The selections from ancient Near Eastern literature translated and excerpted below are designed to provide a glimpse, however limited, of the context in which the biblical author(s) lived and wrote. They are the basis for many of the assertions made in the previous chapters, and are identified there in the footnotes. In turn, the biblical text(s) illuminated by each selection will be identified in the upper right-hand corner. Illumination should not, however, be construed as inevitable comparison. Some ancient Near Eastern texts bear comparison with a biblical passage, others contrast with it. Clarification can emerge from silhouetting differences as readily as from discovering similarities, as pointed out in Chapter III. The Biblical passages adduced are in the first place those from the Pentateuch; others are added in parentheses where appropriate.

Editorial Note: Selections taken over from ANET (Pritchard 1955 and 1969) are reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press.

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SELECTION 1

Adapa

On a cuneiform tablet in Akkadian from the library at El-Amarna, capital of Pharaoh Akhenaton (ca. 1363-1347 B.C.E.) of the 18th Egyptian Dynasty.

See Pritchard 1955: 102.1

"Why has Ea disclosed to mankind the imperfection of heaven and earth?
Given him (Adapa) profound insight?
It is verily he (Ea) who has done this!
As for us, what shall we do about him?
Bread of life take to him and let him eat it!"
Bread of life they took to him and he did not eat.
Water of life they took to him and he did not drink.
Clothing they took to him and he got dressed.
Oil they took to him and he anointed himself.
When Anu looked at him, he laughed in the face of this (him?):
"Come, oh Adapa, why did you not eat or drink?
You are not to live (forever)! Woe to the teeming people."
"Ea my master commanded: 'do not eat, do not drink!'"
"Take him and return him to his plot of land!"

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### SELECTION 2
Antediluvians in Babylonian and Biblical Traditions

Adapted from Hallo and Simpson 1971:32 fig. 6

<table>
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<th>BABYONIAN TRADITIONS</th>
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<td>Shuruppak</td>
<td>Uber-Tutu, or Ziusudra or Shuruppak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"The Flood"

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2Hallo 1970:64.
From a cuneiform tablet in Sumerian, probably copied in the 18th or 17th century B.C.E., possibly from an earlier original. Cf. ANET 42-44. Here adapted from M. Civil in Lambert and Millard 1969:138-145 and 167-72. For early Akkadian versions of the flood theme, see ibid., pp. 89-133 (Atar-hasis) (cf. ANET 99f., 104-06, 512-14.)

All the destructive winds and gales were present together
The flood swept over beyond measure.
After the flood had swept over the nation
For seven days and seven nights,
And the destructive wind had rocked the ark in the high water,
The Sun came out, illuminating heaven and earth.
Ziusudra was able to make an opening in the ark
And the Sun with its rays was brought into the ark.
Ziusudra – though a king –
Prostrated himself before the Sun,
The king slaughters oxen and multiplies sheep on his behalf.

From Tablet XI of the Akkadian version of the Epic of Gilgamesh, preserved in copies of the 8th century B.C.E., chiefly from the royal Neo-Assyrian library at Nineveh. Translated by E.A. Speiser, ANET 94f. from which the following passage (ll. 127-61) is taken.

Six days and [six] nights
Blows the flood wind, as the south-storm sweeps the land.
When the seventh day arrived,
The flood(-carrying) south-storm subsided in the battle,
Which it had fought like an army.
The sea grew quiet, the tempest was still, the flood ceased.
I looked at the weather; stillness had set in,
And all of mankind had returned to clay.
The landscape was as level as a flat roof.
I opened a hatch, and light fell upon my face.
Bowing low, I sat and wept,
Tears running down on my face.
I looked about for coast lines in the expanse of the sea:
In each of fourteen (regions)
There emerged a region(-mountain).
On Mount Nisir the ship came to a halt.
Mount Nisir held the ship fast,
Allowing no motion.
One day, a second day, Mount Nisir held the ship fast,
Allowing no motion.
A third day, a fourth day, Mount Nisir held the ship fast,
Allowing no motion
A fifth, and a sixth (day), Mount Nisir held the ship fast,
Allowing no motion.
When the seventh day arrived,
I sent forth and set free a dove.
The dove went forth, but came back;
Since no resting-place for it was visible, she turned round.
Then I sent forth and set free a swallow.
The swallow went forth, but came back;
Since no resting-place for it was visible, she turned round.
Then I sent forth and set free a raven.
The raven went forth and, seeing that the waters had diminished,
He eats, circles, caws, and turns not round.  
Then I let out (all) to the four winds
And offered a sacrifice.
I poured out a libation on the top of the mountain.
Seven and seven cult-vessels I set up,
Upon their pot-stands I heaped cane, cedarwood, and myrtle.
The gods smelled the savor,
The gods smelled the sweet savor,
The gods crowded like flies about the sacrificer.

SELECTION 5
The Spell of Nudimmud\textsuperscript{7}

From the Sumerian epic of "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta," lines 136-55,
adapted from the translations of Kramer 1968; S. Cohen 1973; Gurney 1974-77;

Once, there was no snake, there was no scorpion,
There was no hyena, there was no lion,

\textsuperscript{6}The topos of the raven's eating (cadavers) is not found in the Biblical account
but reappears in Patristic literature and Christian medieval iconography; see
Gutmann 1977.

\textsuperscript{7}i.e., Enki (Ea).
There was neither dog nor wolf,
There was neither fear nor terror,
Mankind had no rival –
At that time, the lands of Subartu (and) Hamazi,
(Lands now of) contrasting-corresponding tongues: Sumer
the great land of the princely attributes
(and) Akkad, the distinguished land,
The land of the Amorites who sleep in the open,
In all of heaven and earth the 'civilized' people
Verily were able to address Enlil in one language.
Thereupon the one who is at the same time lord, prince and king,
Enki who is at the same time lord, prince and king,
He who is at the same time lord, prince and king,
Enki the lord of abundance, the lord who fulfils (his) promises,
The lord of understanding, the wisest of the nation,
The leader of the gods
Displaying wisdom, the lord of Eridu,
In their mouths placed confused languages (and) contention –
The language of mankind which had been one.

SELECTION 6
The Story of the Two Brothers

Genesis 39:7-18


Once upon a time there were two brothers, so the story goes. . . . After many [days] following this, while they were in the field, they needed seed.
(Anubis) sent his younger brother, saying: You shall go and fetch us seed from town. His younger brother found the wife of his elder brother seated plaiting her (hair). . . . Then she [spoke with] him, saying: There is [great] virility in you, for I have been observing your exertions daily. For it was her desire to know him through sexual intimacy. She got up, seized hold of him, and told him: Come, let's spend for ourselves an hour sleeping (together). Such will be to your advantage, for I will make you fine clothes. Then the youth became like an Upper Egyptian panther in harsh rage over the wicked proposition that she had made to him, and she became exceedingly fearful. He argued with her, saying: Now look, you are (associated) with me after the manner of a mother, and your husband is

8Cf. CADM s.v. mihurtu.
9The Egyptian god of the dead and of embalming; his brother in this story is the less familiar deity Bata. Elsewhere similar myths are told of Horus and Seth; cf. below, Selection 16.
Selections from Ancient Near Eastern Literature

(associated) with me after the manner of a father, for the one who is older than I it is who has brought me up. What means this great offence which (you) have said to me? . . . He picked up his load and went off to the field. . . . The wife of his elder brother was fearful (on account of) the proposition which she had made. She then fetched grease and fat and feigningly became like one who has been assaulted with the intention of telling her husband: It's your younger brother who has assaulted (me) . . . (Dedicated) to the 'soul' of the Scribe of the Treasury Qa-gabu, of the Treasury of Pharaoh . . . . Done by the Scribe Inena, the master of this writing.10

SELECTION 7
The Tradition of Seven Lean Years in Egypt11

Year 18 of . . . the king of Upper and Lower Egypt . . . the Horus of Gold: Djoser, and under the Count, Mayor, Royal Acquaintance, and Overseer of the Nubians in Elephantine,12 Madir. There was brought to him (i.e., Madir) this royal decree: To let you know. I was in distress on the Great Throne, and those who are in the palace were in heart's affliction from a very great evil, since the Nile had not come in my time for a space of seven years. Grain was scant, fruits were dried up, and everything which they eat was short. Every man robbed(?) his companion . . . I extended my heart back to the beginnings, and I asked . . . the Chief Lector Priest Im-hotep,13 the son of Ptah . . . : What is the birthplace of the Nile? Who is . . . the god there? Who is the god? . . . He said to me: There is a city in the midst of the waters [from which] the Nile rises, named Elephantine. It is the Beginning of the Beginning, the Beginning Nome.14 . . . As I slept in life and satisfaction, I discovered the god standing over against me.15 His words

10Cf. the author and addressee of the model letter below Selection 19(a).
11Though attributed to Djoser, second pharaoh of the third Dynasty at the beginning of the Old Kingdom (ca. 2650 B.C.E.), the text is actually the work of scribes of Ptolemy V of the last (Ptolemaic) Dynasty of Egypt who ruled from 203-181 B.C.E. Redford 1970:206f. dates it ca. 187 B.C.E.
12City and island near Assuan in the Nile and today just downstream from the Assuan dam.
13The legendary vizier of Djoser, architect of his Step Pyramid at Sakkara and associated monumental buildings, physician, reputed author of wisdom sayings, and ultimately deified in his own right.
14I.e., province.
15The traditional appearance of a figure in a dream; cf. Oppenheim 1956:189.
were: I am Khnum,\textsuperscript{16} thy fashioner. I know the Nile.\ldots The Nile will pour forth for you, without a year of cessation or laxness for any land. Plants will grow, bowing down under the fruit(\ldots) The starvation year will have gone and (people's) borrowing from their granaries will have departed. Egypt will come into the fields, the banks will sparkle,\ldots and contentment will be in their hearts more than that which was formerly. Then I awoke quickly (or: refreshed), my heart cutting off weariness.\textsuperscript{17}

**SELECTION 8**

**Ahiqar**

Ahiqar, a wise man at the court of Sennacherib, king of Babylon,\textsuperscript{19} adopts his nephew Nadan and treats him as his own son. Nadan, however, deals treacherously with his uncle, accusing him of disloyalty to the king. Sennacherib orders Ahiqar's death, but the executioner is a friend of Ahiqar and spares his life, hiding him away. When the king of Egypt hears that the wise man is dead, he poses a difficult problem to Sennacherib,\textsuperscript{20} attaching a threatening wager: Sennacherib must build a castle in the air or pay three years revenue to Egypt. Neither Nadan nor any of the members of the court can solve the problem. Ahiqar is called, solves the problem, and is rewarded by being set at the head of the king's household.

b. From a list of selected Mesopotamian kings and their counselors, beginning with the antediluvians and ending with Ahiqar; dated at Uruk, 10 Ayaru (Iyyar) year 147 of the Seleucid Era (May 17, 165 B.C.E.). Van Dijk 1962:45.

In the time of Esarhaddon the king, Aba-Enlil-dari\textsuperscript{21} was vizier – (he) whom the Aramaeans call Ahu-'uqārī.\textsuperscript{22}

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\textsuperscript{16}The personification of (pro)creative power, often identified with Re.

