

***Puḫru*: Assembly as a Political Institution in *Enūma eliš* (Preliminary Study)**

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This paper is based on a premise that the creators of Mesopotamian myths and epics put, voluntary or unintentionally, their own knowledge into their works. The knowledge reflects, to some extent, the sociopolitical realities of the historical stages, which are scarcely reflected in contemporary sources. As a result, the analysis of the evolution of the assembly institution in “*Enūma eliš*” can provide a model of kingship’s genesis in Mesopotamia.

§ 1. Introduction

The Babylonian cosmological poem “*Enūma eliš*” is considered an apologetics of despotic king’s power. Th. Jacobsen has shown that “*Enūma eliš*”’s plot describes the evolution of political institutions and postulates absolute despotic monarchy as a self-evident and final stage of the development of the political system (Jacobsen 1976:212). In spite of this, the words *šarru* ‘king’ and *šarrūtu* ‘kingship’ are found only 22 times in the poem’s text. On the contrary, the words which denote the assembly—a social-political institute of communal ruling—are mentioned 40 times. These two words are *puḫru* and *ukkinnu*, the latter being a derivate from sum. **ukkin** and is a synonym of the former.¹ Moreover, it should be noted that about a half of the poem’s 1092 verses (Talon 2005) are intended to describe assembly meetings.

Therefore, it is reasonable to consider *Enūma eliš* as an excellent source for investigating the assembly institution in Ancient Mesopotamia. The assembly—*puḫru* (sum. **unken** < **uḡ**₃ ‘people’ + **ken** ‘circle’, Dia-

¹ E. g.: *pu-uh-ru šit-ku-na-ma* (II 12); *ukkin-na šit-ku-na-ma* (II 18). Cf. in parallel passages: *ad-di ta-a-ka AŠ UKKIN DINGIR.DINGIR* (I 153); [*ad*]-*di ta-a-ka i-na pu-ḫur DINGIR*^{mes}. Thus, we can read UKKIN as *ukkinnu* only when it is written *ukkin-na* (contrast Talon 2005:120, 124). The use of *ukkinnu* is a poetic device intended to avoid mentioning too often the word *puḫru*.

konoff 1967:50)—is a public meeting of all competent community members (Diakonoff (ed.) 1983:366). Assembly as a social-political institute is often found in Mesopotamian myths and epics. It is known that the communal system in Ancient Mesopotamia was long-lasting and conservative. It is manifested by the fact that this social-political structure was translated into the gods' world: an assembly of gods, a council of the eldest gods; a chief-god (Diakonoff 1990:77). Th. Jacobsen observed that up to the fall of the Ur III dynasty and maybe later, in spite of the true monarchy having dominated Mesopotamia's inhabitants, the gods' world continued to be interpreted as a primitive democracy (Jacobsen 1976:215). It was only from the second half of the II millennium B. C. on that Marduk's absolute monarchy got established in the Babylonian gods' kingdom.

On the basis of the premise that the social-political institutions have been transferred to the gods' world it is possible to formulate the main methodological approach of this research—to regard the information about the assembly in *Enūma eliš* as historical evidence.

However, here we are faced with the following difficulty: the historical facts reconstructed on the basis of myths and epics could be at least twice distorted—first, when the ancient man transferred his ideas into the gods' world; and second, when the modern researcher tries to find a grain of historical truth in a myth. Nevertheless, as stated by Lambert–Millard (1969:13), “the sociological system described [in epics] was that which they [ancient people] actually knew ...”.

This kind of reconstruction yielded good results in the study of Classical antiquity; the Homeric poems' investigation sets an example of that. There is, consequently, hardly any reason to ignore this method in the Ancient Near Eastern Studies, the more so since such precedents are actually known in the history of research into Mesopotamian epics and folklore (Diakonoff 1966; Kaneva 1964).

Gods' world in *Ee* can be considered as a model society—a totality of persons, within which everyone fulfills some particular function and takes an appointed position in the social structure. One limitation on the use of *Ee* for the reconstruction of social-political reality is that it cannot be used for the study of that stratum of society which was connected to the temple: with few exceptions, the protagonists of *Ee* are gods, and they could not be responsible for their own cult. Conversely, as for the communal institutes, the figure of the king and his courtiers, *Ee* and some other texts (e. g. Lambert–Millard 1969:21) are unique sources for recon-

struction of social-political processes at the early stages of Mesopotamian civilization.

As stated above, the fact that the divine society in Ee is to some extent a model of a real society, can hardly be doubted. The question is rather: what epoch does this model belong to? From the very beginning of research on Ee it was clear that the poem is of composite nature—that is why it was possible to decompose the poem's text into several plots used by one or several author(s) in its composition (King 1902 I lxvii). Therefore, the poem cannot reflect the sociopolitical features of one single and definite period of Mesopotamian history. At the modern stage of the study of Ee (which does not stand too far apart from L. W. King's work) we can only suppose that at the time when Ee was created the word **lugal** was still used in the meaning 'military chief' till (late second millennium, Horowitz 1998:108). We must assume that, because of its complex character, Ee reflects the peculiarities of sociopolitical reality of different periods of ancient Mesopotamian history. The possibility of distinguishing between probable sources—and, thus, layers of different chronological periods—in Ee can be established only after all sociopolitical institutions mentioned in the poem are defined and described. The present paper is concerned with the assembly (*puḫru*).

The tasks of the research are:

1. To detect lexical meanings of the word *puḫru* within the text of Ee.
2. To analyze all assemblies which were held within the plot of Ee, to define causes for the assembly's convocation, its membership, model of its conducting and the assembly's resolutions (see the table below).
3. To provide a model of the assembly's functioning. This is achieved by considering the mutual relations between **lugal** and the assembly. In addition, this would make possible to answer an important question: how did **lugal** come to power and how his power did surpass the power of the assembly?

§ 2. Lexical meaning of the word *puḫru* in Ee

Throughout Ee there are seven assemblies. How can we identify when does an assembly begin and when does it stop?

An assembly's beginning is marked by narration, where the following words are used.

- **puḫru** 'assembly': *inniṣqū aḫu aḫi ina puḫri* (UKKIN) 'They kissed each other at the assembly' (III 132); *innendūma pu-ḫur-šu-nu ...* 'they gathered at their assembly' (V 87);

- *ukkinnu* ‘assembly,’ e. g.: *ukkin-na šitkunūma* ‘they have organized the assembly’ (I 132);
- *ubšukkinakku* ‘court of the assembly’: *ina ub-šu-ukkin-na-ki ina ub-šu-ukkin-na-ki uš-ta-di-nu šu-nu mi-kat₃-su-un* ‘they consult each other at the assembly’ (VI 162);
- forms of the verb *paḥāru*: *pa-aḥ-ru-ma* ^dIgigī kalīšun ^dAnukkī ‘Igigi have gathered—all Anunnaki’ (II 121); [*pa*]ḥ-ru-ma ^dIgigī kalīšunu *uškinnūš(u)* ‘Igigi have gathered, they prostrated themselves in front of him’ (V 85). The termination of each assembly can be easily identified by the context.

The word *puḥru* in Ee can be used in the following meanings.

1. *Puḥru*—‘assembly’ as an institution of the communal ruling, for example: *ina ilāni bukrīša šūt iškunūši p[u-uh₁-ra]* ‘among gods, her children, who organized the assembly for her’ (I 147), *mu’errūtu pu-uh₁-ru* ‘leadership at the assembly’ (I 149), *pu-uh₂-ru šitkunatma* ‘she organized the assembly’ (II 12), etc.

2. *Puḥru*—‘(a site where) an assembly (takes place),’ for example: *innišqū aḥu aḥi ina puḥri* (UKKIN) ‘they kissed each other at the assembly’ (III 132); *tišamma ina puḥri* (UKKIN) ‘sit down at the assembly!’ (IV 15); *ūšībūma ina puḥrišunu* (UKKIN-*šu₂-nu*)² ‘they have sat at their assembly’ (IV 165). This meaning is a clear example of metonymy, when the semantics ‘institution’ is carried over to the place where this institution occurs.³ The locative aspect of this meaning is stressed by the preposition *ina*.

