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Genesis 1:1-2:3 and Enuma Elish: Ideological Warfare Between Judah and Babylon

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GENESIS 1:1-2:3 AND ENUMA ELISH:
IDEOLOGICAL WARFARE BETWEEN JUDAH AND BABYLON

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF GEORGE FOX EVANGELICAL SEMINARY
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS (THEOLOGICAL STUDIES)

BY
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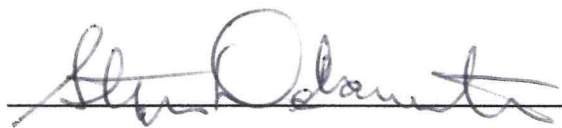
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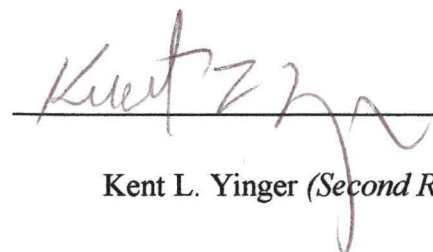
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Date: June 3, 2005

We, the undersigned, certify that we have read this thesis and approve it as adequate in scope and quality for the degree of Master of Arts in Theological Studies.



Stephen Delamarter (*Primary Research Advisor*)



Kent L. Yinger (*Second Reader*)

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CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	vi
ABSTRACT.....	vii-viii
CHAPTER	

1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
----------------------	---

Statement of Problem

Overview of Following Chapters

2. GENESIS 1:1-2:3.....	5
-------------------------	---

Chapter Overview

A Short History and Introduction to JEDP Theory

The P Source

Circumstances Surrounding the Writing of P

Cosmologies

Translation of Genesis 1:1-2:3

Comment on Text

Chapter Summary

3. ENUMA ELISH. 29

Chapter Overview

The Discovery of Enuma Elish

Dating the Text

Outline of Enuma Elish

Specific Aspects of the Myth

Evolution of the gods

Chapter Summary

4. COMPARISON BETWEEN GENESIS 1:1-2:3 AND ENUMA ELISH. 56

Chapter Overview

Similarities Between Genesis 1:1-2:3 and Enuma Elish

Differences Between Genesis 1:1-2:3 and Enuma Elish

Significance of Similarities and Differences

5. CONCLUSION. 77

APPENDIX

1. A Modern Representation of the Universe According to the Ancients. 81-2

2. Translation of Enuma Elish. 83-95

WORKS CITED. 96-8

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Finally, more than words can say, I must thank God for the ability and desire to learn. The quest of understanding how people of the past comprehended the world would be impossible and pointless without God.

ברוך אתה יי אלח' מלך העולם

ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses two ancient cosmologies: Genesis 1:1-2:3 and Enuma Elish. It details the culture in which each was written by discovering the possible time periods from which each cosmology came. This thesis also seeks to understand why each narrative was written and what the author was propagating to its respective audience. Finally, the present thesis contrasts similarities and differences between the two cosmologies and explains motivations for the similarities and differences.

Both cosmologies were conceived of and written down to encourage its respective audience to believe in the religions patron deity. This thesis maintains that the author of Genesis 1:1-2:3 was engaging in an ideological war with the culture that produced Enuma Elish. In an attempt to understand this war, the reader will become enlightened to the cultural identity of each cosmology by investigating their similarities and differences. This will be done by studying about Genesis 1:1-2:3 in chapter two. The JEDP theory will be detailed as well as the circumstances surrounding the writing of the Genesis 1 cosmology. It will then discuss important elements of the translated passage. Chapter three examines Enuma Elish. The chapter will include the circumstances surrounding the findings of the text, and possible time periods of Enuma Elish's authorship will be discussed. There will be a summary of the text followed by a discussion of the text as well as a comment on the evolution of the gods. The fourth chapter studies the similarities and differences between Genesis 1:1-2:3 and Enuma Elish. The similarities observed will demonstrate the related cultures of ancient Babylon and Judah. The

distinctions between the two make evident the uniqueness of each religion and culture. This thesis will end with a conclusion based upon the important findings of each cosmology.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Problem

For centuries, Babylon was one of the foremost powers in the ancient Near East and its people exerted their will upon smaller countries. In doing so, the people of Babylon became more powerful while the surrounding countries became more feeble. The Babylonians would conquer a country and then force the people to pay taxes. If the smaller country was unable to pay tribute, or refused to do so, the Babylonians would militarily impose their will upon the country. They would take away the leaders of the weaker nation and install new rulers to serve the Babylonian agenda. The prominent people of the lesser country would be relocated to Babylon, while those remaining in the homeland struggled to survive. This is what happened to the people of Judah beginning in 598 BCE. The leaders and aristocracy of Judah were taken to Babylon and the peasants were left in the homeland with little leadership. Both the exiles and those who remained in Judah were powerless and defeated. During this time a priest or group of priests of Judah wrote down a story which is now known as Genesis 1:1-2:3.

There were two kinds of battles being waged against the people of Judah when the Babylonians invaded Judah. The first type of battle was military, and was won by the Babylonians who were able to impose their will upon the people of Judah. The second, underlying, battle was one of ideology. The Babylonians had their beliefs of how the world functioned, as did the people of Judah. The priest of Judah who wrote down

Genesis 1:1-2:3 knew that his people were unable to oppose Babylon's military force. However, he was able to fight against the Babylonian ideology and he did this with a counter cosmology.

It was a common practice in the ancient Near East to narrate the formative events of the world. These cosmologies were a very important part of life in the ancient Near East. They articulated an understanding of the known universe and explained common terrestrial events. These stories of creation discussed the power structure of supreme beings and then explained how that power was displayed in the physical universe.

The Babylonians had a cosmology that was dramatized during the New Year Festival in Babylon. This cosmology was called Enuma Elish, and it reminded the Babylonians why they were in power. It also told them of their duty as ambassadors of Marduk, their patron deity. Through it, the Babylonians recalled the things that Marduk had done for them. The narrative also clearly depicted the reason that they were in power: Marduk had defeated Tiamat and created the world. The Babylonians were to emulate this action by being powerful leaders in the physical world.

Just as the authors of Enuma Elish wished to convey a message by their cosmology, the writer of Genesis 1:1-2:3 also had an agenda for his audience. This was accomplished by grafting a new purpose into a cosmology that had likely been part of the oral tradition of Judah for a long time. Similar to Enuma Elish, Genesis 1:1-2:3 was drafted to encourage its audience by telling them that the God they worshipped created the world and was mightier than Babylonian powers.¹ The priest attempted to shift

¹ Although the common name for the Deity of Judah is known, in respect for the Jewish tradition, the present author will refer to the Deity of Judah as "God."

power from the Babylonian captors into the hands of the people of Judah. As in all cosmologies, this was done by the supreme deity who had created the world.

Looking at these two cosmologies, one can discern much about the societies that gave birth to them, the power struggles between cultures, and also what each held to be important by discussing possible origination dates of each cosmology and support for and against each time period given. This thesis will specifically look at Genesis 1:1-2:3 and Enuma Elish, and at the complexities involved in each story. It will seek to understand these narratives and how each assigned power to both the god(s) and the faithful. It will also attempt to comprehend the similarities and differences of each cosmology. Finally, this study endeavors to recognize the implications of each cosmology to its respective culture.

Overview of Following Chapters

Genesis 1:1-2:3

This thesis will begin with a look at Genesis 1:1-2:3. The purpose of the second chapter will be to discover how the theologians of Judah attempted to persuade readers that their God was supreme and in control of the world. The chapter will look briefly into the JEDP theory, and more specifically into P, the priestly tradition. Subsequently, there will be a discussion of cosmologies and of the purpose behind them. This will serve as an introduction to the culture of the ancient people of Judah. It will also indicate reasons the author stylized his cosmology to prove his ideology. From there, the second chapter will translate Genesis 1:1-2:3 and will provide a commentary on the passage.

Enuma Elish

The third chapter will begin with a discussion on the situation surrounding the discovery of Enuma Elish, and its possible dating. It will then give a summary of Enuma Elish, subsequently moving to a discussion of issues relevant to the text, such as what the ancient people of the Near East believed the earth to look like. This chapter will also delineate specific issues in Enuma Elish that are congruent with Genesis 1:1-2:3. Chapter three will conclude with a discussion on the evolution of the gods within the Babylonian pantheon and the political purposes of this political movement.

Comparative Material

The fourth chapter will take Genesis 1:1-2:3 and Enuma Elish and look at them together. There will be a discussion of similarities and differences between the two cosmologies, and the chapter will attempt to account for the significance of each category. This chapter will consider each cosmology in relation to the perception of power. Enuma Elish and Genesis 1:1-2:3 were interested in maintaining a sense of order and power in the world for their respective audiences. The chapter will culminate by seeking to understand how this was accomplished.

CHAPTER TWO

GENESIS 1:1-2:3

Chapter Overview

Chapter two gives a basis for engaging biblical matter within the thesis. It will detail a brief understanding of the situation in which the author of Genesis 1:1-2:3 was living and attempting to communicate. This will allow the reader to begin to understand the limitations of the author and why he chose to fight ideologically instead of militarily. The chapter will also describe how the priests of Judah fought this ideological war. These tasks will be accomplished by detailing the history of the JEDP theory. This chapter will continue into a discussion of the Priestly source (P) in particular. The second half of the chapter will begin with an explanation of cosmologies in the ancient Near East. It concludes with a translation of Genesis 1:1-2:3 and a commentary on these verses and issues in the text.

A Short History and Introduction to JEDP Theory

In 1574, Andreas Masius published a work stating that Ezra and those around him had made insertions in the Pentateuch Moses had written.¹ This view was widely held in scholarship until the end of the 1700s. There were differing opinions regarding how much of this work was originally from Moses and how he obtained the information for his writing, but the basic belief that Moses authored or at least compiled the Pentateuch remained intact without debate. At this

¹ E. J. Young, *An Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1949), 119.

time, scholars such as Johann Gottfried Eichhorn and Karl David Ilgen concluded that there were different strands of the Pentateuch that did not come from Moses at all. They said that by looking at the different uses of God's name in the text, one can detect different strands from which the Pentateuch had been pieced together.² The J source primarily used the name "Yahweh" in reference to God whereas the E source used the term "Elohim" for God. As scholars later discerned these strands, they were referred to as "J" and "E" respectively. As the theory progressed, it was argued that Deuteronomy was an independent work from the previous four books of the Pentateuch. This argument held that Deuteronomy was a condensed version of the former books, woven together from the J and E sources. Later scholars saw a separate P source within the Pentateuch. This source is understood to have been written by a priest or group of priests in the temple, which is how it received its name - the Priestly source or code.³ The work in this strand of the Pentateuch contains mainly genealogies and portions of law. There are also some story elements in P, including the narrative found in Genesis 1:1-2:3.

The Work of Wellhausen

A new formulation of the documentary hypothesis broke into the scholarly world in the late 1800s, with the work of Julius Wellhausen who wrote about the different sources of the Pentateuch.⁴ Wellhausen stated that some form of Deuteronomy (D) was the scroll found in 621 BCE, and that one could ascertain three strands through the rest of the Pentateuch (J, E, and P).

² Ibid., 123.

³ It is impossible to determine whether one priest or a group of priests authored the P source. Because of the culture surrounding the authorship of P, it is unlikely that a woman wrote it. Having taken these issues into account, in the interest of consistency and coherency, the present author will refer to the author of P in the singular and as "he."

⁴ Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (Cleveland: The World Publishing Co., 1965), 1.

He even attempted to date these sources: the J source to the eighth century, the E source to the seventh century, and the P source to the fifth century BCE.⁵ Wellhausen was critical of previous scholarship that ascribed the Pentateuch to Moses, because of where it left the people of Judah.

It is an opinion very extensively held that the great mass of the books of the Old Testament not only relate to the pre-exilic period, but date from it. . . . remnants of the literature of ancient Israel which the Jews rescued as a heritage from the past, and on which they continued to subsist in the decay of independent intellectual life. . . . the Judaism which received the books of scripture into the canon had, as a rule, nothing to do with their production.⁶

If the Pentateuch were younger than previously identified, the people of Judah would have had a reason for considering it authoritative and maintaining its rituals, beliefs, and laws. This is only the beginning of Wellhausen's argument for a late dating of the Pentateuch. He also maintains that there is no express information regarding the author of the majority of the Pentateuch and that the law or Torah was not simply written down and known. Instead took a long time to be acquired and there was a long period of time between the origination of the law and its authority in the lives of the people.⁷

Debates within JEDP Theory

Since the time of Wellhausen's first books on JEDP theory, there have been many different scholars who have debated the thesis and have found numerous strands and nuances in the Pentateuch. Some, such as Gunkle and Albright, have made a connection to the historical context and genre of the Pentateuch. They have reminded scholars of oral traditions and the

⁵ Walter Brueggemann and Hans Walter Wolff, *The Vitality of Old Testament Traditions* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1982), 16.

⁶ Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

context of authorship.⁸ Another scholar, Gerhard von Rad, was interested in the process of completion of the strands and the theological predisposition of each set of authors.⁹ Other scholars have proposed different dates for the various strands according to what they see in the text. However, the majority of critical scholarship has generally affirmed what Wellhausen wrote.

The P Source

Early Dating

Just as there are different concepts of how the Pentateuch as a whole was brought together, there are also perspectives regarding the composition of P. There are some scholars who would date P to the 800 BCE.¹⁰ These scholars, who are generally Jewish, argue that within the Priestly code (P), there is evidence of early dating. They point to evidence that refutes claims of late authorship and say that those who date P late are making an argument from silence.¹¹ One main argument used to show P to be early is in the discussion of centralization. Wellhausen and those who follow his dating state that by the time P was written, it was assumed that the cult was centralized around the temple, and therefore this issue was not discussed. Those supposing an early dating of the text note that in the early period of Israelite worship, the sanctuary was a

⁸ Brueggemann and Wolff, 19.

⁹ Ibid., 24.

¹⁰ Menahem Haran, "Behind the Scenes of History: Determining the Date of the Priestly Source," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 100, no. 3 (1979): 329. Menahen Haran is an example of a scholar who has dated the P source earlier than the majority of critical scholarship.

¹¹ Yhezkel Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel: From it's Beginning to the Babylonian Exile*, trans. Mark Greenberg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 175-208.

portable tabernacle.¹² From this perspective, P does not reflect a centralized place of worship because the religion was developing during the time of wandering tribes, when the place of worship was fluid.¹³ This is only one example of numerous attempts to refute the claims of scholars who date P to the fifth century BCE.

Late Dating

While some scholars date P very early, others understand P to have been a result of evolution.¹⁴ These proponents concur that P was written over time in at least three different stages. The stages were redacted by Ezra or a post-exilic priest and introduced as a kind of constitution for the post-exilic state.¹⁵ They say that the date of compilation was late because of the internal evidence. Those who support this hypothesis believe that P was an alternative to JE, and a reaction against Aaronic priests.¹⁶ This reaction took place because previously in JE, the selective Levitic priesthood was believed to be inadequate for the needs of the cult.¹⁷

¹² Ibid., 176.

¹³ Ibid., 177.

¹⁴ Benjamin W. Bacon, *The Genesis of Genesis* (Hartford: The Student Publishing Co., 1893), 58. Scholars such as Bacon agree that P was written during different time periods and finally redacted by Ezra in the post-exilic era.

¹⁵ Ibid., 66.

¹⁶ Ibid., 58. These scholars believe that by the time of P's authorship, the J and E source had already been redacted to a close version of what is in the Pentateuch today, as JE.

¹⁷ Richard E. Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?* (San Francisco: HarperCollins Publishers, 1987), 190. Scholars cite P's focus on Moses rather than Aaron as an emphasis on Aaron's mistakes as a priest rather than his qualities as proof of late dating.

More Theories on P's Authorship

There is another view held by the wide majority of critical scholars and the present author.¹⁸ This view does not attempt to date the hypothesized individual pieces of P. The argument is that there is no way of knowing when P originated. It is assumed that the literature of P is the result of a long process, but the focus is not on the process of conception and oral tradition, instead, it is on the completed work of P. As such, there is a distinction made between the person who first physically wrote P down and the origin of the material used in his work. P began as stories and guidelines designed for teaching a larger truth. Through time the meaning behind these stories were changed to become affirmations of faith and they bore a message not intended when the stories were originally told.¹⁹ Larger truths were still imbedded in the stories as they were written down, but through the writing process, the purposes had been changed to fit new and very specific circumstances. It is unknown if individual components of P had been previously preserved before being written down or from what time period or circumstances the individual components many have come. Therefore, the focus is on the time period in which it is know that P was a complete document.

Terminus ad quem

There are many speculations as to the earliest date of the composition of P. However the latest possible time period for writing is certain. P must have been completed, compiled, and preserved as part of the Pentateuch by the end of the fourth century BCE. This is apparent

¹⁸ Proponents of this hypothesis include: Julius Wellhausen, *Sketch of the History of Israel and Judah* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1891); Robert H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1948); Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary*, trans. John H. Marks (Philadelphia: The Westminster press, 1961); Hans W. Wolff, *The Old Testament: A Guide to its Writings* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970).

¹⁹ Brueggemann, 25.

because the Samaritans broke relations with Jerusalem during this time period, and they preserved essentially the same text within their Pentateuch.²⁰ Because the two texts are the same in this respect, J, E, D, and P must have been extant and compiled into the Pentateuchal construct before this time, or they would not have been included in both versions of the text.

Circumstance Surrounding the Writing of P

There is some debate within critical scholarship as to whether P was written during the exile or shortly after it. The focus of this paper is not on the source of the Pentateuch or JEDP theory. Therefore, this paper will take the position that one cannot be certain if P was written just before or during the return to Judah because in the writing of P there is evidence of hope by the author of returning to the homeland. With these hopes came an introduction of written law and the P material detailing how the community was to live.

It is believed that Deuteronomy or some nearly complete form of it was authoritative in 621 BCE, during Josiah's reforms in Judah.²¹ This stimulated literary activity throughout the land producing many works intended to bring the people to ritualistic ways of living as prescribed by the priests and by oral tradition. This time of literary activity was intensified by the events of the Babylonian exile. The exile of the Judean leadership demoralized the people and put them into a state of questioning and confusion. This arose because of their previous concepts of who their God was and who they were because of God. Therefore, P was written to

²⁰ Ibid., 5.

²¹ Andrew E. Hill and John H. Watson, *A Survey of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1991), 78. The reign of Josiah was 630-600 BCE. The reforms included temple worship in 622 BCE (II Kings 22-3) and it is believed that Josiah used Deuteronomy to aid his reforms.

remind the people about God's prominence in the world and who the people of Judah were because of their God.²²

For 100 years during the time of the exile, the people of Judah lived in uncertainty. They had gone from having a country of their own to being strangers in a conquering land. Although previously the country had been a vassal state of Babylon, Judah had managed to maintain some form of autonomy. Then, for various political reasons, in 598 BCE, many of the rulers, nobles, and priests began to be taken to Babylon. This left those who remained in distress because they lacked leadership to keep a sense of order in Judah, and there were no priests to carry out the cultic functions of the religion. Foreigners and neighboring countries took over the country and the people who were left in Judah lacked the ability to gain power in the world or even practice their religious beliefs.

There were also those who had been taken to Babylon. These people were in a foreign country as captives. They were expected to survive in a land that was foreign to them. This new land had foreign customs and speech. The traditions and rituals were exotic and the exiles that had, at one time, been the center of society and religion were now different and outcast. Although the upper classes of Judah had some knowledge about the traditions, and customs of Babylonian culture before the exile, the impact of being completely conquered and taken away from their homeland left the captives in utter shock. They had to learn how to live in a new country and how to maintain their distinction as God's people. They also had to deal with the difficult theological consequences of the fall of Judah.

The exiles had to answer questions about the meaning their captivity. Had God completely abandoned them? Were they under God's wrath? What was going to happen to their

²² Pfeiffer, 57.

religion?²³ Their whole identity had been wrapped up in two concepts: first, God was supreme; and second, they were divinely chosen and therefore special. Now, the people of Judah had to answer questions about what their captivity meant in terms of identity.

The exiles also had to rework their religion in accordance with their new conquerors. They had to know which rituals to keep and which not to keep, and they had to discover how to keep their religion intact without the temple. The captives were still asking these questions when they were allowed to return to their homeland in 538 BCE.

This return brought even more questions to the front of the theologians' minds. They were faced with having to rebuild the temple, reinstate leadership, and restore the religion and cultic functions. This is the situation in which the author of P found himself. The author not only had to answer questions about God in relation to the captivity, but he also had to remind the people how to function in the will of God. He had to train the exiles how to act within the cult and he had to show what was different about his religion from that of other more powerful cultures.²⁴

The task of responding to this situation was preformed by taking oral traditions, writing them down, and describing their appropriate applications.²⁵ This writing, P, included most of the laws in Exodus and Leviticus. The law made it possible for interaction between a holy God and his people. Genealogies created a connection between past men and women of faith and present concerns. P also wove in some stories that reinforced the law and God's supremacy over the earth.

