mention the drawing of the plan of the boat before its building starts (**Ark** 6–7, **W** 13’–15’).

61–63: (AG comm.) – The construction of decks and floors is found only here and in **Ark** 17 (where it is more tersely phrased): another link between the two versions. Constructing six decks results in seven horizontal floors. The division into nine sections (l. 63) must be vertical, forming compartments, or rooms. For more on the inner division of the boat, see Edzard 1991 64 and George 2003, 512–513.

62–63: (AG comm.)

64: (AG comm.) – No other version of the Flood mentions *sikkāt mē* (probably bilges or water plugs). The building instructions in the Ark Tablet talk of putting up ribs and stanchions in the boat (**Ark** 13–15).

65: The author cannot imagine a boat without punting poles, although these have no use in times of high water.

66–69: For the process of pouring bitumen into the kilns and its quantities, see commentary to **Ark** 18–20.

68: (AG comm.) – I follow CAD N/2, 94a: “three ŠĀR of oil was what the ewer-carriers brought for it (the ark)”

69: (AG comm.)

69–70: (AG comm.) – George understands the quantities listed in these two lines as explaining the total sum in l. 68, namely that the 3 kors in l. 68 are the sum of the 1+2 kors in ll. 69–70. But this is not the case: ll. 69–70 tell that *apart* from the 3 kors in l. 68, 3 more kors of oil were needed: 1 kor for the libations, and 2 kors for future consumption. Given this reading, the amount of bitumen and oil used in the Ark Tablet and in Gilg. XI is the same, see commentary to **Ark** 18–20.

71: Reading  ${}^r um^l m[an-na-ti]$  is supported by one of the mss. of Gilg. XI (J<sub>1</sub>) which has ÉRIN<sup>me[š]</sup>. The pl. of *ummiānu*, however, is almost always *ummiānū*, and the f. pl. *ummānāti* is rarely attested, only in Old Babylonian. The reason for this uncommon pl. form might be stylistic: the wish to depart from the more frequent form *ummānī* (l. 74).

71–72: A chiasitic construction. Its core is a parallelism and the flanks are alliterative: *ana ummānāti uttabbiḥ alpī* ↔ *ašgiš immerī ūmišamma*.

74: (AG comm.) – The irony of the hyperbolic comparison is clear: the unworried workers are drinking like a river, unaware that a river, indeed a huge torrent of water, is about to wash them away.

76: (AG comm.) – Of all the possible meanings of *piššatu* which George listed, the lubrication of the hull is the most plausible. This lubrication was probably part of the process of lowering the boat from the dock to the water.

77: (AG comm.)

79: (AG comm.) – A different term for a pole, *germadū/girimadū*, is found in **Ark** 57.

80, 81–84, 82: (AG comm.)

84: On loading the “seed of life” into the boat as a uterine metaphor, see Draffkorn Kilmer 2007, 164f.

85: Who was on the boat with the hero of the Flood? When embarking the boat, the general phrase “kith and kin” is used consistently (C<sub>1</sub> ii 42”, **Ark** 34–35, **J** r. 13’, and **XI** 85). Craftsmen are also mentioned (here, in C<sub>1</sub> ii 38” and in **W** 6’– 8’). When disembarking from the boat, however, **z** v 18’ is the more specific source, talking of the hero, his son, his wife and daughter. This recalls the biblical account. When embarking the boat, the text speaks of “you and your household” (Gen. 7:1), but when the Flood is over, the text is more specific, listing Noah, his wife,<sup>209</sup> his sons and the wives of his sons

<sup>209</sup> Noah’s wife has different names in post-biblical exegetical traditions. In the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE Aggadic text *Bereshit Rabbah* 23:4, she is called Naamah: “...Said Rabbi Abba bar Kahana, ‘Naamah was the wife of Noah. And why was she called, ‘Naamah’? Because her deeds were pleasant [the Heb. root N’M means “to be pleasant”, NW]...” (Trans., with modifications, Neusner 1985, 257). In the Book of Jubilees 4:33 her name is Emzera (lit. “mother

(Gen. 8:18).<sup>210</sup> This, I believe, suggests that when boarding the boat, specific familial relations were of less importance: it was crucial for humanity, as a species, to be saved. But after the Flood, when life resumes, social roles and familial relations regain their importance. Interestingly, none of the texts, at least in their present state of preservation, say anything about the craftsmen disembarking from the boat when the Flood is over. This failure upsets the notion according to which the boat and all in it – the nuclear family, food, raw materials, animals and workmen – formed a self-sufficient miniature city, the kernel of a post-diluvial civilization. The text fails to focus on this aspect, so common in the later popular imagination.

87: As marked by George (2003, 514), in Gilg. XI the Sun-god set the date of the Flood – not Ea, as in the Old Babylonian recension, nor Šîn, who appears in the Ark Tablet (Ark 45). In this, Gilg. XI departs from the older traditions, according to which the Flood was planned to start in the darkest *night* of the month, when the old moon has set and the new moon has not yet risen (C<sub>0</sub> iii 16'–17', C<sub>0</sub> iv 6', C<sub>1</sub> ii 39", I<sub>2</sub> 1, and maybe also Ark 50). In the younger traditions, the atmospheric phenomenon marking the Flood happened in the early morning, with a sudden darkening of the day (Gilg. XI 97–98 and U r. 12'), hence the mention of Šamaš is logical. Casting Šamaš as the god who signals the Flood in Gilg. XI corresponds to his role as the helping god *par excellence* throughout the epic. The author found it natural that he, not Ea, would announce the Flood.

88, 91, 95: (AG comm.)

92–94: The storm starts at daybreak and then Ūta-napišti and his family enter the boat. This conforms with the Old Babylonian version (C<sub>1</sub> ii 48"–49"),<sup>211</sup>

95–96: Before the coming of the Flood, Ūta-napišti bequeaths his palace and property to the person who sealed the boat,<sup>212</sup> a sailor who is ironically called Puzur-Enlil, "Enlil's shelter".<sup>213</sup> The audience is thus reminded that

of (all) seed"), the daughter of Barkiel (Werman 2015, 197). This tradition continues, with slight modifications, in the esoteric Medieval book *Sefer Toldot Adam* (cf. Werman 2015, 124).

<sup>210</sup> Ezek. 14:14, 20 emphasizes that Noah (like Daniel and Job) did not save his sons or daughters: only he himself was saved.

<sup>211</sup> The Bible tells that Noah entered the boat "on the very same day" (Gen. 7:13). This was further developed in *Bereshit Rabbah* 32:8: "Said Rabbi Yohanan, 'Had Noah entered the ark by night, everyone in his generation would have said, 'We had no idea what he was doing, but if we had known what he was doing, we should never have let him go in'. Thus: 'On that very same day' [i.e. in *day* time, NW], so: 'Anyone who objects, let him say so!'" (Trans., with modifications, Neusner 1985, 335).

<sup>212</sup> The different answers to the question of who sealed the boat's door are discussed in commentary to C<sub>1</sub> ii 54"–55".

<sup>213</sup> For the reading Puzur-Enlil, not Puzur-Amurru, see George 2003, 514. Clearly, albeit carrying a theophoric name, Puzur-Enlil was not saved by Enlil. He too perished in the Flood.

Ūta-napišti's troubles were caused by Enlil, and that he was advised to tell his fellow men that he must leave Šuruppak because of Enlil's dispute with Ea. On a deeper level, mentioning that Ūta-napišti left his property informs us that he fully trusted Ea and that he carefully observed the divine order to "Spurn property and save life!" (l. 26).<sup>214</sup> For Ūta-napišti's obedience, see commentary to ll. 33–34 above.

97–110: For this passage, see Schwemer 2001, 414.

95: (AG comm.)

98: For the cloud rising from the horizon, see commentary to U r. 12'. A white cloud turning to black, signifying the beginning of a terrible storm, is found in Gilg. V 135: *iššalim urpatum pešutum*.

99, 100, 101, 102–103, 106: (AG comm.)

100–101: For Šullat and Haniš, see Schwemer 2001, 413–415.

102: For Errakal, see Schwemer 2001, 346.

107: (AG comm.) – *mimma namru ana da'ummat utterrū* forms a closure with the beginning of the passage, *mimmū šēri ina namāri* (l. 97).

108: (AG comm.) – The text vacillates between two homonymic verbs: *raḥāšum* A (i) "to trample, to kick, to destroy, to devastate" and *raḥāšum* B (a/u) "to wash, to bathe". Two layers of meaning are thus achieved: Adad is crushing the ground and flooding it. (In the Old Babylonian version, it is Anzu who is the subject of this phrase, see George 2003, 885).

110, 111, 112–113, 114: (AG comm.)

114–116: In this version of the story, the gods are afraid of the Flood. In the Old Babylonian version, it is specifically the *noise* of the Flood which terrified them (C<sub>1</sub> iii 20'–24'). The focus of the older version on the *rigmu* continues the narrative-line according to which the Flood was engendered by Enlil because of the din of humanity – a point which is absent in the epic of Gilgamesh. – Gods compared to dogs are found also in the Dialogue of Pessimism: "Do not offer a sacrifice, my lord, do not offer! *ila tulamassu kī kalbi arkika ittanallak* "You will (thus) teach your god so that he keeps going after you like a dog" (BWL 146f.: 59–60).

117, 118: (AG comm.)

119: (AG comm.) – The alliteration here can hardly escape our notice. The heavy use of the lamenting sound **l**, accompanied by the vowel **u** enhances the mournful content: *ūmu ullu ana ṭiṭti lū itūrma*. On the phrase "turning to clay" (also in l. 135), see Literary Discussion 3.5.

120–121: (AG comm.)

<sup>214</sup> George 2003, 514, differently.

121–122: This couplet forms a perfect two-wing construction, based on the vocables **k/q** and **b**: *kī aqbi ina puḫur ilī lemutta ana ḫulluq nišīya qabla aqbīma*.

123: (AG comm.)

124: (AG comm.) – The designation *mārē nūnī*, lit. “sons of fish” is found also in Gilg. V 87, where Ḫumbaba insults Enkidu: *alka Enkidu mār nūni ša lā idū abašu* “Come, Enkidu, (you) spawn of a fish, who knew not his father” (George 2003, 606f.). Here, this phrase comes as a bitter contrast to the previous line, where the goddess laments that it is she who gives birth to the people, and now all humans float on the water like small dead fish. The parallel image in the Old Babylonian version is that of dragonflies: “(They have filled) the sea like dragonflies fill a river” (C<sub>1</sub> iv 6'-7'), which indicates that “sons of fish” was an innovation of the author of the epic. (For more on the difference between the two versions, see Literary Discussion 3.5).

125, 126, 127, 128–130, 130–131: (AG comm.)

128–129: In Gilg. XI, the Flood takes six days and seven nights, while the Old Babylonian version specifies it took seven days and seven nights (on the different lengths of the Flood, see, George 2003, 515–516 and commentary to C<sub>1</sub> iv 24').

132–133: (AG comm.) – For the metaphor of a birthing woman in relation to the boat and the Flood, see commentary to C<sub>1</sub> i 29'–30'.

134: (AG comm.)

134–135: An alliterative hinge links the two lines: *appalsamma ūma šakin qūlu ↔ u kullat tenēšēti itūrā ana ṭiṭṭi* (cf. l. 119).

134–139: Logically, the order of the lines in this passage should have been inverted: How could Ūta-napišṭī examine the weather and look around, if the window was not open yet? The reason for this inconsistency is the author's wish to introduce the first-person voice (*appalsamma*) immediately the Flood is over (*abūbu ikla*), regardless that the descriptive voice continued.

136: It is hard to find another case in Akkadian literature of a geographical phenomenon compared to a fabricated object, as “flattened like a roof” (see Table V in Wasserman 2003, 137).<sup>215</sup> This non-conventional *tertium comparationis* (“creative”, as defined by Streck 1999, 67 No. 30) should be connected to the command which Ea gave Ūta-napišṭī to roof the boat “like the Apsū” (l. 31). When the Flood receded, only the flattened earth and the boat with its flat roof are seen. In this post-diluvial world – where no plants, no living creature, nor any prominent natural objects are found – this unusual simile makes perfect sense.

<sup>215</sup> The other way is common: e.g., a temple is often compared to a mountain.

137: (AG comm.) – When the hero opens the small window in the boat’s roof, a hidden pun is at work: Ūta-**napišti** opens the *nappašu*, finding a breath of fresh air – and life. The hero realizes that the torment is over: he managed to survive the Flood and is now (re-)born, like a baby seeing the light for the first time after passing through the birth canal (see commentary to C<sub>1</sub> i 29’–30’). – The initial location of the verb in this line creates a two-wing, scale-like structure: *apti nappašamma šētu imtaqut eli dūr appiya*.

140: (AG comm.) – The verb *appalis* forms a closure with *applasamma* (l. 134).

141: (AG comm.)

142–146: The name of the magic mountain reflects its role in the plot: **Nimuš...nāši ul iddin**.

148, 150, 151, 154: (AG comm.)

148–155: On the sequence of birds here, see Darshan 2016, 510–512 and Literary Discussion 3.7.

149 (152): (AG comm.) – The difficult verbal form *i-pi-ra-am-ma* cannot be parsed as a form of *ebērum* (see Geroge 2016b, refuting Wolfe/Allred 2016), and I leave it without translation (as George 2003, 713). Circumventing the crux, von Soden (1994, 733) takes *i-tu-ram-ma*, the *lectio facilior* found in mss. J<sub>1</sub>, c<sub>3</sub> of the epic, translating “kehrte aber zurück”.

150 (153): (AG comm.) – I follow George and von Soden (1994, 733) in reading *i-pa-áš-šim/šum-ma* (< *wapû-G*) contra Keetman 2017 who suggested *manzāzu ul i/u-<sup>r</sup>had<sup>r</sup>-[da-]<sup>r</sup>áš-šum-ma<sup>1</sup>* “(but) a perch didn’t welcome him”. The verb *hadāšum* “erfreuen” (AHw 307) is hardly attested and does not fit the context.

155: For the different traditions regarding the birds sent to find dry land, see commentary to I<sub>2</sub> 14. – Unlike the dove and the swallow, the raven is spelled syllabically *a-ri-bi-ma*, hence *āribī* “my crow”, genetivus subjectivus: the crow which I sent off. – The common verb to describe receding water, also of seasonal floods, is *naḥāsum* (CAD N/1, 130a). Choosing *qarūru*, a *hapax* at this stage, could be onomatopoeic, imitating the raven’s call.

156, 157–159: (AG comm.)

157: (AG comm.) – The object of *ušēši* is not mentioned. The syntax is that of a verbal Koppelung, *ušēšima... attaqi nīqa* (so George 2003, 890, and von Soden 1994, 734), but Dalley (1989, 114) filled in an elliptic object: “Then I put (everything?) out... and I made sacrifice”. In any case, the sequence of four *ušēšima*, all in initial position (l. 148 – dove, l. 151 – swallow, l. 154 – raven, 157 – offering), correspond to the four points of the compass, which in turn echo the four devastating winds of Adad that initiated the Flood in the Assyrian recension (U r. 5’–8’).

158: (AG comm.) – The mountain *is* the ziggurat.<sup>216</sup>

159–160: (AG comm.) – The vegetal nature of the offerings raises the question of the origin of the plants used for the sacrifice: they could not grow in of the few days since the ebbing of the Flood. Where then did Ūta-napišti get them from, if the earth was submerged in water? The simple answer is that he brought them with him in the boat,<sup>217</sup> although this is not narrated. The Bible circumvents the problem: Noah sacrificed pure animals and birds (Gen. 8:20).<sup>218</sup> These, obviously, he could find in the boat.

161–167: (AG comm.)

161–163: This triplet is a fine, not too common, example of an initial rhyme in Akk. literature. The rhetoric effect of the expanding lines is that of a crescendo: the expanding sentences reflect the growing number of gods gathering around the sacrifice.

163: Again, the motif of the flies (on this, see more in commentary to C<sub>1</sub> v 46"–47").

164: The meaning of the temporal preposition *ultu ullānumma* is not easy to construe. "Before" is contextual.

166–167: (AG comm.) – With Postgate (1998), *ilū annûtum* are the subject of this nominal clause and *lū* serves as copula (*pace* von Soden 1994, 734). Postgate, however, joined ll. 166 and 167: "Let these gods be my lapis-lazuli necklace so that I may not forget".<sup>219</sup> In my opinion, the two lines, albeit one thematic unit, are two separate sentences: the goddess sees the hungry gods gather like flies around the offering (166), and then she pledges to learn a lesson from this humiliating situation, never to forget these days which brought the gods to the verge of starvation. – For the tempting sugges-

<sup>216</sup> A ziggurat qualified by a natural phenomenon is found also in an Old Babylonian incantation against different diseases, where *ziqqurat šamê* designates the highest point in the sky (JCS 9, A10). A parallel text has *šé-re-et šamê* "the udders/lead rope of heaven" (JCS 9, B10).

<sup>217</sup> Commenting on Gen. 6:21, *Bereshit Rabbah* (31:14) narrates that Noah took with him not only foodstuff for the animals in the boat, but also shoots to allow the re-emergence of cultivation after the Flood: "Abba bar Kahana said, 'He brought pressed figs with him'. It was taught on Tannaite authority in the name of Rabbi Nehemiah: 'The greater part of what he brought in consisted of pressed figs'. Rabbi Abba bar Kahana said, 'He brought in shoots for the elephants, shrubbery for the deer, grass for the ostriches'. R. Levi said, 'He brought vine shoots for vine plantings, fig shoots for fig trees, olive shoots for olive trees'" (Trans., with modifications, Neusner 1985, 327). The sages could imagine a boat populated with exotic animals, but were unable to envisage the hero of the Flood as living in another ecological system than the one known to them, the Mediterranean area.

<sup>218</sup> The Book of Jubilees (6:2–3) expands on the biblical account with a detailed description of Noah's offerings – all made of animals (Werman 2015, 220f.).

<sup>219</sup> George (2003, 715) also connects the two lines, assuming a resultative function to *luhsusamma* ("so that I remember...").

tion of comparing Bēlet-ilī's necklace of great flies and the biblical rainbow (Gen. 9:12–17), see Draffkorn Kilmer 1987, 180 and Kvanvig 2011, 232.

168–169: For the alliteration in this line, see George 2003, 891: *ilū illikūnim ana surqēni Enlil ay illika ana surqēni* (cf. l. 119).

170–171: (AG comm.)

173–174: (AG comm.)

175, 176: (AG comm.)

177–182, 183: (AG comm.)

185–186: (AG comm.)

187: I follow George (2003, 891–892) and understand this line as a proverb recommending moderate measures when dealing with moral issues. (The Old Babylonian version of the story offers a different phrasing, C<sub>1</sub> vi 23–24). Comparable imagery of a snapping cord, also in a wisdom context, is found in Ecc. 12:6: “Before the silver cord snaps, and the golden fountain is shattered, and the pitcher breaks at the fountain, and the wheel falls shattered into the pit”. The beginning of the chapter, Ecc. 12:1, furnishes the moral background for this opaque saying.

188–189: (AG comm.)

193, 195: (AG comm.)