The meaning of *puḥru* in Ee I 55 is uncertain: *mimmū ikpudū puḥruššun* ‘everything that they have schemed ... they.’ Translation of this passage is faced with the following difficulties.

1. In this context, *puḥru* cannot have an institutional meaning as only two protagonists (Apsu and Mummu) are involved.⁴
2. The root *mlk* is semantically related to *puḥru*, but does not elucidate its meaning in the present context.⁵

² Talon (2005:69) has *ina ukkin-šu₂-nu*, but if it were *ukkinnu*, it would be written something like *ina ukkin-ni-šu₂-nu*.

³ Cf. on the contrary: *bitu* ‘house’ and ‘family’ (CAD B 282)—that is “people who live *in* the house.” In this case, the meaning shift is from place to social institution.

⁴ Mummu’s title (*sukallu*—I 30, 48) means that Mummu’s immediate chief must bear the title **lugal**. But why Apsu bears no such title in the poem’s text? It is quite possible that Apsu is not titled as **lugal** because he is a negative character and the author, standing on Marduk’s side, simply cannot name Apsu as **lugal**, because it is Marduk who must acquire this title in the future.

3. It seems that this line was obscure for the ancients too, cf. the spelling variation in the copies⁶.

The main subject of the present paper is *puḫru* in its institutional sense (as mentioned above, *ukkinnu* is a full synonym of *puḫru*, the difference is probably only stylistic). Historically, this meaning is the primary one—originally the assembly was a meeting of the community and only afterwards the place where such a meeting occurred also began to be called ‘assembly’.

In the following table boundaries of all the assemblies mentioned in “Ee” and their significant characteristics are identified.

Table. Assemblies in *Enūma eliš*

Part I

1. The assembly	The assembly of mutinous gods ⁷ (hereafter—Tiamat’s “party”) (a) (I 132–162): b) In retelling of Ea to Anshar (II 12–48); c) Anshar to his messenger Gaga (III 16–52); d) Gaga to Lahmu and Lahamu (III 74–110); <i>ukkin-na šitkunūma</i> (I 132).
2. Cause for the assembly	1. The murder of Apsu and the capture of Mummu (I 113–114, 117–118). The demand to take vengeance on Ea’s “party” (<i>gimillašun terrī</i>) (I 123). 2. Anu creates ‘the wind of four (sides of the earth)’ (<i>šār er-betti</i>), which horrifies Tiamat’s “party” (I 115). 3. The necessity to remove the unrelenting yoke (<i>šutbī abšāna lā sākipī</i>), which hinders Tiamat’s “party” from having a rest (I 122).
3. Who organized the assembly (the assembly’s membership)	a) The gods belonging to the “party” of Tiamat (<i>ukkin-na šitkunūma</i>) (I 132); b, c, d) According to Ea (II 12), Anshar (III 16) and Gaga (III 74), the assembly is organized by Tiamat (<i>puḫru šitkumatma</i>). As Apsu is killed, Tiamat turns into the assembly leader; this fact finds confirmation in her ‘majestic and incomparable’ commands (<i>gapšā tēretūša lā mahṛā šināma</i>) (I 145).
4. For whom is the assembly organized	For Tiamat (<i>ina ilāni bukrīša šūt iškunūši puḫra</i> —I 147). The assembly, organized by the mutinous gods, cannot be considered valid, so it must be legitimized in the course of its work.

⁵ I 47–48: *i-pul-ma* ^d*Mu-um-mu Apsū* (ZU.AB) *i-ma-al-lik*; *suk-kal-lum la ma-gi-ru mi-lik mu-um-mi-šu*. I. e. Mummu advises Apsu to destroy the gods and this fact is called *puḫru* in I 55.

⁶ (A) *i-na pu-uh₂-ru-šu-[un]* (prep. + subst., loc.-adv.); (p) [*pu-u*]^{h²}*-ri-šu-un* (= <ina> *puḫri-šun* (prep. + subst., gen.) or *puḫriš-šun* (subst., term.-adv.)); (AA) *ina* (AŠ) *pu-uh₂-ra-ni-x* (maybe *ina puḫrāniš-šun*⁷) (Talon 2005:35).

⁷ Dispersing of Tiamat’s assembly and, correspondingly, her “party” by Marduk takes place after his victory over Tiamat (*kišri-ša uptarrira puḫruša issapha*—IV 106).

<p>5. Progress of work during the assembly</p>	<p>1. Battle planning (<i>ibannû šulāti</i>) (I 132).</p> <p>2. Building up of the army through Tiamat's begetting of various monsters (134–143).</p> <p>3. An attempt to legitimize the assembly. Tiamat equates dragons with gods (<i>iliš umtaššil</i>—I 138) by means of imparting 'fearsomeness' (<i>puḥhata/-āti ušalbiš-ma</i>) and <i>melammu</i> (sg. or pl.) to them (<i>melamma/-u/-ē uštaššā</i>) (I 137–138; II 23–24; III 27–28, 85–86). Apparently, the equation of monsters to gods is needed to increase the quantity of gods on Tiamat's side to legitimize her assembly.</p> <p>4. Enthronization as the act of legitimating. Tiamat enthrones (by means of uttering an incantation—I 153) one of the gods who have organized the assembly for her—Kingu (I 147–148). Matrimony is a way of transition of power⁸ (<i>hā'ir-ī</i>—I 155) by which Tiamat transfers the ruler's functions to her husband (<i>ipqidma qātuššu</i>—I 152). Thus, Kingu acquires the title of the assembly's leader (<i>mu'errūtu puḥru</i>—I 149).</p>
<p>6. Resolutions</p>	<p>1. Tiamat transfers the ruler's functions to Kingu (I 154). Kingu becomes the leader of the gods. This opinion is confirmed by his titles and functions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – <i>ālikūt mahri pān ummāni</i>—the leader of troops (I 149); – <i>mu'errūtu puḥru</i>—the leader at the assembly (I 149); – <i>dēkū ananta</i>—the beginner of struggle (I 150); – <i>rab-sikkatūtu</i>—the chief of peg (I 151). <p>2. Tiamat makes Kingu sit on the throne (?) (<i>ušešibaššu ina karri</i>—I 152).</p> <p>3. Henceforth, Kingu possesses the power of all the gods (<i>malikūt ilāni gimrassunu</i>—I 154).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – He is high-ranking (<i>ēdū</i>—I 155). – His commands spread upon all Anunnaki, i. e. upon all gods in general (I 156). <p>4. Kingu acquires the destinies' tablet (I 157).⁹</p> <p>5. Kingu acquires <i>Anūtu</i>—leadership of the gods (I 159).</p> <p>6. After acceding to the leader's post, Kingu proclaims the destruction of Ea's "party" (I 161–162). Thus Tiamat obtained what she wished—a legitimate way to take vengeance on her foes.</p>

⁸ This marriage cannot be legitimate from the point of view of Mesopotamian family law, as *in casu* the woman chose her husband by herself. Marduk denotes the illegitimate character of such a marriage in his accusation of Tiamat before their battle (*tambē Kingu ana hā'irūtiki*—IV 81). Then Marduk declares that Kingu has acquired power which is inappropriate to him (*ana lā simātīšu taškunš(u) ana paraš enūti*—IV 82). Thus, from the point of view of Tiamat's opponents, Kingu is a usurper.

⁹ After Tiamat had been defeated, Marduk took away the tablet of destinies from Kingu, sealed it with his own seal and put it on his own chest (IV 121–122).

