



Lilith Apostel

Two Is a Company, Three Is a Crowd?

**A Proposal for the Annotation of Religious Metaphors
Based on the Ancient Near Eastern Myths *Gilgameš*,
Enkidu, and *the Netherworld* and *Adapa and the South
Wind***

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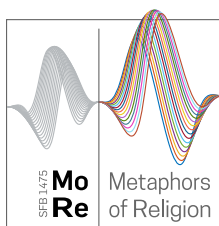
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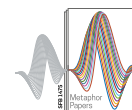
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A Proposal for the Annotation of Religious Metaphors Based on the Ancient Near Eastern Myths *Gilgameš*, *Enkidu*, and *the Netherworld* and *Adapa and the South Wind*

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ABSTRACT The paper examines two mythical narratives from the ancient Near East and traces developments with regard to religious metaphors between their Sumerian and Akkadian versions. Based on these observations, as a modification of the CRC 1475 annotation scheme, a three-level scheme is proposed in which an immanent and a transcendent religious target domain are juxtaposed with the non-religious source domain.

KEYWORDS metaphor annotation, source/target, immanence/transcendence, ancient Near East

Introduction

This article aims to examine the viability of two related, but slightly different definitions of metaphor and to compare their suitability for the analysis of early mythological texts. With this purpose, I examine the ancient Near Eastern narratives *Gilgameš*, *Enkidu*, and *the Netherworld* and *Adapa and the South Wind*, in both their Sumerian and Akkadian versions. To my knowledge, no study to date has specifically addressed the metaphors that are found in them. [1]

To begin with, probably the most basic definition of metaphor is to be mentioned, which was proposed by Lakoff and Johnson: “[...] we claim that metaphor is conceptual in nature and that a metaphor is a structural mapping from one domain of subject matter (the source domain) to another (the target domain)” (1986, 294). Lakoff and Johnson argue that the character of the human conceptual system is fundamentally metaphorical, insofar as numerous concepts are formed not only on their own terms, but in terms of other concepts (1980a, 1980b). Insofar as they examine language to infer underlying concepts, this definition is suitable for both verbal and conceptual metaphors. [2]

The understanding of metaphor in the CRC 1475 *Metaphors of Religion*,¹ which deals [3]

explicitly with metaphors in religious language, builds on the definition by Lakoff and Johnson (Krech, Karis, and Elwert 2023). Religious meaning-making, per the premise of the CRC 1475, occurs in and through metaphors. In metaphors, meaning is transferred from one semantic domain to another. Religion, which cannot directly address its ultimate subject (the transcendent), is dependent on this procedure. Religion is understood as the form of communication that has the function of coping with ultimate contingency by means of the transcendence/immanence distinction. In this paradoxical process, the metaphor is used to infer the unknown (target domain) from known means (source domain) and in this way creates religious meaning.

Implicit in the conceptual framework of the CRC 1475 is the assumption that these two definitions of metaphor introduced in the previous paragraphs are congruent, that the immanent is the source domain and the transcendent is the target domain. In the following, I will examine whether this assumption is justified and propose a modified model in which the transcendence/immanence distinction lies *within* the target domain. This modification meets the understanding of the CRC 1475 even better, insofar as religious communication is understood as having the function of coping with ultimate contingency by means of the transcendence/immanence distinction, and it is therefore to be expected that the religious content of a metaphor encompasses both areas. [4]

Enkidu's Return from the Netherworld in *Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Netherworld*

The Sumerian composition *Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Netherworld* has been handed down to us from the eighteenth century BCE in 74 copies and several slightly different versions (Attinger 2019; Gadotti 2014; George 2003; Zgoll 2014). It formed part of four tales about the legendary king Gilgameš of Uruk, on which the Akkadian Gilgameš Epic was based; and the latter part of *Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Netherworld* was appended to the epic as the twelfth tablet.² [5]

After a prologue, *Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Netherworld* relates how the ḫalub-tree is planted by the goddess Inana in her garden in order to later having a chair and a bed made out of it. She is prevented from doing so, however, by an Anzu-bird nesting in the branches, a snake in the roots and a female wind spirit in the trunk. Gilgameš helps Inana to get rid of these creatures and fabricates from the tree not only a bed and chair for the goddess, but also a ball and a stick for himself. During a game, these objects fall down into the netherworld, whereupon Enkidu agrees to retrieve them. Although [6]

1 <https://sfb1475.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/en/>. The paper is part of the sub-project B05, which investigates metaphors in descriptions of so-called out-of-body experiences from a cross-cultural, comparative perspective. Out-of-body experiences are a recurring phenomenon worldwide and are attested from a range of times and places. Since this altered state of consciousness, in which one perceives oneself as being located outside of one's own physical body, can be interpreted rather differently depending on the cultural background, we have provisionally defined out-of-body experiences as journeys of people—or parts of them—to other worlds.

2 For a discussion of whether a Sumerian Gilgameš cycle with a specific order of stories existed, see Gadotti (2014); Attinger (2019).

Gilgameš instructs him how not to be recognised as an intruder in the netherworld, Enkidu neglects this advice and remains trapped there. Gilgameš appeals to various deities and finally the sun god Utu enables Enkidu's return to the world of the living. There, Enkidu tells Gilgameš about the fate of the dead in the netherworld.