197: (AG comm.) – As in l. 49, the hero is referred to here by the name of Atra-ḥasīs.

198, 200, 202: (AG comm.)

199–200: The scene is extremely unusual in all aspects: the supreme god goes up personally to the boat, holds the man's hand, as if he were a lower-rank god leading the devotee in front of a high rank deity, and then escorts the man's wife, touching him in an intimate gesture. Nothing similar is known to me in the entire Mesopotamian literature. – Ūta-napišṭī was already out for the offerings (XI 157–160), and yet Enlil accompanies him again from the boat, which means he returned to live in the boat rather than stay on dry land.

202–204: The unusual final location of the pronoun *nāši* in l. 204 results from the wish to tie together Enlil's speech: *ilput pūtnima izzaz ina birinni ikarrabannāši... eninnama Ūta-napišṭī u sinništašu lū emū kīma ilī nāšima*. Note further the alliterative play between *amēlutumma* (203) and *lū emū kīma ilī* (204). This anagram reflects the change of status of Ūta-napišṭī, from human to divine.

205–206: The repeated word *rūqi*, “distant, distance” which ends the story, forms a closure with its very beginning, where the hero is introduced by the same attribute, *Ūta-napišṭī rūqi* (l. 1).

### 3 LITERARY DISCUSSION

The last chapter of this study is devoted to a literary interpretation of some main themes in the story of the Flood not included in the commentary.

#### 3.1 WHAT IS IT ALL ABOUT?

Stripping away the ideo-religious message from the story of the Flood – human sin that leads to divine wrath, a calamity that terminates with salvation and promise – it is remarkable how little actually happens in the story of the Flood. A deity discloses to his devotee a decision to wipe all life off the earth by means of a flood. The god instructs his devotee to build a large boat and orders him to store within sufficient foodstuff. He gives a sign when it is time to embark with his family, thus saving him and through him, all humanity. When the tidal wave washes over the earth, the human protagonists are safe inside the boat. Once the flood is over, the survivors emerge from the boat and offer sacrifices to the gods. A divine promise is given: no flood will occur again.

The Flood contains no theogony, nor does it recount the creation of the world or man. It offers no etiological explanation for a specific natural, or cultural, phenomenon, nor is it a labyrinthine myth about the struggle for supremacy (Marduk in *Enūma eliš*, or Ninurta in Anzu). It is also not a story about a hero who, after a series of tribulations, returns home (Odysseus), or of an epic founder who, after escaping catastrophe, succeeds in establishing a colony or a new civilization (Aeneas). A simple story without surprising twists and turns, the Flood gives an account of an event which – albeit singular and traumatic – has long since passed, leaving no permanent trace in the world. A momentous event no doubt, but a transient one.

How did the Flood, with its simple storyline (tension increasing → climax → tension winding down) and its non-heroic hero, become – together with the Epic of Gilgameš – the most prominent contribution of Mesopotamian mythology to world literature?

As I read it, the Flood is a dense crystal whose constituent parts are antithetical pairs, tightly arranged: god – man; sky – earth; living – dead; dry – wet; hungry – sated; powerful – vulnerable; threatened – saved; bound – released. If the Epic of Gilgameš is a multilayered text about the purpose and meaning of life, the Flood is a multifaceted account of what *staying alive* means. For this purpose, two key-concepts are deployed. The first is *encapsulation*. The Flood tells us that life is a process of coming into something, staying in something, and coming out of something. Remaining outside (in

the city) and ignoring the need to be inside (the boat) spelled death. Entering the boat (as a seed enters a womb) and sequestering oneself inside (enveloped as a fetus) meant staying alive. Emerging from the safety of the boat (as in the moment of delivery) meant salvation. And forming a permanent pact with the gods by providing them with shelter (temples and sacrifices) meant divine protection and continued procreation. This basic paradigm of encapsulation and decapsulation is valid for man and gods alike. For the gods too, being encapsulated (remaining in their temple, tantamount to a mystical boat) meant sustainable life, while being driven outside, from the temple, meant starvation and death.

The second key-concept deployed in the Flood to define what staying alive means is *solitariness*. Before the Flood, life developed in inexorable geometric progression, resulting in an unbearable human din, the *hubūru*.<sup>220</sup> Humanity then was composed of a myriad of people. Post-diluvial human life, on the other hand, is lived in the more precarious singular: the hero of the Flood, a prototype of all humanity, is depicted as a bemused man, alone in the middle of nowhere, in the vicinity of his temporary shelter, acting only when forced to, seeking to ensure the continuation of his nameless kin. In fact, the myth of Atra-ḥasīs begins with the community of gods, continues with the multitude of man, and ends with a solitary person. Life, in the post-diluvial world, means solitude.

Despite starting with a great cataclysm, the myth of the Flood ends optimistically. Gods and man are reconciled and form one eco-religious system. It is important to note that what underlies this happy end is death – not the non-personified death which took place in earlier parts of the myth (before and during the Flood), but an individual death, the unique death which awaits each and every person from his birth: “[You, the W]omb, creatress of destinies, [assign Death] to the people, [put a man] to sleep [(in the grave)]” (C<sub>1</sub> vi 47’–49’). Not only is death individualized after the Flood, so too is sin. This is Enki’s main point in his final speech. When talking to Enlil and the gods, he says: “Impose your penalty [on the criminal,] [and] (on) whoever disregards your command!” (C<sub>1</sub> vi 25–26). No more global punishment which affects humanity as a whole but an individually-targeted personal punishment. Thus, what emerges from the boat after the Flood is not just man as a species, and not only human society as a social phenomenon, but the individual person, a man – albeit part of a species and a group – facing his own destiny alone.

All this is absent from the account of the Flood in Gilg. XI and for obvious reason. There the story of the Flood is told by a narrator who escaped the

<sup>220</sup> For this much-discussed term, see Michalowski 1990; Afanasieva 1996; Lang 2008, 213f. and Rendu-Loisel 2010, 166–168 and *passim*.

fate of all mortals and joined the assembly of the immortal gods. The lesson from Ūta-napišti's account cannot be individual death, since he is spared such a fate.<sup>221</sup> In the younger version, the impermanence of humankind is learned not through the story of the Flood, but through the story of Gilgameš.

### 3.2 THE MAIN SEGMENTS IN THE STORY OF THE FLOOD AND THE DYNAMICS OF SONORITY

It is in Gilg. XI that we find the most complete version of the story of the Flood, and it is to this version that we turn for a structural analysis of the myth. Thematically, the story, as told by Ūta-napišti, is comprised of eight segments (a division which partially follows the separation lines of the ancient scribe):

- I. Prologue: Gilgameš meets Ūta-napišti (1–8 = 8 lines)
- II. Revealing the coming of the Flood (9–47 = 39 lines)
- III. Preparations for the Flood (48–96 = 49 lines)
- IV. The Flood (97–133 = 37 lines)
- V. After the Flood (134–147 = 14 lines)
- VI. Return to normality (148–163 = 16 lines)
- VII. Divine reflections on the Flood (164–198 = 35)
- VIII. Epilogue: Ūta-napišti joins the gods (199–206 = 8 lines)

When examining the intensity of the recounted events and the tension of the depicted action, a *crescendo-diminuendo* structure is revealed, with its climax – the coming of the Flood (segment IV) – in the middle. The opening and the ending of this inverted V-curve arrangement are located at the time/space matrix of the epic of Gilgameš, namely in the mysterious location of Pī-nārāti, where Ūta-napišti and his wife are sitting and where the encounter with Gilgameš took place. The other segments, the actual myth of the Flood (II–VII), are developed along different time/space coordinates – the remote past and the vicinity of the city of Šuruppak and the mysterious Mount Nimuš – thus creating a story-within-a story.

The switch between the up-movement and the down-movement, the turning point between the intensification and defusing of tension, is found between segments IV and V: “The sea, which fought like a woman in confinement, rested. The windstorm grew still, the Flood stopped. I looked at the weather and there was silence: verily all people turned to clay” (XI 132–135). After the culmination – all turns to silence.

<sup>221</sup> Annus (2016, 48f.) highlights the connections between the hero of the Flood and Adapa, who both gain eternal life.

The observation regarding the build-up of tension in the Flood and its defusing leads us to examine the dynamics of loud noise in the chain of events (see Figure I below). The significance of *hubūru*<sup>222</sup> – the human din which disturbed Enlil’s sleep and was the immediate reason for the Flood<sup>223</sup> – has been previously discussed,<sup>224</sup> but the directionality of sounds along the line of events has received scant treatment heretofore.<sup>225</sup> When analyzing the intensity of sounds in the eight segments listed above, a clear pattern is found: two *crescendi* of uneven magnitude, separated by a *subito piano*, a sudden silence:

- I. The plot begins with a moderate dialogue between two persons, Gilgameš and Ūta-napišti.
- II. Then comes a graver conversation between god and man, Ea and Ūta-napišti.
- III. A louder, vocal polyphony of a large group of men at work follows.
- IV. The vocal climax of the story: the cacophonous and thundering sounds of the natural elements and the frenzy of the gods.
- V. A Wagnerian apotheosis of the Flood breaking into total silence.
- VI. A dramatic *tacet*, the post-catastrophe silence, forms the beginning of the second *crescendo* which starts with hesitant isolated sounds: jumping and flying birds, gods buzzing like flies, a solitary man performing a ritual.
- VII. Sounds grow moderately, with a conversation between the gods.
- VIII. A solemn Brucknerian finale: a god is talking to man, inviting him to join the realm of the divine.

In the ideological level of the myth, the two consecutive *crescendi* correspond to its message as a prototype story of crisis and salvation.

<sup>222</sup> *Hubūru* is found in the Old Babylonian version (Atr. I [359], II i 8) and in the Assyrian Recension (S iv 3, 8, 41). The author of Gilg. XI is silent about the reason for the Flood, preferring to concentrate on how Ūta-napišti achieved eternal life (Lang 2008, 215). Another term for a loud noise, *rigmu*, is absent from the later account of Gilg. XI, but is attested in the Old Babylonian version of the Flood (C<sub>1</sub> ii 50<sup>o</sup>: related to Adad, cf. U r. 2<sup>o</sup>; C<sub>1</sub> iii 9<sup>o</sup>–10<sup>o</sup>: to the land; C<sub>1</sub> iii 43<sup>o</sup> and C<sub>1</sub> iii 47<sup>o</sup>: to the people; C<sub>1</sub> iii 23<sup>o</sup> and cf. U r. 20<sup>o</sup>: to the Flood itself). Noise is mentioned specifically as the reason for the gods’ desire to annihilate in Enūma eliš I 22–25; 37–39 (Lambert 2013, 50f., 52f.) (cf. I 116, 122). Note also Tiāmat’s title *ummu-hubūr* “Mother Noise” in Enūma eliš I 133 (Lambert 2013, 58f. and discussion in 224f.).

<sup>223</sup> The Bible relates that mankind’s evil ways lead god to bring about the Flood (Gen. 6:11). This notion is reiterated in The Book of Jubilees (Chap. 5:2) which explains the nature of these evil ways: cannibalism (Werman 2015, 210, 212) and bestiality (Greenstein 2016, 25).

<sup>224</sup> Draffkorn Kilmer (1972, 167) saw noise as a symbol for over-population, while Michalowski (1990, 389) interpreted it as a sign of human creativity and independence. On this see recently, Rendu-Loisel 2016, 22f.

<sup>225</sup> See, nonetheless, Afanasieva 1996 and Rendu-Loisel 2010; Rendu-Loisel 2016.

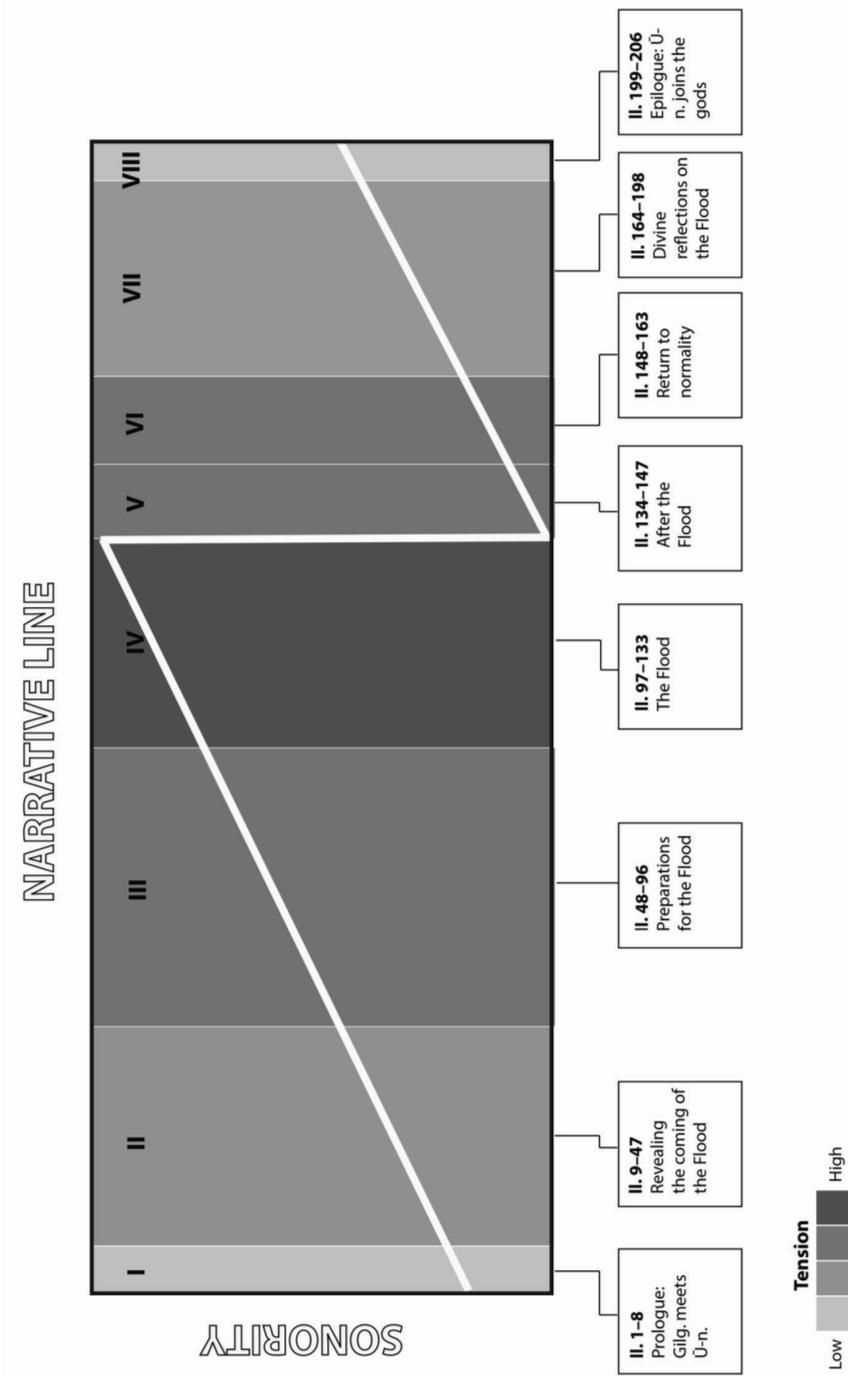


Figure I: Sonority along the Narrative Line

## 3.3 NARRATOLOGICAL POINTS OF VIEW: THE FLOOD OF ŪTA-NAPIŠTĪ

Through whose eyes do we, the audience, see what is described in Gilg. XI, the most complete account of the story? Leaving aside the prologue (segment I above), which is told from the perspective of Gilgameš, one would assume that the entire story deals with the experience of Ūta-napištī, for he recounts *his* personal experience to Gilgameš. Indeed, this is the case with segments II, III, V, VI, and VIII. Analysis of segments IV and VII, however, reveals a more complex situation. Surprisingly, the climax of the story, the massive Flood, does not, and logically cannot, reflect Ūta-napištī's personal experience. The last thing that Ūta-napištī relates, before the storm hits the land, is that he has sealed the door of the boat. This scene is presented in detail, from Ūta-napištī's point of view: "I entered the boat and sealed my door. To the one who sealed the boat, the sailor Puzur-Enlil, I left the palace with its goods" (XI 94–96). The boat is closed and darkness prevails "for six days and seven nights" (XI 128). Sitting in the boat with his family, surrounded by the provisions he has stocked up on and by the frightened animals, Ūta-napištī can hear the rainstorm outside – but does not experience it personally. Strangely, the hero of the Flood does not confront the Flood face-to-face and thus has no memories of it to share with others. The author of Tablet XI was aware of this paradox. Accordingly, the passage at ll. 97–113 does not talk of the surging water and rogue waves (except for a minor mention of overflowing watercourses, l. 102), nor does it talk of drowning. The text describes the havoc which *preceded* the Flood: the fury of the gods, the lightning and thunder, the poor visibility, the social disintegration. In fact, there are practically no terms related to water in segment IV of the story, but rather *vocal* terms: "Adad was bellowing recurrently" (XI 99), "Adad, his deadly silence went past the sky" (XI 106), "Like an ox [he] crushed the land" (XI 108). While the first part of segment IV (XI 97–118) is told from Ūta-napištī's perspective, it is what he hears to which we are privy, not what he sees.

In order to grasp the singularity of the description of the storm in the Flood, let us compare Ūta-napištī with two other heroes fighting a storm, the literary figures of biblical Jonah and Odysseus in *The Odyssey*, Book 5: 282–332.

## 3.4 A PERFECT STORM: ŪTA-NAPIŠTĪ, JONAH, AND ODYSSEUS

The story of Jonah shows a number of essential structural parallels to the story of the Flood – to the biblical<sup>226</sup> and also to the ancient Mesopotamian story.

<sup>226</sup> For the intertextual connections between the story of Noah and the story of Jonah, see Amar 2006; Greenstein 2016. On the late, post-exilic date of composition of this book, see

1. God tells a man that a catastrophe looms over the people (in the Flood, humanity in its entirety; in Jonah, the city of Nineveh).
2. God orders the man to take upon himself a complicated task in view of this looming catastrophe (Ūta-napišti accepts immediately; Jonah refuses at first but then complies).
3. The man boards a vessel (Ūta-napišti the boat which he built; Jonah a previously-built boat).
4. God causes a terrible storm, during which the man sits confined in a dark space (Ūta-napišti in the boat; Jonah, in a boat, and then in the belly of a fish).
5. Once the storm is over, a dove is sent off as a sign of deliverance (in the case of Ūta-napišti, a bird; in the case of Jonah, the prophet himself – for Jonah, *Yonah* in Hebrew, means “dove”).
6. Mission accomplished and salvation prevails (in the case of Ūta-napišti, all life is wiped out, but then humanity is saved; in the case of Jonah, the people of Nineveh are saved).
7. The man faces life or death (Ūta-napišti achieves eternal life; Jonah is barely alive, asks for death).

Against the background of these similarities, the different ways in which the two stories depict the hero in the storm are thrown into sharp relief.

