

## Source Criticism, the Documentary Hypothesis, and Genesis 1-3

### 1. Source Criticism

#### a. Authorship of the Pentateuch

Acceptance of anonymous authorship → the attribution of the whole Pentateuch to Moses, beginning around the first century CE → doubts about Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch raised by Spinoza and Hobbes in the 17<sup>th</sup> century → the 18<sup>th</sup> century and 19<sup>th</sup> century sees the development of non-confessional approaches (chiefly Source Criticism) that approach the Pentateuch as history and literature rather than Scripture, leading to the development of the Documentary Hypothesis.

#### b. Initial insights

*Names for God in the Pentateuch:*

**Elohim** – Hebrew word for “God,” translated with “God” in English biblical translations.

**YHWH** – The tetragrammaton (lit. four letters), the Name of God revealed to Moses according to Exodus 3, rendered with “The Lord” in English biblical translations.

#### c. The Documentary Hypothesis

CHART OF THE DOCUMENTARY HYPOTHESIS, IN ITS MOST COMMON FORM	CORRESPONDING EVENTS IN ISRAELITE HISTORY
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Early Oral &amp; Written Sources</b></p>	<p><b><u>Monarchic Era, 1000-587 BCE</u></b>                      1030-1010 BCE – King Saul                      1010-970 BCE – King David, ruling with Jerusalem as his capital                      970-931 BCE – King Solomon; building of the Jerusalem Temple                      931 BCE – With death of Solomon, Northern Kingdom (Israel) secedes from Southern Kingdom (Judah), ending the period of the United Monarchy</p> <p>722/721 BCE - Northern Kingdom (Israel) conquered by Assyrians, population dispersed</p> <p>620 BCE – King Josiah (of Judah) and "Deuteronomic Reforms"</p> <p><b><u>Babylonian Exile, 586-537 BCE</u></b></p> <p><b><u>Second Temple Period, 539 BCE–70 CE</u></b></p>

Two sources date from before the fall of the Northern Kingdom in 722 BCE, when the Assyrian empire invaded the Northern Kingdom and dispersed the population (= the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel):

**J (also called the Yahwist):** This source uses YHWH as God's name. This source is typically dated around the 10<sup>th</sup> century BCE and associated with the southern tribes, whether during period of the United Monarchy or after the split into two kingdoms. J is known for its folkloristic character and anthropomorphic descriptions of the divine. It exhibits a special concern for the Patriarchs.

**E (also called the Elohist):** This source uses Elohim ("God") for the divine name until Exodus 3-6, which describes how the Tetragrammaton was revealed to Moses and to Israel. It seems to have originated in the Northern Kingdom after the split of Israel into two kingdoms. It exhibits a special concern for Moses.

Most scholars think that J and E were collected and combined into a single story fairly soon after 722 BCE. The other two sources, D and P, both seem to know J and E in their combined form.

**P (Priestly source):** This source is characterized by genealogies, lists, hierarchies, and cultic themes. This source provided the entire book of Leviticus, along with sections in Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers concerning genealogy, the priesthood, and worship. Some scholars (like Friedman) place it before the Babylonian Exile, while others place it afterwards

**D (Deuteronomist):** The first four books of the Pentateuch are a combination of J, E, and P. The final book, Deuteronomy, is written in a different style, similar to Joshua, Judges, 1-2 Samuel, and 1-2 Kings (The Former Prophets). The source responsible for almost all of Deuteronomy and the bulk of Former Prophets is called D. D is marked by a preoccupation with Israelite history as the story of the chosen people's reward for righteousness and punishment for sin.

Accordingly to the Documentary Hypothesis, the combination of all this material in its present form dates to the Second Temple period.

## 2. Genesis 1-3 according to the Documentary Hypothesis

*Genesis 1:* Men and women are created last, after plants and animals.

*Genesis 2:* Man as being created first, followed by plants, then animals, then woman.

