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STUDIA ANTIQUA

A STUDENT JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

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ABBREVIATIONS

All abbreviations are taken from *The SBL Handbook of Style*, 8.4.

AASF	<i>Annales Academiae scientiarum fennicae</i>
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992.
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ArOr	<i>Archiv Orientalní</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BBR	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BDAG	Bauer, W., F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 3rd ed. Chicago, 1999.
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford, 1907.
BMes	<i>Bibliotheca mesopotamica</i>
BSac	<i>Bibliotheca sacra</i>
BSC	Bible Student's Commentary
BT	<i>The Bible Translator</i>
BTB	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CDME	<i>A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian</i> . Edited by R. O. Faulkner. Oxford, 1962.
COS	<i>The Context of Scripture</i> . Edited by W. W. Hallo. 3 vols. Leiden, 1997–.
DDD	<i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> . Edited by K. van der Toorn, B. Becking, and P. W. van der Horst. Leiden, 1995.
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
EBib	Etudes bibliques
EDNT	<i>Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by H. Balz, G. Schneider. Grand Rapids, 1990–93.
EgT	<i>Eglise et théologie</i>
ExpTim	<i>Expository Times</i>
HBC	<i>Harper's Biblical Commentary</i> . Edited by J. L. Mays et al. San Francisco, 1988.
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
IB	<i>Interpreter's Bible</i> . Edited by G. A. Buttrick et al. 12 vols. New York, 1951–57.
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	<i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> . Edited by G. A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville, 1962.
Int	<i>Interpretation</i>
IOS	<i>Israel Oriental Studies</i>
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JFSR	<i>Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>

vi ABBREVIATIONS

JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LSJ	Liddell, H. G., R. Scott, H. S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford, 1996.
<i>MDB</i>	<i>Mercer Dictionary of the Bible</i> . Edited by W. E. Mills. Macon, 1990.
<i>NewDocs</i>	<i>New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity</i> . Edited by G. H. R. Horsley and S. Llewelyn. North Ryde, N. S.W., 1981–.
<i>NIB</i>	<i>The New Interpreter's Bible</i>
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OTS	Old Testament Studies
<i>OtSt</i>	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
SHANE	Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East
SP	Sacra pagina
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, 1964–76.
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
VC	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

EDITOR'S PREFACE

This issue constitutes my first issue working as editor for *Studia Antiqua*. It has been an engaging learning process, and it would not have been possible without the guidance and help of the faculty and staff of Brigham Young University. *Studia Antiqua*'s previous editor, Brock Mason, has been an invaluable mentor as I have transitioned into this new role. I hope to continue to serve satisfactorily as the student editor.

This issue features three articles and two book reviews, all from Brigham Young University students, and explores a diversity of topics in Classical literature, curatorial studies, and literature of ancient Mesopotamia. They represent some of the finest work of Brigham Young University's undergraduates.

The first article in this issue is written by Chizm Payne. Chizm analyzes the verb "to save" in his effort to argue intertextuality between Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Euripides' *Medea*. Following Chizm's article is Juan D. Pinto's article on Mesopotamian creation myth. Juan argues against René Girard's position that sacrifice is by nature violently aggressive by analyzing the creation of man in *Atrahasis*. After Juan's paper, Bethany Jensen presents a comprehensive evaluation of the cuneiform collections in Brigham Young University's Museum of Peoples and Cultures, identifying potential areas for improvement in the collection's documentation. Rounding out this issue we have a book review by Stephen Smoot, who reviews the books *The Lost World of Genesis One: Ancient Cosmologies and the Origins Debate*, and *Genesis 1 As Ancient Cosmology*.

As always, this issue would not have been possible without the generous contributions from our esteemed faculty. With an unprecedented number of student submissions this year, we drew upon our faculty resources more than ever. A double-blind peer reviewed journal takes a toll on the faculty reviewers, but I am grateful for their kind, gracious, and enthusiastic assistance. My deep thanks to all of them and apologies if I have overstepped my bounds or sent one too many reminders. This journal recognizes its indebtedness to our wonderful faculty.

Also, we are continually grateful to our financial donors for their continued support. Again, without them, this journal—this opportunity for undergraduates to gain publishing experience—would not be possible.

Jasmin Gimenez
Editor in Chief, *Studia Antiqua*

OID'S PREQUEL TO EURIPIDES' *MEDEA* 476:
THE INTERTEXTUAL TENSION OF SAVING JASON

CHIZM PAYNE

Chizm Payne is an undergraduate student studying Classics at Brigham Young University. He is graduating in April 2015 and preparing for graduate work in the fall.

More than four hundred years after Euripides' *Medea* was presented to its Athenian audience, Ovid published his *Metamorphoses*. Although Ovid's poem comes centuries after its mythological predecessors, it still sets the stage for readers of the earlier Euripidean text.¹ In Book VII of the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid creates his own version of the Jason and Medea myth, beginning his episode back in Colchis, where Jason is still attempting to obtain the Golden Fleece. Among versions like the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes and the *Medea* of Seneca, the Ovidian text presents a Medea who expresses powerful psychological anxiety about future events, events that will take place in Euripides' version. I argue that this episode in the *Metamorphoses* sets up psychological background for Euripides' character, as Ovid's Medea foreshadows her Euripidean regret for having saved Jason. This is evident in the dialogue between two important lines: Ovid's *Metamorphoses* VII.39 and Euripides' *Medea* 476.² The authors of the two lines have common concerns, even though

1. The tradition of creating a prequel narrative to proceed and enrich an earlier poetic work became increasingly conventional during the Hellenistic period of Mediterranean history. During this time, copying texts and establishing libraries were valued aspects of the culture. Writing became a process of coming to terms with previous texts. See "Hellenistic Poetry," *Brill's New Pauly*, 6:86–89. Ovid is known for his adoption of Alexandrian literary style; see Gian Biagio Conte, *Latin Literature: A History* (trans. J. Solodow; Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1994), 350. Alessandro Barchiesi has identified aspects of the "future reflexive" in Augustan literature, particularly Ovid's epistolary poetry, the *Heroides*. See Alessandro Barchiesi, "Future Reflexive: Two Modes of Allusion and the *Heroides*," in *Speaking Volumes: Narrative and Intertext in Ovid and Other Latin Poets* (ed. Matt Fox and Simone Marchesi; London: Duckworth, 2001), 105–127.

2. For further scholarly study of poetic allusion across language and genre, see Stephen Hinds, *The Metamorphosis of Persephone* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). Hinds studies the myth of Persephone under the "common-sense assumption" that Ovid probably incorporated previous texts, which treat the same myth, into his own poem. See Bettie Rose Nagle, "Review of *The Metamorphosis of Persephone*, by Stephen Hinds,"

they are bound in the culturally distant worlds of fifth century B.C.E. Athens and first century C.E. Rome. In another sphere, in the two lines of poetry themselves, Medea exhibits similar preoccupations while in different places and times. These common elements—recognizable across both spatial and temporal circumstances—suggest that some sort of intertextual dialogue is at play.³

Both of the lines under examination contain forms of the verb “to save,”⁴ *seruabitur* and ἔσωσά respectively.⁵ On the micro level,⁶ both words have the same meaning and both lines contain similar devices of alliteration and word placement. Acting as a narrative precursor, Ovid's *seruabitur*, in the future tense, looks forward to action that will take place in Euripides' *Medea*. On the other hand, Euripides' aorist verb ἔσωσά looks back with regret on previous action that took place in Ovid's version. On the macro level, an analysis of the two contexts reveals the coinciding psychological preoccupations of Medea. I argue that Ovid's episode, even though separated from Euripides' text by space and time, has a powerful intertextual connection that enriches the psychological depth of Euripides' *Medea*; carefully considered, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* VII.39 provides an indispensable commentary on Euripides' *Medea* 476. Through my analysis of the intertextual interaction of Medea's words, I will contribute to the idea that later literature can strongly affect readings of preceding literature.

In order to analyze this intertextual relationship, I will largely rely on Lowell Edmunds's theory of intertextuality.⁷ Edmunds's work is most useful

Classical World 82 (1989): 449-450. For a comparative study of Ovidian intertextual, psychological, and amorous relationships in the *Heroides*, see R. Alden Smith, “Fantasy, Myth, and Love Letters: Text and Tale in Ovid's *Heroides*,” in *Oxford Reading in Classical Studies: Ovid* (ed. Peter E. Knox; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 217-237.

3. I recognize that, as Allen Graham has pointed out, “intertextuality” is a highly nuanced field of study, which demands more clarity among academics. See Allen, Graham, *Intertextuality* (2d ed.; New York: Routledge, 2011), 2. In this study, I shall use Edmunds's theoretical approach that argues for the central place of the reader in intertextual recognition. See Lowell Edmunds, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Roman Poetry* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001).

4. Throughout this study, all translations, unless otherwise noted, are my own.

5. For the text of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, I have used the R. J. Tarrant, ed., *P. Ovidi Nasonis Metamorphoses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). For Euripides' *Medea*, I have used J. Diggle, ed., *Euripidis Fabulae* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

6. For the importance of close readings of texts at the word level, especially in Ovid, see Hinds, *Metamorphosis*, xi.

7. Theories of intertextual relationships between poetic works abound. For influential theoretical frameworks, see Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); T. S. Eliot, “Tradition and the Individual Talent,” in *Selected Essays* (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1960). The most current theoretical work, which deals with the broader concept of intertextuality, is found in Graham, *Intertextuality*. There is also an extensive body of scholarship dealing with intertextuality within the field of Classics, particularly in the realm of Roman poetry. For the most recent theoretical

for the purposes of this paper because of his recognition that the authorial intention behind poetic allusion must remain a mystery. Indeed, for him, the interpreter of a poem “must be a poem reader; he [or she] cannot be a mind reader.”⁸ He suggests—much like Charles Martindale in his work on reception⁹—that meaning must be gleaned through “an accumulation of readings,”¹⁰ for no text contains within itself a single objective interpretation. With this in mind, Edmunds argues that texts can be interpreted retroactively.¹¹ One text can affect the reader’s interpretation of a preceding text and vice versa.¹²

In addition to this theoretical framework, Edmunds provides terms that are helpful for an analysis of interacting texts, quotations, and contexts. Although I shall not apply Edmunds’s intertextual sigla¹³ throughout this study, the technical terms that are associated with them will prove useful:

- T₁ – Target text, the text to be explained
- T₂ – Source text, the source of the intertextual phenomena in T₁
- Q₁ – Quotation (allusion, reference, echo) in T₁
- Q₂ – Source of Q₁

treatment, see Edmunds, *Intertextuality*. For further discussion of intertextuality in Roman literature, see also Stephen Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Gian Biagio Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation: Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986). A thorough study of Ovid’s texts and their intertextual characteristics is found in Barchiesi, *Speaking Volumes*; especially relevant to this paper are the Ovidian characteristics discussed in the chapter entitled “Future Reflexive: Two Modes of Allusion and the Heroides.” For a good general survey of scholarship on Ovid, especially his use of allusion and intertextuality, see Sara Myers, “The Metamorphosis of a Poet: Recent Work on Ovid,” *JRS* 89 (1999): 190–204.

8. Edmunds, *Intertextuality*, 20. Here, Edmunds is pointing out the impossibility of studying the personal motives of historical poets. By the end of his study, Edmunds argues against perspectives, such as that of Stephen Hinds, which can tend to focus on allusions intended by authors (*Allusion*, 164). Although Hinds attempts “to find (or recover) some space for the study of allusion,” his confession, in which he acknowledges the “ultimate unknowability of the poet’s intention,” is, for me, more persuasive than his main thesis (*Allusion*, 47–48).

9. Charles Martindale, *Reading the Text: Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). Instead of letting the author’s intention take priority, Martindale argues that meaning “is always realized at the point of reception” (*Reading the Text*, 3).

10. Edmunds, *Intertextuality*, xv.

11. Edmunds, *Intertextuality*, 159–63.

12. A helpful example is presented in Edmunds’s discussion of “retroactive intertextuality,” referencing Horace’s common phrase *carpe diem*. Edmunds asks, “Can any reader of [Horace’s] *Odes* 1.13 be indifferent to this banalization of the phrase?” Certainly, our experience with modern usage of the phrase—Edmunds cites Michèle Lowrie for specific examples—affects our reading of Horace (162–63).

