

Third Millennium Metaphors.  
The Gods as Rulers:  
Individual Divine Figures



Sunrise depicted on a cylinder seal (Seal of Adda) from the middle of the third millennium B.C. A number of the major divinities are represented. In the center is the sun god, Utu, rising from behind the mountains. To his left stands Inanna, goddess of the morning star, and next to her is Ninurta, god of the thundershowers, with his bow (its arrows typify lightning) and his lion (whose roar typifies thunder). To the right of the sun god is shown the god of the sweet waters, Enki. From his shoulders spring the main rivers of Mesopotamia, the Euphrates and the Tigris. Enki holds the thunderbird on his hand. Behind Enki stands his vizier Isimud.

The gods who formed the assembly of the gods were legion. It is not possible to characterize more than a few prominent ones. We shall base our discussion mainly on materials from Sumerian literary compositions that, while preserved in Old Babylonian copies, reflect views and beliefs of the outgoing third millennium, to which many of them date back. We have not hesitated, however, to cite earlier and later materials to round out our sketches of the individual gods.

## An = Authority

### *The Power in the Sky*

An ranked highest among the gods. His name, borrowed by the Akkadians as Anum, is the Sumerian word for "sky," and inherently An is the numinous power in the sky, the source of rain and the basis for the calendar since it heralds through its changing constellations the times of year with their different works and celebrations. Originally, one may surmise, An belonged to the herders' pantheon since he is often visualized in bovine form.

An's spouse was the earth, Ki, on whom he engendered trees, reeds, and all other vegetation. A late Akkadian incantation<sup>84</sup> refers to this when it says: "As the sky impregnated earth (so that) vegetation became plentiful," and in the myth, *L u g a l - e*, which dates from the end of the third millennium, the opponent of Ninurta, Azag, king of the plants, was so engendered:<sup>85</sup>

. . . An impregnated the verdant earth (*Ki*)  
and she bore him one unafraid of the warrior Ninurta,  
Azag.

Another name for Ki — probably an early loan from Akkadian — was Urash, "The tith."<sup>86</sup> As father of Enki, god of flowing waters, An is paired in the list of gods<sup>87</sup> with the goddess Nammu, who seems to be the power in the riverbed to produce water. There also seems to have been a tradition that saw the power in the sky as both male and female and distinguished the god An (Akkadian Anum) from the goddess An (Akkadian Antum) to whom he was married.<sup>88</sup> According to that view the rains flowed from the sky goddess' breasts, or (since she was usually envisaged in cow shape) her udder — that is, from the clouds.<sup>89</sup>

An had not only engendered vegetation, he was the father and ancestor of all of the gods, and he likewise fathered innumerable demons and evil spirits. Frequently he was envisaged as a huge bull. One of his epithets is "Fecund Breed-Bull,"<sup>90</sup> an apt personification of the overcast skies in spring whose thunder recalls the bellowing of a bull and whose rain

engenders vegetation far and wide. As an older form of the god himself we should probably consider the “bull of heaven” which belongs to him and is killed by Gilgamesh and mourned by Inanna and her votaries.<sup>91</sup> The bull is also mentioned as a dying god and husband of Ereshkigal — in the myth “Inanna’s Descent” where it is called Gugalanna (i.e., G u (d) - g a l - a n n a (k) ) “The great bull of heaven.”<sup>92</sup> Its death would stand for the vanishing of the cloudy skies with the passing of spring.

#### Source of Authority

The view of An as a major source of fertility, the “father who makes the seed sprout,”<sup>93</sup> engenderer of vegetation, demons, and all the gods, led naturally to the attribution of paternal authority to him. As a father he presides over the assembly of the gods, his children.

With the developing of social differentiation and the attitudes of growing respect and awe before the ruler, a new sensitivity to the potential in the vast sky for inducing feelings of numinous awe seems to have come into being. The sky can, at moments when man is in a religiously receptive mood, act as vehicle for a profound experience of numinous awe, as may be instanced in our own culture — e.g., by Watts’s lines:

Eternal Power, whose high abode  
Becomes the grandeur of a God,  
Infinite length beyond the bounds  
Where stars revolve their little rounds.<sup>94</sup>

or in this experience of an anonymous writer quoted by William James:

I remember the night, and almost the very spot on the hilltop, where my soul opened out, as it were, into the Infinite, and there was a rushing together of the two worlds, the inner and the outer. It was deep calling unto deep, — the deep that my own struggle had opened up within being answered by the unfathomable deep without, reaching beyond the stars. I stood alone with Him who had made me, and all the beauty of the world, and love, and sorrow, and even temptation.<sup>95</sup>

To the ancient Mesopotamians what the sky might reveal was An, its own inner essence of absolute authority and majesty — *might* reveal, but would not necessarily reveal, for in everyday moods the sky would be experienced apart from the numinous power in it and would recede into the category of mere things.

The absoluteness of the authority divined in An may be seen clearly in statements that make him the fountainhead of all authority and authorita-

tive commands, whether parental, lordly, or royal. In the myth of the elevation of Inanna the gods address him saying:

What thou hast ordered (comes) true!  
The utterance of prince and lord is (but)  
what thou hast ordered, dost agree with.  
O An! thy great command takes precedence,  
who could gainsay it?  
O father of the gods, thy command,  
the very foundations of heaven and earth,  
what god could spurn (it)?<sup>96</sup>

The passage as we have it probably dates from the second rather than the third millennium B.C. and so may conceivably bring the powers in An to a sharper point than older materials. Yet it is clearly of a piece with them. What it says is that all authority, that of prince or lord, derives from An; he is its source, it carries out his will.

Since human society is not the only structure based on authority and command (the natural world is as well), all things and forces in the polity that is the universe conform to An’s will. He is the power that lifts existence out of chaos and anarchy and makes it an organized whole. As a building is supported by and reveals in its structure the lines of its foundation, so the ancient Mesopotamian universe was upheld by and reflected An’s ordering will. His command is “the foundation of heaven and earth.”<sup>97</sup>

As the ultimate source of all authority An was closely associated with the highest authority on earth, that of kingship. It was he who proclaimed the king chosen by the assembly of the gods and he who was, par excellence, the god that conferred kingship. The royal insignia lie before An in heaven for him to bestow, and with them he conveys not only the general powers of kingship but duties linked to his own cosmic functions: responsibility for the calendar and for carrying out his calendric rites. For example, his new moon festivals, which, as shown by their name, *ezen-èš-èš*, (“all temple festival”) were celebrated in all temples, and the New Year festival at which the year seems to have been named from one of the king’s accomplishments. Through this mandate, accordingly, the king becomes An’s instrument for seeing to it that the times do not get out of joint. When An agreed to make Shulgi king he referred to these central duties as follows:

Let Shulgi, king with a pleasant term of reign,  
perform correctly for me, An,  
the rites instituted for kingship,  
let him direct the schedules of the gods for me,

let him offer up to me the things for the New-moon day  
 and the things for the New Year (festival).  
 Let him present (?) to me salutations, petitions,  
 and complaints —  
 abundance, breaking through the earth like grass and herbs,  
 I have verily (?) added on for him!<sup>98</sup>

A description of An from the Isin-Larsa period as he takes his seat to confer kingship upon the ruler, Lipit-Eshtar, conveys a sense of the god and the awe he inspired.

The exalted lord, the leader,  
 the skillful officiant, the supreme one,  
 stirps of all lords,  
 the one with head held high, the surpassing one,  
 the fecund breed-bull,  
 (of) honored name, greatly imbued with awe,  
 whose grandly proclaimed (decrees)  
 know none who could quash them,  
 ascended step by step the pure mountain  
 of (his) office,  
 took his seat on the great throne-dais,  
 An, king of the gods.

(From) afar he looked firmly toward him,  
 looked firmly toward Prince Lipit-Eshtar,  
 granted long life to him,  
 granted long life to Prince Lipit-Eshtar,  
 An's decree, a decree (as good as) carried out,  
 no god will oppose.

The Anunnaki, the gods in their entirety,  
 gathered to him at the place of decision-making,  
 all the great offices he caused to appear —  
 the gods of heaven stood in attendance on him —  
 their schedules he directed —  
 the gods of earth bowed down before him —  
 from among the exalted offices,  
 from among the offices of the foremost row,  
 the kingship, being all things precious,  
 to Lipit-Eshtar, son of Enlil,  
 great An granted as a gift.<sup>99</sup>

### Enlil = Force

#### *The Power in "Growing Weather"*

Next to An in rank, but embodying energy and force rather than the calm authority of An, is Enlil or Nunamnir. The name Enlil means "Lord

Wind" and the title en, which stands for "lord" in the sense of "productive manager," shows that it is primarily the power in the moist winds of spring — growing weather — that is aimed at. Further traits suggest that Enlil is that power particularly as seen by the farmer, for he is the creator of the farmer's most versatile implement, the hoe, which, like the plough, comes into play when the humid air of spring makes the soil workable.<sup>100</sup> His throne is D u<sub>6</sub> - k u g , "the holy mound," i.e., the storage pile of grain and wool.<sup>101</sup> His wife Ninlil or Sud is a grain goddess, daughter of the god of stores, Haia, and the barley goddess Ninshebargunu or Nidaba.<sup>102</sup> His son is Ninurta or Ningirsu, god of the plough and of the spring thunderstorms.

The role of Enlil as the spring winds bringing nature back to life is well conveyed by a passage from a hymn in his honor:<sup>103</sup>

O mighty one, you hold the rains of heaven  
 and the waters of earth,  
 Enlil, you hold the halter of the gods  
 (of nature),  
 Father Enlil, you are the one  
 who makes the vines grow up,  
 Enlil, your (warm) glow brings in the deep  
 the fish to maturity,  
 you let the birds in heaven, the fish in the deep,  
 eat their fill.

The picture of him in the closing paean of the myth "Enlil and Ninlil" is very similar:

You are lord! You are lord!  
 Enlil, you are lord! You are lord!  
 Nunamnir, you are lord! You are lord!  
 A lord of (great) consequence,  
 a lord of the storehouse  
 are you!  
 A lord making the barley grow up,  
 a lord making the vines grow up  
 are you!  
 Lord of heaven, lord of abundance,  
 lord of earth  
 are you!  
 Enlil being lord, Enlil being king,  
 Enlil's utterance is a thing unalterable,  
 his sagacious word can not be changed.<sup>104</sup>

#### *As Administrator*

In time — as the ruler metaphor took stronger hold — the picture of the power in the fertile winds of spring assumed the form of a human

executive gathering all the threads of complex management, making all major decisions, and communicating his orders through an administrative assistant. The great "Hymn to Enlil" thus describes him:

When he shines on the throne-dais  
 in (his temple) Imhursag,  
 like the rainbow, he, too, circles the heavens.  
 like a floating cloud he goes his own way.  
 He is the one prince of heaven,  
 the only great one of earth,  
 he is the exalted tutelary god of the Anunnaki,  
 accordingly he makes decisions by himself,  
 no god looks on.  
 His grand vizier, the leader of the assembly,  
 Nusku,  
 can know and discuss with him  
 his commands and matters  
 that are in his heart —  
 far and wide he will take them for him,  
 with a holy greeting in holy office he  
 (Enlil) bids him Godspeed.  
 Without (warrant of) the great mountain, Enlil,  
 no city could be built,  
 no population settled therein,  
 no cattle pen built, its sheepfold not set up.  
 No king could be raised to office,  
 no lord created,  
 No high priest or high priestess  
 designated by the (omen-)kid,  
 among the troops no general and lieutenant  
 could be had.  
 The water of the carp-flood at its height  
 could not dredge the canals,  
 the (flood arriving) after it,  
 would tend to break out (from the bed),  
 could not go straight,  
 not extend (by scouring) the far reaches  
 (of the canals).  
 The sea could not give birth  
 to the heavy souther with its rain.  
 The fish of the deep could not lay their eggs  
 in the canebrake;  
 the birds of heaven not spread their nests  
 on the broad earth.  
 In the sky the rain-laden clouds  
 could not open their mouths,

in the fields the tilth could not sprout  
 the mottled barley,  
 in the desert its green spots could not  
 let grass and herbs grow long,  
 in the orchards the broad trees of the mountains  
 could not bear fruit.

Without (warrant of) the great mountain Enlil,  
 (the birth goddess) Nintur could not  
 let die (at birth),  
 could not slay, the cow could not lose its calf  
 in the cattle pen,  
 the ewe not bring forth a premature lamb  
 in its sheepfold.  
 The wildlife grown numerous by itself,  
 could not lie down in their lairs and (settle on) their perches,  
 The (wild) goats and asses, the four-legged (beasts),  
 could not be fertile,  
 could not (even) copulate.<sup>105</sup>

No wonder that the hymn marvels at the compass of Enlil's responsibilities.<sup>106</sup> His "skillful planning in intricate designs — their inner workings a blur of threads not to unravel — thread entwined in thread, not to be traced by the eye" makes him a marvel of divine providence. No one can help him. His decisions must be his own, for nobody could begin to fathom the intricacies of the problems he deals with.

#### *The Power in the Storm*

It may be noted that not all of Enlil's activities are beneficent to mankind. He allows the birth goddess to kill at birth, and he is behind the miscarriages of cows and ewes. This aspect of Enlil as potentially hostile corresponds with the two-sided nature of the wind, not only the benign zephyr, but also the destructive storm. In the storm a brooding violence and destructiveness in Enlil finds expression:

The mighty one, Enlil,  
 whose utterance cannot be changed,  
 he is the storm, is destroying the cattle pen,  
 uprooting the sheepfold.  
 My roots are torn up! My forests denuded!<sup>107</sup>

Thus complains a mourner in Enlil's own city, Nippur. Man can never be fully at ease with Enlil, can never know what he has in mind:

What has he planned? . . .  
 What is in my father's heart?  
 What is in Enlil's holy mind?

What has he planned against me  
 in his holy mind?  
 A net he spread: the net of an enemy;  
 a snare he set: the snare of an enemy.  
 He has stirred up the waters  
 and will catch the fishes,  
 he has cast his net,  
 will (bring) down the birds too.<sup>108</sup>

Nor can any man say when he will relent:

Until when? Enlil, until when?  
 Like a cloud on the horizon,  
 when can he bring himself  
 to settle down?  
 The great mountain Enlil,  
 when can he bring himself  
 to settle down?<sup>109</sup>

In his wild moods of destructiveness he is unreachable, deaf to all appeals:

O father Enlil, whose eyes are glaring (wildly),  
 how long til they will be at peace again?  
 O thou who covered up thy head with a cloth —  
 how long?  
 O thou who laid thy head upon thy knees —  
 how long?  
 O thou who closed thy heart like an earthen box —  
 how long?  
 O mighty one who with thy fingers sealed thine ears —  
 how long?  
 O father Enlil, they are being pummeled  
 till they perish!<sup>110</sup>

As we mentioned in discussing the "Lament for Ur," Enlil's destructive side often serves the assembly of the gods. With his storm he executes the decisions of the assembly. At times the storm is the breath issuing from his mouth; and just as we speak of "breathing a word," so to the Sumerians the word that Enlil "breathed" could be his annihilating storm. When he executed decisions voted by the gods in assembly the storm became the word they all breathed, a destruction decreed by all:

A storm cloud lying on the horizon,  
 its heart inscrutable,  
 His word, a storm cloud lying on the horizon,  
 its heart inscrutable;  
 the word of great An, a storm cloud lying on the horizon,  
 its heart inscrutable;

the word of Enlil, a storm cloud lying on the horizon,  
 its heart inscrutable;  
 the word of Enki, a storm cloud lying on the horizon,  
 its heart inscrutable;  
 the word of Asalluhe, a storm cloud lying on the horizon,  
 its heart inscrutable;  
 the word of Enbilulu, a storm cloud lying on the horizon,  
 its heart inscrutable;  
 the word of Mudugsaa, a storm cloud lying on the horizon,  
 its heart inscrutable;  
 the word of Shiddukisharra,  
 a storm cloud lying on the horizon,  
 its heart inscrutable;  
 the word of the lord Dikumah,  
 a storm cloud lying on the horizon,  
 its heart inscrutable;  
 his word which up above makes the heavens tremble,  
 his word which down below rocks the earth,  
 his word wherewith the Anunnaki gods destroy,  
 his word has no seer (who can foresee it),  
 no diviner (who could divine it),  
 his word is a risen flood-storm,  
 it has none who could oppose it.<sup>111</sup>

### Myths

The myths about Enlil reflect his complex nature. He is depicted as creative and benevolent in the myth, "Creation of the Hoe,"<sup>112</sup> which tells how he separated heaven from earth so that seeds could grow up, how he fashioned the first hoe and used it to break the hard crust of the earth in U z u m u a, "the flesh producer," in Nippur, and how the vanguard of mankind sprang from the hole made by his hoe, breaking through the earth like plants. His role in the "Dispute between Summer and Winter"<sup>113</sup> is also beneficent; he cohabits with the mountain range, the Hursag, and engenders on it the two opponents of the dispute; the god of summer, Emesh, and the god of winter, Enten.

More tension between the light and dark sides of Enlil's nature shows in the "Enlil and Ninlil"<sup>114</sup> myth which tells how young Ninlil, disobeying her mother, bathes in the canal where Enlil sees her and takes her by force. For this he is arrested as a sex criminal and condemned by the assembly of the gods to banishment from the city, Nippur, the scene of the tale. Enlil, complying with the sentence imposed upon him, leaves Nippur for the netherworld, and Ninlil, pregnant with his child (the moon god Nanna or Suen), follows him at a distance. On the way Enlil, taking the shape of several men they meet, the gatekeeper in Nippur, the man of the river of the netherworld, and the ferryman of the river of the nether-

world, persuades Ninlil to lie with him to engender a child who may take Nanna's place in the netherworld and save him for the world above. Thus three more gods are engendered, all chthonic in nature, Meslamtaea, Ninazu, and — if we read the name right — Ennugi. The myth ends with the paean to Enlil quoted earlier, hymning his productive powers and the authoritative character of his word.

Probably this singular tale about the condemnation and death of the god is best seen in relation to the cult of the dying and reviving gods of fertility: Enlil, as the fertile wind of the spring rapes Ninlil, the grain — perhaps a mythopoeic interpretation of wind-pollination — and dies with the passing of spring, as the grain goes underground too in the storage bin.

There is another myth<sup>115</sup> dealing with Enlil's pursuit of Ninlil, but in this one Enlil, though perhaps more impetuous in his advances than polite manners called for, wins her decorously and properly.

Finally, in the "Myth of the Flood" as we have it in Sumerian,<sup>116</sup> in the Akkadian Atrahasis story,<sup>117</sup> and, secondarily, in the Gilgamesh Epic,<sup>118</sup> Enlil is uniformly unfavorably disposed and is given to extremes of violence when provoked. It is by his hand that the flood is loosed to annihilate man.

