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H. V. HILPRECHT

VOLUME XXX, PART 1
SUMERIAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS
TO GOD DUMU-ZI OR
BABYLONIAN LENTEN SONGS
BY
HUGO RADAU

MÜNCHEN
To be obtained through Rudolf Merkel, Erlangen
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. e., 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 nārtu, whose sphere of influence is the "Church", the "Bride of the Lamb", and this the more so as Dumuzi himself was, according to Sumerian conception, the "Lamb (sherba) of God (An)" 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 (\(\zeta\iota\nu\omicron\alpha\iota\nu\iota\iota\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron \delta^\prime \tau\iota \nu \\alpha\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\iota\iota,\) 1 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 \(\alpha\iota\iota\iota\upsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon\sigma\eta\).

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 \(\alpha\iota\iota\iota\upsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon\sigma\eta\) 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.
B. A. ........ Beiträge zur Assyriologie, edited by Friedrich Delitzsch and Paul Haupt.
B. E. ........ "The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania", edited by H. V. Hilprecht.
Bél, the Christ... Hugo Radau, "Bél, the Christ of Ancient Times", Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, 1908.
B. G. T. .... Heinrich Zimmern, Der Babylonische Gott Tammuz, reprint from vol. XXVII of the Abhandlungen
der Philologisch-Historischen Klasse der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften,
No. XX, Leipzig, 1909.
Br. ........... Rudolph E. Brünnow, "A Classified List of Cuneiform Ideographs".
B. S. ........ Meissner-Rost, Bauinschriften Sanheribs.
C. B. M. ...... "Catalogue of the Babylonian Museum" of the University of Pennsylvania, prepared by H. V.
Hilprecht.
Creation-Story... Hugo Radau, "The Creation-Story of Genesis I, a Sumerian Theogony and Cosmogony", Open
Court Publishing Co., Chicago, 1902 (Out of print; a second, greatly enlarged and com-
pletely revised edition is in preparation and will appear shortly).
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.
J. S. .......... "Joseph Shemtob Collection" of Babylonian Tablets in the Museum of the University of Pennsyl-
vania, catalogued by H. V. Hilprecht.
K. ............ "Kuyunjak Collection".
K. A. T.3 ...... Eberhard Schrader, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. Third edition by H. Zimmern and
H. Winckler.
Kh. ............ "Khabaza Collection" of Babylonian Tablets in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania,
catalogued by H. V. Hilprecht.
M. .............. Bruno Meissner, Selbte assyrische Ideogramme.
Manch. ....... Theophilus G. Pinches, "The Hymns to Tammuz in the Manchester Museum, Owens College".
Reprint from Vol. 48, Part III., of "Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Literary
and Philosophical Society", Session 1903—1904.
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 Tello,
(Reprint.)
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. A. K. I. ... Fr. Thureau-Dangin, *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königseinwürfen*.
S. B. P. ...... Stephen Langdon, "Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms".
S. L. ........ Fritz Hommel, *Sumerische Lesestücke*.
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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, Eshmun, 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.¹

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: E-an; the former by the city of Nippur with the temple of Enlil: E-kur.

At an other and later period the south was centered in the city of Eridu with the north in A-II.A or II-A-I, 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.
Library dates — Babylonia as a whole was designated by Ki-en-qi-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 mountaineous 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 Saham, 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 Saham 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 Akīti 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 Saḫān 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 kalām 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: 5a, where ʾInanna, i.e., ʾNinanna, the wife of An, speaks of herself: an-na ʾu-mu-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 oικούς ζευς γαῖας. Cf. also M. V. A.G., 1908, p. 220-29, where Gashan-anna tells us that she has received into her hands the ʾE-an-na ʾE-ki-ā, “the house of heaven and earth”, identifying herself (l. 22) with Enlil and Ninlil, the “lord” and “lady” of heaven and earth during the Enlil 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-un — 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 Līl, later on differentiated into En-līl and Nin-līl, the well-known gods of Nippur. This son was the original, only and “true son” (Dumuzi) — thus called to distinguish him from the later sons of An who usurped the rôle of Enlil, such as ʾIM, ʾMAR-TU, ʾEn-zu, 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 “Bel, the Christ of ancient times”, pp. 21ff.
Sumerians — a trinity, without which an accurate understanding of the so-called Dumuzi-\text{-}Nin\text{-}anna myth is evidently impossible.

