

**SCTR (Scripture and Tradition) 65**  
**The History of Early Christianity**  
**Fall Quarter 2015**

Classroom: Kenna 105

Instructor: Prof. J. Pinault

Tuesday and Thursday 2:00 to 3:40

Dr. Pinault's office: 315 Kenna

Office hours: Friday 2:00 to 4:00 and by appointment

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**Course Description:**

Focusing on primary sources, we will examine the extraordinary story of the birth and rise of Christianity in the context of the Roman Empire. Our investigation will start with the Christian faith's origin in first-century Galilee and Judea and move into Syria and Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, and North Africa, down through the fifth century of the common era. Along the way, we will study how Christianity interacted with religions and philosophical traditions around the Mediterranean. The ideas and phenomena we explore have played a central role in Western culture and still resonate today in discussions about religion, ethics, politics, ethnic identity, social justice, literature, music, and art. And by becoming an active participant in this intellectual tradition, you will be able to contribute knowledgeably to any such discussion. In addition, along the way, you'll meet figures whose words will help you make sense of the world around you and, as you reflect, give you the chance to explore more deeply your own spiritual landscape.

**SCTR 65 and Santa Clara University's Core Curriculum.**

SCTR 65 is intended to be a RTC (Religion, Theology, and Culture) level 2 course. Santa Clara University's Core Curriculum Guidelines list the *following learning objectives* for RTC 2 courses:

2.a) "Students will be able to analyze complex and diverse religious phenomena (such as architecture and art, music, ritual, scriptures, theological systems, and other cultural expressions of religious belief)."

2.b) "Students will be able to integrate and compare several different disciplinary approaches to a coherent set of religious phenomena."

2.c) "Students will be able to clarify and express [their own] beliefs in light of their critical inquiry into the religious dimensions of human existence."

I have kept these Guidelines in mind as I created this course.

## **Class Format**

### Reading

The first step in the process of entering into the thought-world of this course is reading carefully the works on the syllabus. You are responsible for reserving time and energy for your reading assignments (not, for example, waiting until an hour before class). I expect you to underline important passages in your books and CAMINO printouts and to jot down responses and ideas in the margins. Bring all these materials to class to refer to during the discussion. Review your thoughts before class and write them down--that way you'll more easily remember your insights and contribute to the discussion in class. If you still have questions about the readings after class, come see me during office hours. Remember, your first responsibility in this course is keeping up with the reading.

Reading assignments in a variety of genres, including scripture, myth, epic poetry, philosophical dialogues, and contemporary journalism, will build up the historical and cultural context for Christianity and show you how Christianity interacted with this matrix. Engaging with these challenging texts will expand your knowledge of global cultures and foster religious reflection.

Learning how to read ancient texts is not easy. It is my hope that working with these texts in this course will give you the confidence to return to them again and again over the years.

Another aspect of these texts that we will be considering is the technology involved in their creation--what were the materials on which they were written and what were the writing systems used to record the thoughts of people separated from us by a span of several thousand years.

### Class participation

After the first class, we'll quickly review our discussion from the previous meeting, as a way of leading into the new topics to be covered. On the board you'll find key terms that will serve as an outline for the class. As soon as you come in, copy them down and get out the reading for the day and your notes. To provide the historical and theological context for each reading, I will give a short introductory briefing. Most of each class, however, will be spent in discussing the assigned reading. That is why the success of this course depends on your being prepared by having read the assignment (as described above) and having jotted down notes on points that you thought important, intriguing, or problematic and your responses. Then together we can create a good discussion--but this can only happen if you participate in class discussions, using your notes.

### Oral presentations

In addition to participating in classroom discussions, you'll contribute to your class participation grade by giving short (three-minute) oral summaries and presentations.

### Writing assignments

After careful reading and discussion, the next step in understanding these readings is to reflect on them in writing. Written assignments will consist of one ungraded essay and two graded essays.

We'll start with an ungraded essay that will give you a chance to introduce yourself to me and let me get to know you as a thinker and a writer. **Please**

**note, failure to submit this assignment at the beginning of the second class will result in the lowering of your final grade for this course by at least one step (e.g., from B- to C+).**

All writing assignments must be typed, double spaced, 14-point type, and submitted in hard-copy (paper) format. I do not accept email or on-line submissions. Please include on each page of your essay a header with your name, a brief essay title, and the relevant page number. All work must be your own (See section below, "**A reminder about academic honesty.**")

I encourage you to meet with me to discuss your thesis (or to develop one), your arguments and evidence to support your thesis, and the presentation of your ideas. Please take the time to proof your essays for grammatical mistakes, typographical errors, and careless wording, as these can negatively affect your grade.