7. Functions of the assembly	<p>1. Legitimization of power. Creating, by means of the assembly, a legitimate power, under whose protection Tiamat could avenge and at the same time fulfill the demands of those gods who supported her.</p> <p>2. Enthronization.</p> <p>3. Initiation of the military action.</p>
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Part II

1. The Assembly	Common assembly of Ea's "party" (II 121–162): ¹⁰ <i>pa-aḫ-ru-ma Igiḡi kalīšun Anukkī</i> (II 88).
2. Cause for the assembly	Failure of Anshar in his attempt to pacify Tiamat by sending Ea and Anu (II 49–120).
3. Who organized the assembly (the assembly's membership)	All gods (<i>Igiḡi kalīšunu Anukkī</i> —II 88) (except for the gods of Tiamat's "party"?).
4. For whom is the assembly organized	—
5. Progress of work during the assembly	<p>1. The assembly begins in silence (II 122), as the gods do not know, who will dare to come forward to Tiamat after Ea's and Anu's failure (II 123).</p> <p>2. According to Ea's plan (ka-inim-ma-ak) (CAD K 36), Marduk appears before Anshar and volunteers to kill Tiamat and avenge the gods (II 136–142, 145–148).</p> <p>3. In return for rescuing the gods, Marduk's conditions are as follows:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> organization of the assembly (<i>šuknāma pu-uḫ-ra</i>—II 158) in the court of the assemblies (<i>ina ub-šu-ukkin-na-ki</i>—II 159); proclaiming Marduk's destiny as a supreme one (<i>šūterā (n)ibâ šīmt-ī</i>—II 158); right to rule the destinies (<i>ipšu pīja kīma kātunūma šīmata lušīmma</i>—II 160);

When Marduk had finished the creation of the universe, he transferred the tablet of destinies to Anu (V 70). This fact does not mean that Marduk disclaimed **lugal**'s responsibility—when Anshar embraces Marduk, the latter is titled as 'king' (*īdiršumma Anšar (ana) šarri* (LUGAL) *šulma ušāpīma*—V 79). In addition, Marduk was mentioned as the king in V 88 (*izzizū iknušū annāma (ana) šarri* (LUGAL)), i. e. before the kingship has finally moved to Marduk.

¹⁰ *In casu* the word *puḫru* is not used, but use of the verb *paḫāru* and the context (*paḫrūma* ¹*Igiḡi kalīšunu* ²*Anukkī* —II 88) denote that the gods of Ea's "party" gathered exactly at the assembly.

	d) nothing that Marduk commanded or created could be changed or abolished (<i>lā uttakkar mimmu abannū anāku; aj itūr aj innennā siqar šapti-ja</i> —II 161–162).
6. Resolutions	Apparently, the assembly finished after Marduk had stipulated the terms of the treaty. We can see the results of this assembly from the beginning of tablet III: Anshar as the head of the assembly sends his messenger Gaga to the elder gods Lahmu and Lahamu ¹¹ to bring them to the assembly (III 4–6). To produce a deeper impression, Anshar orders Gaga to retell them the story about Tiamat's preparations and her horrible plan. This, in turn, must bring all the gods (<i>libukūnimma ilāni nagabšun</i> —III 7) in order to gather the assembly in its fullest strength: all gods, including the elder ones. Thus, the gods of the public assembly, with Anshar at the head, accepted the terms of Marduk.
7. Functions of the assembly	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Recommendation for a (lugal's) position. 2. Approval or rejection of a pretender.

Part III

1. The assembly	Assembly of the great gods—transfer of the lugal's title to Marduk (III 130 – IV 34): <i>mmišqū ahu aji ina puhri</i> (UKKIN) (III 132).
2. Cause for the assembly	Approval of Marduk's terms in the public assembly.
3. Who organized the assembly (the assembly's membership)	The great gods who declare destinies (<i>ilū rabūtu kalīšunu mušimmu šimāti</i> —III 130). Anshar heads the assembly (III 131).
4. For whom is the assembly organized	—
5. Progress of work during the assembly	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Salutation. Gods greet each other with kisses (III 132). 2. Banquet. The gods join the discussion which begins in the form of a banquet. The gods eat cereals and drink <i>kurunmu</i>-beer. After the gods get drunk, they declare Marduk's destiny (III 133–138). 3. The laying of the cult dais (<i>parakku</i>) at the assembly. This act symbolizes creation of new authority (<i>iddūšumma parak rubūti</i>—IV 1). 4. Marduk occupies the <i>parakku</i> in front of his 'fathers' (the elder gods) for ruling (<i>maḥariš abbē-šu ana malikūti irme</i>—

¹¹ The fragment III 125–128 means that Lahmu, Lahamu and many other gods did not know about Tiamat's plans and were neuter with respect to the conflict before Gaga's message.

	<p>IV 2). Taking the cult platform at the assembly symbolizes that Marduk has acquired a new kind of power.</p> <p>5. The gods define Marduk's power as lugal (see resolutions).</p> <p>6. The gods raise demands to lugal (see resolutions).</p> <p>7. Checking of a new lugal (IV 19–26). The gods want to check the power of Marduk's word and create a star (<i>lumāšu</i>¹²). They request Marduk to destroy the star by his utterance (<i>ip̄šu p̄ika</i>) and then to return it back. Marduk carries out this task with success.</p> <p>8. Proclamation of the king and handing the signs of the king's dignity (scepter, throne and reign) to Marduk (<i>Marduk-ma šarru</i>—IV 28; <i>uṣṣibūšu ḥaṭṭa kussâ u palâ</i>—IV 29).</p> <p>9. The gods give Marduk the weapon, that cannot be withstood and order him to destroy Tiamat (IV 30–32).</p>
<p>6. Resolutions</p>	<p>The spheres of Marduk's authority.</p> <p>1. Marduk is proclaimed as the pre-eminent god among the great gods (<i>attāma kabtāta ina ilāni rabūti</i>) (IV 3), his destiny is incomparable (IV 4), no one can go by his side (IV 10).</p> <p>2. Marduk's command is Anu (IV 4), i. e. the supreme power. His order cannot be changed (IV 7).</p> <p>3. Marduk can demote and promote anyone he wants (IV 8), i. e. all the gods become his subordinates.</p> <p>4. Marduk acquires kingship of the whole universe (<i>nid-dinka šarrūtu kiššat kal gimrēti</i>—IV 14).</p> <p>The gods' requests to Marduk.</p> <p>1. He must provide the gods' sanctuaries, so their sanctuaries must be carried to Marduk's abode (IV 11–12).</p> <p>2. Marduk must avenge the gods (IV 13).</p> <p>3. Marduk must seat in the assembly, though his word will be lofty (IV 15). Thus, a new lugal must coordinate his actions with the assembly of the great gods.</p> <p>4. The gods request personal immunity for the gods who trust him, but punishment for those who 'have learned evil,' i. e. for the "party" of Tiamat (IV 17–18).</p>
<p>7. Functions of the assembly</p>	<p>1. The treaty between the lugal's title pretender and the assembly. Determination of the king's authority and raising demands to the pretender.</p> <p>2. Enthronization.</p> <p>3. Initiation of a military action.</p>

¹² CAD L 245: *lumāšu*, 2.