²³ Julius Wellhausen, 124.

²⁴ Pfeiffer, 60.

²⁵ Brueggemann and Wolff, 25.

The author of P wrote what he did because he was “writing for a constitution of the Jewish theocratic state.”²⁶ He was attempting to help reorganize the people of Judah so that they could once again live in a world where God was their God and they were God’s people. He saw that this could only be done if the people knew and followed the law that had been prevalent in oral tradition before the exile. The author was attempting to raise the national and religious identity of the people. The people of Judah belonged to God and they were his servants. As such, it was essential for them to be ritually pure and devoted to God.²⁷ This was the purpose of P’s writing. He had asked theological questions in the wake of the exile, and the answer had been ritual purity. The author of P came to the conclusion that God had not abandoned Judah, but instead, Judah had abandoned God. Therefore they must become pure before God.

Cosmologies

One way in which the priestly writer attempted to reinforce his view of God for his audience was through his cosmology. Cosmologies were an attempt to explain the origin of the universe.²⁸ In the ancient Near East they played a major role in religion and were a large part of ceremony in cultic practice and there is an attempt to recount why current political structures were the way that they were. Such explanation was accomplished by basing the cosmology on a pantheon of gods and including the creation of the earth and all that is in it.²⁹ This worked

²⁶ Pfeiffer, 207-8.

²⁷ Ibid., 62.

²⁸ Nahum M. Sarna, *Songs of the Heart: On the Book of Psalms Exploring the Prayers of Ancient Israel* (New York: Schocken Books, 1993), 51.

²⁹ Hermann Gunkel, *The Legends of Genesis: The Biblical Saga and History*, trans. W. H. Carruth (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), 14. The cosmology is a specific study of the physical universe as a whole. It is a

because political and religious arenas of the culture were enmeshed. Therefore, it was acceptable to write religious propaganda to reinforce political ideas. The author of P used his cosmology to support the concept of God being supreme and implement general practices of the law such as Sabbath.³⁰

Cosmologies such as Genesis 1:1-2:3 and Enuma Elish tell about the nature of God or gods (respectively) and tell of the supremacy of the patron deity. They also discuss the placement of nature in creation, and depict the purpose of humanity.³¹ Cosmologies “can be the vehicle for expression of ideas that activate human behavior, reflect and validate distinctive forms and qualities of a civilization that signify a dynamic attitude to the universe and embody a vision.”³² The embodiment of this vision for the priestly writer was living according to the law. In his cosmology, P not only dismisses inaccurate concepts of God, but he also depicts God accurately, tells of the purpose of humanity, and how one should act because of who God is. For the readers of Genesis 1:1-2:3, hearing about God in this function shows God’s power. Listening to how their God created the world would have encouraged the people of Judah to follow this God. For the author of the Genesis 1 narrative, following this God meant ritual purity and adherence to the law. These actions would have given honor to God who would in turn give power back to the people. Just as Marduk had continued to give power to the people of Babylon

theological device used to explain a cosmogony which is a theory of the origin of the universe. As will be discussed below, cosmologies have little to do with the origin of the universe. Instead they seek to explain why the universe is extant as it is.

³⁰ Bernhard W. Anderson, *Understanding the Old Testament* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), 385.

³¹ Nahum M. Sarna, *The Heritage of Biblical Israel: Understanding Genesis*, vol. 1 of the Melton Research Center Series (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966), 3.

³² *Ibid.*, 6.

for their service, so also would the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob give power to the people of Judah for their service.³³ The cosmology reinforces this belief.

Translation of Genesis 1:1-2:3

The following is a translation by the present of the biblical passage for this thesis. The translation comes from the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* text.³⁴

1:

- (1) When God began to shape the heavens and the land.
- (2) And the land was formless and empty and obscurity upon the face of the abyss and the spirit of God hovered upon the waters.
- (3) And God said, "Let there be light." And there was light.
- (4) And God saw that the light was good and God separated between the light and the obscurity.
- (5) And God called light day and obscurity he called night and there was evening and there was morning: day one.
- (6) And God said, "Let there be a solid expanse in the midst of the waters to separate waters from waters."
- (7) And God made the solid expanse and he divided between the waters which were from the under part of the expanse and between the waters which were over the expanse and it was so.
- (8) And God called the solid expanse heaven and there was evening and there was morning: day two.
- (9) And God said, "Let the water from the under part of heaven be collected to one place and let dry land appear." And it was so.
- (10) And God called the dry land earth and to the collected waters he called seas and God saw that it was good.
- (11) And God said, "Let the earth sprout grass herbage from seeding seeds and let fruit trees make fruit from their kind on the earth." And it was so.
- (12) And the earth brought forth grass herbage from seeding seeds from their kind and trees made fruit by seeds from their kind and God saw that it was good.
- (13) And there was evening and there was morning: day three.
- (14) And God said, "Let there be luminaries in the solid expanse of heaven to separate between the day and between the night and they were for seasons, for days, and years.
- (15) And let there be lumination in the expanse of the heavens for light on earth." And it was so.

³³ See chapter four pp. 73-5 for information on service to Marduk by the Babylonians.

³⁴ K. Elliger, and W. Rudolph., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Biblegesellschaft, 1983), 1-3.

- (16) And God made two great luminaries: the greatest luminary to rule the day, and the smaller luminary to rule the night and the stars.
- (17) And God set them in the solid expanse of the heavens for light upon the earth
- (18) To rule in the day and in the night to separate between the light and darkness. And God saw it was good.
- (19) And there was evening and there was morning: day four.
- (20) And God said, "Let the sea swarm with swarming souls and let flying creatures fly on the face of the expanse of the heavens.
- (21) And God made the great sea monsters and every soul of every species of sea animal that swarm the sea, and every bird and species with wings, and God saw that it was good.
- (22) And God blessed them saying, "Be fruitful and multiply and fill the waters in the seas and let the flying creatures multiply on the earth."
- (23) And there was evening and there was morning: day five.
- (24) And God said, "Let the earth bring forth souls in regard to its species: animals and creeping thing and beast of the field in regard to its species." And it was so.
- (25) And God made the beasts of the field in regard to its species and the animals in regard to its species and every creeping thing in the earth in regard to its species. And God saw that it was good.
- (26) And God said, "Let us make man in our image like our similitude. They will rule the fish of the sea and the flying creatures of the heavens and the animals and upon the earth and upon the creeping creepers on the earth."
- (27) And God shaped the man in his image. In God's image he shaped him male and female he shaped them.
- (28) And God blessed them and said to them, "Be fruitful and multiply and fill the land and bring it into bondage and rule the fish in the sea and the flying creatures in the heavens and all the creeping things on the earth.
- (29) And God said, "Behold! I give to you all the herbage and seeding seeds which are on the face of the earth and all the trees that have seed bearing fruit will be for you for food.
- (30) And to every the beast of the earth and to every flying creature in the heavens and to every creeping thing on the earth which a soul of life is in it and all green herbage you may eat. And it was so.
- (31) And God saw all which he had made and behold! It was very good and there was evening and there was morning: day six.

2:

- (1) And God finished the heavens and the earth and all of creation.
- (2) And God finished the work he had been doing on the seventh day and rested in day seven from all the work which he did.
- (3) And God blessed the seventh day and consecrated it, for in it God rested from all the work which he shaped and did.

Comment on Text

The remaining portion of this chapter is dedicated to observations of the previously translated text. It is broken into sections which generally follow the Genesis 1:1-2:3 passage, although the comments on Genesis 1:9-13 and 20-25 are together because thematic concerns have taken precedence over chronological order. This comment will aid in further understanding of the Genesis 1 narrative and will also allow the present author to compare Genesis 1:1-2:3 and Enuma Elish in subsequent chapters.

Genesis 1:1-8

There are four main issues this passage deals with. First is the question of what God created the universe from. Second is the difference between the concepts of “shape” and “create.” Next, there is a contention on God’s ability to speak. Finally, there is a discussion on the firmament or solid expanse in verses 1-8.

The first two verses of Genesis 1 begin with a statement of God shaping the world. This is a doctrinal statement about God over the world. Throughout time, religious thinkers have questioned how God shaped the world in the cosmology. They have also wondered what it was that God was shaping. Many believe that God created the world out of nothing or *ex nihilo*.³⁵ *Ex nihilo* is supposed because it is not stated that created matter was shaped out of preexistent material, and therefore God created out of nothing.³⁶ That is, God created everything; so therefore, there was nothing God did not create.

³⁵ von Rad, 46.

³⁶ Kaufmann, 68.

Many other scholars disagree with this proposal.³⁷ It is agreed that this is a doctrinal statement about the nature of God, but the difference is that these scholars believe God shaped the earth from a primordial mass or chaos.³⁸ According to these scholars this does not impede the character and power of God. They also say God using preexistent material to create the world does not weaken the concept of God that P is attempting to convey, because the idea of creating out of chaos is a common notion in cosmologies and would not be unique to P.³⁹

The text is not very helpful when looking at this debate because of the word *בָּרָא*, which in English is translated “shape” or “create.”⁴⁰ Therefore, *בָּרָא* implies that either God was creating something out of nothing, or that God was shaping something that was already preexistent. For the purposes of this thesis, the present author will work with the premise that God was shaping out of preexistent material.

This argument carries into verses 4 and 5 with the creation of light. The obscurity was already on the “face of the abyss” in verse 2, and was something different than the spirit of God. In verse 3 the light was created and wholly other than the darkness. Proponents of the concept of

³⁷ For example: Robert H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1948); W. Anderson, *Understanding the Old Testament* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966; Claus Westermann, *Genesis 1-11: A Commentary*, trans. John J. Scullion, S. J. (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1987); William P. Brown, “Divine Act and the Art of Persuasion in Genesis 1,” in *History and Interpretation: Essays in Honour of John H. Hayes*, eds., M. P. Graham et al. (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993).

³⁸ Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles Briggs, *The New Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius Hebrew and English Lexicon with an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1979), 365 (hereafter cited as BDB). The word, *חָשֶׁךְ* can be translated obscurity or darkness. For many scholars this includes the concept of chaos. The three words obscurity, darkness, and chaos will be used interchangeably in this paper.

³⁹ William P. Brown, *The Ethos of the Cosmos: The Genesis of Moral Imagination in the Bible* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1999), 40.

⁴⁰ BDB, 135.

chaos believe this is evidence of preexistent chaos -- obscurity was not created by God, but instead was already in the story before the creation act began.⁴¹

Another part of the concept of creating is the power of God's word. In Genesis 1:1-2:3 God's word was enough to form everything and God did not need to fight as in other cosmologies.⁴² With the power of a word, God separated between the created and the obscurity, and God considered this creation good. The chaos that was already in existence had no place in the created order. Therefore God controlled chaos by simply speaking.⁴³ This would have had a tremendous impact on the reader in exile. This God is not only one who can create, as many gods were able to do, but he is able to create by simply using words. Chaos can be eliminated with a word, and there was no use of force, or violence to form the cosmos, but simply speaking was enough.⁴⁴

The power of the spoken words is evident throughout the Genesis 1 cosmology. Nowhere is this power more necessary than when speaking of the "solid expanse." The concept of the "solid expanse" is a very difficult one in the text. Theologically, the expanse indicates the differentiation between the created and the chaos or uncreated. It tells what was believed to be good by God and that which was considered bad. The waters above the expanse do not belong to the "good" of creation. Instead, only what is underneath the expanse is "good."⁴⁵ Physically it is also difficult to determine exactly what the *רקיע* or "solid expanse" was understood to be. There are some who believe that it is the same concept as Job 37:18, which discusses the sky being

⁴¹ Pfeiffer, 192-3. After the chaos had been defeated, it was continually overcome by the light of day. This concept is also present in *Enuma Elish*. Cf pp. 59-61.

⁴² Brown, *The Ethos of the Cosmos*, 57.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁴⁴ Brueggemann, 105.

⁴⁵ Westermann, 16.

spread out like a molten mirror.⁴⁶ Others conceive of the solid expanse as an optical illusion and a part of the concept of legend within the Genesis story.⁴⁷ Another idea is that the רָקִיעַ was a giant bell or a sheet of metal upon which the sun and stars were hammered.⁴⁸ Although the concept of “firmament” or “solid expanse” is debated, these different conceptions of the solid expanse are helpful because, at the very least, they indicate that there were commonalities in how the earth was envisioned.⁴⁹

Genesis 1:9-13, 20-25

The main commonality between Genesis 1:9-13 and 20-25 is that God commands the earth and waters to produce life. In verses 11 and 12 the earth is told to bring forth grass and fruit trees, which are then commanded to reproduce by themselves. Similarly, verse 20 states that the earth is to multiply flying creatures and the sea is to bring forth swarming beings. The difference is verse 21, when God helps in the creative act by creating the sea monsters and swarming sea creatures. Yet in verse 24, God tells the earth to bring forth the animals before creating them. This is an interesting nuance of divine creation, because having the created land and seas take part in the creation of plant and animal life could be taken to mean that God gave the earth the ability to create plants by itself.⁵⁰ Although the charge to the waters and swimming creatures are different, the principle is the same in that God first creates, and then sets into place

⁴⁶ Gordon J. Wenham, *Word Biblical Commentary*, vol. 1. eds. David A. Hubbard and Glenn W. Baker (Waco: Word Books, Publisher, 1987), 20.

⁴⁷ Gunkel, 7.

⁴⁸ von Rad, 51; E. A. Speiser, *Anchor Bible*, vol. 1 (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1964), 6.

⁴⁹ See Appendix 1 for a modern interpretation of how the ancients likely visualized the earth.

⁵⁰ Westermann, 17.

the command for the waters to continue the creation of life.⁵¹ This shows God's activity in and with creation and not simply over it. God is involved in every aspect of creation even when tasks are delegated to other entities.⁵²

Through this, one can see two things about the theology of the writer. First, it shows that there was no need for immediate divine intervention when the earth was already poised and ready to create. That is, when creating the earth, God created in it the ability and potential to create seeds; thus, when God spoke the word, the earth was ready to comply. "It is in the earth's very nature to produce what it does, a bewildering variety of seed-bearing plants and fruit trees."⁵³ This does not take away from the power of God, but instead adds to the ability of God's spoken word.

The earth's ability to create also indicates God's special attention to the details of creation. In particular, verse 22 depicts God blessing the swarming creatures, both in the sea and air and tells them to "be fruitful and multiply." These creatures are somewhat different than land animals, which are in some way connected to humanity. These swarming creatures, although they are given the same נִפְּחָה (life or soul), are separated from the animals of the field that are created in verse 25. Yet both are given the same command to be fruitful. The animals of the field also come from the earth, just as the swarming creatures and plant life, which shows the connection to the earth. These distinctions between created beings suggest intricacies within creation; as well as the detail God has given to each kind of creation.

⁵¹ Brown, *Divine Act and the Art of Persuasion*, 27.

⁵² Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel*, 68. Kaufmann would disagree with this interpretation and state that God created out of matter already at hand and that the earth and waters were not participants in creation. The translation of the passage seems to refute this concept when God tells the earth to bring forth grass, flying creatures, and animals (and the waters to bring forth swarming creatures).

⁵³ Brown, *The Ethos of the Cosmos*, 40.

Genesis 1:14-19

The luminaries created in this text are very unusual and it is evident that the author put considerable time into this portion of the cosmology. In the wider ancient Near Eastern context, the concept of luminaries was more broad than what is depicted in the Genesis 1 text.⁵⁴ In other cosmologies, the sun, moon, and stars are considered to be gods and are a vital component of cultic life.⁵⁵ In Genesis 1:1-2:3, however, God creates the luminaries, and stars and they are given a comparatively insignificant function in the created world. The stars are simply to be for lights, which is degrading considering competing beliefs that they were gods.⁵⁶ The sun and moon are not even given names, although other places of the Hebrew Bible do name them. This seems to have been done purposefully because the author wished to convey the concept that the luminaries were nothing more than lights, not even worthy of naming.⁵⁷ Other than being lights in the sky, the luminaries' only task is to serve as a calendar for human use. In this task, God gives them permission to rule over the day and the night, but God oversees this reign. While greatly reduced, it is true that the luminaries were given power and this point of the story should not be devalued. The author was incorporating the beliefs of surrounding cultures into his monotheism. He was attempting to state that God had created these lights with power over day and night and yet not indicate that they were gods. This was a difficult task, evidenced by the authors' change of blessing from multiply to rule. This change in blessing brings to the forefront of the audiences mind differences in belief structures between the people of Judah and that of

⁵⁴ Wenham, 21.

⁵⁵ Ibid., xlix.

⁵⁶ von Rad, 53.

⁵⁷ Wenham, 21.

Babylonia. The change reminds the audience of what other cultures believe about their gods and what the people of Judah believe about their God.⁵⁸

Genesis 1:26-30

Where previously in Genesis 1:1-2:3 God commanded the seas and earth to bring forth animals, in verses 26-30, God first considered making mankind and then created him. The phrase “let us” in 1:26 has been commented on throughout the centuries. Some Christian scholars have maintained that this is a reference to the concept of the Trinity while others believe that it refers to a consultation of the heavenly court of which God was the head. Both arguments are possible, however, because of the surrounding ancient Near Eastern culture, it is more likely that the “let us” is a reference to the heavenly court.⁵⁹ Regardless of how one interprets “let us,” it is evident that God pondered before creating mankind. This pondering and subsequent action suggests that God devoted more to the act of creating humanity than to any other action in the Genesis 1 account.⁶⁰

Next to be considered in verses 26-30 is the concept of “image and likeness” of God. The concept is stated in one verse, and then there is a fuller explanation in the next. The word for likeness, דְּמוּת, is straightforward in meaning, which is simply “to be like, resemble.”⁶¹ Its counterpart צֶלֶם (image) is a much more difficult word to understand, and it is only used

⁵⁸ To not only conceive of God creating everything by spoken word, but also ruling the sun, moon, and stars, would have been something different for the people of Judah. Those in exile lived in a country where two of the major gods were the sun and moon deities, and with this worship would have come festivals, temples, and beliefs that these gods were very important. This change in theology displays the adaptation of Babylonian religious belief into the assimilation of the Judean belief structure. See chapter three pp. 40-1, 57-8 for more detail.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 31; Brevard S. Childs, *Old Testament Theology in a Canonical Context* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Fortress Press, 1985), 189. See chapter three and four for comparison of the “let us” concept in Genesis and that of other ancient Near Eastern cultures.

⁶⁰ von Rad, 55.

⁶¹ BDB, 198; Wenham, 29.

seventeen times in the Hebrew Bible.⁶² Ten of those times, it refers to a physical image such as an idol or a picture. The word is used twice in the Psalms as man's existence being like a shadow. The other five usages are in Genesis 1:26-30, 5:3, and 9:6.⁶³ Because of these statistics, scholars have had many different ideas of what "image and likeness" mean. Some believe the phrase to be a reference to humanity being in God's image in form and function yet not in substance.⁶⁴ Others state that man's essential nature is in the "image and likeness" of God. Still others say that they do not know what it means to be in the "image and likeness" of God, but these qualities make humanity special and the crown of creation.⁶⁵

Although there is much that is unknown about specifically what it means to be in the "image and likeness" of God, this final point is undeniable. The author believed that humanity was created in the "image and likeness" of God, and this meant that humanity was special. It showed the reader that they were special to God who was strong enough to create and control the world with words.

In this story, it is not stated that humanity came from the ground, as does the second creation account in Genesis. However, there is the idea that mankind is created for a purpose which is to rule or have dominion over the earth. Man is told to "be fruitful and multiply" just as the animals. Humanity is also commanded to rule, which goes back to the concept of the luminaries. There are some who believe that this connoted a human role rather like a vassal's reign in the ancient Near East. Thus, humanity is commanded to exercise full dominion over the earth. Humankind is to subdue the earth and rule without mercy.

⁶² Wenham, 29.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Brown, *The Ethos of the Cosmos*, 44.

⁶⁵ Childs, 189.

Another understanding of the dominion given to humanity is ruling by way of oversight rather than force.⁶⁶ Just as the sun and moon do not rule by force, neither is humanity called to rule harshly. Instead, man is God's representative and is given charge over the earth and the animals. In this, mankind is told to eat the plants. However, this does not include a harsh concept of dominion or power over the earth.