### Ninhursaga = Productivity

With An and Enlil stands the third in the triad of most powerful deities, the goddess Ninhursaga, also known as Nintur, Ninmenna, Ninmah, Dingirmah, Aruru, and in Akkadian as Bêlit-ilî, Mama, and numerous other names.<sup>119</sup> How many of these names indicate aspects of the goddess that have taken on an identity of their own and how many represent other deities who have merged with Ninhursaga, it is difficult to say. The texts sometimes treat these names as designations of distinct deities, at other times they identify them as appellations of the same goddess.

#### *Numen of the Stony Ground*

Her original aspect is probably as the numinous power in the stony soil that rings the Mesopotamian alluvial ground: in the east, the foothills and near ranges of the Iranian mountains, in the west, the stony Arabian desert. This power, called *n i n - h u r s a ġ . a (k)*, "Lady of the stony ground" or "Lady of the foothills"<sup>120</sup> we meet, minimally personified, in the introduction to the "Dispute of Summer and Winter"<sup>121</sup> where we are told that Enlil in the shape of a huge bull copulated with "the foothills" (*h u r s a ġ*) and engendered "summer" (*E m e s h*), and "winter" (*E n*

*t e n*). Elsewhere, as Ninhursaga, she is considered the spouse of Enlil. Their son, Ninurta or Ningirsu, in the myth of *L u g a l - e* is credited<sup>122</sup> with constructing her domain, the foothills, and furnishing them richly with trees, plants, metal ores, and wildlife. He presented them to her as a gift, giving her on that occasion the name Ninhursaga, "Lady of the foothills"; before that she had been called Ninmah, "August lady."

Parallel to the tradition in which Ninhursaga was the spouse of Enlil runs another more common one according to which she was his sister (*n i n*) and Ninlil was his wife.

#### *Mother of Wildlife*

Wildlife, one of the things with which Ninurta furnished the foothills, seems to belong very closely with Ninhursaga. In the tradition which makes her the sister rather than spouse of Enlil her husband is Shulpae, king of the wild beasts of the desert, and in a lament of hers<sup>123</sup> she seems to have been envisaged in animal form, for the son she has lost turns out to be a donkey stallion:

My choice donkey (stallion) lost in the desert,  
my stallion which the enemy took as booty!

She wails:

I, the mother who bore (him), I, mated in vain,  
I, kissed in vain,  
I, made with child (?) in vain!  
.....  
I gave birth, I gave birth, I gave birth to a freeborn son.  
For what gave I birth?  
I became pregnant, pregnant, pregnant with a freeborn son.  
For what became I pregnant?  
I, the mother who gave birth, my giving birth, my being pregnant,  
what gained I by it?  
I gave birth to . . . it was killed by a thane.  
What gained I by it?  
I gave birth to a . . . , it was killed by a thane.  
What gained I by it?  
I gave birth to a choice donkey (stallion),  
a lord mounted it. What gained I by it?  
I gave birth to a strong mule, a lord hitched it up.  
What gained I by it?<sup>124</sup>

As goddess of the foothills and the stony desert Ninhursaga is specifically mother of the wild animals native to these regions; she loses them when they are killed by hunters or captured and tamed. To domestic

animals, on the other hand, her territory may prove fatal if they stray. In a lament by Ninhursaga's daughter Lisina, who was also, it seems, a donkey goddess, the young goddess vainly hopes that

He will bring it back to me! He will bring it  
back to me!  
My strong deputy will bring my donkey stallion  
back to me!  
Will bring my herd, which got cut off from me,  
back to me!  
Will bring my foal back to me  
from its destroyed lair!  
Will bring my wild ass,  
which got cut off in the wood,  
back to me!  
The canal inspector floating down river (in his boat)  
will bring it back to me.  
The farmer will bring it back to me,  
from its flooded field  
(i.e., where it may be mired).<sup>125</sup>

But she knows that her foal will not be returned, that it has perished, and she blames her mother, the power in the wastelands, who let it die:

"To whom should I compare her?  
To whom should I compare her?  
I, to whom should I compare her?  
My mother let my (only) one die!  
I, to whom should I compare her?  
My mother who bore me, Ninhursaga —  
my mother let it die!  
I, to whom should I compare her?  
To the bitch, that has no motherly compassion,  
let me compare her!"  
Lisina in her grief sits alone.<sup>126</sup>

Yet, in spite of the passionate reproach in this lament, Ninhursaga is usually regarded not only as mother of the wildlife in the foothills and desert, but also as the tender mother of the herd animals.

To her who is as radiant as Enlil  
low the cow and its calf,  
and Mother Nintur on her part  
calls plaintively to them,  
Mother Nintur, the exalted queen of Kesh.<sup>127</sup>

She is the mother of man and the mother of the gods, and as Gudea once called her, "the mother of all children."<sup>128</sup> This aspect is in many respects

her central one, and may at one time have constituted a separate and independent deity.

#### *Form Giver and Birth Giver*

The name most frequently used for her in her character as mother and birth giver is Nintur, which may tentatively be translated "Lady birth hut." The element *t u r* is written with a sign which seems to have been originally the picture of the birth hut in the cattle pen<sup>129</sup> to which cows were taken when they were ready to calve, and where, presumably, any weak or ill animal might be taken for care. This explains the varying meanings of the sign: "to give birth" (*d ú*); "child," "young," "weak," "goat kid" (*t u r<sub>5</sub>*); but also "ill" (*d u r<sub>x</sub>*). The sheepfold, Sumerian *a m a š*, with its birth house *t ù r* and *é - t ù r* was used metaphorically to designate the female generative organs:<sup>130</sup> *š a g<sub>4</sub> - t ù r*, "the 'pen' or 'birth house' of the inside" is the Sumerian term for "womb." Moreover, this term in Akkadian, *šassuru*, actually is one of the names of Nintur.<sup>131</sup> She is also called "The lady of the womb" (*be-lit re-e-me*)<sup>132</sup> and her emblem, shaped like the Greek letter omega ( $\Omega$ ), has been convincingly interpreted from Egyptian parallels as a representation of the uterus of a cow.<sup>133</sup> The fact that the birth of calves, lambs, and kids normally takes place in spring when the herds are pastured in the foothills or the desert may have contributed to seeing the power in birthing as an aspect of the power in the wild, Ninhursaga.

The power in the womb was specifically the power to make the embryo grow and give distinctive form to it. As such Nintur is called "Lady of form-giving":<sup>134</sup>

Mother Nintur, the lady of form-giving,  
working in a dark place, the womb (lit. "heart");  
to give birth to kings, to tie on the rightful tiara,  
to give birth to lords, to place the crown  
on (their) heads, is in her hands.

Other terms for her that stress this aspect are "Lady of the embryo" (*N i n - z i z n a k*), "Lady fashioner" (*N i n - d í m*), "Carpenter of (i.e., 'in') the insides" (*N a g a r - š a g a k*), "Lady potter" (*N i n - b a h a r*), "Copper-caster of the land" or "of the gods" (*d T i b i r a - k a l a m m a k*, *d T i b i r a - d i n ğ i r e n e k*), etcetera.<sup>135</sup> Occasionally she uses this power capriciously as in the myth about "Enki and Ninmah" where, to show that she can give man good or bad shape at will, she makes a series of misshapen creatures. According to the hymn to Enlil that was quoted above, however, she must have Enlil's permission in order to produce a monstrous lamb.



When the fetus is fully developed and shaped she loosens it, a function to which she seems to owe her name A - r u - r u, "Germ-loosener." A hymn to her temple in Kesh tells how:

Ninhursaga, being uniquely great,  
makes the womb contract;  
Nintur, being a great mother,  
sets the birth-giving going.<sup>136</sup>

Correspondingly, in the myth of the "Creation of the Hoe," it is she under her name of Ninmenna who sets the birth-giving going after the heads of men have been uncovered by Enlil's hoe.<sup>137</sup>

The time of the shaping of the child in its mother's womb is one during which it is susceptible to both good and bad influences and so is the moment of birth; an incautious word then may saddle the child with any manner of unpropitious fate. Therefore Aruru is the "Lady of silence," N i n - s i g <sub>5</sub> - s i g <sub>5</sub>.<sup>138</sup> The silence is for the birth helpers only, however; the goddess herself speaks with a loud voice through the wails of the woman in labor. In a hymn to her temple, that sacred place is told:

Your princess is a princess enjoining silence,  
a great *igizitu* ("real princess") priestess of An.  
Her word shakes the heavens,  
her utterance is a howling storm,  
Aruru, the sister of Enlil.<sup>139</sup>

It is to the stopping of blood after birth (or possibly to the ceasing of menstruation after conception) that her name, <sup>d</sup>M u d - k e š d a, "Blood stauncher" probably refers, just as her names A m a - d ù g - b a d, "Mother spreading the knees," and A m a - u d ú d a, "Mother who has given birth"<sup>140</sup> allude to her role as birth giver. A description of her image as Nintur<sup>141</sup> says that "her bosom is bare; on her left arm she carries a baby so that it can feed at her breast," and royal inscriptions and royal hymns abound in assertions that kings and rulers have been suckled with pure milk by Ninhursaga.

#### Midwife

As the tendency to see numinous power in human form and social context gradually asserted itself, it was natural that the power for birth take the form of birth helper or midwife. Nintur accordingly meets us as Š a g <sub>4</sub> . z u - d i n ġ i r e n e k, "Midwife of the gods."<sup>142</sup> As such she is described in the myth "Enki and World Order":

Aruru, the sister of Enlil,  
Nintur, lady of the foothills,

verily holds her badge of lordly office,  
the pure birthstones,  
verily carries on the arm her . . .  
and the leeks,  
verily holds her lapis lazuli vessel  
in which the afterbirth is laid,  
verily carries on the arm  
her (properly) blessed pure water pail.  
Verily she is the midwife of the country.<sup>143</sup>

Her midwife's water pail is also mentioned by Gudea, who provided one of copper for her temple in Girsu.<sup>144</sup>

#### Source of Kingship

The crowning achievement of the birth goddess was the birth of kings and lords:

Giving birth to kings, giving birth to lords  
is verily in her hand.<sup>145</sup>

And she not only gives birth to them, she also has the power to confer on them their insignia of office. Thus in the hymn to one of Ninhursaga/Nintur's temples we have already quoted, it is said that

to give birth to kings, to tie on the rightful tiara,  
to give birth to lords, to place the crown  
on (their) heads, is in her hands.<sup>146</sup>

The same is said about a related figure, N i n - m u g, "Lady vulva" in "Enki and World Order."<sup>147</sup>

In the passage about the origin of man in the "Creation of the Hoe" Ninhursaga/Nintur is called "the lady giving birth to lords, giving birth to kings, Ninmenna . . ." which is her name as "Lady of the diadem."<sup>148</sup> Under that name her office was to place the golden crown firmly on the head of the "lord" in Eanna in Uruk according to an Old Babylonian investiture ritual.<sup>149</sup> Correspondingly a date formula of Rimsin II traces the royal authority of that ruler to investiture by Nintur/Ninhursaga of Kesh, who is called by her name, Ninmah.<sup>150</sup>

The growing acceptance of the ruler metaphor seems to have affected Ninhursaga's character little if any. Her image was one rooted in the family, the mother, and she had no specific political function. Her importance in the general scheme of things as the rocky ground and the power in birth placed her with An and Enlil as a decisive power in the universe and the scheme of things. She is appealed to in the myths when something new is to be born, but she holds no specified political office and during the

second millennium she lost more and more rank until she seems to have been completely supplanted by Enki.

### Enki = Cunning

A rather persistent rival of Ninhursaga in the triad of ruling gods, An, Enlil, and Ninhursaga, was Enki (Akkadian Ea).

#### *The Fertilizing Sweet Waters*

Enki personifies the numinous powers in the sweet waters in rivers and marshes or rain. He says of himself:

My father, the king of heaven and earth,  
had me appear in the world,  
My older brother, the king of all lands,  
gathered and gathered offices,  
placed them in my hand.  
From Ekur, Enlil's house,  
I brought craftsmanship to my Apsû (of) Eridu,  
I am the true seed emitted by a great wild bull,  
I am the foremost son of An,  
I am the great storm (clouds) rising out of the netherworld,  
I am the great good manager of the country,  
I am the irrigation officer for all the throne-daises,  
I am the father of all lands,  
I am the older brother of the gods,  
I make abundance perfect.<sup>151</sup>

Later on he specifies his benefactions:

I am a good manager, am of effective commands,  
am preeminent,  
at my commands cattle pens are built,  
sheepfolds fenced in,  
when I draw near unto heaven the rains of abundance  
rain down from above,  
when I draw near unto the earth, the carp-flood at its height  
comes into being,  
when I draw near unto the yellowing fields,  
grain piles are heaped at my command.<sup>152</sup>

and in the hymn to him quoted earlier, his father An assigned him:

To clear the pure mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates,  
to make verdure plentiful,  
make dense the clouds, grant water in abundance  
to all ploughlands,

to make grain lift its head in furrows  
and to make pasture abundant in the desert.<sup>153</sup>

Enki is usually pictured with two streams, the Euphrates and the Tigris, flowing out of his shoulders or from a vase he holds. Frequently fish are swimming in these streams. Occasionally he holds an eagle-like bird, the thunderbird, Imdugud, signifying the clouds rising from the waters, and his foot may rest on an ibex, emblem of sweet underground springs, the Apsû.<sup>154</sup>

His name Enki (i.e., e n - k i ( . a k )), "Lord (i.e., productive manager) of the soil," reflects the role of water in fructifying the earth. Other names such as L u g a l - i d ( a k ), "Owner of the river," L u g a l - a b z u ( a k ), "Owner of the Apsû" and the Akkadian *Naqbu*, "Source," present him as the specific power in rivers or underground waters.<sup>155</sup>

The power in water that makes the soil produce was thought to be of a kind with the engendering power in male semen. Sumerian does not differentiate semen and water: one word stands for both. It is therefore natural that Enki is the power to fecundate. Another connection between productivity and water is the "birth water" which precedes and announces birth. As the power in amniotic fluid Enki is celebrated in a passage that reads:

O Father Enki, go forth out of the seeded country,  
and may it sprout good seed!  
O Nudimmud, go forth out of my good ewe,  
and may it give birth to (a good) lamb!  
Go forth out of the impregnated cow,  
and may it give birth to a good calf!  
Go forth out of my good goat,  
and may it give birth to a good kid!  
When you have gone forth out of the drenched field,  
my good field,  
may it heap grain heaps in the high desert.<sup>156</sup>

#### *The Form-giving Sweet Waters*

The power to fertilize is not the only power in water. When it moistens clay, it gives it plasticity and the ability to assume and hold all manner of shapes. In Enki, this power finds expression in his name N u d i m m u d, "Image fashioner," god of "shaping,"<sup>157</sup> and seems to underlie his function as god of artists and craftsmen: potters, bronze casters, stoncutters, jewelers, seal cutters, and others.<sup>158</sup> To this side of him belongs his epithet *mummu*, a loan from Sumerian u m u n, "mold," "form." In Akkadian the word stands for "original form," "archetype," and serves as epithet for Ea/Enki, as the name of an emblem of his (a crooked stick with handle in

the shape of a sheep's head) and, hypostatized in Enûma elish, as the name of one of his captive foes.<sup>159</sup>

#### *The Cleansing Sweet Waters*

The third power of water is to cleanse, and Enki is the god of ritual lustration and purification from polluting evil. A common pattern in Sumerian incantations has Enki's son Asalluhe discover some evil and report it to his father, who then tells him which measures he should take. In the series called "The Bathhouse" (*bît rimki*) used to purify the king from the evil that threatens during an eclipse of the moon, the rite takes — as mentioned earlier — the form of a lawsuit before the assembly of the gods at sunrise with the sun god as judge. Enki has the role of "overshadowing the case," i.e., of guaranteeing that judgment is executed. This duty he performs as the power in the cleansing waters of the lustrations for which the rite is named.

#### *Myths*

The role of executor of judgments which Enki fills in the "Bathhouse" ritual is an unusual one for him, for force is not his way. Rather, he exerts his will through diplomacy or guile. This may reflect the fact that he is the power in the sweet waters, for "the ways of water are devious. It avoids rather than surmounts obstacles, goes around and yet gets to its goal. The farmer, who works with it in irrigation, easing it along from canal to canal, knows how tricky it can be, how easily it slips away, takes unforeseen turns. And so, we may assume, the idea of cunning, of superior intelligence, came to be imparted to Enki."<sup>160</sup>

His most frequent opponent in the myths is Ninhursaga in one form or other: as goddess of the stony ground of the western desert, or as goddess of birth. But though she is outwitted time and again by the clever Enki she oddly enough does not lose dignity, rather, one has the impression that she is, when all is said and done, the more noble and the more powerful deity of the two.

The myth "Enki and Ninhursaga"<sup>161</sup> tells how Enki at the beginning of time, when the two had been allotted the island Tilmun (modern Bahrain), furnished the place with water and made its city a flourishing emporium for her. He then sought to have intercourse with her, but was rejected until he formally proposed marriage. The result of their union was a vegetation goddess *Nin-sa-r*, "Lady Plant," who, when she grew up, wandered down to the riverbank where Enki saw her and united with her as he had done with her mother. She gave birth to a mountain goddess *Nin-kurra*, "Lady of the mountains," to whom, when she matured, the same thing happened that had happened to *Nin-sa-r*. Her child

was the spider goddess of weaving, *Uttu* — the Sumerian counterpart of Arachne. According to another version Enki first engendered the goddess *Nin-imma*, a deification of the female sexual organs, on *Nin-kurra* and then *Uttu* on *Nin-imma*. When *Uttu* was born, *Ninhursaga*, at long last roused to action, warned her against Enki and ensconced her safely in a house. Enki, however, was able to seduce her by promising marriage and offering her various vegetables, which he had helped a gardener grow, as wedding gifts. *Ninhursaga*, coming to the aid of *Uttu* after Enki had used and left her, removed Enki's semen from her body. From this semen eight plants grew up. After a while Enki happened upon these plants, gave them names, and ate them. Furious on hearing this, *Ninhursaga* cursed his name and vowed never to look at him with life-giving eye.

Meanwhile the plants, Enki's semen, developed in his body and — since as a male he was not built to be pregnant — made him deathly ill. The gods were disconsolate at his sufferings but incapable of helping him until the fox offered to get hold of *Ninhursaga*. It kept its promise. *Ninhursaga* relented, came running, placed Enki in her own vagina and so was able to give birth, for him, to the eight children that had developed in his body. These children, all goddesses, were named for the various parts of Enki's body where they had developed and were either married off or given means to support themselves by Enki. The myth, which ends with a formula of praise of Enki, seems, in a grotesque primitive fashion, to celebrate the generative power in river water and to attribute to it a variety of other powers, such as those in plants, in mountains, in the spider, etcetera. The fact that a river's high waters are of limited duration, briefly rise and fall, may be reflected in Enki's inconstancy; his eventual, near fatal, illness alludes perhaps to the near drying up of the rivers in an arid summer.

