

1. Discourse analysis (“rhesiology”)
2. The Akkadian metrical system: constitutive units
3. The Akkadian metrical system: tensional factors
4. Compositional mechanisms
5. Correlation of levels beyond the system
6. A literary reading of the first stanza of *Enuma Eliš*.

AT BEST, TRANSLATION IS APPROPRIATION (at worst, following the Italian adage, it is betrayal). I take “appropriation” to mean the phenomenon by which the various expressive means in the source are exploded and recomposed in the target language: through it, we absorb and make our own the expression as originally intended. If the initial expression is captured, absorbed, “appropriated,” if it emerges to new life as it becomes “our” expression, then, we may say, a successful translation has taken place.

The more complex the expressive registers, the more difficult is such a process of appropriation. Not only are there more dimensions in the original that have to be captured in the translation; not only are the various components of a multi-layered expressive organism more complex in their individual articulation; not only is the very fabric of their interrelationship a complex phenomenon which must be captured along with the individual layers in themselves: what is perhaps most important, is that we must develop a sensitivity for the original as if it were a living organism, since mere dissection can only be performed on corpses, and it is life we seek in the ancient cultures.

When thinking of a topic to offer to Bill Moran, as we gather metaphorically within the covers of this book, it was this aspect of his work that most came to mind:

¹The essence of the metrical theory presented here was originally included in a contribution on style given orally (and submitted as a pre-print text) at a symposium on style during the meeting of the American Oriental Society in 1978. The broader definition of style within which this metrical theory fits was published as Buccellati 1981. For methodological remarks on the distributional approach see Buccellati 1988 and forthc. A full application of the rules proposed here will be found in a series of “literary editions” of Akkadian texts which I have in preparation. The first is devoted to the Pennsylvania Old Babylonian Gilgameš tablet.

his great sensitivity for the overall expressive powers of ancient Syro-Mesopotamian culture; and, within that, his special inner tuning to the message of poetry. How can we appropriate “their” poetic expression and truly make it “ours”?

If we are to approach such an issue in a controlled way, we must stress the need for formalization—not in order to “suffocate the spirit” (as Saint Paul would say), but in order to maintain a close tie with the reality of the original expressive effort. What I am advocating is the fruitful merging of inspired intuition on the one hand, and demonstrable argumentation on the other. There must be close reciprocity between intuition and argument, so that the former might short-circuit the complexity, and the latter might lay bare the patterns. Viewed in this manner, formalization can on the one hand train our sensitivity, while intuition can on the other shine for an instant on a course that remains to be mapped.

Doubts about the validity of formalization derive from a sterile application of its rules. To quote a musical theorist writing about Mozart: “The question arises why, nowadays, there is such a demand for formal description. The answer is—insecurity, an insecurity which is only partly of our time, inasmuch as it is part of our general artistic crisis, in the course of which we have arrived at a state of bewilderment which makes us welcome anything that replaces rather than explains our waning musical experience, until we are glad to be told what we ought to feel” (Keller 1966: 50–51). The other side of the coin is that a reasoned articulation of formal patterns that can demonstrably be shown to exist is the only safe approach to the data; while at the same time, the perception of the patterns as such trains our inner ear and attunes it to the creative effort out of which the initial explosion of meaning came into existence in the first place.

In what follows, I will articulate in some detail a few points of formal analysis as they pertain to Akkadian poetry.² I will begin by defining the role that discourse analysis can play in such an endeavor; then I will address the issue of a channeled pattern of expression (“meter”) and of formal “anchors” to which poetic compositional structure may come to be moored; and finally I will discuss briefly the concept of “regenerative” (in Valéry’s sense) inner power of poetic expression.

1. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (“RHESIOLOGY”)

Building on a formal understanding of Akkadian syntactic structures, which I represent in transformational terms (Buccellati *forthc.*), discourse analysis allows us to view the formal interrelationship of expressive mechanisms within a “text” under-

²For some recent significant work on Akkadian literature, and on poetry in particular, see Reiner 1978: 1985.

stood as an organic expressive whole. For the sake of terminological ease (even though at first it may be deemed as needless jargon), I prefer to use the term “rhesiology” (from Greek *rhexis* “discourse”) as a technical term which has, if nothing else, the advantage of allowing the use of an adjective (“rhesiological”) somewhat more manageable than the awkward “discourse analytical”. In this presentation, I will use the traditional term “discourse analysis” for the noun, and “rhesiological” for the adjective. The term “rhetorics,” which could etymologically be assumed to serve the same purpose, has a more restricted sense in traditional (Guiraud 1970; Ricoeur 1975: 13–86) or contemporary (Groupe m 1970) scholarship, in that it refers only to the use of “figures” or “tropoi.” I use the term “rhesiology” to include formal mechanisms marking expression linkages within the boundaries of a single “text”; the concept is thus similar to that articulated by Harris 1952, although the criteria of identification will differ in my presentation.

The structure of a text is built on relationships which hold the various parts together. As in all considerations of a structural type, these relationships are more than simple rules of juxtaposition. They provide an overarching scheme which sheds new light on the component parts. A good example of this is the structure of administrative texts (admittedly, hardly of a poetic type), for which the contributions of Gelb are of special significance (e.g., Gelb 1967). While not normally regarded as such, the study of these “forms” and their internal structure belongs properly to discourse analysis; and the selection of variables (e.g., sequential and hierarchical order), often underscored by the graphic arrangement (e.g., spacing, indentation, rulings), has a stylistic value.

In common speech, the disagreement between enunciation pauses and syntactic boundaries (a special kind of “enjambement” or straddling) may also be classed under discourse analysis, and may equally be considered a stylistic feature. With one major exception, I can think of no case where this can be documented in Akkadian, although it may readily be assumed for the spoken language and, if any texts were then read aloud (rather than recited from memory), then it may also be assumed for the oral rendering of written texts.

The exception is to be found in metrically structured language, where one finds structuring rules for the sentence that intersect syntax and create breaks (caesuras) where syntax calls for a close juncture. Stylistic definition plays here a major role, hence meter deserves considerable attention. While thoughtful contributions have already been made in this respect, I wish to submit here a different treatment of the subject. Given the complexity of the argumentation, I can only present here my case in the form of a preliminary statement of concepts and principles. First, however, I want to stress the relationship between meter and discourse analysis.

Features such as rhyme and patterns of recurrent syllable or word count are manifestations of a deeper principle which constitutes the essence of meter—namely, the channeling of expression into predictable corridors. Predictability is posited afresh

by the poet in every work, even when established comdors are used—established, that is, in the poet’s culture; the declaration of the chosen metrical limits is embedded in the discourse, an epiphany which requires no label. This is so true that the haunting quality of poetry can capture us even when we cannot articulate the rules of its own self-imposed strictures —witness, precisely, Akkadian poetry of which I believe the rules have eluded us though not the creative power behind the rules. But the rules are there. They are rules of discourse channeling which imply, like all rules, two important corollaries. On the one hand, there are specific exclusions in the flow of discourse, which reduce considerably the range of possible distributional classes; paradoxically, expression is limited just where it seems to become more powerful. On the other hand, there is a higher degree of predictability, resulting in part from the lower range of available directions which the discourse can take; paradoxically, again, expression comes perilously close to banality just where it seems to soar the most above commonplaces. But these two paradoxes hold the key to an understanding of the intrinsic value of meter. It is precisely because the constraints are greater, and the danger of banality impending, that an escape from both is all the more glorious. This Russian roulette of expression is that to which Hopkins refers as an explosion (1966: 200), a very apt description of the ultimate issue of poetry in general and metrical discourse in particular. The target of channeled expression cannot itself be channeled—it explodes out of the constraints and beyond predictability. The first half of a couplet, in Akkadian parallelism, limits severely the possibilities of what can be said in the second: the target then is to “explode” beyond these limits by couching, within them, the unexpected.

