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The *Erra Song*

A Religious, Literary, and Comparative Analysis

A dissertation presented

by

Kynthia Taylor

to

the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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The *Erra Song*
A Religious, Literary, and Comparative Analysis

Abstract

This study presents an edition and analysis of one of the latest works of Babylonian mythological literature, the *Erra Song*. It is founded both on a fresh edition and translation of the text with detailed lexicographic and grammatical commentary, in appendix A, and the collection of all available attestations of the text's major figures' names across the entire span of Mesopotamian history, a project that undergirds chapters 3–5. The first chapter offers an overview of previous scholarship on this text. Chapter 2 attempts to resolve some basic interpretive obstacles to understanding the thread of the text's narrative, such as who speaks what lines and what antecedents lie behind certain ambiguous referents; it is therein concluded that the text, said to be a revelation from the god Erra, opens with a hymn to the god Išum that is general rather than serving as the beginning of the narrative proper. Chapter 3 constructs a history of Erra's cult, arguing that the etymology of this god's name cannot be established and that, always associated especially with war, Erra is portrayed in increasingly savage ways over time. Chapter 4 evaluates the evidence for the history of Išum's cult and concludes that, never a fire god, Išum gradually migrates into the god Nergal's orbit and in late texts comes especially to be associated with magical practices. Chapter 5 assesses the history of the cult of the Divine Heptad, the semi-demonic creatures who goad Erra into action in the *Erra Song*, and asserts that many purported references to the Divine Heptad are in fact better understood as references to other supernatural beings with whom the Divine Heptad are occasionally conflated. Chapter 6 takes up the problem of general issues of interpretation, arguing that Erra's attack on the cosmos as recounted by the text is not motivated by a desire to punish terrestrial misconduct; that there is no reason to suppose Marduk, Babylon's high god, abandons

his cult statue or is parodied for needing to have his jewelry cleaned; and that the text skirts issues of theodicy without addressing them. Finally, in chapter 7 the *Erra Song* is assessed vis-à-vis related Mesopotamian literature, and it is argued that, unique in many ways, the text shares certain stylistic properties with "wisdom" literature even as it appears to belong loosely to the genre of mythological poetry.

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Chapter 1
Introduction and Literature Review

I. Introduction to the Text

First published in fragmentary form in 1876,[1] the *Erra Song*[2] has been dubbed "eine Meisterkomposition von besonderer Bedeutung,"[3] and "the 'first best seller' of Mesopotamian literature,"[4] outstripping even *Gilgameš* in the number of copies that survive from the first millennium BCE.[5] The text's extraordinary ancient circulation may reflect its versatility: designated a "song," the poem evidently existed as an oral composition,[6] in written form as a work of manifest erudition,[7] and as an inscription on tablets in a characteristic amulet shape as an apotropaion.[8] It

[1] See Smith, "Exploits of Lubara," 125–139.

[2] In recent times this text has been designated (in various languages) the *Epic of Erra*, the *Myth of Erra*, the *Song of Erra*, the *Poem of Erra*, *Erra*, *Išum and Erra*, and *Erra and Išum*. For the purposes of this study the phrase *Erra Song* has been provisionally adopted (the term "song" appears self-referentially in the text; see V:50 and V:60). Because all information about its possible musical dimension is now lost, the term "poem" is also employed throughout in reference to the text; for characteristics that mark the text as poetic, see chapter 7, "II. Stylistic Affinities: Poetic Devices." Ancient manuscripts refer either to the "Erra Series" (*iškar Erra*) or use the incipit (*šar gimir dadmī*, "king of all of the inhabited world") as a designation (Edzard, "Irra (Erra)-Epos," 166).

[3] Hruška, "Einige Überlegungen," 3.

[4] Bodi, *Book of Ezekiel*, 52 n. 3.

[5] Cagni, *Poem of Erra*, 5. (See appendix A for a list of copies.) The ancient popularity of this text is demonstrated not only by the number of extant copies, but by quotations in other documents, such as Nabû-šuma-imbi 2001 ii:28' (on which see chapter 3, "III. Erra's Associations by Topic: Plague") and Aššurbanipal Inscription (K 3098+K 4450) i:13 (on which see chapter 4, "II. Išum's Characteristics across Time").

[6] In *Erra Song* V:50 and V:60 the Akkadian root *zmr*, "sing," is used to describe the text; in V:54 it is said that a "singer" "laments" the text (*nāru ša iṣarraḫu*).

[7] This is demonstrated particularly in the paronomasia. For example, in *Erra Song* I:4, the god Išum is given the epithet "pious slaughterer," a folk etymology of his name in Sumerian—I: "pious" and ŠUM: "to slaughter" (this was first identified by Edward Harper, who, however, seemingly accepted it as genuine etymology; see "Legende von Dibbarra," 426). For further examples of scholarly etymologizing in this text, see appendix A nn. 6, 7, 12, 21, and 22, with references.

incorporates material redolent of incantations[9] and of hymns,[10] and yet in spite—or because—of these disparate connections, the text has been deemed "merkwürdig,"[11] is said, as a whole composition, to have no true parallels,[12] and has been identified as representative of an otherwise unknown genre.[13]

Numerous interpretive problems still impede the project of scholarly analysis of this singular document, both at the granular level of word and syntax as well as at the global level of tone and theological outlook. In spite of the multiple copies that are now extant, a number of lacunae still remain.[14] More bewildering still, the portion that has been recovered contains a welter of apparent inconsistencies and conundrums ranging from problems identifying the speaker[15] to seeming discrepancies in characterization and plotline.[16] In this respect the song deals a perhaps

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[8] Copy O is an amulet with excerpts from tablet III, where copies Q and S are amulets containing tablet V. Copy W includes the entire text on a single tablet that could then serve as an amulet (Reiner, "Plague Amulets," 150); on the copies see further appendix A.

The text's purported ability to ward off evil may be especially pertinent to understanding its popularity, as W. G. Lambert has suggested ("Fifth Tablet," 119).

[9] See *Erra Song* I:28–44 (discussed in chapter 5, "I. The Meaning and Spelling of the Divine Heptad's Name: Exceptions to the Trends in Distribution: The DINGIR IMIN.BI as 'Demons'—The *Erra Song*").

[10] See *Erra Song* I:1–22 (discussed in chapter 2, "II. The Opening Passage," and, as a hymnic prologue to a longer text, in chapter 7, "III. Relationships in Structure and Content: Relationship to *Anzû*—Hymnic Prologues") as well as the hymn of self-praise in I:109–118, as identified by Cohen in "Fearful Symmetry," especially 1–2 and 5–7.

[11] Hruška, "Einige Überlegungen," 3.

[12] Cagni, *Poem of Erra*, 13–14.

[13] Erica Reiner wrote, "We cannot help feeling that its real significance still eludes us. It is true that this composition represents a little known genre, and one of the reasons for our failure in understanding it may be due to its difference from the Babylonian epic tradition" ("More Fragments," 41).

[14] This is especially true of tablets II and III, both of which are still quite fragmentary in places.

[15] It still remains perplexingly unclear who speaks to whom throughout the entire opening passage, *Erra Song* I:1–22, an issue of some import that is investigated in detail in chapter 2, "II. The Opening Passage."

[16] The lack of clarity regarding speaker and interlocutor frequently makes it difficult to pin down any given character's attitude(s) across the trajectory of the narrative. But this problem is only compounded by a further issue: the thread of causation in the sequence of events is both implicit and multilayered. For example, Marduk abandons his shrine (*Erra Song* II:1–3), apparently bringing about the dissolution of the cosmic fabric; is Erra's bellicose outburst equally responsible for the breakdown? Similarly, Erra acknowledges

salutary blow to our confidence in making sense of texts stemming from what is in the end a thoroughly alien culture separated from modern interpretive sensibilities by the time span of millennia and the obstacles of conceptual barriers whose contours are sometimes only dimly perceived.

In basic outline, the text recounts how the god Erra[17] (a god associated with war and sometimes plague[18] and a manifestation of the netherworld deity Nergal,[19] who was worshipped at Cuthah in northern Babylonia[20]) assumes power over the universe and instigates a violent disruption in which the proper order of the universe is upended and the world runs amok with savage, unrestrained chaos. The action reported among divine figures on the mythological plane mingles with descriptions of sociopolitical turmoil across multiple Babylonian cities.[21] In the end Erra's vizier Išum turns his master's berserk outburst to constructive ends—an attack on Babylonia's enemies[22]—after which the two are finally praised together[23] and the text's "author"[24] reports that the entire composition was revealed to him in a dream.[25]

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accountability in laying waste the land (V:6–7) at the same time it is said particular gods have turned against their own cities (IV:36–49, IV:61–62, and IV:70–72). For what exactly is Erra responsible? This issue is explored in chapter 6, "III. Erra's Responsibility."

[17] Over the years a variety of readings has been proposed for this god's name, including Lubara, Dibbarra, Gir(r)a, Ur(r)a, Ir(r)a, and Er(r)a (Roberts, "Scorched Earth," 11), as well as Nerra (Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 309–313). See chapter 3, "II. The Meaning and Spelling of Erra's Name," for compelling evidence for the reading Erra.

[18] Erra's associations are explored in depth in chapter 3, "III. Erra's Associations by Topic."

[19] The relationship between Erra and Nergal is indicated in the poem itself—see *Erra Song* IIIc:30–31, IIId:3 (copy O), and V:40–42. Erra's relationship to Nergal is also explored in chapter 3, "V. Erra's Relationship to Nergal."

[20] For evidence see for example the prologue to *Ḫammurapi's Code*, ii:68–iii:6 (for an edition see Roth, *Law Collections*, 71–142, at 78). Nergal's cult centers are examined in more detail in chapter 3, "V. Erra's Relationship to Nergal: Background on Nergal."

[21] Described by Išum in *Erra Song* IV:1–127.

[22] See *Erra Song* IV:139–150.

[23] In *Erra Song* V:40–42.

II. History of Scholarship

Making its modern debut in 1876 under the title "The Exploits of Lubara,"[26] the text under discussion proved from the beginning a formidable challenge to its would-be translators. Although much of his translation is barely recognizable vis-à-vis later editions of the poem, the pioneering British Assyriologist George Smith correctly deduced that the text was originally five tablets in length[27] and that the central character's train includes the god "Itak"[28] and seven gods marching at his rear.[29] In Smith's understanding of the plot, humankind commits an unclear offense against the god Anu,[30] spurring him to send "Lubara"[31] to punish them;[32] he considered the entire story a mythological description of plague overrunning the land.[33]

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[24] Obviously this is not authorship in the modern sense of the term, since the individual claiming responsibility for the poem's composition explicitly denies originality but attributes his material to divine revelation. This issue is investigated in chapter 6, "IV. Kabti-Ilānī-Marduk's Role in the Production of the Text."

[25] See *Erra Song* V:43–45, first deciphered by Zimmern in 1922 ("Fragen," 89–90).

[26] See Smith, "Exploits of Lubara," 123–136. Elsewhere Smith referred to the text as the "war of the gods" (ibid., 6). Smith had at his disposal sections of tablets I, IV, and V; he also unknowingly incorporated a fragment that does not belong to this text (see Smith's second fragment, ibid., 125–126). His edition does not include a cuneiform autograph or a transliteration.

[27] Ibid., 123.

[28] Smith's reading of the name now conventionally read "Išum"; ibid., 124. (On this reading see below, chapter 4, "I. The Meaning and Spelling of Išum's Name.")

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid., 124 and 135.

[31] Smith's reading of the name now conventionally read "Erra."

[32] Ibid., 124.

[33] Ibid.

Further progress in the reconstruction of the text was made in 1891 when Morris Jastrow correctly identified and published a double-sided fragment belonging to the second tablet.[34] In Jastrow's view, the poem details how Anu, "king of the evil spirits,"[35] takes umbrage when people offer sacrifices at an inauspicious time and so sends the plague god "Dibbarra"[36] against them;[37] when the people appeal to various other deities for help, Ēa and Marduk respond and successfully vanquish this renegade god.[38]

With Edward Harper's fresh translation of 1894,[39] several episodes of the modern understanding of the text's plot begin to come into focus: Dibbarra's[40] ravages of Babylon lead Marduk to curse the city; Sippar is reduced to rubble; and the Suteans are incited against Uruk.[41] When Dibbarra is reproached for having destroyed righteous and wicked alike,[42] he replies that the region will descend into civil war before being subjugated by Akkad.[43]

[34] Jastrow, *Fragment*; see *Erra Song* II:16–39 and II:151–161. Although Jastrow was right to identify the fragment as belonging to this text, he misidentified the obverse and reverse with the result that his two passages are out of order. Other early scholars before Ebeling excluded Jastrow's fragment from their translations.

[35] Ibid., 23.

[36] Jastrow's reading of the name "Erra."

[37] Ibid., 33–34.

[38] Ibid., 34–36.

[39] Harper, "Legende von Dibbarra"; Harper translated into German (and provided Akkadian transliteration for) only a portion of what Smith had translated earlier, including passages from tablets IV and V.

[40] He read the name this way only provisionally (ibid., 425–426).

[41] Ibid., 436. (See *Erra Song* IV:36–39 and 50–58.)

[42] Ibid., 437. (See *Erra Song* IV:104–107.)

[43] Ibid. (See *Erra Song* IV:130–136.)

In the years that followed, the poem was made the subject of a succession of scholarly articles and steady progress was made in the project of reconstruction and translation.[44] In light of this wealth of new material, in 1925 Erich Ebeling collected all available evidence and produced a fresh transliteration and translation;[45] although he inadvertently incorporated some extraneous material[46] and occasionally misordered the passages he appropriately included,[47] for the first time to date all five tablets were represented and, notwithstanding some persisting lacunae, the text could be read in a somewhat continuous fashion from beginning to end.[48]

The thirty years following Ebeling's self-published edition witnessed a relative dearth of scholarship on the poem.[49] This situation was reversed in 1955 when Felix Gössmann, inspired by

[44] See especially Jensen, *Mythen und Epen*, 56–73; Ungnad, "Urra und Išum," 71–75; Weber, "Der Ira-Mythus," 104–108; Ebeling, *KAR* 1, 291–313; Ungnad, "Irra und Išum," 155–159; and Zimmern, "Fragen," 89–90.

[45] Ebeling, *Mythus vom Pestgotte Era*. Ebeling's translation was reprinted the following year in *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testament* (and again in 1965), replacing Arthur Ungnad's translation of 1909.

[46] His tablet I, fragment B:1–45 and tablet II, fragment A:13–21 apparently do not belong to this text.

[47] His tablet II, fragment B should more appropriately be placed between the "Vorderseite" and "Rückseite" of his tablet II, fragment C.

[48] Material appearing for the first time in translation in Ebeling's edition includes the following (more than 300 additional) lines: *Erra Song* I:3–34, I:63–92, I:95–96, I:101, I:103, I:108–110, I:113–115, I:121–165, I:169–192, II:1–10, II:39–52, II:56–69, II:116–150, IIIb:17–18, IIIc:3–34, IIIc:36–70, IIId:2–15, IV:39–44, IV:75–78, IV:92, IV:94–95, IV:112–123, and V:38–39. In Ungnad's 1921 translation ("Irra und Išum")—the most recent edition of the poem at the time Ebeling was writing—a string of disconnected episodes recounts Anu's commissioning of the Divine Heptad, the havoc wrought in Babylonian cities, and Išum's campaign against Mount Šaršar. With Ebeling's edition, these episodes could be incorporated into a more complex narrative arc chronicling how a lethargic Erra is stimulated into action by the Divine Heptad's hawkish speech; how people behave justly in the care of Šamaš (the fragment in which this is described has since been recognized as belonging to another text); how Erra approaches Marduk with the message that his adornment—apparently taken from Erra!—has become dull and the assurance that he, Erra, will patrol the cosmos during Marduk's necessary absence; how Enlil flatters Erra and recounts the destruction of Babylonian cities (later translators have recognized that this speech, introduced in IIId:2, is delivered by Išum); how Išum verbally reins his overlord in and undertakes a campaign against Babylonia's enemies; and how Erra finally returns to his temple and decrees dominance and prosperity for the Babylonians. In basic narrative arc, if not in its details, this is the modern understanding of the poem's plot.

[49] One notable exception to this trend is Alfred Pohl's 1950 edition of Marduk's lament over his ravaged city ("Klage Marduks"; see *Erra Song* IV:40–44). Pohl had at his disposal fragment IB 212 (copy RR in appendix A), which Gössmann had previously recognized as an exemplar of this text.

his discovery of a previously unknown copy of tablet IV,[50] published the first book-length treatment of the text in question[51] and the first discussion not only to include an updated transliteration and translation[52] but to attempt global analysis of the poem.[53] Unfortunately for Gössmann, as his manuscript was being prepared for publication, new fragments of tablets I and II were discovered at Sultantepe;[54] Gössmann was, however, able to secure access to photographs of the new material and provided autographs alongside his own transliteration and translation as an appendix to his monograph.[55]

In spite of the fact that it picked up some of Ebeling's errors[56] and introduced a few minor ones of its own,[57] Gössmann's edition represents an undeniable improvement over previous scholarship: not only did he eliminate the irrelevant passages and appropriately order the available fragments, he was also able to fill in some remaining lacunae.[58] In terms of scope, Gössmann's book

[50] That is, IB 212; see previous note.

[51] See Gössmann, *Era-Epos*. Although Ebeling's handwritten, self-published edition of 1925 was reproduced in book form, it weighed in at a mere 41 pages, the bulk of which was devoted to transliteration and translation (supplemented by a few very brief philological notes).

[52] See Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 8–38.

[53] Gössmann examined the poem philologically (ibid., 39–58), theologically (ibid., 61–72), prosodically (ibid. 73–76), structurally (ibid., 76–81), aesthetically (ibid.), intertextually (ibid., 81–82), and historically (ibid. 83–90).

[54] Garelli, Review of Gössmann, 104; Lambert, Review of Gössmann, 395.

[55] See Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 92–102 and 112–114. (Rintje Frankena chided him for not having incorporated the new material into the rest of the work, pointing out that Oliver Gurney had announced the discovery of the fragments as early as 1952 [Frankena, "Untersuchungen zum Irra-Epos," 3; see also Gurney, "Preliminary Note," 32].)

[56] For example, both Ebeling and Gössmann understood Erra to be accusing Marduk of having taken his jewel in *Erra Song* I:127 (Bi:52/I:122), and both Ebeling and Gössmann understood Marduk to be cleaning his own insignia in I:142 (Ci:22/Aiii:22/I:141). See Ebeling, *Mythus vom Pestgotte Era* and Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, ad loc. (See also I:41 [Ai:39/I:41], I:51 [Ai:49/I:51], I:53 [Ai:51/I:53], and II:152 [Ei:1/D:1/II:1[4]].)

[57] For example, against Ebeling's "Geburt" in *Erra Song* I:24 (Ai:22), Gössmann translated *ilittu* as "Wunsch" (see also Gössmann's translation of I:49, against Ebeling's Ai:47).

[58] Most significantly, *Erra Song* IV:75–95 and IV:145–150.

arguably still represents the most ambitious analysis of the poem yet undertaken.[59] Although several of his assertions are outdated[60] or dubious,[61] Gössmann must be credited both with bringing attention to the poem and with making some significant contributions to its analysis.[62] His book's greatest weakness, it might be argued, lies less in the conclusions he drew—some of which concern difficult issues that remain unresolved to this day[63]—as it does in his tone: throughout the work Gössmann made value-laden statements comparing Babylonian scholarship and intellectual development unfavorably to those of the West.[64]

Scarcely an aspect of Gössmann's work escaped the critic's scalpel.[65] While acknowledging it constitutes an improvement over Ebeling's edition[66] and an important contribution to scholarly

[59] Although longer, Cagni's book (*L'Epopea di Erra*) is devoted primarily to a line-by-line philological analysis (which is, of course, very useful in itself).

[60] See, for example, Gössmann's claim that Nergal is a sun god who lost his life-giving powers (*Era-Epos*, 67–68) or that all goddesses are forms of Ištar (ibid., 66).

[61] Gössmann suggested for example that Pabilsag and Ḫendursag are the same god (ibid., 69) and that the story of Anu and the earth engendering the Divine Heptad (*Erra Song* I:28–29) developed as a result of foreign influence from Greece or Egypt (ibid., 72).

[62] Gössmann was much more rigorous in evaluating the date of composition than his predecessors had been, and was the first to propose a date in the first millennium (see ibid., 86–90), an argument that has since become commonplace (see chapter 6, "Addendum: Dating the Text"). He was also the first to reject the notion that the poem has messianic overtones (see ibid., 83–84).

[63] Gössmann, for example, argued that Išum and Erra sometimes share a single identity and are sometimes separate (ibid., 69). While this conclusion may seem far-fetched, the evidence lends itself to no simple solution; see especially chapter 2, "II. The Opening Passage," on the crucial opening lines and chapters 3 and 4 on Išum's and Erra's identities.

[64] Note, for example, the following: "Das bisher Gesagte läßt schon erkennen, daß die babylonische Epik nicht nach den höchsten Kronen griff. Ein Vergleich zwischen Ilias und Enuma Eliš oder Odysee und Gilgameš würde denn auch Unterschiede aufdecken, die nicht nur zwei verschiedene Phasen in der Entfaltung des menschlichen Genius, sondern auch in erster Linie klaffende Gegensätze in Anlage und Begabung des tragenden Volkstums kennzeichnen" (ibid., 770). "Es liegt auf der Hand, daß diese Entwicklung im Orient wesentlich langsamer verlief als die parallelverlaufende Bewegung in der Geistesgeschichte der abendländischen Völker und sich überdies auf schwache Ansätze und Ausnahmefälle beschränkte. . . . Man begnügte sich mit der Antwort auf die Frage nach dem Sinn des Lebens, die man seit Jahrtausenden hatte gelten lassen: der Mensch ist da für den Gott und für den König" (ibid., 85).

[65] One exception to this would be P. Garelli's praise for the physical presentation of the book (Review of Gössmann, 104), a sentiment echoed by Reiner ("More Fragments," 42 n. 4). It is perhaps worth pointing out that, although Gössmann's work was almost universally criticized, the critics themselves were not always in agreement.

literature on the subject,[67] Gössmann's reviewers went on to bemoan the lack of indices[68] and the absence of any references to textual witnesses in his transliteration,[69] to quarrel with the quality of the transliteration and translation,[70] to question his philological notes,[71] and to take exception to his historical and literary analysis.[72]

In spite of its negative scholarly reception, Gössmann's publication sparked renewed interest in the poem, and, dispensing with lengthy critiques of Gössmann's ideas, several scholars instead used their ostensible reviews of his work as platforms for advancing their own ideas about the text.[73] In 1952 Oliver Gurney could describe the *Erra Song* as "little known."[74] In the wake of Gössmann's publication, a flurry of new fragments was identified and published in rapid

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[66] See for example Lambert, Review of Gössmann, 395: "In Ebeling's edition the epic was an incomprehensible jumble, now it emerges as one of the masterpieces of Akkadian epic literature."

[67] See Van Dijk, Review of Gössmann, 385.

[68] See Kienast, Review of Gössmann, 246.

[69] I.e., Gössmann provided only a composite transliteration without indicating in any given line on which fragment he was relying (see Kienast, Review of Gössmann, 244; Van Dijk, Review of Gössmann, 379). Frankena in particular is to be credited with sorting out Gössmann's sources for his transliteration, identifying which fragments did not belong at all and which fragments Gössmann had mislabeled ("Untersuchungen zum Irra-Epos," 3).

[70] See Frankena, "Untersuchungen zum Irra-Epos," 3–5; Garelli, Review of Gössmann, 104; and Lambert, Review of Gössmann, 395.

[71] See Falkenstein, Review of Gössmann, 14.

[72] Garelli, for example, felt Gössmann had relied too heavily on outdated scholarship (Review of Gössmann 104–105), exaggerated the fatalism of the Mesopotamian worldview (ibid., 105), and neglected sociological context in his articulation of Babylonian ideology (ibid.).

[73] See especially Frankena, "Untersuchungen zum Irra-Epos"; Lambert, Review of Gössmann; and Van Dijk, Review of Gössmann.

[74] Gurney, "Preliminary Note," 32.

succession[75] and new partial editions were made available to supplement and correct Gössmann's work.[76]

The culmination of this surge in scholarly interest can be seen in Luigi Cagni's detailed analysis published in 1969.[77] Cagni set the stage for his own study with a survey of the text's modern scholarly investigations to date,[78] a discussion of the poem's length and canonicity,[79] and an analysis of the content[80] and date of composition;[81] most of the fragments then known were collated in the preparation of his edition,[82] and three as yet unpublished fragments were added.[83] The lion's share of his work he devoted to a transliteration and translation on facing pages,[84] followed by a line-by-line commentary on the text.[85] The following year, Cagni supplemented his

[75] See Frankena, "Untersuchungen zum Irra-Epos," 7–10; Frankena, "Weitere kleine Beiträge"; Borger and Lambert, "Ein neuer Era-Text"; Reiner, "More Fragments," 46–48; Borger, "Nachtrag"; Kienast, Review of Gössmann, 245; Lambert, "Fifth Tablet"; and Civil, "Texts and Fragments."

[76] See Borger, "Era-Fragment," for a discussion of how *KAR* 2, #311 fits into the reconstruction; Falkenstein, "Zur ersten Tafel," for a full edition of tablet I; Frankena, "Het Epos," 163 for a helpful overview of which exemplars to date had been used in reconstructing each tablet; and Frankena, "Worte der Sibitti," for a new edition of the speech of the Divine Heptad in tablet I (:46–91).

[77] See Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*.

[78] See ibid., 13–22.

[79] See ibid., 26–30.

[80] See ibid., 31–37.

[81] See ibid., 37–45.

[82] Ibid., 24.

[83] BE 33766 (transliterated as copy OO in my appendix A) was copied by Adam Falkenstein (ibid., 23; ibid., appendix), K 8341+9136 +13332 (transliterated as copy R in my appendix A) was copied by Lambert (ibid., 23), and A 153 (transliterated as copy W in my appendix A) was copied by Karl Hecker (ibid.). In addition, Cagni recopied IB 212 (ibid., 12; ibid., appendix).

[84] See ibid., 47–132.

[85] See ibid., 133–259. Cagni used majuscule letters to indicate where fragments began and ended and listed textual variants as footnotes. Cagni's volume was rounded out by an Akkadian glossary (ibid., 261–314), a list of proper names (ibid., 315–317), a list of logograms (ibid., 319–323), and copies and photographs of text fragments (ibid., appendix).

critical edition with a composite cuneiform copy of the poem for instructional use;[86] several years later he produced an English translation and brief commentary intended to make the poem more accessible to a broad audience.[87]

Cagni's book-length edition of the poem in Italian represents an entirely different project from that of Gössmann, and, although considerably longer, is much narrower in scope; by focusing primarily on the smallest units of meaning in the poem—signs, words, and verses—Cagni may have avoided some of the pitfalls to which Gössmann fell prey in his efforts to draw sweeping conclusions about Babylonian intellectual history. While not without errors[88] and although less ambitious than Gössmann in breadth, Cagni's work was much more comprehensive in his analysis of details,[89] and his book still represents a valuable compendium of observations and references.

Cagni's edition of the text is by far the most thorough[90] and clearly laid-out[91] transliteration and translation published to date. In his creation of a composite text he privileged grammatical clarity and syllabic spellings,[92] and in his translation he was guided by a commitment to

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[86] See Cagni, *Erra-Epos*. Cagni took this opportunity to offer corrections to his previous publication (see ibid., 75–76). Hermann Hunger and Wolfgang Röllig praised his choice to present the text in a relatively uniform Neo-Assyrian script, while providing a list of variant readings (Hunger, Review of Cagni, 261; Röllig, Review of Cagni, 328), whereas Frankena objected to this method on the grounds that the best-preserved exemplars should have served as the foundation to his composite reconstruction (Review of Cagni, 433); Frankena provided a not insignificant list of errors in the work (ibid.) as well as his own improved readings of Cagni's tablet II, pericope C (ibid.).

[87] See Cagni, *Poem of Erra*.

[88] See for example Seux, Review of Cagni, 270–272.

[89] Some would argue too detailed—see Schramm, Review of Cagni, 270.

[90] Unlike Gössmann, Cagni indicated for every line which text exemplars included that line and listed even minor variants in the footnotes.

[91] Although easy to use, Cagni's edition can be criticized for the potential confusion caused by employing capital letters both to designate textual witnesses and pericopes within the text (Seux, Review of Cagni, 73).

[92] Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 25. In his review, W. H. Ph. Römer accepted this "mosaic" approach as appropriate when the text exemplars are relatively uniform (Review of *L'Epopea di Erra*, 312), as is indeed the case here (Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 25).

literalness.[93] Thanks in part to the discovery and publication of additional fragments in the fourteen years since Gössmann's work, Cagni was able to make a significant number of minor improvements to his predecessor's reconstruction[94] and translation[95] of the poem. Punctuated by occasional excursuses treating both philological and theological issues,[96] Cagni's commentary focuses chiefly on grammatical oddities,[97] dilemmas in translation,[98] references to other scholarship,[99] and comparisons to other texts[100] (as well as glyptic art).[101]

Far from being a mere translation of his Italian book, Cagni's much slenderer English volume published eight years later represents a fresh approach to the poem, and the first translation into English since Smith.[102] Cagni prefaced the text with general notes on the poem's

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[93] Ibid., 26.

[94] See especially *Erra Song* I:52–91, I:113–120, I:140–142, I:146–148, I:171–176 (=I:170–175 in Cagni's edition), II:154–162 (=IIC:40–48 in Cagni's edition), IIIa, IIIc:48–52, IIId:5–8, and IIId:15 for lacunae in Gössmann's edition that Cagni was able to restore.

[95] For improved readings and/or translations see especially *Erra Song* I:1, I:2, I:16, I:23, I:27, I:33, I:42, I:47, I:49, I:51, I:53, I:87, I:88, I:95, I:142, I:150, II:63 (=IIB:48 in Cagni's edition), II:130 (=IIC:16 in Cagni's edition), II:152 (=IIC:38 in Cagni's edition), IIIc:32, IIIc:64, IV:54, IV:78–79, IV:80, IV:89, IV:90, IV:92, and V:13.

[96] See especially ibid., 146–148, 158–161, 172–174, and 230–232.

[97] See for example 146–147 for a discussion of overhanging vowels in the poem and 151 for a chart indicating where *nišū* appears anomalously masculine.

[98] Of particular note see Cagni's examination of the terms *šukuttu* (ibid., 182; *Erra Song* I:127, I:140, I:142, II:36, II:38, II:45, II:59, and IIIc:50), the *mēsu*-tree (ibid., 193; *Erra Song* I:150) and "foam" on the water (ibid., 203–204; *Erra Song* II:26 [=IIB:11 in Cagni's edition]).

[99] Cagni's commentary, though now outdated, provides a wealth of still useful references to scholarship on this text and others; see ibid., *passim*.

[100] See for example ibid., 208 for comparison to *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*, 170 for reference to *The Babylonian Theodicy*, 191 for a quote from the *Creative Work of Ēa*, and 185 for a discussion of omens. Examples of this sort could be multiplied.

[101] See ibid., 195–196.

[102] Smith, "Exploits of Lubara," was published more than a century earlier in 1876. Naturally, Smith's early effort based on only a handful of fragments bears little resemblance to more recent editions. (Two other scholars published fragments of the poem in English in the years after Smith: Jastrow, *Fragment*, in 1891 and King, "Two Assyrian Plague-tablets," in 1896.)

interpretation[103] and included some marginal notes (though much less extensive than his Italian commentary) with his translation.[104] A number of minor adjustments to the translation indicate that Cagni reevaluated the evidence[105] and in some cases incorporated suggestions made by other scholars.[106] However, although he did not engage in Gössmann's negative evaluation of Babylonian literature vis-à-vis that of classical Greece, he nevertheless persisted in applying classical terms such as "epic" that have little purchase here.[107] Unfortunately for Cagni, the book was poorly copyedited and is riddled with spelling errors, inconsistencies in capitalization, and infelicitous phrasing.[108]

In the decades since Cagni's publications, a spate of additional translations,[109] philological observations,[110] and analyses of the poem[111] has appeared. Further contributions have also been

[103] See Cagni, *Poem of Erra*, 5–22.

[104] See ibid., 26–61. On this occasion Cagni presented only a translation into English (without the Akkadian).

[105] Observe the following changes, examples of which could be multiplied (the differences are highlighted by italics that are not in the original): in *Erra Song* I:10 "(gli uomini) *mirano* la tua luce" became "(men) *stare at* your light"; in I:81 "Verso gli Anunnaki, che amano il silenzio *assoluto*, mostrati buono" became "To the Anunnaki, who love *deathly* silence, do something good"; in IV:9 "Chi lotta non conosce, *quegli attacca battaglia*" became "He who knows nothing of fighting, *does battle*"; in IV:55 "Fanno sollevare nell'Eanna *eunuchi* (e) *prostituti*" became "They rouse up (in) Eanna the *cultic actors* and *singers*"; and in IV:124 "Le *stele* del cielo voglio buttare da parte" became "I want to do away with the *stars* in the sky."

[106] For example, in IIIc:31, Cagni adopted Seux's suggestion that *ūmu* be translated "storm" rather than "day" (see *Poem of Erra*, 44–45; Seux, Review of Cagni, 73).

[107] See Cagni, *Poem of Erra*, 6–11. Cagni questions whether the poem qualifies as an epic without ever questioning the appropriateness of the category of "epic" to Babylonian literature to begin with, or attempting to uncover the poem's indigenous generic affiliations from the ground up. On the problems in Cagni's evaluation of genre, among other issues, see further Machinist, Review of Cagni.

[108] For example, within a single paragraph on p. 53, Suteans appear once as "Sutaeans" and once as "Sutians"; "proceed" is spelled "procede" on p. 41, where "precede" is spelled "preceed" on p. 51; and the line numbering fails at both IIIC:70 and at V:21. In addition, "disposition" appears for "disposal" on p. 53; "lunal eclipse" appears for "lunar eclipse" on p. 41; and unclear phrases such as "poses the great problematic" (p. 41) and "it shows a concept of average identical to ours" (p. 35) are scattered throughout. It should go without saying that Cagni, a native Italian speaker, can hardly be faulted for producing non-native English, but it is to be lamented that the book was not better edited before publication.

[109] For recent translations see especially Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient*, 114–137; Bottéro "Le poème d'Erra"; Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 282–315; Foster, *Before the Muses*, 880–911; and Müller, "Ischum und Erra," 781–802.

made to the project of recovering the text: Lambert has published several small fragments;[112] Saggs has suggested new readings derived from a badly damaged copy discovered at Sherikhan;[113] and, most significantly, al-Rawi and Black have produced an autograph and edition of a copy of the second, still fragmentary tablet.[114]

In spite of this enormous progress, no large-scale study of the poem has been undertaken since Cagni's publication in Italian almost fifty years ago, and Cagni limited the scope of the bulk of his project to philological analysis at the level of word and verse. And while his considerably briefer English monograph published some years later addresses a few overarching issues of interpretation, it is not without problems.[115] This groundwork is both necessary and invaluable, but

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[110] Two such observations deserve special mention. 1) In a brief article Matitiahu Tsevat observed that *a-ʳba*ˀ*-ra* in *Erra Song* IV:10, translated tentatively by Cagni as "forza" (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 105), is a probable variation of the Akkadian word *abru*, "wing" (Tsevat, "Erra IV: (7–10)," 184); this simple emendation enabled him to read the passage according to a clear pattern: "He who knew nothing of weapons, his sword is drawn; he who knew nothing of shafts, his bow has plenty of them; he who knew nothing of fighting, does battle; he who knew nothing of wings, flies off like a bird" (*Erra Song* IV:7–10; ibid.) Steve Tinney observed that the name ^{d}EN.GI$_6$.DU.DU in I:21 is glossed separately by both of the following phrases in Akkadian, "lord who roams the night" and "the one who guides the nobles" (*NABU* 3, 2–4).

[111] See especially Bottéro, "Le poème d'Erra"; Machinist, "Rest and Violence"; Müller, "Wer Spricht?"; Machinist, "Order and Disorder"; Bricker, "Innocent Suffering"; Farber, "Die einleitende Episode"; and Frahm, "Counter-texts, Commentaries, and Adaptations."

[112] See Lambert, "New Fragments." Lambert provided some new readings and restorations with his copies.

[113] See Saggs, "Additions to Anzu." The tablet was found in the temple to Nergal; on the obverse of the tablet was inscribed, in minute script ("approximately ten lines . . . to the inch," ibid., 2) the *Erra Song*, where the reverse contained a copy of *Anzû* (ibid., 1–2). Presumably because of the poor state of the obverse, Saggs provided a cuneiform edition with transliteration and translation of only the *Anzû* portions of the tablet, including a few suggested readings to the *Erra Song* as an appendix (see ibid., 29; Saggs' notes have been incorporated into appendix A as copy U).

[114] See al-Rawi and Black, "Second Tablet." The tablet, IM 121299 (copy LL in appendix A), was excavated at Tell Ḥaddad, written in Babylonian script, and made possible the restoration of some 45 additional lines (ibid., 111). "Unfortunately the . . . tablet is damaged, and is rather poorly written by an apprentice scribe who has made a number of evident mistakes and incorrectly formed signs" (ibid.).

According to Gerfrid Müller, good copies of tablets II and III were excavated in the mid-eighties from the Ebabbar library in Sippar but remain as yet unpublished ("Ischum und Erra," 781).

[115] On which see Machinist, Review of Cagni.

it should not be allowed to eclipse the utility of more systematic global analysis, facilitated both by careful philological work and by recent scholarship and discoveries unavailable to Cagni.

III. The Nature of the Project

Background

The text at hand has been known for more than a century, and although considerable gaps still remain in our reconstruction, enormous strides have been made both in recovering and translating it and in understanding plot and characterization in the portions that are extant. The threadbare narrative pieced together by Smith—in which the high god Anu chastises humanity by sending the plague god against them[116]—has been progressively expanded and rewritten. Anu has receded in importance, where Marduk's role in relinquishing cosmic power to Erra has come to the fore,[117] and Smith's claim that the poem couches an image of plague spreading over the countryside in metaphorical language[118] has been called into question entirely.[119] The discovery of amulets inscribed with the poem has enriched our view of its ancient uses,[120] the identification of paronomasia has enhanced our assessment of its literary register,[121] and the decipherment of the

[116] See Smith, "Exploits of Lubara," 124.

[117] See *Erra Song* I:121–192.

[118] See Smith, "Exploits of Lubara," 124.

[119] Already in 1894 Harper suggested Erra was associated more with war than with plague, casting doubt on the proposed etymology relating the name Dibbarra to Hebrew דבר (see "Legende von Dibbarra," 426); for more recent, apparently independent objections, see Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 237 and Roberts, "Scorched Earth," 14–15. For more on this issue see chapter 3, "III. Erra's Associations by Topic: Plague."

[120] On which see n. 8 above.

[121] On which see n. 7 above.

passage indicating the "authorship" and revelation of the poem through a dream has provided potentially useful information on the intellectual atmosphere of the first millennium.[122]

While invaluable for the insights it provides and the discussion it has generated to date, scholarship on the poem has naturally not exhausted the questions one could usefully pose. Almost half a century has passed since the last book-length treatment of the text,[123] during which time additional material has come to light and intellectual currents have shifted. No thoroughgoing diachronic analysis of the main characters has yet been undertaken, and while cursory connections to several other Mesopotamian texts and genres have been drawn, much work remains to be done comparing and contrasting this text to its literary counterparts. This study does not propose to produce a definitive reading of the poem, which would not be possible in any event, but merely to read attentively, ask careful questions, and consider those questions in view of the poem as a whole and its cultural and literary ambit, in the hope that it can contribute an original and sensitive interpretation that aspires to be worthy of the studies of the text that have come before and have facilitated it.

Outline

Recognizing that every level circularly influences every other, the dissertation is nevertheless organized, very broadly speaking, around a progression from granular issues that concern individual passages to increasingly global interpretive questions and finally to the poem's relationship to other Mesopotamian literary contexts. This orientation is organizational rather than methodological; every level of analysis informs every other, a hermeneutical presupposition that

[122] On which see nn. 24–25 above.

[123] Discounting Cagni's slender English edition, which weighs in at only 61 pages (37 of which are devoted to translation), Cagni's Italian work *L'Epopea di Erra*, published in 1969, is the most recent book treating the *Erra Song*. In any event, the proposed project will more closely resemble Gössmann's 1955 effort in scope and organization—a book that was unfortunately already out of date when it went to press (see p. 7 above).

will be taken into account throughout. Detailed analysis of the text at the level of grammar, syntax, and the semantic fields of individual words, with a full edition and translation of the text, is presented in appendix A; a simple transliteration and translation precedes it for easy reference. Chapter 2 is preoccupied with especially vexing issues in our basic understanding of the chain of events: who speaks what lines to whom and who is masked by apparently ambiguous references. Chapters 3–5 then address our understanding of the text from the angle of individual characters as illuminated diachronically by their attestations in other Mesopotamian texts of every genre; chapter 3 evaluates Erra, chapter 4 Išum, and chapter 5 the Divine Heptad. Chapter 6 addresses major issues in interpretation of the poem as a whole, and finally chapter 7 analyzes the poem beside other relevant Mesopotamian texts, in terms of its grammar and literary style as well as its content.

Methods

Methodological principles that inform this project include the following:

Because modern norms for reading and writing texts—from plot and character to the identification of genre—may not always have relevance to documents from this pre-Aristotelian, non-Western literary environment, other Mesopotamian texts constitute our best resource for reeducating our expectations. Additionally, unlike in a novel, the characters that populate this narrative are not literary fabrications from the mind of a single author but cultic figures well-known from multiple other sources over the course of millennia. Thus related literature will be drawn into the analysis where apposite. It will be assumed that the constellation of associations invoked under a rubric such as “Erra” has some internal coherence and continuity transtextually and diachronically. At the same time, every effort will be made to avoid straitjacketing different texts into an overly consistent and tidy whole. Gods (as cultural and literary constructs, since we have no means of investigating them empirically) will be understood not necessarily as discrete

characters with identifiable boundaries, but rather as shifting vectors of associations with possibility for overlap. Assumptions will be articulated, tested, and revised as the interplay between this text and other Mesopotamian texts is explored. At base, interpretation is the search for (or imposition of) patterns, but in pursuit of this end it will nevertheless be borne in mind that dissonance creates patterns as well as consonance, that texts especially from different eras and locations likely participate in different sets of assumptions, and that literature does not necessarily yield readily to tidy readings that sand down every apparent irregularity (i.e., the text—and the religious system underlying it—need not be perfectly consistent). Where one looks for similarities, one generally finds them; differences will be therefore explored as well.

Reading is a necessarily idiosyncratic act. Each reader (or hearer) understands the text differently as a result of different expectations, experiences, and inclinations. However, some readings are superior in attentiveness and accountability to the text: at the level of grammatical construction, semantics, and syntax; at the level of individual verses and passages; at the level of textual coherence as a whole; and finally at the level of intertextual and cultural context. A sensitive reading must take account of these various factors that work in tandem to create meaning and resonance.

Recognition of the text's genre and functions is crucial to making sense of it. Although we may never recover a native description for the text beyond the term "song"[124] or fully reconstruct its cultic or magical uses, or its status vis-à-vis older mythological narratives, a number of indications point to its being poetic and devotional in tone and supermundane in content, rather than expository or disquisitional; it is thus not easily shoehorned into the dimensions of a philosophical treatise. Theological questions will therefore be explored with awareness of this larger framework that seemingly permits loose ends and resists the rigid application of logic.

[124] See *Erra Song* V:50 and V:60.

Similarly, passages that apparently fit the criteria for other generic categories, broadly understood (hymns, incantations, etc.), will be analyzed accordingly.

Ultimately, if we assume the poem has some coherence, none of our questions can be examined in isolation from the others. Therefore no chapter will be hermetically sealed from its counterparts; each chapter will test, adjust, and expand on the picture emerging from previous chapters. Because the questions under discussion are not discrete issues, there will be some unavoidable overlap, but each chapter will approach the issues from a different angle.

Sweeping conclusions that exceed the limited scope of the available evidence, such as those encompassing "Mesopotamian religion" as a whole, will be avoided, for the reason that accident of discovery has likely left us with a distorted corpus of texts and, additionally, few entrées into the religious sensibilities of the "common person" are afforded by the textual record of a low-literate society.

Chapter 2
Ambiguities in Speaker, Interlocutor, and Referent

I. Introduction

The most perplexing obstacle to our making sense of the narrative arc and characterization in the *Erra Song* continues to be apparent ambiguities in speaker, interlocutor, and referent throughout the text; with regard to the opening passage (I:1–22) especially, there are practically as many theories for understanding it as there are scholars who have commented on it. But in addition to the intractable opening passage, whose many obscurities will be enumerated shortly, other less severe ambiguities in the text resist easy interpretation as well, particularly the nested speeches in tablet IV, the identity of the "warrior" in IV:141, and the identity of the poem's revelator in V:44. Because so much of how we understand the poem as a whole hinges on our reading of these difficult verses, they have been singled out here for more robust analysis than that afforded by appendix A.

It must be admitted at the outset that there are no obvious or tidy solutions to this string of Gordian knots. Various assumptions about the characters or the manner in which the text is constructed can be adopted or rejected to produce very different readings, but, logically, the proposed assumptions for guiding our interpretation cannot all be valid.[1] This study will simply

[1] For example, we might suppose that Ḫendursag is an alternate name for Išum, that the "firstbo[rn] heir of Enlil" (*Ḫendursag apil Ellil rēšt*[*û*]; *Erra Song* I:2) is the same individual as the "eminent heir of Enlil" (*apil Ellil ṣīru*; II:121), that the latter is a reference to Erra, and that the "firstbo[rn] heir of Enlil" in I:2 is in apposition to Ḫendursag (I:2). Unless Erra and Išum are to be identified—a possibility that raises innumerable problems of its own—at least one of these suppositions is mistaken.

It is likely that at least some of our modern habits of interpretation lead us astray here. Observe, by way of illustration, the alternation between first and third person in the following verses: "In the chapel of the scholar where they regularly invoke my name I will grant enlightenment. / In the building where this tablet is placed, even if Erra becomes furious and the (Divine) Heptad slaughters . . ." (*ina ašerti ummâni ašar *kayyān šumī*/*šumī kayyān* izakkarū uzuššu*(*nu*) *apette / ina bīti ašar ṭuppu šâšu šaknu Erra *lū agug-ma*/*līgug-ma*/lūgug*-[*ma*]* *lišgiš*(*ū*) (*Ilānī*) *Sebetti*; *Erra Song* V:57–58). If the introduction to this speech were not

craft plausible proposals that show both accountability to their local and global contexts as well as awareness of their implications and underlying assumptions. For the sake of clarity, the case for the reading of the text offered here will be built from the ground up, beginning with the explication of individual verses and moving toward a brief effort to integrate these conclusions into our reading of the poem as a whole.

II. The Opening Passage

"King of All of the Inhabited World" (I:1)

No consensus prevails even on the significance of the opening verse:

I:1 [*ša*]*r gimir dadmī bānû kib*[*rāti*] . . . . . .
I:1 [O ki]ng of all of the inhabited world, creator of the qua[rters] . . .

Because the phrase "king of all of the inhabited world" has been deemed too lofty to apply to either Erra or Išum, both relatively minor gods, some have argued it must be Marduk who is invoked here.[2] This reading can be rejected out of hand for the following reasons: 1) Nothing in what follows gives any hint that Marduk is being addressed, so the passage must then be said to shift abruptly to an invocation of Išum (under his various names beginning in I:2), and it is Išum who remains the addressee for the next twenty-one verses.[3] Such a hymn would have to be considered unbalanced to the point of incoherence. 2) The title "king" (*šarru*) is hardly exclusive to Marduk; in this text alone, outside of this passage, no fewer than five gods are referred to as "king."[4] Elsewhere related

extant (see V:49: "Then Warrior Erra spoke thus:" [*u kiam iqtabi qurādu Erra*]), it is unlikely that we would correctly deduce that Erra delivers these verses himself—a sobering realization.

[2] For this view see especially Reiner, "More Fragments," 42. (In this conclusion she is followed by Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient*, 116; Bottéro and Kramer, *Lorsque les dieux faisaient l'homme*, 708; and Foster, *Before the Muses*, 881.)

[3] On this interpretation see further below.

phrases are used of other deities,[5] and, tellingly, Marduk is here characteristically king not of the world nor its inhabitants, but of the gods.[6] The phrase thus does not point clearly to Marduk.

3) Hymns often use inflated language to supplicate their divine addressees,[7] so we should not suppose the grandiosity of the language must indicate the most supreme god is being invoked.

An alternate theory holds that Erra, the central figure in the text, should be invoked in its incipit.[8] Indeed, the evidence from the poem's conclusion suggests Erra understands the text as a whole to sing his praise,[9] and of course one ancient designation for the text was the "Erra Series."[10]

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[4] In *Erra Song* I:28, Anu is "the king of the gods" (*šar ilānī*); in I:110 Erra is "king" "in the land" (*ina māti šarrāku*); in II:30 Ēa is called "king" (*šarru*); in II:48 Šamaš is called "king" (*šarru*); and, of course, Marduk is referred to as "the king of the gods" (*šar ilānī*) throughout the text, in I:124, I:126, I:129, II:61, II:68 (partially reconstructed), II:135, IIIc:44, IV:2, and IV:127.

[5] Although no other occurrences of the phrase *šar gimir dadmī* are known to me (nor to Cagni—see *L'Epopea di Erra*, 137), similar phrasing can be found elsewhere. In the opening lines to a hymn, for example, Ištar is invoked as *šarrati kullat dadmī*, "queen of the whole inhabited world" (line 2 in the Neo-Babylonian version of this text; for an edition see Reiner and Güterbock, "Great Prayer to Ishtar"), where in *Šurpu* Išḫara is named *bēlet dadmī*, "lady of the inhabited world" (*Šurpu* II:172; for an edition see Reiner, *Šurpu*). And in the opening verse of the Standard Babylonian (SB) recension of *Anzû*, *šar dadmī*, "king of the inhabited world," is a title for Enlil (for an edition see Vogelzang, *Bin šar dadmē*; Annus, *Standard Babylonian Epic of Anzu*). (All translations herein are mine unless otherwise indicated.)

[6] See n. 4 for attestations of the phrase "the king of the gods" in this text. As Reiner points out, the reconstructed phrase "king of all" is apparently used elsewhere of Marduk, in *Erra Song* I:150 ("More Fragments," 42). But while suggestive, this data-point cannot be considered definitive evidence that Marduk is to be understood in the first verse. Not only are the phrases not identical, but even identical epithets are sometimes shared among gods just within this text itself: as we have seen (n. 4), "the king of the gods" may be either Anu or Marduk (for further discussion of shared epithets see below).

Reiner further points to the fact that amulets that invoke the major gods of this text, and which undeniably derive from this text, invoke Marduk's name first (ibid.; for editions of the amulets in question see Weidner, "Tell Halaf 1," 46; Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, 179; and Reiner, "Plague Amulets," 151). However, this observation need not lead us inexorably to the conclusion that our text opens with the praise of Marduk, since Marduk's status in Babylonian theology more generally may have influenced the decision to order the gods accordingly; alternatively, Marduk's role as Asarluḫi, the god of magic, could also account for his appearing first on an amulet.

[7] For example, Ištar in the hymn cited in n. 5 is described extravagantly as "queen of the whole inhabited world, who guides humankind" (*šarrati kullat dadmī muštēširat tenēšēti*), where it is said elsewhere to Gerra, a minor deity who governs fire, "you guide the gods and the sovereigns" (*tušteššer ilānī u malkī*; *Maqlû* II:127; for an edition see Meier, *Maqlû*). These are flattering supplications, not articulations of a canonical theological system that transcends any particular text.

[8] See Farber, "Die einleitende Episode," 265.

[9] See ibid.; *Erra Song* V:49–62.

While the poem would perhaps seem more artful if it both opened and concluded with Erra's praise, in the absence of any specific evidence that Erra is addressed in this verse, this assumption is simply not well founded enough to allow us to posit an invocation to him here.

It is not uncommon in hymns for epithets in one verse to precede the deity's name in a later verse.[11] Since Išum is invoked by his various names in verses I:2, I:4, and I:21, the poem would be incomprehensible if the opening verse did not refer to Išum and yet the god to whom it was addressed was not named explicitly. Theoretically the lacuna in I:1 could support a divine name, but since throughout this hymnic prologue the divine names appear at the beginnings, not the ends, of the verses that follow, this seems unlikely. Everything in the immediate context points to the notion that the opening phrase, *šar gimir dadmī*, designates Išum.[12] And statements later in the poem support the notion that Išum, though a minor deity in other contexts, is accorded vaunted claims in this text: in IIIc:30 Išum refers presumably to humanity generally as "my people" (*nišūya*), and in IIIc:41 Erra flatters him by saying, "To the blackheaded people you give instruction" (*ana nišī*

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[10] See Edzard, "Irra (Erra)-Epos," 166.

[11] Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 137. In classical Mesopotamian "lyrical" repetition, a poetic couplet is sometimes repeated immediately but with the insertion of a proper name, as in the following example from *Anzû*: "He kept looking at the father of the gods, the god Duranki. / He resolved in his heart to remove Enlil's power. / Anzû kept looking at the father of the gods, the god Duranki. / He resolved in his heart to remove Enlil's power" (*ittaṭṭal-ma abi ilānī ila Duranki / ukkuš Ellilūti iṣṣabat ina libbīšu / Anzû ittaṭṭal-ma abi ilānī ila Duranki / ukkuš Ellilūti iṣṣabat ina libbīšu*; SB *Anzû* I:69–72). Although such classical poetic patterns are entirely lacking from the *Erra Song* (see chapter 7, "II. Stylistic Affinities: Repetition"), it appears nevertheless that the basic principle whereby a proper name is introduced after the first verse of a passage holds true here.

[12] The immediate context—the verses that follow—will be discussed below. Several other scholars have reached this conclusion as well—see Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 137; Edzard, "Irra (Erra)-Epos," 166; Wilcke, "Anfänge der akkadischen Epen," 194; Machinist, "Order and Disorder," 47; and George, "Poem of Erra and Ishum," 48. Dalley softens the force of the phrase by reconstructing the word "son" at the beginning of the verse, implying the "king of all inhabited lands" is Enlil and making the verse closely parallel *Anzû*. Although this reconstruction has some appeal, it too must be dismissed: the text is elsewhere referred to as *šar gimir dadmī*, which we can therefore assume is the opening phrase (see Edzard, "Irra (Erra-)Epos," 166; this is evident also from the catchline at the end of copy EE, tablet III, where the text is identified as LUGAL *gi-mir da*-[*ad-mi*]), and if the word "son" occurs later in the verse, it is hard to understand how the phrase could be vocative, which makes the second-person address (see *Erra Song* I:9 and I:19) incomprehensible.

ṣalmāt qaqqadi ûrta tanamdim-ma). Although the language of the opening verse is striking in its extravagance, it appears that it is nevertheless in praise of Išum.

Ḫendursag's Identity and the Relationship between Erra and Išum (I:2–3)

In the following verses, the apparent addressee of the hymnic prologue is named explicitly:

I:2 *Ḫendursag apil Ellil rešt*[*û*] . . . . . .
I:2 Ḫendursag, firstbo[rn] heir of Enlil . . .

I:3 *nāš ḫaṭṭu ṣīrti nāqid ṣalmāt qa*[*qqa*]*di rē'û* . . . . . .
I:3 Bearer of the eminent scepter, herdsman of the blackh[ead]ed ones, shepherd . . .

Ḫendursag, originally a separate Sumerian deity in Nanše's circle, is known from other sources as another name for Išum.[13] Because he is described as *apil Ellil rēšt*[*û*], a phrase echoing Erra's designation *apil Ellil ṣīru* in II:121, one might suspect Ḫendursag is here understood as an avatar not of Išum but of Erra.[14] However, the similarity in their epithets is not sufficient grounds for supposing the two figures are identified for the reason that a number of other epithets are shared in the poem: Erra is repeatedly designated "Warrior Erra" (*qurādu Erra*)[15] and once even "Warrior Nergal" (*qurādu Nergal*),[16] yet Išum, in the doxology, appears somewhat unexpectedly as "Warrior Išum";[17] conversely, where Išum is typically "his (Erra's) vanguard" (*ālik maḫrīšu*) or "my (Erra's)

[13] On this identification see chapter 4, "III. Išum's Relationship to Ḫendursag."

[14] Gössmann implies as much in his commentary on the opening passage: "In den drei ersten Zeilen wird der Held des Epos, Era, . . . dem Leser vorgestellt" (*Era-Epos*, 39), although elsewhere he identifies Ḫendursag as Išum (see ibid., 69).

[15] See *Erra Song* I:60, I:76, I:78, I:92, I:101 (partially reconstructed), I:102 (partially reconstructed), I:124, I:131, I:149, I:164, I:170 (partially reconstructed), II:25 (partially reconstructed), II:37, IIIc:35, IIIc:57 (reconstructed), IIIc:58, IIIc:62, IIId:2 (partially reconstructed), IIId:3 (partially reconstructed), IV:1, IV:19, IV:104, IV:114, IV:128, IV:130, IV:137, V:17, and V:49.

[16] See *Erra Song* IIIc:31.

[17] See *Erra Song* V:40. The issue of Išum's status as a warrior is discussed below.

vanguard" (*ālik maḫrīya*),[18] Išum once calls Erra a "vanguard" (*ālik maḫrim-ma*);[19] both Marduk[20] and Anu[21] are "the king of the gods" (*šar ilānī*); the "great Lord Marduk" (*bēlu rabû Marduk*)[22] shares his title with the "great Lord Nergal" (*bēli rabî Nergal*);[23] and "Ēa the king" (*Ēa šarru*)[24] finds a near parallel with "King Šamaš" (*šarru Šamaš*).[25] While there are obvious tendencies, especially in this text, for particular epithets to be applied frequently to particular gods,[26] epithets are generally not exclusive but seemingly drawn from a fund of titles appropriate to divinity.[27]

Nevertheless, the overlap in their epithets raises some questions about the relationship between Erra and Išum here. Išum is not ordinarily a son of Enlil,[28] although it is not uncommon for Nergal to be dubbed Enlil's firstborn.[29] Are the two meant to be understood as brothers? While possible, this conclusion seems less likely than that the phrase "heir of Enlil" can be applied

[18] See *Erra Song* I:99, I:105, IIIc:27, IIIc:39, IV:137, V:14, and V:47.

[19] See *Erra Song* IV:15.

[20] See *Erra Song* I:124, I:126, I:129, II:61, II:68, II:135, IIIc:44, IV:2, and IV:127.

[21] See *Erra Song* I:28; it is possible that this passage (I:28–44) originated independently, which might explain this overlap in epithets; see further chapter 5, "I. The Meaning and Spelling of the Divine Heptad's Name: Exceptions to the Trends in Distribution: The DINGIR IMIN.BI as 'Demons'—The *Erra Song*."

[22] See *Erra Song* IV:36.

[23] See *Erra Song* V:40.

[24] See *Erra Song* II:30.

[25] See *Erra Song* II:48.

[26] For example, the phrase "warriors without rival" (*qarrād lā šanān*; see *Erra Song* I:8, I:18, I:23, I:97, IIIc:12 [partially reconstructed], IIIc:25, and IV:140) is used exclusively of the Divine Heptad, here and seemingly elsewhere (see *CAD*, s.v. "qarrādu"), and in this text Marduk is consistently the "prince" (NUN: *rubû*; see I:122, I:123, I:165, I:181, I:182, I:189, I:191, II:28, II:31, II:53, II:94, II:106, IIIc:52, IV:1, and IV:45).

[27] Besides human recipients, who give the metaphor its currency, the title "prince" (*rubû*) may be applied to at least Marduk, Nabû, Ēa, Sîn, Šamaš, Enlil, and Aššur (see *CAD*, s.v. "rubû"), where "warrior of the gods" (*qarrād ilānī*), one of Erra's designations in this text (see *Erra Song* I:5, I:40, and I:130), is appropriate at least to Ninurta, Nabû, Nergal, Sîn, and even the goddess Agušaya (see *CAD*, s.v. "qarrādu").

[28] On Enlil's sons, see Nötscher, "Enlil," 383; on Išum's parentage, see Edzard, "Išum," 213.

[29] See, e.g., Böllenrücher, *Gebete und Hymnen*, 13–17 (#1), line 1.

somewhat loosely.[30] It is not clear that the epithets in the poem reveal an integrated programmatic theology. But in light of the fact that these two gods can share other epithets as well,[31] we should take seriously the suggestion that in certain respects they have imbricated personalities (on which see below).[32]

Erra Quakes at Išum's Weapons (I:4–5)

In what follows, Išum's identity is confirmed and, now that he has been lauded through literary wordplay[33] and stock titles, the particular reasons he is being celebrated here begin to come into focus:

> I:4 *Išum ṭābiḫu naʾdu ša ana našê kakkīšu ezzūti qātāšu asmā*
> I:4 Išum, pious slaughterer, whose hands are fit to bear his ferocious weapons,
>
> I:5 (*u*) *ana šubruq ulmīšu šērūti Erra qarrād ilānī inuššu ina šubti*
> I:5 (And) at the flashing of whose vicious axes, Erra, the warrior of the gods, quakes in his seat!

Because Erra is otherwise an intrepid warrior and Išum is his vizier and subordinate, several translators have found ingenious ways of reading these verses such that Erra does not tremble, as if in fear, at the sight of Išum's weapons. Foster construes Erra as the subject of the entire verse I:5: "And to make his sharp spear flash, Erra, warrior of the gods, was restless in his dwelling."[34] Cagni and Dalley posit a caesura midway through the verse, supposing the first hemistich, like the previous verse, concerns Išum where the second introduces Erra: ". . . E per far

[30] There is no hint in the poem they are brothers, and Išum refers to Erra as "the heir of Enlil" (*Erra Song* II:121) seemingly without any acknowledgment that the title applies equally to himself.

[31] Namely, "warrior" and "vanguard"; see nn. 17 and 19 above.

[32] See for example Machinist, "Rest and Violence," 222.

[33] On which see appendix A nn. 6–7.

[34] Foster, *Before the Muses*, 881.

rifulgere le sue impetuose lance: (davanti a lui anche) Erra, l'eroe degli dèi freme nella (sua) dimora";[35] " . . . And making his fierce axes flash! Erra, warrior of the gods was stirring at home."[36]

Although resourceful, neither of these translation choices can be supported by the evidence. There are no other clear cases of caesurae in the extant poem. Furthermore, parallels in other texts suggest the elements in the verse cohere as a unit, militating strongly against reading a break in the verse: individuals "quake" (*nâšu*) in their "seat(s)" (*šubtu*) "at" (*ana*) something, as in *Enūma Eliš* VI:146: "at (the mention of) his name let the gods be made to tremble, let them shake in their seats" (*ana šumīšu ilū lištarʾibū linūšū ina šubti*).[37] The inescapable implication is that Išum, in spite of his proclivity elsewhere in the poem for restraining his overlord's lust for battle,[38] is himself praised here as a warrior before whose show of force even Erra is in awe.[39]

[35] Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 59.

[36] Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 285. Observe that all these translations assume the subordinate clause introduced by *ša* in *Erra Song* I:4 has ended with the end of the verse; the form *i-nu-šú* in I:5 is then understood to contain an overhanging vowel, which poses no particular difficulty, as such forms are not uncommon in this text: e.g., *a-za-qu* in I:115; *a-te-eb-bu-šu* in I:171. (All such forms have been identified in the notes to appendix A.) See n. 39 below.

[37] As translated in *CAD*, s.v. "nâšu." (For an edition of *Enūma Eliš* see Labat, *Le poème babylonien*; Talon, *Enūma Eliš*.) Something physical pertaining to the god's cult image may be understood behind this phrase; compare the following omen protasis from *Šumma Ālu ina Mēlê Šakin*, as translated in the same entry: "If without there being a windstorm the (statue of the) god jolts in his seat" (*šumma ina balu meḫê . . . ilu ina šubtīšu* TUKU$_4$-*uš*; for the copy see Thureau-Dangin, *Tablettes d'Uruk*, pl. XX [#9] obv. 19).

[38] See *Erra Song* I:100–103, IIIc:28–37, and V:14.

[39] Syntactically, the subordinate clause introduced by *ša* in *Erra Song* I:4 appears to continue through I:5, with the pronominal suffix of *qātāšu* paralleling that of *ulmēšu*, both referring back to Išum (so Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient*, 117; Hruška, "Einige Überlegungen," 5; Bottéro, "Le poème d'Erra," 227; Müller, "Ischum und Erra," 783; Farber, "Die einleitende Episode," 264; and George, "Poem of Erra and Ishum," 49). The "overhanging" *-u* vowel on *inuššu* is thus a subordination marker. Although Išum is generally addressed in the hymnic prologue with second-person forms (*Erra Song* I:9 and I:19), the third-person suffixes here are explained by the subordinate clause; similarly, third-person verbal forms appear in I:22 although it is equally a vocative address to Engidudu.

The phrase "pious slaughterer" may be more than a rote gloss on Išum's name; Išum is praised for his abilities as a warrior in both the introduction and the conclusion (see *Erra Song* V:40).

Erra Incites His Entourage to Battle (I:6–14)

Having been aroused by Išum's weapons, Erra exhorts his entourage to prepare for battle:

I:6 *irrissū-ma libbašu epēš tāḫāzi*
I:6 His heart wishes for him to do battle;

I:7 *ītammi/ītammâ ana kakkīšu litpatā imat mūti*
I:7 He says to his weapons, "Smear yourselves with deadly poison!"

I:8 *ana Ilānī Sebetti qarrād lā šanān nandiqā kakkīkun*
I:8 To the Divine Heptad, the warriors without rival, "Gird on your weapons!"

I:9 *iqabbī-ma ana kâša luṣī-ma ana ṣēri*
I:9 He says to you, "Let me go out to the battlefield!

I:10 *atta dipārum-ma inaṭṭalū nūrka*
I:10 "You are the torch; they see your light.

I:11 *atta ālik maḫrim-ma ilānū* . . . . . .
I:11 "You are the vanguard; the gods . . .

I:12 *atta namṣārum-ma ṭābiḫ*[*u*] . . . . . .
I:12 "You are the sword and the slaughter[er] . . .

I:13 *Erra tebē-ma ina sapān māti*
I:13 "Erra, arise, and in crushing the land,

I:14 *kī namrat kabtatka* (*u*) *ḫadû libbuk*
I:14 "How bright will be your mood, how joyful your heart!"

This passage raises a number of thorny questions, hinging on the identity of the speaker and interlocutor but informing Erra's and Išum's characterizations generally. The major theories for interpreting it will be examined in turn.

One thought-provoking reading holds that Išum speaks throughout the passage. In the flow of the text, the second-person pronoun "you" (*kâša*), uttered by the poet in I:9, is seemingly resumed by "you" in the direct speech of I:10–12, and again by Erra's name in I:13; Erra should therefore be the recipient of this second-person address. And since the weapons (I:7), the Divine

Heptad (I:8), and Erra (I:13) are all explicitly invoked and Išum is the only other character who has been introduced, he therefore makes a logical candidate for speaker, apparently referred to by the poet in the third person: Erra is "you"; Išum is "he."[40] It is thus Išum who incites a reluctant Erra to battle. This interpretation seemingly finds confirmation in the fact that in the following passage (I:15–20) Erra cannot muster the energy for battle but requests of his entourage that they stay put—in other words, the opposite of what the speaker of this passage urges.[41]

In this reading, the epithets traditionally associated with Išum are applied to Erra,[42] but this poses no insuperable problems: as we have noted, epithets are not ordinarily exclusive. The term *dipāru* in I:10 is sometimes assumed to apply to Išum because of his putative association with fire[43] and his role, as Engidudu, creating light for night wayfarers as in I:22.[44] However, no other references to Išum as "torch" are known,[45] and the term is applied elsewhere to other gods.[46] The addressee's designation *namṣāru*, "sword," two verses later, is at least as equivocal, since it could be argued to be a more apt designation for Erra, the "warrior of the gods" (*qarrād ilānī*).[47] Regarding the third epithet, *ālik maḫrim-ma* or "vanguard" (I:11), a strong case can be made that it has a special association with Išum, to whom the term is applied on at least ten other occasions in this

[40] For advocates of this reading see Falkenstein, "Zur ersten Tafel," 201; Hruška, "Einige Überlegungen," 5; Machinist, "Rest and Violence," 223; and Farber, "Die einleitende Episode," 266.

[41] For this argument see Machinist, "Rest and Violence," 223.

[42] As observed by Hruška ("Einige Überlegungen," 5) and Machinist ("Rest and Violence," 223).

[43] As argued in Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 142 and in George, "Poem of Erra and Ishum," 49. On Išum's alleged relationship to fire see further chapter 4, "I. The Meaning and Spelling of Išum's Name."

[44] As argued in Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 142.

[45] See appendix B for the attestations of Išum's name that I have been able to collect.

[46] *CAD* cites passages in which Marduk and Ištar are so designated (s.v. "dipāru").

[47] As he is designated in *Erra Song* I:5, I:40, and I:130. Išum, however, has his own relationship to violence; see further below.

text.[48] Yet even here, in this text, the term also appears at least once in reference to Erra.[49] What is more, with the possible exception of this passage, Išum is always called "my vanguard," "his vanguard," or "vanguard of the gods"; thus, this formulation does not quite fit the pattern.[50] The epithets here are suggestive, but not conclusive, and there is no compelling reason they might not apply to Erra.

If one adopts this reading, Išum plays a perhaps unexpected role in the poem that is worth examining in more detail: not only does he, an otherwise generally pacific influence on Erra, attempt to rouse the latter for combat, but he assumes the authority to command Erra's other cohorts.[51] Išum certainly does not display the subservient tendencies of other viziers in the Mesopotamian pantheon,[52] and we have already seen that the flashing of his axes stimulates Erra to action; it is not unreasonable to suppose that if he can calm Erra down he equally possesses the converse ability, to stir him up.[53] But his assuming power over the Divine Heptad strikes me as less plausible in light of the fact that Anu bequeaths these semi-demonic creatures to Erra specifically,[54]

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[48] See *Erra Song* I:99, I:105, I:108, II:121 (partially reconstructed), IIIc:27, IIIc:39, IIIc:54, IV:137, V:13, and V:47.

[49] See *Erra Song* IV:15.

[50] It does come intriguingly close, however: the word "gods" (DINGIR.MEŠ) appears immediately following, but the enclitic *-ma* prevents us from reading a construct chain.

[51] Elsewhere in the text Išum does not command the other members of Erra's entourage, although he does—at the behest of Erra—lead the Divine Heptad into battle; see *Erra Song* IV:139–140. Hruška notes the oddity of Išum's purported behavior here and suggests, without explaining further, that in the poem's opening passage Išum is Erra's overlord; he only becomes his adviser as the poem progresses ("Einige Überlegungen," 5).

[52] See ibid. Notice for example how regularly Išum objects to Erra's behavior: see *Erra Song* I:100–103, probably IIIc:3–10, IIIc:28–37, probably IIIc:57–72, and, more equivocally, IV:1–127.

[53] It is, I believe, a mistake to suppose Išum's personality is unwaveringly irenic: he is portrayed in omens in terms that echo those of his master; for examples of Išum "devouring," see *Enūma Anu Enlil* LXXV:3, LXXV:4–5, and LXXXIV:3 (for an edition see Virolleaud, *ACh SS*). Chapter 4, "IV. Išum's Relationship to Nergal," examines this issue further.

[54] See *Erra Song* I:40.

and it is Erra, not Išum, whom they petition to lead them into combat.[55] Išum's power over Erra and his circle is otherwise soft: he pleads and flatters rather than issuing orders.[56]

Much more problematic to this reading of the passage is its construal of the pronouns. Within the passage itself, this interpretation is consistent and compelling, but in its larger context its assumptions run aground. We have seen that in I:5 Erra is referred to in the third person, where the clause directly addressing Išum in I:4 continues. If the names "Ḫendursag" in I:2 and "Išum" in I:4, with their accompanying epithets, are not vocatives, the clauses in which they are embedded are sentence fragments that have not been integrated syntactically into the passage, and their significance is opaque.[57] Thus the opening five verses treat Išum as a second-person addressee and Erra as a third-person referent. It is difficult to understand how this situation could have reversed itself unannounced.[58]

A second ingenious theory accepts that the situation established in the opening verses, whereby Išum is addressed in the second person and Erra is referenced in the third person, continues to prevail, but proposes it is Erra's heart that utters the direct speech in verses I:7–14: after all, the heart is the most immediate masculine singular antecedent.[59] Erra's heart thus addresses first his weapons (I:7), then the Divine Heptad (I:8), then Išum I:9–12), and finally Erra himself (I:13–14), encouraging him to go to war, although the following verses reveal that Erra is

[55] See *Erra Song* I:46–91.

[56] See especially *Erra Song* I:100–103, IIIc:34–37, IIId:2–15, IV:104–113, and V:16–20.

[57] This is also the case with Engidudu in *Erra Song* I:21–22.

[58] Farber has developed a theory to account for this problem: he reconstructs Erra's name in *Erra Song* I:1 behind the phrase *šar gimir dadmī*, suggesting it is Erra the hymnic invocation praises where Išum is simply introduced in an elaborate *casus pendens* in the following verses ("Die einleitende Episode," 265). But even if we accept these assumptions, the passage proceeds quite awkwardly: Išum is lavished with epithets although he is not the subject of the hymn, where Erra, the nominal addressee, appears frequently in the third person (i.e., "Erra" in I:5 and I:15; see Farber's translation, ibid., 263–264).

[59] See Müller, "Ischum und Erra," 783; "Wer Spricht?" 351. This theory has also been adopted by George, "Poem of Erra and Ishum," 49–51.

too exhausted to pay heed to his heart.[60] This solves some issues while raising others. It is unclear why Erra and his heart would be at odds, or what has led his heart to prompt him to undertake a campaign where he himself is enervated.[61] More concerning is the realization that the heart then refers to itself in the third person in I:14 ("How bright will be your mood, how joyful your heart!"), where the parallelism in the verse employs "heart" as an undeniable synonym for "mood" (*kabtatu*) earlier in the verse, with no indication that the heart, unlike the mood, is here poetically construed as an independent agent (let alone the speaker of the verse). The Akkadian term *libbu* is semantically diffuse enough to encompass the meanings "womb"[62] and "inclination";[63] characters certainly address their "hearts,"[64] but they can also speak *in* their hearts,[65] where "heart" must simply correspond roughly to a reflexive pronoun. I am aware of no passage in Akkadian in which an individual is addressed by his or her heart, let alone in which an individual's heart addresses others (here Erra's weapons, the Divine Heptad, and Išum) separately from the individual—nor is it clear to me how this would be understood to take place logistically. Given these conventions governing the use of the term, it is likely a native speaker would have excluded "heart" as a possible subject of the verbs of speaking in I:7 and I:9, and this proposal must therefore be rejected.

[60] This reading thus accounts for the potential inconsistency Machinist points to ("Rest and Violence," 223), that when Erra addresses his train in *Erra Song* I:16–18 his attitude is the opposite of that of the speaker of verses I:7–14: Erra and his heart are not in agreement.

[61] It appears from other passages that the heart is typically in harmony with—and reveals—the wishes of the individual, as in *Erra Song* V:7: "I became angry enough in my heart to crush the people" (*libbī āgug-ma nišī asappan*).

[62] See *Erra Song* IV:89.

[63] See *Erra Song* I:122.

[64] See *Erra Song* I:16, perhaps IIIc:29, IIId:15, IV:113, IIId:15 (copy Z), and IV:114.

[65] See *Erra Song* IIId:15 (copies O, W, and EE).

Other theories have been advanced to account for the direct address to Erra in I:13–14 while maintaining the use of pronouns established by I:1–5.[66] One suggestion holds that the poet addresses Erra directly in these verses, calling on him to lay waste the land.[67] However, it is unclear why the poet would be motivated to arouse Erra for battle.[68] Furthermore, it is difficult to understand why, midway through a hymnic invocation praising Išum, the poet would call abruptly on Erra—not to laud him in a manner paralleling the terms used of his vizier, which would integrate Erra's address into the fabric of the hymn, but to incite him to battle. Under this interpretation we are reading a hymn dedicated to two separate divinities, but addressing them in entirely unrelated manners: Išum is heaped with names and titles where Erra is encouraged to attack the land. And the alternation in addressee is difficult to account for: when the poet returns to a second-person pronoun in I:19, the invocation does not resume the address to Erra in I:13–14, the last-named addressee, but once again directs itself toward Išum/Engidudu (as the following verses reveal). Both the content and the style thus border on the incoherent.

A similar theory postulates that Išum addresses these verses to Erra: Erra encourages Išum to participate in a campaign in I:9–12 and Išum responds (perhaps out of obedience)[69] by echoing Erra's sentiment and inspiring his overlord in return.[70] However, a fatal flaw dooms this reading too to implausibility. Of forty-three direct quotations in the extant poem, thirty-nine are clearly

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[66] That is, that Erra is seemingly referred to in the third person and Išum is addressed directly.

[67] Without endorsing it, Cagni puts this suggestion forward (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 144), and Edzard finds it convincing ("Irra (Erra)-Epos," 166); Dalley argues something similar, that these verses "read like the exclamation of a chorus, tinged with sarcasm" (*Myths from Mesopotamia*, 313).

[68] It is perhaps possible the poet shares the concerns expressed by the Divine Heptad, that the proliferation of wild animals is threatening both farming and herding (see *Erra Song* I:83–86; on the interpretation of *būl Šakkan* see appendix A n. 54). But this is far from clear from the passage under discussion, in which the speaker incites Erra to "crush" (*sapān*) "the land" (*māti*) simply for his own enjoyment.

[69] This is how Cagni makes sense of this suggestion in light of the fact that Išum otherwise tends to restrain Erra (*Poem of Erra*, 27).

[70] Labat favors this reading (*Les religions du Proche-Orient*, 117), while Cagni leaves the issue open (see *L'Epopea di Erra*, 144; *Poem of Erra*, 27).

demarcated by introductory formulae,[71] typically indicating both speaker and addressee.[72] All four counterexamples include contextual information that makes the speaker, the interlocutor, and the nature of the quote unmistakable.[73] The end of a quotation is not invariably signaled clearly in this text,[74] but the beginning certainly is. It is thus difficult to accept that a new speaker has materialized entirely unannounced in I:13.

A final proposal suggests that Erra delivers not only verses I:7–12, but I:13–14 as well: he addresses himself.[75] Self-address is not uncommon in this text; just two verses later Erra addresses himself explicitly.[76] It is true that nowhere else in this text do characters address themselves by name, and it is also the case that nowhere else is a shift in addressee signaled simply by stating the

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[71] For examples of introductions to speeches in the rest of the text (excluding the hymnic introduction in *Erra Song* I:1–22) see the following verses: I:31, I:33, I:34, I:35, I:36, I:37, I:46, I:94, I:101, I:104–105, I:126, I:129–130, I:165, I:170, I:181, II:30, II:61, II:102–103, II:116–117, II:125, IIIc:11, IIIc:29, IIIc:34–35, IIIc:38–39, IIIc:57, IIId:2, IV:45, IV:65, IV:88, IV:95, IV:99, IV:113, IV:114, IV:130, IV:137, V:4, V:16–17, V:24–25, and V:49.

[72] For example, "The king of the gods opened his mouth to speak; / To Erra, the warrior of the gods, he uttered a speech" (*īpuš-ma pāšu šar ilānī ītammi/ītammâ / ana Erra qarrād ilānī amāt izzakkar*; *Erra Song* I:129–130). Seven exceptions to this rule are known to me, cases in which no addressee is named (II:30, II:61, IV:65, IV:95, IV:99, IV:130, and V:49), and in at least the final four cases, the speeches are general pronouncements that have no specific addressee (this may also be the case with respect to the examples from the second tablet; the context is fragmentary).

[73] In *Erra Song* I:38 Anu has just issued instructions to the first six of the Divine Heptad, so another verb of direct speech is hardly necessary since the pattern is clear: "As for the seventh, he loaded him up with dragon venom: 'Lay low living things!' " (*sebâ imat bašmi iṣēššū-ma šumqita napišta*). Similarly, as Anu bequeaths them to Erra in the next two verses, the verb indicating speech has been omitted but speaker and interlocutor are still both named: "After Anu had assigned the fates of all of the Divine Heptad, / He gave them to Erra, the warrior of the gods: 'Let them accompany you' " (*ultu šīmat Ilānī Sebetti napḫaršunu išīmu Anum / iddiššunūtī-ma ana Erra qarrād ilānī lillikū idāka*; I:39–40). In the third counterexample, the verb can be construed as marking direct speech (although it has other functions): "He incited the commander of the troops to evil" (*ālik pān ummāni ušaḫḫaza lemuttu*; IV:25). In the final example, Marduk's woes over Babylon are not introduced by the verse immediately preceding them but a few verses earlier, in IV:37: "An irreversible curse took shape in his mouth" (*arrat lā napšuri iššakin ina pīšu*). Additionally, the "woe" introducing each verse of the passage resumes the "woe" Marduk pronounces in IV:36, leaving little doubt as to who is speaking.

[74] A problem that will be explored below. (Several of the ends of direct quotations are marked by the report that another character has heard the speech; see *Erra Song* I:92–93, I:100, I:164, I:169, I:180, I:191–192, II:68, II:73, IIIc:28, IV:128–129, and V:21.)

[75] Cagni raises this tentatively as a possibility without advocating it (see *L'Epopea di Erra*, 144; *Poem of Erra*, 27). Wilcke accepts it as plausible ("Anfänge der akkadischen Epen," 194).

[76] That is, he addresses his "heart"; see *Erra Song* I:16. For other examples of self-address, see IIIc:29–33, IIId:15, IV:113, and IV:114–127. In this last example, Išum quotes to Erra what Erra has said to himself!

name in the vocative. But given the text as it stands,[77] this interpretation produces the smoothest reading: the masculine singular "you" consistently refers back to Išum throughout the entire hymnic prologue, where Erra, mentioned in the third person in I:5 and thus the most promising candidate for antecedent of the string of masculine singular verb forms that follows, delivers the entire series of statements between I:7 and I:14. There are no unmarked switches in speaker, and the use of Erra's name in I:13 would seem here to signal the switch in addressee. Furthermore, the same interlocutors are addressed in the almost antiphonal response that follows: here Erra addresses first his weapons, then the Divine Heptad, then Išum, and then himself; in the following passage (I:16–18) he addresses himself, his weapons, and the Divine Heptad, after which the poet takes up the address to Išum again (I:19–22), artfully bridging this section of text indicating Erra's state and the hymnic invocation by calling on the final member of his entourage while simultaneously returning to the style of address of the opening verses.

In this passage, then, Erra is spurring himself and his entourage to action.[78] A number of characteristics of the speech point to Erra's being the most probable speaker. The weapons likely belong to Erra, as nominal lord over this circle and "warrior of the gods" (*qarrād ilānī*); if they are not Erra's, the parallel verse in the counter-passage that follows loses its force, since it is not the same weapons being addressed.[79] It is Erra who is in command of the Divine Heptad, as expected.[80] Išum is the "vanguard" (*ālik maḫrim*) and the "torch" (*dipāru*).[81] Erra's injunction to Išum—"Let me go out to the battlefield" (*luṣī-ma ana ṣēri*; I:9)—is consonant with other requests Erra makes of Išum, especially "Blaze a trail so I can undertake a campaign!" (*ṭūda pitī-ma luṣbat*(*a*) *ḫarrāni*; I:96,

[77] The possibility of textual corruption is explored below.

[78] The relationship between this passage and what follows, in which Erra encourages his train to remain where they are, will be explicated shortly.

[79] See *Erra Song* I:17.

[80] On which see above.

[81] On which see above.

II:126, and IIIc:24). Finally, Išum does not command Erra, here or elsewhere in the poem.[82] On present evidence, this reading accounts best for both the passage's local and global contexts.

Erra Is Too Lethargic for Combat (I:15–18)

In the "antiphon" that follows, however, Erra shows himself too exhausted for battle:

I:15 *Erra kī ša amēli dalpi idāšu an*[*ḫā*]
I:15 But Erra's arms are tir[ed], like those of a sleepless man.

I:16 *iqabbi ana libbīšu lutbe luṣlal-ma*
I:16 He says to himself, "Should I get up or should I sleep?"

I:17 *ītammâ ana kakkīšu ummidā tubqāti*
I:17 He says to his weapons, "Hide in the corners!"

I:18 *ana Ilānī Sebetti qarrād lā šanān ana šubtīkunu tūrā-ma*
I:18 To the Divine Heptad, the warriors without rival, "Return to your dwelling!"

Farber reads both the earlier series of commands (*Erra Song* I:7–14) and this set of statements as Išum's utterances,[83] but it must be rejected as incomprehensible that "he" in I:16 could refer back to Išum when the poet has just made a declarative statement about Erra in I:15. In contrast, Foster believes the direct quotation begun in I:9 continues all the way to verse I:20;[84] this, too, seems implausible: Erra is addressed in the imperative mood in I:13 and with second-person pronominal suffixes in I:14, signaling direct address, but using a third-person suffix in I:15. The address to Erra has thus clearly ended. This passage is relatively straightforward, and a majority view prevails about speaker and interlocutor, if not about its larger significance to the content of the poem: Erra expresses his ambivalence to himself (I:16) and then commands his weapons and the Divine Heptad to stay put (I:17–18).

[82] The Divine Heptad, in contrast, do: see *Erra Song* I:60–61 and I:81.

[83] Farber, "Die einleitende Episode," 266.

[84] Foster, *Before the Muses*, 881–882.

What evidence is there that Erra makes both of these conflicting speeches (in *Erra Song* I:7–14 and I:16–18), and why would he, having just attempted to arouse his entourage for battle, turn around and ask them to stand down? Regarding the first question, the opposing injunctives in I:16—"Should I get up or should I sleep?" (*lutbe luṣlal-ma*)—provide the semantic bridge between the two sets of commands and give voice to Erra's conflicting impulses; in fact, if the previous passage (I:6–14) is not assigned to Erra, his discordant inclinations in this verse are difficult to comprehend. As for the second question, the statements about Išum that bookend these two passages provide the key. When Išum flashes his weapons, as in I:5, Erra comes to life and readies his train for battle. But until Išum rouses him, as in I:19, Erra's default position is one of dormancy. Once awakened to battle frenzy, he is difficult to rein in, but in the absence of outside stimulation, Erra remains inert.

Erra Sleeps Until Engidudu Wakes Him (I:19–22)

The conclusion to the hymnic prologue brings us back to the learned invocation of Išum through his Sumerian titles, furnished with Akkadian glosses:[85]

I:19 *adi atta tadekkûšu ṣalil uršuššu*
I:19 Until you wake him, he will sleep in his bedroom,

I:20 *itti Mammi ḫīratuš ippušu/ippuša ulṣam-ma*
I:20 With Mammi, his wife, he will enjoy himself,

I:21 *Engidudu bēlu muttallik mūši muttarrû rubê*
I:21 O Engidudu, lord who goes about by night, leader of princes,

I:22 *ša eṭla u ardatu* (*ina šu*[*l*]*m*[*u*]) *ittanarrû unammaru/unammiru kīma ūmi*
I:22 Who guides the young man and the young woman (in sa[f]et[y]), making it as bright as daylight!

[85] Paralleling *Erra Song* I:2–3 and I:4, in which the names "Ḫendursag" and "Išum" are glossed by Akkadian phrases, "Engidudu" is here introduced with similar Akkadian wordplay in his epithets; see further appendix A nn. 21–22.

Although the first Akkadian gloss on Engidudu's name in I:21—*muttallik mūši*, "he who goes about by night,"—is used in reference to Nergal elsewhere,[86] the name Engidudu seems here to be an appellation for Išum:[87] not only do the latter's other known epithets include *muttalliku*, "he who roams,"[88] but Išum/Ḫendursag is elsewhere associated with the night.[89] Additionally, since Išum is addressed in the vocative at the beginning of the hymn, the text coheres better if he is also the figure praised at the hymn's conclusion;[90] as in the opening passage, Išum must here be addressed directly, or the phrase regarding him is a sentence fragment. Išum is thus consistently addressed as "you" throughout the entire prologue, and "Engidudu" in I:21 must refer back to the "you" of I:19.

In *Erra Song* I:20 we encounter Mammi, a name for Erra's consort known as such from at least the Ur III period.[91] But which character is it who enjoys spending time with her? Farber has recently proposed it is not Erra himself, as traditionally read, but Išum's wife—*ḫīratuš*—who is the

[86] See Rawlinson, IV R^2, 24 (#1), line 43.

[87] As first argued by Frankena, "Untersuchungen zum Irra-Epos," 5.

[88] See *The Divine Address Book* (*Götteraddressbuch*) ii:8 (for an edition see Frankena, *Tākultu*, 5–9). See also *The Diagnostic Handbook* (SA.GIG) XXXIII:76 for another less clear example of Išum's association with this term; for an edition of this text see von Weiher, *SpTU* 4, 81–88; Heeßel, *Babylonisch-assyrische Diagnostik*, 353–374.

[89] See for example *Compendium of Incantations* §10 line 40 (for an edition see Schramm, *Compendium sumerisch-akkadischer Beschwörungen*, 62–65); *The Ḫendursag Hymn* lines 10 and 43 (for an edition see Edzard and Wilcke, "Die Ḫendursanga-Hymne"; Attinger and Krebernik, "L'Hymne à Ḫendursaĝ"; line numbers follow the latter edition); Incipit of a Hymn to Ḫendursag ("Ḫendursag, Young Man Who Goes about in the Night") (Ḫendur-saĝ šùl ĝi$_6$-a du-du)—and notice here too the relationship between ĝi$_6$, *mūšu*, and du-du, *atalluku* (for an edition see Hallo, "Another Sumerian Literary Catalogue?"); and *Utukkū Lemnūtu* XIII–XV:92 (for an edition see Geller, *Evil Demons*).

[90] As interpreted here, the hymnic prologue ends with *Erra Song* I:22; the *ša* introducing the Divine Heptad in the next verse marks a definitive break (for more on the use of *ša* to indicate topicalization, see below). Others have argued, in contrast, that the hymnic invocation continues through verse I:27, an imperative directed at Išum (see Wilcke, "Anfänge der akkadischen Epen," 199; Bottéro's translation also implies this view—see "Le poème d'Erra," 228). This seems unlikely: the Divine Heptad are not addressed directly in I:23, as evidenced by *ša*, and they represent a new topic that continues in a narrative (i.e., non-hymnic) mode for the next seventy-one verses (to I:93). It is also useful to observe that this hymn praises Išum with epithets and titles; nowhere does it command him. The form *edil* in I:27 is rather to be parsed as a predicative verbal adjective: *Išum daltum-ma edil pānuššu*(*n*), "Išum is a door and is bolted in front of them."

[91] On the early evidence for the relationship between Erra and Mammi see appendix A n. 20.

subject of the verb *ippušu*/*ippuša*.[92] Though admirable in its attention to detail,[93] this proposal must be rejected unless the significance of Išum's and Erra's wives enjoying themselves together can be plausibly accounted for in this context. Until Išum rouses him, Erra will remain firmly planted in the domestic sphere; the mention of Mammi here would seem to underscore his being in a domestic rather than a military environment.[94]

One final question about this passage merits our attention. In the view of some, the poet's motivation for calling on Išum in this manner is to convince him to spur Erra to action:[95] the tone of the passage is thus one of lament that Erra is relaxing in conjugal bliss because Išum has failed to set him in motion. It is my conviction, in contrast, that the tone should be read in exactly the opposite manner: Išum is praised specifically for keeping Erra under control.[96]

Temporal Sequence of the Hymnic Prologue

Excluding injunctives, all of which occur in direct speech,[97] of the eleven finite verbal forms in the opening passage, all eleven are either unequivocally durative[98] or may be construed as

[92] Farber, "Die einleitende Episode," 267.

[93] Farber bases his reading on the contention that *ḫīratuš* can only be a morphological nominative or accusative, and so cannot be in apposition to *Mammi* in the phrase *itti Mammi* (ibid.). Observe, however, nominative forms that appear for expected genitives elsewhere in this text, as in *nāš ḫaṭṭu ṣīrti* in *Erra Song* I:3, where not only does the noun appear in the "wrong" case, but it does not even appear in the same case as the adjective with which it belongs.

[94] Notice this reinforces the gendered binary presented later by the Divine Heptad, between the sedentary feminine life of the city and the active masculine life of the battlefield (*Erra Song* I:47–59, especially I:49); the mention of Erra's wife, one of the few female characters to appear in the poem, reinforces Erra's participation in the former sphere on this occasion.

[95] See Frankena, "Untersuchungen zum Irra-Epos," 6; Edzard, "Irra (Erra)-Epos," 166.

[96] Wilcke is likewise suspicious of the claim that Išum is being challenged to act here by the poet ("Anfänge der akkadischen Epen," 194).

[97] See *Erra Song* I:7, I:8, I:9, I:13, I:16, I:17, and I:18.

[98] Durative forms include *i-qab-bi-ma* in *Erra Song* I:9; *i-na-aṭ-ṭa-lu* in I:10 (because it occurs in direct speech, however, this verb is less relevant to the discussion); *i-qab-bi* in I:16; *ta-de-ek-ku-šú* in I:19; *ip-pu-šú*/*šá* in I:20; <*it*>*-ta-nar-ru-ú* or *it-ta-na*-[*ar*]*-ru-u* in I:22; and *ú-nam-ma*/*mì-ru* in I:22.

durative.[99] It seems justified, therefore, to read the opening passage as a series of duratives, describing not a discrete succession of events but a general situation.

In contrast, the recounting of the narrative itself occurs almost entirely in the preterite and perfect.[100] I believe the key to making sense of the prologue within the larger context of the poem is the recognition that this passage is not, strictly speaking, part of the episode that unfolds in the bulk of the text that follows and certainly does not describe what occurs at its beginning; the narrative proper only commences in I:46.[101] Rather, as in *Anzû*, the hymnic introduction to the poem proleptically anticipates its conclusion.[102] In other words this passage, a hymn to Išum, describes the stasis situation that prevails after the events in the poem have already transpired: Erra will rest peacefully at home until and unless Išum rouses him.[103] Erra is not exhausted from previous combat, as suggested by Cagni;[104] if anything, he is exhausted from *this* combat.

Conclusions: Assumptions

In my construction of this reading, a number of assumptions have guided my interpretation while others have been dismissed as apparently inapplicable. For reference, the major assumptions

[99] The form *i-nu-šú* in *Erra Song* I:5 may be preterite *inūšu* or durative *inuššu*; *i-ris-su-ma*, *e-ri-su-ma*, or *i-ri-iš-su-ma* in I:6 may be preterite *īrissū-ma* or durative *irrissū-ma*; *i-ta-mi*/*ma*/*mì* in I:7 may be preterite *ītami*/*ītamâ* or durative *ītammi*/*ītammâ*; and *i-ta*-(*a*)-*ma* in I:17 may be preterite *ītamâ* or durative *ītammâ*.

[100] See, e.g., *Erra Song* I:125: *īrum-ma ittaziz*; II:1–2: *itbē-ma . . . ištakan*; IIIc:29: *irtaši iqt*[*abi*]; IV:142: *iššī-ma . . . ītabat*; V:1: *inūḫu irmû*. Examples of this sort could be multiplied. Outside of direct speech, durative forms are very rare in this text.

[101] The passage following the hymnic invocation to Išum in *Erra Song* I:1–22—the recounting of the origins and commissioning of the Divine Heptad in I:23–45—would seem to take place in primordial time, not within the frame of this narrative; for more on this see chapter 5 n. 75.

[102] The Standard Babylonian recension of *Anzû* includes the following verse, in reference to Ninurta, in its opening passage: "The one who conquered flying Anzû with his weapon" ([*k*]*āšid mupparša anzâ ina kakkīšu*; I:11); the resolution to the narrative tension is thus revealed already in the prologue.

[103] See *Erra Song* V:1; compare I:19–20.

[104] See Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 133.

evaluated here include the following (for more information on why particular assumptions have been accepted or rejected, refer to the appropriate sections above):

	Applicable	**Inapplicable**
Neither Išum nor Erra qualifies for the title "king of all of the inhabited world."		✓
The ancient title "Erra Series" indicates Erra is praised in the opening verse.		✓
Ḫendursag is another name for Išum.	✓	
The epithet "heir of Enlil" (*apil Ellil*) is applied consistently to the same individual.		✓
Išum is not Enlil's heir.		✓
The titles in verse I:2 are in apposition to those in I:1.	✓	
There are no caesurae.	✓	
The phrase "quakes in his seat" (*inuššu ina šubti*) coheres as a unit.	✓	
Third-person pronouns refer back to characters in their immediate context.	✓	
"He" and "his" within a single verse likely share an antecedent.	✓	
Though a character may converse with his heart, his heart does not deliver speeches.	✓	
Erra commands the weapons.	✓	
Erra commands the Divine Heptad.	✓	
The second-person forms refer to the same individual throughout the hymnic prologue.	✓	
The second-person forms refer to a masculine singular character (as indicated by the morphology).	✓	
The second-person forms refer to the dedicatee of the hymn.	✓	
Išum is the torch.[105]	✓	
Išum is the vanguard.[106]	✓	
Shifts in speaker and addressee are marked.	✓	
Characters do not address themselves by name.		✓
Erra does not change his attitude instantaneously.		✓
Mammi is Erra's spouse.	✓	
The form *ḫīratuš* cannot be genitive.		✓
Engidudu is a name for Išum.	✓	

[105] As discussed above, this need not be the case, although it happens to be.

[106] Again, this assumption is not definitive—merely likely.

Išum is nonviolent and is consistently a restraining influence on Erra.		✓
Erra is consistently combative.		✓

Excursus—The Possibility of Textual Corruption

Finally, the possibility that the degree of ambiguity in the opening passage indicates textual corruption will be explored briefly and dismissed.[107]

Although the hymnic prologue's constellation of names and pronouns and the alternation between the poet's own direct speech and that of the characters reads somewhat rockily, no simple emendation resolves the issues. One promising adjustment to the text would be to switch the pronouns in I:9: "You [Išum] say to him [Erra], 'Let me go out to the battlefield!' " (*taqabbī-ma ana šâšu luṣī-ma ana ṣēri*).[108] The transition between I:12 and I:13 is now smooth—Erra is addressed throughout—but at some cost to the coherence: now both Erra (I:6–8) and Išum (I:9–14) express interest in battle, although they address it to different characters, after which Erra becomes ambivalent and prefers to sleep (I:15–20).

A more radical proposal would alter the pronouns in this entire segment of text:

I:6 *irrišk**ā**-ma libbak**a** epēš tāḫāzi*
I:6 Your heart wishes for you to do battle,

I:7 *tātammi/tātammâ ana kakkīk**a** litpatā imat mūti*
I:7 You say to your weapons, "Smear yourselves with deadly poison!"

I:8 *ana Ilānī Sebetti qarrād lā šanān nandiqā kakkīkun*
I:8 To the Divine Heptad, the warriors without rival, "Gird on your weapons!"

[107] Naturally, textual corruption is not uncommon; for an example of discrepancies that suggest corruption in this text see *Erra Song* I:146, for which copy A employs the first person but copy X employs the second person.

[108] Underlined words have been altered from the original.

I:9 *taqabbī-ma ana šâšu luṣī-ma ana ṣēri*
I:9 You [Išum] say to him [Erra], "Let me go out to the battlefield!"

Although the adjusted passage reads relatively smoothly, this solution is less elegant than the interpretation proposed above for the original text. No fewer than seven forms must be changed, and a number of outstanding problems persist. Not only is Išum issuing orders to the weapons and the Divine Heptad as nowhere else in the text, but now Išum is praised by the poet (in the opening and concluding passages of the prologue) seemingly for his ability to stir Erra up rather than calm him down (as evident from these verses),[109] and yet Erra is said to be lethargic in spite of Išum's efforts. For such a radical suite of changes the payoff in clarity is not high enough.

A final proposal for creating a more accessible reading would change Erra's name in I:13 to "Išum" so that Erra's address to his vizier continues into I:13–14. This reading adjusts very little in overall content[110] while making the speech in I:9–14 arguably less troublesome in terms of its flow. However, this reading, too, fails to return in clarity what it costs to posit an error, since it raises new questions. Everywhere else in the poem the verb *sapānu*, "to crush, to level, to devastate," appears to be used in reference to Erra,[111] yet here the term would be employed to incite Išum. And Erra demands that Išum "arise" (*tebē-ma*), a suspect imperative if Erra himself has arisen specifically at the flashing of Išum's weapons in I:5.

Certainly any number of other emendations could be proposed, but these three possibilities represent my best effort to massage the text into superior coherence, and, on present evidence, none of them can be considered preferable to the original.

[109] This would seem to contrast with the conclusion, where Išum's role in checking Erra is stressed and seemingly even lauded (see *Erra Song* V:13–15 and 41–42).

[110] It does however disrupt the echo effect of Erra's addressing himself again in *Erra Song* I:16.

[111] See *Erra Song* I:103, I:123, II:29, II:72, II:139, V:7, and V:41.

III. Nested Speeches

Other difficulties in interpreting the text on the level of speaker and referent are fortunately less vexed than those besetting our understanding of the prologue.[112] The next passage that requires untangling can be found in tablet IV, where the speeches within speeches and lack of clear signposts indicating closing quotation marks make the flow of the passage somewhat confused.

Schematically, my reading can be represented as follows, where indentations signify direct speech and multiple indentations signify speeches within speeches:

Narration: IIId:2
- Išum speaks to Erra: IIId:3–15a
  - Erra speaks to himself: IIId:15b
- Išum speaks to Erra: IV:1–16a
  - Imgur-Enlil speaks: 16b
- Išum speaks to Erra: 17–25
  - The governor speaks to the commander of the army: IV:26–30
- Išum speaks to Erra: IV:31–39
  - Marduk speaks: IV:40–44
- Išum speaks to Erra: IV:45
  - Marduk speaks: IV:46–49
- Išum speaks to Erra: IV:50–65
  - Ištarān speaks to Erra: IV:66–88
    - The governor (?) speaks to his mother: IV:89–94
  - Ištarān speaks: IV:95a
    - A citizen speaks: IV:95b–96
  - Ištarān speaks: IV:97–99a
    - A citizen speaks: IV:99b–101
  - Ištarān speaks: IV:102–103
- Išum speaks to Erra: IV:104–113a
  - Erra speaks to himself: IV:113b
- Išum speaks to Erra: IV:114
  - Erra speaks to himself: IV:115–127

Narration: IV:128–130
- Erra speaks: IV:131–136

[112] Naturally there are several instances of unclarity in tablets II and III, but these must be set aside until our copy of the text is more complete.

Narration: IV:137
Erra speaks to Išum: IV:138
Narration: IV:139–150

The frame speech begins already in the previous tablet with fragment IIId, where Išum addresses Erra.[113] Anchored by a repeat invocation of Erra's name in IV:1 and another in IV:19, Išum's speech proceeds without a hitch[114] through IV:25, at which point it is said that Babylon's governor "incited the commander of the troops to evil" (*ālik pān ummāni ušaḫḫaza lemuttu*). Although no formal hallmarks of direct speech appear here (e.g., an announcement that he "spoke as follows"), the context makes it clear that the following verses must represent the words whereby the governor incited the commander of the troops to evil: where Išum alternates between poetic descriptive passages that employ chiefly duratives and predicative verbal adjectives[115] and narration that, like the narration of the poet, consists largely of preterite and perfect forms,[116] the speech from IV:26–30 uses only duratives and imperatives. In context this must be the governor's commands. The return to Išum's narrative voice, and thus the end of the quote, is marked by the perfect verbs in IV:31.

Of Marduk's two speeches as reported by Išum, only the second is formally introduced,[117] perhaps to clarify that, in spite of the switch in styles, Marduk is still the speaker.[118] But the

[113] "Išum opened his mouth to speak to War[rior Erra]" (*Išum pāšu ēpuš-ma iqabbi ana qurā*[*du Erra*]; *Erra Song* IIId:2). It is clear from the catchline at the end of fragment IIId that it constitutes the very end of tablet III and continues straight into tablet IV (see copies Z and EE).

[114] Erra addresses himself briefly in IIId:15, but the statement is clearly demarcated.

[115] See Išum's hymn to Erra in *Erra Song* IIId:3–15 or his lyrical characterization of the cosmic discord in IV:7–11. (Since *edû* lacks a durative form it has been excluded from consideration.)

[116] See *Erra Song* IV:1–6 and IV:12–25.

[117] See *Erra Song* IV:45 (with the relevant note in appendix A).

[118] Although it may strike modern readers as odd, back-to-back speeches delivered by the same character are certainly not unknown: see also *Erra Song* IIIc:28–33 and IIIc:34–37, where Išum's soliloquy is followed by an

boundaries on these quotations pose no special problems: Marduk pronounces a "woe" in IV:36 that anticipates the "woe"s that open verses IV:40–44, and IV:37 shows Marduk speaking, although the quote does not begin immediately. When the second speech ends, the *ša* marking topicalization in IV:50[119] introduces a new topic, as confirmed by the mention of Sippar.

Following another interlude in which Išum recounts the fates of Sippar, Uruk, and Dūr-Kurigalzu[120] to Erra,[121] Ištarān takes up the accusations that begin in *Erra Song* IV:66. The phrase introducing Ištarān's utterance in IV:65 is peculiar: "Ištarān answered the speech:" (*Ištarān īpula qibīta*). One way to account for this unexpected phraseology would be to suppose that Ištarān is answering Išum's speech, and the address Išum began in IIId:3 has now come to an end.[122] Ištarān's speech would then continue all the way through IV:127. However, the verses that immediately follow in IV:128–129—"Warrior Erra heard him. / The speech that Išum had spoken (to him) was as pleasing to him as the best oil" (*išmēšū-ma qurādu Erra / amāt Išum iqbû*(*šu*) *kī ulû šamni elīšu iṭ*(*ṭ*)*īb*)—indicate it is Išum's frame speech that has just ended, which would seem to preclude this interpretation. Ištarān's speech must be embedded within Išum's.

Another solution is suggested by the only other attestation of *qibītu* with *apālu* in the extant poem: in *Erra Song* II:124, it is said that "In his (Erra's) heart he was too wroth to answer the speech" (*raʾum-ma libbuš*(*šu*) *ul ippala qibītu*). It seems likely that the phrase, here too, has weakened to mean not "answer a speech" specifically but merely "respond to the situation"

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address to Erra; IV:113 and IV:114–127, where Erra addresses himself twice in a row (as reported by Išum); and IV:130–136 and IV:137–138, where Erra makes a general pronouncement and then addresses Išum.

[119] For more on this use of *ša* see below.

[120] Here written Parsâ/Daksâ; on its identification see appendix A n. 416.

[121] *Erra Song* IV:50–63.

[122] Dalley reads this passage as if Išum's speech ends with *Erra Song* IV:64 and Išum begins a separate speech in IV:104 (*Myths from Mesopotamia*, 305–307). This cannot be accepted: as we have seen, the beginning of a direct quote is basically always marked in some way.

generally, since there is no obvious speech to which Erra might be responding.[123] The force of the phrase may have attenuated until it constituted a single lexeme, and *qibītu* was no longer understood in such contexts as a "speech" per se: "Ištarān responded" (to the situation as follows).

Where, then, does Ištarān's speech end? In some translations it is relatively short, continuing only through *Erra Song* IV:72,[124] IV:75,[125] or IV:86.[126] All of these options are attractive, especially for their implications for the larger context: in all of these readings Ištarān's speech is relatively contained, as befits a minor god governing a territory on the periphery of Babylonia, and Išum is Erra's primary interlocutor. Verse IV:73 marks a shift from Ištarān's statement in IV:70–72 that he will no longer be discharging his duties as guardian of his city,[127] using verbs in the durative, to a preterite narration of events, raising the possibility that Išum has ended his quote of Ištarān and resumed his own speech. But the apparently first-person declaration in IV:75—"I will mobilize the seven winds against one country" (*ušatbē-ma ana ištêt māti sebetti šārī*)[128]—must be deemed entirely out of character for Išum, who throughout this passage both accuses and flatters Erra but never expresses intentions to participate in the destabilizing rampage against Babylonia himself. This verse, then, must still belong to Ištarān, who has already confessed that he "will not deliver judgments of justice nor render verdicts" (*dīnī kītti ul adâni purussê ul aparras*; IV:71) and "will not give instruction nor enlightenment" (*ûrta ul anamdim-ma ul upatti uzni*; IV:72).

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[123] It appears that Išum speaks the foregoing passage (II:118–121; see II:116), but he does not seem to be addressing Erra directly, since he refers to him in the third person in II:119.

[124] See Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient*, 132; Bottéro, "Le poème d'Erra," 244.

[125] See Foster, *Before the Muses*, 905.

[126] See Cagni, *Poem of Erra*, 55 n. 137.

[127] Presumably because his cult statue has been taken as plunder by the Suteans—see *Erra Song* IV:69.

[128] Alternatively, the verb *ušatbī-ma* could be read as a third-person form, but this poses even more problems.

Verse IV:76 represents another stylistic shift, from declarative statements to a lyrical passage resembling a chain incantation. But this break does not strike me as sufficiently disjunctive to signal the end of Ištarān's speech; the verb form in IV:75, *ú-šat-bi*, understood by most translators as a preterite,[129] can be read more smoothly as an (Assyrian) durative (*ušatbe*):[130] every other first-person verb in Ištarān's speech, as construed here, is a durative statement of the speaker's intentions rather than a report on his past behaviors.[131] This verse thus hearkens back to I:71–72 while seamlessly introducing what follows. When this lyrical passage comes to an end in IV:86, Cagni argues that the shift to second person marks the end of Ištarān's speech.[132] This observation is, however, also unhelpful, since Ištarān has already addressed Erra in the second person in IV:66–69.

It appears that the use of Erra's name in IV:104 betokens a decisive break. Throughout the poem characters are generally only addressed by other characters at the beginning of the verse either to mark the opening of a direct address or to signify a change in topic;[133] it seems plausible this is the poet's way of signaling to the reader or listener that we have finally returned to Išum's address to Erra—the recapitulation, as it were, of the frame speech.

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[129] See Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 30; Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient*, 132; Bottéro, "Le poème d'Erra," 244; Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 306; and Foster, *Before the Muses*, 905.

[130] So Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 113; *Poem of Erra*, 54.

[131] See *Erra Song* IV:71, IV:72, IV:97, IV:98, IV:102, and IV:103.

[132] Cagni, *Poem of Erra*, 55 n. 137. Cagni also sees a resemblance between the passages IV:87–103 and IV:104–IV:127 (ibid.).

[133] Excluding the present verse as well as *Erra Song* I:13, a difficult passage discussed above, in seven of the thirteen extant examples for which the context is intact, a character is invoked by name or epithet at the beginning of an address (I:102, I:106, I:131, I:182, IIIc:58, IIId:3, and V:18); in the five other cases a clear change in topic is signaled (I:60, I:76, I:78, I:108, and IV:1). (Possible direct addresses in broken contexts include II:52, II:53, II:60, II:90, II:109, IIIc:54, and IIIc:66.)

Not only stylistic observations, but attention to content, too reinforces the notion that Ištarān's speech must continue through verse IV:103. The following verses have perplexed would-be translators attempting to determine who speaks what:

IV:88 [*ša*]*kin*[?] *āli ana ālittīšu iqabbi kiam*
IV:88 " 'The [gove]rnor (?) of the city will speak to his mother thus:

IV:89 *ina ūmu tulidīnni lū apparik ina libbī*[*ki*]
IV:89 " ' 'If only I had been obstructed in [your] womb on the day you bore me!

. . .'

IV:95 *ša māra uldu mārī-ma iqabbi*
IV:95 " 'Whoever begets a son and says, '(He is) my son!

IV:96 *anna urtabbī-ma utarra/utār gimilli*
IV:96 " ' 'Certainly when I have raised him, he will return the favor'—

IV:97 *māra ušmāt-ma abu iqabbiršu*
IV:97 " 'I will put the son to death and the father will have to bury him.

IV:98 *arka aba ušmāt-ma qēbira ul īši*
IV:98 " 'Afterwards I will put the father to death and he will have no one to bury him.

Išum seems an unlikely candidate for expressing this resolve to slaughter father and son alike, and nothing in the context allows us to suppose Erra speaks this segment.[134] If the governor's (?) speech introduced by IV:88 continues through the following passage, then it is this unnamed individual himself who intends to do away with hapless father and son.[135] This conclusion would allow us to suppose Ištarān's speech has already come to an end without reading Išum into the murderous fervor expressed here, but it shipwrecks on the phrase *ana ālittīšu*, "to his mother," in IV:88. It is

[134] I have argued elsewhere that speakers do not appear unannounced in this text; see above, nn. 71–73.

[135] So Cagni, *Poem of Erra*, 54. Müller adjusts this reading somewhat by construing *ušmāt* in *Erra Song* IV:97, IV:98, and IV:102 as third-person forms, accusations Ištarān quotes the city governor as having said about him ("Wer Spricht?" 358). This only leaves *anamdin*, an unequivocal first-person form in IV:103, stranded, and raises the question why the governor would quote Ištarān to his own mother.

clear why an aggrieved individual would address his mother regarding the day of his birth; it is less clear why he would disclose to her his plan to contribute to the general mayhem.

Ištarān is the only logical candidate left, and he is also the most plausible. Taken as a whole, this passage from *Erra Song* IV:66 to IV:103 incorporates echoes of both Išum's reproachful report of Erra's actions—e.g., "You annihilated height and lowland alike" (*mūlâ u mušpala kī aḫāmiš tagmur*; IV:87)—and Erra's own antagonistic proclivities—e.g., "Whoever [do]es not die in [warfa]re dies in the plague; / Whoever does not die in the plague, the enemy captures" (*ša ina* [*qab*]*lu lā* [*i*]*mtūtu imât ina šibṭi / ša ina šibṭi lā imtūtu išallalšu nakru*; IV:76–77)—and the two tones alternate.[136] What characters in the text adopt both Išum's dismay at the chaos and Erra's destructive posture? The answer is: Marduk and Ištar. Both have cause to express consternation at the disruption[137] and yet both of them participate in that discord by becoming hostile to their own cities in turn.[138] Since Ištarān finds himself in the same situation,[139] that he delivers all of these verses is entirely plausible. Ištarān both expresses his dismay at and retaliates for the deterioration of conditions in his city, while his entire speech is embedded in, and forms a part of, Išum's accusations against Erra.[140]

[136] *Erra Song* IV:66–69 is in an accusatory, reporting mode; IV:70–72 expresses the speaker's resolve to withhold right governance; IV:73–74 continues the report of violence; in IV:75–86 the speaker decrees further calamity for the victims of cosmic instability; IV:87–94 reports further on the distress; and IV:95–103 reveals the speaker's conviction to compound the distress.

[137] See *Erra Song* IV:1–49 and IV:52–62. In IV:40–44 Marduk actually expresses this dismay.

[138] See *Erra Song* IV:37–39, IV:45–49, and IV:61–62.

[139] That is, Erra's actions have caused disruption to life in his city too; see *Erra Song* IV:66–69.

[140] Thus interpreted, Ištarān's speech may run unexpectedly long, considering he is a relatively minor character and Marduk only delivers nine verses where Ištar delivers none. The most plausible explanation for this apparent imbalance is that historical events that affected Dēr particularly negatively lie behind this text.

Finally, the concluding stretch of Išum's speech, begun in IIId:3, poses no difficulties as Erra's speeches to himself are clearly demarcated,[141] as is the end of Išum's speech.[142]

IV. The Identity of the Warrior (IV:141)

One last issue of some import confronts us in tablet IV. After the narrative voice has resumed in IV:128 and Erra has made an almost incantatory general pronouncement regarding the triumph of the Akkadian,[143] the following passage appears:

IV:137 *qurādu Erra ana Išum ālik maḫrīšu amāti izzakkar*
IV:137 Warrior Erra uttered a speech to Išum, his vanguard:

IV:138 *alik*(*-ma*) *Išum amāt taqbû miṣi mala libbuk*
IV:138 "Go, Išum, fulfill what you have said according to your desire."

IV:139 *Išum ana Šaršar šadî ištakan pānīšu*
IV:139 Išum set his face toward Mount Šaršar.

IV:140 *Ilānū Sebettu qarrād lā šanān išappissu arkīšu*
IV:140 The Divine Heptad, the warriors without rival, were clasping him from behind.

IV:141 *ana Šaršar šadî iktašad qurādu*
IV:141 The warrior arrived at Mount Šaršar.

IV:142 *iššī-ma qāssu ītabat šadâ*
IV:142 He lifted his hand and destroyed the mountain.

The passage continues with a description of the destruction inflicted on the region by the "warrior" (*qurādu*).

In the opinion of most translators, the "warrior" in IV:141 must be Erra.[144] Indeed, Erra is referred to as a "warrior" (*qurādu*) on twenty-nine other occasions in the extant text,[145] and he is

[141] See *Erra Song* IV:113 and IV:114.

[142] See *Erra Song* IV:128–129.

[143] See *Erra Song* IV:131–136.

also the character accused elsewhere of creating havoc,[146] so the behavior manifest here fits his profile. Furthermore, at the end of the episode, it is Erra of whom it is said he "had rested and taken up residence" (*inūḫu irmû šubassu*; V:1). It is even possible that the passage enumerating the acts of savagery committed by the "warrior" employs the phrase "like Išum," suggesting the warrior is someone other than Išum.[147]

However, everything in the immediate context points to Išum's being the "warrior."[148] In *Erra Song* IV:140 it is said the Divine Heptad "were clasping him from behind" (*išappissu arkīšu*), and the last named masculine singular character—thus the logical antecedent for these two pronominal suffixes—is Išum, subject of the previous verse. If Erra is commanding the expedition personally, why would his semi-demonic accomplices be attached to his vanguard and not to him? Furthermore, there is a clear parallel between IV:139, "Išum set his face toward Mount Šaršar" (*Išum ana Šaršar šadî ištakan pānīšu*) and IV:141, "The warrior arrived at Mount Šaršar" (*ana Šaršar šadî iktašad qurādu*), where Išum and the warrior occupy the same syntactic and semantic space.

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[144] See Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 121; Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient*, 135; and Bottéro, "Le poème d'Erra," 246. Gössmann (*Era-Epos*, 32) and Dalley (*Myths from Mesopotamia*, 309) leave the issue ambiguous, and Foster translates "warriors" (*Before the Muses*, 908), implying the entire entourage is involved.

[145] Once as Nergal (*Erra Song* IIIc:31) and twenty-eight times as Erra (I:60, I:76, I:78, I:92, I:101 [partially reconstructed], I:124, I:131, I:149, I:164, I:170 [reconstructed], II:25 [partially reconstructed], II:37, IIIc:35, IIIc:57 [reconstructed], IIIc:58, IIIc:62 [partially reconstructed], IIId:2 [partially reconstructed], IIId:3 [partially reconstructed in copy Z], IV:1, IV:19, IV:104, IV:114, IV:128, IV:130, IV:137, V:17, V:18, and V:49).

[146] See especially *Erra Song* IV:1–35, IV:50–64, IV:66–69, and IV:104–127.

[147] See *Erra Song* IV:145. In only one of the two extant copies for this verse, copy RR, does a divine determinative appear before Išum's name. Translating Išum's name, Gössmann deems the verse "unverständlich" (56), but Cagni, observing that nowhere else in the text does "Išum" lack the divine determinative, privileges its spelling in copy P, reading *qīšum*, "thicket," for *kī Išum* (see *L'Epopea di Erra*, 244–245). Considering the dubiousness of this verse's reading, I exclude it as serious evidence that the warrior cannot be Išum. (For more on this verse see the relevant note in appendix A.)

[148] In his English edition Cagni, too—against his earlier conclusions (see *L'Epopea di Erra*, 243–244)—suggests the warrior is Išum, citing above all the fact that, in his reading, Erra also charges Išum with the restoration of Akkad's fortune in *Erra Song* V:26–39 (*Poem of Erra*, 57).

But the larger context supports Išum's identity as the warrior here as well. One motivation for reading Erra into this passage may be to preserve consistency in characterization throughout the poem: Erra is bellicose and retaliatory where Išum is irenic and benevolent. This global reading, however, strikes me as overly rigid. Regardless of whether the warrior in this passage is Išum or Erra, according to IV:138, Išum is explicitly involved in the undertaking, which takes place at his own recommendation; his involvement is thus simply a matter of degree. Elsewhere we see hints that Išum has a combative side as well: his weapons flash in I:5 and he is dubbed a "sword" (*namṣārum-ma*) in I:12. And when he is lauded in the poem's doxology—"Praise for years without number to the great Lord Nergal and Warrior Išum!" (*šanāt lā nībi tanittu bēli rabî Nergal* (*u*) *qurādu Išum*; V:40)—it is not Erra who receives the epithet "warrior," but Išum. No definitive case can be made that the term "warrior" applies only to Erra,[149] and, in fact, if Išum is not the warrior in this passage, it is difficult to understand why he would be praised as a warrior in the poem's conclusion, since nowhere else in the extant text is the term used to describe him.[150] It appears that here, too, we see an imbrication in their characteristics.

Excursus: What Words Has Išum Spoken? (IV:138)

The introduction to Išum's campaign raises other questions that have a bearing on the reading endorsed here and so will be addressed briefly. Erra invites Išum to fulfill "what you have said" (*amāt taqbû*) in *Erra Song* IV:138, implying Išum has just suggested annihilating the region of Mount Šaršar. Earlier it was insisted that Ištarān's speech run long in order to avoid putting hostile intentions such as the following into Išum's mouth: "I will mobilize the seven winds against one country" (*ušatbē-ma ana ištêt māti sebetti šārī*; IV:75); "I will put the son to death and the father will

[149] Of course, outside of this text a host of other deities receive the title *qurādu*: Ninurta, Enlil, Anšar, Tišpak, Šamaš, Ištar, Adad, Anu, Ningirsu, Gerra, and Ēa, at least; see *CAD*, s.v. "qurādu."

[150] Why is Išum finally praised specifically as a warrior? I believe the reason is that Išum's violence is put to constructive ends, devastating the homeland of Babylonia's enemies.

have to bury him" (*māra ušmāt-ma abu iqabbiršu*; IV:97).[151] Might such statements rather constitute Išum's plans for annihilation that were "as pleasing to him (Erra) as the best oil" (*kī ulû šamni elīšu iṭ(ṭ)īb*; IV:129), prompting him to invite Išum to "fulfill" them "according to your desire" (*miṣi mala libbuk*; IV:138)?

Several factors militate against this reading. Išum's speech, so construed, mixes second-person reproach with first-person resolve to create chaos, with no indication that his own rampageous intentions serve a purpose different from Erra's, let alone that they target Šaršar specifically. In fact, there is no more than a vague, general correspondence between these expressions of determination to stir up pandemonium in *Erra Song* IV:75–86 and 95–103 and the specific acts of utter anti-creation Išum carries out in IV:142–150.[152] Perhaps Išum's original suggestion is lost to a lacuna,[153] or is simply meant to be intuited.

V. The Pronouncer of the Sign and the Revelator

Two final issues concern us in the last tablet, both impinging on the identity of the poem's revelator. The first involves ambiguous syntax in verse V:24, announcing the speaker who proclaims Akkad's new golden age:

V:21 *išmē*[*šū-ma*] *Erra immira pānūšu*
V:21 [When] Erra heard [him], his face beamed.

. . .

[151] On which see above.

[152] However, the language in *Erra Song* IV:146–149 does directly echo the language of a previous speech apparently of Erra's, in II:138–142, where IV:150 picks up the language of I:74 (from the Divine Heptad's speech) and IV:148 also picks up the language of I:70 (also from the Divine Heptad's speech). (A certain amount of repetitive phraseology is evident throughout this text, on which see chapter 7, "II. Stylistic Affinities: Repetition.") It appears that the hostile intentions of Erra and the Divine Heptad are finally turned to constructive ends by Išum, who channels them against Babylonia's enemies.

[153] *Erra Song* IIIc:59–61 is a suggestive possibility, as it shares some vocabulary with IV:142–150 and is spoken by Išum, although the passage is too broken for us to reconstruct its context.

V:24 *issī-ma Išum idabbub ittu*
V:24 He called to Išum to pronounce the sign

V:25 *aššu nišī Akkadî sapḫāti išakkaššu/išakkanaššu ṭēmu*
V:25 And issue instructions to him about the scattered people of Akkad:

V:26 *nišū māti ēṣāt*(*i*) *litūrā ana maʾdiš*
V:26 "Let the dwindled people of the land become numerous again!

. . .

Translators are divided on how to understand the phrase *issī-ma Išum*, in which "Išum" could theoretically serve as either the subject or the object of the verb *issi*: if he is the subject, he delivers the following edict himself,[154] where if he is the object, Erra makes the proclamation *to* Išum.[155]

A couple of indications in the text favor the latter reading. First, in *Erra Song* I:31 we find a perfect syntactic parallel, using the same verb, to the verse in question:

I:31 *issī-ma ištēn išakkana ṭēma*
I:31 He called number one to issue instructions . . .

The bewildering imprecision of Standard Babylonian syntax and morphology is sometimes understood to yield a panoply of possible interpretations, but I suspect there are more constraints on interpretation than are typically supposed; it is possible that as yet undiscovered tendencies in word order with particular verbs, for example, guided readers or listeners.[156] Patterns in this text alone suggest as much: for example, the verb *šemû* can appear in a similar syntactic template to the one above, but the word occupying the space immediately following the enclitic *-ma* is invariably

[154] See Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient*, 136; Bottéro, "Le poème d'Erra," 247; and Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 310.

[155] See Ebeling, "Herr aller Menschen," 229; Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 34; Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 125; and Foster, *Before the Muses*, 909.

[156] An imperfect analogy can be adduced for the English verbs "go" and "come," which are permitted to precede their subjects when preceded themselves by adverbial phrases: "Here comes the train."

the subject (or an interceding verb).[157] Obviously more study is needed, but the consistency of the data here is suggestive: if verse V:24 follows the model of I:31, Išum can only be the direct object.[158]

Secondly, in the following verse it is said that "he issues instructions to him" (*išakkaššu*/*išakkanaššu ṭēmu*). If it is Išum who "called out and said the key word" (as Dalley translates the phrase *issī-ma . . . idabbub ittu*),[159] to whom does he issue the instructions? Similarly, in the proclamation itself, several of the verbs are second masculine singular in form.[160] Whom is Išum addressing? Not only are speakers basically always introduced in this text,[161] but their interlocutors are as well.[162] It is thus more likely that Erra has "called Išum" transitively than that Išum has "called out" intransitively.

The second issue that concerns us here is the identity of the god who is said to have revealed the poem to Kabti-ilānī-Marduk:

V:40 *šanāt lā nībi tanittu bēli rabî Nergal* (*u*) *qurādu Išum*
V:40 Praise for years without number to the great Lord Nergal and Warrior Išum!

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[157] See *Erra Song* I:92, I:100 copy X (broken), I:164 (broken), I:191, II:73 (where it appears the subject follows *-ma* but the context is fragmentary), II:76 (where it appears the subject follows *-ma* but the context is again fragmentary), IIIc:28, IV:128, V:21 (broken), and V:46. (The attestations of this verb with *-ma* in I:62–70 and I:96 have been excluded because in these verses the enclitic connects clauses rather than appearing within a clause.)

[158] Minimally, this evidence excludes the interpretation "He (Erra) invited Išum to proclaim the sign," where Erra enlists Išum to make the proclamation. The parallel indicates rather that Erra is speaking to Išum, not inviting him to speak.

[159] In Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 310.

[160] See *Erra Song* V:30–35.

[161] See above, nn. 71–73.

[162] In most cases when an interlocutor is not named the speech is clearly a general pronouncement; see the prefaces to direct speeches in *Erra Song* IV:39 (where Marduk's direct speech is not introduced), IV:45, IV:95a, IV:99a, IV:130, and V:49. Verse II:30 is less explicable, as is II:61 (the following line is broken so the full context may be lacking), and IV:65 introduces a speech Ištarān appears to be delivering at least partly to Erra, although that is not made explicit.

V:41 *ša Erra īgugū-ma ana sapān mātāti u ḫulluq nišīšin iškunu pānī*[*šu*]
V:41 That Erra got angry and set [his] mind on crushing the lands and wiping out their people,

V:42 *Išum mālikšu uniḫḫūšū-ma īzib*[*u*]*/izzibu/īzibi rēḫāniš*
V:42 But Išum his adviser calmed him down and he left some as a remnant.

V:43 *kāṣir kammīšu Kabti-ilānī-Marduk mār Dābibī*
V:43 The one who put together his (Erra's) composition was Kabti-ilānī-Marduk, descendant of Dābibī.

V:44 *ina šat mūši ušabrīšum-ma kī ša ina munatti idbubu ayyamma ul iḫṭi*
V:44 During the night he (Erra) revealed it to him (Kabti-ilānī-Marduk), and when he (Kabti-ilānī-Marduk) recited it back in early morning slumber, he left nothing out.

V:45 **ēda šuma*/*šuma ayyam* ul uraddi ana muḫḫi*
V:45 He did not add a single line to it.

V:46 *išmē*(*šū*)*-ma Erra imtaḫar/imtaḫru pānīšu*
V:46 When Erra heard (it), he approved.

V:47 *ša Išum ālik maḫrī*(*šu*) *iṭīb elīšu*
V:47 As for Išum, (his) vanguard, it was pleasing to him too.

The form of the key verb in V:44, *ušabrīšum*, can be read as either a first- or a third-person singular preterite. As Labat understands the passage, the direct quote begun in V:26, discussed above, continues all the way through V:45, thus encompassing this entire section; alone among modern translators he therefore takes the report of the revelation as a first-person form: "je [Išum] l'avais une nuit, en songe, révélé."[163] However, a parallel verse in *Enūma Eliš* suggests verses V:41–42 of the *Erra Song* may represent a formulaic closing summary of the narrative; the former text ends with the following statement:

VII:162 [*ša*] *Tiamat ikmû-ma ilqû šarrūti*
VII:162 [That,] having defeated Tiamat, he seized kingship.

[163] Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient*, 137.

The similarity in phrasing to V:41–42 in the *Erra Song*, particularly the sentence fragment introduced by *ša* that synopsizes the plot, suggests that these verses bring the narrative proper to a close and are spoken by the poet; what follows should therefore be in the third person.[164]

Traditionally the identity of the revelator in *Erra Song* V:44 has been understood to be Išum[165] (although more recent translators have left the question open[166] or even suggested it is Marduk[167]). In favor of Išum one can point both to his association with the night elsewhere, in I:21–22,[168] and the fact that the poem opens with a hymn in his honor; in favor of Marduk one can point to his association with dreams and with pacifying angry gods in other contexts.[169]

However, it is my contention that the revelator of the text can be discerned from the syntax of the passage itself. I believe that the correct interpretation of the passage hinges on our construal of two grammatical ambiguities. The first involves the significance of the pronominal suffix *-šu* on the word *kammīšu*, "his composition," in V:43. The most straightforward reading takes this as a simple possessive, picking up the antecedents of the most recent third-person masculine singular

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[164] Frankena argues that the poem flows more smoothly if *Erra Song* V:41–45 is eliminated, contending these verses were inserted secondarily and thus doing away entirely with the plot summary and the note on revelation and understanding Erra's response in V:46 to refer not to the recitation of the poem but to Išum's proclamation in V:26–39 ("Untersuchungen zum Irra-Epos," 6). As we have seen, it is not Išum but Erra who delivers the speech in V:26–39; the parallel to *Enūma Eliš* only provides further evidence against this argument, indicating the summary is likely original.

The parallel does, however, raise the possibility that what follows (*Erra Song* V:43–62) might represent a later addition to the text (as Ebeling proposes: "Herr aller Menschen," 229 note d). While it is certainly conceivable, I see no compelling evidence for such a conclusion, since V:41–42 represents a structural bookend regardless: the narrative itself, what was revealed, has concluded and the poet's own meta-narrative has begun.

[165] See Zimmern, "Fragen," 90; Langdon, *Mythology of All Races*, 137; Bailkey, "Babylonian Philosopher," 110; Oppenheim, "Mesopotamian Mythology III," 155; and Bottéro, "Le poème d'Erra," 249.

[166] See Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 255; Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 311; and Foster, *Before the Muses*, 910.

[167] As Noegel argues in " 'Wordplay' in the Song of Erra," 188.

[168] Since the poem is revealed at night (Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 255). This connection seems too tenuous to be useful, since Išum is not associated with dreams specifically but simply with guiding nocturnal wayfarers.

[169] See Noegel, " 'Wordplay' in the Song of Erra," 188.

pronominal suffixes, "*his* adviser calmed *him* down" (*mālikšu uniḫḫūšū-ma*)—that is, Erra. Theoretically this pronoun could equally refer to Išum or even Kabti-ilānī-Marduk, the two other masculine singular figures who appear in this syntactic environment, but these options are less likely. In the summation statement, Išum is narratively subordinate to Erra: Erra acts and Išum mitigates that action; Erra is central where Išum is "his adviser" (see V:41–42). And if *-šu* refers forward to Kabti-ilānī-Marduk, the statement is a near tautology: "The compiler of Kabti-ilānī-Marduk's composition was Kabti-ilānī-Marduk." Erra is the most sensible antecedent.[170]

The problematic word in question in the next verse, "he revealed to him" (*ušabrīšum-ma*), involves two unnamed figures, likely the two figures treated in the previous verse: Erra and Kabti-ilānī-Marduk. Since the latter can only be the intended antecedent behind the dative suffix *-šum*, this makes Erra the most probable revelator.

The second grammatical ambiguity concerns the use of *ša* in *Erra Song* V:47. In the view of some translators, *ša Išum ālik maḫrī*(*šu*), "what (concerned) Išum his vanguard" or "what Išum his vanguard (had done)," should be taken as the subject of *iṭīb elīšu*, "it was pleasing to him," where the "him" can only be Erra: Erra approves the poem ("what (concerned) Išum") or Išum's behavior ("what Išum (had done)"), suggesting the poem is by or about Išum.[171] In a similar vein, *ša Išum* has been read as "das (Wort) des Išum"[172] or "le récit d'Išum,"[173] presumably referring to what Išum has revealed.

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[170] This is buttressed by the text's ancient title, the "Erra Series" (see above, n. 10). Note also *Erra Song* V:50–62, in which Erra strongly implies he is the central figure in the text.

[171] So Oppenheim essentially reads it, arguing Išum is therefore the revelator: "When Irra heard (about this, or: heard him recite the poem) he was pleased, he liked very much what Išum, his 'outrunner' had done" ("Mesopotamian Mythology III," 156). Foster takes a similar tack in this passage, although he leaves the identity of the revelator ambiguous: "What pertained to Ishum his vanguard satisfied him" (*Before the Muses*, 910).

[172] Ebeling, "Herr aller Menschen," 230.

While theoretically permissible, these readings are highly unlikely. By my count, on only two other occasions in the extant text does *ša* simply govern a substantive alone (excluding its use connecting substantives in a manner paralleling the use of construct chains—which, as it happens, are at least as rare.[174]) In both such cases, *ša* serves as the object of a preposition, making its syntactic function unambiguous.[175]

In contrast, there are forty-one occurrences (bracketing the example under discussion) in which *ša* is used to mark topicalization, the so-called *casus pendens*—including anticipatory genitives, which constitute a subset of this category.[176] Compare the following examples:

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[173] Bottéro, "Le poème d'Erra," 249.

[174] The only unequivocal example of two substantives connected by *ša* appears in *Erra Song* I:190: *imna u šumēla ša bābīka*, "to the right and left of your gate"; the use of *ša* is no doubt motivated by the compound would-be *nomen regens*. Other possible examples include I:51, whose syntax is opaque (see appendix A n. 61), as well as I:59, where a noun has been tentatively reconstructed following *ša*, and I:153, where a noun has likewise been reconstructed following *ša*.

[175] See *Erra Song* I:15—*Erra kī ša amēli dalpi idāšu an*[*ḫā*], "But Erra's arms are tir[ed], like those of a sleepless man"—and I:51—*alāk ṣēri ša eṭlūti kī ša isinnum-ma*, "Going to the 'field of manhood' is like going to the field of a festival." (See appendix A n. 61 on the translation of this latter verse.)

[176] For classic anticipatory genitives, see *Erra Song* I:23, I:41, I:55, I:71, I:90, I:122, I:134, I:135, I:137, I:148, I:175 (where the resumptive pronominal suffix must be reconstructed), I:188, II:5, II:31, II:93 (presumed—the context is broken), II:97 (presumed—the context is broken), II:106 (presumed—the context is broken), II:129 (where the resumptive pronominal suffix must be reconstructed), IIIa:7 (presumed—the context is broken), IIIc:3 (presumed—the context is broken), IIIc:9 (presumed—the context is broken), IIIc:40 (twice), IIIc:52, IV:1, IV:2, IV:23, IV:33, IV:38, IV:50–51, IV:94, IV:117 (twice), IV:124 (in copies W and RR), IV:125, IV:126, and IV:144. In other instances *ša* is present before the first noun in the sequence but is not resumed by a pronominal suffix on the second noun: see II:128 and II:147. Once in the extant text (excluding V:47) *ša* is resumed by a pronominal suffix on a preposition rather than a noun, in IV:16. And once *ša* marks general topicalization that is not resumed in the syntax that follows, in IV:52.

It is wholly comprehensible that as the case system broke down and the language became increasingly analytical typologically, a separate morpheme would have been deployed to mark what had been one use of the nominative case—especially in poetic contexts, where the word order was freer. Even so, *ša* was still apparently not obligatory; note the following examples of topicalization without *ša*, several of which otherwise parallel anticipatory genitives: I:15, I:72, I:121, I:128, I:134, I:135, I:136, I:140, I:145, IIIa:22, IIIa:23, IV:7 (where *ša* governs the relative clause rather than marking topicalization, and it is *ša* that is resumed by a pronominal suffix), IV:8 (which operates in a parallel manner to IV:7), IV:17, IV:18, IV:48, IV:81 (which operates in a parallel manner to IV:7 except that the pronominal suffix is on a verb), IV:82 (which operates in a parallel manner to IV:81), IV:83 (which operates in a parallel manner to IV:81), IV:124 (copy P), V:37, and V:50.

IV:16 *ša Imgur-Ellil uṣṣa elīšu tummid-ma ūʾa libbī iqabbi*
IV:16 "As for Imgur-Enlil, you piled arrows on him until he cried out: 'Woe, my heart!'

V:47 *ša Išum ālik maḫrī*(*šu*) *iṭīb elīšu*
V:47 As for Išum, (his) vanguard, it was pleasing to him too.

In both passages, the topicalized noun is resumed as the object of the preposition *eli.* Given the conspicuousness of this syntactic peculiarity in this text, if the poet intended *ša Išum*, as a unit, to serve as the subject of the verb *iṭīb*, he or she would risk being misunderstood, to say the least. Erra has not approved that which concerns Išum, his vanguard; rather, Erra has approved the recitation and Išum—who is as secondary here as he is in *Erra Song* V:42, introduced as a separate topic signaled by the topicalization of his name—is also pleased.[177]

It can thus be inferred from the syntax of the passage that Erra is the revelator;[178] indeed, this is wholly to be expected for a text that Erra claims as his own, alternating the phrase "this song" (*zamāru šâšu*; *Erra Song* V:50 and V:60) in his closing blessing with phrases such as "my name" (*šumī*; V:52 and V:57) and "the praise of my warriorhood" (*tanitti qarrādūtīya*; V:53).

VI. Preliminary Notes on the Text as a Whole

There are two basic potential tensions in these conclusions: 1) Išum is praised in the poem's introduction but Erra is praised in its conclusion; and 2) Išum is praised for restraining Erra but Erra is seemingly praised for his violent behavior. Is there any way we can integrate our various conclusions such that the text coheres globally?

[177] Without reaching the broader conclusions I have come to here, certain other scholars have translated the verse similarly: see Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 36; Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 127; and Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 311.

[178] Frankena, too, endorses the view that it is Erra who revealed the poem; see "Het Epos," 164.

Tentatively, I would suggest that the poem as a whole concerns Erra primarily, and Išum only in reference to his overlord. The conclusion better summarizes the contents than the introduction; when Erra refers to the text as the "praise of my warriorhood" (*tanitti qarrādūtīya*; *Erra Song* V:53), he is not wrong: the text is largely a recounting of his prowess as a warrior (and the resulting interactions with other gods, most immediately those in his own train). The opening hymn to Išum, although a significant aspect of that story, is not meant to encapsulate its contents; it is less an introduction proper than an intact hymnic unit in itself, whose message may not map precisely onto the whole poem. (For example, it is in fact the Divine Heptad, not Išum, who rouse Erra from his slumber in the beginning of the narrative,[179] but their hostile nature makes them less appropriate recipients of a hymn of praise.) It is in essence a prayer: that in the future Išum's clemency will both temper Erra's violence and divert it to constructive ends—as it does, with mixed success, in the story at hand. Because it is a hymn and not a philosophical treatise, its statement of faith that Erra is ultimately under Išum's control, although it has some resonance with the rest of the poem, does not track the plot entirely adequately. The hymn to Išum presents not so much a statement of fact that Erra will sleep until Išum rouses him, demonstrated by past behavior, as it is an invocation uttered in hope. This language is entirely to be expected of hymns as a genre.

Regarding the second question, the praise of Erra and the praise of Išum may have been understood qualitatively differently. Erra is flattered into quiescence by a recounting of his awesome power in an effort to obviate the need for him to demonstrate that power physically. In a sense, the poem itself is a verbal manifestation of violence intended to provoke awe and achieve the same results the physical violence it describes achieves: the acknowledgment of Erra's power that gratifies him into inactivity. Nowhere is Erra praised *for* his deeds; rather a recitation of those deeds is itself said to constitute his praise. In contrast, Išum's encomium in the opening passage

[179] See *Erra Song* I:46–91.

represents a different order of praise entirely. Almost on the sly, Išum is hailed for his abilities to keep Erra in check, which are played up out of hope; Išum is praised because his actions are commendable; his praise indicates approval. Erra is praised because his actions are awe-inspiring; his praise betokens fear. It is unlikely the poet was even cognizant that these two impulses might be in tension: within the logic of the myth, they are consonant with each other because they have the same goal.

Chapter 3
Erra

I. Introduction

Unlike the characters in a modern novel, who may resonate as literary types but whose significance as individuals is circumscribed by the literary conceit of the novel itself, the major figures in the *Erra Song* are not mere conjurations of its author's imagination but divine figures whose cults extend back millennia before its composition. No responsible global analysis of the text can fail to take account of the broader cultural contexts in which these gods were invoked, contexts that shaped and were in turn shaped by their portrayals in the poem.

In order better to situate the poem in the context that informed it and thus to refine our ability to evaluate the plausibility of competing interpretations of its content and tone, for the present chapter and the two that follow an effort has been made to collect and analyze every extant attestation (excluding those in personal names, which have been treated separately—see further below) of the names of the two major figures of the poem: Erra and Išum. Attestations of Erra's alternate but closely related avatar Erragal have also been collected, as have attestations of Išum's Sumerian alter-ego Ḫendursag.[1]

Unlike Išum, Erra belonged to a complex constellation of deities whose identities converged at various points, minimally including, in addition to Erra and Erragal, Nergal, the twin gods Lugalerra and Meslamtaea, and Bēl-gašir (the translation of whose name into Sumerian likely gave

[1] Although I have striven to be thorough, unfortunately no claim to exhaustiveness can be made; this is especially true of the god Erra, whose name is spelled in such a variety of ways in both ancient and modern literature that locating genuine attestations can be challenging. It is hoped, however, that at the very least a representative cross-section of attestations has here been assembled.

rise to the name Lugalerra).[2] The most prominent of these by far is Nergal, whose name appears in the extant poem three times.[3] However, because of his importance to Mesopotamian religion generally, a diachronic study of Nergal's cult and those of his various other manifestations would fill several volumes. The parameters of the present study have therefore been limited to a sample of attestations of Nergal's name across time, focusing particularly on his relationship to Erra. (Similarly, a thorough treatment of the Divine Heptad, who play but a bit part in this text, lies outside the scope of this project, which nevertheless includes a survey of attestations diachronically and a discussion of the Divine Heptad's origins and development and the bearing this has on their role in the poem, for which see chapter 5.)

II. The Meaning and Spelling of Erra's Name

For much of the history of the field, confusion over the proper transliteration of Erra's name prevailed, and a parade of readings was proposed in turn: Lubara, Dibbarra, Gir(r)a, Ur(r)a, Nerra, Ir(r)a, and Er(r)a.[4] Although some uncertainty persists as to the origins of certain early spellings of the name, there can no longer be any doubt that the now conventional reading "Erra" best accounts for the evidence.

Erra's name is attested already in the Presargonic period under the spelling ^{d}*èr-ra*;[5] this spelling—typically without the divine determinative, however—would remain standard for the next several centuries. The most common exception to this standard orthography is the logographic

[2] Steinkeller, "More on the Name," 58; idem, "Sign KIŠ," 177.

[3] In *Erra Song* IIIc:31, IIId:3 copy O, and V:39.

[4] For most of these readings see Roberts, "Scorched Earth," 11, along with Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 309–313 for the reading Nerra.

[5] Steinkeller cites a personal name *ku-ru-ub-*^{d}*èr-ra* appearing in an unpublished votive inscription (A 7115 line 5; "Name of Nergal," 165).

spelling ^{d}KIŠ-*ra* (which, due to the conflation of the KIŠ sign with the GÌR sign in Old Babylonian cursive, would eventually spawn the spelling ^{d}*er*$_9$[GÌR]-*ra*).[6]

Other early exceptions to the common spelling *èr-ra* include the apocopated form ^{d}*èr* in a peculiar Sumerian incantation from the Old Babylonian period (and perhaps in some personal names);[7] the straightforward phonological spelling *er-ra*, especially throughout the early text *Erra and Narām-Sîn*[8] and occasionally elsewhere;[9] and the characteristic Old Assyrian spelling *e-ra* in a handful of personal names.[10]

Already in the middle period and certainly by the first millennium the spelling of the name had been standardized in the form ^{d}*èr-ra.* The only alternate orthography in the first millennium is the very infrequent spelling ^{d}*er*$_9$(GÌR)-*ra*.[11]

As recognized already by Roberts, the fluctuation among *èr-ra*, *er-ra*, and *e-ra* can only point to the name's being pronounced /erra/.[12] The doubling of the /r/ is carried out almost universally

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[6] Ibid., 164–165. On the use of this spelling see further below.

[7] For the incantation see "As Heaven Became King" (see appendix B for the relevant bibliography for all texts cited here with attestations of Erra's and Erragal's names); for examples of personal names see Roberts, *Earliest Semitic Pantheon*, 23.

[8] The copy of this text dates to the Old Babylonian period—as does, surely, the orthography of Erra's name. Opinions remain divided as to the date of composition; Westenholz's conclusions are adopted here: "Although a proposal has been made to link the action of this text with a year-date of Naram-Sin of Ešnunna describing the erection of *mušḫuššu*-monsters on a gate . . . the arguments seem baseless beside the known relationship between Naram-Sin of Akkade, Erra/Nergal, and Kutha" (Westenholz, *Kings of Akkade*, 189 n. 1).

[9] See *Prayer to the Gods of the Night B* as well as examples from Old Assyrian personal names, including *er-ra-a* and DUMU-*er-ra-a* (Stephens, *Personal Names from Cappadocia*, 50 and 57, respectively).

[10] Examples include *e-ra-dan* (Stephens, *Personal Names from Cappadocia*, 38—elsewhere spelled *èr-ra-dan*, as in Hrozný, *ICK* 1, #6 line 3) and *e-ra-dí* (Veenhof and Klengel-Brandt, *Tontafeln aus Kültepe*, #109 line 29).

[11] See especially *The Nippur Compendium*. To my knowledge, in the first millennium this spelling is not attested outside of lexical contexts, which may indicate its status as an esoteric, scholarly way of writing Erra's name by this period.

See Steinkeller, "Name of Nergal," 164–165 on the reading of ^{d}GÌR-*ra* and its relationship to the earlier spelling ^{d}KIŠ-*ra.* As evidence that GÌR has a phonetic value /er/ Steinkeller points to Proto-Ea (Civil, *Ea A*=nâqu, 54) as well as the gloss on the spelling in the first-millennium god-list AN–*Anum*, where it appears ^{d}*èr*$_9^{er}$-*r*[*a*] in VI:102 (King, *CT* 25, pl. 39, line 27).

and must be understood to signify a genuine gemination of the consonant, since the variation between the signs ER and ÈR strongly suggests they are to be read phonetically, not logographically: thus, the final sign, RA, cannot simply be a phonetic complement. "Defective" spellings that lack the doubled /r/ are confined to orthographic contexts in which the representation of doubled consonants is not obligatory, and thus must be excluded as evidence on the matter. Finally, the signs ÈR and ER are both equivocal, read either as /ir/ or /er/. The reading "Erra" has been favored here in light of the sound rule posited for Akkadian phonology whereby /i/ generally becomes /e/ before the consonant /r/.[13] The Old Assyrian evidence, in which the name typically appears *e-ra*, supports this reading.[14]

If *èr-ra* and *er-ra* both represent phonetic spellings, why then do the overwhelming majority of attestations appear with the rarer ÈR sign, which is typically employed logographically, rather than with the straightforward ER sign, the most common way of representing this syllable? Scribal whim might account for occasional variation but is insufficient to explain a pronounced and diachronically persistent trend favoring a rare phonetic sign over a common one, and to the exclusion of any other theoretical fanciful spellings of this sort, such as *ér-ra*.[15] The reason most likely lies in the fact that in its earliest periods of attestation, the Presargonic through Old Akkadian periods, the name was pronounced with consonantal onset, probably as /yerra/, the ÈR sign likely

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[12] Roberts, *Earliest Semitic Pantheon*, 23–24. Roberts points to unequivocal confirmation of this in an unpublished god-list, UM 55–21–322, line 11, in which the conventional spelling of the name, ^{d}*èr-ra*, is glossed in the next column as *er-ra* (*Earliest Semitic Pantheon*, 22). *Prayer to the Gods of the Night* is also instructive here: in edition A the name appears as ^{d}*èr-ra*, in Edition B as *er-ra*, and in Edition C as *èr-ra*; there can be no doubt both that the name is spelled phonetically and that *er-ra* is simply a less common variant of *èr-ra*.

[13] See von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*, 14.

[14] That *e-ra* is a spelling of the name Erra is demonstrated by its alternation with *èr-ra* in the spelling of the name Erra-dan (see Stephens, *Personal Names from Cappadocia*, 38 and Hrozný, *ICK* 1, #6 line 3 respectively).

[15] The only apparent exception to this is the spelling ^{d}*èr*$_9$*-ra*, where the value *er*$_9$ is surely a secondary development arising from this context itself. In other words, GÌR likely came to be read /er/ because it appeared in Erra's name; it was not used to spell Erra's name because it was read /er/.

being employed in this period in contradistinction to ER to indicate an initial /y/.[16] Even as the phonological distinction between these two signs eroded in subsequent centuries and the rationale for this early (phonological) spelling was likely forgotten, the old orthography persisted in Mesopotamia's stubbornly conservative intellectual environment alongside occasional new more straightforward spellings and continued to be understood, rightly, as a phonetic rendering of the name, now pronounced /erra/.

In his study of early Akkadian divinities, Roberts suggests an etymology for Erra derived from the Proto-Semitic root *ḥrr*, "to scorch, to char," and accordingly reconstructs a series of associations for Erra and his circle that revolve around fire.[17] This analysis of Erra's name must now be rejected on the following grounds:

Phonological: The most damaging evidence to Roberts' thesis is the fact that the probable initial /y/ apparent from the use of the ÈR sign cannot be understood as a reflex of Proto-Semitic /ḥ/.

Other evidence makes this root suspect as well. Roberts proposes three possible morphological shapes behind Erra's name: a *pars*, *pirs*, or *paris* (verbal adjective) formation. The first and last of these would require us to accept that the sound shift /a/ > /e/ following /ḥ/ has been carried out universally in Erra's name, in spite of the fact that evidence for this shift in Old

[16] Hasselbach, *Sargonic Akkadian*, 67–68. The less common spelling *er-ra* in *Erra and Narām-Sîn* cannot be adduced as counterevidence to this thesis since, regardless of the date of composition, the orthography is Old Babylonian. The Old Akkadian personal name *Ištup-Erra*, spelled both *iš-tup-*^{d}KIŠ-*ra* and *iš-tup-per*$_6$*-ra* (see Westenholz, *OSP* 2, #135 lines 2 and 8), presents a more interesting problem, since the initial consonant in Erra's name, whatever it was, has seemingly been elided. This, however, does not preclude a pronunciation /yerra/, in which case a palatalized /p/ lurks behind the phonological spelling of the name. When it is recalled that the Proto-Semitic gutturals were probably still at least partially pronounced in Old Akkadian (see Hasselbach, *Sargonic Akkadian*, 73–74), this explanation becomes increasingly attractive, since an elision resulting in palatalization seems more plausible than the loss of the guttural entirely in this phonological environment.

[17] Roberts, *Earliest Semitic Pantheon*, 24–29.

Akkadian orthography appears only sporadically;[18] the syllable descended from Proto-Semitic /ḥa/ is normally rendered in Old Akkadian with the É sign.[19]

The third of these proposals suffers from additional problems, since, if the name is Akkadian, vowel syncope of the second syllable has been carried out universally as early as the Old Akkadian period[20] in spite of the fact that this phonological environment, ending in /r/, protected most such syllables from syncope as late as the Old Babylonian period.[21] Even if the name is an Akkadian loanword into Sumerian—as Roberts suggests implicitly in arguing that the source of the final /a/ parallels that of other such early loanwords[22]—it is not clear syncope would have taken place: similar *paris* loanwords whose third radical is a liquid show no evidence for syncope, including Sumerian ibila from Akkadian *ap(i)lum* and Sumerian ugula from Akkadian *wak(i)lum*.[23] While not constituting conclusive evidence, these data render the proposal suspect.

Although it is the least objectionable option from the perspective of its vowels, even the *pirs* formation from a root *ḥrr* does not account well for the evidence of the consonants, since /ḥi/ is ordinarily spelled with the E sign in Old Akkadian[24] where ÈR, as stated, represents /yer/.

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[18] Hasselbach, *Sargonic Akkadian*, 74.

[19] Ibid., 80–81.

[20] On which see ibid., 105–106. Hasselbach does note an example of Old Akkadian syncope before /r/: *ṣa-aḫ-ra*, "they are small" (105).

[21] See von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*, 16. Examples in Old Babylonian include *nakarum* and *zikarum*.

[22] See Roberts, *Earliest Semitic Pantheon*, 24.

[23] However, a *pāris* (participle) form survives in Sumerian and shows evidence for syncope in spite both of the liquid and the fact that the long vowel in the first syllable prevented syncope from ever happening in Akkadian: šabra, from Akkadian *šāpirum*. This may reflect phonological processes in Sumerian that were contingent on the quality and quantity of the initial vowel, and thus specific to participles.

[24] Hasselbach, *Sargonic Akkadian*, 81.

Semantic: Roberts' method for locating associations between his proposed etymology and the characteristics of the deity is so elastic that it could accommodate virtually any etymology; famine, plague, war, and fertility are all thought to stem from Erra's putative association with scorching. In point of fact, Erra is never explicitly associated with scorching nor scorched earth in the extant attestations, and on only two occasions that are known to me is he even loosely associated with fire.[25] These few brief references are simply too tenuous to support a thoroughgoing theology associating Erra with fire or scorching. Furthermore, it is tempting to fall prey to the etymological fallacy; in fact, etymology (that is, historic semantic field) bears no necessary relationship to a word's contemporary semantic field. Even if Erra had a relationship to scorching at some reconstructed point in time, that association had no apparent traction in the periods for which we have evidence.

Unfortunately, no obvious etymology for a term /yerra/ presents itself. The prehistory of Erra's cult, on present evidence, cannot be reconstructed.

III. Erra's Associations by Topic

War

Erra's status as a warrior is uncontroversial and needs little introduction. "Erra is a warrior" is a relatively popular early personal name, spelled both in Sumerian (*èr-ra*-ur-sag)[26] and in Akkadian (*èr-ra-qú-rad*),[27] and the epithet "warrior" is applied to him from the Old Akkadian period

[25] See *Erra and Narām-Sîn* 21b–22 and *Erra Song* I:113. In the latter instance Erra identifies himself with a litany of destructive forces; fire does not appear to occupy a privileged position.

Roberts makes implicit reference to the arson in Babylon recounted in *Erra Song* IV:14 (*Earliest Semitic Pantheon*, 27) as evidence. However, since this act is not carried out by Erra personally and occurs naturally in the course of general mayhem and uprising, much of which involves no conflagration, the connection to Erra's identity is weak.

[26] See for example Steinkeller, *Sale Documents*, #87 line 11.

[27] See for example Widell, *Ur III Texts*, 16.

through the first millennium.[28] As early as Narām-Sîn's reign he is portrayed marching into battle;[29] significantly later, in the text *Advice to a Prince*, he is still said to "[march be]fore his troops" ([*ālik p*]*ān ummānīšu*; line 36), and in *The Annals of Aššurbanipal: The Rassam Cylinder (Edition A)* he is depicted instigating battle and smiting the enemy.[30] Examples of this sort could be multiplied. The evidence from the *Erra Song* suggests war is his primary association:

IIId:12b *ullānukkā*-(*ma*) *nukurtu*
IIId:12b "Apart from you, is there hostility?

IIId:13 *ša lā kâšā*-(*ma*) *tāḫāzu*
IIId:13 "Without you, is there battle?

IIId:14 *apluḫāti ṣālāti attūkā-ma*
IIId:14 "The armor of combat belongs to you.

Plague

Early in the development of Assyriology, Erra was dubbed a "Pestgott"[31] and references to him were understood to be simple mythopoeic ciphers for plague.[32] More recent research has questioned this association entirely: Cagni argues for a broader understanding of the term *šipṭu*/*šibṭu* in the *Erra Song* as "destruction,"[33] where Roberts contends that in general Erra has a

[28] For the Old Akkadian period see *Erra and Narām-Sîn* line 36. In *Hymn to Inana* (*SAHG* #21) rev. 13 Erra is called ^{d}KIŠ-*ra* ur-sag; in *Prayer to the Gods of the Night* line 16 (13 in text C) he is *qurādu Erra*. Examples from the first millennium are numerous and include the *Erra Song* itself.

[29] See *Erra and Narām-Sîn*, especially lines 33–36: "The god Erra and Narām-Sîn marched together, he and his ally. His battle overwhelmed (?) the land; the warrior Erra was marching along at his side" (*ilum Erra u Narām-Sîn puḫriš illikū rūšu u šū tattakpiš mātam qabalšu itnallak ištāšu qurādum Erra*). The word *tattakpiš* is a puzzle; this translation follows Lambert's suggestion ("Studies in Nergal," 363), based on the context.

[30] "Erra, the combative, engaged in battle and smote my enemies" (*Erra qardu anuntu kuṣṣur-ma urassipa gārîya*; *The Annals of Aššurbanipal: The Rassam Cylinder [Edition A]* ix:82–83).

[31] As in, to cite but one example, Ebeling's title for the text, *Der akkadische Mythus vom Pestgotte Era*.

[32] See for example Smith, "Exploits of Lubara," 124.

[33] Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 237.

stronger connection to famine than to plague,[34] and that any association with plague may have arisen secondarily.[35]

The most common piece of evidence potentially connecting Erra to plague is also the most equivocal: the term *šipṭu* or *šibṭu*.[36] This term is especially associated with Nergal, one of whose most frequent epithets is either *bēl šipṭi*, "lord of judgment/punishment" or *bēl šibṭi*, "lord of plague." Either option is theoretically possible, and because this phrase frequently appears as a stock epithet with little relationship to its immediate context, there are few indications about which is to be preferred; recent translators tend to opt for the former.[37] One clue to its meaning may be found in an expanded form of the phrase in Aššurnaṣirpal II, #38, where Erra is invoked in the curses as "EN *šib-ṭí u šá-ga-áš-te*," "lord of plague and massacre."[38] In less misanthropic contexts it may be argued that the translation "lord of judgment" (*šipṭi*) is preferable on the grounds that the deity would have been invoked using positive language, not portrayed as savage or malevolent. But *šaggaštu*, "murdering, slaughter," can hardly be other than a term of violence and death. This datum militates in favor of the translation "plague" or perhaps "affliction" (*šibṭu*), a closer semantic parallel to *šaggaštu*. This is demonstrated convincingly by a variant of the phrase in Esarhaddon's

[34] Roberts, *Earliest Semitic Pantheon*, 25.

[35] Ibid., 27–28.

[36] Unfortunately the lack of phonemic distinction in Sumerian in syllable-closing consonants in terms of what in Akkadian is realized as voicedness renders all phonological spellings of these two terms ambiguous, since the script does not distinguish between them. This issue is only complicated by *CAD*'s positing of two homophones pronounced *šipṭu* but derived from originally separate verbal roots, one meaning "judgment" or "punishment" and the other "ruling" or "reprimand," with significant semantic overlap (see *CAD*, s.v. "šipṭu"). On one occasion the logographic spelling of *šipṭu* even suggests it may have been conflated in pronunciation with *šibṭu* (see ibid.): it is possible the two or three originally distinct terms were drifting toward one another semantically as a result of phonological similarity.

[37] Reiner, for example, translates the phrase "lord of verdict" (*Šurpu,* 29), while Grayson renders it "lord of the judgment" (*Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium II*, 216).

[38] Aššurnaṣirpal II, #38 line 45. The phrase *šibṭu u šaggaštu* recurs as a unit on a number of other occasions, often in reference to Erra or Nergal; see especially *Aššurbanipal's Coronation Hymn* rev. 11–12 and *Babylonian Oracle Questions* #1 line 243 for examples with Erra; see further a marriage agreement dating to the reign of Nabonidus (Roth, *Babylonian Marriage Agreements*, 52, lines 22–24) for an example with Nergal.

vassal treaties, where a different word for plague, *mūtānu*, is employed in conjunction with *šaggaštu* in reference to Nergal.[39] As lord of plague, Nergal would also have had power over plague, which may explain why the epithet would not have been regarded as a negative characterization.

Additional evidence for at least an occasional association with epidemic disease can be marshaled. In first-millennium amulets invoking all of the major characters of the *Erra Song* include a list of diseases from which the subject seeks protection.[40] However, it is clearly not the case that Erra is a "plague god" per se (as early scholars alleged),[41] all of whose attestations may be reduced to outbreaks of epidemic disease clothed in mythological language.

What role, then, if any, does plague play in the *Erra Song*? In the first modern analysis of the poem, George Smith declared that "the whole . . . may be described as a poetical picture of the destruction caused by a plague, sweeping over district after district, and destroying everything before it."[42] Nearly a century later, Roberts would call this characterization of the text completely into question: "The epic . . . deal[s] with war, famine, and insurrection, not plague."[43]

In fact, in the extant text plague is mentioned explicitly only once for certain and possibly twice, both times in the fifth and final tablet in the context of the concluding blessings pronounced

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[39] See Wiseman, "Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon," 63–64, lines 455–456. Another helpful variant is found in an inscription of Aššur-etel-ilānī in which the conventional phrase is expanded to include yet another term for a disease, *di'u* (the text is edited in Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia*, 266–268; see especially lines 19–20).

[40] See *Amulets Invoking Marduk, Erra, Išum, and the Divine Heptad*.

[41] An early misreading of Erra's name as "Dibbarra" and a proposed Semitic etymology connecting it to Hebrew דבר (on which see Delitzsch's comments in his translation of Smith, "Grossthaten des Gottes Dibbarra," 309 and, more explicitly, Harper, "Legende von Dibbarra," 426—who however questions the connection) resulted in over a century of mistranslations. On the other hand, it would be equally untenable to deny any connection to plague.

[42] Smith, "The Exploits of Lubara," 124.

[43] Robert, *Earliest Semitic Pantheon*, 28. Already in Smith's lifetime Edward Harper expressed reservations about Erra's status as a god of plague ("Legende von Dibbarra," 426), but his comment had no discernible impact on subsequent scholarship.

upon those who praise Erra and sing this song. In its final verses the song itself is ascribed with apotropaic power both aurally (*Erra Song* V:54) and visually (V:58–59) and is said to function in a manner paralleling that of a lament by appeasing Erra's heart when he is angry. Among a host of other blessings here bestowed on Erra's would-be worshippers, it is said that the singer who laments this text will be spared from plague (*šibṭi*, in V:54). The concluding passage as a whole (and perhaps this verse in particular) undoubtedly forms the basis for the four *Amulets Invoking Marduk, Erra, Išum, and the Divine Heptad*. The multiple terms for disease employed in that text (*di'i*, *šibbi*, *šibṭi*, *mūtānū*) might reasonably be construed as evidence the ancients read the *Erra Song* as a description of plague. Though fragmentary, the text on the amulets appears to be an attempt at a comprehensive list of calamities, against all of which Erra and his train are invoked to protect. In the absence of other indications that the *Erra Song* concerns plague specifically, I prefer to read the blessing in V:54 and the apparent riff on it in the amulets as evidence the song was thought to protect against general adversity attributed to Erra's circle, one prominent example of which was plague.

The second potential reference to plague in the *Erra Song* occurs in V:59, a passage that appears almost verbatim in an eighth-century Babylonian royal inscription penned by the governor of Borsippa (a document that was probably roughly contemporaneous with the *Erra Song*):[44]

V:59 *patar šipṭi ul iṭeḫḫēšū-*(*ma*) *šalimtu šaknassu*
V:59 "The sword of judgment will not come near it, but well-being will be ordained for it.

ii:27' *ù i-na* [. . .] x ᵣdˀ*èr-ra šal-ba-bi* DUMU ᵈEN.LÍL *ra-a-mi ga-á*[*š*(?)-*ru*(?) . . .]
ii:27' *u ina* [. . .] x *Erra šalbābi mār Enlil rāmi ga*[*šru* . . .]
ii:27' And at the . . . of Erra, the furious, beloved son of Enlil, the mi[ghty] . . .

[44] See chapter 6, "Addendum: Dating the Text," for a discussion of the *Erra Song*'s date of composition.

ii:28’ *pat-ri* ˹*šip*˺-[*ṭi*] *la* TE-*šú šá-lim-ti lu šá-ak-na-si a-a-bi-šú lem-nu-*˹*ú*˺-[*ti . . .*]
ii:28’ *patri šip*[*ṭi*] *lā iṭeḫḫīšu šalimti lū šaknassi ayyābīšu lemnū*[*ti* . . .]
ii:28’ May the sword of judgm[ent] not come near him, but may well-being be ordained for him![45] His evi[l] enemies . . .[46]

A couple of apparent ambiguities in this passage require our attention. The first centers on the term *šipṭu*, here translated “judgment” but theoretically also *šibṭu*, “plague.” The former has been tentatively favored here as more comprehensible and more appropriate to both contexts in which the passage appears. In the *Erra Song* the phrase comes on the heels of the clause “even if Erra becomes furious and the (Divine) Heptad slaughter” (*Erra *lū agug-ma*/*līgug-ma*/*lūgug-*[*ma*]* *lišgiš*(*ū*) (*Ilānī*) *Sebetti*), a statement that appears to encompass a broader and vaguer range of calamities than simply plague, where in the latter context references to “combat, war, and battle” (*šašmi qabli tāḫāzi*) are suggestive, if not conclusive:[47] martial imagery seems fitting here. Furthermore, although the metaphor “sword of plague” as a means of describing disease in terms of combat would be a felicitous combination of two of Erra’s prominent bailiwicks—war and epidemic—such a metaphor is unknown from any other text: “sword of judgment” is more comprehensible. Finally, in the *Erra Song* all of the blessings are apparently unique; if this passage concerns plague, plague would then be referenced twice there. The passage reads more elegantly, weaving together a disparate class of people who are benefited in a varied set of ways, if “sword of judgment” does not duplicate the sentiment expressed five verses earlier (in V:54). As we have seen, Erra is not a plague god so much as a god of plague, among other things, and the phrase “sword of judgment” is appropriately vague with regard to the sundry ways in which his victims suffer.

[45] Literally “her.”

[46] Nabû-šuma-imbi 2001.

[47] From Nabû-šuma-imbi 2001 ii:24’. Of course since the phrase appears in a blessing it need not pertain to the circumstances described in its immediate context.

The second ambiguity in this passage concerns the syntactic relationship between *patar*/*patri* and *šipṭi*, here construed as a construct chain but theoretically comprehensible as a pair of words joined asyndetically.[48] In Nabû-šuma-imbi 2001 a logographic spelling obscures the form of the verb, but in every copy of the *Erra Song* in which the verse appears, the verb is spelled syllabically and is singular;[49] this only reinforces the legitimacy of the bound form *pa-tar* on the one occasion where it is spelled out.[50] The evidence from the *Erra Song* is virtually unequivocal.

The appearance of this clause in both texts can be accounted for in a number of different ways: the *Erra Song* might quote this inscription, this inscription might quote the *Erra Song*, or they both might quote another now lost text (or recite a well-known saying that circulated orally). A number of indications suggest the *Erra Song* is in fact the primary text: First, the grammar of the passage is clearer, across multiple copies. Secondly, the *Erra Song* is a national "epic" story expounding on cosmic themes and known to have been widely disseminated,[51] while the inscription is the work of a local governor celebrating a very circumscribed set of circumstances: the restoration of a dilapidated storehouse in the Ezida complex in Borsippa. All other things being equal, it is more reasonable to suppose the text that is quoted is the text with more notoriety and wider distribution. Finally, the passage is better integrated into its context in the *Erra Song*. It is not immediately evident why Erra is invoked at all in the conclusion to Nabû-šuma-imbi's inscription, which calls on only two other gods: Nanaya (in her role as Tašmētu, wife of Nabû) and Nabû, city god of Borsippa, from whence the inscription comes[52] and with which it deals. Erra is out of place in

[48] As Frame translates the passage: "May dagger (and) pla[gue] never draw near him!" (*Rulers of Babylonia*, 126).

[49] In copies N, W, BB, and SS; the verb is corrupt in copy S: *i-ṭe-eḫ-*<*ḫe*>*-šú-m*[*a*].

[50] In copy S; in copy N the word is spelled logographically (GÍR).

[51] Copies have been found from Sultantepe, Nineveh, Aššur, Tell Ḥaddad, Sippar, Babylon, and Ur.

[52] Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia*, 123.

this environment, suggesting the author of the inscription may have supplemented the blessings Nanaya and Nabû are called on to bestow with material from another source.[53] If the *Erra Song* is primary, the phrase is best understood as a construct chain, "sword of judgment." Plague, then, if one accepts the conclusions advocated here, is only mentioned once in the extant text of the *Erra Song*.

Finally, we will examine the nature of the calamities Erra and his train visit on humankind in the poem in an effort to discern whether they might conceal references to plague in mythological garb. Unfortunately, at least some of the descriptions of these calamities may be lost to the lacunae that riddle the second and third tablets; nevertheless, references to calamity, proposed and actual, in the extant text are legion and give a solid indication of the parameters of the cataclysm. When the Divine Heptad originally provoke Erra to action, they use martial imagery to frame proposed cosmic disruption, inviting Erra to "go out to the battlefield! Brandish your weapons!" (*ṣī-ma ana ṣēri turuk kakkīka*; *Erra Song* I:60) such that the "tall mountains hear and . . . their hea[d]s bow low!" (*ḫursānī zaqrūti lišmû-ma lišpilā rēš*[*ā*]*šun*; I:69) and "the rolling (?) seas hear . . . and wipe out their p[ro]duce!" (*tâmāti gallāti lišmâ-ma . . . liḫalliqā m*[*iš*]*irta*; I:70). Plague cannot begin to cover the degree of disruption the Divine Heptad propose Erra cause, since that disruption extends even to the natural world. When Erra gamely takes his proposed plan to Išum, the latter summarizes it as follows: "You have plotted [evi]l—to crus[h] the lands and wipe o[ut their people]—and have not tur[ned a]way" (*ana sapā*[*n*] *mātāti ḫullu*[*q nišīšin lemut*]*ti takpud-ma lā ta*[*tūr ana a*]*rkīka*; I:103). The phrasing here is less specific: all that is clear is that mass death is involved; the mechanism is unknown (and seemingly irrelevant to the narrative).

[53] Erra may have been deemed appropriate here because the civil unrest that is described parallels that recounted in the *Erra Song*, which likely stems from the same period.

When Marduk is apprised of Erra's proposal, he makes an immediate connection to the "Flood," the consequences of which were grave.[54] The implication is that similar consequences will follow if Marduk again arises from his dwelling. The cosmic breakdown manifest by the throwing of the stars into disorder (see *Erra Song* I:134) need not preclude a human experience of plague cast in cosmic terms, but all indications point not to disease but to the postdiluvian difficulty of producing an adequate food supply and the resultant threat of famine.

The following tablet reveals Erra hatching a plot that will rock the cosmos:

II:128 *aqabbi ša Šamši ušamqata šarūri*
II:128 "I will speak and cause Šamaš's radiance to fall away!

II:129 *ša Sîn ina šāt mūši ukattam pānū*[*šu*]
II:129 "I will cover Sîn's face by night!

. . .

II:138 [*mātāti*] *agammar-ma ana tīlī amannu*
II:138 "I will annihilate [the lands] and count them as tells!

II:139 *ālānī asappam-ma ana namê ašakkan*
II:139 "I will crush the cities and turn them into wilderness!

II:140 *šadê ubbat-ma būlšunu ušamqat*
II:140 "I will obliterate the mountains and lay low their wildlife!

Again, the nature of the cataclysm extends far beyond plague. Even when a portrait of the destruction on the human plane is finally painted in the fourth tablet, it revolves chiefly around sociopolitical unrest.[55]

Two points are in order here. The first is that save for a blessing in the conclusion protecting the singer of the song, there are no indications of plague anywhere in the extant text. The

[54] See *Erra Song* I:131–137.

[55] See especially *Erra Song* IV:23–35.

second is that while a historical experience of plague could conceivably lurk behind the circumstances of the text's composition, it would be a violent curtailment of the text's mythic grandeur and scale to reduce it simply to an experience of plague.

Having established that Erra (as well as Nergal) occasionally manifests a weak but undeniable relationship to plague, I will now bring this evidence to bear on several cryptic phrases in which Erra appears, all of which have traditionally been construed as veiled references to plague.

The Touch of Erra

The noun *liptu* is known from multiple theophoric personal names, especially stemming from Mesopotamia's early history (Old Babylonian and earlier), in the positive sense of "handiwork" or "creation," as in Lipit-Erra, "Erra's handiwork."[56] However, by the first millennium lexicographic evidence strongly suggests the phrase had come to designate a disease.[57] The immediate context of its appearance in the *Stela of Bēl-Ḫarrān-bēlī-uṣur* leaves little doubt: "In combat, battle, and war, disease, plague, the touch of Erra, and epidemic . . ." (*ina šašme qabli u tāḫāzu di'u šibṭi lipit Erra mūtāni*; line 27). Observe that the list of potential afflictions here is grouped neatly into military calamities and epidemiological woes, and the "touch of Erra," sandwiched between two terms for plague or epidemic, can hardly be other than a synonym. This evidence suggests that even when it appears alongside famine, it signifies plague.[58]

[56] In Pinches, *CT* 6, #40a line 5.

[57] See *CAD*, ad loc. for passages in which *liptu* clearly indicates disease even without reference to Erra, as evidenced by its association with such terms as *marāṣu*, "to be sick."

[58] As in *The Annals of Aššurbanipal: The Rassam Cylinder (Edition A)* iii:134–135 and *The Sargon Stela* iii:70–72.

The Devouring of Erra

Another set of phrases that has traditionally been associated with plague involves the root *akālu*, "to eat; to devour," typically appearing in omen apodoses and employed in reference to a number of gods. This expression occurs in two basic forms, one involving an inflected verb and the other a noun (*ukultu*) derived from the same root. The lexicographic evidence for this set of idioms is complex; the phrase is used with a range of subjects, from gods to calamities, and with various objects that minimally include "the land," "the people," and "cattle"; often the action is simply said to take place "in the land."

Sometimes a direct relationship is posited between the devouring of the divine agent and the more literal devouring of terrestrial inhabitants; however, it is not clear whether the relationship turns on anything more than the shared usage of the term "devour":

> 104 [*ina* ITI] *lu-lu-bé-e* MAN *ina še-rim* TÙR NÍGIN ^{d}*èr-ra ina* KUR KÚ KI.MIN BURU$_5$.ḪI.A ZI-*ma* KUR KÚ
> 104 [*ina araḫ*] *lulubê šamšu ina šērim tarbaṣa lami Erra ina māti ikkal* KI.MIN *erbû itebbû-ma māta ikkalū*
> 104 [If in the month of] Lulubû the sun is surrounded by a halo in the morning, Erra will devour in the land; variant: locusts will arise and devour the land.[59]

In one attestation, the vague phrase "vexation of the land" (*nazāq māti*) is glossed to read "the god will eat the land" (*ilum ikkal māta*).[60] Calamity and sociopolitical breakdown are also associated with this idiom.[61]

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[59] *Enūma Anu Enlil* XXVIII:104.

[60] *Šumma Ālu ina Mēlê Šakin* LXXXVIII:66, in Gadd, *CT* 39, 30.

[61] As in the following omen: "A severe and overpowering attack will be in the land; the god will devour; street will become hostile to street, and household will ransack household" (*tību dannu kašūšu ina māti išakkam-ma ilu ikkal sūqu sūqa innakker bītu bīta imašša'*; *Šumma Izbu* I:82; for an edition see Leichty, *Omen Series Šumma Izbu*).

The evidence that the phrase signifies plague on at least some occasions, especially with reference to a non-specific divine agent, is compelling: in a commentary to *Šumma Izbu* the generic phrase "the god devours" (DINGIR KÚ) is glossed unmistakably as "plague" (ÚŠ-*mu-ta-nu*-MEŠ).[62] However, that Erra's devouring specifically stands for plague is less clear. In at least one instance plague follows the mention of devouring, perhaps as clarification or perhaps as a subsidiary effect.[63] In another instance, however, the phrase is glossed interlinearly as "famine":

8 DIŠ UR.GIR$_{15}$ *ana* UDU ˹*ú*˺-[*ḫa*]-*an-ni-iṣ ú-kúl-ti* ^{d}*èr-ra ina* KUR GÁL-[*ši*]
SU.KÚ
8 *šumma kalbu ana immeri u*[*ḫa*]*nniṣ ukulti Erra ina māti ibašši*
ḫušaḫ
8 If a dog ba[res i]ts teeth at a sheep: devouring of Erra will be in the land.[64]
(famine)

The need for a gloss on this occasion might suggest it was not universally understood in this manner. However, the explication of the phrase as famine here dovetails with the use of the term *dannatu* (a word that occasionally means famine) in reference to Erra's devouring elsewhere.[65] And the variant interpretation quoted above—"locusts will arise and devour the land"[66]—serves as a natural precursor to famine.

It is likely the idiom was understood to have different implications when applied to different gods. But given the range of applications surveyed above, it is plausible to suppose the

[62] *Šumma Izbu* commentary to I:51.

[63] "If a comet (?) reaches Jupiter and they go parallel to each other, Erra will devour the land; there will be plague in the land; the entire land will diminish" (*šumma bibbu dapīnu ikšudam-ma ittentû Erra māta ikkal mūtānū ina māti ibaššû mātu ištēniš iṣeḫḫer*; *Enūma Anu Enlil* LVI:29, following the copy and line numbers in Thureau-Dangin, *Tablettes d'Uruk*, pl. XXX [#16]).

[64] *Šumma Ālu ina Mēlê Šakin* LXXII:8. The copy in which the gloss appears is found in Gadd, *CT* 39, pl. 26.

[65] ". . . devouring of Erra: there will be hardship/famine in the land of the prince" (*ukultu Erra dannatu ina māt rubê ibašši*; *Bārûtu: Manzāzu* 37).

[66] *Enūma Anu Enlil* XXVIII:104.

basic set of idioms carried the broad and somewhat abstract meaning that the population would suffer a reduction; different gods may have been thought to govern different mechanisms by which this was brought about. The phrase "devouring of Erra," then, was minimally understood in some times and places as a reference to famine; it is not clear whether it was interpreted more broadly. To the degree the idiom signifies plague, it appears this meaning hinges on the use of the term "devour," not on the presence of Erra.

The Weapon of Erra

Erra's "weapon" is referenced in two genres: royal inscriptions and omens. In the former, the weapon of Erra bestows military prowess and divine authorization.[67] Typically presiding over combat, it can also, conversely, preside over peace and prosperity.[68]

In omen apodoses, however, the phrase "weapon of Erra" (*kakki Erra*) is almost universally understood by modern scholars as a cipher for plague. An investigation into the legitimacy of this interpretation can avail itself of three lines of evidence: 1) Erra's associations generally; 2) the connotations of "weapon" elsewhere; and 3) the immediate contexts of the passages in which the phrase appears.

We have seen that Erra exhibits some relationship to plague, but that plague is not his primary bailiwick; his status as a warrior appears to be more central. And the term "weapon" itself, even when employed metaphorically, naturally tends to signify military aggression.[69] In fact, the

[67] See especially Nabopolassar #1 i:21–29.

[68] As in Neriglissar #1 i:12–13.

[69] See *CAD*, s.v. "kakku."

symbol is employed in omen apodoses with reference to other figures, such as Sargon, with undeniable military overtones.[70]

While most of the contexts in which the phrase "weapon of Erra" occurs are unilluminating, the text known as *Akkadian Prophecy B* seemingly explicates it:

> 23 ^{giš}TUKUL ^{d}*èr-ra dan-nu ina* KUR GAR-*ma* UN.MEŠ KUR ŠÀ.GAR SU.KÚ IGI.MEŠ
> 23 *kakki Erra dannu ina māti išakkam-ma nišū māti bubūta ḫušaḫḫa immarā*
> 23 The mighty weapon of Erra will be in the land: the people of the land will experience starvation and famine.

Unfortunately it is unclear whether the phrase is glossed straightforwardly here or whether its base meaning has been expanded or qualified. The verb with which it appears in this context—GAR (*šakānu*)—reveals little, functioning effectively as a copula;[71] however, on other occasions the action is described using the term *bâ'u*, which means, in negative situations, "to sweep over destructively":[72]

> LXXXVIII:46 DIŠ MUŠ.MEŠ *et-gu-ru-tu ina* MÚRU URU *iz-zaq-pu-ma* UN.MEŠ UR.BI *i-mu-ra* MU.3.KÁM ^{giš}TUKUL ^{d}*èr-ra* KUR *i-ba-a'*
> LXXXVIII:46 *šumma ṣerrū etgurūtu ina qabal āli izzaqpū-ma nišū ištēniš īmurā šalāš šanāti (/ šalušta šatta) kakki Erra māta ibâ'*
> LXXXVIII:46 If intertwined snakes rear up in the midst of the city and people see it together, the weapon of Erra will sweep destructively over the land for three years (/ in the third year).[73]

[70] As in the following omen: "If above the 'strength' the flesh stands up like a peg: weapon of Sargon; the army of the king will have no rival" (*šumma elēnu danāni šīru kīma sikkati izziz kakki Šarrum-kīn ummān šarri māḫera ul irašši*; *Enūma Multabiltum* iii:7; for a copy see Thompson, *CT* 20, pl. 39).

[71] This is equally true of the verb GÁL (*bašû*), appearing in *Astrological Report on the Conjunction of Mars and Saturn* and *Enūma Anu Enlil* LVI:27 and 28.

[72] See *CAD*, ad loc.

[73] *Šumma Ālu ina Mēlê Šakin*. (The same omen appears in XXV:13'–14' as well as in "Snake Omens.")

Perhaps unexpectedly, *CAD* cites no reference to plague being described using this verb, where "attacks" and instances of "annihilation" are reported alongside the term *bâʾu* on a number of occasions.[74] And while it may be implausible to suppose a single instance of military aggression could last three years—certainly the case for discrete battles—sieges undoubtedly could.[75] This might, in fact, account for the phrase's relationship to famine evident from *Akkadian Prophecy B*, quoted above. (Alternatively, the phrase "for three years" might be read "in the third year.")

The case for the phrase's bearing connotations of combat is bolstered by the contexts in which a close parallel, *kašūšu*, appears. Somewhat like *kakki Erra*, the term occurs in literary texts as well as omen apodoses; it apparently signifies both a divine weapon and the action of annihilation. It, too, can "sweep over destructively" or "appear in the land," but its overtones often to strike a military chord.[76]

Given these observations, it is likely that the "weapon of Erra," rather than signifying plague, denotes more generally a process of annihilation. This interpretation has the advantage of connecting its usage in omens to its appearance in royal inscriptions, where it can be turned to positive ends; it also lies closer to the basic semantic field of the term "weapon" and better fits what we otherwise know of Erra's character.

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[74] As in an inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta: "I overtook al[l of the lands] of Nairi in [my] battle fury" (*ina šumur tāḫāz*[*īya*] *abāʾa kulla*[*t mātāt*] *Nairi*; "Tukulti-Ninurta #26" lines 10–12a; for an edition see Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia*, 278–279).

[75] As evidenced, for example, by the following passage from an early letter: "Now his lord has been under siege for three years . . ." (*inanna bēlšu ištu šalāš šanātim lawi*; line 59 of SH. 812, copied and edited in Læssøe, *Shemshāra Tablets*, 77–87).

[76] As in for example *Atraḫasīs*: "Annihilation swept over the people [like a battl]e" ([*kīma qabl*]*i eli nišī ibāʾ kašūšu*; *Atraḫasīs* II:iii:12, following the copy in Lambert and Millard, *CT* 46, pl. XV, line 12 and the reconstructions in eidem, *Atra-ḫasīs*), or *Šumma Izbu*: "There will be annihilation in the country, and the army of the prince will fall in spite of its status" (*kašūšu ina māti ibaššī-ma ṣāb rubê ina kabātīšu imaqqut*; *Šumma Izbu* XIV:7; for an edition see Leichty, *Omen Series Šumma Izbu*, where however the passage is rendered somewhat differently).

The Time of Erra

I am aware of only one attestation of this phrase (*ūmē Erra*, literally "the days of Erra"), appearing in a fragmentary list of blessings in a first-millennium copy.[77] The modern translator of this text clarifies the phrase in question as "the plague,"[78] and *CAD* follows suit, forgoing including Erra's name entirely and highlighting a putative relationship between lines rev. 2', in which disease is undeniably mentioned (*di'u*), and rev. 4', where Erra's name appears.[79] Given the fact that these lines are not contiguous and that Erra has no demonstrable relationship with *di'u*, a disease characterized by headache, in particular, there is no reason to suppose this references plague. In fact, it may allude to the tradition behind the *Erra Song*, that Erra lurks behind general sociopolitical breakdown or catastrophe: its connotations may be similar to those of the phrase *palê Nergal*, "the reign of Nergal."[80]

The Massacre of Erra

Likewise, I know of only one occurrence of this phrase, in an inscription of Aššurbanipal recounting the alarming depredations of lions: "Like a massacre of Erra corpses were piled up, dead people, oxen, and s[heep]" (*kīma dabdê Erra tabkat šalamtu mītūtu alpū u ṣ*[*ēnī*]).[81] Although it has often been translated "plague,"[82] there is nothing in the immediate context to suggest this simile

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[77] "May they guard you [from] disease of the head! / May they favor you . . . of the prince! / May they save you [i]n the time of Erra!" ([*ina*] *di'i liṣṣurūka* / [. . .] ŠU *rubê ligmilūka* / [*i*]*na ūmē Erra liṭerūka*; "Blessings for an Unknown Individual (K 2279)" rev. 2'–4').

[78] Sidersky, "Prayers for a King (?)," 571.

[79] *CAD*, s.v. "naṣāru": "[L]et them protect you from the *di'u* disease, let them save you in times of pestilence."

[80] On which see below.

[81] Aššurbanipal Inscription (K 2867) rev. 7.

[82] Luckenbill translates "as if plague had broken loose" (*Ancient Records of Assyria* 2, 363); *CAD* suggests "as (after) the carnage caused by a plague" (s.v. "dabdû").

reflects epidemic disease specifically. The term *dabdû*, "defeat, massacre," typically describes bloodshed on the battlefield. *CAD* cites only one other apparent exception to this trend, where Ēa is thought to cause a plague to the fish,[83] and there too there is no clear reason to translate the term "plague" specifically. Given the use of the term elsewhere, it appears that Ēa brings about a massacre among the fish; plague may simply be the specific mechanism by which he causes it in this case. Erra's undeniable relationship to war, coupled with the fact that the term *dabdû* applies almost universally to battle, obviates any need for an appeal to plague: the image is that of a rout on the battlefield.

Famine

There can be no doubt that Erra has a relationship to famine, as has already been demonstrated from passages quoted in the foregoing discussion; these include *Akkadian Prophecy B*, which explicates the expression "weapon of Erra" (*kakki Erra*) with the statement that "the people of the land will experience starvation and famine" (*nišū māti bubūta ḫušaḫḫa immarā*), and one copy of *Šumma Ālu ina Mēlê Šakin* LXXII:8,[84] in which the phrase *ukulti Erra* is glossed by a term for famine (*ḫušaḫḫu*).

The following grisly passage from *The Annals of Aššurbanipal: The Rassam Cylinder (Edition A)* associates Erra closely with famine while leaving the nature of the relationship opaque:

iv:77 *ul-tú ep-še-e-ti an-na-a-ti e-te-ep-pu-šú*
iv:77 *ultu epšēti annâti ēteppušu*
iv:77 After I had accomplished these things

[83] $BAD_5.BAD_5$ NU_6.ḪI.A ^{d}É.A [GAR], in Virolleaud, *ACh*, Adad XIII:32 and Gadd, *CT* 39, pl. 17, line 71 (cited in *CAD*, s.v. "dabdû").

[84] Gadd, *CT* 39, pl. 26.

iv:78 *ú-ni-iḫ-ḫu* ŠÀ-*bi* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-*ia*
iv:78 *uniḫḫu libbi ilānī rabûti bēlīya*
iv:78 and soothed the hearts of the great gods, my lords,

iv:79 ^{lú}ÚŠ.MEŠ UN.MEŠ *šá* ^{d}*èr-ra ú-šam-qí-tú*
iv:79 *mītāt nišī ša Erra ušamqitu*
iv:79 the dead bodies of the people whom Erra had laid low

iv:80 *ù šá ina su-un-qí bu-bu-ti iš-ku-nu na-piš-tú*
iv:80 *u ša ina sunqi bubūti iškunū napištu*
iv:80 and who had given up the ghost through famine and hunger—

iv:81 *re-ḫe-et ú-kul-ti* UR.GIR$_{15}$.MEŠ ŠAḪ.MEŠ
iv:81 *rēḫet ukulti kalbī šaḫî*
iv:81 the remnants of a meal for dogs and pigs—

iv:82 *šá* SILA.MEŠ *pur-ru-ku ma-lu-u ri-ba-a-ti*
iv:82 *ša suqī purrukū malû rebâti*
iv:82 were blocking the streets and filling the squares.

iv:83–84 GÌR.PAD.DU.MEŠ-*šú-nu-ti ul-tú qé-reb* KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} / GÚ.DU$_8$.A^{ki}
UD.KIB.NUN^{ki} *ú-še-ṣi-ma*
iv:83–84 *eṣmētīšunūti ultu qereb Bābili / Kutû Sippar ušēṣī-ma*
iv:83–84 I removed their bones from the midst of Babylon, / Cuthah, and Sippar.

Several translations of the relevant passage (iv:79–80) are possible: 1) "the dead bodies of the people—those whom Erra had laid low as well as those who had died of starvation and hunger," understanding these sets of victims to be nonoverlapping[85] (Erra would thus be specifically *not* responsible for famine); 2) "the dead bodies of the people whom Erra had laid low and who had (consequently) died of starvation and hunger," understanding famine to be the logical result of Erra's actions but not identical with them; and 3) "the dead bodies of the people whom Erra had laid low, that is, who had died of starvation and hunger," construing Erra's laying the people low as tantamount to killing them through famine.[86]

[85] For a similar understanding see Streck, *Assurbanipal* 2, 39, where Erra is thought to be the agent of plague here.

[86] A later equally gruesome passage in the same text fails to resolve the ambiguity: "As for Uate', together with his troops who had not kept my oath and who before the weapons of Aššur my lord had fled and escaped—

That Erra defeats these victims through an act of military might can clearly be excluded, since Erra attacks them after they have fled: thus the relevant expression likely refers either to plague or to famine. While famine often sets the stage for the rapid spread of epidemic disease by weakening the population immunologically, it is less clear that plague could be a catalyst for famine, especially in the immediate short term. It appears then that the clauses about famine in both of these instances relate to the preceding statements that Erra lays low his victims by spelling out the specific manner in which they are laid low. This observation accords with our conclusions above, that Erra is not invariably associated with plague and thus that any such association must be laid bare, and it is reinforced by a similar concurrence of the verb *šumqutu* with a term for famine appearing in reference to Adad in *Advice to a Prince*.[87]

More than three decades ago Roberts argued the following:

> The most characteristic portrayal of Erra is as a warrior, and, more specifically, as a warrior whose main weapon is famine. Actually the texts associate Erra far more closely with famine than with plague, though it has become a scholarly commonplace to refer to Erra as a god of pestilence.[88]

My analysis here suggests that while the connection Roberts draws between Erra and famine is legitimate, Roberts has downplayed Erra's relationship to plague and played up the relationship to famine. Famine and plague often go hand in hand,[89] but another point of commonality between

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Erra, the combative, laid them low: famine developed among them and out of hunger they ate the flesh of their children" (*Uate' adi ummānātīšu ša adêya lā iṣṣurū ša lapān kakkī Aššur bēlīya ipparšidū-ma innabtūni maḫaršunu ušamqissunūti Erra qardu sunqu ina birīšunu iššakim-ma ana būrīšunu ēkulū šīr mārīšunu*; ix:53–59). A close parallel to this passage appears in *The Annals of Aššurbanipal: Edition B* viii:23–26.

[87] "Adad, the canal inspector of heaven and earth, will lay low the animals of his steppe through famine" (*Adad gugal šamê u erṣeti nammaššê ṣērīšu ina ḫušaḫḫi ušamqat-ma*; *Advice to a Prince* lines 42–43).

[88] Roberts, *Earliest Semitic Pantheon*, 25.

[89] Roberts observes this as well (ibid., 28), although the conclusion he draws from it—that Erra's association with plague is but a subsidiary development to his association with famine and war—is unwarranted. For Roberts, war and famine are spokes radiating out from a central association with scorched earth. In my analysis, in contrast, Erra is associated with a constellation of phenomena, natural and anthropogenic, that bring about large-scale disruption.

them is that they operate at a level above that of the individual or the household. It may be that Erra is sporadically associated with either plague or famine because he is associated with death and disruption on a communal, or even a national, scale; plague and famine are also both common side effects of Erra's primary association, war.

Demons

As early as the Old Babylonian period Erra appears to have an at least occasional association with demons. In the difficult and fragmentary mythological text *A New Descent to the Netherworld*, a representative of Erra in the form of a *gallû*-demon approaches someone on behalf of Ereškigal.[90] And in *Incantation against Wardat-Lilîm*, this well-known female demon is identified as Erra's "follower."[91]

No doubt because of his destructive tendencies, in later incantations and related texts, Erra is sometimes grouped with demons as a potential source of distress. In *Compendium of Incantations* §1 Erra (Nergal in the Sumerian) appears following a litany of demons.[92] This relationship is more than proximity in context: Erra behaves in a manner that parallels and even exceeds the behavior of

[90] "An evil storm demon, a *gallû*-demon, the messenger of Erra, / was standing in his presence addressing him" (*ūmum lemnum gallûm šipir Erra* / *ina maḫrīšu izzaz-ma isaqqaršum*; *A New Descent to the Netherworld* lines 12–13). In this context Erra's relationship to demons is clearly an extension of his relationship to the netherworld, although it is striking that Erra appears in the extant text to the exclusion of Nergal.

[91] She is called *rēdīt ilim Erra*, in *Incantation against Wardat-Lilîm* line 2.