Another myth pitting Enki and *Ninhursaga* against each other, "Enki and *Ninmah*,"<sup>162</sup> calls her *Ninmah*, "August lady." It tells how in the beginning of time the gods had to toil to gain their livelihood, how they appealed to Enki's mother *Nammu* (perhaps, as suggested earlier, a deification of the riverbed), and how she then asked him on their behalf to create a worker to relieve them. Enki thought of the engendering clay of the deep (*Apsu*) which had sired him and told his mother to have two womb goddesses pinch off this clay for her. When she had put limbs on it, she was to give birth to it, assisted by *Ninmah* and eight other goddesses. *Nammu* thus gave birth to mankind to relieve the gods of their toil. At the feast celebrating *Nammu's* delivery both Enki and *Ninmah* drank too much and began to quarrel. *Ninmah* boasted that she could change man's form at will from good to bad. Enki dared her to try, wagering that he could find a position and livelihood for even the worst she could do. So

Ninmah began to make misshapen creatures: a giant, a person unable to control his urine, a barren woman, a being with neither male nor female organs, and so forth; but in each case Enki was able to find a place in society for the freak and to ensure it a living.

After she gave up Enki challenged her to take similar care of what he could create. He fashioned a creature beset by all the debilities of illness and old age, unable to move and to take nourishment. Ninmah, unable to cope with it, and horrified at what Enki has brought into being upbraided him passionately. Enki answered in conciliatory words and the story, which unfortunately is lost in a lacuna here, seems to have ended on a note of restored harmony.

Enki put his ingenuity to more constructive use in a myth that might be called "The Eridu Genesis."<sup>163</sup> This myth, the beginning of which is missing, described the creation of man by the four great gods: An, Enlil, Ninhursaga (here called Nintur), and Enki. After Nintur had decided to turn man from his primitive nomadic camping grounds toward city life the period began when animals flourished on earth and kingship came down from heaven. The earliest cities were built, were named, had the measuring cups, emblems of a redistributive economic system, allotted to them, and were divided between the gods. Irrigation agriculture was developed and man thrived and multiplied. However, the noise made by man in his teeming settlements began to vex Enlil sorely, and, driven beyond endurance, he persuaded the other gods to wipe out man in a great flood. Enki, thinking quickly, found a way to warn his favorite, one Ziusudra. He told him to build a boat in which to survive the flood with his family and representatives of the animals. Ziusudra wisely followed Enki's instructions and after the flood had abated Enki was able to persuade the other gods not only to spare Ziusudra but to give him eternal life as a reward for having saved all living things from destruction.

A less formidable opponent of Enki than Ninhursaga or Enlil — but on the whole more successful — is his granddaughter, the goddess Inanna. In a myth called "Inanna and the Powers of Office,"<sup>164</sup> she gets the better of him when she visits him in Eridu, absconding with an assortment of powers of office which he has given her while in a mellow mood, after drinking deep at the party in honor of her visit. When he wakes the next morning it is too late to get them back, try though he will.

Another time — in the myth "Enki and World Order"<sup>165</sup> — she complains to him out of envy and bad humor that other goddesses have offices while she alone has none. Enki goodnaturedly points out to her how many offices she does hold, then softens and gives her such motley powers as he happens to have left. Unfortunately, the text at this point is too damaged for anything more than a guess as to what she receives and what she does with it. In both cases there is no contest of wits. Inanna wins by taking

advantage of a moment when Enki's guard is down or when he wants to avoid trouble. Inanna understands her own limitations and her grandfather's superior ingenuity very well; when her heedless impetuosity lands her in serious trouble, as it does in the myth "Inanna's Descent,"<sup>166</sup> it is to Enki's tricky mind that she looks for salvation.

"Enki and World Order," to which we have just referred, celebrates Enki as the source and center of human cultural pursuits no less than of the natural order. It begins with a long laudatory address to Enki which is followed by two successive self-praises by the god, celebrating his powers. Eventually, after a broken passage, the text moves on to tell how Enki blessed one after the other of the then known great cultural centers: Sumer (which here stands for the city of Nippur), Ur, Meluhha (Ethiopia), and Tilmun, giving to each their individual character.

After this Enki turns to organizing the world and to instituting its crafts and economies. He arranges for the sea, for the rivers, for clouds, and for rain. Then he institutes economies such as agriculture and herding, begins crafts such as house-building and weaving, and fixes boundaries by setting up boundary stones. For each such cosmic feature or human activity Enki appoints an appropriate deity to take charge of it: the goddess Nanshe for the sea, Ishkur for the clouds, Enkimdu and the grain goddess Ezinu for agricultural pursuits, Dumuzi-Amaushumgalanna for herding, and so forth. The end of the myth is taken up by Inanna's stormy complaint about having been overlooked in the allocation of powers.

Another myth with Enki as central figure is "Enki Builds E-engurra"<sup>167</sup> which tells in hymnic style how Enki built a house for himself in Eridu, then traveled up the Euphrates to his father Enlil's temple Ekur in Nippur, where he prepared a feast for Enlil and the other gods to celebrate the event.

A myth in which Enki was challenged by Ninurta is better dealt with in connection with that god, and so is an Akkadian myth about the thunderbird Anzu (Imdugud) in which Enki advised Ninurta about how to overcome the bird. Two major Akkadian myths in which Enki plays a prominent role, "The Story of Atrahasis" and the Babylonian creation epic, *Enûma elish*, are likewise best considered later.

A short, but characteristic, myth in which he figures is the Akkadian "Myth of Adapa."<sup>168</sup> It tells — using Enki's Akkadian name Ea — how he had a very competent human servant, Adapa, who ran his house. One day when Adapa was out fishing the south wind capsized his boat and in his anger Adapa broke its wing with a powerful spell. When the south wind ceased to blow An noticed it and was informed of what had happened. He summoned Adapa to appear before him in heaven and answer for what he had done. Things looked very bleak for Adapa, but Ea, who did not want to lose his capable servant, advised him how to make friends in

heaven. He was to dress in mourning, and when he came to the gate of An's palace and when the gods Dumuzi and Gishzida, who guarded it, asked why he was so attired, he was to say that it was because two gods had vanished from the earth, Dumuzi and Gishzida. Ea also told him not to eat and drink anything offered to him, for it would be food and drink of death.

When Adapa arrived at An's gate he did as Ea told him, and the gatekeepers were so pleased at being still mourned on earth that they put in a good word for Adapa with An. As a result An treated him as a guest rather than a culprit. Moreover, since good manners demanded that food and drink be offered to a guest, Adapa was given heavenly food and drink, which is food of life and water of life and would have made Adapa immortal. Adapa, however, declined both, and when asked why, told of Ea's instructions. At this An laughed heartily for he had not wanted to make Adapa immortal any more than Ea had, but good manners had seemed to leave him no choice.

In concluding a sketch of Enki one must note that the ruler metaphor only applies to him in a modified degree. Its essence, overwhelming power does not truly fit him. It is not his nature to overwhelm; rather, he persuades, tricks, or evades to gain his ends. He is the cleverest of the gods, the one who can plan and organize and think of ways out when no one else can. He is the counsellor and adviser, the expert and the trouble-shooter, or manipulator, of the ruler; not the ruler himself. He organizes and runs the world, but at the behest of An and Enlil, not for himself; he saves mankind and the animals from extinction in the flood, but does not challenge Enlil's continued rule. His aim is a workable compromise, avoiding extremes. Generally friendly to man, he does not go to extremes for him: when Ninmah makes freaks he moderates the evil, finds ways for them to support themselves, but does not try to stop her — and he himself does worse than she. Similarly, while he saves man in the flood stories, he does not try to prevent the flood itself. He is a trimmer, a moderator, but not a wielder of ultimate power.

### Divine Interplay = "The Story of Atrahasis"

The interplay of the personalities of the four most powerful deities in the ancient Mesopotamian cosmos is presented vividly in a great Akkadian myth of beginnings called "The Story of Atrahasis."<sup>169</sup> It may therefore be appropriate to consider that story at this point, in order to sum up what we have said of the four most powerful gods. The story is in large measure preserved in a copy of Old Babylonian date, but it is doubtful whether it dates back further, into the third millennium. It is also questionable whether its sources are all Sumero-Akkadian or in part West

Semitic. Nevertheless, the background against which it moves and its major theme, pitting man against nature and its divine forces, fit in with the spirit of earlier periods in Mesopotamia remarkably well. There is no serious reason why we should not take it up, a little prematurely, at this point; it speaks with the voice of the third (in some odd ways even the fourth) millennium B.C. It begins:

When Ilu (i.e., Enlil) was the boss  
they were burdened with toil,  
lugged the workbasket;  
the gods' workbasket . . . was big,  
so that the toil was heavy,  
great the straits.

Before man had been created, the gods had had to work themselves, dig canals and shoulder all the other hard tasks of irrigation agriculture. The three highest gods, Anu, Enlil, and Enki had divided the universe between them by lot, much as sons divide a paternal estate, and thus Anu, their father and king, got heaven, the warrior Enlil, their counsellor, got earth, and Enki, the clever one, received the underground waters and the sea.

Enlil, having received the earth as his share, was in charge of the gods who toiled endlessly away day and night, year after year, digging out the Euphrates and the Tigris.

Eventually they tired of their condition and began grumbling. They spoke of appealing to their sheriff, Enlil's son Ninurta, and even about fetching Enlil himself, the highest authority. One of their number, however, advised against these relatively peaceful proposals: they would only lead to more of the same. He advocated a show of violence, an immediate attack upon Enlil's house. The gods listened to him. They burned their tools and surrounded Enlil's dwelling. It was the middle of the night when Enlil's doorkeeper heard them. He quickly locked the gate and sent Enlil's vizier Nusku to wake him up. Enlil, hearing what was afoot, became thoroughly alarmed, and Nusku had to remind him that the gods were, after all, his own children and so not to be feared. He also suggested that Anu and Enki be called in for consultation.

This was done. Anu and Enki arrived and Enlil indignantly reported what had happened. At Anu's suggestion Nusku was then sent to the protesting gods to ask who the instigator of the attack was, but the gods assured him that the decision had taken shape collectively because of the heavy toil that was killing them. Moreover, under no circumstances would they go back to work.

When Enlil heard this he burst into tears and at once offered his resignation. He would retire to heaven and stay with Anu. At this point the diplomatic Enki intervened and proposed a compromise. The work of

the strikers, he argued, was in fact much too heavy. Now, here with them sat the birth goddess. Let her fashion man to bear the yoke so that the gods could be free.

Nintur, the birth goddess, was willing if Enki would help, which he readily agreed to do. At his suggestion the gods then killed one of their number — apparently the ringleader of the rebellion — one We-e, who “had the idea,” and Enki instituted ablution rites on the first, seventh, and fifteenth of every month to expiate them for the killing. With the slain god’s flesh and blood Nintur mixed the clay from which man was to be fashioned. The gods gratefully gave Nintur the name *Bêlit-ilî*, “Mistress of the gods,” and she and Enki retired to the “house of destiny” where the new beings were to receive their forms and fortunes.

Here the clay was trodden by special womb deities and Nintur recited the proper incantations at Enki’s prompting. Then she pinched off fourteen pieces of clay. She placed seven on the right and seven on the left, with a brick between them. From these pieces seven pairs of womb deities each fashioned one male and one female embryo.

After nine months the time of birth-giving arrived and Nintur “with a beaming, joyful face put on headdress and performed the midwifery.” She also gave rules for the celebration of births in the future: the mother of the child was to remain in confinement, but the midwife could share in the merrymaking of the family. Furthermore, a brick was to be laid down for nine days in honor of Nintur. She ended with rules for a later nine days of merrymaking when normal marital relations could be resumed by the parents.

This solution to the difficulties of the gods worked almost too well. New picks and spades were made to replace those that were burned, the work on rivers and canals went forward, and food was grown for humans and gods alike. As a result man multiplied so rapidly that after 1,200 years the din of the ever-increasing human population had grown to such proportions that Enlil could get no sleep: “the land was bellowing like a bull.” Enlil, thoroughly vexed, had the gods agree to send a plague, hoping thereby to diminish the number of humans and thus the noise.

Now, there lived in those days a very wise man, Atrahasis, who was a servant of Enki. He appealed to his clever master for help with stopping the plague, and Enki advised him to consult with the elders and have heralds proclaim that people must make less noise and that everybody must shift their daily worship and offerings from their various personal gods to the god of the plague, Namtar. At the overwhelming show of offerings and attention Namtar became too abashed to harm the people further and he stayed his hand.

However, after another 1,200 years man had again multiplied and so had his noise. This time Enlil made the gods agree to a drought; Adad, the god of rain, was to hold the rains back. Again Atrahasis appealed to Enki

and again he was advised to concentrate worship and offering on the god immediately responsible. Adad felt embarrassed, just as had Namtar, and released his rain.

But once more, apparently, the people and their noise grew till they kept Enlil sleepless. This time — as far as one can surmise from a broken text — the gods decided upon a general embargo of all nature’s gifts. Anu and Adad were to guard heaven, Enlil the earth, and Enki the waters, to see that no means of nourishment reached the human race.

This device, which could not be defended against by any concentration of worship, proved deadly:

They cut off nourishment from the people,  
scant became the vegetables in their bellies.

Up above Adad made rare his rain;  
down below the (yearly) flood was dammed,  
could not rise up into the (river) sources.

The field cut down on its yield,  
Nidaba (the grain goddess) turned tail.

The black acres whitened,  
the broad plain brought forth salt.

Earth’s womb rebelled,  
no plant came forth, grain pushed not through.  
Infirmity befell people,  
the womb was tied up,  
could not speed the child out right.

.....  
When the second year arrived,  
they heaped up stores.

When the third year arrived,  
the looks of the people had changed out  
of hunger.

When the fourth year arrived,  
their long strides (?) grew short,  
their broad shoulders had narrowed,  
people walked in the street, hunched.

When the fifth year arrived,  
a daughter (from her house)  
would be seeing her mother come home,  
(lit. “go in” — i.e., to the mother’s house)  
(yet) the mother was not opening her door  
to the daughter.

The daughter was watching the scales  
of the mother.

The mother was watching the scales  
of the daughter.

When the sixth year arrived,  
 they served up a daughter for a meal,  
 served up a son for a daily ration.  
 One house set upon the other.  
 Their faces were covered  
 as with dead malt;  
 the people hung on to life, having ceased breathing.

Ultimately, the plan seems to have been foiled by Enki, who — accidentally, he maintained — let large quantities of fish through to feed starving mankind.

By this time Enlil had lost all patience and thoroughly riled by the amused smiles of the gods at the way he was outmaneuvered by Enki, he determined on the complete annihilation of man. He bound all his fellow gods by oath to bring on a flood.

At first Enlil wanted Nintur and Enki to create the flood as they had created man, but Enki demurred; the flood was Enlil's responsibility. Then, although bound by oath not to reveal the god's plan, Enki managed to warn Atrahasis by pretending to speak, not to him, but to the reedhut in which he was lying. Atrahasis built a huge boat, explaining to the town elders that he was leaving because of the bad blood between his personal god, Enki, and Enlil, in whose domain the town of Shuruppak lay. Having loaded the boat with animals of all kinds and brought his family on board, he saw the weather changing. Sick with foreknowledge of doom, he secured the hatch, and the flood came raging over the land, drowning all in its path.

The gods were horrified at the destruction and heartbroken at the wholesale slaughter of humans. Soon, moreover, with no offerings to sustain them, they began to feel the pains of hunger cramps. Seven days and seven nights the flood lasted, then the storms abated and the ship of Atrahasis became grounded. Thankfully he prepared a sacrifice, and the hungry gods, sniffing the delicious smell, gathered around it like flies.

Only Enlil remained unmoved. When he saw the ship he became furious and angrily asked how man could possibly have survived, at which Anu said the obvious thing: who but Enki could have engineered it?

Enki, undaunted, defended himself. He blamed Enlil for his indiscriminate punishment of innocent and guilty alike and — the text is broken at this point — presumably suggested other ways to deal with the noise problem. At this Enlil calmed down and proposed that Enki and Nintur confer together about what might be done to prevent further intolerable crises.

Their deliberations resulted in a scheme for birth control. They introduced the type of the barren woman, created a demon, Pashittu, who kills children at birth, and established several categories of priestesses for whom childbearing was taboo.

After another damaged passage the myth ends on a note of praise of Enlil and his powers:

As praise to you let the Igigi(-gods)  
 hear this song and heed your great feat,  
 I sang of the flood to all people, Hearken!

The modern reader may well feel that Enlil, easily frightened, ready to weep and threaten to resign, insensitive to others, frustrated at every turn by the clever Enki, cuts rather a poor figure. Not so! The ultimate power of Enlil, the flood, stuns ancient imagination and compels respect. The myth is about the flood.

All the same it is clear that the myth views absolute power as selfish, ruthless, and unsubtle. But what is it. Man's existence is precarious, his usefulness to the gods will not protect him unless he takes care not to become a nuisance to them, however innocently. There are, he should know, limits set for his self-expression.

### Nanna/Suen = Princeliness

As we have seen, the four highest ancient Mesopotamian gods, An, Enlil, Ninhursaga, and Enki, the gods who together made the great existential decisions, were the powers in the principal cosmic elements: the skies above, the storms ruling the atmosphere, the rocky ground, and the flowing fresh waters. Their roles found expression in the positions they held in the family of the gods. The highest authority of all was An, the father of the gods. Next in rank came Enlil, his son, commanding the respect and obedience due to the older brother in the family. With him ranked Ninhursaga as older sister. Only Enki, who was included in the group very late (at the beginning of the second millennium), had no innate authority; he was a younger son, and dependent on his wits.