13. Edmunds, *Intertextuality*, 134. For the sigla, Edmunds credits Heinrich F. Plett, ed., *Intertextuality* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991).

C₁ – Context of Q₁

C₂ – Context of Q₂

According to Edmunds's framework, T₁ represents Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in my study and T₂ represents Euripides' *Medea*. As Edmunds suggests,¹⁴ and as is the case in this paper, T₁ can affect T₂, for T₁ enhances the psychological background for T₂. Q₁ here would be *Metamorphoses* VII.39: *ope nescioquis seruabitur aduena nostra*, "will some stranger I do not know be saved by my help." Q₂ would be Euripides' highly alliterative line in *Medea* (476): ἔσωσά σ', ὡς ἴσασιν Ἑλλήνων ὄσοι, "I saved you, just as so many of the Greeks know." Following Edmunds, I argue that Q₁ alters the reader's understanding of Q₂. As Edmunds suggests, "Q₁ has the final word as soon as it has spoken and Q₂ can never regain its prequoted status."¹⁵ In other words, although different in form, the verb "to save" in Ovid, *seruabitur*, directly informs the reader's understanding of ἔσωσά in the Euripidean tragedy. The words themselves and the quotations into which they are placed suggest some level of connection. However, it is the contexts of these passages that showcase the psychological background that Ovid's *Medea* adds to Euripides.¹⁶ Although the intertextual connection between these two lines may at first glance seem vague, I shall argue that through close analysis of both contexts, the connections become more meaningful. A close analysis at both the micro level (words and immediate details) and macro level (contexts, themes, character preoccupations) is necessary to determine the intertextual connection.

First I shall examine the words and their immediate surroundings at the micro level. As noted above, both *seruabitur* and ἔσωσά are forms of verbs meaning "to save." At first glance, these verbs have little to do with one another;

14. Edmunds, *Intertextuality*, 137.

15. Edmunds, *Intertextuality*, 144. With this idea, Edmunds seems to echo influential ideas forwarded by both T. S. Eliot and Harold Bloom. In his "Tradition and the Individual Talent," Eliot suggests that readers should not be surprised by the fact "that the past should be altered by the present as much as the present is directed by the past" (5). Harold Bloom, though willing to "confess a lifelong hostility to T. S. Eliot," seems deeply affected by him: see Harold Bloom, *The Best Poems of the English Language* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2004), 896. "The strong poet," says Bloom, "fails to beget himself—he must wait for his Son, who will define him even as he has defined his own Poetic Father" (*Anxiety*, 37).

16. Much of the current scholarship on the characteristics of Euripidean allusion and intertextuality tends to focus on Euripides' relationship to his Greek predecessors. See Richard Garner, *From Homer to Tragedy: The Art of Allusion in Greek Poetry* (London: Routledge, 1990); I. Torrance, "In the Footprints of Aeschylus: Recognition, Allusion, and Metapoetics in Euripides," *American Journal of Philology* 132.2 (2011): 177–204; John Davidson, "Euripides, Homer, and Sophocles," *Illinois Classical Studies* 24/25 (1999–2000): 117–28. The question of how subsequent poetry can be in retroactive intertextual dialogue with Euripides remains largely unexplored.

except for their definition: the verbal form *seruabitur* is a third-person, singular, future, passive form, while ἔσωσά is a first-person, singular, aorist, indicative, active form. However, a mere glance at the immediate context on the same line will inform the reader that the subject of *seruabitur* is Jason, the *aduena* “stranger.” Likewise, in Euripides’ text, Medea and Jason have been in clear dialogue since line 446. When Medea says ἔσωσά σ’, “I saved you” in 476, the elided σ’, the accusative direct object, is, of course, Jason. So, in both instances, Jason is the person being saved. In *Metamorphoses* VII.39, the person who does the saving is Medea. This is evident in the words *ope* and *nostra* (our help), *nostra* being a poetic plural referring to Medea only. And with the first-person verbal form ἔσωσά, Medea refers directly to herself. In both cases, Medea is the person who performs the action of salvation. In Ovid’s text, Medea wonders whether Jason “will be saved” by her, while in Euripides’ text she recalls how she has, in fact, “saved” him. Thus, through an analysis of the words, the connection becomes apparent.

The immediate lines in which these words are found also reveal a certain connection. This connection is rhetorical, the main devices being alliteration and emphatic word placement. In Ovid, the sentence in question, and especially the line itself, contains frequent sibilants, as underlined in the following:

prodamne ego regna parentis,
 atque ope nescioquis seruabitur aduena nostra
 ut per me sospes sine me det lintea uentis
 uirque sit alterius, poenae Medea relinquit?

Similarly, Euripides’ line is dense with sibilant sounds:

ἔσωσά σ’, ὡς ἴσασιν Ἑλλήνων ὄσσοι

The repeated use of sibilants, present in both sentences about saving Jason, strengthens the connection of these two passages. In the Ovidian sentence, Medea uses the *s* a total of twelve times, four times in the single line of saving itself. Line 40 is especially interesting as it contains initial alliteration¹⁷ in close proximity with the words *sospes* and *sine*. In the Euripidean version, Medea looks back on her action of saving Jason and the effect is even more emphatic. In line 476 alone, the letter *s* (sigma) is found seven times, six times in the first

17. W. M. Clarke, “Intentional Alliteration in Vergil and Ovid,” *Latomus* T. 35 (1976): 276–300. Clarke suggests that initial alliteration, where two words begin with the same letter, is a “deliberate feature of the poets’ art” (300). Sixty-three percent of all the lines in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* contain some form of initial alliteration (279).

four words.¹⁸ This emphatic alliteration emphasizes the act of saving in the texts of both Ovid and Euripides.

Further emphasis is showcased in the placement of the verbs of saving themselves. For instance, in line 39 of Book VII, Ovid's Medea creates a golden chiasmic line that stresses the verb *seruabitur*.¹⁹ The verb is at the very center, immediately surrounded by the interrogative pronoun *nescioquis* and its accompanying noun *aduena*. These words, in turn, are also surrounded by the noun *ope* and its modifying possessive pronoun *nostra*. This chiasmus stresses the importance of the word *seruabitur*. Similar emphasis is given to the saving verb in Euripides' *Medea* 476. The line itself places ἔσωσά at the very beginning, making it the most prominent feature of both the line and the sentence. Thus, on the micro scale, both Ovid's Medea and Euripides' Medea give emphatic prominence to the verb "to save" through the use of literary figures. These devices have much in common in both texts, even though Medea's situations are separated spatially and temporally. In both passages, the details found in Medea's rhetorical language point to a common psychological tension showcased in the broader narrative context.

I shall now examine the larger contexts of each line, beginning with Ovid's *Metamorphoses* VII.39. The first soliloquy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (11–71) hints at Medea's emotional state in Euripides. Medea expresses uncertainty about whether or not she should help Jason; she loves him uncontrollably but attempts to resist. Before she begins speaking, the reader realizes that Medea *ratione furorem / uincere non poterat*, "was not able to conquer her fury through reason" (10–11). Her soliloquy begins emphatically with the adverb *frustra*, "in vain" (11)—all her resisting will eventually be futile. She realizes that her desire to love Jason will lead her into evil circumstances; however, her mind cannot overpower this desire: *aliudque cupido, / mens aliud suadet: uideo meliora proboque, / deteriora sequor!*, "this desire persuades me one way, my mind another: I see the better circumstances and I esteem them; I follow the worse!" (19–21).

18. For Euripides' excessive sigmatism, see Dee L. Clayman, "Sigmatism in Greek Poetry," *TAPA* 117 (1987): 69–84. Clayman suggests that as early as the sixth century B.C.E., the Greek sigma had gained a negative reputation for its poor aesthetic quality (69). In his *Heortae*, the comic poet Plato mocked Euripides for his use of the sigma in *Medea* 476 (69–70). Examples such as these suggest that Euripides' line would have been noticed by the Greek audience, which probably would have found it somewhat repulsive, if not barbaric. Nevertheless, Euripides seems to have valued the aesthetic qualities of the sigma. Clayman references Mommsen, who found that "Euripides is almost three times as sigmatic as Aeschylus and twice as sigmatic as Sophocles" (70).

19. William S. Anderson, ed., *Ovid's Metamorphoses Books 6–10* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 248.

Her desire increases and Jason's outstanding qualities compel her to help: his *aetas / et genus et uirtus*, "youth, race and courage" (26–27). However, Medea knows that, even before she helps Jason, even before she leaves Colchis, things will turn out badly for her. Her hesitation recalls Virgil's Dido in Book IV of the *Aeneid*, who eventually *coniugium uocat, hoc praetextit nomine cul-pam*, "calls it marriage; by this name she cloaks her guilt" (*Aen.* IV. 172).²⁰

Likewise, despite her recognition of possible problems, Medea must help and love Jason, for, as she says:

nisi opem tulero, taurorum adflabitur ore
concurratque suae segeti, tellure creatis
hostibus aut auido dabitur fera praeda draconi.

unless I offer help, he will be breathed upon by the mouth of the
bulls and he will meet his own crop, enemies created by the earth,
or he will be given as a wild prize to the greedy dragon (29–31).

Without her, Jason is sure to fail. Nevertheless, her anxiety does not leave. It is at this point that Medea questions whether or not she should save him. The immediate context surrounding this quote is crucial:

prodamne ego regna parentis,
atque ope nescioquis seruabitur aduena nostra,
ut per me sospes sine me det lintea uentis
uirque sit alterius, poenae Medea relinquit?

20. This connection becomes even more meaningful when the reader of the *Aeneid* recognizes that the Medea of Apollonius of Rhodes notably influences Virgil's Dido. In the *Argonautica*, after having left Colchis and helped Jason to obtain the Golden Fleece, Apollonius' Medea seems regretful. She expresses a sentiment of guilt and doubt about her relationship to Jason, iv. 362–375: τηλόθι δ' οἴη / λυγρῆσιν κατὰ πόντον ἄμ' ἀλκύνεσσι φορεῦμαι / σῶν ἔνεκεν καμάτων, ἵνα μοι σόος ἀμφί τε βουσὶν / ἀμφί τε γηγενέεσσιν ἀναπλήσειας ἀέθλους. / ὕστατον αὐ καὶ κῶας, ἐπεὶ τ' ἐπαίστῶν ἐτύχθη, / εἶλες ἐμῆ ματίη: κατὰ δ' οὐλοὸν αἰσχὸς ἔχευα / θηλυτέρας. τῷ φημί τεῖ κούρη τε δάμαρ τε / αὐτοκασιγνήτη τε μεθ' Ἑλλάδα γαίαν ἔπεσθαι. / πάντη νυν πρόφρων ὑπερίστασο, μηδέ με μούνην / σεῖο λίπης ἀπάνευθεν, ἐποικόμενος βασιλῆας. / ἀλλ' αὐτῶς εἶρσο: δίκη δέ τοι ἔμπεδος ἔστω. / καὶ θέμις, ἦν ἄμφω συναρέσσαμεν: ἦ σύγ' ἔπειτα / φασγάνῳ αὐτίκα τόνδε μέσον διὰ λαίμων ἀμῆσαι, / ὄφρ' ἐπίηρα φέρωμαι εὐοικότα μαργουσύνησιν. Revealing her guilt, she tells Jason, εἶλες ἐμῆ ματίη, "you grasped [the Golden Fleece (κῶας)] by my folly," (367). Then, having acknowledged her guilt, she establishes her strong relationship with him: τῷ φημί τεῖ κούρη τε δάμαρ τε / αὐτοκασιγνήτη τε μεθ' Ἑλλάδα γαίαν ἔπεσθαι, "therefore, I say that [I am] your girl, your wife, and your own sister, following you in quest of Greek land" (369–70). Finally, Medea appeals to a law (θέμις) for some kind of security. Following this pattern of Medea in the *Argonautica*, Virgil's Dido also helps the hero and joins in "marriage" despite her overwhelming guilt. This showcases the complex intertextual activity Ovid is involved in.