Lines 242–243 of *Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Netherworld*, in which Enkidu is brought back from the netherworld, have long been of particular interest. The respective translations of Gadotti and Attinger illustrate the research controversies (Sumerian transliteration Gadotti 2014, 167; English translation Gadotti 2014, 159; French translation Attinger 2019, 18):

242–243. ab-làl kur-ra ġál im-ma-an-taka₄ / si-si-ig-ni-ta šubur-a-ni kur-ta im-ma-da-ra-ab-e₁₁-dè [8]

242–243. He (Utu) opened a chink in the Netherworld, / By means of his (=Utu's) gust of wind, he sent his (=Gilgameš [sic]) servant up from the Netherworld. [9]

242–243. On perça pour lui une ouverture dans le k u r / afin qu'il puisse faire remonter [lui permettant (ainsi) de faire remonter] du k u r son serviteur grâce à l'esprit des songes [literally: au moyen de son (d'Utu) esprit des songes; less likely, but not ruled out: au moyen de son (d'Enkidu) 'âme des songes']³. [10]

The controversies of interpretation result primarily from the fact that in all cases only a vague assignment of meaning from a range of connotations is possible. Words such as k u r ["mountain," "foreign land," "netherworld"; Gadotti (2014), 342]⁴ first of all emphasize unfamiliarity and thus stress the ambiguity of Mesopotamian ideas about the netherworld.⁵ Just as indeterminate remains the obscure nature of the a-b-làl ("window," "opening"; Gadotti 2014, 331) through which Enkidu is brought back to the

3 "Ur12 (comp. aussi X1) a une version divergente: 'Le [preux] et juvénil Utu, enfanté par Ningal, perça [pour lui une ouverture] dans le k u r'" (Attinger 2019, 18).

4 The cuneiform sign for k u r consists of three hills, which shows that mountains are part of the most original meaning of the sign.

5 On the ambiguity of Sumerian netherworld geography, see Artemov (2020). He thus opposes, for example, Katz who attempts to reconstruct a coherent picture from disparate sources (Katz 2003). "However, a basic understanding of how the cosmos is organized appears to have survived unchanged throughout the entire span of the cuneiform civilization. Most importantly, the universe was thought to be spherical. More specifically, it was composed of two complementary hemispheres: the upper hemisphere—or 'upper parts' (*elâti*); and the lower hemisphere—or 'lower parts' (*šaplâti*). In this scheme [...], the two hemispheres are virtually identical counterparts of one another: each of them has its 'earth' (*ki*, *eršetu*) and its 'sky' (*an*, *šamû*), the only difference being that the upper hemisphere is inhabited by the living, while the lower one is the domain of the dead. It is fully appropriate, therefore, to designate the two hemispheres as 'upper world' (or 'Above') and 'nether world' (or 'Below') respectively. To avoid confusion with the upper earth, the nether earth is usually qualified as 'great' (*ki-gal*) or referred to by various alternative or euphemistic expressions, such as *kur*, 'Mountain (where the sun god sets),' *irigal*, 'Great City,' *Arali*, *kur-nu-gi₄*, 'Land of No Return,' etc. In a similar way, the nether sky is sometimes differentiated from the upper sky by being called *an-šag₄*, 'interior sky' or, in Akkadian, *utul šamê*, 'lap of the sky'; alternatively, the upper sky may be designated as *an-gal*, 'great sky.' All of the celestial bodies (= astral deities) traverse the upper and nether skies in a circular motion, passing from one hemisphere to the other through special gates. The passage into the nether world is accomplished by means of the western gate, thought to be situated in the Cedar Mountains on the coast of the Mediterranean. To return to the upper world they use the eastern gate, believed to be located in the Hašur Mountains on the eastern edge the Persian Gulf, near the place where the underground waters of the Abzu syphon up and mingle together with the seawater"

world of the living.⁶ Moreover, it remains unknown whether Utu's act of $\hat{g} \acute{a} l t a k a_4$ ("to open"; Gadotti 2014, 338) is related to something that already exists in a closed state or whether the $a b-l \grave{a} l$ only comes into being at this very moment.⁷ Enkidu's leaving the netherworld through the $a b-l \grave{a} l$ also contrasts with the $a b u l$ ("doorway, gate"; Gadotti 2014, 331) $g a n z e r$ as the "normal" entry.⁸ After Gilgameš's playthings have fallen into the netherworld, he sits down in front of the $a b u l g a n z e r$ and cries. Apparently, it cannot be traversed by him and it also plays no role in Enkidu's following descent to the netherworld, in which the outward journey is not mentioned at all.

The passage can, however, be treated as a metaphor in the sense of Lakoff and Johnson's minimal definition as structural mapping from one domain of subject matter to another. In opening a chink in the netherworld, Utu acts like a person opening a physical place (tbl. 1).⁹ "As one who daily makes the journey from the Netherworld to the land of the living, the sun god is uniquely able to open such a hole" (George 2003, 529). This quote from George, however, draws attention to another crucial point, namely that $U t u$ is the divine anthropomorphization of the sun and that $k u r$ can likewise be understood in two ways, on the one hand as the physical area in the mountains and on the other as the metaphysical realm of the dead.¹⁰ It appears that the CRC 1475's understanding of religious metaphors as a mapping from a known, immanent source domain to an unknown, transcendent target domain is not equivalent to the definition of Lakoff and Johnson. Rather, both an immanent and a transcendent religious target

(Steinkeller 2005, 18–21). "Owing to his regular and reliable movements between the upper and the nether worlds, the sun god rules over both of them, which makes him the de facto master of the universe. He controls, maintains, and judges all the living and the dead, exercising similar functions with regard to the divine community. He also serves as the chief 'conductor' or 'director' (*muštēširu, murteddū*) of the traffic and intercourse between the two hemispheres. In this role, he routinely transports spirits of the dead and troublesome ghosts from Above to Below. Or, alternatively, he can bring them up from Below to Above, as in the rites of necromancy" (Steinkeller 2005, 23–24).

6 With reference to the preferred nesting places of wild pigeons, which are also referred to as $a b-l \grave{a} l$, Artemov leans towards an interpretation as a crevice in the ground (Artemov 2020). In contrast, Tropper understands these "pigeon holes" as small hatches in the masonry of the city wall or the gate of the "city of the dead" (Tropper 1989). In accordance with the mapping described on the next page, Artemov thus addresses the immanent, Tropper the transcendent target domain.