### The Moon God

The powers in lesser cosmic elements — the moon, the thunderstorm, the sun, the morning and evening star — are seen as grandchildren and great-grandchildren of An, not matching their elders in authority. The oldest of these younger generations of gods was the moon god, Nanna or Suen — a name later contracted to *Sîn* — the firstborn son of Enlil. Nanna seems to refer to him specifically as the full moon, *S ú - e n*, as the crescent, and yet a third name, *A š - i m<sub>4</sub> - b a b b a r*, as the new light. The majestic sight of the full moon moving slowly over the night skies makes it easy to understand that, alone of his generation, Nanna was regularly given the name of "father"; he is typically "Father Nanna." The numinous awe he could inspire comes through in a Sumerian address which greets him in these words:

O you, who, perfect in lordliness,  
 wear a right crown,  
 awesome visage, noble brow, pure shape  
 full of loveliness!  
 Your grandeur lies imposed on all lands!  
 Your glory falls over the clear skies!  
 Your great nimbus is fraught with holy dread.<sup>170</sup>

Nanna's cosmic functions were essentially to light up the night, to measure time, and to provide fertility. The first two of these are obvious functions for a power informing the moon, which is naturally seen and addressed as:

. . . lamp appearing in the clear skies,  
 Sin, ever renewing himself, illuminating  
 darkness,  
 bringing about light for the myriad people<sup>171</sup>

or as:

Nanna, great lord,  
 light shining in the clear skies,  
 wearing on (his) head a prince's headdress,  
 right god bringing forth day and night,  
 establishing the month,  
 bringing the year to completion;  
 who has entree to Ekur,  
 who has in hand the right decision-making  
 at his father's place, (he) who begot him,  
 beloved son of Ninlil,  
 Ash-im-babbar.<sup>172</sup>

Corresponding to the phases of the moon, festivals called e š e š (i.e., "all-temple" or "general" festivals) were celebrated on the first, seventh, and fifteenth of the month during the Third Dynasty of Ur. Special offerings were made on the day the moon was invisible and thought to be dead: u d - n ú - a, "the day of lying down," the day Nanna went to the netherworld to judge and make administrative decisions there with the chthonic deities, Enki<sup>173</sup> and Ninki. A hymn to him says

When you have measured the days of a month  
 when you have reached this day,  
 . . . . .  
 When you have made manifest to the people  
 your "day of lying down" of a completed  
 month,  
 you grandly judge, o lord, law cases  
 in the netherworld, make decisions superbly.

Enki and Ninki, the great lords, the great princes,  
 its lords making (its) administrative decisions,  
 wait upon what issues from your mouth,  
 as to a father . . . they . . . to you.  
 Just verdicts you put in all mouths,  
 make the proper thing apparent,  
 the honest hearts you please, the administrative decisions  
 you make honestly. . . .<sup>174</sup>

Eventually, his work in the netherworld done, the god reappears in the skies as the new moon:

On the broad firmament of heaven . . .  
 you spread light, the darkness you illumine;  
 upon your rising wait the Anunnaki gods  
 with libations and petitions;  
 upon your splendidly rising new light,  
 full of loveliness, a goodly sight,  
 waits for you in joy the great lady of Kiur,  
 Mother Ninlil.<sup>175</sup>

#### *Relations with the King*

The monthly lunar festivals were, it seems, intimately connected with the king and his house. During the Third Dynasty of Ur the offerings on the day the moon was invisible seem to have been in charge of the reigning queen,<sup>176</sup> and in Umma, and perhaps elsewhere, the e š e š festivals were a responsibility of the temples of the deified deceased rulers of the dynasty.

A cause for considerable anxiety was, as might be expected, the occasional occurrence of an eclipse blotting out, or partly darkening, the bright smiling face of the moon. In the first millennium B.C. such an event was the occasion for the great gods to inquire of Suen how the evil portended by the eclipse might be avoided;<sup>177</sup> a seemingly earlier conception,<sup>178</sup> preserved in the so-called "Eclipse Myth," took a more serious view of the event. In that view the eclipse was due to an attack by evil demons on Nanna after they had seduced his two children, Inanna and Ishkur, to their side. In the ensuing crisis Enlil was able to alert Enki, who sent his son Marduk to aid Nanna — presumably with satisfactory results. The text ends with a magic ritual involving the breaking of a thread and ritual ablutions of the king, who

like the new-light, Suen, holds in his hands  
 the life of the land,  
 like the new new-light wears on his head  
 holy dread.



The passage underlines again the close connection between the moon god and the ruling king. The king here quite clearly substitutes for the god and achieves the purification of the god by the lustrations he undergoes.

Lustrations to keep the bright moon free of defilement appear indeed to have been a fairly general feature of the cult and to have taken place not only at eclipses but annually at New Year ( z a g - m u ( . a k ) ), which in Ur probably fell at the beginning of the month M a s h d a g u, and at the "Great Festival" ( E z e n - m a h ) in the ninth month which took its name from it. When King Ib-bi-Suen of the Third Dynasty of Ur brought home a costly and exotic gold jar from a campaign in Elam he dedicated it to Nanna:

so that at Ezen-mah and New Year, at the lustrations of Nanna, oil may not be wanting in the place where the (rite of) "mouth-opening" is performed on Nanna's copper bath pitcher.<sup>179</sup>

This bath pitcher on which the reinvigorating rite called "mouth-opening" was performed in order to make it effective when it was used in the lustration rites, we know from other sources. It stood in Nanna's bedroom on top of the ziggurat of his temple Ekishnugal in Ur and was too sacred to be seen by profane eyes.<sup>180</sup> It owed its purity and purifying powers to Enki, lord of the Apsu.<sup>181</sup>

#### *God of the Cowherders*

Ur, chief city of Nanna, was located on the lower Euphrates on the edge of the marshes in a country belonging partly to the orchardmen along the riverbanks, and partly to the cattlemen who grazed their herds in the marshes. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the varying forms of the god seen and comprehended in terms of the experience of orchardmen and marsh-dwelling cattle breeders. Seeing the god as a "fruit self-grown"<sup>182</sup> was probably the orchardman's way, while apprehending the horns of the crescent as those of a "frisky calf of heaven"<sup>183</sup> came naturally to the cattleman. It is likely that we owe to the latter the description of the crescent as a "boat" or "barge"<sup>184</sup> of heaven, since its shape does suggest that of the long, graceful boats which were — and are to this day — the chief means of getting around in the marshes. In time, however, as the human form came to dominate, these immediately experienced older forms tended to adapt themselves, so that the "bull" slowly gave way to the "cowherd" and the "boat" to the "boatman."

To the cowherder and the marshes belongs also the figure of Ningal, the wife of Nanna. Her name Ningal, "The great lady," does not in itself tell much about her, but she was the daughter of Ningikuga, "The lady of the pure reed" ( n i n - g i . k u g . a ( k ) ), who was wife to Enki, the god

of the watery deep.<sup>185</sup> One may assume, therefore, that like her mother she was a reed goddess. This seems confirmed by another name that she shared with the human high priestess who incarnated her on earth, *Zirru*, "Reed-fence."<sup>186</sup> Conceivably the herder in the marshes, seeing the moon rise nightly out of the reeds to set again in them by morning, may have thought of it as the moon leaving and returning to his house and his wife.

Perhaps because the relation of the moon to the tides had been observed or perhaps because, as god of the cowherders, his worshipers looked to him to provide the spring floods on which they depended, the moon god Nanna/Suen was also a god of fertility. In fact he reminds us of that other herdsman's god of fertility, Dumuzi. In the case of Nanna/Suen, however, the texts show a curious looking beyond the god to an ultimate power. In some respects Nanna/Suen is himself the source of the abundance he brings, in others, the real source is his father, Enlil or Nippur, who grants him things out of love. The fertility that Nanna himself provides is the more narrowly circumscribed one of the cowherder: rise of the waters, growth of the reeds, increase of the herds, abundance of milk, cream, and cheese. The fecundity derived from Enlil is more general.

As in the case of Dumuzi we have myths and songs dealing with Nanna as wooer. An Akkadian myth<sup>187</sup> tells how he was particularly fond of boating, invented various aids for hunting, and, having set his heart on Ningal, proposed to her, united with her, and married her without asking her father's consent.

The impetuosity characteristic of him and Ningal here is discernible also in a Sumerian song about them.<sup>188</sup> The beginning is lost, but it seems to open with an address by Ningal of which only the last lines are preserved. They tell of her longing to be in the arms of her beloved. She is answered by Nanna who invites her out into the marshes. He considerably tells her to cut reeds for leggings to protect herself, and offers to gather birds' eggs for her to eat, after which she can wash her hands in the waters of the swamp. Later on Nanna says he will milk his cows, prepare the milk, and carry it for her to her mother's house — but oh! if only he could visit her without her mother Ningikuga being there! Ningal answers that she will come to him and

O my Nanna, your (lover's) plaint is sweet,  
it is the plaint of my heart.

In the Dumuzi cult the love songs led up to the marriage of the god, which was celebrated in a rite of sacred marriage. In this rite the king assumed the identity of the god while a high priestess seems to have embodied the goddess. Such a rite appears also to have formed part of the

Nanna cult. We know that the high priestess of Nanna in Ur, chosen from the royal family, was considered to be the human spouse of the god.<sup>189</sup> She was, as one such high priestess described herself, “the loins suitable as to holiness for the office of high priestess.”<sup>190</sup> Her title, *zirru*, is a name for Ningal, so she may well have been a ritual embodiment of the goddess. One may guess that the sacred marriage was celebrated at the Akiti festival of Nanna in the twelfth month, when offerings connected with “setting up the bed” are recorded.<sup>191</sup>

The abundance brought by Dumuzi was often represented as the god’s bridal gifts or as gifts of cream, milk, and so forth, in response to a request from his bride Inanna.<sup>192</sup> A song giving dialogue between Nanna and Ningal presents a very similar case.<sup>193</sup> In it Nanna sends a love message to Ningal with a traveler, telling her of all the delicious dairy products he has and very clearly wishing her to join him. She sends word back, however, for him to wait. When he has filled the rivers with the early flood, has made grain grow in the field, and caused fishes to be in the marshes, old and new reeds in the canebrake, stags in the forest, plants in the desert, honey and wine in the orchards, cress in the garden, and long life in the palace — only then, she says, will she come to live with him in his lofty dwelling on top of the ziggurat in Ur:

In your house on high, in your beloved house,  
I will come to live,  
O Nanna, up above in your cedar perfumed mountain,  
I will come to live,  
O lord Nanna, in your citadel  
I will come to live,  
Where cows have multiplied, calves have multiplied  
I will come to live,  
O Nanna, in your mansion of Ur  
I will come to live,  
O lord! In its bed I for my part  
will lie down too!

Of the other kind of text, in which Nanna is not the ultimate source of fertility but obtains a large measure of his blessings as gifts from his father Enlil, the largest and most central myth is called “Nanna’s Journey to Nippur.”<sup>194</sup> It tells how Nanna decides to go to Nippur to visit his father and loads his boat with all kinds of wood and animals. On the journey upriver from Ur he passes several major cities, at each of which the tutelary goddess comes out to greet and bless him. Eventually he reaches Nippur where he tells the doorkeeper of Enlil’s temple to open: he has come to feed the herds and flocks, to fill baskets with birds’ eggs, to look after the reeds of the marshes, bring wild pigs and various fishes. He is also going to get myriad ewes with lamb, letting the rams in among them,

myriad goats with kid, letting the bucks in among them, and myriad cows with calf, letting the breed bulls in among them. The gatekeeper joyfully opens the gate and Enlil, delighting in his son, prepares a treat for him. He calls for cakes such as Nanna loves, bread, and he has beer poured for him — all agricultural rather than herding delicacies — and in addition he gives him general prosperity to take back with him to Ur: carp-flood in the rivers, grain in the fields, fishes in the rivers, reeds in the marshes, plants in the high desert, harts in the forests, and long life in the palace.

The myth of Nanna’s journey to Nippur is closely connected with the spring rite of the *n i s a ġ*-boat (its name means “the first fruits boat”) which took gifts of the first dairy products of the year from Ur to Nippur.<sup>195</sup> The meaning of this ritual act, we would suggest, was religious celebration and sanction of the exchange of products of the different economies of the cattlemen in the southern marshes and of the farmers in the north.

“Nanna’s Journey to Nippur” is not the only treatment of this topic. In a well-known hymn to Nanna<sup>196</sup> he is hailed as lord of Ur and its temple, Ekishnugal, as he drifts across the skies in his boat, refreshing himself with beer and keeping an eye on his numberless herds of cows — here obviously the stars — while his father Enlil in Nippur looks joyfully on and sings his praises. Enki, from his temple in Ur, does the same. The hymn ends with the happy awareness that water is even now welling up in the river canals and marshes, an event which the hymn attributes to Nanna. A similar song<sup>197</sup> pictures Nanna as a herdsman with numerous cows — again, probably, the stars — telling how he takes off their fetters, milks them, pours the milk into his churn, and carries it in; then, when his work is done, how he puts the fetters back on, drives the cows to pasture, and watches over them as herdsman. His mother Ninlil asks him to come to Ekur when the night has passed. There he is dearly beloved and can ask whatever he wishes of Enlil. Nanna/Suen obeys, pours milk in the churn, arranges for the washing of hands before eating, and announces that his father Enlil is to eat the best of his pure products. The song ends with Ninlil’s renewed praise of him.

### Ninurta = Warlike Prowess

Nanna belongs to the same generation as another son of Enlil, Ninurta, god of the thunderstorm and spring flood. Since the moist air and thunderstorms of spring soften the soil and make ploughing possible, it is understandable that Ninurta is also god of the plough. His name may in fact contain an old cultural loan word for that instrument, (*u r t a* < \**hurta* < \**hurt*), and may mean “Lord Plough.” Unlike Nanna, whose milieu was that of the cowherder, Ninurta is predominantly a god of the

farmer; among the farmers in the north, in Nippur, and in the east, in Girsu, he tends to displace Nanna as firstborn son of Enlil.

#### *The Thunderbird*

His external form was originally the thundercloud, mythopoeically experienced as an enormous bird floating on outstretched wings in the sky. Since the roar of the thunder could rightly issue only from a lion's mouth the bird was early given a lion's head. The name of the god was, as so often, that of the phenomenon in which he was the power, in this case Imdugud, "heavy rain." Since *i m - d u g u d* can also denote "sling-stone" or "ball of clay,"<sup>198</sup> the reference is perhaps — if only by popular etymology — to the hailstorm. A curious survival of this nonhuman form of the god is preserved for us in the "Lugalbanda Epic"<sup>199</sup> in which the hero meets the god in his bird shape in the eastern mountains. Although a bird, Imdugud is as much the "son of Enlil" as later human forms, Ninurta and Ningirsu. Just as Ninurta in the epic *L u g a l - e* constructs the near mountain ranges to serve as protective walls, locking them before the country, so Enlil has made Imdugud lock the mountains like "a great doorleaf" before the country; and just as Ninurta makes unalterable decisions, so does Imdugud.

The growing feeling that only the human form was suitable for visualizing a god led to difficulties in the case of Imdugud. In the Diyala Region as early as the Second Early Dynastic period representations on seals show the bird god growing a human lower body or in the case of a representation in the round showing the god entirely in human shape and relegating the bird shape to serve as an emblem on the base of the statue. The humanizing process was a slow and uneven one. In Girsu, as late as Enannatum in the outgoing Third Early Dynastic period, a mace head dedicated to the humanized god "Lord of Girsu" (i.e., Ningirsu) still shows the donor, Baragkiba, in a pose of adoration before the thunderbird. Still later, when Gudea saw his lord Ningirsu in a dream, the god appeared with Imdugud's wings, and his lower parts ended in a flood.<sup>200</sup> Finally, in Assyrian times in the first millennium, a relief of Ashurnasirpal's that graced Ninurta's temple in Nimrud shows the god in human form, but still winged. Significantly he is throwing thunderbolts at his own older form, a variant of the lion-headed bird, a winged bird-lion.<sup>201</sup>

This protracted contest between anthropomorphic and nonanthropomorphic shapes was one of growing bitterness. The unworthy nonhuman form, so difficult to annihilate, became more and more of a problem. It was relegated to the status of a mere emblem or symbol of the god. Yet still when the god went to war with the army or when oaths were sworn by touching him in law cases, it was in the old nonhuman form, the

"emblem," that he was encountered. At last the dislike of the nonhuman form and the difficulty of expunging it made it a foe, a captured enemy. The bird form, Imdugud, became an enemy of the human form, Ningirsu(k) or Ninurta, captured by him in a fight in the mountains,<sup>202</sup> much as the human form of the god of the fresh waters, Enki/Ea, captured his own nonhuman form, Apsu, the fresh waters underground.

#### *The Warrior King*

The humanization of the outer form of the thunderstorm god accompanied the socialization of his inner form. Thunder and lightning are violent phenomena. In the thunder the ancients not only heard the roar of the lion or the bellow of the bull, but also at times the rumble of the war chariot, while the lightning became the flash of arrows in the sun. Thus Ninurta/Ningirsu, having captured his bird form in a battle in the mountains, hitched it before his war chariot and drove it across the skies, rain pouring — as is shown on Old Babylonian cylinder seals — out of its mouth.<sup>203</sup> As victorious charioteer, the human form of the god became a war leader, a king. At this time kingship as such was only emerging. It did, however, furnish the metaphorization and key to the social significance of the power in the thunderstorm which became, like the emergent king, a defender against outer foes and a righter of internal wrongs. In the following third and second millennia these were the aspects of Ninurta that predominated in hymns and prayers. His role as bringer of rain, floods, and fertility receded into the background.<sup>204</sup>

#### *Rain God Myths*

In the myths about Ninurta his character as a force of nature remains alive. The myth called *A n - g i m d í m - m a*, "Who counts as much as An,"<sup>205</sup> is basically an incantation to appease the thunderstorms that threaten Nippur. It describes the thundercloud warrior, Ninurta, returning from battle in his war chariot, still all sound and fury. Enlil, disturbed, sends his vizier, Nusku, to meet Ninurta and tell him to quiet down so as not to disturb his father with his clamor. Ninurta puts away his weapons, stables his team, and enters Ekur where his appearance hushes the Anunaki. His mother, Ninlil, greets him with affectionate words which he answers with a long swaggering speech extolling his warlike powers. Eventually the god Ninkarnunna, Ninurta's barber, steps in to pacify his master and eases him quietly into his temple, Eshumesha.

The longest and best known Ninurta myth, *L u g a l - e u d m e - l á m - b i n i r - ġ á l*, "King, storm, the glory of which is noble,"<sup>206</sup> likewise deals with the god as a force of nature, but humanizes him and

shows him as a young king and warrior. The natural events underlying the myth are apparently the appearance of the thunderstorms in the spring and their spending themselves over the mountains, where their waters and those of the melting snow swell the Tigris and its tributaries, thus causing the yearly flood. The myth presents the raging of the thunderstorms over the mountains as a battle between Ninurta and a rival king, Azag, whose name, like that of Ninurta's older nonhuman form Imdugud, means "sling-stone" and probably as suggested earlier, refers to hailstones. He seems thus to be but the older lion-bird form of the god made into his enemy as winged bird-lion, the very one shown on the Assyrian relief mentioned earlier. After the victory over Azag, Ninurta reorganizes his newly won territories. The myth humanizes the power behind the yearly flood into a young king undertaking major irrigation works.

At that time the waters of the earth coming from below  
did not come pouring over the fields,  
(nay!) as ice long accumulating they rose in  
the mountains on the other side.