Shall I betray the kingdom of my father, and will some stranger I
do not know be saved by my help, that saved through me, he may
set sails to the winds without me and be another's man, I, Medea,
to be abandoned for punishment? (38–41)

Medea recognizes that in order to love Jason, she must first abandon her father's kingdom. Her doubts are based on events in the future (note that *seruabitur* is in the future tense). Even though she is passionate for him, she even distances herself from Jason with the words *nescioquis* and *aduena*.²¹ This is followed by a purpose clause, which William S. Anderson has commented on:

The purpose clause reveals that Medea did not hesitate so much over duty to her father as over her suspicions that she would get nothing out of her action: she would merely be saving Jason for another woman in Greece!²²

Medea's very words showcase her anxiety. She then anxiously fears that if Jason is saved, he will abandon her *uirque sit alterius*, "and be another's man" (41). She, without any forewarning, fears the future that is to take place. She even feels like obtaining revenge for a crime that Jason has not yet committed: *si facere hoc aliamue potest praeponere nobis, / occidat ingratus!*, "if he can do that thing, to prefer another woman before me, let the ungrateful man die!" (42–43). The end of her soliloquy places an added emphasis on the evil fate that she will face in the future. She knows that she should shun her desire to love Jason. Once again, just like Virgil's Dido, Medea knows this will end in pain:

coniugiumne putas speciosaque nomina culpae
inponis, Medea, tuae? quin adspice, quantum
adgrediare nefas, et, dum licet, effuge crimen!

Medea, do you think it is marriage and do you give beautiful names to your guilt? Rather look at how great an impiety you are approaching, and, while you still can, flee your crime! (69–71)

21. Tarrant's critical edition uses *nescioquis*, which should be translated as "some (unknown or unspecified), one." The word also carries the nuance of "slightness or unimportance." See "nescio," *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 2:1291. The word *aduena* is also to be understood pejoratively. See Franz Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso Metamorphosen Buch VI–VII* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Carl Winter, 1976), 210. Thus, Ovid's word points to Medea trying to distance herself from Jason, as she feels anxiety about saving him.

22. Anderson, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 248.

The extent of Ovid's intertextual program is hinted at again with the word *coniugiumne*, "marriage." This reminds the close reader of Dido's anxiety in Book IV of the *Aeneid*, when she considers her relationship to Aeneas, which in turn, recalls Apollonius' Medea, then Euripides', then Ovid's once more.²³

After Medea's strong expression of anxiety in the first soliloquy, Ovid goes on to narrate many parts of this myth of Medea and Jason. He covers numerous episodes including how Medea saves Jason, how she gives strength to Jason's father, Aeson, and how she arranges the death of Pelias. What Ovid does not attempt to cover thoroughly is the revenge Medea takes on Jason in Corinth. Perhaps, as Anderson notes, Ovid does not have any "intention of vying with Euripides."²⁴ Whatever the case, Ovid covers this important mythical episode in four lines:

Sed postquam Colchis arsit noua nupta uenenis
flagrantemque domum regis mare uidit utrumque,
sanguine natorum perfunditur impius ensis,
ultraque se male mater Iasonis effugit arma.

but after the new wife burned with Colchian potions, and either
sea had seen the home of the king burning, and the pious sword
was covered in the blood of his sons, after this evil vengeance had
been taken, she fled from the weapons of Jason. (394–97)

In these four lines, Ovid covers most of the action of Euripides' *Medea*. It is clear that this is not the emphasis of Ovid's retelling of the myth. By focusing his version of the myth on everything but the Euripidean narrative, Ovid seems to acknowledge that Euripides has created a masterful work of literature. Instead of retelling his precursor's narrative, Ovid focuses on adding depth to and expanding the emotional context for Euripides' version. He does this by allowing Medea to express similar anxieties and preoccupations to those in Euripides' *Medea*. This allows the two texts to interact, regardless of Medea's distance from Colchis or Ovid's distance from fifth-century Athens.

I shall now turn to the context of the *Medea* 476 and analyze it with Ovid's version in mind. In the Euripidean text, the context surrounding line 476 is a long speech that Medea gives during an intense argument with Jason (465–519). Jason has distanced himself from Medea by seeking a royal marriage

23. See footnote 20. See also *Medea* 489, a line from Euripides that is part of the context surrounding line 476. Medea accuses Jason of ruining the one thing that gave her hope, their marriage: προὔδωκας ἡμᾶς, καινὰ δ' ἐκτήσω λέχη, "having forsaken me, you acquired new marriage ties."

24. Anderson, Ovid's, *Metamorphoses*, 280.

with the daughter of Creon. Nevertheless, just before Medea's speech, he is able to defend himself rationally by pointing out Medea's passionate rage:

οὐ νῦν κατείδον πρῶτον ἀλλὰ πολλάκις
τραχεῖαν ὀργὴν ὡς ἀμήχανον κακόν.

I do not see now for the first time, but often, that your rough anger is an impossible evil. (446–447)

When contrasting himself to Medea's wild behavior, Jason endeavors to make himself seem perfectly rational. Indeed, Jason suggests that the reason Medea is in trouble is that she has little regard for the κρεισσόνων βουλευματα, "the purposes of her betters" (449). He wants to enforce the idea that he and the royal family are logical, while she is passionately mad. Mastronarde notes that Jason "gives evidence of the major contrast between himself and Medea: his smug assumption of a natural hierarchy of male over female and of the excellence of his own capacity to plan things out."²⁵ Jason goes on to express a logical reason for his relationship with Creon's daughter:

ἦκω, τὸ σὸν δὲ προσκοπούμενος, γύναι,
ὡς μήτ' ἀχρήμων σὸν τέκνοισιν ἐκπέσης

I have come, looking after you, woman, in order that you may not be exiled, poor with the children. (460–61)

In response to Jason's reason and logic, Medea simply continues in her anger, using the superlative παγκάκιστε, "most wholly evil" (465) to address Jason. This type of word does not get her anywhere with Jason; it merely helps "Jason distinguish himself as a rational being from Medea as a passionate one."²⁶ Nevertheless, they do remind the careful reader of a similar experience Medea has faced previously. Back in Colchis, Medea *ratione furorem / uincere non poterat*, "was not able to conquer her fury through reason" (10–11). This uncontrollable passion has now caused her serious problems. Medea sees this and looks back at her fierce *furorem*. She realizes that she left Colchis σὺν σοί, πρόθυμος μᾶλλον ἢ σοφωτέρα, "with [Jason], more eager than wise" (485). She had been πρόθυμος, "eager," and her *cupido*, "desire," had been the motivating factor (19). With the word σοφωτέρα, Medea remembers rejecting her *mens*, "mind," when she was in Colchis (20). So, her previous intense love

25. Donald J. Mastronarde, *The Art of Euripides: Dramatic Technique and Social Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 226.

26. Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz, *Anxiety Veiled: Euripides and the Traffic of Women* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 140.

for Jason has now transformed into an intense hatred. This hatred, of course, is fueled by passion and not reason. The same is true now as was true back in Colchis: *aliudque cupido, / mens aliud suadet*, “this desire persuades me one way, my mind another” (19–20). Just as before, her passion will take control. Though in a new space and time, both mythologically and textually, Medea’s words exhibit similar emotions.

Medea shows continually how her troubles have been caused by intense passion, which she can recognize. In fact, sometimes her words themselves get her into trouble. As Nancy Rabinowitz suggests, throughout Euripides’ tragedy Medea’s words tend to make the situation worse:

Early on in the play, Medea’s words seem to have caused her trouble; Creon was afraid and exiled her because he heard that she was cursing his family (287–89); Jason taunts her with the fact that her own words are responsible for her exile (450, 457).²⁷

This is certainly true for her words within *Medea* itself, but it is also true for the words that she speaks outside of the play, the words Ovid has her speak in Colchis. What she said then seems to be directly affecting her now. For example, she realizes that when she was in Colchis, she was αὐτὴ δὲ πατέρα καὶ δόμους προδοῦσ’ ἐμοῦς, “forsaking her father and her home” (483). However, this was something that she had already questioned in the Ovidian soliloquy: *prodamne ego regna parentis*, “shall I betray the kingdom of my father?” (38). Medea also expresses anxiety and anger about Jason’s new bride. For example, Medea now sees that Jason προῦδωκας ἡμᾶς, καινὰ δ’ ἐκτήσω λέχη, “having forsaken [her], acquired new marriage ties” (489). She had previously felt that this might happen, even while still in Colchis: *ut per me sospes sine me det lintea uentis / uirque sit alterius, poenae Medea relinquer?*, “that saved through me, he may set sails to the winds without me and be another’s man, I, Medea, to be abandoned for punishment?” (40–41). The words προῦδωκας and *relinquar* are both signaling Jason’s action of disowning Medea to seek another woman. In both texts, though separated by space and time, just as Medea is far away from Colchis, similar emotions are expressed through words and narrative contexts. Thus, the Ovidian text clearly expands and adds depth to Medea’s psychological tension. It is not surprising that “when Jason appears, Medea refers to what she has been suffering, locating this as having taken place in her *psyche*.”²⁸

27. Rabinowitz, *Anxiety Veiled*, 142.

28. Shirley Darcus Sullivan, *Euripides’ Use of Psychological Terminology* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000), 105.

This pattern continues in numerous parts of Medea's speech. Medea looks back on all the ways she has helped Jason, as witnessed by the Greeks, who ταὐτὸν συνεισέβησαν Ἀργῶιον σκάφος, "stepped aboard the hull of the Argo" (477). She saved him who πεμφθέντα ταύρων πυρπνῶων ἐπιστάτην / ζεύγλαισι καὶ σπεροῦντα θανάσιμον γῆν, "was sent to be in charge of the fire-breathing bulls by means of yokes and to sow the deadly earth" (477–79). Through these actions, Medea has saved Jason: ἔσωσά σ' (476). And she now looks back to the anxiety she felt before helping him:

nisi opem tulero, taurorum adflabitur ore
 concurretque suae segeti, tellure creatis
 hostibus, aut auido dabitur fera praeda draconi.

unless I offer help, he will be breathed upon by the mouth of the
 bulls and he will meet his own crop, enemies created by the earth,
 or he will be given as a wild prize to the greedy dragon (29–31).

Obviously, the Euripidean Medea now wishes that she had not saved Jason. Since he has married Glauce, Medea has lost her only hope and painfully deals with the consequences. She remembers the words with which she once urged herself: *effuge crimen!*, "Flee your crime!" (71). Indeed, now she determines that she will flee from Jason, just as she once fled from her fatherland to love Jason (503). She will leave him, but not until she has taken revenge, killing both Jason's new wife and his children.

These examples exhibit a strong intertextual relationship between Euripides and Ovid. The connections give the careful reader good reasons to maintain that Medea's references to saving Jason in both Euripides and Ovid are in an intertextual dialogue; Ovid's version provides psychological complexity to Euripides'. Thus, in the Euripidean tragedy, when Medea says to Jason ἔσωσά σ', "I saved you" (476), she is expressing emotions of "vehemence or exasperation."²⁹ She remembers that back in Colchis she wondered whether she should help Jason: *ope nescio quis seruabitur aduena nostra*, "will some stranger I do not know be saved by my help?" (39). She knows that she had once felt anxiety about this. She knows that she had once wondered whether Jason would turn to another woman, leaving her behind. Now she wishes that she had let her mind persuade her. She wishes that she had been wise rather than passionate. Nevertheless her passion continues as she deals with this overwhelming psychological problem. In this way, the Ovidian Medea's

29. Donald J. Mastronarde, *Euripides' Medea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 252.

verb of hesitation, *seruabitur*, seems to speak to the Euripidean Medea's verb of wrath, ἔσωσά. It informs the reader of Euripides' text about Medea's earlier inner turmoil in the *Metamorphoses*. Across space and time, Medea uses similar words to express her concern about the problem of saving Jason. Her words are charged with intertextual emotion that bridges different parts of her story.

Through this study, I have argued that Ovid's version of the myth in the *Metamorphoses* offers psychological depth to the character Medea in Euripides' tragedy. Beginning on the micro level, my analysis has identified verbs of saving in both Euripides and Ovid. Both of these verbal forms have been given strong emphasis through two literary devices in their respective lines: alliteration and word placement. Turning to the macro level, I have shown that the contexts of these two passages share similar psychological preoccupations that are exhibited through similar words and phrases. I have shown that there are similarities that bridge the distance of both Medea's mythological situations and the texts of both Euripides and Ovid. These similarities—which without close analysis may seem improbable in light of the spatial separation between Medea's respective circumstances and the temporal separation between texts—secure an intertextual relationship. The passages are in intertextual dialogue, enriching and nuancing each other. Thus Ovid's prequel has the ability to permanently affect a close reading of Euripides' text.