[92] "The great *šēdu*-demon, *utukku*-demon, and lurker demon, who chase people continually in the squares (*Sum.* wide street), The terrible storm, the great storm, which is not put to flight in the hinterland and does not look back, Nergal/Erra, the great, who lays people low in the street, small and great alike (*Sum.* lowly like lofty), and does not leave any behind" (^{d}alad udug maškim gal-gal-la nam-lú-u$_{18}$-lu / sila-daĝal-la al-bú-bú-dè-ne / *šēdu utukku rābiṣu rabbûti ša ana nišī* / *ina rebâte ittanašrabbiṭū* / ud-ḫuš ud-gal an-eden-na gaba-bi / nu-gi$_4$-gi$_4$ a-ga-bi-šè nu-un-bar-ra / *uḫušgallu ūmu rabû ša ina ṣēri irassu* / *lā uttarru ana arkīšu lā ippallasu* / ^{d}u-gur nam-uru$_{16}$-na e-sír un de$_5$-de$_5$-ga / tur maḫ-gim a-ga-bi-šè nu-da$_{13}$-da$_{13}$ / *Erra rabâ ša ina sūqi nišī ušamqatu* / *ṣeḫra rabâ ana arkīšu lā izzibu*; *Compendium of Incantations* §1 lines 9–20).

the demons. Similarly, in "*Namburbi* against General Mischief," a list of malevolent forces culminates in a mention of Erra, following which an exorcism is pronounced.[93]

It is thus likely no coincidence that in AN–*Anum* a demon appears under the name Erra-baba (/Erra-bazu);[94] although not Erra himself, that he was understood to have a relationship to Erra is evident from the non-straightforward spelling of the initial component of his name, which appears as *èr-ra.*

In the *Erra Song,* Erra's relationship to the demonic is most clearly expressed through his complex affiliation with the Divine Heptad: nominally their master,[95] he is in fact himself strongly influenced by their rhetoric.[96] The Divine Heptad themselves are objects of worship in a cult at the same time that, in this text, they borrow some of the properties of demons. Although not demonic per se, the Divine Heptad are nevertheless introduced in a passage reminiscent of incantations that articulate the place in the cosmos occupied by a hostile force in order to exercise control over it.[97] Erra's relationship with the Divine Heptad encapsulates the ways in which he mediates the space between the divine and the demonic in that he is galvanized to act by fiendish forces that are hostile to humans: he associates himself with demons, which can only reflect on him, but at the same time this association puts him at one remove from his own hostile behavior, since he acts on their

[93] " . . . Erra, lord [who from] distant [day]s [has been angry with] Nabû-dūr-ilīšu" (*Erra bēlu* [*ša ištu ūm*]*ī ma'dūte* [*išbusu eli*] *Nabû*-[*d*]*ūr-ilīšu*; "*Namburbi* against General Mischief," lines 15–17). The text is lamentably fragmentary and ambiguous. The immediate context in which Erra is invoked is unfortunately unclear, but may involve perhaps the "touch of Erra," on which see above. It is possible, as Goetze reads the text, that Erra himself is cast out, which would cement his relationship with the demonic (see "Cuneiform Inscriptions from Tarsus," 11–16). However, in the context of the *namburbi* as a whole, in which a series of evil forces is listed, it seems preferable to suppose what is cast out is a particular complaint caused by Erra.

[94] AN–*Anum* VI:125.

[95] Anu bequeaths them to him in *Erra Song* I:40.

[96] See *Erra Song* I:46–93.

[97] *Erra Song* I:28–44. See below on the specific incantations from which the *Erra Song* likely borrowed and the complexities of the role the Divine Heptad play here, specifically the manner in which they display attributes of demons at the same time that they have been integrated into the cosmos.

initiative and not his own. The evidence cited above may indicate that Erra's complicated relationship to the demonic—and, correspondingly, the complicated attitudes toward his worship—was a longstanding one.

IV. Erra's Characteristics across Time

Generally associated with Semitic contexts,[98] in fact Erra appears in almost as many Sumerian texts from the early periods of Mesopotamian history (Presargonic through Old Babylonian) as Akkadian, although the spelling ^{d}KIŠ-*ra* is decidedly more associated with the Sumerian language.[99] Similarly, individuals bearing personal names with Erra are distributed roughly equally across Akkadian and Sumerian texts; however, the names themselves are overwhelmingly in Akkadian.[100] This suggests Erra's cult in Mesopotamia originated among Semitic speakers but was already relatively well integrated by the periods under study.[101]

The personal names themselves cluster markedly toward the early periods of Mesopotamian history and diminish precipitously in the middle period, peaking in my survey at about 1.4% of the total number of names during the Isin-Larsa period and then dropping off to zero by the Kassite period.[102] These data suggest that early on Erra's worship was popular, extending far beyond *belles lettres* and invocations by elites to the religious practices of ordinary people; for

[98] See for example Wiggermann's assertion that he is a "Semitic god of death" ("Nergal," 217).

[99] For attestations of his name see appendix B.

[100] Of course it is unclear whether names written in Sumerian are to be read in Sumerian or logographically in Akkadian. Some possible Sumerian names with Erra include *èr-ra*-AN.DÙL (Steinkeller, *Sale Documents*, #87 line 13), *èr-ra*-UR.SAG (ibid., #87 line 11), UR-^{d}KIŠ-*ra* (Westenholz, *OSP* 2, #123 line 11), LÚ-^{d}*èr-ra* (al-Rawi, *Texts from Umma* 1, #22 i:11), ^{d}*èr-ra*-UL.LÍ (Yildiz, Waetzoldt, and Renner, *Umma-Texte*, 228), and *èr-ra*-IGI.DU (Ferwerda, *Early Isin Craft Archive*, #4 line 8). Amorite names with Erra appear at least at Mari (*ia-si*$^{?}$-*èr-ra* and *ia-sú-èr-ra*; Talon, *Textes administratifs*, #234 iv:12 and #233 vi:17, respectively).

[101] Obviously this need not indicate that his cult originated among Semitic speakers, or that his name is Semitic; the evidence does not permit such questions to be addressed.

[102] See appendix C. On the one possible Erra name in the Kassite period see below n. 130.

comparison: at the peak in names invoking Erra in the Isin-Larsa period, Adad names constitute about 1.9% of the total names in Mesopotamia, while names invoking Sîn, whose popularity in names is known to have soared at this time, constitute nearly 11% by my calculations.[103] Erra was throughout this era perhaps a second-tier but widely known deity.

Evidence suggests this high point in Erra names in the Isin-Larsa period in particular may be correlated not with the era, but rather with the location: in texts stemming from Isin itself, names invoking Erra surge to about 5% of the total,[104] where at Larsa they make up 2.4% of the names.[105] In contrast, in Ur the proportion of Erra names drops below 1%, at 0.9%,[106] where at Nippur Erra is only being invoked in 0.4% of the names.[107] Naturally accident of discovery could be distorting the data, which may be capturing only the ratios of particular text corpora whose percentages are not generalizable to the respective regions as a whole. But while tenuous, these data are intriguing, suggesting the region of Isin may have been a locus of Erra's worship at this time—a suspicion that is reinforced by the observation that no fewer than two kings in the First Dynasty of Isin bore Erra names (Išbi-Erra and Erra-imittī). The apparent peak in Erra names in the Isin-Larsa period may thus be nothing more than an artifact of the circumstance that Isin was producing significant texts at this time.[108]

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[103] These figures are derived from the same sources from which the Erra names were gleaned; see appendix C.

[104] Counting names from Ferwerda, *Early Isin Craft Archive*.

[105] Counting names from Faust, *Contracts from Larsa*.

[106] Counting names from Figulla and Martin, *Letters and Documents*.

[107] Counting names from Sigrist, *Les* sattukku *dans l'Ešumeša*.

[108] There is also a possibility that Erra played a special role to this particular dynasty, which promoted his worship. More research into the naming practices at Isin outside of this era would help in the project of teasing out the significance of location from that of time.

In Mesopotamia's early history Erra names could apply even to women, as evidenced by Šū-Sîn's probable daughter Šāt-Erra[109] or a certain Šīmat-Erra.[110] A number of early geographical names invoke Erra as well, including the Maṣḫat-Erra Canal,[111] the Tuqmāt-Erra Canal,[112] the Šīmat-Erra Canal,[113] a town called Erra-ursag known from the Old Babylonian period,[114] and an Old Babylonian fortress dedicated to Nergal named Uṣi-ana-Erra.[115]

Though the number of Erra names drops decisively in the middle period, it would be a mistake to suppose Erra ever entirely disappears from personal names; late examples include a scribe from Nineveh in the Neo-Assyrian period known as Erra-gāmil;[116] a Neo-Babylonian named Uzbu-Erra;[117] and even a Hellenistic-era individual with the name Amēl-Erra.[118] The Nergal Gate in Nineveh, which pointed toward Tarbiṣu (known to be a cult center to Nergal), also bore an official

[109] See Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 339.

[110] See Alexander, *Letters and Economic Texts*, #170 lines 5, 10, and 17.

[111] Mentioned in a letter in Stol, *Letters from Yale*, 81 (#127). This may be the same, through metathesis, as the canal appearing in a late context as ^{íd}*maḫ-ṣa-at-*^{d}*èr-ra* in Rawlinson, II R, 51 (#2), i:18, apparently meaning "Smitten by Erra."

[112] Commissioned by Rīm-Sîn I and mentioned in an inscription edited in Sollberger and Kupper, *Inscriptions royales*, 206.

[113] Mentioned as a boundary marker in an inscription of Ur-Namma edited in Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 53 and 55.

[114] Mentioned in a letter edited in Cagni, *Briefe aus dem Iraq Museum*, 3 (#3).

[115] Mentioned in an inscription of Samsu-iluna edited in Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period*, 382.

[116] See Parpola, Radner, and Baker, *Prosopography* 1.2, 405.

[117] See Spar and von Dassow, *Private Archive Texts*, #99 line 34.

[118] See Schroeder, *Kontrakte der Seleukidenzeit*, #1 iii:11.

name invoking Erra, but in the ferocious terms that had come to characterize him by the first millennium: Erra-šāgiš-zāmanīya.[119]

Nevertheless, such examples from the first millennium are exceptionally rare. This dramatic reduction in Erra names in later Mesopotamian history seemingly speaks to the near disappearance of Erra from popular worship, where he was eclipsed by the meteoric rise of his avatar Nergal in personal names; it also tracks the increasing savagery with which Erra was portrayed in the first millennium.

Most examples of Erra names portray the deity in the affirmative terms typical of personal names, using stock phrases applied to multiple other gods: Erra-andullī, "Erra is my protection/shade";[120] Nūr-Erra, "the light of Erra";[121] Iḫbut-Erra, "Erra triumphed";[122] Gimil-Erra, "the favor of Erra";[123] and Erra-muballiṭ, "Erra is savior."[124] Erra's status as a warrior is prominent: names such as Erra-qurād, "Erra is a warrior," are particularly popular,[125] and place names such as the canal Tuqmāt-Erra, "Erra's battles,"[126] and the town Erra-ursag, "Erra is a warrior,"[127] reinforce the significance of this association. Erra may also have a unique relationship to the root *gašāru*, as

[119] "Erra is the slaughterer of my enemies." A variant rendering of the name of the gate is Erra-mušamqit-ayyābi, "Erra is the one who lays the enemy low." The name is attested in numerous sources; see especially Pongratz-Leisten, Ina šulmi īrub, 30 and 213, for a topographical text listing the names of Nineveh's gates.

[120] See Crawford, *First Dynasty of Isin*, #390 line 9.

[121] See Goddeeris, *Tablets from Kisurra*, #96 line 4.

[122] See Faust, *Contracts from Larsa*, #126 line 20.

[123] See Legrain, *Business Documents*, 746.

[124] See Sigrist, *Horn Archaeology Museum* (AUCT 5), #123 lines 2 and 8.

[125] See for example Alexander, *Letters and Economic Texts*, #33 line 1 and #35 line 10; Sigrist, *Texts from the Yale Babylonian Collections*, #2199 line 2; Stol, *Letters from Yale*, #220 line 1, #222 line 10; Walters, *Water for Larsa*, #31 line 1, #32 line 10; and Widell, *Ur III Texts*, 16.

[126] See Sollberger and Kupper, *Inscriptions royales*, 206.

[127] See Cagni, *Briefe aus dem Iraq Museum*, 3 (#3).

evidenced by the name Erra-gašir, "Erra is powerful," a formula seemingly not applied to other gods.[128] But although the terminology of combat is applied to Erra, there is no hint that Erra is especially misanthropic or unamenable to entreaty; as a whole these names show Erra to be capable of beneficence toward humanity and an appropriate and popular subject of invocation in this era. Perhaps surprisingly, but entirely consonant with the tenor in personal names in general, the rare first-millennium personal name to invoke Erra is similarly innocuous: Erra-gāmil, "Erra is favorable"; "Erra-balāssi-šabši, "O Erra, call my life into being";[129] etc.[130]

Although the well of personal names invoking Erra had run nearly dry by the middle period, it is not clear that Erra had become archaic or arcane by the first millennium, though his popularity as a subject of entreaty had apparently diminished sharply. In fact, the number of attestations in late sources far outstrips that of early texts, although the contexts and tenor have changed somewhat; the increasing savagery that is attributed to him may account for his disappearance from personal names and other invocatory contexts. Evidence for cultic activity devoted to Erra is never more than sparse, comprising, in the early period, a few scant references in Neo-Sumerian contexts,[131] an Old Babylonian seal impression from a "servant of Erra" (*warad Erra*),[132] and the

[128] On this issue see Steinkeller, "Name of Nergal," 166; compare also *Erra Song* I:111: *ina Anunnakī gašrāku*, "among the Anunnakī I am the most powerful."

[129] See Parpola, Radner, and Baker, *Prosopography* 1.2, 405.

[130] The most revealing name apparently to invoke Erra may be a misinterpretation. A number of authors, beginning apparently with von Soden's entry on the relevant root in *AHw*, have construed the Kassite name ^{I}*e-ra-mi-iq* as an Erra name built on the root *muqqu* meaning "Erra, delay!" or perhaps, by extension, "Erra, forgive!" This reading is adopted in Petschow, *MRWH*, 41 and in Hölscher, *Personennamen der kassitenzeitlichen Texte*, 74. While delightful in its unique plaintiveness, this very uniqueness casts some doubt on this interpretation. If correct, this would represent the only Erra name extant in the Kassite period. And as we have seen, even names invoking Erra tend to make positive declarations of the deity's graciousness and power rather than pleas for the deity to change his behavior. The odd spelling of the divine name *e-ra*, otherwise exclusive to Old Assyrian sources, only adds to the dubiousness of the reading.

[131] *CT* 32, pl. 45; SACT 2, #94.

[132] *Texts from Sippir* #8, seal.

mention of a temple dedicated in his honor in *Erra and Narām-Sîn*.[133] And a Neo-Sumerian archive of unknown provenance includes an especially high rate of personal names formed with Erra (and Mammi), suggesting he may have been the patron deity of a town in this period.[134] In the first millennium the evidence is similarly sparse but by no means unknown: a golden statue of Erra is mentioned in a Neo-Assyrian letter;[135] an unfortunately broken text here designated "Fragmentary Building Ritual" invokes Erra; and sacrifices to Erra (no doubt in his capacity as a warrior and comrade in battle) receive a mention in Aššurbanipal's Annals.[136] The most decisive evidence for a cult to Erra comes, perhaps surprisingly, from a Late Bronze Age town near Emar called Ešši, "New (City)," where a number of cultic inventories document Erra's ritual appurtenances.[137]

Although Erra is already strongly associated with war and occasionally even with demons in texts from the Old Babylonian period and earlier, extant documents bear witness to a marked shift across time in the manner in which he is portrayed. Ever a militaristic figure, Erra is pictured marching at Zimri-Lim's side in *The Epic of Zimri-Lim*[138] and assisting Narām-Sîn in battle in *Erra and Narām-Sîn*;[139] he is said, apparently in reference to his aid on the battlefield, to be the "friend" (or perhaps better translated the "ally") of both Narām-Sîn[140] and Ḫammurapi,[141] his aggressive

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[133] See especially *Erra an Narām-Sîn* lines 26–31.

[134] See Lo Castro, "Erra e Mama." The town in question may be Maškan-Puša (ibid.; see also Steinkeller, *Sale Documents*, 305–306).

[135] See "Theft of a Golden Statue of Erra."

[136] "He (Šamaš-šum-ukīn) put a stop to the bringing of my offerings before Bēl, son of Bēl; the light of the gods, Šamaš; and warrior Erra; he discontinued the presenting of my food-offerings" (*epēš nīqīya lapān Bēl mār Bēl nūr ilānī Šamaš u qurādi Erra iklā-ma ušabṭila nadān zībīya*; *The Annals of Aššurbanipal: The Rassam Cylinder [Edition A]* iii:112–114).

[137] See CM 13, #28; CM 13, #30; Emar 6, #289; and Hirayama Collection III, #48.

[138] "Adad will march at his left side, / Erra the ferocious at his right" (*illak Addum ina šumēlīšu / Erra dapīnum ina imnīšu*; *The Epic of Zimri-Lim* lines 141–142).

[139] See for example *Erra and Narām-Sîn* lines 33–36.

[140] He is called *rūšu* in *Erra and Narām-Sîn* line 34.

behavior seemingly turned only toward their enemies. In hymns he is fêted as "master of the Meslam" (lugal mes-lam-ma)[142] and "warrior" (*qurādu Erra*)[143] who "roams about in the night"[144] and "is perfect in warriorhood."[145]

However, by the post-Kassite period in Babylonia, when Erra starts to reappear in the scant material that survives, a noticeable shift has occurred: for the first time Erra's aggression is said to target his own people and even to contravene the intentions of the other gods.[146] In a first-millennium context in which other gods are invoked to bestow blessings, those other gods are apparently also called on to protect against "the time of Erra" (*ūmē Erra*); Erra himself is of course not invoked.[147] Although he is not unknown in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions (and related texts), he is typically called on specifically to carry out curses or is seen as an agent in a list of afflictions from which the pious reader will be spared.[148] Alternatively, he appears as the paragon slaughterer whom Neo-Assyrian kings strive to emulate, as in Šalmaneser III, #5 (the Balawat Gates).

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[141] See *Ḫammurapi's Code* ii:68–iii:1: "[I am] the net of the enemy, whom Erra, his ally, enabled to attain his desire" (*sapār nākiri ša Erra rūšu ušakšidu nizmassu*). Notice the combat imagery, *sapār nākiri*, immediately preceding the term *rū'u.* (Observe that it is Nergal rather than Erra who is invoked in the curses in the epilogue; see li:24–39.)

[142] *Sumerian Temple Hymns* line 463.

[143] *Prayer to the Gods of the Night* line 16/13. His appearance here undoubtedly references an astral manifestation, perhaps as the "Fox Star" (for this identification see MUL.APIN I:i:17, likely reflected also in *Erra Song* II:91).

[144] *Hymn to Ninurta* (*SAHG* #2) line 2, describing Ninurta: "Like Erra, he roams about in the night" (^{d}KIŠ-ra-gim ĝi$_6$-a du-du).

[145] *Hymn to Ninurta* (*SAHG* #2) lines 3 and 4, describing Ninurta: "Like Erra, he is perfect in warriorhood" (^{d}KIŠ-ra-gim nam-ur-sag šu-du$_7$).

[146] In Nebuchadrezzar I, #6: "Against the wishes of the gods, Erra, the most powerful of the gods, crushed my [war]riors" (*kī lā libbi ilānī Erra gašri ilānī* [*qur*]*ādīya unappiṣ*; lines 10b–11).

[147] "Blessings for an Unknown Individual (K 2279)" rev. 4.

[148] In Aššurnaṣirpal II, #38 and *Aššurbanipal's Coronation Hymn* Erra appears in the curses; in *Stela of Bēl-Ḫarrān-bēlī-uṣur* the "touch of Erra" (*lipit Erra*) is mentioned in a list of afflictions.

The set of contexts in which he appears in the first millennium is narrowly circumscribed: he is typically a model of aggression or an agent of threat. Observe that not all of these portrayals are strictly negative: generally he is assaulting Assyria's enemies or would-be future iconoclasts who would deface its kings' inscriptions. But in all of them he is ferociously savage. There is overlap between the role he plays in *The Annals of Aššurbanipal* and the role he plays to Narām-Sîn: he aids both on the battlefield. But where Narām-Sîn describes that aid in general terms and emphasizes Erra's loyalty and companionship, Aššurbanipal enumerates Erra's acts of destruction to highlight his shocking brutality.[149]

Predictably, it is in Neo-Assyrian contexts that Erra appears at his most vicious. Neo-Babylonian inscriptions, while similarly celebrating his military prowess, also depict Erra bestowing blessings on the kings, who in turn give ear to his instruction[150]—a devotional sentiment that is virtually absent from Neo-Assyrian contexts. However, it is clear from Erra's placement near the top of the social ladder of Mesopotamian gods in these Neo-Babylonian contexts that he is playing this role by virtue of his identification with Nergal, one of the most important gods in the Neo-Babylonian era. It is therefore likely that the tenor of these passages reflects his participation in Nergal's identity as well.[151]

Furthermore, in the first millennium Erra is almost never invoked directly, either in the blessing formulae of letters, where Nergal's name is common and even Išum's appears sporadically,

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[149] In *The Annals of Aššurbanipal: The Rassam Cylinder (Edition A)*, see especially iv:77–84 and ix:53–59.

[150] In Nabopolassar #3 Erra appears in the introductory formula alongside Marduk, Nabû, Šamaš, and Ayya, sponsors of the king's reign and implicitly the chief gods of the pantheon. Nebuchadrezzar II displays his piety by recounting his attentiveness to Erra (see Nebuchadrezzar II, #13 i:7; Nebuchadrezzar II, #20 i:6; and Nebuchadrezzar II, Cylinder BM 85975 i:5). And Neriglissar opens an inscription by enumerating the favors bestowed on him by (implicitly) Babylonia's top three gods—here Marduk, Nabû, and Erra (see Neriglissar #1).

[151] For more on this issue, see below.

or in hymns, where his near absence from the list of Nergal's avatars is striking.[152] Naturally there are exceptions to this trend. In *Šurpu* Erra's name occurs in a litany of gods so long that his inclusion surely says more about the authors' attempt at comprehensiveness than about any special appropriateness of his to this type of context. In "Prayer to Nabû" (*STT* 1, #71) he appears in a broken passage where, although the general context is invocatory, he is characteristically associated with murdering, and it is clear he himself is not being invoked. In addition, evidence for three first-millennium hymns specifically in praise of Erra survives. In *The Cuthean Hymn to Nergal*, a bilingual paean stemming from the Neo-Babylonian period, Erra is hailed as the Sumerian equivalent of Nergal; however, the hymn has undoubtedly been composed in Akkadian in honor of Nergal and Erra has "come in the back door," as it were, through a misunderstanding construing him as Nergal's Sumerian counterpart.[153] Two other hymns about Erra are known only by their incipits: "At the Watch of Erra, the Night Watchman" and "Let Me Sing of Erra, Let Me Extol His Strength!"[154] In the former example, it is possible Erra has absorbed some of the properties of Išum.[155]

A few final examples constitute additional clear exceptions to this trend: In a "Fragmentary Building Ritual" Erra appears in a ritual context that is unfortunately broken but instructs the

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[152] Hymns to Nergal are common; see for example Böllenrücher's collection (*Gebete und Hymnen*). Though Meslamtaea and Erragal are hailed in its pages, Erra does not make a single appearance.

[153] The late date might in itself suggest composition in Akkadian and then translation into Sumerian. In addition, Nergal is addressed as the "beloved of Enlil, preeminent, lofty, avenger of his father" (*narām Ellil ašarēdu ṣīru mutēr gimillu abīšu*; *The Cuthean Hymn to Nergal* 3b); this language is strongly reminiscent of Ninurta, with whom Nergal (in contradistinction to Erra) is sometimes identified (Wiggermann, "Nergal," 221; Lambert, "Išar-āliššu," 173). This suggests the hymn was composed in praise of Nergal primarily and Erra was included only secondarily.

[154] Listed in appendix B under Incipit of a Hymn to Erra ("At the Watch of Erra, the Night Watchman") and Incipit of a Hymn to Erra ("Let Me Sing of Erra, Let Me Extol His Strength!").

[155] The incipit reads, in full, *maṣṣarat Erra ḫā'iṭu*. Although not identical to any of Išum's extant epithets, the term *ḫā'iṭu* is certainly reminiscent of several: Išum is known as "the guardian at night" (*ina mūši . . . nāṣir-*; *Utukkū Lemnūtu* XIII–XV:92), "the herald of the quiet night" (*nāgir mūši šaqummi*; *Utukkū Lemnūtu* XIII–XV:194); and "the herald of the quiet street" (*nāgir sūqi šaqummi*; *Utukkū Lemnūtu* V:163).

reader to "pour out . . . for Erra" (. . . *tatabbak ana Erra*, line 14').[156] Similarly, in Incantations, *KAR* 1, #88, Erra is adjured in a brief incantatory formula: "By the life of Erra, by the life of the earth, / [By the life of Errag]al, by the life of the Anunna[k]ī!" (zi ^{d}èr-ra zi-ki-a / [zi ^{d}èr-ra-g]al zi ^{d}a-nun-na-[k]i-e-ne; fragment 5, ii:15–16).

This situation closely parallels that of personal names, many of which are essentially invocations themselves: though not entirely absent, Erra is extremely rare in first-millennium names, although his appearance in royal inscriptions, omens, god-lists, and mythological texts indicates he had not fallen into obscurity. (This trend is also apparent from the *Erra Song* itself, where the single direct invocation of the deity is addressed not to Erra but to Nergal.)[157] It would seem that in the first millennium Erra was invoked gingerly and infrequently.

The most conspicuous exception to this trend is to be found in the *Amulets Invoking Marduk, Erra, Išum, and the Divine Heptad*, undeniable derivatives of the *Erra Song*. Erra is addressed here not individually but as a member of a suite of characters understood to control calamity, although the *Erra Song* testifies to the centrality of his role in that undertaking. One might postulate that the song's unsparing portrayal of Erra's destructive spree contributed to a climate in late Mesopotamian religious culture that was generally averse to invoking or praising him. In fact, it appears that just the opposite occurred: its invocation of Nergal to the exclusion of Erra notwithstanding, the *Erra Song* has undeniably given rise to the idea that Erra is a suitable subject of invocation, particularly in circumstances of affliction and in the company of his companions from the narrative. The song itself, therefore, is an unlikely source for the apparently widespread ascription of truculence to Erra and the concomitant disinclination to entreat him personally; the address to Nergal in its closing lines likely reflects this already predominant attitude. Although Erra

[156] Erra is the only divine name to survive in this fragment.

[157] See *Erra Song* V:40; on Nergal see further below.

behaves violently and chaotically in the song, the text models a means for controlling that violence and situating it within a framework in which it is comprehensible and manageable; though not realized in the song itself, this fact apparently furnished the raw materials for a theological platform supporting the direct invocation of Erra, in concert with tempering personalities in the form of Išum and Marduk.

V. Erra's Relationship to Nergal

From the beginning, Nergal is a much more prominent god than Erra, as evidenced both by his placement in lists of important gods and by the frequency with which he appears. For this reason, he can unfortunately be treated in only a cursory fashion here, with special reference to his relationship to Erra.

Background on Nergal

In the earliest sources Nergal's name is spelled ^{d}KIŠ.UNU, with a final phonetic complement GAL appearing from the Old Akkadian period onward.[158] By the middle period and throughout the first millennium this older spelling is largely supplanted by ^{d}U.GUR,[159] originally a spelling for the name of his sword and vizier, *uqur*, meaning "destroy!" in Akkadian.[160] Nergal appears across both Akkadian and Sumerian sources of virtually every genre; it is clear that already in prehistoric times a vigorous cult in his honor was in place. His most important cult center is Cuthah, a city in northern Babylonia that is almost certainly to be identified with modern Tell Ibrahim;[161] he is also

[158] Steinkeller, "Name of Nergal," 164; Wiggermann, "Nergal," 215–216. The name is written logographically, ^{d}KIŠ (Nergal$_{x}$), with phonetic complements *-ere*$_{11}$*-gal*; in the Old Babylonian period the KIŠ sign becomes conflated with the GÌR sign, producing a spelling involving the latter sign (see Steinkeller, "Name of Nergal").

[159] Wiggermann, "Nergal," 216.

[160] Lambert, "Studies in Nergal," 356; Wiggermann, "Nergal," 220.

[161] Edzard and Gallery, "Kutha," 385.

the patron deity of Apiak,[162] Maškan-šapir,[163] Marad,[164] and Uṣarpara[165] (sites on the alluvium), as well as Sirara (on the Diyala),[166] Tarbiṣu (a town outside Nineveh), and Ḫubšalum (an unidentified location in the Yamutbal territory in upper Mesopotamia),[167] with additional temples at other major Mesopotamian cities.[168]

The Identification of Erra and Nergal

Formally identified, Erra and Nergal enjoy a less than straightforward relationship. Dates spanning the gamut of Mesopotamian history have been proposed as beginning points for their official identification.[169] This heterogeneity of opinion arises from and reflects the fractious nature

[162] Where he is called Lugal-Apiak, "Master of Apiak," or Nergal of Apiak; see for example George, *House Most High*, 55.

[163] See especially Steinkeller, "History of Mashkan-shapir," 27–28.

[164] The city god of Marad is generally called simply Lugal-Marada, "Master of Marad," but is sometimes identified as Nergal; see Stol, "Lugal-Marada," 148. A late letter identifies Lugal-Marada as the brother of Nergal; see Reynolds, *Correspondence of Esarhaddon*, 44 (#59).

[165] For information on Nergal's temples at Uṣarpara, near Uruk, see George, *House Most High*, 75 and 111.

[166] On the location of Sirara, perhaps a subsection of Mê-Turna that is to be identified with modern Tell Ḥaddad, see George, *House Most High*, 44.

[167] For Nergal's relationship to these locations see Wiggermann, "Nergal," 222. On the location of Ḫubšalum see Astour, Review of *The Hurrians*, 229.

[168] See the inscription in Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period*, 205–207 for possible evidence of a temple to Nergal at Uruk in the Isin-Larsa period and ibid., 246–247 and 277–278 for evidence of a temple to Nergal at Ur in the same period. See also George, *House Most High*, 125 on a possible temple to Nergal at Uruk; 82 and 115 on temples to Nergal at Ur; and 167 on temples to Nergal at Nippur and Isin (the latter under the name Lugal-Gudua, "Master of Cuthah"). Evidence also survives for a temple to Nergal at Mari, on the middle Euphrates (Dalley, *Mari and Karana*, 119). See also the Standard Babylonian *God-List by Location, with Tallies*, in which seven manifestations of Nergal are listed with their cult centers, which include Babylon, Nippur, Sippar, and Kiš, suggesting additional sanctuaries in northern Babylonia's major cities at least in the first millennium.

[169] Roberts and Lambert argue for an Old Akkadian date (*Earliest Semitic Pantheon*, 29 and "Studies in Nergal," 356, respectively); Gössmann suggests Ḫammurapi's era (*Era-Epos*, 68); and Cagni, Hruška, and Jacobsen favor a late date (*Poem of Erra*, 15; "Einige Überlegungen," 3; and *Treasures of Darkness*, 227, respectively).

of the evidence: apparently never fungible, Erra and Nergal continue to appear in different (as well as overlapping) contexts to the end of the documentary record.

In fact it is not clear that there is a point in Mesopotamian history at which they are not identified. Already in the third millennium there are indications their identities overlap: in *Erra and Narām-Sîn*, a text surviving in Old Babylonian copy but likely composed in the Old Akkadian period, Erra is hailed as "monarch of the Meslam" (*šar-ru mi-iš-lam-mi-im*),[170] a phrase exclusively associated with Nergal's circle and connected especially with his temple in Cuthah, the Emeslam.[171] The phrase recurs in the *Sumerian Temple Hymns* (lugal mes-lam-ma; line 463), where Erra is explicitly linked with Nergal.[172] *Ḫammurapi's Code* perhaps best captures the balance that is struck between associating them closely while invoking them separately: Erra receives a mention in the prologue whereas Nergal is petitioned in the curses in the epilogue, but the passage referencing Erra implicitly connects him to Nergal by placing him, again, in the Emeslam in Cuthah.[173] No other gods in the *Code* exhibit so complex a relationship.

While they continue to be identified in the first millennium, they are far from identical. God-lists and lexical texts predictably affiliate them with one other, often equating them explicitly.[174] Though Nergal tends to serve as the superordinate category under which Erra is subsumed, in the

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[170] *Erra and Narām-Sîn* lines 63 and 64.

[171] See for example a building inscription of Šulgi tying the Emeslam directly to Nergal: "Šulgi, the mighty man, the king of Ur, the king of the four quarters, the builder of the Emeslam, the temple of [N]ergal, his lo[rd], in [Cuth]ah" (*Šulgi dannum šar Urim u šar kibrātim arba'im bāni Emeslam bīt* [*N*]*ergal bē*[*lī*]*šu in* [*Kut*]*â*; for an edition see Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 132).

[172] See *Sumerian Temple Hymns* line 465.

[173] "[I am Ḫammurapi,] the enemies' net, whom Erra, his ally, enabled to attain his desire, who broadens Cuthah and expands all that belongs to the Emeslam" (*sapār nakerī ša Erra rūšu ušakšidu nizmassu mušāter Kutî murappiš mimma šumšu ana <E>meslam*; *Ḫammurapi's Code* ii:68–iii:6). The situation is only further complicated by the mention of a second Emeslam in Maškan-šapir without reference to a deity (see iii:70—iv:6).

[174] See AN–*Anum* VI:9; *The Nippur Compendium* v:18–19; and "God-List, *CT* 25, 35/36" rev. 15.

Assyrian God-List from Sultantepe it is Erra who heads the list of Nergal's avatars, revealing some flexibility in their relationship. Another late text of interest, *God-List by Location, with Tallies*, imposes an artificial order on Nergal's circle of alter-egos by distributing them geographically, assigning Erra to Nergal's chief cult center: Cuthah. Though the reality on the ground in terms of cultic activity was no doubt quite a bit messier, it is surely no accident that Erra appears at Cuthah, the only one of Nergal's cities with which he is particularly associated.[175] It is also significant that Erra tops the list—after Nergal, he appears to be the most important member of this constellation of gods.

Another late category of texts in which they are explicitly identified is that of bilingual documents. The complexity of their relationship is evident from the fact that some confusion prevails on the question to which language each god belongs: In the very late bilingual hymn *The Glorification of Inana*, Erra appears in both the Sumerian and the Akkadian contexts; likewise, in the first-millennium source *Compendium of Incantations* §1 Nergal appears in the Sumerian and Erra in the Akkadian; but in *The Cuthean Hymn to Nergal* it is Erra who appears in the Sumerian and Nergal who appears in the Akkadian. A late list of personal names shares this last perspective, rendering Erra names in Sumerian with Nergal names in Akkadian.[176]

Since evidence was provided above that in its earliest attestations the name Erra is skewed decidedly toward the Akkadian language, his appearance in Sumerian in these first-millennium texts may come as a surprise. It is likely that the general infrequency with which Erra appears vis-à-vis Nergal led in this era to the former's association with the less familiar and the esoteric, and therefore with Sumerian. It is clear that the Mesopotamians themselves were uncertain about the

[175] As in *Ḫammurapi's Code* ii:68–iii:12. The only other city with which Erra is strongly associated (in this case to the exclusion of Nergal) is Ešši, a town near Emar lying on the periphery of Mesopotamia.

[176] For examples from this text, copied in Johns, *ADD* 2, appendix 5 (376–377), see von Weiher, *Der babylonische Gott Nergal*, 98.

origins of Erra's and Nergal's cults. Unlike so many other divine pairs, one god did not simply replace the other outside of occasional arcane contexts; both continued to play different but overlapping roles to the end.[177]

Yet another way the identification between Nergal and Erra is indicated is through variants across different copies of the same text.[178] Their relationship is also evident from the name of the Nergal Gate at Nineveh, called both the "Nergal Gate" (*abul Nergal*) and "Erra is the slaughterer of my enemies" (*Erra šāgiš zāmanīya*).[179]

The most intriguing text to fluctuate between the names Nergal and Erra is the first-millennium mythological narrative *Nergal and Ereškigal.*[180] Although riddled with lacunae, the text apparently recounts, in mythological garb, the process whereby Nergal, originally the netherworld god of northern Babylonia, was integrated into and came to dominate the circle of Ereškigal, the netherworld deity of the south.[181] When Ereškigal's vizier, Namtar, visits the banquet of the heavenly gods in order to procure a portion for his queen, Nergal fails to show the

[177] This suggests their origins are not to be reconstructed as the straightforward syncretization of a perceived Sumerian and Semitic doublet.

[178] As in "Hemerological Omens from *Iqqur Īpuš*" §77:9. Naturally by itself this would not constitute definitive evidence, although it is strongly suggestive.

[179] See especially Pongratz-Leisten, Ina šulmi īrub, 213. This alone would of course not constitute definitive evidence either, since some of the explications of the gate names do not match their short forms, as the following example from Nineveh illustrates: "Enlil is the establisher of my reign!—the Šamaš Gate, pointing toward Gagal" (*Enlil mukīn palêya abul Šamaš ša Gagal*; see ibid., 212). However, the vast majority of the gates' formal names reflect in some way the content of their short names.

A similar pairing of Erra and Nergal can be seen in the name of an Old Babylonian fortress dedicated to Nergal but formally called "I went out to Erra," (*uṣi ana Erra*; see for example line 48/44 in the text edited in Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period*, 382).

[180] A different recension of this story survives from the middle period as well, recovered from Amarna, but Erra's name is nowhere attested in this earlier edition.

[181] On the process itself see Wiggermann, "Nergal," 218–219. Ereškigal's name straightforwardly means "queen of the great earth/netherworld" in Sumerian.

appropriate respect and is summoned to Ereškigal's gloomy realm. On the advice of his father, Ēa,[182] Nergal abstains from partaking of the infernal offerings, presumably because he would thereby forfeit his liminal status and hinder his chances of escape—until, following a break in the text, he is found locked in a six-day *affaire de cœur* with the netherworld's queen. Although initially able to escape and temporarily disguised by Ēa, Nergal is discovered by the lovelorn queen's vizier and returns to the netherworld in a violent manner; the ending is unfortunately lost.

Of fifteen extant attestations of the central character's name in this text, on eight occasions he is referred to as Nergal[183] and on seven as Erra.[184] The rationale behind the variation is not immediately apparent: it has been suggested that Erra is his name in the netherworld,[185] or that he assumes the persona of Erra while visiting the netherworld,[186] and that Ereškigal is unaware of his name.[187] In fact, he is also called Nergal in the netherworld[188] and Erra in heaven—by Namtar[189]—so it is clear the distribution in names does not fall along an axis of location. It is unlikely he is assuming an alternate persona while visiting the netherworld since he switches identities quite freely: upon reaching the gate to the lower realm he is said by the narrator to be Nergal,[190] but

[182] This is the only known text in which Ēa functions as Nergal's father; Nergal is typically the son of Enlil and rarely the son of Anu (Wiggermann, "Nergal," 219). The term "father" may not be intended literally; when Nergal returns from his tryst with Ereškigal he is hailed as "Ištar's son" (IV:29), surely a metaphorical title, and the reference to Anu is perhaps best understood similarly.

[183] In *Nergal and Ereškigal* II:23, II:28, II:49, III:9, IV:4, IV:15, IV:26, and VI:18.

[184] In *Nergal and Ereškigal* III:20', IV:40', IV:54, IV:56, VI:2, VI:5, and VI:36. (Nearly all translations obscure this issue by supplying ambiguous verbs with referents and apparently arbitrarily choosing one name or the other.)

[185] Afanasieva, "Vom Gleichgewicht der Toten," 167.

[186] Edzard, "Nergal und Ereškigal," 226.

[187] Afanasieva, "Vom Gleichgewicht der Toten," 167; Edzard, "Nergal und Ereškigal," 226.

[188] In *Nergal and Ereškigal* IV:4 and IV:15.

[189] In *Nergal and Ereškigal* VI:2 and VI:5.

[190] In *Nergal and Ereškigal* III:9.

when Namtar identifies him there a few lines later the narrator calls him Erra;[191] he is then let into the netherworld under the name Erra[192] but called Nergal while there.[193] Questions of identity and identification pervade the story: Namtar volunteers to identify the god at the gate,[194] and Ereškigal and Namtar refer to him repeatedly as "that god" (DINGIR *šá-a-šú*),[195] but only after Ereškigal has bewailed him as "Erra,"[196] indicating she is at least aware of this name.

In fact, the alternation between "Nergal" and "Erra" may be more than happenstance. The distribution is apparently not one of place, but of people: he is consistently called "Erra" by Ereškigal's circle; the only exception to this pattern is the narrator's reference to him as "Nergal" after he has entered the netherworld,[197] perhaps signifying that Nergal is the default name where Erra is the marked name, or perhaps even that his alternate identity as Nergal is what enables him to escape the Land of No Return. Erra is thus not his manifestation in the netherworld as much as it is his manifestation vis-à-vis Ereškigal and her attendants. This makes more plausible sense of the evidence both here and elsewhere than construing Erra as his netherworld persona: unlike Nergal, Erra has virtually no netherworld associations; on the only other occasion on which he appears in relation to the netherworld, it is again in conjunction with Ereškigal.[198]

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[191] In *Nergal and Ereškigal* III:20'.

[192] In *Nergal and Ereškigal* IV:40'.

[193] In *Nergal and Ereškigal* IV:4 and IV:15.

[194] [. . . *lu-u*]*d-du-šu-ú-ma*; *Nergal and Ereškigal* III:17.

[195] In *Nergal and Ereškigal* IV:59, V:6, V:7, V:10, V:22, V:23, V:26, V:35, V:36, V:40, V:47, and V:50 (reconstructed in some cases).

[196] In *Nergal and Ereškigal* IV:54 and IV:56.

[197] In *Nergal and Ereškigal* IV:4 and IV:15.

[198] See *A New Descent to the Netherworld* lines 12–14.

It is not clear what might have motivated the shapers of this story to understand Erra rather than Nergal to be Ereškigal's consort; historically, there is little doubt that a need was felt to reconcile Nergal to Ereškigal's circle in seeking to construct an overarching mythological unity in Babylonia—since Nergal and Ereškigal are both netherworld gods—and that Erra's association with Ereškigal is secondary and stems entirely from his association with Nergal. However, the effect on the structure of the narrative is clear: Erra's presence defers Nergal's full inclusion in (and domination over) Ereškigal's circle until the end of the story. Although Nergal is the avatar otherwise most closely associated with the netherworld, the story sets out to describe the very process by which he attains the status of its king; the logic of the narrative therefore precludes his being associated with the netherworld from the beginning, and his double identity delays that association until the resolution of the story.

Two speculative suggestions are offered here to account for Erra's being cast specifically in the role of Ereškigal's would-be consort: Erra may have been viewed as more appropriate to the role of sexual companion—a facet of his personality that also receives a brief mention in the *Erra Song*, where Erra's inactivity is correlated specifically with sexual congress.[199] Though this may strike modern readers as an incongruous role for a god of bellicosity, such a pairing of associations may not have seemed out of place to the ancients, who worshipped Ištar as the goddess of both war and sex. A second possibility is that Erra's appropriateness to be paired with Ereškigal stems from their mutual association with the taboo and the demonic.

That Nergal's two names here reflect a dual identity and not mere happenstance is suggested by the circumlocutions with which Ereškigal refers to him, consistently calling him "that

[199] *Erra Song* I:19–20.

god" when addressing the denizens of the upper realm,[200] although she knows him as Erra;[201] this implies an awareness that his identity differs to those in the world above. On a few occasions Erra/Nergal is even referred to in the plural.[202] The fluctuation in names, then, appears to be significant: Nergal may escape the netherworld specifically because Ereškigal only exerts control over his aspect as Erra; she may only know him under the name Erra and therefore exercise power over only that manifestation. Within the logic of the myth, this dual identity may temporarily bequeath him with a liminal status enabling him to participate in both realms simultaneously. One of the tensions that the narrative perhaps finally resolves is that between his status as Erra and his status as Nergal, as Nergal himself is eventually incorporated into the governing structure of the netherworld vis-à-vis Ereškigal, thus collapsing the distinction in the story between Nergal and Erra. By placing the tension between Nergal and Erra on the axis of the tension between Nergal and Ereškigal, the narrator mediates and prolongs the resolution of the primary opposition between upper and lower realms and then resolves both these tensions simultaneously.

One final text that equates Erra and Nergal should occupy our attention here: the *Erra Song* itself. In the extant portions, Nergal receives a mention only three times. In the first passage, Nergal is depicted doing battle with Anzû and an *asakku*-demon,[203] both well-known opponents of the god

[200] At least partially reconstructed in *Nergal and Ereškigal* V:6, V:7, and V:10 but largely extant in the parallel lines V:22, V:23, and V:26 (as Namtar repeats the message to the heavenly gods). See also V:40 and the parallel line in V:47.

[201] See *Nergal and Ereškigal* IV:54 and IV:56.

[202] All of these appear in the Uruk edition: "The 'gods' a[rose] in my presence" (*ilānū* [DINGIR.MEŠ] *ina maḫrīya i*[*tbû*]; iii:2'); "Now 'they' have come down to the Land of No [Return]" (*enenna ittardū ana Māti Lā* [*Târi*]; iii:3'); "Go, Namtar, let that 'gods' into my presence" (*alik-ma Namtarri ilānī* [DINGIR.MEŠ] *šâšu šūribī ana maḫrīya*; iii:11'); "Namtar went and let in the 'gods' Erra" (*Namtarri illik-ma ušērib ilānī* [DINGIR.MEŠ] *Erra*; iii:12'; for a copy and edition see Hunger, *SpTU* 1, #1). It must be admitted that most of these can be explained simply as the use of the MEŠ sign to mark a logogram, and may not have more significance, where *ittardū* could have an overhanging vowel.

[203] In *Erra Song* IIIc:31–33.

Ninurta.[204] Since Nergal's relationship to Ninurta is decidedly more pronounced than Erra's,[205] this is surely no coincidence. In the second passage, Nergal's name appears alongside Erra's in place of the word "[war]rior" ([*qur*]*ādu*)[206] in an excerpt on an amulet,[207] where idiosyncratic spellings are common, perhaps as an error. In the final passage the authorial voice praises Nergal and Išum.[208] Above it was argued that direct invocations of Erra are rare; it will shortly become apparent that invocations of Nergal are extremely common. Nergal's appearance in this context is therefore equally unlikely to be haphazard. Though identified, even here, Erra and Nergal are clearly not interchangeable.

In sum, there is no indication in historical time that Erra and Nergal were ever not identified; on the other hand, at no point did they become identical.

Overlap between Erra and Nergal

Most if not all of Erra's concrete associations are shared by Nergal. Although typically eclipsed in the secondary literature by his relationship to the netherworld, Nergal's aspect as a

[204] Wiggermann, "Nergal," 221. Anzû is Nergal's rival in *Anzû* and the azag or *asakku* is his opponent in *Lugal-e*.

[205] The relationship between Nergal and Ninurta manifests itself along two axes: Nergal sometimes appropriates Ninurta's attributes, as here; and Nergal and Ninurta sometimes appear as a pair, as the following inscription of Tiglath-pileser I (one of many such examples) illustrates: "Ninurta and Nergal gave (me) their ferocious weapons and their eminent bow as the arms of my lordship" (*Ninurta u Nergal kakkīšunu ezzūte u qašassunu ṣīrta ana idī bēlūtīya išrukū*; vi:58–60; for an edition see Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium I*, 7–31). Erra's connection to Ninurta is more tenuous and seemingly entirely dependent on their mutual association with war; in *Hymn to Ninurta* (*SAHG* #2) Erra is painted as the quintessential warrior with whom Ninurta is compared: "[Lo]rd Ninurta—like Erra, he is perfect in heroship" ([e]n ^{d}nin-urta ^{d}KIŠ-ra-gim nam-ur-sag šu-du$_7$; rev. 4). This would seem to be the only extant occasion on which they are associated.

[206] In copy Z; see appendix A.

[207] Copy O.

[208] In *Erra Song* V:40.

warrior is evident from a number of epithets, including "lord of the weapon," (*bēl kakkim*),[209] "king of battle" (*šar tamḫāri*),[210] and "warrior of the gods" (*qarrād ilānī*).[211] From an early period Nergal is portrayed bringing about victory on the battlefield, as a royal inscription of Narām-Sîn attests;[212] as late as the Achaemenid era Nergal is still hailed as the "warrior of his brothers" (*qarrādu aḫḫīšu*),[213] a "ferocious warrior" (*šitmur qarrādu*)[214] whose "weapon is powerful" (*dannu kakkašu*)[215] and whose "attack is unopposable" (*lā maḫār tibûšu*).[216]

Also like Erra, Nergal is sometimes pictured in the company of demonic entities, as in *Compendium of Incantations* §1, where he appears as the Sumerian equivalent of Akkadian Erra, or in *Utukkū Lemnūtu* V:161, in which the demons are seen flitting about in Nergal's presence.[217] And as we have already seen, Nergal too can be associated with plague.[218]

The imbrication in their personalities extends beyond their associations, however. In the first millennium a tendency developed to group Nergal in the top tier of Babylonia's gods beside

[209] On a brick inscription of Yaḫdun-Lim from Mari commemorating the building of a temple to Šamaš; see Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period*, 604–608, line 144; Sollberger and Kupper, *Inscriptions royales*, 247.

[210] In Adad-nērārī II's Annals, line 3; for an edition see Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium I*, 145–155.

[211] In line 1 of a first-millennium hymn to Nergal recovered from Uruk; for a copy and edition see Böhl, "Hymne an Nergal," pl. vii (photograph on pl. vi) and 165–170.

[212] See Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods*, 132–135 for an edition of the relevant text.

[213] In line 1 of a hymn to Nergal surviving in Achaemenid copy: see Nougayrol, "Textes et documents figurés," 39–41 for a copy and edition.

[214] In line 17 of the same hymn.

[215] In line 13 of the same hymn.

[216] In line 13 of the same hymn.

[217] For a copy of the relevant passage see Thompson, *CT* 16, pl. 15, v:15–16; for a composite edition see Geller, *Evil Demons*.

[218] See for example the inscription of Aššur-etel-ilānī edited in Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia*, 266–268.

Marduk and Nabû, thereby enhancing his status. Royal inscriptions of the period bear witness to this particular articulation of the trifecta of Babylonia's foremost deities, prominent especially in the inscriptions of Nabonidus.[219] Assyrian inscriptions of the period exhibit a similar impulse. Often paired with Ninurta in the early first millennium,[220] Nergal eventually came to be associated with Marduk and Nabû.[221] Letters of the period also bear witness to this triune of gods (with their consorts).[222]

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[219] For examples from Nabonidus's inscriptions, see the following: the Ebabbar-Ekurra Cylinder: "Before Marduk and Ṣarpanītu, Nabû, and Nergal, my gods" (*maḫar Marduk u Ṣarpanītu Nabû u Nergal ilānūya*; ii:27b–28a; for an edition see Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, 231–235; Schaudig, *Inschriften Nabonids*, 358–362); the Ebabbar Cylinder: "Before Bēl, Nabû, and Nergal, my gods" (*ina maḫri Bēlu Nabium u Nergal ilānēya*; ii:49–50a; for an edition see Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, 252–261; Schaudig, *Inschriften Nabonids*, 384–394); and the Larsa Cylinder: "[Nabonidus . . .] whose name Marduk, the Enlil of the gods, rightfully pronounced for kingship, for the provisioning of the shrines and the renovating of the chapels; whose lordship Nabû, who oversees the compass of heaven and earth, made the greatest of all occupants of the throne; at whose side Nergal, the all-powerful, the sage Enlil of the netherworld, marches in battle and combat" (Šamaš and Sîn are also named in the passage that follows) (*ša Marduk Enlil ilānī ana zanānu māḫāzī u uddušu ešrēti šumšu kīniš izkuru ana šarrūti Nabium pāqid kiššat šamê u erṣeti ina napḫar āšib parakki ušarbû bēlūssu Nergal dandanni Enlil erṣeti muttalku ina qablu tāḫāzi illiki idāšu*; i:13–22a; for an edition see Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, 235–243; Schaudig, *Inschriften Nabonids*, 397–409).

[220] See for example an inscription of Aššur-bēl-kala: "Ninurta and Nergal, who love his priesthood, granted to him (the opportunity) to hunt in the wilderness; he rode in the boats of Arvad and slew a whale (?) in the Great Sea" (*Ninurta u Nergal ša šangûssu irammū bu''ur ṣēri ušatlimūšum-ma ina eleppēti ša Armadaya irkab nāḫera ina tâmti rabīte idūk*; iv:1–3; for an edition see Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium I*, 99–105). Ninurta and Nergal appear together in a handful of narrative tropes that recur across several late Middle and early Neo-Assyrian inscriptions and involve especially the slaying of a *nāḫeru* or the hunting of wild animals in the wilderness. These passages tend to spell Nergal's name ^{d}IGI.DU, although Nergal also appears under the more standard spellings following Ninurta's name in longer lists of gods, as in an inscription of Adad-nērārī III: ^{d}MAŠ *qar-*^{r}*ra*$^{\neg}$-[*du*] ^{r}^{d}$^{\neg}$GÌR-*ere*$_{11}$-*gal* EN *šib-ṭi* (*Ninurta qarrā*[*du*] *Nergal bēl šibṭi*, "Ninurta, the warri[or]; Nergal, the lord of plague"; rev. 29; for an edition see Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium II*, 213–216).

[221] As is evident for example from the curses concluding this inscription of Aššur-etel-ilānī: "May Marduk, the great lord, eliminate his name, seed, descendants, and offspring from the mouth of the people! May Nabû, who controls conflict, cut short the length of his long days! May Nergal not spare his life from disease, plague, or slaughter!" (*Marduk bēlu rabû šumšu zēršu līpīšu u nannābšu ina pī nišī liḫalliq Nabû sāniq mitḫurti minâta ūmēšu arkūti likarri Nergal ina di'u šibṭu u šaggašti lā igammil napšassu*; lines 16–20; for an edition see Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia*, 266–268).

[222] As in the following examples: "Concerning the tax of the oxen and sheep for Bēl, Nabû, and Nergal that the governors have taken up . . ." (*ina muḫḫi ṣibti ša alpī immerī ša Bēl Nabû Nergal ša pīḫātu iṣṣabatūni*; rev. 1–3; for an edition see Cole and Machinist, *Letters from Priests*, 138 (#166); "May Bēl, Nabû, and Nergal decree health and life for my lord" (*Bēl Nabû u Nergal šulum u balāṭu ša bēlīya liqbû*; lines 3–4a; for an edition see Ebeling, *Neubabylonische Briefe*, 99–100 (#184).

It must be emphasized that although a disproportionate percentage of Nergal's attestations in this period show him in the company of Marduk and Nabû, the converse does not hold true: Marduk and Nabû continue to surpass Nergal in prominence and regularly appear without him. Naturally Nergal does not invariably appear in this articulation of the triune of Babylonia's chief deities, but may also appear with other gods or alone. Any tendency to associate the three undoubtedly arose from and reflected the geographical proximity of their respective cities, as a number of inscriptions makes clear by treating their cities as a logical unit.[223]

A relationship between Nergal and at least Marduk is also hinted at by evidence from personal names. In a preliminary survey of the personal names in seven Babylonian cities from the period of Neo-Assyrian domination through the Hellenistic era,[224] names formed with Marduk (or Bēl) are more popular at Cuthah than at any other city except Babylon.[225] Additionally, in the latest periods of Babylonian history, following Cyrus's conquest, the percentage of names in each city formed with the name of the tutelary deity soars[226]—except at Cuthah, where names invoking

[223] See for example iii:8'–9' in an inscription of Nabû-šuma-iškun (copied and edited in von Weiher, *SpTU* 3, [#58]) and lines 23–24 in an inscription of Adad-nērārī III (edited in Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium II*, 212–213).

[224] The cities surveyed include Babylon, Borsippa, Cuthah, Nippur, Sippar, Ur, and Uruk. Names were collected from documents drawn from the following sources: Baker, *Nappāḫu Family*; Bongenaar, *Ebabbar Temple*; Cole, *Nippur IV*; Jursa, *Landwirtschaft in Sippar*; idem, "Texte aus Kutha"; Kohler, *Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden*; Oelsner, "Recht im hellenistischen Babylonien"; San Nicolò, *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden*; Stolper, *Records of Deposit*; Van der Spek, "Land Ownership"; and Weisberg, *Neo-Babylonian Texts*.

[225] In my survey, 28.692% of the names at Babylon for the entire period are formed with Marduk (or Bēl), while 27.640% of the names at Cuthah for the entire period are formed with Marduk. Unfortunately the data from Cuthah are much less robust (322 names in the survey) than from Babylon (1063 names in the survey). As with the data from royal inscriptions, the converse is not true: Nergal is no more popular at Babylon than he is at any of the other cities.

[226] For example, in Achaemenid Nippur Enlil is the top scorer with 12.838% of the names, followed closely by Ninurta with 11.486%; Marduk trails at 6.757%. In Hellenistic Uruk, Anu accounts for a shocking 47.482% of the names surveyed; Ištar takes 5.755% of the total and Marduk only 0.719%.

Marduk continue to outstrip names invoking Nergal.[227] Although their relationship is apparently never formalized by a familial connection, it appears that in the latest periods of Babylonian history Nergal was drifting toward Marduk's orbit.

We have seen that Erra too is eligible to fill this role, playing the part of the third god in the trifecta of top Babylonian divinities.[228] From this survey of areas where Nergal and Erra overlap, it would appear that Nergal covers basically all of the ground that Erra covers. The points of divergence between them, then, lie in the general tenor that colors the contexts in which they appear and in the fact that Nergal covers additional ground that is less relevant to Erra.

I turn now to an investigation of these divergences.

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[227] In Achaemenid Cuthah, Marduk appears in 24.080% of the names surveyed, Nabû in 13.169%, and Nergal only comes in third in his own city, at 9.033%. In Hellenistic Cuthah, Marduk has climbed to 42.188% of the total where Nergal takes 26.563% (and Nabû has fallen to third place at 9.375%).

Of course these data are only preliminary; much more research could be done on the topic. Nevertheless, the trends are intriguing: Nergal names predictably rise at Cuthah between the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods, and again in the Hellenistic, just as the names of tutelary deities throughout Babylonia are soaring in their own cities (a process that seems to have commenced in the Achaemenid and escalated in the Hellenistic). But names with Marduk at Cuthah rise even *more* at this time, at a time when Marduk names are on the wane outside of Babylon and Borsippa.

There are two other exceptions to this trend in my admittedly preliminary survey: Marduk is the top scorer at Achaemenid Uruk, where he appears in 20% of the names to Anu's paltry 1.538% and Ištar's 6.154%. This is easily explained by the date of the documents in the survey that fall into this period, which happen to stem from the reign of Cyrus; it is clear that the corner in naming practices had not yet been turned, or that those whose names followed the new trend were not yet of age. The other outlier, Hellenistic Borsippa (where 35.294% of the names invoke Marduk and 26.471% invoke Nabû, out of a mere 34 names), only reinforces the point: Marduk is popular in names at Borsippa because he has a relationship to the patron deity there (as Nabû's father). It is plausible his popularity at Cuthah can be accounted for by a (less formal) relationship he was thought to have with Nergal.

(In the periods of Neo-Assyrian domination and during the Neo-Babylonian empire, names with Marduk and Nabû predominate across Babylonia—except at Ur, where Sîn already occupies the top spot even before Cyrus's conquest.)

[228] As in for example Neriglissar 1: "[I am Neriglissar, . . .] whose fate Marduk, the foremost of the gods, the assigner of fates, assigned to exercise power over the lands; into whose hand Nabû, the true heir, extended the scepter of prosperity for exercising shepherdship over the blackheaded ones; to whom Erra, the mightiest of the gods, gave his weapons for the sparing of the people and the favoring of the land" (*Marduk ašarēdu ilānī mušīm šīmāti ana kiššūti mātāti epēšu išīmu šīmāssu ana rē'ûti ṣalmāt qaqqadam epēšu Nabû aplu kīnim ḫaṭṭi išarti ušatmiḫu qatuššu ana eṭēri nišim gamālu māti Erra šagapūru ilānī iddinūšu kakkūšu*; lines 6–13).

Divergences between Erra and Nergal

The Netherworld

The clearest point of divergence between Erra and Nergal centers on the netherworld: where Erra is only tangentially associated with it,[229] Nergal is commonly invoked by such epithets as "powerful lord of the netherworld" (en-ir$_9$-kur),[230] "king of the netherworld" (*šar erṣeti*),[231] "Enlil of the netherworld" (*Enlil erṣeti*),[232] and "Marduk of the netherworld" (*Marduk ša erṣeti*),[233] titles that are never applied to Erra. It is Nergal whom the Assyrian crown prince encounters on the throne of the netherworld in *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld*[234] and Nergal to whom Ereškigal gives explicit dominion of the infernal realms in the early recension of *Nergal and Ereškigal*.[235] There is a strong vein running throughout the history of Mesopotamian theology that ascribes the kingship of the netherworld to Nergal,[236] whereas Erra's relationship to the netherworld is tenuous and seemingly secondary. (The fact that Nergal's primary bailiwick is the

[229] Erra appears in the netherworld in *Nergal and Ereškigal* as Ereškigal's lover and is more obliquely associated with the netherworld in *A New Descent to the Netherworld*, in which his messenger, a *gallû*-demon, accosts someone on behalf of Ereškigal.

[230] In line 2 of an inscription of Warad-Sîn; for an edition see Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period*, 246–247.

[231] In line 38 of *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld*.

[232] In line 5 of a Pazuzu-head amulet (see Heeßel, *Pazuzu*, 112–113 [copy]; 243 [photograph]), and in line 20 of an inscription of Nabonidus (for an edition see Schaudig, *Inschriften Nabonids*, 397–409).

[233] In line 20 of an explanatory temple list; for an edition see George, *House Most High*, 49–56. This epithet derives from a folk etymology of the name of Nergal's temple, Emeslam, where MES is understood as a spelling of Marduk's name and LAM as a logogram for *erṣetu* (ibid., 55).

[234] See *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld* line 51.

[235] See lines 17–18 of the Amarna copy of *Nergal and Ereškigal* (edited in Pettinato, *Nergal ed Ereškigal*, 58–72).

[236] Naturally Nergal is not the only netherworld god or even the only netherworld sovereign in the history of Mesopotamian mythology; see Wiggermann, "Nergal," 218–219 for an overview of the history of netherworld gods.

netherworld where Erra's primary bailiwick appears to be mass death, especially that associated with battle, may have motivated their identification, since death and the populating of the netherworld go hand in hand.)

Nergal's Character

There are also particular phrases that are applied exclusively to Nergal, the most common of which is "the reign of Nergal" (*palê Nergal*) in omen apodoses, associated with sociopolitical disintegration and enemy attack.[237]

Although the phrase "the reign of Nergal" is applied only to Nergal in surviving omens, the sentiment of these passages would not be at all out of character for Erra. However, unlike Erra, who plays an exclusively misanthropic role in extant omen apodoses, Nergal can also behave beneficently in omens, as in the following: "If Nergal in his appearance has (the characteristics of being) very small and white and twinkles greatly like the stars of heaven: he will have mercy on Akkad" (*šumma Nergal ina tāmartīšu ṣuḫḫur u peṣi išakkan kīma kakkabī šamê maʾdiš ummul ana Akkad rēma īši*).[238] Similarly, a *šuilla* describes him as "merciful" (*gammalāta*),[239] "relenting" (*tayyārāta*),[240] "watching over" (*muppalsāta*),[241] and "compassionate" (*rēmēnīta*),[242] terms never

[237] See for example *Šumma Izbu* I:82: "If a woman gives birth and (the child) is half a cubit tall, has a beard, talks, walks, his teeth have (already) emerged, and his name is Tigril: the reign of Nergal; a severe and overpowering attack will be in the land; the god will devour; street will become hostile to street, and house will ransack house" (*šumma sinništu ulid-ma mišil ammati lāššu ziqna zaqin idabbub illak šinnātūšu aṣâ tigril šumšu palê Nergal tību dannu kašūšu ina māti išakkam-ma ilu ikkal sūqu sūqa inakkir bītu bīta imašša*ʾ; for an edition see Leichty, *Omen Series Šumma Izbu*).

[238] Lines 8–10 of a text edited in Hunger, *Astrological Reports*, 72–73.

[239] From line 15 of a text edited in Böllenrücher, *Gebete und Hymnen*, 13–17 and Ebeling, *"Handerhebung"*, 112–115.

[240] From line 16 of the same text.

[241] From line 17 of the same text.

applied to Erra. And the instructions for a *namburbi*-ritual invoking Nergal promise "the great gods, Nergal, and the gods of the hinterland will have mercy on the prince who rode the chariot and will save him, spare him, and enable him to escape" (*ilānū rabûtu Nergal u ilānū ṣēri ana rubê irkabu narkabta rēma īšū-ma iṭṭerūšu igammilūšu u ušezzebūšu*);[243] such language would be out of character for Erra in the first millennium.

Nergal's Cult

This occasional portrait of Nergal as an amicable and responsive figure is no doubt a reflection of, as well as a factor in, the sustained cultic activity to Nergal evident from virtually all periods of Mesopotamian history. While evidence for a cult to Erra is spotty at best, Nergal is lavished with shrines and offerings in the textual record that survives. Property of Nergal appears in Neo-Sumerian economic texts[244] even as the building of his temple in Cuthah is celebrated by Šulgi in royal inscriptions.[245] Evidence for prolific building projects in Nergal's honor survives from the Larsa dynasty in particular: Sîn-iddinam constructed a city-wall at Maškan-šapir at Nergal's behest,[246] and both Warad-Sîn and Rīm-Sîn celebrated the building of temples to Nergal at Ur;[247] their ancestor Kudur-mabuk also dedicated a temple to Nergal, perhaps at Uruk.[248] Old Babylonian

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[242] From line 18 of the same text. Naturally a *šuilla* is the sort of context in which a deity's benevolent side would be played up. However, Nergal is extolled and invoked to a degree and in a manner that Erra is not; see further below.

[243] Lines 10b–12 of a text edited in Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, 387–399.

[244] As for example in the following: "1 goat of Nergal, 1 opposing goat of Nergal" (1 máš ^{d}KIŠ-ere$_{11}$-gal / 1 máš ^{d}KIŠ-ere$_{11}$-gal bal-a-ri; lines 3–4 in Ozaki and Sigrist, *Ur III Administrative Tablets* 1, 169 [#470]).

[245] For an edition of the relevant texts see Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 132 and 133–134.

[246] According to an inscription recovered from Maškan-šapir; for an edition see Steinkeller, "Inscription of Sin-iddinam," 135–146.

[247] For an edition of the relevant texts see Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period*, 246–247 and 277–278.

[248] On which see ibid., 205–207.

documents mention servants and even an oblate to Nergal,[249] and texts from Mari of the same time frame reference offerings to Nergal[250] as well as a singer in his service.[251] Although certain of his cult centers declined,[252] far from waning in the first millennium, Nergal's cult apparently swelled in prominence, in both Assyria and Babylonia. Kings continued to demonstrate their piety in royal inscriptions by recounting sacrifices offered to him[253] and temples constructed in his honor.[254] While much more scholarship could serviceably be conducted on this topic to illuminate the precise nature of the players and conventions by time and place, this general overview testifies to a lively series of cults to Nergal across the span of Mesopotamian history.

Invocations of Nergal

These observations—that Nergal is more gracious than Erra, particularly by the first millennium, and that Nergal is more subject to cultic activity than Erra—in turn dovetail with another significant distinction setting Nergal apart from Erra: while by the first millennium

[249] A polychromatic portrait of different types of servants in Nergal's service emerges from the documentary record. Seal impressions on economic texts of the period bear witness to the existence of "servants" (ARAD) of Nergal, as for example in Sigrist, *Horn Archaeology Museum* (AUCT 4), 52 (#18). One letter speaks of a *kizû* of Nergal, an attendant associated with sheep and donkeys (see Kraus, *Šamaš-Ḫāzir*, 71 [#110]), and another mentions *gerseqqû*, domestic servants, in the service of Nergal of Maškan-šapir (see Veenhof, *Letters in the Louvre*, 159 [#167]). Yet another letter stems from an oblate dedicated to Nergal by his father (see Frankena, *Briefe aus dem Berliner Museum*, 89 [#140]).

[250] A somewhat difficult letter to Zimri-Lim apparently prescribes offerings to Nergal (for an edition see Durand, *Archives Épistolaires de Mari I/1*, 470–471 [#231]).

[251] The singer appears in a letter to Yasmaḫ-Addu (for an edition see Dossin, *Šamši-Addu et de ses fils*, 146–147 [#78]).

[252] Most notably Maškan-šapir, which was abandoned in Samsu-iluna's reign and lay uninhabited until the late first millennium (Stone and Zimansky, *Anatomy of a City*, 10). However, Tarbiṣu became an important locus of Nergal's worship in Assyria when the capital was moved to nearby Nineveh, and the first-millennium textual record—from both Assyria and Babylonia—speaks to Cuthah's prominence in the south in the era.

[253] Tiglath-pileser III, for example, lists Nergal and Laṣ among the divine recipients of his sacrificial devotions (see lines 15b–16 in the inscription edited in Tadmor and Yamada, *Tiglath-Pileser III*, 95–99).

[254] Esarhaddon celebrates the dedication of Nergal's temple in Tarbiṣu (for the relevant passage see lines 32–33 in Leichty, *Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon*, 174–177).

invocations of Erra, never more than a rivulet, had slowed to a mere trickle, Nergal continued to be the recipient of a torrent of dedications and invocations of every stripe.

Erra's name possibly appears once, in a dubious spelling, in a votive inscription on a diorite fragment of a statue from the Old Akkadian period.[255] In contrast, Nergal is honored with multiple surviving votive inscriptions, in both Akkadian and Sumerian, ranging in time from the Presargonic period to the Neo-Assyrian.[256] Similarly, Erra is never invoked once in any surviving epistolary blessing formula, while Nergal is invoked numerous times.[257] In royal inscriptions, too, it is Nergal who is charged with blessing the beneficiary,[258] and it is Nergal to whom people report having prayed.[259] With few exceptions, it is Nergal and not Erra to whom a generically mixed panoply of hymns and incantations is offered down the centuries, from *eršemma*s to *šuilla*s.[260] In short, Nergal is more strongly associated with venerative practices, from invocations in letters to sacrifices to liturgical hymns, and is accordingly portrayed as more gracious to humanity. It is therefore no surprise that it is under the name Nergal that Erra is praised in the *Erra Song*.[261]

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[255] See the inscription edited in Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods*, at 164–165. Steinkeller has suggested ^{d}NIN.KIŠ.UNU in line 2 may represent an otherwise unknown spelling of Erra's name ("Name of Nergal," 164 n. 18a). If this identification is correct, this text would constitute the single extant votive inscription dedicated to Erra rather than Nergal.

[256] For one of many examples see Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods*, 216–217.

[257] For an example from the Old Babylonian period see Stol, *Letters from Philadelphia, Chicago and Berkeley*, 8–9 (#11).

[258] As in an inscription of Esarhaddon edited in Leichty, *Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon*, 174–177.

[259] See for example a first-millennium letter to the "temple administrator of Sippar" (*šangî Sippar*; line 2) edited in Ebeling, *Neubabylonische Briefe*, 99–100 (#184).

[260] For a survey of hymns and incantations to Nergal across time, see especially Böhl, "Hymne an Nergal"; Böllenrücher, *Gebete und Hymnen*; Cohen, *Sumerian Hymnology*, 92–95 and 143–144 (an *eršemma* equating Ninurta and Nergal); Ebeling, *"Handerhebung"*, 114–117, 116–117, 118–119, and 118–121; idem, "Sammlungen von Beschwörungsformeln," 407; Falkenstein and von Soden, *SAHG*, 64–65; and Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, 387–399, lines 27'–40'.

[261] "Praise for years without number to the great Lord Nergal and Warrior Išum!" (*šanāt lā nībi tanittu bēli rabî Nergal* (*u*) *qurādu Išum*; *Erra Song* V:40).

Personal Names

Another clear point of divergence between Erra and Nergal is evident from the distribution of personal names. The quality of the names that feature Nergal is generally unremarkable, but certain names formed with Nergal appear to be unique to him and revealing of his character. The most common example by far is Nergal-ina-tēšî-eṭer, "O Nergal, save me from chaos!" a relatively popular name in late Babylonia.[262] To my knowledge, this formula appears with no other divine name.

On the quantitative side of the analysis of personal names, clear trends are in evidence: Nergal names, first attested in the Isin-Larsa period, begin to rise markedly in the Kassite period and peak in the Neo-Babylonian, exactly as Erra names are declining precipitously.[263] To some degree the drastic reduction in Erra names tracks the changes in Erra's character evident in the first millennium, at which point his propensity for graciousness had withered and his viciousness had become central. This, however, does not explain the early paucity of Nergal names, which cannot be accounted for by appeal to a change in temperament or status: Nergal shows no more proclivity for savagery or misanthropy in early texts than does Erra, but from the beginning he is more prominent and more subject to cultic activity and hymnic veneration, even as Erra appears more often in names. This early distribution in attestations, then, does not fall along an axis of benevolence and malevolence, nor does it fall along an axis of either language or geography. The best rubric for describing the distribution is that of popularity over against institutional veneration, where a disconnect exists between the popular worship of Erra manifest in early names and the institutional devotion to Nergal evident from references to state-sponsored cultic venues and

[262] For Neo-Babylonian examples see Beaulieu, *Reign of Nabonidus*, #90 line 3 and #69 line 2; Weisberg, *Time of Nebuchadnezzar*, #11 line 17 and #33 line 2. For Achaemenid examples see McEwan, *Late Babylonian Texts*, #120 line 13; Spar and von Dassow, *Private Archive Texts*, #90 line 3 and #94 line 8. For a Hellenistic example see Stolper, *Records of Deposit*, #2 line 2.

[263] See the chart in appendix C.

personnel. This split apparently reflects not social strata but social context: the same people might worship both Erra and Nergal,[264] but where Erra is invoked personally and individually, Nergal is venerated in state-sponsored events. Naturally these contexts are not hermetically sealed; the relationship between them is somewhat porous: where Nergal too can be invoked in early names,[265] Erra can sporadically appear in institutional contexts.[266] However, we have seen that all epistolary blessings and perhaps all votive inscriptions invoke Nergal rather than Erra, and although Erra can occasionally make an appearance in early royal inscriptions,[267] it is generally Nergal who is attested in semi-canonical formulations of the pantheon in these inscriptions.[268]

Any responsible explanation for the origins of the two cults and the development of their relationship must accordingly account for this early split. In the long term this disconnect between popular and official religion may have been unsustainable, or the nature of popular religion and its intersection with formal religion may have shifted and become more integrated over time: already

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[264] That the split does not occur along the lines of social class (but rather social context) is suggested by the fact that even royalty and high officials tend to have names invoking Erra rather than Nergal; examples include Išbi-Erra and Erra-imittī (kings of Isin), Šat-Erra (Šū-Sîn's daughter), and Hitlal-Erra (ruler of Mari). Additionally, *Erra and Narām-Sîn* provides evidence for Narām-Sîn's personal devotion to Erra.

[265] For some early examples of Nergal names see Ibbi-Nergal (Faust, *Contracts from Larsa*, #139 line 20 and #167 line 17), Nergal-abī (ibid., #83 lines 3, 6, 14, and 16), Nergal-ēriš (ibid., #12 line 7 and #109 line 9), Nergal-gāmil (ibid., #153 line 8), Nergal-waraḫ (ibid., #47 line 19), Šū-Nergal (ibid., #132 line 17), Entu-Nergal (Figulla and Martin, *Letters and Documents*, #276 13), Iddin-Nergal (ibid., #343 line 16), Nergal-bānî (ibid., #263 line 15), Nergal-mansum (Dalley and Yoffee, *Kish and Elsewhere*, #89 line 19), Warad-Nergal (ibid., 214, rev. 10'), Nergal-ḫāzir (Stol, *Letters from Yale*, #269 line 1, #270 line 3, and #271 line 3), and Nergal-nīšu (ibid., #243 line 3).

[266] Erra appears as an agent in two Neo-Sumerian account texts (*CT* 32, pl. 45; SACT 2, #94), and a servant of Erra is attested in an Old Babylonian seal impression (*Texts from Sippir* #8, seal). Additionally, Narām-Sîn references a shrine dedicated in his honor (*Erra and Narām-Sîn* lines 26–31).

[267] Erra appears in only two royal inscriptions (of sorts) from the Old Babylonian period or earlier: *Ḫammurapi's Code*, in which he alternates with Nergal, and *Erra and Narām-Sîn*, in many respects an idiosyncratic text in which Narām-Sîn recounts a personal experience with the god Erra.

[268] It is Nergal, for example, who appears as a major god of the land in the Bassetki Statue: "Ištar in Eänna, Enlil in Nippur, Dagān in Tuttul, Ninḫursag in Keš, Ēa in Eridu, Sîn in Ur, Šamaš in Sippar, and Nergal in Cuthah" (lines 25–48; for an edition see al-Fouadi, "Bassetki Statue"; Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods*, 113–114).

by the middle period Nergal had come to monopolize both spheres. Erra's character was changing as well: it is even possible that, once simply "vulgar" in the sense that he was associated with and accessible to the common folk where his Doppelgänger Nergal was occupying the more rarified and restricted air of the institutional cult, Erra may have become increasingly "vulgar" in character as his misanthropic personality traits were exacerbated in the popular imagination as a result of his affiliation with less refined social contexts.

Texts in which Erra and Nergal Appear Separately

Finally, Erra and Nergal often appear in different contexts in the same text, highlighting both particular differences between them and the more general fact that, though formally identified, they continued to exhibit different traits and elicit different attitudes. Perhaps the most illuminating of these is *Aššurbanipal's Coronation Hymn*, in which Nergal and Erra appear within a few lines of each other with no indication they are associated: where "Nergal gave his radiance" (*Nergal ittadin šalummassu*; rev. 7), Erra is called on to curse the king's would-be opponents with "plague and slaughter" (*šibṭi šaggašti*; rev. 12). To some degree this is characteristic of the roles each plays in the first millennium: Nergal, one of the most important gods of the pantheon, bestows blessings and confers legitimacy while Erra aids the king specifically by threatening his would-be detractors with violence. Not surprisingly given its contemporaneity, *The Annals of Aššurbanipal* shows a similar division: Nergal's name is attested no fewer than fourteen times in the Rassam Cylinder (Edition A) and twice in Edition B, but always as one member in a list of Assyria's chief deities, who authorize and legitimate the king's actions.[269] In contrast, the passages in which Erra

[269] In Edition A see i:14–17, i:41–43, ii:127–129, iii:12–14, iii:29–31, iv:46–48, vi:126–128, viii:19–22, viii:52–55, ix:61–64, ix:97–100, x:33–36, x:60–61, and x:118–119; in Edition B see viii:33–35 and viii:64–65.

appears (once in Edition B and six times in the Rassam Cylinder [Edition A]) are much less generic and reveal him to be strongly associated with the affliction of suffering.[270]

From *Šurpu*, too, subtle differences in the ways Nergal and Erra are invoked can be discerned. Erra's name is attested only once in this series, in a laconic passage associating him closely with Erragal and Erra-KAL.KAL and more loosely with several deities in Nergal's orbit, near the end of a long litany of gods;[271] Nergal, in contrast, appears toward the beginning of the list with the epithet "lord of absolution" (*bēl tapšerti*).[272] Not only is Nergal more prominently placed with respect to the other major gods of the pantheon, but the abilities attributed to him underscore his fitness for the task of magical "release." In short, Nergal would appear to be more at home than Erra in an invocatory context that appeals to the gods' beneficence.

VI. Erra's Relationship to Erragal

Where Nergal is a prominent member of the pantheon from the beginning of the historical record, Erragal, another god explicitly identified with Erra, is attested only sporadically. His close relationship to Erra is evident even from the spelling of his name, typically written ^{d}*èr-ra-gal*, at least occasionally ^{d}KIŠ-*ra-gal*/^{d}*er*$_9$(GÌR)-*ra-gal*, and syllabically in the form *er-ra-ga-al*, confirming the normalization "Erragal" and paralleling the most common spellings of Erra's own name (^{d}*èr-ra*, ^{d}KIŠ-*ra* [later ^{d}GÌR-*ra*], and ^{d}*er-ra*).

[270] The passage in *The Annals of Aššurbanipal: The Rassam Cylinder (Edition A)* iii:113, in which it is mentioned that sacrifices to Erra have been disrupted, represents the only exception to this trend connecting Erra with violence; for examples of the latter see appendix B.

[271] See *Šurpu* II:175.

[272] See *Šurpu* II:137.

Erragal is not attested before the Isin-Larsa period, when he begins to appear in rare personal names[273] as well as in an early copy of the god-list *Anum* (Early Weidner God-List, 1 Column).[274] By the Old Babylonian period Erragal continues to appear in the occasional god-list[275] and also survives in a number of Sumerian literary texts that were likely composed somewhat earlier.[276] In the first millennium Erragal garners a handful of references especially in lexical contexts, hymns, and incantations.[277] No evidence for cultic activity to Erragal survives from Mesopotamia's early history; given the somewhat arcane nature of the contexts in which he tends to appear—a significant proportion of which are lexical—and his status as an extremely minor deity in Nergal's circle, it is perhaps unexpected that evidence for a cult to Erragal surfaces by the

[273] The earliest possible Erragal name in my survey, *èr-ra-gal* in the Ur III period (in Legrain, *Business Documents*, 1653), is, in my estimation, likely to be read Erra-rabi, "Erra is great" (see a parallel name, Ēa-rabi, spelled *é-a-ra-bí*, in ibid., 1048). But the Isin-Larsa period yields the names KUG-Erragal and Puzur-Erragal, grammatically best construed as names formed on Erragal rather than Erra and paralleling names such as KUG-Nanna, KUG-Ninurta, and KUG-Pabilsaĝ for the first example and Puzur-Erra and Puzur-Ninurta for the second (all of these examples—those formed on Erragal as well as the others—can be found in Sigrist, *Les* sattukku *dans l'Ešumeša*).

[274] Weidner dated one fragment of this list to the Ur III period on paleographic grounds (VAT 6563; Weidner, "Altbabylonische Götterlisten," 2), but Erragal's name does not survive on this fragment (for a copy of the fragment see ibid., 6).

[275] See *The Nippur God-List*.

[276] See "Arise! Arise!," *The Great List of Sumerian Gods*, "Honored One, Wild Ox" (Early Recension), and Variant to "Fashioning Man and Woman."

[277] See appendix B for examples.

mid-first millennium:[278] a Neo-Assyrian letter speaks of the work of fashioning his cult image[279] and a Neo-Babylonian economic text records bronze allotted for the maintenance of his wagon.[280]

From his earliest attestations Erragal is strongly associated with both Erra and Nergal and frequently identified explicitly with one or both. It is therefore perhaps surprising that he shares very few of the associations of his more famous counterparts: the extant sources give no hint that he plays any role in war, plague, famine, or mass death; he does not fraternize with demons, nor is he at home in the netherworld. A high preponderance of the contexts in which he appears are invocatory: not only is he attested proportionally in far more hymns and incantations than is Erra, but, unlike Erra, he is petitioned, adjured, or praised in every hymnic and incantatory context in which he appears.[281] With the exception of the role his double Errakal is said to have played (like Nergal) in bringing about the Flood,[282] Erragal would appear to behave generally positively toward humanity. In certain respects Erragal functions as the benevolent alter-ego to Erra's malevolent personality.

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[278] It is also the case that in "A Broken Prism of Ninurta-Tukulti-Aššur" this Middle Assyrian king reports rebuilding the temple to Erragal in Sirara, where Erragal was seemingly a manifestation of Nergal.

[279] "The . . . of the king my lord and Bēlet-ekalli [are] not [complete]; we [are carrying out] the work of Zababa. Uraš, E[rr]agal, and Lugal[marada] are in the hands of the artisans" (*. . . ša šarri bēlīya Bēlet-ekalli lā* [*gamrū*] *anīnu dullu ša Zababa* [*neppaš*] *Uraš E*[*rr*]*agal Lugal*[*marada*] *ina qātī ummânī*; "Divine Statues for the Esagil" lines 8–11 , following Parpola).

[280] "Bronze, from the amount left over (*tēḫirtu*) from the doors of the (temple) gate, is given for the mountings (*mandītu*) of the wheel rim (*šuḫuppu*) of the wagon (*attaru*) of Erragal" (Nbn #1012, quoting Bongenaar, *Ebabbar Temple*, 359; this text is otherwise unpublished).

[281] For these contexts see appendix B. In contrast, in some of the hymns in which Erra appears he is simply the point of reference for a simile (*Hymn to Inana* [*SAHG* #21] and *Hymn to Ninurta* [*SAHG* #2]) or is invoked in curses (*Aššurbanipal's Coronation Hymn*). In incantations, he sometimes behaves in a semi-demonic manner (*Compendium of Incantations* §1 and *Incantation against Wardat-Lilîm*).

[282] For which see the following passages: "Let Er[rakal pull out] the mooring posts" (*tarkullī Er*[*rakal linassiḫ*]; *Atraḫasīs* II:vii:51); "Errakal was pulling out the mooring posts" (*tarkullī Errakal inassaḫ*; *Gilgameš* XI:102). On the role Nergal and Erragal play in bringing about the Flood, see Van Dijk, *LUGAL UD ME-LÁM-bi NIR-ĜÁL* 1, 32–33.

In spite of the stark differences between them, it is unlikely Erragal's origins are to be sought outside Erra's circle.[283] Not simply dissimilar to Erra, Erragal is in many respects complementary to him, which suggests their respective associations developed in tandem. Not only is Erragal a relative late-comer to the Mesopotamian pantheon, the orthography of his name evinces an extremely close relationship to Erra in the native understanding, a conclusion that is bolstered by his position in god-lists, where he almost always follows Erra immediately.[284] In fact, in Sumerian contexts the distribution of their respective names manifests a clear pattern: where Erra appears exclusively in the main dialect, Emeĝir, Erragal's Sumerian attestations are virtually confined to Emesal contexts. It would therefore appear that attestations of Erra's name in Emesal laments alongside the flattering and placating qualifier "great" (gal) gave rise to the notion that "Erragal" was simply the Emesal variant of Erra.[285] Perhaps because this dyad does not conform to the phonological principles that generally govern variants between Emeĝir and Emesal, this in turn resulted eventually in the reanalysis of Erragal as an independent but related deity, who likely made his first appearance as a separate deity in god-lists, where his inclusion was no doubt motivated by an effort at comprehensiveness.[286] Erragal's penchant for appearing in invocatory

[283] Contra what others have argued, that Erragal was an originally separate deity who gravitated toward Erra's circle: "In origin [Erragal] was not a kind of Erra" (Wiggermann, "Nergal," 218); "ursprünglich ein eigener Pestgott, später mit Nergal gleichgesetzt" (Bergmann, "Untersuchungen," 23).

[284] There are only two exceptions to this trend that are known to me: in *The Great List of Sumerian Gods* he follows Ninsar, his consort, and in *The Divine Address Book* (*Götteraddressbuch*) he follows Nergal of Ḫubšalum.

[285] That "gal" is best understood as the Sumerian term "great" is indicated by the fact that the name was borrowed into Akkadian as "Errakal"—a name that only occurs in Akkadian, that is similarly grouped with Erra and Erragal in god-lists and so is clearly a phonological offshoot of them, and that shows evidence for the (conventionally rendered) voiced/voiceless interchange that is the phonological marker of early borrowings from Sumerian into Akkadian.

It may strike the reader as odd that Erra, a god who, as we have seen, is more correlated with Akkadian contexts than Sumerian, would appear in enough Sumerian texts to develop an Emesal variant. In fact, Erra appears in multiple early Sumerian hymns, generally under the spelling ^{d}KIŠ-*ra*, perhaps originally representing a separate god who came to be identified with Erra in prehistory.

[286] The early contexts in which Erragal appears are split between god-lists (*Anum* [Early Weidner God-List, 1 Column], *The Great List of Sumerian Gods*, and *The Nippur God-List*) and laments ("Arise! Arise!," "Honored One, Wild Ox" [Early Recension], and Variant to "Fashioning Man and Woman"). Although the laments were

contexts no doubt stems from his birth in the hymnic liturgical environment that accounts for most surviving Emesal, a climate from which he never strayed far and which no doubt contributed to his reputation for clemency and approachability that his more famous counterparts lacked.

Yet another deity was engendered as Erragal's name in turn was borrowed into Akkadian as Errakal; his name is confined exclusively to Akkadian sources of the first millennium, although it must have been borrowed earlier.[287] That Errakal is simply a variant of Erragal is evident from god-lists, where he invariably follows or precedes Erragal immediately. A possible additional deity, Erra-KAL.KAL, appears only in a litany in *Šurpu*, directly after Erragal.[288]

VII. Conclusions

On present evidence the origins of Erra's cult cannot be reconstructed, and the etymology of his name—probably pronounced /yerra/ in its earliest attestations—is obscure. Not a thoroughgoing plague god per se, Erra is associated with war, plague, famine, and demons—in short, with mass death through a variety of means.

Little evidence for cultic activity to Erra survives outside of Ešši, a town in the region of Emar during the Late Bronze Age (Mesopotamian middle period). Erra's popularity in personal names peaks in the Isin-Larsa period before dropping precipitously by the Kassite period. In early

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no doubt composed earlier than the Old Babylonian period, it is not certain that Erragal had yet become an independent god at the time they were composed.

[287] Errakal's name, however, is (largely) reconstructed in *Atraḫasīs*, an Old Babylonian mythological text, on the basis of an apparently nearly identical line in the Standard Babylonian recension of *Gilgameš* (see *Atraḫasīs* II:vii:51; *Gilgameš* XI:195). Although it is unattested in the second millennium outside this reconstruction, his name must have been borrowed from Sumerian into Akkadian sometime in this period, since later borrowings do not manifest this (conventionally rendered) voiced/voiceless interchange (compare the early borrowing BARAG and *parakkum* to the later example BALAG and *balaggu*). It is not clear at what point—or in what contexts—Errakal came to be understood as a separate deity. To the end he remains a vanishingly rare god; besides *Atraḫasīs* and *Gilgameš*, he is not attested outside of god-lists.

[288] If not a scribal error, it is possible the name is to be read *Erra-dandan*: *dandannu*, "all-powerful," is a common epithet for Ninurta and Nergal that is also applied to Erragal.

Mesopotamian history there appears to be a disconnect in which, formally identified with Erra, Nergal is nevertheless far more common in state-sponsored cultic contexts where Erra is significantly more common in the popular sphere, as revealed through personal names; over time Erra names slow to a trickle, where Nergal's prominence in both names and in the official cult explodes in the first millennium. Erra's less prominent status and attrition from the popular sphere track a subtle shift in his personality, whereby his fierceness and propensity for aggressive behavior increase over time: where Nergal is regularly called on for blessings as early as the Old Babylonian period, Erra is very rarely invoked in similar positive contexts.

Unlike many pairs of Mesopotamian gods in which an Akkadian deity virtually supplants a Sumerian counterpart by the first millennium, Erra and Nergal continue to manifest a complicated relationship to the end: often identified, they are never identical, and both continue to appear in different contexts.

Erragal, a late-comer to the Mesopotamian pantheon, appears in origin to be nothing more than the Emesal spelling of Erra's name; however, in stark contrast to Erra he is never portrayed as violent or dangerous and is regularly invoked in hymnic contexts.

Chapter 4
Išum

I. The Meaning and Spelling of Išum's Name

Erra's vizier in the *Erra Song*, the god Išum is known as early as the Presargonic period from personal names such as Ur-Išum, "Išum's 'dog'/servant,"[1] and Šumšu-Išum, "his name is Išum."[2] The earliest attestations of his name show some variability in spelling: it is variously rendered *ì-šum*,[3] *i-šum*,[4] *i-šu-um*,[5] and likely *ì-šu*,[6] demonstrating beyond all reasonable doubt that the conventional transliteration of his name is correct. By the Old Babylonian period the orthography had been standardized as ^{d}*i-šum*, which remained the preferred spelling for the rest of Mesopotamian history. Only one exception to this trend survives, in *The Birth Accounts of Sîn and Išum*, an idiosyncratic mythological text in Old Babylonian copy in which Išum's name appears to be declined.[7] The

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[1] See ur-*ì-šum* in Luckenbill, *Inscriptions from Adab*, 48, ii:7'.

[2] See *šum-šu-ì-šum* in Hackman, *Sumerian and Akkadian Administrative Texts*, #265.

[3] In addition to the examples above see also Puzur-Išum (PUZUR$_4$-*ì-šum*) in Hilgert, *Reign of Šulgi*, 463, seal 1 and Išum (*ì-šum*) in Sigrist, *Texts from the Yale Babylonian Collections*, #2074 line 7.

[4] See Ṣillī-Išum (*ṣi-lí-i-šum*) in Faust, *Contracts from Larsa*, #118 line 2 and Išum-ma-ili-lā-ilīya (*i-šum-ma*-DINGIR-*la-ì-lí-ia*) in Isma'el, *Lower Diyala Region*, #22 line 4.

[5] See Išum-DINGIR (*i-šu-um*-DINGIR) in Gelb, *Glossary of Old Akkadian*, 72.

[6] See [PUZU]R$_4$-*ì-šu* in Hilgert, *Reign of Šulgi*, #463 line 4.

[7] See especially VII:5'–9': "Enlil opened his mouth / To speak to Ištar, the lion: / 'To which brother of yours are you a nursemaid—your brother who was born to your brother?' / 'It is Išum, whom Ninlil bore to Šamaš, / 'And, having been married off, she left him on the street' " (*Ellil pāšu īpušam-ma / izzakkar ana lābatim Ištar / ayyam aḫāki tariāt aḫāki ša ana aḫīki waldu / Išam Nillil ana Šamaš ulid-ma / uštāḫiz-ma ina šulîm īzibšu*). (See appendix B for the relevant bibliography for all texts cited here with attestations of Išum's and Ḫendursag's names.)

In its content as well its orthography this text is also an outlier: Išum's illegitimate birth and abandonment are not so much as hinted at in any other extant source; even his status as the offspring of Šamaš and Ninlil is otherwise unknown. For discussion of this text see Cooper, "Virginity," 98 n. 49; Leick, *Sex and Eroticism*, 248–249.

unusual spelling in this text is best accounted for by appealing to the complexity of the syntax, in which Išum's name has been topicalized for emphasis: the accusative case ending resolves what would otherwise be an ambiguity between subject and object and facilitates the appropriate integration of Išum's name into its syntactic context.

Because of its phonological similarity to a common Semitic root for "fire,"[8] for most of the history of Assyriology Išum has been construed as a fire god.[9] Recently, however, some doubts have been expressed about this characterization.[10] In addition to the proposed etymology, the case that Išum is connected to fire can be summarized as follows: 1) in the *Erra Song* Išum is once addressed as a "torch": "You are the torch; they see your light" (*atta dipārum-ma inaṭṭalū nūrka*; I:10); 2) one of Išum's epithets, "the one who goes about by night" (*muttallik mūši*; I:21), can allegedly also apply

[8] In Akkadian the word "fire" (*išātum*) is always marked morphologically as feminine: no masculine form *išum* is attested.

[9] For examples of this view chronologically see Dhorme, "Uraš et Išum," 114–115; Oppenheim, "Mesopotamian Mythology III," 155; Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 69; Frankena, "Het Epos," 166; Roberts, "Scorched Earth," 13; Cagni, *Poem of Erra*, 16; Bodi, *Book of Ezekiel*, 265; and Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 283.

[10] See Edzard, "Mesopotamien," 90; idem, "Išum," 214; and Black and Green, *Gods, Demons, and Symbols*, 112. Lambert accepts the etymology but implies, as with the Sumerian etymologizing of Išum's name as "pious slaughterer," that it is merely a folk etymology (Review of Gössmann, 400)—in other words, an authentic play on words in the period in which the text was composed, but not authentic to the period in which the name was formulated. Frankena, in contrast, qualifies his acceptance of the etymology with the word "original" (*oorspronkelijk*), implying he does not necessarily think it useful in describing Išum's role in this text but considers it an authentic association for the period in which Išum's cult emerged ("Het Epos," 166), the converse of Lambert's position.

In short, two major etymologies for Išum's name have been proposed: one is Sumerian (I: "pious"; ŠUM: "slaughterer"), undoubtedly indigenous (see I:4), but presumed to be a late learned etymology and thus not revealing about Išum's characteristics or origins, and the other is Akkadian, possibly indigenous, and the scholarly jury, as it were, is still deliberating whether it provides information either about Išum's origins or the period in which the *Erra Song* was composed. Regardless, we should be careful to avoid the etymological fallacy, effectively collapsing the distinction in time between Išum's conjectural origins and the composition of the *Erra Song*.

to the fire god Nuska;[11] and 3) Išum's personality stands in an equivocal relationship to humanity, like fire able both to help and to harm.[12] This evidence will be evaluated in turn.

Phonological: Although not definitive, the phonological evidence for Išum's name across time casts some doubt on the proposed etymology. Gelb has collected an impressive list of early (i.e., Presargonic) Semitic divinities and points out that none of their names shows evidence for case endings or mimation, with the single exception of Išum.[13] Although Gelb does not reach this conclusion himself, his evidence leads one to question whether the *-um* ending on Išum's name is best analyzed historically as a nominative case ending with mimation; if it is not, any proposed etymology must account for it in another way.[14] It is thus not entirely clear that the base of Išum's name historically is /ʾiš/.[15]

Semantic: The clearest evidence for Išum's relationship to fire, the passage in the *Erra Song* labeling him a "torch" emitting "light," is, although suggestive, too tenuous in itself to support a thoroughgoing connection to fire, since the epithet "torch" (*dipāru*) is applied to a number of deities

[11] According to Gössmann, *Das Era-Epos*, 41; Gössmann unfortunately does not cite a primary source.

[12] "But fire can be a blessing as well as a bane, so Išum, unlike Erra or Nergal, with whom he is occasionally identified, is favorably inclined toward [humanity]" (Roberts, *Earliest Semitic Pantheon*, 41); "the 'god of fire' is, as is somewhat the case in all literatures, the one who, like the element that represents him (fire), can manifest himself for either the welfare or the woe of those concerned" (Cagni, *Poem of Erra*, 17).

[13] See Gelb, "Šullat and Ḫaniš," 197. Gelb's list includes Sîn, Šamaš, Ištar, Adad, Dagān, Il, Malik, Šalim, Palīḫ, and Illat.

[14] That Išum's name is inflected even once suggests, at least in the Old Babylonian period and under unusual circumstances, the ending was construed as a nominative case ending. This is hardly surprising given its similarity to the nominative. Whether in origin it is a case ending remains to be demonstrated.

[15] In the first millennium Išum's name stabilized under the orthography ^{d}*i-šum* and shows no variation. However, it is likely the mimation—or what came to be construed as mimation—was lost in pronunciation sporadically as early as the Old Babylonian period: observe the variants in the spelling of Puzur-Išum's name in Hilgert, *Reign of Šulgi*, #463 line 4 ([PUZU]R$_4$-*ì-šu*) and on the seal, line 1 (PUZUR$_4$-*ì-šum*). In the first millennium this loss of mimation is suggested by playful spellings of the phrase "according to its original" (*kīma labīrīšu*) in late colophons as GIM ^{r}d$^{\urcorner}$*lab*-^{d}*èr-ra*-^{d}*i-šum* (Gurney and Hulin, *STT* 2, pls. CCXVIII–CCXXIX [#300], rev. 21) and [GIM] ^{r}LIBIR.RA$^{\urcorner}$-^{d}*i-šum* (Ebeling, *KAR* 1, 190–191 [#111], rev. 3).

including Ištar, Marduk, and Šamaš.[16] In a culture in which luminosity is the quintessential visual marker of divinity, more than a single reference to the light of a torch is necessary to demonstrate a significant relationship to fire.[17] The phrase *muttallik mūši*, too, has broader application than just Išum and Nuska: somewhat unexpectedly, it is the name of a plant;[18] it is also applied to demons and even to Nergal.[19] In fact, the lack of connection between Išum and the other known fire gods, Nuska and Gibil/Gerra, is striking: where Nuska and Gerra are sometimes grouped together in god-lists[20] and can even be interchanged,[21] Išum shows no demonstrable relationship to either of them, a strike against his being a fire god.[22] It is also the case that Gerra appears consistently throughout

[16] For examples see *CAD*, s.v. "dipāru."

[17] It is possible that Išum's connection to fire in this context is as learned and artificial as the etymologizing of his name as "pious slaughterer" (*ṭābiḫu na'du*) in *Erra Song* I:4—that is, if it is more than a coincidence, it, too, might be a "folk" etymology. (Edzard reads the Sumerian etymology of Išum's name—"pious slaughterer"—as evidence Išum was not perceived, in the native imagination, to have any etymological connection to fire ["Išum," 214]; however, it is unlikely the Mesopotamians understood the legitimacy of one etymology to preclude the legitimacy of others.)

[18] See *CAD*, s.v. "muttallik" (#3, "muttallik mūši").

[19] In *Utukkū Lemnūtu* VIII:12 the *alû*-demon is the "one who roams about by night" (*muttallik mūši*; see Thompson, *CT* 16, pl. 27, line 23; Geller, *Evil Demons*, ad loc.); in another late spell the phrase is associated with the *namtaru*-demon (Thompson, *CT* 17, pl. 29, lines 11–12). The same phrase recurs in a late bilingual text invoking Nergal (Rawlinson, IV R^2, 24 [#1], line 43).

A related phrase in Sumerian is applied to Erra (and Ninurta) as early as the Old Babylonian period, in *Hymn to Ninurta* (*SAHG* #2) line 2: ^{d}KIŠ-ra-gim ĝi$_6$-a du-du: "like Erra, he roams about in the night."

[20] In the god-list known as *Anum* (Weidner God-List, 1 Column), surviving with only minor modifications from the early second millennium to the mid-first, the connection is the clearest: Nuska and Gibil/Gerra appear two lines apart from each other (i:5 and i:7, respectively; Nuska's overlord, Enlil, appears in i:3); the conceptual connection drawing Gerra into Nuska's orbit is surely fire. Išum appears in a different section entirely, beside his wife Ninmug, in Nergal/Erra's circle (ii:12 in the early edition; 92 in the NB edition).

[21] For example, in the standard list of top-tier deities invoked in *The Annals of Aššurbanipal*, Gerra's name is once substituted for Nuska's (Edition B viii:33–35).

[22] The closest Išum comes to being associated with the fire gods occurs in the litany following the curses in the *Treaty between Aššur-Nērārī V and Mati'ilu of Arpad*, in which the audience is adjured by Ḫumḫumia and Išum in one line (vi:14), and by Gerra and Nuska in the following line (vi:15). In the absence of clearer evidence, this placement is likely to be happenstance, since Ištar of Nineveh is invoked alongside the fire gods although she has no known specific relationship to fire. In fact, this might be construed as evidence against the thesis that Išum is a fire god, since the fire gods are specifically paired and Išum is separate from them.

the *Erra Song* as little more than a cipher for fire,[23] a role Išum decidedly does not play here. Finally, Išum's perceived ambivalence with respect to humans can of course be creatively connected to the complicated role fire has played in human history for those who already accept the premise that he is a god of fire, but is far too non-specific to constitute evidence in itself connecting him to fire. In short, on present evidence the case for relating Išum to fire is extremely weak.

II. Išum's Characteristics across Time

Išum is strongly associated with Akkadian sources in all periods, to a much greater degree than Erra; in fact, his name virtually never occurs in Sumerian contexts.[24] Like his Sumerian counterpart, Ḫendursag (on whom see below), Išum's consort is Ninmug,[25] a Sumerian goddess who is associated with birth and handicrafts and whose cult is known as early as the Fara period.[26]

Although little evidence survives for direct cultic activity to Išum[27] and no evidence points to a cult center dedicated to him, perhaps surprisingly, considering Išum is never more than a

[23] See *Erra Song* I:33, I:141, I:182, II:142 (reconstructed), IIIc:17, IIIc:50, and IV:149.

[24] My survey of personal names with Išum yielded a single specimen that appears to be Sumerian: Ur-Išum (in Luckenbill, *Inscriptions from Adab*, 48, ii:7'). Išum only appears in two Sumerian contexts, both bilingual texts: in *Astrolabe B*, a Middle Assyrian astrological treatise, Išum's name occurs in both the Akkadian and the Sumerian versions; and in *Blessings for the King* Išum is the Sumerian rendering of Nergal's name. This latter example is discussed below.

[25] Early seal legends associate Ninmug with Išum, and the Old Babylonian *Letter-Prayer to Ninmug* assumes a relationship between them. Lexical texts from the first millennium, such as *Emesal Vocabulary Tablet* I line 110 and AN–*Anum* VI:21, also list Ninmug as Išum's wife.

[26] See Cavigneaux and Krebernik, "Nin-muga, Nin-zed, Nin-zadim[?]."

[27] The Old Babylonian *Letter-Prayer to Ninmug* shows evidence for voluntary sacrifices to Išum and Ninmug, and a singer is assigned to him at Larsa in the same era (see Renger, "Priestertum 2," 180). In the first millennium, devotional activity directed to Išum is occasionally evident from ritual texts, where it is entirely of a piece with Išum's prevalence in incantatory contexts and points to sporadic ad hoc veneration of Išum to ameliorate particular problems rather than a full-blown, regular cult: In "*Namburbi* against the Evil of Fungus" Išum is subjected to incantation and ritual sacrifice to avert the evil portended by fungus growing on the outer north wall of an individual's house: "[O]n that day the [own]er of the house should slaughter a red [variant: yellow] sheep before Išum, and should recite, 'May Išum receive this!' " ([*in*]*a ūmi šuātu immera sāma* [variant: *arqa*] *ana maḫar Išum* [*bēl*]*u ša bīti inakkis-ma Išum annâm limḫur-ma iqabbī-ma*; lines 34–35). And in "Ritual against a Lurker Demon" Išum is supplicated as part of the formula for exorcising a *rābiṣ ṣēri*, a

minor luminary in the Mesopotamian firmament, no fewer than fourteen extant seals and seal impressions from individuals designated his "servant" (ARAD) have been recovered from the period between the Ur III dynasty and the Old Babylonian.[28] Personal names invoking Išum, never comprising more than a tiny fraction of the total, peak in this same period before declining precipitously.[29]

Unfortunately very little is known of Išum's character from early Mesopotamian history. In later centuries, Išum's close identification with Ḫendursag would result in his assuming the role of "herald of the gods" (*nāgir ilānī* [NÍMGIR DINGIR.MEŠ]),[30] "night watchman" (*ina mūši . . . nāṣir-*),[31] and "herald of the quiet street" (*nāgir sūqi šaqummi*).[32] Išum would also come to exhibit a pronounced affinity for magical contexts: more than a third of the attestations of his name in the first millennium—twenty-one out of fifty-three—occur in rituals or incantations. Išum's appearance in the late collection of incantations known as *Utukkū Lemnūtu*, "Evil Demons," suggests

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"lurker demon of the hinterland": "You recite [. . .] . . . to Išum; you set out a *mirsu*-confection, [*m*]*iḫḫu*-beer, and bread" (*ana Išum* [. . .] . . . *tazakkar mirsa* [*m*]*iḫḫa akala tašakkam-ma*; 96b–98a). In his astral manifestation, Išum, among other gods, is also prescribed offerings in the Neo-Assyrian letter "Burnt Offerings to Heavenly Bodies."

[28] See appendix B for a list of these texts with references. This contrasts sharply with the single extant example known to me of a "servant of Erra" (*Texts from Sippir* #8, seal), although more than five times as many names of the period invoke Erra as Išum, confirming the picture painted in chapter 3 of Erra's absence from state-sponsored cultic activity but simultaneous popularity in early Mesopotamian history (see chapter 3, "V. Erra's Relationship to Nergal: Divergences between Erra and Nergal—Personal Names").

[29] See appendix C. Though rare, late names with Išum are not unknown: Išum-ibni is referenced in Bongenaar, *Ebabbar Temple*, 328; Išum-iddin appears in Jursa, *Landwirtschaft in Sippar*, #55 line 4; and Išum-mardû is known from Kohler and Ungnad, *Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden*, #50. Since Išum eventually became a subsidiary in Nergal's cult (on which see below), it is not surprising that Cuthah was an especially hot spot for Išum names in the late first millennium: Išum-ibni, Išum-iddin, Išum-uballiṭ, and Išum-udammiq all appear in Jursa, "Texte aus Kutha," and comprise 1.7% of the total number of names in this body of late Achaemenid texts—a far higher percentage than the total share of Išum names in the second millennium when Išum names peaked across Mesopotamia as a whole. Unfortunately data from Cuthah are lacking for early Mesopotamian history, so no comparison across time can be made.

[30] See *Muššu'u* V:80; "herald" is a common epithet of Ḫendursag.

[31] In a bilingual incantation in *Utukkū Lemnūtu* XIII–XV:92 Išum and Ḫendursag share this role.

[32] In *Utukkū Lemnūtu* V:163 Išum and Ḫendursag share this epithet.

these figures cannot be dismissed as mere accident of discovery: Išum is attested six times,[33] garnering more attestations than several of his more prominent colleagues and thus out of all proportion to his standing in the pantheon: Adad, a considerably more significant god than Išum, merits only five mentions in this compendium,[34] and Nabû, one of the chief deities of the era, only a single reference.[35] Since Išum is known from no early incantations, this appears to be a late development.[36] Largely passed over by the popular devotion evident from personal names and otherwise little more than a subsidiary in Nergal's cult, in the first millennium Išum developed an identity as a minor deity particularly amenable to fending off demonic influence and disease in incantation and ritual.

The question might naturally arise whether Išum's role in the *Erra Song*, a text that has known resonances in magical social contexts,[37] could have contributed to the development of Išum's status in late texts as a god particularly appropriate to magical invocation. This strikes me as unlikely: the language employed in reference to Išum in incantations, where he is dubbed "herald of the quiet night" (*nāgir mūši šaqummi*)[38] and "lord of the street" (EN SILA; *bēl sūqi*),[39] bears no

[33] Three of which are reconstructed, in VI:125', VI:150', and XIII–XV:194; however, since in each case Išum's name is reconstructed as the Akkadian equivalent to Ḫendursag, these restorations can be deemed secure.

[34] Adad appears in Addendum to tablet I:9 and in V:120, XVI:19, XVI:31, and XVI:64.

[35] Nabû appears in tablet XI excerpt 6:2. Even Nergal, Išum's overlord and a far more important deity in the period, only appears four times (in Addendum to tablet I:10 and in III:109, V:160, and VI:165'), and Ninurta only five times (in I:77', III:110, V:95, V:116, and V:148). (Naturally Ēa, Marduk, and Asarluḫi, quintessential gods of magic, each appear many more times than all of these gods combined.)

[36] It must be born in mind that these are first-millennium copies, but not necessarily first-millennium texts; several of these late incantations have known predecessors, such as *Udug-Ḫul OB*, the forerunner to *Utukkū Lemnūtu*, which invokes Ḫendursag in Sumerian but lacks an Akkadian translation. Unfortunately, the spotty nature of the evidence does not allow us to formulate with any precision when Išum began to appear in incantations and the degree to which this may have developed out of Ḫendursag's potential tendency to appear in incantatory contexts (like Išum, with whom he is identified, Ḫendursag only develops a noticeable preference for incantatory contexts in the first millennium).

[37] As evidenced by its appearance on amulets (see copies O, Q, S, and W) and by amuletic inscriptions alluding to it (see *Amulets Invoking Marduk, Erra, Išum, and the Divine Heptad*).

[38] *Utukkū Lemnūtu* XIII–XV:194.

obvious connection to that employed in the *Erra Song*, in which Išum is Erra's "vanguard" (*ālik maḫri*),[40] the "vanguard of the gods" (*ālik maḫri ilānī*),[41] and, in stark contrast to his function in incantatory contexts, even plays the part of a "warrior" (*qurādu*).[42] Even when Išum appears as a member of the same constellation of characters that populates the *Erra Song*, the articulation of the characters (including the spelling of their names and their epithets) is different enough to suggest that both texts draw on and adapt earlier traditions.[43] It is therefore probable that Išum's proclivity for magical contexts predates his inclusion in the *Erra Song*; in fact, his presence there may have motivated the song's adaptation to magical purposes.[44]

While most magical texts invoking Išum may not make any clear allusion to the *Erra Song*, one of Aššurbanipal's inscriptions quotes directly from it:

> i:13 *šal-ši-a-nu* AN.ŠÁR EN [*ṣi*]-*i-ru* ^{d}U.GUR *qar-rad* DINGIR.MEŠ ^{d}*i-šum šá* ŠU.2-*šú as-ma ú-tak-ki-lu-ni-ma*
> i:13 *šalšiānu Aššur bēlu* [*ṣ*]*īru Nergal qarrād ilānī Išum ša qātāšu asmā utakkilūnim-ma*
> i:13 For a third time Aššur, the [em]inent lord, Nergal, the warrior of the gods, and Išum, whose hands are fit, encouraged me.[45]

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[39] "*Namburbi* against Bad Omens in a House" line 9.

[40] In *Erra Song* I:11, I:99, I:105, II:121 (partially reconstructed), IIIc:27, IIIc:39, IV:137, V:13, and V:47.

[41] In *Erra Song* I:108 and IIIc:54.

[42] In *Erra Song* IV:141 and V:40.

[43] See especially *Bīt Mēseri* II:74–76, in which Nergal (not Erra) is invoked alongside Išum, "minister of the street" (*šukkal sūqi*), as well as Almu and Alamu, "king of the heptad" (*šarri sebetti*), and their sister Narudi. Observe that the heptad is not even labeled "divine" in this articulation.

[44] The *Amulets Invoking Marduk, Erra, Išum, and the Divine Heptad* might be interpreted as supporting this position, since they allude undeniably to the *Erra Song* at the same time—unlike the song—they invoke Išum as "herald of the street" (*nāgir sūqi*; line 3), evincing some awareness of the role Išum plays in incantations generally; as such, they serve as a bridge between the content and function of the *Erra Song* and the body of magical literature invoking Išum.

[45] Aššurbanipal Inscription (K 3098+K 4450).

Not only is Nergal referred to here as the "warrior of the gods" (*qarrād ilānī*), an epithet associated with Erra in the *Erra Song*,[46] but the expression applied to Išum here—"whose hands are fit"—appears to be a direct quote from the song:

> I:4 *Išum ṭābiḫu naʾdu ša ana našê kakkīšu ezzūti qātāšu asmā*
> I:4 Išum, pious slaughterer, whose hands are fit to bear his ferocious weapons . . .

Certainly it is possible that both texts quote a third source. However, given the known wide dissemination of the *Erra Song*[47] and the fact that the phrase in question is more complete in the song, where in Aššurbanipal's inscription it has been abbreviated to the point that the sense has been compromised, it is likely one is meant to fill in the gaps in Aššurbanipal's inscription with a knowledge of the song. It appears that the *Erra Song* exerted at least some influence over the manner in which Išum's character was constructed in the closing centuries of cuneiform history.

III. Išum's Relationship to Ḫendursag

Ḫendursag makes his debut in the extant documentary record as early as the Fara period (Early Dynastic IIIa);[48] in the subsequent Early Dynastic IIIb period he becomes a regular in offering lists from the Lagaš region. Before the Old Babylonian period his name is consistently spelled ^{d}ḫendur(PA)-saĝ; thereafter, as the conventions for Sumerian orthography become fuller, it is typically written with a final syllable, perhaps representing a genitive postposition: ^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-

[46] In *Erra Song* I:5, I:40, and I:130.

[47] The copies stem from Sultantepe, Nineveh, Aššur, Tell Ḥaddad, Sippar, Babylon, and Ur; see appendix A.

[48] See the *Fara God-List*.

ĝá.[49] Because no term "ḫendur" is known outside the context of his name and the sign PA has several readings, the meaning of the name has not been adequately explained.[50]

The complement to Išum, Ḫendursag is far more common in Sumerian sources than Akkadian; in fact, he never appears in an Akkadian context before the first millennium.[51] By far the most common personal name to invoke him is Ur-Ḫendursag, "Ḫendursag's 'dog'/servant," attested

[49] A handful of variants and lexical explications provide the (conventionally rendered) pronunciation of the first grapheme following the divine determinative: in a phonetically spelled liturgical context from the Old Babylonian period his name appears ḫa-an-du-ur-sa-ĝá ("Honored One, Wild Ox" [Early Recension] e+216 in the copy published in Langdon, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, #13 line 4); a lexical text from the same era provides the pronunciation ḫe-en-du-ur-saĝ (*The Nippur Recension of Diri* #10 line 10: ḫe-en-du-ur-saĝ | ^{d}ḫendur-saĝ | *i-šum*); and other lexical contexts furnish a range of pronunciations for the grapheme PA that include ḫu-dur (*The Yale Syllabary* line 265), en-dur (ID.A–*na-a-qu* i':5'), and ḫe^{i}(I)-en-du-ur ("Syllabary of the Second Class from Aššur" rev. iv:18; that this is a misspelling of Ḫendursag's name was first recognized by Poebel, "Sumerische Untersuchungen IV," 143–144).

[50] Falkenstein's proposed interpretation, "Stab des Ersten" (*Inschriften Gudeas*, 76), has not been universally accepted (for rejections of this proposal see Edzard and Wilcke, "Die Ḫendursanga-Hymne," 142 n. 4 and Selz, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, 142). Selz, later adopting this reading, sees the god's origins in a deified emblem, the "staff of the leader" ("Problems of Deification," 171), as does Porter ("Non-Anthropomorphic Deities," 164). Although this interpretation accounts for the graphemes, and the terms assigned to the grapheme PA cluster semantically around the idea of a "staff," so "staff" is not an unlikely proposal for the Sumerian term ḫendur, the particular reading of the sign PA here as ḫendur is still unexplained.

Ḫendursag is occasionally associated with staffs: in *The Ḫendursag Hymn* the "scepter of the plan" is "grown in a pure place" (ĝidri ĝeš-ḫur-ra-bi ki-sikil-la bí-in-mú; line 16); in *The Nanše Hymn* he is said to be "bearing a scepter" (ù-luḫ-ḫa sù-sù, literally "sprouting an offshoot"; line 181); in *Compendium of Incantations* §9 the "staff of Ḫendursag" (^{ĝiš}ma-nu ^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá; line 22) plays a role in the ritual; and in *Compendium of Incantations* §10 Ḫendursag seems to be in apposition to the "staff, the mighty weapon" ($^{[gi]š}$ma-nu ^{ĝiš}tukul kalag-ga; line 39—see also line 40). It is not clear the degree to which this represents coincidence (notice multiple terms for "staff" are represented here) or is even founded on wordplay.

In the *Erra Song*, a text with an undeniable flair for the recondite, paronomasia is undoubtedly at work: Ḫendursag's name—^{d}ḪENDUR.SAG.GÁ—is glossed thrice, "etymographically," as *nāš* (GÁ) *ḫaṭṭu* (ḪENDUR/PA) *ṣīrti* (SAG), "bearer of the eminent scepter"; as *nāqid* (PA.<DAG+KIŠIM$_5$×GAG>) *ṣalmāt qa*[*qqa*]*di* (SAG.GÁ=GI$_{26}$, for GI$_6$), "herdsman of the black of head"; and as *rēʾû* . . . (PA.<UDU> . . .), "shepherd . . ." (the end of the line is unfortunately broken) (as observed by Attinger and Krebernik, "L'Hymne à Ḫendursaĝa," 22 n. 3; see *Erra Song* I:3).

[51] To my knowledge, Ḫendursag appears in only five sources in Akkadian, all of them late: *Anu's Procession*, a ritual surviving in Hellenistic copy; "Fragmentary God-List, *KAV* #154," in which he is labeled in Akkadian "the watchman" (*ḫayyāṭu*); "Fragmentary *Namburbi* Invoking Ḫendursag"; *Mušš*ʾ*u*, where he is again the "watchman," this time "of the street" (*ḫayyāṭu sūqi*; V:79); and *Šurpu*. Like the contexts in which Išum appears in this era, these texts are largely magical in nature.

from the Old Akkadian period to the Old Babylonian;[52] few other names employing this theophoric are known, although the name Lu-Ḫendursag, "man of Ḫendursag," appears in at least two sources,[53] and even an Akkadian name invoking him survives: Ḫendursag-bānî, "Ḫendursag is my creator."[54] A canal bearing his name (pa$_5$ ^{d}ḫendur-saĝ) ran through the Lagaš region.[55]

A plethora of early sources bears witness to a brisk cult to Ḫendursag early in Mesopotamian history, focused on the region of Lagaš.[56] Literary texts portray him playing a role in the enforcement of justice[57] and patrolling the streets, especially at night;[58] in *The Ḫendursag Hymn* he plays the part of psychopomp, shepherding the dead to the netherworld.[59]

[52] For the Old Akkadian period see Westenholz, *OSP* 2, 128, iv:6; for one of the many examples from Neo-Sumerian texts, see Sigrist, *Texts from the Yale Babylonian Collections*, #309 line 41; and for the Old Babylonian period see Chiera, *Lists of Personal Names* 3, #75 (pl. CIII), ii:3'.

[53] See Pettinato, *Testi economici di Lagaš*, #400 line 9, rev.4; idem, *Testi economici neo-sumerici*, 13, rev. 4.

[54] See Steinkeller, *Sale Documents*, #75 line 15 (and seal).

[55] See Thureau-Dangin, *RTC*, 148, iv:9.

[56] Offering lists record a panoply of foodstuffs allotted to him (as for example "3 silas of crushed grain" [3 sìla še-gaz], in VAS 14, #93 iii:4; see the chart in appendix B for many similar examples). More exotic items are dedicated to him as well, such as "a crown of purified silver" (1 men-kug-luḫ-ḫa) and "a bronze spoon (in the shape of) a ship of Dilmun" (1 zabar-dílim-má-Dilmun) in DP #72 v:3–vi:1.

[57] In *The Nanše Hymn* he is designated "the king who loves justice" (lugal níĝ-si-sá-e ki-áĝa; line 207) and "the king who hates violence" (lugal níĝ-á-zi-ga ḫul-gig; line 219), although he himself plays a sometimes forceful role in upholding the social order. Elsewhere he plays the part of the maškim or "bailiff," threatening not the social order itself but the forces that threaten that order (as in *Utukkū Lemnūtu* XII:105).

[58] For example, in *Mušš*u*'u* he is the "watchman of the street" (*ḫayyāṭu sūqi*; V:79), and in *Utukkū Lemnūtu* he is the "herald of the quiet street" (níĝir sila-a si-ga-ke$_4$; V:163) and the "herald of the night" (niĝir ĝi$_6$-ù-na-ke$_4$; XIII–XV:194). In the *Erra Song*, too, Ḫendursag/Išum is accorded a similar epithet, EN.GI$_6$.DU.DU, glossed as *bēlu muttallik mūši*, "lord who goes about by night," as well, more abstrusely, as *muttarrû rubê*, "leader of princes" (I:21; on the second gloss see especially Tinney, *NABU* 3).

[59] "[You are] the chief constable, bringing the dead into the netherworld" (saĝ ug$_5$ kur-ra laḫ$_5$-e-da gal$_5$-lá gal-bi-[me-en] in *The Ḫendursag Hymn* line 38; saĝ ug$_5$ kur-ra laḫ$_5$-e-bi gal$_5$[lá gal-bi-me-en] in line 160).

Ḫendursag's identification with Išum is not attested before the Old Babylonian period,[60] at which point all the documents that associate them stem from Nippur, where the process of syncretizing them may have begun.[61] The rationale for associating them is unclear, but their relationship militates against Išum's being a fire god, since Ḫendursag has no known association with fire. Following the Old Babylonian period they are thereafter closely aligned; in the first millennium, Ḫendursag generally plays the part of Išum's more arcane Sumerian counterpart. The decline of Lagaš as an independent state and eventually as an important urban center in southern Babylonia marks the disappearance of Ḫendursag's cult and his consignment to increasingly obscure literary contexts and rituals.[62]

IV. Išum's Relationship to Nergal

In chapter 2 it was concluded that in spite of their contrasting proclivities, in certain respects Erra and Išum nevertheless exhibit imbricated personalities.[63] The nature of their relationship outside the *Erra Song* will here be explored, and that evidence brought to bear on their respective portrayals in the song.

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[60] They are grouped together in *The Nippur God-List* (lines 87–88) and identified explicitly in *The Nippur Recension of Diri* (10:10); their identification is also clear from two prebend accounts, *ARN* #57 and *ARN* #58, that partially duplicate each other, substituting Išum's name for Ḫendursag's. All of these texts come from Nippur.

[61] Attinger and Krebernik, "L'Hymne à Ḫendursaĝa," 27. Notice that in *Anum* (Early Weidner God-List, 1 Column), a document for which fragments survive spanning the period from Ur III to the Old Babylonian (Weidner, "Altbabylonische Götterlisten," 2), they are listed separately.

[62] Ḫendursag's attestations by era show unequivocal evidence for this marked shift: in the third millennium he appears in forty-three economic texts and nine royal inscriptions, where in the first millennium he is attested in no economic texts and no royal inscriptions, but shows up eighteen times in incantations and rituals (usually as Išum's double) and six times in hymns and prayers; for these attestations see appendix B.

[63] In chapter 2 see especially "II. The Opening Passage: Ḫendursag's Identity and the Relationship between Erra and Išum (I:2–3)" and "IV. The Identity of the Warrior (IV:141)."

The earliest documents show no evidence for a relationship between Išum and Nergal; it is not until the Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian periods that certain traditions begin to include Išum in Nergal's circle.[64] Since little is known of Išum's early character, the basis for this relationship remains elusive; although Ḫendursag functions as the netherworld's psychopomp in *The Ḫendursag Hymn*—a possible point of connection to Nergal that could conceivably have motivated Ḫendursag's incorporation into Nergal's circle—the extant evidence suggests Išum was drawn into Nergal's orbit first and Ḫendursag only secondarily as the tradition connecting Išum to Nergal was synthesized with the tradition connecting Išum to Ḫendursag.[65]

By the middle period and into the first millennium Išum had firmly become a member of Nergal's court, as evidenced by multiple sources (although naturally he does not invariably appear in proximity to Nergal, nor Nergal to him). In certain genres in which high-profile gods are especially likely to be invoked, including royal inscriptions, blessings in letters, and administrative documents, Išum only appears in this era as a subsidiary of Nergal.[66]

A few texts take this association one step further, identifying Išum (or Ḫendursag) explicitly with Nergal:

[64] Two early god-lists position Išum in Nergal's train, *The Nippur God-List* and *Anum* (Early Weidner God-List, 1 Column).

[65] In *Anum* (Early Weidner God-List, 1 Column) Išum appears in Nergal's train where Ḫendursag is separate from both, suggesting it was Išum, not Ḫendursag, who first gravitated toward Nergal. We have seen that the identification of Išum with Ḫendursag may have first taken place at Nippur; in the late Old Babylonian text *The Nippur God-List* these traditions have been synthesized: Išum is equated to Ḫendursag and both are in Nergal's train.

[66] See the texts listed in appendix B for examples.

13 ^{d}i-šum nir-ĝál diĝir-gal-gal-e-ne ^{ĝiš}tukul kalag-ga-me$_{8}$-en ḫé-en-ti-an-sì ^{d}KIŠ-*ere*$_{11}$-*gal*
e-tel^{l} DINGIR.MEŠ *ra-bu-ti ka-ak-kà dan*$_{5}$*-na li-din-ku*
13 *Nergal etel ilānī rabûti kakka danna liddikku*
13 May Išum/Nergal, noble of the great gods, give you a mighty weapon![67]

Some confusion clearly prevails about Nergal's identity and his appropriate counterparts in bilingual contexts;[68] however, that Išum's (or Ḫendursag's) identification with Nergal represents more than the aberration of a single renegade author is demonstrated from other scattered sources that explicitly equate them, including a late recension of *Anum* (NA Weidner God-List, 2 Columns)[69] and two liturgical hymns surviving in first-millennium copies, "Flood that Drowns the Harvest" and Eršaḫunga-*Prayer to Nergal*.[70]

It should therefore come as no surprise that Išum, although generally quite distinct from Nergal in temperament, can participate in his overlord's personality: in an inscription of Aššurbanipal they inflict violence in concert,[71] and in rare omen apodoses Išum, like Erra, sometimes "devours."[72] Perhaps more surprising is the possibility that Erra might rarely assume the attributes of Išum and Ḫendursag, as in the unusual Incipit of a Hymn to Erra ("At the Watch of

[67] *Blessings for the King*, surviving in a Late Bronze Age copy from Emar, on the periphery of Mesopotamia (a copy of the Sumerian is also known at Ugarit).

[68] See also *The Cuthean Hymn to Nergal*, in which Nergal again appears in Akkadian and Erra is construed as his Sumerian counterpart.

[69] See *Anum* (NA Weidner God-List, 2 Columns) ii:40: ^{d}r i^{1}-[šum] | ^{d}U.GUR. That this text, although partially broken, is appropriately reconstructed to read "Išum" in this line is evident from 1-column versions of this text, such as *Anum* (NB Weidner God-List, 1 Column) and *Anum* (Early Weidner God-List, 1 Column), that assign Išum to this slot following Šubula, in Nergal's train.

[70] Nergal, addressed by name in line 3 of "Flood that Drowns the Harvest," is in apposition to Ḫendursag/Išum: "The great warrior, the herald, Ḫendursag" (ur-sag gal li-bi-ir ^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá, glossed in Akkadian as *na-gi-ru* ^{d}*i-šum*, "the herald, Išum"; line 22). Similarly, in Eršaḫunga-*Prayer to Nergal*, Nergal is unmistakably addressed under titles such as "lord of the netherworld" (umun urugal-la; line 2), "lord of Cuthah" (umun gú-du$_{8}$-a^{ki}; line 5), and "lord of the Emeslam" (umun é-mes-lam; line 6), immediately after which he is invoked as "the herald, Ḫendursag" (li-bi-ir ^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá; line 7).

[71] See Aššurbanipal Inscription (Rm. 281) line 6.

[72] See *Enūma Anu Enlil* LXXV:3, LXXV:4–5, and LXXXIV:3.

Erra, the Night Watchman") (*maṣṣarat Erra ḫā'iṭu*). Although the term for a "night watchman" here, *ḫā'iṭu*, is not specifically applied to Išum or Ḫendursag in any of the extant attestations, it is reminiscent of roles they both fill on multiple occasions, such as "watchman" (*ḫayyāṭu*);[73] "night herald" (níĝir ĝi$_6$-ù-n[a]);[74] "herald of the street" (níĝir sila-a);[75] "watchman in the night" (ĝi$_6$ en-nun-; *ina mūši . . . nāṣir-*);[76] and "herald of the quiet night" (*nāgir mūši šaqummi*).[77] Since, unlike Išum and Ḫendursag, Erra is only rarely invoked in this period and since Erra does not otherwise play the part of a night watchman, that Erra is here participating in the function of his vizier may best account for this text's aberrant qualities.[78]

The author(s) of the *Erra Song* drew on and adapted these preexisting traditions in a number of ways. Rather than pairing Išum with Nergal, a practice that was common at the time, the song rather pairs Išum with Erra.[79] Although Išum often appears in Nergal's train, there is little evidence for tension between them; typically they are invoked together.[80] We have seen that Erra

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[73] "Fragmentary God-List, *KAV* #154" line 9'.

[74] *Compendium of Incantations* §10 line 40; see also *Utukkū Lemnūtu* XIII–XV:194.

[75] *Utukkū Lemnūtu* V:163.

[76] *Utukkū Lemnūtu* XIII–XV:92.

[77] *Utukkū Lemnūtu* XIII–XV:194.

[78] It is lamentable that only the incipit survives; the text itself would no doubt be illuminating to our understanding of both Erra and Išum.

[79] Aside from god-lists, where Išum is paired with Nergal and Erra both since Nergal and Erra tend to be equated, only one other context pairs Išum with Erra—*Amulets Invoking Marduk, Erra, Išum, and the Divine Heptad*—and it is clearly inspired explicitly by the *Erra Song.*

[80] As in, for example, "*Namburbi* against Disease": "To Išum you recite the incantation 'King of Destiny' and the incantation 'Destiny' . . . ; to Nergal you recit[e] the incantation 'Divine Warrior, Leader . . ." (*tâ šar namtari tâ namtaru . . . ana Išum taqabbī-ma tâ ilu qurādu mu'erru ana Nergal taqabb*[*ī-ma*]; rev. 3'–5').

The only other extant text to portray any tension between Išum and Erra/Nergal or to depict Išum as an intercessor between humankind and his overlord—*The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld*—survives, like *Beowulf*, in a single fortuitous copy, stemming from the Neo-Assyrian period. It is entirely possible, though by no means certain, that the *Erra Song* (of which some of the copies are earlier in date) put into circulation the notion that Išum might intercede between Nergal and humanity and moderate Nergal's ferocity, an idea that was then picked up in this text.

represents, on the whole, a less approachable personality in this late era even than his counterpart Nergal, who is invoked and lauded far more regularly.[81] The effect of substituting Erra for Nergal in this dyad is therefore that of playing up the differences between the two major characters of the text and highlighting the tension in their temperaments, which then drives the narrative. It is clear the text stems from and describes a period of violence and sociopolitical disruption, and Erra's penchant for arousing terror in humanity accounts mythologically for the breakdown at the same time that Išum's presence as a tempering force on his master provides hope that the catastrophe can be managed. The spotty nature of the early documentary record and in particular Išum's general absence from early literary contexts prevents us from discoursing with any certainty on the original rationale for associating Išum with Nergal, but the fact that they can be explicitly identified on occasion suggests it was not perceived differences that drew them together; presumably they were understood to share some common characteristics. The *Erra Song* represents the earliest extant articulation of the theology that they serve as foils to each other and that Išum reins in Erra's savagery. This tension between them both creates the space in which the story can unfold and proposes a theological buffer between humanity and Erra, a god with known demonic associations, in the form of Išum, a god who in this period was especially known for fending off demonic influences.

At the same time the tension has been played up in this text, the two of them are said to influence each other's behavior. The resolution to the story comes specifically in the form of Išum's assuming attributes of Erra—his prowess as a warrior—and turning them to pro-social ends by attacking enemy territory,[82] where Erra is finally restrained by Išum's rhetoric.[83] This portrayal of

[81] In chapter 3 see especially "V. Erra's Relationship to Nergal: Divergences between Erra and Nergal."

[82] See *Erra Song* IV:137–150.

[83] See *Erra Song* V:16–23.

their "rubbing off on each other" is entirely consonant with other sources; the song's ingenious innovation is to accentuate the differences between them such that tension is created and then resolved, and in a manner that suggests catastrophe is both comprehensible (in that it is grounded in divine rationales and temperaments) and manageable (the forces perpetrating it can be manipulated through flattery, on both the human and divine levels).

V. Conclusions

Išum and Ḫendursag represent a much more straightforward pairing of divinities than do Erra and Nergal: Išum is decidedly associated with Akkadian in all periods and Ḫendursag with Sumerian. This identification appears to have first taken place in Old Babylonian Nippur. Both gods come to serve as "night watchman" and "herald of the street"; any relationship to fire, however, is dubious. In late texts Išum had become a subsidiary in Nergal's cult (a process that appears to have begun as early as the Old Babylonian period) and Ḫendursag served simply as his more arcane Sumerian counterpart. In the first millennium they are both especially common in magical contexts, although occasionally Išum absorbs elements of Nergal/Erra's personality and vice versa. In the *Erra Song*, in contrast to contemporaneous texts, tension is evident between Erra and Išum, tension that both drives the narrative forward and positions a divine buffer between Erra's vicious behavior and humanity in the form of Išum; this tension is only resolved as they finally manifest some of the characteristics of each other.

Chapter 5
The Divine Heptad

I. The Meaning and Spelling of the Divine Heptad's Name

The number seven serves as a stereotypical figure across diverse Mesopotamian literary and religious texts from all historical periods. Given this cultural backdrop, the most pressing issue in any evaluation of the Divine Heptad may be the determination of their boundaries: that is, which of the many groups of seven divine figures in Mesopotamian lore constitute the Divine Heptad proper and which are best classified as separate mythological phenomena? Little if any work to date has addressed this particular question, which must necessarily rely on the correlation between spelling and context. In fact, the employment of non-specific, ambiguous translations of the Divine Heptad's name, such as "Seven,"[1] has obscured the issue by leaving it to the reader to determine whether the seven in question belong under the rubric of the Divine Heptad per se or constitute a generic set of divine seven; it is not always clear whether this ambiguity is deliberate.

Using the relationships between spelling and context to ascertain a pattern of distributions in their alleged attestations should lay the groundwork for an evaluation of their character across time. In particular, it will enable us to assess the oft-repeated claim that there are two mirror Divine Heptads, one good and one evil, an idea apparently first proposed by Edzard[2] and since repeated in virtually every reference work to contain an entry on them.[3]

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[1] As in, for example, Geller, *Evil Demons* and Foster, *Before the Muses*. Of course, this translation is not inaccurate; however, several different spellings lie behind it.

[2] See Edzard, "Mesopotamien," 124.

[3] Gwendolyn Leick, for example, in her volume *Ancient Near Eastern Mythology*, suggests the Divine Heptad constitutes a "Babylonian group of demons, called 'the Seven' (Sumerian *imina.bi*). There are two groups of Sibittu, good and evil ones. The texts mainly refer to the second category" (152). Black and Green make a

Proposed Spellings

The least controversial and undeniably the most common spelling under which the Divine Heptad appear is DINGIR IMIN.BI. Besides the *Erra Song*, in which it is by far the most common spelling, this orthography appears in texts spanning virtually the entire spectrum of genres. The portrayal of the Divine Heptad in these texts ranges from the helpful[4] to the outright demonic.[5]

Additional spellings of their name are known from bilingual contexts glossing Sumerian dingir imin-bi in Akkadian as DINGIR.MEŠ *se-bet-ti*[6] or DINGIR.MEŠ *se-bet*.[7] These spellings in turn suggest the Divine Heptad are present in an unusual late Babylonian document listing divine temple

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similar claim: "As well as for a group of demons . . . *Sebittu* (Sumerian *Iminbi*), 'the Seven,' is a name given to a group of beneficent gods whose power can be harnessed against evil demons by means of magical incantations" (162). And Manfred Lurker follows suit in his dictionary of divine and semi-divine figures of world mythology, presenting the Divine Heptad as "a group of demons, some benign, others malignant. The seven malevolent demons are in fact the progeny of the sky-god Anu, but that does not prevent them from helping the plague-god Erra; they also encircle the moon, thereby causing an eclipse. The benign seven appear as adversaries of these malignant spirits" (*Dictionary of Gods and Goddesses*, 168).

Some scholars have expressed reservations about the positing of such a split—most notably, J. J. M. Roberts: "The attempt to separate the good DINGIR.IMIN.BI from the bad DINGIR.IMIN.BI strikes me as artificial. The favorable DINGIR.IMIN.BI have the same warlike character as the bad ones; it is just turned to a different purpose" (*Earliest Semitic Pantheon*, 115). Bodi concurs with Roberts (*Book of Ezekiel*, 105), as, reportedly, does Cagni's student Simonetti Graziani, whose conclusions Cagni endorses (*Poem of Erra*, 18) at the same time he confusingly repeats the claim that "there are good Sibitti in contrast with the bad ones" (ibid.). As we will explore below, the situation across time is somewhat more complicated than the narrow choice between a single and a double Divine Heptad might suggest. (The related question whether the Divine Heptad qualify as demons will also be taken up.)

[4] See for example Šalmaneser III, #95, which is dedicated in its entirety to the Divine Heptad, which asserts that they are "those who hear prayer, accept supplication, and receive appeal" (*šēmû ikribi lēqû unnīni māḫerū teslīti*; line 2), and which designates them "merciful" (*rēmēnûtu*; line 3).

[5] In *Enūma Anu Enlil* XXII:concluding paragraph (for an edition see Rochberg-Halton, *Babylonian Celestial Divination*, 269–270); *Babylonian Oracle Questions* #1 line 244 (for an edition see Lambert, *Babylonian Oracle Questions*, 21–41); "Commentary on the Assyrian Cult Calendar" lines 5 and 21 (for an edition see Livingstone, *Mythological Explanatory Works*, 126–129; idem, *Court Poetry*, 102–105); and the *Erra Song*. Each of these contexts is discussed in detail below.

[6] In Gurney and Hulin, *STT* 2, pl. CLXVIII (#176), lines 6'–7'.

[7] In Rawlinson, IV R^2, 21 1B, rev. 21–22 (*Bīt Mēseri*).

personnel, in which the DINGIR.MEŠ *se-bet-tú* are mentioned.[8] It is then likely they are also to be understood behind the spelling DINGIR *se-bet-te* in the *Vassal Treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal of Tyre*,[9] as well as in the late recension of *Etana* under the spelling DINGIR *se-bet-tu*$_4$.[10] From these variants it appears the latter element in their name, a masculine form of the number "seven" in Akkadian, vacillates between a declined and an absolute form;[11] the word order, however—although unconventional for cardinal numbers in Akkadian[12]—is stable.

The statuses of several other spellings of the number seven remain less certain. Related spellings in rare personal names represent only slight variations on this standard and can plausibly be considered alternate spellings: these include DINGIR IMIN.KAM in the Kassite period[13] and DINGIR IMIN.KÁM in Neo-Assyrian contexts.[14] Another variant, from the Old Babylonian period—

[8] In "Divine Temple Personnel" iii:14'; for an edition see Jursa, "Göttliche Gärtner?" The identification of the Divine Heptad behind this orthography is bolstered by the fact that they are numbered explicitly among the children of Enmešarra (iii:17'–18'), as the Divine Heptad are elsewhere under the conventional spelling DINGIR IMIN.BI.

[9] In *Vassal Treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal of Tyre* iv:5; for an edition see Borger, *Inschriften Asarhaddons*, 107–109.

[10] In *Etana* I:17 (late recension); for an edition see Haul, *Etana-Epos*, 163–230.

[11] The most common syllabic spelling, *sebetti* or *sebette*, is theoretically ambiguous, representing either the fuller absolute form or the genitive of the declined form with lost mimation; von Soden suggests, however, that the former is confined to the Old Babylonian period (*Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*, 113 n. 8). Regardless, the alternation between DINGIR.MEŠ *se-bet* in *Bīt Mēseri* (Rawlinson, IV R^2, 21 1B, rev. 21–22) and DINGIR.MEŠ *se-bet-tú* in "Divine Temple Personnel" iii:14' leads us to conclude both the absolute and declined forms were in use.

[12] Cardinal numbers generally precede the nouns they qualify in Akkadian, as in *Erra Song* I:29: IMIN DINGIR.MEŠ, presumably to be read *sebetta ilānī* (in striking contrast to DINGIR IMIN.BI later in the verse). There are exceptions, however: "The cardinal numbers rarely follow the noun, perhaps to connote emphasis. In such instances, the number most often appears in the free form with the appropriate case ending" (Huehnergard, *Grammar of Akkadian*, 239). The non-standard word order may have served in spoken Akkadian to distinguish between seven gods and the Divine Heptad proper. (In contrast, it is entirely regular in Sumerian for numbers to follow the nouns they qualify; considering the prevalence of the spelling DINGIR IMIN.BI it is quite possible that the word order of their appellation originated in Sumerian.)

[13] In the name Arad-(Ilī)-Sebetti, which can also be spelled using the more convention form of the theophoric element, DINGIR IMIN.BI (see Hölscher, *Personennamen der kassitenzeitlichen Texte*, 37).

[14] See "Sebetti-ilā'ī" in Parpola, Radner, and Baker, *Prosopography* 3.1, 1098.

DINGIR IMIN[15]—likewise plausibly represents the Divine Heptad, since one of the names in which it appears, Warad-(Ilī)-Sebetti, is by far the most common personal name to invoke them.[16]

This in turn suggests that the Divine Heptad might appear in Old Babylonian copies of a Sumerian lament, "Honored One, Wild Ox" (Early Recension), under the spellings dingir-imin, dingir-imin-a, and dìm-m[e-e]r-imin.[17] Given the apparent legitimacy of the spelling DINGIR IMIN for this era, the possibility that the Divine Heptad proper lie behind these orthographies cannot be ruled out. However, the variations in spelling and the genericness of the spellings—all of which follow normal Sumerian word order and simply read "the seven gods"—make our identification of them in this context less than secure.

The statuses of two other early spellings that have been construed as the Divine Heptad are entirely dubious: in Presargonic Lagaš a theophoric element ^{d}*si-bí* is attested,[18] where a ^{d}*ši-bu* is known from the Old Babylonian period.[19] The identification of these apparently syllabic spellings as the Divine Heptad rests on the assumption that the name is normalized in Akkadian in the feminine: *sebe* or a variant thereof. In earlier scholarship the element BI in the logographic spelling (DINGIR

[15] See Alexander, *Letters and Economic Texts*, #173 line 35 for the name ÌR-DINGIR-IMIN; Figulla and Martin, *Letters and Documents*, #572 line 1 for the name *a-na*-DINGIR-IMIN-*ša-di*$^{?}$-*ni*$^{?}$.

[16] This is especially true of this era: in my survey, of the names from the Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian periods that invoke the Divine Heptad, three of the four are Warad-(Ilī)-Sebetti(m) (see Faust, *Contracts from Larsa*, #46 line 21; Dalley and Yoffee, *Kish and Elsewhere*, 88, rev. 15; and Stone and Owen, *Adoption in Nippur*, 26, iv:6; for more on the sources surveyed see appendix C).

[17] "Honored One, Wild Ox" (Early Recension) e+181 (for an edition see Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 1, 272–318; the list of variants by source appears on 281).

[18] See for example de Genouillac, *TSA*, 22–27 (#10), vi:3' for the name UR-^{d}*si-bí* as well as ibid., 27–33 (#11), vii:13 and ibid., 33–39 (#12), viii:7 for mention of the É ^{d}*si-bí*, "the temple of Sebe." The reading "seven" for this divine name was first proposed by Gelb (*Glossary of Old Akkadian*, 263) and followed by Bottéro ("Les divinités sémitiques," 49).

[19] See for example Kobayashi, "Old Babylonian Theophorous Names," 69, where the author understands the divine name in question to mean "seven gods." It is curious to me that this divine name has not rather been read "Elder."

IMIN.BI) was understood accordingly as a phonetic complement.[20] In fact, as several variants to the standard logographic spelling attest, the name is normalized in the masculine, as one would expect (the forms *sebet*, *sebettu*, *sebetti*, and *sebette* are known syllabically); the element BI must then represent the demonstrative suffix in Sumerian. There is therefore no longer any justification for supposing either of these names represents the Divine Heptad at all, nor even that we are necessarily reading them correctly. This will have serious repercussions on our study of the history of the Divine Heptad's cult.

Finally, a number of spellings appear with no divine element whatsoever. In the late series *Mušš̌u'u* reference is made to an incantation to seven heavenly figures labeled simply the imin-bi.[21] Similar sets of seven populate the late compendium of bilingual incantations known in Akkadian as *Utukkū Lemnūtu*, "Evil Demons," under a number of closely related spellings, such as imin-bi │ *se-bet-ti-šu*,[22] imin-bi │ *se-bet-ti-šu-nu*;[23] and imin-àm │ *se-bet*.[24] Old Babylonian prototypes of *Utukkū Lemnūtu* feature similar groups of seven, under the spellings imin-na-meš[25] and simply imin.[26]

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[20] See for example Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, *passim*.

[21] The *Mušš̌u'u* Ritual Tablet line 43 (for an edition see Böck, "Ritual of 'Rubbing' "). The spell mentioned in this context, though broken, resembles the opening line of *Utukkū Lemnūtu* XIII–XV (following Geller's numbering in *Evil Demons*, on which see the following note); it is clear the series *Mušš̌u'u* draws on several earlier sources (Böck, "Ritual of 'Rubbing,' " 2).

[22] As in *Utukkū Lemnūtu* XIII–XV:84. (A modern critical edition of *Utukkū Lemnūtu* has not yet been published. For a now dated and partial edition see Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*; for a more recent, composite edition see Geller, *Evil Demons*. For a copy of the line in question see Rawlinson, IV R^2, 15*: i:29–30= Thompson, *CT* 16, pl. 46: 160–161.) It is of course likely there are variants to these orthographies in other copies.

[23] As in *Utukkū Lemnūtu* XIII–XV:43, 45, 46, 47, 53, 59, 68, and 71 (for a copy of these lines see Thompson, *CT* 16, pl. 44, lines 78–79, 82–87, 98–99, and 110–111; pl. 45, lines 129–130 and 132–133, respectively).

[24] As in *Utukkū Lemnūtu* V:83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, and 90 (for a copy of these lines see Rawlinson, IV R^2, 1*, iii:13–14, iii:15–16, iii:17, iii:18, iii:19–20, iii:21–22, iii:23–24, and iii:25–26, respectively=Thompson, *CT* 16, pls. 13–14, iii:13–14, iii:15–16, iii:17, iii:18, iii:19–20, iii:21–22, iii:23–24, and iii:25–26, respectively).

[25] As in *Udug-Ḫul OB* V:400–419 (following Geller's provisional line numbering; for an edition see Geller, *Forerunners to Udug-ḫul*). This Sumerian incantation is the predecessor to V:167–182 in the later bilingual compilation *Utukkū Lemnūtu*.

Syllabic spellings that, like these logographic spellings, also exclude the apparent determinative can be marshaled as well, including *se-bet-ti* in *Bīt Mēseri*[27] and סבת (*sbt*) in the Aramaic inscription Sefire I.[28]

And two exceptions to the conventional spelling of their name, both lacking a divine determinative, appear in the *Erra Song* itself, both in V:58: in copy TT the name is spelled simply IMIN-*ti* and in copy BB it is spelled *se-bé-et-*. A lacuna in the latter copy leaves open the possibility that a DINGIR sign is to be reconstructed before *se-bé-et*, but this is far from probable—the beginning of the line is entirely abraded, but a blank space is evident on the tablet immediately before *se-bé-et*, such that if a DINGIR sign has been lost to the abrasion, it was spatially grouped with the preceding word (*lišgiš*(*ū*)) and not with this one (*sebet-*. . .), where it logically belongs. Although even more copies preserve the standard spelling of the Divine Heptad's name,[29] these two aberrant writings—of the number seven in Akkadian where the Divine Heptad is undeniably intended—cannot easily be dismissed as scribal error: in both cases it is not simply that the DINGIR sign has been omitted; the number seven has also been spelled out to some degree rather than rendered with the traditional logograms IMIN.BI. This contrasts with every other spelling of the Divine Heptad's name, as DINGIR IMIN.BI, in every copy of the *Erra Song*. Copy BB was found at Aššur where copy TT is of unknown provenance but is written in Neo-Babylonian script;[30] it therefore appears that this tradition of referring to the Divine Heptad simply as *sebetti* (or an equivalent term), "the seven," had more than a narrow geographical application.

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[26] As in *Udug-Ḫul OB* 385–399 (following Geller's provisional line numbering). This Sumerian incantation is the predecessor to V:151–166 in the later bilingual compilation *Utukkū Lemnūtu*.

[27] *Bīt Mēseri* II:75 (for an edition see Meier, "Serie bīt mēseri").

[28] Sefire Inscription I line 11 (for an edition see Fitzmyer, "Sefire I and II").

[29] DINGIR IMIN.BI in copies N, W, and SS.

[30] See the table in appendix A.

The question whether these various designations of seven mythological figures all represent the Divine Heptad—or the degree to which they even cohere as a single group of seven—cannot be resolved by an appeal to orthography alone, but must take account of the contexts in which they appear.

The Distribution of Spellings by Context

Some useful patterns in the distribution of these spellings (with and without the divine element) are evident by context and by genre. These contexts are here classified according to how helpful or hostile a portrait of the Divine Heptad they present calibrated against some indication whether it is gods or demons (or both) that appear in similar or parallel contexts. In this way my own assessments of the relative benevolence or malevolence of their portrayals with respect to the Mesopotamians—in an attempt to evaluate the legitimacy of the mirror "good" and "evil" Divine Heptads that have been posited by modern scholars—have been assessed against an inquiry into whether the roles they play are, here or elsewhere, enacted by supernatural beings that are venerated (gods) or those that are exorcised and repelled (demons),[31] in an effort to ascertain the

[31] Although simplistic, this heuristic categorizing supernatural beings by the degree to which they are venerated or exorcised strikes me as nevertheless useful in that it is relatively easy to assess and uncovers an implicit indigenous scheme. (On further attributes that appear to distinguish gods from demons, including the use of the divine determinative, the appearance of horned crowns in visual representations, and the degree to which beings are represented anthropomorphically, see especially Machinist, "Anthropomorphism in Mesopotamian Religion," 72–75 and 81–83.)

Additional scholarship could profitably be conducted constructing a detailed taxonomy of supernatural forces along several axes: veneration versus exorcism, helpfulness versus hostility (to humanity or to cosmic order), individuality versus genericness, and sex. As a general tendency, gods, by the criterion employed here supernatural beings that are venerated, are more likely to be helpful, individual, and—in late texts—male (or subordinated to male gods), but exceptions abound. Even gods who are openly venerated are not necessarily benevolent, as the *Erra Song* itself amply attests; more commonly gods appear to be venerated simply because they are powerful. (We have also seen above that Erra can be associated explicitly with hostile demons—although he is not himself exorcised—suggesting the axes veneration/exorcism and helpfulness/hostility maintain some independence from each other.)

In point of fact, to the degree that helpfulness to humanity *is* correlated with veneration, that relationship may operate in reverse: beings that are venerated ("gods") are perhaps portrayed in religious texts as susceptible to human needs or petitions specifically because these texts served a liturgical function and flattery was understood to be the appropriate strategy for interacting with such beings, whereas beings

manners in which they are portrayed along implicit indigenous lines in case those lines differ from modern Western binary constructions of good and evil.[32] This information will then be brought to bear on an assessment of the boundaries on the legitimate spellings of the name of the Divine Heptad proper, which in turn will contribute to a discussion of the possibility that there are mirror Divine Heptads and ultimately of their character and the diachronic development of their cult.

The largest share of the attestations in my survey depicts the seven figures in question in a positive light, frequently soliciting their help against malevolent forces,[33] invoking them explicitly,[34] or even suggesting cultic activity in their honor was taking place[35]—in other words, contexts in which gods are otherwise common. With only a handful of exceptions, these positive attestations employ the conventional spelling of their name: DINGIR IMIN.BI. Although they are sometimes portrayed in aggressive terms, not only are these impulses channeled to beneficial ends, but other

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that are exorcised ("demons") are characterized in a malevolent light as a rationale for neutralizing them, the stated purpose of many of the texts in which they make an appearance.

Other exceptions to these trends that would be worth exploring include Lamaštu, who, although individual (meriting a divine determinative and designated a daughter of the god Anu), is nevertheless unequivocally hostile to humanity and accordingly exorcised rather than worshipped. Ereškigal and Tiāmat occupy a similar status, suggesting sex plays a minor role here (individual "demons"—or at the very least divine figures lacking cultic devotion—are often female, where generic classes of demons tend to be male or sexless). Another major group of exceptions, the converse to Lamaštu and company, can be seen in the generic classes of beings that are not venerated (nor are they exorcised) and yet are unequivocally beneficent, such as the good *šēdu* or the *mukīl rēš damiqti.* It may be significant that these figures have undeniable shadow-sides, in this case the evil *šēdu* and the *mukīl rēš lemutti*. In fact, although a simple benevolent/ malevolent dichotomy is inadequate to describe the behaviors or attitudes ascribed to the gods, which is why this conventional paradigm has been put here into dialogue with the dichotomy between veneration and exorcism, it is more than adequate to account for generic classes of supernatural beings.

[32] It is likely that our concepts of good and evil do not correspond to native Mesopotamian categories. Gods may behave violently and even misanthropically without necessarily becoming morally suspect; in fact, as in the *Erra Song*, they may be placated for it through flattery.

[33] See for example "*Namburbi* against the Evil of Fungus" (for an edition see Caplice, "Namburbi Texts V," 140–147; idem, *Akkadian Namburbi Texts*, 18–19; and Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, 354–366).

[34] As in, for example, *Šurpu* IV:66: "Seventh, may the Divine Heptad, the great gods, release" (*sebe lipṭurū sebettu ilānū rabûtu*; for an edition see Reiner, *Šurpu*).

[35] Aššurnaṣirpal II, for example, reports renovating their temple in Kalḫu, alongside the temples of several other gods (see Aššurnaṣirpal II, #30 lines 53–68; for an edition see Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium I*, 288–293; Wiseman, "New Stela").

gods appear in parallel contexts: In a royal inscription of Esarhaddon, their "[r]ising" (perhaps as the Pleiades)[36] is said to signify "battle and comba[t]" ([*ša t*]*ībūšunu tamḫāru šašm*[*u*]),[37] martial imagery that not only echoes an epithet applied elsewhere to Esarhaddon himself[38] but that is not out of place among characterizations of other gods.[39] And like other gods they are known from curse formulae,[40] where they are invoked to threaten would-be transgressors against Assyria's kings, under the spellings DINGIR IMIN.BI[41] and DINGIR *se-bet-te*.[42]

The next largest category of attestations finds them listed in essentially neutral or ambiguous contexts from which little information on their character can be extrapolated;[43] in the texts surveyed, the standard spelling, DINGIR IMIN.BI, is employed on every occasion except one.[44]

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[36] As argued by Koch-Westenholz (*Mesopotamian Astrology*, 133–134). If this interpretation is correct, there is surely a double meaning to *tību*, which frequently itself means "attack."

[37] From line 12 of the inscription edited in Borger, *Inschriften Asarhaddons*, 79–85).

[38] "Competent in battle, combat, and war" (*muddû qabli šašme tāḫāzi*; II:i:10 in Esarhaddon's "*Gottesbrief*"; for an edition see Borger, *Inschriften Asarhaddons*, 102–107).

[39] To cite just two of numerous examples: Nergal is said to be "king of battle" (*šar tamḫāri*) in Adad-nērārī II's Annals (line 3; for an edition of the relevant version see Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium I*, 145–155), and Ištar is called "lady of battle and combat" (*bēlat qabli u tāḫāzi*) in an inscription of Aššurnaṣirpal II (line 42; for an edition see ibid., 319–321).

[40] For one of many examples of another god's being invoked in a curse formula, see the following passage from an inscription of Adad-nērārī III: "May Aššur, the father of the gods, curse him and may he ['they'] exterminate his seed and his name from the land" (*Aššur abi ilānī līruršū-ma zēršu šumšu ina māti liḫalliqū*; lines 28b–29a; for an edition see Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium II*, 207–209).

[41] Aššur-bēl-kala #10 line 6 (partially reconstructed; for an edition see Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium I*, 108).

[42] *Vassal Treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal of Tyre* iv:5.

[43] Some of these contexts are too broken to be revelatory (see *Enūma Anu Enlil* XLV:rev. 9'–10', edited in Gehlken, *Weather Omens*, 52–54; Nabû-šuma-imbi 2001 i:14, edited in Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia*, 123–126). Some are lexical (see AN–*Anum* VI:150–184a, edited in Litke, *Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists*, 19–227). Others associate the Divine Heptad with the Pleiades but provide only ambiguous or laconic information about their character (see *Astrolabe B* i:12 and i:19, edited in Weidner, *Handbuch der babylonischen Astronomie*, 85–102; MUL.APIN I:i:44, edited in Hunger and Pingree, *MUL.APIN*).

[44] The exception is *Etana* I:17 (late recension).

In a few instances they behave hostilely to humanity but in a manner that directly parallels that of other gods: in omen apodoses they can "devour" livestock or the country,[45] and in the medical compendium *The Diagnostic Handbook* (SA.GIG) "the hand of the Divine Heptad" (ŠU DINGIR IMIN.BI) is listed as one of several possible diagnoses.[46]

Finally, in a limited number of contexts they behave in ways that can only be described as outright demonic and they are even explicitly exorcised. Virtually all of this last class of attestations can be accounted for by a single set of texts diachronically, *Utukkū Lemnūtu* and its forerunners, *Udug-Ḫul OB.* Although seven figures are common throughout these two compendia, they never once appear under the conventional spelling of the Divine Heptad's name, DINGIR IMIN.BI. The two significant common variables across virtually all of the confirmed spellings of the Divine Heptad's name are the presence of the apparent divine determinative—the DINGIR sign—and the word order—that is, the number consistently follows the DINGIR sign. However, when seven gods appear in these compendia of incantations, the number seven consistently precedes the logogram DINGIR. Furthermore, although the spelling imin-bi does occur in the Sumerian lines of these bilingual passages, it is never rendered *sebet*, *sebetti*, or *sebettu* in Akkadian but hyperliterally as *sebettīšu*, "its seven," or *sebettīšunu*, "their seven," perhaps better translated "those seven / the seven of them." No evidence for even an occasional pronominal suffix in the name of the Divine Heptad otherwise survives. The non-specificity of the spellings of the number seven in these texts, the sheer variability in spellings, the frequent lack of the alleged determinative, the use of conventional

[45] For examples see *Enūma Anu Enlil* LVI:85a, edited in Largement, "L'étude des astres errants," and *Enūma Anu Enlil* L:iv:4, edited in Reiner, *Babylonian Planetary Omens Part Two*, 44–45. The standard orthography is employed. Examples of Erra devouring are discussed in chapter 3, "III. Erra's Associations by Topic: Plague—The Devouring of Erra," and examples of Išum devouring are discussed in chapter 4, "IV. Išum's Relationship to Nergal."

[46] See *The Diagnostic Handbook* (SA.GIG) IV:37 (for an edition see Labat, *Traité akkadien*, 36–37, corrected in Geller, *Ancient Babylonian Medicine*, 146); XV:40' (for an edition see Heeßel, *Babylonisch-assyrische Diagnostik*, 152/158); and XVII:25–26 (for an edition see ibid., 197/207). This intellectual space is shared by gods and demons alike: diseases attributed to the "hands" of Adad, Gula, Išum, and Nergal, among others, stand alongside diseases attributed to the "hands" of demonic forces such as *ardat lilî*, *eṭemmu*, and *māmītu*.

word order for cardinal numbers in Akkadian even when the DINGIR is present, and the fact that these spellings do not map onto what is otherwise known about how this divine name is spelled all suggest these represent nothing more than generic groups of seven figures and are not the Divine Heptad proper at all.

Observations on the content of these passages, too, bolster our conclusions that, contrary to what has popularly been concluded, the actual Divine Heptad do not appear anywhere in these related compendia of incantations. Not only are these groups of seven typically exorcised or bound by oath in these passages[47]—a treatment that is not meted out to the Divine Heptad anywhere else[48]—but they sometimes come explicitly under the rubric of udug ḫul, "evil demons."[49] (In at least one case there are rather seven good spirits enlisted to repel the evil demons.)[50] On some occasions the seven figures in question are even identified with particular classes of demons: *gallû*-demons in V:129, *asakku*-demons in XIII–XV:12, and storm demons (*ūmū*) in XVI:1.[51] Additionally, while we have seen that gods can behave in undeniably hostile ways to humanity—the *Erra Song* itself providing ample evidence to this effect—it seems highly unlikely that a full-blown cult would develop to an evil demon per se; the most central criterion posited here to distinguish demons from gods is the difference between veneration and exorcism, on the assumption that beings that are exorcised are not ordinarily also venerated.[52] Comparison with analogous figures bears this out: in

[47] As in, for example, *Utukkū Lemnūtu* V:91–96, V:139–140, V:161–165, V:181, XIII–XV:77, and XIII–XV:83–84.

[48] The closest any text comes to an exorcism of the Divine Heptad is found in *Babylonian Oracle Questions* #1 (discussed below), which petitions Šamaš to save the patient from a litany of evils rather than including an exorcism proper.

[49] See *Utukkū Lemnūtu* V:100, V:141, V:166, and V:182.

[50] See *Utukkū Lemnūtu* XII:120–137.

[51] And on one occasion they are equated with a whole series of demons: see *Utukkū Lemnūtu* V:87–91.

[52] This heuristic is far from airtight: Two cultic stations to an "evil god" (DINGIR ḪUL.A, *ili lemni*) are known (see TIN.TIR^{ki}=*ba-bi-lu* [*The Topography of Babylon*] V:88, edited in George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, 1–72). Furthermore, a ritual survives prescribing the creation of a figurine of Lamaštu before which sacrifices

certain respects these various groups of seven demons occupy a niche similar to that of Lamaštu in that they are born to Anu[53] and disrupt the order of the cosmos,[54] and Lamaštu, although she is on occasion apparently lauded for her prowess in controlling other evil forces,[55] is nowhere to my knowledge formally worshipped, as evidenced either by the state-sponsored construction and operation of temples or by invocations in personal names.[56] The genericness and variability of the spellings, the instability in identity, the fact that they are typically non-individual[57] and simply belong to other classes of known demons, and the fact that they are openly characterized as demons and explicitly exorcised all conspire to suggest these groups of seven figures do not in fact represent the Divine Heptad at all and likely spring from different origins entirely.

In fact, most of the passages in which apparently generic groups of seven make an appearance differ markedly in style and intent from those that invoke the DINGIR IMIN.BI: while the former tend to constitute lengthy, lyrical, incantatory verses that employ stylistic repetition enumerating their attributes no doubt in an effort to control them,[58] examples of the latter range

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and libations are offered in anticipation of Lamaštu's being driven out of the patient (for an edition see Myhrman, "Labartu Texte," 156–157, i:21–29)—an intriguing admixture of cultic pacification into an exorcism. This overlap or leakage between figures modern scholars have identified as "demons" and those that have been identified as "gods," and the appropriate behavior toward them, merits further study.

[53] On Lamaštu's well-known relationship to Anu see for example *Maqlû* IV:45 (for an edition see Meier, *Maqlû*); compare *Utukkū Lemnūtu* V:152.

[54] On Lamaštu's characteristics generally see Farber, "Lamaštu."

[55] At least one incantation seems both to praise and exorcise Lamaštu, hailing her as the "magnificent" (ib-gu-ul | *šurbūtu*; line 5), the one who "binds the vexatious *asakku*" (šu-mu-un-du$_8$ a-gig-ga | *kamât asakki marṣi*; line 6), before adjuring her (see reverse, and observe the feminine singular forms, leaving little doubt as to the subject; the text is edited in Thureau-Dangin, "Rituel et Amulettes," 196).

[56] There was, however, apparently a street named for her in Old Babylonian Sippar (see Pinches, *CT* 2, pl. 27, line 6).

[57] There are of course exceptions; see *Utukkū Lemnūtu* XII:120–139 and XVI:7–13.

[58] See for example the following passage from *Utukkū Lemnūtu*: "They are seven, they are seven, / They are the seven from the underground waters of the abzu, / They are the seven who are adorned in heaven, / They grew up in (*Sum.*: emerged from) the cella in the underground waters of the abzu; / They are neither male nor female; / They are phantoms, drifters are they; / They do not take a wife; they do not sire offspring" (én imin-

from litanies of gods[59] to titles of incantations,[60] and references to their temples.[61] In other words, the latter set of attestations closely matches contexts in which other gods are known; in fact, in these attestations the DINGIR IMIN.BI frequently appear alongside other gods. With two puzzling exceptions in copies of the *Erra Song*,[62] then, it appears that the DINGIR sign is otherwise an obligatory element in the spelling of their name and must consistently precede the number seven.[63]

Two observations on these incantations, I believe, can explain the repeated appearance of seven stereotypical evil (and occasionally good) forces throughout these compendia:
1) incantations tend to divide the supernatural world into strictly beneficent and maleficent forces in an effort to impose order on the cosmos and enlist the former in the fight to neutralize the latter; and 2) as we have seen, the number seven has significance as a stereotypical and perhaps even magical figure in Mesopotamian religion. It appears that the seven demonic forces found virtually nowhere outside of collections of incantations against evil demons represent nothing more than an

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na-meš imin-na-meš | *sebetti šunu sebetti šunu* / idim abzu-ta imin-na-meš | *ina nagab apsî sebetti šunu* / še-er-ka-an-dug$_4$-ga-na imin-na-meš | *zu$^{\text{?}}$unūti ina šamê sebetti šunu* / idim abzu-ta agrun-ta è-a-meš | *ina nagab apsî ina kummi irbû šunu* / munus nu-meš ù nitaḫ nu-meš | *ul zikarū šunu ul sinnišātu šunu* / e-ne-ne-ne líl-lá bú-bú-meš | *šunu zāqīqū muttašrabiṭūti šunu* / dam nu-tuku-a-meš dumu nu-tu-ud-da-meš | *aššatu ul aḫzū mārī ul aldū šunu*; V:167–173, following the copy in Thompson, *CT* 16, pl. 15, v:28–42 and the line numbering in Geller, *Evil Demons*).

[59] See *Anu's Procession* ii:11 and iii:10 (for an edition see Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, 99–108; Linssen, *Cults of Uruk and Babylon*, 201–208; for a translation see Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 434–436); "A *Lipšur*-Litany from Nimrud" line 59' (for an edition see Wiseman, "Lipšur Litany"); and *Šurpu* III:172, IV:66, and VIII:27.

[60] See "Apotropaic Ritual with Figurines" line 25 (for an edition see Gurney, "Babylonian Prophylactic Figures," 64–75; for a translation see Woolley, "Babylonian Prophylactic Figures," 695–701); "*Namburbi* against the Evil of Fungus" line 63.

[61] See "Ritual with a Pazuzu-Head" line 4 (for an edition see Heeßel, *Pazuzu*, 71–72).

[62] In copies BB and TT of *Erra Song* V:58, discussed below.

[63] If accepted, this thesis might preclude our reading the Divine Heptad's name in the witness list of Sefire Inscription I or in the personal name of the ninth-century king of Byblos known as Sebetti-Bi'il, since neither of these names shows any evidence for a specifically logographic DINGIR sign in the Akkadian substrate of the Divine Heptad's name on which they presumably rely.

artifact of these two tendencies; there is no indication that the seven figures even share a coherent or unified identity across these incantations.

The general distribution in spellings, then, correlates behavior typical of demons with generic spellings that do not employ the apparent divine determinative on the one hand and behavior typical of gods with confirmed spellings of the Divine Heptad's name on the other, suggesting there is a single Divine Heptad and they fall within the sphere of the other deities.

Exceptions to the Trends in Distribution: The DINGIR IMIN.BI as "Demons"

There are four exceptions to this general trend whereby the Divine Heptad behave like other gods (rather than like demons) when their name is spelled with the DINGIR sign preceding the number seven. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

Enūma Anu Enlil

In an obscure passage from *Enūma Anu Enlil* (XXII:concluding paragraph 3–4),[64] the Divine Heptad apparently participate in the eclipse of the moon god, Sîn.[65] Not only do they behave in a manner that we might impressionistically label "demonic" (i.e., obstructing the other gods), but they are explicitly listed in a series of harmful phenomena and alongside *gallû*-demons. In fact, this passage is reminiscent of an incantation in *Utukkū Lemnūtu* in which the seven evil gods bring about an eclipse.[66]

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[64] For an edition see Rochberg-Halton, *Babylonian Celestial Divination*, 269–270.

[65] "Eclipse, flood, disease, death, great *gallû*-demons, and the Divine Heptad constantly block the way of Sîn" (*antalû riḫṣu murṣu mūtu gallû rabûtu Ilānū Sebettu maḫar Sîn ittanaprikū*).

[66] "Enki/Ēa called his son Asarluḫi/Marduk to issue instructions: / 'Go, my son, Asarluḫi/Marduk. / 'Regarding the son of the prince, the light of the sky, Sîn, who has been grievously eclipsed in heaven— / 'They have been revealed through the eclipse in heaven: / 'There are seven of them, evil gods, murderous and fearless. / 'There are seven of them, evil gods who rise up like the flood and overtake the land. / 'They rise up against the land like a storm. / 'In a rage, they continue to surround the light of the sky, Sîn' " (^{d}en-ki dumu-ni

It is just such similarities that have presumably led scholars to the conclusion that the Divine Heptad appear in *Utukkū Lemnūtu* under the generic spelling imin-bi-e-ne | *se-bet-ti-šú-nu*. Given the wider patterns in the distribution of spellings as discussed above, this conclusion is less than optimal. Parallels between *Utukkū Lemnūtu* and *Udug-Ḫul OB* suggest the incantations in the former represent a late redaction of far older texts. (*Enūma Anu Enlil* too relied on earlier omens, but the passage in question—the concluding paragraph to tablet XXII—was likely composed at a later point in the compilation's history.) Although originally the seven figures in this incantation from *Utukkū Lemnūtu* were probably not understood as the Divine Heptad proper, as the Divine Heptad grew in prominence in the late second and first millennium, these seven generic figures may have begun to exert influence on the portrayal of the Divine Heptad in other contexts as efforts toward increasing systematization were undertaken. It is even possible that in some circles they were conflated, a tradition that seems to be represented in the relevant passage from *Enūma Anu Enlil*. However, the rarity with which the Divine Heptad are portrayed demonically under the spelling DINGIR IMIN.BI suggests this conflation may have had only limited purchase on Mesopotamian religious thought; it is not therefore prudent to assume every attestation is implicated in every other, nor to read this conflation back into the earlier texts.

Babylonian Oracle Questions #1

Although it is less clear, a similar process may lie behind their portrayal in *Babylonian Oracle Questions* #1, in which they not only behave misanthropically, but explicitly fill a role other

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^{d}asar-lú-ḫi gù nam-mi-in-dè inim mi-ni-in-dab-ba | *Ēa mā*[*r*]*šu Marduk issī-ma amāta ušaḫḫaz* / ĝen-na dumu-mu ^{d}asar-lú-ḫi | *alik mārī Marduk* / dumu šè ud-sakar ^{d}en-zu-na an-na su-mu-ug-ga-bi gig-ga | *mār rubê nannāri Sîn ša ina šamê marṣiš i"adru* / su-mu-ug-ga-bi an-na dalla mu-un-è-a | *nandaršu ina šamê šūpû* / imin-bi-e-ne dingir ḫul-a-meš lú-ug$_5$-ga-meš ní-nu-te-ĝá-da-meš | *sebettīšunu ilānū lemnūtu mušmītūti lā āderūti šunu* / imin-bi-e-ne dingir ḫul-a-meš a-má-uru$_5$-gim zi kalam-ma ba-an-ur$_4$-ur$_4$-a-meš | *sebettīšunu ilānū lemnūtu ša kīma abūbi tebû-ma māta iba"û šunu* / kalam-ma im-mir-ra-gim zi-zi-meš | *ana māti kīma meḫê tebûni šunu* / dub-sag-ta ud-sakar ^{d}en-zu-na šúr-bi ba-an-dib-bé-eš | *ina maḫar nannāri Sîn ezziš iltanammû*; *Utukkū Lemnūtu* XVI:56–63, following the copy in Thompson, *CT* 16, pls. 20–21, lines 132–149).

demonic forces fill.[67] There is no single surviving text that might clearly be said to influence their portrayal in this context, but it is likely that interference from the seven demons of incantations, whether directly or indirectly, has shaped their portrayal here too. Given their proximity to Erra in this passage, it is even possible the *Erra Song* itself has left an imprint on this text.

"Commentary on the Assyrian Cult Calendar"

The third example, in an arcane commentary on the Assyrian cult calendar, may be the most ambiguous and idiosyncratic: although the Divine Heptad are set in direct opposition to Marduk, they appear alongside other gods who occupy a similar (vanquished) status.[68] Since they apparently represent a threat to the cosmic order, which Marduk upholds, they can be said to constitute forces of chaos; however, the space they occupy is shared by gods (albeit arguably dangerous and thus neutralized ones) rather than demons per se: they appear alongside Anu and the fifty Enlils. Enmešarra's own status as a defeated god is well-known from similar sources,[69] and the defeat of his children specifically—at the hands Marduk—is reported in a fragmentary mythological context preserved on the obverse of a text describing preparations for the New Year Festival in Babylon;[70]

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[67] "On the matter of the 'binder' demon . . . the 'criminal' demon, the 'support[er-of-evil]' demon, on the matter of the plague and slaughtering of Err[a], the Divine Heptad and Fa[te th]at go about in the land . . . with the yearly head disease, chills . . ." (*ina amāt e'ēli . . . ḫabbili mukīl r*[*ēš lemutti*] *ina amāt šibṭi šaggašti Err*[*a*] *Ilānū Sebettu u nam*[*tarri š*]*a ina māti illakū . . . ina di'i šatti šuruppê . . .* ; lines 241–245, following Lambert's reconstructions: see *Babylonian Oracle Questions*, 21–41, at 36).

[68] The passage in which they appear reads as follows: "The nineteenth day, which is called 'silence': Anu and the Divine Heptad, the offspring of Enmešarra, whom he (Marduk) bound" (*tišēšerûm ūmum ša qūli qabû Anu Ilānī Sebetti mārī Enmešarra kī ikmû*; line 5; for an edition see Livingstone, *Court Poetry*, 102–105). The Divine Heptad also appear in a broken passage in line 21.

[69] For example, in one ritual explication Enmešarra, like Anzû, is said to have been defeated by Ninurta (VAT 8917 at lines 24–29, edited in Livingstone, *Mythological Explanatory Works*, 124–125). Another text speaks of his ghost (VAT 8917 at rev. 10, edited in ibid., 82–83), and in another he is formally mourned (Sp. I 131 at line 36, copied in Epping and Strassmaier, "Neue babylonische Planeten-Tafeln III," 241–244; the relevant passage is translated in Livingstone, *Mythological Explanatory Works*, 256, following another copy of the text).

[70] A typographic copy and an edition of the text appear in Pinches, "Legend of Merodach"; a translation of the passage in question can also be found in Langdon, *Temple Library of Nippur*, 35–36, and Livingstone discusses the text briefly in *Mythological Explanatory Works*, 158.

however, in this particular text the children of Enmešarra are in no way associated with the Divine Heptad.[71] In fact, the Divine Heptad are only rarely identified with Enmešarra's offspring; it is virtually certain that their status here as conquered opponents of Marduk stems from this conflation, whereby they have been drawn into the stream of traditions about Enmešarra. It is possible that this text has also been influenced by incantations in which a generic set of seven (or twice seven) demonic forces is engendered by, or operates in the sphere of, Anu.[72]

The *Erra Song*

The final text in which the Divine Heptad might be said to behave demonically or exclusively negatively is the *Erra Song* itself. Because this text serves as the centerpiece of our investigation, we will explore both the origins and the effects of the Divine Heptad's allegedly demonic behavior in this context at some length.

The Divine Heptad are introduced early in the poem in a lengthy passage that first recounts their origins and then quotes their galvanizing speech to Erra that serves as the opening sequence for the narrative proper of the poem.[73] Several indications suggest the initial passage relating their birth and attributes has been influenced by, if not adapted directly from, an incantation or similar context. The episode apparently describes events outside the time frame of the bulk of the

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In another text it is said Enmešarra handed over his children to save himself (O 175 at line 5, edited in ibid., 190–196).

[71] They are identified simply by the number seven (IMIN in i:12).

[72] As in *Utukkū Lemnūtu* V:152 and XVI:12.

[73] For their origins and their bestowal on Erra see *Erra Song* I:28–44; for their speech see I:46–91. Their speech falls neatly into three sections: in the first (I:46–59), the Divine Heptad celebrate the life of a soldier, juxtaposing field and city, masculine and feminine, vigor and enfeeblement, and romanticizing the former in each case. In the second section (I:60–75), they urge Erra to wow the cosmos with an awesome display of power that will redound to his glory. And in the final section (I:76–91), they advance a series of humanitarian rationales for engaging in destructive acts, culminating with the complaint that they themselves are out of training and eager for combat.

narrative,[74] in primordial time,[75] echoing incantations that trace the cosmic origins of hostile forces in the world in order to control them.[76] And the seam connecting this passage back to the narrative "present" relies on the superficial repetition of particular words—"ferocious" (*ezzu*) and "weapons" (*kakkū*)—but employs them in a different configuration: observe that Anu enjoins Erra to adopt the Divine Heptad as his furious weapons, where in the subsequent verse the narrator indicates that the Divine Heptad themselves *have* weapons:

I:44 *lū kakkūka ezzūti šunū-ma lillikū idāka*
I:44 "Let them be your ferocious weapons, let them accompany you."

I:45 *šunu ezzū-ma tebû kakkūšun*
I:45 They are ferocious, their weapons are raised.

Most importantly, the content and style of this passage directly reflect earlier mythological material on a number of points. The lyrical enumeration of the fearsome powers bestowed on seven brothers or companions constitutes an ancient literary topos known from diverse sources far older than the *Erra Song*, as for example in this passage from "Gilgameš and Ḫuwawa A":

[74] The hymnic passage that forms the poem's introduction (*Erra Song* I:1–22) and the so-called doxology that serves as its conclusion (V:40–42), too, fall outside the time frame of the narrative in that they importune the gods and make general, non-punctual statements, thus lying on the plane of the reader or hearer's present time. Marduk also describes events that transpired in the distant past, during the Flood, but the passage is clearly demarcated as a flashback (introduced by the phrase *ultu* [*u*]*llu*, "[l]ong ago"; see I:132–148).

[75] Against other modern readers, Hruška reads this passage as occurring within the time frame of the narrative itself and understands Anu as the immediate architect of the pandemonium (see "Einige Überlegungen," 6). For Hruška Anu's role in the poem is foregrounded and specific to the events of this narrative rather than remote and general. In fact, Anu's admonition to Erra—"When the clamor of the people of the inhabited world becomes irksome to you . . . Let them be your ferocious weapons, let them accompany you" (*kī ša nišī dadmī ḫubūršina elīka imtarṣu . . . lū kakkūka ezzūti šunū-ma lillikū idāka*; I:41, 44)—sets forth a general injunction that connects to a well-known topos in Mesopotamian religious literature (the irksome noise of earthly inhabitants) but has little to do with the events of the *Erra Song* specifically. It is therefore preferable to read the passage in question as unfolding in primordial time, the time frame in which general cosmic principles are established and roles are assigned—in short, the time frame of the general rather than the punctual.

[76] The classic example of this tendency can be seen in "The Worm and the Toothache" (for an edition see Thureau-Dangin, "Tablettes ḫurrites provenant de Mâri," 3–4).

36 ur-saĝ dumu-ama-dili imin-bi-e-[ne-(ne)]
36 Warriors, sons of a single mother, seven [of them]:

37 diš-àm ˹šeš˺-gal-bi šu-piriĝ-ĝá umbin-ḫu-rí-in-n[a]
37 The first, the oldest brother, with the hands of a lion and the talons o[f] an eagle.

38 min-kam-˹ma˺ muš-šà-tùr ka [ĝál-taka] KU šu ˹UŠ˺
38 The second is a horned viper, whose mouth . . .

39 eš$_5$-kam-ma muš ušum-gal mu[š . . .] ˹x˺ RU
39 The third is a dragon . . .

40 limmu$_5$-kam-ma izi kúm-kúm [x x k]u$_4$-ra
40 The fourth heating fire . . .

41 iá-kam-ma muš-saĝ-KAL šag$_4$-gi$_4$-a ˹ub˺ KA x
41 The fifth is a giant snake . . .

42 àš-kam-ma a-ĝi$_6$ a-gul-gul-dam kur-ra gaba ra-ra
42 The sixth is a pounding flood beating the edge of the mountains.

43 imin [kam-ma (x x) ni]m-ĝír-ĝír-re lú nu-d[a-g]ur-dè
43 The seventh [. . . flash]es like lightning; no one c[an t]urn him back.[77]

The Ḫendursag Hymn, too, spells out the individual characteristics of seven redoubtable, liminal characters:

78 imin-ba diš ka$_5$-a-àm kun im-ùr-ùr-re
78 Of the seven, the first is a fox; he drags his tail.

79 min-kam-ma ur-gi$_7$-gi[m] si-im-si!(ZU)-im ì-ak-e$^{!}$
79 The second sniffs lik[e] a dog.

80 eš$_5$-kam-ma uga^{mušen}-˹gim$^{?}$ za˺-na-gug$^{!}$ im-kul-e
80 The third pecks caterpillars like a raven.

81 limmu-kam-ma ˹te$_8$˺^{mušen}-maḫ adda$_x$ kú-a-gim ka ì-ša-an-ša-ša
81 The fourth overpowers like a mighty vulture devouring a carcass.

82 iá-kam-ma ur-bar-ra nu-me-a sila$_4$ ĝi$_6$-ga ì-šub
82 The fifth, although not a wolf, brings down black lambs.

[77] Adapted from the edition in Edzard, "Gilgameš und Huwawa A. I. Teil"; idem "Gilgameš und Huwawa A. II. Teil." See also "Gilgameš and Ḫuwawa B" lines 45–46, where they are identified as stars, perhaps the Pleiades, as Professor Steinkeller has suggested; for an edition of the text see Edzard, *Zwei Versionen*, 14–34.

83 àš-kam-ma ^{d}nin-x^{mušen}-gim ur[u] [ù$^{?}$] ku-a-ba gù mi-ni-ib-ra-ra
83 The sixth screeches like a . . . bird in the [sleeping (?)] cit[y].

84 imin-kam-ma kúšu^{ku6}-àm [a-ĝ]i$_{6}$ im-bu-bu-bu
84 The seventh . . . the [flo]od like a crab.

85 imin-bi-ne dingir munus nu-me-eš ⌜ù⌝ nítaḫ nu-me-eš
85 The seven of them, gods, are neither female nor male.

86 nitaḫ-ra ša-mu-un-dù-n[e] munus-ra á mu-un-lá-ne
86 Th[ey] hold a man back and bind the arms of a woman.[78]

However, the closest parallel can be found in *Utukkū Lemnūtu*, where, as in the *Erra Song*, the seven figures are connected directly to Anu:

XVI:1 én ud du$_{7}$-du$_{7}$-meš dingir ḫul-a-meš
XVI:1 *ūmū muttakpūtu ilānū lemnūtu šunu*
XVI:1 They are goring storm demons, evil gods.

XVI:2 ^{d}alad uš-nu-kú ul-ḫé-a sig$_{7}$-ga-meš
XVI:2 *šēdū lā pādûtu ša ina šupuk šamê / ibbanû šunu*
XVI:2 They are merciless spirits who were created at the horizon.

XVI:3 e-ne-ne-ne níĝ-gig ak-a-meš
XVI:3 *šunu ēpiš marušti šunu*
XVI:3 They are bringers of distress.

XVI:4 saĝ ḫul ḫa-za-meš ud-šú-uš-e níĝ ḫul-lu-ba saĝ ĝiš-ra-ra-e-dè [ba-an-su$_{8}$-ge-eš]
XVI:4 *mukīl rēš lemutti ša ūmišam-ma ana lemut*[*tu nērtu ana nâri izzazzū šunu*]
XVI:4 They are supporters of evil who are daily [prepared] nefariously to commit murder.

XVI:5 imin-bi-ta ušum-àm im-u$_{18}$-[lu šúr-ra-a na-nam]
XVI:5 *ina sebettīšunu* [*ištēn*] *šūtu* [*ezzetum-ma*]
XVI:5 Of the seven of them, the first [is the fierce] south wind.

XVI:6 min-kam-ma ušumgal ka gal-[tag$_{4}$] lú-na-me [saĝ] mu-un-[ĝá-ĝá-e-da]
XVI:6 *šanû ušumgallu ša pīšu petû mamma* [*lā i'irrūšu*]
XVI:6 The second is a dragon whose mouth is open, whom [no] one [can oppose].

[78] Lines 78–83 represent a composite of the copies published in Edzard and Wilcke, "Die Ḫendursanga-Hymne," 175 [UM 289-15-219], at 11'–17' and Kramer, *Mythen, Epen, Weisheitsliteratur*, pls. LIV–LVII [#22—HS 1544+1578], at ii:8–13, supplemented with Attinger and Krebernik's collations; lines 84–86 follow the copy in Kramer, *Mythen, Epen, Weisheitsliteratur*, pls. LIV–LVII [#22], at ii:14–16; for an edition of this text see Attinger and Krebernik, "L'Hymne à Ḫendursaĝa"; Edzard and Wilcke, "Die Ḫendursanga-Hymne."

XVI:7 eš$_5$-kam-ma piriĝ-tur ŋuš-[a x]-kar-ra [ba-an-dib-bé-eš]
XVI:7 *šalšu nimru ezzu ša pīri* [*iba’’a*]
XVI:7 The third is a fierce panther (*Sum.* lion whelp) who [surpasses] an elephant (*Sum. obscure*).

XVI:8 limmu-kam ^{muš}mir ŋu-luḫ-ḫa [na-nam]
XVI:8 *rebû šibbu galti* [*šū*]
XVI:8 The fourth [is] a fearsome viper.

XVI:9 iá-kam-ma úg šu!(KU)-zi-ga a-ga-bi-šè tu-[lu] nu-un-[x]
XVI:9 *ḫašša labbu nadru ša ana arkīšu nê’a lā . . .*
XVI:9 The fifth is a furious lion who not . . . to turn back.

XVI:10 àš-[kam-ma a-ĝi$_6$-a] zi-ga dingir lugal-la-šè . . .
XVI:10 *šeššu agû tēbû ša ana ili u šarri* [. . .]
XVI:10 The sixth is a rising wave that to god and king . . .

XVI:11 imin-kam-ma im-mir-ra im-ŋul-a g[i$_4$-gi$_4$]
XVI:11 *sebû meḫû šāru lemnu ša gimil*[*li turru*]
XVI:11 The seventh is a storm, a malevolent ave[nging] wind.

XVI:12 imin-bi-e-ne ^{lú}kin-gi$_4$-a an-lugal-la-a-meš
XVI:12 *sebettīšunu mār šiprī ša Anu šarri šunu*
XVI:12 There are seven of them, messengers of Anu the king.[79]

Although the details differ, the general pattern of individuating seven figures by their various formidable attributes is the same, and the basic categories of attributes—especially meteorological phenomena, fire, and zoomorphic predators—are common across multiple texts.

A second ancient literary topos that informs the relevant passage centers on Anu’s begetting of dangerous or malevolent offspring, sometimes even by impregnating the earth, as in the *Erra Song*.[80] Perhaps most famously, Lamaštu is said to be the daughter of Anu in a number of

[79] *Utukkū Lemnūtu* XVI:1–12, following the copy in Thompson, *CT* 16, pl. 19.

[80] Of course “Anu” derives from the Sumerian term for heaven, and the mythologem of heaven mating with earth can also produce non-hostile offspring, as in an Akkadian incantation edited in Zimmern, “Schenkenliebeszauber,” line 58, where vegetation is the result.

incantatory contexts.[81] But Anu sires other hostile forces as well, including Azag, the leader of the rocks in the rebellion against Ninurta in the Sumerian story *Lugal-e*, like the Divine Heptad in the *Erra Song* born by the earth.[82] That Anu's union with the earth results in demonic forces is known also from *Utukkū Lemnūtu*.[83] Attributing the Divine Heptad's parentage to Anu and the earth, then, allows the *Erra Song* to tap into an old vein of Mesopotamian lore that suggests this couple produces demonic and belligerent offspring.

Finally, the inclusion of the seven figures born to Anu in Nergal's train is evident from incantations as well: in *Utukkū Lemnūtu*, a double set of seven warriors marches at Nergal's head.[84] Although this series survives in late copies, a far earlier monolingual Sumerian version of this particular incantation is known, from Old Babylonian copies;[85] unfortunately Nergal's and Anu's names (presumably) have been lost to lacunae.[86] Nevertheless, it is likely this constellation of seven aggressive figures engendered by Anu and operating at Nergal/Erra's behest precedes the composition of the *Erra Song* by a millennium or more. In fact, as we have seen, other incantatory

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[81] On Lamaštu's well-known relationship to Anu see for example *Maqlû* IV:45; Thureau-Dangin, "Rituel et Amulettes," 198, at line 1; and Myhrman, "Labartu Texte," at iii:21.

[82] See especially the following passage: "(My) lord, Anum impregnated the beautiful earth. / Ninurta, she (the earth) gave birth to a warrior who knows no fear, Azag" (lugal-mu an-né ki-sig$_7$-ga ĝìš im-ma-du$_{11}$ | *bēlum Anum erṣetum banītum irḫē-ma* / ^{d}nin-urta ur-saĝ ní-nu-zu á-zág mu-un-ši-ib-tu-ud | *ana Ninurta qarrādu lā āderi asakku ūtallissu*; lines 26–27; for an edition see Van Dijk, *LUGAL UD ME-LÁM-bi NIR-ĜÁL*). My translation follows the copy of N 839 for the Sumerian (see pl. XXXII in ibid.) and the photographs of 83–1–18, 693 for the Akkadian (see Kinnier Wilson, "Lugal ud melambi nirgal," figs. 1–2). The latter, one of a number of Neo-Babylonian copies, indicates the text continued to be copied and translated in the first millennium.

[83] See *Utukkū Lemnūtu* V:2 and V:10.

[84] See the following passage: "They are warriors, [seven] times two, / They whose conception was single, who were engendered by Anu's seed. . . . / They roam about in front of Nergal, mighty warrior of Enlil" (en![nin] ur-saĝ [imin]-na a-rá min-na-meš | *qarr*[*ādū sebettī*] *adi šina šunu* / a-ri-a dili-a-meš a-ri-a-ba an-na-ke$_4$ tu-ud-da-meš | *ša riḫûssunu ištât ina riḫût Anu ibbanû šunu . . .* / igi ^{d}GÌR-ere$_{11}$-gal ur-saĝ kalag-ga ^{d}en-líl-lá-ke$_4$ mu-un-su$_8$-su$_8$-ge-eš | *ina maḫar Nergal qarrādu dannu ša Enlil ittanallakū šunu*; *Utukkū Lemnūtu* V:151–152 and 161), following the copy in Thompson, *CT* 16, pl. 15, iv:60–v:3.

[85] See *Udug-Ḫul OB* V:385–399.

[86] They would appear in V:393 and V:387, respectively.

contexts, too, associate a generic set of seven supernatural beings with Nergal (and sometimes Išum).[87]

Several different details from incantatory and other mythological contexts have been knitted together in the *Erra Song*, then: the enumeration of the attributes of seven hostile forces; the recounting of the engendering of hostile forces by Anu and the earth; and the seven figures who serve in Nergal's entourage. The most significant innovation in the passage in question is that those seven figures have here been identified explicitly as the Divine Heptad. I have argued above that traditions about seven demons preserved in incantations may be reflected in the content of all of the passages that constitute exceptions to the general rule that the Divine Heptad do not behave demonically under the spelling DINGIR IMIN.BI; however, the *Erra Song* goes beyond this, echoing not just the content of incantations, but the style as well. Given that the passage lies outside the time frame of the narrative in which it has been somewhat awkwardly embedded, it is even possible that the conflation of the Divine Heptad with the seven generic demons was carried out for the first time in the *Erra Song*.

This conflation may also account for the converse problem: that a reference to the Divine Heptad appears twice without a DINGIR sign at the end of the *Erra Song*, where it has been spelled out, to some degree, simply as the number seven in Akkadian, in two copies of the same line,[88] and where the spelling DINGIR IMIN.BI in the other copies irrefutably indicates the Divine Heptad is being referenced.[89] We have seen that it is likely the author(s) of the *Erra Song* understood the Divine Heptad to be identical to the seven generic demons known from incantations; perhaps these anomalous references to them simply as the "seven" stem from an awareness of this connection. It

[87] See *Bīt Mēseri* II:74–76. In this context they are invoked apparently for their helpfulness to humanity; it is not clear whether they are nevertheless aggressive.

[88] In *Erra Song* V:58, copies BB and TT, spelled *se-bé-et-*. . . and IMIN-*ti*, respectively.

[89] In *Erra Song* V:58, copies N, W, and SS.

appears that in these two copies they're referred to generically by the number seven, not by their title.

Without drawing any explicit connection to demons or to the material in incantations, scholars have largely concluded that the Divine Heptad behave entirely misanthropically in the *Erra Song*, even to the point of embodying the "principle of evil." In Gössmann's view, "Die Siebengötter des Era-Epos [sind] im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes Unholde. . . . Es sind stumpfe, zum Teil tierisch gestaltete Wesen, die nur an Krieg und Mord denken."[90] Cagni takes, if anything, an even more extreme stance, arguing they are "exclusively wicked, almost the principle of evil. Not a single trait of goodness characterises them in the whole action of the poem."[91]

While it is my contention that the portrait of the Divine Heptad in the *Erra Song* has been influenced directly by the portrayal of demons in incantations and earlier mythological literature, I do not in fact believe that their behavior can accurately be characterized as "demonic" in this text. Rather than existing solely at the margins of the cosmic order, as demons of incantations do, the Divine Heptad in the *Erra Song* have been incorporated into that order in a number of ways. While the demons, their predecessors, can oppose not just humanity but also the gods,[92] the Divine Heptad are said specifically to foster the well-being of the pantheon—albeit through aggression—by bringing about the silence or "deathly hush" (*šaḫrartu*) the gods crave; in other words, although it might entail hostility to humanity, they have been enlisted in an age-old Mesopotamian topos

[90] Gössmann, *Das Era-Epos*, 72.

[91] Cagni, *Poem of Erra*, 18. Bodi repeats this latter sentence verbatim (*Book of Ezekiel*, 108).

[92] As in *Utukkū Lemnūtu* XVI:56–XVI:63, referenced above, in which seven "evil gods" eclipse the moon god, Sîn.

accounting for communal suffering by attributing it to the divine desire to keep the noise of the earth's residents to a minimum in order to facilitate divine rest.[93]

In fact, the possibility is raised that their aggressive proclivities might benefit humanity as well, by thinning wild animals that are destructive to both vegetation and livestock.[94] It is not clear that their motivation genuinely springs from a commitment to the well-being of the farmers and shepherds whose causes they champion; in fact, the scattershot nature of their speech suggests they are spoiling for a fight and willing to appeal to any pretext to bring it about.[95] Nevertheless, while a desire to advance the welfare of either the gods or humanity might not animate them, their speech suggests that their aggression can still theoretically play a role in sustaining or restoring the cosmic order. Their portrait here, then, is more complex than the "principle of evil"; the author(s) of the song did not simply import the personality of the demons with whom they are here conflated, but sketched ways in which their destructive tendencies might be channeled to constructive ends, thereby incorporating them into the cosmic order. Where the demons, their literary predecessors, are a threat to that order and are thus expelled by incantatory means, the Divine Heptad, endowed with the same aggressive disposition, can theoretically uphold that order.[96]

As bellicose beings who goad an inert Erra into a rampage, their inclusion in this text as characters heavily influenced by the portrayal of demons serves another function as well. We have seen how the substitution of Erra for Nergal in the tradition associating him with Išum plays up the tension between them; at the same time, the presence of the Divine Heptad as warmongering personalities goading Erra into a battle frenzy creates some distance between Erra and his own

[93] See for example *Erra Song* I:81–82.

[94] See *Erra Song* I:83–86.

[95] On the significance of their speech see further chapter 6, "I. Erra's Motivation for the Calamity."