The gods of the country who were stationed there,  
who carried pickaxes and baskets  
and whose assigned tasks were thus,  
poured it, according to what they had first  
chopped off (from it), on a man's field.

The Tigris, for which a great fate (was decreed?),  
did not rise in flood,

its outlet did not take it straight into the sea,  
did not carry sweet water.

At the quay no man dipped(?) a water pail,  
in dire famine nothing was produced,  
the canals no man cleared,

dredged not the silt from them,  
on the fertile field water was not poured,  
there was no making of dikes.

In land after land there was no planting in furrows,  
the grain was broadcast.<sup>207</sup>

To remedy all of this Ninurta built a stone wall, the near ranges, which would protect the land and would serve also as a dike to keep the waters of the Tigris from going east into the mountains.

The lord directed (his) great intelligence to it,  
Ninurta, the son of Enlil, wrought magnificently.  
He made a heap of stones in the mountains —  
like drifting rain clouds they came  
(floating) on outstretched wings —  
set bar before the country as (with) a great wall.

Well sweeps he set up on it in myriad places.  
That warrior was shrewd, watered(?) the cities  
equally.

The mighty waters followed along the stone.  
Now these waters do not rise from the earth  
into the eternal mountains.

What had been scattered he gathered,  
what in the mountains had been consumed  
by swamps

he gathered and threw it into the Tigris,  
had the carp-flood pour over the fields.<sup>208</sup>

At the abundance produced by these irrigation works: barley, orchard fruits, and piles of produce, the kings and gods of the country rejoiced and praised Ninurta to his father Enlil. His mother Ninlil, overcome with longing for him, decided to visit him; and Ninurta, overjoyed to see her, made her a gift of the vast stone pile he had made. First, though, he provided it with vegetation, wildlife, and minerals, and called its name, *h u r s a ġ*. Thus Ninlil became *Ninhursaga*, "Lady of the foothills." The myth ends with a detailed account of how Ninurta sat in judgment over the various kinds of stones (they had formed the army of Azag), praising some of them who had behaved properly and giving them office in his new administration, but cursing with heavy penalties those who had been viciously hostile to him. In this manner the stones got their characteristics. Flint, for instance, was chastised by a sentence that it should break when the far softer horn was pressed against it — as in fact it does.

#### *Power in The Flood*

The myth, *L u g a l - e*, in its present form can be dated, on inner criteria, to the time of Gudea or shortly afterward. It is typical of the slowness with which humanization took place and the ease with which its stages existed side by side that the highly humanized picture presented in *L u g a l - e* is contemporaneous with Gudea's dream in which, as we have mentioned, the god seemed to be "according to his wings the Imdugud bird, according to his lower parts a flood."<sup>209</sup> Even more striking is the way the god appears in Gudea's prayer to him, which we quoted earlier to illustrate the application of the ruler metaphor; we return to it now to indicate the extent to which nonhuman metaphors are still alive in it, for *Ningirsu* is simply the reddish floodwaters as they come roaring down the mountain tributaries. They are semen ejected by the eastern highlands (the *k u r - g a l*), into the foothills (the *h u r s a ġ*) and they are reddish because they were ejected in a deflowering and so are tinted by blood:

O my master *Ningirsu*, lord, seminal waters  
reddened in the deflowering;

able lord, seminal waters emitted by the  
"great mountain" (Enlil). . . .<sup>210</sup>

Their force as they come rushing is the god's violent essence:

Your heart, rising as (rise the waves in)  
mid-ocean,  
crashing down as (crash) the breakers,  
roaring like waters pouring out (through a  
breach in a dike),  
destroying cities like the flood wave.<sup>211</sup>

With Lu g a l - e we must mention — for its intrinsic rather than its literary interest — a Sumerian myth of which we have only the middle part.<sup>212</sup> When it begins Ninurta has apparently conquered the young Imdugud bird, following instructions from Enki. The Imdugud bird held in its claws the powers of office needed for controlling the Apsû, and Ninurta had hoped to acquire them by vanquishing the bird. As his weapon struck it, however, the bird opened its claws from pain and the powers of office returned of their own accord to Enki and the Apsû. The situation fits so exactly with what we are told in the Akkadian myth of "Ninurta and the Anzu Bird"<sup>213</sup> that we may assume that both reflect the same mythological background. In the Akkadian story the Anzu bird stole the tablets of fate from Enlil and flew to the mountains. In the Sumerian story we assume the powers were stolen from Enki. In both, Ninurta (through Enki's advice), is able to overcome the bird in a battle in the mountains, but what we know of the Akkadian story stops here. In the Sumerian, Ninurta, disappointed in his hopes, was flown back to the Apsû by the bird. There Enki received him kindly, praised him, and assigned him the bird as his captive. None of this, however, satisfied Ninurta's ambitious heart. He went to his post in the Apsû and there he darkened and yellowed a wave, making its heart rebellious and setting its face against the world. Though Ninurta had told nobody of his plans, somehow the crafty Enki was aware of what was going on, and when this terrifying flood wave came sweeping against the Apsû temple, he sent his vizier to Ninurta. Ninurta, however, refused to budge, and would not come out. Enki then resorted to a ruse. He created the turtle, placed it at the entrance to the Apsû and deceitfully called to Ninurta that his post had been given to the turtle. Ninurta came out, the turtle managed to slip behind him, quickly dug a pit, and threw Ninurta in. He became the butt of Enki's sarcasm and scorn:

You chased my powers in the mountains,  
found them here,  
you set your face against me, to kill me!

Bragging upstarts I put down or let rise  
(at will);  
how could you set your face against me?  
What position of yours have I taken from you? . . .  
Where has your might gone, where is your valor?  
He used to destroy great mountains —  
now it is verily: "Alas!"<sup>214</sup>

The story as we have it ends with Ninurta's mother being told what has happened and lamenting Enki's cruelty. Presumably it went on to tell how she eventually obtained her son's release.

Once more, it will be seen, we are dealing with the theme of the hydraulic cycle and the spring thunderstorm in the mountains: first, the escape of the waters in cloud form (the thunderbird Imdugud/Anzu) evaporating from the Apsû; next, the vanquishing of the thunderbird, the rains, in the mountains; then the floodwaters, fed by the rains, pouring down the rivers to Apsû in Eridu and to the lagoons of the marshes — represented in the myth as Ninurta's return to Apsû with the thunderbird and his creation of the yellowish dark flood wave. Lastly, the subsiding of the flood and the lowering of the water table as the summer lengthens corresponds to Ninurta's being cast into the pit. The myth's hero is Enki, who successfully recovers control of the waters, first from the thunder-showers, Imdugud, then from the flood, Ninurta.

The view of this myth (heavily biased in Enki's favor) is not, however, the only view of the natural processes involved to be found in the texts. Ninurta's journey to Apsû and Eridu, the passing of the flood down the rivers, was seen by his own worshipers not as an attempt to depose Enki but as the performing of a high office through which to insure fertility and abundance. The cult of the god comprised a journey to Eridu from Girsu, where he was called Ningirsu,<sup>215</sup> and from Nippur, where his name was Ninurta. In both cases the god was presumably conveyed as cult statue or possibly as cult emblem. A processional hymn from Nippur celebrating this ritual journey states its purpose succinctly:

To make the (administrative) decisions for abundance,  
to make myriad places sprout profusely,  
to make grass and herbs, verdure, sprout profusely  
in the wide desert,  
to make the buffalo milk and cream  
heavy in pen and fold  
and rejoice the shepherd,  
did the warrior Ninurta decide to go to Eridu;  
to make the Tigris and the Euphrates roar,  
to make the Apsû tremble(?), the deep shiver,

to provide(?) HI-SUHUR and SUHUR-MAŠ fishes  
 in the marsh,  
 old and new reeds, first cream,  
 all kinds of things in the canebrake,  
 to cause the beasts to multiply,  
 the living things in the desert,  
 to . . . stags and wild sheep in the forests,  
 . . . . .  
 and to see that the rituals of Shumer not perish,  
 the schedules for all lands not be changed. . . .<sup>216</sup>

In this text Enki hardly seems to exist, everything is accomplished by Ninurta with the approval of An and his father Enlil.

### Utu = Righteousness

To the generation after Suen and Ninurta belong Nanna/Suen's three children: Utu, Ishkur, and Inanna. Utu is the sun god, the power in light, the foe of darkness and deeds of darkness. On the social plane he therefore becomes a power for justice and equity.

As he is presented in hymns and prayers of supplication the aspect of him as a power in nature, bringing the day and shedding light in darkness, is unmistakable, and the mythopoeic imagination provided a team of swift mules (originally storms) and a chariot and driver for Utu's daily journey across heaven.<sup>217</sup> But on the whole Utu's social role as guardian of justice is his most important function. He is the judge of gods and men, presiding in the morning in courts such as the one we know from the Bathroom Ritual, where demons and other evildoers are sued by their human victims.

At night he judges disputes among the dead of the netherworld.<sup>218</sup> He is the last appeal of the wronged who can obtain no justice from their fellow men, and their cry of despair to him, *i - U t u!* was feared as possessing supernatural power. In one story about Gilgamesh<sup>219</sup> this cry made the earth open up so that Gilgamesh's cherished playthings fell into the netherworld. It is no wonder, therefore that the term for it took on overtones of "malcontent," and that the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur and of the Isin Dynasty were determined to stamp it out as a social evil.

### Ishkur = The Rainstorm

Utu's brother, Ishkur — in Akkadian, Adad — was a god of rain and thundershowers like Ninurta. We even possess a text in which, as with Ninurta in *A n - g i m d i m - m a*, his clamorous approach to Nippur disturbs Enlil and he is asked to turn away.<sup>220</sup>

Whereas Ninurta was clearly the rain god of the farmers, however, Ishkur seems to belong specifically to the herdsmen: he is "King of abundance," "King of verdure," and "King making grass and herbs grow long"<sup>221</sup> — that is to say, he is the rains that bring verdure and pasture in the desert. Like other personifications of the life-giving spring rain, Ishkur shows in his mythology reflections of ancient man's distress at the early ceasing of the rains: a myth preserved in a copy of the Agade period has him held captive in the mountains.<sup>222</sup>

Ishkur's early, nonhuman, forms were those of the bull and the lion — their roars were heard in the thunder — and, humanized, he appeared like Ninurta as a warrior driving his thundering chariot across the skies, throwing his large and small sling-stones — hailstones and raindrops — down from it. The chariot was drawn by seven storms and his vizier, "lightning," walked before it.<sup>223</sup> It is no wonder that Ishkur's sheen lies over the land "like a cloth"<sup>224</sup> and that his martial clamor disturbs and frightens the other gods.

Besides the tradition in which Ishkur is the son of the moon god Nanna/Suen, there was apparently another which made him son of the god of heaven, An, and twin brother of Enki. In many ways that seems a more natural family grouping, but there is no way of telling this alternative tradition's age or where it was at home.<sup>225</sup>

### Inanna = Infinite Variety

#### *The Power in the Storehouse*

Sister of Utu and Ishkur and in some respects the most intriguing of all the figures in the pantheon is a third child of Nanna, the goddess Inanna (in Akkadian, Ishtar). We have already described her as the beloved and the bride of Dumuzi-Amaushumgalanna. We suggested then that she was in origin the numen of the date storehouse who married Amaushumgalanna of the date harvest at the time the harvest was stored; also that her range was early extended to that of the storehouse generally, including wool, meat, and grain.

In part this may reflect a process of gradual unification of the fertility cults of the dual economies of Uruk, date-growing and husbandry, blending a date god and storehouse goddess (Amaushumgalanna and Inanna) with a different shepherd's god and goddess (Dumuzi and Inanna — the latter conceivably a rain goddess). Actually Inanna has a good many more aspects than those which characterize her in her relations with Dumuzi, so many different ones in fact that one is inclined to wonder whether several, originally different deities have not here coalesced in one, the many-faceted goddess Inanna.

*The Power in Rains*

Still quite clear in the materials, is the aspect of Inanna as goddess of thunderstorms and rain, very close in character to her brother, Ishkur, and to Ninurta. As does Ninurta, she controls the lion-headed thunderbird, Imdugud. We hear of her letting it fly out of the house,<sup>226</sup> and in the story "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta" it is called "the curb of Inanna put as bar in the mouth of all the world."<sup>227</sup> In that story her method of forcing Aratta to submit to Uruk is to withhold rain and expose it to drought. The lion, typically an image or emblem of thunder gods such as Ishkur and Ninurta, occurs also with her. Her chariot is drawn by seven lions, she rides a lion, or she is herself the lion.<sup>228</sup> The other thunder animal, the bull, is lent to her, albeit reluctantly by An when she wants the "Bull of Heaven" to kill Gilgamesh.<sup>229</sup> Her character as the power in the thunderstorm is stated directly in the opening lines of a major hymn to her<sup>230</sup> in which she is called "Inanna, the great dread storm of heaven." In an address to her, Enheduanna, the daughter of Sargon of Akkad, says:

O destroyer of mountains,  
you lent the storm wings!  
O beloved one of Enlil,  
you came flying into the country,  
attended to the instructions of An.  
O my lady, at your roar you made  
the countries bow low.<sup>231</sup>

And elsewhere in the same composition we hear that:

With the charging storm you charge,  
with the howling storm you howl,  
with Ishkur you roar,  
with all evil winds you rage!<sup>232</sup>

Inanna describes herself as rain goddess more gently in a hymn where she says:

I step onto the heavens, and the rain  
rains down;  
I step onto the earth, and grass and herbs  
sprout up.<sup>233</sup>

But when she gets angry her outbursts are not merely tempestuous, they are truly the tempest itself, with its thunder shaking heaven and earth and its lightning burning and destroying. Here is her wrath at the untimely death of Urnammu:

Inanna, the dread storm, the oldest child of Suen,  
what did she do?

She was making heaven tremble, the earth shake,  
Inanna was destroying the cow pens, burning the sheepfolds,  
(crying:) "Let me berate An, the king of the gods!"<sup>234</sup>

This aspect of Inanna as a goddess of rain makes it more understandable that a persistent tradition linked her with the god of heaven, An, as his spouse, even to the point of identifying her with Antum;<sup>235</sup> for, as we have seen earlier, An (Akkadian Antum) was the sky seen as female and referred to the overcast sky, the clouds of which were "breasts of the sky" from which flowed the rain. Antum and Inanna represent the same phenomenon of nature, the power in the rain clouds. To the tradition of Inanna as a rain goddess belongs also the Eclipse myth, with which we have dealt earlier.<sup>236</sup> There, Inanna joins Ishkur and the storms in their attack on their father, the moon god, because she aspires to marry An and become queen of heaven. (Actually, "queen of heaven" is one interpretation of her name.) The same view of her also informs the late myth called the "Elevation of Inanna."<sup>237</sup> Here the gods propose to An that he marry Inanna "with whom you have fallen in love," and this he readily does. He also confers on her his name and all his powers, then Enlil gives her his powers, and lastly Enki gives his to her. As queen of the universe she thus comes to unite in her person all its highest powers.

*Goddess of War*

In the process of humanization, gods of rain and thunderstorms tended — as we have seen with Ishkur and Ninurta — to be envisaged as warriors riding their chariots into battle. Correspondingly we find that Inanna's warlike character and skill with weapons is celebrated from early myths, like the one telling of her battle against the mountain Ebih<sup>238</sup> (modern Jebel Hamrin), to late compositions, such as the "Elevation of Inanna," and to the royal inscriptions of Assyrian kings. In fact, battle was to the Sumerians "the dance of Inanna"<sup>239</sup> and she herself proudly tells us in a hymn that:

When I stand in the front (line) of battle  
I am the leader of all the lands,  
when I stand at the opening of the battle,  
I am the quiver ready to hand,  
When I stand in the midst of the battle,  
I am the heart of the battle,  
the arm of the warriors,  
when I begin moving at the end of the battle,  
I am an evilly rising flood,  
when I follow in the wake of the battle,  
I am the woman (exhorting the stragglers):  
"Get going! Close (with the enemy)!"<sup>240</sup>

She celebrates her power as goddess of thunderstorms and wars in the proud lines

My father gave me the heavens,  
gave me the earth,  
I am Inanna!  
Kingship he gave me,  
queenship he gave me,  
waging of battle he gave me,  
the attack he gave me,  
the floodstorm he gave me,  
the hurricane he gave me!  
The heavens he set as a crown on my head,  
the earth he set as sandals on my feet,  
a holy robe he wrapped around my body,  
a holy sceptre he placed in my hand.  
The gods are sparrows — I am a falcon;  
the Anunnaki trundle along — I am a splendid  
wild cow;  
I am father Enlil's splendid wild cow,  
his splendid wild cow leading the way!<sup>241</sup>

#### *Morning and Evening Stars*

Besides being a rain goddess and goddess of war, Inanna is also the goddess of the morning and evening star. A remarkable hymn from the time of Iddin-Dagan of Isin<sup>242</sup> hails her as she rises in the sky in the evening. It tells how every month at the new moon she holds court for the gods to hear their petitions, how music is played for her and war games staged by her guardsmen attendants, ending in a mock parade of prisoners and a perhaps not so mock shedding of blood. The hymn then returns to her in her character as the evening star, which marks the end of the day's work for men and animals. All may go to rest while she, shining in the sky, judges the cases of just and unjust.

In the morning (as the morning star) she signals the awakening of man and beast. Copious offerings are brought her and the personal gods of mankind approach her with their gifts of food and drink.

The final cantos of the hymn, discussed above in chapter 2, are taken up by a description of the yearly rite of the sacred marriage in which the king, here Iddin-Dagan, takes on the identity of Amaushumgalanna, her divine bridegroom.

The canto that hails the goddess as she rises in the evening sky may be quoted:

The great queen of heaven, Inanna,  
I will hail!

The only one, come forth on high,  
I will hail!  
The great queen of heaven, Inanna,  
I will hail!

The pure torch that flares in the sky,  
the heavenly light, shining bright like the day,  
the great queen of heaven, Inanna,  
I will hail.

The holy one, the awesome queen of the Anunnaki,  
the one revered in heaven and earth,  
crowned with great horns,  
the oldest child of Suen, Inanna,  
I will hail!