THE SACRIFICED GOD AND MAN'S CREATION:
NONAGGRESSIVE VIOLENCE IN THE
MESOPOTAMIAN *ATRAḤASIS*

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Ritual sacrifice, according to René Girard, is a community-sponsored, public act of violence designed to serve as an outlet for built-up aggression. His studies have given rise to other theories that likewise attempt to explain the purpose and origin of sacrifice, but that continue to be largely based on Girard's original ideas. All of these models have propagated the same foundational understanding of violence, which I will hereafter refer to as *aggressive violence*. In Girardian terms, this refers to human aggressive impulses that drive violent acts. These acts, and the endless cycle of violence they lead to, are precisely what ritual sacrifice is intended to prevent. Yet by making this hypothesis of aggressive violence such a foundational part of his theory, Girard's conclusions oversimplify the complex nature of ritual slaughter and overlook cases that lack the aggressive emotion on which he relies so heavily.

As a case study for the theory of aggressive violence in ritual sacrifice, the Mesopotamian motif of creation through divine blood serves to provide a counterexample. Tracing the theme and its evolution, as well as clearly identifying the event's nature as a ritual sacrifice, will set the groundwork for understanding the contemporary Mesopotamian perception of the ritual and the implications of this particular worldview. Specifically, the theme's earliest appearance in the corpus—found in the myth of *Atraḥasis*—exemplifies what I argue is nonaggressive sacrifice. Rather than serving as an outlet for aggression, the sacrificial event in *Atraḥasis* was understood by its audience to be a purely positive one—in turn showing the inadequacy of basing a universal understanding of ritual sacrifice on Girard's idea of aggressive violence.

Why *Atrahasis*

The motif of creating mankind using a slain god's blood appears in more than one Mesopotamian text. By taking into account their likely time frames of composition, along with the evidences for direct borrowing, it becomes possible to see the way the theme evolved within the Mesopotamian literary tradition. My particular focus on *Atrahasis* is related to its chronological primacy. As will be shown, it is arguably the oldest extant text that deals with the motif, and it is the influential predecessor from which the later accounts borrowed the theme.¹

The earliest version of the *Atrahasis* epic discovered to date is the Old Babylonian or Classical Version, dating to the 17th century B.C.E. Unless otherwise specified, I will quote from Tzvi Abusch's translation of this very text.² As far as the passage that reports the creation of mankind, the later accounts—the Middle Babylonian, Late Assyrian, and Late Babylonian versions—are very fragmentary and have no new insights to offer.

It is near the end of the first tablet of *Atrahasis* that we find the account of the creation of man. The myth includes the older Sumerian idea of creation out of clay, but with the addition of the flesh and blood of a god. The slain god is none other than the leader of a rebellion of the Igigi, or junior gods, against the Anunnaki, or senior gods.³ The rebellion is the result of the heavy corvée labor imposed upon the Igigi—labor that they declare to be unjust and too physically straining. Enki (the god of freshwater who is often associated with wisdom) devises a plan whereby mankind can be created to perform the labors previously imposed on the junior gods. As decreed by Enki, We-ila (or We, the god) is slain so that his flesh and blood, mixed with clay, can be used as the material out of which to mold man. The reason, manner, and nonaggressive nature of this sacrifice—along with its implications for Mesopotamian thought and sacrifice in general—will be explored more in depth below.

Another important text to take into account is the *Enûma Eliš*. Commonly known as the "Babylonian Epic of Creation," it is believed to have borrowed many of its themes from the older *Atrahasis*. Generally dated to the latter part

1. Note that I am referring specifically to the motif of the sacrificed god and subsequent creation by blood. I am not dealing with cosmogonies in general.

2. Tzvi Abusch, "Ghost and God: Some Observations On a Babylonian Understanding of Human Nature," in *Self, Soul and Body in Religious Experience* (ed. Albert Baumgarten; Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1998), 363–83.

3. I support here the view expressed by Moran that "leader-god" is the right interpretation of line 208. We-ilu, he argues, is the god who "had the scheme" to overthrow Enlil. See William L. Moran, "The Creation of Man in *Atrahasis* I 192–248," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 200 (1970): 51–52.

of the second millennium B.C.E.,⁴ it borrows from older traditions in order to legitimize the new place of Marduk (the city god of Babylon) as the chief of the gods. Tablet VI of the epic is where the creation of mankind is described. Here is a case where Qingu, the leader on the losing side of a massive primordial war, is slain by order of Ea (the Akkadian name for Enki) and his blood used to create man. Blood alone is the substance from which humanity is made—no longer a tripartite mixture of clay, flesh, and blood as in *Atrahasis*.

Note also the way in which Qingu is specifically said to be punished for his deeds—his guilty sentence, the way he is bound, and his imposed punishment.

“It was Qingu who made war,
Suborned Tiamat and drew up for battle.”
They bound and held him before Ea,
They imposed the punishment on him and shed his blood.
(29–32)⁵

This is a subtle but important variation from the way We-ila is slaughtered without indication of antagonism or aggression in *Atrahasis*.

A third text worth mentioning is the Sumerian *Enki and Ninmah*. Far more problematic than the previous two, this is an account that is generally not interpreted as involving the use of divine blood in the process of creation. However, W. G. Lambert has argued otherwise.

The tale begins with an account of the genesis of the gods and once again tells of the rebellion of the laboring junior gods. Enki again provides a wise solution by planning the creation of mankind. Lambert's subtle but important changes to the traditional interpretation of some of the lines are the result of his studies on a bilingual version of the text.⁶ His altered translation of line 30 contains the most striking variation:

My mother, there is my/the blood which you set aside, impose on
it the corvée of the gods.(30)

What Lambert here translates as “blood” (line 30) is the Sumerian word *mud*. The clause has variously been translated as “the creature on whom you

4. Lambert argues against W. von Soden's Cassite-period dating, instead placing it during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I; see W. G. Lambert, “Studies in Marduk,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47 (1984), 4.

5. All quotations from the *Enûma Eliš* are from the translation by Benjamin R. Foster in *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature* (Bethesda, Maryland: CDL Press, 1996).

6. W. G. Lambert, “The Relationship of Sumerian and Babylonian Myth as Seen in Accounts of Creation,” in *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien, XXXVIII^e R.A.I.* (Paris, 1992), 129–35.

have set (your mind),”⁷ “the creature whose name you fixed,”⁸ “au résultat de ce que tu auras créé,”⁹ and “the sire (who was once) provided with heir by you.”¹⁰ Though Lambert identifies the blood as being that of either Enki or Namma, he ultimately suggests that it is Enki’s.¹¹

Although his argument is convincing, caution is advised until further advances in Sumerian lexicology are made. Lambert readily admits that his translation is guided by what he sees as the timeless Mesopotamian tradition of divine blood in creation. Starting off with such an assumption ignores other Mesopotamian creation traditions that do not mention blood at all.¹²

In this vein it must also be pointed out that the dating of *Enki and Ninmah* is widely debated. Though written in Sumerian (along with Akkadian in the later bilingual version), there is linguistic evidence to indicate its origin as an adaptation of an Akkadian narrative.¹³ This would not be surprising, given the Babylonian and Assyrian fascination with the language of their predecessors. The text’s obvious parallels to *Atrahasis*, readily apparent in the borrowed Akkadian lexicon, suggest the same conclusion. Frymer-Kensky has proposed, based on these anomalies, that “‘Enki and Ninmah’ may have been written with *Atrahasis* in mind.”¹⁴

What are we to make of these accounts?¹⁵ The translation and dating of *Enki and Ninmah* is critical to an understanding of the history of the motif

7. C. A. Benito.

8. S. N. Kramer/J. Maier.

9. J. J. A. van Dijk.

10. Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness: A History of Mesopotamian Religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976).

11. Lambert, “The Relationship of Sumerian and Babylonian Myth,” 134.

12. In fact, aside from *Enki and Ninmah*, all other Sumerian texts ascribe creation to different processes. For example, the Sumerian *Song of the Hoe* and the *Eridu Genesis* describe mankind as having been created out of mud or as sprouting up from the ground. Even the creation of Enkidu in the Akkadian *Epic of Gilgamesh* omits any mention of divine blood.

13. See Tikva Simone Frymer-Kensky, “The *Atrahasis* Epic and Its Significance for Our Understanding of Genesis 1–9,” *BA* 40, no. 4 (1977): 155.

14. Frymer-Kensky, “The *Atrahasis* Epic,” 155.

15. Aside from these three texts, there are other less significant references to the motif, such as the document referred to in scholarly literature as *KAR 4*, also known as *The Creation of Humankind*. It tells of the slaughtering of the Alla-gods and the use of their blood for the creation of mankind and dates to the Middle Assyrian period. (G. B. D’Alessio, “Textual Fluctuations and Cosmic Streams: Ocean and Acheloiios,” *JHS* 124 [2004]: 16–37, n. 36.)

There is also an interesting image found on a small Old Akkadian cylinder seal, identified by Wiggermann as a visual depiction of the rebellion and creation in *Atrahasis*. F. A. M. Wiggermann, “Extensions of and Contradictions to Dr. Porada’s Lecture,” in *Man and Images in the Ancient Near East* (ed. Edith Porada; Wakefield: Moyer Bell, 1996), 78–79. The image depicts figures (junior gods?) laboring to build a temple, while one kneeling figure is slaughtered by a god as another stands with his arms in a raised position. H. Frankfort has

of creation through divine blood. Though I agree with Lambert's assessment of it, the fact that it is written in Sumerian is not a convincing indication of its antiquity. In fact, Frymer-Kensky's statement—based on linguistic anomalies and borrowings from the Akkadian—seems to be the best explanation of it: namely, that much of the mythology in it was based on the events in *Atrahasis*.¹⁶ It therefore seems most compatible with the present evidence that *Atrahasis* is the oldest instance of the motif—the myth from which the later texts took their inspiration.¹⁷

The Case for Sacrifice

I argue that the slaying of We-ila in *Atrahasis* was understood as an act of sacrifice by the Mesopotamians. Even without some of the characteristic elements of sacrifice—such as the explicit dedication of the victim to some higher deity or the burning of the corpse—there is sufficient evidence within the text to suggest that this is so. A brief overview of the way sacrifice has been defined in recent decades will be helpful in understanding what the text itself has to say about the event.

instead associated the scene with the final episode of the *Enûma Eliš*. H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals: A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East* (London, 1939), 131–32, plate XXIIk. If this does in fact depict the sacrifice of a god and the subsequent creation of man, however, then it will be by far our oldest recorded instance of the motif. It is impossible to tell at present.

Lastly, there is the mythological narrative given by Berossus, the Babylonian historian of the Hellenistic age. This is essentially a much later retelling of the *Enûma Eliš* with some variations.

16. See note 14 above. Also note that other themes found in *Enki and Ninmah* place it more within Akkadian mythological tradition rather than Sumerian. For example, the purpose for which mankind is created is strictly to relieve the junior gods of their labors—almost the exclusive reasoning found in Akkadian texts—as opposed to the purposes suggested in the Sumerian *Song of the Hoe* and the so-called *Eridu Genesis*.

17. Note that this particular creation motif is completely absent from pre-Sargonic literature. If it did not in fact enter general Mesopotamian mythology until the rise of Akkadian dominance, it is possible that the theme came from an older Semitic tradition. Frymer-Kensky has suggested that it may have “entered Mesopotamian mythology with the coming of the West Semites.” Frymer-Kensky, “The Atrahasis Epic,” 155.

It has also been proposed that the settling of the Amorite tribes in Mesopotamia was the possible point of transmission for the motif. Tzvi Abusch, “Sacrifice in Mesopotamia,” in *Sacrifice in Religious Experience* (ed. Albert Baumgarten; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 39–48. Abusch provides an intriguing interpretation of the motif that suggests it was the tribal and semi-nomadic nature of the West Semites that caused them to emphasize blood in their sacrifices and mythologies. See Tzvi Abusch, “Ghost and God,” 363–83. See also Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness*, 156, for an explanation of Abusch's idea of a “personal god.”