Part IV

1. The assembly	Common assembly—enthronization of king Lugal-dimmer-ankia (V 85–156). (<i>[pa]h-ru-ma Igiġi kalīšunu uškinmūš(u); Anunnaki mala bašū ...; innendūma puḥuršunu labāniš appi</i> —V 85–87).
2. Cause for the assembly	1. Marduk defeats Tiamat. 2. Marduk creates the universe.
3. Who organized the assembly (the assembly's membership)	Igiġi and Anunnaki (V 85–86).
4. For whom is the assembly organized	—
5. Progress of work during the assembly	<p>1. The assembly expresses its respect to the king (V 86–88).</p> <p>2. Marduk accepts the signs of the king's dignity. Marduk puts on 'melammu of kingship'—the tiara of fearsome appearance (<i>melammē šarrūti agā rašubbati</i>—V 94) and takes other signs of the king's dignity,¹³ he hangs up the scepter of 'well-being and attention' at his side (<i>ušpar šulme u tašmī iduššu ilul</i>—V 100).</p> <p>3. Providing with the throne name—transmission of the kingship. Lahmu and Lahamu appeal to the assembly and inform it that earlier Marduk was the beloved 'son,' but now he is the king with the throne name 'King of the gods of the universe' (lugal-dim₃-me-er-an-ki-a) and when he speaks the assembly must be mindful (V 107–122). So the final transmission of the kingship comes true (V 113).</p> <p>4. Broadening of the king's functions and authorities (see resolutions).</p> <p>5. The king makes a decision to build his temple at the assembly (V 122–129). He explains his decision as a need for an evening rest place for the gods (V 125–128).</p> <p>6. The gods request from Marduk to create beings, which would be responsible for regular offerings and would carry out hard labor of the captured gods¹⁴ (V 139–142).</p> <p>7. After a consensus between Marduk and the gods, the latter agree to proclaim him as their king under his throne name and urge Marduk to fulfill his plans (V 146–156).</p>

¹³ 'The divine weapon' he takes in his right hand (V 95), what he takes in his left hand is unknown, because the text here is broken (V 96).

¹⁴ A labor service was imposed exactly upon Tiamat's former supporters—VII 27–29: *ša an-ilāni kamūti iršū tajiāru; abšāna endū ušassiku eli ilāni nakkirīšu; ana pa-dīšunu ibnū amēlūtu* 'He is that, who had mercy to the bound gods; the yoke was imposed upon them—he allowed to put (it) off from his enemies; for their liberation he created the humanity.'

6. Resolutions	<p>Functions of the king</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The king must provide the divine sanctuaries (<i>attā lū zānīnu parakkīni</i>—V 115). 2. The authority of the king broadens—henceforth, the king may command everything he likes (<i>mimmû attā taqabbû i nīpuš nīni</i>—V 116).
7. Functions of the assembly	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Providing with the throne name—the final transmission of the kingship to Marduk. 2. Providing with new authorities—henceforth, Marduk and the assembly are not in an equal position. Now the assembly must keep silence when the king speaks or commands and the assembly must execute the orders.

Part V

1. The Assembly	<p>The assembly of the great gods. Kingu's trial (VI 17–58). ^d<i>Marduk u₂-paḥ-ḥīr-ma ilāni rabūti</i> (VI 17).</p>
2. Cause for the assembly	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The order of the gods (^d<i>Marduk zikri ilāni ina šemēšu</i>—VI 1; (<i>Ea</i>): <i>aššu tapšūḫti ša ilāni ušannāššu ṭēmu</i>—VI 12) to make them free from their hard labor. Ea sees the fulfillment of this condition in the execution of one of the rebel gods and creation of man (<i>līnnadnamma ištēn aḫūšu; šū li'abbīma nišū līppatqū</i>—VI 13–14). 2. Alteration of the 'ways of life' (<i>alkakātu</i>) of gods by means of dividing them into two classes (VI 9–10).
3. Who organized the assembly (the assembly's membership)	<p>Marduk gathered the assembly of the great gods ([<i>Ea</i> commands]: <i>lip-ḫu-ru-nim-ma ilānu rabūtu</i>—VI 15; <i>Marduk u₂-paḥ-ḥīr-ma ilāni rabūti</i>—VI 17).</p>
4. For whom is the assembly organized	<p>—</p>
5. Progress of work during the assembly	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Marduk orders and gives instructions to which gods must adhere (VI 18–19). He demands from the gods to give out the god who incited Tiamat to rebellion (VI 23–26). The gods hand out Kingu (VI 29–30). 2. The execution of Kingu. Ea creates humanity with Kingu's blood through Marduk's 'artful designs' (<i>ina nīklāti ša Marduk</i>) (VI 31–38). 3. Marduk divides the gods into two parts and settles them in the recently created heaven and earth. Marduk prescribes Anu to keep his instructions (VI 39–44). 4. Marduk 'divides the shares' to the gods (<i>uza''izu isqassun</i>—VI 46), i. e. he defines the roles/functions of the gods. 5. The (rebel) gods thank Marduk for granting amnesty to them (<i>šubarrū</i>) (VI 49).

	6. The gods ask and get Marduk's permission to build Babylon (VI 50–58).
6. Resolutions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The handing out of Kingu to the assembly's court. 2. Creation of humanity. 3. Marduk announces the amnesty to the rebel gods and reforms the divine society. 4. Marduk appoints Anu to keep his instructions. 5. The gods get the king's consent to build Babylon.
7. Functions of the assembly	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The assembly as a judicial authority. The assembly as a place of execution. 2. The assembly is the place where the king announces his amnesty, utters commands and makes appointments. 3. The decisions of the assembly must be approved by the king (e. g. the plan of the building).

Part VI

1. The assembly	Common assembly after building Babylon (VI 67–94).
2. Cause for the assembly	Finishing of Esagil's building (VI 67).
3. Who organized the assembly (the assembly's membership)	Igigi and Anunnaki (300 <i>Igigî ša šamāmī u 600 ša Apsī kalīšunu paḥ-ru</i> —VI 69).
4. For whom is the assembly organized	—
5. Progress of work during the assembly	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Marduk sits down on the 'great dais for a sanctuary' (<i>paramaḥḥu</i>, BARAG.MAḤ) (VI 70). 2. Marduk invites the great gods ('his fathers') to the banquet in Babylon (VI 71–76). 3. Offerings in Esagil temple (VI 77). 4. All instructions and ordinances are being determined (<i>têrēti naḫḫaršina ušurāti</i>—VI 78). 5. Division of positions in the heaven and the earth among the gods (VI 79). 6. Fifty great gods choose seven gods of destinies (VI 80–81). 7. Anu places the bow at the assembly of the great gods by which Marduk killed Tiamat (VI 82–92). 8. Anu lays the 'throne of kingship' (<i>kussi šarrūti</i>) at the assembly (VI 93–94).
6. Resolutions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dividing functions among celestial and terrestrial gods. 2. The great gods elect the judicial body (seven gods of destinies).

	<p>3. Introduction of Marduk's bow into the assembly of the great gods.</p> <p>4. Establishment of the king's throne at the assembly—symbolizes the subordinate position of the assembly.</p>
7. Functions of the assembly	<p>1. Assembly is the place where the king appoints the administrative positions.</p> <p>2. Public assembly ceases to be a political authority.</p> <p>3. The assembly of the great gods possesses broader authority—they at least choose the judicial body.</p> <p>4. The function of admission of new members into the assembly of the great gods.</p>

Part VIIa

1. The assembly	The assembly of the great gods—transmission of divine names to Marduk (VI 95–160): <i>ip-lu-ru-nim-ma ilānu rabūtu</i> (VI 95).
2. Cause for the assembly	Fifty great gods elevate Marduk's destiny and prostrate themselves (<i>šmat 4Marduk ullū šunu uškinnū</i> —VI 96)
3. Who organized the assembly (assembly's membership)	The assembly of fifty great gods (VI 95).
4. For whom is the assembly organized	—
5. Progress of work during the assembly	<p>1. The great gods curse themselves and swear to Marduk in an act of loyalty (VI 97–98).</p> <p>2. In this way, the great gods transfer performance of the kingship and supremacy over the gods of the heaven and earth to Marduk (VI 99–100).</p> <p>3. Anshar, Lahmu and Lahamu pronounce Marduk's new divine names. Then they order (<i>siqaršun</i>—VI 161) other great gods (VII 143–144) to utter the names of Marduk the king (VI 101–160).</p>
6. Resolutions	<p>1. The oath of the subjects to their king. The final transmission of the kingship from the gods to Marduk.</p> <p>2. Marduk is named by the divine names. Thereby, the gods outline (but not prescribe) Marduk's functions and authorities.</p>
7. Functions of the assembly	<p>1. The place where the subjects swear.</p> <p>2. Transmission of the kingship.</p> <p>3. Praising of the ruler.</p> <p>4. The assembly of the great gods obeys the orders of the ruler.</p>