One could go so far as to say that in this passage, the author is specifically writing against the reign of the people of Babylon. By having God command humanity to only eat plants and not animals supports the theory that the first humans were to rule by example rather than force. Unlike the Babylonians, the people in society should not rule by military might. Instead, they should see that everyone has enough to survive and to function in society. The author intimately knew the ruling style of the Babylonians and what he was suggesting for the luminaries and humankind was not this style of leadership. In his ideology, the author of Genesis 1:1-2:3 was telling the reader God had not commanded humanity to rule as the Babylonians did. Instead, God had commanded humankind to rule by way of oversight. The author was stating that the Babylonians were wrong because they led militarily instead of by example.

Genesis 1:31-2:3

Where humanity was the pinnacle of God's creative acts, the Sabbath rest was the climax of the creation story. This point is evident by the change in structure. In 1:31, God declares that all of creation is "very good," which is an echo of what has been stated at the end of each day thus far. The highly structured wording of the creation account ceases beginning in chapter two,

⁶⁶ Brown, *The Ethos of the Cosmos*, 46.

which indicates a change. The author is telling the reader that something new is happening, which is the climax of creation -- Sabbath.⁶⁷

By linking Sabbath to creation, the author of P was reminding readers that the people of Judah must remain faithful to their covenant with God. The author did this by making his case in the most powerful way possible, which was by stating that God instituted and celebrated Sabbath at the foundation of the world.⁶⁸ Furthermore, this narrative tells how the world and humanity were brought into being, and it held important implications for the exiles. God rested just as it was commanded for the people of Judah to rest, and because of this rest, their days and lifetimes were not empty. And just as the people of Judah set apart a day for God, God had set them apart from humanity.⁶⁹ In addition, the Sabbath was also a sign that God had provided for Judah in the past and was going to continue to provide in the future. This would have been an assurance in the assimilative culture of Babylon.⁷⁰

These final four verses also point out a primary thrust of the Genesis 1 cosmology. With the author having God rest, this sent the message that God followed his own law -- a law that for the priestly source was very important to the survival of the people of Judah. God resting on the seventh day reinforced the necessity of following Torah. In the opening verses of Genesis, God creates the world by the power of a word. This same God chose the people of Judah to be special. In this priestly narrative, God was implicitly calling his people to be holy before him and to act as his special creation once again. This shows the purpose of Genesis 1:1-2:3, which

⁶⁷ Westermann, 21.

⁶⁸ Gunkel, 31.

⁶⁹ Anderson, 386.

⁷⁰ Wolff, 34.

was to show the power of God. In this power, God places humanity above creation, and points toward right living and holiness for the people of Judah.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has looked at three main components. It first considered the possible dating of Genesis 1:1-2:3. Next, it discussed the definition and purpose of cosmologies in the ancient Near East. Finally, it looked at the Genesis 1:1-2:3 text. The purpose of this was to discover important elements of the Genesis narrative and also how they effected the exilic author and reader of the Genesis narrative. From here this paper will continue to look at cosmologies by relating information about the Babylonian cosmology of Enuma Elish.

CHAPTER THREE

ENUMA ELISH

Chapter Overview

The previous chapter discussed a Judean cosmology. It also discussed purposes behind its writing including how Genesis 1:1-2:3 was an attempt to fight against Babylonian hegemony. The purpose of this chapter is to discover what ideology the people of Judah were fighting against. This will be done by engaging Enuma Elish, the Babylonian Epic of Creation, in four respects. First, this chapter will delineate the circumstances surrounding discovery of the text and its authorship. Then, it will give a summary of Enuma Elish.¹ Next, there will be a discussion on specific aspects of the story and finally, the Babylonian pantheon and its importance in Babylonian culture will be considered.

The Discovery of Enuma Elish

The seven tablets containing Enuma Elish were discovered as part of the Assyrian library in Nineveh. This library had existed since the time of Sargon (722-705 BCE) and was expanded during the time of Ashurbanipal (668-626 BCE).² Scribes were sent to cities throughout Assyria and Babylon to procure literature for the library, and its holdings included copies of stories,

¹ See Appendix 2 for the entire translation of Enuma Elish.

² Caroline Skeel, H. J. White, and J. P. Whitney, eds., "Babylonian Penitential Psalms," in *Texts for Students* no 25 (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1921), 3.

inscriptions, letters, and many other documents of Mesopotamian history and society of the day.³ By 614 BCE, the Medes burned and sacked Nineveh, including the Assyrian library.⁴

In these ruins, near present day Mosul, Iraq Sir Henry Rawlinson, Hormuzd Rassam, and George Smith discovered a significant portion of Enuma Elish.⁵ It was originally discovered between 1848 and 1876 CE and translated by George Smith.⁶ Later, in 1924-5 CE, tablets I and VI were discovered almost complete at Kish, and in 1928-9 CE a large fragment of tablet VII was found at Uruk.⁷ Today, the only missing portion of Enuma Elish is from tablet V.⁸

Dating the Text

There is a long period of time during which Enuma Elish could have originated and been written down in the cuneiform script. It is likely that a priest wrote the original text of Enuma Elish for two reasons. First, the cuneiform script in which it was written was very difficult to learn, understand, and write. This process took years to accomplish and generally it was only priests and scribes who had this knowledge.⁹

³ Ibid.

⁴ Joan Oates, *Babylon*, ed. Daniel Glyn (London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1979), 127.

⁵ George Smith, "The Chaldean Account of Genesis," *Secret Doctrine Reference Series* (Minneapolis: Wizard Book Shelf, 1977), 3.

⁶ Wallis, 1.

⁷ Ibid., 11

⁸ Ibid., 1.; Heidel, 1. Many fragments of an Assyrian version of the Epic was also unearthed from 1902-1914 CE.

⁹ Not even most kings learned the cuneiform script. Instead they had scribes write and translate for them.

The second reason Enuma Elish is believed to have been informed by a priest is because of the religious nature of the text. The latest possible date of composition was in the 600s BCE because this was when the Epic was copied and brought to Assyria. The earliest possible date of origin is difficult to determine because concepts and themes contained in Enuma Elish date back to Sumerian times and were prevalent in the culture of the ancient Near East for millennia. There are, however, three main theories as to the general date in which Enuma Elish originated. One theory is that Enuma Elish was created during the reign of Hammurabi (1792-1750 BCE). Another possible time period is during the dynasty of the Kassites, specifically in the 1500s BCE, and the final theory is that Enuma Elish originated from the time of Nebuchadnezzar I (1125-1104 BCE).

Sumerian Themes

The community of Babylon and its surrounding nations were of Sumerian origin. Babylon was a city-state of Sumer by the end of the third millennium BCE as were Nineveh and Ur, which trace their origin to the sixth millennium BCE, and prehistoric times.¹⁰ Babylonia, also called Akkad, was the southernmost portion of ancient Mesopotamia.¹¹ The people of Sumer were the earliest known rulers and they came from the desert country and ruled the Mesopotamians, who had descended from Semitic peoples.¹² By the end of the fourth millennium BCE, there were settlements in Sumer and by the early third millennium BCE the earliest dynasty had come into power. Each city-state included a city, its surrounding territory,

¹⁰ Oates, 9.

¹¹ Ibid., 11.

¹² Ibid., 19.

and dependent towns and villages. City-states were characteristically individualistic and resistant to outside political control. There were temple complexes in each city-state, and while in no way monotheistic, society worshipped individual gods and claimed a specific god who was their patron.¹³ By the time of Sargon in the early third millennium BCE, there were centers of worship specific to each city-state. If one city-state was more powerful than another, it was believed that this was a direct result of one god having more power than the others.

To accommodate the belief that one god, vis-à-vis the city-state, was more powerful than the others, stories and hymns were conceived and written down to support the political situation of the day. "The priests of the time began to build up those systems of cosmology and theology which successive generations of schoolmen elaborated into the stately structures of speculation that so mightily influenced the philosophy and religion of the ancient world."¹⁴ This process of belief, leading to supporting stories that were being written down encouraged further belief. This gradual process led to the creation of more stories. The politics of ancient Mesopotamia and the cultural literature had direct influence upon one another. One propagated the other and as the political arena evolved, so did the stories to explain the rise and decline of the city-state. This evolution included changes in the structure of the stories. Sometimes there was a change in the main character from one deity to another as one city-state gained power over another. For example, Enlil, one of the three high gods was the patron god of the city Nippur. It is supposed that as Nippur became less powerful and Babylon became more powerful, that stories originally telling of Enlil's greatness were changed to depict the greatness of Marduk.

¹³ Ibid., 24.

¹⁴ Goodspeed, 117.

Behind our present version [of *Enuma Elish*] with Marduk as the hero undoubtedly lies a still earlier version wherein, not Marduk, but Enlil of Nippur played the central role. This more original form can be deduced from many indications in the myth itself. The most important of these is the fact that Enlil, although he was always at least the second most important Mesopotamian Deity, seems to play no part whatever in the myth as we have it, while all the other important gods have appropriate roles. Again, the role which Marduk plays is not in keeping with the character of that god. Marduk was originally an agricultural or perhaps a solar deity, whereas the central role in *Enuma elish* is that of a god of the storm such as Enlil was.¹⁵

It would be an important political statement in *Enuma Elish* if by making this change in characters the author was attempting to emphasize to the audience that Babylon was an important political power. Without stating it outright, the author had declared that Nippur was no longer a central city of power. Instead, Babylon was important because the deity of Babylon, Marduk, had accomplished these acts as opposed to Enlil, the patron deity of Nippur. Although it is believed that this change was made relatively late in *Enuma Elish*, it would date the original *Enuma Elish* epic to Sumerian times. This is because according to Sumerian beliefs, Enlil - the Sumerian chief god - was the one who began the creative act.¹⁶

The hypothesis that Enlil was replaced by Marduk in *Enuma Elish* is not the only evidence given for *Enuma Elish* evolving from Sumerian cosmologies. There are three main elements contained in both Sumerian cosmologies and *Enuma Elish*. The first is that of the primeval sea. *Enuma Elish*, like Sumerian cosmologies, depicts the sea as eternal and uncreated. The second commonality is that the primeval sea creates a heaven and earth that are united but

¹⁵ Frankfort, 169.

¹⁶ Nemet-Nejat, 176.

separated by air. The final shared feature of Sumerian cosmologies is that heaven and earth are solid elements.¹⁷

A supplementary correspondence between Sumerian cosmologies and Enuma Elish are the themes and concepts congruent in both writings. One example of this is in *Anzu* where three gods are unwilling to fight the Sumerian god Anzu. Then another god, Ninurta, accepts the challenge. This corresponds to Enuma Elish in that both Ea and Anu refuse to fight Tiamat while Marduk is willing. Another similarity between the two epics is that there are eleven monsters that fight the hero.¹⁸ These monsters have yet another commonality. Some of them are signs of the zodiac.¹⁹ There is also the concept of the Tablet of Destinies in both epics.²⁰ The Tablet of Destinies in ancient belief was a symbol of supreme power over the universe to the deity in whom it was entrusted.²¹ This concept is awkwardly placed into the Enuma Elish text whereas it fits more naturally in the older Sumerian text. If it were true that Enuma Elish came from, or at least borrowed from earlier Sumerian texts, the Tablet of Destinies would be an important concept to maintain in the younger Enuma Elish story line, even if it did not fit well in the text.²²

There are many different Sumerian texts that have similar concepts with Enuma Elish. These texts would be a natural progression of the Babylonian religion as it was influenced by the

¹⁷ Samuel Kramner, *Sumerian Mythology: A Study of Spiritual and Literary Achievement in the Third Millennium BC* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961), 73.

¹⁸ Richard Clifford, "Creation Accounts in Mesopotamia: Akkadian Texts," in *Creation Accounts in the Ancient Near East and in the Bible*, The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series, no. 26 (Washington D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1994), 84.

¹⁹ Langdon and MacCulloch, 305.

²⁰ Clifford, 84.

²¹ Frankfort, 176.

²² This is because an older concept would have given a younger text, such as Enuma Elish, credibility.

political culture of the day. There is some controversy whether or not the original author of Enuma Elish directly borrowed from a specific Sumerian text, or texts. This seems to be a question that cannot be answered at the present time because no Sumerian text has been found describing the same story with a different god in the hero role. Until such an artifact is found, the only speculation that can be made between Sumerian texts and Enuma Elish is that there are similarities in themes and concepts.

Hammurabi (1792-1750 BCE)

Hammurabi was a leader of Babylon who created a dynasty lasting about 200 years. His reign began when Babylon was a small city-state. Then he began an aggressive military campaign which allowed him to gain leadership throughout Babylonia and briefly over Assyria.²³ He called himself the “king of the four quarters of the world” and also the “king of Sumer and Akkad.” These titles had not been obtained by one man before.²⁴ The primary evidence that Enuma Elish originated and was written during the time of Hammurabi is derived from the prologue to the Code of Hammurabi. During his time in power, Hammurabi built a stele and inscribed a code upon it. He probably placed copies of it in many cities under his control. One such stele has been found and translated which is called the Code of Hammurabi.

When the exalted Anu, the king of the Anunnaki, (and) Enlil, the lord of heaven and earth, who determine the destinies of the land, committed the sovereignty over all the people to Marduk, the first-born son of Ea; (when) they made him great among the Igigi; (when) they proclaimed to Babylon his exalted name; (when) they made it unsurpassable in the regions of the world (and) in the midst established for him an everlasting kingdom whose foundations are firm as heaven and earth: at that time Anu and Enlil called me, Hammurabi, the reverent prince,

²³ Oates, 61-2.

²⁴ Ibid., 65.

the worshipper of the gods, by my name, to cause justice to prevail in the land, to destroy the wicked and the evil, to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak, to go forth like the sun over the human race, to enlighten the land and to further the welfare of the people.²⁵

Supporters for authorship of Enuma Elish during this time period point to the Code of Hammurabi because of the prominence that Marduk plays in the prologue. Here, Marduk is labeled as being “great among the Igigi” and is exalted in Babylon because he created the city-state. This is given as evidence that during this time, Marduk had been exalted to the place of national deity in Babylon. Because of this prominence, it is claimed that an epic such as Enuma Elish would naturally come out of this time period.²⁶

There is much dispute over the evidence for Enuma Elish being written during the time of Hammurabi. One indication that Marduk was not considered to be the supreme god of the pantheon during this time comes from this same prologue of Hammurabi’s code. In it, Marduk is said to be supreme only over the earth gods and not the great gods.²⁷ If Marduk were supreme over everything, as is attested in Enuma Elish, Hammurabi would have given him more admiration in the prologue. Marduk is not even given the honor bestowed upon Anu and Enlil in the prologue, but instead he is subordinate to them.²⁸ This creates doubt as to Marduk’s dominance over the pantheon during Hammurabi’s reign.

²⁵ Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 14.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Clifford, 83.

²⁸ H. W. F. Saggs, *The Greatness that was Babylon: A Survey of the Ancient Civilization of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley* (New York: Frederick A. Prager Publishers, 1969), 339.

Another indication that Marduk was not supreme during the reign of Hammurabi are the inscriptions on buildings of the time. These inscriptions show Enlil, Ninurta, Ahamash, Anu, and Shamash all in position over Marduk.²⁹ A further sign that Marduk was not considered supreme over the pantheon during the dynasty of Hammurabi is evidenced within the year-formulae where a year was named according to the previous year's activity. For example, if one year a temple was completed and dedicated to a specific god, then the name of the next year would be for that god. During the Hammurabi dynasty, there are very few instances where a year is named for Marduk which means that likely, there was little done to reinforce his cultic following such as temple building.³⁰ If Marduk were the supreme god of the pantheon during this time, it would be unlikely that so little attention would be paid to the deity. Since Marduk does not seem to be the head of the Babylonian pantheon during Hammurabi, it is unlikely that *Enuma Elish* would have been written during this dynasty.

Kassites (1500s BCE)

Historically, the Kassites seem to have come from the north and were possibly an Indo-European tribe. They began to rule the area including Babylon after the Hammurabi dynasty in 1595 BCE.³¹ During the Kassite dynasty of 576 years and nine months, the reign of Agum II (1570's BCE) is the best possibility for *Enuma Elish* to have been written. Although previously believed to be a literary dark age, recent discoveries have shown that during this time, Agum II

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Oates, 83.

recovered the statues of Marduk and his wife from the Hittites.³² This recovery would have bore literature declaring the preeminence of Marduk above other gods.³³ It is also known that during this time, much Babylonian religious literature was canonized.³⁴

Not only were the statues of Marduk and his wife returned during the reign of Agum II, but there is also evidence of a revival in the cult of Marduk that began during his reign. There are also inscriptions on doors of a temple of Marduk depicting monsters similar to the cohort of Tiamat, which is believed to date to the Kassite period. The problem with this evidence is that not all of the monsters are exactly the same as described in Enuma Elish.³⁵

The Kassites are known for their interesting style of rule over the Babylonians. They attempted to integrate into the Babylonian culture. For example, instead of building new buildings for themselves as most dynasties, they rebuilt and restored the buildings of their predecessors.³⁶ This was unusual activity for foreign kings who usually built monuments to their own greatness. The emphasis the Kassites placed upon traditional religion, and the history of Babylonia, aided in the inspiration of literary work. This adds to the possibility of Enuma Elish being written during the 1500s BCE.³⁷

³² Ibid. It was believed by the people of Babylon that if a gods statue was captured by a foreign army and taken away, then that god was literally gone from their presence. This absence would have left the country void of protection by the deity. When, the statue was returned, it was similarly believed that the god had returned to the land. It also symbolized that this god was strong again because he was able to win the battle against its enemies.

³³ Stephanie Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh and Others* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 229.

³⁴ Saggs, 409.

³⁵ Dalley, 229.

³⁶ Oates, 88.

³⁷ John Huehnergard, *A Grammar of Akkadian* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2000), xxiv. Additional evidence that Enuma Elish came from this time period is in the style of Akkadian Enuma Elish is written in. It was written in Standard Babylonian which was popular among the scribes from the 1500s to 1000 BCE.

Nebuchadnezzar I (1125-1104 BCE)

There are no copies of *Enuma Elish* older than the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I.³⁸ But, this fact alone does not mean that the Epic was conceived during this time period. During the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I, there was a national revival in Babylon as the statue of Marduk was brought to Babylon from Assyria.³⁹ This revival was similar to that of the Kassite period, and it similarly brought about literature celebrating Babylon and its patron Marduk. One religious characteristic unique to Nebuchadnezzar I is the evolution of the high gods in the pantheon.⁴⁰

Only in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I of Babylon (1125-1104 B.C.) did the old triad of Anu, Enlil, and Ea yield completely to Marduk. He replaced the triad of Anu, Enlil, and Ea rather than joining it, since Semites (unlike Sumerians) preferred to worship very few high gods. Originally without a place in the pantheon and lacking a mythology, Marduk had to appropriate other gods' traditions to become supreme. Inevitably, therefore, *Enuma elish* is an anthology of traditions about other gods.⁴¹

It was during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I in which Marduk was first called "the king of the gods."⁴² This would have been a superb time for *Enuma Elish* to be created because of its emphasis on Marduk as supreme among the gods.

As with every other suggested time period, there is evidence that the composition of *Enuma Elish* was not during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I. It is suggested that the 1100's BCE is too late of a date for the composition of *Enuma Elish* because of a text known as *An-anum*,

³⁸ Langdon, 289.

³⁹ Nemet-Nejat, 224.

⁴⁰ See below for a history of the gods.

⁴¹ Clifford, 83-4.

⁴² Dalley, 229.

which lists the major gods of the Babylonian pantheon. This text lists many of the names given to Marduk in table VII of Enuma Elish.⁴³ Other evidence from Anatolia, the Hittite capital shows that *An-anum* included this list attributed to Marduk closer to the time period of the Kassites.⁴⁴ If this is true, then Marduk was believed to be the supreme god before the time of Nebuchadnezzar I. This makes the Nebuchadnezzar I date too late for the origin and composition of Enuma Elish.

Likely Date of Enuma Elish

Regardless of the date in which a person places the origin of Enuma Elish, there will be discrepancies and evidence against the time it is placed. It is certain that concepts and themes contained in Enuma Elish were present in the culture of ancient Babylon since the beginning of recorded history. The Sumerians wrote down these themes and it is likely that they continued to grow, parallel to the culture of the ancient Near East. Therefore, it is not profound that similar themes and concepts are contained in Enuma Elish, as it is a product of its culture. In an attempt to establish the probable timeline of Enuma Elish, one must look at the evidence for and against a time period. It seems unlikely that this Epic was written during the reign of the Hammurabi dynasty. The evidence within the Code of Hammurabi indicates that when the stele was created, the gods Anu and Enlil were believed to be more powerful than Marduk. It does, however, show that during this time Marduk was an important god to the Babylonians.