### Exams

Exams at the middle of the quarter and at the end will stimulate you to keep up with assigned readings. The format of our exams will consist of key passages from our reading and class discussions as well as a choice of essays. You will be asked to identify the passage, analyze its significance, and compare and contrast the ideas in it to earlier and later essential concepts and themes encountered throughout the quarter. In the essay you will be asked to evaluate and apply insights from our study of the Christian tradition to open-ended questions facing contemporary society.

### **Evaluation and weight of assignments**

Your grade for the course will consist of the following elements:

Class participation	20%
2 exams, each worth 20%	40%
2 graded essays, each worth 20%	40%

Grade scale:

A = 96 - 100%  
A- = 90 - 95%  
B+ = 86 - 89%  
B = 80 - 85%  
B- = 76-79%  
C+ = 70 - 75%  
C = 66 - 69%  
C- = 60 - 65%  
D+ = 56 - 59%  
D = 50 - 55%  
D- = 46 - 49%  
F = 45 or less

F: unacceptable. With regard to writing assignments, this is the only grade for which I permit a rewrite. The highest grade I will give a rewrite, however, is D.

D: acceptable, even if unsatisfactory.

C: adequate; satisfactory.

B: good; impressive work.

A: outstanding. Indicates work that excels in meeting the standards of thoroughness, creativity, and sustained and thoughtful engagement with the assigned subject matter.

ONLY STUDENTS WHO ATTEND THE FIRST DAY OF CLASS ARE ELIGIBLE TO TAKE THIS COURSE. NO STUDENT WHO MISSES THE FIRST DAY OF CLASS WILL BE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE IN THIS COURSE.

TO HAVE THE POSSIBILITY OF RECEIVING A PASSING GRADE FOR THIS COURSE, YOU MUST COMPLETE ALL THE COURSE REQUIREMENTS--THAT MEANS, TAKING ALL THE TESTS AND HANDING IN ALL THE REQUIRED ESSAYS.

## **Class participation, attendance, absences, late papers, and your grade**

How much you get out of this class will depend on your active participation in class. Please note that missing class will hurt your final grade for the quarter. More than one unexcused absence over the course of the quarter will lower your **final grade** one step for each missed class (e.g., B becomes B-).

Of course, illness or personal circumstances may arise that make your absence unavoidable; if this occurs, please let me know as soon as possible so we can discuss your situation and how to help you stay on track. Also, don't forget to provide me with an appropriate written excuse from the proper source. (But be aware that a note from the Cowell Student Health Center does not automatically excuse your absence.) If you know in advance that you must be away, please notify me of this before class. If you suddenly and unexpectedly miss class for any reason, you must contact me immediately (via email or a visit to my office) to explain why you missed class. This will not excuse your absence, but it will let me know you take your responsibilities seriously and plan to continue in our course. This is a courtesy to me, and I value courtesy.

(NB: Whenever you email me, be sure to include the following in the subject line: your name, our course title, topic of email, and date).

Note that I take attendance at the beginning of each class. If you are not present by the time I finish recording the day's attendance, I will consider you late. For the purpose of computing final grades, I use the formula: three late attendances equal one unexcused absence.

All papers must be handed in on time. The grade for a late paper will be lowered one step for each day it is late (e.g., B- becomes C+).

**Regarding the ungraded first essay, failure to submit this assignment at the beginning of the second class will result in the lowering of your final grade for this course by at least one step (e.g., from B- to C+).**

## **A reminder about academic honesty**

Please make sure that all written work for this class is your own. This means you should not look at the work or notes of anyone in the class, even "to get ideas," or work together on any writing project with anyone in the class before checking with me first. If you use anyone's published or unpublished ideas or phrasing (even if you change a word or two or rephrase a whole sentence or paragraph), you must acknowledge your source. If you do not, you are being academically dishonest. And the penalties will be severe. Your paper will receive an F and you will receive an F for the course. I will also report the incident to the Office of Student Life and contact the Dean of Student Life to discuss further action.

Referring to other sources is not necessary for the papers you write in this course; you are not being asked to do original research. Rather, I am interested in hearing your own ideas as you analyze, compare, and contrast the complex readings we are working with in this course.

## **Disability accommodation policy**

If you need academic accommodation for a disability, you need to contact Disabilities Resources (Room 216, Benson Center, (408) 554-4109). Leave enough time, as they will require you to provide appropriate documentation before you can register and receive accommodation.