In this light, it appears why meter is far more than a set of technical devices and is rather the single force which most can unify the discourse. The devices, which certainly are there, must be understood in terms of the overall tensional factor which binds the whole together, not as isolated components of an atomized universe. In the attempt which follows, I have tried to ignore already recognized devices as they have been applied in the past to Akkadian (from the classical and western tradition), and have made instead an effort to focus on the central impact of meter, deriving then from it the elements which seem to be germane and intrinsically constitutive.

Regardless of what its validity may be, this proposal remains an excursus in terms of the overall argumentation. The main point is simply that meter is a selection which operates at the level of the discourse, and is in this sense a major stylistic feature.

2. THE AKKADIAN METRICAL SYSTEM: CONSTITUTIVE UNITS

Two principles are proposed here as the specific and constitutive properties of Akkadian meter:³ syntactic isotonism and counterpatterning. Syntactic isotonism means a balance among stress units which are defined both phonologically and syntactically. Counterpatterning means that a balance represented by even sequences is tensionally strengthened by the counterpattern of odd sequences. In order to understand the nature of the two principles, it will be necessary to define first the basic metrical units of Akkadian.

I will be speaking here of what appears to be the most rigid application of the Akkadian metrical system, namely the one which is found in such texts as the Theodicy, Gilgameš, Enuma eliš and the Descent of Ištar, and will be excluding, for instance, the hymns or the poem of Erra. I readily acknowledge that a thorough and full application of the system to a larger spectrum of Akkadian poetry may alter the details of the system proposed, or even call in question its very presuppositions. On the other hand, the corpus used here seems sufficiently differentiated to lend some initial credibility to my proposal. More importantly, the approach proposed should at least serve the methodological purpose of providing a fresh rethinking of Akkadian metrical structure that is responsive purely to the inner thrust of the text rather than to pre-established patterns of analysis.

2.1. *Minimal Units: (A) The Foot*

By the term FOOT I refer to the first component of the system, which is a syntactical stress unit. This is defined phonologically as exhibiting a single major tonic stress, and syntactically as consisting of either a single word or a definable word group. It must be intimated from the start that the present system is based on a tight interplay between the phonological and the syntactical level: the limitations on co-occurrence, i.e., the distributional classes into which metric phenomena fit, are derived from the nature of syntactic relationships, and from the ways in which these relationships may be solidified, as it were, into accentual blocks. It may also be noted here that the term "syntactically bound" refers in what follows to the *dependence of two syntactical elements from the same immediately supraordinated node in a binary tree system* (since, otherwise, all items of a syntactical sequence are by definition "bound" at some other level of the tree system).

The single word, although imperfectly described in Akkadian syntax (see Gelb

³I will not deal here with systems proposed by other scholars, in particular for Hebrew, for which see especially O'Connor 1980; Berlin 1985. The similarities, in particular with regard to the general importance of syntactical categories, were reached independently and anticipated in my pre-print of 1978 (see above, n. 1).

1969, 133-135; Buccellati 1970, 46-48), may serve as our starting point, since the simplest foot consists of a single word. However, and this is our first limitation of a metrical nature, not all words may occur as single constituents of a foot—and the limitation is to be stated in syntactical terms. Prepositions, particles, the relative and determinative pronoun, and coordinating conjunctions are excluded from the status of single foot constituents; hence, they will be called here NON-METRICAL WORDS while all others will be considered “metrical words.” (For occasional exceptions with prepositions see *ultu* in Gilg. X vi 32 and *kima* in Išt. D. 29. For subordinating conjunctions see *kima* in Gilg. XI 200 and *enuma* in E. e. I 1.)

Non-metrical words are such because they carry no weight in memc composition. They can thus combine in any number together with memcal words without affecting the nature of the foot. Accordingly, word groups such as *la išu* (Theod. 24, 268) are metrically identical to *išu* I will use the term SIMPLE FOOT to refer to any such word or word group, i.e., any foot consisting of a single memcal word or of a memcal word plus any combination of non-metrical words.

It may be noted explicitly at this juncture that the principle of isosyllabism plays no role in Akkadian memcs. Not only is it possible to have a sequence of words in perfect metrical equivalence to a single word; one can also have a single long word in metrical equivalence to a single short word, e.g., *šu* (Gilg. XI 233) vs. *anattalakkumma* (Gilg. XI 2), i.e., a monosyllabic vs. a six syllable, single word foot.

A COMPLEX FOOT is one which includes two memcal words, plus any combination of non-metrical words, always with a close syntactical bond. There is no formal marker which identifies the two words as constituting a single foot; hence, metrical definition at the foot level can only be gained, in this case, from the supraordinate levels of the colon and the verse. A construct chain of the type *gimil dumqi* may constitute either a single complex foot (Theod. 66) or two simple feet (cfr. Theod. 57: *gimil/naqab nemeqi*), depending on the wider structural framework of the verse.

There is only one common type of complex foot, i.e., a construct chain consisting of two metrical words (i.e., excluding pronouns and pronominal suffixes): e.g., *gimil dumqi*. To this type belongs also a construct chain with a noun as head and a verbal clause as modifier; from the graphic markers given in some manuscripts of the Theodicy, it appears as though the head noun and the first word of the clause belong together in the same foot, while the next word of the clause (the verb) belongs in the next foot (in the following, and where pertinent, an underscored section stands for a foot, while three subscript “x” link two feet into a colon):

gillat nešu _{xxx} 

girri annutu _{xxx} *ikušu*

Less frequent are other types of complex foot, such as the ones listed below:

conjunctive clause:	<i>ultu ikribifu</i> (Gilg. X vi 35)
attributive phrase:	<i>me dalhute</i> (Išt. D. 34)
nominal compound:	<i>am-la-etha</i> (Gilg. XI 203)

verb / object sentence: *zammu nura* (Išt. D. 7)
 subject / verb sentence: *ndru išša* (Gilg. X vi 29)

Naturally, any non-metrical word may be found in combination with the above mentioned types, yielding at times feet which are syllabically very long, such as a nine syllable foot quoted below:

construct chain: *ana alid abišu* (E.e. I 19)
ša ultu šun ha'irišina (Išt. D. 35)
 attributive phrase: *ana Serri laae* (Išt D. 35)

Nested, rather than chained, sequences of non-metrical words may possibly have served either as a single foot or as a combination of two feet. Thus

[*alum ša ina ah*] *Purraitim šaknu* (Gilg. XI 12)

may be viewed as consisting of either two feet (in which case foot boundary does not break the syntactical nesting):

alum xxx ša ina ah] *Purrattim šaknu*

or else it may be viewed as consisting of three feet (in which case foot division would break the syntactical nesting):

[*alum*] xxx *ša ina ah*] *Purrattim xxx šaknu*

2.2. Minimal Units: (B) Colon and Verse

A COLON consists typically of either one or two feet.

A colon with a single foot is called here an ODD COLON. Its constituent will always be a simple foot, whether with an individual metrical word (e.g., *muta* Gilg. X vi 38) or with the addition of non-metrical words (*ubalata* ibid.). Metrical definition of an odd colon is only possible in terms of the supraordinate level of the verse.