Gen 1:1-2:4b = attributed to P, due to use of Elohim (in this case, YHWH Elohim) as well as the concern for proper times and the hierarchical categorization of everything in the created world. God is here depicted as distant, majestic, and cosmic, as in other materials attributed to P.

Gen 2:4b-3:24 = attributed to J, due to the use of YHWH, the inclusion of folkloristic elements like the talking serpent, and the depiction of God as walking around the Garden and talking to people.

### J Creation Narrative: Genesis 2:4b-3:24

- Parallels and contrasts with Ancient Near Eastern cosmogonies like *Atrahasis* and *Enuma Elish*.
- J's cosmogony and anthropogony demonstrate a concern for the relationship between man (Hebrew: *adam*) and the earth (Hebrew: *adamah*)
- God here walks around and talks to people and is depicted with a parental relationship to humankind.
- Aetiologies: Marriage; serpent crawling on its belly; women's antipathy to serpents; women's pain in childbirth; women's subordinate position to men in social hierarchy; men's need for difficult labor to grow food from the earth; clothing; moral discernment

### P Creation Narrative: Genesis 1:1-2:4a

- Six days of Creation + day of rest = cosmogonic week that explains the orderly creation of each category of element of the cosmos while also establishing the 7-day-week and the Sabbath as part of the very structure of the cosmos.

1. Separation of light from darkness	4. Creation of celestial lights: sun, moon, stars
2. Separation of waters above from waters below; creation of firmament	5. Creation of birds (creatures of the air) and fishes (creatures of the waters)
3. Separation of water (sea) from land (earth); creation of plant-life	6. Creation of animals (creatures of the land) and humankind as steward for Creation
7. Day of rest = sanctified as first Sabbath	

- God is here cosmic, distant, and majestic, creating through speech.
- God is depicted as the ruler of the cosmos and humankind is His representative ruling on earth.

### KEY TERMS

**Aetiology** (also spelled "Etiology") – Story explaining how something came to be.

**Cosmogony** – Story about the creation of the cosmos.

**Theogony** – Story about the creation of gods.

**Anthropogony** – Story about the creation of humankind.

**Hexaemeron** – The six days of Creation.

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## Ancient Near Eastern Texts with Parallels to Genesis 1-11

### Part One: Creation Myths

#### 1. SELECTIONS FROM *ATRAHASIS* (ca. 19<sup>th</sup> c. BCE; earliest fragments date from 17<sup>th</sup> century BCE)

From *Myths From Mesopotamia: Gilgamesh, The Flood, and Others*, trans. Stephanie Dalley  
For full text of Tablet I, see <http://www.gatewaystobabylon.com/myths/texts/enki/atraha1.htm>

#### ***Atrahasis* 1: The creation of humankind to serve the gods**

When the gods instead of man  
Did the work, bore the loads,  
The gods' load was too great,  
The work too hard, the trouble too much,  
The great Anunnaki made the Igigi  
Carry the workload sevenfold.

Anu their father was king,  
Their counselor warrior Ellil,  
Their Chamberlain was Ninurta,  
Their canal-controller Ennugi.  
They took the box of lots  
Cast the lots; the gods made the division.

Anu went up to the sky,  
And Ellil took the earth for his people.  
The bolt which bars the sea  
Was assigned to far-sighted Enki.  
When Anu had gone up to the sky,  
And the gods of the Apsu had gone below,  
The Annunaki of the sky  
Made the Igigi bear the workload.

The gods had to dig out canals,  
Had to clear channels, the lifelines of the land.  
The gods dug out the Tigris river  
And then dug out the Euphrates...

For 3,600 years they bore the excess,  
Hard work, night and day.  
They groaned and blamed each other,  
Grumbled over the masses of excavated soil:  
"Let us confront our Chamberlain  
And get him to relieve us of our hard work!  
Come, let us carry the Lord  
The counselor of the gods, the warrior from his dwelling" ...  
When they reached the gate of warrior Ellil's dwelling, it was night, the middle watch,  
The house was surrounded, the god had not realized....