God orders Jonah to go to Nineveh to proclaim the city’s sinful ways and to call the people to repent, lest the city be overturned. Jonah declines the divine mission and escapes on a ship to Tarshish, as far away as possible from Nineveh. God, then, “cast a mighty wind into the sea, and there was a mighty tempest on the sea, and the ship threatened to be broken up. And the sailors were frightened, and each one cried out to his god, and they cast the cargo that was in the ship into the sea to lighten it for them, and Jonah went down to the ship’s hold, lay down, and fell fast asleep” (Jonah 1:4–5). Like Ūta-napišti, Jonah is not an eye witness to the furious winds and pounding waves which threaten to upturn the ship. The difference between the two is that, unlike Ūta-napišti, Jonah deliberately shields himself from the event, while Ūta-napišti has no choice but to remain in the sealed boat. The contrast between the two tales becomes clearer when we note that the biblical narrator, unlike the Mesopotamian author of the Flood, does not break the narrative flow, but continues to describe the storm, even if his protagonist is not party to it. In other words, the point of view of the narrator in the book of Jonah is not identical with that of Jonah, while in the Flood, the points of view of the narrator, the protagonist, and the author coincide.

As the storm gets stronger, the sailors cast lots to find out whom on board is to blame for the wrath of god. The lot falls upon Jonah, who tells the sail-

ors that he ran away from “the Lord God of heaven, who made the sea and the dry land” (1:9). He urges the crew to cast him into the sea, promising them that the storm will subside. And so they did: “... they picked Jonah up and cast him into the sea, and the sea ceased storming” (1:15). Now Jonah arrives at his second, more terrible ordeal: God summons a giant fish to swallow him alive. Although the image of Jonah inside the belly of the fish is one of the most potent in the Bible, it is striking how little information we are actually given: “And the Lord appointed a huge fish to swallow up Jonah, and Jonah was in the belly of the fish for three days and three nights” (2:1). At this point, the correspondences between Jonah and *Ūta-napišṭī* are revealing. Both narrators, the Mesopotamian and the biblical, send their heroes to a metaphorical womb (or grave, as the belly of the fish is interpreted in Christian theology). As embryos, they can neither see nor be seen. Consequently, neither *Ūta-napišṭī* nor Jonah can tell the reader anything about the outside, and no-one from the outside can tell us anything about them. A darkness, the narrator’s silence, engulfs the two heroes. But there is one crucial difference: contrary to *Ūta-napišṭī* who is silently cocooned in the belly of the boat, Jonah is mentally alert and his passionate pleas for help comprise the second chapter of the book. *Ūta-napišṭī* is dormant – Jonah is reflective; *Ūta-napišṭī* is detached from the gods – Jonah reaches out to God. Jonah cannot see or hear much in the belly of the fish, but unlike the mute *Ūta-napišṭī*, he talks both to himself and to God who hears him and “the fish ... spewed Jonah onto the dry land” (2:11).

Thus, while the two heroes are surrounded by water, *Ūta-napišṭī* alone is insulated by the storm. This observation places *Ūta-napišṭī*’s efforts to seal his boat, described in detail earlier in the myth (especially in the Ark Tablet), in an ironic light. So successful were his efforts that the boat was sealed off not only from water and light, but also from the gods’ presence. It is hard to say who is lonelier: *Ūta-napišṭī* who is cut off from everything that surrounds him and detached from the gods, or Jonah who is aware of his misery but seeks salvation through prayer. Narratologically speaking, Jonah to my mind is a less stereotyped and more complete character. He displays a wider array of feelings than *Ūta-napišṭī* – fear, anger, pain and gratitude. *Ūta-napišṭī*, by contrast, disappears at the most dramatic point of the story, resurfacing only after the Flood is over and he can resume relations with the gods. Interestingly, Jonah is closer to God when he is sitting in the belly of the fish than when he is on dry land; there, his wrestling with God continues till the end of the book.

We turn now to the epitome of all epic heroes: Odysseus. After leaving Calypso’s island and within sight of Phaeacia, Poseidon, having just returned from Ethiopia, spots Odysseus and learns that the man whom he hates is still

sailing home, helped by other gods. Poseidon shakes his head and stirs up a massive storm:<sup>227</sup>

...he gathered the clouds, and seizing his trident in his hands troubled the sea, and roused all blasts of all manner of winds, and hid with clouds land and sea alike; and night rushed down from heaven. Together the East Wind and the South Wind dashed, and the fierce-blowing West Wind and the North Wind, born in the bright heaven, rolling before him a mighty wave (5. 291–296).

The Homeric storm reminds us of the storm in the myth of the Flood: sudden darkness and brutal winds attacking from all sides, except that – as we have learned – the Mesopotamian myth refrains from describing the giant waves, since Ūta-napišti was already locked inside the boat when the Flood began and thus did not witness them. When the focus turns to Odysseus, a very different hero is revealed – different from both Ūta-napišti and Jonah. In the midst of the storm, standing on his raft, unprotected and exposed to the elements, Odysseus muses to himself:

Then were the knees of Odysseus loosened and his heart melted, and deeply moved he spoke to his own mighty spirit: ‘Ah me, wretched that I am! What is to befall me at the last? I fear me that verily all that the goddess said was true, when she declared that on the sea, before ever I came to my native land, I should fill up my measure of woes; and lo, all this now is being brought to pass. In such wise does Zeus overcast the broad heaven with clouds, and has stirred up the sea, and the blasts of all manner of winds sweep upon me; now is my utter destruction sure. Thrice blessed those Danaans, aye, four times blessed, who of old perished in the wide land of Troy, doing the pleasure of the sons of Atreus. Even so would that I had died and met my fate on that day when the throngs of the Trojans hurled upon me bronze-tipped spears, fighting around the body of the dead son of Peleus. Then should I have got funeral rites, and the Achaeans would have spread my fame, but now by a miserable death was it appointed me to be cut off (5. 297–312).

In sharp contrast to Ūta-napišti who vanishes from sight and from the plot during the storm, Odysseus establishes himself as conscious and active in these perilous moments. By talking to himself he affirms his own existence, to himself and to us, the audience. He reminds himself of his past achievements, reflects on his old friends, and worries about his spiritual legacy

<sup>227</sup> The following translation is by A. T. Murray, in the Loeb Classical Library, 1919. The text is now available online: <https://www.theoi.com/Text/HomerOdyssey5.html> (last visited: 12 June 2019).

should he perish in the storm. By contrast, Ūta-napišṭī, sitting in the dark boat, is not caught up in reflection. He does not think about his city Šuruppak or about the fate of his townsmen. He is not concerned about his future or about that of his family.<sup>228</sup> Jonah is not preoccupied with his past. He is, however, troubled by the future set out for him by God, namely his mission to Nineveh.

And the storm grows wilder:

... the great wave smote him from on high, rushing upon him with terrible might, and around it whirled his raft. Far from the raft he fell, and let fall the steering-oar from his hand; but his mast was broken in the midst by the fierce blast of tumultuous winds that came upon it, and far in the sea sail and yardarm fell. As for him, long time did the wave hold him in the depths, nor could he rise at once from beneath the onrush of the mighty wave, for the garments which beautiful Calypso had given him weighed him down. At length, however, he came up, and spat forth from his mouth the bitter brine which flowed in streams from his head... (5. 313–323).

Unlike Ūta-napišṭī who drops off the narratological horizon during the storm, Odysseus remains fully present, his senses alert: he sees the waves, his body is soaked in seawater, and he tastes the sea's saltiness. He is aware of the situation in which he finds himself and is desperate for a way out. Odysseus, unlike Ūta-napišṭī and Jonah, relies on his wits alone, and although cognizant of the divine force behind his situation, is too busy to pray to the gods – in sharp opposition to the sailors sailing from Jaffa to Tarshish and to Jonah himself. Nonetheless, it is the goddess Ino who comes to his rescue in the form of a sea mew – again, a bird signaling salvation at the end of the storm!<sup>229</sup> – advising him to abandon the raft and to swim ashore.

Comparison of the three heroes facing an epic storm – Ūta-napišṭī, Jonah, and Odysseus – reveals the differences between their respective cultures. The axis on which these heroes stand is the fullness of their literary figure, their awareness as individuals, and their active participation in the culmination of the story. On this axis, Odysseus stands out as the most active and aware hero, while Ūta-napišṭī is the most passive and seemingly indifferent

<sup>228</sup> The hero of the Flood is worried *prior* to the sailing of the boat: “While the one (who wanted) to eat was eating, (and) the one (who wanted) to drink was drinking, he (Atra-ḥasīs) kept going in and out. He could not sit, could not squat, for his heart was broken and he was vomiting gall. The day changed its appearance, then Adad thundered from the clouds (C<sub>1</sub> ii 43”–49”) and “[I was] greatly [worried as] the *plan(?)* was [...]; I lied down. I went up on the roof and [prayed(?)] to Šin, my lord” (Ark 44–45).

<sup>229</sup> For birds as ominous signs in Classical sources, see Mynott 2018, 179 and 249–266.

protagonist of the three.<sup>230</sup> In a way, Jonah is the most interesting figure of the three. A hero who strives to run away from his heroic mission, intimately connected with God, but angry and resentful of Him, undergoing severe tribulations and seeking only to die.

### 3.5 THE TWO SPEECHES OF THE MOTHER-GODDESS

While Ūta-napišti bears an affinity with the Mesopotamian gods in terms of his impassivity towards events (his story is told after he has joined the community of the gods), the mother-goddess is in fact the most human character in the myth, and her speech is the emotional highpoint of the story (certainly in the Old Babylonian version, but also in Gilg. XI where a shorter version appears). Enki is shrewd and cunning; Enlil is grumpy and angry; the Anunnaki are clueless and frightened – but the mother-goddess expresses a wide sweep of emotions and responses, including sorrow, worry, self-restraint and remorse. Let us analyze first her speech in the Old Babylonian version.

- iii 32'–33' *īmurma iltum ibakki tabsūt ilī erišta* <sup>d</sup>Mami  
 iii 34'–35' *ūmum lidda' i[m] litūr līki[il]*  
 iii 36'–38' *anāku ina puḥri ša i[lī] kī aq[bi] ittišunu gamerta[m]*  
 iii 39'–41' <sup>d</sup>Enlil *idbira ušaḡbi pī[ya] kīma Tiruru šuāt[i] ušaḡhi pī[ya]*  
 iii 42'–43' *ana ramāniya u pagri[ya] ina šēriyama rigimšina ešme*  
 iii 44'–45' *elēnu 'a kīma zubbī tūwū lillidū*  
 iii 46'–47' *u anāku kī ašābī ina bīt dimmati šaḡurrū rigmī*

<sup>230</sup> Even before the Flood begins, Ūta-napišti is indifferent to the coming events. He is unmoved when the secret of the Flood is revealed to him. He does not revolt against the divine decision, nor does he ask “but why!?” He does not beseech the gods to change their decision, nor reduce the scale of the coming catastrophe. On the contrary, the text stresses his total obedience to Ea, his god: “I comprehended and addressed Ea, my lord: [I ag]ree, my lord, with what you commanded. I took heed: I shall do it” (XI 32–34). Not only did Ūta-napišti not intercede on behalf of his people, but actually misled his townsmen, leaving them to their fate (XI 35ff.). Broadening the scope to the entire epic of Gilgameš, the reticent and uncaring behavior of Ūta-napišti stands in stark contrast to the emotional reaction of Gilgameš and Enkidu (and to a lesser degree, also of Ninsun and Siduri). In the biblical account, Noah acts similarly, and his passivity incurs rabbinic criticism (*Bab. Sanhedrin* 108a, see Greenstein 2016, 23 n. 1). In *Bereshit Rabbah* 30:10, where Gen. 6:9 (“Noah walked with god”) is discussed, the rabbis compared Noah to Abraham, who, unlike Noah, was not indifferent to the catastrophe befalling Sodom and Gomorrah, but strove to save the sinning population of the two cities, arguing with god: “Rabbi Judah said, ‘The matter may be compared to the case of a king who had two sons, one an adult, the other a child. He said to the child, ‘Walk with me,’ and to the adult ‘Walk before me’. So Abraham, who was strong, was told ‘Walk before me’, (Gen. 17:1), while Noah, who was weak, ‘walked with god’ (Gen. 6:9)” (Trans. Neusner 1985, 314).

- iii 48'–50' *ētellīma ana šamā'ī tuša wašbāku ina bīt nakmāti*  
 iii 51'–52' *ēša Anu illikam bēl ṭēmī ilū mārūšu išmū zikiršu*  
 iii 53'–54' *ša lā imtalkūma iškunū a[būba] ništ ikmisū ana ka[rāši]*

(break)

- iv 4'–5' *unabba<sup>d</sup>Ni[ntu...] abuman ulda n[išīya]*  
 iv 6'–7' *tiāmta kīma kulīlī imlānim nāram*  
 iv 8'–9' *kīma amim īmidā ana<sup>r</sup>saḥḥi<sup>l</sup> kīma amim ina šēri īmidā ana kibri*  
 iv 10'–11' *āmurma elišina abki uqatti dimmatī ina šērišin*  
 iv 12'–14' *ibkīma<sup>l</sup> libbaša unappiš unabba<sup>d</sup>Nintu lalāša iṣrup*

- iii 32'–33' The goddess saw it and wept, the midwife of the gods, the wise Mami (said):  
 iii 34'–35' “Let the day become dark, let it turn and be gloomy!  
 iii 36'–38' In the assembly of the gods, how did I, with them, render the annihilation?  
 iii 39'–41' Enlil pressed and made me utter it: like that Tiruru, he confused my words.  
 iii 42'–43' Contrary to my own nature, against my very self, I have listened to (Enlil's command regarding) their (the people's) noise.  
 iii 44'–45' It is my blame that my offspring have become like flies!  
 iii 46'–47' And I, how like in a house of lamentation, where noises are silenced, is my dwelling?  
 iii 48'–50' It is as if I were dwelling in a treasure house: I shall go up to heaven!  
 iii 51'–52' Where has Anu gone, who calls the shots? (whose) sons, the gods, obeyed his command,  
 iii 53'–54' who did not deliberate thus brought about the Flood, delivering (thus) the people to destru[ction]?”

(break)

- iv 4'–5' Nintu [. . .] was wailing: “Had only father give birth [to my people] (and not me)!  
 iv 6'–7' (They have filled) the sea like dragonflies fill a river,  
 iv 8'–9' like a raft they leaned against a drenched land, like a raft they leaned against a steppe on a river bank.  
 iv 10'–11' I have seen and I wept over them, I have ended my lamentation for them”.  
 iv 12'–14' She wept and eased (the burden) of her heart. By wailing, Nintu brought her feelings to exhaustion.

A third-person description would have been the expected way of reporting the aftermath of the catastrophe. Like TV reports from disaster scenes, we

would anticipate a long-shot view with the occasional zoom-in on the narrator who describes in somber tones what has happened. The ancient author, however, opts for a surprising strategy: the first-person voice of an agitated female survivor. The speech of the mother-goddess accelerates the drama in an economical manner: she does not tell us what happened in the Flood, but bemoans its results, allowing the audience to imagine the attendant horrors. Her emotional discourse spares the need for long descriptions. The fact that the addressee of the speech is not mentioned specifically (although it must be the Anunnaki) strengthens the effect of the words, for it is as if we are overhearing the mother-goddess talking to herself in a depopulated world.

The images of destruction in the goddess' speech are melancholic, evocative, lyrical even: "my offspring have become like flies" (C<sub>1</sub> iii 44'–45'), "(the people fill) the sea like dragonflies fill a river" (C<sub>1</sub> iv 6'–7'), "like a raft (the people) lied against a drenched land" (C<sub>1</sub> iv 8), "like a raft (the people) lay against a steppe on a river bank" (C<sub>1</sub> iv 9'). The point of observation is remote: the goddess, forced to abandon her temple, has risen to heaven, from which vantage point she looks at the inundated earth.<sup>231</sup> Floating bodies resemble small flies or dragonflies, and cadavers swish back and forth on the water like abandoned rafts. This zooming-out, combined with the employment of non-human vehicles to describe (dead) human beings, creates a disconsolate vision of a world denuded of all living creatures.

To fully appreciate Nintu's argument, it is useful to compare her words with those of another birth-giving goddess, Tīāmat. In the beginning of *Enūma eliš*, when Apsū, Tīāmat's spouse, instigates her to kill their own children because they are noisy and wreak havoc, Tīāmat objects: "How can we, who have created, cause destruction? Although their way is hard to bear, let us endure this hardship in good spirit!" (I 45–46; Lambert 2013, 53 differently). Nintu's apologetic regret follows the same line of reasoning: "Contrary to my own nature, against my very self, I have listened to (Enlil's command regarding) their (the people's) noise. It is my blame that my offspring have become like flies! (iii 42'–45'). In both cases, a birth-giving goddess accuses a male deity of prompting her to kill her offspring. Tīāmat protests against and defers the act (until later in the myth); Nintu does not protest and feels responsible for the death of her own progeny.

Rhetorically, Nintu's lament bears resemblance to the *Balaĝ*, Sumerian liturgical compositions which deplore the (actual and potential) destruction

<sup>231</sup> Another case of an aerial view in Akkadian literature is that of Etana's ascent to heavens: "Look my friend at how the land is. (It is) land and waters(?) (*mātu me-e-me-[e]-ma*) After he raised him a third league, the eagle spoke to Etana, sa[yin]g: Look my friend at how the land i[s]. The sea has turned into the ditch of a gard[ener] (*tāmtu itūra ana īki ša nuka[ribbi]*)" (see Horowitz 1990, 515).

of the city and its temple. A common topos in the Balaġ is the poet's bitter question to the goddess: 'how could you have destroyed your dwellings?' The goddess in turn places the blame on Enlil and An.<sup>232</sup> The Old Babylonian version of the Flood shows a similar development, only without a human voice (since humankind has disappeared). In the myth, Nintu herself poses the rhetorical question: "In the assembly of the gods, how did I, with them, render the annihilation?" (C<sub>1</sub> iii 36'–38'), and – as in the Balaġ – the goddess places the blame on Enlil: "Enlil pressed and made me utter it: like that Tiruru, he confused my words. Contrary to my own nature, against my very self, I have listened to (Enlil's command regarding) their (the people's) noise" (C<sub>1</sub> iii 39'–43'). In the later version, Bēlet-ilī also regrets her contribution to the destruction of humanity ("How did I speak evil in the assembly of the gods, thus announcing a war to annihilate my people?" XI 121–122), but blaming Enlil comes later, and the god's guilt is assuaged: "Let the gods come to the incense, (but) may Enlil not come to the incense, for he lacked counsel and brought about the Flood, and delivered my people to destruction" (XI 168–171). Furthermore, in the late version, the destroyed temple is not mentioned, a departure from the Old Babylonian version: "And I, how like in a house of lamentation, where noises are silenced, is my dwelling?" (C<sub>1</sub> iii 46'–47'). Hence, although the Balaġ is known to us mostly from 1<sup>st</sup> millennium attestations, it is the Old Babylonian version of the Flood which shows a stronger affinity to temple-related Balaġ-literature.