[96] On the regulatory function violence may play in the poem generally see Cassin, "La contestation," 109–110; Machinist, "Rest and Violence," 224–225.

violent behavior. It would appear that a delicate balance has been struck in the composition of the poem: Erra, a god known to inspire terror, is invoked presumably to account for the lived experience of violence and social disruption in which the poem was incubated, violence that called out for a theological rationale, but at the same time he is rendered less terrifying, in different ways, by the members of his train—Išum in that he models methods for pacifying Erra and turning his tendencies to constructive ends, and the Divine Heptad in that their presence suggests Erra is not the instigator of his own savage behavior, thereby deflecting and tempering his formidability somewhat.

Conclusions

In summary, with the exception of two aberrant spellings in certain copies of the *Erra Song*, only the spellings that employ the supposed divine determinative (DINGIR IMIN, DINGIR IMIN.KAM, DINGIR IMIN.KÁM, DINGIR IMIN.BI, DINGIR *se-bet-tu*$_4$, DINGIR *se-bet-te*, DINGIR.MEŠ *se-bet-tú*, DINGIR.MEŠ *se-bet-ti*, and DINGIR.MEŠ *se-bet*)[97] represent the Divine Heptad proper; other generic groups of seven, especially the seven good and bad figures of incantations, likely originated independently and were later occasionally conflated with the Divine Heptad. However, these sites of clear conflation or influence from incantations make up only a tiny fraction of the total attestations of the Divine Heptad, who are typically portrayed in as venerative and complex terms as other gods. It is quite likely that their relative lack of individuality (that is, although seven distinct figures are sometimes articulated, as in the *Erra Song*, the Divine Heptad are characterized primarily in relation to the number seven, which has a generic status in Mesopotamian religion) kept their boundaries porous and especially susceptible to influence from other stock groups of seven, but the evidence suggests these confluences occurred downstream, so to speak, not at their headwaters. Although incantations such as those in *Utukkū Lemnūtu* could occasionally affect the

[97] Excluding ^{d}*se-bé* and ^{d}*ši-bu* for the reasons outlined above.

way the Divine Heptad were portrayed (not always necessarily directly), it would be a mistake then to read that identification fully back into the incantations themselves. The purely beneficent and purely maleficent sets of seven exist exclusively in incantations, which tend to structure the cosmos rigorously along these lines; once one accepts that these sets of seven do not in origin represent the Divine Heptad, the apparent problem that the Divine Heptad are portrayed in vastly different—even opposite—ways, the problem that has led to the positing of two mirror Divine Heptads, vanishes.

The Status of the Apparent Divine Determinative

We have demonstrated that there are two significant common variables across virtually all accepted spellings of the Divine Heptad's name: the apparent divine determinative is present, and the number seven consistently follows it. The indispensability of the DINGIR sign raises the possibility that it is not a determinative at all, but a logogram, as Landsberger and Reiner first argued decades ago.[98] This question is not easily resolved, but the cases for and against treating the sign as a determinative will be evaluated here.

In favor of the thesis that the sign functions as a determinative one might point to the absence of the DINGIR sign from two copies of *Erra Song* V:58, perhaps suggesting the DINGIR sign was optional because it was not a logogram. Furthermore, the DINGIR sign lacks a plural marker in nearly all attestations of their name, again perhaps suggesting it was not treated as a logogram. A number of texts commissioned by Esarhaddon make the Divine Heptad's plurality unequivocal while nevertheless failing to pluralize the DINGIR sign that marks them as divine:

[98] See Reiner's laconic suggestion in a note on the publication of the second volume of Sultantepe tablets (Gurney and Hulin, *STT* 2): "No. 176. Note, in line 6'f. (=230 r. 11') the translation of DINGIR IMIN.BI by DINGIR.MEŠ *si-bit-ti*, which should finally convince everyone of the reading *ilū sibitti* long advocated by Landsberger, instead of ^{d}Sibitti" ("Sultantepe Tablets," 184). In fact, a fragment of *Bīt Mēseri* copied in Rawlinson, IV R^{2}, 21 1B, rev. 21–22, published several decades before *STT* 2, shows a similar Akkadian translation of Sumerian dingir imin-bi as DINGIR.MEŠ *se-bet.*

10 DINGIR IMIN.BI DINGIR.MEŠ *qar-du-u-ti sa-pi-nu na-ak-ri-ia*
10 *Ilānū Sebettu ilānū qardūti sāpinū nakrīya*
10 The Divine Heptad, warrior gods who devastate my enemies.[99]

12 DINGIR IMIN.BI DINGIR.MEŠ *qar-du-ti ta-me-ḫu til-pa-nu u uṣ-ṣi* [*ša t*]*e*$_9$*-bu-šú-nu tam-ḫa-ru šá-áš-m*[*u*]
12 *Ilānū Sebettu ilānū qardūti tāmeḫū tilpānu u uṣṣi* [*ša t*]*ebûšunu tamḫāru šašmu*
12 The Divine Heptad, warrior gods, wielders of bow and arrow, [wh]ose [r]ising signifies war and combat.[100]

iv:5 DINGIR *se-bet-te* DINGIR.MEŠ *qar-du-te ina* ^{giš}TUKUL.MEŠ-*šú-nu* [. . .]-*ku-nu liš-kun*
iv:5 *Ilānī Sebette ilānī qardūte ina kakkīšunu . . .-kunu liškun*
iv:5 May the Divine Heptad, warrior gods, bring about your . . . with their weapons.[101]

The contrast between the singular DINGIR marking the IMIN.BI (or *se-bet-te*) and the plural DINGIR.MEŠ serving as an appositive in all of these passages is striking. If DINGIR functions as a logogram, one wonders why it is not marked as a plural, given the indications of its plurality from both the number "seven" and the appositional epithet that follows. A similar contrast is known from the *Erra Song* itself:

A (S) obv. (i:)29 IMIN DINGIR.ᵐᵉˢ *ul-da-áš-šum-ma* DINGIR IMIN.BI *it-ta-bi* . . . [*k*]*ir-šú-un*
X (B) obv. i:27' IMIN DINGIR.MEŠ *ul-da-áš-*ᵐ*šum*ᵐ*-ma* DINGIR IMIN.BI *it-ta-bi z*[*i*]- . . .*-šú-un*
I:29 *sebetta ilānī uldaššum-ma Ilānī Sebetti ittabi z*[*ik*]*iršun*
I:29 It bore him seven gods and he na[m]ed them "the Divine Heptad."

[99] *The Victory Stela of Esarhaddon* line 10. For a copy see Messerschmidt and Ungnad, VAS 1, 75–80 (#78); for an edition see Borger, *Inschriften Asarhaddons*, 96–100.

[100] "Royal Inscription of Esarhaddon (K 2801)" line 12. For a copy see Meissner and Rost, "Die Bauinschriften Asarhaddons," 287–297; for an edition see Borger, *Inschriften Asarhaddons*, 79–85.

[101] *Vassal Treaty between Esarhaddon and Baʿal of Tyre* iv:5. For a copy see Langdon, "Phoenician Treaty of Assarhaddon," 190–191 (at rev. 5); for an edition see Borger, *Inschriften Asarhaddons*, 107–109.

Here too the generic reference to them as "seven gods" is spelled out with an unmistakable plural marker, where the name of the Divine Heptad is conventionally written without the plural marker. This apparent discrepancy is resolved if the DINGIR sign in the spelling of their name is construed simply as a determinative.

On the other hand, one might point to the fact that the Divine Heptad in general vacillate between a singular and plural construal as evidence that the difference in the use of the plural marker MEŠ between IMIN DINGIR.MEŠ and DINGIR IMIN.BI, as in *Erra Song* I:29, is not particularly illuminating.[102] In addition, on three occasions that are known to me, the alleged divine determinative is in fact pluralized, suggesting it is better read as a logogram. The first context, a puzzling late Babylonian roster of apparent cultic personnel, includes among its number the DINGIR.MEŠ *se-bet-tú*.[103] While the unusual nature of the text and the idiosyncratic orthography might raise doubts as to whether this represents the Divine Heptad at all, the equation of Sumerian dingir imin.bi with Akkadian DINGIR.MEŠ *se-bet-ti* or DINGIR.MEŠ *se-bet* in bilingual contexts[104] lends credibility to this supposition. It is of course possible that the Akkadian in these examples simply explicates the Sumerian rather than providing an alternate spelling (or reading) that had any significant circulation. But the appearance of the pluralizing morpheme MEŠ[105] specifically with

[102] This is evident even from the quote above taken from the *Vassal Treaty between Esarhaddon and Baʿal of Tyre*, in which the verb to which the Divine Heptad presumably serve as subject appears in the singular (*liškun*), in spite of the fact that they are clearly marked as plural (*ilānī* [DINGIR.MEŠ] *qardūte*). Such grammatical disagreements are common for the Divine Heptad: in the *Erra Song*, although generally construed as plural, they are once referred to as *šâšu*, "him" (in I:26), and on another occasion serve as subject to a singular verb (*išappissu*, in IV:140).

[103] See Jursa, "Göttliche Gärtner?" for a copy and edition of this text; the DINGIR.MEŠ *se-bet-tú* appear in iii:14'.

[104] The first example is taken from Gurney and Hulin, *STT* 2, pl. CLXVIII (#176), lines 6'–7'; the second appears in Rawlinson, IV R^2, 21 1B, rev. 21–22.

[105] As it functions on logograms in Akkadian contexts; in Sumerian it originally consists of the copula with a third-person plural pronominal suffix specifying the subject (on which see Thomsen, *Sumerian Language*, 273).

an Akkadian spelling in both of these contexts suggests the DINGIR sign in the conventional spelling, DINGIR IMIN.BI, may be a logogram that has retained an early frozen form that is not marked for number.

Another possible attestation of the Divine Heptad might provide evidence of a different sort that the DINGIR sign is a logogram rather than a determinative, although this evidence remains equivocal. In a number of Sumerian lamentations in Emesal, a variant of the following passage appears:

> c+259 ama ^{d}še-en-tur ama-dìm-me-er-imin-bi
> c+259 Mother Šentur, mother of the seven gods.[106]

In the early sources, the seven divine children of Šentur appear under the spellings dingir-imin, dingir-imin-a, and dìm-m[e-e]r-imin.[107] It remains an open question whether these seven gods were understood to be the Divine Heptad already in the Old Babylonian period (or earlier), although it seems unlikely; however, the presence of the BI sign in all first-millennium spellings may indicate they had by then assimilated to the Divine Heptad (conventionally spelled DINGIR IMIN.BI).[108] If at any point the Divine Heptad were thought to lie behind these passages, the alternation between Emeĝir dingir and Emesal dimmer suggests the word was understood to be a logogram.

Finally, if the DINGIR sign was pronounced in some way in the Akkadian rendering of the name of the Divine Heptad, this would have clearly served as an oral/aural demarcation between the number "seven" and the seven divine figures specifically. But while we can hypothesize that a

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[106] "Fashioning Man and Woman." This lines appears in the copy published in Rawlinson, V R^{2}, 52, at i:11; for an edition see Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 1, 222–253.

[107] In copies of "Honored One, Wild Ox" (Early Recension) e+181 (for an edition see Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 1, 272–318; the list of variants by source appears on 281).

[108] In addition to "Fashioning Man and Woman," quoted above, the spelling dìm-me-er-imin-bi appears in "Honored One, Wild Ox" (Late Recension) c+133 (for an edition see ibid., 272–318, especially 303).

form of verbal disambiguation would have been helpful, there is no way to recover this information directly. Because of the near indispensability of the DINGIR sign to the spelling of their name and in view of its occasional plurality, the position that DINGIR represents a logogram rather than a determinative is tentatively adopted here;[109] one hopes further evidence will throw light on this problem.

II. The Divine Heptad's Characteristics across Time

The General History of the Divine Heptad's Cult

Confusion as to the proper history of the Divine Heptad's cult has prevailed as a subsidiary effect of confusion about their boundaries generally. In light of the arguments advanced above—that the DINGIR sign is a necessary element in the spelling of their name and therefore that certain groups of seven figures with whom they are identified in late texts spring in fact from separate origins—the history of their cult must be curtailed significantly: no sources before the second millennium show clear evidence for them. In the extant record they do not make their debut under a recognizable spelling before the Isin-Larsa period,[110] and all early attestations find them in rare personal names with the exception of their appearance in a single Old Babylonian god-list[111] and their possible presence in one early Sumerian lament.[112]

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[109] The normalization of their name in Akkadian as *Ilānū Sebettu* or the like is merely provisional. The second element, as we have seen, may have fluctuated between declined and absolute forms; the first element is here rendered as a plural (following the first-millennium form, the period from which most of the attestations stem). The name may not have been normalized the same way in Akkadian in all times and places.

[110] In the Isin-Larsa period they begin to appear in personal names such as Warad-(Ilī)-Sebettim (Faust, *Contracts from Larsa*, #46 line 21) and Ana-(Ilī)-Sebettim-ša-diʾ-niʾ (Figulla and Martin, *Letters and Documents*, #572 line 1), under the spellings DINGIR IMIN.BI and DINGIR IMIN, respectively.

[111] *The Nippur God-List* line 192 (for an edition see Peterson, *Godlists from Nippur*, 5–77).

[112] "Honored One, Wild Ox" (Early Recension) e+181.

The earliest evidence for their cult, then, confines them to a rather insignificant status in the popular sphere coupled with a near absence from official or state-sponsored religion. The origins of their cult are obscure, but they appear to be late-comers to the Mesopotamian pantheon. Their name is more often spelled in Sumerian than in Akkadian—exclusively so in early texts—but this fact is hardly revelatory considering both the word "god" and the numerals are typically written logographically; personal names that invoke them are attested only in Akkadian texts, as is to be expected from the dates of these attestations. If the late date is to be accepted, their origins cannot be traced back to earlier cults among either Akkadian or Sumerian speakers but developed in the composite population of the time, perhaps crystallizing out of the magical significance attributed to the number seven, or perhaps introduced by a foreign element of the population.[113]

Although they never constitute more than a tiny fraction of the total number of deities invoked in personal names[114]—suggesting their significance to popular worship, insofar as names provide a window onto it, remained static and extremely low over time—their prominence in the official cult crescendoed dramatically in the first millennium, particularly in Assyria. A shrine in their honor is known as early as the Kassite period;[115] in later Babylonia there is mention not only of a street named for them[116] but also of twelve cultic stations (*manzāzū*) where they were

[113] The fact that they first appear in the Isin-Larsa period and that they are known from both Babylon and Mari might suggest their cult was introduced by Amorites. (In Babylonia, a Warad-[Ilī]-Sebettim appears in Dalley and Yoffee, *Kish and Elsewhere*, 88, rev. 15 as well as in Stone and Owen, *Adoption in Nippur*, 26, iv:6; in Mari the same name can be found in Birot, *Textes administratifs*, 407 line 4.)

[114] See appendix C for percentages.

[115] As evidenced by "Kassite Votive Inscription on a Cone" (for a copy see Stephens, *Votive and Historical Texts*, pl. XXI [#66]; for a brief discussion see Brinkman, *Kassite History* 1, 326).

[116] Mentioned in TIN.TIR^{ki}=*ba-bi-lu* (*The Topography of Babylon*) V:78.

venerated;[117] and in first-millennium Assyria temples to them were constructed at least at Aššur,[118] at Kalḫu,[119] and at Nineveh;[120] other sources mention a temple without referencing a location.[121]

In addition, in first-millennium religious and literary sources from both Babylonia and Assyria, the Divine Heptad are often prominently positioned with respect to Mesopotamia's major deities.[122] The number of attestations snowballs as well; when one contrasts the frequency with which they appear in Neo-Assyrian royal contexts[123] with their complete absence from all early royal inscriptions, it becomes evident not only that their status received a significant boost in the

[117] Mentioned in TIN.TIR^{ki}=*ba-bi-lu* (*The Topography of Babylon*) V:87.

[118] A list of deities worshipped in the Divine Heptad's Temple in Aššur appears in *The Divine Address Book* (*Götteraddressbuch*) iv:12–20 (for an edition see Frankena, *Tākultu*, 5–9; Menzel, *Assyrische Tempel* 2, T. 113–125).

[119] Aššurnaṣirpal II in two inscriptions references a temple to the Divine Heptad in Kalḫu: see Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium I*, 288–293, line 57 for a report of his rebuilding this temple and ibid., 380, lines 5–6 for mention of the temple's well; a fragment of yet another inscription mentions the temple as well (see ibid., 360–361).

[120] For a direct reference to a temple to the Divine Heptad in Nineveh see Harper, *ABL* 1, 46–47 (#49), rev. 18–19. *The Divine Address Book* (*Götteraddressbuch*) vi:2 also lists them among the deities worshipped in Nineveh (alongside their sister Naruda, and—perhaps not coincidentally—immediately before Nergal of Tarbiṣu), and an altar dedicated to them by Šalmaneser III was discovered at Nineveh (for an edition see Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium II*, 153–154).

[121] See the fragmentary letter edited in Waterman, *Royal Correspondence* 1, 410–411 (#577), rev. 4 (copied in Harper, *ABL* 6, 630 [#578]); see also "Ritual with a Pazuzu-Head" line 4.

[122] For example, in *Acrostic Hymn to Marduk* rev. 4 they march before Babylonia's chief god; in a syncretistic hymn to Ninurta in which Ninurta's body is described as being made up of other significant deities, the Divine Heptad are said to represent his teeth (see line 19; for an edition see Ebeling, *Quellen* 1, 47–49; for a translation see Falkenstein and von Soden, *SAHG*, 258–259; Foster, *Before the Muses*, 713–714); and Esarhaddon lists them among the major gods of the pantheon (as in *The Victory Stela of Esarhaddon* line 10; for an edition see Borger, *Inschriften Asarhaddons*, 96–100).

[123] For example, they appear in Aššurnaṣirpal II, #30 line 57; Aššurnaṣirpal II, #131 line 6 (for an edition see Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium I*, 380); Šalmaneser III, #95 lines 1 (partially reconstructed) and 7 (for an edition see *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium II*, 153–154); *Treaty between Aššur-Nērārī V and Mati'ilu of Arpad* vi:20 (for an edition see Weidner, "Der Staatsvertrag Aššurnirâris VI"); Tiglath-pileser III, #37 line 9 (for an edition see Tadmor and Yamada, *Tiglath-Pileser III*, 89–92); *The Bavian Inscription* (for an edition see Luckenbill, *Annals of Sennacherib*, 78–85); "The Annals of Sennacherib: Inscription Intended for a Foundation Stela" rev. 12 (for an edition see Luckenbill, *Annals of Sennacherib*, 139–142); "Royal Inscription of Esarhaddon (K 2801)" line 12; *Vassal Treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal of Tyre* iv:5; and *The Victory Stela of Esarhaddon*.

first millennium, but that their cult likely developed in or reached Mesopotamia relatively late, as argued above.

Influence from Other Groups of Seven

Their increasing prominence beginning already in the middle period may have contributed to an impulse toward systematization: other sets of seven figures with whom they likely were not originally associated began to be absorbed somewhat haphazardly into their identity, and this process in turn likely bolstered their prominence.[124]

Seven Generic Demons

As we have seen, occasionally the Divine Heptad are influenced by the portrayal of seven generic demons known from incantations. This is especially evident in *Enūma Anu Enlil* XXII:concluding paragraph 3–4 and the *Erra Song.* It appears likely that extant incantations compiled in *Utukkū Lemnūtu*, or similar traditions that do not survive, exerted direct influence on the portrayal of the Divine Heptad.

The Pleiades

A similar but more thoroughgoing process of conflation appears to have led to the identification of the Divine Heptad with the Pleiades. A star cluster in the constellation Taurus consisting of at least 1200 stars, between six and nine of which are visible with the naked eye,[125] the

[124] This impulse generally may lie behind the transformation of the "seven gates" (*sebetta bābū*) in the Old Babylonian copy of *Etana* (I:10; for an edition see Haul, *Etana-Epos*, 103–132) to, apparently, the Divine Heptad in the late recension (I:17; for an edition see ibid., 163–230). Tellingly, the word order has been reversed in the process.

[125] Golinet, "Exkurs," 129. Golinet rightly emphasizes that the number seven must have had prior significance to the Mesopotamians, which then motivated them to count seven stars in the star cluster (ibid., 129–130). The variability in the number of stars visible in the Pleiades may be reflected in the occasional tendency to include the Divine Heptad's sister Naruda among their number.

Pleiades are designated in Sumerian simply as "the stars" (mul-mul) and in Akkadian as "the mane" (*zappu*).[126] Early texts in which they are attested and even invoked directly, such as *Prayer to the Gods of the Night B*,[127] show no evidence for a relationship to the Divine Heptad, or even to the number seven. By the first millennium, however, the Pleiades are frequently associated with the Divine Heptad and are explicitly identified with them somewhat sporadically.[128] It is clear that at least in later Mesopotamian history (late second millennium through first millennium) the Pleiades were considered the Divine Heptad's astral manifestation,[129] although the two are still not invariably associated.[130]

This relationship is reflected in the iconography of the Pleiades as well. By the end of the second millennium the Pleiades are apparently represented by seven stylized dots or stars known both from glyptic contexts and stelae.[131] On occasion these dots or stars are explicitly labeled the Pleiades[132] or are unequivocally associated with the Divine Heptad,[133] and the frequency with which

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[126] For this translation see *CAD*, ad loc.

[127] The Pleiades are invoked in line 18; for an edition see Dossin, "Dieux de la Nuit" and Stephens, "Sumero-Akkadian Hymns and Prayers," 391–392.

[128] The following *namburbi* leaves little doubt as to the nature of that relationship: "You slaughter a *purruqa*-goat before the Pleiades and recite 'Receive, Divine Heptad, great gods! Dispel this evil!' " (*urīṣa purruqa ina maḫar Zappi tanakkis-ma muḫrā Ilānū Sebettu ilānū rabûtu lemna annâ puṭrā qibī-ma*; rev. 5b–7; for an edition see Caplice, "Namburbi Texts V," 140–147 [the quoted passage is at rev. 5–7]; Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, 354–366 [the quoted passage is at lines 62–64]).

[129] For example, the omens in *Enūma Anu Enlil* LVI:59 and 85a draw a connection between celestial activity in the region of the Pleiades and terrestrial activity brought about by the Divine Heptad (for an edition see Largement, "L'étude des astres errant," 246–247 and 250–251, respectively).

[130] In *Šurpu* they appear separately, perhaps preserving an earlier tradition: the Divine Heptad (DINGIR IMIN.BI) are attested in III:72, IV:66, and VIII:27, where the Pleiades (MUL.MUL) appear in II:182.

[131] Collon, "Cylinder Seals," 74; Ornan, *Triumph of the Symbol*, 97; and Seidl, *Kudurru-Reliefs*, 103. For some of the many glyptic examples from the first millennium see Reinhold, *Die Zahl Sieben*, pls. 6–10; for an example on a stela see Wiseman, "New Stela," pl. II.

[132] For example, the symbol employing seven stars is provided with the label MUL.MUL on a tablet from Seleucid Uruk, the photograph of which is published in Weidner, "Beschreibung des Sternenhimmels," pl. V (#1) (on the reading of the label see idem, "Babylonische Hypsomatabilder," 10–11).

they appear alongside other astral images in this era lends credibility to the notion that this symbol had become a standard visual representation of the Pleiades.[134] Although claims have been made that the symbol of the seven dots extends back extremely early in the history of Mesopotamian glyptic art,[135] it is only in the late second millennium and later that this symbol takes the form in which it is recognizable as the conventional representation of the Pleiades,[136] and only in the first millennium that it is labeled as such.[137] Rather than portraying them in a tight formation, in two rows of three with the final dot occupying the space between them at the end, as in the late specimens, alleged early examples arrange the dots haphazardly, incorporating them into the larger image, or group them in the shape of a rosette.[138] It is not clear that all of these various patterns of dots—some of which number more than seven[139]—signify the Pleiades at all, and there is even less reason to suppose they represent the Divine Heptad. In short, evidence for both linkages in the chain—connecting the Divine Heptad to the Pleiades and the Pleiades to the seven dots arranged in

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[133] The symbol of the seven dots appears as the last of twelve divine symbols above the text of *The Bavian Inscription*, and the symbols clearly correspond to the twelve patron deities of Sennacherib listed in order in the first line of the inscription (on the identification see King, "Studies of Rock-Inscriptions," 74–75).

[134] On their appearance alongside other astral symbols see for example Van der Veen, "Seven Dots," 14.

[135] Van Buren identifies them in glyptic contexts as early as the Jemdet Nasr period (see "Seven Dots," 280), although she acknowledges "in archaic times they [the seven dots] were often scattered in the field . . . sometimes so effectually concealed that it was not easy to descry them or to pick them out in the intricacy of the design" (ibid., 278).

[136] Van der Veen, "Seven Dots," 14. Seidl argues specifically against there being any early examples of the "seven dots" in their conventional arrangement, pointing to only two possible Old Babylonian candidates, both on glyptic art, and contending one was revised at a later date where the other features drill holes that may have only resembled this symbol coincidentally (*Kudurru-Reliefs*, 101–102).

[137] Seidl, *Kudurru-Reliefs*, 102–103; Van Buren, "Seven Dots," 277.

[138] Van Buren, "Seven Dots," 277–281. Van Buren associates them with pebbles used in divination, suggesting the haphazard arrangement presents an omen to be deciphered, as well as with seven significant early cities and with the Seven Sages (ibid., 278). These ideas, as well as her assertion that these archaic sets of dots continuously developed into the seven dots identified as the Pleiades, must now be considered dubious.

[139] As Van der Veen acknowledges: "The number of dots can vary greatly (sometimes we find a number of 2–16, or even 20 dots in total). Indeed, we cannot therefore always be completely certain, that the Pleiades are being represented here" ("Seven Dots," 19).

two rows with an offset seventh member—appears only late in Mesopotamian history, and it is my contention that this reflects the fact that both developments were in fact late.

The Offspring of Enmešarra

It is equally the case that the Divine Heptad are not equated with the seven children of Enmešarra before the first millennium—and then only sporadically. Enmešarra, a primordial netherworld deity[140] who receives cultic offerings in Ur III Umma[141] but who appears in the first millennium frequently as a captured, defeated, or dead god,[142] is associated in a number of contexts with seven (or even as many as fifteen) children. Although in late sources the offspring of this Sumerian deity are on occasion formally identified with the Divine Heptad,[143] it is unlikely that this identification represents anything more than an esoteric effort to integrate originally separate divinities on the basis of their relationship to the number seven, thereby both articulating increased systematization by weaving together disparate threads of the Mesopotamian pantheon and simultaneously enhancing the Divine Heptad's claims to antiquity and status. Several factors suggest this identification is not original: 1) the Divine Heptad are only occasionally associated with

[140] On Enmešarra's status as a primordial deity, see for example the opening lines to an incantation: "Enmešarra, Ninmešarra, / Father and mother of all the gods" (*Enmešarra Ninmešarra / abu u ummu ša ilānī kalāma*; lines 44–45; for a copy see Köcher, *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin* 3, pl. 18 [#215]). Enmešarra's apparent status as a netherworld god is especially evident from a late incantation naming him "lord of the netherworld, prince of the underworld, lord of the district and land of no return" (*bēl erṣeti rubû ša arallî bēl ašri u māti lā târi*; rev. 1b–2a; for a copy of the passage see Craig, *ABRT* 2, 13; the passage is quoted in Livingstone, *Mythological Explanatory Works*, 164). (For an alternate translation understanding *ašru* as "heaven"—raising the possibility the final phrase constitutes a merism designating the cosmos as a whole—see *CAD*, ad loc.)

[141] Ebeling, "Enmešarra," 397; for a copy of the text in question see de Genouillac, *Textes d'Oumma*, pl. XL (#6053); the relevant passage is at iii:19.

[142] Enmešarra's ghost speaks in VAT 8917 at rev. 10 (edited in Livingstone, *Mythological Explanatory Works*, 82–83), where his corpse (*pagru*) is mentioned in lines 24–29 (edited in ibid., 124–125). Another text shows him in prison (*kisukku*) with other captured gods (*ilānū ṣabtūtu*) (see Pinches, "Legend of Merodach"; Langdon, *Temple Library of Nippur*, 35–36).

[143] The clearest instance of this identification appears in "Commentary on the Assyrian Cult Calendar" line 5: DINGIR IMIN.BI DUMU.MEŠ ^{d}EN.ME.ŠÁR.RA.

the children of Enmešarra, and vice versa; in some contexts, even from the first millennium, they appear to be entirely separate;[144] 2) when the seven children of Enmešarra are named, they bear no relationship to the articulation of the individual members of the Divine Heptad known from the *Erra Song*;[145] and 3) the variability in the family relationships ascribed to the Divine Heptad suggests the connection to Enmešarra was not universally understood to obtain.[146] Rather than positing an allegedly "original" characterization of this set of divinities in Mesopotamia's early history that constitutes their core and thus illuminates their identity diachronically, it is more useful to construe them as shifting vectors of associations with a significant degree of porousness, who at some times and places came into contact with the tradition of the children of Enmešarra and absorbed elements of it.

The Offspring of Šentur or Išḫara

Although even less evidence survives, similar processes may underlie the development of the Divine Heptad's relationships to the deities Šentur and Išḫara, both of whom at various times are said to be their mother. In a number of Sumerian laments Šentur is identified as the mother of "the seven gods."[147] It is not clear whether these gods are understood to be the Divine Heptad.

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[144] Tellingly, the two are listed separately in AN–*Anum*: the Divine Heptad appear in VI:150 where Enmešarra is known from I:136, his offspring called by name in I:139–145 and summed up in the following line. (For an edition see Litke, *Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists*, 19–227.)

[145] For the names of the offspring of Enmešarra see AN–*Anum* I:139–145; compare the similar lists in O 175, lines 10–15 and AO 6479, III:2–14 (edited in Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, 10–21; the copy appears on 3–6), where Enmešarra is not, however, identified as their father.

[146] On some occasions the Divine Heptad are said to be the offspring of Enmešarra, in other texts that of Išḫara, in still others that of Šentur; sometimes Naruda is their sister, but more often they appear without her (on these relationships see further below). These claims need not be in conflict, but I am aware of no effort to integrate them. It therefore appears to me that different traditions of seven divine figures were sporadically and abortively being absorbed into the portrait of the Divine Heptad in the first millennium.

[147] Spelled dingir-imin, dingir-imin-a, and dìm-m[e-e]r-imin in the second millennium ("Honored One, Wild Ox" [Early Recension] e+181) and dìm-me-er imin-bi in the first ("Fashioning Man and Woman" c+259, and "Honored One, Wild Ox" [Late Recension] c+133, edited in Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 1, 272–318).

Another late text designates the Divine Heptad as the offspring of Išḫara;[148] the origins of this tradition are obscure.[149]

The Brothers of Naruda

On occasion they are said to have a sister, the goddess Naruda, who originated in Elam.[150] In fact, seven Elamite gods are sometimes listed as her brothers.[151] Since these gods show no resemblance to the members of the Divine Heptad as articulated elsewhere, it is unlikely the Divine Heptad originated in Elam and were borrowed with Naruda into Mesopotamia, as has been argued.[152] In fact, Naruda is only occasionally associated with them,[153] and sometimes appears as the sister to a generic group of seven.[154] It seems that the Mesopotamians, given their propensity for organizing the cosmos into groups of seven, identified seven Elamite deities, the "seven of Elam," (IMIN.BI ^{kur}ELAM.MA^{ki}),[155] alongside the Elamite goddess Naruda, and that this set of originally distinct gods was occasionally conflated with the Divine Heptad proper.

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[148] "The standards erected at the sick person's head are the Divine Heptad, the great gods, the children of Išḫara" (*urigallū ša ina rēš marṣi zuqqupū Ilānū Sebettu* [DINGIR IMIN.BI] *ilānū rabûtu mārū Išḫara šunu*; lines 20b–21; for a copy of this text see Epping and Strassmaier, "Neue babylonische Planeten-Tafeln III," 241–244; the relevant passage is translated in Wiggermann, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits*, 115).

[149] Gössmann identifies Šentur with Išḫara (*Era-Epos*, 71). Other than the fact that both of them can have seven divine offspring, I am aware of no evidence connecting them, and I prefer to read their possible shared relationship to the Divine Heptad as indication of a late confluence of traditions, in which earlier streams of tradition about disparate groups of seven divinities fed into and informed the Divine Heptad's portrayal somewhat irregularly in the first millennium.

[150] Koch, "Narunde."

[151] See especially the list of Elamite gods—beside Naruda, "their sister"—edited in Frank, "Elamische Götter," 324.

[152] See Black and Green, *Gods, Demons, and Symbols*, 162.

[153] As in, for example, "Purification of a New House" i:12'–13' (for an edition see Wiggermann, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits*, 119–130).

[154] As in, for example, *Bīt Mēseri* II:75–76.

[155] In Frank, "Elamische Götter," 324, line 7.

III. The Status of the Divine Heptad

For a set of deities with a formal cult, the Divine Heptad lie somewhat outside the norm of the Mesopotamian pantheon in at least two respects: 1) influenced by seven stereotypical sets of demons known from incantations, on a few rare occasions they behave demonically in that they mimic the misanthropic and misotheistic behaviors of demons, and 2) they fall somewhere on the spectrum between individuals and generic classes of being. These attributes will be discussed in turn.

Not infrequently the Divine Heptad are said to play a role in apotropaic incantations and rituals. The making of figurines of them is prescribed in extant ritual instructions[156] and stone reliefs depict them guarding an entryway in Aššurbanipal's North Palace in Nineveh.[157] In the latter instance, they fill a role elsewhere enacted by Tiāmat's monsters and by *ugallu*-demons, rather than by deities proper.[158]

I have argued above that the Divine Heptad behave in a demonic manner in a circumscribed number of texts and specifically as a result of a late conflation with various generic sets of seven demonic forces known from incantations, texts that we know continued to be copied in the first millennium. Since no evidence survives for a double set of Divine Heptads, the question arises how these occasional demonic attributes were integrated into the larger portrait ascribed to them. It is my contention that the demonic and the apotropaic often go hand in hand; in what might be termed the "gargoyle effect,"[159] belligerent supernatural forces, when they can be controlled, typically serve

[156] As in "Apotropaic Ritual with Figurines" and "Purification of a New House."

[157] Ornan, "Expelling Demons," 90–91. For a photograph see Ataç, "Underworld Vision," 75.

[158] See Ataç, "Underworld Vision," 71 and 73.

[159] Technically perhaps better labeled the "grotesque effect," "grotesque" being the superordinate term used to designate carved stone images of fearsome supernatural beings incorporated into the external architecture

as the ablest apotropaia. That this principle had some purchase on Mesopotamian religious thought is evidenced by Pazuzu, who, a hostile force himself, could—not in spite of this fact, but likely because of it—be called on to drive out the demoness Lamaštu.[160] The fact that the Divine Heptad were understood by the late period of Mesopotamian history to manifest some demonic propensities likely contributed to their inclusion in apotropaic rituals, incantations, and images, and it is in this way that their demonic tendencies were integrated into a larger cultural portrait that construed them as basically amenable to human petition (as evidenced by cultic activity).

The second striking attribute of the Divine Heptad, their plurality and even genericness, sets them decidedly apart from the other gods. As a general tendency, demons and their counterparts, the good *genii*, typically fall into generic classes of beings: examples include udug/*utukku*, maškim/*rābiṣu*, alad/*šēdu*, and gal_5-lá/*gallû*. (Exceptions to this trend, such as Lamaštu, are not unknown, however.) Gods, in contrast, are usually portrayed as specific individuals presiding over particular localities. The Divine Heptad challenge this typology in that they fall on an intermediate part of the spectrum between specificity and genericness: not only do they vacillate between grammatical singularity and plurality, but, though a unit defined largely in terms of their total number, they are sometimes articulated as seven separate individuals. They were venerated as a single divinity to whom cultic activity was deemed appropriate at the same time that they constituted a group of typically non-specific beings. Worshipped as gods, the Divine Heptad retained the genericness and plurality of the demons, and rather than a name, they were referred to simply by a number.

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of European cathedrals and thought to ward off evil, colloquially referred to as "gargoyles" whether they bear rain spouts or not.

[160] As in line 28 of the text copied and edited in Thureau-Dangin, "Rituel et amulettes," 162–171. On the other hand, such forces are dangerous, as evidenced by Anzû, whose incorporation into the cosmic order fails.

It is this attribute that likely rendered their identity more fluid than that of the other gods, and therefore more susceptible to influence both from other groups of seven figures, with whom they were frequently conflated, as well as to influence from demons, with whom they shared the characteristic of a basic lack of specificity. The fact that the core of their identity was simply a number may have accommodated more elasticity, and thus more internal variation in their portrayals, than would otherwise have been the case.

This fluidity has led more than one scholar to posit multiple Divine Heptads to account for the variations in their relationships.[161] The general trend of sporadic identification in the first millennium of the Divine Heptad with groups of seven that had earlier been construed separately suggests to me that there was only a single Divine Heptad whose identity, however, like that of many gods, differed somewhat across texts. We should resist the impulse to impose more order on the sum of the contexts in which they appear than those contexts warrant; rather than choosing dichotomously between positing a single unified identity and multiple discrete identities (i.e., multiple Divine Heptads) in the Mesopotamian conception of this cult, it seems prudent to permit the situation its messiness: the Divine Heptad were understood as a unit and nevertheless permitted some multiplicity in their portrayal.

That multiplicity is clearest, and most perplexing, in the god-list AN–*Anum*. Not only are seven divine warriors mentioned[162] alongside the apparent classical Divine Heptad,[163] but additional divine heptads are counted up for different regions, including, in the extant text,

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[161] Wiggermann, for example, suggests "this group of ^{d}VII.BI [the sons of Išḫara] is probably not identical with the ^{d}VII.BI of Elam with their sister Narudda . . . or the ^{d}VII.BI the sons of Enmešara" (*Mesopotamian Protective Spirits*, 115); Woolley wonders something similar: "Are the sons of Ishḫara identical with the sons of Enmesharra? Different scholars are likely to take different views of the probabilities" ("Babylonian Prophylactic Figures," 713 n. 53). This issue is of course separate from the question whether there are mirror sets of Divine Heptads, one good and one evil.

[162] ^{d}Ur.sag.[imin].^{r}bi$^{\urcorner}$ | ur.sag ^{d}imin.bi (AN–*Anum* VI:150).

[163] ^{d}Imin.^{r}bi$^{\urcorner}$ | dingir.meš ^{d}imin.bi (AN–*Anum* VI:151).

Sumer,[164] Akkad,[165] Guti,[166] and Elam.[167] These multiple heptads are set apart from other attestations of the Divine Heptad by orthography—they are referred to as IMIN DINGIR IMIN.BI[168]—and by the qualifiers designating the regions to which they belong. It is tempting to conclude from this that there were generally, in fact, understood to be multiple divine heptads, as is undeniably the case in this text, and that the Divine Heptad constitute nothing more than the sum of other important gods.[169] This position is not tenable, however. Other contexts in which the Divine Heptad appear reveal them to be a set of deities with some minimal coherence in identity and some distinctiveness from the deities of other cults: they are worshipped in their own temples,[170] they appear in royal inscriptions alongside other gods—including but not limited to the gods who constitute the Sumerian heptad in AN–*Anum*[171]—and their connection with the Pleiades suggests they were generally understood as other than the sum of seven other significant deities, who had astral manifestations of their own.

It is therefore likely that the various heptads put forth by AN–*Anum* represent nothing more than a learned lexical exercise, an effort to identify seven significant gods in each region. The qualifiers indicating their locations of origin, then, constitute an indispensable characteristic of this

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[164] In AN–*Anum* VI:152–159.

[165] In AN–*Anum* VI:160–167.

[166] In AN–*Anum* VI:168–175.

[167] In AN–*Anum* VI:176–184a; observe that the passage ends by mentioning "Naruda . . . their sister" (*Narudi . . . aḫassunu*; VI:184–184a).

[168] It is unclear to me how this phrase should best be translated—perhaps "seven; the divine heptad [of Elam, etc.]." This may constitute additional evidence that DINGIR IMIN.BI had come to be understood as a frozen phrase.

[169] E.g., in the Sumerian heptad, Anu, Enlil, Ēa, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, and Ninurta (see AN–*Anum* VI:152–158).

[170] See nn. 118–121 above.

[171] For example, *The Victory Stela of Esarhaddon* lines 1–10 lists Aššur, Anu, Enlil, Ēa, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, Marduk, and Ištar before the Divine Heptad.

exercise[172] whose absence elsewhere signals the presence of the Divine Heptad proper. In fact, the presence of the Divine Heptad at the outset of this list suggests some distinction between the standard Divine Heptad as known from other sources and the divine heptads added up for each region.

I believe two impulses in late Mesopotamian religion gave rise to this artificial construction of regional divine heptads, both of them fundamentally impulses toward systematization: on the one hand an inclination to organize the universe into categories of seven is evident from other texts,[173] and on the other hand a tendency to syncretize, even if only sporadically, various groups of seven is clear from the passages that have been explored above. This may have led to an almost immediate partial conflation of these artificial sets of seven gods with the Divine Heptad.

IV. Conclusions

The Divine Heptad appear to have developed in, or reached, Mesopotamia fairly late, no earlier than the Isin-Larsa period on present evidence. While a fair amount of variability in the spelling of their name is tolerated, the DINGIR sign is virtually invariably present and consistently precedes the number; it appears that the sign may function as a logogram rather than a determinative. Modern scholars' positing of mirror Divine Heptads—one good and one evil—arises from a misconstrual of generic groups of seven figures in incantations as the Divine Heptad. In fact, although not the Divine Heptad in origin, these generic sets of seven did influence the portrayal of the Divine Heptad on rare occasions; this partial conflation may have first taken place in the *Erra Song*, where the passage introducing the Divine Heptad shows signs of having been incorporated

[172] This may indicate that the "Divine Hep[tad] of the West" (^{d}IM[IN.BI] DINGIR.MEŠ ^{kur}MAR.TU) referenced in Aššur-bēl-kala #10 lines 6–7 do not constitute the Divine Heptad proper (for an edition see Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium I*, 108).

[173] Evident for example from *God-List by Location, with Tallies*, which artificially counts up seven Nergals, seven Enlils, seven Adads, etc.

from an incantation. However, although strongly influenced by the portrayal of seven demons, the Divine Heptad of the *Erra Song* have nevertheless been incorporated into the cosmic order and do not operate as demons per se. In fact, in the first millennium the Divine Heptad were influenced by multiple other originally separate sets of seven at different times and places, including the Pleiades, the children of Enmešarra, the children of Šentur, the children of Išḫara, and the brothers of Naruda.[174]

[174] On the history of the Divine Heptad, see now Konstantopoulos, "They Are Seven." Since I have here identified a far more circumscribed set of attestations as referring to the Divine Heptad proper than does Konstantopoulos, I have reached a very different set of conclusions about their history and character. Nevertheless, her work is to be recommended for the usefulness and breadth of the material she assembles, and my thanks are due to her for allowing me to read her unpublished dissertation after I had drafted this chapter.

Chapter 6
General Issues of Interpretation

I. Erra's Motivation for the Calamity

Our extensive explorations into the divine characters' backgrounds in the Mesopotamian cult (chapters 3–5) as well as into issues of grammar and lexicography in the text itself (laid out in appendix A) and ambiguities in speaker and referent (explored in chapter 2) have set the stage for a responsible and grounded analysis of the questions that occupy the heart of this investigation, namely those that concern the manner in which the narrative as a whole unfolds.

The first broad narrative issue to occupy our attention is that of Erra's motivation for unleashing calamity on the cosmos. In his groundbreaking if poorly received discussion of the poem, Gössmann asserts starkly that the entire sequence of events is arbitrary—that not only is Erra's behavior without motivation, but that the behavior of all of the characters is equally unmotivated and, further, that Babylonian poetry more generally lacks causal thinking.[1] In response, some in the Assyriological community recoiled from Gössmann's derogatory and ethnocentric evaluation of the poem by pointing to a series of passages suggesting that, far from

[1] " 'Unbegründet' ist, soweit der heutige Zustand des Werkes ein Urteil gestattet, die gesamte Handlung im Era-Epos von Anfang bis zum Ende. Im Grunde ist Willkür und Laune Ursache alles Geschehens" (Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 62). "Der Leser des Era-Epos hingegen sieht sich immer wieder gezwungen, die Frage zu stellen: warum diese oder jene Handlung? warum ist Era so böse? warum hat auf einmal Išum Mitleid mit den Menschen? warum stehen die Igigi und Anunnaki voll Furcht da? uws. Wie das ganze Unternehmen des Era unbegründet ist, soweit wir bei dem fragmentarischen Zustand des Werkes heute ein Urteil abgeben können, so auch die Handlungen der mitwirkenden Personen bis in ihre letzten Einzelheiten. Charakterisierung, seelische Einfühlung, kausales Denken: das alles vermissen wir in der babylonischen Dichtung, von der wir nicht mehr fordern dürfen als eben der altorientalische Mensch zu leisten vermochte" (ibid., 76–77). "Es genügte, daß ein Gott grollte. Nach dem Warum darf der orientalische Mensch, der auch vor einem sterblichen König auf den Knien liegt, nicht fragen" (ibid., 77). Although far less extreme, Lambert's position is fundamentally similar: "The reason given [for the calamity] is that the god Era, a god of pestilence, had been angry. No grounds, ultimately, for this anger are suggested: it was the god's nature" ("Fifth Tablet," 119).

representing incomprehensible whim, Erra's outburst is motivated by neglect of the cult and terrestrial misbehaviors of various stripes.[2]

Possible Motivations—Personal and Pro-social

What specifically does the text say, and what is implied, about how and why Erra is spurred to action? As the poem opens, in the hymnic prologue, Erra is at home in his temple in a state of quiescence (see *Erra Song* I:19–20), and, as I have argued in chapter 2, this appears to represent the default state of affairs, presumably that which prevails after the events in the narrative have taken place rather than at a discrete moment in time before the narrative begins.[3] Following an almost incantatory exposition on the origins and cosmic role of the Divine Heptad (see I:23–44), the narrative proper begins with their speech to rouse Erra from his lethargy (see I:45–91), after which Erra appears resolved on campaign against the cosmos (see I:92–99). The sequence of events leaves no doubt that the Divine Heptad's speech has persuaded Erra to take action, but the Divine Heptad cite a motley welter of justifications for Erra's rampage, and Erra himself then articulates to a leery Išum in his hymn of self-praise (see I:109–123) some justifications of his own. In order to attempt to make sense of Erra's motivation, it is worth examining in some detail how these various justifications relate to the rest of the narrative, as well as how they relate to each other and the significance of their appearing together.

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[2] In "Het Epos" Frankena responds directly to Gössmann's claim that there is no justification for Erra's action by pointing to passages suggesting Erra is motivated by the neglect of his cult and making a case that the gods are literally reliant on the cult for their survival ("Het Epos," 174; see also *Erra Song* V:14–15). Cagni similarly points to passages suggesting terrestrial negligence and culpability and argues Erra is persuaded to take action by the speech of the Divine Heptad (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 35). In a similar vein, Hruška compiles a list of justifications for the divine wrath (see "Zur letzten Bearbeitung," 360), and Bodi later assembles an even longer and more detailed list (see *Book of Ezekiel*, 61–68), concluding explicitly, against "certain scholars who maintain that no reason at all is given in the Poem of Erra for the divine anger and that nothing but the god's whims govern the course of events" (ibid., 62), that "humans are punished because they have *sinned* against Erra" (ibid., 68, with special reference to *Erra Song* IV:106).

[3] See chapter 2, "II. The Opening Passage: Temporal Sequence of the Hymnic Prologue."

The Divine Heptad goad Erra out of his inactivity by appealing to some very disparate rationales, some of which we might consider personal (Erra is benefited) and some pro-social (the cosmos is benefited);[4] a similar variety of rationales appears elsewhere in the text. The most prominent personal reason the Divine Heptad propose for engaging in combat against the cosmos applies as much if not more to the Divine Heptad themselves as to Erra: Erra has become soft from lack of activity, and the Divine Heptad insult him by pointing this out, comparing him to a baby or a feeble old man (see *Erra Song* I:47–48). Their own motivations clearly run parallel: their affairs are out of order because too much time has elapsed without a fight (e.g., cobwebs have been spun over their battle gear in I:88; see I:87–91), and they pine for battle (see I:49–59).[5] It is clear from the description of their birth that they are hostile and terrifying by disposition (see I:23–38), and although Anu cites a pro-social cosmic rationale for their destructive behavior when he bequeaths them to Erra (i.e., the *ḫubūru* or "clamor" in I:41, on which see below), their personal motivation for engaging in combat against the cosmos appears to originate internally: simply stated, they have a penchant for combat. Erra too is by nature ferocious (see, e.g., I:109–113 and V:7–12) and by implication belongs on the battlefield, which is what makes him susceptible to the Divine Heptad's insults. It would therefore be an overstatement to characterize Erra's motivation entirely or even primarily in terms of punishment for terrestrial misconduct.

On a related note, the Divine Heptad argue indirectly that it will redound to Erra's glory if he engages in acts of destruction and thereby arouses awe in the natural and supernatural realms (see *Erra Song* I:61–75). In fact, Erra's behavior does explicitly arouse awe among the gods (see V:3), and surely among humanity as well. In this religious environment, in which terror leads naturally to

[4] This heuristic strikes me as useful even if it is artificial, since Erra is a part of the cosmos and benefits from some of the same events that benefit other gods; there is therefore a fair amount of overlap.

[5] Although this justification—that they are out of practice and properly belong on the battlefield—parallels assumptions about Erra's status to which they appeal, strictly speaking this rationale might be categorized as "pro-social" since it benefits the Divine Heptad if Erra undertakes a campaign.

praise and worship (notice the culmination of the passage in I:75: "Let the gods your fathers see (your destructive acts) and praise yo[ur] status as warrior!"; *ilānū abbūka līmurū-ma linādū qurdīk*[*a*]), this can only be, from Erra's perspective, a positive consequence. In fact, in flattering Erra, Išum later suggests Erra is motivated by anxiety that he is not respected: "(And) yet you say in/to your heart, 'They hold me in contempt!' " ((*u*) *tātammâ*/*tātammi ina*/*ana libbīka umma leqû šēṭūtī*; IIId:15); the implication appears to be that his violent outburst earns him the respect of both divine and terrestrial entities. The near inverse of this—that if Erra declares war against the cosmos he will earn glory and respect—can be seen in his concern that humans "have not feared the mention of me" (*lā išḫutū*-(*ma*) *zikrī*; I:121). Presumably, then, if he shows his fierce side he will either punish them for their negligence or inspire awe and cultic activity toward him, or more likely both.

On the pro-social side, the Divine Heptad argue that animals, both domestic and wild, have become contemptuous of them (see *Erra Song* I:77).[6] This animal disrespect parallels humankind's contempt for the gods (see I:120), apparently stemming from the gods' fear of combat (see I:119), and their disregard for Marduk's word specifically; according to Erra they "behave according to their own inclinations" (*ippušū kī libbuš*; I:122).[7] The implication is that if Erra attacks terrestrial life this will arouse terror and awe toward the gods, which will lead to increased respect and cultic activity. From the perspective of the gods, this would represent a positive development.

In a related vein, the Divine Heptad report that the Anunnakī are unable to sleep for the clamor of humankind (see *Erra Song* I:81–82). Another way in which Erra might benefit the other

[6] It is not clear how animals are expected to behave vis-à-vis the divine; perhaps the cosmic lull has facilitated their unfettered reproduction and/or they are trampling areas sacred to particular deities such as the Divine Heptad, or harming individuals in the service of those deities?

[7] Erra also reports that humanity has "not feared the mention of me" (*lā išḫutū*-(*ma*) *zikrī*; *Erra Song* I:121): in benefiting the rest of the gods, pro-socially, he would of course also benefit himself personally.

gods, then, would be to wipe out a portion of the inhabitants of the earth (human and animal) in order to keep the noise level down.

And finally, the Divine Heptad claim that wild animals threaten the livelihood of farmers and shepherds (see *Erra Song* I:83–86),[8] and thus of food production generally. Here it is clear that Erra's destructive tendencies might profit not just the pantheon but also humanity, whose motivations for praying to a violent god (see I:86) are hereby made evident.

Evaluation of Proposed Motivations in Context

We have established that the characters in the text advance several possible justifications for Erra's rampage, only some of which relate to terrestrial misconduct and only some of which might contribute to the functioning of the cosmos in general rather than gratifying Erra personally. But which rationales motivate Erra to act, and how does his action relate to those potential motivations? And what do these rationales suggest in tandem?

We will explore the final question first. Although the Divine Heptad fire off a barrage of justifications for Erra's campaign against the cosmos, these justifications hardly fit coherently together. In fact, Erra cannot benefit everyone simultaneously—if he benefits the gods by massacring humans (whether to reduce the noise level or to arouse awe), this is to the detriment of humankind generally, even if he also benefits humans by massacring wild animals. Notice also that the Divine Heptad incite Erra to create noise (see *Erra Song* I:61) to terrify the Anunnakī (see I:63) at the same time they demand he bring about silence so the Anunnakī can sleep (see I:81–82). In short, the Divine Heptad appear to enumerate every conceivable reason Erra might attack the

[8] Notice that this concern conflicts directly with what Anu says when he commissions the Divine Heptad, that they will accompany Erra when he intends "to lay low Šakkan's herds" (*šumqutu būl*(*i*) *Šakkan*; *Erra Song* I:43); here (I:85–86) the Divine Heptad are implying he must protect Šakkan's herds (a term for domestic animals; see appendix A n. 54) from the lion and wolf. It is therefore unlikely the Divine Heptad are motivated by genuine concern for the farmer and shepherd.

cosmos with no acknowledgment that all of these rationales cannot have simultaneous traction; one is reminded of the phrase "many remedies, no cure"—although it is perhaps the case here that the many remedies suggest there is no clear problem. The fact that the Divine Heptad provide so many competing rationales for Erra to undertake a campaign should weaken, rather than strengthen, their case.

Similar tensions are evident in Erra's placatory speech to Išum in the section that follows (see especially *Erra Song* I:119–123), where Erra announces his intention to anger Marduk in order to "drive him from his dwelling" (*ina šubtīšu adekkē-ma*; I:123), specifically so he can avenge the wrongs of a disrespectful human population on Marduk's behalf. While it might theoretically be possible to anger Marduk in order to benefit him by arousing awe in his worshippers—by unleashing the chaos Marduk's presence keeps at bay—upon reaching Babylon Erra makes no effort to anger him, instead driving him from his dwelling on the grounds that his jewelry needs cleaning (see I:127–128).[9]

It is worth noting that each character simply tells the next one what will convince him to behave in the desired manner: the Divine Heptad persuade Erra with a miscellaneous assortment of arguments for attacking the cosmos (see *Erra Song* I:46–91), following which Erra attempts to

[9] Bodi argues that this does anger Marduk, in that Erra is insulting him by pointing out the dingy state of his regalia (*Book of Ezekiel*, 191). It is also possible that gods were understood necessarily to be angry any time they were absent from their temples for reasons other than scheduled festivals. However, nothing in the text explicitly points to Marduk's anger on this occasion (unlike during the previous calamity—see *Erra Song* I:132). In fact, it is Erra's anger that is emphasized throughout the text (see probably II:25, probably II:119, IIIc:30, V:7, V:41, and V:58). It should also be pointed out that Marduk raises essentially two objections to Erra's implied suggestion that he have his jewelry cleaned—both entirely pragmatic, the first dealing with the problem of accessing the necessary resources (I:150–163) and the second with the problem of containing chaos in his absence (I:171–179)—and that, rather than storming off promptly in a huff, he leaves his temple only when Erra has satisfactorily allayed these concerns and he has found Erra's speech not infuriating but "pleasing" (*iṭīb*; I:192). To my mind it is therefore a more reasonable interpretation to suppose Erra's tactics are diffuse and clandestine and his motives self-justifying than to suppose Marduk leaves his throne in anger simply because Erra states an intention to anger him (in I:123). Yet it is also possible Erra intends to arouse Marduk's anger by insulting him and is not entirely successful. We may be meant to understand that Erra perceives the sullied jewelry only on his arrival at the Esagil and seizes the opportunity, thereby changing his plans.

reassure Išum—after limning his own fierce qualities (see I:109–118)—that arousing fear among humankind will actually benefit the gods, himself among them (see I:119–123), following which Erra persuades Marduk to relinquish cosmic control in order that his jewelry might be cleaned (see I:127–128), reassuring him that he, Erra, will "hold down the fort" in Marduk's absence by using his powers to fend off other hostile forces (see I:182–190). Each character is persuaded in turn (except perhaps Išum, who does not respond to Erra's hymn of self-praise), yet it is less than clear that the reader/hearer is meant to be equally persuaded, since the characters, politicianlike, appear to be making arguments they believe their particular interlocutors will find compelling rather than openly revealing their ambitions (that is, they are more likely to say what is convincing than what is true) and the cited justifications in this concatenation have little in common. While some of the exigent circumstances appealed to appear indeed to have some legitimacy—Marduk's jewelry is in fact cleaned (see II:36)—it is unlikely that the characters' rhetoric (specifically that of the Divine Heptad and Erra) reflects their personal motivations. The colossal nature of the cataclysm seems to exceed the text's ability to account for it cleanly or clearly, which may suggest the poet too was grappling with the project of articulating a cosmic system in which chaos could be permitted to reign in so thoroughgoing a manner. It is reiterated throughout that violence serves a number of useful ends in the proper maintenance of the cosmos,[10] but at the same time these violent forces appear not to be personally motivated by a desire to maintain cosmic order and, when given free rein, quickly spin out of control.

[10] It is the task of the Divine Heptad, for example, periodically to aid Erra in keeping the terrestrial population, of both humans and domestic animals, low so that their "clamor" is not "irksome" (see *Erra Song* I:40–44). Although such action is devastating to humans, the way the passage is framed leaves little doubt that ultimately it is intended to benefit the cosmos, the implication being that the gods grow weary of terrestrial noise (as in I:81–82). Additionally it is the Divine Heptad's begetter, Anu, the remote head of the pantheon, who integrates them into the cosmic order and effectively offers his blessing over such activities. Erra is also capable, as a hostile force himself, of repulsing other hostile forces, as he promises Marduk he will do in I:186–188 (see also I:67). Although he reneges on that promise in this text, elsewhere he seems to fulfill this role, as in *Šurpu* IX:89 (as Nergal; for an edition see Reiner, *Šurpu*).

Additional clues to Erra's motivation can be gleaned by examining the larger context in which the Divine Heptad's speech is embedded: specifically, as Erra, spurred on by the Divine Heptad, first announces his desire to undertake a campaign, Išum construes his behavior as "pl[ot[ing] ev]il against the god[s]" (*ana ilān*[*ī lemu*]*tti tak*[*pud*]; *Erra Song* I:102) and accuses him of intending "to crus[h] the lands and wipe o[ut their people]" (*ana sapā*[*n*] *mātāti ḫullu*[*q nišīšin*]; I:103). Rather than denying this characterization or appealing to any of the various pro-social justifications that have been advanced, in his response Erra seems to confirm his intention to massacre humanity by prefacing his speech as follows: "Regarding the people of the inhabited world, whom you (Išum) suggested I spare" (*aššu nišī dadmī ša taqbû gamālšin*; I:107). It appears from this passage that Erra is not motivated by pro-social rationales at all, whether those that benefit the gods or those that benefit humanity, but is simply bent on battle for the sake of battle.

The manner in which events unfold throughout the rest of the narrative confirms this suspicion. Far from benefiting the pantheon, Erra threatens their well-being with the near extinction of mortal life (see *Erra Song* V:13–15). Instead of encouraging respect for the gods, he reveals a plan to incite cultic neglect (see IIIa:11–12). Similarly, rather than protecting domestic animals as the Divine Heptad propose indirectly in I:85–86, Erra later states his plan to wipe them out completely (see II:145)—in the context of a lengthy declaration of his determination to devastate both humanity and the natural world (see II:138–161). Even the old chestnut that the Anunnakī need sleep (see I:81–82), according to the Divine Heptad, is somewhat in tension with what Erra then tells Marduk in order to reassure him, that he will keep the Anunnakī in check (see I:185 as well as I:178): he is not clearly motivated by any desire to ease their existence. And while Marduk's jewelry is cleaned (see II:36) and so presumably was tarnished, it is unlikely even this concern motivates Erra, since he is bent on destruction and it is exactly such destruction that caused Marduk's jewelry to become tarnished the last time (see I:140).

In fact, all of the specific pro-social concerns the Divine Heptad raise about the current functioning of the cosmos drop out of the narrative entirely: we are never told, in the extant text, whether the Anunnakī are finally able to sleep, or whether animals come to respect the Divine Heptad, and it is clear that if Erra were to succeed in obliterating domestic animals (see II:145) he would not benefit the shepherd (see I:85–86). Such questions appear to be unimportant to the narrative, which underscores our suspicion that these are mere pretexts for battle. While it is possible a reduced terrestrial population facilitates divine sleep and the horrors of the catastrophe inspire increased respect for the divine among animals, these are obviously subsidiary effects rather than causes that animate Erra. It is evident that Erra is far more motivated by personal reasons: he seemingly follows principles of inertia in that although a fair amount of energy is apparently required to rouse him, once he is in a state of battle frenzy a fair amount of energy is then required to calm him back down. But it is simply in his nature to be combative once he has been roused. While the pro-social rationales may explain theologically the necessity of having destructive forces in the cosmos, if they apply at all in this case they are likely nothing more than ancillary effects. Violence, even when it serves a cosmic function, is difficult to control.

Conclusions Regarding Erra's Motivations

Gössmann's detractors are not wrong to have protested that the narrative does not unfold in an entirely arbitrary manner: rather than being unmotivated, the narrative appears in certain respects to be "overmotivated," in that far more justifications are cited than can possibly be legitimate simultaneously. For Gössmann the alleged lack of motivation constitutes a literary weakness, and while subsequent scholars have rushed to marshal evidence for Erra's motivation, they have not evaluated the contexts in which these justifications for combat are proposed, nor have they questioned the framework that views a lack of clear motivation as a deficiency. In the hymn of self-praise with which Erra attempts to allay Išum's concerns (see *Erra Song* I:109–118), in

what at first blush appears to be a non sequitur, Erra points to his combative qualities: "Among the Igīgī I am the most combative; among the Anunnakī I am the most powerful" (*ina Igīgī qardāku ina Anunnakī gašrāku*; I:111; see also the following lines). However, this in fact appears to represent the core of Erra's motivation for attacking the cosmos: it is in his nature. We moderns might term this "personality": Erra behaves in characteristic ways, so the particulars of the circumstances have only limited relevance. Erra and the Divine Heptad have a penchant for violent behavior, and rather than having a negative valence this appears to have a neutral or ambivalent one, in that they have been integrated into the cosmic order because their destructive tendencies can serve useful functions. But violent entities are naturally not motivated by constructive goals and can quickly rage out of control. It is possible Erra is also legitimately galvanized to some degree by the alleged neglect of his cult (see I:121), but this is surely not his primary motivation, as it is not cited at all by the Divine Heptad,[11] who originally incite him to act, and it appears as a throwaway line beside a dubious claim that he will drive Marduk from his dwelling and then punish humanity for disregarding Marduk (in I:122–123, on which see above). I side therefore neither with Gössmann nor with his detractors in that I do not believe the narrative unfolds entirely arbitrarily, but neither do I accept all of the reasons cited for the necessity of destructive action at face value.

Addendum: Just Deserts for Terrestrial Misconduct?

One additional set of claims about the grounds for Erra's rampage remains to be evaluated: namely, that Erra is motivated to punish humanity, whether for allowing Marduk's jewelry to become dingy through neglect of the cult,[12] for failing to praise him (Erra),[13] or for the earthly

[11] The closest their speech comes to such a claim is that the animals have contempt for them and Erra (in *Erra Song* I:77).

[12] See Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 35; Bottéro and Kramer, *Lorsque les dieux faisaient l'homme*, 710; and Bodi, *Book of Ezekiel*, 64.

[13] See Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 62 and Frankena, "Untersuchungen zum Irra-Epos," 5–6.

clamor (*ḫubūru*) that is said to constitute "sin."[14] Nothing in the text suggests Marduk's jewelry has become tarnished as a result of neglect specifically; in fact, there seems to have been some awareness that cult statues could deteriorate naturally and might require at least occasional maintenance.[15] It is clear that Erra uses the legitimate necessity of cleaning Marduk's jewelry to remove Babylon's high god from power and then undeniably exploits the dangerous liminal period that prevails while Marduk is absent from his post, but nothing in the text suggests he is invested in punishing humanity specifically for bringing about this state of affairs.[16] We are not told how the situation has come to be, only that it came about previously as a result of the Flood (see *Erra Song* I:140), and the narrative appears uninterested in exploring the current cause: natural deterioration and the need for occasional maintenance may simply form part of the background assumptions on which the plot is founded. Similarly, although the poem enjoins the praise of Erra (see V:40 and V:53), there is no indication among all the proposed motivations that Erra is galvanized by a lack of praise specifically, so this extrapolation seems unwarranted. Finally, the trope of the earthly noise

[14] See Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 172–174 and Hruška, "Einige Überlegungen," 6—building on the work of Pettinato, "Bestrafung des Menschengeschlechts," 197–198.

[15] One useful and interesting text on this issue prescribes ritual instructions for the treatment of a damaged cult image (edited and translated in Walker and Dick, *Induction of the Cult Image*, 227–245). The scope of the text—the appropriate ritual behavior in this contingency—does not extend to any explanation of how statues become damaged in the first place or who if anyone is culpable in such circumstances, and so as in the *Erra Song* human guilt through negligence is not precluded, it does not merit any mention. There is also evidence in late texts, for example, for goldsmiths associated with the temple so they could clean and repair cult statues and their ornaments (see Linssen, *Cults of Uruk and Babylon*, 44).

It is not difficult to imagine that in the period of turmoil in which the story is set, cult statues were allowed to fall into disrepair as a result of social upheaval, but that the causation was remembered as exactly reversed because this is what made theological sense: Marduk's jewelry did not become dingy because of the upheavals; the upheavals came about because his jewelry had become dingy.

[16] Notice that—although this is not definitive evidence against such an argument—if Erra is motivated to avenge humanity on Marduk's behalf for allowing the latter's jewelry to become sullied, a delicate relationship must obtain between the two of them, since Erra then hoodwinks Marduk and usurps his authority in order to benefit him. (This tension presents itself regardless, since in *Erra Song* I:122–123 Erra states an intention to anger Marduk because humankind has flouted Marduk's decrees, and thus to serve as Marduk's avenger and aggressor simultaneously, a problem explored above.) Given the fact that Erra's actions ultimately threaten the pantheon (see V:13–15) and that Išum later quotes Erra as expressing a desire to stop divine instruction from issuing from the Esagil (IV:127), this may represent nothing more than an attempt to win Išum to his cause by appealing somewhat disingenuously to a rationale that would be in the interest of the gods.

that prevents the gods from sleeping[17] carries with it no clear implications of moral wrongdoing on the part of earthly inhabitants.[18] It must be emphasized finally that, in any event, none of these justifications appears to be what motivates Erra to attack the cosmos, as the narrative makes abundantly clear.

II. Marduk's Portrayal

The Nature and Significance of the Previous Calamity (the "Flood")

It is remarkable how minor a role water plays in Marduk's description of the Flood (*abūbu*):[19] Marduk points first to the results of the Flood on the heavens, that the stars changed position (see *Erra Song* I:134), and then to its results on the earth, that agriculture became difficult (see I:135). Only then does he indicate that the underground water (*nagbu*) dwindled and "the floods receded" (*mīlū ittaḫsū*), which further contributed to the strenuousness of cultivating the land (see I:136). It is not clear whether an overabundance of water preceded the receding of the floodwaters in I:136, or whether the drastic reduction in the terrestrial population reported in I:137 was brought about by floodwaters or simply by the fact that agriculture had become difficult. But regardless of the degree to which water played a role, the Flood is here characterized in far broader terms, by a fundamental wrenching apart of the cosmos, such that the stars slip from their

[17] For other examples of this trope see especially *Atraḫasīs* I:vii:358–359 and II:i:7–8 (for an edition see Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs*); a similar plot device appears in *Enūma Eliš* I:116 (for an edition see Labat, *Le poème babylonien*; Talon, *Enūma Eliš*).

[18] As Moran ("Atrahasis," 53–58) and Kilmer ("Mesopotamian Concept of Overpopulation," 167) have recognized with respect to *Atraḫasīs*.

[19] See *CAD*, ad loc., on the many meanings of *abūbu*, several of which, such as "the ultimate of wrath, aggressiveness, and destructiveness," "the Deluge mythologized as a monster," or "a weapon in the form of an *abūbu*" have far more to do with destructiveness generally than with water specifically. Cagni, in arguing tentatively that this *abūbu* should be distinguished from the "classical" Flood known from other Mesopotamian sources (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 184–186), also hints at the fact that water is not said to play a significant role in wondering whether this is essentially a metaphor describing political disaster (ibid., 184).

places and food production becomes laborious. Although in certain respects this resembles a cosmic "Fall," a number of the disastrous consequences cited here are seemingly eventually righted.[20]

Another noteworthy characteristic of this particular recounting of the Flood story is that it is Marduk, not Enlil, as in previous versions, who brings about the Flood.[21] The historical religious situation that *Enūma Eliš* explicates mythologically, whereby Marduk rises to power over the other gods, appears to have taken root in that Marduk has inherited some of the traditions about his historical forebear Enlil.[22] However, this idea may also owe something to the notion in *Enūma Eliš* that the Flood is Marduk's weapon.[23] It is not clear that the author of the *Erra Song* innovated in transferring this story to Marduk, since it is an unsurprising development from Marduk's

[20] That is, the "seam of heaven and earth" (*šibīt šamê* (*u*) *erṣeti*), which "unraveled" (*uptaṭṭir*; *Erra Song* I:133), is apparently stitched back together, since Marduk protests that if he arises from his dwelling again it will unravel again (see I:171) (this remediation of the situation may be accomplished in part through the construction of Marduk's temple in I:139), and Marduk appears in some manner to allow the population of terrestrial creatures to recover (see I:138). However, it seems from I:135 that agriculture continues to be laborious—as in Genesis 3:17—and it is not clear whether the stars ever return to their "prelapsarian," perhaps optimal, configuration. Other Mesopotamian texts, such as the *Sumerian King List*, famously show evidence for a vastly abbreviated human lifespan following the Flood (for an edition see Jacobsen, *Sumerian King List*).

[21] For versions of the story in which Enlil, as head of the pantheon, is the architect of the Flood, see *Atraḫasīs* II:vii–viii (especially II:viii:35) and III and *Gilgameš* XI (compare line 14 to 168–195; for an edition see George, *Gilgamesh Epic*).

[22] Cagni, relying partly on the note in *Erra Song* IV:50 that "the lord of the lands" ($^{d+}$EN.KUR.KUR) brought about the Flood, tentatively proposes the intriguing possibility that two Floods are referenced in this text, the classical Flood caused by Enlil, ordinarily "the lord of the lands,"—the Flood known also from other sources—and the metaphorical Flood discussed here (see *Erra Song* I:132–141), caused by Marduk (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 184–186). It is the case that Enlil, ostensibly displaced by Marduk, appears in this text almost as a shadow of Marduk (on which see chapter 7, "III. Relationships in Structure and Content: Relationship to *Anzû*—Compatibility"), so it is not inconceivable that the text might reference a second Flood of which Enlil rather than Marduk was the architect. However, because epithets are passed around among gods even within this text (see chapter 2, "II. The Opening Passage") and Marduk could have appropriated Enlil's titles as he appropriated his predecessor's role in the Flood, I see no reason to suppose "the lord of the lands" in IV:50 must refer to Enlil; on the most straightforward reading of the text as a whole, it appears to refer to Marduk. And while the descriptions of the Flood in this text differ in important respects from descriptions of the Flood in other sources, there is also no indication that this text is aware of multiple, different Floods. (See Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 65 for an earlier argument for a single Flood.)

[23] See *Enūma Eliš* IV:49, IV:75, and VI:125.

theologically supplanting Enlil that may have become popularly accepted in certain circles or even more generally before the poem was composed.[24]

The recounting of the Flood is important to the purposes of the narrative: the Flood is said to have been the result the last time Marduk "arose from [his] dwelling" (*Erra Song* I:132 and I:133) and Erra is now attempting to persuade him to leave his dwelling again, foreshadowing further disaster. Furthermore the process of cleaning Marduk's jewelry after the Flood seems to have rendered the resources and individuals necessary to that activity inaccessible, prompting apparently extraordinary measures.[25] The oddity of the backstory about the jewelry's requiring

[24] At the same time, the displaced Enlil is strangely not absent from the narrative but appears almost as a shadow of Marduk's personality: the most significant passage about him (*Erra Song* IIIc:3–10) anticipates a later passage about Marduk (IV:33–39) almost verbatim, as if he fulfills an equivalent function in the cosmos but is simply less central. The author(s) of the *Erra Song* may have inherited traditions about Enlil's supremacy alongside the more prominent traditions about Marduk's supremacy and attempted to accommodate them both to some degree; see also chapter 7, "III. Relationships in Structure and Content: Relationship to *Anzû*—Compatibility."

[25] Marduk seems to have banished and eliminated everyone and everything involved in the previous cleaning of the jewelry: the people who witnessed the procedure were wiped out (see *Erra Song* I:145–146), apparently because they gazed on the ultimate taboo, a "naked" Marduk in his most vulnerable state as his statue was being refurbished (for a similar argument see Hruška, "Zur letzten Bearbeitung," 363); the artisans were banished to the Apsû (see I:147), perhaps for similar reasons, or to ensure that Marduk, the cosmos's most powerful entity, is never allowed to assume such a state of disempowerment again; and the materials for constructing statues were hidden (see I:148). Unfortunately Erra's apparently satisfactory response to Marduk's objection that the artisans and materials are inaccessible is lost to a lacuna (I:166–168). Perhaps it would solve the open question whether Marduk himself, the agent who banished and hid them, is capable of retrieving and finding them again. Ēa characteristically appears to circumvent in some manner either an attempt on Erra's part to thwart the cleaning of the statue and/or Marduk's earlier command to keep the artisans in a state of banishment (see II:31–39).

Clearly the ability to manipulate or replicate the cult image would potentially give one power over the deity, or power over the ultimate power, so it is no wonder that Marduk would want to maintain an iron grip on this ability; Marduk's cult statue cannot be replicated because his authority must be peerless. It also seems to be the case that some of Marduk's authority is bound up in his physical accoutrements, such as his crown (notice how often it is called the "crown of his lordship/authority" [*agê bēlūtīšu*], as in *Erra Song* IIIc:46; see also I:128 and I:143) and his temple, and he may accordingly be genuinely vulnerable without them. And from the perspective of the priesthood, the exposure to public view of the cult image in a dismantled state would perhaps demystify that which should properly be shrouded in mystique, in part in order for the priests to maintain a hold on their own power. The fact that Marduk has made some effort deliberately to foreclose the possibility of his cult statue's being dismantled in the future underscores the fact that his authority is at risk in this state of extreme vulnerability and that, because he is its sovereign, the state of the universe is likewise in a state of extreme vulnerability. The deterioration—"entropy," as modern physicists designate it—that necessitates cleaning seems however to be built into the fabric of the universe (see n. 15 above).

cleaning as a result of the Flood merits remark: since the last calamity specifically caused the jewelry to become tarnished (see I:140), it is unlikely the present calamity will enhance its luster (and thus that Erra actually benefits Marduk). On the occasion of the Flood, a tight sequence of cause and effect played out: Marduk became angry and abandoned his post (see I:132), disaster ensued (see I:133–138), the jewelry was thereby sullied (see I:140), and the jewelry then had to be cleaned (see I:141); however, in the present calamity, Marduk abandons his post (see II:1) to facilitate the successful cleaning of the jewelry, which is already inexplicably dirty (see I:127–128), after which calamity is unleashed because of his absence. The logic of the backstory might suggest the jewelry becomes tarnished yet again before the end of the narrative, but there are no indications this is the case. We do not know how Marduk's jewelry has become tarnished as Erra approaches him; there is no overarching cosmic logic accounting for its apparent deterioration and the universe's consequent vulnerability, and the author too may be floundering to account adequately for the universe's susceptibility to ruin in light of Marduk's sovereignty.

A few other odd details separate the brief allusions in this text to the Flood from more elaborate and well-known Mesopotamian Flood stories: In Marduk's recounting, the humans who survived the Flood must subsequently be wiped out for witnessing him in a vulnerable state as his jewelry was cleaned.[26] This is also the only text known to me in which it is said that Sippar escaped the Flood, thanks to its uniquely precious status to "the lord of the lands" (d+EN.KUR.KUR; *Erra Song* IV:50).[27]

[26] See *Erra Song* I:145–146. It is, of course, possible that not all of those "who had escaped the Flood" (*ša ina abūbi isētā-ma*) were wiped out, but only those "who . . . had seen the carrying out of the procedure" (*ša . . . ēmūrā epēš šipri*), but nothing in the text suggests there were other people who escaped the Flood and did not witness the "procedure" (for cleaning Marduk's jewelry), and the use of the term "remnant" (*rēḫa*) suggests all human survivors of the Flood were obliterated. The text does not address how humankind regenerated afterwards; this story appears to draw on a different fund of Flood traditions from those known from other sources. (On the scholars who read I:146 as a question, see the relevant note in appendix A.)

[27] On whether "the lord of the lands" is understood to be Marduk or Enlil, see n. 22 above.

The Nature and Significance of the Jewelry

We have seen that Erra's stated justification for temporarily unseating Marduk from his throne in Babylon revolves around the necessity of shining the latter's jewelry (see *Erra Song* I:127), a process that is in fact undertaken in the course of the narrative (see especially II:30–39). But what is the jewelry, and what specifically does this process entail?

The text consistently refers to this process using the term *šipru* (see *Erra Song* I:131, I:142, I:145, I:149, II:24, II:40, II:123, and perhaps II:136), which I have translated "procedure"; once it is spelled out as "the procedure for making (Marduk's) jewelry bright" (*Erra Song* I:142). A number of aspects of Marduk's person (that is, his cult statue) are implicated in the procedure, and a handful of different verbs is employed to describe how each aspect is treated.

When Erra first implies a procedure is necessary, he mentions the jewelry (*šukuttu*) alongside the crown (*agû*), which is used as a parallel term, either a synonym or a complement:

I:127 *minsu šukutta simat bēlūtīka ša kīma kakkab*(*ānī*) *šamāmī lulâ malât leqâta urruša*
I:127 "Why is the jewelry befitting your lordship, which was as full of splendor as the stars of the firmament, encrusted with dirt?

I:128 *agê bēlūtīka ša kīma Etemenanki unammari/ušanbiṭu/ušanbaṭu Eḫalanki pānūšu katmū*
I:128 "Why is the surface of the crown of your lordship, which made even the Eḫalanki as bright as the Etemenanki, tarnished?"

Marduk responds by making reference to the Flood, and, in recounting the procedure that was undertaken the last time his jewelry was sullied, states the following:

I:140 *šukuttu ša ina abūbi udda"ipū-ma īkilu šikišša*
I:140 "As for the jewelry, which had been knocked off in the Flood and whose appearance had grown dark:

I:141 *ana šunbuṭ zīmīya* (*u*) *ubbub ṣubātīya Gerra umta"ir*
I:141 "I commissioned Gerra to make my countenance shine and clean my outfit.

Notice the jewelry (*šukuttu*) is topicalized in I:140 and then resumed by reference to the countenance (*zīmū*) and the outfit (*ṣubātu*) in I:141, suggesting the countenance and outfit together are here understood to constitute the jewelry. But where the countenance was shined (using the verb *šunbuṭu*), the outfit was cleaned (using the verb *ubbubu*).

In the very next passage, both the process and the result of the procedure are spelled out in more detail:

I:142 *ultu šukuttī unammirū-ma uqattû šipri*
I:142 "After he (Gerra) had finished the procedure for making my jewelry bright,

I:143 *agê bēlūtīya annadqū-ma ana ašrīya atūru*
I:143 "I put on the crown of my lordship and returned to my place;

I:144 *zīmūya tubbû-*(*ma*) *galit niṭlī*
I:144 "My countenance was sparkling (?) and my glance was terrifying.

The procedure for shining the jewelry, then, entailed Marduk's removing his crown of lordship[28] and leaving his place; the result of the procedure was that his countenance sparkled (?)[29] and his glance (likely referring to the jewels that served as his eyes) was terrifying, presumably because it was brighter.

When Marduk turns his attention from recounting the procedure performed after the Flood to interrogating Erra about the items and supernatural beings required for the present procedure, he implies that *mēsu*-wood and lapis lazuli are necessary (see *Erra Song* I:150–153 and I:154,

[28] Notice here the crown may be part of the jewelry, although in I:127–128 they are mentioned separately but in parallel constructions.

[29] The root that I have provisionally translated "sparkle," tentatively rendered *tubbû* (a D-stem) in I:144, II:60, and II:96 and *šutbû* (a Š-stem) in IIIc:50, is unknown to me. However, in IIIc:50 this root describes what happens to the *melammū* when the jewelry is shined (using the verb *nummuru*); surely the *melammū* is in some manner also made to shine. Furthermore, in I:144 this root is used in reference to Marduk's countenance, which we learn from I:141 was also to be made to shine (using the verb *šunbuṭu*). This root, then, appears in the D- and Š-stems to be a probable synonym of *nummuru* and *šunbuṭu*. See further appendix A n. 159.

respectively).[30] Other gems appear to be required as well (see *Erra Song* I:161), in addition to the smith and carpenter gods (see I:155–160). Finally, cleaning Marduk's body (*zumru*) is said, at least on this occasion, to play a role in the process[31]—although the body, unlike the features mentioned above, is never formally associated with the jewelry:

I:162 *ali sebet apkallū apsî purādī ebbūti*
I:162 "Where are the Seven Sages of the Apsû, the holy carp,

I:163 *ša kīma Ēa bēlīšunu uzna ṣīrtu šuklulū mubbibū zumrī*[*ya*]
I:163 "Who like Ēa their lord are perfectly created with respect to eminent wisdom, who can clean [my] body?"

Elsewhere the term "jewelry" figures most prominently (see below), but when Erra responds to Marduk, he makes reference to the cleaning of the outfit, rather than the shining of the jewelry, as shorthand for the entire procedure:

I:182 *rubû Marduk adi atta ana bīti šâšu terrubū-ma Gerra ṣubātka ubbabū-ma taturru/taturra ašrukka*
I:182 "Prince Marduk, until you have entered that building and Gerra has cleaned your outfit and you have returned to your place . . .

Finally, later in the text we learn that in the process the radiant aura has also been treated—probably, like the (other) jewelry, made to shine:

IIIc:50 *ezzu Gerra šukuttašu ūmiš unammir-ma melammīšu ušatbi*
IIIc:50 "Ferocious Gerra made his jewelry as bright as daylight and made his radiant aura sparkle (?).[32]

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[30] It is interesting that Marduk mentions *mēsu* and *elmēšu* in reference to the last cleaning process (see *Erra Song* I:148) but *mēsu* and lapis lazuli in reference to this one (see I:150–154). It is possible the *mēsu*-wood is the color of *elmēšu*, rather than that two different items are referenced in I:148; see further appendix A n. 164.

[31] On the significance of this cluster of required resources see further below, "Addendum: Was an Entirely New Cult Statue Constructed?"

[32] On the meaning of the term here translated "sparkle," see n. 29 above. For another passage in which the radiant aura (*melammū*) is apparently made to shine, see *Erra Song* II:96.

And, as on the last occasion (after the Flood), after the procedure "his glance was terrifying" (*galit niṭilšu*; *Erra Song* IIIc:52; compare I:144).

Although several features of Marduk's cult statue are implicated, then, the term "jewelry" typically has pride of place and appears quite loosely to encompass various other features: it is the jewelry's darkened appearance to which Erra initially calls attention (see *Erra Song* I:127); it is the jewelry that is said to have been "knocked off in the Flood" (*in abūbi udda"ipū-ma*; I:140) and subsequently made bright (see I:142); it is the jewelry that is finally shined on this occasion (see II:36 and II:45); and the building where the process takes place references the jewelry specifically (see II:38). Notice the jewelry is consistently made bright (using the verb *nummuru*, in I:142 and IIIc:50) or made to shine (using the verb *šunbuṭu*, in II:36, II:38, and II:45 [broken]). We have seen that the jewelry can explicitly encompass the countenance and the outfit (see I:140–141) and probably also the crown and the glance (see I:143–144), where the radiant aura is mentioned alongside it (in IIIc:50, as is the crown, in I:128). Finally, it is implied that the procedure for shining the jewelry also entails cleaning Marduk's body (see I:163) and requires access to wood and stones and the divine beings who work them (see I:149–162).

Other attestations of the Akkadian term *šukuttu* reveal that jewelry can be worn by either human women or by deities (the latter especially with reference to cult statues).[33] It appears, then, that the term "jewelry" in the *Erra Song* refers straightforwardly but generally to the precious ornamentation, in metal and stone, that adorns Marduk's statue, such as the stone inlay[34] and metal

[33] See the relevant entry in *CAD*. Notice that *šukuttu* can comprise objects such as *agû* (crown), *dudittu* (pectoral), *kišādu* (necklace), and *semeru* (bracelet) (Pinches, *CT* 55, pl. 116 [#316] and pl. 117 [#318], cited in *CAD*), and that on one occasion oil for cleaning the *šukuttu* of a cult state is mentioned (Dougherty, *GCCI* 1, #14 line 2, cited in *CAD*) (both of these attestations are Neo-Babylonian).

[34] For textual references to precious stones used in the construction of statues, see for example the incantation in the *Mīs pî* series, IIIB:49–96, at lines 65–67; the text is edited in Walker and Dick, *Induction of the Cult Image*, 135–144 (edition), 149–151 (translation). See also Cole and Machinist, *Letters from Priests*, 47 (#52) for a Neo-Assyrian letter referencing "stones for the hair and [st]ones for the chins [of] statues" (*abnāte*

plating[35] especially on the face;[36] the outfit,[37] perhaps with metal bracteates sewn into it;[38] and likely also the crown and the radiant aura.[39] Although the body is never referenced specifically in connection with the jewelry and there is no reason to suppose it is included under the term, the

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ʳ*šārāte*ˀ [*ab*]*nāte zuqāte* [*ša*] *ṣalamānī*; obv. 5–7); photographs of statue inlays from Kalḫu, now in the British Museum, appear in ibid., 46 (fig. 11).

There is a late hymn to Nergal that describes his cheeks as *elmēšu*-stone (Nougayrol, "Textes et documents figurés," 38–41, line 11). Since it is said immediately afterwards, as a parallel, that his cheeks "keep flashing like lightning" (*kīma birqi ittanabriq*; line 12), the point of referencing *elmēšu*-stone here seems to be to emphasize the overwhelming brightness of his face. Although Nergal as a supernatural entity is being described, we have no reason to suppose this picture of him is divorced from that of his cult statue, which may well have sported precious, shiny stones such as *elmēšu* as cheeks. (It is also possible the term here simply indicates a bright color.) For *elmēšu* in reference to Marduk's statue in the *Erra Song*—not necessarily used for cheeks, although it is an intriguing possibility—see I:148 and I:168. It is unclear such a stone was ever available, since it is never mentioned in extant economic documents, leading *CAD* to designate it "quasi-mythical" (see the relevant entry; notice the term rarely occurs with the NA_4 determinative and is listed among dyes rather than stones in ḪAR.RA=*ḫubullu*). This semi-fictitious status dovetails with Marduk's notice in *Erra Song* I:148 that he hid the source of the *elmēšu*-stone in primordial time; the *elmēšu*-stone may have existed more mythologically than physically. It is also possible that *mēs*(*i*) *elmēši* in the *Erra Song* describes wood of a particular, shiny color.

[35] A letter to Esarhaddon on incomplete cult statues provides clear evidence for metal overlay: "[The jewelry of N]anaya is incomplete. Furthermore, (while) the face and the hands [of Uṣur]-amatsa have been overlaid with gold, the body and [the feet] have not. . . . Furthermore, the work [on Arkay]itu, Anunitu and Palil [of the temple] of Mummu: the carpenter's and jewel[er]'s work is [fin]ished, (but) they have not been overlaid with gold" ([*šukuttu ša N*]*anaya maṭṭiat u pani qātā* [*ša Uṣur*]*-amatsa ḫurāṣa uḫḫuzū lānu u*ˡ [*šēpā*] *ḫurāṣa lā uḫḫuzū . . . u dullu* [*ša Arkay*]*iti Anunitu u Palil* [*ša bīt*] *Mummu dulli naggāri u kabša*[*rri ga*]*mur u ḫurāṣu lā uḫḫuzū*; adapted from Parpola, *Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, 284–285 [#349], at 284, obv. 12b–15a and 19b–22a). (See similarly rev. 36b–37 in Esarhaddon's inscription describing his renewal of Babylon's cult statues, in Borger, *Inschriften Asarhaddons*, 79–85; Walker and Dick, *Induction of the Cult Image*, 25–27 [partial translation].)

For a useful diachronic overview of the materials used in the construction of cult statues, see Boden, "Washing of the Mouth," 7–12. On the reasons for constructing statues of wood with metal overlay rather than carving them in stone—namely, the general inaccessibility of stone to the alluvium and the necessity of transporting cult statues from site to site, such as during festivals—see Sauren, Review of Spycket, 117–118.

[36] We have seen that the *Erra Song* highlights the jewelry's relationship to the countenance (*zīmū*), presumably because there were precious stones and/or metal overlay on the cheeks and perhaps elsewhere on the face, and the glance (*niṭlu*), presumably jewels used as eyes: see I:141, I:144, and IIIc:52.

[37] *CAD* indicates the term *ṣubātu* refers to a garment worn by both men and women that is "usually made of wool, untailored, blanket-like, covering the entire body" (ad loc.). Notice the outfit is consistently "cleaned" (using the term *ubbubu*), rather than shined (see *Erra Song* I:141 and I:182).

[38] On which see the thorough study in Oppenheim, "Golden Garments."

[39] Both of which are inextricably associated with the jewelry but both of which are mentioned separately from it (see *Erra Song* I:127–128 and IIIc:50). (On the crown's relationship to the jewelry see also I:142–143.) There is no reason to suppose the term "jewelry" is used strictly to refer to specific items to the exclusion of others; it appears to refer quite loosely to any and all precious materials adorning the statue.

procedure for making the jewelry shine seems also to involve cleaning the body, apparently the cult statue itself (see I:149 alongside I:163).[40]

In a culture in which shininess was intimately connected with holiness, physical and ritual cleanliness, and the ability to inspire awe and thus devotion,[41] the importance of cleaning the cultic

[40] Nearly sixty years ago Lambert argued tentatively that the jewelry is a metonym for the cult statue itself, and that the process for cleaning the jewelry/statue entails Marduk's "separat[ing] himself from his statue" (Lambert, Review of Gössmann, 399). In Lambert's reading, the phrases for "putting off, or on, the lordly turban [i.e., 'crown of lordship']" refer to the act of Marduk's abandoning or reentering his statue (ibid.; see *Erra Song* I:143 and IIIc:46). Although Lambert qualified his remarks as lacking "any claim to finality" (ibid.), this interpretation appears to have been universally adopted: see for example Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient*, 114; Livingstone, *Mythological Explanatory Works*, 170; and Bodi, *Book of Ezekiel*, 191–192. In fact, it has come to be repeated as if it is manifestly evident from the text of the *Erra Song* itself: "The Erra Epic *makes it clear* that if a statue's appearance corrupts, then the deity can abandon his image" (Dick, "Mesopotamian Cult Statue," 52 [emphasis added]).

In fact, the *Erra Song* offers us multiple windows onto what is involved in the procedure for making the jewelry shine, and we have seen that while the procedure may necessitate washing the statue—presumably Marduk's "body" (see I:163)—the jewelry itself seems quite clearly to encompasses particular precious adornments on that statue, such as the outfit, the crown, the radiant aura, the countenance, and the glance (that is, the eyes). The term "jewelry" is used quite broadly and loosely to refer to a number of precious adornments, but I see no passage in the text that reads more smoothly if the jewelry is understood to refer to the statue as a whole.

Furthermore, although gods transcend their cult statues, I am aware of no evidence that gods can volitionally separate from their cult statues: they appear to occupy their cult statues continuously while maintaining some distinctiveness from them continuously (as in *Erra Song* II:2–3, in which Marduk heads toward the "dwelling of the Anunnakī" [*šubat Anunnakī*] and seemingly simultaneously, presumably as his cult statue, enters "that building" [*bīti šâšu*] where the procedure is to be performed). Accordingly, the seizing of a statue as plunder ineluctably entails the simultaneous kidnapping of the god, which is what apparently happens to Ištarān in *Erra Song* IV:69; gods do not seem able to evacuate their statues to evade captivity. (For further discussion of the relationship between deity and cult statue, see especially Hallo, "Cult Statue and Divine Image"; Jacobsen, "Graven Image"; Dick, ed., *Born in Heaven*; and Walls, ed., *Cult Image*.)

The very fact that Marduk is out of commission while his jewelry is being cleaned might be understood instead as an indication that he *remains* in his statue and his power is therefore crippled while the statue is being dismantled; it is not clear to me why abandoning his cult statue, rather than remaining in it, would render Marduk effectively powerless. Furthermore, it appears that the initial dissolution of cosmic order, which facilitates Erra's rampage, can be accounted for entirely by pointing to Marduk's abandoning his post in his temple (see *Erra Song* II:1–9); positing an additional metaphysical stage to Marduk's relinquishing the cosmic reins, in which he also removes himself from his statue, thus buys us nothing in terms of its explanatory power but costs us quite a bit hermeneutically in that we are then postulating an underlying theology that is otherwise unknown. Similarly, when Marduk takes off his crown in IIIc:46 (and loosens his belt in IIIc:48), I see no reason to suppose the removal of his insignia is not understood in itself to present a cosmically dangerous situation, since his authority appears to be bound up especially with the crown (consistently called the "crown of lordship" [*agê bēlūti-*]; see *Erra Song* I:128, I:143, and IIIc:46); it is also not clear to me why, if his removal of his crown signifies his evacuation of his cult statue, this phraseology is absent from the beginning of tablet II, where Marduk's abandoning his post and entering the liminal building where the procedure will be undertaken seem sufficient in themselves to trigger catastrophe.

[41] See for example the range of meanings *CAD* suggests for *ebbu*: "polished, shining, lustrous, clean, pure (in a cultic sense), holy." (See also Bottéro and Kramer, *Lorsque les dieux faisaient l'homme*, 710; Cassin, "Forme et

jewelry would have been no trivial matter. In fact, the building in which the operation is undertaken is referred to as "the building that was set up to make the jewelry shine *for the authority of the sovere*[*ign*]" (*bītu ša ana šunbuṭ šukutti* ana malikūt mal[ki] *iššakkunū-ma*; *Erra Song* II:38 [emphasis added]); the process seems necessary to enhance Marduk's authority, at least some of which appears to be bound up in these precious ornaments.[42]

Texts on the Treatment of Cult Statues in Dialogue with the *Erra Song*

As we might expect, no ritual text survives that recounts exactly what took place under such circumstances, since this is a process that, as our text has it, is not undertaken regularly but has only occurred twice in cosmic history.[43] Nevertheless, a number of extant rituals offer instructive parallels. The most useful of these prescribes the ritual treatment of a damaged cult image,[44] in which the image must be relocated to the *bīt mummi*, the temple workshop, for repairs while the king and city engage in lamentation and various offerings are made.[45] In its details these ritual instructions are not replicated in any way in the *Erra Song* (where however the section describing the undertaking of the process is fragmentary), and the differences are noticeable: here it is the *bīt*

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identité," 74.) An omen from *Šumma Ālu ina Mēlê Šakin* treating Marduk's disposition (that is, that of his cult statue) in the procession during the New Year's festival directly connects the shininess of his face to the land's welfare: "If Marduk's face shines, Enlil will make that land shine: that land will prosper" (*šumma Marduk pānūšu namrū Ellil māta šuāti unammar mātu šī išarru*; copy Wa, line 12 [apparently tablet CXX], edited in Sallaberger, "Erscheinen Marduks"). Compare line 8: "If Marduk's face is black, there will be an eclipse; Erra will devour the land" (*šumma Marduk pānūšu ṣalmū attalû ibaššī-ma Erra māta ikkal*).

[42] See n. 40 above.

[43] There is no specific term for the procedure (which is referred to using the general term *šipru*) and no single term for the building where it is undertaken (which is referred to as the "building that was set up to make the jewelry shine for the authority of the sovere[ign]" [*bītu ša ana šunbuṭ šukutti ana malikūt mal*[*ki*] *iššakkunū-ma*])—perhaps because this procedure is ad hoc rather than routine and was not known outside of this text.

[44] The relevant text is edited and translated in Walker and Dick, *Induction of the Cult Image*, 227–245, as well as in Boden, "Washing of the Mouth," 128–136 (with a photograph of A. 418 on 137 and discussion on 136 and 138–146) and in Ebeling, *TuL*, 108–114 (#27).

[45] See obv. 1–22 in the text on the ritual treatment of a damaged cult image.

mummi to which the statue must be taken, not *bītu šâšu*, "that building," as in the *Erra Song*;[46] the lamentation priest (*kalû*) plays a prominent role and lamentations are prescribed,[47] personnel and activities that are absent from the *Erra Song*'s description;[48] and, unlike in the *Erra Song*, a *mīs pî* ritual precedes the restoration of the god to the temple.[49] But the broad outline of events echoes that of the *Erra Song*: the statue must be relocated to another building, an apparently metaphysically dangerous task, where it is repaired by *ummânū*, "artisans."[50]

The most striking point of connection between these texts lies in the fact that Nergal specifically is singled out for propitiation while the relevant god is out of commission.[51] Reading the texts in concert, Boden has argued that Nergal is invoked here to fill in for the absent god in a manner parallel to the function Erra claims he will assume in the *Erra Song*, and simultaneously that "Nergal must be appeased during this period of vulnerability";[52] in other words, Nergal (Erra) is both appointed to stand guard over the operation and assume control over the relevant god's

[46] See *Erra Song* I:182, I:189, and II:3 (and see also II:38 and II:135).

[47] See obv. 7–10 and 15–18 in the text on the ritual treatment of a damaged cult image.

[48] Of course, the text is quite fragmentary at this point (*Erra Song* tablet II), but Marduk lists the resources and personnel that are necessary to such an operation (I:140–163) and they are not included. On the other hand, Marduk enumerates the divine personnel required for such a procedure; the human personnel and appropriate human behavior may lie outside the narrative's purview.

[49] This too could, however, have been lost to a lacuna.

[50] See obv. 18–19 in the text on the ritual treatment of a damaged cult image. When the jewelry was cleaned on a previous occasion in the *Erra Song*, afterwards the "artisans" (*ummânū*) involved in the process had to be banished (see I:147), and it is images of those artisans that enable the jewelry to be cleaned again (see II:31–36). However, the identity of the "artisans" vis-à-vis the other figures mentioned—Gerra (I:141, I:182, and IIIc:50), the carpenter and smith gods (Ninildu, Kusibanda, and Ninagal, in I:155–160), and the Seven Sages (I:162–163)—is not clear.

[51] See obv. 37–38 and 52–53 in the text on the ritual treatment of a damaged cult image. For a discussion of the fact that Erra is virtually always called "Nergal" in invocatory contexts, see chapter 3, "V. Erra's Relationship to Nergal: Divergences between Erra and Nergal—Invocations of Nergal."

[52] Boden, "Washing of the Mouth," 161–162 (quotation on 162). See also ibid., 141, 168, and 108 n. 24; Walker and Dick, *Induction of the Cult Image*, 229.

sphere of activity, as in the *Erra Song*,[53] and yet must be mollified to prevent his raging out of control, as he does in the *Erra Song*.[54] However, in the *Erra Song* Erra appears to persuade Marduk to be allowed to assume control of the cosmos on this particular occasion (i.e., there is no suggestion from the *Erra Song* that this was a role he was thought to play generally), and, given the poor outcome, one must question whether the gods would have been understood to have generalized this practice and appointed Erra guard over similar operations in the future. For this reason I find it more persuasive to suppose that, if this ritual was in fact constructed around an awareness of the *Erra Song* (which is far from certain), Nergal is simply propitiated here to prevent him from wreaking havoc during this vulnerable period; I find it questionable that he was personally assigned to guard such procedures or assume authority over the temple of the god in question in such circumstances. It is also quite possible we are misreading the text entirely by reading it vis-à-vis the *Erra Song*, and that Nergal and Bēlet-ili play a prominent role in the ceremony as the deities who preside over death and birth, respectively.[55]

[53] See *Erra Song* II:37 and I:182–190.

[54] As Boden reads the *Erra Song*, it seems Erra only becomes enraged and decides to attack the alluvium after he has assumed the role of guard in II:37 ("Washing of the Mouth," 168); therefore, the key to a successful operation should lie in placating Erra while he serves as guard. However, we have seen that, goaded into action by the Divine Heptad, Erra has already stated an intention to wreak havoc on the cosmos long before he assumes the role of guard over the work (see I:123, as well as I:102–103 and I:107).

[55] Not only do they both receive offerings separately (see obv. 42–43 for Bēlet-ili; obv. 37–38 and 52–53 for Nergal, in the text on the ritual treatment of a damaged cult image), they are mentioned together in rev. 45' (as Dingir-maḫ and Nergal). It is Boden's argument that the *mīs pî* ritual represents a ritual rebirth: "The allegory of gestation and birth provides the framework for the transformation of the statue from material object to divine and living entity" ("Washing of the Mouth," 222). The ritual instructions for treating a damaged cult image are certainly not to be subsumed in the *mīs pî* ritual, which is prescribed following the repairs (see obv. 22 in the relevant text), but Bēlet-ili's presence might suggest the allegory of birth extends to this ritual activity as well. It is less clear that the god associated with the damaged statue is understood to die in some fashion, although the need for lamentation (see obv. 7–9 and 15–18) might point in this direction, as might the necessity of a *mīs pî* ritual afterwards, reanimating the cult image (as Boden suggests, "Washing of the Mouth," 142). On the other hand, although Bēlet-ili and Nergal receive special attention, they also appear in a list of a number of other gods, including Narudi, Uraš, Ninurta, Zababa, Nabû, Mandānu, and Pabilsag (rev. 29'–31' in the text on the ritual treatment of a damaged cult image), whose roles are unclear to me.

Further parallels are evident from the *mīs pî* ("mouth-washing") rituals, texts that prescribe ceremonies to be performed in order to animate a newly constructed or refurbished cult image with the appropriate divinity.[56] We have seen that any mention of such a ritual is noticeably absent from the extant *Erra Song*. However, several points of connection in the deities that are invoked in these rituals may illuminate the process undertaken in the *Erra Song*.

The first of these centers on Gerra, the fire god, who, it is said in the *Erra Song*, must "make my (Marduk's) countenance shine and clean my outfit" (*šunbuṭ zīmīya* (*u*) *ubbub ṣubātīya*; I:141; see also I:182 and IIIc:50). Lambert has suggested this is "symbolic language, for the fire-god was no launderer."[57] In fact, the surviving *mīs pî* rituals incorporate an incantation in which Gerra, represented by censer and torch, transfers his brilliance to a cult image to "make it clean and bright" (mu-un-sikil-ʳlaˀ mu-un-dadag-ga; *lītabbiba*).[58] This undeniably reflects the same lore on which the *Erra Song* draws and suggests the manner in which Gerra cleaned such an image was neither physical (i.e., by burning it directly), nor symbolic precisely, so much as metaphysical: through the incantation and the ceremony the statue assumed the luster of fire.

Additionally, the smith and carpenter gods whom Marduk names as necessary to the procedure in the *Erra Song*—Ninildu, Kusibanda, and Ninagal (see *Erra Song* I:155–160)—appear quite frequently in the *mīs pî* rituals. For example, the human artisans who fashion the cult statue

[56] Outside of the *mīs pî* ritual proper, which is treated here, various mouth-washing rituals could also be performed on a king, a priest, a commoner, a bull, a sheep to be sacrificed, a leather bag, and even a god (presumably a cult image that had already been animated): see Walker and Dick, *Induction of the Cult Image*, 10–11. The *mīs pî* ritual encompasses a mouth-washing ceremony on the first day and a mouth-opening (*pīt pî*) ceremony on the second day, after which the cult statue was conveyed to the temple (ibid., 16–17).

[57] Lambert, Review of Gössmann, 399.

[58] Lines 33–34 of "Incantation for Gerra for Cleansing a God" (the title of the incantation is known from line 37), which appears in the *Mīs pî* series at I/IIC:15–37; adapted from Walker and Dick, *Induction of the Cult Image*, 105–107 (edition), 110 (translation).

must forswear their involvement in the process in favor of ritually attributing the work, in a speech act with presumably metaphysical consequences, to these gods:

> *anāku lā ēpu*[*šu*] . . .
> I swear **I** did not ma[ke (the statue)] . . . ;
>
> *Ninagal Ēa* . . .
> Ninagal, who is Ēa. . . .
>
> *anāku ul ēpuš anāku lā* . . .
> **I** did not make (the statue), I swear **I** did not [make (it)];
>
> *Ninildu Ēa ilu ša naggāri lū* x . . .
> Ninildu, who is Ēa, the god of the carpenter, actually [made (it)]. . . .
>
> *anāku ul ēpuš anāku lā ēpušū-ma* QA x . . .
> **I** did not make (the statue), I swear **I** did not make (it) . . . ;
>
> *Kusibanda Ēa ilu ša kutimmi* . . .
> Kusibanda, who is Ēa, the god of the goldsmith, [actually made (it)]. . . .[59]

It is clear that these divine figures are necessary to the process of fashioning—and thus apparently refurbishing or cleaning—a cult image. What is puzzling is why they are unavailable in the world the *Erra Song* describes but presumed available for temple rituals that must have been performed on a regular basis. In a number of respects the *Erra Song* seems to operate in a parallel universe to that known not only from these ritual texts but from disparate other sources: in the *Erra Song* the divine carpenter and smith gods and the Seven Sages are inaccessible;[60] not only the quasi-mythical *elmēšu*-stone but also *mēsu*-wood, lapis lazuli, and other gems are equally

[59] Nineveh Ritual (NR) 179–184, adapted from Walker and Dick, *Induction of the Cult Image*, 66. See also Babylonian Ritual (BR) 49–52 on pp. 76 and 80, where the hands of the human artisans must be ritually cut off as the construction of the statue is transferred to the divine artisans. (A complete list of attestations of these three gods in the extant *mīs pî* rituals appears in appendix A at the relevant notes.)

[60] The absence of the Seven Sages is known from *Erra Song* I:162–163. For references to the *apkallu* in the extant *Mīs pî* series, see IIIB:92 and 119; IVA:14, 34; and IVC:15 (as numbered in Walker and Dick, *Induction of the Cult Image*). For more on the Seven Sages see the relevant note in appendix A.

inaccessible;[61] and the remnant of humanity that survived the Flood was subsequently wiped out.[62] This constellation of circumstances constitutes one of the pivotal conceits of the narrative, and while one might argue it was adopted for dramatic effect, it is also worth noting that in other respects the author[63] of the *Erra Song* deliberately brings the reality of the text into contact with the reality of the reader in the closing lines (V:50–62): in no sense is this fiction, in that the author seems not to expect of the reader to suspend disbelief but simply to believe.

It would of course be helpful to know Erra's response to these objections about the cosmic unavailability of resources that Marduk raises in *Erra Song* I:147–163. The historical events described in the narrative likely account to some degree for this discrepancy, in that it is not implausible to imagine that in the period of widespread social and political disruption in which the *Erra Song* is set precious stones and valuable wood were not readily available and ordinary daily maintenance activities in temples had been suspended; the author might simply be projecting this state of affairs back as early as the time of the Flood. And certainly the ritual/mythological discrepancies might be accounted for by supposing the author belonged to a different—and perhaps less mainstream—theological school, or was unaware of the details of such rituals[64] or expected the reader/hearer to be unaware.[65] It is also possible Marduk's questions are rhetorical, in

[61] See *Erra Song* I:148, I:150–154, and I:161. *Elmēšu*-stone represents a special case, as it appears in no economic texts and is therefore deemed by *CAD* "quasi-mythical" (see n. 34 above). Lapis lazuli (*zagindurû*) and *mēsu*-wood are known from other sources from this period, however, although they may have been scarce in certain times and places; see *CAD*, ad loc.

[62] See n. 25 above.

[63] For convenience I speak of a single author, although it is quite possible the text was shaped by multiple hands.

[64] The *mīs pî* texts are designated for the initiate ("let the initiate show it to the initiate (only); the uninitiated should not see it"; *mūdû mūdâ likallim lā mūdû lā immar*; see BR 66 in Walker and Dick, *Induction of the Cult Image*, 77 [edition], 82 [translation]).

[65] The *Erra Song*'s imagined audience appears to be somewhat elite: the closing passage appeals specifically to "king" (*šarru*; V:52), "prince" (*rubû*; V:53), "singer" (*nāru*; V:54), "scribe" (*ṭupšarru*; V:56), and "scholar" (*ummânu*; V:57), and devices throughout such as paronomasia suggest its ideal reader/hearer was quite

that he has access to the necessary resources for this project but is testing Erra's competence.[66] But regardless, the *Erra Song* is set in mytho-historical time and shows a marked lack of interest in spelling out explicitly how the circumstances that prevail in the narrative relate to the circumstances that prevail in the environment—both physical and theological—of the reader/hearer. The narrative scope does not connect this reality to the present reality and explain how the situation Marduk brought about after the Flood has since reversed itself: how humankind regenerated following its obliteration and how the resources and personnel for the construction and maintenance of cult statues came to be cosmically accessible again. It could be that a fund of such stories was well-known to the original intended audience. But this could also be attributed to the fact that it is perhaps in the nature of myth to describe a reality that is related to but different from ours, and that intersects with ours in nonlinear ways.

Addendum: Was an Entirely New Cult Statue Constructed?

A final possibility with respect to the nature of the cleaning of Marduk's jewelry should be explored: Did an entirely new cult statue have to be constructed? After all, Marduk insists smith and carpenter gods are necessary to the process[67] and interrogates Erra about the location of the wood

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educated. At the same time, not all of these classes of people—let alone all of the people who would have come into contact with it—would have been either literate or initiated into the secret goings-on of the (or a particular) temple, and the closing line expresses a desire that the text disseminate through "the people of (all of) the inhabited world" (*nišī* (*kal*) *dadmī*; V:62).

[66] This reading solves the problem that Marduk hid and banished these resources and personnel himself, so presumably he should know where they are and have the means to bring them back (although perhaps the issue is that he is unable to renege on his own word). However, this reading has limited utility in solving the present conundrum, since Marduk "changed the position of the *mēsu*-tree . . . and did not show anyone" (*ša mēsi . . . ašaršun unakkir-ma ul ukallim mamma*; *Erra Song* I:148), and yet *mēsu*-wood should have been available in the world of the reader/hearer (*CAD* compiles evidence it was native to Mesopotamia and was used to build furniture but had no fruit or medicinal properties; it is attested in multiple first-millennium sources).

[67] See *Erra Song* I:155–160.

apparently for the statue's core[68]—neither of which is necessary for the simple process of cleaning jewelry. We might not expect such a procedure—constructing and dedicating a new cult statue—to be spelled out explicitly as such, since the theological script in such a situation would likely have been that the statue persisted in a new form.[69] But while this is an intriguing possibility, the text emphasizes the darkened state of Marduk's jewelry specifically and consistently describes the process as making the jewelry bright;[70] there are no indications that the statue as a whole has deteriorated beyond repair, and it is only in this passage in which Marduk questions Erra (*Erra Song* I:149–163) that reference is made to activities beyond the scope of cleaning and shining the precious ornaments adorning Marduk's statue. It seems thus that Marduk in his interrogation of Erra appeals to arcane lore around the construction and maintenance of statues generally, perhaps in part to test him; it is not clear that all of this lore is necessary to the specific process undertaken in the narrative.[71] However, this issue cannot be definitively resolved.

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[68] See *Erra Song* I:150–153. Although here it is identified as *mēsu*-wood, elsewhere the wood used for statues is said to be tamarisk or cedar (Livingstone, *Mythological Explanatory Works*, 106).

[69] A similar ambiguity bedevils the interpretation of an inscription of Esarhaddon about the renewal and rededication of key Babylonian cult statues, in which it is not clear whether the statues are being reconstructed entirely or simply refurbished: see Walker and Dick, *Induction of the Cult Image*, 25–27; Borger, *Inschriften Asarhaddons*, 79–85.

[70] See *Erra Song* I:127–128, I:140–144 (for the previous incident), I:182 (where the "outfit" is referenced), II:36, II:38, II:45, and IIIc:50.

[71] The carpenter and smith gods may simply be necessary ritually for the process of rededicating the statue, as in the *mīs pî* rituals (see n. 59 above), so that whatever work has been undertaken on the statue is transferred in attribution to the heavenly realm. It is said, perhaps unexpectedly, that the carpenter god Ninildu at least can "make (things) shi[ne] like daylight" (*ša kīma ūmi ušanba*[*ṭu*]; *Erra Song* I:157), so their role may alternatively parallel that of Gerra's (see n. 58 with relevant text above). The precious stones (see I:154 and I:161) may need replacing entirely, although this is also unclear. The motivation behind Marduk's asking about the location of the *mēsu*-wood (I:150–153) may be the most difficult to recover, since it seems most remote from the process of cleaning the jewelry.

Against Lambert (Review of Gössmann, 399), there is no indication Erra was responsible for the havoc wreaked during the Flood, so it is unlikely the resources were hidden from Erra specifically.

The Ruse and the Alleged Parody of Marduk

One last issue regarding the portrayal of Marduk in this text concerns the significance to Marduk's character of the ruse Erra successfully employs to motivate him to relinquish the cosmic reins. Several prominent scholars have seen in this episode a parody of Babylon's high god, who seems unable to locate the necessary materials for the maintenance of his own cult statue,[72] unable to prevent his statue from becoming dingy,[73] and unable to see through Erra's ruse.[74] Rather than exuding the supreme awe-inspiring sovereignty one might expect from the most powerful god of the Babylonian pantheon, in the eyes of many Marduk here appears otiose, senile, and incompetent,[75] and the tone of the text has been read as mocking or comic.[76]

We have seen that each character in the narrative advances to the next character the sort of argument that will be persuasive to him specifically, and that Erra uses the occasion of Marduk's jewelry's having lost its luster to convince the latter temporarily to abdicate his authority. As the

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[72] See Landsberger, "Akkadisch-hebräische Wortgleichungen," 198 with reference to *Erra Song* I:150–163.

[73] See Cagni, *Poem of Erra*, 19; Bodi, *Book of Ezekiel*, 193.

[74] See Cagni, *Poem of Erra*, 19; Bodi, *Book of Ezekiel*, 193.

[75] Landsberger first used the term "senile" to describe Marduk's characterization here, in "Akkadisch-hebräische Wortgleichungen," 198; see also Cagni, *Poem of Erra*, 19 and Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 283. Similarly, for Jacobsen, the Marduk we meet here is "an old fuddy-duddy" (*Treasures of Darkness*, 227).

On Marduk's alleged incompetence more generally see Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 62 and Hruška, "Zur letzten Bearbeitung," 359. Frahm sees Marduk as "unable, or unwilling, to preserve" "peace and stability" ("Counter-texts, Commentaries, and Adaptations," 7); George claims he is "distinctly past his prime" ("Poem of Erra and Ishum," 54).

[76] See Reiner, "More Fragments," 45–46; Frahm, "Counter-texts, Commentaries, and Adaptations," 8 (where the *Erra Song* as a whole is identified as "farce").

Gössmann sees the interaction between Marduk and Erra as simply literarily inadequate: "Wenn er [Marduk] dennoch auf die Beteuerung des Era, er wolle bis zu seiner Rückkehr aus der Unterwelt seine Stelle vertreten, einging und sich von seinem Throne erhob (Vers 178–190), so empfindet der Leser gerade hier wie sonst vielleicht nirgends im Verlaufe der Handlung die Schwäche des babylonischen Dichters in der künsterlischen Gestaltung aufeinanderprallender Gegensätze und Spannungen, die sich nicht in Blitz und Donner entladen, sondern wirkungslos im leeren Raum verhallen" (*Era-Epos*, 77).

Not all scholars have read the text as farcical or Marduk as the butt of parody, though: Foster claims Marduk "is portrayed as remote and all-wise; he knows Erra's plans even before Erra arrives at his temple. He speaks in sonorous, scholarly diction; there is never any doubt that he is king" (*Before the Muses*, 880).

jewelry is cleaned in the course of the narrative,[77] there is no reason to suppose Erra tricks Marduk about this legitimate necessity, but he does apparently deceive him about how he will behave once in power.[78]

However, it does not necessarily follow from this sequence of events that Marduk is therefore mocked by the narrative voice. It is clear that if Marduk is capable of being deceived, he is not omniscient, and if he must vacate his seat of power to have his jewelry cleaned, he is not omnipotent. But neither is he the god of monotheism or Aristotle's "prime mover." Rather, the conjunction of transcendent forces with physical objects, which are prone to deteriorating, renders those forces vulnerable: even supremely powerful deities were understood to require regular feeding and bathing in the form of their cult statues. On the occasion of the recitation of *Enūma Eliš*, Marduk, sovereign of the universe, had to be placed physically—by human priests—on a dais representing Tiāmat,[79] yet this act was apparently understood as a manifestation of his overwhelming power rather than as a sign of his utter powerlessness. Because we are heirs of the biblical critique of Babylonian icons,[80] this mysterious concurrence of transcendent forces in immanent manifestations strikes us as comic or absurd, and yet there are no indications it seemed comic or even odd to the Babylonians themselves.[81] Marduk's physical vulnerability to decay in the

[77] See *Erra Song* II:34–36 and IIIc:50.

[78] Compare *Erra Song* I:180–190 to II:128–161. That Erra intends to unleash chaos all along, rather than approaching Marduk in good faith and then raging out of control once power has been ceded to him, is evident from the bellicose nature of the Divine Heptad's speech that spurs him into action (I:46–91), from Išum's labeling his plan "plot[ting] evil" ([*lemu*]*tti takpud* in I:102 and I:103), and from Erra's own admission that, having driven Marduk from his throne, he will "crush the people" (*nišī asappan* in I:123).

[79] On which see Livingstone, *Mythological Explanatory Works*, 156.

[80] See especially Isaiah 44:9–20 and Jeremiah 10:1–16.

[81] A comparison to the Eucharist might be in order here: in his discussion of the nature of the Mesopotamian cult statue, Dick quotes a late medieval text to the effect that Christ (i.e., the Eucharistic bread) was being "kept in great disgrace" ("Mesopotamian Cult Statue," 53). Yet no devout Christian would accuse Christ of failing to manage his corporeal manifestation with more dignity, or impute powerlessness to Christ, on such a basis.

form of his jewelry's deterioration and his psychological vulnerability to Erra's schemes may have been encountered with pathos or even dismay rather than derision.[82]

It is far from clear that Marduk due to senility has forgotten the location of the resources necessary to the maintenance of cult statues rather than that he is simply ascertaining Erra's competence to carry out the process.[83] Furthermore, nothing in the rest of the text suggests Marduk is satirized. Throughout Marduk's word is held to be inviolable,[84] and Erra justifies his behavior on the grounds that Marduk's absence from his seat of authority necessitates a cosmic collapse[85]—an argument that highlights Marduk's absolute centrality to the universe—while Išum counters that Erra has nevertheless in his rampage not been respectful of Babylon's high god.[86] As Marduk's jewelry is shined his glance is described as "terrifying" (*galit*),[87] suggesting he inspires awe, and as

[82] Naturally we cannot reconstruct this with any certainty—in a literature this alien whose underlying assumptions we can perceive only dimly if at all we must always be suspicious of our own interpretive impulses (on this problem see especially Michalowski, "Sailing to Babylon," 181). This is especially true of efforts to identify tone, the most delicate hermeneutic project. Texts make meaning in terms of other texts, and our cultural templates for encountering literature are entirely miscalibrated for the endeavor of confronting a document this culturally and temporally remote from us, to say nothing of the fragmentary state of our understanding of beliefs about cause and effect or the nature of religious experience that lie behind this document. Nevertheless it strikes me that a useful starting point from which to interrogate our relationship to such literature would be to strip away, where we can identify them, assumptions whose roots lie in the biblical or classical traditions. A thoroughgoing diachronic study on the conventions and markers of satire—if such a term can even be used appropriately—in Babylonian literature would be supremely helpful here, although for the foregoing reasons such a project may not be feasible in anything more than a tenuous fashion.

[83] See *Erra Song* I:150–163 and n. 66 above with the relevant section of text.

[84] See *Erra Song* I:122, II:31, II:108, IIIc:43, and IV:1.

[85] See *Erra Song* IIIc:43–49.

[86] See *Erra Song* IV:1. The text offers us no way of navigating theologically between these two claims, which appear to be in tension—on the one hand, the cosmos must collapse in Marduk's absence out of respect for his centrality, and on the other hand, it is still Marduk's realm and so must be preserved for his sake.

[87] See *Erra Song* IIIc:50–52: "Ferocious Gerra made his jewelry as bright as daylight and made his radiant aura sparkle (?). / He gripped a mace in his right hand, his great weapon. / Prince Marduk's glance was terrifying" (*ezzu Gerra šukuttašu ūmiš unammir-ma melammīšu ušatbi / imittašu miṭṭa iṣṣabat/iṣbat kakkašu rabâ / ša rubê Marduk galit niṭilšu*).

his city is embroiled in sociopolitical unrest he pronounces a distraught and poignant lament[88] that suggests he is viewed sympathetically.[89] Although in the striking passage that follows Marduk curses his own city out of revulsion and despondency at the scene of indiscriminate bloodshed,[90] he is no more hostile to his ravaged city than the other tutelary deities who appear in the text are to theirs[91]—and there is no reason to suppose the tone is hostile to any of them, as in fact the reader/hearer may have shared in that very revulsion and despondency. The text appears to account for Marduk's failure to protect Babylon rather than indicting him for it. It is noteworthy that more verses by far are devoted to Babylon's disintegration than to that of any other affected city, and no other city is lamented by its god. Finally, the text, said to have been put down in writing by a man whose name means "Marduk is the most honored of the gods,"[92] prophesies and

[88] See *Erra Song* IV:40–44.

[89] The reader/hearer, in the etymological sense of "sympathetic," is surely meant to suffer with Marduk upon considering Babylon's tribulations.

[90] See *Erra Song* IV:45–49. Out of unwillingness to believe Marduk might curse his own city, Cagni reads IV:45 as marking the end of Marduk's speech rather than introducing the following lines (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 229). (Gössmann similarly argues, against the plain sense of the text, that with the exception of Ištar, deities cannot become hostile to their own cities [*Era-Epos*, 78].) However, Marduk explicitly utters a curse in IV:37, and given the fact that other gods turn against their despoiled cities as well (see the following note), this should be unsurprising. Furthermore, if Marduk does not utter the curse in IV:46–49, the lines must fall to Išum, and this would be entirely out of character with the rest of his speech to Erra in tablet IV (:1–127), where he accuses Erra at great length of mistreating the cities of Babylonia but does not himself participate in that mistreatment. The text—or at the very least Išum—appears to blame Erra for creating a situation from which Marduk (and other gods) recoil in revulsion rather than accusing Marduk of anathematizing and abandoning his city (see IV:39): Marduk's reaction appears to be a natural response to the city's desecration.

[91] In *Erra Song* IV:61–62, in response to the sacrilegious eviction of her cultic personnel from the Eänna (see IV:55–58) and the violation of her rites (see IV:60), Ištar becomes "furious and irate at Uruk" (*īgug-ma issabus eli Uruk*; IV:61) to the point of causing it to be attacked and looted. And in a parallel if less violent manner, in IV:70–72 Ištarān withdraws justice and enlightenment from his city, Dēr, in response to its desolation (see IV:66–69); this withdrawal is mirrored in the fact that his cult statue appears to have been captured by Suteans (IV:69). (Notice also that earlier in the text Ištar induces the other gods to be resistant to human petition, in II:104–105, a set of verses paralleled by a similar injunction apparently from Erra in II:137.)

[92] It is not inconceivable that his name might have reflected his religious orientation in a way that had a bearing on his text: compare the example of Bullussa-rabi, meaning "her healing is great," author of a hymn to Gula, discussed below, p. 244.

celebrates the triumph of the city of Babylon,[93] which would be an odd culmination for a text satirizing Babylon's chief god. The entire case, then, that Marduk is satirized in this text rests on the fact that his jewelry must be cleaned and that the process of cleaning it seemingly renders him vulnerable, and I am aware of no evidence suggesting the necessity of maintaining cult statues was viewed as comic by the Mesopotamians.

It is my contention that, rather than satirizing Marduk, the text displaces responsibility for the calamity from Marduk onto Erra, thereby protecting Marduk's reputation for beneficence. As Marduk's prominence and power mushroomed in the latter part of Mesopotamia's history, the question of the role he played in authorizing violence and disorder likely grew increasingly stark. One evident strategy in resolving this issue of theodicy was to invoke human misdeed. But this text introduces an alternative approach, faulting neither Marduk nor human failing but deflecting the question onto an outside figure whose nature impels him to wreak havoc and whose behavior, though terrifying, can at times play a legitimate role in the proper functioning of the cosmos. Although it is clear from *Enūma Eliš* that Marduk can behave ferociously,[94] it is less clear that ordinarily he directly attacks his own people. By attributing violence to Erra, the poet shields Marduk's reputation.

In this text, then, Erra plays a theological role vis-à-vis Marduk, as the destructive force in the cosmos who deflects imputation of malevolence away from Marduk. Nevertheless, within the mythological logic of the narrative, it does not appear that Erra is ever actually drawn into Marduk's orbit. Although Išum flatters Erra with extravagant epithets, several of which are appropriate to a supreme divinity (see *Erra Song* IIId:3–14),[95] he simultaneously asserts—

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[93] See *Erra Song* IV:131–136 and V:26–39, especially V:31, V:36, and V:39.

[94] See, for example, *Enūma Eliš* IV:35–58.

[95] I am indebted to Professor Steinkeller for calling this to my attention. On the application of similar epithets to other gods, see, for example, *CAD*, s.v. "ṣerretu."

astonishingly—that Erra presides over the temples of the major Mesopotamian deities, including not just Marduk's temple, the Esagil (in IIId:8), but also the Ešarra (in IIId:7)[96] and the Eëngur (in IIId:7);[97] the preeminence that Išum attributes to Erra, then, is not specific to Marduk. Additionally, several of the attributes Išum assigns Erra in this passage are quintessentially Erra's,[98] which suggests Erra has maintained his own identity rather than taking on Marduk's in the act of assuming power over the cosmos. Finally, while it is quite possible Erra's behavior ultimately benefits Marduk to some degree,[99] at no point does Marduk license the havoc Erra wreaks; rather, Erra deceives Marduk about how he will behave once in power (compare I:180–190 to II:128–161).[100] And although Marduk is initially happy to hear Erra's stated intention to keep the violent forces of the cosmos in check (see I:180–192), he is devastated by Erra's attack on Babylon (see IV:36–49). It is the very distinction between Erra and Marduk, maintained throughout, that enables Erra to absorb the imputation of deliberately destructive behavior and thereby spare Marduk's reputation.

[96] A temple to Enlil in Nippur in the Ekur complex; see George, *House Most High*, 145.

[97] A byname for Ēa's temple, the Eäbzu, in Eridu; see ibid., 82.

[98] See especially *Erra Song* IIId:5: "You churn up the seas, you annihilate the mountains" (*tâmtam-ma dalḫāta šadê-ma gamrāta*); IIId:12b–14: "Apart from you, is there hostility? / Without you, is there battle? / The armor of combat belongs to you" (*ullānukkā*-(*ma*) *nukurtu* / *ša lā kâšā*-(*ma*) *tāḫāzu*).

[99] In *Erra Song* I:122 Erra hints that by attacking the cosmos he will inspire respect for and submission to Marduk's command; however, see also IV:1, the introduction to Išum's recounting of the devastation Erra's behavior has on Marduk's city, in which Išum accuses Erra of having "not feared the mention of Prince Marduk" (*ša rubê Marduk zikiršu lā tašḫut*).

[100] See further n. 78 above.

III. Erra's Responsibility

Erra's Role as Ultimate Cause

One line of evidence that can be used to support this position, namely, that, among other things, Erra serves as a literary or theological device deflecting the imputation of unmotivated malevolence from the other gods, can be seen in the convoluted manner in which the text constructs cause and effect. It is a remarkable fact that Erra appears virtually superfluous to the breakdown that rocks Babylonia, even though the text everywhere identifies him as its ultimate cause. Erra seems to occupy the epicenter from which the calamity radiates, and yet the narrative unfolds almost without any direct intervention from him.

Marduk's recounting of the Flood suggests that his leaving his post is sufficient in itself to upend the cosmic order: "When I arose from my dwe[l]ling, the seam of heaven and earth unraveled" (*ina šub*[*t*]*īya atbē-ma šibīt šamê* (*u*) *erṣeti uptaṭṭir*; *Erra Song* I:133).[101] Marduk apparently thereby brought the last calamity about singlehandedly, and indeed, as Marduk abandons his throne at the beginning of tablet II, the cosmic order begins to dissolve immediately. Erra is of course on this occasion responsible for convincing Babylon's high god to renounce his power temporarily, so there is a very straightforward way in which he, not Marduk, is responsible for the catastrophe. But it is not clear that any additional intervention on Erra's part is necessary for chaos to overtake the cosmos, and yet a drumbeat of assorted accusations against Erra punctuates tablet IV. However, the manner in which Erra is accused of intervening to promote chaos bears further examination.

[101] See *Erra Song* I:132–141, as well as I:171–178.

In the city of Babylon, Erra's role in instigating violence is both the clearest and the most personal: Erra first assumes human form and personally incites a rebellion (see *Erra Song* IV:3–6, as well as IV:15–19) after which he dons the guise of a lion, enters the palace, and provokes the governor into responding to the riot with further rioting, ordering the troops to slaughter indiscriminately and plunder Babylon's own citizens (see IV:20–30). Even here, this second, leonine role appears almost gratuitous to the narrative explication of the chain of events: under Erra's leadership as a human (see IV:15) the rioters speak impudently to the governor (see IV:12) and set Babylon's chapels on fire (see IV:14), and in response the governor mobilizes his troops to put down the riot with brutal force (see IV:23–30). Thus Erra's original actions set in motion a sequence of disastrous events that culminate in a bloodbath without his needing to infiltrate the palace to stoke the governor's anger further; the entire city is in turmoil, so a lion entering the palace is hardly necessary to explain the governor's outraged response. Perhaps we are meant to understand that Erra's actions here supernaturally effect a change in the governor's disposition that amplifies that response, but Erra's necessity to this narrative juncture seems strained. Elsewhere in this passage, Erra's participation in the violence goes beyond the physical and the rhetorical to the apparently metaphysical, as when he "aimed the army's weapons at the *kidinnu*-citizens, the taboo of Anu and Dagān" (*ša ṣābī kidinni ikkib Anum u Dagān kakkīšunu tazaqqap/tazzaqap*; *Erra Song* IV:33); theoretically the army could have been accused of aiming their own weapons (or the governor accused of commanding them), but Išum, and perhaps the narrative voice behind him, insists that it is Erra, like a puppeteer, who is responsible for this behavior.

Erra's direct participation in the sequence of events that unfolds in Babylon, as unnecessary as some of it seems to the story, is quite different from the manner in which he is said to play a part in the events at Uruk, where his involvement is peripheral at best: Sutean invaders overrun the area, disrupting Ištar's cult, and further the governor whom Erra has installed violates Ishtar's rites, all of which prompts the goddess to become hostile toward her city and to incite additional

invaders against it (see IV:52–62). Erra's only direct, explicit involvement in the whole affair is in the appointment of the oppressive, sacrilegiously inclined governor (see IV:59–60). That Erra is the ultimate cause of the breakdown and not simply one factor in a cascading chain of events is hardly an inevitable conclusion from this account.

In Dēr, the nature of Erra's participation in the breakdown is equally hazy but more explicit: he is said to have decimated the population and facilitated the kidnapping of Ištarān's cult image by the Suteans, resulting in Ištarān's rejection of his city (see IV:65–72). Išum categorically attributes all of these disasters to Erra,[102] yet Erra's actual involvement is only vaguely indicated, through metaphors and generalizations.[103]

Išum's laconic references to the destruction of two other cities fault Erra in similarly obscure terms: Sippar is simply said to have been demolished by Erra (see *Erra Song* IV:50–51) and Dūr-Kurigalzu to have been attacked by enemy forces aroused by Erra (see IV:63–64).[104] In addition this lengthy speech of Išum's is peppered with even less specific yet all-encompassing descriptions of the various types of physical and social disruption for which Erra is purportedly responsible, such as the annihilation of "height and lowland alike" (*mūlâ u mušpala kī aḫāmiš*; IV:87) and the slaughter of both guilty and innocent (see IV:104–107).[105] Erra's stated involvement in the mayhem into which Babylonia is plunged is thus typically metaphorical (as in IV:18–19 and IV:67) or nonspecific and remote. Even when Erra's disposition toward Babylonia is reversed and he decrees

[102] Erra is said ultimately to be behind everything that goes wrong: the desolation of the city and its people (see *Erra Song* IV:66–68) and the Sutean looting of Ištarān's cult statue (see IV:69), prompting the latter to abandon his obligations to his city (see IV:70–72).

[103] See *Erra Song* IV:66–68: "You made Dēr into a wilderness. / You snapped off the people within it like reeds. / You extinguished their clamor like flotsam on the surface of the water" (*Dēr ana namê taltakan / nišū ša ina libbīšu kī qanê tuḫtaṣṣiṣ / kī ḫubuš pān mê ḫubūršina tubtalli*).

[104] The city's name however is called Parsâ or Daksâ, on which see the relevant note in appendix A.

[105] See further *Erra Song* IV:108–111 and IV:114–127.

that Babylonia's enemies will slaughter each other so that Babylonia can then dominate them (see IV:131–136), he does no more than issue a decree; the agency of these individual groups in turning on themselves would be sufficient to account for such a massacre. No doubt it would be wrongheaded to expect of the narrative an airtight, naturalistic sequence of interlocking causes and effects; events are seemingly overdetermined. But these vague ultimate causes for the violence and social breakdown are continually assigned according to a pattern that is theologically revelatory. It may appear strained to the modern reader that all violence in the cosmos seems to be attributable in some way to Erra, but the text makes it clear that discord is Erra's bailiwick (see IIId:12b–13), and he presides over it regardless of the circumstances or the other agents directly involved in bringing it about.

We have seen that one result of this mythological impulse to identify a personalized source pulling the strings of all chaotic events is to deflect the attribution of unprovoked hostility from the other gods. Erra is not the agent behind most of the particular calamities here but quite simply the root cause underlying all calamity,[106] a fact that apparently exculpates Marduk and the other gods from final responsibility for the disintegration of cosmic order, even as they play a role in precipitating it.

At the same time, in spite of his destructive tendencies, Erra himself is counted among the number of the gods, and so merits worship. This may explain a countervailing theological impulse evident earlier in the text: to diffuse responsibility for violence such that it cannot be laid at the feet of any individual god. Erra is apparently inert until goaded into action by the Divine Heptad (see *Erra Song* I:46–99), and they in turn have been commissioned by the most remote god of all, Anu

[106] Notice that Erra's chaotic behavior extends beyond simple violence: not only is he said to be responsible for physical destruction, but he is accused of subverting the right world order; see for example *Erra Song* II:147–157 and IV:7–11.

(see I:28–44).[107] One strategy for accounting for violence in the cosmos appears to be to concentrate it in the personality of Erra to the exclusion of the other gods, but this may not have been particularly satisfying to his worshippers,[108] which might explain why even though violence appears to be Erra's bailiwick, responsibility for it is finally diffused among certain other members of the pantheon as well. The text appears to represent a messy and somewhat awkward narrative contemplation of the theological sources of calamity.

The Significance of the Innocent Sufferer

Perhaps the most striking accusation Išum levels against Erra is that he has "put the righteous person to death" (*kīnam-ma tuštamīt*; *Erra Song* IV:104), that he has "put to death the person who did not transgress against" him (*ša lā iḫṭûkā-ma tuštamīt*; IV:107). This has led Daniel Bricker to assert that this is the only extant text in Mesopotamian literature in which the problem of evil or of the innocent sufferer is formulated explicitly.[109] Bricker argues that genuine theodicy is not a concern of Mesopotamian religious texts,[110] since human guilt was taken as a given ("there is

[107] See *Erra Song* I:28–44.

[108] Of course it is likely significant that his worshippers tended not to worship him in his instantiation as Erra but rather as Nergal (as in *Erra Song* V:40), on which see chapter 3, "V. Erra's Relationship to Nergal: Divergences between Erra and Nergal—Invocations of Nergal."

[109] Bricker, "Innocent Suffering," 209. See the article in its entirety for his treatment of other texts in which theodicy is claimed to be at issue.

Notice that, in the much earlier *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur*, lines 73–75, Enlil is also said explicitly to attack the righteous: "Enlil, to destroy the upright house, to reduce the upright man, / To put the evil eye on the son of the upright man, on the firstborn son, / at that time Enlil sent down Gutium from the mountains" (^{d}en-líl-le é zi gul-gul-lu-dè lú zi tur-re-dè / dumu lú zi-da-ke$_4$ dumu saĝ-e igi ŋul dím-me-dè / ud-ba ^{d}en-líl-le gu-ti-um^{ki} kur-ta im-ta-an-è; adapted from Michalowski, *Lamentation over Sumer and Ur*, 40–41). (See also *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* lines 110–111 and *The Cursing of Agade* lines 190–192, where the same fate is meted out to the upright and the treacherous alike; for an edition of the latter see Cooper, *Curse of Agade*.) I am indebted to Professor Steinkeller for drawing my attention to these passages.

[110] See Bricker, "Innocent Suffering," especially 194.

no innocent sufferer, only an ignorant one")[111] and when misfortune struck divination was relied on to ascertain the nature of the offense,[112] which was typically cultic rather than moral.[113] The *Erra Song* appears to be unusual in making an assertion that fault lies with a particular deity and not with the human sufferer[114]—although Bricker also follows Bodi in accepting that Erra's rampage is in direct response to terrestrial misbehavior.[115]

Išum's accusations may present an even starker formulation of the problem of theodicy than Bricker acknowledges, since as I read the text Erra is not motivated by a desire to punish humanity for legitimate misbehavior in the first place.[116] But we must stress that in context these statements serve a different function entirely: Išum is not raising questions about the ethics of Erra's attack on the cosmos so much as he is documenting the absolute totality of the destruction, using contrasting categories of people to indicate its thoroughly indiscriminate nature:

IV:104 *qurādu Erra kīnam-ma tuštamīt*
IV:104 "Warrior Erra, you have put the righteous person to death.

IV:105 *lā kīnam-ma tuštamīt*
IV:105 "You have put the unrighteous person to death.

IV:106 *ša iḫṭûkā-ma tuštamīt*
IV:106 "You have put to death the person who transgressed against you;

IV:107 *ša lā iḫṭûkā-ma tuštamīt*
IV:107 "You have put to death the person who did not transgress against you.

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[111] Ibid., 199.

[112] Ibid., 196.

[113] Ibid., 198. On the issue of theodicy in Mesopotamian literature see also von Soden, "Fragen nach der Gerechtigkeit," 42–44.

[114] Bricker, "Innocent Suffering," 210. Even so, Bricker shies away from labeling this a genuine question of theodicy, since no effort is made to account for divine justice (ibid., 214).

[115] Ibid., 208–209. For Bodi's argument see n. 2 above. Bricker also follows Bodi in assigning the "previous wrongdoing" (*ḫīṭi maḫrî*) in V:6 to humanity, not Erra himself (ibid., 209); on this issue see below.

[116] See above: "I. Erra's Motivation for the Calamity."

. . .

IV:110 *šībī ina dakkannī tuštamīt*
IV:110 "You have put to death the old men in the doorways (?).

IV:111 *ardāti ṣaḫarāti* (*ina*) *uršīšina tuštamīt*
IV:111 "You have put to death the young women in their bedrooms.

IV:112 *u nâḫam-ma ul tanuḫḫa/tanūḫ*
IV:112 "And still you would not rest.

The apparent point is that Erra should rest now that he has decimated every class of living being. Part of Bodi's argument, which Bricker adopts, stems from his homing in on the opposite claim in this passage to the one we are focusing on here—that Erra has slaughtered the guilty (see *Erra Song* IV:106); for Bodi this is one indication that Erra's rampage is motivated by a desire to punish humanity for misconduct,[117] a conclusion whose merits I have questioned above. But the point here is that these opposing statements cannot responsibly be read in isolation from one another: the passage is not about how Erra attacks the guilty or how Erra attacks the innocent but about how Erra has attacked guilty and innocent equally. The significance of the so-called "problem of evil" to Western philosophy naturally leads us to latch onto Išum's crystal-clear formulation of it in IV:104 and 107, but nothing in the passage suggests Išum has identified it as a philosophical problem of particular note. For Išum the issue is that Erra has slaughtered every class of person—from the blasphemer to the pious and from the old man to the young woman—and still refuses to rest; the problem is not so much that Erra has killed the righteous as that Erra has killed everyone.

In a still more striking passage Erra himself later admits that it is in his character to slaughter righteous and wicked alike: "Like one who plunders a country, I do not discriminate between righteous and wicked, I lay low both" (*kī šālil māti kīna* (*u*) *raggi ul umassâ/umaššâ ušamqat*; *Erra Song* V:10). What is more, in the same speech he openly refers to his behavior as "the

[117] See Bodi, *Book of Ezekiel*, 67–68.

previous wrongdoing" (*ḫīṭi maḫrî*; V:6) and suggests he "intended evi[l]" (*aḫsusa lemutt*[*i*]; V:6).[118] This is as close as Erra comes to expressing regret.

However, it must be emphasized that even this passage contains no formulation of the problem of theodicy—quite the opposite is true, in fact. Rather than exploring how the deity is just, the text flatly states, in the deity's own words, that he is not just, and any potential problems this might raise are left unspoken and unexplored. We might wonder at the far-reaching implications, both philosophical and emotional, of worshipping a god who openly admits to "evil,"[119] but the author does not.[120] In fact, in the narrative context Erra's confession of wrongdoing serves basically the opposite function to that of exploring the ramifications of a god's perpetrating catastrophe on a grand scale: it makes Erra appear almost good, in that he has acknowledged the harm he has caused. In effect this is the mechanism by which he is incorporated back into the pantheon and said to merit worship. And in the same breath that Erra characterizes his behavior as "evil" he also justifies it as simply a part of his nature; order is reattained through his publicly voiced self-

[118] Beginning with Gössmann (*Era-Epos*, 62), some scholars have attributed the "previous wrongdoing" not to Erra but to humanity (see also Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 248 and Bodi, *Book of Ezekiel*, 66, as well as the following translations, which strongly suggest the adoption of this view: Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient*, 135 and Bottéro, "Le poème d'Erra," 247). In this reading, Erra is not admitting in this verse to having brought about evil but rather justifying his behavior, in that he has punished the cosmos for its neglect of his cult. We have seen however that Erra is not motivated primarily to attack the cosmos because of a perceived transgression against him—and certainly not for a single transgression against him. Furthermore, there is no sense resisting the conclusion that Erra admits to causing the innocent to suffer when he himself unequivocally says as much just a few lines later (in *Erra Song* V:10), and Išum has already made such an accusation against him as part of his speech characterizing his behavior as indiscriminate (in IV:104, 107, and 108–109). In the context of this speech (V:5–15), in which Erra uses metaphorical language to describe the brutality of his actions, the "previous wrongdoing" can only be his.

[119] No doubt this term's moral overtones do not map cleanly onto our own—*CAD* also translates *lemuttu* as "misfortune," "danger," and "calamity," in addition to "wickedness" and "evil intentions or plans"—but that the term can carry at least some implication of moral disapprobation is evident, for example, from *Enūma Eliš* I:111, where the gods who goad Tiāmat to act are said to plot evil, as well as IV:84, where Marduk accuses Tiāmat of evil.

[120] Of course, if my argument above is correct, that one of the theological purposes of the text is to displace imputations of evil from the other gods onto Erra, it may simply be the case that the author is left with no theological means of solving the problem of evil in the pantheon created by his or her previous solution to the problem of evil in the pantheon.

awareness, but he neither apologizes nor indicates he has changed. In summary, in attempting to bring the account of Erra's outrageous behavior to a satisfying conclusion, the text skirts the problems of attributing injustice to the divine without actually exploring them. In the end, humans simply marvel at the behavior of the gods; they do not assess its appropriateness, perhaps not even when the gods themselves admit to its inappropriateness.

The Praise of a Violent God

Does Išum Accuse Erra or Flatter Him?

In the foregoing discussion I have referred to Išum's statements to Erra about the suffering of the innocent as "accusations," but what is meant by this term, and, accordingly, how does Erra respond?

Išum's speech to Erra in which he accuses him of punishing guilty and innocent alike begins undeniably as flattery emphasizing (to the point perhaps of overstating)[121] Erra's awe-inspiring power over the cosmos and the pantheon (see *Erra Song* IIId:3–14). But while Išum's speech bridges tablets III–IV, the tone changes perceptibly at the beginning of tablet IV, toward apparent disapproval: "Warrior Erra, you have not feared the mention of Prince Marduk" (*qurādu Erra ša rubê Marduk zikiršu lā tašḫut*; IV:1). As a narrative device, Išum's series of accusations serves as the vehicle whereby the nature of the sociopolitical turmoil in which Babylonia has become embroiled is conveyed to the reader/hearer. And as a god and a member of Erra's circle, Išum appears to be ideally situated to voice disapproval of Erra's behavior that a human worshipper likely could not. Yet even so, in context it appears that the function of Išum's accusations too, like his outright

[121] Išum makes apparently exaggerated claims that are characteristic of hymnic language: "You control all of the earth, you rule the land" (*napḫar erṣetim-ma gammarāta mātum-ma bēlēta*; *Erra Song* IIId:4); "You take care of Šuanna; you govern the Esagil" (*Šuannā-ma tapaqqid/teṭêm* (*E*)*sagil-ma tuma'ʾar*; IIId:8); "You gather together all divine authority" (*gimir parṣī-ma ḫammāta*; IIId:9).

flattery in IIId:3–14, is to flatter Erra—into calming down and turning his violence to constructive ends for the Babylonians. The text makes clear that Erra is flattered rather than insulted by Išum's lengthy recitation of his multifarious fearsome and horrific deeds, as his immediate response is gratification[122] and he promptly turns his violent impulses against Babylonia's enemies.[123] While the insults the Divine Heptad direct at him in tablet I, where they compare Erra to a baby or a weakling (see I:47–48) and accuse him of prolonged inactivity,[124] stimulate a battle frenzy (see I:92–99), correspondingly Išum's gory detailing of his chaotic acts seems to soothe him back into a state of quiescence, as it is later said explicitly that Išum has "calmed him down" (*uniḫḫūšū-ma*; V:42).

It would seem then that flattery and accusation are not in tension in this context and Išum may be flattering Erra even in the act of accusing him; since Erra presides over violence and chaos in the cosmos, accusing him of committing violent acts—even outrageous acts, such as slaughtering the innocent alongside the guilty—gratifies him. Erra may find such statements flattering in that, a self-consciously violent god, he has exceeded all expectations for perpetrating violence to the point of disregarding moral considerations. Twice Išum tells Erra that despite the outrageousness of his rampage he, Erra, continues to believe "they hold me (him) in contempt" (*leqû šēṭūtī*; *Erra Song* IIId:15 and IV:113). Describing the depths of his brutality to him—"accusing" him, as it were—seems to have the effect of reversing this alleged contempt by inspiring respect for Erra. To put it

[122] See *Erra Song* IV:129: "The speech that Išum had spoken (to him) was as pleasing to him as the best oil" (*amāt Išum iqbû*(*šu*) *kī ulû šamni elīšu iṭ*(*ṭ*)*īb*). Of course this is a stock phrase (see also I:93), but it still surely has significance in this context since not every speech merits this response.

[123] See the pronouncement in *Erra Song* IV:130–136 in addition to Erra's giving Išum authorization to attack Mount Šaršar personally in IV:137–138 (carried out in IV:139–150).

[124] This is implied in *Erra Song* I:76 and I:87–91.

crudely, Erra is self-consciously "badly behaved," so accusing him and flattering him may amount to the same thing.[125]

This very dynamic is evident in the manner in which the text as a whole is treated: by recounting his brutal and boundary-transgressing deeds as laid out in the poem, one does not accuse Erra in the sense of holding him accountable to a moral standard but rather glorifies him.[126] Erra is pleased by hearing the tales of his savagery recited, not offended. What is more, describing his brutality verbally, because it arouses awe, seems to short-circuit his need to arouse that awe through future acts of physical violence.

Does Erra Confess or Boast?

A parallel set of issue plagues the interpretation of Erra's speech in *Erra Song* V:5–15, in which Erra acknowledges wrongdoing (see V:6) and compares himself to an apathetic "hireling" (*agir*/*agri* in V:8), the plunderer of a country (see V:10), and a "slaying lion" (*labbi nā'iri* in V:11).

[125] In colloquial American English we have a term that is used to praise individuals for what is nevertheless tough, intimidating, or even shocking behavior: "badass." Although its register is entirely nonliterary and so inappropriate to this context, this combination of a positive attitude—one of fear and thus respect—toward even outrageous behavior may capture something of the way Erra is flattered through accusation.

(The worship of violent deities is, of course, known from other cultures; see, among other examples, the worship of the goddess Kālī in Hindu contexts: typically portrayed wearing a "necklace of skulls" and a "skirt of severed arms," Kālī is associated with death and requires animal and even human sacrifices [Johnson, *Dictionary of Hinduism*, 163–164; for some primary sources see Sarma, *Hinduism: A Reader*, 177–178 and 199–200].)

[126] Erra himself believes that those who encounter the text will praise him: "Let all of the lands hear it and praise my status as warrior!" (*mātāti napḫaršina lišmâ*-(*ma*) *linādū*/*linādā qurdīya*; *Erra Song* V:61); "Let the people of (all of) the inhabited world read it and glorify my name!" (*nišī* (*kal*) *dadmī līmurā-ma lišarbâ šumī*; V:62).

This speech has been characterized as a "confession"[127] or a "*mea culpa*"[128] on the one hand and as a "boast"[129] or a justification[130] on the other.

Here too, although the tone is elusive and impossible to recapture definitively, I am proposing that his confession of sorts is simultaneously a justification of sorts. Erra's acknowledgment of wrongdoing participates in and further facilitates the restoration of order and calm to the cosmos and sets the stage for his veneration: while he can inflict great harm, he also exhibits at the very least some self-awareness about his own tendencies, an acknowledgment that may even mitigate the shock of the effects of his behavior. At the same time, while Erra's behavior does change afterwards,[131] Erra does not clearly apologize for what he has done or renounce this behavior in the future, and it is not clear the degree to which his self-awareness represents a presage to change rather than simply a characterization of what he cannot help but be.

Why is Erra Praised for "Wrongdoing"?

The poem closes with Erra's pronouncing blessings on those who sing his praises through the text itself, which is construed as "the praise of" his "warriorhood" (*tanitti qarrādūtīya*; *Erra Song* V:53) and which, when people read it, will lead them to "glorify" his "name" (*lišarbâ šumī*; V:62). Of course Erra has just decreed prosperity—through his "sign" (*ittu*; V:24)—for Babylonia

[127] Machinist, "Rest and Violence," 222.

[128] Cagni, *Poem of Erra*, 10. For a similar characterization see Frankena, "Untersuchungen zum Irra-Epos," 6.

[129] Foster, *Before the Muses*, 908.

[130] Bottéro and Kramer, *Lorsque les dieux faisaient l'homme*, 717. Similarly, Jacobsen argues Erra delivers this speech "not exactly contritely" (*Treasures of Darkness*, 228).

[131] In *Erra Song* V:23 he enters the Emeslam, signaling the definitive restoration of calm, and in V:26–39 he issues the "sign" (*ittu*) according to which Babylonia will thrive.

(V:26–39),[132] which might naturally prompt his human worshippers to praise him out of gratitude, but the text as a whole is understood to praise him even as it describes the shocking extent of his brutality. Why is a god who behaves in a nearly demonic manner praised, and why does the story of his savagery bring him glory rather than shame?

It would be natural to suppose the praise of Erra signifies the praise of violence itself. However, several features of the text militate against such a conclusion. As I read the hymnic prologue to the *Erra Song*, the text opens by lavishly praising Išum specifically for keeping Erra in check, at home in his bedroom with his wife, Mammi;[133] the poet is not, then, championing the situation where Erra is aroused and ready for combat. Furthermore, there is very little indication the violence Erra perpetrates in the narrative serves a positive function for anyone besides perhaps himself and the Divine Heptad, beings who thirst for violence.[134] Quite the opposite is true, in fact: humankind is brutalized by Erra's rampage[135] and even the gods are devastated by what Erra has wrought.[136] Although the Divine Heptad appeal to a miscellany of possible justifications for Erra to attack the cosmos (see I:46–91), we have seen that these justifications have virtually no traction in this context and drop entirely out of the narrative.[137] The text praises Erra for his awe-inspiring,

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[132] As the god of destruction and chaos he may accordingly if unexpectedly control to some degree the absence of destruction—peace—as well.

[133] See chapter 2, "II. The Opening Passage."

[134] This is evident especially from the Divine Heptad's speech in *Erra Song* I:46–91.

[135] This is clear throughout *Erra Song* tablet IV.

[136] In addition to tablet IV, where particular gods react negatively to the destruction, see also *Erra Song* V:13–15, where the threat that wiping out humankind would pose to the gods is made explicit. (It is true that Erra implies in I:122 that by attacking the cosmos he might inspire respect for Marduk's word, but his behavior seems out of all proportion to any such goal and, in the end, devastates Marduk's city and leaves Marduk himself despondent, in IV:1–49. Notice also that Išum introduces his recounting of the turmoil in Babylon by accusing Erra of having "not feared the mention of Prince Marduk" [*ša rubê Marduk zikiršu lā tašḫut*; IV:1], suggesting Erra is not benefiting Marduk.)

[137] See above: "I. Erra's Motivation for the Calamity."

violent behavior, but it would be unwarranted to read this praise as an endorsement or justification of violence; rather, in the Mesopotamian religious landscape, it appears that praise is owed the gods out of awe, and the story of Erra's brutality arouses awe and thus redounds to his glory.[138] It is also noteworthy that the poem is characterized as the "praise of" his "warriorhood" (V:53) specifically—in applying the metaphor of war to his aggression against the cosmos, the poem provides a framework in which violent deeds are traditionally glorified rather than denounced. Furthermore, praising Erra for his violence is simply a pragmatic measure, since it obviates his need to demonstrate that violence physically. Specifically because he is a god, the threat he poses to the cosmos is neutralized through veneration rather than, for example, exorcism. The irony is that one praises Erra for being terrifying but by praising him one simultaneously stops him from needing to be terrifying.[139]

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[138] Even early in the text the Divine Heptad suggest indirectly that disparagement is the natural result of Erra's quiescence (see *Erra Song* I:53) and indicate to him that respect and glory will result from his engaging in acts of brutality (see I:62–66, I:75).

[139] In a recent article George has argued for a very different interpretation of the poem from that laid out in this section; in George's reading, the poem as a whole is a didactic "forceful repudiation of war" ("Poem of Erra and Ishum," 48). George deciphers Erra's presence in the text as the straightforward embodiment of war (ibid.), where in his reading Išum's actions present the case for war only in "self-defence," which is "morally justified" (ibid., 62) and serves as a counterpoint to Erra's "war of aggression" (ibid.); the entire text is then a "warning . . . not to go to war lightly" (ibid., 65), carrying a "hope that less war will be waged" (ibid.).

This surprisingly—even suspiciously—modern, almost pacifistic reading is on the whole unpersuasive to me: George characterizes Išum's campaign against Mount Šaršar as "very different from Erra's indiscriminate rampage" (ibid., 57) in that it "adopts . . . the language of mythology, where gods do battle with mountains, seas and forces of nature" (ibid., 58); what he neglects to mention is that the terms in which Išum's campaign are described echo almost verbatim language that *Erra himself* utters earlier in the text: compare *Erra Song* II:138–142 to IV:146–150. Furthermore, Erra explicitly licenses Išum's campaign (see IV:138). What separates Erra's attitude from Išum's is not what we would recognize as just war theory or an abstract notion of self-defense (notice that even though his campaign is "bloodless" [ibid., 58] in its description, Išum obliterates a foreign territory, which plainly strains the meaning of "self-defense"; in characterizing this campaign as mythological George glosses over the fact that the attack is therefore one of total irrecoverable destruction). Rather, what separates Erra's and Išum's campaigns is far more concrete: where Erra directs his aggression against Babylonia, Išum directs his against Babylonia's enemies. Insofar as a theory of just war is developed here, it is nothing more than the unremarkable, ethnocentric notion that an attack on Babylonia harms the cosmos where an attack on its enemies benefits it. Furthermore, as I have argued above, Erra responds to Išum's accusations in a manner suggesting he is flattered by them, which in turn suggests the poet is not unequivocally accusing Erra of malfeasance. And the text as a whole is labeled the praise of Erra (see *Erra Song* V:53), a characterization that does not lend itself readily to pacifistic readings. Where George is surely right that a strong undercurrent of horror at war runs through the text, it is

IV. Kabti-Ilānī-Marduk's Role in the Production of the Text

One of the most unusual characteristics of this text is the remarkable note about its genesis inserted near its conclusion, in which the text is first summarized and then its human transmitter is designated by name and the manner in which it came about is indicated:

V:41 *ša Erra īgugū-ma ana sapān mātāti u ḫulluq nišīšin iškunu pānī*[*šu*]
V:41 That Erra got angry and set [his] mind on crushing the lands and wiping out their people,

V:42 *Išum mālikšu uniḫḫūšū-ma īzib*[*u*]*/izzibu/īzibi rēḫāniš*
V:42 But Išum his adviser calmed him down and he left some as a remnant.

V:43 *kāṣir kammīšu Kabti-ilānī-Marduk mār Dābibī*
V:43 The one who put together his (Erra's) composition was Kabti-ilānī-Marduk, descendant of Dābibī.

V:44 *ina šāt mūši ušabrīšum-ma kī ša ina munatti idbubu ayyamma ul iḫṭi*
V:44 During the night he (Erra) revealed it to him (Kabti-ilānī-Marduk), and when he (Kabti-ilānī-Marduk) recited it back in early morning slumber, he left nothing out.

V:45 **ēda šuma*/*šuma ayyam* ul uraddi ana muḫḫi*
V:45 He did not add a single line to it.

V:46 *išmē*(*šū*)*-ma Erra imtaḫar/imtaḫru pānīšu*
V:46 When Erra heard (it), he approved.

V:47 *ša Išum ālik maḫrī*(*šu*) *iṭīb elīšu*
V:47 As for Išum, (his) vanguard, it was pleasing to him too.

As is widely acknowledged, attributions of composition are exceedingly rare in Mesopotamia.[140] However, certain genres are conventionally written in the first person and indicate

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also the case that the agents of war in this text are for the most part—and in the ultimate chain of causality—not human. The text cannot then be a plea to human agents to refrain from prosecuting unjust wars; even if it might contain the "hope that less war will be waged"—that is, divine war, against Babylonia specifically—that hope is channeled into methods of appeasing the divine. Finally, Erra is not simply a cipher for war as an abstract principle but a divine personality who is easily incited to a posture of aggression toward the cosmos but who is nevertheless owed cultic devotion.

[140] For a history of named individuals being associated with Mesopotamian texts, see especially Foster, "On Authorship" (on Akkadian literature specifically) and Michalowski, "Sailing to Babylon," 182–191.

the speaker and thus the presumed composer of the text; this is especially true of letters, most of which are understood to have been essentially private compositions between or among individuals, and it is sometimes true of royal inscriptions, which read like public proclamations from (or about) figures occupying public offices.[141] (It is also true of "pseudo-autobiographies" composed spuriously in the voice of political figures of the past,[142] and of certain so-called "sapiential" texts, such as *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*.[143]) Occasionally a text survives with a concluding note naming an individual responsible for its production, as in a *kudurru* of Nebuchadrezzar I, where it is said that "the scribe, the writer of this stela, was Enlil-tabni-bulliṭ, the diviner" (*ṭupšarru šāṭir narî annî Enlil-tabni-bulliṭ bārû*; ii:25).[144] Even such a note, apparently attributing the physical production of the text, rather than its composition, to the individual in question[145] is nevertheless unusual in itself in such a context.

However, in most literary/religious and other scholarly texts anonymity is the norm. Where letters and royal inscriptions self-consciously convey the perspective of an individual,

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[141] It is far from clear that even first-person royal inscriptions were actually composed by the political figures who recount their deeds in their lines, but this is certainly how they are framed. In general we may be more suspicious of texts' attributions to well-known, public political figures, such as Enḫeduana (see below, nn. 148–149) or Aššurbanipal (see n. 160), than to apparently private (if still elite) figures such as Kabti-ilānī-Marduk, since there are clear motivations for attributing a text to a powerful individual—and clear motivations for powerful individuals to commission the composition of texts.

[142] On which see Longman, *Fictional Akkadian Autobiography*. I am reluctant to adopt Longman's term "fiction" in reference to these texts since it is not clear to me that they were understood anciently, as a genre, to be entertaining yet fabricated; Longman himself acknowledges that, as texts, they share several properties with "nonfictional" autobiographies, a genre from which they appear to have been an outgrowth (ibid., 199–200), and that the difference is often one of "degree" rather than kind: "The fictional/nonfictional distinction is rather one of degree. The composition of fictional autobiographies was not contemporary with the events they describe and thus they import many non-historical/folkloristic motifs into their description of basically historical events" (ibid. 69).

[143] For an edition of *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* see Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, 21–62*;* Annus and Lenzi, *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*.

[144] For an edition see King, *Babylonian Boundary-Stones*, 29–36.

[145] The verb *šaṭāru* is associated especially with the physical act of producing a document (see the relevant entry in *CAD*).

scholarly texts arguably make much starker claims to authority through the very absence of direct attribution, since their potentially transcendent status is not confined to the perspective of any single human or reliant on the credibility of any one witness to the manifestation of the divine, or of truth. The very notion of human authorship with respect to incantations, for example, makes reason stare, since they derive their efficacy from their originating in the supernatural, superhuman realm: it is not uncommon for them to include the line "the incantation is not mine" (*šiptu ul yattun*).[146] Mythological narratives, too, could have magical properties that likely were understood to be efficacious specifically because of the texts' divine origins,[147] so we should not expect to find attributions of composition in such contexts.

One early and celebrated exception to the trend toward anonymity in literary texts can be seen in the case of Sargon's daughter Enḫeduana, to whom are attributed a handful of hymns on the basis of her self-identification in them,[148] as well as the *Sumerian Temple Hymns*, where she is named its "compiler" or "composer" (lú-dub-KA-kéš-da) in the closing lines.[149] It is remarkable that a named individual to whom the composition of literary texts is ascribed appears both very rarely and relatively early in the history of Mesopotamian literature (defying proposed evolutionary schemes in which the individual comes to the fore only as a late development),[150] and further that

[146] See Lambert, "Catalogue," 72–73. When the incantations are said thereafter to belong to named gods, Lambert argues this is not a claim for authorship, although this issue seems far from settled. (See also Cunningham, *'Deliver Me from Evil'*, 118–120.)

[147] In the case of the *Erra Song*, this is evidenced by its appearance on amulets (see copies O, Q, S, and W in appendix A) and by amuletic inscriptions alluding to it (see *Amulets Invoking Marduk, Erra, Išum, and the Divine Heptad* in appendix B).

[148] See especially the two hymns edited in Hallo and Van Dijk, *Exaltation of Inanna*, and Sjöberg, "in-nin šà-gur$_4$-ra," respectively. The text known as *Inana and Ebiḫ* is also sometimes attributed to Enḫeduana on the basis of similarity in content and style (Foster, *Age of Agade*, 207), although she is not named in it (for an edition see Attinger, "Inana et Ebiḫ").

[149] See *Sumerian Temple Hymns* line 543 (for an edition see Sjöberg and Bergmann, *Sumerian Temple Hymns*, 13–154; the relevant passage is on 49).

[150] Such as that evident in Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 85.

this individual is a woman—facts whose significance is still somewhat opaque. Whether or not these attributions are spurious,[151] their existence in a culture in which such texts were almost entirely anonymous is noteworthy in itself. However, as a public figure who occupied a position with political significance,[152] Enḫeduana appears to differ from Kabti-ilānī-Marduk, a fact that no doubt plays into the attribution of these texts to her. In the hymns bearing her name, Enḫeduana addresses the deity in the first person, even recounting her ostensible experience;[153] they straddle the line, then, between public texts associated with the experiences of public individuals whose actions have political implications, in the vein of royal inscriptions and pseudo-autobiographies, and entirely impersonal, implicitly transcendent works of religious literature on the order of the *Erra Song*. In the *Sumerian Temple Hymns*, on the other hand, an impersonal text attributed to her, it is not clear whether she is understood merely to have compiled them or to have composed them.[154]

A few other scattered examples of the attribution of authorship in scholarly or literary/religious texts survive as well. *The Tummal Inscription*, a Sumerian composition surviving in Old Babylonian copies, claims to have been "written according to the word[155] of Lu-Inana, the great leatherworker of Enlil" (inim lú-^{d}inana ašgab gal ^{d}en-líl-lá-aš sar-ra; line 29).[156] And somewhat later, we find another religious hymn into which an individual has inserted himself and

[151] Civil has argued that the language of at least one hymn attributed to Enḫeduana is too late for the text to have been composed by Sargon's daughter ("Les limites de l'information textuelle," 229). Compare Foster's recent argument for the genuineness of these attributions, in *Age of Agade*, at 206–208.

[152] As is well known, Enḫeduana was appointed by her father, Sargon, to serve as *en*-priestess to Nanna in Ur (on which see, for example, Hallo and Van Dijk, *Exaltation of Inanna*, 1–2).

[153] See especially lines 66–150 in Hallo and Van Dijk, *Exaltation of Inanna*, and lines 219–220 and 250 in Sjöberg, "in-nin šà-gur$_4$-ra."

[154] For discussion of this issue see further below.

[155] Or perhaps "mouth" (ka), following the indication of composition in the *Catalogue of Texts and Authors*, on which see below.

[156] For an edition see Sollberger, "Tummal Inscription."

made a personal plea near the end, this time an Akkadian hymn to Gula attributed to a certain Bullussa-rabi.[157] Unlike Enḫeduana, Bullussa-rabi is otherwise unknown and may have been an ordinary elite rather than a political figure, but he, too, gives a public religious hymn that presumably should have some widespread traction a personal, individual bent.

Notes claiming responsibility for a text's composition could also be far more subtle—even clandestine—and less integrated into the context: in a few late texts an individual's name appears as an acrostic.[158] This device is used to attribute texts both to otherwise unknown individuals, such as Saggil-kīnam-ubbib in *The Babylonian Theodicy*,[159] and to well-known political figures, such as Aššurbanipal in *Acrostic Hymn to Marduk*.[160]

Finally, a late document survives, designated a *Catalogue of Texts and Authors* by its modern editor, in which a number of scholarly texts are listed alongside their purported authors, divine, human, and even equine.[161] This list includes the *Erra Song*—which, however, its compiler is careful to indicate was revealed to Kabti-ilānū-Marduk (*ušabrīšum-ma*; *Catalogue of Texts and Authors* III:2, quoting *Erra Song* V:44), not composed by him (for which the compiler uses the term *pī*, "from the mouth of"). The hymn to Gula referenced above is here attributed to Bullussa-rabi,[162] no doubt on

[157] For an edition see Lambert, "Gula Hymn." For Bullussa-rabi's plea see lines 188–200.

[158] Five acrostics are known from Akkadian literature; for information on them see Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, 67.

[159] The acrostic reads, "I am Saggil-kī[nam-u]bbib, exorcist and worshipper of god and king" (*anāku Saggil-kī*[*nam-u*]*bbib mašmaššu kāribu ša ili u šarri*). For an edition of the text see Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, 63–91.

[160] The acrostic reads, "I am Aššurbanipal, who has cried out to you, 'Keep me well, Marduk, so I can proclaim your praises!' " (*anāku Aššur-bāni-apli ša ilsûka bulliṭannī-ma Maruduk dalīlīka ludlul*). For an edition of the text see Livingstone, *Court Poetry*, 6–10.

[161] For an edition see Lambert, "Catalogue." Ēa is the only divine author whose name survives (see I:1–4). For the incomprehensible reference to an equine author, see VI:17, translated by Lambert ". . . wrote at the dictation of a horse" (. . . *ina pī sīsî*[ANŠE.KUR.RA] *išṭur*; see pp. 66–67).

[162] See *Catalogue of Texts and Authors* V:3–5, reconstructed and transliterated in Lambert, "Gula Hymn," 107.

the basis of its concluding section, and several other well-known texts are assigned authorship, such as *Enūma Anu Enlil* to Ēa[163] and *Gilgameš* to Sîn-lēqi-unninni.[164] This list represents a remarkable late effort, against the pronounced trend toward anonymity identified above, to associate impersonal scholarly and religious texts with particular individuals, and it obviously relies on older traditions such as that preserved in the *Erra-Song* itself, even if we need not accept the historical validity of all of them.

It is in this context that we must evaluate Kabti-ilānī-Marduk's concluding note in the *Erra Song* about the text's composition. As Foster has demonstrated, this note belongs to a loose formula applied to a handful of extant literary/religious texts across time;[165] the formula may include, inter alia, a brief summary;[166] mention of the text's human producer (usually obliquely);[167] some indication how the text came about;[168] and an injunction to sing or recite the text, typically characterized as the praise of the deity, and often as a source of divine blessing.[169] The texts that feature some or all of these elements—most prominently mythological compositions—are characteristically referred to in their concluding passages using the terms *kammu*, "literary composition,"[170] or *zamāru*, "song."[171] But while it clearly participates in this pattern, the *Erra Song*

[163] See *Catalogue of Texts and Authors* I:1–4 (in Lambert, "Catalogue," on 64–65).

[164] See *Catalogue of Texts and Authors* VI:10 (in Lambert, "Catalogue," on 66–67). Sîn-lēqi-unninni is discussed in George, *Gilgamesh Epic* 1, 27–33.

[165] See Foster, "On Authorship," 19–26. The texts he examines include the *Erra Song* (where the pattern appears to be the fullest and clearest), *Enūma Eliš*, *Atraḫasīs*, the *Agušaya Hymn*, and "Old Babylonian Hymn to Ištar."

[166] As in *Erra Song* V:41–42.

[167] As in *Erra Song* V:43, where he is, however, named directly.

[168] As in *Erra Song* V:44–45.

[169] As in *Erra Song* V:50–62.

[170] As in *Erra Song* V:43.

[171] As in *Erra Song* V:50 and V:60. See Foster, "On Authorship," 30.

is considerably more explicit than its literary comparands: where in the other cited texts we find just bare hints of the scribes who produced them, the *Erra Song* stands out as the only such text to name its human producer or to explain directly the manner in which it was produced.[172] What makes the note in the *Erra Song* so striking is that, although the text is framed as a public, impersonal narrative recounting divine interactions and national events, it is nevertheless associated with a particular, private individual.

Little can be said definitively about Kabti-ilānī-Marduk himself, who is known from only two other sources, both of which are undeniably later than this text and reliant on it: the Neo-Assyrian *Catalogue of Texts and Authors* discussed above and a list of scholars found in Seleucid-era Uruk placing him spuriously in the time of Ibbi-Sîn.[173] As to the nature of his involvement in its production, the text states that Kabti-ilānī-Marduk serves as *kāṣir kammīšu*. Elsewhere the verb *kaṣāru*, "to bind," is used to describe the manner in which the mythical figure Adapa brought the text UD.SAR *Anu Enlil* into being.[174] However, in the *Catalogue of Texts and Authors*, this title is apparently coupled (it is largely reconstructed) with an incipit that reads mà-e-me-en-nam ^{d}en-líl-l[á], which Lambert translates "I, even I, am Enlil," and both are associated with Adapa, although the nature of that association is lost to a lacuna.[175] Lambert has argued that it is unlikely the

[172] Compare for example the cryptic note in *Enūma Eliš* VII:157–158: "The instructions that an earlier one spoke before him / He wrote down and deposited to be heard by later generations" (*taklimti maḫrû idbubu panuššu / ištur-ma ištakan ana šemê arkûti*). The "earlier one" (*maḫrû*) is mentioned already in VII:145; *CAD* translates this term, in this passage, as "a former (poet?)" s.v. "taklimtu" (see chapter 7 n. 292), but as "elder (scholar)" s.v. "maḫrû." See also Foster, "On Authorship," 21–22. (For an edition of *Enūma Eliš* see Labat, *Le poème babylonien*; Talon, *Enūma Eliš*. Line numbers follow Talon's edition.)

[173] For an autograph copy and edition see Van Dijk, "Inschriftenfunde," pl. 27, 44–45; Kabti-ilānī-Marduk appears in line 13. On these texts see also Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 43–44; Hruška, "Zur letzten Bearbeitung," 354 n. 1 and 358.

[174] See *The Verse Account of Nabonidus* v:12 (for a cuneiform autograph see Smith, *BHT*, pls. V–X, at pl. IX; for a recent edition see Schaudig, *Inschriften Nabonids*, 565–572). Lambert translates the title of this composition "The Lunar Crescent of Anu and Enlil" ("Catalogue," 65; see also 70).

[175] See *Catalogue of Texts and Authors* I:4–5 in Lambert, "Catalogue," on 64–65.

composition of a text beginning "I am Enlil" would have been ascribed to Adapa;[176] it may therefore be the case that the verb *kaṣāru* describes something other than "composing"—perhaps "compiling" or "writing down"—when used in reference to texts (recall that the catalogue is careful not to attribute the *composition* of the *Erra Song* to Kabti-ilānī-Marduk, but simply its revelation). On the other hand, the catalogue attributes something directly to Bullussa-rabi, presumably the Gula hymn discussed above;[177] since this text reads largely as a first-person declaration from Gula, it is not out of the question that a text in Enlil's voice may have been said to have been "composed" by another.

The evidence from Sumerian is no more illuminating. In the *Sumerian Temple Hymns* line 534 Enḫeduana is referred to using a personal noun formed from the equivalent Sumerian verb, KA kéš-da—lú-dub-KA-kéš-da[178]—which in this context could conceivably mean "compiler" rather than "composer" (although it need not). However, the same verb appears in Gudea Statue B viii:21, where it appears to mean "compose": èn-du KA-kéš-rá-mu, "the song that I composed."[179] Both of these texts are considerably earlier than the *Erra Song*, besides being in Sumerian, so we need not conclude that *kaṣāru* occupied the same semantic space in the first millennium that KA kéš-da did in the third millennium. It is also possible both terms were quite vague or flexible. The term *kāṣiru* can also refer to a professional who produces textiles in a particular way,[180] perhaps along the lines of knitting or crocheting, and this may underlie the extension of the term to the production of texts; I have translated *kaṣāru* as "put together" both because it falls in the general semantic ambit of "join" and because it is suitably vague. If the Mesopotamians lacked a conception of an "author"

[176] See ibid., 73.

[177] See *Catalogue of Texts and Authors* VI:2 in Lambert, "Catalogue," on 66–67; see also n. 157 above.

[178] See n. 149 above.

[179] For an edition see Edzard, *Gudea and His Dynasty*, 30–38. I am grateful to Professor Steinkeller for calling my attention to this passage.

[180] See *CAD*, s.v. "kāṣiru A."

specifically, as we understand the term, they may have used these terms to refer to the production of texts in different contexts, without making any claim about the composition of a text, which may not have been a primary concern.

Kabti-ilānī-Marduk is thus claiming some degree of responsibility for the text's production at the same time that he assigns ultimate responsibility to the divine. The oddity of this self-subverting gesture is that Kabti-ilānī-Marduk points directly toward himself, interjecting himself in his text, only in the very same act to point away from himself and toward the gods. By naming himself and disclosing the manner in which he received the text, Kabti-ilānī-Marduk has constructed a two-pronged system of authority that appeals both to himself and to the gods simultaneously: his personal credibility is implicated. The nature of his appearance here thus seems to arise from a set of cultural values in which the individual might have some significance, but originality does not—in fact, the unoriginality of his text is starkly asserted. His role in producing the text might thus be considered closer to prophecy[181] than to anything resembling "authorship," especially in the sense that the Romantics understood the latter, where the importance of the individual is tied directly to the value placed on originality.[182]

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[181] One is reminded, for example, of the prophet Muhammad's experience producing the written text of the Qur'an.

[182] Pamela Long provides us with a helpful schema for the history of authorship in the West: "A useful working definition of *authorship* for a variety of historical periods permits a gradation of meanings between the poles of authority and originality. Thus . . . in [classical] antiquity honor was accorded individual authors, so that the uncredited use of their works was regarded as theft, whereas in the medieval period the *auctoritas* of texts themselves predominated, so that *compilatio*, the compilation of authoritative texts, proceeded without concern for accurate credit to authorship" (*Openness, Secrecy, Authorship*, 9). For Long, then, authority tends to correlate with anonymity where originality correlates with named authorship. Yet in the *Erra Song*, we see named authorship being associated strongly with authority and not at all with originality. In other words, what is unusual about the *Erra Song* vis-à-vis its literary comparands is the "author"'s self-presentation within the text itself, but at the same time it is clear that even as the individual asserts his involvement in the text's production that value is still placed on authority, and the appearance of the individual entirely plays into and underscores that authority rather than making any assertion of originality. For that reason his appearance in his own text more closely mimics the appearance of a named prophet in an oracle than of an author in a work of literature: for although the text of the *Erra Song* differs significantly from oracles in several respects, prophetic oracles provide a useful parallel for thinking about how authorship might be associated with authority and not with originality. As J. P. Weinberg writes with respect to the

In a sense, Kabti-ilānī-Marduk is notarizing his text, including his own name and reputation but in order to sign off publicly on the message that the text originated in the divine realm; by the very nature of the role, a notary cannot be anonymous. The closest parallel from Mesopotamian culture may be the passage from the *mīs pî* rituals, evaluated above,[183] where the human artisans must ritually forswear any involvement in the production of the cult image in order to transfer its origins metaphysically into the realm of the divine. The emphasis on "I" in this passage (*anāku*, a pronoun that adds force to already first-person verbs)—the individual who proclaims his involvement in the creation of the cult statue only to forswear it—parallels Kabti-ilānī-Marduk's explicitly naming himself only to deny his ultimate role in the text's production.

Why does Kabti-ilānī-Marduk take the formula he inherited, whereby a scribe refers obliquely to him- or herself and to the text's origins, and name himself explicitly? Given the nature of the "stream of tradition" in Mesopotamian sources and the fact that in the first millennium much literary energy was being applied to the project of compiling and refashioning extant material, it is possible Kabti-ilānī-Marduk felt it necessary to insert his name in his text and swear explicitly to its divine origins for the reason that his masterpiece manifestly has no hoary pedigree. While anonymity might imply authority, it tends to function in concert with antiquity, and no claim to antiquity could be made for a text describing events in historical memory. There may have been a perception that the "canon" of mythological literature was closed, since such literature both

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Hebrew Bible, "The prophet is . . . to be named, because his [or her] audience has to know who is responsible for the correct or incorrect transmission of the divine word" ("Authorship and Author in the Ancient Near East," 160). (See also the helpful discussion comparing classical Greek authorship to Second Temple Jewish authorship in Wyrick, *Ascension of Authorship*, 1–8: "The Greek world valorized the creations of individual poets, orators, and philosophers, and immortalized their achievements in stone and archive. Jewish traditions de-emphasized individual composition, and articulated instead a doctrine of divine authorship, based upon a vision of the writer of scripture that took the prophet as its model. . . . Jewish traditions recognized authoritative writings as guaranteed by the prophetic status of their scribes or the mythical status of the figure that had first given utterance to the work, and tended to ignore other texts" [1–2]. Kabti-ilānī-Marduk's motivation for including his name, pedigree, and the manner in which the text was revealed to him is clearly more at home in the Jewish model of authorship than the Greek.)

[183] See above, p. 216, with the relevant note.

recounts events in *illo tempore* and originates in a distant past. Kabti-ilānī-Marduk's explanation as to the manner in which his mythological exposition of historical, recent events came about may have arisen from a perceived need to legitimize the text in spite of its then near-contemporary setting.

V. The Concluding State of Affairs

The text ends on a high note: Erra pronounces not one but two benedictions over the people of Babylonia (in *Erra Song* IV:131–136 and V:26–39) and a separate benediction over those who honor him through this text (in V:50–62). After putting his destructive proclivities to good use (that is, benefiting Babylonia) by proclaiming that the rest of the known world will dissolve into chaos such that Babylonia can rule over them (in the first benediction, IV:131–136),[184] Erra authorizes Išum to attack and cripple Mount Šaršar, the homeland of foreigners disruptive to Babylonian society (see IV:137–150).[185] The explicit message as the text concludes is that the cosmos has reached a point of at least temporary stability since Erra's default state is one of quiescence (see I:19–20), that Erra's capacity for violence has been turned to beneficial ends, that Babylonia is destined to become prosperous and powerful, and that the text itself can function as protection for individuals[186] even if nations are engulfed in calamity in the future (see V:50–59), as it appears Erra can be flattered into calm (V:19–20). However, the threat Erra's behavior poses has not been

[184] This passage appears to represent an ideal that will yet occur in the poet's future. Against early scholars, the "Akkadian" in *Erra Song* IV:136 must be a general designation and not any particular individual, in the same way that the Subartian, Assyrian, etc., in the preceding lines are general and not individual (see Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 532 for an argument that the "Akkadian" here should be Ḫammurapi and Langdon, *Mythology of All Races*, 145 for an argument that he is Sargon of Akkad; more recently Dalley [in *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 308] reads the passage as applying to a "man of Akkad").

[185] On Mount Šaršar see appendix A n. 460. While Erra does pronounce blessings on Babylonia, it is interesting that he is the instigator in the poem of violence against Babylonia itself where it is his compassionate vizier Išum to whom falls the task of perpetrating violence against the enemy.

[186] The text provides insurance for not just human but also divine individuals: see *Erra Song* V:50.

definitively neutralized: the rationales for his incorporation into the cosmos continue to obtain[187] and the very promises that the text itself can avert disaster for individuals raise the specter of a possible grim future for the cosmos in general if not for Erra's devotees in particular, a future in which Erra may again be aroused at any time.[188] There is thus a soft counterpoint melody of tenuousness hinted at behind the triumphant extravagance of the finale.

Addendum: Dating the Text

The issue of the date of the text's composition has generated lively scholarly discussion,[189] perhaps because the likely references to historical occurrences[190] raise the possibility that the text might be useful as a historical document.[191] At first blush the wealth of specificity in the text appears to be low-hanging fruit for the historian, but a number of factors have foiled the project of pinning down a specific time frame: 1) the text describes a period in which Babylon, Sippar, Uruk, Dūr-Kurigalzu, and Dēr are attacked in quick succession or simultaneously, but multiple such attacks are known to have occurred in the first millennium; 2) we can only guess at the accuracy of the author's information about these events, since it is possible the text drew on oral tradition,

[187] That is, Erra might decimate the terrestrial population at occasional intervals to keep the noise level down for his own well-being (see *Erra Song* I:41–44 and I:73) or so the Anunnakī can sleep (see I:81–82); he might be initially motivated, for example, to slaughter wild animals to benefit farmers and shepherds (I:83–86); and he might again wreak destruction in order to arouse awe for the pantheon or for himself specifically (see I:61–66, I:73, I:75, and I:119–123), although the injunction to praise him is clearly intended to mitigate this impulse (see the passage in which Išum models this behavior in V:16–23 as well as Erra's concluding blessings on those who are spared his fury by praising him through the text itself in V:49–62).

[188] See *Erra Song* V:58: ". . . even if Erra becomes furious and the (Divine) Heptad slaughter . . ." (*Erra* **lū agug-ma**/**līgug-ma**/**lūgug*-[*ma*]*] *lišgiš*(*ū*) (*Ilānī*) *Sebettī*). (Compare *Enūma Eliš* VII:132–134, where it appears the threat has likewise not been permanently neutralized.)

[189] According to Cagni, for no other text has such a variety of dates been proposed (*Poem of Erra*, 20). For an overview see below, n. 204.

[190] See especially the attacks on various cities, several of which include particular details, throughout tablet IV.

[191] This is in fact the intriguing use to which Beaulieu puts the text in his article "Abduction of Ištar."

which may have been garbled, or that several attacks on a particular city have been telescoped into one;[192] 3) we lack detailed information about the period that the text seems to describe, since the written record becomes sparser during periods of social unrest and invasion; and 4) it is difficult to distinguish between events that had a basis in recent historical memory at the time the text was composed and events that may have had more traction as near-archetypes: what we might label the "historical" and the "mythological" mingle freely.[193] In spite of its initially promising wealth of detail, then, the text has proven flexible enough in interpretation to be slotted into multiple historical eras.[194]

Despite these constraints, we can nevertheless gain a rough idea of the period in which the text was composed. The eleventh century serves as a *terminus a quo*, since the Suteans play an

[192] A possibility recognized also by Cagni (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 41).

[193] For example, how do we assess the list of ethnic groups in *Erra Song* IV:131–134? All of them apply to enemies of Babylonia at some point in its history, but it is far from clear that these designations are meant to describe contemporaneous groups of hostile forces. In later centuries the Suteans assumed near-demonic proportions as Babylonia's quintessential enemies, as in a late incantation, in which Lamaštu identifies herself as a Sutean (for an edition see Myhrman, "Labartu-Texte," 178–179 [the relevant line is iii:14] and for a recent translation see Foster, *Before the Muses*, 983). Lambert has argued that all of these groups were simultaneously hostile to Babylonia in the eleventh century and that this therefore must serve as the background to the text (Review of Gössmann, 397–398). However, it should be noted that rather than describing the forces that attack Babylonia in the course of the narrative, this list serves as a would-be comprehensive laundry list of theoretical enemies of Babylonia, all of whom will in an imagined utopian future become subservient to it at the culmination of its history. There are thus hermeneutical grounds for doubting that this list of ethnicities serves as a useful datum for pinning the text to a specific point in history.

[194] Early translators dated the text very early, Jastrow associating it with Ḫammurapi and the unification of Babylonia (*Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 532) and Langdon associating it with Sargon of Akkad but dating it to Ḫammurapi's reign (*Mythology of All Races*, 137). More recently, Oppenheim has seen behind it the Elamite attack on Babylon in the twelfth century (*Ancient Mesopotamia*, 268); Lambert has dated the composition to Nabû-apla-iddina's reign in the ninth century but understands it to describe Sutean raids of the eleventh century (Review of Gössmann, 397–400); Dalley has found evidence for the eighth century at the latest in quotations from the text stemming from that period (on which see below), although she believes the text "almost certainly incorporates older elements" (*Myths from Mesopotamia*, 282); von Soden, after initially advocating a higher date ("Problem der zeitlichen Einordnung," 22–23), has settled on the reign of Erība-Marduk and more specifically sometime between 765 and 763 ("Etemenanki vor Asarhaddon," 255–256); Gössmann has found evidence for the late eighth or early seventh centuries, during the reign of Sargon II or Sennacherib (*Era-Epos*, 88–89); and Gmirkin has dated it even later still, to late in Esarhaddon's reign (680–669 BCE), seeing in its verses the civil war at Babylon that brought Šūzubu (Mušēzib-Marduk) the Chaldean to power in 692, Sennacherib's defeat of Babylonian cities, and Esarhaddon's refurbishment of Marduk's cult image (*Berossus and Genesis*, 133). (The most significant of these proposals are evaluated in n. 204 below.)

undeniably prominent role in the breakdown the text recounts[195] and their attacks on Babylonia are known from other sources to have spanned the eleventh to the ninth centuries BCE.[196] The copy of the text from Sultantepe, on the other hand, is dated to between 718 and 612 BCE,[197] making the seventh century an absolute *terminus ad quem*. All of the copies are late and show very little variation,[198] pointing to a late compositional date, at the same time that they have been found disseminated from Sultantepe to Uruk, suggesting some time separates the date of the composition of the text from the date of the extant copies.[199]

A number of indications point to the eighth century (or perhaps slightly earlier) as the most promising candidate for the era of composition, although the events it describes may be earlier still. The text appears to be quoted in an inscription of Nabû-šuma-imbi (Nabû-šuma-imbi 2001) dated to the mid-eighth century,[200] as well as in an inscription of Marduk-apla-iddina II from the late eighth century,[201] which suggests it was already known by this time. Certain phrasing that appears

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[195] As Cagni recognizes (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 33). Cagni is exactly right that the Suteans must be accorded far more weight than any of the other ethnic groups mentioned in determining the text's historical background, since the Suteans are the only group explicitly said to attack Babylonia in the poem (in *Erra Song* IV:54 and IV:69), where the other ethnicities simply appear in an attempt at a comprehensive list of iconic Babylonian enemies who, it is imagined, will submit in the future (in IV:131–134; see also V:28, where the Suteans are singled out for future domination by the Akkadians).

[196] Brinkman, *Post-Kassite Babylonia*, 285–286.

[197] Hruška, "Zur letzten Bearbeitung," 355.

[198] Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 38. Cagni observes that the text is remarkably uniform, showing very little linguistic variation—perhaps for magical reasons (ibid., 24–25 and 28).

[199] Ibid. Specifically, since the text can only have been composed in Babylonia (the dialect is Babylonian with only insignificant Assyrianisms in some copies, and the text celebrates the triumph and ascension of Babylonia), some time likely passed between the composition of the text and its appearance at Sultantepe.

[200] See Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia*, 123 for this text's likely dating to the reign of Nabû-šuma-iškun and 117 on the dating of Nabû-šuma-iškun's reign. See chapter 3, "III. Erra's Associations by Topic: Plague," for an argument as to why it appears this inscription quotes the *Erra Song* and not the reverse. The quoted line is from *Erra Song* V:59.

[201] The latter part of *Erra Song* V:36 is quoted in an inscription of Marduk-apla-iddina II; see the relevant note in appendix A.

in the *Erra Song* is also known from the inscriptions of especially Sargon II, a contemporary of Marduk-apla-iddina II.[202] And Kabti-ilānī-Marduk's family name, Dābibī, is attested from the eighth century onward.[203] At present the balance of evidence thus favors this era; it is not clear that we have the means of dating the text more precisely at hand.[204]

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[202] According to Hruška, the use of *qê ettūti*, "spiderweb," with *šatû*, "to weave," as a way of conveying complete neglect (as in *Erra Song* I:88) otherwise only occurs in the inscriptions of Sargon II and Sennacherib ("Zur letzten Bearbeitung," 362). It is also in Sargon II's time that Arameans and Chaldeans began to be referred to regularly as Suteans (see Heltzer, *Suteans*, 95–96). And a similar phrase to *uḫallaq*/*tuḫalliq rēḫa* from *Erra Song* I:146—*uqatti rēḫa*—appears in line 147 of "Sargon's Eighth Campaign" (as pointed out by Chamaza, "VIIIth Campaign of Sargon II," 120 n. 86). Finally, it is in the inscriptions of Sargon II, as in *Erra Song* IV:33, that the *kidinnu*-citizens are said to be sacred to Anu and Dagān, not to their own city gods (Reviv, "*Kidinnu*," 289 and 292; Holloway, *Aššur Is King!*, 299).

[203] Dābibī is a family name (rather than a patronym) known from the eighth century and associated especially with Babylon (see Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 284; Nielsen, *Sons and Descendants*, especially 27 and 166). (See also *Mīs pî* BR 68 [in Walker and Dick, *Induction of the Cult Image*, 77 [edition], 82 [translation]] for an attestation of this family name.)

[204] Some doubt can be cast on all attempts to assign it more precisely to a particular reign or series of events. Oppenheim's suggestion that the Elamite attack on Babylon in the twelfth century lies behind it (*Ancient Mesopotamia*, 268) can be dismissed on the grounds that the Elamites are not said in the text to attack Babylon. Lambert's association of the text with the reign of Nabû-apla-iddina for the reason that this king styled himself "avenger of" the Suteans and took "an active interest in literature" (see Review of Gössmann, 400) is the most promising proposal to date, although of course the evidence is entirely circumstantial and this date falls a good century before the first attestation of the family name Dābibī. Von Soden's precise dating within the reign of Erība-Marduk—since the disturbances at Uruk known to have occurred in his reign appear to be described in *Erra Song* IV:52–62—to between 765 and 763, after the plague of 765 but before the solar eclipse of 763, which is not mentioned in the text (see "Etemenanki vor Asarhaddon," 255–256), can be rejected: the disturbances in Uruk during Erība-Marduk's tenure do not fit the *Erra Song* particularly well since no mention is made there of the removal of Ištar's statue, although the poem is to some degree preoccupied with the disposition of cult statues and the capture of Ištarān from Dēr is mentioned explicitly (see IV:69); plague plays no significant role in the story, against early interpretations; and we cannot even be certain that a solar eclipse is not mentioned, since it is the still fragmentary tablet II that recounts celestial events and one could even argue that a solar eclipse is described in II:4 and II:6. Finally, attempts to date the text very late, as Gmirkin recently has (to late in the reign of Esarhaddon; see *Berossus and Genesis*, 133), should be viewed with suspicion: Gmirkin's argument hinges on the association of Sutean attacks on Babylonia with the capture of Marduk's cult image, which he believes can only point to Sennacherib's reign. But Marduk's cult image is not said in the text to have been captured at all; rather, it has been removed voluntarily to "that building" for refurbishment—and not from an Assyrian temple where the emperor was housing it temporarily, but directly from the Esagil. It is also remarkable that the author shows no qualms about celebrating an imagined future in which the Assyrians (among others) are crushed by Babylonia (see IV:131–136) and yet consistently points to the Suteans, not the Assyrians, as the present threat (see IV:54 and IV:69; see also V:28), a fact that suggests elements of the story took shape in an era of Sutean attacks and infiltrations but before Assyrian domination of the south. The fact is that the particulars of the text do not quite fit what we know of any period perfectly, and in fact we cannot determine a priori that it is a reliable historical source describing social unrest and attacks on multiple cities that necessarily occurred in quick succession.

Chapter 7
Relationship to Other Literature

I. Method and Assumptions

In the foregoing chapters I have drawn on documents of every genre from the entire span of Mesopotamian history to illuminate the nature of the divine figures in the text under discussion before advancing my own set of interpretations of the poem. In the present chapter I turn to the *Erra Song*'s apparent literary comparands—that is, texts that resonate especially at the level of linguistic register, theological orientation, or narrative arc—to explore the context that informs how meaning may have been constructed in the *Erra Song*.

Scores of surviving literary and religious texts could be appealed to in such a project, but in the interest of imposing limits on its scope, only the texts with the most outstanding similarities have been chosen for evaluation. Although there is clear generic heterogeneity among the texts selected for discussion here, all of them exhibit at least some apparent overlap with the *Erra Song* in that they employ an elevated style to recount or discuss events with mythological or theological significance; most, like the *Erra Song* itself, are directly mythological. The two clearest literary parallels to the *Erra Song*, *Anzû*[1] and *Enūma Eliš*,[2] will be examined at some length; texts with a

[1] The most up-to-date edition of the Old Babylonian version of *Anzû* (OB *Anzû*) is that produced by Michael P. Streck and Nathan Wasserman, available at the Sources of Early Akkadian Literature (SEAL) website, http://hudd.huji.ac.il/ArtlidHomepage.aspx (under "Epics," "Old Babylonian," "Anzu II" and "Anzu III": 1.1.2.1 and 1.1.2.2). A monograph is said to be forthcoming. See further Vogelzang, *Bin šar dadmē*, 18–19 and 91–110 as well as the translation in Speiser, "Akkadian Myths and Epics," 111–113. (Some doubt has been cast on whether this text actually stems from the Old Babylonian period [for discussion see especially ibid., 111 and 115–118]. There are some indications the text we have at hand may represent a later copy of a now lost Old Babylonian *Vorlage*, for instance in the use of seemingly anachronistic CVC signs where the scribe ran out of space at the end of a line [see ibid., 116]).

The major editions of the Standard Babylonian recension of *Anzû* (SB *Anzû*) include Vogelzang, *Bin šar dadmē* and Annus, *Standard Babylonian Epic of Anzu*; see also Hallo and Moran, "SB Recension of the Anzu-Myth" and Saggs, "Additions to Anzu." The major translations are as follows: Speiser, "Akkadian Myths and Epics," 514–517; Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient*, 80–92; Bottéro and Kramer, *Lorsque les dieux*

more remote relationship to the *Erra Song*, including *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*,[3] *The Babylonian Theodicy*,[4] *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld*,[5] and finally the Sumerian compositions known as *The Cursing of Agade*[6] and *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur*,[7] will then each be treated briefly in turn.

It is assumed in what follows that meaning is constructed at a level above that of semantic field and syntactic relationships: texts as complete units lend themselves to meaning at the level of genre, and it is therefore profitable to evaluate our text in light of its most similar comparands. No conscious imitation is or need be assumed at the outset; although the *Erra Song* is believed to have been composed quite late[8] and thus after most if not all of the other texts under discussion here, the

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faisaient l'homme, 390–418; Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 201–227; Hecker, "Das Anzu-Epos"; and Foster, *Before the Muses*, 555–578. Line numbers follow Annus's edition.

[2] For an edition of *Enūma Eliš*, see Labat, *Le poème babylonien*; Talon, *Enūma Eliš*. For a translation see Heidel, *Babylonian Genesis*; Speiser, "Akkadian Myths and Epics," 60–72 and 501–503; Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient*, 36–70; Bottéro and Kramer, *Lorsque les dieux faisaient l'homme*, 602–679; Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 228–277; Lambert, "Enuma Elisch"; and Foster, *Before the Muses*, 436–486. Line numbers follow Talon's edition.