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

The significance of this myth does not offer any difficulties, provided we accept the above offered explanation with regard to \textit{Dumu\text{-}zi}, “the true ‘Son’”, as the god of the “powers of nature”, and \textit{Gashan\text{-}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\text{-}anna appears in our texts soon as “virgin” (\textit{ki\text{-}el}), and soon as “mother” (\textit{ama}), “sister” (\textit{SAL\text{-}KU = alat}),\textsuperscript{1} or “bride” (\textit{daml}) of Dumuzi, while the latter is termed either the “youthful one” (\textit{kal, kal\text{-}tar}), or “brother” (\textit{sos}), “son” (\textit{duma}), and “husband” (\textit{mu\text{-}tan\text{-}na}) of Nin\text{-}anna.

These very names, it would seem, should suffice for a correct understanding of this myth. Nin\text{-}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”, \textit{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 “netherworld”, \textit{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\text{-}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” (\textit{\text{Nin\text{-}mah}), 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 (\textit{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 \textit{quasi modo geniti}, “like the new-born babes”.

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. the gloss \textit{alat} in \textit{C. T.}, XXIV. 11: 10 (see also 24: 56); XXV. 24a: 10 - 24b, 11: 19.
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 role 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 (abzu), 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” (sîl a-si-ga) continually crying out a, or a-a, or u-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” (dîyg) or “powerless” (û-la) 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 ἀυλοὶ-ὐζῳ and the Latin ululare — 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 “hordes” from the north of Babylonia: the Gutu, 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 (sahan). 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.
II.

TRANSLATIONS, NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS.

No. 1. C. B. M. 11393.

This tablet contained originally several songs of Nin-an-na, the "mother", "sister" and "bride" of Dumuzi.

In the first song Nin-an-na 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. 1:16. The ùru-mu, "my city", l. 15, is here1 in all probability Erech, "the city" par excellence and seat of the oldest Sumerian or pre-historic2 trinity: An — Enlil — Nin-an.

The following names of temples are still visible:

DUR-AN-KI and É-DUR-AN-KI, col. 1:16, 18, "(house of) the band of heaven (and earth)". For É-Dur-an(-ki or na), the temple (ôrû) and ziggurat of Nippur, see "Bêl, the Christ", p. 21; H. A. V., p. 413, 3; Hilprecht, "Excavations in Bible Lands", p. 462; Zimmern, S. K., p. 9, no. 5, H : 13; also see below, note 1; and for ÏDur-an-ki = Dur-an = É-Ld, see C. T., XXIV, 39 : 4; 22 : 104. ÏDur-an(-ki, na) was the father (â-lêdu-ânî) of ÏNin-an-na, i.e., of Ishtar as ÏNin-gal and wife of ÏÉra-an, K. 9955 + Rm. 613 (Bezdorf, "Cat." 1053); of ÏNâ-î-gal = Nergal, H. A. V., p. 428; and of ÏPA-KU = Nusku, K. 3285 (Bezdorf, "Cat." 520, where however, Gû-an-ki is a mistake for Dur-an-ki). This name, though originally belonging to Enlil as "Son"

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1 Just as É-an, during the Enlil period of the Sumerian religion, became the name of the temple of Nippur (É-kur), so did ùru come to signify Nippur; cf. H. A. V., pp. 410, note 2; 413; 443, note 19; notice also that the ÏNin-urâôî, "the mistress of Nippur" and wife of Nin-ib, appears in C. T., XXIV, 49a: 3 = XXV, 1:3 = 29b: 1 as ÏNî-an-a, the wife of Ïé-an-nisî-il. Ïâ-tê-ân-is 12; i.e., Nin-ib, C. T., XXV, 13: 35. See also B. E., XVII, no. 1: 1, 2 = Pinches, E. X. (P. S. B. A., 1911, p. 85), 1:1, 2, [ùru-ki-na]-nam (var. Dur-an-ki) ñùru-ki-na-nam na-an-dûr-an-un-an-ú. ÏNî-brâôî ūru-ki-na-nam na-an-dûr-an-un-an-ú, "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 "Bêl, the Christ", pp. 44f.; H. A. V., pp. 10ff.; B. E., XXIX, pp. 13ff.

3 For the significance of the "band of heaven" = that part of the heaven which has the north-pole (an-sha[g]-nu) for its center with the tropic of capricornus (time before Nabonassar) as its periphery, see B. E., series D, vol. VI. This was pre-eminently the domain of the ñûd mar-gîl-du (Kugler, Sternkr., 1, 249 = urru major; Dhomme, R. A., VIII, p. 47, 111: 36 = grand mûr) 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" (gûm) with the "equator" (marûb-anu) and the "ecliptic" (ul-gûm) 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 Ashkurnansîrapal, 1 : 2; cf. also the "KU (= dûr — markas, so better than egi, B. E., XXIX, 29, 47) 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-gûn, C. T., XXIV. 24 : 114.