Of her majesty, of her greatness,  
of her exceeding dignity  
of her brilliant coming forth  
in the evening sky  
of her flaring in the sky — a pure torch —  
of her standing in the sky  
like the sun and the moon,  
known by all lands from south to north,  
of the greatness of the holy one of heaven  
to the lady I will sing.<sup>243</sup>

#### *The Harlot*

Evening, after work but before rest, is the time for play and dancing. The hymn touches on this in passing as people go to sleep:

The dancer of the country,  
the celebrant of the festival,  
the young hero, opens his heart (in bed)  
to his spouse.<sup>244</sup>

This dancing in the evening is stressed more as something in which the goddess has a benevolent interest in a passage in the Lugalbanda Epic that tells how Inanna, rising as the evening star, sends her rays into the cave where young Lugalbanda lies ill. The poet introduces her and her kind offices saying:

So as to set the poor folk going at their dances,  
having (with her light)  
made the dancing green more pleasant,  
and to make the spots to bed down in  
more pleasant for the harlot  
setting out for the alehouse,  
did Inanna, the daughter of Suen,



like a dancer (proudly) raise her head  
over the land.<sup>245</sup>

This passage, as will be noted, includes a further typical feature of the evening: the harlot setting out to pick up customers among the people returning from work in the fields; and perhaps because it was a common sight to see the harlot appear with the evening star there was a bond between them. Inanna is the protectress of the harlot as well as of the alehouse out of which she works. Moreover, the evening star is itself a harlot soliciting in the skies, and its power informs Inanna's sisters below, making them incarnations of the goddess, their pickups, her bridegroom Dumuzi. A hymn addresses Inanna in these words:

O harlot, you set out for the alehouse,  
O Inanna, you are bent on going into your (usual) window  
(namely, to solicit) for a lover —  
O Inanna, mistress of myriad offices,  
no god rivals you!  
Ninegalla, here is your dwelling place,  
let me tell of your greatness!  
As the herds make the dust (they kick up)  
settle in layers,  
as oxen and sheep return to pen and fold,  
you, my lady, dress like one of no repute  
in a single garment,  
the beads (the sign) of a harlot  
you put around your neck.  
It is you that hail men from the alehouse!  
It is you, tripping along into the embrace  
of your bridegroom Dumuzi!  
Inanna, your seven bridal attendants are  
bedding you!<sup>246</sup>

### Ishtar

Interestingly enough, the aspects of the goddess that we have mentioned — rain goddess, goddess of war, and goddess of the morning and evening star — form a unit, also in the Akkadian and general Semitic deity Ishtar with whom Inanna was identified. Ishtar — her name goes back through the form *Eshtar* to \**Attar* — corresponds to the West Semitic god of the morning star, 'Attar, who was also a rain deity but of semiarid regions where agriculture was possible only with the use of irrigation. Accordingly, in West Semitic mythology when 'Attar tried to take the place of the dead Ba'al, the rain god of the regions of rain agriculture, he did not prove big enough to fill Ba'al's throne.<sup>247</sup> His female counterpart, Astarte (older 'Attart), goddess of the evening star, was a war goddess and

also goddess of sexual love.<sup>248</sup> Whether this coincidence of functions may be taken to indicate that Inanna's character as goddess of rains, war, and the morning and evening star is of Semitic origin and were borrowed from the Akkadian Ishtar with whom she was identified in historical times, or whether — as seems more reasonable — the fact that she had similar characteristics was what prompted the identification with Ishtar cannot be definitively determined with our present knowledge.

### Variety and Contradictions

So far, then, we have considered Inanna as numen of the storehouse, as rain goddess, as goddess of war, as goddess of the morning and evening star, and as goddess of harlots. And yet we are far from exhausting her nature. She seems to have a hand in almost everything and is rightly termed *N i n - m e - š á r - r a*, "Lady of a myriad offices."<sup>249</sup> She is in charge of the lighting of fires, but also of the putting out of fires; of causing tears, and also of rejoicing; of enmity and of fair dealings; and so forth.<sup>250</sup> Also:

To pester, insult, deride, desecrate — and to  
venerate — is your domain, Inanna.  
Downheartedness, calamity, heartache — and  
joy and good cheer — is your domain,  
Inanna.  
Trembling, affright, terror — dazzling and  
glory — is your domain, Inanna.<sup>251</sup>

and so on.

It is remarkable that in this medley of contradictory traits, the humanizing process of myths and tales, should have been able to find an inner unity and to present their infinite variety as but facets of one believable divine personality. Yet to a very considerable extent that is the case. What could not be absorbed or was felt to be peripheral seems to have become offices that the goddess held, rather than traits of her character.

### Myths

In the epics and myths Inanna is a beautiful, rather willful young aristocrat. We see her as a charming, slightly difficult younger sister, as a grown daughter (a shade too quick, perhaps, to see her own advantage), and a worry to her elders because of her proclivity to act on her own impulses when they could have told her it would end in disaster. We see her as sweetheart, as a happy bride, and as a sorrowing young widow. We see her, in fact, in all the roles a woman may fill except the two which call for maturity and a sense of responsibility. She is never depicted as a wife and helpmate or as a mother.

As younger sister she appears in a story<sup>252</sup> in which her brother Utu, the sun god, has found a suitable husband for her, the shepherd god Dumuzi, only to discover that Inanna could never dream of marrying a shepherd; it has to be a farmer, and so a farmer it is. As a dutiful daughter she goes in another tale to visit her grandfather, Enki, in Eridu.<sup>253</sup> Enki, overjoyed to see his granddaughter, gives a party for her during which he drinks more deeply than he should and in his expansive mood presents her with one high office after another. The next morning he wakes up sober, only to find Inanna gone and the offices with her. She gets herself into more serious trouble when she takes it into her head to wrest the rule of the land of the dead from her powerful older sister, Ereshkigal.<sup>254</sup> As we have already described, she goes alone to the netherworld but proves no match for the queen of the dead and the powers below. Her elders have the difficult task of extricating her and bringing her back to life — which her clever grandfather Enki succeeds in doing. When she comes back to the world Dumuzi does not display sufficient suffering over her loss to please her, and with the quick flaring anger of a child she hands him over as her substitute to the deputies from the netherworld. With rather more reason she tries to kill Gilgamesh when he has spurned her,<sup>255</sup> forcing her grandfather, An, to lend her the fearful bull of heaven by wildly threatening to break open the gates to the netherworld and let the dead out among the living if he refuses.

The restraint and demureness that were considered good manners in a young girl did not come easy to Inanna. She was perfectly capable of slipping away for a tryst in the canebrake.<sup>256</sup> Her young man pleads:

Our two heads are but two, our feet but four;  
.....

O my sister, if I embraced you in the canebrake,  
if I kissed you there,

what spying eye would see you?  
Maiden Inanna, if I embraced you in the  
canebrake if I kissed you there,  
what spying eye would see you?

That lone (spying) bird in the sky? Let me kill it!  
That lone (spying) fish in the marsh? Let me  
kill it!

If you wish I will lie with you —  
as in the days of yore — if you wish,  
divine one?

Inanna, if you wish I will lie with you —  
as in the days of yore —  
if you wish, divine one?

And Inanna answers:

I, the queen, the divine one,  
sitting with a lad, as in the days of yore,  
am a truant!

Me whom she seeks of the lad,  
seeks, as in the days of yore,  
me, my mother will not find!

With Inanna everything had to be right away. She threw things imperiously against the gate of the netherworld and threatened to break it down if the doorkeeper did not quickly let her in.<sup>257</sup> Smitten with the handsomeness of the hero Gilgamesh, she at once brazenly proposed to him.<sup>258</sup> Gilgamesh, it must be admitted, showed even worse manners by pointing out that she was not to be relied upon: calling her a shoe that would pinch the foot that wore it, a brazier that would go out when it was cold and there was need for it, a back door that let in cold blasts, and to drive home his point enumerated no less than six others (besides Dumuzi) she had loved and who had come to grief at her hand.

And in this there is something characteristic of Inanna. She destroys those she loves or, at any rate, they come to grief. In the story of her descent to the netherworld and in Gilgamesh's chiding of her she is made directly responsible. In other stories such is not the case and she is in no way to blame yet those she loves perish: her young husband is killed by attackers as he tends sheep in the desert, or he drowns in the flooded river and Inanna goes to the desert to mourn over his body. An aura of death and disaster surrounds her.

In Inanna, then, an unusually interesting and complex character has come into being — so vividly that the natural background is gradually less felt. The numen of the storehouse, inevitably losing its young husband, the stores, is less and less sensed in Inanna's loss of husbands or lovers. The power of a real thunderstorm is less and less felt behind Inanna's tempestuous temper. The evening star rising when the harlots appear as if it were one of them, the ruttish powers of fecundation of the herds cease to explain Inanna's wantonness and freedom with her favors. And her quick bolting with the "offices" from Eridu seems so characteristic that one inquires no further into the whys and wherefores of Inanna's being the power in and behind the motley collection of a hundred or so activities which the myth so laboriously specifies. She is become truly all woman and of infinite variety.

VAB	<i>Vorderasiatische Bibliothek</i> , Leipzig, 1907–16.
VAT	Text in the Near Eastern section of the Kaiser Friedrich Wilhelm Museum in Berlin.
VS	<i>Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin</i> .
“Weltordnung”	Bernhard and Kramer, “Enki und die Weltordnung,” <i>Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena</i> , gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe IX (1959/60), pp. 231 ff.
WVDOG	<i>Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft</i> .
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> .
YOS	<i>Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts</i> .
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i> .
3N-T	Field catalogue of tablets found at Nippur by the joint expedition of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, and the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, third season.

## Notes

Notes have been held to a minimum. They are intended primarily to furnish scholars with a clue to the compositions and text passages referred to in the text. Editions or references where further literature may be found have been quoted whenever possible, but no attempt at full bibliographical reference has been even approximated. It is hoped that the many editions cited as “in preparation” may, when published, be identified from the references here given.

The general reader will find English translations of many of the texts cited in *ANET*, *ANET Suppl.*, *BWL*, and in S. N. Kramer’s various publications. A particularly valuable Collection of Translations in German is *SAHG*. Translations of major compositions such as Atrahasis, Enûma elish, and the Gilgamesh Epic are listed in notes 169, 326, and 339.

All translations given are from the original texts. They do not always agree with earlier renderings and we hope on other occasions to present the philological justifications for them.

- 1 Rudolph Otto, *The Idea of the Holy* (London, 1943).
- 2 *Gilgamesh Epic* Tablet VII iii 33–34.
- 3 *IV R<sup>2</sup>* pl. 9. Cf. *MNS* pp. 165–79. The section quoted is lines 7–14.
- 4 *OECT* I, pls. 36–39 i. 3–15, 21–26, and duplicates. (See Kramer in *SETP* p. 31.) Thanks are due to Daniel Reisman for making his manuscript edition available to us.
- 5 *SGL* I pp. 5–79. The section quoted is lines 129–40.
- 6 *Gilgamesh Epic* Tablet IV iv 10–12.
- 7 *HRET* no. 22 i 31–35.
- 8 *CT* XVI pl. 15. v. 37–46.
- 9 *Ibid.*, pl. 12. i. 1–43.
- 10 Svend Aage Pallis, *The Babylonian Akitu Festival* (Copenhagen, 1926).
- 11 É - s u - š i - h u š - r i - a in unpublished edition of temple list kindly made available by W. L. Moran.
- 12 *SGL* I p. 15, lines 77–79.
- 13 Cf. e.g., *SGL* I p. 14, line 74: <sup>a</sup>E n - l í l i b (thus with variants) - k u g h i - l i -

- d u<sub>8</sub> - d u<sub>8</sub> - a - z u, "O Enlil, your holy (cult-)niche laden with attractiveness"; also [K á] - m a h h i - l i d [u<sub>8</sub> - d u<sub>8</sub> - a], "the lofty gate laden with attractiveness," in the description of Ekur *PBS* I, no. 8. i. 18 and duplicate *SK*, no. 8. i. 17.
- 14 é - h a l - l a = *bit piristi*. See the passages cited in *AHW* p. 134 section 19, and cf. *JNES* 16 (1957), p. 252, line 20 (Nêribtum Gilgamesh fragment) and Ashurbanipal, *Annals* vi. 30–31.
- 15 "The Fall of Agade," line 131. *TuMnF* III, nos. 27 rev. 14; 31 obv. 18; 32 obv. 14. Cf. *PBS*<sub>1</sub>, no. 8. i. 16 and duplicates *SK*, no. 8. i. 16, and *BL*, no. 44.
- 16 "Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur," line 450. See *UE(T)* VI<sub>2</sub>, nos. 133 obv. 26 and 133 obv. 26. Cf. Kramer in *ANET* Suppl. p. 182.
- 17 *TH* p. 26 lines 150, 158, 163.
- 18 Gudea, *Cylinder A*, x. 24–26.
- 19 *Ibid.*, x. 19–23.
- 20 "The Fall of Agade," lines 120–21, 125–26, and 127–28. Cf. Falkenstein, *ZA* 57 (1965), pp. 43–124; Kramer, *ANET* Suppl. pp. 210–15.
- 21 For these name forms see, e.g., Gudea, *Cylinder A*, vii. 28 and xi. 3.
- 22 E. M. Forster, *Anonymity, An Enquiry* (London, 1925), pp. 13–14.
- 23 See Kramer, *PAPS* 107 (1963), pp. 509–10 (Kramer's interpretation differs from the one given here) and my article in "The Gaster Festschrift," *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* 5 (1973). An unpublished duplicate tablet in the Yale collection, kindly made available by Professor W. Hallo, shows that the composition begins as here given and not as we surmised in "The Gaster Festschrift."
- 24 *TuMnF* III, no. 25.
- 25 *BE* XXX, no. 4 and duplicates.
- 26 We owe the reading of this word to an oral communication from B. Alster.
- 27 *SLTN*, no. 35.
- 28 *TRS*, no. 70.
- 29 *SRT*, no. 1 and duplicates. Cf. Falkenstein and von Soden, *SAHG*, no. 18 pp. 90–99, 367–68, and literature there cited.
- 30 *CT* XLII no. 4.
- 31 We are aware that "carp-flood" does not exist in English. It is a literal translation of the Sumerian term for the early flood which was called the "carp-flood" because carps at that time (spring) swam up the rivers to be caught by delighted Sumerian fishermen (see above, p. 32). We use it here because it is so pregnant and illustrative.
- 32 Kramer, *PAPS* 107 (1963), pp. 505–08. Ni 9602.
- 33 B. Alster, *Dumuzi's Dream* (Copenhagen, 1972).
- 34 *R A* VIII (1911), pp. 161 ff. and duplicates *TRS*, no. 78 and *SK*, no. 2.
- 35 *SK*, no. 123. ii. 10–21.
- 36 *CT* XV pl. 18 and partial duplicate, CBS 45 (unpublished)
- 37 *BE* XXX, no. 1. ii. 3' to iii. 4' and its duplicates *HRET*, no. 26 and *SEM*, no. 91.
- 38 Edited by Kramer, *JCS* V (1951), pp. 1–17 with additional materials *PAPS* 107 (1963), pp. 491–93, 510–16. See also A. D. Kilmer, "How Was Queen Ershkigal Tricked?" *Ugarit Forschungen* 3 (1971), pp. 299–309. We tend to

think that the motif of obligatory treatment of guests is more relevant to the story of Adapa than to "Inanna's Descent."

- 39 *CT* XV pl. 19.
- 40 *IV R*<sup>2</sup> pl. 27 no. 1. lines 3–13.
- 41 *OECT* VI, pl. 15, K 5208, rev. 3–11.
- 42 *TCL* VI, no. 54 rev. 1–6. Cf. the partial duplicate *LKU*, no. 11.
- 43 *TCL* VI, no. 54. 12–17 and duplicate K. D. Macmillan, *BA* V<sub>5</sub>, no. xxxiv.
- 44 *ASKT*, no. 16 obv. 13–24 and duplicate Frank, *ZA* 40 (1931), p. 86.
- 45 *ASKT*, no. 16 rev. 1–16 and duplicates Frank, *ZA* 40 (1931), p. 86 and K 4954 (unpublished copy by F. Geers).
- 46 K 4954 obv. 1–12. Unpublished copy by F. Geers.
- 47 *SK*, no. 26. iv. 1–7 which is Old Babylonian in date. The text has suffered badly in the course of its tradition and much in it has been misunderstood and reinterpreted. A late version of the first millennium as given by *IV R*<sup>2</sup> pl. 30 no. 2. lines 11–31 may be rendered (with omission of the long list of epithets and titles in lines 12–20 and including two further lines) as follows:
- If it is required, let me (young) lad  
walk the path of no return!  
.....
- He was walking, he was walking, to the  
breast of the hills (of death)  
throughout the day, throughout the day,  
toward the land of his dead,  
full of grief over the day he fell,  
over (you), Month, who did not safely  
complete your year,  
over (you), Road, who made an end of  
your people,  
over the wailings on account of the lord —  
a (young) brave (walking) into his faraway,  
undiscoverable region.
- 48 *SK*, no. 26. vi. 14'–20' and its duplicate *PRAK* II pl. 44 D 41 lines 10'–17'.
- 49 *SK*, no. 27. v. 7–10.
- 50 *Ibid.*, lines 11–15.
- 51 *TRS*, no. 8 and its duplicate versions *CT* XV pls. 26–27 and pl. 30.
- 52 *CT* XV pls. 24. 14–25. 11 and its duplicates *BL*, no. 71 (K 2485 and 3898), Pinches, *PSBA* XVII (1895), pls. I–II.
- 53 Oral communication from Robert M. Adams.
- 54 "Gilgamesh and Agga," edited by Kramer, *AJA* 53 (1949), pp. 1–18, lines 30–39 — cf. 107–11.
- 55 "Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld." An edition by A. Shaffer is in preparation. For the time being see S. N. Kramer, "Gilgamesh and the Hulupputree," *AS* X; *SM* pp. 30–37; *SLTN*, p. 13; *TuMnF* III, p. 11 to nos. 13–14; and *UE(T)* VI, p. 7 to nos. 55–59.
- 56 Sumerian version *SK*, no. 196 and unpublished duplicate from Nippur

- 3N-T 152. An Akkadian version forms the sixth tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic.
- 57 An edition by A. Shaffer is in preparation. For the time being see S. N. Kramer, "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living," *JCS* I (1947), pp. 3-46.
- 58 S. N. Kramer, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* (Philadelphia, 1952).
- 59 "The Fall of Agade" — see Falkenstein, *Z A* 57 (1965), pp. 43-124; Kramer, *ANET* Suppl. pp. 210-15.
- 60 Gudea, *Cylinder A*, viii. 15 to ix. 4.
- 61 See generally A. Deimel, "Sumerische Tempelwirtschaft zur Zeit Urukaginas und seine Vorgänger," *AnOr* 2.
- 62 Gudea, *Cylinder B*, vi. 11-23.
- 63 Uruinimgina, *Cone B + C*, xii. 23-28.
- 64 Gudea, *St. B*, vii. 36-46.
- 65 Gudea, *Cylinder A*, cols. i-xii.
- 66 Cf., e.g., the myth *L u g a l - e*.
- 67 *CT XXI* pls. 31 f.
- 68 "Weltordnung."
- 69 *Corpus. Entemena, Cone A*.
- 70 See Hans Hirsch, "Die Inschriften der Könige von Agade," *AOF* XX (1963), p. 44 obv. 10 x 1-7.
- 71 Thureau-Dangin, "La fin de la domination Gutienne," *RA* IX (1912), pp. 111 ff. col. ii. 29 to iii. 3 and duplicate *RA X* (1913), p. 99 10'-11'.
- 72 E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier* (Berlin, 1931), pp. 86, 127-33.
- 73 J. Laessoe, *Studies on the Assyrian Ritual and Series bit rimki* (Copenhagen, 1955).
- 74 See the myth of "Enlil and Ninlil," *MBI*, no. 4; *SEM*, nos. 76 and 77; *SLTN*, no. 19; Pinches, "The Legend of the Divine Lovers," *JRAS* for 1919 pp. 185 ff. and 575 ff.; and 3N-T 294 (unpublished).
- 75 More literally: "I could not escape that day in its due time"; "That day's fatality" stands for its "destined occurrence." Similarly below, "I could not escape that night in its due time."
- 76 The translation of this and the preceding line is tentative only.
- 77 Kramer, *AS* XII, p. 26, lines 88-112.
- 78 *Ibid.*, p. 32, lines 152-64.
- 79 *Ibid.*, p. 34, lines 173-89.
- 80 *Ibid.*, p. 38, lines 203-04.
- 81 *Ibid.*, pp. 38-40, lines 208-18.
- 82 *UE(T)* VI<sub>2</sub>, no. 131 rev. 45-59.
- 83 *Ibid.*, nos. 131 rev. 63 and 132 obv. 1-13.
- 84 *ZA* 32 (1918/19), p. 174 line 58.
- 85 *L u g a l - e* Tablet I lines 26-27. An edition of this myth by E. Bergmann(t) and J. van Dijk is in preparation. For the time being see S. N. Kramer in *SM*, p. 117, note 76; *UE(T)* VI, p. 2 to nos. 3-7; *SETP* p. 39 V.(5); and the literature cited by R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur* I (Berlin, 1967), pp. 147-48.