More frequently, a colon consists of two feet, in which case it will be called an EVEN COLON. The two feet may or may not be syntactically bound, except that in a sequence of two cola within one verse, at least one of the two cola will normally be syntactically bound. As for the structure of even cola, both simple and complex feet are available, so that potentially four types of even cola are possible (disregarding the amplification by means of non-metrical words, which is of course always possible). In fact, however—and this is a very important distributional limitation in metrical structural analysis—*cola with two complex feet arais as a rule excluded*. This is all the more meaningful in that the same type of syntactical sequence is otherwise very frequent in prose, where it provides a sort of fluid, oratorical rhythm. Occurrences of this pattern within a strict metric system are truly an exception, as in

gš mašre xxx bel pani (Theod. 63);

otherwise, the standard structural types are limited to a sequence of two simple cola:

ina ilani xxx ahhesu (E.e. I 20 bound)
enuma xxx eliš (E.e. I 1: not bound);

a sequence of a simple and a complex foot:

enuna xxx *nagab nemeqi* (Theod. 57: bound)
mukiltu xxx *Sa kippe rabtiti* (Išt. D. 27: bound)
lullik xxx *zikirki lušanni* (Išt. D. 24: not bound):

or a sequence of a complex and a simple foot:

gimil dumqi xxx   (Theod. 57.: bound)
ddlihat Apsi xxx *mahar Ea* (Išt. D. 27: bound)
ana pi narati xxx *uštešibluni* (Gilg. XI 196 not bound).

An interesting, though very rare, non-systemic exception to the structure of cola as stated above, is that a single word may straddle two cola, e.g., *illigimiya-ma* (Theod. 72). This is, as it were, an extreme case of syntactical bond, and in this particular case we may presuppose the existence of a strong secondary stress defining a second colon just before the enclitic *-ma*. A summary of structural types for feet and cola will be found in Chart 1.

The normal VERSE structure consists of two even cola—which may of course exhibit varying degrees of complexity of the type already explored above, e.g.:

enuna xxx *eliš* *La nabu* xxx *šamamu* (E.e. I:1)
mukiltu xxx *ša kippe rabuti* *dalihat Apsi* xxx *mahar Ea* (Išt. D. 27)

The most frequent variant to this first type of verse structure consists of three odd cola, e.g.:

immatima *nippusa* *bita?* (Gilg. X vi 26)

Far less common variants include sequences of even and odd cola:

ammeni xxx *atu*  xxx *erimmati* *Sa kišadiša* (Išt. D. 49).

or a sequence of just two odd cola:

anattalakkumma xxx *Utnapištim* (Gilg. XI 2)

Regardless of structural differences—which in any case are largely limited to the first two types—the Akkadian verse is throughout a self-contained syntactical unit, in the sense that verse boundaries coincide normally with major syntactical boundaries, often of a sentence type. No straddling (“enjambement”) is possible from one verse to the next, in the sense that even if the syntactical nexus carries over from one verse to the next, there is, nevertheless, an internal syntactical boundary coinciding with verse boundary, so that the syntactical units represented by the verses run on a parallel course within the broader syntactical structure of the overall sentence. Notice, for instance, the beginning of E.e. (see below, in Section 6) which provides a rare example of a long subordinated clause (otherwise common in prose, see for instance the Code of Hammurapi or the Sippar inscription, which are discussed briefly below in §4.1 and §4.2), or see, for a shorter example, Gilg. XI 11–14:

<i>Šurippak, alum</i>		<i>ša tidlušu atta,</i>
[<i>dlum ša ina ah</i>]		<i>Purrattim Saknu,</i>
<i>dlum šu labir-ma</i>		<i>ilanu qerbuššu</i>
[<i>ana</i>] <i>šakan abubi</i>	<i>ubla</i>	<i>libbašunu</i>

Here the first two verses are not completed sentences, but they are completed units of a broader sentence which is resumed and ends in the following two verses.

2.3. Intermediate Units: Monostichs, Couplets and Tercets

Verses are in turn integrated into broader intermediate units, normally of two or three verses-COUPLETS and TERCETS. These units exhibit a close formal parallelism of the internal components (the verses all have an identical or very similar structure within each couplet or tercet), and a tight syntactical bond delimited at either end by corresponding metrical boundaries. Various other devices, such as chiasm or parallelism, underscore the internal structural unity of these intermediate units, e.g.:

Lupteka, Gilgameš, amat nisirti,
u pirišta ša ilani kaša luqbika (Gilg. XI 9–10),

where one will notice the parallelism of sentence structure and the chiasm of word order; also:

Immaïima nippuša bita?
Immatima nikanna[k tuppā]?
Immaïima ahhu izuz[zu] (Gilg. X vi 26-27),

again with the parallelism of sentence structure and (partially) of word order, as well as the chiasm of the third verse in relation to the first two.

Occasionally, one can also find intermediate units consisting of single verses (rarely, instead, of four or more verses). These are identified both formally and in terms of the content, through a process of exclusion which sets them apart from the other verses, as these form couplets or tercets in the flow of the text. The only case where such monostich units are used regularly is in the Theodicy, where certain metrical and compositional distributional patterns may be observed (Buccellati 1972: 167–170).

2.4. Maximal Unit: Stanza.

Stanzas have generally been posited, in Akkadian poetry, only for the Theodicy, because there they are marked by the acrostic and, in several manuscripts, they are framed by graphic markers as well. A closer scrutiny of that text indicates that there is in fact a powerful tensional dynamism intrinsic to the structure of the stanza, a dynamism which derives from an interplay of various elements at the metrical and compositional level (Buccellati 1972: 165–170). The same elements can be recognized in other poetic texts as a general characteristic of metrical structure, even when they are not explicitly marked by graphical means. Accordingly, I propose to identify stanza units in, e.g., Gilgameš, Enuma eliš or Ištar's Descent.

Stanzas can primarily be identified compositionally as units in the linear development of a text (see below, 4.1). The metrical boundaries are not as specific as in the case of the minimal and intermediate units. Naturally, a stanza will include a certain number of the latter, but no fixed pattern can be formulated. Generally, however, one can say that the boundary of a stanza coincides always with the boundary of an intermediate unit, without any strophic enjambement, as it were. Also, one can say

that a stanza will never consist of tercets only, and seldom of couplets only; normally, it will consist instead of an alternation of couplets and tercets (sometimes monostichs) often used to obtain a distinct variation in the rhythm of the expression—see for instance Išt. D. 5-7, where the tercet of odd verses contributes to slowing down the narration, reinforcing the compositional effect resulting from the lack of transitions in the exposition of the plot (see below, 4.1); see also Gilg. XI 193–195 where the tercet of odd verses coincides with a climactic speech uttered by Enlil, whereby the metrical pattern underscores the special solemnity of the occasion. If there is a distributional pattern to odd and even verses, it would appear to be in the sense that a nucleus of even verses is punctuated with odd verses at junctures which appear important from a compositional point of view. The stanza then can be defined from within the metrical and compositional flow, rather than in terms of external boundaries (such as are projected by the rhyme or acrostic devices). For this reason, perhaps, a graphic marker for the stanza is generally missing in the ancient texts, much as punctuation, too, is missing—an otherwise important notation for marking external syntactical boundaries. We can say that the sense of the stanza, just like the sense of the sentence, is generated from within “writing” (in a Barthesian sense), rather than being appended from without.

If this is true, it is because the stanza builds on a tier system of syntactical bonds: the *obligatory* bond within the foot, the verse and the couplet on the one hand vs., on the other, the *optional* bond within the colon and the stanza. The elements of the stanza may in fact be linked syntactically (e.g., E.e. 1–9; Gilg. XI 215–218 or Išt. D. 3–1 I), or they may be linked only compositionally. There ensues a true syntactic rhythm of pauses which may or may not be expected, thereby providing a delicate balance of channeled directionality on the one hand and tensional dynamism on the other—the conditions of aesthetic effectiveness of Akkadian metrics.

