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EDITED BY
H. V. HILPRECHT

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BY
HUGO RADAU

MÜNCHEN
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1913
THE EDITOR determines the material to constitute a volume, but he is not responsible for the views expressed by the writer.
SUMERIAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS

TO

GOD DUMU-ZI

OR

BABYLONIAN LENTEN SONGS

FROM THE

Temple Library of Nippur

BY

HUGO RADAU

Twenty Plates of Autograph Texts and nine Plates of Halftone Illustrations

MÜNCHEN

To be obtained through Rudolf Merkel, Erlangen

1913
To

Samuel F. Houston, Esq.,
FORMER PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN
OF THE BABYLONIAN DEPARTMENT, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

in grateful remembrance of his most cordial hospitality,
material help and never failing encouragement
respectfully inscribed
The so-called Dumuzi or Tamuz texts must be divided into two classes: 1) those in which Ishtar and her maidens bewail the "absent" or "dead" Dumuzi and 2) those which celebrate Dumuzi’s resurrection or wedding. Several specimens of the latter class may be found among the tablets of the Nippur Temple Library. One of them is published and translated in the "Hilprecht Anniversary Volume", p. 391, no. 2, while its larger duplicate text, C. B. M. 11391, is given in photographic reproduction, l. c., pl. IV, no. 7.

To the former class belong the tablets here published. Though scholars are accustomed to speak of this class of tablets as "Dumuzi texts", such a designation is evidently inadequate. Henceforth they must be described as "Sumerian lenten songs", and this for the simple reason that they formed part of a great temple ritual, which was recited by Ishtar and her maidens during the "month of wailings", Ululu. Seeing, furthermore, that at the time of the kings of the II dynasty of Ur and of the I dynasty of Isin, when the bulk of the tablets of Temple Library was written, this month corresponded to our February-March, and that these wailings culminated in a festival of joy, which celebrated the happy "reuniting of Dumuzi and Ishtar", and which was observed at the time of the vernal equinox, it is not at all difficult to see in the Sumerian season of wailing the prototype of our Christian lenten season and in the union of Dumuzi and Ishtar the reuniting of Christ with the "Church", the "Bride of the Lamb", and this the more so as Dumuzi himself was, according to Sumerian conception, the "Lamb (šērēkä) of God (Anš)" while Ishtar was his "Bride".

Strange indeed and most remarkable are the parallels between the Sumerian and Christian Lenten and Easter festivals:

Dumuzi goes to the "north" or "netherworld", i.e., he "dies", in order to conquer the "enemy from the north", the cold, winter, darkness. Christ dies in order to conquer Satan, the "prince of darkness".

Dumuzi while in the netherworld is "bewailed" by his "Bride" Ishtar, especially during the month February-March (Ululu); but this is exactly the season of the Christian lent, during which the church, the "Bride of the Lamb", mourns over the death of her "bridegroom", Christ.

The month Ululu is followed immediately by the "month of the festival of Dumuzi" which begins with the vernal equinox and which celebrates, among other things, Dumuzi’s marriage with "Mother Earth", the resurrection of nature and the beginning of new life.
The Christian lenten season is terminated by the Easter festival, celebrating at the time of the vernal equinox the resurrection of Christ and the beginning of a new, spiritual life (ζωονομάτι καὶ νεοματι), I St. Peter, III:18) of Christ and of his Church, thus demonstrating, corroborating and proving the truthfulness and correctness of the Sumerian resurrection festival, for "if there is no resurrection of the dead, neither hath Christ been raised" or again, "if the dead are not raised, neither hath Christ been raised" (I. Cor. XV:12ff.).

The Christian lenten and resurrection festivals are in this wise by no means merely a "rehash" of Babylonian ideas. This would be misunderstanding the divine will as carried out in history. No, no, not a "rehash", but the very culmination and "fulfillment" of the wisdom of ages past are the Christian lenten and resurrection festivals. The "truth" which the Sumerians dimly recognized while still groping in the dark receives by the death and resurrection of Christ its true light, explanation, seal, approval and spiritual significance. Christ and the Christian religion not only is, but must and, I am sure, will be recognized, more and more, to be what we are told it is: the πνεύμα.

In thus admitting, on the one hand, the exact parallels between the Sumerian and the Christian lent and resurrection, and on the other recognizing in the Christian festivals the πνεύμα of their predecessors among the Sumerians, we will not stand in any danger of losing our faith — on the contrary, the Christian religion will become for us a living reality, the last link in the long chain of divine revelations uniting us with the past and into a common brotherhood of man, believing the same thing and hoping for the same thing: our own resurrection.

Let us, therefore, be true to ourselves and recognize the divine element even in the Sumerian religion, at the same time let us not forget that grand and sublime though the Sumerian religion may be, it is but a faint shadow of the light that shines in Christ. This "declaration of faith" I am constrained to make publicly here in response to several communications and criticisms from certain quarters requesting me to state frankly and honestly my position and personal belief with regard to the Sumerian religion in its relation to that of the Christians.

When writing these pages, it was my main desire, within the space (about 60 pages) at my disposal, to show that the so-called Dumuzi-Ishtar myth is not confined to one god or goddess, but that each and every "Son" and "Mother" of a given Sumerian trinity was the Dumuzi and Ishtar. This necessitated my pointing out, whenever desirable or possible, the analogies and parallels, the common names, attributes and functions to be found in connection with the various "Sons" and "Mothers". In this wise the student will be put, it is hoped, into a position to judge for himself how the Sumerian religion originated and developed, how certain doctrines were transferred from one "Son" of a given trinity to
another, and how, lastly, even the “Westland”, Canaan, knew of the Dumuzi-Ishtar myth as early as the time of the kings of the II dynasty of Ur, about 2500 B. C. This observation furnishes also the connecting link between the Sumerian Dumuzi and the Egyptian, Phoenician, Greek and Latin Osiris, Esmun, Adonis, and last, but not least, the Christian doctrine of the death and resurrection of Christ.

Nowhere I felt the absence of detailed special investigations as much as in the Sumerian Dumuzi-Ishtar myth, which lies at the very foundation and without which an accurate understanding of the later Osiris and Adonis myth is evidently impossible. This is especially true with regard to the time of the wailings for Dumuzi or the “Sumerian lenten festival”. Upon the suggestion of the Editor, Professor H. V. Hilprecht, I made bold to issue my researches on this very moot and greatly disputed question in a special volume of Series D. In doing so, it is my fond hope that this investigation will evoke the liveliest discussion and criticism by all those scholars who take an interest in such matters — be they Oriental, Classical or theological scholars.

It is, of course, well known and need hardly be reiterated here, that these pages would never have seen the light of day, were it not for the continued graciousness and liberality of my benefactress Mrs. Sallie Crozer Hilprecht. To her are due the homage and gratefulness which rightly belongs to a true patroness of the science of Sumeriology. May these pages convince her once more of my lasting, though humble, indebtedness. With special sentiments of gratitude and admiration I think also of the continued help and encouragement given me by Professor H. V. Hilprecht. His are truly heroic deeds and sacrifices for the sake of science. May he see his ambition realized and crowned with that reward which rightly belongs to him and which, I am proud to say, all true scholars wish him. Also to Professor Heinrich Zimmern of Leipzig my sincere gratefulness is due for his kindness in reading the last proofs of this book and in putting at my disposal the advance sheets of his in every respect most admirable “Sumerische Kultlieder”. I did not know how to show my appreciation of his kindness better than by constantly quoting from his new book.

Happy, extremely happy, I am to be permitted to inscribe this volume to our former President and Chairman of the Babylonian Department of the University of Pennsylvania, Samuel F. Houston, Esq., in grateful remembrance of his most cordial hospitality, material help and never failing encouragement continuously bestowed upon me.

Hugo Radau.

Easter Monday, March 24th, 1913.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A. O. ........... Der Alte Orient, edited by Hugo Winckler and Alfred Jeremias.
Br. ............ Rudolph E. Brünnow, “A Classified List of Cuneiform Ideographs”.
B. S. .......... Meissner-Boas, Basinschriften Sumerika.
C. T. .......... “Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum.”
E. B. H. .... Hugo Radau, “Early Babylonian History”.
H. A. V. ...... “Hilprecht Anniversary Volume”.
H. W. B. ...... Friedrich Delitzsch, Assyrisches Handwörterbuch.
K. .......... “Knuyminck Collection”.
Kh. .......... “Khabaza Collection” of Babylonian Tablets in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, catalogued by H. V. Hilprecht.
M. .......... Bruno Meissner, Seldene assyrische Ideogramme.
M. V. A. G. .... Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, edited by H. Winckler.
N. F. .......... François Thureau-Dangin, Tablettes et inscriptions diverses provenant des Nouvelles Fouilles de Tell el-leilan.
P. S. B. A. .... “Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology”.
R. .......... Sir H. C. Rawlinson, “The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia”.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

R. H. . . . . . . . George Reisner, Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen.
R. T. . . . . . . . James Craig, "Religious Texts".
S. B. P. . . . . . . Stephen Langdon, "Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms".
S. B. T. . . . . . . Heinrich Zimmern, Sumerisch-babylonische Tanzlieder, reprint from Berichte der Philologisch-
Historischen Klasse der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig.
S. L. . . . . . . . Fritz Hommel, Sumerische Liedtexte.
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INTRODUCTION.

There is no myth in any of the known religions which, as regards its importance, can be compared with the so-called Dumuzi-Ninanna myth of the early Sumerians. In it are rooted not only the later conceptions which the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Greeks and Latins entertained with regard to the death and resurrection of their Osiris, Esmun, Adonis, but — and this we may now confidently assert — it forms also the prototype of our Christian Lenten season and of the death and resurrection of Christ. It explains why the Lenten season terminates the winter, the time of darkness and death, and why it precedes the Easter festival which celebrates the resurrection of nature and of Christ.

In order to understand, from this point of view, the Dumuzi-Ninanna myth more accurately and thus be put into a position to appreciate its later developments more thoroughly, I shall try to give here in mere outlines its essential features, leaving its details and later accretions for future discussions.  

The religion of the Sumerians, together with their conception of the macro-cosmos, is but a reflex of their human institutions as given on hand by their micro-cosmos or kalam, in which they lived. As this kalam or “Babylonia” proper developed, so the “world” was thought to have developed. This gives us the maxims: Human society = divine society; micro-cosmos or the kalam of the Sumerians = macro-cosmos or world.

The kalam, originally one whole, presided over by god An, the “king of the kalam”, very soon came to be looked upon, at a period which is still pre-historic for us, as consisting of two parts: a “northern” or “lower” and a “southern” or “upper” part. The latter was represented by the city of Erech with the temple of An: É-an; the former by the city of Nippur with the temple of Enil: É-kur.

At an other and later period the south was centered in the city of Eridu with the north in A-I-a or I-A-A, i.e., in “northern Mesopotamia”.

At still other times the north was either the city of Girsu or Kutha or Akkad or the Armenian mountains or the so-called “Westland” or even Elam. At the time of the kings of the II dynasty of Ur — the time from which a large portion of the Nippur Temple

1 For a detailed investigation of the "Time of the Sumerian Lenten or Dumuzi Festival" see B. E., Series D, vol. VI. If time permits, I hope to follow this up with a discussion of the "Migration of the Dumuzi-Ninanna myth", beginning with the Erech trinity and ending with that of the "Westland", from whence it penetrated to the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Greeks and Latins.
SUMERIAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS TO DUMU-ZI

Library dates — Babylonia as a whole was designated by Ki-en-gi-ki-Uri (= BUR-BUR) which the Semites translated by “Shumer and Akkad”, the former being the “southern” or “upper” and the latter the “northern” or “lower” part — a designation clearly showing that the physical condition of Babylonia played absolutely no rôle whatever in the selection of these names, or else the northern mountainous regions of Babylonia as, e. g., the Armenian mountains, Elam, the Westland, would much rather have deserved the name “highland” or “upper” part of Babylonia.

The “southern” part was the region of the “Father” and the “northern” that of the “Son”; and as the “north” was also the “great abode” (iri-gal) of the Babylonian gods, was, in fact, the “netherworld”, the “Son” came to be looked upon as the “lord of the netherworld”. The first and oldest “lord of the netherworld” was Enlil. The displacing of An by Enlil necessitated, of course, a shifting of the “southern” center from Erech to Nippur, i. e., Nippur, during the Enlil period, became what Erech was during that of An: the “southern” or “upper” part of Babylonia, with Girsu or Kutha, etc. as the “northern” or “lower” part. Hence, the gods of Girsu (*Nin-Girsu), Kutha (*Nergal), etc. had necessarily to become not only the “Sons” of Enlil, but also and especially the “lords of the netherworld”.

Similar to the micro-cosmos was the development of the Babylonian macro-cosmos, which, though it originally formed but one whole (the An), was later on made to conform with its micro-cosmic pattern, becoming an an-ki, a “heaven” or “upper” and an “earth” or “lower” part. But the Sumerians were apparently not satisfied with this, they subdivided the “heaven” as well as the “earth” into two other parts: the “upper” or “southern” heaven, i. e., the heaven as it appears during the “summer” half of the year, and the “lower” or “northern” heaven, i. e., the heaven as it appears during the “winter” half of the year. This latter division applied to the “earth” gives us the “upper” earth as it appears to man, or the “earth” in opposition to the “heaven”, and the “lower” earth or “netherworld”. Even the very “netherworld” seems to have been subdivided into an “upper” and a “lower” netherworld: an-edin ki-edin.

At a still later time the boundaries of Babylonia were so far extended as to include not only the Euphrates and the Tigris, but even the “sea of the going down of the sun” and the “sea of the rising of the sun”, in other words, the kalam at this time was a “world” which was on all sides surrounded by water. Also this conception was transferred to both the macro-cosmos with its “heavenly” and “terrestrial” ocean and to the netherworld with its Saḥan, which was a river consisting, like the Euphrates and Tigris, of two arms, one in the west and one in the east. When entering or leaving the netherworld this Saḥan had to be crossed, becoming in this wise the prototype of the later “Styx” among the Greeks. The conveyance in ships of the Babylonian gods from one temple to the
other, at the time of the Sumerian Akiti of “New Year's” festival, i.e., at the time, of the vernal equinox, is nothing but a symbolic action indicating that the gods have crossed the Saban and, by doing so, have left the netherworld, the region of the north, the cold, the winter — a conception revealed in the heavens by the sun crossing the murub-an or equator.

Another division of the Babylonian macro- and micro-cosmos, of the heavens and the netherworld is into “seven parts”, which seven parts were again modeled after the “seven UB” or “DA”, i.e., “compartments, divisions, spheres” of Erech.

The god of the Babylonian kalam was An of Erech, “the god of the totality of heaven and earth”. At some as yet undefined period of the Sumerian religion An was differentiated into a husband and wife: An + An — a differentiation still betraying the fact that the wife of a god shared with her husband the same name, functions, attributes, and even gender. The wife of An, therefore, was not only the “queen” or “goddess of the totality of heaven and earth”, but also the “lord of heaven and the mistress of earth”, as is apparent from Zimmern, S. K., p. 32, no. 28: 7a, where 'Inanna, i.e., 'Ninanna, the wife of An, speaks of herself: an-na ù-nu-an-bi me-en ki-a ga-sha-an-bi me-en, “of the heaven his lord I am; of the earth her lady I am”, a passage showing that Ishtar — and for that matter any other god or goddess — is both male and female, and that the “heaven” and the “earth”, the two parts of the Babylonian macro-cosmos, stand in the relation of “male” and “female”, or “husband” (umun = en) and “wife” (gashan = nin), thus forming the prototype of the Greek Ὀξενῶς κόπω γαῖα. 1 Cf. also M. V. A. G., 1908, p. 220/29, where Gashan-anna tells us that she has received into her hands the E-an-na Ἐ-κι-α, “the house of heaven and earth”, identifying herself (I. 22) with Enlil and Ninlil, the “lord” and “lady” of heaven and earth during the Enil period of the Sumerian religion.

This “heaven” and “earth”: an + an, or an + ki, or differentiated into En (Umun)-an, + Nin (Gashan)-an and translated into Semitic by An-um — An-tum were the first divine pair, the first “father-mother” (ama-a-a) or parents, the begetters and creators of everything. They had a “Son” (dumu): the god Lil, later on differentiated into En-lil and Nin-lil, the well-known gods of Nippur. This son was the original, only and “true son” (Dumu-zi) — thus called to distinguish him from the later sons of An who usurped the rôle of Enlil, such as 1IM, 2MAR-TU, 4En-zi, etc. Enlil was, as his name indicates, the “god of the powers of nature”, i.e., of thunder, lightning, storm, clouds, rain, and thus necessarily the “god of the fertility of the ground”. An, the heaven, as “Father”, Enlil, the god of the powers of nature, as “Son”, and Nin (Gashan)-an, the earth, as “Mother”, constitute the members of the first and oldest trinity in the religion of the

1 See also “Bôl, the Christ of ancient times”, pp. 21ff.

1*
Sumerians — a trinity, without which an accurate understanding of the so-called Dumuzi-Ninanna myth is evidently impossible.

The origin of this myth is to be sought in the city of Erech (Iriki), signifying in Sumerian merely “city”, “abode”. Here was the temple of An, called É-an, which was the “sphere of influence” of both An and Nin (Gashan)-an, the latter being, therefore, very often called Nin (Gashan)-É-anna, “the mistress of the house of An”. This name, together with that of Nin (Gashan)-anna, are the two foremost ones, in the texts here published, by which the later Ishtar is known.

The significance of this myth does not offer any difficulties, provided we accept the above offered explanation with regard to Dumu-zi, “the true ‘Son’”, as the god of the “powers of nature”, and Gashan-an, the “Mother”, as the goddess of the “earth”. The Dumuzi-Ninanna myth, then, treats of the relation of the “Mother”, or “earth”, to the “Son”, as the god of the “fertility of the ground”.

This Nin-anna appears in our texts soon as “virgin” (ki-el), and soon as “mother” (ama), “sister” (SAL-KU = ahat), 1 or “bride” (dam) of Dumuzi, while the latter is termed either the “youthful one” (kal, kal-tur), or “brother” (ses), “son” (dumu), and “husband” (mu-tan-na) of Nin-anna.

These very names, it would seem, should suffice for a correct understanding of this myth. Nin-anna is the “Mother”, because she bore, as the wife of An, Dumuzi. But she is, or may become, the “wife” also of her own beloved “Son”, i.e., she as “earth” enters every year, at the time of the early spring, into wedlock with the god of “rain” or of the “fertility of the ground”, in consequence of which she becomes pregnant and produces the “vegetation” or the “new life of nature”. This production of the new life of nature is described partly as a “resurrection” and partly as a “giving of birth”. Though the actual wedlock took place in the “motherworld”, i.e., in the “north” where there is the “mountain of the gods”; it was celebrated or re-enacted upon “earth” in the various temples, and revealed in the “heavens”. Up to the time of the vernal equinox Nin-anna was a “virgin”, appearing in the heavens as “virgo”; with the occurrence of the equinox this virgin becomes the “Mother”, the “creatrix and bearer of everything”, revealing herself in the heavens as the “sublime lady” (“Nin-maḫ”), who holds a “babe” in her arms which she nourishes. Who or what this babe is, is not difficult to explain: it is the personified vegetation (spica), the new-born creation, the “resurrected” and hence “new-born god of vegetation”. No wonder, then, that before the IV century A.D., some Christian sects believed that Christ was born at the end of March, and that, though this belief was later on discarded in favor of the 25. of December, the Christian Church saw fit to compromise on this question by naming the first Sunday after Easter quasi modo geniti, “like the new-born babes”.

1 Cf. the gloss a-hat in C. T., XXIV, 11: 40 (see also 24: 56); XXV, 24a: 10 = 24b, II: 10.
The two-fold idea of Nin-anna’s being a “virgin” and “mother” we still find in our modern “virgin soil” and “mother earth”.

The remaining peculiarity according to which Nin-anna was also the “sister” of Dumuzi, is due mainly to the fact that the Sumerians considered the husband and wife to be “one”. From this it follows that Nin-anna had to become, as “bride” of Dumuzi, the “daughter” of An, just as Dumuzi himself was the “son” of An. Dumuzi and Nin-anna, then, as husband and wife, are the “son” and “daughter” of An, and hence “brother” and “sister”.

Later on, when the myth of Dumuzi and Nin-anna was transferred to the “Son” and “Mother” of the various other Sumerian trinities, it came to pass that Nin-anna or Ishtar as well as Dumuzi or Tamuz were looked upon as the “son” and “daughter” of each and every god who happened to play in a particular city, the rôle of the “Father”. This is the reason for the various and manifold genealogies of both Ishtar and Tamuz which make them the “daughter” and “son” of An, Enlil, Enzu, Enki (ahzu), Ningishzida, etc., etc., and for their being identified with practically each and every “Mother” and “Son” of the Sumerian trinities.

The above mentioned wedlock of Dumuzi and Nin-anna is, however, only one of the two relations in which they stand. The texts published in this volume do not refer to this marriage at all. On the contrary, we find that the “mother”, “bride” and “sister” of Dumuzi is pictured in them as being on her way to or through the “netherworld” in search for her “beloved”, who is described as being “dead”, having taken up his abode in the Sumerian hades — a locality or state referred to by extremely interesting and highly descriptive names. While on her way to the “abode of Dumuzi”, Nin-anna passes the so-called “street full of wailing” (sil a-si-ga) continually crying out a, or a-a, or û-a, or wa-wa, i. e., “alas”, or “how long still”, or “when at last”, sc., “shall I be joined to my beloved?” Numerous and difficult are the obstacles which Nin-anna has to overcome until she at last is permitted to find her “beloved”, with whom she enters the “bridal chamber”.

The meaning of this episode in the myth is plain.

Dumuzi, the god of the “fertility of the ground”, is “dead” (dig) or “powerless” (û-lû) during the winter, at which time he was thought to have descended into the netherworld, situated in the north. The necessary consequence of this impotency on the part of the “god of the fertility of the ground” was the barrenness of the earth or mother. The earth is barren during the winter season and, as the winter corresponds to the north, Nin-anna likewise is said to be in the north, where there is the netherworld, hoping, longing and praying to be united with her “beloved” in holy wedlock and thus be able to produce the new verdure, the new life of nature.

These observations alone would justify us in maintaining that the so-called “wailings
of Nin-anna for Dumuzi", which are the subject of the tablets here published, must have taken place some time during the winter season. Elsewhere I have shown that the 6th month of a year beginning with the autumnal equinox was the month of the "wailings for Dumuzi". This 6th month corresponded to our February-March and was called Ululu, from which we have the Greek διολγ-νηώ and the Latin ulul-are — terms frequently used in connection with the wailings of Aphrodite for Adonis. Now, as the resurrection of Dumuzi falls at the time of the vernal equinox, and as the wailings for Dumuzi take place in the month immediately preceding it, we may confidently assert, that these two features of the Dumuzi-Ninanna myth constitute the prototype of the Christian Lenten and Resurrection festivals. Both have for their basis the annual barrenness of nature and its resurrection to new life, and both are nature and spring festivals.

But each and every festival, though primarily given on hand by the immutable laws of nature, was at one time or another connected with actual, historical facts. The Christian lenten and resurrection festivals were connected with the actual and historical death and resurrection of Christ. The same is true of the Sumerian lenten and resurrection festivals. Again and again Nin-anna complains about the "enemies" and "dogs" who have invaded Babylonia, defiled and destroyed its cities and temples, asking and praying that these her cities and temples "be again restored".

Thanks to the tablets of the Nippur Library, we know now who these "enemies" and "dogs" were and whence they came. They were the "hords" from the north of Babylonia: the Guti, Lulubi, Elamites etc., etc.

The macro-cosmic barrenness of the earth during the winter corresponds exactly to the destruction of Babylonia as micro-cosmos — a destruction which is wrought by the people from the north, the region of the winter and of the netherworld. To overcome this enemy, Dumuzi, like the later Nin-ib of the Nippur trinity, has to go to the north and smite this foe of Babylonia. And he does. As soon as this northern enemy is overcome, the rebuilding and dedication of the Babylonian cities and temples may and does take place. The destruction of the temples and cities represents the historical micro-cosmic lent; the dedication of the temples the historical micro-cosmic resurrection, while the "wailings" of Nin-anna, from this point of view, are nothing but the appeal of her "lamentation men" and "women" to the generosity and liberality of the Babylonian kings and faithful ones to open their purses and make a most liberal offering at "Easter (Ishtar)-time". This having been complied with, the gods, more particularly the "Son" and "Bride", can again take up their abode in the restored and dedicated temples, be re-united, and enter into holy wedlock.

This conception, it is needless to say, introduced into the Dumuzi-Ninanna myth quite a new feature: — a fight between the "enemy from the north" and the "god of the
powers of nature”. And seeing that the north was also the region of the netherworld, this fight of Dumuzi acquired very soon a mythological significance — it was looked upon as a fight between the “powers of nature” and the “powers of darkness” (Humbaba): the winter, the cold, mythologically pictured as a serpent (saḫan). It became a fight between the winter and spring, between darkness and light, between death and life — a fight such as took place not only at the “beginning of the world”, when Marduk overcame Tiamat, or when Jahveh conquered Rahab-Liviathan, but a fight which is repeated every year, month (Enzu as Dumuzi) and day (Utu as Dumuzi) until the end of the world.

The outcome of this fight is well-known: the enemy from the north as well as the mythological foe is overcome; Dumuzi the god of the powers of nature remains victorious. Also this victory is revealed in the heavens by the appearance, at the time of the Sumerian resurrection festival, i.e., at the time of the vernal equinox, of the star En-te-na-MASH (BAR)-SIG (LUM), informing the faithful upon earth that now the dragon, the winter, the cold (en-te-na) has been conquered, that its rulership has come to an end and that, in consequence of this victory, the new life, the new creation, the resurrection has not only been made possible but has become an actual fact.

Dumuzi having overcome the foes of Babylonia — both historical and mythological — receives as a reward the power to “judge” the universe, its living and its dead. The vernal equinox with the sign libra tells us that this his judgment is one of absolute justice and equity: it is as evenly balanced as is the day and night as this time.
This tablet contained originally several songs of Nin-anna, the "mother", "sister" and "bride" of Dumuzi.

In the first song Nin-anna complains and bewails the destruction of her various and well-known cities and temples. Only one of the names of the cities is preserved, viz., Nippur, col. I : 16. The šuru-mu, "my city", l. 15, is here in all probability Erech, "the city" par excellence and seat of the oldest Sumerian or pre-historic trinity: An — Enlil — Nin-an.

The following names of temples are still visible:

DUR-AN-KI and Š-DUR-AN-KI, col. I : 16, 18, "(house of) the band of heaven and earth". For Š-Dur-an (-ki or na), the temple (ēsh) and zigurrat of Nippur, see "Bôl, the Christ", p. 21; H. A. V., p. 413, 3; Hilprecht, "Excavations in Bible Lands", p. 462; Zimmerm., S. K., p. 9, no. 5, II : 13; also see below, note 1; and for 4Dur-an-ki = 4Dur-an = 4En-nil, see C. T., XXIV, 39 : 4; 22 : 104. 4Dur-an (-ki, na) was the father (a-li-du-ush) of Nin-an-na, i.e., of Ishtar as Nin-gal and wife of 4En-en, K. 9955 + Rm. 613 (Bezold, "Cat." 1053); of 4Né-uri-gal = Nergal, H. A. V., p. 428; and of 4PA-KU = Nusku, K. 3285 (Bezold, "Cat." 520, where, however, Gá-an-ki is a mistake for Dur-an-ki). This name, though originally belonging to Enlil as "Son".

1 Just as 6-an, during the Enlil period of the Sumerian religion, became the name of the temple of Nippur (É-šur), so did šuru come to signify Nippur; cf. H. A. V., pp. 410, note 2; 413; 443, note 19; notice also that the 6Nin-Nibrak, "the mistress of Nippur" and wife of Nin-is, appears in C. T., XXIV, 40a: 3—XXV, 1: 3 — 29b: 1 as 6Nin-uru, the wife of 4Gás-an-ni-ti-di = é a-ra-esh ID, i.e., Nin-is, C. T., XXV, 13: 35. See also B. E., XXVII, no. 1, 1: 1, 2 = Pinches, E. N. (P. S. B. A., 1911, p. 86), 1: 1, 2, [šuru-ki-na] (var. Dur-an-ki) šuru-ki-na-nam na-an-dur-ru-ne-em-ne, Nibrak šuru-ki-na-nam na-an-dur-ru-ne-em-ne, "in the 'city', in the 'city' they dwell; in Nippur, the 'city', they dwell".

2 For the various periods in the history of the Sumerian religion see "Bôl, the Christ", pp. 44ff.; H. A. V., pp. 410ff.; B. E., XXIX, pp. 12ff.

3 For the significance of the "band of heaven" as that part of the heaven which has the north-pole (an-sat[2]-ga) for its center with the tropic of capricornus (time before Nabonassar) as its periphery, see B. E., ScribA, vol. VI. This was pre-eminently the domain of the 3rd mar-gi(d)-du (Kugler, Sternk., L 249 = urya major: Dhorme, R. A., VIII, p. 47, III: 30 = granum mátre) which ever revolves around the north pole. The opposite of the "band of heaven" is the "band of earth". The intervening part is the "zodiac" (gás) with the "equator" (murub-ana) and the "ecliptic" (ul-gás), presided over by Sin, Shamash and Ishtar, H. A. V., p. 421. cf. also below, p. 25, note 6.
of the An trinity, was later on transferred to the “Son” of the Enlil trinity, Ninib, who, therefore, is said to hold the markas (= dur) AN u KI, “the band of heaven and earth”, Ann. of Ashurhushaširapal, I: 2; cf. also the KU (= dîr = markas, so better than ėgi, B. E., XXIX, 29, 4?)-an-na and KU-ki-ta among the several Nin-ib names, C. T., XXV, 14: 14, 15, who are also the first two of the eight children of Ne-gin, C. T., XXIV, 24: 114.

Even the “Son” of the En-zu trinity at Ur, Ḫtu, acquired the title “band of heaven and earth” as is apparent from IR., 50: 19 a, where the ziggurmat of Shamash at Larsa is called E-Dur-an-ki.