## **Policy on personal media in the classroom**

Out of respect for others and for the material (I expect you to show the same reverence towards these ancient texts as you would towards ancient works of art in a museum), please make sure all laptops, tablets, smart phones, cell phones, pagers, etc. are turned off and out of sight during class. Use of any such devices will result in your being counted absent for that day. For note-taking you will need to bring pens and pencils and paper or a notebook to class. Students with special needs must bring me the required forms from the Disabilities Resources Office.

## **Food Courtesy**

Always try to fortify yourself before class. If you do need a snack or drink, make sure it does not generate noise or odors and that you clean up after yourself. Any violation will result in your being counted absent for that day.

## **Classroom civility**

In order for everyone to feel comfortable with the material being discussed in class, it is crucial that we all practice being courteous and gentle with each other in our words and tone. We are all pilgrims in this course.

## **Texts**

Available in the Santa Clara University Bookstore:

The KJV Study Bible (King James version), Barbour Publishing, 2011.

### **All other readings will be available on CAMINO**

(Under "Files"--and remember, you'll need to print out the day's readings, as you'll not be able to view them on any device in class.)

## **Course Syllabus**

(Please make sure that you have completed the assigned readings, viewing, or listening in time for class. Also bring your books and photocopied materials and notes so that you will be ready to participate.)

## **WEEK I**

### **Tuesday, September 22**

Introduction to course: review of syllabus; discussion about what religion is and how one goes about the academic study of religion; the difficulties involved in working with ancient sources, including the Bible; looking at the temporal and geographic parameters of our course; key terms for the ungraded written assignment.

**Ungraded written assignment, due Thursday, September 24.** (Note that this is an ungraded assignment, but if you do not submit your completed essay at the beginning of class, Thursday, September 24, your **final grade** for the course will be lowered at least one step (e.g., from B- to C+), and your **final course grade** will be lowered an additional step for each day this assignment is late.)

This ungraded written assignment (due Thursday) will give you the opportunity to introduce yourself to me as a writer. Aim not for length, but for clear thinking and writing. The following section headings will provide a rough outline, and the questions that follow will help you get started with each section:

- I. Summary of the Enuma Elish (text of the Enuma Elish attached to this syllabus and on Camino). In your own words, as briefly and clearly as you can, describe what is depicted in each tablet--that is, who does what to whom. Do not analyze, compare, or contrast in this section.
  
- II. Analysis. Here are some questions to help you understand what is being described. Imagine you heard the Enuma Elish recited by priests of Marduk annually at the New Year's Festival. How would it make you feel about Marduk? About Tiamat? Kingu? How would this story affect the way you felt about the origin of the world? The heavens? Human kind? Your relations to the gods? Your purpose in life?
  
- III. Brief description of your previous experience, impressions, and/or knowledge of Christianity. Please include a statement in which you identify and briefly reflect on your own religious or philosophical world view, however you define this for yourself (whether in terms of denominational religious affiliation, unaffiliated spirituality, self-identification as an agnostic, skeptic, atheist, freethinker, etc.).

Be sure to cite any sources (online or print) that you consult for this assignment--but remember that this is not a research paper--I want to hear your ideas! Length of assignment: 500-1,000 words, typed, 14-point type,

double spaced (and hard-copy, please; I cannot read electronic/digital submissions).

### **Thursday, September 24**

The Near Eastern context for Judaism. Discussion and comparison of the Enuma Elish and the Jewish creation stories in Genesis. Foundation stories in Judaism and Christianity. **Ungraded essay due (text of Enuma Elish attached to this syllabus and on Camino)**

**Reading:** The creation, Genesis, Chapters 1-2; the story of Adam and Eve, Genesis 3-5; Noah, 6-9; The tower of Babel, 11; God seeking out Abram, 12 (KJV Study Bible).

## **WEEK II**

### **Tuesday, September 29**

The coming together of the Jewish people of ancient Israel and Judah; the period of judges and kings; the destruction of Jerusalem and the Babylonian exile; introduction to ancient Greek religion from the Bronze age to the classical period, Homer, Homeric Hymns, and Pindar. **First Essay assigned.**

**Reading:** Exodus, Chapters 1-24; the prophet Ezekiel, Chapters 6-7 (KJV).

### **Thursday, October 1**

The contrasting religious and cultural world of ancient Greece; Homeric deities and Fate; the beginning of mystery cults; the development of ideas about the soul and the afterlife.

**Reading:** Genealogies and list of Greek gods and goddesses (Camino); Homer, The Iliad, excerpts from Book XVI, the death of Sarpedon and the death of Patroclus (Camino); Homer, The Odyssey, excerpts from Books IV and XI, on the afterlife (Camino); Pindar, excerpt from Olympian II (Camino).