3. THE AKKADIAN METRICAL SYSTEM: TENSIONAL FACTORS

3.1. Syntactic Isotonism

The special type of rhythm which we have just observed may be defined as “syntactic isotonism.” The building blocks of the system are stress units which impose phonological boundaries on syntactic functions. Hence, neither syllable quantity (as in Greek and Latin metrics), nor number of syllables (isosyllabism) nor lexical stress (simple isotonism) play any role as metrical principles in Akkadian; it is rather the sequence of syntactical functions embedded in a specifiable phonological framework.

A verification of the regularity of this framework may be had if one considers the exclusions which are implicit in the system posited above. The principal ones are indicated in the right portion of Chart 1. Two general remarks are in place here. First,

the typological range of metrical exclusions is sufficiently vast to indicate that the system as reconstructed here is indeed as rigorous as one would expect of a metrical system. The exclusions consist of perfectly acceptable Akkadian syntactical sequences; in fact, as has been noted above, some of these are very frequent in, and quite distinctive of, literary prose, so that the distinctiveness of meter (as reconstructed here) is fully confirmed vis-8-vis the properties of Akkadian prose.

Second, the range of exclusions enhances the value of the boundaries between metrical units (which is in fact another way of verifying the validity of the proposed system as truly metrical). Since linkage possibilities among metrical units are indeed limited, the compositional flow is channeled and is marked with a clear sense of directionality. Syntactic isotonism, through both what it predicts and what it excludes, establishes an expectable pattern which conditions, and at the same time strengthens, the means of expression.

3.2. *Counterpatterning*

The metric system described above is built on a fine counterpointal structure of set patterns and their binary alternations—a principle which I will call “counterpatterning.” The two basic channels are the even/odd alternation of metrical units and the presence or absence of a syntactical bond between the same. The resulting effect is one of balance and imbalance at the same time, since there is a clear range of predictability and directionality to the basic channel, and yet sufficient variation within it (see already, on this notion of intrinsic dynamism conditioned by the metrical system, Buccellati 1972: 167f). The articulation of the verses in an even or odd number of cola, for instance, is not part of a set sequential pattern, yet it is expected. Accordingly, a linear succession of even verses is generally interrupted at some point by one or three odd verses; this interruption is in turn in balance with the broader structure of the stanza, since it normally occurs at a single point of the maximal unit, often in keeping with compositional patterns.

Again, a verification of the nature of the phenomenon of counterpatterning may come from an examination of the metrical exclusions. In Chart 1 are listed some that seem most meaningful: obviously, they are not linguistically impossible, they simply go against the regularity of a metrical pattern. Thus, a conjunction is allowed to co-occur in the same foot with another word only if this is the predicate, e.g., *ultu ikrubušu*; on the other hand, the sequence *enuma eliš*, though obviously possible as a sequence in the language, is not a normal foot since there is no close syntactical bond between the two words—where syntactical bond is always to be understood in the sense given in 2.1. There are of course exceptions where such excluded patterns are in fact found in the texts—e.g.,

šuhuzušu aššu “they cause him to have because” Theod. 285,

or, at the level of the colon,

glš mašre xxx *bel pani* Theod. 63,

for which see above under 2.2. But these remain, precisely, exceptions. The exclusions cany over to the level of the verse. For instance, the following couplet would be considered metrically unacceptable:

← *enuma* xxx *eliš* † *šuma* xxx *la zakru* →
 ← *šamamu*, xxx *šapliš* *ammatum* xxx *la nabdī*

The syntax and the meaning are quite clear, but the straddling (“enjambement”) from the first to the second verse is metrically irregular (see Von Soden 1969:420-21 for two exceptional examples from Atram-basis). The same type of straddling is instead acceptable between cola, e.g.,

𒂗𒂗𒂗 xxx *pašu* *ipuš-ma* xxx *iqabbi* (Išt. D. 21).

It appears, therefore, that counterpatterning remains a channeled mode of expression. Thus, straddling is expectable, but across predictable boundaries. Similarly, odd verses and tercets will be used only to break an existing sequence of even verses, but will not by themselves constitute a stanza; nor is the sequence of couplets normally broken by other types of verse or cola arrangement. Counterpatterning remains itself patterned, and does not simply refer to a metrically uncontrolled interruption of the metrical rhythm.

4. COMPOSITIONAL MECHANISMS

4.1. Linear Devices

Viewed in its unfolding, a text may be conceived as a linear entity: as such, it is held together by the overall notional unity of the message, by the internal substructuring into segmental building blocks, and by the resulting junctures between the latter. These, among others, are what may be called the most important linear devices of composition.

The term COMPOSITION may be used in a general sense to refer to the internal connective texture of the message, whether in fact there is (1) a *plot* or *story* built, for example, on the contrastive growth of characters and situations, or there is simply (2) an *account* of data stated as coterminous. To the first category, that of contrastive growth, belongs typically the modern novel. The closest we come to this in Akkadian literature is perhaps with the Poor Man of Nippur, where the unfolding of the story is in itself the dominant aspect of the message. But also such texts as Erra, the Vision of the Netherworld, the Descent of Ištar, or even the Theodicy rely on contrastive growth, often in ways which are not immediately apparent and which are therefore all the more effective, if more difficult to detect. For an in-depth compositional analysis along these lines of Gilgameš, the Theodicy and the Dialogue of Pessimism, I will refer frequently to three essays I wrote in Italian some time ago (Buccellati 1972).

The composition appears as a statement, rather than as a contrastive description, in the case of poetic texts such as hymns or of prose texts such as the political oratory of royal inscriptions. Here events which are obviously part and parcel of a given time

process are flattened, as it were, within the framework of what is essentially, from a compositional point of view, a synchronic account. The Sippar inscription of Hammurapi is a little compositional jewel in this respect—no matter how worn out by continuous reading in introductory classes. The text⁴ is a political glorification of the king which describes two major building activities at Sippar (the city wall with its moat and the Euphrates canalization system) and then goes on to derive the conclusions which are appropriate for the political interest of the text.

The logical flow of a text like the Sippar inscription is emphasized in its intrinsic unity by the clear articulation into three component *structural parts*. The first one gives the factual basis for the king's glorification, i.e., the two distinct building activities. The second affirms the benefits (*šubat nehtim ušešib*) derived therefrom for the province and the capital. This is then the socio-political intent of the inscription, underscored compositionally by the interlocking device (see 4.4.) of cross-reference: the royal title used in this section is the socio-political epithet *bani matim*, which harks back to the fuller titulary given at the beginning, as if to justify it. The third structural unit affirms the religious intent of the king, who sublimates the building activity by making god its primary referent. Differently from the case in the preceding section, the juncture is marked by the introduction of a new epithet (*migir Šamaš, nardm Marduk*), which asserts a special religious prerogative for the king: compositionally, this epithet serves as a link between the juxtaposition of province and capital in the preceding section (Sippar/ Šamaš, Babylon/ Marduk) and the final dedication to the provincial god alone (Šamaš). It may finally be noted that the compositional unity of the text has a correlate in the rhesiological feature of the repetition of the name of the king, Hammurapi, at the beginning of each section.

An even closer correlation between compositional and "rhesiological" levels in defining structural units is found in the case of stanzas as defined metrically (for which see above, 2.3).