ĒSH-E-AN-NA, col. I: 17, the well-known “temple of An”, the “habitation of Anu and Ishtar” at Erech, K. B., VI, p. 128: 37. Ishtar appears accordingly very often under the name of (a)Gashan-E-an-na, i.e., “lady of E-an”. In Semitic translations E-an-na is rendered by E-A-A-AG — a name, the meaning of which is not yet apparent. In B. E., XXVII, no. 1, IV: 26, this temple of Ishtar is referred to as E-an-na ḫud-7-ne 7-qi u-di ȗ-la, i.e., “the E-an-na, the house of the seven spheres, whose seven qi (compartments?) are full of splendor”. In this E-an-na there was an IB, which could and was burned; Ishtar herself was called Ḫinnanna IB-gal, i.e., “Ishtar (of) the great IB”.

Though E-an-na was originally the temple of An and Ishtar at Erech, yet in course of time it came to stand for “temple” in general. We find an E-an at Nippur. Gudea built an E-an-na in Girsu for “Ḫinnanna, the mistress of the lands” (nin kur-kur-ra), into which he brings the statue called “the life of Gudea, who has built this temple, may be long”. On account of this fact Gudea ascribes to himself the proud title “builder of the E-an-na”. Also Dungi, king of Ur, restored (ki-qi) and erected the great wall (ḥad-gal) of an E-an-na for “Ḫinnanna, the mistress of E-an-na, his mistress”, but it is not clear whether this E-an-na was that of Erech or of Ur. Singashid, king of Erech, builds (ba-dim) the E-an-na of his capital and enumerates among his titles that of “caretaker of E-an-na”.

Even in the city of Mar there seems to have been a temple E-an-na, for according to

1 R. H., p. 116 (no. 64): 6, 7; A. S. K. T., p. 126, no 21 (= M. V. A. G., 1908, p. 220); 29, 30, here followed by E-ki-a = E-AN-ti. A correction of E-AN-ti into E-KI-ti (Hommel, B. E., p. 49) is not necessary, seeing that Antu (= Nin-an-na) is the “earth”, yaha, forming with An = “heaven”, ed̄̄a-ēr, the “Father” and “Mother” of the Erech trinity, see “BBL, the Christ”, p. 28 c; B. E., XXIX, 16.
2 UrKagina. Tontafel, Obsv., IV: 5.
4 Cf. here also the IB-LU anaz ama E-šaša(b)a (-an), one of the several names of Ishtar, e. g., no. 2: 43; H. A. V., no. 14: 20.
5 See references on p. 8, note 1.
6 Statue C, III: 12, E-an-na šaša(g) Gir-an.ki-ka; Steintafel A, 7, E-an-na Gir-an.ki-ka.
7 Statue C, IV: 3.
8 Statue C, I: 5, šaša E-an-na in-ša-ša.
9 Steintafel G, 1ff., Ḫinnanna, nin E-an-na, nin-a-ni.
11 Tonnagel, 3, 4, 5-a E-an-na.
H. A. V., no. 3: 17 (p. 439), the “mistress of Mar”¹ cries out: “Exalted one, my abode, which has been destroyed, my [E-an-na,² may it be restored to its place.”]

“Bi-li-li, the sister of Dumuzi, calls herself “in E-an-na the powerful one I am”,³ while Dumuzi himself had the name “Lugal-E-an-na, “king of E-an-na”.⁴ For the various translations E-an-na may be capable of, see B. E., XXIX, p. 10, note 7. Other references to the E-an-na in old Sumerian texts may be found in no. 9, III: 15; C. T., XV, 19: 5; 26 : 6; Zimmern, S. K., p. 46, no. 50 : 3a (ēš E-an-na, in connection with Erech, Kullab); p. 49, no. 58 : 1b; p. 54, no. 68 : 19, here in connection with Ishtar as “bride” of Sin (“Nama”), “the lord, the king, the son of An” (ū-mu-un lugal dumu An-na, l. 26) — the only passage, so far, in which Sin appears as “son of An!”

GI-BUR-7, col. I: 19. Notice here the absence of ēš or Ė.⁵ For the reading būr of the sign KISAL,⁶ see H. A. V., p. 432, note 7; cf. now also Thureau-Dangin, R. A., VII, p. 109, note 3 and especially l. c., IX, p. 79, where the sign ëš has undoubtedly the reading pár.⁷ In R. H., p. 116 (no. 64) : 8, the [GI-būr]-7-na is explained by yi-pa-ru Ú-ru-[uk], “the g. of Erech”,⁸ while in N. F., AO 4334, etc., F. I : 8; II : 5,6, there follows immediately upon ú-ru Ku-la-ab the name GI-ba-ri-na-mi-na — a writing consisting apparently of gibari + na(= anna), see below, note 1) + imina, i.e., “the seven giparu of the universe”, and which in R. H., p. 100 : 34, appears as GI-būr-7-an-na⁹ and in Zimmern, S. K., p. 42, no. 39 : 4a, as the gi-[ëš][ëš] (= pár)-7 shu-ul-ba, “the seven beautiful g.” For the various writings of gi-būr see B. E., XXIX, p. 10 note 7, where

¹ dNIN-Mar⁴š has to be read according to Zimmern, S. K., p. 48, no. 53 : 6a, I-ni-Maš-ar⁴š, a writing showing that NIN had also the pronunciation ini, Innanna, Innana. Innina is, therefore, = In(n)i + an(n)u; Innina - In(n)i + na (for na = anna see H. A. V., p. 407, 4). A further abbreviation of na (= anna) to “n” we have in Innin which has been Semitized into In-ni-na(nu) = In(n)i-Anu(i) and into In-nin-na-at (= In(n)i + anna + at) dāsī = “mistress of the ‘god of the gods’”, Perry, Sin, IV : 1. This observation explains also the reason why there should be used after Inanna two postfixes, “Creation-Story”, p. 13, 3, 4: — because the word means “mistress of An”; see already Thureau-Dangin, Lettres et Contrats, p. 61b. For Inši-Mar in the rôle of Ishtar see also Zimmern, l. c., p. 51, no. 64.

² For the emendation cf. H. A. V., p. 443, note 19.

³ No. 3: 8, 42, E-an-na-shē ū-gūr-su-me-en.

⁴ C. T., XXV, 36c: 2, here followed immediately by dLugal-sa-pār = Umen-sa-pār, one of the well-known names of Dumuzi. While C. T., XXV, 39c: 1—20, contain Dumuzi names, there begin with l. 21 those of Ishtar, cf. e. g., l. 22, dNin-ki-shu[ī]-ba, “mistress of the beautiful place (= harem)”, or perhaps simply “beautiful lady” (cf. ki-shēb with ki-ág).

⁵ So also in C. T., XV, 25: 54.

⁶ The gisbūr[-KISAL], Gudea, Cyl. B, III: 19 at passim, is merely a variant of gisbūr, mentioned in H. A. V., p. 392: 30, while the E-būr is the “house where the būr is kept or preserved”, cf. the E-rī-ši-nu, “the house of honey and cream (butter). A translation “Temple des Verhöfes” (Cyl. A, IV: 5) is unintelligible to me. Cf. already, B. E., XXIX, p. 84, 23.

⁷ Cf. in this connection the writing ū-mu-an sa(n)u-[êš] (= būr), Zimmern, S. K., p. 29, no. 26, VI : 36, with ū-mu-an sa(-êš) (= būr), l. c., p. 30, no. 27, II : 3; p. 45, no. 45 : 7a, 6c.

⁸ Cf. M. 6710, Gi-pa-ru-7 = U-ru-uk.

⁹ M. 6709 emends to Gi-pār-7 = Erech.
it is mentioned that the zigurrat of Erech had the name 𒆠--uri-3, while Erech itself was called 𒆠-par-7. Cf. here also the 7-gi (an abbreviation of 7-gi-bûr?) in connection with the temple 𒆠-an-na, mentioned above, p. 9.

Bur-Sin, king of Ur, built a 𒆠-bûr for 𒅕-Nanna-Karzida at Ur,1 which in B. E., XXVII, no. 1, III : 47, is termed 𒆠-gi-bûr zu el-e gar-ra, “thy house, the g., beautifully built”. Also Libit-Ishtar, king of Isin, erected an 𒆠-gi-bûr,2 but it is not evident where and for whom. Entemena3 and Urukagina,4 patesis of Lagash, built an 𒆠-gi(sh)-pa-ra for Nin-Girsu at Lagash. The “lord (umun) of the 𒆠-gi-pûr”, i. e., Dumuzi,5 is mentioned in R. H., p. 120 : 12. According to AO 2539,6 Ḫninanna was called nin EventManager, “the mistress of the g.” In no. 9, II : 21, there appears as Ga-sha-an Ga-bar-ra a Goddess [..]-ba, — a name, which in all probability was originally [“Nin-tin-dib]-ba,7 though the space seems rather small for such an emendation. From the fact, lastly, that gi-par-7 forms one group8 with gi-gu-mu-u, “paradise, beautiful place, bridal chamber”, and ki-is-su = 𒆠-e, i. e., “the house where one passes the ‘night’”, hence a syn. of bit ekîlî, “house of darkness”, the habitation of Ḫirkalla, it becomes evident that the gi-par is not only a “chamber”, but more particularly a “chamber” in which Ishtar and Dumuzi pass the “(wedding-)night”; and as “7” has also the meaning kishshatu, “totality”, the Gi-bûr-7-an-na or the Gi-ba-ri-na-mi-na had most likely the significance “bridal chamber of the totality (whole) of the universe”, i. e., the bridal chamber par excellence — surely, a most becoming name for the bridal chamber of Erech, the seat of the Sumerian religion. That this name, like Ḫ-an, should later on have been transferred to the bridal chamber of other cities, is only natural and in keeping with the development of the Sumerian religion. For other occurrences, in ancient Sumerian texts, see Zimmern, S. K., p. 13, no. 8, II : 41, Gi-bûr-ra; p. 17, no. 12, II : 9, p. 26, no. 26, IV : 10, 11, gi-bûr; p. 27, no. 26, II : 9, 10, ma-Gi-bûr-ra, “house of the g.”; l. c., 15, 16, gi-bûr; p. 51, no. 64, 1 : 2, Ḫ-Gi-bûr-a.

ME-NAM-NUN-NA, “the house (Ḫ omitted) of the commands of (my) ladyship”, col. I : 20 — an otherwise unknown temple of Ishtar.9

Ḫ-GU-AN-NI-SI-SIB(?DIB)-BA (?), col. I : 21. The sign sîb (a Semitism for imin = ?) is doubtful; it may be dîb, i. e., the “Ḫ-an-ni-si of the ‘dead’”, in the sense of “nether-
world”. In B. E., XXVII, no. 1, IV : 27, a Gû-an-ni-si-î-e appears as the name of the “temple of ‘Inanna of Erech”,¹ and in l. c., VII : 29, as that of the “temple of ‘Ni-in-si-na of 1-si-im”² — which represents, apparently, another transfer of the name of the Erech temple to that of the city of Isin. In B. E., XXVII, no. 1, VI : 25 (cf. 26), Gû-an-ni-si is the name of a temple of the “great child of Sin, the holy Ishtar” (dumu-gal “En-zu-na azag ‘Inanna-ge), who according to l. 33, is the “beautiful Ishtar of Erech” (‘Inanna-shub Unu(g)îî-a), i. e., the “Ishtar of Hallabi”. According to this passage we ought to correct the Ë-sag(?)[. . . . .] of Arad-Sin, Kanephore, I : 11 (— V. A. B., I, p. 214) into Ê-Gù-[an-ni-si], with the result that this name, like the Gû-bûr above, becomes a syn. of Gi-gin.

The “mother of the Gû-an-ni-si” is Ishtar under the name of “En-â-num.² In R. H., p. 86 : 52 = V R., 52, II : 17, this “En-â-num (“shu-ma) ama Gû-ni (sic! without an-si-ge stands between Gashan-Î-gal ama Kullab³ and Umun-â-Î(U) (var. “Umun-â-Î(V)) amar za-gin-na. The same succession of names, with their Semitic equivalents, we find in R. H., p. 91 : 19 ff., which has to be emended as follows:

19. [Gashan-Î-gal] amar KUL[]-unu(g)îî-ge
20. [“Belit-Irkalli] um(1)-mi(!) shu-ma (i. e., Kullab)
22. [“Gù-la] um(1)-mi(!) Isht-a-[ri-lum]
23. [Umun-“NINDA-GUD] amar za-gin-[na]

In C. B. M. 112 : 3 (unpubl.) the En-a (sic!)-nu-un egî(= HUG) ur-î-î, i. e., “the mistress of the seven dogs”⁴ is mentioned between Ga-sha-an I-ri-ga-al a-ma Ku-ul-la-ba and the

¹ Being here in parallelism with the E-an-na Er-ab-î-ne 7-gi à-di il-la (l. 26), for which see above pp. 9, 11.
² Proceeded in l. 28 by its other name “En-â-num.”
⁴ Notice in this connection that in the celebrated psalm Sm. 954 : 11, 12, Ishtar is said to be an ur-bar-ra = bar-bar-ra, “wild dog”, and that in Zimmern, S. K., p. 7, no. 4, I : 33, 34, she has, as the Ka-sha-na-na (= Gashan-Ana), the attributes egî Ka-sha-kur-ûr (— var. of ur)-ku-ge, “lady, mistress of the land of dogs” and Ka-sha-an-kur-ûr (= ur)-ba-ra-ge”, mistress of the land of the wild dogs”. This “land” (kur = iridum) is here, as elsewhere, the “netherworld” with the seven “watch-dogs”, the later “Kerberos”.
⁵ This writing is of the highest importance, showing us that the sign ÎÎ had also the reading Ëri. Furthermore, if we compare C. B. M. 112 : 7, Û-mu-un-I-ri-ga-al gu-si-êa ( ) (followed by IÎ-ra-ga-al gu-si-êa [ ]), with the parallel passages in R. H., p. 86 : 57, [Umun-Î(U)] la umun á-qi(d)-da (followed by IÎ-ra-ga-al gu-si-êa) and in Zimmern, S. K., p. 16, no. 11, III : 6, Û-mu-un-[Î(U)] (sic!)-gâ-Î-un E (sic!)-gî(d)-da (followed by IÎ-ra-gal ÎÎ-î-ú-nu-si), we will have to admit that also the sign UNU(Î) = ÎÎ had a value Îri. These observations help us to explain the following:
Ma-su(d) in-da-ag-ra mu-ú-ri-na, while in Zimmern, S. K., p. 16, no. 11, III: 1, the "En-dû-nun ama Gû-an-ni-si" is followed by "NINDA-GUD" amar zagqi(n). In C.T., XXV,

The Umayan-îrali, generally identified with Nimri-gal or with Mes-lam-ta-ê-a, and translated by be-tu ina Kî-lîm, "lord of the earth" (R. H., p. 20: 20, 21), is none other than the "Irkal-la" the "god of the irrigator" or "great abode", the "house of Dumuzi" (M. 3292), the "Arallu" or "netherworld" (M. 3290, 3291), or also called the ey ek-le-ëî shu-bat (Irkal-la), "the house of darkness (i.e., the house, where the 'time of darkness' = night, winter, death, is spent, cf. ki-ir-ga, above, p. 11), the dwelling of (the god) Irkal-la", K. B., VI, p. 188: 29; Zimmern, K. A. T. 3, pp. 636, 637, note 1.

The Hebrew Ù-ru-ak, Erech, represents a good Sumerian reading and tradition: Uru(g)mi-qa = Uru(g)mi-qa = Irkal(g)mi-qa.

The name of Nergal, generally read Nk-in-um-gi(g)-gal, must henceforth be transcribed by Nk-in-um-gi(g)-gal = 2a2i2 = "the strength (strong one) of the great abode", i.e., "irrigator", the extended house" = á-gi(d)-da, where the á ought to be read ë or i = "house", rather than "strength". Notice also that Nimpas = Dumuzi, the husband of Zimmern, appears in C.B.M. 112: 12, as the U-mu-um-um ù mu-an E (sic)-gi(d)-da], for which the parallel passages have Uman-ã (sic)-da umun á-gi(d)-da = [be-cl] ë-shu(ma). R. H., p. 138: 102, 103, = Ninbi(ga) and translated by Nimpas of IM 15, is mentioned also in R. E., XXVII, no. 1, IV: 6.

Iral-gal is a variant also of Ina(g) or eri-gal, "the great city", cf. Zimmern, S. K., p. 59, no. 79: 9, where Mes-lam-ta-ê-a (= Nergal) is referred to as al-im-na ur-sag á-mu-an ùru (eri-gal), "hero, warrior, lord of the 'great city'".

Lastly, the name Iâ-B-ô, by which Ninib and Dumuzi are designated, ought to be read Ir-kal sham, "the irrigator" = "irrigation", thus called as the "god of the fertility of the ground", e.g., "Bêl, the Christ", p. 16, note 8.

1 According to this reading the 2a2i2 of R. H., p. 80: 53, and the Ù-ru-ak of V. R., 52, II: 17, has to be corrected into Ù-sat-er-ga, which is generally read NINDA-GUD, but which, according to C.B.M. 112: 4, has the reading mu-ú-ri-da in-da-ag-ra. Ma-su(d) is in all probability merely a variant of ws(d) = massa, appearing here as a syn. of ina.

If this be true, then the in-da-ag-ra must represent the NINDA-GUD. Seeing that GUD has also the value bar, the in-da-ag-ra may consist of in da = NINDA + gra = gara = har(a); for the interchange of "ğ" and "a", see Fossey, H. A. V., p. 114: 19. NIN = in may be explained by supposing that NIN had also the value in (shortened from in, see above, p. 10, note 1), or that in-da stands for e( = NIN)-da, dissimilation into enda = ùnda. As regards the mu-ú-ri-na = amar za (zag)-gin(gi(n)), I am at a loss to suggest any definite explanation. Is mu-ú-ri-na composed of mu-ú-ri = (a)marr = marum, "child" (M. 6821) = rim(a), a syn. of za-gin? Notice that ws(d), rim, gur is also = 2a2i2 , 2a2i2 , 2a2i2 , i.e., gur; but in no. 4: 39, 40, 1, L has apparently values in "-n". Is rim = gur = 2a2i2 , 2a2i2 , 2a2i2 = šap, elu? Or is mu-ú-ri-na = mu-ú-ri + na = ama, gi-ba-ri-na = gibbar-ama, above, p. 10, conveying the idea that Ma-su(d) in-da-ag-ra is a "son of An (and Enli)", like IM, with whom he is identified according to C. T., XXIV, 10: 14?

Notice in this connection that NINDA-GUD (St. Vult., Rev., I: 40) is = GUD-NINDA (Gudes, Cyl. B, XV: 9), and cf. R. H., p. 19: 14, 15, where it is said of Nergal (Uman-îrali-gal-ê-a = U-GUD) that he is the GUD-NINDA sî-da (= var. of sa-ge, šág = damqu, banû = = mi-ni ba-na, "the glorious, beautiful son"), whom the god Enlil has exalted. For Nergal as "son of Enlil", see H. A. V., p. 428. We have here a clear example of a transference of certain names, attributes and functions from Nergal, the "lord of the netherworld", i.e., from Dumuzi in the rôle of Dumuzi, to IM. This justifies the inference that IM, the successor of MAR-TU, the god of the "Westland", was in Canaan what Dumuzi was in Babylonia: -- the "god of the powers of nature", who "died", was "beheaded" (cf. here the wranglings over the death of Adad-Rimmon, i.e., IM, in Zech. 12: 11) and "rose" every year "to new life". For MAR-TU in the rôle of Dumuzi, see now N. , AO 4331 + 4335, where, as was to be expected, this god appears as the "son of An" (dumu-û-nu-a, col. III: 3) and as the "husband" (dam, col. II: 2, 3, 5; III: 6) of the mu-gi(d) (Ka-shi-na-na (col. I: 2), i.e., "of the Ishhtarlu, the mistress of An").

The Ialtar-Tamuz cult of Canaan is clearly of Sumerian origin and importation.

2 For this interchange of zag and za, cf. lugal-za-ge = lugal-za-ge, "of thy king", Gudes, Cyl. A, X: 6. See also N. , AO 4331/5, Face III: 4, 5, za-na-ta (zag-an-na-ta) za-ki-khe (zag-ki-khe) = za-ta = (Ulu) e = é-ta (not ush, as copy gives), a-ta ahu (a=sh) = = šak-šak = mu-an za-še = (zag-zag-šak), i.e., "from the confines of heaven (= uppermost south) to the confines of earth (= lowest north; netherworld), from the rise of the sun (= east) to the going down of the sun (= west), thy (i.e., MAR-TU) name reaches unto the heavens"; cf. also l. c., ll. 3, 6.
2:33, 34 = XXIV, 21b:8–10, *En-Â*-'nun is called the ama-*um-ma*-ni, i.e., "mother of the house of women" (harem = *mashuktu*), but which the Semitic annotator glossed by *um-mi ri-mi*, "mother of the womb (hardly 'of compassion')", and is identified with *Gu-la*, the wife of *Pa-bil-sag*, the *shakkanakku* of the netherworld and son of the "mistress of Isin". *Pa-bil-sag* was the "lord of Larag", where he played the same rôle of Dumuzi as did Ninib, the son of Enil, at Nippur. This, no doubt, is the reason why *Pa-bil-sag* is identified with Ninib, and why Ninib is called the *Gu-an-ni-sî*[il].

Lastly, there appears in C. T., XXV, 6:17, a wife (*dam-bi-sal*) of *Logal-gûr-ra* (= Nergal), called *Gu-a-ni-sî*, — a name, in which the *a-ni* is, in all probability, a mistake for *u-ni*, i.e. *kù*. Seeing that Nergal is the "Enil of the netherworld" and the "brother" and "husband" of Ereshkigal, "the queen of the netherworld" (*sharrat Ki-tim*), we may not be wrong in identifying this *Kû-an-ni-sî* with the *KAnu*-a-nu (sic!)-sî, who, according to C. T., XXV, 4:25, is the same as *Al-la-tum, Eresh-gi-gal, Amu-LIT-sî-kur-ra* — all of whom having for their husband (*dam-bi-ushe*) the *Gu-gal-an-na*.

But, this being the case, Ereshkigal, the wife of *Gu-gal-an-na* and Nergal,

1 Notice here also that the *Ama-TU* (var. *Tu*)-Gu-an-sî is one of the several (?) of *Gu-la*: C. T., XXIV, 47a:22.

2 C. T., XXV, 2:35 = XXIV, 21b:11, *Pa-bil-sag* *dam-bi-ushe*; *dam Gu-la*[x-ge.] For *Pa-bil-sag* = *Pa*, see below, p. 25, note 7.

3 C. T., XVI, 13a: 42/3, *Pa-bil-sag* *Ki-XITA kur-ra-ge = shak-ka nak-ka* *Ki* *tim*. The *Pa-bil-sag* of C. T., XXIV, 47a:32, has to be corrected, according to C. T., XXV, 4:9, into [*Nin-šar-ra]-an PA-BI-M-sag *ra-bi*sî [.. .].

4 This follows from C. B. M. 112:18, where *Gasa-an I*-si-na (17) is followed by *dumu-an* ("thy son") *Pa-bil-sag ta-ba-ad tim [1 *gurum*]-nu-*zu*.


7 C. T., XXV, 13:38. Cf. C. T., XXIV, 49a:2 = XXV, 1:12, *Gu-an-ni-sî-su-an-ni-ta* *gu-a-ni-sî-sul* [* = *d-an-pa-*a-ni*]; IB, i.e., Ninib); here followed by his wife (*dam-bi-sal*) *Nin-ara*, for which see above, p. 8 note 1.

8 Y. A. B. IV, p. 234:19, *dam dam-nu* *du-ni-at im-tim*.

9 With this name cf. *dIr-ral-ga*'s well-known attribute, appearing under the following forms:


b) *kù-a-nu-sî*, Zimmerm. S. K., p. 16, no. 11, col. III:7, which in the parallel passage appears as

c) *gu-sî-sa*, C. B. M. 112:8. This title is given also to *Umun-Iri-gal*, l.c., l.7, and is apparently a variant of Nergal's attribute;

d) *Gu-sî-sî*, R. H., p. 19:43; p. 22:44; Böllnürcher, *Nergal*, p. 31:7. Cf. also here the name of the second month *Ijar*:*Gu(t) *Gu(d)* (sî, *Gu*)-su-ta (si, su) and the other attribute of Nergal, mentioned immediately before *dIr-ral-ga*, viz.:

e) *gu(t) *du-nu* *gu-(s)*, R. H., p. 19:62; p. 22:53; Böllnürcher, *Nergal*, p. 31:16, which in R. H., p. 20:28/9 = 23:12/3, is translated by *gur-rad sha la in (-maš)-ba-raru*, "the incomparable hero"; lit., "the ox whose strength is without comparison" (*nu-nu* = dissimilation by "n" for *nu-ge*).
is the wife also of 4Nin-a-ziu,1 who is identified with Ninib,2 the Dumuzi of the Nippur trinity. Hence, 4Nin-a-ziu is one of the several names of Dumuzi.3

Taking all of the above given passages into consideration, we may safely conclude the following:

a) Gù-an-ni-si was originally a temple at Erecch where the goddess Gashan-an played the rôles of Ishtar, the “Mother” and “bride” of the “Son” Enlil.

b) Later on Gù-an-ni-si became the name of the temple of each and every goddess who was looked upon as the Ishtar of a certain trinity in a particular locality.

c) As the netherworld is merely a reflex of the macro- and micro-cosmos, Gù-an-ni-si became, like Gi-gin, Iri-gal, É-qi(d)-da, a name for “netherworld”, hence the addition dîh-ba in our passage. This “netherworld”, like its prototype Erecch, was divided into “seven divisions”. Each division was surrounded by a wall with two gates (one in the west and one in the east), presided over by two gate-openers (ni-dû), one of whom stood at the outside and one at the inside of the gate. Each of these “seven divisions” had also a “watch-dog”: “the seven dogs of Gula”, which in Greek mythology became the “dog with the ‘seven heads’: Kerberos”.4 Ishtar (Venus), being the goddess of the Gù-an-ni-si, had, therefore, to become also the goddess of the “netherworld”: Eresh-kigal, Proserpina. The same is true, of course, also of Dumuzi, “the lord of the Aralli”.

d) Seeing that gù-si changes with gù-si-il, the phonetic writing for gù-sil = dališu, mudallu, and that gù-sil is a variant also of gù-zal(zu-al) = dališu, mudallu, tashiltu, we may be justified in seeing in the É-Gù-an-ni-si a name signifying “temple of the heavenly rejoicing”, i. e., of the joys and pleasures which reach unto the heavens (an-ni). These

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1 C. T., XVI, 46: 166, 4Eresh-bi-gal dam 4Nin-a-ziu-ge = 4āltī 4ālī[t]; cf. l. c., 10: 37 with 56: 8, 9.
2 C. T., XXV, 8a: 13, 4Nin-a-ziu | 4Nin-ib, followed by 4NIN-nin-da | 4Gu-la, who was, under the name 4En-ā-num, as we saw above, the “mother of the Gù-an-ni-si” and the “mother of the [èNIN-xu]”. The èNIN-xu here is in all probability a variant or mistake for 4ÈNIN-xu, see II. R., 59, Rev., 34, 35:
4Umun-a-ziu | 4Nin-a-ziu | shu-ma
4Gashan-gir(i)-da | 4NIN-gir(i)-da | dam-bi-sal (his wife).

For the pronunciation of 4NIN-gir(i)-da see the gloss ni-gir(i)-i(r) in C. T., XXV, 5: 34/5. Notice also that in II R., 52, Rev., 33, Ereshkigal precedes 4Nin-a-ziu, while in C. T., XXV, 8a: 8, 9, she and her husband 4gù-zal-an-na appear among Ninib-Gula names. Cf. lastly, C. T., XXV, 8a: 7, 4Nin-ziu 4A-ziu | 4Gu-la, and for 4NIN-ziu, see l. c., 4: 3 = XXV, 47a: 27.

3 Cf. a-dam ur-sag 4Umun-a-ziu, IV R., 30, no. 2, Obv. 13; Rev. 1 = R. H., p. 67: 12 (here written Umun-
4A-ziu) = Zimmerm, 8. B. T., no. 1; IV R., 27, no. 1, add. p. 62a: 4 = Zimmerm, l. c., no. 3.

4 The prototype of the Greek Kerberos we must now recognize in the “dog of Gula”, so often pictured on the Babylonian boundary-stones. Cf. also Scheil, Fouilles à Sippar, p. 80, fig. 13, where a terra cotta dog, presented to Gula, bears the following inscription: and 4Mē-mē (= 4Gu-la) bēšī kalbi bēšī āpēshma āqīṣ (l. c., p. 92).

joys and pleasures are those which Dumuzi and Gashan-anna experience in the “bridal-chamber” (Gû-an-ni-sî = (petE)), when they, like Nergal and Ereshkigal, are joined in happy wedlock.

Another song of this tablet, beginning with col. II : 12 ff., pictures Ishtar, the “bride”, bewailing her “beloved” Dumuzi. This song consisted originally of more than five stanzas of four lines each; each stanza being introduced by:


Col. II, ll. 12–14, 16–18 are repeated, with slight variants, in col. III : 15–20.

On account of the various linguistic difficulties as well as the many new and interesting names for “netherworld”, it would seem most desirable that the notes and explanations should precede the transcription and translation.

Col. II : 3. GI-ÉR-RA, a liturgical note, being, therefore, omitted in ll. 7, 11, 15, 19, is according to IV R.², 11:27/8 a = ina qa-an bi-ki-ti, “upon the flute of wailing”. But cf. gi-ê-ra...mā, “to cry out in wailing (weeping)” (H. A. V., p. 438, no. 3: 24–26; gi-ê-ra...su(g), “to be bathed in tears”, “in Tranen gebadet sein (erishu)”, no. 6, I : 1,10. -- In H. A. V., p. 382, note 1, we find a gi-ê-ra with the Semitic ending ânu: gi-ê-ra-an-un-ma, which paraphrases the Sum. balag = širšu, while the gi(a)rânu of Br. 11607/8 translates the Sum. er. Er is also = takkalnu, “wailing”, which sometimes is represented by the Sum. gi-sîr(= DI), the syn. of gi-sîr(= BU) = malîlu (root elîlu), “flute of wailing”. This shows that gi-ê-ra is = er-ra, just as gi-sîr(sîr) is = sîr, sîr, sîr, the syn. of er = all with the meaning “to wail, to weep”, which wailing, weeping, at the time of the Sumerian lenten festival, was in all probability generally accompanied by tunes upon a flute (gi). For gi-ê-ra...ma-al = er...ma-al, see also R. H., p. 101 : 51 = 116 (no. 63) : 4, LIT-e edin-na-na er-gî(g) mu-un-ma-al = lit-tum ana bîtî-shu mar-sî-îsh i-bak-ki.