Nintu's speech in the Old Babylonian version is masterfully crafted. The goddess' speech is a latticework of interlaced senses: seeing and comprehending on the one hand and voicing and articulating sound on the other: *īmurma ibakki* (C<sub>1</sub> iii 32') . . . *āmurma abki* (C<sub>1</sub> iv 10') . . . *ibki* (C<sub>1</sub> iv 12'). Into this warp, the sense of hearing is threaded as the woof: *rigimšina ešme* (C<sub>1</sub> iii 43') . . . *ilū mārūšu išmū zikiršu* . . . (C<sub>1</sub> iii 52'). The group of verbs refers to two different timeframes: the verbs of seeing and of articulating refer to the present, after the Flood, while the verb of hearing recalls an earlier time, before the Flood. This separation creates an enthralling effect: it enhances the feeling that the goddess is alone, traumatized in a still and motionless world, where all noise is silenced (*šahurrū rigmī*) and all living creatures dead. All that is left to Nintu is to look in horror at what remains, and wail (*unabba Nintu* . . . *unabba Nintu*, C<sub>1</sub> iv 4' and 14'). The use of alliteration in the goddess' speech further accentuates her sense of guilt: *anāku* (C<sub>1</sub> iii 36') . . . *u anāku* (C<sub>1</sub> iii 46') . . . *ana ka[rāšī]* (C<sub>1</sub> iii 54') "I . . . and I . . . (the people came) to destru[ction]", hinting that she blames herself for not preventing the annihilation of humankind.

<sup>232</sup> Gabbay 2014, 59–62.

The author marks the goddess' growing despair by changing her appellations. At the beginning she is referred to as Mami, the wise midwife of the gods. Later she is called Nintu (lit. "Lady of Birth"). This is not accidental: it signifies that she is no longer a hopeful midwife, but a despondent woman whose progeny is now dead. The title "wise" (*erištu*, C<sub>1</sub> iii 33') is likewise used only in the beginning, for later she does not merit this title, having avoided the confrontation with Enlil and joined the rest of the gods in their decision to bring about a Flood. After the crisis is over, and humanity is saved from near-destruction, the mother-goddess is approached by Enki with a new appellation: "Nintu, the Womb" (<sup>d</sup>*Nintu saassūri*, C<sub>1</sub> vi 46'), reaffirming her position as the main deity responsible for the continuation of life, commanding the balance between birth and death: "[You, the W]omb, creatress of destinies, [assign Death] to the people, [put a man] to sleep [(in the grave)]" (C<sub>1</sub> vi 47'–49').

Bēlet-ilī's speech in Gilg. XI is shorter and depicts the aftermath of the Flood differently:

119–120 *ūmu ullū ana tiṭṭi lū itūrma aššu anāku ina puḫur ilī aqbū lemutta*  
 121–122 *kī aqbi ina puḫur ilī lemutta ana ḫulluq nišīya qabla aqbīma*  
 123–124 *anākumma ullada nišū' ayama kī mārī nūnī umallā tāmtamma*

119–120 "Days of yore have verily turned to clay, since I spoke evil in the assembly of the gods.  
 121–122 How did I speak evil in the assembly of the gods, thus announcing a war to annihilate my people?  
 123–124 It is I who bear (them), they are my people! (Now) like little fish they fill the sea!"

Unlike in the Old Babylonian version, the goddess in the younger version is not agitated, but sober. She concludes sadly that "days of yore have verily turned to clay" (XI 119). The goddess' statement refers to the central episode of the myth, where she (as Nintu) created man by mixing clay with a slaughtered god's flesh and blood, thus imprinting man with divine spirit, *eṭemmu* (Atr. I 211–215).<sup>233</sup> Bēlet-ilī remarks that the process of creating man, whose essence combines an earthly element, clay, and a divine component, spirit,

<sup>233</sup> *ina šīrišu u dāmišu Nintu liballil tiṭṭa ilumma u awīlum libtallilū puḫur ina tiṭṭi ... ina šīr ili eṭemmu libši balṭa itašu lišēdišu aššu lā mušši eṭemmu libši* "From his flesh and blood let Nintu prepare clay, so that god and man be mixed together in the clay... let there be spirit from the flesh of the god. Let them make his character known as 'living'! Let there be a spirit, so that it will not fade into oblivion!" (Lambert/Millard 1969, 58f. Different Trans.).

has come to an end, and that these two components are now dissolved.<sup>234</sup> The Flood, so the goddess tells, has not only brought about the end of humanity but the very process of its creation. Interestingly, this key-metaphor of Bēlet-ilī's speech is echoed by Ūta-napištī' who, upon coming out of the boat, reports: "... verily all people turned to clay" (XI 135).

The goddess in the younger version of Gilg. XI has not risen to heaven, as can be seen in the simile that concludes her speech: (dead) people look to her like "little fish (that) fill the sea" (XI 124) – a phrase which is found also in SB Gilg. V 87 (see commentary to XI 124). Observing the world horizontally, the floating cadavers resemble fish, not "dragonflies (that) fill a river" (C<sub>1</sub> iv 6'–7') when seen from above.

The reason, I believe, behind the editorial decision to shorten Bēlet-ilī's speech and reduce its emotive effect lies in the reluctance of the younger version's author to present a personal point of view which might compete with that of his hero, and narrator, Ūta-napištī.

### 3.6 MIND THE GAP: ŪTA-NAPIŠTĪ'S BLINDNESS

We have seen that at the culmination of the storyline, viz. the Flood, our view is severely limited. This limitation derives from the fact that the narration flow is filtered by the restricted view of Ūta-napištī who was inside the boat and thus not witness to the Flood outside (3.3). It is therefore surprising to find a similar gap at a point when Ūta-napištī, this time actually witness to a scene, fails to deliver an account of his stay in the belly of the boat.<sup>235</sup>

Why does the myth refrain from an account of what happened in the boat? This restraint can be traced to Ūta-napištī's merged function as both the main protagonist of the story and its narrator – a witness narrator. In the absence of an omniscient narrator, Ūta-napištī knows only what he sees, and reports only what he knows. Simply put, what happens inside the boat is left untold because these events occurred in the dark, and were hence unseen and unknown.<sup>236</sup> Nothing proves Ūta-napištī's passivity better than this fact, for although he is physically present at the scene, he sees, knows, and tells us nothing about it.

<sup>234</sup> On the motif of back to creation, see Wasserman 2005 (esp. 25).

<sup>235</sup> For other gaps in the myth, as e.g. the reason for bringing about the Flood, cf. Lang 2008, 213 and 215.

<sup>236</sup> The darkness inside the boat triggered the imagination of early Jewish rabbis. *Bereshit Rabbah* (31:11) reads: "Rabbi Phineas in the name of Rabbi Levi: 'During the entire twelve months in which Noah was in the ark, he had no need for the light of the sun by day nor for the light of the moon by night. Rather, he had a precious stone, which he suspended. When the stone dimmed, he knew that it was day, and when it glowed brightly, he knew that it was night.'" (Trans. Neusner 1985, 323)

To a greater extent than the younger version, the Old Babylonian version sets the scene for Ūta-napišti's blindness: the boat is roofed over "like the Apsû, so that the sun shall not see inside her" (C<sub>1</sub> i 29'–30'). If the sun was unable to penetrate the boat, nobody could see what happened inside. With the underlying metaphor of the boat as a womb,<sup>237</sup> Ūta-napišti and his family become prenatal beings about whom very little is known – only that, as some incantations recount, they sit in the dark, frightened, waiting to be delivered from the amniotic waters into the light (see commentary to C<sub>1</sub> i 29'–30'). The dichotomy darkness/silence vs. light/narration finds resolution in the passage when Ūta-napišti leaves the boat (≈ uterus). He emerges into the light, as a newborn: "I opened an air vent and the sunshine fell on my cheek... I looked around, to the extremities of the sea" (XI 137 and 140). As a baby cries after being pulled from the womb, Ūta-napišti bursts into tears upon leaving the boat: "I fell to my knees and sat weeping: the tears streaming down my cheek" (XI 138–139).<sup>238</sup>

Failure to disclose what happened in the boat during the Flood has an important ideological basis too. It serves to reinforce that fact that, albeit told from the mouth of Ūta-napišti, the myth of the Flood is not autobiography. The myth is not a story about Ūta-napišti, but a drama involving the gods. Man's survival at the end of this drama is – from all but Ea's point of view – an incidental and unexpected, and in fact an unwanted, turn. Note that when the boat finds its rest atop of Mount Nimuš, Ūta-napišti remains inside for some days. He does not survey the area; he does not hunt or forage for food *à la* Robinson Crusoe; nor does he build a shelter or found a New-Šurruapak to commemorate the one he left behind. The first – and only! – thing which Ūta-napišti does after the Flood is to offer sacrifices to the gods, in order to (re-)establish his previous reciprocal relationship with the divine realm.

In the aftermath of the Flood, Ūta-napišti's blindness is over and he can suddenly see: "The sea, which fought like a woman in confinement, rested. The windstorm grew still, the Flood stopped. I looked at the weather<sup>239</sup> and there was silence: verily all people turned to clay. The flooded flats were flattened like a roof. I opened an air vent and the sunshine fell on my cheek..." (XI 132–137). When on dry land, Ūta-napišti is active again (as he was when building the boat): he sends birds onto dry land (after doing nothing with the animals in the boat), and presents his offering to the gods (after not even praying to them in the boat).

<sup>237</sup> On the prenatal symbolism of the boat, see Draffkorn Kilmer 2007, 161; Lang 2008, 225–226 and Kvanvig 2011.

<sup>238</sup> This is the meaning of Ūta-napišti's tears (*pace* Greenstein 2016, 24 who believes that the hero cries on account of his sorrow at the total destruction of the human race).

<sup>239</sup> Var.: I looked at the sea (ms. J<sub>1</sub>).

## 3.7 K 1520: AN APOCRYPHAL TEXT ON THE BOAT?

No other ancient Mesopotamian literary composition sheds light on what happened on the lower decks when the boat was overcome by gigantic waves. Only in later non-Mesopotamian literatures, such as the Jewish exegetical composition *Bereshit Rabbah* or in some Christian theological writings (e.g. 3<sup>rd</sup> century Origen, or 15<sup>th</sup> century Alonso Tostado), do we find speculative information about life on the boat during the Flood.<sup>240</sup> None of these has roots in the Akkadian (or biblical) accounts.

Only one text, K. 1520, could be cited as an exception. This rare example of a school text from Nineveh was first published by C. H. W. Johns in his 1901 *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (ADD 777).<sup>241</sup> Not only its format – the tablet turns along the vertical axis, against common scribal practice – but its contents too are unusual: on the obverse, measurements of an unknown object are found. They are followed by a list of wild and domestic animals which continue on the reverse.

If at first the tablet prompted interest, it soon disappeared from the academic radar. It was M. Worthington in his just-published *Ea's Duplicity in the Gilgamesh Flood Story* who saved it from oblivion and gave it the scholarly attention it deserves. The text reads:

Obv.

- 1 3 ME 63 *ina* 1 KÙŠ 'GÍD.DA'  
 2 1 ME 50 *ina* 1 KÙŠ DAGAL  
 3 6 ME 60 *ina* 1 KÙŠ UŠ  
 4 4 ME 60 *ina* *as*<sub>4</sub>-*lum rabīti*(GAL-*ti*) SAG.KI  
 5 7 ME 88 *ina* *as*<sub>4</sub>-*lum rabīti*(GAL-*ti*) *mu-lu-u*  
 6 *ibilū*(ANŠE.A.AB.BA.A) : *anše gam-ma*<sup>meš</sup> *sīsū*(ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>meš</sup>)  
 7 *anše ku-din*<sup>meš</sup> *kūdinī*(ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA<sup>meš</sup>) *imērū*(ANŠE.NÍTA<sup>meš</sup>)

Lo. Edge

- 8 *atānū*(<sup>munus</sup>ANŠE) <sup>munus</sup>ANŠE.KUR.RA

Rev.

- 9 *alpū*(GU<sub>4</sub><sup>meš</sup>) *lātu*(<sup>gu</sup>4ÁB<sup>meš</sup>) <sup>munus</sup>*si-sal-ḫu*  
 10 *būrū*(<sup>gu</sup>4AMAR<sup>meš</sup>) *immerū*(UDU.NÍTA<sup>meš</sup>) *šuppū*(UDU.NÍTA BAB-BAR) : *ḫurāpū*(<sup>udu</sup>NIM)

<sup>240</sup> See Cohn 1996, 32–46.

<sup>241</sup> A photo of the tablet can be consulted in CDLI P349825, and a copy is found in Gesche 2000, 666. An online edition of the text (by Jeremiah Peterson) is found in DCCLT/Lexical Texts in the Royal Libraries at Nineveh (last visited: 30 May 2019 – no permanent URL is available).

- 11 *enzātu*(<sup>udu</sup>ÙZ<sup>meš</sup>) *kizzū*(MÁŠ.ZU) *lalû*(MÁŠ!.TUR) *unīqu* (<sup>udu</sup>.munus ÁŠ.GÀR)
- 12 *ayyalu*(DÀR.BAR) *šabītu*(MAŠ.DÀ) *serrēmu*(ANŠE.EDIN.NA) *arnabu*(KA.EDIN.NA)
- 13 *mār šabīti* (DUMU MAŠ.DÀ) : *kurkû*(KUR.GI<sup>mušen</sup>) *sukannīnū*(TU!.KUR<sub>4</sub><sup>mušen</sup>)
- 14 *tam-ši*<sup>mušen</sup> *marratu*(ŠEŠ<sup>mušen</sup>) *pu-ud-ri sūqi*(SILA<sup>mušen</sup>)
- 15 *summatu*(TU<sup>mušen</sup>) *sinūntu*(SIM<sup>mušen</sup>) *arību*(UGA<sup>mušen</sup>)

*Translation:*

- 1 The length is 363 cubits.  
 2 The breadth is 150 cubits.  
 3 The side is 660 cubits.  
 4 The front is 460 great *aslu*-measures.  
 5 The height is 788 great *aslu*-measures.  
 6 Dromedary(ies) (: ) camels, horses,  
 7 mules, mules, donkeys,  
 8 a she-ass, a mare,  
 9 bulls, cows, *sisalhu*-cattle,  
 10 calves, sheep, white sheep (: ) lamb(s),  
 11 goats, *kizzu* goat-kid(s), *lalû* goat-kid(s), *unīqu* (goat)-kid(s),  
 12 (a) deer, gazelle(s), wild donkey(s), hare(s),  
 13 *young* gazelle(s) (: ) geese, turtledoves,  
 14 *mockingbird*(s)(?), *marratu*-bird(s),<sup>242</sup> ‘dung cake of the street’-  
 bird(s),  
 15 dove(s), swallow(s), raven(s).

The notion that K. 1520 is related to the story of the Flood was first raised by Johns.<sup>243</sup> However, when it was understood that the animals listed in it parallels a longer lexical text known as *Practical Vocabulary from Nineveh*, the notion was dismissed. Still, even if K. 1520 is a student exercise, the unusual thematic combination of measurements of a large cubic form, followed by a list of animals which terminates with the sequence dove-swallow-raven,<sup>244</sup> strongly suggests that it is connected with the story of the Flood. One can easily envisage a schoolboy, or a junior scribe, scribbling this tablet after having copied Gilg. XI. Such a scenario is not unlikely and more examples

<sup>242</sup> See Veldhuis 2004, 283–284.

<sup>243</sup> The early bibliography is meticulously collected in Worthington 2019.

<sup>244</sup> The *Practical Vocabulary from Nineveh* breaks just before the point where K. 1520 has ‘dove-swallow-raven’. Thus, one cannot tell whether this sequence was introduced by K. 1520 or copied from the lexical list.

of a literary text relying on lexical lists can be adduced.<sup>245</sup> It is in fact surprising that texts which try to fill in lacunae in the myth of the Flood are so rare.

### 3.8 DIVINE DISPUTES: BĒLET-ILĪ AND ENKI; ENLIL AND THE OTHER GODS

Some conflicts in the myth of the Flood are apparent on the surface of the text: the clash between Nintu and Enlil in the Old Babylonian recension (C<sub>1</sub> v 39"), the more nuanced differences between Bēlet-ilī and Enlil in the later version (Gilg. XI 166–171), and the verbal confrontation between Ea and Enlil towards the end of the story (Gilg. XI 181–198). A close reading of the text, however, reveals additional latent tensions between different gods – the first between the mother-goddess and Enki/Ea.

The central embryo-related metaphors presented above (boat ≈ womb; the water of the Flood ≈ amniotic fluid; Ūta-napišṭī ≈ fetus) cast the mother-goddess in an ironic light and set the background to her conflict with the god of wisdom. Nintu (or Bēlet-ilī, in Gilg. XI) is filled with remorse for not acting against Flood. She bemoans the deaths of her children and humanity as a whole (C<sub>1</sub> iv 4'–5'; Gilg. XI 117–118), unaware of the boat which carries Ūta-napišṭī, future seed of the human race. Poignantly, it is Enki/Ea, the goddess' male consort, who takes care of the boat (≈ womb), and it is he, not she, who assists in the re-birth of humankind. The competition between the two gods regarding creation – a known point of tension in their relationship – is apparent in the Old Babylonian Sippar recension, where Enki challenges Nintu towards the end of the myth:

“ [Enki] opened his mouth and [addressed] Nintu, the Womb: ‘[You, the W]omb, creatress of destinies, [assign Death] to the people, [put a man] to sleep [(in the grave)]... Let there be ... among the people women who bear and women who cannot bear...Let there be among the people the *Pāšittu* (demoness) to seize the baby from the lap of the woman who gives birth. Create the *ugbaltu*-priestesses, *entu*-priestesses and *igišītu*-priestesses and let them be off-limits. Cut out childbirth! [Create] . . . *nadītu*-women [*šugītum*-women] and *qadištu*-women’” (C<sub>1</sub> vi 45'–vii 11)

The passage is not complete, but it seems that, similarly to what we find in *Enki and Ninmah*, the two gods are engaged in a contest: one of them creates a specific human category, the other assigns a special cultural or religious function to it. Let us note that in the Old Babylonian version, Enlil is absent from the end of the myth, and the story returns to the theme of creation, so crucial

<sup>245</sup> See Wasserman 2002 and Wasserman forthcoming b.

to the earlier parts of Atra-ḥasīs. Significantly, the younger version of Gilg. XI does not end with a competition between Ea and Bēlet-ilī. Instead, Enlil's role is underscored; the final theme is not creation but the promotion of Ūtanapišṭī to the realm of the gods, a prerogative over which Enlil presides. This leads us to the second underlying tension in the myth, that between Enlil and the rest of the community of the gods.

The mythologist and his audience had no doubt that Enlil initiated the Flood because of humanity's unbearable din. Likewise, it was patently clear who suffered as a result of this calamity: the human race and the community of the gods. I would like to advance from these obvious statements and propose that a secret scheme lay behind Enlil's plan to annihilate humanity.