On the general idea of West Semitic “blood consciousness,” see A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1977), 192.

Hubert and Mauss's ambitious work on the nature and function of sacrifice is an obvious place to look. Their research in the field—primarily in regards to Hebrew and Vedic sacrifice—led them to define it as “a religious act which, through the consecration of a victim, modifies the condition of the moral person who accomplishes it or that of certain objects with which he is concerned.”¹⁸ *Consecration* of a victim is here the important action, though certainly much more is implied. Sacrifice is expected to affect both the “sacrificer” (the person performing the physical sacrifice) and the “sacrifier” (the one who offers up the object to be sacrificed). In other words, the focus is primarily on the well-being or sanctification of the parties performing the action, through the offered object upon which the action is performed.¹⁹

Also indicative of the way Hubert and Mauss understand sacrifice—and perhaps more in line with common use—they designate as sacrifice “any oblation . . . whenever the offering or part of it is destroyed, although usage seems to limit the word sacrifice to designate only sacrifices where blood is shed.”²⁰ Along these lines, Baal offers further clarification by defining an offering as “any act of presenting something to a supernatural being,” and a sacrifice as a subset of an offering, which includes the ritual killing of the offered object.²¹

Returning to *Atrahasis*, it is clear that We-ila is killed in what appears to be a ritual process consisting of various stages. I identify these as selection, acknowledgment, preparation, slaying, washing, and participation. Though the process can be partitioned in different ways, the important thing is that there is a strict order of events characteristic of ritual sacrifice.

The selection process is simply the declaration by Enki that “the leader-god let them slaughter” (line 208), with a later exposition as to why the leader-god is the best candidate.²² Careful selection of the victim is an important aspect indicative of sacrifice. By acknowledgment I refer to Enki's command that “to the living creature [We-ila], let it make known its sign” (line 216). Moran's

18. Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss, *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1981), 13.

19. As Nancy Jay put it, it seeks to mediate between the sacred and the profane. See Nancy Jay, *Throughout Your Generations Forever: Sacrifice, Religion, and Paternity* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1992), 134.

20. Hubert and Mauss, *Sacrifice*, 13.

21. J. van Baal, “Offering, Sacrifice and Gift,” *Numen* 23, no. 3 (1976): 161.

22. Lines 223–24: “We-ila (or We, the god) who has intelligence they slaughtered in their assembly.” Abusch has suggested that the text's ancient audience understood We-ila's “intelligence” to have been transferred to mankind through his flesh and blood. He arrives at this conclusion through an examination of what appears to be a wordplay in the text, linking the Akkadian words for intelligence (*tēmu*) and blood (*damu*). If he is correct in this assertion, it sheds further light on the reason for choosing We-ila as the sacrificial victim. More on this point below. See Abusch, “Ghost and God,” 378–83.

translation is instructive here, as it renders the line (and similarly the parallel line 229) thus: “let her [Nintu] inform him [We-ila] while alive of his token.”²³ The manner in which his place in the great plan is explained to him—while in the middle of a declaration for the rationale behind the use of *his* blood (the blood of a god possessing “intelligence” or “planning”) and the continuation of a “ghost” through his flesh and thereby the flesh of mankind—makes it an honor for him to be the instrument of such an undertaking.²⁴ The preparation is the selection of a specific date and Enki’s establishment of a ritual cleansing bath: “A purification let me institute—a bath” (line 207). The killing then takes place, followed by the purification of all the gods “by immersion” (line 209), and after the mixing of the flesh and blood with clay, participation—akin to *communion* as identified by anthropologists—by the rest of the Igigi gods when they “spat upon the clay” (line 234). This clear order of events that is first outlined in Enki’s speech (lines 206–17) and then in action (lines 221–34) is indicative of a ritual act, in this case sacrifice.

As for the important characteristic that identifies this event as an offering, We-ila is indeed offered up for a greater cause—the creation of mankind and subsequent liberation of the gods from their labors. However, there is no explicit mention of being offered to any specific deity. In lieu of this absent, defining trait of the ritual, a case could be made for his implicitly being offered up to certain gods or groups. He is in a small sense being offered to the Igigi gods, for whose benefit mankind will be created and assigned the workload. Conversely—and more convincingly—We-ila could be said to be a sacrifice offered *by* the Igigi gods, since they are the ones who demand a radical change in the status quo. They are therefore acting the role of the “sacrifiers” as defined by Hubert and Mauss, which fits well with the fact that their condition is clearly modified—improved—by the sacrificial act.

This compelling explanation has been overlooked in the past. It is indicative of the outcome expected by any party offering a sacrifice, and of the essential purpose for which the Mesopotamians performed their ritual duty: to obtain an improved condition in life. If the gods themselves offered a sacrifice to achieve their desires, how much more does mortal man need to do the same? But then, if the Igigi gods were in fact seen as the sacrifiers, *to whom* is the sacrifice being offered?

It could potentially be said that the victim is an offering to Enlil, for whose deliverance the sacrifice is also carried out, since he has been threatened by

23. Moran, “Creation of Man,” 50.

24. Note how this evokes a different sense than if We-ila’s execution was a means of punishment. This important point is addressed below.

the rebellious gods: “Come, let us remove (him) from his dwelling!” (line 44). Perhaps most convincingly, however, the text goes on to suggest that the most inconspicuous beneficiary of all—but certainly the most important to the Babylonian keepers of the tradition—is mankind. Since man in this case is neither sacrificer nor sacrificer, but a beneficiary nonetheless, he could potentially become the personage to whom the sacrifice is offered. The idea of a sacrifice offered by the gods, for the benefit of man, emphasizes the intended impact of the motif on the Mesopotamian religious outlook.

Though these are only theories that serve to illustrate ways in which the myth could have been interpreted by its Mesopotamian audience, the evidence is clear in identifying the execution of We-ila as an instance of sacrifice. Using this specific instance of the ritual, I will now show how Girard’s notion of aggressive violence fails to make sense of the event in *Atrahasis*.

Nonaggressive Violence

René Girard’s ambitious work on ritual sacrifice, founded loosely on Freud’s version of totemism,²⁵ has attracted much attention as well as criticism. He suggests that mimetic desire, in which all of one’s desires arise from the observed aspirations of others, leads to antagonism and the build-up of violent tension. This inevitably ends in an act of aggressive violence. The cycle repeats itself until a third party—a scapegoat victim—is found, and the two original parties’ aggressive impulses are taken out in its destruction. The release of tension and sense of peace that follows is then seen as the scapegoat’s doing, which leads to its elevation in status and eventual apotheosis. This, believes Girard, is the point of genesis for sacrifice, religion, and even society. From that point on, the ritualized slaughtering of a victim serves to recreate the original act, and to continually release built-up tensions created by mimetic desire. In this way, that society succeeds in preventing acts of vengeance²⁶ and self-destruction.²⁷

Girard’s work on mimetic desire is intriguing in two ways: it is a human characteristic that in many cases can be observed, and it professes to explain

25. See Sigmund Freud, *Totem und Tabu: Einige Übereinstimmungen im Seelenleben der Wilden und der Neurotiker* (Leipzig: H. Heller, 1913). Girard often quotes from this work. He uses a similar concept of cultural taboos and of the ritualized murder of an original victim, though he believes it originated under different circumstances.

26. The fact that a third party serves as proxy sacrificial victim—chosen for that very purpose—avoids blood-guilt and the consequent seeking of vengeance by clan or tribe members. Without an outside party to act as the victim, the cycle of vengeance is inevitable since the built-up aggression must then find a release in one of the original parties involved.

27. For his most comprehensive explanation of the theory, see René Girard, *Violence and the Sacred* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1979).

the origin not only of sacrifice, but of god and religion as a whole. Though the first few conclusions of the theory are sound in describing an essential aspect of human nature, the use of those conclusions as premises for what comes next requires too much of a leap.²⁸ By simplifying complex rituals and the many different cultural understandings of sacrificial practice, Girard arrives at reductive conclusions that leave no room for the multifaceted nature of the very event he is trying to describe.

Most important, Girard's theory of sacrifice necessarily labels it as an act of aggression. The release of aggressive impulses through the slaughtering of the victim is central to his understanding of the ritual.²⁹

John Dunnill's categorical distinction between violence and aggression is useful here, as it speaks directly to Girardian notions of sacrifice. A violent act is one that involves the use of physical force with the intent of harming, damaging, or destroying a victim. Aggression, as I am defining it, is the hateful, vengeful, or otherwise antagonistic emotion tied to an act of violence. A violent act can be carried out for purposes other than those classified under aggression. Dunnill gives an illustrative example of just such an event: cooking is an act that involves violence—the destruction of life, either vegetable or animal—but without necessarily a sense of aggression.³⁰ Specifically talking about the emotions that do generally accompany ritual sacrifice, he explains how “there is, in the conduct of sacrifices culminating in a whole offering or a joyful feast, no hint of the aggression which Girard asserts as operative in all sacrifice.”³¹

28. Where is the evidence for the apotheosis of the victim actually having occurred in historical times? What about the multiplicity of observable sacrifices that never lead to this event? Girard avoids this, and many other questions, by making claims that are “unobservable,” i.e. speculative. On his search for a universal theory of origin—reminiscent of older, outdated attempts—his methodology proves to be as faulty as that which sought to prove totemism: taking only the desired pieces from a wide variety of cultures and religions, before combining them in ways that fit theories already laid out as the “logical” result of mimetic desire.

See also the chapter titled “The Victimized Body: A Dialogue with René Girard” in John Dunnill, *Sacrifice and the Body: Biblical Anthropology and Christian Self-Understanding* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2013), 148.

29. “The rites of sacrifice serve to polarize the community's *aggressive impulses* and redirect them toward victims that may be actual or figurative, animate or inanimate, but that are always incapable of propagating further vengeance.” Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, 18; emphasis added.

30. Dunnill, *Sacrifice and the Body*, 154.

31. Dunnill, *Sacrifice and the Body*, 153. A similar point is taken up by Walter Burkert in his influential publication of 1983. This scholar of Greek mythology has explored the practice of sacrifice as found in various societies (while still basing the majority of his observations on Greek practice), and has concluded that the treatment of the victims did not always include aggression. While agreeing with Girard on the unavoidable tendencies

Girardian theories of sacrifice place heavy emphasis on human aggression because they are based on the idea of a “primitive” mindset—one that requires an outlet for such aggression. They set this in direct contrast with what they see as the superior Christian tradition and its ability to overcome the need for the shedding of blood. Mesopotamian mythology has previously been used as a case study for aggressive violence³²—of which there is certainly plenty—but the opposite possibility has yet to be explored. In fact, the primary reason that so many have interpreted We-ila’s sacrifice as an act of aggression and punishment has nothing to do with the text of *Atraḥasis*, but rather with the *Enûma Eliš*. By the time this latter text was composed, some important differences had been incorporated into the creation-of-mankind motif. In the *Enûma Eliš* we do find clear reference to the sense of guilt and punishment imposed on the sacrificial victim, in this case Qingu. Unlike We-ila in *Atraḥasis*, who leads a justified rebellion for what Ea (Sumerian form of Enki) sees as a righteous cause,³³ Qingu in the *Enûma Eliš* is Tiamat’s appointed general for a massive war of vengeance that can only be stopped by Marduk’s might. Likewise, in *Atraḥasis* there is no actual bloodshed to punish anyone for, whereas in the *Enûma Eliš* there is plenty.³⁴ And so the gods in the *Enûma Eliš* agree that “it was Qingu who made war, suborned Tiamat and drew up for battle” (lines 29–30). The result? “They bound and held him before Ea, they imposed the punishment on him and shed his blood” (lines 31–32).

Simply because much of the *Enûma Eliš* was influenced by *Atraḥasis* does not mean that they share in common all the motives, methods, and outcomes

of human aggression, he sees games of competition and contest—not sacrifice—as their outlet. For Burkert, sacrifice is only the natural result of a species that after thousands of years of hunting moved in the direction of becoming a herding society. He has most notably expounded on this theory in his book *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth* (Berkeley: University of California, 1983).