Part VIIb

1. The assembly	The assembly of the great gods—performing rites and transmitting the divine names to Marduk (VI 161 – VII 144); <i>ina ub-šu-ukkin-na-ki uštaddinū šunu milkassun</i> (VI 162); <i>ūšibūma ina puhrīšunu</i> (UKKIN-šu ₂ -nu) (VI 165). This assembly is a logical continuation of the former one, so they can be considered as a single one.
2. Cause for the assembly	Transmission of the divine names to Marduk = transmission of the power belonging to the great gods assembly (VI 160).
3. Who organized the assembly (the assembly's membership)	The assembly of fifty great gods (<i>ina zikri hanšā ilānu rabūtu; hanšā šumēšu imbū ...</i> —VII 143–144).
4. For whom is the assembly organized	—
5. Progress of work during the assembly	The great gods consult each other ¹⁵ in the court of the assembly (VI 162), then they sit down at the assembly and name destinies to Marduk in the form of a ritual (<i>ina mēši nagbāšunu uzakkirūni šunšu</i>) (VI 165–166). Then the great gods utter the divine names of Marduk ¹⁶ (VII 1–144).
6. Resolutions	<p>1. Marduk acquires the names of fifty great gods. This fact means that the whole power is transferred to him.</p> <p>2. Henceforth, Marduk is responsible for convening of meetings (<i>mukin puhrī</i> (UKKIN) <i>ša ilāni ...</i> —VII 37), i. e. the authority of the assembly appears to be in a subordinate position relative to the king's authority. Henceforth, the king may or may not convene the assembly of the great gods.</p>
7. Functions of the assembly	The end of political power of the elders' assembly.

§ 3. Divine hierarchy in Ee

The theory of “seven assemblies” is based on the division of the gods into ‘(all) gods’ (*ilū*) and ‘great gods’ (*ilū rabūtu*)—a small part of the totality of gods. In order to prove such a division, designations of the gods in Ee

¹⁵ The author of Ee believes that the main reason for the gods to transfer the completeness of power to Marduk is that he avenged them by killing Tiamat (VI 163) and he became the provider (*zānīnu*) of the gods (VI 164).

¹⁶ One of Marduk's names is of considerable interest, namely ^dZI.UKKIN.NA. It is rendered by the author of Ee as *napišti ummānišu* (VII 15), ‘the life of a crowd/troop(s)’ (AHw. 1413: *ummānu*). This fact shows that originally the (public/common) assembly included all members of the community capable to bear arms.

must be investigated. According to the text these are: (A) Igigi and Anunnaki; (B) gods-fathers; (C) all the gods (usually DINGIR.DINGIR or DINGIR^{MEŠ}); (D) the great gods (usually DINGIR.DINGIR GAL.GAL or DINGIR^{MEŠ} GAL^{MEŠ}); (E) the gods of destinies (DINGIR^{MEŠ} NAM^{MEŠ}).

A. Igigi and Anunnaki. The analysis of the usage of the theonyms “Anunnaki” and “Igigi” throughout Ee reveals two co-existing traditions.

1. The first (and apparently original) tradition divides the gods into two classes—Igigi and Anunnaki—according to the following principle.

The Anunnaki in Ee are the gods who joined the side of Tiamat (= *ilū* (DINGIR^{MEŠ}) *ka-mu-tum* in IV 127). For the first time they are mentioned when Tiamat appoints Kingu as the leader of precisely these gods (I 156 ff.). Their second appearance is when Marduk grants them amnesty and they promise, in turn, that Marduk will be their lord henceforward. Then they start to carry out the labor service—they build Marduks temple Esagil.¹⁷

The Igigi in Ee are the gods who took the side of Ea (the “party” of Ea). Gaga tells about Tiamat’s preparations.¹⁸ These gods are named ‘the great gods.’¹⁹ This tradition differs immensely from that reflected in Atrahasis, where seven great Anunnaki impose on Igigi the burden of hard labour (Lambert–Millard 1969:5–6).

2. The later editor of Ee did not properly understand this division. In the second tradition, reflected in this later edition, Igigi and Anunaki are usually mentioned together with a general meaning ‘all gods.’²⁰ There

¹⁷ *li-ir-tab-bu-u₂ zik-ru-ka eli* (UGU) *kalī*(DU₃)-*šu₂-nu* ^d*A-nu-uk-ki* (I 156; II 42; III 46, 104); ^d*A-nun-na-ki pa-a-šu-nu i-pu-šu-ma*; *a-na* ^d*Marduk* (AMAR.UTU) *be-li-šu₂-nu šu-nu iz-zak-ru*; *i-^dnanna be-li₂ ša₂ šu-bar-ra-ni taš-ku-nu-ma* (VI 47–49); ^d*A-nun-na-ki it-ru-ku al-la* (VI 59).

¹⁸ (After the report of Gaga) ^d*I₂-gi₃-gi₃ nap-ḥar-šu₂-nu i-nu-qu mar-ši-iš* (III 126); (Laḥmu and Laḥāmu) *i-pu-šu-ma pa-[a]-šu-nu i-[zak-ka-ru an-i]lī* (DINGIR.]DINGIR) ^d*I₂-gi₃-gi₃* (V 108).

¹⁹ (To Marduk) *i-pu-lu-šu-ma* ^d*I₂-gi₃-gi₃ ilū* (DINGIR.DINGIR) *rabūtu* (GAL)^{meš} (VI 27); *zik-ri* ^d*I₂-gi₃-gi₃ im-bu-u na-gab-šu₂-nu* (VII 137). From the fact that in tablet VII Marduk acquires 50 divine names one can deduce that there are 50 Igigi with the meaning ‘the great gods.’

²⁰ *pa-aḥ-ru-ma* ^d*I₂-gi₃-gi₃ ka-li-šu-un* ^d*A-nu-uk-[ki]* (II 121); [*pa*]ḥ-*ru-ma* ^d*I₂-gi₃-gi₃ ka-li-šu₂-nu uš-kin-nu-uš*; [^d*A-nun-na-ki ma-la ba-šu-u u₂-na-aš₂-ša₂-qu šēpī*(GIR₃)^{min}-*šu₂* (V 85–86); ^d*A-nun-na-ki ka-li-šu₂-nu pa-rak-ki-šu₂-nu ib-taš-mu*; 5 UŠ ^d*I₂-gi₃-gi₃ ša₂ ša₂-ma-ma u 600 ša₂ Apsī* (ZU.AB) *ka-li-šu₂-nu* (VI 68–69); (Marduk) *mu-ṭib libbi* (ŠA₃)^{bi} ^d*A-nun-na-ki mu-šap-ši-hu* ^d*I₂-gi₃-gi₃* (VI 134); *a-na* ^d*I₂-gi₃-gi₃ u* ^d*A-nun-na-ki u₂-za-ī-zu man-za-zu* (VI 145).

are, however, some cases where only Anunnaki are regarded as ‘all gods.’²¹

It should be emphasized that the division of the gods into two classes in Ee does not correlate with their connection with the heaven and the earth (cf. VI 40, 68–69).

Thus, in Ee there is an original tradition where Anshar is represented as the ‘father of gods’ and 50 Igigi as the great gods. This tradition is opposed to a later editorial stratum where Anu is the ‘father of gods’ and Anunnaki, ‘those of Anu’ are the great gods.

B. Gods-fathers. Judging from the use of the word *abu* ‘father’ in Ee, the following genealogical connections can be established.