For other liturgical notes, occurring in these texts, cf. balag-sîr, no. 2 : 39; H. A. V., p. 383, note 4; Zimmern, S. K., p. 22, no. 25, III : 15, 17, 25, 39; p. 47, no. 51 : 9b (ba-la-dq-sîr); but especially the Semitic ka-la-shu-nu i-za-ma-ra, “all of them shall sing”, no. 19 : 24. The expressions e-la-la, ù-li-li, ul-li-esh = ina la-la-ra-â(tam), found either at the end (so generally), middle (Zimmern, l. c., p. 53, no. 67 : 5a), or beginning of a line (R. H., p. 118 : 36) is in many cases a liturgical note likewise.

NA-MU-UN-MA-AL = na-mu-ma-al, ll. 7, 8, 9, 11 = na-mu, l. 19, and omitted altogether in l. 15. According to R. H., p. 101 : 51 (see above), we might be tempted to read edin-na-na = ana bîtî-shu, but ll. 15, 8, 9, are clearly against it. For such an emphatic na, cf. Gudea, St. B., VII : 4, na-mu-dû, “for him he built” (see Thureau-Dangin, Z. A., XVIII, p. 126, note 6); Cyl. A, VII : 30, na-ni-tu(r), “to him he brought”; C. T., XV, 26 : 1, 2, 6–8, i-dib na-âm-êr-ra, “in wailing for (on account of) him she breaks out”; R. H., p. 95 : 29, 31, nam-mi-gub = i-za-az-ma, here na-âm, nam is = na-mu; cf. also
The "nu" in mu-un is reflexive: "ich ergehe mich in, quade mich ab mit Klagen (Weinen) um ihn", i.e., "I weep, weep for 'my beloved' who is in the edin".

SHA(B)-MU, lit. "my heart", is a term of endearment, being applicable to both Dumuzi (so here) and Ishtar; cf. N. F., AO 4328, Rev. (see also Thureau-Dangin, l. c., p. 200, note 1), where "Ba-u, the Ishtar of the Girnu trinity, is called sha(b)-mu, "my beloved". — A translation: "My heart in wailing towards the desert for him cries out", though per se possible, makes, however, the men in ll. 4—6 rather difficult to explain. I have taken sha(b)-mu, because dependent on the "a" of the verbal prefix "na", as the "object for whom or on account of whom" Ishtar, the subject (men), cries out. Sha(b)-mu na-mu-un-ma-al = sha(b)-mu mu-un-ma-al.

EDIN in the Dumuzi texts signifies always the "desert" in the sense of "netherworld"; cf. C. T., XV, 19: 29, edin A-ra-li, "the netherworld A."; Zimmern, S. K., p. 26, no. 31: 32b, A-ra-li edin-da-ma-la, "A., the extended netherworld". Dumuzi is the mulu edin. C. T., XV, 19: 6 — a title generally rendered by be-il gi-rim, "lord of the desert", and ascribed to the son3 of Utu, "Sumug(g)ad" (= GIR), in the rôle of Nergal3 as the Dumuzi of the netherworld. Nergal, therefore, appears quite frequently as the "Lugal-edin-na, "king of the netherworld". An "En-edin-na," "lord of the netherworld" is

1 Cf. the Et(Ä)-gi(d)-da, above, p. 12, note 5.
2 If my interpretation of this term in this particular passage be correct, it would follow that it cannot refer here to a certain "demon", but must have been ascribed to Dumuzi himself, as is clearly indicated by the dums of l. 4. But if so, then all the other parallel expressions must refer to Dumuzi likewise. These are:
   a) mulu gil-ba-ra, ll. 8, 15. Thus we have to read, not ka-ba-ra. Gil-ba-ra is evidently a variant of gil-bar = qirm, "desert, netherworld", Br. 3289/40. Cf. here the "gil-baru = Ashar-tum [Gashan-gi-edin(-na)-ge] = be-il gi-[e-rim] of R. H., p. 87: 29; 92: 18; 135, III: 18; 139: 143/4; and the "Gil-ba-ra = dAshar of Z. A., VI, p. 241: 9, where gil-barra-ra = gil-gedim = qirm. Dumuzi as the mulu gil-baru becomes in this wise the "lord of the 'strange (bar) shores'" (land, city, house: gil = kikudu, mudu, dlu, bitu) — a most important designation, showing that the Netherworld bordered on or was surrounded by "water". "Strange" were these shores, because "far distant" (like the "Westland": MAB-TU = Dumuzi) or "unknown", "harmful" to man.
   b) mulu ka-isk-ba-na, ll. 10, 16, "the overpowers", sc. of the kis or 'netherworld'; cf. H. A. V., p. 441, note 5. Dumuzi by rising again at the time of the vernal equinox demonstrates that he has overcome the winter, the cold, the north or netherworld.
   c) mulu hul-gal, ll. 12, 17, "the distressed" or possibly "evil one", so called because Dumuzi, like Nergal, is the god of death, who suffered death and hence, brings into death or "satiates himself with death", i.e., who causes the barrenness of nature.
3 C. T., XXIV, 32: 112.
4 R. H., pp. 87: 26; 92: 14; 135, II: 12/3; 139: 136/6. Notice also that in C. T., XXIX, 46: 8, "Sumug-(g)ad(n) is mentioned immediately after "Dumuzi"; Sib, "the shepherd".
5 Cf. Br. 9160, 4Ug = 4U-gur (Nergal).
6 C. T., XXV, 359: 8 = 36b, 1: 14. Cf. here also H. A. V., p. 430, where it should be noticed, that "Galu(Mulu)=\frac{\text{m}}{\text{a}}\text{a}(\text{ru})", which is only another name for "Lugal-edin-na, is a graphic variant for "Galu(Mulu)=\frac{\text{m}}{\text{a}}\text{a}(\text{ru})"; cf. "\text{a}Er\text{um}=\frac{\text{m}}{\text{a}}\text{a}(\text{ru})", C. T., XXIV, 17: 58 (cf. 59) = "A-ru", l. c., 29: 105 (cf. 106); 4\text{a}\text{i}(\text{ru})", C. T., XXIV, 29: 106 = 4\text{a}\text{i}(\text{ru})", l. c., 17: 59. See also EDIN = ra-\text{u} = dashpu sha dishpu, Br. 1426.
7 That in V R., 46, no. 1: 22, "\text{u}Mu\text{u}=\text{l}a\text{-ta-rag = DXX} \text{u} 4U-gur, the sign \text{ru} looks much rather like EDIN than like \text{ru}. We ought to read here "Mulu-edin", "star of the lord of the netherworld".
8 He is preceded by "Sig-zo-gi(-na), "the goddess of the shining, bright, glorious walls" (cf. the seven walls
mentioned in C. T., XXV, 46h : 3, but it is not evident to what particular god this name refers.

The “Mistress of the netherworld”, "Nin-edin, is the sha-suk-kat of “heaven and earth” (AN u KI-tim)\(^1\) or of “the great gods” (ilâni rabûti)\(^8\), and the “scribe of the netherworld”(ki),\(^3\) being identified with:

a) the “goddess of the strange shores”, "Gú-bal(bar)-ra or also called Gashan-gû-edin,\(^4\) the wife of Mulu(Gulu)-har-soaq = MAR-TU,\(^5\) the well-known god of the “Westland”;

b) the "Mulu(sh)-tain-an-na = Geshtin(an-na),\(^6\) the “sister” of Dumuzi,\(^7\) who is likewise the “mistress of scribes” (ga-sha-an, goddess of the “house of the ‘youthful one of An’ (E-lu-kal-na), i. e., of the “house of Dumuzi”,\(^8\) the netherworld; hence, the netherworld is called also Geshtin-an-na-ge edin-na\(^9\), “G’s desert”.

The “Ishtar of the netherworld”, "Inanna-edin, i. e., the later Proserpina, is mentioned already in Hilprecht, O. B. I., no. 94 : 1. A Bêl-itedin occurs also in II R., 60 : 16a, but from the arrangement of this tablet it is not certain who is meant here.\(^10\)

Lastly, there appears in Zimmern, Sharpi, VIII, p. 40 : 7, a "Zi-za-nu\(^11\) who is called shar-rat ep-ri be-lit še-ri be-lit gab-li, “queen of the (place of) dust, mistress of the netherworld, mistress of battle”.


2. Sm. 802 = Meisner, Suppl., p. 96.
4. See above, p. 17, note 2.
5. II R., 59, Rev., 43. For the god of the Westland in the rôle of Dumuzi, see above, p. 13, note 1.
6. II R., 65, Rev., 10, 11; here mentioned immediately after Gš-ir-tur = Gšn-DU, the mother (swa) of Dumuzi.
7. C. T., XV, 20: 21, M(ush)-tin-an-na SAL-KU (= abat, see above, p. 4, note 1) ša-us-an-an-na-ga, “M., the sister of the lord”, i. e., Dumuzi; cf. also the name of Dumuzi: see above M(ush)-tin-na, “brother of the mother M.”, no. 6, 1. 9, and Zimmern, B. C. T., p. 707, 13.
8. See above, p. 17, note 2.
9. C. T., XVI, 9b: 4, 4Nin-\(\text{šš}^{\text{p-p}}\) \(\text{šš}^{\text{p-p}}\) \(\text{šš}^{\text{p-p}}\) (\(\text{šš}^{\text{p-p}}\), geshtin, see Zimmern, R. G. T., p. 14, note 4) ša duš-sar maš [.....]. If we compare this passage with C. T., XVI, 3: 95/7, 4Nin(ua)-an-na duš-sar-maš E-kur-idim-ga = \(\text{šš}^{\text{p-p}}\) duš-sar-tam(tam) ša A-ra-at-li-ga, we will have to admit that the "Nin-edin, who is identified with the wife of the god of the Westland (above under a) and with Geshtina, is also = 4Nin-anna, the Ishtar, “mother”, “bride” and “sister” of Dumuzi.
10. See above, p. 19.
12. L. e., whether l. 12 b, iugal ša Mā-ri-ti, or l. 16b, iugal ša Du-ni-sa-i-di-bi, or l. 17b, shar-rat Gimil-\(\text{šš}^{\text{p-p}}\) (E-kur-ti-ka)-maši explains l. 16a.
13. This "Zi-za-nu is according to C. T., XXV, 11: 35, a name also of 4Nin-ti insa SU-ki, cf. also C. T., XXV, 6: 13, 4Ši-za-nu \(\text{šš}^{\text{p-p}}\) (dumu-a-ni (i. e., the son of the gud)-balag \(\text{šš}^{\text{p-p}}\) K.A-Di-ga, l. 12). 4Ši-za-nu, then, like Ninib (H. A. V., p. 424, and references there given), was a male and female divinity; both also were the gods of the netherworld. (= kur), which in SU-ki was called sîan(u).
This edin, though originally = "desert" or "netherworld", is very often translated by bitu, i. e., "the house" par excellence, the "house", "abode", where Dumuzi lives; but according to M. 3292, the bit "Dumuzi is a syn. of iri-gal or "great abode", of qabru or "grave" (M. 3293), of irṣītim or "netherworld" (M. 3291), and even of A-ra-li (M. 3290). Dumuzi, therefore, must not only be identified with the Umun-iri-gal, "the lord of the great abode", or with 4En-ki, "the lord of the netherworld", but he may and actually does appear in our texts as the Ū-mu-uni(-e) A-ra-li, "the lord of the A." There seems to have been, however, in this edin a special "house", or "temple", or "palace", which served as a habitation for Dumuzi while in the netherworld, and which was patterned after some terrestrial prototype. This conclusion is justified not only from the occurrence of such names as Ē-edin-na6 or Ė-gal-edin-na,7 but more particularly from the fact that according to B. E., XXVII, no. 1, IV : 40, Dumuzi is said to be the 4Ligir(Mer)-si,8 i. e., "the glorious bridegroom", of the Ė-A-ra-li; cf. also II R., 61 : 14, where the Ė-edin-na appears as the Ė-52 ša (Z)Ara[r]t, i. e., as the "52nd name of the 'temple of Larsa'" — a passage which shows that the "house of the netherworld" was in all probability patterned after the temple of Larsa, where Shamash (or his son 4Sumμq(g)a(n)) played the rôle of Dumuzi.

The place where this edin was considered to be situated was the northern part of Babylonia; hence, the "netherworld" appears in the Dumuzi texts as the edin(-na) A-HA[8][i]. ge9 = ši-e-ri (ši-ir) Šu(Su)-ra-ra.10 But the northern part of Babylonia served merely as the prototype or pattern of the north of the macro-cosmos. The netherworld, therefore, as a macro-cosmic quantity must be sought in the north, the region of the cold, the winter. In the winter, then, Dumuzi is in the netherworld.

The edin A-HA[8][i] appears as edin HA[A] in another11 Dumuzi text which is of the utmost importance for both the history and the religion of ancient Babylonia — for the history, because it helps us to supply the missing names in the list of Isin kings, published by Hil-

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1 M. 3048.
2 Cf. here the Ė-kal-um-na, above, p. 18.
3 Cf. above, p. 12, note 5.
4 C. T., XXIV, 3 : 20 -- 21 a : 62, i. e., with 4En-ki as one of the 42-im en ama-a-a 4En-ili-là-ge-ne, or with 4Enili in the rôle of Dumuzi as the "lord (en) of the netherworld (ki)"). For this 4En-ki (not = 4Enl) see for the present Zimmern, Götterlisten An., p. 88.
5 No. 12 : 28; no. 6, 1: 4; cf. also no. 2 : 30.
6 II R., 61, no. 2 : 14 b.
7 K. 246 (= A. S. K. T., p. 82), II : 12/3; see also Dlitzsch, H. W. B., p. 467a, under namâ, and cf. below, p. 25, note 6.
8 See also C. T., XVII, 10 : 74/3, 4En-igir(mer)-si = Dumu-si; II R., 60, Rev., 8, 4Umun-ili-bi-ir-si = 4En-igir(mer)-si = 4Dumu-si, and cf. Zimmern, B. G. T., p. 8, no. 3. Cf. also the 4En-gir-si-ge, IV R., 27 : 49 b.
9 To be read Tubal, see M. 8994.
11 Cf. also no. 1; III : 13, edin HA-[A].

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precht in B. E., XX, part I, p. 46; and for the religion, because it furnishes us with a number of new and highly interesting, descriptive names for the Sumerian netherworld. For these reasons I may be permitted to give the text in transcription and translation here. The same reads:

Zimmern, S. K., pp. 28/9, no. 26, VI : 24—VII : 27,

VI : 24[......] \( \text{ám-na(d)-a-ba} \)
With......

25. A-ra-[li] \( \text{[du(l)-shū(b)-ba]-ka} \)
(With him) of the 'Aralî',

the 'beautiful mountain' (or mountain of the beautiful one);

26. mu-tan-[n[a-m]]u \( \text{ám-na(d)-a-ba} \)
With my 'husband'

27. [......] \( \text{[dü(g)-a-ka]} \)
(With him) of the......

28. kal(?) [sir-an-n[a-mu]
With my 'husband'

29. E-bandada(da)\(^1\)
(With him) of the 'house of the valiant one',

30. dumu Ú-mu-un-mu(sh)-zi-da \( \text{ám-na(d)-a-ba} \)
With the 'Son of Ningishzida'

31. e-TUM-ma-al-la(lá?)\(^2\)
(With him) of the 'house(?) of Tummal',

32. 'KA-DI i-bi-shūb \( \text{ám-na(d)-a-ba} \)
With 'KA-DI, the one with beautiful eyes (face)'

33. GAM-GAM\(^3\)-da \( \text{edin HA-A-ka} \)
(With him) who has been 'snatched away'

For the Semitio translation of this line, see above, p. 19, note 10. Cf. also col. VII: 12. In B. E., XXVII, no. 1, IV: 22 (cf. l. 15) there occurs an \(\text{E^{-}Nin-gish-zī-da Šī(Gish?)-banda(da)}\)\(^3\). The E-bandada\(^2\), though originally a city of Babylonia with Ningishzida as its god, is used here, like Kutha, as a term for "netherworld". "He of the 'house of the valiant one' is Dumuzi as the 'son of Ningishzida', see l. 30.

\(^1\) For the Semitic translation of this line, see above, p. 19, note 10. Cf. also col. VII: 12. In B. E., XXVII, no. 1, IV: 22 (cf. l. 15) there occurs an \(\text{E^{-}Nin-gish-zī-da Šī(Gish?)-banda(da)}\)\(^3\). The E-bandada\(^2\), though originally a city of Babylonia with Ningishzida as its god, is used here, like Kutha, as a term for "netherworld". "He of the 'house of the valiant one' is Dumuzi as the 'son of Ningishzida', see l. 30.

\(^2\) This line corresponds to B. A., V, p. 674: 13, which has to be emended accordingly. The second half of our line has in l. c. a double translation: ar-bi šum-ru-gi `a-ru-ak har-kab-tim; Zimmern, S. B. T., p. 217, 'schmerzlicher Weg, Weg des Wagens'. With e-TUM-ma-al cf. the goddess \(\text{d-ni} \text{KUR}=\text{TUM}-\text{ma-} \text{al} = \text{d-Nin-Il}, O. T., XXIV, 5: 8, and the proper name Ur-TUM-al, B. K., III, part 1, nos. 88: 5; 111: 6.

34. [e-ib(ī)]-la gu-la-mu
   With my great ‘girded one’
   ám-na(d)-a-ba
   I will lie down,
35. Ši-sul-dû-a²
   (With him) of the Ši-sul-dû-a,
36. [še]-la u-mu-un sa-pâr
   With...la, the ‘lord of the net’
   ám-na(d)-a-ba
   I will lie down,
37. [ki]-sîr-ra
   (With him) of the ‘place of waiting’,
38. [li-bi-t]r u-mu-un sub-bî
   With the ‘bridegroom’, the ‘beautiful lord’
   ám-na(d)-a-ba
   I will lie down,
39. [.....]ba(ma?)
   (With him) of the.....
40. [sû]-el-ba
   With the ‘most beautiful’ one
41. [.....]e
   (With him) of the.....
   Rest broken away.

VII: 1 [u-mu-un Gimil-ili-shu]
   With the lord Gimil-ili-shu
   [ám-na(d)-a-ba]
   I will lie down,
2. ki-mâh ki-u-mu-un² [-na]
   (With him) of the ‘sublime place’,
   the ‘place of the lord’,
   [.....]
   [.....] ;
3. u-mu-un I-din-Dagan
   With the lord Idin-Dagan
   ám-na(d)-a-ba
   I will lie down,
4. sîs SAR ni-te-ra
   (With him) who in the ‘awe-inspiring garden’ (or garden of the fearful one)
   ba-an-gu(b)-[ba-a-ba]
   has taken up his abode;
5. sîs(? Išk-me-Dagan
   With the shepherd Iškme-Dagan
   ám-na(d)-a-ba
   I will lie down,

1 Emended according to col. II: 2; col. V: 10.
2 Cf. col. II: 3.
3 Cf. Zimmer, S.K., p. 45, no. 45: 7a (6 c), ..-la (sic) u-mu-un sa-bûr, and especially l. c., p. 30, no. 27, II: 3, 4AR (H1) 1a à(1)-mu-un sa-bûr. Generally, however, 4NAGAR precedes the à-mu-un sa-pâr, so e. g., l. c., p. 40, no. 35: 3a. The ‘-a(la)’ would show that NAGAR had a pronunciation ending in ‘-i’.
4 Cf. the ki-kal, “place of the youthful one”, parallel with ki 4Dumu-zî, col. IV: 10, 11.
6. *sib* S AR *ni-te-na*
   (With him) who in the ‘awe-inspiring garden’
   *ba-an-gu(b)-ba-a-ba*
   has taken up his abode;

7. *sib*(?) *Li-hi-ù-Ishtar(U-ùn)*
   With the shepherd *Lubit-Ishtar*
   *ām-na(d)-a-ba*
   I will lie down,

8. *gab-kishû-ba*¹
   (With him) of (at) the ‘breast of the prison’;
   *ki-kush-shâ(?)-a-ka-ka*
   the ‘resting place’;

9. *sib*(?) *Ur-Nin-ib*
   With the shepherd *Ur-Ninib*
   *ām-na(d)-a-ba*
   I will lie down,

10. *ki-na(d) si-ba*
    (With him) of the good ‘bridal-chamber’;
    *ki-ùr² ù-mu-un-na-ka*
    the “place of the ‘bride of the lord’”;

11. *[sib ?] Bur-Sin(En-zu)*
    With the shepherd *Bur-Sin*
    *ām-na(d)-a-ba*
    I will lie down,

12. *[È-bandu(daa)]*
    (With him) of the ‘house of the valiant one’;
    *kur a-she-ir-ra-ka*
    the ‘land where one cries out: Alas’!

13. [*di(ki ?)-ta-AN(dî)³*]
    With .......
    *ām-na(d)-a-ba*
    I will lie down,

14. [*di(ki ?)-ta-AN(dî)³*]
    (With him) of the .......
    *ki-sha(b)-she(d)-da-a-ka*
    the ‘place where the heart comes to rest’
    (or trembles?)

15. [*di(ki ?)-ta-AN(dî)³*]
    (With him) of the .......
    *ki-sir-râ³-ka*
    the ‘place of wailing’;

16. [*di(ki ?)-ta-AN(dî)³*]
    (With him) of the .......
    *ām-na(d)-a-ba*
    I will lie down,

17. [*ù-mu-un Sîn-i-gi-shâ-a-a⁶*]
    With the lord *Sîn-i-giška*
    *ām-na(d)-a-ba*
    I will lie down,

18. [*[.....]*]
    *[.....]*
    I will lie down,

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¹ Cf. the pišma, above, p. 21 : 41, and the *gab kur-ra = i-rat ir-gi-tim*, “breast of the netherworld”, col. IV : 3;
² IV R., 30, no. 2: 23/3.
³ For *ùr* = *katùmn*, see H. A. V., p. 308; and for *ki-ùr*, l. c., p. 443, note 20.
⁴ This king ought to correspond to Hilprecht’s [I-te-ir-K] A-abî, R. E., XX, part I, p. 46 : 15.
⁵ These traces show that *dSîr(Ura)-nimtim*, Hilprecht, Z. A., XXI, pp. 20ff., cannot follow upon [*[.....]*-AN(dî)].
⁶ Or the “place of Sîr-Dû”? Cf. dSîr-tur = dSîr-Dû, the mother of Dumuzi, above, p. 18, note 6.
⁷ See Poechel, O. L. Z., 1907, Sp. 461 ff.
From the above given translation it will be evident that I cannot agree with Zimmern, S. K., p. VII, who thinks that "hier wird, nachdem vorher in Kol. VI der Gott Tamuz unter seinen verschiedenen Namen mit den Worten 'warum (oder: bis wann?) ruht er?' wiederholt angerufen worden war, ganz in der gleichen Weise diese Frage auch an die verstorbenen Könige von Isin, Idin-Dagan, Ishme-Dagan, Libit-Ishtar, Ur-Ninib, Bur-Sin usw. gerichtet. Es werden diese also sozusagen als Tamüze aufgefagt, deren Wiedererstehen aus dem Grabe — man kann die Sache wohl kaum anders auffassen — man ebenso erhofft, wie man alljährlich die Wiederkehr des Tamuz aus der Unterwelt erwartet."

On the contrary, Ishtar in the text quoted is apparently in the netherworld (A-ra-li mu-un-tush, col. VI: 20), here she wishes "to lie down" or "rest" — here in the netherworld which is the abode of Dumuzi and of the deceased kings of Isin. Apart from this, EME-SAL texts never mention the resurrection of Dumuzi — this is referred to in texts only which are written in the EME-KU dialect.

Seeing that the above quoted passage is in many respects similar to that of Macmillan, B.A., V, p. 674, and R. H., p. 126 (no. 80), as Zimmern already has pointed out, we may be justified in identifying the edin HA-A of Zimmern (col. VI: 33) with the edin A-HA of Macmillan, and this the more so as we find a similar interchange in the name aNin-A-HA-tar- rá(kul-du), so generally, which in B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. V: 4, 6, is written "Nin-HA-A-tar-ra. The "god of HA-A-kst" was "Silig-galu-dul(g)², i.e. Marduk, the "son of Ea (Eridu, the ocean)", also called "Dumuzi-abzu" or "Dumu-zi dumu "É-a." In R. H., p. 55: 3—6, we have the following succession: Úru-ši-ib (= Eridu), ésh-maš, ésh-abzu (two temples of Eridu), A-HA, while in C. T. XVI, 6: 239, NUN A-HA²

1 According to the analogy of the preceding arrangement of this tablet, we should expect in ll. 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, a name of a king, i. e., five kings; but according to the Hilprecht tablet there ought to follow six kings.
2 These traces ought to correspond to 4Sin-ru-gir; or is this [Da-mi-iq-[i]šu], the last of the Isin kings?

If so, this hymn must have been composed after the time of the Isin dynasty.

² B. E., XXVII, no. 1, III: 32.
³ C. T., XXIV, 16: 30 (cf. 35) — 29: 82a (cf. 84b).
SUMERIAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS TO DUMU-ZI

=Eri-\textit{du}(g) u Su-ba-ri are mentioned together. Lastly, in C. T., XV, 2 col. VIII : 2, 3, Shu-mir[j]-i-im is apparently in opposition to Shu-ba-ru-ú-um, standing in the same relation as "Shumer and Akkad" = Ki-en-gi-ki-Uri (BUR-BUR), for we read: An-nu-um sha-al-la-at Shu-mir[j]-i-im e-li-ish a-a i-li-[u], Shu-ba-ru-ú-um lu-ú ir-shi-it ka-za-zi-im-[ma] sha-at-ti-sha-am-ra Shu-mi-ru-um li-ik-la-za-az-zi, i. e., "O Anu, the booty of Shumer let them not bring up; let Shubaru (so with Hommel, Grundriß², p. 252, note 1, against Winckler, O. L. Z., 1907, Sp. 346, and Ungnad, l. c., 1908, Sp. 67) be the goal of their ravaging; yea, let Shumer ravage it yearly".

Comparing these passages, we will have to admit that \textit{A-HA} or \textit{HA-A} became a designation for the "netherworld" simply and solely for the reason that it formed, like the later Akkad, the northern part of Babylonia, i. e., Mesopotamia. In the north, then, the Sumerian netherworld has to be sought. This north was the sphere of the "Son". The south and the north stand in the same relation as does "an" to "ki", Eridu to Subari (= N\textit{UN}² to \textit{A-HA}), Ea to Marduk or the "Father" to the "Son".

There must have been, however, a time, when the city of Nergal, Kutha (Gú-dá-\textit{a}³), was Babylonia's north \textit{par excellence}, becoming for this reason, like \textit{A-HA} or &(&ish?)-banda(da)², a designation of the "netherworld".

In fact, it seems not improbable that even \textit{Gír-su²}, more particularly in its older form \textit{Su-gír²}, formed at one period of the Sumerian history and religion the "north", with Erech² and Eridu³ as well as \textit{Nippur} as its opposite or "south". This conclusion may be inferred from the following considerations:

The older \textit{Subaru} occurs in later inscriptions as \textit{Subartu} — a word which renders the Sumerian \textit{Su-EDIN²} (Br. 198; M. 114) as well as \textit{Su-gír²} (Br. 234), which latter may very well be a variant of \textit{Su-gír²}. If this be true, we may with Thureau-Dangin (S. A. K. I., p. 268) and Winckler (O. L. Z., June 1907, Sp. 284) assign to the sign \textit{EDIN} the value \textit{búr} (or possibly \textit{bar})⁵, which would be the regular \textit{EME-SAL} form for the \textit{EME-KU} gír, gír. This gives us the following development: \textit{Su-gír} (gír) = Su-\textit{bír} (bar, ba-ri) = Su-\textit{vari} = Su'-\textit{a-ri}⁶ = Shu'-\textit{a-ri}, originally Gírsu, later on the whole of northern Babylonia. And if \textit{Su-gír} be also = \textit{Elamtu} or "Elam" (Br. 233), so is this development merely parallel

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¹ See above, p. 20, note 1.
² Cf. Urukagina, \textit{Olive A}, 1—3, where Nin-Gírsu and his wife Ba-\textit{á} in the "temple of Erech (E-Uršu\textit{g}ki-ga)", pronounce good words for Urukagina.
³ Cf. Gudea, Cyl. B, III : 9 = VIII : 15, ḫ\textit{u}-Gír-su \textit{NUN}³\textit{á}šu gí-\textit{ám}(ni); Cyl. B, VIII : 13, ur-saq (i. e., Nin-Gírsu) \textit{NUN}³\textit{á}šu gí-\textit{a}-\textit{ni}. Notice also that Ur-Ba-\textit{u} builds in Gírsu a temple for "Ea, the king of Eridu", Statue, IV 4: 11 ff.
⁵ Cf. gá-\textit{ba(bar)-ra} = gá-\textit{edin} = gér\textit{um}, above, p. 17, note 2.
⁶ And possibly Su'-\textit{a-ri} = Su-\textit{ri}, i. e., \textit{Ziqqur, Ziqqin}, cf. Zimmern, S. B. T., p. 219, and references there given.
or similar to BUR-BUR, which designated originally Akkad(ūrī) or the north of Babylonia, then Urtu (tilla) or the Armenian mountains and lastly Amurru (arī) or the “Westland”\(^1\). Elam is the north or “netherworld” in the Gilgamesh epic. In Elam is to be sought the “cedar-mountain” with the “cedar of ‘Irinnī”, guarded by Humbaba and reached (cf. below, p. 27) by Gilgamesh at the beginning of the 4\(^{th}\) month (\(= \) 4\(^{th}\) tablet), the month of the winter solstice: December-January, when the sun reaches his lowest point in the north.