- 86 We consider *urās a purās* form of *erēšu* with resultative force.
- 87 *A n = Anum* Tablet I lines 25-26. See *CT XXIV* pl. 1.
- 88 *A n = Anum, CT XXIV* pl. 1. 1-2. Cf. A. Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum* (Rome, 1914), no. 263.
- 89 Cf. Lugalzagesi, vase inscription iii. 27-28, *u b u r - A n - n a - k e<sub>4</sub> s i h a - m u - d a - s á*, "May he (i.e., An) set to rights the breasts of Antum (i.e., heaven)"; and cf. *CAD* vol. 26 (S), p. 135, section 4a, which we should group with *širtu A* (*ibid.*, p. 209) "udder, teat."
- 90 E.g., *SK*, no. 199 abov. 1. 4.
- 91 *SK*, no. 196. See also the *Gilgamesh Epic* Tablet VI.
- 92 S. N. Kramer, "Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld Continued and Revised," *JCS* V (1951), p. 5, lines 85-88.
- 93 *CT XXXVI* pl. 31. 6.
- 94 Quoted from Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, p. 227.
- 95 William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, Mentor Book edition (New York, 1958), p. 67.
- 96 Thureau-Dangin, "L'elevation d'Inanna," *RA* XI (1914), p. 144, obv. 3-5.
- 97 Cf. our similar, slightly more detailed characterization in H. Frankfort et al., *Before Philosophy*, Pelican edition (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1954), pp. 150-53.
- 98 *SLTN*, no. 80 obv. 5-9.
- 99 *SK*, no. 199, obv. 1-28.
- 100 Cf. "The Creation of the Hoe," *TRS*, no. 72 and duplicates.
- 101 Note the line: "Ewe and Grain having been settled aplenty in their house Dukug," *MBI*, no. 8 obv. 26 and its bilingual duplicate *CT XVI*, pl. 14. 30.
- 102 *UE(T)* VI, no. 101, especially lines 12-13 and 32-33.
- 103 *CT XV*, pl. 10. 18-22.
- 104 *MBI*, no. 4. iv. 23-31 and duplicate *SLTN*, no. 19 rev.
- 105 *SGL* I p. 16, lines 96-128.
- 106 *Ibid.*, p. 17. 129-40.
- 107 *SBH*, no. 4, lines 100-05.
- 108 *KAR*, no. 375. ii. 1-8.
- 109 *CNMA* 10051; *JCS* VIII (1954), pp. 82 f., col. i. 1-3 and duplicates. See R. Kutscher, *Oh Angry Sea* (a - a b - b a h u - l u h - h a): *The History of a Sumerian Congregational Lament* (New Haven, 1975).
- 110 *SBH* pp. 130 ff., lines 48-55.
- 111 *Ibid.*, no. 4, lines 1-21.
- 112 *TRS*, no. 72 and duplicates.
- 113 To be edited by M. Civil: see for the time being E. I. Gordon, "A New Look at the Wisdom of Sumer," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* XVII (1960), p. 145, section A. 1 and notes 207 and 208; and Kramer, *UE(T)* VI, p. 6 to nos. 36-37. For the passage referred to see provisionally *UE(T)* VI, no. 36 obv. 11-13; *SLTN*, no. 17 obv. 11-13; and *SEM*, no. 46 obv.
- 114 See note 74 above.
- 115 Civil and Reiner, "Another Volume of Sultantepe Tablets," *JNES* 26 (1967), pp. 200-05.

- 116 PBS V, no. 1.  
 117 W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Atra-hasīs: The Babylonian Story of the Flood* (Oxford, 1969).  
 118 *Gilgamesh Epic* Tablet XI.  
 119 See A n = *Anum* Tablet II. Cf. Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, no. 365; and see our study "Notes on Nintur," *Orientalia*, n.s. 42 (1973), pp. 274–305.  
 120 Note the place names H u r - s a ḡ [ . . . ] (obv. i. 8), A n - z a - ḡ à r - h u r - s a ḡ - ḡ a (i. 20–21), and H u r - s a ḡ (ii. 16–18) in Kazallu and Abiak on the western border of Akkad given in Kraus, "Provinzen der neusumerischen Reiches von Ur," *ZA* 51 (1955), p. 46.  
 121 See note 113 above.  
 122 L u g a l - e Tablets VIII–IX. See note 85 above; for the section referred to see especially Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur* I, p. 148.  
 123 *SK*, no. 198 obv. 12–13.  
 124 *Ibid.*, lines 18–27.  
 125 *UE(T)* VI<sub>2</sub>, no. 144 obv. 8–14.  
 126 *Ibid.*, lines 28–33.  
 127 *BL*, no. 75 rev. 1–4.  
 128 Gudea, *St. A*, i. 3. The epithet refers to her under her name Ninhursaga; however, Gudea treats that name and the name Nintur as referring to one and the same goddess. See *ibid.*, iii. 5.  
 129 *TU* i.e., t u r<sub>5</sub>. In its older form it seems to represent the picture of a hut with a decorative reed bundle or bundles at the top. (For the shape cf. Labat, *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne* [Paris, 1948], p. 60.) Huts such as that on the stone trough in the British Museum (*British Museum Quarterly* III (1928), pl. XXII) were interpreted as birth huts by P. Delougaz in his article "Animals Emerging from a Hut," *JNES* 27 (1968), pp. 186 and 196, and figs. 2–11.  
 130 See the incantation VAT 8381. 1–3 published by van Dijk, *VS* XVII, no. 33 and quoted by Hallo and van Dijk, *The Exaltation of Inanna* (New Haven, 1968), p. 53, n. 22. We read and translate: m u n u s - e é - t ù r a m a š - k ù - ḡ a i m - d a - a n - z é - e b - b a - n a / é - t u - u d - ḡ á l é - t ù r a m a š - k ù - ḡ a i m - d a - a n - z é - e b - b a - n a / n u m u n - z i - n a m - l ú - u x š à - ḡ a b a - n i - i n - r i, "the woman in her gratifying with it (i.e., with the male seed) the birth hut of the sacred sheepfold, in her gratifying with it the house that causes birth-giving to be, the birth hut of the sacred sheepfold, conceived (from) the good human seed in the womb."  
 131 See Lambert and Millard, *Atra-hasīs*, p. 56, lines 1, 189, and *passim*.  
 132 *KAR*, no. 196 obv. i. 65.  
 133 H. Frankfort, "A Note on the Lady of Birth," *JNES* 3 (1944), pp. 198 ff.  
 134 *TH* p. 46 lines 500–03.  
 135 A n = *Anum* Tablet II. See *CT* XXV pl. 12; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 25.  
 136 *TH* p. 172 lines 77–78. We read: š a ḡ a i m - m i - i n - d a b<sub>5</sub> in line 77 and connect it with š a ḡ a . . . d a b<sub>5</sub> = *šepēru*, "pinch," "make contract."  
 137 *PBS* X<sub>2</sub> no. 16 obv. i. 25–27 and its duplicates — cf. *SM* pp. 51 ff.  
 138 A n = *Anum*. See *CT* XXIV pl. 12 line 20 and pl. 25 line 84.

- 139 *TH* p. 22 lines 96–98.  
 140 A n = *Anum*. *CT* XXIV pl. 13 lines 33–35 and pl. 25 lines 92–93.  
 141 F. Köcher, "Der babylonische Göttertypentext," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* I (Berlin, 1953), pp. 57–107 obv. iii. 38'–51'.  
 142 A n = *Anum*. *CT* XXIV pl. 25 line 88. Note also her epithet š a ḡ a - z u - a n - k i, "Midwife of Heaven and Earth," in *TH* p. 47 line 504. Ninhursaga and Nintur are treated as identical in this hymn.  
 143 "Weltordnung," p. 238 lines 393–99.  
 144 Gudea, *St. A*, ii. 1–2. Note that the sign DUB is here used as a variant for URUDU.  
 145 "Weltordnung," lines 400–10.  
 146 See note 134 above. The lines here quoted are 502–03.  
 147 "Weltordnung," p. 239 lines 408–09.  
 148 *PBS* X<sub>2</sub> no. 16 obv. i. 25–26.  
 149 *PBS* V no. 76 vii. 10'–14'.  
 150 A. Ungnad, "Datenlisten," in Ebeling et al., *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* II, p. 164, no. 281.  
 151 "Weltordnung," p. 233 lines 61–70.  
 152 *Ibid.*, lines 87–92.  
 153 *CT* XXXVI, pl. 31. 8–10.  
 154 See, e.g., H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), pl. xix a., a cylinder seal belonging to a scribe, Adda, of the time of the dynasty of Agade. It shows a scene from the eastern mountains at sunrise. In the middle the sun god rises between two mountains. Over the peak to his right stands the winged goddess of the morning star, Inanna. To her right the god of thunderstorms and floods, Ninurta, with his bow and his lion. Enki mounts the peak at the sun god's left hand, behind him is his Janus-faced vizier, Usmu.  
 155 A n = *Anum* Tablet II. See *CT* XXIV pl. 14 lines 23–24, 26–27, and 48.  
 156 "Weltordnung," lines 52–57.  
 157 A n = *Anum* Tablet II. See *CT* XXIV pl. 14. 19.  
 158 See generally *CT* XXV pl. 48.  
 159 Cf. *AHW* p. 672.  
 160 Frankfort et al., *Before Philosophy*, pp. 159–60.  
 161 Cf. S. N. Kramer in *ANET* pp. 37–41 and sources there cited.  
 162 *SM* pp. 69–72 and sources there cited. Also *CT* XLII no. 28.  
 163 *PBS* V no. 1. Cf. *AS* XI, pp. 58–60.  
 164 Cf. *SM* pp. 64–68 and sources there cited.  
 165 "Weltordnung," lines 385–466.  
 166 See note 38 above.  
 167 See *SM* pp. 62–63 and sources there cited.  
 168 Cf. E. A. Speiser, "Adapa," *ANET* pp. 101–03 and sources there cited. See also *TIT*, pp. 48–51 and cf. note 38 above.  
 169 Lambert and Millard, *Atra-hasīs*. See also particularly the important articles by W. L. Moran, "The Creation of Man in Atrahasis I 192–248," *BASOR* no. 200 (1970), pp. 48–56, and "Atrahasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood,"

- Biblica* 52 (1971), pp. 51–61. Another valuable discussion of the story in English is A. D. Kilmer, "The Mesopotamian Concept of Overpopulation . . .," *Orientalia*, n.s. 41 (1972), pp. 160–77 with bibliography.
- 170 *MNS* pp. 104–07, lines 8–12.
- 171 *AGH*, p. 6. 1–3.
- 172 *UE(T)* I, no. 300. 1–11.
- 173 This deity, whose name denotes "Lord Earth" (e n - k i) is a chthonic deity distinct from the god of the fresh waters Enki, whose name denotes "Lord (i.e., productive manager) of the earth" (e n - k i (a k)).
- 174 *SETP* pl. 96 (emend to 38). Ni 2781 obv. 17–24.
- 175 Ni 2781 obv. 25–28. Cf. also S. N. Kramer, *Two Elegies on a Pushkin Museum Tablet. A New Sumerian Literary Genre* (Moscow, 1960), p. 54, line 90.
- 176 Cf. Thorkild Jacobsen, "The Reign of Ibbi-Suen," *JCS* VII (1953), pp. 45 f., (reprinted in *TIT*, pp. 182 f.).
- 177 Cf. *AGH*, p. 6.
- 178 *CT* XVI pls. 19–21 lines 1–188.
- 179 *UE(T)* I, no. 289 i. 23–26.
- 180 See *UE(T)* VI, no. 133 obv. 25–26 and 134 obv. 3'–4'. Cf. *ANET* Suppl. p. 182 lines 449–50.
- 181 Cf. *UE(T)* VI, no. 67, esp. lines 45 ff.
- 182 *MNS* p. 167, line 11.
- 183 *Ibid.*, p. 166, line 10.
- 184 *Ibid.*, p. 44, lines 1 ff.
- 185 *TuMnF* IV<sub>2</sub>, no. 7. 88; cf. *CT* XXIV pl. 15. 57.
- 186 *TuMnF* IV<sub>2</sub>, no. 7. 83; cf. *CAD* vol. 21 p. 136 *zirru* A and *zirru* B.
- 187 *CT* XV pl. 5 ii. 5–9.
- 188 *TuMnF* IV<sub>2</sub>, no. 7. 67–104.
- 189 See, e.g., *CAD* vol. 21 p. 136 *zirru* B.
- 190 See Gadd, "E n - a n - e - d u," *Irak*, vol. XIII (1951), pl. XIV. 7. The first sign of the line seems to us to be ú r.
- 191 *Tr. D.*, no. 16; cf. *KK*, p. 79.
- 192 *PAPS* 107 (1963), p. 505 rev. iv. 17 ff.
- 193 *MNS* pp. 80–87.
- 194 S. N. Kramer in *SM* pp. 47 ff. and 114, n. 50, and in *UE(T)* VI, p. 5 to no. 25. See now also Sjöberg in *MNS* pp. 148–65, and A. J. Ferrara, *Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur* (Rome, 1973).
- 195 See, e.g., *UE(T)* VI<sub>2</sub>, no. 131 rev. 47–48. Cf. *ANET* Suppl. p. 181 lines 343–44. The first month in the Nippur calendar seems named from this rite.
- 196 *MNS* pp. 44–46.
- 197 *MNS* pp. 13–15.
- 198 *CAD* vol. I<sub>2</sub> p. 348 s.v. *assukku*.
- 199 Cf. *LE*, pp. 90–111. Note especially lines 100–04.
- 200 Cf. *JNES* 12 (1963), p. 167, n. 27 (reprinted *TIT*, p. 339).
- 201 See *Sculptures*, pls. XXXVI–XXXVII and *Stones*, pl. 138.
- 202 Cf., e.g., L u g a l - e, at end of Tablet III. (See *SEM*, nos. 44 obv. 13, and 45 obv. 11 where the bird is mentioned as one of the foes killed by Ninurta in the mountains.)

- 203 *CyS*, pl. XXII a. The form shown is that of the bird-lion winged and with talons on its hind legs.
- 204 Cf. such prayers to him as *AKA*, pp. 254 f. (from the slab picturing his battle with the bird-lion) and *AGH*, pp. 24–26 (cf. *SAHG*, pp. 314–16).
- 205 An edition by J. S. Cooper is in preparation. For the time being see S. N. Kramer in *PAPS* 85 (1942), p. 321.
- 206 See note 85 above.
- 207 L u g a l - e Tablet VIII lines 1–12. See *BE* XXIX, nos. 2 and 3; *SRT*, no. 18.
- 208 L u g a l - e Tablet VIII lines 13–25. See *BE* XXIX, nos. 2 and 3; *SRT*, no. 18; *SEM*, no. 35.
- 209 Gudea, *Cylinder A*, iv. 14–18.
- 210 *Ibid.*, viii. 15–16.
- 211 *Ibid.*, 23–26.
- 212 *UE(T)* VI, no. 2.
- 213 See the bibliography given by Grayson in *ANET* Suppl. p. 78.
- 214 *UE(T)* VI, no. 2. 48–54.
- 215 Gudea, *Cylinder B*, iii. 9 and 13–16. Cf. Falkenstein, *AnOr* 30 p. 91 n. 5.
- 216 *STVC*, no. 34 i. 8–25.
- 217 For a clear but very late statement see *VAB* IV, p. 260. 33–35 (Nabonidus). An Old Babylonian passage listing Utu's teams is given in G. R. Castellino, "Incantation to Utu," *Oriens Antiquus* VIII (1969), pp. 6–27, lines 89–102. Unfortunately it is not very clear.
- 218 Kramer, *Two Elegies on a Pushkin Museum Tablet*, p. 54, lines 88–89, and p. 57, line 174.
- 219 "Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld" — see note 55 above.
- 220 *CT* XV pls. 15–16.
- 221 A n = *Anum*. See *KAV* 172 rev. iii. 10' and 12'; *CT* XXV pl. 20. 21, pl. 21 rev. 3, 5, and 6.
- 222 *FTS* p. 106, fig. 6a.
- 223 *CT* XV pl. 15. 18–20.
- 224 *Ibid.*, pl. 15. 12.
- 225 *Ibid.*, pl. 15. 3 and 6.
- 226 *SBH*, no. 56 rev. 77–78.
- 227 Kramer, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*, lines 244–48. We read

[Aratta é]-a n - d a - m ú - a  
 ú r - b i ḡ i š - r a - à m p a - b i ḡ i š - b ú r - à m  
 [š à] - [b] a <sup>[d]</sup> I m - d u ḡ u d x <sup>m u š e n</sup> h u - r í - i n - n a  
 k é s - d a <sup>d</sup> I n a n n a d ù ḡ k a ḡ i b - b a  
 u m b i n - h u - r í - i n - n a <sup>m u š e n</sup> - b i  
 ù - m u n k u r - r e k u r - m ù š - e e<sub>11</sub>

The base of Aratta, the house grown up (i.e., contemporary) with heaven, is a stub (lit., "felled tree") its top a sundered tree, inside it the eagle's talon of the eagle Imdugud — fettered on knee and beak with Inanna's fetter — makes blood run down the mountain, down Kurmush.