\textsuperscript{17}The traditional topos for the end of the dream; Oppenheim 1956:189.

\textsuperscript{18}A much older version, in Aramaic, was discovered at Elephantine (see above, note 12) among the papyri of a colony of Jewish mercenaries dating from the fifth century B.C.E. It is translated in ANET 427-430.

\textsuperscript{19}Actually: Assyria (704-681 B.C.E.).

\textsuperscript{20}The old Aramaic version of the tale substitutes his son Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.E.).

\textsuperscript{21}A Sumerian name explained as meaning "Who is a protector like the divine Enlil?" and familiar as a guild or family name in Babylonia.

\textsuperscript{22}I.e., "the brother is precious," actually an Akkadian form of the name preserved in Aramaic as Ahiqar.
SELECTION 9
Ebrium at Ebla
Adapted from Edzard 1981; cf. Hallo, forthcoming.

Gir-Damu and Ir-Damu and Nabha-II approached (?) the king in his
house.

Ebrium spoke to the king:
"Please, as to the sons of Tiludu . . . .
Also, as to the sons of Ebrium, . . . ."

(Again) Ebrium spoke to the king:
"Whatever is to be given to the sons of Ebrium is (for you) to mete out (?)"

Then spoke the king:
"May the divine Kura hear,
and may the Sun-god hear,
and may Adad (the storm-god) hear,
and may all the gods hear!"

And the king lifted (his) eyes and swore:
"I have given . . . ." (here follows a long list of persons and properties in
various places given to Gir-Damu, Ir-Damu and Nabha-II)
and what things has the lady Tiludu meted out (?) to her sons?"

Ebrium spoke to the king:
"May the words of Tiludu, Tia-Damu, Kirsud, Tamur-Damu, Halut (and)
Hasum be heard.
Two days and . . . . days she will not accept residences (?)
If she wishes she will dwell with (her) two sons,
but if she does not wish she will dwell in the house of the king."

(Other depositions follow.)

SELECTION 10
The Legal Responsibilities of a Herdsman
Postgate 1975; Morrison 1983.

92 ewes, 20 rams, 22 breeding lambs, 24 [spring(?)] lambs, 33 she-goats, 4
male goats, 27 kids — total: 158 sheep; total: 64 goats, which Sin-shamu has
entrusted to Dadâ the herdsman. He (i.e. Dadâ) assumes liability
(therefore) and will replace any lost (animals). Should Nidnatum, his (i.e.
Dadâ's) shepherd boy, absent himself, he (i.e. Nidnatum ?) will bear

23All six of these women are known collectively from other Ebla texts as women
(DAM.DAM) of Ebrium. Tiludu is his wife (DAM-su) in still other texts, Kirsud
his daughter (and she, or a namesake, is also known as daughter of the king).
responsibility for any (consequent) loss, and Dadâ will measure out (i.e. pay) 5 kôr of barley. (Three witnesses; date: Samsu-iluna year 1 (?), fourth month, 18th day.)

b. From Stol 1985.

... have been entrusted to Ishtar-kum-anaku, the herdsman, for herding. Per 100 head he will breed 80 sheep as offspring; per 100 head he will have deaths (amounting to) 10 sheep; per sheep he will have plucked two pounds of wool; he will replace what is lost or crippled. He will be responsible for the sheep.


If a herdsman (to whom cattle or sheep were given to pasture) was negligent and lets lameness develop in the fold, the herdsman shall make good in cattle and sheep the loss through the lameness which he let develop in the fold and give (them) to their owner.

SELECTION 11

The Genealogy of the Hammurabi Dynasty (GHD)  Genesis 11:10-32
Adapted from Finkelstein 1966b; cf. also Lambert 1968, Hallo 1978.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GHD</th>
<th>AKL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aram-Madara</td>
<td>Tudia-Adamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tubti-Yamuta</td>
<td>Yangi-Suhlamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yamquz-Zuhalamma</td>
<td>Harharu-Mandar u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heana</td>
<td>Im(hi)su-Harsu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Namzu        | Didanu  
| Ditanu       | Hanû         |

24Literally: "will stand up for the offense." The term for offense (hišu; elsewhere also hîšû) is used frequently in the legal sense of "act of negligence" or consequent damage or loss. It is cognate with Hebrew ḫet, "sin," and with the verb translated "I made good the loss" ("haffennâ in Gen. 31:39. For other Mesopotamian parallels to Jacob's herding arrangements with Laban, see Finkelstein 1968.

25I.e., probably about 1749 B.C.E.

26Supplied from Laws of Hammurapi §265.

27Others translate: infection, mange.

28Hîšû.

29The first eleven entries are paralleled, more or less, by the first twelve entries in the first section of the Assyrian King List, collectively described as "17 kings (or sheikhs ?) who dwelled in tents."

30Cf. the legendary founder of the dynasty of Ugarit DTN, for whom see most recently Dietrich and Loretz 1980.
CHD
Zummabu
Namhu
Ammanu
Yahrurum
Iptiyamuta
Buha(zum)
Sumalika
Ashmadu
Abi-yamuta
Abi-ditan
Mam(....)
Shu(....)
Dad(banaia?)
Sumu-abum
Sumu-la-il
Zabium
Apil-Sin
Sin-muballiq
Hammu-rabi
Samsu-iluna
Ammi-eshuh
Ammi-ditana

The dynasty of the Amorite peoples, the dynasty of the Hanaean people (i.e., the Kassites?), the dynasty of Gutium, the dynasty not recorded on this tablet (i.e., the Sealand?), and (any) soldier who fell while in the perilous service of his lord, princes, princesses, mankind in their entirety, from east to west, who have no one to care for them or to call their names, come here and eat this, drink this (and) bless Ammi-ṣaduqa the son of Ammi-ditana, king of Babylon.

SELECTION 12
A Letter from Mari (ARM 2:37)  

To my lord say: Thus Ibal-Ill, your servant. The letter (literally: tablet) of Ibal-Addad reached me from Ashlakka and I went to Ashlakka and they

31 Tribal names associated with Amorites settled in and around Sippar along the lower Euphrates.
32 Founder of the First (or "Amorite") Dynasty of Babylon.
33 Kings 2-9 of the First Dynasty of Babylon, all descended from Sumu-la-il.
brought me a puppy and a she-goat in order to conclude a covenant (literally: to kill a donkey-foal) between the Hanaens and (the land of) Idamaraz. But, in deference to my lord, I did not permit (the use of) the young dog and the she-goat, but (instead) had a donkey-foal, the young of a she-ass, killed, and thus established a reconciliation between the Hanaens and (the land of) Idamaraz. In the city of Hurrá, in all Idamaraz, the Hanaens will be satisfied, and "a satisfied man has no enmity."34

SELECTION 13
Hittite Ritual (KUB XVII 28 iv) Genesis 15:7-18
Adapted from Gurney, 1952:151 and Sasson 1976: 205.

When the army is defeated by an enemy, then the following sacrifice is prepared "behind" the river: "behind" the river, a man, a goat, a puppy, and a suckling pig are cut in half. One half is placed on one side, the (other) half on the other. Before it, they make a gate out of white-thorn(?) wood and stretch a cord(?) over it, and in front of the gate they light fires on this side and on that. The troops go through the middle, and when they come to the bank of the river, they sprinkle water over them.

SELECTION 14
The Birth Legend of King Sargon of Akkad Exodus 2:1-10

I am Sargon,36 the great king, king of Akkad.37 My mother was a high-priestess,38 my father I did not know,39 (variant: a father I did not have),40 my paternal kin inhabit the mountain region, my (native) city is Azupiranu,41 which is on the banks of the Euphrates. My mother the high-priestess conceived me, in secret she gave birth to me.39 She placed me in

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34 This may be a proverbial expression, the use of which is characteristic of the Mari correspondence; cf. Finet 1974, Marzial 1976.
35 Cf. ANET 266f. for other legendary Sargon material.
37 Cf. Genesis 10:10. Akkad (Agade) was the capital of the great Akkadian or Sargonic empire founded by Sargon.
38 So with CADE 173 against ANET; cf. also Childs 1965.
39 Presumably because the priestly status of his mother ruled out child-bearing (except possibly by the king).
40 Or, conceivably: (my) father was La'ibu (= leper).
41 I.e., "Saffron-city."
a reed basket, with bitumen she caulked my hatch. She abandoned me to the river from which I could not climb up. The river carried me along; to Aqqi the water drawer it brought me. Aqqi the water drawer when immersing his bucket lifted me up. Aqqi the water drawer raised me as his adopted son. Aqqi the water drawer set me to his garden work. During my garden work the goddess Ishtar fell in love with me and I verily ruled for [fifty]-five years as king.

**SELECTION 15**

**Hittite Tales**

(a) *The Sun-god and the cow; Lewis 1980:156f. (paraphrase).*

While looking down from heaven, the sun-god beheld a cow grazing in a meadow. He descended to earth to find out why she was consuming so much grass. After listening to her explanation, he impregnated her in a flash of light. Nine months passed and the animal gave birth to a human child, whose appearance so surprised and frightened her that she was about to kill her own offspring. Fortunately, the sun-god intervened and chased the cow away. He then provided nourishment for the infant, who was bathed by the waters of a stream. The servant of the God was sent to place the child on a ledge overlooking another stream. There a fisherman spotted the infant near where he had earlier left his basket. Being without children of his own, he joyfully took up the foundling to return to his wife...

(b) *The City of Zalpa; Tsevat 1983:325; cf. Lewis 1980:156.*

The queen of Kanish gave birth to thirty sons in a single year. She (said) as follows, "What is this? I have born a gang." She filled containers with excrement (?), put her sons in them and turned them over to the river. The

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42 The name means "I have made libation (or sacrifice)."

43 For the significance of the theme of Ishtar and the gardener see Hallo and van Dijk 1968:6f; Abush 1985, esp. 161-173.

44 The theme of the Sun-god impregnating a cow occurs already in an Old Babylonian incantation; later he is replaced by the Moon-god. Cf. Röllig 1985.

45 Hofner 1981:192 translates lines 24-27 thus: "The cow opened her mouth like a lion and goes to the child to eat (the attached fetal membranes). Like a wave she released her afterbirth, and went to the child to suckle it."

46 A city in southern Anatolia (Turkey) which in pre-Hittite times had been the center of Assyrian trading operations.
river carried them to the sea (on the way to) the land of Zalpuwa. The [gods], however, took the sons out of the sea and reared them. . . .

**SELECTION 16**

**Contending of Horus and Seth**

Exodus 2:1-11


Seth was ranging about looking for Horus when he was (still) a child in his nest (or: hiding-place) at Khemmis. His mother (Isis) concealed him in a papyrus-(thicket), and (his sister) Nephtys' mat (or: coverlet) was over him. She hid (him) as "child-who-is-in-the-papyrus-(thicket)" and so his name Anubis came into being, and Mḥt ṫmy Wḥ became his cult image.

Another version: he was sailing about in a boat of papyrus, and Isis said to Toth: Let me see my son who is hidden in the marshes. Toth said: See him! And Isis said: Is that him? And that's how his name Anubis came into being, a name which on that account is given to every royal child.