1. Apsu is the father of Mummu (I 49).
2. Lahmu and Lahamu are the fathers of Anshar (III 6).
3. Lahmu and Lahamu are the fathers of Gaga (III 68).
4. Anshar and Kishar are the fathers of Anu (I 14).
5. Anshar is the father of the great gods (II 125).
6. Anshar is the father of Anu (I 19; II 103, 107, 109, 115).
7. Anshar is the father of Ea (II 8, 9, 11, 60, 61, 79, 85, 91).
8. Anshar is the father of Marduk (II 139, 145, 153, 154).
9. Anu is the father of Marduk (IV 44, 123, 147).
10. Ea is the father of Marduk (I 83, 89; II 127, 131, 135; VII 5(?)).
11. ‘The gods’ are the fathers of Ea (I 17).
12. ‘The great gods who determine the fates’ are the fathers of Marduk (IV 2).
13. ‘The gods’ are the fathers of Marduk (IV 27, 33, 64, 84, 133; V 72, 89, 118, 131; VI 71, 83, 85, 109, 126, 140; VII 13, 42, 47, 139).

Diagram 2 summarizes the data of the *abu*-relationship in Ee.

The following conclusions can be made.

1. In Ee, one can reveal a double system of kinship: kinship by birth and “subordinate kinship.” The latter means that the representatives of each superior generation are ‘the fathers’ of all subsequent generations. This feature of Ee is apparently an echo of the patrimonial relationship of the tribal epoch.

2. Anshar is the father of the great gods (II 125), Lahmu and Lahamu are not referred to as great gods.

²¹ ^dMarduk (AMAR.UTU) *šarru* (LUGAL) *īlī* (DINGIR.DINGIR) *u₂-za-’i-iz*; ^dA-nun-na-ki *gim-rat-su-nu e-liš u šap-liš* (VI 39–40); *ana* (DIŠ) ^dA-nun-na-ki *ša₂ šamē* (AN^c) *u eṣetim* (KI^{tim}) *u-za-’i-zu is-qat-su-un* (VI 46).

3. ‘The gods-fathers’ of Marduk are to some extent identical with Lahmu and Lahamu (V 77).

4. ‘The great gods (who decree fates)’ and ‘gods’ are not the same, because Anshar is the father of the great gods, thus the great gods are his children (diagram 2). In turn, the term ‘gods’ is employed to designate progenitors of both Marduk and Ea, thus the gods belonging to the superior generations are named ‘gods.’ This point of view is confirmed by V 77–78: ‘The gods had seen him; their liver rejoiced joyfully; Lahmu and Lahamu, all his fathers.’

C. All gods. As far as ‘all gods’ or ‘(simply) gods’ are concerned, there are some peculiarities. Taking tablet I as an example, one can detect the following variant spellings.

Spelling DINGIR.DINGIR—18 times. In 13 times the spelling DINGIR.DINGIR is found in the composite edition (I 7, 9, 34, 52, 56, 57, 99, 102, 110, 127, 128, 147, 153), but in the actual copies the variant spelling DINGIR^{MES} is found 10 times (I 7, 9, 34, 56, 57, 99, 110, 127, 147, 153) and even DINGIR^{ME} is attested once (I 128).

Spelling DINGIR^{MES}—4 times (I 20, 21 (-*ni*/*-nu*), 80, 103).

Two observations are in order here.

1. Apparently both spellings render the same meaning ‘all gods’²². The spellings DINGIR.DINGIR and DINGIR^{MES} are thus used randomly.

2. There are two confusing features. The first is that sometimes DINGIR^{MES} is used as a variant of DINGIR.DINGIR, but never vice versa. Secondly, there are two occasions where the meaning ‘gods’ is rendered fully or partly (I 21: DINGIR^{MES}-*ni* (H: *-nu*); VI 119: *i-la-ni*), which implies the form *ilānī*, with the particularising suffix *-ān*. It is tempting to suppose that all DINGIR^{MES} spellings were read *ilānūī* ‘the definite gods,’ ‘die Götter’, whereas the spelling DINGIR.DINGIR denoted ‘gods = (Pantheon), all gods,’ ‘Götter’ as in GAG §61 i. Cf. *in-nin-du-ma at-ḫu-u₂* DINGIR^{MES}-*ni* (H: *-nu*) ‘the god-friends have gathered.’ The suffix *-āni* is used here firstly because ‘gods’ have an attribute (‘friends’) and secondly because they form a particular group of gods gathered to disturb Tiamat — thus only a part of all gods.

²² Cf. (Apsu and Mummu) *a-na* DINGIR.DINGIR (Q: DINGIR^{MES}) *bu-uk-ri-šu-nu uš-tan-nu-ni* ‘to (all) gods, their children, they repeated’ (I 56); *le-e’-u₂ le-e’-u₂-ti* ABGAL DINGIR^{MES} ^dEN [*it*]-*tar-ḫe-e-[ma]* ‘the competent (of) competent, sage of (all) gods,’ Bel was poured out (I 80).

If these observations are valid, random spelling of ‘gods’ may be accounted for by misunderstanding of the poem’s details by ancient editors or copyists.

D. The great gods

1. Apsu is the progenitor of the great gods (I 29).
2. Anshar is the father of the great gods (II 125) and ‘the destiny of the great gods’ (II 155).
3. Babylon is a temple of the great gods (V 129).
4. Marduk orders the great gods to gather at the assembly (VI 15) and he gathers them (VI 17).
5. Igigi are the great gods (VI 27).
6. The great gods are responsible for fixing destinies (III 130).
7. Marduk is the most important among the great gods (IV 3, 5).
8. Marduk creates the stations for the great gods and fashions the stars and constellations—the gods’ likenesses (V 1–2).

9. Twice the great gods are mentioned as ‘50’: *u₂-ši-bu-ma ilū rabūtu* (DINGIR.DINGIR GAL.GAL) (VI 74); *ilū rabūtu* (DINGIR.DINGIR GAL.GAL) *ḥa-am-šat-su-nu u₂-ši-bu-ma* (VI 80). The third occurrence can be deduced from VII 136–140 where the great gods transfer their names (50 + the names of Enlil (^dEN.KUR.KUR) and Ea (^dE.A)) to Marduk.

E. The gods of destinies

1. Anshar is the god who fixes destinies (II 61, 63) for the great gods (II 155).
2. Gaga asks Lahmu and Lahamu to fix the destiny for Marduk (III 65, 123).
3. All the gods can fix destinies (they must fix them for Marduk who would avenge them) (II 158; III 10, 60, 118, 138).
4. All the gods (VI 161) name the destiny for Marduk (VI 165).
5. Marduk wants to acquire the right to fix destinies like the gods (III 62, 120).
6. Kingu as a king (but still an usurper) can fix destinies for the gods. With respect to Kingu, the gods are called *mārū*, which is another representation of “subordination” kinship.
7. The great gods fix destinies for Marduk (III 130; VI 96).
8. Great gods are the fixers of destinies (III 130).
9. Marduk is provided with his destiny by his ‘fathers’ (IV 33).
10. The main representation of power in Ee is ‘the tablet of destiny.’ Firstly Kingu (I 157; II 43; III 47, 105) but later Marduk (IV 121) and, finally, Anu (V 69–70) possess it.

Thus, all the gods can fix destinies. The main rule is that a superior fixes the destiny for a subordinate.

The gods of destinies as a class of gods are mentioned only twice: *ilū šīmāti* (DINGIR.DINGIR NAM^{MEŠ}) *sebe*(7)-*šu₂-nu a-na purussî* (EŠ.BAR) *uk-tin-nu* (VI 81); ^d*A-ša₂-ru ša₂ ki-ma šu-mi-šu₂ i-šu-ru ilī šīmāti* (DINGIR^{MEŠ} NAM^{MEŠ}) (VII 122).

Let us try to recapitulate.

1. The concept ‘gods’ in Ee can be used in two meanings: (a) gods in general—i. e. “all gods that exist”; (b) gods relevant for this or that particular instance—several gods or a part of gods’ society. In this sense, this term can subsume ‘the great gods,’ too.