Even the "Son" of the En-zu trinity at Ur, "Utu, acquired the title "band of heaven and earth" as is apparent from II R., 50 : 19 a, where the ziggurat of Shamash at Larsa is called É-Dur-an-ki.

ÉSH-É-AN-NA, col. I, 17, the well-known "temple of An", the "habitation of Anu and Ishtar" at Erech, K. B., VI, 1 : 128 : 37. Ishtar appears accordingly very often under the name of (§)Gashan-É-an-na, i. e., "lady of É-an". In Semitic translations É-an-na is rendered by É-A-A-AG(I) — 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 É-an-na É-ub-7-ne 7-gi ă-di ă-la, i. e., "the É-anna, the house of the seven spheres, whose seven gi (compartments?) are full of splendor". In this É-an-na there was an IB, which could and was burned; 2 Ishtar herself was called "Inanna IB-gal, 3 i. e., "Ishtar (of) the great IB". 4

Though É-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 É-an at Nippur, 5 Gudea built an É-an-na in Girsu 6 for "Inanna, 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". 7 On account of this fact Gudea ascribes to himself the proud title "builder of the É-an-na". 8 Also Dungi, king of Ur, restored (ki-gi) and erected the great wall (bid-gal) of an É-an-na for "Inanna, the mistress of É-an-na, his mistress", 9 but it is not clear whether this É-an-na was that of Erech or of Ur. Singashid, king of Erech, builds 10 (ba-dim) the É-an-na of his capital and enumerates among his titles that of "caretaker of É-an-na". 11 Even in the city of Magall there seems to have been a temple É-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 É-ki-a — É-As-ti. A correction of É-As-ti into É-KI-ti (Hommel, 8. L., p. 40) is not necessary, seeing that Anu (= Nin-an-na) is the "earth", yaâ, forming with An — "heaven", oêverôç, the "Father" and "Mother" of the Erech trinity, see "Bél, the Christ", p. 28 e; B. E., XXIX, 16.
2 Urakagina, Tontafel, Obv., IV: 5.
4 Cf. here also the IB-LU 24ug ama É-sha(b) -ba (-an), one of the several names of Ishtar, e. g., no. 2: 43;
5 See references on p. 8, note 1.
6 Statue C, III: 12, É-an-na šab(g) Gir-anška; Steintafel A, 7, É-an-na Gir-anška.
7 Statue C, IV: 3.
9 Steintafel G, 11, "Inanna, nin É-an-na, nin-a-ni.
11 Tonnagel, 8, 8-a É-an-na.
SUMERIAN HYMS AND PRAYERS TO DUMU-ZI

II. A. I', no. 3:17 (p. 439), the "mistress of Man"3 cries out: "Exalted one, my abode, which has been destroyed, my [É-an-na,2 may it be restored to its place."]

4É-li-li, the sister of Dumuzi, calls herself "in É-an-na the powerful one I am",3 while Dumuzi himself had the name 4Lugal-É-an-na, "king of É-an-na".4 For the various translations É-an-na may be capable of, see B. E., XXIX, p. 10, note 7. Other references to the É-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 (ésh É-an-na, in connection with Ereh. Kullab); p. 49, no. 58:1b; p. 54, no. 68:19, here in connection with Ishtar as "bride" of Sin ('Nanna), "the lord, the king, the son of Ann[i] (ú-mu-an lugal dumu A-nu, l. 26) — the only passage, so far, in which Sin appears as "son of Ann[i]!"

6I-BI R-7, col. 1:19. Notice here the absence of ésh or É.5 For the reading bar of the sign KISAL,6 see II. A. I', 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 has undoubtedly the reading pár.7 In R. II., p. 116 (no. 64): 8. the [gi-bar]-7-ána is explained by / gi-pá-du U-rn-ak, "the g. of Ereh",8 while in N. F., AO 4334, etc., F. I:8; H:5.6, there follows immediately upon u-rá Ki-lu-ab the name Gi-bar-ri-nu-ri-na — a writing consisting apparently of gi, bar + na (= anna, see below, note 1) + inama, i.e. "the seven gi, paru of the universe", and which in R. II., p. 100:34, appears as gi-bar-7-an-ána9 and in Zimmern, S. K., p. 42, no. 39:4a, as the gi-bar-7-ána slu-ub-ba, "the seven beautiful g." For the various writings of gi-bar see B. E., XXIX, p. 10 note 7, where