**SELECTION 17**

**Enmerkar and the Heavy Mouth**

Exodus 4:10-16


His (Enmerkar's) speech was (too) [great], its contents expanded.

The messenger's mouth was "heavy," he could not repeat (the message) verbatim.

The lord of Kullab (Enmerkar) patted a piece of clay, he put the message on it as on a tablet.

Where formerly, writing a message on clay did not exist,

Now, as the sun rose, verily this became the practice.

---

47Two cities and lands of this name are known from Old Assyrian and Hittite sources; this one is probably on the Black Sea.

48The mythical birthplace of the divine Horus in the swamps of the Delta; cf. ANET 446 n. 2.

49Various plays on words are cited here to explain the origin of the name of the jackal-deity Anubis and his identification with Horus.

50See above, Selection 5, for another excerpt from this composition.

51Kullab and Eanna, originally two separate settlements, became the city of Uruk when joined in a single great wall, traditionally by Gilgamesh, the third successor of Enmerkar.

52Although writing in Mesopotamia certainly antedates Enmerkar and the Early Dynastic II Period (ca. 2700-2500 B.C.E.), the epic here provides an aetiology for its inception; cf. Komoróczy 1975.
The lord of Kullab put the message on it as on a tablet, verily this became the practice and
The messenger took off like a bird flapping its wings.

SELECTION 18

Deliverance of Mankind from Destruction

Exodus 4:18, 24-26

ANET 11. For another translation, see H. Brunner in Beyerlin 1978:8f.53

So then this goddess came and slew mankind in the desert... Then the majesty of (the god) Re said: "I shall prevail over them as a king. But do not diminish them (any further)!"54 That is how Sekhmet55 came into being, the (beer)-mash of the night, to wade in their blood from Herakleopolis.56 Then Re said...: "Go to Elephantine57 and bring me red ochre very abundantly." Then this red ochre was brought to him... ground up and added to this mash and it was like human blood. Then seven thousand jars of the beer were made... Now when the day broke for the slaying of mankind by the goddess... Re said: "Pray, carry it to the place in which she expected to slay mankind." Then... Re went to work early in the depth of the night to have this sleep-maker poured out. Then the fields were filled with liquid for three palms (ca. 9 inches)... Then this goddess went at dawn, and she found this (place) inundated... Then she drank, and it was good in her heart. She came (back) drunken, without having perceived mankind.

SELECTION 19

Egyptian Model Letters

Exodus 5:6-18

a. The Report of a Frontier Official


The scribe Inena communicating to his lord, the Scribe of the Treasury Qa-
g[abu]58... We have finished letting the Bedouin59 tribes of Edom pass the Fortress of (Pharaoh) Merneptah-Hotepiramaa60 which is in Tjeku61 to

53Brunner regards the text rather as a parallel of sorts to the story of the Flood or even of the expulsion from Eden.
54Or: since I have diminished them.
55The goddess of violence.
56A Middle Egyptian site, between Memphis in Lower (Northern) Egypt and Thebes in Upper (Southern) Egypt.
57See at Selection 7, note 12, above.
58For these scribes see also above, Selection 6.
59Literally: Shosu, for which see Giveon 1971.
60See below, Selection 21.
the pools of Per-Atum\textsuperscript{62} of Merneptah-Hotephirmaat which are in Tjeku, to keep them alive and to keep their cattle alive, through the great "soul" of Pharaoh...

\textit{b. Brick Making}

From Caminos 1954:106

Likewise, people are making bricks in their \textit{bg}\textsuperscript{63} and bring them to work in the house. They are making their quota of bricks daily. I am not slacking over working in the new house. Likewise, I acknowledge the communication which my lord has made.

From Caminos 1954:188

I am staying at Qenqen-en-to,\textsuperscript{64} unequipped, and there are neither men to make bricks nor straw in the neighborhood...

\textit{c. Rations for Workers and Soldiers}

From Caminos 1954:491

The scribe Kawiser greets his lord the scribe Bek-en-Ptah. In life, prosperity and health! This letter is for my lord's information... Another message to my lord: I have received the letter which my lord sent to (me) saying: "Give corn-ration to the soldiers and the 'Apiru\textsuperscript{65} who are dragging stone to the great pylon of [the house of] Rameses-Miamur\textsuperscript{66} — life, prosperity and health! — 'Beloved of Ma'at'\textsuperscript{67} which is under the authority of the chief of the Medjay\textsuperscript{68} (called) Amon-em-one." I am giving them their corn-ration every month according to the manner which my lord told me...

\textsuperscript{61}Sometimes equated with Sukkoth, the first station of the Exodus; cf. Exod. 12:37. See Helck 1965.


\textsuperscript{63}Meaning uncertain.

\textsuperscript{64}I.e., "the curse of the land."

\textsuperscript{65}A social stratum of "displaced persons" sometimes equated with the Biblical Hebrews; see Bottéro 1972, Greenberg 1970.

\textsuperscript{66}I.e., mer-Amon, beloved of Amon.

\textsuperscript{67}An epithet of Rameses II; also the name of a royal palace.

\textsuperscript{68}Or Madjoi, mercenaries from south of Egypt.
SELECTION 20
The Admonitions of Ipuwer

Exodus 7:14-11:10
(cf. Psalm 78:44-51;105:28-38)


The Nile overflows, yet none plough for it. Everyone says: "We do not know what will happen throughout the land." Indeed, women are barren and none conceive. Khnum\(^{69}\) fashions (men) no more because of the condition of the land. . . . Hearts are violent, plague is throughout the land, blood is everywhere. . . . many dead are buried in the river, the stream is a sepulchre and the place of embalming has become a stream. . . . The river is blood, yet men drink of it. Men shrink from (it) as human, and thirst after water. . . . Crocodiles (sink) down because of what they have carried off, for men go to them of their own accord.\(^{70}\) It is the destruction of the land. . . . Men are few. He that lays his brother in the ground is everywhere. The desert is throughout the land, the nomes\(^{71}\) are laid waste. Barbarians from outside have come to Egypt, there are really no Egyptians\(^{72}\) anywhere.\(^{73}\)

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SELECTION 21
The "Israel Stela" of Merneptah

Exodus 15:12-16


The princes lie prostrate, suing for peace.\(^{74}\)
Not one lifts his head among the Nine Bows.\(^{75}\)
Destruction for Tehenu!\(^{76}\) Hatti\(^{77}\) is pacified;
Canaan is plundered with every evil;
Askelon is taken; Gezer is captured;
Yanoam is made non-existent;\(^{78}\)
Israel lies desolate; its seed is no more;

\(^{69}\)See above, at Selection 7, note 16.
\(^{70}\)i.e., they commit suicide.
\(^{71}\)i.e., provinces.
\(^{72}\)Literally: people.
\(^{73}\)The conditions reflected in this text are dated to the Second Intermediate Period (ca. 17th century B.C.E.) by van Seters 1966:103-120, to the First Intermediate Period (ca. 2100 B.C.E.) by most other authorities.
\(^{74}\)Literally: saying SLM (the Canaanite word for peace is used here).
\(^{75}\)Traditionally the principal enemies of Egypt, though the particular roster that follows here lists only eight. See Uphill 1967.
\(^{76}\)Libya.
\(^{77}\)The Hittite empire in Anatolia.
\(^{78}\)Cities on the southern coast, the central high lands, and the northern Jordan respectively.
Hurrat has become a widow for Egypt;  
All the lands in their entirety are pacified.  
Everyone who was a nomad has been curbed by King Mer-ne-Ptah.

SELECTION 22
"A Mare in Pharaoh’s Chariotry"  
Exodus 15:1-5

Then, when the prince of Kadesh sent out a mare which [was swift] on her feet and which entered among the army, I ran after her on foot, carrying my dagger(?), and I (ripped) open her belly. I cut off her tail and set it before the king. Praise was given to god for it. He gave joy, and it filled my belly, jubilation, and it imbued my body. His majesty sent forth every valiant man of his army, to breach the new wall which Kadesh had made. I was the one who breached it, being the first of every valiant man, and no other did it before me.

SELECTION 23
The Theme of Divine Exaltation  
The Exaltation of Inanna  
Exodus 15:17-21 (cf. Psalm 136)
From Hallo and Van Dijk 1968:31-33; cf. ANET 581ff.

That one has not recited as a “Known! Be it known!” of Nanna, that one has recited as a "Tis Thine!". That you are lofty as Heaven – be it known!  
That you are broad as the earth – be it known!  
That you devastate the rebellious land – be it known!  
That you roar at the land – be it known!

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79 Syria-Palestine as a whole.  
80 Successor of the long-lived Rameses II at the end of the thirteenth century B.C.E.  
81 Cf. Song of Songs 1:9: “To a mare in pharaoh’s chariotry would I compare you, my darling.” For another Egyptian analogue to this verse, cf. ANET 469 and note 9.  
82 Kadesh was the great Syrian stronghold on the Orontes River. Amon-em-heb here claims credit for helping Tothmosis III conquer it in his forty-second year (1438 B.C.E.).  
83 In order to stampede the stallions of the Egyptian chariotry.  
84 For a free adaptation, see Barnstone 1980:7.  
85 The Sumerian Moon-god, patron deity of the city of Ur.  
86 These refrains characterize “magnificat’s” such as the one that follows.
That you smite the heads – be it known!
That you devour cadavers – be it known!
That your glance is terrible – be it known!
That you lift your terrible glance – be it known!
That your glance is flashing – be it known!
That you are ill-disposed toward contentiousness (?) – be it known!
That you attain victory – be it known!
That one has not recited (this) of Nanna, that one has recited it as a ""Tis Thine!"

(That) oh my lady, has made you great, you alone are exalted!
Oh my lady beloved of Heaven, I have verily recounted your fury!

SELECTION 24
The Theme of Divine Exaltation

Exodus 15:17-21

The Exaltation of Marduk

From "The Babylonian Epic of Creation" (enuma elis) VI 47-58; cf. ANET 68.

The Anunnaki\(^{87}\) opened their mouths
To Marduk their lord they themselves spoke:
"Now, oh my lord, that you have brought about our deliverance,
What is to be (the token of) our gratitude before you?
Come, let us construct a throne-dais\(^{88}\) whose name will be called
'The cella is verily our overnight resting-place, let us rest in its midst.'
Come, let us set up a throne-dais, a cult platform (in) its place.
When we finish (the work), let us rest in its midst!"
Marduk, when he heard this,
Like the day his countenance lit up greatly:
"Go and build Babylon whose construction you requested!
Let its brickwork be fashioned, call it the throne-dais!"

\(^{87}\)I.e., the (great) gods collectively.
\(^{88}\)Or: sanctuary.
SELECTION 25

Covenant Formulas

Exodus 23:22


And whoever is evil against the Sun, is considered evil against you. If he is an enemy to the Sun, he shall be an enemy to you.


To the enemy of my lord I am hostile, (and) with the friend of my lord (I am) friendly.

c. From the Hittite (and Akkadian) treaty between Shuppiluliuma and Aziru of Amurru; cf. ANET 529f.