This leaves two main possibilities for the composition of Enuma Elish, which are during the time of the Kassites and the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I. The time period between the two

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 230.

dynasties seems far from one another, but they can compliment each other. One possible scenario is that during the literary expression of the Kassite period, Enuma Elish was brought into existence. That is, some priest conceived of Enuma Elish, without necessarily writing it down. Over the intermittent centuries, as it passed orally from generation to generation, Enuma Elish went through several revisions and was finally written down during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I.⁴⁵

Outline of Enuma Elish

The Babylonian Epic of Creation has been preserved in cuneiform script on seven clay tablets. Tablets I-IV are a story about the gods, and how Marduk, patron god of Babylon, came to be the leader of the pantheon. Tablet V is largely fragmentary. It is believed to discuss the creation of the world by Marduk. The first portion of tablet VI discusses the creation of mankind, while the latter portion of VI and all of VII are dedicated to fifty names that are given to Marduk.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ King, 100. Other than the previously stated evidence for and against each time period is the fact that most epics and hymns were originally passed from generation to generation through oral tradition rather than immediately being written down. This evidence includes the fact that the Epic of Creation has been found in many different places. In the case of the Assyrian copy, Marduk was replaced by the god Assur, patron deity of Nineveh, which depicts evolution of thought through time. Another piece of evidence lending to Enuma Elish being passed down through oral tradition are the Sumerian themes found within the text.

⁴⁶ Benjamin R. Foster, "Epic of Creation (Enuma Elish)," *The Context of Scripture: Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 390-402. The Babylonian epic of creation begins with the words "Enuma elish" which are translated "When on high." Scholars refer to the text both as the Babylonian Epic of Creation and Enuma Elish and these terms will be used interchangeably in this text.

Summary of Enuma Elish⁴⁷

In the beginning, there was neither heaven nor earth, only Apsu⁴⁸ and Tiamat. They mingled their waters together before any gods were created. Then, from Apsu and Tiamat came Lahmu and Lahamu. After these gods had grown for many years, Anshar and Kishar were created and they were greater than Lahmu and Lahamu. Anshar and Kishar grew great and Anshar made Anu who was equal to Anshar. Then, Anu made Ea⁴⁹ who dominated his forefathers. Ea was great in wisdom and was much mightier than Anshar, his grandfather. There was no rivalry amongst these younger deities, but together they made noise that Tiamat found confusing.

Apsu tried to quiet these younger gods, but they would not be still, which angered Apsu. Tiamat, although bothered and offended by the noise, refused to do anything about the noise. Apsu, on the other hand, sent for Mummu, another son, and they went to Tiamat to discuss what to do about the noise. Apsu told Tiamat that he wanted to kill the younger gods so he could sleep. Tiamat became angry, saying that they should not kill their creation no matter how annoying it was. Mummu agreed with Apsu, so Mummu and devised a plan to eradicate the younger gods.

This plan was thwarted when the younger gods found out about it. Ea, the wisest of the gods, developed a preemptive strategy to kill Apsu. He did this by crafting an incantation and reciting it, which put Apsu to asleep. Mummu was also very tired, and Ea seized the opportunity

⁴⁷ Foster, 390-402. This summary is based upon the Epic of Creation.

⁴⁸ The word "Apsu" has two different meanings which will be discussed below. For the purposes of this paper, the present author will use regular text type when referring to Apsu as a god. When *Apsu* is italicized, it will indicate a different meaning.

⁴⁹ Ea is also called Nudimmud in Enuma Elish, but the former name will be employed consistently throughout the paper.

and killed both Apsu and Mummu. After killing his foes, Ea went to his house, *Apsu*, and he rested. While he was there, Ea and his wife Damkina formed Marduk.

Marduk was a very powerful god. His body was fiery and he was a hero from birth. When Marduk's grandfather Anu saw him, Anu was very happy and raved about how perfect his grandson was. As a toy, Anu formed the four winds and let Marduk play with them. Marduk could see in every direction, and he was the tallest of the gods.

Meanwhile, Tiamat was becoming angry. Other gods, who were bothered by the winds, brought complaints to Tiamat. They at last persuaded her to kill the other younger gods, both for their noise and revenge against the murder of Apsu. To aid in her plot, Tiamat formed weapons and gave birth to a band of monsters including "serpents, dragons, hairy heromen, lion monsters, lion men, scorpion men, mighty demons, fish men, and bull men." One god, Kingu, was put in a position of power over the group. Tiamat made him her husband and gave him the Tablet of Destinies.

After assembling her forces, Tiamat told Ea that she was ready for battle. This terrified Ea, and he went to his grandfather, Anshar, for advice. Blaming Ea for the war, Anshar told his grandson it was his own responsibility to face Tiamat. So Ea went to see Tiamat, but when he saw her, Ea was terrified and ran away. Going back to Anshar, Ea told him that Tiamat had a band of monsters, and that she herself was very ugly and strong. Then, Anshar told Anu to attempt to pacify Tiamat since Ea was too afraid to fight her. But Anu came back saying that he also was not strong enough to even talk to Tiamat.

When Anshar heard this, he assembled all the gods. After recounting to them what had happened, Marduk volunteered to defeat Tiamat. Anshar and all the other gods were very pleased that Marduk would go and fight her, but Marduk required a high price for completing

this task. In exchange for killing Tiamat, Marduk wanted to be given supreme power and to have a seat in the Assembly Place of the Gods. In becoming supreme, his word would be unchangeable. After agreeing to this, the gods drank beer and sweet liquor and became happy. They gave Marduk destiny and sovereignty; he was given the power to create and destroy and all the gods hailed Marduk as king.

To prove that he was indeed sovereign, Marduk was given a garment. He commanded the garment be destroyed, and it was destroyed. Then he commanded it to be recreated, and it was recreated. After this, Marduk made a bow, an arrow, and a mace. He also had thunderbolts, the four winds, and a net.

Thus, Marduk went to find Tiamat and her brood of monsters. First, Marduk found Kingu, who panicked and was quickly taken prisoner. Next, Marduk found Tiamat and began to taunt her. She became angry, and told him to come into range so they could duel. Marduk complied, and as Tiamat came closer, Marduk set his net around her. When she opened her mouth to swallow him, Marduk sent the four winds into her mouth so she could not close it. Finally, while her mouth remained open, he shot off an arrow that pierced her innards, killing her. Flinging down her body, Marduk stood upon it as the victor. This act of defeat scattered the gang of monsters, but Marduk drew them in, smashed their weapons, and cast them into the net. After capturing the entire enemy, Marduk led them away and took the Tablet of Destinies from Kingu.

Afterward, Marduk dealt with the dead body of Tiamat. He crushed her skull, opened her arteries and let the North Wind take away the blood as it wished. Then, Marduk divided her body into two halves. He set up one half as a canopy, inspected this firmament he had made, and declared that the waters above not leave it.

When this was completed, Marduk created positions for the great gods, and made their likenesses in the constellations. He marked the year and set up the twelve months. Marduk also established a pattern for the days in the year by setting the stars in specific places. To make sure that these things did not get out of order, Marduk placed the great gods in charge of the stars. Next, Marduk created the moon and entrusted the night to him by giving him a crown and telling him how to govern the night. After the moon was in place, Marduk undammed the Euphrates and Tigris by plugging the eyes and nostrils of Tiamat. Then he created mountains and drilled for water from her body. Finishing his work with the body of Tiamat, Marduk spread her crotch to be the brace of the canopy which was a cover for the world. After forming the world with the remains of Tiamat's body, Marduk spread his net and let the creation flow according to his design.

The Tablet of Destinies that Marduk had taken from Kingu was presented to Anu. Marduk carved the images of the eleven creatures from Tiamat into the gate of *Apsu* so nobody would forget what had happened. After everything was finished, the gods saw creation and were very happy. They anointed Marduk, and gave him a kingly aura and a beautiful tiara. Speaking together, the gods promised to do whatever Marduk commanded of them. They then built a house for Marduk under the firmament, in Babylon.

Later, the gods began to complain because of the work they had to do. Upon hearing this, Marduk had an idea, which he told it to his father. Marduk wanted to create something with blood and bones called "Man." This creation would serve the gods and carry out the burdens of the gods. Then the gods could resume their proper activity, which was rest. Ea thought that this was good idea, and suggested that Kingu be killed so that humanity could be created. Therefore, Marduk assembled the gods and told them the plan, and they all agreed that this was a good idea.

So, Kingu was killed as a punishment for his part in the fight between Marduk and Tiamat. From his blood Ea created mankind. He gave the burden of the gods to humanity and gods were appeased. Then, Marduk set three hundred gods to be in the heaven, and he set the other three hundred to be in the world under the firmament. To thank Marduk, the gods created Babylon in which Marduk could live. They also built Esagilla and the ziggurat where Marduk could dwell. After this was accomplished, the gods listed fifty characteristics of Marduk, giving him fifty names that close the epic of Creation.

Specific Aspects of the Myth

The Universe as Seen by the Babylonians⁵⁰

The Babylonians envisioned a time when all that existed was darkness and water.⁵¹ When heaven and earth were created, it was understood that both rested on *Apsu*. *Apsu* is translated as both a huge body of water, and the god who was Tiamat's mate. The bottom of heaven was turned upward like a bowl, and it held a great sea of water. The sky gods lived inside of this heaven. Only the greatest gods lived in heaven because it was their privilege not to spend very much time with humanity. Heaven and earth floated on the same body of water. Although it is not certain how the ancient Babylonians believed heaven was held above earth, there are inscriptions of it being held up by pillars or by mountains. Some scholars have translated Enuma Elish in such a way that Marduk placed gods to hold heaven in place with

⁵⁰ See Appendix 1 for a drawing of how the Babylonians might have imagined the universe.

⁵¹ Unless otherwise noted, this paragraph is informed by L. W. King, "Babylonian Religion and Mythology," in *Books on Egypt and Chaldea*, vol. 4 (London: Paternoster House, 1899; reprint, New York: AMS Press Inc., 1976), 29-55.

bolts. These gods were then assigned the task of ensuring that the waters did not leave heaven. On the east and west sides of heaven were gates. This was how the sun god came under the firmament of heaven, crossed the sky, and went back up into heaven in the evening. Just outside the eastern gate, the gods met to determine the destiny of the universe. This was a similar concept to that of the elders of a city sitting by the gates.⁵²

The earth was completely surrounded by the water of *Apsu*. The Babylonians believed that the earth was like a mountain with sloping sides, or like an upside-down boat on a river.⁵³ The ancient Babylonians also believed that the earth was hollow. Under the thick crust of ground was a great cavern where the dead stayed. Between heaven and earth was air, and placed upon the underside of the firmament were the stars. In *Enuma Elish*, one half of Tiamat's body was the firmament above the earth. The other half was the earth itself, partially created by the undamming of Tiamat's eyes and nose. The people of Mesopotamia likely came to such imagery because of their geography; they were able to observe silt deposits where the fresh water of the Tigris and Euphrates met the salt water of the Persian Gulf.⁵⁴

Apsu, Tiamat, and Mummu

In *Enuma Elish*, Tiamat is said to have birthed the monsters in her horde. Therefore, some scholars believe she was a dragon figure, and indeed many Babylonian reliefs depict a god

⁵² George S. Goodspeed, *A History of the Babylonians and Assyrians* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), 92.

⁵³ King, 29.

⁵⁴ H. Frankfort et al., *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man: An Essay on Speculative Thought in the Ancient Near East* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946), 172.

fighting a dragon. There are, however, no inscriptions stating that she was thought of as a dragon, and neither do those reliefs specify that they are depicting Tiamat.⁵⁵ It is more likely that she is a goddess representing the salty waters of chaos because Enuma Elish also stated that Tiamat aided in the creation of the gods.⁵⁶ Apsu, Tiamat's counterpart, represented the sweet-waters of the ocean, while Mummu was probably the mist that rose, hovering over the two bodies of water. These waters, mingling together, formed an undefined mass from which the gods were created.⁵⁷ As previously stated, these natural occurrences could be seen in the land of Mesopotamia. The ancients could see the chaotic waters of the salty Persian Gulf and the calm sweet waters of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. They could also observe a mist rising where the two met. Apsu, Tiamat, and Mummu are possible extrapolations of these natural occurrences.

The Power of the Spoken Word

There are three instances where the spoken word is important in Enuma Elish. The first is when Ea speaks an incantation against Apsu, allowing Ea to kill him. The second instance belongs to Ea once again, when he confronts Tiamat. This time, however, he is unable to speak his incantation and fails to kill her. Here the word of an individual, even from one as powerful as Ea, is ineffective against Tiamat.⁵⁸ The final occurrence of incantation is that of Marduk. When he volunteers to go against Tiamat, Marduk demands kingship over the assembly of the gods.

⁵⁵ Stephen H. Langdon and Canon John Arnott MacCulloch, "The Babylonian Epic of Creation and Similar Semitic Myths," *The Mythology of all Races in 13 vol.* Vol. 5 (New York: Cooper square Publishers, Inc., 1959), 279.

⁵⁶ Frankfort, 175.

⁵⁷ Alexander Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 3.

⁵⁸ Frankfort, 176.

This supremacy comes with the ability to make incantations, which is a characteristic of fate-determining gods.⁵⁹ Marduk displays this ability by commanding a garment out of and then back into existence. Here, Marduk is literally determining the fate of the garment.⁶⁰ This test of fate also demonstrated that he was indeed the king of the gods and had the authority over them.⁶¹

Victory over Chaos

Although Enuma Elish primarily gives credit to Marduk and his supremacy, it also deals with the issue of chaos. In this epic, the gods win victory over that which would kill them by organizing and gaining a leader. They transfer chaos into order, allowing them to overcome their foes.⁶² Looking at the story in this way, one can discern the history of Mesopotamia. As the ancients gathered together, they formed an organized culture by establishing the state and having rulers. In so doing, they defeated the powers of chaos and had the ability to kill the individual. As such, the dilemma implied in Enuma Elish is either be to outside the community and likely perish, or to be protected by the power of the Babylonians.⁶³ This society protected those within the culture, judged people, empowered its members, and shared in numerous other aspects of Babylonian life. Enuma Elish is telling the reader to remain part of Babylon because the society

⁵⁹ Karen Nemet-Nejat, *Daily Life in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1998), 124.

⁶⁰ Langdon, 300.

⁶¹ Frankfort, 178.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 181.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

had conquered chaos. This is reinforced in the climax of the narrative as Marduk, the patron-god of Babylon, defeats Tiamat.⁶⁴

Celestial Deities

Tablet V discusses the placement of celestial deities, creation, and its purposes. The first information decipherable from this largely fragmentary piece is that the sky came into being through Anu, who was the god of the sky.⁶⁵ The remaining text speaks mostly of the constellations and their roles. Marduk collected the monsters Tiamat had created and placed them in the constellations, assigning them specific tasks under the firmament of heaven.⁶⁶ These and other gods were charged with keeping the year in order. For example, Marduk designed the zodiac, which the sun passed through during the twelve months. In doing this, Marduk designated thirty-six stars, three of which rose during each month, to indicate certain dates. Marduk then fixed the celestial equator and thus the spring and autumn equinox.⁶⁷ He also made gates at the eastern and western horizons for the entrance and departure of the sun.

The creation of celestial deities was very important to the ancient Babylonians, because they were able to observe the will of the gods by the motions of the stars.⁶⁸ Other signs in the sky such as planetary movement and eclipses were also important concepts. From them, the Babylonians were able to figure out that in each year there were three hundred sixty-five and one-

⁶⁴ Heidel, 11.

⁶⁵ Frankfort, 180.

⁶⁶ Langdon, 306.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

fourth days. They were also able to divide the year into twelve months. These regular patterns helped emphasize the cosmic value of order, and as such, they facilitated the earthly order of Babylonian society in ways both practical and didactical.⁶⁹

Humanity

Of the seven tablets of Enuma Elish, roughly thirty-five lines are dedicated to the creation of mankind.⁷⁰ Somewhere in the missing portion of tablet V it is believed that there is a speech by the lower gods, complaining of the work assigned to them on earth. Therefore, Marduk decided to make humanity as slaves, to bear the burden of the lower gods so they could rest. To create man, Marduk had Kingu killed. From the blood of Kingu, Ea fashioned humankind, making the lower gods very grateful to both Marduk and Ea.

Evolution of the gods

In discussing the great monotheistic religions one has the advantage of being able to start from a fairly precise date. This is not possible with non-reformed religions, where such changes of belief and modification of practice are found to arrive by gradual evolution from a system having its roots in prehistory.⁷¹

The religion of Babylon evolved as individuals formed communities. When these communities formed city-states and later were politically involved with other city-states, the

⁶⁸ E. A. Wallis and Sidney Smith, *The Babylonian Legends of the Creation and the Fight Between Bel and the Dragon* (London: British Museum, 1921), 23.

⁶⁹ Ibid. Babylonian thinkers further determined that there were twenty-four hours (twelve twice) in a day, sixty minutes in an hour, and sixty seconds in a minute.

⁷⁰ Tablet VI, lines 5-40. Foster, 390-402.

⁷¹ Saggs, 301.

religion evolved even further. Each city had its local god to whom the whole city and temple was devoted. The prominence of one god over another was directly consequential of the political position and influence of the city to which the god was associated. Because of this, there are varying traditions in regard to the positions of gods. However, the gradual unification of the country harmonized the different traditions. The dominance of one god over another was then explained by the priesthood in a variety of forms including the creation and writing of hymns and epics such as *Enuma Elish*.⁷²

From prehistory onward, primitive peoples believed that every force in nature had a personality and will such as their own.⁷³ Therefore, humankind would explain the changes in the world by means of the supernatural. To the ancient Babylonians, fire was a god and as such, they worshipped fire. It was also believed that the river was a god and therefore, when a person was accused of lying, the accused was forced to jump into the river where the river god would seize and kill the person for their sin.⁷⁴ There are many such examples of nature considered to be a god by the Babylonians.

Another illustration of the supernatural beliefs of the ancient Babylonians comes from their concept of demons. Demons were believed to be near people ready to kill them during times of turmoil. Demons were specifically near a woman during childbirth, as people slept, and in lonely places. Anywhere that a person might die was a place that a demon might be. Even the gods were attacked by demons, evidenced by notions about the eclipse of the moon. When an

⁷² King, 13.

⁷³ Ibid., 53.

⁷⁴ Saggs, 302.

eclipse occurred, the moon-god was vanquished by demons. Because of the fear of demons, amulets were worn for protection and incantations were spoken against them.⁷⁵

As the culture of Babylon evolved, so did the religion. By the third millennium BCE, Babylonians continued to believe in demons, the fire and river gods; however, by this time, the religion included many named gods in the pantheon. At the head of the pantheon was Anu whose main characteristic was royalty. After Anu was Enlil who was the lord of wind and whose primary city was Uruk and Nippur.⁷⁶ The third god of the triad was Enki who was the lord of the earth.⁷⁷ These three gods influenced and embraced the entire universe, and together they formed a triad as the head of the Babylonian pantheon.⁷⁸ This triad was not equal in power. Instead, from the earliest Sumerian times, until the supremacy of Marduk, the order of power was generally thought of as Anu having the most power, followed by Enlil and then Enki.

Another class of gods was that of the sun, the moon, and Venus. The sun god (Utu) daily made a trip across the sky taking away darkness. Because he brought light to the world, Utu was believed to be able to see everything, and was charged with being the god of justice. Sin, the moon-god was the greatest of the three because he controlled the night, the month, and the lunar calendar.⁷⁹ It is understood that Sin overtook the cult of Utu and in latter times, it was believed that Utu was actually the son of Sin.⁸⁰ Sin was concerned with mankind and there are many

⁷⁵ Ibid., 303.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 328.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 330.

⁷⁸ King, 14.

⁷⁹ Saggs, 333.

⁸⁰ King, 17.

hymns and omens written in his honor. Both Ur and Haran were cities dedicated to Sin. Finally, Innin-Ishtar was the goddess of Venus. Primarily the goddess of love and war, she became the most important goddess and generally took over the characteristics of all the other goddesses in the pantheon.⁸¹ One piece of evidence for the primary importance of Ishtar was that the generic word for goddess became "Ishtar."⁸²

The character of the god, Marduk, evolved intensely throughout time. His origin is unknown other than the fact that he was the local god of Babylon. As a minor god in the pantheon, Marduk was believed to be the son of Ea, but this did not necessarily bring him to a place of prominence in the pantheon. He was endowed with magic and incantation, and in later times acquired other abilities as his prominence grew.⁸³ The sole factor that led to the supremacy of Marduk and the writing of Enuma Elish is his connection to Babylon.⁸⁴

There is evidence in Enuma Elish that Marduk overtook some gods from the pantheon. One god Marduk overtook in Enuma Elish was Enlil. In Mesopotamian society, Enlil was one of the three major gods; however, in Enuma Elish, Enlil is not even in the myth.⁸⁵ It would have been unheard of to create a story without all the major gods of the pantheon in it. But, if the story had previously existed with Enlil as the hero, then with Marduk taking over that role, two things would happen. First, Marduk and Babylon would be supreme over everything. Second, there would be no place for Enlil in the story. This theory would explain the absence of the

⁸¹ Saggs, 333.