An important linear device to be considered in compositional analysis is the one which may be called generically TRANSITION. Let us look for instance at the beginning of the Descent of Ištar. The text begins *in medias res* with a statement about Ištar's decision to go to the Netherworld. It then proceeds with a stanza which contains a detailed description of those who enter the Netherworld and of their state once they are there: this stanza ends with an imperceptible shift of subject from people to place (l. 11). At this point (the beginning of the second stanza in my analysis), Ištar is presented as being already face to face with the door of the Netherworld and its keeper, and she addresses him without preamble. We are thus effectively transferred to an unsavory world of immobility and stasis through an artful use of compositional

⁴I hope to present a literary edition of this and the following texts treated in this article in a future publication.

devices. The trip of IStar is never described, it is only intimated indirectly by the description of others who enter; and these are left anonymous, so that the emphasis is on the act of entering, setting the stage for the elaborate entrance of IŠtar herself later on. On the linguistic level, this is stressed by the anacoluthon resulting from the lack of a syntactical coordinate to *iškun-main* 1.3 (an emphatic use of *-ma* seems most unlikely here)-or, if we restore *illik* in the same line, by the metrical straddling between *illik* and the place complements which follow in ll. 3–11 (on this type of straddling see above, 3.2). Transitions are also used skillfully in what followed immediately. The dialog between IStar and the doorkeeper is introduced at each point by a standard formula which simply identifies the speakers, but otherwise adds nothing to their characterization (ll. 13, 21–22, 25); in contrast, the transition to Ereškigal's speech is preceded by a characterization of her emotional reaction (ll. 29–30) which is the first of its kind in the poem, and thus sets the stage for the dynamic contrast IŠtar/Ereškigal which is quite the opposite of the static juxtaposition IŠtar/doorkeeper.

While in the beginning of the Descent of IStar the transition is abrupt and may be considered as a compositional equivalent to a syntactical asyndeton or a metrical caesura, there are cases where the transition defines a close juncture between structural units. A notable example is found at the beginning of GilgameS XI, where the text underscores explicitly that a major turning point has been reached in the unfolding of the story: GilgameS had been searching for the most heroic moment in his adventures, and is confronted instead with an antihero (Utnapištim) who is no different from a GilgameS who is at his most human at this point (for a detailed compositional analysis of this theme in GilgameS, see Buccellati 1972, 22–32).

4.2. *Inclusive Devices*

The unity of a text is often highlighted by compositional devices which bracket or include the “composition” (whether plot or account). The most obvious of these devices is what may be called FRAME-i.e., a notional structure in which the message is embedded, a suprasegmental link which overarches the linear progression of the story from beginning to end (on the notion of frame see, e.g., Oppenheim 1956: 187f; 213). A typical example is the dialog form of the Dialogue of Pessimism, which serves to give an internal unity to what would otherwise appear as a disconnected collection of proverbs and maxims (this notion is elaborated in detail in Buccellati 1972: 83–90). Another example which has perhaps not been appreciated in its full impact is the Code of Hammurapi. As shown schematically in Chart 3, the Code may be viewed compositionally as a political oratory in which (paradoxically) the “laws” are presented as the overlong subject of a single, abnormal nominal sentence. The entire text may be divided into five portions, of which the first one describes the mythical past (establishment of the cosmic order and of the political order within it), and the last one the mythical future (the curses, i.e., protection ad infinitum of the political order by the cosmic order); the second portion, as well as the fourth, focus on the adminis-

tration of justice as a specific and concrete expression of the political order as embodied in Hammurapi; and the third portion, in central position, gives the concrete evidence for the king's claim by spelling out one by one the "verdicts of justice" which Hammurapi had in fact, or could have potentially, issued. Here then a notional frame pushes to the hilt a device which is used at the linguistic level with respect to syntax (see Buccellati 1981): texts like the Borsippa inscription, which consists of a single sentence, or the Code, which consists basically of five overlong sentences, show how productive the trend was toward inclusion of the message into a rigid conceptual scheme.

The ACROSTIC may be regarded as a special form of frame, especially when it results in a statement which serves to proclaim the dominant theme of the text—as in the Theodicy. Here the acrostic underscores on the one hand the lyrical dimension of the poem (by identifying explicitly a first person speaker who is presumably at the same time the sufferer and the author); on the other hand it points to a recognition of the religious and political order (*karibu ša ili u šarri*) which had been questioned in the text (ll. 143–153) only to show in bolder relief that the evils of the social order derive exclusively from the disinterest and apathy of the members of the social group (ll. 265–286; see a detailed analysis in Buccellati 1972: 163–5). The acrostic then provides a compositional frame which should not be underestimated in its literary effect. This is not to be sought on the phonological and metrical level (as is the case with the phenomenon of rhyme, only apparently related to the acrostic) but rather on the compositional level. An illustrious parallel may be found in the Divine Comedy, where each of the three major parts ends with the same word (*stelle* "stars"): coupled with the rigid formal subdivision of the three cantica's into 33 canto's each, plus an introductory canto at the beginning, thus coming to an even 100 canto's altogether, The Divine Comedy provides here an explicit indication of the author's awareness for a special type of inclusion, which is signalled by both notional and formal features. Seen in this perspective, the acrostic device is much more than a pedantic curiosity, as one might otherwise be inclined to consider it.

4.3. *Interlocking Devices*

Similar in function to inclusive devices are those devices, here called interlocking, which overarch portions of a given text; in so doing they serve as a tensional factor in binding a composition together and in underscoring thematic developments. One might distinguish two main types depending on whether the structural components which are so linked are contiguous or not.

To the first type belongs the best known of these devices, namely PARALLELISM: of two contiguous segments, the second parallels the first in a variety of ways, with regard to grammatical, semantic or other characteristics. Since much has been written about this particular device, from the viewpoint of ancient Near Eastern literatures, or from a broader and comparative viewpoint (see especially Jakobson 1966), I need not

proceed any further here. It may only be worth pointing out that the notion of parallelism refers expressly only to *metrical* (contiguous) segments, and that these normally are verses, rather than, for instance, couplets. There may of course be parallelism also in prose (see for instance the royal epithets in the Sippar inscription); here, however, there is no thoroughgoing correlation between rhesiological and compositional structure, so that parallelism is more diffused and generally at a notional level only. The aversion to straddling between verses (3.2) magnifies even more the role of parallelism in Akkadian poetry.

Another type of linkage between contiguous segments is provided by ANTICIPATION. This too has been noted in the literature (see for instance Bowra 1952: 261-270), but it has not perhaps been developed for Akkadian literature as much as it deserves. A typical example of negative anticipation is found at the beginning of the *Enuma eliš*, where it provides a powerful description of the cosmic setting against which creation takes place: when there was no sky nor earth, and there was only an infertile watery chaos, when no gods were known, then did the gods come into being. The announced theme is that of contrastive growth: being is explained in terms of not being. Most especially, and this is perhaps the dominant theme of the entire poem, differentiation comes out of undifferentiation, according to a precise evolutionary scheme which is resumed explicitly and with a constant crescendo throughout the entire poem: the fifty names of Marduk given at the end of the poem are in this respect a resolution of Wagnerian proportions to the initial emphasis on the lack of a name for the cosmos and the gods. (Thus, we have also another beautiful example of a notional frame as an inclusive device, as suggested in 4.2).

Another interlocking device is that of REPETITION, which may occur between contiguous and non-contiguous segments. A good example of the former is found in E.e. I 32-33:

“... *alkam-ma, siriš Tiamat i nillik.*”
Illiku-ma qudmiš Tiamat ušibu
 “...come over that we may go toward Tiamat.”
They went and sat down before Tiamat.