Enlil is accused a number of times in the story of not thinking through the consequences of the Flood ("not taking counsel": C<sub>1</sub> v 42"–43", z v 2'–3', Gilg. XI 170). According to Enlil's original plan, famine would decimate the human population (Atr. II iv 7–18). However, it also turned out to be life-threatening to the gods, since it spelled the end to human offerings to the gods. So, was Enlil's decision to bring about the Flood an error of judgement? A critical analysis of the plot discloses an unexpected answer. When the Flood is over and Atra-ḥasīs presents his offerings to the gods, Nintu raises her voice: "Has Enlil come to the incense?" (C<sub>1</sub> v 41"). In the later version, this moment is extended: "Let the gods come to the incense, (but) may Enlil not come to the incense" (XI 168–169).<sup>246</sup> The reason for Enlil's absence from the gathering of the gods could be explained as a protest on his part for the failure of his design to destroy humanity. This explanation could hold for the Old Babylonian version, but not for Gilg. XI. There, the sequence of events makes it impossible: Enlil understands that someone has survived the Flood only *after* attending the offering (XI 172–176). I suggest that Enlil did not come to the offering not because he was angry, but because he was not... hungry. To put it in sharper terms, Enlil had two reasons for bringing about the Flood: an official reason – to decimate humanity – and a hidden reason – to bring the gods to the brink of starvation. Enlil, I suggest, had his own supplies, since, contrary to the temples of the other gods which were destroyed by the Flood, Enlil's temple, the Ekur, remained intact

<sup>246</sup> Not being invited to a party is a known motif in folktales. In Thompson's Motif Index of Folk Literature (1955–58) it is listed under no. F361.1.1. †F361.1.1. "Fairy takes revenge for not being invited to feast". A popular example of this motif is found in Walt Disney's animated film, *Sleeping Beauty* (1959). There, the evil fairy Maleficent, after not being invited to the christening party of Princess Aurora, puts a curse on her that she will prick her finger on a spinning wheel and die before her sixteenth birthday. The same motif is hidden in the myth of Nergal and Ereškigal, where the heavenly gods are careful not to insult the Queen of the Netherworld by not inviting her to their feast, and send her a meal in the land of the dead, since she cannot join them in heaven.

and offerings to him continued there.<sup>247</sup> According to this interpretation, the creation of man, which came about as a solution to the rebellion of the lesser gods against Enlil (Atr. Tabs. I and II), turned out to be a miscalculation at a juncture when Enlil felt endangered by humanity's unstoppable multiplication. Realizing his mistake, he decided to do away with the two problems at once: to wipe humanity off the face of the earth, and to starve the gods in order drive them back to their servile status as canal-diggers prior to the creation of man.

One may interpret Enlil's behavior as an example of his capricious character and aversion to humanity,<sup>248</sup> but I suggest it reflects a conflict between the hegemonic and anti-hegemonic worldviews, a clash between a centralized religio-political system, based on Enlil and the Ekur, and a non-centralized, anti-hegemonic system, spread between local centers of power.<sup>249</sup> In support of this contention are Atra-ḥasīs' words to the elders of Šuruppak, when explaining the construction of the boat, viz. that Enlil and Enki had a falling-out and that he can no longer dwell in Enlil's land (C<sub>1</sub> i 40'–50', Gilg. XI 36ff. and perhaps the beginning of ms. J<sub>1</sub>).<sup>250</sup> This argument is commonly understood to have been invented by Ea to trick Atra-ḥasīs' city-mates, but Atra-ḥasīs' words attesting to a disagreement between Enlil and the other gods, headed by Enki/Ea, should be taken at face value. The end of the story provides another allusion to this dispute, for Atra-ḥasīs seems to switch sides: it is Enlil, not Ea, who invites him to join the assembly of the gods (XI 199–202).

It should be clearly stated: nowhere in the myth is it said that Nippur was exempted from the catastrophe,<sup>251</sup> nor that the Ekur was spared. My reading can only be inferred from the fact that Enlil does not rush to the scent offerings – which indicates that, unlike the other gods, he was not starving. Non-direct support for this idea comes by way of a late literary tradition which holds that one city was saved from the Flood. In the poem of Erra IV 50 we read: *ša Sippar āl ṣāti ša Bēl mātāti in aqār pānišu abūbu lā ušbi' ušu,*

<sup>247</sup> A parallel to this can be found in the midrashim saying that the Flood did not cover the Land of Israel (Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer 23; Pesiqta Zutreta, Noah, 8:11; Yalqut Shim'oni, Noah, 56-57).

<sup>248</sup> One example, of many, is The Curse of Agade: 149–175 (Cooper 1983, 56–58 and ETCSL c.2.1.5).

<sup>249</sup> A similar case of an opposition to the Nippurian hegemony is found in Enkidu's last speech in Gilg. VII 37–64. See Wasserman forthcoming a.

<sup>250</sup> Jewish exegesis imagined a conflict between Noah and the people around him. *Bereshit Rabbah* (30:7) reads: "For the entire one hundred twenty years before the flood, Noah went about planting cedars and cutting them down. So people said to him, 'Why are you doing this?' He said to them, 'The Master of the world told me that he is bringing a flood on the world'. They said to him, 'If a flood is coming, it will come only on the house of the father of that man (i.e. on you alone)'" (Trans. Neusner 1985, 310).

<sup>251</sup> As a matter of fact, only one city is mentioned by name in the myth: Šuruppak (Gilg. XI 13; 23).

“as for Sippar, the primordial city, through which the Lord of the Lands, in his benevolence, did not let the Flood pass...”<sup>252</sup> Conversely, the tradition which holds that Enlil’s wrath destroyed one specific city can also be found, especially in the great city laments<sup>253</sup> and in the Balaġ liturgies.<sup>254</sup> The clearest example of the latter topos is The Curse of Agade, where “the thunderous storm that overpowers the entire land, the rising flood which nobody can confront” (l. 150), prompts Enlil’s decision to devastate Agade, and Agade alone.

The narratological modules of ‘all cities destroyed – one city spared’ and ‘one city destroyed – other cities spared’ strengthen the suggestion that Enlil’s cultic center in Nippur was not destroyed during the Flood, which, if correct, sheds new light on Enlil’s decisions and actions in the myth.

### 3.9 AN ECHO OF THE FLOOD? THE INSCRIPTION OF IPIQ-IŠTAR OF MALGIUM

Another Old Babylonian text which speaks of a catastrophe of divine origin with intriguing correspondence to the story of the Flood is the inscription of king Ipiq-Ištar of Malgium. This cone-shaped royal inscription (VS 1, 32 = Frayne 1990, 669 E4.11.1) is anything but dull: as part of his royal titles the king claims divine descent; then, after the temporal phrase (“when...”), the reader is presented with a detailed description of a heavenly assembly with critical ramifications for the city of Malgium:

King Ipiq-Ištar, the creation of Enki and Damkina, king of Malgium, son of Apil-ilišu.

When Anu, Enlil, Bēlet-ilī (dMAḤ), and Ea-King,<sup>255</sup> took counsel regarding the land, the dweller of the *Apsū*,<sup>256</sup> the lord of secret knowledge, notified his wife, the perfect Damkina: ‘quickly, get ready to face an offense, avert the misfortune, so that in the future, Malgium, your city, its

<sup>252</sup> Cagni 1969, 110 (cf. Cagni 1977, 52). That Sippar was the sole antediluvian city that was saved from the Flood, thus preserving ancient wisdom, is known from other literary compositions as well. See The Seed of Kingship (Lambert 1974); the Uruk list of antediluvian kings and their savants (van Dijk 1962, 44–52; Galter 2005, 291); and the Hellenistic account of Berossos (cf. Chen 2013, 150f.).

<sup>253</sup> For the dependence of the Akkadian story of the Flood on Sumerian compositions, see Chen 2013, 202ff. and 208ff.

<sup>254</sup> See, e.g., a gal-gal buru<sub>14</sub> su-su lú ta-zu mu-un-zu, “(Enlil), a flood which drowns the harvest, what can one know of you?” (Cohen 1988, 275: 34–35); a-ma-ru na-nam kur al-gul-gul ù-mu-un-e e-ne-èġ-ġá-ni a-ma-r[u na-nam], “It is indeed a Flood; the land is destroyed! The lord, his Word is [indeed] a Flood” (ibid, 277: b+93–94) (refs. courtesy U. Gabbay).

<sup>255</sup> For *Ea-šarrī*, a known deity, see Schwemer 2001, 446 n. 3709.

<sup>256</sup> The text reads LU-*im*: probably a mistake for ZU!.<AB>-*im*. More scribal mistakes and omission of signs are found in this text (cf. ll. 2, 16, 29, and 37 x 2)

foundations, may be firm, kingship and dynasty, may last long and (their rites) never cease in the (temple) of Enamtila (‘House of Life’).

Soon after, the country in its entirety gathered down, raised a great noise, and acted wickedly: they ruined the fane, the seat of the great Bēlet-ilī, cut down the fearsome terrace, her grove.

I – Ipiq-Ištar, the devout king, the formation of his, Ea’s hands – as soon as Ea and Damkina requested me for their servitude, I exerted myself and built a house for Bēlet-ilī, my mother. I planted for her a perfect grove, fitting her divinity. I caused to fix regular fruit offerings before her forever. I called the name of the house Ekitušgeštu (‘A House, Sit of Wisdom’). I returned to her the former abode which belonged to her, and invited her to sit there.

He who removes my foundation-inscription, may Bēlet-ilī curse him with a great curse.

Van Koppen (2005) noticed the connections between this unusual royal inscription and the story of the Flood, marking that the two texts share the motifs of the gods’ gathering in order to determine the fate of the world, and Ea’s special role in saving humanity. The focus of his paper, however, was the reconstruction of historical events which took place during the reign of Ipiq-Ištar. Van Koppen suggests that the opaque description “the country in its entirety gathered down ... and acted wickedly” refers to the Elamite invasion of Mesopotamia which culminated in the conquest of Ešnunna (1757/56, according to the low-middle chronology).<sup>257</sup> Van Koppen argues persuasively that Ipiq-Ištar was not of royal seed, and that as a *homo novus* desperate to gain religious legitimacy, he turned to the Flood story and used it as a mythological reference for his own turbulent personal history (van Koppen,

<sup>257</sup> I find it difficult to accept. The phrase “the country in its entirety gathered down ... and acted wickedly” can hardly refer to an external enemy, viz. the Elamites. When describing an external enemy, the texts of the period tend to be clear and direct (as, e.g., the Mari letter A. 3080 = Durand 1990, mentioning the black and white butterflies of the river). Rather, it is an inner unrest – of rebellious sons in the court, or clashes between revolting political fractions – with their unavoidable historiographical problems, notably in (pseudo)-autobiographical compositions like the Ipiq-Ištar inscription, which call for such a vague description. A good parallel is the revolt against Esarhaddon’s accession to the throne: “Persecution (and) jealousy fell over my brothers and they forsook (the will) of the gods. They trusted in their arrogant deeds, and they were plotting evil. They started evil rumors, calumnies, (and) slander about me against the will of the gods, and they were constantly telling insincere lies, hostile things, behind my back. They alienated the well-meaning heart of my father from me, against the will of the gods, (but) deep down he was compassionate and his eyes were permanently fixed on my exercising kingship... Afterwards, my brothers went out of their minds and did everything that is displeasing to the gods and mankind, and they plotted evil, girt (their) weapons, and in Nineveh, without the gods, they butted each other like kids for (the right to) exercise kingship” (Nin. A i 23–31, 41–44 = Leichty 2011, 12–13 Esarhaddon 1). It is however possible that the inner political turmoil which brought Ipiq-Ištar to power was related to the Elamite attack.

2005, 176–177). The employment of the myth for political purposes in royal propaganda proves, with van Koppen, that the Flood story was well-known in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

Let us look closely at the structural and thematic affinities between Ipiq-Ištar's inscription and the story of the Flood. First, the gods. Four members of the divine realm are listed in Ipiq-Ištar's inscription: Anu, Enlil, and Ea with his consort <sup>d</sup>MAH (read Bēlet-ilī? – she is referred to also as Damkina). These gods are the main figures in the story of the Flood. Second, as noted by van Koppen, in both compositions, Enki/Ea leaks a secret decision by the divine assembly about a coming calamity: in the Flood, he reveals the secret to a human devotee, and in Ipiq-Ištar's inscription, to his consort (who probably transferred it to Ipiq-Ištar). The closest parallel to Ipiq-Ištar's inscription is found in ms. **I** of the Flood. This version, from Ugarit, begins very similarly to Ipiq-Ištar's inscription. **I** 1–3 read: *enūma ilū imtalkū milka ina mātāti abūba iškunū ina kibrāti* “When the gods took counsel concerning (lit.: in) the lands and brought about a Flood in the regions of the world”, while Ipiq-Ištar 5–7 has: *inu Anu Enlil Bēlet-ilī u Ea šarrī milik mātīm imlikū* “When Anu, Enlil, Bēlet-ilī and Ea, my king, took counsel regarding the land...”. In both texts the designed calamity is realized, but the leaked information helps avoid a greater catastrophe. A third point of resemblance between Ipiq-Ištar's inscription and the Flood is the role of the human protagonist as a *builder*. In the Flood story, Atra-ḫasīs/Ūta-napištī is instructed to build a boat,<sup>258</sup> while in Ipiq-Ištar's inscription, the king builds a temple, a house for the goddess (l. 30, *abni bītam*).<sup>259</sup> Damkina's temple, furthermore, is called Enamtila, “The House of Life”,<sup>260</sup> which brings to mind the Middle Babylonian ms. **J** of the Flood, where the boat is named *nāširat napištīm* “The Life Saver” (**J** r. 8').<sup>261</sup> The fourth, unmistakable link to the Flood story is the term *ḫabarattam rabītam* “great noise”, which characterizes the evil people coming down on Malgium (l. 20). It is impossible to miss the connection of this phrase to the key-term *hubūru* “(humanity's) clamor” in the

<sup>258</sup> *bini eleppam* in **Ark** 4 and Gilg. XI 24 (cf. 28); *eleppam rabītam binīma* in **J** r. 6'. **W** 13' has *epēšum* instead of *banūm*: [*ma-t*]i-ma-a *eleppa ul ēpuš*.

<sup>259</sup> The deep-rooted equation of temple ≈ boat is found elsewhere in Mesopotamian literature, e.g. in the Curse of Agade 108: É-kur <sup>ē</sup>is má maḥ-gin<sub>7</sub> gul-gul-lu-dè “to destroy the Ekur, like a huge boat...” (Cooper 1983, 54 and ETCSL c.2.1.5). This metaphor strengthens the suggestion that the boat in the Flood, notably in Gilg. XI, was hermeneutically understood as a ziggurat (see Holloway 1991; Baumgart 1999, 499–526; Glassner 2002; George 2003, 513, and commentary to **C**<sub>1</sub> vi 9).

<sup>260</sup> George 1993, 131 (no. 850).

<sup>261</sup> Ipiq-Ištar's building activities are confusing. After rebuilding the Enamtila, Ipiq-Ištar calls it by a new ceremonial name: Ekitušgeštu, ‘A House, Abode of Wisdom’ (George 1993, 111 (no. 622) – signifying Ea's prominent position in Malgium and his crucial role in the events. Or are these two different temples?

Flood: the noise which disturbed Enlil's sleep, prompting him to unleash the Flood.<sup>262</sup> Finally, when completing the building of the goddess' temple, Ipiq-Ištar places fruit offerings before the goddess (*ušaškin sattukki inbim an dār dārītim* ll. 34–35). These offerings stand in structural parallel to Gilg. XI 158: *aškun surqinnu ina muḫḫi ziqqurrať šadī* “I (Ūta-napišť) placed incense on the peak of the mountain”.

In summation, there is no doubt that Ipiq-Ištar's scribes knew the story of the Flood, probably as a separate story. Whether this story was identical to the Old Babylonian versions that have reached us today, i.e. the Larsa recension or the Sippar recension, cannot be ascertained, but the basic structure and central details in the story known to Ipiq-Ištar are found in the Flood, as we know it.

What is remarkable is the masterful weaving of the myth into a political biography of a monarch. A story of divine wrath and human salvation is transformed into an intricate building inscription: a story of an obedient ruler who saved his city<sup>263</sup> and took pains to build an elaborate construction following the orders of his deity.

<sup>262</sup> Atr. I [359], II i 8, and S iv 3, 8, 41 (the Assyrian Recension).

<sup>263</sup> An important difference between the two texts concerns this point: Atra-ḫasīs abandoned his city, Šuruppak, and did not save it, whereas Ipiq-Ištar saved his city and its temples.



## GLOSSARY OF ALL THE SOURCES OF THE FLOOD

- abākum* (v.), to lead away, push away **U** r. 4', r. 22'
- abnum*, stone, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 12'; Gilg. XI 51
- abūbum*, flood, **C**<sub>0</sub> iv 6'; **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 37', iii 11', 15', iii 20', iii 23', 53', iv 25', v 42", vi 21, viii 9', 18'; **I** 2; **J** r' 4'; **U** r. 18', r. 20'; **z** v 3', 4', 5', 6', 7', 8', 13'; Gilg. XI 14, 110, 114, 129, 133, 170, 184, 188, 190, 192, 194
- abum*, father, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iv 5'; Gilg. XI 15
- Adad, DN, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 49", 53"; **U** r. 2', r. 5'; Gilg. XI 99, 106
- adagurru*, a vessel for libations, Gilg. XI 159
- adānum*, fixed date, **W** 5'; Gilg. XI 87, 90
- adārum* (v.), to be(come) dark, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> v 45"
- adārum* (v.), to be afraid (of), reverse, **C**<sub>0</sub> iv 15'; **U** r. 21'
- adi*, until, Gilg. XI 80
- agasalakkum*, *agasiliggum*, (a kind of axe), Gilg. XI 52
- aḥāzum* (v.), to take, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 21'
- aḥum*, brother, colleague, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 13' (x2); Gilg. XI 112 (x2);
- aḥum*, arm, side, **I**<sub>2</sub> 2; Gilg. XI 6
- ai*, not, **C**<sub>0</sub> iv 1'; **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 30'; **z** v 13'; Gilg. XI 167, 169, 176, 187 (x2)
- akālum* (v.), to eat, use up, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 43", v 36", **Ark** 12, 38; Gilg. XI 69, 156;
- ākilum*, that eats, eater, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 43"; **Ark** 38
- akītum*, (a cultic festival), Gilg. XI 75
- alākum* (v.), to go, flow, **C**<sub>0</sub> iv 10'; **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 51', iv 25', v 39"; **Ark** 29, 34; **I**<sub>1</sub> B 12'; **I**<sub>2</sub> 12; **U** r. 14'; Gilg. XI 80, 100, 101, 103, 129, 139, 149, 152, 155, 168, 169
- alālum* (v.), to hang up, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> v 47"
- ali*, where?, **I**<sub>1</sub> B 8'
- alpum*, bull, ox, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 32"; Gilg. XI 71, 108
- ālum*, village, city, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 44', 47'; Gilg. XI 11, 12, 35, 40
- amārum* (v.), to see, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 30', iii 13', 32', iv 10', vi 5; **I**<sub>2</sub> 6; **U** 11; **W** 15'; Gilg. XI 65, 112, 155, 173
- ammaki*, *ammaku*, instead of, Gilg. XI 188, 190, 192, 194
- amum*, raft, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iv 8', 9'
- amurru*, Amurru, west (wind), **U** r. 6', r. 10'
- ana*, to, **C**<sub>0</sub> iv 4', 6', 12', 13', 17', 18'; **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 2, 12', 16', 39', 41', 49', ii 41", iii 42', 48', 54', iv 8', 9', 15', v 30", 41", 43", 46", vi 12, 17, 42', 46', 48', viii 18'; **Ark** 2, 10, 20, 22, 35, 45 (x2), 57; **I** 11, 12, 15; **I**<sub>1</sub> B 5'; **I**<sub>2</sub> 5, 10; **J** r. 13'; **U** 14, r. 9', r. 10', r. 22'; **W** 7', 12'; **z** v 14', 15'; Gilg. XI 1 (x2), 5, 8 (x2), 14, 20, 27, 32, 37, 42, 43, 49, 61, 62, 63, 66, 67, 71, 76, 85, 89, 93, 94, 95, 96, 107, 115, 119, 122, 135, 141, 142, 143, 157, 167, 168, 169, 171, 178, 182, 199;
- anāḥum* (v.), to be(come) tired, **I**<sub>2</sub> 13
- anāku*, I, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 34', iii 36', 46'; **Ark** 39, 59; **I** 6; **I**<sub>2</sub> 7, 14; Gilg. XI 32, 34, 120, 123, 196