When Nusku heard this,  
He took up his weapons,  
Bowed in the assembly of the great gods, then stood  
And told them:  
"Your father Anu, your counselor warrior Ellil,  
Your chamberlain Ninurta and your canal controller Ennugi have sent me to say,

'Who is in charge of the rabble? Who is in charge of the fighting? Which god started the war?'

A rabble was running around Ellil's door!"...

Ea made his voice heard

And spoke to the gods his brothers,

"Why are we blaming them?

Their work was too hard, their trouble was too much...

Belet-ili the womb goddess is present ---

Let her create a mortal man

So that he may bear the yoke...

So that he may bear the yoke, the work of Ellil.

Let man bear the load of the gods!...

Nintu made her voice heard

And spoke to the great gods,

"On the first, seventh, and fifteenth of the month

I shall make a purification by washing.

Then one god should be slaughtered.

And the gods can be purified by immersion.

Nintu shall mix the clay

With his flesh and blood.

Then a god and a man

Will be mixed together in clay.

Let us hear the drumbeat forever after,

Let a ghost come into existence from the god's flesh,

Let her proclaim it as her living sign,

And let the ghost exist so as not to forget the slain god"...

After she had mixed that clay,

She called up the Anunnaki, the great gods.

The Igigi, the great gods,

Spat spittle upon the clay

Mami made her voice heard

And spoke to the great gods,

"I have carried out perfectly

The work that you ordered of me.

You have slaughtered a god together with his intelligence.

I have relieved you of your hard work,

I have imposed your load on man.

You have bestowed noise on man,

You have bestowed noise on mankind.

I have undone the fetter and granted freedom"...

Far sighted Enki and wise Mami

Went into the room of fate.

The womb-goddesses were assembled.

He trod the clay in her presence;

She kept reciting an incantation...

She pinched off fourteen pieces of clay,

And set seven pieces on the right, seven on the left.

Between them she put down a mud brick.

She made use of a reed, opened it to cut the umbilical cord,

Called up the wise and knowledgeable

Womb goddesses, seven and seven.

Seven created males,

Seven created females,

For the womb goddess is creator of fate...

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## 2. SELECTIONS FROM ENUMA ELISH (ca. 1200 BCE)

From *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, trans. N. K. Sandars.

For full text, see <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/~hummm/Resources/Ane/enumaA.html>

### ***Enuma Elish* 1: Theogony (creation of the gods), divine rebellion, and Flood**

When there was no heaven,  
no earth, no height, no depth, no name,  
when Apsu was alone,  
the sweet water, the first begetter; and Tiamat  
the bitter water, and that  
return to the womb, her Mummu,  
when there were no gods –

When sweet and bitter  
mingled together, no reed was plaited, no rushes  
muddied the water,  
the gods were nameless, natureless, futureless, then  
from Apsu and Tiamat  
in the waters gods were created, in the waters  
silt precipitated,

Lahmu and Lahumu,  
were named; they were not yet old  
not yet grown tall  
when Anshar and Kishar overtook them both,  
the lines of sky and earth  
stretched where horizons meet to separate  
cloud from silt.

Days on days, years  
on year passed till Anu, the empty heaven,  
heir and supplanter,  
first-born of his father, in his own nature  
begot Nudimmud-Ea,  
intellect, wisdom, wider than heaven's horizon,  
the strongest of all the kindred.

Discord broke out among the gods although they were brothers, warring and jarring in the belly of Tiamat, heaven shook, it reeled with the surge of the dance; Apsu could not silence the clamour, their behavior was bad, overbearing and proud. But still Tiamat lay inert till Apsu, the father of gods, bellowed for that servant who clouds his judgment, his Mummu, "Dear counselor, come with me to Tiamat." They have gone, and in front of Tiamat they sit down and talk together about the young gods, their first-born children; Apsu said, "Their manners revolt me, day and night without remission we suffer. My will is to destroy them, all of their kind, we shall have peace at last and we will sleep again." When Tiamat heard she was stung, she writhed in lonely desolation, her heart worked in secret passion, Tiamat said, "Why must we destroy the children that we made? If their ways are troublesome, let us wait a little while."