He who [lives in peace] with the Sun shall live in peace also with you. But he who is an enemy of the Sun, shall also be an enemy [with you].

d. From the Hittite and Akkadian versions of the treaty between Murshili of the Hittites (ca. 1334-1306 B.C.E.) and Dupp-Teshub of Amurru; cf. ANET 203-205.

With my friend you shall be friend, and with my enemy you shall be enemy.


As he (is) your enemy, so too (is) he the enemy of the Sun. As he (is) the enemy of the Sun, so too he shall be your enemy.

---

SELECTION 26

A Suzerainty Treaty

Exodus 34:10-27


Thus (says) the Sun Shuppiluliuma, the great king, the King of Hatti, the warrior: When all the kings of Nuhashi and the king of Mukush were at war with the Sun, the great king, their suzerain, but Niqmaddu king of Ugarit was at peace and not at war with the Sun, the great king, his

---

89Cf. in general Weinfeld 1976:390f.
90i.e., the king of the Hittites.
91A major seaport on the north Syrian coast.
92The territory around Kadesh, for which see above, Selection 22, note 82.
93In southwestern Anatolia.
94See above, Selection 25, note 90.
suzerain, and the kings of the land of Nuhashi and the king of the land of Mukish pressured him and said as follows: "Why are you not with us at war against the Sun?" But Niqmaddu did not want hostilities with the Sun, the great king, his suzerain, and the Sun, the great king, realized the loyalty of Niqmaddu, and now Shuppiluliuma the great king, the king of Hatti, had made a treaty with Niqmaddu king of Ugarit with the following terms: (There follows an elaborate list of tribute (mandattu) to the king, his family and his high officials.) And the Sun, the great king, has realized the loyalty of Niqmaddu and when the latter came, he threw himself at the feet of the Sun the great king his suzerain. And (so) the Sun the great king his suzerain has given him this treaty as set forth. As to the provisions which are recorded on this tablet, verily the Thousand Deities know (them). The heavenly Shamash, Adad of Arinna, the heavenly Adad, (and) the Adad of Hatti verily will know (anyone) who changes the provisions of this tablet.

**SELECTION 27**

**The Ox That Gored**


(53) If an ox gores another ox and causes its death, both ox owners shall divide (between themselves) the price of the live ox and the equivalent of the dead ox. (54) If an ox is known to gore habitually and the authorities have brought the fact to the knowledge of its owner, but he does not have his ox dehorned(?), and it gores a man and causes (his) death, then the owner of the ox shall pay two-thirds of a pound of silver. (55) If it gores a slave and causes (his) death, he shall pay 15 shekels of silver.


(250) If an ox, while it is walking along the street, gores a man and causes (his) death, that case is not subject to claim. (251) If the man's ox is known

---

95 A technical term for "recognize as a legitimate vassal" or the like.
96 According to Moran 1985:179f., what follows is a covenant of grant rewarding the loyal vassal (or servant) as in the Biblical tales of Noah, Abraham, Phinehas, Caleb and David.
98 An independent city-state on the Diyala River (a tributary of the Tigris River), ultimately conquered by Hammurapi of Babylon.
99 Literally: ward, quarter (of a city), i.e., the judicial instance of first resort.
100 Literally: mina (Akkadian: manu) (ca. 480 grams), equal to 60 shekels, hence (here): 40 shekels.
to gore habitually, and his authorities\textsuperscript{101} have brought to his knowledge the fact that it is wont to gore habitually, but he did not plait its horns (or) tie up his ox, and that ox goes a free man\textsuperscript{102} and causes his death, he shall give one-half pound of silver.\textsuperscript{103} (252) If it was the slave of a man, he shall give one-third pound of silver.\textsuperscript{104}


To my lord (Zimri-Lim, king of Mari) speak: thus (says) Yaqqim-Addu (governor of Sagaratum)\textsuperscript{105} your servant. Concerning Ili-Shakim the dam-builder – I had previously drawn the attention of my lord to the matter as follows: "In the past, he sent [1 pound of silver] to my lord." This money my lord did not accept so I said to Ili-Shakim as follows: "How could you send my lord (just) one pound of silver?" So he went and added one (more) pound of silver and promised me two pounds of silver as a result of which I spoke to my lord as follows: "May my lord accept these two pounds of silver and release this man." But my lord commanded me as follows: "He must not give (just) two pounds of silver. As compensation for his (negligent) manslaughter let him pay five pounds (as) ransom for his life and then release him!" (The letter continues with elaborate provisions for raising the necessary funds.)

d. From the Archives of Nuzi; cf. Chiera 1934 No. 341; Hallo 1967b:64, n.1; Finkelstein 1981:21, n. 5.

Taia the ox herd of Tehip-Tilla – he injured one ox. Said Taia: "His fellow-(ox) injured (this) ox out on the range." But the judges said to Taia: "Bring your witnesses to the effect that his fellow-(ox) injured (him) on the range." Taia said "I have no witnesses." The judges said: "(It is) you who injured him. Pay the equivalent of the ox." Tehip-Tilla won the lawsuit and (the judges) ordered Taia (to pay) one ox (out) of (his) own herd.\textsuperscript{106}

\textsuperscript{101}Literally: ward, quarter (of a city), i.e., the judicial instance of first resort.

\textsuperscript{102}Literally: the son of a man. Compare Spanish fidalgo, "someone of importance," literally: "son of someone" (courtesy Joyce Mann).

\textsuperscript{103}I.e., 30 shekels.

\textsuperscript{104}I.e., 20 shekels.

\textsuperscript{105}A city, perhaps on the Habur River (a tributary of the Euphrates River), subject at this time to the kingdom of Mari on the Euphrates.

\textsuperscript{106}Or: (out) of (his) own funds (Akkadian sukullu; cf. Hebrew s'gulla) and Greenberg 1951; Levine and Hallo 1967:52.
SELECTION 28

A Hebrew Letter-Prayer from the Time of Josiah(?)  

Exodus 22:25f.

After Pardee 1978:36f.; cf. ANET 568 and the original edition of Naveh 1960;  

May the official, my lord, hear the plea of his servant. Your servant is working at the harvest. Your servant was in Ḥaṣar Asam.  
Your servant did his reaping, finished, and stored it a few days before stopping.  
When your servant had finished reaping and had stored it a few days ago,  
Hoshayahu son of Shobay came and took your servant's garment. When I had finished my reaping at that time, a few days ago, he took your servant's garment. All my companions will testify for me, all who were reaping with me in the heat of the sun (?) – they will testify for me that this is true. I am guiltless of any in[fraction. So please return] my garment. If you do not consider it an obligation to return your servant's garment, then please have pity upon him [and return your servant's garment] (from that motive). You must not remain silent (?) [when your servant is without his garment].

SELECTION 29

Arad Ostraca and Seals  
(cf. I Chronicles 24)


To my lord, El-yashib:  
May YHWH ask for your well-being! And now:  
Give to Shemar-Yahu half an aroura (of land) and to the Kerosite you shall give a quarter aroura.  
And regarding the matter which you commanded me – it is well.  
He is living in the house of YHWH.


To Nahum, and now: Come to the house of El-yashib the son of Ish-Yahu and you shall take from him 1 measure of oil and send it to [me] quickly and seal it with your seal.

---

107 A place name, otherwise unknown.
108 Or: (the) Sabbath.
109 Literally: the official.
110 Cf. I Chronicles 24:12, in a list of Aaronides.
111 Interpreting the Egyptian hieratic numerals with Albright, ANET 569 and Aharoni 1966b.
112 Cf. Keroz, a family of temple servants; Mazar 1965.
113 Literally: peace (SLM). Albright vocalized as a personal name, Shallum.
(Reverse)\textsuperscript{115}: On the 24th of the month, Nahum gave oil by the hand of the Kittite, 1 (measure).

c. Aharoni 1969:29 and Fig. 45
Belonging to El-yashib son of Ish-Yahu.\textsuperscript{114}

MRMWT (Meremoth)\textsuperscript{116}
PŠHR (Pashhur)\textsuperscript{117}

SELECTION 30
Daily Ritual of the Temple of Amon-Re at Karnak

\textit{Leviticus} 16:12

Translated from Moret 1902: 15-20; cf. ANET 325 with n. 3.

Utterance for\textsuperscript{118} taking the censer: words to be spoken: Hail to you, (censer of the gods) who are in the entourage of Thoth. My two arms are on you like those of Horus, my two hands are on you like (those of) Thoth, my fingers are on you like (those of) Anubis, chief of the divine pavilion. As for me,\textsuperscript{119} I am the living slave of Re, I am the priest,\textsuperscript{120} for I have purified myself. My purifications are those of the gods. The king makes the offering because I have purified myself.

Utterance for putting the bowl of the censer on its arm: words to be spoken: Hail to you, bowl of the censer of the field of Mendes, the area of Abydos. I have purified myself with the Eye of Horus so as to conduct the rites with you. I am purified for Amon in the company of his circle of gods. The king makes the offering because I have purified myself.

Utterance for putting the incense on the fire: words to be spoken: To the soul of the East, the Horus of the East, to Ka-Mutef who is in the sun-disc, to the Uraeus\textsuperscript{121} who shines from his two eyes, to Re-Har-akhti,\textsuperscript{122} the great god who rules the two southern halves of heaven from wing to head. . . .

\textsuperscript{115} In different handwriting.
\textsuperscript{116} A priestly name in Ezra and Nehemia.
\textsuperscript{117} A priestly name in Jeremiah and elsewhere; cf. above, ch. VII note 40.
\textsuperscript{118} Or: chapter of.
\textsuperscript{119} The censer itself, like other cult-objects, is considered divine.
\textsuperscript{120} Literally: the pure one.
\textsuperscript{121} The sacred asp, worn on the headdress of deities and pharaohs. Or read nr3w, the ibex?
\textsuperscript{122} Literally: Re of the Horizon.
### SELECTION 31

**Offerings to the Temple Gates at Ur**

Adapted from Levine and Hall 1967.

Leviticus 2:4

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
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<td></td>
<td>the inner bolt of Ekishnugal(^{124})</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the inner bolt of the upper court</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>for the thick loaf(^{125})</td>
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<td>for the inspection offering, at the place of inspection rite of the inner bolt</td>
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<td>for (bread and) &quot;marmalade&quot;</td>
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<td>before Enki and Damgal-numma(^{127}) at twilight</td>
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<tr>
<td>before Asal-luhli(^{128})</td>
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\(^{123}\) All entries are in qa = ± 1-1/2 pints.

\(^{124}\) The temple complex at Ur.

\(^{125}\) Cf. below at Selection 53, note 199.

\(^{126}\) Cf. CAD s.v. edadu.

\(^{127}\) One of the ranking deities of the Sumerian pantheon, and his consort.

\(^{128}\) A Sumerian deity often equated with the Babylonian Marduk.
The Book of the People

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<th>for thin bread</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>for (bread and)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2/5</td>
<td>&quot;marmalade&quot; with butter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2/3</td>
<td>for the emmer mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>for the inner bolts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(subtotal)</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>36-1/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2-2/5</td>
<td>[2] (grand total)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[132] 1/15 regular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[allotment for meals]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

before Enki and Damgal-nunna
at night
during the night

SELECTION 32
Old Babylonian Prayer of the Divination Priest
Adapted from Goetze 1968:25-27, ll. 1-33; YOS 11:22.