[3] For an edition of *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* see Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, 21–62*;* Annus and Lenzi, *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*. For a translation see Biggs, "Akkadian Didactic and Wisdom Literature," 596–600; Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient*, 328–341; von Soden, "*Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*"; and Foster, *Before the Muses*, 392–409. Line numbers follow Annus and Lenzi's edition.

[4] For an edition of *The Babylonian Theodicy* see Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, 63–91. For a translation see Biggs, "Akkadian Didactic and Wisdom Literature," 601–604; von Soden, "Die babylonische Theodizee"; and Foster, *Before the Muses*, 914–922. Line numbers follow Lambert's edition.

[5] For an edition of *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld* see Ebeling, *TuL*, 1–9; von Soden, "Unterweltsvision"; and Livingstone, *Court Poetry*, 68–76. For a translation see Speiser, "Akkadian Myths and Epics," 109–110; Foster, *Before the Muses*, 832–839. For scholarship, see Sanders, "First Tour of Hell." Line numbers follow von Soden's edition.

[6] For an edition of *The Cursing of Agade* see Falkenstein, "Fluch über Akkade"; Cooper, *Curse of Agade*. For a translation see Attinger, "Remarques à propos de la 'Malédiction d'Accad' "; Jacobsen, *Harps*, 359–374. Line numbers follow Cooper's edition.

[7] For an edition of *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* see Michalowski, *Lamentation over Sumer and Ur*. Line numbers follow Michalowski's edition.

[8] See chapter 6, "Addendum: Dating the Text," for an evaluation of the date of composition.

author[9] need not have been aware of any specific similar texts to have relied, whether implicitly or explicitly, on a shared or partially shared grammar of cultural conventions and topoi in its composition—whether to adhere to them or to subvert them. Our own cultural expectations for making meaning of texts have been calibrated by encounters with a profoundly different set of conventions, and while we will never encounter a text this foreign as an ancient Mesopotamian would, we can nevertheless school and refine those expectations by encounters with other exemplars on the generic horizon in view of which this text constructs meaning.[10]

Most Mesopotamian stories are lost. We cannot be certain that even sophisticated literary texts in the broad generic category of mythological poetic works such as the *Erra Song* have come down to us in representative numbers; in most cases such texts that survive were widely copied and disseminated as well as typically being archived in Aššurbanipal's Library and so may represent the most influential and celebrated exemplars in this genre, but do not necessarily represent all such texts that were known to our author—let alone all such stories that were known to our author. At the same time, the wide dissemination of copies of most of these texts enables us plausibly to suppose our author may have had access to some of them in some form.[11]

[9] The singular is used for convenience; it is not clear how many individuals played a part in the composition of this text.

[10] A number of these texts have closer relationships with each other than they do with the *Erra Song*. This is especially true of *Anzû* and *Enūma Eliš*, which share certain structural affinities and allusive phraseology. However, such connections lie outside the purview of this study, whose focus is the *Erra Song*. For an introduction to this topic, see Lambert, "Ninurta Mythology"; Machinist, "Order and Disorder," 37–46.

[11] Witnesses of the Standard Babylonian recension of *Anzû* have been found from Sultantepe to Borsippa (see Annus, *Standard Babylonian Epic of Anzu*, xxxv–xxxviii); *Enūma Eliš* has been found from Sultantepe to Uruk (see Talon, *Enūma Eliš*, xiii–xviii); *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* has been found from Sultantepe to Kish (see Annus and Lenzi, *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, xli–xlvi); and *The Babylonian Theodicy* has been found from Nineveh to Babylon (see Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, 69). In contrast, only one copy of *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld* survives (VAT 10057, photographs of which appear in von Soden, "Unterweltsvision," pls. I–II, between pages 8 and 9). However, the Sumerian composition *The Cursing of Agade* survives mostly in Old Babylonian copies from Nippur; a handful of copies date to the Ur III period, and a handful of the Old Babylonian copies were found at other sites on the alluvium or in Susa (see Cooper, *Curse of Agade*, 41–49).

Finally, it is worth stressing that texts that exhibit similarities can relate in complex ways: one text can consciously rework, parody, or pay homage to another; two texts can rely on a shared source; familiarity with one text can unconsciously shape another text's composition; and texts can even appear similar—perhaps in ways that are especially striking outside the culture—due entirely to their participation in a shared set of cultural norms with no reliance on or awareness of each other. It is also possible that certain norms for storytelling transcended particular genres and even written documents.

II. Stylistic Affinities

Before evaluating the affinities in structure and content between the *Erra Song* and each of these other compositions, we will first take up the issue of those relationships at the level of grammar, diction, and elements of style.

Features of Grammar

While the *Erra Song* has been composed in what is recognizably literary Standard Babylonian, it distinguishes itself from its would-be literary peers in Akkadian in a number of respects. Certain characteristics common in Standard Babylonian hearken back to literary Old Babylonian; these include the substitution of *lā* for *ul*, the ŠD-stem, apocopated prepositions, alternate literary bound and presuffixal forms, long bound forms ending in *-u* or occasionally *-i*, apocopated pronominal suffixes, and the presence of locatives and terminatives.[12] While the *Erra*

And copies of *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* survives exclusively in Old Babylonian copies (Michalowski, *Lamentation over Sumer and Ur*, 16).

[12] For an introduction to these characteristics of the Old Babylonian literary register, see Huehnergard, *Grammar of Akkadian*, 346–347. (Most of these characteristics are addressed in the much fuller treatment of literary Old Babylonian by Izre'el and Cohen, *Literary Old Babylonian*, which, however, considers this variety of Akkadian as a linguistic unit in itself and does not necessarily highlight these characteristics vis-à-vis what these authors call Everyday Old Babylonian.)

Song exhibits certain of these classical features of Babylonian literary style, others are entirely absent; on the other hand, the *Erra Song* displays other signals of an elevated literary style that it does not owe to Old Babylonian literature.

In its use of negative particles, the *Erra Song* shows a marked preference for *ul* over *lā* even in independent clauses where the negative particle modifies the verb,[13] in a manner that contrasts with the Old Babylonian literary register but is entirely consonant with Old Babylonian prose[14] and indeed with Middle and Neo-Babylonian convention.[15] In this it is similar to most of the texts under investigation here, in which *ul* is distinguished fairly rigorously from *lā*.[16] The outliers appear to be the Old Babylonian (OB) edition of *Anzû*, where *lā* unsurprisingly appears for *ul* on the single occasion on which such a particle is called for,[17] and *Enūma Eliš*, which likewise follows this early poetic convention of substituting *lā* for *ul*.[18]

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[13] See appendix A n. 115.

[14] See Huehnergard, *Grammar of Akkadian*, 199.

[15] See *CAD*, s.v. "ul," for numerous attestations in prose contexts in Middle and Neo-Babylonian. (This contrasts with Neo-Assyrian practice, in which *lā* has replaced *ul* even in prose; see Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 120.)

[16] In SB *Anzû*, *lā* can occasionally appear for *ul* (see I:15 and I:18), but *ul* is more common in such contexts (see II:67, II:69, II:77, II:83, II:85, and II:92). The same is true for *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* (see II:48 and IV:29, the latter of which could conceivably be prohibitive, for attestations of *lā* for *ul*; compare I:30, I:32, I:52, II:3, II:4, II:5, II:6, II:7, II:8, II:9, II:73, II:74, II:82, II:83, II:103, II:110, II:111, II:112 [twice], II:113 [twice], III:1, and III:19) as well as *The Babylonian Theodicy* (see 8:78, 24:257, and 24:264 for attestations of *lā* for *ul*; compare 23:244, 27:290, 27:292, 27:293, and 27:294). In *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld* the two negative particles appear to be completely distinguished (see lines 6, 14, 19, 36, 48, and 60 for examples of *ul* with independent verbs).

[17] See OB *Anzû* III: obv. 15.

[18] For examples of *lā* appearing in contexts in which *ul* would be expected in Old Babylonian prose, see *Enūma Eliš* I:6 (twice), I:20, I:25, I:28, I:38, I:48, I:94, I:110, I:114, I:145, II:31, II:51, II:89, II:113, III:128, IV:54, VI:37, VII:4, VII:49, VII:112, VII:114, VII:151, and VII:152. This survey is conservative, since instances of *lā* with the durative have been excluded since they could conceivably represent the prohibitive. (For occurrences of *ul* see I:116, I:117, I:120, II:86, II:92, II:110, II:112 [partially reconstructed], II:116, II:123, II:124, II:126 [partially reconstructed], IV:71, VII:153, and VII:154.)

The *Erra Song* is similarly out of touch with Old Babylonian poetic convention in the use of the ŠD-stem, which appears to be entirely lacking in this text.[19] The same can be said for *The Babylonian Theodicy* and the Standard Babylonian (SB) recension of *Anzû*. Such forms appear infrequently in OB *Anzû*,[20] *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*,[21] and—perhaps unexpectedly, given that it is a late composition in prose—once in *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld*.[22] Famously, a wealth of attestations of ŠD forms appears throughout *Enūma Eliš*.[23]

Another feature of literary Old Babylonian, apocopated prepositions (such as *an* for *ana*, *in* for *ina*, and *el* for *eli*), is lacking in all of these texts except *Enūma Eliš*[24] and *The Babylonian Theodicy*;[25] in the latter example the author has only made occasional use of these forms and only at the beginning of lines for the sake of the acrostic. Even OB *Anzû*, the only Old Babylonian Akkadian text under discussion here, lacks such forms.[26]

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[19] On the single apparent example of a ŠD form in the *Erra Song*, see appendix A n. 344.

[20] See OB *Anzû* II:49 (*ušweddi*) and II:50 (*ušweddû*).

[21] See *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* I:23 (*ušrašši*), I:26 (*uštapparu*), and I:56 (*ušlemmin*). (There is also a possible ŠD participle in I:27 [*mušmanṭi*; Annus and Lenzi, *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, xxvii]; see George and al-Rawi, "Three Wisdom Texts," 198 n. 27 for possible translations.)

[22] See *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld* line 10 (*ušmalli*).

[23] See *Enūma Eliš* I:39 (*lušḫalliq*), I:45 (*nušḫallaq*), I:86 (*ušmalli*), I:134 (*ušraddi*), I:136 (*ušmal*[*li*]), I:148 (*ušrabb*[*iš*]), I:154 (*ušmalli*), I:162 (*lišrabb*[*ib*]), II:20 (*ušraddi*), II:22 (*ušmalla*), II:34 (*ušrabbiš*), II:40 (*ušmalli*), II:48 (*lišrabbib*), II:70 (*ušḫalliqu*), III:24 (*ušraddi*), III:26 (*ušmal*[*li*]), III:38 ([*u*]*šrab*[*biš*]), III:44 ([*ušmalli*]), III:52 (*lišrabbib*), III:82 (*ušraddi*), III:84 (*ušmalli*), III:96 (*ušrabbiš*), III:102 (*ušmalli*), III:110 ([*lišrabbib*]), IV:146 (*ušramma*), and V:82 (*ušnammir*).

[24] See *Enūma Eliš* I:41 (*in*, copy M), I:56 (*an*, copies C, S, Z, and AA), I:125 (*elša*), I:128 (*an*), I:160 (*an*, copy o), II:4 (*an*, copy M), III:50 (*an*), III:108 (*an*), IV:20 (*an*), V:1 (*an*), V:118 (*an*, copy H), V:120 (*elkun*), VII:27 (*an*), VII:96 (*an*), and VII:120 (*el*, copy L) (following Labat/Talon's identification of the manuscripts).

[25] See *The Babylonian Theodicy* 5:49 ([*aq-q*]*āti*[?]), 5:51 ([*ak-k*]*imilti*), 7:72 (*il-ligimîya*), and 7:73 (*il-labān*).

[26] However, in spite of its fragmentary state, there are numerous examples of the full forms of these prepositions: see OB *Anzû* II:6, II:8, II:10, II:11, II:12, II:13, II:26, II:28 (partially reconstructed), II:33, II:36, II:42 (partially reconstructed), II:43, II:46, II:49 (twice, once partially reconstructed), II:58, II:66, II:70, II:71, II:72, III: obv. 4, III: obv. 15, III: rev. 8' (twice), III: rev. 12', and III: rev. 16' (and this list excludes reconstructed forms).

Literary Old Babylonian also features alternate bound and presuffixal substantives, masculine singular forms that end "irregularly" in /a/—such as *bukrašu* for *bukuršu* or *rigmašu* for *rigimšu*—and feminine singular forms that end "irregularly" in /at/—such as *milkassun* for *miliktašunu* or *napšatuš* for *napištašu*.[27] Eventually bound and presuffixal forms of this latter type clearly gave rise to literary byforms of the words themselves, whether bound or not; these include such well-known late literary forms as *kabtatu* for *kabattu* and *tuklatu* for *tukultu*. Such forms are fairly common in *Anzû*[28] and extremely common in *Enūma Eliš*.[29] But in the *Erra Song*,[30] *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*,[31] and *The Babylonian Theodicy*[32] these forms are much rarer and exclusively of the

[27] See Huehnergard, *Grammar of Akkadian*, 347.

[28] For examples of alternate masculine bound and presuffixal forms in *Anzû*, see *zikraš*[*unu*] in SB *Anzû* I:43 and *zikra* in II:28. For examples of alternate feminine bound and presuffixal forms in *Anzû*, see *napšassu* in SB *Anzû* II:17 (compare OB *Anzû* II:69), II:21, II:113, II:117, II:135, and OB *Anzû* III: rev. 7'; *tuklat* in II:58 (compare OB *Anzû* III: obv. 14); *busratīšu* in III:22 (possibly plural); and *tuqmatīka* in III:167 (possibly plural). For examples of nonbound literary byforms, see *tuqmati* in I:7 and *tuqmate* in II:53 (possibly plural—but notice the latter example appears between two singular synonyms); *busrati* in II:18 and *busrate* in II:114 (possibly plural); and perhaps *annatu* for *anantu* in II:33. (Reconstructed forms have been excluded.)

[29] For examples of alternate masculine bound and presuffixal forms in *Enūma Eliš*, see *bukrašu* in I:15; *tamšīlašu* in I:16; *muṭibba* in I:31 (compare *muṭīb* in III:3); *gipārašu* in I:77; *šagīmašu* in II:52; *rigmaša* in II:90 and II:114 and *rigmašu* in VII:120; *milkaša* in II:93 and II:117; *urḫašu* in III:67 and IV:59; *imnašu* in IV:37 and V:95; *zikrašu* in V:112; *nagbašunu* in VI:166; and *gimrašun* in VII:131 (compare *gimiršunu* in VII:43). For examples of alternate feminine bound and presuffixal forms see *epšetašun* in I:27, *epšetaša* in II:85, *epšessu* in IV:68, *epšet* in VI:85 and VII:91 (possibly plural), and *epšetašu* in VII:18; *alkassunu* in I:28, I:37, I:39, I:46, and VII:130 and *alkassun* in IV:108 and VII:17 (compare *alaktīni* in VI:156); *uṣurat* in I:61; *ḫīratuš* in I:78; *gimrassunu* in I:154, II:40, III:44, III:102, and VI:40 and *gimrassun* in VI:79 and VII:118; *kabt*[*as*]*su* in II:51 and *kabtatuš* in II:100; *napšassu* in IV:18 and *napšatuš* in IV:31, IV:103, and IV:109 (compare *napištašu* in IV:17 and VII:132); *šīmatuš* in IV:33; *miḫrit* in IV:142 and VI:62; *tuqmatīšunu* in IV:118 (possibly plural); *maṣrat* in V:46; *libnassu* in VI:58 (compare *libittašu* in VI:60); *milkassun* in VI:162; *alkassu* in VI:108 and VII:144; *ešressun* in VI:110 and *ešretiš* in VII:53; *alkatuš* in VI:122; and *neberit* in VII:124. For examples of nonbound literary byforms, see *alkata* in I:49; *eṣmeta* in VI:5; *pulḫata* in I:86; *busratu* in IV:32 (possibly plural), *busrati* in V:83 (possibly plural), and *busrat* in IV:132 (possibly plural); and *tuqmate* in II:128 (possibly plural).

[30] For examples of alternate feminine bound and presuffixal forms in the *Erra Song*, see *kabtatka* in I:14; *ḫīratuš* in I:20; and *kabtat* in IV:58; a nonbound literary byform (*šīmati*) can be seen in IV:101.

[31] For examples of alternate feminine presuffixal forms in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*, see *napšassu* in IV:74 (compare *napištašu* in I:59) and *pulḫassina* in III:89 (compare *puluḫtašu* in III:2). For examples of nonbound literary byforms, see *damqatu* in III:48; *iratu* in I:75; *kimati* in I:79; *pulḫati* in III:12 (possibly plural); and *šunata* in III:21.

[32] For an example of an alternate feminine presuffixal form in *The Babylonian Theodicy*, see *napšat* in 3:32; for examples of nonbound literary byforms see *miṭratu* in 25:245 and *tuklatu* in 27:290.

feminine type, whether bound or nonbound. All such forms appear to be entirely lacking in *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld*. Here as elsewhere *Enūma Eliš* has the clearest relationship to Old Babylonian literary style.

In contrast, long bound forms with a final *-u* or *-i* are much more widespread: every text under discussion preserves multiple examples.[33] This may also be true of apocopated pronominal suffixes, but they are distributed very unequally: extremely common in *Enūma Eliš*,[34] they are also well attested in the *Erra Song*[35] and *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*[36] but are quite rare in *The Babylonian*

[33] In SB *Anzû* see *mušašqû* in I:6; [*ra*]*pšu* in I:186; *muttabbilu* in I:186 (compare OB *Anzû* II:38 and II:40); *erṣetu* in II:6; *uggati* in II:39; and *an*[*q*]*ullu* in III:5.

In *Enūma Eliš* see *tārītu* in I:86; *maḫri* in I:149 and III:39; *mu'irrūtu* in I:149 and II:35; *ādiru* in II:30, III:34, and III:92; *maḫru* in II:35; *mušimmu* in II:61 and II:63; *munappišu* in II:132; *amātu* in II:135; *mūdû* in II:149; *gimri* in II:149; *bēlu* in II:155 and VII:26; *mutirru* in IV:13; *šarrūtu* in IV:14 and VI:99; *dā'ipu* in IV:30; *paqādu* in V:84; *zāninu* in V:115; *zikri* in VI:1; *dullu* in VI:8; *muṭaḫḫidu* in VI:124; *tukultu* in VI:135; *bānû* in VII:2, VII:79, VII:80, VII:83, and VII:89; *mušēṣû* in VII:2; *mukinnu* in VII:62; *mušabšû* in VII:67; *mutarrû* in VII:72; *nādinu* in VII:79; *murabbitu* in VII:81; *pāqidu* in VII:85; *ēpišu* in VII:89; and *šarru* in VII:95 (*mu'irrūta* in III:97 and *šalamta* in VII:71 probably belong in this category as well, although not classically Old Babylonian in form).

In *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* see *ūmi* in I:41; *mūtamû* in I:94; *unâti* in I:113; *ūmu* in II:16, II:25, and II:26; *ridûti* in II:26; *ikribi* in II:27; *tanadāti* in II:31; *nalši* in III:81; and perhaps *rimki* in IV:35 and *ṭuḫdi* in IV:60 (these could also be construed as having pronominal suffixes).

In *The Babylonian Theodicy* see *lu*[*m*]*nu* in I:8; *ūmu* in 3:33; *kibsi* in 8:86; and *bānû* in 26:276.

In *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld* see *bēltu* in line 30; *zikri* in line 34; *bānû* in line 42; *pulḫi* in line 48; *agû* in line 51; *kāmî* in line 57; *palkû* in line 66; *epri* in line 71; *qurdi* in line 72; *rēṣūti* in line 72; and *uzni* in line 73.

In the *Erra Song* see *muttarrû* in I:21; *šumqutu* in I:43; *būli* in I:43 (copy A); *maḫri* in I:108 and IIIc:54; *pāši* in I:156 (copies E and U); *pātiqu* in I:160; *ūmi* in IIIc:31 and V:20; *uzzu* in IIIc:41; *rābiṣu* in IV:17; *gimilli* in IV:23 (copy RR); *šupluḫu* in IV:56 (copy RR); *ūmu* in IV:89; and *agri* in V:8 (copy BB).

[34] By my count there are nearly ninety; see for example *zārûšun* in *Enūma Eliš* I:3; *gimrīšun* in I:4; *qerebšun* in I:9; *rigimšun* in I:25; *elīšun* in I:26; *epšētašun* in I:27; *bukrīšun* in I:34; *puḫruššun* in I:55; *šibqīšun* in I:60; *ḫīratuš* in I:78; *bānī*[*šu*]*n* in I:128; *iduš* in I:129; *iratuš* in I:157; etc.

[35] See *kakkīkun* in *Erra Song* I:8; *libbuk* in I:14 and IV:138; *ḫīratuš* in I:20; *ilūssun* in I:23; *pānuššun* in I:27 (copy A); *z*[*ik*]*iršun* in I:29; *kakkūšun* in I:45; *kubukkuš* in I:55; *rēš*[*ā*]*šun* in I:69 and *rēšāšin* in V:37; *ḫubūrši*[*n*] in I:73; *gamālšin* in I:107; *maššarāk* in I:113; *ašruššun* in I:134 and I:137; *zērūšin* in I:138 (copy X); *ašaršun* in I:148; *libbuš*? in II:17 and *libbuš* in II:124 (copy W); *nišīšin* in II:29 and II:66; *ittuš* in II:64; *su*[*ppīš*]*un* in II:137; *ilšin* in IIIa:11; *milikšun* in IIIc:40; *parṣīšu*[*n*] in IIIc:47; *qātāšun* in IV:13; *qātuš*[*šin*] in IV:53; *ilūšin* in IV:93; *nagabšu*(*n*) in IV:136 (copies P and RR); and *iḫḫazuš* in V:56 (copy SS).

[36] See *rittuš* in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* I:10; *ālittuš* in I:18; *gumālšin* in I:39; *libbuš* in I:56; *ilassun* in I:65; *qaqqaršun* in I:73; *šēduš* in I:97; ^{d}UTU-*sun* in II:120; *irdašin* in III:93; *idiltaš* in III:99; *mā*[*na*]*ḫtašin* in III:g; *rūšuš* in III:j; *kabattašun* in IV:57; and *kirissin* in IV:80.

Theodicy.[37] They are even rarer in *Anzû*, and, furthermore, are used idiosyncratically in that they only appear with the locative suffix.[38] It is likely they are entirely absent from *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld*, where only one dubious example has been reconstructed.[39]

The final characteristic of Old Babylonian literary style evaluated here is the use of locatives and terminatives. Where locatives are not uncommon in the *Erra Song*,[40] they appear to be even more common in SB *Anzû*[41] and *Enūma Eliš*.[42] They are found however less frequently in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*[43] and are entirely lacking from *The Babylonian Theodicy* and *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld*. In all four texts in which they are attested they appear almost exclusively with pronominal suffixes,[44] no doubt to avoid ambiguity with the nominative. However, the meaning appears to be slightly different across these texts: in *Enūma Eliš* the locative suffix nearly always

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[37] See *kabattuk* in *The Babylonian Theodicy* 8:80; *nisiš* in 20:215; and *šarkūš* in 26:284.

[38] See *bītuš* in SB *Anzû* II:19, II:115, and II:137 and *tamḫāruš* in II:34. (Non-apocopated suffixes, in contrast, are very common in this text.)

[39] See *bēlīšu*[*n*?] in *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld* line 3.

[40] In the *Erra Song* see *uršuššu* in I:19; *pānuššu*(*n*) in I:27; *pānuššu* in I:125, II:37, and V:2; *ašruššun* in I:134 and I:137; *ašrukka* in I:182; *daltuššu* in II:47; *ramānuššu* in II:123; *libbuš*(*šu*) in II:124; *mērênuššu* in IIIa:20; *pānukka* in IIId:7; *qātukka* in IIId:7; *pānuššunu* in IV:15; *šēpuššu* in IV:47; *qātuš*[*šin*] in IV:53; *qerbuššu* in IV:100 (copy W); and *ganūššu* in IV:102.

[41] In SB *Anzû* see *qātuššu* in I:81, I:108, I:150, I:210, II:66, II:82, III:21, III:27, and III:37 and *q*[*ātuššu*] in II:97; *bītuš* in II:19, II:115, and II:137; *tamḫāruš* in II:34; *iduššu* in II:34; *apukka* in II:79 and *apu*[*kka*] in II:94; *qablum-ma* in II:105 and *qabl*[*u*]*m*-[*m*]*a* II:127; and *uzuššu* in III:19.

[42] In *Enūma Eliš* see *ašruššu* in I:77, V:126, V:142, VI:73, and VII:40; *qātuššu* in I:106, I:152, II:38, III:42, III:44, and III:100; *iduššu* in I:114, IV:38, and V:100; *libbukki* in I:117; *iduš* in I:129, II:15, III:19, III:77, and IV:44; *qātukka* in I:154 and II:40; *iratuš* in I:157, II:43, and III:47; *libbukka* in II:66; [*aš*]*ruššun* in IV:74; *elītum* in III:125; *itûkka* in IV:10; *ašrukka* in IV:12 and IV:74; *idušša* in IV:51; *imnuššu* in IV:55; *rāšuššu* in IV:58; *rittuššu* in IV:62; *mišlušša* in IV:138; *binûtuššu* in IV:143; *ramānuš* in V:52; *šēpuššu* in V:60 and V:74; *libbuš* in V:63; *kittabruš* in V:71; *qerbuššu* in V:123; *arnuššu* in VI:26; *têrētuš* in VI:41; *qerbuš* in VI:52 and VI:54; *qibītuššu* in VI:104; *binâtuššu* in VI:107 and VII:113; *nannûššu* in VI:132; *uzuššu* in VII:74; *dūruššu* in VII:92; and *pānuššu* in VII:157.

[43] In *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* see *uzzuššu* in I:7; *ālittuš* in I:18; *bītuššu* in I:62; *šēduššu* in I:64; *ramānuš* in II:34; *apsûššu* in II:53; *ri*[*ttuššu*] in III:24; *qātuššu* in III:46; and *apsûššu* in III:71.

[44] This is always the case in the *Erra Song* and *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* and nearly always the case in the other two texts: in SB *Anzû* the form can appear with an enclitic (*qablum-ma*), and in *Enūma Eliš* there is one locative that stands alone (*elītum*).

appears for *ina*, as in Old Babylonian; occasionally it stands in for *ana*,[45] and more commonly than that it stands in for a regular case ending.[46] This is similar to its use in the *Erra Song*, in which it usually replaces *ina*,[47] rarely *ana*,[48] and once a regular case ending,[49] as well as its use in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*, in which it typically replaces *ina* but can also replace *ana*[50] or another preposition.[51] In SB *Anzû* it replaces *ina* and *ana* equally often.[52]

Terminatives, too, are used differently across these texts. Not especially prevalent in the *Erra Song*, *Anzû*, or *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld*, they can attach to nominal bases and replace *ina*, *ana*, or *kīma*,[53] in addition to their more prosaic use forming adverbs from adjective bases.[54] In *Enūma Eliš*, in contrast, they are prodigiously common[55] and in addition to these uses

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[45] See *idušše* in *Enūma Eliš* I:114 and perhaps *itûkka* in IV:10.

[46] See *mišlušša* in *Enūma Eliš* IV:138; *binûtušše* in IV:143; *arnušše* in VI:26; *têrētuš* in VI:41; *qibītušše* in VI:104; *binâtušše* in VI:107 and VII:113; and *dūruššu* in VII:92.

[47] And once it appears in addition to *ina*, in *Erra Song* II:123.

[48] Only in the phrase *târu ašrum*, in *Erra Song* I:134, I:137, and I:182 (the attestations in *CAD*, s.v., "târu," suggest this phrase relies on either *ana* or the locative).

[49] See *ganūšše* in *Erra Song* IV:102.

[50] See *ālittuš* in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* I:18 and *apsûšše* in III:71.

[51] See *šēduššu* in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* I:64 and *apsûšše* in II:53.

[52] For examples of the apparent use of the locative for *ana* see *qātušše* in SB *Anzû* I:210, III:21, III:27, and III:37; *bītuš* in II:19, II:115, and II:137; *tamḫāruš* in II:34(?); and *apukka* in II:79 and *apu*[*kka*] in II:94.

[53] In the *Erra Song* see *eliš* and *šapliš* in I:37 and I:61; *aḫāmiš* in IIIa:14, IV:87, and IV:135; *amēliš* in IV:3; *iṣṣūriš* in IV:10; *ištēniš* in IV:28; *rēḫāniš* in V:42; and perhaps *ḫabinniš* in IV:5 (the meaning is unknown).

In OB *Anzû* see *ṭiṭṭiš* in II:22; *muttiš* in II:71; and *šadîššu* in II:74 (all of these use the terminative to replace *ana*, as one would expect of classical Old Babylonian). In SB *Anzû* see *ṭi*[*ṭṭiš*] in I:112 (compare OB *Anzû* II:22), *ṭiṭṭiš* in I:133, [*ṭí*]*ṭ*[*tí*]*š* in I:154; and *gallâniš* in II:11.

In *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld* see the well-known adverb *ištēniš* in lines 4 and 61 as well as *šiltāḫiš* in line 71.

[54] In the *Erra Song* see [*ṣa*]*rpiš* in I:84; *qâliš* in I:95; *mitḫāriš* in II:7 (copy Y); *palḫiš* in V:3; and *ma'diš* in V:26 (with *ana*).

In SB *Anzû* see *dalḫiš* in I:158; *šamriš* in II:49 and III:56; *da'ummiš* in II:51; *ḫadîš* in III:25; and *ma'diš* in III:157.

In *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld* see *ezziš* in line 55; *ḫanṭiš* in line 67; and *marṣiš* in line 72.

can also attach to infinitives;[56] furthermore, words built on the terminative can themselves function as prepositions[57] or take pronominal suffixes.[58] Although less wide-ranging in their uses, they are also quite common in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*[59] and *The Babylonian Theodicy*,[60] where, as in *Enūma Eliš*, the majority of them are formed on nominal bases. It is likely the morpheme was still considered productive on nouns (not just adjectives) by the authors of at least some of these texts, as several of these terms are not known from other sources.[61] However, for the unique terms in *Enūma Eliš* the terminative morpheme replaces *ana* or *ina*, where in the other texts it replaces *kīma*. This tracks its usage more generally: in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*, *The Babylonian Theodicy*, and the *Erra Song* the

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[55] There are well over a hundred examples in the extant text.

[56] See *dalāpiš* in *Enūma Eliš* I:66; *šupšuḫiš* in I:75; *ḫasāsiš* in I:94 and VI:37; *amāriš* in I:94; *dulluḫiš* in I:119; *maḫāriš* in II:124, II:136, III:56, III:114, and IV:2; *qitrubiš* in II:133; *naparšudiš* in IV:110; *labāniš* in V:87; *pašāḫiš* in VI:26; *palāḫiššu* in VI:113; *nâḫiš* in VII:128; and *labāriš* in VII:133.

Note also *ṣabāriš* in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* III:90; *ṭapāpiš* in *The Babylonian Theodicy* 3:32; and perhaps *dubbubiš* in *The Babylonian Theodicy* 4:35.

[57] See *qerbiš* in *Enūma Eliš* I:75, IV:41, IV:48, and VII:103; *ṣēriš* in I:32 and IV:128; *mu*[*tt*]*iš* in II:8, *muttiš* in II:99 and III:131, and [*mut*]*tiš* in II:133; *maḫāriš* in II:124, II:136, III:56, III:114, and IV:2; *ašriš* in III:4, III:68, and IV:60; and *maḫriš* in VI:31.

[58] See *palāḫiššu* in *Enūma Eliš* VI:113 (also *šadîššu* in OB *Anzû* II:74).

[59] See *tarāniš* in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* I:48; [*ū*]*miš* in I:66; *utukkiš* in I:66; *išātiš* in I:68; *appatiš* in I:70; *ḫašikkiš* in I:71; *šaqummeš* in I:72; *etelliš* in I:77; *ēdāniš* in I:79; *ekalliš* in I:81; *sūpîš* in I:89; *zammāriš* in I:108; *ḫaššiš* in I:110; *ṭābtiš* in I:118; *qalliš* in II:22; *iliš* in II:31 and III:32; *uddeš* in II:39; *surriš* in II:40; *lallareš* in II:42; *šalamtiš* in II:44; *ištēniš* in II:58, III:7, and III:92; *igāriš* in II:68; *urubāʾiš* in II:69; *buppāniš* in II:70; *maqtiš* in II:80; *daddariš* in II:88; *surriš* in II:103; *malmališ* in III:8; *nīšiš* in III:32 and III:78; *arḫiš* in III:50 and IV:28; *ekurriš* in III:7; *imbāriš* in III:79; [*s*]*ûʾiš* in III:80; *ṣabāriš* in III:90; *lagabbiš* in III:96; *malīliš* in III:97; *eliš* in III:101; *amāliš* in III:d; and *šulmāniš* in IV:116.

[60] See *lā lēʾîš* in *The Babylonian Theodicy* I:14; *ukkuliš* in 2:15; *ṭapāpiš* in 3:32; *dubbubiš* in 4:35; *iliš* in 5:54; *ammatiš* in 6:58; *gīriš* in 6:64; *kīniš* in 8:84; <*šar*>*rāqiš* in 13:139; *bītbītiš* in 13:140; *bīriš* in 13:141; *pisnuqiš* in 13:142; *labbiš* in 23:247; *zilullîš* in 23:249; *mitḫāriš* in 24:258; *kalîš* in 24:259; *šarḫiš* in 26:281; *šarrāqiš* in 26:283; *sarriš* in 26:285; *šarbābiš* in 26:286; *nēḫiš* in 27:291; and *rēšiš* in 27:294.

[61] In *Enūma Eliš*, see especially the following, for which *CAD* lists only one attestation or very few others: *urriš* in I:50; *ṭubbātiš* in I:64; *šuršiš* in IV:90 and VI:66; *tāḫāziš* in IV:94 and VII:56; *sapāriš* in IV:112; *kamāriš* in IV:112; and *kišukkiš* in IV:114.

This is also true, for example, of *lagabbiš* in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* III:96; *rēšiš* in *The Babylonian Theodicy* 27:294; and *rēḫāniš* in *Erra Song* V:42, as well as the uncertain term *ḫabinniš* in *Erra Song* IV:5. Of course, we must not leap to the conclusion that our set of attestations accurately captures all the attestations known at the time these texts were composed, but at the very least it appears such terms were rare and were reserved for literary contexts.

terminative morpheme tends to replace *kīma*,[62] where the usage in *Enūma Eliš* hews more closely to the Old Babylonian, typically replacing *ana*[63] (or *ina*).[64]

A number of other stylistic features, which are not characteristic of the Old Babylonian literary register, are worth evaluating as well. All six Akkadian texts shy pronouncedly away from indicating the sound shift where /š/ is represented as /l/ before an alveolar stop,[65] seemingly out of conservatism. On the other hand, the use of the preterite (or, rarely, predicative verbal adjective) with the enclitic *-ma* connected to a durative to indicate facilitation appears exclusively in the *Erra Song*[66] and may have been characteristic of its author's dialect.[67]

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[62] For examples in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*, see [*ū*]*miš* in I:66; *utukkiš* in I:66; *išātiš* in I:68; *appatiš* in I:70; *ḫašikkiš* in I:71; *etelliš* in I:77; *zammāriš* in I:108; *ṭābtiš* in I:118; *iliš* in II:31 and III:32; *lallareš* in II:42; *šalamtiš* in II:44; *igāriš* in II:68; *urubā'iš* in II:69; *daddariš* in II:88; *nīšiš* in III:32; *imbāriš* in III:79; [*s*]*û'iš* in III:80; *lagabbiš* in III:96; and *malīliš* in III:97.

For examples in *The Babylonian Theodicy*, see *lā lē'îš* in I:14; *iliš* in 5:54; *ammatiš* in 6:58; *gerriš* in 6:64; *šarrāqiš* in 13:139 and 26:283; *labbiš* in 23:247; *zilullîš* in 23:249; and *rēšiš* in 27:294.

For examples in the *Erra Song*, see *amēliš* in IV:3; *iṣṣūriš* in IV:10; and *rēḫāniš* in V:42.

[63] As for example in *ḫasāsiš* in *Enūma Eliš* I:94 and in *ašriš* in III:4, III:68, and IV:60.

[64] As for example in *mūšiš* in *Enūma Eliš* I:38 and in *kišukkiš* in IV:114. Very rarely it replaces *kīma*, as in *iliš* in II:24 and *maḫḫūtiš* in IV:88.

[65] The single example in SB *Anzû*, *ultēriba*, appears in III:45.

Outside the use of the preposition *ultu* for *ištu* in *Enūma Eliš* (in I:73, I:88, IV:105, V:45, V:101, V:115, V:125, V:127, VI:35, VI:45, VI:67, VI:76, VI:92, and VI:123—and notice *ištu* appears in a number of the manuscripts), I am aware of only four examples of this phenomenon: *iltasi* in I:42; *ilsī-ma* in II:129; *iltānu* in IV:132; and *ultēšibši* in VI:94 (where copy I has *uštēšib*[*ši*]).

Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi has only one example, *bālti* in I:47, outside its use of *ultu* for *ištu* (see I:41 in copy ff, II:54, II:55, and III:51, as well as [*u*]*lte* in II:52).

The Babylonian Theodicy has three examples—*iltānu* in 7:67; *iltakan* in 7:75; and *iltaqû* in 7:77—in addition to *ultu* in 2:17.

Even *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld* has only three examples—*manzaltīšu* in line 18; *liltammû* in line 57; and *manzalti* in line 73—in addition to *ultu* in lines 9, 10 (*ul*[*t*]*u*), and 63. (Livingstone also reads *il*^{l}- *te-niš* for *ištēniš* in line 61.)

The *Erra Song* too tends to use *ultu* for *ištu* (in I:39, I:132, I:142, IV:46, IV:151, and V:1); only two other instances of this sound shift appear: *iktaldu* in IV:80 and *bālti* in IV:117.

[66] The following examples from the *Erra Song* illustrate: *issī-ma ištēn išakkana ṭēma*, "He called number one to issue instructions" (I:31); *itmâm-ma ša nāri ul išatti/išattâ mêša*, "He swore not to drink the water of the river" (IV:38); and *nakra idkâm-ma kī še'ê ina pān mê imašša' māti*, "She roused the enemy to loot the land like grain on the surface of the water" (IV:62). For other examples in the *Erra Song*, see I:94, I:101, I:104, I:126, I:129, I:146, I:165, I:170, I:181, II:61, II:116, II:119, IIIc:9, IIIc:10, IIIc:34, IIIc:38, IIIc:57, IIId:2, IV:39, IV:44, V:4, V:16, and V:24–25.

The stylistic singularity of the *Erra Song* is also evident in the number and elaborateness of the anticipatory genitives: although they are not unknown in the other texts,[68] they are far more common and far more complicated in the *Erra Song*.[69] This is likewise true of overhanging vowels: not an innovation in the *Erra Song*,[70] they have nevertheless been adopted enthusiastically there.[71]

Although a few verses from the other texts feature this syntactic pattern (see SB *Anzû* III:25, III:40, III:53 [partially reconstructed], and III:70 [partially reconstructed]; *Enūma Eliš* I:30, I:54, I:57, II:84, II:108, II:119, II:154, IV:65, V:149, VI:11, VI:31, VI:86, and VI:165; *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* I:58, I:91 [*i-mid* could be a durative], II:73, III:29, and IV:69; *The Babylonian Theodicy* 2:16 and 23:248; and *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld* lines 69 and 71 [possibly twice, since *ú-sa-ap* could be durative]), it does not appear to represent facilitation specifically: in many instances such a translation would be nearly nonsensical (for example, *Enūma Eliš* I:57: *išmûnim-ma ilānū idullū*, "The gods heard to roam"), where other verses that do not follow this pattern occasionally do seem to lend themselves to such a translation (for example, *Enūma Eliš* II:81: [*il*]*lik Ēa šibqūš Tiāmat iše"âm-ma*, "Ēa went to investigate Tiāmat's plot").

[67] More research is needed to determine whether this syntactic construction appears elsewhere.

[68] A classic anticipatory genitive, where the anticipatory noun is introduced by *ša* and a pronominal suffix marks the phrase to which it is bound, can be found in SB *Anzû* I:9. It is more common in SB *Anzû* to find the anticipatory noun marked only by topicalization (the *casus pendens*), as in II:21=II:117=II:139 (compare OB *Anzû* III: rev. 7', where the anticipatory noun must however be reconstructed) and II:116=II:138 (compare OB *Anzû* III: rev. 6', where the anticipatory noun must again be reconstructed). On one occasion the anticipatory noun is introduced by *ša* but no pronominal suffix resumes it, in III:31.

For examples of anticipatory genitives in *Enūma Eliš* see I:17, I:23, IV:31, IV:33, IV:129, IV:143, and VII:130. Occasionally other words can intervene between the two elements, as in IV:66 and VI:164.

See also *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* III:51, III:52, and IV:16–17 and *The Babylonian Theodicy* 24:263 and 26:281. (For related constructions employing topicalization without *ša* resumed by pronominal suffixes, see *The Babylonian Theodicy* 6:63–64, 17:186, and 22:237–238.)

[69] For basic examples see *Erra Song* I:41, I:122, I:134, I:135, I:137, I:148, I:175 (partially reconstructed), II:31, II:93, IIIc:40 (twice), IV:1, IV:94, IV:117 (twice), IV:124 (copies W and RR), IV:125, and IV:126 (as well likely as II:97). More complex examples, where other words intervene, are almost as common: see I:23, I:55, I:71, I:90, I:188, II:5, II:129 (partially reconstructed), IIIc:3 (partially reconstructed), IIIc:9 (partially reconstructed), IIIc:52, IV:2, IV:23, IV:33, IV:38, IV:50–51, and IV:144 (as well likely as II:106 and IIIa:7). The second element can be a preposition rather than a noun, as in IV:16 and V:47, or can forgo its pronominal suffix, as in II:128 and II:147. And as in SB *Anzû*, topicalization may occur in place of introducing the first nominal phrase with *ša*, as in I:15, I:72, I:121, I:128, IV:7, IV:8, IV:17, IV:124 (copy P), V:37, and V:50. That these constructions overlap is suggested by the fact that *ša* can mark the *casus pendens*, as in IV:52. (In a related but perhaps more familiar construction, a topicalized noun is resumed by a pronominal suffix on a verb, as in IIIa:22, IIIa:23, IV:81, IV:82, and IV:83.)

[70] Overhanging vowels are not unknown in these other texts, but are not particularly common; some examples include *lubēli* in SB *Anzû* I:75, *ublu* in SB *Anzû* II:67, *tanarru* in SB *Anzû* III:17; *ušbu* in *Enūma Eliš* II:6, *unāši* in *Enūma Eliš* II:120, *utāri* in *Enūma Eliš* IV:71; *imtarṣu* in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* II:89, *išḫuṭu* in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* II:108; *tušakpidu* in *The Babylonian Theodicy* 2:13, *itâri* in *The Babylonian Theodicy* 4:40; and *nadâta* in *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld* line 68 (this long third-person feminine singular predicative verbal adjective, the only overhanging vowel of which I am aware in *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld*, may represent a different phenomenon).

On issues of grammar, then, *Enūma Eliš* has by far the clearest relationship to Old Babylonian literary style, in spite of the fact that SB *Anzû* is a direct reworking of an Old Babylonian text. In contrast, the *Erra Song* shows only a moderate connection to the Old Babylonian literary register, but at the same time it has adopted and elaborated on later developments in literary style that are rare in the other texts.

Diction

Across these texts one sees remarkably little overlap in diction and phrasing. This is particularly striking given the amount of internal recurrence of particular phrases: for example, in the *Erra Song* one finds phrases such as *zīm labbi*,[72] *šāru lemnu*,[73] *kakkū ezzūti*,[74] *zikra šaḫātu*,[75] and *kī*(*ma*) *šāri zâqu*[76] across different contexts; such phrases do not appear in the other texts. The rallying cry of the *Erra Song* is "Blaze a trail so I can undertake a campaign!" (*ṭūda petē-ma luṣbat ḫarrānu*; II:126),[77] where in SB *Anzû* the roughly equivalent battle cry spurring Ninurta to action is

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[71] In the *Erra Song* see *ḫadû* in I:14; *ippušu* in I:20 (copy A); *šunnâta* in I:23; *ubbalu* in I:58; *ireḫḫû* in I:82; *petû-ma* in I:96 (copy A); *šūliku* in I:98 (copy A); *azâqu* in I:115; *leqâta* in I:127; *unammari* in I:128 (copy A); *āgugū-ma*, *atbû-ma*, and *aškunu* (copy X) in I:132; *annadqū-ma* and *atūru* in I:143; [*en*]*deti* in I:153 (copy A); *atebbûšu* in I:171; *urradu* in I:185 (copy A); *uktinnu* in II:34; *iknušu* in II:77; *ummulu* in II:95; *īter*(*r*)*ubu* in II:114; *iqâli* in II:162 (copy LL); *išâʾu*/*išuʾʾu* in IV:10; *umaʾʾari* in IV:24; *taddaru* in IV:27 (copy W); *tušmāti* in IV:28 (copy RR); *inâḫi* in IV:63; *adâni* in IV:71; *urassabu* in IV:78; *pīqatū-ma* in IV:94; *aṣallalu* in IV:101 (copy RR); *ušaḫrabi* in IV:102 (copy P); *rābi* in V:12 (copy TT); *lībuku* in V:29 (copy BB); *libēlu* in V:39; *unniḫūšū-ma* and *īzib*[*u*]/*izzibu*/*īzibi* in V:42; *imtaḫru* in V:46 (copy NN); *ušamsaki* in V:51 (copy SS); *imâti* in V:54 (copies N and SS); and *išêti* in V:56 (copy N).

[72] See *Erra Song* I:34, IIIc:22, and IV:21.

[73] See *Erra Song* I:175 (partially reconstructed), I:188, II:6, and IIIb:16.

[74] See *Erra Song* I:4, I:35, I:44, I:45, I:98, I:187, and IIIc:26.

[75] See *Erra Song* I:63, I:121, and IV:1. (On the variable root *šḫṭ*/*šḫt*, see the relevant note in appendix A to I:63 and *CAD*, s.v. "šaḫātu B.")

[76] See *Erra Song* I:36 and I:115.

[77] See also *Erra Song* I:96 and IIIc:24.

"Blitz the way, determine the time!" (*biriq urḫa šukna adanna*; II:1),[78] and in *Enūma Eliš* each hero in turn "proceeded along his way" (*uruḫšu/uruḫša/urḫašu uš*(*t*)*ardi*) to Tiāmat (II:80, II:104, and IV:59).[79] If the author of the *Erra Song* had intended to allude to or borrow stylistically from the other texts, this would have been a prime opportunity.

It is surely significant that the clearest point of overlap in diction between the *Erra Song* and *Anzû* appears in the former's direct allusion to the story of the latter—and perhaps even to the text itself in some form: it is said of Erra (as Nergal) that "As if to bind evil Anzû [his net (?)] is spread ou[t]" (*kī ša lemna Anzâ ana kamêšu šuparrura*[*t šēssu*?]; IIIc:33). This is the only appearance of the verb *kamû* in the *Erra Song*, a verb that recurs throughout *Anzû* to describe the action of conquering the title character.[80] Additionally Anzû is described as "evil" (*lemna*) here, a term that is repeatedly used of him in the SB *Anzû* account.[81] Although neither term is particularly uncommon, their conjunction here with the figure of Anzû suggests awareness of the language of the story as it has come down to us in its Standard Babylonian recension.

However, this striking similarity in phrasing only highlights the general dearth of dictional connections elsewhere. Other examples of overlapping diction likely connect the texts to a stock of shared phrases or sayings rather than directly to each other. In both *Anzû* and the *Erra Song* the chief god's crown is described as *agê bēlūti*, "the crown of lordship,"[82] a phrase that was widespread.[83] *Anzû* and the *Erra Song* also share a saying that "Bright [da]ylight will [turn] into

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[78] Compare OB *Anzû* II:52.

[79] The phrasing is also applied to Kakka's journey to Laḫmu and Laḫamu in *Enūma Eliš* III:67.

[80] See OB *Anzû* II:69 and SB *Anzû* I:107, I:128, I:149, I:164, I:166, II:5, II:17, II:69, II:85, II:100, II:113, II:135, III:62, and III:118 (and see also I:10).

[81] In SB *Anzû* II:21, II:117, II:139, III:20, III:36, III:62, and III:116.

[82] In SB *Anzû* I:66 and *Erra Song* I:128, I:143, and IIIc:46.

[83] See *CAD*, s.v. "agû," for multiple other attestations.

dar[kn]ess" ([*ū*]*mu namru ana daʾu*[*mm*]*ati* [*itâr*]),[84] but this saying too is known elsewhere.[85] In *Enūma Eliš* Tiāmat is repeatedly "churned up" (using the root *dalāḫu*),[86] a root that also describes the sea in the *Erra Song*,[87] but the conjunction of these terms is so common that no direct relationship between the passages need be posited.[88] Similarly in both *Enūma Eliš* and the *Erra Song* we hear tell of "plotting evil" (*lemutta kapādu*),[89] the "waters of abundance" (*mê nuḫši*),[90] the "broad sea," (*Tiāmat*/*tâmtu rapaštu*)[91] and being "full of fearsomeness," (*pulḫata*/*pulḫāti malû*),[92] but since such phrases are widespread in the Akkadian language,[93] the relationship is tenuous at best. Perhaps the closest *Enūma Eliš* and the *Erra Song* come in their diction is the phrase "sit silently" (*qâliš wašābu*);[94] *CAD* is aware of no other attestations of this phrase,[95] and in both texts characters sit in tacit refusal in response to a call to arms.[96]

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[84] *Erra Song* I:173; compare *Erra Song* II:6 and SB *Anzû* II:16.

[85] See also King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones*, pls. LIII–LXVI, at LIX (#7).

[86] In *Enūma Eliš* I:23, I:108, I:109, I:116, I:119, and IV:48.

[87] In *Erra Song* II:141, IIId:5, and IV:148.

[88] For other attestations see *CAD*, s.v. "dalāḫu."

[89] See *Enūma Eliš* I:52, I:111 and *Erra Song* 1:102, I:103, II:29, II:148, IIIc:36, IIIc:37, and IV:74.

[90] See *Enūma Eliš* VII:60; *Erra Song* IV:122.

[91] See *Enūma Eliš* VII:74 and I:152; *Erra Song* I:161 and IV:49.

[92] See *Enūma Eliš* I:86; *Erra Song* I:24. Notice that in addition to the difference in stem here (in *Enūma Eliš malû* is in the ŠD-stem), generally in *Enūma Eliš* beings are "clothed" (*labāšu* in the Š-stem) or "clad" (*ḫalāpu*) in fearsomeness rather than "full of" fearsomeness: see *Enūma Eliš* I:137, II:23, III:27, III:85, and IV:57 (compare also I:104 and IV:115).

[93] For further attestations see *CAD*, especially s.v. "kapādu," "nuḫšu," "rapāšu," and "puluḫtu," respectively.

[94] See *Enūma Eliš* I:114 and II:122; *Erra Song* I:95.

[95] In fact, *CAD* cites no attestation of the term *qâliš* outside these two texts (see *CAD*, s.v. "qâliš").

[96] See *Enūma Eliš* II:122 and *Erra Song* I:95 specifically.

The obvious differences in phrasing across these texts even when similar images are being communicated only reinforces our supposition that, at least at the level of style and diction, the *Erra Song* does not owe a debt to these other texts, outside of the direct allusion to the story of Anzû discussed above. Both SB *Anzû* and the *Erra Song* include images of a supernatural figure turning beings to clay by cursing them, but the phrasing is distinct:

I:154 *iqbī*-[*ma*] *ša irraru immi* [*ṭi*]*ṭ*[*ṭi*]*š*
I:154 When he speaks, the one he curses turns into [c]l[ay]. (SB *Anzû*)[97]

IV:150 *būla īruršu*/*īrur-ma utīr ana ṭiṭṭi*
IV:150 He cursed the wildlife and turned them back into clay. (*Erra Song*)[98]

Notice SB *Anzû* uses the verb *ewû*/*emû* and the terminative *ṭiṭṭiš*, where the *Erra Song* employs the verb *târu* in the D-stem with a prepositional phrase (*ana ṭiṭṭi*). It is therefore unlikely one text is self-consciously adopting this image from the other; rather, both texts may be drawing on well-known imagery.[99] This is equally true of another image shared by SB *Anzû* and the *Erra Song*, that of weapons being coated with poison: in SB *Anzû* it is said "let the arrow become poison to him" (*šukudu imta līmēšu*; II:10), where in the *Erra Song* Erra commands his weapons (*kakkīšu*) "Smear yourselves with deadly poison!" (*litpatā imat mūti*; I:7). All of these examples are sites at which one text could have consciously adopted the specific language of the other where similar images were called for, and it is telling that they do not.

The same observation can be made of the *Erra Song*'s relationship to *Enūma Eliš*: For example, when one's "mood" (*kabattu*/*kabtatu*) brightens in the latter, it is through verbs such as

[97] See also SB *Anzû* I:112 and I:133.

[98] Oddly, this verse echoes an earlier injunction in the *Erra Song* (I:74), where, however, the homophonous verb appears rather to be *arāru* B, "to tremble; to fear"; see the relevant note to the translation of I:74 in appendix A.

[99] Other examples of creatures turning back to clay are well known from Mesopotamian literature, although *CAD* is not aware of any other attestations in which this is brought about through cursing; see *CAD*, s.v. "ṭīdu."

ṭâbu in the D-stem,[100] *nagû* in the Gtn-stem,[101] and *elēṣu* in the Gt-stem,[102] where a similar sentiment is expressed in the former through the verbs *namāru* in the G-stem[103] and *elēṣu* in the D-stem.[104] Even the stock phrase about pleasing speech in *Enūma Eliš*, *iṭīb elšu*/*elša* ("it was pleasing to him/her"),[105] appears differently in the *Erra Song*, where it is phrased *elīšu iṭīb* ("it was pleasing to him").[106] The closest connection in imagery between *Enūma Eliš* and the *Erra Song* is that of Marduk wielding a mace in his right hand, but even here the phrasing is not identical[107] and so may reflect mutual dependence on culturally shared iconography rather than direct textual interdependence.

Line Length

A few other stylistic differences among these texts are worth remarking on. In the length of its lines, too, the *Erra Song* is a clear outlier among the poetic texts: where it is common in the *Erra Song* for lines to run to fifteen or sixteen syllables and some are even as long as thirty syllables or more,[108] in *Anzû*, *Enūma Eliš*, *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*, and *The Babylonian Theodicy*, it is typical for lines

[100] As a participle, in *Enūma Eliš* I:31 and III:3.

[101] In *Enūma Eliš* VII:138.

[102] In *Enūma Eliš* III:137.

[103] In *Erra Song* I:14.

[104] In *Erra Song* IV:58.

[105] In *Enūma Eliš* I:125 and II:71.

[106] In *Erra Song* I:93, I:192, IV:129, V:47, and V:55.

[107] Compare *Enūma Eliš* IV:37 and V:95—*iššī-ma miṭṭa imnašu ušāḫiz*, "He picked up a mace and held it in his right hand"—to *Erra Song* IIIc:51—*imittašu miṭṭa iṣṣabat*/*iṣbat kakkašu rabâ*, "He gripped a mace in his right hand, his great weapon."

[108] For examples of especially long lines in the *Erra Song*, see I:127, I:128, I:136, II:38, IIIa:20, V:36, and V:58. Of course, counting syllables is a crude way of estimating line length, since we cannot determine how precisely syllables were weighted in spoken Akkadian and line length often varies across manuscripts. But

to run to about twelve syllables, and twenty appears to be a rough upper limit.[109] (In *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld*, in contrast, it is not uncommon for lines to run to more than forty syllables.)

Stanzas

In his recent edition of *Enūma Eliš*, Philippe Talon divides the lines into stanzas of four verses each (with some notable exceptions), as he argues quite plausibly that for the most part the text naturally falls into such a division;[110] it is certainly the case that the text of *Enūma Eliš* is composed of couplets. OB *Anzû*, in contrast, cannot be neatly divided even into couplets, and while SB *Anzû* opens with apparent four-verse stanzas[111]—perhaps because the introduction is hymnic in nature—the text as a whole, like its predecessor, does not appear to have been composed in couplets, let alone stanzas. Couplets can be identified throughout *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*,[112] but this may simply be a side effect of the degree of parallelism in this text (on which see below), since the entire text cannot be cleanly divided into couplets.[113] Similarly, while there are apparent couplets in *The*

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these minor variables are insufficient to account for the marked difference in line length between the *Erra Song* and the other poetic texts.

[109] For examples of especially long lines in the other poetic texts, see OB *Anzû* II:67; SB *Anzû* I:162 and II:53; *Enūma Eliš* VI:100 and VII:122; *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* I:24 and III:a; and *The Babylonian Theodicy* 8:80 and 26:285.

[110] The issue is discussed in Talon, *Enūma Eliš*, at ix–x.

[111] See SB *Anzû* I:1–4, 5–8, and 9–12. The pattern, if such it is, is broken thereafter, as I:13–14 fits logically with I:9–12, not with I:15–16, which takes up a new topic.

[112] See for example *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* I:89–90: "My male slave cursed me publicly, in the assembly; / My female slave uttered insults about me before the people" (*šūpîš ina puḫri īruranni ardī / amtī ina pān ummāni ṭapiltī iqbi*).

[113] For example, *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* I:94–95 similarly forms a parallel couplet, which leaves I:91–93 as a unit of three verses.

Babylonian Theodicy,[114] the whole text is not composed of couplets—every stanza has eleven lines, an odd number. The *Erra Song* too does not exhibit any discernible repeating pattern of stanzas, and neither does *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld*. Among our texts this characteristic appears to be unique to *Enūma Eliš*.

Repetition

Repetition is an indispensable element in the artistic construction of a number of these texts as poetic works. On this issue too the *Erra Song* proves to be an aberration: even a cursory reading reveals that repetition functions quite differently here. In SB *Anzû*, *Enūma Eliš*, and *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*, multiple passages are composed according to what was already by then an ancient lyrical scheme, whereby an individual is mentioned without being named in line A, line B is interposed, line A recurs but with a personal name substituted for (or in addition to) an earlier generic designation, and line B recurs verbatim (or nearly verbatim).[115] The extant text of the *Erra Song*, however, is entirely devoid of this poetic scheme, and indeed of any immediate repetition for lyrical effect;[116] this is equally the case in *The Babylonian Theodicy* and *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld*.

In addition to this lyrical repetition, both SB *Anzû* and *Enūma Eliš* feature narrative repetition: entire sections of text are repeated, frequently verbatim, sometimes on multiple

[114] See for example *The Babylonian Theodicy* 1:5–6: "Where is the [wi]se man who is [e]qual to you? / Where is the sage who is comparable to you?" (*ayyāna* [*bē*]*l pakku* [*i*]*mṣu malaka* / *ayyīš mūdû iššanin ištīka*).

[115] For example, in SB *Anzû* I:69–72, we read: "He kept looking at the father of the gods, the god Duranki. / He resolved in his heart to remove Enlil's power. / Anzû kept looking at the father of the gods, the god Duranki. / He resolved in his heart to remove Enlil's power" (*ittaṭṭal-ma abi ilānī ila Duranki* / *ukkuš Ellilūti iṣṣabat ina libbīšu* / *Anzû ittaṭṭal-ma abi ilānī ila Duranki* / *ukkuš Ellilūti iṣṣabat ina libbīšu*). See also SB *Anzû* I:1–4, I:92–95, and I:183–186 (compare OB *Anzû* II:37–40); *Enūma Eliš* II:73–76, II:139–142, II:145–148, and IV:3–6; and *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* I:1–4, I:9–12 (with some syntactic variation), and I:29–32 (with a synonymous statement rather than a direct repetition in the B line).

[116] For examples of other patterns of "lyrical" repetition (which are also entirely lacking in the *Erra Song*) see SB *Anzû* I:163–166 and *Enūma Eliš* I:81–82, IV:63–64, and V:133–136.

occasions, as information is passed from character to character[117] or as suspension builds with the introduction of multiple would-be champions who fail to meet the challenge.[118] The *Erra Song*, in contrast, employs narrative repetition on a far more modest scale. Like its stock epithets, certain stock sentences are repeated throughout in different contexts, especially those demarcating direct speech,[119] and the same language is sometimes employed to connect a character's announcing what will happen with the fulfillment of that statement.[120] But only three passages of any length are repeated in the extant text of the *Erra Song*, and all of them are short by the standards of *Anzû* and *Enūma Eliš*. On two occasions in what survives Erra utters an identical call to arms only to be rebuffed by Išum,[121] once before his campaign against the cosmos has begun and once after the cosmos has already been devastated. In another repeated passage, the language describing the fate visited upon Enlil's city is replicated in describing the fate visited upon Marduk's city;[122] like the multiplication of would-be heroes in *Anzû*—Adad, Gerra, and Šara, none of whom are accorded individual characteristics in this context but all of whom together serve as a foil for Ninurta—Enlil

[117] In SB *Anzû* compare II:61–69 to II:72–85 and II:89–100; in *Enūma Eliš* compare I:130–162 to II:11–48, III:13–66, and III:71–124 (notice the amount of overlap is successively expanded).

[118] In SB *Anzû* compare I:92–114 to I:115–135 and I:136–156 (in contrast, the repeated passage is not written out in OB *Anzû*: compare II:11–24 to II:25–26 and II:27–28); in *Enūma Eliš* compare II:80–94 to II:104–118.

[119] Compare for example *Erra Song* I:165 to I:181, I:100 to IIIc:28, I:169 to I:180, I:104 to IIIc:38, I:129 to II:61, II:116 to IIIc:34, I:105 to IIIc:39, IIIc:35 to V:17, I:106 to V:18, and I:108 to IIIc:54. Notice also that a phrase from I:144 is repeated in IIIc:52 and phraseology from I:103 recurs in II:29, II:67, and IIIc:37.

[120] For example, Marduk employs the same language to describe what happened the last time he "arose from" his "dwe[l]ling" (*ina šub*[*t*]*īya atbē-ma*; *Erra Song* I:133; see also I:171) to describe what will happen this time: "The seam of heaven and earth unraveled/will unravel" (*šibīt šamê* (*u*) *erṣeti uptaṭṭir*; I:133; *ši*[*bīt šamê u erṣeti*] *uptaṭṭar*; I:171). He also asserts that "Bright [da]ylight will [turn] into dar[kn]ess" ([*ū*]*mu namru ana da'u*[*mm*]*ati* [*itâr*]; I:173), a prediction that is almost immediately brought about (in II:6). Compare also II:107 to II:127. In the opposite vein, Erra declares an intention to "cause Šamaš's radiance to fall away" (*ša Šamši ušamqata šarūri*; II:128) after this has already occurred once (in II:4; the phraseology also appears in IV:124 in reference to Šulpae). Compare also SB *Anzû* I:171–174 to I:176–179, as well as II:105–123 and II:127–145 to III:9–17 (where the fulfillment contains some minor differences and cuts off earlier).

[121] In *Erra Song* I:96–101 and IIIc:24–29.

[122] Compare *Erra Song* IIIc:3–10 to IV:33–39.

serves here as a shadow version of Marduk whose misfortune simply amplifies the extent of the destruction described without adding individuality to it (perhaps oddly, since the fate of every other city with its tutelary deity is described in unique language). And finally, in a conspicuous departure from the other texts, Išum's attack on Mount Šaršar picks up a section of the language from Erra's extravagant declaration of his destructive intentions earlier in the text.[123] Here the repetition subverts the initial proclamation: what Erra intends to carry out against the cosmic order Išum finally fulfills against the enemies of that order.

Direct Speech

The *Erra Song* is known for the amount and complexity of its direct speech and for the fact that much of the action is conveyed through direct speech among its characters rather than by the narrative voice.[124] While it is not as prominent as in the *Erra Song*, direct speech also makes up the lion's share of both *Anzû* and *Enūma Eliš*, its closest literary counterparts. (*The Babylonian Theodicy*, though less generically similar to the *Erra Song*, is of course entirely constituted of direct speech, which is also quite prevalent in *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld*.) At the same, in all three of these poetic mythological narratives the event that we might label the "climax" or the pivot of the action is conveyed directly by the narrative voice rather than through direct speech.[125]

What sets the direct speech in the *Erra Song* apart from that of its literary comparands may simply track this text's very different narrative arc. In *Anzû* and *Enūma Eliš*, direct speech tends to be repeated, as information is passed across and up and down the hierarchy of the pantheon[126] and

[123] Compare *Erra Song* II:138–142 to IV:146–149.

[124] See for example Lambert, Review of Gössmann, 396; Durand, "Les écrits mésopotamiens," 135; Bodi, *Book of Ezekiel*, 60; and Cooley, *Poetic Astronomy*, 96.

[125] See SB *Anzû* II:146–III:22, *Enūma Eliš* IV:35–132, and *Erra Song* IV:139–150.

[126] For examples see n. 117 above.

as successive would-be heroes fail in identical terms before a champion can be selected.[127] In contrast, in the *Erra Song* Erra himself is the speaker or interlocutor of nearly every direct speech in the extant text,[128] virtually none of which contains repeated material.[129] The hierarchical structure whose lower levels are populated by divine bureaucrats who serve to distance the foremost gods from each other and enhance their status and glory[130] has been replaced by a conversational hub, in the form of Erra himself, around which the other gods, those in and out of his train, radiate like the spokes of a wheel. The narrative of the *Erra Song* revolves around the arousal and pacification of Erra through rhetoric, and rather than being passed around from god to god, almost all the speech comes to or from him directly.

Epithets

Among these six Akkadian texts, the *Erra Song* is equally an outlier in its use of epithets. Both SB *Anzû* and *Enūma Eliš* lavish series of florid epithets on their champions, Ninurta[131] and

[127] For examples see n. 118 above.

[128] For apparent exceptions (several of which are broken), see *Erra Song* I:32–38, II:31–33, II:104–108, II:118–121, and IIIc:30–33. There may be additional exceptions in the still fragmentary tablets II and III.

[129] For exceptions see nn. 121 and 122 above.

[130] For examples of interactions between superior gods and bureaucrat or messenger gods, see SB *Anzû* II:71–85, II:89–100, II:103–123, II:127–145, III:42–43, III:48–?, III:56, III:59–66?, and III:71–?, and *Enūma Eliš* I:31–32, I:49–50, III:3–66, and III:71–124. All of Išum's interactions with Erra in the *Erra Song* fall into this category as well (see I:9b–12, I:95–99, I:102–103, and I:106–123, apparently IIIc:1–10, IIIc:12–27, IIIc:36–37, IIIc:40–56, IIIc:58–72, IIId:3–IV:25, IV:31–39, IV:45, IV:50–127, IV:138, and V:18–20), although Išum does not function as a messenger delivering information to the other gods (notice Erra goes personally even to Marduk's temple to address the latter in I:124–192) and these interactions have become the centerpiece of the story.

[131] For example, Ninurta is called "the one entrusted by the Eninnu" (*tukulti Eninnu*; SB *Anzû* I:6), "the wave of battle" (*agê tuqmati*; I:7), "the powerful hastener" (*gašra ḫayyāša*; I:14), "the organizer of conflict and combat" (*muttabbila qabla anunte*; I:14), "the powerful, splendid son of Mammi" (*gašru šūpû bukur Mammi*; II:57), "the one entrusted by Anu and Dagān" (*tuklat Anim u Dagān*; II:58), etc. Notice most of these phrases are not repeated in the extant text.

Marduk[132] respectively. Other characters in these texts are accorded far fewer epithets, which frequently indicate through purely straightforward explication their roles or relationships, such as "his wife,"[133] "his father,"[134] or "his vizier."[135] Characters close to the champion receive more epithets and more elaborate epithets than subordinate or hostile characters;[136] the epithets clearly serve a devotional, laudatory function. In the *Erra Song*, in contrast, epithets function as virtual titles: they are terse, frequently a single word, and, unlike in SB *Anzû* and *Enūma Eliš*, where variability is the norm, tend to be repeated throughout the text.[137] (In this the *Erra Song* contrasts

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[132] In a similar manner Marduk is called "the sage of the gods" (*apkallu ilānī*; *Enūma Eliš* I:80, III:55, III:113 [partially reconstructed], and IV:93), "the powerful heir" (*aplu gašru*; II:127), "the avenger of his father" (*mutīr gimillu abīšu*; II:127), "the hastener to battle" (*ḫā'iš tuqmate*; II:128), "the knower of all wisdom" (*mūdû gimri uznu*; II:149), "the combative preeminent one" (*qarda ašarēdu*; IV:70), "the adviser of the gods" (*mālik ilānī*; VI:28), etc.

[133] *Ḫīratuš* (in *Enūma Eliš* I:78), said of Damkina in reference to Ēa; compare Damkina's only other epithets in this text, "his mother" (*ummašu*; I:84), and "his mother" (*ālittašu*; V:81), in reference to Marduk.

[134] *Abīšu* (in SB *Anzû* I:105, I:126 [reconstructed], and I:147), said of Anu in reference to Adad, Gerra, and Šara, respectively.

[135] *Sukkallašu* (in *Enūma Eliš* I:30 and III:2), said of Mummu in reference to Apsû and of Kakka in reference to Anšar, respectively. Examples of this sort could be multiplied.

[136] For example, in SB *Anzû* Ēa is described as "the lord of wisdom" (*bēl uzni*; I:159 [compare OB II:31]), "the expert denizen of the Apsû" (*āšib apsî itpēšu*; I:159 [compare OB II:31]), "the king of the fates" (*šar šīmāti*; II:46), etc. In contrast, Nuska is simply "his vizier" (*šukkallīšu*; III:41), and Anzû rarely receives any descriptor at all, but is occasionally qualified—colorfully—as either "evil" (*lemna*; II:21, II:117, II:139, III:20, and III:36) or "flying" (*mupparša*; I:11, II:5, and III:119).

In like manner, in *Enūma Eliš* Ēa appears as "the sage of advice" (*āšiš milki*; II:57), "the prince of cunning," (*rubê tašīmti*; II:57), "the creator of sagacity" (*bānû nēmequ*; II:58), etc. Tiāmat is simply "the one who bore all of them" (*mu'allidat gimrīšun*; I:4), "their mother" (*ummīšunu*; I:112), "Mother Tiāmat who bore us" (*umma Tiāmat ālittani*; III:15 [reconstructed] and III:73), and "Mother Ḫubur" (*ummu Ḫubur*; I:133, II:19, III:23, and III:81).

[137] The Divine Heptad are called "the warriors without rival" (*qarrād lā šanān*) on seven occasions (*Erra Song* I:8, I:18, I:23, I:97, IIIc:12 [partially reconstructed], IIIc:25 [partially reconstructed], and IV:140); it is the only epithet they receive. Marduk is referred to as "prince" (*rubû*) on no fewer than sixteen occasions (I:122, I:123, I:165, I:181, I:182, I:189, I:191, II:28, II:31, II:53, II:94, II:106, IIIc:52, IV:1, IV:36 [copy W], and IV:45); he is also called "the king of the gods" (*šar ilānī*; I:124, I:126, I:129, II:61, II:68 [partially reconstructed], II:135, IIIc:44, and IV:2), "lord" (*bēlu*; IV:36), and "sovere[ign]" (*mal*[*ki*]; II:38). Even Erra's epithets show almost no variability: numerous times he is "warrior" (*qurādu*; I:60, I:76 [copies A, CC, and KK], I:78, I:92 [partially reconstructed], I:101 [partially reconstructed], I:102 [copy D], I:124, I:131, I:149, I:164, I:170 [reconstructed], II:25 [partially reconstructed], II:37, IIIc:31 [as Nergal], IIIc:35, IIIc:57 [reconstructed], IIIc:58, IIIc:62 [partially reconstructed], IIId:2 [partially reconstructed], IIId:3 [partially reconstructed, in copy Z], IV:1, IV:19, IV:104, IV:114, IV:128, IV:130, IV:137, V:17, V:18, and V:49); thrice he is "the warrior of the gods" (*qarrād ilānī*; I:5, I:40, and I:130); and twice he is "lord" (*bēlu*; I:102 [copy A], V:40 [as Nergal]). On one

with the other three Akkadian texts examined here as well, where terse titles and epithets similar to what we find in the *Erra Song* are not uncommon, but with some exceptions tend not to recur as they do throughout the *Erra Song*.[138]) However, Išum stands out for the variety and extravagance of the epithets he receives in the opening lines,[139] a hymnic prologue that echoes the opening lines of SB *Anzû*; it is clear that his character is the closest parallel to that text's champion, Ninurta.[140] Notice finally that where the *Erra Song* parallels SB *Anzû* in heaping up epithets on its hero in its prologue, *Enūma Eliš* parallels SB *Anzû* in amassing epithets in the form of names with their explications in its conclusion.

Poetic Devices

Although the *Erra Song* does not employ repetition in the manner or to the degree that the other texts do, this is not to say that it lacks formal poetic elements of its own. Most conspicuously, the *Erra Song* is absolutely rife with examples of parallel constructions, in which one statement echoes the sentiment—and frequently the syntactic template—of the previous one, but with new

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occasion he appears to be referred to as "the eminent heir of Enlil" (*apil Ellil ṣīru*; II:121), the only really lyrical epithet he receives.

[138] For examples unique to their texts see *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* I:42, III:52, and IV:104; *The Babylonian Theodicy* 26:276, 26:277, 26:278, and 27:297; and *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld* lines 11, 30, 38, 42, 43, 47, 51, 56 (notice the rare string of epithets here), 58, 59, 59, and 62. Notice also how common the epithet "warrior" (*qurādu*; *qarrādu*) is in these texts.

[139] In the opening lines Išum is hailed lyrically as "bearer of the eminent scepter" (*nāš ḫaṭṭu ṣīrti*; *Erra Song* I:3), "herdsman of the blackh[ead]ed ones" (*nāqid ṣalmāt qa*[*qqa*]*di*; I:3), "lord who goes about by night" (*bēlu muttallik mūši*; I:21), "leader of princes" (*muttarrû rubê*; I:21), etc., where throughout the rest of the text he is usually labeled more prosaically "vanguard" (*ālik maḫri-*; I:105, II:121, IIIc:39, IV:137, V:13, and V:47) or "the vanguard of the gods" (*ālik maḫri ilānī*; I:108 and IIIc:54) (and twice "warrior" [*qurādu*], in IV:141 and V:40). Observe that almost all of his epithets in the opening lines are paronomastic readings of names under which he is known (see the relevant notes in appendix A) and so parallel the extensive names/epithets with their explications accorded to Marduk in the conclusion to *Enūma Eliš* (VI:101–VII:142, on which see especially Bottéro, "Les noms de Marduk").

[140] The significance of both of these issues—a comparison of the hymnic prologues of *Anzû* and the *Erra Song* and the status of Išum in the *Erra Song* vis-à-vis Ninurta in *Anzû*—is explored more fully below.

content. These appear most commonly as couplets but can also occur within a single verse or even over a number of verses. The following example illustrates:

IV:7 *ša kakka lā īdû šalip pataršu*
IV:7 "As for the one unfamiliar with weaponry, his sword was drawn.

IV:8 *ša tilpānu lā īdû malât qašassu*
IV:8 "As for the one unfamiliar with archery, his bow was nocked.

On other occasions the word order is not paralleled but the content of the second statement undeniably echoes and completes that of the first:

I:184 *ana šamê ellī-ma ana Igīgī anamdin ûrta*
I:184 "I will go up to the heavens and give instruction to the Igīgī.

I:185 *urrad*(*u*) *ana Apsî Anunnakī upaqqad*
I:185 "I will go down to the Apsû and oversee the Anunnakī.

The paralleled content can be synonymous,[141] but more often it is constructed with a contrasting item that nevertheless belongs to the same category as the first and rounds it out so the category as a whole is represented; such pairs include gods and goddesses,[142] the Igīgī and the Anunnakī,[143] heaven and the netherworld or earth,[144] the sun and the moon (Šamaš and Sîn),[145] father and

[141] Examples of parallels that overlap in meaning (some are synonyms or near-synonyms where in other cases one item constitutes a part of the whole that includes the other item) can be found in the following: *Erra Song* 1:62–63 (your name, the mention of you); I:64–65 (bowing before your yoke, kneeling at your feet); I:83 and 85 (wildlife, lion and wolf); I:115 (the wind, Adad); I:127–128 (jewelry, crown); II:138–139 (tells, wilderness); II:149–150 (barbarian, rogue); IIIa:22–23 (sheep, lamb); IIId:4 (earth, land); IIId:12b–13 (hostility, battle); IV:73–74 (justice, righteousness; injustice, evil); IV:117 (tower and parapet, the pride of the city); V:2–3 (all of the gods, all of the Igīgī and the Anunnakī); V:52–53 (king, prince); and V:61–62 (praising my status as warrior, glorifying my name).

[142] See *Erra Song* IIIa:11–12.

[143] See *Erra Song* I:62–63, I:111, I:184–185, II:8–9, and IIId:10.

[144] See *Erra Song* I:109, I:134–135, I:152–153, and IV:123.

[145] See *Erra Song* II:4–5 and II:128–129.

mother,[146] old men and young women,[147] food and drink,[148] mountains and seas,[149] forest and canebrake,[150] and many others.[151]

Strikingly, as a formal poetic device, parallel constructions are almost entirely lacking in both *Anzû* and *Enūma Eliš*. (Occasionally material in one line will echo, restate, or amplify that of the previous line,[152] but the syntax is almost never replicated[153] and contrasting pairs of items are rare

[146] See *Erra Song* II:147–148 and IIIa:9–10.

[147] See *Erra Song* IV:110–111; compare I:47–48, where the feeble old man is paired with the baby or toddler.

[148] See *Erra Song* I:57–58.

[149] See *Erra Song* I:69–70, II:140–141, IIId:5, and IV:147–148.

[150] See *Erra Song* I:71–72 and I:113 (they are also paired—although not paralleled—in II:142).

[151] See also *Erra Song* I:7–8 and I:17–18 (Erra's weapons, the Divine Heptad); I:64–65 (gods, sovereigns); I:71–72 (tree trunks, reeds [in addition to forest and canebrake]); I:84 and 86 (farmer, shepherd); I:88–89 (battle gear, bow); I:90–91 (arrow, sword); I:109 (wild bull, lion [in addition to heaven and earth]); I:152–153 (roots, crown of the tree [in addition to netherworld and heaven]); I:184–185 (heaven, Apsû [in addition to the Igīgī and the Anunnakī]); II:34–35 (heart and foundation, ears and hands); II:147–148 and IIIa:9–10 (son, daughter [in addition to father and mother]); IIIc:32–33 (the defeated god, evil Anzû [that is, Ninurta's conquests]); IIIc:46 and 48 (removal of crown, belt); IIId:6 (people, animals); IIId:7 (the Ešarra, the Eëngur); IIId:8 (Šuanna, the Esagil); IIId:11b–12a (Anu, Enlil); IV:11 (the lame, the weak; the swift runner, the strong); IV:16–17 (Imgur-Enlil, Muḫra); IV:32 (bow, sword); IV:118–120 (mooring post, rudder, mast); IV:124 (Šulpae, the stars); and V:46–47 (Erra, Išum).

Where some of the foregoing pairs/triads show very little contrast among their members, other examples might be understood to constitute genuine sets of antonyms, such as countryside and inner chamber in IV:83–84, height and lowland and thirst and drowning in IV:85–86; and mighty and weak in IV:115.

Looser parallels appear in I:67–68; I:110; I:112; II:133–134; IV:28–29; and V:8–10.

Parallel frameworks with specifics that are less obviously related appear in IV:9–10; IV:71–72; and IV:95–103. And in IV:125–126 we are presented with analogous items from different categories of objects, the root of the tree and the foundation of the wall. Connections are thus drawn on a number of different levels.

[152] In SB *Anzû* see I:52–53, I:66–69, I:98–99=I:119–120=I:140–141, I:100–102=I:121–123=I:142–144= II:24–26=II:120–122, I:106–107, I:127–128=I:148–149, I:173–174≈I:178–179, II:30–31≈II:148–149, and II:37–38 (compare OB *Anzû* III: obv. 2–3). In *Enūma Eliš* see 1:1–2, I:3–4, I:38≈I:50, I:53–54, I:64–66, I:79–82, I:83–84, I:117–118, II:25–26, III:63–64=III:121–122, IV:83–84, VI:42–43, and VII:153–154.

[153] Possible exceptions to this rule can be seen in SB *Anzû* II:30–31≈II:148–149 and *Enūma Eliš* I:38≈I:50 and IV:83–84.

and limited.[154]) Parallel constructions are, however, extremely common in both *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*[155] and the *The Babylonian Theodicy*.[156] This is a site at which the *Erra Song* has more in common artistically with these other works to which it is less close generically.

Another poetic device that the *Erra Song* employs to great effect, although on only one occasion, is that of the chain construction familiar in Mesopotamia from incantations, whereby the conclusion of one line forms the beginning of the following line.[157] This does not appear to be a feature of the other texts examined here.

The *Erra Song* is also conspicuously rich in metaphor: Išum is described as a door,[158] Marduk's word as a mountain,[159] the citizens of Babylon in disarray as the reeds of a canebrake,[160]

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[154] The only possible sets of contrasting pairs of which I am aware appear in *Enūma Eliš*: I:1–2 (heaven, earth); I:3–4 (Apsû, Tiāmat); I:38≈I:50 (day, night); I:83–84 (Ēa, Damkina); I:117–118 (Apsû, Mummu); and VI:42–43 and 44 (heaven, earth).

[155] For an example of an apparently synonymic parallel construction, see *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* I:45–46: "The good genius who was at my side has split(?). / My protective spirit has become upset and is looking for someone else" (*islit šēd dumqi ša idīya / iprud lamassī-ma šanâm-ma iše'e*). For an example of a contrasting pair in which a category is rounded out, see II:4–5: "I called to the god, but he did not show his face. / I prayed to the goddess, but she did not lift her head" (*ila alsī-ma ul iddina pānīšu / usalli ištari ul ušaqqâ rēšīša*). For an example of a parallel construction employing antonyms, see II:46–47: "In pleasant times, they talk of going up to heaven. / When they are distressed, they speak of going down to the netherworld" (*ina ṭâbi ītammâ ilî šama'i / ūtaššašā-ma idabbubā arād irkalla*). Additional examples can be seen in I:5–6, I:21–22, I:33–34, I:41–42, I:43–44, I:47–48, I:66, I:84–85, I:89–90, I:103–104, I:105, I:106, I:107–108, II:6–7, II:8–9, II:12–13, II:16–17, II:19–20, II:25–26, II:29–30, II:31–32, II:34–35, II:36–37, II:40, II:41–42, II:44–45, II:52–55, II:56–57, II:68–69, II:73–74, II:75–76, II:84–85, II:88–89, II:100–101, II:102–103, II:104–105, II:106–107, II:108–109, II:110–111, II:112–113, II:117–118, II:119–120, III:12, and III:82–89. (For a more detailed examination of parallelism in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*, see Annus and Lenzi, *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, xxx–xxxiv.)

[156] See especially *The Babylonian Theodicy* 1:5–6, 2:12–13, 2:21–22, 3:23–24, 3:25–26, 3:27, 3:28, 3:31–32, 5:48–53, 7:70–71, 7:72–73, 7:76, 7:77, 17:181–182, 17:183–184, 17:185–186, 23:247–250, 24:260–263, 25:265–266, 25:267–268, 25:269–270, 25:271–272, 25:273–274, 26:279–280, and 27:295–296.

[157] In *Erra Song* IV:76–82.

[158] In *Erra Song* I:27.

[159] In *Erra Song* II:108.

[160] In *Erra Song* IV:6.

Babylon as a pinecone, a prosperous orchard, and a precious cylinder seal,[161] and Erra himself as a hunter to the wildlife, a battering ram to the mountain, a fire to the canebrake, and a battleaxe to the forest[162]—to mention just a few.[163] Examples of metaphors in *Anzû* and *Enūma Eliš* are extremely rare.[164] Here, too, however, the *Erra Song* exhibits a marked artistic connection to texts with which it is less close generically, as metaphors also figure prominently in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*,[165] *The Babylonian Theodicy*,[166] and *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld*.[167] (Intriguingly, it is

[161] In *Erra Song* IV:41–43. See also the comparison of Babylon's top to that of a palm tree in the previous line and the comparison of Babylon to the Tablet of Destinies in the following line.

[162] In *Erra Song* I:112–113.

[163] See also *Erra Song* I:10, I:12, I:109, I:115, I:116, I:117, I:188, IIIc:32, IIIc:33, IV:13, IV:14, IV:18, IV:62, IV:67, IV:68, IV:93, V:8, V:9, V:10, and V:22.

It is not easy to determine bounds on what constitutes a metaphor—a figure of speech in which an association is drawn between items that nevertheless maintain their separateness—in this cultural context. For example, deities are frequently associated with natural phenomena, but it is unlikely all such associations should properly be categorized as metaphors since the deities are presumably understood to be metaphysically manifest in the phenomena—in other words, no separateness is maintained. However, it would be injudicious to assume on these grounds that metaphors are never applied to deities. For example, there is no other evidence to suppose that Išum is manifest through doors; it is likely the door is simply a useful image for describing his role vis-à-vis the Divine Heptad in *Erra Song* I:27.

It is also the case that imagery that might strike us moderns as metaphorical—such as "the seam of heaven and earth" (*šibīt šamê* (*u*) *erṣeti*; I:133, I:136, I:171 [largely reconstructed], and I:183) or "the nose-rope of heaven" (*ṣerret šamê*; IIId:3)—was understood to exist metaphysically, and thus is not strictly metaphorical at all.

In spite of this thorny set of issues, in a number of the examples cited above the separateness of the association is conveyed explicitly, for example through the use of simile (understood here as a subcategory of metaphor). When it is said that Ištar "roused the enemy to loot the land like grain on the surface of the water"(*nakra idkâm-ma kī še'ê ina pān mê imašša' māti*; IV:62), it is made clear that the image of grain on the water simply explicates in some way the quality of the land that is ripe for looting without being collapsed into it.

It is undeniable that the composer of this text employs metaphor for poetic effect. It is not clear that the Mesopotamians would have parsed distinctions among strictly literary metaphors and associations with metaphysical significance, so it is not clear how fruitful a project it would be to attempt to establish criteria for distinguishing these rigorously.

[164] In SB *Anzû* see I:7, II:37 (compare OB *Anzû* II:82=III: obv. 2), II:38 (compare OB *Anzû* III: obv. 4), II:55, and III:117. In *Enūma Eliš* see VI:56, VII:5, and VII:77.

[165] For some examples from *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*, see the following: "Like a dove I mourn all my days" (*kīma summi adammuma gimir ūmīya*; I:107); "Like a net sleep constricted me" (*kīma šuškalli ukattimanni šittu*; II:72).

[166] For an example from *The Babylonian Theodicy*, see the following: "My friend, your heart is a well whose source never fails" (*kuppu ibrī libbaka ša lā iqattû nagab*[*šu*]; 3:23).

also the case that Sumerian compositions such as *The Cursing of Agade*, *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur*, *Lugal-e*,[168] and *An-gim Dím-ma*[169] are noticeably rich in metaphor.)

Conclusions

Of the texts evaluated here, *Enūma Eliš* shows by far the most pronounced relationship to classical literary Old Babylonian. Narratively and generically the *Erra Song* may be closest to *Enūma Eliš* and *Anzû*, but artistically it is much closer to *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* and *The Babylonian Theodicy*, where parallelism and metaphor also feature prominently. At the same time, the dialect and style of the *Erra Song* exhibit a number of unique properties, including the longer lines, the use of the preterite with *-ma* followed by the durative to indicate facilitation, the frequency of overhanging vowels, the frequency and elaborateness of anticipatory genitives, and the use of near stock epithets. While the story of Anzû is alluded to once in the *Erra Song* using characteristic phrases, it is nevertheless clear the author of the *Erra Song* has made no effort to imitate any particular extant text in style, artistry, or diction, even as the *Erra Song* participates to greater and lesser degrees in conventions shared among these other texts.

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[167] For an example from *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld*, see the following: "Like a young man who sheds blood, who wanders alone in a thicket, whom a henchman has overwhelmed and whose heart is pounding" (*kīma eṭli tāpik dame ša ina ṣuṣê īdiššīšu ittanallaku bēl birki iktumūšū-ma itar*[*r*]*aku libbuš*[*u*]; line 69).

[168] For an edition of *Lugal-e* (also called "Ninurta's Exploits"), see Van Dijk, *LUGAL UD ME-LÁM-bi NIR-ĜÁL*.

[169] For an edition of *An-gim Dím-ma* (also called "The Return of Ninurta to Nippur"), see Cooper, *Return of Ninurta to Nippur*.

III. Relationships in Structure and Content

Relationship to Anzû

To my mind the clearest affinities in content, both explicit and implicit, can be seen between the *Erra Song* and *Anzû*, the story of the monstrous bird who is appointed to guard Enlil's inner chamber,[170] steals the Tablet of Destinies while the supreme god is bathing,[171] and then, following the nomination of a series of failed would-be champions[172] and an initial defeat by the story's hero, Ninurta,[173] is finally defeated using a trick proposed by Ēa.[174]

Before examining the points of similarity, we must emphasize how profoundly different in structure and content these two texts are. Although a basic structural template can be said to be common to both texts, whereby a supernatural agent introduces disorder into the cosmos and must be neutralized by another supernatural agent,[175] the differences in the nature of that disorder and the manner in which it is addressed are legion. *Anzû* begins in primordial time when "daises had not been built" (*lā ibbanû parakkī*; SB *Anzû* I:15) and takes place entirely within the compass of supernatural agents; the *Erra Song*, with an early flashback recounting the birth of the Divine

[170] See SB *Anzû* I:54–56 and 64.

[171] See SB *Anzû* I:65–82.

[172] See SB *Anzû* I:92–156 (compare OB *Anzû* II:11–28).

[173] See SB *Anzû* II:28–69 (compare OB *Anzû* II:73–III: obv. 19, where the hero is Ningirsu).

[174] See SB *Anzû* II:101–III:21 (compare OB *Anzû* III: rev. 1'–18'). Apparently Ninurta uses Anzû's own feather on the arrow so that when Anzû utters the magic phrase that causes the feather to return to its cosmic source, in returning to him it will pierce him (see especially SB *Anzû* II:105–113=II:127–135 and III:9–16).

[175] For a different framing of this template and its implications, see Machinist, "Order and Disorder," 33, 46–47.

Heptad,[176] takes place largely in historical time, explicitly post-Flood,[177] and as much on the human plane as the divine one.[178] Anzû, the agent of chaos in the text conventionally bearing his name, originates in the mountains outside the civilized world of the alluvium and is incorporated unsuccessfully into that world of order;[179] when he seizes the Tablet of Destinies he returns to his mountain homeland.[180] In contrast, Erra originates from within the pantheon, on the alluvium,[181] creates chaos from within Babylonia,[182] and finally reoccupies his temple there as he comes to rest;[183] since he is not a monster of chaos but a god, he cannot be overcome: he must be placated. (In certain respects, the Divine Heptad parallel Anzû more closely than does Erra: their birth marks them as demonic,[184] and like Anzû they are born of the earth[185] and their incorporation into the ordered world of the pantheon is not without risk.) Where Anzû exploits the chief god's

[176] See *Erra Song* I:28–44. It is not clear that the birth and assignment of the Divine Heptad takes place in primordial time, but this is suggested by the fact that their roles and characters are general and not specific to the story at hand; see further chapter 5, "I. The Meaning and Spelling of the Divine Heptad's Name: Exceptions to the Trends in Distribution: The DINGIR IMIN.BI as 'Demons'—The *Erra Song*."

[177] See *Erra Song* I:132, IV:50.

[178] For the recounting of events that intersect explicitly with the human realm see especially *Erra Song* tablet IV.

[179] See SB *Anzû* I:25–64.

[180] See SB *Anzû* I:83.

[181] Erra's origins, like those of the other gods, are not discussed in the text, but he is at home in the Emeslam in Cuthah (see *Erra Song* II:122 and V:23).

[182] In Babylon (see *Erra Song* IV:1–49), Sippar (see IV:50–51), Uruk (see IV:52–62), Dūr-Kurigalzu (see IV:63), and Dēr (see IV:65–103); it should however be noted that the immediate agents of this destruction, such as the Suteans, originate outside Babylonia.

[183] See *Erra Song* V:1 and V:23.

[184] On this issue see chapter 5, "I. The Meaning and Spelling of the Divine Heptad's Name: Exceptions to the Trends in Distribution: The DINGIR IMIN.BI as 'Demons'—The *Erra Song*."

[185] See SB *Anzû* I:52; *Erra Song* I:28. The Divine Heptad's divine paternity in the form of Anu, however, may mark them as belonging to the margins of the pantheon in a way that Anzû, originating entirely outside it, does not.

vulnerability and seizes control of a physical source of supreme power,[186] Erra verbally convinces the chief god to relinquish power directly to him.[187] Perhaps unexpectedly, and unlike Anzû, Erra does not appear to need to seize the physical locus of Marduk's authority in the text—"the crown of lordship/authority" (*agê bēlūti*) or "jewelry" (*šukuttu*)[188]—to assume control of the cosmos.

In *Anzû* we have seen that narrative repetition plays a major role in how the story unfolds: three would-be heroes must first give up[189] and Ninurta must once fail[190] before Ēa's craftiness against the verbal magic of the Tablet of Destinies can allow Ninurta to succeed.[191] In its basic outline, the story is quite simple, and the focus centers not on the threat itself, which is remarkably vague,[192] but on the repeated attempts to triumph over it, which enhance the hero's eventual success;[193] *Anzû*'s narrative is a deliberately protracted suspension much of which is preoccupied with locating the proper champion building up to a physical confrontation.[194] Ninurta's identity

[186] In the form of the Tablet of Destinies (see SB *Anzû* I:81), apparently the locus of Enlilship (see SB *Anzû* I:82).

[187] See *Erra Song* I:126–192.

[188] For references to these items see *Erra Song* I:128 and I:143; I:127, 1:140, and I:142, respectively. On the relationship between these terms see chapter 6, "II. Marduk's Portrayal: The Nature and Significance of the Jewelry."

[189] See SB *Anzû* I:92–156 (compare OB *Anzû* II:11–28).

[190] See SB *Anzû* II:28–69 (compare OB *Anzû* II:73–III: obv. 19).

[191] See SB *Anzû* II:101–III:21 (compare OB *Anzû* III: rev. 1'–18').

[192] That Enlilship via the Tablet of Destinies is in the talons of a monster outside Babylonia is clearly an originally right situation that has been directly inverted, but the specific implications of the threat are never spelled out, and Anzû does no clear harm to anyone beyond causing "deathly silence" (*šaḫurratu*; SB *Anzû* I:84) and the loss of "radiance" (*namurratu*; OB *Anzû* II:5, SB *Anzû* I:86) to Enlil's cella.

[193] As Vogelzang argues, Ninurta's initial defeat serves "to show how formidable the monster is against whom the hero has to fight, thus raising the tension and giving the story body" and "to enlarge the prestige of the young hero when he wins his victory in the end" (*Bin šar dadmē*, 155–156).

[194] As with a harmonic suspension in a classical sonata, there is never any doubt how the story will resolve; it is likely the reader/hearer is expected to be familiar with the legend before encountering the text (see SB *Anzû* I:11).

forms the centerpiece of that suspension—the proper hero, set in relief by the backdrop of the three improper heroes, must be identified through his parentage,[195] and as he challenges Anzû he must first establish who he is,[196] a theme that is carried through to the names bestowed on him in the conclusion.[197]

The outline of the *Erra Song* is far more tortuous and less clearly discernible, thanks in no small part to lacunae in the middle of the text: significant energy is expended relating how Erra must first be goaded into action,[198] how he convinces Marduk to relinquish control,[199] and finally the specific nature of the destruction, which is detailed, concrete, local, and extensive[200] rather than vague, universal, and brief. No physical confrontation with Erra, the source of chaos, ever takes place; instead, much of the narrative itself—the very recounting of his glorious warlike deeds simultaneously to the audience and to him—pacifies him into a state of rest,[201] and even Išum's attack on Mount Šaršar, the source of the human agents of destruction,[202] is carried out almost rotely, with no resistance.[203] And in the *Erra Song* the vizier has been elevated unexpectedly to the

[195] See especially SB *Anzû* I:183–186 (compare OB *Anzû* II:37–40); I:209–210 (compare OB *Anzû* II:51); and II:18–19 and 23 (compare OB *Anzû* II:70–72).

[196] See SB *Anzû* II:45–47 (compare OB *Anzû* III: obv. 8–9).

[197] See SB *Anzû* III:127–end.

[198] See *Erra Song* I:46–99.

[199] See *Erra Song* I:124–192.

[200] See especially *Erra Song* tablet IV.

[201] See *Erra Song* IIIc:58–IV:127, V:1, and V:21–23.

[202] See appendix A n. 460.

[203] See *Erra Song* IV:141–150.

status of champion for his ability to soothe his overlord and carry out independent campaigns against inimical forces.[204] In structure and characters, the texts do not map cleanly onto each other.

Hymnic Prologues

Nevertheless, at certain points the *Erra Song* appears to allude to or echo the story of *Anzû*, and these will be evaluated in turn. Perhaps the most famous of these appears in the opening lines: both texts begin with a hymnic prologue,[205] and the phrases introducing the two texts, *bin šar dadmī* and *šar gimir dadmī*, are remarkably similar.[206] Furthermore, Išum is explicitly identified as the "firstbo[rn] heir of Enlil" (*apil Ellil rēšt*[*û*]) in *Erra Song* I:2, a title redolent of Ninurta's epithets.[207]

Several observations about this cluster of associations are in order. Most mythological narratives in Akkadian do not begin with a hymnic prologue, which sets these two texts apart. However, multiple Sumerian mythological compositions open with hymnic prologues,[208] and some Akkadian literature may as well, including perhaps the *Tukulti-Ninurta Epic*,[209] so it would be an

[204] Compare the role of Šarur in SB *Anzû*, in which he simply conveys messages verbatim between Ēa and Ninurta; see II:70–145.

[205] See SB *Anzû* I:1–14; *Erra Song* I:1–22.

[206] Multiple scholars have pointed to these similarities; see for example Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 204; Annus, *Standard Babylonian Epic of Anzu*, xxv; and Machinist, "Order and Disorder," 32–33 and 47.

[207] See for example SB *Anzû* I:4: "divine son of Enlil" (*ila bukur Ellil*).

[208] Some examples include "Enki and the World Order" (for an edition see Benito, "Enki and the World Order," 77–160); "Gilgameš and the Bull of Heaven" (for an edition see Cavigneaux and al-Rawi, "Gilgameš et Taureau de Ciel"); *Lugal-e*; and *An-gim Dím-ma*.

[209] The apparent introduction to the text, K 6007, is published in autograph in Winckler, *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten* 2, 76; it is Lambert who has suggested this is the introduction to the *Tukulti-Ninurta Epic* (*apud* Foster, *Before the Muses*, 317; see also Foster's translation of this fragment on 299). (For an edition of the bulk of the text, see Machinist, "Epic of Tukulti-Ninurta I.") It is also not unknown for royal inscriptions to open with a dedication to a particular god preceding a narrative in a manner that in this respect parallels the texts under discussion here; while not hymnic or poetic, these introductions heap up epithets in a manner reminiscent of the texts under investigation. For some examples see the introductions to the texts in Grayson,

overstatement to characterize this feature as unique to these two texts. And their hymnic prologues are not particularly similar: *Anzû* relies on classical lyrical repetition[210] and addresses the reader directly,[211] where the *Erra Song* features paronomasia prominently[212] and addresses the god directly.[213] It is clear the *Erra Song* is not imitating *Anzû* in anything other than possibly a generic way, where a hymnic prologue may introduce the story as a way of signaling it belongs to the genre to which *Anzû* belongs.

The resemblance of the texts' opening phrases is striking. However, similar phrasing is known from other texts, such as a hymn to Ištar that limns her as *šarrati kullat dadmī*, "queen of the whole inhabited world."[214] Furthermore, if the *Erra Song* is consciously imitating *Anzû* it is worth pointing out it does this by connecting Išum, the "[ki]ng of all of the inhabited world" ([*ša*]*r gimir dadmī*), not to Ninurta, but to Enlil, the "king of the inhabited world" (*šar dadmī*) of *Anzû* whose son (*bin*) Ninurta is. And yet in the second line of the *Erra Song* Išum is identified explicitly as Enlil's heir (*apil Ellil rēšt*[*û*]). It is clear, then, that the author of the *Erra Song* is not connecting this text in any thoroughgoing way to *Anzû*.

Muddying the waters even further, the phrase "firstbo[rn] heir of Enlil" (*apil Ellil rēšt*[*û*]) in the second line of the *Erra Song*, which seems to connect Išum to Ninurta, the champion of *Anzû*, is paralleled by a similar phrase later in the *Erra Song* in reference to Erra himself, "eminent heir of

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Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium II, 58–61 (Šalmaneser III, to Adad); 180–188 (Šamši-Adad V, to Ninurta); 207–209 (Adad-nērārī III, to Adad); and 209–212 (Adad-nērārī III, to Adad).

[210] On which see above, n. 115, and SB *Anzû* I:1–4.

[211] As evidenced by the imperative in SB *Anzû* I:9 (*šimâ*).

[212] See *Erra Song* I:3, I:4, and I:21 (with the relevant notes in appendix A).

[213] See *Erra Song* I:9 and I:19. On this basis it is clear the names and epithets in I:1–4 and I:21–22 are also forms of direct address; see further chapter 2, "II. The Opening Passage."

[214] Line 2 of the Neo-Babylonian version of a text edited in Reiner and Güterbock, "Great Prayer to Ishtar."

Enlil" (*apil Ellil ṣīru*; II:121). Enlil's most common title is surely "father";[215] he is also known as the "father of the gods."[216] But while he typically has a number of apparently literal sons, including Sîn,[217] Namtar,[218] and Nergal,[219] Ninurta is surely his quintessential heir and champion, so the phrase may deliberately invoke Ninurta. However, in this context it is almost certainly glossing Išum's alternate name Ḫendursag in an as yet unidentified way[220] and so may have little theological or intertextual significance. It is also possible the phrase came to be used less than literally of champion figures, which would account for its application to both Išum and Erra in this text.

There may be faint echoes of *Anzû* discernible in the poet's choice of diction in the incipit of the *Erra Song* and in the decision to include a hymnic prologue in praise of the god who champions the forces of chaos, like Ninurta the heir of Enlil, but if so that relationship is tenuous and generic rather than structured, allusive, or thoroughgoing.

Cleaning the Chief God

The clearest structural similarities between these two texts may lie in the pivot of each narrative, the mechanism that allows disaster to be unleashed: in both stories the agent of chaos is

[215] As for example in *Enūma Eliš* VII:136 (and numerous other texts).

[216] As for example in SB *Anzû* I:69 (and elsewhere).

[217] See for example *Astrolabe B* i:10–11, where Sîn is said to be "the firstborn son of Enlil" (*māri rēštî ša Ellil*; for an edition see Weidner, *Handbuch der babylonischen Astronomie*, 85–102; Reiner, *Babylonian Planetary Omens Part Two*, 81–82).

[218] See for example *Utukkū Lemnūtu* V:3, where Namtar is called "the beloved son of Enlil" (dumu ki-áĝ-ĝá ^{d}en-líl-lá / *māru narām Ellil*; for an edition see Geller, *Evil Demons*).

[219] See for example *The Cuthean Hymn to Nergal* line 2 (for an edition see MacMillan, "Cuneiform Tablets," 582–584; Pinches, "Babylonian Gods of War," 210–212); Böllenrücher, *Gebete und Hymnen*, 50–52 (#87) line 1.

[220] It is clear the name Ḫendursag is glossed in the following line (see the relevant note in appendix A for details). Given that SAG can be read as *rēštû*, it is likely glossed in some way in this line as well.

appointed as a guardian of order, Anzû of Enlil's inner chamber[221] and Erra of the cosmos generally,[222] and both chaotic characters exploit this situation, Anzû by stealing the Tablet of Destinies[223] and Erra by perpetrating disorder on the cosmos rather than safeguarding order.[224] Both title characters can presumably draw on their own fierceness to repel other threatening figures, and in both stories it is the vulnerability of the chief god while being cleaned, Enlil in the bath[225] and Marduk while his jewelry is removed for shining,[226] that enables an agent of chaos to seize control of the cosmic reins.

While these similarities are noticeable, they are also quite general: none of the particulars of the account in the *Erra Song* directly recall the text of *Anzû*, and differences abound: Erra guards the cosmos in Marduk's absence while Anzû guards Enlil's chamber generally and simply exploits the situation while the latter is in the bath; Erra persuades Marduk to allow him to have temporary control because of the necessity of shining the jewelry on this particular occasion, while Anzû seems to have a more or less permanent post; Erra is granted authority in the abstract within Babylonia while Anzû pilfers the Tablet of Destinies and flees to his mountain home. It is therefore likely that the similarities arise through shared cultural assumptions, both theological assumptions about the necessary vulnerability of the gods during cleaning and the concomitant vulnerability of the cosmos, as well perhaps as a shared implicit narrative template in which a story pivots on the seizure of the supreme god's power.

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[221] See SB *Anzû* I:64.

[222] See *Erra Song* I:169–192.

[223] See SB *Anzû* I:81–82.

[224] Evident especially from *Erra Song* tablet IV.

[225] See SB *Anzû* I:79.

[226] See *Erra Song* I:127–128 and I:182.

Reference to Ninurta's Exploits

Midway through the text of the *Erra Song* we encounter an explicit reference to the exploits of Ninurta, including his conquest of Anzû:

IIIc:31 *ša qurādu Nergal kī ūmi tāḫāzi asakki* . . . . . .
IIIc:31 "Whom Warrior Nergal like on the day of battle an *asakku*-demon . . .

IIIc:32 *kī ša ila* [*ab*]*ta ana nârīšu ul irammâ id*[*āšu*]
IIIc:32 "As if to slay the [defe]ated god [his] arm[s] are not slack.

IIIc:33 *kī ša lemna Anzâ ana kamêšu šuparrura*[*t šēssu*?]
IIIc:33 "As if to bind evil Anzû [his net (?)] is spread ou[t]."

It is noteworthy that, as we have seen, the specific language used here to describe Anzû reflects the diction of our *Anzû* text,[227] suggesting our author was aware of *Anzû* in some form. But the allusion goes beyond the Anzû story to the cycle of Ninurta legends more generally, of which *Anzû* comprises one chapter. In fact, this encapsulation of those legends fits quite uneasily with our earlier potential connection to *Anzû*, since here Nergal/Erra is associated explicitly with Ninurta where in the prologue Ninurta's closest equivalent appears to be Išum—which would make Nergal/Erra the logical equivalent not of Ninurta but of Anzû. And while the author is drawing an explicit connection between Nergal and Ninurta and perhaps even identifying them,[228] the larger story cannot be grafted in any thoroughgoing way onto *Anzû* or the Ninurta legends more generally—Nergal/Erra otherwise remains quite distinct from Ninurta and has not inherited any of the latter's trappings, staff, or temple. This fleeting but undeniable reference to the Anzû story, rather than shoring up an overarching connection to the text of *Anzû*, tends rather to undermine that connection. Even the fact that multiple of Ninurta's exploits and not simply his conquest of

[227] See "II. Stylistic Affinities: Diction" above.

[228] On the relationship between Nergal and Ninurta see Wiggermann, "Nergal," 221. It is significant that he is called Nergal here where he is identified with Ninurta, as his instantiation as Nergal appears to be more closely associated with Ninurta in general.

Anzû are referenced suggests the Anzû story does not occupy a privileged position in the hinterground of the composition of the *Erra Song*.

However, the context of this reference allows mutually revelatory observations to be made about the nature of evil and chaos in these two texts that stem from a shared culture. The forces of chaos are useful in repelling other forces of chaos, which appears to be why Anzû is enlisted as a guardian of Enlil's cella and why Ninurta would want to assume the features of a *gallû*-demon[229] as well as why Erra as an agent of chaos and destruction himself may genuinely have the power to terrify *gallû*-demons;[230] it is likely why the demonic figures of the Divine Heptad can be incorporated into the ordered world of the pantheon[231] and why in *Enūma Eliš* one of Marduk's terrifying horses bears the name of one of Anzû's epithets.[232] Violence and order relate in labyrinthine ways; as every repressive regime understands, violence is not simply antithetical to order but can also be an essential part of maintaining order.

However, the violence that is perpetrated in the name of order, even against other violent forces, can easily get out of hand: violence and chaos are by their very nature not easily contained. Anzû and the Divine Heptad introduce chaos into the cosmos in different ways in spite of efforts to assign them circumscribed responsibilities within the ordered realm for enacting the violence that is a fundamental part of their characters. It would seem that monsters and demons can never comfortably be incorporated into civilization. But the other side of this coin is equally problematic: the champions who are enlisted to fight those monsters can easily become themselves monstrous in the process and pose their own threat to the ordered realm. This may be true of Ninurta, who, some

[229] See SB *Anzû* II:11.

[230] See *Erra Song* I:186–187 for Erra's claim that he is able to control and defeat *gallû*-demons (and see also I:67).

[231] As members of Erra's train—on this issue see further chapter 5, "III. The Status of the Divine Heptad."

[232] See *mupparša* ("flying") in *Enūma Eliš* IV:52 as well as SB *Anzû* I:11, II:5, and III:119.

have suggested, is reluctant to return the Tablet of Destinies after defeating Anzû,[233] and it is certainly true of Erra, whose violent tendencies can benefit civilization in myriad ways[234] but cannot easily be contained. As the passage comparing Nergal to Ninurta in the *Erra Song* suggests, Nergal/Erra has assumed the stance one takes toward a monster—and yet he has assumed that stance toward civilization, human and divine. The violence that ideally is directed only outward toward chaos is easily misdirected inward toward cosmos. The theological explorations of the *Erra Song* hinge on and expound this problem that is only hinted at in *Anzû*, that violence is simultaneously necessary to order and a threat to order, and that champions must assume the properties of the monsters they fight.[235] This recursive potential for monsters to create new monsters of their champions may explain to some degree why Išum must talk Erra down rather than combating him physically,[236] although it is also the case that Išum undertakes a successful campaign directing his combative tendencies toward the forces of chaos stemming from Mount Šaršar.[237]

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[233] See SB *Anzû* III:71–73 as reconstructed and translated by Vogelzang (*Bin šar dadmē*, 70 and 72 [ii:20'–22']) and Foster (*Before the Muses*, 575). Machinist points to the Sumerian composition "Ninurta and the Turtle," in which Ninurta seems inwardly to have designs on ruling the world (see lines 25–29; for an edition see Alster, "Ninurta and the Turtle"), as evidence Ninurta intends to keep the Tablet of Destinies in *Anzû* ("Order and Disorder" 52). Given the fragmentary state of the text of SB *Anzû*, it should be emphasized that this is only speculative. It is also not clear that Ninurta's possessing the Tablet of Destinies would pose any more of a threat to the cosmos than does Enlil's.

[234] See especially the Divine Heptad's speech in *Erra Song* I:46–91 as discussed in chapter 6, "I. Erra's Motivation for the Calamity."

[235] Nietzsche's famous aphorism is apropos here: "Whoever fights with monsters should see to it that he does not himself become a monster. And if you look into an abyss for long enough, the abyss will look back into you." (Wer mit Ungeheuern kämpft, mag zusehn, dass er nicht dabei zum Ungeheuer wird. Und wenn du lange in einen Abgrund blickst, blickt der Abgrund auch in dich hinein; *Jenseits von Gut und Böse*, 98 [#146].)
(For a nuanced discussion of this complex of issues with however a somewhat different framing, see Machinist, "Order and Disorder," 38.)

[236] As argued above, it may also be relevant that as a god Erra must be neutralized in some other way than by physical defeat.

[237] See *Erra Song* IV:139–150.

The Campaign against Mount Šaršar

As it happens, Mount Šaršar, the homeland of the vicious hordes of Suteans in the *Erra Song*,[238] is also the birthplace and stage of operations for Anzû in *Anzû*.[239] In the hymnic prologue to the *Erra Song* it is possible Išum is celebrated in terms meant to call Ninurta from the text of *Anzû* to mind; could there be a deliberate relationship connecting Išum's campaign against Mount Šaršar to *Anzû*?[240]

Here too it is difficult to reach a definitive conclusion. One point that might speak in favor of this thesis is how awkwardly the campaign against Mount Šaršar fits into the narrative of the *Erra Song*: In the extant text, the mountain is never mentioned before the campaign, and Erra authorizes the campaign quite abruptly as if it is clear why the mountain must be laid waste,[241] although we are left to extrapolate. Furthermore, as the narrative draws toward its resolution, Mount Šaršar emerges somewhat unexpectedly as the locus of chaos even though it is clear throughout the text that Erra is the ultimate source of chaos. In contrast, the mountain and mountain region are mentioned repeatedly throughout the extant text of *Anzû*, and the title character is on occasion identified explicitly with his mountain homeland: in defeating Anzû Ninurta defeats the mountain.[242]

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[238] See appendix A n. 460.

[239] In SB *Anzû* see especially I:25, I:53, I:83 (=I:110, I:131, and I:152), II:29, II:35, and III:62; in OB *Anzû* see especially II:20, II:74, and II:80.

[240] Although he does not argue it is deliberate, Annus also draws a connection between these episodes, in *Standard Babylonian Epic of Anzu*, xxv–xxvi.

[241] See *Erra Song* IV:137–139.

[242] See SB *Anzû* III:117–118, III:120, and III:122.

Because the Suteans appear as the most consistent enemy forces in the *Erra Song*[243] and Mount Šaršar, modern Jebel Bishri, appears in fact to have been the homeland of this historical ethnicity,[244] it is likely we are dealing here with a shared cultural trope in which the champion attacks the mountain, the anti-alluvium and the source of chaos in the universe. The identity of Mount Šaršar in particular allows us to discern overtones of the *Anzû* story, of which the author of the *Erra Song* was no doubt aware, but the allusion is neither robust nor thoroughgoing.

Compatibility

A final question about these two texts' relationship is worth posing: Are they compatible? Our understanding of fiction is such that each new text, unless it is a sequel, begins with a blank slate vis-à-vis all other members of its category; within this set of assumptions, rewriting old stories is entirely reasonable and natural, since the two versions are not thought to occupy the same fictive reality. But while fiction tends to start anew with each new work, theological literature presumably builds on itself. If, as seems likely, the author of the *Erra Song* was aware of *Anzû*, we must wonder whether that author intended for the *Erra Song* to fit into the same narrative landscape as *Anzû*.

There are scant indications the *Erra Song* is a direct rewriting of *Anzû*, so it seems unlikely it was meant to replace it theologically. But the question of compatibility too is beset by turbid evidence. Where Enlil is the chief god in *Anzû*, Marduk is the chief god in the *Erra Song*—and yet Enlil continues to play a role, one that parallels that of Marduk;[245] it is therefore likely the author was aware of both traditions and was making some effort to accommodate the earlier tradition of

[243] See *Erra Song* IV:54, IV:69, IV:133, and V:28. Cagni has argued this compellingly in *L'Epopea di Erra*, 33–34.

[244] See for example Lönnqvist, "How to Control Nomads?," especially 126–127 and 129; Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 33–34 and 242–243.

[245] Compare *Erra Song* IIIc:3–10 to IV:33–39.

Enlil's supremacy into the worldview exemplified by *Enūma Eliš*, whereby Marduk had attained that status and had theoretically replaced him. In spite of this apparent difference, then, the texts may have been intended to be compatible on this score. Ninurta's conquests, including but not limited to Anzû, are attributed to Nergal in the *Erra Song*, which might be construed at evidence the story was understood to supersede *Anzû*, to have replaced its hero with another figure entirely occupying a different web of relationships. But here too we should refrain from imposing a strict dichotomy on the evidence: Nergal may have been construed in a limited way as an instantiation of Ninurta without fully absorbing Ninurta's identity, in the same way Nergal and Erra are identified in the text while maintaining some distinctiveness,[246] although perhaps to a more radical degree. It is also worth observing that one of the names bestowed on Ninurta in the conclusion of *Anzû* is that of Ištarān,[247] a god who plays a not insignificant role in the *Erra Song*[248] without any indication that he is an instantiation of Ninurta. Tentatively I propose the author of the *Erra Song* was aware of multiple mythological traditions and made no effort to exclude or replace any of them in the composition of this text, but that author also does not appear to have adopted in any rigorous or specific way the theological conclusions of *Anzû*.

The Ninurta Tradition in Sumerian

Before we conclude, it is worth briefly evaluating the *Erra Song's* relationship to certain earlier, Sumerian, mythological poems in which Ninurta defeats an agent of chaos—*Lugal-e* and *An-gim Dím-ma*, texts that belong to the family of the Akkadian *Anzû* and that both continued to be copied in the first millennium with Akkadian translations.[249] Like the *Erra Song*, both of these texts,

[246] See further chapter 3, "V. Erra's Relationship to Nergal," on this issue.

[247] See SB *Anzû* III:141.

[248] See *Erra Song* IV:65–103.

[249] Cooper, *Return of Ninurta to Nippur*, 2.

as we have seen, open with hymnic prologues,[250] and in both cases Ninurta is addressed directly, as is Išum in the *Erra Song*.[251] Furthermore, both texts close with doxologies praising Ninurta and identifying the compositions as types of songs to him,[252] in a manner reminiscent of the conclusion of the *Erra Song* (although not directly parallel to it).[253] In *Lugal-e*, Šarur, Ninurta's weapon and adviser, offers suggestions to his lord, where in *Anzû* he serves simply as a messenger between Ninurta and Ēa;[254] he therefore dimly reflects Išum's role in the *Erra Song*.[255] And the mythologem of the birth of the demonic villain of *Lugal-e*, Azag, the offspring of heaven and earth, is echoed in the birth of the Divine Heptad in the *Erra Song*,[256] even though the latter have been incorporated into the ordered world of the gods where Azag poses a threat to them. Like *Anzû* and the *Erra Song*, *Lugal-e* and *An-gim Dím-ma* too feature battles against a hostile mountain region.[257] Of course these compositions connect only at certain points and only vaguely to the *Erra Song*; in the broad outlines of their plots they are profoundly different: *Lugal-e* is set in primordial time and describes the development of the Tigris River[258] and the assigning of roles to the stones,[259] where the *Erra Song* is

[250] See n. 205 above.

[251] See *Lugal-e* lines 1–16, *An-gim Dím-ma* lines 1–15, and *Erra Song* I:1–22.

[252] *Lugal-e* may be labeled a šir-sud in its final line (729), where *An-gim Dím-ma* is labeled a šìr-gíd-da in its final line (209).

[253] See *Erra Song* V:40–62.

[254] In *Lugal-e* see lines 22–69, 114–150, 191–220, 225–239, 264–280, and 309–330; in SB *Anzû* see II:70–145.

[255] Machinist compares Šarur rather to the Divine Heptad, since he understands the Divine Heptad to be Erra's weapons (see "Order and Disorder," 53). On the relationship between the Divine Heptad and Erra's weapons, see further appendix A n. 56.

[256] Compare *Lugal-e* line 26 to *Erra Song* I:28–29, where it is Anu and the earth who generate the Divine Heptad. On this mythologem see further chapter 5, "I. The Meaning and Spelling of the Divine Heptad's Name: Exceptions to the Trends in Distribution: The DINGIR IMIN.BI as 'Demons'—The *Erra Song*."

[257] See for example *Lugal-e* lines 163–164 and *passim* and *An-gim Dím-ma* line 24, as well as "III. The Relationships in Structure and Content: Relationship to Anzû—The Campaign against Mount Šaršar" above.

[258] See *Lugal-e* lines 334–367.

[259] See *Lugal-e* lines 416–647.

set in the recent past and lacks elements of a cosmic charter. Ninurta responds to an external threat in *Lugal-e*, where Erra is aroused and then calmed in the *Erra Song* by members of his own court, due to internal motivation. And *An-gim Dím-ma* is quite fragmentary but depicts Ninurta riding his chariot with various battle trophies toward the Ekur and thereby frightening Enlil, an episode that is unparalleled in the *Erra Song*.[260]

Conclusions

As Saggs indicated in an article some three decades ago,[261] the text of SB *Anzû* was discovered alongside the *Erra Song* on a tablet from the Nergal temple at Tarbiṣu; it is thus clear that in antiquity *Anzû* and the *Erra Song* were associated in at least some circles (and likely understood to be compatible). However, it is not certain whether they were associated by the author of the *Erra Song* personally or whether that association developed secondarily; it is also unclear whether they were understood to belong together in a way that transcends their generic relationship.

It is not surprising the texts were paired, as they are undeniably related: they stem from similar and interconnected cultural milieux and treat analogous issues centering on the cosmic sources of chaos and violence and their relationship to order, and in broad outline their narratives follow similar templates. It is also likely the author of the *Erra Song* was familiar with the text of *Anzû*: at a few points the *Erra Song* explicitly invokes its language and story or implicitly may conjure its champion and the language with which he is celebrated. But even if we accept the legitimacy of the latter, these connections are circumscribed and tenuous rather than thoroughgoing and robust, and they are not in line with the one explicit allusion in the *Erra Song* to

[260] On the relationships among these texts see further Machinist, "Order and Disorder," 53–55.

[261] Saggs, "Additions to Anzu."

the story of Anzû's defeat. In my view, the similarities we observe between these two texts are largely the result of a generic relationship but do not go beyond that, and it is conceivable their shared genre accounts for their inclusion together on a single tablet.[262]

Relationship to Enūma Eliš

Like *Anzû*, *Enūma Eliš* begins in primordial time and unfolds within the realm of divine characters, but it begins even earlier in primordial history and occupies itself far more than *Anzû* with recounting the original establishment of an ordered cosmos;[263] we have seen that the *Erra Song*, in contrast, takes place within postdiluvian historical time and to some degree on the human plane.[264] (Not surprisingly, given that it was likely composed after *Enūma Eliš*[265] and is not focused on primordial events, the *Erra Song* assumes but does not explore the situation *Enūma Eliš* explicates, how Marduk assumed kingship over the other gods.[266]) Furthermore *Enūma Eliš* presents the development of two parallel threatening forces in sequence, Apsû and Tiāmat, and recounts their defeats by a sequence of two heroes, Ēa and Marduk, the latter in each case amplifying the traits of the former on a far grander scale. Final victory comes about not at the conclusion of the story but in its middle, after which the text preoccupies itself in earnest with weaving a tapestry out of the earlier threads of the creation of the cosmos and the glorification of

[262] For a somewhat different set of conclusions about the relationship between these texts, see Machinist, "Order and Disorder."

[263] See especially *Enūma Eliš* I:1–20 and IV:135–VI:100.

[264] See *Erra Song* I:132 and IV:50 for its postdiluvian setting and tablet IV for events that unfold explicitly on the human plane.

[265] On the dating of the *Erra Song* to about the eighth century BCE, see chapter 6, "Addendum: Dating the Text." The date of *Enūma Eliš*'s composition cannot be pinned down with any more precision but was likely the end of the second or beginning of the first millennium; see Machinist, "Order and Disorder," 36, with bibliography.

[266] See below; Machinist, "Order and Disorder," 47–48; idem, "Anthropomorphism in Mesopotamian Religion," 92.

Marduk. In the *Erra Song*, in contrast, a single threat is set in motion, duplicitously assumes power over the cosmos, and is finally brought to heel through flattery based around his gloriously violent deeds; the conflict lasts most of the story and is specific and concrete, and yet no physical confrontation takes place between the primary actors. *Enūma Eliš* locates the primordial roots of nonspecific forces of chaos in mythological fashion, where the *Erra Song* traces specific examples of chaos to their more recent theological roots.

The Threat from within the Pantheon: Tiāmat and Erra

The texts nevertheless offer a number of points of fruitful comparison, which are explored in turn below.

Unlike in *Anzû*, where the threat develops outside the order of civilization and must finally be confronted there, in *Enūma Eliš* and the *Erra Song* the threat emerges from within the pantheon. This may explain why both texts' central threatening forces are portrayed in a way that registers to a modern reader as ambivalent. Although we may discern heroes in these poems' lines, neither text has a recognizable villain—a term that has only limited application in this context. Initially Tiāmat is motivated out of motherly compassion to protect the younger generation of gods whom her consort Apsû would slay on account of their noise,[267] and after the latter's defeat she is motivated at least partially by that same motherly compassion to attend to the gods who cannot sleep on account of Marduk's antics;[268] yet although her motivations overlap,[269] in the first episode she tracks as a positive character and in the second a negative one. For a figure who threatens the text's born

[267] See *Enūma Eliš* I:25–46.

[268] See *Enūma Eliš* I:105–128, especially 120–122. Compare to IV:80, where Marduk accuses her of renouncing compassion for her offspring; however, since her older offspring object to and are determined to put a stop to the behavior of her younger offspring, she cannot properly have compassion on all of them.

[269] See the following section for more on the complexity of what motivates her.

champion,[270] she is peculiarly sympathetic, making the first case that the younger, more boisterous gods should be spared.[271] It is remarkable that it is not clear on its face that Marduk is even in the right to roil her with his winds:[272] the issue of the gods' rest is a serious and legitimate enough concern that humanity is later created to facilitate it.[273] The clash is one of personalities as much as a battle between good and evil or order and chaos, and monsters fight in both camps—although, significantly, more prominently for Tiāmat.[274] The text puts forward a champion and a threat to that champion, but the champion can behave violently and the threat can be compassionate.[275] Tiāmat is not an object of cult and may participate more in the monstrous than most members of her line,[276] but perhaps as Marduk's direct ancestor she cannot as quickly be dismissed as a dispositional agent of chaos the way Anzû is.

This observation—that Tiāmat is by turns sympathetic and villainous, indulgent and irascible—lays the groundwork for our understanding of Erra's character. Like Tiāmat, Erra is motivated to commit acts of violence by arguments that could be considered pro-social and that

[270] It is clear from Marduk's birth that he is to be the gods' champion and rightful sovereign; see *Enūma Eliš* I:79–104.

[271] See *Enūma Eliš* I:45–46.

[272] See *Enūma Eliš* I:105–110.

[273] See *Enūma Eliš* VI:34—where, however, the word "rest" does not appear.

[274] See further below.

[275] See *Enūma Eliš* IV:49–58, 1:26–28, and I:41–46.

[276] On Tiāmat's ambiguous status see Machinist, "Anthropomorphism in Mesopotamian Religion," 85–86. It should also be mentioned that although she spawns monsters to fight for her, Tiāmat is ostensibly coming to the aid of gods (see *Enūma Eliš* I:109–132). However, with the exception of Qingu (see I:147–162=II:33–48=III:37–52=III:95–110), who plays a particular role as a male figurehead necessitated by Tiāmat's femaleness and therefore apparent unworthiness to rule in name or to hold the Tablet of Destinies, these gods are anonymous and function as a collective. Although they are said to be the ancestors of the other gods (see I:128), they are not the ancestor gods named in the opening lines, as these figures support Marduk. Thus the gods who rally around Tiāmat are not named members of the pantheon meriting cult, and in that they are quite far removed from Erra.

may, under certain circumstances, even play a legitimate role in the functioning of the cosmos.[277] But the *Erra Song* goes even another step in this direction: in spite of his proclivity for chaos, Erra is nevertheless a full member of the pantheon and an object of cult and flattery. Both texts explore the problems that arise when a threat emerges from within the pantheon itself, and in neither case is that threat unequivocally "evil."

Given the somewhat parallel ways in which they are situated, it should not be surprising that both Tiāmat and Erra incorporate monstrous or semi-demonic figures into their trains, Tiāmat in the form of snakes, dragons, and various demons and *Mischwesen*[278] and Erra in the form of the Divine Heptad.[279] This fact highlights their liminal characters—they are not themselves quite demonic or monstrous, and the separateness gives them some distance from their own violence, but they are at the same time strongly associated with the demonic and the monstrous.

Another noteworthy point of connection between Tiāmat and Erra is the manner in which they are aroused: both must be verbally persuaded to combat the cosmos, and both are set in motion by appeal to issues with some legitimacy in the appropriate functioning of the cosmos, but once set in motion both quickly rage out of control. Tiāmat does not of her own accord abandon her

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[277] See *Enūma Eliš* I:113–122; *Erra Song* especially I:77, 81–82, and 83–86. This issue is discussed in chapter 6, "I. Erra's Motivation for the Calamity."

[278] See *Enūma Eliš* I:133–146 (=II:19–32=III:23–36=III:81–94). Unlike Erra, Tiāmat spawns these monsters personally.

[279] See *Erra Song* I:23–44. (This parallel is observed also by Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 82.) There is even an apparent similarity between Tiāmat's declaration about her dragons—"*let whoever looks at them dissolve in weakness*/*let it [the radiant aura] cause whoever looks at them to dissolve*" (*āmiršunu šarbābiš liḫḫar*[*miṭ*]/*liš*[*ḫarmiṭ*]; *Enūma Eliš* I:139)—and Anu's injunction to the third of the Divine Heptad—"*let it [your appearance] dissolve whoever looks at you*/*let whoever looks at you dissolve*" (*āmirka*/*āmiruk lišḫarmiṭ*/*liḫḫarmiṭ*; *Erra Song* I:34). However, an additional parallel to the phrasing in *Enūma Eliš*, with the term *šarbābiš* alongside the verb *šaḫarmumu*, appears in *The Babylonian Theodicy* (26:286; see Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, 63–91, at 88–89), suggesting the root in *Enūma Eliš* too should perhaps be reconstructed as *naḫarmumu*/*šuḫarmumu* ("to collapse / to cause to collapse") rather than *naḫarmuṭu*/*šuḫarmuṭu* ("to dissolve / to cause to dissolve"), as we find in the *Erra Song*. (There may also have been confusion already in antiquity between these roots, resulting in semantic overlap.)

erstwhile compassion for the younger gods and become bent on avenging Apsû; she must be goaded into behaving this way by the anonymous older gods who cannot sleep.[280] And although their speech persuades her to act,[281] the level of noise she generates suggests she is not primarily motivated by consideration for them.[282] Erra too must be instigated to act by an outside force, in his case the Divine Heptad.[283] Even more than Tiāmat, he is initially incited to act by a confusing welter of possible justifications, none of which seem to have much purchase once he has been convinced to undertake a campaign against the cosmos.[284] Both figures have some inclination toward hostility against the representatives of order yet neither figure occupies this position unequivocally, since both are provoked by forces outside themselves.

In spite of these connections, it should be stressed how different Erra is from Tiāmat. The author of *Enūma Eliš* could suggest a mythological mechanism whereby order had been wrested from chaos and continued to be maintained,[285] but it appears the author of the *Erra Song* was not living in an era in which it could plausibly be posited that chaos was being kept in check: historical turmoil cried out for a theological explanation, which the author found by locating its source squarely among the gods. The threat to order, here a full deity who merits devotion,[286] stands in stark contrast to the threats in *Anzû* and *Enūma Eliš*. It is because Erra originates within the center

[280] See *Enūma Eliš* I:110–128.

[281] See *Enūma Eliš* I:125; compare *Erra Song* I:93.

[282] See *Enūma Eliš* II:89–90=II:113–114.

[283] See *Erra Song* I:46–93.

[284] These justifications for combat include the fact that Erra has become soft (see *Erra Song* I:47–48), that he will accumulate glory by awing the cosmos (see I:61–75), that animals are disrespecting the divine (see I:77), that the Anunnakī cannot sleep (see I:81–82), and that wild animals are jeopardizing the livelihood of farmers and shepherds (see I:83–86). This issue of Erra's motivation is treated at length in chapter 6, "I. Erra's Motivation for the Calamity."

[285] That it had to be continually maintained is evident from *Enūma Eliš* VII:132–134.

[286] On this issue see further chapter 6, "III. Erra's Responsibility: The Praise of a Violent God."

circle of the gods that he must be flattered into quiescence rather than physically defeated, and this is also why he does not cleanly parallel those other texts' threats but in certain respects parallels their champions.[287] There are no true monsters or demons in the *Erra Song*: the threats to the cosmos are simply gods and humans.

The very fact that Erra bears some similarity to Tiāmat actually highlights how fundamentally different these texts are in the configuration of their characters—Erra, the central figure of the text bearing his name, should presumably parallel Marduk (and Ninurta before him), the central figure of this probably earlier text. Yet in many respects he is closer to Marduk's nemesis than to Marduk himself; it is his vizier and subordinate, Išum, who corresponds to Marduk in the plot structure, but only very tenuously, since Marduk is the champion and king of the gods where Išum is a marginal god who does not and cannot neutralize the threat his overlord poses by conquering him physically. The *Erra Song* is telling a very different story from *Enūma Eliš*, one that speaks to a very different set of theological concerns and historical circumstances.

Closing Lines

Where *Anzû* and the *Erra Song* share hymnic prologues, *Enūma Eliš* and the *Erra Song* conclude in somewhat similar fashions:[288] both texts provide summary statements,[289] both texts incorporate indications about how they were recited and written down,[290] and both texts include admonitions for their study and the concomitant worship of their main figures.[291] Here too the

[287] For a discussion of Erra's relationship to those champions from a different set of premises, see Machinist, "Order and Disorder," 48–49.

[288] As observed also by Michalowski, "Presence at the Creation," 394–395 and Foster, "On Authorship," 21. It should be pointed out that we do not know how *Anzû* ended.

[289] See *Enūma Eliš* VII:161–162; *Erra Song* V:40–42.

[290] See *Enūma Eliš* VII:157–158; *Erra Song* V:43–73.

[291] See *Enūma Eliš* VII:145–150; *Erra Song* V:50–62. See further above, chapter 6 n. 165.

similarities are general; in their specifics the texts are conspicuously different. First of all, these elements occur in reverse order from each other. Secondly, the *Erra Song* is said to have been revealed during the night to a named individual, where *Enūma Eliš* is simply said vaguely to have been communicated by a "former" one[292] and set in writing for future generations. Finally, where Erra personally pronounces blessings on those who learn the text of the *Erra Song* and thereby praise him,[293] in *Enūma Eliš* it is the poet who admonishes various classes of people to study not the text but apparently Marduk's fifty names specifically,[294] following which Marduk's characteristics are set forth.[295] The conclusion of the *Erra Song* does not allude to that of *Enūma Eliš*, nor is the former modeled on the latter. The connection appears to be a quite general relationship in genre.

The Counter-Text Hypothesis

In a provocative study, Eckart Frahm has recently proposed that these two texts relate in a deliberate but antithetical way, in that the *Erra Song* functions as a farcical response, a "counter-text,"[296] to *Enūma Eliš*. In his reading the *Erra Song* "reverse[s]"[297] several of the positions of *Enūma*

[292] *Maḫrû*, in *Enūma Eliš* VII:157. *CAD* tentatively suggests this is a former poet: "the instructions that a former (poet?) communicated to him he wrote down and established it to be heard by later (generations)" (*CAD* s.v. "taklimtu," translating VII:157–158). It is not certain that the text of *Enūma Eliš* lies behind the term *taklimtu*, "instructions," although it seems a reasonable supposition.

[293] See *Erra Song* V:50–62. It is evident from the closing lines that the "song" (*zamāru*), mentioned explicitly in *Erra Song* V:50 (and V:60), correlates with, for example, the "praise of my (Erra's) warriorhood" (*tanitti qarrādūtīya*) in V:53. Learning the song is thus tantamount to praising Erra, as the final lines underscore: "Let this song exist forever, let it endure to eternity! / Let all of the lands hear it and praise my status as warrior! / Let the people of (all of) the inhabited world read it and glorify my name!" (*zamāru šâšu ana matī-ma lišša*kim-ma likūn qadu ulla / mātāti napḫaršina lišmâ-*(ma) *linādū/linādā qurdīya / nišī* (*kal*) *dadmī līmurā-ma lišarbâ šumī*; V:60–62).

[294] See *Enūma Eliš* VII:145–150. "His fifty names" (*ḫanšā šumēšu*) in VII:144 appears to be the subject of the verb *liṣṣabtū-ma* in VII:145.

[295] See *Enūma Eliš* VII:151–156.

[296] See Frahm, "Counter-texts, Commentaries, and Adaptations." Material from this article was adapted for chapter 11 of his book *Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries*, 345–368.

[297] Frahm, *Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries*, 348.

Eliš: where the latter is an "etiology of order," the former is an "etiology of chaos"; where the latter is a "heroic epic," the former is a "farce"; where the latter has a "focus on creation," the former has a "focus on destruction"; where the latter details the "exaltation of Marduk," the former details "Marduk's descent to the netherworld."[298] Rather than serving as "champion of peace and stability," his role in *Enūma Eliš*, Marduk is said in the *Erra Song*, "in complete contrast to everything that is said to *Enūma eliš*," to have "brought about the deluge."[299]

Frahm is no doubt correct that depredations on Babylonia "must have undermined the religious plausibility *Enūma eliš* had for the Babylonians of the early centuries of the first millennium," and that "the chaos that ruled the Babylonian political scene . . . required mythological explanations of a different kind."[300] The *Erra Song* clearly addresses the need to account theologically for Babylonia's decline. However, I see no evidence the *Erra Song* is a farce or that its language is "less . . . solemn"[301] than that of *Enūma Eliš*: given its historical backdrop there is no reason to suppose the recounting of the attacks on Babylonian cities[302] is comic or absurd or that its concluding celebration of the city of Babylon's renascent sovereignty[303] is ironic or less than sincere.

It may also be an overstatement to assert that attributing the Flood to Marduk is entirely at odds with his characterization in *Enūma Eliš*. Marduk sets up the order of the cosmos, but he is not exclusively the champion of calm and stability—after all, he is allegedly fighting for the right to stir

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[298] Frahm, "Counter-texts, Commentaries, and Adaptations," 8.

[299] Ibid., 7.

[300] Ibid., 6.

[301] Ibid., 7.

[302] See *Erra Song* IV:1–127.

[303] See *Erra Song* V:26–39.

things up where one of Tiāmat's pretexts is the need for tranquility so the old gods can sleep.[304] Nor is Marduk clearly the protector of humanity, whom he proposes be created to alleviate the burden of the gods.[305] We have discussed how the portrait of Tiāmat is complex and not straightforwardly villainous; Marduk, too, correspondingly may not fit our notions of a hero precisely. In the closing lines of *Enūma Eliš* it is said of him that "When he glares, he does not turn his face ('neck') away; / In his ire and anger no god can confront him" (*ikkelemmû-ma ul utarra kišāssu* / *ina sabāsīšu uzzašu ul imaḫḫaršu ilu mamman*; VII:153–154); earlier he is said to be "ferocious but judicious, irate but relenting" (*eziz u muštāl sabus u tayyār*; VI:137). In the *Erra Song* we hear in a little more detail how his anger may be directed against the cosmos.[306]

Most importantly, the stark contrast Frahm draws between the texts comes at least partially from comparing the resolution of *Enūma Eliš* to the conflict of the *Erra Song*. In fact, both texts in different ways offer both an etiology of chaos and an etiology of order, as both texts present a threat that is eventually neutralized. Frahm himself recognizes that the *Erra Song* exceeds its significance as a purported response to *Enūma Eliš*, noting that the text "had other functions as well," such as the apotropaic.[307] Its apotropaic use might, however, be seen as evidence the text is *not* farcical but was understood at the very least by certain readers/hearers as an entirely serious—to the point of being metaphysically powerful—explication of the sources of chaos and methods for appeasing them.

[304] See *Enūma Eliš* I:105–108, I:109–110, 115–116, and 119–122.

[305] See *Enūma Eliš* VI:1–38.

[306] See *Erra Song* I:132–138.

[307] Frahm, "Counter-texts, Commentaries, and Adaptations," 8.

Frahm points also to the intriguing fact that where *Enūma Eliš* celebrates Marduk's "exaltation," the *Erra Song* in contrast portrays his "descent to the netherworld."[308] What is more, as Machinist has observed, Marduk is absent from the narrative's conclusion: even as the triumph of Babylon is celebrated, it is Erra who is in the forefront.[309] Since I see no indication that the *Erra Song* in any way constitutes a response to *Enūma Eliš* specifically, I attribute less significance to these observations. The *Erra Song* must grapple with the theological assertion codified in *Enūma Eliš* and elsewhere of Marduk's sovereignty over the cosmos: in short, Marduk must be eliminated before Erra can declare war, and this is brought about early in the narrative by Marduk's relinquishing his throne. The project of Marduk's exaltation undertaken in the conclusion to *Enūma Eliš* must be temporarily undone to create a space in which the author of the *Erra Song* can spin a theology in which Erra's berserk outburst causes widespread destruction without implicating Marduk directly. But I see no reason to suppose that as the text draws to its conclusion Marduk is understood still to occupy a position in the "dwelling of the Anunnakī" (*šubat Anunnakī*; *Erra Song* II:2), in an inversion of *Enūma Eliš*; as his jewelry has long since been shined[310] and he has lamented Babylon's destruction,[311] it is likely he has reassumed his position of authority at some point in one of the many lacunae. It is striking that although he pronounces woes over his city when Babylon is attacked, he is not the god who is praised in the text's conclusion, even as Babylon is exalted. But, finally, it is a text centrally about Erra, a text referred to in antiquity as the "Erra Series,"[312] and Erra must be praised because this is how he is appeased. As the sovereign of the gods, Marduk necessarily stands in the background of the story, but he is not the champion of this conflict.

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[308] Ibid.

[309] Machinist, "Order and Disorder," 48–49.

[310] See *Erra Song* II:36.

[311] See *Erra Song* IV:36–44.

[312] Edzard, "Irra (Erra)-Epos," 166.

Compatibility

Above we explored the question of the compatibility of *Anzû* and the *Erra Song*: that is, can they be accommodated alongside each other in the same theological landscape? Here this issue must be addressed with respect to *Enūma Eliš* and the *Erra Song*. As Machinist has put it, the *Erra Song* "presumes the situation that Enuma eliš is the principal text for explaining and justifying, namely, the elevation of Marduk,"[313] an observation that speaks to their compatibility. But the *Erra Song* goes beyond that, attributing even the Flood, a tradition elsewhere associated with Enlil, to Marduk,[314] thereby more fully realizing *Enūma Eliš*'s project of assigning to Marduk the "Enlilship" of the gods.[315] *Enūma Eliš* is of course the principal articulation of a theology elevating Marduk's status beyond that of any previous god, but it is not the only articulation of this theology. It is not clear whether this description of the Flood in the *Erra Song*[316] is an innovation for this text or relies on other no-longer-extant traditions about Marduk that developed in the wake of his rise to supremacy as celebrated and codified in *Enūma Eliš*, but the fact that the *Erra Song* associates this event with Marduk should caution us against positing *Enūma Eliš* too prominently or too exclusively in the background to the *Erra Song*'s composition. Furthermore, in spite of the fact that in this reference to the Flood the *Erra Song* has allowed Marduk to displace Enlil, elsewhere in the text Enlil appears as a shadow character of Marduk:[317] it may be that the author was attempting to some degree to integrate Enlil back into the theological system represented by *Enūma Eliš*, in which

[313] Machinist, "Order and Disorder," 47.

[314] Ibid. See *Erra Song* I:132.

[315] On which see especially *Enūma Eliš* VII:149.

[316] Notice there is a further tradition about the Flood mentioned in passing in the *Erra Song* that is unknown elsewhere—namely, that Sippar was spared (see IV:50). (It is possible but far from certain that the "lord of the lands" in this verse refers to Enlil, and thus that this represents an earlier Flood tradition in which Enlil was its architect, as Cagni argues [*L'Epopea di Erra*, 186]). On the Flood see further chapter 6, "II. Marduk's Portrayal: The Nature and Significance of the Previous Calamity (the 'Flood')."

[317] Compare *Erra Song* IIIc:3–10 to IV:33–39.

Enlil had been replaced by Marduk. Thus while the texts are compatible, they are not particularly close, and it appears the *Erra Song* has been crafted to be compatible with a broader swath of traditions than just that represented by *Enūma Eliš*.

Conclusions

While it is enlightening to compare these two texts that after all stem from overlapping religious environments, nothing suggests the *Erra Song* responds consciously or alludes directly to the text of *Enūma Eliš*. Given the latter's fame, it is not implausible to imagine the author of the *Erra Song* was familiar with it, and it may even have shaped our author's understanding of the genre it represents. But in its dialect, diction, literary devices, characterization, and plot structure the *Erra Song* is quite distinct from its apparent forebears, and likely also shaped by texts—written and oral—that are now lost. The *Erra Song* presupposes the situation *Enūma Eliš* explicates—the supremacy of Marduk over the other gods—but this theology was widespread at the time of its composition, and we do not now have the data to reconstruct the degree to which *Enūma Eliš* introduced and promulgated this theology and the degree to which it simply formalized a theological shift that was already well underway. So this shared theological assumption cannot alone bridge the gap between the *Erra Song* and the specific text of *Enūma Eliš*. While the *Erra Song* incorporates some of the theological assertions developed in *Enūma Eliš*, it does not appear to respond to *Enūma Eliš* directly or take it as a model. Any similarities we might observe between the characters of these texts and their basic structures, whereby a threat to the cosmos is aroused and finally pacified, are quite general and likely indicate something of the implicit templates according to which stories in this culture were composed and understood.[318] These texts are undeniably

[318] A comparison among contemporary American texts may be instructive here. To a distant outsider, it would perhaps appear that the original *Star Wars* trilogy is reworked and replicated quite directly and self-consciously in the original *Pirates of the Caribbean* trilogy: both sets of films feature a love triangle of sorts constituted by a young, somewhat naïve heroic male, an older roguish outlaw, and a young woman of aristocratic parentage; in both trilogies the young male's father has compromised his humanity and the young

connected as artifacts of related cultural and religious milieux, but nothing connects them specifically to each other.

Relationship to Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi

Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi is in many respects a unique narrative poem enumerating the litany of tribulations suffered by a man named Šubši-mešrê-Šakkan before Marduk inexplicably restores his favor and heals him. Its date of composition is unknown, but all surviving copies are Neo-Assyrian.[319]

While there are no indications the *Erra Song* responds directly to it (or vice versa), *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* shares with the *Erra Song* both a very basic structural template and some key theological assumptions. *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* opens by praising the god Marduk before the speaker recounts the catalogue of misfortunes, religious, social, and physical, that befell him.[320] The lists are obviously quite stylized—every class of person withdraws favor from him and every part of his body is afflicted.[321] The speaker asserts that he is being treated like one who behaves impiously,[322]

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hero is attempting to redeem him; although monsters figure prominently in both trilogies, in both cases the ultimate figure of evil is a human character who heads a tyrannical institution and controls monsters, including the two fathers, and in both cases this character's existence is only revealed in the second episode; and in both trilogies the first episode stands alone where the second is a "cliff-hanger" leading directly to the third. Yet, although this comparison is illuminating, I would propose that *Pirates of the Caribbean* is not best understood in terms of how it has reworked elements of *Star Wars*; in fact, it is not at all clear to me that its writers intended to call *Star Wars* to mind or were even conscious of the connections. Rather, the relationships across these films in terms of the configurations of their characters, I would propose, stem from shared implicit cultural templates for storytelling. To my mind, it is likely the weaker shared configurations of characters observable between *Anzû* and the *Erra Song* and between *Enūma Eliš* and the *Erra Song* can be accounted for similarly.

[319] See Annus and Lenzi, *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, xviii. Their dating the composition of the text to the late Kassite period is admittedly quite speculative.

[320] For the introductory hymn to Marduk see *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* I:1–40. For the religious, social, and psychological troubles see especially I:41–II:48. For the physical ailments see especially II:49–120.

[321] Those who turn against Šubši-mešrê-Šakkan include his god (*Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* I:43), his goddess (I:44), his good genius (I:45), his protective spirit (I:46), the king (I:55), the courtiers (I:56), his city (I:82 and I:102), his country (I:83), his brother (I:84), his friend (I:85), his partner (I:86), his colleague (I:87), his best friend

although he does not,[323] and he muses on the inscrutability of the gods and the difficulty of identifying one's offense.[324] Quite abruptly, at the mid-point of the poem (the beginning of tablet III), the speaker experiences a reversal of fortune for reasons that are never entirely made clear: four figures appear to him in sequence in a dream,[325] after which his status and health are entirely restored.[326] Marduk dispels his offenses,[327] the precise nature of which is not explicated.

In its basic outline *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* thus represents the narrative arc the entire nation experiences in the *Erra Song* as applied to a single—albeit important[328]—individual. The *Erra Song* too opens with a hymn of praise (although not as in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* to its central divine figure[329]). And although its arc is less symmetrical[330]—considerable narrative preparation is necessary to set

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(I:88), his male slave (I:89), his female slave (I:90), his acquaintance (I:91), and his family (I:79, 92). This is obviously a generic and virtually all-encompassing list of relationships. He is afflicted in his neck (II:61), chest (II:62), back (II:63), epigastrium (II:64), intestines (II:65), lungs (II:66), limbs (II:67), stomach (II:67), eyes (II:73), ears (II:74), loins (II:78), and feet (II:79), in addition to suffering a number of particular diseases and conditions (see II:49–120 *passim*). It is clear this represents a nearly complete catalogue of possible physical complaints.

[322] See *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* II:12–22.

[323] See *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* II:23–32.

[324] See *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* II:33–38.

[325] See *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* III:9–48.

[326] See *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* III:50–IV:50.

[327] See *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* III:61.

[328] For evidence of Šubši-mešrê-Šakkan's status see especially *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* I:60–61 and I:103–104. For evidence, both inside and outside the poem, that Šubši-mešrê-Šakkan was the name of an official under the Kassite king Nazimurutaš, see Annus and Lenzi, *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, xvi–xvii; see also Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, 21–22.

[329] See *Erra Song* I:1–22. Erra clearly had a more vicious reputation than Marduk; throughout *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* Marduk is praised for his compassion (alongside his ferocity—see for example *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* I:5–6, I:7–8, I:9–10, I:13–14, I:17–18, I:21–22, I:25–26, I:33, and I:34). In contrast, mercy and forbearance are not traits associated with Erra, which likely explains why it is another member of Erra's train, Išum, who is praised for these qualities instead in the *Erra Song*.

[330] *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* is remarkably uniform and even in its pacing: it is four tablets long and each tablet contains 120 lines; furthermore, the peripeteia (as it were) occurs halfway through. See Annus and Lenzi, *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, xix.

the stage for the unleashing of chaos—in the *Erra Song* too a series of calamities strikes the nation;[331] these are however less stylized and more apparently particular.[332] And in the *Erra Song* too the same god who has licensed the chaos authorizes the complete reversal of fortune.[333] Although the *Erra Song* expends considerably more energy exploring the causes and theological logistics of the cosmological breakdown,[334] the basic structure whereby the most extreme disasters are followed by the most elaborate prosperity is common to both texts, and may have been an implicit Babylonian narrative template. *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* opens with the statement that Marduk is "ferocious at night but forgiving by day" (*eziz mūši muppašir urri*; I:2), as if there is a natural and perhaps even inevitable progression from the deity's anger to the deity's favor; this conviction, that the deity's most intense wrath culminates in calm and beneficence, undergirds the entire narrative thrust of the *Erra Song* as well.

A further theological assumption, revolving around the praise of the deity, can also be detected in both texts. In *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* the speaker unequivocally lavishes Marduk with praise,[335] this in spite of the fact that Marduk is the source of his misfortune[336] and the speaker remains uncertain what offense he has given.[337] No coherent theodicy can be woven together of the

[331] See especially *Erra Song* IV:1–127.

[332] That is, the *Erra Song* contains several broad or all-encompassing statements about the cosmological breakdown (see for example IV:76–86, IV:95–103, and IV:104–112). But particular events also happen in particular cities; it is not a mere catalogue of theoretical grievances given literary realization.

[333] For indications that Erra brings about the reversal of fortune, see *Erra Song* IV:130–136, IV:137–138, and V:26–39. In *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* it is said that "[The one who] smote me, / Marduk helped me: / He smote the hand of my smiter" ([*ša*] *imḫaṣanni* / *Marduk ušaqqi rēšī* / *imḫaṣ ritti māḫiṣīya*; IV:12–14); this statement could as easily apply to Erra in the *Erra Song*.

[334] In *Erra Song* tablet I. In contrast, there is no maneuvering in the pantheon to account for Marduk's behavior in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*.

[335] See especially *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* I:1–40 and III:68–IV:30.

[336] See especially *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* I:41–42.

[337] See especially *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* II:12–38.

threads of his theological reflections;[338] in fact, his misdeed seems no different from the demons and diseases who have attacked him and must be driven away by Marduk: it too is a metaphysical property that originates outside himself and clings to him until Marduk dispels it, rather than a specific impious act he has carried out.[339] And yet the text gives no hint that Marduk is to be indicted for the opacity of his justice. In the *Erra Song* too the deity is never reproached or questioned for his reckless and turbulent behavior, and in fact there is no indication of a perceived tension between the deity's destructive, hostile demeanor and the deity's meriting praise. They even appear to be of a piece: the deity's combative attack on the cosmos inspires awe.[340] In both cases the deity brings about terrible hardship, even to those who are seemingly innocent,[341] and yet both texts unreservedly endorse the praise of the deity and neither gives any hint that these two theological positions are even understood to be in tension.

Finally, both texts are ascribed in some manner to a named individual, although they are nevertheless markedly different. *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* is told in the first person by a particular figure, Šubši-mešrê-Šakkan, although of course it is far from clear he is anything more than fictional let

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[338] Annus and Lenzi observe quite astutely that *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* "is . . . more doxology than theodicy" (*Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, ix).

[339] The line in which his offense is revealed, "He (Marduk) made the wind blow my negligence away" (*egâtīya ušābil šāru*; III:61), is unfortunately followed by a brief lacuna, but when the text picks up again Marduk is driving away "ev[il]" (*lum*[*nu*]; III:68), the "destructive wind" (*imḫulla*; III:69), "headache" (*di'i*; III:70), the "evil *šūlu*-demon" (*šūlu lemnu*; III:71), etc. Šubši-mešrê-Šakkan's "negligence" appears to fall into this category as well. Nowhere is it clear that he has behaved in a specific manner to merit misfortune; it is almost as if "negligence" has struck him the way disease and demons and social affliction have struck him. Notice also that Marduk dispels his "negligence" as *part* of his healing of him, not in order to make him *worthy* of subsequent rehabilitation—a further indication this "negligence" does not fit into the text's theodicy. The god's will is simply inscrutably just, perhaps just by definition. As Annus and Lenzi argue, "The hymn presents Marduk as powerful, inscrutable, and without peer; he may therefore do as he wishes. There is no hint of cynicism or bitterness" (*Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, xx).

[340] On this issue see chapter 6, "III. Erra's Responsibility: The Praise of a Violent God."

[341] On Šubši-mešrê-Šakkan's apparent innocence see *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* II:23–32. In the *Erra Song* see IV:104–112.

alone that if he ever existed such an individual actually wrote the text.[342] In contrast, the *Erra Song* is a story about the gods' interactions that is said to have been revealed to a named individual;[343] on the whole it is not represented as Kabti-ilānī-Marduk's story.

Relationship to The Babylonian Theodicy

Where questions of theodicy arise in hazy and incipient form in the *Erra Song* and *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* and are not given philosophical consideration, they appear to crystallize in *The Babylonian Theodicy* in the mouth of one of the participants in the dialogue.

The Babylonian Theodicy, a text of uncertain compositional date in the late second or early first millennium,[344] consists of an evenly paced verbal exchange[345] between two anonymous individuals on the topic of theodicy. The first individual reports not only that he himself has suffered despite his piety,[346] but also that he has observed more generally the suffering of the pious and weak and the prospering of the wicked and powerful.[347] His interlocutor defends divine justice with such arguments as that the gods' purposes are remote but that they punish the wicked eventually,[348] that the critique of the gods' justice stems from a desire to behave improperly,[349] and

[342] See Annus and Lenzi, *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, xvii–xviii.

[343] See *Erra Song* V:43–45.

[344] Although Lambert favors a date of around 1000 BCE (*Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, 63 and 67), he acknowledges that "there is no strong reason to compel any date in particular between about 1400 and 800" (ibid., 67) (the name of the text's "author," Saggil-kīnam-ubbib, is of a type known only from Kassite times, and Lambert argues for Middle or Late Babylonian influence on the language [ibid., 66]; the earliest datable copy is from Aššurbanipal's Library [ibid., 63]).

[345] The text has twenty-seven stanzas of eleven lines each (ibid.).

[346] See especially *The Babylonian Theodicy* 1:8–11, 3:27–33, 5:54–55, 7:72–77, 23:251–253, 25:275, and 27:289–294.

[347] See especially *The Babylonian Theodicy* 5:48–53, 7:70–71, 23:244, and 25:267–274.

[348] See *The Babylonian Theodicy* stanza 6.

that the gods have endowed humanity with false behavior.[350] Within each of the text's twenty-seven stanzas every line opens with the same syllabic sign, and across the stanzas these signs form an acrostic spelling out the apparent author's name and profession.[351]

Where in the *Erra Song* issues of divine justice are raised without having their implications acknowledged—and strictly in the context of Išum's confronting Erra with the all-encompassing nature of his assault on the cosmos, rather than with the specific injustice of his behavior vis-à-vis the righteous[352]—in *The Babylonian Theodicy* these issues are explored both more abstractly and more starkly. In this latter text these issues are not associated with any particular deity but are addressed rather as general concerns in the management of terrestrial life; the focus is consistently on human and animal behavior and its consequences rather than on divine action or inaction. Furthermore, here the question of theodicy is raised explicitly as a conundrum to be addressed, seemingly both personally and philosophically[353]—a framing of the issue entirely absent from the *Erra Song* (or *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi*). It remains far from clear, however, what attitude the text itself takes toward these problems: Does the author raise sensitive questions about divine justice and then hide from any accusation of blasphemy behind the dialogue format, in which one character

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[349] See *The Babylonian Theodicy* stanza 8; compare stanza 13.

[350] See *The Babylonian Theodicy* stanza 26. There is ambiguity regarding the subject of the plural verbs in lines 281–286: Do these actions describe the behavior of the gods or of humanity? Although *amēlūtu* in line 279 is morphologically singular, the context makes much more sense if it is humanity that behaves falsely in 281–286, since these actions are then the consequences of the gods' having endowed humanity with a propensity for false behavior. It appears, then, that the sage friend does not explore the implications of the fact that in arguing that falseness is inherent to humanity, he has indirectly indicted the gods as the ultimate source of that falseness.

[351] "I am Saggil-kī[nam-u]bbib, exorcist and worshipper of god and king" (*anāku Saggil-kī*[*nam-u*]*bbib mašmaššu kāribu ša ili u šarri*; adapted from Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, 63). Only four other acrostics are known from Akkadian literature; for information on them see ibid., 67.

[352] See further chapter 6, "III. Erra's Responsibility: The Significance of the Innocent Sufferer."

[353] The sufferer is concerned not only with his own suffering but with the suffering of the pious and powerless in society; see nn. 346–347 for examples.

mounts the author's own critique where his interlocutor allegedly resolves the issue?[354] Or are the sage's responses to the sufferer meant to be satisfactory? Regardless, this work is unique in the nakedness with which the problem of theodicy is formulated. In the *Erra Song* the issue arises perfunctorily in the context of Erra's behavior and is not framed as a problem in itself, but simply as evidence of the totalizing, indiscriminate nature of Erra's rampage; in *The Babylonian Theodicy* the issue is framed as problematic, is central to the dialogue, and is formulated abstractly, in terms of the behavior of the divine generally toward terrestrial life. While both texts' resolutions may strike modern readers as facile (in the *Erra Song* Erra is flattered into pacification and a reversal of Babylonia's fortune, where in *The Babylonian Theodicy* the sufferer's interlocutor stalwartly insists divine justice is in evidence against the sufferer's own observations), *The Babylonian Theodicy* thus takes a significant step beyond the *Erra Song* in raising and exploring questions of theodicy.

Relationship to The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld

Quite a different text is *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld*, a prose narrative that survives in a single copy excavated at Aššur.[355] Unfortunately the fragmentary nature of especially the obverse makes it difficult to reconstruct a coherent narrative. As the story becomes clear, Kummâ,[356] apparently the Assyrian crown prince, is praying to Ereškigal, who obliges him with a dream (*šutti*; line 35);[357] following a second prayer he is granted a vision (*tabrīt mūši*; line 41),[358] in

[354] One is reminded of Galileo Galilei's seminal work *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo* (1632), in which Galileo's own subversive views, advocated by the fictional character Salviati, are "counterbalanced" by arguments from a character provocatively named Simplicio.

[355] Sanders, "First Tour of Hell," 153.

[356] The name is read by some as Kummaya.

[357] It is not clear what motivates his pleas to the netherworld deities, but it may involve a now deceased predecessor; see *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld* lines 62–66. If so, the issue could concern the succession (as Foster points out, *Before the Muses*, 832). Since the publication of von Soden's edition scholars have followed his lead in identifying this figure with Sennacherib (r. 704–681 BCE; Kuhrt, *Ancient Near East* 2, 499) (von Soden, "Unterweltsvision," 3; Livingstone, *Court Poetry*, 74; and Sanders, "First Tour of Hell," 160);

which he is ushered past a catalogue of evil spirits described in terms of their physical attributes before being brought before Nergal himself, seated on his throne in all his terrifying splendor. Nergal expresses an intention to kill the prince but Išum intercedes and soothes Nergal with flattery. Although the prince's life is spared, his nation is cursed with violence and social unrest;[359] upon awaking from the dream, Kummâ laments his fate but nevertheless praises Nergal and Ereškigal.

The clearest point of connection to the *Erra Song* is evident in the role Išum plays. Although this story centers on Nergal in his instantiation as the king of the netherworld with his wife Ereškigal,[360] rather than on his avatar as Erra, as in the *Erra Song* Išum pacifies his overlord and mitigates the latter's violence.[361] The role Išum enacts vis-à-vis Erra in the *Erra Song*, tempering Erra's violence and restraining him, has become fixed and has been applied to his instantiation as Nergal as well. Given its wide distribution, the *Erra Song* may have influenced this development directly.[362]

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von Soden argues that the crown prince himself was Aššurbanipal (r. 668–c. 630 BCE; Kuhrt, *Ancient Near East* 2, 499) (von Soden, "Unterweltsvision," 8; see also Foster, *Before the Muses*, 833), although this is far from certain.

[358] As Sanders argues, although there is overlap between the terms, *tabrītu* can describe material objects and events witnessed directly ("First Tour of Hell," 158). On this same sequence of terms in Aššurbanipal's Prism B, see ibid., 163–164.

[359] What comes upon him as crown prince clearly comes upon his country: "By the command of Šamaš, may conflict, betrayals, and rebellio[ns] simultaneously . . . ; you shall have no slee[p] because of thei[r f]urious clamor" (*ina qibīt Šamaš ippīru dāṣâti u saḫmašā*[*ti*] . . . *ištēniš liddibannīkā-ma ina ḫuburrīšin*[*a š*]*amrāti ayy-irḫīka šitt*[*u*]; lines 60b–61a). (The word *liddibannīkā-ma* is difficult; von Soden derives it from *edēpu* in the D-stem, "to blow" ["Unterweltsvision," 30]. However, neither the form nor the meaning fits particularly convincingly.) It is on the basis of this passage that von Soden argues that the "prince" (*rubê*; lines 53 and 72) must be the crown prince ("Unterweltsvision," 4).

[360] Recall that Erra's wife in the *Erra Song* is Mammi; see *Erra Song* I:20.

[361] See *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld* lines 56–57; *Erra Song* I:100–103, IIIc:28–37, IIId:2–15, V:13, V:16–20, and V:41–42.

[362] There is reason to believe *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld* was composed after the *Erra Song*, which dates approximately to the eighth century BCE (see chapter 6, "Addendum: Dating the Text"). For one

It is also the case that, although terrifying and even hostile, Nergal is to be praised: "in pain" (*marṣiš*; line 72) the prince nevertheless "glorifies Nergal and Ereškigal's status as warrior" (*qurdi Nergal Ereškigal . . . iddallal*;[363] line 72), and the text's scribe latches onto this act: "He recounted it to the palace, saying, 'Let this be my apotropaion!' " (*ana ekalli ušanni mā annû lū namburbīya*; line 75).[364] Similarly, in the *Erra Song* Erra is praised for his terrifying assault on the cosmos, and it is this act of praising him that is said to keep one from harm.[365] It is clear the texts share similar theological assumptions, and it may even be the case that the *Erra Song* was responsible for promulgating ideas that then formed part of the cultural matrix in which *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld* was born.

Finally, in both texts a human obtains, through a dream, official and direct theological information that pertains to the populace generally, although in *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld* Kummâ interacts directly with the divine figures and reports his experience, where in the *Erra Song* Kabti-ilānī-Marduk is entrusted with a text rather than granted direct vision or audition that he can then recount himself.[366] In spite of these points of connection and in spite of the fact that the *Erra Song* may have laid the groundwork for some of the theological assumptions evident in *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld*, nothing in the latter text suggests

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thing, *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld* appears to reference Sennacherib (see n. 357 above). For more on the date see von Soden, "Unterweltsvision," 3.

[363] The verb, spelled *id-da-lál* as if an N-stem durative (*iddallal*), appears to be misspelled; no N-stem is otherwise attested for this root, and the G-stem fits the context, which calls for a transitive verb.

[364] Unfortunately it is far from clear what the antecedent of *annû* is, but given the fact that the prince's life is earlier spared by appeal to Nergal's "praises" ([*t*]*ašrīḫīka*; line 57), it is not implausible to suppose it relates to the "praise" (*dilīli*) in line 74.

[365] Erra is praised through the recitation and visual display of the song itself, which recounts his combative deeds; see *Erra Song* V:50–62.

[366] Compare *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld* lines 35 and 41 to *Erra Song* V:43–47.

awareness of or reliance on the *Erra Song* specifically. In fact, the configuration of characters is different enough that it is unlikely any reference to the *Erra Song* is intended.

Relationship to The Cursing of Agade

Finally, we turn to two texts with a more remote relationship to the *Erra Song*, both composed in Sumerian many centuries earlier but each in a different way bearing some perhaps illuminating resemblance to it.

The earlier of these two texts, *The Cursing of Agade* describes the events during Narām-Sîn's reign[367] that led to Agade's permanent loss of sovereignty and prosperity.[368] It must have been composed after the reign of Narām-Sîn and before or during the Ur III period, since manuscripts survive from that time.[369] In its basic outline, it recounts how, following Enlil's initial authorization of Sargon's sovereignty,[370] Inana takes up residence in Agade[371] and the city prospers.[372] But, for reasons that are not clear, Inana soon withdraws,[373] and in response the other gods rescind their

[367] Conventionally understand to be 2260–2223 BCE (Kuhrt, *Ancient Near East* 1, 45).

[368] Contemporaneous sources of course reveal a very different picture of Narām-Sîn's reign; on the use of various sources relating to Narām-Sîn for historiographic ends, see for example Cooper, *Curse of Agade*, 15–19.

[369] See ibid., 11–12. In light of the Ur III manuscripts discovered at Nippur, it is sobering to reassess, with Cooper, Falkenstein's assertions that the composition must post-date this period, since Narām-Sîn's statue was honored then in the Ekur (see Falkenstein, Review of *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Puzriš-Dagan Metinleri*, 142–143; idem, Review of *Mythen, Epen, Weisheitsliteratur*, 370); our methods for dating compositions may often rest on faulty assumptions. Cooper concludes that "there is no sound basis for assigning the *Curse of Agade* to a specific moment in the 150 years between the destruction of Agade and the later part of Ibbisin's reign" (*Curse of Agade*, 12).

[370] See *The Cursing of Agade* lines 1–6.

[371] See *The Cursing of Agade* lines 7–9.

[372] See *The Cursing of Agade* lines 10–53.

[373] See *The Cursing of Agade* lines 55–65. On this episode see also n. 380 below.

support as well.[374] Narām-Sîn, failing to procure through extispicy the favorable omens for the construction of a temple,[375] utterly demolishes the Ekur, Enlil's temple in Nippur;[376] in response, Enlil mobilizes the barbarian Guteans against the land.[377] In order to calm Enlil and bring an end to the depredations, the other gods curse Agade and the city is permanently abandoned.[378]

Like the *Erra Song*, the generic affiliations of *The Cursing of Agade* are uncertain, although it draws on the style of other genres.[379] And in this text, too, the question of the motivation for the divine abandonment of the country has been especially fraught for modern interpreters. Both stories posit divine abandonment of the capital city behind incursions of foreign invaders who are known from other sources to have overrun Babylonia: Inana abandons Agade for unclear reasons, perhaps because Enlil refuses to allow a temple to her to be built there,[380] where Marduk's

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[374] See *The Cursing of Agade* lines 66–76.

[375] See *The Cursing of Agade* lines 94–97. Which temple is to be constructed? Some say Narām-Sîn intends to rebuild Enlil's temple in Nippur—the Ekur—perhaps partly since it is known from contemporary inscriptions that he demolished this temple preparatory to restoring it, a project that was finished under his son Šar-kali-šarri (see for example Jacobsen, *Harps*, 359–360). In other readings, it is a temple to Inana in Agade to accommodate her many offerings (see lines 55–57) that Narām-Sîn wishes to build (see Durand, "Sumérien," 180; Cooper, *Curse of Agade*, 5).

[376] See *The Cursing of Agade* lines 98–148.

[377] See *The Cursing of Agade* lines 149–195.

[378] See *The Cursing of Agade* lines 210–281.

[379] On the difficulty of classifying this text's genre, see Jacobsen, *Harps*, 359: this work "occupies a position all its own in Sumerian literature as we have it. It is neither myth nor epic, neither hymn nor lament. At best one might perhaps describe it as 'admonitory history' " (see further Cooper, *Curse of Agade*, 7). For a discussion of the text's relationship to Sumerian city laments as well as to historiographic literature, see ibid., chapter 3 (20–36). On the genre of the *Erra Song*, see below.

[380] In Van Dijk's reading, offerings allocated to Enlil are being diverted to Inana, and Enlil therefore refuses to allow her temple to be built in line 57 ("Einige Bemerkungen," 234). Although this is attractive in that the motivation of every character is then clear, the apparent arbitrariness of Inana's decision—or of Enlil's—may not have been to the ancients a problem requiring extrapolation and supposition, since the gods are known to behave arbitrarily from time to time; see Cooper, *Curse of Agade*, 29–30. I leave this question unresolved.

(Early readings to the effect that an anti-Akkadian ethnolinguistic bias is evident in the text can be decisively dismissed; see especially Jacobsen, "Ipḫur-Kīshi," 8–10 n. 36; Cooper, *Curse of Agade*, 9–10.)

accessories may genuinely require cleaning from time to time.[381] In both cases, this initial abandonment triggers a chain reaction of escalating events that progressively compound the catastrophe. In *The Cursing of Agade* Inana's abandonment results in the withdrawal of all of the gods' favor,[382] prompting Narām-Sîn's despair,[383] which plays into his demolition of the Ekur,[384] which in turn prompts Enlil's revenge through the Guteans,[385] finally prompting the gods to curse Agade.[386] In the *Erra Song* this "vicious cycle" is most evident in the case of Uruk: Marduk's relinquishment of his post gives Erra free rein to assault the cosmos;[387] the Suteans, one of Erra's mechanisms in carrying out that assault, attack Uruk and drive off the cultic personnel;[388] Erra installs an illegitimate governor (whether in response to the loss of cultic personnel or simply subsequent to it) who commits sacrilege;[389] and Ištar, thereby enraged at her city, provokes additional attackers against it.[390] However, the texts' trajectories are virtually the reverse of each other: in *The Cursing of Agade* an initial period of prosperity gives way to calamity and permanent eclipse for Agade itself, where in the *Erra Song* a neutral beginning yields to a period of calamity

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[381] On this issue see chapter 6, "II. Marduk's Portrayal: The Nature and Significance of the Jewelry."

[382] See *The Cursing of Agade* lines 55–76.

[383] See *The Cursing of Agade* lines 77–93. Narām-Sîn's despair stems specifically from a portentous dream in which he sees a dismal future for Agade, a dream that paralyzes him for seven years. It almost appears that Narām-Sîn sees the future in a dream and then paradoxically brings that future about by responding negatively to it, although this is not entirely the case since the gods have already withdrawn from Agade so its fall would seem to be assured; Narām-Sîn's response to the coming decline may exacerbate its intensity, however.

[384] See *The Cursing of Agade* lines 100–145.

[385] See *The Cursing of Agade* lines 149–209.

[386] See *The Cursing of Agade* lines 210–281.

[387] See especially *Erra Song* tablet I.

[388] See *Erra Song* IV:52–58.

[389] See *Erra Song* IV:59–60.

[390] See *Erra Song* IV:61–62.

culminating in prophesied prosperity. *The Cursing of Agade* depicts Agade's rise and fall, where the *Erra Song* depicts Babylonia's fall and rise.

It is also the case that in both texts it is a god or gods who must calm the angry divine party, although in *The Cursing of Agade* this is accomplished by cursing the city of the contumacious Narām-Sîn[391] where in the *Erra Song* this is achieved through Išum's flattery.[392] And in both texts it is taken for granted that the gods are to be praised in spite of their hostility toward the country; in fact, both texts conclude with an indication that the text itself functions as the praise of a deity.[393]

In spite of these very general points of connection and some shared theological assumptions, on the whole the texts are quite different and there is no reason to suppose the author of the *Erra Song* had any specific awareness of *The Cursing of Agade*.

Relationship to Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur

In contrast to *The Cursing of Agade*, the text known as *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur*,[394] perhaps composed during the Isin period[395] (although all copies are Old Babylonian),[396] follows a narrative arc more similar to the *Erra Song*'s in that it recounts the degeneration of conditions at the end of the Ur III period before finally including a divine decree for

[391] See *The Cursing of Agade* lines 210–281.

[392] See especially *Erra Song* IIId:2–15 and V:16–20.

[393] See *The Cursing of Agade* line 281; *Erra Song* V:49–62. On the characterization of the latter text as the praise of Erra, see chapter 6, "III. Erra's Responsibility: The Praise of a Violent God." It is less clear how *The Cursing of Agade* functioned as the "praise" (zà-mí) of Inana.

[394] Although it is typically labeled a "lament" by modern scholars, it is structurally quite different from the other extant texts referred to as "city laments," and there is no reason to suppose it belongs to a genre alongside them; see further Michalowski, *Lamentation over Sumer and Ur*, 4–5.

[395] See Michalowski, *Lamentation over Sumer and Ur*, 6–7.

[396] Ibid., 16.

Ur's renewed prosperity: it depicts Ur's fall and predicts its rise. As in the *Erra Song* the rueful fates of individual cities in southern Mesopotamia are described at some length,[397] although *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* catalogues far more cities and in far more stylized, repetitive language,[398] before culminating in an extended description of the disintegration at Ur,[399] where the *Erra Song* dwells on the particular nature of the breakdown at just a few sites.[400] And there are certain echoes of *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* in the description of the catastrophe in the *Erra Song*: in both texts enemy hordes overrun the land,[401] resulting in disruption to social relationships[402] as well as to the animal and vegetal realms.[403] There is even a remarkable point of connection to the *Erra Song* in a passage in *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* declaring that "Those unfamiliar with butter were churning the butter, / Those

[397] In *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* see lines 115–250 and 260–265. In the *Erra Song* see IV:1–103.

[398] For formulaic, repetitive language (with minor variations and of different lengths), see *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* lines 116–118, 124–126, 134–135, 137–138, 141–142, 147–148, 152–154, 156–158, 160–162, 182–184, 190–192, 201–205, 209, 211–213, 216–217, 219–220, and 246–250. Several cities are said to suffer unique fates, but often even then the language is vague and general: for example, Duranki in Nippur is attacked by Enlil's weapon (lines 139), Keš is haunted (line 143), and Umma is attacked by a storm (line 155). (There are, however, some particulars in the language describing especially Kazallu in 127–132, Isin in 136, and Adab in 144–146.)

[399] In *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* lines 251–259 and 285?–448.

[400] In the *Erra Song* we only hear tell of the fates of Babylon (IV:2–49), Sippar (IV:50–51), Uruk (IV:52–62), Dūr-Kurigalzu (IV:63), and Dēr (IV:65–103), and where very little time is spent on Sippar or Dūr-Kurigalzu, the descriptions of the collapse at Babylon, Uruk, and Dēr are elaborate and specific. (Notice that there is some repetition here, in the language describing Enlil's reaction presumably to his temple's destruction in IIIc:3–10 and that describing Marduk's reaction to his temple's destruction in IV:33–39, discussed above, under "II. Stylistic Affinities: Repetition.")

[401] In *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* see especially lines 33, 75, 166, 172, 180, 197, 230, 239, 254–257, 261, 276, 381–388, 401–402, 405, and 407. In the *Erra Song* see especially IV:54, IV:62, IV:64, IV:69, IV:77–78, and IV:131–134.

[402] In *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* see lines 12–16. In the *Erra Song* see II:147–148 and IIIa:9–10.

[403] In *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* see lines 11, 42, 47–51, 87–89, 129–132, 210, 361, 379, 411–418, and 479–481. In the *Erra Song* see I:71–72, I:74, I:112–113, II:140, II:142, and II:145 for statements about what Erra and his entourage do generally or plan to do, and IV:144–150 for what Išum carries out against Mount Šaršar, echoing some of the earlier language.

unfamiliar with milk were . . .-ing the milk" (ì-bi lú ì nu-zu-ne ì-dun$_5$-dun$_5$-ne / ga-bi lú ga nu-zu-ne ì-im-mùš-mùš-ù-ne; lines 335–336),[404] reminiscent of the *Erra Song*'s lament that "As for the one unfamiliar with combat, he was doing battle. / As for the one unfamiliar with wings, he flew off like a bird" (*ša ṣālta lā īdû ippuša tāḫāza / ša abara lā īdû iṣṣūriš išâ'u/išu'u*; IV:9–10).[405]

In my view, the most intriguing connection between these two texts lies in their fundamental theological outlooks: both texts, in explicating their respective catastrophes, present gods becoming hostile to and abandoning their cities without discernibly impugning their motives; the gods bear responsibility for the disaster without becoming blameworthy. In *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* this tightrope is negotiated partially through the template whereby the tutelary god is said to abandon the city while the tutelary goddess weeps for it:[406] together each divine couple thus abandons the land to calamity and yet explicitly suffers with it. (This dialectic is most clearly expressed in the figure of Inana: because she has no husband, she herself both abandons her city and weeps for it.)[407] Additionally, Nanna, the god of Ur, who is not involved in the original decision to overturn Ur's fortune[408] (although he nevertheless helps execute it)[409] twice

[404] Adapted from Michalowski, *Lamentation over Sumer and Ur*, 56–57.

[405] See also the earlier two lines, *Erra Song* IV:7–8. As in the passage quoted, *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* often draws attention to the mundane consequences of the catastrophe it describes (see also lines 16, 44, 46, 48, 317, 333–334, and 337), where the *Erra Song* is focused to some degree on cosmic or supernatural consequences (see I:69–70, I:74, II:4–5, II:128–131, II:140–141, IV:123–124, IV:148, and IV:150), although there are shades of the latter in the earlier text too (see *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* lines 81–84).

[406] See *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* lines 116–118, 124–126, 156–158, 160–162, 201–205, 211–213, 219–220, and 246–250.

[407] See *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* lines 150–154. Notice that Ninzuana also both abandons her city and weeps for it, in lines 134–135.

[408] See *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* lines 22–26.

[409] In *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* line 103.

pleads with his father Enlil to put a stop to the calamity—the first time to no avail,[410] the second time successfully.[411] The effect of this tension between father and son, too, is that the divine is simultaneously represented as withdrawing its favor and lamenting that withdrawal of favor. The gods can be hostile and simultaneously concerned with the plight of the terrestrial realm; they preside over the destruction but they also suffer for it alongside humans and animals.

Although the dynamic is quite different in the *Erra Song*, where rather than licensing the catastrophe the high god is displaced so that another god can bring it about—that is, hostility is largely concentrated in a single divine figure who is pitted against the more beneficent chief god—it seems this basic outlook on the divine continues to obtain, in that members of the pantheon are implicated in both causing the catastrophe and in lamenting it. To some degree this dynamic even plays out within individual deities' personalities: Marduk both suffers with his city and turns against it.[412]

However, the *Erra Song* recounts in far more elaborate detail how the stage had to be set for the catastrophe to unfold, perhaps because Marduk's power and beneficence in this period were thought to exceed what Enlil's had been earlier.[413] In *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* no divine machinations are necessary: while on the one hand the gods are assigned proximate responsibility for the catastrophe,[414] the chief god, Enlil, appeals to a more fundamental force

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[410] In *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* lines 340–370. At Enlil's request Nanna then leaves the city he loves (lines 371–374).

[411] In *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* lines 449–474. Enlil's initial response to Nanna is that the divine decree cannot be overturned (see lines 364–365) and that fortunes cycle (366–369). It is not clear what has changed since this original exchange such that Ur's fortunes are allowed to be restored, except perhaps that even divine decrees operate only for a period of time, and negative fortunes cycle as well as positive ones.

[412] See *Erra Song* IV:36–49.

[413] See further chapter 6, "II. Marduk's Portrayal: The Ruse and the Alleged Parody of Marduk."

[414] See *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* lines 22–26.

driving it, that of the cycle, whereby periods of prosperity inevitably exhaust themselves and alternate with periods of destruction.[415] All through the text the catastrophe is described as a storm sweeping over the land,[416] and, like the weather, Ur's misfortune belongs to a general cycle and inevitably dissipates and gives way to a new set of conditions.

While some shared theological assumptions seem to animate both texts, the similarities are mostly quite general, and there is no indication the author of the *Erra Song* was familiar with *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* specifically.

IV. Conclusions: Genre

At the outset of this project, Reiner's argument was quoted to the effect "this composition represents a little known genre, and one of the reasons for our failure in understanding it may be due to its difference from the Babylonian epic tradition."[417] Indeed in its style and to some degree even its content the *Erra Song* does not reflect the conventions of Akkadian mythological poetry, such as *Anzû* and *Enūma Eliš*, particularly faithfully; we have seen that stylistically it has more in common with "wisdom" literature such as *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* and *The Babylonian Theodicy*. No doubt if we were in possession of more mythological works set in historical time, or more documents in the dialect of or following the literary conventions of the *Erra Song*, we would have a sounder basis for interpreting it. Nevertheless its uniqueness has perhaps been overstated: in its broadest outlines and narrative arc it participates in the tradition to which *Anzû* and *Enūma Eliš* belong, even as it draws on literary and dialectal conventions that are virtually unknown in these

[415] See *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* lines 366–369.

[416] For imagery involving storms, floods, and waves, see *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* lines 2, 59, 70, 76, 77, 79, 80β–81, 107–108, 113, 155, 159, 163, 175–177, 207, 214, 292, 386a, 405, 427, and 483–491. It is not always clear the degree to which this imagery was to be understood literally.

[417] Reiner, "More Fragments," 41.

texts and certain other genres appear to have been folded into it.[418] Since it lacks any emic generic designation, it would be imprudent to assign it a label,[419] but on present evidence it appears to refashion the conventions of mythological poetry to address the theological significance of a set of historical events, and in the process it draws on artistic characteristics of other texts that investigate similar theological conundrums.[420] Although it has some unique attributes, its structure, content, and style find multiple disparate parallels in other Mesopotamian literary works; what sets it apart may especially be the particular ways in which these elements have been brought together and elaborated on.[421]

[418] See especially *Erra Song* I:28–44, which draws on incantations (on which see chapter 5, "I. The Meaning and Spelling of the Divine Heptad's Name: Exceptions to the Trends in Distribution: The DINGIR IMIN.BI as 'Demons'—The *Erra Song*"), and I:109–118, a hymn of self-praise (as identified by Cohen, "Fearful Symmetry," 2). "Enfolded" genres are of course not unknown elsewhere in Mesopotamian literature; for example, see "Gilgameš and Ḫuwawa A" lines 28–29: "Even a tall man cannot reach up to heaven; / Even a wide man cannot cover the netherworld" (lú-sukud-da an-šè nu-mu-un-da-lá / lú-daĝal-la kur-ra la-ba-an-šú-šú; for an edition see Edzard, "Gilgameš und Huwawa A. I. Teil" and "Gilgameš und Huwawa A. II. Teil"); compare the following proverb: "Even [a tal]l one cannot [reach] heaven (with the hand); / Even [a wid]e one cannot lift on earth" ([suk]ud-dè an-na šu nu-um-[da-lá] / [daĝa]l-e ki-a nu-um-ma-an-íl-íl; adapted from Alster, *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer* 1, 237).

[419] Classical terms such as "epic" set the reader up to misunderstand and should be avoided. The text is referred to using the terms *kammu*, "literary composition," in V:43 and *zamāru*, "song," in *Erra Song* V:50 and V:60, but these terms are general and there is no evidence they designate a particular genre. Notice, however, that *Enūma Eliš* also refers to itself using the term *zamāru*, in VII:161, as does *Atraḫasīs*, in III:viii:15 (for an edition see Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs*). See further Foster, "On Authorship," 19–26.

[420] Such texts are of course markedly different from the *Erra Song* structurally in that they are not mythological narratives. It should also be pointed out that it is not clear that the *Erra Song* shares certain artistic conventions with "wisdom" literature because it takes up similar theological questions; one might also posit chronological or geographical schemas to account for these developments.

[421] On which see also Cagni, *Poem of Erra*, 14; Machinist, "Review of Cagni," 42.

Conclusion

In spite of its ancient popularity,[1] modern scholarship has not been especially kind to the *Erra Song*. Long neglected thanks to a paucity of biblical parallels and early challenges in ordering its lacuna-ridden fragments,[2] it has been deemed a "contrived and inelegant"[3] portrait of "the fumblings of minor gods"[4] and an "untrimmed, unstandardized, and even undisciplined" story[5] where the weakness of the artistry of the Babylonian poet is fully in evidence.[6] And in Thorkild Jacobsen's seminal work on the history of Mesopotamian theology, *The Treasures of Darkness*, the *Erra Song* forms the centerpiece of his evaluation—in the epilogue—of what can only be called the deterioration of religious thought in the first millennium BCE. For Jacobsen, the first millennium represents a period of "growing brutalization"[7] and the "blunting of sensibilities,"[8] when "the image

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[1] According to Cagni, more copies of the *Erra Song* survive from the first millennium than of *Gilgameš* (*Poem of Erra*, 5).

[2] Frankena, "Het Epos," 160.

[3] Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 152.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Reiner, "More Fragments," 46. Reiner, however, claims to view this positively, as it "spares us the conventional epic clichés and offers novelty both in topic and expression" (ibid.)

[6] As Gössmann argues throughout his study; see for example the following: "Wenn er [Marduk] dennoch auf die Beteuerung des Erra, er wolle bis zu seiner Rückkehr aus der Unterwelt seine Stelle vertreten, einging und sich von seinem Throne erhob (Vers 178–190), so empfindet der Leser gerade hier wie sonst vielleicht nirgends im Verlaufe der Handlung die Schwäche des babylonischen Dichters in der künstlerischen Gestaltung aufeinanderprallender Gegensätze und Spannungen, die sich nicht in Blitz und Donner entladen, sondern wirkungslos im leeren Raum verhallen" (*Era-Epos*, 77).

This is not to say the poem has been universally maligned: Lambert considers it "one of the masterpieces of Akkadian epic literature" (Review of Gössmann, 395) "whose literary merits" are "very considerable" (ibid., 399); Labat argues that the "grandeur tragique" of certain of its episodes is otherwise almost unparalleled in Mesopotamian literature (*Les religions du Proche-Orient*, 114); and for Cassin it is "un des plus beaux textes de la littérature accadienne" ("La contestation," 103).

[7] Jacobsen, *Treasures of Darkness,* 230.

[8] Ibid., 232.

of the gods on occasion became remarkably crude"[9]—as in the *Erra Song*, where Erra is portrayed as a "ruthless killer,"[10] a representative of a new view of the divine that sees "the warrior not as a protector but as a threat, a wild man, a killer, dangerous to friend and foe alike, part and parcel of the turmoil, even a prime cause of it—to be appeased, if at all, by abject flattery of his frightfulness."[11] As Jacobsen sees it, "as this image is applied to the gods, it is the divine that conforms down to the image rather than the image that rises up to approach the divine."[12] In this period, it is telling that "the god of riot and indiscriminate slaughter, Erra, moves into a position of central importance."[13] In the conclusion to my study of the *Erra Song* I will offer some brief remarks on the literary and theological merits of the poem and what they might indicate about aesthetic and religious developments in the late period of Mesopotamian history more broadly.

There are no agreed-upon criteria for assessing the literary merit of texts produced in our own culture,[14] let alone in a culture as remote from us as that of ancient Mesopotamia. Nevertheless, it is curious that a work of literature that features both parallelism and metaphor, two attributes that should resonate with Western readers whose sensibilities have been shaped by the Bible and the classics, has been so underappreciated, and it is my suspicion that the difficulty modern readers have had in following the plot, coupled with an odd tendency to allow one's view of the god Erra to color one's view of the poem's artistry, have conduced to this underappreciation. We have no reason to suppose that the ancients, in possession of the full text of the poem and the

[9] Ibid., 231.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid., 227.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

[14] A problem taken up, for example, in Wayne Booth's original work on ethical criticism, *The Company We Keep*.

religious assumptions that informed its composition, encountered these same difficulties. And the terrifying notion that the deity can inflict harm, sometimes for inscrutable reasons, is familiar, for example, to readers of Job and Lamentations, who presumably are nevertheless able to appreciate these works' artistic merits.

Although generically the *Erra Song* falls more within the ambit of *Enūma Eliš* and *Anzû*, I have demonstrated in chapter 7 that philosophically and artistically it is much closer to *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* and *The Babylonian Theodicy*, texts that are also rife with parallelism and metaphor and that also explore, to varying degrees and in different ways, the theological implications of evil. It is not clear when any of these texts was composed, but given its artistic affiliations, I see no logic in splitting off the *Erra Song* as uniquely representative of the first millennium, an entirely modern construct. In many ways a peculiar text, its closest parallels nevertheless likely stem from the closing centuries of the second millennium or the beginning of the first; it belongs broadly to a tradition of the poetic exploration of evil that was surely stimulated at least in part by the sociopolitical breakdowns that rocked this era.

For Jacobsen the poem is representative of a late trend to portray the gods as "remarkably crude"[15]—a term with multiple valences, that can signal both brutality in behavior and a lack of subtlety. Jacobsen is clearly interested in the first of these usages, and he is not wrong: the poem is quite explicit in assigning blame for the calamity directly to a god.[16] At the same time, in its presentation of events it is remarkably subtle and complex, diffusing Erra's responsibility among several gods and flattering him into quiescence while simultaneously openly praising his vizier Išum for restraining him. If anything, the crudest note it sounds in terms of its glibness and lack of nuance may also be the least crude in terms of its brutality: its happily-ever-after ending that

[15] Jacobsen, *Treasures of Darkness*, 231.

[16] See chapter 6, "III. Erra's Responsibility."

foretells the ultimate triumph of Babylonia leaves numerous problems it has indicated in the very fabric of the cosmos unresolved.[17]

The *Erra Song* was undeniably popular, but the idea that it is representative of a broader theological shift is less than clear. However, we can state quite definitively, against Jacobsen, that Erra's worship was not widespread: in fact, in the first millennium Erra is almost never invoked and is basically absent from personal names.[18] It is also far from clear that the elevation of a violent god to prominence licenses violent behavior on the human plane; part of the poem's subtlety—and its irony—lies in the tightrope it walks in praising Erra's combative deeds but specifically as a method for calming him and preventing that violence. To my mind the poem does not represent a deterioration in religious thought so much as an effort to wrestle with a difficult theological conundrum, one that perplexes philosophers of religion to this day, and if the poem often skirts the full implications of attributing evil to the divine, in that very act it is shying away from, rather than embracing, an "image of the god as remarkably crude," one that authorizes violence among his worshippers.[19] The poem proposes a mythological basis for the deterioration in social conditions that preceded and gave rise to its composition, but it is a violent reading of the text that understands it to be celebrating those conditions. Gentle, peace-loving gods cannot be said to represent superior theology to violent gods for the reason that they do not adequately explain violence in the universe, and the worship of violent gods need not betoken a love of violence; here we encounter a text that seems, almost through sleight of hand, to lament and praise violence in the same act.

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[17] As recognized by Jacobsen: "Erra . . . might clearly at any time relapse into another homicidal fit" (*Treasures of* Darkness, 228); see further chapter 6, "V. The Concluding State of Affairs."

[18] See chapter 3.

[19] On which see Jacobsen, *Treasures of Darkness*, 231.

Such is the nature of text that no reading can definitively contain it, and that is never more the case than when one is encountering a text as fragmentary and as culturally alien as this one. While I have benefited enormously in my study from scholarship and lexicographic research that was not available to those who have gone before, and while I have attempted to found my analysis on an attentive and careful reading of the poem that is internally coherent and that accounts for all of the available information, I cannot make any claim to finality. In the end we are confronted with the profound alterity of the past, and we cannot come close to recapturing an ancient reader's or hearer's experience of the text. This distance in time, space, and culture is only compounded by the multi-faceted complexity of the text itself, which seems to recount in mythological garb a series of calamities that continually challenge and exceed the text's own efforts to contain and make sense of them theologically. Indeed, it is a text characterized not only by theological loose ends, but by narrative loose ends as well, and a text in which multivalence features prominently, as evidenced by the paronomasia. Often it is difficult at this remove to distinguish deliberate polysemy from apparent ambiguity arising simply from our missing or misguided assumptions, where an ancient reader or hearer would have been guided by cultural or linguistic cues that are now difficult to recapture. It is therefore my hope that the *Erra Song* will continue to be read and interpreted, by those who will discover in its verses what I have overlooked.

Appendix A

Translation

—I:1 [*ša*]*r gimir dadmī bānû kib*[*rāti*] . . . . . .
—I:1 [O ki]ng of all of the inhabited world, creator of the qua[rters] . . .

—I:2 *Ḫendursag apil Ellil rēšt*[*û*] . . . . . .
—I:2 Ḫendursag, firstbo[rn] heir of Enlil . . .

—I:3 *nāš ḫaṭṭu ṣīrti nāqid ṣalmāt qa*[*qqa*]*di rēʾû* . . . . . .
—I:3 Bearer of the eminent scepter, herdsman of the blackh[ead]ed ones, shepherd . . .

—I:4 *Išum ṭābiḫu naʾdu ša ana našê kakkīšu ezzūti qātāšu asmā*
—I:4 Išum, pious slaughterer, whose hands are fit to bear his ferocious weapons,

—I:5 (*u*) *ana šubruq ulmīšu šērūti Erra qarrād ilānī inuššu ina šubti*
—I:5 (And) at the flashing of whose vicious axes, Erra, the warrior of the gods, quakes in his seat!

—I:6 *irrissū-ma libbašu epēš tāḫāzi*
—I:6 His heart wishes for him to do battle;

—I:7 *ītammi/ītammâ ana kakkīšu litpatā imat mūti*
—I:7 He says to his weapons, “Smear yourselves with deadly poison!”

—I:8 *ana Ilānī Sebetti qarrād lā šanān nandiqā kakkīkun*
—I:8 To the Divine Heptad, the warriors without rival, “Gird on your weapons!”

—I:9 *iqabbī-ma ana kâša luṣī-ma ana ṣēri*
—I:9 He says to you, “Let me go out to the battlefield!

—I:10 *atta dipārum-ma inaṭṭalū nūrka*
—I:10 “You are the torch; they see your light.

—I:11 *atta ālik maḫrim-ma ilānū* . . . . . .
—I:11 “You are the vanguard; the gods . . .

—I:12 *atta namṣārum-ma ṭābiḫ*[*u*] . . . . . .
—I:12 “You are the sword and the slaughter[er] . . .

—I:13 *Erra tebē-ma ina sapān māti*
—I:13 “Erra, arise, and in crushing the land

—I:14 *kī namrat kabtatka* (*u*) *ḫadû libbuk*
—I:14 “How bright will be your mood, how joyful your heart!”

—I:15 *Erra kī ša amēli dalpi idāšu an*[*ḫā*]
—I:15 But Erra’s arms are tir[ed], like those of a sleepless man.

—I:16 *iqabbi ana libbīšu lutbe luṣlal-ma*
—I:16 He says to himself, “Should I get up or should I sleep?”

—I:17 *ītammâ ana kakkīšu ummidā tubqāti*
—I:17 He says to his weapons, “Hide in the corners!”

—I:18 *ana Ilānī Sebetti qarrād lā šanān ana šubtīkunu tūrā-ma*
—I:18 To the Divine Heptad, the warriors without rival, “Return to your dwelling!”

—I:19 *adi atta tadekkûšu ṣalil uršuššu*
—I:19 Until you wake him, he will sleep in his bedroom,

—I:20 *itti Mammi ḫīratuš ippušu/ippuša ulṣam-ma*
—I:20 With Mammi, his wife, he will enjoy himself,

—I:21 *Engidudu bēlu muttallik mūši muttarrû rubê*
—I:21 O Engidudu, lord who goes about by night, leader of princes,

—I:22 *ša eṭla u ardatu* (*ina šu*[*l*]*m*[*u*]) *ittanarrû unammaru/unammiru kīma ūmi*
—I:22 Who guides the young man and the young woman (in sa[f]et[y]), making it as bright as daylight!