## **WEEK III**

### **Tuesday, October 6**

Judaism after the Babylonian exile (539 BCE through the first century CE): political developments; establishment of absolute monotheism; Hellenization and its impact on culture and religion in the region; Jewish

martyrs; ideas about theodicy and the afterlife; the settlement of Qumran and the Dead Sea scrolls; Sadducees and Pharisees; apocalyptic expectations.

**Reading:** prophecy of the return to Jerusalem: 2nd Isaiah, Chapters 40, 43-45; Cyrus the Persian's proclamation freeing the Jews to return to Jerusalem to rebuild the temple: Ezra, Chapters 1-2; Antiochus IV's persecution of the Jews and their revolt: I Maccabees, Chapters 1-4; the afterlife: Ecclesiastes, Chapters 3.17-21, 9.7-10; Daniel, Chapter 12.1-3; apocalyptic prophesy: Zechariah, Chapter 14 (KJV and Camino).

### **Thursday, October 8**

Jesus of Nazareth in the Gospels: infancy narratives, baptism, ministry, healing, teaching, death.

**Reading:** Gospel of Mark; in addition, for birth of Jesus: Gospel of Luke, Chapter 2.1-20; the virgin birth, wise men, King Herod, flight into Egypt: Matthew 1.18-23; temptation in the desert: Luke 4.1-13; John 5.19-20; Jesus' afterlife beliefs: Lazarus and the rich man : Luke 16.19-31; the seven brothers: Luke 20. 27-39 (KJV).

## **WEEK IV**

### **Tuesday, October 13**

The first Easter and the earliest testimony to the resurrection; the first Jesus movements and conflicts in these communities.

**Reading:** Luke, Chapter 24; Acts, Chapters 1-4, 17-19, 26. Paul, First Letter to the Corinthians (KJV, see study sheet on Camino); Paul, Letter to the Romans, 7:14-25 (KJV).

### **Thursday, October 15**

The spread of Christianity in the Roman empire; the separation of Christian movements from Judaism; first persecutions of the Christians. Introduction to the Greco-Roman philosophical context of martyrdom. **First Essay due.**

**Reading:** selections from Suetonius, Tacitus, Pliny, Trajan (Camino).

**Please note, Friday, October 16, is the last day to withdraw from classes without a W grade.**

## **WEEK V**

### **Tuesday, October 20**

Christian martyrdom in the Roman world; the Greco-Roman philosophic context.

**Reading:** Plato, excerpts from Plato's Apology (Camino), the Stoic Epictetus, excerpts from his Discourses (Camino); The prison journal of St. Perpetua (Camino).

### **Thursday, October 22**

**Midterm examination.**

## **WEEK VI**

### **Tuesday, October 27**

Is the body our enemy? Asceticism and Gnosticism in the Greco-Roman world and Christianity's response.

**Reading:** "The Deposit of the Faith" (Introduction to Gnosticism, Docetism, Marcion, and the orthodox Christian response; text of Apostles' Creed), in Justo Gonzales, The Story of Christianity; "Abstract of Main Gnostic Tenets," in Hans Jonas, The Gnostic Religion; introduction and text of Apocalypse of Peter (VII,3), from The Nag Hammadi Library (all on Camino).

### **Thursday, October 29**

The Great Persecution; the battle of the Milvian bridge and the conversion of Constantine; the Edict of Milan and its consequences; the Council of Nicea. **Second Essay assigned.**

**Reading:** "The Great Persecution and the Final Victory," in Justo L. Gonzalez, The Story of Christianity; Lactantius, "Constantine's Conversion," Chapter XLIV, On the Deaths of the Persecutors; "The Arian Controversy and the Council of Nicea," in Justo L. Gonzalez, The Story of Christianity; text of the Nicene Creed (Camino).

## WEEK VII

### **Tuesday, November 3**

Shaping sacred spaces and art and music. Film on the development of Christian churches and art after the Edict of Milan.

**Reading:** "Transformations in the Art and Architecture of the Diocletian Period," in H.P. L'Orange, Art Forms and Civic Life in the Late Roman Empire (Camino).

### **Thursday, November 5**

Developments in the fourth century, after Constantine, including St. Antony and the beginning of monasticism; Julian the Apostate and the pagan gods' last stand; Manichaeism, Donatism.

**Reading:** selections from The Rule of St. Benedict (Camino).

**Note, Friday, November 6, is the last day to withdraw from a class with a W grade.**

## WEEK VIII

### **Tuesday, November 10**

Augustine. Confessions.

