

HAUL, M. — Das Etana-Epos. Ein Mythos von der Himmelfahrt des Königs von Kiš. (GAAL, Heft 1). Seminar f. Keilschriftforschung, Göttingen, 2000. (24 cm, XII, 259, XVI Tafeln).

This book inaugurates the new series Göttinger Arbeitshefte zur Altorientalischen Literatur (= GAAL). Haul's reworking of his Magisterarbeit, which was completed under the direction of B. Groneberg, sets a high standard for this series as it presents reliable editions of all three recensions of the Etana epic, as well as thorough and well-rounded studies of related matters. The first five chapters — 1. Einleitung, 2. Die Gestalt des Epos, 3. Zur Geschichte der mythischen Etana-Tradition, 4. Schlange und Adler und Etanas Himmelfahrt, and 5. Das Etana-Epos im Lichte der Folklore — make a competent attack on many difficult issues, including the arrangement of the text, the origin and background of the mythic tradition, and the significance of the serpent and the eagle. The last four chapters — 6. Katalog der Quellen, 7. Die altbabylonische Version, 8. Die mittelassyrische Version, and 9. Die späte Version — provide a catalogue of the positively identified exemplars and carefully prepared score ("Partitur") transliterations of the Old Babylonian, Middle Assyrian, and Late (Neo-Assyrian) recensions with detailed textual commentary. Since there are very few places where Haul's transliterated text is incorrect, it can be used by scholars and students with confidence; for example, on p. 198, III 43, M₁₀ -lik is actually -lak!; and on p. 200, III rev. 5, M₁ should be read as 'qé'-r[eb], not KIMIN, since the traces of a horizontal and a vertical wedge follow KI. All the Middle Assyrian fragments in Berlin and the Neo-Assyrian fragments in London were collated; accurate, well-drawn copies of a few of these tablets and some collation notes are conveniently provided at the back of the book. These are a great improvement over the copies published in Harper, *BA 2* (1894) pp. 439-463; Langdon, *Babyloniaca* 12 (1931) pls. IV-IX; Kinnier Wilson, *The Legend of Etana* pls. 7-8, 11, 13-19, 23, 26-28, 30; and Saporetti, *Etana* pls. I-II, VI-VII.

With regard to the copies of the Kuyunjik fragments, there are only a few places where the copies deviate from what is actually on the tablets. These minor inaccuracies are:¹⁾

pl. IV

1) K 2606 iv 1': [... n]a!-'di!' [...]

2) K 2606 iv 2': -šú! (blank space)

3) K 2606 iv 3': i-'ši'-r[u]

pl. V

4) K 2527:18': the TU after Ú is LA! DIŠ!

pl. VII

K 1547:8': u]š-ši should probably be read as 'd(?)!UTU(?)!'-šī

pl. XI

K 3651+:2: [b]e!-[lu]m/[l]i

In addition, the signs which are drawn as being clear in the heavily shaded areas in pls. VIII-XI and XII are now virtually

¹⁾ I wish to thank J.E. Curtis and C.B.F. Walker for their permission to collate the Etana fragments in the British Museum. Collations were made on two separate occasions, in February, 2001 and 2002. These tablets were originally collated for SAACT 2, but since that volume had already gone to press, none of the collations made it into the final version. These Etana fragments were recollated in preparation for this review.

illegible. Haul's choice of rendering these signs as legible in a shaded area is, in the reviewer's opinion, preferable to drawing them as they actually are on the tablets since they are very poorly preserved.

With regard to the arrangement of the text (Die Gestalt des Epos, pp. 5-33), Haul convincingly argues that Etana twice ascended on the back of an eagle a distance of three leagues into the heavens of Anum. This is in contrast to Langdon (*Babyloniaca* 12 pp. 43-52) and Horowitz (*Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* pp. 47-65) who suggest that Etana flew up into the heavens only once for a distance of six leagues, and Kinnier Wilson (*The Legend of Etana*, pp. 10-12) who proposed that Etana and the eagle might have flown upwards as many as four times. Until now, the arrangement of the post-Tablet II material has been a major crux. Haul's main evidence stems from the observation that K 8563 (= ex. K) represents the lower left corner of the obverse and upper right corner of the reverse of a large six-column tablet, that is, the end of col. i and the beginning of col. vi. This arrangement of the material is further validated by the fact that the first eight lines of K 3651+ (= ex. N), that is Etana III 1-8, almost certainly narrate how Šamaš harmonized the speech of the Kišite king and the eagle. This episode makes sense only if it is placed at the very beginning of Tablet III, not halfway through it, since it fits perfectly into the natural progression of the narrative, that is, just after Etana discovers the wounded bird of prey (Etana II 148-150), and immediately before the two exchange words for the first time (Etana III 9-14). This passage makes absolutely no sense if it is placed after the two have already flown three leagues into the heavens and have already discussed a series of dreams. According to Haul's arrangement, which essentially follows McCall (*Mesopotamische Mythen* pp. 119-120) and Dalley (*Myths from Mesopotamia* pp. 196-200), the following conclusions can be made about the SB recension:

1) The flatter side of K 3651+ is the obverse of the tablet and the rounded side, the side with the horizontal ruling at the bottom, is the reverse.