7 Variants of the narrative also differ at this point: while in the Ur version translated by Gadotti, Utu opens the $a b-l \grave{a} l$ ($\hat{g} \acute{a} l i m-m a-a n-t a k a_4$), in the Nippur version used by Attinger, someone third performs this task ($\hat{g} \acute{a} l m u-n a-a b-t a k a_4$).

8 "His ball and his stick fell down to the bottom of the Netherworld. / He stretched out his hand, but he could not reach it, / He stretched out his foot, but he could not reach it. / At the gate of Ganzer, in front of the Netherworld, he sat down. / Gilgameš wept, he was sobbing" (Gadotti 2014, 157, lines 164–168). Artemov points out that it remains unclear whether $g a n z e r$ is to be understood as the name of the gate or of the entire netherworld (2020).

9 The annotation procedure of the CRC 1475 normally comprises several steps (Dipper and Elwert, n.d.). The open and the complete mapping have been merged into one table here.

10 That in the Ancient Near East the sun god was considered the cosmic transporter *par excellence*, was demonstrated by Zgoll. As *psychopompos*, he acts as a guide into and out of the realm of the dead. He accompanies, moreover, not only the dead, but also carries donations for the netherworld or for the heavenly gods (Zgoll 2014). "Current common opinion attributes to the Babylonians the belief that the sungod visited the netherworld at night. Such a belief seems plausible. All those for whom the dimensions 'above' and 'below' are absolute must conclude that the sun and the other heavenly bodies move through the world below during their daily course. In the case of the Babylonians this belief seems to be connected with the sungod's intimate knowledge of the realms of the dead: he shows the living and the dead the way; he can revive the dead; he is judge of 'those above and those below'" (Heimpel 1986, 127).

<i>transcendent target domain</i>	he (Utu) on / Utu	opened perça pour lui	a chink une ouverture	in the Nether- world dans le kur
<i>immanent target domain</i>	the sun	opened	an opening	in the moun- tains
<i>source domain</i>	he (a person)	opened ĝál im-ma-an- taka ₄	an opening ab-làl	in an unfamil- iar physical place kur-ra

Table 1 Open mapping: red—Sumerian original; complete mapping: light blue—English translation Gadotti, dark blue—French translation Attinger, green—additions Apostel.

domain are superimposed on the non-religious source domain, resulting in a three-level mapping and a double conceptual metaphor THE NETHERWORLD IS A PHYSICAL PLACE / THE NETHERWORLD IS A METAPHYSICAL PLACE.

The three-level mapping thus established is further elaborated in what follows: Utu can send Enkidu up from the netherworld, insofar as a physical place has a geographical location (tbl. 2). The associated verb e_{11} (“to go up and down, to move vertically”; Gadotti 2014, 335) stresses the verticality of the movement, but does not distinguish between an upward or downward movement. That it is used in *Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Netherworld* in the sense of an upward movement can only be inferred from the context, insofar as Gilgameš’s playthings had previously fallen into the netherworld, which must therefore be underground.¹¹ For this purpose, an instrument is also required, a role that the *si-si-ig* fulfills. Here, researchers are particularly divided on both the question as to whose *si-si-ig* it is, since the suffix chain *-ni-ta*¹² allows for various interpretations, and as to the exact meaning of the word.¹³ Firstly, a translation as “(gust of) wind” or “breeze” as well as “dream (spirit),” “dream soul” or “phantom” is possible. Secondly, most researchers assume that Utu is being referred to and thus his “wind” or “dream (spirit)” is understood as an instrument that allows Enkidu to rise from the netherworld. Others follow the interpretation, modelled on the later Akkadian version, that Enkidu’s “dream soul” or “phantom” is returning from the netherworld.

[13]

11 Also for *ganzer*, Artemov suggests an association with a downward movement through the potential translation “I-want-to-let-him/her-slide-down” (“Ich-Will-Ihn/Sie-Hinabgleiten-Lassen”) (or “I-want-to-shatter” (“Ich-Will-Zerschmettern”)) (2020, 370).

12 “Whereas everyone but Butler [...] agreed that the subject of the verb in l. 243 is Utu, the antecedent of the pronominal suffix in *si-si-ig-ni-ta* is ambiguous. Because of the close association of Utu and ^(d)*si-si-ig*, I suggest that the antecedent of the possessive pronoun is Utu. Admittedly, the writing *-ni* and not *-a-ni* or *-ga-ni* is odd, although not unique. The presence of the ablative suffix *-ta* indicates that the *si-si-ig* is the means by which Enkidu comes back from the Netherworld” (Gadotti 2014, 283). “[...] ma traduction soulèverait deux problèmes: l’acception ‘dream’, ‘spirit of dreams’ de *si-si-ig* et l’ablatif avec une personne” (Attinger 2019, 18). “Le suff. poss. *-ni-* après *si-si-ig* plaide pour qqc./qqn qu’Utu, en tant que personne ou dans l’exercice de ses fonctions, utilise régulièrement. Cela va bien avec l’esprit des songes, qui est son fils, mais pas avec le vent” (Attinger 2019, 19).

13 A detailed discussion of the arguments of both sides can be found in Attinger (2019).

Consequently, the question of Enkidu's condition is also unclear: is he alive or can only his ghost be summoned?