(1) Oh Shamash! I am placing in my mouth pure cedar (resin). I am wrapping it for you in the locks of my hair; I am placing for you in my lap thick-leaved cedar (resin). I washed my mouth and my hands, I wiped my mouth with thick-leaved cedar (resin). I wrapped pure cedar (resin) in the locks of my hair, I envelop for you the thick-leaved cedar (resin). Being now clean, to the assembly of the gods I shall draw near for judgment.

(2) Oh Shamash! I am placing pure cedar (resin) in the incense of your . . . Let the fragrance linger! Let it bring here the great gods. (3) Oh Shamash! I bring you (a) water from the Tigris and the Euphrates (b) a gift. Select pure water for the emmer flour! (4) Oh Shamash! I bring you the tribute of lordship which in the . . . of the gods I shall present for you. (5) Oh Shamash! I bring you seven and seven sweet cakes\(^{129}\) of which the dividing lines (?) are crossed (?) for you. (6) Oh Shamash! I bring you the plenty of the gods, the glory of Nisaba. (7) Oh Shamash! I made lie down for you the plenty of the gods, the glory of Nisaba. (8) Be seated, valiant Shamash! Let there be seated with you the great gods: Anum the father of heaven, Sin the king of the (lunar) crown, Nergal the lord of the weapons, Inanna the lady of battle – let (them) be seated with you!

\(^{129}\)Cf. above, ch. VI note 9.
Refrain\(^\text{130}\) (a) Oh Shamash lord of judgment, oh Adad lord of ritual acts and divination, (b) you who are seated on golden chairs, you who are eating from plates of lapis, you will descend here and eat, you will be seated on the chair and pronounce judgment. (c) In the ritual act I prepare, in the extispicy\(^\text{131}\) I perform, put you truth.\(^\text{132}\)

**SELECTION 33**

**Ritual Against Fungus**

*Leviticus 14:33-57*


"If there is fungus (*katarru*) in a man's house, on the outer north wall, the owner of the house will die and his house will be scattered."\(^\text{133}\)

To avert the evil, you make six axes of tamarisk wood and scrape away (some of) the fungus with them. You sweep with a datepalm branch from the north (side of the tree). You gather it into a reed basket. You incense it with a torch and place mud and gypsum on it, and its evil will be dissipated. You recite "Ea performed (the incantation), Ea undid (the evil)." On that day the owner of the house slaughters a red male sheep before Ishum, reciting "May Ishum receive this." You place the head and hocks in beer and bury them at the outer gate. You have that man stand over them. You throw holy water over him, and recite as follows: "Enuru-incantation: pure river, clean river, water of the pure Tigris, the clean river, joined with (water from) the abyss! Tigris, mother of the mountain land!\(^\text{134}\) May he be pure as heaven! May he be clean as earth! May he be bright as the midst of heaven! Let the evil tongue stand aside! Be conjured by heaven, be conjured by earth!" You throw that holy water over him, and its (the omen's) evil will be dissipated.

(b) After Oppenheim (1967) 167 (No. 110) = ABL 367.

To the king, my lord (Esarhaddon): Your servant Nergal-sharrani.

\(^{130}\)The refrain is repeated in whole or in part after each section of the prayer as follows: (a) after sections 1 and 3-6, (b) after sections 3-5, (c) after sections 1-8.

\(^{131}\)I.e., divination by means of the entrails (extra) of the sacrificial animal.


\(^{133}\)This is certainly a quotation from an omen series, presumably from the twelfth tablet or chapter (now lost) of the series *summa ālu* ["if a city (is built on a height)"]", the "terrestrial omen" series, so called to distinguish it from the series devoted to astrological omens.

\(^{134}\)For an early forerunner to this incantation, see now YOS 11:48. The seemingly odd notion that the Tigris is mother of the mountains or foothills instead of vice versa is found there and in Sumerian mythology, where it is enshrined in Lugalbanda I for which see Hallo 1983b:174 and 177, comments to line 259. It surfaces again in the Akkadian myth of Anzu (I ll. 20-24; cf. *ibid.)*.
Good health to Your Majesty! May the gods Nabu and Marduk bless Your Majesty.

There exists an apotropaic prayer\textsuperscript{135} and also a ritual for that special \textit{kamûnu}-fungus which has appeared in the inner courtyard of the temple of Nabu, and the \textit{katarru}-fungus on the wall of the central storehouses. Adad-\textit{shumi-ušur}\textsuperscript{136} will perform it tomorrow morning. He should perform it several times.

\section*{SELECTION 34}
\textbf{Hittite Scapegoat Ritual}


If the king has been fighting the enemy and returns from the enemy country and out of the enemy country a pestilence comes and afflicts the people – they drive in a bull and a ewe – these are both from the enemy country – they decorate the bull’s ears with earrings and (fasten on it) red wool, green wool, black wool, and white wool, and they say: “Whatever has made the king red, green, black, or white shall go back to the enemy country.” . . . He also says: “Whatever god of the enemy country has caused this pestilence if it be a male god, I have given thee a lusty, decorated bull with earrings. Be thou content with it. This bull shall take back the pestilence to the enemy country.” And he does the same with a decorated ewe if it be a female deity.

\section*{SELECTION 35}
\textbf{Protestation of Guiltlessness}

Rossiter 1979:91-96. Cf. ANET 34f; Beyerlin 64.

\begin{quote}
. . . I am not a doer of wrong to men
I am not one who slays his kindred
I am not one who tells lies instead of truth
I am not conscious of treason
I am not a doer of mischief
I do not exact as the first fruits of each day more work than should be done for me
My name does not come to the bark of the god who is at the helm
I am not a transgressor against the god
I am not a tale-bearer
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{135}I.e., \textit{numburbi}.

\textsuperscript{136}For this high official see Deller 1969.
I am not a detractor
I am not a doer of that which the gods abhor
I hurt no servant with his master
I cause no famine
I cause not weeping
I am not a murderer
I give no orders for murder
etc. etc. 137

SELECTION 36
Counsels of Wisdom II. 21-44
Adapted from Biggs, ANET3 595, based on Lambert 1960:99-101; earlier version by Pfeiffer, ANET2 426f.

Do not talk with a talebearer. 138

Do not consult with . . . an idler, when, because of your good qualities, you should be made into an example (?) for them. Then you will reduce your own work, forsake your path, and let your wise, modest opinion 139 be perverted. Let your mouth be restrained and your speech guarded; (that) is a man’s pride – let (the speech of) your lips be very precious. Let indolence and slander be an abomination for you; utter nothing derogatory, no unsubstantiated opinion. A talebearer is himself held in disrespect.

Do not set out to stand around in the assembly. Do not loiter where there is a dispute. For in the dispute they will have you as an observer (?). Then you will be made a witness for them, and they will involve you in a lawsuit to affirm something that does not concern you. In case of a dispute, get away from it, disregard it. A dispute is a concealed (?) pit, a strong (?) wall which falls down upon its foes. It brings to mind what one has forgotten and convicts 140 a man. Do not return evil to your adversary; requite with kindness the one who does evil to you, maintaining justice for your enemy, be friendly to your enemy . . . .

137 The deceased now addresses each of the 42 divine jurors by name and/or epithet (omitted here).
138 Or “jokester” (ēpiš namāti)
140 Variant: “destroys”
Selection 37
Laws of Adultery

Lev. 18-20, esp. 20:10


If the wife of a young (?) man has not consummated her marriage, and another man proceeded by force and deflowered her, one shall slay that male. If the wife of a young man of her own inclination follows after another man and he sleeps in her lap, one shall slay that woman, (but) set that man free.

(2) Laws of Eshnunna §§27f. (ANE T 162; Kaiser 1982:35f.).

If a man takes another man's daughter without asking the permission of her father and her mother and concludes no formal marriage contract with her father and her mother, even though she may live in his house for a year, she is not a wife. If, on the other hand, he concludes a formal contract with her father and her mother and consummates the marriage with her, she is a wife. When she is caught with another man, she shall die, she shall not get away alive.


If a man has consummated marriage with a wife and has not concluded a formal marriage contract with her, that woman is not a wife. If the wife of a man is caught lying with another male, they shall bind them and throw them into the water. If the husband of the wife spares his wife, then the king may in turn spare his subject.


(13) When a seignior's wife has left her own house and has visited another seignior where he is living, if he has lain with her, knowing that she was a seignior's wife, they shall put the seignior to death and the woman as well.

(14) If a seignior has lain with the wife of another seignior either in a temple-prostitution or in the street, knowing that she was a seignior's wife, they shall treat the adulterer as the seignior orders his wife to be treated. If he has lain with her without knowing that she was a seignior's wife, the adulterer is guiltless; the seignior shall prosecute his wife, treating her as he thinks fit.

(15) If a seignior has caught another seignior with his wife, when they have prosecuted him (and) convicted him, they shall put both of them to death, with no liability attaching to him. If, upon catching (him), he has brought him either into the presence of the king or into the presence of the

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\(^{141}\)hit. has not been deflowered.

\(^{142}\)var: the man (i.e., the husband ??)
judges, when they have prosecuted him (and) convicted him, if the woman's husband puts his wife to death, he shall also put the seignior to death, but if he cuts off his wife's nose, he shall turn the seignior into a eunuch and they shall mutilate his whole face. However, if he let his wife go free, they shall let the seignior go free.


(197) If a man seizes a woman in the mountains, it is the man's crime and he will be killed. But if he seizes her in (her) house, it is the woman's crime and the woman shall be killed. If the husband finds them, he may kill them, there shall be no punishment for him.

(198) If he brings them to the gate of the palace and declares: "My wife shall not be killed" and thereby spares his wife's life, he shall also spare the life of the adulterer and shall mark his head. If he says, "Let them die both of them!" ... The king may order them killed, the king may spare their lives.

**SELECTION 38**

**A Babylonian "Jubilee"**

Cf. Finkelstein 1965; Kraus 1977:153.143

When my lord raised high the Golden Torch for Sippar, promulgated a redress of debts144 on behalf of Shamash who loves him and made Taribatum commander of the troops, the judges of Babylon and the judges of Sippar take their seats in Sippar so that they could tend to the lawsuits of the citizens of Sippar and read the sale documents for fields, houses and orchards, (those) which had become invalid according to the redress promulgation (and which) they broke.145 (Lengthy section with many breaks concerning a parcel of land affected under the preceding). I took my tablets to the assembly. Rish-Shamash the Resident (Governor?) of Sippar, Kudia the throne-bearer and Sin-nadin-shumi the Registrar inspected my tablets, sealed (them146) and had them sent to Shalim-tehhushu, to his house, for inspection. Shalim-tehhushu the overseer of the barbers without hearing my oral testimony broke my tablets in Sippar

143The text resembles the body of a letter, but lacks the obligatory salutation so it may be a literary rather than an archival document.

144This is the technical sense of mišaru, cognate of Hebrew mēšār, mēšōr) and like the latter also meaning "justice (in general)."