—I:23 *ša Ilānī Sebetti qarrād lā šanān šunnâta ilūssun*
—I:23 As for the Divine Heptad, the warriors without rival, their divinity is extraordinary.

—I:24 *ilittašunu aḫât-ma malû pulḫāti*
—I:24 Their birth was exceptional and they are full of fearsomeness.

—I:25 *āmiršunu uštaḫḫat-*(*ma*) *napīssunu mūtum-ma*
—I:25 Whoever looks at them is terrified; their breath is death.

—I:26 *nišū šaḫtū-ma ul iʾmirrī/irrū ana šâšu*
—I:26 People are so afraid that they do not approach them.

—I:27 *Išum daltum-ma edil pānuššu*(*n*)
—I:27 Išum is a door and is bolted in front of them.

—I:28 *Anum šar ilānī erṣetu ir*[*ḫ*]*ē-ma*
—I:28 When Anu, the king of the gods, in[sem]inated the earth,

—I:29 *sebetta ilānī uldaššum-ma Ilānī Sebetti ittabi z*[*ik*]*iršun*
—I:29 It bore him seven gods and he na[m]ed them "the Divine Heptad."

—I:30 *izzazzū ina maḫrīšū-ma šīmassunu i*[*š*]*īm-ma*
—I:30 As they were standing before him, he a[s]signed their fates:

—I:31 *issī-ma ištēn išakkana ṭēma*
—I:31 He called number one to issue instructions:

—I:32 *ēma tannamrū-ma tattalku māḫira ē-*[*ta*]*rši*
—I:32 "Wherever you come and go, may yo[u h]ave no opponent!"

—I:33 *iqabbi ana šanî kīma Gerra kubum-ma ḫumuṭ kīma nabli*
—I:33 He spoke to the second: "Like Gerra burn, blaze like a flame!"

—I:34 *īt*[*ammi*] *ana šalši zīm labbi lū šaknātā-ma āmirka/āmiruk lišḫarmiṭ/liḫḫarmiṭ*
—I:34 He [said] to the third, "Assume the appearance of a lion; *let it dissolve whoever looks at you* /*let whoever looks at you dissolve*."

—I:35 *iqabbi ana rebî ana našê/nīš kakkīka ezzūti šadû līttabbit*
—I:35 He spoke to the fourth: "At the raising of your ferocious weapons let a mountain be obliterated."

—I:36 *ana ḫanši iqtabi kīma šāri zīq-ma kippat*(*a*) *ḫīṭa*
—I:36 To the fifth he spoke: "Blow like the wind and scrutinize the circumference of the world."

—I:37 *šeš*(*ša*) *um*(*t*)*a'ir eliš u šapliš bā'am-ma lā tagammil mamma/mimma*
—I:37 He commissioned the sixth, "Sweep over destructively above and below sparing nothing/*no one*."

—I:38 *sebâ imat bašmi iṣēššū-ma šumqita napišta*
—I:38 As for the seventh, he loaded him up with dragon venom: "Lay low living things!"

—I:39 *ultu šīmat Ilānī Sebetti napḫaršunu išīmu Anum*
—I:39 After Anu had assigned the fates of all of the Divine Heptad,

—I:40 *iddiššunūtī-ma ana Erra qarrād ilānī lillikū idāka*
—I:40 He gave them to Erra, the warrior of the gods: "Let them accompany you.

—I:41 *kī ša nišī dadmī ḫubūršina elīka imtarṣu*
—I:41 “When the clamor of the people of the inhabited world becomes irksome to you,

—I:42 *ublam-ma libbaka ana šakān kamāri*
—I:42 “And your heart urges you to accomplish defeat—

—I:43 *ṣalmāt qaqqadi ana šumutti šumqutu būl*(*i*) *Šakkan*
—I:43 “To put the blackheaded ones to death, to lay low Šakkan’s herds—

—I:44 *lū kakkūka ezzūti šunū-ma lillikū idāka*
—I:44 “Let them be your ferocious weapons, let them accompany you.”

—I:45 *šunu ezzū-ma tebû kakkūšun*
—I:45 They are ferocious, their weapons are raised.

—I:46 *ītamû ana Erra tebe iziz-ma*
—I:46 They said to Erra, “Arise—stand.

—I:47 *minsu kī šību muqqi tušib ina āli*
—I:47 “Why like a feeble old man have you stayed in the city?

—I:48 *kī šerri laʾî tušib ina bīti*
—I:48 “Why like a baby or toddler have you stayed at home?

—I:49 *kī lā ālik ṣēri nikkala akal sinniš*
—I:49 “Like one who does not go out to the battlefield should we eat the bread of women?

—I:50 *kī ša tāḫāza lā nīdû niplaḫa nirūda*
—I:50 “As if we do not know battle should we fear and tremble?

—I:51 *alāk ṣēri ša eṭlūti kī ša isinnum-ma*
—I:51 “Going to the ‘field of manhood’ is like going to the field of a festival.
(*Or*: “While going on campaign, the young men are like festival-goers.)

—I:52 *āšib āli lū rubû ul išebbe akla*
—I:52 “The citydweller, even if he is a prince, cannot be sated with bread.

—I:53 *šumsuk ina pī nišīšū-ma qalil qaqqassu*
—I:53 “He will be denounced by his people and disparaged.

—I:54 *ana ālik ṣēri akī itarraṣ qāssu*
—I:54 “How can he so much as beg from the one who goes out to the battlefield?

—I:55 *ša āšib āli lū puggulat kubukkuš*
—I:55 “Even if the citydweller’s strength is well developed,

—I:56 *ana ālik ṣēri akī idannin mīna*
—I:56 “How could he be stronger than the one who goes out to the battlefield?

—I:57 *akal āli lullû ul ubbala kamā*[*n*] *tumri*
—I:57 “The sumptuous bread of the city cannot compare with the ashcak[e].

—I:58 *šikar našpi duššupi ul ubbalu m*[*ê*] *n*[*ā*]*di*
—I:58 “Fine sweetened beer cannot compare with the wa[t]er of a wa[te]rskin.

—I:59 *ekal tamlî ul ubbala maṣallātu/maṣallu ša* [*rē’ī*?]
—I:59 “The terraced palace cannot compare with the hovel(s) of [the shepherd (?)].

—I:60 *qurādu Erra ṣī-ma ana ṣēri turuk kakkīka*
—I:60 “Warrior Erra, go out to the battlefield! Brandish your weapons!

—I:61 *rigimka dunnim-ma lištar’ibū eliš u šapliš*
—I:61 “Make your voice resound so that above and below they are made to tremble!

—I:62 *Igīgī lišmû-ma lišarbû šumka*
—I:62 “Let the Igīgī hear and glorify your name!

—I:63 *Anunnakī lišmû-ma lišḫuṭ*[*ū*] *zikirka*
—I:63 “Let the Anunnakī hear and fea[r] the mention of you!

—I:64 *ilānū lišmû-ma liknušū ana nīrīka*
—I:64 “Let the gods hear and bow before your yoke!

—I:65 *malkī lišmû-ma likmis*[*ū*] *šapalka*
—I:65 “Let the sovereigns hear and knee[l] at your feet!

—I:66 *mātātu lišmâ-ma bilassi*[*na liš*]*šâka*
—I:66 “Let the lands hear and [br]ing you th[eir] tribute!

—I:67 *gallû lišmû-ma ina ramā*[*nīš*]*unu l*[*im*]*ūtū*
—I:67 “Let the *gallû*-demons hear and d[i]e spont[an]eously!

—I:68 *dannu lišmē-ma liššur emū*[*q*]*īšu*
—I:68 “Let the mighty hear and let his stre[n]gth dissipate!

—I:69 *ḫursānī zaqrūti lišmû-ma lišpilā rēš*[*ā*]*šun*
—I:69 “Let the tall mountains hear and let their hea[d]s bow low!

—I:70 *tâmāti gallāti lišmâ-ma l*[*idd*]*alḫā-ma liḫalliqā m*[*iš*]*irta*
—I:70 “Let the rolling (?) seas hear, [be c]hurned up, and wipe out their p[ro]duce!

—I:71 *ša qīši danni liktappirū gupnūšu*
—I:71 “Let even the tree trunks of the dense forest be cleared away!

—I:72 *apu ša nēreba* [*l*]*ā īšû li*[*ḫt*]*aṣṣiṣū qanûšu*
—I:72 “Let the reeds of the [i]mpenetrable canebrake be s[na]pped off!

—I:73 *nišū liplaḫā-ma litquna ḫubūrši*[*n*]
—I:73 “Let the people revere and let the[ir] clamor subside!

—I:74 *būlu līrur-ma litūr ana ṭiṭṭi*
—I:74 “Let the wildlife tremble and turn back into clay!

—I:75 *ilānū abbūka līmurū-ma linādū qurdīk*[*a*]
—I:75 “Let the gods your fathers see and praise yo[ur] status as warrior!

—I:76 *qurādu/qarrādu Erra minsu ṣēra tumaššir-ma tušib ina āl*[*i*]
—I:76 “Warrior Erra, why have you neglected the battlefield and stayed in the cit[y]?

—I:77 *būl Šakkan* (*u*) *nammaššû leqû šeṭūtni*
—I:77 “Šakkan’s herds and the wild animals hold us in contempt!

—I:78 *qurādu Erra niqabbīkum-ma atmûni* [*li*]*mruṣ elīka*
—I:78 “Warrior Erra, we will speak to you [even if] what we say irks you.

—I:79 *adi mātu napḫarša irbû elīni*
—I:79 “When the whole land becomes too prosperous for us,

—I:80 *mindē-ma atta šemâta amātni*
—I:80 “Perhaps you will hear our speech.

—I:81 *ana Anunnakī* [*r*]*āʾim šaḫrarti damiqti epša*
—I:81 “Do a favor to the Anunnakī, who [l]ove deathly silence.

—I:82 *Anunnakī ina* [*ḫ*]*ubūr nišī ul ireḫḫû šittu*
—I:82 “The Anunnakī cannot sleep for the [cl]amor of humankind.

—I:83 *na*[*p*]*išti māti g*[*ip*]*āra raḫiṣ būlu*
—I:83 “The wildlife is trampling the pas[tur]eland, the l[i]fe of the land.

—I:84 *ikkaru ina muḫḫi* . . . . . *–šu ibakki* [*ṣa*]*rpiš*
—I:84 “The farmer weeps [bit]terly over his . . .

—I:85 *nēšu u barbaru* [*uš*]*amqatū*/*šu*[*m*]*qutū būl Šakkan*
—I:85 “The lion and wolf are laying low Šakkan’s herds,

—I:86 *rēʾû aššu ṣēnīšu* [*urra u*] *mūša ul iṣallal iballa* [*k*]*âša*
—I:86 “The shepherd supplicates [y]ou on behalf of his flock [day and] night without sleeping.

—I:87 *u nēnu mūdê nēreb šadê nimtašâm*-[*ma ḫa*]*rrānu*
—I:87 “And we who know the mountain pass, we have forgotten [the w]ay.

—I:88 *ina muḫḫi tillê ṣērīni šatâ*[*t*] *qê e*[*tt*]*ūtu*
—I:88 “Over our battle gear s[pi]derwebs are spu[n].

—I:89 *qašatni ṭābtu ibbalkit-ma idnina* [*e*]*li em*[*ūq*]*īni*
—I:89 “Our quality bow has lost resilience and become too strong [f]or our stren[gth].

—I:90 *ša uṣṣīni zaqti kepâta lišāššu*
—I:90 “The point of our sharp arrow has become blunt.

—I:91 *patarni ina lā ṭabāḫi itt*[*ad*]*i šuḫtu*
—I:91 “Our sword has devel[ope]d rust for lack of slaughter.”

—I:92 *išmēšunūtī-ma qu*[*r*]*ādu Erra*
—I:92 Wa[r]rior Erra heard them;

—I:93 *amāt Ilānī Sebetti iqbû*(*šu*) *kī ulû* [*šam*]*ni elīšu iṭīb*
—I:93 The speech the Divine Heptad had spoken (to him) was as pleasing to him as the best [oi]l.

—I:94 *īpuš-ma pāšu izzakkar ana* [*Iš*]*um*
—I:94 He opened his mouth to say to [Iš]um:

—I:95 *minsu šemâtā-ma qâliš tuš*[*b*]*u*
—I:95 “Why when you heard did you si[t] silently?

—I:96 *ṭūda pitī-ma luṣbat*(*a*) *ḫarrā*[*n*]*i*
—I:96 “Blaze a trail so I can undertake a campai[g]n!

—I:97 *Ilānū Sebettu qarrād lā šanān lupq*[*id*]ˀ . . . . . .
—I:97 “Let me must[er] (?) the Divine Heptad, the warriors without rival . . .

—I:98 *kakkī*[*y*]*a ezzūtu šūlik*[*a*]/*šūliku i*[*dāya*]
—I:98 “Make [m]y ferocious weapons accompa[ny me].

—I:99 *u atta ālik maḫrīya ālik ar*[*kī*]*ya*ˀ
—I:99 “And you are my vanguard, my re[arg]uard (?).”

—I:100 **Išum annīta* [*ina šemêšu*]* /*[*iš*]*mē-ma Iš*[*um ann*]*â qabâ*[*šu*]*
—I:100 Išum, upon [hea]ring this (speech [of his]),

—I:101 **īpuš*-[*ma*] *pāše izzakkar* [*ana qurā*]*du Er*[*ra*]*/**rēmu irt*[*ašī-ma iqtabi ana qurādu Erra*]*
—I:101 *He opened his mouth to say [to Warr]ior Er[ra],*/*He h[ad] compassion [and spoke to Warrior Erra]*:

—I:102 (*bēlu*/*qurādu Erra*) *minsu ana ilā*[*nī lemu*]*tti tak*[*pud*]
—I:102 “(Lord/Warrior Erra,) why did you pl[ot ev]il against the god[s]?

—I:103 *ana sapā*[*n*] *mātāti ḫullu*[*q nišīšin lemut*]*ti takpud-ma lā ta*[*tūr ana a*]*rkīka*
—I:103 “You have plotted [evi]l—to crus[h] the lands and wipe o[ut their people]—and have not tur[ned a]way.”

—I:104 *Erra pāšu īpuš*-[*ma*] *iqabbi*
—I:104 Erra opened his mouth to speak;

—I:105 *ana Išum ā*[*li*]*k maḫrīšu* [*amāta*] *izzakkar*
—I:105 To Išum, his v[a]nguard, he uttered [a speech]:

—I:106 *Išum qūlam-ma šeme qabāya*
—I:106 “Išum, pay attention and listen to what I say.

—I:107 *aššu nišī dadmī ša taqbû gamālšin*
—I:107 “Regarding the people of the inhabited world, whom you suggested I spare,

—I:108 *āli*[*k*] *maḫri ilānī enqu Išum ša milikšu damqu*
—I:108 “Van[g]uard of the gods, wise Išum, whose advice is good:

—I:109 *ina ša*[*m*]*ê rīmāku ina erṣeti labbāku*
—I:109 “In he[av]en I am a wild bull; on earth I am a lion.

—I:110 *ina māti šarrāku ina ilānī ezzāku*
—I:110 “In the land I am king; among the gods I am the most ferocious.

—I:111 *ina Igīgī qardāku ina Anunnakī gašrāku*
—I:111 “Among the Igīgī I am the most combative; among the Anunnakī I am the most powerful.

—I:112 *ina būli māḫiṣāku ina šadî šubâku*
—I:112 “To the wildlife I am a hunter; to the mountain I am a battering ram.

—I:113 *ina api gerrā*[*ku*] *ina qīši maššarāk*
—I:113 “To the canebrake I am a fir[e]; to the forest I am a battleaxe.

—I:114 *ina alāk ḫarrānu urinnāku*
—I:114 “While going on campaign I am a standard.

—I:115 *kī šāri azâqu kī Adad ur*[*t*]*aṣṣan*
—I:115 “Like the wind I blow; like Adad I r[u]mble.

—I:116 *kī* [*Šam*]*ši aba*[*rr*]*i* [*k*]*ippata* [*k*]*alāma*
—I:116 “Like [Šam]aš I s[ca]n the [c]ircle of the [c]osmos.

—I:117 *ana ṣēr*[*i*]ˀ *uṣṣī-ma bi*[*b*]*bāku*
—I:117 “I go out to the hinterla[nd] (?), I am a wil[d s]heep.

—I:118 *ana n*[*a*ˀ]*mê errum-ma . . . . . ram*[*âk*]*u šubta*
—I:118 “I enter into the wi[ld]erness (?) and tak[e u]p residence . . .

—I:119 *ilānū napḫaršunu ṣālta šaḫtū*
—I:119 “All of the gods are afraid of combat,

—I:120 *u nišū ṣalmāt* [*q*]*aqqadi leq*[*û*] *šeṭūtu*
—I:120 “And the black[h]eaded people hav[e] contempt.

—I:121 *anāku aššu lā išḫutū-*(*ma*) *zikrī*
—I:121 “As for me, because they have not feared the mention of me,

—I:122 *u ša rubê Marduk amāssu iddû-ma ippušū kī libbuš*
—I:122 “And they have abandoned the word of Prince Marduk and behave according to their own inclinations,

—I:123 *rubâ Marduk ušaggag-ma ina šubtīšu adekkē-ma nišī asappan*
—I:123 “I will incite Prince Marduk’s fury, drive him from his dwelling, and then crush the people!”

—I:124 *qurādu Erra ana Šuanna āl šar ilānī ištakan pānīšu*
—I:124 Warrior Erra set his face toward Šuanna, the city of the king of the gods.

—I:125 *ana Esagil ekal šamê* (*u*) *erṣeti īrum-ma ittaziz pānuššu*
—I:125 He entered into the Esagil, the palace of heaven and earth, and stood before him.

—I:126 *īpuš-ma pāšu* (*ana*) *šar ilānī ītammi/ītammâ*
—I:126 He opened his mouth to speak to the king of the gods:

—I:127 *minsu šukutta simat bēlūtīka ša kīma kakkab*(*ānī*) *šamāmī lulâ malât leqâta urruša*
—I:127 "Why is the jewelry befitting your lordship, which was as full of splendor as the stars of the firmament, encrusted with dirt?

—I:128 *agê bēlūtīka ša kīma Etemenanki unammari/ušanbiṭu/ušanbaṭu Eḫalanki pānūšu katmū*
—I:128 "Why is the surface of the crown of your lordship, which made even the Eḫalanki as bright as the Etemenanki, tarnished?"

—I:129 *īpuš-ma pāšu šar ilānī ītammi/ītammâ*
—I:129 The king of the gods opened his mouth to speak;

—I:130 *ana Erra qarrād ilānī amāt izzakkar*
—I:130 To Erra, the warrior of the gods, he uttered a speech:

—I:131 *qurādu Erra aššu šipri šâšu ša taqbû epēša*
—I:131 "Warrior Erra, regarding that procedure that you suggested performing:

—I:132 *ultu* [*u*]*llu āgugū-ma ina šubtīya atbû-ma aškuna/aškunu abūbu*
—I:132 "[L]ong ago I became angry, arose from my dwelling, and set the Flood in motion.

—I:133 *ina šub*[*t*]*īya atbē-ma šibīt šamê* (*u*) *erṣeti uptaṭṭir*
—I:133 "When I arose from my dwe[l]ling, the seam of heaven and earth unraveled.

—I:134 *ša*[*mê*] *ša uštar'ibū ša kakkabānī šamāmī manzassunu išnī-ma ul itūr/utīr ašruššun*
—I:134 "As for the hea[vens], which trembled: the position of the stars of the firmament changed and *they (the positions) did not return*/*I did not return them* to their places.

—I:135 *erkallu ša inūšu ša šer'i bilassu imṭī-ma adi ulla ana emēda ašṭa*
—I:135 "As for the world below, which quaked: the yield of the furrow diminished, and ever after it was difficult to load.

—I:136 *šibīt šamê* (*u*) *erṣeti ša uptaṭṭiru nagbu imtaṭī-ma mīlū ittaḫsū atūr āmur-ma ana petê/šebê imtarṣa*
—I:136 "As for the seam of heaven and earth, which unraveled: the underground water diminished and the floods receded; when I looked again it had become arduous *to cultivate land*/*to be sated*.

—I:137 *ša šiknāt napišti nabnīssina iṣḫir-ma ul itūr/utī*[*r*] *ašruššun*
—I:137 "The offspring of living creatures dwindled and *I did not resto[re] them*/*they did not recover.*

—I:138 *adi kī ikkari zērūšin*(*a*) *aṣbatu ina qātīya*
—I:138 "Until I held their seeds in my hands like a farmer.

—I:139 *bīta ēpuš-ma ušib ina libbi*
—I:139 "I built a house and lived inside.

—I:140 *šukuttu ša ina abūbi udda"ipū-ma īkilu šikišša*
—I:140 "As for the jewelry, which had been knocked off in the Flood and whose appearance had grown dark:

—I:141 *ana šunbuṭ zīmīya* (*u*) *ubbub ṣubātīya Gerra umta"ir*
—I:141 "I commissioned Gerra to make my countenance shine and clean my outfit.

—I:142 *ultu šukuttī unammirū-ma uqattû šipri*
—I:142 "After he had finished the procedure for making my jewelry bright,

—I:143 *agê bēlūtīya annadqū-ma ana ašrīya atūru*
—I:143 "I put on the crown of my lordship and returned to my place;

—I:144 *zīmūya tubbû*-(*ma*) *galit niṭlī*
—I:144 "My countenance was sparkling (?) and my glance was terrifying.

—I:145 *nišū ša ina abūbi isētā-ma ēmūrā epēš šipri*
—I:145 "As for the people who had escaped the Flood and had seen the carrying out of the procedure:

—I:146 *kakkī*[*y*]*a/kakkīka ušatbâm-ma/tušatbī-ma uḫallaq/tuḫalliq rēḫa*
—I:146 "*I mobilized [m]y weapons to wipe out the remnant.*/*You mobilized your weapons and wiped out the remnant.*

—I:147 *ummânī šunūti ana Apsî ušērid-ma elâšunu ul aqbi*
—I:147 "I sent those artisans down to the Apsû and did not tell them to come back up.

—I:148 *ša mēsi elmēši ašaršun unakkir-ma ul ukallim mamma*
—I:148 "I changed the position of the *mēsu*-tree and the *elmēšu*-stone and did not show anyone.

—I:149 *enna aššu šipri šâšu ša taqbû qurādu Erra*
—I:149 "Now regarding that procedure that you suggested, Warrior Erra:

—I:150 *ali mēsu šīr ilānī simat šar gimir*
—I:150 "Where is the *mēsu*-tree, the flesh of the gods, befitting the king of all,

—I:151 *iṣṣu ellu eṭlu ṣīru ša šūluku ana bēlūti*
—I:151 "The holy tree, the eminent youth, which is suitable for lordship,

—I:152 *ša ina tâmti rapašti mê išât me'at bērī išissu ikšudu šupul aral*[*lê*]
—I:152 "Whose roots reach down through the broad sea for a hundred leagues of water, to the depth of the netherwo[rld],

—I:153 *qimmassu ina elâti endet šamê ša* [*Anum*]
—I:153 "And whose crown rests against the heights, the heaven of [Anu]?

—I:154 *ali ebbu zagindurû ša ušamsaku* . . . . . .
—I:154 "Where is the shiny lapis lazuli that I removed . . . ?

—I:155 *ali Ninildu nagargal anūtīya*
—I:155 "Where is Ninildu, the master carpenter of my supreme divinity,

—I:156 *nāš pāš*(*i*) *šamši* (*ebbi*) *mūdê iṣṣi šâšu*
—I:156 "The bearer of the (shiny) golden axe, who understands that wood,

—I:157 *ša kīma ūmi ušanba*[*ṭu*] (*ina*) *šaplūya ukan*[*našu*]
—I:157 "Who makes things shi[ne] like daylight, and who subj[ugates] people at my feet?

—I:158 *ali Kusibanda bān ili u amēli ša qātāšu* [*ellā*$^{?}$]
—I:158 "Where is Kusibanda, the creator of god and human, whose hands are [holy (?)]?

—I:159 *ali Ninagal nāš sê* (*u*) *šapilti*
—I:159 "Where is Ninagal, the bearer of grindstone and anvil,

—I:160 *ša danna erâ kī maški ilemmu pātiqu u*[*nūti*$^{?}$]
—I:160 "Who eats 'strong copper' like leather, the shaper of t[ools (?)]?

—I:161 *ali abnū nasqūti binût tâmti rapašti simat ag*[*ê*]
—I:161 "Where are the choice stones, the products of the broad sea, befitting a cro[wn]?

—I:162 *ali sebet apkallū apsî purādī ebbūti*
—I:162 “Where are the Seven Sages of the Apsû, the holy carp,

—I:163 *ša kīma Ēa bēlīšunu uzna ṣīrtu šuklulū mubbibū zumrī*[*ya*]
—I:163 “Who like Ēa their lord are perfectly created with respect to eminent wisdom, who can clean [my] body?”

—I:164 [*išm*]*ēšū-ma* [*izz*]*iz qurādu Err*[*a*]
—I:164 Warrior Err[a hea]rd him and [sto]od there.

—I:165 [*īp*]*uš-ma pā*[*šu*] *izzakkar ana rubê Mard*[*uk*]
—I:165 He [ope]ned [his] mouth to say to Prince Mard[uk]:

—I:166 . . . . . .
—I:166 . . .

—I:167 . . . . . .
—I:167 . . .

—I:168 . . . [*e*]*lmēšu ebba* . . . . . *ušelle*[?] . . . . . .
—I:168 “The shiny [*e*]*lmēšu*-stone . . . *will bring up* (?). . .”

—I:169 [*Ma*]*rduk annī*[*ta*] *i*[*na šemê*]*šu*
—I:169 [Ma]rduk, u[pon heari]ng thi[s],

—I:170 [*īpu*]*š-ma pāšu izzak*[*ka*]*r an*[*a qurādu*] *Erra*
—I:170 [He open]ed his mouth to s[a]y t[o Warrior] Erra:

—I:171 [*ina š*]*ubtēya atebbûšu ši*[*bīt šamê u erṣeti*] *uptaṭṭar*
—I:171 “If I arise [from] my [dw]elling, the se[am of heaven and earth] will unravel.

—I:172 *mû illûnim-ma iba*ʾʾ*ū mātu*
—I:172 “The waters will come up and sweep destructively over the land.

—I:173 [*ū*]*mu namru ana da*ʾ*u*[*mm*]*ati* [*itâr*]
—I:173 “Bright [da]ylight will [turn] into dar[kn]ess.

—I:174 [*meḫ*]*û itebbâ*[*m-ma*] *kakkabānī šamā*[*mī ikattam*[?]]
—I:174 “[The temp]est will ris[e up] and [cover (?)] the stars of the firmam[ent].

—I:175 [*šāru*] *lemnu iziqqam-ma ša nišī šiknāt nap*[*išti*] *niṭil*[*šin išši*[?]]
—I:175 “An evil [wind] will blow and the eyesight of the people, liv[ing] creatures, [will become blurred (?)].

—I:176 [*gal*]*lê illûnim-ma iṣabbat* . . . . . .
—I:176 "[*Gal*]*lû*-demons will rise up and . . . will seize . . .

—I:177 [*ša*] *qabli paṭrāti māḫiršunu* . . . . . .
—I:177 "[Those] with ungirded loins . . . their opponent . . .

—I:178 *Anunnakī illûnim-ma šiknāt napišti imessū*
—I:178 "The Anunnakī will come up and pulverize living creatures.

—I:179 *adi kakkīya lā annadqu u*[*tār*]*šunūti mannu*
—I:179 "Until I gird on my weapons, who will re[pulse] them?"

—I:180 *Erra annīta ina šemêšu*
—I:180 Erra, upon hearing this,

—I:181 *īpuš-ma pāšu izzakkar ana rubê Marduk*
—I:181 He opened his mouth to say to Prince Marduk:

—I:182 *rubû Marduk adi atta ana bīti šâšu terrubū-ma Gerra ṣubātka ubbabū-ma taturru*/*taturra ašrukka*
—I:182 "Prince Marduk, until you have entered that building and Gerra has cleaned your outfit and you have returned to your place,

—I:183 *adi ulla araddī-ma šibīt šamê erṣeti udannan*
—I:183 "Until then, I will assume leadership and reinforce the seam of heaven and earth.

—I:184 *ana šamê ellī-ma ana Igīgī anamdin ûrta*
—I:184 "I will go up to the heavens and give instruction to the Igīgī.

—I:185 *urrad*(*u*) *ana Apsî Anunnakī upaqqad*
—I:185 "I will go down to the Apsû and oversee the Anunnakī.

—I:186 *gallê šamrūti ana māt lā târi aṭarrad*(*-ma*)
—I:186 "I will banish the truculent *gallû*-demons to the Land of No Return.

—I:187 *kakkīya ezzūti elīšunu ušzazza*
—I:187 "I will cause my ferocious weapons to triumph over them.

—I:188 *ša šāri lemni kīma iṣṣūri akassâ idāšu*
—I:188 "I will bind the wings of the evil wind like a bird.

—I:189 *ana bīti šâšu ašar terrubu rubû Marduk*
—I:189 "At that building where you will enter, Prince Marduk,

—I:190 *imna u šumēla ša bābīka Anum* (*u*) *Ellil ušarbaṣ*(*a*) *kīma alpi*
—I:190 "To the right and to the left of your gate I will make Anu and Enlil crouch like bulls."

—I:191 *išmē*(*šū*)*-ma rubû Marduk*
—I:191 Prince Marduk heard (him);

—I:192 *amāt Erra iqbû*(*šu*) *elīšu iṭīb*
—I:192 The speech that Erra had spoken (to him) was pleasing to him.

—I:193 *itbē-ma ina šubtīšu ašar lā âri ana šubat Anunnakī*-([*m*]*a*) *ištakan pānīšu*
—I:193 He arose from his dwelling, an unapproachable place; toward the dwelling of the Anunnakī he set his face.

—II:1 *itbē-ma ina šubtīšu a*[*šar lā âri*]
—II:1 He arose from his dwelling, [an unapproachable] pl[ace];

—II:2 *ana šubat Anunnakī ištakan pānī*[*šu*]
—II:2 Toward the dwelling of the Anunnakī he set [his] face.

—II:3 *ana bīti šâšu īrum-ma itt*[*aziz pānuššun*?]
—II:3 Into that building he entered and st[ood before them (?)].

—II:4 *Šamši* [*inaṭ*]*ṭalšū-ma*/*iṭṭulšū-ma šarūrīšu ušamqit-ma* . . . . . .
—II:4 Upon seeing him, Šamaš allowed his radiance to fall away . . .

—II:5 *ša Sîn ana ašar šanâm-ma pānūšu šaknū-ma erṣetu ul* . . . . . .
—II:5 As for Sîn, his face was turned in another direction, and the earth . . . not . . .

—II:6 *šārī lemnūtu itbûnim-ma ūmu namru ana da*[*'umma*]*ti uttī*[*r*]
—II:6 Evil winds arose and bright daylight was turn[ed] into da[rkne]ss.

—II:7 *rigim nišī ina māti napḫarša*/*mitḫāriš* . . . . . [. . .
—II:7 The noise of the people *in all of the land*/*in the land together* . . .

—II:8 *Igīgī īrurū-ma ētelû a*[*na*] . . . . . .
—II:8 The Igīgī trembled and went up t[o] . . .

—II:9 [*Anu*]*nnakī* [*išš*]*ēḫū-ma šupul* . . . . . .
—II:9 The [Anu]nnaki [shud]dered and to the depth . . .

—II:10 . . . . . *napḫar kippat* . . . . . .
—II:10 . . . the whole circumference of . . .

—II:11] . . . . . *ina epri*[?]
—II:11] . . . in the dust (?).

—II:12 . . . . . .] . . . . . *i nīmura nūru*
—II:12 “. . . let us see the light!

—II:13 . . . . . .] . . . . . *dalātīšu*
—II:13 “. . . its doors.

—II:14 . . . . . .] . . . . . .
—II:14 “. . .

—II:15 . . . . . .] . . . . . *kakkab šamāmī*
—II:15 “. . . the stars of the firmament.

—II:16 *agê*[?] . . . . . [
—II:16 “The crown (?) . . .

—II:17 *libbuš*[?] . . . . . *lilalli šâšu*
—II:17 “His (?) heart . . . let it make him happy!

—II:18 *ša šakkanakki* . . . . . .
—II:18 “Of the governor . . .

—II:19 *melammē namrirrīšu ūmīšu* . . . . . .
—II:19 “The radiant aura of his luminescence . . . his days . . .

—II:20 . . . . . *kīma zunnī*
—II:20 “. . . like rains.

—II:21 *Ēa ina A*[*p*]*sû* [ ] . . . . . *nagabšu*
—II:21 “Ēa in the A[p]sû . . . his underground water.

—II:22 *Šamšu līmur maḫar* [ ] . . . . . *nišī liqtunā*
—II:22 “Let Šamaš see in the presence of . . . let the people . . .

—II:23 *Sîn lippalis-ma ana ittīšu līrissu*[?] *ana māti*
—II:23 “Let Sîn look and let him *request it* (?) as his sign for the land.

—II:24 *aššu šipri šâšu Ēa* . . . . . *itpēš*[?]
—II:24 “Regarding that procedure, Ēa . . . is expert (?).

—II:25 *libbāti imtali* [ ] [*qur*]*ādu Erra*
—II:25 "He was filled with rage . . . [War]rior Erra.

—II:26 *minsu aššu ḫubuš pā*[*n mê*] [ ] . . . . . *amēlūti*
—II:26 "Why regarding the flotsam on the surfa[ce of the water] . . . humanity,

—II:27 *ša ana šuḫmuṭ taklīmī A*[*nunna*]*kī abnû anāku*
—II:27 "Whom I myself created to bring the *taklīmu*-offerings of the A[nunna]ki expeditiously?

—II:28 *ina lā adannīšu iddi*[*nū*] [ ] *rubû Marduk*
—II:28 "At the wrong time [they] gav[e] . . . Prince Marduk.

—II:29 *ana sapān mātāti ḫulluq nišīšin ikpud lemuttu*
—II:29 "He plotted evil—to crush the lands and wipe out their people."

—II:30 *Ēa šarru uštammâ amātu iqabbi/iqabbâ*
—II:30 Ēa the king reflected; he delivered a speech:

—II:31 *enna ša itbû rubû Marduk ša ummânī šunūti elâšunu ul iqbi*
—II:31 "Now that Prince Marduk has arisen, he has not ordered those artisans' coming up.

—II:32 *ṣalmīšunu ša* (*ina*) *nišī abnû ana Er*[*ra*] *ana ilūtīšu ṣīrti*
—II:32 "How could their images, which I created among the people, come near Er[ra], his eminent divinity,

—II:33 *ša ilu lā i'irru iṭeḫḫû mīnu*
—II:33 "Which even no god can approach?"

—II:34 *ana ummânī šunūti libba rapša iddiššunūtī-ma išdīšunu uktinnu*
—II:34 To those artisans he gave a broad heart and made their foundation firm.

—II:35 *uznī išrukšunūtī-ma qātīšunu ulalli*
—II:35 He granted them ears and endowed them with hands.

—II:36 *šukutta šâša ušanbiṭū-ma šumsuqat* (*eli*) *ša maḫri*
—II:36 They made that jewelry shine such that it was more choice than before.

—II:37 *qurādu Erra mūša u urra lā naparkâ uzuz pānuššu*
—II:37 Warrior Erra was standing unceasingly night and day in front of it.

—II:38 *bītu ša ana šunbuṭ šukutti ana malikūt mal*[*ki*] *iššakkunū-ma ītamû lā taṭeḫḫe ana šipri*
—II:38 The building that was set up to make the jewelry shine for the authority of the sovere[ign] and about which they said, "Do not come near the procedure,"

—II:39 . . . . . .] . . . *napiš*[*t*]*ašu anakkis-ma nikissu atarraṣ*
—II:39 “. . . I will slit his thro[a]t and prolong his death.

—II:40] . . . . . *ana šipri*
—II:40 “. . . to the procedure.

—II:41] . . . . . *ul īši*
—II:41 “. . . he does not have . . .

—II:42 . . . . . *u Erra ītammâ kīma amēli*
—II:42 “. . . and Erra speaks like a human.

—II:43] . . . *rubê išannan*
—II:43 “. . . he rivals princes.

—II:44]. . . . . *rēšāšu*
—II:44 “. . . his head.

—II:45] [*u*]*šanbi*[*ṭū*] *šukutta*
—II:45 “. . . [they m]ade the jewelry [s]hine.

—II:46] . . . . . .
—II:46 “. . .

—II:47] . . . . . *daltuššu*
—II:47 “. . . at his door.

—II:48] *šarru Šamaš inna*[*ndiq*]*-ma*
—II:48 “. . . King Šamaš don[ned] . . .

—II:49] . . . . . *irtami šubassu*
—II:49 “. . . he took up residence.

—II:50]. . . . . *namirtu* [*šakn*]*at*
—II:50 “. . . radiance [was pres]ent.

—II:51] . . . . . *paḫrū*
—II:51 “. . . they were assembled.

—II:52 *Erra* [ ] *Marduk* . . .
—II:52 “Erra . . . Marduk.

—II:53 *rubû Marduk* . . . . . [
—II:53 “Prince Marduk . . .

—II:54 *iliš* . . . . . [
—II:54 “Like a god . . .

—II:55 *ṣeḫru ana rabî* . . . [
—II:55 “Small to great . . .

—II:56] . . . . . .
—II:56 “. . .

—II:57] *Erra* . . . . . .
—II:57 “. . . Erra . . .

—II:58 *aššu* [ ] *rigimšu innaʾadda*[*r-ma*]
—II:58 “Regarding . . . his noise . . . he is annoy[ed].

—II:59 *aššu annî* [ ] [*k*]*alû*ʔ *ullû*ʔ *šukut*[*tu*] . . . . . .
—II:59 “Because of this . . . the jewel[ry] . . .

—II:60 *Erra* [ ] [*bē*]*lūtīka tubbū-ma* . . . . . .
—II:60 “Erra . . . of your [lo]rdship is sparkling (?) and . . .”

—II:61 [*īpuš-m*]*a pāšu šar ilānī ītammâ*
—II:61 The king of the gods [opened] his mouth to speak:

—II:62] . . . . . *ētellû ana šamāmī*
—II:62 “. . . *they continually went up*/*they will go up and away* to the firmament.

—II:63] . . . [*i*]*qtabi ana šubtīkunu tūrā-ma*
—II:63 “. . . [h]e said, ‘Return to your dwelling!’

—II:64] . . . *idda*[*b*]*ub ittuš*
—II:64 “. . . his sign was spo[k]en.

—II:65] . . . . . [*el*]*i dūr pānīka*
—II:65 “. . . [o]n your cheek.

—II:66] . . . . . *nišīšun*
—II:66 “. . . their people.

—II:67] . . . . . [*ul t*]*atūr ana arkīka*
—II:67 “. . . you have [not t]urned away.”

—II:68 *išme* [*ša*]*r ilānī ītammâ*
—II:68 He heard . . . spoke to the [kin]g of the gods:

—II:69 *amāt Mar*[*duk*] [ ] *ša ūmi*
—II:69 “The word of Mar[duk] . . . of the day.”

—II:70 *iqabbi ana šâ*[*šu*] . . . . . .
—II:70 He spoke to hi[m] . . .

—II:71 *alik-ma* . . . . . [
—II:71 “Come . . .

—II:72 *ana sapān mātāti* . . . . . [
—II:72 “To crush the lands . . .”

—II:73 *išmēšū-ma Err*[*a*] . . . [
—II:73 Err[a] heard him . . .

—II:74 . . . . . [
—II:74 . . .

—II:75 *īrum-ma* . . . . . [
—II:75 He entered . . .

—II:76 *išmē-ma Anu ina šamê* . . . . . [
—II:76 Anu heard in heaven . . .

—II:77 *šaqâtu rēšāšu iknušu* . . . . . [
—II:77 He bowed his lofty head . . .

—II:78 *Antu ummi ilānī ušaḫri*[*r*
—II:78 Antu, the mother of the gods, was thunderstr[uck] . . .

—II:79 *īrum-ma ana* . . . . . [
—II:79 She entered into . . .

—II:80 *ša Ellil* . . . . . [
—II:80 Enlil’s . . .

—II:81 . . . . . [
—II:81 . . .

—II:82
—II:82 . . .

—II:83
—II:83 . . .

—II:84
—II:84 . . .

—II:85
—II:85 . . .

—II:86 . . . . . *abi ilānī* . . . . . .
—II:86 “. . . the father of the gods . . .

—II:87 . . . . . *Ellil* . . . . . .
—II:87 “. . . Enlil . . .

—II:88 *ilānū gimiršunu in*[*a*] . . . . . .
—II:88 “All of the gods i[n] . . .

—II:89 *ina būl Šakkan napḫaršunu ša* . . . . . .
—II:89 “Among all of Šakkan’s herds that . . .

—II:90 *Erra ina napḫar ilānī* . . . . . .
—II:90 “Erra among all of the gods . . .

—II:91 *ina kakkab šamāmī kakkab šēlibi* . . . . . .
—II:91 “Among the stars of the firmament the Fox Star . . .

—II:92 *ummul-ma ana šâšu šarūru* . . . . . .
—II:92 “The radiance is twinkling for him . . .

—II:93 *ša ilānī napḫaršunu ba’lū kakkab*[*ānī*] . . . . . *ša* . . . . . .
—II:93 “The star[s] of all of the gods are refulgent . . .

—II:94 *kī iktamlū-ma rubû Marduk ana* . . . . . *ištakan*
—II:94 “Since he became riled Prince Marduk to . . . established . . .

—II:95 *kakkab Erra ummulu šarūri inašši . . . . . Anūnīti*
—II:95 "The star of Erra is twinkling and bearing radiance . . . Anūnītu.

—II:96 *melammīšu utabbā-ma napḫar nišī . . . . . .*
—II:96 "He will make his radiant aura sparkle (?) and . . . all of the people . . .

—II:97 *ša kakkab šamāmī ba'lūte . . . . . .*
—II:97 "As for the refulgent stars of the firmament . . .

—II:98 *. . . . . nabnīti kulbābu ul itabbâ . . . . . .*
—II:98 ". . . the creature, the ant does not arise . . .

—II:99 *ina būl Šakkan ṣalam kakkabīšunu ša šēlibi . . . . . .*
—II:99 "Among Šakkan's herds the image of their star, which the fox . . .

—II:100 *rāš emūqi labbu ez*[*zu*] . . . . . .
—II:100 "Possessing strength, a fero[cious] lion . . .

—II:101 *Ellil abi ba'ūlātī-ma igdama*[*r*]? . . . . . .
—II:101 "Enlil, the father of the people, has complet[ed]/annihilat[ed] (?) . . ."

—II:102 *ītapla Innina ina puḫur ilānī . . . . . .*
—II:102 Innina answered in the assembly of the gods . . .

—II:103 *ana Anum u Dagān amātu . . . . . .*
—II:103 To Anu and Dagān a speech . . .

—II:104 *qūlā-ma napḫarkunu ana ganūnīkunu er*[*bā*] . . . . . .
—II:104 "Pay attention, all of you; ent[er] into your private chambers . . .

—II:105 *šaptīkunu kuttemā-ma lā teṣṣinā qut*[*rinna*]
—II:105 "Cover your lips and do not smell the inc[ense].

—II:106 *ša rubê Marduk lā tamlikā-ma lā tuṣal*[*li*?] . . . . . .
—II:106 "You did not discuss Prince Marduk's . . . you did not bese[ech (?)] . . .

—II:107 *adi ūmū imallû ittiqu* [*adannu*] . . . . . .
—II:107 "Until the days are fulfilled, the [appointed time] is passed . . .

—II:108 *amāt Marduk iqbû kī šadî ašar . . . . . ul unakkar-ma . . . . . .*
—II:108 "The word that Marduk spoke is like the mountain where . . . he will not change . . ."

—II:109 *Erra* . . . . . .
—II:109 Erra . . .

—II:110 *kī zumur* . . . . . .
—II:110 As the body . . .

—II:111 . . . . . .
—II:111 . . .

—II:112 *ana Išum* . . . . . .
—II:112 To Išum . . .

—II:113 *nišū kī* . . . . . .
—II:113 The people like . . .

—II:114 *illik-ma Ištar īter*(*r*)*ubu ana ga*[*nūni*ʔ] . . . . . .
—II:114 Ištar went and entered into the pri[vate chamber (?)] . . .

—II:115 *ana Erra uštēmiq-ma ul imangura* . . . . . .
—II:115 She supplicated Erra, but he was not agreeable . . .

—II:116 *Išum pāšu īpuš-ma* [*iqabbi*]
—II:116 Išum opened his mouth [to speak];

—II:117 *izzakkar*[*a*]
—II:117 He said . . .

—II:118 *eḫsē-ma eli lā šamê ša* . . . . . .
—II:118 "I covered over what is not heaven of . . .

—II:119 *Erra agug-ma ul iqâli ana* [*mamma*] . . . . . .
—II:119 "Erra is too furious to heed [anyone] . . .

—II:120 (*ina*) *šadî linūḫ-ma arka aššu zēr nišī ša taqbia* [ ] *šâšu*
—II:120 "In the mountain let him rest and . . . the seed of the people about which you spoke . . . him.

—II:121 *apil Ellil ṣīru ša lā Išum ālik maḫ*[*rim-ma*] . . . . . *ul iṣṣabat urḫa* . . . . . .
—II:121 "The eminent heir of Enlil without Išum, the van[guard] . . . did not take to the road . . ."

—II:122 *ašim-ma ina* (*E*)*meslam rami šubassu*
—II:122 He sat in the Emeslam, he took up residence.

—II:123 *iqâl-*(*ma*) *ina ramānuššu ina šipri šâšu*
—II:123 He took heed within himself about that procedure.

—II:124 *raʾum-ma libbuš*(*šu*) *ul ippala qibītu*
—II:124 In his heart he was too wroth to answer the speech.

—II:125 *išālšu šâšu qibīssū-ma*
—II:125 He asked him about that speech of his:

—II:126 *ṭūda petē-ma luṣbat ḫarrānu*
—II:126 "Blaze a trail so I can undertake a campaign!

—II:127 *ūmū iqtatû ītetiq adannu*
—II:127 "The days have been fulfilled, the appointed time has passed.

—II:128 *aqabbi ša Šamši ušamqata šarūri*
—II:128 "I will speak and cause Šamaš's radiance to fall away!

—II:129 *ša Sîn ina šāt mūši ukattam pānū*[*šu*]
—II:129 "I will cover Sîn's face by night!

—II:130 *ana Addi aqabbi kila būrī*[*ka*]
—II:130 "I will say to Adad, 'Restrain [your] young bulls!'

—II:131 [*erpeta*] *ṭuppir-ma purus šal*[*ga u zunna*]
—II:131 " 'Drive away [the cloud], stop the sn[ow and rain]!'

—II:132 [*ana*] *Marduk-ma ana Ēa ubbala ta*[*ḫsista*]
—II:132 "[To] Marduk and to Ēa I will bring a re[minder].

—II:133 [*ša*] . . . . . [*ir*ʔ]*bû ina ūm ṣummê iqqab*[*bir*ʔ]
—II:133 "[Whoever gre]w up (?) . . . will be bu[ried] (?) on a day of thirst.

—II:134 [*ša*] *uruḫ mê illiku ḫarrān turbaʾi* [*itâr*]
—II:134 "[Whoever] came by way of water [will return] on a dusty road.

—II:135 *ana šar ilānī ātammâ tišab ina bīti* [*šâšu*]
—II:135 "I will say to the king of the gods, 'Stay in [that] building!'

—II:136 [*šipra*ʔ] *ša taqbû ippušū ušallamū qi*[*bīt*]*ka*
—II:136 "They will perform [the procedure (?)] you suggested, they will fulfill your co[mma]nd.

—II:137 [*ṣalmāt qaqq*]*adi išassûkā-ma ē-tamḫura su*[*ppīš*]*un*
—II:137 “The [blackhe]aded ones will cry out to you, but do not accept [th]eir pr[ayers].

—II:138 [*mātāti*] *agammar-ma ana tīlī amannu*
—II:138 “I will annihilate [the lands] and count them as tells!

—II:139 *ālānī asappam-ma ana namê ašakkan*
—II:139 “I will crush the cities and turn them into wilderness!

—II:140 *šadê ubbat-ma būlšunu ušamqat*
—II:140 “I will obliterate the mountains and lay low their wildlife!

—II:141 *tâmāti adallaḫ-ma miširtaš*[*i*]*na u*[*ḫal*]*laq*
—II:141 “I will churn up the seas and wi[pe o]ut th[e]ir produce!

—II:142 [*a*]*pu u qīša ušaḫrar-ma* [*kī Gerra*] *aqammi*
—II:142 “I will devastate the [ca]nebrake and the forest, I will burn them [like Gerra]!

—II:143 [*n*]*išū ušamqat-ma napištu . . . . . ul ezzib*
—II:143 “I will lay low the [p]eople and not spare life . . .

—II:144 [*išt*]*ēn ul akallâ ana zēri* [*m*]*āti*[?]
—II:144 “I will not retain [on]e for the seed . . . the [l]and (?).

—II:145 [*b*]*ūl Šakkan nammaššâ u*[*l*] *umaššara ayyamma*
—II:145 “I will no[t] let any of Šakkan’s [he]rds or the wild animals go free!

—II:146 [*u*]*ltu āli ana āli rēdâ ušaṣbat*
—II:146 “[F]rom city to city I will allow the soldier to pillage.

—II:147 *māru ša abi zārû ša māru ul išâl-ma*/[*iš*]*alla šulma*
—II:147 “A son will not ask about the welfare of the father, nor the father of the son.

—II:148 *ummu ša mārti ina ṣiḫāti* [*ikappud le*]*muttu*
—II:148 “Mother will [plot the e]vil of her daughter with laughter.

—II:149 *ana šubat ilānī ašar lemnu lā iʾâr*[*u*] *nuāʾa ušerreb*
—II:149 “Into the dwelling of the gods where no evil being may approach I will allow the barbarian to enter.

—II:150 *ana šubat rubê ušešša*[*b*] *isḫappa*
—II:150 “In the dwelling of the prince I will settl[e] the rogue.

—II:151 *umām*(*ī*) [N]A(M) SI [KA] [*ana libbi*] *māḫāzī ušerreb*
—II:151 "I will let the beasts of the . . . enter [into] the shrines.

—II:152 *āl innammarū ēriba uzamma*
—II:152 "I will deprive the would-be visitor of the city where they (the beasts) are encountered.

—II:153 *umām šadî ušerreda ana māti*
—II:153 "I will let the beasts of the mountain come down into the land.

—II:154 *ēma kibsu* [ ] *iššakkinu ušaḫrarū/ušaḫraba rebīti/qerbīte*
—II:154 "Wherever the path . . . is taken they will devastate the square/center.

—II:155 *umām ṣēri lā ērib ṣērim-ma* (*ina*) *rebīt āli ušallak*
—II:155 "I will allow the beasts of the hinterland, no longer entering the hinterland, to walk in the city square.

—II:156 *itta ulammam-ma māḫāzī unamma*
—II:156 "I will make signs baleful; I will turn shrines into ruins.

—II:157 *ana šubat il*[*ānī ašar*] *lemni lā i'irru mukīl rēš lemutti ušerreb*
—II:157 "Into the dwelling of the god[s where] no evil being may approach I will allow the upholder-of-evil demon to enter.

—II:158 *ekal šarri* [*Bābili*?] *ušaḫram-ma ušallaka karmūta*
—II:158 "I will lay waste the palace of the king [of Babylon (?)] and reduce it to a ruin.

—II:159 *rigim* [*amēlūti*?] *qerebša aparras-ma ḫidûta eṭṭirši*
—II:159 "I will stop the noise of [humanity (?)] within it and take joy away from it.

—II:160 *kī* [ ] *kirêti* [*g*]*err*[*ā*]*niš/gerrānu *ašar salmi*/*asarraqši**
—II:160 ". . .

—II:161] . . . . . *lemutti ušerrab*
—II:161 ". . . I will let evil enter.

—II:162] . . . . . [*u*]*l iqâl*(*i*) *ana mamma*
—II:162 ". . . [t]o heed anyone.

—IIIa:1 . . . . . [*ul iqâl*(*i*) *ana mamma*]
—IIIa:1 ". . . [to heed anyone].

—IIIa:2 *amāt imtal*[*ku*] . . . . . .
—IIIa:2 "The matter that he contempla[ted] . . .

—IIIa:3 [*la*]*bbē* . . . . . .
—IIIa:3 “[Li]ons . . .

—IIIa:4 . . . . . .
—IIIa:4 “. . .

—IIIa:5 *ana* . . . . . *uša*[*l*]*lak* . . . . . .
—IIIa:5 “I will mak[e] go . . . to . . .

—IIIa:6 . . . . . *bītu*[?] . . . *ušalqā-ma ūmīšunu ukarra*
—IIIa:6 “. . . the building (?) . . . I will cause to take and I will shorten their days.

—IIIa:7 *ša kēni ṣābit abbutti aparra*[*s šēpšu*[?]]
—IIIa:7 “I will ba[r access (?)] to the just person who would intercede.

—IIIa:8 *lemna nākis napišti ašakkan ina maḫri*
—IIIa:8 “I will install the evil cutthroat in the foremost place.

—IIIa:9 *libbi nišī ušannā-ma abu māra ul išemm*[*e*]
—IIIa:9 “I will change people’s hearts so the father will not liste[n] to the son

—IIIa:10 *mārtu ana ummi idabbuba zērāti*
—IIIa:10 “And the daughter will speak hostile things to the mother.

—IIIa:11 *atmâšina ulammanam-ma imaššâ ilšin*
—IIIa:11 “I will make what they say invidious and they will forget their gods.

—IIIa:12 *ana ištaršina iqabbâ šillatu rabītu*
—IIIa:12 “To their goddesses they will speak with great impudence.

—IIIa:13 [*ḫabb*]*ātu adekkē-ma aparrasu alaktu*
—IIIa:13 “I will rouse the [ban]dit and cut off the highway.

—IIIa:14 *ina qereb āli imašša’ū bušê aḫāmiš*
—IIIa:14 “In the midst of the city they will rob one another’s property.

—IIIa:15 [*nēšu u barbaru ušamqatū būl Šakkan*]
—IIIa:15 “[The lion and wolf will lay low Šakkan’s herds].

—IIIa:16 . . . . . *ušasbas-ma iparrasa tālittu*
—IIIa:16 “I will make . . . irate and she will put an end to childbirth.

—IIIa:17 *ikkil šerri u laqê/la'î tarītu uzamma*
—IIIa:17 "I will deprive the nurse of the cry of the baby and *foster child*/*toddler*.

—IIIa:18 *rigim alāla ina qerbēti ušašša*
—IIIa:18 "I will drive away the sound of the work-song from the meadowlands.

—IIIa:19 *rē'û u nāqidu imaššû tabīna*
—IIIa:19 "The shepherd and herdsman will forget the stall.

—IIIa:20 *ṣubāta ina zumur amēli aparras-ma eṭla mērênuššu rebīt āli ušallak*
—IIIa:20 "I will cut the clothes off the body of a man and parade the youth naked through the city square.

—IIIa:21 *eṭla ana erṣeti ša lā ṣubāti ušerred*
—IIIa:21 "I will bring the youth down to the netherworld without clothes.

—IIIa:22 *eṭlu ana napištīšu immer niqê ibaṭṭilšu*
—IIIa:22 "As for the youth, the sacrificial sheep to be offered for the sake of his life will run out for him.

—IIIa:23 *rubû ana purussê Šamaš puḫādu iqqiršu*
—IIIa:23 "As for the prince, the lamb for determining Šamaš's decision will be scarce for him.

—IIIa:24 *marṣu ana bibil libbīšu šumê šīri irriš-ma*
—IIIa:24 "The sick person will wish for roast meat for a voluntary offering.

—IIIa:25 . . . *ul ipaddaššum-ma . . . adi imuttu/imutta illak*
—IIIa:25 ". . . he will walk until he dies.

—IIIa:26 *kīma* . . . . . *rukūb rubê ušabṭal*
—IIIa:26 "Like . . . I will put a stop to the chariot of the prince.

—IIIa:27 . . . . . *-šu aparras*
—IIIa:27 " . . . I will cut off his . . .

—IIIa:28 . . . . . *ušaṣbat*
—IIIa:28 ". . . I will cause to seize.

—IIIa:29 . . . . . .
—IIIa:29 ". . .

—IIIa:30 . . . . . .
—IIIa:30 ". . .

—IIIa:31 . . . . . .
—IIIa:31 “. . .

—IIIa:32 . . . . . .
—IIIa:32 “. . .

—IIIa:33 . . . . . .
—IIIa:33 “. . .

—IIIa:34 . . . . . .
—IIIa:34 “. . .

—IIIa:35 . . . . . .
—IIIa:35 “. . .”

—IIIb:1 . . . . . [
—IIIb:1 . . .

—IIIb:2 . . . . . *kakkabānī* . . . [
—IIIb:2 . . . the stars . . .

—IIIb:3 . . . . . *ana bīti*[?] . . . [
—IIIb:3 . . . to the building (?) . . .

—IIIb:4 *ša ina Šamaš* . . . . . [
—IIIb:4 That in Šamaš . . .

—IIIb:5 . . . . . [
—IIIb:5 . . .

—IIIb:6 . . . . . [
—IIIb:6 . . .

—IIIb:7 . . . . . [
—IIIb:7 . . .

—IIIb:8 . . . . . [
—IIIb:8 . . .

—IIIb:9 . . . . . [
—IIIb:9 . . .

—IIIb:10 . . . . . [
—IIIb:10 . . .

—IIIb:11 . . . . . [
—IIIb:11 . . .

—IIIb:12 *kī ša* . . . . . [
—IIIb:12 As if . . .

—IIIb:13 *ša* . . . . . [
—IIIb:13 Of . . .

—IIIb:14 *kī* . . . . . [
—IIIb:14 Like . . .

—IIIb:15 *zunnu u* . . . . . .
—IIIb:15 Rain and . . .

—IIIb:16 *šārī lemnū*[*ti*] . . . . . [
—IIIb:16 Evil wind[s] . . .

—IIIb:17 . . . . . [
—IIIb:17 . . .

—IIIb:18 *ša* . . . . . [
—IIIb:18 As for . . .

—IIIb:19 . . . . . [
—IIIb:19 . . .

—IIIb:20 . . . . . [
—IIIb:20 . . .

—IIIb:21 . . . . . [
—IIIb:21 . . .

—IIIc:1 *ša* . . . . . [
—IIIc:1 “As for . . .

—IIIc:2 *kī* . . . . . [
—IIIc:2 “Like . . .

—IIIc:3 *ša ṣābī kidin*[*ni ikkib Anum u Dagān kakkīšunu tazzaqap*]
—IIIc:3 "[You aimed] the army's [weapons] at the *kidin*[*nu*-citizens, the taboo of Anu and Dagān].

—IIIc:4 *damīšunu kī*[*ma mê rāṭi tušaṣbita rebīt āli*]
—IIIc:4 "[You made] their blood [soak the city square] like [the water of a ditch].

—IIIc:5 *umunnî*[*šunu taptē-ma tušābil nāra*]
—IIIc:5 "[You opened their] veins [and let the river carry off their blood].

—IIIc:6 *Ellil ū'a* [*iqtabi libbašu iṣṣabat*]
—IIIc:6 "Enlil [said] 'woe!' [and clutched his heart].

—IIIc:7 [*ina š*]*ubtī*[*šu*] . . . . . [
—IIIc:7 "[From his d]welling . . .

—IIIc:8 [*arrat l*]*ā nap*[*šuri iššakin ina pīšu*]
—IIIc:8 "An irrev[ersible curse took shape in his mouth].

—IIIc:9 [*itmâm*]-*ma ša* [*nāri ul išatti mêša*]
—IIIc:9 "[He swore not to drink the water] of [the river].

—IIIc:10 *damīšunu ē*[*dur-ma ul irruba ana Ekur*]
—IIIc:10 "He f[eared] their blood [too much to enter the Ekur]."

—IIIc:11 *Erra ana* [*Išum amātu izzakkar*]
—IIIc:11 Erra [uttered a speech] to [Išum]:

—IIIc:12 *Ilānū Sebettu qarr*[*ād lā šanān*] . . . . . [
—IIIc:12 "The Divine Heptad, the warr[iors without rival] . . .

—IIIc:13 *ana napḫaršunu amēlu*? . . . . . [
—IIIc:13 "To all of them a human (?) . . . . . .

—IIIc:14 *ayyumma* . . . . . [
—IIIc:14 "Whoever . . .

—IIIc:15 *ālik maḫri-* . . . . . [
—IIIc:15 "The vanguard . . .

—IIIc:16 *ša dabāba* . . . . . [
—IIIc:16 "Who to speak . . .

—IIIc:17 *ša kī Ger*[*ra*] . . . . . [
—IIIc:17 “Who like Ger[ra] . . .

—IIIc:18 *ša pān bīti*[?] . . . . . [
—IIIc:18 “Who before the building (?) . . .

—IIIc:19 *ša kī* . . . . . [
—IIIc:19 “Who like . . .

—IIIc:20 *ša* . . . . . [
—IIIc:20 “Who . . .

—IIIc:21 *ša Erra* x . . . . . [
—IIIc:21 “Whom Erra . . .

—IIIc:22 *zīm labbi* . . . . . [
—IIIc:22 “The appearance of a lion . . .

—IIIc:23 *ina aggi libbi* . . . . . [
—IIIc:23 “In fury . . .

—IIIc:24 *ṭūda petē-ma* [*luṣbat ḫarrāni*]
—IIIc:24 “Blaze a trail [so I can undertake a campaign]!

—IIIc:25 *Ilānū Sebettu qarrād lā* [*šanān*] . . . . . [*lupqid*[?]]
—IIIc:25 “Let me [muster (?)] the Divine Heptad, the warriors without [rival] . . .

—IIIc:26 *kakkīya ezzūti* [*šūlika idāya*]
—IIIc:26 “[Make] my ferocious weapons [accompany me].

—IIIc:27 *u* [*att*]*a ālik maḫrī*[*ya ālik arkīya*[?]]
—IIIc:27 “And [yo]u are [my] vanguard, [my rearguard (?)].”

—IIIc:28 *išmē-ma Išum annâ* [*qabâšu*]
—IIIc:28 Išum, upon hearing this [speech of his],

—IIIc:29 *rēma irtaši iqt*[*abi ana libbīšu*[?]]
—IIIc:29 He had compassion and sa[id to himself (?)] . . .

—IIIc:30 *ūʾa nišūya ša Erra aggūšinātī-ma* . . . . . .
—IIIc:30 “Woe to my people, at whom Erra has become furious . . .

—IIIc:31 *ša qurādu Nergal kī ūmi tāḫāzi asakki* . . . . . .
—IIIc:31 “Whom Warrior Nergal like on the day of battle an *asakku*-demon . . .

—IIIc:32 *kī ša ila* [*ab*]*ta ana nârīšu ul irammâ id*[*āšu*]
—IIIc:32 “As if to slay the [defe]ated god [his] arm[s] are not slack.

—IIIc:33 *kī ša lemna Anzâ ana kamêšu šuparrura*[*t šēssu*?]
—IIIc:33 “As if to bind evil Anzû [his net (?)] is spread ou[t].”

—IIIc:34 *Išum pāšu īpuš-ma iqabb*[*i*]
—IIIc:34 Išum opened his mouth to spea[k];

—IIIc:35 *ana qurādu Erra amāta izzakk*[*a*]*r*
—IIIc:35 To Warrior Erra he utter[e]d a speech:

—IIIc:36 *minsu ana ili u amēli lemutta takpud*
—IIIc:36 “Why have you plotted evil against god and human?

—IIIc:37 *u ana nišī ṣalmāt qaqqadi lemuttu takpud lā tatūr ana ar*[*kīka*]?
—IIIc:37 “Why have you plotted evil against the blackheaded people, and have not turned a[way] (?)?”

—IIIc:38 *Erra pāšu īpuš-ma iqabbi*
—IIIc:38 Erra opened his mouth to speak;

—IIIc:39 *ana Išum ālik maḫrīšu amātu izzakkar*
—IIIc:39 To Išum, his vanguard, he uttered a speech:

—IIIc:40 *ša Igīgī ṭēššunu tīdē-ma ša Anunnakī milikšun*
—IIIc:40 “You know the mind of the Igīgī, the advice of the Anunnakī,

—IIIc:41 *ana nišī ṣalmāt qaqqadi ûrta tanamdim-ma uzzu ilīšina tušnaḫḫa*?
—IIIc:41 “To the blackheaded people you give instruction, you soothe (?) the anger of their gods.

—IIIc:42 *minsu kī lā mūdê tātami atta*
—IIIc:42 “Why have you spoken like an ignorant person?

—IIIc:43 (*u*) *kī ša amāt Marduk lā tīdû tamallikanni yâši*
—IIIc:43 “As if you do not know the word of Marduk, you dare to advise me!

—IIIc:44 *šar ilānī ina šubtīšu ittebe*
—IIIc:44 “The king of the gods has arisen from his dwelling.

—IIIc:45 *mātātu napḫaršina ikūnā mīna*
—IIIc:45 “How could all of the lands endure?

—IIIc:46 *agê bēlūtīšu ištaḫaṭ*
—IIIc:46 “He took off the crown of his lordship.

—IIIc:47 *šarrū u rubû* [ ] *imaššû parṣīšu*[*n*]
—IIIc:47 “Kings and princes . . . will forget the[ir] rites.

—IIIc:48 *nībit*[*t*]*ašu*ᴵ(*nep*[*t*]*ašu*) *iptaṭar*
—IIIc:48 “He loosened his be[l]t (?).

—IIIc:49 *qabal ili u amēli ippaṭṭara*[*m-ma*] *ana rakāsi iššī*[*ṭ*]
—IIIc:49 “The bond of god and human will be loosene[d] and difficu[lt] to re-tie.

—IIIc:50 *ezzu Gerra šukuttašu ūmiš unammir-ma melammīšu ušatbi*
—IIIc:50 “Ferocious Gerra made his jewelry as bright as daylight and made his radiant aura sparkle (?).

—IIIc:51 *imittašu miṭṭa iṣṣabat/iṣbat kakkašu rabâ*
—IIIc:51 “He gripped a mace in his right hand, his great weapon.

—IIIc:52 *ša rubê Marduk galit niṭilšu*
—IIIc:52 “Prince Marduk’s glance was terrifying.

—IIIc:53 *yâši ša taqabbâ/taqbâ* . . . . . [
—IIIc:53 “What you said to me . . .

—IIIc:54 *ālik maḫri ilānī enq*[*u Išum ša milikšu damqu*]
—IIIc:54 “Vanguard of the gods, wis[e Išum, whose advice is good],

—IIIc:55 *enna minsu qībam-ma* . . . . . .
—IIIc:55 “Now why the speech . . .

—IIIc:56 *amāt Marduk* . . . . . [
—IIIc:56 “Marduk’s word . . .”

—IIIc:57 *Išum pāšu īpuš-ma* [*ana qurādu Erra ītammi*]
—IIIc:57 Išum opened his mouth [to speak to Warrior Erra]:

—IIIc:58 *qurādu Erra* . . . . . [
—IIIc:58 “Warrior Erra . . .

—IIIc:59 *nišū dešša-ma* . . . [
—IIIc:59 “The people were abundant (?) and . . .

—IIIc:60 *būla ašar* . . . . . [
—IIIc:60 “The wildlife where . . . . . .

—IIIc:61 *apu u qīša ša eli* . . . [
—IIIc:61 “The canebrake and the forest that . . . . . .

—IIIc:62 *enna ša taqbû q*[*urādu*] *Erra*
—IIIc:62 “Now what you have spoken, W[arrior] Erra,

—IIIc:63 *ištēn šakim-ma at*[*ta*] *sebetti* [
—IIIc:63 “One is present and yo[u] . . . seven.

—IIIc:64 *sebetti tadūk-ma ul tu*[*maššir*?] *ēda* [
—IIIc:64 “You killed seven and did not let a single one g[o free (?)] . . .

—IIIc:65 *būla bil-ma* . . . [
—IIIc:65 “Bring the wildlife . . . . . .

—IIIc:66 *Erra kakkī*[*ka*?] *tatarrak-ma* [
—IIIc:66 “Erra, you brandish [your (?)] weapons . . .

—IIIc:67 *ḫuršānī* . . . . . [ ] *tâmāti* [
—IIIc:67 “Mountains . . . seas . . .

—IIIc:68 *ana šubruq nam*[*ṣārī*?] . . . . . [ ] *ana maḫri inaṭṭalū ana šadî*
—IIIc:68 “At the flashing of the sw[ord (?)] . . . in front, they will look toward the mountain.

—IIIc:69 *ekallu* [ ] *ana aḫli* . . . . . .
—IIIc:69 “The palace . . .

—IIIc:70 . . . . . [
—IIIc:70 “. . .

—IIIc:71 . . . . . [
—IIIc:71 “. . .

—IIIc:72 . . . . . .
—IIIc:72 “. . .”

—IIId:1 . . . . . .
—IIId:1 . . .

—IIId:2 *Išum pāšu ēpuš-ma iqabbi ana qurā*[*du Erra*]
—IIId:2 Išum opened his mouth to speak to War[rior Erra]:

—IIId:3 *Nergal*/[*qur*]*ādu Erra ṣerret šamê tamḫāt*(*a*)
—IIId:3 "Nergal/[War]rior Erra, you hold the nose-rope of heaven.

—IIId:4 *napḫar erṣetim-ma gammarāta mātum-ma bēlēta*
—IIId:4 "You control all of the earth, you rule the land.

—IIId:5 *tâmtam-ma dalḫāta šadê-ma gamrāta*
—IIId:5 "You churn up the seas, you annihilate the mountains.

—IIId:6 *nišī-ma redâta būlam-ma reʾâta*
—IIId:6 "You lead the people and shepherd the wildlife.

—IIId:7 *Ešarrā-ma pānukka* (*E*)*engurrā-ma qātukka*
—IIId:7 "The Ešarra is at your disposal, the Eëngur is in your charge.

—IIId:8 *Šuannā-ma tapaqqid*/*teṭêm* (*E*)*sagil-ma tumaʾʾar*
—IIId:8 "You take care of Šuanna; you govern the Esagil.

—IIId:9 *gimir parṣī-ma ḫammāta ilānū-ma palḫūka*
—IIId:9 "You gather together all divine authority; the gods revere you.

—IIId:10 *Igīgī-ma šaḫtūka Anunnakī*-(*ma*) *galtūka*
—IIId:10 "The Igīgī are afraid of you, the Anunnakī are in awe of you.

—IIId:11 *milkam-ma tumal*[*lik*]/*tamallik Anum-ma šemīka*
—IIId:11 "When you give advice, even Anu listens to you.

—IIId:12 *Ellil-ma magirka ullānukkā*-(*ma*) *nukurtu*
—IIId:12 "Enlil agrees with you. Apart from you, is there hostility?

—IIId:13 *ša lā kâšā*-(*ma*) *tāḫāzu*
—IIId:13 "Without you, is there battle?

—IIId:14 *apluḫāti ṣālāti attūkā-ma*
—IIId:14 "The armor of combat belongs to you.

—IIId:15 (*u*) *tātammâ/tātammi ina/ana libbīka umma leqû šēṭūtī*
—IIId:15 "(And) yet you say in/to your heart, 'They hold me in contempt!'

—IIId:16 *qurādu Erra ša rubê Marduk zikiršu lā tašḫut*
—IIId:16 "Warrior Erra, you have not feared the mention of Prince Marduk.

—IV:1 *qurādu Erra ša rubê Marduk zikiršu lā tašḫut*
—IV:1 "Warrior Erra, you have not feared the mention of Prince Marduk.

—IV:2 *ša Dimkurkur āl šar ilānī rikis mātāti taptaṭar rikissu*
—IV:2 "You loosened the bond of Dimkurkur, the city of the king of the gods, the bond of the lands.

—IV:3 *ilūtka tušannī-ma tamtašal amēliš*
—IV:3 "You changed your divinity and became like a human.

—IV:4 *kakkīka tannediq-ma tēterub qerebšu*
—IV:4 "You girded on your weapons and entered into its midst.

—IV:5 *ina qereb* [*Šu*]*anna/Bābili kī ša ṣabāt āli taqtabi ḫabinniš*
—IV:5 "Inside [Šu]anna/Babylon as if to capture the city you spoke . . .

—IV:6 *mārū Bābili ša kīma qanê api pāqida lā īšû napḫaršunu elīka iptaḫrū*
—IV:6 "All of the citizens of Babylon, who like the reeds of a canebrake did not have an overseer, gathered around you.

—IV:7 *ša kakka lā īdû šalip pataršu*
—IV:7 "As for the one unfamiliar with weaponry, his sword was drawn.

—IV:8 *ša tilpānu lā īdû malât qašassu*
—IV:8 "As for the one unfamiliar with archery, his bow was nocked.

—IV:9 *ša ṣālta lā īdû ippuša tāḫāza*
—IV:9 "As for the one unfamiliar with combat, he was doing battle.

—IV:10 *ša abara lā īdû iṣṣūriš išâʾu/išuʾʾu*
—IV:10 "As for the one unfamiliar with wings, he flew off like a bird.

—IV:11 *ḫašḫāšu pētân birki ibaʾʾa akû bēl emūqi ikattam*
—IV:11 "The lame person was overtaking the swift runner, the weak was overwhelming the strong.

—IV:12 *ana šakkanakki zānin māḫāzīšunu/māḫāzīšina iqabbû/iqabbâ/qabû šillatu rabītu*
—IV:12 "To the governor, the provider of their shrines, they spoke with great impudence.

—IV:13 *abul Bābili nār ḫegallīšunu iskirā/iskirū qātāšun*
—IV:13 "The city gate of Babylon, the 'river' of their abundance, they blocked with their hands.

—IV:14 *ana ešrēt Bābili kī šālil māti ittadû išātu*
—IV:14 "They set fire to Babylon's chapels like plunderers of the land.

—IV:15 *atta ālik maḫrim-ma pānuššunu ṣabtāta*
—IV:15 "You, the vanguard, acted as their leader.

—IV:16 *ša Imgur-Ellil uṣṣa elīšu tummid-ma ū'a libbī iqabbi*
—IV:16 "As for Imgur-Enlil, you piled arrows on him until he cried out: 'Woe, my heart!'

—IV:17 *Muḫra rābiṣu abul*(*līšu*) *ina damī eṭli u ardati tattadi/ittadi šubassu*
—IV:17 "As for Muḫra, (his g)atekeeper, you/he put his pedestal in the blood of the young man and the young woman.

—IV:18 *āšib Bābili šunūti šunu iṣṣūrum-ma arrašunu atta-*(*ma*)
—IV:18 "As for the inhabitants of Babylon themselves, they were a bird and you were their decoy.

—IV:19 *ana šēti takmissunūtī-ma tabīr tātabat qurādu Erra*
—IV:19 "You gathered them in a net, captured them, and then destroyed them, Warrior Erra.

—IV:20 *āla tumaššir-ma tattaṣi ana/ina aḫâti*
—IV:20 "You abandoned the city and went out to the outskirts.

—IV:21 *zīm labbi taššakim-ma tēterub ana ekalli*
—IV:21 "You assumed the appearance of a lion and entered the palace.

—IV:22 *īmur*(*ū*)*kā-ma ummānu kakkīšunu innadqū*
—IV:22 "When the troops saw you, they girded on their weapons.

—IV:23 *ša šakkanakki mutīr gimil*(*li*) *Bābili īteziz libbašu*
—IV:23 "The heart of the governor, the avenger of Babylon, became angry.

—IV:24 *kī šallat nakiri* (*ana*) *šalāli uma"ara/uma"ir/uma"ari ṣābāšu*
—IV:24 "He ordered his army to plunder as if plundering the enemy.

—IV:25 *ālik pān ummāni ušaḫḫaza lemuttu*
—IV:25 "He incited the commander of the troops to evil:

—IV:26 *ana āli šâšu ša ašapparūka atta amēlu*
—IV:26 " 'You are the man whom I will send to that city!

—IV:27 *ila lā tapallaḫ lā taddara/taddaru/taddar amēla*
—IV:27 " 'Do not revere god and do not fear human!

—IV:28 *ṣeḫru* (*u*) *rabâ ištēniš šumīt-ma*
—IV:28 " 'Put to death small and great together!

—IV:29 *ēniq šizib šerra lā tezzib*(*a*) *ayyamma*
—IV:29 " 'Spare no one, not even suckling or baby!

—IV:30 *nakma bušê Bābili tašallal atta*
—IV:30 " 'You must plunder the accumulated property of Babylon.'

—IV:31 *ummān šarri* (*t*)*uktaṣṣir-ma/uptaḫḫir-ma īterub/tēterub ana āli*
—IV:31 "*The troops of the king gathered together and entered into the city*/*You gathered the troops of the king together and entered into the city.*

—IV:32 *napḫat tilpānu zaqip patru*
—IV:32 "The bow was ablaze, the sword was aimed.

—IV:33 *ša ṣābī kidinni ikkib Anum u Dagān kakkīšunu tazaqqap/tazzaqap*
—IV:33 "You aimed the army's weapons at the *kidinnu*-citizens, the taboo of Anu and Dagān.

—IV:34 *damīšunu kīma mê rāṭi tušaṣbita/tušaṣbata rebīt āli*
—IV:34 "You made their blood soak the city square like the water of a ditch.

—IV:35 *umunnâšunu taptē-ma tušābil nāra*
—IV:35 "You opened their veins and let the river carry off their blood.

—IV:36 *bēlu rabû/rubû Marduk īmur-ma ū'a iqtabi libbašu iṣṣabat*
—IV:36 "When the *great Lord*/*lord, Prince* Marduk saw, he said, 'Woe!' and clutched his heart.

—IV:37 *arrat lā napšuri iššakin ina pīšu*
—IV:37 "An irreversible curse took shape in his mouth.

—IV:38 *itmâm-ma ša nāri ul išatti/išattâ mêša*
—IV:38 "He swore not to drink the water of the river.

—IV:39 *damīšunu īdur-ma/iddar-ma ul irrub*(*a*/*u*) *ana Esagil*
—IV:39 "He feared their blood too much to enter the Esagil:

—IV:40 *ū'a Bābili ša kīma gišimmari qimmatu ušašriḫūšū-ma ubbilūš*(*u*) *šāru*
—IV:40 " 'Woe to Babylon, whose crown I made as splendid as that of a palm tree, but which the wind dried up.

—IV:41 *ūʾa Bābili ša kīma terinni šeʾê umallûšū-ma lā ašbû lallûšu*
—IV:41 " 'Woe to Babyon, which I filled with pine nuts like a pinecone, but with whose wealth I was not sated.

—IV:42 *ūʾa Bābili ša kīma kirî nuḫši azqupūšū-ma lā ākulu/ākula inibšu*
—IV:42 " 'Woe to Babylon, which I planted like a prosperous orchard but whose fruit I did not eat.

—IV:43 *ūʾa Bābili ša kīma kunuk elmēšu addûšu ina tikki Anum*
—IV:43 " 'Woe to Babylon, which I placed on the neck of Anu like a seal of *elmēšu*-stone.

—IV:44 [*ūʾa*] *Bābili ša kīma ṭupšīmāti ina qātīya aṣbatūšū-ma lā umaššarūšu ana mamma*
—IV:44 " '[Woe] to Babylon, which I clasped in my hands like the Tablet of Destinies so as not to relinquish it to anyone else!'

—IV:45 [*u kiam iqtab*]*i rubû Marduk*
—IV:45 "[Thus spok]e Prince Marduk further:

—IV:46] . . . *ultu ūmī pānî* [ ] . . .
—IV:46 " '. . . since former days . . .

—IV:47 *nēber kāri līṣam-ma . . . . . lībir šēpuššu*
—IV:47 " 'Let the harbor ferry leave and . . . let him cross on foot.

—IV:48 *ašal būru lišpil-ma ēdu amēlu napištašu lā uballaṭ*
—IV:48 " 'Even if the rope goes down into the well, may it not save the life of a single person.

—IV:49 *ina gipiš tâmti rapašti mê ištât meʾat bēru makur bāʾiri lībukū ina parīsu*
—IV:49 " 'In the swelling of the broad sea, to waters a hundred leagues out, let them take the fisherman's boat with a rudder.'

—IV:50 *ša Sippar āl ṣâti ša bēl mātāti ina aqār pānīšu abūbu lā ušbiʾūšu*
—IV:50 "As for Sippar, the primordial city, over which the lord of the lands did not allow the Flood to sweep, because it was precious to him:

—IV:51 (*ina*) *balu Šamaš dūršu tābut-ma/tātabat tattadi samīssu*
—IV:51 "Without the permission of Šamaš you destroyed its wall and threw down its parapet.

—IV:52 *ša Uruk šubat Anum u Ištar āl kezrēti šamḫātu u ḫarīmāt*[*i*]
—IV:52 "As for Uruk, the dwelling of Anu and Ištar, the city of cult prostitutes, courtesans, and temple prostitut[es],

—IV:53 *ša Ištar muta īṭerūšinātī-ma imnû qātuš*[*šin*]
—IV:53 "Whom Ištar kept from having husbands and put under [their] own authority—

—IV:54 *sutî sutâtu nadû yarūrāt*[*i*]
—IV:54 “Sutean men and women emitted a clamo[r].

—IV:55 *dekû Eanna kurgarrû isin*[*nī*]
—IV:55 “They drove from the Eänna the cultic performers and male prosti[tutes],

—IV:56 *ša ana šupluḫ*(*u*) *nišī Inana zikrūssunu utēru ana sinn*[*išūti*]
—IV:56 “Whose masculinity Inana changed into femi[ninity] to induce awe in the people,

—IV:57 *nāš patri nāš naglabi quppê u ṣurt*[*i*]
—IV:57 “As well as the bearers of swords and bearers of razors, knives, and flint[s],

—IV:58 *ša ana ulluṣ kabtat Inana ītakkalū a*[*sakka*]
—IV:58 “Who, to make Inana joyful, continually broke t[aboos].

—IV:59 *šakkanakku ekṣu lā bābil pānī elīšunu tašk*[*un*]
—IV:59 “You instal[led] over them a dangerous, ruthless governor.

—IV:60 *uššissinātī-ma parṣīšina ītet*[*iq*]
—IV:60 “He mistreated them and transgres[sed] their rites.

—IV:61 *Ištar īgug-ma issabus eli Uruk*
—IV:61 “Ištar became furious and irate at Uruk.

—IV:62 *nakra idkâm-ma kī še’ê ina pān mê imašša’ māti*
—IV:62 “She roused the enemy to loot the land like grain on the surface of the water.

—IV:63 *āšib Parsâ/Daksâ aššu Eugal ša uštalpitu ul inâḫi/unīḫ gerrānu*
—IV:63 “The inhabitant of Parsâ/Daksâ, on behalf of the Eügal, which was demolished, *would not rest from lamentation*/*did not allow the sound of lamentation to subside*.

—IV:64 *nakru ša tadkû ul imangur*(*a*) *ana sakāpu*
—IV:64 “The enemy whom you roused was not willing to rest.

—IV:65 *Ištarān īpula qibīta*
—IV:65 “Ištarān answered the speech:

—IV:66 *Dēr ana namê taltakan*
—IV:66 “ ‘You made Dēr into a wilderness.

—IV:67 *nišū ša ina libbīšu kī qanê tuḫtaṣṣiṣ*
—IV:67 “ ‘You snapped off the people within it like reeds.

—IV:68 *kī ḫubuš pān mê ḫubūršina tubtalli*
—IV:68 “ ‘You extinguished their clamor like flotsam on the surface of the water.

—IV:69 *u yâši ul tumašširanni ana Sutî tattannanni*
—IV:69 “ ‘Even me you did not let go free, but handed me over to the Suteans.

—IV:70 *anāku aššu ālīya Dēr*
—IV:70 “ ‘I, on behalf of my city Dēr,

—IV:71 *dīnī kītti ul adâni purussê ul aparras*
—IV:71 “ ‘I will not deliver judgments of justice nor render verdicts.

—IV:72 *ûrta ul anamdim-ma ul upatti uzni*
—IV:72 “ ‘I will not give instruction nor enlightenment.

—IV:73 *nišū kītta umašširā-ma iṣbatā parikta*
—IV:73 “ ‘People have abandoned justice and embraced injustice.

—IV:74 *mīšara īzibā-ma lemutta kapdā*
—IV:74 “ ‘They have deserted righteousness and plotted evil.

—IV:75 *ušatbē-ma ana ištêt māti sebetti šārī*
—IV:75 “ ‘I will mobilize the seven winds against one country.

—IV:76 *ša ina* [*qab*]*lu lā* [*i*]*mtūtu imât ina šibṭi*
—IV:76 “ ‘Whoever [do]es not die in [warfa]re dies in the plague;

—IV:77 *ša ina šibṭi lā imtūtu išallalšu nakru*
—IV:77 “ ‘Whoever does not die in the plague, the enemy captures.

—IV:78 *ša nakru lā išt*[*allūšu*] *urassabu šarrāqu*
—IV:78 “ ‘Whomever the enemy does not cap[ture], the thief beats.

—IV:79 *ša šarrāqu lā urta*[*ssi*]*būšu kakki šarri ikaššassu*
—IV:79 “ ‘Whomever the thief does not be[a]t, the king’s weapon overtakes.

—IV:80 *ša kakki šarri lā iktaldu rubû ušamqassu*
—IV:80 “ ‘Whomever the king’s weapon does not overtake, the prince lays low.

—IV:81 *ša rubû lā uštamqitūšu Adad iraḫḫissu*
—IV:81 “ ‘Whomever the prince does not lay low, Adad floods.

—IV:82 *ša Adad lā irtaḫṣūšu Šamaš itabbalšu*
—IV:82 “ ‘Whomever Adad does not flood, Šamaš carries off.

—IV:83 *ša ana erṣeti ittaṣû išabbissu šāru*
—IV:83 “ ‘Whoever goes out to the countryside, the wind thrashes.

—IV:84 *ša īterbu ana ganūnīšu rābiṣu imaḫḫassu*
—IV:84 “ ‘Whoever enters into his private chamber, a lurker demon strikes.

—IV:85 *ša ana mūlê ītelû ina ṣūmi imât*
—IV:85 “ ‘Whoever goes up to the height dies of thirst.

—IV:86 *ša ana mušpali ittardu imât ina mê*
—IV:86 “ ‘Whoever goes down to the lowland dies by water.

—IV:87 *mūlâ u mušpala kī aḫāmiš tagmur*
—IV:87 “ ‘You annihilated height and lowland alike.

—IV:88 [*ša*]*kin*[?] *āli ana ālittīšu iqabbi kiam*
—IV:88 “ ‘The [gove]rnor (?) of the city will speak to his mother thus:

—IV:89 *ina ūmu tulidīnni lū apparik ina libbī*[*ki*]
—IV:89 “ ‘ ‘If only I had been obstructed in [your] womb on the day you bore me!

—IV:90 [*napiš*]*tani lū iqtû-ma lū nimūt* . . . . . .
—IV:90 “ ‘ ‘If only our [live]s had come to an end and we had died . . .

—IV:91 . . . . . .
—IV:91 “ ‘ ‘. . .

—IV:92 *aššu taddinīnni ana āli ša dūršu i*[*nnaqru*]
—IV:92 “ ‘ ‘Because you gave me to a city whose wall has been t[orn down]!

—IV:93 *nišūšu būlum-ma māḫiṣu ilūšin*
—IV:93 “ ‘ ‘Its people are wildlife and their god is a hunter.

—IV:94 *u ša šētīšu īšša pīqatū-ma ḫā’irī lā išlupū-ma imūtū ina kakki*
—IV:94 “ ‘ ‘And as for his net, its interstices are constricted, such that they could not extricate lovers, but they died violently.’

—IV:95 *ša māra uldu mārī-ma iqabbi*
—IV:95 “ ‘Whoever begets a son and says, ‘He is my son!

—IV:96 *anna urtabbī-ma utarra/utār gimilli*
—IV:96 “ ‘ ‘Certainly when I have raised him, he will return the favor’—

—IV:97 *māra ušmāt-ma abu iqabbiršu*
—IV:97 “ ‘I will put the son to death and the father will have to bury him.

—IV:98 *arka aba ušmāt-ma qēbira ul īši*
—IV:98 “ ‘Afterwards I will put the father to death and he will have no one to bury him.

—IV:99 *ša bīta īpušu ganūnī-ma iqabbi*
—IV:99 “ ‘Whoever builds a building and says, ‘It is my private chamber!

—IV:100 *anna ētepuš-ma apaššaḫ*(*u/a*) *qerbuššu/qerebšu*
—IV:100 “ ‘ ‘Certainly when I have built it I will repose within it;

—IV:101 *ūm ubtillanni šīmati aṣallal*(*u*) *ina libbi*
—IV:101 “ ‘ ‘When fate has carried me off, I will sleep inside it’—

—IV:102 *šâšu ušmāssū-ma ušaḫrab*(*i/a*) *ganūššu*
—IV:102 “ ‘I will put that person to death and lay waste his private chamber.

—IV:103 *arka lū ḫarbum-ma ana šanîm-ma anamdin*
—IV:103 “ ‘Afterwards, though it be a ruin, I will give it to someone else.’

—IV:104 *qurādu Erra kīnam-ma tuštamīt*
—IV:104 “Warrior Erra, you have put the righteous person to death.

—IV:105 *lā kīnam-ma tuštamīt*
—IV:105 “You have put the unrighteous person to death.

—IV:106 *ša iḫṭûkā-ma tuštamīt*
—IV:106 “You have put to death the person who transgressed against you;

—IV:107 *ša lā iḫṭûkā-ma tuštamīt*
—IV:107 “You have put to death the person who did not transgress against you.

—IV:108 *enu mušaḫmiṭ taklīm ilānī tuštamīt*
—IV:108 “You have put to death the *en*-priest who expeditiously brought the *taklīmu*-offerings of the gods.

—IV:109 *gerseqqû mukīl rēš šarri tuštamīt*
—IV:109 “You have put to death the *gerseqqû*, the attendant of the king.

—IV:110 *šībī ina dakkannī tuštamīt*
—IV:110 "You have put to death the old men in the doorways (?).

—IV:111 *ardāti ṣaḫarāti* (*ina*) *uršīšina tuštamīt*
—IV:111 "You have put to death the young women in their bedrooms.

—IV:112 *u nâḫam-ma ul tanuḫḫa/tanūḫ*
—IV:112 "And still you would not rest.

—IV:113 *u tātami/tātamâ ana libbīka umma leqû šeṭūtī*
—IV:113 "But you said to yourself, 'They hold me in contempt!'

—IV:114 *u kiam ana libbīka taqtabi qurādu Erra*
—IV:114 "But you have spoken thus to yourself, Warrior Erra:

—IV:115 *dannu lumḫaṣ-ma akâ lupalliḫ*
—IV:115 " 'Let me strike the mighty and terrify the weak!

—IV:116 *ālik pān ummāni lunār-ma ummāni lušasḫir*
—IV:116 " 'Let me slay the commander of the troops and put the troops to flight!

—IV:117 *ša ašerti gegunnâša* (*ša*) *dūri kilīlšu lūbut-ma luḫalliqa bālti āli*
—IV:117 " 'Let me destroy the tower of the chapel and the parapet of the city wall and demolish the pride of the city!

—IV:118 *tarkulla lussuḫ-ma litteqleppâ/litteqleppu eleppu*
—IV:118 " 'Let me tear out the mooring post so that the boat is set adrift!

—IV:119 *sikkanna lušbir-ma lā immida ana kibri*
—IV:119 " 'Let me break the rudder so that it cannot reach the shore!

—IV:120 *timma lušḫuṭ-ma lussuḫ*(*a*) *simāssu/simassa*
—IV:120 " 'Let me pull down the mast and tear out its (the boat's) fittings!

—IV:121 *tulâ lušābil-ma lā/ul iballuṭ šerru*
—IV:121 " 'Let me dry up the breast so the baby will not thrive!

—IV:122 *kuppa luḫṭim-ma nārāti ṣaḫarāti ul/lā ubbalā mê nuḫši*
—IV:122 " 'Let me stop up the water source so the small canals no longer bring the waters of prosperity!

—IV:123 *erkalla lunīš-ma lisbu'ū šamāmī*
—IV:123 " 'Let me shake the netherworld and let the firmament lurch!

—IV:124 (*ša*) *Šulpae*(*a*) *šarūrūšu* **lū uša*[*mqit-ma*]*/**lušamqit-ma** *kakkabānī* (*šamā*[*mī*]) *lušamsik*
—IV:124 " 'Let me cause the radiance of Šulpae to fall away and let me remove the stars (of the firmam[ent])!

—IV:125 *ša iṣṣi šurussu lipparī-ma lā išammuḫ*(*a*) *piriʾšu*
—IV:125 " 'Let the root of the tree be cut through so that its bud cannot flourish!

—IV:126 *ša igāri išissu lūbut-ma/lussuḫ-ma litrurā rēšāšu*
—IV:126 " 'Let me destroy/tear out the foundation of the wall so that its top trembles!

—IV:127 *ana šubat šar/rub*[*ê*] *ilānī luʾīr-ma lā ibbašši milku*
—IV:127 " 'Let me approach the dwelling of the king/prin[ce] of the gods so that no more advice is issued!' "

—IV:128 *išmēšū-ma qurādu Erra*
—IV:128 Warrior Erra heard him.

—IV:129 *amāt Išum iqbû*(*šu*) *kī ulû šamni elīšu iṭ*(*ṭ*)*īb*
—IV:129 The speech that Išum had spoken (to him) was as pleasing to him as the best oil.

—IV:130 *u kiam iqtabi qurādu Erra*
—IV:130 Warrior Erra spoke thus:

—IV:131 *tâmti tâmti Subarta Subartu Aššurâ Aššur*(*û*)
—IV:131 "Let sea not spare sea, Subartian Subartian, Assyrian Assyrian,

—IV:132 *Elamâ Elamû Kaššâ Kaššû*
—IV:132 "Elamite Elamite, Kassite Kassite,

—IV:133 *Sutâ Sutû Gutâ Gutû*
—IV:133 "Sutean Sutean, Gutean Gutean,

—IV:134 *Lullubâ Lullubû mātu māta* (*ālu āla*) *bītu bīta* (*amēlu amēla*)
—IV:134 "Lullubean Lullubean, land land, (city city,) house house, (person person,)

—IV:135 *aḫu aḫa lā/ul igammilū*(*-ma*) *linārū aḫāmiš*
—IV:135 "Brother brother, but let them kill each other!

—IV:136 (*u*) *arka Akkadû litbâm-ma/litbē-ma napḫaršunu lišamqit-ma lirmâ/lirʾâ nagabšu*(*n*)
—IV:136 "And afterwards let the Akkadian arise and lay low all of them and then shepherd the lot of them."

—IV:137 *qurādu Erra ana Išum ālik maḫrīšu amāti izzakkar*
—IV:137 Warrior Erra uttered a speech to Išum, his vanguard:

—IV:138 *alik*(*-ma*) *Išum amāt taqbû miṣi mala libbuk*
—IV:138 “Go, Išum, fulfill what you have said according to your desire.”

—IV:139 *Išum ana Šaršar šadî ištakan pānīšu*
—IV:139 Išum set his face toward Mount Šaršar.

—IV:140 *Ilānū Sebettu qarrād lā šanān išappissu arkīšu*
—IV:140 The Divine Heptad, the warriors without rival, were clasping him from behind.

—IV:141 *ana Šaršar šadî iktašad qurādu*
—IV:141 The warrior arrived at Mount Šaršar.

—IV:142 *iššī-ma qāssu ītabat šadâ*
—IV:142 He lifted his hand and destroyed the mountain.

—IV:143 *šadâ Šaršar imtanu qaqqaršu*
—IV:143 He razed Mount Šaršar to the ground.

—IV:144 *ša qišti ḫašūri uktappira gupnīša*
—IV:144 He cleared away even the tree trunks of the cypress grove.

—IV:145 *kī aḫra Ḫaniš ītiqu ēme qīšum-ma*
—IV:145 The forest became like after Ḫaniš had passed by.

—IV:146 *ālānī igmur-ma ana namê ištakan*
—IV:146 He annihilated the cities and turned them into wilderness.

—IV:147 *šadê ubbit-ma būlšunu ušamqit*
—IV:147 He obliterated the mountains and laid low their wildlife.

—IV:148 *tâmāti udalliḫ-ma/idluḫ-ma miširtašina uḫalliq*
—IV:148 He churned up the seas and wiped out their produce.

—IV:149 *api u qīši ušaḫram-ma/ušaḫrim-ma kī Gerra iqmi*
—IV:149 He laid waste the canebrake and the forest and burned them like Gerra.

—IV:150 *būla īruršu/īrur-ma utīr ana ṭiṭṭi*
—IV:150 He cursed the wildlife and turned them back into clay.

—IV:151 *ultu Erra inūḫu irmû šubassu*
—IV:151 After Erra had rested and taken up residence,

—V:1 *ultu Erra inūḫu irmû šubassu*
—V:1 After Erra had rested and taken up residence,

—V:2 *ilānū gimiršunu inaṭṭal*(*ū*) *pānuššu*
—V:2 All of the gods were looking at his face.

—V:3 *Igīgī* (*u*) *Anunnakī kullassunu uzuzzū palḫiš*
—V:3 All of the Igīgī and the Anunnakī were standing there awestruck.

—V:4 *Erra pāšu īpuš-ma ana kal ilānī ītammi*
—V:4 Erra opened his mouth to speak to all of the gods:

—V:5 *qūlā-ma napḫarkunu amâtīya limd*[*ā*]
—V:5 "Pay attention, all of you, and atten[d] to my words.

—V:6 *mindē-ma anāku ina ḫīṭi maḫrî aḫsusa lemutt*[*i*]
—V:6 "Perhaps in the previous wrongdoing I intended evi[l].

—V:7 *libbī āgug-ma nišī asappan*
—V:7 "I became angry enough in my heart to crush the people.

—V:8 *kī agir/agri ṣēni immer pān*(*i*) *ušelle/ušellâ ina pitqi*
—V:8 "Like the hireling of a flock, I take the bellwether out of the sheepfold.

—V:9 *kī lā zāqip ṣippati ana nakāsi ul umāq*
—V:9 "Like one who does not plant an orchard, I do not hesitate to cut it down.

—V:10 *kī šālil māti kīna* (*u*) *raggi ul umassâ/umaššâ ušamqat*
—V:10 "Like one who plunders a country, I do not discriminate between righteous and wicked, I lay low both.

—V:11 *ina pī labbi nā'iri ul ikkimū šalamtu*
—V:11 "One does not rescue a corpse from the mouth of a slaying lion.

—V:12 (*u*) *ašar ištēn ra'bu/rābi šanû ul imalli*[*kšu*]/*imlikšu*
—V:12 "(And) where one is wroth, another cannot advise him.

—V:13 *lā Išum ālik maḫrīya minû bašī-ma*
—V:13 "Without Išum, my vanguard, what would have happened?

—V:14 *ali zānikkunu enūkunu ayyinna*
—V:14 “Where would your provider be, where would your *en*-priest be?

—V:15 *ali nindabîkunu ē-tāṣinā qutrinna*
—V:15 “Where would your food-offerings be? You would not smell the incense.”

—V:16 *Išum pāšu īpuš-ma iqabbi*
—V:16 Išum opened his mouth to speak;

—V:17 *ana qurādu Erra amāta izzakkar*
—V:17 To Warrior Erra he uttered a speech:

—V:18 *qurādu qūlam-ma šime qabāya*
—V:18 “Warrior, pay attention and listen to what I say.

—V:19 *mindē-ma enna nūḫ*(*am*)*-ma nizziza maḫarka*
—V:19 “Perhaps you should rest now and we can serve you.

—V:20 *ina ūmi uggatīka ali māḫirka*
—V:20 “On the day of your fury, who can oppose you?”

—V:21 *išmē*[*šū-ma*] *Erra immira pānūšu*
—V:21 [When] Erra heard [him], his face beamed.

—V:22 *kī ūmi na*[*pard*]*ê uḫtam*[*bi*]*ṣū zīmūšu*
—V:22 His countenance became as jo[yfu]l as bri[ghtly shin]ing daylight.

—V:23 *īrum-ma* [*ana*] *Emeslam irtami* [*šubas*]*su*
—V:23 He entered [into] the Emeslam and took up [reside]nce.

—V:24 *issī-ma Išum idabbub ittu*
—V:24 He called to Išum to pronounce the sign

—V:25 *aššu nišī māt Akkadî sapḫāti išakkaššu/išakkanaššu ṭēmu*
—V:25 And issue instructions to him about the scattered people of Akkad:

—V:26 *nišū māti ēṣāt*(*i*) *litūrā ana maʾdiš*
—V:26 “Let the dwindled people of the land become numerous again!

—V:27 *kurû kī arki libāʾū uruḫša*
—V:27 “Let short like tall walk along its road!

—V:28 *akû Akkadû danna Sutâ lišamqit*[?]
—V:28 "Let the weak Akkadian lay low (?) the mighty Sutean!

—V:29 *ištēn sebetti lībuk*(*u*) *kī ṣēni*
—V:29 "Let one lead seven as if they were sheep!

—V:30 *ālānīšu ana karmī* (*u*) *šadâšu tašakkan ana namê*
—V:30 "You shall turn their cities into ruin mounds and their mountains into wilderness.

—V:31 *šallassu*(*nu*) *kabittu tašallal*(*a*) *ana qereb Šuanna*
—V:31 "You shall take by force their heavy plunder into the midst of Šuanna.

—V:32 *ilānī māti ša iznû tušallam ana šubtīšunu*
—V:32 "You shall restore to their dwellings the gods of the land who were angry.

—V:33 *Šakkan* (*u*) *Nisaba tušerreda ana māti*
—V:33 "You shall bring Šakkan and Nisaba down into the land.

—V:34 *šadê ḫiṣibšunu tâmta tušaššâ bilassu*
—V:34 "You shall make the mountains bear their luxuriance and the sea its load.

—V:35 *qerbēti ša uštaḫribā tušaššâ biltu*
—V:35 "You shall cause the meadowlands that were laid waste to bear produce.

—V:36 *šakkanakkū kal *ālānī kalîšunu*/*dadmī* bilassunu kabittu lišdud ū ana qereb Šuanna*
—V:36 "Let the governors of *every single city*/*all the inhabited world* drag their heavy tribute into the midst of Šuanna!

—V:37 *ēkurrū ša uštalpitū kīma napāḫ/nipiḫ šamši lišqâ rēšāšin*
—V:37 "Let the tops of the temples that were demolished be as high as the rising sun!

—V:38 *Idiqlat Purattu lišābil*(*ā*) *mê nuḫ*[*ši*]
—V:38 "Let the Tigris and Euphrates bring the waters of prosper[ity]!

—V:39 *zānin Esagil u Bābili šakkanakkī kal *ālānī kalîšunu*/*dadmī* libēlu šâš*[*u*]
—V:39 "Let the provider of the Esagil and of Babylon rule over the governors of *every single city*/*all of the inhabited world*!"

—V:40 *šanāt lā nībi tanittu bēli rabî Nergal* (*u*) *qurādu Išum*
—V:40 Praise for years without number to the great Lord Nergal and Warrior Išum!

—V:41 *ša Erra īgugū-ma ana sapān mātāti u ḫulluq nišīšin iškunu pānī*[*šu*]
—V:41 That Erra got angry and set [his] mind on crushing the lands and wiping out their people,

—V:42 *Išum mālikšu uniḫḫūšū-ma īzib*[*u*]*/izzibu/īzibi rēḫāniš*
—V:42 But Išum his adviser calmed him down and he left some as a remnant.

—V:43 *kāṣir kammīšu Kabti-ilānī-Marduk mār Dābibī*
—V:43 The one who put together his (Erra's) composition was Kabti-ilānī-Marduk, descendant of Dābibī.

—V:44 *ina šāt mūši ušabrīšum-ma kī ša ina munatti idbubu ayyamma ul iḫṭi*
—V:44 During the night he (Erra) revealed it to him (Kabti-ilānī-Marduk), and when he (Kabti-ilānī-Marduk) recited it back in early morning slumber, he left nothing out.

—V:45 **ēda šuma*/*šuma ayyam* ul uraddi ana muḫḫi*
—V:45 He did not add a single line to it.

—V:46 *išmē*(*šū*)*-ma Erra imtaḫar/imtaḫru pānīšu*
—V:46 When Erra heard (it), he approved.

—V:47 *ša Išum ālik maḫrī*(*šu*) *iṭīb elīšu*
—V:47 As for Išum, (his) vanguard, it was pleasing to him too.

—V:48 *ilānū napḫaršunu inaddū ittīšu*
—V:48 All of the gods were praising his sign.

—V:49 *u kiam iqtabi qurādu Erra*
—V:49 Then Warrior Erra spoke thus:

—V:50 (*ilu*) *ša zamāru šâšu inaddu ina ašertīšu liktammir*(*a*) *ḫegallu*
—V:50 "Let abundance accumulate in the chapel of (the god) who praises this song!

—V:51 *u ša ušamsaku/ušamsaki ayy-īṣinna/ayy-iṣṣina qutrinna*
—V:51 "But let whoever denounces it not smell the incense!

—V:52 *šarru ša šumī ušarbû libēl kibrāti*
—V:52 "Let the king who glorifies my name be lord of the quarters!

—V:53 *rubû ša tanitti qarrādūtīya idabbubu māḫira ayy-irši*
—V:53 "Let the prince who recites the praise of my warriorhood have no opponent!

—V:54 *nāru ša iṣarraḫu ul imât*(*i*) *ina šibṭi*
—V:54 "The singer who laments it will not die in the plague!

—V:55 *eli *šarri u rubê*/*rubê u šarri* damiq/liṭīb atmûšu*
—V:55 "To king and prince let what he says be good.

—V:56 *ṭupšarru ša iḫḫazu*(*š*) *išêt*(*i*) *ina* (*māt*) *nakri ikabbit ina mātīšu*
—V:56 "The scribe who learns it will escape from (the land of) the enemy and be honored in his own land.

—V:57 *ina ašerti ummâni ašar *kayyān šumī*/*šumī kayyān* izakkarū uzuššu*(*nu*) *apette*
—V:57 "In the chapel of the scholar where they regularly invoke my name I will grant enlightenment.

—V:58 *ina bīti ašar ṭuppu šâšu šaknu Erra *lū agug-ma*/*līgug-ma*/*lūgug*-[*ma*]* *lišgiš*(*ū*) (*Ilānī*) *Sebetti*
—V:58 "In the building where this tablet is placed, even if Erra becomes furious and the (Divine) Heptad slaughter,

—V:59 *patar šipṭi ul iṭeḫḫēšū*-(*ma*) *šalimtu šaknassu*
—V:59 "The sword of judgment will not come near it, but well-being will be ordained for it.

—V:60 *zamāru šâšu ana matī-ma liššakim-ma likūn qadu ulla*
—V:60 "Let this song exist forever, let it endure to eternity!

—V:61 *mātāti napḫaršina lišmâ*-(*ma*) *linādū*/*linādā qurdīya*
—V:61 "Let all of the lands hear it and praise my status as warrior!

—V:62 *nišī* (*kal*) *dadmī līmurā-ma lišarbâ šumī*
—V:62 "Let the people of (all of) the inhabited world read it and glorify my name!"

Edition

Siglum	Cagni's Siglum	Museum Number	Publications of Copies	Lines Preserved	Provenance
A	S in I	SU 51/122+ 150	Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 112–114; Gurney and Finkelstein, *STT* 1, #16 (pls. XIX–XXIII)	obv. (i:)1–68= I:1–68; obv. (ii:)69–127= I:69–127; rev. (iii:)128–180=I: 128–181; rev. (iv:)181–192= I:182–193	*Sultantepe*
B	S in II	SU 52/166	Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 114; Gurney and Finkelstein, *STT* 1, #17 (pl. XXIII)	(obv.) 1–9= II:1–9	*Sultantepe*
C	T in II	SU 52/156	Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 114; Gurney and Finkelstein, *STT* 1, #18 (pl. XXIII)	obv. 1'–17'= II:28–42; rev.1'–8'= II:145–152	*Sultantepe*
D	E in I	K 8571	Zimmern *apud* Harper, "Legende von Dibbarra," 499–501 (obv.); Lambert, Review of Gössmann, 397 (rev.)	obv. i:1'–27'= I:34–60; obv. ii:1'–23'=I:92–115; rev. iv:1'= I: c. 166; rev. iv:180–182= I:181–183	Nineveh
E	F in I	K 10023	Lambert, Review of Gössmann, 397	153–163= I:153–164	Nineveh
F	G in I	Rm II, 328+477+K 16694	Kienast, Review of Gössmann, 245 (#2, copied by Lambert: Rm II, 328); Lambert, "New Fragments," 77 (K 16694 + Rm II 477); Lambert, Review of Gössmann, 397 (Rm II, 477)	K 16694, obv. 59–66=I:59–66; Rm II, 477+K 16694, obv. 67–73= I:67–73; Rm II, 477, 74–85= I:74–85; Rm II, 328, rev. 1'–15'=I:136–149; K 16694, rev. 1'–6'= somewhere between I:154 and 176	Nineveh
G	H in I	K 13361	Kienast, Review of Gössmann, 245 (#3, copied by Lambert)	1'–9'=I:158–166	Nineveh
H	I in I	K 6506	Kienast, Review of Gössmann, 245 (#1, copied by Lambert)	1'–10'=I:75–84	Nineveh

J	—	K 16965	Lambert, "New Fragments," 77	68–73=I:68–73	Nineveh
K	—	K 18534	Lambert, "New Fragments," 77	151–156= I:151–156	Nineveh
L	K in III	K 9956+79–7–8, 18	Borger and Lambert, "Ein neuer Era-Text," 138–139 (photos on pls. XIII–XV)	(obv.) i:1'–16'= IIIa:16–30; (obv.) ii:8'–16'=IIIb:10–18; (rev.) i:1'–17'=IIIc:39–55; (rev.) ii:1'–16'= IIId:6–15	Nineveh
M	K in IV	K 2755	Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 107 (photo and copy of photo); Lambert, "Three Fragments," 99	i:1–21=IV:1–19; ii:1–25= IV:51–75	Nineveh
N	K in V	K 1282	Zimmern *apud* Harper, "Legende von Dibbarra," 491–497 (photos on 519–521)	obv. 1–39= V:1–38; rev. 1–28=V:39–61	Nineveh
O	L in III	BM 118998	Reiner, "Plague Amulets," pl. II (between pp. 154 and 155) (photo)	(obv.) 1–(rev.) 25=IIId:3–15	Nineveh? (amulet with excerpt)
P	L in IV	K 2619	Zimmern *apud* Harper, "Legende von Dibbarra," 477–489	(obv.) i:1'–33'= IV:13–39; (obv.) ii:1'–35'=IV:49–79; (rev.) iii:1'–32'=IV:82–113; (rev.) iv:1–29= IV:124–146	Nineveh
Q	L in V	Bu 91–5–9, 174	King, "Two Assyrian Plague-tablets," 58–59	obv. 1–13= V:1–13	Nineveh (amulet)
R	M in IV	K 8341+ 9136+ 13332	Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, fig. 11 (copied by Lambert)	(obv.) 39–48=IV:39–48; (rev.) 113–123=IV:113–123	Nineveh
S	M in V	Bu 91–5–9, 186	King, "Two Assyrian Plague-tablets," 54–57	obv. 1–18= V:1–17; rev. 1'–8'=V:54–61	Nineveh (amulet)

T	N in V	Bu 91–5–9, 69+ 177+225	Lambert, “Fifth Tablet,” pl. XXXVI; Reiner, “More Fragments,” pl. II (between pp. 46 and 47) (photos)	(obv.) 16–32=V:16–32; (rev.) 34–51=V:34–51	Nineveh
U	—	GM 1	Saggs, “Additions to Anzu” (notes on the text)	iii=I:152–171 (25 lines preserved); iv=apparently unknown section of the latter part of tablet II	Tarbiṣu
W	A in I–V	A 153	Cagni, *L’Epopea di Erra*, fig. 13 (fragment whose location in the text is unknown); Ebeling, *KAR* 1, #169 (303–313) (obv. iii–iv; rev. i–iv); Frankena, “Weitere kleine Beiträge,” pl. I (frags. A–C); Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 110 (photos)	frag. A 1’–3’= I:138–140; obv. iii:1’–42’= II:29–70; frag. B 1’–5’=II:32–36; obv. iv:14–50=II:114–151; rev. i:1’–46’=IIIc:1–46; rev. ii:1’–49’= IIId:13–IV:44; rev. iii:1’–46’= IV:93–137; frag. C 1’–6’= IV:135–139; rev. iv:1’–11’= V:55–61	Aššur (amulet)
X	B in I	VAT 9162	Ebeling, *KAR* 1, #168 (295–302); Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 108–109 (photo)	obv. i:1’–49’= I:3–51; obv. ii:1’–49’=I:63–113; rev. i:1’–46’=I:126–165; rev. ii:1’–31’= I:167–193	Aššur
Y	B in II	VAT 10814	Ebeling, *LKA*, #12 (20)	(rev.) 12’–21’= II:1–10	Aššur
Z	B in III	A 48	Ebeling, *LKA*, #11 (copy of rev. on 18–19; photo of obv. on pl. II, between pp. 18 and 19); Frankena, “Untersuchungen zum Irra-Epos,” pl. I; Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 111 (photo A 4125)	(obv.) i:1’–35’= IIIa:1–35; (obv.) ii:10’–30’=IIIb:1–21; (rev.) iii:1’–31’=IIIc:42–70; (rev.) iv:1’–16’=IIId:1–16	Aššur

AA	B in IV	VAT 10603+A 156	Ebeling, *KAR* 1, #167 (294) (VAT 10603); Ebeling, *LKA*, #10 (17) (A 156 obv.); Frankena, "Weitere kleine Beiträge," pl. I (A 156 rev.)	VAT 10603, 1'–19'=IV:8–26; A 156, obv. 1'–25'=IV:18–42; A 156, rev. 1'–20'=IV:118–137	Aššur
BB	B in V	VAT 8988	Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, pls. V–VI (photos); Ebeling, *KAR* 1, #166 (291–293)	obv. 1–38= V:1–36; rev. 1–27=V:37–58	Aššur
CC	C in I	VAT 9982	Ebeling, *KAR* 1, #172 (311)	4'–13'=I:71–80	Aššur (exercise tablet with extracts)
DD	C in II	A 130	Frankena, "Untersuchungen zum Irra-Epos," pl. II	1'–17'=II:146–162;	Aššur
EE	C in III	A 131	Frankena, "Untersuchungen zum Irra-Epos,"pl. II	1'–10'=IIId:6–16	Aššur
FF	C in IV	VAT 11486	Ebeling, *LKA*, #13 (20)	1'–6'=IV:146–151; 8'–17'= IV:113–122	Aššur (exercise tablet with extracts)
GG	D in I	VAT 10174	Ebeling, *KAR* 2, #321 (265–266)	rev. 7–15= I:121–131	Aššur
HH	D? in III	VAT 11866	Ebeling, *KAR* 2, #311 (257)	1'–13'=IIIc:60–72	Aššur
JJ	M in I	VAT 10071	Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, pl. 73	obv. 23–24= I:73–74	Aššur (exercise tablet with extracts)
KK	N in I	VAT 10756	Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, pl. 73	26–27=I:75–76	Aššur (exercise tablet with extracts)
LL	—	IM 121299	Al-Rawi and Black, "Second Tablet," 112–113	(obv.) i:1'–40'= II:1–37; (obv.) ii:3'–42'=II:45–85; (rev.) iii:1'–40'=II: 86–126; (rev.) iv:1'–36'=II:133–162	Sirara (Mê-Turna)

MM	—	BM 73783+ 74096 (82–9–18, 13794+ 14107)	Lambert, "New Fragments," 81	31–46=V:31–46	Sippar
NN	—	BM 55363	Lambert, "New Fragments," 80	42–52=V:42–52	Sippar
OO	Q in V	BE 33766	Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, fig. 12 (copied by Falkenstein)	4–20=V:4–20	Babylon
PP	—	BM 36197 (Sp III 749)	Lambert, "New Fragments," 78	obv. 5–19=I:5–19	Babylon?
QQ	—	BM 37331 (80–6–17, 1088)	Lambert, "New Fragments," 78	obv. 1–9= II:1–9	Babylon?
RR	I in IV	IB 212	Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, figs. 1–10 (copies) and pls. I–II (photos); Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 105–106 (copies) and 103–104 (photos);	(obv. i:)1–46= IV:1–46; (obv. ii:)47–91= IV:47–91; (rev. i:)92–131= IV:92–131; (rev. ii:)132–151=IV:132–151	Babylon?
SS	O in V	U 18122	Lambert, "Fifth Tablet," pl. XXXVI	(rev.) 32–61=V:32–61	Ur
TT	P in V	MM 841	Civil, "Texts and Fragments," 58	obv. 1'–18'= V:1–18; rev. 8'–18'=V:48–59	Unknown provenance (Neo-Babylonian)
UU	K in II	Ro I (Jastrow Fragment)	Jastrow, *Fragment*, frontispiece (photos)	rev.! 1'–27'= II:16–39; obv.! 6'–21'=II:151–161	Unknown provenance

Notes

Modern place names in the chart above appear in italics, ancient names in roman type.

For the likely relationships among manuscripts, see especially Hruška, "Zur letzten Bearbeitung," 356–357.

Majuscule letters have here been reserved for the designation of textual witnesses; minuscule letters are used to indicate pericopes within a tablet.[1]

I have renamed the copies largely to order them by provenance (north to south), which also roughly orders them by date; however, for ease in keying this material to published scholarship, Cagni's sigla appear parenthetically throughout.

The normalization of this text should be regarded as no more than provisional and conventional and aims primarily to aid the reader in understanding how the translation was reached. For example, the question of the parameters—phonological as well as geographical—that govern such sound shifts as /i/>/e/ before /r/ cannot be answered satisfactorily by the evidence of this text; the flexibility of the script masks almost all the data, and on the rare occasions the evidence is unequivocal, it fluctuates. (Contrast the spellings of *ḫā'iri* in IV:94 as *ḫa-'e-e-ra* in copy W and *ḫa-'i-i-ri* in copy RR.) As a convention to aid readability (rather than as a claim to genuine phonological reconstruction), this postulated sound shift has not regularly been carried out, except in Erra's name (following evidence indicating that, at least in the second millennium, it was pronounced with an initial /e/—on which see chapter 3, "II. The Meaning and Spelling of Erra's Name") and Gerra's name, by analogy with Erra's name

[1] This convention has been adopted in response to a remark by Marie-Joseph Seux that when majuscule letters are used both in reference to textual witnesses and pericopes the effect can be one of confusion (Review of Cagni, 73).

Minor variants have not been incorporated into the normalization but are readily observable from the transliterations. These include differences in case, differences in state (where an absolute form vies with an inflected one), different forms of the *nomen regens* (where "long" bound forms such as are known already from the hymno-epic dialect of Old Babylonian alternate with short bound forms), fluctuations between byforms of words such as *kī* and *kīma* or *ḫīṭu* and *ḫiṭṭu*, fluctuations between full and apocopated forms such as *gašrāk* for *gašrāku*, and some very limited Assyrianisms vis-à-vis the Babylonian dialect in which this text is undeniably composed. Additionally, variants that are deemed inferior have been excluded from the normalization but are addressed in the notes. The creation of this composite text according to these principles should be regarded as no more than an intellectual exercise that satisfies practical demands, not as an effort to reconstruct an Urtext.[2]

Throughout this document the term "line" refers to the physical line on a tablet, where "verse" refers to a poetic unit that generally occupies one line and consists of two or three "hemistichs." This distinction is useful in that it was apparently already made in antiquity, as evidenced by the fact on the one hand that two poetic verses might appear as a single line separated by a Glossenkeil (for an example see I:121, copy GG), and on the other that a single verse of poetry might spread across two lines with indentation on the second (for an example see I:159–160, copy X). However, the tradition not just for line divisions but for verse divisions differs across the extant manuscripts, so this distinction should not be taken as evidence that the verse divisions as

[2] For brief remarks on issues of textual criticism in the field, see Michalowski, *Lamentation over Sumer and Ur*, 21–25. Michalowski rightly problematizes the distinction between written documents as fixed texts and oral compositions as fluid ones, the consequence of which is that even the hope of reconstructing a single authoritative original may often be wrongheaded. However, the *Erra Song* stands out in Mesopotamian literature for its explicit appeal to authority, to the divine via Kabti-ilānī-Marduk (see V:43–47 and chapter 6, "IV. Kabi-Ilānī-Marduk's Role in the Production of the Text"). Although it may never be recoverable, therefore, the authority of a single original text appears to lie behind the manuscripts at hand. This likely accounts to at least some degree for the minimal variation across the manuscripts. Owing to our imperfect grasp of the text's dialect and conventions, I have had to make several arbitrary choices in addressing what variants there are; however, the basic premise that the manuscript tradition devolves from a single authoritative original may not, in this case, be misguided, even if present evidence does not allow us to recover that original.

presented here conform necessarily to a conjectured Urtext; rather, they represent nothing more than my best current attempt to mediate among competing traditions.

Key to Symbols

Angle brackets < > enclose presumed scribal omissions.

Braces { } enclose presumed scribal plusses.

Square brackets [ ] enclose reconstructions.

Parentheses ( ) enclose variants in the manuscripts.

Asterisks * * enclose material treated as a unit (for example, a phrase from one manuscript that is substituted by another phrase in another manuscript).

Brackets enclosing space [ ] signify a lacuna in the text whose length cannot be determined on present evidence.

An x signifies an illegible sign.

Ellipsis points . . . signify abrasions on the tablet where the signs cannot be read at all. In order to provide a very rough idea how much material is missing, I have used three ellipsis points per estimated space corresponding to one missing sign. Notice that ellipsis points do not necessarily indicate any signs are missing—simply that the tablet is abraded and there is space for a missing sign.

Gray font in the translation signals supplementary material in English that has been added to make the translation smoother.

White script against black signals material from a fragment that has not been incorporated into the extant text definitively.

Any blank space in the cuneiform copy that I deem significant in size is reflected in the transliteration.

Naturally some reconstructions are more secure than others; the most tentative reconstructions are marked with a superscripted question mark.

A (S) obv. (i:)1 [LUG]AL *gi-mir da-ád-mì ba-nu-u kib*[1]-[. . . . . .]
—I:1 [*ša*]*r gimir dadmī bānû*[3] *kib*[*rāti*] . . . . . .
—I:1 [O ki]ng of all of the inhabited world, creator of the qua[rters] . . .[4]

A (S) obv. (i:)2 [d]Ḫ[ENDUR.SAG.GÁ IBILA [d]EN.LÍL *reš-t*[*u* . . . . . .]
—I:2 *Ḫendursag apil Ellil rēšt*[*û*] . . . . . .
—I:2 Ḫendursag, firstbo[rn][5] heir of Enlil . . .

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[3] Bound forms with extra final *-u* or *-i* vowels, as here, are not uncommon in this text: see also *muttarrû* in I:21, *šumqutu* in I:43, *būli* in I:43 (copy A), *maḫri* in I:108, *pāši* in I:156 (copies E and U), *pātiqu* in I:160, *ūmi* in IIIc:31, *uzzu* in IIIc:41, *maḫri* in IIIc:54, *rābiṣu* in IV:17, *gimilli* in IV:23 (copy RR), *šupluḫu* in IV:56 (copy RR), *ūmu* in IV:89, *agri* in V:8 (copy BB), and *ūmi* in V:20. Cagni draws an explicit connection between such forms and so-called "overhanging vowels" on verbs (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 157–158). While they may fulfill similar functions, however, these forms appear to have arisen independently: already in Old Babylonian literary contexts one finds final *-u* and occasionally *-i* vowels on the ends of bound nouns; observe that all such forms in this text similarly end in *-u* or *-i*.

A number of such Old Babylonian literary conventions appear to have survived intact into the tradition that produced this text, including the use of locative and terminative cases, the apocopation of genitive pronominal suffixes (see n. 15), and the not infrequent lack of Babylonian vowel harmony, such as *tadekkûšu* in I:19 or *ezzāku* in I:110. (This last characteristic may alternatively be understood as an Assyrianism, although it is not confined to Assyrian copies—see for example *taptē-ma* in IV:35, copy RR. Assyrianisms in this text are otherwise almost entirely confined to the appearance of /e/ vowels for Babylonian /i/, as in *errissū-ma* for *irrissū-ma* in I:6, copy X. See II:38 for the possible single example of Assyrian vowel harmony in this text.) Several other characteristics of the literary dialect of Old Babylonian are entirely absent from this text, including uncontracted contiguous vowels that ordinarily contract (see II:120 for the only possible exception to this), third feminine singular verbal prefixes in *ta-* rather than *i-*, apocopated prepositions, alternative forms for bound feminine nouns (see n. 307), and the ŠD-stem (see n. 344). The use of the negative *lā* for *ul*, another feature of the Old Babylonian literary register, is very rare in this text; see n. 115.

It is however possible that the impulse behind construing verbs with extra vowels converges with the impulse(s) behind these long bound forms of nouns: for example, they could simultaneously elevate the register of the text and fulfill a prosodic requirement. Since much work remains to be done making sense of both overhanging vowels on verbs and Babylonian prosody this is of course far from clear.

[4] Dalley translates this verse "[I sing of the son of] the king of all populated lands, creator of the world" (*Myths from Mesopotamia*, 285), modeling her reconstruction on the opening verse of the Standard Babylonian (SB) recension of *Anzû*, which she translates as follows: "I sing of the superb son of the king of populated lands" (ibid., 205). While it is possible the opening phrase of our text self-consciously echoes that of SB *Anzû* (*bin šar dadmī*), Dalley's reconstruction is not entirely satisfactory: The use of second-person pronouns elsewhere in the hymnic introduction of our text (e.g., *kâša* in I:9 or *atta* in I:19) suggests the opening verse introduces a vocative and not the object of a verb such as "to sing." Additionally, it is known from multiple sources that the text's incipit is *šar gimir dadmī* (see for example the catchline at the end of copy EE, in tablet III, where the text is identified as LUGAL *gi-mir da-*[*ad-mi*]); thus, the term "son" would have to appear not at the beginning of verse I:1 but somewhere toward or at its end. While anticipatory genitives are common in this text—occasionally even without *ša* (see, e.g., I:15)—if this is indeed a vocative, as argued here, an anticipatory genitive would be syntactically awkward in the extreme ("O, as for the king of all of the inhabited world . . . his son [you]!").

[5] Theoretically *rēštû* might apply either to *apil* or to what follows, but a parallel phrase in II:121 (*apil Ellil ṣīru*) suggests it applies to *apil*.

A (S) obv. (i:)3 *na-áš ḫaṭ-ṭu ṣir-ti na-qid ṣal-mat* S[AG . . . . . .]
X (B) obv. i:1' . . . . . [*ṣí*]*r-ti na*!(NU)-. . . . . [D]U *re-ʾu-u* . . . . . .
—I:3 *nāš ḫaṭṭu ṣīrti nāqid ṣalmāt qa*[*qqa*]*di rēʾû* . . . . . .
—I:3 Bearer of the eminent scepter, herdsman of the blackh[ead]ed ones, shepherd . . .[6]

A (S) obv. (i:)4 ^{d}*i-šum ṭá-bi-ḫu na-aʾ-du šá ana n*[*a* . . . . . .]
X (B) obv. i:2' *. . . . . -bi-ḫu na-aʾ-du šá ana* ⌜*na-še-e*⌝ ⌜^{giš}TUKUL⌝.MEŠ-*šú ez-*⌜*zu-ti*⌝ ŠU.MIN-*šú* ⌜*as*⌝-*ma*
—I:4 *Išum ṭābiḫu naʾdu ša ana našê kakkīšu ezzūti qātāšu asmā*
—I:4 Išum, pious slaughterer,[7] whose hands are fit to bear his ferocious weapons,

A (S) obv. (i:)5 *ana šub-ruq ul-mì-šú še-ru-ti* ^{d}*èr-ra q*[*ar*? . . . . . .]
X (B) obv. i:3' *ù ana šub-*⌜*ruq*⌝ *ul-mì-šú* ⌜*še*⌝*-ru-ti* ^{d}*èr-ra qar-rad* DINGIR.MEŠ *i-nu-*⌜*šú*⌝ *ina šub-ti*
PP obv. 5 [. . . . . .] . . . . . x [. . .
—I:5 (*u*) *ana šubruq ulmīšu šērūti Erra qarrād ilānī inuššu*[8] *ina šubti*
—I:5 (And) at the flashing of whose vicious axes, Erra, the warrior of the gods, quakes in his seat!

A (S) obv. (i:)6 *i-ris-su-ma* ŠÀ-*ba-šú e-p*[*eš* . . . . . .]
X (B) obv. i:4' *e-ri-su-ma* ŠÀ-*ba-šú e-peš ta-ḫa-zi*
PP obv. 6 ⌜*i-ri-iš*⌝*-su-m*[*a* . . .
—I:6 *irrissū-ma libbašu epēš tāḫāzi*
—I:6 His heart wishes for him to do battle;

A (S) obv. (i:)7 *i-ta-mi a-na* ^{giš}TUKUL.MEŠ-*šú lit-*[. . . . . .]
X (B) obv. i:5' *i-ta-ma ana* ^{giš}TUKUL.MEŠ-*šú lit-pa- ta i-mat mu-u-ti*
PP obv. 7 *i-ta-mì a-*⌜*na*⌝? [. . .
—I:7 *ītammi/ītammâ ana kakkīšu litpatā imat mūti*

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[6] The series of epithets in this line renders the signs comprising Ḫendursag's name in various ways: in the first epithet, GÁ is rendered *nāš*, PA (ḪENDUR) *ḫaṭṭu*, and SAG *ṣīrtu*; in the second PA is taken to be an abbreviation of PA.DAG+KIŠIM$_5$×GAG for *nāqid*, SAG is rendered SAG.DU for *qaqqadi*, and GÁ is taken as GE$_{26}$, a homophone of GI$_6$ or *ṣalmāt*; and in the third, broken epithet it appears that PA has been read as an abbreviation of SIPAD (PA.UDU) for *rēʾû* (Attinger and Krebernik, "L'Hymne à Ḫendursaĝa," 22 n. 3). It is possible similar paronomasia is also at work in the previous line, where SAG is read *rēštû* and IBILA or *apil* may be derived from (DUMU.)SAG.

[7] Similarly to the previous line, "pious slaughterer" etymologizes Išum's name as two Sumerian morphemes and translates it into Akkadian, where I is taken as the root *naʾādu* and ŠUM as the root *ṭabāḫu* (see Harper, "Legende von Dibbarra," 426 and Lambert, Review of Gössmann, 400).

[8] Although overhanging vowels are quite common in this text, I construe the final *-u* here as a subordination marker connecting this verse to the clause introduced by *ša* in the previous one. It appears that, unlike all other vocalic suffixes, overhanging vowels do not usually cause the theme vowel in a hollow durative verb to revert to that of the preterite (on which see below, n. 127), which suggests if this vowel is overhanging, the verb is likely preterite, a reading I believe makes less sense of the context; see chapter 2, "II. The Opening Passage: Temporal Sequence of the Hymnic Prologue."

—I:7 He says to his weapons, “Smear yourselves with deadly poison!”

A (S) obv. (i:)8 *ana* DINGIR IMIN.BI *qar-rad la šá-na-an na-a*[*n* . . . . . .]
X (B) obv. i:6’ *a-na* DINGIR IMIN.BI *qar-rad la šá-na-an na-an-di-qa kak-*ʳ*ki*ˀ*-ku-un*
PP obv. 8 *ana* DINGIR IMIN.BI ʳ*qar*ˀ-. . . . . [
—I:8 *ana Ilānī Sebetti qarrād lā šanān*[9] *nandiqā kakkīkun*[10]
—I:8 To the Divine Heptad, the warriors without rival, “Gird on your weapons!”

A (S) obv. (i:)9 *i-qab-bi-ma a-na ka-šá lu-*[. . . . . .]
X (B) obv. i:7’ *i-qab-bi-ma*!(KU) *a-na ka-a-šá lu-ṣi-ma a-na* EDIN
PP obv. 9 *i-qab-bi-*ʳ*ma*ˀ . . . . . [
—I:9 *iqabbī-ma ana kâša luṣī-ma ana ṣēri*
—I:9 He says to you,[11] “Let me go out to the battlefield!

A (S) obv. (i:)10 *at-ta di-pa-ru-um-ma i-na-i*[*ṭ* . . . . . .]
X (B) obv. i:8’ *a-ta di-pa-ru-um-ma i-na-aṭ-ṭa-lu nu-úr-ka*
PP obv. 10 *at-ta di-pa-ru-u*[*m*
—I:10 *atta dipārum-ma inaṭṭalū nūrka*
—I:10 “You are the torch;[12] they see your light.

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[9] A handful of nouns in this text appear in the absolute form, as here (for other examples of *šanān* see I:18, I:97, and IV:140; other absolute forms include *kippat* in I:36 [copy A], *šeš* in I:37 [copy A], *sinniš* in I:49, *šikar* in I:58, *amāt* in I:130 [at least copy A], *gimir* in I:150 [at least copy A], *ašar* in II:5, *šizib* in IV:29, *kidin*ʔ in IV:33 [copy W], *ašal* in IV:48, *pān* in V:8 [copy OO], and *ēṣāt* in V:26 [copy BB]). It is possible (now opaque) prosodic concerns underlie at least some of these forms, although observe that several of them have the same number of syllables in their absolute and inflected forms (*gimir* for *gimri* in I:150, *ašar* for *ašri* in II:5, *šizib* for *šizbi* in IV:29, and *ašal* for *ašlu* in IV:48), although of course the arrangement of open and closed syllables changes. It strikes me as at least as likely an explanation that the register of the absolute form was understood to be literary. It is also possible that several of these forms represent nothing more than scribal errors: observe how many of them appear in copy A, a generally unreliable text from Sultantepe.

It is not clear the degree to which the impulse behind these forms overlaps the motivation for other types of apocopation, of which there are two: truncated pronominal suffixes on nouns (see n. 15) and truncated suffixes on predicative verbal adjectives (see n. 125). The latter appear to be aberrant or abbreviated forms confined only to copies A and O, both of which exhibit a high degree of idiosyncrasy; the former appear to be motivated more clearly by concerns of both prosody and diction.

This particular phrase, *qarrād lā šanān*, appears to be a genuine stock epithet, whose form is unchanging.

[10] Although it is an N-stem, the verb *nanduqu*/*nenduqu* takes a direct object throughout this text: see also I:143, I:179, IV:4, and IV:22.

[11] I.e., Išum (see chapter 2, “II. The Opening Passage: Erra Incites His Entourage to Battle [I:6–14]”).

[12] This may be an etymologizing of Išum’s name as an Akkadian term, which appears to be related to *išatum*, “fire” (see Lambert, Review of Gössmann, 400). However, it is not clear this has any more historical validity than the etymologizing of the name as “pious slaughterer” in I:4; see chapter 4, “I. The Meaning and Spelling of Išum’s Name.”

A (S) obv. (i:)11 *at-ta a-lik maḫ-ri-im-ma* [. . . . . .]
X (B) obv. i:9' *at-ta a-lik* ⌜*maḫ*⌝*-ri-im-ma* DINGIR.MEŠ x . . . . . .
PP obv. 11 *at-ta a-l*[*ik*
—I:11 *atta ālik maḫrim-ma ilānū* . . . . . .
—I:11 "You are the vanguard; the gods . . .

A (S) obv. (i:)12 *at-ta nam-ṣa-ru-um-ma ṭa-bi-ḫ*[*u* . . . . . .]
X (B) obv. i:10' *a*[*t-t*]*a nam-ṣa-ru-um-m*[*a*] . . . . . ⌜BI? QU?⌝ x . . . . . .
PP obv. 12 *at-ta nam-ṣa-ru-u*[*m*?
—I:12 *atta namṣārum-ma ṭābiḫ*[*u*] . . . . . .
—I:12 "You are the sword and the slaughter[er] . . .

A (S) obv. (i:)13 d*èr-ra ti-bé-ma* ⌜*i*⌝-[. . . . . .]
X (B) obv. i:11' d*èr-ra te-*⌜*bé*⌝(Ú)-. . . . . *ina sa-pan ma-a-ti*
PP obv. 13 d*èr-ra te-bé-m*[*a*
—I:13 *Erra tebē-ma ina sapān māti*
—I:13 "Erra, arise, and in crushing the land

A (S) obv. (i:)14 ⌜*ki*⌝*-i nam-rat kab-ta-*[*š*]*a*?[13] [*ḫ*]*a-*[*d*]*u-ú* Š[À . . . . .]
X (B) obv. i:12' *ki-i nam-*[*r*]*at kab-ta-at-ka ù ḫa-du-u lib-bu-uk*
PP obv. 14 *ki-i nam-rat* [
—I:14 *kī namrat kabtatka* (*u*) *ḫadû*[14] *libbuk*[15]
—I:14 "How bright will be your mood, how joyful your heart!"

A (S) obv. (i:)15 [d*è*]*r-ra ki-i šá a-mé-*⌜*li*⌝ ⌜*dal*⌝*-*[*p*]*i i-*[*d*]*a-a-šú* [. . . . .]
X (B) obv. i:13' d*èr-ra ki-i šá a-me-li dal-pi i-da-a-šú an-. . .*
PP obv. 15 d*èr-ra ki-i š*[*á*
—I:15 *Erra kī ša amēli dalpi idāšu an*[*ḫā*]
—I:15 But Erra's arms are tir[ed], like those of a sleepless man.

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[13] The apparent ŠA sign in copy A for expected KA appears to be an error.

[14] Against Cagni (see *L'Epopea di Erra*, 146–147 for the list of vowels he identifies as overhanging), I understand *ḫadû* to have an overhanging vowel: when *kī* means "how" in a non-interrogative sense, introducing an exclamation, no subordination is required; compare for example the phrase *kī ḫabil*, "what a pity!" in *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* II:116 (for an edition see Annus and Lenzi, *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*; Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, 21–62; and von Soden, "*Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*").

[15] Notice the apocopation of the pronominal suffix, which can also be found in this text in I:20, I:27 (copy A), I:29, I:34 (copy X), I:45, I:55, I:69, I:73, I:107, I:122, I:134, I:137, I:138 (copy X), I:148, II:29, II:64, II:66, II:124 (copy W), II:137, IIIa:11, IIIc:40, IV:13, IV:93, IV:136, IV:138, V:37, V:41, and V:56 (copy SS). Because these forms are common already in Old Babylonian literary texts, it is likely one of the functions they serve here is that of marking the register as elevated. In addition, in twenty-three of the twenty-nine attestations in the extant text, they produce a trochee at the end of the line where the verse would otherwise end in a dactyl. They therefore appear to serve a prosodic function as well. (There is only one extant verse that ends in an unapocopated pronominal suffix and thus a dactyl: V:32.)

A (S) obv. (i:)16 . . . [*b*]*i a-na* ŠÀ-*bi-*˹*šú*˺ *lu-ut-b*[*é*] *lu-uṣ-lal-*[. . . . .]
X (B) obv. i:14' *i-qab-bi a-na* ŠÀ-*bi-šú* *lu-ut-bé lu-uṣ-lal-ma*
PP obv. 16 *i-qab-bi a-na* ŠÀ-x-[
—I:16 *iqabbi ana libbīšu lutbe luṣlal-ma*
—I:16 He says to himself, "Should I get up or should I sleep?"[16]

A (S) obv. (i:)17 ˹*i*˺-*t*[*a*] . . . . . [TU]KUL.MEŠ-*šú* *um-mì-da túb-qa-*˹*a*˺-[. . .]
X (B) obv. i:15' *i-ta-a-ma a-na kak-ki-šú* *um-mì-da tu*[*b*]-*qa-a-ti*
PP obv. 17 *i-ta-ma* x [. . .
—I:17 *ītammâ ana kakkīšu ummidā tubqāti*
—I:17 He says to his weapons, "Hide in the corners!"[17]

A (S) obv. (i:)18 . . . DINGIR IMIN.B[I] . . . . . *-na-an* *ana šub-ti-ku-nu* ˹*tu*˺-*ra-m*[*a*]
X (B) obv. i:16' *ana* DINGIR IMIN.BI *qar-rad la šá-na-an a-na šub-te-*˹*ku*˺-x x-*ra-ma*
PP obv. 18 ˹*a-na*˺ ˹DINGIR˺ ˹IMIN.BI˺ *qar-rad l*[*a*
—I:18 *ana Ilānī Sebetti qarrād lā šanān ana šubtīkunu tūrā-ma*
—I:18 To the Divine Heptad, the warriors without rival, "Return to your dwelling!"[18]

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[16] Because *tebû* frequently imparts the sense of being on the verge of doing something, there is a possibility the phrase *lutbe luṣlal-ma* is better rendered "let me go ahead and go to sleep!" In fact, this is essentially how it is translated in *CAD*, s.v. "ṣalālu": "I will go(?) and lie down." While this translation has some appeal in that it resolves the apparent tension between *tebû* and *ṣalālu*, other attestations of these two roots together suggest the tension is deliberate; compare, for example, the following from *Maqlû* VI:12–13: *lū êrēta lā tallaka / lū ṣallāta lā tetebbâ*, "Do not approach if you are awake, / do not get up if you are asleep!" (for an edition see Meier, *Maqlû*).

[17] In the G-stem the root *emēdu* can mean "to take refuge" or "to hide"; the unexpected intransitive use of the D-stem here may convey a plurality of subjects. Other attestations of the root *emēdu*—but in the G-stem—in conjunction with the terms *tubqātu* or *puzrātu* are not uncommon. In *Šurpu* IV:100 the phrase *lizziz Nergal bēl šibṭi ina maḫrīšu gallû namtarū immidū puzrāti* may be translated "May Nergal, lord of the plague, before whom *gallû*-demons and *namtaru*-demons take refuge in hiding places, be present" (for an edition see Reiner, *Šurpu*; for a similar phrase see VAT 9817 rev. 25 in Livingstone, *Mythological Explanatory Works*, 124–125), and in the Standard Babylonian recension of "The Cuthean Legend of Narām-Sîn" line 164 the root is used transitively: *kakkīka rukus-ma tubqāti emid*, "Tie up your weapons and put them out of sight in the corners!" (for an edition see Westenholz, *Kings of Akkade*, 263–368). (In ibid., 328 n. 164 the author references scholars who have construed this latter context as an intransitive use of the verb; although it does give one pause that the passage under discussion is taken to be an intransitive use of the D-stem where the passage in "The Cuthean Legend of Narām-Sîn" appears to be a transitive use of the G-stem, the very close parallels in phrasing between these texts—both employing a constellation of the terms *kakku*, *emēdu*, and *tubqātu*—suggest that on both occasions it is the weapons that belong in the corners, in which case the verb must be transitive there.) See also the phrase *endū tubqāti* in *Enūma Eliš* IV:113, in the context of a net, suggesting "the corners" in this phrase may not be literal; Dalley translates "they cowered back" (*Myths from Mesopotamia*, 254; for an edition of *Enūma Eliš* see especially Labat, *Poème babylonien*; Talon, *Enūma Eliš*, with relevant references). For related uses of the term see *CAD*, s.v. "emēdu," p. 139.

Given the parallel with the following line—*ana šubtīkunu tūrā-ma*—the sense of this verse appears to be not that the weapons should take refuge out of fear, but that they are to return to their stasis location, where they are stored.

[18] Compare II:63.

A (S) obv. (i:)19 . . .-*di at-ta t*[*a*] . . . [*e*]*k-ku-šú ṣa-lil ur-šu-uš-šú*
X (B) obv. i:17' *a-di at-ta ta-de-ek-ku-šú ṣa-lil* x-x-*uš-šú*
PP obv. 19 . . . . . ˹*ta*˺-x [. . .
—I:19 *adi atta tadekkûšu ṣalil uršuššu*
—I:19 Until you wake him, he will sleep in his bedroom,

A (S) obv. (i:)20 . . .-*ti* d*ma-ma* ˹*ḫi*˺-*r*[*a*]-*tuš ip-pu-šú ul-ṣa-am-ma*
X (B) obv. i:18' *it-ti* d*ma-mi* ˹*ḫi*˺-*ra-tuš ip-pu-šá ul-ṣa-am-ma*
—I:20 *itti Mammi ḫīratuš ippušu/ippuša*[19] *ulṣam-ma*
—I:20 With Mammi,[20] his wife, he will enjoy himself,

A (S) obv. (i:)21 . . . . . GI_6.DU.DU EN *mut-*˹*tal-lik*˺ ˹GI_6˺ *mut-tar-ru-ú* NUN.MEŠ
X (B) obv. i:19' d$EN.GI_6$.DU.˹DU˺ . . . . . *mu-ši mu*[*t*]-˹*tar*˺-*ru-u ru-bé-e*
—I:21 *Engidudu bēlu muttallik mūši*[21] *muttarrû rubê*[22]

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[19] Notice the fluctuation between *ippuša* with apparent ventive and *ippušu* with overhanging vowel.

[20] Although her name is often spelled identically, Erra's wife Mammi is clearly distinguished in god-lists from the mother goddess of the same name (as recognized by Krebernik, "Mamma, Mammi; Mammītum," 330, contra, e.g., Frankena, "Het Epos," 166 and Roberts, "Scorched Earth," 13): see for example *The Nippur God-List* line 15, where d*ma-ma* appears between Dingirmaḫ and Bēlet-ilī, and line 79, where d*ma-mi* appears following Nergal (for an edition see Jean, "Noms divins sumériens," 182–190; Peterson, *Godlists from Nippur*, 5–77). (Although the school that produced *The Nippur God-List* likely distinguished between Erra's wife and the mother goddess on the basis of the spellings of their respective names, elsewhere d*ma-ma* too appears in Nergal/Erra's train, as in *The Kiš Recension of Anu*–AN–*Anum* ii:18; for an edition see Van der Meer, *Syllabaries A, B*[1] *and B*, 57–58). This association between Erra and Mammi appears quite early: in the personal names of a corpus of texts of unknown provenance dated to the reigns of Ur III kings—the archive of SI.A-a—Erra is the most common masculine theophoric element where Mammi is the most common feminine theophoric element, which suggests they were understood at least by the end of the third millennium as consorts (the corpus presumably stems from a site were Erra and Mammi were worshipped; see Lo Castro, "Erra e Mama"). Only slightly later, in *Anum* (Early Weidner God-List, 1 Column), d*ma-mi* and d*ma-ma* appear immediately following Erra and Erragal, in Nergal's circle, in a fragment Weidner dates to the first dynasty of Isin ("Altbabylonische Götterlisten," 2; for a copy of the fragment [VAT 7759], see 4–5; the relevant lines are iii:9–12). And the Old Babylonian incantation "As Heaven Became King" likewise pairs Erra with Mammi (for an edition see Van Dijk, Goetze, and Hussey, *Early Incantations and Rituals*, 35). (Contrast another early text, *Erra and Narām-Sîn*, where Erra is associated in lines 31 and 59 with the goddess Laṣ, a deity who frequently appears as Nergal's consort, as for example in AN–*Anum* IV:2 [for an edition of the former see Lambert, "Studies in Nergal," 357–363; Westenholz, *Kings of Akkade*, 189–201; for an edition of the latter see Litke, *Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists*, 19–227]; see further Lambert, "Laṣ"). Nergal is also frequently paired with the goddess Mammītu(m), as for example in AN–*Anum* IV:3, where Mammītu is equated with Laṣ, or "A *Lipšur*-Litany from Nimrud" (obv.) 37', where Mammītu is called "queen of Cuthah" (for an edition see Wiseman, "Lipšur Litany"). Mammītu's name appears to be an Akkadianization (or pseudo-Akkadianization) of the name Mammi and should be distinguished from the personified oath (*māmītu*) as encountered, for example, in *The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld* rev. 7, where Māmītu, a goat-headed figure, resides in the netherworld alongside a number of similar monstrous characters but certainly does not serve as Nergal's consort (here Ereškigal; for an edition see von Soden, "Unterweltsvision"; Livingstone, *Court Poetry*, 68–76). Although it is not inconceivable that at certain times and places Māmītu was conflated with or influenced the characterization of Mammītu, I am aware of no clear evidence to this effect.

—I:21 O Engidudu, lord who goes about by night, leader of princes,

A (S) obv. (i:)22 . . . . . GURUŠ *u* ^{mí}KI.SIKIL *ina šu*[*l*]-*m*[*u*] <*it*>-˹*ta*˺-*nar-ru-ú ú-nam-ma-ru* GIM UD-*mi*

X (B) obv. i:20' *šá eṭ-la u ar-da-tu it-ta-na-. . . ru-u ú-nam-*˹*mi*˺-*ru* GIM UD-*me*

—I:22 *ša eṭla u ardatu* (*ina šu*[*l*]*m*[*u*]) *ittanarrû unammaru/unammiru kīma ūmi*

—I:22 Who guides the young man and the young woman (in sa[f]et[y]), making it as bright as daylight![23]

A (S) obv. (i:)23 . . . . . IMIN.BI *qar-rad la šá-na-an šu-u*[*n*]-˹*na*˺-*ta* DINGIR-*su-un*

X (B) obv. i:21' *šá* DINGIR IMIN.BI *qar-rad la šá-na-an šu-un-*˹*na*˺-. . . . . ˹*i-lu*˺-*su-un*

—I:23 *ša Ilānī Sebetti qarrād lā šanān šunnâta*[24] *ilūssun*

—I:23 As for the Divine Heptad, the warriors without rival, their divinity is extraordinary.[25]

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[21] The Akkadian phrase *bēlu muttallik mūši*, "lord who goes about by night," straightforwardly translates the Sumerian name Engidudu, where EN is rendered *bēlu*, GI_6 is rendered *mūšu*, and DU.DU is translated with the Gtn-stem of *alāku* (see, e.g., Frankena, "Untersuchungen zum Irra-Epos," 5).

[22] Less obviously, the Akkadian *muttarrû rubê* also translates the Sumerian GI_6.DU.DU, since GI_7, a homophone of GI_6, can be read *rubû*, where DU / DU or DU.DU / DU.DU can be read as the Gtn-stem of *arû*—and one first-millennium source (in King, *Seven Tablets of Creation* 2, pl. LXI, ii:25) even renders DU.DU as *muttarrû*, as here (Tinney, *NABU* 3, especially 3).

[23] We might translate the variant with *unammiru* more literally "having made it as bright as daylight."

[24] Notice the apparent overhanging or unmotivated vowel on the predicative verbal adjective here.

[25] The translation of *šunnâta* is difficult. The term can theoretically mean either "double(d)" or "very strange"; all modern translators except Gössmann have opted for the latter sense. In contrast, when the same phrase (down to the presence of an overhanging vowel in some manuscripts!) appears in *Enūma Eliš* I:91 in reference to Marduk, the term is often rendered "double(d)": *CAD* translates *ušeṣbīšum-ma šunnât/šunnâta/ šunnâti ilūssu*, "(Anu) made him (Marduk) perfect, double is his divinity (he has four eyes, four ears)" (s.v. "šanû A," p. 401). Elsewhere the phrase is used in reference to Sirius: *ina kullat kala ilī šunnâta ilūtka / ina nipiḫ kakkabānī nummuru zīmūka kīma Šamši*, "among all the gods your divine power is double, your face (Sirius) shines like the sun when the stars rise" (Burrows, "Hymn to Ninurta," pl. II [after p. 40], lines 13–14, as reconstructed and translated in *CAD*, s.v. "šanû A," p. 401). The assumption motivating the discrepant renderings of this phrase would appear to be that where Marduk and Sirius are viewed positively, the Divine Heptad are understood to be demonic, so where the divinity of the former is "doubled" that of the latter is merely "strange." This is surely mistaken: the phrase likely conveys something similar in all three passages. The context of Marduk's four eyes and ears in *Enūma Eliš* makes the translation "double(d)" attractive, and while this meaning does not fit the other two contexts at hand as obviously one might account for this fact by supposing these texts are referencing *Enūma Eliš* self-consciously. However, if we posit a meaning "very strange" with positive connotations—"outstanding, extraordinary"—for the D-stem of the verbal adjective of *šanû* (*šunnû*), from the root meaning "to be different/changed," we can make reasonable sense of all three contexts in which the phrase occurs on their own terms. In *Enūma Eliš* the phrase is embedded in a passage waxing rhapsodic about Marduk's incomprehensible surpassing qualities: the very next verse reads *šušqa ma'diš elīšunu atar mimmušu*, "he is elevated considerably above them (the other gods), he is superior to them in every way." His divinity need not be quantitatively "doubled" to convey that superiority: if the term *šunnû* means "extraordinary," it might occupy a semantic field similar to that of *atru* in this verse or *šūturu* later in the passage (see I:99 and I:100). In the immediate context of our own passage, *šunnû* appears to be parallel to *aḫû*, meaning "abnormal," in the following verse. If the divinity in question is imagined to be both out of the

A (S) obv. (i:)24 . . .-*lit-ta-šú-nu a-ḫat-ma ma-lu-u* ⌜*pul*⌝*-ḫa-a-ti*
X (B) obv. i:22' *i-*⌜*lit*⌝*-ta-šú-nu a-ḫa-*⌜*at*⌝*-ma ma*[!](IZ)*-l*[*u*]-. . . x x x-*ḫa-a-ti*
—I:24 *ilittašunu aḫât-ma malû pulḫāti*
—I:24 Their birth was exceptional and they are full of fearsomeness.

A (S) obv. (i:)25 ⌜*a*⌝*-mir-šú-nu uš-taḫ-ḫat-ma na-pis-su-nu* ⌜*mu*⌝*-tùm-ma*
X (B) obv. i:23' . . .-[*m*]*ir-šú-nu uš-taḫ-ḫa-at na-pi-is-su-nu mu-*⌜*t*[*ù*]*m*⌝*-*⌜*ma*⌝[?](⌜LU⌝)
—I:25 *āmiršunu uštaḫḫat-*(*ma*) *napīssunu mūtum-ma*
—I:25 Whoever looks at them is terrified; their breath is death.[26]

A (S) obv. (i:)26 ⌜UN.MEŠ *šaḫ*⌝*-tu-ma ul i*ᵓ*-mi-ri . . . . . .-*⌜*a*⌝*-šú*
X (B) obv. i:24' UN.MEŠ *šáḫ-tu-ma ul ir-ru a-na šá-a-šu*
—I:26 *nišū šaḫtū-ma ul i*ᵓ*mirrī/irrū*[27] *ana šâšu*
—I:26 People are so afraid that they do not approach them.[28]

A (S) obv. (i:)27 ⌜d⌝. . . [*š*]*um* [giš⌜]IG⌝*-ma e-dil pa-nu-. . . . . .* [*u*]*n*
X (B) obv. i:25' [d]*i-šum dal-*⌜*tùm*⌝*-ma e-di-il* ⌜*pa*⌝*-nu-uš-šú*
—I:27 *Išum daltum-ma edil pānuššu*(*n*)
—I:27 Išum is a door and is bolted in front of them.[29]

A (S) obv. (i:)28 [d]*a-n*[*u*]*-um* LUGAL DINGIR.⌜MEŠ⌝ KI-⌜*ti*⌝ *i*[*r*]-. . .-⌜*e-ma*⌝
X (B) obv. i:26' [d]*a-nu-um* ⌜LUGAL⌝[?] DINGIR.MEŠ ⌜*er*⌝*-ṣe-tu* ⌜*ir*⌝-x-x-*ma*
—I:28 *Anum*[30] *šar ilānī erṣetu ir*[*ḫ*]*ē-ma*

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ordinary (like *aḫû* in this text) and surpassing (like *atru*/*šūturu* in *Enūma Eliš*), the demands of the contexts in which the phrase is attested and the demands of what is otherwise known of the possible root both appear to be satisfied. (Although this proposal is tentative, the development of positive connotations around an originally descriptive term meaning "unusual" is not implausible: note English terms such as "exceptional," "outstanding," "extraordinary," and "distinguished.")

[26] A virtually identical phrase (*na-pi-iš-šú mu-tum*) is used in reference to Ḫuwawa; see Jastrow and Clay, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 87–95, (iii:)111 (also Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 150).

[27] Typically the *aleph* in this root is strong (see, e.g., II:33, II:157, and IV:127); *irrū* appears to be a contraction of *i*ᵓ*irrū*. (Notice *nišū*, ordinarily feminine, is here treated as a masculine plural.) The form *i*ᵓ*mirrī* in copy A, from Sultantepe, is idiosyncratic; it likely represents a pronunciation *i*ᵓ*wirrī* with apparent metathesis of the initial roots and preservation of the /w/ as a strong consonant; the overhanging *-i* is difficult to explain since the context calls for a plural.

[28] Literally "that they do not approach him." The number of the Divine Heptad vacillates between singular and plural throughout. (On the translation of this syntactic construction see n. 35 below.)

[29] Compare *Utukkū Lemnūtu* V:13: e-ne-ne-ne [giš]ig nu-un-gi$_4$-a-meš [giš]saḫab nu-un-gi$_4$-a-meš | *šunu daltu ul ikallûšunūti ul mēdelu ul utāršunūti*, "They [the evil demons] are those whom a door cannot stop and a bolt cannot turn away." (For a provisional composite edition see Geller, *Evil Demons*.)

—I:28 When Anu, the king of the gods,[31] in[sem]inated the earth,

A (S) obv. (i:)29 IMIN DINGIR.ᵍMEŠᵑ *ul-da-áš-šum-ma* DINGIR IMIN.BI *it-ta-bi* . . . [*k*]*ir-šú-un*
X (B) obv. i:27' IMIN DINGIR.MEŠ *ul-da-áš-*ᵍ*šum*ᵑ*-ma* DINGIR IMIN.BI *it-ta-bi z*[*i*]-. . .*-šú-un*
—I:29 *sebetta ilānī uldaššum-ma Ilānī Sebetti ittabi z*[*ik*]*iršun*
—I:29 It bore him seven gods and he[32] na[m]ed them "the Divine Heptad."[33]

A (S) obv. (i:)30 *iz-za-*ᵍ*az*ᵑ*-zu ina maḫ-ri-šu-ma ši-mat-su-nu* ᵍ*i*ᵑ-[*š*]*im-ma*
X (B) obv. i:28' x-*za*ᵎ(ŠÁ)-*zu ina maḫ-ri-šu-ma ši-mat-su-nu* x . . . x-*ma*
—I:30 *izzazzū ina maḫrīšū-ma šīmassunu i*[*š*]*īm-ma*
—I:30 As they were standing before him, he a[s]signed their fates:[34]

A (S) obv. (i:)31 . . .*-si-m*[*a*] ᵍDIŠᵑ*-en i-šak-ka-na ṭ*[*è*]-ᵍ*e*ᵑ*-mu*
X (B) obv. i:29' *is-si-ma iš-ten i-šak-ka-*. . . . . .*-e-ma*
—I:31 *issī-ma ištēn išakkana ṭēma*
—I:31 He called number one to issue instructions:[35]

A (S) obv. (i:)32 . . .*-ma* . . . [*a*]*n-di-ru-ma* x-*tal-ku ma-ḫi-ra* ᵍ*e*ᵑ-[*ta*]*r-ši*

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[30] The spelling of Anu's name here, in which the scribe has deliberately preserved the mimation—evident from both extant copies—evinces a strong archaizing impulse in this text.

[31] Throughout the rest of this text, the epithet "the king of the gods" is applied to Marduk (see I:28, I:124, I:126, I:129, II:68, II:135, IIIc:44, IV:2, and IV:127).

[32] Theoretically "the earth" might be the subject of "named," although many factors militate against this, including the fact that in I:39 when the subject is again named it is Anu; on the most plausible reading "the earth" governs only the verb "bore."

[33] Lines I:28–29 are quoted verbatim in a late commentary on *The Diagnostic Handbook* (SA.GIG) as explication of the diagnosis "hand of the Divine Heptad" (for an edition see Hunger, *SpTU* 1, 38 [#30], lines 16–17 [copy on 133]).

[34] In Akkadian "fates" is singular, presumably signifying the fact that each one has a single fate.

[35] This syntactic pattern, where a preterite verb with the enclitic *-ma* is connected to a durative, appears to mean that one thing occurred in order for another to occur; in almost all cases the durative may be rendered with an infinitive in English. For other examples in this text see I:94, I:101, I:104, I:126, I:129, I:146, I:165, I:170, I:181, II:61, II:116, II:119, IIIc:9, IIIc:10, IIIc:34, IIIc:38, IIIc:57, IIId:2, IV:38, IV:39, IV:44, IV:62, V:4, V:16, and V:24–25 (some of these verses have been translated somewhat non-literally in an effort to capture the nature of the relationship between the two clauses). In almost all cases the subject of the clauses is identical, but notice the exception to this in IV:62. The use of the enclitic is indispensable to this construction (compare II:134 for an example of a preterite and a durative that are not connected with an enclitic and in which the first clause does not facilitate the accomplishment of the second but simply precedes it in time), and although preterites and perfects appear to be virtually indistinguishable in certain contexts in this text, the construction under discussion relies exclusively on an initial preterite (compare IV:96 for an example of a verb in the perfect connected with *-ma* to a durative, in which again one action simply precedes the other in time). However, it is likely this syntactic relationship equally obtains when a predicative verbal adjective is connected with *-ma* to a durative, as in I:26 and II:124.

X (B) obv. i:30’ *e*-x *ta-an-*˹*nam*˺*-ru-ma ta-at-*˹*tal*˺*-ku ma-ḫi-r*[*a*] ˹*e*˺*-. . .-ši*
—I:32 *ēma tannamrū-ma tattalku māḫira ē-*[*ta*]*rši*
—I:32 “Wherever you come and go, may yo[u h]ave no opponent!”[36]

A (S) obv. (i:)33 *i-qa*[*b*] . . . . . MIN-*i* GIM ˹^{d}GÉRRA˺ *ku-bu-um-ma ḫu-muṭ* GI[M] [*n*]*ab-li*
X (B) obv. i:31’ *i-qab-bi ana šá-né-e* GIM ^{d}GÉRRA^{I}(MES) *gu*-x . . . . . ˹*ḫu-muṭ*˺ ˹GIM˺ *nab-lì*
—I:33 *iqabbi ana šanî kīma Gerra kubum-ma ḫumuṭ kīma nabli*
—I:33 He spoke[37] to the second: “Like Gerra burn, blaze like a flame!”

A (S) obv. (i:)34 *i-t*[*a*] . . . [*an*]*a šal-ši z*[*i*]*-im la-bi lu šak-na-*[*t*]*a-ma a-mir-ka* [*li*]*š/*[*li*]*ḫ*$_4$*-ḫar-miṭ*
D (E) obv. i:1’ . . . . . [. . . . . .]
X (B) obv. i:32’ DÙ-˹*uš*˺*-ma*[38] *ana šal-ši zi-im lab-bi* x x x-˹*na*˺^{I}(NU)*-ta-ma a-mì-ru*^{I}(PAD)-˹*uk*˺ *liš/liḫ*$_4$*-ḫar-miṭ*
—I:34 *īt*[*ammi*] *ana šalši zīm labbi lū šaknātā-ma āmirka/āmiruk lišḫarmiṭ/liḫḫarmiṭ*
—I:34 He [said] to the third, “Assume the appearance of a lion;[39] *let it dissolve whoever looks at you* /*let whoever looks at you dissolve*.”[40]

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[36] Literally “Wherever you show up and go away, may you have no opponent!” As I read it, *nanmuru* and *atluku* form a merism here. (It is possible the DI sign in copy A is an error, ancient or modern, for NAM.) In this translation I am anticipated by Gössmann: “Wo du erscheinest und einhergehest, sollst du keinen Nebenbuhler haben!” (*Era-Epos*, 8).

All translators since Cagni have privileged the verb partially preserved in copy A and reconstructed a form of *nadāru*, “to rage”—otherwise attested only as a predicative verbal adjective—with the exception of Dalley, who translates “Wherever you band together and march out” (*Myths from Mesopotamia*, 286), presumably understanding the root to be *edēru*, “to embrace,” in the N-stem “to embrace one another,” and translating loosely. This latter suggestion can be discarded on the grounds that it does not fit the context of instruction issued to an individual member of the Divine Heptad.

[37] For the most part, the use of verbal aspects in this text is consistent and transparently motivated. However, verbs of speaking—especially when introducing direct speech—frequently appear in the durative where a preterite or perfect might be expected (compare the durative forms in I:33–35 to the perfect in a virtually identical context in I:36). For similar examples see I:105, I:130, II:30, II:68, II:70, II:117, IIIc:11, IIIc:35, IIIc:39, IV:12, IV:25, IV:137, and V:16.

[38] Cagni’s collations suggest ˹*i-tam*˺*-ma* for DÙ-˹*uš*˺*-ma* cannot be ruled out here (*L’Epopea di Erra*, 61; see also his comments on ibid., 154).

[39] For similar phrasing see IIIc:22 and IV:21.

[40] The signs permit us to read this form either as an N-stem or a Š-stem (following Cagni, *L’Epopea di Erra*, 60 and 154). Even in the Š-stem, this verb can be intransitive, as in *Maqlû* I:33.

There is a possible parallel in *Enūma Eliš* I:139: “let whoever looks at them dissolve in weakness” or “let it [the radiant aura] cause whoever looks at them to dissolve” (*āmiršunu šarbābiš liḫḫar*[*miṭ*]*/liš*[*ḫarmiṭ*]). However, here too the manuscripts offer conflicting, ambiguous evidence: *li-iḫ-ḫar-*[*mi-iṭ*] vs. *liš/liḫ*$_4$-[*ḫar-mi-iṭ*] (see Talon, *Enūma Eliš*, 38). It is also possible this verb represents a different root entirely, *naḫarmumu/šuḫarmumu*, “to collapse / to cause to collapse” (as Talon and others take it); a parallel in *The Babylonian Theodicy* (XXVI:286—for an edition see Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, 63–91, at 88–89) with this root alongside *šarbābiš* makes such a translation plausible.

A (S) obv. (i:)35 *i-qa*[*b*] . . . . . [*r*]*e-bi-i a-na na-še-e* ^{giš}TUKUL.MEŠ-[*k*]*a*$^{?}$ *ez-*[*z*]*u-ti* KUR-*ú* ⌜*li-tab*⌝*-bit*
D (E) obv. i:2’ ⌜A⌝ ⌜QU⌝ ⌜A⌝ ⌜ÁG⌝ ⌜*ni-iš*⌝ ⌜^{giš}TUKUL-*šú*⌝ [. . . . . .][41]
X (B) obv. i:33’ *i-qab-bi ana re-bé-e ana* ⌜*na*⌝$^{?}$-x-*e* ^{giš}⌜TUKUL⌝.MEŠ *-ka ez-zu-ti* KUR-*u li*-x-*bit*
—I:35 *iqabbi ana rebî ana našê/nīš kakkīka ezzūti šadû lītabbit*
—I:35 He spoke to the fourth: “At the raising of your ferocious weapons let a mountain be obliterated.”

A (S) obv. (i:)36 *a-na . . .-*⌜*ši*⌝ *iq-ta-bi* GIM IM [*z*]*iq-*⌜*ma*⌝ *kip-pat ḫi-iṭ-*⌜*ṭa*⌝
D (E) obv. i:3’ ⌜*a-na* ⌜IÁ⌝ ⌜*iq-ta-bi*⌝ *ki-ma* IM *zi-qí-i*[*m*][42] *. . .-pa-ta ḫi-*. . . . . .
X (B) obv. i:34’ *a-na ḫa-an-ši iq-ta-bi* GIM ⌜IM⌝ ⌜*zi-iq*⌝*-ma* ⌜*kip*⌝$^{?}$*-pa-ta ḫi-i-ṭa*
—I:36 *ana ḫanši iqtabi kīma šāri zīq-ma kippat*(*a*) *ḫīṭa*
—I:36 To the fifth he spoke: “Blow like the wind and scrutinize the circumference of the world.”

A (S) obv. (i:)37 [*š*]*e*[*š u*]*m-ta-ʾi-ir e-liš u* [*š*]*ap-liš ba-ʾa-ma la ta-gam-mil mam-ma*
D (E) obv. i:4’ ÀŠ-*šú* ⌜*ú-ma*⌝*-ʾi-ir e-liš u šap-liš ba-aʾ-am-ma la*$^{!}$(ŠU) *ta-*. . . . . .
X (B) obv. i:35’ *šeš-šá um-ta-ʾi-ir e-liš u šap-liš ba-ʾa-ma* ⌜*la*⌝ *tag-gam-mil*[43] *mim-ma*
—I:37 *šeš*(*ša*) *um*(*t*)*a*^{ʾʾ}*ir*[44] *eliš u šapliš bāʾam-ma lā tagammil mamma/mimma*[45]
—I:37 He commissioned the sixth, “Sweep over destructively above and below sparing nothing/*no one*.”

A (S) obv. (i:)38 *ša-ba-a i-mat ba-áš-mi i-*[*s*]*e*$^{!}$([I]Z)*-en-šum-ma*[46] *ú-šam-qat*[47] ZI-*t*[*i*]

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[41] The modern copy of text D (produced by Zimmern in 1894) is often unreliable, and so for the most part the evidence it provides here has been excluded. It does appear that *nīš* alternates with *našê*; however, *kakkīšu* for *kakkīka* is clearly inferior, given the evidence for a direct quote, and so has not been incorporated into the normalization.

[42] The form *zīqī*[*m*] in copy D appears to be a second-person feminine singular imperative with ventive (where a masculine form is expected). If the *-i* is simply overhanging on a masculine form, the motivation for the additional /m/, presumably preceding *-ma*, is not clear but could theoretically arise either from the tendency in this era for V:C (a long vowel followed by a single consonant) to alternate with VCC (a short vowel followed by a double consonant; see for example Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 39), or by analogy with ventives, whose lost mimation returns before an enclitic. (The motivation for overhanging vowels likely overlaps with the motivation for apparent ventives—frequently there is alternation across manuscripts between the two.) Given the unreliability of copy D, it is also possible this is simply an error.

[43] The form *taggammil* in copy X—an apparent N-stem durative—is surely corrupt (the N-stem is not otherwise attested for this root but would presumably have a passive meaning).

[44] Notice the initial /w/ or /m/ is here treated as a strong consonant; in Old Babylonian one would expect the perfect to appear *ūta*^{ʾʾ}*ir*, where the syllable-closing /w/ disappeared from the script but influenced the quantity of the vowel. It is not clear to me whether forms such as this simply preserve a tradition lost to Old Babylonian (since Middle Babylonian is clearly not the descendant of Old Babylonian), or whether new forms in which the /w/ has been treated as a strong consonant have been generated by analogy with strong verbs.

[45] Since MAM has the value MÌM and MIM has the value MÁM, either copy that preserves this word could read either *mimma* or *mamma*.

D (E) obv. i:5’ IMIN-˹*a*˺ **i-mat*˺(QAB) *ba*-x-*me* *i-ṣi-in-šu-ma* x-*qí-ta* ZI-*ta*
X (B) obv. i:36’ *se-ba-a i-mat ba-áš-mì i-ṣe-en-šú-ma šum-qí-ta n*[*a-pí*]*š-tu*
—I:38 *sebâ imat bašmi iṣēššū-ma*[48] *šumqita napišta*
—I:38 As for the seventh, he loaded him up with dragon venom: “Lay low living things!”

A (S) obv. (i:)39 *ul-tu ši-mat* DINGIR IMIN.BI *na*[*p*]-*ḫar-šú-nu i-ši-mu* d*a-num*
D (E) obv. i:6’ ˹*ul*˺(MI)-*tu*˺ ˹*ina*˺[49] ˹*ši-mat*˺ DINGIR IMIN.BI *nap-ḫar-šú-nu i-šim-mu*[50] d*a-num*
X (B) obv. i:37’ . . . [*t*]*u ši-mat* DINGIR IMIN.BI *nap-ḫar-šú-nu* *i-ši-mu* d*a-num*
—I:39 *ultu šīmat Ilānī Sebetti napḫaršunu išīmu Anum*
—I:39 After Anu had assigned the fates of all of the Divine Heptad,

A (S) obv. (i:)40 *id-din-šu-nu-ti-ma ana* ˹d˺*èr-ra qar-rad* DINGIR.MEŠ *lil-li-ku i-da-a-šu*[51]
D (E) obv. i:7’ ˹*i*-x˺-*šu-nu-ti-ma ana* d*èr-ra qar-rad* DINGIR . . . *lil-li-ku i-da-ka*
X (B) obv. i:38’ . . . . . -[*š*]*u-nu-ti-ma ana* d*èr-ra qar-rad* DINGIR.MEŠ *lil-li-ku i-da-ka*
—I:40 *iddiššunūtī-ma ana Erra qarrād ilānī lillikū idāka*[52]
—I:40 He gave them to Erra, the warrior of the gods: “Let them accompany you.[53]

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[46] Against the other witnesses, copy A preserves a dative suffix here: *iṣēššum-ma*. The accusative suffix has been favored for the normalization because elsewhere *ṣênu* takes its objects in the accusative, and in fact frequently takes double accusatives, as here (the same is true of *zânu*, on which see below). We have seen elsewhere an archaizing impulse in this text such that mimation is sometimes clearly preserved; it is possible the reason for the mimation in such contexts (i.e., the distinction between dative *-šum* and accusative *-šu*) had long since been forgotten and mimation was therefore applied somewhat haphazardly and indiscriminately. It is also possible this form was phonotactically motivated, where V:C is alternating with VCC.

[47] Again, copy A preserves an alternate form from the other witnesses: *ušamqat*, meaning “he will lay low” or “I will lay low.” This makes less sense in the passage since Anu pronounces injunctions to the other members of the Divine Heptad.

[48] Cagni points out that elsewhere the phrase *imat bašmi* appears with the verb *zânu* (*L’Epopea di Erra*, 155–156), and that *CAD* therefore corrects the form (see, e.g., s.v. “zânu”). However, *zânu* consistently appears with an /a/ theme vowel, so, with Cagni, I have retained the verb *ṣênu*; confusion over which root belongs in this phrase, as both make reasonable sense, may have developed already in antiquity.

[49] The term *ina* here is likely an error, ancient or modern.

[50] The form *išimmu* in copy D appears to be a durative, which makes less sense in context and has been excluded. (The apparent gemination may alternately be explained as a “tacked-on” suffix, where the gemination in the script simply marks the morpheme boundary, as commonly observed for example in the spelling of the name “Sîn-iddinam” dEN.ZU-*i-din-nam*. It may also represent a tendency to alternate between V:C and VCC in this era.)

[51] The form *idāšu* in copy A is theoretically possible but surely inferior, as it yields the translation “let them accompany him.”

[52] The form *idāka* may be either singular or dual.

[53] The idiom *idi alāku*, “to walk at the side,” may mean “to accompany” physically or, by extension, “to assist” (see *CAD*, s.v. “alāku,” pp. 319–320). Although there are other indications the weapons are animate (see I:7 and I:17), this phrase need not indicate they are physically marching into battle alongside Erra, as it is

A (S) obv. (i:)41 *ki-i šá* UN.ME[Š *d*]*a-ád-mì ḫu-bur-ši-na* UGU-*ka* *im-tar-ṣu*
D (E) obv. i:8' ⌜*ki-i*⌝ *šá* UN.MEŠ *da-ád-mì ḫu-bur-ši-na* [U]GU$^{!}$(UŠ$_{12}$)-*ka im-tar-*⌜*ṣu*$^{!}$⌝(⌜KA⌝)
X (B) obv. i:39' [. . . . .].MEŠ *da-ád-mì ḫu-bur-ši-na* ⌜UGU-*ka*⌝ *im-tar-ṣu*
—I:41 *kī ša nišī dadmī ḫubūršina elīka imtarṣu*
—I:41 "When the clamor of the people of the inhabited world becomes irksome to you,

A (S) obv. (i:)42 *ub-lam-ma* ⌜ŠÀ⌝$^{?}$-*ba-ka* *a-na šá-kan* *ka-ma-ri*
D (E) obv. i:9' *ub-lam-ma* ŠÀ-*ba-ka a-na šá-kan* . . . [*k*]*a-mar-ri*
X (B) obv. i:40' [. . . . .] ŠÀ-*ba-ka* *a-na šá-kan ka-ma-ri*
—I:42 *ublam-ma libbaka ana šakān kamāri*
—I:42 "And your heart urges you to accomplish defeat—

A (S) obv. (i:)43 *ṣal-mat* SAG.DU ⌜*a*⌝-[*n*]*a šu-mut-ti* *šum-qu-tu*$_4$ *bu-lì* ^{d}ŠÁKKAN
D (E) obv. i:10' *ṣal-mat* SAG.DU *a-na šu-mut-ti šum-q*[*u*]*-tú bu-ul* ^{d}ŠÁKKAN
X (B) obv. i:41' [. . . . . D]U *ana šu-mut-ti šum-qu-tu bu-ul* ^{d}ŠÁKKAN
—I:43 *ṣalmāt qaqqadi ana šumutti šumqutu būl*(*i*) *Šakkan*
—I:43 "To put the blackheaded ones to death, to lay low Šakkan's herds[54]—

A (S) obv. (i:)44 *lu-ú* ^{giš}TUKUL.MEŠ-*k*[*a*] [*e*]*z-zu-ti* *šu-nu-ma lil-li-ku*$^{!}$(LU) *i-da-a-ka*
D (E) obv. i:11' *lu-u* ^{giš}TUKUL.MEŠ-*ka ez-zu-ti šu-nu-ma* ⌜*lil*⌝*-li-ku i-da-ka*

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typically read; compare the following attestations of the idiom: *šar-mi mešrû illakū idāšu*, "They say, 'He is a king; wealth accompanies him' " (*The Babylonian Theodicy* line 282), and *ēpiš usāt dunqu ālik idi māt Akkadî*, "who assists with alacrity, who comes to the aid of the land of Akkad" ("Die Bestallungsurkunde des Königs Šamaš-šum-ukīn" obv. 10, the autograph for which appears in Steinmetzer, "Bestallungsurkunde"). For other attestations of this idiom in our text see I:44, I:98, and IIIc:26.

[54] Against Cagni (see *L'Epopea di Erra*, 157–161, especially 161: "Nell'epopea non è mai sicura la distinzione tra *būlu* e *būl* ^{d}*Šakkan*. Tutto porta anzi a credere che essa non esista"), I propose there is a distinction in this text between *būlu*, referring to animals generally, and *būl Šakkan*, referring especially to domestic animals. The evidence can be summarized as follows: 1) In I:83–86 the *būlu* are said to be "trampling the pastureland" (I:83), with the apparent result that "the farmer weeps [bit]terly" (I:84), where predators are picking off the *būl Šakkan* (I:85), with the apparent result that "the shepherd supplicates [Erra] on behalf of his flock" (I:86). The conjunction of the demise of the *būl Šakkan* with the prayers of the shepherd is telling in itself, suggesting the shepherd tends the *būl Šakkan* specifically. But if the *būlu* and the *būl Šakkan* are indistinguishable, the situation is nonsensical: I:83–84 indicates the booming number of *būlu* pose a direct threat to agriculture where I:85–86 indicates the lack of *būlu* is simultaneously a threat to animal husbandry. In fact, I propose it is animals generally—and, in this specific context, likely wild animals (*būlu*)—that threaten the farmer, in direct parallel to the "lion and wolf" of I:85 that threaten the shepherd with the extermination of his *būl Šakkan* or flocks of domesticates. The passage as a whole then states that wild animals are overrunning the land, jeopardizing farmers and pastoralists equally. 2) In V:32 Šakkan is paired with Nisaba; I read this passage as stating both domestic animals and grain will flourish, since domestic animals form a natural parallel to domestic plants. 3) On two occasions in this text, the *būl Šakkan* are paired with the *nammaššû*, "wild animals" (I:77 and II:145). While it is not always clear whether such pairings represent asyndeton or apposition, the preservation of a conjunction in one of the copies (*ù* in copy A in I:77) militates in favor of asyndeton. The *būl Šakkan* then are not themselves the wild animals, but the counterpoint to the wild animals; as a unit the phrase refers to animals generally, domestic and wild.

X (B) obv. i:42’ [. . . . . *k*]*a*[?] *ez-zu-ti šu-nu-ma lil-li-ku i-da-ka*
—I:44 *lū kakkūka ezzūti šunū-ma lillikū idāka*
—I:44 “Let them be your ferocious weapons, let them accompany you.”[55]

A (S) obv. (i:)45 *šu-nu ez-zu-m*[*a*] *ti-bu-ú kak-ku- šú-un*
D (E) obv. i:12’ *šu-nu ez-zu-ma te*[i](QA)*-bu-u* [giš]TUKUL.MEŠ*-šú-un*
X (B) obv. i:43’ [. . . . . .]*-ma te-bu-ú kak-ku*[i](KI)*-šú-un*
—I:45 *šunu ezzū-ma tebû kakkūšun*
—I:45 They are ferocious, their weapons are raised.[56]

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[55] For similar phrasing see I:40, I:98, and IIIc:26. This phrase is perhaps deliberately echoed in an inscription of Nebuchadrezzar II, invoking Lugal-Marada (a manifestation of Nergal/Erra): *kakkīka ezzūti . . . lillikū idāya*, “May your ferocious weapons . . . accompany me” (for an edition see Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, 78–79, iii:41–44).

[56] Multiple traditions about the role of the Divine Heptad may be preserved here: the Divine Heptad both serve as weapons to Erra and have weapons of their own.

(Theoretically the weapons of the Divine Heptad could be as animate as they themselves are: Dalley translates *tebû kakkūšun* as “their weapons rose up” [*Myths from Mesopotamia*, 287]; it could equally mean “their weapons attack.” But nothing in the grammar constrains us to interpret the verse this way, and so I have translated it as if the weapons are inanimate on the assumption that this is the default use of the term “weapon” unless something in the context points to animacy, as in I:7 or I:17.)

It is possible that when the “weapons” of Erra are referenced throughout this text, we are to understand them to be the Divine Heptad. The evidence for this can be summarized as follows: In the previous verse Anu explicitly assigns the Divine Heptad this role (*lū kakkūka ezzūti šunū-ma lillikū idāka*, “Let them be your ferocious weapons, let them accompany you”; I:44), and elsewhere Erra uses similar phrasing to command his weapons (*kakkū*[*y*]*a ezzūtu šūlik*[*a*]*/šūliku i*[*dāya*], “Make [m]y ferocious weapons accompa[ny me]”; I:98; see also IIIc:26). It is also the case that when Erra addresses his weapons and the Divine Heptad in sequence early in the text only one verb of speaking is supplied—in two separate passages—perhaps suggesting we are to understand them to be the same: *ītammi/ītammâ ana kakkīšu litpatā imat mūti / ana Ilānī Sebetti qarrād lā šanān nandiqā kakkīkun*, “He says to his weapons, ‘Smear yourselves with deadly poison!’ / To the Divine Heptad, the warriors without rival, ‘Gird on your weapons!’ ” (I:7–8); *ītammâ ana kakkīšu ummidā tubqāti / ana Ilānī Sebetti qarrād lā šanān ana šubtīkunu tūrā-ma*, “He says to his weapons, ‘Hide in the corners!’ / To the Divine Heptad, the warriors without rival, ‘Return to your dwelling!’ ” (I:17–18).

However, several other indications militate against this conclusion. In I:7–8, quoted above, the Divine Heptad are commanded to “gird on [their] weapons”; as in the present passage (I:44–45), the Divine Heptad bear weapons themselves even if they simultaneously function as “weapons” to Erra. And in I:7–8 clearly different commands are issued to the weapons and to the Divine Heptad; if it is the Divine Heptad who are to “smear [them]selves with deadly poison” it is not clear why they are simultaneously arming themselves. On another occasion the Divine Heptad incite Erra to “brandish [his] weapons!” (*turuk kakkīka*; I:60), strongly suggesting they are not the weapons. Elsewhere Erra girds on his weapons before entering Babylon (IV:4), with no indication the weapons are even animate. In fact if we remove I:44 from the discussion, there are no compelling reasons to suppose the Divine Heptad and Erra’s weapons overlap in identity. This entire passage (I:28–44) stands out in that it occurs in primordial time, not within the narrative, and it preserves earlier traditions (for example, Anu is “the king of the gods” in I:28, an epithet that is applied to Marduk everywhere else in this text; see n. 31). It seems not unreasonable to suppose the tradition it preserves that the Divine Heptad function as Erra’s weaponry is not reflected through the rest of the text—not even in the verse under discussion, in which they themselves bear ferocious weapons rather than serving as ferocious weapons. And although the language of this passage—the “ferocious weapons” and the “marching at my side” or “accompanying me”—here applied to the Divine Heptad, is applied elsewhere in the text to Erra’s weapons (I:98 and IIIc:26), neither phrase is uncommon and both occur in multiple other texts in addition to this one;

A (S) obv. (i:)46 *i-ta-mu-ú a-*[*n*]*a* ^{d}*èr-ra ti-bé i-zi-iz-ma*
D (E) obv. i:13' *i-ta-mu-u a-na* ^{d}*èr-ra te-bé i-ziz-ma*
X (B) obv. i:44' [. . . . . .] x x x [. . . . . .] *te-bé i-zi-iz-ma*
—I:46 *ītamû ana Erra tebe iziz-ma*
—I:46 They said to Erra, "Arise—stand.

A (S) obv. (i:)47 *mìn-su ki-i ši-*ʳ*i*ˀ*-bi muq-qí tu-šib ina* URU
D (E) obv. i:14' . . . . . *ki-i ši-i-bi muq*ᴵ(SA)*-qí* ʳ*tu*ˀᴵ(ʳLAˀ)*-šib ina a-lam*
X (B) obv. i:45' [. . . . . .]*-ši-ib* <*i*>*-na*ʔ ʳURUˀʔ
—I:47 *minsu kī šībi muqqi tušib ina āli*
—I:47 "Why like a feeble old man have you stayed in the city?

A (S) obv. (i:)48 *ki-i šèr-ri la-*ʳ*ʾi*ˀ*-i tu-šib ina* É
D (E) obv. i:15' *ki-i šèr-ri la-ʾi-iš*[57] ʳ*la*ˀ*-šib ina* É
X (B) obv. i:46' [. . . . . .]*-ib ina* É
—I:48 *kī šerri laʾî tušib ina bīti*
—I:48 "Why like a baby or toddler[58] have you stayed at home?

A (S) obv. (i:)49 *ki-i* <*la*> *a-lik* EDIN *ni-ka-la a-kal sin-niš*
D (E) obv. i:16' *ki-i la a-lik* EDIN *ni-ik-ka-la a-*ʳ*kal*ˀᴵ(ŠÁʔ) *sin- niš*
X (B) obv. i:47' [. . . . . *l*]*a a-kal sin-niš*
—I:49 *kī lā ālik ṣēri nikkala akal sinniš*
—I:49 "Like one who does not go out to the battlefield[59] should we eat the bread of women?

A (S) obv. (i:)50 *ki-i šá ta-ḫa-zi* ʳ*la*ˀʔ *ni-du-ú ni-ip-la-ḫa ni-ru-da*
D (E) obv. i:17' *ki-i šá ta-ḫa-za la ni-du-u ni-ip-l*[*a*] . . . *ni-*. . . . . .
X (B) obv. i:48' [. . . . . *i*]*p-la-ḫa n*[*i*] x x
—I:50 *kī ša tāḫāza lā nīdû niplaḫa nirūda*[60]
—I:50 "As if we do not know battle should we fear and tremble?

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see I:4 and I:35 for examples just in this text of other characters bearing "ferocious weapons," and see *CAD*, s.v. "ezzu" and s.v. "alāku" (pp. 319–320), for many more attestations of these respective expressions.

[57] Cagni's collation of copy D suggests it likely the text reads *la-ʾi-iš*, but *la-ʾe-*ʳ*e*ˀ cannot be ruled out (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 63). If *laʾîš* is not an error, it might have a terminative suffix such that *kīma šerri* is paralleled by *laʾîš*.

[58] All modern translators construe *laʾû* as an adjective, "babyish," describing *šerru*, "baby." In fact, it appears from IIIa:17 (*šerri u laʾî*) that *laʾû* is a noun and their relationship is one of asyndeton.

[59] The sense of *ṣēru* in this text cannot be conveyed by any single term in English: rendered "battlefield" in this context, it carries with it the sense of undeveloped land generally, as a specific counterpoint to the city.

[60] The motivation for preterites in this verse is opaque to me, particularly in the context of a durative in the preceding verse; notice when a parallel construction to the first hemistich of this verse appears in IIIc:43, the verb in the second hemistich appears in the durative. Compare *nizziza* in V:18.

A (S) obv. (i:)51 *a-lak* EDIN *šá eṭ-lu-ti* *ki-i šá i-sin-nu-um-ma*
D (E) obv. i:18' *a-lak* EDIN *šá eṭ-lu-ti* *ki-i šá* . . . . . *-sin-nu-um*$^{!}$(IM)*-ma*
X (B) obv. i:49' [. . . . .] ⌜*i*⌝*-si*[*n-*. . . . .]
—I:51 *alāk ṣēri ša eṭlūti kī ša isinnum-ma*
—I:51 "Going to the 'field of manhood' is like going to the field of a festival.
(*Or*: "While going on campaign, the young men are like festival-goers.)[61]

A (S) obv. (i:)52 *a-šib* URU <*lu*> NUN-*ú* *ul i-šeb-bé* *ak-la*
D (E) obv. i:19' *a-šib* URU *lu* <NUN>*-ú* KI[62] . . . . . [. . . . .] *ak-la*
—I:52 *āšib āli lū rubû ul išebbe akla*[63]
—I:52 "The citydweller, even if he is a prince, cannot be sated with bread.

A (S) obv. (i:)53 *šum-suk ina* KA UN.MEŠ-*šú-ma* *qa-lil* SAG.DU-*su*
D (E) obv. i:20' *šum-suk*$^{!}$(KU) *ina pi-i* U[N] . . . . . [. . . . .] x-*qad-su*
—I:53 *šumsuk ina pī nišīšū-ma qalil qaqqassu*
—I:53 "He will be denounced by his people and disparaged.

A (S) obv. (i:)54 *a-na a-lik* EDIN *a-ki-i i-tar-ra-aṣ* *qa-as-su*
D (E) obv. i:21' *a-na a-lik* EDIN *a-k*[*i*] . . . . . [. . . . .] x-*su*
—I:54 *ana ālik ṣēri akī itarraṣ qāssu*
—I:54 "How can he so much as beg[64] from the one who goes out to the battlefield?

A (S) obv. (i:)55 *šá a-šib* URU *lu pu-ug-gu-lat* *ku*$^{!}$(LU)*-bu-uk-ku-*. . .

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[61] This verse is difficult syntactically. The sense is clear impressionistically; indeed, the trope associating battle with a festival for young men is widespread and very old in Mesopotamian literature: compare, for example, *Lugal-e* line 136: ^{ĝiš}tukul-sìg-sìg-ga ezen nam-ĝuruš-a, rendered in Akkadian *ina tamḫuṣ kakkī isinni eṭlūti*, "at the clash of weapons, the festival of young manhood" (for an edition see Van Dijk, *LUGAL UD ME-LÁM-bi NIR-ĜÁL*). Many similar examples from Mesopotamian literature could be marshaled. (For a list of related passages with translations and discussion see Haul, *Stele und Legende*, 197–206.) The translation adopted here assumes the following underlying structure of the verse: *alāk ṣēri ša eṭlūti kī* [*alāk ṣēri*] *ša isinnum-ma*. All translators since Cagni have construed *eṭlūti* not as an abstract form but as the plural of *eṭlu*, "young man." However, the many parallels that involve Sumerian nam-ĝuruš, an undeniable abstract form, make such translations less than optimal.

The alternate translation proposed here construes *ša eṭlūti* and *ša isinnum-ma* as groups of people, "those of youth" and "those of the festival"; I am indebted to my colleague Esther Brownsmith for this idea.

[62] Cagni's collations suggest KI here might in fact be *u*[*l*] (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 63).

[63] Observe that this reading assumes each copy has omitted a different sign.

[64] Although many translators take the stretching out of the hand to be a threatening gesture, a number of parallels in which the phrase means "to beg" are collected in *CAD* (s.v. "tarāṣu"). (The phrase is also used to signify prayer.) No parallels in which the gesture signifies a threat are known, and the meaning "to beg" makes reasonable sense in this context, in which "the prince," whether psychologically or physically, "cannot be sated with food" (I:52).

D (E) obv. i:22' *šá a-šib* URU *lu* . . . . . [. . . . .]-*kuš*
—I:55 *ša āšib āli lū puggulat kubukkuš*
—I:55 "Even if the citydweller's strength is well developed,

A (S) obv. (i:)56 *a-na a-lik* EDIN *a-ki-i i-dan-nin m*[*i*]-˹*i*˺-. . .
D (E) obv. i:23' *a-na a-lik* EDIN *a-k*[*i*] . . . . . [. . . . .]-*na*
—I:56 *ana ālik ṣēri akī idannin mīna*[65]
—I:56 "How could he be stronger than[66] the one who goes out to the battlefield?

A (S) obv. (i:)57 *a-kal* URU *lul-lu-ú ul ub-ba-la ka-ma*[*n*] ˹*tùm*˺-. . .
D (E) obv. i:24' *a-kal* URU *lul-lu-u* . . . . . [. . . . .]-*ri*
—I:57 *akal āli lullû ul ubbala kamā*[*n*] *tumri*
—I:57 "The sumptuous bread of the city cannot compare[67] with the ashcak[e].[68]

A (S) obv. (i:)58 *ši-kar na-áš-pi du-uš-šu-pi ul ub-ba-lu* A.[M]EŠ *n*[*a*] . . .
D (E) obv. i:25' *ši-kar na-áš-pi* . . . . . [. . . . .]-*di*
—I:58 *šikar našpi dušš̆upi ul ubbalu*[69] *m*[*ê*] *n*[*ā*]*di*
—I:58 "Fine sweetened beer cannot compare with the wa[t]er of a wa[te]rskin.

A (S) obv. (i:)59 É-GAL *tam-li-i ul ub-ba-la ma-ṣal-la-tu* . . . *šá* . . . . . .
D (E) obv. i:26' ˹É˺(˹UD˺).GA[L] . . . . . [. . . . .] x
F (G) K 16694, obv. 59 *m*]*a-ṣal-lu šá* x
—I:59 *ekal tamlî ul ubbala maṣallātu/maṣallu ša* [*rē'î*?][70]

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[65] The word *mīna* at the end of this verse must be deemed tentative, although it makes the best sense of what is preserved in the copies. The phrase *mīnu kī* is known from a number of other sources (see *CAD*, s.v. "mīnu"), but elsewhere invariably occurs as a unit, in that order. It may not be coincidence that on the three other occasions that the word *mīnu/minû* appears in this text the conditions appear to be contrary to fact (see II:33, IIIc:45, and V:13); I have accordingly translated it as such here as well, on the tentative assumption that *mīna* here may qualify the meaning of *akī*, which is ordinarily used in indicative contexts.

[66] Ordinarily comparatives in Akkadian employ the preposition *eli*, so the use of *ana* here might be considered at least somewhat outside the norm. In *CAD* a single passage is cited in which *danānu ana* purportedly means "to be stronger than, to be too strong for," but it is not clear that a comparison is being drawn specifically (*ana tāmerāti idninū ingirū ugārū*, "[the water] became too much for the reservoirs [and] inundated the fields," from a Standard Babylonian fable in *King, CT* 15, pl. 34, line 31, as cited and translated in *CAD*, s.v. "danānu" [p. 84]).

[67] One of the specialized meanings of *babālu* is "to be worth" (see *CAD*, s.v. "abālu").

[68] A very different context in which the "ashcake" is viewed positively, as an offering pastoralists make to Ištar, can be found in the Standard Babylonian recension of *Gilgameš* VI:59 (for an edition see George, *Gilgamesh Epic*).

[69] The form *ubbalu* appears to have an overhanging vowel (compare the use of the apparent ventive on this word in I:57 and I:59).

—I:59 "The terraced palace cannot compare with the hovel(s) of [the shepherd (?)].

A (S) obv. (i:)60 *qu-ra-du* ^{d}*èr-ra ṣi-i-ma ana* EDIN *tu-ruk* . . .TUKUL.MEŠ-[*k*]*a*
D (E) obv. i:27' . . . . . [. . . . . .]
F (G) K 16694, obv. 60 EDI]N *tu-ruk kak-ki-ka*
—I:60 *qurādu Erra ṣī-ma ana ṣēri turuk kakkīka*
—I:60 "Warrior Erra, go out to the battlefield! Brandish your weapons!

A (S) obv. (i:)61 *ri-gim-ka dun-nin-ma liš-tar-i-bu e-liš* ⌜*u*⌝ *šap-*[*l*]*iš*
F (G) K 16694, obv. 61]⌜*e-liš*⌝ *u šap-liš*
—I:61 *rigimka dunnim-ma lištarʾibū eliš u šapliš*
—I:61 "Make your voice resound so that above and below they are made to tremble!

A (S) obv. (i:)62 ^{d}*í-gì-gì liš-mu-ma li-šar-bu* MU-[*k*]*a*
F (G) K 16694, obv. 62 . . . . .] MU-*ka*
—I:62 *Igīgī lišmû-ma lišarbû šumka*
—I:62 "Let the Igīgī hear and glorify your name!