The triple repetition of *alaku* marks on the lexical level the inertia of Apsu who is here speaking to his attendant—an inertia which is otherwise amply stressed by the text, and which finds an ironical(?) confirmation in the detail about their “sitting down” when they need to plan an emergency program.

An example of non-contiguous repetition is found in the first tablet of *Gilgameš*, where the episode of the harlot and Enkidu is preannounced twice, first by the hunter’s father (iii 19–24) and then by *Gilgameš* (41–45). This repetition serves in turn as an anticipation to the actual description of the encounter (iv 8–21), which is however given with much greater detail. Here then the repetition neutralizes on the one hand the interest of the plot (since what is going to happen is already known) but enhances on the other the interest in the description—which in this case is certainly worthwhile!

More subtle, and hence more difficult to perceive but also literarily all the more effective, is the last device we will consider here, CROSSREFERENCING. This applies always to non-contiguous segments, and it is not in the form of lexical correlations, hence the difficulty in identifying the referential components. But precisely because it is not fully explicit, this device is a great tensional factor in holding together a composition and serves a major role in helping to identify the key compositional themes. I have discussed at length a number of such themes in *Gilgameš*, which reveal a strong unity in the text and enhance to a high degree the poetic quality of the poem (Buccellati 1972: 2-36, and especially 33). To repeat here just one example which seems particularly telling (*ibid.*, p. 29), one may compare (1) the discovery of the anti-hero, heralded by the verses:

Anattalakkum-ma Utnapištim
minatuka ul šana: ki yati-ma atta (Gilg. XI 2-3)
 As I look at you, Utnapištim,
 your stature is not strange: you are just like me,

with (2) the earlier discovery of Enkidu as a hero:

Anattalka Enkidu
kima ili tabašši (Gilg. II OB II 11)
 I look at you, Enkidu
 you have become like a god.

From a different text I will quote another important example. When Ereškigal first hears of Ištar's arrival at the gate of the Netherworld, she expresses her dismay in terms which go beyond personal animosity (Išt. D. 32-36). The thrust of her surprise follows a double crossreferential direction, back to the theme of food and forward to the theme of love. As for the theme of food, it had first been stated in ll. 8-9, in the description of the Netherworld as an undesirable place; now Ereškigal resumes it, but in an inverted form: if Ištar has come to the Netherworld, does that mean that Ereškigal should exchange place with her and taste the water of the upper world (of the Anunnaki), which to her would have the same undesirable effect that the Netherworld water has for Ištar and those who enter from above? As for the theme of love, Ereškigal asks herself why should she (were she to exchange places with Ištar) feel any feelings of compassion for lovers who are separated by death—a theme which is found later, with a variation, where it is said that love disappears with the disappearance of Ištar (11.73-80). In Ereškigal's statement, we have the dominant theme of the poem which is expressed explicitly in a verse immediately following:

Uppiši-ma kima parsi labiruti!
 Treat even her according to the old norms! (Išt. D. 38)

The poem in effect underscores the fact that natural and cultural laws have a full grip even on gods: Ištar's attempt to subvert them is purely a whim, and Ereškigal knows that it is to no avail. Just as the Netherworld food is good for her, Ereškigal, so she can but remain indifferent in front of death, even when it affects the closest bonds of love. From this point of view she knows that Ištar cannot escape the rule of the laws

(*parsu*): if Ištar gives up the prerogative she has under the laws of the upper world, then she will have to submit to the laws of the Netherworld. The term *parsu* is in fact repeated as a continuous staccato during the episode of Ištar's entry through the gates: to her repeated question as to the reasons for being progressively disrobed, there comes no direct answer, but rather a statement of fact:

ša Belet-eršetim ki'am parsiša (ll.44 ff).

The quiet monotony of the episode, punctuated only by the progressive invasion of Ištar's privacy, underscores the relentless momentum of the *parsu* which eventually take completely over. The complex crossreferencing of the themes of food and love on the one hand, of law on the other, gives a strong impact to the message conveyed by these themes, and lends a haunting quality to the poem.

4.4. *Transpositional Devices*

While the devices discussed so far operate on the level of composition viewed as a single and primary register of segmental relationships, there is also a secondary register which does not have a compositional structure of its own, but consists only of compositional fragments: the link between these fragments of the secondary register and the full segmental structure of the primary register is provided by the transpositional devices. Before explaining this with examples, it may be useful to refer to a graphic rendering of the intended configuration (Chart 4).

When Sennacherib says of himself that "he swept over the land of the enemy like a fog" (*gimir matišu...kima imbari ashup*, *OIP* 2, p. 59: 28), he switches registers and invokes a fragment of a different composition (pertaining to a natural phenomenon) into the primary composition, which describes his military exploits. All that is left undeveloped of the second register (i.e., all that is left unsaid about the fog) is present as a potential composition of its own; the context of the primary register calls for a selection of the pertinent implications—in this case, for instance, the all-enveloping opaqueness and cold of a fog bank might be the pertinent qualities which apply to the primary register, whereas such questions as the amount of humidity are in the background. It is proper, then, for transpositional devices to invoke fragments of other compositions without indicating fully the range of applicability (this is true even of the complex similes such as those, for instance, found in Homer).

An important element of transpositional devices is that they tend to violate the natural sequence of things: by extracting one compositional fragment from its context, and transposing it onto a different register, the natural identity of the fragment is lost. In our example, only the portion of the notion "storm" is envisaged, and the overall natural context of the phenomenon is explicitly pushed into the background. Such a dislocation of the natural sequence can only take place within given bounds: its effectiveness is proportional to the tensional range of the dislocation (i.e., the farthest one pushes away from the level of banality, the more captivating is the transposition); on the other hand, there must remain a fundamental intelligibility of the proposed linkage

between registers. Poetry has been defined as a type of composition which exhibits such features in the extreme (J. Cohen 1966).

Simile and metaphor are the two most characteristic realizations of such device. Their formal properties within Akkadian are described briefly in an earlier paper (Buccellati 1976), to which I may simply refer here for a preliminary exemplification. For an interesting example of a different type of dislocation in Biblical poetry see Weiss 1967, especially p. 419.

5. CORRELATION OF LEVELS BEYOND THE SYSTEM

5.1. *The Secret Kinship*

The ways in which different stylistic levels come to be integrated in a text account for its literary nature. To put it differently, literary style may be conceived as the interweaving of all other types of style present in a text. The author's creative integration unifies in the work itself all the levels which we have kept, and must keep, separate for the sake of analysis. Integration, as distinct from juxtaposition, means that the connections are from within, that the counterpointal registers blend as of necessity into a unified harmony. This has been captured in a beautiful statement by a Czech poet of the early eighteenth century quoted by R. Jakobson (Matejka and Titunik 1976 164):

true poetry—the more original and alive its world, the more contradictory the contrasts in which the secret kinship occurs.

Much of the study on poetry has brought out just what the various dimensions of this "secret kinship" are (see for instance the notion of coupling in Levin 1962). And indeed poetry develops this aspect of expression to the extreme, to a point where the complex internal architecture of the poem is immediately felt as necessary at the very moment in which it is posited freely by the author-causing, in the words of Valéry (1958: 72), the poem to acquire something like an intrinsic regenerative power:

The poem ... does not die for having lived: it is expressly designed to be born again from its ashes and to become endlessly what it has just been. Poetry can be recognized by this property, that it tends to get itself reproduced in its own form: it stimulates us to reconstruct it identically.