⁸² King, 14.

⁸³ Helmer Ringgren, *Religions of the Ancient Near East*, trans. John Sturdy (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1973), 66.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Frankfort, 169.

important deity.⁸⁶ The other indication that Marduk took over the roles of other gods comes in tablet VII. In this tablet, there is a list of fifty names ascribed to Marduk. In it, he takes the name Bel, which was reserved for Enlil.⁸⁷ He also takes for himself characteristics of the other gods such as wisdom, truth, and judgment. This action took away the gods' power and gave it to Marduk

Chapter Summary

The Babylonian epic of creation depicts Marduk as the supreme being over the universe. The rise of Marduk as head of the pantheon was a gradual political process. When Babylon became the leader of the known world, Marduk became the supreme god of the pantheon. This position gave Marduk a cultic following that influenced the religions of all Mesopotamia. Chapter three has detailed belief structures common to Mesopotamian society from the earliest Sumerians to the time of the Babylonians who wrote Enuma Elish. It summarized Enuma Elish and then discussed individual aspects of the myth containing themes congruent to ancient Near Eastern religion. It has also given possible dates of authorship for Enuma Elish as well as a discussion of the main gods of the Babylonian pantheon. The next chapter will take the information from Enuma Elish and Genesis 1:1-2:3 and attempt to discover the different similarities and differences between the two. This will give the reader an indication how the author of the Genesis cosmology was attempting to fight his ideological war.

⁸⁶ Evidence for trading of major deities comes in a copy of Enuma Elish found at Assyria where instead of Marduk playing the role of hero is Assur, the major deity of Assyria.

⁸⁷ Clifford, 93.

CHAPTER FOUR

COMPARISON BETWEEN GENESIS 1:1-2:3 AND ENUMA ELISH

Chapter Overview

The purpose of this chapter is to determine how the author of the Genesis 1 account pushed against the Babylonian culture. This chapter will look at specific similarities and differences between Genesis 1:1-2:3 and Enuma Elish. It will then discuss possible purposes of each myth. This will detail what each cosmology was attempting to impress upon its community of readers. It will argue what the myths, and thus, the communities believed about the world and God or gods.

Similarities of Genesis 1:1-2:3 and Enuma Elish

Stylistic Similarities

There are many similarities between Genesis 1:1-2:3 and Enuma Elish as these accounts are similar both in content, and form. Both contain elements of a divine spirit creating the world, concepts of chaos, light, firmament, land, luminaries, mankind, and rest for the divine.¹ These similarities between the cosmologies are also discussed in the same order.

The ancients understood everything as a direct result of cosmic forces. Ancient humanity did not know the world to be inanimate, but instead the whole world was full of

¹ E. A. Speiser, "Genesis," in *Anchor Bible*, vol. 1 (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1964), 10.

life. There was no concept of anything without life, and therefore, every cosmology in effect, did not have a beginning.² For Enuma Elish, there was always Apsu and Tiamat and there was never a time when they were not existent. Therefore, the opening line is not “In the beginning” instead it is translated, “When on high” Similarly, the Genesis cosmology is best translated “When God began to create” as opposed to the common phrase “In the beginning God created” This is because the authors of both the Enuma Elish and Genesis stories had no concept of a time when the gods, or God, was not.

The Spoken Word

Throughout time mystery has been an important part of religion. Speaking incantations, with the correct words and order, was believed to produce a desired result. There were incantations for everything from prosperity for self to curses for enemies. To name something was to have power over it. If one were to curse their enemies, there would be no need to see the curse be fulfilled because through the act of speaking a curse, it was determined that the curse would occur.³ Similarly, if a child were named for a great warrior, that child also would be a great warrior. This would come to pass, not because of the natural skills the child had, but because the name allowed the child to be great.

This same concept is present in both Enuma Elish and the Genesis narratives. In Enuma Elish, when Marduk is given the power to be a king, he is also given the power over destiny. That is, he was given control over everything and he tested this ability by

² H. Frankfort et al., *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man: An Essay on Speculative Thought in the Ancient Near East* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946), 6.

³ Ibid., 13.

commanding a garment to disappear and reappear. Literally, Marduk was changing the fate of the garment as it was uncreated and then recreated upon his word. Marduk's father, Ea was also a god of great magic, or mystery, and word. Because of his incantation, Ea was able to destroy Apsu.

The idea of having power through words is in play in Genesis when God spoke. The pattern was God saying, "Let there be" and the object came into existence. All the created objects: light, water, dry land, herbage, luminaries, sea and air creatures, beasts of the field and mankind were all spoken and then physically brought into creation by God, the earth, or the water. At the end of each day, God would declare the created work "good." God did not have to create a "good" world and the goodness of the object was not simply an aesthetic goodness.⁴ Instead, the object was good because God determined its fate to be good.⁵ All of nature was subservient to God, because God spoke it into existence.⁶ Whether simply speaking the words, telling living earth and sea to create beings, or God literally creating objects, it all originated with God's spoken command of "Let there be"⁷

⁴ Claus Westermann, *Genesis 1-11: A Commentary*, trans. John J. Scullion, S. J. (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1987), 16.

⁵ Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary*, trans. John H. Marks (Philadelphia: The Westminster press, 1961), 50.

⁶ Nahum M. Sarna, *The Heritage of Biblical Israel: Understanding Genesis*, vol. 1 of the Melton Research Center Series (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966), 12.

⁷ William P. Brown, *The Ethos of the Cosmos: The Genesis of Moral Imagination in the Bible* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1999), 41.

Light versus Chaos

Chaos is present in both Genesis 1:1-2:3 and Enuma Elish. While both deal with chaos differently, the fact that it is present and defeated in both cosmologies is significant. This is because there are etymological similarities in this theme. The presence of chaos in both cosmologies also reminds the reader of the importance of the culture and religion. That is, chaos is outside of creation and thus outside of religion and God or the gods. The religion defeated chaos and protects its members from the chaotic world that surrounds them just as the firmament protects the created world from the waters above.⁸

With the creation of light in Genesis 1:3-4 darkness was defeated. The darkness being spoken of holds within it the concept of chaos. It is the uncreated obscurity that was present before the creation of the world. It was neither God, nor God's creation. In Genesis, this chaos was defeated with God's word of "Let there be light."

The light has poured in and has removed chaos to a gloomy condition of twilight. . . .now from what has flowed together God separates the elements of light and darkness as day and night. Both are thus creatively quite unlike. While the day is light from the first created original light, night consists of nothing more than that darkness of chaos which was eliminated, now limited, to be sure, by wholesome cosmic order. Every night, when the created world of forms flows together into formlessness, chaos regains a certain power over what has been created.⁹

While the Enuma Elish account has a quite different view of chaos and its conquering, the end result is the same. Genesis portrays God conquering chaos with a word, Enuma Elish depicts Marduk fighting Tiamat and only then conquering chaos.

⁸ See below for more information on the firmament.

⁹ von Rad, 50-1.

Etymologically, the Hebrew word תהוֹם means sea, abyss, or that which was covered by the obscurity or darkness. This word is related to the word “tiamat,” the name of the goddess who creates trouble for and wishes to kill the gods in *Enuma Elish*. This root word indicates some kind of chaotic force. In Genesis, chaos is represented by a dark and watery abyss. This chaos does not belong to the “good” of God’s creation.¹⁰ Both cosmologies have this force of chaos defeated, but both also indicate that if it were not continually defeated, it would destroy the created world.¹¹ This is inferred in Genesis by the night. Every morning, the sun defeats darkness and chaos just as God defeated it in the original act of creation.¹² Similarly, Marduk not only defeats Tiamat, but also puts continual reminders of her potential chaos in the stars and on the gate of *Apsu*. Both cosmologies have a discussion on two luminaries - the sun and the moon. Although the luminaries are given more direct power in *Enuma Elish*, God also commands these lights to rule the day and the night in the Genesis account. In both they are to rule the cosmos against the effects of chaos and to keep the chaos away from the created world.

Firmament

After killing Tiamat, Marduk divides her body into two and puts one half as a canopy to keep the waters in heaven off of the earth. This canopy is the same as the firmament, or solid expanse, described in Genesis 1:6-8. As such, it is ambiguous

¹⁰ Westermann, 16.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Frankfort, 24.

what each story was attempting to describe when discussing the firmament.¹³ It was thought to be some kind of metallic object thick enough to keep the sea of heaven from crashing to earth.

By raising up a solid substance, or firmament, to hold the primeval ocean back [the] world was surrounded on every hand by the chaotic waters which, unless checked by God's creative power, would destroy the earth.¹⁴

The expanse was also believed to be thin enough for the gods to be able to pass through so they could come to earth. The Babylonians believed that in the morning, the sun god would enter the under part of the firmament through a gate in the east, travel its expanse during the day, and leave through a western gate at dusk. It was also believed that the stars were nailed to the firmament. This is where Marduk placed the gods who were the constellations. They, and other gods, were stationed in the sky to prevent the chaotic waters above from destroying earth

Differences Between Genesis 1:1-2:3 and Enuma Elish

To this point, this chapter has discussed the similarities between Genesis 1:1-2:3 and Enuma Elish. From here, this chapter will delineate the major differences between the cosmologies. This will be done by arguing specific aspects of each myth contained in

¹³ Stephen H. Langdon and Canon John Arnott MacCulloch, "The Babylonian Epic of Creation and Similar Semitic Myths," *The Mythology of all Races in 13 vol.* Vol. 5 (New York: Cooper square Publishers, Inc., 1959), 303.

¹⁴ Bernhard W. Anderson, *Understanding the Old Testament* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), 385.

both. For example, both contain the concept of luminaries, but the way in which each deals with the concept differs. The difference in wider concepts will be the focus of this section.

Stylistic Differences

There are two different kinds of differences between Enuma Elish and Genesis 1:1-2:3: Theological distinctions between the two cultures which are reflected in each account, and use.

Regardless of when Genesis 1:1-2:3 was written down, it was certainly resurrected and a new understanding was layered on the base story during the exile in the 6th century BCE. Enuma Elish was acted out each year theatrically whereas it would be impossible to dramatize the Genesis cosmology. The use behind Enuma Elish is important because it reveals the ancient belief of myth. Myth is a form of poetry or story about more than one god, proclaiming a truth.¹⁵ This truth may discuss the creation of the world, the purpose of laws or religion, and many other issues within a society.

According to this view, the Genesis narrative would not be classified as a myth because it is a story about only one God. However, most scholars state that the Genesis account is a myth.¹⁶ Not only is the Genesis story a cosmology about one deity, but it is also about the actions of God creating the world. Both of these facts classify it as a myth. The aspects that make it difficult to qualify Genesis 1:1-2:3 as a myth are its unique features.

¹⁵ Frankfort, 8. The term "myth" is not used theologically, but as a genre of literature.

¹⁶ Hermann Gunkel, *The Legends of Genesis: The Biblical Saga and History*, trans. W. H. Carruth (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), 14. One of the many scholars who qualify the Genesis narrative as a myth is Gunkel who states that it is a myth because it is reminiscent of a more ancient story which contained more than one god. He declares that because of Judah's monotheism only God is tolerated in this story.

In the Genesis story, God is one, as opposed to being a part of a pantheon. God is also outside the created universe, which indicates a change in understanding of the function of the deity. In Genesis, God is outside of creation and as such, he is over and above that which was created. As a myth, Enuma Elish is essentially a story about the gods. These gods are inside of creation and while they have power over creation their power is limited because they are inside the created world. That is, these gods were also created by other gods. The fact that the Genesis narrative does not begin with a genealogy emphasizes the concept that God's power is over the created world. This is the basis of the Genesis creation account and upon its foundation are the differences between Genesis 1:1-2:3 and Enuma Elish.

Luminaries

The theological implications of Genesis 1:14-18 are significant because of the lack of elevation given to the luminaries. In this passage, God simply creates two luminaries, a greater and a lesser. These luminaries are created to rule the sky, and to separate the day from the night. In the Genesis cosmology, the luminaries are not even given a name. This is distinctive because of the preeminence given to the sun and moon in other ancient Near Eastern cosmologies, specifically Enuma Elish. The Babylonians are known for their mathematical and scientific ability which are based on the lunar month. The heavens were mapped out, and were believed to dictate manifestations of the divine will to humanity.¹⁷ Further, the luminary gods - specifically the moon god Sin - were given a place of priority in the pantheon of Babylonia during the beginning and end

¹⁷ George S. Goodspeed, *A History of the Babylonians and Assyrians* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), 92.

of the empire. It was the moon god who was entrusted with the job of shining during night, which was the time people were most susceptible to chaos.¹⁸ The many cities dedicated to the lunar gods indicate what an important part of religious belief these gods were.

In contrast to the prevalence of the sky gods, is the Genesis description of the luminaries, which is comparatively very subdued.¹⁹ The author specifically calls the sun and moon lights or lamps. There is a common Semitic word for “sun” and “moon” but the author chooses not to use them.²⁰ This is likely because the word for “sun” was a divine name in other religions and there was no tolerance for even a hint of polytheism in the Genesis cosmology. Further, Genesis only speaks of these luminaries as being lights, and something to distinguish the day from the night. They are given some power, but even that is from God.²¹ The lights belong in the created world, and do not have an overt amount of power over the world. Even the stars are not gods set in the sky to protect the world from chaos. Instead, they are simply conductors of light and their purpose is to aid the calendar.²²

While greatly reduced, the position and task of the luminaries are significant. In their duty to separate between the day, and the night is a statement about the created order of Genesis 1:1-2:3. Here, the sun and the moon are assigned the same duty as the luminaries in *Enuma Elish*. That is, the moon in both Genesis and *Enuma Elish* is to

¹⁸ Westermann, 18.

¹⁹ von Rad, 53.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Westermann, 19.

²² von Rad, 52.

keep the darkness, or chaos, out of the created world. It is not stated specifically in the Genesis account because the monotheistic theology would not allow it, but the echo is definitely in the text.

Monsters

The only correspondence between Enuma Elish and Genesis 1:1-2:3, in regard to animals, are monsters.²³ The connection of monsters is between Tiamat's hoard of monsters, and those created by God in Genesis 1:21. In Enuma Elish Tiamat creates many monsters, which are very ferocious and scare Ea. These monsters are given power by Tiamat and require conquering by Marduk who subsequently traps them. Later their images are portrayed on the gate of *Apsu* and the monsters are to live under the firmament as constellations. Contrarily, Genesis 1:21 simply lists that God created sea monsters, sea animals, and flying creatures. Where Enuma Elish gives these monsters the power to be feared, the Genesis cosmology not only states that God created them, but also minimizes their power, by placing their creation as a matter of fact, and well within the power and control of God.

Sabbath

The concept of Sabbath did not begin with the ancient Israelites. In ancient Near Eastern culture, there was a belief that each seventh day of the lunar month was unlucky. The seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days were believed to be controlled by evil spirits. Thus a Sabbath was observed for the purpose of easing the wrath of evil. Special fasts were prescribed, and specific people in leadership were

²³ While there may be more information about Marduk's creation of animals contained on Tablet V, it would be in the missing portion of the tablet

prohibited from working on these days.²⁴ These days were called *shapattu* and were described as the “day of the quieting of the heart (of the god).”²⁵ Because of these similarities to the Jewish concept of Sabbath, it is believed by scholars that the concept of Sabbath was more widespread throughout the Semitic world than simply being a ritualistic part of Judah’s belief. Enuma Elish portrays a Sabbath rest at the end of the Epic. After Marduk creates the world, the gods have a great feast for Marduk and ascribe to him fifty names. As such, the feast is not simply a time for eating and relaxation, but it is also a day to bless Marduk, and one of rest for the gods.

Likewise, after the acts of creation in the previous six days, God blesses the day, and rested from his work. In this portion of the Genesis narrative, the rhythmic cadence ends and there is an obvious shift in the story. The specific point is made that God finished his work, blessed it, and rested. This blessing and description of action is not depicted in the style of the previous thirty verses. The change has led scholars to question what the author was attempting to convey in this portion of the cosmology. One belief is that this shift by the author was anticipation of the institution of a national day of rest and thanksgiving to God.²⁶ A complementary understanding of this shift is that it was a way for the nation of Judah to be extended to primordial times.²⁷ By inserting religious practice into the cosmology, the priest was showing how his religious beliefs were correct.

²⁴ Sarna, *Understanding Genesis*, 20.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Anderson, 385.

²⁷ Yhezkel Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel: From its Beginning to the Babylonian Exile*, trans. Mark Greenberg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 200.

While the concept of Sabbath seems to be similar to that of Babylonian culture, the difference lies in the purposes for resting. The shift in the Genesis story is maintained by one central belief -- God celebrated Sabbath, and therefore the followers of God must also celebrate Sabbath. The people of Judah did not observe Sabbath as a preemptive strike against the wrath of God. Instead, Sabbath was followed as rite of passage in the community. This is important because there was no temple, and no opportunity to follow the cult. Therefore, it was essential for the ancient people of Judah to preserve the covenant. It was important to continue circumcision because this was a sign from God to the people of Abraham that God was with them. It was also important for the people to remain true to the Sabbath for the same reason. They did not observe Sabbath because it was unlucky, as did the Babylonians. Instead, the people of Judah celebrated Sabbath because it was an expression of their faith in God and in God's power.

Humanity

Genesis 1:1-2:3

The methodological difference between Genesis 1:1-2:3 and Enuma Elish is no clearer than in the way that each relate to humanity. In the Genesis account, mankind is the climax of creation. God takes a special interest in the creation of humanity by first consulting with the heavenly court as to whether or not to create man. Secondly, God does not simply speak man into existence. Instead, God specifically designs humanity in the "image and likeness" of God. This special creation is emphasized by the continual use of the word בָּרָא (create). The word is used in three times in verse 27 alone. Earlier in the Genesis account, God spoke portions of creation into existence, but here, God

creates mankind. This creation is not simply another animal such as the beasts of the field; rather, it is special in design. Humanity is created in God's image and likeness, and commanded to rule the earth.²⁸ The dominion given to humanity is not one of a tyrant, but rather acting as God's representative over the earth.²⁹ After seeing all of this work, God calls it good. Not only does God call creation good, but he says "Behold! It is very good." In saying this, there is no trace of evil in the world that God had created.

Humanity and the human dominion over the earth are good.

Enuma Elish

There are many differences between Enuma Elish and Genesis 1:1-2:3 in regards to humanity. While these differences will be discussed below, there are two similarities within these differences that must be discussed. The first similarity is that in both accounts, the deity in question took time to reflect on the creation of humanity.³⁰ Genesis 1:26-27 indicates God thinking about creating mankind and then enacting that thought by actually shaping man. Likewise, Enuma Elish has Marduk pondering the creation of mankind before his father, Ea, creates humanity. The second similarity is that of creation in the image of God. Both of these cosmologies depict humankind created in the image of a god. In the Genesis account, humanity is created in the image of the God who created them. But in Enuma Elish, mankind was literally created out of Kingu and thus was in his image.³¹

²⁸ von Rad, 57.

²⁹ Ibid., 58.

³⁰ Westermann, 36.

³¹ Ibid.

While these two related aspects of the creation of humanity are in both Enuma Elish, and the Genesis account they come with key differences. In Enuma Elish, the creation of mankind is an afterthought. Here, humanity is created after the lower gods complain to Marduk about their work and the purpose of humanity is to be slaves to the gods. "Their vocation is to do the dirty work of which the gods grew weary, that is, man's toil lets the gods be free; and human beings are *essentially* evil since they are created from the blood of the chief rebellious deity."³² There is no position of authority given to mankind over creation and humanity is not special.

With the chief duty of man being service to the gods, the whole society was set up in such a way that this service could be easily accommodated. Very early in Babylonian culture, there were special human representatives who were like priest-kings that lived in the temple.³³ These people originally represented the deity to the surrounding community. Later, this office left the temple and there was some separation between the political king figure and the priests. There were many different kinds of priests such as: craftsmen, sword bearers, those who dealt with omen-interpretation, eunuchs who took part as actors, to name a few.³⁴ All of these people were in some way responsible to the gods, and their chief responsibility was to work so the gods did not have to.

Some priests would literally feed the gods. There would be between one and four meals prepared for the gods each day. These meals consisted of bread, sheep, oxen,

³² Ralph W. Klein, *Israel in Exile* (Philadelphia: Fortress press, 1979), 128. (emphasis his).