- annûm*, this, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> i 46', 50', vi 2, 13, viii 15; J<sub>1</sub> 6', 12'; Gilg. XI 166, 167  
 Antum, DN, z v 22'  
 Anum, DN, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iii 23', 25', 51', v 39", 47", vi 11, U r. 20'; z v 22'; Gilg. XI 15, 115, 165  
*anumma*, now, J<sub>1</sub> 6'  
 Anunnakkû, DN, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iii 30, vi 7; Gilg. XI 104, 125  
 Anzû, lion-headed eagle, U r. 16'  
*apâlum* (v.), to pay, answer, Gilg. XI 35  
*apkallum*, wise man, expert, sage, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vi 20; z v 2'; Gilg. XI 183  
*appum*, nose, Gilg. XI 137, 139  
*appûna*, moreover, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vii 1  
 Apsûm, (cosmic) underground water, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> i 29', 49'; Gilg. XI 31, 42  
*aptum*, window, I<sub>2</sub> 4, 10  
*arârum* (v.), to be convulsed, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iv 23'  
*arîtum*, *erîtum*, pregnant woman, Ark 37  
*armûtu*, desolation, Ark 50  
*arnum*, guilt, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vi 25; Gilg. XI 185  
*asum*, myrtle, Gilg. XI 160  
*ašlum*, rush, rope, measure of length, Ark 10  
*ašrum*, place, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iv 18', 26'  
*aššatum*, wife, I r. 2; W 8'; z v 18'  
*aššum*, because (of), Gilg. XI 120, 170  
*atkuppum*, craftsman making objects of reed, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> ii 12'; Gilg. XI 51  
 Atramḥasîs, PN, C<sub>0</sub> iv 8'; C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> i 1, 11', 38', 40', ii 18'; Ark 2; I 6; J<sub>1</sub> 10'; U 3; W 11'; Gilg. XI 49, 197;  
*attâ*, you (m. sg.), C<sub>0</sub> iv 15', 17'; C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> i 19', vi 20, 44', viii 11'; I r. 2'; z v 2', 17'; Gilg. XI 3, 4 (x2), 7, 11, 28, 33, 38, 183;  
*attî*, you (f. sg.), C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vi 47'  
*awâtum*, *amâtum*, word, matter, C<sub>0</sub> iv 1'; C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> i 46', vi 26; Ark 39; I 12; J r. 1'; J<sub>1</sub> 2', 6', 11'; Gilg. XI 9, 20, 179  
*awîlum*, *amêlum*, man, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vi 10, 49', viii 10'; Gilg. XI 176  
*awîlûtum*, *amêlûtum*, humanity, Gilg. XI 203  
*ayyânum*, where?, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vi 9; Gilg. XI 175  
*ayyum*, which?, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vi 26  
*bābum*, gate, door, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> i 39', ii 51", 52"; Ark 60; W 6', 10'; Gilg. XI 49, 89, 94;  
*bakûm* (v.), to weep, C<sub>0</sub> iv 13'; C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iii 32', iv 10', 12', 15'; Gilg. XI 125, 138  
*balâtum* (v.), to live C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> i 24', vi 10, viii 10'; Ark 3; z v 10'; Gilg. XI 176;  
*balâtum*, life, I r. 2', 4'; z v 19'; Gilg. XI 7, 26  
*banûm* (v.), to create, build, accomplish, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> i 22', 25'; Ark 4; J r. 6'; Gilg. XI 24, 28, 179  
*bānû*, creator, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vi 47';  
*barbarum*, wolf, z v 7'; Gilg. XI 191  
*barûm* (v.), to see, look at, Gilg. XI 197

- bašûm* (v.), to be, **C**<sub>0</sub> iv 16'; **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 19', vi 50', vii 1, 3, viii 8', 13'; **Ark** 39; **J** 9, 12
- batāqum* (v.), to cut off, Gilg. XI 187
- bā'um* (v.), to go along, come, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 37', iii 12'; **U** r. 11', r. 19'; Gilg. XI 106, 111
- Bēlet-ilī (d<sup>M</sup>MAḤ), DN, Gilg. XI 118, 164
- bēltum*, lady, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 28'
- bēlum*, lord, master **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 2, 12', iii 51', v 40'', vi 25; **Ark** 45; **I** 7; **I**<sub>2</sub> 2, 8; **U** 1, 5, 7; **W** 12', 17'; **z** v 11', 12'; Gilg. XI 33, 42, 163, 185, 186
- bērum* (v.), to choose, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 34''
- biblum*, the (action of) bringing, (state of) being removed, disappearance of the moon, **I**<sub>2</sub> 1
- bikītum*, weeping, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iv 18'; Gilg. XI 126
- binītum*, creation, shape, appearance, **Ark** 42
- bīnum*, tamarisk, **Ark** 26
- binūtum*, creation, form, structure, **J** r. 7'
- biri-*, among, between, **z** v 22', 23'; Gilg. XI 202
- birīt*, between, **Ark** 29
- birkum*, lap, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> vii 5
- bītum*, house, household, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 22, iii 47', 50'; **Ark** 4, 11; **I** 5, 7; Gilg. XI 24
- bubūtum*, hunger, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 31', iv 22'
- buddurum*, reed (basket), profusion, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 35'
- buḥrītu*, (a hot dish), fever, Gilg. XI 127
- būlum*, domestic livestock, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 36''; **J** r. 11'; **W** 9'; Gilg. XI 86
- būnum*, goodness, face, appearance, outer structure, Gilg. XI 57, 92
- burûm*, (reed) mat, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 4'
- būšum*, goods, property, **W** 7'; Gilg. XI 96
- da'āmum* (v.), to be(come) dark **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 34'
- dākum* (v.), to kill, **U** r. 13'
- danānum* (v.), to be(come) strong, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 32', 33'
- dannum*, strong, **I**<sub>2</sub> 11; **J** r. 9'; **W** 3; **z** v 10'
- dāriš*, forever, **Ark** 3; **z** v 14'; Gilg. XI 167
- darûm* (v.), to last (forever), **z** v 14'
- da'ummatum*, gloom, darkness, Gilg. XI 107
- diāšum* (v.), to tread down, thresh, **U** r. 13'
- dimmatum*, wailing, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 47', iv 11'
- dīmtum*, tear, **C**<sub>0</sub> iv 10'; Gilg. XI 139
- dīpārum*, torch, Gilg. XI 104
- durum*, (city) wall, rampart, cheek, Gilg. XI 137, 139
- Ea, DN, **C**<sub>0</sub> iv 9', 11'; **I** 5, 7; **I**<sub>2</sub> 2, 8; **J**<sub>1</sub> 4'; **U** 1, 7, 13; **W** 12', 16'; Gilg. XI 19, 32, 36, 42, 179, 180, 181
- ebērum*, *epērum* (v.), to cross over, Gilg. XI 149, 152
- ebūrum*, harvest(-time), Gilg. XI 45
- edēlum* (v.), to shut, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 52''

- edûm* (v.), to know, recognize, **C**<sub>0</sub> iv 19'; **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 13', 14', iii 14'; **I** 8, 9, 10; **z** v 18'; Gilg. XI 11, 32, Gilg. XI 113, 180
- êkallum*, palace, Gilg. XI 96
- ekêlum* (v.), to be(come) dark, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 35'
- elênum*, above, beyond, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 44'; **Ark** 17
- eleppum*, boat, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 22', 25', ii 55"; **Ark** 4, 6, 35, 52; **J** r. 6', r. 13'; **U** r. 3'; **W** 4', 6' (x2), 13', 15'; **z** v 15', 16'; Gilg. XI 24, 27, 77, 85, 89, 94, 95, 142, 143, 173, 199
- eli, elu*, on, over, above, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 12', iv 10', v 35"; **U** r. 19'; Gilg. XI 6, 111, 137, 139, 163
- eliš*, above, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 31'; **W** 3'; Gilg. XI 79
- ellum*, pure, bright, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 32", v 45"
- elûm* (v.), to go up, arise, bring in/out (Š), **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 48'; **Ark** 45; **J** r. 13'; **W** 7'; **z** v 15', 16'; Gilg. XI 27, 85, 86, 98, 115, 141, 199, 200, 201
- emêdum* (v.), to lean on, impose, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iv 8', 9'; **z** v 11', 12'; Gilg. XI 142, 185, 186
- emûqum*, strength, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 33'
- emûtum*, relatives by marriage, **Ark** 36
- enen(na), enin(na)*, now, Gilg. XI 198, 204
- Enki, DN, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 15', 43', 45', 50', vi 14, 16, 42', 45'
- Enlil, DN, **C**<sub>0</sub> iv 4'; **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 43', 48', iii 39', v 41', vi 5, 12, 41'; vii 21; **Ark** 49; **I**<sub>1</sub> B 11'; **J**<sub>1</sub> 3'; **z** v 15', 23', 25'; Gilg. XI 16, 39, 41, 169, 172, 173, 178, 182, 199
- Ennugi, DN, Gilg. XI 18
- entum*, high priestess, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> vii 6
- epêqum* (v.), to embrace, huddle together (D), **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 26'; **U** r. 22'
- epêšum* (v.), to do, make, open (mouth), **C**<sub>0</sub> iv 4', 7', 11', 17'; **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 1, 11', 15', 40', vi 11, 14, 16, 18, 41', 45'; **Ark** 6; **I**<sub>2</sub> 5, 10; **J** r. 10'; **J**<sub>1</sub> 4', 8'; **U** 4, 13; **W** 11', 13', 15'; Gilg. XI 5, 34, 36, 75, 165, 177, 181
- erbe*, four, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> v 30", **U** r. 5'
- erêbum* (v.), to enter, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 34", 38", 42", 45"; **Ark** 35, 59; **U** 1, 5, 7, r. 3'; **W** 6'; Gilg. XI 89, 94
- erêbum, âribum*, crow, Gilg. XI 154, 155
- erênum*, cedar, Gilg. XI 160
- erîšum*, scent, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> v 34"; Gilg. XI 161, 162
- erpetum*, cloud, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 49", 53"
- Erra, DN, **z** v 5'; Gilg. XI 195
- Errakal, DN, **U** r. 15'; Gilg. XI 102
- eršetum*, earth, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 48', **J**<sub>1</sub> 3'
- eršum*, wise, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 33'
- erûm*, eagle, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 16'
- ešênum* (v.), to smell, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> v 34"; Gilg. XI 161, 162
- ešêrum* (v.), to draw, **Ark** 6; **W** 14', 16'; Gilg. XI 60
- êšam*, whither? **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 51', v 39"

- eṭlum*, manly, young man, Gilg. XI 53  
*eṭûm*, dark, Ark 50  
*eṭûtu*, darkness, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iii 18'  
*ewûm*, *emûm* (v.), to become, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iii 45'; **z** v 19'; Gilg. XI 204  
*ezēzum* (v.), to be(come) angry, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> i 43', ii 54"; Gilg. XI 173  
*ezib*, *ezub*, except, apart from, in addition to **Ark** 33, 58; Gilg. XI 69;  
*gamārum* (v.), to bring to conclusion, Gilg. XI 5, 77  
*gamertum*, total annihilation, C<sub>0</sub> iv 2'; C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iii 38', v 44"; **Ark** 49  
*gana*, come on!, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vi 43'  
*gerrum*, way, road, procession, Gilg. XI 79  
*germadû*, floor timbers (of ship), poles for the slipway, **Ark** 57  
*gillatum*, sin, **z** v 12' (x2); Gilg. XI 186 (x2)  
 Gilgameš, PN, Gilg. XI 1, 8, 9  
*gugallum*, irrigation controller, Gilg. XI 18  
*guzalûm*, chair-carrier, throne-bearer, Gilg. XI 17, 101  
*ḥadûm*, joyful, **Ark** 36  
*ḥalāqum* (v.), to be lost, destroy (D), Gilg. XI 122  
*ḥamāṭum*, to burn (up), Gilg. XI 105  
*ḥamšum*, fifth, Gilg. XI 57  
*ḥamṭiš*, quickly, Gilg. XI 110  
 Ḥaniš, DN, Gilg. XI 100  
*hasāsum* (v.), to be conscious, remember, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vi 4; Gilg. XI 22, 167  
*ḥašinnum*, axe, **I**<sub>2</sub> 4, 9  
*ḥašāḥum* (v.), to be deprived of, **U** 10  
*ḥaṭûm*, defective, criminal, **I**<sub>1</sub> B 8'  
*ḥayyaltum*, woman in labor, Gilg. XI 132  
*ḥepûm* (v.), to break, shatter, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iii 10'; **I**<sub>1</sub> B 6'; Gilg. XI 108  
*ḥepûm*, broken, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> ii 47";  
*ḥinnu*, ship's cabin, **Ark** 17, 20  
*ḥiṣbum*, plenty, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> i 35'; Gilg. XI 44  
*ḥišiḥtum*, requirement, thing needed, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> ii 14'; Gilg. XI 56, 65  
*ḥūtum*, error, lack, crime, penalty, Gilg. XI 185  
*ḥurāšum*, gold, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> ii 31"; Gilg. XI 83  
*ḥušaḥḥum*, need, shortage, famine, Gilg. XI 193  
*idum*, arm, side, **U** r. 9', r. 10'; Gilg. XI 201  
*igārum*, wall, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> i 20'; **Ark** 1 (x2), 9, 14; **I** 14; Gilg. XI 21, 22, 58  
 Igigû, DN, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vi 6, viii 16'; Gilg. XI 174  
*igiṣītu*, (a priestess), C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vii 7  
*ikkibum*, taboo, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vii 8  
*iklu*, darkness, **Ark** 47  
*ikûm*, field, a measure of area, **Ark** 9; Gilg. XI 58  
*iltum*, goddess, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iii 32'  
*ilum*, god, C<sub>0</sub> iv 2'; C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> i 42' (x2), 49', 50', ii 50", iii 20', 24', 26', 30', 33', 36',  
 iii 52', iv 15', v 34", vi 17, 20, 26; viii 11'; **I** 1, 9, r. 1'; **U** r. 12', r. 21'; **z** v 2',

- 19'; Gilg. XI 7, 10, 13, 14, 114, 116, 120, 121, 125, 126, 161, 162, 163, 166, 168, 174, 183, 196, 197, 204
- imdum*, support, stanchion, **Ark** 15
- immerum*, sheep, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** ii 33", iv 19'; Gilg. XI 72
- imhullum*, destructive wind, **U** r. 8'; Gilg. XI 133
- ina*, in, from, **C<sub>0</sub>** iv 5'; **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** i 44', 47', 48', ii 49", 53", 54", iii 7', 14', 21', 22', 27', 31', 36', 43', 47', 50', iv 9', 11', 18', 22', v 47", 50", vi 1, 10, 18, 44', 49', vii 1, 2, 3, 5, viii 10'; **Ark** 13, 15, 22, 34, 39, 48, 49, 50, 51; **I** 2, 3, 5 (x3), 7; **I<sub>1</sub>** B 7'; **I<sub>2</sub>** l (x2), 2, 7; **J** r. 7'; **J<sub>1</sub>** 3'; **U** r. 5', r. 12', r. 16'; **W** 7', 14', 16'; **z** v 20', 22', 23'; Gilg. XI 7, 12, 40, 41, 46, 47, 48, 57, 64, 76, 88 (x2), 91 (x2), 97, 99, 100, 105, 113, 116, 120, 121, 126, 130, 147, 158, 160, 164, 172, 176, 201, 202, 203, 205 (x2), 206 (x2)
- inanna*, now, **C<sub>0</sub>** iv 1'
- īnum*, eye, **Ark** 42
- inūma*, when, **Ark** 59; **I** 1
- isinnum*, festival, Gilg. XI 75
- iššūrum*, bird, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** i 35', ii 35"; **J** r. 11'; Gilg. XI 44
- išātum*, fire, **I<sub>1</sub>** B 10'
- išdum*, foundation, base, Gilg. XI 98
- ištānum*, *iltānum*, north (wind), **U** r. 6'
- Ištar**, DN, Gilg. XI 117
- ištēniš*, together, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** vi 8; **J** r' 3'
- ištēnum*, single, one, **C<sub>0</sub>** iv 13'; **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** iii 5'; Gilg. XI 109
- ištum*, *ultu*, from, since, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** i 45', ii 52", v 36"; **z** v 13, 16", Gilg. XI 98, 164, 172
- išūm* (v.), to have, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** ii 30", 31"; **z** v 18"; Gilg. XI 81, 82, 83, 84, 93
- itti*, with, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** i 42', 49', iii 38', iv 15'; **z** v 19'; Gilg. XI 19, 42, 125
- iṭṭūm*, (crude) bitumen, **Ark** 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 31; Gilg. XI 67
- izuzzum* (v.), to stand, **I<sub>2</sub>** 3; **U** 3; **z** v 20'; Gilg. XI 7, 202
- kabārum* (v.), to be(come) thick, **Ark** 14, 16
- kabrum*, thick, fat, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** ii 33"
- kalbum*, dog, Gilg. XI 116
- kalūm* (v.), to hold back, delay, Gilg. XI 133
- kalūm*, all, totality, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** i 21', vi 7; **I** 8; **J** r. 3'; Gilg. XI 27, 84, 85, 86, 180
- kamārum* (v.), to pile up, **J** r. 12'
- kamāsum* (v.), to gather in, consign, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** iii 54', v 43"
- kamāsum* (v.), to kneel, squat, **C<sub>0</sub>** iv 9', 14'; **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** ii 46; **U** 3; Gilg. XI 138, 201
- kamūtum* (pl. *kamātum*) outside, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** iii 22'; Gilg. XI 116
- kanānum* (v.), to roll up, Gilg. XI 116
- kānum* (v.), to be(come) permanent, firm, establish firmly (D), **Ark** 15; Gilg. XI 159
- kannum*, band, cord, **Ark** 10
- kappum*, wing, **I<sub>2</sub>** 11, 13
- karābum* (v.), to pray, bless, Gilg. XI 202