32. Walter Wink has used the *Enûma Eliš* as a way to illustrate his “myth of redemptive violence”—the idea of a perpetually repeating theme in classic stories that has forever served as a way of justifying acts of sociopolitical violence and domination. See Walter Wink, *The Powers That Be* (New York: Doubleday, 1998).

33. The term “rebellion” here may be misleading, as it tends to imply bloodshed. Though the Igigi do in fact call for battle as part of their uprising (lines 61–62), immediately when their case is presented before the Anunnaki, Ea proposes that their petition is justified and devises a way to free them of their undeserved, heavy labors (lines 177–91).

34. Pierre François suggests that the shedding of Qingu’s blood was a way of cleansing the heavenly sphere of the war guilt created by these events. Through the use of his blood for the creation of mankind, the sin and guilt was transferred to mortals where it remains: “The *Enuma Elish* does not ascribe man’s lapsarian nature to an act committed *in illo tempore* by our remotest ancestors. It suggests that the Fall was, so to speak, built into human nature in the wake of the cosmogonic events related in the myth.” Pierre François, *Inlets of the Soul: Contemporary Fiction in English and the Myth of the Fall* (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1999), 24.

of the divine sacrifice described. The myth of *Atrahasis*—as evidenced by the later texts that were based upon it—shaped much of the Mesopotamian worldview for centuries before the *Enûma Eliš* was composed. The sense of punishment that many choose to focus on—along with its implication of aggressive violence—only appears in the *Enûma Eliš* and its derivatives, but it is often anachronistically carried over into interpretations of *Atrahasis*.

Yet even when studied on its own terms, a superficial reading of *Atrahasis* has led some to assume various aggressive reasons for the slaying of We-ila: either as punishment, as an act of revenge, or as a scapegoat for the crimes of the gods. Note that all of these conclusions stem from the fact that We-ila is the leader of the Igigi rebellion. While this is true, there are other convincing explanations for the selection of We-ila as victim—ones that suggest the sacrifice lacks any sense of punishment, vengeance, or indignation.

Particular details in the implementation of the ritual bath that follows We-ila's execution suggest that the sacrifice was not a punishment for his role in the rebellion. A ritual washing at this point in the narrative is certainly indicative of a sense of impurity, but impurity from what? If the Igigi rebellion truly was a sinful action—unapproved and condemnable—it could be the cause of the impurity. Other possibilities include impurity brought on by the act of killing itself or by association with a corpse and its blood. It could also be interpreted as related to creation—whether the gods are rendered impure by creating impure creatures, or they are simply in need of cleansing before being able to create mankind.

To complicate matters, the text leaves unclear the timing of the bath in relation to the slaying of We-ila. Enki instructs for the institution of the bath, then the killing, and then the immersion. However, when the execution of the plan is actually reported, the passage leaves out the immersion entirely.³⁵ The parties participating in the bath become the most important factor here. It appears that all the gods need to be cleansed, even though only Nintu/Mami perform the mixing and molding of man. This indicates that the ritual cleansing was associated with the act of killing rather than of creation. It also shows that—since it includes more than just the junior gods—it is not a matter of being unclean through their rebellion. As Moran explains, “the pollution must be the defilement resulting from the common association with, and responsibility for, death.”³⁶ This then allows for the rebellion to be considered a righteous

35. Enki first commands the institution of the bath in line 207, the slaughtering in the next line, and the cleansing by immersion in line 209. The bath is established in line 222, and that is the last mention of it.

36. Moran, “Creation of Man,” 51.

cause—as explained earlier—and thereby supports the notion that We-ila’s execution was not a form of punishment.

Why then was We-ila chosen as the sacrificial victim? As proposed by Abusch, We-ila is chosen because of the trait that allowed him to lead a rebellion in the first place: his intelligence (*tēmu*). He explains that, “in the context of *Atraḫasīs*, the use of *tēmu* is the act of deliberation about the slave condition of the worker gods in an irrigation economy, the formulation of a plan of rebellion, and its execution.”³⁷

This intelligence makes We-ila the perfect candidate to provide the blood from which mankind is to obtain his intelligence and creativity. Early Mesopotamian men would have more likely seen this heavenly ancestor as a capable leader—a creative thinker—rather than an executed criminal. And as mentioned earlier, the manner in which We-ila is informed of his selection to be the sacrificial victim is evidence of his honor. That the sacrifice passage is silent in reference to punishment, forceful action, or complaint from We-ila further illustrates the point.

Conclusion

The fact that the killing of We-ila was likely understood by the text’s Mesopotamian audience as a sacrifice devoid of aggression shows that *Atraḫasīs* does not fit into Girardian notions of sacrifice. By trying to fit complex varieties of the ritual into a single, universal mold, Girard’s theory falls into a procrustean trap. It becomes too simplistic and ultimately unable to provide a satisfactory explanation when the “aggressive impulses” that he sees as inevitable no longer necessarily find an outlet in sacrifice. Though the sacrifice motif in other Mesopotamian myths does often carry the sense of aggressive violence, *Atraḫasīs* serves to show that caution should be practiced in attempting to apply Girard’s explanation to all ritual sacrifice.

37. Abusch, “Ghost and God,” 378. For more on the wordplay in *Atraḫasīs* with the Akkadian terms for “intelligence” and “blood,” see note 23 above.

CUNEIFORM OBJECTS AT THE MUSEUM OF PEOPLES AND CULTURES

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Introduction

The Museum of Peoples and Cultures (MPC) on Brigham Young University campus houses several cuneiform objects. These collections are an important asset to the museum. The museum has a large collection of items from the American Southwest and from Central America, but the collection of Middle Eastern items is relatively small in comparison. These cuneiform items can tell us a little about the culture that wrote them and provide an opportunity for students and scholars to engage with an ancient primary text. The cuneiform objects did not enter the museum at the same time; therefore, they are not limited to one specific collection. There are six collections containing items with cuneiform script that will be addressed in the context of this paper.¹

Cuneiform Background and History

Cuneiform is a type of script originating in Mesopotamia from the mid-fourth century B.C.E. Originally it was probably used to express the Sumerian language, but it was also used to express other ancient Near Eastern languages.² It is one of the earliest writing systems, and is based on pictures that represent sounds. The script is created by a configuration of wedge-shaped (Latin *cuneus*) impressions on clay. Because clay was used for the records, rather than perishable materials, Mesopotamia is one of the best-documented

1. Research for this report was conducted by searching the accession and donor files and compiling the relevant information. The objects were then examined and the report was put together. The author is grateful to Paul Stavast, the director of the Museum of Peoples and Cultures for providing information about and access to the collections as well as assisting in the research for this study.

2. Christopher Woods, *Visible Language: Inventions of Writing in the Ancient Middle East and Beyond*, (Chicago: Oriental Museum Publications, 2010), 29.

civilizations.³ The earliest writings were used to track goods in shipments as they needed to keep track of what was being shipped as well as what was being received. Thousands of these tablets exist in museums and private collections all over the world. It is a great benefit to students that ancient documents from the Middle East have ended up in a university museum in Utah and are accessible to them for study.

The cuneiform objects held by the MPC originate from the Ur III period, the Old Babylonian Period, the Neo-Babylonian Period, and probably the Early Dynastic Period (see fig. 1). The Ur III period is famous for the thousands of administrative documents that were illicitly excavated between 1880 and 1920 in three of the cities of Sumer: Tello (Girsu), Tell Jokha (Umma), and Drehem (Puzriš-Dagan), resulting in far and wide distribution of these texts. The third dynasty of Ur (2112–2004 B.C.E.⁴) was founded by Ur-Nammu after the ruler of Uruk (Utu-hegal) conquered the Gutians. Ur-Nammu established control of most of Sumer and Akkad. His son, Šulgi, who adopted the title Naram-Sin, extended the borders of his empire during his forty-eight year reign. Ur III is marked by a great increase in bureaucratic exercise.⁵

The Old Babylonian Period (c. 2000–1600 B.C.E.⁶) follows the fall of Ur, Sumer, and Akkad and its division into several smaller states with Babylon emerging as the strongest state in the Akkad region.⁷ This is the period that Hammurapi belongs to. His rule marked a turning point in the political situation of his day, making Babylon the capital of the south.⁸ The period is largely defined by linguistic terminology describing the development of the Akkadian language in the south at this time.⁹

The Neo-Babylonian Period began c. 900 B.C.E. and lasted until the Persian invasion by Cyrus the Great in 539 B.C.E. For the first several centuries of the period, Babylon was under Assyrian rule until it was liberated by Nabopolassar (626–605 B.C.E.), who founded the Neo-Babylonian Empire. From 605 to 539 B.C.E. Babylon was in control of an empire that was similar in size to the Assyrian Empire before it.¹⁰ There is a large number of texts from

3. Woods, *Visible Language*, 29.

4. Amelie Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East: c. 3000-330 BC*, Routledge History of the Ancient World (New York: Routledge, 1995), 1:56.

5. J. N. Postgate, *Early Mesopotamia: Society and Economy at the Dawn of History* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 42.

6. Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East*, 1:74.

7. Postgate, *Early Mesopotamia: Society and Economy*, 46.

8. Postgate, *Early Mesopotamia: Society and Economy*, 49.

9. Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East*, 1:74.

10. Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East*, 2:573.

this period specifically dating from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562 B.C.E.) until the reign of Darius I (522–486 B.C.E.).¹¹

The Early Dynastic Period is divided into three subdivisions based on archaeological sequence and cover the period from 2900–2500 B.C.E.¹² The period is best understood by looking at two later documents, as earlier sources are not available. These documents are the Temple Hymns and the Sumerian King List; however, neither source provides detailed accounts of events in this period. J. N. Postgate said of this period, “Both excavation and surface survey substantiate the picture of a fairly uniform class of major population centres distributed widely across the southern plain, with strong local identities expressed in their allegiance to a city god and their pride in the temple.”¹³

Museum of Peoples and Cultures Background

While the official beginning of the Museum of Archaeology at BYU occurred in the fall of 1961, the university began collecting and displaying artifacts long before. Beginning in the late 1800s, natural history specimens were being brought into the university and the addition of archaeological and ethnographic materials was encouraged.¹⁴ Following an expedition in the early 1900s to Mexico and South America, many plants, animals, and artifacts were added to the collections.¹⁵ Unfortunately, this was followed by several decades of neglect where many of the specimens were lost or destroyed.¹⁶ In the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s, there was renewed interest in archaeology and anthropology at the university, leading to the creation of the archaeology department in 1947 that intended to develop a museum.¹⁷ The major foci of the faculty at the time in this department were the American Southwest and Mesoamerica due to the proximity of Southwest sites to the university and sponsored excavations to Mesoamerica.¹⁸ The 1950s saw exhibitable artifacts come to the university with documentation, the first since the 1800s as well as the first documented donation from outside university faculty in 1955.¹⁹ In 1958 the department created several displays showcased in the Eyring

11. Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East*, 2:603.

12. Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East*, 1:27.

13. Postgate, *Early Mesopotamia: Society and economy*, 26.

14. Rebekah Monahan and Paul Stavast, “Artifact Collecting at Brigham Young University 1875-1968,” *Utah Archaeology* 24, no. 1 (2011): 52.