³³ H. W. F. Saggs, *The Greatness that was Babylon: A Survey of the Ancient Civilization of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley* (New York: Frederick A. Prager Publishers, 1969), 345.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 348.

calves, lamb, beer, wine, honey, milk, dates, and many other foods.³⁵ This food would be prepared, set before the statue, and a curtain pulled around the image so the god could eat in privacy. After the god was finished eating, the curtain was drawn back and the food was either eaten by the priests or burnt on an altar.³⁶

Sometimes, when there was a bad omen, or a natural disaster, the gods were believed to be bored. Therefore, the priests would take the gods out for a parade or a picnic.³⁷ The gods would also see the town during specific festivals or when they visited other deities during times such as the New Year Festival in Babylon.³⁸ This was all done for the gods to appease them. If the gods were not appeased, there would be plague, drought, famine, or excessive rain, all of which would destroy crops and kill people. The emphasis was on the gods and any power over the earth that humanity had was only temporary so as to appease the wishes of the gods.

Significance of Similarities and Differences

Thus far, this chapter has attempted to discuss the major similarities, and differences between Enuma Elish and Genesis 1:1-2:3. It will now discuss the importance of these similarities and differences, possible purposes for each myth, and what was being conveyed to each community of readers.

³⁵ Ibid., 352.

³⁶ Ibid., 354.

³⁷ Ibid., 358.

³⁸ Ibid.

Similarities

The similarities between the Judean and Babylonian cultures are very interesting. It is even more intriguing when these similarities are found in writings. In the case of Genesis 1:1-2:3 and Enuma Elish, the parallels are worthy of note. Looking at Genesis 1:1-2:3 in light of Enuma Elish one can see a context for the Biblical pericope. A person can compare the two and see that Enuma Elish is similar to the Genesis narrative. In so doing, one asks why it is that they are similar and why they are different. The differences will be dealt with later, but the similarities are staggering. One can see that the author of each cosmology looked at the world around them and began to ask questions. The priest questioned why the world was there, why his culture was there, and how it was that everything came into being.

As the earliest people questioned their existence, they created answers in similar themes. Therefore, it is natural that these themes would be self evident in different cosmologies. The fact that both Enuma Elish and Genesis 1:1-2:3 depict similar themes is important, because it places both in a relatively similar context. The concept of chaos is significant in each because it tells the reader the parameters of each religion. To follow specific incantations and rituals was to be inside the community of faith. The fact that the spoken word is in both cosmologies is notable because it depicts a common belief about supreme beings prevalent throughout the ancient Near East. Supreme gods were expected to have the power of destiny; this would have told the Judean reader that this God was more powerful than the gods of Babylon.

It is also significant that both myths contain concepts of chaos and the firmament. This would declare to the reader that there were dangerous things outside of the created order. By defeating chaos and then creating something to keep it at bay, the authors of each cosmology are depicting the power of their respective creative deity. They are placing faith in their God(s) that the world is as it should be and that nothing, not even chaos, will tear apart the world as it was known to humankind.

The most significant question the people of ancient times asked was that of power. Once questions of being were resolved, they asked why it was that one group of people were more powerful than another. Why were the ancient Babylonians more powerful than the people of Judah? Essentially, they were asking how they could help keep chaos away from the society. The answer that these people found was not in them, but in their deity. The people of Babylon knew that their gods were more powerful than other gods because they were more powerful than any other society or country. This was the common understanding in the Near East. Just as today people know that the law of gravity is in effect and that when one jumps up, one will come down, so also the ancients knew that their power on earth was a direct result of the power of the gods worshipped. The people of Judah believed this as well until they went into captivity. Then, they reinterpreted their theology and everything changed for them. As a result, there are many differences between Genesis 1:1-2:3 and Enuma Elish.

Differences

Where the majority of the similarities are shown in the larger structure and themes of each myth, the differences are in the details of each theme. The similarities reveal the

communities in wider ancient Near Eastern culture, but the differences state the uniqueness of each religion. All of these differences are generally associated with distribution of power. Where Enuma Elish designates much power to the luminaries, there is comparatively little ascribed to the luminaries in the Genesis account. The lack of authority given to the luminaries in the Genesis narrative is an attempt by the author to give more authority to the monotheistic God of Judah. This author was aware of other cosmologies giving supremacy to the luminaries. Therefore, by diminishing the power given to the luminaries the author was stating to the audience that this God of creation was much different than the gods of the Babylonian pantheon.

The same moderation is placed upon the monsters in the Genesis myth. While Enuma Elish continually declared the monsters of Tiamat to be powerful and fearsome, the Genesis account states that God created sea monsters. In doing this, the author acknowledged that there were monsters in the created order, and he also declared God to be the ruler over them. For a people coming out of captivity that has heard for a lifetime the stories of these ferocious monsters, this would be an amazing concept. The author is telling the audience that they are effectively more powerful than the god Ea, who ran away from the monsters of Tiamat, because the audience ascribed to a God who created and controlled these monsters.

The different concepts of humanity are perhaps the most significant, specifically in the interest of distribution of power. Enuma Elish declares to its reader two things. First, it tells the reader that humanity is naturally rebellious because it was created out of a rebellious god. It also gives humankind a purpose and function in the world. This function was to adhere to the whims of the deities. Humanity's sole purpose on earth was

to serve the gods as slaves so that the gods could rest. The Genesis account also tells the reader two things about humanity, only these things are the opposite of Enuma Elish. In Genesis 1:26-30, God declares humanity to be good in two ways. First, God creates them in God's good "image and likeness." Secondly, God declares all of creation good. There is no inclination of innate evil in humanity. Furthermore, God tells humans their purpose on earth, which is to rule and multiply. By bringing this into the myth, the author of the Genesis narrative is speaking directly against the common beliefs of the Babylonians. He is also telling the postexilic reader that they are not simply slaves coming back to a defeated homeland. Instead, they are the chosen. They are God's people who are inherently good. They have a purpose, commanded by God, to live in accordance with God and the earth.

This command by God is expressed clearly in the Sabbath portion of the Genesis narrative. After deeming all of creation good, God rests. This section builds on the humanity theme by charging the reader to follow the commandments of the law. Because God rested on the seventh day, so also must the people of Judah rest and honor God in this way. With this statement, the author of Genesis 1:1-2:3 is placing the law at the creation of the world, and in doing this he is declaring to the readers that because they are created in God's image and good, they must follow the law of God.

There is no such statement in Enuma Elish. The gods celebrate Marduk, but there is no discussion of human participating in the celebration. Such a concept of honoring Marduk may be implied because Enuma Elish was dramatized at the New Year Festival. While this is true, there is no place in Enuma Elish giving any kind of honor to humanity, thereby making it difficult to compare the concept with the Genesis account.

Purposes

There are different purposes that one can glean from each of these two ancient Near Eastern cosmologies. As stated above, Enuma Elish was enacted during the New Years festival in Babylon. Its purpose was to honor Marduk for his actions each year. This ritual declared the great things Marduk had accomplished. It also gave hope for the New Year that Marduk would continue to strengthen Babylon.

The Genesis narrative on the other hand was not acted out, but it carried the same functions. Its purpose was to honor God who had created the world. It also assumed that God would continue to be powerful in the future and that God would be with the people of Judah. There is another facet that the Genesis account takes on which is not present in Enuma Elish. By elevating the place of humanity in the cosmic order, the Genesis myth empowers its people. Enuma Elish would have no reason to do this because the Babylonians were already empowered, unlike, the people of Judah. The Judeans were coming out of a time where they had been captives, and all of their religious and political beliefs had been crushed. This myth gave them power again. It encouraged the audience by saying that God created them specifically, that they were good, and that their belief system was the same as that of God. Where Enuma Elish preserved the power of their deities, Genesis 1:1-2:3 gave power to the people of Judah and in doing so, reinforced their God.

Utilization of these Cosmologies

There is much that the modern reader of these texts can learn. Above all, Enuma Elish is confident in its power. It boldly declares who the main deities of the pantheon

are and details their actions. The gods have no problem killing anyone, but they also give honor to those who deserve it. Ea is even willing to kill his grandfather because Apsu was going to kill him. Similarly, Marduk kills his great-grandmother for the same reason. These gods are strong, willing, and able to protect themselves. They make lower gods cower before of them and demand the honor due them. This seems to be much like the ancient people of Babylon. Although not known specifically for their delight in killing others, they were able, and willing to kill others to gain more power. They also expected their subjects to follow their law, and honor them because they were powerful. It seems that this can be a message to the powers of today. Babylon had no problem imposing its will on others because it was the throne of Marduk. Similarly today, with power often speak with righteous indignation about their truth with little thought of other people. Powerful people exploit weaker people because their way is the right way, and their will is the only one that matters. If Enuma Elish teaches the modern reader nothing else, it declares that there is always another understanding of how the world works.

Like Enuma Elish, Genesis 1:1-2:3 speaks more of God than it does of humankind. The Genesis passage speaks to the lowly and outcast. It tells the reader that humanity is created good and that humanity is special. In doing this, the myth empowers everyone to be that which God truly wants him or her to be. While Enuma Elish took power away from the common person, Genesis 1:1-2:3 empowers the individual to be truly in the "image and likeness" of God.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This thesis has looked at both the Genesis 1:1-2:3, and the Enuma Elish cosmologies. It has expressed values of each narrative, and there has been information provided discussing the similarities and differences of the two cosmologies. Each one was written down and believed for very different reasons. Enuma Elish was written, and then copied for hundreds of years, and it served political and cultural powers. This is evidenced by it being found in numerous places outside of Babylon, such as in Nineveh by the cult of Asher. By the time the cosmology known as Genesis 1:1-2:3 came to be written, Enuma Elish had been in use for hundreds of years. It depicted the rise of Marduk by heroic acts and it inspired its believer to continue the work of Marduk on earth. The message of this Epic was that the world was securely under the control of Marduk. Not only did he defeat the chaotic world of Tiamat, but he also created the orderly world the Babylonians knew. Marduk had assigned them with the responsibility of continuing this order, and just as Marduk had created order out of chaos in the cosmos, so also were the Babylonians to replicate this order on earth.

The New Years festival provided an occasion for renewal, and a reminder of Marduk's saving actions. Payment for these actions was expected in the form of care and service to Marduk and the rest of the pantheon. This mandate not only sums up the purpose for the cult of Marduk, but it also articulates how Babylonian core values functioned as a society. Just as Marduk demanded tribute and service for his saving actions, the Babylonians also expected tribute and service from their subjects. If this did

not happen, the army of Babylon would destroy the smaller country, remove its leaders, and take away all sense of power and autonomy. To the people of Babylon, proof that Marduk's power was supreme was evidenced by their power on earth, and their power on earth was evidence of the supremacy of Marduk

The ancient people of Judah had a similar set of concepts. They believed that God controlled the world and that the fortune of the people of Judah was primary evidence of God's supreme will. Therefore, when Babylon overtook Judah, exiling the leaders, priests, and aristocracy to Babylon, their beliefs had been shaken. Where once the people of Judah had believed that their God was in control because they had autonomy in the political world, within the span of seventy years, the same people had found themselves as little more than slaves to foreigners. According to their place in the political world, Judah's God was not in control, or supreme. The people could either accept this new life or they could fight back with a new and different theology. In choosing the second option, the people of Judah had to formulate their belief structure in spite of their earthly situation. This was accomplished with the cosmology in Genesis 1:1-2:3.

The Genesis narrative reflects the push back in the power struggle between two different cultures that shared many of the same beliefs. The similarities between Genesis 1:1-2:3 and Enuma Elish show the similarities in culture and belief systems. The differences indicate the intricacies of the ideological war being waged by the priests of Judah. The priest is aware of the popularity and power of Enuma Elish but is also unwilling to compromise his monotheistic beliefs in God. He takes themes similar to Enuma Elish and boldly declares God to be supreme, and more powerful than Marduk,

and the whole Babylonian pantheon combined. This is evidenced by the differences between Genesis 1:1-2:3 and Enuma Elish. In every difference, God is seen to have supreme power.

The differences indicate opposite beliefs about God and his power on earth. The narrator asserts that God has supreme power on earth, and that he directs it toward humanity, specifically to the people of Judah. Humankind is given the charge to rule over the earth as well as to multiply. There is no discussion of humanity's purpose being servants to the gods, as in Enuma Elish. In this cosmology, God is given supreme power, and then God directly empowers humankind.

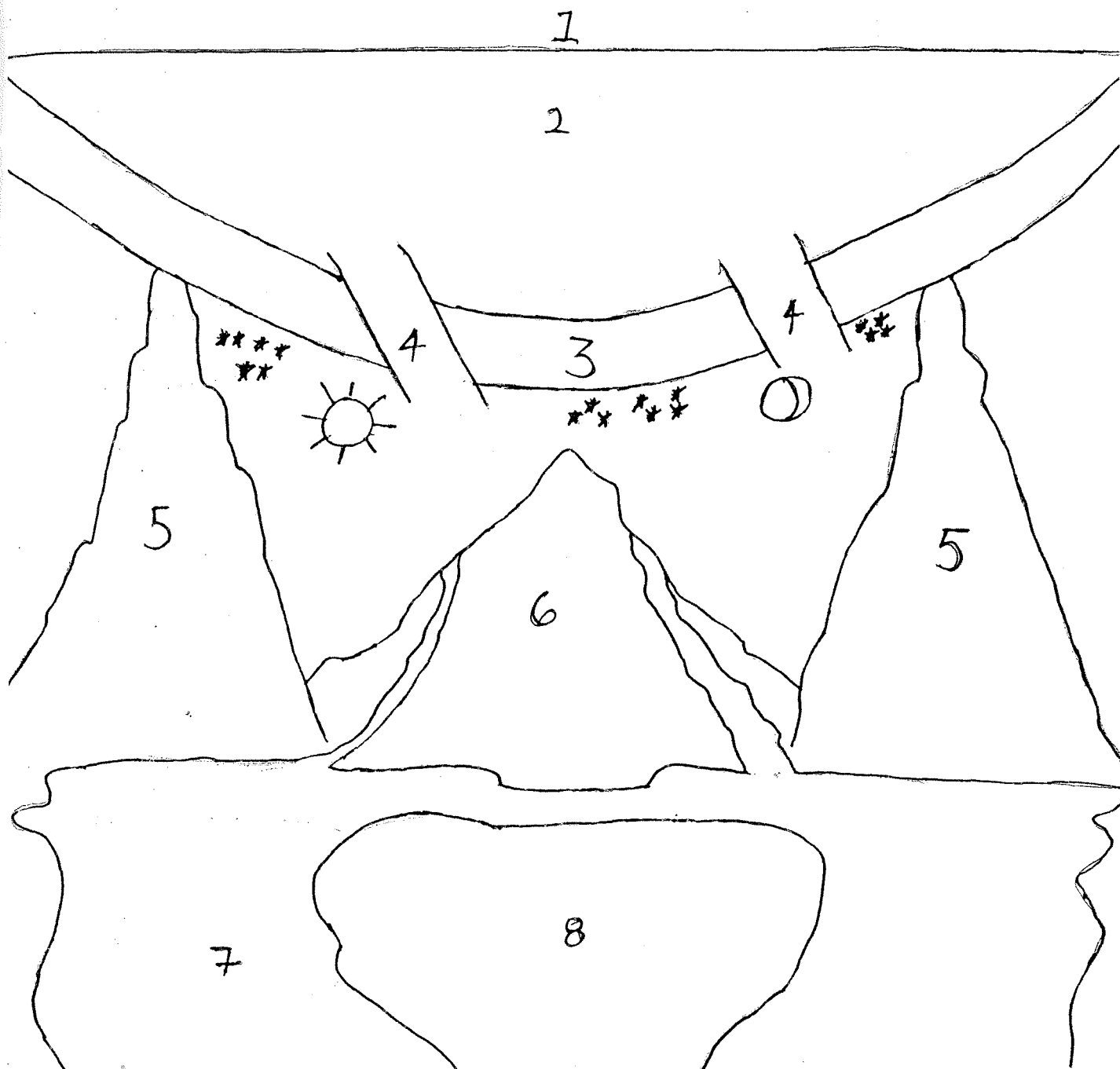
The control of God is extended specifically to the people of Judah. On the seventh day, God rested thereby commanding humanity to rest as well. The people who followed this law were those from Judah. The final verses in the Genesis cosmology speak to those who follow God. Application of the cosmology ground practice in archetypical events and called believers into practice. The reader is specifically directed toward those who believe in God and follow what would come to be known as Torah.

The author, a captive in Babylon had formulated his theological response to state that regardless of Judah's status on earth, their God was supreme. This effectively took the power away from Babylon and its pantheon, and gave it to conquered foreigners and their God. Theologically this gave the people of Judah the strength to go back to Jerusalem around 538 BCE and deal with the difficult task of rebuilding their country and religion.

From a narrow sense, Judah is indebted to Enuma Elish and its surrounding culture. One could say that without a strong theology to rise against, the people of Judah

might never have been forced to redefine their theology. Then, without the Babylonian culture, Judaism would likely not be as it is today. One could say that the Enuma Elish and the Genesis 1:1-2:3 cosmologies are simply evidence of the perennial struggle for definition and power. There is one thing that is certain about Enuma Elish and Genesis 1:1-2:3. Without Enuma Elish and its surrounding culture, Genesis 1:1-2:3 would not be as it is: a unique expression of God and humanity.

APPENDIX 1
A MODERN REPRESENTATION OF THE UNIVERSE ACCORDING TO THE
ANCIENTS¹



¹ This image has been created by the author of this thesis; however, it has been influenced by the work of Nahum M. Sarna, *The Heritage of Biblical Israel: Understanding Genesis*, vol. 1 of the Melton Research Center Series (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966), 5.

1. Highest Heaven: Place where the great gods dwelt.
2. Chaotic waters: Above the earth
3. Firmament or Solid Expanse: Divided between chaotic waters and the earth
4. Gates: Eastern and Western Gates from which the sun and moon came to luminate the earth
5. Mountains or Pillars: Held up the heaven above the earth
6. Earth: A sloping mound which is the earth. The two rivers (Tigris and Euphrates) deposited silt and were aids in constructing the earth.
7. *Apsu*: Water upon which the Pillars and Earth rested.
8. Place of the dead: Where the dead rested after death.

APPENDIX 2

TRANSLATION OF ENUMA ELISH¹

The First Tablet

1. When in the height heaven was not named,
2. And the earth beneath did not yet bear a name,
3. And the primeval Apsû, who begat them,
4. And chaos, Tiamat, the mother of them both,--
5. Their waters were mingled together,
6. And no field was formed, no marsh was to be seen;
7. When of the gods none had been called into being,
8. And none bore a name, and no destinies [were ordained];
9. Then were created the gods in the midst of [heaven],
10. Lahmu and Lahamu were called into being [...].
11. Ages increased, [...],
12. Then Anshar and Kishar were created, and over them [...].
13. Long were the days, then there came forth [...]
14. Anu, their son, [...]
15. Anshar and Anu [...]
16. And the god Anu [...]
17. Nudimmud, whom his fathers [his] begetters [...]
18. Abounding in all wisdom, [...]
19. He was exceeding strong [...]
20. He had no rival [...]
21. (Thus) were established and [were ... the great gods (?)].
22. But T[iamat and Âpsû] were (still) in confusion [...],
23. They were troubled and [...]
24. In disorder(?) ... [...]
26. And Tiamat roared [...]
25. Apsû was not diminished in might [...]
27. She smote, and their deeds [...]
28. Their way was evil ... [...] ...
29. Then Apsû, the begetter of the great gods,
30. Cried unto Mummu, his minister, and said unto him:
31. "O Mummu, thou minister that rejoicest my spirit,
32. "Come, unto Tiamat let us [go]!"
33. So they went and before Tiamat they lay down,
34. They consulted on a plan with regard to the gods [their sons].
35. Apsû opened his mouth [and spake],
36. And unto Tiamat, the glistening one, he addressed [the word]:
37. "[...] their way [...],
38. "By day I cannot rest, by night [I cannot lie down (in peace)].
39. "But I will destroy their way, I will [...],
40. "Let there be lamentation, and let us lie down (again in peace)."
41. When Tiamat [heard] these words,
42. She raged and cried aloud [...].
43. [She ...] grievously [...],
44. She uttered a curse, and unto [Apsû she spake]:
45. "What then shall we [do]?"
46. "Let their way be made difficult, and let us [lie down (again) in peace]."
47. Mummu answered, and gave counsel unto Apsû,
48. [...] and hostile (to the gods) was the counsel Mu[mmu gave]:
49. "Come, their way is strong, but thou shalt destroy [it];
50. "Then by day shalt thou have rest, by night shalt thou lie down (in peace)."
51. Apsû [hearkened unto] him and his countenance grew bright,
52. [Since] he (i.e. Mummu) planned evil against the gods his sons.
53. [...] he was afraid [...],
54. His knees [became weak(?)], they gave way beneath him,

¹ L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation* ([etext] - [accessed 4/28/05]); available from <http://www.sacred-texts.com/ane/stc/index.htm>; INTERNET. This text has been taken directly from the previous website although it has been reformatted by the present author.

