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At the instance and with generous assistance of Mr. E. B. Chappelow, M.R.A.S., F.R.S.A.—supplemented by the further gift of an anonymous donor—the Council are enabled to publish below, in English, another valuable fragment of work by the late Prof. T. G. Pinches, already published in German by Dr. E. F. Weidner of Berlin, to whom as well as to Mr. Chappelow their warm thanks are due.

THE CREATION OF MAN AND THE FIXING OF THE ANUNNAKI.

By ERNST F. WEIDNER, Berlin.

Translator's Note.

On March 7th, 1927, the late Professor T. G. Pinches, LL.D., M.R.A.S., read before the Institute a paper entitled "The Completed Legend of Bel-Merodach and the Dragon."

On pages 16 and 17 of that paper Dr. Pinches gave a translation of that part of the Sixth Tablet of the Creation Epic which deals with the fashioning of man, so far as it was then known, closing with the lines describing the division of the Anunnaki. Dr. Pinches then pointed out that the next lines were imperfect and difficult of interpretation.

Among a large number of copies of cuneiform inscriptions which he had made over a period of many years and which were handed to me after his death by his brother, Mr. Ernest Pinches, was one which, dealing with this particular passage, filled up the gaps existent at the time he wrote his paper, and which he had no doubt overlooked.

The fragment in question has removed the difficulties to which Dr. Pinches referred.

Through the medium of Dr. Campbell Thompson, I was put in touch with Dr. Ernst Weidner of Berlin, the editor of the *Archiv für Orientforschung*, who had been making inquiries as to any unpublished Assyriological work which Dr. Pinches might have left. As a result Dr. Weidner published in the *Archiv*, Band XI, Heft 1/2 (1936), the article which I have, with his consent, translated below.



It is interesting to note that among the papers which, after classification, I was able to send to him were more than thirty copies of unpublished cuneiform texts, which he is now printing in successive issues of his paper under the title *Cuneiform Texts from Copies by T. G. Pinches*.

The fragment of Tablet VI copied by Dr. Pinches has not only completed the Assyro-Babylonian account of the creation of man but also, if, as Dr. Weidner suggests, it may be interpreted in an astronomical sense, relates the allocation to the Anunnaki by Murduk of their stations in the zodiacal belt, reminiscent of Genesis i, 16 :

“He made the stars also.”

In view of Dr. Pinches' long and close association with the Institute this further and posthumous contribution of his to the science to

which he devoted his life, supplementing, as it does, the paper which he read before the Institute more than ten years ago, may be of interest.

E. B. W. CHAPPELOW, M.R.A.S., F.R.S.A.

We have gained a knowledge of the Sixth Tablet of the Creation Epic *Enuma eliš* through a tablet from Assur (VAT 9676—Ebeling KAR IV, No. 164).

With the help of this it has been possible to establish that three fragments of tablets which are preserved in the British Museum, namely, K. 3449A (*Cuneiform Texts*, XIII, 23), K. 12000B (*Cuneiform Texts*, XIII, 24), and British Museum 92629 (King: *The Seven Tablets of Creation* II, Pls. XXXV–XXXVII), likewise contain parts of the Sixth Tablet. The two first-named fragments came from Aššurbânapi's library. But the British Museum possesses at least one other fragment of the Sixth Tablet from the same source. I owe my knowledge of it to a copy made by the English Assyriologist, Theo. G. Pinches, to whom science owes so much, which was found among his literary remains. It bears the designation "K. unnumbered" and was made more than fifty years before the cataloguing of the clay tablets from Aššurbânapi's library. I have not been able to ascertain its present number. Whether K. 3449A, K. 12000B and "K. unnumbered" should happen to belong to the same tablet can only be decided if "K. unnumbered" is successfully identified.

The fragment "K. unnumbered," the significance of which only becomes apparent with the publication of the texts of Ebeling and Langdon, contains parts of lines 28–50¹ (=KAR IV, No. 164, Vs. 23–28) of *Enuma eliš*, Tablet VI. But it was just this piece which was hitherto very mutilated, and the united labours of scholars completely failed to arrive at a conclusive understanding of it.²

It is a very fortunate occurrence that the new fragment now fills up all gaps.