The above indicated development of the northern part of Babylonia, beginning with Nippur as its original center and later on gradually extending over Su-gūr (Gir-su, Elam), Kutha, A-ʕA (Subaru, Akkad), Armenian mountains, Westland, until it bordered the Euphrates or the “sea of the going down of the sun” in the west, the Tigris in the east, and the lake of Urmia or the Van sea in the north, necessitated, of course, a revision of the primary conception of the Sumerian netherworld, which, like its terrestrial prototype, was henceforth considered

a) to be “wide” or “extended” (damal)\(^2\);

b) to form — on account of its vastness — a cosmic quantity by itself, being, therefore, divided into an “upper” and a “lower” edīn (an-ēdin ki-ēdin)\(^3\);

c) to be surrounded by “water” — hence, the name of Dumuzi: mulu gū-ḥa-ra\(^4\), “the man of the strange shores”; hence also the occurrence of an dētin, “river of the netherworld”, which was full of fearfulness (ni).\(^5\)

Through this netherworld led a “wagon-road” (har-ra-an ṣiḥ-sīnar)\(^6\) or “street” (sil)\(^7\),

\(^1\) See M. 5327—5329.
\(^3\) C. T., XV, 27 : 21 — 30 : 22.
\(^4\) See above, p. 17, note 2.
\(^5\) Oudea, Cyl. A, XXVII : 21. That this river was originally and primarily an actual river of Babylonia, goes without saying and is indicated by its occurrence in E. T. Ch., no. 46, Rev., I : 1. Cf. on this ‘river of the netherworld’ farther below, p. 26, note 3).
\(^6\) See above, p. 20 : 31, and cf. in this connection the ṣan-ē-kar-ana, above, p. 14, note 3. A “wagon-road” this is, because some of the gods like ḪUB or Shamash, are said to “ride” through the heavens (and hence also through the netherworld) upon a “wagon”. In the case of Shamash the “wagon-road” would be that part of the ecliptic which falls in the winter half of the year, corresponding as such to the al of the summer half (see above p. 8, note 3).

The Semitic translation “difficult road” (besides “wagon-road”) is due, probably, to the idea that this road, like that which led through the northern part of Babylonia to the Westland, was one over high mountains and steep hills, which made the progress on it slow and difficult. It ought to be noticed, however, that in a good many, if not most, cases the so-called “dreary” aspects of the Sumerian netherworld are of Semitic rather than Sumerian origin. Cf. e. g., the Sumerian E-gal-edin, “palace of the netherworld” (above, p. 19, note 7) and the A(Š, E)-ri-a, “house of begetting”, “bridal-chamber”, which are rendered in Semitic by nānē, for which see Delitzsch, H. W. B., p. 4665; Jensen, K. B., VI, pp. 379, 385.

\(^7\) Craig, E. T., I, p. 57 : 21, ḪI-shum en sīl, “I., the lord of the ’street’”; IV E., 21 : 44 a, ḪI-shum eukal sīl, “I., the overseer of the ’street’”. Cf. also C. T., XXIV, 40 : 74, ḪP a | | (\(= \) U-gur = Nergal) ša šu-u-pi, i. e., “Pa is the Nergal of the ’street’”. For ḪP a as an abbreviation of ḪP-a-se-gū see below, p. 26, note 3; and for ḪP a = ḪP a-bil-sag, see B. E., Series D, vol. VI, Table II, 9 h; cf. also above, p. 14 and notes.
which was, like the edin itself, "wide" or "extended" (damal). It was a "street of darkness" or "night" (gi[g]i), a "street" full (si-ga, si(g)-ga = malā) of wailing (a), i.e., a street of the wide street of the netherworld".

2 So in the variant to the preceding note, Zimmerm., S. K., p. 16, no. 11, col. I 18; Kal-ša(g)-ga/si(g)-ga/damal-na, i.e., "the gracious (beautiful) Kal, the god of the wide street of the netherworld".

3 C. T., XVI, 16: 21, Pa-sag-ga/nim-giš-si(a)[g]-ga = I-shum na-gir su-qi sha-ku-um-ma, "P., the overseer (guardian) of the street full of wailing", or simply called nim-giš-gi = na-gir mu-če, "overseer of the (place of) darkness", C. T., XVI, 49: 504. Generally, however, Pa-sag-ga is the nim-gir mishkin (PA-RIM)-maḫ dišigiri-e-ne-ge = I-shum na-gir ra-bi-qa ši-i-ru ša AN-tāš, "the great overseer, the sublime ruler of the gods" (sc., of the netherworld or the "holy mountain"), C. T., XVI: 178: 9. et passim. The wife of Išum is Gashan (Nin)-mgu, II, 59, Rev., 41, here mentioned immediately after Unman (Lugal)-ir-lu, "the lord (king) of the abode where one cries out: 'aša'!"

For 4Pa-sag-ga as a name of Nergal, see c. g., B. H., pp. 19: 51; 25: 62, 60 (here bi-ir in 4Pa-sag-ga); Böllenlöhner, Nergal, p. 31: 23; and for Nergal = 4Pa-sag, see above, p. 25, note 7); from this it follows that 4Pa is an abbreviation of 4Pa-sag-ga. Another abbreviation in 4Pa-sag: cf. Odeze, Status B, VIII: 63, where 4Pa-sag is called the nim-gir kalam-me, "overseer of Babylonia" — a most welcome corroboration of our contention that the kalum or "Babylonia" formed the prototype after which the netherworld or "place of darkness" with its street full of wailing was patterned. Notice also that Eannatum calls himself the mu-paš-dā of 4Pa-sag, St. Vact., Rev., VI: 4, or the abarakku (sakem-tūl) of 4Pa-sag, Eddet. A, II: 11: B, II: 14: 

The same attribute, viz. "god of the street full of wailing", is ascribed also to 4Lugal, see C. T., XVI, 49: 502. 4Lugal dišigšir l-a-a-ga = šum dugu ša la-um-me.

This 4Pa and 4Lugal, although "one", because they have the same attribute and functions — are yet "twins", being identified with 4Utu and 4Išm: cf. C. T., XXIV, 18: 10, She-na-ša-na = 4Pa u 4Lugal 4Utum = 4Išm. They constitute also the "twin" stars of the mutŠašu-n (the constellation of 4Erekki-gal). The significance of this mutŠašu-n is indicated by Craig, R. T., I, 58: 11, where 4Išum (i.e., 4Pa-sag-ga = 4Pa) and 4Šu-ba-lū are said to be the "gods of" the "Tigris" (4Išm-giga) and the "Euphrates" (4Šašumuna), i.e., the constellation Šašu or "serpent" is a "river" consisting of two arms: the "heavenly" Tigris and Euphrates, reflecting not only the "terrestrial" Tigris and Euphrates but also those of the "netherworld", because mutŠašu-n is the constellation of 4Erekki-gal, "the queen of the netherworld" and "wife" of Nergal or 4Nin-a-za (C. T., XVI, 40: 166; cf. also 81c., 10: 57 with 50: 8, 9), i.e., Dumuzi. Seeing, furthermore, that Nergal as well as 4Nin-a-za and Dumuzi are the "gods of the netherworld", and that Nergal is identified not only with 4Pa but also with 4Šašu-ba-lū (IV R., 26: 8a; R. H., pp. 19, Rev., 6; 22: 63), we may be justified in maintaining that the netherworld had indeed a "river", an 4Šašuma. This conclusion is corroborated not only by:

a) C. T., XXIV, 11: 18 — 15, II: 8, where the Dumuzi of the Nippur trinity, the god Ninib, "who guards the decisions of the father Enlil" (masīr Ešš-Brur a-bi 4En-il), is called 4HAL-HAL-4la, compared with "Synchonistic History" (Winckler, U. A. G., p. 184), col. I: 30, where the Tigis has the name 4HAL-HAL-4la, which in the parallel text, S. 2106 (Winckler, I. c., p. 152, 3a), Obv. 1, 7, appears as 4HAL-HAL, "river of the god HAL-HAL"; but also by

b) II R. 50: 11c, 4Išum = Adad = Ninib) is the god of the Tigis, it would follow that the 4Šašu must be the god of the Euphrates; hence, 4Šašu-nu-an = Pa-ra-tu, Br. 3168.

The netherworld, then, like its terrestrial and heavenly counterparts, had likewise a Euphrates (in the west) and a Tigis (in the east). When the gods entered or left the netherworld, they had to cross these rivers. This made "shipa" necessary. Of such ships or boats we read repeatedly, cf. H. A. V., 360 (here in connection with 4Am-an-ki and 4Ištar); C. T., XV, 17, the má-gur, "boat", "house-boat" (Hilprecht, B. E., Series D, vol. V, part 1, p. 52ff.), of god Sin. There also it may be termed a "ferry-man" (ma-lāb) or "man" who brought the ship with its occupants safely to the netherworld and back again. One of those ferry-men was the god of the city of Bar, 4Iššu-A-TU-GAB-LISH, who in Craig, R. T., I, p. 56: 16, is referred to as the ra-kit 4wi ya-ni. [...]. Cf. also C. T., XXIV, 30: 116, and the remarks and corrections it suggested by Meissner in O. L. Z., 1909, Sp. 202.
where every one who passed it cried out: "a", "a-a", "wa-wa", "u-u", "u-a", "a-dan", etc., "a-sa!" "how long still?" "when at last?"

This "street" led, no doubt, to the Ḫ-edin or the Ḫ-gal-edin⁴, which contained the "bridal chamber" and which was reached⁵, in all probability, at the time of the winter solstice, in the "month of sowing" (šu-numun-na) or also called the "month of Tamuz" (Du-š-u-za, ṫa-ma), i. e. our December-January.

The edin was, of course, inhabited by all kinds of "living creatures"⁶ — including

Dumuzi's leaving the netherworld, i. e., his resurrection, is indicated in the heavens by the sun crossing the equator at the time of the vernal equinox. At this time, then, Dumuzi had to cross the "river of the netherworld" (Ḫ-stug) — an event which was symbolically re-enacted upon earth at the time of the New-Year or A-ki-ti festival (which coincided with the vernal equinox), when the gods "conveyed in "ships" from one temple (the "river of darkness") to another (the "river of light"). It may not be impossible that the Semarians regarded the netherworld as the "street" which led to the "confuxion" of the "rivers", where there was the "isle" of the "blessed".

⁴ Literally "full of a", i. e., ṣḥūl-ap, ʿa-dī ma-ti, "a-sa!" "how long still?" "when at last?" Thus I would prefer to expand this phrase, against Delitzsch, H. W. B., p. 686, "Leidsele Straffe", "Leidenseweg", and Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 354, "stille Straffe". Surely, the a cannot be connected with sīt; this would be a grammatical impossibility. Against our explanation is by no means the fact that šaḥ(g) for a-šaḥ(g) = šaḫnumma, or that ši(g)-ṣi(g)-ga-bi (for a-si(g)-ṣi(g)-ga-bi) = šaḫnumma. For such an omission of a, cf. a-ri-a = rī-a; a-nim-ša = nim-ša; a-ṣi(g)-ti = sī-ga; a-ri(a)-zi = rī-zi; a-ah-ṣi(g) = aḥ-ṣi(g); a-ša = u-a.

⁵ Cf. here also such names as Ḫnis-a-za, "the lord who knows (hears) the alaš-crying" (so rather than "lord of healing"): Ḫ-ni-ri-ri-a, "the king of the 'abode (full) of alas"", i. e., the netherworld; Ḫ-in-Em-za, "the lord of the 'house (full) of alas'", kūr a-še-ir-ra, the "land where one cries out (she-ir = śer = sarûš): 'alas'!", etc., etc.

⁶ This is the prototype of the Greek Ἀδωνις and of the Latin Adonis, see B. E., Series D, vol. VI.

⁷ See above, pp. 19 and 25.

⁸ Cf. IV R., 27 (add. 6a), no. 1: 1, [edin-na ú-sug-ša-ge dam-a-na] mu-un-na-an-[li-ga(g)]-zi = [ana biš wa-suk-ki ana mu-ul-se u-ḫu-

⁹ To the abode of the 'bridegroom', to her husband (when) she (Ishtar) drew near. See also Zimmerm, S. B. T., p. 219, no. 3: 1, 2; B. E., Series D, vol. V, part 2, p. 34, note 11.


¹¹ Cf. here Gudea, Cyb. L, IV: 20ff., ur-maš-ug ushumpal edin-na-ba, a-šu(g) par-ra-ām, "die Stadt war wie der wilde Löwe, der Herr der 'Löwen', der sich niedergelassen" (Th.-D.). Burnam builds and dedicates to Nin-Girsu a canal, called Ḫ-ši-gal-edin, "lion of the desert". An ug-gal edin-na is mentioned also in B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. II: 34, in connection with the Ḫnis-her-sag of Kūsh; in i. e., col. VI: 34ff., it is said of a temple ì ug-gal-din xux-lim gur-ra. [ ... ] an-edin-na ú-gi-gi am(e)n(i) 1, "the temple which like the great lion is full of splendor, which like the ... of the edin shines".

With the lūm an-edin cf. Str. 2105, where Ḫ-en-gal Ḫaššu-šum is followed by Ḫ-eššu-šum-D₇-n₅-la₁, thus showing that Ḫaššu-šum-šum is here an attribute of An-gal or Ḫ-KA-DI, the god of Dēr, and one of the wellknown names of Dumuzi, the ḪKADI i-bi-ššū-ba, "K. of beautiful eyes or face", which latter is merely a variant of i-bi-ššū-ba, "the beautiful or glorious lord of the land", like with Ḫmu-un guš(ki) kā-na-āq-gā, C. T., XV, 18: 14 — Zimmerm, S. B. T., no. 5: S. K., p. 39, no. 34: 11a. Cf. also l. c., p. 31, no. 27, Rev., V: 11ff., where Ishker addresses Dumuzi:

<p>| |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
<td>i-bi-lam-lam-mu</td>
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<tr>
<td>dum-za a-ba-ām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ama-zu a-ba-ām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;My most fascinating brother,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;My wife, who is she?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| "My mother, who is she? | "I am thy mother!"

in parallelism with *La-ma-na*, i. e., *a servant* or "servants". The "star stretching down in the netherworld", the Dumuzi of the "Westland", had *Edin-nu* (here with the gloss *ma!*), *Edin-nu* therefore, really stands for *Edin-lum*, i. e., the god who makes all eyes turn to him, and when once turned to him, they cannot be turned away from him, so fascinating is he. *Edin-lum*, though = Dumuzi, is here differentiated from him and appears as one of his "powers" or "servants". The "star *Edin-lu*" is *En-il* of Shalmaneser III. In P. S. B. A., 1909, pl. VI (p. 62): 21, Dumuzi is asked to hand over the evil *La-a-ju* (here with the gloss *ma*). *La-ma-na phal-lu la ba-bi pa-ni*, "to the mighty L, the pitiless (! Zimmern, Zum Streit um die Christenbythek, p. 63: 'der Keine Versetzung gewählen') demon." The *La-bi-bi pa-ni* (cf. B. E., XVII, p. 144, note 2) seems to explain here the i-bi-lum (cf. *Ilu = babda*). *La-ma-na, therefore, really stands for *Edin-lum*, i. e., the god who makes all eyes turn to him, and when once turned to him, they cannot be turned away from him, so fascinating is he. *La-ma-na, though = Dumuzi, is here differentiated from him and appears as one of his "powers" or "servants". The "star *La-ma-na" is *En-il* of Shalmaneser III. In P. S. B. A., pl. XI: 11, 12.

Among these gods, besides those already mentioned, may be enumerated:

a) the "twin-gods" (i-lu ki-lat-la-an) *Kal-emir-du,edin | bi-ir-du and *Kal-emir-rama-edin | shar-ra-bu, "the burner", C. T., XXV, 6: 23, 24 — two names by which *Na-la-tam-te-ē-a* and his father *Legal-gir-ra* or Nergal were known in *Maršu*, see C. T., XXV, 36b: 24/5 = 37a: 30/1 and 36b: 28—30. Cf. here the *She-na-la-ana, i. e., *Pa* and *Legal* (probably *Ulu* and *Ma*, above, p. 26, note 3. It may not be impossible that these twins have to be identified also with the *Kal-sha-yu* or *Kal-sha-yu* or merely *Kal-bal, the ni-du-gal E-kuru-ri, the great gate-opener of the netherworld", see H. A. V., p. 377, note 1; R. E., p. 26 (no. 11), Rev. 8, and cf. no. 8, col. V: 9, 10, where Ishtar, while in the netherworld, calls out the *Kal-bal: it gil-du*, "the open gate!"

b) the *IM-DUGUD, i. e., the well-known storm-god *Ea*, who in B. E., XVII, no. 1, col. III: 23, is closely connected with the *Edin*;

c) the *utug edin-na, one of the seven evil utug, A. S. K. T., no. 11, col. I: 2;

d) the *ki-il edin-na il-lu, another of the seven evil utug. This name is rendered either by ar-di-at li-li-i, Sm. 49 (Beesold, "Cat.", p. 1370) or by ar-da-tu the bi-sa-ki-ki (Br. 4332) — translations which show that bit sa-ki-ki = edin-ilu is merely the "sphere of influence" of the *Li-li-i* and as such a variant of *Li-li-i*, originally "house of *Li*, i. e., "house of the Son of An, "Ea-lu" (see B. E., XXIX, p. 18, note 6), who played in the pre-historic or An period the rôle of Dumuzi; later on an expression for "netherworld", being translated, like edin-ilu, not only by bit sa-ki-ki, "house of the god of the storm" (M. 3801), but also by bit širu, "house of the desert" (M. 3802) or by bit šerri, "house of the netherworld" (M. 3790). The expression il-lu...gi-ri or lil-li...ri(t)ar = ana za-ki-ki tars, so often occurring in the Sumerian Lugal songs, means, therefore, as much as "to hand over to sheol", "so bring down into the netherworld", the sphere of the "god of storms". No wonder, then, that the seven evil utug are not only "begotten of the seed of An" (A An-ua a-ra-a-ā-mah, C. T., XVI, 12: 22) or "the beloved sons of Enlil" (*Dumu ki-ug-ga *En-il-lu, l. c., l. 5), but also and especially "born of Ereškigal" (i-ta-us-da-ēa *Ereš-ki-gal-ge, l. c., l. 6) the queen of the netherworld;

e) the god *Ma*, the Dumuzi of the "Westland", had according to II R., 49: 30 = V R., 16: 48, the name *Ug-edin-na-gub-ba*, "the storm who has his abode in the edin"; cf. below, g;

f) the me ir-me ir-ra edin-na, "storm of the edin", occurs in a Dumuzi text, published by Schell, R. A., VIII, p. 160, Obs. 11.

g) Noteworthy in this connection is also K. 7926 (Beesold, "Cat.", p. 882) which mentions the following "storms of the an-edin":

*) ug-ma-kē an-na-edin-na gub-ba, "the sublime storm which has his abode in the netherworld";
*) ug-shur-ra an-na-edin na (g) ig-ga, "the furious storm which stretches down in the netherworld";
*) ug-hāl-gal an-na-rā-mas (ku-dū), "the evil storm which goes in the netherworld";
*) ug-gir(gesh)-a an-edin-na gir gir (bur-bur), "the swift (or weighty) storm which gathers in the netherworld";

Cf. here the name of Ishtar: *Ug-nil-gir, C. T., XXV, 17: 8*, which in the parallel passage, l. c., 44 b: 3, is wrongly given as *2Pl(!) nec-gir*, and Ishtar's assurance, A. S. K. T., p. 128: 9/10, *sa-[par] gil-lu an-na, [edin-na] min = (she-ta) il-[kur] um-ah ana qir-rim (tar-qr) at ana-ku, "the swiftly moving net which is spread over the netherworld,

**Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to Dumuzi**
The function of “shepherd” is a necessary consequence of the conception which the Sumerians entertained with regard to their edin and is one of the inseparable attributes of the “Son” of a given trinity. The “Son”, being in each and every case the “lord of the netherworld”, was necessarily considered to be the “ruler” and “shepherd”, the “guider” and “care-taker” of all beings to be found in the edin — whether these beings be gods, kings, men or animals.

In the prehistoric or An period, the “shepherd” was the “Son” of An, 2En-lil, who even as “Father” retained among his “seven foremost names” that of sib na-am-sag-gi(g)-qa, or more generally sib sag-gi(g)-qa, “shepherd of mankind”. Though shepherd himself, Enlil had two other shepherds under him, viz. the 4Nin-ma-gukal-la, “lord of the sheep-fold”, and the 4Nin-amash-azag-ga, “lord of the pure fold”, both of whom are designated I am”. Cf. also the name of Dumuzi: Umun-su-pâr, “lord of the net”, into which are gathered all who go down to the netherworld.

2 See above, pp. 21 ff., where the kings of Isin are to be found in the netherworld.
3 Cf. the sag-gi(g)-edin, “the black-headed (people) of the netherworld”, Zimmern, S. K., p. 24, no. 25, Rev., col. VIII: 16.
4 To these “beasts” of the edin belong, among others, a) the mash-gir ni(g)-zi-gal edin-na, Gudea, Cyl. B, IV: 18, probably the “swift gazelle” (B. E., XXIX, p. 84, note 22; cf. the mash- 4Nin-edin-na of A. S. K. T., no. 12, rev. 11, 14), the creature of the edin — a name, which was ascribed to the “weapon-carriers, the celebrated men, the beloved men of Utu” (NI IMUG erim mut-ug erim Utu bi-ug, Cyl. A, XIV: 241 ff.), i. e., in all probability, the personifications of the swift rays of the desert sun;

b) the udu d-dara-mash an-edin-na nû-a, A. S. K. T., no. 12: 4 (here parallel with the udu d-dara-mash mash tar-sag-gi-ge, 1. 3, and the udu d-dara-mash kar-ra, 1. 5);

c) the edin-na ganam (or sherba) LA (cf. de Genouillac, T. S. A., p. LVX)-tu sîl LA (?)-tu, no. 1, col. III: 5, 6.

According to these passages the edin is apparently a kind of “yard, hurdle, fold”, in which these “beasts” are kept. This, no doubt, is the reason, why in M. 3049 the edin is identified with tûr = tar-ba, a syn. of amash — names which designate, as is well known (H. A. Y., p. 399), the specific habitation of Ishtar and her maidens — and why Ishtar, as the occupant of this fold is herself called a “cow” (LIT, cf. above, p. 16) or “ewe” (ganam, sherba = lahen, see below, p. 33) or “lamb” (sîl, cf. C. T., XXIV, 18, Rev., 7, 8, 4 isâ-ha-segil), or why even Dumuzi is sometimes represented by a “statue” in the form of a “lamb” or “sheep” (see below, p. 33). In this amash there were according to Scheil, R. A., VIII, p. 104, col. II: 32—41 = Zimmern, S. K., p. 3, no. 2, col. II: 1, “seven demons” (gâl-lâ). Notice also that the tûr, like the É-an-na (see above, p. 9, note 3) had an I.B. In (àshû) this tûr-I.B was born (tw-(d)-de) the 4Nin-ga-gal, Thureau-Dangin, R. A., VII, (1910), p. 108, col. I: 3.

5 A. S. K. T., no. 12, Rev., 10, 11, 4Sume(g)â(n) (- Gâ) dumu 4Utu sib ni(g)-nam-ma-ge mash an-edin-na bu-ma-ra-ab-gin-ne. Cf. C. B. M., no. 112: 25, Su-mu-ug-qa-an iz-gal ši-in-ba-ar u-ši ni-dib-a, “S., keeper of a watchful eye over the living creatures, fearful usku”. Cf. also above, p. 17, note 4 and below, p. 32, note 3, and notice that su-mu-ug-qa signifies Dumuzi as the “one who is in distress” (i-dîr-tam), see C. T., XV, p. 20: 13, sîb-la 4Dumu-zî-dé a su-mu-ug-qa-mi, “of the shepherd D. — how long still his distress” (as. “still it comes to an end”, or ‘will it last’)?


7 R. H., p. 45: 5, = rî-è-[um šal-mat guq-ga-di. Cf. also l. c., p. 29 (no. 13): 4; p. 32 (no. 14): 6; p. 42 (no. 21): 8; p. 43 (no. 21): 47; p. 45 (no. 22): 5; p. 46 (no. 22), rev. 5; p. 50: 7; Br. 5690; Macmillan, B. A., V, p. 683: 4; p. 710v: 10, etc., etc.


9 According to l. c., ll. 33/9 = 55, he was the husband of 4Nin-zi-amash-a, the daughter (dumu-tal) of 4Ama-ra (Amar)-zu. Notice also that the 4En-na-amash-amash and 4Nin-amash occur among the “42 names of
2 sīb úz<br>sig(sig-sig)-ga 4En-lil-la-ge, “two shepherds of the beautiful (not yellow!) goats of Enlil”. In the EME-SAL texts 4Nīn-amash-azag-ga appears as 4Umun-amash-azag-ga who is termed sīb ūz-da2 = ri-ē-un ki-nu, “legitimate shepherd”. Like the “sheep” or “ewes” (ganam, sherba) or “lambs” (sīl, sīl), these “goats” (ūz)², together with their “kids” (māsh, mash), are in the Dumuzi texts a euphemistic expression for the “maids and their young ones” holy or consecrated to the Ishtar cult, whether living in the terrestrial folds (harem) or in those of the netherworld.⁴

Above⁶ we heard that “En-ki, “lord of the netherworld”, though originally merely an attribute of Enil, became at a later time confused with the “god of the ocean”, i. e., with 4E-a. To this confusion is due Ea’s attribute “shepherd of the goats”, see C. T., XXIV, 42:134, 4En-li-lē-bandada(1) ( = 4E-a) sha sīb úz, i. e., “Enil-banda (‘the mighty Enlil’) is Ea as shepherd of the goats”.

The rôle of Enil as Dumuzi, i. e. as the “true son” of An, was played in the “Westland” by 4MAR-TU⁷ dumu An-na. Hence, this god must likewise appear as a “shepherd”, if our theory of the development of the Sumerian religion be correct. That this is true, is evident from Thureau-Dangin, N. F., AO 4331 + 4335, Rev., col. I : 3 ff., where Ishtar addresses 4MAR-TU as follows:

tugal qū-ma-da <br>a-dan sī-bi <br>māsh li-mi-i-e-da(l)

the lord, the ‘father-mother’ Enil”, C. T., XXIV, 4:12/3 – 21:75, and that the “month of the festival (ezur) of 4Legal-amash” is the month Tammuz (Shu-numun-na), V R., 43:16a, and that the 4Legal-amash-PA-ē, “the glorious king of the netherworld”, appears as a “shepherd”, as follows:

sīb ma-sa-ne⁶ 4Gi-ra³-da(l)
ma-sa-ne ba-ra-c-da-da(l)

so he appea, in the month, as a “shepherd”, and that the “month of the festival of Ishtar (ezur) of Enlil, B. E., XXIX, p. 21), see Zimmern, Rituals., no. 45, p. 150:6, and Magila, II: 56.

¹ For the reading úz = [BL] ( = [BL]), instead of [BL], as copy gives, see Meissner, C. L. Z., 1009, Sp 201, and cf. IV R., 28⁸, no. 3: 3; Voc. Scheil, 21: 8.

² R., p. 35: 36 = 134, col. II : 33/4 = 137 : 45/6; Sm. 65 (Bozdol, Cat., p. 1377).

³ Notice also that there existed a 6pušZ or “heavenly goat”, the capricornus, belonging to the 6Ma-shē-kis 6u₂₂, who is identified, among others, with 6Sumug(y)u(a) or 6Sad-gan, i. e., with 6Gi-B, C. T., XXIX, 46: 13. The 6Sumug(y)u(a) = 6Gi-B, then, is both a “shepherd” and an ŪZ or mashaku, “goat”; cf. also p. 32, note 12.

⁴ Cf. here especially the ki-ā-lā-a ganam-si-lī bi ki-ā-lā-a úz-māsh-bī, lit., “the place minus strength’, i.e., the netherworld, where there is the ewe and its lamb; the netherworld, where there is the goat and its kid”, IV R., 30, no. 2: 1–3; cf. also Zimmern’s translation in S. B. T., p. 207 and A. O., XII, p. 11.

⁵ P. 19, note 4.


⁷ For 4MAR-TU = 4En-li, see B. E., XVII, p. 41, note 1; and for 4MAR-TU in the rôle of Dumuzi, see above, p. 13, notes 1, 2.

⁸ These ma-sa-ne (= māsh, mash) are the “kids” that are kept īna tār-asag 4Gi-ra, “in the pure fold (see above, p. 29, note 4) of Girra”, Craig, R. T., L, p. 61: 25, and constitute the bu-ul 6Gi – bu-ul 6žéri, “sphere of influence” (ēzu – eda – tār-asag = ēzu) for the “lord” or “god” of the sphere, see B. E., XXIX, p. 10.

⁹ Phonetic writing for 6Gi-B, who, if read 6Gi-B, is = 4Ni-ē-ri-gal (B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. VIII: 47, 49), and, if pronounced Sumug(y)u(a), the “son of 4Utu”, see above, p. 29, note 8.
"King of all the land, shepherd of the kids, like Gira,
How long still, o shepherd, that the kids are not led out,
That the kids are to be kept in, or that the horn of the drivers rests?"

After Enlil had displaced An, the “sons” of Enlil usurped the rôle played by their “Father”. Among these “sons of Enlil” with the title “shepherd” may be mentioned the following:

a) Sin of Ur, the son of Enlil and of An. Cf. B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. VIII: 53, \[Ash-gu\]-\[b\]-\[ur-e \]nam-sib-zu \[sha-mu-un-AG\], “O Askaru, exercise thy shepherdship”! Perry, Sin, p. 12:4, records that Sin-Nannar is endowed with the nishé sal-mat qaggadi ush-shu-ru, “the directing of mankind.”

Sin is the ulul (LIT-KU?) LIT-ne-ra LIT-ne-ra, “the shepherd who taketh care of the cows”, C. T., XV, 17:15. Notice also Sin’s name: \[As=\]-\[h\]-\[du\]-\[nu\] LIT-[ ], in C. T., XXV, 27 a:7, and his temple \[sib t\]\[ur-dag\]-\[a\]-\[la\]-\[a\], “house of the flocks of the extended fold”, B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. VIII: 52.

In the Ur trinity: ’Nanna(Sin), ’Utu(Shamash), ‘Inanna(Ishtar), the “Son” of Nanna, ’Utu, was the sib tu(\[d\])-da ’Nanna, “the shepherd born by Nannan.” In the Sippar or Larsa trinity the “shepherd” was necessarily the “son of ’Utu”, ’Sumug(\[a\])-\[a\](\[n\]).

b) Lugal-bandanda, the son of both Enlil and Sin, the “Enlil of Kullab” and “lord of Eshnunna”, is expressly called ’Sib kalam-ma a-a saq-\[\[g\]-\[a\]-\[g\]-\[a\]-\[g\], “divine shepherd of the ‘country’, father of mankind”.

c) Nin-Girsu. Though I have not yet found a passage where Nin-Girsu is referred to as “shepherd”, yet this much is certain that he had two “shepherds”, viz., the En-lulim, who was the sib mish-lulim, “shepherd of the kids of the lulim-goats”, and the ’En-sig-nun, the sib anski, “shepherd of the donkeys”.