- 228 *VAB* IV, p. 274 iii. 14 and p. 276 iii. 33 — both of Neo-Babylonian date; *EI*, p. 16, line 14 (cf. *SETP* pl. 8 [= p. 66] iii. 12); *SBH*, no. 53 rev. 13-14.
- 229 *Gilgamesh Epic* Tablet VI.
- 230 *SEM*, no. 86, obv. i. 1-2.
- 231 *EI*, p. 16, lines 17-20.
- 232 *Ibid.*, p. 17, lines 28-31.
- 233 *SBH*, no. 56 rev. 49-52.
- 234 *JCS* XXI (1967), p. 116, line 203.
- 235 Cf. A n = *Anum* Tablet I. See *CT* XXIV pl. 1. i. 28-30.
- 236 *CT* XVI pls. 19-21 lines 1-188.
- 237 *TCL* VI, no. 51.
- 238 See Kramer in *UE(T)* VI, p. 4 to nos. 12-17.
- 239 See B. Landsberger, "Einige unerkannt gebliebene oder verkannte Nomina des Akkadischen," *WZKM* LVI (1960), p. 121 b.
- 240 *SBH*, no. 56 obv. 16-36.
- 241 *SK*, no. 199 rev. i. 8-24.
- 242 *SRT*, no. 1 and duplicates.
- 243 *Ibid.*, i. 1-16.
- 244 *Ibid.*, iii. 31-32.
- 245 *TuMnF* III, no. 10. 169-75; and duplicate *ibid.*, no. 11 rev. 11-14.
- 246 *BE* XXXI, no. 12. 10-20 and dupl. 3N-T 339 iii and *SEM*, no. 87, obv. 21 to rev. 4.
- 247 M. H. Pope in H. W. Haussig, ed., *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* I (Stuttgart), p. 249.
- 248 *Ibid.*, pp. 250-52.
- 249 E. g., in *EI*, p. 14 i. 1.
- 250 *PBS* V, no. 25 rev. vi 8-9, v 57-58, and v 54-55.
- 251 J. J. A. van Dijk, *Sumer* XIII, p. 73; IM 51176 obv. 1-6.
- 252 *BE* XXX, no. 4 and duplicates.
- 253 *PBS* I<sub>1</sub>, no. 1; *PBS* V, no. 25. Cf. *SM* p. 116, n. 67.
- 254 "Inanna's Descent." See note 89 above.
- 255 *Gilgamesh Epic* Tablet VI.
- 256 *TRS*, no. 95 obv. 1-9. Cf. duplicates *SBH*, no. 53 obv. 1-44; *ibid.*, no. 55 on p. 155 rev. 28-30. The text is broken and also otherwise very difficult, so the translation, especially at the end, is given with reservation.
- 257 See Speiser, "Descent of Ishtar to the Nether World," *ANET* pp. 106-09 and sources there quoted. The passage in question is lines 12-20. Cf. the corresponding passage in the Sumerian "Descent of Inanna," *JCS* V (1951), p. 4, lines 72-76, where she is equally impetuous but less threatening.
- 258 *Gilgamesh Epic* Tablet VI.
- 259 J. A. Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt* (Chicago, 1951), p. 301.
- 260 L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation* II (London, 1902), pls. 75-84, lines 42-50.
- 261 *Ibid.*, lines 67-78.
- 262 *IV R<sup>2</sup>* pl. 10.
- 263 *Ibid.*, obv. 58 rev. 8.
- 264 *Ibid.*, rev. 35-45.

- 265 *SGL* I pp. 17-18, lines 129-40.
- 266 Goetze, *ANET* pp. 400-01.
- 267 Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt*, pp. 297-301.
- 268 *PBS* I<sub>2</sub>, nos. 94 and 134; *UE(T)* VI, no. 173 i. 1'-4', 174 c, and 180.
- 269 For this genre see W. Hallo, "Individual Prayer in Sumerian: The Continuity of a Tradition," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88 (1968), pp. 71-89.
- 270 S. N. Kramer, "Man and His God," *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum* III (Leiden, 1955), pp. 170-82.
- 271 *Ibid.*, p. 173, lines 26-30.
- 272 *Ibid.*, p. 174, lines 35-39.
- 273 *Ibid.*, p. 175, line 98.
- 274 *Ibid.*, p. 176, lines 101-02.
- 275 *Ibid.*, lines 111-13.
- 276 Hallo, *JAOS* 88 (1968), pp. 82-84.
- 277 *Ibid.*, p. 83, line 19.
- 278 *Ibid.*, lines 20-21.
- 279 *Ibid.*, lines 25-27.
- 280 *Ibid.*, p. 84, lines 46-50.
- 281 *TCL* I, no. 9. Cf. A. Ungnad, *VAB* VI, pp. 80-81 no. 89; and von Soden *AHG*, p. 269 no. 16.
- 282 *PBS* I, no. 2. ii. 35'-40'.
- 283 Cf. the materials cited *CAD* vol. 7 p. 101 sec. 5.
- 284 *CT* XXXVIII pl. 30 line 23.
- 285 *CT* XXXVIII pl. 17 line 95.
- 286 *VS* XVI, no. 140. 23-24.
- 287 *YOS* 2, no. 15.
- 288 *BWL*, p. 227, lines 23-26.
- 289 *BRM* IV, no. 22 r. 19.
- 290 Gudea, *Cylinder A*, v. 19-20.
- 291 *Ibid.*, xxx. 2-5.
- 292 *Corpus*, p. 7, Urn. 49 iv. 1 to v. 2.
- 293 Gudea, *St. B*, iii. 3-5.
- 294 Gudea, *St. E*, vii. 22 to vii. 10.
- 295 *Corpus*, p. 25, Ean. 62 Mortier V 3-7.
- 296 *Ibid.*, p. 58, vii. 10 to ix. 3.
- 297 *TCL* I, no. 40 20-22. Cf. *VAB* VI, p. 154 no. 186.
- 298 Cf. *CAD* vol. 7 p. 100, 4'.
- 299 di ġir sa ġ-du-ġu<sub>10</sub> = *ilu ba-ni-i* and a ma im-dím-en-na-ġu<sub>10</sub> = *um-mi ba-ni-ti*. For references cf. *CAD* vol. 2 p. 94 s.v. *bānū* A.
- 300 *Šurpu* Tablets V-VI lines 11-12.
- 301 Lugalzagesi, Vase inscription. *BE* I, no. 87 i. 26-27; cf. *VAB* I, p. 154.
- 302 *VAB* I, p. 60 a. i. 7-8. Also *ibid.*, p. 62 c. 7-8, e. 6-7, and f. i. 8 (cf. iii. 8-9).
- 303 *TRS*, no. 12 112-13.
- 304 *Šulgi, Hymn A*. line 7. See A. Falkenstein, "Ein Šulgi-Lied," *ZA* 50 (1952), pp. 61-81. Cf. Kramer, *ANET* Suppl. pp. 149 f.
- 305 *STVC*, no. 51 rev. 35. *Ibid.*, no. 50 obv. 22; also *SLTN*, no. 79 line 50.



- 306 *SLTN*, no. 80. 22–25.  
 307 Gudea, *Cylinder B*, xxiii. 18–21.  
 308 *Šurpu*, p. 50, commentary B i. 19.  
 309 Cf. the materials and treatments cited *CAD* vol. 7 p. 95 sec. 4'.  
 310 Kramer, "Man and His God," p. 173, line 9.  
 311 *Corpus*, p. 41, Ent. 36, Brique B1 iii. 6 to iv. 4.  
 312 *KAR*, no. 423. ii. 23.  
 313 E. g., *KAR* no. 148. ii. 22.  
 314 *TCL VI*, no. 3 line 17.  
 315 *YOS 2*, no. 141.  
 316 *BWL*, p. 229, lines 24–26.  
 317 *Ibid.*, p. 104, lines 135–41.  
 318 *Ibid.*, pp. 21–62.  
 319 B. Landsberger, *ZA* 43 (1936), pp. 32–76. See also *BWL*, pp. 63–91.  
 320 *BWL*, p. 42, lines 71–75.  
 321 *Ibid.*, p. 46, lines 112–13.  
 322 *Ibid.*, p. 40, lines 34–38.  
 323 *Ibid.*, p. 86, lines 256–57.  
 324 Job 42: 1–6.  
 325 *AS XII*, pp. 68–70, lines 418–35 and *UE(T) VI<sub>2</sub>*, no. 139. 59.  
 326 An edition by W. G. Lambert is in preparation. A preliminary eclectic text by W. G. Lambert and S. B. Parker, *Enūma eliš. The Babylonian Epic of Creation. The Cuneiform Text* (Oxford, 1966), is at present the most complete available. Translations into English may be found in A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis, The Story of Creation*, 2d ed. (Chicago, 1951) and by Speiser, *ANET* pp. 60–72, with additions by Grayson, *ANET Suppl.* pp. 65–67.  
 327 A n = *Anum* Tablet I. *CT XXIV* pl. 1. 1–21; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 20. 1–13.  
 328 See above p. 131 and note 206.  
 329 See above p. 118 and note 169.  
 330 *CT XLVI* no. 43. See below p. 231.  
 331 Cf. Thorkild Jacobsen, "The Battle Between Marduk and Ti'amat," *JAOS* 88 (1968), pp. 104–08.  
 332 We would connect *Lahmu*, as past participle, and *Lahāmu* as infinitive with the root l-h-m of *luhāmum*, *luhummu*, and *luhmu*, "slime," "mud," meaning perhaps, "to make soft, slimy." In *Lahmu* = *Lahāmu*, as in *Dūri* = *Dāri* elsewhere in the same genealogy, the infinitives (*Lahāmu* and *Dāri*) seem originally to have represented the productive aspect, the mothers, the past participles (*Lahmu*, *Dūri*) the product aspect, the sons, of the entities in question. In the genealogy of An, however, the pairs clearly are meant to represent couples, husbands and wives, rather than (or as well as?) mother-son groupings.  
 333 Note particularly the beginning of the myth of the "Creation of the Hoe." (See above p. 103 and n. 112).  
 334 Note that *mummu*, "archetype," "form," when written without determinative, is an epithet. When written with divine determinative it denotes a hypostasis of "form" personified as the vizier of Apsū.

- 335 E. Bergmann, *Codex Hammurabi*, textus primigenius, editio tertia (Rome, 1953), obv. 1–22.  
 336 *UE(T) VI<sub>2</sub>*, no. 132 obv. 7–11; cf. *STVC*, no. 25 obv. 18–21.  
 337 Whether, in the light of this Ti'amat's spouse Kingu may be thought intended to stand by inept reliance on the written form *Ki-en-gi<sup>ki</sup>* for *Kengi(r)*, Shumer, we must leave undecided.  
 338 See B. Landsberger, *JCS VIII* (1954), p. 69.  
 339 R. Campbell Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (Oxford, 1930). For translation and up-to-date bibliography see A. Schott and W. von Soden, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, Reclam Universal-Bibliothek no. 7235/35a (Stuttgart, 1970). Cf. also E. A. Speiser, "The Epic of Gilgamesh," *ANET* pp. 72–99, and A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels* (Chicago, 1946).  
 340 The probabilities greatly favor the assumption of an actual Old Babylonian epic rather than a mere epic cycle. In this connection, note that the colophon of the Old Babylonian Pennsylvania Tablet shows it to have been part of a series with three or more tablets, each of some 240 lines if all the tablets were of the same length. That points to a formal composition of very considerable size. I am grateful to Professor Aaron Shaffer for drawing my attention to this point.  
 341 *The Odyssey of Homer*, S. H. Butcher and A. Lang, The Harvard Classics (New York, 1909), p. 9.  
 342 Cf. the stone tablet of Anam, *SAK* p. 222. 2. b which dates to Old Babylonian times.  
 343 We follow here B. Landsberger, "Jungfräulichkeit: Ein Beitrag zum Thema 'Beilager und Eheschliessung,'" *Symbolae iuridicae et historicae Martino David dedicatae* (Leiden, 1968), pp. 83–84.  
 344 For this view of the dreams and Enkidu's interpretations of them we are indebted to W. L. Moran.  
 345 See S. N. Kramer, "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living" (we prefer to translate "and the Mountain where the Man Dwelt"), *JCS I* (1947), pp. 3–46.  
 346 John Dryden, *Palamon and Arcite*, bk. iii, lines 883 ff.  
 347 Dietz Edzard, "Enme baragisi von Kiš," *ZA* 53 (1959) pp. 9 ff.  
 348 See for the time being A. Deimel, "Die Listen über den Ahnenkult aus der Zeit Lugalandas und Urukaginas," *Orientalia* 2 (1920), pp. 32 ff.  
 349 See S. N. Kramer, *JCS XXI* (1967), p. 115, lines 142–43. We prefer to restore [- g i m] at the end of line 142.  
 350 E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1931), pp. 131–33.  
 351 S. H. Langdon, *BE XXXI*, no. 43 obv. 11 and *Babylonian Liturgies* (Paris, 1913), pl. VIII rev. line 3–4.  
 352 *RA IX* (1912), pp. 111 f. ii. 29 to iii. 3.  
 353 *SLTN*, no. 79. 41–61.  
 354 For these first written sources see also S. N. Kramer, "The Epic of Gilgamesh and its Sumerian Sources," *JAOS* 64 (1944), pp. 7–23.  
 355 *SAK* p. 222. 2. b.

- 356 S. N. Kramer, "The Death of Gilgamesh," *BASOR* no. 94 (1944). Cf. *ANET* pp. 50–52.
- 357 See note 55 above.
- 358 An edition by A. Shaffer is in preparation. For the time being see Kramer, "Gilgamesh and Agga," pp. 1 ff. Cf. *ANET* pp. 44–47.
- 359 Kramer, "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living," pp. 3–46. Cf. *TuMnF* III, p. 11 to no. 12 and *UE(T)* VI<sub>1</sub>, p. 7 to nos. 49–54.
- 360 *SK*, no. 196 and unpublished duplicate from Nippur 3 N-T 152.
- 361 *Gilgamesh Epic* Tablet VI.
- 362 *BASOR* no. 94 (1944), p. 7, line 42.
- 363 Cf. *Gilgamesh Epic* Tablet XII 90–92.
- 364 G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation* (Gloucester, Mass., 1967), p. 48.
- 365 *Palamon and Arcite*, bk. iii, line 885.
- 366 H. N. Wolff, "Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Heroic Life," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89 (1969), pp. 392–98.
- 367 Edward Sapir, *Culture, Language and Personality* (Berkeley, 1960), p. 122.
- 368 Georges Roux, *Ancient Iraq* (Cleveland, 1964), p. 231.
- 369 See F. Gössmann, *Das Era-Epos* (Würzburg, 1955). See now L. Cagni, *Das Erra-Epos*, *Studia Pohl* 5, *Dissertationes scientificae de rebus orientis antiqui* (Rome, 1970).
- 370 J. Roberts, "Erra — Scorched Earth," *JCS* XXIV (1971), pp. 11–16, and idem, *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon* (Baltimore, 1972), pp. 21–29.
- 371 Erra Epic Tablet IV lines 6–12.
- 372 *Ibid.*, lines 27–29.
- 373 *Ibid.*, Tablet V lines 5–12.
- 374 *VAB* II, no. 357.
- 375 See O. R. Gurney, *Anatolian Studies* X, pp. 105 ff.
- 376 *VAB* II, no. 357, lines 85–86.
- 377 O. R. Gurney and J. Finkelstein, *The Sultantepe Tablets I* (London, 1957), no. 28 rev. v 2'–12' and 18'–27'.
- 378 W. von Soden, "Die Unterweltvision eines assyrischen Kronprinzen," *ZA* 43 (1936), pp. 1 ff.
- 379 *CT* XLVI no. 43.
- 380 Ebeling and Köcher, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur* (Berlin, 1953), no. 73 obv. 8–9, 13 and 7; van Dijk, *Sumer* XIII, p. 117, lines 16–18. See *CT* XV pls. 43–44 and K 3476 line 24 for the passage where Anu's extracted heart is played with and cf. *KAR*, no. 307. rev. 11 which deals with representations of the ghosts of Enlil and Anu.
- 381 *IV R*<sup>2</sup> pl. 61. i. 19–20 with emendation of last sign in line 20 to ʃa.
- 382 Ashurbanipal, *Annals* iv. 70–89.
- 383 *OIP* II, p. 87, 31–33.
- 384 *Ibid.*, p. 83, 45–48.
- 385 W. von Soden, "Gibt es ein Zeugnis dafür dass die Babylonier an die Wiederauferstehung Marduks geglaubt haben," *ZA* 51 (1955), pp. 130 ff.
- 386 W. G. Lambert, "Divine Love Lyrics from Babylon," *Journal of Semitic Studies* IV (1959), pp. 10–11, and idem, "The Problem of the Love Lyrics," in *Unity*

- and Diversity*, ed. H. Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts (Baltimore, 1975), pp. 98–135.
- 387 *OIP* XXXVIII, pp. 132–33; *ibid.*, pp. 130–31.
- 388 See above p. 137 and n. 237.
- 389 R. Brünnow, "Assyrian Hymns," *ZA* 4 (1889), p. 246; K 8717 plus DT 363, line 2.
- 390 *TCL* III, p. 48, lines 314–16.
- 391 *CT* XXIV pl. 50, no. 47406 obv. 3–10.
- 392 *KAR*, no. 102 lines 10–19.
- 393 E.g., Enûma elish Tablet IV lines 4 and 6.
- 394 *IV R*<sup>2</sup> pl. 61. iii. 15–26.
- 395 Ashurbanipal, *Annals* v. 48–49.
- 396 *Ibid.*, 56–57.
- 397 *Ibid.*, 63–70.
- 398 *Ibid.*, 71–72.
- 399 *VAB* VII part 2, pp. 210–12; K 2867 obv. 15–19.
- 400 R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien*, *AOF* supplement 9 (Graz, 1956), pp. 43–44, lines 59–79.
- 401 *VAB* IV, pp. 122–23, lines 57–72.



Head of a statue of Ninurta, god of the thundershowers and floods of spring. The statue was found in ancient Eshnunna (modern Tell Asmar) by the Iraq expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and dates from shortly after 3000 B.C.

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JACOBSEN

treasure

# The Treasures of Darkness

A HISTORY OF MESOPOTAMIAN RELIGION

THORKILD JACOBSEN

YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, NEW HAVEN AND LONDON



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To Katryna