2) Since the obverse and the reverse of K 3651+ duplicate material from both faces of K 19530+ (= ex. M) and since K 3561+:1-8 are considered to be the first episode narrated on Etana III, then Etana and the eagle ascended a distance of three leagues into the heavens of Anum twice, and not once for a distance of six leagues into the heavens of Anum and beyond. The original flight was aborted immediately after the Kišite king panicked and requested to be taken back to the comforts of solid ground. The second ascent took place after Etana and the eagle had returned to Kiš, and had a series of dreams revealed to them. Unlike the first journey to the heavens of Anum, the second and final flight was successful. Furthermore, this reconstruction of the text lends further support to the notion that the Assyrians and Babylonians envisioned the heavens as being three distinct levels, with the heavens of Anum being the highest, exactly as it is in KAR 307:30-33 (Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* pl. 1) and AO 8196 iv 20-22 (Weidner, *AfO* 19 [1959-60] pl. 33). Another point of interest with regard to the flights as illustrated by Haul is that the verb *elû* (p. 196 III 38, M₆, [u]l!-^rli!¹-š^u-ma) is used in the narrative of the first flight, whereas the verb *š^aqû* (p. 204 III rev. 35, M₂₅, ú-šá-qí-šú-ma) is employed in the second and final ascent.

With regard to the beginning of the SB recension, some minor alternative readings to Haul's can be made in Etana I 1, 3, 6, and 24:

1) Haul (p. 166) reads the incipit as URU *i-ši-ru i*(?)-la*(?)-nu(?) rabûtu(?)*, "Sie entwarfen die Stadt, die grossen Götter(?);" admittedly, he notes that the restoration, which is based on collation, is uncertain and the traces in K 2606 i 3 could also be ^df¹-[gî-gî] or ^da¹-[nun-na-ki]. Compare Parpola's equally conjectural restorations of *ul(?)-tak(?)-li(?)*-*lu(?)-šú* and *ul(?)-te(?)-eš(?)*-*bu(?)*-*u(?)*-*šú* (Novotny, *SAACT* 2 p. 15). In any event, the reading of ^ri*(?)-*la*(?)*-*[nu(?) rabûtu(?)]* in l. 3 is not possible since *ilānu rabûtu* is invariably written DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ (courtesy Parpola), and since the final sign in 79-7-8,43 rev. 3 (= incipit) is clearly ŠÚ!, not -t]ú, -t]u, or even .ME]Š.

2) Haul (p. 166) reads the beginning of Etana I 6 as [LUG]AL*, following collation and the suggestion of von Soden (*WZKM* 55 [1959] p. 60). The restoration of *šarrû* ("king") is probably incorrect since no king had yet been appointed over the inhabitants (Etana I 13 = OBM[arsh] i 6) and since kingship had not yet descended from the heavens. The beginning of this line could also be read as [L]Ú(?) (*[amē]u*), "man." Etana I 6-7 should probably be read as:

6) [LÚ(?)²] *lu-u re-ú-um-ši-n[a ...]*

7) ^d! (?) [*e-t]a-na lu-u i-'tin'¹-ši-na e-x[x...]*

6) Let [*ma*]n(?) be their shepherd, [...]

7) Let [Et]ana be their master builder, [...]

Note also that there is the same number of syllables in both the preserved half-lines (3: 1: 4).

3) In K 2606 i 24 (p. 168), *pa-rak-ki AN-^re*(?)* [...] probably should be read as *pa-rak-ki ^{dr}e(?)*!-*[ta-na ...]*, as suggested by Kinnier Wilson (*The Legend of Etana* p. 84) since Etana I 26-28 give the impression that Enlil had just nominated Etana to be the first human king and introduced kingship in Kiš.

With regard to the transliterations, they are accurate and they can be used with confidence. Restored passages are generally well-thought out and are founded on parallels occurring in the other versions. There are numerous improved readings, particularly in the MA version; these improvements are in part due to new collations and extensive comparisons with the OB and SB recensions. Unfortunately, all of these new readings cannot be listed here.

For the reviewer, the more interesting sections of the book, apart from the discussion of the arrangement of text and the text editions, are Chapter 3.1, Ein sumerisches Etana-Epos? (pp. 35-38), which explores the possibility of there being Sumerian *Vorläufer* as there are for the Gilgameš Epic; Chapter 3.2.2, Die altakkadischen "Etana-Rollsiegel" (pp. 40-44); and Chapter 4.4.4, Die politisch-ideologische Erklärung (pp. 67-70), which discusses the animal names of the Kiš-I Dynasty and the serpent and the eagle as clan-totems.

In sum, this book is a thorough and professional treatment of all three recensions of the Etana epic and related matters. *Das Etana-Epos* is a very welcome addition to the field.

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²) Traces of this sign are no longer visible on the tablet.