A (S) obv. (i:)63 ^{d}*a-nun-na-ki liš-mu-ma liš-ḫu-ṭ*[*u*] *zi-ki*[*r*]*-ka*
F (G) K 16694, obv. 63 . . . . .] *sì-kir*$_{16}$*-ka*
X (B) obv. ii:1' x EL . . . . . .
—I:63 *Anunnakī lišmû-ma lišḫuṭ*[*ū*][71] *zikirka*

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[70] Lambert reconstructs *tušāri* at the end of this verse, making use of the TU sign that (read differently) indicates a plural of *maṣalla* in copy A and the ŠÁ sign that follows, in both copies A and F; he translates the phrase "shelter in the open country" (Review of Gössmann, 400). Although this makes very good sense in context and cannot be excluded, it should be treated with reservation for the reason that the use of "gaps" or blank spaces in copy A is very common and almost invariably signals word divisions. If Lambert's reading is right, the gap appears not before this word begins, nor are there gaps around every sign in the word as when the scribe intends to fill the remaining space on the line, but the first gap appears *after* the initial sign of the word. In concert with the absence of the TU sign from copy F, this evidence suggests *-tu* is better rendered as a feminine plural ending and *ša* likely means "of." (For other examples of gaps in copy A that do not appear at word boundaries—none of which parallel Lambert's proposed reconstruction for this verse perfectly—see obv. [i:]45, obv. [ii:]115, obv. [ii:]117, and [rev. iii:]134.) In contrast, Falkenstein reads "[*re-ʾi*]-*i*" at the end of the line ("Zur ersten Tafel," 203), and, following Falkenstein's lead, Cagni proposes SIPAD be restored in copy A (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 64 and 165). Because it makes better use of the space, this restoration has been adopted provisionally here; however, it should be noted that connecting two substantives with *ša* (instead of forming a construct chain) is extremely rare in this text: the only unequivocal example appears with a compound in I:190: *imna u šumēla ša bābīka*, "to the right and left of your gate." (See also I:51, whose syntax is opaque, and I:153, where the second substantive has likewise been reconstructed.)

[71] The /ṭ/ in *išḫuṭū* has apparently led Foster to derive the root from *šaḫātu* A, "to jump, to move spasmodically": "Let the Anunna-gods hear and flinch at the mention of you" (*Before the Muses*, 884). It is unlikely this is the appropriate interpretation. The theme vowel for this root is /i/, and while one might posit Assyrian vowel harmony in this phonological context to account for the /u/, it is notable that Assyrian vowel harmony is either vanishingly rare in this text or entirely absent (see II:38 with note). In addition, nowhere does this root occur with *zikru*, where many examples of *zikru* with *šaḫātu* B ("to fear, to respect") are known (see *CAD*, ad loc.); the entry in *CAD* also points to multiple other examples in which this latter root is apparently spelled with a /ṭ/. (See also Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 167.)

—I:63 "Let the Anunnakī hear and fea[r] the mention of you!

A (S) obv. (i:)64 DINGIR.MEŠ *liš-mu-ma lik-nu-šu . . . ana ni-ri-ka*
F (G) K 16694, obv. 64 . . . . . *n*]*i-ri-ka*
X (B) obv. ii:2' DINGIR.MEŠ . . . . . .
—I:64 *ilānū lišmû-ma liknušū ana nīrīka*
—I:64 "Let the gods hear and bow before your yoke!

A (S) obv. (i:)65 *ma-al-ki liš-mu-ma lik-mi-s*[*u*] . . . *šá-*ʳ*pal*ˀ*-ka*
F (G) K 16694, obv. 65 . . . . . *pa*]*l-ka*
X (B) obv. ii:3' I:65 *ma-al-ki* . . . . . .
—I:65 *malkī lišmû-ma likmis*[*ū*] *šapalka*
—I:65 "Let the sovereigns hear and knee[l] at your feet![72]

A (S) obv. (i:)66 [K]UR.KUR *liš-ma-ma bi-lat-si-*. . . . . .-ʳ*šá-a*ˀ-[*k*]*a*
F (G) K 16694, obv. 66] *-ka*
X (B) obv. ii:4' I:66 *ma-ta-a-te* . . . . . x . . . . . .
—I:66 *mātātu lišmâ-ma bilassi*[*na liš*]*šâka*[73]
—I:66 "Let the lands hear and [br]ing you th[eir] tribute!

A (S) obv. (i:)67 x-*lu-ú liš-mu-ma ina ra-ma-*. . . . . [*k*]*u*?
F (G) Rm II, 477+K 16694, obv. 67 . . . . . *š*]*ú-nu l*[*i-m*]*u-tu*
X (B) obv. ii:5' *gal-le-e liš-*ʳ*mu*ˀ-. . . . . .
—I:67 *gallû lišmû-ma ina ramā*[*nīš*]*unu l*[*im*]*ūtū*
—I:67 "Let the *gallû*-demons hear and d[i]e spont[an]eously![74]

A (S) obv. (i:)68 [*da*]*n-nu liš-mé-ma liš-šu-*. . . . . .-*šú*
F (G) Rm II, 477+K 16694, obv. 68 . . . . . *u*]*r e-mu-*[*q*]*í-šu*
J 68 . . . . .] x x
X (B) obv. ii:6' *dan- nu liš-me-ma* ʳ*liš*ˀ? . . . . . .
—I:68 *dannu lišmē-ma liššur emū*[*q*]*īšu*
—I:68 "Let the mighty hear and let his stre[n]gth dissipate![75]

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[72] Literally "kneel below you."

[73] This reconstruction follows Lambert (Review of Gössmann, 401) and Falkenstein ("Zur ersten Tafel," 203).

[74] This translation follows a suggestion made by Lambert ("New Fragments," 76). In contrast, Cagni tentatively reconstructs *lillikū* for *limūtū* with the meaning "to go away" (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 64–65).

[75] This translation is adapted from Lambert, who reads the end of the verse "let him diminish his strength" ("New Fragments," 76). Although *našāru* is typically transitive—as Lambert reads it—examples appear in *CAD* (ad loc.) in which it is intransitive, especially in astronomical contexts referring, e.g., to the waning of the moon. I propose tentatively that the verb is intransitive in this context as well. (Falkenstein suggests the reading *liššu*[*k ubān*]*šu*, "let him bit[e] his [finger]" ["Zur ersten Tafel," 203], and Cagni *liššu*[*k šaptē*]*šu*, "let him bit[e] his [lips]" [*L'Epopea di Erra*, 64–65], for what Lambert believes to be *liššur emūqīšu*.)

A (S) obv. (ii:)69 [. . . . . .]-*ru-*˹*te*˺ ˹*liš*˺-*m*[*u* . . . . . .]
F (G) Rm II, 477+K 16694, obv. 69 . . . T]U-*ma liš-pi-la*ᴵ(MA) *re-š*[*á*]-*šu-un*
J 69 . . .] *liš-pi-l*[*a*
X (B) obv. ii:7' *ḫur-sa-a-ni zaq-ru-ti liš-mu-ma* x-. . . . . .
—I:69 *ḫursānī zaqrūti lišmû-ma*[76] *lišpilā rēš*[*ā*]*šun*
—I:69 "Let the tall mountains hear and let their hea[d]s bow low!

A (S) obv. (ii:)70 [. . . . . .]-*a-tú liš-ma-m*[*a* . . . . . .]
F (G) Rm II, 477+K 16694, obv. 70 *d*]*al-ḫa-ma li-ḫal-li-qa m*[*ì-š*]*ìr-ta*$_5$
J 70 *t*]*a-ma-a-ti gal-*[
X (B) obv. ii:8' *ta-ma-a-ti gal-la-ti liš-ma-ma l*[*i*] . . . . . .
—I:70 *tâmāti gallāti lišmâ-ma l*[*idd*]*alḫā-ma liḫalliqā m*[*iš*]*irta*
—I:70 "Let the rolling (?) seas hear, [be c]hurned up, and wipe out their p[ro]duce![77]

A (S) obv. (ii:)71 [. . .] x *qí-i-*x [. . .-*n*]*i lik-tap-pi-*[. . . . . .]
F (G) Rm II, 477+K 16694, obv. 71 *p*]*i-ru gup-nu-šu*
J 71] *šá qí-i-ši da*[*n*
X (B) obv. ii:9' ˹LI IZ˺[?] BU . . . *dan-ni* . . . . . .
CC (C) 4' [. . . *q*]*í-i-ši dan-ni lik*ᴵ(LIM)-*tap-r*[*u*[78]
—I:71 *ša*[79] *qīši danni liktappirū gupnūšu*

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[76] The broken TU sign in copy F suggests there may be another word between *lišmû-ma* and *lišpilā*. Frankena proposes *līṭabbitū*, "let them be obliterated" (*apud* Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 168); Cagni points out that this root is used in reference to "mountains" (*šadû*) in I:35, II:140, IV:142, and IV:147 (ibid. n. 85). In *Poem of Erra* Cagni opts for *lištaḫḫitū*, "let them be struck with terror" (28–29 n. 17). In fact, there is no shortage of verbs that might fit this context, including *liglutū*, "let them tremble"; *liktutū*, "let them quiver"; *limqutū*, "let them crumble"; and *lissaltū*, "let them split." However, it is not clear from the space in either copy A or copy X that there is enough room for an extra word between *lišmû-ma* and *lišpilā*. The position has therefore been tentatively adopted here that the broken TU sign in copy F is an error. (This appears to be Foster's solution as well: he translates simply "Let lofty mountains hear and their peaks crumble" [*Before the Muses*, 884]). However, by no means is this reading secure—if another verb is posited here, this verse more closely parallels the following one.

[77] Compare II:141 and IV:148.

[78] The form *liktaprū* in copy CC—even emended from *limtaprū*—is surely an error, since the Gt-stem of *kapāru* is not attested (no root *mabāru* or *mapāru* is known in Akkadian).

[79] Cagni proposes the first word is *ina* rather than *ša*, of which one allegedly finds vestiges in copy A (in fact, all that is left is part of a vertical; Cagni also corrects copy X to read *i-na qí* where the autograph appears to read ˹LI IZ˺ BU—see *L'Epopea di Erra*, 64–65). However, this reconstruction is dubious and makes far less sense of the context: anticipatory genitives in this text are typically introduced by *ša* or, less commonly, simply by topicalization (a practice that overlaps directly with one of the common uses of *ša* throughout this text, namely to introduce a topic without integrating it directly into its syntax; in either case, whether with or without *ša* and with or without a resumptive pronoun later in the verse, such constructions may be rendered in English using the phrase "as for . . ."). The apparently resumptive pronoun on *gupnūšu* makes *ša* desirable in this context—as, in fact, one finds in copy J, published after Cagni's text edition.

—I:71 "Let even the tree trunks of the dense forest be cleared away!

A (S) obv. (ii:)72 ⌜*a*⌝*-pu šá né-r*[*e*. . . *l*]*a i-šu-ú li-*[. . . . . .]
F (G) Rm II, 477+K 16694, obv. 72 *t*]*a-aṣ-*⌜*ṣi*⌝*-ṣu* GI.MEŠ!*-šu*
J 72 G]I *šá né-re-*[
X (B) obv. ii:10' *a-pu* . . . ⌜*re-ba*⌝-. . . MA . . . . . .
CC (C) 5' ⌜GIŠ⌝!(⌜DU⌝).GI ⌜*ša*⌝ *né-*⌜*re*⌝*-ba-*{BA} x [
—I:72 *apu ša nēreba* [*l*]*ā īšû li*[*ḫt*]*aṣṣiṣū qanûšu*
—I:72 "Let the reeds of the [i]mpenetrable canebrake be s[na]pped off!

A (S) obv. (ii:)73 [U]N.MEŠ *lip-l*[*a*]*-ḫa-ma lit-qu-*[. . . . . .]
F (G) Rm II, 477+K 16694, obv. 73 *q*]*u-na ḫu-bur-ši*[*n*]
J 73 . . .] x *lip-*[. . .
X (B) obv. ii:11' ⌜UN.⌝[ME]Š *lip-la-ḫa-*. . . . . .
CC (C) 6' UN.MEŠ *lip-la-ḫa-ma* [. . .
JJ (M) obv. 23 UN.MEŠ ⌜*lip*⌝*-la-*⌜*ḫu*⌝*-ma lit-qu-na ḫu-*x*-ši*[*n*]
—I:73 *nišū liplaḫā-ma litquna ḫubūrši*[*n*]
—I:73 "Let the people revere and let the[ir] clamor subside!

A (S) obv. (ii:)74 [*b*]*u-lu*$_4$ *li-ru-ur-ma li-tur* [. . . . . .]
F (G) Rm II, 477, 74 . . .] *ana ṭi-iṭ-*⌜*ṭi*⌝
X (B) obv. ii:12' . . . . . -x *li-ru-ur-ma l*[*i*] . . . . . .
CC (C) 7' MÁŠ.ANŠE *li-ru-ur-*[
JJ (M) obv. 24 MÁŠ.ANŠE *li-ru-ur-ma* ⌜*li*⌝*-tur a-na* ⌜*ṭi*⌝*-iṭ-*⌜*ṭi*⌝
—I:74 *būlu līrur-ma litūr ana ṭiṭṭi*
—I:74 "Let the wildlife tremble and turn back into clay![80]

[80] Compare this verse to IV:150: *būla īruršu*/*īrur-ma utīr ana ṭiṭṭi*, "He cursed the wildlife and turned them back into clay." These verses appear to echo one another deliberately, and theoretically it is possible to translate them similarly, either "Let the wildlife tremble and turn back into clay!" (I:74) and "The wildlife trembled and he turned them back into clay" (IV:150), or "Let him curse the wildlife and let them turn back into clay!" (I:74) and "He cursed the wildlife and turned them back into clay" (IV:150). However, several factors militate against an impulse to harmonize these verses in this way. Either option necessitates awkward syntax in one or the other verse, where the subject switches unexpectedly between the hemistichs. Additionally, the respective passages in which each verse is embedded suggest *būlu* is the subject of *līrur* on the first occasion and the object of *īrur* on the second (compare *nišū liplaḫā*, "let the people revere," in I:73 on the one hand and *api u qīši ušaḫrim-ma*, "he laid waste the canebrake and the forest," in IV:149 on the other). Furthermore, the change from *litūr*, an intransitive G-stem verb, in I:74 to *utīr*, a transitive D-stem verb, in IV:150 suggests the transitivity has changed from one passage to the other and confirms our suspicion that the subject has changed, from *būlu* in the present verse to "he" ("the warrior," apparently Išum) in IV:150. It appears from the attestations that *arāru* B, "to fear; to tremble," is universally intransitive, where *arāru* A, "to curse," is universally transitive; the former therefore fits the present verse where the latter fits the context of IV:150. It is nevertheless likely that the author understood these two passages to be intimately connected; where we moderns might label this "wordplay" through the use of homophony, the ancient author may have construed what are historically separate roots as a single term. (On the translation of these verses see also Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 169.)

An alternative translation of the present verse would derive the verb *līrur* from *arāru* C, "to rot." This makes good literal sense of the context of "turn[ing] back into clay"; however, the opening clause of the

A (S) obv. (ii:)75 DINGIR.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-˹*ka*˺ *li-mu-ru-ma li-na-d*[*u* . . . . . .]
F (G) Rm II, 477, 75 . . . . . *n*]*a-du qur-di-k*[*a*]
H (I) 1’ *l*]*i-*˹*mu-ru-ma*˺ ˹*li*˺-[. . . . . .
X (B) obv. ii:13’ . . . . . MEŠ-*ka li-mu-ru-m*[*a*]? . . . . . .
CC (C) 8’ DINGIR.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-*ka l*[*i*
KK (N) 26 DINGIR.MEŠ ˹AD˺.MEŠ-*ka li-mu-ru*-[. . . . . .
—I:75 *ilānū abbūka līmurū-ma linādū qurdīk*[*a*]
—I:75 “Let the gods your fathers see and praise yo[ur] status as warrior![81]

A (S) obv. (ii:)76 [*q*]*u-ra-du* d*èr-*˹*ra*˺ *mìn-su* EDIN [*t*]*u-*<*maš*>-˹*šìr*˺*-ma t*[*u* . . . . . .]
F (G) Rm II, 477, 76 . . . . . *m*]*a tu-šib ina* UR[U]
H (I) 2’ . . .]*-ra mìn-su* EDIN *tu-*˹*maš*˺!(˹NI˺)*-šì*[*r*
X (B) obv. ii:14’ *qar-ra-du* d*èr-ra mìn-su* ˹EDIN˺ *t*[*u*]-. . . . . .
CC (C) 9’ *qu-ra-du* d*èr-ra* [
KK (N) 27 [*q*]*u-ra-du* d˹*èr*˺*-ra mìn-su* [. . . . . .
—I:76 *qurādu/qarrādu Erra minsu ṣēra tumaššir-ma*[82] *tušib ina āl*[*i*]
—I:76 “Warrior Erra, why have you neglected the battlefield and stayed in the cit[y]?

A (S) obv. (ii:)77 *bu-ul* dŠÁKKAN ˹*ù*˺ [*na*]*m-maš-še-e le-qu-u* [. . . . . .]
F (G) Rm II, 477, 77 . . . . . *q*]*u-u še-ṭu-ut-ni*
H (I) 3’ *m*]*aš-šu-u le-qu-ú* [
X (B) obv. ii:15’ *bu-ul* dŠÁKKAN {d}*na*[*m*]*-ma*!(QA)*-šu-ú le-qu*?- . . . . . .
CC (C) 10’ MÁŠ.ANŠE dŠÁKKAN *nam-*[

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previous verse, *nišū liplaḫā*, “let the people revere,” suggests a synonym (*arāru* B, “to fear; to tremble”) may be at play here.

[81] Other translators have typically rendered *qurdu* as “valor” or “heroism” (in his Italian edition Cagni translates it “eroismo” [*L’Epopea di Erra*, 65]; both Labat and Bottéro read it “vaillance” [Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient*, 119; Bottéro, “Le poème d’Erra,” 229]; and Dalley and Foster both read it “valo(u)r” [Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 288; Foster, *Before the Muses*, 884]). It is my contention that modern associations of heroism especially with self-sacrifice cloud our reading of this and similar passages. It appears to me that the valorization of a decidedly non-modern, non-Western set of norms around combat and around the appropriate motivation for religious devotion obtain here—norms that have not been informed to any degree, for example, by just war theory or by contemplations of Euthyphro’s Dilemma, but that maintain that the value of combat lies in its (not necessarily negative) ability to instill awe. I have accordingly attempted to translate this term as literally as possible, as “status as warrior,” since it is because Erra is a warrior, not a hero or a valiant soldier as we understand those terms, that he is revered. (The application of the term “hero” to Erra, with all its modern overtones, has, I believe, led some to misassess the tone of the poem: “All this makes [Erra], at most, a negative hero and the epithet ‘hero’ which is given him has a ring of irony about it” [Cagni, *Poem of Erra*, 9].)

[82] The form has been emended following Cagni (*L’Epopea di Erra*, 169). *tumaššir* could, alternatively, be read *tumaššar*, since the signs ŠÌR and ŠAR are generally interchangeable in this era. A preterite has been selected here so that the aspects of the two verbs match. Unfortunately this term, although plausible in context, is not entirely secure regardless, since MAŠ has been omitted from copy A where the NI sign appears in copy H.

—I:77 *būl Šakkan* (*u*) *nammaššû leqû šeṭūtni*
—I:77 "Šakkan's herds and the wild animals hold us in contempt![83]

A (S) obv. (ii:)78 *qu-ra-du* ^{d}*èr-*˹*ra*˺ [*n*]*i-qab-bi-kúm-ma at-mu-ni* [. . . . . .]
F (G) Rm II, 477, 78 . . . . . *i*]*m-ru-uṣ* UGU-*ka*
H (I) 4' *r*]*a ni-qab-bi-kúm-ma* ˹*at-mu*˺-[
X (B) obv. ii:16' *qu-ra-du* ^{d}*è*[*r*]*-ra ni-qab-ba*-x-*ma* ˹*at*˺*-mu-ni* x . . . . . .
CC (C) 11' *qu-ra-du* ^{d}*èr-ra* x [
—I:78 *qurādu Erra niqabbīkum-ma atmûni* [*lí*]*mruṣ*[84] *elīka*
—I:78 "Warrior Erra, we will speak to you [even if] what we say irks you.

A (S) obv. (ii:)79 ˹*a*˺-[*d*]*i ma-a-*. . . . . .-[*ḫa*]*r-šá ir-bu-ú* [. . . . . .]
F (G) Rm II, 477, 79 . . . . .] UGU-*ni*
H (I) 5' *ḫ*]*ar-šá ir-b*[*u* . . .
X (B) obv. ii:17' *a-di* KUR *nap-ḫ*[*ar*]-. . . . . ˹*ir*˺?*-bu-ú* . . . . . .
CC (C) 12' . . .-˹*di*˺ x x ˹*tu*$_4$˺ ˹*nap*˺-[. . .
—I:79 *adi mātu napḫarša irbû elīni*
—I:79 "When the whole land becomes too prosperous for us,[85]

A (S) obv. (ii:)80 [. . .]-˹*de*˺-[. . . . . *t*]*a*? *še*$_{20}$*-ma-a-ti* [. . . . . .]
F (G) Rm II, 477, 80 . . . . .] *a-mat-ni*
H (I) 6'] x UL[86] *še-ma-t*[*a* . . . . . .
X (B) obv. ii:18' *mìn-de-ma at-t*[*a*]? . . . . . *še-ma-ta* . . . . . .
CC (C) 13' ˹*mìn*˺-x . . . . . ˹IZ˺ . . . *at-*[. . . . . .
—I:80 *mindē-ma atta šemâta*[87] *amātni*
—I:80 "Perhaps you will hear our speech.

A (S) obv. (ii:)81 [. . . . . .]-x *šaḫ-ra-ár-ti* SIG$_5$*-ti* [. . . . . .]
F (G) Rm II, 477, 81 . . . . . SI]G$_5$ ˹*ep*˺*-šá*

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[83] Cagni points to *The Babylonian Theodicy* for another example of animals neglecting the cult (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 170); see lines 45–66.

[84] Following Frankena's reconstruction (*apud* Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 170). Von Soden reconstructs this verse differently, supplying a vetitive rather than a precative, *ayy-imruṣ* for *limrus*: "Warrior Erra, we will speak to you! May what we say not irk you!" (*apud* Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 170 n. 97).

[85] Literally "too big for us." As I read it, the Divine Heptad are arguing that the population of the world, human and perhaps animal, is flourishing beyond what the gods should reasonably tolerate (see I:81–82).

[86] It is not clear whether the UL sign in this copy preserves an alternative tradition to *mindē-ma* or whether it is an error.

[87] The variant to this form in copy A renders this *šemâti*, a feminine form that elsewhere sometimes similarly replaces the masculine. This fluctuation in final vowels appears to be related to the more general phenomenon labeled "overhanging vowels."

H (I) 7’ *r*]*a-ʾi-im* x-*ra-a*[*r*
X (B) obv. ii:19’ *a-na* ^{d}*a-nun-na-ki* . . . . . -[I]B$^{!?}$-^{r}*ar*$^{¬!}$(^{r}Ù$^{¬}$)-*ti*[88]
—I:81 *ana Anunnakī* [*r*]*āʾim šaḫrarti damiqti epša*
—I:81 “Do a favor to the Anunnakī, who [l]ove deathly silence.

A (S) obv. (ii:)82 [. . . . . *b*]*ur* UN.MEŠ *ul i-re-eḫ-ḫu-ú* [. . . . .]
F (G) Rm II, 477, 82 . . . . .]-*u šit-tu*$_4$
H (I) 8’ *ḫ*]*u-bur* UN.MEŠ x [. . . . .
X (B) obv. ii:20’ ^{d}*a-nun-na-ki ina* x x x
—I:82 *Anunnakī ina* [*ḫ*]*ubūr nišī ul ireḫḫû šittu*
—I:82 “The Anunnakī cannot sleep for the [cl]amor of humankind.[89]

A (S) obv. (ii:)83 [. . . . . *p*]*a-ra ra-ḫi-iṣ* [MÁ]Š.^{r}ANŠE$^{¬}$
F (G) Rm II, 477, 83 . . . . . *í*]*ṣ bu-lu*$_4$
H (I) 9’ *g*]*i-pa-r*[*u* . . . . . .
X (B) obv. ii:21’ *na*$^{!}$-[*p*]*iš-ti* ^{r}*ma*$^{¬}$-*a-ti g*[*i*]-. . . . . x x . . . x
—I:83 *na*[*p*]*išti māti g*[*ip*]*āra raḫiṣ būlu*
—I:83 “The wildlife is trampling the pas[tur]eland, the l[i]fe of the land.

A (S) obv. (ii:)84 [. . . . .]-x-*šú i-bak-ki* [*ṣa*]*r-piš*
F (G) Rm II, 477, 84 . . . . . *ṣa*]*r- piš*
H (I) 10’ x-*ḫi* x [. . . . . .
X (B) obv. ii:22’ *ik-ka-ru ina* UGU . . . . . x ^{r}*i-bak*$^{¬}$-*k*[*i*] . . .
—I:84 *ikkaru ina muḫḫi* . . . . . *–šu ibakki* [*ṣa*]*rpiš*
—I:84 “The farmer weeps [bit]terly over his . . .[90]

A (S) obv. (ii:)85 x-[. . . . . *š*]*am-qa-tu* MÁŠ.ANŠE ^{r}^{d}$^{¬}$ŠÁKKAN
F (G) Rm II, 477, 85 . . . . .]-^{r}*ul*$^{¬}$ ^{r}^{d}$^{¬}$x
X (B) obv. ii:23’ *né-e-šu u bar-ba-ru šu*[*m*]$^{!}$-^{r}*qu-tú*$^{¬!}$(ÉRIN) *b*[*u*]-. . . . . .
—I:85 *nēšu u barbaru* [*uš*]*amqatū/šu*[*m*]*qutū būl Šakkan*

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[88] If read correctly, this line appears to have been truncated.

[89] Frankena has pointed to the awkwardness of this phrase: ordinarily sleep “overcomes” (literally “pours over”) living beings, but here “the Anunnakī” appear to be the subject and “sleep” the object (*apud* Cagni, *L’Epopea di Erra*, 171). In fact, the relevant entry in *CAD* does not cite a single other example of *šittu* serving as the object of *reḫû* rather than its subject (see *CAD*, s.v. “reḫû”). The solution to this is straightforward: in spite of the word order and the apparent plurality of the form *ireḫḫû*, sleep is indeed the subject and the Anunnakī are the object. Not only is the sequence object-verb-subject known elsewhere in this text, it is known from the very next verse, which might suggest a pattern. The form *ireḫḫû*, then, appears to have an overhanging vowel. It is likely that the fixity of the expression would have aided native speakers in making sense of this verse in spite of its unorthodox word order.

[90] A number of proposed reconstructions have been advanced to fill this lacuna: Falkenstein suggests A.ŠÀ.MEŠ for *eqlētu*, “fields” (“Zur ersten Tafel,” 204), where Lambert restores [*er-m*]*u-u-šú*, “his plot of land” (Review of Gössmann, 401).

—I:85 “The lion and wolf are laying low Šakkan’s herds,[91]

A (S) obv. (ii:)86 x-[. . . . . .] GI$_6$ *ul i-ṣal-lal* ⌜*i-bal-la*⌝ [*k*]*a-a-šá*
X (B) obv. ii:24’ *re-*⌜*e*⌝*-ú <aš>-šú ṣe-ni-šú* x x x ⌜*ul*⌝ *i-ṣal-*. . . . . .
—I:86 *rēʾû aššu*[92] *ṣēnīšu* [*urra u*] *mūša ul iṣallal iballa* [*k*]*âša*
—I:86 “The shepherd supplicates [y]ou on behalf of his flock [day and] night without sleeping.

A (S) obv. (ii:)87 . . . . . [. . . . . .]-⌜*i*⌝? *nim-ta-šam*?-[*ma*? . . . *ḫa*]*r-ra-nu*
X (B) obv. ii:25’ *ù né-e-nu mu-d*[*e*]*-e* ⌜*né*⌝*-reb* KUR-*e ni*[*m*]-. . . . . .
—I:87 *u nēnu mūdê nēreb šadê nimtašâm*-[*ma*[93] *ḫa*]*rrānu*
—I:87 “And we who know the mountain pass, we have forgotten [the w]ay.

A (S) obv. (ii:)88 . . . . . [. . . . . .]-ID *qé-*⌜*e*⌝ *e*[*t-t*]*u-tu*
X (B) obv. ii:26’ *ina* UGU *til-le-e* EDIN-*ni šá-ta-*. . . . . .
—I:88 *ina muḫḫi tillê ṣērīni*[94] *šatâ*[*t*][95] *qê e*[*tt*]*ūtu*
—I:88 “Over our battle gear s[pi]derwebs are spu[n].

A (S) obv. (ii:)89 [. . . . . *i*]*d-*⌜*ni-na*⌝ U]GU ⌜*e*⌝*-m*[*u-q*]*í-ni*
X (B) obv. ii:27’ *qa-šat-ni ṭa-ab-tú ib-bal-kit-ma i*[*d*] . . . . . .

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[91] This verse appears to be virtually identical to IIIa:15.

[92] Cagni tentatively reads the beginning of copy X as *re-*⌜*e-um*⌝ *áš-šú* (*L’Epopea di Erra*, 66). While I find this general solution useful, there does not appear to me in the autograph of copy A to be room for that many signs; I’ve adapted it accordingly.

[93] Cagni (*L’Epopea di Erra*, 66) follows Falkenstein (“Zur ersten Tafel,” 204) in reading this as *nimtašši*, a Gtn-stem preterite; this reading is explicitly adopted at least by Labat and Dalley, judging by their use of the terms “complètement” and “quite” qualifying “oublié/forgotten,” respectively (see Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient*, 119; Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 288). However, the Gtn-stem should have an iterative sense, which most translations do not reflect faithfully because it is difficult to see the rationale for an iterative in this context. In the autograph of copy X, the sign Falkenstein reads as ÁŠ appears to be Ú; I am therefore tentatively proposing this is a G-stem perfect with ventive, and that all that remains to be restored in the lacuna is an enclitic *-ma*.

[94] Notice the pronominal suffix appears on the *nomen rectum* here and not the *nomen regens*.

[95] The evidence for this form is problematic: it is not clear that the two extant copies preserve the same tradition. The reading provisionally adopted here supposes *-at* is to be restored in the break in copy X, and excludes the cryptic ID sign in copy A from the reconstruction. It is further conjectured that, like *tillê ṣērīni*, *qê ettūtu* is treat as a unit: grammatically, one might expect the masculine plural *qê* to determine the gender and number of the predicate in the same way one expects *tillê* to receive the pronominal suffix, but because both of these phrases function as single lexemes, in each case the *nomen rectum* rather than the *nomen regens* governs its syntactic relationships; *šatât* is therefore attracted to the feminine singular *ettūtu*. In fact, *CAD* cites another example of this, *šatât qê ettūti*, in a prism inscription of Sargon II (see Gadd, “Inscribed Prisms,” 192, line 65; *CAD*, s.v. “šatû B”). Compare the similar expression, in which however *qê ettūti* functions not as subject but as adverbial accusative, in the “Annals of Sennacherib”: *tāmerātūšu ša ina lā māmī namûte šūlukā-ma šatâ qê ettūti*, “its meadows, which for lack of water had turned to wasteland and were woven over with cobwebs” (see Luckenbill, *Annals of Sennacherib*, 79, line 6; *CAD*, s.v. “ettūtu”).

—I:89 *qašatni ṭābtu ibbalkit-ma idnina* [*e*]*li em*[*ūq*]*īni*
—I:89 "Our quality bow has lost resilience and become too strong [f]or our stren[gth].[96]

A (S) obv. (ii:)90 [. . . . . .] *li-šá-*ʳ*an*ˀ*-šú*
X (B) obv. ii:28' *šá uṣ-ṣi-ni zaq-ti ke-*ʳ*pa*ˀ*-ta l*[*i*]*-*. . . . . .
—I:90 *ša uṣṣīni zaqti kepâta lišāššu*
—I:90 "The point of our sharp arrow has become blunt.

A (S) obv. (ii:)91 *pa-*ʳ*ta*ˀ?*-*[. . . . . *d*]*i šu-uḫ-tú*
X (B) obv. ii:29' GÍR-*ni ina la*ᴵ(ŠU)[97] *ṭa-ba-ḫi it-t*[*a*]*-*. . . . . .
—I:91 *patarni ina lā ṭabāḫi itt*[*ad*]*i šuḫtu*
—I:91 "Our sword has devel[ope]d rust for lack of slaughter."

A (S) obv. (ii:)92 *iš-me-*ʳ*šu*ˀ*-nu-t*[*i*] . . . . . *q*[*u-r*]*a-du* ᵈ*èr-ra*
D (E) obv. ii:1' *iš-*[. . . . .
X (B) obv. ii:30' *iš*ᴵ(DU)*-me-šu-nu-ti-ma qu-*. . . . . *-ra*
—I:92 *išmēšunūtī-ma qu*[*r*]*ādu Erra*
—I:92 Wa[r]rior Erra heard them;

A (S) obv. (ii:)93 *a-mat* DINGIR IMI[N].BI *iq-bu-ú ki-i ú-lu* [Ì.GI]Š UGU-*šú* ʳ*i*ˀ*-ṭib*
D (E) obv. ii:2' *a-mat* ᵈʳ*i*ˀ!*-*[
X (B) obv. ii:31' *a-mat* DINGIR IMIN.BI *iq-bu-šú k*[*i*]? . . . . . *-ṭib*
—I:93 *amāt Ilānī Sebetti iqbû*(*šu*) *kī ulû* [*šam*]*ni elīšu iṭīb*
—I:93 The speech the Divine Heptad had spoken (to him) was as pleasing to him as the best [oi]l.[98]

A (S) obv. (ii:)94 *i-pu-*[*u*]*š-ma pa-a-šu i-zak-k-ar ana* ᵈ[*i-š*]*um*
D (E) obv. ii:3' *i-pu-u*[*š*
X (B) obv. ii:32' *i-pu-uš-ma pa-a-šú i-*. . . . . .
—I:94 *īpuš-ma pāšu izzakkar ana* [*Iš*]*um*
—I:94 He opened his mouth to say to [Iš]um:

A (S) obv. (ii:)95 *mìn-su še-ma-ta-ma qa-liš tu-u*[*š*] . . . [*b*]*u*
D (E) obv. ii:4' *mìn-su* ḪI [
X (B) obv. ii:33' *mìn-su* ʳ*še*ˀ?*-ma-ta-ma* ʳ*qa*ˀ?*-*. . . . . *-*[*t*]*u-uš-*. . .

[96] The use of *eli* suggests this clause is understood as a comparative, literally "it has become stronger than our strength," presumably because it is too hard to string. The only usage of *danānu* and *emūqu* cited in *CAD* that parallels this one appears in Thompson, *CT* 20, pl. 12, K 9213, i:9: *nakru eli emūqī ummānīya idannim-ma*, "The enemy is becoming stronger than the strength of my army" (see also *CAD*, s.v. "emūqu"). Since the larger context describes equipment failures, it is likely the point of this verse is that for lack of use the bow has deteriorated, not that the Divine Heptad have become too "soft."

[97] On this emendation see Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 175.

[98] Compare IV:129.

—I:95 *minsu šemâtā-ma qâliš tuš*[*b*]*u*
—I:95 "Why when you heard did you si[t] silently?

A (S) obv. (ii:)96 *ṭu-da pe-tu-ma*[99] *lu-uṣ-bat ḫar-r*[*a-n*]*i*
D (E) obv. ii:5' *ṭu*[u](KU)*-di p*[*i*[i](ḪI)
X (B) obv. ii:34' *ṭu-da pi-i-ti-ma* ˹*lu*˺*-u*[*ṣ*]-. . . [. . . *b*]*a-ta ḫar-ra-*. . .
—I:96 *ṭūda pitī-ma luṣbat*(*a*) *ḫarrā*[*n*]*i*
—I:96 "Blaze a trail so I can undertake a campai[g]n![100]

A (S) obv. (ii:)97 DINGIR IMIN.BI ˹*qar*˺*-rad la šá-na-an lu-*˹*up*˺*-q*[*id*]ˀ x-. . . . . .
D (E) obv. ii:6' DINGIR IMIN.BI x [
X (B) obv. ii:35' DINGIR IMIN.BI *qar-rad la* ˹*šá*˺ˀ-. . . [. . .] *šu-li-k*[*a*]ˀ *i-da-a-a*
—I:97 *Ilānū Sebettu qarrād lā šanān lupq*[*id*]ˀ[101] . . . . . .
—I:97 "Let me must[er] (?) the Divine Heptad, the warriors without rival . . .[102]

A (S) obv. (ii:)98 [giš]TUKUL.MEŠ-[*i*]*a ez-zu-tu šu-li-ku* . . . *i-*. . . . . [. . .]
—I:98 *kakkī*[*y*]*a ezzūtu šūlik*[*a*]*/šūliku*[103] *i*[*dāya*][104]
—I:98 "Make [m]y ferocious weapons accompa[ny me].[105]

A (S) obv. (ii:)99 *ù at-*˹*ta*˺ *a-lik maḫ-ri-ia* . . . . . .-x x-. . . . . [. . . . . .]
D (E) obv. ii:7' *u at-ta* N[U
X (B) obv. ii:36' *ù* ˹*at*˺*-ta a-lik ma*[*ḫ*]-. . . . . [. . . *i*]*a*ˀ *a-lik* ˹*ár*˺*-*. . .*-ia*
—I:99 *u atta ālik maḫrīya ālik ar*[*kī*]*ya*ˀ[106]

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[99] If this form is not an error, it appears to provide evidence for an overhanging vowel (*petû-ma*).

[100] This verse appears to be repeated in II:126 and IIIc:24.

[101] It is not clear what verb is to be restored here; Cagni suggests *luppit* (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 68), where Bottéro translates "enrô[le]ˀ," apparently reading *lupqid* ("Le poème d'Erra," 230; see also Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 313 n. 11); my adoption of the latter proposal must be deemed tentative.

[102] Copy X appears to have compressed the beginning of this verse with the end of the following verse: *Ilānū Sebettu qarrād lā šanān šūlika idāya*, "Make the Divine Heptad, the warriors without rival, accompany me." This verse may be repeated in IIIc:25.

[103] Copy A conjugates this verb with an overhanging vowel, while in copy X it appears with a ventive.

[104] The end of this verse can be confidently restored on the basis of what copy X preserves for the previous verse.

[105] For an apparently identical verse, see IIIc:26; for similar phrasing see also I:40 and I:44.

[106] The reconstruction "rearguard" is not entirely satisfactory here. Although superficially it forms a natural complement to "vanguard," the latter is a very common stock epithet of Išum in this text, and as such is generally not well integrated into the contexts in which it appears. Also, if this restoration is legitimate, it is not entirely clear what the predicate is (it is generally assumed, as here, that there is an unstated copula). (The verse may be repeated in IIIc:27, but is even less well preserved there.)

—I:99 “And you are my vanguard, my re[arg]uard (?).”

A (S) obv. (ii:)100 ⌜ᵈ*i*⌝-*šum an-ni-ta* . . . [. . . . .] . . . [. . . . .]
D (E) obv. ii:8’ ᵈ*i-šum* [
X (B) obv. ii:37’ . . .-*me-e-*⌜*ma*⌝ ᵈ*i-š*[*um* . . . . . .]-*a qa-*⌜*ba-a*⌝-. x
—I:100 **Išum annīta* [*ina šemêšu*]*[107]/*[*iš*]*mē-ma Iš*[*um ann*]*â qabâ*[*šu*]*[108]
—I:100 Išum, upon [hea]ring this (speech [of his]),

A (S) obv. (ii:)101 ⌜*i*⌝-. . . . . *pa-a-še i-zak-kar* . . . [. . .] . . .-*du* ᵈ*è*[*r* . . . . .]
D (E) obv. ii:9’ <*i*>-*pu-*⌜*uš*⌝!(⌜LU⌝) [
X (B) obv. ii:38’ *re-e-mu* ⌜*ir*⌝-*t*[*a* . . . . . .]-x x . . . . . .
—I:101 **īpuš*-[*ma*] *pāše*[109] *izzakkar* [*ana qurā*]*du Er*[*ra*]*/**rēmu irt*[*ašī-ma iqtabi ana qurādu Erra*]*[110]
—I:101 *He opened his mouth to say [to Warr]ior Er[ra],*/*He h[ad] compassion [and spoke to Warrior Erra]*:

A (S) obv. (ii:)102 ⌜*be-lu*$_4$⌝ ⌜ᵈ⌝*èr-ra mìn-su a-*. . . . . [. . .] . . . [Ḫ*U*]L-*tì tak-*[. . . . .]
D (E) obv. ii:10’ *qu-ra-du* [
X (B) obv. ii:39’ *mìn-su a-na* DINGIR . . . [. . . . .] x x x . . . . . .
—I:102 (*bēlu/qurādu Erra*)[111] *minsu ana ilā*[*nī lemu*]*tti tak*[*pud*][112]
—I:102 “(Lord/Warrior Erra,) why did you pl[ot ev]il against the god[s]?

A (S) obv. (ii:)103 *a-na sa-pa*[*n*] . . . [KU]R *ḫul-lu-u*[*q*] . . . [. . . . .] . . .-*tì tak-pu-ud-ma*
. . . . . ⌜*la ta*⌝-[. . .] . . . . . [*a*]*r-ki-ka*
D (E) obv. ii:11’ . . .] GIM [. . .
X (B) obv. ii:40’ *ana* ⌜AM.IZ⌝?[113] KUR.KUR ⌜*ḫul*⌝-*lu-*. . . [. . . . .] x-*ud*-x x . . . . . ⌜UD⌝

[107] Reconstructions follow Ebeling (*Mythus vom Pestgotte Era*, 6).

[108] Reconstructions for this variant follow Cagni (*L’Epopea di Erra*, 68).

[109] The anomalous spelling *pa-a-še* for *pāšu* appears repeatedly in copy A (see also I:104, I:126, and I:180; compare I:94 and I:129, where it appears as *pa-a-šu*).

[110] As in the previous verse, copy X preserves a different tradition for this verse; the restorations essentially follow Gössmann (who, however, does not include Erra’s epithet “warrior”), reflecting what is preserved in IIIc:29, where the same expression is used in reference to Išum.

[111] Copy X omits Erra’s name and epithet at the beginning of the line, but likely includes it at the end of the line, now lost to a lacuna.

[112] The reconstruction of *takpud* in this verse was first proposed by Ebeling (*Mythus vom Pestgotte Era*, 6); the phrase is apparently repeated in the following verse and recurs in several other places throughout this text (II:29, IIIc:36, IIIc:37, and partially reconstructed in II:148).

[113] Cagni tentatively reads *sa-pan* for what appears to be AM IZ in copy X (see *L’Epopea di Erra*, 68).

. . .

—I:103 *ana sapā*[*n*] *mātāti ḫullu*[*q nišīšin lemut*]*ti*[114] *takpud-ma lā*[115] *ta*[*tūr ana a*]*rkīka*

—I:103 "You have plotted [evi]l—to crus[h] the lands and wipe o[ut their people]—and have not tur[ned a]way."[116]

A (S) obv. (ii:)104 ^{d}*èr-ra* . . . . . [*š*]*e i-*. . . . . *i-qab-bi*

D (E) obv. ii:12' ^{d}*èr-ra* [

X (B) obv. ii:41'a ^{d}*èr-ra* KA-*šú* DÙ[. . . . .].GA[117]

—I:104 *Erra pāšu īpuš-*[*ma*] *iqabbi*

—I:104 Erra opened his mouth to speak;

A (S) obv. (ii:)105 *a-na* ^{d}*i-*[*šu*]*m a-*. . . [*m*]*aḫ-ri-*^{r}*šú*$^{\neg}$ . . . . . *i-zak-kar*

D (E) obv. ii:13' *ana* ^{d}*i-šum* [

X (B) obv. ii:41'b *ana* ^{d}*i-š*[*um*] . . . [*li*]*k maḫ-*. . . . . [118]

—I:105 *ana Išum ā*[*li*]*k maḫrīšu* [*amāta*] *izzakkar*

—I:105 To Išum, his v[a]nguard, he uttered [a speech]:[119]

A (S) obv. (ii:)106 ^{d}*i-š*[*u*]*m qu-*[*la*]*m-ma ši-*. . . . . *qa-ba-a-a*

D (E) obv. ii:14' ^{d}*i-šum* [

X (B) obv. ii:42' ^{d}*i-šum* x [. . .]-*lam-ma še-mé qa-ba-a-a*

—I:106 *Išum qūlam-ma šeme qabāya*[120]

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[114] These restorations follow II:29, where apparently similar phrasing appears.

[115] In general the classical Old Babylonian prose distinction between *ul* and *lā* is adhered to in this text; this apparent error appears only in copy A (from Sultantepe), a frequently idiosyncratic copy on issues of form. For examples of similar errors see II:106 (twice), IV:1, and IV:94; for examples of related errors in the negative particle (perhaps influenced by Assyrian) see IV:121 (copies R and RR), IV:122 (copies R and W), and IV:135 (copy AA). In view of the literally scores of occasions on which the author has chosen the appropriate negative particle to the context (following Old Babylonian prose conventions) and the fact that in three of the seven verses that present errors at least one copy has the expected form, I suspect many if not all of these errors were introduced at the copying stage.

[116] The phrase "turn away" (*târu ana arki*) frequently means "retreat" in military contexts (see *CAD*, s.v. "târu"); it is possible these overtones apply here. The commonness of this phrase lends credibility to its partial restoration here; see, for example, II:67.

[117] The verbs in this copy have been written logographically: DÙ[-*ma* DUG_4].GA.

[118] Notice copy X combines this verse with the preceding one.

[119] This verse is apparently identical to IIIc:39.

[120] The form of the word *qabāya* evinces evidence of interference from non-literary dialects of the first millennium. In Old Babylonian this word would be *qabê* in the nominative and accusative, a contraction of the base *qabā-* and the suffix *-ī*. The form here fits the Neo-Assyrian pattern, in which the distribution of the first-person pronominal suffixes *-ī* and *-ya* does not follow case but phonological environment, where *-ī* is suffixed to a consonant and *-ya* to a vowel (see Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 49). (Compare the forms

—I:106 "Išum, pay attention and listen to what I say.

A (S) obv. (ii:)107 *áš-šú* U[N.ME]Š *da-ád-*[*m*]*ì šá taq-bu-u* . . . [*m*]*a-al-šin*
D (E) obv. ii:15' x UN.MEŠ [
X (B) obv. ii:43' *áš-*˹*šú*˺ ˹UN˺.M[EŠ . . . . .]-˹*ád*˺*-mì šá taq-bu-u ga-mál-*. . .
—I:107 *aššu nišī dadmī ša taqbû gamālšin*
—I:107 "Regarding the people of the inhabited world, whom you suggested I spare,

A (S) obv. (ii:)108 *a-li*[*k*] . . .*-ri* DINGIR.MEŠ [*e*]*n-q*[*u*] ˹d˺*i-šum šá mi-*˹*lik-šú*˺ *dam-qu*
D (E) obv. ii:16' ˹LAG˺[121] *maḫ-ri* [
X (B) obv. ii:44' ˹*a*˺-[. . . . .] DINGIR.MEŠ *en-qu* d*i-šum* ˹*šá*˺ x-˹*lik*˺*-šú dam*?-˹*qu*˺?
—I:108 *āli*[*k*] *maḫri ilānī enqu Išum ša milikšu damqu*
—I:108 "Van[g]uard of the gods, wise Išum, whose advice is good:[122]

A (S) obv. (ii:)109 *ina* A[N]*-e ri-ma-k*[*u*] . . . *ina* KI*-tì* [*l*]*ab-ba-ka*
D (E) obv. ii:17' *ina* . . . . . *-*˹*e*˺ [
X (B) obv. ii:45' x [. . . . .] *ri-ma-ku ina* KI*-tì lab-*˹*ba*˺*-ku*
—I:109 *ina ša*[*m*]*ê rīmāku ina erṣeti labbāku*[123]
—I:109 "In he[av]en I am a wild bull; on earth I am a lion.[124]

A (S) obv. (ii:)110 . . . KU]R *šar-ra-k*[*u*] . . . *ina* DINGIR.MEŠ [*e*]*z-*˹*ze*˺*-ka*
D (E) obv. ii:18' *ina* KUR *šar-*[
X (B) obv. ii:46' [. . . . .] *šar-ra-ku ina* DINGIR.MEŠ *ez-za-*˹*ku*˺
—I:110 *ina māti šarrāku ina ilānī ezzāku*
—I:110 "In the land I am king; among the gods I am the most ferocious.

A (S) obv. (ii:)111 . . . d*í-gì-gì qar-da-k*[*u*] . . . *ina* d*a-nun-na-ki gaš-rak*[125]

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otherwise known from Standard Babylonian in Groneberg, *Syntax, Morphologie und Stil* 1, 115.) See also V:17, where the phrase recurs and the term again appears as *qabāya*.

[121] The copy shows evidence of abrasion around this sign, suggesting LAG may have been miscopied (Cagni reads ˹*a*˺*-lik*: *L'Epopea di Erra*, 69).

[122] This verse may be identical to IIIc:54.

[123] Notice how common predicative constructions are in hymnic contexts: see especially I:109–120 and IIId:3–15.

[124] Yoram Cohen has argued compellingly that this passage, I:109–118, constitutes a unit in itself that belongs to a genre known from other sources, which he labels a "self-praise hymn" (see "Fearful Symmetry," especially 1–2 and 5–7).

[125] On three occasions in this text predicative verbal adjectives appear in an apocopated form: the present context (copy A), *maššarāk* in I:113 (at least copy A), and *tamḫāt* in IIId:3 (copy O). It is true that final vowels in this text show some fluctuation: extra or "overhanging" vowels are common on verbs, where pronominal suffixes on nouns frequently lose final vowels. However, because copy A, from Sultantepe, is full of aberrant

D (E) obv. ii:19’ *ina* ^{d}*ì-gí-gí* x [
X (B) obv. ii:47’ [. . . . . .] *qar-da-ku ina* ^{d}*a-nun-<na->ki gaš-ra-ku*
—I:111 *ina Igīgī qardāku ina Anunnakī gašrāku*
—I:111 “Among the Igīgī I am the most combative; among the Anunnakī I am the most powerful.

A (S) obv. (ii:)112 . . . *bu-lì ma-ḫi-ṣa-k*[*u*] . . . *ina* KUR-*i* *šu-ba-ku*
D (E) obv. ii:20’ *ina bu-li* x [
X (B) obv. ii:48’ [. . . . . .] ˹*ma*˺-*ḫi-ṣa-ku ina* KUR-x [. . .] ˹*šu*˺-*ba-ku*
—I:112 *ina būli māḫiṣāku ina šadî šubâku*
—I:112 “To the wildlife I am a hunter; to the mountain I am a battering ram.

A (S) obv. (ii:)113 *ina* ˹*a*˺-[*p*]*i* ^{d}GÈRRA-. . . *ina qí-ši ma-aš-šá-rak*
D (E) obv. ii:21’ *ina a-pi* x x [
X (B) obv. ii:49’ [. . . . . .] x
—I:113 *ina api gerrā*[*ku*] *ina qīši maššarāk*
—I:113 “To the canebrake I am a fir[e]; to the forest I am a battleaxe.[126]

A (S) obv. (ii:)114 *ina a-l*[*ak*] *ḫar-ra-nu* . . . *ú-ri-in-na-ku*
D (E) obv. ii:22’ *ina a-lak* x [
—I:114 *ina alāk ḫarrānu urinnāku*
—I:114 “While going on campaign I am a standard.

A (S) obv. (ii:)115 *ki-i* [I]M *a-za-qu ki-i* ^{d}IŠKUR *ur-*[*t*]*a-ṣa-* *an*
D (E) obv. ii:23’ *ki-i šá-*. . . [
—I:115 *kī šāri azâqu*[127] *kī Adad ur*[*t*]*aṣṣan*

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spellings and copy O, an amulet, is characterized by extremely abbreviated spellings, I see these forms as nothing more than examples of idiosyncratic copying conventions.

[126] Reading *maššaru* as an otherwise unattested variant of *magšaru*. Cagni tentatively reads the apparent AŠ sign in copy A as AG (Cagni, *L’Epopea di Erra*, 68).

[127] Notice that the theme vowel in *azâqu* has not reverted: that is, ordinarily when vocalic suffixes are added to the durative of an ablaut hollow root (e.g., *azâq*), the vowel reverts to the quality of the preterite and the final consonant is doubled (e.g., *aziqqu*, *aziqqa*). That this phenomenon is not confined to copy A but appears in multiple other copies (*i-qa-li* in II:119, copy LL; *i-qa-li* in II:162, copy LL; *i-šá-ʾu* in IV:10, copy M [compare however *i-šu-ʾu-u* in copies W and RR]; *i-na-ḫi* in IV:63, copy P; *a-da-ni* in IV:71, copy RR; and *i-ma-ti* in V:53, copies N and SS) suggests overhanging vowels behave differently from other vocalic suffixes. (In contrast, ablaut hollow roots in the durative whose vocalic suffixes are not understood to be overhanging virtually always show evidence for reversion to the theme vowel of the preterite: *i-nu-šú* in I:5, copy X; *iʾ-mi-ri* in I:26, copy A; *ir-ru* in I:26, copy X; *i-ziq-qam* in I:175, copy X; *ta-tur-ru* in I:182, copy A; *ta-tu-ra* in I:182, copy X; *iʾ-ir-ru* in II:33, copy C; *i-ir-ru* in II:33, copy UU; *iʾ-i-ru* in II:157, copy LL; *i-mut-tú* in IIIa:25, copy L; and *i-mut-ta* in IIIa:25, copy Z. The only exception of which I am aware appears in II:149: <*i*>*-a-ri* in copy C and *iʾ-a-r*[*u*] in copy W.) Observe also that while evidence for gemination of the final consonant is sporadic in the latter category, it is entirely absent in the former (the only possible exception is *uktinnu* in II:34, which might alternatively be analyzed as a Dt-stem in the plural rather than a D-stem in the singular with overhanging vowel); I have therefore normalized the forms in question without gemination.

—I:115 "Like the wind I blow; like Adad I r[u]mble.

A (S) obv. (ii:)116 *ki-i* ˹d˺[UT]U-*ši a-ba*[*r-r*]*i* [*k*]*ip-pa-ta* . . . [*k*]*a-la-ma*
—I:116 *kī* [*Šam*]*ši aba*[*rr*]*i* [*k*]*ippata* [*k*]*alāma*
—I:116 "Like [Šam]aš I s[ca]n the [c]ircle of the [c]osmos.

A (S) obv. (ii:)117 *a-na* EDI[N]ˀ ˹*uṣ-ṣi*˺*-ma* *bi-i*[*b*]- *ba-ku*
—I:117 *ana ṣēr*[*i*]ˀ *uṣṣī-ma bi*[*b*]*bāku*[128]
—I:117 "I go out to the hinterla[nd] (?),[129] I am a wil[d s]heep.

A (S) obv. (ii:)118 *a-na n*[*a*ˀ]*-me-e er-ru-ub-ma* . . . . . *ra-m*[*a-k*]*u šub-ta*
—I:118 *ana n*[*a*ˀ]*mê errum-ma* . . . . . *ram*[*âk*]*u šubta*
—I:118 "I enter into the wi[ld]erness (?) and tak[e u]p residence . . .[130]

A (S) obv. (ii:)119 DINGIR.MEŠ *nap-ḫar-šú-nu ṣal-*˹*ta*˺ˀ[131] *šaḫ-tu*
—I:119 *ilānū napḫaršunu ṣālta šaḫtū*
—I:119 "All of the gods are afraid of combat,

A (S) obv. (ii:)120 *ù* UN.MEŠ *ṣal-mat* [S]AG.DU *le-q*[*u*] . . . *še*$_{20}$-*ṭu-tu*$_4$
—I:120 *u nišū ṣalmāt* [*q*]*aqqadi leq*[*û*][132] *šeṭūtu*
—I:120 "And the black[h]eaded people hav[e] contempt.

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[128] The term *bibbu*, translated here as "wild sheep," is used elsewhere to mean "planet, star, comet (?)" (see *CAD*, ad loc.), which has led some interpreters to find astrological significance in this line (see Brown, *Planetary Astronomy-Astrology*, 256; Cooley, *Poetic Astronomy*, 100). In fact, the term can also mean "plague" (ibid.), which might be understood to reflect Erra's characteristics; however, each verse in this text has some internal coherence, and nothing in this verse or passage points to celestial (or epidemiological) overtones.

[129] Elsewhere in this text *ṣēru* has been translated "battlefield"; "going out to the battlefield" functions as a leitmotif throughout this tablet. Although the English "hinterland" fits this context better, it is likely the term's use as "battlefield" (i.e., uncultivated land outside the city) has resonance here as well.

[130] Schramm proposes reconstructing TÙR, *tarbaṣi*, "sheepfold" here (Review of Cagni, 271), while Cohen reads the broken sign as LAM and reconstructs MES.LAM, for the Emeslam (see "(E)meslam," where he points the reader to similar phrases in II:122—notice in copy LL the name is spelled without the initial É—and V:22). The former suggestion is plausible in context but uncertain; the latter suggestion I find unpersuasive on the grounds that each verse of the poem constitutes a contextual unit, so the location where Erra here takes up residence (in contrast to the other passages cited) should be in the wilderness. Where the god's temple should occupy the heart of the city, the locus from which the norms of civilization radiate, in this passage Erra is said to lurk in wild areas that are counterposed to the city, the abode of demons and the like. Notice the parallel between *ṣēru* in the previous verse and *namû* in this verse; in this context a term such as *narbaṣu*, "lair," a habitat for wild animals (such as the *bibbu* of the previous verse), would fit nicely.

[131] This reconstruction follows von Soden (*apud* Falkenstein, "Zur ersten Tafel," 205).

[132] Notice the "people" govern a masculine verb, in this and the following verses, in spite of the fact that, as usual, "blackheaded ones" is feminine.

A (S) obv. (ii:)121 *a-na-ku áš-šú la iš*[(ÁŠ)-*ḫu-ṭu-ma . . . zik-ri*
GG (D) rev. 7a *a-na-ku áš-šú la iš-ḫu-tú zik-ri* :
—I:121 *anāku aššu lā išḫutū-*(*ma*) *zikrī*
—I:121 "As for me, because they have not feared the mention of me,

A (S) obv. (ii:)122 ⌜*ù*⌝ *šá* NUN ᵈAMAR.UTU *a-mat-su id-du-. . . . . .-pu-šu ki-i lib-bu-uš*
GG (D) rev. 7b *ù šá* NUN ᵈAMAR.UTU *a-mat-su id-du-ma ip-pu-šu ki-i lib-bu-uš*[133]
—I:122 *u ša rubê Marduk amāssu iddû-ma ippušū kī libbuš*
—I:122 "And they have abandoned the word of Prince Marduk and behave according to their[134] own inclinations,

A (S) obv. (ii:)123 NUN ᵈAMAR.UTU *ú-šag-gag-ma ina šub-t*[*i*] . . . . . *.-de-ke-ma* UN.MEŠ *a-sa-pan*
GG (D) rev. 8 NUN-*a* ᵈAMAR.UTU *ú-šag-gag-ma ina šub-*⌜*ti*⌝*-šú a-de-ke-ma* UN.MEŠ *a-sa-ap-pan*
—I:123 *rubâ Marduk ušaggag-ma ina šubtīšu adekkē-ma nišī asappan*
—I:123 "I will incite Prince Marduk's fury, drive him from his dwelling, and then crush the people!"

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[133] Notice that copy GG combines this verse with the preceding one, but separates them with a Glossenkeil.

[134] There is some confusion about the antecedent of the pronominal suffix on *libbuš*. As I read this verse, each individual behaves according to his/her inclination, which is why the suffix is singular; this is essentially how Ebeling already read the verse in 1925 ("Und Marduks, des Fürsten, Wort verworfen haben und nach ihrem Herzen tuen"; *Mythus vom Pestgotte Era*, 11), and his interpretation has been followed by Gössmann (*Era-Epos*, 12), Labat (*Les religions du Proche-Orient*, 120), and Bottéro ("Le poème d'Erra," 231). In contrast, other translators, guided by the singularity of *libbu* and the singularity of its pronominal suffix, have construed Marduk as the subject of the subordinate verb *ippušu* and as the antecedent of the apocopated suffix *-š*. In Cagni's and Foster's understandings, the second hemistich of this verse then apparently belongs with what follows ("And [they] have disregarded Marduk's command, so he may act according to his wishes, / I will make Marduk angry . . ." [*Before the Muses*, 886; see also Cagni, *Poem of Erra*, 30 and 31 n. 31]). This essentially unmarked shift in subject and in topic both makes for highly awkward syntax and confused sense (Foster clarifies in a footnote that "as taken here, Erra will motivate Marduk to act as he really wanted to anyway, but had hesitated to" [*Before the Muses*, 886 n. 1]). Avoiding this inelegant break at the midpoint, Dalley reads Marduk as the subject of both verbs: "And since prince Marduk has neglected his word and does as he pleases . . ." (*Myths from Mesopotamia*, 290). This reading is unlikely on syntactic grounds alone: *ša* must be taken loosely as "since" and understood to introduce a causal clause, a usage that is unparalleled in this text, where anticipatory genitives are abundant; furthermore, the sense—an apparent indictment of Marduk's behavior—is theologically baffling.

It is my contention that the smoothest reading both syntactically and semantically construes "people" as the subject of all predicates in verses I:20–22 (*leqû*, *išḫutū*, *iddû*, and *ippušū*), and that all three verses are united in indicting humanity for their negligence of the divine. The only apparent awkwardness one might point to in this reading is the singularity of the apocopated suffix *-š*, since it is perfectly regular in Akkadian for the plural subject *nišū* to take a singular object *libbu* on the grounds that each member of the plural subject has only one "inclination" (literally "heart"). (Many examples of this principle could be adduced; see for example I:134 in this text: *ša kakkabānī šamāmī manzassunu išnī-ma ul itūr ašruššun*, "the positions of the stars of the firmament changed and I did not return them to their places." Although there are explicitly multiple stars, morphologically there is only one position and one place—one for each star. Contrast English, in which the converse rule obtains: we are obligated to pluralize "inclination" in the translation of this verse to avoid implying all of the people share a collective will.) It is possible that the singularity of the object (*libbu*) has influenced the composer of the text to attach a singular suffix (*-š*) with apparent distributive force.

A (S) obv. (ii:)124 *qu-ra-du* ^{d}*èr-ra ana šu-an-n*[*a* U]RU LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ *iš-ta-kan pa-ni-šú*
GG (D) 9 *qu-ra-du* ^{d}*èr-ra a-na šu-an-na* URU$^{!}$(ZU) LUGAL DINGIR.DINGIR *iš-ta-kan pa-ni-šu*
—I:124 *qurādu Erra ana Šuanna*[135] *āl šar ilānī ištakan pānīšu*
—I:124 Warrior Erra set his face toward Šuanna, the city of the king of the gods.

A (S) obv. (ii:)125 *ana* É.SAG.ÍL É.GAL AN-*é u* K[I] . . . *i-ru-um-ma it-ta-ziz pa-nu-uš-šú*
GG (D) 10 *a-na* SAG.ÍL É.GAL AN-*e* KI-*tì i-ru-um-ma it-ta-ziz pa-nu-uš-šu*
—I:125 *ana Esagil ekal šamê* (*u*) *erṣeti īrum-ma ittaziz pānuššu*
—I:125 He entered into the Esagil, the palace of heaven and earth, and stood before him.[136]

A (S) obv. (ii:)126 *i-pu-uš-ma pa-a-še* LU[GAL DI]NGIR.MEŠ *i-ta-mi*
X (B) rev. i:1' [. . . . . .] . . . . . *-ma*
GG (D) 11 *e-pu-uš-ma pa-a-šu a-na* LUGAL DINGIR.DINGIR *i-ta-ma*
—I:126 *īpuš-ma pāšu* (*ana*) *šar ilānī ītammi*/*ītammâ*[137]
—I:126 He opened his mouth to speak to the king of the gods:

A (S) obv. (ii:)127 *mìn-su šu-kut-ti si-mat be-lu-ti-k*[*a*] . . . MUL.MEŠ *šá-ma-. . . lu-la-a ma-la-at* [*l*]*e-qa-*^{r}*a*$^{?}$-[*t*]*i*$^{?}$ *ú-ru-ši*
X (B) rev. i:2' [. . . . . .] . . . . . .-^{r}*ru*$^{?}$-*u-*^{r}*šá*$^{?}$
GG (D) 12 *mìn-su šu-kut-ta si-mat be-lu-ti-ka šá* GIM ^{r}*kak*$^{?}$-*kab šá-ma-mì lu-*^{r}*la*$^{?}$*-a ma-*^{r}*la-ta*$^{?}$ *le-qa-ta ur*-x
—I:127 *minsu šukutta simat bēlūtīka ša kīma kakkab*(*ānī*)[138] *šamāmī lulâ malât leqâta*[139] *urruša*

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[135] Šuanna is a literary name for the whole of Babylon, known for example from TIN.TIR^{ki}=*ba-bi-lu* (*The Topography of Babylon*) I:4 (for an edition see George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, 1–72), that could also be applied to a particular district within Babylon, as in TIN.TIR^{ki}=*ba-bi-lu* (*The Topography of Babylon*) V:93. George suggests the former use may have preceded the latter (ibid., 19).

It is not clear how this name was pronounced; elsewhere the vowel sequence *-ua-*, even in this archaizing text, tends to contract (but notice the spelling *šu-a-šá* in copy C of II:36 and *nu-aʾ-a* in copy LL of II:149).

[136] Cooley sees the celestial phenomenon of the planet Mars (as Erra's astral manifestation) approaching Jupiter (Marduk's manifestation)—an ominous event—informing the significance of Erra's approaching Marduk here (see *Poetic Astronomy*, 100–101 and texts cited there). While celestial events play an undeniable role in the still fragmentary tablet II, and it is certainly possible this baleful astrological conjunction influenced how the text was anciently composed and understood, it should be pointed out that in the narrative disaster results not directly from Erra's approaching Marduk, but from Marduk's disappearance from his seat of authority. Additionally, the texts Cooley quotes do not refer to Mars as the "Fox Star," as Erra's astral manifestation in this text is known (see II:91 and perhaps II:99), and while the Fox Star can be identified with Mars (Cooley, *Poetic Astronomy*, 104), it is also the name of a star in the constellation Wagon, part of our Ursa Major (ibid., 105). It is also possible a more general principle informed the composition of all of these texts—namely, that Erra's appearance, particularly outside his assigned sphere, portends ill. As Cooley acknowledges (*Poetic Astronomy*, 99 n. 33), Išum has no clear astral manifestation; it is therefore difficult to map the narrative directly onto goings-on in the night sky. (Compare n. 201 in this appendix.)

[137] The verb "to speak" (*atmû*, *qabû*, or *zakāru*) following the idiom "he opened his mouth" is invariably spelled such that it is clearly durative or equivocally durative or preterite; I have therefore normalized all of them as duratives.

—I:127 "Why is the jewelry befitting your lordship, which was as full of splendor as the stars of the firmament, encrusted with dirt?

A (S) rev. (iii:)128 *a-ge-⌜e⌝ bé-lu-ti-ka <šá>* [G]IM É.TE.ME.EN.AN.KI *ú-nam-ma-⌜ri⌝*
É.ḪAL.AN.K[I] *pa-nu-šu kàt-m*[*u*]
X (B) rev. i:3' [. . . . . .] . . . . . .⌜*ú*⌝*-šá-an-bi-ṭu*
X (B) rev. i:4' . . . . . [. . . . . .] x- *mu*
GG (D) 13 *a-ge-e be-lu-ti-ka ša ki-ma* {*ana*} É.TE.ME.⌜NA⌝.AK *ú-šá-an-ba-ṭu* É.ḪAL.AN.KI *pa-nu-šu kàt-mu*
—I:128 *agê bēlūtīka ša kīma Etemenanki unammari*[140]*/ušanbiṭu/ušanbaṭu Eḫalanki pānūšu katmū*
—I:128 "Why is the surface of the crown of your lordship, which made even the Eḫalanki as bright as the Etemenanki, tarnished?"[141]

A (S) rev. (iii:)129 *i-pu-⌜uš⌝-ma pa-a-šu* LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ *i-ta-a-mi*
X (B) rev. i:5' . . . . . *-ta-ma*
GG (D) 14a DÙ-*uš-ma pa-a-šú* {*ana*} LUGAL DINGIR.DINGIR *i-tam-ma :*
—I:129 *īpuš-ma pāšu šar ilānī ītammi/ītammâ*
—I:129 The king of the gods opened his mouth to speak;

A (S) rev. (iii:)130 *a-na* ⌜d⌝*èr-ra qar-rad* DINGIR.MEŠ *a-mat i-zak-kar*
X (B) rev. i:6' . . . . . x . . . MU-*ár*
GG (D) 14b *a-na* d*èr-ra qar-rad* DINGIR.MEŠ INIM MU-*á*[*r*][142]
—I:130 *ana Erra qarrād ilānī amāt izzakkar*
—I:130 To Erra, the warrior of the gods, he uttered a speech:

A (S) rev. (iii:)131 *qu-ra-*[*d*]*u* d*èr-ra áš-šú šip-r*[*i*] *šá-a-šú šá taq-bu-ú e-pe-šú*

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[138] Compare MUL.MEŠ in copy A, a plural, with ⌜*kak*⌝*-kab* in copy GG, an apparent singular. It is my suspicion that "stars" should be understood as a plural regardless, since it is likely the phrase *kakkab*(*ānī*) *šamāmī*, "the stars of the firmament" (quite common in this text), is to be understood as a lexical unit such that the plural marker would appear on *šamāmī*.

[139] Notice the apparent overhanging vowel on *leqâta* (with a probable variant *leqâti* in copy A).

[140] The form *unammari* appears to have an overhanging vowel—in spite of the fact that the verb is subordinate!

[141] Translated literally, "tarnished" means simply "covered."

As I read this verse, even the Eḫalanki, the more modest temple of Marduk's consort Ṣarpanītu, which stood beside Marduk's own temple the Esagil, shines like the most prominent aspect of the temple complex, the ziggurat Etemenanki, because of the glowing aura that Marduk's crown of authority casts over the entire complex. (Alternatively the verse may reference an otherwise unknown, perhaps semi-mythological event, in which Marduk's visit to Ṣarpanītu's cella while sporting his crown resulted in the lighting up of the latter's temple; for an interpretation along these lines see George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, 271.)

[142] Here too copy GG combines this verse with the preceding one, but separates them with a Glossenkeil.

X (B) rev. i:7’ . . . . . .-˹a˺-š[ú] *šá taq-bu-u e*-x-*šá*
GG (D) 15 *qu-ra-du* ᵈ*èr-ra áš-šú šip-ru šá-a-šu šá taq-bu-ú e-p*[*e*]-. . .
—I:131 *qurādu Erra aššu šipri šâšu ša taqbû epēša*
—I:131 “Warrior Erra, regarding that procedure[143] that you suggested performing:

A (S) rev. (iii:)132 *ul-tu* [*u*]*l-lu a-gu-gu-ma ina šub*-[*t*]*i-ia at-bu-ma áš-ku-na a-bu-bu*
X (B) rev. i:8’ . . . . . ˹*šub*˺-*ti-ia at-bu-ma áš-*˹*ku*˺-*nu a-bu-bu*
—I:132 *ultu* [*u*]*llu āgugū-ma ina šubtīya atbû-ma aškuna/aškunu abūbu*[144]
—I:132 “[L]ong ago I became angry, arose from my dwelling, and set the Flood in motion.

A (S) rev. (iii:)133 *ina šub*-[*t*]*i-ia at-bé-ma ši-bit* ˹AN˺-*e u* KI-*tì up-ta-aṭ-ṭir*
X (B) rev. i:9’ . . . . . .-[*bi*]*t* AN-*e* KI-*tì up-ta-ṭir*
—I:133 *ina šub*[*t*]*īya atbē-ma šibīt*[145] *šamê* (*u*) *erṣeti uptaṭṭir*
—I:133 “When I arose from my dwe[l]ling, the seam of heaven and earth unraveled.[146]

A (S) rev. (iii:)134 A[N] *šá uš-tar-i-bu šá* MUL *š*[*á-m*]*a-*˹*mi*˺ ˹*man-za*˺-*as-su-nu iš-ni-ma*
ul i-˹*tur*˺? . . .*-ru- šú- un*
X (B) rev. i:10’ x x x-*uš*ⁱ(DAGAL?) . . . . . [M]UL.MEŠ *šá-ma-mi* ˹*man-za*˺-*su-nu*
X (B) rev. i:11’ *iš-ni-*˹*ma*˺ . . . *ú-*˹*tir*˺ *áš-ru-uš-šu-un*
—I:134 *ša*[*mê*] *ša uštar’ibū ša kakkabānī šamāmī manzassunu išnī-ma ul itūr/utīr ašruššun*
—I:134 “As for the hea[vens], which trembled:[147] the position of the stars of the firmament changed and *they[148] (the positions) did not return*/*I did not return them* to their places.

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[143] Throughout this text the “procedure” consistently refers to the act of shining Marduk’s jewelry and cleaning his outfit.

[144] There is no reason for *ultu ullu* to introduce a subordinate clause (compare usages of this phrase in *CAD*, s.v., “ulla,” as well as the use of the related phrase *adi ulla* in I:183 of this text), so the verbs *agugū-ma*, *atbû-ma* and *aškunu* (in copy X) have overhanging vowels.

[145] The spelling of this term allows for multiple readings. Translators to date have seemingly derived it from *šipṭu*, “judgment, verdict,” but rendered it very loosely as “government” (Cagni, *Poem of Erra*, 32), “control” (Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 290), “regulation” (Foster, *Before the Muses*, 887) and the like. A far more straightforward solution lies at hand, as proposed in *CAD* (see, e.g., s.v. “šibītu”): the term should be understood as *šibītu*, “suture; seam,” known elsewhere in Standard Babylonian. This reading requires less contortion in translation to fit the context and makes straightforward sense of the verb *putaṭṭuru*, “to be loosened.”

[146] Compare I:171.

[147] Technically Dalley’s translation is also possible, in which Marduk is the subject of the verb, a first-person Š-stem perfect with subordination marker: “The very heavens I made to tremble . . .” (*Myths from Mesopotamia*, 290). But this is unlikely, since in the very direct parallel in the verse that follows *erkallu* can only be the subject of *inūšu*. It is therefore probable that the verb *uštar’ibū* is to be construed as a third-person plural Št-passive stem in the preterite, to which *šamê* serves as subject. Marduk, then, does not bring this deterioration about through an act of will: it is simply the natural consequence of his arising from his dwelling.

[148] Literally “it” (i.e., “the position”).

A (S) rev. (iii:)135 *er-kal-l*[*u*]$_4$ *šá i-nu-šú šá še$_{20}$-er-ʾiˀ bi-lat-ʾsuˀ im-ṭi-ma a-di ul-la*
a-na ʾeˀ-me-da áš-ṭa
X (B) rev. i:12’ *er-kal-la ʾšáˀ*¦(IÁ) *i*¦(TUK)*-nu-šu šá še$_{20}$-er-ʾi bi-lat-su im-ṭi-ma*
X (B) rev. i:13’ *a-di ul-la a-na i-mé-di áš-ʾṭaˀ*
—I:135 *erkallu ša inūšu ša šerʾi bilassu imṭī-ma adi ulla ana emēda ašṭa*
—I:135 “As for the world below,[149] which quaked: the yield of the furrow diminished, and ever after it was difficult to load.[150]

A (S) rev. (iii:)136 *ši-bit* [A]N-*e u* KI-*tì šá up-ta-ṭi-ru* IDIM *im-ta-ṭi-ma mí-lu it-taḫ-su*
ʾa-turˀ a-mur-ma a-na pe-te-ʾeˀ im-ʾtarˀ-ṣa
F (G) Rm II, 328 rev. 1’ . . .]-x-*su*
F (G) Rm II, 328 rev. 1’–2’ . . . *i*]*m-tar-ṣa*
X (B) rev. i:14’ *ši-bit* AN-*e* KI-*tì šá up-ta-ṭi-ru nag*¦(KA)-x
X (B) rev. i:15’ *im-ta-ṭi-ʾmaˀ mi-li it-ta-aḫ-s*[*u*]
X (B) rev. i:16’ *a-tur a-mur-ma a-na še$_{20}$-bé-e im-ʾtarˀ-ṣa*
—I:136 *šibīt šamê* (*u*) *erṣeti ša uptaṭṭiru nagbu imtaṭī-ma mīlū ittaḫsū atūr āmur-ma ana petê/šebê imtarṣa*
—I:136 “As for the seam of heaven and earth, which unraveled: the underground water diminished and the floods receded; when I looked again it had become arduous *to cultivate land*[151]/*to be sated*.

A (S) rev. (iii:)137 *šá šik-na-at ʾZIˀ-tì nab-*[*n*]*it-si-na iṣ-ḫir-ma ul ʾi-turˀ* [*á*]*š-ru-šú-un*
F (G) Rm II, 328 rev. 3’] *ul i-tur áš-ru-ʾšunˀ*
X (B) rev. i:17’ *šá ʾšik-natˀ*¦(ʾNAMˀ) ZI-*tì nab-nit-si-na iṣ-ḫi-ir-ma ul ú-ti*[*r*] . . . . . *-šun*
—I:137 *ša šiknāt napišti nabnīssina iṣḫir-ma ul itūr/utī*[*r*] *ašruššun*
—I:137 “The offspring of living creatures dwindled and *I did not resto[re] them*/*they did not recover.*[152]

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[149] Although I find no lexical support for this reading, I have chosen to translate *erkallu* as “world below” (deliberately equivocal in that it could refer either to the earth or to the netherworld) since, although this term typically refers to the netherworld proper, I take the conditions described here to apply to the earth.

[150] The meaning of *emēdu* here is not entirely clear. *CAD* cites this verse under “emēdu” and substitutes ellipses for a translation of the verb, where under the entry “ašṭu” the passage is translated as follows: “(the yield of the furrow became so little that) it was difficult to levy taxes (on it).” While this reading is certainly possible, elsewhere when *emēdu* is used in this way the object is consistently explicit. As I understand it, after the previous incident in which Marduk “arose from his dwelling,” agriculture became more taxing in part in that effort was thereafter required to “load” the furrow with seeds.

[151] Copy A preserves a different tradition from the other two, where *petê* appears for *šebê*. One of the uses of *petû*, “to open,” is “to break ground for cultivation” (see *CAD*, s.v. “petû”), and this meaning seems to fit the present context best, since the difficulty in cultivating is what makes it difficult to be sated. Without an object of *petû*, however, this reading is merely speculative.

[152] The word *nabnītu* has a number of meanings, including “offspring” and “physique.” Alternatively, this verse might read “The frames of living creatures became gaunt and *I did not restore (them)*/*they did not

A (S) rev. (iii:)138 *a-di ki-i* lúENGAR NUMUN-*ši-na* ⌜*aṣ*⌝-*bat*[153] ⌜*ina*⌝ *qa-ti-ia*
F (G) Rm II, 328 rev. 4' *b*]*a-tu ina* ⌜ŠU⌝-*ia*
W (A) frag. A 1' [*i*]*k-ka-*. . . [
X (B) rev. i:18' *a-di ki-ma ik-ka-ri ze-ru-šin aṣ-ba-at* x
—I:138 *adi kī ikkari zērūšin*(*a*) *aṣbatu ina qātīya*
—I:138 "Until I held their seeds in my hands[154] like a farmer.[155]

A (S) rev. (iii:)139 É *e-pu-*⌜*uš*⌝*-ma* *ú-šib ina* ŠÀ-*bi*
F (G) Rm II, 328 rev. 5' *in*]*a* ŠÀ-*bi*
W (A) frag. A 2']-*pu-uš-*. . . [
X (B) rev. i:19' É *i-pu-uš-ma*[156] *ú-ši-ib* ⌜*ina*⌝ . . . . . .
—I:139 *bīta ēpuš-ma ušib ina libbi*
—I:139 "I built a house and lived inside.

A (S) rev. (iii:)140 *šu-kut-tu šá ina a-b*[*u-b*]*i ud-da-ʾi-pu-ú-ma i-ki-lu ši-kin-šú*
F (G) Rm II, 328 rev. 6' *l*]*u ši-kin-šá*
W (A) frag. A 3'] x *šá ina a-bu-bi* [
X (B) rev. i:20' *šu-kut-ti šá ina a-bu-bi ud-da-i-pu-ma i-ki-*. . . . . .
—I:140 *šukuttu ša ina abūbi uddaʾʾipū-ma īkilu šikišša*[157]
—I:140 "As for the jewelry, which had been knocked off in the Flood and whose appearance had grown dark:

A (S) rev. (iii:)141 *ana šu-un-bu-uṭ zi-*[*m*]*i-ia u ub-bu-ub ṣu-ba-ti-ia* dGÉRRA *um-ta-ʾi-ir*
F (G) Rm II, 328 rev. 7' . . .] dGÉRRA *um-ta-ʾi-ir*
X (B) rev. i:21' *ana šu-un-bu-uṭ zi-mì-ia* ⌜*ub*⌝*-bu-ub ṣu-ba-te-ia* . . . . . .

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recover*." The only data-point that might militate against this reading is the plural suffix *-šun* on *ašruššun*. If *nabnītu* means "physique," its singularity results from the fact that each living creature has a single physique; *ašruššun* should resume this logic and literally read "to its place." If, however, *nabnītu* means "offspring" as a collective, a vacillation between singular and plural forms might be easier to justify, since it is singular in morphology and plural in sense.

[153] The non-subordinate verb *aṣbat* in copy A is surely an error.

[154] *Qātīya* may be either singular or dual.

[155] The sense of this verse is not entirely clear. Is a deliberate connection between the seeds that are cultivated and the metaphorical "seed" that is progeny being made?

[156] It is possible this copy preserves a tradition in which this verse is in the third person. It is also possible this form represents nothing more than an overcorrection: in Assyrian *ēpuš* was used for both the third and first person, and a copyist may have attempted to correct toward Babylonian without realizing the latter dialect distinguished the third and first person in such forms by the initial vowel (copy X stems from Aššur).

[157] The form *šikišša* in copy F is superior to *šikiššu* in copy A since *šukuttu* is feminine.

—I:141 *ana šunbuṭ zīmīya* (*u*) *ubbub ṣubātīya Gerra umta”ir*
—I:141 “I commissioned Gerra to make my countenance shine and clean my outfit.

A (S) rev. (iii:)142 *ul-tu šu-kut-˹ti˺ ú-nam-mì-ru-ma ú-qat-tu-ú šip-ri*
F (G) Rm II, 328 rev. 8’ . . .]-˹*ú*˺ *šip-ri*
X (B) rev. i:22’ *ul-tu šu-kut-ti ú-nam-mir-u-ma ú-qat-*. . . . . .
—I:142 *ultu šukuttī unammirū-ma uqattû šipri*
—I:142 “After he had finished the procedure for making my jewelry bright,

A (S) rev. (iii:)143 *a-ge-e be-*[*l*]*u-ti-ia an-na-ad-qu-ma a-na áš-ri-ia a-tu-ru*
F (G) Rm II, 328 rev. 9’ . . .]-*ia a-tu-ru*
X (B) rev. i:23’ *a-ge-e be-lu-ti-ia an-na-ad-qu-ma ana áš-ri-*x . . . . . .
—I:143 *agê bēlūtīya annadqū-ma ana ašrīya atūru*
—I:143 “I put on the crown of my lordship and returned to my place;[158]

A (S) rev. (iii:)144 *zi-mu-˹ú˺-a tub-bu-ú-ma ga-lit ni-iṭ-li*
F (G) Rm II, 328 rev. 10’ . . . *i*]*ṭ-li*
X (B) rev. i:24’ *zi-mu-ú-a tu-ub-bu-ú ga-lit ni-*[. . . . . .]
—I:144 *zīmūya tubbû-*(*ma*) *galit niṭlī*
—I:144 “My countenance was sparkling (?)[159] and my glance was terrifying.[160]

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[158] As translated here, this verse begins the independent clause of the sentence and the forms *annadqū-ma* and *atūru* have overhanging vowels. Alternatively, one might read the verse as subordinate to *ultu* in the previous verse: “After he had finished the procedure for making my jewelry bright / And I had put on the crown of my lordship and returned to my place / My features were sparkling (?) and my glance was terrifying.”

[159] The term *tubbû* is difficult. Cagni analyzes this root as the D-stem verbal adjective of *tebû*, “to arise,” presumably “raised” and by extension “haughty;” in context he translates the term “esprimevano alterezza” [*L’Epopea di Erra*, 73]). His proposal has been followed by all recent translations, and *CAD* lists a D-stem verbal adjective of the root *tebû* with the meaning “raised” or “haughty,” but cites only this verse. Not only is the relationship between “raised” and “haughty” less than straightforward, but no D-stem of the root *tebû* is otherwise known outside Ugarit (where it means “to make a claim”: see *CAD*, s.v. “tebû,” p. 318). This is certainly not definitive evidence against this analysis (a corollary in English might be the persistence of past participles in adjectival use after the verbs from which they are formed have become defunct, such as “numb,” the descendant of the past participle of Old English *niman*, “to take”—notice here too how indirect the relationship is between the meaning of verb and participle), but it does give one pause.

Scholars active in the years before Cagni analyzed the form from the root *ṭebû*, meaning, in the D-stem, “to sink” (transitively), whose verbal adjective von Soden proposed means “sunken” in the sense of “crestfallen” (*apud* Falkenstein, “Zur ersten Tafel,” 206). Under “zīmū,” *CAD* offers a translation that may derive the form from this root: “My appearance was shabby(?), I looked scared.”

Somewhat earlier, Ebeling and Gössmann both rendered the word “freundlich,” apparently deriving it from the D-stem of the root *ṭiābu* (see Ebeling, *Mythus vom Pestgotte Era*, 11; Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 12). In fact, *ṭubbu* can be used to refer to the refining of metals and, in the Š-stem (and perhaps the D-stem?), can mean to “improve” or “repair” (see *CAD*, s.v. “ṭâbu”), which is attractive in this context in which it appears some aspect of Marduk’s statue has been repaired or restored. But while a hollow root is possible, the extra vowel signs at the end likely point to an ultra-long vowel and thus a III-weak root.

It is my contention that this same mystery root recurs on three other occasions in this text: in II:60 it is again a D-stem verbal adjective, in II:96 it is a finite D-stem verb, and in IIIc:50 it is a finite Š-stem verb. The

A (S) rev. (iii:)145 UN.MEŠ *šá i*[*na*] ˹*a*˺-<*bu*>-*bi i-se-ta-ma e-mu-ra e-peš šip-ri*
F (G) Rm II, 328 rev. 11' . . . . . *pe*]*š šip-ri*
X (B) rev. i:25' UN.MEŠ *šá ina a-bu-bi i-se-ta-ma e-mu-ra* [. . . . . .]
—I:145 *nišū ša ina abūbi isētā-ma ēmūrā epēš šipri*
—I:145 "As for the people who had escaped the Flood and had seen the carrying out of the procedure:

A (S) rev. (iii:)146 giš TUKUL.MEŠ-[*i*]*a ú-šat-ba-ma ú-ḫal-laq re-e-ḫa*
F (G) Rm II, 328 rev. 12' . . . . .]-˹*ḫa*˺
X (B) rev. i:26' giš TUKUL.MEŠ-*ka tu-šat-bi-ma tu-ḫal-liq re*-[. . . . . .]
—I:146 *kakkī*[*y*]*a/kakkīka ušatbâm-ma/tušatbī-ma uḫallaq/tuḫalliq rēḫa*
—I:146 "*I mobilized [m]y weapons to wipe out the remnant.*/*You mobilized your weapons and wiped out the remnant.*[161]

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form of the Š-stem, *ušatbi*, confirms our suspicions that it must be III-weak (and cannot be hollow). The context in which the Š-stem form occurs is also illuminating, as it is applied to the word *melammū* and set as a parallel to *nummuru*: *ezzu Gerra šukuttašu ūmiš unammir-ma melammīšu ušatbi*, "Ferocious Gerra made his jewelry as bright as daylight and made his radiant aura ——" (IIIc:50). Observe that it is equally applied to *melammū* in II:96 but in the D-stem: *melammīšu utabbā-ma napḫar nišī* . . . , "He will make his radiant aura —— and all of the people will . . ."; this makes it likely that there is overlap in meaning between the D- and Š-stems of the root and that both can be either factitive or causative. (This parallel also casts some doubt on the analysis of the form as deriving from *tebû*, since *šutbû* usually means "to remove" or "to mobilize," neither of which fits the context of IIIc:60 remotely well.) Because two of the four passages in which it occurs involve the *melammū* and once it is paired with *nummuru*, I am tentatively proposing that the root in question means "to make bright, to make sparkle." This makes very good sense of the verse under discussion: Marduk's appearance should not be "shabby" or "crestfallen" since just two verses earlier his "jewelry" was "made bright," and we have seen in I:141 that Marduk's "features" (*zīmūya*) were "to be made to shine" (*ana šunbuṭ*): this verse appears to reflect the realization of that one.

Unfortunately it is not clear to me from what root such a form (or meaning) might derive: of the possible Akkadian roots, *ṭebû* and *ṭepû* are not attested in the Š-stem and *tebû* is virtually unattested in the D-stem. If we suppose it to be a III-weak verb, there are a possible (theoretical) twenty-eight Proto-Semitic roots from which it might derive, the first radical being /t/ or /ṭ/, the second /b/ or /p/, and the third any of the five gutturals or two glides that typically collapse in this position in Akkadian. The issue remains unresolved.

(It is possible this root also appears in *Enūma Eliš* IV:77, as Cagni argues [*L'Epopea di Erra*, 189]; the passage is however obscure to me.)

[160] Compare IIIc:52.

[161] Copy X seems to preserve a tradition in which Marduk tells Erra that it is he, Erra, who "wiped out the remnant."

A number of scholars have read this verse as a question, presumably to avoid the problematic suggestion that humanity was wiped out after the Flood (see Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient*, 122; Bottéro, "Le poème d'Erra," 233; Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 291; and Foster, *Before the Muses*, 888). However, the use of preterite forms in copy X (*ú-šat-ba-ma* in copy A is equivocal, but taken here as a preterite) suggests this event occurred in the past regardless. More compellingly, the context of the passage militates against this reading: Marduk is recounting the consequences of his having had his jewelry cleaned in the distant past, specifically with regard to those humans who saw him in a dismantled state; it hardly makes sense for him to wonder whether to wipe them out now, as this all occurred "[l]ong ago" (*ultu* [*u*]*llu*; I:132). Notice the following lines indicate the consequences, in a parallel manner, to the artisans who performed the

A (S) rev. (iii:)147 *um-ma-a-*[*n*]*i šu-nu-ti a-na* ZU.AB *ú-še-rid-ma e-la-šú-nu ul aq-*ʳ*bi*ˀ
F (G) Rm II, 328 rev. 13' . . . . . *b*]*i*
X (B) rev. i:27' *um-ma-ni šu-nu-ti ana* ZU.AB *ú-še-rid-ma e-l*[*a-*. . . . . .]
—I:147 *ummânī šunūti ana Apsî ušērid-ma elâšunu ul aqbi*
—I:147 "I sent those artisans[162] down to the Apsû and did not tell them to come back up.

A (S) rev. (iii:)148 *šá* giš[ES] *el-me-ši a-šar-šu-un ú-nak-*. . . [*m*]*a* ʳ*ul*ˀ ʳ*ú-kal-lim*ˀ *mam-ma*
F (G) Rm II, 328 rev. 14' . . . . . .] LA?
X (B) rev. i:28' *šá* giš*MES *el-me-ši a-šar-šú-un ú-nak-kir-ma ul ú-*[. . . . . .]
—I:148 *ša mēsi elmēši ašaršun unakkir-ma ul ukallim mamma*
—I:148 "I changed the position of the *mēsu*-tree[163] and the *elmēšu*-stone[164] and did not show anyone.

A (S) rev. (iii:)149 . . . . . [*á*]*š-šú šip-ri šá-a-šú šá taq-bu-*ʳ*ú*ˀ *qu-ra-du* d*èr-ra*
F (G) Rm II, 328 rev. 15' . . . . . .] x
X (B) rev. i:29' *en-na áš-šú šip-ru šá-a-šú šá taq-bu-u qu-ra-du* [. . . . . .]
—I:149 *enna aššu šipri šâšu ša taqbû qurādu Erra*
—I:149 "Now regarding that procedure that you suggested, Warrior Erra:

A (S) rev. (iii:)150 . . . . . [ME]S *šir* DINGIR.MEŠ ʳ*si*ˀ*-mat* LUGAL *gi-mir*
X (B) rev. i:30' *a-li* giš*MES *šir* ʳDINGIRˀ.MEŠ *si-mat* LUGAL *gi*[*m-*. . . . . .]
—I:150 *ali mēsu šīr ilānī simat šar gimir*
—I:150 "Where is the *mēsu*-tree, the flesh of the gods, befitting the king of all,

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procedure and the resources that were necessary to it. This text thus appears to allude to a Flood tradition in which humanity was (nearly?) obliterated (observe that the previous verse is ambiguous, as it could be only those humans "who had seen the carrying out of the procedure" [*ša* . . . *ēmūrā epēš šipri*] who subsequently had to be wiped out); the question of how humanity regenerated appears not to be within the scope of this text, whose allusions to the Flood are brief. For more on this problem see chapter 6, "II. Marduk's Portrayal: The Nature and Significance of the Previous Calamity (the 'Flood')."

[162] The identity of the artisans—of whom images must be made in II:31–36 in order to carry out the "procedure" for making the jewelry bright—vis-à-vis the various other figures mentioned with reference to the process, including Gerra (I:141, I:182, and IIIc:50), Ninildu (I:155–157), Kusibanda (I:158), Ninagal (I:159–160), and the Seven Sages (I:162–163), is unclear.

[163] A tree native to Mesopotamia whose wood was used in furniture; see *CAD*, ad loc. Notice its mythological significance evident from I:152–153, in that it connects heaven and the netherworld.

[164] A quasi-mythical precious stone; see *CAD*, ad loc. *CAD* suggests this passage refers to a *mēsu*-tree bearing *elmēšu*-colored blossoms, but since the *mēsu*-tree appears not to bear fruit (see the relevant entry in *CAD*) and it is not clear how useful blossoms would be in the construction of a statue, this seems unlikely. It is however possible that the term here refers to a shiny color, and the reference is to *mēsu*-wood of this color, although elsewhere in this text it clearly refers to a stone, since a cylinder seal is constructed of it (in *Erra Song* IV:43; I:168 is an ambiguous reference).

A (S) rev. (iii:)151 . . . . . GURUŠ *ṣi-ri* ˹*šá*˺ *šu-lu-ku* *a-na be-lu-ti*
K 151 . . .] x *šu-l*[*u* . . .
X (B) rev. i:31’ *iṣ-ṣu el-*˹*lu*˺ *eṭ-lu*ˡ(KU) *ṣi-i-ru šá šu-lu-ku ana be-*[. . . . . .]
—I:151 *iṣṣu ellu eṭlu ṣīru ša šūluku ana bēlūti*
—I:151 “The holy tree, the eminent youth, which is suitable for lordship,[165]

A (S) rev. (iii:)152a . . . . . ˹*ra-pa-áš-ti*˺ ˹A˺.MEŠ DIŠ ME DANNA *i-šid-su ik-šu-*˹*du*˺
A (S) rev. (iii:)152b . . . . . *-pul* *a-ra-al-*[. . . . . .]
K 152a . . . *t*]*i* A.MEŠ [. . .
K 152b . . .]-*ra* [. . .
X (B) rev. i:32’ *šá ina tam-tì* DAGAL-*tì* A.MEŠ DIŠ ME DANNA *i-šid-su*ˡ *i*[*k-*. . . . . .]
X (B) rev. i:33’ *šu-pul a-ra-al-*[. . . . . .]
—I:152 *ša ina tâmti rapašti mê išât meʾat bērī išissu ikšudu šupul aral*[*lê*]
—I:152 “Whose roots reach down through the broad sea for a hundred leagues of water, to the depth of the netherwo[rld],

A (S) rev. (iii:)153 . . . . . [*l*]*a-a-ti* . . .*-de-ti* AN-*e* *šá* ᵈ[. . . . . .]
E (F) 153 *qi*]*m-mat-s*[*u* . . . . . .
K 153]-*ti en-de-et* A[N
X (B) rev. i:34’ *qim-mat-su ina e-la-a-ti em-de-tu* AN-*e šá* [. . . . . .]
—I:153 *qimmassu ina elâti endet*[166] *šamê ša* [*Anum*][167]
—I:153 “And whose crown rests against the heights, the heaven of [Anu]?

A (S) rev. (iii:)154 . . . . . ˹na4˺.ZA˺.GÌN.DURU$_5$ *šá* ˹*ú*˺-[*ša*]*m-sa-ku* [. . . . . .]
E (F) 154 *l*]*i eb-bu* N[A$_4$ . . . . . .
K 154 GÌ]N.DURU$_5$ *šá ú-šam-sa-*[
X (B) rev. i:35’ *a-li eb-bu* na4ZA.GÌN.DURU$_5$ *šá ú-šam-sa-ku* x [. . . . . .]
—I:154 *ali ebbu zagindurû ša ušamsaku* . . . . . .
—I:154 “Where is the shiny lapis lazuli that I removed[168] . . . ?

A (S) rev. (iii:)155 . . . . . [N]IN.ÍLDU ˹lú˺. . . [. . .] ˹dˀ*a-nu-ti-ia* [. . . . . .]
E (F) 155] ˹*a*˺-*li* ᵈNIN.ÍLD[U . . . . . .
K 155 . . . NAGA]R.˹GAL˺ ᵈ*a-n*[*u*

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[165] This verse plays on the readings of gišMES, the *mēsu*-tree, where GIŠ is also read *iṣṣu* and MES is also read *eṭlu* (Cagni, *L’Epopea di Erra*, 194, with references).

[166] Notice the overhanging vowels on this word in copies A and X, here in a context in which other vocalic suffixes (i.e., the subordination marker and the ventive) are not permitted in this dialect.

[167] Although Anu’s name is entirely reconstructed, the phrase “heaven of Anu” is attested elsewhere, as in *Gilgameš* XI:115.

[168] There are a number of ways this verb might be analyzed: as the Š-stem of *nasāku* (as taken here), as the Š-stem of *nasāqu*, “to allow to choose,” or as the Š-stem of *masāku*, “to consider bad.”

X (B) rev. i:36’ *a-li* ^{d}NIN.ÍLDU {^{r}NAGAR^{1}.GÍD} NAGAR.GAL ^{d}*a-nu-t*[*i*$^{?}$-. . .]
—I:155 *ali Ninildu nagargal anūtīya*
—I:155 “Where is Ninildu,[169] the master carpenter of my supreme divinity,

A (S) rev. (iii:)156a . . . . . .-^{r}*x*^{1}-*ši eb-bi mu-d*[*e*] . . . [. . .]-^{r}*a*^{1}-*šú*
E (F) 156] *na-ši pa-a-ši* ^{d}*šam-š*[*i* . . .
K 156 . . . . .] x [. . . . .
U iii:6’ *na-áš pa-a-ši* ^{d}UTU-*ši eb-bi mu-de-e iṣ-ṣi šá-a-šú*
X (B) rev. i:37’a *na-áš pa-áš šá-ši*$^{!}$ *mu-du-*^{r}*ú*^{1} . . . . . .-*šú*
—I:156 *nāš pāš*(*i*) *šamši* (*ebbi*) *mūdê iṣṣi šâšu*[170]
—I:156 “The bearer of the (shiny) golden axe, who understands that wood,[171]

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[169] Ninildu is a carpenter god who is an avatar Enki/Ēa and who is associated especially with the production of statues (Cavigneaux and Krebernik, “Nin-duluma”). In the *mīs pî* or “mouth-washing” rituals and incantations intended to imbue a cult image with the presence of the god, Ninildu is invoked frequently; note especially how the human artisans who fashion cult images must ritually forswear their involvement in the process: “**I** did not make (the statue), I swear **I** did not [make (it)]; / Ninildu, who is Ēa, the god of the carpenter, actually [made it] . . . ” (*anāku ul ēpuš anāku lā . . . / Ninildu Ēa ilu ša naggāri lū* x . . .) (Nineveh Ritual [NR] 181–182, adapted from Walker and Dick, *Induction of the Cult Image*, 66; for other examples see ibid., ad loc.: NR 106, NR 147, [NR 175], NR 191, NR 194, Babylonian Ritual [BR] 28, BR 51, BR 55, STT 199 [pp. 114–122] obv. 33, IIIB:44, IIIB:63, IIIB:69, IIIB:87/8, IIIC:17, IVA:4, VB:8, and VB:11). Ninildu also appears in a (very late) incantation, pronounced at the renovation of a temple, that delineates his primordial role in fashioning sacred objects: “When Anu created heaven, / and Nudimmud created the Apsû, his dwelling, / Ēa pinched off cla[y] in the Apsû,” . . . “he created Ninildu, Ninsimug, and Arazu to complete the work on [your—i.e., the temple’s] appearance,” . . . “he created Kusibanda, Ninagal, Ninzadim, and Ninkurra for [your] construction” (*enūma Anu ibnû šamê / Nudimmud ibnû apsâ šubassu / Ēa ina apsî ikruṣa ṭīda*[*m*] . . . *ibni Ninildu Ninsimug u Arazu ana mušaklil šipir na*[*bnītīki*] . . . *ibni Kusibanda Ninagal Ninzadim u Ninkurra ana epšētī*[*ki*]) (adapted from Linssen, *Cults of Uruk and Babylon*, 301–303, obv. 24–40, at obv. 24–26, 29, and 31).

[170] I have chosen to divide these verses following the evidence from copy U (and perhaps copy E?), such that the verses in this passage (I:155–161) are of roughly equal length, each bearing at least two and no more than three units or “hemistichs” (each consisting of either an interrogative and a proper noun or an appositive to that noun):

“Where is Ninildu, — the master carpenter of my supreme divinity,
“The bearer of the (shiny) golden axe, — who understands that wood,
“Who makes (things) shi[ne] like daylight, — who subj[ugates] at my feet?
“Where is Kusibanda, — the creator of god and human, — whose hands are [holy (?)]?
“Where is Ninagal, — the bearer of grindstone and anvil,
“Who eats ‘strong copper’ like leather, — the shaper of t[ools (?)]?
“Where are the choice stones, — the products of the broad sea, — befitting a crown?”

Thus the six “hemistichs” associated with Ninildu (I:155–157) have been divided into three verses of two units each rather than one verse of two units and one of four units (the tradition preserved in copy X—notice the indentation in line 157 [rev. i:38’] indicating it continues from the previous line—and probably in copy A as well). No copy appears to preserve a tradition of dividing these six units into two verses of three units each.

[171] Presumably the wood of the *mēsu*-tree.

Saggs translates his transliteration of this verse in copy U as “who bears the axe of the pure Shamash, who is acquainted with that weapon” (“Additions to Anzu,” 29). The DINGIR determinative in both copies E and U might suggest Šamaš’s name appears here rather than the adjective “golden,” although I am unaware of

A (S) rev. (iii:)156b *šá* GIM [. . . . . .]
A (S) rev. (iii:)157 . . . . . *ina šap-lu-ú-*. . . . . [. . . . . .]
E (F) 157 *k*]*i-ma* UD-*mì ú-šá-an-ba*-x [. . .
X (B) rev. i:37'b *šá* GIM UD-*mì ú-šá-an*-[. . . . . .]
X (B) rev. i:38' *šap*$_5$-*lu-*. . .-*a ú-kan*-[. . . . . .]
—I:157 *ša kīma ūmi ušanba*[*ṭu*] (*ina*) *šaplūya ukan*[*našu*]
—I:157 "Who makes things shi[ne] like daylight, and who subj[ugates] people at my feet?[172]

A (S) rev. (iii:)158 . . . [*l*]*i* ^{d}GUŠKIN-*bàn-da b*[*a*] . . . . . [. . . . . .]
E (F) 158 . . . K]UG.SIG$_{17}$-*bàn-da ba-an* TI x [
G (H) 1' . . . . .] ŠU.MIN-[. . . . . .
X (B) rev. i:39' *a-li* ^{d}KUG.SIG$_{17}$-*bàn-da ba-an* ˹DINGIR˺ *u* LÚ *šá* . . .-*ta-a-šú* [. . . . .]
—I:158 *ali Kusibanda bān ili u amēli ša qātāšu* [*ellā*$^{?}$]
—I:158 "Where is Kusibanda,[173] the creator of god and human, whose hands are [holy (?)]?

A (S) rev. (iii:)159 . . . [*l*]*i* ^{d}NIN.<Á>.GAL *na-áš* . . . . . [. . . . . .]
E (F) 159 . . . . . N]IN.Á.GAL *na-áš se*-[
G (H) 2' . . .] *se-e u šá-píl-ti* [. . . . . .
U iii:9' *a-li* NIN.Á.GAL *na-áš e-se-e šuk*-[*lu*$^{?}$-*li*$^{?}$]
X (B) rev. i:40'a *a-li* ^{d}NIN.Á.GAL *na-áš se-˹e˺ šá-˹pil˺-ti*
—I:159 *ali Ninagal nāš sê* (*u*) *šapilti*[174]
—I:159 "Where is Ninagal,[175] the bearer of grindstone and anvil,[176]

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any other contexts in which Šamaš is said to wield an axe (rather than *šaššāru*, a "saw"). If it is a golden axe, it is surely ceremonial and/or mythological, since gold is too soft to be useful in chopping.

[172] Literally "below me." Notice neither Akkadian verb has an object—presumably the objects are general—although the English verbs require objects.

[173] Kusibanda is a goldsmith god who, like Ninildu and Ninagal, is an avatar of Enki/Ēa (Cavigneaux and Krebernik, "Nin-agala"); he too appears frequently in *mīs pî* rituals and incantations, as in the following: "**I** did not make (the statue), I swear **I** did not make (it) . . . ; / Kusibanda, who is Ēa, the god of the goldsmith, [actually made it] . . ." (*anāku ul ēpuš anāku lā ēpušū-ma* QA x . . . / *Kusibanda Ēa ilu ša kutimmi* . . .) (NR 183–184, adapted from Walker and Dick, *Induction of the Cult Image*, 66; for other examples see, ibid., ad loc.: NR 106, NR 147, NR 174, BR 28, BR 50, I/IIC:82, STT 199 [pp. 114–122] obv. 39, IIIB:44, IIIB:62, IIIB:69, IIIB:87/8, IIIC:16, and VB:12). See also n. 169 above for Kusibanda's mention in an incantation at the renovation of a temple.

[174] Copies A and E appear to preserve the line break as it is presented here, but copies G and X—based on the spacing and the preserved signs—both appear to have included the phrase *ša danna erâ* on this line rather than the next one.

[175] Ninagal is a smith god who, like Ninildu and Kusibanda, is an avatar of Enki/Ēa and is especially associated with the production of statues (Cavigneaux and Krebernik, "Nin-agala"); he too appears frequently in *mīs pî* rituals and incantations, as in the following: "Ninagal, who is Ēa. . . . / **I** did not make (the statue), I swear **I** did not [make (it)]; (*Ninagal Ēa* . . . / *anāku ul ēpuš anāku lā* . . .) (NR 180–181, adapted from Walker and Dick, *Induction of the Cult Image*, 66; for other examples see, ibid., ad loc.: NR 106, NR 122, NR 147, NR 174, BR 27,

A (S) rev. (iii:)160 . . . [*š*]*á*? ⌜*dan*⌝-*na* URUDU!(AD).ḪI.A GI[M] . . . . . [. . . . . .]
E (F) 160 . . . . . *n*]*a e-ra-a ki-i maš-ki i*-[
G (H) 3' *p*]*a-ti-qu ú-n*[*u* . . .
X (B) rev. i:40'b *šá* . . . ⌜*na*⌝ ⌜*e*⌝-[. . . . . .]
X (B) rev. i:41' *ki-ma maš-ki i-le-mu pa-ti-qu ú*-[. . . . . .][177]
—I:160 *ša danna erâ kī maški ilemmu pātiqu u*[*nūti*?]
—I:160 "Who eats[178] 'strong copper'[179] like leather, the shaper of t[ools (?)]?

A (S) rev. (iii:)161 . . . . . NA$_4$.MEŠ *na-áš-qu-t*[*i*] . . . . . [. . . . . .]
E (F) 161 . . . . . ME]Š *na-as-qu-te bi-nu-ut* [
G (H) 4' *b*]*i-nu-ut tam-tì* DAGAL-*tì si-mat a-g*[*e*
X (B) rev. i:42' *a-li* ⌜NA$_4$⌝.MEŠ x-x-*qu*!?(AMAR)-*ti bi-nu-ut tam-tì* DAGAL-*tì s*[*i*-. . . . . .]
—I:161 *ali abnū nasqūti binût tâmti rapašti simat ag*[*ê*]
—I:161 "Where are the choice stones, the products of the broad sea, befitting a cro[wn]?

A (S) rev. (iii:)162a . . . . . IMIN ABGAL *ap-s*[*i*] . . . . . [. . . . . .]
E (F) 162a . . . . . ABG]AL.MEŠ ZU.AB *p*[*u* . . .
G (H) 5'a . . .] ⌜*eb*⌝-*bu-ti*
X (B) rev. i:43'a *a-li* IMIN ⌜NUN⌝.MEŠ ZU.AB *pu-ra-di eb-bu-*⌜*te*⌝
—I:162 *ali sebet apkallū apsî purādī ebbūti*
—I:162 "Where are the Seven Sages of the Apsû, the holy carp,[180]

BR 50, BR 52, I/IIC:81, IIIB:43, IIIB:60, IIIB:69, IIIB:87/8, and IIIC:16). See also n. 169 above for Ninagal's mention in an incantation at the renovation of a temple.

[176] If text U is copied correctly, it appears to preserve a different tradition entirely; Saggs translates "Where is NIN.Á.GAL, who bears the [perfect?] *esû*?" ("Additions to Anzu," 29). (Several terms *esû* are known to *CAD*, most of whose meanings are obscure.)

[177] Notice copy X treats I:159–160 as a single verse, as evidenced by the indentation (compare I:156–157).

[178] I suspect the word translated here as "eats," preserved in only one copy (X) as *i-le-mu*, is a scribal error; unfortunately it is not clear for what, although it might be parallel to the verb *patāqu*, "to shape." (Although it is likely coincidence, *patāqu* B means "to drink"; if a metaphor employing a verb of consumption is indeed at work in the first hemistich, it is possible a similar metaphor appears in the second.)

[179] *CAD* cites only one other attestation of the phrase "strong copper"; unfortunately, it clouds the issue rather than clarifying it: *erâ danna mupaṣṣidu* [*abni*] *kīma ṣubāti nalbušāku*, "I (the horse) am clad with 'strong copper' (i.e., horseshoes?) which splits [stones], as with a garment" (see King, *CT* 15, pl. 35, lines 3'–4', as translated in *CAD*, s.v. "erû A"). It appears some idiom is at work here, but its meaning is opaque to me.

[180] The history of the term "sage" (abgal) is untangled in Steinkeller, *History, Texts and Art*, 65–74: In spite of a number of significant differences diachronically in the use of the term, the abgal is consistently associated with Ēa/Enki. In the third millennium the term abgal appears to refer to a specific officiant with cultic and perhaps scribal responsibilities, but by the second millennium the term has ceased to refer to actual priests and has come to serve only as an honorific for scholars (*ummânū*). Although the Seven Sages are attested as early as the *Sumerian Temple Hymns* (line 139; for an edition see Sjöberg and Bergmann, *Sumerian Temple Hymns*, 13–154), their depiction as piscine creatures is not known textually before the first millennium,

A (S) rev. (iii:)162b . . . . . [*š*]*á ki-ma* $^{d\lceil}$É$^{\rceil}$-. . . . . [. . .] . . . . . [. . .]
A (S) rev. (iii:)162c . . . . . *šuk-lu-lu m*[*u*] . . . . . [. . .] . . . . . [. . .]
E (F) 162b . . . . . .] x-$\lceil$*šu*$\rceil$-*nu uz-n*[*a* . . . . . .
G (H) 5'b *šá ki-ma* ^{d}É.A EN-*šú*-[
G (H) 6' . . . *m*]*u-ub-bi-bu zu*$^{!}$(SU)-*um-ri*-[. . .
X (B) rev. i:43'b *šá ki-ma* [. . . . . .]
X (B) rev. i:44' x-*šú-nu* $\lceil$*uz-na*$\rceil$ *ṣir-tú šuk*-x x x-*bu* MEŠ
—I:163 *ša kīma Ēa bēlīšunu uzna ṣīrtu šuklulū mubbibū zumrī*[*ya*][181]
—I:163 "Who like Ēa their lord are perfectly created with respect to eminent wisdom, who can clean [my] body?"

A (S) rev. (iii:)163 . . . [*m*]*é-šu-ma* . . . . . [. . . . . .] . . . . . [. . .]
E (F) 163 . . . . . .] x x [. . . . . .
G (H) 7' . . . *r*]*a-du* ^{d}*èr-r*[*a*
X (B) rev. i:45' [. . . . . .] x-*iz qu-*$\lceil$*ra*$\rceil$*-du* . . . . . [. . .]
—I:164 [*išm*]*ēšū-ma* [*izz*]*iz qurādu Err*[*a*]
—I:164 Warrior Err[a hea]rd him and [sto]od there.

A (S) rev. (iii:)164 . . . . . *-uš-ma pa-*$\lceil$*a*$\rceil$-. . . . . .
G (H) 8' . . . . . .] $\lceil^{d}\rceil$AMAR.[. . . . . .
X (B) rev. i:46' [. . . . . .] $\lceil$*i-zak-kar*$\rceil$ *ana* NUN-*e* ^{d}AMAR.U[TU]
—I:165 [*īp*]*uš-ma pā*[*šu*] *izzakkar ana rubê Mard*[*uk*]
—I:165 He [ope]ned [his] mouth to say to Prince Mard[uk]:

A (S) rev. (iii:)165 . . . x-x-*ma* . . . . . [. . .] . . . . . .
D (E) rev. iv:1'(?)] . . . . . x $\lceil$RU$\rceil$ $\lceil$ME$\rceil$ $\lceil$RA$^{?}\rceil$ x [
G (H) 9' . . . . . .] x x [. . . . . .

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where we find them in *Bīt Mēseri* in a passage reminiscent of the present context, as carp (see Reiner, "Etiological Myth"); compare also the account in Berossus's *Babyloniaca*, in which the creature Oannes—a Greek rendering of the name Uan(na), another name for Adapa (Van Dijk, "Inschriftenfunde," 47–48), who is known for example as one of the Seven Sages in *Bīt Mēseri*—emerges from the sea to confer the arts of civilization on humankind (on which see Burstein, Babyloniaca *of Berossus*, 7, 13–14). However, glyptic representations from the Kassite period of men in fish outfits who can plausibly be identified as abgals—known also from first-millennium art—suggest this development of the abgal as a piscine creature may have taken shape then.

[181] Observe that no copy preserves what I have chosen to label I:162 and I:163 on a single line. However, though fragmentary, the evidence suggests that all extant copies construed what in my edition are two verses as a single verse of poetry, albeit one spread across two or three physical lines of the tablet. This is clearest from copy X, where indentation is evident in I:163 (compare I:152, I:156–157, I:159–160, etc.). Nevertheless, given the extreme length of this verse (I:162–163) as preserved in the copies—consisting of fifteen words where the previous verse has eight and the following verse only four—I feel justified in surmising that two originally separate verses of poetry have been compressed into one here, and in reconstructing the line division accordingly.

—I:166 . . . . . .
—I:166 . . .

A (S) rev. (iii:)166 . . . . . [*r*]*i-šú* DUL.ᶠDUᵀ . . . . . [. . .] . . . . . .
X (B) rev. ii:1’ . . . . . *ú* x . . . [. . . . . .]
—I:167 . . . . . .
—I:167 . . .

A (S) rev. (iii:)167 [. . . . . .]-x-*ri-šú* DU_6.D[U] . . . . . [. . . . . .] x x . . .
X (B) rev. ii:2’ [. . . *e*]*l-me-šu eb-ba* x . . . . . [. . . . . .]
X (B) rev. ii:3’ . . . . . *ú* . . . . . [. . . . . .][182]
—I:168 . . . [*e*]*lmēšu ebba* . . . . . *ušelle*ʔ[183] . . . . . .
—I:168 “The shiny [*e*]*lmēšu*-stone . . . *will bring up* (?). . .”

A (S) rev. (iii:)168 [. . . . . .] . . . *i-*. . . [. . . . . .] *-šu*
X (B) rev. ii:4’ . . . [AMA]R.UTU *an-ni-*. . . . . [. . . . . .]
—I:169 [*Ma*]*rduk annī*[*ta*] *i*[*na šemê*]*šu*
—I:169 [Ma]rduk, u[pon heari]ng thi[s],

A (S) rev. (iii:)169 [. . . . . .] . . .-[*ka*]*r a-n*[*a*] . . . . . [. . .] ᶠᵈᵀ*èr-ra*
X (B) rev. ii:5’ . . .-[*u*]*š-ma pa-a-šu i-zak-*. . . . . [. . . . . .]
—I:170 [*īpu*]*š-ma pāšu izzak*[*ka*]*r an*[*a qurādu*] *Erra*
—I:170 [He open]ed his mouth to s[a]y t[o Warrior] Erra:

A (S) rev. (iii:)170 [. . . . . .] . . . x . . . . . ᶠ*up*ᵀ*-ta-aṭ-ṭar*
X (B) rev. ii:6’ . . . [*š*]*ub-te-ia a-te-eb-bu-šu ši-*. . . . . [. . . . . .]
—I:171 [*ina š*]*ubtēya atebbûšu*[184] *ši*[*bīt šamê u erṣeti*] *uptaṭṭar*
—I:171 “If I arise [from] my [dw]elling, the se[am of heaven and earth] will unravel.[185]

A (S) rev. (iii:)171 [. . . . . .] . . . . .-ʾ*u* . . . . . [*m*]*a-a-*ᶠ*tu*ᵀ
U iii:26’ . . .] A.MEŠ *il-lu-nim-ma i-ba-*ʾ*u ma-a-tú*

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[182] Depending on how spread out the signs in copy X are, it is possible an additional, now lost verse appears in this copy.

[183] If DU_6.DU (ÈD) has been accurately restored here, it may be read any number of ways, including minimally in the G- or Š-stems of either *arādu* or *elû*.

[184] This verb appears to have an overhanging vowel.

The antecedent of *-šu* is unclear and may be *ina šubtēya*; however, it seems very awkward for a masculine accusative pronominal suffix to cross reference a prepositional phrase (notice that *ina* is reconstructed, but fits the space and the parallel verse, I:133, where however *-šu* is absent)—let alone a prepositional phrase with a feminine object.

[185] Compare I:133, in which Marduk reports what happened in the past, during the Flood.

X (B) rev. ii:7’ . . . .[M]EŠ *il-lu-nim-ma* ⌜MA⌝-x- . . . . . .
—I:172 *mû illûnim-ma iba’’ū mātu*
—I:172 “The waters will come up and sweep destructively over the land.

A (S) rev. (iii:)172 [. . . . . .] . . . [*m*]*a-ti* x . . . . . x . . .
X (B) rev. ii:8’ . . .-[*m*]*u nam-ru a-na da-u*[*m*] . . . . . .
—I:173 [*ū*]*mu namru ana da’u*[*mm*]*ati* [*itâr*][186]
—I:173 “Bright [da]ylight will [turn] into dar[kn]ess.[187]

A (S) rev. (iii:)173 [. . . . . .] x x MUL.MEŠ *šá-m*[*a*] . . . . . [. . . . . .]
X (B) rev. ii:9’ . . . [*ḫ*]*u-ú i-te-eb-ba*-x . . . . . .
—I:174 [*meḫ*]*û itebbâ*[*m-ma*] *kakkabānī šamā*[*mī ikattam*?][188]
—I:174 “[The temp]est will ris[e up] and [cover (?)] the stars of the firmam[ent].

A (S) rev. (iii:)174 . . . . . .-[*z*]*i-qam-ma šá* UN.MEŠ *šik-na-at* Z[I . . . . . .]
X (B) rev. ii:10’ . . . *lem-nu i-ziq-qam-m*[*a*] . . . . . .
X (B) rev. ii:11’ . . . *ni-ṭi*[*l*] . . . . . .
—I:175 [*šāru*][189] *lemnu iziqqam-ma ša nišī šiknāt nap*[*išti*] *niṭil*[*šin iššiʔ*][190]
—I:175 “An evil [wind] will blow and the eyesight of the people, liv[ing] creatures, [will become blurred (?)].

A (S) rev. (iii:)175 [. . . . . .] *il-lu-nim-ma i-ṣab-bat* [. . . . . .]
X (B) rev. ii:12’ . . . x-*le-e el-lu-nim-*⌜*ma*⌝ . . . . . .
—I:176 [*gal*]*lê illûnim-ma iṣabbat* . . . . . .
—I:176 “[*Gal*]*lû*-demons will rise up and . . . will seize[191] . . .

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[186] The word *itâr* is a plausible reconstruction here, given the parallels in II:6 (*ūmu namru ana da*[*’umma*]*ti uttī*[*r*], “bright daylight was turn[ed] into da[rkne]ss”) and in SB *Anzû* II:16 (*ūmu namru ana da’ummati litūršu*, “Let bright daylight turn into darkness for him!”) (for an edition of SB *Anzû* see Vogelzang, *Bin šar dadmē*; Annus, *Standard Babylonian Epic of Anzu*).

[187] Compare II:6.

[188] The uncertain restoration of *ikattam* follows Cagni (*L’Epopea di Erra*, 76).

[189] The restoration of *šāru* follows Ebeling (and all translators since). Other apparent mentions of “evil wind(s)” in this text occur in I:187, II:6, and IIIb:16.

[190] Falkenstein reconstructs *uṭṭa* at the end of this verse (“Zur ersten Tafel,” 208), a Dt-stem durative of the root *eṭû*, meaning “will be darkened.” All translators since have followed Falkenstein’s lead. However, I am aware of no other example of the verb *uṭṭû* occurring with *niṭlu* (though it can occur with *ēnu*, “eye”; see *CAD*, s.v. “eṭû”). In contrast, compare the following attestation from *Enūma Eliš* IV:70 of the word *niṭlu* in conjunction with the verb *ešû*, “to confuse; to be confused,” in such contexts “to become blurred” (on which see *CAD*, ad loc.): *īmurū-ma qardu ašarēdu niṭilšun īši*, “When they saw the preeminent warrior, their eyesight became blurred.” I am tentatively proposing the same root appears here in a similar usage.

[191] On present evidence the *gallû*-demons do not appear to be the subject of this (singular) verb.

A (S) rev. (iii:)176 [. . . . .]-*li paṭ-ra-a-ti ma-ʿḫirʾ-šú-ʿnuʾ* [. . . . . .]
X (B) rev. ii:13' . . . *qab-li paṭ-ra-a-ti ma-ḫir-ʿšúʾ-*. . . . . .
—I:177 [*ša*] *qabli paṭrāti māḫiršunu* . . . . . .
—I:177 "[Those] with ungirded loins . . . their opponent[192] . . .

A (S) rev. (iii:)177 [. . . . . *n*]*a-ki il-lu-nim-ma šik-*[. . . . . .]
X (B) rev. ii:14' ʿdʾ*a-nun-na-ki i-lu-nim-ma šik-nat* ZI-*tì i-mes-su*
—I:178 *Anunnakī illûnim-ma šiknāt napišti imessū*
—I:178 "The Anunnakī will come up and pulverize living creatures.

A (S) rev. (iii:)178 <*a-di*> [. . . . .].MEŠ-*ia la an-na-ad-qu* [. . . . . .]
X (B) rev. ii:15' <*a-di*> [gi]ˢᵍTUKUL.MEŠ-*ia la an-na-ad-qu ú-. . .-šú-nu-ti man-nu*
—I:179 *adi*[193] *kakkīya lā annadqu u*[*tār*]*šunūti mannu*
—I:179 "Until I gird on my weapons, who will re[pulse] them?"

A (S) rev. (iii:)179 [. . . *è*]*r-ra an-ni-tú* [. . . . . .]
X (B) rev. ii:16' . . . *èr-ra an-ni-ta ina še-me-šú*
—I:180 *Erra annīta ina šemêšu*
—I:180 Erra, upon hearing this,

A (S) rev. (iii:)180 [. . . . . *u*]*š-ma pa-a-še i-z*[*ak* . . . . . .]
D (E) rev. iv:180] x x [. . .
X (B) rev. ii:17' ʿ*i*ʾ*-pu-uš-ma pa-a-šu i-*ʿ*zak*ʾ*-kar a-na* NUN-*e* ᵈAMAR.UTU
—I:181 *īpuš-ma pāšu izzakkar ana rubê Marduk*
—I:181 He opened his mouth to say to Prince Marduk:

A (S) rev. (iv:)181 NUN ᵈAMAR.UTU *a-*ʿ*di*ʾ ʿ*at*ʾ*-ta a-na* É [. . . . . .] . . . [*m*]*a* ᵈGÈRRA TÚG-*ka tu-u*[*b-b*]*a-bu*[194] *ta-tur-r*[*u*] . . . [. . .] . . . . . [*á*]*š-ruk-ka*
D (E) rev. iv:181] ʿdʾGÉRRA *ṣ*[*u*

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[192] On present evidence it is not clear whether the masculine suffix *-šunu* refers back to the *ša qabli paṭrāti*, who are morphologically feminine.

[193] Gössmann reconstructs *adi* at the beginning of the verse (*Era-Epos*, 15), and all translators since have followed suit. It is not clear from either extant copy that there is space for it, but because it makes sense of the verse in context, I have chosen to insert it as a posited scribal omission. (Notice that, counterintuitively, *adi*, "until" and *adi lā*, "before" appear to have significant overlap in usage: in I:181 *adi* is used in a seemingly similar context, demarcating the time before Marduk has reassumed control of the cosmos. Is it significant that Marduk's question in this verse frames the situation as a hypothetical where Erra's assertion in I:181 is expressed as a commitment? Further research into the syntactic conventions of Standard Babylonian might be illuminating.)

[194] The form *tubbabu* in copy A appears to be an error, likely influenced by the other second-person verbs in this verse. (It is clear from I:141 that Gerra "launders the outfit.")

X (B) rev. ii:18’ [NU]N ^{d}AMAR.UTU *a-di at-ta ana* É *šá-a-šú ter-ru-bu-ma* ^{d}GÉRRA
X (B) rev. ii:19’ *ṣu-bat-ka ub-ba-bu-ma ta-tu-ra áš-ruk-ka*
—I:182 *rubû Marduk adi atta ana bīti šâšu terrubū-ma Gerra ṣubātka ubbabū-ma taturru/taturra ašrukka*
—I:182 “Prince Marduk, until you have entered that building[195] and Gerra has cleaned your outfit and you have returned to your place,

A (S) rev. (iv:)182 *a-di ul-lu a-*⌜*rad*⌝*-di-ma ši-bit* A[N] . . . . . ⌜*ú*⌝*-dan-na-an*
D (E) rev. iv:182 ⌜*a-di*⌝ ⌜*ul-la*⌝ *a-r*[*ad*
X (B) rev. ii:20’ . . .-[*d*]*i ul-la a-rad-di-ma ši-bit* AN-*e* KI-*tì*
X (B) rev. ii:21’ *ú-dan-na-an*
—I:183 *adi ulla araddī-ma šibīt šamê erṣeti udannan*
—I:183 “Until then, I will assume leadership and reinforce the seam of heaven and earth.

A (S) rev. (iv:)183 *a-na* AN-*e il-li-ma a-na* ^{d}*í-*. . . . . *ur-ta*
X (B) rev. ii:22’ . . .-[*n*]*a* AN-*e el-li-ma a-na* ^{d}*í-gì-gì a-nam-din ur-tu*
—I:184 *ana šamê ellī-ma ana Igīgī anamdin ûrta*
—I:184 “I will go up to the heavens and give instruction to the Igīgī.

A (S) rev. (iv:)184 *ur-ra-du a-na* ZU.AB ^{d}*a-nun-na-k*[*i*] . . . . . *ú-paq-qad*
X (B) rev. ii:23’ . . . [*r*]*ad a-na* ZU.AB ^{d}*a-nun-na-ki ú-pa-qa-ad*
—I:185 *urrad*(*u*)[196] *ana Apsî Anunnakī upaqqad*
—I:185 “I will go down to the Apsû and oversee the Anunnakī.

A (S) rev. (iv:)185 *gal-le-e šam-ru-ti a-na* KUR.NU.G[I_4] . . . . . *a-ṭar-rad-ma*
X (B) rev. ii:24’ . . . x-*le-e šam-ru-te a-na* KUR.NU.GI$_4$.A *a-ṭar-rad*
—I:186 *gallê šamrūti ana māt lā târi aṭarrad*(*-ma*)
—I:186 “I will banish the truculent *gallû*-demons to the Land of No Return.

A (S) rev. (iv:)186 ^{giš}TUKUL-*ia ez-zu-tu* UGU-*šú-nu* . . . *uš-za-za*
X (B) rev. ii:25’ ⌜^{giš}⌝TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia ez-zu-ti* UGU-*šú-nu ú-šá-za-za*
—I:187 *kakkīya ezzūti elīšunu ušzazza*
—I:187 “I will cause my ferocious weapons to triumph over[197] them.

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[195] The phrase “that building” (*bītu šâšu* and related forms) consistently refers to the building where the “procedure” (*šipru*) of laundering Marduk’s outfit and making his jewelry shine takes place. It is possible the circumlocution reflects the taboo status of the building (see II:38). But it may also simply be the case that the building has no specific designation since it is not an ordinary building where such a procedure is undertaken regularly but rather a building specially constructed for this undertaking (see II:38), which is only happening for the second time in cosmic history.

[196] The variant in copy A exhibits an overhanging vowel.

[197] The Š-stem of *uzuzzu* with *eli* or *ana ṣēr* is used in multiple other contexts to mean “to have someone triumph over, to cause defeat” (see *CAD*, ad loc.).

A (S) rev. (iv:)187 *ša* IM *lem-nu ki-ma* MUŠEN *a-kás-sa-*. . . . . ˹*i*˺*-di-šu*
X (B) rev. ii:26' *šá* IM˹ *lem-ni* GIM MUŠEN *a-kàs-sa-a i-da-a-šú*
—I:188 *ša šāri lemni kīma iṣṣūri akassâ idāšu*
—I:188 "I will bind the wings of the evil wind like a bird.

A (S) rev. (iv:)188 *a-na* É *šá-a-šú a-šar te-ru-bu* . . . . . ˹d˺AMAR.UTU
X (B) rev. ii:27' *a-na* É *šá-a-šú a-šar t*[*e*]*r-ru-bu* NUN ᵈAMAR.UTU
—I:189 *ana bīti šâšu ašar terrubu rubû Marduk*
—I:189 "At that building where you will enter, Prince Marduk,

A (S) rev. (iv:)189 ZAG *u* 150 *šá* KÁ-*ka* ᵈ*a-num* ᵈEN.LÍL *ú-šar-*. . . . . *-áṣ* GIM GUD
X (B) rev. ii:28' *im*˹*-na u šu-me-la šá* KÁ-*ka* ᵈ*a-num u* ᵈEN.LÍL
X (B) rev. ii:29' *ú-šar-ba-ṣa* GIM GUD
—I:190 *imna u šumēla ša bābīka Anum* (*u*) *Ellil ušarbaṣ*(*a*) *kīma alpi*
—I:190 "To the right and to the left of your gate I will make Anu and Enlil crouch like bulls."[198]

A (S) rev. (iv:)190 *iš-mé-šu-ma* NUN . . . AM]AR.UTU
X (B) rev. ii:30'a <u>*iš-me-e-ma* NUN ᵈAMAR.UTU</u>
—I:191 *išmē*(*šū*)*-ma rubû Marduk*
—I:191 Prince Marduk heard (him);

A (S) rev. (iv:)191 <u>*a- mat* ᵈ*èr-ra iq-bu-ú* UGU-*šú* . . . ˹*i*˺*-ṭib*</u>
X (B) rev. ii:30'b <u>*a-mat* ᵈ*èr-ra iq-bu-šú* UGU-*šú i-ṭib*[199]</u>
—I:192 *amāt Erra iqbû*(*šu*) *elīšu iṭīb*
—I:192 The speech that Erra had spoken (to him) was pleasing to him.

A (S) rev. (iv:)192 *it-bé-ma ina* ˹*šub*˺*-ti-šú a-š*[*ar l*]*a a-ri ana šu-bat* ᵈ*a-nu*[*n*]-˹*na*˺-. . . [*m*]*a*
iš-ta-kan pa-. . . . . *-šú*
X (B) rev. ii:31' *it-bé-ma ina šub-ti-šú a-šar la a-ri ana šu-bat* ᵈ*a-nun-na-ki iš-ta-kan* IGI-*šú*
—I:193 *itbē-ma ina šubtīšu ašar lā âri ana šubat Anunnakī*-([*m*]*a*) *ištakan pānīšu*
—I:193 He arose from his dwelling, an unapproachable place; toward the dwelling of the Anunnakī he set his face.

B (S) (obv.) 1 . . . . . .] *a*-[. . . . . .
Y (B) (rev.) 12' [*i*]*t-bé-ma a-na šub-ti-šú* <*a*>*-ša*[*r*]? [. . . . . .
LL (obv.) i:1' . . . . . .] . . . . . [. . . . . .]
QQ obv. 1 ˹*it-bé*˺*-e-ma ina šub-ti*-x [. . .

[198] Either each one "crouches like a bull" individually or "bull" here should be pluralized. For a related phrase compare IV:17.

[199] Notice that copy X combines this verse with the preceding one on a single line.

—II:1 *itbē-ma ina*[200] *šubtīšu a*[*šar lā ârî*]
—II:1 He arose from his dwelling, [an unapproachable] pl[ace];

B (S) (obv.) 2 . . . . . .]-*na-ki iš*-[. . . . . .
Y (B) (rev.) 13' *a-na šu-bat* d*a-nun-na-k*[*i* . . . . . .
LL (obv.) i:2' . . . . . .]-˹*ta-kan*˺ ˹*pa-ni*˺-x . . . . . .
—II:2 *ana šubat Anunnakī ištakan pānī*[*šu*]
—II:2 Toward the dwelling of the Anunnakī he set [his] face.[201]

B (S) (obv.) 3 . . . . . ˹*e*˺-*ru-um-ma* ˹*it*˺-*t*[*a* . . . . . .
Y (B) (rev.) 14' ˹*a-na*˺ [. . . . . .] x x-*a-šú i-ru*-[. . . . . .
LL (obv.) i:3' . . . . . .] . . . ŠI? IB? . . . . . AŠ BU x . . . . . .
QQ obv. 3 *a-na* É *šá-a-šú i-r*[*u*
—II:3 *ana bīti šâšu īrum-ma itt*[*aziz pānuššun*?][202]
—II:3 Into that building[203] he entered and st[ood before them (?)].

B (S) (obv.) 4 . . .]-*ṭal-šu-ma šá-ru-ri-šu ú-šam-*˹*qit*˺ x-*ia* ˹RU˺ x [. . .
Y (B) (rev.) 15' [. . . . . .]-˹*šu*˺-*ma šá-ru-ru-šu* ˹*ú*˺-[. . . . . .
LL (obv.) i:4' . . . . . .] *ú-šam-qit-ma* TA ŠE? IR? ZI x . . .[204]
QQ obv. 4 d*UTU-ši iṭ-ṭul-šu-ma šá-r*[*u*
—II:4 *Šamši* [*inaṭ*]*ṭalšū-ma/iṭṭulšū-ma šarūrīšu ušamqit-ma*[205] . . . . . .

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[200] The word *ina* is superior to *ana* here so the latter has been excluded from the normalization (*ina* appears in this phrase elsewhere in this text—see I:132, I:133, I:193, and IIIc:44).

[201] Brown contends that "Marduk's decision to descend to the *apsû* and have his garments cleaned by *ummânu*s may in part be seen to be describing Jupiter's conjunction with the Sun" (*Planetary Astronomy-Astrology*, 256). (He is careful to qualify his reading as follows: "I do not interpret this text solely as an allegory of events in the sky, but an awareness of how the myth might *also* be mirrored in the sky seems to me to be present" [ibid.].) This interpretation has the advantage over Cooley's (see n. 136) that disaster unfolds while Marduk is absent from his post (i.e., Jupiter has disappeared) rather than while Erra is in Marduk's presence, although here too it is far from clear such specific celestial phenomena lurk in the hinterground; unfortunately, the particular celestial events that undeniably do inform the plot are largely obscure thanks to the still fragmentary nature of tablet II.

[202] This reconstruction follows Cagni (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 80), relying on the end of I:125 (ibid., 202), which makes reasonable sense in context. Copy LL should aid us in determining what properly fills this lacuna but is unfortunately very fragmentary.

[203] Notice that in the previous line Marduk "set his face" "toward the dwelling of the Anunnakī." However, as I read it "that building" (*bītu šâšu*) is not identical with the "dwelling of the Anunnakī" (*šubat Anunnakī*) but simply metaphysically related to it: as Marduk's cult statue is removed to "that building," Marduk, as a transcendent force, simultaneously sets out for the "dwelling of the Anunnakī."

[204] The end of this verse is difficult to decipher, particular in light of the traces at the end of the line in copy B.

[205] On the use of this phrase (*šarūra maqātu*) in astronomical/astrological contexts, see Cooley, *Poetic Astronomy*, 103.

—II:4 Upon seeing him, Šamaš allowed his radiance to fall away . . .[206]

B (S) (obv.) 5] *a-šar šá-nam-ma pa-ʳnuˀ-šu šak-ʳnuˀ-ma* KI-*tú ul* x [
Y (B) (rev.) 16' [. . . . . *n*]*am-ma pa-nu-šú* [. . . . . .
LL (obv.) i:5' . . . . .] *šak-nu-ma* ʳKI-*túˀ* x x x . . . ʳRIˀ
QQ obv. 5 *ša* ᵈ30 *a-na a-šar šá-nam-m*[*a*
—II:5 *ša Sîn ana ašar šanâm-ma pānūšu šaknū-ma erṣetu ul* . . . . . .
—II:5 As for Sîn, his face was turned in another direction, and the earth . . . not . . .

B (S) (obv.) 6] *it-bu-nim-ma* <UD-*mu*> *nam-ʳruˀ ana da*-x-. . .-x-*ti ut-ti*[*r* . . .
Y (B) (rev.) 17' [. . . . .]-*nim-ma* UD-*mu na*[*m* . . .
LL (obv.) i:6' . . . . .] x UD-*mu nam-*. . . x x
QQ obv. 6 *šá-a-ri lem-nu-tu it-bu-n*[*im*
—II:6 *šārī lemnūtu itbûnim-ma ūmu*[207] *namru ana da*[*ʾumma*]*ti uttī*[*r*]
—II:6 Evil winds arose and bright daylight was turn[ed] into da[rkne]ss.[208]

B (S) (obv.) 7 . . .] [U]N.MEŠ *ina* KUR *nap-ḫar-šá* . . . . . x KIN [. . .
Y (B) (rev.) 18' [. . . . .] KUR *mit-ḫa-riš* x [. . .
LL (obv.) i:7a' . . .] . . . . . UD BE . . . . . x . . .
LL (obv.) i:7b' . . .] . . . MA . . . . . x x . . . . . x x MA
QQ obv. 7 *ri-gim* UN.MEŠ *ina* KUR x [. . .
—II:7 *rigim nišī ina māti napḫarša/mitḫāriš* . . . . . [. . .
—II:7 The noise of the people *in all of the land*/*in the land together* . . .

B (S) (obv.) 8 . . . . .] x-*ru-ma e-te-*[. . . . . .
Y (B) (rev.) 19' [. . . . . *m*]*a e-te-lu-ú a-*[
LL (obv.) i:8' . . .] x-*te-lu-ú* . . . . . x . . . KI[?] *ma-tam-ma*[209]
QQ obv. 8 ᵈ*í-gì-gì i-ru-ru*-x [. . . . .
—II:8 *Igīgī īrurū-ma ētelû a*[*na*] . . . . . .
—II:8 The Igīgī trembled and went up t[o] . . .[210]

B (S) (obv.) 9 . . . . .]-ʳ*še*$_{20}$-*ḫu-ma*ˀ [. . . . . .

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[206] Compare II:128 and IV:124. It is possible Marduk is the subject of the second verb: "When Šamaš saw him, he (Marduk) caused his (Šamaš's) radiance to fall away."

[207] This word appears to have been omitted inadvertently from copy B.

[208] Compare I:173.

[209] Al-Rawi and Black read the signs *ma-tam-ma* with the following line ("Second Tablet," 114), although in their copy it appears to belong to this one.

[210] Foster reconstructs "heaven" here (*Before the Muses*, 890), which makes very good sense in context. I have refrained from reconstructing it only because I am unsure how to make sense of *ma-tam-ma* in copy LL.

Y (B) (rev.) 20’ [. . . . . *š*]*e*$_{20}$-*ḫu-ma šu*$^{!}$*-pu-ul* [
LL (obv.) i:9’]*šu*$^{?}$*-ḫu-ma šu-pu-ul* x . . . x x KUR DIŠ
QQ obv. 9 [. . . . . *nu*]*n-*$^{\lceil}$*na-ki*$^{\rceil}$ [. . . . . .
—II:9 [*Anu*]*nnakī* [*išš*]*ēḫū-ma šupul* . . . . . .
—II:9 The [Anu]nnaki [shud]dered and to the depth . . .

Y (B) (rev.) 21’ [. . . . . .] *nap-ḫar kip-pat* [
LL (obv.) i:10’]*-ḫar kip-pat* x x LA MU
—II:10 . . . . . *napḫar kippat* . . . . . .
—II:10 . . . the whole circumference of . . .

LL (obv.) i:11’] $^{\lceil}$ŠI$^{\rceil?}$ $^{\lceil}$ḪU$^{\rceil?}$ MA Ú ŠI x *ina* $^{\lceil}$*ep*$^{\rceil?}$*-ri*
—II:11] . . . . . *ina epri*$^{?}$
—II:11] . . . in the dust (?).

LL (obv.) i:12’ . . . . . .] . . . . . AM MA *i ni-mu-ra nu-ru*
—II:12 . . . . . .] . . . . . *i nīmura nūru*
—II:12 “. . . let us see the light![211]

LL (obv.)i:13’ . . . . . .] . . . . . $^{\lceil}$giš$^{\rceil}$IG.MEŠ-*šú*
—II:13 . . . . . .] . . . . . *dalātīšu*
—II:13 “. . . its doors.

LL (obv.)i:14’ . . . . . .] . . . . . NI UR x UD
—II:14 . . . . . .] . . . . . .
—II:14 “. . .

LL (obv.)i:15’ . . . . . .] . . . . . [K]A MA MUL *šá-ma-mi*
—II:15 . . . . . .] . . . . . *kakkab šamāmī*
—II:15 “. . . the stars of the firmament.

LL (obv.)i:16’ . . . . . .] . . . x IG
UU (K) rev.! 1’ $^{\lceil}$A$^{\rceil}$ $^{\lceil}$GI$^{\rceil}$ [. . . . . .
UU (K) rev.! 2’ LI [. . . . . .
—II:16 *agê*$^{?}$ . . . . . [
—II:16 “The crown (?) . . .

LL (obv.)i:17’ . . . . . .] . . . . . $^{\lceil}$*li*$^{\rceil}$*-lal-li šá-a-šú*
UU (K) rev.! 3’ *lib-bu-uš*$^{?}$ [. . . . . .]
—II:17 *libbuš*$^{?}$ . . . . . *lilalli šâšu*

[211] It is impossible to determine, in this lacuna-ridden passage, where quotations begin and end; what I propose here is nothing more than a guess.

—II:17 “His (?) heart . . . let it make him happy!

LL (obv.) i:18’ . . . . . .] . . . X MA LI? x x x x x
UU (K) rev.! 4’ *ša* ŠAGINA BE [. . . . . .]
—II:18 *ša šakkanakki* . . . . . .
—II:18 “Of the governor . . .

LL (obv.) i:19’ . . . . . .] . . . x-*ri-šu* UD.MEŠ-. . . *šú* . . . . . .
UU (K) rev.! 5’ *me-lam-me nam-ri-ir-*[. . . . . .
—II:19 *melammē namrirrīšu ūmīšu*[212] . . . . . .
—II:19 “The radiant aura of his luminescence . . . his days . . .

LL (obv.) i:20’ . . . . . L]I? E UG x ŠAB *ki-ma* ŠÈG.MEŠ
—II:20 . . . . . *kīma zunnī*
—II:20 “. . . like rains.

LL (obv.) i:21’ . . . . . .] . . . MA A *na-gab-šú*
UU (K) rev.! 6’ dÉ.A *ina* ZU.A[B . . . . . .
—II:21 *Ēa ina A*[*p*]*sû* [ ] . . . . . *nagabšu*
—II:21 “Ēa in the A[p]sû . . . his underground water.

LL (obv.) i:22’ . . . . . .] . . . x BE MA UN.MEŠ *liq-tu-na*
UU (K) rev.! 7’ dUTU-*šú li-mur ma-ḫar* [. . . . . .
—II:22 *Šamšu līmur maḫar* [ ] . . . . . *nišī liqtunā*[213]
—II:22 “Let Šamaš see in the presence of . . . let the people . . .

LL (obv.) i:23’ . . . . . .] . . . x . . . GISKIM!?(x-RI)-*šú li-ris?-su? ana* KUR
UU (K) rev.! 8’ d30 *lip-pa-lis-ma ana* GISKIM-*šú* x-[. . . . . .
—II:23 *Sîn lippalis-ma ana ittīšu līrissu? ana māti*
—II:23 “Let Sîn look and let him *request it* (?) as his sign for the land.

LL (obv.) i:24’ . . . . . .] . . . . . ME MA ÁŠ? ḪU? KI *it?-peš*
UU (K) rev.! 9’ *áš-šú šip-ri šá-a-šu* dÉ.A ⌜d⌝[. . . . . .
—II:24 *aššu šipri šâšu Ēa* . . . . . *itpēš?*
—II:24 “Regarding that procedure, Ēa . . . is expert (?).

LL (obv.) i:25’ . . . . . *r*]*a-du* d*èr-ra*
UU (K) rev.! 10’ *lib-ba-a-ti im-ta-li* [. . . . . .

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[212] The abraded space between UD.MEŠ and *šú* in copy LL creates uncertainty as to whether these signs belong together, as taken here. It is also possible to read UD.MEŠ as UD-*míš* for *ūmiš*, “like daylight.”

[213] It is not clear how this word is best analyzed. The root *qatānu*, “to be thin/narrow,” has an /i/ theme vowel and so seems an unlikely candidate. The text may be corrupt.

—II:25 *libbāti imtali* [ ] [*qur*]*ādu Erra*
—II:25 "He was filled with rage . . . [War]rior Erra.

LL (obv.) i:26' . . . . .] . . . . . *a-me-lu-ti*
UU (K) rev.! 11' *mìn-su áš-šu ḫu-bu-uš pa-a*[*n* . . . . . .
—II:26 *minsu aššu ḫubuš pā*[*n mê*] [ ] . . . . . *amēlūti*
—II:26 "Why regarding the flotsam on the surfa[ce of the water] . . . humanity,

LL (obv.) i:27' . . . . .] . . . x-*ki ab-nu-ú ana-ku*
UU (K) rev.! 12' *ša ana šu-uḫ-muṭ* ⌜*tak-li*⌝*-mì* [d]*a*-[. . . . . .
—II:27 *ša ana šuḫmuṭ taklīmī A*[*nunna*]*kī abnû anāku*
—II:27 "Whom I myself created to bring the *taklīmu*-offerings of the A[nunna]ki expeditiously?[214]

C (T) obv. 1' ⌜*i*⌝-x [. . . . . .
LL (obv.) i:28' . . .] . . . . . x . . . NUN [d]AMAR.UTU
UU (K) rev.! 13' *ina la a-dan-ni-šu id-di*-[. . . . . .
—II:28 *ina lā adannīšu iddi*[*nū*] [ ] *rubû Marduk*
—II:28 "At the wrong time [they] gav[e] . . . Prince Marduk.

C (T) obv. 2' ⌜*a*⌝*-na sa-p*[*an* . . . . . .
W (A) obv. iii:1' . . . . .] AN ⌜NI⌝[215]
LL (obv.) i:29'] . . . x UN.MEŠ-*šin ik-pu-ud* ḪUL-*tú*
UU (K) rev.! 14' *a-na sa-pan* KUR.KUR *ḫul-lu-uq ni-ši-š*[*in* . . . . . .
—II:29 *ana sapān mātāti ḫulluq nišīšin ikpud lemuttu*
—II:29 "He plotted evil—to crush the lands and wipe out their people."

C (T) obv. 3' [d]⌜É⌝.A x [. . . . . .
W (A) obv. iii:2' . . . . .] ⌜*i*⌝*-qab-bi*
LL (obv.) i:30'] . . . . . *a-ma-tú i-qab-ba*
UU (K) rev.! 15' [d]É.A LUGAL *uš-tam-ma-a a-ma*-[. . .
—II:30 *Ēa šarru uštammâ amātu iqabbi/iqabbâ*
—II:30 Ēa the king reflected; he delivered a speech:

C (T) obv. 4' *en-na šá it-b*[*u* . . . . . .
C (T) obv. 5' *šá um-ma-ni šu-nu-ti* D[U_6 . . . . . .
W (A) obv. iii:3' . . . . .] *ul iq-bi*
LL (obv.) i:31' . . .] . . . . . [d]AMAR.UTU

[214] It is difficult to determine who speaks these verses. Of the major characters, Marduk can make the best claim to having created humanity, yet in the very next verse he is referenced in the third-person. Ēa too is referenced in the third person in this speech (II:21 and II:24); in addition, he delivers the speech that follows (see II:30).

[215] The traces in this copy are difficult to reconcile with copy LL.

LL (obv.) i:32' . . .] ⌜*e*⌝*-la-šú-nu ul iq-bi*
UU (K) rev.! 16' *en-na šá it-bu-u* NUN ᵈAMAR.UTU *šá um-ma-ni šú-nu*⁷*-te*⁷ [
—II:31 *enna ša itbû rubû Marduk ša ummânī šunūti elâšunu ul iqbi*
—II:31 "Now that Prince Marduk has arisen, he has not ordered those artisans' coming up.

C (T) obv. 6' *ṣal-*[*m*]*i-šú-nu šá* UN.MEŠ *ab-nu-*⌜*ú*⌝ . . . . . [. . . . . .]
W (A) frag. B 1'].MEŠ ⌜*ab-nu*⌝⁷ ⌜*ana*⌝ ⌜ᵈ*èr*⌝-[
W (A) obv. iii:4' . . . . . .] . . .*-ti*
LL (obv.) i:33' . . .] . . . ⌜*ana*⌝ DINGIR-*ti-šú ṣir-ti*
UU (K) rev.! 17' *ṣal-mi-šú-nu ša ina* UN.MEŠ *ab-nu-ú ana* ᵈ*è*[*r*
—II:32 *ṣalmīšunu ša* (*ina*) *nišī abnû ana Er*[*ra*][216] *ana ilūtīšu ṣīrti*
—II:32 "How could their images, which I created among the people, come near Er[ra], his eminent divinity,

C (T) obv. 7' ⌜*šá*⌝ . . . *la i'-ir-ru i-ṭe*₄*-e*[*ḫ*] . . . . . [. . . . . .]
W (A) frag. B 2']*-ir-ru i-ṭe-ḫu-*⌜*ú*⌝ [
LL (obv.) i:34' . . . . . .] . . . . . .-[*ṭ*]*e*₄*-ḫu-u mi-nu*
UU (K) rev.! 18' *ša* DINGIR *la i-ir-ru i-ṭe-ḫu-ú* x [
—II:33 *ša ilu lā i'irru iṭeḫḫû mīnu*[217]
—II:33 "Which even no god can approach?"

C (T) obv. 8' . . . . . .*-ni šu-nu-ti* ŠÀ *rap-šá it-ti-šu-nu*!(AŠ)[218] A[Š] . . . . . [. . . . . .
W (A) obv. iii:5' . . .] x x ⌜AN⌝⁷ x NU
W (A) frag. B 3' *ra*]*p-šá i-din-šú-nu-ti-ma i*[*š*
LL (obv.) i:35' . . . . . .] . . . . . [*i*]*d-din-šú-nu-ti-ma iš-di-šú-nu*
LL (obv.) i:36' . . . . . .] . . . . . *uk-tin-nu*
UU (K) rev.! 19' *a-na um-ma-a-ni šu-nu-ti* ŠÀ*-ba rap-šá* [. . .
UU (K) rev.! 20' *iš-di-šú-nu* [
—II:34 *ana ummânī šunūti libba rapša iddiššunūtī-ma*[219] *išdīšunu uktinnu*[220]

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[216] It is not clear that Erra's name is followed directly by *ana ilūtīšu*, but the amount of space suggests that it is.

[217] Elsewhere in this text the term *mīnu*/*minû* appears in contexts that seem to be contrary to fact (see I:56, IIIc:45, and V:13). I have tentatively translated it accordingly here as well. Compare the terms *akī*, "how?" (I:54) and *minsu*, "why?" (I:47, I:76, I:95, I:102, I:127, II:26, IIIc:36, IIIc:42, and IIIc:55), which appear in indicative contexts.

[218] Copy C, from Sultantepe, spells this word with /t/ for /d/, seemingly reflecting interference from a language that does not distinguish voicedness phonemically.

[219] Theoretically the pronominal suffix on this verb might be the Assyrian dative, reflecting the case of *ana ummânī*; however, the use of an accusative form *šunūti* modifying the phrase in question suggests the suffix too is an accusative, as in Babylonian (generalized to substitute for the dative; compare the use of *-ka* on *lišša̋ka* in I:66, where, in contrast, in I:78 a traditional dative suffix is preserved on *niqabbīkum-ma*).

—II:34 To those artisans he gave a broad heart and made their foundation firm.

C (T) obv. 9’ . . . *i*]*š-ruk-šu-nu-ti-ma qa-ti-šú-*˹*nu*˺ ˹*ú*˺ . . . . . [
W (A) frag. B 4’ . . .]-*nu-ti-ma qa-*. . . . . [. . .
W (A) obv. iii:6’ . . .] ˹*ti*˺-*šú-nu ú-lal-li*
LL (obv.) i:37’ . . . . . .] . . . . . .-[*l*]*al-li*
UU (K) rev.! 21’ *uz-ni iš-ruk-šú-nu-ti-ma* ŠU.MIN-*šú-n*[*u*
—II:35 *uznī išrukšunūtī-ma qātīšunu ulalli*
—II:35 He granted them ears and endowed them with hands.[221]

C (T) obv. 10’ . . . . . *t*]*a šu-a-šá ú-šá-an-bi-ṭu-ma* ˹*šum*˺*-su-qàt šá m*[*aḫ* . . .
W (A) obv. iii:7’ [. . .]-˹*su*˺*-qat*$_7$ UGU *šá maḫ-ri*
W (A) frag. B 5’ . . .]-x-*ṭu-ma šum*-[. . .
LL (obv.) i:38’ . . . . . .] . . . x x-*ri*
UU (K) rev.! 22’ *šu-kut-ta šá-a-šá ú-šá-an-bi-ṭu-ma šum-su-*˹*qàt*˺-[
—II:36 *šukutta šâša ušanbiṭū-ma šumsuqat*[222] (*eli*) *ša maḫri*
—II:36 They made that jewelry shine such that it was more choice than before.

C (T) obv. 11’ . . . . . *d*]*u* ^{d}*èr-ra mu-šá u ur-ra la na-par-*[*k*]*a-a ú-zu-uz pa-n*[*i-*. . .
W (A) obv. iii:8’ . . .]-˹*par*˺*-ka-a ú-zu-uz pa-nu-šú*
LL (obv.) i:39’ . . . . . .] . . .-˹*ka*˺*-a*
LL (obv.) i:40’ . . . . . .] . . . x . . .
UU (K) rev.! 23’ *qu-ra-du* ^{d}*èr-ra mu-šá u ur-ra la* ˹*na*˺-[
UU (K) rev.! 24’ *ú-zu-uz pa-nu*-[
—II:37 *qurādu Erra mūša u urra lā naparkâ uzuz pānuššu*
—II:37 Warrior Erra was standing unceasingly night and day in front of it.[223]

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[220] This form appears to have an overhanging vowel; notice the gemination of the consonant, elsewhere not in evidence with overhanging vowels on hollow roots. Alternatively, it might be construed as a Dt-stem in the plural, reflecting the plurality of *išdīšunu*; on this reading both verbs are preterite, as are the verbs in the verses that follow.

[221] Literally “endowed their hands.” There are undoubtedly metaphorical resonances for each of these three body parts, where the ear is associated with wisdom and the hands perhaps with competence, but I have translated the phrases literally since it appears Ēa is physically creating images for the carrying out of the “procedure.”

[222] I take this form to be the Š-stem of *nasāqu*, an elative. While *AHw* lists this root in this stem, *CAD* considers its existence dubious (although it lists forms in the ŠD-stem and in the Št-lexical, the latter deriving either from this root or from *nasāku*). It is notable that additionally Borger doubts the reading QAT$_7$ for KÀT (*Zeichenlexikon*, 268). However, it is not clear what other root might fit this context: deriving it from the root *nasāku*, such that it would mean “eliminated,” or from *masāku*, such that it would mean “worsened; extremely bad,” hardly makes sense.

[223] The antecedent of “it” is not clear, but appears to be the “procedure”—for shining the jewelry and cleaning the outfit.

C (T) obv. 12’ . . . . . *š*]*u-un-bu-uṭ šu-kut-tú a-na ma-li*[(B[U][?])-*kut ma-al*-[
C (T) obv. 13’ . . . . . .]-*ku-*⌜*nu*⌝*-ma i-ta-mu-ú la ta-ṭ*[*e*] x x x x x [
W (A) obv. iii:9’ . . .] . . . x-*ki* ⌜*iš*⌝*-šak*-x-*nu-ma*
W (A) obv. iii:10’ . . .] . . . [*ṭ*]*e-ḫe a-na šip-ri*
UU (K) rev.! 25’ É *šá ana šu-un-bu*[(BA)-*uṭ šu-kut-ti ana ma-li-ku*[*t* . . . . . .
UU (K) rev.! 26’ [. . .] ⌜*i*⌝*-ta-mu-ú la ta*-x x [. . . . . .
—II:38 *bītu ša ana šunbuṭ šukutti ana malikūt mal*[*ki*] *iššakkunū-ma*[224] *ītamû lā taṭeḫḫe ana šipri*
—II:38 The building that was set up to make the jewelry shine for the authority of the sovere[ign][225] and about which they[226] said, “Do not come near the procedure,”

C (T) obv. 14’ . . . . . .] x *na-piš*-[*t*]*a-šú a-na-kis-*⌜*ma*⌝ ⌜*ni-kis*⌝-[. . . . . .
W (A) obv. iii:11’ . . . . . .]-*su a-*⌜*tar*⌝*?-ra-aṣ*
UU (K) rev.! 27’ [. . . . . .] . . .-⌜*šu*⌝ x [. . . . . .
—II:39 . . . . . .] . . . *napiš*[*t*]*ašu anakkis-ma nikissu atarraṣ*
—II:39 “. . . I will slit his thro[a]t and prolong his death.

C (T) obv. 15’ [. . . . . .] NAG x Ú ⌜MA⌝ x . . . . . x x [. . . . . .
W (A) obv. iii:12’ . . . . . .]-*muṭ a-na šip-ri*
—II:40] . . . . . .[227] *ana šipri*
—II:40 “. . . to the procedure.

C (T) obv. 16’ . . . . . .] x x . . . . . *u*[*l* . . . . . .
W (A) obv. iii:13’ . . .] . . . [R]A *ul i-ši*
—II:41] . . . . . *ul īši*
—II:41 “. . . he does not have . . .

C (T) obv. 17’ [. . . . . .] ⌜*u*⌝ ⌜[d]*èr*⌝-[. . . . . .
W (A) obv. iii:14’ . . . *è*]*r-ra* ⌜*i-tam-ma-a*⌝*?* GIM LÚ
—II:42 . . . . . *u Erra ītammâ kīma amēli*
—II:42 “. . . and Erra speaks like a human.

W (A) obv. iii:15’] . . . *ru-bé-e i-šá-na-an*
—II:43] . . . *rubê išannan*

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[224] The form *iššakkunu* is a composite produced by combining the evidence in copies C and W. If the form has been reconstructed correctly, it exhibits the only example of Assyrian vowel harmony in this text (for Babylonian *iššakkanu*).

[225] Notice the explicit connection between the shininess of the jewelry and Marduk’s authority.

[226] Or “he said,” perhaps referring to Erra?

[227] Cagni tentatively reconstructs *liḫmuṭ*, “let him hurry,” here (*L’Epopea di Erra*, 84).

—II:43 “. . . he rivals princes.

W (A) obv. iii:16’] ME? LA *re-šá-a-šú*
—II:44]. . . . . *rēšāšu*
—II:44 “. . . his head.

W (A) obv. iii:17’]-*šá-an-*ʳ*bi*ˀ-x *šu-kut-ta*
LL (obv.) ii:3’ . . . . . [. . . . . .
—II:45] [*u*]*šanbi*[*ṭū*] *šukutta*
—II:45 “. . . [they m]ade the jewelry [s]hine.

W (A) obv. iii:18’ . . . . .] . . . . . ʳMIˀ?-ʳIŠˀ?
LL (obv.) ii:4’ . . . . . [. . . . . .
—II:46] . . . . . .
—II:46 “. . .

W (A) obv. iii:19’ . . .] . . . ʳ*dal-tu*ˀ-*uš-šú*
LL (obv.) ii:5’ x . . . [. . . . . .
—II:47] . . . . . *daltuššu*
—II:47 “. . . at his door.

W (A) obv. iii:20’] LUGAL ᵈUTUᴵ *in-na*-x x x-*ma*
LL (obv.) ii:6’ x . . . [. . . . . .
—II:48] *šarru Šamaš inna*[*ndiq*]-*ma*[228]
—II:48 “. . . King Šamaš don[ned] . . .

W (A) obv. iii:21’ . . . M]A? *ir-ta-mì šu-bat-su*
LL (obv.) ii:7’ TU . . . [. . . . . .
—II:49] . . . . . *irtami šubassu*
—II:49 “. . . he took up residence.

W (A) obv. iii:22’ . . .] x *na-*ʳ*mir*ˀ-*tú* . . .-*at*
LL (obv.) ii:8’ x x . . . [. . . . . .
—II:50]. . . . . *namirtu* [*šakn*]*at*[229]
—II:50 “. . . radiance [was pres]ent.

W (A) obv. iii:23’] . . . . . A ŠÚ NU *paḫ-*ʳ*ru*ˀ
LL (obv.) ii:9’ . . . . . [. . . . . .
—II:51] . . . . . *paḫrū*

[228] Following Cagni’s tentative reading (ibid.).

[229] Following Cagni’s tentative reading (ibid.).

—II:51 “. . . they were assembled.

W (A) obv. iii:24’ . . .] . . . . . x $^{d\lceil}$AMAR$^{\rceil}$.UTU . . .
LL (obv.) ii:10’ ^{d}*èr-ra* NU$^{?}$ x [
—II:52 *Erra* [ ] *Marduk* . . .
—II:52 “Erra . . . Marduk.

LL (obv.) ii:11’ NUN ^{d}AMAR.UTU LA$^{?}$ ME x . . . [
—II:53 *rubû Marduk* . . . . . [
—II:53 “Prince Marduk . . .

LL (obv.) ii:12’ DINGIR-*iš* TA RA x [
—II:54 *ilíš* . . . . . [
—II:54 “Like a god . . .

LL (obv.) ii:13’ *ṣe-eḫ-ru ana* GAL L[A$^{?}$
—II:55 *ṣeḫru ana rabî* . . . [
—II:55 “Small to great . . .

W (A) obv. iii:28’ . . .] x x [. . . . . .]
LL (obv.) ii:14’ Ù ŠÁ AT $^{\lceil}$TU$^{\rceil}$ x [
—II:56] . . . . . .
—II:56 “. . .

W (A) obv. iii:29’] ^{d}*èr-*$^{\lceil}$*ra*$^{\rceil}$ $^{\lceil}$IT TA$^{\rceil}$ [. . . . . .]
—II:57] *Erra* . . . . . .
—II:57 “. . . Erra . . .

W (A) obv. iii:30’ D]A ÁŠ ŠI *ri-gim-šú i-na-ʾa-da*-[. . . . . .]
LL (obv.) ii:15’ *áš-šú* ḪUL ZU UG/AZ x [
—II:58 *aššu* [ ] *rigimšu innaʾadda*[*r-ma*][230]
—II:58 “Regarding . . . his noise . . . he is annoy[ed].

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[230] Following a recommendation by von Soden, Cagni emends the final word as follows: *i-na-an*$^{?\rceil}$(=Aʾ)-*da*-[*ar*] (*L’Epopea di Erra*, 84 and 205). The root *adāru* A (“to be worried”) is attractive in this context, since it occurs in the N-stem with *rigmu* on several other occasions (see especially the Assyrian recension of *Atraḫasīs*, rev. iv:7 [following the numbering in Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs*]; other examples are marshaled in *CAD*, s.v. “adāru A,” pp. 106–107). The root vacillates between conjugated forms that treat the initial glottal stop as a strong consonant and forms that follow the pattern of Old Babylonian, whereby the initial weak radical manifests as an /n/ in the N-stem. In fact, both of these tendencies can be amalgamated such that the root is treated as a quadriradical with the radicals *nʾdr*: see the form *i-na-ʾ-dir* in Virolleaud, *ACh SS*, Ištar 70:26, as cited in *CAD*, ad loc., meaning “to be eclipsed” and clearly derived from *adāru*. Rather than emending Aʾ to AN, I am tentatively suggesting the same thing has happened in this form, a quadriradical N-stem durative with the radicals *nʾdr*, with the meaning of the root *adāru* in the N-stem.

W (A) obv. iii:31’ *k*]*a-lu ul-lu-ú šu-kut*-[. . . . . .]
LL (obv.) ii:16’ *áš-šú an-ni-i* x . . . . . [
—II:59 *aššu annî* [ ] [*k*]*alû*? *ullû*? *šukut*[*tu*] . . . . . .
—II:59 “Because of this . . . the jewel[ry] . . .

W (A) obv. iii:32’]-˹*lu*˺*-ti-ka tu-ub-bu-ma* LAG [. . . . . .]
LL (obv.) ii:17’ ˹ᵈ*èr*˺*-ra* . . . . . [. . .
—II:60 *Erra* [ ] [*bē*]*lūtīka tubbū-ma* . . . . . .
—II:60 “Erra . . .[231] of your [lo]rdship is sparkling (?)[232] and . . .”

W (A) obv. iii:33’ . . . *m*]*a pa-a-šú* LUGAL DINGIR.ˢMEŠ˺ ˹*i*˺*-ta-ma*
LL (obv.) ii:18’ . . . . . x x . . . [. . .
—II:61 [*īpuš-m*]*a pāšu šar ilānī ītammâ*
—II:61 The king of the gods [opened] his mouth to speak:

W (A) obv. iii:34’ . . . D]IN MA *e-tel-lu-u ana šá-ma-mì*
LL (obv.) ii:19’ . . . . . [. . .
—II:62] . . . . . *ētellû*[233] *ana šamāmī*
—II:62 “. . . *they continually went up*/*they will go up and away* to the firmament.

W (A) obv. iii:35’ . . . *i*]*q-ta-***bi ana**[!](KIB) *šub-*˹*ti*˺*-ku-nu tu-ra-ma*
LL (obv.) ii:20’ ˹KI˺ x ŠÚ? . . . . . [. . . . . .
—II:63] . . . [*i*]*qtabi ana šubtīkunu tūrā-ma*
—II:63 “. . . [h]e said, ‘Return to your dwelling!’[234]

W (A) obv. iii:36’ . . .] ˹*id-da*[!]˺(ˢDU˺)-. . .*-ub it-tuš*[235]
LL (obv.) ii:21’ x x x x . . . [. . . . . .
—II:64] . . . *idda*[*b*]*ub ittuš*
—II:64 “. . . his sign was spo[k]en.

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[231] The missing word or phrase may pertain to the jewelry and may even be *agê*, “crown,” which is elsewhere called the “crown of lordship” (*agê bēlūti-*, in *Erra Song* I:128, I:143, and IIIc:46). However, the crown of lordship is otherwise associated exclusively with Marduk. Notice also that other elements of Marduk’s cult statue can be associated with lordship—the jewelry generally in I:127 and the *mēsu*-wood in I:151. It is impossible on present evidence to know how large or small the break is.

[232] On the translation of this word see n. 159 above.

[233] With only a fragmentary context it is difficult to determine whether this form represents a Gtn-stem preterite or a Gt-stem durative.

[234] Compare I:18.

[235] Following the collations of Frankena (“Weitere kleine Beiträge,” 13) and Hecker (*apud* Cagni, *L’Epopea di Erra*, 86).

W (A) obv. iii:37' . . .] . . . . . [UG]U BÀD *pa-ni-ka*
LL (obv.) ii:22' x x x x . . . . . [
—II:65] . . . . . [*el*]*i*[236] *dūr pānīka*
—II:65 ". . . [o]n your cheek.

W (A) obv. iii:38' . . . . . .] . . . x *ni-ši- šun*
LL (obv.) ii:23' ⌜il⌝ x x . . . . . [. . .
—II:66] . . . . . *nišīšun*
—II:66 ". . . their people.

W (A) obv. iii:39' . . . . . .] . . . [*t*]*a-tur ana* EGIR-*ka*
LL (obv.) ii:24' ⌜IŠ⌝? x x x [
—II:67] . . . . . [*ul*[237] *t*]*atūr ana arkīka*
—II:67 ". . . you have [not t]urned away."

W (A) obv. iii:40' . . . . . LUG]AL DINGIR.MEŠ *i-ta*![238]*-ma*
LL (obv.) ii:25' *iš-me* x . . . x . . . . . [. . . . . .
—II:68 *išme* [*ša*]*r ilānī ītammâ*
—II:68 He heard . . . spoke to the [kin]g of the gods:

W (A) obv. iii:41' . . . . . .] ŠÁ NI *šá* UD-*mi*
LL (obv.) ii:26' *a-mat* ᵈ⌜AMAR⌝. . . . . [. . . . . .
—II:69 *amāt Mar*[*duk*] [ ] *ša ūmi*
—II:69 "The word of Mar[duk] . . . of the day."

W (A) obv. iii:42' . . . . . .] AZ [. . . . . .]
LL (obv.) ii:27' *i-qab-bi ana šá-*[239]. . . . . [. . . . . .
—II:70 *iqabbi ana šâ*[*šu*] . . . . . .
—II:70 He spoke to hi[m] . . .

LL (obv.) ii:28' *a-lik-ma* x x . . . . . [. . . . . .
—II:71 *alik-ma* . . . . . [

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[236] This reconstruction follows Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 19.

[237] Although the reconstruction of *ul* here is entirely conjectural, a similar phrase likely also appears in I:103 and IIIc:37. (I have changed *lā* in these two instances to *ul* here since in IIIc:37 the *lā* is conditioned by the interrogative pronoun, where the *lā* in I:103 appears only in copy A, a frequently unreliable text from Sultantepe.)

[238] Frankena asserts this sign is correct ("Weitere kleine Beiträge," 13) where Hecker's collations conclude it has the misshapen form that appears in Ebeling's copy (*apud* Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 86).

[239] As read by al-Rawi and Black ("Second Tablet," 116); only the first of these signs is clear from their autograph.

—II:71 “Come . . .

LL (obv.) ii:29’ *ana sa-*˹*pan*˺ KUR.KUR.MEŠ[240] [. . . . . .
—II:72 *ana sapān mātāti* . . . . . [
—II:72 “To crush the lands . . .”

LL (obv.) ii:30’ *iš-me-šú-ma* ᵈ*èr-r*[*a*] . . . [
—II:73 *išmēšū-ma Err*[*a*] . . . [
—II:73 Err[a] heard him . . .

LL (obv.) ii:31’ KI ˹x˺ ˹UD˺ ˹ME˺ NA UD . . . . . [
—II:74 . . . . . [
—II:74 . . .

LL (obv.) ii:32’ *i-ru-um-ma* . . . . . [
—II:75 *īrum-ma* . . . . . [
—II:75 He entered . . .

LL (obv.) ii:33’ *iš-me-ma* ᵈ*a-nu ina* AN-˹*e*˺ . . . . . [
—II:76 *išmē-ma Anu ina šamê* . . . . . [
—II:76 Anu heard in heaven . . .

LL (obv.) ii:34’ *šá-qa-tu re-šá-šú ik-nu-*˹*šú*˺? . . . . . [
—II:77 *šaqâtu rēšāšu iknušu*[241] . . . . . [
—II:77 He bowed his lofty head . . .

LL (obv.) ii:35’ *an-tu*$_4$ *um-mì* DINGIR.MEŠ *ú-šaḫ-*˹*ri*˺-[
—II:78 *Antu ummi ilānī ušaḫri*[*r*[242]
—II:78 Antu, the mother of the gods, was thunderstr[uck] . . .

LL (obv.) ii:36’ *i-ru-um-ma ana* KU x x x . . . [
—II:79 *īrum-ma ana* . . . . . [
—II:79 She entered into . . .

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[240] As read by al-Rawi and Black (ibid.); several of these signs are abraded beyond recognition in their autograph.

[241] If Anu (from the previous verse) is the subject of *iknušu*, it appears to have an overhanging vowel.

[242] Al-Rawi and Black point out that this verb should be *ušḫarrir* (“Second Tablet,” 122); there appears to be some understandable confusion between *šuḫruru*, “to lay waste,” and *šuḫarruru*, “to be dazed. (It is perhaps noteworthy that there is not a single ŠD-stem in this entire text, and here, where the expected form would resemble the ŠD exactly, an anomalous form has been supplied instead.)

LL (obv.) ii:37’ *šá* ^{d}EN.LÍL x x . . . . . x [
—II:80 *ša Ellil* . . . . . [
—II:80 Enlil’s . . .

LL (obv.) ii:38’ E . . . . . [. . . . . .
—II:81 . . . . . [
—II:81 . . .

LL (obv.) ii:39’
—II:82
—II:82 . . .

LL (obv.) ii:40’
—II:83
—II:83 . . .

LL (obv.) ii:41’
—II:84
—II:84 . . .

LL (obv.) ii:42’
—II:85
—II:85 . . .

LL (rev.) iii:1’ . . . . . ˹UD˺ AD DINGIR.MEŠ x [. . . . . .]
—II:86 . . . . . *abi ilānī* . . . . . .
—II:86 “. . . the father of the gods . . .

LL (rev.) iii:2’ . . . x x ŠU? ^{d}EN.LÍL [. . . . . .]
—II:87 . . . . . *Ellil* . . . . . .
—II:87 “. . . Enlil . . .

LL (rev.) iii:3’ DINGIR.MEŠ *gi-mir-šú-nu i-n*[*a* . . . . . .]
—II:88 *ilānū gimiršunu in*[*a*] . . . . . .
—II:88 “All of the gods i[n] . . .

LL (rev.) iii:4’ *ina bu-ul* ^{d}ŠÁKKAN *nap-ḫar-šú-nu šá* [. . . . . .]
—II:89 *ina būl Šakkan napḫaršunu ša* . . . . . .
—II:89 “Among all of Šakkan’s herds that . . .

LL (rev.) iii:5’ ^{d}*èr-ra ina nap-ḫar* DINGIR.MEŠ . . . [. . . . . .]
—II:90 *Erra ina napḫar ilānī* . . . . . .
—II:90 “Erra among all of the gods . . .

LL (rev.) iii:6' *ina* MUL *šá-ma-mi* MUL KA_5 . . . . . [. . . . . .]
—II:91 *ina kakkab šamāmī kakkab šēlibi* . . . . . .
—II:91 "Among the stars of the firmament the Fox Star[243] . . .

LL (rev.) iii:7' *um-mul-ma ana šá-a-šú šá-ru-ru* x [. . . . . .]
—II:92 *ummul-ma ana šâšu šarūru* . . . . . .
—II:92 "The radiance is twinkling for him . . .

LL (rev.) iii:8' *šá* DINGIR.MEŠ *nap-ḫar-šú-nu ba-aʾ-lu* MUL . . . [. . . . . .]
šá . . . [. . . . . .]
—II:93 *ša ilānī napḫaršunu baʾlū kakkab*[*ānī*] . . . . . *ša* . . . . . .
—II:93 "The star[s] of all of the gods are refulgent . . .

LL (rev.) iii:9' *ki-i ik-tam-lu-ma* [erasure] NUN ^{d}AMAR.UTU *a-na* ŠÁ x KA MA x x x [. . .]
iš-ta-kan
—II:94 *kī iktamlū-ma*[244] *rubû Marduk ana* . . . . . *ištakan*
—II:94 "Since he became riled Prince Marduk to . . . established . . .

LL (rev.) iii:10' *kak-kab* ^{d}*èr-ra um-mu-lu šá-ru-ri i-na-áš-ši* DA KA TIM
^{d}*a-nu-ni-ti*
—II:95 *kakkab Erra ummulu*[245] *šarūri inašši* . . . . . *Anūnīti*
—II:95 "The star of Erra is twinkling and bearing radiance . . . Anūnītu.[246]

LL (rev.) iii:11' *me-lam-mì-šú ú-tab-ba-ma nap-ḫar* UN.MEŠ I AŠ É[247] x x x

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[243] That the Fox Star is associated with Erra is clear from MUL.APIN I:i:17 (for an edition see Hunger and Pingree, *MUL.APIN*). This appellation ("Fox Star") can designate either the planet Mars (as in *The Great Star List* line 93; for an edition see Koch-Westenholz, *Mesopotamian Astrology*, 187–205), or a star in the constellation Wagon, part of what we call Ursa Major (as in MUL.APIN I:i:16–17); on these two uses see Cooley, *Poetic Astronomy*, 105. Although Cooley understands Mars to be referenced here specifically, it is not clear to me which use is intended in this context or indeed whether we are obligated to choose. Cooley points to another passage in which the brightness of Mars, not surprisingly, portends disaster (ibid., citing Hunger, *Astrological Reports*, 114), an observed parallel that guides his interpretation of the Fox Star as Mars in the present passage. For mentions of the "Fox Star" specifically (as opposed to "Mars" under its usual name) in *Enūma Anu Enlil* L–LI, see Reiner, *Babylonian Planetary Omens Part Two*, 36–37 and 42–43.

[244] Following al-Rawi and Black's lead ("Second Tablet," 119), the translators have understood this to be a Gt-stem (both Dalley and Foster translate "Because they were angry with each other" [*Myths from Mesopotamia*, 295; *Before the Muses*, 893]), a stem that is otherwise not attested except as a predicative verbal adjective; it is possible it is simply a G-stem perfect (like *ištakan*, presumably, later in the verse; for another example of a perfect verb in a subordinate clause, see I:41).

[245] Notice the apparent overhanging vowel.

[246] The goddess Anūnītu has an astral manifestation as the eastern fish in the constellation Pisces (Cooley, *Poetic Astronomy*, 96 and 106), which appears to be referenced specifically here.

—II:96 *melammīšu utabbā-ma napḫar nišī* . . . . . .
—II:96 "He will make his radiant aura sparkle (?)[248] and . . . all of the people . . .

LL (rev.) iii:12' *šá kak-kab šá-ma-mi ba-aʾ-lu-te* ŠÁ NA ŠÚ PAD RU[249] . . . . . .
—II:97 *ša kakkab šamāmī baʾlūte* . . . . . .
—II:97 "As for the refulgent stars of the firmament . . .

LL (rev.) iii:13' ŠÁ MA DI[?] *nab-ni-ti kul-ba-bu ul i-tab-ba* KA x . . . x
—II:98 . . . . . *nabnīti kulbābu ul itabbâ* . . . . . .
—II:98 ". . . the creature, the ant does not arise . . .

LL (rev.) iii:14' *ina bu-ul* [d]ŠÁKKAN *ṣa-lam* MUL-*šú-nu šá še-*ʳ*li*ˀ-*bi* x . . . . . SU
—II:99 *ina būl Šakkan ṣalam kakkabīšunu ša šēlibi* . . . . . .
—II:99 "Among Šakkan's herds the image of their star, which the fox . . .

LL (rev.) iii:15' *ra-áš e-mu-qí la-bu* ʳ*ez*-x xˀ MA DIŠ ŠU UD ʳNI[?]ˀ . . . . . .
—II:100 *rāš emūqi labbu ez*[*zu*] . . . . . .
—II:100 "Possessing strength, a fero[cious] lion . . .

LL (rev.) iii:16' [d]EN.LÍL AD *ba*[l](DA)-*ú-la*[l](ŠU)-*ti-ma ig-da-ma*[*r*][?] . . . . . .
—II:101 *Ellil abi baʾūlātī-ma igdama*[*r*][?] . . . . . .
—II:101 "Enlil, the father of the people, has complet[ed]/annihilat[ed] (?) . . ."

LL (rev.) iii:17' ʳ*i-tap*ˀ-*la* [d]*in-ni-na ina* UKKIN DINGIR.MEŠ I SI ŠE . . . . . .
—II:102 *ītapla Innina ina puḫur ilānī* . . . . . .
—II:102 Innina answered in the assembly of the gods . . .

LL (rev.) iii:18' *a-na* [d]*a-num ù* [d]*da-gan a-ma-tu* . . . . . .
—II:103 *ana Anum u Dagān amātu* . . . . . .
—II:103 To Anu and Dagān a speech . . .

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[247] Al-Rawi and Black read *i-tab-bit* here (for I AŠ É) and suggest the scribe has inadvertently spelled *i-tab-ba* earlier in the verse mistakenly as *ú-tab-ba* and *ú-tab-bit* mistakenly here as *i-tab-bit* ("Second Tablet," 122). (Other translators have since followed their lead: see Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 296; Foster, *Before the Muses*, 893). In contrast, I believe *utabba* earlier in the verse to be the correct form; see n. 159. As it has been read to date, the form *ūtabbit* is emended and understood to be a singular substituting for a plural, with "people" (*nišū*) as its subject; in view of the number of emendations required to reach this translation, and the fact that the D- and Dt-stems of this root are elsewhere in this text applied exclusively to mountains (in I:35, II:140, and IV:147)—where the Gt- and Gtn-stems are not attested for this root and would not fit the context—I have resisted providing a translation for what on present evidence appears to me opaque.

[248] On the meaning of this term see n. 159 above.

[249] Dalley reads these signs *ša našû patru*, "that carry a sword" (*Myths from Mesopotamia*, 296), which is certainly possible.

LL (rev.) iii:19’ ⌜*qu*⌝*-la-ma* ⌜PAP⌝*-ku-nu ana* GÁ.NUN-*ni-ku-nu er-*. . . . . .
—II:104 *qūlā-ma napḫarkunu ana ganūnīkunu er*[*bā*] . . . . . .
—II:104 “Pay attention, all of you; ent[er] into your private chambers . . .

LL (rev.) iii:20’ *šap-ti-ku-nu kut-te-ma-ma la te-ṣi-na qut-*. . . . . .
—II:105 *šaptīkunu kuttemā-ma lā teṣṣinā qut*[*rinna*]
—II:105 “Cover your lips and do not smell the inc[ense].

LL (rev.) iii:21’ *ša*? NUN ᵈAMAR.UTU *la tam-li-ka-ma la tu-ṣal-*. . . . . .
—II:106 *ša rubê Marduk lā tamlikā-ma lā*[250] *tuṣal*[*li*?] . . . . . .
—II:106 “You did not discuss Prince Marduk’s . . . you did not bese[ech (?)] . . .

LL (rev.) iii:22’ *a-di* UD.MEŠ *i-ma-lu-ú it-ti-qu* . . . . . .
—II:107 *adi ūmū imallû ittiqu* [*adannu*][251] . . . . . .
—II:107 “Until the days are fulfilled, the [appointed time] is passed . . .

LL (rev.) iii:23’ *a-mat* ᵈAMAR.UTU *iq-bu-ú ki-i* KUR-*i a-šar* GUR? . . . . . .
ul ú-na-kar-ma . . . . . .
—II:108 *amāt Marduk iqbû kī šadî ašar* . . . . . *ul unakkar-ma* . . . . . .
—II:108 “The word that Marduk spoke is like the mountain where . . . he will not change . . .”

LL (rev.) iii:24’ ᵈ*èr-ra* ŠÁ x x x x x x x x . . . x x x . . .
—II:109 *Erra* . . . . . .
—II:109 Erra . . .

LL (rev.) iii:25’ *ki-i zu-mur* x . . . . . .
—II:110 *kī zumur* . . . . . .
—II:110 As the body . . .

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[250] The two negative particles *lā* in this verse appear to be in error for *ul*. For examples of similar errors see I:103, IV:1, and IV:94; for examples of related errors in the negative particle see IV:121 (copies R and RR), IV:122 (copies R and W), and IV:135 (copy AA).

[251] This reconstruction follows the near parallel in II:127: *ūmū iqtatû ītetiq adannu*, “The days have been fulfilled, the appointed time has passed.” (So also Foster, *Before the Muses*, 894.) If this reconstruction is correct, it is unclear whether anything is to be restored following *adannu*.

Cooley argues that the phrase *adannu etēqu* “is a technical term in celestial-science texts and refers to the passing of an ideal date for a celestial event. When a date of this sort is missed, it is considered ominous” (*Poetic Astronomy*, 106; see also 107). Although it is not at all clear to me the phrase carries astrological overtones here specifically, it does appear that the elapsing of the designated period bodes ill for the cosmos (see II:128–161); note also the parallel use of this phrase in economic contexts, where interest begins to accrue after the appointed time has passed (see *CAD*, s.v. “adannu,” p. 99).

LL (rev.) iii:26’ x x MA ˹LU˺ . . . . . .
—II:111 . . . . . .
—II:111 . . .

LL (rev.) iii:27’ *a-na* d*i-šum* ˹E˺ ˹LU˺ x . . . . . x . . . . . .
—II:112 *ana Išum* . . . . . .
—II:112 To Išum . . .

LL (rev.) iii:28’ UN.MEŠ *ki-i* MI ZA LI ZI x . . . . . x LU x . . . . . .
—II:113 *nišū kī* . . . . . .
—II:113 The people like . . .

W (A) obv. iv:14 . . . . . x . . . . . .
LL (rev.) iii:29’ *il-lik-ma* d*iš-tar i-te-ru-bu ana* GÁ.[NUN] x . . . . . .
—II:114 *illik-ma Ištar īter*(*r*)*ubu*[252] *ana ga*[*nūni*ʔ] . . . . . .
—II:114 Ištar went and entered into the pri[vate chamber (?)] . . .

LL (rev.) iii:30’ *ana* d*èr-ra uš-te-mi-iq-ma ul i-man-gu-ra* . . . . . .
—II:115 *ana Erra uštēmiq-ma ul imangura* . . . . . .
—II:115 She supplicated Erra, but he was not agreeable . . .

W (A) obv. iv:15 d*i-šum* . . . . . .
LL (rev.) iii:31’ d*i-šum* KA-*šú* DÙ-*uš-*˹*ma*˺ . . . . . .
—II:116 *Išum pāšu īpuš-ma* [*iqabbi*]
—II:116 Išum opened his mouth [to speak];

W (A) obv. iv:16 *i-zak-ka-r*[*a*] . . . . . .
—II:117 *izzakkar*[*a*][253]
—II:117 He said . . .

W (A) obv. iv:17 [*e*]*ḫ*ʔ*-si-ma e-l*[*i*] . . . . . .

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[252] This form appears to have an overhanging vowel, if Ištar is indeed the subject. However, although overhanging vowels do not seem to behave as other vocalic suffixes, elsewhere they do result in vowel syncope: compare *tušbu* in I:95 and *imtaḫru* in V:45. There are a few possibilities for accounting for the lack of syncope here: 1) The form represents either a Gt-stem durative (“to enter permanently”) or a Gtn-stem preterite (“to enter repeatedly”), and the /r/ is doubled; 2) The lack of syncope is an instance of archaizing. There are three other occasions in this text on which the expected vowel syncope is not carried out: *tulidīnni* in IV:89 and *ṣaḫarāti* in IV:111 and IV:122. Although the second of two light syllables (i.e., syllables ending in short vowels) is frequently protected before /r/ in Old Babylonian, as in *ṣaḫarāti*, forms such as *tulidīnni* and *īterubu* are more difficult to explain on phonological grounds, since the liquid precedes the vowel in question.

[253] This verse appears to have dropped out of copy LL. Following similar passages in I:129–130, I:104–105, IIIc:34–35, IIIc:38–39, and V:16–17, it is probably to be reconstructed *izzakkara amāta ana* . . . , but neither the word order nor the addressee is clear.

LL (rev.) iii:32’ *eḫ-se-e-ma e-li la* AN-*e šá* AN x . . . . . .
—II:118 *eḫsē-ma eli lā šamê ša* . . . . . .
—II:118 “I covered over what is not heaven of . . .

W (A) obv. iv:18 ^{d}*èr-ra a-g*[*u*]-. . . . . .
LL (rev.) iii:33’ ^{d}*èr-ra a-gu-ug-ma ul i-qa-li ana* x . . . . . .
—II:119 *Erra agug-ma ul iqâli ana* [*mamma*] . . . . . .
—II:119 “Erra is too furious to heed [anyone] . . .[254]

W (A) obv. iv:19 KUR-*i li-nu-uḫ-ma* x . . . . . x[255] ˹BI˺? *šá-a-šú*
LL (rev.) iii:34’ *ina* KUR-*i li-nu-uḫ-ma ar-ka áš-šú* NUMUN UN.MEŠ *šá taq-bi-*˹*a*˺? . . . . . .
—II:120 (*ina*) *šadî linūḫ-ma arka aššu*[256] *zēr nišī ša taqbia*[257] [ ] *šâšu*
—II:120 “In the mountain let him rest and . . . the seed of the people about which you spoke . . . him.

W (A) obv. iv:20 [IB]ILA ^{d}EN.LÍL *ṣi-i-ru šá la* . . . . . [K]ÀD? ˹KAS˺? ˹LA˺? ˹BAT˺? ˹MA˺?
LL (rev.) iii:35’ IBILA ^{d}EN.LÍL *ṣi-i-ru šá la* ^{d}*i-šum a-lik maḫ*-x . . . . . .
ul iṣ-ṣa-bat ur-ḫa-˹*a*˺ . . . . . .
—II:121 *apil Ellil ṣīru ša lā Išum ālik maḫ*[*rim-ma*] . . . . . *ul iṣṣabat urḫa* . . . . . .
—II:121 “The eminent heir of Enlil[258] without Išum, the van[guard] . . . did not take to the road . . .”

W (A) obv. iv:21 . . . x x *ana* ˹É˺.MES.LAM$^{!}$(MAM?) . . . . . *šu-bat-su*
LL (rev.) iii:36’ *a-šib-ma ina mes-lam ra-mì šu-bat* . . . . . .
—II:122 *ašim-ma ina*[259] (*E*)*meslam rami šubassu*
—II:122 He sat in the Emeslam, he took up residence.

W (A) obv. iv:22 x x-*al-ma ra-ma*-x x x x-*ri šá-a-šú*
LL (rev.) iii:37’ *i-qal ina ra-ma-nu-uš-šú i-na ši-ip*$^{!}$*-ri šá-*˹*a*˺-. . . . . .

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[254] Compare IIIa:1. On the syntactic construction in this verse see n. 35 above.

[255] It is not clear that there is enough room in copy W to reconstruct all of the material preserved in copy LL.

[256] The phrase *arka aššu* is difficult to understand and may not have been reconstructed correctly (the reconstruction follows al-Rawi and Black, “Second Tablet,” 118).

[257] This form is uncertain. If it has been read correctly (following al-Rawi and Black, ibid.), it represents the only instance of the sequence *-ia-* not contracting outside the word *kiam*. (Compare *ša taqabbâ*, spelled *šá* ˹*ta-qab-ba-a*˺, in IIIc:53.) This would then constitute an archaizing form similar to the spelling *šu-a-šá* in copy C in II:36 for the word that is otherwise rendered *šâša* throughout this text. The ˹A˺ sign in the verse at hand, if read correctly, should not belong with what follows since a subordination marker or ventive is needed in this environment.

[258] Apparently Erra; compare I:2, where the “heir of Enlil” is Ḫendursag/Išum. It is possible this was a stock phrase.

[259] I consider *ina* superior to *ana* here.

—II:123 *iqâl-*(*ma*) *ina ramānuššu*[260] *ina šipri šâšu*
—II:123 He took heed within himself about that procedure.

W (A) obv. iv:23 x-SI[261]-ʳ*um*ˀ-*ma lib-bu-uš ul ip-pa-la qí-bi-tú*
LL (rev.) iii:38' *ra-um-ma lib-bu-uš-šú ul ip-pa-la qí-*. . . . . .
—II:124 *raʾum-ma libbuš*(*šu*) *ul ippala qibītu*
—II:124 In his heart he was too wroth to answer the speech.[262]

W (A) obv. iv:24 *i-šá-al-šu šá-a-šú qí-bi-*x-*su-ma*[263]
LL (rev.) iii:39' *i-šá-al-šú*ˡ(ANA) *šá-a-šú qí-bi-*. . . . . .
—II:125 *išālšu šâšu qibīssū-ma*
—II:125 He asked him about that speech of his:

W (A) obv. iv:25 ʳ*ṭu*ˀ?-*da pe-te-ma lu-uṣ-bat ḫar-ra-nu*
LL (rev.) iii:40' *ṭu-da pe-te-ma lu-uṣ-bat* . . . . . .
—II:126 *ṭūda petē-ma luṣbat ḫarrānu*
—II:126 "Blaze a trail so I can undertake a campaign![264]

W (A) obv. iv:26 UD-*mu iq-ta-tu-ú i-te-ti-iq a-dan-nu*
—II:127 *ūmū iqtatû ītetiq adannu*
—II:127 "The days have been fulfilled, the appointed time has passed.[265]

W (A) obv. iv:27 *a-qab-bi šá* ᵈUTU-*ši ú-šam-qa-ta šá-ru-ri*
—II:128 *aqabbi ša Šamši ušamqata šarūri*
—II:128 "I will speak and cause Šamaš's radiance to fall away![266]

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[260] I am aware of no other instances of this phrase. Notice how *ina ramānuššu* is doubly marked in that the locative case serves the same syntactic function as the preposition *ina*. (Compare *adi maʾdiš* in V:25.)

[261] If copy LL is correct, this sign appears to be in error.

[262] Other translators take "heart" as the subject throughout this verse (starting already with Ebeling, *Mythus vom Pestgotte Era*, 19). While *libbuš* is an acceptable apocopation of *libbašu*, where the case vowel regularly reasserts itself to replace the anaptyctic vowel when the final vowel is lost, *libbuššu* appears morphologically to be a locative form with pronominal suffix, which is how I have read it here. Naturally this form could be in error.

On this syntactic construction see n. 35 above.

[263] Hecker's collations suggest this is likely to be read *qí-bi-eš*ˡ-*su-ma* (*apud* Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 87).

[264] This verse appears to be repeated in I:96 and IIIc:24.

[265] Compare II:107.

[266] Compare II:4 and IV:124.

W (A) obv. iv:28 *šá* *ᵀᵈᵀ30*!(ᵀUDᵀ-*mu*)[267] *ina šat mu-ši ú-kàt-tam pa-nu-*. . . . . .
—II:129 *ša Sîn ina šāt mūši ukattam pānū*[*šu*]
—II:129 "I will cover Sîn's face by night!

W (A) obv. iv:29 *a-na* ᵀᵈᵀ*ad-di a-qab-bi ki-la bu-ri-*. . . . . .
—II:130 *ana Addi aqabbi kila būrī*[*ka*]
—II:130 "I will say to Adad, 'Restrain [your] young bulls!'[268]

W (A) obv. iv:30 x . . . *ṭup-pir-ma pu-ru-us šal-*. . . . . .
—II:131 [*erpeta*][269] *ṭuppir-ma purus šal*[*ga u zunna*][270]
—II:131 " 'Drive away [the cloud], stop the sn[ow and rain]!'

W (A) obv. iv:31 . . . ᵀᵈAMAR.UTUᵀ-*ma a-na* ᵈÉ.A *ub-ba-la ta*[*ḫ*]-. . . . . [. . .]
—II:132 [*ana*] *Marduk-ma ana Ēa ubbala ta*[*ḫsista*][271]
—II:132 "[To] Marduk and to Ēa I will bring a re[minder].

W (A) obv. iv:32 . . . . . *bu-u* ᵀ*ina*ᵀ ᵀUDᵀ *ṣu-um-me-e i-qab-*. . . . . [. . .]
LL (rev.) iv:1' . . . . . .] . . .
—II:133 [*ša*] . . . . . [*ir*ʔ]*bû*[272] *ina ūm ṣummê iqqab*[*bir*ʔ][273]

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[267] This correction follows Cagni (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 86).

[268] Adad's "young bulls" are minor deities known elsewhere as the "flood of heaven" (an-né a-ma-ru | *abūb šamê*) and the "coverer of the mountain" (ḫur-saĝ-sá | *ḫēsû šadî*) (Cagni, *Poem of Erra*, 41 n. 81). For the text where these figures are identified see Weidner, "Ein astrologischer Sammeltext," 110, lines 37–39; the translation follows Schwemer, *Wettergottgestalten*, 483.

[269] Ebeling first proposed reading *erpeta* here (*Mythus vom Pestgotte Era*, 18), in which he has been followed by all subsequent translators.

[270] Following Gössmann's reconstruction (*Era-Epos*, 19), accepted by all subsequent translators.