Then Mummu advised Apsu, and he spoke in malice, "Father, destroy them in full rebellion, you will have quiet in the daytime and at night you will sleep." When Apsu heard, the die was cast against his children, his face flamed with the pleasure of evil; but Mummu he embraced; he hung on his neck; he sat him down on his knees and kissed him. The decision was known to all their children; confusion seized them and after, a great silence, for they were confounded.

The god who is the source of wisdom, the bright intelligence that perceives and plans, Nudimmud-Ea, saw through it, he sounded the coil of chaos, and against it devised the artifice of the universe. He spoke the word that charmed the waters, it fell upon Apsu, he lay asleep, the sweet waters slept, Apsu slept, Mummu was overcome, Apsu lay drowned, undone....

Ea has defeated his enemies and trodden them down. Now that his triumph was completed, in deep peace he rested, in his holy palace Ea slept. Over the abyss, the distance, he built his house and shrine and there magnificently he lived with his wife Damkina. In that room, at the point of decision where what is to come is predetermined, he was conceived, the most sagacious, the one from the first most absolute in action. In the deep abyss he was conceived, MARDUK was made in the heart of the apsu, MARDUK was created in the heart of the holy apsu. Ea begot him and Damkina bore him, father and mother; he sucked the breasts of goddesses, from his nurses he was fed on the terribleness that filled him. His body was beautiful; when he raised his eyes great lights flared; his stride was majestic; he was the leader from the first...

Then Anu begot winds and brought them from the four quarters, to be the can and to command the ranks and he brought the tornado, a wild surf to worry Tiamat. But now the other gods had no rest any more, tormented by storms, they conspired in their secret hearts and brought to Tiamat the matter of their plot. To their own mother they said, "When they killed Apsu you did not stir, you brought no help to him, your husband. Now Anu has called up from the four quarters this abomination of winds to rage in your guts, and we cannot rest for the pain; Remember Apsu in your heart, your husband, remember Mummu who was defeated; now you are all alone, and thrash around in desolation, and we have lost your love, our eyes ache and we long for sleep. Rouse up, our Mother! Pay them back and make them empty like the wind."

Tiamat approved it, she said, "I approve this advice: we will make monsters, and monsters and gods against hods will march into battle together." Together they jostle the ranks to march with Tiamat, day and night furiously they plot, the growling roaring rout, ready for battle, while the Old Hag, the first mother, mothers a new brood... She loosed the irresistible missile, she spawned enormous serpents with cutting fangs, chock-full of venom in stead of blood, snarling dragons wearing their glory like gods; whoever sees this thing received the shock of death, for when they heave those bodies up they never turn them back. She made the Worm, the Dragon, the Female Monster, the Great Lion, the Mad Dog, the Man Scorpion, the Howling Storm, Kulili, Kusariqu... Eleven such monsters she made, but she took from among the gods the clumsy laborer KINGU, one of the first generation to be her Captain, War-leader, Assembly-leader...

All this she gave him when she raised their Company, she said, "Now it is in your hands, my spell will hold them bound, they must obey my will. You are supreme, my one husband, your word will hold the rebel hordes. She gave him the Tables of Fate and fastened them on to his breast, "Now and for ever more your word is irrevocable, your judgments will last! They will quench the fire and the swinging mace will fail of its power." When Kingu had received the authority, which had belonged before to Anu, in their several natures they confirmed the brood of monsters.

### ***Enuma Elish 2: Divine war and the ascension of Marduk***

When her labor of creation was ended, against her children Tiamat began preparations of war. This was the evil she did to requite Apsu, this was the evil news that came to Ea. When he had learned how matters lay he was stunned, he sat in black silence till rage had worked itself out; then he remembered the gods before him. He went to Anshar, his father's father, and told him how Tiamat plotted...