1 See text.
2 Cf. N. K., 22, (Sin-ki-shul-ba), "mistress of the beautiful place (harem)", or perhaps simply "beautiful lady" (cf. ki-shul with ki-ig).
4 No. 3:8, 42, E-anwa-shú "qê-er-nu me-en.
5 Cf. text. XXV, 39c:2, here followed immediately by 4Lugal-sa-par = Uman-sa-pár, 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, (Nin-ki-shul-ba), "mistress of the beautiful place (harem)", or perhaps simply "beautiful lady" (cf. ki-shul with ki-ig).
6 See also in C. T., XV, 25:54.
7 The gi-bar = KISAL. Gudea, Cyl. B, II:19 et passim, is merely a variant of giššār, mentioned in H. A. I', p. 392:39, while the É-bar is the "house where the bar is kept or preserved", cf. the É-rù-á-na, "the house of honey and cream (butter)". A translation "Tempel des Verhofs" (Cyl. A, IV:5) is unintelligible to me. Cf. already, B. E., XXIX, p. 84, 23.
8 Cf. in this connection the writing "ú-mu-an-su-7-ána (= par). Zimmern, S. K., p. 29, no. 26, VI:36, with lu-1-ána. 7-ána (= bar), l. c., p. 30, no. 27, II:3; p. 45, no. 45:7a, 6c.
it is mentioned that the ziggurat of Erech had the name Ḫ-qi-bur-i. While Erech itself was called Ḫ-qi-par-ṭī. Cf. here also the Ḫ-qi (an abbreviation of Ḫ-qi-bur?) in connection with the temple Ḫ-an-na, mentioned above, p. 9.

Bur-Sin, king of Ur, built a Ḫi-bur for Ḫanna-Karzida at Ur, 1 which in B. E., XXVII, no. I. III : 47, is termed Ḫš Ḫi-bur-zu el-e gar-ra, "thy house. the g., beautifully built". Also Libit-Ishtar, king of Isin, erected an Ḫ-qi-bur, 2 but it is not evident where and for whom. Entemena 3 and Urkagina, 4 patesis of Lagash, built an Ḫ-qi(š)-pū-ra for Nin-Girsu at Lagash. The "lord (ūmmu) of the Ḫ-qi-pār", i. e., Dumu-zi, 5 is mentioned in R., II., p. 120 : 12. According to AO 2539, 6 Ḫmanna was called nin Ḫi-bur-ra-ge, "the mistress of the g." In no. 9, II : 21, there appears as Gaša-an Ḫi-bur-ra a goddess [...]-ba, — a name, which in all probability was originally [Nin-tiš-dib]-ba, 7 though the space seems rather small for such an emendation. From the fact, lastly, that Ḫi-par-[]? forms one group 8 with gi-qa-nu-i, "paradise, beautiful place. bridal chamber", and ki-ès-su = 𒈦 km3, i. e., "the house where one passes the 'night'", hence a syn. of bi-t ekleti, "house of darkness", the habitation of Ḫrkalla, it becomes evident that the gipur is not only a "chamber", but more particularly a "chamber" in which Ishtar and Dumu-zi pass the "(wedding)-night"; and as "7" has also the meaning kishtu, "totality", the Ḫi-bur-ḥ-an-na or the Ḫi-ba-ri-na-mi-na had most likely the significance "bridal chamber of the totality (whole) of the universe", i. e., the bridal chamber pur 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. Ḫi-bur-ra; p. 17, no. 12, II : 9, p. 26, no. 26, IV : 10, 11. Ḫi-bur; p. 27, no. 26, II : 9, 10, mu-Ḫi-bur-ra, "house of the g.": l. e., 15, 16. gi-bur; p. 51, no. 64. I : 2, Ḫ-Ḫi-bur-a.

ME-ḪA-NA-ḪUN-NA, "the house (Ḫ omitted) of the commands of (my) ladyship", col. I : 20 — another otherwise unknown temple of Ishtar. 9

Ḫ-ḪU.-AN-MI-SI-SIB(?DIB?)-BA (?), col. I : 21. The sign sib (a Semitism for imin = 7?) is doubtful; it may be dib, i. e., the "Ḫi-an-mi-si of the 'dead'", in the sense of "nether-