The notion of secret kinship, however, applies to all levels of expression. The farther away from poetry, the less secret and necessary may be the bonds; but they **are** there nevertheless, in however embryonic and imperceptible a fashion, as filaments which hold together whatever the unit of expression may be. Stylistic analysis gives us a handle with which to identify these bonds or filaments, and conceptualize their relationships. The selections which operate at the various levels are a function of a higher selection, a broader system which subsumes all the various stylistic levels. The distributional classes which are recognized as present in a given textual assemblage are not just cumulative, but rather reciprocally integrated in a unifying structure. In the

measure in which we can discern their patterns, we can perceive what the architecture of the whole is. From a formalized description of idiosyncratic selections we can reach the point of origin behind it all, the author's preference; we can discover, as it were, the ancestral source from which the secret kinship emanates—for whatever type of textual assemblage.

Hence, the effort at formalization about which I spoke at the beginning may be seen to serve a vital, pedagogical role. By bringing us back to the locus where the author's idiosyncratic selections take place, stylistic analysis does more than dissect an object of study: it also trains our sensitivity. Formal recognition of patterns where patterns are not otherwise perceived generates an active patterning ability. We assimilate, in other words, the same presuppositions which were operative in the initial creative process. Through a mediate, scientific process we acquire an immediate power of perception. We become educated, humanistically.

5.2. *The Limit of Expectation*

The internal structure of the text is declared by the text itself, not by any label outside the text. We have seen this above with regard to the structure of the discourse (Section 1), but the same obtains for all other levels. The code is given with the data themselves, and ultimately any decoding must be possible from within the text; for fruition of the secret kinship to be possible, its inner bonds must be apparent of their own volition at the same time that they remain secret, as if in a transfigured state. The self-declaration of the text is not embedded in any single place, but rather it "happens" at the same time that the text "happens." The text sets its own limits, and the degree of expectation created thereby grows apace with the definition of those limits. Poetry pushes to the extreme this process, which is only adumbrated in simpler texts. The limit of expectation is all the more operative the more complex a text is, and it is especially of these texts that I am speaking now, even though in principle the argumentation applies to all texts.

Both the notion of limit and that of expectation imply directionality. Reading a text means going from threshold to threshold, each one being a limit to what precedes and to what follows: they are at the same time resolutions of announced limits and pointers to further limits. In this constant thresholding lies the dynamism of a text. The delicate balance which is necessary is one between banality and unintelligibility. Whether the resolution of a limit is obvious, and thus banal, or whether it is too obscure, and thus unintelligible—in either case the expectation is frustrated. This necessary balancing between extremes is partly the cause for the selections made by the author, selections which make up the many stylistic dimensions of a text.

The goal of literary analysis is to disentangle these dimensions, and to indicate how effectively they have been ordered along the creative axis to produce the intended result. The directionality implied in the notion of the limit of expectation is a guide to literary analysis. The overarching question is then: how well are the limits

posited, how well are they resolved, and what is their hierarchy? Literary analysis, in the distributional sense outlined above, will serve as an apposite tool.

6. A LITERARY READING OF THE FIRST STANZA OF ENUMAELIŠ

I will conclude with the analysis of a brief text—the first stanza (as defined above, 2.4) of *Enuma Eliš*, of which the Akkadian text with its translation will be found below. Only a few remarks will be given here, followed by an English translation. My goal is primarily to bring out some of the dimensions which have been elaborated in the discussion above, especially as they pertain to the integration of the various stylistic levels.

The main theme of the stanza and perhaps of the poem is a poetic capturing of the phenomenon of differentiation. At the *notional or informational level*, this intersects a variety of configurations. The sphere of nature is evidenced in the first stanza by the description, in negative terms, of the basic elements of earth, air and water: they are without a name, and even water, though named (*Apsu* and *Mummu-Tiamat*), is presented as a formless mass, i.e., without the definition provided (as it is today in Southern Iraq) by the low grasses which surround canals and marshes (*gipara la kissuru*) and by the reeds (*susu*) which grow at the edges. There is however a beginning of definition, because their waters are considered as intermingling, which entails, at least implicitly, separation and thus some degree of incipient differentiation.

The social sphere is evidenced (in later stanzas) by the description of the growth from one generation to the next, where the later one is always at a higher degree of development than the former one: the sons are explicitly and emphatically recognized as excelling over their fathers. The political sphere is evidenced by the establishment of Babylon as the ideal state, coming out of chaos.

One more sphere is of special importance, that of the gods. They are implicitly present, existent, but as a divine mass which is as yet undifferentiated: unmanifested (*la šupu*), unidentified (*šuma la zukkuru*), undetermined (*šimati la šimu*). Out of this mass, differentiation takes place: the gods are created, manifested, identified by name. Divine differentiation is set in motion, and reaches its climax at the very end of the poem: the expectation for differentiation, created so artfully by the first stanza, reaches its full resolution with the apotheosis of Marduk, who, at the opposite end of unnamedness, has not just one, but fifty names. With him, differentiation reaches a point of complete saturation.

On the *compositional level*, we have here a most effective use of interlocking devices, as pointed out already in 4.3. The relationship between the primeval, formless divine mass on the one hand and the fully differentiated personality of Marduk, with his fifty names, provides a remarkable example of an inclusive frame. Within the limits of the first stanza, the device of anticipation is also exploited to its full extent. There is the obvious pair negative/positive:

- + When the heavens were not identified,
 when no god was manifest as yet,
- then were the gods created,
 Lahmu and Lahamu **were manifested**.

But there is more. The amorphous mass of physical elements (1-6) is paralleled by the amorphous mass of divinity (7-8). However, the resolution of the problem of undifferentiation is achieved with different means. In the second case, it is explicit: the gods are explicitly said to have been created, named. In the first case, the resolution is implicit: names (Apsu, Mummu-Tiamat) are already advanced where the amorphous mass is being described, as if to point to an incipient, self-motivated process of differentiation.

Lexical and grammatical considerations parallel on the *linguistic* level what we have just been saying about compositional features. *Lexically* we have some interesting sets of names (which, as sets, lend themselves also to compositional considerations as crossreferencing devices). Notice first the correlation between *šamamu* and *ammatum*: their notional link is strengthened not only by the phonological device of alliteration (prevalence of m), but also by the fact that *šamamu* is an “arcane” morphological formation, while *ammatum* has an “arcane” semantic range. In addition, this correlation lends itself to three interesting extensions.

First, there is another pair of words which appears immediately below with a similar lexical alternation. *Giparu* and *susu* are used to describe the watery mass, and of these *giparu*, in the sense of meadows or grass banks, may be considered an arcane word, thus parallel to *ammatum*.

Second, the set *šamamu - ammatum* is extended by the inclusion of the names Apsu and Mummu-Tiamat, referring to the watery mass. We thus obtain a syntagmatic definition of the set as a paradigm, meaning that the contextual arrangement endows the sequence with a paradigmatic value, as follows:

noun	:	<i>šamamu</i>
arcane noun	:	<i>ammatum</i>
proper name	:	<i>Apsu, Mummu-Tiamat</i>

The result is that the middle term, the arcane noun, serves as a middle ground between a common noun and a name.