145Since the documents were written (in cuneiform) on clay tablets, "breaking the tablets" had the same legal force (and idiomatic connotations) as our "burning the mortgage."

146I.e., affirmed them.
in his inn—a or so they said to me. I was depressed. I took the fragments of my tablet from his house and showed them to Rish-Shamesh, Kudia and Sin-nadin-shumi who said—"What can we say to an overseer of barbers?" I appeal to you by God. Let my lord decide in my favor in the case of the tablets which were broken without judges or the principal party! Let all of Sippar see that the weak is not handed over to the strong in the presence of my lord and for the strong to oppress the weak [is not tolerated].

SELECTION 39
Tukulti-Ninurta Epic col. v. ff. 31-41

The lines of battle were drawn up; on the field of strife the battle was joined.
A fierce frenzy ensued; the servants trembled
Ashur in the vanguard went to the attack; the fire of annihilation he kindled against the enemy
Enlil charged into the midst of the enemy, making the flaming arrows smoulder.
Anu pressed the relentless mace upon the wicked.
The luminary Sin imposed upon them the paralyzing effect of battle.
Adad the warrior lowered a hurricane over their battle-line.
Shamash, the lord of judgment, dimmed the eyes of the armies of Sumer and Akkad.
Heroic Ninurta, first of the gods, smashed their weapons.
And Ishtar beat (with) her skipping-rope, driving their warriors mad.
Behind the gods his helpers, the king in the vanguard of the army began the battle.

147 Or house of detention.
148 Cf. CAD D 103:4.
150 Moon.
151 lit. wind (and) flood.
152 Sun.
SELECTION 40
In Praise of the City Ramses
ANET 471; cf. Caminos 1954: 73-75, 505

Cf. Numbers 11:5

The scribe Pai-Bes greets his lord, the scribe Amen-em-Opet: In life, prosperity, health! This letter is for my lord’s information. Another message to my lord, to wit: I have reached Per-Ramses-meri-Amon and have found it in extremely good condition, a beautiful district, without its like, after the pattern of Thebes. It was Re himself who founded it. The Residence is pleasant to live in: its countryside is full of everything good, and it has food and victuals every day. Its ponds have fishes, its pools have birds. Its meadows are verdant with grass; its banks bear dates, its melons are abundant on the sands. The 13ds-plant is a cubit and a half (high), and the carob is like the taste of honey in the damp soil. Its granaries are (so) full of barley and emmer (that) they draw near to the sky. Onions and leeks are for food(?), lettuce of the garden, pomegranates, apples, and olives, figs of the orchard, sweet wine of Ka-Kemet, surpassing honey, red wedj-fish of the Residence which live on lotus-flowers, (and other fish). The Shi-Hor has salt and the Her canal has natron... .

SELECTION 41
A Ritual Calendar from Ugarit

The month of Hiyyar on the day of the new moon:
a bull and a ram for the goddess of the Mansion.
On the fourteenth: BaCa: two (loaves of bread) arranged (before the deity).
On the eighteenth, the king, the purifier, washes himself.
On the following day (?), sacrificial meat (?) in the pit (?) of Saphon,
ingots of silver and gold, an offering of two rams for Bibt.
A bull and a ram (for) a burnt offering; a bull (for) a peace offering for

153Cf. above Selection 19, note 66.
154Or: cucumber-beds (Bdnt).
155Lit. the Soul of Egypt, a vineyard in the Delta.
156Lit. the Waters of Horus; cf. the Shihor river in Jos. 13:3, 1 Chr. 13:5, etc.
157Probably equivalent to Hebrew 'iyyar.
158Lit. the Mistress (LCbLT).
159RKM; cf. the shewbread arranged in two rows in Lev. 24:6; cf. above Ch. VI note 9.
160Cf. Lev. 14:1: the priest who performs the cleansing.
Ba'ala; a bird for Saphon. Incense\textsuperscript{161} and a ram for Resheph of Bbt.
(The text continues in similar fashion.)

\textbf{SELECTION 42}

\textbf{Sinuhe in Palestine}

\textit{Numbers} 13:23, 27


Then (Ammi-enshi, the ruler of Upper Retenu)\textsuperscript{162} said to me: "Well, really, Egypt is happy that it knows that (Sesostris I) is flourishing. Now thou art here. Thou shalt stay with me. What I shall do for thee is good."

He set me at the head of his children. He married me to his eldest daughter. He let me choose for myself of his country, of the choicest of that which was with him on his frontier with another country. It was a good land, named Yaa. Figs were in it, and grapes. It had more wine than water. Plentiful was its honey, abundant its olives. Every (kind of) fruit was on its trees. Barley was there, and emmer. There was no limit to any (kind of) cattle. Moreover, great was that which accrued to me as a result of the love of me. He made me ruler of a tribe of the choicest of his country. Bread was made for me as daily fare, wine as daily provision, cooked meat and roast fowl, beside the wild beasts of the desert, for they hunted for me and laid before me, beside the catch of my (own) hounds. Many ... were made for me, and milk in every (kind of) cooking.

\textbf{SELECTION 43}

\textbf{The Census at Mari}

\textit{Cf. Numbers} 1, 26


To Yasmah-Adad speak, thus says Shamshi-Adad your father: Yarim-Adad wrote to me as follows: "I have mustered\textsuperscript{163} the Hanaeans of the pasture land\textsuperscript{164} and I have fixed (at) 2000 (those) who are to march on a campaign with Yasmah-Adad. Moreover all this contingent is (now) inscribed, by name, on a tablet." This is what he wrote to me. Do you yourself fix (at) 2000 the Hanaeans of the pasture land who are to go with you, plus a contingent of 3000. Let La'üm and those servants who stand in attendance before you hear this tablet so that action is really taken in this matter. The population

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\textsuperscript{161}So Gray, UF 11:323 n. 46. Others: a man, or a throat (NPš).

\textsuperscript{162}Northern Canaan and Southern and Central Syria.

\textsuperscript{163}PQD; cf. the Rabbinic name of the Book of Numbers.

\textsuperscript{164}CAD s.v. \textit{namu}: pasture land on the fringes of cultivated areas as the habitat of nomads, and its population and flocks. Cf. Heb. NWH.
of your district has not been tallied\textsuperscript{165} in a long time, and the day of tallying is long overdue. Moreover, (since) at this moment you cannot tally the population, you should tally the population as soon as you return. Until then, furnish replacements of the missing and dead. The contingent, as much as marches with you, is really (to be) inscribed, by name, on a tablet (and) clearly assigned (to their units/their fields?). A contingent of 1000 assemble (from) between the two cities (?); moreover assemble a contingent of 1000 from (among) the Hanaeans, and assemble a contingent of 600 (from) among the Uprapeans, the Yarihaeans, the Yahruraeans and the Amnanaeans. Gather a contingent of 200 here, 300 there, according to the circumstances, and (thus) assemble a contingent of 500.

Together with your personal attendants, 1000 (men) will be enough. By that time you will have assembled a contingent of 6000. As for me, I will send you a contingent of 10000 men of the land – (but) whether they are men of the edge(?!?) of the land or men of the land, (in any case) a strong contingent, an armed contingent. Moreover I have just written to Eshnunna. A contingent of 6000 Eshnunna men will come up. What with one thing and another, an army of 20000, a mighty contingent, a contingent which no one will be able to confront . . .

SELECTION 44
A Birth Certificate

On the eighth day of the month of Ab in the year that King Samsu-ditana by the great strength of the gods Shamash and Marduk . . .\textsuperscript{166} Amat-esheshi\textsuperscript{167} – in the "New House" of Nanâ-Street Amat-Bau her mother gave birth to her. She (i.e., Amat-Bau) is a slave-woman to her mistress Ruttia the priestess of the god Zababa. She (i.e., Amat-Bau) will fulfill her obligation (to) the goddess Nanâ.\textsuperscript{168} She will not provoke her mistress

\textsuperscript{165}Lit. cleansed, cleared.

\textsuperscript{166}This is the abbreviated form (full form unknown but probably referred to a military victory) of the fifth year of the last king of the Hammurapi dynasty, i.e., + 1621 B.C.E.

\textsuperscript{167}Lit. "Servant-girl of the lunar festival" – a name appropriate at this time for a woman born on the 1st, 7th, 15th, or 25th day of the (lunar) month. Hallo 1977:5-8.

\textsuperscript{168}In light of parallel texts, this obligation probably consisted of "aiding her mistress to carry out the latter's function as [a priestess of Nanâ], by washing her feet, carrying her chair to the goddess's temple, or providing other services in support of her mistress's cultic role" (\textit{ibid.} p. 15).
Ruttia to rage. (Dated) on the eighth day of the month of Ab in the year that King Samsu-ditana by the great strength of the gods Shamash and Marduk.

SELECTION 45
Two Death Certificates
Sollberger 1976:448f.

(1) One Ulabada died – the son of Ur-shaga swore to it. Via Ur-mes son of the governor. Month of the festival of the god Dumuzi in the year that Ibbi-Sin became king (of Ur).\(^{169}\) Seal inscription: Lu-Bagar a the scribe, son of Baza.

(2) One Mandu son of Papa the silver-assayer died – Ningirsu-isha swore to it.

SELECTION 46
Hittite Instructions for Temple Officials
Numbers 18

You who are temple officials, be very careful with respect to the precinct. . . . Whoever is a temple official, all high priests, minor priests, "anointed" or whoever else is allowed to cross the threshold of the gods, let (them) not fail to spend the night in the temple one by one. Furthermore, there shall be watchmen employed by night who shall patrol all night through. Outside the enclosure guards shall watch, inside the temples shall the temple officials patrol all night through and they shall not sleep. Night by night one of the high priests shall be in charge of the patrols. Furthermore, someone of those who are priests shall be in charge of the gate of the temple and guard the temple. . . . Guard the temple very carefully and do not sleep. (Responsibility for) the precinct shall be divided among yourselves. He who commits an offense with respect to the precinct shall be killed; he shall not be pardoned.

\(^{169}\) i.e., ± 2027 B.C.E.
SELECTION 47

Balaam at Deir Alla

Numbers 22-24 (Cf. Deut. 23:5f., etc.)


(1) [This is the inscription of (Bala]am [son of Be]or. He\textsuperscript{170} was a divine seer. And the gods came to him at night, [and they spoke to] him according to the vision of God.\textsuperscript{171} And they said to (Ba]alam, son of Beor: "This will the [\ldots] do in the future. No man has seen what you have heard."

And Balaam arose on the morrow [and fasted for \ldots] days, and on the [\ldots th] day [he \ldots] and he was truly weeping. And his people came to him [and they said] to Balaam son of Beor: "Why do you fast? Why do you weep?" And he said to them: "Be seated and I will inform you what the Shad[day-gods have done],\textsuperscript{172} and so, behold the workings of the gods! The gods have joined forces, and the Shadday-gods have established a council.\textsuperscript{173} And they have said to Sh[agar-and-Ishtar]\textsuperscript{174}: *Sew up, cover up the heavens with a dense cloud, so that darkness, and no brilliance will be there; concealment, and no bristling light (?), that you may instill dread \ldots [and much darkness, and never murmur again]!" (There follows Balaam's interpretation of the ominous scene just described, his attempt to free Shagar-and-Ishtar\textsuperscript{174} from the destructive power of the divine council, and God's displeasure with Balaam's "interference." After being taken to the edge of the netherworld (shfol), Balaam is told: [You are no longer a man fit] to know how to deliver an oracle to his people. You have been condemned for what you have said, and banned from pronouncing words of execration.\textsuperscript{175}

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SELECTION 48

The Bit Marzeach

Numbers 25 (Cf. Amos 6:7; Jer. 16:5)


El offered game in his house,
Venison in the midst of his palace.
He invited the gods to mess.
The gods ate and drank.