55. [Because of the evil] which their first-born had planned.
 56. [...] their [...] they altered(?).
 58. Lamentation [...] they sat in [sorrow] '
 57. [...] they [...],
 59. [...]
 60. Then Ea, who knoweth all that [is], went up and he beheld their muttering.
 61. [...]
 62. [...] ... his pure incantation
 63. [...] ... [...]
 64. [...]
 65. [...] misery
 66. [...]
 67. [...]
 [Lines 68-82 are wanting.]
 83. [...]
 84 [...] ...
 85. [...] the god Anu,
 86. [...] an aven]ger.
 87. [...]
 88. [...] and he shall confound Tiamat.
 89. [...] he ...
 90. [...] for ever.
 91. [...] the evil,
 92. [...] ... he spake:
 93. "[...] thy [...] he hath conquered and
 94. " [...] he [weepeth] and sitteth in tribulation(?).
 95. "[...] of fear,
 96. "[...] we shall not lie down (in peace).
 97. "[...] Apsû is laid waste(?),
 98. "[...] and Mummu, who were taken captive, in [...]
 99. "[...] thou didst, ...
 100. "[...] let us lie down (in peace).
 101. "[...] ... they will smite (?) [...].
 102. " [...] let us lie down (in peace).
 103. "[...] thou shalt take vengeance for them,
 104. "[...]unto the tempest shalt thou [...]"
 105. [And Tiamat hearkened unto] the word of the bright god, (and said):
 106. "[...] shalt thou entrust! let us wage [war]!"
 107. [...] the gods in the midst of [...]
 108. [...] for the gods did she create.'
 109. [They banded themselves together and] at the side of Tiamat [they] advanced;
 110. [They were furious, they devised mischief without resting] night and [day].
 111. [They prepared for battle], fuming and raging;
 112. [They joined their forces] and made war.
 113. [Ummu-Hubu]r, who formed all things,
 114. [Made in addition] weapons invincible, she spawned monster-serpents,

115. [Sharp of] tooth, and merciless of fang;
 116. [With poison instead of] blood she filled [their] bodies.
 117. Fierce [monster-vipers] she clothed with terror,
 118. [With splendour] she decked them, [she made them] of lofty stature.
 119. [Whoever beheld] them, terror overcame him,
 120. Their bodies reared up and none could withstand [their attack].
 121. [She set] up vipers, and dragons, and the (monster) [Lahamu],
 122. [And hurricanes], and raging hounds, and scorpion-men,
 123. And mighty [tempests], and fish-men, and[rams];
 124. [They bore] cruel weapons, without fear of [the fight].
 125. Her commands [were mighty], [none] could resist them;
 126. After this fashion, huge of stature, [she made] eleven (monsters).
 127. Among the gods who were her sons, inasmuch as he had given [her support],
 128. She exalted Kingu; in their midst [she raised] him [to power].
 129. To march before the forces, to lead [the host],
 130. To give the battle-signal, to advance to the attack,
 131. To direct the battle, to control the fight,
 132. Unto him she entrusted; in [costly raiment] she made him sit, (saying):
 133. "I have uttered thy spell, in the assembly of the gods I have raised thee to power.
 134. "The dominion over all the gods [have I entrusted unto him].
 135. "Be thou exalted, thou my chosen spouse,
 136. "May they magnify thy name over all [of them ... the Anunnaki]."
 137. She gave him the Tablets of Destiny, on [his] breast she laid them, (saying):
 138. "Thy command shall not be without avail, and[the word of thy mouth shall be established]."
 139. Now Kingu, (thus) exalted, having received [the power of Anu],
 140. [Decreed] the fate among the gods his sons, (saying):
 141. "Let the opening of your mouth [quench] the Fire-god;
 142. "Whoso is exalted in the battle, let him [display (his) might]!"

The Second Tablet

1. Tiamat made weighty her handiwork,
2. [Evil] she wrought against the gods her children.
3. [To avenge] Apsû, Tiamat planned evil,
4. But how she had collected her [forces, the god ...] unto Ea divulged.
5. Ea [hearkened to] this thing, and
6. He was [grievous]ly afflicted and he sat in sorrow.
7. [The days] went by, and his anger was appeased,
8. And to [the place of] Anshar his father he took[his way].
9. [He went] and standing before Anshar, the father who begat him,
10. [All that] Tiamat had plotted he repeated unto him,
11. [Saying, "Ti]amat our mother hath conceived a hatred for us,
12. "With all her force she rageth, full of wrath.
13. "All the gods have turned to her,
14. "[With] those, whom ye created, they go at her side.
15. "They are banded together and at the side of Tiamat they advance;
16. "They are furious, they devise mischief without resting night and day.
17. "They prepare for battle, fuming and raging;
18. "They have joined their forces and are making war.
19. "Ummu-Hubur, who formed all things,
20. "Hath made in addition weapons invincible, she hath spawned monster-serpents,
21. "Sharp of tooth, and merciless of fang.
22. "With poison instead of blood she hath filled their bodies.
23. "Fierce monster-vipers she hath clothed with terror,
24. "With splendour she hath decked them, she hath made them of lofty stature.
25. "Whoever beholdeth them is overcome by terror,"
26. "Their bodies rear up and none can withstand their attack.
27. "She hath set up vipers, and dragons, and the
28. "And hurricanes and raging hounds, and scorpion-men,
29. "And mighty tempests, and fish-men and rams;
30. "They bear cruel weapons, without fear of the fight.
31. "Her commands are mighty, none can resist them;
32. "After this fashion, huge of stature, hath she made eleven (monsters).
33. "Among the gods who are her sons, inasmuch as he hath given her support,

34. She hath exalted Kingu; in their midst she hath raised him to power.
35. "To march before the forces, to lead the host,
36. "To give the battle-signal, to advance to the attack,
37. "[To direct] the battle, to control the fight,
38. "Unto him [hath she entrusted]; in costly raiment she hath made him sit, (saying):
39. "'[I have uttered] thy [spell], in the assembly of the gods I have raised thee to power,
40. "'[The dominion over all] the gods have I entrusted [unto thee].
41. "'[Be thou exalted], thou [my chosen spouse],
42. "'[May they magnify thy name over all of them ...]
- ...
43. "[She hath given him the Tablets of Destiny, on his breast she] laid them, (saying):
44. "'[Thy command shall not be without avail], and the [word] of thy mouth shall be established.'
45. "[Now Kingu, (thus) exalted], having received the power of Anu,
46. "Decreed the fate [for the gods, her sons], (saying):
47. "'Let [the opening of your mouth] quench the Fire-god;
48. "'[Whoso is exalted in the battle], let him display (his) might!"
49. [When Anshar heard how Tiamat] was mightily in revolt,
50. [...], he bit his lips,
51. [...], his mind was not at peace,
52. His [...], he made a bitter lamentation:
53. [...] battle,
54. "[...] thou
55. "[Mummu and] Apsû thou hast smitten,
56. "[But Tiamat hath exalted Kingu, and where is one who can oppose her?"
57. [...] deliberation
58. [... the ... of] the gods, N[u]di[m]mud
- [A gap of about ten lines occurs here.]
- (69) [...]
- (70) [...]
- (71) [...]
- (72) [Anshar unto] his son addressed [the word]:
- (73) "[...] ... my mighty hero,
- (74) "[Whose] strength [is great] and whose onslaught cannot be withstood,
- (75) "[Go] and stand before Tiamat,
- (76) "[That] her spirit [may be appeased], that her heart may be merciful.
- (77) "[But if] she will not hearken unto thy word,

- (78) "Our [word] shalt thou speak unto her, that she may be pacified."
 (79) [He heard the] word of his father Anshar
 (80) And [he directed] his path to her, towards her he took the way.
 (81) Anu [drew nigh], he beheld the muttering of Tiamat,
 (82) [But he could not withstand her], and he turned back.
 (83) [...] Anshar
 (84) [...] he spake unto him:
 (85) "[...] upon me
 [A gap of about twenty lines occurs here.]
 (104) [...]
 (105) [...] an avenger [...]
 (106) [...] va[liant]
 (107) [...] in the place of his decision
 (108) [...] he spake unto him:
 (109) "[...] thy father
 (110) "Thou art my son, who maketh merciful his heart.
 (111) " [...] to the battle shalt thou draw nigh,
 (112) "[...] he that shall behold thee shall have peace."
 (113) And the lord rejoiced at the word of his father,
 (114) And he drew nigh and stood before Anshar.
 (115) Anshar beheld him and his heart was filled with joy,
 (116) He kissed him on the lips and his fear departed from him.
 (117) "[O my father], let not the word of thy lips be overcome,
 (118) "Let me go, that I may accomplish all that is in thy heart.
 (119). "[O Anshar], let not the word of thy lips be overcome,
 (120) ". [Let me] go, that I may accomplish all that is in thy heart."
 (121) "What man is it, who hath brought thee forth to battle?
 (122) "[...] Tiamat, who is a woman, is armed and attacketh thee."
 (123) "[...] ... rejoice and be glad;
 (124) "The neck of Tiamat shalt thou swiftly trample under foot.
 (125) "[...] ... rejoice and be glad;
 (126) "[The neck] of Tiamat shalt thou swiftly trample under foot.
 (127) "O my [son], who knoweth all wisdom,
 (128) "Pacify [Tiamat] with thy pure incantation.
 (129) "Speedily set out upon thy way,

- (130) "For [thy blood (?)] shall not be poured out, thou shalt return again."
 (131) The lord rejoiced at the word of his father,
 (132) His heart exulted, and unto his father he spake:
 (133) "O Lord of the gods, Destiny of the great gods,
 (134) "If I, your avenger,
 (135) "Conquer Tiamat and give you life,
 (136) "Appoint an assembly, make my fate preeminent and proclaim it.
 (137) "In Upshukkinaku seat yourselves joyfully together,
 (138) "With my word in place of you will I decree fate.
 (139) "May whatsoever I do remain unaltered,
 (140) "May the word of my lips never be changed nor made of no avail."

The Third Tablet

1. Anshar opened his mouth, and
2. [Unto Gaga], his [minister], spake the word:
3. "[O Gaga, thou minis]ter that rejoicest my spirit,
4. "[Unto Lahmu and Lah]amu will I send thee.
5. "[...] thou canst attain,
6. "[...] thou shalt cause to be brought before thee.
7. [... let] the gods, all of them,
8. "[Make ready for a feast], at a banquet let them sit,
9. "[Let them eat bread], let them mix wine,
10. "[That for Marduk], their avenger, they may decree the fate.
11. "[Go,] Gaga, stand before them,
12. "[And all that] I, tell thee, repeat unto them, (and say):
13. "[Anshar], your son, hath sent me,
14. "[The purpose] of his heart he hath made known unto me.
15. "[He saith that Tia]mat our mother hath conceived a hatred for us,
16. "[With all] her force she rageth, full of wrath.
17. "All the gods have turned to her,
18. "With those, whom ye created, they go at her side.
19. "They are banded together, and at the side of Tiamat they advance;
20. "They are furious, they devise mischief without resting night and day.
21. "They prepare for battle, fuming and raging;
22. "They have joined their forces and are making war.
23. "Ummu-Hubur, who formed all things,
24. "Hath made in addition weapons invincible, she hath spawned monster-serpents,
25. "Sharp of tooth and merciless of fang.

26. "With poison instead of blood she hath filled heir bodies.
 27. "Fierce monster-vipers she hath clothed with terror,
 28. "With splendour she hath decked them, she hath made them of lofty stature.
 29. "Whoever beholdeth them, terror overcometh him,
 30. "Their bodies rear up and none can withstand their attack.
 31. "She hath set up vipers, and dragons, and the (monster) Lahamu,
 32. "And hurricanes, and raging hounds, and scorpion-men,
 33. "And mighty tempests, and fish-men, and rams;
 34. They bear merciless weapons, without fear of the fight.
 35. "Her commands are mighty, none can resist them;
 36. "After this fashion, huge of stature, hath she made eleven (monsters).
 37. "Among the gods who are her sons, inasmuch as he hath given her [support],
 38. "She hath exalted Kingu; in their midst she hath raised [him] to power.
 39. "To march before the forces, [to lead the host],
 40. "[To] give the battle-signal, to advance [to the attack],
 41. "[To direct] the battle, to control the [fight],
 42. "Unto him [hath she entrusted; in costly raiment] she hath made him sit, (saying):
 43. "'[I have] uttered thy spell, in the assembly of the gods [I have raised thee to power],
 44. "'[The] dominion over all the gods [have I entrusted unto thee].
 45. "'[Be] thou exalted, [thou] my chosen spouse,
 46. "' May they magnify thy name over all of [them ... the Anunnaki].'
 47. "She hath given him the Tablets of Destiny, on his breast she laid them, (saying):
 48. "'Thy command shall not be without avail, and the word of [thy] mouth shall be established.'
 49. "Now Kingu, (thus) exalted, having received [the power of Anu],
 50. "Decreed the fate for the gods, her sons, (saying):
 51. "'Let the opening of your mouth quench the Fire-god;
 52. "'Whoso is exalted in the battle, let him display (his) might!'
 53. "I sent Anu, but he could not withstand her;
 54. "Nudimmud was afraid and turned back.
 55. "But Marduk hath set out, the director of the gods, your son;

56. "To set out against Tiamat his heart hath prompted (him).
 57. "He opened his mouth and spake unto me, (saying):
 58. "'If I, your avenger,
 59. "'Conquer Tiamat and give you life,
 60. "'Appoint an assembly, make my fate preeminent and proclaim it.
 61. "'In Upshukkinaku seat yourselves joyfully together;
 62. "'With my word in place of you will I decree fate.
 63. "'May whatsoever I do remain unaltered,
 64. "'May the word of my lips never be changed nor made of no avail.'
 65. "Hasten, therefore, and swiftly decree for him the fate which you bestow,
 66. "That he may go and fight your strong enemy!"
 67. Gaga went, he took his way and
 68. Humbly before Lahmu and Lahamu, the gods, his fathers,
 69. He made obeisance, and he kissed the ground at their feet.
 70. He humbled himself; then he stood up and spake unto them, (saying):
 71. "Anshar, your son, hath sent me,
 72. "The purpose of his heart he hath made known unto me.
 73. "He saith that Tiamat our mother hath conceived a hatred for us,
 74. "With all her force she rageth, full of wrath.
 75. "All the gods have turned to her,
 76. "With those, whom ye created, they go at her side.
 77. "They are banded together and at the side of Tiamat they advance;
 78. "They are furious, they devise mischief without resting night and day.
 79. "They prepare for battle, fuming and raging;
 80. "They have joined their forces and are making war.
 81. "Ummu-Hubur, who formed all things,
 82. "Hath made in addition weapons invincible, she hath spawned monster-serpents,
 83. "Sharp of tooth and merciless of fang.
 84. "With poison instead of blood she hath filled their bodies.
 85. "Fierce monster-vipers she hath clothed with terror,
 86. "With splendour she hath decked them, she hath made them of lofty stature.
 87. "Whoever beholdeth them, terror overcometh him,

88. "Their bodies rear up and none can withstand their attack.
 89. "She hath set up vipers, and dragons, and the (monster) Lahamu,
 90. "And hurricanes, and raging hounds, and scorpion-men,
 91. "And mighty tempests, and fish-men, and [rams];
 92. "They bear merciless weapons, without fear of the fight.
 93. "Her commands are mighty, none can resist them;
 94. "After this fashion, huge of stature, hath she made eleven (monsters).
 95. "Among the gods who are her sons, inasmuch as he hath given her support,
 96. "She hath exalted Kingu; in their midst she hath raised him to power.
 97. "To march before the forces, to lead the host,
 98. "To give the battle-signal, to advance to the attack,
 99. "To direct the battle, to control the fight,
 100. "Unto him hath she entrusted; in costly raiment she hath made him sit, (saying):
 101. "'I have uttered thy spell, in the assembly of the gods I have raised thee to power,
 102. "'The dominion over all the gods have I entrusted unto thee.
 103. "'Be thou exalted, thou my chosen spouse,
 104. "'May they magnify thy name over all of them ... the Anunna[ki].'
 105. "She hath given him the Tablets of Destiny, on [his] breast [she laid them], (saying):
 106. "'Thy command shall not be without avail, [and the word of thy mouth shall be established].
 107. "Now Kingu, (thus) exalted, [having received the power of Anu],
 108. "[Decreed the fate] for the gods, her sons, (saying):
 109. "'Let the opening of your mouth [quench] the Fire-god;
 110. "'Whoso is exalted in the battle, [let him display] (his) might!'
 111. "I sent Anu, but he could not [withstand her];
 112. "Nudimmud was afraid and [turned back].
 113. "But Marduk hath set out, the director of the[gods, your son];
 114. "T o set out against Tiamat [his heart hath prompted (him)].
 115. "He opened his mouth [and spake unto me], (saying):
 116. "'If I, [your avenger],
 117. "'Conquer Tiamat and [give you life],

118. "'Appoint an assembly, [make my fate preeminent and proclaim it].
 119. "'In Upshukkinaku [seat yourselves joyfully together];
 120. "'With my word in place of [you will I decree fate].
 121. "'May whatsoever [I] do remain unaltered,
 122. "'May the word of [my lips] never be changed nor made of no avail.'
 123. "Hasten, therefore, and swiftly [decree for him] the fate which you bestow,
 124. "That he may go and fight your strong enemy!"
 125. Lahmu and Lahamu heard and cried aloud,
 126. All of the Igigi wailed bitterly, (saying):
 127. "What has been altered so that they should ... [...]
 128. "We do not understand the d[eed] of Tiamat!"
 129. Then did they collect and go,
 130. The great gods, all of them, who decree [fate].
 131. They entered in before Anshar, they filled [...];
 132. They kissed one another, in the assembly [...].
 133. They made ready for the feast, at the banquet [they sat];
 134. They ate bread, they mixed [sesame-wine].
 135. The sweet drink, the mead, confused their [...],
 136. They were drunk with drinking, their bodies were filled.
 137. They were wholly at ease, their spirit was exalted;
 138. Then for Marduk, their avenger, did they decree the fate.

The Fourth Tablet

1. They prepared for him a lordly chamber,
 2. Before his fathers as prince he took his place.
 3. "Thou art chiefest among the great gods,
 4. "Thy fate is unequalled, thy word is Anu!
 5. "O Marduk, thou art chiefest among the great gods,
 6. "Thy fate is unequalled, thy word is Anu!
 7. "Henceforth not without avail shall be thy command,
 8. "In thy power shall it be to exalt and to abase.
 9. "Established shall be the word of thy mouth, irresistible shall be thy command;
 10. "None among the gods shall transgress thy boundary.
 11. "Abundance, the desire of the shrines of the gods,
 12. "Shall be established in thy sanctuary, even though they lack (offerings).
 13. "O Marduk, thou art our avenger!
 14. "We give thee sovereignty over the whole world.

15. "Sit thou down in night, be exalted in thy command.
 16. "Thy weapon shall never lose its power, it shall crush thy foe.
 17. "O lord, spare the life of him that putteth his trust in thee,
 18. "But as for the god who began the rebellion, pour out his life."
 19. Then set they in their midst a garment,
 20. And unto Marduk their first-born they spake:
 21. "May thy fate, O lord, be supreme among the gods,
 22. "To destroy and to create; speak thou the word, and (thy command) shall be fulfilled.
 23. "Command now and let the garment vanish;
 24. "And speak the word again and let the garment reappear!"
 25. Then he spake with his mouth, and the garment vanished;
 26. Again he commanded it, and the garment reappeared.
 27. When the gods, his fathers, beheld (the fulfilment of) his word,
 28. They rejoiced, and they did homage (unto him, saying), " Marduk is king! "
 29. They bestowed upon him the sceptre, and the throne, and the ring,
 30. They give him an invincible weapon, which overwhelmeth the foe.
 31. "Go, and cut off the life of Tiamat,
 32. "And let the wind carry her blood into secret places."
 33. After the gods his fathers had decreed for the lord his fate,
 34. They caused him to set out on a path of prosperity and success.
 35. He made ready the bow, he chose his weapon,
 36. He slung a spear upon him and fastened it . . .
 37. He raised the club, in his right hand he grasped (it),
 38. The bow and the quiver he hung at his side.
 39. He set the lightning in front of him,
 40. With burning flame he filled his body.
 41. He made a net to enclose the inward parts of Tiamat,
 42. The four winds he stationed so that nothing of her might escape;
 43. The South wind and the North wind and the East wind and the West wind
 44. He brought near to the net, the gift of his father Anu.