**Reading:** selections from Books II, III, V of the Confessions (Camino).

### **Thursday, November 12**

Augustine's conversion, including meditations on the nature of evil; struggling to find ways to think about inner conflict; famous conversions as models.

**Reading:** selections from Books VII and VIII of the Confessions (Camino).

## WEEK IX

### **Tuesday, November 17**

Augustine's baptism; the rite and significance of baptism in Christianity; liturgical cycles of the day and night, week and year; the structure of the Mass.

**Reading:** selections from Book IX of the Confessions (Camino).

**Thursday, November 19**

The use of hymns in Christian liturgy--listening in class to Ambrosian chants.

**Reading:** text of selected Ambrosian chants (Camino).

**Second Essay due.**

**WEEK of November 22 to 28: Thanksgiving vacation.**

**WEEK X**

**Tuesday, December 1**

Jesus in Islam and Christianity.

**Reading:** selected readings from the Qur'an (Camino).

**Thursday, December 3**

The beginning of the doctrine of purgatory; Christianity and the Church at the end of late antiquity. Summing up.

**Reading:** to be determined (Camino).

**Final examination to be held during final examination week.**

ENUMA ELISHA

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(15)

Akkadian Myths and Epics

TRANSLATOR: E. A. SPEISER  
THE CREATION EPIC

ANET, 60, 66-69,  
514

from  
James B. Pritchard, ed

The Mesopotamian Near East

An Anthology of Texts  
and Pictures, Vol I

(Princeton U. P., 1958)

The struggle between cosmic order and chaos was to the ancient Mesopotamians a fateful drama that was renewed at the turn of each new year. The epic which deals with these events was therefore the most significant expression of the religious literature of Mesopotamia. The work, consisting of seven tablets, was known in Akkadian as *Enūma elīš* "When on high," after its opening words. It was recited with due solemnity on the fourth day of the New Year's festival.

There is as yet no general agreement as regards the date of composition. None of the extant texts antedates the first millennium B.C. On the internal evidence, however, of the context and the linguistic criteria, the majority of the scholars would assign the epic to the Old Babylonian period, i.e. the early part of the second millennium B.C. There does not appear to be any convincing reason against this earlier dating.

(Tables I-III recount the birth of the gods, who spring from the primordial Apsu and Tiamat, and the choice of Marduk as the champion of the younger gods in the battle against Tiamat.)

*Tablet IV*

They erected for him a princely throne.  
Facing his fathers, he sat down, presiding.  
"Thou art the most honored of the great gods,  
Thy decree is unrivaled, thy command is Annu.<sup>1</sup>  
Thou, Marduk, art the most honored of the great gods,  
Thy decree is unrivaled, thy word is Annu.  
From this day unchangeable shall be thy pronouncement.  
To raise or bring low—these shall be (in) thy hand.  
Thy utterance shall be true, thy command shall be unimpeachable.  
No one among the gods shall transgress thy bounds!  
Adornment being wanted for the seats of the gods,  
Let the place of their shrines ever be in thy place.  
O Marduk, thou art indeed our avenger.  
We have granted thee kingship over the universe entire.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. It has the authority of the sky-god Annu.

I Sam. 2:7

(10)

When in Assembly thou sittest, thy word shall be supreme.

They weapons shall not fail; they shall smash thy foes!  
O lord, spare the life of him who trusts thee,  
But pour out the life of the god who seized evil."  
Having placed in their midst a piece of cloth,  
They addressed themselves to Marduk, their

first-born: (20)

"Lord, truly thy decree is first among gods,  
Say but to wreck or create; it shall be.  
Open thy mouth: the cloth will vanish!  
Speak again, and the cloth shall be whole!"  
At the word of his mouth the cloth vanished.  
He spoke again, and the cloth was restored.  
When the gods, his fathers, saw the fruit of his word,  
Joyfully they did homage: "Marduk is king!"  
They conferred on him scepter, throne, and *vestments*;  
They gave him matchless weapons that ward off  
the foes: (30)

"Go and cut off the life of Tiamat.  
May the winds bear her blood to places undisclosed."  
Bel's destiny thus fixed, the gods, his fathers,  
Caused him to go the way of success and attainment.  
He constructed a bow, marked it as his weapon,  
Attached thereto the arrow, fixed its bow-cord.  
He raised the mace, made his right hand grasp it;  
Bow and quiver he hung at his side.  
In front of him he set the lightning,  
With a blazing flame he filled his body. (40)  
He then made a net to enfold Tiamat therein.  
The four winds he stationed that nothing of her might  
escap<sup>5</sup>,  
The South Wind, the North Wind, the East Wind, the  
West Wind.