[271] This reconstruction follows Ebeling (*Mythus vom Pestgotte Era*, 18) and subsequent translators. Although this is no more than tentative, it is not clear what Akkadian term might fit the context and the initial sign better.

[272] Gössmann reads the first hemistich of this verse as "[*ša*] *ina ūm tuḫ-di ir-bu-u*(?)" and translates "(Wer zur Zeit des Fettes groß) geworden ist" (*Era-Epos*, 18–19); all subsequent translators have accepted this restoration, although Cagni deems it "assai incerta" (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 88) and Hecker's collations suggest that it is "nicht sehr wahrscheinlich" (ibid.).

Given the plausibility of reconstructing *ša* at the beginning of the next verse, I have tentatively adopted it at the head of this clause as well. And because it seems likely the two verbs in this verse form a contrasting pair, I have also tentatively followed Ebeling's proposal that they are to be taken from the roots *rabû* and *qebēru* respectively (see *Mythus vom Pestgotte Era*, 18). However, a number of other reconstructions are possible, if not necessarily probable: [*ša it*]*bû* . . . *iqâp*, "whoever arose . . . will collapse"; [*ša iš*]*pû* . . . *iqabbi*, "whoever was silent . . . will speak"; etc.

[273] Ebeling reconstructs this word as *i-qab*-[*bi-ru-šu*] (*Mythus vom Pestgotte Era*, 18). Because I favor reading the following verse such that both verbs have the same subject, I have tentatively normalized this form as an

—II:133 "[Whoever gre]w up (?) . . . will be bu[ried] (?) on a day of thirst.

W (A) obv. iv:33 . . . *ú-ru-uḫ* A.MEŠ DU-*ku ḫar-ra-an tur-ba-ʾi* . . . . . [. . .]
LL (rev.) iv:2' . . . . . .] . . .
—II:134 [*ša*] *uruḫ mê illiku ḫarrān turbaʾi* [*itâr*][274]
—II:134 "[Whoever] came by way of water [will return] on a dusty road.

W (A) obv. iv:34 ˹*a*˺-*na* LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ *a-ta-ma ti-šab ina* É . . . [. . .]
LL (rev.) iv:3' . . . . . .] . . .
—II:135 *ana šar ilānī ātammâ tišab ina bīti* [*šâšu*][275]
—II:135 "I will say to the king of the gods, 'Stay in [that] building!'

W (A) obv. iv:35 . . . *ša taq-bu-u ip-pu-šú ú-šal-la-mu qí-*. . . [. . .]
LL (rev.) iv:4' . . . . . .] . . .-˹*ka*˺
—II:136 [*šipra*?][276] *ša taqbû ippušū ušallamū qi*[*bīt*]*ka*
—II:136 "They will perform [the procedure (?)] you suggested, they will fulfill your co[mma]nd.

W (A) obv. iv:36 . . . [SA]G.DU *i-šas-su-ka-ma e-tam-ḫu-ra su-*. . . [. . .]
LL (rev.) iv:5' . . . . . *š*]*un*
—II:137 [*ṣalmāt qaqq*]*adi išassûkā-ma ē-tamḫura su*[*ppīš*]*un*[277]
—II:137 "The [blackhe]aded ones will cry out to you, but do not accept [th]eir pr[ayers].

N-stem here so that the same applies to this verse. However, the reading of this verse should be regarded as no more than provisional.

[274] Translators are split over whether to reconstruct *itâr* (first proposed by Ebeling—see *Mythus vom Pestgotte Era*, 18) or *utarrūšu* (first proposed by Cagni—see *L'Epopea di Erra*, 88) here. I favor the former on the grounds that *itâr* constitutes a closer parallel to *illik* earlier in the verse, although this is by no means definitive evidence. By my estimate there are approximately three missing signs at the end of copy W, so either option could be accommodated, but since *itâr* is probably spelled with two or three signs and *utarrūšu* with four or five, this suggestion makes good use of the space available.

[275] Since Gössmann translators have reconstructed "Esagil" here (*Era-Epos*, 19). Although the narrative sequence of events is unclear to me, Erra's actions here seem to constitute a threat to the cosmic order. Since Marduk's installation in the Esagil is specifically correlated with order (and his departure with the dissolution of that order—see, e.g., I:123, I:132–137, and I:171–179), I am speculatively suggesting that Erra is here not attempting to keep Marduk in the Esagil, but to keep him in "that building" where the "procedure" of shining his jewelry and laundering his outfit is to be carried out. During this dangerous period, Marduk will be inaccessible to human supplication (see II:137).

[276] The reconstruction of *šipra* is uncertain. Since Ebeling all scholars have restored *amātu* (*Mythus vom Pestgotte Era*, 18), presumably as an apt parallel to *qibītka*, partially restored later in the verse. Observe however the following parallels: *šipri šâšu ša taqbû epēša*, "that procedure that you suggested performing" (I:131); *šipri šâšu ša taqbû*, "that procedure that you suggested" (I:149). The issue is of course far from resolved.

[277] Following Cagni's adaptation (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 88) of Ebeling's reconstruction, *su*[*-up-pu-e-šu-nu*] (Ebeling, *Mythus vom Pestgotte Era*, 18).

W (A) obv. iv:37 . . . . . *a-gam-mar-ma ana ti-li a-man-*. . . [. . .]
LL (rev.) iv:6’ . . . . .] ⌜*a*⌝*-man-nu*
—II:138 [*mātāti*][278] *agammar-ma ana tīlī amannu*
—II:138 “I will annihilate [the lands] and count them as tells!

W (A) obv. iv:38 URU.MEŠ *a-sa-pan-ma ana na-me-e a-šak-*. . . [. . .]
LL (rev.) iv:13’ . . . . .] . . . [*ša*]*k-kan*
—II:139 *ālānī asappam-ma ana namê ašakkan*
—II:139 “I will crush the cities and turn them into wilderness![279]

W (A) obv. iv:39 KUR.⌜MEŠ⌝ *ub-bat-*⌜*ma*⌝ *bu-ul-šú-nu ú-šam-*. . . [. . .]
LL (rev.) iv:14’ . . . . .] . . . . . -[*š*]*am-qat*
—II:140 *šadê ubbat-ma būlšunu ušamqat*
—II:140 “I will obliterate the mountains and lay low their wildlife![280]

W (A) obv. iv:40 ⌜*ta*⌝*-ma-a-ti a-dal-làḫ-ma mì-šìr-ta-š*[*i*]*-na*!(KU) *ú-*. . . [. . .]
LL (rev.) iv:15’ . . . . .] . . . . . x-*laq*[281]
—II:141 *tâmāti adallaḫ-ma miširtaš*[*i*]*na u*[*ḫal*]*laq*
—II:141 “I will churn up the seas and wi[pe o]ut th[e]ir produce![282]

W (A) obv. iv:41 . . .*-pu u qí-šá* ⌜*ú*⌝*-šaḫ-ra-ár-ma* ⌜LÚ.⌝?⌜MEŠ⌝? ⌜GAL⌝? ⌜A⌝? x . . . [. . .]
LL (rev.) iv:16’ . . . . .] . . . . . *a-qa-mì*
—II:142 [*a*]*pu u qīša ušaḫrar-ma* [*kī Gerra*] *aqammi*
—II:142 “I will devastate the [ca]nebrake and the forest, I will burn them [like Gerra]![283]

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[278] Ebeling proposes reading *māta* (KUR) here (*Mythus vom Pestgotte Era*, 18), and all scholars since have followed suit. Because the next three verses are introduced by plural objects (and even the object of II:142 is plural in that it is compound), I am suggesting reading *mātāti*, “lands,” here probably written KUR.KUR, judging by the space. One might reasonably object that the plural “cities” in II:139 could be understood as the equivalent of a single “land,” and that the two signs KUR.MEŠ in II:140, copy W, take up more space than is available here. Nevertheless, judging by the context of the entire passage, the term should be common and not obscure or literary (like *ālānī*, *šadê*, and *tâmāti*), it should be plural, and it should designate a feature of the landscape that can be turned into tells; on present evidence, “lands” satisfies these requirements best. (Notice that this passage [II:138–142] is picked up in IV:146–149, but this verse and the following appear to have been compressed.)

[279] Compare IV:146.

[280] Compare IV:147.

[281] Al-Rawi and Black read ⌜*ú-ḫal*⌝*-laq* here (“Second Tablet,” 120), although it is not clear in their copy.

[282] Compare I:70 and IV:148.

[283] Compare IV:149, from which we can confidently restore what appears to be corrupt in copy W. It is also clear from the substitution of the verb *šuḫrubu* in IV:149 for *šuḫruru* in the present context that this can only

W (A) obv. iv:42 [U]N.ᶠMEŠ˺[284] *ú-šam-qat-ma na-piš-tú* x . . . . . [. . .]
LL (rev.) iv:17’ . . . . . .] . . . . . *ul ez-zib*
—II:143 [*n*]*išū ušamqat-ma napištu* . . . . . *ul ezzib*
—II:143 “I will lay low the [p]eople and not spare life . . .

W (A) obv. iv:43 . . .-ᶠ*en*˺ ᶠ*ul*˺ *a-kal-la-a a-*ᶠ*na*˺ ᶠ*ze*˺ˀ*-ri* . . . . . [. . .]
LL (rev.) iv:18’ . . . . . .] . . . . . [*m*]*a*ˀ*-ti*
—II:144 [*išt*]*ēn ul akallâ ana zēri* [*m*]*āti*ˀ
—II:144 “I will not retain [on]e for the seed . . . the [l]and (?).

C (T) rev. 1’ . . . x x . . . [. . . . . .
W (A) obv. iv:44 [*b*]*u-ul* ᵈᶠŠÁKKAN˺ *nam-maš-šá-a u*[*l*] *ú-maš-šá-ra* ᶠ*a*˺-x . . . . . [. . .]
LL (rev.) iv:19’ . . . . . .] . . . . . *-ra a-a-am-ma*
—II:145 [*b*]*ūl Šakkan nammaššâ u*[*l*] *umaššara ayyamma*
—II:145 “I will no[t] let any of Šakkan’s [he]rds or the wild animals go free!

C (T) rev. 2’ [*u*]*l-tu* URU ᶠ*ana*˺ ᶠURU˺ x [. . .
W (A) obv. iv:45 [*u*]*l-tu* URU *ana* URU *re-da-a ú-*ᶠ*šá*˺-x . . . . . [. . .]
DD (C) 1’ . . . . . .]-*bat* [
LL (rev.) iv:20’ . . . . . .] . . . . . *ú-šá-aṣ-bat*
—II:146 [*u*]*ltu āli ana āli rēdâ ušaṣbat*
—II:146 “[F]rom city to city I will allow the soldier to pillage.[285]

C (T) rev. 3’ DUMU *šá* AD *za-ru-u šá* DUMU [
W (A) obv. iv:46 [*m*]*a-a-ru šá a-bi za-ru-u* ZA ᶠÚ˺ˀ RU[286] *ul i-šá-*ᶠ*al*˺ˀ*-ma* . . . . . [. . . . . .]
DD (C) 2’ . . . . . *šu*]*l-mu* [
LL (rev.) iv:21’ . . . . . .] . . . . . *-al-la šul-ma*
—II:147 *māru ša abi zārû ša māru ul išâl-ma*/[*iš*]*alla šulma*
—II:147 “A son will not ask about the welfare of the father, nor the father of the son.

C (T) rev. 4’ AMA *šá* DUMU.MUNUS *ina ṣi-ḫa-*[
W (A) obv. iv:47 [*u*]*m-mu šá mar-ti ina ṣi-ḫa-a-ti* x [. . . . . .]

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be derived from the root meaning “to lay waste,” and not (as Foster translates it—see *Before the Muses*, 895) from *šuḫarruru*, “to be deathly still.”

[284] This reading follows Hecker’s collation (*apud* Cagni, *L’Epopea di Erra*, 88) rather than Frankena’s (GURUŠ.MEŠ; “Weitere kleine Beiträge,” 13).

[285] Literally “From city to city I will allow the soldier to seize.” The meaning of this verse is not entirely transparent to me, and I am aware of no parallels that might illuminate it.

[286] Cagni tentatively reads *šá ma-a-ru* for *za-*ᶠ*ú*˺ˀ*-ru* here (*L’Epopea di Erra*, 88), bringing this copy into line with what is preserved in copy C.

DD (C) 3’ . . . . . .]-*mut-tu* [
LL (rev.) iv:22’ . . . . . .] . . .-[*t*]*i* I MU SI TÚ
—II:148 *ummu ša mārti ina ṣiḫāti* [*ikappud le*]*muttu*[287]
—II:148 “Mother will [plot the e]vil of her daughter with laughter.

C (T) rev. 5’ ⌜*ana*⌝ *šu-bat* <DINGIR.MEŠ> *a-šar* <*lem-nu*> *la* <*i*>-*a-ri* x [[288]
W (A) obv. iv:48 . . .-*na šu-bat* DINGIR.MEŠ *a-šar lem-nu la i’-a-r*[*u* . . . . . .]
DD (C) 4’ . . . . . .]-x *ú-še-rab* [
LL (rev.) iv:23’ . . . . . .] . . .-[*r*]*i nu-a’-a ú-šèr-reb*
—II:149 *ana šubat ilānī ašar lemnu lā i’âr*[*u*][289] *nuā’a ušerreb*
—II:149 “Into the dwelling of the gods where no evil being may approach I will allow the barbarian to enter.[290]

C (T) rev. 6’ . . . *šu-bat* NUN.MEŠ *ú-še*[*š*
W (A) obv. iv:49 *a-na šu-bat*[!](BI) *ru-bé-e ú-še-šá-*[. . . . . .]
DD (C) 5’ . . . . . *i*]*s*[?]*-ḫap-pa* [
LL (rev.) iv:24’ . . . . . x *is*[?]*-ḫap-pa*
—II:150 *ana šubat rubê ušeššа*[*b*] *isḫappa*
—II:150 “In the dwelling of the prince I will settl[e] the rogue.

C (T) rev. 7’ x-*ma-mi* NA-SI-x [
W (A) obv. iv:50 *ú-ma-am* [N]AM-SI-x [. . . . . .]
DD (C) 6’ . . . . . .] ⌜*ú*⌝*-še-er-rab* [
LL (rev.) iv:25’] x x *ma-ḫa-zi ú-še-reb*
UU (K) obv.! 6’ ⌜*ú*⌝-. . . . . x x . . . . . [
—II:151 *umām*(*ī*) [N]A(M) SI [KA][291] [*ana libbi*] *māḫāzī ušerreb*

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[287] The evidence from copy LL has been excluded since it is difficult to reconcile its traces with what is preserved in the other copies. Although “plot” (*ikappud*) is entirely reconstructed, this verb is used with “evil” (*lemuttu*) throughout this text: see especially II:29, IIIc:36, IIIc:37, and IV:74.

[288] It is not clear whether the word *lemnu* has been omitted from this line or appears later in the line.

[289] This form is unexpected, since ordinarily the theme vowel of hollow duratives reverts to that of the preterite when a vocalic suffix is added. In fact, just a few verses down this entire clause recurs, but with the expected form: *ana šubat ilānī* [*ašar*] *lemni lā i’irru* . . . (II:157). (In this verse the form is supplied by copy W; below it is supplied by copy LL.) I have argued that overhanging vowels do not behave as other vocalic suffixes in that they show virtually no evidence for this vowel reversion (see n. 127); some contamination between overhanging vowels and other vocalic suffixes is possible (see also the fluctuation between *išâ’u* and *išu’’u* in IV:10).

[290] Compare II:157.

[291] The signs supplied here follow Cagni’s tentative reading (*L’Epopea di Erra*, 88). In II:153 the *umām šadî* (“beasts of the mountain”) are mentioned, and in II:155 the *umām ṣēri* (“beasts of the hinterland”); this word must surely refer therefore to a similar geographical region, such as “desert,” “jungle,” or “swamp.” If it has been read correctly, the combined evidence from copy C and copy W suggests it has a double /s/ that sometimes exhibits nasalization.

—II:151 "I will let the beasts of the . . . enter [into] the shrines.

C (T) rev. 8' [UR]U ˹*in-nam*˺*-ma-r*[*u* . . . . . .
DD (C) 7' . . . . .] ˹*ú*˺*-za-am-ma* [
LL (rev.) iv:26']*-ru e-ri-ba ú-za-am-me*
UU (K) obv.! 7' URU *in-*˹*nam-ma*˺*-ru e-ri-*x . . . . . [
—II:152 *āl innammarū ēriba uzamma*
—II:152 "I will deprive the would-be visitor of the city where they (the beasts) are encountered.[292]

LL (rev.) iv:27'] *ú-šèr-re-da ana* KUR
UU (K) obv.! 8' *ú-ma-am šá-di-i* ˹*ú-še-re*˺*-d*[*a*] . . . . . [
—II:153 *umām šadî ušerreda ana māti*
—II:153 "I will let the beasts of the mountain come down into the land.

DD (C) 8' . . . . .]**-***ki-nu ú-šaḫ-ra-ru re-bi-ti* [
LL (rev.) iv:28'] *iš-šak-ki-nu ú-šaḫ-ra-ba qer-bi-te*
UU (K) obv.! 9' *e-ma kib-*˹*su*˺ x . . . . . [
UU (K) obv.! 10' *ú-šaḫ-*˹*ra*˺-x . . . . . [
—II:154 *ēma kibsu* [ ] *iššakkinu*[293] *ušaḫrarū/ušaḫraba*[294] *rebīti/qerbīte*
—II:154 "Wherever the path . . . is taken they will devastate the square/center.

DD (C) 9' <u>. . . . . U]RU *ú-šal-lak* [</u>
LL (rev.) iv:29'] *la e-rib* EDIN*-ma ina re-bit* URU.KI *ú-šal-lak*
UU (K) obv.! 11' *ú-ma-am* EDIN *la* x . . . . . [
UU (K) obv.! 12' *re-bit* URU x . . . [
—II:155 *umām ṣēri lā ērib ṣērim-ma* (*ina*)[295] *rebīt āli ušallak*

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[292] Al-Rawi and Black translate "I shall deprive of inhabitants the town where men meet," reading this verse as a unit in itself ("Second Tablet," 121). Given the context of the larger passage—II:153 introduces the "beasts of the mountain" where II:154 recounts their effects on urban life, following which II:155 introduces the "beasts of the hinterland" and expounds on the devastation they wreak on the city—this verse surely belongs with the previous one and describes in some way the havoc caused by the first set of "beasts."

Both Dalley and Foster appear to read *ēriba* as an infinitive, *erēba*; Dalley translates, "I shall stop anyone entering any city which he encounters" (*Myths from Mesopotamia*, 298), where Foster reads it with the previous verse: "I block access to any city where they appear" (*Before the Muses*, 896). This reading has been deemed less plausible on the grounds that *erēbu* is not ordinarily transitive, and appears in conjunction either with *ana* or *qereb* everywhere else in this text. In contrast, it is very common for *zummû* to take a double accusative when it means "to deprive" (rather than "to be deprived; to miss").

[293] The theme vowel is unexpected here: *iššakkinu* for *iššakkanu* (see also II:38, where we appear to have *iššakkunu*).

[294] These two verbs mean very similar things. Since *umāmu* is masculine, it is unlikely *ušaḫraba* represents a feminine plural, but rather a masculine singular with ventive, reflecting the morphological singularity of the bound form *umām* in II:153 in at least copy UU (see also copy W in II:151).

[295] It is unlikely *ina* appears in copy UU since it would fall at the end of the previous verse.

—II:155 "I will allow the beasts of the hinterland, no longer entering the hinterland, to walk in the city square.

DD (C) 10' . . .] *ú-nam*[!](ZI)-*me* [
LL (rev.) iv:30']-*ma-am-ma ma-ḫa-zi ú-nam-ma*
UU (K) obv.! 13' *it-ta ú-lam-man-ma ma-ḫ*[*a*] . . .
—II:156 *itta ulammam-ma māḫāzī unamma*
—II:156 "I will make signs baleful; I will turn shrines into ruins.

DD (C) 11'] SAG.ḪUL.ḪA.ZA *ú-še-rab* [
LL (rev.) iv:31'] *lem-ni la i'-i-ru* SAG.ḪUL.ḪA.ZA *ú*[erased]
ú-šèr-reb
UU (K) obv.! 14' *a-na šu-bat* DINGIR . . . . . [. . . . . .
UU (K) obv.! 15' SAG.ḪUL . . . . . [. . . . . .
—II:157 *ana šubat il*[*ānī ašar*][296] *lemni lā i'irru mukīl rēš lemutti ušerreb*
—II:157 "Into the dwelling of the god[s where] no evil being may approach I will allow the upholder-of-evil demon to enter.[297]

DD (C) 12'] ⌜*ú*⌝*-šal-la-*⌜*ka*⌝ ⌜*kar-mu-ta*⌝ [
LL (rev.) iv:32'] x *ú-šaḫ-ram-ma ú-šal-la-ka kar-mu-tú*
UU (K) obv.! 16' É.GAL ⌜LUGAL⌝ . . . . . [. . . . . .
—II:158 *ekal šarri* [*Bābili*?][298] *ušaḫram-ma ušallaka karmūta*
—II:158 "I will lay waste the palace of the king [of Babylon (?)] and reduce it to a ruin.

DD (C) 13' *r*]*a-as-*[*m*]*a ḫi-du-ta e-ṭir-ši* [
LL (rev.) iv:33'] *qé-reb-šá a-par-ra-as-ma ḫi-du-*⌜*ta*⌝
e-ṭir-. . .
UU (K) obv.! 17' *ri-gim* . . . . . [. . . . . .
UU (K) obv.! 18' *ḫi-*. . . . . [. . . . . .
—II:159 *rigim* [*amēlūti*?][299] *qerebša aparras-ma ḫidûta eṭṭirši*

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[296] Reconstructed on the basis of the apparently identical phrase in II:149.

[297] Compare II:149.

[298] An estimated four signs are missing here; al-Rawi and Black suspect the last of these of being KI and propose reconstructing KÁ.DINGIR.RA[ki] in the break ("Second Tablet," 120). Although this is far from certain, it fits both the space and the context.

[299] An estimated four signs are missing here. Although unaware of *qerebša* since supplied by copy LL, Frankena reconstructs *amēlūti* in this break ("Untersuchungen zum Irra-Epos," 7); this both fits the space well and echoes a phrase from *The Annals of Aššurbanipal: Edition B* vi:46: *rigim amēlūti aprusa*, "I stopped the noise of humanity" (for an edition see Piepkorn, *Annals of Ashurbanipal*, 72; the same phrase, with a different verb, appears much earlier in *Atraḫasīs* II i:7–8: *iktabta rigim awīlūti / ina ḫubūrīšina uzamma šitta*, "The noise of humankind has become burdensome to me, / Because of their clamor I am deprived of sleep"). It is however by no means certain. Elsewhere in this text we read of the "noise of the people in all of the land" (*rigim nišī ina māti napḫarša*; II:7); a related phrase may belong in this lacuna. Other possibilities include

—II:159 "I will stop the noise of [humanity (?)] within it[300] and take joy away from it.[301]

DD (C) 14' *g*]*er-r*[*a*]-*niš a-šar sal-mì* [
LL (rev.) iv:34'] x U *ki-re-e-ti ger-ra-nu a-sar-*˹*raq-ši*˺
UU (K) obv.! 19' *ki-i* . . . . . [. . . . . .
UU (K) obv.! 20' . . . . . [. . . . . .
—II:160 *kī* [ ] *kirêti* [*g*]*err*[*ā*]*niš/gerrānu *ašar salmi*/*asarraqši**
—II:160 ". . .[302]

DD (C) 15'] ÁŠ TUM ĦUL-*tì ú-še-rab* [
LL (rev.) iv:35'] . . . x x x x IZ ŠUM DIŠ ĦUL-*tì ú-še-rab*
UU (K) obv.! 21' x . . . . . [. . . . . .
—II:161] . . . . . *lemutti ušerrab*
—II:161 ". . . I will let evil enter.

DD (C) 16' *mi*]*r da-ád-me*
DD (C) 17' *u*]*l i-qal ana ma-am-ma*
LL (rev.) iv:36'] . . . . . [*u*]*l i-qa-li a-na mam-ma*
—II:162] . . . . . [*u*]*l iqâl*(*i*)[303] *ana mamma*
—II:162 ". . . [t]o heed anyone.[304]

Z (B) (obv.) i:1' ˹A˺ x x x x x x [. . . . . .]
—IIIa:1 . . . . . [*ul iqâl*(*i*) *ana mamma*]
—IIIa:1 ". . . [to heed anyone].[305]

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reconstructing *šiknāt napišti*, "living beings" (a phrase that is common throughout this text); *ṣalmāt qaqqadi*, "the blackheaded ones"; or perhaps a term that more closely parallels *ḫidûta* in the second hemistich, such as *nigûti*, "merrymaking."

[300] Presumably "the palace" from the previous verse.

[301] As I read it the suffix *-ši* on *eṭṭirši* also refers to "the palace" from the previous verse: it fills a parallel function to that of *qerebša* in the first hemistich. However, if Frankena is right that the lacuna is to be supplied with *amēlūti*, this could serve as its antecedent, although this seems less probable. Given its proximity, it is unlikely but theoretically possible that it cross references *ḫidûta*.

[302] This verse is very difficult: not only is each copy obscure on its own, but they simply do not match. DD seems to say ". . . like Gerra(/lamentation?) where the peaceful . . ." where LL seems to say ". . . lamentation I will sprinkle it." The term *kirêti* is typically taken as the plural of "orchard," which, however, should be written *kirâti* in this dialect (the form *kirêti* appears at Mari).

[303] Notice the overhanging vowel in copy LL.

[304] The translation assumes the syntactic pattern found in II:119: *Erra agug-ma ul iqâli ana* [*mamma*] . . . , "Erra is too furious to heed [anyone] . . ."; alternately, it might be read ". . . he will [n]ot heed anyone." (On the syntactic construction in this verse see n. 35 above.)

[305] Restored from the catchline of the previous tablet.

Z (B) (obv.) i:2' *a-mat im-tal*-x . . . . . .
—IIIa:2 *amāt imtal*[*ku*] . . . . . .
—IIIa:2 "The matter that he contempla[ted] . . .

Z (B) (obv.) i:3' [*la*]*b-bé-e ú-*. . . . . x . . . . . .
—IIIa:3 [*la*]*bbē* . . . . . .
—IIIa:3 "[Li]ons . . .

Z (B) (obv.) i:4' . . . . . ⌜UN⌝⌜ŠI⌝⌜ŠU⌝ ⌜UD⌝ . . . . . .
—IIIa:4 . . . . . .
—IIIa:4 ". . .

Z (B) (obv.) i:5' ⌜*a*⌝-*na* DA x TI *ú-ša*[*l*]-*lak* . . . . . x x . . . . .
—IIIa:5 *ana* . . . . . *uša*[*l*]*lak* . . . . . .
—IIIa:5 "I will mak[e] go . . . to . . .

Z (B) (obv.) i:6' . . . . . É . . . *ú-šal-qa-ma* UD.MEŠ-*šú-nu* ⌜*ú-kar*⌝-*ra*
—IIIa:6 . . . . . *bītu*[?] . . . *ušalqā-ma ūmīšunu ukarra*
—IIIa:6 ". . . the building (?)[306] . . . I will cause to take and I will shorten their days.

Z (B) (obv.) i:7' *šá ke-e-ni ṣa-bit ab-bu-ut-ti a-par-ra-*. . . . . .
—IIIa:7 *ša kēni ṣābit abbutti aparra*[*s šēpšu*[?]][307]
—IIIa:7 "I will ba[r access (?)] to the just person who would intercede.

Z (B) (obv.) i:8' ⌜*lem*⌝-*na na-ki-is na-piš-ti a-šak-kan ina* {*ina*} IGI
—IIIa:8 *lemna nākis napišti ašakkan ina maḫri*
—IIIa:8 "I will install the evil cutthroat in the foremost place.

Z (B) (obv.) i:9' ŠÀ-*bi* UN.MEŠ *ú-šá-an-na-ma a-bu ma-ra ul i-*⌜*šem*⌝-*m*[*e*]
—IIIa:9 *libbi nišī ušannā-ma abu māra ul išemm*[*e*]
—IIIa:9 "I will change people's hearts so the father will not liste[n] to the son[308]

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[306] This sign might be read syllabically, or could be part of the name of a temple.

[307] Cagni reconstructs ZI-*su* here, to be read *napšassu* (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 92; in fact, such "hymno-epic" forms are entirely absent from the extant text—compare *napištašu* in II:39—so if this word is to be reconstructed here it is probably to be normalized in the same way). However, no other examples of the phrase *napišta parāsu* are known to me. The verb *parāsu* does occur with *šēpu* in the sense "to bar access" (see *CAD*, s.v. "parāsu"); alternatively, we might reconstruct this to read *aparraʾ napištašu*, "I will cut off his life [that of the just person]," since the relevant verb is attested with *napištu* elsewhere, or even *aparrak padāššu*, "I will block his path."

[308] Word order and case (neither of which can provide definitive evidence) both support this translation. However, it might make more sense to read "the son will not listen to the father," as this would fit the parallel in the following verse better.

Z (B) (obv.) i:10' DUMU.MUNUS *ana* AMA *i-dab-bu-ba ze-ra-a-ti*
—IIIa:10 *mārtu ana ummi idabbuba zērāti*
—IIIa:10 "And the daughter will speak hostile things to the mother.

Z (B) (obv.) i:11' *at-ma-ši-na ú-lam-ma-na-ma i-maš-šá-a* DINGIR-*ši-in*
—IIIa:11 *atmâšina ulammanam-ma imaššâ ilšin*
—IIIa:11 "I will make what they say invidious and they will forget their gods.

Z (B) (obv.) i:12' *a-na* ^{d}*iš-tar-ši-na i-qab-ba-a šil-la-tu* GAL-*tu*
—IIIa:12 *ana ištaršina iqabbâ šillatu rabītu*
—IIIa:12 "To their goddesses they will speak with great impudence.

Z (B) (obv.) i:13' . . .-[*b*]*a-tu a-de-ek-ke-ma a-par-ra*$^{!}$(AR)-*su a-lak-tu*
—IIIa:13 [*ḫabb*]*ātu*[309] *adekkē-ma aparrasu alaktu*
—IIIa:13 "I will rouse the [ban]dit and cut off the highway.

Z (B) (obv.) i:14' *ina qé-reb* URU *i-maš-šá-ʾu bu-še-e a-ḫa-míš*
—IIIa:14 *ina qereb āli imaššaʾū bušê aḫāmiš*
—IIIa:14 "In the midst of the city they will rob one another's property.

Z (B) (obv.) i:15' . . . . . .
—IIIa:15 [*nēšu u barbaru ušamqatū būl Šakkan*][310]
—IIIa:15 "[The lion and wolf will lay low Šakkan's herds].

L (K) (obv.) i:1' [. . .] x x x x . . . . . [. . . . . .]
Z (B) (obv.) i:16' ^{d}. . . x x x *ú-šá-as-ba-*^{r}*as*^{1}*-ma i-par-ra-sa ta-lit-tú*
—IIIa:16 . . . . . *ušasbas-ma iparrasa tālittu*
—IIIa:16 "I will make . . .[311] irate and she will put an end to childbirth.

L (K) (obv.) i:2' *ik-kil šèr-ri u la-qé-e ta-ri-tú* [. . . . . .]
Z (B) (obv.) i:17' . . . . . *šèr-ri u la-ʾi-i ta-ri-tú ú-za-am-ma*
—IIIa:17 *ikkil šerri u laqê/laʾî tarītu uzamma*
—IIIa:17 "I will deprive the nurse of the cry of the baby and *foster child*/*toddler*.

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[309] This restoration follows Reiner, "More Fragments," 47 n. 14.

[310] Following Frankena's reading—[*né-*]*e-šú ù* [*b*]*ar-ba-*[*r*]*u ú-š*[*a*]*m-qa-t*[*ú*] *b*[*u-u*]*l* ^{d}*sumuqan* ("Worte der Sibitti," 46)—confirmed by Hecker's collations (*apud* Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 92). This verse appears to be virtually identical to I:85.

[311] The most likely restoration here is Bēlet-ili or a related name. Cagni proposes reading ^{d}[NIN].MEN.A[N.N]A (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 216), an appealing if tentative suggestion.

L (K) (obv.) i:3’ *ri-gim* ᵈ*a-la-la ina qer-bé-ti ú-š*[*á . . . . . .*]
Z (B) (obv.) i:18’ . . .-[*gí*]*m* ᵈ*a-la-la ina qer-bé-ti ú-šá-áš-šá*
—IIIa:18 *rigim alāla ina qerbēti ušašša*[312]
—IIIa:18 “I will drive away the sound of the work-song from the meadowlands.

L (K) (obv.) i:4’ *re-ʾu-ú* ⌜*ù*⌝ *na-qí-du i-maš-šu-ú ta-b*[*i-. . .*]
Z (B) (obv.) i:19’ . . . . . TI *na-qí-du i-maš-šu-ú ta-bi-na*
—IIIa:19 *rēʾû u nāqidu imaššû tabīna*
—IIIa:19 “The shepherd and herdsman will forget the stall.

L (K) (obv.) i:5’ ⌜*ṣu*⌝*-ba-ta i-na zu-mur* LÚ *a-par-ra-as-ma*
L (K) (obv.) i:6’ *eṭ-la mé-ra-nu-uš-šú re-bit* URU *ú-šal-lak*
Z (B) (obv.) i:20’ ŠAL x ⌜GUR⌝ ⌜DI⌝ ⌜IA⌝ *a-par-ra-as-ma eṭ-lu mé-re-*x x x *re-bit* URU *ú-še-lak*
—IIIa:20 *ṣubāta ina zumur amēli aparras-ma eṭla mērênuššu rebīt āli ušallak*[313]
—IIIa:20 “I will cut the clothes off the body of a man and parade the youth naked through the city square.

L (K) (obv.) i:7’ *eṭ-la a-na* KI-*ti šá la ṣu-ba-ta ú-šèr-red*
Z (B) (obv.) i:21’ *eṭ-lu ina* KI-*tì šá la ṣu-ba-ti ú-še-red*
—IIIa:21 *eṭla ana erṣeti ša lā ṣubāti ušerred*
—IIIa:21 “I will bring the youth down to the netherworld without clothes.

L (K) (obv.) i:8’ *eṭ-la a-na na-piš-ti-šú im-mer ni-qé-e i-baṭ-ṭil-šu*
Z (B) (obv.) i:22’ *eṭ-lu ana na-piš-ti-šú im-*x . . .-[*q*]*é-e i-ba-ṭil-šú*
—IIIa:22 *eṭlu ana napištīšu immer niqê ibaṭṭilšu*
—IIIa:22 “As for the youth, the sacrificial sheep to be offered for the sake of his life will run out for him.

L (K) (obv.) i:9’ NUN *a-na* EŠ.BAR ᵈUTU *pu-ḫa-du iq-qir-šú*
Z (B) (obv.) i:23’ NUN$^{!}$(SUR) ⌜*ana*⌝[314] EŠ.BAR ᵈ*šam-ši* ⌜*pu*⌝*-ḫa-du iq-qir-šú*
—IIIa:23 *rubû ana purussê Šamaš puḫādu iqqiršu*
—IIIa:23 “As for the prince, the lamb for determining Šamaš’s decision will be scarce for him.

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[312] The translation here assumes *ušašša* has been written for *ušassa*, the Š-stem of the root *nesû*, “to withdraw”; *Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi* I:101 provides a close parallel where the form has been spelled accordingly: *ina qerbētīya ušassû alāla*, “They will drive away the work-song from my meadowlands.” (For this suggestion see *CAD*, s.v. “alāla.”) Alternatively, it may be read as a Š-stem of *ešû*: “I will throw the sound of the work-song in the meadowlands into confusion” (as von Soden takes it: see *AHw*, s.v. “ešû”) or, less plausibly, as a Š-stem of *našû*, perhaps with the meaning “to have removed” (which however seems to be applied to physical objects).

[313] On present evidence it is difficult to reconcile the traces in copy Z with what survives in copy LL; the former has therefore been excluded from the normalization.

[314] The reading NUN$^{!}$(SUR) ⌜*ana*⌝ follows Hecker’s collations (*apud* Cagni, *L’Epopea di Erra*, 94).

L (K) (obv.) i:10’ *mar-ṣu a-na bi-bil* ŠÀ-*ba-šú šu-me-e ši-i-ri ir-riš-ma*
Z (B) (obv.) i:24’ . . . [*ṣ*]*u a-na* ˹*bi-bíl*˺? ŠÀ-*bi-šú šu*!(PA?)-*me-e še-e-ri i-riš-ma*
—IIIa:24 *marṣu ana bibil libbīšu šumê šīri irriš-ma*
—IIIa:24 “The sick person will wish for roast meat for a voluntary offering.

L (K) (obv.) i:11’ [. . .] *ul i-pad-da-áš-šum-ma* ID PE E MA *a-di i-mut-tú i-lak*
Z (B) (obv.) i:25’ . . . . . PA ˹DA˺ AN KI I QAB . . . x x x *i-mut-ta* DU-*ak*
—IIIa:25 . . . *ul ipaddaššum-ma . . . adi imuttu/imutta illak*
—IIIa:25 “. . . he will walk until he dies.[315]

L (K) (obv.) i:12’ [. . . . . .] x x ˹Ú˺ ŠU-*ma ru-ku-ub ru-bé-e ú-šab-ṭal*
Z (B) (obv.) i:26’ *ki-ma* . . . . . x Ú x . . . . . .-˹*ub*˺? ˹IZ˺?-˹*e*˺? *ú-šab-ṭal*
—IIIa:26 *kīma* . . . . . *rukūb rubê ušabṭal*[316]
—IIIa:26 “Like . . . I will put a stop to the chariot of the prince.

L (K) (obv.) i:13’ [. . . . . .]-x-˹*ma*˺-*šu a-par-ra-as*
Z (B) (obv.) i:27’ . . . . . *ina* A UD . . . . . *ki a-par-ar-as*
—IIIa:27 . . . . . .-*šu aparras*
—IIIa:27 “ . . . I will cut off his . . .

L (K) (obv.) i:14’ [. . . . . .]-˹MAN˺ ˹*ú*˺-*šá*-˹*aṣ*˺-*bat*
Z (B) (obv.) i:28’ . . . . . AB ŠU x . . . . . ˹IZ˺? AM MAN *ú-šá*-˹*aṣ*˺-*bat*
—IIIa:28 . . . . . *ušaṣbat*
—IIIa:28 “. . . I will cause to seize.

L (K) (obv.) i:15’ [. . . . . .] x ŠI
Z (B) (obv.) i:29’ . . . . . x . . . ŠI
—IIIa:29 . . . . . .
—IIIa:29 “. . .

L (K) (obv.) i:16’ [. . . . . .] ˹ZA˺
Z (B) (obv.) i:30’ . . . . . x x . . . ZA
—IIIa:30 . . . . . .
—IIIa:30 “. . .

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[315] This verse is difficult. Hecker’s collations for copy Z are as follows: [x x] PA DA [x] [K]I/[M]A I TA[P]? (*apud* Cagni, *L’Epopea di Erra*, 94–95). Foster translates “It does him no good, so he gets up and walks till he dies” (*Before the Muses*, 897) without comment, apparently reading ID PE E MA as *itbē-ma*—a preterite where the following verb is durative. (Borger and Lambert tentatively propose reading the relevant section of copy Z *i-tab-bu-ma*, which, if correct, might provide an alternate tradition with a durative; “Ein neuer Era-Text,” 142.) It is not clear to me how Foster analyzes the beginning of the verse. See also Bottéro: “(Et) sans que les experts les puissent soulager, ils traîneront [jusqu’à leur mort!”; “Le poème d’Erra,” 239.

[316] It is difficult to make sense of the traces in copy Z, which have largely been excluded here.

Z (B) (obv.) i:31’ . . . . . x . . . . . KU
—IIIa:31 . . . . . .
—IIIa:31 “. . .

Z (B) (obv.) i:32’ x
—IIIa:32 . . . . . .
—IIIa:32 “. . .

Z (B) (obv.) i:33’ x
—IIIa:33 . . . . . .
—IIIa:33 “. . .

Z (B) (obv.) i:34’ x
—IIIa:34 . . . . . .
—IIIa:34 “. . .

Z (B) (obv.) i:35’ . . . . . TI
—IIIa:35 . . . . . .
—IIIa:35 “. . .”

Z (B) (obv.) ii:10’ . . . . . A A BAD . . . . . [
—IIIb:1 . . . . . [
—IIIb:1 . . .

Z (B) (obv.) ii:11’ x AḪ ˹MUL˺.MEŠ . . . [
—IIIb:2 . . . . . *kakkabānī* . . . [
—IIIb:2 . . . the stars . . .

Z (B) (obv.) ii:12’ ŠÁ ˹E˺ ŠÚ *a-na* ˹É˺ . . . [
—IIIb:3 . . . . . *ana bīti*ʾ . . . [
—IIIb:3 . . . to the building (?) . . .

Z (B) (obv.) ii:13’ *šá ina* ᵈUTU x . . . . . [
—IIIb:4 *ša ina Šamaš* . . . . . [
—IIIb:4 That in Šamaš . . .

Z (B) (obv.) ii:14’ . . . . . [
—IIIb:5 . . . . . [
—IIIb:5 . . .

Z (B) (obv.) ii:15’ . . . . . [
—IIIb:6 . . . . . [

—IIIb:6 . . .

Z (B) (obv.) ii:16’ . . . . . [
—IIIb:7 . . . . . [
—IIIb:7 . . .

Z (B) (obv.) ii:17’ x . . . . . [
—IIIb:8 . . . . . [
—IIIb:8 . . .

Z (B) (obv.) ii:18’ ŠÁ x . . . . . [
—IIIb:9 . . . . . [
—IIIb:9 . . .

L (K) (obv.) ii:8’ x [. . .
Z (B) (obv.) ii:19’ LI . . . . . [
—IIIb:10 . . . . . [
—IIIb:10 . . .

L (K) (obv.) ii:9’ x [. . .
Z (B) (obv.) ii:20’ DU . . . . . [
—IIIb:11 . . . . . [
—IIIb:11 . . .

L (K) (obv.) ii:10’ *ki-i* [. . .
Z (B) (obv.) ii:21’ *ki-i šá* . . . . . [
—IIIb:12 *kī ša* . . . . . [
—IIIb:12 As if . . .

L (K) (obv.) ii:11’ *šá* x x [
Z (B) (obv.) ii:22’ *šá* . . . . . [
—IIIb:13 *ša* . . . . . [
—IIIb:13 Of . . .

L (K) (obv.) ii:12’ *ki-m*[*a*
Z (B) (obv.) ii:23’ *ki-i* . . . . . [
—IIIb:14 *kī* . . . . . [
—IIIb:14 Like . . .

L (K) (obv.) ii:13’ ŠÈG *ù* [
Z (B) (obv.) ii:24’ ZU[?](GUR) . . . . . [
—IIIb:15 *zunnu u* . . . . . .
—IIIb:15 Rain and . . .

L (K) (obv.) ii:14’ IM.MEŠ Ḫ[UL
Z (B) (obv.) ii:25’ *šá-*ʳ*a*ʾ[317]-. . . *lem-nu*[!?](BAD) . . . . . [
—IIIb:16 *šārī lemnū*[*ti*] . . . . . [
—IIIb:16 Evil wind[s] . . .

L (K) (obv.) ii:15’ x x [
Z (B) (obv.) ii:26’ x A TI . . . . . [
—IIIb:17 . . . . . [
—IIIb:17 . . .

L (K) (obv.) ii:16’ ʳ*šá*ʾ x x [
Z (B) (obv.) ii:27’ . . . [A]M[?] . . . . . [
—IIIb:18 *ša* . . . . . [
—IIIb:18 As for . . .

Z (B) (obv.) ii:28’ . . . . . [
—IIIb:19 . . . . . [
—IIIb:19 . . .

Z (B) (obv.) ii:29’ . . . . . [
—IIIb:20 . . . . . [
—IIIb:20 . . .

Z (B) (obv.) ii:30’ x . . . . . [
—IIIb:21 . . . . . [
—IIIb:21 . . .

W (A) rev. i:1’ *ša* ʳDANʾ-[. . . . . .
—IIIc:1 *ša* . . . . . [
—IIIc:1 “As for . . .

W (A) rev. i:2’ *ki-i* DA x . . . . . [
—IIIc:2 *kī* . . . . . [
—IIIc:2 “Like . . .

W (A) rev. i:3’ *šá* ÉRIN.MEŠ *ki-din-*. . . . . [
—IIIc:3 *ša ṣābī kidin*[*ni ikkib Anum u Dagān kakkīšunu tazzaqap*]
—IIIc:3 “[You aimed][318] the army’s [weapons] at the *kidin*[*nu*-citizens,[319] the taboo of Anu and

[317] It is possible the two signs read here as *šá-*ʳ*a*ʾ in fact constitute an IM sign.

[318] *CAD* translates “you made the privileged citizens bear drawn arms” (s.v., “zaqāpu”), apparently picking up on the idea that the *kidinnu*-citizens were not susceptible to conscription and thus that this would be a

Dagān].[320]

W (A) rev. i:4' *da-mí-šú-nu ki*-x . . . . . [
—IIIc:4 *damīšunu kī*[*ma mê rāṭi tušaṣbita rebīt āli*]
—IIIc:4 "[You made] their blood [soak the city square] like [the water of a ditch].[321]

W (A) rev. i:5' *ù-mu-un-ni-*. . . . . [
—IIIc:5 *umunnî*[*šunu taptē-ma tušābil nāra*]
—IIIc:5 "[You opened their] veins [and let the river carry off their blood].[322]

W (A) rev. i:6' ^{d}EN.LÍL *ù'-a* . . . . . [
—IIIc:6 *Ellil ū'a* [*iqtabi libbašu iṣṣabat*]
—IIIc:6 "Enlil [said] 'woe!' [and clutched his heart].[323]

W (A) rev. i:7' x x [*š*]*ub-*^{r}*ti*$^{\neg}$-. . . . . [
—IIIc:7 [*ina š*]*ubtī*[*šu*] . . . . . [
—IIIc:7 "[From his d]welling . . .

W (A) rev. i:8' . . . . . [*l*]*a nap-*. . . . . [
—IIIc:8 [*arrat l*]*ā nap*[*šuri iššakin ina pīšu*]

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particularly egregious offense. However, the lexicographic evidence cited does not suggest this verb can be used causatively; it typically describes weapons that are drawn or readied.

[319] Certain ancient Babylonian cities, Babylon most prominent among them, were granted the status of *kidinnu*, exempting the citizens from military obligations, corvee labor, and some taxes; see, e.g., George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, 265; Reviv, "*Kidinnu*."

[320] This verse appears to be identical to IV:33, which provides the basis for the reconstructions here.

[321] This verse appears to be identical to IV:34, which provides the basis for the reconstructions here.

Elsewhere the phrase *mê šuṣbutu* is used to describe irrigation (see *CAD*, s.v. "ṣabātu," p. 38; the relevant passages are all Neo-Babylonian), which provides the background to the simile employed here, that the action of the blood soaking the square is "like the water of a ditch" (*kīma mê rāṭi*). (See *CAD*, ibid., for the sensible suggestion that the verb be rendered "soaked" here.) The syntax militates strongly against Dalley's translation, "You have made their blood flow like water in the drains of public squares" (*Myths from Mesopotamia*, 299), since binding in this text is invariably formally marked, whether through the use of construct chains or by the means of so-called "anticipatory genitives," in which either the *nomen rectum* is marked with *ša* or the *nomen regens* is marked with a resumptive pronominal suffix, or (typically) both—but never neither. Syntactically, *rāṭi* cannot belong with *rebīt āli*, but must serve as the *nomen rectum* to *mê*.

[322] This verse appears to be identical to IV:35, which provides the basis for the reconstructions here.

[323] Compare IV:36, which provides the basis for the reconstructions here (although it refers to Marduk).

The phrase "clutched his heart" is not entirely clear to me, and I am unaware of any direct parallels. Observe that this could also be translated as an N-stem—"his heart was seized" or, perhaps, "his heart was hardened" (as it is translated in *CAD*, s.v. "ū'a")—although the reconstructed form *iqtabi* earlier in the verse might speak to its being rather a G-stem perfect.

—IIIc:8 "An irrev[ersible curse took shape in his mouth].[324]

W (A) rev. i:9' . . . x-*ma šá* x . . . . . [
—IIIc:9 [*itmâm*]-*ma ša* [*nāri ul išatti mêša*]
—IIIc:9 "[He swore not to drink the water] of [the river].[325]

W (A) rev. i:10' ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú-nu e*-x . . . . . [
—IIIc:10 *damīšunu ē*[*dur-ma ul irruba ana Ekur*]
—IIIc:10 "He f[eared][326] their blood [too much to enter the Ekur]."[327]

W (A) rev. i:11' ^{d}*èr-ra ana* . . . . . [
—IIIc:11 *Erra ana* [*Išum amātu izzakkar*]
—IIIc:11 Erra [uttered a speech] to [Išum]:[328]

W (A) rev. i:12' DINGIR IMIN.BI *qar-r*[*ad*] . . . . . [
—IIIc:12 *Ilānū Sebettu qarr*[*ād lā šanān*] . . . . . [
—IIIc:12 "The Divine Heptad, the warr[iors without rival] . . .

W (A) rev. i:13' *ana nap-ḫar-šú-nu* LÚ . . . . . [
—IIIc:13 *ana napḫaršunu amēlu*?[329] . . . . . [
—IIIc:13 "To all of them a human (?) . . . . . .

W (A) rev. i:14' *a-a-um-ma* x . . . . . [

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[324] This verse is assumed to be identical to IV:37, which provides the basis for the reconstructions here.

[325] This verse is assumed to be identical to IV:38, which provides the basis for the reconstructions here.

[326] *CAD* translates the verb "loathe" in this context only (ad loc.). Although this makes sense in context, it is worth pointing out that there is no other occasion on which the verb *adāru* is presumed to mean "to loathe" or "to be revolted." In part because "fear" plays a central role in this text (note the number of verbs that are used to describe fear, in addition to this one at least *palāḫu*, *šaḫātu*, *galātu*, *nâšu*, and *râdu*), I have chosen to translate it straightforwardly.

[327] Compare IV:39, which provides the basis for the reconstructions here (although it refers to the Esagil). On the syntactic construction in this verse see n. 35 above.

[328] Translators since Ebeling have reconstructed this verse in various ways such that Erra is here said to be responding to Išum in what follows. Since Išum appears to have reported to Erra in IIIc:3–10 Enlil's reaction to the devastation (as he does Marduk's reaction in the parallel passage in IV:33–39), and since IIIc:24 should properly be attributed to Erra (as are its parallels, I:96 and II:126), this is very likely. The specifics, however, can only be guessed. My reconstruction is modeled loosely on IV:137. Because the lines of this passage are so variable in length, it is impossible to estimate how many signs are missing; the restoration I supply is constructed on the assumption that this line is approximately as long as the previous four lines (which might explain the absence of Erra's epithet here, although it appears at the beginning of IV:137).

[329] LÚ may be a determinative here.

—IIIc:14 *ayyumma* . . . . . [
—IIIc:14 "Whoever . . .

W (A) rev. i:15' *a-lik maḫ-ri-*. . . . . [
—IIIc:15 *ālik maḫri-* . . . . . [
—IIIc:15 "The vanguard . . .

W (A) rev. i:16' *šá da-ba-ba* x . . . . . [
—IIIc:16 *ša dabāba* . . . . . [
—IIIc:16 "Who to speak . . .

W (A) rev. i:17' *šá ki-i* ^{d}GÉR[RA] . . . . . [
—IIIc:17 *ša kī Ger*[*ra*] . . . . . [
—IIIc:17 "Who like Ger[ra] . . .

W (A) rev. i:18' *šá pa-an* ⌜É⌝ . . . . . [
—IIIc:18 *ša pān bīti*[?][330] . . . . . [
—IIIc:18 "Who before the building (?) . . .

W (A) rev. i:19' *šá ki-i šá-*. . . . . [
—IIIc:19 *ša kī* . . . . . [
—IIIc:19 "Who like . . .

W (A) rev. i:20' *šá* I . . . . . [
—IIIc:20 *ša* . . . . . [
—IIIc:20 "Who . . .

W (A) rev. i:21' *šá* ^{d}*èr-ra* x . . . . . [
—IIIc:21 *ša Erra* x . . . . . [
—IIIc:21 "Whom Erra . . .

W (A) rev. i:22' *zi-im lab-bi* x . . . . . [
—IIIc:22 *zīm labbi* . . . . . [
—IIIc:22 "The appearance of a lion[331] . . .

W (A) rev. i:23' *ina ag-gi* ŠÀ-*bi-*. . . . . [
—IIIc:23 *ina aggi libbi* . . . . . [
—IIIc:23 "In fury . . .

[330] This could also be a temple name.

[331] For similar phrasing see I:34 and IV:21.

W (A) rev. i:24’ *ṭu-da pe-te-ma* . . . . . [
—IIIc:24 *ṭūda petē-ma* [*luṣbat ḫarrāni*]
—IIIc:24 “Blaze a trail [so I can undertake a campaign]![332]

W (A) rev. i:25’ DINGIR IMIN.BI *qar-rad la* x [. . . . . .]
—IIIc:25 *Ilānū Sebettu qarrād lā* [*šanān*] . . . . . [*lupqid*?][333]
—IIIc:25 “Let me [muster (?)] the Divine Heptad, the warriors without [rival] . . .

W (A) rev. i:26’ giš TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia ez-zu-u-ti* [. . . . . .]
—IIIc:26 *kakkīya ezzūti* [*šūlika idāya*]
—IIIc:26 “[Make] my ferocious weapons [accompany me].[334]

W (A) rev. i:27’ *ù* [*at-t*]*a a-lik maḫ-ri*-[. . . . . .]
—IIIc:27 *u* [*att*]*a ālik maḫrī*[*ya ālik arkīya*?][335]
—IIIc:27 “And [yo]u are [my] vanguard, [my rearguard (?)].”

W (A) rev. i:28’ *iš-me-*⌜*ma*⌝ d*i-šum an-na-a* [. . . . . .]
—IIIc:28 *išmē-ma Išum annâ* [*qabâšu*]
—IIIc:28 Išum, upon hearing this [speech of his],[336]

W (A) rev. i:29’ *re-e-ma ir-ta-ši iq-t*[*a* . . . . . .]
—IIIc:29 *rēma irtaši iqt*[*abi ana libbīšu*?][337]
—IIIc:29 He had compassion and sa[id to himself (?)] . . .

W (A) rev. i:30’ *ù’-a* UN.MEŠ-*a šá* d*èr-ra a-gu-ši-na-ti-ma* [. . . . . .]
—IIIc:30 *ū’a nišūya ša Erra aggūšinātī-ma* . . . . . .

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[332] This verse appears to be repeated in I:96 and II:126, which provide the basis for the reconstructions here.

[333] The word *lupqid* is supplied here on the basis of I:97, where however it has been reconstructed only tentatively.

[334] This verse appears to be identical to I:98, which provides the basis for the reconstructions here; for similar phrasing see also I:40 and I:44.

[335] The phrase *ālik arkīya* is supplied here on the basis of I:99, where however it has been reconstructed only tentatively.

[336] Compare I:100, which provides the basis for the reconstructions here.

[337] Compare I:101, copy X. In I:101, Išum addresses Erra; it is not clear whom he addresses here. All scholars since Gössmann (*Era-Epos*, 22–23) have supposed Išum addresses the following speech to himself, which on current evidence makes the best sense of the context: it is evident from third-person references to Erra in IIIc:30 and 31 and from the fact that the speech that follows this one is explicitly addressed to Erra (see IIIc:34–35) that Erra is not the addressee of the verses that immediately follow (IIIc:30–33). Compare I:16, in which Erra addresses himself (“his heart”).

—IIIc:30 “Woe to my people, at whom Erra has become furious . . .

W (A) rev. i:31’ *šá* UR.SAG ^{d}U.GUR *ki-i* UD-*mì* ⌜MÈ⌝ *a-sak-ki* [. . . . . .]
—IIIc:31 *ša qurādu Nergal kī ūmi tāḫāzi asakki* . . . . . .
—IIIc:31 “Whom Warrior Nergal like on the day of battle an *asakku*-demon . . .

W (A) rev. i:32’ *ki-i šá* DINGIR x-*ta a-na na-ri-šú ul i-*⌜*ram*⌝*?-ma-a i-d*[*a* . . . . . .]
—IIIc:32 *kī ša ila* [*ab*]*ta ana nârīšu ul irammâ id*[*āšu*]
—IIIc:32 “As if to slay the [defe]ated god [his] arm[s] are not slack.

W (A) rev. i:33’ *ki šá lem-na an-za-a a-na ka-me-šú šu-par-ru-ra*-[. . . . . .]
—IIIc:33 *kī ša lemna Anzâ ana kamêšu šuparrura*[*t šēssu*?][338]
—IIIc:33 “As if to bind evil Anzû [his net (?)] is spread ou[t].”

W (A) rev. i:34’ ^{d}*i-šum* *pa-a-šú* DÙ-*uš-ma i-qab-b*[*i* . . . . . .]
—IIIc:34 *Išum pāšu īpuš-ma iqabb*[*i*]
—IIIc:34 Išum opened his mouth to spea[k];

W (A) rev. i:35’ *a-na qu-ra-du* ^{d}*èr-ra* INIM MU-[*á*]*r*
—IIIc:35 *ana qurādu Erra amāta izzakk*[*a*]*r*
—IIIc:35 To Warrior Erra he utter[e]d a speech:

W (A) rev. i:36’ *mìn-su a-na* DINGIR *u* LÚ ḪUL-*ta tak-pu-ud*
—IIIc:36 *minsu ana ili u amēli lemutta takpud*
—IIIc:36 “Why have you plotted evil against god and human?[339]

W (A) rev. i:37’ ⌜*ù*⌝ *a-na* UN.MEŠ *ṣal-mat* SAG.DU ḪUL-*tú tak-pu-ud la ta-tur ana* ⌜KA⌝*?*-PA*?*
—IIIc:37 *u ana nišī ṣalmāt qaqqadi lemuttu takpud lā tatūr ana ar*[*kīka*]*?*
—IIIc:37 “Why[340] have you plotted evil against the blackheaded people, and have not turned a[way] (?)?”[341]

W (A) rev. i:38’ ^{d}*èr-ra* *pa-a-šú* DÙ-*uš-ma i-qab-bi*
—IIIc:38 *Erra pāšu īpuš-ma iqabbi*
—IIIc:38 Erra opened his mouth to speak;[342]

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[338] Following Landsberger’s proposed reconstruction (“Nomina des Akkadischen,” 10 n. 45).

[339] Compare I:102.

[340] I have idiomatically rendered the conjunction *u* here as “why” since I believe it signals that the interrogative of the previous verse carries over to this one.

[341] Compare especially I:103. The phrase *lā tatūr ana arkīka* likely also appears in II:67, suggesting—against the poorly preserved evidence of the copy at hand—that it is to be reconstructed here as well.

L (K) (rev.) i:1’ [. . .] x x [. . . . . .
W (A) rev. i:39’ *a-na* d*i-šum a-lik maḫ-ri-šú a-ma-tú i-zak-kar*
—IIIc:39 *ana Išum ālik maḫrīšu amātu izzakkar*
—IIIc:39 To Išum, his vanguard, he uttered a speech:[343]

L (K) (rev.) i:2’ *šá* d*i-ʳgì-gìˀ . . .-en-š*[*ú-* . . . . . .
W (A) rev. i:40’ ʳ*šá*ˀ? d*í-gì-gì ṭè-en-šú-nu ti-de-ma šá* d*a-nun-na-ki mì-lik-šú-un*
—IIIc:40 *ša Igīgī ṭēššunu tīdē-ma ša Anunnakī milikšun*
—IIIc:40 “You know the mind of the Igīgī, the advice of the Anunnakī,

L (K) (rev.) i:3’ *a-na* UN.MEŠ *ṣal-mat* SAG.D[U . . . . . .
W (A) rev. i:41’ *a-na* UN.MEŠ *ṣal-mat* SAG.DU *ur-ta ta-nam-din-ma uz-zu* DINGIR-ʳ*ši-na*ˀ?
*tuš-*na-ḫa**!?(NA$_4$)
—IIIc:41 *ana nišī ṣalmāt qaqqadi ûrta tanamdim-ma uzzu ilīšina tušnaḫḫa*?[344]
—IIIc:41 “To the blackheaded people you give instruction, you soothe (?) the anger of their gods.

L (K) (rev.) i:4’ *mìn-su ki-i la m*[*u* . . . . . .
W (A) rev. i:42’ *mìn-s*[*u*] *ki-i la mu-de-e ta-ta-mì at-ta*
Z (B) (rev.) iii:1’ *mìn*-x [. . . . . .
—IIIc:42 *minsu kī lā mūdê tātami atta*
—IIIc:42 “Why have you spoken like an ignorant person?

L (K) (rev.) i:5’ *ù ki-i šá a-mat* dAMAR.UT[U . . . . . .
W (A) rev. i:43’ *ki-i šá a-mat* dAMAR.UTU *la ti-du-u ta-mal-li-kan-ni ia-a-ši*
Z (B) (rev.) iii:2’ *ki-i šá a-m*[*at* . . . . . .
—IIIc:43 (*u*) *kī ša amāt Marduk lā tīdû tamallikanni yâši*
—IIIc:43 “As if you do not know the word of Marduk, you dare to[345] advise me!

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[342] This verse directly parallels I:104.

[343] This verse directly parallels I:105.

[344] Frankena’s collations of copy W suggest the final word reads *tuš-pat-te*; he proposes that *uz-zu* is therefore a mistake for *uz-ne* (“Weitere kleine Beiträge,” 13). Borger and Lambert accept this reading but take *uz-zu*-AN-*ši-na* together as an odd spelling of “their ears” (“Ein neuer Era-Text,” 143 and 147), an interpretation endorsed by Cagni (*L’Epopea di Erra*, 98) and all subsequent translators. Although the two hemistichs would then be pleasingly parallel, this is almost certainly wrong, as *tušpatte* would constitute the single example of a ŠD-stem in this entire text. I am proposing an alternative reading that treats *uzzu* straightforwardly as the word “anger” and, although the second hemistich does not directly reflect the material of the first hemistich, fits what is otherwise known of Išum’s character in this text. (On the use of the Š-stem of *nâḫu* with *uzzu* in reference to deities see also King, *BMS*, 96–99 (#33), line 3, *muštēniḫ uzzi ili*, “the one who soothes the anger of the god.” In *CAD*, s.v. “anāḫu,” it is argued that while *muštēniḫ* in form is a participle of the root *anāḫu*, its meaning can only be derived from *nâḫu*.)

[345] I have chosen to represent the emphasis on “me” in the Akkadian idiomatically as “dare to” in English.

L (K) (rev.) i:6’ LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ *i*[*na*] . . . [. . . . . .
W (A) rev. i:44’ LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ *ina šub-ti-šú it-te-bé*
Z (B) (rev.) iii:3’ LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ [. . . . .
—IIIc:44 *šar ilānī ina šubtīšu ittebe*
—IIIc:44 “The king of the gods has arisen from his dwelling.

L (K) (rev.) i:7’ KUR.MEŠ *n*[*ap*] . . . . . x x x x [
W (A) rev. i:45’ KUR.MEŠ *nap-ḫar-ši-na i-ku-na mi-i-na*
Z (B) (rev.) iii:4’ KUR.KUR *nap-ḫ*[*ar* . . . . .
—IIIc:45 *mātātu napḫaršina ikūnā mīna*[346]
—IIIc:45 “How could all of the lands endure?

L (K) (rev.) i:8’ *a-g*[*e*] . . . . . *-ti-šú iš-t*[*a-*. . .
W (A) rev. i:46’ *a-ge-e be-lu-ti-šú iš-ta-ḫaṭ*
Z (B) (rev.) iii:5’*a-ge-e be-l*[*u* . . . . .
—IIIc:46 *agê bēlūtīšu ištaḫaṭ*
—IIIc:46 “He took off the crown of his lordship.

L (K) (rev.) i:9’ . . . . . x x *i-maš-šu-ú par-ṣi-šú-*[. . .
Z (B) (rev.) iii:6’ LUGAL *ù* NUN.MEŠ x [. . . . .
—IIIc:47 *šarrū u rubû* [ ] *imaššû parṣīšu*[*n*]
—IIIc:47 “Kings and princes . . . will forget the[ir] rites.

L (K) (rev.) i:10’ . . .-[*t*]*a-šú ip-ta-ṭar qa-bal* DINGIR *ù* LÚ *ip-paṭ-ṭa-*˹*ra*˺-[. . .
Z (B) (rev.) iii:7’ *né-ep- ta-*x [. . .
—IIIc:48 *nībit*[*t*]*ašu*ᴵ(*nep*[*t*]*ašu*)[347] *iptaṭar*[348]
—IIIc:48 “He loosened his be[l]t (?).

L (K) (rev.) i:11’ . . .˹*a*˺*-na ra-ka-si iš-ši-i*[*ṭ*

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[346] Elsewhere in this text it appears that *mīnu*/*minû* may mark clauses as contrary to fact (see I:56, II:33, and V:13), in contradistinction to *akī*, “how?” (I:54), and *minsu*, “why?” (I:47, I:76, I:95, I:102, I:127, II:26, IIIc:36, IIIc:42, and IIIc:55), which appear in indicative clauses. This is clearest from the present verse and V:13, where it is difficult to make sense of the context unless one translates the verb as contrary to fact. It is not clear to me what distinction obtains between the use of the durative in such contexts, as in II:33, and the use of the preterite, as here.

[347] The term *neptû* means “opening” or “breach.” *CAD* is surely right to suggest this is an error for *nībittu*, “belt” (s.v., “naptû”), given the synonym *qablu* in the following verse.

[348] Copies L and Z divide this line from the following one differently. Given the parallels among IIIc:44–45, IIIc:46–47, and IIIc:48–49, I have chosen to follow the division in copy Z; it appears copy L treats IIIc:48 and 49 as a single verse that covers two lines on the tablet. (Given the indentation in copy L in IIIc:45, it is possible this copy treats each of these pairs of lines as single verses that cover two physical lines of the tablet.)

Z (B) (rev.) iii:8’ *qa-bal* DINGIR *u* LÚ *ip*[(LU)-x-[. . .
—IIIc:49 *qabal ili u amēli ippaṭṭara*[*m-ma*] *ana rakāsi išši*[*ṭ*][349]
—IIIc:49 “The bond[350] of god and human will be loosene[d] and difficu[lt] to re-tie.

L (K) (rev.) i:12’ *ez-zu* [d]GÉRRA *šu-kut-ta-šú* UD-*mì-iš ú-nam-mir-ma me-lam-mì-šú ú-šat-bi*
[
Z (B) (rev.) iii:9’ *ez-zu* [d]GÉRRA *šu*[?]-[. . .
Z (B) (rev.) iii:10’ *me-lam-mi*-x [. . .
—IIIc:50 *ezzu Gerra šukuttašu ūmiš unammir-ma melammīšu ušatbi*
—IIIc:50 “Ferocious Gerra made his jewelry as bright as daylight and made his radiant aura sparkle (?).[351]

L (K) (rev.) i:13’ ⌜*ì*⌝-*mit-ta-šú mi-iṭ-ṭa iṣ-ṣa-bat* [giš]TUKUL-*šú ra-ba-a* [
Z (B) (rev.) iii:11’ ⌜*i*⌝-*mit-*⌜*ta*⌝-*šu* ⌜*miṭ-ṭa*⌝ ⌜*iṣ*⌝-*bat* [. . .
—IIIc:51 *imittašu miṭṭa iṣṣabat/iṣbat kakkašu rabâ*
—IIIc:51 “He gripped a mace in his right hand, his great weapon.

L (K) (rev.) i:14’ *ša* NUN [d]AMAR.UTU *ga-*⌜*lit ni*⌝-*ṭil-šu* [
Z (B) (rev.) iii:12’ *šá* NUN [d]AMAR.UTU . . . . . [. . .
—IIIc:52 *ša rubê Marduk galit niṭilšu*
—IIIc:52 “Prince Marduk’s glance was terrifying.[352]

L (K) (rev.) i:15’ *ia-a-ši šá* ⌜*ta-qab-ba-a*⌝ [. . . . .]-⌜*šu-nu*⌝ [
Z (B) (rev.) iii:13’ ⌜*ia*⌝-*a-ši šá taq-ba* [. . .
—IIIc:53 *yâši ša taqabbâ/taqbâ* . . . . . [
—IIIc:53 “What you said to me . . .

L (K) (rev.) i:16’ *a-lik maḫ*-[. . . . . .
Z (B) (rev.) iii:14’ *a-lik maḫ-ri* DINGIR.MEŠ *en-q*[*u*
—IIIc:54 *ālik maḫri ilānī enq*[*u Išum ša milikšu damqu*]
—IIIc:54 “Vanguard of the gods, wis[e Išum, whose advice is good],[353]

L (K) (rev.) i:17’ x x [. . . . . .

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[349] It is unclear whether the final sign of *iššiṭ* is to be read IṬ or ṬA; I have chosen IṬ, with von Soden (*AHw*, s.v. “wašāṭu”) and against Cagni (*L’Epopea di Erra*, 98), to produce a trochee at the end of the verse rather than a dactyl. It appears the verb (*w*)*ašāṭu* has been reanalyzed as a I-weak root.

[350] Literally “belt,” connecting this verse with the previous one.

[351] On the meaning of this term see n. 159 above.

[352] Compare I:144.

[353] This verse may be identical to I:108, which provides the basis for the reconstructions here.

Z (B) (rev.) iii:15' *en-na mìn-su qí-ba-am-ma* x [
—IIIc:55 *enna minsu qībam-ma* . . . . . .
—IIIc:55 "Now why the speech . . .

Z (B) (rev.) iii:16' *a-mat* ^{d}AMAR.UTU E x [
—IIIc:56 *amāt Marduk* . . . . . [
—IIIc:56 "Marduk's word . . ."

Z (B) (rev.) iii:17' ^{d}*i-šum pa-a-šú i-pu-uš-ma* x [
—IIIc:57 *Išum pāšu īpuš-ma* [*ana qurādu Erra ītammi*]
—IIIc:57 Išum opened his mouth [to speak to Warrior Erra]:

Z (B) (rev.) iii:18' *qu-ra-du* ^{d}*èr-ra* x x [
—IIIc:58 *qurādu Erra* . . . . . [
—IIIc:58 "Warrior Erra . . .

Z (B) (rev.) iii:19' UN.MEŠ *de-šá-a-ma i-*[
—IIIc:59 *nišū dešša-ma*[354] . . . [
—IIIc:59 "The people were abundant (?) and . . .

Z (B) (rev.) iii:20' *bu-la a-šar* MA M[A
HH (D) 1'? . . .] x [. . . . . .[355]
—IIIc:60 *būla ašar* . . . . . [
—IIIc:60 "The wildlife where . . . . . .

Z (B) (rev.) iii:21' *a-pu u qí-šá šá* UGU E [[356]
HH (D) 2'? . . .] UL I x [

[354] Most recent translations construe this term as the imperative of *dâšu*: "to thresh" (following a proposal apparently first advanced by Gössmann—*Era-Epos*, 25). Although the context is far too fragmentary to allow us to reach a definitive conclusion, I prefer to understand this rather as the adjective *dešša*, "abundant," from the root *dešû*, "to sprout" (in which I am anticipated by Ebeling: "Die Menschen sind üppig aufgewachsen"; *Mythus vom Pestgotte Era*, 23). Although far from conclusive, the following indications lead me to this reading: 1) the I sign immediately following might introduce a finite verb, which does not fit syntactically with an imperative; 2) this reading better accounts for the A sign at the end of the form, signaling the ultra-long vowel; and 3) I find it out of character for Išum to instruct Erra to attack humankind, particularly in the same speech that he laments the destruction Erra has wrought (see IIIc:64), whereas the theme of an overabundant terrestrial population that is ripe for pruning is evident elsewhere in this text (see, e.g., I:41, I:79, and I:81–86). (Note that Išum is not necessarily saying the human population is currently flourishing.)

[355] Following Borger's suggestion that copy HH begins here ("Era-Fragment"). The exact relationship between HH and the other copies is not certain, so the material from HH appears in white script against black throughout.

[356] Frankena reads UGU *ma-*[*aḫ-ri*] here rather than UGU *e-*[("Untersuchungen zum Irra-Epos," 9), but Hecker's collations exclude this reading (*apud* Cagni, *L'Epopea*, 100).

—IIIc:61 *apu u qīša ša eli* . . . [
—IIIc:61 "The canebrake and the forest that . . . . . .

Z (B) (rev.) iii:22' *en-na šá taq-bu-u q*[*u*
HH (D) 3'?] ˹UŠ˺ ᵈ*èr-ra* **[**
—IIIc:62 *enna ša taqbû q*[*urādu*] *Erra*[357]
—IIIc:62 "Now what you have spoken, W[arrior] Erra,

Z (B) (rev.) iii:23' DIŠ-*en šá-kin-ma at-*[*ta*
HH (D) 4'?] IMIN **[**
—IIIc:63 *ištēn šakim-ma at*[*ta*] *sebetti* [
—IIIc:63 "One is present and yo[u] . . . seven.

Z (B) (rev.) iii:24' IMIN *ta-duk-ma ul tu-*[
HH (D) 5'?] *e-da* **[**
—IIIc:64 *sebetti tadūk-ma ul tu*[*maššir*?[358]] *ēda* [
—IIIc:64 "You killed seven and did not let a single one g[o free (?)] . . .

Z (B) (rev.) iii:25' *bu-˹la˺ bil-ma* x [
HH (D) 6'?] x LA TE x **[**
—IIIc:65 *būla bil-ma* . . . [
—IIIc:65 "Bring the wildlife . . . . . .

Z (B) (rev.) iii:26' ᵈ*èr-ra* ᵍⁱˢTUKUL.MEŠ-[
HH (D) 7'?] x *ta-tar-rak-ma***[**
—IIIc:66 *Erra kakkī*[*ka*?] *tatarrak-ma* [
—IIIc:66 "Erra, you brandish [your (?)] weapons . . .

Z (B) (rev.) iii:27' ˹*ḫur*˺*-šá-a-ni* I x [. . . . . .
HH (D) 8'?]' *ta-ma-a-ti* **[**
—IIIc:67 *ḫuršānī* . . . . . [ ] *tâmāti* [
—IIIc:67 "Mountains . . . seas . . .[359]

Z (B) (rev.) iii:28' *a-na šub-ruq* ˹*nam*˺-[. . . . . .
Z (B) (rev.) iii:29' I NA M[A? . . . . . .
HH (D) 9'?]˹*a-na*˺ IGI *i-na-ṭa-lu ana* KUR-*i* **[**
—IIIc:68 *ana šubruq nam*[*ṣāri*?] . . . . . [ ] *ana maḫri inaṭṭalū ana šadî*

[357] It is not entirely certain where this verse ends or whether *qurādu* has been reconstructed correctly.

[358] Following Cagni's reconstruction (see *L'Epopea di Erra*, 100).

[359] Cagni reconstructs this verse to read *ḫur-šá-a-ni i-n*[*ar-ru-ṭu i-sab-bu*]-*'a ta-ma-a-ti* (ibid.): "Mountains wobble, seas lurch!" Although uncertain, this reading is appealing.

—IIIc:68 “At the flashing of the sw[ord (?)] . . . in front, they will look toward the mountain.

Z (B) (rev.) iii:30’ ⌜É⌝.GAL *i-šá-r*[*a* . . . . . .
HH (D) 10’? . . .] ⌜*a*⌝*-na aḫ-li* [
—IIIc:69 *ekallu* [ ] *ana aḫli* . . . . . .
—IIIc:69 “The palace . . .

Z (B) (rev.) iii:31’ [Š]U? A TU I ⌜TAM⌝?-[. . . . . .[360]
HH (D) 11’? . . . . . .] x ŠI x [
—IIIc:70 . . . . . [
—IIIc:70 “. . .

HH (D) 12’? . . . . . .] x x [
—IIIc:71 . . . . . [
—IIIc:71 “. . .

HH (D) 13’? . . . . . .] ⌜A⌝? [
—IIIc:72 . . . . . .
—IIIc:72 “. . .”

Z (B) (rev.) iv:1’ x x [. . . . . .]
—IIId:1 . . . . . .
—IIId:1 . . .

Z (B) (rev.) iv:2’ ⌜d⌝*i-šum pa-a-šú e-pu-uš-ma* DUG$_4$.GA *ana qu-ra*-x [. . . . .]
—IIId:2 *Išum pāšu ēpuš-ma iqabbi ana qurā*[*du Erra*]
—IIId:2 Išum opened his mouth to speak to War[rior Erra]:

O (L) (obv.) 1 ^{d}IGI.DU ^{d}*èr-ra*
O (L) (obv.) 2 *ṣer-rat* AN-*e*
O (L) (obv.) 3a *tam-ḫat*
Z (B) (rev.) iv:3’ . . .-[*r*]*a-du* ^{d}*èr-ra ṣe*^{i}(AD)*-ret* AN-*e tam*^{i}(AḪ)-x-⌜*ta*⌝
—IIId:3 *Nergal*/[*qur*]*ādu Erra ṣerret šamê tamḫāt*(*a*)
—IIId:3 “Nergal/[War]rior Erra, you hold the nose-rope of heaven.

O (L) (obv.) 3b PAP KI-*ma* TIL-*ta*[361]

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[360] Copy Z is typically understood to read *šuātu ītamma*. I find this reading doubtful since there are no other attestations of the word *šuātu* or any of its byforms in the extant text; the term used is consistently *šâšu* (or a variant thereof).

[361] Copy O, an amulet with an excerpt from our text, divides the lines quite differently from copy Z; notice also its abbreviated, nonstandard spellings.

O (L) (obv.) 4 KUR-*ma pe-lat*
Z (B) (rev.) iv:4' . . . . . x KI-*tim-ma gam-ma-ra-ta ma-tùm-ma be-le-ta*
—IIId:4 *napḫar erṣetim-ma gammarāta mātum-ma bēlēta*
—IIId:4 "You control all of the earth, you rule the land.

O (L) (obv.) 5 *tam-tam-ma* LÙ-*ta*
O (L) (obv.) 6 KUR.MEŠ-*ma* TIL-*ta*
Z (B) (rev.) iv:5' . . . . . [*m*]*a dal-ḫa-ta*[i](RUG) *šad-de-ma gam-ra-ta*
—IIId:5 *tâmtam-ma dalḫāta šadê-ma gamrāta*[362]
—IIId:5 "You churn up the seas, you annihilate the mountains.

L (K) (rev.) ii:1' [. . . . . .]
L (K) (rev.) ii:2' [. . .] . . . . . ⌜*re-ʾa-a-ta*⌝
O (L) (obv.) 7 UN.MEŠ-*ma* UŠ-*ta*
O (L) (obv.) 8 *bu-lam-ma* SÍB-*ta*
Z (B) (rev.) iv:6' . . . . . *-ma re-da-ta bu-lam-ma re-ʾa-a-ta*
EE (C) 1'] AN[363] *r*[*e*]-⌜*da*⌝-*ta b*[*u* . . . . . .
—IIId:6 *nišī-ma redâta būlam-ma reʾâta*
—IIId:6 "You lead the people and shepherd the wildlife.

L (K) (rev.) ii:3' ⌜É.x.R[A]-⌜*ma*⌝ *pa-nu-uk-ka*
L (K) (rev.) ii:4' É.ENGUR.RA-⌜*ma*⌝ *qa-tuk-ka*
O (L) (obv.) 9 É.ŠÁR.RA-*ma* IGI-*ka*
O (L) (obv.) 10 ÍD-*ma* ŠU-*ka*
Z (B) (rev.) iv:7' . . . . . -[*r*]*a-ma pa-nu-ka en-gur*[i](URU)*-ra-ma qa-tuk-ka*
EE (C) 2']-*an-gu-ra-ma qa-tuk-k*[*a* . . . . . .
—IIId:7 *Ešarrā-ma pānukka* (*E*)*engurrā-ma qātukka*
—IIId:7 "The Ešarra[364] is at your disposal, the Eëngur[365] is in your charge.

L (K) (rev.) ii:5' *šu-an-*⌜*na*⌝-[*m*]*a*⌝ *ta-pa-qid*
L (K) (rev.) ii:6' É.⌜SAG.ÍL⌝-*ma tu-*⌜*ma*⌝*-ʾa-ár*
O (L) (obv.) 11 *šu-an-na-ma* SU[366]-*ma*
O (L) (obv.) 12 SAG.GÍL-*ma tu-ma-ár*

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[362] It may be that the term *gamru* covers a somewhat different semantic field from that of its byform, *gammaru*; compare the use of *gamrāta* in this verse with *gammarāta* in the previous one.

[363] Hecker's collations suggest the beginning of this verse is to be read UN.MEŠ-*ma*, which is reinforced by what appears in copy O (*apud* Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 101).

[364] On the Ešarra, a temple to Enlil in Nippur in the Ekur complex, see George, *House Most High*, 145.

[365] On the Eëngur, a byname for Ēa's temple the Eäbzu in Eridu, see ibid., 82.

[366] This sign is difficult to understand (see Reiner, "Plague Amulets," 149).

Z (B) (rev.) iv:8' . . . . . .[ki]-*ma te-ṭè-em* É.SAG.ÍL-*ma tu-ma-ar*
EE (C) 3'] É.SAG.ÍL-*ma tu-ma-ʾa*-[. . . . . .
—IIId:8 *Šuannā-ma tapaqqid/teṭêm* (*E*)*sagil-ma tumaʾʾar*
—IIId:8 "You take care of Šuanna; you govern the Esagil.

L (K) (rev.) ii:7' *gi-mir par-ṣi-ma ḫa-*⌜*am*⌝*-ma-ta*
L (K) (rev.) ii:8' DINGIR.MEŠ-*ma pal-ḫu-ka*
O (L) (obv.) 13 *gi-mir* GARZA-*ma* UR$_4$-*ta*
O (L) (obv.) 14 DINGIR.MEŠ-*ma pal-ḫu-ka*
Z (B) (rev.) iv:9' . . . [*mí*]*r par-ṣi-ma ḫa-*⌜*am*⌝*-ma-ta* DINGIR[i](UŠ?).MEŠ-*ma pal-ḫu-ka*
EE (C) 4'a] DINGIR.DINGIR-{*im*}*-ma pal-ḫu-ka* :
—IIId:9 *gimir parṣī-ma ḫammāta ilānū-ma palḫūka*
—IIId:9 "You gather together all divine authority; the gods revere you.

L (K) (rev.) ii:9' [d]*í-gì-gì-ma šaḫ-tú-ka*
L (K) (rev.) ii:10' [d]*a-*[*n*]*un-na-*⌜*ki*⌝ *gal-tu-k*[*a*]
O (L) (lower edge) 15 [d]*í-gì-gì-ma šaḫ-tu-ka*
O (L) (rev.) 16 [d]*a-nun-na-ki gal-tú-ka*
Z (B) (rev.) iv:10' . . . . . [*m*]*a*? *šáḫ-tu-ka* [d]*a-nun-na-ki-ma gal-*⌜*tu*⌝*-ka*
EE (C) 4'b [d]. . . [. . . . . .[367]
—IIId:10 *Igīgī-ma šaḫtūka Anunnakī*-(*ma*) *galtūka*
—IIId:10 "The Igīgī are afraid of you, the Anunnakī are in awe of you.

L (K) (rev.) ii:11' *mil*-x . . .-[*m*]*a tu-ma-al*-[. . .]
L (K) (rev.) ii:12' [d]*a*-. . .-[*m*]*a še-mì*-[. . .]
O (L) (rev.) 17 *mil-ka-ma ta-ma-lik*
O (L) (rev.) 18 [d]*a-nu-ma še*$_{20}$*-mì-ka*
Z (B) (rev.) iv:11' . . . . . .*-ma ta-ma-lik* [d]*a-num-ma še-mì-ka*
EE (C) 5' ⌜*mil*⌝*-ku-um-ma ta-ma-al-lik* : [d]*a-nu-*⌜*um*⌝*-m*[*a*? . . . . . .[368]
—IIId:11 *milkam-ma tumal*[*lik*]*/tamallik Anum-ma šemīka*
—IIId:11 "When you give advice, even Anu listens to you.

L (K) (rev.) ii:13' [d]EN . . .-[*m*]*a ma-*⌜*gir*⌝-[. . .] x
L (K) (rev.) ii:14' *ul-l*[*a*]-. . . . . .-[*k*]*a-*⌜*ma*⌝ *nu*-[. . . . . *t*]*u*
O (L) (rev.) 19 [d]BE-*ma* ŠE.GA[i]*-ka*
O (L) (rev.) 20 *ul*[i]*-la-nu-ka nu-kur-tu*
Z (B) (rev.) iv:12' . . . . . .*-ma ma-gir-ka ul-la-nu-uk-ka-ma nu-kúr-tu*
EE (C) 6'a] *ul-la-nu-ka-ma nu-kúr-ta* :
—IIId:12 *Ellil-ma magirka ullānukkā*-(*ma*) *nukurtu*

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[367] Copy EE combines this line with the preceding one but separates them with a Glossenkeil.

[368] The Glossenkeil in copy EE suggests the verse divisions were understood differently in this tradition.

—IIId:12 "Enlil agrees with you. Apart from you, is there hostility?[369]

L (K) (rev.) ii:15' *šá* ˹*la*˺ . . . [*š*]*á-*˹*ma*˺ [. . . . . .]*-zu*
O (L) (rev.) 21 *ša la ka-šá* MÈ!
W (A) rev. ii:1' . . . x x . . . [. . . . . .]
Z (B) (rev.) iv:13' . . . . . [*k*]*a-šá-ma ta-ḫa-zu*
EE (C) 6'b *šá la k*[*a* . . . . . .[370]
—IIId:13 *ša lā kâšā-*(*ma*) *tāḫāzu*
—IIId:13 "Without you, is there battle?

L (K) (rev.) ii:15' [. . . . . .]*-t*[*i*] *ṣ*[*a* . . . . . .*-k*]*a-ma*
O (L) (rev.) 22 *ap-lu-ḫa-nu ṣa-la-tú*
O (L) (rev.) 23 *at-tu-ka-ma*
W (A) rev. ii:2' *ap-lu-ḫa-a-te* . . . . . [. . . . . .]
Z (B) (rev.) iv:14' *ap-lu-ḫa-a-ti ṣa-la-a-ti at-tu-ka-ma*
EE (C) 7'] *ap-lu-ḫa-a-tu*!?(NU) *ṣa-*{*u*}*-la-tu at-t*[*u*
—IIId:14 *apluḫāti ṣālāti*[371] *attūkā-ma*
—IIId:14 "The armor of combat belongs to you.

L (K) (rev.) ii:16' [. . . . . .]-x-*ti*
O (L) (rev.) 24 *ta-tam-ma ina* ŠÀ-*ka*
O (L) (rev.) 25 *um-ma* TI *še-ṭu-tú*
W (A) rev. ii:3' *ù ta-ta-mi ina* . . . . . [. . . . . .]
Z (B) (rev.) iv:15' ˹*ù*˺ ˹*ta-ta*˺*-mi ana* ŠÀ-*bi-ka um-ma l*[*e*]-˹*qu-u še-ṭu*˺?*-ti*
EE (C) 8'] *ù ta-ta-ma ina* ŠÀ-*bi-ka um-ma le-qu-*[
—IIId:15 (*u*) *tātammâ/tātammi ina/ana libbīka umma leqû šēṭūtī*
—IIId:15 "(And) yet you say in/to your heart, 'They hold me in contempt!'

Z (B) (rev.) iv:16' ˹*qu-ra*˺*-du* d*èr-ra šá* NUN dAMAR.UTU *zi-kir-šú la taš-ḫu-ut*
EE (C) 9' D]UB 3.KÁM-*ma* LUGAL *gi-mir da-*[
EE (C) 10'] *qu*!*-ra-du* d*èr-ra šá* NUN dAMAR.UTU *zi-kir-šú* [. . .
—IIId:16 *qurādu Erra ša rubê Marduk zikiršu lā tašḫut*
—IIId:16 "Warrior Erra, you have not feared the mention of Prince Marduk.

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[369] The content of IIId:14 suggests the second hemistich of this verse and the following verse can only be questions.

[370] Copy EE combines this line with the preceding one but separates them with a Glossenkeil.

[371] There are two ways of construing this phrase: as a construct chain ("the armor[s] of combat[s]") or as a noun with an adjective ("warlike armor[s]"). Because both forms appear to be feminine plural and we have seen elsewhere that construct chains are typically pluralized as a unit (e.g., *tillê ṣērīni* in I:88), I consider the latter reading more likely (although I have not rendered it literally in English). A verbal adjective from the root *ṣâlu* ("to fight") is not otherwise attested, but presumably such adjectives could be generated at will.

M (K) i:1 . . . . . .]-*šú la taš-ḫu-ut*
W (A) rev. ii:4' *qu-ra-du* ^{d}*èr-ra* . . . NUN ^{d}AMAR.UTU *zi-k*[*ir*]-. . . . . [. . .]
RR (I) (obv. i:)1 *qu-ra-du* ^{d}*èr-ra šá* NUN ^{d}AMAR.UTU *zi-kir-šú la taš-ḫu-ut*
—IV:1 *qurādu Erra ša rubê Marduk zikiršu lā*[372] *tašḫut*
—IV:1 "Warrior Erra, you have not feared the mention of Prince Marduk.

M (K) i:2 . . . . . *t*]*a-ṭar ri-kis-su*
W (A) rev. ii:5' *šá* DIM.KUR.KUR.RA URU LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ *ri-kis* KUR.KUR *tap-ta-ṭar ri-ki*[*s*]-. . .
RR (I) (obv. i:)2 *šá* DIM.KUR.KUR.RA^{ki} URU LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ *ri-kis* KUR.KUR *tap-ta-ṭar ri-kis-su*
—IV:2 *ša Dimkurkur āl šar ilānī rikis mātāti taptaṭar rikissu*
—IV:2 "You loosened the bond of Dimkurkur, the city of the king of the gods, the bond of the lands.[373]

M (K) i:3 . . . . . *t*]*a-šal a-me-liš*
W (A) rev. ii:6' DINGIR-*ut-ka tu-šá-an-ni-ma tam-ta-šal a-me-liš*^{i}(ŠI)
RR (I) (obv. i:)3 *i-lu-ut-ka tu-šá-an-ni-ma tam-ta-šal a-mé-liš*
—IV:3 *ilūtka tušannī-ma tamtašal amēliš*
—IV:3 "You changed your divinity and became like a human.

M (K) i:4 . . .] *te-te-ru-ub qé-reb-šú*
W (A) rev. ii:7' ^{giš}TUKUL.MEŠ-*ka* . . . *tan-nam-di-iq-ma te-te-ru-ub qé-reb-šú*
RR (I) (obv. i:)4 ^{giš}TUKUL.MEŠ-*ka ta-an-né-di-iq-ma te-te-ru-ub qé-reb-šú*
—IV:4 *kakkīka tannediq-ma tēterub qerebšu*
—IV:4 "You girded on your weapons and entered into its midst.

M (K) i:5 . . . UR]U *taq-ta-bi ḫa-bi-in-niš*
W (A) rev. ii:8' *ina qé-reb* . . . *an-na*^{ki} *ki-i šá ṣa-bat* URU *taq-ta-bi ḫa-bi-in-niš*
RR (I) (obv. i:)5 *ina qé-reb* TIN.TIR^{ki} *ki-i šá ṣa-bat* URU *taq-ta-bi ḫa-bi-in-niš*
—IV:5 *ina qereb* [*Šu*]*anna/Bābili kī ša ṣabāt āli taqtabi ḫabinniš*
—IV:5 "Inside [Šu]anna/Babylon as if to capture the city you spoke . . .[374]

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[372] The negative particle *lā* in this verse (and the catchline from the previous tablet) appears to be in error for *ul*. For examples of similar errors see I:103, II:106 (twice), and IV:94; for examples of related errors in the negative particle see IV:121 (copies R and RR), IV:122 (copies R and W), and IV:135 (copy AA).

[373] The phrase "the bond of the lands" translates Dimkurkur. (Notice that although this is not generally labeled "paronomasia" in modern scholarship, on the grounds that the translation of the Sumerian morphemes into Akkadian is legitimate, nevertheless it represents entirely the same impulse.) This appears to be the first occasion on which the epithet is applied to Babylon (George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, 266; on the history of this and related epithets see 266–267.)

[374] The word *ḫabinniš* is a *hapax legomenon* of unknown origins and so is difficult to translate. Presumably relying simply on the context of the verse itself, Labat translates "en maître" (*Les religions du Proche-Orient*, 129), Bottéro "en agiteur[?]," ("Le poème d'Erra," 242), Dalley "like a braggart (?)" (*Myths from Mesopotamia*, 303), and Foster "like a rabble-rouser(?)" (*Before the Muses*, 901).

M (K) i:6 . . . *p*]*i*? *pa-qí-du la i-šu-u*
M (K) i:7 . . . *k*]*a ip-taḫ-ru*
W (A) rev. ii:9' DUMU.MEŠ [K]Á.DINGIR.RA^{ki} *šá ki-ma qa-né-e a-pi*
W (A) rev. ii:10' *pa-qí-*ʳ*du*ˀ *la i-šu-ú nap-ḫar-šú-nu* UGU-*ka ip-taḫ-ru*
RR (I) (obv. i:)6a DUMU.MEŠ *ba-bi-li*^{ki} *šá ki-ma* GI *a-pi pa-qí-da la i-šu-ú*
RR (I) (obv. i:)6b *nap-ḫar-šú-nu* UGU-*ka ip-taḫ-ru*
—IV:6 *mārū Bābili ša kīma qanê api pāqida lā īšû napḫaršunu elīka iptaḫrū*
—IV:6 "All of the citizens of Babylon, who like the reeds of a canebrake did not have an overseer, gathered around you.

M (K) i:8 . . .] *šá-lip* GÍR-*šú*
W (A) rev. ii:11' *šá* ^{giš}TUKUL *la i-du-ú šá-lip* GÍR AN.BAR-*šú*
RR (I) (obv. i:)7 *šá kak-ku la i-du-ú šá-lip pa-tar-šú*
—IV:7 *ša kakka lā īdû šalip pataršu*
—IV:7 "As for the one unfamiliar with weaponry, his sword was drawn.

M (K) i:9 . . .] *ma-la-át* ^{giš}BAN-*su*
W (A) rev. ii:12' *šá til-pa-nu la i-du-ú ma-lat* ^{giš}BAN-*su*
AA (B) VAT 10603, 1' . . .] . . . . . x [. . .] x [. . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. i:)8 *šá til-pa-nu la i-du-ú ma-lat* ^{giš}BAN-*su*
—IV:8 *ša tilpānu lā īdû malât qašassu*
—IV:8 "As for the one unfamiliar with archery,[375] his bow was nocked.

M (K) i:10 *i*]*p-pu-šú ta-ḫa-zi*
W (A) rev. ii:13' *šá ṣal-ta la i-du-ú ip-pu-šá ta-ḫa-za*
AA (B) VAT 10603, 2'] . . . . . *ip-pu-šá* [. . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. i:)9 *šá ṣal-ta la i-du-ú ip-pu-šá ta-ḫa-za*
—IV:9 *ša ṣālta lā īdû ippuša tāḫāza*
—IV:9 "As for the one unfamiliar with combat, he was doing battle.

M (K) i:11 *i*]*ṣ-ṣu-riš i-šá-*ʾ*u*
W (A) rev. ii:14' *šá a-*ʳ*ba*ˀ*-ra*$^{!}$(LA) *la i-du-ú iṣ-ṣu-riš i-šu-*ʾ*u-u*
AA (B) VAT 10603, 3'] . . . . . *iṣ-ṣu-riš* [. . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. i:)10 ʳ*šá*ˀ x x x *la i-du-ú iṣ-ṣu-riš i-šu-*ʾ*u-ú*
—IV:10 *ša abara lā īdû iṣṣūriš išâʾu/išuʾʾu*[376]

[375] Literally this verse includes two different words for "bow"; I have translated the first as "archery" in order to convey the variation in word choice.

[376] Notice that in one copy the durative vowel in *išâʾu* is retained when the overhanging vowel is added—as happens elsewhere in this text—and in the other two copies in which the word survives the vowel has reverted to that of the preterite, as one expects for vocalic suffixes on hollow verbs generally (see n. 127 above).

—IV:10 “As for the one unfamiliar with wings, he flew off like a bird.[377]

M (K) i:12 *k*]*i i-ba-ʾa*
M (K) i:13 x *i-kàt-tam*
W (A) rev. ii:15’ ˹*ḫaš*˺-˹*ḫa*˺-˹*šú*˺ *pe-tan bir-ki i-ba*!(LA)-*ʾa a-ku-u* EN *e-mu-qí i-kàt-tam*
AA (B) VAT 10603, 4’] . . . *a-ku-ú* EN *e-muq-qí i*!(ḪÉ)-. . . . . x . . . [
RR (I) (obv. i:)11 ˹*ḫaš-ḫa*˺-*šú pe-tan bir-ki i-ba-ʾa-a a-ku-ú* EN *e-mu-qí i-kat-tam*
—IV:11 *ḫašḫāšu pētân birki ibaʾʾa akû bēl emūqi ikattam*
—IV:11 “The lame person was overtaking the swift runner, the weak was overwhelming the strong.

M (K) i:14 . . . . . .]-˹*u*˺ *šil-la-tu*$_4$ GAL-*tu*$_4$
W (A) rev. ii:16’ *ana* ŠAGINA *za-nin ma-ḫa-zi-šú-nu i-qab-bu-u šil-la-ta* GAL-*tú*
AA (B) VAT 10603, 5’] *ma-ḫa-zi-ši-na i-qab-ba-a šil-la-tú r*[*a*]-. . . [
RR (I) (obv. i:)12 *ana šak-ka-nak-ki za-nin ma-ḫa-zi-šú-nu qa-bu-ú* ˹*šil*˺-*la-tú ra-bi-tú*
—IV:12 *ana šakkanakki zānin māḫāzīšunu/māḫāzīšina iqabbû/iqabbâ/qabû šillatu rabītu*
—IV:12 “To the governor, the provider of their shrines, they spoke with great impudence.

M (K) i:15 . . . . . *i*]*s-ki-ra qa-ta-šú-un*
P (L) (obv.) i:1’ [. . . . . .] . . . . . [. . . . . .]
W (A) rev. ii:17’ ABUL KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} ÍD ḪÉ.GÁL-*šú-nu is-ki-ra* ŠU.MIN-*šú-un*
AA (B) VAT 10603, 6’ *ḫ*]*é-gál-li-šú-nu is-ki-ru* ŠU.II-*šú-*. . . [
RR (I) (obv. i:)13 ABUL TIN.TIR^{ki} ÍD ḪÉ.GÁL-*li-šú-nu is-ki-ra qa-ta-šú-un*
—IV:13 *abul Bābili nār ḫegallīšunu iskirā/iskirū qātāšun*
—IV:13 “The city gate of Babylon, the ‘river’ of their abundance, they blocked with their hands.

M (K) i:16 . . . . . *d*]*u-u i-šá-t*[*u*$_4$
P (L) (obv.) i:2’ [. . .] . . . . . [. . . . . .]
W (A) rev. ii:18’ *ana eš-ret* KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} *ki-i šá-lil* KUR *it-ta-*˹*du*˺ IZI
AA (B) VAT 10603, 7’]-˹*i*˺ *šá-lil* KUR *it-ta-du*!*-ú i-šá-*. . . [
RR (I) (obv. i:)14 *ana eš*!(MAN)*-ret* TIN.TIR^{ki} *ki-i šá-lil* KUR *it-ta-du-ú i-šā-tú*
—IV:14 *ana ešrēt Bābili kī šālil māti ittadû išātu*
—IV:14 “They set fire to Babylon’s chapels like plunderers of the land.

M (K) i:17 . . . . . .] *ṣab-ta-ta*
P (L) (obv.) i:3’ [. . .] . . . . . *t*]*a-ta*
W (A) rev. ii:19’ *at-ta a-lik maḫ-ri-ma pa-nu-šú-nu ṣab-ta-a-ta*
AA (B) VAT 10603, 8’ *-m*]*a pa-nu-šú-nu ṣab-ta-*[. . .
RR (I) (obv. i:)15 *at-ta a-lik maḫ-*˹*rim*˺*-ma pa-nu-uš-šú-nu ṣab-*˹*ta*˺*-t*[*a*]
—IV:15 *atta ālik maḫrim-ma pānuššunu ṣabtāta*
—IV:15 “You, the vanguard, acted as their leader.

[377] This verse was first decoded by Tsevat, who compellingly proposes *abaru* must be a byform of *abru* (“Erra IV: (7–10)”).

M (K) i:18 . . . . . Š]Á-*bi* ⌜*i*⌝*-qab-bi*
P (L) (obv.) i:4’ . . . . . ⌜dEN.LÍL x . . . . . x . . . x ⌜*tùm*⌝*-mid-ma*
P (L) (obv.) i:5’ . . . . . -⌜*a*⌝ ŠÀ-*bi* *i-qab-bi*
W (A) rev. ii:20’ *šá im-gúr-*dEN.LÍL *uṣ-ṣa* UGU-*šú* ⌜*tum*⌝*-mid-ma u-ù*ʾ*-a* ŠÀ-*bi i-qab-bi*
AA (B) VAT 10603, 9’ . . .] *i-mid-ma ù*ʾ*-a* ŠÀ-*bi i-qab-b*[*i*
RR (I) (obv. i:)16 ⌜*šá*⌝ ⌜*im-gur*⌝-⌜dx x x UGU-*šú túm-mid-ma* x-⌜*a*⌝ [. . . . . .]
—IV:16 *ša Imgur-Ellil uṣṣa elīšu tummid-ma*[378] *ūʾa libbī iqabbi*
—IV:16 “As for Imgur-Enlil,[379] you piled arrows on him until he cried out: ‘Woe, my heart!’

M (K) i:19 . . . . . *š*]*u-bat-su*
P (L) (obv.) i:6’ . . . . . *-ra ra-bi-ṣu* ABUL-*šú ina* ÚŠ GURUŠ *u* KI.SIKIL
P (L) (obv.) i:7’ . . . . . *ta-ta-di* *šu-bat-su*
W (A) rev. ii:21’ d*mu-úḫ-ra* MÁŠKIM! ABUL *ina* ÚŠ.MEŠ GURUŠ *u* KI.SIKIL *it-ta-di šu-bat-su*
AA (B) VAT 10603, 10’ ABU]L-*šú ina* ÚŠ GURUŠ *u* ⌜KI⌝.SIKIL!(KAL) *ta-at-ta-di šu-bat-s*[*u*
RR (I) (obv. i:)17a . . . . . x x-*šú ina* ⌜*da*⌝-x [. . . . . .]
RR (I) (obv. i:)17b . . . . . [. . . . . .]
—IV:17 *Muḫra rābiṣu abul*(*līšu*) *ina damī eṭli u ardati tattadi*/*ittadi šubassu*
—IV:17 “As for Muḫra,[380] (his g)atekeeper,[381] you/he put his pedestal in the blood of the young man and the young woman.

M (K) i:20 . . . . . *t*]*a-ma*

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[378] The form *imid* in copy AA has been excluded here as it appears to be an error—notice in the following verse copy AA preserves a second-person verb.

[379] Imgur-Enlil, “Enlil showed favor,” was the name of the inner city wall of Babylon, known for example from TIN.TIR^{ki}=*ba-bi-lu* (*The Topography of Babylon*) IV:57.

[380] Muḫra is known from other texts to be the name of an *asakku*-demon (see, e.g., *The Nippur Compendium* iii:43; for an edition see George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, 143–162) as well as the name of a figure who sometimes appears in Nergal’s circle (see, e.g. *The Crown Prince’s Vision of the Netherworld* line 48 [=rev. 8]). In a state ritual said to take place at the Market Gate in the district of Šuanna, Muḫra appears in a list of “great gods” or demons who gather there on the first of Shebat (for an edition see Lambert *apud* Gurney, *Literary and Miscellaneous Texts*, 23–26); most importantly to the present context, a similar list of demons designating their haunts suggests Muḫra is to be found “in front of the city gate” (*ina pān abulli*; line 7 of a text edited in Livingstone, *Mythological Explanatory Works*, 186). It therefore seems likely a cult image of Muḫra guarded the inner wall of Babylon at an unspecified gate (and perhaps other cities in a similar fashion), serving an apotropaic function; the literary significance of the verse would then be that Muḫra’s image, ordinarily a site from which evil was warded off, became itself a locus of evil, violence, and chaos.

For an overview of the material on Muḫra see Livingstone, “Muḫra.”

[381] Other attestations of the phrase *rābiṣ*(*u*) *abulli*, here translated loosely as “gatekeeper,” are unknown to me. Compare I:190, in which Anu and Enlil are made to crouch (*šurbuṣu*) like bulls at the entrance to “that building” where the ritual of purifying and shining Marduk’s accoutrements is carried out. This parallel reinforces the notion that Muḫra, likely instantiated in a cult image, played a guardian or apotropaic role; the phrase may carry such overtones, in that Muḫra, elsewhere identified as a demon, is said to “lurk,” but for the positive end of warding evil away from the city.

P (L) (obv.) i:8' . . . . . KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} *šú-nu-ti šu-nu iṣ-ṣu-ru-um-ma*
P (L) (obv.) i:9' . . . *ar-ra-šú-nu at-ta-ma*
W (A) rev. ii:22' *a-šib* KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} *šu-nu-ti šú-nu iṣ-ṣur-im-ma ar-ra-šú-nu at-ta*
AA (B) A 156, obv. 1' [. . .]-*šib* KÁ. . . . . [. . . . . .]
AA (B) VAT 10603, 11'] x ˹*iṣ*˺ . . . . . -[*m*]*a ár-ra-šú-nu at-ta* [
RR (I) (obv. i:)18 [. . . . . .]
—IV:18 *āšib Bābili šunūti šunu iṣṣūrum-ma arrašunu atta-*(*ma*)
—IV:18 "As for the inhabitants of Babylon themselves, they were a bird and you were their decoy.

M (K) i:21 . . . . . *r*]*a*
P (L) (obv.) i:10' . . .*-na še-e-ti tak-mis-šú-nu-ti-ma ta-bi-ir ta-ta-bat*
P (L) (obv.) i:11' . . . *qu-ra-du* ^{d}*èr-ra*
W (A) rev. ii:23' *ana še-e-ti tak-mis-šú-nu-ti-ma ta-bir ta-ta-bat qu-ra-du* ^{d}*èr-ra*
AA (B) A 156, obv. 2' [. . . *n*]*a še-. . . . . -ti tak-*. . . . . [. . . . . .]
AA (B) VAT 10603, 12'] . . . . . -[*m*]*a ta-bi-ir*^{i}(IŠ) <*ta*>*-ta-bat qu-ra-du* ^{d}*è*[*r*
RR (I) (obv. i:)19 [. . . . . .]
—IV:19 *ana šēti takmissunūtī-ma tabīr*[382] *tātabat qurādu Erra*
—IV:19 "You gathered them[383] in a net, captured them, and then destroyed them, Warrior Erra.

P (L) (obv.) i:12' [UR]U *tu-maš-šir-ma ta-at-ta-ṣi a-na a-ḫa-a-ti*
W (A) rev. ii:24' URU *tu-maš-šìr-ma ta-ta-ṣi ina a-ḫa-a-ti*
AA (B) A 156, obv. 3' [U]RU *tu-maš-šìr-ma* ˹*ta*˺*-at*-x-. . . . . [. . .]
AA (B) VAT 10603, 13'] . . . RA *a-na a-ḫa-t*[*i*
RR (I) (obv. i:)20 [. . . . . .]
—IV:20 *āla tumaššir-ma tattaṣi ana/ina aḫâti*
—IV:20 "You abandoned the city and went out to the outskirts.

P (L) (obv.) i:13' *zi-im lab-bi taš-šá-kín-ma te-te-ru-ub a-na* É.GAL
W (A) rev. ii:25' *zi-im lab-bi taš-šá-kin-ma te-te-ru-ub ana* É.GAL
AA (B) A 156, obv. 4' ˹*zi*˺*-im lab-bi taš-šá-kin-ma t*[*e*$^{?}$]-. . . . . [. . .]

[382] Notice the /i/ theme vowel here for a verb that elsewhere has an /a/ theme vowel.

[383] I understand the verb *takmissunūtī-ma* to be derived from the root *kamāsu*, "to gather"; this root is used elsewhere with the phrase *ana šēti*: *ana šētim ša uqaṣṣaru akammissu*, "I will gather him into the net that I will construct" (Dossin, *Correspondance féminine*, 123 [#80], lines 14–15; it should be acknowledged this attestation is far older than our text.) An alternative would be to translate this form from the root *kamû*, "to bind," and assume the phonological alternation between V:C and VCC in this era has resulted in gemination of the first consonant of the pronominal suffix: *takmiššunūtī-ma* for *takmīšunūtī-ma*. However, this would be the only unequivocal instance of this on an inflected form in this text (see however *zi-qí-i*[*m-ma*] in I:36, copy D; *i-*[*ṣ*]*e*^{i}([I]Z)*-en-šum-ma* in I:38, copy A; *i-šim-mu* in I:39, copy A; *pa-nu-uš-šú* in V:45, copy BB; copies D and BB are nevertheless unreliable, where the example in copy A can be analyzed as a dative). It is possible there is another example of the verb *kamû* being employed with *šētu* in this text, in IIIc:33. But *šētu* has been entirely reconstructed, and this constitutes the single attestation of these terms together of which *CAD* is aware, so the reconstruction is less than secure.

AA (B) VAT 10603, 14’ . . .] . . . *te-te-ru-ub a-na* É.GA[L
RR (I) (obv. i:)21 [. . . . . .] x [. . . . . .]
—IV:21 *zīm labbi taššakim-ma*[384] *tēterub ana ekalli*
—IV:21 “You assumed the appearance of a lion[385] and entered the palace.

P (L) (obv.) i:14’ *i-mu-ru-ka-ma um-ma-nu kak-ki-šú-nu in-na-ad-qu*
W (A) rev. ii:26’ *e-mur-ka-ma um-ma-a-ni* giš TUKUL-*šú-nu in-na-ad-qu*
AA (B) A 156, obv. 5’ *e-mur-ka-a-ma um-ma-ni* giš . . . . . [. . .]
AA (B) VAT 10603, 15’] . . . . . TUKUL.MEŠ!-*šú-nu in-na-ad-q*[*u*
RR (I) (obv. i:)22 [. . . . . .] ˹giš˺TUKUL.ME˺-*šú-nu i*[*n*-. . . . . .]
—IV:22 *īmur*(*ū*)*kā-ma ummānu kakkīšunu innadqū*
—IV:22 “When the troops saw you, they girded on their weapons.

P (L) (obv.) i:15’ *šá* ŠAGINA *mu-tir gi-mil* KÁ.DINGIR.RAki *i-te-ziz* ŠÀ-*ba-šú*
W (A) rev. ii:27’ *šá* ŠAGINA *mu-tir gi-mil* KÁ.DINGIR.RAki *e-ta-ziz* ŠÀ-*ba-šú*
AA (B) A 156, obv. 6’ *šá šak-ka-nak-ki mu-tir gi-m*[*il*] . . . . . [. . .]
AA (B) VAT 10603, 16’ . . . . .]-x-*li* KÁ.DINGIR.RAki *e-te-ziz* Š[À-
RR (I) (obv. i:)23 [. . . . . *m*]*il-li* TIN.TIRki ˹*i*˺-*te*-[. . . . .]
—IV:23 *ša šakkanakki mutīr gimil*(*li*) *Bābili īteziz libbašu*
—IV:23 “The heart of the governor, the avenger of Babylon, became angry.

P (L) (obv.) i:16’ *ki-i šal-lat na-ki-ri ana šá-la-la ú-ma-ʾa-a-ra ṣa-ba-šú*
W (A) rev. ii:28’ *ki-i šal-lat na-ki-ri šá-la-li ú-ma-ʾi-ir ṣa-ba-šú*
AA (B) A 156, obv. 7’ *ki-i šal-lat* ˹*na*˺?-*ki-ri a-na šá-l*[*a*]-. . . . . [. . .]
AA (B) VAT 10603, 17’ . . . . .]-*li ú-ma-ʾi-ir ṣa-b*[*a*-
RR (I) (obv. i:)24 [. . . . .]-*šú*? . . .-˹*na*˺ ˹*šá*˺-*la-la ú-ma-ʾa-a-ri ṣa-*˹*ba*˺-. . .
—IV:24 *kī šallat nakiri* (*ana*) *šalāli uma”ara/uma”ir/uma”ari*[386] *ṣābāšu*
—IV:24 “He ordered his army to plunder as if plundering the enemy.

P (L) (obv.) i:17’ . . . . . *pa-an um-ma-ni ú-šaḫ-ḫa-zu* miḪUL
W (A) rev. ii:29’ *a-lik pa-an um-ma-ni ú-šaḫ-ḫa-za* miḪUL-*tu*
AA (B) A 156, obv. 8’ *a-lik pa-an um-ma-ni ú-ša*[*ḫ*]-. . . . . .
AA (B) VAT 10603, 18’ . . . . .]-x-˹*ḫa-za*˺ *le-mut*-[. . .
RR (I) (obv. i:)25 [. . . . .] x x-*šaḫ-ḫa-za* ˹*le-mut*˺-[. . .]
—IV:25 *ālik pān ummāni ušaḫḫaza lemuttu*
—IV:25 “He incited the commander of the troops to evil:[387]

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[384] Like *nenduqu* (see n. 10), the N-stem verb *naškunu* here takes a direct object.

[385] For similar phrasing see IIIc:22 and IV:21.

[386] Notice the variation among forms; the use of the overhanging vowel (*uma”ari*) may overlap with the motivation for the apparent ventive (*uma”ara*).

P (L) (obv.) i:18’ . . .-*na* URU *šá-a-šú šá a-šap-pa-ru-ka at-ta a-me-lu*
W (A) rev. ii:30’ *a-na* URU *šá-a-šú šá a-šap-pa-ru-ka at-ta* LÚ
AA (B) A 156, obv. 9’ *a-na* URU *šá-a-šu šá a-šap*$_5$*-pa-ru-k*[*a*] [*a*]*t-ta* . . . . . .
AA (B) VAT 10603, 19’ . . . . . .] *a*-x [. . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. i:)26 [. . . . . .] x-*pa-ru-ka at-ta* ⌜LÚ⌝
—IV:26 *ana āli šâšu ša ašapparūka atta amēlu*
—IV:26 “ ‘You are the man whom I will send to that city![388]

P (L) (obv.) i:19’ . . . *la ta-pal-laḫ la ta-ad-da-ra* LÚ
W (A) rev. ii:31’a DINGIR *la ta-pal-laḫ la ta-da-ru* LÚ
AA (B) A 156, obv. 10’ DINGIR *la ta-pal-laḫ la ta-da-ár a-me-*. . .
RR (I) (obv. i:)27 [. . . . . *pa*]*l-la-aḫ la ta-ad-*. . . . . LÚ
—IV:27 *ila lā tapallaḫ lā taddara/taddaru/taddar*[389] *amēla*
—IV:27 “ ‘Do not revere god and do not fear human!

P (L) (obv.) i:20’ ⌜*ṣe*⌝*-eḫ-ru u ra-ba-a iš-te-niš šu-mit-ma*
W (A) rev. ii:31’b TUR *u* GAL-*a* DIŠ-*niš šu-mit-ma*[390]
AA (B) A 156, obv. 11’ *ṣe-eḫ-ru* GAL *iš-te-niš šu-mit-ma* . . .
RR (I) (obv. i:)28 [. . . . . *r*]*a-ba-a iš-te-niš* ⌜*tuš*⌝?-⌜*ma*⌝-. . .-⌜*ti*⌝[391]
—IV:28 *ṣeḫru* (*u*) *rabâ ištēniš šumīt-ma*
—IV:28 “ ‘Put to death small and great together!

P (L) (obv.) i:21’ *e*[!](ŠÁ)-*niq ši-zib še-er*[!]*-ru la te-zi-ba a-a-am-ma*
W (A) rev. ii:32’ *e-niq ši-zib šèr-ri la te*$_9$*-zib a-a-am-ma*
AA (B) A 156, obv. 12’ *e-niq ši-zib šèr-ra la te-zib a-a-um-ma* . . .
RR (I) (obv. i:)29 [. . . . . .]-*bi* ⌜*šèr-ra*⌝ *la te-ez-zi-ba a-a-am-*⌜*ma*⌝
—IV:29 *ēniq šizib šerra lā tezzib*(*a*) *ayyamma*
—IV:29 “ ‘Spare no one, not even suckling or baby!

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[387] This could alternatively mean “the commander of the troops incites to evil,” but because the “governor” (*šakkanakku*) is the subject of the preceding verse and double accusatives are common with causative Š-stem verbs, I understand “governor” to be the subject here as well.

[388] “That city” must be Babylon proper, as the palace, where this incident takes place, is explicitly said to be outside the city, in the outskirts (see IV:20–21).

[389] Notice here too the variation preserved across the traditions, where the verb may have a ventive suffix, an overhanging vowel, or no vocalic suffix at all.

[390] Copy W combines this verse with the preceding one on a single line.

[391] Copy RR appears to preserve the durative of this verb, with overhanging vowel, rather than an imperative: *tušmâti* (or perhaps *tušmatti*).

P (L) (obv.) i:22' *na-kam*[392] *bu-še-e* TIN.TIR^{ki} *ta-šal-lal at-ta*
W (A) rev. ii:33' *nak-ma bu-še-e* KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} *ta-šal-lal at-ta*
AA (B) A 156, obv. 13' *nak-ma bu-še$_{20}$-e* KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} *ta-šal-lal at-ta*
RR (I) (obv. i:)30 [. . . . .]-⌜*e*⌝ TIN.TIR^{ki} *ta-šal-lal at-ta*
—IV:30 *nakma bušê Bābili tašallal atta*
—IV:30 " 'You must plunder the accumulated property of Babylon.'

P (L) (obv.) i:23' *um-ma-an* LUGAL *uk-ta-ṣir-ma i-te-ru-ub ana* URU
W (A) rev. ii:34' *um-man* LUGAL *up-ta-ḫir-ma te$_9$-te$_9$-ru-ub ana* URU
AA (B) A 156, obv. 14' [*u*]*m-man* LUGAL *tuk-ta-ṣir-ma te-te-ru-ub a-na* URU . . .
RR (I) (obv. i:)31 [. . . . . *u*]*k-ta-aṣ-ṣir-ma i-te-ru-u*[*b*] . . . URU
—IV:31 *ummān šarri* (*t*)*uktaṣṣir-ma*[393]*/uptaḫḫir-ma īterub/tēterub ana āli*
—IV:31 "*The troops of the king gathered together and entered into the city*/*You gathered the troops of the king together and entered into the city.*

P (L) (obv.) i:24' *nap-ḫat til-pa-nu za-qip pat-ru*
W (A) rev. ii:35' *nap-ḫat til-pa-nu za-qip pat-ru*
AA (B) A 156, obv. 15' . . . [*na*]*p-ḫat til-pa-nu za-qip pat-ru* . . .
RR (I) (obv. i:)32 [. . . . .] *za-*⌜*qip*⌝ . . . . . .
—IV:32 *napḫat tilpānu zaqip patru*
—IV:32 "The bow was ablaze,[394] the sword was aimed.

P (L) (obv.) i:25' *šá* ÉRIN.MEŠ *ki-di-nu ik-kib* ^{d}*a-num u* ^{d}*da-gan*
P (L) (obv.) i:26' *kak-ki-šú-nu ta-za-qáp*
W (A) rev. ii:36' *šá* ÉRIN.MEŠ *ki-*⌜*din*⌝? [*i*]*k-kib* ^{d}*a-num u* ^{d}*da-gan* ^{giš}TUKUL-*šú-nu ta-za-qap*
AA (B) A 156, obv. 16' . . . . . ⌜*ki*⌝*-di-ni ik-kib* ^{d}*a-num u* ^{d}*da-gan* ^{giš}TUKUL.MEŠ-*šú-nu ta-zaq-*. . .
RR (I) (obv. i:)33a [. . . . .]-*nu ik-kib* ^{d}*a-num u* ^{d}*da-*[. . . . .]
RR (I) (obv. i:)33b [. . . . .] *ta-az-*⌜*za*⌝-. . . . . .
—IV:33 *ša ṣābī kidinni ikkib Anum u Dagān kakkīšunu tazaqqap/tazzaqap*
—IV:33 "You aimed the army's weapons at the *kidinnu*-citizens, the taboo of Anu and Dagān.[395]

P (L) (obv.) i:27' ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú-nu ki-ma* A.MEŠ *ra-a-ṭi tu-šá-aṣ-bi-ta$_5$ re-bit* URU
W (A) rev. ii:37' ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú-nu* . . . . . *ra-a-ṭi tu-šá-aṣ-bi-ta re-bit* URU

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[392] It is possible this variant is an absolute form, but the expected absolute form for the adjective *nakmu* would be *nakim*, so it appears to be simply an error.

[393] Where *uktaṣṣir* is probably best construed as a Dt-stem preterite ("he [the troop] gathered together"), *tuktaṣṣir* should be analyzed as a D-stem perfect ("you gathered" [transitive]).

[394] It is difficult to determine what *napḫat* means in this context, whether the bow is on fire—literally or metaphorically—or whether it is "swollen," perhaps meaning the arrow is "nocked." I am not aware of any other attestations of this phrase.

[395] This verse appears to be identical to IIIc:3.

AA (B) A 156, obv. 17' . . . . . ⌜*ki*⌝-*ma* A.MEŠ *ra-a-ṭi tu-šá-aṣ-ba-ta re-bit* URU . . .
RR (I) (obv. i:)34 [. . . . .] x *ra-a*-x x x x x x [. . . . .]
—IV:34 *damīšunu kīma mê rāṭi tušaṣbita/tušaṣbata rebīt āli*
—IV:34 "You made their blood soak the city square like the water of a ditch.[396]

P (L) (obv.) i:28' *ù-mun-na-šú-nu tap-te-e-ma tu-šá-bil* ÍD
W (A) rev. ii:38' *ù-mu*-x-. . .-*nu tap-te-ma tu-šá-bíl* ÍD
AA (B) A 156, obv. 18' . . . . . .-⌜*nu*⌝ *tap-te-e-ma tu-šá-bil* ÍD . . .
RR (I) (obv. i:)35 [. . . . .] ⌜*tap*⌝-*te*-⌜*e*⌝-*ma* [. . . . .]-*bi*[*l* . . .]
—IV:35 *umunnâšunu taptē-ma tušābil nāra*
—IV:35 "You opened their veins and let the river carry off their blood.[397]

P (L) (obv.) i:29' EN GAL-*u* ^{d}AMAR.UTU *i-mur-ma* u_8-*a iq-ta-bi*
P (L) (obv.) i:30' ŠÀ-*ba-šú iṣ-ṣa-bat*
W (A) rev. ii:39' EN NUN ^{d}. . . . . *e-mur-ma ù'-a iq-ta-bi* ŠÀ-*ba-šú iṣ-ṣa-bat*
AA (B) A 156, obv. 19' . . . . . ⌜*e*⌝-*mur-ma ù'-a iq-ta-bi* ŠÀ-*ba-šu iṣ-ṣa-bat* . . .
RR (I) (obv. i:)36 [. . . . . UT]U *i-mur-ma* x x [. . . . .]
—IV:36 *bēlu rabû/rubû Marduk īmur-ma ū'a iqtabi libbašu iṣṣabat*
—IV:36 "When the *great Lord*/*lord, Prince* Marduk[398] saw, he said, 'Woe!' and clutched his heart.[399]

P (L) (obv.) i:31' *ar-rat la nap-šu-ri iš-šá-kin ina pi-i-šú*
W (A) rev. ii:40' *ar-rat* . . . [*n*]*ap-šu-ri iš-šá-kin ina pi-i-šú*
AA (B) A 156, obv. 20' [. . . . .] . . . . . .-*šu-ri iš-šá-kín* *ina* KA-*šú* . . .
RR (I) (obv. i:)37 *ar*-[*ra*]*t la nap-šu-ru iš-šá*-. . . x x x x-*šú*
—IV:37 *arrat lā napšuri iššakin ina pīšu*
—IV:37 "An irreversible curse took shape in his mouth.[400]

P (L) (obv.) i:32' . . . ⌜*it*⌝(A)-*ma-ma šá* ÍD *ul i*-⌜*šat-ti*⌝ ⌜A.MEŠ-*šú*⌝
W (A) rev. ii:41' *it-ma-m*[*a*]? . . . ÍD *ul i*-NAG-*a* A.MEŠ -*šá*
AA (B) A 156, obv. 21' [. . . . .] . . . . . [Í]D *ul i-šat-ti* A.MEŠ-*šá*
RR (I) (obv. i:)38 *it-ma-am-ma* ⌜*šá*⌝ ÍD *ul i*-. . .-⌜*ti*⌝ ⌜A⌝.M[EŠ . . .]
—IV:38 *itmâm-ma ša nāri ul išatti/išattâ mêša*
—IV:38 "He swore not to drink the water of the river.[401]

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[396] This verse appears to be identical to IIIc:4.

[397] This verse appears to be identical to IIIc:5.

[398] Nergal too is called "great lord," in V:39.

[399] Compare IIIc:6.

[400] This verse appears to be identical to IIIc:8.

P (L) (obv.) i:33’ . . . . . .
R (M) (obv.) 39].MEŠ-*šú-nu i-dur-ma ul ir-ru-ba ana* É.SAG.GÍL
W (A) rev. ii:42’ ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú-nu* ⌜*id*⌝*-dar*[*-ma ul ir-ru-ub ana* É.SAG.SAG.ÍL
AA (B) A 156, obv. 22’ [. . . . . .] . . .*-ma ul ir-ru-bu a-na* É.SAG.Í[L
RR (I) (obv. i:)39 *da-mi-šú-nu i-dur-ma ul ir-*⌜*ru-ba*⌝ ⌜*ana*⌝ x x [. . . . .]
—IV:39 *damīšunu īdur-ma/iddar-ma ul irrub*(*a/u*) *ana Esagil*
—IV:39 “He feared their blood too much to enter the Esagil:[402]

R (M) (obv.) 40a [. . .]-*a* TIN.TIR[ki] *šá* GIM [giš]GIŠIMMAR *qim-ma-tú*
R (M) (obv.) 40b [. . .] ⌜*ú*⌝*-šá-áš-ri-ḫu-šú-ma ub-bi-lu-šú* IM
W (A) rev. ii:43’ *ù*’*-a* KÁ.DIN[GIR][!](MEŠ) . . . . . *šá ki-ma* [giš]x . . . . . .
W (A) rev. ii:44’ *ú-š*[*aš* . . . . . .] . . . . . .
AA (B) A 156, obv. 23’ [. . . . . .] . . . . . *-šaš-ri-ḫu-*⌜*šu*⌝*-ma* ⌜*ub*⌝*-bi-*⌜*lu*⌝*-uš šá-r*[*u*]
RR (I) (obv. i:)40 ⌜*ù*⌝*-a* TIN.TIR[ki] *šá ki-ma* [giš]GIŠIMMAR ⌜*qim-ma-ti*⌝ x . . . [. . . . . .]
⌜*ub-bi-lu-šú*⌝ [. . . . . .]
—IV:40 *ū*’*a Bābili ša kīma gišimmari qimmatu ušašriḫūšū-ma ubbilūš*(*u*) *šāru*
—IV:40 “ ‘Woe to Babylon, whose crown I made as splendid as that of a palm tree, but which the wind dried up.[403]

R (M) (obv.) 41a . . .][404] ⌜[giš]ŠE⌝.Ù.SUḪ$_5$ ŠE-*em ú-mál-lu-šú-ma*
R (M) (obv.) 41b . . . . . .]-*bu-ú la-lu-šú*
W (A) rev. ii:45’ [. . . . . .] . . . . . *-ma*
W (A) rev. ii:46’ [. . . . . .] . . . . . x-*lal-*<*lu*>*-šú*
AA (B) A 156, obv. 24’ [. . . . . .] . . . x x x-⌜*lal-a*⌝-[. . .]
RR (I) (obv. i:)41a ⌜*ù*’⌝*-a* TIN.TIR[ki] *šá ki-ma* [giš]ŠE.Ù.SUḪ$_5$ ŠE-. . . . . ⌜UL⌝[?] [. . .]
RR (I) (obv. i:)41b *ú-ma-al-lu-šú-ma la* ⌜*áš-bu*⌝-[. . . . . .]

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[401] This verse appears to be identical to IIIc:9.

[402] Compare IIIc:10.

[403] Compare Dalley’s translation: “Woe to Babylon, which I made as lofty as a date-palm’s crown, but the wind shrivelled it” (*Myths from Mesopotamia*, 304). Dalley has resolved the discrepancy between the feminine *qimmatu* and the masculine suffix on *ušašriḫūšū-ma* by suggesting the latter refers not to the (feminine) crown of the tree but to (masculine) Babylon. In doing so, she has also—against all other translators—created an appealing syntactic symmetry across the verses of this passage (IV:40–44), in that the pronominal suffix *-šu* on every verb refers back to Babylon. However, the syntax that results from this reading is extremely awkward, as what is effectively a construct chain is thought to appear in reverse order (*gišimmari qimmatu* for “date-palm’s crown”). It is not unknown for masculine pronouns to substitute for feminine ones (as in V:33) but, in my reading of this text, construct chains are never upended unless the *nomen rectum* is marked by *ša* and/or the *nomen regens* is marked by a pronominal suffix. I therefore read *qimmatu* as the antecedent of *-šu* on the verb *ušašriḫūšū-ma*.

[404] Given the small space available, Cagni points out that it is unlikely this copy includes the words at the beginning; rather, we should probably reconstruct KI.MIN or the like here (*L’Epopea di Erra*, 109).

—IV:41 *ū’a Bābili ša kīma terinni še’ê umallûšū-ma lā ašbû lallûšu*
—IV:41 “ ‘Woe to Babyon, which I filled with pine nuts like a pinecone, but with whose wealth I was not sated.

R (M) (obv.) 42 . . . . . N]UN *az-qu-pu-šú-ma la a-ku-lu* GURUN-*šú*
W (A) rev. ii:47’ [. . . . .] ⌜*la*⌝ *a-ku-la* GURUN-*šú*
AA (B) A 156, obv. 25’ [. . . . .] . . . . . ⌜A⌝ [. . .]
RR (I) (obv. i:)42a ⌜*ù’*⌝-*a* TIN.TIR^{ki} *šá ki-ma* ^{giš}KIRI$_6$ *nu-uḫ-ši* ⌜*az*⌝-*qu-pu-šú*⌝-*ma*
RR (I) (obv. i:)42b *la a-*⌜*ku*⌝-*lu* [. . . . .]
—IV:42 *ū’a Bābili ša kīma kirî nuḫši azqupūšū-ma lā ākulu/ākula inibšu*
—IV:42 “ ‘Woe to Babylon, which I planted like a prosperous orchard[405] but whose fruit I did not eat.

R (M) (obv.) 43 . . . . .]-*me-šú ad-du-šú ina ti-ik-ki* ^{d}*a-nu-u*[*m*]
W (A) rev. ii:48’ [. . . . . *a*]*d-du-šú ina tik-ki* ^{d}*a-num*
RR (I) (obv. i:)43a ⌜*ù’-a*⌝ TIN.TIR^{ki} *šá ki-ma* ^{na4}KIŠIB *el-mé-šú* ⌜*ad*⌝-*du-šú i*[*na* . . . . .]
RR (I) (obv. i:)43b ^{d}*a-*⌜*num*⌝
—IV:43 *ū’a Bābili ša kīma kunuk elmēšu addûšu ina tikki Anum*
—IV:43 “ ‘Woe to Babylon, which I placed on the neck of Anu like a seal of *elmēšu*-stone.

R (M) (obv.) 44a . . . . .] *ina* ŠU.MIN-*ia aṣ-bat-šu-ma*
R (M) (obv.) 44b . . . . .]-x-*šú a-na mam-ma*
W (A) rev. ii:49’ [. . . . . Š]U.MIN-*ia* DÍB-*šú-ma la ú-maš-šá-ru-šú ana mam-ma*
RR (I) (obv. i:)44a [. . . . .] ⌜TIN.TIR^{ki}⌝ *šá* ⌜*ki-ma*⌝ ⌜DUB.NAM⌝.MEŠ *ina* ŠU.MIN-*iá aṣ-ba-*⌜*tu*⌝-*šú-*⌜*ma*⌝
RR (I) (obv. i:)44b ⌜*la*⌝ ⌜UŠ⌝-x x x [. . . . .]
—IV:44 [*ū’a*] *Bābili ša kīma ṭupšīmāti ina qātīya aṣbatūšū-ma lā umaššarūšu ana mamma*
—IV:44 “ ‘[Woe] to Babylon, which I clasped in my hands like the Tablet of Destinies so as not to relinquish it to anyone else!’[406]

R (M) (obv.) 45 . . . . . *b*]*i* NUN ^{d}AMAR.UTU
RR (I) (obv. i:)45 [. . . . .] x [. . . . .] . . . . . [. . . . .] x [. . . . .]
—IV:45 [*u kiam iqtab*]*i rubû Marduk*[407]

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[405] Literally *kirî nuḫši* means “an orchard of prosperity.” It is also possible to read the first hemistich of this verse as a syntactic parallel to the first hemistich of IV:40 and translate as follows: “Woe to Babylon, whose prosperity I planted like an orchard. . . .” Given the syntactic variability across this passage, however, coupled with the fact that the phrase *kirî nuḫši* occurs elsewhere as a construct chain (e.g., “The Annals of Sennacherib: The Temple of the New Year’s Feast” line 34 [for an edition see Luckenbill, *Annals of Sennacherib*, 135–139] and *The Crown Prince’s Vision of the Netherworld* line 64), this reading is dubious.

[406] On the syntactic construction in this verse see n. 35 above.

[407] Cagni reconstructs this verse following IV:114, IV:130, and V:48 (*L’Epopea di Erra*, 229), and his reconstruction appears to fit the space reasonably well. However, contra Cagni, who argues Marduk would not curse his own city so this line must signal the end of his preceding speech, Marduk must utter the following lines as well, as evidenced by the following: 1) we have seen from IV:37 that Marduk is not averse to

—IV:45 “[Thus spok]e Prince Marduk further:

R (M) (obv.) 46a . . . . . .] x ˹*ul*˺-*tu* UD-*mì pa-ni*
R (M) (obv.) 46b . . . . . .] x ŠUN
RR (I) (obv. i:)46 [. . . . . .] . . . . . [. . . . . .] . . . [. . .]
—IV:46] . . . *ultu ūmī pānî* [ ] . . .
—IV:46 “ ‘. . . since former days . . .

R (M) (obv.) 47 . . . . . .] x NI?
RR (I) (obv. ii:)47a *: né-ber ka-a-ri* ˹*li*˺-*ṣa-am-ma* AM MA KAL x x . . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)47b *li-bir . . . še-pu-uš-šú*
—IV:47 *nēber kāri līṣam-ma . . . . . lībir šēpuššu*
—IV:47 “ ‘Let the harbor ferry leave and . . . let him cross on foot.[408]

R (M) (obv.) 48a . . . . . .]-*šú*
R (M) (obv.) 48b . . . . . .]-*laṭ*
RR (I) (obv. ii:)48 *a-šal bu-ru liš-pil-ma e-du* LÚ *na-piš-ta-šú la ú-bal-laṭ*
—IV:48 *ašal būru lišpil-ma ēdu amēlu napištašu lā uballaṭ*
—IV:48 “ ‘Even if the rope goes down into the well, may it not save the life of a single person.[409]

P (L) (obv.) ii:1’ [. . . . . .] ˹lú˺ŠU.ḪA˺ *l*[*i* . . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)49a *ina gi-piš tam-tì* DAGAL-*tì* A.MEŠ DIŠ ME DANNA giš˹MÁ˺.GUR$_8$ lúŠU.ḪA
RR (I) (obv. ii:)49b *li-bu-ku ina pa-ri-su*
—IV:49 *ina gipiš tâmti rapašti mê ištât me’at bēru makur bā’iri lībukū ina parīsu*
—IV:49 “ ‘In the swelling of the broad sea, to waters a hundred leagues out, let them take the fisherman’s boat with a rudder.’[410]

P (L) (obv.) ii:2’ [. . . . . U]RU *ṣa-a-ti šá* EN.K[UR . . . . . .
P (L) (obv.) ii:3’ *a-bu-bu la uš-p*[*a* . . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)50a *šá* uru*si-par* URU *ṣa-a-ti šá* d+EN.KUR.KUR *ina a-qar pa-ni-šú*

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pronouncing curses; 2) in all other cases this phrase introduces a speech that follows, not that precedes; and 3) it would be entirely out of character and disruptive to the context for Išum to utter the following lines. If this reconstruction is correct, the significance of the verse is somewhat opaque, since it does not demarcate a change in speaker; it may indicate a change of genre from lament to curse.

[408] The middle of the verse is opaque. Foster, apparently reading AM MA KAL as *ammatān*, translates somewhat loosely “Let one quit the wharf: he shall cross at two cubit’s depth of water on foot” (*Before the Muses*, 903).

[409] I believe *lā uballaṭ* is best construed as a negative injunctive both because all of the verbs in the surrounding verses are injunctives, and—more compellingly—because every instance of the negative particle *lā* with a durative in this text represents an injunctive, without exception (see I:37, II:105, IV:27 [twice], IV:29, IV:119, IV:121 [copies R and RR], IV:122 [copy RR], IV:125, IV:127, and IV:135 [copies P, W, and RR]).

[410] Or perhaps “let the fishermen take the boat with a rudder.”

RR (I) (obv. ii:)50b *a-bu-bu la uš-bi-ʾu-šú*
—IV:50 *ša Sippar āl ṣâti*[411] *ša bēl mātāti ina aqār pānīšu abūbu lā ušbiʾūšu*
—IV:50 "As for Sippar, the primordial city, over which the lord of the lands did not allow the Flood to sweep, because it was precious to him:

M (K) ii:1 *ina ba-lu* ^{d}UTU-*ši* BÀD-*šú ta-b*[*u* . . . . . .
P (L) (obv.) ii:4' *ina ba-lu* ^{d}UTU-*ši* BÀD-*šú ta-bu-ut-ma ta-ta-di* ⌜*sa-mit*⌝-[
RR (I) (obv. ii:)51 *ba-lu* ^{d}UTU BÀD-*šú ta-ta-bat ta-at-ta-di sa-mit-*⌜*su*⌝
—IV:51 (*ina*) *balu Šamaš dūršu tābut-ma/tātabat tattadi samīssu*
—IV:51 "Without the permission of Šamaš you destroyed its wall and threw down its parapet.

M (K) ii:2 *šá* UNUG^{ki} *šu-bat* ^{d}*a-num u* ^{d}*iš-*[. . . . . .
M (K) ii:3 *ù* [. . . . . .
P (L) (obv.) ii:5' *šá* UNUG^{ki} *šu-bat* ^{d}*a-num u* ^{d}*iš-tar* [
P (L) (obv.) ii:6' URU *ke-ez-re-ti šam-ḫa-a-tú u ḫa-rim-a-t*[*i*
RR (I) (obv. ii:)52a *šá* UNUG^{ki} *šu-bat* ^{d}*a-num u* ^{d}15 URU *ke-ez-re-*⌜*e*⌝-[. . .]
RR (I) (obv. ii:)52b *šam-ḫa-a-tú ù ḫa-ri-m*[*a-*. . . . .]
—IV:52 *ša Uruk šubat Anum u Ištar āl kezrēti šamḫātu u ḫarīmāt*[*i*]
—IV:52 "As for Uruk, the dwelling of Anu and Ištar, the city of cult prostitutes, courtesans, and temple prostitut[es],

M (K) ii:4 *šá* ^{d}*iš-tar mu-tu i-ṭe-r*[*u* . . . . . .
P (L) (obv.) ii:7' *šá* ^{d}*iš-tar mu-tu i-ṭe-ru-ši-na-ti-ma im-nu-u qa-tuš*-x-[
RR (I) (obv. ii:)53 *šá* ^{d}*iš-tar mu-ta i-ṭè-ru-ši-na-ti-m*[*a* . . . . . .]
—IV:53 *ša Ištar muta īṭerūšinātī-ma imnû qātuš*[*šin*]
—IV:53 "Whom Ištar kept from having husbands and put under [their] own authority[412]—

M (K) ii:5 *su-ti-i su-ta-a-tú na*-[. . . . .
P (L) (obv.) ii:8' *su-ti-i su-ta-a-tú na-du-u ia-ru-ra-t*[*i*
RR (I) (obv. ii:)54 *su-tu-ú su-ta-a-ti na-da-*⌜*a*⌝ x [. . . . . .]
—IV:54 *sutî sutâtu nadû yarūrāt*[*i*]
—IV:54 "Sutean men and women emitted a clamo[r].

M (K) ii:6 *de-ku-ú* É.AN.NA ^{lú}KUR.GAR.R[A. . .
P (L) (obv.) ii:9' *de-ku-ú* É.AN.NA ^{lú}KUR.GAR.RA ^{lú}*i-sin*-[
RR (I) (obv. ii:)55 *de-ku-ú* É.AN.NA *kur-gar-r*[*i* . . . . . .]

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411 On this epithet see George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, 245–246.

412 I translate this passage following Diakanoff's suggestion that the passage describes the social situation generally, that the women are not under patriarchal authority (*apud* Cagni, *Poem of Erra*, 51–53 n. 128). Others have read this as saying Ištar put the women under her own authority (see Bottéro, "Le poème d'Erra," 244; Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 305; and Foster, *Before the Muses*, 904), in which case perhaps the final sign should be (partially) reconstructed ŠI (all that survives is a horizontal in copy P).

—IV:55 *dekû Eanna kurgarrû isin*[*nī*]
—IV:55 "They drove from the Eänna the cultic performers and male prosti[tutes],[413]

M (K) ii:7 *šá ana šup-lu-uḫ* UN.MEŠ $^{d+}$INNIN *zi*[*k* . . .
P (L) (obv.) ii:10' *šá ana šup-lu-uḫ* UN.MEŠ $^{d+}$INNIN *zik-ru-su-nu ú-te-ru ana* MU[NUS
RR (I) (obv. ii:)56 *šá ana šup-lu-ḫu* UN.MEŠ ⌜d⌝[. . . . . .]
—IV:56 *ša ana šupluḫ*(*u*) *nišī Inana zikrūssunu utēru ana sinn*[*išūti*]
—IV:56 "Whose masculinity Inana changed into femi[ninity] to induce awe in the people,

M (K) ii:8 *na-áš pat-ri na-áš nag-la*-[. . . . . .
P (L) (obv.) ii:11' *na-áš pat-ri na-áš nag-la-bi qup-pe-e u ṣur-t*[*i*
RR (I) (obv. ii:)57 x [. . .] ⌜*pat*⌝-x [. . . . . .]
—IV:57 *nāš patri nāš naglabi quppê u ṣurt*[*i*]
—IV:57 "As well as the bearers of swords and bearers of razors, knives, and flint[s],

M (K) ii:9 *šá ana ul-lu-uṣ kab-ta-at* $^{d+}$INNIN *i-tak-ka*-[. . .
P (L) (obv.) ii:12' *šá ana ul-lu-uṣ kab-ta-at* $^{d+}$INNIN *i-tak-ka-lu* ⌜*a*⌝-[. . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)58 [. . . . . .]
—IV:58 *ša ana ulluṣ kabtat Inana ītakkalū a*[*sakka*]
—IV:58 "Who, to make Inana joyful, continually broke t[aboos].

M (K) ii:10 ŠAGINA *ek-ṣu la ba-bil pa-ni* [. . .
P (L) (obv.) ii:13' ŠAGINA *ek-ṣu la ba-bil pa-ni e-li-šú-nu taš-k*[. . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)59 [. . . . . .]
—IV:59 *šakkanakku ekṣu lā bābil pānī elīšunu tašk*[*un*]
—IV:59 "You instal[led] over them a dangerous, ruthless governor.

M (K) ii:11 *uš-šis-si-na-ti-ma par-ṣi-š*[*i*
P (L) (obv.) ii:14' *uš-šis-si-na-ti-ma par-ṣi-ši-na i-te-t*[*i* . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)60 [. . . . . .] x
—IV:60 *uššissinātī-ma parṣīšina ītet*[*iq*][414]
—IV:60 "He mistreated them and transgres[sed] their rites.

M (K) ii:12 ^{d}*iš-tar i-gu-ug-ma is-sa-bu-u*[*s*

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[413] The translation of this verse hinges in large part on how one understands *dekû* in this context. Compare Gössmann's translation, in which the *kurgarrû* and *isinnī* serve as subject: "Sie greifen an É.AN.NA, die 'Tempelsoldaten' and 'Festsänger' " (*Era-Epos*, 28); Cagni, in contrast, understands the Suteans to be "rousing" these figures: "They rouse up (in) Eanna the cultic actors and singers" (*Poem of Erra*, 52). A similar phrase appears in I:123, in which Erra proclaims his desire to drive Marduk from the Esagil: *ina šubtīšu adekkē-ma*, "I will drive him from his dwelling." I believe the term is used similarly in this context, meaning "to make rise and depart" (see *CAD*, ad loc.).

[414] This very plausible restoration is proposed by von Soden (*AHw*, s.v. "etēqu").

P (L) (obv.) ii:15’ ^{d}*iš-tar i-gu-ug-ma is-sa-bu-us* UGU UN[UG . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)61 [. . . . .]-x-⌜*bu-us*⌝ UGU UNUG^{ki}
—IV:61 *Ištar īgug-ma issabus eli Uruk*
—IV:61 “Ištar became furious and irate at Uruk.

M (K) ii:13 ^{lú}KÚR *id-kam-ma ki-i* ŠE-*em ina* IGI A.MEŠ [
P (L) (obv.) ii:16’ [^{l}]^{ú}KÚR *id-kam-ma ki-i* ŠE-*em ina* IGI A.MEŠ *i-maš-šá-aʾ* x [. . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)62 [. . . . . *k*]*i-*⌜*ma*⌝ ŠE-*em ina* IGI A.MEŠ *i-maš-šá-*⌜*a*ʾ⌝ KUR
—IV:62 *nakra idkâm-ma kī šeʾê ina pān mê imaššaʾ māti*
—IV:62 “She roused the enemy to loot the land like grain on the surface of the water.

M (K) ii:14 *a-šib pàr/dak-sa-a áš-šú* É.U$_4$.GAL *šá uš-tal-pi-t*[*u*$_4$
P (L) (obv.) ii:17’ [. . .] x *pàr/dak-sa-a áš-šú* É.U$_4$.GAL *šá uš-ta*[*l* . . . . . .
P (L) (obv.) ii:18’ [. . .] *ul i-na-ḫi ger-r*[*a* . . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)63a [. . . . . *á*]*š-šú* É.U$_4$.⌜GAL⌝ *šá uš-tál-pi-tu*$_4$
RR (I) (obv. ii:)63b [. . . . .] *ul* ⌜*ú*⌝*-ni-iḫ ger-ra-nu*
—IV:63 *āšib Parsâ/Daksâ aššu Eugal ša uštalpitu ul inâḫi/unīḫ*[415] *gerrānu*
—IV:63 “The inhabitant of Parsâ/Daksâ,[416] on behalf of the Eügal, which was demolished, *would not rest from lamentation*/*did not allow the sound of lamentation to subside*.

M (K) ii:15 ^{lú}KÚR *šá ta-ad-ku-ú ul i-man-gu*[*r*
P (L) (obv.) ii:19’ ^{l}[^{ú} . . .] *šá ta-ad-ku-ú ul i-man-gur ana sa-*[. . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)64 [. . . . . *t*]*a-ad-ku-*⌜*ú*⌝ *ul* ⌜*i-man-gu*⌝*-ra ana sa-ka-pu*
—IV:64 *nakru ša tadkû ul imangur*(*a*) *ana sakāpu*
—IV:64 “The enemy whom you roused was not willing to rest.

M (K) ii:16 AN.GAL *i-pu-la q*[*í*
P (L) (obv.) ii:20’ AN.G[A]L *i-pu-la qí-*x-[. . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)65 AN.[G]AL ⌜*i-pu-la*⌝ *qí-bi-ta*
—IV:65 *Ištarān*[417] *īpula qibīta*

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[415] The form *inâḫi* appears to have an overhanging vowel; notice the theme vowel has not reverted. *CAD* translates *nâḫu* when applied to noise as “to die down”; in the D-stem perhaps it is used with a causative sense.

[416] Von Soden first suggested this place name might be Persia (*apud* Gössmann, *Era-Epos*, 88), an idea that has since been rejected: Lambert points to the oddity of referring to Persians with the term *āšibu*, “inhabitant,” in Babylonia, and indicates the temple Eügal is known to be in Dūr-Kurigalzu (Review of Gössmann, 396–397). Since then additional evidence has emerged suggesting this name refers to Dūr-Kurigalzu, and may in fact represent the pre-Kassite name of the site; see especially Nashef, “Nochmals PARsā.”

[417] That AN.GAL can be a way of writing of Ištarān’s name (ordinarily spelled ^{d}KA.DI) is demonstrated, for example, by an unpublished copy of *Šurpu* VIII:21 that substitutes AN.GAL for ^{d}KA.DI, and by the Babylonian chronicles treating Esarhaddon’s reign, where a line from Chronicle 1 (line 44) appears to be repeated in Chronicle 14 (line 3) with the same substitution (for an edition see Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*); see further Lambert, “Ištarān.” It is not clear to me how the name was to be read when it was spelled this way.

—IV:65 “Ištarān answered the speech:

M (K) ii:17 ^{uru}BÀD.AN^{ki} *a-na na-me-e* [
P (L) (obv.) ii:21’ ^{uru}BÀD.AN^{ki} *a-na na-me-e* x [. . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)66 ⌜^{uru}⌝x-⌜*e*⌝-*ri a-n*[*a*] . . .-⌜*me-e*⌝ *tal-ta-kan*
—IV:66 *Dēr ana namê taltakan*
—IV:66 “ ‘You made Dēr into a wilderness.

M (K) ii:18 UN.MEŠ *šá ina* ŠÀ-*bi-šú ki-i* GI.MEŠ *tuḫ*-[
P (L) (obv.) ii:22’ UN.⌜MEŠ⌝ . . . *ina* ŠÀ-*bi-šú ki-i* GI.MEŠ *tu*[*ḫ* . . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)67 U[N].x x ⌜*ina*⌝ ⌜ŠÀ⌝-*bi-šú ki-i* GI.MEŠ *tuḫ-ta-aṣ-ṣi-iṣ*
—IV:67 *nišū ša ina libbīšu kī qanê tuḫtaṣṣiṣ*
—IV:67 “ ‘You snapped off the people within it like reeds.

M (K) ii:19 *ki-i ḫu-bu-uš pa-an* A.MEŠ *ḫu-bur-ši-n*[*a*
P (L) (obv.) ii:23’ *ki-*. . . . . .-[*u*]*š pa-an* A.MEŠ *ḫu-bur-š*[*i-*. . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)68 ⌜*ki-i*⌝ . . . . . .-[*u*]*š pa-an* A.MEŠ *ḫu-bur-ši-na tu-ub-tal-li*
—IV:68 *kī ḫubuš pān mê ḫubūršina tubtalli*
—IV:68 “ ‘You extinguished their clamor like flotsam on the surface of the water.

M (K) ii:20 *ù ia-a-ši ul tu-maš-ši-ra-an-n*[*i*] ⌜*ana*⌝ *s*[*u* . . .
P (L) (obv.) ii:24’ ⌜*ù*⌝ . . . . . .-⌜*a*⌝-*ši ul t*[*u-*. . . . . .
P (L) (obv.) ii:25’ ⌜*ana*⌝-. . . . . .-[*t*]*i-i t*[*a* . . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)69a *u* ⌜*ia*⌝-. . .-⌜*ši*⌝ ⌜*ul*⌝? *tu-maš-ši-ra-an-ni ana su-ti-i*
RR (I) (obv. ii:)69b *ta-at-tan-na-an-ni*
—IV:69 *u yâši ul tumašširanni ana Sutî tattannanni*
—IV:69 “ ‘Even me you did not let go free, but handed me over to the Suteans.

M (K) ii:21a *ana-ku áš-šú* URU-*ia* BÀD.AN^{ki}
P (L) (obv.) ii:26’ *a-na-k*[*u*] . . . . . [U]RU-*ia* B[ÀD . . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)70 ⌜*a-na-ku*⌝ ⌜*áš-šú*⌝ URU-*ia* BÀD.AN^{ki}
—IV:70 *anāku aššu ālīya Dēr*
—IV:70 “ ‘I, on behalf of my city Dēr,

M (K) ii:21b *di-ni ki*[*t* . . . . .[418]
P (L) (obv.) ii:27’ *ul* . . . . . x [. . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)71 x [. . . . . *ki*]*t-ti ul a-da-ni* EŠ.BAR KUR *ul a-par-ra-as*
—IV:71 *dīnī kītti ul adâni*[419] *purussê ul aparras*
—IV:71 “ ‘I will not deliver judgments of justice nor render verdicts.

[418] Copy M combines this verse with the preceding one on a single line.

[419] The form *adâni* appears to have an overhanging vowel; notice the theme vowel has not reverted.

M (K) ii:22 *ur-ta ul a-nam-din-ma* [. . . . . .
P (L) (obv.) ii:28' *ur-ta ul* . . . [
RR (I) (obv. ii:)72 *u*[*r-t*]*a ul a-nam-*˹*din*˺-[*m*]*a ul ú-pat-ti uz-ni*
—IV:72 *ûrta ul anamdim-ma ul upatti uzni*
—IV:72 " 'I will not give instruction nor enlightenment.[420]

M (K) ii:23 [U]N.MEŠ *kit-tú* ˹*ú*˺*-maš-*[. . . . . .
P (L) (obv.) ii:29' UN.MEŠ *kit-*. . . [
RR (I) (obv. ii:)73 . . . . . *kit-ta* ˹*ú-maš*˺*-ši-ra-ma iṣ-ba-ta pa-rik-ta*
—IV:73 *nišū kītta umašširā-ma iṣbatā parikta*
—IV:73 " 'People have abandoned justice and embraced injustice.

M (K) ii:24 [. . .]-*šá-ra i-z*[*i* . . . . . .
P (L) (obv.) ii:30' <*mi*>*-i-šá-r*[*a* . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)74 . . .-˹*šá*˺*-ra i-zi-*˹*ba*˺*-ma* ḪUL*-ta kap-* ˹*da*˺
—IV:74 *mīšara īzibā-ma lemutta kapdā*
—IV:74 " 'They have deserted righteousness and plotted evil.

M (K) ii:25 [. . .] x x [. . . . . .
P (L) (obv.) ii:31' *ú-*. . . [. . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)75 . . . *-šat-*. . .-˹*bé-ma*˺ *a-na* DIŠ*-et ma-a-ti* IMIN IM.MEŠ
—IV:75 *ušatbē-ma ana ištêt māti sebetti šārī*
—IV:75 " 'I will mobilize[421] the seven winds against one country.

P (L) (obv.) ii:32' *šá ina* . . . [. . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)76 . . . . . *-lu* ˹*la*˺ [*i*]*m-tu-tu i-mat ina šib-ṭi*
—IV:76 *ša ina* [*qab*]*lu lā* [*i*]*mtūtu*[422] *imât ina šibṭi*
—IV:76 " 'Whoever [do]es not die in [warfa]re dies in the plague;

[420] Literally "nor open the ear."

[421] It is possible this verse should properly be reconstructed "*You mobilized* [*tušatbī-ma*] the seven winds against one country," where Ištarān is accusing Erra, as in IV:87. Such mix-ups in person are common in the history of this text (see I:146 and IV:17), and copy P—the only copy in which the initial sign survives—is beset with errors, whether ancient or modern; observe for example that *mīšara* in IV:74 appears to have lost its initial MI sign. (Cagni sees a broken Ú at the beginning of the line in Gössmann's copy of RR [*L'Epopea di Erra*, 113], but this is far from clear from the traces.) (The verb [*t*]*ušatbī-ma* or [*t*]*ušatbē-ma* may be analyzed either as a preterite or as a durative without vowel harmony. I have translated it on the assumption that if it is first person it is durative like the verbs in IV:71–72, and if it is second person it is preterite like the verb IV:87.)

[422] The consistency with which the perfect is employed in the relative clauses in this passage (IV:76–86) suggests it fills some role in this context, perhaps marking explicit anteriority with respect to the main clause.

P (L) (obv.) ii:33’ *šá ina* . . . [. . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)77 ⌜*šá*⌝ ⌜*ina*⌝ ⌜*šib*⌝-*ṭi* ⌜*la*⌝ ⌜*im-tu*⌝-*tu i*-⌜*šal-lal*⌝-*šú* lúKÚR
—IV:77 *ša ina šibṭi lā imtūtu išallalšu nakru*
—IV:77 “ ‘Whoever does not die in the plague, the enemy captures.

P (L) (obv.) ii:34’ *šá n*[*ak*] . . . [. . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)78 ⌜*šá*⌝ ⌜*nak-ru*⌝ ⌜*la*⌝ *iš-t*[*al*]. . . . . ⌜*ú-ra-as-sa-bu*⌝ *šar-ra-qu*
—IV:78 *ša nakru lā išt*[*allūšu*] *urassabu*[423] *šarrāqu*
—IV:78 “ ‘Whomever the enemy does not cap[ture], the thief beats.

P (L) (obv.) ii:35’ . . . . . [. . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)79 ⌜*šá*⌝ ⌜*šar-ra-qu*⌝ ⌜*la*⌝ ⌜*ur-ta*⌝-. . . . . .-⌜*bu*⌝-*šú* gišTUKUL LUGAL *i-kaš-šad-su*
—IV:79 *ša šarrāqu lā urta*[*ssí*]*būšu kakki šarri ikaššassu*
—IV:79 “ ‘Whomever the thief does not be[a]t, the king’s weapon overtakes.

RR (I) (obv. ii:)80 ⌜*šá*⌝ ⌜gišTUKUL⌝ ⌜LUGAL⌝ ⌜*la*⌝ ⌜*ik*⌝-*tal-du* ⌜*ru*⌝-⌜*bu*⌝-*ú ú-šam-qat-su*
—IV:80 *ša kakki šarri lā iktaldu*[424] *rubû ušamqassu*
—IV:80 “ ‘Whomever the king’s weapon does not overtake, the prince lays low.

RR (I) (obv. ii:)81 ⌜*šá*⌝ NUN *la* ⌜*uš*⌝-*ta-am*-⌜*qí*⌝-*tu-šú* dIŠKUR *i-ra-aḫ-ḫi-is-su*
—IV:81 *ša rubû lā uštamqitūšu Adad iraḫḫissu*
—IV:81 “ ‘Whomever the prince does not lay low, Adad floods.

P (L) (rev.) iii:1’ ⌜*šá*⌝ . . . [. . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)82 ⌜*šá*⌝ dIŠKUR *la ir-taḫ*-⌜*ṣu*⌝-*šú* dUTU *i-tab-bal-šú*
—IV:82 *ša Adad lā irtaḫṣūšu Šamaš itabbalšu*
—IV:82 “ ‘Whomever Adad does not flood, Šamaš carries off.[425]

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[423] The form *urassabu* appears to have an overhanging vowel.

[424] Notice the /š/ has become an /l/ here before an alveolar stop. Although this is of course a very common sound shift in late dialects, it is virtually absent from this text (examples of this sound shift’s not being carried out are legion, including I:2, I:25, I:31, I:61, I:83, I:124, I:134, I:135, I:152, I:193, II:2, II:30, II:34, II:39, II:94, II:114, II:115, II:143, IIIa:8, IIIa:12, IIIa:22, IIIc:46, IV:28, IV:48, IV:52, IV:53, IV:61, IV:63, IV:78, IV:81, IV:104, IV:105, IV:106, IV:107, IV:108, IV:109, IV:110, IV:111, IV:139, IV:144, IV:146, V:12, V:34, V:35, and V:36). It appears a conscious impulse toward phonological conservatism informed this text’s composition. Outside of the very common use of *ultu* for *ištu* (see I:39, I:132, I:142, II:146, IV:46, and V:1), only one other instance of this sound shift is extant, in IV:117.

[425] A number of translators, starting with Gössmann (*Era-Epos*, 30), have analyzed this verb from the root *abālu*, “to dry up” (intransitive): “Anyone whom Adad has not washed away, Shamash will parch” (Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 306). Although the meaning is appealing, this is highly unlikely. Not only is this verb universally used intransitively, but a durative is expected here (notice how consistently the author alternates between perfects in the relative clauses of this passage and duratives in the independent clauses), which suggests, if the root is *abālu*, the stem is Gt. But no Gt-stem is attested for this verb, and it is very unlikely a Gt-stem would form the transitive counterpart to an intransitive G-stem root. I am therefore convinced this is best analyzed as a durative of the root *tabālu*.

P (L) (rev.) iii:2' *šá* . . . [. . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)83 ⌜*šá*⌝ *a-na* ⌜KI⌝ *it-ta-ṣu-ú <i>-šab-⌜biṭ⌝-su šá-a-ru*
—IV:83 *ša ana erṣeti ittaṣû išabbissu šāru*
—IV:83 " 'Whoever goes out to the countryside,[426] the wind thrashes.[427]

P (L) (rev.) iii:3' *šá* . . . [. . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)84 ⌜*šá*⌝ *i-⌜ter-bu⌝ a-na* GÁ.NUN-*ni-šú* MAŠKIM *i-maḫ-ḫa-as-su*
—IV:84 *ša īterbu ana ganūnīšu rābiṣu imaḫḫassu*
—IV:84 " 'Whoever enters into his private chamber, a lurker demon strikes.

P (L) (rev.) iii:4' *šá* x [. . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)85 ⌜*šá*⌝ *a-na mu-le-e i-te-lu-ú ina ṣu-mi i-⌜mat⌝*
—IV:85 *ša ana mūlê ītelû ina ṣūmi imât*
—IV:85 " 'Whoever goes up to the height dies of thirst.

P (L) (rev.) iii:5' *šá* x x [. . . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)86 ⌜*šá*⌝ *a-na muš-pa-li it-tar-du i-mat i-na* A.MEŠ?
—IV:86 *ša ana mušpali ittardu imât ina mê*
—IV:86 " 'Whoever goes down to the lowland dies by water.

RR (I) (obv. ii:)87 ⌜*mu*⌝*-la-a ù muš-pa-la ki-i a-ḫa-míš tag-mur*
—IV:87 *mūlâ u mušpala kī aḫāmiš tagmur*
—IV:87 " 'You annihilated height and lowland alike.

P (L) (rev.) iii:6' . . . . . [. . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)88 . . . . . KUR URU *a-na a-lit-ti-šú i-qab-bi ki-a-am*
—IV:88 [*ša*]*kin*?[428] *āli ana ālittīšu iqabbi kiam*

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[426] The meaning of *erṣetu* in this passage is unclear; since it appears to be counterposed to *ganūnu*, "private chamber," in the following verse, I am proposing it means "land" in the sense of "country" as it is sometimes counterposed to "city" in English, although it must be admitted this is no more than a guess. Other translators have opted sensibly for "outdoors" or the equivalent (see especially Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 113).

[427] The verb *šabāṭu* is difficult in this context; ordinarily it has the sense "to beat" or the related meaning "to sweep" (see *CAD*, ad loc.). When "wind" is the subject, *CAD* suggests it means "to blow (away)," which is how this passage is translated under the relevant entry: "He who has gone outside, the wind will blow him away." However, in other cited instances in which "wind" is the subject and people the object, it is nowhere assumed that people are physically blown away; compare the following use of the phrase with an individual's ear as the object: *šumma amēlu uzun imittīšu šāru išbiṭ-ma kabtat ana bulluṭīšu* (etc.), "If the wind thrashes (?) a man's right ear and it becomes heavy, in order to heal him . . ." ([rev.] iv:6 of AO 6774, published in Labat, "Les affections de l'oreille"). Since part of the remedy involves putting a medicinal substance in the man's ear (see [rev.] iv:7–8), it is clear the ear has not physically blown off the man's head; it is likely here too the verb simply means to "beat" or "thrash." Since demons can also serve as subjects to this verb, it may be a deliberate synonym to *maḫāṣu* in the next verse.

—IV:88 “ ‘The [gove]rnor (?) of the city will speak to his mother thus:

P (L) (rev.) iii:7’ . . . . . [. . . . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)89 ⌜*i-na*⌝? UD-*mu tu-li-din-*⌜*ni*⌝ ⌜*lu*⌝*-ú ap-pa-rik ina* ŠÀ-*bi-*[. . .]
—IV:89 *ina ūmu tulidīnni*[429] *lū apparik ina libbī*[*ki*]
—IV:89 “ ‘ ‘If only I had been obstructed in [your] womb on the day you bore me!

P (L) (rev.) iii:8’ . . . . . [. . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)90 . . . x x-*ta-ni lu-ú* ⌜*iq-tu*⌝*-ma lu-ú ni-mut* I[D . . .]
—IV:90 [*napiš*]*tani lū iqtû-ma lū nimūt* . . . . . .[430]
—IV:90 “ ‘ ‘If only our [live]s had come to an end and we had died . . .

P (L) (rev.) iii:9’ . . . . . [. . .
RR (I) (obv. ii:)91 . . . . . x ḪA . . . x [. . . . .]
—IV:91 . . . . . .
—IV:91 “ ‘ ‘. . .

P (L) (rev.) iii:10’ *áš* . . . . . [
RR (I) (rev. i:)92 ⌜*áš*⌝*-šú ta-ad-di-ni-in-ni a-na* URU *šá* BÀD-*šú i*[*n*? . . . . .]
—IV:92 *aššu taddinīnni ana āli ša dūršu i*[*nnaqru*][431]
—IV:92 “ ‘ ‘Because you gave me to a city whose wall has been t[orn down]!

P (L) (rev.) iii:11’ UN . . . . . [
W (A) rev. iii:1’ [. . . . .] x ⌜DINGIR-*šin*⌝

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[428] The reconstruction GAR.KUR or [lú]GAR.KUR here follows Gössmann (*Era-Epos*, 31). Although *šaknu* replaces *šakkanakku* as a standard term for “governor” after the Old Babylonian period, *šakkanakku* continues to be used in literary contexts, as well as appearing in some seventh-to-eighth–century Babylonian texts (see *CAD*, s.v. “šaknu”)—the period from which our text likely stems. In fact, the term *šakkanakku* is common elsewhere throughout this text (II:18, IV:12, IV:23, IV:59, V:35, and V:38); if the reconstruction of this line is correct, it is not clear whether the *šakin āli* is to be understood as the same figure as the *šakkanakku* or a different figure. While it is very common to find the term *šakin* paired with URU in designating a particular geographical region, no other attestation of the phrase *šakin āli* alone is known to me (in contrast to *šakin māti*, a common phrase and the origin of the compound logogram GAR.KUR for *šaknu*); this fact may cast doubt on the reconstruction. However, it is not clear what other phrase might fit the traces; several well-known phrases involving *ālu*, such as *āšib āli*, *ša libbi āli*, *ša muḫḫi āli*, *tamkār āli*, *ṭupšar āli*, etc., appear to be excluded. It is probable this figure is best understood as general and non-specific (like the father and builder of a house below), and this may account for the unusual indefinite phrasing “governor of the city.”

[429] Notice the irregular lack of vowel syncope, an apparent example of archaizing.

[430] Cagni reconstructs *ittī*, “in addition,” at the end of this line. Although it fits the traces and space well, the term is otherwise unknown from Standard Babylonian and awkward in context (since the first hemistich conveys the meaning of dying it is not actually “in addition”). Unfortunately it is not clear what other term might fit the context (although broken, the ID sign is clear in the copy).

[431] Following Cagni’s restoration (*L’Epopea*, 114).

RR (I) (rev. i:)93 UN.MEŠ-*šú bu-lu-um-ma* ⌜*ma*⌝-*ḫi-ṣu* DINGIR-*ši-in*
—IV:93 *nišūšu būlum-ma māḫiṣu ilūšin*
—IV:93 " ' 'Its people are wildlife and their god is a hunter.

P (L) (rev.) iii:12' ⌜*ù*⌝ . . . . . [
P (L) (rev.) iii:13' . . . . . [. . . . . .
W (A) rev. iii:2' [. . . . . .]-*ma ḫa-ʾe-e-ra*
W (A) rev. iii:3' [. . . . . .]-*mu-tu ina* giš TUKUL
RR (I) (rev. i:)94a *ù šá še-ti-šú in-šá pi-qa-tu₄-ma ḫa-ʾi-i-ri*
RR (I) (rev. i:)94b *la iš-lu-pu-ma i-mu-tu₄ i-na* giš TUTKUL
—IV:94 *u ša šētīšu īšša pīqatū-ma ḫāʾirī lā*[432] *išlupū-ma imūtū ina kakki*
—IV:94 " ' 'And as for his net, its interstices are constricted, such that they could not extricate lovers, but they died violently.'[433]

P (L) (rev.) iii:14' . . . . . [*u*]*l-du* x [. . . . . .
W (A) rev. iii:4' [. . . . .]-*ri-ma i-qab-bi*
RR (I) (rev. i:)95 *šá ma-ra ul-du ma-ri-ma i-qab-bi*
—IV:95 *ša māra uldu mārī-ma iqabbi*
—IV:95 " 'Whoever begets a son and says, 'He is my son!

P (L) (rev.) iii:15' . . . . . *ur-tab-bi-ma* ⌜*ú*⌝ [. . . . . .
W (A) rev. iii:5' [. . . . . .]-*ta-ra gi-mil-li*
RR (I)(rev. i:)96 *an-na-a ur-tab-bi-ma ú-tar gi-mil-lu*
—IV:96 *anna urtabbī-ma utarra/utār gimilli*
—IV:96 " ' 'Certainly when I have raised him, he will return the favor'—

P (L) (rev.) iii:16' . . . *u*]*š-mat-ma a-bu* [. . . . . .
W (A) rev. iii:6' [. . . . . *b*]*u i-qab-bir-šú*
RR (I)(rev. i:)97 *ma-ra uš-mat-ma a-bu i-qa-ab-bir-šu*
—IV:97 *māra ušmāt-ma abu iqabbiršu*
—IV:97 " 'I will put the son to death and the father will have to bury him.

P (L) (rev.) iii:17' [. . . *a*]*r-ki* AD *uš-mat-ma qé-b*[*i* . . . . . .
W (A) rev. iii:7' [. . . . . .]-x-*ma qé-bi-ra ul i-ši*
RR (I)(rev. i:)98 *ar-ka a-ba uš-ma-at-ma qé-bi-ra ul i-*⌜*ši*⌝
—IV:98 *arka aba ušmāt-ma qēbira ul īši*
—IV:98 " 'Afterwards I will put the father to death and he will have no one to bury him.

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[432] The negative particle *lā* in this verse appears to be in error for *ul*; for examples of similar errors see I:103, II:106 (twice), and IV:1; for examples of related errors in the negative particle see IV:121 (copies R and RR), IV:122 (copies R and W), and IV:135 (copy AA).

[433] Literally "they died by a weapon." I have here taken *pīqatū-ma* as a predicative verbal adjective with overhanging vowel.

P (L) (rev.) iii:18’ [*š*]*á* É *i-pu-šu ga-nu-ni-m*[*a* . . . . . .
W (A) rev. iii:8’ [. . . . . *g*]*a-nu-ni-ma i-qab-bi*
RR (I)(rev. i:)99 *šá* É *i-pu-šú gá-nu-ni-ma i-qab-bi*
—IV:99 *ša bīta īpušu ganūnī-ma iqabbi*
—IV:99 “ ‘Whoever builds a building and says, ‘It is my private chamber!

P (L) (rev.) iii:19’ *an-na-a* DÙ-*ma a-pa-áš-šá-ḫu* [. . . . . .
W (A) rev. iii:9’ [. . . . .] ˹*a*˺-*pa-šaḫ qer-bu-uš-šú*
RR (I)(rev. i:)100 [*a*]*n-na-a e-te-pu-uš-ma a-pa-áš-šá-ḫa qé-reb-šú*
—IV:100 *anna ētepuš-ma apaššaḫ*(*u*/*a*) *qerbuššu*/*qerebšu*
—IV:100 “ ‘ ‘Certainly when I have built it I will repose within it;

P (L) (rev.) iii:20’ UD-*mu ub-til-la-an-ni ši-ma-ti a-ṣal-lal i*[*na* . . . . . .
W (A) rev. iii:10’ [. . . . . *l*]*a-an-ni a-ṣal-lal ina* ŠÀ-*bi*
RR (I)(rev. i:)101 UD-*um ub-til-la-an-ni ši-ma-tú a-ṣal-la-lu ina* ŠÀ-*bi*
—IV:101 *ūm ubtillanni*[434] *šīmati*[435] *aṣallal*(*u*)[436] *ina libbi*
—IV:101 “ ‘ ‘When fate has carried me off, I will sleep inside it’—

P (L) (rev.) iii:21’ *šá-a-šú uš-mat-su-ma ú-šaḫ-ra-bi g*[*a* . . .
W (A) rev. iii:11’ [. . . . . *š*]*aḫ-rab ga-nun-šú*
RR (I)(rev. i:)102 *šá-a-šu uš-mat-su-ma ú-šaḫ-ra-ba gá-nun-šú*
—IV:102 *šâšu ušmāssū-ma ušaḫrab*(*i*/*a*)[437] *ganūššu*
—IV:102 “ ‘I will put that person to death and lay waste his private chamber.

P (L) (rev.) iii:22’ *ar-ki lu-ú ḫar-bu-um-ma ana šá-nim-ma a-n*[*am*
W (A) rev. iii:12’ [. . . . .] *šá-né-e a-nam-din*
RR (I)(rev. i:)103 *ar-ka lu-ú ḫar-bu-um-ma a-na šá-*˹*nim-ma*˺˹*a*˺-. . . . . .
—IV:103 *arka lū ḫarbum-ma ana šanîm-ma anamdin*
—IV:103 “ ‘Afterwards, though it be a ruin, I will give it to someone else.’

P (L) (rev.) iii:23’ *qu-ra-du* [d]*èr-ra ki-nam-ma tuš-t*[*a*

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[434] Given the context this verb can only be a form of *babālu*. It appears the G-stem perfect has been re-formed by analogy with other perfect forms; the closest parallels are hollow roots in the D-stem: *ukīn*:*uktīn*::*ubil*:*ubtil*. In fact, this resemblance likely accounts for the gemination of the final consonant before the vocalic suffix, as this is exactly what happens to D-stem hollow roots. One other example of this form is known to me, in *The Babylonian Theodicy* line 9: *aḫurrâkū-ma zārû šīmtum ubtil*, “I was a youngest child; fate carried off my father.” Contrast the form *ittubil* in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian contexts.

[435] Notice that this singular form (missing from copy W) is spelled not *šīmtu* but *šīmatu*.

[436] The form *aṣallalu* appears to have an overhanging vowel.

[437] Here as elsewhere we see variation between forms with ventives and forms with overhanging vowels.

W (A) rev. iii:13’ [. . . . . .] x BE LA *ki-nam-ma tuš-ta-mit*[438]
RR (I)(rev. i:)104 *qu-ra-du* ^{d}*èr-ra ki-nam-ma tuš-ta-mit*
—IV:104 *qurādu Erra kīnam-ma tuštamīt*
—IV:104 “Warrior Erra, you have put the righteous person to death.

P (L) (rev.) iii:24’ *la ki-nam-ma tuš-ta-*[. . .
RR (I)(rev. i:)105 *la ki-nam-ma tuš-ta-mit*
—IV:105 *lā kīnam-ma tuštamīt*
—IV:105 “You have put the unrighteous person to death.

P (L) (rev.) iii:25’ *šá iḫ-ṭu-ka-ma tuš-ta-*[. . .
RR (I)(rev. i:)106 *šá iḫ-ṭu-ka-ma tuš-ta-mit*
—IV:106 *ša iḫṭûkā-ma tuštamīt*
—IV:106 “You have put to death the person who transgressed against you;

P (L) (rev.) iii:26’ ˹*šá*˺ *la iḫ-ṭu-ka-a-ma tuš-t*[*a* . . .
RR (I)(rev. i:)107 *šá la iḫ-ṭu-ka-ma tuš-ta-mit*
—IV:107 *ša lā iḫṭûkā-ma tuštamīt*
—IV:107 “You have put to death the person who did not transgress against you.

P (L) (rev.) iii:27’ [. . .] x *mu-šaḫ-miṭ tak-lim* DINGIR *tuš-*[. . . . . .
W (A) rev. iii:14’ x x x x x x x x x x x x ˹DINGIR˺ [. . . . . .]
RR (I)(rev. i:)108 *e-nu mu-šaḫ-miṭ tak-lim* DINGIR.MEŠ *tuš-ta-mit*
—IV:108 *enu mušaḫmiṭ taklīm ilānī tuštamīt*
—IV:108 “You have put to death the *en*-priest who expeditiously brought the *taklīmu*-offerings of the gods.

P (L) (rev.) iii:28’ [. . . . . G]A *u mu-kil re-eš* LUGAL *t*[*uš* . . . . . .
W (A) rev. iii:15’ GÌR.SÈ.GA$^{!}$(Ú) *mu-kil* SAG LUGAL *tuš-*[. . . . . .]
RR (I)(rev. i:)109 GÌR.SÈ.GA *mu-kil re-eš* LUGAL *tuš-ta-mit*
—IV:109 *gerseqqû*[439] *mukīl rēš šarri tuštamīt*
—IV:109 “You have put to death the *gerseqqû*, the attendant of the king.

P (L) (rev.) iii:29’ [. . . . . .] *dak-kan-ni tuš-*[. . . . . .
W (A) rev. iii:16’ *še*$_{20}$*-e-bi ina dak-kan-ni tuš-t*[*a* . . . . . .]
RR (I)(rev. i:)110 *ši-i-bi ina dak-kan-ni tuš-ta-mit*
—IV:110 *šībī ina dakkannī tuštamīt*
—IV:110 “You have put to death the old men in the doorways (?).

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[438] It is possible copy W preserved more material in this line than the other copies.

[439] It is unclear whether the U sign in copy P is better understood as a phonetic complement or a conjunction. This leaves open the question of the syntactic relationship between *gerseqqû* and *mukīl rēš šarri*, whether one of asyndeton or apposition.

P (L) (rev.) iii:30’ [. . . . .].MEŠ *ur-ši-ši-na t*[*uš* . . . . . .
W (A) rev. iii:17’ KI.SIKIL.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ina ur-ši-ši-na tuš-ta-mi*[*t*]
RR (I)(rev. i:)111 KI.SIKIL.MEŠ *ṣa-ḫar-a-ti ina ur-ši-ši-na tuš-ta-mit*
—IV:111 *ardāti ṣaḫarāti*[440] (*ina*) *uršīšina tuštamīt*[441]
—IV:111 “You have put to death the young women in their bedrooms.

P (L) (rev.) iii:31’ [. . . . .] x x [. . . . . .
W (A) rev. iii:18’ *ú na-ḫa-am-ma ul ta-nu-uḫ-ḫa*
RR (I)(rev. i:)112 *ù na-ḫa-am-ma ul ta-nu-uḫ*
—IV:112 *u nâḫam-ma ul tanuḫḫa/tanūḫ*
—IV:112 “And still you would not rest.

P (L) (rev.) iii:32’ [. . . . .] x [. . . . . .
R (M) (rev.) 113 . . . . .] x [. . .] x ˹*ù*˺ [. . .]
W (A) rev. iii:19’ *ù ta-ta-mì ana* ŠÀ-*bi-ka um-ma le-qu-u še-ṭu*[IB](IB)-*ti*
FF (C) 8’ . . . . .]-x-˹*i*˺ *ina* ŠÀ-*bi-ka* [. . . . . .
RR (I)(rev. i:)113 *ù ta-ta-ma a-na* ŠÀ-*bi-ka um-ma le-qu-ú še-ṭu-tú*
—IV:113 *u tātami/tātamâ ana libbīka umma leqû šeṭūtī*
—IV:113 “But you said to yourself, ‘They hold me in contempt!’

R (M) (rev.) 114 . . . . .] *qu*-[*r*]*a*-˹*du*˺ ᵈ*èr-r*[*a*]
W (A) rev. iii:20’ *ù ki-a-am ana* ŠÀ-*bi-ka taq-ta-bi qu-ra-du* ᵈ*èr-ra*
FF (C) 9’ . . . . .] x *a-na* x . . . [. . . . . .
RR (I)(rev. i:)114 *ù ki-a-am ana* ŠÀ-*bi-ka taq-ta-bi qu-ra-du* ᵈ*èr-ra*
—IV:114 *u kiam ana libbīka taqtabi qurādu Erra*
—IV:114 “But you have spoken thus to yourself, Warrior Erra:

R (M) (rev.) 115 . . . . .] ˹*a*˺-*ka-a* ˹*lu-pal*˺-*l*[*iḫ*]
W (A) rev. iii:21’ *dan-nu lum-ḫaṣ-ma a-ka-a lu-pal-*˹*liḫ*˺?
FF (C) 10’ . . . . .] x x x . . . . . [. . . . . .
RR (I)(rev. i:)115 *dan-nu lum-ḫa-aṣ-ma a-ka-a lu-pal-li-iḫ*[Ú](Ú)
—IV:115 *dannu lumḫaṣ-ma akâ lupalliḫ*

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[440] Notice the lack of vowel syncope in this word—which has additionally been written with a broken spelling. This form occurs on only one other occasion in this text, in IV:122, where it is again written with a broken spelling, with lack of vowel syncope, in copy RR.

[441] The string of perfect forms in this passage—*tuštamīt* in every verse from IV:104 to IV:111—is striking. Although the motivation for the perfect rather than the preterite is not always transparent in this text, it is quite common throughout, as in classical Old Babylonian, for preterites or series of preterites to culminate in a perfect form (see I:29, I:125, I:136, II:8, II:34, IV:3, IV:4, IV:19, IV:20, IV:21, IV:36, IV:51, IV:60, IV:61, IV:69, IV:142, IV:146, V:22, and V:45), where the perfect serves the function of focusing the reader’s attention on the high point of the verse. It may be that the perfect here serves a similar function in highlighting or emphasizing this passage.

—IV:115 " 'Let me strike the mighty and terrify the weak!

R (M) (rev.) 116 . . . . . *na*]*r-ma um-ma*-x *lu-šá-as*-[. . .]
W (A) rev. iii:22' *a-lik pa-an um-ma-a-ni lu-nar-ma um-ma-a-ni lu-šá-as-ḫír*
FF (C) 11' . . . . .] . . . ⌜*um-ma*⌝?-*ni lu*-. . . [. . . . . .
RR (I)(rev. i:)116 *a-lik pa-an um-ma-a-ni lu-nar-ma um-ma-nu lu-šá-as-ḫir*
—IV:116 *ālik pān ummāni lunār-ma ummāni lušasḫir*
—IV:116 " 'Let me slay the commander of the troops and put the troops to flight!

R (M) (rev.) 117a . . . . . *g*]*u-na-šú šá* BÀD *ki-lil-š*[*ú*]
R (M) (rev.) 117b . . . . . *m*]*a lu-ḫal-liq bal-ti* UR[U]
W (A) rev. iii:23' *šá . . .*-⌜*šèr*⌝!-⌜*ti*⌝ *ge-gu-na-šá šá* BÀD *ki-lil-ši lu-bu-ut-ma*
W (A) rev. iii:24' *lu-ḫal-li-qa bal-ti* URU
FF (C) 12' . . . . .]-⌜*ti*⌝ *ge-g*[*u*]-. . . . . *šá* BÀD [. . . . . .
RR (I)(rev. i:)117 *šá a-šèr-ti ge-gu-na-šá* BÀD *ki-lil-šú lu-bu-ut-ma lu-ḫal-li-qa bal-ti* ⌜URU⌝
—IV:117 *ša ašerti gegunnâša* (*ša*) *dūri kilīlšu lūbut-ma luḫalliqa bālti*[442] *āli*
—IV:117 " 'Let me destroy the tower of the chapel and the parapet of the city wall and demolish the pride of the city!

R (M) (rev.) 118 . . . . .]-*suḫ-ma lit-te-eq-lep-pa-a* giš[. . .]
W (A) rev. iii:25' ⌜*tár*⌝[443]-*kul-la lu-suḫ*$_4$-*ma lit-te-eq-le-pu* gišMÁ
AA (B) A 156, rev. 1' . . . . .] x x [. . . . . .
FF (C) 13' . . . . .] . . . *lu*-x . . . . . x-*ma* . . . [. . . . . .
RR (I)(rev. i:)118 *tár-ku*$_5$-*lu*$_4$ *lu-us-su-uḫ-ma lit-taq-lap-pa-a* gišMÁ
—IV:118 *tarkulla lussuḫ-ma litteqleppâ/litteqleppu eleppu*
—IV:118 " 'Let me tear out the mooring post so that the boat is set adrift!

R (M) (rev.) 119 . . . *u*]*š-bir-ma la im-mì-da ana kib-ri*
W (A) rev. iii:26' *sik-kan-na lu-uš-bir-ma la im-mì-da ana kib-ri*
AA (B) A 156, rev. 2' . . . . .] *lu-uš*-. . . . . [. . . . . .
FF (C) 14' . . . . .] . . . *lu*-x . . . . . *ma* . . . [. . . . . .
RR (I)(rev. i:)119 *sik-kan-nu lu-uš-bir-ma la im-mì-da a-na kib-ri*
—IV:119 *sikkanna lušbir-ma lā immida ana kibri*
—IV:119 " 'Let me break the rudder so that it cannot reach the shore!

R (M) (rev.) 120 . . . *l*]*u-uš-ḫu-uṭ-ma lu-us-suḫ si-mat-su*
W (A) rev. iii:27' *tim-ma . . .*-[*u*]*š-ḫu-uṭ-ma lu-us-su-ḫa si-mat-su*
AA (B) A 156, rev. 3'] x . . .-*ma lu-uš*-⌜*ḫu-uṭ-ma*⌝ ⌜*lu*⌝-[. . . . . .

[442] Notice all copies in which it is extant preserve the form *bālti* rather than *bāšti*; this is one of two occasions on which /š/ is spelled with an /l/ before an alveolar stop (see also IV:80).

[443] The reading of this sign here follows Hecker's collations (*apud* Cagni, *L'Epopea*, 117); in the copy the sign appears to be ⌜BAL⌝.

FF (C) 15’ . . . . .] . . . *lu-ᵀuš*ᵀ-. . . . . x x [. . . . . .
RR (I)(rev. i:)120 *tim-ma lu-uš-ḫu-uṭ-ma lu-us-su-ḫa si-mat-sa*
—IV:120 *timma lušḫuṭ-ma lussuḫ*(*a*) *simāssu/simassa*
—IV:120 “ ‘Let me pull down the mast and tear out its (the boat’s) fittings!

R (M) (rev.) 121 . . . *l*]*u-šá-bil-ma la i-bal-luṭ še-er-ru*
W (A) rev. iii:28’ *tu-lu-ú* . . . . . -[*b*]*ì-il-ma ul i-bal-luṭ šèr-ru*
AA (B) A 156, rev. 4’] *tu-la-a lu-šá-bíl-ᵀmaᵀ ᵀulᵀ* [. . . . . .
FF (C) 16’ . . . . .] . . . . . *šá* x [. . . . . .
RR (I)(rev. i:)121 *tu-la-a lu-šá-bil-ma la i-bal-luṭ šèr-ri*
—IV:121 *tulâ lušābil-ma lā/ul*[444] *iballuṭ šerru*
—IV:121 “ ‘Let me dry up the breast so the baby will not thrive!

R (M) (rev.) 122a . . .] *lu-uḫ-ṭi-im-ma* ÍD.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ
R (M) (rev.) 122b *u*]*l ub-ba-la* A.MEŠ ḪÉ.NUN
W (A) rev. iii:29’ *kup-pa ᵀluᵀ*-x . . . . . MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *ul ub-ba-la* A.MEŠ ḪÉ.NUN
AA (B) A 156, rev. 5’ *k*]*ᵊu-pa lu-uḫ-ṭi-ma* ÍD.MEŠ TUR.[. . . . . .
FF (C) 17’ . . . . .] . . . x [. . . . . .
RR (I) (rev. i:)122 *ku-ᵀupᵀ-pi lu-uḫ-ṭim-ma* ÍDᴵ(A).MEŠ *ṣa-ḫar-a-ti la ub-ba-la* A.MEŠ ᵀḪÉᵀ.NUN
—IV:122 *kuppa luḫṭim-ma nārāti ṣaḫarāti*[445] *ul*[446]*/lā ubbalā mê nuḫši*
—IV:122 “ ‘Let me stop up the water source so the small canals no longer bring the waters of prosperity!

R (M) (rev.) 123 *k*]*al-la lu-un-niš-ma ᵀli-isᵀ-bu-ᵓu šá-ma-mi*
W (A) rev. iii:30’ *er-kal-la* . . . . . -[*m*]*a li-is-bu-ᵓu šá-ma-mi*
AA (B) A 156, rev. 6’] . . .*-kal-la lu-niš-ma ᵀliᵀ*-[. . . . . .
RR (I)(rev. i:)123 *er-kal-lu ᵀlu-unᵀ-niš-ma li-is-bu-ᵓu-ú šá-ma-mi*
—IV:123 *erkalla lunīš-ma*[447] *lisbuᵓū šamāmī*
—IV:123 “ ‘Let me shake the netherworld and let the firmament lurch!

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[444] The negative particle *ul* in copies R and RR in this verse appears to be in error for *lā*, since a negative injunction is expected. For examples of similar errors see IV:122 (copies R and W) and IV:135 (copy AA); for examples of related errors in the negative particle see I:103, II:106 (twice), IV:1, and IV:94.

[445] On the odd spelling of this word see n. 440 above.

[446] The negative particle *ul* in copies R and W in this verse appears to be in error for *lā*, since a negative injunction is expected. For examples of similar errors see IV:121 (copies R and RR) and IV:135 (copy AA); for examples of related errors in the negative particle see I:103, II:106 (twice), IV:1, and IV:94.

[447] Notice the unexpected spelling *lu-un-niš-ma* in copies R and RR, furnishing the D-stem of *enēšu*: “let me weaken.” Although this makes sense in context, the parallel to *sabāᵓu* suggests the form is to be analyzed rather as the hollow root *nâšu* (in the D-stem). The gemination here is puzzling; while there is some tendency for the sequence V:C to alternate with VCC, this would be an apparent example of CV: alternating with CCV.

P (L) (rev.) iv:1 ⌜d⌝ŠUL.PA.È *šá-ru-ru-šú lu ú-ša*[*m*]-. . . . . .
W (A) rev. iii:31' *šá* dŠ[UL] . . . . . *lu-šam*!(SAG)*-qit-ma* MUL.MEŠ *lu-šam-sik*
AA (B) A 156, rev. 7'] . . . . . PA?.È.A *šá-ru-ru-šu* ⌜*lu*⌝-. . . . . [
RR (I)(rev. i:)124a *šá* dŠUL.PA.È.⌜A⌝ x [. . . . . .]
RR (I)(rev. i:)124b MUL.MEŠ *šá-ma*-x [. . . . . .]
—IV:124 (*ša*) *Šulpae*(*a*) *šarūrūšu *lū uša*[*mqit-ma*]*/**lušamqit-ma* kakkabānī* (*šamā*[*mī*]) *lušamsik*
—IV:124 " 'Let me cause the radiance of Šulpae to fall away and let me remove the stars (of the firmam[ent])![448]

P (L) (rev.) iv:2 *šá iṣ-ṣi šu-ru-us-su lip-*. . . . . [*r*]*i-ma*
P (L) (rev.) iv:3 *la i-šam-mu-ḫa pi-ri-*. . . . . x-*šú*
W (A) rev. iii:32' *šá iṣ-*⌜*ṣi*⌝ . . . . . x-*ma la i-šam-mu-uḫ p*[*i*]-. . .*-iʾ-šú*
AA (B) A 156, rev. 8'] . . .-[*u*]*s-su lip-*⌜*pa-ri*⌝*-ma la* . . . . . .-[*ḫ*]*a pi-ri-iʾ-*. . . [
RR (I)(rev. i:)125 *šá iṣ-ṣi šu-ru-us-su lu-*⌜*pèr*⌝-[. . . . . .]
NUNUZ [
—IV:125 *ša iṣṣi šurussu lipparī-ma*[449] *lā išammuḫ*(*a*) *piriʾšu*
—IV:125 " 'Let the root of the tree be cut through so that its bud cannot flourish!

P (L) (rev.) iv:4 *šá i-ga-ri i-ši-is-su lu-bu-ut-ma* ⌜*lit*⌝-. . . . . *šá-a-šú*
W (A) rev. iii:33' *šá* [. . . . . .] *i-šid-su lu-suḫ-ma lit-ru-ra re-. . .-šú*
AA (B) A 156, rev. 9'] . . .-⌜*ri*⌝ *i-šid-su lu-suḫ-ma* ⌜*lit-ru*⌝-. . . . . *re-šá-a-*. . . [
RR (I)(rev. i:)126 ⌜*šá*⌝ *i-ga-ri i-šid-su lu-bu-ut-ma lit-*[. . . . . .]
—IV:126 *ša igāri išissu lūbut-ma/lussuḫ-ma litrurā rēšāšu*
—IV:126 " 'Let me destroy/tear out the foundation of the wall so that its top trembles!

P (L) (rev.) iv:5 *a-na šu-bat* LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ *lu-ʾi-ir-ma* ⌜*la*⌝!(KA) . . . . . -⌜*ši*⌝ ⌜*mil-ku*?⌝[450]
W (A) rev. iii:34' [. . . . . .] . . . [LUG]AL DINGIR.MEŠ *lu-ʾi-ir-ma la ib-ba-ši* ⌜*mi*[*l*]-. . . . . .[451]
AA (B) A 156, rev. 10']-*bat* NU[N] DINGIR.DINGIR *lu-ʾi-*⌜*ir*⌝*-ma* . . . . . [*b*]*a-ši* . . . . . [
RR (I)(rev. i:)127 *a-na šu-bat* LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ *lu-ʾi-ir-ma la ib-ba*-x-[. . . . . .]
—IV:127 *ana šubat šar/rub*[*ê*] *ilānī luʾīr-ma lā ibbašši milku*
—IV:127 " 'Let me approach the dwelling of the king/prin[ce] of the gods so that no more advice is issued!' "

P (L) (rev.) iv:6 *iš-me-šú-ma qu-ra-du* d*èr-ra*

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[448] Compare II:4 and II:128.

[449] Notice the variant to this form in copy RR, beginning *luper-*. If the verb *parāʾu* can be treated as an e-verb, in which /e/ tends to replace /a/ (and there is no other evidence that it can), this could be a D-stem first-person precative of this root, *luperri*: "Let me cut through the root of the tree. . . ."

[450] The reading *mil-ku* follows Hecker's collations (*apud* Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 118).

[451] Hecker's collations suggest *mil-ku* appears here as well (ibid.).

W (A) rev. iii:35’ [. . . . . .]-ʳšúˀ-*ma qu-ra-du* ᵈ*èr-ra*
AA (B) A 156, rev. 11’]-ʳšuˀ-*ma qu-ra-du* ᵈ. . . . . [. . . . . .
RR (I)(rev. i:)128 *iš-me-šú-ma qu-ra-du* ᵈ*èr-ra*
—IV:128 *išmēšū-ma qurādu Erra*
—IV:128 Warrior Erra heard him.

P (L) (rev.) iv:7 *a-mat* ᵈ*i-šum iq-bu-šú ki-i ú-lu šam-ni* UGU-*šú iṭ-ṭi-ib*
W (A) rev. iii:36’ [. . . . . *šu*]*m*ʔ *iq-bu-u ki-i* ʳ*ú*ˀ!(KAL)[452]-*lu šam-ni* UGU-*šú i-ṭib*
AA (B) A 156, rev. 12’] ʳ*i*ˀ-*šum iq-bu-ú* ʳ*ki*ˀ-*i* x x x x . . . . . [. . . . . .
RR (I)(rev. i:)129a *a-mat* ᵈ*i-šum iq-bu-šú ki-ma ú-lu šam-ni* UGU-*šú*
RR (I)(rev. i:)129b *i-ṭib*
—IV:129 *amāt Išum iqbû*(*šu*) *kī ulû šamni elīšu iṭ*(*ṭ*)*īb*
—IV:129 The speech that Išum had spoken (to him) was as pleasing to him as the best oil.[453]

P (L) (rev.) iv:8 *ù ki-a-am iq-ta-bi qu-ra-du* ᵈ*èr-ra*
W (A) rev. iii:37’ [. . . . . *a*]*m* ʳ*iq*ˀ-*ta-bi qu-ra-du*!(QU) ᵈ*èr-ra*
AA (B) A 156, rev. 13’ *k*]*i-a-am taq-ba-a qu-r*[*a*]-. . . . . [. . . . . .
RR (I)(rev. i:)130 *ù ki-a-am iq-ta-bi qu-ra-du* ᵈ*èr-ra*
—IV:130 *u kiam iqtabi*[454] *qurādu Erra*
—IV:130 Warrior Erra spoke thus:

P (L) (rev.) iv:9 *tam-tì tam-tì su-bar-ta su-bar-tu áš-šur-a áš-šu-ru*
W (A) rev. iii:38’ [. . . . . .]-ʳ*barˀ-ta su-bar-tu*$_4$ *áš-šu-ra aš-šur*ᵏⁱ
AA (B) A 156, rev. 14’ [455]*s*]*u-bar-*ʳ*tu*ˀ *su-bar-*ʳ*ta*ˀ *áš-šu-*ʳ*ra*ˀ*-a áš-š*[*u*]-. . . . . [. . . . . .
RR (I)(rev. i:)131 *tam-tì tam-tì su-bar-ta su-bar-tu*$_4$ *aš-šur-a aš-šur-ú*
—IV:131 *tâmti tâmti Subarta Subartu Aššurâ Aššur*(*û*)
—IV:131 “Let sea not spare[456] sea, Subartian Subartian, Assyrian Assyrian,

P (L) (rev.) iv:10 *e-la-ma-a e-la-mu-ú*
P (L) (rev.) iv:11 *kaš-šá-a kaš-šu-ú*
W (A) rev. iii:39’ [. . . . . .] *e-la-mu-u kaš-šá-a kaš-šu-u*
AA (B) A 156, rev. 15’ *-l*]*a-ma-a e-la-*ʳ*mu*ˀ*-ú kaš-šá-a . . . . . .-šu-. . .* [. . . . . .
RR (I)(rev. ii:)132 ʳ*e*ˀ*-la-ma-a e-la-mu-ú kaš-šá-a kaš-šu-ú*
—IV:132 *Elamâ Elamû Kaššâ Kaššû*

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[452] Hecker’s collations suggest this sign is in fact Ú (ibid.).