2. 50 descendants of Anšar—namely Igigi—are called ‘the great gods.’ The great gods cannot be the Anunnaki gods, as in Ee the father of the gods is not Anu but Anšar. This subtle tenet partly reveals the purpose of the poem—to establish a new theology where, in opposition to the Sumerian system of gods’ kinship and distribution of power based on the supremacy of Anu, Marduk acquires the supreme power from the hands of an assembly headed by Anšar (cf. VII 97 where Marduk after acquisition of the domination is named in term of “subordinate” kinship: ^dA.RA₂.NUN.NA ... *ba-an ilī* (DINGIR^{MEŠ}) *abbī* (AD^{MEŠ})-*šu₂*).

§ 4. Public assembly and assembly of the elders

The text of Ee distinguishes between two types of assembly.

1. The assembly of all gods, where all gods are present. There are three assemblies of this kind: the second, the fourth and the sixth. Finite forms of the verb *paḫāru* (mostly *paḫrū*—stative 3 pl. m.) prevail in the descriptions of these assemblies. This kind of assembly has a historical parallel in the form of a public assembly—an institution which includes all competent male members of the community.

2. The assembly of fifty great gods only, who determine and fix destinies. There are also three assemblies of this kind: the third, the fifth and the seventh. The word *puḫru* prevails in the description of these assemblies, and only few finite verbal forms occur (for example: *Marduk upaḫḫirma ilāni rabāti* ‘Marduk has gathered the great gods’—VI 17). In addition, the difference between two kinds of assembly is every time clearly indicated—whenever public assembly is meant, its general nature is always emphasized (*Igigî kalīšunu Anukkī*—II 121), in the case of the assembly of the great gods, its membership bears distinctly refined charac-

ter (*ilū rabātu kalīšunu mušimmu šīmāti*—III 130). The historical parallel to the later institution is the assembly or the council of the elders.

The assembly of Tiamat and her supporters differs tremendously from other assemblies. The aim of this assembly is to find a way to avenge the hostile gods. The circumstances in which the assembly is held and, on the whole, the progress of its work clearly imply its illegal character. However, this “non-model,” extraordinary assembly does aim towards legitimating itself. This trend is patent when Tiamat equates the monsters with gods. Apparently thereby Tiamat seeks to establish a quorum, necessary for the transmission of the leader’s authority. After the death of Tiamat’s husband, who was a sort of community patriarch, she was unable to rule over the gods’ community, as historically it had a patriarchal character. Therefore she marries Kingu and thus delegates him all authority. Judging by the titles of Kingu (I 149) as well as by the fact that he becomes the possessor of the tablet of destinies (I 157) it is clear that it is he who must bear the title of **lugal**. But the author(s) of Ee cannot name Kingu **lugal**, because Kingu is a negative character, an opponent of Marduk, who in turn must bear this title. From the standpoint of Ea’s “party,” Tiamat’s assembly is an illegal, mutinous political action. Thus, from Marduk’s point of view the transmission of supremacy looks like usurpation: *ana lā šimātišu taškunīš(u) ana paraš enūti* ‘you have appointed him for the ritual of supremacy not appropriate to him’ (IV 82). It must be mentioned that during the transmission of the ‘kingship of all universe’ to Marduk (*šarrūtu kiššat kal gimrēti*—IV 14) he does not obtain the tablet of destinies. But it is Marduk who is considered as a legitimate king. Thus, the fact that Marduk is enthroned at the assembly of great gods (assembly III) is the cause of the legitimacy of his power.

§ 5. The role of the assembly in the expansion of king’s authorities

Ee gives an interesting model, which probably depicts the evolution of the *puḫru* and **lugal** institutions at the early stages of the development of the state in ancient Mesopotamia.

After the conflict between Apsu and the gods of Ea’s “party” the gods’ community is divided into two parts (cf. § 3 A).

1. The usurper and his camp—the “party” of Tiamat. After the assembly of the mutinous gods, Kingu becomes a formal leader of this “party.” But all the real power remains in Tiamat’s hands. This can be proved by the fact that Marduk fights Tiamat, but not the usurper. At the beginning, this camp or “party” includes an absolute majority of the

gods, as Ea, when he gives the report about Tiamat's assembly, says: *išhurūšimma ilānu gimiršun(u); adī ša attunu tabnâ idāša alkū; immašrūnimma iduš(ša) Tiāmat tebūni* 'All gods turned to her; with all that you had created, they defected on her side; they crowd—on the side of Tiamat they raised' (II 13–15).

2. The opponents to Tiamat's camp. It is named Ea's "party" for two reasons: firstly, the murder of Apsu by Ea was a fatal blow that led to the division of the divine society; secondly, Ea is the father of Marduk—the main protagonist of the poem, who joins the fight after his father decided to propose his son as a candidate for defeating Tiamat: (Ea says): *attāma mārī munappišu libbišu; muttiš Anšar qītrubiš teḫēma* 'You, my son, who relax my heart; approach Anshar closely' (II 132–133).

The second assembly (II 121–162) presents the public assembly of gods which have gathered to resolve a problem—how to obviate the threat for the community's existence. According to Ea's will, his son, the young god Marduk, proposes his service to kill Tiamat to the assembly of gods. He also formulates his conditions: transferring to him an extraordinary authority. According to the subsequent development of the plot, it is clear that gods of the public assembly accepted the terms. However, they have no right to provide Marduk with **lugal**'s authority. Therefore Anshar²³, the head of the public assembly, sends his messenger to the first gods—Lahmu and Lahamu, who are the progenitors of all gods.

The form, the structure and the functions of the assembly as a political institution come into sight during the third assembly. The whole assembly has the following structure.

1. Common assembly comprises all gods. As it was shown in the case of the second assembly, this body can accept or reject the conditions.

2. The inner part of the assembly is a council of fifty great gods. This part of the assembly can be considered as a kind of "upper chamber" of the common assembly. This organ is a part of the common assembly, as it is connected with the public assembly, as public assembly is a place where a pretender proclaims the program of his actions. Thus, two parts of the assembly are interconnected. But after the fulfillment of the public assembly's functions at the second assembly, a great bulk of the gods plays no role at the third meeting. On the contrary, the great gods sit down at the banquet and, as a result of their discussion, elaborate the conditions of the

²³ Anshar is titled 'lord' (*be-lum*—II 155). In IV 83 Marduk states that Anshar is a 'king of gods' (LUGAL DINGIR.DINGIR). This fact emphasizes, once again, the special role of Anshar and the insignificance of Anu (let alone Enlil) in Ee.

transmission of king's power to Marduk.²⁴ The elders grant Marduk the right to take the place upon the 'sacred dais of power' (*parak rubûti*—IV 1), which they have created. This act symbolizes granting of the king's extraordinary authorities. Marduk's main achievements are: Marduk is proclaimed to be the most important among the great gods, thus he becomes the "subordinate father" of the great gods (cf. VII 97). Marduk acquires the supreme power in the form of kingship over the whole universe.

But the great gods also make some requests to Marduk. As a result, the king as a political authority must act within the limits established by the assembly of the great gods. He must carry out his military function and, what is the most important, he cannot apply his extraordinary power to the assembly. This fact betrays the contractual nature of **lugal's** power. After fixing the rights and obligations and after checking the new king, gods transfer to Marduk the signs of the king's dignity and proclaim him a king.

Thus the model of **lugal's** accession to power consists of the following elements. First, the pretender tries to achieve the approval of his candidacy at the public assembly. Subsequently, an approval from the assembly of the great gods is necessary, which is given after a scrupulous determination of rights, duties and limits of **lugal's** authorities. Only after that the extraordinary authorities are passed to the pretender. Let us mention, finally, that the transmission of power in Ee occurs under the pressure of the external circumstances.