When Anshar heard how the Tiamat-tempest was rising he struck his groin, bit his lip, restless, gloomy and sick at heart, he covered his mouth to stifle his groans. At last he spoke, urging Ea on to the fight, "Once you made a snare of words, now go and try it out. You killed Mummu, killed Aspu; kill Kingu who marches in front of Tiamat!"

The sagacious counselor of all the gods, Nudimmud-Ea, answered Anshar... "I will meet Tiamat and calm her spirit, when her heart brims over she will hear my words, and if not mine then yours may appease the waters." Nudimmud took the short road, went the direct way to Tiamat; but when he saw her whole strategy he could not face her, but he came back cringing.

So Anshar called his son Anu, "This is the true hero, an irresistible onslaught, a strong god. Go, and face Tiamat, and calm her spirit; when her heart brims over she will listen to you, but if she remains unreconciled my word may appease the waters." Anu obeyed his father's orders, he took the short road, went the direct way to Tiamat; but when he had come so close that he saw her whole strategy, he could not face her, he came back cringing to his father Anshar. He spoke as though he saw Tiamat still, "My hands are too weak, I cannot conquer her."

Anshar was dumb; he stared at the ground and his hair stood on end. He shook his head at Ea, all the Anunnaki, the host of gods gathered into that place tongue-tied; they sat with mouths shut for they thought: "What other god can make war on Tiamat? No one else can face her and come back."

Then the Lord, the father of gods, Anshar rose to his feet majestically. Having considered everything he spoke to the Anunnaki, "Which one of us is impetuous in battle? The hero Marduk! Only he is strong enough to avenge us." Then Ea called Marduk into a secret place and gave him subtle advice out of his deep mind, "You are the dear son who warms my heart, Marduk. When you see Anshar go straight to him as you would go into battle. Stand up when you speak, and when he sees you he will grow calm."

Lord Marduk exulted, he strode forward and stood facing Anshar. When Anshar saw him his heart swelled with joy, he kissed him on the lips and shook off despair. "Anshar, break your silence, let your words ring out for I will accomplish what you long for most in your heart. What hero has forced the battle on you? Only a female thing, only Tiamat flies at you with all her contrivance. You shall soon straddle Tiamat's neck."

"My son, my wise son, confuse Tiamat with charged words, go quickly now, the storm is your chariot, they will never deflect you from Tiamat, but having done with her, then return."

The Lord exulted, with racing spirits he said to the father of gods: "Creator of the gods who decides their destiny, if I must be your avenger, defeating Tiamat, saving your lives, Call the Assembly, give me precedence over all the rest; and when you sit down to pass your decrees, cheerfully sit in Ubshukinna, the Hall of the Synod; now and for ever let my word be law; I, not you, will decide the world's nature, the things to come. My decrees shall never be altered, never be annulled, but my creation endures to the ends of the world."

#### ***Enuma Elish 4: Marduk's Battle with Tiamat and Creation of the World with her Body***

They set up a throne for Marduk and he sat down facing his forefathers to receive the government.

"One god is greater than all great gods,  
a fairer fame, the word of command,  
the word from heaven, O Marduk,  
greater than all great gods, the honor  
and the fame, the will of Anu, great  
command, unaltering and eternal word!

Where there is action the first to act,  
where there is government the first to govern;  
to glorify some, to humiliate some,  
that is the gift of the god,  
Truth absolute, unbounded will;  
which god dares question it?  
In their beautiful places a place  
is kept for you, Marduk, our avenger.

We have called you here to receive the scepter, to make you king of the whole universe. When you sit down in the Synod you are the arbiter; in the battle your weapon crushes the enemy. Lord, save the life of any god who turns to you; but as for the one who grasped evil, from that one let his life drain out.

..... They robed him in robes of a king, the scepter and the throne they gave him, and matchless war-weapons as a shield against the adversary. "Be off. Slit life from Tiamat, and may the winds carry her blood to the world's secret ends."