Finally, and almost by way of confirmation of the second point, though more tentatively, the set we have just analyzed is paralleled at the end of the stanza by another set: *ilu - Lahmu/Lahamu*. We may perhaps see in this, the first declared name of a divinity, a proto-Tigridian noun, of the phonological shape which is usual for these nouns, and hypothetically referring to the sea. If so, then we would have a combination of arcane noun (as an archaic loanword) and proper name, thereby reproducing the paradigm found at the beginning of the stanza:

noun	:	<i>ilu</i>
arcane noun	:	[<i>laham</i>]
proper name	:	<i>Lahmu/Lahamu</i>

Still lexically, but on a different plane, we may note the variety of terms which are used to introduce the notion of differentiation. Viewed in this respect, the English translation may vary from the usual, in such a fashion as to bring out the compositional and notional levels of the text. A good test for the validity of the translation is that, if we try to suggest other means whereby Akkadian can render these English concepts, we do not seem to find any which are more appropriate. Here is the list:

<i>šuma zakaru</i>	to identify by name
<i>nabu</i>	to identify
<i>še'ū</i>	to define
<i>šima šamu</i>	to determine the personality

Grammatically, there is an interesting interplay of verbal forms which serve to underscore the dimensions seen so far. Fientive and positive forms appear at crucial junctures in the stanza where the process of differentiation is alluded to, while stative and negative forms are used in the opposite case. The sequence is as follows:

stative	fientive
<i>la nabu</i>	
<i>la zakrat</i>	
	<i>ihiqu</i>
<i>la kissuru</i>	
<i>la šupu</i>	
<i>la zukkuru</i>	
<i>la šimu</i>	
	<i>ibbanli</i>
	<i>uštapu</i>
	<i>izakru</i>

In the translation, I have respected this, by using an auxiliary (“*did* blend”), by adding an adverb of time (“were *then* created”) by stressing the ingressive aspect (“became manifested,” “came to be identified”). Note also that *ibbanu* is the first verb to occur in sentence initial position.

The metrical dimension of the stanza brings out the structure observed so far. The sequence of even verses and even couplets makes rhesiological boundaries coincide with notional boundaries, in such a cadenced manner as to strengthen the static picture conveyed by the prevalence of stative forms, by arcane nouns, and by the notional insistence on undifferentiation.

The resulting impact is remarkable — “resulting” not from an atomized, cumulative juxtaposition of considerations, as we have been adducing so far, but from the integration of these, and countless more, dimensions in a single text. When all is said and done, what remains is the haunting quality of the text, the perduring resonance of which never seems to wane once it has been heard.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Enuma eliš la nabu šanamu</i> | When up above the heavens were not identified |
| | <i>šaplis ammatum šuma la zakrat</i> | and down below firm ground was yet without a name, |
| 3 | <i>Apsli-ma reštu zarušun</i> | when only primeval Apsu as begetter |
| | <i>Mummu-Tiamat mu'allidat gimrišun</i> | and Mummu-Tiamat, the universal mother, |

- 5 *mešunu išteš ihiqu-ma* did blend their waters into one,
gipara la kissuru susa la šēšū ungirdled as to meadows, undefined as to marsh reeds,
- 7 *enuma ilu la šupu manama* When no god was manifest as yet,
šuma la zakkuru šimate la šimu none was identified by name, determined as to person-
ality,
- 9 *ibbanu-ma ilu qiribšun* out of within their midst the gods were then created:
Lahmu/Lahamu uštapu šuma izzakru Lahmu and Lahamu became manifested,
came to be identified by name, ...

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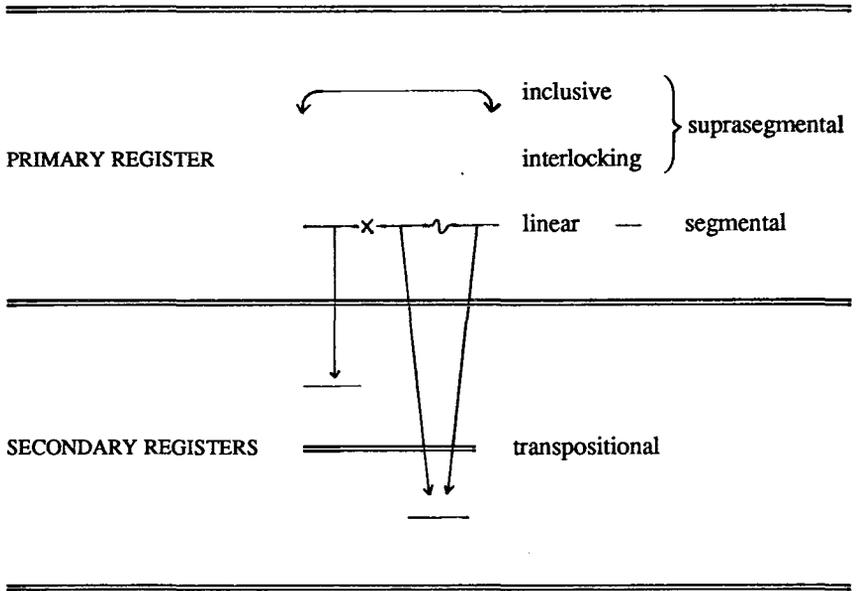
		Examples		Exclusions	
	simple	A. single metrical word	<u>šū</u>	single non-metrical word	<u>ša, ana, u, ul</u>
		B. " plus any non-metrical word	<u>ša lā išū</u>	two or more non-metrical words	<u>ul ana ša</u>
foot	complex	two metrical words	Common: constr. w/nouns <u>gimil dumqi</u> in bound constr. w/clause <u>girri annūtu</u>	two metrical words not bound syntactically	<u>Annunaki mē</u> <u>enūma eliš</u>
		syntactical form	Rare: conjunct. clause <u>ultu ikrubūšu</u> attrib. phrase <u>mē dalhute</u> compound <u>amēla eīla</u> verb ~ object <u>zummu nūra</u> subject ~ verb <u>nāru iššā</u>	coord.	<u>mūta u baldāa</u> <u>lakē lubki</u>
		" plus any non-metrical word	<u>ana šerri laqē</u> <u>ša ultu sūn hā'irišina</u>		
	odd	simple foot	A. <u>mūta</u> B. <u>u baldāa</u>	complex foot for odd colon	<u>bandt šimti</u>
		two simple feet	not bound <u>enūma xxx eliš</u> bound <u>ina ilāni xxx ahhēšu</u>	two complex feet for even colon	<u>mārat šin xxx bandt šimti</u>
colon	even	simple / complex feet	not bound <u>lullik xxx zikirki lušanni</u> bound <u>mukiltu xxx ša kippē rabūti</u>		
		complex / simple feet	not bound <u>ana pi nārāti xxx ušēšibāni</u> bound <u>dalihat Apsi xxx maḥar Ea</u>		

Patterns of Feet and Cola
Chart 1

- I. i 1 *Īnu Anum širum ... Enlil ...
ana Marduk ... kiššat niši išimušum
Bābilim šumšu štram ibbiu ...
ina libbišu šarrūtam dārītam ... ukinnušum
inūmišu
Ḥammurapi ... yāti ... Anum u Enlil ... šumi ibbū.*
-
- II. i 50 *Ḥammurapi, rē²um nibit Enlil, anāku
mukammer ...
v 14 inūma Marduk ... uwa²²eranni
kittam u mišaram
ina pi mātīm
aškun,
šir niši
uṭb.*
-
- III. v 25 *Inūmišu,
Laws
xlvi 1 dīnāt mišarim
ša Ḥammurapi ... ukinnu-ma
mātam usām kīnam ... ušašbitu.*
-
- IV. xlvii 9 *Ḥammurapi, šarrum gitmālum, anāku ...*
-
- V. xlviii 59 *Ana warkiāt ūmi, ana mātīma,
šarrum ša ina mātīm ibbaššū ...*

Code of Ḥammurapi: Overall Structure (see §4.2)

Chart 3



Graphic Configuration of Transpositional Devices

Chart 4