\textsuperscript{170}Or, "who was etc." if \textasciitilde{s} can be treated as the Phoenician relative pronoun; cf. Num. 24:4.
\textsuperscript{171}[i.e., El.}
\textsuperscript{172}Restored, in part on basis of Numbers 23:23; 24:4, 16.
\textsuperscript{173}MW CD; cf. above p. 80; for the Divine Council (by other names) in Israel see Polley 1980.
\textsuperscript{174}See above, Ch. VIII note 69.
Drank wine till sated,
Must till inebriated
He prepared and mixed his tripe (?) . . .
Ashtart and Anat arrived.
Ashtart prepared a brisket (?) for him,
And Anat a shoulder . . .
El sat [in his place
El sat in his marzeach.
[El] drank [wine] till sated,
Must till inebriated.


"To Haggai. I spoke to Ashian about the money for the marzeach. So he replied to me, namely to Ito, 'Now I will give it to Haggai or to Igdal.' Speak to him that he should give it to you."

(3) The Punic sacrificial tariff of the temple of Ba'äl-Šaphon, found at Marseilles: Rosenthal, ANET 502 (l. 16)

Any citizen (?) and any scion (of a noble clan?) and any participant in a banquet for the god (MRZH 'LM) and anybody who shall offer a sacrifice [. . .], those men shall make payment per sacrifice as specified in a written document [. . .].


This dam [which was built by X and Y] sons of [Z and his associates] the members of this marzeach, the marzeach of Dushara, the god of Gaia in the year 18(?) . . . of King Rabel, king of the Nabataeans who kept alive and saved his people.

SELECTION 49

Erra Epic Numbers 25; Deut. 13:1

From Tablet V: 39-end (this is the concluding tablet of the series, and the one most often copied in amulet form to hang on the walls of temples and private houses as a prophylactic measure). Cf. Cagni 1977:60.

For years beyond counting this hymn to the great lord Nergal and brave Ishum (will recount) that Erra became enraged and made up his mind to level the countries and annihilate their populations, that Ishum his counsellor pacified him and they escaped as a remnant. He revealed it to

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176Reading MRZH' instead of Negev's SRWT', with Porten n. 126.
177I.e., 88 C.E.
178Here presumably = Erra.
the compiler of his composition, Kabti-ilani-Marduk son of Dabibi, at nighttime and when he recited it in the morning he did not leave out anything, nor did he add a single line (of his own) to it. When Erra heard it, it was acceptable in his sight. As for Ishum his herald – it pleased him. The gods in their entirety expressed their praise together with him. Moreover thus spoke brave Erra: "The deity who honors this song – in his sanctuary let abundance be heaped up! But he who reviles it – let him smell no incense! The king who magnifies my name – let him rule the (four) corners of the world! The prince who recites the hymn of my bravery – let him have no rival! The singer who chants (it) shall not die in the destruction; to king and prince his work will be pleasing. The scribe who learns it shall escape from the land of the enemy, he shall become honored in his (own) country. In the sanctuary where they mention my name constantly I shall grant wisdom to the sages. In the (private) house where this tablet is placed – even if Erra becomes enraged and the Seven go on a rampage – the sword of destruction will not approach it and rescue is ordained for it. This song – may it be established forever and may it endure into eternity. May all the countries hear it; may they praise my bravery! May all the people of the inhabited world come to know and magnify my name."

SELECTION 50
"The 400-Year Stela" Num. 13:22
ANET 252f.

Life the Horus: Mighty Bull, Who Loves Truth...
(Ramses II). His majesty commanded the making of a great stela of granite bearing the great name of his fathers, in order to set up the name of the father of his fathers (and of) the king Men-maat-Re, the son of Re: Seti-mer-ne-Ptah, enduring and abiding forever like Re every day.

Year 400, 4th month of the third season, day 4, of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Seth-the Great of Strength; the son of Re, his beloved: The-Ombite beloved of Re-Har-akhte, so that he exists forever and ever....

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179 On the significance of this line see above, ch. VIII p. 90 and note 4.
180 Lit: open their ears.
181 A group of minor deities who serve as Erra's weapons.
182 Here follows the long royal titulary of Ramses II (ca. 1287-1221 B.C.E.), i.e., presumably, the pharaoh of the oppression "who knew not Joseph" (Ex. 1:8).
183 i.e., the god Seth, conceived as ancestor of the royal line.
184 i.e., Seti I (ca. 1301-1288), the father and predecessor of Ramses II.
Now there came the Hereditary Prince. He said: "Hail to thee, O Seth, Son of Nut, the Great of Strength in the Bark of Millions, felling the enemy at the prow of the bark of Re, great of battle cry... Mayest Thou give me a good lifetime serving thy soul, while I remain in thy favor!"

(Rest of text is lost.)

SELECTION 51

Edict of Horemheb

Deut. 16:18-20, 17:8-13

Pflüger 1946; cf. deVaux 1961:154 and 531 (bibliography). Section CII (left side, ll. 3-7).

I have sought out people [and looked for officials], discreet and of good character, knowing how to judge inmost thoughts, obedient to the instructions of the Palace, and to the laws of the throne-hall. I have appointed them to judge the Two Lands to satisfy him who lives in [the Palace]. I have set them in the two great cities of Upper and Lower Egypt, with everyone in them, without exception, enjoying the benefit of his stipends. I have put before them precepts and (recorded) laws in [their] books. I have taught them the (right) course of life by guiding them to the truth, and my advice to them was: "Do not associate with other people. Do not take bribes from others, for that will not turn out well. Remove yourselves from one who... Behold, [anyone] of you who makes common cause with another shall be for you as one who offends against truth."

As for the tax in silver, gold [and bronze My] majesty [has commanded] to rescind it so as to prevent a tax of any description from being collected by the law courts of Upper and Lower Egypt. But as for any mayor or prophet concerning whom one shall hear, "He sits to administer justice in the law court set up for administering justice and (yet) offends against the truth therein" it shall be (reckoned) to him (for) a great capital crime. For My Majesty has done this to restore the laws of Egypt, in order to prevent any other injustice from occurring.

... But it is the prophets of the temples, the mayors of the land, and the priests of the gods who form the law court for him who applies to them, in order to judge all the citizens.

185Here follow all the official titles and epithets of Ramses II.
186I.e., ka, a peculiarly Egyptian concept.
187Lit.: that which is in the body
188I.e., Egypt (Upper and Lower Egypt).
189I.e., Thebes and Memphis respectively
190hm-ntr, probably a high priestly rank, sometimes borne by the king or applied to a god as "priest" of another god.
My Majesty has taken great pains over Egypt, in order (to assume) that the life of its inhabitants may prosper since he appeared upon the throne of Re. For the law court was set up over the entire country [to judge every man living], to hold court in the towns according to the excellent plans of [My Majesty].

SELECTION 52

The Tithe at Ugarit


(1) PRU 3:69f. = RS 12.276 (ll. 1-12) (Salonen p. 23; Heltzer p. 48)

From this day (forward), Niqmaddu son of Ammistamru, king of Ugarit, has given the village of Ahnabbu to Kar-Kushuh son of Ananu and (to) Apapa the princess together with its tithe, together with its tax, together with its emoluments. No one shall lay claim to Ahnabbu.

(2) PRU 3:93 b = RS 16.244 (ll. 1-12) (Heltzer p. 49)

From this day forward, Niqmepa, king of Ugarit, has taken ("lifted") the revenues of the offering tax, and the revenues of fines and the revenues of the tippallennu-officials as well as the tithes of the village of Bēru and has given them (lit. it) to Entashali the commissioner of Bēru for all the days of the life of Entashali. No one shall take it away from his possession (lit. hands).

(3) PRU 3.146f. = RS 16.153 (ll. 1-13) (Heltzer pp. 50f.)

From this day (forward) Ammistamru son of Niqmepa, king of Ugarit, gave the village of El... itš together with all its wherewithal to Yasiranu son of Husanu forever (even) to his children’s children - his (i.e., the king’s share of the) barley, his beer (usually paid as) its (the village’s) tithe, and the sheep (usually paid as its) tax levied in pasturing belong exclusively to Yasiranu. The revenues (paid in lieu) of the offering-tax (?) and the revenues (paid in lieu) of the prerogative to exercise the rights of a "best man" belongs exclusively to Yasiranu.

\[191\] Presumably Niqmaddu II, ca. 1360 B.C.E.
\[192\] Or: Uhnappu
\[193\] Written ZAG. 10 (ešrētu).
\[194\] Written NIG.KUD.DA (miksu); cf. Hebrew mekes in Num. 31:28, 37-41.
\[195\] ca. 1300 B.C.E.
\[196\] ma‘āšaru; cf. Hebrew ma‘āšēr (Lev. 27:30f.; Num. 18:26 etc.).
\[197\] Literally: "the wells"; cf. Hebrew Be‘ērōt as toponym.
\[198\] I.e., Ammistamru II, ca. 1275 B.C.E.
SELECTION 53
Hittite Ritual and Prayer
(Cf. Lev. 20:6,27;19:31) Deut. 18:9-12
to Ishtar of Nineveh
Hoffner 1967:392; Moyer 1983:23 (KBo II 9iv 9-16)

The diviner says these words, and when they draw him/her/it with "thick bread,"199 they fill a *kukkubu*-vessel200 with water besides. Then in that place they open up pits,201 and the diviner with ear-shaped loaves202 draws the deity203 up from thence seven times, and says, "If anyone -- king, queen (or) prince -- has done something and has buried it, I am now drawing it forth from the ground." Then he proceeds to speak other words of similar import, and they perform this action just so in that place.

SELECTION 54
Teratoscopy
Deut. 18:11

"If (of) an anomalous birth its feet are eight (and) its tails two: a prince will seize universal kingship."204

That hunter205 named Ummanu206 tells me thus: "When my sow gave birth, (the piglet) had eight feet and two tails." Thus he, I have preserved207 (it) in salt and deposited (it) in the house.208

(Report) of Nergal-etir.