The old gods had assigned to Bel what he would be and what he should do, always conquering, always succeeding; then Marduk made a bow and strung it to be his own weapon, he set the arrow against the bow-string, in his right hand he grasped the mace and lifted it up, bow and quiver hung at his side, lightnings played in front of him, he was altogether an incandescence. He netted a net, a snare for Tiamat; the winds from their quarters held it, south wind, north, east wind, west, and no part of Tiamat could escape. With the net, the gift of Anu, held close to his side, he himself raised up IMHULLU the atrocious wind, the tempest, the whirlwind, the hurricane, the wind of four and the wind of seven, the tumid wind worst of all.

All seven winds were created and released to savage the guts of Tiamat, they towered behind him. Then the tornado ABUBA his last great ally, the signal for assault, he lifted up. He mounted the storm, his terrible chariot, reins hitched to the side, yoked four in hand the appalling team, sharp poisoned teeth, the Killer, the Pitiless, Trampler, Haste, they knew arts of plunder, skills of murder...

He took his route towards the rising sound of Tiamat's rage, and all the gods besides, the fathers of the gods pressed in around him, and the lord approached Tiamat... Then they met: Marduk, that cleverest of gods, and Tiamat grappled alone in singled fight. The lord shot his net to entangle Tiamat, and the pursuing tumid wind, Imhullu, came from behind and beat in her face. When the mouth gaped open to suck him down he drove Imhullu in, so that the mouth would not shut but wind raged through her belly; her carcass blown up, tumescent. She gaped, and now he shot the arrow that split the belly, that pierced the gut and cut the womb.

Now that the Lord had conquered Tiamat he ended her life, he flung her down and straddled the carcass; the leader was killed, Tiamat was dead her rout was shattered, her band dispersed. Those gods who had marched beside her now quaked in terror, and to save their own lives, if they could, they turned their backs on danger But they were surrounded, held in a tight circle, and there was no way out... The Lord rested; he gazed at the huge body, pondering how to use it, what to create from the dead carcass. He split it apart like a cockle-shell; with the upper half he constructed the arc of sky, he pulled down the bar and set a watch on the waters, so they should never escape...

#### ***Enuma Elish 4: Marduk's creation of the earth and plan to build Temples***

He projected positions for the Great Gods conspicuous in the sky, he gave them a starry aspect as constellations; he measure the year, gave it a beginning and an end, and to each month of the twelve three rising stars. When he had marked the limits of the year, he gave them Nebiru, the pole of the universe, to hold their course, that never erring they should not stray through the sky. For the seasons of Ea and Enlil he drew the parallel. Through her ribs he opened gates in the east and west, and gave them strong bolts on the right and left; and high in the belly of Tiamat he set the zenith. He gave the moon the luster of a jewel, he gave him all the night, to mark off days, to watch by night each month the circle of a waxing waning light. "New Moon, when you rise on the world, six days your horns are crescent, until half-circle on the seventh, waxing still phase follows phase, you will divide the month from full to full. Then wane, a gibbous light that fails, until low down on the horizon sun oversails you, drawing close his shadow lies across you, then dark of the moon- at thirty days the cycle's second starts again and follows through for ever and for ever. This is your emblem and the road you take, and when you close the sun, speak of both of you with justice judgment uncorrupt... When Marduk had sent out the moon, he took the sun and set him to complete the cycle from this one to the next New Year.... He gave him the Eastern Gate, and the ends of the night with the day, he gave to Shamash.

Then Marduk considered Tiamat. He skimmed spume from the bitter sea, heaped up the clouds, spindrift of wet and wind and cooling rain, the spittle of Tiamat. With his own hands from the steaming mist he spread the clouds. He pressed hard down the head of water, heaping mountains over it, opening springs to flow: Euphrates and Tigris rose from her eyes, but he closed the nostrils and held back their springhead. He piled huge mountains on her breasts and through them drove water-holes to channel the deep sources; and high overhead he arched her tail, locked-in to the wheel of heaven; the pit was under his feet, between was the crotch, the sky's fulcrum. Now the earth had foundations and the sky its mantle.