15. Monahan and Stavast, “Artifact Collecting,” 57.

16. Monahan and Stavast, “Artifact Collecting,” 58.

17. Monahan and Stavast, “Artifact Collecting,” 59.

18. Monahan and Stavast, “Artifact Collecting,” 60.

19. Monahan and Stavast, “Artifact Collecting,” 63.

Science Center mostly focusing on Mesoamerican specimens.²⁰ When the museum opened in 1961 in the Maeser Building, displays centered mostly on New World archaeology, although there were a few displays containing items from the Southwest and one small display of Egyptian artifacts.²¹ Shortly after this, in 1965, it was announced that the public could donate to the museum, provided that the item came with as much information about it as possible. The following year, 1966, the museum's name was changed to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography.²² By the 1970s the collections had outgrown the Maeser Building. While advocating for a new building and waiting for that to happen, the museum was relocated to Allen Hall.²³ The museum opened in 1982 in Allen Hall, and the name was changed to the present title, the Museum of Peoples and Cultures.²⁴ The museum improved on meeting national standards during the 1980s and early 1990s and hired their first specifically trained museum specialist during this time.²⁵ The museum has since turned itself into an "independent, significant educational facility" that allows students to get practical experience working with museums under the direction of professional staff.²⁶

Museum of Peoples and Cultures Cuneiform Collections

As previously mentioned, there are six collections containing cuneiform objects. The first of these collections is 1971.038,²⁷ containing approximately twelve items from University Reproductions. (The reason for the uncertain approximation will be discussed later.) The second collection is 1973.040, which containing three cuneiform cones and eleven tablets donated by Sidney Sperry (A BYU faculty member). The next collection is 1977.065, consisting of two pieces of a cuneiform brick from an unknown donor. Another cuneiform item comes from 1973.026, donated by A. John Clarke. Three tablets come from 2001.028, donated by Jay Krenusz. The last of the cuneiform pieces comes

20. Monahan and Stavast, "Artifact Collecting," 64.

21. Monahan and Stavast, "Artifact Collecting," 66.

22. Monahan and Stavast, "Artifact Collecting," 67.

23. Carlee Reed and Paul R. Stavast, "Institutional Development at the Museum of Peoples and Cultures, BYU," *Utah Archaeology* 24, no. 1 (2011):77.

24. Reed and Stavast, "Institutional Development," 78.

25. Reed and Stavast, "Institutional Development," 79.

26. Reed and Staast "Institutional Development," 81.

27. In assigning numbers to collections the MPC uses the following pattern: the first number is the year the collection was accessioned (brought into the museum), the second number corresponds to the number of the collection for that year, and the third number corresponds to the number of items in the collection. For example 1977.065.1 means that this collection was accessioned in 1977, it is the 65th collection from that year, and this is the first object in the collection.

from collection 2010.005, donated by Mark A. Wolfert on behalf of the deceased Jay Kenusz.

1971.038 (fig.4)

This collection is a series of reproductions and replicas of cuneiform tablets. While valuable for comparison and general knowledge, they are not original pieces. They came from reproductions within The university museum. No additional information is known about the purchase since the file is empty. These tablets were presumably bought by the museum for teaching purposes.

1. 1971.038.1 is a tablet replica from the Temple Library of Nippur. The tablet is of Sumerian origin and is a copy of the Lipit-Ishtan Law Code dating to 1870 BCE.
2. 1971.038.2 is a tablet fragment from Nippur, Iraq, c. 2000 B.C.E.
3. 1971.038.3 is a tablet from Babylon c. 2000 B.C.E.
4. 1971.038.4 is a tablet from Nippur, Iraq, featuring a multiplication table of multiples of 9 from 9x1 to 9x30. The tablet dates to c. 1500–1000 B.C.E.
5. 1971.038.5 is a tablet from Nippur, Iraq, dating to c. 1800 B.C.E.
6. 1971.038.6 is a tablet from Nippur, Iraq.
7. 1971.038.7 is a tablet from Kanesh, Turkey, dating to c. 1800 B.C.E.
8. 1971.038.8 is a tablet from Iraq of Babylonian origin. It is a letter and an envelope dating to 1680 B.C.E.
9. 1971.038.9 is from Iraq. It is a seal and an impression of the seal dating to c. 1700 B.C.E.
10. 1971.038.10a and 1971.038.10b are a cylinder seal and impression from Iraq c. 2600 B.C.E. and show a hero (Gilgamesh?) fighting a lion.
11. 1971.038.11 does not have information about its origin in the museum files.

12. 1971.038.12 does not have information about its origin in the museum files.

1973.040 (fig. 5)

This collection was donated by Sidney Sperry of the BYU Religion Department on May 21, 1973. The donation was received by Terry Walker. As previously stated, the collection consists of fourteen objects—eleven tablets and three cones. The majority of this collection was loaned to the University of Utah for study by David I. Owen (Cornell University) in 1996.

1. 1973.040.1 is a record of deliveries of jugs of ordinary (quality) beer to four different fields in the late of the 21st century B.C.E. From the city of Umma. Not dated, only by month.
2. 1973.040.2 is a Neo-Babylonian clay tablet.
3. 1973.040.3 is an Old Babylonian receipt for delivery of grain.
4. 1973.040.4 is a Neo-Babylonian account.
5. 1973.040.5 is a Neo-Babylonian account.
6. 1973.040.6 is not included in the study by the University of Utah, and there is no information in the files indicating what it is. This tablet is currently missing.
7. 1973.040.7 is a Neo-Babylonian account.
8. 1973.040.8.1 is a Neo-Babylonian account.
9. 1973.040.8.0 is a Neo-Babylonian receipt of barley.
10. 1973.040.9 is a Neo-Babylonian account.
11. 1973.040.10 is a messenger tablet from Ur III (c. 2020 B.C.E..).
12. 1973.040.11 is a clay cone that was transliterated by Dr. David I. Owen on 12.07.1996.

nam-mah-ni
 énsi
 Lagas^{ki}

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13. 1973.040.13 is a clay cone commemorating the construction of a temple that was transliterated by Dr. David L. Owen on 12.07.1996.

^dnin-gír
 ur-sag-kala-ga
^den-líl-lá-ra
 gù-dé-a
 énsi
 Lagas^{ki}-ke4
 ní-g-ul-li mu-na/dím
 é-ninnu-^dim-dugud/^{musen}-babbar-ra-ni
 mu-na-dù
 ki-bi mu-na-gi4

14. 1973.040.12 is not in the report from the University of Utah.

1977.065 (fig. 6)

This collection consists of two items 1977.065.1 and 1977.065.2. There appears to have been some confusion in the original accession of this piece. Two fragments were both given the same accession number. This was pointed out when it was loaned to the University of Utah, and the accession numbers were changed. 1977.065.1 (b) was reaccessioned to 1977.065.2 on January 29, 1997. The collection is from a field collection of a private donor and comes from the Red Ziggurat in Iraq. The objects were received by Rich Talbot (a lab aide) and were donated on November 4, 1976.

1. 1977.065.1 is a stamped part of mud brick.
2. 1977.065.2 is a stamped part of mud brick.

1973.026 (fig. 5)

This item was donated by A. John Clarke on May 3, 1973, and was received by Don E. Miller (aide). It is a cuneiform inscribed brick from southern Iran. This object was also loaned to the University of Utah.

1. 1973.026.1 is an inscribed brick (6 lines, nicely written) probably from the first millennium B.C.E.

2001.028 (fig. 7)

Perhaps the best documented collection that includes cuneiform tablets is 2001.028. It was donated by Jay Krenusz on September 29, 2001. There are three cuneiform tablets in this collection.

1. 2001.028.2 is from the Ur III period and dates to the first regnal year of King Shu-Sin (2037–2036 B.C.E.) and is a record of grain distributions for wages and grain-fed sheep.
2. 2001.028.3 is a receipt for wood from the Ur III period from the second month, ninth year of the reign of King Amar-Sin (2038 B.C.E.) coming from Umma. The tablet was sealed by “Lukalla.”
3. 2001.028.4 is a receipt for reeds from the Ur III period (2031 B.C.E.) found in Umma. The tablet was sealed by “Akalla.”

2010.005 (fig.8)

This collection contains two objects (2010.005.10 and 2010.005.11) that are cuneiform items. The objects were donated by Mark A. Wolfert who was the executor of estate for Jay Krenusz. The collection was donated on December 22, 2009, and accessioned on December 8, 2010.

1. 2010.005.10 is a cuneiform cone. It dates to 2440 B.C.E. and was found at Lagash, Babylon. Cones like these were inserted into the walls of temples to record their building, like a modern foundation stone. This particular cone celebrates a treaty between two kings and is an example of old Sumerian from the early dynastic period. Transliteration of the text is found in the files associated with this object. An English translation from the files is as follows:

For Ianna and Lugalemush, Enmetena, the ruler of Lagash, the Emush the temple beloved of the people he built and ordered these clay nails for it. Enmetena, the man who did build the Emush, his personal god is Shulutul. At that time, Entemena ruler of the city of Lagash, and Lugalkignedudu, the ruler of the city of Uruk, between themselves a brotherhood made.

2. 2010.005.11 is a tablet dating to 2044 B.C.E.; it records the distribution of thirteen animals to various people and was found

at Drehem, Iraq. Transliteration of the text is found in the files associated with this object, an English translation from the files is as follows:

2 barley-fatted sheep (male)
 2 barely-fatted sheep (female)
 1 barley-fatted adult goat
 for the first time;
 1 barley-fatted sheep (male)
 1 barley-fatted adult goat
 for the second time;
 on behalf of Naplanum the Amorite
 for the kitchen
 1 barley-fatted sheep (male) Su-A-Gi-Na
 1 barley-fatted ox
 1 barley fatted sheep
 [*reverse*]
 (for) Naplanum the Amorite
 1 barley-fatted adult goat
 (for) Marhuni, the “man” of Zidanum
 1 barley-fatted adult goat
 (for) Rashi, the “man” of Zidanum
 Via Lugal-Kagina, the messenger
 Irmu being the commissioner
 the tenth day had passed (from the month)
 it was disbursed by Lu-Dingirra
 the month of eating the Sesj.Da (2nd month at Drehem)
 the year the (divine) throne of Enlin was fashioned (3rd
 year of Arar-Suen, ca. 2044 B.C.E.)
 [*left edge*]
 (total): 13

Issues with Documentation and Management of the Collections:

The cuneiform collections at the MPC have many problems in regards to documentation and management. Not all collections are subject to these issues. The more recently donated collections are in much better shape. This is due in part to the MPC keeping up with modern museum standards.

1971.038

From this collection only two objects have been photographed (11.1 and 11.2), neither of which was found in the museum with the other pieces of the collection. 11.2 is a cylinder seal and 11.1 is the impression of the seal. According to the records, these are actually numbered 1971.038.10a and 1971.038.10b. If the numbers have been reassigned, there is no indication of this in the files. Because of changing museum standards, many of the forms are outdated and use abbreviations that are not easily understood. Another issue with documentation is that the files don't exactly represent the collection. For example, 1971.038.9.1 and 1971.038.10.1 are cylinder seals according to the documents associated with them; a physical examination of the items reveals that they are in fact tablets, not seals. In addition to that, there is no accession form for 1971.038.11.2. However, there is a photograph of said object. Yet another problem with documentation is that the old paperwork is frequently not dated, so the location listed may not be current, but there is no way of knowing when that information was current. Another problem is that 1971.038.1 was unable to be located. According to the database, it has been moved to the unrestricted collection, but was not found among the unrestricted items.²⁸ In this collection there are three items that could not be located.²⁹ It is recommended that the items be searched after, and if they cannot be found, then they should be added to the list of missing objects. The unrestricted collections of the museum are a current project, and it is hoped that while working on that project some of the missing or misplaced objects may be found.

1973.040

The collection donated by Sidney Sperry suffers the same problem with documentation. Records are not dated, not all objects are photographed, and there are about sixty negatives and photographs from 1972 that accompany the accession files that do not immediately or correctly identify which object is in the photograph. There are also some maps that show how the tablets should be oriented that are difficult to read. A more pressing issue is that 1973.040.6 is missing from the rest of the collection. There is a note on one of the boxes that houses this collection that says, "73.040.006 is not found in box as of 1/27/97." According to the museum database, one tablet from this collection remains unaccounted for. Another issue with the collection is that the items are stored in boxes that are far too big for the objects, or they are stored in a somewhat

28. The unrestricted collection contains objects that can be used for teaching and are more readily accessible than other collections.

29. A current location for all objects in these collections can be found in figure 3.

haphazard manner. The Sperry collection needs updated photos of all of the objects and documents to go with them. Two of the objects in the collection have not been photographed. One of these objects may be missing; the other is with the rest of the collection and should be photographed. Two objects have similar accession numbers, and it's not clear why. They are not parts of the same tablet but are two separate objects. Further research is needed to confirm, but if conclusive in the affirmative, then either 1973.040.8.0 or 1973.040.8.1 would need a different accession number. The accession files associated with the Sperry collection include about sixty photographs and negatives from 1972. The photographs and negatives should probably be housed in a separate location from the files that can be better environmentally controlled. Along with that, photographs of the tablets are numbered 1-13, and photographs of the cones are labeled A-F. There is no indication of which photograph goes with which object currently, and there is no record that indicates which number was associated with which object prior to accession. Included with this report is a table that indicates which negatives correspond to which objects (fig. 2).