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1 See “Creation-Story”, p. 22.
2 See above, p. 10.
3 Notice also that \[Nin-s\]-\[i\]-\[a\] = \[Sin\]’s XXXI, C. T., XXIV, 48:7) appears in C. T., XVI, 13a:40, as the \[ut\]\[s\] (LIT-KU) \[ut\]\[s\] (LIT-LU)-la \[s\]-\[a\] = \[ri\]-\[i\] (ri-bu-\[am\]) \[s\]-\[a\]-\[nis\]-\[a\]-\[ti\], “shepherd of the flocks”, cf. H. A. V., p. 378, note 2.
4 For the “cow(s) of ’Nanna” see also Gudca, Cyl. A, XIX: 13, and notice that according to B. E., XXIX, p. 82:14, it is Nin-ib who is the “care-taker of the young oxen and cows of Sin”, nin\[\[a\] LIT-bi s[al-d\[g\]-\[a\]-\[b\]-\[i\]-\[ni\]-\[a\].
6 See above, p. 26, note 5.
7 For this god see H. A. V., pp. 416ff.
8 Hence the same as \[Nin-s\]-ib, \[SU\].
9 For this reason identified with \[Utu\].
10 H. A. V., p. 418, no. 4: 8. Cf. also l. c., II. 42ff., where he is referred to as ’GUR-NITA sib mah-e ’Gur-dim...” “overseer of the lambs, sublime one, like ’Gir.”...”, see above, p. 30, note 8.
12 Gudca, Cyl. B, X: 1; Ur-Ba-u, Statue, VI: 1. Cf. also C. T., XXIV, 36: 37, where ’En-sig-nun occurs as the first of the four \[ut\]\[a\] (Nin-ib-\[g\]).
d) Nin-ib, the “care-taker of the young oxen and cows of Sin”.

e) Nergal, the “legitimate son and beloved of Enlil”, was the “shepherd” par excellence, and this under the name *Gir, Gir-ra, Gir-ia.*

f) En-nu-gi, “the lord (of the land) without return”, *i.e.*, of the netherworld, the son and throne-carrier*6 of Enlil of the great gods, the husband of *Gudabur-sag(gal),* father of *Gin-Du(?)-azag-ga* and lord of the ditches and irrigation canals.10

This god had likewise two “shepherds”, *viz*, *Ga-a-a-ú* and *Gi[=Ga-a-a-ú]* (of. 7).

Also in *C. T.*, XXIX, 46:16, *Ga-a-a-ú* appears as a gloss, to *GANAM,*2 the “sheep”.

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1 See above, p. 31, note 4.
2 *H. A. V.*, p. 428.
3 See above, p. 30, notes 8, 9, and 31, note 10. Notice in this connection that the *Gin-Mul(r)-ú, who is identified with *Gan-Mul-um*, the son of *An*, and with Nergal, the son of *Enlil* (*H. A. V.*, p. 430), appears in *H. A. V.*, p. 431, no. 5:6, as the *mash-udu iqi-ba ù-me-am ku-ra ka gi-bi-ka-ù, “keeper of a watchful eye over the flocks*, who nourishes the beasts of the field with milk of life”. Cf. p. 29, note 5.
8 *C. T.*, XXIV, 10:9; XXIX, 47:4:6. Cf. also above, p. 29, note 4.
9 “Maid of the god of the holy mountain”, *C. T.*, XXIV, 10:11.

11 *C. T.*, XXIV, 27:3:10, 11,

| Ga-a-a-ú | sib 6En-nu-gi-ge |
| *Ga-a-a-ú* | *Ga-a-a-ú* |

*GÎL-ÚB (iskim, kàri-ti, ti, d) shu;* cf. 1:12.


And to *DK*—, l. 15. The *DK*— is not to be identified with *DA-la (M. 11332)*, but with *DKI*— (*=Nin*) *sib ki* *Síki (K), “the goddess (of the animals with) wool”*, *i. e., of the sheep*, being as such merely a variant of *Ninsik* (cf. *Mash (= Nin-mash); *Mash (= Nin-ib, etc.)*, *C. T.*, XXIV, 29:1 = 4b, one of the four names of *Le-har GANAM,* see following note.

*DKI*— has also the gloss *sag-gan, l. c., l. 6 — a gloss which gives, *inter alia*, the pronunciation of *DA-la.*
or "ewe" — a god and goddess identified not only with Ishtar and Ash-shu-ir-du, but also and especially with GANAM-alan, who occurs in C. T., XXIX, 46:6, between two Dumuzi names, viz., Ste-ir-ka URUDU-ŠUM.A, "the creator", "former" (1. 5), and d Dumu-zi d Sib, "shepherd" (1. 7). This justifies us to regard the Ste-ir-ka GANAM-alan likewise as a name of Dumuzi and to identify it with the Ste-ir-ka A-LAN, which occurs in the well-known list of Dumuzi names, C. T., XXIV, 19, col. II:4 = XXV, 7a, col. II:5. But if so, the Ste-ir-ka must be a mistake for Ste-ir-ka, i.e., she-ir-ka, which, together with alan, is a gloss. She-ir-ka-a-lan, then, is the god "Dumuzi" in the form of a "statue representing a sheep or a lamb". The Sumerian "Son" of God is the "Lamb" of God.

Dumuzi, like every other "Son" of a given trinity in the Sumerian religion, had to be a "shepherd" likewise. He is the Dumu-zi d Sib, "divine shepherd"; the malu sib-bi, "shepherd-man"; the Dumu-zi EN SIB sha A-nin MUMU 10 E-a har-mi U-GUN

1. 9 ( = In-mu-en-ga = GIL, 1. 8). From this it follows that Ste-ir-ka GANAM-alan (GIL) and that the latter is both a "shepherd" and a "sheep"; cf. also p. 39, note 3.

1 C. T., XXV, 29a:1. d La-šar GANAM, "the (mother-) sheep, ewe", "Rachel", who is, according to 1. 4b = XXIV, 32:117b the Nin-SIG (see preceding note), and according to 1. 5b = XXIV, 32:118b, the Nin-du(l)-asag-ga or Du:asag-ga, "mistress (goddess) of the holy mountain", and according to XXV, 9:15 (here without the gloss ia-šar), the A-a sha ku-mi-e (H. W. B., p. 388a), or also called A-a sha mash-ta-liš-rat Ašag-zu, "A-a of the harem, wife of Shag-zu", i.e., ll. 12, 13. Now, as Shagzu is either Enlil or Enzu or IM or Marduk (see H. A. V., p. 405, note 43), the Ishtar as "ewe" becomes here either Ninlil or Ningal or Sha or Sarpanium.


4 Notice that the š-č-um-un-e Bād-URUDU-NAGAR4, "lord of B." is Dumu-zi, no. 6, col. I:8; C. T., XV, 18:8; cf. no. 5, Rev. I, 11, [š-č-um-un-e] Bād-URUDU-NAGAR. The E Dumu-zi is Bād-URUDU-NAGAR2 and is mentioned in B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. IV:45; and i. e., ll. 43, 44. Dumu-zi is the creative Bād-URUDU-NAGAR3 of C. T., XXV, 38a:3, must be Dumu-zi. Lastly, just as Dumuzi is the Tāriša VRUDU-NAGAR, so is Ishtar (= Bē-li-ti-li), his wife, the VRUDU-NAGAR-kalam-ma(dingir(-ri)-e-ne), "the former, creator of the 'country' (gods)". C. T., XXIV, 12:24/5 = 25:87.


7 C. T., XV, 28:3, 22.

8 Cf. the sib-bi en Dumu-zi, below, p. 39, note 3.

9 This attribute betrays still more clearly the fact that the original and first Dumuzi was Enlil, the "Son" and "shepherd" of An. In R. H., p. 131:41/2, Mu-ul-lili appears distinctly as the mu mu mu-la-zu-da, "the 'Son', the true one", being rendered in Semitic by ma-ro zi-ni-m, "true son", which is, of course, nothing but our Dumu-zi. When in the later development of the Sumerian religion the rôle of Enlil as Dumuzi was transferred to all the other "Sons" of the various trinities, Dumuzi, like An, Enlil, Ishtar, acquired a generic significance (H. A. V., p. 404, note 31). This is the reason why we find such a peculiar writing as Du-um mē-)a-ki, III.R., 256, p. Obv. 3a, 13d, 18a, Rev., 24a — a writing which is by no means a "graphische Spieleri (zur Bezeichnung des langen u?)", as
hi-ra-ti . . . na-shu-u shi-bir-ri11 EN.TÚR,12 “D., the lord, the shepherd of An, son of Ea, husband of ‘the beautiful one’ (= Ishtar), the wife, . . . who carries the shepherd’s staff, lord of the fold”. As “shepherd of An” Dumuzi appears also in C. T., XV, 27 : 46/7 = 30 : 24/5, where it is said of him:

mu(š)-dúr-dîm ki-úutûl (LIT-LU, var. en-nu-úug13 (var. ŠI)14 mu-un-da-ab-dû(dú(g))

LIT-À-na15

sûb-ba-dîm ki-e-zî16-úudu-A-na

en-nu-úug (var. ŠI) mu-un-da-ab-dû(dú(g)), i.e.,

“I like (one with) a shepherd’s staff over the ‘folds of the herds (var. cows) of An’

‘Like a shepherd (?) over the ‘folds of the sheep-flocks of An’

Dumuzi is, therefore, rightly called “Sib-zi-an-na,” “true shepherd of An”.

Ishtar, who is referred to either as dam sib-ba18, “wife of the shepherd”, or as the sib-bi SAL-KU19, “sister of the shepherd”, bewails her husband Dumuzi as follows:

Zimmern, B. G. T., p. 6, note 3, is inclined to think, but one justified by the historic development of the Dumuzi cult, informing us that there existed among the Sumerians several (més = plural!) Dumuzi as e. g., the 4Dumuzi-abzu, the 4Dumuzi of Bâd-URGUDU-NAŠAR45, the 4Dumuzi of Ki-ner-shaâ (sio! = Ki-ner-ša46), B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. VI: 6, 8, etc., — all of whom, though worshiped in different cities, played the same rôle.

19 This statement proves definitely that “Dumuzi, the son of Ea”, must be identified with Dumuzi-abzu, see H. A. V., p. 404, note 31, and Zimmern, B. G. T., p. 7.

11 Cf. C. T., XV, 10: 10, where 4Mu-ul-il is said to carry the ešibir dîqr-rî-ne “shepherd’s staff of the gods”.

12 Cf. also Dumuzi’s attribute à-mu-un-e É-tîr-a, “lord of the (house of the) fold”, C. T., XV, 18: 12. This ‘fold’ (tûr, syn. of amash) is both the “harém” (H. A. V., p. 399) and the edin (above, p. 29, note 4). Cf. also the 4(1)unu-amash-asag-ge, above, p. 29.

For this reading cf. I. c. I. 22 = 24, en-ju-úg-gaš and see Br. 2841.

14 ŠI . . . dûû = N (i. e. ŠI, above, p. 15, note 5) . . . dûû = zû(a) . . . dûû = sâl . . . dûû.

15 Notice in this connection that C. T., XXIV, 3 : 23/4 = 21 : 57/8, mentions the two utul (LIT.KU)-gal An-na-ge, “great shepherds of An”, viz., 4En-gar ... (sic! read 4NIN-ga-ka and 4Salûr-à-zi-da. For the reading 4NIN-gara ... cf. C. T., XXIV, 4 : 4, 5 = 21 : 71, where 4En-gara together with his wife 4NIN-gara are mentioned among the 42 names of the lord, the father-mother Enlil”. Enlil, then, the son of An, was the original “shepherd” of An.

In C. T., XXV, 19 a : 4, 4NIN[Ni]/-ge-ra ... is said to be the wife (dam-bi-sal) of 4Hé-a (AS) GUD. This 4Hé or “god of the oxen” is according to I. c. 8: 22, the god En-an-a 4Mash-tab-ba-ge, “messenger of the twins”, being mentioned immediately after the utul of 4Lag-gal-yû-ra and of 4Mes-ham-ta-ka, which would seem to indicate that these “twins” were the “great twins”, i. e., Sin and Nergal, V.R. 46 : 4, 5 = H. A. V., p. 425. But Sin is the dûrû ūnûsû of the third month with the stars Sib-zi-an-na and Mash-tab-ba-gal-gal-la, see B. E., Series D, vol. VI, Table II : 3. From this it follows that Dumuzi, “the shepherd of An”, or also called 4En-gara or 4Hé, was Sin, to whom the rôle of Enlil had been transferred. Sin, therefore, is not only the “son of Enlil”, but also the “son of An”, and the star through which he reveals himself is the Sib-zi-an-na = Dumuzi, see below, note 17.

16 Cf. no. 6, col. VI : 11, 13; Zimmern, S. K., p. 59, no. 79 : 14.


No. 7: 1 ff.
1. sib-mu masku

"My shepherd, thy kids — i-bi²-mu-{

2. a-dan sib-mu mask-

"Alas! my shepherd, thy kids — zu

3. ū-lu-lu³ ses⁴ ama⁵ Mu(sh)-tin-

"Bewailed (?) one, brother of mother

4. shutug ū-lu-lu

"Anointed one, bewailed (?) one, ses, brother (sc. of mother G., thy kids — etc.)

5. ū-mu-un Kul-ab⁶

"Lord of Kullab, u-mu-un Unu(g)⁷-ga

6. a-mu-un Unu(g)⁷-ga

"Lord of Erech, U-mu-un-e Kul-ab⁸

Lord of Erech, (sc. thy kids — etc.)

Particularly interesting in connection with the "shepherdship" of Dumuzi is no. 6, Obv., which may be transcribed and translated as follows:

1. [sūb²-ba ama]sh-zu

"Shepherd(?) thy fold gi-er-ra [su(g)-ga-am]
in tears is bathed;

1 Var. of smash.

2 i-bi . . dū, "to oversee, to supervise". The idea is that the kids without Dumuzi are "like sheep without a shepherd". For the reading i-bi instead of i-dū — cf. now Zimmern, S. K., p. 10, no. 5, col. III: 45 = p. 22, no. 20, col. I: 18 = p. 10, no. 17, col. III: 1, where i-bi-bi-datu(i) i-si(-i, ish) am(ām)-ta-lā-lā (followed by ša(b)ši-bi a-she-ir(ra) i-ma(-ma) lā-lā) corresponds to H. R., p. 35: 14/5 – 60/7, i-bi-bi-ta i-si(-i, ish) am(ām)-ta-lā-lā = (ina pa-mi-shu) ni-im-sa-tum i-ta-la-lā (followed by ša(b)ši-bi a-she-ir(ra) i-ma(-ma) lā-lā), and to our no. 5, col. II: 7, i-bi-bi-bi she-ir-ra am-ši-še-ši-še (followed by ša(b)ši-bi a-she-ir(ra) i-ma(-ma) lā-lā); hence, pānu = i-bi = i-bi = i-bi = i-bi = i-bi = i-bi = igt. Is the name of i-bi-bi-bi-Sin to be explained, after all, with Hilprecht, as meaning "eye, face, image of Sin"?


The 𒂠Lugal-ēšana₃ is = Dumuzi, C. T., XXV, 39c: 17; the 𒂠U-lu-lu₃ is the last of the eight gale kin-gi-a 𒂠Mu-an-gal-ga, "messengers of M.". C. T., XXIV, 47: 41b = XXV, 4: 22; and the 𒂠U-lu-lu-ḪUG-HUG is the last of the "seven great names" of Enlil, B. H., p. 20 (no. 13): 7, et passim.

4 Cf. also the peculiar writing she-ša, no. 5, Rev., col. II: 1, and si-ša, Zimmern, S. K., p. 62, no. 94, Obv., 17 = ses, l. c., no. 95, Obv., 17.

5 See no. 5, Rev., col. II: 12, [ses-šu] ama Mu(š)ši(k)n-ša-na).

6 Here Dumuzi is the "lord of Kullab"; but according to H. A. V., p. 416, the 𒂠En-lil₃ or "lord" of Kullab was 𒂠Lugal-banda, the husband of 𒂠Nin(ša-ša-an)-šun, who in no. 1, col. II: 5, appears as the "mother of the lord". See also Zimmern, S. K., p. 13, no. 8, col. II: 44, U-ma-un-banda(šu) Kul-um(g)-šu-an. The a-ma Kul-um-ba was Ga-ša-an-I-ri-ga-tu, C. B. M., 112: 2.

7 Emendation according to ll. 2, 10. For the reading sūb — instead of šēb (Zimmern) or sēb, šēb (Langdon) — see below, pp. 39ff.
2. *amash-zu sub-ba amash-[zu]\

Thy fold, o shepherd(?) , thy fold

3. *Ama-usumgal-an-na*¹\

"Heavenly king of the ‘mother’,\

thy fold (sc. in tears is bathed);

4. *a-mu-un-e*  

"Lord

(of the netherworld, (sc. thy fold, etc.);

¹ The reading *Ama* — instead of *Dagal* (H. A. V., p. 404, note 31) — is now assured by no. 5, Rev., col. II: 6, *A-ma-a-shu-ga-la-[na] nu-ti-il*, "A. Lives no more". Zimmer, B. G. T., p. 7, no. 2, renders this name by "Mutter, Alleinherrscherin des Himmels". In view of the fact, however, that Inanna herself is called *ushumgal-an-na = shar-ra shan-il* , "queen of heaven", Sm. 364, Rev., 3/4, we may see in this name some such meaning as "der Mutter Himmelskönig", "honorary king of the mother (= Inanna)". He is expressly identified with Dumuzi (see below), appears as the "lord of the house (where one cries out): 'Alas!'", *a-mu-un E-a*, no. 1, col. III: 7, and is the husband of *Nin-an-su-an-na*, "the beautiful mistress of heaven", H. A. V., no. 5, 406, or of *Cushan-an-na*, see below, p. 37, note 1.

The following writings of this name may be mentioned (see already Zimmer, B. G. T., p. 7, note 3):

* *Ama-ushumgal-an-na*, no. 1, col. III: 7; no. 4: 45, no. 6, col. I: 3; H. A. V., no. 2: 62; C. T., XV, 20; 3; 28: 9; IV R., 30, no. 2, Obv., 20; Rev. 8 = R. H., p. 67: 19; IV R., 27, no. 1, add. p. 6: 11; C. T., XXIV, 9: 2 18, col. II: 1 = XXV, 7a, col. II: 2 (here among Dumuzi names); C. T., XVI, 46: 195/6 (here rendered in the Semitic column by *Dumuzi*);

* *Ama-ushumgal-an-na*, no. 1, coll. II: 28;

* Ama-*A-usumgal-an-na*, H. A. V., no. 2: 42; C. T., XV, 18: 8;

* Ama-*U-shu-um-gal-an-na*, Zimmer, S. K., no. 6, col. IV: 14;

* Û-shu-gal-la-na*, Pinches, March., I: 18; Zimmer, l. c., p. 5, col. I: 22;

* Ama-*šu-gal-an-na*, Zimmer, l. c., p. 44, Rev., 9;

* Ama-*šu-gal-la-na*, Pinches, March., I: 18; Zimmer, l. c., p. 36, col. I: 37;

* Ama-*šu-gal-a-na*, Zimmer, l. c., p. 2, col. I: 18;


² This is the common ancient Sumerian writing. The later Semitic texts have *A-ra-al-li-e*, *A-ra-al-li*, *A-rā-lī*. The meaning of this word is not yet certain; a significance "(a-ra = a-rā) (or to the) 'il'" may, however, be suggested. "Li" may be either an abbreviation of *l[i, du, da, di]*, "the way of the song (sc. of wailing)"; or it may be taken as a syn. of *a* = *ašur-ša-a, ma-ti* (Br. 1109), "'Alas!" "how long still?" "when at last?" *A-ra-li*, then, would be "the way of the 'Alas!' (crying)"; or lastly, "'il" may be *arkātu* , "future, eternity", i. e., "the way of or to the eternity."

This *A-ra-li* was the *edīn or "netherworld"* (see above, p. 17); cf. also N. F., AO 4346 etc., where *A-ra-li is parallel with edin*. It was the "shepherd (?)-hill" or "beautiful hill" (see below, pp. 59ff); a "place not to behold", *A-ra-li ān-nu-a = a-šar la a-ma-ti*, IV R., 24, no. 2: 6/7 (here preceded by *ทำการ, Gi-gī-nā*); a "place of the far-off regions", *gi-ba-dī-ka-ri A-ra-li* , IV R., 24, no. 2: 6/7 (here preceded by * 모르, Gi-gī-nā*); a "place of the far-off regions", *gi-ba-dī-ken A-ra-li* , IV R., 24, no. 2: 6/7 (here preceded by * 모르, Gi-gī-nā*); a "place of doom", *A-ra-li ki-eq NUN-KI-DA*, no. 2: 36. The *A-ra-li gu(d)-bar-wan-na of R. H., p. 94: 21, in all probability the "adobe (gu(d)-bur = gi-bur) of the prince"; cf. *En-mešar-ra NUN aš A-ra-al-li*, above, p. 32, note 10.

Dumuzi is the "lord (â-mu-un) of the A." , no. 6, col. I: 4; no. 12: 29; C. T., XV, 18: 7; IV R., 27, no. 1: 3. The list of Dumuzi names, C. T., XXIV, 9: 8 = 19, and col. II: 5 = XXV, 7a, col. II: 6, has possibly to be emended to *Ama-(A-rā)-a-li*, "lord of the A.". Inanna bewails Dumuzi as the *a-mu-un-e A-ra-li nu-ti-il*, "he who makes his abode or dwells (see B. E., XXXIX, p. 71, note 3) in the A. lives no more", no. 5, Rev., 11: 7.

This Arawil had a "house": *Ē-Ara-li*, II R., 61, no. 1: 18 (here mentioned between the *E-er-ra, "house of wailing", and the *E-tin-na, "house of life") which was the *E-tina-a*, no. 1, col. III: 11, originally the temple of *Bīl-URUDU-NAGARDI* (see above, p. 33, note 4), of which Dumuzi was the "king" (*Iqala*) and "lord", see l. 10. In B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. IV: 40, Dumuzi is called *Liqir-šu Ė-A-ra-li-ka, "glorious bridegroom of the house of A."*

Lastly, notice that Arawil is a syn. of *Ē-tur-idim, "Erad of the dead": of *iri-gal, great abode" and of *bēl-in* B (II R., 30, no. 1, Rev., 13a, b). With this *I* B cf. above, p. 9, note 3; p. 29, note 4, and the names *I* B, *Nin-I* B, *Nin-I* B.
5. súb-ba
   "Shepherd (i.e., lord Dumuzi, (sc. thy fold etc.);
   Dú(u)-súb-ba
   of the shepherd (i.e., hill, (sc. thy fold etc.);

6. ú-mu-un
   "Lord

7. mu-tan-na
   "Husband
   Ga-sha-an-An-[na or ka]
   of the Mistress of An, (sc. thy fold etc.);

1 She was, as her name indicates, originally the wife of An. Her temple was the E-an-na at Erech, see above, p. 9. As wife of An or "heaven" (B. E., XXIX, p. 16) she signifies the "earth". Here she appears as the wife of Dumuzi, i.e., originally Enkil, the "Son" of An and Gashan(Nin)-an. It is, therefore, quite evident that Gashan-an may and does become the wife of her own son, i.e., the earth may and does become united with the god of the fertility of the ground.

For Dumuzi as "husband" (mu-tan-na) of Ga-sha-an-an-na, cf. also C. T., XV, 18: 11 and especially IV R., 11, 1: 2, súb-ba en 4Dumuzi mu-tan-na Gashan-an-na = ri-tum kelim 4Dumuzi ha-me-ir 4Ish-tar, "shepherd, lord Dumuzi, husband of Ishtar". In R. H., p. 85: 20, 4Ama-ushungal-an-na is referred to as her, i.e., Gashan-an-na's husband (mu-tan-na), being rendered in R. H., p. 134: 7/8 = 136: 19/20, by ha-Pál-ša 4Dumuzi. Cf. also C. T., XV, 28: 16ff., where 4Ama-ushungal-an-na and Gashan-an-na are called saš-ni-dam (mi)-ši-bi, i.e., "female and male who live together (šaš) as husband and wife (dam)"). This her husband appears in Scheil, R. A., VIII, p. 162, Obv. 1: 19, as "youthful husband", mu-tan-na tu-ra-na; generally, however, merely as dam, for whom she wails and sheds bitter tears, see l. c., l. 2; p. 164: 43; p. 168: 102 = Zimmer, S. K., p. 5, no. 2, col. 1: 2; col. II: 6.

In Semitic Gishan(Nin)-an-na is rendered by 4U-ĞUN, "glorious mistress"; 4U-ĞUN-mal, "glorious mistress of the stars" (C. T., XXV, 31: 16); 4inanna (= In-anna, see above, p. 10, note 1); 4Ish-tar; Ish-ša-ri-tum; 4Ish-tar sa-ša-qa-at, "I, the exalted" (R. H., p. 20, no. 9, Rev., 22: 3 = p. 23, no. 10, Rev., 7/8).

She is the 4šiq (or SAL-KU), "princess" (or "sister"), Sm. 954, Rev., 17/8; R. H., p. 104: 8; the asy, "holy one", no. 8, col. V: 14; Scheil, R. A., VIII, p. 146: 43; p. 168: 102; the mu-gi(g)-ib, no. 15, Obv., 9, 11; C. T., XV, 23: 3; 28: 20; R. H., p. 89: 15, or passim; mu-gi(g)-an-na, no. 9, col. II: 19; mu-gi(g)-al, no. 12: 3; mu-gi(g)-ib Nin-na-na (= 4Ba-â), N. F., AO4327, Rev., 11: 2; 4331/5, col. I: 2, i.e., "the consecrated one" (= qadihkā); the NU.NUNUZ sha(g)-ga (= 4Ba-â), "the gracious or beautiful woman", R. H., p. 89: 17. The designation (di)Gishan-an-na 4šiq ni-gi-ge = 4Ish-tar el(i)-te-[t] qar-ra-da-at, R. H., p. 85: 19 = 134: 5/6 = 136: 7/8, is not yet dear to me.

In consequence of the transfer of the role of Dumuzi-Gishan-an-na to the various "sons" and "mothers" of the several trinities, it happened that Gishan-an-na, though the "Mother" par excellence and wife of An, became even the daughter of An (hence, the sister and wife of Enkil and all of the other sons of An), of Enkil (hence, the sister and wife of all the sons of Enkil), of Sin (hence, the sister and wife of Shamash), of Anshar, of Ninib, etc., see 4Bêl, the Christ", p. 2, and notes. For Ishtar as daughter of Enkil, cf. also R. H., p. 152: 25, dumu ki-ag-gu Gashan-an-na-ge, "thy (i.e., Enkil's, l. 21) beloved child G"; and for Ishtar as daughter of 4Dur-an-ki (= Enkil) see K. 9955 + Rm. 613 = Bezold, "Cat.", p. 1053. These various genealogies are the evidence and proof of our assertion that Dumuzi-Ishtar may signify any "Son" or "Mother" and "Bride" of a given trinity; cf. H. A. Y., p. 404, note 21.

The following noteworthy writings of this name may be mentioned:

Gashan-an-na, so generally in the later copies;
Gishan-an-an, III R., 66, Obv., 7a, 29b, 36f.
Gishan-an-an (= Ishkar sa-qa-at), R. H., p. 20, no. 9, Rev., 29: 3 =
Gishan-an-an, R. H., p. 23, no. 10: 7/8;
Gishan-an-an, Scheil, R. A., VIII, p. 164, Obv., II: 43;
Gishan-an-na, col. I: 7; no. 8, col. V: 15; no. 9, col. II: 19; no. 13, Obv., 9, 11, and so most commonly in the older EMESAL texts;
Gishan-an-an, no. 11: 4; no. 12: 3;
Gishan-an-an, no. 8, col. VI: 3; H. A. Y., no. 12: 12;
Gishan-an-an, Zimmer, S. K., p. 44, 44: 25; p. 49, 57: 45;
SUMERIAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS TO DUMU-ZI

8. ù-mu-un-e
   "Lord,
   (of) B., (sc. thy fold etc.);

9. ses ama Mu(š)k-
   "Brother of mother Geshtinna,
   (of) thy fold etc.); 

10. ù-mu-un-e E-nina-a¹ amash-zu
   "Lord, (of) E-nina, thy fold,
   in tears is bathed!

11. amash nimur².bi
   "The fold's sustenance —
   art thou not he who furnishes it?

12. SHE-MUR³-ne-bi
   "Its sustenance
   verily, thou increasest (providest) it!

Ka-ša-an-na-nu, Pinches, Manch., III: 23; VI: 25; Zimmern, S. K., p. 5, no. 3, II: 18;
Ka-ša-an-na, no. 5, Rev., II: 10; Pinches, Manch., VI: 26;
II: 22; p. 43, no. 40: 3a;
Ka-ša-an-an (= ù-di)-na, Pinches, Manch., II: 13;
¹Nin-an-na, so generally, but also
²Nin-na-na (= ù-ša), see above.

In conclusion notice that the ùEn-an-na and the ùNin-an-na are enumerated in C. T., XXIV, 4: 18/9 =
21: 76, among the "42 names of the lord, the father-mother Enil" — a fact which proves
1) that Enil was indeed the original Dumuzi, and
2) that Enil did usurp the title of his "Father" An.

1 For the E-nina-a cf. already above, p. 33, note 4, and p. 36, note 2. Notice also that Ishtar as Gashan-
Girgish is addressed: šulgi-zi nu Gaš-an-E-nina-a, "my true princess, mistress of E", C. T., XV, 23: 4; cf. R. H.,
col. III: 16, the title E-nina-a-ka is mentioned. Within the walls of this E-nina-a was the gi-ri-nazag,
"the sacred "bridal-bed"" of Ishtar and Dumuzi, B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. IV: 39. This would show that the E-nina-a or
"splendid, glorious, shining house" is in all col. 29, 30.
² Nimur (Br. 9712) as well as SHE-MUR (Br. 7486) are the Assyrian tumu = ?), Delitsch, H. W., B.,
p. 711a; = "Salpeter, Salz", Jensen, K. E., VI, p. 447; = "pain (cuit sous la cendre)", de Genouillac, R. A., VII
³ The juxtaposition of ù and ga occurs quite frequently in the Dumuzi texts, cf., e. g., Macmillan, B. A.,
V, p. 679, no. 32: 11, 12:
11 ù gi-ib-ba-ge
12 su-ha ù gi-ib-ba-ge
   "Of good a,
   Shepherd(?), of good a
also l. c., II. 16, 17;
16 ù giur-ra-ù la-ba-da-gaz
ta-shá mu-la in-gum
17 ga giur-ra-ù ga la-ba-da-gaz
ta-shá (sc. mu-la in-gum), i. e.,
"From whom ù has been
taken away, with ù shall
he not be made to abound? 
Why must one be in distress? 
Why etc.? 
Similar is Zimmern, S. K., p. 4, no. 2, col. III: 19, 20,
19 ù nu-me-en-na
   ù ba-an-da-bal-e
13. amash 𒀩-ировки
   "The fold, from which the
   cream has been taken away,
   a-ba-an-gub-ba-zu

14. amash ga-il-la
   "The fold, from which the milk has
   been taken away,
   ga-ba-an-gub-ba-zu

According to this passage Dumuzi is the "shepherd"(?) of the "fold" (ll. 1, 2), the
"shepherd (?) lord Dumuzi" (l. 5), or merely the "shepherd (?) Dumuzi";* his habi-
tation is the "shepherd (?)-hill" of which he is the "lord" (l. 6).