When god's work was done, when he had fashioned it all and finished, then on earth he founded temples and made them over to Ea.... He mounted the throne raised up in the temple.

Damkina and Ea and all the Great Gods, all the Igigi shouted, "In time past Marduk meant only "the beloved son" but now he is king indeed, this is so!".... When it was done, when they had made Marduk their king, they pronounced peace and happiness for him, "Over our houses you keep unceasing watch, and all you wish from us, that will be done." Marduk considered and began to speak to the gods assembled in his presence. This is what he said:

In the former time you inhabited the void above the abyss, but I have made Earth as the mirror of Heaven, I have consolidated the soil for the foundations, and there I will build my city, my beloved home. A holy precinct shall be established with sacred halls for the presence of the king. When you come up from the deep to join the Synod you will find lodging and sleep by night. When others from heaven descend to the Assembly, you too will find lodging and sleep by night. It shall be BABYLON the home of the gods. The masters of all crafts shall build it according to my plan.

When the older of the gods had heard this speech they had still one question to ask: "Over these things that your hands have formed, who will administer law? Over all this earth that you have made, who is to sit in judgment? You have given your Babylon a lucky name, let it be our home for ever! Let the fallen gods day after day serve us; and as we enforce your will let no one else usurp our office"....

### ***Enuma Elish 6: Marduk's creation of humankind and the establishment of Babylon***

Now that Marduk has heard what it is the gods are saying, he is moved with desire to create a work of consummate art. He told Ea the deep thought in his heart.

Blood to blood I join,  
blood to bone I form  
an original thing,  
its name is MAN,  
primordial man  
is mine in making.

All his occupations  
are faithful service,  
the gods that fell have rest,  
I will subtly alter  
their operations,  
divided companies  
equally blest.

Ea answered with carefully chosen words, completing the plan for the gods' comfort. He said to Marduk, "Let one of the kindred be taken; only one need die for the new creation. Bring the gods together in the Great Assembly; there let the guilty die, so the rest may live."

Marduk called the Great Gods to the Synod; he presided courteously, he gave instructions and all of them listened with grave attention. The king speaks to the rebel gods: "Declare on your oath if ever before you spoke the truth, who instigated rebellion? Who stirred up Tiamat? Who led the battle? Let the instigator of war be handed over; guilt and retribution are on him, and peace will be yours for ever."

The great Gods answered the Lord of the Universe, the king and counselor of gods, "It was Kingu who instigated rebellion, he stirred up that sea of bitterness and led the battle for her." They declared him guilty, they bound and held him down in front of Ea, they cut his arteries and from his blood they created man; and Ea imposed his servitude.

When it was done, when Ea in his wisdom had created man and man's burden, this thing was past comprehension, this marvel of subtlety conceived by Marduk and executed by Nudimmud...

When universal law was set up and the gods allotted their calling, then the Annunaki, the erstwhile fallen, opened their mouths to speak to Marduk: "Now that you have freed us and remitted our labor how shall we make a return for this? Let us build a temple and call it THE -INN-OF-REST-BY-NIGHT. There we will sleep at the season of the year, at the Great Festival when we from the Assembly; we will build alters for him, we will build the Parakku, the Sanctuary."

When Marduk heard this his face shone like broad day: "Tall Babel Tower, it shall be built as you desire; bricks shall be set in molds and you shall name it Parakku, the Sanctuary." The Anunnaki gods took up the tools, one whole year long they set bricks in molds; by the second year they had raised its head ESAGILA, it towered, the earthly temple, the symbol of infinite heaven...

When that building was finished the Anunnaki built themselves chapels; then all came in together and Marduk set out the banquet.

This is Babylon,  
"dear city of god"  
your beloved home!  
The length and breadth  
are ours, possess it,  
enjoy it, it is your own.

When all the gods sat down together there was wine and feasting and laughter; and after the banquet in beautiful Esagila they performed the liturgy from which the universe receives its structure, the occult is made plain, and through the universe gods are assigned their places.

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