Considering the three-level mapping structure, however, it becomes clear that both readings are equally valid. In the immanent religious target domain, a gust of wind caused by the sun sends the corporeal Enkidu¹⁴ up from the area underground, whose entry lies in the mountains.¹⁵ In the transcendent religious target domain, by contrast, it is the sun god Utu who sends Enkidu's ghost up from the realm of the dead with the help of Utu's dream spirit or Enkidu's dream soul. It turns out that the translation controversies are caused by whether the respective researchers give preference to the immanent or the transcendent religious target domain in their interpretation. This also helps to explain why Gadotti's translation proposal has not found wider acceptance. By interpreting *si-si-i-g* as a phenomenon of the physical world, but continuing to understand *Utu* as god and not as a celestial body, her translation blurs the immanent and transcendent levels, which is intuitively irritating. [14]

All in all, the passage thus illustrates how religious meaning is generated through metaphors. It contains a sequence of terms, each of which alone allows for a spectrum of possible understandings. These terms, belonging to the known immanent sphere, are transferred to describe both the known immanence and the unknown transcendence of the religious sphere. Together they result in a simultaneously vague and concrete notion based on the double conceptual metaphor *THE NETHERWORLD IS A PHYSICAL PLACE* / *THE NETHERWORLD IS A METAPHYSICAL PLACE*, which fulfills the function of coping with ultimate contingency. [15]

In the twelfth tablet of the Akkadian Gilgameš Epic the passage has undergone some changes (Zgoll 2012a, 2014; Akkadian transliteration George 2003, 732; English translation George 2003, 733; German translation Zgoll 2014, 625): [16]

85–87. qar-ra-du eṭ-lu ^dršamaš(utu) mār(dumu) ^dnin^ṽ-[gal x x]x / {lu-man} tak-ka-ap erṣeti(ki)^{tim} ip-te-e-ma / ú-tuk-ku šá ^den-ki-dù ki-i za-qí-qí ul-^rtú erṣeti(ki)^{tim} uš-te-la^ṽ-a [17]

85–87. The Young Hero Šamaš, [...] son of Ningal, / opened a chink in the Netherworld, / he brought the shade of Enkidu up from the Netherworld like a phantom. [18]

87. Den *utukku*-Geist des Enkidu brachte er (der Sonnengott), (indem er handelte) wie ein *zaqīqu*, aus der Unterwelt herauf. [19]

Already in lines 85 and 86, the translation results in subtle shifts in meaning (tbl. 3). [20]

14 Since it is the physical Enkidu, this implies that he did not die in the netherworld. Theoretically, it would also be possible that the wind carries his dead body up, but this seems extremely unlikely considering the following conversation between Gilgameš and Enkidu.

15 The co-occurrence of *ku r* and *e₁₁* in GEN 243 shows that it is not useful to distinguish between two concepts of the netherworld, a Sumerian “horizontal cosmology,” which locates it in the mountains, and an Akkadian “vertical cosmology,” which places it underground (Geller 2000). That both depictions are not contradictory but belong to a consistent world view is apparent from an idea of the sun's travel in which the sun rises through an opening in the mountains in the east, crosses the sky from left to right during the day, sets through an opening in the mountains in the west and returns to its starting point from right to left below the earth at night.

<i>transcendent target domain</i>	he (Utu) afin qu'il (Utu)	puisse faire remonter	son serviteur Enkidu (as ghost)	from the Netherworld du kur	au moyen de son (d'Utu) esprit des songes / au moyen de son (d'Enkidu) 'âme des songes'
<i>immanent target domain</i>	the sun	sent up	his (=Gilgameš) servant Enkidu (as physical person)	from the mountains	by means of his (=the sun Utu's) gust of wind
<i>source domain</i>	he (a person)	moved vertically im-ma-da-ra-ab-e ₁₁ -dè	his servant šubur-a-ni	from an unfamiliar physical place kur-ta	by means of an instrument si-si-ig-ni-ta

Table 2 Open mapping: red—Sumerian original; complete mapping: light blue—English translation Gadotti, dark blue—French translation Attinger, green—additions Apostel.

To begin with, the Akkadian language distinguishes between the sun god ^dŠamaš and the sun šamšu, so that the immanent reading is less pronounced here. Additionally, Akkadian *eršetu* means, apart from “netherworld,” not “mountain” but “earth,” and, instead of the connotation of unfamiliarity, has the connotation of “area” in the sense of “territory.”

Line 87 was even more extensively reinterpreted, possibly because the Sumerian text was not clearly understood even at that time. Instead of the intentionally ambiguous Sumerian passage, there is now an Akkadian wording that clearly designates Enkidu as an *utukku* ghost. It appears that the Akkadian scribes faced the same problem as the modern scholars and confused the distinction between the immanent and transcendent religious domains. Accordingly, there is no longer an immanent religious target for Enkidu in tbl. 4, as the phrase has completely shifted to the transcendent religious domain. By the disambiguation of Enkidu as ghost, an interpretation of *zaqīqu* as gust of wind has also been rendered impossible, so that here, too, the immanent religious level has been eliminated. However, it is still unclear to whom the phrase *kī zaqīqi* refers. The dual character of the *s i-s i-i g/zaqīqu* is particularly emphasised by Zgoll (2012a). She develops the idea of the oikomorphic human, in whom gods, spirits and souls can take up residence.¹⁶ *S i-s i-i g* can designate both the god of dreams and son of the sun god Utu

¹⁶ On the variety of ancient Near Eastern concepts of ghosts and souls, see Steinert (2012).

<i>transcendent target domain</i>	The Young Hero Šamaš, [...] son of Ningal qar-ra-du eṭ-lu ^{dr} šamaš(utu) mār(dumu) ^d nin ¹ -[gal x x]x	opened	a chink	in the Nether-world
<i>immanent target domain</i>	the sun	opened	an opening	in the earth
<i>source domain</i>	a person	opened ip-te-e-ma	an opening {lu-man} tak-ka-ap	in an area erṣeti(ki) ^{tim}

Table 3 Open mapping: red—Akkadian original; complete mapping: light blue—English translation George, green—additions Apostel.

as well as, in analogy to the Akkadian *zaqīqu*, be understood as a “Freiseele” or “dream soul”:

On the basis of an oikomorphic view of humans, it can well be assumed that these beings belong together and were regarded as a single group. In this case, they can be of a supra-individual character, be divinely and numinously imagined and thus not subject to death. As residents, they can be at home in the human body, but can also leave it during dreams and finally with death.¹⁷ (Zgoll 2012a, 97, my translation)

[22]

Overall, the immanent religious domain has thus faded in comparison to the Sumerian version, or, following the idea of the oikomorphic human, the two domains have become blurred.