1977.065

This collection needs new photographs and updated documents. While the objects themselves hasn't changed physically, the photographs still have the old accession numbers, hence the necessity for new photographs. Included in the updated documentation should be a current location.

1973.026

This collection similar issues to the others. There is only one poor photograph of the object in the accession files. The files also indicate that the object is on exhibit, which is not true. In fact, the database claims that this item is missing. It is currently located in room 374 of the Allen Hall (MPC) at Brigham Young University. There appears to be a problem with connecting information between the records, the database, and real life. Another small issue is that the mount in which it is housed is not labeled with the accession number. While redundant, the accession number should be written on everything in connection with the object.

2001.028

This collection has a few small problems. One of these problems is that there are photographs of items in the accession files that don't belong to that collection. In the files there are photographs of A-2, A-3, and A-4, which are all part of this collection. A-5 and A-7 are also cuneiform objects, but they weren't

donated until 2010. There should be a note in the file about this, otherwise it is confusing and appears as though all five of the cuneiform objects are in the same collection. The other problem is that the box where the tablets are stored needs to have the accession number written on it.

2010.005

This collection is an example of how the others should be. There are good photographs and excellent documentation.

Conclusion

The collections of cuneiform tablets continue to be a valuable asset to the Museum of Peoples and Cultures and to Brigham Young University. While there is much work to be done with them, for example adding them to the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (CDLI), some important studies have already taken place. Dr. Edward Stratford has used portable x-ray fluorescence spectrometry (pXRF) on the tablets to support a larger project on intermediate sourcing of tablets from the Old Assyrian trade which falls in time between Ur III and the Old Babylonian periods. Each piece of the puzzle for understanding the Ur III period and other periods is a welcome addition to the historical record. As these items are precisely documented, these tablets, cones, and other items will continue to benefit students and scholars.

Appendix: Figures

Figure 1. Dates for the Objects

Object	Year/Time Period
1973.040.1	Ur III (21st century B.C.E.)
1973.040.2	Neo-Babylonian
1973.040.3	Old Babylonian
1973.040.4	Neo-Babylonian
1973.040.5	Neo-Babylonian
1973.040.6	Unkown
1973.040.7	Neo-Babylonian
1973.040.8.1	Neo-Babylonian
1973.040.8.0	Neo-Babylonian
1973.040.9	Neo-Babylonian
1973.040.10	Ur III (2020 B.C.E.)
1973.040.11	Early Dynastic (?)
1973.040.12	Unknown
1973.040.13	Early Dynastic (?)
1977.065.1	Unknown
1977.065.2	Unknown
1973.026.1	First millennium B.C.E.
2001.028.2	Ur III
2001.028.3	Ur III (2038 B.C.E.)
2001.028.4	Ur III (2031 B.C.E.)
2010.005.10	2440 B.C.E.
2010.005.11	2044 B.C.E.

Figure 2. The Sperry Photographs

Sperry's Label	Photograph/Negative #	Accession Number
#1	11403-11404	.005
#2	11406, 11409, 11412	Not in collection
#3	11405, 11410, 11414	Not in collection
#4	11407, 11411, 11413	.008.01
#5	11408, 11415, 11416	.009.001
#6	11417-11418	.008.000
#7	11419-11424	.010.001
#8	11425-11429	Not in collection
#9	11430-11432	.003
#10	11433, 11436, 11437	.004
#11	11434-11435, 11438-11439	.002
#12	11440-11443, *11441	.001
#13	11444-11447, *11446	.007
Cylinder Seal with a man	11448	12.1
Cylinder Seal A	11449-11450	11.1
Cylinder Seal B	11451-11453	13.1
Cylinder Seal C	11454-11455	12.1
Cylinder Seal D	11456-11458	12.1
Cylinder Seal E	11459-11460	12.1
Cylinder Seal F	11461-11462	13.1

*11441 is labeled Reverse #12. It is identical to 11446 Obverse #13 — both are a picture of 1973.040.00007.001

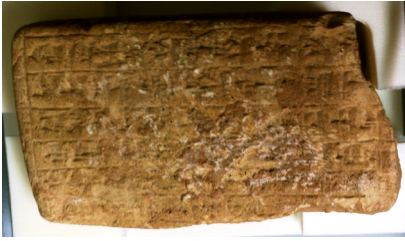
Figure 3. Current Location of Cuneiform Objects

Collection #	Location
1971.038	Most of the collection (three pieces not included, discussed above) is in a box near the door of the lab.
1973.040	In the same box as 1971.038 (one tablet missing/misplaced)
1977.065	Room 374 Allen Hall
1973.026	Room 374 Allen Hall
2001.028	Room 374 Allen Hall
2010.005	Room 374 Allen Hall

Figure 4. Various objects from collection 1971.038 (Reproductions).



Figure 5. Collection 1973.026 (a) and 1973.040 (b-n)



a) 1977.026



b) 1977.040.1



c) 1977.040.2



d) 1977.040.3



e) 1977.040.4



f) 1977.040.5



g) 1977.040.7



h) 1977.040.8.0

Figure 5 (continued). Collection 1973.040



i) 1977.040.8.1



j) 1977.040.9



k) 1977.040.10



l) 1977.040.11



m) 1977.040.12



n) 1977.040.13

Figure 6. Collection 1977.065



a) 1977.065.1



b) 1977.065.2

Figure 7. Collection 2001.028



a) 2001.028.2



b) 2001.028.3



c) 2001.028.4

Figure 8. Collection 2010.005



a) 2010.005.10



b) 2010.005.11

BOOK REVIEWS

Walton, John H. *The Lost World of Genesis One: Ancient Cosmology and the Origins Debate*. Downers Grove, Ill: InterVarsity Press, 2009. 189pp + Index. ISBN: 978-0830837045; *Genesis 1 As Ancient Cosmology*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2011. 199pp + Bibliography and Index. ISBN: 978-1575062167.

The topic of biblical cosmology is of interest to modern readers of the Bible—not merely as an intellectual or academic pursuit, but also out of the devotional and religious (even sometimes political) sentiment of modern believers in the biblical text. Given that the Bible is actively read, interpreted, and revered as the word of God by Jews and Christians around the globe, it is no surprise that the debate around biblical cosmology (particularly in light of Charles Darwin’s theory of the development of life by natural selection) has generated considerable academic and polemical literature. Clashes between groups of fundamentalist evangelical Christians and evolutionary biologists in the United States over the topic have even taken to the Supreme Court the issue of the propriety of teaching “biblical” creationism versus evolutionary theory in public schools (most recently in 2005 with *Kitzmiller et al. v. Dover*).¹

Thankfully, in the midst of the heated polemics have emerged more reasonable and sensible authors such as John H. Walton, an evangelical biblical scholar and professor of Old Testament at Wheaton College. Walton’s two major monographs on the discussion of biblical cosmology (*The Lost World of Genesis One: Ancient Cosmology and the Origins Debate* and *Genesis 1 As*

1. Molleen Matsumura and Louise Mead, “Ten Major Court Cases about Evolution and Creationism,” online at <http://ncse.com/taking-action/ten-major-court-cases-evolution-creationism> (accessed October 5, 2014).

Ancient Cosmology)² are welcomed additions to the discussions of the relationship between biblical cosmology and modern evolutionary theory and the nature of biblical cosmology in its ancient Near Eastern *Sitz im Leben*.

For the purposes of this brief review I will forgo an examination or critique of Walton's views on teaching biblical cosmology in public schools, other than to note that he is against teaching Genesis in science classrooms (LWG 151–160). The reason he gives is that the cosmology of Genesis 1 is non-scientific, and concerned with affirming a metaphysical “teleology with no possible neutrality.” As such, teaching biblical cosmology would not be appropriate for an ideal scientific classroom, which would remain free of promoting any ontological teleology (LWG 158). Those wishing for a fuller review of Walton's arguments along these lines would do well to look elsewhere.³ Rather, I will focus briefly on Walton's analysis of Genesis 1 as ancient cosmology. Instead of reflecting modern scientific cosmology, Walton argues that the cosmology of Genesis 1 is fundamentally a “cosmic temple inauguration,” by which he means that the cosmos, in the biblical view, “is being given its functions as God's temple, where he has taken up his residence and from where he runs the cosmos” (LWG 161).

While Walton develops this exegesis succinctly in *The Lost World of Genesis One* for a non-scholarly audience, it is in *Genesis 1 As Ancient Cosmology* where Walton convincingly demonstrates the concordance between biblical cosmology and the cosmologies of ancient Israel's neighbors in Egypt and Mesopotamia, through a skillful execution of critical exegetical and historical tools. Drawing on what he calls the “ancient cosmological cognitive environment” of the ancient Near East (GAC 23–121), Walton proceeds to demonstrate that Genesis 1 shares multiple affinities in both the specifics of its lexical terminology (GAC 122–92) and the content of its overall cosmological narrative with other ancient cosmologies of Egypt and Mesopotamia (GAC

2. Throughout this review I will abbreviate *The Lost World of Genesis One* as LWG and *Genesis 1 As Ancient Cosmology* as GAC.

3. See for example James F. McGrath, “Review: The Lost World of Genesis One,” *Reports of the National Center for Science Education* 30, no. 1–2 (2010): 52–53; Sean M. Corday, “Review: The Lost World of Genesis One,” *Perspectives on Science and Christian Faith* 62, no. 3 (September 2010): 227–28; Ken Mickelson, “Review: The Lost World of Genesis One,” *Stimulus: The New Zealand Journal of Christian Thought & Practice* 18, no. 3 (August 2010): 47–48; Wayne Northey, “Review of John H. Walton's ‘The Lost World of Genesis One,’” *Clarion: Journal of Spirituality and Justice*, online at <http://www.clarion-journal.com/files/book-review-of-the-lost-world.pdf> (accessed October 5, 2014); Andrew Steinmann, “Lost World of Genesis One: John H. Walton, American Evangelicals and Creation,” *Lutheran Educational Journal*, online at <http://lej.cuchicago.edu/book-reviews/lost-world-of-genesis-one-john-h-walton-american-evangelicals-and-creation/> (accessed October 5, 2014).

193–99). Accordingly, Walton concludes that “the Genesis account pertains to functional origins rather than material origins [of the cosmos] and that the temple ideology underlies the Genesis cosmology” (GAC 198–99). In essence, Walton argues that Genesis 1 is a temple text that is concerned with depicting the enthronement and empowerment of God in his cosmic temple. Although this view has similarities with Egyptian and especially Mesopotamian cosmologies, “if we may borrow a clichéd metaphor,” Walton concludes, “the wheel was not reinvented in Genesis, but it was put on a different axel (temple dedication?), on a different vehicle (monotheism)” (GAC 198).

The methodology Walton employs to arrive at this conclusion is a careful comparative study between Genesis and nonbiblical cosmologies (GAC 1–16). Walton laments that “many attempts to trace literary trails from ancient Near Eastern texts to Genesis have been too facile and the results too superficial” (GAC 2), and so sets out to construct a more robust methodology for comparing Genesis with such cosmological-mythic texts as the *Enuma Elish*. “Reconstructing literary relationships often becomes an elaborate connect-the-dots game in which the results resemble more the apparent randomness of a Rorschach inkblot test than the clear literary links that are claimed,” Walton argues. “Our efforts should focus on using all the literature at our disposal to reconstruct the ancient cognitive environment, which can then serve as the backdrop for understanding each literary work” (GAC 2). This is highlighted again in Walton’s conclusion, where he emphasizes, “Even though Israel shares in [the] broad ideological commonalities [of ancient Near Eastern cosmology], there are distinctive ways in which Genesis 1 interacts with and develops them” (GAC 194).

I am favorably impressed with Walton’s careful exegesis of Genesis 1 in light of comparative Near Eastern studies and advancements in our understanding of biblical Hebrew. For those interested in biblical cosmology as it relates to modern science and strictly on its own terms, both *The Lost World of Genesis One* and *Genesis 1 As Ancient Cosmology* are excellent resources for any inquisitive student.

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