Close to his side he held the net, the gift of his father,

Ann.

He brought forth Imhullu "the Evil Wind," the Whirl-  
wind, the Hurricane,  
The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone,  
the Matchless Wind;  
Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the  
seven of them.  
To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him.  
Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty  
weapon.

He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible  
[and] terrifying. (50)

He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four,  
The Killer, the Relentless, the Trampler, the Swift.  
Sharp were their teeth, bearing poison.  
They were versed in ravage, in destruction skilled.  
On his right he posted the *Smiter*, fearsome in battle,  
On the left the *Combat*, which repels all the zealous.  
For a cloak he was wrapped in an armor of terror;  
With his fearsome halo his head was turbaned.  
The lord went forth and followed his course,  
Towards the raging Tiamat he set his face. (60)  
In his lips he held a spell;

A plant to put out poison was grasped in his hand.  
Then they milled about him, the gods milled about him,  
The gods, his fathers, milled about him, the gods milled  
about him.

The lord approached to scan the inside of Tiamat,  
(And) of Kingu, her consort, the scheme to perceive.  
As he looks on, his course becomes upset,  
His will is distracted and his doings are confused.  
And when the gods, his helpers, who marched at his  
side,

Saw the valiant hero, blurred became  
their vision. (70)

Tiamat emitted [a cry], without turning her neck,  
Framing savage<sup>1</sup> defiance in her lips:<sup>2</sup>

"Too [imp]ortant art thou [for] the lord of the gods  
to rise up against thee!

Is it in their place that they have gathered, (or) in thy  
place?"

Thereupon the lord, having [raised] the flood-storm, his  
mighty weapon,

[To] enraged [Tiamat] he sent word as follows:

"Why art thou risen, art haughtily exalted,

Thou hast charged thine own heart to stir up conflict,

... sons reject their own fathers,

Whilist thou, who hast born them,

hast foresworn love!

Thou hast appointed Kingu as thy consort,

Conferring upon him the rank of Ann, not rightfully  
his. (80)

Judg. 12:6

<sup>1</sup> "Her incantation" is not impossible.

<sup>2</sup> Tiamat's taunt, as recorded in the next two lines, is not clear.

Against Anshar, king of the gods, thou seekest evil;  
[Against] the gods, my fathers, thou hast confirmed thy  
wickedness.

[Though] drawn up be thy forces, girded on thy  
weapons,

Stand thou up, that I and thou meet in single combat!<sup>1</sup>  
When Tiamat heard this,

She was like one possessed; she took leave of her senses.  
In fury Tiamat cried out aloud.

To the roots her legs shook both together. (90)  
She recites a charm, keeps casting her spell,

While the gods of battle sharpen their weapons.  
Then joined issue Tiamat and Marduk, wisest of gods.

They strove in single combat, locked in battle.  
The lord spread out his net to enfold her,

The Evil Wind, which followed behind, he let loose in  
her face.

When Tiamat opened her mouth to consume him,  
He drove in the Evil Wind that she close not her lips.

As the fierce winds charged her belly,  
Her body was distended and her mouth

was wide open. (100)  
He released the arrow, it tore her belly,

It cut through her insides, splitting the heart.  
Having thus subdued her, he extinguished her life.

He cast down her carcass to stand upon it.  
After he had slain Tiamat, the leader,

Her band was shattered, her troupe broken up;  
And the gods, her helpers who marched at her side,

Trembling with terror, turned their backs about,  
In order to save and preserve their lives.

Tightly encircled, they could not escape. (110)  
He made them captives and he smashed their weapons.

Thrown into the net, they found themselves ensnared;  
Placed in cells, they were filled with wailing;

Bearing his wrath, they were held imprisoned.  
And the eleven creatures which she had charged with

<sup>awc</sup>  
The band of demons that marched. [...] before her,  
He cast into fetters, their hands [...].

For all their resistance, he trampled (them) underfoot.  
And Kingu, who had been made chief among them,

He bound and accounted him to Uggac.<sup>1</sup> (120)  
<sup>1</sup> God of death.

He took from him the Tablets of Fate, not rightfully

his,  
Sealed (them) with a seal<sup>1</sup> and fastened (them) on his

breast.  
When he had vanquished and subdued his adversaries,

Had . . . the vainglorious foe,  
Had wholly established Anshar's triumph over the foe,

Nudimmud's desire had achieved, valiant Marduk  
Strengthened his hold on the vanquished gods,

And turned back to Tiamat whom he had bound.  
The lord trod on the legs of Tiamat,

With his unsparing mace he crushed her skull. (130)  
When the arteries of her blood he had severed,

The North Wind bore (it) to places undisclosed.  
On seeing this, his fathers were joyful and jubilant,

They brought gifts of homage, they to him.  
Then the lord paused to view her dead body,

That he might divide the monster and do artful works.  
He split her like a shellfish into two parts:

Half of her he set up and ceiled it as sky,  
Pulled down the bar and posted guards.