[23]

Adapa’s Travel to the Heavens in *Adapa and the South Wind*

Adapa and the South Wind is another Sumerian account of a human travelling to another world (Cavigneaux 2014; Milstein 2015). It is documented in two copies from Meturan and a fragment from Nippur and dates to the eighteenth century BCE. The story begins with a wider cosmological introduction in the time after the Flood. As far as can be seen, this fragmentary part is concerned with the decimated human race and its role in supplying food to the gods. The next part tells of Adapa’s journey. Adapa is fishing at sea to supply the god Enki when the South Wind stirs up its storms, causing Adapa to curse

[24]

17 The fact that *si-si-i-g* occurs in GEN without divine determinative does not allow any conclusion about which interpretation is to be preferred, since the divine determinative is also missing in the Meturan version of *Death of Gilgamesh*, although the god Sisig is definitely meant there (Gadotti 2014).

<i>transcendent target domain</i>	he (Šamaš) er (der Sonnengott)	brought up brachte herauf	the shade of Enkidu den <i>utukku</i> -Geist des Enkidu <i>ú-tuk-ku šá</i> <i>^den-ki-dù</i>	from the Netherworld aus der Unterwelt	like a phantom indem er handelte wie ein <i>zaqīqu</i> (as god of dreams) wie ein <i>zaqī-qu</i> (as dream soul) <i>ki-i za-qí-qí</i>
<i>immanent target domain</i>	the sun	moved upward	<i>Enkidu</i> (as physical person)	from the earth	like a <i>zaqīqu</i> (as gust of wind)
<i>source domain</i>	he (a person)	moved upward <i>uš-te-la-a</i>	a part of Enkidu	from an area <i>ul-tú</i> <i>eršeti(ki)^{tim}</i>	like an object of comparison

Table 4 Open mapping: red—Akkadian original; complete mapping: light blue—English translation George, dark blue—German translation Zgoll, green—additions Apostel.

and break its “wings.” In response, the god An calls Adapa to heaven, an event for which he is briefed by Enki. For instance, Enki cautions Adapa not to consume the deadly food and water that An will offer him. When Adapa is delivered to An, he pays attention to these instructions, whereupon An says that Enki prevented him from giving Adapa his life. An also asks Adapa why the latter broke the wings of the South Wind; however, no further mention is made of Adapa’s fate. The final part deals with the restoration of the South Wind and its role in disease and healing.

Although Adapa travels to heaven and not to the netherworld, the account has obvious parallels to *Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld*. On the one hand, the verb e_{11} is also used for Adapa’s celestial journey, but here apparently in the sense of an upward movement (Sumerian transliteration Cavigneaux 2014, 21–22; English translation Annus 2016, 108–9; French translation Cavigneaux 2014, 26–27):

136. A iii 29: ^den-ki-ke₄ a-da-ba gù mu-na-dé-a

B iii 35: ^den-ki a-da-ba [KA] ṛmu-un-na¹-[bé²]

136a. B iii 36: á mu-da-na-ĝá ṛgù² ṛmu² ṛn[a²-(ni)]-d [é-e]

137. A iii 30: a-da-ba ki a-a ù-tu mu-è-da IM ba-ṛx¹-[t]e⁽²⁾ šu nu-ma-gíd-dè

B iii 37: a-da-ba ki a-a ù-t[u xx]-da im-ma²-t[e²...]

136. Enki addressed Adaba, he gave him instructions and said:

137. “Adaba, when going out from the place of father and birth, you should not accept [...] losses.

[25]

[26]

[27]

136. Enki s'adressa à Adaba [28]
 136a. et lui donna instruction en ces mots:
 137. «Adaba, tu vas monter chez le Père, mais n'aie pas peur (?), n'accepte pas.

On the other hand, also in this case the sun god Utu is involved and also in this case it is necessary to traverse some passage to the other world: [29]

151. A iii 44: a-da-ba inim lugal-bi šà-šè ba-gíd [30]
 B iv 5: [...b]i šà-šè ba-gíd
 152. A iii 45: a-da-ba siki-zu bar-zu im-mi-in-du₈ LĀL[?] mi-in-tà-tà (TAG-TAG)
 B iv 6: [...z]u bar-zu im-mi-du₈ in na-ab-tar-tar-re
 153. A iii 46: ^dutu-da an-šà-ga mu-un-ku₄ ká an-na-šè mu-un-/túm-me-en
 B iv 7: [...a]n-šà-ga mu-un-ku₄-re-a ka an-na-šè¹ mu-t[i-m]e
 154. A iii 47: ká an-na-šè a-a diġir-re-e-ne mu-un-túm-me-en
 B iv 8: [...]a-a diġir-e-ne-ke₄ mu-ti-me-en

151. Adaba took the words of his master to heart. [31]
 152. Adaba unleashed his hair to his sides, fire touched him,
 153. with Utu he entered the middle heaven, to the gate of heaven he brought him,
 154. to the gate of An, king of the gods, he brought him.

151. Adaba prit à coeur les paroles de son maître. [32]
 152. Adaba défit sa chevelure, la laissa s'infester de poux(?):
 153. Avec Utu il entra au fin fond du ciel, il (Utu) l'amena¹ à la porte du ciel d'Anu.
 154. Il l'amena à la porte d'Anu, le père des dieux.