45. He created the evil wind, and the tempest, and the hurricane,
 46. And the fourfold wind, and the sevenfold wind, and the whirlwind, and the wind which had no equal;
 47. He sent forth the winds which he had created, the seven of them;
 48. To disturb the inward parts of Tiamat, they followed after him.
 49. Then the lord raised the thunderbolt, his mighty weapon,
 50. He mounted the chariot, the storm unequalled for terror,
 51. He harnessed and yoked unto it four horses,
 52. Destructive, ferocious, overwhelming, and swift of pace;
 53. [...] were their teeth, they were flecked with foam;
 54. They were skilled in [...], they had been trained to trample underfoot.
 55. [...], mighty in battle,
 56. Left and [right ...
 57. His garment was [...], he was clothed with terror,
 58. With overpowering brightness his head was crowned.
 59. Then he set out, he took his way,
 60. And towards the [rag]ing Tiamat he set his face.
 61. On his lips he held [...],
 62. ... [...] he grasped in his hand.
 63. Then they beheld him, the gods beheld him,
 64. The gods his fathers beheld him, the gods beheld him.
 65. And the lord drew nigh, he gazed upon the inward parts of Tiamat,
 66. He perceived the muttering of Kingu, her spouse.
 67. As (Marduk) gazed, (Kingu) was troubled in his gait,
 68. His will was destroyed and his motions ceased.
 69. And the gods, his helpers, who marched by his side,
 70. Beheld their leader's [...], and their sight was troubled.
 71. But Tiamat [...], she turned not her neck,
 72. With lips that failed not she uttered rebellious words:
 73. "[...] thy coming as lord of the gods,
 74. "From their places have they gathered, in thy place are they!"
 75. Then the lord [raised] the thunderbolt, his mighty weapon,
 76. [And against] Tiamat, who was raging, thus he sent (the word):
 77. "[Thou] art become great, thou hast exalted thyself on high,

78. "And thy [heart hath prompted] thee to call to battle.
 79. "[...] their fathers [...],
 80. "[...] their [...] thou hatest [...].
 81. "[Thou hast exalted King]u to be [thy] spouse,
 82. "[Thou hast . . .] him, that, even as Anu, he should issue decrees.
 83. "[...] thou hast followed after evil,
 84. "And [against] the .gods my fathers thou hast contrived thy wicked plan.
 85. "Let then thy host be equipped, let thy weapons be girded on!
 86. "Stand! I and thou, let us join battle!"
 87. When Tiamat heard these words,
 88. She was like one possessed, she lost her reason.
 89. Tiamat uttered wild, piercing cries,
 90. She trembled and shook to her very foundations.
 91. She recited an incantation, she pronounced her spell,
 92. And the gods of the battle cried out for their weapons.
 93. Then advanced Tiamat and Marduk, the counsellor of the gods;
 94. To the fight they came on, to the battle they drew nigh.
 95. The lord spread out his net and caught her,
 96. And the evil wind that was behind (him) he let loose in her face.
 97. As Tiamat opened her mouth to its full extent,
 98. He drove in the evil wind, while as yet she had not shut her lips.
 99. The terrible winds filled her belly,
 100. And her courage was taken from her, and her mouth she opened wide.
 101. He seized the spear and burst her belly,
 102. He severed her inward parts, he pierced (her) heart.
 103. He overcame her and cut off her life;
 104. He cast down her body and stood upon it.
 105. When he had slain Tiamat, the leader,
 106. Her might was broken, her host was scattered.
 107. And the gods her helpers, who marched by her side,
 108. Trembled, and were afraid, and turned back.
 109. They took to flight to save their lives;
 110. But they were surrounded, so that they could not escape.
 111. He took them captive, he broke their weapons;
 112. In the net they were caught and in the snare they sat down.
 113. The [...] ... of the world they filled with cries of grief.

114. They received punishment from him, they were held in bondage.
 115. And on the eleven creatures which she had filled with the power of striking terror,
 116. Upon the troop of devils, who marched at her [...],
 117. He brought affliction, their strength [he ...];
 118. Them and their opposition he trampled under his feet.
 119. Moreover, Kingu, who had been exalted over them,
 120. He conquered, and with the god Dug-ga he counted him.
 121. He took from him the Tablets of Destiny that were not rightly his,
 122. He sealed them with a seal and in his own breast he laid them.
 123. Now after the hero Marduk had conquered and cast down his enemies,
 124. And had made the arrogant foe even like ...,
 125. And had fully established Anshar's triumph over the enemy,
 126. And had attained the purpose of Nudimmud,
 127. Over the captive gods he strengthened his durance,
 128. And unto Tiamat, whom he had conquered, he returned.
 129. And the lord stood upon Tiamat's hinder parts,
 130. And with his merciless club he smashed her skull.
 131. He cut through the channels of her blood,
 132. And he made the North wind bear it away into secret places.
 133. His fathers beheld, and they rejoiced and were glad;
 134. Presents and gifts they brought unto him.
 135. Then the lord rested, gazing upon her dead body,
 136. While he divided the flesh of the ..., and devised a cunning plan.
 137. He split her up like a flat fish into two halves;
 138. One half of her he stablished as a covering for heaven.
 139. He fixed a bolt, he stationed a watchman,
 140. And bade them not to let her waters come forth.
 141. He passed through the heavens, he surveyed the regions (thereof),
 142. And over against the Deep he set the dwelling of Nudimmud.
 143. And the lord measured the structure of the Deep,
 144. And he founded E-shara, a mansion like unto it.
 145. The mansion E-shara which he created as heaven,

146. He caused Anu, Bêl, and Ea in their districts to inhabit.

The Fifth Tablet

1. He.(i.e. Marduk) made the stations for the great gods;
2. The stars, their images, as the stars of the Zodiac, he fixed.
3. He ordained the year and into sections he divided it;
4. For the twelve months he fixed three stars.
5. After he had [...] the days of the year [...] images,
6. He founded the station of Nibir to determine their bounds;
7. That none might err or go astray,
8. He set the station of Bêl and Ea along with him.
9. He opened great gates on both sides,
10. He made strong the bolt on the left and on the right.
11. In the midst thereof he fixed the zenith;
12. The Moon-god he caused to shine forth, the night he entrusted to him.
13. He appointed him, a being of the night, to determine the days;
14. Every month without ceasing with the crown he covered(?) him, (saying):
15. "At the beginning of the month, when thou shinest upon the land,
16. "Thou commandest the horns to determine six days,
17. "And on the seventh day to [divide] the crown.
18. "On the fourteenth day thou shalt stand opposite, the half [...].
19. "When the Sun-god on the foundation of heaven [...] thee,
20. "The [...] thou shalt cause to ..., and thou shalt make his [...].
21. "[...] ... unto the path of the Sun-god shalt thou cause to draw nigh,
22. "[And on the ... day] thou shalt stand opposite, and the Sun-god shall ... [...]
23. "[...] to traverse her way.
24. "[...] thou shalt cause to draw nigh, and thou shalt judge the right.
25. "[...] to destroy
26. "[...] me.
- "..."

[The following twenty-two lines are taken from K. 3,449a,

and probably form part of the Fifth Tablet.]

(66) [...]

(67) [...]

- (68) From [...]
 - (69) In E-sagil [...]
 - (70) To establish [...]
 - (71) The station of [...]
 - (72) The great gods [...]
 - (73) The gods [...]
 - (74) He took and [...]
 - (75) The gods [his fathers] beheld the net which he had made,
 - (76) They beheld the bow and how [its work] was accomplished.
 - (77) They praised the work which he had done [...]
 - (78) Then Anu raised [the ...] in the assembly of the gods.
 - (79) He kissed the bow, (saying), "It is [...]!"
 - (80) And thus he named the names of the bow, (saying),
 - (81) "'Long-wood' shall be one name, and the second name [shall be ...]
 - (82) "And its third name shall be the Bow-star, in heaven [shall it ...]"
 - (83) Then he fixed a station for it [...]
 - (84) Now after the fate of [...]
 - (85) [He set] a throne [...]
 - (86) [...] in heaven [...]
 - (87) [...] ... [...]
- [The following traces of the last thirteen lines of the Fifth Tablet are taken from the reverse of K. 11,641 and from the reverse of K. 8,526.]
- (128) "[...] him [...]"
 - (129) "[...] them [...]"
 - (130) "[...] him [...]"
 - (131) "[...] them [...]"
 - (132) "[...] their [...] may [...]"
 - (133) [...] the gods spake,
 - (134) [...] the heavens [...]:
 - (135) "[... your] son [...]"
 - (136) "[...] our [...] hath he [...]"
 - (137) "[...] he hath caused to live [...]"
 - (138) "[...] splendour [...]"
 - (139) "[...] not [...]!"
 - (140) "[...] we [...]!"

Footnotes

Jupiter

In the speech that follows it may be conjectured that the gods complained that, although Marduk had endowed the heavens with splendour and had caused plants to live upon the earth, yet there were no shrines built in honour of the gods, and there were no worshippers devoted to their service.

The Sixth Tablet

1. When Marduk heard the word of the gods,
 2. His heart prompted him and he devised [a cunning plan].
 3. He opened his mouth and unto Ea [he spake],
 4. [That which] he had conceived in his heart he imparted [unto him]:
 5. "My blood will I take and bone will I [fashion],
 6. "I will make man, that man may ... [...].
 7. "I will create man who shall inhabit [the earth],"
 8. "That the service of the gods may be established, and that [their] shrines [may be built].
 9. "But I will alter the ways of the gods, and I will change [their paths];
 10. "Together shall they be oppressed, and unto evil shall [they ...]."
 11. And Ea answered him and spake the word:
 12. "[...] the [...] of the gods I have [changed]
 13. [...] ... and one ... [...]
 14. [...] shall be de]stroyed and men will I [...]
 15. [...] and the gods [...]
 16. [...] ... and they [...]
 17. [...] ... and the gods [...]
 18. [...] [...]
 19. [...] the gods [...]
 20. [...] the Anunnaki [...]
 21. [...] ... [...]
- [The rest of the text is wanting with the exception of the last few lines of the tablet, which read as follows.]
138. [...] ... [...]
 139. [...] ... [...]
 140. When [...] ... [...]
 141. They rejoiced [...] ... [...]
 142. In Upshukinnaku they set [their dwelling].
 143. Of the heroic son, their avenger, [they cried]:
 144. "We, whom he succoured, ... [...]!"
 145. They seated themselves and in the assembly they named [him ...],
 146. They all [cried aloud (?), they exalted [him ...].

Footnotes

... literally the line reads "Let the service of the gods be established, and as for them let [their] shrines be built. It is interesting to note the reason that is here implied for the creation of mankind, i.e., that the gods may have worshipers. There is clearly a reference to this in l. 29 of the Seventh Tablet, where, after referring to Marduk's mercy upon the gods, the text goes on ... "For their forgiveness did he create mankind."

It seems preferable to assign to the Piel of [kabātu] its usual meaning "to oppress," rather than to render the

passage as "Together shall they be honoured." The sense seems to be that Marduk, by the creation of man, will establish the worship of the gods, but at the same time will punish the gods for their complaints. It is possible that in his speech that follows Ea dissuades Marduk from carrying out the second part of his proposal.

It is probable that the missing portion of the text corresponded closely with the account of the creation of man and animals given by Berossus; for a further discussion of this subject, see the Introduction. The tablet K. 3,364 (*Cun. Texts*, part xiii, pl. 24 f.) has been thought to belong to the Creation Series, and to contain the instructions given by Marduk to man after his creation. Had this been so, it would have formed part of the Sixth Tablet. On plates lxiv ff. of Vol. II is published the text of a Neo-Babylonian tablet, No. 33,851, which gives a duplicate text to K. 3,364. I have given reasons for believing that the text inscribed upon K. 3,364 and No. 33,851 has no connection with the Creation Series, but is part of a long composition containing moral precepts. Another fragment which it has been suggested belongs to one of the later tablets of the Creation Series is K. 3,445 + R. 396 (*Cun. Texts*, part xiii, pl. 24 f.; cf. also its duplicate K. 14,949, pl. 24); but there are strong reasons against the identification of the text as a fragment of the series *Enuma elish*, though it may well be part of a parallel version of the Creation story.

The address of the gods to Marduk forms the subject of the Seventh Tablet of the series.

The Seventh Tablet

1. O Asari, "Bestower of planting," "[Founder of sowing],"
2. "Creator of grain and plants," "who caused [the green herb to spring up]!"
3. O Asaru-alim, "who is revered in the house of counsel," "[who aboundeth in counsel],"
4. The gods paid homage, fear [took hold upon them]!
5. O Asaru-alim-nuna, "the mighty one," "the Light of [the father who begat him],"
6. Who directeth the decrees of Anu, Bel, [and Ea]!"
7. He was their patron, he ordained [their];
8. He, whose provision is abundance, goeth forth [...]!
9. Tutu [is] "He who created them anew;"
10. Should their wants be pure, then are they [satisfied];
11. Should he make an incantation, then are the gods [appeased];

12. Should they attack him in anger, he withstandeth [their onslaught]!
13. Let him therefore be exalted, and in the assembly of the gods [let him ...];
14. None among the gods can [rival him]!
15. Tutu is Zi-ukkina, "the Life of the host [of the gods],"
16. Who established for the gods the bright heavens.
17. He set them on their way, and ordained [their path (?)]
18. Never shall his [...] deeds be forgotten among men.
19. Tutu as Zi-azag thirdly they named, "the Bringer of Purification,"
20. "The God of the Favouring Breeze," "the Lord of Hearing and Mercy,"
21. "The Creator of Fulness and Abundance," "the Founder of Plenteousness,"
22. "Who increaseth all that is small."
23. "In sore distress we felt his favouring breeze,"
24. Let them say, let them pay reverence, let them bow in humility before him!
25. Tutu as Aga-azag may mankind fourthly magnify!
26. "The Lord of the Pure Incantation," "the Quickener of the Dead,"
27. "Who had mercy upon the captive gods,"
28. "Who removed the yoke from upon the gods his enemies,"
29. "For their forgiveness did he create mankind,"
30. "The Merciful One, with whom it is to bestow life!"
31. May his deeds endure, may they never be forgotten
32. In the mouth of mankind whom his hands have made!
33. Tutu as Mu-azag, fifthly, his "Pure Incantation" may their mouth proclaim,
34. "Who through his Pure Incantation hath destroyed all the evil ones!"
35. Shag-zu, "who knoweth the heart of the gods," "who seeth through the innermost part!"
36. "The evil-doer he hath not caused to go forth with him!"
37. "Founder of the assembly of the gods," "[who ...] their heart! "
38. "Subduer of the disobedient," "[...]"
39. "Who rebellion and [...]"
41. Tutu as Zi-si, "the [...],
42. "Who put an end to anger," "[who ...]"
43. Tutu as Suh-kur, thirdly, "the [Destroyer of the foe],"
44. "Who put their plans to confusion," "[...]"

45. "Who destroyed all the wicked," "[...]"

46. [...] let them [...]"

47. [...] ... [...]"

[The following lines are taken from the fragment K.

12,830, but their position in the text is uncertain.]

[He named the four quarters (of the world)], mankind [he created],

[And upon] him understanding [...]

[...] ... [...]

[...] Tiamat [...]

[...] ... [...]

[...] distant [...]

[...] may [...].

[The following lines are taken from the fragment K.

13,761.]

[...]

(10) [...]

"The mighty one [...]"

... Agi[1 ...],

"The Creator of [the earth ...]"

Zulummu ... [...],

"The Giver of counsel and of whatsoever [...]"

Mummu, "the Creator [of ...]"

Mulil, the heavens [...], "Who for ... [...]"

Gishkul, let [...],

(10) "Who brought the gods to naught[...]"

Lugal-ab- [...],

"Who in [.....]!"

Pap- [...],

"Who in [...]"

[...]

[The following lines are taken from the fragment K.

8,519 and its duplicate K. 13,337; this portion of the

text was not separated by much from that preserved

by K. 13,761.]

[...].

[...] ...

[... the Chief (?) of] all lords,"

[... supreme] is his might!

[Lugal-durmah, "the King] of the band of the gods,"

"the Lord of rulers,"

"Who is exalted in a royal habitation,"

"[Who] among the gods is gloriously supreme!"

[Adu-nuna], "the Counsellor of Ea," who created the gods his fathers,

Unto the path of whose majesty

[No] god can ever attain!

[... in] Dul-azag he made it known,

[...] pure is his dwelling!

[... the ...] of those without understanding is Lugal-dul-azaga!

[...] supreme is his might!

- [...] their [...] in the midst of Tiamat,
 [...] ... of the battle!
 [The numbering of the following lines is based on the
 marginal numbers upon No. 91,139. + 93,073.]
 105. [...] ... [...] him,
 106. [...] ... the star, which [shineth in the heavens].
 107. May he hold the Beginning and the Future, may
 they pay homage unto him,
 108. Saying, "He who forced his way through the
 midst of Tiamat [without resting],
 109. "Let his name be Nibiru, 'the Seizer of the
 Midst'!
 110. "For the stars of heaven he upheld the paths,
 111. "He shepherded all the gods like sheep!
 112. "He conquered Tiamat, he troubled and ended
 her life,"
 113. In the future of mankind, when the days grow
 old,
 114. May this be heard without ceasing, may it hold
 sway for ever!
 115. Since he created the realm (of heaven) and
 fashioned the firm earth,
 116. "The Lord of the World," the father Bêl hath
 called his name.
 117. (This) title, which all the Spirits of Heaven
 proclaimed,
 118. Did Ea hear, and his spirit was rejoiced, (and he
 said):
 119. "He whose name his fathers have made glorious,
 120. "Shall be even as I, his name shall be Ea!
 121. "The binding of all my decrees shall he control,
 122. "All my commands shall he make known! "
 123. By the name of "Fifty" did the great gods
 124. Proclaim his fifty names, they made his path pre-
 eminent."

Epilogue

125. Let them be held in remembrance, and let the
 first man proclaim them;
 126. Let the wise and the understanding consider
 them together!
 127. Let the father repeat them and teach them to his
 son;
 128. Let them be in the ears of the pastor and the
 shepherd!
 129. Let a man rejoice in Marduk, the Lord of the
 gods,
 130. That he may cause his land to be fruitful, and
 that he himself may have prosperity!
 131. His word standeth fast, his command is
 unaltered;

132. The utterance of his mouth hath no god ever
 annulled.
 133. He gazed in his anger, he turned not his neck;
 134. When he is wroth, no god can withstand his
 indignation.
 135. Wide is his heart, broad is his compassion;
 136. The sinner and evil-doer in his presence [...].
 137. They received instruction, they spake before
 him,
 138. [...] unto [...].
 139. [...] of Marduk may the gods [...].
 140. [May] they [...] his] name [...].
 141. [...] they took and [...];
 142. [...]!

Footnotes

The title Tutu is there explained as *ba-a-nu*, "creator," while its two component parts (TU + TU) occur in the Sumerian version of the line as the equivalents of *la-nu-u* and *e-di-shu*.

The text of the commentary read *mu-kin*, i.e. "the Founder of Purification"; for other variant readings in the line, see Appendix I.

Literally, "the black-headed ones."

In the margin of the fragment K. 13,761 every tenth line is indicated by the figure "10."

The word *durmahu* was employed as a Babylonian priestly title. It may here be rendered by some such general phrase as "ruler," unless it is to be taken as a proper name.

... The expression *rêshu-arkât*, literally "the beginning--the future," may be taken as implying Marduk's complete control over the world, both at its creation and during its subsequent existence. It is possible that *s'u-nu* is the pronominal suffix and should be attached to the preceding word, i.e. *rêsh-arkâtu-shu-nu*, "their beginning and future," that is, "the beginning and future of mankind."

I.e., mankind.

From the commentary R. 366, etc., and the explanatory text S. 747, it may be concluded that the Seventh Tablet, in its original form, ended at l. 124. It is probable that ll. 125-142 were added as an epilogue at the time when the composition was incorporated in the Creation Series.

I.e., the names of Marduk. This is probably the last line of the tablet. It may here be noted that, for the text of the Seventh Tablet given in the preceding pages, only those fragments have been used which are proved by the commentaries to contain missing portions of the text. Several other fragments, which from their contents and style of writing may possibly belong to copies of the text, have not been included.

The text of one such fragment (S. 2,013) is of peculiar interest; in l. 10 f. it refers to *Ti-amat e-li-ti* and *Ti-amat shap-li-ti*, "The Ocean (Tiamat) which is above" and "The Ocean (Tiamat) which is beneath," a

close parallel to "the waters which were above the firmament" and "the waters which were under the firmament" of Gen. i, 7.

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