The third assembly shows the subordinate power of the king at an early stage of the existence of this political institution. Conversely, the fourth, public assembly could well be labeled "the triumph of Marduk"—here Marduk strengthens his position and acquires new authorities. Gods treat Marduk with respect because of his tremendous achievements. Marduk puts on the crown of kingship and takes other signs of the supreme power which identify his authority as a military function (the "divine weapon" he takes in his right hand) and the function of supplying the means for the community's wellbeing.

²⁴ "The indications which we have, point to a form of government in which the normal run of public affairs was handled by a council of elders but ultimate sovereignty resided in a general assembly comprising all members—or, perhaps better, all adult free men—of the community. This assembly settled conflicts arising in the community, decided on such major issues as war and peace, and could, if need arose, especially in a situation of war, grant supreme authority, kingship, to one of its members for a limited period" (Jacobsen 1943:169).

Finally, Lahmu and Lahamu announce the assembly that, while earlier Marduk was only their favorite “son”, from now on he is the king under the throne name LUGAL-DIMMER-AN-KI-A²⁵: *pānāma Marduk māru narāmmi; inanna šarrākun(u), qibīssu qālā* ‘earlier Marduk was our beloved son, now he is your king—be mindful of his speech!’ (V 109–110).

The assembly of the elders becomes a consultative institution under the king rather than a body which can limit the king’s power—Marduk convokes the fifth assembly by himself and utters commands, which gods have to carry out (VI 18–19). At this assembly Marduk already acts quite independently: he quickly decides the fate of the instigator of the revolt—Kingu, further he divides gods into two classes, and then orders Anu to keep his instructions. He prescribes the functions of the gods and grants an amnesty for the mutinous gods. Now assembly only dares to ask the king to give his consent to build Babylon, which they afterwards do by their own means.

Though the sixth assembly is designated as public, ordinary gods do not act here in any way, while the great gods elect the judicial body of seven gods of destinies. Anu lays ‘the throne of kingship’ (*kussi šarrūti*)—but not *parak rubāti* ‘the sacred dais of rule’ as previously—in the assembly, which symbolizes the end of political power of the assembly of the elders.

There is not much to say about the seventh assembly where fifty great gods hand over the divine names to Marduk, thereby concentrating an absolute power in his hands.

§ 6. Conclusion

1. According to Th. Jacobsen: “An or Enlil usually broached the matters to be considered; and we may assume—our evidence does not allow us to decide the point—that the discussion which followed would be largely in the hands of the so-called *ilū rabiūtum*, the ‘great gods’ or, perhaps better, ‘the senior gods,’ whose number is said to have been fifty. The two groups which stand out from the ordinary members of the *puḫrum*, the *ilū rabiūtum* and the *ilū šmāti* or *mušimmu šmāti*, are mentioned already in the myth of Enlil and Ninlil (Barton, MBI No. 4 ii 13–14; Chiera, SEM

²⁵ That Marduk acquires his new power exactly during the assembly can be deduced from VI 139, where the great gods proclaim: LUGAL-DIMMER-AN-KIA *šumšu ša nimbū puḫurni* ‘Lugal-dimer-an-kia is his name, which we have named at our assembly.’

77 ii 5–6; Pinches in *JRAS* 1919, pp. 190f. rev. 1–2) as **dingir-gal-gal-ninnu-ne-ne dingir-nam-tar-ra-imin-na-ne-ne**, ‘all the fifty senior gods and the seven gods who determine fates ...’ Yet it is possible that the seven gods who determine the destinies formed merely a part of ‘the senior gods’” (Jacobsen 1943:165, fn. 50). The situation in Ee generally corresponds to this pattern, except for the insignificant roles of Anu and Enlil. In Ee, the word *puhru* designates the institution of the communal rule which comprises all gods. Among these, ‘fifty great gods’ are distinguished. The functions of the assembly include: discussion of affairs and pronouncement of decisions, delegating authority and enthronization of a king.

2. Form and functions of the assembly can be deduced from the study of the relations between the assembly and the emergent royal power. Now the stages of the “conversion to despotism” can be determined.

- a) During the second and the third assemblies Marduk counts upon the majority of the public assembly, which forces the great gods to hand over an extraordinary authority to Marduk. This transmission is portrayed as a treaty between the assembly and the pretender, which fixes **lugal**’s rights and duties.
- b) At the fourth assembly, Marduk is on the top of success as he is the victor over Tiamat and a creator of the universe. This leads him to the acquisition of the title of the eternal king. Here we observe the genesis of the hereditary royal power. Fifty great gods proclaim Marduk’s throne name and his right to possess kingship.
- c) In the fifth and the sixth assemblies Marduk acquires the right to convoke the assembly. The king acts independently at the assembly, while the gods act according to the king’s instructions.
- d) In the seventh assembly the great gods hand over their authorities and functions to Marduk.

Thus in Mesopotamia the origin of the king’s authority is closely connected with the assembly. Ee describes twice how the pretender is approved—primarily as an extraordinary leader of the community and afterwards as an eternal king.

3. The election of the military leader (**lugal**) was originally conditioned by an external threat, but conversion to despotism occurs later—after the end of the creation of the universe, *when **lugal** surpassed the political influence of the assembly.*

4. There are inconsistencies and contradictions in Ee both in mythology and spelling. It probably means that the extant text of Ee elaborates on more ancient versions (written or oral) with quite a different ideological background.

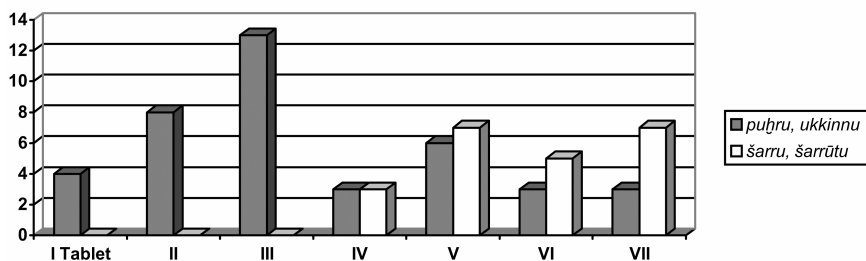


Diagram 1. Statistical evidence for the use of the terms designating the assembly and the king in Ec

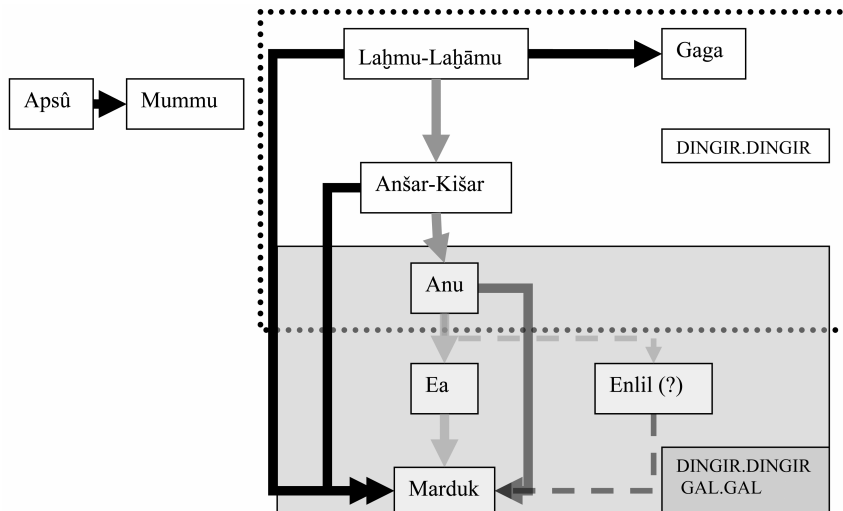


Diagram 2. The use of the term *abu* ‘father’ in Ec.

Grey arrows designate kinship by birth, black arrows—“subordinate kinship”.
 About Enlil cf. VII 136

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