The heavens are conceptualized here as a physical place that a person can enter with the appropriate guide or means of transport (tbl. 5). Just as in *Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Netherworld*, however, the double meaning of Utu as sun and as god establishes a three-level mapping that also parallels the sky / heaven and the god An, resulting in the double conceptual metaphor HEAVEN IS A PHYSICAL PLACE / HEAVEN IS A METAPHYSICAL PLACE. This explains the difficulty of translating a n-š à-g a, because, as in *Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Netherworld*, only the immanent target is easy to understand, the transcendent remains inherently ambiguous. A further complication arises from the fact that in the English translation, with the choice for “heaven” and against “sky,” Annus already draws a distinction that does not exist in Sumerian and that is misleading when assigning the immanent and transcendent targets. [33]

Next, the mention of a gate suggests an interpretation as a city or palace gate (tbl. 6). According to ancient Near Eastern conception, heaven is a city surrounded by a great wall with gates at the horizon, behind which lie the dwellings of the gods (Zgoll 2012b). As before, Utu may be interpreted both as sun and as god as well as An as sky and as [34]

<i>transcendent target domain</i>	he (Adapa)	entered	with Utu avec Utu ^d utu-da	? An an-ša-ga
<i>immanent target domain</i>	he (Adapa) il	entered entra	with the sun	the middle heaven [sky] au fin fond du ciel an-ša-ga
<i>source domain</i>	a person	entered mu-un-ku ₄	with a person (a means of trans- port)	a physical place

Table 5 Open mapping: red—Sumerian original; complete mapping: light blue—English translation Annus, dark blue—French translation Cavigneaux, green—additions Apostel.

god. Implicitly, both translators seem to have grasped the double mapping, because in this case they opt for the transcendent target, although Sumerian does not differentiate linguistically between the two.

An understanding of heaven as a palace is probably why Annus chose the translation “king” rather than the literal “father” of the gods to designate An in the transcendent religious target domain directly afterwards (tbl. 7). Such a statement also parallelizes him with an eminent human being and in this way engenders the notion of an anthropomorphic deity. The immanent religious target domain is additionally based on a spatial metaphor whereby the sky constitutes the highest layer in ancient Near Eastern cosmology, just as the king has the “highest” position among humans.

Adapa and the South Wind has also survived in Akkadian, namely in one fragment from the Egyptian Tell el-Amarna (fourteenth century BCE) and five fragments from the library of Assurbanipal in Nineveh (seventh century BCE) (Izre’el 2001; Liverani 2004; Milstein 2015). Where the beginning has been preserved, the postdiluvian opening was omitted and replaced by a prologue that concentrated on Adapa alone. The central conflict, namely that Adapa curses the South Wind and breaks its wings, is the same, and until Adapa is brought before Anu, the plot unfolds in a comparable manner. Unlike the Sumerian version, however, Adapa states in the Amarna tablet that he broke the wing of the South Wind because, while fishing for the god Ea, someone did something upon the sea, the South Wind started blowing and drowned him. Adapa is offered the food of life and the water of life by the god Anu, but, believing it to be food and water of death, declines the offer.¹⁸ He is then laughed at by Anu, and in the Amarna tablet

18 Many researchers have focused on the apparent paradox of Adapa receiving misleading instructions from Ea. For an overview of the different perspectives as well as a convincing solution, see Liverani (2004).

<i>transcendent target domain</i>	he (Utu) il (Utu)	brought	him (Adapa)	to the gate of An à la porte du ciel d'Anu ká an-na-šè
<i>immanent target domain</i>	the sun	brought amena	him (Adapa) l'	to the gate of the sky ká an-na-šè
<i>source domain</i>	a person (a means of transport)	brought mu-un-/ túm-me-en	a person	to the gate of a city/palace

Table 6 Open mapping: red—Sumerian original; complete mapping: light blue—English translation Annus, dark blue—French translation Cavigneaux, green—additions Apostel.

<i>transcendent target domain</i>	An Anu	is	king of the gods le père des dieux a-a diĝir-re-e-ne
<i>immanent target domain</i>	the sky	is	the highest cosmic layer
<i>source domain</i>	a human	is	chief among humans

Table 7 Open mapping: red—Sumerian original; complete mapping: light blue—English translation Annus, dark blue—French translation Cavigneaux, green—additions Apostel.

he sends Adapa back to either earth or netherworld, while in the Neo-Assyrian version Adapa is admitted into Anu's service.

The metaphors in the lines 17'–20' as well as 37'–39' of fragment B are similar to those [37] in the Sumerian version (Akkadian transliteration [Izre'el 2001, 16, 18](#); English translation [Izre'el 2001, 17, 19](#); German translation [Maul 2011, 255–57](#)):

14'. ^dé-a ša ša-me-e i-de• il-pu-us-[sú']-m[a] [38]
 15'. [^la-da-pa(?)]• ^rma[?] ^rla^r ^ra^r• ^rus^r-te-eš-ši-šu• ka-a-ar-r^ra^r•
 16'. [ul-ta-al-bi-is-sú ʔe-] ^re^r-ma• i-ša-ak-ka-an-šu•
 17'. [^la-da-pa a-na pa-ni ^da-ni š]ar-ri• at-ta ta-la-ak•
 18'. [a-na ša-me-e te-el-li-m]a(?)• a-na š[a-me-]e•
 19'. [i-na]^re^r-li-k[a a-na ba-ab ^da-ni i-na ʔe₄-] ^rhi[?] ^rka[?]•
 20'. [i-n]a ba-a-bu• ^da-n[^di ^ddumu-zi ù ^dgiz-zi-] ^rd^ra•

14'. Ea, who knows heaven, touched [39]
 15'. [Adapa?], made him wear (his) hair unkempt, [dressed him]
 16'. in a mourning garment, and gave him instructions:
 17'. [“Adapa,] you are going [to K]ing [Anu],
 18'. [you will ascend to heaven. When y]ou have ascended
 19'. to heaven, [when you have app]roached [Anu's gate],
 20'. [a]t An[u]’s gate [Dumuzi and Gizzi]da will be standing.

14' Ea aber, der des Himmels (Gesetze) kennt, berührte ihn, [40]
 15' *den Adapa*, und ließ verfilztes Haar ihn tragen,
 16' ließ bekleidet ihn sein mit einem (ganz verschmutzten) Trauergewand
 und gab ihm Weisung:
 17' «Adapa, du musst vor Anu, den König, gehen!
 18' Zum Himmel musst du *aufsteigen*.
 19' Wenn zum Himmel du aufsteigst (und) dem Tor des Anu dich nahst,
 20' werden im Tor des Anu Dumuzi und Gizzida stehen.»