[453] Compare I:93.

[454] Copy AA appears to be corrupt and has been excluded here: “Warrior Erra, you spoke thus.”

[455] It is not clear that there is room to restore *tâmti tâmti* at the beginning of this copy (Frankena, “Weitere kleine Beiträge,” 15).

[456] The verb *lā*/*ul igammilū-ma* from IV:135 has been translated in this verse for clarity in English.

—IV:132 “Elamite Elamite, Kassite Kassite,

P (L) (rev.) iv:12 *su-ta-a su-tu-ú*
P (L) (rev.) iv:13 *qu-ta-a qu-tu-ú*
W (A) rev. iii:40’ [. . . . .]-*tu-ú qu-ta-a qu-tu-ú*
AA (B) A 156, rev. 16’] . . .-*a su-tu-ú gu-ta-a* . . . . . x . . . [. . . . . .
RR (I)(rev. ii:)133 *su-ta-a su-tu-ú gu-ta-a gu-tu-*˹*ú*˺
—IV:133 *Sutâ Sutû Gutâ Gutû*
—IV:133 “Sutean Sutean, Gutean Gutean,

P (L) (rev.) iv:14 *lu-ul-lu-ba-a lu-ul-lu-bu-ú*
P (L) (rev.) iv:15 *ma-a-ta ma-a-ta* É É *a-me-lu*$_4$ *a-me-lu*$_4$
W (A) rev. iii:41’ [. . . . . *b*]*a-a lul-*˹*lu*˺*-bu*!(MU)-*ú*
W (A) rev. iii:42’ [. . . . . *t*]*a* URU URU É É
AA (B) A 156, rev. 17’ <u>. . .] . . .˹*lu*˺?-*bu-ú ma-a-*˹*tu*˺ *ma-a-*˹*ta*˺ . . . . . [. . . . . .</u>
RR (I)(rev. ii:)134 *lul-lu-ba-a lul-lu-bu-ú ma-a-ti ma-a-ta*
RR (I)(rev. ii:)135aα É É LÚ LÚ
—IV:134 *Lullubâ Lullubû mâtu māta* (*ālu āla*) *bītu bīta* (*amēlu amēla*)[457]
—IV:134 “Lullubean Lullubean, land land, (city city,) house house, (person person,)

P (L) (rev.) iv:16 ŠEŠ ŠEŠ *la i-gam-mi-lu-ma li-na-ru a-ḫa-míš*
W (A) rev. iii:43’ [. . . . . *l*]*a i-ga-ma*?*-lu li-na-ru a-ḫa-míš*
W (A) frag. C 1’] x x x x . . . . . [. . .
AA (B) A 156, rev. 18’ . . . . .] ˹*ul*˺ *i-*˹*ga-mil-lu*˺ I . . . . . [. . . . . .
RR (I)(rev. ii:)135aβ ŠEŠ ŠEŠ *la i-gam-mi-lu-ma*
RR (I)(rev. ii:)135b *li-na-ru a-ḫa-míš*
—IV:135 *aḫu aḫa lā*/*ul*[458] *igammilū*(-*ma*) *linārū aḫāmiš*
—IV:135 “Brother brother, but let them kill each other!

P (L) (rev.) iv:17 *ù ar-ka ak-ka-du-ú lit-ba-am-ma*
P (L) (rev.) iv:18 *nap-ḫar-šú-nu li-šam-qit-ma li-ir-ma-a na-gab-šú-un*
W (A) rev. iii:44’ [. . . . . .] x x-*bé-ma nap-ḫar-šú-nu li-šam*!(SAG)-*qit-ma*
W (A) rev. iii:45’ [. . . . . .] x-*ma-a na-gab-šú*
W (A) frag. C 2’ *a*]*r-ka ak-ka*-[. . .
W (A) frag. C 3’] *li*-x-[. . .
AA (B) A 156, rev. 19’ . . . . . .]-˹*di-i*˺? . . . . . [*na*]*p-ḫar-šú-*˹*nu*˺? ˹*li*˺-. . . [. . . . . .
RR (I)(rev. ii:)136a *ar-ka* URI^{ki} *lit-bé-e-ma nap-ḫar-šú-nu li-šam-qit-ma*
RR (I)(rev. ii:)136b *li-ir-*ʾ*a-a na-gab-šú-un*

[457] The division of these verses is quite variable across the copies.

[458] The negative particle *ul* in copy AA in this verse appears to be in error for *lā*, since a negative injunction is expected. For examples of similar errors see IV:121 (copies R and RR) and IV:122 (copies R and W); for examples of related errors in the negative particle see I:103, II:106 (twice), IV:1, and IV:94.

—IV:136 (*u*) *arka Akkadû litbâm-ma/litbē-ma napḫaršunu lišamqit-ma lirmâ/lirʾâ*[459] *nagabšu*(*n*)
—IV:136 "And afterwards let the Akkadian arise and lay low all of them and then shepherd the lot of them."

P (L) (rev.) iv:19 *qu-ra-du* ^{d}*èr-ra ana* ^{d}*i-šum a-lik maḫ-ri-šú a-ma-tú i-zak-kar*
W (A) rev. iii:46' [. . . . . .] x [. . .]
W (A) frag. C 4'] ˹^{d}˺*èr-ra ana* ^{d}*i-šum* [
AA (B) A 156, rev. 20' . . . . . .] . . . x . . . . . A . . . . . [. . . . . .
RR (I)(rev. ii:)137a *qu-ra-du* ^{d}*èr-ra a-na* ^{d}*i-šum a-lik maḫ-ri-šú*
RR (I)(rev. ii:)137b *a-ma-ti i-zak-kar*
—IV:137 *qurādu Erra ana Išum ālik maḫrīšu amāti izzakkar*
—IV:137 Warrior Erra uttered a speech to Išum, his vanguard:

P (L) (rev.) iv:20 *a-lik-ma* ^{d}*i-šum a-mat taq-bu-ú mi-ṣi ma-la* ŠÀ-*bu-uk*
W (A) frag. C 5'] . . .*-šum a-mat taq-bu-u m*[*i*
RR (I)(rev. ii:)138 *a-lik* ^{d}*i-šum a-mat taq-bu-ú mi-ṣi ma-la lib-bu-uk*
—IV:138 *alik*(*-ma*) *Išum amāt taqbû miṣi mala libbuk*
—IV:138 "Go, Išum, fulfill what you have said according to your desire."

P (L) (rev.) iv:21 ^{d}*i-šum a-na* ^{kur}ŠÁR.ŠÁR KUR-*i iš-ta-kan pa-ni-šú*
W (A) frag. C 6' . . .] . . . [ŠÁ]R KUR-*i iš-t*[*a*
RR (I)(rev. ii:)139 ^{d}*i-šum a-na* ŠÁR.ŠÁR KUR-*i iš-ta-kan pa-ni-šu*
—IV:139 *Išum ana Šaršar šadî ištakan pānīšu*
—IV:139 Išum set his face toward Mount Šaršar.[460]

P (L) (rev.) iv:22 DINGIR IMIN.BI *qar-rad la šá-na-an*
P (L) (rev.) iv:23 *i-šap-pi-su* EGIR-*šu*
RR (I)(rev. ii:)140 ˹DINGIR˺ IMIN.BI *qar-rad la šá-na-an i-šap-pi-su ar-ki-šu*
—IV:140 *Ilānū Sebettu qarrād lā šanān išappissu arkīšu*
—IV:140 The Divine Heptad, the warriors without rival, were clasping him from behind.

P (L) (rev.) iv:24 *a-na* ^{kur}ŠÁR.ŠÁR KUR-*i ik-ta-šad qu-ra-du*
RR (I)(rev. ii:)141 ˹*a-na*˺ ŠÁR.ŠÁR KUR-*i ik-ta-šad qu-ra-du*
—IV:141 *ana Šaršar šadî iktašad qurādu*

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[459] The variant *lirmâ* for *lirʾâ* seems to result from the fact that /ʾ/ can be written as /m/ in Neo-Babylonian, perhaps to be pronounced /w/, as in the Neo-Babylonian spelling of the name Aššur-rāʾim-šarri as ^{m}AN.ŠÁR-*ra-mi-im*-LUGAL (see Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 11–12, where, however, he suggests this interchange only applies intervocalically).

[460] Mount Šaršar, modern Jebel Bishri in northeastern Mesopotamia (now Syria), is the quintessential source of nomadic tribes infiltrating the Mesopotamian lowlands and, in particular, is the homeland of the Suteans; see for example Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 33–34 and 242–243; Lönnqvist, "How to Control Nomads?," especially 126–127 and 129.

—IV:141 The warrior arrived at Mount Šaršar.

P (L) (rev.) iv:25 *iš-ši-ma* ŠU-*su* *i-ta-bat* KUR-*a*
RR (I)(rev. ii:)142 *iš-ši-ma* ŠU.MIN-*su*[461] *i-ta-bat* KUR-*a*
—IV:142 *iššī-ma qāssu ītabat šadâ*
—IV:142 He lifted his hand and destroyed the mountain.

P (L) (rev.) iv:26 KUR-*a* kurŠÁR.ŠÁR *im-ta-ni qaq-qar-šú*
RR (I)(rev. ii:)143 *ša-ʳda*ˀ-*a* ŠÁR.ŠÁR *im-ta-nu qaq-qar-šu*
—IV:143 *šadâ Šaršar imtanu qaqqaršu*
—IV:143 He razed Mount Šaršar to the ground.[462]

P (L) (rev.) iv:27 *šá qiš-ti* gišḪA.ŠUR *uk-tap-pi-ra gu-up-nu-šá*
RR (I)(rev. ii:)144 *ša qiš-ti* ḪA.ŠUR *uk-tap-pi-ra gu-up-ni-ša*
—IV:144 *ša qišti ḫašūri uktappira gupnīša*
—IV:144 He cleared away even the tree trunks of the cypress grove.[463]

P (L) (rev.) iv:28 . . . . . [. . . . .]-*qu e-me qí-i-šum*-x
RR (I) (rev. ii:)145 *ki-i aḫ-ra* dLUGAL *i-ti-qu e-mì ki-i* d*i-šum-ma*
—IV:145 *kī aḫra Ḫaniš ītiqu ēme qīšum-ma*
—IV:145 The forest became like after Ḫaniš had passed by.[464]

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[461] Notice -*su* here indicates *qātu* is singular, suggesting ŠU.MIN is treated as a unit and no longer understood as a dual.

[462] Literally: "He counted Mount Šaršar as ground."

[463] For similar language see I:71.

[464] This reading, adapted from Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs*, 172 and Cagni, *L'Epopea di Erra*, 245, should be considered no more than provisional; it adopts what is preserved in copy RR with the exception that *ki-i* d*i-šum* is replaced by what survives from copy P, *qí-i-šum*. (It is not plausible that KI I ŠUM in copy P represents a spelling of the phrase *kī Išum*, since in copy P *kī* is always spelled *ki-i*; in addition, the use of extra vowel signs in open syllables to indicate long vowels, as in *qīšum*, is quite common throughout P.) Contrast this with Gössmann's reading: *ki-i ḫar-ra-an* LUGAL *i-ti-qu e-me ki-i* d*i-šu-ma*, "Als er die Heerstraße überschritten hatte, wurde er wie Išum" (*Era-Epos*, 32–33). Given the context of this passage this verse should say something about the destruction Išum is wreaking, a point that favors the former interpretation. Nevertheless, this reading of the verse remains quite dubious. In addition to requiring us to emend *kī Išum* to *qīšum*, it necessitates construing *aḫra* as a subordinating conjunction formed from the bound noun *aḫrû*, here understood as an adverbial accusative bound to the clause at whose head it stands. However, this word is almost universally attested in the feminine plural and never functions this way in the extant attestations.

It is sobering to acknowledge that if copy P had not survived, it is unlikely anyone would propose the deletion of two signs from copy RR. Once the possibility is opened that RR is sufficiently corrupt that as many as two continuous signs may be deleted or added anywhere in the line, the number of hypothetical readings explodes. Further evidence is needed to resolve this issue.

(It is also possible, if perhaps not likely, that the spelling of *qīšum* in copy RR as *qí-i-*d*i-šum-ma* constitutes not error so much as deliberate, if confusing, whimsy: compare the spelling d*lab-*d*èr-ra-*d*i-šum* for *laberīšu* in the colophon to Gurney and Hulin, *STT* 2, #300 [pls. CCXXVIII–CCXXIX], rev. 21).

P (L) (rev.) iv:29 [. . . . . .] x [. . . . . .]
FF (C) 1’] x . . . . . [
RR (I)(rev. ii:)146 URU.MEŠ *ig-mur-ma a-na na-me-e iš-ta-kan*
—IV:146 *ālānī igmur-ma ana namê ištakan*
—IV:146 He annihilated the cities and turned them into wilderness.[465]

FF (C) 2’] . . . . . *ub-*. . . . . [
RR (I)(rev. ii:)147 KUR.MEŠ ˹*ub*˺*-bit-ma bu-ul-šú-nu ú-šam-qit*
—IV:147 *šadê ubbit-ma būlšunu ušamqit*
—IV:147 He obliterated the mountains and laid low their wildlife.[466]

FF (C) 3’ *m*]*a-a-ti ú-*˹*dal*˺*-*˹*liḫ*˺*?-*˹*ma*˺ *mi-šìr-ta-ši-*x . . . . . [. . .
RR (I)(rev. ii:)148 *ta-ma-a-ti id-luḫ-ma mi-šìr-ta-ši-na ú-ḫal-liq*
—IV:148 *tâmāti udalliḫ-ma/idluḫ-ma miširtašina uḫalliq*
—IV:148 He churned up the seas and wiped out their produce.[467]

FF (C) 4’] x *ù qí-i-ši* ˹*ú-šaḫ*˺*-ra-ma ki-i* ˹ᵈ˺[. . .
RR (I)(rev. ii:)149 *a-pi ù qé-e-šu ú-šaḫ-rib-ma ki-i* ᵈGÉRRA *iq-mi*
—IV:149 *api u qīši ušaḫram-ma/ušaḫrim-ma kī Gerra iqmi*
—IV:149 He laid waste the canebrake and the forest and burned them like Gerra.[468]

FF (C) 5’ <u>. . .] x *i-ru-ur-šu* . . . . . x *a-na* [. . . . . .</u>
RR (I)(rev. ii:)150 *bu-la i-ru-ur-ma ú-tir a-na ṭi-iṭ-ṭi*
—IV:150 *būla īruršu/īrur-ma utīr ana ṭiṭṭi*
—IV:150 He cursed the wildlife and turned them back into clay.[469]

FF (C) 6’] . . . ᵈ*èr-ra i-nu-ḫa* . . . x *mu-ú* [. . .
RR (I)(rev. ii:)151 *ul-tu* ᵈ*èr-ra i-nu-ḫu ir-mu-ú šu-bat-su*
—IV:151 *ultu Erra inūḫu irmû šubassu*
—IV:151 After Erra had rested and taken up residence,

N (K) obv. 1 *ul-tu* ᵈ*èr-r*[*a* . . . . . .]
Q (L) obv. 1 [T]A ᵈ*èr-ra i-nu-ḫu* RI-*ú*-[. . .

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[465] Compare II:138–139.

[466] Compare II:140.

[467] Compare I:70 and II:141.

[468] Compare II:142.

[469] Compare this verse to I:74 and the relevant note.

S (M) obv. 1 *ul-tu* ^{d}*èr-ra i-nu-ḫu ir-m*[*u* . . . . . .]
BB (B) obv. 1 . . . . . .[*è*]*r-ra i-nu-ḫu ir-mu šu-bat-su*
TT (P) obv. 1' [. . . . . .]^{r}*èr-ra*$^{\urcorner}$ *i-nu-ḫu* x [. . .
—V:1 *ultu Erra inūḫu irmû šubassu*
—V:1 After Erra had rested and taken up residence,

N (K) obv. 2 DINGIR.MEŠ *gi-mir-šú-nu* x [. . . . . .]
Q (L) obv. 2 [. . .].MEŠ *gi-<mir>-šú-nu ina-ṭal pa-*[. . .
S (M) obv. 2 DINGIR.MEŠ *gi-mir-šu-nu ina-*x . . . . . [. . . . . .]
BB (B) obv. 2 . . . MEŠ . . .-[*m*]*ir-šú-nu i-na-aṭ-ṭa-lu pa-nu-uš-šú*
TT (P) obv. 2' [. . . . . .] . . . [*m*]*ir-šú-nu i-na-aṭ-ṭ*[*a*
—V:2 *ilānū gimiršunu inaṭṭal*(*ū*) *pānuššu*
—V:2 All of the gods were looking at his face.

N (K) obv. 3 ^{d}*í-gì-gì u* ^{d}*a-nun-na-ki kul-lat-*[. . . . . .]
Q (L) obv. 3 [. . .]^{r}*í*$^{\urcorner}$*-gì-gì* ^{d}600 *kul-lat-su-nu* GUB.MEŠ [. . .
S (M) obv. 3 ^{d}. . . . . ^{d}*a-nun-na-* . . . . . [. . . . . .]
BB (B) obv. 3 . . . *í-gì-gì* ^{d}*a-nun-na-ki kul-lat-su-nu ú-zu-zu pal-ḫiš*
TT (P) obv. 3' [. . . . . .] . . . x-*gì-gì u* ^{d}*a-nun-na-ki kul-lat-s*[*u*
—V:3 *Igīgī* (*u*) *Anunnakī kullassunu uzuzzū palḫiš*
—V:3 All of the Igīgī and the Anunnakī were standing there awestruck.

N (K) obv. 4 ^{d}*èr-ra pa-a-šú* DÙ-*ma* [. . . . . .]
Q (L) obv. 4 [. . . *è*]*r-ra* KA-*šú* DÙ-*ma ana kal* x [. . .
S (M) obv. 4 ^{d}*èr-ra pa-a-šú* . . . [. . . . . .]
BB (B) obv. 4 . . . *èr-ra pa-a-šú* DÙ-*uš a-na ka-la* DINGIR.MEŠ *i-ta-mi*
OO (Q) 4 . . . . . .] . . .-*šú* D[Ù] . . . . . [. . . . . .
TT (P) obv. 4' [. . .] . . . [*è*]*r-*^{r}*ra*$^{\urcorner}$ KA-*šú* DÙ-*ma a-*[
—V:4 *Erra pāšu īpuš-ma ana kal ilānī ītammi*
—V:4 Erra opened his mouth to speak to all of the gods:

N (K) obv. 5 *qu-la-ma nap-ḫar-ku-nu a-*[. . .] . . . . . .
Q (L) obv. 5 [. . . . . .] NIGIN-*ku-nu* INIM.MÉŠ-*ia* [. . .
S (M) obv. 5 *qu-la-ma nap-ḫar-*. . . . . *a-m*[*a*]-. . . . . .-*in-d*[*a*]
BB (B) obv. 5 *qu-la-ma nap-ḫar-ku-nu a-ma-ti-ia lim-d*[*a*]
OO (Q) 5 . . . . . .] x-*ku-nu* ^{r}*a*$^{\urcorner}$-. . . . . [. . .
TT (P) obv. 5' [. . .] . . .-*la-a-ma nap-ḫ*[*ar*]-[
—V:5 *qūlā-ma napḫarkunu amâtīya limd*[*ā*]
—V:5 "Pay attention, all of you, and atten[d] to my words.

N (K) obv. 6 *mìn-de-ma ana-ku ina ḫi-ṭi maḫ-ri-*. . . . . [. . . . . .]
Q (L) obv. 6 [. . .] *ana-ku ina ḫi-iṭ-ṭi* IGI-*e aḫ-su-s*[*a* . . .
S (M) obv. 6 *mìn-de-me ana-ku ina ḫi-ṭi maḫ-ri-i aḫ-su-sa* ḪUL-*t*[*i*]

BB (B) obv. 6 *mìn-de-e-ma a-na-ku ina ḫi-ṭi maḫ-re-e aḫ-su-s*[*a*]ˀ . . . . . .
OO (Q) 6 . . . . . .] . . .*-ku ina ḫi-ṭu* ˹*maḫ-ri-i*˺ [. . .
TT (P) obv. 6’ [. . .] . . .*-de-e-*˹*ma*˺ *a-na-ku i-n*[*a*
—V:6 *mindē-ma anāku ina ḫīṭi maḫrî aḫsusa lemutt*[*i*]
—V:6 “Perhaps in the previous wrongdoing I intended evi[l].

N (K) obv. 7 ŠÀ-*bi a-gu-ug- ma* . . . . . [. . .]
Q (L) obv. 7 [. . . . .]-x-*gu-ug-ma* UN.MEŠ *a*-[. . .
S (M) obv. 7 ŠÀ-*bi a-gu-ug-ma* UN.MEŠ *a-sap-pan*
BB (B) obv. 7 ŠÀ-*bi a-gu-ug-ma* UN.MEŠ *a-sa-*. . . . . .
OO (Q) 7 . . . . . .] . . .*-ma* UN.MÉŠ . . . [. . .
TT (P) obv. 7’ . . .*-bi a-gu-ug-ma* [
—V:7 *libbī āgug-ma nišī asappan*
—V:7 “I became angry enough in my heart to crush the people.

N (K) obv. 8 *ki-i a-gir ṣe-e-ni* UDU.NÌ[TA] . . . . . .
Q (L) obv. 8 [. . . . .]-*gir ṣe-ni* UDU IGI ˹*ú*˺-[. . .
S (M) obv. 8 *ki-i a-gir* ^{udu}*ṣe-ni* UDU.NÍTA *pa-ni ú-šel-le ina pit-qi*
BB (B) obv. 8 *ki-i ag-ri ṣe-e-ni im-mer pa-ni ú-še-la* . . . . . .
OO (Q) 8 . . . . . .] . . .*-nu* UDU.NÍTA *pa-an ú-*. . . [. . .
TT (P) obv. 8’ ˹*ki*˺*-i a-gi-ir ṣe-e-nu* UDU.[
—V:8 *kī agir/agri ṣēni immer pān*(*i*) *ušelle/ušellâ ina pitqi*
—V:8 “Like the hireling of a flock, I take the bellwether out of the sheepfold.

N (K) obv. 9 *ki-i la za-qip ṣip-pa-tu a-na* . . . . . .
Q (L) obv. 9 [. . . . .] *za-qip ṣip-pa-ti ana* KUD-*si ul* [. . .
S (M) obv. 9 *ki-i la za-qip ṣip-pa-ta a-na na-ka-si ul ú-ma-aq*
BB (B) obv. 9 *ki-i la za-qip ṣip-pa-ti a-na na-ka-si ul* ˹*ú*˺ˀ-. . . . . .
OO (Q) 9] . . . . . .*-pat a-na na-ka-si* . . . . . [
TT (P) obv. 9’ *ki-i la za-qip ṣip-pa-tu*$_4$ *a-n*[*a*
—V:9 *kī lā zāqip ṣippati ana nakāsi ul umāq*
—V:9 “Like one who does not plant an orchard, I do not hesitate to cut it down.

N (K) obv. 10 *ki-i šá-lil* KUR GI.NA *u ra*[*g*] . . . . . .
Q (L) obv. 10 [. . . . . *li*]*l* KUR GI.NA *u rag-gi ul* [. . .
S (M) obv. 10 [. . . . .] *šá-lil* KUR *ki-na u rag-gi ul ú-mas-sa-a ú-šam-qat*
BB (B) obv. 10 *ki-i šá-lil* KUR *ke-e-nu rag-gu ul ú-maš-šá-a ú-š*[*am*]ˀ-. . .
OO (Q) 10 . . . . . .] . . . GIN *u rag-gu ul ú-mas-sa-*. . . . . [
TT (P) obv. 10’ *ki-i šá-lil* KUR *ki-i-ni* [
—V:10 *kī šālil māti kīna* (*u*) *raggi ul umassâ/umaššâ ušamqat*
—V:10 “Like one who plunders a country, I do not discriminate between righteous and wicked, I lay low both.

N (K) obv. 11 *ina pi-i lab-bi na-ʾi-ri*[i](AN) . . . . . .
Q (L) obv. 11 [. . . . . .] x *na-ʾi-ri ul* [. . .
S (M) obv. 11 [. . . . . .] . . . *la-bi na-ʾi-r*[*i*] *ul ik-ki-mu šá-lam-tú*
BB (B) obv. 11 *ki-i*[470] *lab-bi na-ʾi-ri ul ik-ki-mu šá-lam-*. . . . . .
OO (Q) 11 . . . . . *n*]*a-a-i-ri ul ik-ki-m*[*u*] . . . . . [
TT (P) obv. 11' *ina pi-i lab-bi u na-ʾ*[*i*
—V:11 *ina pī labbi nāʾiri ul ikkimū šalamtu*
—V:11 "One does not rescue a corpse from the mouth of a slaying lion.

N (K) obv. 12 *ù a-šar* . . . . . .
Q (L) obv. 12 [. . . . . .] *šá*-x [. . . . . .
S (M) obv. 12 [. . . . . .] ⌜*iš-te-en*⌝? *r*[*a*] . . . *aʾ-bu šá-nu-ú ul im-lik-šú*
BB (B) obv. 12 *a-šar* DIŠ-*en ra-aʾ-bu šá-nu-u ul i-ma-al-li*[*k*]-. . .
OO (Q) 12 . . . . .]-*ʾi*[!?](⌜SAL⌝?)-*bi-*⌜{*bi*}⌝ *šá-nu-ú* . . . . . [
TT (P) obv. 12' . . . ⌜*a*⌝-*šar* AŠ-*en ra-a-bi* . . . [
—V:12 (*u*) *ašar ištēn raʾbu/rābi*[471] *šanû ul imalli*[*kšu*]/*imlikšu*
—V:12 "(And) where one is wroth, another cannot advise him.

N (K) obv. 13 *la* [d]*i* . . . . . .
Q (L) obv. 13 [. . . . . .] x . . . x [. . . . . .
S (M) obv. 13 [. . . . . *ma*]*ḫ-ri-ia mi-nu-ú ba-ši-ma*
BB (B) obv. 13 *la* [d]*i-šum a-lik maḫ-ri-ia mi-nu-u ba-š*[*i*]-. . .[472]
OO (Q) 13 . . .] . . . *a-lik* IGI-⌜*ia*⌝ *mi-nu-ú* . . . . . [
TT (P) obv. 13' *la* MA x[473] [d]*i-šum a-*. . . [
—V:13 *lā Išum ālik maḫrīya minû*[474] *bašī-ma*
—V:13 "Without Išum, my vanguard, what would have happened?

N (K) obv. 14 *a-l*[*i*] . . . . . .
S (M) obv. 14 [. . . . . .] . . . *e-nu-ku-nu a-a-in-na*
BB (B) obv. 14 *a-li za-nin-ku-nu e-na-ku-nu a-a-i*[*n*]-. . .

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[470] Cagni plausibly suggests this error resulted from the fact that the three preceding lines all begin with *ki-i* (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 123).

[471] Both these forms appear to be predicative verbal adjectives of *raʾābu*, but where *raʾbu* has an appropriate subordination marker, *rābi* appears to have an overhanging vowel that has superseded the need to mark subordination. (Ebeling likewise appears to read this form as a verbal adjective [*Mythus vom Pestgotte Era*, 34], where Gössmann [*Era-Epos*, 35] and Cagni [*L'Epopea di Erra*, 122] construe it as a participle.)

[472] Against Frankena, who finds *šá* at the beginning of this line in the photograph ("Untersuchungen zum Irra-Epos," 4), Cagni asserts this copy is accurate (*L'Epopea di Erra*, 123).

[473] Civil suggests what we have here is "probably an unerased scribal error" ("Texts and Fragments").

[474] As elsewhere in this text, it appears that *mīnu*/*minû* may mark clauses as contrary to fact (see I:56, II:33, and IIIc:45).

OO (Q) 14 . . . *n*]*in-ku-nu i-ni-ku-nu* . . . [
TT (P) obv. 15' *a-li za-nin-ku-n*[*u*] . . . . . [[475]
—V:14 *ali zānikkunu enūkunu ayyinna*
—V:14 "Where would your provider be, where would your *en*-priest be?

N (K) obv. 15 *a-l*[*i*] . . . . . .
S (M) obv. 15 [. . . . . .]-*te*[!]*-ṣi-nu qut-rin-na*
BB (B) obv. 15 *a-li nin-da-bi-ku-nu e-ta-ṣi-na qut-r*[*in*]-. . .
OO (Q) 15 . . . *n*]*in-da-bi-ku-nu* <*la*> *te-eṣ-ṣi-na*[476] . . . [
TT (P) obv. 14' *a-li nin-da-bi-ku-n*[*u*] . . . [
—V:15 *ali nindabîkunu ē-tāṣinā qutrinna*
—V:15 "Where would your food-offerings be? You would not smell the incense."

N (K) obv. 16 [d]*i-*. . . . . .
S (M) obv. 16 [. . . . . .] DÙ-*ma i-qab-bi*
T (N) (obv.) 16] x [. . . . . .
BB (B) obv. 16a [d]*i-šum pa-a-šú e-pu-uš-ma i-*x . . .
OO (Q) 16a *š*]*um* KA-*šú* DÙ-*ma i-qab-bi*
TT (P) obv. 16' [d]*i-šum pa-*⌜*a*⌝-. . . . . [
—V:16 *Išum pāšu īpuš-ma iqabbi*
—V:16 Išum opened his mouth to speak;

N (K) obv. 17 *a-na qu-*. . . . . .
S (M) obv. 17 [. . . . . *r*]*a* ⌜*a*⌝*-ma-te i-zak-kar*
BB (B) obv. 16b ⌜*ana*⌝ ⌜*qu-ra-du*⌝ ⌜[d]*èr-ra*⌝ INIM . . .
OO (Q) 16b *ana qu-ra-du* [d]. . . [[477]
TT (P) obv. 17' *ana qu-*⌜*ra*⌝*-du* [d][. . . . . .
—V:17 *ana qurādu Erra amāta izzakkar*
—V:17 To Warrior Erra he uttered a speech:

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[475] Notice that in copy TT this verse and the following one appear in reverse order.

[476] Notice that in copy OO there appears to be a durative, so I have tentatively restored *lā*. However, in V:50 a vetitive of this root is seemingly built on the durative in some copies; it is therefore possible this form is to be restored <*e*>*-te-eṣ-ṣi-na* in copy OO.

[477] The textual witnesses are equally divided on whether this verse should be combined with the preceding verse, where T, BB, and OO read them as a single verse. However, both the number of syllables (notice the two preceding verses have 13 and 14 syllables, respectively, and the two following verses 11 and 13–14, where this verse if read as a single unit has 23 syllables) and the parallel passages (IIIc:34–35 repeats this passage verbatim as two verses; see also I:104–105, I:129–130, II:116–117, and IIIc:38–39) suggest these two verses were originally read separately, as virtually all modern editors have recognized: in the early editions of King, Jensen, and Ungnad, these verses are numbered separately, as here; Ebeling's combining them in 1925 led most subsequent editors of the text to continue to divide them but number them 16a and 16b so as not to disrupt Ebeling's numbering scheme, with the notable exception of Cagni in his English edition.

N (K) obv. 18 *qu-ra-du* . . . . . .
S (M) obv. 18 [. . . . . .] x *qa-ba-*. . . . . .
T (N) (obv.) 17]-*la*[*m* . . . . . .
BB (B) obv. 17 *qu-ra-a-du qu-lam-ma* ˹*ši*˺*-me qa-ba-a-*˹*a*˺
OO (Q) 17 *r*]*a-du qu-lam-ma*ˡ(MU) *ši-*. . . [
—V:18 *qurādu qūlam-ma šime qabāya*[478]
—V:18 "Warrior, pay attention and listen to what I say.[479]

N (K) obv. 19 *mìn-de-ma* . . . . . .
T (N) (obv.) 18]-x-*ma* x [. . . . . .
BB (B) obv. 18 . . . . . x *en-na nu-ḫa-am-ma* ˹*ni*˺*-zi-za ma-ḫar-ka*
OO (Q) 18 . . . . . .] ˹*en*˺*-na nu-uḫ-ma ni-iz-*. . . [. . .
TT (P) obv. 18' *mìn-*. . .*-e-ma* x [. . . . . .
—V:19 *mindē-ma enna nūḫ*(*am*)*-ma nizziza*[480] *maḫarka*
—V:19 "Perhaps you should rest now and we can serve you.

N (K) obv. 20 *ina* UD-. . . . . .
T (N) (obv.) 19 *g*]*a-ti-k*[*a* . . . . . .
BB (B) obv. 19 . . . UD-*mi ug-ga-ti-ka a-li ma-ḫír-ka*
OO (Q) 19 . . . . . .] x x *a-li* x [. . .
—V:20 *ina ūmi uggatīka ali māḫirka*
—V:20 "On the day of your fury, who can oppose you?"[481]

N (K) obv. 21 *iš-me-*. . . . . .
T (N) (obv.) 20]-*ra* [. . . . . .
BB (B) obv. 20 *iš-me-*x . . . . . x ᵈ*èr-ra im-mì-ra pa-nu-ú-šú*
OO (Q) 20 . . . . . .] . . . . . x . . . . . x . . . . . [. . .
—V:21 *išmē*[*šū-ma*] *Erra immira pānūšu*
—V:21 [When] Erra heard [him], his face beamed.

N (K) obv. 22 [*k*]*i-i* UD . . . . . ˹*ṣu*˺ . . . . . .
T (N) (obv.) 21 *d*]*i-i uḫ-ta*[*m* . . . . . .
BB (B) obv. 21 *ki* UD-*mì* ˹*na*˺-. . . . . .-˹*e*˺ˡ([K]AL) *uḫ-tam*-x x *zi-mu-ú-šú*
—V:22 *kī ūmi na*[*pard*]*ê uḫtam*[*bi*]*ṣū zīmūšu*

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[478] On *qabāya* see n. 120.

[479] Compare I:106.

[480] I am aware of no other example of *mindē-ma* followed by an imperative. In particular, the significance of the imperative connected by an enclitic to a preterite is opaque to me; for a preterite in a clause that can only be translated sensibly as if it were durative, see also I:50.

[481] Literally "where is your opponent?"

—V:22 His countenance became as jo[yfu]l as bri[ghtly shin]ing daylight.

N (K) obv. 23 *i-ru-um-*. . . . . ⌜*ir-ta*⌝ . . . . . .
T (N) (obv.) 22] ⌜É⌝.MES.LAM *ir-*⌜*ta-mi*⌝ [. . .
BB (B) obv. 22 *i-ru-um-ma* . . . . . MES!(ŠÁ).⌜LAM⌝ *ir-t*[*a*]?-. . . . . x x x-*su*
—V:23 *īrum-ma* [*ana*] *Emeslam irtami* [*šubas*]*su*
—V:23 He entered [into] the Emeslam and took up [reside]nce.

N (K) obv. 24 [*i*]*s-si-ma* . . . . . .-⌜*ub*⌝ . . . . . .
T (N) (obv.) 23 *šu*]*m i-dab-bu-ub i*[*t*
BB (B) obv. 23 *is-si-ma* d*i-šum i-dab-bu-ub it-tu*
—V:24 *issī-ma Išum idabbub ittu*
—V:24 He called to Išum to pronounce the sign

N (K) obv. 25 . . . UN.MEŠ . . . . . ⌜*i-šá-kan*⌝-. . . . . .
T (N) (obv.) 24 *s*]*ap-ḫa-a-ti i-šak-ka-na-áš-šú* x [
BB (B) obv. 24 *áš-šú* UN.MEŠ KUR URIki *sap-ḫa-a-ti i-šak-kan-šú ṭè-e-mu*
—V:25 *aššu nišī māt Akkadî sapḫāti išakkaššu/išakkanaššu ṭēmu*
—V:25 And issue instructions to him about the scattered people of Akkad:

N (K) obv. 26 . . . MEŠ . . . . . ⌜*a*⌝-⌜*ti*⌝!(⌜NA⌝) . . .-[*t*]*u-ra* . . . . . .
T (N) (obv.) 25] x . . . *li-tu-ra a-na ma-*[. . .
BB (B) obv. 25 UN.MEŠ KUR *e-ṣa-at li-tu-ra ana ma-aʾ-diš*
—V:26 *nišū māti ēṣāt*(*i*) *litūrā ana maʾdiš*[482]
—V:26 "Let the dwindled people of the land become numerous again!

N (K) obv. 27 . . . x-*ú ki-i ar-*⌜*ki*⌝ ⌜*li*⌝!(⌜IŠ?⌝)-*ba-ʾu* . . . . . .
T (N) (obv.) 26 *k*]*i li-ba-ʾu ú-ru-*[. . .
BB (B) obv. 26 *ku-ru ki-ma ar-ki li-ba-ʾu-u ú-ru-uḫ-šá*
—V:27 *kurû kī arki libāʾū uruḫša*
—V:27 "Let short like tall walk along its road!

N (K) obv. 28 . . .-*ku-ú* kurURIki *dan-*⌜*na*⌝ *su-ta-*⌜*a*⌝ . . . . . .
T (N) (obv.) 27 *n*]*a su-ti-i l*[*i*
BB (B) obv. 27 *a-ku-ú* kurURIki *dan-nu su-tu-u li-šam*!?(TA)-*qit*!?(UM)[483]
—V:28 *akû Akkadû danna Sutâ lišamqit*?
—V:28 "Let the weak Akkadian lay low (?) the mighty Sutean!

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[482] Notice the inclusion of both *ana* and *-iš*, which serve overlapping functions, in the phrase *ana maʾdiš*. (Compare *ina ramānuššu* in II:23.)

[483] Following Gössmann's corrections (*Era-Epos*, 35).

N (K) obv. 29 DIŠ-*en* IMIN *li-bu-*. . . . . *ki-i* . . . . . .
T (N) (obv.) 28 . . .] *ki-ma ṣe-*[
BB (B) obv. 28 DIŠ-*en* IMIN *li-bu-ku ki-ma ṣe-e-ni*
—V:29 *ištēn sebetti lībuk*(*u*)[484] *kī ṣēni*
—V:29 "Let one lead[485] seven as if they were sheep!

N (K) obv. 30 URU.MEŠ-*šú a-na kar-mì u šá-. . .-šu ta-šak-ka*[*n*] . . . . . .
T (N) (obv.) 29] x [. . .] x *ta-šak-kan a-na n*[*a*
BB (B) obv. 29 URU.MEŠ-*šú a-na kar-mì* KUR-*šú ta-šak-kan ana na-me-e*
—V:30 *ālānīšu ana karmī* (*u*) *šadâšu tašakkan ana namê*
—V:30 "You shall turn their[486] cities into ruin mounds and their mountains into wilderness.

N (K) obv. 31 *šal-lat-su ka-bit-tu ta-šal-lal a-na qé-reb šu-*. . . . . .
T (N) (obv.) 30 . . .]-*la-la ana qé-reb š*[*u* . . .
BB (B) obv. 30 *šal-lat-su-nu ka-bit-tu ta-šal-la-la*[!](MA) *ana qé-reb šu-an-na*[ki]
—V:31 *šallassu*(*nu*) *kabittu tašallal*(*a*) *ana qereb Šuanna*
—V:31 "You shall take by force their heavy plunder into the midst of Šuanna.

N (K) obv. 32 DINGIR.MEŠ KUR *šá iz-nu-ú tu-šal-la-am ana šub-t*[*i*]-. . . . . .
T (N) (obv.) 31 . . . *ša*]*l-lam a*[*na* . . .
BB (B) obv. 31 DINGIR.MEŠ KUR *šá iz-nu-u tu-šal-lam ana* ⌜*šub*⌝*-ti-šú-nu*
MM 31 [. . . ME]Š KUR *šá iz-nu-ú tu-šal-l*[*am*
—V:32 *ilānī māti ša iznû tušallam ana šubtīšunu*
—V:32 "You shall restore to their[487] dwellings the gods of the land who were angry.

N (K) obv. 33 [d]ŠÁKKAN *u* [d]NISABA *tu*[!](LI)*-šer-ru-*. . . . . *a-na* . . . . . .
T (N) (obv.) 32 . . . . . .] x x x [. . . . . .
BB (B) obv. 32 [d]ŠÁKKAN [d]NISABA *tu-še-ra-da ana ma-a-ti*
MM 32 [. . . U]TU[?] *u* [d]NISABA *tu*-x-[
SS (O) (rev.) 32 ⌜[d]ŠÁKKAN⌝ *u* [d]NISABA *tu-šèr-re-*⌜*e*⌝-x [. . . . .]
—V:33 *Šakkan* (*u*) *Nisaba tušerreda ana māti*
—V:33 "You shall bring Šakkan and Nisaba down into the land.

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[484] The form *lībuku* appears to have an overhanging vowel.

[485] Given the other attestations of this root, this metaphor likely invokes the image of a shepherd as governor: the Akkadian will control other ethnic groups in spite of being outnumbered. (All recent translations have portrayed the one as driving the seven away, as in Cagni's reading: "May one [Akkadian] drive seven [of them] away, as if they were sheep!" [*Poem of Erra*, 58].)

[486] Literally "their" should be read "his." Notice the variation in the following verse between singular and plural pronominal suffixes; I take this to refer back to the "seven" of V:28.

[487] Here "their" must refer to the land.

N (K) obv. 34 KUR.MEŠ *ḫi-ṣib-šú-nu tam-tu tu*-x . . . . . .
BB (B) obv. 33 KUR.MEŠ-*e ḫi-ṣib-šú-nu tam-ta tu-šá-áš-šá-a bi-lat-su*
MM 33 [KU]R.MEŠ *ḫi*[!]*-ṣib-šú-nu tam-t*[*a*] x [
SS (O) (rev.) 33 *šá-de-e ḫi-ṣib-šú-nu tam-ta tu-šá-áš-šá-a bi-lat-s*[*u* . . .]
—V:34 *šadê ḫiṣibšunu tâmta tušaššâ bilassu*
—V:34 "You shall make the mountains bear their luxuriance and the sea its[488] load.

N (K) obv. 35 *qer-bé-e-tu*$_4$ *šá uš-*⌜*taḫ-ri-ba*⌝ . . . . . [. . .]
T (N) (rev.) 34 . . . . . *r*]*i-ba tu-*⌜*šá*⌝*-áš-šá-a bi*[*l-*. . .
BB (B) obv. 34 ⌜*qer*⌝*-bé-tu šá uš-*[*t*]*aḫ-ri-ba tu-šá-áš-šá-a bil-tu*
MM 34 [*qe*]*r-*⌜*bé*⌝*-e-tú šá uš-taḫ-*[. . .
SS (O) (rev.) 34 *qer-bé-e-ti šá uš-taḫ-ri-ba tu-šá-áš-šá-a* G[UN]
—V:35 *qerbēti ša uštaḫribā tušaššâ biltu*
—V:35 "You shall cause the meadowlands that were laid waste to bear produce.

N (K) obv. 36 GÌR . . . . . [. . .]
T (N) (rev.) 35 . . . . . *n*]*u* [G]UN-*su-nu* ⌜DUGUD⌝*-tú liš-du-du ana qé-r*[*eb* . . .
BB (B) obv. 35 *šak-ka-nak-ku* {KI} *kal* URU.URU DÙ-*šú-nu* GÚ.UN[!](KAL)-*su-nu*
BB (B) obv. 36 *ka-bit-tu liš-du-d*[*u*] ⌜*ana*⌝ *qé-reb*[!](E) *šu-an-na*[ki]
MM 35 . . . . . .] x *kal da-ád-mì bi*-[. . .
SS (O) (rev.) 35 ŠAGINA.MEŠ *kal da-ád-mì bi-lat-su-nu* ⌜*ka*⌝-x *liš-du*-x [. . .]
—V:36 *šakkanakkū kal *ālānī kalîšunu*/*dadmī* bilassunu kabittu lišdud ū ana qereb Šuanna*
—V:36 "Let the governors of *every single city*/*all the inhabited world* drag their heavy tribute into the midst of Šuanna![489]

N (K) obv. 37 ⌜É⌝ . . . . . [. . . . . .]
T (N) (rev.) 36 . . . *k*]*i-ma n*[*a-p*]*a-aḫ* [d]UT[U . . . *li*]*š-qa-a re-šá-*[. . .
BB (B) obv. 37 É.KUR.⌜MEŠ⌝ *šá uš-tal-pi-tú-*{*na*} GIM *ni-pi*[!](ŠI)-*iḫ* [d]UTU-*ši*
BB (B) obv. 38 *liš-qa-a re-šá-*⌜*šin*⌝[!](⌜EME⌝)
MM 36 [. . . . . *u*]*š-tal-pi-tú ki*-[
SS (O) (rev.) 36 ⌜É⌝.KUR.RA.MEŠ *šá uš-tal*[!](PI)-*pi-*<*tú*[?]> *ki-ma-a na-paḫ* [d]UTU *liš-qa-a* [. . .]
—V:37 *ēkurrū ša uštalpitū kīma napāḫ/nipiḫ šamši lišqâ rēšāšin*
—V:37 "Let the tops of the temples that were demolished be as high as the rising sun![490]

N (K) obv. 38 . . . . . [. . . . . .]
T (N) (rev.) 37 BUR]ANUN[ki] ⌜*li*⌝*-šá-bi-la* A.MEŠ *nu-u*[*ḫ* . . .
BB (B) rev. 1 [íd]ḪAL.ḪAL [íd]BURANUN[ki] *li-šá-bi-la* A.MEŠ ḪÉ.G[AL]

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[488] Notice the antecedent of the masculine *-su* on *bilassu* is the feminine *tâmtu*.

[489] The latter part of this verse—*bilassunu kabitta lišdudū ana qereb Šuanna*—appears verbatim in an inscription of Marduk-apla-iddina II, line 34 (see Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia*, 136–138).

[490] Literally "the rising of the sun."

MM 37 [. . . . . .] x BURANUN^{k}[^{i}
SS (O) (rev.) 37 ^{íd}IDIGNA ^{íd}BURANUN^{ki} *li-šá-*^{r}*bil*^{1} A.MEŠ [. . .]
—V:38 *Idiqlat Purattu lišābil*(*ā*) *mê nuḫ*[*ši*]
—V:38 "Let the Tigris and Euphrates bring the waters of prosper[ity]!

N (K) obv. 39 . . . . . [. . . . . .]
T (N) (rev.) 38 . . .] *u* KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} ŠAGINA *ka*[*l*] . . . x *šu-bé-el šá-a-š*[*u*]
BB (B) rev. 2 *za-nin* É.SAG.ÍL *u* KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} ŠAGINA.M[EŠ]$^{?}$
BB (B) rev. 3 *kal* URU.URU DÙ-*šú-nu li-bé-lu šá-a-*. . .
MM 38 [. . . . . .] x x x [. . .
SS (O) (rev.) 38 *za-nin* É.SAG.GÍL *u bi-bil*^{ki} ŠAGINA.MEŠ *kal da-ád-mì* [. . .]
—V:39 *zānin Esagil u Bābili šakkanakkī kal *ālānī kalîšunu*/*dadmī* libēlu*[491] *šâš*[*u*]
—V:39 "Let the provider of the Esagil and of Babylon[492] rule over the governors of *every single city*/*all of the inhabited world*!"

N (K) rev. 1 *šá-na-at la ni-bu ta-nit-ti* EN GAL-*e* ^{d}[. . . . . .]
T (N) (rev.) 39 *n*]*it-ti* EN GAL-*i* ^{d}U.GUR *q*[*u-r*]*a-du* ^{d}*i-šum*
BB (B) rev. 4 MU.MEŠ *la ni-bi ta-nit-ti* EN GAL-*i* ^{d}U.GUR *qu-*. . . . . .
MM 39 [. . . *l*]*a ni-bi ta-nit-tu*$_4$ EN [. . .
SS (O) (rev.) 39 ^{r}*šá*^{1}-*nat* ^{r}*la*^{1} *ni-bi ta-nit-tu* EN GAL-*i* ^{d}U.GUR *u qu-ra-d*[*u* . . .]
—V:40 *šanāt lā nībi tanittu bēli rabî Nergal* (*u*) *qurādu Išum*
—V:40 Praise for years without number to the great Lord Nergal[493] and Warrior Išum!

N (K) rev. 2 *šá* ^{d}*èr-ra i-gu-gu-ma ana sa-pan* KUR.MEŠ [. . . . . .]
N (K) rev. 3 *iš-ku-nu* [. . .]
T (N) (rev.) 40 *g*]*u-gu-ma ana sa-pan* KUR.KUR ^{r}*ù*^{1} . . . . . -^{r}*šin*^{1} *iš-ku-nu pa-ni*-x [

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[491] I derive this form from *bêlu* and understand the final vowel to be overhanging (as does Bottéro, judging by his translation: "Le poème d'Erra," 248; see also Brinkman, *Post-Kassite Babylonia*, 285). In my reading, *šâšu* at the end resumes *zānin* from the beginning of the verse. But several other translators construe the verb as *libilū*, a plural precative of *babālu* with lack of vowel syncope, where *zānin* has been topicalized and is resumed by *šâšu*, a dative: "As to the provisioner of the Esagila and of Babylon, may the governors of all the cities effect (all due) delivery to him" (Cagni, *Poem of Erra*, 58). It is not obvious how one mediates between these competing translations. Since overhanging vowels and lack of syncope are both known elsewhere in this text, there are no phonological grounds for preferring one analysis of the verb over the other. Nowhere else in this text does *šâšu* function as a nominative, although the generalization of this once exclusively dative form to all other cases, including the nominative, is not out of the ordinary for Standard Babylonian; on the other hand, nowhere else does this form appear as an unmarked dative, without the preposition *ana*. I have chosen to construe the verb as a form of *bêlu* in part because it strikes me as awkward not to specify the object of *babālu*; however, note a similar issue in IV:35(/IIIc:5) (where, however, the object appears to be "blood," mentioned in the previous verse): *umunnâšunu taptē-ma tušābil nāra*, "You opened their veins and let the river carry off."

[492] The "provider of the Esagil and Babylon" is likely the governor (*šakkanakku*), if the following series of phrases from IV:12 is understood as apposition rather than asyndeton: *ana šakkanakki zānin māḫāzīšunu*.

[493] Marduk too is called "great lord" in IV:36.

BB (B) rev. 5 *šá* ^{d}*èr-ra i-gug-*^{r}*gu*$^{¬}$*-ma*[494] *ana sa-pan* x . . . . . .
BB (B) rev. 6 *ù ḫul-lu-uq ni-ši*-x *iš-ku-nu pa-ni*-x . . . . . .
MM 40 [. . .] ^{r}d$^{¬}$*èr-ra i-gu-ug-ma*[495] *ana sa*-[
SS (O) (rev.) 40 *šá* ^{dr}*èr*$^{¬}$*-ra i-gu-gu-ma ana sa-pan* KUR.^{r}MEŠ$^{¬}$ *u ḫul-l*[*u-u*]*q ni-*^{r}*ši*$^{¬}$-x [. . .]
—V:41 *ša Erra īgugū-ma ana sapān mātāti u ḫulluq nišīšin iškunu pānī*[*šu*]
—V:41 That[496] Erra got angry and set [his] mind on crushing the lands and wiping out their people,

N (K) rev. 4 ^{d}*i-šum ma-lik-šú ú-ni-ḫu-šu-ma i-zi-*[. . . . . .]
T (N) (rev.) 41]*-ni-iḫ-ḫu-šú-ma i-zi-b*[*u*] . . . ^{r}*re*$^{¬}$-[*ḫ*]*a-ni-iš* [
BB (B) rev. 7 ^{d}*i-šum ma-lik-šú ú-ni-iḫ-šu-ma*[497] *iz-zi-bu re-ḫa-*. . . . . .
MM 41 [. . .] *i-šum ma-lik-šú ú-ni-ḫ*[*u*
SS (O) (rev.) 41 ^{d}*i-šum ma-*^{r}*lik*$^{¬}$*-šú ú-ni-ḫu-šu-ma i-zi-bi* ^{r}*re*$^{¬}$*-ḫa-*^{r}*ni*$^{¬}$-. . .
—V:42 *Išum mālikšu uniḫḫūšū-ma īzib*[*u*]*/izzibu/īzibi*[498] *rēḫāniš*
—V:42 But Išum his adviser calmed him down and he left some as a remnant.

N (K) rev. 5 *ka-ṣir kam-mì-šú* ^{m}DUGUD-DINGIR.MEŠ.^{d}AMAR.UTU DUMU ^{m}[. . . . . .]
T (N) (rev.) 42]-^{r}*šú*$^{¬}$ ^{m}*kab-ti*-DINGIR-^{d}AMAR.UTU A ^{mr}*da*$^{¬}$*-bi-*^{r}*bi*$^{¬}$ [
BB (B) rev. 8 *ka-ṣir kam-mì-šú* ^{m}*kab-ti*-DINGIR.MEŠ-^{d}*mar-duk* DUMU ^{m}*da-*^{r}*bi-i-bi*$^{¬}$
MM 42 [. . .]*-ṣir kám-mì-šú* ^{m}IDIM-DINGIR.MEŠ-x-[
NN 42 . . .] x [. . . . . .
SS (O) (rev.) 42 ^{r}*ka*$^{¬}$*-ṣir kam-mì-šú* ^{m}IDIM-DINGIR.MEŠ-^{d}AMAR.UTU DUMU ^{m}*da-bi-*^{r}*bi*$^{¬}$
—V:43 *kāṣir kammīšu Kabti-ilānī-Marduk mār Dābibī*
—V:43 The one who put together[499] his (Erra's) composition was Kabti-ilānī-Marduk, descendant of Dābibī.[500]

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[494] Notice the irregular doubling of the final consonant (excluded from the normalization).

[495] Notice the missing subordination marker (excluded from the normalization).

[496] In this context *ša* appears to signal a summation of the contents of the text; compare *Enūma Eliš* VII:162.

[497] Notice the missing subordination marker (excluded from the normalization).

[498] Notice the overhanging vowel on *īzibi* (from copy SS), which appears to have superseded the subordination marker.

[499] The only other instance of which I am aware of *kaṣāru*'s being used with respect to a text cites Adapa as the compiler—or perhaps even the author—of an astrological series, in *The Verse Account of Nabonidus* v:12 (for a copy see Smith, *BHT*, pls. V–X; for a translation see Landsberger and Bauer, "Zu neuveröffentlichten Geschichtsquellen," 88–94 and Oppenheim, "Babylonian and Assyrian Historical Texts," 312–315). It is clear Kabti-ilānī-Marduk is not claiming "authorship" of this text per se, since in the following verse he reports that it was revealed to him in a dream; rather, as *kāṣiru* of the text, he served as amanuensis to the gods; see further chapter 6, "IV. Kabti-Ilānī-Marduk's Role in the Production of the Text."

[500] Dābibī is a family name (rather than a patronym) known from the eighth century and associated especially with Babylon (see Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, 284; Nielsen, *Sons and Descendants*, especially 27 and 166). (See also *Mīs pî* BR 68 [in Walker and Dick, *Induction of the Cult Image*, 77 and 82] for another attestation of this family name.)

N (K) rev. 6 *i-na šat mu-ši ú-šab-ri-šú-ma ki-i šá ina mu-na-at-ti* [. . .]
N (K) rev. 7 *a-a-am-ma* ⌜*ul*⌝ . . . . . [. . .]
T (N) (rev.) 43 *š*]*ab-ri-šú-ma ki-i šá ina mu-n*[*a*] . . . ⌜*ti*⌝ . . . . . x [. . . . .
BB (B) rev. 9 *ina šat mu-ši ú-*⌜*šab*⌝*-ri-šú-ma ki-i šá ina mu-na-at-ti id-. . .-bu*[(TE)-*bu*
BB (B) rev. 10 *a-a-am-ma ul iḫ-ṭi*
MM 43 [. . . *š*]*at mu-ši ú-šab-ri-šu*[*m*
NN 43 . . .]-*šú* GIM *šá ina mu-*[. . .
SS (O) (rev.) 43 *ina šá-at mu-ši ú-šab-ri-šum-ma* ⌜*ki-ma*⌝ *šá ina mu-na-at-ti* x x . . .
—V:44 *ina šāt mūši ušabrīšum-ma kī ša ina munatti idbubu ayyamma ul iḫṭi*
—V:44 During the night he (Erra) revealed it to him (Kabti-ilānī-Marduk), and when he (Kabti-ilānī-Marduk) recited it back in early morning slumber, he left nothing out.[501]

N (K) rev. 8 . . . . . *šu-ma ul ú-rad-*. . . . . *a-na* UG[U . . .]
T (N) (rev.) 44] *ul ú-rad-*⌜*di*⌝ x [. . . . . .
BB (B) rev. 11 *e-du šu-mu ul ú-rad-di ina muḫ-ḫi*
MM 44 ⌜MU⌝ ⌜*a*⌝*-a-am ul* ⌜*iḫ-ṭu*⌝[502] x [. . .
NN 44 *d*]*a*[?] MU *ul ú-r*[*ed*
SS (O) (rev.) 44 *e-da šu-ma ul ú-rad-di a-na muḫ-*⌜*ḫi*⌝
—V:45 **ēda šuma*/*šuma ayyam* ul uraddi ana muḫḫi*[503]

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[501] It appears that there are two phases to this revelatory process, the first occurring in the night, by means of a dream (implied), during which time the deity reveals the text to Kabti-ilānī-Marduk, and the second occurring in the early morning, *ina munatti*, during which time Kabti-ilānī-Marduk recites the text back to the deity and earns his approval (see the following line). I am aware of no other text in which a two-stage revelatory process through a sequence of dreams is described.

The meaning of *munattu* is difficult: the term clearly refers to a period of time, the early morning (contrasted here with *šāt mūši*; on this meaning see Butler, *Dreams and Dream Rituals*, 32), but it is not clear whether the subject is awake or asleep during this experience. Butler points to contexts in which *šuttu* (dream) is contrasted explicitly with *munattu*, which suggests they are to be distinguished, and argues the term means either "early morning" or "waking dream"/"daydream" (see ibid., 32–35); in a similar vein, Lambert defines the term as "the early-morning period of light sleep and waking," but then goes on to argue that "in all the passages where the meaning is plain 'waking-time' is clearly correct" (*Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, 295). In contrast, Oppenheim has argued—in reference to the same contexts in which *munattu* is paired with *šuttu* that Butler cites—that "there are some references which require the translation 'sleep' in the sense of 'dream' " ("Interpretation of Dreams," 225; notice also Oppenheim's citation to *ÉRIN.ḪUŠ*, in which *šuttu* and *munattu* appear to be synonyms). "It is possible," Oppenheim concludes, "that the word refers primarily to the sleep in the early hours of the morning, perhaps even to an intermediary stage between wakefulness and slumber in which dream-experiences of a special nature are said—in classical sources—to occur" (ibid.). Butler is correct that *šuttu* and *munattu* must be distinct (as is clear from the present context), but it does not follow that *munattu* is therefore experienced when the subject is awake, since it could equally be the case that the culture distinguishes between two classes of dreams, as Oppenheim essentially argues. The position is therefore adopted here that the term refers to a hypnopompic state in the early morning as the subject is coming awake.

[502] If *iḫṭu* is not an error, this line in copy MM may belong with the previous one.

[503] The phrase *ana muḫḫi*, frequently meaning "in addition," has been deemed superior to *ina muḫḫi* here.

—V:45 He did not add a single line to it.[504]

N (K) rev. 9 . . . . . *-ma* ᵈ*èr-ra im-da-ḫar pa-ni-*[. . .]
T (N) (rev.) 45 *è*]*r-ra im-ta-*. . . [. . . . . .
BB (B) rev. 12 *iš-me-ma* ᵈ*èr-ra im-da-ḫar pa-nu-uš-šú*[505]
MM 45 *iš-m*[*e* . . . . . .
NN 45 *r*]*a im-taḫ-ru* x [
SS (O) (rev.) 45 *iš-me-šu-ma* ᵈ*èr-ra im-ta-*˹*ḫar*˺ *pa-ni-šú*
—V:46 *išmē*(*šū*)*-ma Erra imtaḫar/imtaḫru*[506] *pānīšu*
—V:46 When Erra heard (it), he approved.

N (K) rev. 10 . . . . . *i-šum a-lik maḫ-ri-šú i-ṭib el-*. . .
T (N) (rev.) 46 *li*]*k maḫ-ri-šu* ˹*i-ṭib*˺ [. . . . . .
BB (B) rev. 13 *šá* ᵈ*i-šum a-lik maḫ-*. . .*-ri i-ṭib* UGU-*šú*
MM 46 *š*[*á* . . . . . .
NN 46] x *i-ṭib* [
SS (O) (rev.) 46 *šá* ᵈ*i-šum a-lik* IGI-*šú i-*˹*ṭib*˺ UGU-*šú*
—V:47 *ša Išum ālik maḫrī*(*šu*) *iṭīb elīšu*
—V:47 As for Išum, (his) vanguard, it was pleasing to him too.

N (K) rev. 11 . . . ˹*nap*˺*-ḫar-šú-nu i-na-ad-du it-ti-*˹*šu*˺
T (N) (rev.) 47]*-nu i-na-*˹*du*˺ [. . . . . .
BB (B) rev. 14 DINGIR.MEŠ *nap-ḫar-*. . . . . *i-na-du it-ti-šú*
NN 47] *i-na-ad-d*[*u*
SS (O) (rev.) 47 ˹DINGIR˺.MEŠ *nap-ḫar-šú-nu i-na-ad-du it-ti-šú*
—V:48 *ilānū napḫaršunu inaddū ittīšu*
—V:48 All of the gods were praising his sign.[507]

N (K) rev. 12 . . . . . *a-am iq-ta-bi qu-ra-du* ᵈ*èr-ra*
T (N) (rev.) 48 *i*]*q-ta-bi qu-*˹*ra*˺-[. . . . . .

[504] Against Frankena ("Untersuchungen zum Irra-Epos," 6), I find lines V:40–44 well integrated into the context and see no reason to suppose they are secondary. As I read the text, V:40–41, the summary of the text's contents, elaborates on the doxology in V:39, where that which Erra and Išum approve in V:45–46 is the text itself.

[505] The gemination on this form appears to be an error. It is unlikely this form represents a deliberate locative singular, "in front of him," or a simple alternation of a syllable V:C with VCC, since copy BB exhibits multiple errors elsewhere, including gemination of final consonants where none is expected: note *i-gug-*˹*gu*˺*-ma* in V:40 for *īgugū-ma* and *ú-šam-sak-ku* in V:50 for *ušamsaku*.

[506] The form *imtaḫru* appears to exhibit an overhanging vowel.

[507] The "sign" appears to be the benediction Erra pronounces over Babylonia in V:26–39, introduced explicitly as such in V:24. (Alternatively, it may refer to the text as a whole, verified by Erra and Išum in turn in the previous lines.)

BB (B) rev. 15 ⌜*ù*⌝ x-x-[*a*]*m iq-ta-*⌜*bi*⌝ *qu-ra-du* ^{d}*èr-ra*
NN 48 *b*]*i qu-ra-du* ^{d}[
SS (O) (rev.) 48 *u ki-a-am iq-ta-bi qu-ra-du* ^{d}*èr*^{I}(MU)*-ra*
TT (P) rev. 8'] . . . . . .-⌜*bi*⌝ ⌜*qu-ra-du*⌝ [
—V:49 *u kiam iqtabi qurādu Erra*
—V:49 Then Warrior Erra spoke thus:

N (K) rev. 13 . . . . . *-ma-ru šá-a-šú i-na-du ina a-šèr-ti-šú lik-tam-mì-ra* ḪÉ.GÁ[L]
T (N) (rev.) 49] ⌜*i*⌝*-na-du ina a-šè*[*r* . . . . . .
BB (B) rev. 16 *šá za-ma-ru šá-a-šú i-na-du ina a-šèr-ti-šú lik-tam-mì-*<*ra*> *ḫé-gál-lu*$_4$
NN 49 *d*]*u ina a-šèr-tì*-[. . .
SS (O) (rev.) 49 DINGIR *šá za-ma-ru šá-a-šú i-na-ad-du ina a-šèr-ti-šú lik-tam-mì-*⌜*ra*⌝ x . . .
TT (P) rev. 9' . . . . . .]*-tam-mir ḫé*^{I}(I)*-gál-la*
—V:50 (*ilu*) *ša zamāru šâšu inaddu ina ašertīšu liktammir*(*a*) *ḫegallu*
—V:50 "Let abundance accumulate in the chapel of (the god) who praises this song!

N (K) rev. 14 . . . . . ⌜*ú*⌝*-šam-sa-ku a-a-i-ṣi-in-na qut-rin-na*
T (N) (rev.) 50] *a-*⌜*a-i-ṣi*⌝-[. . . . . .
BB (B) rev. 17 *ù šá ú-šam-sak-ku a-*⌜*a*⌝*-iṣ-ṣi-na qut-rin-na*
NN 50 . . .]-x-*na* [. . .
SS (O) (rev.) 50 *u šá ú-šam-sa-ki a-a-iṣ-ṣi-na qut-rin-na*
TT (P) rev. 10' . . . . . .] *qut-rin-na*
—V:51 *u ša ušamsaku/ušamsaki*[508] *ayy-īṣinna/ayy-iṣṣina*[509] *qutrinna*
—V:51 "But let whoever denounces it not smell the incense!

N (K) rev. 15 . . . *šu-mì ú-šar-bu-ú li-bel kib-ra-a-ti*
T (N) (rev.) 51 . . . . . .] x [. . . . . .
BB (B) rev. 18 LUGAL *šá* . . . . . ⌜*ú*⌝*-šar-bu-u li-bé-el kib-ra-a-ti*
NN 51 . . . . . .]-x-*el kib*-[. . .
SS (O) (rev.) 51 LUGAL *šá šu-mi ú-šar-bu-ú li-be-el* ⌜*kib*⌝*-ra-a-ti*
TT (P) rev. 11' . . . . . *k*]*ib-ra-a-ti*
—V:52 *šarru ša šumī ušarbû libēl kibrāti*
—V:52 "Let the king who glorifies my name be lord of the quarters!

N (K) rev. 16 . . . *šá ta-nit-ti qar-ra-du-ti-ia i-dab-bu-bu*
N (K) rev. 17 *ma-ḫi-ra a-a-ir-ši*
BB (B) rev. 19 NUN *šá ta-nit-ti qar-ra-du-ti-ia i-dab-bu-bu ma-ḫi-ra a-a-ir-ši*
NN 52 . . . . . .] x x [. . .
SS (O) (rev.) 52 NUN *šá ta-nit-ti qar-ra-du-ti-*<*ia*> ⌜*i-dab*⌝$^{?}$-x x x x . . . . . .

[508] On *ušamsaki* too an apparent overhanging vowel has superseded the subordination marker.

[509] Both of these forms manifest apparently unmotivated gemination; the expected form is *ayy-īṣina*.

TT (P) rev. 12’ . . . . .]-*ḫi-ri a-a-ir-ši*
—V:53 *rubû ša tanitti qarrādūtīya idabbubu māḫira ayy-irši*
—V:53 “Let the prince who recites the praise of my warriorhood have no opponent!

N (K) rev. 18 lúNAR *ša i-ṣar-ra-ḫu ul i-ma-ti ina šib-ṭi*
BB (B) rev. 20 lúNAR *šá i-ṣar-ra-ḫu ul i-mat ina šib-ṭi*
SS (O) (rev.) 53 lúNAR *šá i-ṣar-ra-ḫu ul i-ma-˹ti˺ ˹ina˺ ˹šib˺-ṭi*
—V:54 *nāru ša iṣarraḫu ul imât*(*i*)[510] *ina šibṭi*
—V:54 “The singer who laments it will not die in the plague!

N (K) rev. 19 UGU LUGAL *u* NUN *li-ṭib at-mu-šu*
S (M) rev. 1’ [. . . . .] x . . . [. . . . .]
BB (B) rev. 21 UGU NUN *u* LUGAL *da-mì-iq at-mu-šú*
SS (O) (rev.) 54 UGU LUGAL *u* NUN *da-mì-iq at-mu-ú-. . . . . -šú*
TT (P) rev. 13’ . . . . . L]UGAL *u* NUN *li-ṭib at-mu-ú-šú*
—V:55 *eli *šarri u rubê*/**rubê u šarri** damiq/liṭīb atmûšu*
—V:55 “To king and prince let what he says[511] be good.

N (K) rev. 20 lúDUB.SAR *ša iḫ-ḫa-zu i-še-ti ina nak-ri i-kab-bit* DINGIR . . .
S (M) rev. 2’ ˹lú˺. . . . . -[*ḫ*]*a-zu i-šet in*[*a*] . . . . . [. . . . .] . . .
W (A) rev. iv:1’] ˹*iḫ-ḫa-zu*˺ x x [. . . . .]
W (A) rev. iv:2’ *i-˹kab˺-bit* . . . . . *šú*
BB (B) rev. 22 lúA.BA *šá iḫ-ḫa-˹zu˺ i-šet ina* KUR lúKÚR *i-kab-bit ina* KUR-*šú*
SS (O) (rev.) 55 lúDUB.SAR *šá ˹iḫ˺-ḫa-zu-uš ˹i˺-šet ina* lúKÚR *i-˹kab˺-bit* x x-*šú*
TT (P) rev. 14’ . . . . .] -*bit ina* KUR-*šú*
—V:56 *ṭupšarru ša iḫḫazu*(*š*) *išêt*(*i*)[512] *ina* (*māt*) *nakri ikabbit ina mātīšu*
—V:56 “The scribe who learns it will escape from (the land of) the enemy and be honored in his own land.

N (K) rev. 21 *ina a-šèr-ti um-ma-ni a-šar ka-a-a-an šu-mì i-zak-ka-˹ru˺*
N (K) rev. 22 *ú-zu-un-šú* *a-pe-et-ti*

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[510] The form *imâti* exhibits an overhanging vowel, with no evidence for reversion to the quality of the preterite.

[511] The antecedent of *-šu* (*atmûšu*) is not entirely clear. Almost all translators understand it to be *nāru*, “the singer,” from the previous verse. Dalley, however, raises the intriguing possibility that it refers back to *zamāru šâšu*, “this song,” in V:49: “The words of it will find favour with kings and princes” (*Myths from Mesopotamia*, 312). What might militate against this reading is that this passage generally (V:49–61) invokes blessings on those who worship Erra, particularly by making use of the text itself; this verse is then somewhat out of place in that it virtually invokes blessings on the song, not on the divine and human agents who promote it (V:59, in contrast, forms a concluding statement in which it is made clear the song is bestowed with eternal status specifically as a vehicle to the promotion of Erra’s cult).

[512] The form *išêti* appears to have an overhanging vowel.

S (M) rev. 3’ *ina a-šèr-ti um-ma-ni . . .-šar ka-a-a-an šu-. . .* [. . . . .]-*ta*$_5$
W (A) rev. iv:3’ *šè*]*r*$^{?}$*-ti um-ma-a-ni a-šar ka-a-a-a*[*n*] *šu-mì i-zak-ka-ru*
W (A) rev. iv:4’] ˹*ú*˺*-zu-un- šú-nu a-pet-te*
BB (B) rev. 23 *ina a-šèr-ti um-ma-a-ni a-šar šu-mì ka-a-a-an*
BB (B) rev. 24 *i-zaq-qa-ru . . . ú-zu-u*[*n*]*-šú-* ˹*nu*˺ *a-pet-. . .*
SS (O) (rev.) 56 [*in*]*a a-šèr-ti um-ma-ni a-šar* ˹*ka*˺*-a-a-an* MU MU-*ár*[513] GEŠTUG.MIN-*šú-nu a-pet-ti*
TT (P) rev. 15’ . . . . .]-x-*ru* GEŠTUG.MIN-*šú-nu a-pat-te*
—V:57 *ina ašerti ummâni ašar *kayyān šumī*/*šumī kayyān* izakkarū uzuššu*(*nu*) *apette*
—V:57 “In the chapel of the scholar where they regularly invoke my name I will grant enlightenment.[514]

N (K) rev. 23 *ina* É *a-šar ṭup*^{i}(É)*-pu šá-a-šú šak-nu* ^{d}*èr-ra lu a-gu-ug-ma*
N (K) rev. 24 *liš-gi-šú* DINGIR IMIN.BI
S (M) rev. 4’ *ina* É *a-šar ṭup-pu šá-. . .-šú šak-nu* ^{d}*èr-*[. . . . .]
W (A) rev. iv:5’] *a-šar ṭup-pu šá-a-šú šak-nu* ^{d}*èr-ra*
W (A) rev. iv:6’] *li-*˹*gug*˺*-ma liš-gi-šú* DINGIR IMIN.BI
BB (B) rev. 25 *ina . . . a-šar ṭup-pu šá-a-šú šak-nu* ^{d}*èr-ra lu-gug-. . . . . .*
BB (B) rev. 26 . . . . . *se-bé-et-. . . . . .*
SS (O) (rev.) 57 [. . .] ˹É˺ *a-šar* DUB *šá-a-šú šak-nu* ^{d}*èr-ra* A ḪA[515] x . . . x x DINGIR IMIN.BI
TT (P) rev. 16’ . . . . .]-*ma liš-giš* IMIN-*ti*
—V:58 *ina bīti ašar ṭuppu šâšu šaknu Erra *lū agug-ma*/*līgug-ma*/*lūgug-*[*ma*]*[516] *lišgiš*(*ū*) (*Ilānī*) *Sebetti*
—V:58 “In the building where this tablet is placed, even if Erra becomes furious and the (Divine) Heptad slaughter,

N (K) rev. 25 GÍR *šip-ṭi ul i-ṭe-ḫe-šú šá-lim-tu šak-na-as-su*
S (M) rev. 5’ *pa-tar šip-ṭi ul i-ṭe-eḫ-*<*ḫe*>*-šú-m*[*a*] . . . . .]
W (A) rev. iv:7’] . . . *ul i-ṭe-ḫe-šu-ma šá-lim-tu šak-na-su*
BB (B) rev. 27 . . . . . *-ṭe-eḫ-ḫe-*x-*m*[*a*] . . . . . .
SS (O) (rev.) 58 [. . .] *šip-ṭi ul i-ṭe-eḫ-ḫe-šu šá-. . .* x x ˹*šak*˺*-na-*˹*as-su*˺
TT (P) rev. 17’ . . . . .] . . .-[*n*]*a-at-*˹*su*˺
—V:59 *patar šipṭi ul iṭeḫḫēšū-*(*ma*) *šalimtu šaknassu*
—V:59 “The sword of judgment will not come near it, but well-being will be ordained for it.[517]

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[513] The form *izakkar* in copy SS appears to be in error, since regardless of the number a subordination marker is required here; it is possible that the signs MU.ÁR effectively came to be used as a compound logogram for any forms of *zakāru*, rather than as a logogram with phonetic complement.

[514] Literally “open their ears.”

[515] The signs A ḪA are clearly in error, whether ancient or modern; Cagni tentatively reads <*lu*>*-a-gug-m*[*a*] here (*L’Epopea di Erra*, 129).

[516] The form *lūgug* from BB—a copy riddled with odd spellings—represents a contraction of *lū agug*.

N (K) rev. 26 *za-ma-ru šá-a-šú a-na ma-ti-ma liš-šá-kin-ma li-kun qá-du ul-. . .*
S (M) rev. 6’ [*z*]*a-ma-ru šá-a-šú ana ma-ti-ma liš-šá-*[. . . . . .] . . .
W (A) rev. iv:8’]-*ru šá-a-šú a-na ma-te-ma liš-šá-kin-ma*
W (A) rev. iv:9’] *li-kun qá-du ul-la*
SS (O) (rev.) 59 [. . .]-*ma-ru šá-a-šú ana* ˹*ma*˺*-ti-ma-a liš-šá-*x x . . . x . . . x *ul-la*
TT (P) rev. 18’ . . . . . .] . . . . . x x . . .
—V:60 *zamāru šâšu ana matī-ma liššakim-ma likūn qadu ulla*
—V:60 “Let this song exist forever, let it endure to eternity!

N (K) rev. 27 *ma-ta-a-ti nap-ḫar-ši-na liš-ma-ma li-na-du qur-di-ia*
S (M) rev. 7’ . . . KUR *nap-ḫar-ši-na liš-*[*m*]*a-ma li-n*[*a* . . . . . .] . . . -[*i*]*a*
W (A) rev. iv:10’ *n*]*ap-ḫar-ši-na liš-ma-a li-n*[*a*]ˀ-[*d*]*a qur-di-ia*
SS (O) (rev.) 60 [. . .] x-˹*ti*˺ *nap-*˹*ḫar*˺*-ši-na liš-ma-ma li-na-da qur-. . .-ia*
—V:61 *mātāti napḫaršina lišmâ-*(*ma*) *linādū/linādā qurdīya*
—V:61 “Let all of the lands hear it and praise my status as warrior!

N (K) rev. 28 UN.MEŠ DÙ *da-ád-mì li-mu-ra-ma li-šar-ba-a šu-mì*
S (M) rev. 8’ UN.MEŠ *da-ád-mì li-mu-ra-ma . . . . . .-*˹*a*˺ *šu-mì*
W (A) rev. iv:11’].MEŠ *da-ád-mì li-mu-ra-ma . . .-*[*š*]*ar-*˹*ba*˺*-a šu-mì*
SS (O) (rev.) 61 ˹UN˺.MEŠ *da-ád-mì li-*˹*mur*˺*-ra-ma li-*˹*šar-ba-a šu-mi*˺
—V:62 *nišī* (*kal*) *dadmī līmurā-ma lišarbâ šumī*
—V:62 “Let the people of (all of) the inhabited world read it and glorify my name!”

[517] This verse appears to be quoted in the inscription Nabû-šuma-imbi 2001 at ii:28 (for an edition see Lambert, “Literary Style,” 125–130; Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia*, 123–126); for a comparison of the texts see chapter 3, “III. Erra’s Associations by Topic: Plague.”

Appendix B

Notes

Capital Roman numerals signify tablet numbers; lowercase Roman numerals signify column numbers or case numbers.

The octothorpe (#) indicates the text is so numbered in the most recent or most prominent copy or edition; numbered texts that have no octothorpes have been numbered arbitrarily for the puposes of this chart.

All bilingual texts are in Sumerian and Akkadian.

Where line numbers differ in the various copies and editions, the edition that is being followed in dividing and numbering the lines is indicated in parentheses.

Titles have been formulated simply for convenience and do not necessarily reflect genre or ancient designation. Genres too are modern designations; at the risk of prejudicing the reader's expectations I have nevertheless deemed it useful to provide some indication as to the nature of the text being cited.

The date column indicates the rough date of the copies, *not necessarily* the date of composition, which, especially for literary texts in the stream of tradition, is often speculative; furthermore, for texts that show a wide dissemination over centuries, citing a single date of composition would be counterproductive, since the text likely had currency across multiple points of time and space. Several texts (e.g., *Nergal and Ereškigal*) survive in multiple recensions from different eras, in which case the date of the recension under discussion is indicated.

Erra

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
Advice to a Prince	first millennium	wisdom literature	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in line 36
Akkadian Prophecy B	first millennium	prophecy	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in line 23
Amulets Invoking Marduk, Erra, Išum, and the Divine Heptad	first millennium	incantation	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in line 1 (A, B) / line 2 (C, D); ^{d}*èr-ra* in lines 7, 8 (C, D)
AN–*Anum*	first millennium	god-list	—	$^{d\lceil}$*èr*$^{\rceil}$*-ra* in VI:9; ^{d}*er*$_{9}^{er}$*-r*[*a*] in VI:102; ^{d}*èr-ra-ba-ba*/^{d}*èr-ra-ba-zu* in VI:125
The Annals of Aššurbanipal: Edition B	Neo-Assyrian	royal inscription	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in viii:17
The Annals of Aššurbanipal: The Rassam Cylinder (Edition A)	Neo-Assyrian	royal inscription	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in iii:113, iii:126, iii:134, iv:79, ix:57, ix:82
Anum (NB Weidner God-List, 1 Column)	Neo-Babylonian	god-list	—	^{d}*èr-ra* in line 84

Erra (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
Advice to a Prince	Cole, *Nippur IV*, 268, 271 (#128); King, *CT* 15, pl. 50; Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, pls. 31–32 (DT 1); Rawlinson, IV R^2, 48	Cole, *Nippur IV*, 268–274; Diakonoff, "Babylonian Political Pamphlet"; Hurowitz, "Advice to a Prince"; Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, 110–115
Akkadian Prophecy B	Grayson and Lambert, "Akkadian Prophecies," 24–25; King, *CT* 13, #50	Grayson and Lambert, "Akkadian Prophecies," 16–19
Amulets Invoking Marduk, Erra, Išum, and the Divine Heptad	Text A: Weidner, "Tell Halaf 1," pl. 17 (#100); Text B: Ebeling, *KAR* 2, 229 (#282, second fragment); Text C: unpublished; Text D: Thompson, "Texts from Nineveh," 128, fig. 17 (#41)	Text A: Weidner, "Tell Halaf 1," 46; Text B: Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, 179; Text C: Reiner, "Plague Amulets," 151 (right column); Text D: Reiner, "Plague Amulets," 151 (left column)
AN–*Anum*	For the relevant passages see Litke, *Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists*, pl. XXXIV, ix:55 (Erra); ibid., pl. XXXVI, ix:159 (Erra-baba); King, *CT* 24, pl. 35, ii:10 (Erra-bazu); King, *CT* 25, pl. 39, line 27 (Erra spelled $^{d}er_{9}^{er}$-*ra*); for a more complete list of textual witnesses for tablet VI see Litke, *Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists*, 198–199	Litke, *Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists*, 19–227
The Annals of Aššurbanipal: Edition B	Rawlinson, III R, 27, 29 (#3), 30–34; Winckler, *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten* 3, 38–48	Borger, *Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*; Cogan, *Raging Torrent*, 161–165; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria* 2, 323–340; Piepkorn, *Annals of Ashurbanipal*, 19–93; Streck, *Assurbanipal* 2, 92–139
The Annals of Aššurbanipal: The Rassam Cylinder (Edition A)	Rawlinson, V R^2, 1–10	Bauer, *Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*; Hecker, "Akkadische Texte," 74–84; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria* 2, 290–323; Oppenheim, "Babylonian and Assyrian Historical Texts," 294–301; Streck, *Assurbanipal* 2, 2–91
Anum (NB Weidner God-List, 1 Column)	unpublished	Cavigneaux, *Textes scolaires*, 79–99

Erra (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
Anum (Early Weidner God-List, 1 Column)	Neo-Sumerian to Old Babylonian	god-list	—	^{d}*èr-ra* in iii:9’
“As Heaven Became King”	Old Babylonian	incantation	Sumerian	^{d}*èr* in line 2
Assyrian God-List from Aššur	first millennium	god-list	—	^{d}*èr-ra* in rev. ii:22
Assyrian God-List from Sultantepe	first millennium	god-list	—	^{d}*èr-r*[*a*] in ii:1’
Astrological Report on the Conjunction of Mars and Saturn	Neo-Assyrian	astrological report	Akkadian	[^{d}*èr-ra*] in rev. 2
Aššurbanipal Inscription (K 2867)	Neo-Assyrian	royal inscription	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in rev. 7 (Bauer)
Aššurbanipal’s Coronation Hymn	Neo-Assyrian	hymn/prayer	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in rev. 12
Aššurnaṣirpal II, #38	Neo-Assyrian	royal inscription	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in rev. 19 (King)
Babylonian Oracle Questions #1	first millennium	oracle questions	Akkadian	$^{d\lceil}$*èr*$^{\rceil}$-*r*[*a*] in line 243
Babylonian Oracle Questions #20	first millennium	oracle questions	Akkadian	^{d}*è*[*r-ra*] in ii:9, rev. iii:2

Erra (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
Anum (Early Weidner God-List, 1 Column)	Langdon, *Religious and Historical Texts*, pl. 22; Scheil, "Raptim," 48; Weidner, "Altbabylonische Götterlisten," 4–5	unpublished *in toto*; Langdon, *Religious and Historical Texts*, 30–31; Scheil, "Raptim," 47–48; and Weidner, "Altbabylonische Götterlisten" offer diachronic composite reconstructions drawing partly on this text
"As Heaven Became King"	Van Dijk, Goetze, and Hussey, *Early Incantations and Rituals*, pl. LVI (#46)	Van Dijk, Goetze, and Hussey, *Early Incantations and Rituals*, 35
Assyrian God-List from Aššur	Schroeder, *KAV*, 54–55 (#65)	unpublished
Assyrian God-List from Sultantepe	Gurney and Hulin, *STT* 2, pl. CCLVI (#376) (duplicate in ibid, pl. CCLVII [#379], but the relevant passage is broken)	unpublished
Astrological Report on the Conjunction of Mars and Saturn	Thompson, *RMA*, #167	Hunger, *Astrological Reports*, 271 (#491); Koch-Westenholz, *Mesopotamian Astrology*, 185
Aššurbanipal Inscription (K 2867)	Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, pls. 31–32	Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, 87–89; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria* 2, 361–363; Streck, *Assurbanipal* 2, 210–215
Aššurbanipal's Coronation Hymn	Ebeling, *LKA*, #31	Livingstone, *Court Poetry*, 26–27; Seux, *Hymnes et prières*, 110–112
Aššurnaṣirpal II, #38	Budge and King, *AKA* 1, 162–167 (photo on lix)	Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions* 2, 177–179; Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium I*, 303–305 (Ashurnasirpal II, #38)
Babylonian Oracle Questions #1	Lambert, *Babylonian Oracle Questions*, pls. 11, 25	Lambert, *Babylonian Oracle Questions*, 21–41 (#1)
Babylonian Oracle Questions #20	Lambert, *Babylonian Oracle Questions*, pl. 50	Lambert, *Babylonian Oracle Questions*, 112–115 (#20)

Erra (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
Bārûtu: Manzāzu	first millennium	omens	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in IV:37, 38
"Blessings for an Unknown Individual (K 2279)"	first millennium	blessings (fragmentary)	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in rev. 4'
CM 13, #28	Late Bronze Age	economic text	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in line 6
CM 13, #30	Late Bronze Age	economic text	Akkadian	^{d}*èr*-[*r*]*a* in line 9
Compendium of Incantations §1	first millennium	incantation	bilingual (Erra's name appears in Akkadian)	^{d}*èr-ra* in line 19
CT 32, pl. 45	Neo-Sumerian	economic text	Sumerian	*èr*$^{?}$*-ra* in rev. 7
The Cuthean Hymn to Nergal	Neo-Babylonian	hymn/prayer	bilingual (Erra's name appears in Sumerian)	^{d}*èr-ra* in lines 3, 11, rev. 1; [^{d}*èr*]-*ra* in line 19
Emar 6, #289	Late Bronze Age	economic text	Akkadian	^{d}[*è*]*r-ra* in line 6

Erra (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
Bārûtu: Manzāzu	For the relevant passage see Boissier, *DA*, 95–96; Handcock, *CT* 30, pl. 26; Handcock, *CT* 30, pl. 31; Koch-Westenholz, *Babylonian Liver Omens*, pl. VI; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Koch-Westenholz, *Babylonian Liver Omens*	Koch-Westenholz, *Babylonian Liver Omens*, 79–183
"Blessings for an Unknown Individual (K 2279)"	Sidersky, "Prayers for a King (?)," 566–567	Sidersky, "Prayers for a King (?)," 568–572
CM 13, #28	Westenholz, *Bible Lands Museum* (CM 13), pls. LXV–LXVI (#28)	Westenholz, *Bible Lands Museum* (CM 13), 70–71 (#28)
CM 13, #30	Westenholz, *Bible Lands Museum* (CM 13), pls. LXIX–LXX (#30)	Westenholz, *Bible Lands Museum* (CM 13), 73–75 (#30)
Compendium of Incantations §1	For the relevant passage see Thompson, *CT* 17, pls. 4–8; Gurney and Hulin, *STT* 2, pls. CLXXVI–CLXXVII (#192+#195); for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Schramm, *Compendium sumerisch-akkadischer Beschwörungen*, 87–93	Schramm, *Compendium sumerisch-akkadischer Beschwörungen*, 26–29
CT 32, pl. 45	King, *CT* 32, pl. 45	Politi and Verderame, *DBTM*, 86 (#51)
The Cuthean Hymn to Nergal	MacMillan, "Cuneiform Tablets," 642–643 (#X)	MacMillan, "Cuneiform Tablets," 582–584; Pinches, "Babylonian Gods of War," 210–212; Seux, *Hymnes et prières*, 81–83
"Emar 6, #289"	Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Astata* (Emar 6/1), 138 (731062)	Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Astat* (Emar 6/3), 284–285 (#289)

Erra (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
Enūma Anu Enlil	first millennium	omens (astrological)	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in XXV:i:2, XXVIII:104, XLVII:rev.52', LVI:27, LVI:28, LVI:29, LVI:31; ^{d}*èr-r*[*a*] in XLVI:F4' (following Gehlken's nomenclature), LXXV:7?; [^{d}*èr-ra*] in LI:xii:14, LI:xii:15
The Epic of Zimri-Lim	Old Babylonian	literary text/prophecy	Akkadian	*èr-ra* in line 142
Erra and Narām-Sîn	Old Babylonian	royal inscription	Akkadian	*er-ra* in lines 4, 15, 19, 24, 33, 36, 44, 50, 52, 64; [*er-ra*] in line 40
"Fragmentary Babylonian Historical Epic" (*BHLT* #9)	first millennium	historical-literary text	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in line 16
"Fragmentary Building Ritual"	first millennium	ritual	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in line 14'
Gilgameš	first millennium	mythological narrative	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in XI:195 (George)
The Glorification of Inana	late Babylonian	hymn	bilingual	^{d}*èr-ra* in IVB:19, IV:20 (Hruška)

Erra (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
Enūma Anu Enlil	Tablet XXV: Craig, *AAT*, pl. 24; Virolleaud, *ACh*, Shamash VII; tablet XXVIII: Van Soldt, *Solar Omens*, pls. XII–XIII (photos); Craig, *AAT*, pl. 77; Virolleaud, *ACh*, Shamash XIV; tablet XLVI:F4': Gehlken, *Weather Omens*, pl. 23 (top photo); tablet XLVII: Gehlken, *Weather Omens*, pl. 27 (K 2326+BM 99185—photos); Craig, *AAT*, pl. 49 (K 2326); Virolleaud, *ACh*, Adad XX (K 2326); tablet LI: unpublished; tablet LVI: Craig, *AAT*, pl. 40, pls. 41–42, pl. 51; Thureau-Dangin, *Tablettes d'Uruk*, pls. XXX–XXXIII (#16); tablet LXXV: unpublished (?)	Tablets XXV, XXVIII: Van Soldt, *Solar Omens*; tablets XLVI, XLVII: Gehlken, *Weather Omens*; tablet LI: Reiner, *Babylonian Planetary Omens Part Two*; tablet LVI: Largement, "L'étude des astres errants"; tablet LXXV: Virolleaud, *ACh SS*
The Epic of Zimri-Lim	unpublished	unpublished; quoted briefly in Durand, *Archives Épistolaires de Mari I/1*, 393 and Nissinen, *Prophets and Prophecy*, 90
Erra and Narām-Sîn	Lambert, "Studies in Nergal," 359–360	Lambert, "Studies in Nergal," 357–363; Westenholz, *Kings of Akkade*, 189–201
"Fragmentary Babylonian Historical Epic" (*BHLT* #9)	Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*, 95	Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*, 93–97
"Fragmentary Building Ritual"	Ambos, *Mesopotamische Baurituale*, 270 (#32)	Ambos, *Mesopotamische Baurituale*, 227
Gilgameš	For the relevant passage see especially George, *Gilgamesh Epic* 2, pls. 118–123; ibid., pls. 124–127; ibid., pl. 137; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see ibid. 1, 379–417	Foster, Frayne, and Beckman, *Epic of Gilgameš*; George, *Gilgamesh Epic*; Hecker, "Das akkadische Gilgamesch-Epos"; Kovacs, *Epic of Gilgamesh*
The Glorification of Inana	For the relevant passage see Langdon, "Bilingual Tablet," 74–75; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Hruška, "Inannas Erhöhung," 474–475	Hruška, "Inannas Erhöhung"; Langdon, "Bilingual Tablet," 76–84

Erra (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
God-List by Location, with Tallies	first millennium	god-list	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in rev. iii:27
God-List, CT 25, 36/37	first millennium	god-list	—	^{d}*èr-ra* in rev. 15 (36) / rev. 21 (37)
Great Omen Document with Figures	first millennium	omens	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in iii:2
"Hemerological Omens from *Iqqur Īpuš*"	first millennium	omens	Akkadian	[^{d}]*èr-ra* (/^{d}U.GUR) in §77:9
Hirayama Collection III, #48	Late Bronze Age	economic text	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in line 5
Hymn to Inana (*SAHG* #21)	Old Babylonian	hymn/prayer	Sumerian	^{d}KIŠ-*ra* in rev. 13 (Falkenstein)
Hymn to Ištar (*LKA* #23)	first millennium	hymn	bilingual	[^{d}*è*]*r-ra* in second side 20; ^{r}^{d}*èr*^{1}*-ra* in second side 21
Hymn to Ninurta (*SAHG* #2)	Old Babylonian	hymn/prayer	Sumerian	^{d}KIŠ-*ra* in rev. 2, rev. 3, rev. 4; [^{d}KIŠ-*ra*] in 1 (Radau)
Ḫammurapi's Code	Old Babylonian	royal inscription with embedded law collection	Akkadian	*èr-ra* in ii:69
Incantation against Wardat-Lilîm	Old Babylonian	incantation	Akkadian	*èr-ra* in line 2
Incantations, *KAR* 1, #88	first millennium	incantation	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in fragment 5, ii:15
Incipit of a Hymn to Erra ("At the Watch of Erra, the Night Watchman")	first millennium	hymn incipit	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in i:24

Erra (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
God-List by Location, with Tallies	Ebeling, *KAR* 1, 227–230 (#142)	unpublished; quoted in Schroeder, "Der Gott des 28. Tages"
God-List, CT 25, 36/37	King, *CT* 25, pl. 35; ibid., pl. 36	unpublished
Great Omen Document with Figures	Boissier, *Divination assyro-babylonienne* 1, 137–144 (photos on pls. III–IV)	Boissier, *Divination assyro-babylonienne* 1, 137–151
"Hemerological Omens from *Iqqur Īpuš*"	For the relevant passage see Labat, *Un calendrier babylonien*, pl. XVIII (DN not extant); ibid., pl. XXXII ([d]U.GUR); Virolleaud, *ACh*, Sin pl. XXIV ([d]*èr-ra*); for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Labat, *Un calendrier babylonien*, 29–55	Labat, *Un calendrier babylonien*
Hirayama Collection III, #48	Tsukimoto, "Hirayama Collection (III)," 309 (#48)	Tsukimoto, "Hirayama Collection (III)," 297–299 (#48)
Hymn to Inana (*SAHG* #21)	Gadd, *CT* 36, pls. 28–30	Falkenstein, "Urninurta von Isin," 106–113; Falkenstein and von Soden, *SAHG*, 105–109 (#21)
Hymn to Ištar (*LKA* #23)	Ebeling, *LKA*, 227–230 (#23)	unpublished
Ḫymn to Ninurta (*SAHG* #2)	Radau, *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers*, pl. 8 rev. (#4)	Falkenstein and von Soden, *SAHG*, 60–61 (#2); Kramer, "Sumerian Hymns," 577; Radau, *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers*, 74–79
Ḫammurapi's Code	See, for example, Bergmann, *Codex Hammurabi*; Harper, *Code of Hammurabi*	Roth, *Law Collections*, 71–142
Incantation against Wardat-Lilîm	Van Dijk, Goetze, and Hussey, *Early Incantations and Rituals*, pl. LXXXI (#92)	Farber, "(W)ardat-lilî(m)"
Incantations, *KAR* 1, #88	Ebeling, *KAR* 1, 153–157 (#88)	Ebeling, "Sammlungen von Beschwörungsformeln," 403–423
Incipit of a Hymn to Erra ("At the Watch of Erra, the Night Watchman")	Ebeling, *KAR* 1, 267–272 (#158)	Ebeling, *Ein Hymnen-Katalog aus Assur* (unavailable to me)

Erra (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
Incipit of a Hymn to Erra ("Let Me Sing of Erra, Let Me Extol His Strength!")	first millennium	hymn incipit	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in i:21
Incipit of a Hymn to Ninisinna ("Ninisinna, the Firstborn of Erra")	first millennium	hymn incipit	Sumerian (?)	^{d}*èr-ra* in line 18
The Kiš Recension of Anu–AN–*Anum*	first millennium	god-list	—	^{d}*èr-ra* in III:16
Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi	first millennium	hymn/wisdom literature	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in I:27
"Miscellaneous Constellation Texts XV:29"	first millennium	omens (astrological)	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in XV:29
MUL.APIN	first millennium	astrological treatise	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in I:i:17 (Hunger and Pingree)
Muššuʾu	first millennium	incantations	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in VIII:171 (Böck)
Nabopolassar #1	Neo-Babylonian	royal inscription	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in i:25 (Hilprecht) / i:27 (Strassmaier)
Nabopolassar #3	Neo-Babylonian	royal inscription	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in i:13

Erra (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
Incipit of a Hymn to Erra ("Let Me Sing of Erra, Let Me Extol His Strength!")	Ebeling, *KAR* 1, 267–272 (#158)	Ebeling, *Ein Hymnen-Katalog aus Assur* (unavailable to me)
Incipit of a Hymn to Ninisinna ("Ninisinna, the Firstborn of Erra")	Bezold, *BC* 4, 1627	unpublished
The Kiš Recension of Anu–AN–*Anum*	Van der Meer, *Syllabaries A, B¹ and B*, pls. XXI–XXIII (#135–#149)	Van der Meer, *Syllabaries A, B¹ and B*, 57–58
Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi	For the relevant passage see George and al-Rawi, "Three Wisdom Texts," 178–201; Wiseman, "Poem of the Righteous Sufferer"; Wiseman and Black, *Temple of Nabû*, pls. 120–121 (#201); for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Annus and Lenzi, *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, xli–xlvi	Annus and Lenzi, *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*; Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, 21–62; von Soden, "*Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*"; for the translation of the line in question see also Moran, "Hymn to Marduk," 259
"Miscellaneous Constellation Texts XV:29"	unpublished	Reiner, *Babylonian Planetary Omens Part Two*, 72–73
MUL.APIN	For the relevant passage see King, *CT* 33, pls. 1–8; Horowitz, "Two Mul-Apin Fragments," 17; Hunger and Pingree, *MUL.APIN*, pl. XV (photo); Pinches and Strassmaier, *LBAT*, #1497+#1496; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Hunger and Pingree, *MUL.APIN*, 3–9	Hunger and Pingree, *MUL.APIN*; Horowitz, "Two Mul-Apin Fragments"
Muššu'u	Böck, *Das Handbuch* Muššu'u, pls. XXXVIII–XXXIX; Gurney and Hulin, *STT* 2, pls. CXLVIII–CXLIX (#136)	Böck, *Das Handbuch* Muššu'u
Nabopolassar #1	Hilprecht, *Inscriptions Chiefly from Nippur*, pls. 32–33 (#84); Strassmaier, "Nabopalassar und Smerdis," 129–136	Hecker, "Der Bericht des Nabopolassar"; Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, 60–65 (Nabopolassar #1); Strassmaier, "Nabopalassar und Smerdis," 106–113
Nabopolassar #3	Winckler, "Studien und Beiträge," 172–173	Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften* (Nabopolassar #3), 64–67

Erra (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
The Nabopolassar Epic	Neo-Babylonian	historical-literary text	Akkadian	˹d˺*èr-ra* in iii?:20
Nabû-šuma-imbi 2001	post-Kassite	royal inscription	Akkadian	˹d˺*èr-ra* in ii:27’
“*Namburbi* against General Mischief”	first millennium	incantation	Akkadian	d*èr-ra* in line 15 (Goetze)
Nebuchadrezzar I, #6	post-Kassite	royal inscription	Akkadian	d*èr-ra* in rev. 10
Nebuchadrezzar II, #13	Neo-Babylonian	royal inscription	Akkadian	d*èr-ra* in i:7 (Ball) / i:6 (Langdon)
Nebuchadrezzar II, #20	Neo-Babylonian	royal inscription	Akkadian	d*èr-ra* in i:6
Nebuchadrezzar II, Cylinder BM 85975	Neo-Babylonian	royal inscription	Akkadian	d*èr-ra* in i:5
Nergal and Ereškigal	first millennium	mythological narrative	Akkadian	d*èr-ra* throughout the Sultantepe /Uruk recension
Neriglissar #1	Neo-Babylonian	royal inscription	Akkadian	d*èr-ra* in i:13
A New Descent to the Netherworld	Old Babylonian	mythological narrative	Akkadian	*èr-ra* in line 12
The Nippur Compendium	first millennium	topographical text	Akkadian	d*er*$_9$-˹*ra*˺? in v:18
The Nippur God-List	Old Babylonian	god-list	—	*èr-ra* in line 15” (Peterson)
“Omens Related to *Enūma Anu Enlil*”	first millennium	omens (astrological)	Akkadian	d*èr-ra* in XLV:18’ (V2/3); d˹*èr-ra*˺? in XLV:rev.14 (V1) (following Gehlken’s nomenclature)

Erra (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
The Nabopolassar Epic	Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*, 80–81	Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*, 78–86
Nabû-šuma-imbi 2001	Strong, "Four Cuneiform Texts," 350–357	Frame, *Rulers of Bayblonia*, 123–126 (Nabû-šuma-iškun 2001); Lambert, "Literary Style," 125–130; Strong, "Four Cuneiform Texts," 350–368
"*Namburbi* against General Mischief"	Goetze, "Cuneiform Inscriptions from Tarsus," 12	Goetze, "Cuneiform Inscriptions from Tarsus," 11–16; Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, 185–189
Nebuchadrezzar I, #6	Rawlinson, III R, pl. 38	Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia*, 19–21 (Nebuchadnezzar I, #6)
Nebuchadrezzar II, #13	Ball, "Unpublished Inscription"	Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, 102–113 (Nebukadnezar #13)
Nebuchadrezzar II, #20	Unpublished	Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, 176–187 (Nebukadnezar #20)
Nebuchadrezzar II, Cylinder BM 85975	Smith, *CT* 37, pls. 5–9 (composite text from 5–20)	unpublished
Nergal and Ereškigal	Gurney and Finkelstein, *STT* 1, pls. XXX–XXXV (#28); Hunger, *SpTU* 1, 122	Gurney, "Nergal and Ereškigal"; Hunger, *SpTU* 1, 17–19; Müller, "Nergal und Ereschkigal"; Pettinato, *Nergal ed Ereškigal*
Neriglissar #1	Rawlinson, I R, 67	Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, 208–215 (Nerigissar #1)
A New Descent to the Netherworld	Gadd and Kramer, *Literary and Religious Texts*, #395	Lambert, "Descent to the Netherworld"
The Nippur Compendium	George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, pls. 29–33 (#18)	George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, 143–162
The Nippur God-List	Chiera, *Sumerian Lexical Texts*, #117, #122–#125; Peterson, *Godlists from Nippur*, pls. IV–XVIII (photos of multiple sources)	Jean, "Noms divins sumériens," 182–190; Peterson, *Godlists from Nippur*, 5–77
"Omens Related to *Enūma Anu Enlil*"	V2/3: Gehlken, *Weather Omens*, pls. 13–14 (K 2227 + K 2268; K 3590—photos); Craig, *AAT*, pl. 58a (K 2227); Craig, *AAT*, pl. 59 (K 3590); Virolleaud, *ACh*, Adad XIX (K 2227, K 3590); V1: Gehlken, *Weather Omens*, pl. 12 (photos)	Gehlken, *Weather Omens*, 35–75 (tablet XLVI of *Enūma Anu Enlil*, to which the relationsip of these documents is uncertain; see ibid., 39)

Erra (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
Prayers for King Ḫammurapi	Old Babylonian	hymn/prayer	Sumerian	*èr-ra* in line 24’
“Prayer to Nabû” (*STT* 1, #71)	first millennium	hymn/prayer	Akkadian	^{d}*è*[*r-ra*] in line 16
Prayer to the Gods of the Night A	Old Babylonian	hymn/prayer	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in line 16 (von Soden)
Prayer to the Gods of the Night B	Old Babylonian	hymn/prayer	Akkadian	*er-ra* in line 16
Prayer to the Gods of the Night C	Old Babylonian	hymn/prayer	Akkadian	*èr-ra* in line 13
Procession Omens	first millennium	omens	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in line 8
Rituals Explicated through Myths: “Let the Rites of the Ekur be Performed”	first millennium	ritual	Akkadian	^{d}*èr*$^{!}$*-ra* in line 7 (Livingstone)
SACT 2, #94	Neo-Sumerian	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}*èr-ra* in line 4
The Sargon Stela	Neo-Assyrian	royal inscription	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in iii(left side):71
“Snake Omens”	Neo-Assyrian	omens	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in line 18’
Stela of Bēl-Ḫarrān-bēlī-uṣur	Neo-Assyrian	royal inscription	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra* in line 27
Sumerian Temple Hymns	Old Babylonian	hymns/prayers	Sumerian	^{d}KIŠ-*ra* in line 463

Erra (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
Prayers for King Ḫammurapi	Sjöberg, "Prayers for King Ḫammurabi," figs. 1–2 (photos)	Sjöberg, "Prayers for King Ḫammurabi"
"Prayer to Nabû" (*STT* 1, #71)	Gurney and Finkelstein, *STT* 1, pls. LXXXVI–LXXXVII (#71)	Lambert, "Sultantepe Tablets," 134–138
Prayer to the Gods of the Night A	Shileiko, "Prayer," 147	Falkenstein and von Soden, *SAHG*, 274; Reiner, "Uses of Astrology," 591–592; Seux, *Hymnes et prières,"* 475–477; von Soden, "Russische Veröffentlichungen"
Prayer to the Gods of the Night B	Dossin, "Dieux de la Nuit," 182–183	Dossin, "Dieux de la Nuit"; Stephens, "Sumero-Akkadian Hymns and Prayers," 391–392
Prayer to the Gods of the Night C	Stol, "Two Old Babylonian Literary Texts," 387	Horowitz and Wasserman, "Another Old Babylonian Prayer"; Stol, "Two Old Babylonian Literary Texts," 384
Procession Omens	Gadd, *CT* 40, pl. 38; von Weiher, *SpTU* 2, #35	Pongratz-Leisten, Ina šulmi īrub, 257–265
Rituals Explicated through Myths: "Let the Rites of the Ekur be Performed"	Ebeling, *LKA*, #71+#72+Van Dijk, "Musée de Baghdad," 117=Van Dijk, *Varying Content*, pl. XLVII (#59)	Livingstone, *Mythological Explanatory Works*, 116–121; Matsushimo, "Un text théologique"
SACT 2, #94	Kang, *Umma Archive* (SACT 2), 143 (#94)	Kang, *Umma Archive* (SACT 2), 143 (#94)
The Sargon Stela	Messerschmidt and Ungnad, VAS 1, 65–71 (#71)	Schrader, *Sargonsstele*
"Snake Omens"	Ebeling, *KAR* 2, 339–342 (#384–#385)	Freedman, *If a City* 2, 116–123; Heeßel, Nils P., *Divinatorische Texte* 1, 53–58
Stela of Bēl-Ḫarrān-bēlī-uṣur	See for example Scheil, "Stèle de Bêl-Harrân-bêl-utsur," 177–179; for a more complete list of copies see Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium II*, 241	Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium II*, 241–242; Peiser, *Texte juristischen und geschäftlichen Inhalts*, 102–105; Scheil, "Stèle de Bêl-Harrân-bêl-utsur"
Sumerian Temple Hymns	For the relevant passage see Sjöberg and Bergmann, *Sumerian Temple Hymns*, pl. VIII; ibid., pl. XXIV; ibid., XXXVI; for a complete list of textual witnesses see ibid., 14–16	Sjöberg and Bergmann, *Sumerian Temple Hymns*

Erra (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
"Symbols of Deities"	first millennium	ritualistic lexical text	Akkadian	⌜d*èr-ra*⌝ in line 8 (Livingstone)
Šalmaneser III, #5 (the Balawat Gates)	Neo-Assyrian	royal inscription	Akkadian	d*èr-ra* in iii:2
Šumma Ālu ina Mēlê Šakin	first millennium	omens	Akkadian	d*èr-ra* in XXV:14', XLVI:6, XLVI:26, XLVI:27, XLVIII:40, LXXXVIII:46, Commentary to XLVIII line 1, LXXII:8, ⌜d*èr-ra*⌝ in CXX:8
Šurpu	first millennium	incantations	Akkadian	d*èr-ra* in II:175 (iv:4 in Rawlinson)
Texts from Sippir #8, seal	Old Babylonian	seal impression	—	d*èr-ra* in line 3
"Theft of a Golden Statue of Erra"	Neo-Assyrian	letter	Akkadian	d*èr-ra* in line 14', rev. 1
Ūmē Ṭābūti	Neo-Assyrian	omens	Akkadian	d*èr-ra* in rev. iii:65

Erra (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
"Symbols of Deities"	For the relevant passage see Livingstone, *Mythological Explanatory Works*, pl. II; copies of duplicates appear in ibid., pls. III–IV (Erra's name is lost to a lacuna), ibid., pl. VI (^{d}*è*[*r-ra*]), and Langdon, *Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms*, pl. XCIX (#12) (the name is misspelled or miscopied ^{d}È[R].DU)	Livingstone, *Mythological Explanatory Works*, 176–179
Šalmaneser III, #5 (the Balawat Gates)	See for example Rasmussen, *Salmanasser den II's indskrifter*, pls. XI–XIV; for a more complete list of published copies see Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium II*, 28	Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium II*, 27–32 (Shalmaneser III, #5)
Šumma Ālu ina Mēlê Šakin	Tablet XXV: the relevant passage is unpublished; tablet XLVI: Boissier, *DA*, 107–108; Gadd, *CT* 38, pls. 49–50; tablet XLVIII: Boissier, *DA*, 103–106; tablet LXXXVIII: Gadd, *CT* 39, pls. 31–33; Commentary to tablet XLVIII: Gadd, *CT* 41, pl. 32; tablet LXXII: Gadd, *CT* 39, pls. 26–27; tablet CXX: Cavigneaux, "Texte und Fragmente aus Warka," 118	Tablet XXV: Freedman, *If a City* 2, 72–89; tablet XLVI: Boissier, *Divination assyro-babylonienne* 1, 36–37; tablet XLVIII: Boissier, *Divination assyro-babylonienne* 1, 31–35; tablet LXXXVIII: unpublished; Commentary to tablet XLVIII: unpublished; tablet LXXII: unpublished; tablet CXX: Sallaberger, "Erscheinen Marduks"
Šurpu	For the relevant passage see especially Rawlinson, IV R^{2}, 51–52; Zimmern, *BBR,* pls. II–III; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Reiner, *Šurpu*	Reiner, *Šurpu*
Texts from Sippir #8, seal	Al-Rawi and Dalley, *Texts from Sippir*, pl. 4 (#8, seal impression)	Al-Rawi and Dalley, *Texts from Sippir*, 38 (#8)
"Theft of a Golden Statue of Erra"	Harper, *ABL* 14, 1537 (#1372)	Cole and Machinist, *Letters from Priests*, 127–128 (#157); Waterman, *Royal Correspondence* 1, 456–457 (#1372)
Ūmē Ṭābūti	Ebeling, *KAR* 2, 13–28 (#178)	Casaburi, *Ūmē ṭābūti*

Erragal/Errakal

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
Acrostic Hymn to Marduk	Neo-Assyrian	hymn/prayer	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra-gal* in rev. 4 (Livingstone)
AN–*Anum*	first millennium	god-list	—	^{d}*èr-ra-gal* in I:332/rev. iv:20; $^{d\lceil}$*èr-ra*$^{\rceil}$*-gal* in VI:10/ix:56; $^{d\lceil}$*èr-ra*$^{\rceil}$*-kal* in VI:11/ix:57
Anum (Early Weidner God-List, 1 Column)	Neo-Sumerian–Old Babylonian	god-list	—	^{d}*èr-*$^{\lceil}$*ra*$^{\rceil}$*-gal* in iii:10’
Anum (NB Weidner God-List, 1 Column)	Neo-Babylonian	god-list	—	^{d}*èr-ra-gal* in line 85; ^{d}*èr-ra-kal* in line 86
“Arise! Arise!”	Old Babylonian	hymn/prayer	Sumerian (Emesal)	^{d}*èr-ra-gal*/*er-ra-ga-al* in a+246
Arrangement of Gods and Cultic Furniture	Achaemenid	ritual (?)	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra-gal* in line 23
Assyrian God-List from Aššur	first millennium	god-list	—	^{d}GÌR-*ra-gal* in rev. ii:21; ^{d}*èr-ra-gal* in rev. ii:23; ^{d}*èr-ra-kal* in rev. ii:24
Assyrian God-List from Sultantepe	first millennium	god-list	—	^{d}*èr-ra*-[*gal*] in ii:2’
Atraḫasīs	Old Babylonian	mythological narrative	Akkadian	^{d}*er*-[*ra-kal*] in II:vii:51

Erragal/Errakal (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
Acrostic Hymn to Marduk	Brünnow, "Assyrian Hymns II," 246–248+Brünnow, "Assyrian Hymns III," 77–78; Craig, *ABRT* 1, #29–#31 with corrections in 2, X	Livingstone, *Court Poetry*, 6–10; Seux, *Hymnes et prières*, 115–121
AN–*Anum*	For the relevant passages see King, *CT* 24, pl. 10 and Litke, *Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists*, pl. XXXIV, respectively; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Litke, *Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists*, 20 for tablet I, 198–199 for tablet VI	Litke, *Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists*, 19–227
Anum (Early Weidner God-List, 1 Column)	Langdon, *Religious and Historical Texts*, pl. 22; Scheil, "Raptim," 48; Weidner, "Altbabylonische Götterlisten," 4–5	unpublished *in toto*; Langdon, *Religious and Historical Texts*, 30–31; Scheil, "Raptim," 47–48; and Weidner, "Altbabylonische Götterlisten" offer diachronic composite reconstructions drawing partly on this text
Anum (NB Weidner God-List, 1 Column)	unpublished	Cavigneaux, *Textes scolaires*, 79–99
"Arise! Arise!"	For the relevant passage see Figulla, *CT* 42, #3; de Genouillac, *Textes du Louvre* 1, pl. iii; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 1, 347	Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 1, 347–373
Arrangement of Gods and Cultic Furniture	Nougayrol, "Textes et documents figurés," 35	Nougayrol, "Textes et documents figurés," 32–38
Assyrian God-List from Aššur	Schroeder, *KAV*, 54–55 (#65)	unpublished
Assyrian God-List from Sultantepe	Gurney and Hulin, *STT* 2, pl. CCLVI (#376) (duplicate in ibid, pl. CCLVII (#379), but the relevant passage is broken)	unpublished
Atraḫasīs	For the relevant passage see Clay, *BRM* 4, pl. 1 (#1); Clay, *Deluge Story*, pls. I–II; Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs*, pls. 1–6; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see ibid., 40–41	Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs*

Erragal/Errakal (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
"A Broken Prism of Ninurta-Tukulti-Aššur"	Middle Assyrian	royal inscription	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra-gal* in lines 1, 13
The Cuthean Hymn to Nergal	Neo-Babylonian	hymn/prayer	bilingual (Erragal's name appears in Sumerian)	^{d}*èr-ra-gal* in line 15
The Divine Address Book (*Götteraddress-buch*)	Neo-Assyrian	god-list	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra-gal* in ix:12
"Divine Statues of the Esagil"	Neo-Assyrian	letter	Akkadian	^{d}*è*[*r-r*]*a-gal* in line 10
"Fashioning Man and Woman"	first millennium	hymn/prayer	Sumerian (Emesal)	^{d}*èr-ra-gal* in c+313
"Flood that Drowns the Harvest"	first millennium	hymn/prayer	Sumerian with Akkadian glosses (Erragal's name appears in Emesal Sumerian)	^{d}*èr-ra-gal* in lines 16, a+105 (Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations*)
Gilgameš	first millennium	mythological narrative	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra-kal* in XI:102 (George)
God-List, CT 25, 36/37	first millennium	god-list	—	^{d}*èr-ra-gal* in rev. 17 (36) / rev. 23 (37); ^{d}*èr-ra-kal* in rev. 16 (36) / rev. 22 (37)
The Great List of Sumerian Gods	Old Babylonian	god-list	—	$^{d\lceil}$*èr*$^{\rceil}$*-ra-gal* in 331 (following the numbering in *Textes du Louvre* 1)

Erragal/Errakal (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
"A Broken Prism of Ninurta-Tukulti-Aššur"	Stephens, *Votive and Historical Texts*, #80	Borger, *Einleitung*, 100–102
The Cuthean Hymn to Nergal	MacMillan, "Cuneiform Tablets," 642–643 (#X)	MacMillan, "Cuneiform Tablets," 582–584; Pinches, "Babylonian Gods of War," 210–212; Seux, *Hymnes et prières*, 81–83
The Divine Address Book (*Götteraddress-buch*)	Rawlinson, III R, 66	Frankena, *Tākultu*, 5–9; Menzel, *Assyrische Tempel* 2, T. 113–T. 125; for discussion see Ebeling, "Kultische Texte aus Assur [1955]"
"Divine Statues of the Esagil"	Parpola, *CT* 53, pl. 37 (#106)	Parpola, *Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, 303–304 (#368)
"Fashioning Man and Woman"	For the relevant passage see Reisner, *SBH*, 85–87 (#48); ibid., 133–135 (#III)+Rawlinson, V R^2, 52 (#1); for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 1, 222	Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 1, 222–253
"Flood that Drowns the Harvest"	For the relevant passage see Craig, "K. 69"; Reisner, *SBH* #9; ibid., #10; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 2, 500	Böllenrücher, *Gebete und Hymnen*, 30–42; Cohen, Balag-*Compositions*, 26–29; Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 2, 500–517
Gilgameš	For the relevant passage see especially George, *Gilgamesh Epic* 2, pls. 118–123; ibid., pls. 124–127; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see ibid., 379–417	Foster, Frayne, and Beckman, *Epic of Gilgameš*; George, *Gilgamesh Epic*; Hecker, "Das akkadische Gilgamesch-Epos"; Kovacs, *Epic of Gilgamesh*
God-List, CT 25, 36/37	King, *CT* 25, pl. 35; ibid., pl. 36	unpublished
The Great List of Sumerian Gods	de Genouillac, "Grande liste"; de Genouillac, *Textes du Louvre* 1, pls. XXV to XXXI (#10)	de Genouillac, "Grande liste"

Erragal/Errakal (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
The Great Star List	Neo-Assyrian	astrological treatise	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra-gal* in line 13
"Honored One, Wild Ox" (Early Recension)	Old Babylonian	hymn/prayer	Sumerian (Emesal)	^{d}*èr-ra-gal* in e+230
"Honored One, Wild Ox" (Late Recension)	first millennium	hymn/prayer	bilingual (Erragal's name appears in Emesal Sumerian)	^{d}*èr-ra-gal* in c+187
Ḫul-ba-zi-zi (excerpt)	first millennium	incantation	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra-gal* in vi: 16
Incantation against Curses	first millennium	incantation	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra-gal* in iii:7
Incantations, *KAR* 1, #88	first millennium	incantation	Akkadian	[^{d}*èr-ra-g*]*al* in fragment 5, ii:16
The Kiš Recension of Anu–AN–*Anum*	first millennium	god-list	—	^{d}*èr-ra-gal* and ^{d}*èr-ra-kal* in III:17
MUL.APIN	first millennium	astrological treatise	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra-gal* in I:i:27
Mušš'u	first millennium	incantations	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra-gal* in VIII:171 (Böck)
Nabonidus: The Eigikalama Cylinder	Neo-Babylonian	royal inscription	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra-gal* in i:14
Nbn #1012	Neo-Babylonian	economic text	Akkadian	—

Erragal/Errakal (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
The Great Star List	For the relevant passage see King, *CT* 26, pl. 45; King, *CT* 26, pl. 50; King, *CT* 29, pls. 40–41; King, *CT* 29, pl. 47; King, *CT* 34, pl. 14	George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, 366–367; Koch-Westenholz, *Mesopotamian Astrology*, 187–205; Weidner, *Handbuch der babylonischen Astronomie*, 19–20
"Honored One, Wild Ox" (Early Recension)	For the relevant passage see de Genouillac, *Textes du Louvre* 1, #2; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 1, 272	Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 1, 272–318
"Honored One, Wild Ox" (Late Recension)	For the relevant passage see Reisner, *SBH*, #48; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 1, 272	Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 1, 272–318; Marchesi, *LUMMA*, 42–43
Ḫul-ba-zi-zi (excerpt)	Gurney and Hulin, *STT* 2, pls. CLXXXVI–CXCI (#215)	quoted in Reiner, "Astral Magic," 20
Incantation against Curses	Geller, "Incantation against Curses," 138–140	Geller, "Incantation against Curses"
Incantations, *KAR* 1, #88	Ebeling, *KAR* 1, 153–157 (#88)	Ebeling, "Sammlungen von Beschwörungsformeln," 403–423
The Kiš Recension of Anu–AN–*Anum*	Van der Meer, *Syllabaries A, B¹ and B*, pls. XXI–XXIII (#135–#149)	Van der Meer, *Syllabaries A, B¹ and B*, 57–58
MUL.APIN	For the relevant passage see King, *CT* 33, pls. 1–8; Hunger and Pingree, *MUL.APIN*, pls. IX–X (photo on pl. XIX); Wiseman and Black, *Temple of Nabû*, pl. 21 (#28); for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Hunger and Pingree, *MUL.APIN*, 3–9	Hunger and Pingree, *MUL.APIN*
Muššu'u	Böck, *Das Handbuch* Muššu'u, pls. XXXVIII–XXXIX; Gurney and Hulin, *STT* 2, pls. CXLVIII–CXLIX (#136)	Böck, *Das Handbuch* Muššu'u
Nabonidus: The Eigikalama Cylinder	Dhorme, "La fille de Nabonide," 110, 112; Gadd, *CT* 36, pls. 21–23	Dhorme, "La fille de Nabonide," 109–115; Schaudig, *Inschriften Nabonids*, 362–370
Nbn #1012	unpublished	unpublished; quoted in Bongenaar, *Ebabbar Temple*, 359

Erragal/Errakal (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
The Nippur Compendium	first millennium	topographical text	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra-gal* in v:18
The Nippur God-List	Old Babylonian	god-list	—	*èr-ra-gal* in line 16" (Peterson)
Šurpu	first millennium	incantations	Akkadian	^{d}*èr-ra-gal* in II:175 (iv:4 in Rawlinson), VIII:28; ^{d}*èr-ra*-KAL.KAL in II:175 (iv:4 in Rawlinson)
"Unidentified *Balaĝ*"	first millennium	hymn/prayer	bilingual (Erragal's name appears in Emesal Sumerian)	[^{d}*èr*]-*ra-gal* in line 4'
Variant to "Fashioning Man and Woman"	Old Babylonian	hymn/prayer	Sumerian (Emesal)	*er-ra-ga-al* in line 7

Erragal/Errakal (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
The Nippur Compendium	George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, pls. 29–33 (#18)	George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, 143–162
The Nippur God-List	Chiera, *Sumerian Lexical Texts*, #117, #122–#125; Peterson, *Godlists from Nippur*, pls. IV–XVIII (photos of multiple sources)	Jean, "Noms divins sumériens," 182–190; Peterson, *Godlists from Nippur*, 5–77
Šurpu	For the relevant passages see especially Rawlinson, IV R^2, 51–52 and Zimmern, *BBR,* pls. II–III; ibid., pl. XVI; and Smith, *Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts*, 17–19, respectively; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Reiner, *Šurpu*	Reiner, *Šurpu*
"Unidentified *Balaĝ*"	Reisner, *SBH*, #60; Spar and Lambert, *Literary and Scholastic Texts*, pls. 20–21	Spar and Lambert, *Literary and Scholastic Texts*, 83–88
Variant to "Fashioning Man and Woman"	Langdon, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, pls. XXXVII–XXXVIII	Langdon, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, 172–178

Išum

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
Amulets Invoking Marduk, Erra, Išum, and the Divine Heptad	first millennium	incantation	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in line 2 (A, B) / line 3 (C, D)
AN–*Anum*	first millennium	god-list	—	^{d}*i-šum* in VI:16/ix:62
Anum (Early Weidner God-List, 1 Column)	Neo-Sumerian to Old Babylonian	god-list	—	^{d}*i*-[*šu*]*m* in iii:17’
Anum (NA Weidner God-List, 2 Columns)	first millennium	god-list	—	$^{d\lceil}$*i*$^{\rceil}$-[*šum*] in ii:40
Anum (NB Weidner God-List, 1 Column)	Neo-Babylonian	god-list	—	^{d}*i-šum* in line 92
Anu’s Procession	Hellenistic	ritual	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in iv:24
AO 7232 (NS cylinder seal)	Neo-Sumerian	seal	—	^{d}*i-šum* in line 2
ARN #58	Old Babylonian	economic text	Sumerian	$^{\lceil d\rceil}$*i-šum* in line 4’
Ashdod #1 (OB cylinder seal)	first millennium findspot (probable Old Babylonian date of manufacture)	seal	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in line 3

Išum (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
Amulets Invoking Marduk, Erra, Išum, and the Divine Heptad	Text A: Weidner, "Tell Halaf 1," pl. 17 (#100); Text B: Ebeling, *KAR* 2, 229 (#282, second fragment); Text C: unpublished; Text D: Thompson, "Texts from Nineveh," 128, fig. 17 (#41)	Text A: Weidner, "Tell Halaf 1," 46; Text B: Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, 179; Text C: Reiner, "Plague Amulets," 151 (right column); Text D: Reiner, "Plague Amulets," 151 (left column)
AN–*Anum*	For the relevant passage see Litke, *Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists*, pl. XXXIV; for a more complete list of textual witnesses for tablet VI see Litke, *Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists*, 198–199	Litke, *Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists*, 19–227
Anum (Early Weidner God-List, 1 Column)	Langdon, *Religious and Historical Texts*, pl. 22; Scheil, "Raptim," 48; Weidner, "Altbabylonische Götterlisten," 4–5	unpublished *in toto*; Langdon, *Religious and Historical Texts*, 30–31; Scheil, "Raptim," 47–48; and Weidner, "Altbabylonische Götterlisten" offer diachronic composite reconstructions drawing partly on this text
Anum (NA Weidner God-List, 2 Columns)	Schroeder, *KAV*, 49–51 (#63)	unpublished *in toto*; Langdon, *Religious and Historical Texts*, 30–31; Scheil, "Raptim," 47–48; and Weidner, "Altbabylonische Götterlisten" offer diachronic composite reconstructions drawing partly on this text
Anum (NB Weidner God-List, 1 Column)	unpublished	Cavigneaux, *Textes scolaires*, 79–99
Anu's Procession	Ebeling, *KAR* 1, 212–215 (#132)	Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 434–436; Linssen, *Cults of Uruk and Babylon*, 201–208; Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, 99–108
AO 7232 (NS cylinder seal)	Delaporte, *Catalogue II*, pl. 77, fig. 11	Delaporte, *Catalogue II*, 120–121
ARN #58	Çığ and Kraus, *ARN*, 26–72 (#58)	unpublished
Ashdod #1 (OB cylinder seal)	Shaffer, "Ashdod Cylinder Seal," 198 (photo on pl. XCVII)	Horowitz and Oshima, *Cuneiform in Canaan*, 39 (Ashdod #1); Shaffer, "Ashdod Cylinder Seal," 198

Išum (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
Assyrian Ritual Text C	Neo-Assyrian	ritual	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in rev. 12
Astrolabe B	Middle Assyrian	astrological treatise	bilingual (Išum's name appears in Akkadian)	^{d}*i š*[*um*] in iii:14; ^{d}*i-šum* in iii:20
Aššurbanipal Inscription (K 3098+K 4450)	Neo-Assyrian	royal inscription	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in rev. i:13
Aššurbanipal Inscription (Rm. 281)	Neo-Assyrian	royal inscription	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in line 6
"Aššur-šallim to Esarhaddon"	Neo-Assyrian	letter	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in line 4
AUCT 4, #33, seal	Old Babylonian	seal impression	—	^{d}*i-šum* in line 3
Bārûtu: Tīrānu	first millennium	omen	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in line 77
The Birth Accounts of Sîn and Išum	Old Babylonian	mythological narrative	Akkadian	^{d}*i-ša-am* in VII:8' (Römer)
Bīt Mēseri	first millennium	incantations	primarily Akkadian (Išum's name appears in Akkadian)	^{d}*i-šum* in II:74 (i:44 in Rawlinson)
Blessings for the King	late second millennium	hymn/prayer	bilingual (Išum's name appears in Sumerian)	^{d}*i-šum* in line 13
BM 89275 (NS cylinder seal with OB legend)	Old Babylonian legend	seal	—	^{d}*i-šum* in line 1
"Burnt Offerings to Heavenly Bodies"	Neo-Assryian	letter	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in rev. 3

Išum (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
Assyrian Ritual Text C	unpublished	Ebeling, "Kultische Texte aus Assur [1952]," 135–141
Astrolabe B	Schroeder, *KAV*, #218	Landsberger, "Jahreszeiten—*Concluded*," 273–274; Reiner, *Babylonian Planetary Omens Part Two*, 81–82; Römer, "Menologie des Astrolab B"; Weidner, *Handbuch der babylonischen Astronomie*, 85–102
Aššurbanipal Inscription (K 3098+K 4450)	Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, pls. 35–36	Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, 55–56; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria* 2, 360–361
Aššurbanipal Inscription (Rm. 281)	Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, pls. 53–54	Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, 56–58; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria* 2, 366
"Aššur-šallim to Esarhaddon"	Harper, *ABL* 4, 458 (#434)	Luukko and Van Buylaere, *Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon*, 128–129 (#148); Oppenheim, *Letters from Mesopotamia*, 170–171; Waterman, *Royal Correspondence* 1, 300–301 (#434)
AUCT 4 #33, seal	Sigrist, *Horn Archaeology Museum* (AUCT 4), 67 (#33)	Sigrist, *Horn Archaeology Museum* (AUCT 4), 67 (#33)
Bārûtu: Tīrānu	Clay, *BRM* 4, pls. 16–18 (#13)	Clay, *BRM* 4, 30–37
The Birth Accounts of Sîn and Išum	King, *CT* 15, pls. 5–6	Böhl, "Oud-babylonische Mythen"; Dhorme, "La souveraine des dieux"; Römer, "Lied über Sin und Ishum"
Bīt Mēseri	For the relevant passage see Rawlinson, IV R^2, 21; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Meier, "Serie bīt mēseri," 141	Meier, "Serie bīt mēseri"
Blessings for the King	Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Astata* (Emar 6/2), 564 (photos)	Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Astata* (Emar 6/4), 371–374 (#775); Watanabe, *Segenswünsche*, 383–386
BM 89275 (NS cylinder seal with OB legend)	Collon, *Catalogue II*, pl. XLVI (#393)	Collon, *Catalogue II*, 151 (#393)
"Burnt Offerings to Heavenly Bodies"	Harper, *ABL* 6, 699 (#648)	Cole and Machinist, *Letters from Priests*, 63 (#72); Waterman, *Royal Correspondence* 1, 450–451 (#648)

Išum (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
Canonical Diri	second-/first-millennium sources	lexical text	—	ḪENDUR.SAĜ *Išum* in V:29
CDC 1, #104 (NS cylinder seal)	Neo-Sumerian	cylinder seal	—	^{d}*i-šum* in line 2
The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld	Neo-Assyrian	literary text	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in line 56 (rev. 16)
CUSAS 8, #7, seal B	Old Babylonian	seal impression	—	$^{d\lceil}$*i-šum*$^{\rceil}$ in line 3
The Diagnostic Handbook (SA.GIG)	first millennium (compiled in the eleventh century)	diagnostic omens	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in XXXIII:76
The Divine Address Book (*Götteraddress-buch*)	Neo-Assyrian	lexical text	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in ii:8, xii:10
Emesal Vocabulary Tablet I	first millennium	lexical text	—	^{d}*i-šum* in line 110 (rev. 41 in Rawlinson)
Enūma Anu Enlil	first millennium	omens (astrological)	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in LXXV:3, LXXV:4–5, LXXXIV:3
"Flood that Drowns the Harvest"	first millennium	hymn/prayer	Sumerian with Akkadian glosses (Išum's name appears in Akkadian)	^{d}*i-šum* in line 22 (Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations*)
A Fumigation Incantation against Šulak	Achaemenid	incantation	Akkadian	[^{d}]*i-šum* in line 10
Geographical List	first millennium	lexical text	—	^{d}*i*!(TUR)-*šum* in rev. iii:11
Glyptique orientale #IV/6 (NS cylinder seal)	Neo-Sumerian	cylinder seal	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in line 1

Išum (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
Canonical Diri	The relevant passage is unpublished; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Civil, *DIRI*=(w)atru	Civil, *DIRI*=(w)atru, 104–197
CDC 1, #104 (NS cylinder seal)	de Clercq, *CDC* 1, 75 (#104)	Krausz, *Siegelcylinderlegenden*, 99
The Crown Prince's Vision of the Netherworld	von Soden, "Unterweltsvision," pls. I–IV (photos)	Ebeling, *TuL*, 1–9; Foster, *Before the Muses*, 832–839; Livingstone, *Court Poetry*, 68–76; Speiser, "Akkadian Myths and Epics," 109–110; von Soden, "Unterweltsvision"
CUSAS 8, #7, seal B	Van Lerberghe and Voet, *Late Old Babylonian Temple Archive* (CUSAS 8), 174 (#7) seal B (photo)	Van Lerberghe and Voet, *Late Old Babylonian Temple Archive* (CUSAS 8), 174 (#7) seal B
The Diagnostic Handbook (SA.GIG)	von Weiher, *SpTU* 4, 179–180 (#152)	Heeßel, *Babylonisch-assyrische Diagnostik*, 353–374; von Weiher, *SpTU* 4, 81–88
The Divine Address Book (*Götteraddress-buch*)	Rawlinson, III R, 66	Frankena, *Tākultu*, 5–9; Menzel, *Assyrische Tempel* 2, T. 113–T. 125; for discussion see Ebeling, "Kultische Texte aus Assur [1955]"
Emesal Vocabulary Tablet I	For the relevant passage see Rawlinson, II R, 59; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Landsberger, *Emesal Vocabulary*, 3	Landsberger, *Emesal Vocabulary*, 3–10
Enūma Anu Enlil	unpublished (?)	Virolleaud, *ACh SS*
"Flood that Drowns the Harvest"	For the relevant passage see Craig, "K. 69"; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 2, 500	Böllenrücher, *Gebete und Hymnen*, 30–42; Cohen, Balag-*Compositions*, 26–29; Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 2, 500–517
A Fumigation Incantation against Šulak	Finkel, "Medical Training," 194	Finkel, "Medical Training," 193–195
Geographical List	Rawlinson, II R, 50	Landsberger, *Lexical Lists*, 54–56
Glyptique orientale #IV/6 (NS cylinder seal)	Ménant, *Glyptique orientale* 1, pl. IV (between pages 128 and 129), #6 (photograph)	Krausz, *Siegelcylinderlegenden*, 99

Išum (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
"Honored One, Wild Ox" (Late Recension)	first millennium	hymn/prayer	bilingual (Išum's name appears in Akkadian)	^{d}*i-šum* in c+172
ID.A–*na-a-qu*	Achaemenid	syllabary series	—	^{d}[*i-šum*] i':5'
Incantations, Fossey #1	first millennium	incantation	bilingual (Išum's name appears in Akkadian)	^{d}*i-šum* in xxviii: 47
Incantations, *KAR* 1, #88	first millennium	incantation	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in fragment 4, ii:3
The Kiš Recension of Anu–AN–*Anum*	first millennium	god-list	—	^{d}*i-šum* in III:24
Kudurru *from the Time of Marduk-apla-iddina I*	Kassite	*kudurru*	—	^{d}*i-šum* in vi:1
Letter-Prayer to Ninmug	Old Babylonian	letter-prayer	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in lines 4, 7, 11, 16
"*Lipšur*-Litany" (*ABRT* 1, 56–59)	first millennium	incantation	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in rev. 11
"A *Lipšur*-Litany from Nimrud"	first millennium	incantation	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in (obv.) 39'
Middle Assyrian Coronation Ritual	Middle Assyrian	ritual	Akkadian	$^{\lceil d \rceil}$*i-šum* in iii:19
Morgan Cylinders #109 (OB cylinder seal)	Old Babylonian	cylinder seal	—	^{d}*i-šum* in line 3
Mušš'u	first millennium	incantations	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in V:80

Išum (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
"Honored One, Wild Ox" (Late Recension)	For the relevant passage see Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies*, pl. XXXVIII (#101); Reisner, *SBH*, #48; ibid., #50; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 1, 272	Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 1, 272–318
ID.A–*na-a-qu*	Thompson, *CT* 12, 22 (38180)	unpublished
Incantations, Fossey #1	Haupt, *ASKT*, 82–99 (#11); Rawlinson, II R, 1718	Fossey, *La magie assyrienne*, 144–178 (#1)
Incantations, *KAR* 1, #88	Ebeling, *KAR* 1, 153–157 (#88)	Ebeling, "Sammlungen von Beschwörungsformeln," 403–423
The Kiš Recension of Anu–AN–*Anum*	Van der Meer, *Syllabaries A, B¹ and B*, pls. XXI–XXIII (#135–#149)	Van der Meer, *Syllabaries A, B¹ and B*, 57–58
Kudurru *from the Time of Marduk-apla-iddina I*	Scheil, *Textes élamites-sémitiques*, pls. 9–10 (photos)	Scheil, *Textes élamites-sémitiques*, 31–39; Steinmetzer, *Die babylonischen Kudurru*, 62–64
Letter-Prayer to Ninmug	unpublished	Van Soldt, *Letters in the British Museum*, 138–139 (#164)
"*Lipšur*-Litany" (*ABRT* 1, 56–59)	Craig, *ABRT* 1, 56–59	unpublished; quoted in Edzard, "Išum," 213; description in Bezold, *BC* 1, 405; similar texts in Reiner, "*Lipšur* Litanies"
"A *Lipšur*-Litany from Nimrud"	Wiseman, "Lipšur Litany," pls. XXXVIII–XL (after p. 183)	Wiseman, "Lipšur Litany"
Middle Assyrian Coronation Ritual	Ebeling, *KAR* 1, 218–220 (#135); ibid., 221–222 (#137); idem, *KAR* 2, 131–132 (#216)	Müller, "Das assyrische Ritual," 4–46
Morgan Cylinders #109 (OB cylinder seal)	Ward, *Morgan Cylinders*, pl. XV (#109)	Krausz, *Siegelcylinderlegenden*, 98
Mušš̆u'u	For the relevant passage see especially Schroeder, *KAV*, #154; Wiseman and Black, *Temple of Nabû*, pls. 57–58 (#95) + pl. 93 (#158); for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Böck, *Das Handbuch* Mušš̆u'u	Böck, *Das Handbuch* Mušš̆u'u

Išum (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
"*Namburbi* against Bad Omens in a House"	first millennium	ritual	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in line 9
"*Namburbi* against Disease"	first millennium	ritual	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in rev. 4
"*Namburbi* against the Evil of Fungus"	first millennium	ritual	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in lines 34, 35 (Maul)
The Nippur God-List	Old Babylonian	god-list	—	^{d}*i-šum* in line 87 (Peterson)
The Nippur Recension of Diri	Old Babylonian	lexical text	—	^{d}*i-šum* in line 10:10; *i-šum* in lines 10:09, 10:10
Nisaba and Wheat	first millennium	fable	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in line 22
"Record of Wine for the Gods"	Neo-Assyrian	economic text	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in line 7'
Rīm-Anum, #II 21, seal	Old Babylonian	seal impression	—	^{d}*i-*⌜*šum*⌝ in line 3
"Ritual against a Lurker Demon"	first millennium	ritual	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in line 96
RWH 20 (OB cylinder seal)	Old Babylonian	cylinder seal	—	^{d}*i-šum* in line 1
"Syllabary of the Second Class from Aššur"	first millennium	lexical text	—	^{d}*i-šum* in rev. iv:18
"*Šuilla* to Išḫara and Išum" (*BMS* #7)	first millennium	hymn/prayer	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in line 39 (King)

Išum (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
"*Namburbi* against Bad Omens in a House"	Ebeling, *LKA*, #115	Ebeling, "Beschwörungsserie Namburbi," 130–132; Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, 502–504
"*Namburbi* against Disease"	Caplice, "Namburbi Texts V," pl. XIII (photos)	Caplice, "Namburbi Texts V," 168–170
"*Namburbi* against the Evil of Fungus"	Caplice, "Namburbi Texts V," pls. III–IV (photos)	Caplice, *Akkadian Namburbi Texts*, 18–19; idem, "Namburbi Texts V," 140–147; Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung*, 354–366
The Nippur God-List	Chiera, *Sumerian Lexical Texts*, #117, #122–#125; Peterson, *Godlists from Nippur*, pls. IV–XVIII (photos of multiple sources)	Jean, "Noms divins sumériens," 182–190; Peterson, *Godlists from Nippur*, 5–77
The Nippur Recension of Diri	For the relevant passages see Civil, *DIRI*=(w)atru, figs. 1–2; ibid., figs. 3–4; see ibid., 8–11 for a more complete list of textual witnesses	Civil, *DIRI*=(w)atru, 8–38
Nisaba and Wheat	Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, pl. 44 (VAT 12995); ibid., pl. 45 (SU 52/257); ibid., pls. 45–46 (SU 51/173+SU 52/100+ 142)	Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, 168–175
"Record of Wine for the Gods"	unpublished	Fales and Postgate, *Palace and Temple Administration*, 174 (#171)
Rīm-Anum, #II 21, seal	unpublished	Rositani, *Rim-Anum Texts*, 130 (#II, 21)
"Ritual against a Lurker Demon"	Farber, *Beschwörungsrituale*, pls. 1–4	Farber, *Beschwörungsrituale*, 72–73
RWH 20 (OB cylinder seal)	unpublished	Dalley, "Hutchinson Collection," 127
"Syllabary of the Second Class from Aššur"	Leeper and Gadd, *CT* 35, pls. 1–8	unpublished
"*Šuilla* to Išḫara and Išum" (*BMS* #7)	King, *BMS*, pls. 15–17 (#7)	Ebeling, *"Handerhebung"*, 55–60; King, *BMS*, 37–41

Išum (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
Šumma Ālu ina Mēlê Šakin	first millennium	omens	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in LXXXVII:i:8, LXXXVII:i:12, LXXXVII:i:13, LXXXVII:i:19; ^{d}*i-š*[*um*] in LXXXVII:i:20; ^{d}*i-šu*[*m*] in LXXXVII:ii:2
Šurpu	first millennium	incantations	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in VIII:29 (iv:13 in Rawlinson)
TCL 1, #131, seal A	Old Babylonian	seal impression	—	^{d}*i-šum* in line 3
Treaty between Aššur-Nērārī V and Mati'ilu of Arpad	Neo-Assyrian	treaty	Akkadian	^{d}*i-šum* in vi:14
Utukkū Lemnūtu	first millennium	incantations	bilingual (Išum's name appears in Akkadian)	^{d}*i-šum* in V:163, XII:105, XIII–XV:92; [^{d}*i-šum*] in VI:125', VI:150', XIII–XV:194
The Yale Syllabary	Old Babylonian (?)	lexical	—	^{d}*i-šum* in line 265
YOS 8, #9, seal D	Isin-Larsa	seal impression	—	^{d}*i-šum* in line 3
YOS 8, #150, seal B	Isin-Larsa	seal impression	—	^{d}*i-šum* in line 3
YOS 12, #13, seal	Old Babylonian	seal impression	—	^{d}*i-šum* in line 4
YOS 12, #140, seal	Old Babylonian	seal impression	—	^{d}*i-šum* in line 3

Išum (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
Šumma Ālu ina Mēlê Šakin	Smith, *CT* 37, pls. 46–48	unpublished
Šurpu	For the relevant passage see especially Rawlinson, IV R², 51–52; Smith, *Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts*, 17–19; Zimmern, *BBR*, pl. XVI; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Reiner, *Šurpu*	Reiner, *Šurpu*
TCL 1, #131, seal A	Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et contrats* (TCL 1), pl. LXX (#131)	Krausz, *Siegelcylinderlegenden*, 99
Treaty between Aššur-Nērārī V and Mati'ilu of Arpad	Weidner, "Der Staatsvertrag Aššurnirâris VI.," 24–25	Borger, "Der Vertrag Assurniraris mit Mati'ilu," 155–158; Reiner, "Akkadian Treaties," 532–533; Weidner, "Der Staatsvertrag Aššurnirâris VI."
Utukkū Lemnūtu	See especially Thompson, *CT* 16; Nies and Keiser, *Historical, Religious and Economic Texts*, pls. IX–XIV; Rawlinson, IV R², 1–2 (V:163=v:23–24); ibid., 15* (XIII–XV:92=i:47–48)	Geller, *Evil Demons*; Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*; Fossey, *La magie assyrienne*, 186–212 (V:163=v:23–24); ibid., 262–279 (XIII–XV:92=i:47–48)
The Yale Syllabary	Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, pls. XL–XLIX (#53)	Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, 85–97
YOS 8, #9, seal D	Faust, *Contracts from Larsa* (YOS 8), pl. 5 (#9), seal impression "D" (the 4th)	unpublished
YOS 8, #150, seal B	Faust, *Contracts from Larsa* (YOS 8), pl. LXVII (#150), seal impression "B" (on the left edge)	unpublished
YOS 12, #13, seal	Feigin, *Legal and Administrative Texts* (YOS 12), pl. II (#13), seal impression	unpublished
YOS 12, #140, seal	Feigin, *Legal and Administrative Texts* (YOS 12), pl. XXIV (#140), seal impression	unpublished

Išum (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
YOS 12, #225, seal B	Old Babylonian	seal impression	—	^{d}*i-šum* in line 3
YOS 12, #337, seal	Old Babylonian	seal impression	—	^{d}*i-šum* in line 3

Išum (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
YOS 12, #225, seal B	Feigin, *Legal and Administrative Texts* (YOS 12), pl. XLI (#225), seal impression "B" (the 2nd)	unpublished
YOS 12, #337, seal	Feigin, *Legal and Administrative Texts* (YOS 12), pl. LX (#337), seal impression	unpublished

Ḫendursag

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
AB 25, #58	Neo-Sumerian	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in lines 76, 90
AN–*Anu ša Amēli*	first millennium	god-list	— (third column is Akkadian)	^{d}PA in rev. ix:74 (King, *CT* 24; line 9' in idem, *CT* 26; line 85 in Litke)
Anum (Early Weidner God-List, 1 Column)	Neo-Sumerian–Old Babylonian	god-list	—	^{d}ḫendur-[saĝ-gá] in v:7'
Anum (NB Weidner God-List, 1 Column)	Neo-Babylonian	god-list	—	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá in line 169
Anu's Procession	Hellenistic	ritual	Akkadian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá in ii:12; [^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá] in iii:10
"Arise! Arise!"	Old Babylonian	hymn/prayer	Sumerian (Emesal)	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá / *ḫa-an-du-ur-sa-ĝá* in a+232
ARN #57	Old Babylonian	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in line 7'
Assyrian God-List from Sultantepe	first millennium	god-list	—	^{d}[ḫen]dur-saĝ. ĝá in ii:7'
BM Messenger 265	Neo-Sumerian	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in line 3
Canonical Diri	second-/first-millennium sources	lexical text	—	ḫendur-saĝ *Ḫendursaĝ* in V:28; ḫendur-saĝ *Išum* in V:29

Ḫendursag (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
AB 25, #58	Nies, *Ur Dynasty Tablets* (AB 25), pls. 21–22 (#58)	unpublished; information in Nies, *Ur Dynasty Tablets*, 51–52
AN–*Anu ša Amēli*	For the relevant passage see King, *CT* 24, 20–50; idem, *CT* 26, 50 (K 11966); for a complete list of textual witnesses see Litke, *Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists*, 228	Litke, *Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists*, 228–241
Anum (Early Weidner God-List, 1 Column)	Weidner, "Altbabylonische Götterlisten," 4–5	unpublished *in toto*; Weidner, "Altbabylonische Götterlisten" offers a diachronic composite reconstruction drawing partly on this text
Anum (NB Weidner God-List, 1 Column)	unpublished	Cavigneaux, *Textes scolaires*, 79–99
Anu's Procession	Ebeling, *KAR* 1, 212–215 (#132)	Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 434–436; Linssen, *Cults of Uruk and Babylon*, 201–208; Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, 99–108
"Arise! Arise!"	For the relevant passage see Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 2, 804–805; Figulla, *CT* 42, #3; Langdon, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, #13; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 1, 347	Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 1, 347–373
ARN #57	Çığ and Kraus, *ARN*, 26 (#57)	unpublished
Assyrian God-List from Sultantepe	Gurney and Hulin, *STT* 2, pl. CCLVI (#376) (duplicate in ibid, pl. CCLVII [#379], but the relevant passage is broken)	unpublished
BM Messenger 265	unpublished	Sigrist, *Messenger Texts*, #265
Canonical Diri	The relevant passage is unpublished; for a list of textual witnesses see Civil, *DIRI*=(w)atru	Civil, *DIRI*=(w)atru, 104–197

Ḫendursag (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
Compendium of Incantations §9	first millennium	incantation	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá in lines 22, 45
Compendium of Incantations §10	first millennium	incantation	Sumerian	[^{d}ḫen]dur-saĝ-ĝá in line 40
CUSAS 16, #117	Neo-Sumerian	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-[sa]ĝ in line 18
DP #43	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in ii:10, iv:3
DP #45	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in iv:1
DP #47	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in iii:13
DP #50	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in iii:1
DP #53	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in v:1
DP #55	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in iv:3
DP #59	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in x:17
DP #66	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in vi:2
DP #72	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in vi:1
DP #198	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in vii:4
DP #206	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in iv:3

Ḫendursag (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
Compendium of Incantations §9	For the relevant passage see Walker, *CT* 51, pl. 38 (#110); Schramm, *Compendium sumerisch-akkadischer Beschwörungen*, pls. V–VII; ibid., pls. XXII–XXIII; ibid., pls. XXXI–XXXVI; ibid., pl. XLII; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see ibid., 87–93	Schramm, *Compendium sumerisch-akkadischer Beschwörungen*, 58–61
Compendium of Incantations §10	For the relevant passage see Gurney and Hulin, *STT* 2, pl. CLXXXV (#213); Wiseman and Black, *Temple of Nabû*, pls. 63–64 (#103); for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Schramm, *Compendium sumerisch-akkadischer Beschwörungen*, 87–93	Schramm, *Compendium sumerisch-akkadischer Beschwörungen*, 62–65
CUSAS 16, #117	Garfinkle, Sauren, and Van de Mieroop, *Ur III Tablets* (CUSAS 16), 124 (#117)	Garfinkle, Sauren, and Van de Mieroop, *Ur III Tablets* (CUSAS 16), #117 (124)
DP #43	Allotte de la Fuÿe, *DP* 1/1, pl. XVI (#43)	Deimel, "Opferlisten," 54
DP #45	Allotte de la Fuÿe, *DP* 1/1, pl. XVI (#45)	Deimel, "Opferlisten," 49–50
DP #47	Allotte de la Fuÿe, *DP* 1/1, pl. XVIII (#47)	Deimel, "Opferlisten," 38
DP #50	Allotte de la Fuÿe, *DP* 1/1, pl. XIX (#50)	Deimel, "Opferlisten," 42–43
DP #53	Allotte de la Fuÿe, *DP* 1/1, pl. XX (#53)	Deimel, "Opferlisten," 33–34
DP #55	Allotte de la Fuÿe, *DP* 1/1, pl. XXI (#55)	Deimel, "Opferlisten," 55
DP #59	Allotte de la Fuÿe, *DP* 1/1, pl. XXIII (#59)	unpublished
DP #66	Allotte de la Fuÿe, *DP* 1/1, pl. XXV (#66)	Deimel, "Opferlisten," 50–51
DP #72	Allotte de la Fuÿe, *DP* 1/2, pl. XXVI (#72)	Deimel, "Opferlisten," 56
DP #198	Allotte de la Fuÿe, *DP* 2/1, pl. LXXII (#198)	Deimel, "Opferlisten," 39–40
DP #206	Allotte de la Fuÿe, *DP* 2/1, pl. LXXIII (#206)	unpublished

Ḫendursag (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
Eannatum #5	Early Dynastic IIIb	royal inscription	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in ii:11
Eannatum #6	Early Dynastic IIIb	royal inscription	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in ii:14
Eannatum #18	Early Dynastic IIIb	royal inscription	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in ii:2’
Enannatum #2	Early Dynastic IIIb	royal inscription	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in i:1, ii:6, iv:2, xi:8, xiii:3
Enannatum #10	Early Dynastic IIIb	royal inscription	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in ii:4
Eršaḫunga-*Prayer to Nergal*	first millennium	hymn/prayer	Sumerian (Emesal) with Akkadian glosses (Ḫendursag’s name appears in Emesal Sumerian)	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá in line 7 (Maul)
“Exercise Tablet from Susa”	Old Babylonian (?)	exercise tablet	—	$^{\lceil d \rceil}$ḫendur-saĝ^{ag} in line 3
Fara God-List	Early Dynastic IIIa (Fara)	god-list	—	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in ix:5

Ḫendursag (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
Eannatum #5	See especially Sollberger, *CIRPL*, 17–18; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Frayne, *Presargonic Period*, 146	Frayne, *Presargonic Period*, 145–149 (E-anatum #5); Pettinato, *Re di Sumer I*, 156–158; Römer, "Feldstein A des Eannatum"; Sollberger and Kupper, *Inscriptions royales*, 58–61; Steible, *Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, 145–151
Eannatum #6	de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée* 2, pl. XLIV (photo of ex. 2); Sollberger, *CIRPL*, 19–20 (copy of ex. 1)	Frayne, *Presargonic Period*, 149–152 (E-anatum #6); Pettinato, *Re di Sumer I*, 159–160; Steible, *Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, 152–156
Eannatum #18	unpublished	Frayne, *Presargonic Period*, 166 (E-anatum #18)
Enannatum #2	Biggs, "Enannatum I of Lagash," 34–35	Biggs, "Enannatum I of Lagash"; Cooper, *Reconstructing History*, 49; Frayne, *Presargonic Period*, 170–173 (En-anatum #2); Pettinato, *Re di Sumer I*, 172–174; Steible, *Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, 198–202
Enannatum #10	Gadd, *CT* 36, pl. 1; Sollberger, *CIRPL*, 29	Frayne, *Presargonic Period*, 182 (En-anatum #10); Sollberger and Kupper, *Inscriptions royales*, 64–65; Steible, *Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, 191–192
Eršaḫunga-*Prayer to Nergal*	Haupt, *ASKT*, 121–122 (#18); Rawlinson, IV R^2, 26	Böllenrücher, *Gebete und Hymnen*, 21–23; Langdon, *Babylonian Penitential Psalms*, 65–66; Maul, *Herzberuhigungsklagen*, 194–201
"Exercise Tablet from Susa"	Van der Meer, *Textes scolaires de Suse*, 54 (#157)	Van der Meer, *Textes scolaires de Suse*, 50
Fara God-List	Deimel, *Schultexte aus Fara*, pls. 2–3 (photos)	Deimel, *Schultexte aus Fara*, 1–4

Ḫendursag (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
"Fashioning Man and Woman"	first millennium	hymn/prayer	Sumerian (Emesal)	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá in c+298
"Flood that Drowns the Harvest"	first millennium	hymn/prayer	Sumerian with Akkadian glosses (Ḫendursag's name appears in Sumerian Emesal)	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá in lines 22, a+111, b+169 (*Canonical Lamentations*)
"Fragmentary God-List, *KAV* #154"	first millennium	god-list	—	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá in line 9'
"Fragmentary *Namburbi* Invoking Ḫendursag"	first millennium	ritual	Akkadian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá in line 4
"Fragmentary Sumerian Law Collection (?)"	second millennium	law collection (?)	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá in rev. 5, rev. 16; ^{d}ḫendur-saĝ$^{?}$-ĝá in rev. 11; ^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in rev. 9; ḫendur-saĝ in rev. 20
Gudea #14	pre-Neo-Sumerian	royal inscription	Sumerian	$^{\lceil d \rceil}$ḫendur-saĝ in line 1
Gudea #15	pre-Neo-Sumerian	royal inscription	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in line 1
Gudea Statue B	pre-Neo-Sumerian	royal inscription	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in viii:63

Ḫendursag (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
"Fashioning Man and Woman"	For the relevant passage see Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies*, pl. XXXVIII (#101); Reisner, *SBH*, 85–87 (#48); ibid., 91–92 (#50); ibid., 133–135 (#III) + Rawlinson, V R², 52; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 1, 222	Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 1, 222–253
"Flood that Drowns the Harvest"	For the relevant passages see Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 2, 833–834; Craig, "K. 69"; Reisner, *SBH*, #9; ibid., #10; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 2, 500	Böllenrücher, *Gebete und Hymnen*, 30–42; Cohen, Balag-*Compositions*, 26–29; Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 2, 500–517
"Fragmentary God-List, *KAV* #154"	Schroeder, *KAV*, 92 (#154)	unpublished
"Fragmentary *Namburbi* Invoking Ḫendursag"	Caplice, "Namburbi Texts V," pl. XVI (photos, text 71)	Caplice, "Namburbi Texts V," 177–178
"Fragmentary Sumerian Law Collection (?)"	Langdon, *Sumerian Grammatical Texts*, pls. XXVIII–XXIX (#21)	Langdon, *Sumerian Grammatical Texts*, 33–34
Gudea #14	Messerschmidt and Ungnad, VAS 1, #13	Edzard, *Gudea and His Dynasty*, 117–118 (Gudea #14); Steible, *Die neusumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, 270
Gudea #15	Huot, "Man-Faced Bull," 108 fig. 4c (photo); Parrot, "Antiquités 'mésopotamiennes,' " pl. 4, #1 (photo); Parrot, "Taureau androcéphale," 203 (photo)	Edzard, *Gudea and His Dynasty*, 118 (Gudea #15); Steible, *Die neusumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, 270–271
Gudea Statue B	See especially Gargano and Giovanazzi, *Le statue di Gudea*, 9–52 for photos and copies; for a list of other published copies see Edzard, *Gudea and His Dynasty*, 30	Edzard, *Gudea and His Dynasty*, 30–38; Gargano and Giovanazzi, *Le statue di Gudea*, 9–52; Steible, *Die neusumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, 156–179

Ḫendursag (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
"Honored One, Wild Ox" (Early Recension)	Old Babylonian	hymn/prayer	Sumerian (Emesal)	^{d}Ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá in e+216
"Honored One, Wild Ox" (Late Recension)	first millennium	hymn/prayer	bilingual (Ḫendursag's name appears in Emesal Sumerian)	^{d}Ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá in c+172
The Ḫendursag Hymn	Old Babylonian	hymn/prayer	Sumerian	^{d}Ḫendur-saĝ(-ĝá) throughout
ID.A–*na-a-qu*	Achaemenid	syllabary series	—	*en-dur* PA in i':5'
Incantation, K 3179	first millennium	incantation	bilingual (Ḫendursag's name appears in Sumerian)	^{d}Ḫendur-saĝ in iv:16/17
Incantations, Fossey #1	first millennium	incantation	bilingual (Ḫendursag's name appears in Sumerian)	^{d}Ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá in xxviii:47
Incipit of a Hymn to Ḫendursag ("Ḫendursag, Young Man Who Goes about in the Night")	Old Babylonian	hymn incipit	Sumerian	[^{d}Ḫe]ndur-saĝ in rev.$^{?}$ 10
ITT 4, #7078	Old Akkadian	economic text	Sumerian	$^{d\lceil}$Ḫendur$^{\rceil}$-saĝ in rev. 3
ITT 4, #7324	Old Akkadian	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}Ḫendur-saĝ in line 2
ITT 4, #7433	Old Akkadian	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}Ḫendur-saĝ rev. i:13
ITT 4, #7577+#7578	Old Akkadian	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}Ḫendur-saĝ in v:10

Ḫendursag (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
"Honored One, Wild Ox" (Early Recension)	For the relevant passage see de Genouillac, *Textes du Louvre* 1, #2; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 1, 272	Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 1, 272–318
"Honored One, Wild Ox" (Late Recension)	For the relevant passage see de Genouillac, *Textes du Louvre* 1, #2; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 1, 272	Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations* 1, 272–318
The Ḫendursag Hymn	See Attinger and Krebernik, "L'Hymne à Ḫendursaĝa," 93–104 for photos of all textual witnesses; for copies see Edzard and Wilcke, "Die Ḫendursanga-Hymne," 174; ibid., 174; ibid., 175; ibid., 176; Kramer, *Mythen, Epen, Weisheitsliteratur*, #22+#64; Kramer, *Mythen, Epen, Weisheitsliteratur*, #23 + Langdon, *Sumerian Grammatical Texts*, #21	Attinger and Krebernik, "L'Hymne à Ḫendursaĝa"; Edzard and Wilcke, "Die Ḫendursanga-Hymne"
ID.A–*na-a-qu*	Thompson, *CT* 12, 22 (38180)	unpublished
Incantation, K 3179	unpublished (K 3179)	Ebeling, "Sammlungen von Beschwörungsformeln," 379–395
Incantations, Fossey #1	Haupt, *ASKT*, 82–99 (#11); Rawlinson, II R, 17–18	Fossey, *La magie assyrienne*, 144–178 (#1)
Incipit of a Hymn to Ḫendursag ("Ḫendursag, Young Man Who Goes about in the Night")	Chiera, *Texts of Varied Contents*, 46 (#41)	Hallo, "Another Sumerian Literary Catalogue?"
ITT 4, #7078	Thureau-Dangin, *ITT* 4, #7078	Pettinato, *Testi economici di Lagaš*, 83 (#78)
ITT 4, #7324	Thureau-Dangin, *ITT* 4, #7324	Pettinato, *Testi economici di Lagaš*, 202–203 (#312)
ITT 4, #7433	Thureau-Dangin, *ITT* 4, #7433	Pettinato, *Testi economici di Lagaš*, 253–254 (#412)
ITT 4, #7577+#7578	Thureau-Dangin, *ITT* 4, #7577+#7578	Pettinato, *Testi economici di Lagaš*, 313–314 (#547)

Ḫendursag (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
Mušš̌u'u	first millennium	incantations	Akkadian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá in V:79
MVN 2, #154	Neo-Sumerian	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-s[aĝ] in iv:4'
MVN 12, #442	Neo-Sumerian	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in line 3
The Nanše Hymn	Old Babylonian	hymn/prayer	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá in lines 86, 88, 175, 184, 188, 207, 219, 249
Nik #23	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in v:1
Nik #24	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in rev. i:6
Nik #26	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in v:9
Nik #163	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in iii:1
The Nippur God-List	Old Babylonian	god-list	—	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá in line 88 (Peterson)
The Nippur Recension of Diri	Old Babylonian	lexical text	—	*ḫe-en-du-ur-saĝ* ^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in line 10:10
The Non-Standard Nippur God-List	Old Babylonian	god-list	—	^{d}ḫendur[-saĝ?] in line 16
PIOL 19, #348	Neo-Sumerian	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in line 1
Presargonic Riddles from Lagaš	Early Dynastic IIIb	wisdom literature	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in i:8
RTC #47	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in v:4
RTC #264	Neo-Sumerian	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in ii:5'

Ḫendursag (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
Muššuʾu	For the relevant passage see especially Böck, *Das Handbuch* Muššuʾu, pls. XX–XXI; ibid., pl. XXV; ibid., pl. XXVI; for further textual witnesses see ibid.	Böck, *Das Handbuch* Muššuʾu
MVN 2, #154	Sauren, *Wirtschaftsurkunden* (MVN 2), pls. LVIII–LIX (#154)	unpublished
MVN 12, #442	Gomi, *Wirtschaftstexte der Ur III-Zeit* (MVN 12), pl. XCI (#442)	Pettinato, *Testi economici neo-sumerici*, 18 (#15)
The Nanše Hymn	See especially Kramer, *SLTN*, #67; ibid., #68; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Heimpel, "Nanshe Hymn," 70–81	Heimpel, "Nanshe Hymn"; Jacobsen, *Harps*, 125–142
Nik #23	Nikolsky, Nik, 20–21 (#23)	Deimel, "Opferlisten," 36–37 (#20) (see also Powell, "Collations")
Nik #24	Nikolsky, Nik, 22–23 (#24)	Deimel, "Opferlisten," 40–41 (#27) (see also Powell, "Collations")
Nik #26	Nikolsky, Nik, 24–25 (#26)	Deimel, "Opferlisten," 30 (#8) (see also Powell, "Collations")
Nik #163	Nikolsky, Nik, 67 (#163)	Deimel, "Opferlisten," 55 (#54) (see also Powell, "Collations")
The Nippur God-List	Chiera, *Sumerian Lexical Texts*, #117, #122–#125; Peterson, *Godlists from Nippur*, pls. IV–XVIII (photos of multiple sources)	Jean, "Noms divins sumériens," 182–190; Peterson, *Godlists from Nippur*, 5–77
The Nippur Recension of Diri	For the relevant passage see Civil, *DIRI*=(w)atru, figs. 1–2; ibid., 3–4; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see ibid., 8–11	Civil, *DIRI*=(w)atru, 8–38
The Non-Standard Nippur God-List	Peterson, *Godlists from Nippur*, pl. XXVI (photo)	Peterson, *Godlists from Nippur*, 99–100
PIOL 19, #348	Sauren, *Les tablettes cunéiformes de l'époque d'Ur* (PIOL 19), pl. CXVII (#348)	unpublished
Presargonic Riddles from Lagaš	Biggs, "Presargonic Riddles from Lagash," 27, 30	Biggs, "Presargonic Riddles from Lagash"
RTC #47	Thureau-Dangin, *RTC*, 23 (#47)	Deimel, "Opferlisten," 32–33
RTC #264	Thureau-Dangin, *RTC*, 103 (#264)	unpublished

Ḫendursag (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
The Stela of the Vultures	Early Dynastic IIIb	royal inscription	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in rev. vi:5
STH 1, #41	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in iv:5
"Syllabary of the Second Class from Aššur"	first millennium	lexical text	—	^{d}*ḫé*!(I)-*en-du-ur* =PA in rev. iv:18
Šumma Ālu ina Mēlê Šakin	first millennium	omens	Akkadian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá in LXXXVII:i:4; LXXXVII:i:23; LXXXVII:ii:6; ^{d}ḫendur-sa[ĝ-ĝá] in LXXXVII:i:2; ^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝ[á] in LXXXVII:i:19
Šurpu	first millennium	incantations	Akkadian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá in II:184, VIII:24
TCL 5, #6053	Neo-Sumerian	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in iii:16
TSA #1	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in iii:5
TSA #51	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in rev. i:9
Udug-Ḫul OB	Old Babylonian	incantations	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá in III:228; [^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá] in V:396 (Geller)
UET 3, #267	Neo-Sumerian	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in rev. ii:14
UET 3, #278	Neo-Sumerian	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in rev. 3
UET 3, #1126	Neo-Sumerian	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendurs-saĝ in i:4

Ḫendursag (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
Stela of the Vultures	See especially Sollberger, *CIRPL*, 9–16; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Frayne, *Presargonic Period*, 127–128	Cooper, *Reconstructing History*, 45–48; Frayne, *Presargonic Period*, 126–140 (E-anatum #1); Römer, "Geierstele des Eannatum"; Sollberger and Kupper, *Inscriptions royales*, 47–58; Steible, *Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, 120–145
STH 1, #41	Hussey, *STH* 1, pl. 69 (#41)	Deimel, "Opferlisten," 51–52
"Syllabary of the Second Class from Aššur"	Leeper and Gadd, *CT* 35, pls. 1–8	unpublished
Šumma Ālu ina Mēlê Šakin	Smith, *CT* 37, pls. 46–48	unpublished
Šurpu	For the relevant passages see especially Zimmern, *BBR,* pls. II–III; ibid., pl. XVI; and Smith, *Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts*, 17–19, respectively; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see Reiner, *Šurpu*	Reiner, *Šurpu*
TCL 5, #6053	de Genouillac, *Textes d'Oumma* (TCL 5), pl. XL (#6053)	unpublished
TSA #1	de Genouillac, *TSA*, pls. I–II (#1)	Deimel, "Opferlisten," 28–29 (#7)
TSA #51	de Genouillac, *TSA*, pl. XLI (#51)	Deimel, "Opferlisten," 26 (#1)
Udug-Ḫul OB	For the relevant passages see especially Geller, *Forerunners to Udug-ḫul*, pls. 1–20; for a more complete list of textual witnesses see ibid., 3–9 and 18	Geller, *Forerunners to Udug-ḫul*
UET 3, #267	Legrain, *Business Documents* (UET 3), pl. XXXII (#267)	unpublished
UET 3, #278	Legrain, *Business Documents* (UET 3), pl. XXXVI (#278)	unpublished
UET 3, #1126	Legrain, *Business Documents* (UET 3), pl. CXXIII (#1126)	unpublished

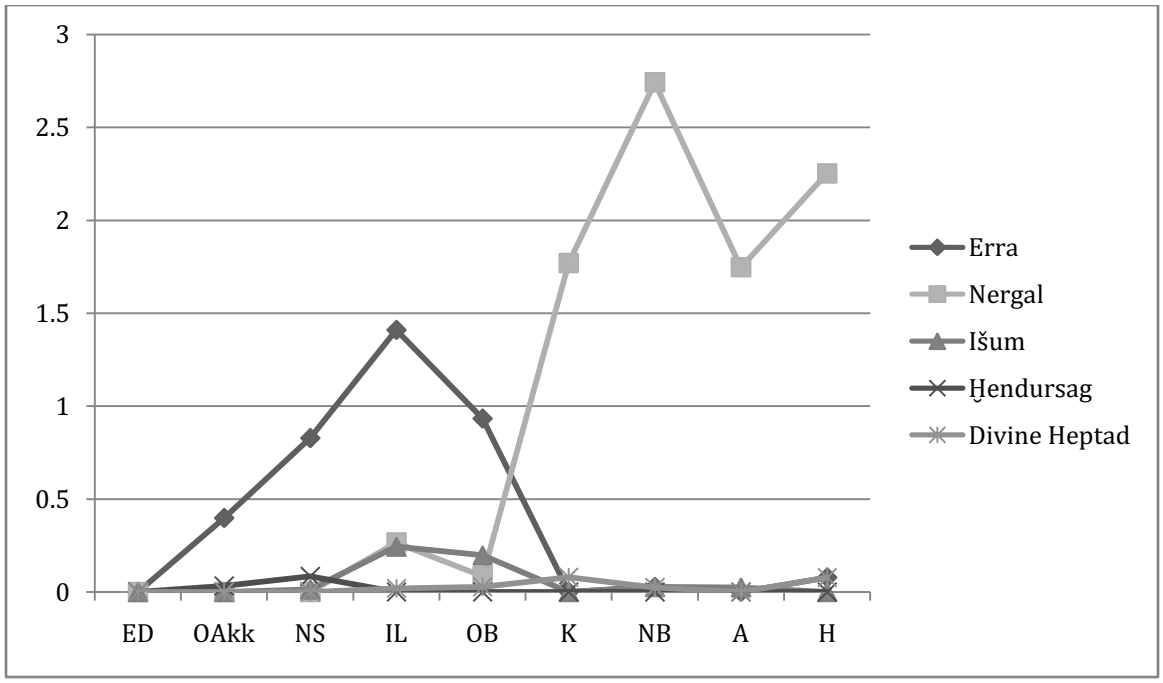
Ḫendursag (continued)

Title	Date of Copies	Genre	Language	Spelling
UET 8, #97	Isin-Larsa	inscription on a mace head	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in line 2
"Unpublished Seal of Ḫendursag's Cupbearer"	Neo-Sumerian	cylinder seal	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in line 3
Utukkū Lemnūtu	first millennium	incantations	bilingual (Ḫendursag's name appears in Sumerian)	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ-ĝá in V:163, VI:125', VI:150', XI-8:5, XII:105, XIII–XV:92; [^{d}ḫendur]-saĝ-ĝá in XIII–XV:194
VAS 14, #5	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫe[ndur]-saĝ in rev. iii:8
VAS 14, #34	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in ii:2
VAS 14, #46	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in i:4
VAS 14, #93	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in iii:5
VAS 14, #116	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in viii:4
VAS 14, #119	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	[^{d}]ḫendur-saĝ in v:5
VAS 14, #179	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in iv:5
VAS 14, #180	Early Dynastic IIIb	economic text	Sumerian	^{d}ḫendur-saĝ in ii:8
The Yale Syllabary	Old Babylonian (?)	lexical	—	*ḫu-dur*=PA in line 265

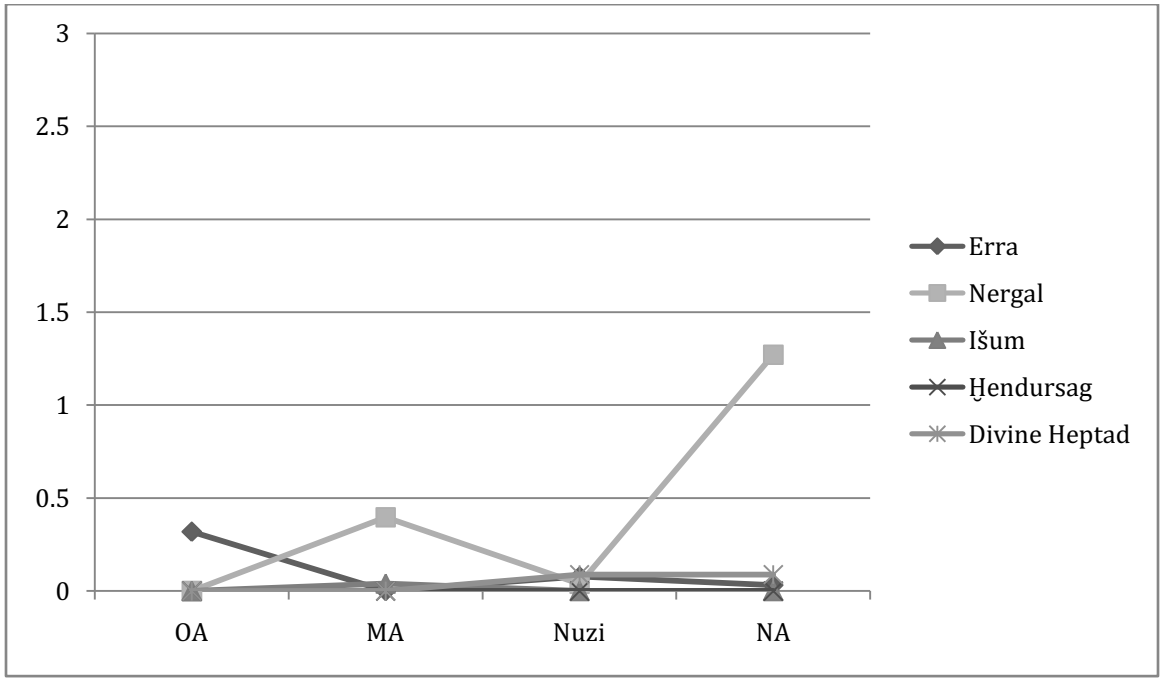
Ḫendursag (continued)

Title	Copies	Editions and Translations
UET 8, #97	Sollberger, *Royal Inscriptions* (UET 8), pl. XXIV (#97)	unpublished
"Unpublished Seal of Ḫendursag's Cupbearer"	unpublished	Krausz, *Siegelcylinderlegenden*, 99
Utukkū Lemnūtu	See especially Thompson, *CT* 16; Nies and Keiser, *Historical, Religious and Economic Texts*, pls. IX–XIV; Rawlinson, IV R², 1–2 (V:163=v:23–24); ibid., 15* (XIII–XV:92=i:47–48)	Geller, *Evil Demons*; Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*; Fossey, *La magie assyrienne*, 186–212 (V:163=v:23–24); ibid., 262–279 (XIII–XV:92=i:47–48)
VAS 14, #5	Förtsch, *Altbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte* (VAS 14), 2–3 (#5)	Deimel, "Opferlisten," 47–48 (#44)
VAS 14, #34	Förtsch, *Altbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte* (VAS 14), 12 (#34)	Bauer, *AWL*, 455–456 (#158); Deimel, "Opferlisten," 53 (#51, mislabeled "Fö 31")
VAS 14, #46	Förtsch, *Altbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte* (VAS 14), 16 (#46)	Bauer, *AWL*, 456–457 (#159); Deimel, "Opferlisten," 43 (#34)
VAS 14, #93	Förtsch, *Altbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte* (VAS 14), 34–35 (#93)	Bauer, *AWL*, 440–451 (#156); Deimel, "Opferlisten," 48–49 (#45)
VAS 14, #116	Förtsch, *Altbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte* (VAS 14), 42–43 (#116)	Bauer, *AWL*, 424–431 (#154); Deimel, "Opferlisten," 31–32 (#15)
VAS 14, #119	Förtsch, *Altbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte* (VAS 14), 44–45 (#119)	Bauer, *AWL*, 404–414 (#152); Deimel, "Opferlisten," 28 (#6)
VAS 14, #179	Förtsch, *Altbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte* (VAS 14), 72 (#179)	Bauer, *AWL*, 487–490 (#175)
VAS 14, #180	Förtsch, *Altbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte* (VAS 14), #180	Bauer, *AWL*, 347–354 (#126)
The Yale Syllabary	Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, pls. XL–XLIX (#53)	Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, 85–97

Appendix C



Attestations in personal names in Babylonia, by percentage



Attestations in personal names in Assyria, by percentage

Abbreviations in the Graphs

ED: Early Dynastic

OAkk: Old Akkadian

NS: Neo-Sumerian

IL: Isin-Larsa

OB: Old Babylonian

K: Kassite (Middle Babylonian)

NB: Neo-Babylonian

A: Achaemenid

H: Hellenistic

OA: Old Assyrian

MA: Middle Assyrian

NA: Neo-Assyrian

Percentages

	ED	**Oakk**	**NS**	**IL**	**OB**
Erra	0	12/3014 (0.398%)	59/7129 (0.828%)	69/4894 (1.410%)	66/7076 (0.933%)
Nergal	0	0	0	13/4894 (0.266%)	6/7076 (0.085%)
Išum	0	0	1/7129 (0.014%)	12/4894 (0.245%)	14/7076 (0.198%)
Ḫendursag	0	1/3014 (0.033%)	6/7129 (0.084%)	0	0
Divine Heptad	0	0	0	1/4894 (0.020%)	2/7076 (0.028%)

	K	NB	A	H
Erra	0	1/3720 (0.027%)	0	1/1288 (0.078%)
Nergal	44/2486 (1.770%)	102/3720 (2.742%)	70/4007 (1.747%)	29/1288 (2.252%)
Išum	0	1/3720 (0.027%)	1/4007 (0.025%)	0
Ḫendursag	0	0	0	0
Divine Heptad	2/2486 (0.080%)	0	0	1/1288 (0.078%)

	OA	MA	Nuzi	NA
Erra	13/4081 (0.319%)	0	2/2577 (0.078%)	8/6767 (0.118)
Nergal	0	10/2156 (0.397%)	1/2577 (1.039%)	86/6767 (1.271%)
Išum	0	1/2156 (0.040%)	0	0
Ḫendursag	0	0	0	0
Divine Heptad	0	1/2156 (0.040%)	0	6/6767 (0.089%)

Sources

Early Dynastic

Alberti and Pomponio, *Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic Texts*

Bauer, *AWL*

Edzard, *SRU*

Jestin, *Tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak*

Martin, Pomponio, Visicato, and Westenholz, *Fara Tablets*

Steinkeller, *Texts in the Iraq Museum*

Westenholz, *ECTJ*

Westenholz, *OSP* 1

Old Akkadian

Gelb, *Ashmolean Museum*

Gelb, *Diyala Region*

Gelb, *Louvre Museum*

Gelb, *OAIC*

Kienast and Volk, *Briefe des III. Jahrtausends*

Meek, *Texts from Nuzi*

Steinkeller, *Texts in the Iraq Museum*

Westenholz, *ECTJ*

Westenholz, OSP 2

Neo-Sumerian

al-Rawi, *Texts from Umma* 1

Anastasi and Pomponio, *Ĝirsu Texts*

Hilgert, *Reign of Amar-Suena*

Hilgert, *Reign of Šulgi*

Legrain, *Business Documents*

Pettinato, *Testi economici di Lagaš*

Sigrist, *Texts from the Yale Babylonian Collections*

Steinkeller, *Sale Documents*

Watson, *Texts from Drehem*

Widell, *Ur III Texts*

Old Assyrian

Eisser and Lewy, *ARK*

Hrozný, ICK 1

Kienast, *ATHE*

Matouš, *ICK* 2

Michel and Garelli, *Tablettes paléo-assyriennes de Kültepe 1*

Stephens, *Old Assyrian Letters and Business Documents*

Stephens, *Personal Names from Cappadocia*

Veenhof, *Archive of Kuliya*

Veenhof and Klengel-Brandt, *Tontafeln aus Kültepe*

Isin-Larsa

Crawford, *First Dynasty of Isin*

Faust, *Contracts from Larsa*

Ferwerda, *Early Isin Craft Archive*

Figulla and Martin, *Letters and Documents*

Grice, *Records from Ur and Larsa*

Leemans, *Kingdom of Larsa*

Sigrist, *Les* sattukku *dans l'Ešumeša*

Walters, *Water for Larsa*

Whiting, *Letters from Tell Asmar*

Old Babylonian

Cagni, *Briefe aus dem Iraq Museum*

Dalley, *Larsa, Sippir, Kish, and Lagaba*

Dalley and Yoffee, *Kish and Elsewhere*

Frankena, *Briefe aus dem British Museum*

Goddeeris, *Tablets from Kisurra*

Greengus, *Studies in Ishchali Documents*

Heimpel, *King of Mari*

Leemans, *Ḫammurabi and Samsuiluna*

Richardson, *Late Old Babylonian Period*

Sigrist, *Horn Archaeology Museum* (AUCT 5)

Stol, *Letters from Yale*

Stone and Owen, *Adoption in Nippur*

Talon, *Textes administratifs*

Middle Assyrian

Freydank and Feller, *Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden V*

Freydank and Feller, *Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden VI*

Freydank and Feller, *Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden VII*

Freydank and Feller, *Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden VIII*

Gelb, Purves, and MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names*

Postgate, *The Archive of Urad-Šerūa*

Saporetti, *Onomastica medio-assira*

Kassite

Gurney, *Legal and Economic Texts*

Gurney, *Middle Babylonian Legal Documents*

Hölscher, *Personennamen der kassitenzeitlichen Texte*

Neo-Assyrian

Parpola, Radner, and Baker, *Prosopography*

Neo-Babylonian

Beaulieu, *Reign of Nabonidus*

Bongenaar, *Ebabbar Temple*

Cole, *Nippur IV*

San Nicolò, *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden*

Spar and von Dassow, *Private Archive Texts*

Weisberg, *Neo-Babylonian Texts*

Weisberg, *Time of Nebuchadnezzar*

Achaemenid

Bongenaar, *Ebabbar Temple*

Donbaz and Stolper, *IMT*

Giovinazzo, *60 Testi Economici*

Graziani, *Regno di Bardiya*

Graziani, *Regno di Serse*

Kohler and Ungnad, *Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden*

McEwan, *Late Babylonian Texts*

Spar and von Dassow, *Private Archive Texts*

Stolper, *Records of Deposit*

Tremayne, *Records from Erech*

Van der Spek, "Land Ownership"

Weisberg, *Neo-Babylonian Texts*

Weisberg, *Time of Nebuchadnezzar*

Hellenistic

Corò, *Prebende templari*

Kohler and Ungnad, *Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden*

McEwan, "Family Law"

McEwan, *Priest and Temple*

McEwan, *Texts from Hellenistic Babylonia*

Oelsner, “Recht im hellenistischen Babylonien”

Schroeder, *Kontrakte der Seleukidenzeit*

Stolper, *Records of Deposit*

Van der Spek, “Land Ownership”

Wallenfels, *Seleucid Archival Texts*

Weisberg, *Late Babylonian Texts*

Notes

The present effort represents merely a survey of the personal names in each major era of Mesopotamian history, not a detailed statistical analysis founded on a thorough prosopography. More robust data would no doubt provide more secure results.

The limitations of the study are thus legion, and minimally include the following:

(a) In the interest of simplicity only the discrete names from each index or corpus have been counted, not the number of individuals bearing each name, since prosopographical data is often lacking. This means that where one name is common to several individuals in a corpus or where a single individual recurs across several sets of texts the data are distorted.

(b) In addition, some hypocoristica that lack theophoric elements likely included, in their full forms, references to the divine names under discussion here; other hypocoristica may simply be alternate designations for individuals appearing elsewhere under the full forms of their names, who are thus counted twice.

(c) Not all names that appear in a corpus refer to individuals in that time or place; some names, especially in late texts, refer rather to eponymous ancestors.

(d) The unnevenness of the documentary record lends itself to misinterpretation. For example, differences in attestation attributed to time could easily be attributable to place.

(e) Many variables likely influenced naming practices, including class (evidence for which is not always recoverable) and gender. Where personal names may provide a limited entrée into the world of the "common man," the "common woman" is more elusive; although feminine names appear, they are far less frequent than masuline names. All statistics are thus skewed toward the masculine.

(f) Trends in naming were undoubtedly influenced by much more than the relative prominence of various gods. For example, so-called "banana names," names that are unanalyzable in known languages but that typically involve repeating syllables, are much more common in some eras (early in Mesopotamian history) than in others. Neither the total number of names in Akkadian and Sumerian nor the total number of names with theophorical elements were constants; both factors no doubt influenced fluctations in names with particular divine attestations in a way that has not been systematically analyzed.

Although the results are crude, they nevertheless provide an indication of general trends that are suggestive.

Every effort has been made, where possible, to select a cross-section of genres that are rich in personal names (chiefly letters and economic texts) from a variety of locations, and to be attentive to significant variations in the number of attestations by time and place. Broken names have been eliminated from the discussion unless it is clear how they are to be restored.

Where texts spanning multiple eras are included within a single volume (e.g., texts stemming from both the Early Dynastic and Old Akkadian eras), only those belonging to the era in question have been included in the count for that era.

The Nuzi texts so designated in the graph and chart belong to the middle period, but have been separated out both because of their cultural distinctiveness and because the relative abundance of evidence there would distort the (relatively poor) Middle Assyrian data significantly. Names with Erra, Nergal, Išum, or Ḫendursag are absent from other Late Bronze Age texts on the Mesopotamian periphery.

Though low, the number of Erra names in the Neo-Assyrian period as represented in the graph is inflated. Of the eight known Neo-Assyrian examples invoking Erra, all but two are only attested in lexical contexts, and of those two, one (Erra-dâla) is an Aramaic name with a dubious spelling. It is clear that during the Neo-Assyrian period names with Erra were more theoretical than actual.

Abbreviations

A: (museum siglum of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)

AAA: *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*

AAT: *Astrological-Astronomical Texts Copied from the Original Tablets in the British Museum* (Craig)

AB: Assyriologische Bibliothek

ABAW: Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

AbB: Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung

ABL: *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum* (Harper)

ABRT: *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts Being Prayers, Oracles, Hymns, Etc.* (Craig)

ACh: *L'astrologie chaldéenne* (Virolleaud)

ACh SS: *L'astrologie chaldéenne—Second supplément* (Virolleaud)

ADD: *Assyrian Deeds and Documents Recording the Transfer of Property* (Johns)

ADFU: Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka

AEM: *Archives épistolaires de Mari*

AF: *Altorientalische Forschungen*

AfK: *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*

AfO: *Archiv für Orientforschung*

AHAW: Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse

AHw: *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (von Soden)

AIPHOS: *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves, Université de Bruxelles*

AKA: *Annals of the Kings of Assyria* (Budge and King)

AKT: Ankara Kültepe Tabletleri

AMD: Ancient Magic and Divination

ANET: *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*

AnOr: Analecta Orientalia

AnSt: *Anatolian Studies*

AO: Antiquités orientales (museum siglum of the Louvre in Paris)

AOAT: Alter Orient und Altes Testament

AOATS: Alter Orient und Altes Testament, Sonderreihe

AOS: American Oriental Series

ARK: *Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe* (Eisser and Lewy)

ARM: Archives royales de Mari

ARN: *Eski babil zamanina ait Nippur hukukî vesikalari: Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus Nippur* (Çiğ, Kizilyay, and Kraus)

ArOr: *Archiv orientální*

AS: Assyriological Studies (Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)

ASJ: *Acta Sumerologica* (Japan)

ASKT: *Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte nach den Originalen im Britischen Museum* (Haupt)

ASOR: American Schools of Oriental Research

ATHE: *Die altassyrischen Texte des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Heidelberg und der Sammlung Erlenmeyer-Basel* (Kienast)

AUCT: Andrews University Cuneiform Texts

AUWE: Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, Endberichte

AWL: *Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagasch* (Bauer)

BA: *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*

BabAr: Babylonische Archive

BAfO: Beiheft zum Archiv für Orientforschung

BagM: *Baghdader Mitteilungen*

BBR: *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* (Zimmern)

BBVO: Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderer Orient

BC: *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection in the British Museum* (Bezold)

BCT: Catalogue of Cuneiform Tablets in Birmingham City Museum

BE: The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania

BHT: *Babylonian Historical Texts Relating to the Capture and Downfall of Babylon* (Smith)

BiMes: Bibliotheca Mesopotamica

BIN: Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies

BiOr: *Bibliotheca Orientalis*

BM: British Museum (museum siglum of the British Museum in London)

BMS: *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery* (King)

BPOA: Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo

BRM: *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* (Clay)

BSOAS: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*

Bu: Budge (museum siglum of the British Museum in London)

CAD: *The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago*

CDC: *Collection de Clercq* (de Clercq and Ménant)

CIRPL: *Corpus des inscriptions "royales" présargoniques de Lagaš* (Sollberger)

CM: Cuneiform Monographs

CNIP: Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications

CT: *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*

CTMMA: Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art

CTN: Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud

CUSAS: Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology

DA: *Documents assyriens relatifs aux présages* (Boissier)

DAWO: Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin—Institut für Orientforschung

DBTM: *The Drehem Texts in the British Museum* (Politi and Verderame)

DN: divine name

DP: *Documents présargoniques* (Allotte de la Fuÿe)

DV: *Древности восточныя. Труды восточной коммиссіи императорскаго московскаго археологическаго общества*. [*Eastern Antiquities. Proceedings of the Eastern Committee of the Imperial Moscow Archaeological Society*.]

ECTJ: *Early Cuneiform Texts in Jena* (Westenholz)

ex.: exemplar

FAOS: Freiburger Altorientalische Studien

fig.: figure

GCCI: *Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions* (Dougherty)

GM: *ǧāmiʿat Mawṣil*

HdOr: Handbuch der Orientalistik; Erg. Bd.: Ergänzungsband

HEO: Hautes études orientales

HSS: Harvard Semitic Series

HTR: *Harvard Theological Review*

HUCA: *Hebrew Union College Annual*

HUCA Supp.: Hebrew Union College Annual Supplement

IB: Ishan Bahriyat (Isin excavation siglum)

ICK: *Inscriptions cunéiformes du Kultépé* (Hrozný; Matouš)

IEJ: *Israel Exploration Journal*

IM: Iraq Museum (museum siglum of the Iraq Museum in Baghdad)

IMT: *Istanbul Murašû Texts* (Donbaz and Stolper)

ITT: *Inventaire des tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée Impérial Ottoman*

JAOS: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

JCS: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*

JCSSS: Journal of Cuneiform Studies Supplemental Series

JEOL: *Jaarbericht van het Voor-Aziatisch-Egyptisch-Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux*

JESHO: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*

JNER: *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*

JNES: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*

JRAS: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*

JSOT: *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*

JSS: *Journal of Semitic Studies*

K: Kuyunjik (museum siglum of the British Museum in London)

KAR: *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* (Ebeling)

KAV: *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts* (Schroeder)

LBAT: *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts* (Pinches and Strassmaier)

LKA: *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur* (Ebeling)

MAD: Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary

MAOG: Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft

MARI: *Mari, Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires*

MC: Mesopotamian Civilizations

MDOG: *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orientgesellschaft zu Berlin*

MDP: Mémoires de la Délegation en Perse

MM: Montserrat Museum, Barcelona (museum siglum)

MMAP: Mémoires de la Mission archéologique de Perse

Morgan Cylinders: *Cylinders and Other Ancient Oriental Seals in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* (Ward)

MRWH: *Mittelbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden der Hilprecht-Sammlung Jena* (Petschow)

MSL: Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon

MVAeG: *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft*

MVAG: *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*

MVN: Materiali per il vocabulario neosumerico

NABU: *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires*

NF: neue Folge

Nik: Никольскій, М. В. [Nikolsky, M. V.]. “Документы хозяйственной отчетности древнѣйшей эпохи Халдеи изъ собранія Н. П. Лихачева.” [Documents of economic reporting of the oldest epoch of Chaldea from the collection of N. P. Likhachev]. *DV* 3/2 (1908): 1–106, 1–104 (copies), pls. I–X.

NS: Neo-Sumerian

O: Orientales (museum siglum of the Musée du Cinquantenaire in Brussels)

OAIC: *Old Akkadian Inscriptions in Chicago Natural History Museum* (Gelb)

OB: Old Babylonian

OBO: Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis

OECT: Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts

OIP: The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications

OLZ: *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*

OPKF: Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund

OrNS: *Orientalia*, Nova Series

OrSP: *Orientalia*, Series Prior

OSP: *Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian Texts in Philadelphia* (Westenholz)

PBS: University of Pennsylvania, the University Museum: Publications of the Babylonian Section

PIOL: Publications de l’Institut orientaliste de Louvain

PSBA: *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*

r.: reigned

rev.: reverse

RA: *Revue d’assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale*

RHR: *Revue de l’histoire des religions*

RIMA: The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods

RIMB: The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods

RIME: The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods

RINAP: The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period

RlA: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*

Rm.: Rassam (museum siglum of the British Musuem in London)

RMA: *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon in the British Museum* (Thompson)

RSO: *Rivista degli studi orientali*

RT: *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*

RTC: *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes* (Thureau-Dangin)

RWH: R. W. Hutchinson

SAA: State Archives of Assyria

SAAB: *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*

SAACT: State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts

SAALT: State Archives of Assyria Literary Texts

SACT: Sumerian and Akkadian Cuneiform Texts in the Collection of the World Heritage Museum of the University of Illinois

SAHG: *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete* (Falkenstein and von Soden)

SANER: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records

SAT: Sumerian Archival Texts

SBH: *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen* (Reiser)

SLB: Studia ad tabulas cuneiformes collectas a F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl pertinentia

SLTN: *Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul* (Kramer)

SpTU: *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk* (Hunger; von Weiher)

SRU: *Sumerische Rechtsurkunden* (Edzard)

STH: *Sumerian Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum* (Hussey)

StOr: *Studia Orientalia*

StPohl SM: Studia Pohl: Series Maior

STT: *The Sultantepe Tablets* (Gurney and Finkelstein; Gurney and Hulin)

SU: Sultantepe-Urfa (registration numbers for Sultantepe tablets)

Sum.: Sumerian

SVT: Supplements to Vetus Testamentum

TBC: Texts from the Babylonian Collection

TCL: Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales, textes cunéiformes

TCS: Texts from Cuneiform Sources

TIM: Texts in the Iraq Museum

TLB: Tabulae cuneiformes a F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl collectae

TMH: Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht-Sammlung vorderasiatischer Altertümer im Eigentum der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena

TSA: *Tablettes sumériennes archaïques* (de Genouillac)

TUAT: *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*

TuL: *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier* (Ebeling)

U: Ur (excavation siglum; London/Philadelphia/Baghdad)

UE: Ur Excavations (Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia)

UET: Ur Excavations, Texts (Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia)

UF: *Ugarit-Forschungen*

UM: University Museum (museum siglum of the University Museum, Pennsylvania)

VAB: Vorderasiatische Bibliothek

VAS: Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin

VAT: Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Tontafeln (museum siglum of the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin)

WVDOG: Wissentschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft

WZKM: *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*

YNER: Yale Near Eastern Researches

YOS: Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts

YOSR: Yale Oriental Series, Researches

ZA: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*

I R: *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* 1 (Rawlinson)

II R: *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* 2 (Rawlinson)

III R: *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* 3 (Rawlinson)

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