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200 A small container of metal, glass or clay serving as a perfume vial, libation jar and drinking flask (CAD).
201 *apē*; cf. Hebrew *ḥb*.
202 On these see Hoffner 1974:159-161 who compares the *oznei haman* eaten at Purim.
203 Or: the spirit of the deceased ??
204 This is a quotation from Chapter (lit. tablet) XV of the canonical omen series called (from the beginning of its most common entry) "If an anomalous birth (*šumma izbu*)."
205 Or weaver; see CADM s.v. *mahisu*.
206 Written U49DA-nu.
207 Lit. laid to rest.
208 It is not clear whether this is a further statement of Ummanu or of Nergal-etir.
SELECTION 55
Sumerian Incantation-Hymn to Ninurta
Cohen 1975:30f.;209

Il. 88-10
Hero of the house of refuge! The house dedicated to you on the battle-field
by the cities of all the countries, the "wide house of the protective
deity,"210... the far-off forest whose front extends widely, (for) the king
whose confinement is in (with) it – verily it is the "wide house of the
protective deity," the forest is a far-off ship moored in a foreign land, on
any man who is confined to it – that person who in his own surroundings211
any man could cut him down – it is the "wide house of the protective deity."

SELECTION 56
Hittite Laws

If a person, man or woman, dies212 in another (?) town, he on whose
property he/she dies212 shall set aside 100 cubits (?) of his property and he
(the heir?) shall receive it.

(Later version:) If a man dies212 on the field (or) fallow213 of another man,
in case he is a free man, he shall give field (and) fallow,213 house (and) 1
1/2 pounds of silver. In case it is a woman, he shall give 3 pounds of silver.
But if there is no other man's field (and) fallow,213 a distance of three
leagues in one direction and a distance of three leagues in the other
direction (shall be taken) and whatever village is found to fall within it, he
(the heir?) shall take those. If there is no village (within the area), he
forfeits (his claims).

210] Sum. é-dagal-“lamma – the name of the sanctuary.
211] Lit., village; é-duru5 (Akk. edurū, kapru), identifies also the area around a city or village.
212] Probably meaning: "if he/she is killed."
213] Or: agricultural district (A.GAR).
SELECTION 57

Hair and Fringe

(a) Karana letter regarding illness. After Dalley 1976:64f.

Speak to Iltani, thus says Aqba-hammu. Concerning the hair and fringe of the young man which you sent to me, I took the omen with respect to the hair and fringe and the omen was favorable. It thoroughly vindicated (?) the young man who was overcome by the "hand of God." There is no guilt (on him). And one (other) young man here who was overcome by "the hand of God" - there is no guilt on him. He is simply one who was overcome by the "hand of God." (This) young man is (also) vindicated (?).

(b) Mari Letter Regarding Prophecy

Speak to my lord, thus says the lady Adad-duri your maid-servant. Since the fall of your father's house I have not seen this dream. These were my signs (as) of old. In my dream I entered into the temple of Belet-ekallim and Belet-ekallim was not seated nor were any of the statues which are (usually) in front of her present. Then I looked and wept ceaselessly. This dream of mine was in the evening-watch. I again (dreamed) and Dada, the priest of Ishtar-pishra, was officiating in the gate of Belet-ekallim and a strange voice was crying this over and over, saying: "Come back oh Dagan, come back oh Dagan." It was saying this over and over. Secondly, the female ecstatic arose in the temple of Annunitum, saying as follows: "Zimri-Lim do not go on campaign! Stay in Mari! Then I myself will take the responsibility!" Let not my lord be negligent in guarding his person. I myself hereby seal my hair and my fringe and send (them) to my lord.

214 An illness.
215 Lit., "Lady of the Palace," a goddess.
216 The reference is to the cult-statue of the goddess (identified by her divine name) and the votive statues of her worshippers, described as statues. Cf. Hallo 1983:68.
218 A deity revered along the Euphrates. Cf. the Biblical Dagon (1 Sam. 5 etc.). Another possible reading is "Tura-Dagan! Tura-Dagan!" - i.e., invoking a former ruler of Mari.
219 An Amorite goddess, regarded as a form of the militant Ishtar; cf. Gödechen, UF 5 (1973) 141-163.
220 King of Mari, ca. 1781-1759 B.C.E.
SELECTION 58
Sumerian Abominations (Taboos)  
Cf. in general Hallo 1985b; Klein and Sefati 1988.

(1) A judge who perverts justice, a judgment which favors the wicked party (variant: a curse which falls on the righteous party), a (first-born) heir who drives the younger son out of the patrimony: these are abominations of Utu\(^{221}\) (variant: Ninurta).

(2) To examine a man who is sailing a boat downstream, a man who is caulking a boat, (or) a man whose (boat) is capsizing – is an abomination of Suen.\(^{222}\)

(3) To banquet without washing the hands, to spit without stamping (on the spittle), to blow the nose without returning (the mucus) to dust, to copulate at midday without providing shade, these are abominations of Utu."

(4) To reach for (variant: closely examine) alms is an abomination of Ninurta.

(5) To bring unwashed hands to the mouth is an abomination.

SELECTION 59
Ox and Ass  
Lugalbanda Epic ll. 161-166  
From Jacobsen 1987:331f.

The Thunderbird\(^{223}\) said to holy Lugalbanda:
"Come, my Lugalbanda, according to the heart's notion\(^{224}\) thus will it be!
Being that the yoke-carrying ox must follow the trail,
Being that the trotting ass must take the straight road,\(^{225}\)
Let me stand by you in all matters,
Let me determine for you the lot you have at heart."\(^{226}\)

\(^{221}\) The sun-god, patron of justice.

\(^{222}\) The mood-god.

\(^{223}\) I.e., Anzu, a fabulous bird prominent in Sumerian and Akkadian mythology.

\(^{224}\) An idiomatic expression; more literally: "putting words into the meaning" or "putting meaning into the words."

\(^{225}\) Apparently a proverbial saying, such as are frequently quoted in epic; cf. Hallo, in press. Cf. also Isaiah 1:3.

\(^{226}\) Or: "let me render a verdict to your liking for you."
SELECTION 60
Instructions of Ninurta ("The Farmer's Almanac")
Deut. 24:19f.; 25:4
(a) ll. 80-83: gleaning after the reapers. Kramer 1963:341; cf. ibid. 296f.

During your daily harvesting, as in ‘days of need,’

Make the earth supply the sustenance of the young and the gleaners according to their number,²²⁷ (and) let them sleep (in your field) as (in) the (open) marshland.

If you do so, your god will show everlasting favor.

(b) l. 99: the muzzled ox. Kramer 1963:342; cf. ibid. 296f.

When you are about to hitch the oxen (to the threshing sledge), let your men who ‘open’ the barley stand by with (their – i.e., the oxen’s) foot (?)

SELECTION 61
A Loan Between Gentlemen
Moran ANET³ 629

Speak to Muarihū the commissioner: Greetings to you. As to your writing here and saying: “He has acquired your servants from the hands of Hehe the Egyptian for 400 shekels of silver, but there are 140 shekels of my own money which are outstanding. Moreover, he has now entered the temple and indeed said under oath (that) in fact he had not handed over your servant. I (still) have their ransom money.” – I shall give (you) the money you personally disburse, and he has returned my servants to me, so give your 80 shekels and do not put interest (on a loan) between us. We are each of us gentlemen.

SELECTION 62
The Slandered Bride
Deut. 22:18-19
Hallo, 1964
(1) BE 6/2 No. 40, tr. p. 35.

Enil-issu, nešakku-priest of Enil, son of Lugal-azida, took to wife
Ama-sukkal daughter of Ninurta-mansi.
Ama-sukkal brought 19 sheqel silver in to Enil-issu her spouse.
In future, if Enil-issu should say to Ama-sukkal his spouse:

²²⁷ i.e., presumably, leave the fallen kernels on the ground for the needy children and gleaners to pick.
"You are not my spouse," her money – 19 sheqel – is to be returned; in addition he must pay 1/2 mina\textsuperscript{228} as her divorce money. But if Ama-sukkal should say to Enlil-issu her spouse: "You are not my spouse," she must forfeit her money – 19 sheqel; in addition she must pay 1/2 mina silver. Thus they swore of their own free will by the king's name. (There follows the list of witnesses and the date, 28 Nisannu 1737 B.C.E.)

(2) BE 6/2:47, tr. p. 49f.
Five sheqel silver, besides the 19 sheqel silver which according to the marriage document? Ama-sukkal [daughter of] Ninurta-mansi [brought into] Enl[il-issu] as a bride-price? Enlil-issu received. (There follows the list of witnesses and the date, [?] Shabaṭu, 1733 B.C.E.).

(3) BE 6/2:58, tr. from Hallo.
The bronze weapon of the god Ninurta took its stand in the quarter and his alderwomen took their stand and they did not convict Ama-sukkal of speaking insolently against Enlil-issu; they did, however, convict Enlil-issu of slandering and abusing her. Thereupon Enlil-issu spoke as follows, saying: "You may convict me (even) more than now, (still) I will not marry her. Let them imprison me and (then) I will pay money (instead)." (There follows the list of witnesses and the date, 12 Simanu 1727 B.C.E.)

SELECTION 63
Middle Assyrian Laws

ANET 181, §8; tr. adapted from CAD I 251; cf. Kaiser 1982:82.

If a woman injures the testicle of a man in a fight, one of her fingers shall be cut off, and if the physician puts a dressing on it but the second testicle becomes affected from the first and becomes atrophied (?) or if she injures the second testicle (too), both of her [eyes]\textsuperscript{229} shall be put out.

\textsuperscript{228}I.e., 30 sheqel.
\textsuperscript{229}Or restore perhaps [nipples] with CADN 273.
The Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon

(If you sin against this treaty of Esarhaddon)

37. May Ashur, king of the gods, who determines the fates, decree for you an evil, unpropitious fate, and not grant you fatherhood, old age...ripe old age.

49. May Nergal, the warrior among the gods, extinguish your life with his merciless dagger, may he plant carnage and pestilence among you.

63. May all the gods who are named in this treaty tablet reduce your soil in size to be as narrow as a brick, turn your soil into iron, so that no one may cut a furrow in it.

64. Just as rain does not fall from a copper sky, so may there come neither rain nor dew upon your fields and meadows, but let it rain burning coals in your land instead of dew.

48. May Ishtar, lady of battle, break your bow in a heavy battle, tie your arms, and have you crouch at the feet of your enemy.

41. May Ninurta, leader of the gods, fell you with his fierce arrow, and fill the plain with your corpses, give your flesh to eagles and vultures to feed upon.

39. May Sin, the luminary of heaven and earth, clothe you in leprosy and (thus) not permit you to enter the presence of god and king; roam the open country as a wild ass or gazelle!

40. May Shamash, the light of heaven and earth, not give you a fair and equitable judgment, may he take away your eyesight; walk about in darkness!

42. May Venus, the brightest among the stars, let your wives lie in the embrace of your enemy before your very eyes, may your sons not have authority over your house, may a foreign enemy divide your possessions.

The Annals of Assurbanipal

Whenever the inhabitants of Arabia ask each other, "On account of what have these calamities befallen Arabia?" They answer themselves,
"Because we did not keep the solemn oath sworn by Assur, because we offended the 'friendliness'\textsuperscript{230} of Assur, the king beloved by Enlil."

\textsuperscript{230}Literally "goodness" (\textit{labtu})
The Book of the People

The Way North

- Boundaries
- Earlier route through Edom and Moab (Num. 20:13-21)
- Later route through Edom and Moab
- Sallam’s omission

Modern names and terms appear in parentheses.

0 5 10 15 20 25 30 MILES

This map is based on the accompaning Bible Atlas.