34' ma-ar ši-ip-ri• [41]
 35'. ša ^da-ni• ik-ta-al-da• ^la-da-pa ša šu-ú-ti•
 36'. [k]a-ap-pa-ša• iš-bi-ir• a-na mu-ḫi-ia• šu-bi-la-áš-šu•
 37'. [ḫar-r]a-an ^rša^r-me-e• ú-še-eš-bi-is-sú-ma• ^ra^r[^r-n]a ša-me-e i-t [e-li-m]a[?]•
 38'. a-na ša-me-e• i-na e-li-šu• a-na ba-ab ^da-ni• i-na ʔe₄-hi-šu
 39'. i-na ba-a-bu• ^da-ni• ^ddumu-zi• ^dgiz-zi-da• iz-za-az-zu•

34'. The messenger [42]
 35'. of Anu arrived: “Adapa broke the South Wind’s
 36'. wing. Send him to me!”
 37'. He put him on the [ro]ad to heaven, and he ascended to heaven.
 38'. When he ascended to heaven, when he approached Anu’s gate,
 39. at Anu’s gate Dumuzi and Gizzida were standing.

<i>transcendent target domain</i>	Anu Anu ^d a-ni	is	king der König šar-ri
<i>immanent target domain</i>	heaven [the sky]	is	the highest cosmic layer
<i>source domain</i>	a human	is	chief among humans

Table 8 Open mapping: red—Akkadian original; complete mapping: light blue—English translation Izre’el, dark blue—German translation Maul, green—additions Apostel.

34’ Der Bote

[43]

35’ des Anu war angekommen: «Adapa zerbrach des Südwind

36’ Flügel, schicke ihn zu mir!»

37’ Den Weg zum Himmel ließ er ihn ergreifen, zum Himmel *stieg er auf*.

38’ Als zum Himmel er aufstieg und dem Tor des Anu sich nahte,

39’ standen im Tor des Anu Dumuzi und Gizzida.

Just as in Sumerian, the designation of Anu as king sets up a context that lets the gate of heaven appear as a palace gate and Anu as its human-like inhabitant (tbl. 8). The journey to Anu is also called an ascent in this version, but now the sun god no longer plays a part in it (tbl. 9). After the journey is prompted by Ea, Adapa independently approaches Anu’s gate on the road to the sky / heaven. Another significant shift in meaning has taken place here, though. While the Sumerian An does not distinguish whether the sky or the sky god is meant, Akkadian differentiates between *šamû* and ^dAnu. Accordingly, the Akkadian scribes transferred the Sumerian double meaning by using both expressions in alternation, so that the immanent and transcendent religious target domains are addressed alternately rather than simultaneously. As in the previous examples, the description remains purposefully vague and concrete at the same time. Statements such as that “the route and earthbound terminus of the path are not known” (Horowitz 1998, 65) therefore miss the point.¹⁹ Similarly, the alleged problem that “heaven and earth must be physically connected in some way” (1998, 65) finds its solution through metaphor. Altogether, the distinction between the immanent and the transcendent religious target domain appears more sharply defined than in the Sumerian version.

However, before Adapa can ascend to Anu / the sky, his path first leads into the depths [45]

19 Moreover: “[...] we have to analyse the myth of Adapa according to the ‘rules’ of mythical [...], and more generally of traditional stories (especially fairy tales), with which myths share many formal procedures and narrative devices. [...] In myths or fairy tales [...] any single act can be unmotivated and unreasonable in itself, provided it is effective in setting up the explanation of the ensuing acts. The characters accomplish (or undergo) without any surprise the most improbable and strange things, which are impossible to predict or justify. But there is a coherent line that runs throughout the narrative and culminates at its conclusion. The explanation of behaviour is therefore to be understood after the fact: the behaviour that leads to the desired conclusion is coherent” (Liverani 2004, 5–6).

<i>transcendent target domain</i>	he (Adapa) er (Adapa)	–	–	–	approached nahte sich i-na ʔe ₄ -hi- šu	Anu's gate dem Tor des Anu a-na ba-ab ^d a-ni
<i>immanent target domain</i>	he (Adapa) er (Adapa)	ascended stieg auf i-t [e-li- m]a? i-na e-li-šu	to heaven [the sky] zum Him- mel ʔaʔ[-n]a ša- me-e	on the [ro]ad to heaven [the sky] auf dem Weg zum Himmel [ħar-r]a- an ʔšaʔ-me- e	–	–
<i>source domain</i>	a person	traveled	to a palace	on a road	approached	the gate of a city/ palace

Table 9 Open mapping: red—Akkadian original; complete mapping: light blue—English translation Izre'el, dark blue—German translation Maul, green—additions Apostel.

of the water. This can be understood against the background of the Ancient Near Eastern idea that a contiguous land mass was surrounded by a single world ocean, and that the regions beyond this ocean could only be reached by the sun god (Maul 2011). In both the Sumerian and Akkadian versions of the narrative, the account of the initial boat journey is preserved only fragmentarily. However, in the Akkadian version, Adapa tells Anu what took place there:²⁰

46'. ¹a-da-pa• a-na pa-ni• ^da-ni •šar-ri• [46]
 47'. i-na qé-re-bi-šu• i-mu-ur-šu-ma• ^da-nu il-si-ma
 48'. al-ka• ¹a-da-pa• am-mi-ni• ša šu-ú-ti ka-ap-pa-ša•
 49'. te-e-eš-bi-ir• ¹a-da-pa• ^da-na ip-pa-al be-lí•
 50'. a-na bi-it• be-lí-ia• i-na qá-a-ab-la-at ta-am-ti
 51'. nu-ni• a-ba-ar• ta-am-ta i-na mé-še-li in-ši-il-ma•
 52'. šu-ú-tu i-zi-qá-am-ma• ia-a-ši• uṭ-ṭe-eb-ba-an-ni•
 53'. [a-n]a bi-it• be-lí• ul-ta-am-ši-il• i-na ug-ga-at• li-ib-bi-ia•
 54'. [x(-x)-š]a²• ʿaʿt-ta-za-ar•