It will be noticed that I have made a "?" behind "shepherd", and this for some good
and urgent reasons.

First of all, it should be remarked that the reading of the sign 𒉈𒇙 = šub is new.
In favor of this reading the following:

The "shepherd (?)-hill" appears in the Dumuzi texts in three different writings:

1) Du(l)-šub-ba(h),

20 ga nu-me-en-na
   "Where a is not, ga ba-an-da-gaz, i. e.,
   with š he maketh to overflow,
   with ga he maketh to abound".

28 4 nu-me-a
   a ga(aši:) read ba-an-da-ab-[ba]-e

29 ga nu-me-a
   ga ba-an-da-ab-gaz,

the conclusion might seem justified that u = a = "food"; and this the more so as Scheil, R.A., VIII, p. 168, Rev.,
I : 103/4, the duplicate of Zimmern no. 2, has a...ba, "to eat food", and a...na, "to drink water", for u...bal and ga...gaz. On the other hand it ought to be noticed that in C. T., XV, 10 : 12, we find for a...ga the expres-
sion NI (generally read iš)...ga, for we read:

u-nuš-en NI erin-na
   ga nunuš am-da-na-al, i. e.,

"Lord (= Enlil), who maketh sparkling oil
and sweet milk to be in plenty".

This NI occurs also in the well-known expression rə NI-nun, "honey and cream", cf. H.A.V.,
no. 2 : 9, 11; Gudea, Statue E, VI : 24 = G, V : 18; Cyl. B, III : 18, 24, and especially the E-rə-NI-nun, "house
of honey and cream", Hilprecht, O. B. I., no. 21 (= E. B. H., p. 271) : 15, which in our no. 10 : 2, appears as E-rə-
šed-lu. Remembering, furthermore, that "honey, cream and milk" were the three sacrifices per excellence offered
to the gods, more particularly to Ishtar-Dumuzi, there is no reason why u should not be the reading of NI, rather
than a variant of š. NI, then, had besides iš also the pronunciation u.

Notice also that the š-asag, "pure cream", was especially sacred to, and the emblem of, "Ninâ, Gudea, Cyl.
A, XIV: 23.

4 II = gšar (see preceding note) = nashi, "to take away". Cream and milk which has been taken away,
doest not exist, is not there any more, hence, II = gšar = syn. of nu-me-a.
5 Written either šub-ša, no. 1, col. IV : 3; cf. also above p. 35, note 7; or šub-bi, no. 7, Obv., 11.
6 Cf. also IV B, 27, no. 1 : 1/2 (see above, p. 37, note 1; no. 5, Rev., II : 8, šub-ba en 4Dumuzi ni ti-il, "the
shepherd(?)", the lord D. lives no more"; C. T., XV, 18 : 9, šub-ba en 4Dumuzi ni um-ṭ, l. c., 19 : 3, a-dan
šub-ba en 4Dumuzi. See also above, p. 33, 4Dumuzi EN SIB she 4A-nim.
7 C. T., XV, 28 : 6, šub-ba en 4Dumuzi-di šab(b)-asag-ga-na An-im, "shepherd(!) D. by the (his) pure choice
(heart) of An".
8 No. 1, col. II : 10, A-ra-li Du(l)-šub-ba; no. 6, col. I : 6, a-mu-un Du(l)-šub-ba; C. T., XV, 18 : 10, a-mu-
a-mu-un Du(l)-šub-bi-qa.
2) **Du-su-ba(hi)**

3) **Du(l)-šu-ug=šu-uq=** u-zu-zu (root nazāzu). But nazāzu is also = , i.e., šu(g), or = , i.e., šu(g)-šu(g), see IV R., 30:3/4b, mu-un-shu(g)-šu(g)-gi-esh = i-zu-zu, cf. Zimmerm, Z. A., XIV, p. 389; Thureau-Dangin, Z. A., XVIII, p. 191, 6. Hence, in EME-KU = šu, variant of = šu(g), which in EME-SAL becomes su, su-ba(hi), šu(b) = šu-uq = u-zu-zu. For the interchange of “g” and “b” and of “š” and “š”, see Fossey, H. A., 110:25; p. 119:43.

But what would be the meaning of Du(l)-šu-šu(b)-ha from this point of view? Zimmerm renders it by “Hirtenwohnung” and Langdon by “sheep-folds” — translations based, no doubt, on IV R., 27, no. 1:1/2, where suš-ba en ’Dumu-zi is translated by ri-ē-um be-lim ’Dumu-zi, “shepherd, lord D.” In view of the passages given above, it is, however, somewhat doubtful whether the Semitic translation ri-ē-um is justified in this particular case, and this for the simple reason that suš changes with šu(b). Two explanations would seem to suggest themselves, either šu(b) has also the meaning “shepherd”, or suš is merely a variant of šu(b). If the latter be true, a translation “hill of the beautiful one” or “beautiful hill” might be suggested, thus making Du(l)-šu-šu(b)-ha a synonym of Du(l)-azag-qa, “holy hill”. In support of the latter view the following facts may be mentioned:

Dumuzi is very often called ’KA-DI i-bi-šu(b)-ba, which is translated in R. H., 153, col. III:10ff., by ’KA-DI ša pa-qi ba-nu-[ú], i.e., “K. of (with) beautiful eyes (face)”. Cf. also C. T., XXV, 6:10, ’IGI-ŠU(B) ’KA-DI; K.4337, col. III:11, where the “river of Dumuzi” is called: ša šu[U]ŠU(B), “beautiful river”, or “river of the beautiful one”; and notice that in C. T., XXV, 27a:15, the ša šu[U]ŠU(B) is identified with ’Utlu, the Dumuzi of the Ur trinity and the θεος βοϋλοιος of the month Enes. “Festival of D.” = Tashrutu = March-April (time before Nabonassar), the month during which the marriage and resurrection festivals of Dumuzi were celebrated.

Seeing, then, that in the expression Du(l)-šu-šu(b)-ha the suš and šu(b) are used interchangeably, it may very well be possible that Dumuzi as the suš-ba was originally
the "beautiful" one and that consequently the *du(l)-súb-ba* was either the "beautiful hill" or the "hill of the beautiful one".

This observation helps us to explain still another name of Dumuzi, viz, the *li-bi-ir* (*š*Ú-*mu-an-sub* (šérarti)-*bi*, IV R., 30, no. 2, Obv., 17; Rev., 5 = R. H., p. 67 : 16; IV R., 27, no. 1, add p. 6a : 8; Macmillan, B. A., V, p. 674 : 9; C. T., XV, 20 : 8; above, p. 21 : 38, who is called in the EME-KU texts "Lugal-súb-bi, II R., 59, Rev., 44. Zimmern renders this name by "Anführer, (Gott) Herr des Gebots", and Langdon by "prince, lord of adoration". In view of the above given passages I prefer to see in *súb-bi* another variant of *šu-ba*(*bi*), *šu(b)-ba(bi) = "beautiful one", translating the whole by "bridegroom, beautiful lord". Cf. also Dumuzi's name "Lugal-sub-bi, "beautiful king", C. T., XXV, 39 c : 12. The similar name which designates Dumuzi as the *En-ligir-si = Umun-libir-si, II R., 59, Rev., 8, is, therefore, nothing but "the lord, the glorious bridegroom".

1 This designation of Dumuzi is by no means isolated. Many other similar names have been ascribed to him, as, e.g., *š*bi-*lu*-um-*um, š-ši-lá-ti*, see above, p. 27, note 9; š-ši-*gán*-nu-*gán*-u-*e* (parallel with *KA*-šu-*u*-ul-*šu*-ul-*e*, "the one of irresistible voice") see C. T., XV, 18 : 27; B. E., Series D, vol. VI; *Lugal-igi*-hrum-*ra*, "the beautiful (hr = band, M. 6404) king", followed by *Lugal-igi-ru-ma-hi*, "the valiant (youthful) king with benign countenance" (pád ríšwa), C. T., XXV, 38 : e. 1. 2.

2 *Li-bi-ir = kuwaššu = šínaššu, "Brautführer", Zimmern, S. B. T., p. 212, and references there given. For *šu-bi-ir* used in this sense in the Sumerian lenten songs, cf. also R. H., p. 101 : 48/9, where Ishhtar complains:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>šùb kí(b)el-bí</th>
<th>nu-šul-šu-[e-ne]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šùb kaši-bí</td>
<td>nu-šu-bi-[e-ne]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"The city's maidens do not rejoice any more, the city's youths do not lead home the bride any more."

Cf. also Zimmern, S. K., 43, no. 40, Rev., 4.

3 For *šu(b), šù(a)*, with the meaning "beautiful, glorious", cf., among others, the following:  
[š*m*Nu-lu*-ší]-ba *šù(i)g-e currents An-na, "the glorious princess of An", no. 9, col. I ; 8; *š*Bi-li, the sister of Dumuzi, calls herself K.A. (š*ì)*-gÁ-ni *šu-ba me-an, "among those of radiant countenance (š) the most beautiful (gárous) one I am". In C. T., XV, 23b : 9, the goddess Girgála is described as *šu*-ni *šu-ba *šu*-gÁ-ni *šu*-gÁ-ni, "she whose glorious and pure bosom is beautiful". Whatever is beautiful may, according to Sumerian ideas, be "kissed", hence, *šu-ba = "to kiss, to adore, to worship" = shaft (šaššu).

This *šu-ba* may sometimes be lengthened by *du* (cf. ma-ma(má) = ma-ma(má) du) or by *du* (cf. li-du = *šu*-du = li-du = li-du = li-du = li-du = li-du = li-du = li-du = šù-ba), hence, we find that Ishhtar calls herself *šù(i)g-e su-ba da mi-an, "the glorious, beautiful princess I am", Pinches, Manch., V 4. *š*Nu *šu*-zi of EME is called the en *š*KA-*šu*-da-ge, "lord of (among) those of beautiful face"; cf. Gude, Cyl. A, XXVII : 16, E...a-ŠÁ-ti *š*KA-*ka*-da, "by its (the temple's) mead the mouth (face) was delighted (made pleasant)!". In R. H., p. 86 : 5 = 134, col. II : 14/5 = 138 : 100/1, appears the *Umun-*ma-*da sub-bi An-na, who in C. T., XXIV, 11 : 34 = 24 : 51, is called merely *š*Nu-*šu*-ma,*sub*-*da*, and who in C. B. M., 112 : 11, is represented by *š*KA-*šu*-ma-*da,*sub, "the lord of the land, the beautiful one of An (heaven or universe)"; here, then, *šù(a) = šù = šù-ba, "beautiful house", occurs in no. 13, Rev., 3 (cf. li. 3, 4). In F. P., AO 4346, Obv., 8, 9, we find the *š*šù-ba *šù-ba, "the beautiful Shaft-stones" (cf. Sm. 954 : 19, 20).
But whether we translate du(l)-sûr-ba by “shepherd-hill” or by “beautiful hill” matters, in the last instance, very little; the chief thing is that it is identified with the A-ra-li, the great and extended field (edin) over which Dumuzi as shepherd and lord keeps guard:

\[ \text{edin-ki} \]

“Over the netherworld he keepeth guard”.

The netherworld, then, is the great “fold” where all living creatures have to spend, at one time or another, their “night” (ū-zal), where all are at rest. From thence they are “led out” by the “great shepherd of the sheep”, Dumuzi, on the “great morning”, the spring and resurrection morning, to wend their way as “stars” in the heavens.

To this place goes Ishtar, the “Bride”, to be joined with the “Lamb” in holy wedlock. The netherworld becomes in this wise not only the ki-sha(g)-kush-shâ in-nin edin-ka, “the place where the heart of the mistress of the edin is at rest”, but also and especially an edin-na ki-azag-ga = ši-rim ash-ri el-li, “a holy place”, a ki-(a)-ri-a, “a place of getting”, a “bridal-chamber”.

Col. II:4. KUR-GUL-GUL. This expression occurs quite frequently in the Dumuzi-Ishtar texts; cf. e. g.,

No. 9, col. II:18ff.:  
18. er na-mu-un-ma-al  
“I, on account of him who does not live;  
me-e na-mu-un-ti-li
19. mu-gîb-an-na  
“the mistress of An,  
Ga-sha-an-an-na mën
20. kur-gul-gul  
“the mistress of É-an,  
Ga-sha-an-É-an-na mën
21. [Nin-tin-dib]-ba  
“the mistress of Gipar”;  
Ga-sha-an-Gi-bur-ra mën

1 See above, pp. 39, note 5; 40, note 2.  
2 Cf. already above, p. 36, note 2.  
4 See above, p. 27, note 7, and C. T., XV, 28:22, 4-ba mu-la sib-bi edîn-shâ ba-ra-ê.  
7 B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. IV: 37.  
8 IV R., 8:42b:14, no. 2, Rev., 1.  
9 S. A. V., p. 398. For the Semitic translation see above, p. 25, note 6.  
10 It is probably needless to mention it here that the so-called Gû-edin of Nin-Girsu reflects the various conceptions which the people of Girsu, at the time of Gudea, entertained with regard to the netherworld. Space, however, forbids to treat of the same here.
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No. 12: 2ff.

2. ē-gul-lā ki-bi
   "My house which has been destroyed, to its place
   me-na gi-gi-mu when will it be restored?"

3. nu-gib-an-na
   "(Cry) I, the holy one of An,
   Ga-sha-an-an-na mēn the mistress of An,

4. kur-gul-gul
   "I, the destroyer of the mountain,
   Ga-sha-an-Ē-an-na mēn the mistress of Š-an;

5. Ē-ma-mū-da
   "My ma-mu-da, which has been built for me, (sc. to its
   ma-du-a-mu place when will it be restored?)"

   In Zimmern. S. K., p. 33, no. 29a: 1ff., we read:

1. [mu-la?] edin-na ta úl-li mu-ni-ib-gin
2. mu-gi(g)-iḫ Gasha-an-an-na edin-na
3. eeqi-maḫ kur-gul-gul edin-na
4. Gasha-an-har-sag-kalam-na edin-na, i. e.,
   "To the lord of the netherworld, why shall I (she) go?
   "The holy one, the mistress of An, to the netherworld (sc. why etc.?),
   "The sublime mistress, the destroyer to the netherworld (sc. why etc. ?)
   of the mountain,


   The same attribute is ascribed to Gūr-gi-šu (= Ishtar, II R., 59, Rev., 13), C. T., XV, 23 : 3; to two of Nin-ib’s weapons, viz., to the mes kur-gul-gul (= mu-ab-bit shadi-i) 4Ug-BA-mu-ša, “hero, destroyer of the mountain, storm, who grants no pardon”, and to the ni(g)-kur-gul-gul ṢHuG-idim-an-na, “destroyer of the mountain, weighty (lit. death-bringing) weapon of An”, Hrozný, Ninag, p. 12 : 25, 29. For similar expressions in connection with other gods and goddesses, see H. A. V., p. 441, note 5, where such terms are

For ma-mā-da cf. B. E., XXIX, p. 36, note 2, and notice the peculiar translations in the duplicate text R. H., p. 60 : 21/2, bitu sha ki-na shu-ut-tim i-ni-ip-sha-am, bitu sha te-diš-tim, “the house which ‘like a dream’ has been built”: “the house of renewal”. The Semitic translator apparently did not know any more the force of the da, i. e., that ma-mā is — ma-mā-da, cf. p. 41, note 3.
mentioned as kab(gab), kab-gaz kur-ra, ḫur-ra-an kur-kur-ra, kur-kur-ra ši(g)-ši(g)-qi — all with the meaning mu-di-ik-ti, “smiter of the mountain”. Cf. also no. 12 : 15 = R. H., p. 60 : 5, 6b = K. 41, col. I : 5, 6; R. H., p. 27 : 34; Zimmern, S. K., p. 15, no. 11 : 3, 22, etc.

This “mountain” which the mistress of Ė-an, i. e., Ishtar as goddess of war, destroys, was originally the mountainous region in the “north” of, and inimical to, Babylonia, inhabited by the Guti, Lulubi and Elamites, see B. E., XXIX, p. 64; Series D, vol. V, p. 61. But as the “north” was, according to Sumerian conception, the region of the “netherworld”, kur acquired this significance likewise. The destruction of this mountain or netherworld has become an accomplished fact when Ishtar, at the time of the vernal equinox, appears in the heavens as “virgo” (month Elul = February-March) and “Mother” or “Nin-mah” (month Tashritu = March-April), i. e., when she as Proserpina has left the winter-half (kur-ta...ê) and has become the Venus of the summer-half of the year.

Kur, when used in the sense of “netherworld”, is generally translated in Semitic by irtsi̇m. Thus we find, among others, the following expressions:

Gab₂kur-ra₂ = i-rat ir-qi-tim, “breast (bosom) of the netherworld”, to which Dumuzî has gone (i-in-du), IV R., 30, no. 2 : 22; Thureau-Dangin, N. F., AO. 4328, Rev., II : 6, 7; Zimmern, S. K., p. 26, no. 26, col. IV : 3. — Kur-DIG-na = ir-qi-tum mi-til-ti, “land of the dead”, where Dumuzî spends the “night”, dwells or rests (ū-zal), IV R., 30, no. 2 : 24; notice here that the parallel passage, Zimmern, S. K., p. 26, no. 26, col. IV : 4, has kur-ḫu-ul[r]. Cf. also the kur-DIG in B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. I : 30, where it is in parallelism with kur-me-te-gal. — Kur-idim-ma, “land of the dead”, no. 2 : 35. — Kur-a-shu-ir-ra-ge = ir-qi-tum ta-ri-hi, “the land where one cries out: ‘alas!’”. — Kur-na-gi(pli)₂-a, “land without return”, to which Ishtar goes and of which “En-me-shar-ra is the “lord”. Notice also that Ė-kur very often has the meaning of È-kur-idim, “È-kur of the dead” = A-ra-li. In the dialogue between Ishtar (Ga-sha-an-ti-dzb-ha) and Dumuzî, (=Damu tu-mu Ü-mu-an-mu(sh)-zi-da), after the former had complained to her “Son” that on account of her

1 C. T., XV, 23b : 13, here said of the sēlegi Ga-sha-an-Gir-gi-la.
3 Is this a mistake for ḫu-ba-ur = Subartu? Cf. our remarks on edin-HA-A, above, p. 24ff. Or has this to be emended to ḫu-ur-ra-an, the well-known variant of gab-gas kur-ra, B. A. Y., p. 437 : 5, 7? Or, lastly, does kur-ḫa-ur mean here “the beautiful mountain” or “mountain of the beautiful one”? Cf. 4Lab-gal-ig₂-kur-ra = Dumuzî, above, p. 41, note 1, and Zimmern, S. K., p. 57, no. 75 : 5ff., where 4MAR₂TU says of himself: musû ḫu-ur DÎ-NE₂ man, “the beautiful one among the herdmen (cf. musû DÎ-N₂₂₂, above, p. 39) I am”.
4 This too shows that we must not read kur-bad; but cf. 4Lab-gal-ki-bad-du 4Lab-gal-ta-du-ur, II E., 47 : 30c,d; C. T., XIX, 47 : 17c, d, in which Zimmern, B. C. T., p. 11, no. 28, sees a name for Dumuzî as the “Verehwiedener, Entflohener”. Cf. also the bī 4Dumu-zî ša ki-bad, K. 5089 = Pinches, P. S. B. A., XXII (1900), p. 359; the ki-bad-du₂-ge i-dib na₂-im₂-ba₁-ra in the Dumuzî text, C. T., XV, 26 : 1-4; the gi-bad₂-din A-ra-li A-ra-li, above, p. 36, note 2, and the ki-bad₂-du₂ = nin₂tu₂, “far-off regions”, Br. 1525.
6 See p. 32, note 10; II E., 32, 19a, et passim.
waifers for him she has become completely exhausted, that even in her own habitation she has no rest any more, the latter answers his "mother who had given birth to him" as follows:

No. 2, Obv., 33ff.:

33. kal-[a]n-na me]-en
   "The youthful one of An I am, the man (lord) of the 'land without
   strength',
   mulu kur-al¹

34. en [........] me-en
   "Lord of... I am,
   mulu kur-de²

35. iri-[damal-mu]
   "My extended abode
   kur-idim-ma-mu
   is the 'land of the dead',

36. en me-en A-ra-bi
   "Lord I am, the Arali
   ki-saq NUN-KI-DA-mu
   is the place of my doom,

37. kal me-en kur²-ri su(d)-
   du-shú
   "The youthful one (hero). I am, to the
   verily, I must go
   im-ma-ä-gin me-en
   "To pass my days there".

¹ Translation is doubtful. I take al to stand for a-lá = á-lá = al. Cf. here the variants of a-lal-ša, above, p. 35, note 3.
² Or should we translate here: "who destroys the mountain?" See also Scheil, R. A., VIII, p. 168: 101/2
   - Zimmern, S. K., p. 4, no. 2, col. III: 17/8, kur-ra ni-dé, and cf. in this connection the name *Lugal-kur-dábu —
   "the king who destroys the mountain" and his attribute: kur gu-NE-RU-gal *En-lil-lá-ka a-dim ga-gaš, "who like the
   it is said: zi-da-za kur-dá-ba gub-bu-zi NEN-RU gil-e, "thy right (hand) stretches down the mountain, thy left
   (hand) scatters the wicked", B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. VIII: 36. Notice also the name of the "divine bird" Kur-
   šú-na-sha²[b], "by his hand the mountain(e) tremble(s)", Cyl. B, VIII: 8.

² Cf. ki-ra(s) = KI-dim ra-a-qati, occurring in the Dumuzi text IV B., 36, no. 2: 34.

4 This line is certainly against the rhythm of the hymn. Are we to see in it a "sigh", expressing either
   the singer's or the editor's feelings: "how long still (me-e-na — me-en-na = a-di ma-ti) is he to pass his days there?"
   Such "sighs" are by no means usual in these hymns. Cf. e. g., no. 2, Rev., 75, a sha(b)-ba-ni a-ba(sio) bar-ra-ni,
   "how long still till his heart, how long still till his soul", or "would that his heart, etc.", or "when at last will his
   heart, etc." (sic. or appraised, be at rest). Similarly also in H. A. V., no. 14, Rev., 16, a sha(b)-ba-ni a bar-
   ra-ni, and Zimmern, S. K., p. 23, no. 25, col. II: 41, stel-gi-da(t) a sha(b)-ni a bar-ra-ni, "like the princess (i. e.,
   Lshrta, etc. sing the litany:) 'how long still, etc.'"

For such a juxtaposition of sha(b) and bar, cf. R. H., 115: 30, where a sha(b) ib-ba-za (= a-šu-lap li-bi-ka
   ag-gi) is parallel with a bar su-mu-ug-ga-zu-la (= a-šu-lap ka-bit-ti-ka i-dir-tum); C. T., XV, 29: 12, kal-e a sha(b)-
   ba-ni a bar-ra-ni (followed by sib-ba² Dumu-zi-dé a su-mu-ug-ga-ni, see p. 29, note 5; R. H., p. 99: 56/7, sha(b)-
   za he-ru-šu-ša bar-su hér-tu-si(d) = li-ba-ba li-a-šu-ka ka-bit-ta ka (ip-shaš); Gudea, Cyl. B, X: 16, sha(b) šú
   (= šu-gi) gu-dá bar šu-ši-ga-da, "dann er zufriedenstille das Herz, zufriedenstille dasGemüt" (Th.-D.); Zimmern, S. K.,
   p. 17, no. 12, col. II: 15, sha(b)-bi šu-li-lá-šam bar-bi šu-li-lá-šam, "is like the wind"; l. e., p. 23, no. 25, col. III: 31, ūru
   sha(b)-ab-ba-na úru bar-ra-ni [...].
Dumuzi is, however, not only the mulu kur-âl or mulu kur-de, but also the ailm kur-ra, the mighty one of the netherworld, or simply the mulu kur-ra, "lord of the netherworld". To this kur he "goes" (gin) or "rides", both by means of a "ship"\(^4\) and by "wagon"\(^5\).

**GA-SHA-AN-É-ÁN-NA**, "mistress of É-an-na". For É-an-na see above, pp. 9ff., and note that the gal É-an-na, "the great one of É-an-na", is the Gashan-É-

Cornelia, the principal daughter of Isin\(^6\), R. H., p. 93 : 5 ; 94 : 5 ; 89 : 8, sometimes referred to as saq-É (? or du, ?u?)-an-na, "the foremost, chief one of É-an-na", R. H., p. 86 : 10 (cf. p. 154), III 134, col. II : 23, being in this respect similar to the ašēgi Ga-sha-an-É-


Col. II : 5. AMA Ú-MU-UN-NA\(^6\)GA-SHA-AN-SUN-NA. Ishtar or Nin-anna, the mistress of É-an-na and wife of An, is here the Ga-sha-an-sun, \(^8\) the glorious, beautiful lady", and the "mother" of the u-mu-un\(^6\) or "lord", i. e., of Dumuzi, her son. Among the "sons" of An and Nin-anna are known, among others, Enlil, MAR-TU, IN, Sin — all of whom, therefore, must have been considered, at one time or another or at one place or another, to be the Dumuzi. Remembering, furthermore, that the "mother" is at the same time also the wife of Dumuzi, the Gashan-sun or Nin-anna would have to be identified with 4Nin-ûl (wife

\(^1\) C. T., XV, 18 : 27/8.

\(^2\) N. F., AO 4346, Rev., col. II : 3; cf. the mulu edin, above, p. 17.

\(^3\) N. F., AO 4328, Rev., col. II : 3; cf. the mulu edin, above, p. 17.

\(^4\) See C. T., XV, 18 : 25/6, where it is said of Dumuzi that he kur-ash ba-û. Cf. H. A. V., no. 12 : 17, ba-û
dû[. . .], 18, a-a kur shu ba-û[. . .], 19, Am-an-kur shu ba-û[. . .]. The term u, "to ride upon a ship", proves indirectly that the kur was surrounded by water, which had to be crossed when entering or leaving the netherworld, see above, p. 99, note 3 and cf. Zimmern, S. K., no. 2, col. III : 101/2.

\(^5\) Cf. the bar-ra-an or ginin-ra, p. 20 : 31, and the ginin-kur-mu-pa, "the wagon which overcomes the kur", Gudea, Cyl. 3, XII : 18.

\(^6\) Sun = ![Sun symbol] = u-bubu, ebbu, is a variant of su-su, su-na, su-ni, Zimmern, S. B. T., p. 245, 27; or of sîn or shun = ![Sun symbol] = ebbu, Br. 262; and a syn. of ![Sun symbol] = sîn, shab (variant of sib, su-ba[û], aib, shi[û], shut-ub, shu-du) = banû or damçu ( = šib[û], sa-ga, så-da, ši[û]); of ![Sun symbol] = sîn, si (syn. of ![Sun symbol] = sîn, or ![Sun symbol] = sîn, or ![Sun symbol] = sîn, or ![Sun symbol] = sîn, or ![Sun symbol] = sîn, or ![Sun symbol] = sîn, or ![Sun symbol] = sîn, of which expressions are used repeatedly in the several names and attributes of Ishtar and Dumuzi to convey the idea of their being "beautiful", "glorious", "graceful".

\(^7\) *Gashan(Nin)-sun* is the "mother" also of Gilgamesh, K. B., VI, p. 438, of Gudea and of Singsashid — both "kings of Erech", see below.

\(^8\) For this attribute see Zimmern, B. G. T., no. 8, no. 38, and cf. above, p. 21 : 2, ki-ta-su-un, "place of the "lord"", i. e., "place of Dumuzi" = "netherworld".
of Enlil), with "Gú-ba(bar)-ra" = "Ashratum (wife of MAR-TU), with "Sha-la (wife of IM), and with "Nin-gal (wife of Sin). But Gashan-sun is the wife of "Lugal-banda."

This Lugal-banda is according to H. A. V., p. 416:

a) "En-lil, "lord of Kullab". But above, p. 35, note 6, we saw, that "lord of Kullab" is one of the names of Dumuzi; hence, Enlil = Dumuzi, and Gashan-sun = Nin-anna (as "mother") and = Ninlil (as "bride" and "wife" of Enlil).

b) "SUH, the "lord of Ashnunna", i. e., "Nin-ib," the son of Enlil. Nin-ib, accordingly, must likewise have played the rôle of Dumuzi, while Gashan-sun must have been the same as Ninlil (= "mother") and Ba-ti (= "bride" and "wife" of Nin-ib). In corroboration of this the following passages may be mentioned:

In C. T., XV, 22 : 10, the goddess Ba-ti has among other titles also that of ama Ga-sha-an-sun-na, for which the duplicate text, Zimmern, S. K., p. 4, no. 2 : 31a, gives the variant ama ga-sha-an ki-La-ga-sa, "mother, mistress of Lagash"; but the "mistress of Lagash", Ba-ti, was the wife of Enlil's son *Nin-Girsu, who is, as is well-known, identified with *Win-ib. Also in Zimmern, S. K., p. 6, no. 3 : 31b, "Nin-sun appears in connection with "Nin-ib, "Nin-Girsu" and "Pa-bil-sag, while in l. c., p. 15, no. 11 : 19a, Go-sha-an-sun is called ama i-ra, "mother of the city (?)", i. e., originally Erech, later on Nippur.7 There can, then, be no doubt that Gashan-sun was also a name for Ba-ti, the wife of Nin-ib, who for this reason was called "En (= Umnun)-banda and who, therefore, must have played the rôle of the u-mu-un or Dumuzi.

c) "Utù, the son of Sin; the Gashan-sun from this point of view would be as "mother" = "Nin-gal, and as "bride" and "wife" = "Inanna or "Ishtar, the wife of Shamash.

But even this does not yet exhaust all possibilities in connection with the various and manifold transfers of the rôle of Dumuzi and Gashan-sun.