He bade them to allow not her waters  
to escape. (140)

He crossed the heavens and surveyed the regions.  
He squared Apsu's quarter, the abode of Nudimmud,

As the lord measured the dimensions of Apsu.  
The Great Abode, its likeness, he fixed as Esharra,

The Great Abode, Esharra, which he made as the firma-  
ment.

Anu, Enlil, and Ea he made occupy their places.

*Tablet V*  
He constructed stations for the great gods,  
Fixing their astral likenesses as constellations.

He determined the year by designating the zones:  
He set up three constellations for each of the twelve

months.  
After defining the days of the year [by means] of

(heavenly) figures,  
He founded the station of Nibiru<sup>2</sup> to determine their

(heavenly) bands,  
That none might transgress or fall short.

<sup>1</sup> This was an essential act of alienation in Mesopotamian society.  
<sup>2</sup> i.e. the planet Jupiter. This station was taken to lie between the band  
of the north, which belonged to Enlil, and the band of the south, which  
belonged to Ea.

Alongside it he set up the stations of Enlil and Ea.  
Having opened up the gates on both sides,  
He strengthened the locks to the left

and the right.

(10)

In her<sup>1</sup> belly he established the zenith.  
The Moon he caused to shine, the night (to him) en-  
trusting.

He appointed him a creature of the night to signify the  
days:

"Monthly, without cease, form designs with a crown.

At the month's very start, rising over the land,

Thou shalt have luminous horns to signify six days,

On the seventh day reaching a [half]-crown.

At full moon<sup>2</sup> stand in opposition<sup>3</sup> in mid-month.

When the sun [overtakes] thee at the base of heaven,

*Diminish* [thy crown] and retrogress in light. (20)

[At the time of disappearance] approach thou the course  
of the sun,

And [on the twenty-ninth] thou shalt again stand in  
opposition to the sun."

(The remainder of this tablet is broken away or too  
fragmentary for translation.)

#### Tablet VI

When Marduk hears the words of the gods,  
His heart prompts (him) to fashion artful works.

Opening his mouth, he addresses Ea

To impart the plan he had conceived in his heart:

"Blood I will mass and cause bones to be.

I will establish a savage, 'man' shall be his name.

Verily, savage-man I will create.

He shall be charged with the service of the gods

That they might be at ease!

The ways of the gods I will artfully alter.

Though alike revered, *iglu* two (groups) they

shall be divided."

(10)

Ea answered him, speaking a word to him,

Giving him another plan for the relief of the gods:

"Let but one of their brothers be handed over;

He alone shall perish that mankind may be fashioned.<sup>4</sup>

Let the great gods be here in Assembly,

<sup>1</sup> Tiamat.

<sup>2</sup> Akkadian *šaparru*, the prototype of the "Sabbath" in so far as the  
injunctions against all types of activity are concerned.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. with regard to the sun. This verb was a technical term in Baby-  
lonian astronomy.

<sup>4</sup> Out of his blood.

Let the guilty be handed over that they may endure."

Marduk summoned the great gods to Assembly;

Presiding graciously, he issues instructions.

To his utterance the gods pay heed.

The king addresses a word to the Anunnaki:

(20)

"If your former statement was true,

Do (now) the truth on oath by me declare!

Who was it that contrived the uprising,

And made Tiamat rebel, and joined battle?

Let him be handed over who contrived the uprising.

His guilt I will make him bear. You shall dwell in

peace!"

The *Igigi*, the great gods, replied to him,

To Lugaldimercrankia,<sup>1</sup> counselor of the gods, their

lord:

"It was Kingu who contrived the uprising,

And made Tiamat rebel, and joined battle."

(30)

They bound him, holding him before Ea.

They imposed on him his guilt and severed his blood

(vessels).

Out of his blood they fashioned mankind.

He<sup>2</sup> imposed the service and let free the gods.

After Ea, the wise, had created mankind,

Had imposed upon it the service of the gods—

That work was beyond comprehension;

As artfully planned by Marduk, did Nudimmud create

it—

Marduk, the king of the gods divided

All the Anunnaki above and below.<sup>3</sup>

(40)

He assigned (them) to Anu to guard his instructions.

Three hundred in the heavens he stationed as a guard.

In like manner the ways of the earth he defined.