46' When Adapa approached the presence of King Anu, [47]
 47'. Anu saw him and cried:
 48'. “Come! Adapa, why did you break the wing
 49'. of the South Wind?” Adapa answered Anu: “My lord!
 50'. For my lord’s household I was catching fish
 51'. in the middle of the sea. He cut the sea in half,
 52'. the South Wind blew, and me—she drowned.
 53'. I was plunged into the lord’s house. In the rage of my heart
 54'. I cursed [he]r².”

46' Als Adapa an Anu, den König, [48]
 47' herantrat, sah Anu ihn an und schrie:
 48' «Nun, Adapa, warum zerbrachst du des Südwindes Flügel?»
 49' Adapa gab dem Anu Antwort: «Mein Herr,
 50' für das Haus meines Herrn fing auf hoher See ich
 51' Fische. Spiegelglatt war das Meer.
 52' Doch da wehte der Südwind mich an, mich tauchte er unter.
 53' Zum Haus des Herrn sank ich hinab. Zornigen Herzens
 54' verfluchte ich da den Südwind».

Firstly, Adapa states that he was catching fish for his lord’s household (tbl. 10). In the [49]
 immanent religious target domain, this means that Adapa in his capacity as a priest²¹ is
 providing offerings to Ea’s temple in the sense of a purely physical building or economic

20 It remains undecided whether Adapa was also plunged into the sea by the South Wind in the Sumerian version.

21 This reading is somewhat anachronistic, insofar as Adapa is not explicitly referred to as a priest in the Tell el-Amarna version quoted here, but is called a “follower” (*riddu*) of Ea only in the Nineveh version (Izre’el 2001, 9–10).

<i>transcendent target domain</i>	Adapa the sage	was providing offerings	for Ea's temple as abode of the god
<i>immanent target domain</i>	Adapa the priest	was providing offerings	for Ea's temple as administrative unit
<i>source domain</i>	I ich	was catching fish fing Fische nu-ni• a-ba-ar	for my lord's household für das Haus meines Herrn a-na bi-it• be-lí-ia

Table 10 Open mapping: red—Akkadian original; complete mapping: light blue—English translation Izre'el, dark blue—German translation Maul, green—additions Apostel.

<i>transcendent target domain</i>	Adapa the sage	entered	Ea's temple as abode of the god
<i>immanent target domain</i>	Adapa the priest	was plunged into sank hinab	the sea/water as the domain of Ea
<i>source domain</i>	I ich	entered ul-ta-am-ši-il	the lord's house zum Haus des Herrn [a-n]a bi-it• be-lí

Table 11 Open mapping: red—Akkadian original; complete mapping: light blue—English translation Izre'el, dark blue—German translation Maul, green—additions Apostel.

institution. At the same time, however, the transcendent religious target domain refers to Ea's temple as abode of the deity, to which Adapa the sage has access. Secondly, Adapa recounts that he was plunged into²² the lord's house (tbl. 11). In the immanent religious target domain this means the sea, because (fresh) water is considered the domain of Ea. However, the information from the first mapping—that the lord's house is Ea's temple²³—is carried over into the second mapping, where it establishes the transcendent religious target domain.²⁴ This results in a back reference that also lets the sea appear as Ea's temple.

22 The meaning of the verb is unclear. With the translation "I was plunged into" or "sank ich hinab," Izre'el and Maul have already interpreted the metaphor by opting for the immanent level instead of the source domain. A more neutral reading would be "entered."

23 The same Akkadian expression is used in both cases, which Izre'el somewhat misleadingly translates once as "household" and once as "house."

24 Since there is no physical temple in the water, the material, immanent dimension of the temple cannot be meant here.

Conclusion and Outlook

In this article, I have explored the question whether the definition of metaphor by Lakoff and Johnson and the understanding of metaphor in the CRC 1475 *Metaphors of Religion* can be considered congruent. Several examples from two of the oldest surviving languages, Sumerian and Akkadian, show that this assumption needs to be revised. Contrary to expectations, the immanent dimension and the source domain do not correspond to each other, but an immanent and a transcendent religious target domain are added to the non-religious source domain. Thus, a complete mapping table of a religious metaphor comprises three levels and therefore one more level than that of an ordinary metaphor. This is because a religious statement can almost always be understood in a physical, literal or a metaphysical, metaphorical²⁵ way. However, not in every example both options necessarily have to be realized. [50]

Based on the material examined, a fundamental shift between Sumerian and Akkadian is also evident. In the Sumerian versions of *Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Netherworld* and *Adapa and the South Wind*, the text refers equally to the immanent and the transcendent religious domain. In contrast, in the Akkadian translation the separation between the immanent and the transcendent religious domain appears more sharply delineated. This is achieved in several ways, on the one hand through general linguistic developments such as the translation of An as either *šamû* or *ʿAnu*, or by reformulating the respective text, such as adding the word *utukku* to specify Enkidu. The impression arises that the Akkadian metaphysical concepts are somewhat further removed from the physical phenomena they are based on than was the case in Sumerian. Building on these observations, it could be fruitful to also examine texts of other genres or other religions for the occurrence and degree of separation between the immanent and the transcendent religious target domain. [51]

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25 This is where the terminology gets tricky. Insofar as I have tried to show that in religious metaphors the difference between non-literal and literal lies *within* the target domain, things become even more metaphorical (in the sense of Lakoff and Johnson) *within* the metaphor (in the sense of the CRC 1475).

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