- karānum*, vine, wine, Gilg. XI 73  
*karāšum*, catastrophe,  $C_1(+)$  $C_2$  iii 14', 54', v 43", vi 10, viii 10'; Gilg. XI 113, 171, 176  
*karpatum*, (clay) pot,  $C_1(+)$  $C_2$  iii 10'; **I** 1 B 6'; **U** r. 17'  
*kaspum*, silver,  $C_1(+)$  $C_2$  ii 30"; Gilg. XI 82  
*kašādum* (v.), to reach, arrive, Gilg. XI 90, 130, 147, 164, 172  
*kāšim*, *kāša*, to you (m. sg.), Gilg. XI 10  
*kāšunu*, you (m. pl.), Gilg. XI 43  
*kašūšum*, a divine weapon, annihilation,  $C_1(+)$  $C_2$  iii 12'; **U** r. 19'; Gilg. XI 111  
*kī*, like, how?  $C_1(+)$  $C_2$  iii 37', 46', vi 10, 21; **I** r. 4'; **I** 1 B 6'; **U** 9; **z** v 3' (x2); Gilg. XI 3, 4, 35, 75, 121, 124, 165, 184 (x2)  
*kām*, so, thus, Gilg. XI 33, 38  
*kibrum*, (river) bank, shore, rim,  $C_1(+)$  $C_2$  iv 9'; **I** 3; **I** 2 6; Gilg. XI 59, 140  
*kibtum*, wheat, Gilg. XI 47, 88, 91  
*kīdītum*, exterior part, **Ark** 18  
*kīdūm*, exterior, **Ark** 32  
*kīkī*, how?, Gilg. XI 7  
*kikkišum*, reed fence,  $C_1(+)$  $C_2$  i 21', vi 15; **Ark** 1 (x2), **I** 12; **U** 14, 15 (x2); Gilg. XI 20, 21, 22  
*kīma*, like, according to,  $C_1(+)$  $C_2$  i 29', iii 10', 12', 15', 16', 19', 40', 44', iv 6', 8', 9', iv 19', v 35", viii 9'; **U** 2, r. 17', r. 19'; **W** 2'; Gilg. XI 31, 74, 108, 111, 116, 117, 132, 136, 163, 204  
*kīntum*, family,  $C_1(+)$  $C_2$  ii 42"; **Ark** 35; **J** r. 13'; **W** 8'; Gilg. XI 85  
*kippatum*, circle,  $C_1(+)$  $C_2$  i 28'; **Ark** 7; **W** 2'; Gilg. XI 58;  
*kīrum*, oven, kiln, **Ark** 21, 25, 31, 32; **J** 1 7'; Gilg. XI 66  
*kīšādum*, neck, (river) bank,  $C_1(+)$  $C_2$  vi 3; Gilg. XI 12, 166  
*kīššātum*, debt-slavery, distraint, **I** 1 B 9';  
*kukkum*, (a kind of) cake, Gilg. XI 46, 88, 91  
*kulīlum*, dragonfly,  $C_1(+)$  $C_2$  iv 6'  
*kullatum*, totality,  $C_1(+)$  $C_2$  viii 18'  
*kullulum* (v.), to veil, cover,  $C_1(+)$  $C_2$  iii 29'  
*kūm*, instead of, **z** v 4', 5', 6', 7', 8'  
*kumū*, crane, **I** 2 14  
*kuprum*, pitch,  $C_1(+)$  $C_2$  i 33', ii 13', 51"; **Ark** 21, 31, 32; Gilg. XI 55, 66;  
*kurdīnum*, (an evil-smelling plant), **Ark** 56  
*kurru(m)*, (measure of dry capacity:) kor, **Ark** 33, 58  
*kuru(n)num*, (a kind of beer), Gilg. XI 73;  
*kussū*, chair, throne, **Ark** 49  
*lā*, not,  $C_0$  iv 19';  $C_1(+)$  $C_2$  iii 53', v 42", vi 14, 21, vii 2; **z** v 3', 18'; Gilg. XI 170, 179, 184  
*labārum* (v.), to be(come) old, long-lasting, Gilg. XI 13  
*lalūm*, plenty, exuberance, wish, desire, emotion,  $C_1(+)$  $C_2$  iv 14'; **U** r. 23'  
*lāma*, before, **J** r. 4'; Gilg. XI 77;  
*lānum*, form, stature, Gilg. XI 60

- lapātum* (v.), to touch, **z** v 21'; Gilg. XI 202  
*lapnum*, poor, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 14'; Gilg. XI 56  
*laššu*, (there) is not, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 18'  
*lemnun*, bad, **C**<sub>0</sub> iv 3'  
*lemuttum*, evil, Gilg. XI 120, 121  
*leqûm* (v.), to take, receive, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 38'; **I**<sub>2</sub> 3, 9; Gilg. XI 127, 206  
*libbātum*, rage, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> vi 6; Gilg. XI 174  
*libbum*, heart, inside, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 47", iii 24', iv 12', vi 23, 40', **Ark** 10, 13, 15, 22, 39, 40, 46, 48; **I** 5; **W** 7'; **z** v 15', 16', 18'; Gilg. XI 5, 14, 27, 28, 67, 85, 89, 94, 99, 199  
*lillidum*, offspring, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 19', 45'  
*lîlum*, evening, night, Gilg. XI 47, 88, 91  
*lî'um*, bull, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 15'  
*lû*, let it be, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 31', 32', 33', v 49", vi 3, vii 8; **Ark** 8, 9 (x2), 10; **J** r. 5' (x2), r. 7', r. 8' (x2); **W** 1', 3'; **z** v 17', 19'; Gilg. XI 29, 30, 64, 166, 204, 205  
*lû*, indeed, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> vi 18; Gilg. XI 119  
*mā*, what!, **U** 5  
*madādum* (v.), to measure (out), be balanced, **W** 1'; Gilg. XI 29  
*magurgurru*, *makurkurrum*, ark, **J** r. 8'  
*magārum* (v.), to consent, agree, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 42'; **W** 17'; Gilg. XI 33  
*maḥārum* (v.), to face, confront, be(come) equal, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 26'; Gilg. XI 30, 59, 136  
*maḥāšum* (v.), to beat, strike, Gilg. XI 64, 132  
*maḥrum*, front, **C**<sub>0</sub> iv 9'; **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 27'; Gilg. XI 100  
*makkūrum*, property, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 23'; **Ark** 4; **W** 7'  
*makūrum*, boat, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> vi 5  
*mala*, as much as, **J** 9, 12, r. 5'; **W** 9'  
*mālāḥum*, sailor, Gilg. XI 70, 95  
*mālākum* (v.), to discuss, advise, consider, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 53', v 42", vi 21, 44'; **I** 1; **z** v 3'; Gilg. XI 184, 198  
*mālikum*, adviser, counsellor, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> viii 11'; **I**<sub>2</sub> 8; Gilg. XI 16  
*maltaktum*, test, tested measure, water-clock, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 36'  
*malûm* (v.), to be(come) full, fill up, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 36', iv 7', iv 20', vi 6; Gilg. XI 124, 174  
Mami, DN, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 33'  
*māmītum*, oath, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> vi 8; **I** 10  
-*man*, (suffix indicating unreality), **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iv 5'  
*mannum*, who?, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> vi 13; Gilg. XI 179  
*manûm* (v.), to count, deliver, Gilg. XI 171  
*maqātum* (v.), to fall, Gilg. XI 137  
*markasu*, rope, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 55"  
*marrum*, shovel, spade, **I**<sub>2</sub> 3, 9  
*martum*, gall (bladder), **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 47"  
*mārtum*, daughter, **z** v 18'

- mārum*, son, member of (a group), **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** ii 38", iii 26', 52', **U** r. 22'; **W** 8'; **z** v 18'; Gilg. XI 23, 86, 124
- mašûm* (v.), to be as much as it amounts to, make available (D), **I<sub>1</sub>** B 11'
- mašālum* (v.), to flash, shine, glow, **U** r. 12'
- mašrûm*, *mešrûm*, riches, wealth, Gilg. XI 25, 45
- mašûm* (v.), to forget, Gilg. XI 167
- matîma*, ever, **W** 13'
- mātum*, land, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** i 44', iii 9', iv 15', vi 1; **I** 2; **I<sub>1</sub>** B 5'; **U** r. 17'; **z** v 5', 6', 9'; Gilg. XI 49, 101, 105, 108, 193, 195
- mâ<sup>3</sup>um* (v.), to vomit (bile), **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** ii 47"
- mazzāzum*, *manzāzum*, position, standing place, Gilg. XI 150, 153
- mehrum*, copy, duplicate, weir, barrage, **U** r. 14'; Gilg. XI 103
- mehûm*, storm, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** iii 5', iv 25', **U** r. 4', r. 7'; Gilg. XI 109, 129, 131
- merîtum*, pasture, **W** 9'
- milkum*, advice, counsel, **Ark** 2; **I** 1, 9, 15; **I<sub>1</sub>** B 5'; **U** r. 17'; Gilg. XI 198
- mimma*, anything, something, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** ii 30", 31"; Gilg. XI 81, 82, 83, 84, 107
- mimmû*, all (that), anything (of), Gilg. XI 48, 97
- minde*, perhaps, Gilg. XI 39
- minîtum*, measure, dimension, Gilg. XI 3, 29
- mînum*, what?, **I<sub>1</sub>** B 5'
- mithāriš*, in the same manner, equally, **Ark** 25
- mithārum*, corresponding (to one another), **Ark** 8
- mû*, water, Gilg. XI 64, 74, 155
- muhum*, skull, top, on, in, **I** 2, 5, 10; Gilg. XI 59, 158
- mupparšu*, flying, winged, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** ii 35"
- mûraku*, length, **Ark** 14, 16; Gilg. XI 30
- mûšum*, night, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** i 37', iv 24'; **I<sub>1</sub>** B 7'; Gilg. XI 128
- mûtum*, death, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** vi 48'
- na<sup>3</sup>ādum* (v.), to be attentive, concerned, Gilg. XI 34
- nabûm* (v.), to name, lament (D), **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** iv 4', 13'; Gilg. XI 118
- nadānum* (v.), to give, Gilg. XI 96, 143, 144, 145, 146
- nadûm* (v.), to throw (down), lay down, emit (voice), lay hands on smth., **Ark** 13; **U** r. 2'; Gilg. XI 6, 57, 60, 65, 76
- nadîtum*, "fallow" (i.e., childless) woman, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** vii 10
- naġārum*, carpenter, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** ii 11'; Gilg. XI 50
- naġûm*, region, district, coastal area, Gilg. XI 141
- naġāsûm* (v.), to recede, return (v.), Gilg. XI 115
- nâġum* (v.), to rest, Gilg. XI 133
- nâġum*, pig's fat, lard, **Ark** 24, 57
- nakādum* (v.), to beat, throb, be frightened, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** iii 24'
- nakmum*, heaped (up), treasure, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** iii 50'
- nammaštûm*, *nammaššûm*, moving things, wild animals, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** ii 37"; **Ark** 51
- namrîrum*, awe-inspiring radiance, Gilg. XI 105
- napādum* (v.), to separate, cut off, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** i 22'; **Ark** 4

- napāšum* (v.), to breathe, be(come) wide, relax, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iv 12', vi 23, 40'  
*napħarum*, total, entirety, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> v 38"  
*napištum*, life, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 24', vi 19; **Ark** 5; **J** r. 8'; Gilg. XI 25, 26, 27, 84, 175;  
*nappašu*, air hole, Gilg. XI 137;  
*naqārum* (v.), to demolish, Gilg. XI 24  
*naqūm* (v.), to pour (a libation), sacrifice, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> v 31"; Gilg. XI 157  
*narbūm*, greatness, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> viii 17'  
*nārum*, river, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iv 7'; Gilg. XI 74, 205, 206  
*nasāħum* (v.), to tear out, **U** r. 15'; Gilg. XI 102  
*nasākum* (v.), to throw down, disregard, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> vi 26  
*našārum* (v.), to guard, observe, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 19', 21', vi 19; **W** 5', 10'  
*nāširum*, guard, guardian, **J** r. 8'  
*našūm* (v.), to lift, carry, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 11', 12', 13'; Gilg. XI 50, 51, 52, 55, 68, 104,  
 165  
*nāšum* (v.), to rock, shift, Gilg. XI 143, 144, 145, 146  
*naṭālum* (v.), to look, **J**<sub>1</sub> 11'; Gilg. XI 2, 92;  
*nawārum*, *namārum* (v.), to be(come) bright, shine, Gilg. XI 48, 97, 107  
*nazāmum* (v.), to moan, complain, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> v 38"  
*nelmenum*, misfortune, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> v 50"  
*nêrum* (v.), to strike, kill, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 16'  
*nēšum*, lion, **z** v 7'; Gilg. XI 189  
*nīāšim*, *nāšim*, to us, us, Gilg. XI 204  
 Nimuš, **TN**, Gilg. XI 142, 143, 144, 145, 146  
*nindanum*, rod, pole, a measure of length, **Ark** 9, 14, 16; Gilg. XI 58, 59  
 Ninlil, **DN**, **z** v 23'  
 Nintu, **DN**, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 28', iv 4', 13', v 37", vi 43', 46'; **U** r. 22'  
 Ninurta, **DN**, **U** r. 14'; Gilg. XI 17, 103, 177;  
*nīqum*, offering, sacrifice, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> v 31", 35", v 36"; Gilg. XI 69, 163  
*nissatum*, wailing, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iv 16', v 48"  
*niširtum*, treasure, secret, Gilg. XI 9  
*nīššīkum*, *ninšīkum*, leader (title of Enki/Ea), **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> vi 42'; Gilg. XI 19  
*nīšum*, people, **C**<sub>0</sub> iv 4', 13'; **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 40", iii 12', 54', iv 5', v 43", vi 48', vii 1, 2,  
 3, viii 18'; **J** r 3'; **U** r. 19'; **z** v 7', 14'; Gilg. XI 111, 113, 122, 123, 171, 189, 191  
*nuħšum*, abundance, Gilg. XI 43  
*nūnum*, fish, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 35'; Gilg. XI 44, 124  
*pagrum*, body, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 42'  
*paħārum* (v.), to gather, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 39', v 35"; **J** r. 5'; Gilg. XI 49, 163  
*palāħum* (v.), to fear, revere, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 45', iii 20', 23'; **U** r. 20'; Gilg. XI 114  
*palāšum* (v.), to look at, see (**N**), Gilg. XI 93, 134, 140  
*pānum*, front, face, in presence of, from before, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 48", v 47", 51", vi 18;  
**U** 11; Gilg. XI 203  
*parāšum* (v.), to cut (off), divide, allocate, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> vii 9; **Ark** 18, 19; Gilg. XI  
 62, 63  
*parā'um* (v.), to cut off, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 55"

- parīsum*, rudder, boat-pole, Gilg. XI 65  
*parsiktum*, bushel measure, Ark 14, 16;  
*parûm*, mule, U r. 5'  
*pašārum* (v.), to release, solve, J r. 2'  
*pašīšum*, anointed (a priest), I 6  
*Pāšittum*, obliterator (epithet of Lamaštu), C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vii 3  
*pāšum*, axe, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> ii 11'; Gilg. XI 50  
*pašuqtum*, dire straits, z v 8'  
*patālum* (v.), to twine, Ark 11  
*pātum*, edge, rim, Gilg. XI 140  
*paṭārum* (v.), to loosen, release, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> ii 55"  
*pazārum* (v.), to hide, put aside, Ark 33, 58; Gilg. XI 70  
*peḥûm* (v.), to close up, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> ii 51"; Ark 60; I<sub>1</sub> B 1'; U r. 3'; W 4'; Gilg. XI 89, 94, 95  
*petûm* (v.), to open, reveal, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> i 36', v 51", vi 15; I 11; Gilg. XI 9, 137, 196  
*pirīšum*, secret, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vi 9; Gilg. XI 10, 196, 197  
*piššatum*, ointment, lubrication, Gilg. XI 76  
*pitiltum*, string, cord, Ark 11; Gilg. XI 54;  
*pītum*, opening, Ark 60  
*puḥrum*, assembly, C<sub>0</sub> iv 5'; C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iii 36', vi 27, 44'; J<sub>1</sub> 9'; Gilg. XI 7, 120, 121  
*pulhītum*, distress, fever, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iii 29', iv 21'  
*puluḥtum*, fear(someness), Gilg. XI 93  
*pûm*, mouth, command, beginning C<sub>0</sub> iv 11'; C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> i 1, 11', 15', 40', iii 39', 41', v 44", vi 8, 11, 16, 41', 45'; I<sub>2</sub> 1; J<sub>1</sub> 4', 5', 8'; U 4, 13, r. 22'; W 11'; Gilg. XI 36, 177, 181, 205, 206;  
*Purattu*, RN, Gilg. XI 12  
*pūtum*, forehead, width, front (side), Ark 8; z v 20', 21' (x2); Gilg. XI 202  
*puzrum*, concealment, refuge, riddle, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iii 21'; Gilg. XI 44  
*Puzur-Enlil*, PN, Gilg. XI 95  
*qablum*, hips, middle, Gilg. XI 64  
*qablum*, battle, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iii 12', viii 13'; U r. 19'; Gilg. XI 111, 122  
*qabrum*, grave, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vi 49'  
*qabûm* (v.), to say, tell, command, C<sub>0</sub> iv 2', 5'; C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> i 17', 18', 37', 46', 50', iii 37', 39'; Ark 12, 57; J<sub>1</sub> 4', 8', 12'; U 12, 13; W 11', 17'; Gilg. XI 10, 33, 36, 38, 120, 121, 122, 177, 181  
*qadišum*, (a type of priestess), C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vii 11  
*qadmum*, former time, pre-eminent (desig. of god), C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> v 47"  
*qâlum* (v.), to pay attention, be silent, Ark 2; I 15; I<sub>2</sub> 7  
*qanûm*, reed, cane, J r. 5', 7'; Gilg. XI 160  
*qaqqarum*, ground, area, Ark 9; W 14', 16'; Gilg. XI 41  
*qarûrum*, rolling back, recession (of waters), Gilg. XI 155;  
*qatûm* (v.), to come to an end, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iv 11'  
*qâtum*, hand, z v 16'; Gilg. XI 76, 200  
*qerēbum* (v.), to be(come) close, draw near, Ark 23