In heaven and on earth six hundred (thus) he settled.

After he had ordered all the instructions,

To the Anunnaki of heaven and earth had allotted their

portions,

The Anunnaki opened their mouths

And said to Marduk, their lord:

"Now, O lord, thou who hast caused our deliverance,

What shall be our homage to thee?"

(50)

Let us build a shrine whose name shall be called

<sup>1</sup> "The king of the gods of heaven and earth."

<sup>2</sup> Here and elsewhere in this epic the Anunnaki are understood to be the  
celestial gods (normally *Igigi*) as well as those of the lower regions.

<sup>3</sup> Not "O Nannar," as translated by some.

"Lo, a chamber for our nightly rest; let us repose in it!  
 Let us build a throne, a recess for his abode!  
 On the day that we arrive we shall repose in it."  
 When Maruduk heard this,  
 Brightly glowed his features, like the day:  
 "Like that of lofty Babylon, whose building you have  
 requested,  
 Let its brickwork be fashioned. You shall name it 'The  
 Sanctuary.'"  
 The Anunnaki applied the implement;  
 For one whole year they molded bricks. (66)  
 When the second year arrived,  
 They raised high the head of Esagila equalling Apsu.<sup>2</sup>  
 Having built a stage-tower as high as Apsu,  
 They set up in it an abode for Maruduk, Enlil, (and) Ea  
 In their presence he adorned (it) in grandeur.  
 To the base of Esharra its horns look down.  
 After they had achieved the building of Esagila,  
 The Anunnaki themselves erected their shines.  
 [...] all of them gathered,  
 [...] they had built as his dwelling. (70)  
 The gods, his fathers, at his banquet he seated:  
 "This is Babylon, the place that is your home!  
 Make merry in its precincts, occupy its broad [places]."  
 The great gods took their seats.  
 They set up festive drink, sat down to a banquet.  
 After they had made merry within it,  
 In Esagila, the splendid, had performed their rites,  
 The norms had been fixed (and) all [their] portents,  
 All the gods apportioned the stations of heaven and  
 earth.  
 The fifty great gods took their seats. (80)  
 The seven gods of destiny set up the three hundred [in  
 heaven].  
 Enlil raised the bow, his weapon, and laid (it)  
 before them.  
 The gods, his fathers, saw the net he had made.  
 When they beheld the bow, how skilful its shape,  
 His fathers praised the work he had wrought.  
 Raising (it), Anu spoke up in the Assembly of the gods,  
 As he kissed the bow: "This is my daughter!"  
 He named the names of the bow as follows:

<sup>1</sup> For the New Year's festival.  
<sup>2</sup> Meaning apparently that the height of Esagila corresponded to the  
 depth of Apsu's waters.

"Longwood is the first, the second is [...];  
 Its third name is Bow-Star, in heaven I have made (90)  
 it shine."  
 He fixed a place which the gods, its' brothers, [...].  
 After Anu had decreed the fate of the Bow,  
 And had placed the exalted royal throne before the  
 gods,  
 Anu seated it in the Assembly of the gods.  
 When the great gods had assembled, (95)  
 And had [...] the fate which Maruduk had exalted,  
 They pronounced among themselves a curse,  
 Swearing by water and oil to place life in jeopardy.  
 When they had granted him the exercise of kingship of  
 the gods,  
 They confirmed him in dominion over the gods of  
 heaven and earth. (100)  
 Anshar pronounced supreme his name Asar(u)lulhi:  
 "Let us make humble obeisance at the mention of his  
 name;  
 When he speaks, the gods shall pay heed to him.  
 Let his utterance be supreme above and below!"  
 "Most exalted be the Son, our avenger;  
 Let his sovereignty be surpassing, having no rival.  
 May he shepherd the black-headed ones; his creatures.  
 To the end of days, without forgetting, let them acclaim  
 his ways.  
 May he establish for his fathers the great  
 food-offerings;  
 Their support they shall furnish, shall tend their sanc-  
 tuaries. (110)  
 May he cause incense to be smelled, . . . their spells,  
 A likeness on earth of what he has wrought in heaven.  
 May he order the black-headed to revere him!,  
 May the subjects ever bear in mind their god,  
 And may they at his word pay heed to the goddess.  
 May food-offerings be borne for their gods and god-  
 desses.  
 Without fail let them support their gods!  
 Their hands let them improve, build their shines,  
 Let the black-headed wait on their gods. (120)  
 As for us, by however many names we pronounce, he is  
 our god!  
 Let us then proclaim his fifty names. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Referring to the Bow.  
<sup>2</sup> A common Akkadian metaphor for "the human race."