I subjoin a transliteration and translation of lines 28–50 in which only what is enclosed in square brackets is to be found in none of the three copies.

28. *d*qin-gu-ma ša ib-nu-u tu-qu-un-tu
29. u ti-amat uš-bal-ki-tam-ma [i] q- u-ru ta-ḥa-zu
30. ik-mu-šu mah-riš ^de-a u-kal-lu-šu
31. an-nam i-me-du-šu-ma da-me-šu ip-tar-'-u
32. ina da-me-šu ib-nu-u a-me-lu-ta
33. i-mid dul-li ilâni-ma ilâni um-taš-šir
34. ul-tu a-me-lu-ta ib-nu-u ^de-a ir-šu
35. dul-lu ilâni i-me-du-ni ša-a-šu
36. šip-ru šu-u la na-ṭu-u ḥa-sa-si-iš
37. ina nik-la-a-ti ša ^dmarduk ib-na-a ^dnu-dim-mud

38. *^dmarduk šar ilāni u-za'-az*
 39. *^da-nun-na-ki gim-rat-su-nu e-liš u šap-liš*
 40. *u-ad-di- a-na ^da-nim te-r[i]-tuš na-ša-ra*
 41. *5 Uš ina šamê^e u-kin ma-aš-šar-ta*
 42. *uš-taš-ni-ma al-ka-kat iršitim^{tim} u-aš-šir*
 43. *ina šamê^e u iršitim^{tim} 600 uš-te-šib*
 44. *ul-tu te-ri-e-ti nap-ḥar-ši-na u-ir-ru*
 45. *a-na ^da-nun-na-ki ša šamê^e u iršitim^{tim} u-za'-i-zu is-gat-su-un*
 46. *^da-nun-na-ki pa-a-šu-nu i-pu-šu-ma*
 47. *a-na ^dmarduk be-la-šu-nu šu-nu iz-zak-ru*
 48. *i-nanna³ be-li ša šu-bar-ra-ni taš-ku-nu-ma*
 49. *mi-nu-u du-muq-ga-ni ina maḥ-ri-ka*
 50. *i ni-pu-uš pa-rak-ki ša na-bu-u zi-kir-šu*

Translation.

28. "Qingu⁴ it was who planned the revolt,
 29. Tiamat caused to rebel, enkindled the strife."⁵
 30. They overpowered him, before Ea they set him in bonds.
 31. Punishment they laid upon him, his blood they let (his veins they cut open).
 32. With his blood he⁶ created mankind,
 33. Imposed on them the service of the gods; the gods themselves he made free (thereof).
 34. When Ea the Wise had created mankind,
 35. Had laid upon them the service of the gods,
 36. This work incomprehensible (to men)⁷
 37. Nudimmud⁸ performed through the wisdom of Marduk---
 38. Marduk, king of the gods, halved⁹
 39. The company of the Anunnaki, above and below;
 40. He appointed them to fulfil the behests of Anu;
 41. 300 he set in heaven as wardens;
 42. 300 in the underworld (lit. he repeated it);¹⁰ the limits of the underworld he laid firmly;
 43. In heaven and earth he made 600 dwell.
 44. When he had proclaimed the whole of (his) decrees,
 45. Among the Anunnaki of heaven and the underworld their portions had shared out,
 46. Then the Anunnaki opened their mouths,
 47. To Marduk, their lord, they said:
 48. "Now, my lord, thou who has achieved our deliverance,
 49. What good deed shall we (do) for thee in return?¹¹
 50. Lo! We will build for thee a high seat whose name shall be named."

The information as to the creation of man (11, 30-37) is now quite clear. Ea, on the counsel of Marduk, creates mankind from Qingu's blood, and man must now assume the burden of service for the great gods, which formerly the Anunnaki had had to perform. The Anunnaki are freed therefrom and show themselves grateful for it (11, 48 ff.).