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1 See above, p. 17, note 2, p. 18.
2 For this god see already above, p. 31. In R. H., p. 85 : 21 = 134, col. I : 9 = Zimmern, S. K., p. 16, no. 11, col. V : 26, the ama umun-na ("Gashan-sun-na (um-mi be-lim) is followed by ("Umun-banda(da) umun Esh-nun-na" (= Lugal-banda(da) be-Ši Esh-nun-na)). In Il R., 59, Rev., 25, the "Gashan(Nin)-sun is mentioned after and appears as the "wife" (dam-sha-en) of "Umun (Lugal)-banda(da). Also in several seal inscriptions "Lugal-banda (da) and "Nin-sun are mentioned together, see Krauss, Götternamen, p. 36. Singashid, king of Erech, restorer and protector of E-an-na, couples both divinities; he calls himself "son (dumu) of "Nin-sun" (Backstein A, 2), refers to "Lugal-banda(da) as "his god" (dingir-ra-ni) and to "Nin-sun as "his mother" (ama-a-ni-ir, Tonnagel, 1, 3), building for them the E-ki-tuk E-ki-tush sha(g)-bu-la-na-ne, "the temple of the 'place of the youthful one', the habitation of the joy of their hearts", i. e., their "wedding chamber", where they are joined in holy wedlock.
3 For "SUH = "Nin-ib see C. T., XXV, 11 : 29; H. A. V., p. 415, note 2.
4 See "Creation-Story", pp. 40ff.
6 For "Pa-bil-sag = "Nin-ib, see above, p. 14, and notes.
7 See above, p. 8, note 1.
8 H. A. V., p. 417, a.
9 Cf. especially H. A. V., p. 418, no. 4.
Among the names of Dumuzi occurs one which designates him as the *dumu* (tu-mu) *Ū-mu-un-mu(sh)-zi-da,* "son of *Nin-gish-zi-da".\(^3\) According to this Dumuzi is the son of *Nin-gish-zi-da* and *Gashan-sun* or *Ba-ū.* Both are frequently coupled together so as to appear as "husband and wife".\(^4\) Statue E, VIII : 11 ff., records that Gudea brought his god *Nin-gish-zi-da* to *Ba-ū* into her temple at *Uru-azag-ga* ("holy city").\(^5\) Statue G, II : 9 ff., tells us that *Nin-gish-zi-da* was introduced into the temple after Gudea had presented the wedding presents to *Nin-Gir-su* and *Ba-u.*\(^6\) In Cyl. B, XXIII : 18 ff., *Nin-gish-zi-da* is said to be "the god" (*dingir*) and *Nin-sun-na* the "divine mother" (*dinyir-ama*) of Gudea. In designating them thus, Gudea tells us that *Nin-sun-na* is the *ama-HE* *numun-zi-da* *numun-ki-gi-ga-dam,* "the mother who gives birth to the 'true offspring', who loves her offspring", and terms *Nin-gish-zi-da* the *dumu-KA* *An-na-kam.* That the rendering of *dumu-KA* by "descendant" is merely a guess, is plain and goes without saying. But what does this term mean?

From H. A. V., p. 420, it is evident that *KA* in *asšer-in-na-KA* (C. T., XV, 27 : 10) changes with *zu* in *asšer-in-na-zu* of the duplicate passage, C. T., XV, 30 : 13, hence, *KA* may be read *zū,* cf. also Br. 517. In the expression *i-bi-zu-bar-mu-un-shi-* *ki-nish nap. li-is-su* of R. H., p. 59 : 19/20, the *zu* is evidently a variant of *zi*; hence, *zū = zu = zi = kēnū, kēnish,* "true". This result justifies us to read *Nin-gish-zi-da dumu-zū An-na-kam* and to translate it by "N., the 'true son' (i. e., the Dumu-zi) of An". In doing so, we are enabled to establish the following two parallel genealogies:

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{An} & = & \text{An} \\
*4Nin-gish-zi-da* & = & *4En-lil* \\
*4Dumu-zi* & = & \text{son(s) of } *4En-lil* (*Sin, *4Nin-īb, *4Nin-Gir-su, etc.).}
\end{array}\]

This means

a) that *4Nin-gish-zi-da,* the "true son" of An, is merely another name of En-lil, the "son" of An;

b) that the rôle of *4Nin-gish-zi-da* (= *4En-lil*), the original *dumu-zi,* has been transferred to *4Dumu-zi,* the "son of Umun-mu(sh)-zi-da" (= son(s) of En-lil), i. e., at the time of Gudea and of the kings of the II dynasty of Ur, the rôle of Dumuzi was played by *4Sin* at Ur, by *4Nin-īb* at Nippur and by *4Nin-Gir-su* at Lagash, with *En-lil* (= *4Nin-gish-zi-da*) as "Father" and with *Gashan-sun* or *4Ba-ū* as "Mother" and "Bride", hence her at-

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1 No. 2 : 20; above, p. 20 : 30; Zimmerm., B. G. T., p. 10, 21.
2 A translation "son, Nin-gish-zi-da" is impossible, see above, p. 20, note 1.
3 See also the writing *4Mu(sh)-zi-da,* Zimmerm., S. K., p. 30, no. 27, col. III : 11, and cf. the Adapa myth where *4Gish-zi-da* and *4Dumu-zi* stand at the entrance of the gate to the palace of An, see K. B., VI, p. 95, note 10.
4 Their being "husband and wife" is evident also from the fact that Gudea is the "son" of *4Nin-gish-zi-da* (Cyl. B, XXIV : 7) and of *4Nin-sun-na,* see below.
5 *Dingir-ra-ni* *4Nin-gish-zi-da* *4Ba-ū* *ū-E-Uru-azag-qa-na mu-na-da-ū(r)-tē(r).
6 Notice the trinity: *4Nin-gish-zi-da* ("Father"), *4Nin-Gir-su* ("Son"), *4Ba-ū* ("Mother", "Bride").
tribute “mother of the lord”, hence Gudea’s statement that dNin-sun is the “mother who gives birth to ‘true offspring’”, which “true offspring” is, of course, the “true son”, Dumu-zi; hence, lastly, Ba-û’s designations: sal-shâl(g)-ga\(^1\) or nu-nunuz shôl(g)-ga\(^2\), “graceful woman”, or sal-si-a dBa-û shá(y)-ga\(^3\) “beautiful woman, graceful (gracious) Ba-û” — designations which evidently identify Ba-û with the in-nin dInanna mulu shôl(g)-ga mulu sig-ga, “lady Ishtar, the graceful and beautiful one”, Zimmern, S. K., p. 33, no. 29 : 14/5a.

There still remains, however, another difficulty which ought to be mentioned and explained here. According to Gudea, Statue I, I : 4, dNin-gish-zi-da is not the dumu-zzi of An, but the “son (dumu) of dNin-a-zu”.\(^4\) This “Father” and “Son” are mentioned, either with or without the name of the “Mother”, dNi-gir(i)-da, between them, in several other passages as, e. g., II R., 59, Rev., 34 – 36: dNin(Umum)-a-zu — dN (Gashan)-gir(i)-da, his wife — dNin(Umum)-gish(mu(sha))-zi-da; R. H., p. 86 : 6 – 7 = 134, col. II : 17 – 19 = 138 : 103 — 105 = C. B. M., 112 : 12 – 13, Umun-a-zu, “lord of the extended house”\(^5\) — Gashan-gir(i)-da — Umun-mu(sha)-zi-da; B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. IV : 12 – 34, dNin-a-zu (of IM\(^6\)) — dNin-gish-zi-da (of É(Gish ?)-banda (i ?)\(^7\)).\(^6\) But — and this is noteworthy — in the list of the ëeoi ñovlaios,\(^8\) the place of dNin-a-zu is occupied by dNin-ib (month of Tamuz) who is followed by dNin-gish-zi-da (month of Ab). dNin-a-zu, the father of dNin-gish-zi-da, then, is none other but dNin-ib, the Dumuzi of the Nippur trinity and the ëeoi ñovlaios of the month Tamuz; hence also Dumuzi’s name: ur-sag dUmun-a-zu, “hero Umun-a-zu”. This dNin-a-zu, though originally the same as Nin-ib, the son of Enlil, played in IM\(^9\) the rôle of the “Father”, like An at Erech or like Enlil at Nippur. This enables us to establish the following trinities in addition to that given above, p. 48, note 6, viz.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Son</th>
<th>Mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>An</td>
<td>dNin-gish-zi-da</td>
<td>dNin-sun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 Déc., XXXVII, 1, 2 (time of Ur-Nina); Ur-Ba-u, Statue, IV, 3, 4; Gudea, Statue H, I : 1, 2; Nammañi, Tišnagdshin, I, 2; etc., etc. The same attribute is ascribed also to Ini-Marlug, Ur-Ba-u, Statue, V : 8, and to the goddess of Girsu (= Istikij), C. T., XV, 23 : 6, 13.


3 Zimmern, S. K., p. 16, no. 11 : 62a. Cf. the variant in R. H., p. 86 : 62, NU-NUNUZ-si-a dA-mâ-ma shâ(g) -ga, and in C. T., XXIV, 10 : 1 = 23 : 24, dA-mâ-ma shâ(g)-ga, the “wife(!) of Nin-ib”, followed by dSa-lat-zi-a | ditto. For dNin-si-a (= Sin, the beautiful lord = Dumuzi) see above, p. 31, note 3, and for dNIN*la-a-a (= Shamash, the beautiful lord) see C. T., XXV, 25 : 11. Cf. also dNin(Sal) (= in) -s(ê)(ê) -(an-)ma, “the beautiful lady of heaven”.

4 For this god see above, p. 15, and notes; p. 27, note 4.

5 See above, p. 12, note 5.

6 Cf. above, p. 20, note 1.

7 IV R., 33; cf. B. E., Series D, vol. VI, Table II : 4, 5.
EN-LIL

NIN-IB

NIN-LIL

Balu

NIN-IB

son of NIN-IB

Ba-6

NIN-IB

Nin-gish-zi-da

Ni-gir(i)-da

Dumuzi

IN-SUN at ~ish

-ba(i)?


KAL-AN-NA

MU(SH)-TIN-AN-NÁ MEN. Ishtar, the “mother” and “wife” of Dumuzi, appears here as “the one of the ‘house of the youthful one of An’, the maid(en) of An”. She is also the “sister” (SAL-KO) of Dumuzi, while one of Dumuzi’s standing names is “brother of the mother Mu(sh)-tin-an-na”.

The “house of the youthful one of An”, being here parallel with the ki-kal, ki-Dumu-zi, A-ra-li, ki-id, is, of course, the “netherworld”, of which Dumuzi was the “lord” and Mu&(sh)-tin-an-na the “mistress” (“Bēlūt ši-ri”) and “scribe”.


“My great husband, my youthful one, lives (dwells) no more, lives no more”.

Cf. also the ga-la-mu (= kal-mu = Dumuzi), Zimmern, l. c., p. 36, no. 31, col. II:19, and the kal-la-ga-mu (= Nergal), l. c., p. 59, no. 79: 4.

The meaning of Mu(sh)-tin = “maid”, “maiden”, “virgin”, suggested in H. A. V., p. 399, is now corroborated by Zimmern, l. c., p. 29, no. 26, col. V:13, 14, where Ishtar speaks of herself as follows:

mā-e mu(sh)-tin me-en

me-e ki-êl me-en

“As for me, the ‘maid(en)’ I am, as for me, the ‘youthful one’ I am;

I, the ‘virgin’ I am, I, the ‘graceful one’ I am”.

The following writings of the name of the “maid(en) of An” may be mentioned:


1 See above, p. 18, b, and notes.

2 Cf. above, p. 17, note 2a; p. 18, a.

3 Cf. the ēru kal-tur-ra, p. 19, note 10.

4 For kal, ascribed to a goddess, cf. 4Kal = 4Ba-ú, Dungi. Vösl-Pérücke, I. See also Ba-ú’s name: 4Kal-sîl-sîr-sîr, “the youthful one (or the lamassu) of the ‘street of wailing’”, and her temple Ė-sîl-sîr-sîr, and cf. p. 19.

5 Cf. I. 6, mu(sh)-tin mēn me-e na... kal me-en.

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4Geshtī-an-na, Ur-Ba-u, Statue, VI: 5, 6; C. T., XV, 19: 13, 18, 23, 27; H. A. V., no. 2: 70; II R., 59, Rev., 11;
4Ama-geshtī (-na), Urkagina, Tontafel, Rev., II: 1, 3;
4Mu(sh)-tin, II R., 59, Rev., 10;

Mu(sh)-tin-an-na, R. H., p. 85: 23; p. 136: 25/6; no. 1, col. II: 6;
Mu(sh)-tin-azag, Zimmern, S. K., p. 27, no. 26, col. II: 12; 2
Mu(sh)-tin NU-NUNUZ, R. H., p. 89: 16, et passim;
Mu(sh)-ti-in sal-sa, Thureau-Dangin, N. F., AO 4329, Rev., III: 2;
Mu(sh)-ti-na, Pinches, Manch., I: 7;
Mu(sh)-ti-na-na, Zimmern, S. K., p. 36, no. 31, col. I: 10;
Mu(sh)-ti(!)-an-na, Zimmern, S. K., p. 51, no. 64, col. II: 5, 18;
Mu(sh)-ti(!)-e, Zimmern, l. c., col. II: 17;
Ama-4Mu(sh)-tin(-na), Scheil, R. A., VIII, p. 164, col. II: 47 = Zimmern, S. K., p. 3,
no. 2, col. II: 7; C. T., XV, 20: 23;
Ama-4Mu(sh)-tin-na, no. 6, col. I: 9; no. 7: 3; C. T., XV, 18: 13;
Ama-4Mu(sh)-tin-an-na, R. H., p. 67: 20; IV R., 30, no. 2, Obv., 21; Rev., 9; IV R. 27, no. 1, add. p. 6a: 12;

Col. II: 8, 9.  KI-KAL-A, KI-4DUMU-ZI-DA. Both of these expressions occur also in Zimmern, S. K., p. 26, no. 26, col. IV: 16/7, where, as here, they stand likewise in parallelism. Cf. also l. 12, ki-kal(? garas?)-a shu-du-a = col. III: 15, [ki]-shu-du-a kal-a-[shu]; C. T., XV, 14: 25, ki-kal li-be-ir-ri (Nergal text). For the several pronunciations of ki-kal (= hirim, kankal, ulitin), see Br. 9752ff.

When Singashid, king of Erech, records that he built (mu-ne-en-du) for Lugal-band8 and Nin-sun the “É-ki-kal, ‘the habitation of the joy of their hearts’”, it becomes at once evident that ki-kal can not have — at least not here — a meaning “uncultivated ground, ground not covered with buildings” (kankallu), or “place of a ruined house” (nidūtu, teriktu), nor some such significance as “Ruine, Trümmerhaufe, Wüstenei, Wüstenis”. Surely, a king would hardly build (!) “ruins” and call them “habitation of the joy of the heart”. No, the

1 Here with the attribute nin-gū-si-zi-a, probably “mistress of (with) beautiful neck”.
2 Here parallel with 4Du-shir-ra SAL-KU (sister of) 4Da-mu-[pe] (= Dumuzi) and 4Nin-gal-azag.
3 See above, p. 47, note 2.
4 Poebel, B. E., VI, part 2, p. 12, note 2.
5 Jensen, K. B., VII, p. 520 (pitre); Delitzsch, H. W. B., p. 460, a (nidītu).
6
ki-kal is here evidently the “place of the youthful one”, i.e., of the “lord”2 Dumuzi.3 But Dumuzi is the “lord of the netherworld”, hence ki-kal = “netherworld” (syn. of edin, A-ra-li, which latter is here parallel with ki-Dumu-zi, ki-kal). Seeing, however, that the “netherworld” was according to Semitic conception a somewhat dreary place, a place of “ruins”,4 the ki-kal acquired in course of time the meaning “ruined, desolated, uncultivated place”.

Col. II : 10. A-RA-LI DU(L)-SŪB-BA. For A-ra-li see, pp. 19; 36, note 2; 39, note 5; 40, note 1, and for Du(l)-sūb-ba, pp. 39 ff. Notice also the remarkable expression in Zimmern, S. K., p. 23, no. 25, col. II : 48, A-ra-li gū-bar úr-ra, i.e., either “A., the strange shores” (see, pp. 17, note 2 a; 18 a; 24) of the “veiled one” (zir = kutdmu, H. A. V., p. 398), i.e., of Ishtar as the “be-lit i-ri; or “A., the hostile, strange shores”; cf. also Zimmern, S. K., p. 43, no. 41 : 3, edin-na gu-ba-ra...]

Col. II : 12. KI-KAL (?K/GARASH ?)-A SHU-DŪ-A. For ki-kal see above, p. 51. Though the kal of the duplicate passage, col. III : 15, [ki]-shu-da-a kal-a-[šá], is absolutely certain, I imagine to see in our line here a ki-s-ši, i.e., k/garash, rather than a ki-kal. Ki-s-ša stands in the same relation to ki-kal,5 as does d-kur-w to d-kur, i.e., it signifies the “hades”, “netherworld”. Notice the development of the meaning of k/garash:

1. It signifies, as the writing clearly indicates, the “place(ki) of the youthful one (kal) who is dead (s-ši = idim) or far away (s-ša = bad)”,6 i.e., the “place of the lord”, the “place of Dumuzi”, the “Arali”, the “place minus strength” — all of which are here in parallelism with k/garash.

2. This place, being within or in the innermost and most secret parts of the great fold (tūr), the earth, and hiding within itself all dead and living things, came to be looked upon as the great “womb”,7 hence karash = karshu, karasu, “Leibesinnere”, Delitzsch, H. W. B., p. 356, a.

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1 Cf. the ki-ša-ša-ša, above, p. 21 : 2.
2 Cf. the parallel ki-Dumu-zi of l. 9.
3 See above, p. 25, note 6 (namā). See above, p. 25, note 6 (namā).
4 Cf. also dKAL = Alad, Br. 483 = dKAL = Alad, above, p. 26, note 3, b.
5 Notice this twofold distinction in the syllabaries, Br. 9782/3, and cf. our remarks on ki-bad-du and ki-idim, above, p. 36, note 2, p. 44, note 4.
6 Cf. here the Sha(g)-sur-ra = 1) “womb”; 2) the “earth” as the great “womb”; 3) the “goddess” of this great “womb”: Ishtar, the great “Mother”, who gives birth to everything, see C. T., XXV, 305 : 12, dSHA(d) sha-sa-sa-TUR (= “goddess of the midst of the fold”) be-lit AN-nišk dIštar, “Sh., the mistress of the gods, Ishtar”; C. T., XXIV, 26 : 185, dNin-šu-Ša-su-ra, “mistress of the fold”; Pinches, E. N., (= P.S.B.A., March, 1911), XII : 9, 10, Sha(g)-sur-ra Be-lit AN-nišk ša lašUr-rak, i.e., dNin-an-na of Erech, the “mother” and “bride” of Dumuzi; 4) the “netherworld” as a marshy, morose abode, full of misery and without fresh or flowing water. This meaning of sha(g)-sur-ra is still evident from Thureau-Dangin, N. P., AO 4533/5, Obv., col. IV : 11f.,
3. The netherworld was surrounded by water. That part of the netherworld which adjoined the water was “marshy” and “moory,” like its terrestrial prototype at the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates; hence, *karash = karāshu*, “morass”, “mire”, “Matsch”, Jensen, K. B., VI¹, p. 504.

4. This marshy condition made the landing of the ship, on which the dead were conveyed to the netherworld, difficult, and the progress over it hazardous, causing sometimes utter ruin; hence *karash = “place of misery”*.

5. The netherworld was “walled” in by seven walls, like a fortress; hence *karash = karāshu*, “fortified camp”, Delitzsch, H. W. B., p. 356, b. Cf. here 𒂗𒈗, “dig”, i. e., the “walled in place of the dead”, and Ishtar’s name: *Nin-tin-dig-ga*, “the mistress who brings back to life, delivers all those who are within this ‘walled in place’, this fortress or fortified camp (cf. the *quāri* or “prison” of I St. Peter, III : 19), who saves and restores to health and new life all those who are at the very ‘gates of hell’ or ‘hades’,” *KA karash-a-ta = ina pi-i ka-ra-she-e*, IV R., 22, no. 2 : 20, 21; cf. l. c., 54, no. 1 : 41.

6. The netherworld is the “great fold” where the flocks of the shepherd Dumuzi were kept and from which they were led out; hence Dumuzi’s name *4En-īš-na GA-RASH*, see above, p. 34, note 15.

7. The netherworld, lastly, is the “place of judgment;” hence *karash = ga-rash = purussā, shipitu*, “Strafgericht”, Jensen, K. B., VI¹, p. 504.

Delitzsch’s I *karasu*, karashu; I u. II *karashu* (H. W. B., p. 356, a, b) belong together.


where Ishtar, the *nu-gi-i-b Nin-an-na* (col. I : 2), sings of her husband *4MAR-TU*, the Dumuzi of the “West-land”, as follows:

| enen-za en-gu-ra i-i-i-š(g) (la) | NU-DU-TU |
| enen-za en-gu-ra i-i-i-š(g) (la) | NU-DU-TU |
| en-en-za en-gu-ra i-i-i-š(g) (la) | NU-DU-TU |
| en-en-za en-gu-ra i-i-i-š(g) (la) | NU-DU-TU |
| en-en-za en-gu-ra i-i-i-š(g) (la) | NU-DU-TU |
| en-en-za en-gu-ra i-i-i-š(g) (la) | NU-DU-TU |
| en-en-za en-gu-ra i-i-i-š(g) (la) | NU-DU-TU |

“Thy word, when it goes over the ocean, ....

“Thou, thy word, when it goes over the sea, the sea is frightened;

“Thou, thy word, when it goes over the marsh, the marsh trembles (waits);

“Thou, thy word, when it goes over the moody marsh, ...

(unfinished broken away)

Škā-suru-ra is here evidently in parallelism with a-me-ba-ra = *embar = apparru* (M. 7844) and with *zu-gal(ge) = šegu* (M. 7853), a synonym of *gara-heh* and of *šeg* = ṣērum, “netherworld”, M. 7802.

between the ka-ab-gaz-e and the mulu ál-lá-a. In view of the fact that ki-ú-lá-a is a name for "netherworld", of which Dumuzi is the mulu or "lord", and that the mulu ka-ásh-ka-sa (= ka-ab-gaz-e, H. A. V., p. 441, note 5) is likewise a name for Dumuzi, I prefer to see in the mulu shu-du(a)-a a designation of Dumuzi (with whom, in fact, this term is in parallelism) and in the ki-shu-da-a the "place where Dumuzi as the shu-du-a keeps himself".

This being so, C. T., XV, 20: 28, 29, might be read and translated as follows:

mulu shu-da-a e-ne-ra  mu-un-da-gir(úl)-e
mulu ál-lá-a e-ne-ra  mu-un-da-gir(úl)-e, i. e.,

"To 'the smitten one', to him with him (= the gall') she (= Ishtar) goes;

"To 'the one without strength', to him with him she goes"

If illaku and ilku really do belong together, the shu-da-a may possibly mean "governor, ruler, commander", sc. of the netherworld. Other interpretations are, of course, possible, but all must remain, for the present at least, extremely doubtful.

Col. II: 13. KI-Á-LÁ-A, occurs also in col. III: 15, and in IV R., 30, no. 2:1—4, which Zimmer, S. B. T., p. 204, reads and translates:

[kí,?] ál-lá-a  ganam ĺl-bi
[a(?)-sha]r ik-ki[a-mu-ú  lah-ra u pu-ḥad-sa]
[kí,?] ál-lá-a  úl[ṣ māš-bi]
[a(?)-]shar ik-ka-su-ú  en-za u [la-la-sha], i. e.,

"[wo] festgehalten ist  das Mutterschaf und sein Lamm],

"[wö] gebunden ist  die Ziege und [ihr Zicklein]."

Without the preceding ki, ál-lá is found in IV R., 30, no. 2:36ff. = R. H., p. 67, Obv., 1ff., where we read as follows:

36 (1) a lum-ma ál-al-lá-al-é-é-a  a lum-ma ál-al-lá-al-é-é-e
37 (2) a-hu-lap un-nu-bi sha ik-ka-mu-u  38 a-hu-lap ush-shu(shu)-bi sha ik-ka-su-ú
(3) (a-hu-lap un-nu-bi sha im-ma-hu-u  a-hu-lap ush-shu-bi sha im-ma-hu-u)
39 (4) hur-mu al-é-ne  súb-ša Ĺl-li-em-ma al-dur
(5) ([bani (Z. uṣurtu?) sha] im-ma-hu-ú: ik-ka-mu-ú: ri-é-um ana Ĺul-lu-ki a-shib)

1 See above, p. 17, note 2, b.
2 For the benefit of those who are intent upon solving the correct significance of shu-dá(a)-a, I may mention that dá may change with de (gú-de = gú-bá, Br. 667 = 672); with dá ("Nin-uru-mu-un-dá, C. T., XXIV, 5:10 = "Nin-uru-ma-un-dá, C. T., XXIV, 22:110); with dá (GAB-KID-dá-a, C. T., XV, 30:14 = GAB-KID-dé-á, l. e., 27:11), with dá(g) (en-nu-ni(g)-gá...dá, C. T., XV, 27:22ff. = en-nu-ni(g)-gá...dá(g) l. c., 30:24ff.); with tag, tí (= Ĺlu), du, dá (gish-dá-a, Br. 5714 = gish-tag-a, Br. 5711 = tí, M. 4274, mahášu sha tí = gish-du-dá, Gude, Cyl. A, 7:15 = gish-shu-dá, Cyl. A, 12:24 = tag = mahášu sha mímmu). According to this sha-dá(a)-a may mean "eradicate, slayer, governor, regent, the smitten one, the adorned one, the beautiful one"

but which of these meanings is the one intended here? In conclusion cf. the shu-da-a (a measure?) mentioned by Thureau-Dangin, J. A., Jan.-Feb., 1908, p. 97, no. 2; St. of Vult., p. 45, note 2.
Leaving the various grammatical impossibilities of the Semitic translation out of consideration, the following ought to be noticed in connection with this passage:

1. The very fact that the Semitic translator gives for l. 1 and 4 several renderings, shows that he himself had some difficulty in understanding this passage.

2. The hur of l. 4 is parallel with sub. This sub, either "shepherd" or "beautiful one", is, of course, Dumuzi; hence, the hur must be Dumuzi likewise. We know that Dumuzi had the name "Lugal-igi-hur x-ra "the king with beautiful eyes (face)", thus showing that hur = banu (M. 6404), "beautiful".

3. Hur and sub are parallel also with the lum of l. 1. Above we have seen that Dumuzi was called the i-bi-lum-lum, probably = ta babil panii, "freundlich, gut", because lum = babili, "hervorbringen, erzeugen", is a synonym of ushilubu (root eshebu), "hervorbringen, Frucht tragen"11 and unnubu, "uppig keimen, Frucht tragen".12 To unnubu belongs also enub which, when applied to a woman, has the meaning "Uppigkeit, Fruchtbarkeit", and when applied to a man that of "strotzende Kraft, Zeugungskraft". Dumuzi as the lum might, therefore, be very well the "manly one, the one possessed with virility, der Zeugungsfähige,13 the charming one, the beautiful one".

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1 This gú stands in R. H. lower than the preceding mu. It is probably intended to explain the hur, which the annotator wishes to take in the sense of gú-hur = haru sha nam-me, see Delitzsch, H. W. B., p. 275, a.

2 Translated by Zimmerm., A. O., XIII, p. 11:
"Wie lange noch mit dem Sprühen, das festgehalten ist,
vie lange noch mit dem Grün, das gebunden ist;
mit dem Schicksal(1), das niedergehalten ist, so daß der Hirt in Vernichtung dasit, mit der Satzung des Landes, die niedergehalten ist!";
Langdon, S. B. P., p. 307, renders:
"How long shall the springing of verdure be restrained?
How long shall the putting forth of leaves be held back?
"My city is oppressed: the shepherd sits in desolation.
"In my city the laws of the land are suppressed".

3 As, e. g., that the a in áru-me-a is not accounted for; that the hur-mu in l. 7 is altogether ignored; that the mu of l. 4 has no Semitic equivalent, etc. etc.

4 See above, p. 40.

5 Cf. p. 41, note 1; p. 44, note 3.

6 This parallelism of hur and sub would speak, it seems to me, decidedly in favor of our interpretation offered above, p. 41.

7 Page 27, note 9.


9 Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 320.

10 Is the lum = shibu (M. 8570) to be derived from eshebu, per analogy of lidú from aládu? If so, lum = shibu would be "der Zeugungsfähige" rather than the "sheikh", see above, p. 27, note 9.

11 Delitzsch, H. W. B., p. 141, b.

12 Delitzsch, l. c., p. 97, a.

13 l. e., the one who is able to bring about, who is the natural cause of, the ushilubu and unnubu.
4. \( \text{A-lá} = \text{al-lá-al} = \text{al} \) (= \( \text{lá} \), Br. 10194/5), being translated here by the three variants \( \text{immaḫú} \), \( \text{ikkamú} \), \( \text{ikkasú} \), must be merely different writings of one and the same word: \( \text{á-lá} \), which means literally “minus strength”, while the \( \text{ki-d-lá-a} \) is the “place of him who is minus strength”, i.e., of Dumuzi, the god of the powers of nature, who is “impotent” during the winter, the time of barrenness. Dumuzi consequently is quite rightly called \( \text{mulú á-lá-a}. \)

The \( \text{è}^2 = \text{e} \) of l. 1 expresses the “present tense”. For such an interchange of \( \text{è} \) and \( \text{e} \), see above, p. 13, note 2.

Disregarding the Semitic translation, I would prefer to render the above given passage as follows:

"How long still that 'the manly one' be without strength," how long still that 'the manly one' be without strength,

"That my 'beautiful one' be without strength," that the shepherd (?) 'beautiful one') sit like one undone,

"That within my city" my 'beautiful one' be without strength".

This gives us the desired antitheses: manly — yet without strength; beautiful — yet without attraction: despised, undone, annihilated, in misery is Dumuzi while in the \( \text{ki-d-lá-a}. \)\(^4 \)

Col. II : 14, 16. \( \text{KI-SHU-E} \)

\( \text{ESHEMEN} \) \( \text{(KI-E-NE)} \)

\( \text{MÁSH} \) \( \text{BA-AN-SI-EM-MÁ-SHÚ}. \) Similarly in col. III : 17, 18:

\( \text{ki-shu-e} \)

\( \text{áž shá(?)} \) másh ba-an-ši-em-má-shú.