- qerbum*, interior, meaning, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> i 13', 30'; **Ark** 19; Gilg. XI 13, 63  
*qerītum*, banquet, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> ii 41"  
*qerūm* (v.), to call, invite, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> ii 40"  
*qibītum*, speech, command, I<sub>2</sub> 7  
*qūlum*, silence, Gilg. XI 134  
*qurādum*, hero, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vi 5, 12, 20; z v 2'; Gilg. XI 16, 178, 182, 183  
*qutrēnum*, incense (offering), C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> v 41"  
*rabāšum* (v.), to sit, be recumbent, Gilg. XI 116;  
*rabīš*, greatly, **Ark** 44  
*rabūm*, big, great, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iii 28', 30', v 46", vi 7, 17; **I** 9; **I**<sub>2</sub> 2, 8; **J** r. 6'; Gilg. XI 14, 77, 165, 196  
*rādum*, downpour, rainstorm, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iv 25', U r. 7'; Gilg. XI 129  
*ragāmum* (v.), to shout, I<sub>1</sub> B 7'; Gilg. XI 99  
*rahāšum* (v.), to flood, wash, rush, I<sub>1</sub> B 2'?: U r. 13'; Gilg. XI 108;  
*rakābum* (v.), to ride, roof (D), load (Š), **Ark** 21, 25; U r. 5'; Gilg. XI 61  
*rakāsum* (v.), to bind, **Ark** 17  
*ramānum*, self, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iii 42'  
*ramūm* (v.), to slacken, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vi 24; Gilg. XI 187 (x2)  
*rašūm* (v.), to acquire, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> i 33'  
*rāṭum*, water-channel, trough, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iv 20'  
*redūm* (v.), to accompany, lead, flow (out), add (D), cause to flow out (Š), **Ark** 24; U r. 14'; Gilg. XI 103  
*rēšum*, head, beginning, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> i 14'; I<sub>2</sub> 1  
*riābum* (v.), to replace, repay, I<sub>1</sub> B 9'  
*riāšum* (v.), to rejoice, **Ark** 34  
*rigmum*, voice, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> ii 50", iii 10', 20', 23', 43', 47'; U r. 2', 20'; Gilg. XI 118  
*rukūbum*, vehicle, U r. 12'  
*rupšum*, width, Gilg. XI 30  
*rūqum*, distant, Gilg. XI 1, 205, 206;  
*sabākum* (v.), to interweave, **J** r. 5'  
*saḥārum* (v.), to go around, turn (back), circle, Gilg. XI 150, 153, 156  
*saḥḥu*, (water-)meadow, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iv 8  
*sakāpum* (v.), to push down, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iv 27'; I<sub>1</sub> B 2'  
*salātum*, family, clan, **Ark** 35; **J** r. 13'; **W** 8'; Gilg. XI 85  
*sapāḥum* (v.), to scatter, I<sub>1</sub> B 3'?: I<sub>1</sub> B 5'; U r. 17'  
*sarāḥum* (v.), to destroy, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iv 26'  
*seḥūm*, *šeḥūm* (v.), to rise up, revolt, confuse (D), C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iii 41'  
**Sîn**, DN, **Ark** 45  
*sikkatum*, peg, nail, Gilg. XI 64  
*sinuntu*, swallow, Gilg. XI 151, 152  
*sīrāšum*, *sīrīšum*, (a kind of) beer, Gilg. XI 73  
*sinništum*, woman, z v 20'; Gilg. XI 201, 204  
*summatum*, (female) dove, I<sub>2</sub> 11; Gilg. XI 148, 149  
*sunqum*, famine, z v 6'

- suppû* (v.), to pray, **Ark** 45
- surqēnum*, strewn offering, incense, Gilg. XI 158, 168, 169
- sussullum*, chest, box, Gilg. XI 68
- šabātum* (v.), to seize, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vii 4; **J** r. 3'; **z** v 16'; Gilg. XI 143, 200
- šābum*, people, troops, personnel, Gilg. XI 68
- šalālum* (v.), to lie (down), sleep, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vi 49'; **Ark** 44;
- šalmum*, black, Gilg. XI 98
- šāltum*, combat, strife, **z** v 8'
- šamādum* (v.), to tie up, yoke, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iii 6'
- šamūm* (v.), to be(come) thirsty, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iv 17', 21'
- šarāpum* (v.), to be loud, resound, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iv 14'; **U** r. 23'
- šeḫērum* (v.), to be(come) small, **z** v 7'; Gilg. XI 189
- šēlum*, rib, **Ark** 13
- šēnum* (v.), to load (up), C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> ii 30", 31"; Gilg. XI 81, 82, 83, 84
- šērum*, back, upperside, steppe, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> ii 37", iii 43', iv 9', 11'; **Ark** 51; **J** r. 11' (x2); **W** 9' (x2); Gilg. XI 6, 86 (x2)
- šētum*, bright light, Gilg. XI 137
- šīāḫum* (v.), to laugh, have delight (D), Gilg. XI 165
- šullulum* (v.), to roof over C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> i 29', 31'; **J** r. 9'; Gilg. XI 31
- šulūlum*, roof, **J** r. 9'; **W** 3'
- šūmum*, thirst, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iii 31'
- šuprum*, claw, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> iii 7'; **U** r. 16'
- ša*, who(m), which, of, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> i 13', 8', 25', iii 36', 53', v 42", 47", vi 14, 26; **Ark** 14, 16, 32; **I** 9; **J** 1 9'; **W** 5', 17'; Gilg. XI 10, 11, 12, 28, 33, 68, 69, 70, 92, 95, 106, 115, 132, 155, 165, 174, 179
- šabābum* (v.), to glow, be parched, Gilg. XI 127;
- šadādum* (v.), to drag, pull, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vi 24; Gilg. XI 187
- šadû*, east (wind), **U** r. 6';
- šadûm*, mountain, Gilg. XI 101, 110, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 158
- šagāmum* (v.), to roar, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> ii 49", 53"
- šagāšum* (v.), to kill, slaughter, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> ii 33"; **Ark** 43; **z** v 5', 6'; Gilg. XI 72, 193, 195
- šā'um*, *šāḫum* (v.), to fly, Gilg. XI 156
- šakānum* (v.), to put, place, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> i 48', ii 36", iii 53', v 42", vi 22, 25, 27, 39', 48', vii 6, 10, viii 9'; **I** 2; **z** v 3', 4', 5', 6' (x2), 7', 8', 13'; Gilg. XI 12, 14, 41, 87, 134, 158, 170, 184, 188, 190, 192, 193, 194
- šalāmum* (v.), to be(come) healthy, intact, **Ark** 5
- šalšum*, third, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> vii 1
- Šamaš*, DN, sun, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> i 30', iii 18'; Gilg. XI 76, 77, 87
- šamnum*, oil, fat, Gilg. XI 68, 69, 70, 73
- šamūtum*, rain, Gilg. XI 47, 88, 91
- šamūm*, sky, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> ii 35", iii 8', 21', 48'; **J** r. 11'; **U** r. 16'; Gilg. XI 98, 106, 115
- šanā*, two each, two by two, **Ark** 52
- šanūm* (v.), to be changed, become different, C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub> ii 48", iii 25'

- šanûm* (v.), to do twice, repeat, **I** 13; **I**<sub>2</sub> 14; **J**<sub>1</sub> 2'; Gilg. XI 20  
*šanûm*, second, **C**<sub>0</sub> iv 14'; **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> vi 50';  
*šanûm*, (an)other, different, Gilg. XI 3, 4  
*šapākum* (v.), to heap up, pour on, **Ark** 20, 22  
*šapārum* (v.), to send, inform, **W** 5', 10'  
*šapkum*, heaped up, **I**<sub>1</sub> B 11'  
*šapliš*, below, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 31'; **W** 3'; Gilg. XI 79  
*šaplum*, underside, bottom, **Ark** 17; Gilg. XI 160  
*šaptum*, lip, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 29', iv 21'; **Ark** 41, 43; Gilg. XI 127  
*šapûm* (v.), to be dense, thick, loud, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 15', 18'  
*šaḳûm* (v.), to be(come) high, elevated, Gilg. XI 58  
*šaḳûm* (v.), to give to drink, Gilg. XI 74  
*šarātum* (v.), to tear, shred, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 8'; **U** r. 16'  
*šarûm*, rich, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 13'; Gilg. XI 55  
*šārum*, wind, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 54", iii 17', v 30", **U** r. 4', r. 5', r. 8'; Gilg. XI 129,  
 157  
*šassûrum*, *sassûrum*, womb, mother goddess, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> vi 43', 46', 47'  
*šasûm* (v.), to shout, call (out), howl, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 17', vi 43'; Gilg. XI 117  
*šāšim*, (to) her, it, Gilg. XI 31, 60  
*šāšum*, (to) him, it, Gilg. XI 1, 8  
*šattum*, year, **U** 9  
*šatûm* (v.), to drink, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 44"; **Ark** 38  
*šātûm*, drinking much, drinker, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 44"; **Ark** 38  
*šebûm* (v.), to be full, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iv 16'  
*šemûm* (v.), to hear, listen, **C**<sub>0</sub> iv 1'; **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 20', ii 50", iii 43', iii 52', viii 16',  
 19'; **I** 4, 14; **J**<sub>1</sub> 11'; **U** 1, 5, 7, 16, 22, 197;  
*šēpum*, foot, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 48', **U** 2, 6, 8; Gilg. XI 41  
*šerrum*, (young) child, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> vii 4  
*šêrtum*, guilt, crime, punishment, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> vi 25; **z** v 11' (x2)  
*šêrum*, morning, dawn, **U** r. 12'; Gilg. XI 46, 48, 88, 91, 97  
*šêrum* (v.), to rise early, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> v 52"  
*še'ûm* (v.), to seek (out), **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 14', 17'; Gilg. XI 7, 25  
*šī*, she, it, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iv 18', v 46", vi 44'; **J** r. 8'  
*šīārum*, morning, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> v 52"  
*šīāti*, her, it, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> vi 38'  
*šībqum*, plan, **Ark** 44  
*šībum*, old (person), elder, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 39', 41', ii 10'; **J**<sub>1</sub> 9', 10'; **z** v 26'; Gilg. XI  
 35, 54  
*šiddum*, side, edge, **Ark** 8  
*šikarum*, beer, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iv 17'; **Ark** 53  
*šiknum*, act of putting, step, **U** 2 (x2), 6 (x2), 8 (x2)  
*šīmtum*, destiny, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> v 49", vi 47'  
*šīna*, they (f.), **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> vii 8;  
*šīnipu*, *šīni(p)pât*, two-thirds, Gilg. XI 80

- šiprum*, act, task, **C**<sub>0</sub> iv 3', 7', 16'; **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 18'; Gilg. XI 180  
*šiqbum*, (a kind of plant), **Ark** 55  
*šū*, he, it, Gilg. XI 13, 90  
*šūāti*, him, it, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 29', 36', iii 40'  
*šugītum*, (a class of women) able to marry, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> vii 11  
*šuḥarratu*, deathly hush, Gilg. XI 106  
*šuḥarrurum* (v.), to be deathly still, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 47'; Gilg. XI 133  
*šukēnum* (v.), to prostrate oneself, **U** 3  
*Šullat*, DN, Gilg. XI 100  
*šumum*, name, **J** r. 8'; **z** v 17'  
*šupšūqu*, very laborious, difficult, Gilg. XI 78  
*Šuruppak*, *Šurippak*, GN, Gilg. XI 11, 23  
*šūši*, sixty, **Ark** 18, 19, 20, 24, 57  
*šūt*, who(m), those, Gilg. XI 125  
*šuttum*, sleep, dream **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 13'; Gilg. XI 197  
*šūtum*, south (wind), **U** r. 6', r. 9'  
*tabākum* (v.), to pour (out), lay flat, Gilg. XI 66, 160  
*tabālum* (v.), to take away, carry off, **Ark** 46  
*tabsūtum*, midwife, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 33'  
*tādirtum*, darkening of mood, depression, **z** v 18'  
*tamū* (v.), to swear, **Ark** 49; Gilg. XI 15, 19  
*tanittum*, *šanittum*, praise, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> viii 14'; **Ark** 40  
*tarāqum* (v.), to take pity, relent, Gilg. XI 131  
*tarkullum*, wooden post, pole, **U** r. 15'; Gilg. XI 79, 102  
*tārum* (v.), to (re)turn, swing shut (D), **C**<sub>0</sub> iv 18'; **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 35'; **I**<sub>2</sub> 12; **W** 6';  
 Gilg. XI 107, 119, 135, 156  
*tebūm* (v.), to get up, arise, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 54", v 37"; **U** r. 8', r. 9'; Gilg. XI 189, 191,  
 195  
*tenēštum*, people, Gilg. XI 135  
*tērtum*, instruction, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 38', viii 12'  
*tiāmtum*, *tāmtum*, sea, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iv 6'; Gilg. XI 124, 133, 140  
*Tiruru*, DN, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 40'  
*tukultum*, trust, help, **I** r. 3'  
*tuqumtum*, *tuquntu*, battle, Gilg. XI 5;  
*tuša*, it could have been that, perhaps, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 49'  
*ṭabāḥum* (v.), to slaughter, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 32"; Gilg. XI 71  
*ṭābum*, good, **J** r. 7'; Gilg. XI 118, 162  
*ṭapārum*, *dapārum* (v.), to press towards smth., **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 39"  
*ṭarādum* (v.), to send off, expel, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 44'  
*ṭawūm*, *ṭamūm* (v.), to spin, plait, **Ark** 10;  
*ṭeḥūm* (v.), to be(come) near to, approach, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> v 41", 46"  
*ṭēmum*, (fore)thought, plan(ning), understanding, instruction, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 25',  
 51', v 40"  
*ṭādum*, *ṭittum*, clay, mud, Gilg. XI 119, 135

- u*, and, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** i 31', 43', ii 45", iii 31', 42', 46', v 46", vi 24, 26, 44', vii 7, 11;  
**Ark** 8, 17, 23, 37, 43, 50, 51; **I** 10, r. 3'; **I<sub>2</sub>** 4, 9; **J** r. 13'; **W** 3, 8"; **z** v 7', 14',  
 18', 21', 22', 23'; Gilg. XI 4, 10, 30, 35, 38, 65, 73, 79, 85, 100, 101, 128, 135,  
 159, 160, 171, 180, 204  
 Ubara-Tutu, PN, Gilg. XI 23  
*ugbaptum*, (kind of) priestess, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** vii 6  
*ukullûm*, provisions, fodder, **Ark** 56  
*ul*, not, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** i 42', 47', 48', ii 46" (x2), iii 13', 14'; **Ark** 23; **I** 10; **W** 13'; Gilg.  
 XI 3, 4, 40, 41, 112, 113, 143, 144, 145, 146, 150, 153, 156, 196  
*ullânûm*, there, thence, Gilg. XI 164, 172  
*ullîš*, later **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** i 34'  
*ullûm*, that, Gilg. XI 119  
*ullumma*, thereupon, **J<sub>1</sub>** 1'  
*umāmum*, animal, (coll.) beasts, **J** r. 11'; **W** 9'; Gilg. XI 86  
*ummiānûm*, *ummānûm*, craftsman **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** ii 38"; **Ark** 33, 58; **W** 8'; Gilg. XI  
 35, 74, 86  
*ummānûm*, army, troops, work gang, Gilg. XI 71  
*ūmišam*, daily, Gilg. XI 72;  
*ūmum*, day, **C<sub>0</sub>** iv 6'; **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** ii 48", iii 5', 34', iv 24', vi 4; **Ark** 50; **I<sub>1</sub>** B 12';  
**z** v 13'; Gilg. XI 57, 75, 92, 93, 109, 119, 130, 134, 144 (x2), 145 (x2), 147,  
 167  
*unūtum*, tools, equipment, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** i 32'  
*uqnûm*, lapis lazuli, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** vi 3; Gilg. XI 166  
*urpatum*, cloud, Gilg. XI 98;  
*urrum*, daytime, Gilg. XI 128  
*urqītum*, vegetation, greenery, **W** 9'  
*uršum*, bedroom, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** i 17'  
*ūrûm*, roof, **Ark** 45; Gilg. XI 136  
*usātum*, help, **I<sub>1</sub>** B 8'  
*uššurum* (v.), to listen attentively, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** viii 17'  
*ušallum*, (fields) along valley-bottom, river-flats, Gilg. XI 136  
*uṭṭatum*, grain, barley, **W** 7'  
*ušurtum*, *ešertum*, drawing, plan, design, **Ark** 7; **W** 14', 15', 16'  
 Ūta-napišti (Ūt-napištim), PN, **z** v 17'; Gilg. XI 1, 2, 8, 203, 204, 205;  
 (w)*abālûm* (v.), to carry, bring, **C<sub>0</sub>** iv 7'; **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** ii 14', 29", 39", ii 51", v 44",  
 vi 8; **J<sub>1</sub>** 5'; Gilg. XI 14, 56, 79  
 (w)*alādum* (v.), to give birth, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** iv 5', vii 9; Gilg. XI 123  
 (w)*ālittum*, one who gives birth, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** vii 2 (x2), 5; Gilg. XI 117  
 (w)*apûm* (v.), to be(come) visible, appear, Gilg. XI 150, 153;  
 (w)*aqûm* (v.), to wait (for), observe, **U** 2, 6, 8  
 (w)*arādum* (v.), to go down, **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** i 49'; Gilg. XI 42  
 (w)*ardum*, slave, **C<sub>0</sub>** iv 12'; **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** i 16'; Gilg. XI 37  
 (w)*arḥum*, (new) moon, month, **C<sub>0</sub>** iv 6'; **C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>** ii 39"; **I<sub>2</sub>** 1  
 (w)*arkûm*, rear, later, **I<sub>1</sub>** B 10'

- (w)*ašûm* (v.), to go out, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> ii 45", iii 11', v 50", 52", vi 9; **J** r. 4'; **U** r. 18'; Gilg. XI 76, 148, 151, 154, 157, 175
- (w)*ašābum* (v.), to sit (down), dwell, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 47', ii 46", iii 22', 31', 46', 49', iv 18', 19'; **I** 7; Gilg. XI 40, 42, 126, 138, 205, 206
- (w)*ašārum* (v.), to sink down, release, abandon (D), **I**<sub>2</sub> 5, 12, 14; Gilg. XI 25, 126, 148, 151, 154
- yāšim*, to me, me, **I** 11; **U** 12; Gilg. XI 39, 200
- yāti, yātu*, me, Gilg. XI 3, 4, 37
- yā'um*, my, mine, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> v 48"
- zabālum* (v.), to carry, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> vii 14; **Ark** 54; **W** 7'; Gilg. XI 54, 68
- zabbilum*, bearer, **Ark** 37
- zakārum* (v.), to speak, **C**<sub>0</sub> iv 12'; **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 2, 12', 16', 41', vi 12, 17, 42', 46'; **U** 4, 14; **W** 12'; Gilg. XI 1, 8, 32, 37, 178, 182;
- zamārum* (v.), to sing, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> viii 19'
- zamārum*, song, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> viii 15'
- zanānum* (v.), to rain, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 34'; Gilg. XI 43, 47, 88, 91
- zanānum* (v.), to provision, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> v 32"
- zērum*, seed(s), offspring, Gilg. XI 27, 84
- zêrum* (v.), to dislike, hate, reject, spurn **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 23'; **Ark** 4; Gilg. XI 26, 39
- ziāqum, siāqum* (v.), to blow, **U** r. 7', r. 10'; Gilg. XI 110
- zibbatum*, tail, outcome, purpose, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 14'
- zikrum*, utterance, command, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> i 21', iii 52', vi 15; **J**<sub>1</sub> 12'
- zīnum*, face, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> v 45"
- ziqquratum*, ziggurat, temple tower, peak, Gilg. XI 158
- ziqziqqum, siqsiqqum*, gale, storm-wind, **U** r. 7'
- Ziusudra (Zisudra), PN, **z** v 17'
- zubbum*, fly, **C**<sub>1</sub>(+)**C**<sub>2</sub> iii 19', 44', v 35", 46", vi 2; Gilg. XI 163, 165
- zummûm* (v.), to be deprived of, lack, miss, **U** 10



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