The Anunnaki, whose number amounts to 600, were then placed under the care of Anu; 300 were to keep watch in heaven and 300 in the underworld. This statement is to be understood, perhaps, in an astronomical sense. Anu is the sovereign of a "Way" in the heaven of fixed stars, a way which lies on both sides of the equator and also comprises one half of the zodiacal belt.¹² One half of this belt reveals itself to the observer above the horizon, whilst the other half is hidden under the horizon. In this way the division of the Anunnaki into the 300 Anunnaki of heaven and the 300 Anunnaki of the underworld would be well explained.¹³

Whether it was also directly believed that the Anunnaki manifested themselves on both sides of the equator is a question which can for the present scarcely be decided.

A conjecture may, however, be made here. In astrological texts which deal with eclipses of the sun, it is said that the sun *ina purussi a-nun-na-ki*,¹⁴ "by the decree of fate of the Anunnaki,"¹⁴ weeps (*i-bak-ki*)¹⁵ or abases itself (*ip-pa-al-sah*)¹⁶. It might be thought from this that the sun was closely interknit with the Anunnaki if it came near their appointed province in the Anu-way (a province on both sides of the equator) or pursued its apparent daily path therein.

The dates of the months mentioned both in the text and commentaries only partly agree with this, it is true, and this question, too, must remain open.

Abbreviations.

VAT. = Vorderasiatische Abteilung (Berliner Museum), Tontafel.
 KAR. = Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts.

Notes.

¹ I have adopted the numbering of the lines in Furlani's *Il Poema della Creazione*, pp. 103-5.

² The following works may be compared:

E. Ebeling, *Altorientalische Texte und Untersuchungen II*, 4, S. 56-9 and *Altorient, Texte zum Alten Testamer* ², S. 122

S. Smith, *The Babylonian Legends of Creation* (London, 1931), pp. 64 ff.

St. Langdon, *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, VI, p. 96 ff.

G. Furlani, *Il Poema della Creazione*, pp. 103-5.

A. Deimel, *Enuma eliš und Hexaëmeron*, pp. 59, 63.

³ Dr. Weidner gives technical arguments as to why this cannot be translated *nannaru*, "light." (E. B. C.)

⁴ Qingu, the successor of Apsu as the spouse and right hand of Tiamat, to whom she gave the Tablets of Fate (E.B.C.).

⁵ In l. 28 f. the Igigi reply to Marduk's question.

⁶ *Ib-nu-u*, which can only mean "they created," but a comparison with l. 34 supports the translation "he created."

⁷ That is to say: not to be understood by the human mind.

⁸ Nudimmud: another name for Ea (E. B. C.).

⁹ Marduk had already announced this halving of the gods in line 10 of Tablet VI.

¹⁰ This is clearly to be understood as meaning that Marduk also established another 300 Anunnaki, this time as watchers in the underworld.

¹¹ The Anunnaki here ask Marduk how they can show their gratitude for their deliverance from the burden of service; interpreted otherwise, but scarcely correctly by Ebeling, *Altoriental. Texte zum Alten Testament*², p. 122, note f.

¹² Weidner: *Archiv für Orientforschung*, VII, p. 171.

¹³ Cf. Zimmern, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3rd edition (Berlin, 1902), pp. 451-3, who has already declared himself in precisely the same sense. (There is a good collection of material on the Anunnaki in Deimel, *Pantheon*, p. 57 ff.)

¹⁴ Cf. Landsberger, *Der Kultische Kalender*, p. 143; somewhat differently, Weidner, *Babyloniaca*, VI, p. 101 f.

¹⁵ Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne*, 2 Suppl. XIX, 25, and XL 1-7; Weidner, *Babyloniaca*, VI, p. 98, line 5 f.

¹⁶ Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne*, 1 Suppl. XX, 25 = 2 Suppl. XL, 8 = VAT. 5740, obverse 3-5 (unpublished).