Br. 9780 mentions a \( \text{ki-shu-e-za-} \) \( \text{D} \) \( \text{innanna} \) = \( \text{kippu} \), in which the za \( \text{innanna} \) may be explained as meaning “the ‘bright’, ‘shining’ (za = za-\( \text{gin}^5 \) = ibbu, ellu) \( \text{ki-shu-e} \) of Ishtar”, or the \( \text{ki-shu-e} \) may be merely a variant of \( \text{ki-shu-e} \) or of its \( \text{gumú} \) form \( \text{ki-shu-e} \), i.e., the “beautiful \( \text{ki-shu-e} \)”. \( \text{Kippu} \) according to K. 40, col. II : 47—49\(^6 \) translates, besides the \( \text{ki-shu-e-za-} \) \( \text{innanna} \), also the Sumerian \( \text{KI-E-NE-DI} \) \( \text{innanna} \), “the beautiful (\( \text{DI} = \text{sí} \) place (\( \text{ki} \) of the lady (\( \text{E-NE} = \text{e-gi} \) Ishtar”, and the \( \text{shú(= KU)-} \) \( \text{ul}, \) “tent (\( \text{shú} = \)

\(^1 \) See p. 54.

\(^2 \) M. 5879 considers \( \text{è} = \text{maḫú} \); but the \( \text{immaḫú} \) of l. 3 is against this.

\(^3 \) Cf. Gudea, Cyl. A, 1 : 3.

\(^4 \) In H. A. F., no. 8 : 20/1, \( \text{šum} \) and \( \text{á-lá} \) stand likewise in antithesis. \( \text{A-lá} \), when used in connection with “musical instruments”, has the meaning “silent” “mute” (against Thureau-Dangin, Z. A., XVII, p. 199, note 4; Witzel, O. L. Z., 1913, Sp. 4, note 2). Cf. also the \( \text{kur-al} \), above, p. 45, note 1.

\(^5 \) Cf. also the \( \text{za} \) of C. T., XV, 25 : 10, which in the duplicate passage, K. 41, col. II : 17/8, is written \( \text{za-} \text{gin}^5 \) = \( \text{uk-ni-i} \).

\(^6 \) See Delitzsch, H. W. B., p. 347, b.

\(^7 \) Or is \( \text{E-NE} \) the plural of \( \text{K} = \text{reḫútu} \) (see p. 57)?

\(^8 \) Cf. also the \( \text{šú(= KU)-} \) \( \text{ul}, \) “the loud shouting, the singing which goes on in the \( \text{kippú} \)”, Br. 10668.
zaratu) of joy”. In Br. 9751 the KI-E-NE-DI-Inanna has the gloss e-she-me-in\(^1\) and is translated by melultu ša "U-GÚN (Ishtar). But e-she-me-in is the gloss also of KI-E-NE-DI (= kippu, Br. 9746), which in col. III : 18, appears as a variant of KI-E-NE and is parallel with ki-shu-e. From this it follows that KI-E-NE-DI = KI-E-NE. The DI may be explained either according to p. 41, note 3, or it may be = šá, a variant of sa-ga, šá-da = šá(g) = dumqu, banu, “beautiful”, see p. 46, note 6.

Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 395, translates kippu by “Freundenhäuschen, Freundennatt der Ishtar”, and its synonym melultu, which he derives quite correctly from elelu, “to shout, to cry (either in joy or grief)”, by “Freundennatt, Stätte geschlechtlicher Freude”. The literal translation of ki-shu-e is “place of the ‘tent, abode (shu = phonetic writing for šú) of e’”. This e is again a phonetic writing for a;\(^2\) cf. the Ė-shù-a,\(^3\) “the house of the ‘tent of a’”, the well-known adyton of Marduk; the a...a-ri-a in the expression a An-na a-ri-a-mésh = ša riḫūt Ė-Anûm riḫû (Br. 11458) which changes with a...e-ri-a in Gudea, Cyl. A, III : 16, (Nin-Girsu) en-zid a kur-gal e-ri-a, “true lord, begotten by the ‘great mountain’”, and especially the "Ní-nú-āmash-a, C. T., XXIV, 11 : 38 = "Nîn-āmash-e,\(^4\) “the (true) mistress of the ‘fold of e’”, l. c., 24 : 55.

Now, as a = e has the meaning riḫû ša riḫūitu or riḫūtu,\(^5\) it becomes at once evident that the ki-shu-e is the “place of begetting”, the “bridal-chamber”, the most holy and sacred compartment in a given temple, the adyton par excellence, where Ishtar and Dumuzi pass their wedding night at Easter.\(^6\)

According to our text, this place is prepared by the “lamb”, the “goat” and the “kid” — three euphemistic expressions by which Ishtar designates herself (and her maidens) as the “virgin” (šil,\(^7\) “lamb”; másh,\(^8\) “kid”) and “mother” (ús,\(^9\) “goat”; opp. “kid”). The ki-shu-e and the KI-E-NE(-DI), therefore, are correctly designated by Jensen as the “Stätten geschlechtlicher Freude der Ishtar”.

Col. II:17. MU-LU BAD-DU. Cf. the name of Dumuzi: “Lo-gal-ki-ba-du, above, p. 36,

\(^1\) This scheme I consider to be the prototype of the Phoenician ša šalām, see B. E., Series D, vol. VI.

\(^2\) For this interchange of e and a see also H. A. V., p. 440, note 2.

\(^3\) See also C. T., XV, 19 : 26, where, however, the copy gives Ešánšatt uš,a; cf. the Ešá-šu-nin-azag | E-60 ša Gir-enku, II R., 61 : 34,g,h (cf. ll. 16, 18,b).

\(^4\) See also above, p. 29, note 9.


\(^6\) See H. A. V., p. 391, no. 2.

\(^7\) For Ishtar as the șšil see above, p. 29, note 4, c.

\(^8\) Cf. the br. Māsh (a well-known variant of másh) = Br-š, the wife of Ninib, H. A. V., p. 424.

\(^9\) See also above, p. 30, note 1, and notice that both, Ishtar and Dumuzi, are the ṣe-ša, ṣa-a-ša, šerka, “sheep, ewe, lamb, ram (arics)”, see pp. 32ff.
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note 2; p. 44, note 4, and see also p. 52, note 5. The mu-šu bas-du is, of course, Dumuzi; while the ki-tush, being parallel with the ešemen, “bridal-chamber”, and the ki-mushed, “place of the ‘birds’”, is the “harem” inhabited by him and Ishtar. Of this harem Dumuzi is the “god” (dim-me-ir). The parallel expression of col. III : 19, is in all probability to be emended to:


“On account of the far removed one, who to his place has not returned”. The ra of the verbal suffix ra-shű can be explained only by supposing that gi-ra is here a phonetic writing for gir, gir, gi-ri, etc., “to go, to return to”.

Col. II : 18. KI-MUSHEN(HU). The HU = mushen is exactly as reproduced; this excludes, it seems, a reading ki-ri (= ki-ri-a, H. A. V., p. 398) or ki-nina (cf. the Ki-nina above, p. 33, note 4; p. 36, note 2). For mushen, “birds”, as a designation of the “maidens” (ardatu) of Ishtar, see H. A. V., p. 399. The ki-mushed, “place of the maidens”, is, however, a synonym of É-a-ri = bû ar-da-tum, R. H., p. 83:29, 30; cf. H. A. V., p. 398.

Somewhat difficult is the expression e-ba-ni-in-dú(a)-ga, here and in col. III : 20. The e may be = lû, “behold”. But what would be the meaning of dú(a)? “To cry out”? This would leave the infixes unexplained. On account of these difficulties, I consider e...dú(a) to be a variant of a...dú(a) = šanû ša nākri; cf. here such passages as C. T., XV, 13: 21/2 = IV R., 28, no. 4, Rev., 32/3, where we read:

úrû a-dú(a)-a     a gi-a-zu
[ana? aší] ša nak-rum ū-ša-nu-u     a-šu-ta tu-še
(Nibrâ) a-dú(a)-ga     a-ta mar-ra-zu
ša nāk-rū     ana me-e sa-šu-šu, i.e.,
“The city’, which the foe has
turned upside down,
“(Nippur), which the foe has
turned upside down,
when at last wilt thou have mercy
upon it?” 1

Cf. also IV R., 28, no. 4, Rev., 37-42. We may, however, connect mu + dú(a) and read mu(sh)-a-ba-ni-in-dú(a)-ga. For mu(sh)-dú(a) = gish(ušh)-dú(a), see D. T. 67 (= A. S. K. T., p. 119), Obv., 18/9 (Delitzsch, H. W. B., p. 312, b), where it is said of Ishtar:

mu(sh)-ba-ab-dú(a)-ga     in-ša-ni-nu
i-sha-ri ri-ša-šu     il-ta-mad
mu(sh)-su-ub-dú(a)-ga     in-ša-nu
na-sha-qam     il-ta-mad, i.e.,

1 The Semitic translation gives: “which the foe has cast into the water”. 
"The embrace of a husband she learned (experienced),
"To kiss she learned".

Here belongs also Pinches, E. N. (= P. S. B. A., March, 1911), p. 88 : 40,

mulu mu(š)-na-e-di(u) mulu im-su-[ub]-[su-ub]-ba
man-ma-an a-a ir-ši-e-shi man-ma-an a-a ish-shi-ši-ši

and no. 8, col. IV : 1, ni(š)-mu(š)-e-di(u)-ga-zu im-šu-lu-š-e. If this latter explanation
be preferred, we may translate:

"On account of my extended... where there is experienced the embrace
the place of maidens, of the husband".

Col. II : 20, 21. SHU or ME-RI GISH-SHUB-BA. With gish-shub, which apparently is
here an adjective applicable to both "hand" and "foot", cf. Gudea, Cyl. A, XXIV : 17, è
mu-šiš gish-e-im-ma-shub, "er erbaute den Tempel, er ... ichn" (Th.-D.); R. T. C., no. 191,
mui da gish-shub-a-ba-ba-al-la, "Jahr, wo gegraben wurde der Kanal g." (Th.-D., S. A. K. I.,
p. 227, no. 12, a); gish-ü-shub = nalbantu, "form" (sc. to make bricks), changes with ü-shub
and gish-shub, cf. sig gish-shub-ba...gar, "to put the brick into the ‘form’", Gudea, Statue E,
III : 9; pisàn gish-shub-ba, "the form-box", l. c., III : 1 (= pisàn gish-ü-shub-ba, Statue F,
II : 12). Cf. also gish-shub = pitpanu, "bow", and especially Thureau-Dangin, N. F.,
AO 4330, face II : 7, 8, gish-shub mulu gish-shub. From these passages it seems to be evident that
gish-shub means "to throw (into) wood, to encase". The "bow" is the "wood
(i. e., the ‘arrow’) thrower"; the "form" is the "wood" into which the clay is "thrown" to
form it into a brick, which "wood" was in the shape of a "box" (pisàn). The id gish-shub-ba
is a canal with a wooden casing at its borders to keep the earth or ground from falling into
the canal bed. The shu or me-ri gish-shub-ba, therefore, designates the "hands" or "feet
which are thrown into a wood (yoke),¹ which are encased, fettered".

If this explanation be correct, Dumuzi, while in the netherworld, must have been
considered to be one whose hands and feet, though "radiant with splendor" (mi-shu-pa),²
were yet gish-shub-ba, "fettered" — an observation which explains why the Semitic trans-
lator should have rendered the ki-ú-ta-ba by ashar ikkamū or ashar ikkasi, “the place where
is bound, fettered” everyone and everything that inhabits it.

It is, no doubt, the cry of the "fettered" Dumuzi of which we read in Zimmern, S. K.,
p. 30, no. 27, col. III : 8,

shu-mu gi-ga gir-mu gi-ga ama-mu mu-ri-zu

"My sore hands, my sore feet — my mother, wilt thou not help them?"

From no. 4, where Utu plays the rôle of Dumuzi, it appears that this state of the

¹ Cf. here the shu-pa-pa (= shup-pa?) = rakšu, “yoke” Br. 7180; Delitzsch, H. W. B., p. 622, a.

*
"true Son" as a *mulu* *giššu*-*ba* or "fettered one" is the result of an evil "spell" (gu) which has been "woven around" or cast over Dumuzi. Ishtar ('Innanna), by her *ba*l-*ba*, brings this "spell" to an end.

The action of "yi", being attributed to "hand" and "foot", must be something which both members can do. The best translation of *gi* seems to be "to raise, to lift up, to elevate". In this sense we find shu-..*gi-gi* in Rim-Sin, Kanephore B, II:11, "a kingship which gladdens the heart, a reign of graciousness, may KAL(Lama) shu-a-gi-gi the protecting deity by intercession (lit. by lifting up of hands) before (ki-ta) An and Ishtar for them (i.e., Kudur-Mabuk and Rim-Sin) implore". A variant of shu-*gi* is shu-*gi*, see no. 3:6, 40.

É-babbar *Utu-ra* an-shè shu-ni ba-ni-in-gi

"In the temple É-babbar of Shamash towards heaven her hands she ("Be-li-ti") raised" (sc. saying: here enumerating her attributes).

On the basis of the above-given explanations, I venture to suggest the following translation of

No. 1, col. II:3—22:

3. *gi-er-ra* *sha(b)-mu* *gi-er-ra* *edin-na* na-mu-un-ma-al

"In wailing'. For my 'beloved' for him I broke (break) out:

in wailing towards (in) the 'desert',

---

1 Cf. the expressions, occurring in no. 4:

Gu-sar = *tamâ* *sha* *qa*, "to weave an evil spell around someone". Cf. IV R., 3:4/5, and notice that *gu-sar* is a syn. of *gu-sar*: cf. 4*Gu-sar* = Marduk as the Dumuzi around whom cords have been woven?

Gu-*ri*, "to cast (ramâ) into cords", "to afflict with an evil spell".

Gu-shir-shir (NU-NU) = *tamâ* *sha* *qa*; cf. IV R., 6:33/5, 6, and *gu-sar*, above. See also 4*Gu-shir-ra*, above, p. 51, note 2.

Gu-tab-ba = esêpu *sha* *qa*, "to weave double cords", "to double the cords".

Gu-*gi* = zurrubu *sha* *qa*, "to weave an ensnaring, crushing, oppressing, tight cord". Notice also that zurrubu = sar, tab, see above.

Gu-tag-tag = shullutu *sha* *qa*, "to sever the cord". Cf. IV R., 17:17, 6, where Shamash (?) is called the mu-shal-li-šum-ri, "who severs the cords woven by the wicked".

Gu-Il-Ma-la-na), "to remove (nasûhâ) the cords".

2 For bal-bal = *shipâtu*, "exorcism, charm" cf. no. 12:21, 22.

21 garza-bi *da*-ba-da-an-kur

22 É-zi-da bal-bi bal-kur-ra


16 [garza-bi] *da*-ba-da-an-kur[!]

17 [zi-il-la] *da*-ša-la *da-par-ri-[i2]

18 É-zi-du bal-bi *da*-ba-da-an-kur[!]

19 *sha* bit-ki-*ni* ship-[ig] *uš*-šap-[ri]-[i2]

"Its (the temple's) ordinances he (the enemy) has suppressed,

"The exorcisms of the true temple he has changed, like evil (hostile) ones he has suppressed".

3 To be distinguished from shu-na...*gi-gi*, "to return something to".

4 Cf. also the *in*Shu-*gi* 4*En-ki* *sha* *Nibru*, Pinches, E. N., XI:1, 2, which consequently may be the star of the "old one" or of the "intercession (intercessor)".
4. *kur-[g]ul·gul*  
   "(I), the 'destroyer of the "mountain"',  
   the 'mistress of É-an-na', I;

5. *am[a] u-mu-un-na*  
   "(I), the 'mother of the "lord"',  
   the 'beautiful lady', I;

6. *[É]-kal-an-na*  
   "(I), of the 'house of the "youthful one of An"',  
   the 'maiden of An', I.

7. *sha(b)-mu gi-er-ra edin-na*  
   "For my 'beloved' in wailing towards (in) the 'desert',

8. *[k][i]-[k]al-a-ka*  
   "For the 'place of the youthful one'  
   (in wailing) I break out,

9. *[ki-][Du]mu-zi-da-ka*  
   "For the 'place of Dumuzi'

10. *A-ra-li*  
    "For the 'Arali',

11. *sha(b)-mu gi-er-ra edin-na*  
    "For my 'beloved' in wailing towards (in) the 'desert',

12. *ki-karash(? kal?)-a*  
    "For the 'place of the "beautiful one far away"',

13. *ki-ld-a*  
    "For the 'place of him who is without strength',

14. *ki-shu-e*  
    "For the 'bridal-chamber'

15. *sha(b)-mu gi-er-ra edin-na*  
    "For my 'beloved' in wailing towards (in) the 'desert',

16. *eshemen (KI-E-NE)*  
    "For the 'place of joys'  
    which the 'lamb' has prepared (sc. in wailing etc.).

   *na-mu-ma-al*  
   for him I broke (break) out:

   *na-mu-ma-al*  
   (in wailing) I break out,

   *na-mu-ma-al[l]*  
   (in wailing) I break out,

   *du(l)-sùb-ba-ka*  
   the 'shepherd(?)-hill (sc. in wailing I break out).

   *shu-dù-a-shú*  
   for the 'smitten one' (sc. in wailing I break out),

   *-Dumu-zi-da-shú*  
   for Dumuzi (sc. in wailing, etc.),

   *sil ba-an-ši-em-mà-sh[u]*  
   which the 'lamb' has prepared (sc. in wailing, etc.).
17. *ki-tush dim-me-ir-bi*  
“For the ‘habitation whose god  
*mu-šu bad du-[šù]*  
is “the one far away” (sc. in wailing, etc.),
18. [*]-e-damal-*mu* *ki-mushing-*mu  
“For my extended..., the ‘place of  
e-ba-ni-in-di(q)-ga-šú  
which the enemy has set upside down  
(sc. in wailing, etc.).
19. *sha(b)*-*mu* *gi-er-ra* *edin-na*  
“For my ‘beloved’ in wailing  
*na-mu* (sc.-ma-al)  
for him (sc. I broke (break) out):
20. *shu* *gish-shub-ba-ni*  
“For him who his fettered hands  
*na-mu-un-gí*  
can not raise (sc. in wailing, etc.),
21. *me-ri* *gish-shub-ba-ni*  
“For him who his fettered feet  
*na-mu-un-gí*  
can not lift up (sc. in wailing, etc.),
22. *edin-e ba(?)-te(?)...*  
“For him whom the ‘desert’ has .......

[Rest broken away.]
III.

DESCRIPTION OF TABLETS.

ABBREVIATIONS.

C. B. M., Catalogue of the Babylonian Museum, University of Pennsylvania, prepared by Professor H. V. Hilprecht; cf., confer; col(s), column(s); Exp., Expedition; f., following page; fl., following pages; fragm(s), fragment(s); H. A. V., Hilprecht Anniversary Volume; inscr., inscription; l., line; ll., lines; L. E., Left Edge; L. E., Lower Edge; Manch., Pinches, The Hymns to Tammûs in the Manchester Museum, Owens College; no(s), number(s); O., obverse; p., page; Pl(s), Plate(s); pp., pages; R., reverse; R. E., Right Edge; R. H., Reinsner, Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen; S. K., Zimmern, Sumerische Kultlieder aus aldbaby-
lonischer Zeit; U. E., Upper Edge; vol(s), volume(s).

Measurements are given in centimeters, width × length (height) × thickness. Whenever the tablet (or fragment) varies in size, the largest measurement is given.

A. AUTOGRAPH REPRODUCTIONS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXT.</th>
<th>PLATE.</th>
<th>C. B. M.</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,2</td>
<td>11383</td>
<td>Middle part of larger, half baked clay tablet. O. darker, with occasional black spots, R. lighter. Cracked and glued together. With the exception of those ll. which include the colophons, or which indicate the beginning of a new hymn, this tablet is not ruled. End of col. IV not inscribed. 2 cols. on O. and 2 on R. 12² × 12 × 3. Inscription, 22 (col. I) − 23 (col. II) + 22 (col. III) + 3 (col. IV) = 70 ll. “Tablet Hill”, I Exp. For translation of col. II: 3–22, see above, pp. 60ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3,4</td>
<td>3656</td>
<td>Lower part of baked tablet. O. light, R. darker, both with occasional black spots. Cracked, glued together. Ruled, double l. at end of R., followed on L. E. by a numeral indicating the number of ll. On L. E. inscription in 4 cols., with number of ll. in col. IV. 7² × 11² × 3. Inscription, 26 (O.) + 1 (L. E.) + 27 (R.) + 3 (L. E., col. I) + 2 (col. II) + 1 (col. III) + 1 (col. IV) = 60 ll. Originally, however, this tablet contained 37 ll. on O. + 38 ll. on R. = 75 ll. Numbering of ll. according to the original number of ll. “Tablet Hill”, II Exp. This tablet contains two separate hymns. O. has a hymn in form of a dialogue between Ishtar (Ga-sha-an-tu-dib-ba) and Dumuzi (&quot;Du-mu, p-tu U-mu-an-mu(š)-zi-da), see above, p. 45. R. contains a hymn in which Ishtar (under her several names) bewails her various temples. For her names and those of her temples cf. R. H., p. 58, Obv.; p. 89, Rev.; p. 93, Obv.; p. 94, Obv., etc.; and for l. 75, see above, p. 45, note 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5,6</td>
<td>2358</td>
<td>Greatly mutilated, baked tablet. Nearly all signs are either chipped off or weathered away. Ruled. Lower part of R. not inscribed. 7² × 13 × 3. Inscription, 30 (O.) + 26 (R.) = 56 ll. “Tablet Hill”, I Exp. Photographic reproduction, pls. I, II, nos. 1, 2. Hymn of &quot;Be-li-H, the sister of Dumuzi. The mu in qir-mu, l. 17, is clearly visible, but it has been corrected by the scribe to nī, cf. l. 51. ll. 4—17 = 38—50.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[63]
SUMERIAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS TO DUMU-ZI

TEXT. PLATE. C.B.M. DESCRIPTION.

4  7,8  10465  Baked clay tablet, ruled, cracked. O. darker, with occasional black spots. R. lighter. Last l. of R. separated from the rest by a double line. Lower part of R. not inscribed. 74 × 138 × 3. Inscription, 32 (O.)  23 (R.) = 55 II, "Tablet Hill", I Exp. Photographic reproduction, pls. III, IV, nos. 3, 4. At the R. E., opposite l. 1 of O., we find the sign šūbartā, a, e, which in all probability have to be read šūbartā (= nazāšu), "to put up", indicating that this tablet was "deposited" or "put up" in the temple of Nippur. According to the subscription, this tablet purports to contain the exorcisms, charms of Ishtar", bal-bal-e 4inanna-kara. For bal = šīghta, see above, p. 60, note 2; cf. also l. 1, bal-bal-e. Though somewhat mutilated, the inscription of this tablet is capable of being restored in its entirety. The inscription consists of an introduction, the subject matter proper, based upon the expressions mentioned above, p. 60, note 1, and a conclusion with a subscription. Ll. 1ff. ought to be restored as follows: bal-e šīghta(SAL-KU)-el-ni na-mu-e.


7  12  10084  Upper left hand part of an originally rather large tablet, with at least 2—3 cols. on O. and R. Light brown, ruled, half baked. Script small and somewhat effaced. At end of R., col. I, a double line. Last col. of R. not inscribed. 52 × 62 × 22. Inscription, 17 (O., col. I) + 5 (O., col. II) +...
TEXT. PLATE. C. B. M. DESCRIPTION.

13 20 1781 Kh. Collection. Lower right hand part of an originally rather large tablet, consisting of 3 cols. on O. and R. O. light, R. dark, with occasional black spots. Cracked. End of 1. on O. and R., col. IV, broken away. Ruled, heavy R. mark off the end and beginning of the several hymns. 112 × 10 × 4. Inscription, 17 (O., col. II) + 15 (O., col. III) + 17 (R., col. IV) + 20 (R., col. V) + 5 (R., col. VI) = 74 ll. "Tablet Hill", I Exp. Ishtar in the netherworld demanding of the gate-opener admission to the E-kur. The contents of this tablet are similar to R. H., pp. 75ff. (no. 43); pp. 77ff. (no. 44); cf., e.g., col. V: 3ff. with R. H., p. 75: 13ff. To the same series of texts belong also C. B. M. 2214 + 2284, which begin with mi-di "gāl-la...", "KAL-KAL gāl-[la...], cf. col. V: 9, 10. Unfortunately I was not able to copy these two tablets, yet with the help of a transcription hastily made, I am able to restore R. H., p. 76 almost completely. If time permits, I may publish in the near future a translation of this group of tablets.

8 13,14 11328 Half baked clay tablet, crumbling, cracked, glued together, greatly mutilated. Light, ruled. 2 cols. on O. and R. Double line at end of R. col. IV, the lower part of which is not inscribed. Tablet has Professor Harper's registration mark: Ni. 22-2-16 (or 10)-89. 9 × 16 × 3². Inscription, 29 (O., col. I) + 25 (O., col. II) + 25 (R., col. III) + 17 (R., col. IV) = 95 ll. "Tablet Hill", I Exp. Photographic reproduction. Pls. V, VI, nos. 5, 6. Ishtar ḫNin-er-an-na bewails in the two hymns of this tablet the destruction of her temples and harems and the absence of her husband Dumuzi. Notice the peculiar writing in col. III: 8, mu(sh)-ka-nu-7-bi na-mu-us-na-al, followed by mu(sh)-du-ru asag ešu-[a] na-mu-un-[a-al]. For col. II: 18ff., see above, p. 42.

10 17 2227 Upper part of baked tablet, ruled. O. darker, R. lighter. L. at end of R., the lower part of which is not inscribed. 75 × 88 × 3². Inscription, 11 (O.) + 3 (R.) = 14 ll. "Tablet Hill", I Exp. Photographic reproduction, pl. VII, nos. 7, 8. Ishtar bewails the miserable condition and solitude of her houses, temples and harems.

11 18 19085 Middle part, so it seems, of an unfinished hymn. Light brown, ruled. Lower part of col. I, the whole of col. II and all of R. not inscribed. 74 × 115 × 3. Inscription, 7 ll. "Tablet Hill", II Exp. Ishtar bewails her and Dumuzi's utter destruction (gīl-ll-em).

12 19 475 Kh. Collection. Upper left hand part of an originally very large tablet, containing at least 2 cols. on O. Baked, ruled, cracked. Terra cotta. R. not inscribed. Script large and clear. 98 × 158 × 4². Inscription, 28 (O., col. I) + 21 (O., col. II) = 50 ll. Photographic reproduction, pl. VIII, no. 3. This tablet contains a duplicate inscription of the so-called "lament of the daughter of Sin", published by Pinches in P. S. B. A., Feb., 1895: K. 41, col. I: 9-14 = R. H., p. 60, Obv., 7–Rev., 21. That this tablet really does belong to the series of the "Sumerian lament hymns" is evident from the occurrence of the names of Dumuzi: Ama-uhumpal-an-na and (Ū)mu-us A-ra-[ll], ll. 28/9. For ll. 2ff. see p. 43, and for ll. 21/2, above, p. 60, note 2. Notice also the remarkable Semitic liturgical note in l. 24 and cf. above, p. 16.

13 20 1781 Kh. Collection. Lower right hand part of an originally rather large tablet, with at least 2 cols. on O. and R. Half baked, dark, crumbling, glued together, ruled. The several hymns are marked off either by a single line with numeral giving number of ll., or by a double line. Script clear. 252 × 6 × 10. Inscription, 15 (O.) + 17 (R.) = 32 ll. Photographic reproduction, pl. IX, nos. 10, 11. Ishtar bewails Dumuzi.
SUMERIAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS TO DUMU-ZI

B. PHOTOGRAPHIC (HALFTONE) REPRODUCTIONS.

HALFTONE PLATE DESCRIPTION C.B.M.

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<th>SEE TEXT NO.</th>
<th>1,2</th>
<th>III,IV</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2358</th>
<th>O. and R. a hymn in which Be-ü-li, the sister of Dumuzi, bewails the miserable fate brought upon her by the wicked enemy.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3,4</td>
<td>III,IV</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10465</td>
<td>O. and R. of tablet containing exorcisms or charms of Ishtar.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,6</td>
<td>V,VI</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11151</td>
<td>O. and R. of tablet containing two hymns in which Ishtar-Nin-si-um-nu bewails the destruction of her temples and harems and the absence of her husband and son Dumuzi.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7,8</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2227</td>
<td>O. and R. of tablet containing hymn in which Ishtar bewails the miserable condition and solitude of her several houses, temples and harems.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>Ishtar bewails the solitude, desolation and destruction of her temples. (Kh. Collection).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,11</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1781</td>
<td>O. and R. of tablet containing hymn in which Ishtar bewails her beloved Dumuzi. (Kh. Collection).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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C. NUMBERS OF THE CATALOGUE OF THE BABYLONIAN MUSEUM.

(Prepared by Professor H. V. Hilprecht.)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>C.B.M.</th>
<th>TEXT</th>
<th>PLATE</th>
<th>C.B.M.</th>
<th>TEXT</th>
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<td>19</td>
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<td>7,8</td>
<td>11330</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>15,16</td>
<td>11393</td>
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<td>3,4</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Cuneiform Texts
Reverse.
Obverse.
6

Reverse.

Col. IV.  Col. III.

5
10
15
5
10
8

Obverse.
Obverse of Autograph Text No. 3
Belili, the sister of Dumuzi, wails over the fate brought upon her by the wicked enemy
Reverse of Autograph Text No. 3

Belili, the sister of Dumuzi, wails over the fate brought upon her by the wicked enemy.
Obverse of Autograph Text No. 4
The “charms” wrought by Innanna-Ishtar
Reverse of Autograph Text No. 4
The "charms" wrought by Inanna-Ishtar
Obverse of Autograph Text No. 9
Inanna-Ishtar bewails Dumuzi, her absent husband and son
Innanna-Ishtar bewails Dumuzi, her absent husband and son
Inanna-Ištar bewails, on account of the absence of her beloved, the solitude of her houses, temples and harems.
Obverse of Autograph Text No. 12
Innanna-Ishtar bewails the solitude and desolation of her temples
From the Kh. Collection
Duplicate of R. H., p. 60:7 ff and K. 41, col. 1:3 ff
Obverse (10) and Reverse (11) of Autograph Text No. 13
Inanna-Ishtar bewails the absence of her beloved, Dumuzi

From the Kh. Collection
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OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
EDITED BY
D. V. HILPRECHT.

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