1 See inscriptions of Bur-Sin, passim.
2 Tönnig, 1 : 14.
3 Thüringstein, 1 : 6, 9.
4 Thüringstein, 39 : Steinbach, 11 : 3.
5 Cf. Zimmern, S. K., p. 40, no. 35, Rev., I : 10, en-za gi-bur-ta ba-ra-e-a, "thy lord, who has left the g."
7 Cf. also no. 9, I : 4, [Ḫi-nin-dib]-ba e-Ḫi su-ub An-na-ge, "N., the glorious ( físeshum) mistress of An".
9 N. F., AO 1334, etc., Face I : 6, has to be emended to sig Unu(Ḫ)-ga-zu me-nam-[ţash-tash-te] rather than to me-nam-[ţa-ba], i. e., "within the walls of thy Erech, when at last wilt thou (= Dumu-zi) take up thy abode?" Cf. l. e., II : 2 = 5, 8.
work[1]. In B. E., XXVII. no. 1. IV : 27, a “Gii-an-ni-si-še” appears as the name of the “temple of ’Inanna of Erech”,[1] and in l. c., VII : 29, as that of the “temple of ’Nin-an-si-na of I-ši-á’é-ni”[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), Gii-an-ni-si is the name of a temple of the “great child of Sin, the holy Ishtar” (dumu-gal ’En-zi-aa ama ’Inanna-ge), who according to 1. 33, is the “beautiful Ishtar of Erech” (’Inanna-šub Umu(g)}'a). i. e., the “Ishtar of Hallabi”. According to this passage we ought to correct the ’Esag(?)[-,-,-] of Arad-Sin, Kanephore, I : 11 (= V. A. B., I, p. 214) into ’ê-Gii-[an-ni-si], with the result that this name, like the Gi-bar above, becomes a syn. of Gi-gin.

The “mother of the Gii-an-ni-si” is Ishtar under the name of ’En-a-an.[3] In R. H., p. 86 : 52 - V. R., 52, XI : 17, this ’En-a-an (’shu-na) ama Gii-ni (sic! without an)-
si-ge stands between Gashan-’ab-gal ama Kullab[4] and Umm-’a-šum[5] (var. ’Umm-’a-sa) ama 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-’ab-gal

ama KUL]-unu(g)}'a-ge]

20. [’Beld-Irldali

uma]-mi(!) shu-na (i. e., Kullab)

21. [’En-a-an

ama] Gii-[an-ni-si-ge]

22. [’Gii-la]

uma(!]-mi(!) Ish-ta-[ri-tum]

23. [Umm-’a-šum,1.GD]

ama za-gin-[na]

24. [’beld ’shu-na]

ma-rî en-bani.

Int’l B. M. 112 : 3 (unpubl.) the E-n-a (sic!)-na-an ci{i(= IVU'G) ur-ku-7, i. e., “the mistress of the seven dogs”[6] is mentioned between Gash-aa-an I-ri-ga-al ama Ku-ul-la-ba and the

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[1] Being here in parallelism with the ’En-an-na E-šak-7-ri 7-gu idi B-ba (l. 26), for which see above pp. 9, 11.

[2] Preceded in l. 28 by its other name ’ê-Gii-[an-ni-ši].


[4] Notice in this connection that in the celebrated psalm Sm. 954 : 11, 12, Ishtar is said to be an ur-bar-ra-bar, “wild dog”, and that in Zimmern, S. k., p. 7, no. 4 : 1, 33, 34, she has, as the Ka-sha-na-na (= Gashan-šum), the attributes of Kull ba-kur-ár (= var. of ur)-ku gu, “lady, mistress of the land of dogs” and Ka-sha-an-ka-rár (= var)-ba-ram-gi,”mistress of the land of the wild dogs”. This “land” (kar - iritum) is here, as elsewhere, the “world” with the seven “watch dogs”, the later “Kirzhos”.

[5] This writing is of the highest importance, showing us that the sign on 7 had also the reading iri. Furthermore, if we compare B. M. 144 : 2, U-[ma-m]-I-ri-ga-al gu-si-ša [ ] (followed by ’Ir-r-a-ga-al gu-si-ša [ ]), with the parallel passages in R. H., p. 86 : 57, [Umm-’a-šum(=)] ba uman ’a-gid)-da (followed by ’Ir-r-a-ga-al gu-si-ši-et), and in Zimmern, S. K., p. 16, no. 11, 111 : 6, U-[ma-m-ir]-ša (síc)-gí ] (sic) gu-sí-ša [ ] (sic)-gí-d)-da (followed by ’Ir-r-a-ga-al gu-si-ši-et), we will have to admit that also the sign IVU'G] on 52 : 5 had a value iri. These observations help to explain the following:
Ma-su(d) in-da-ag-ra mu-ú-ri-na. while in Zimmern. S. K., p. 16, no. 11, 111:1, the 'En-ú-ru-nan ama Gú-an-ni-si is followed by 'NINDA-GUD' amar zaug'-gii(u) in C.T., XXV.

The Uman-Iri-gal, generally identified with 'Ný-iri-gal' or with 'Nexlam-ta-la-a, and translated by he-la ina 1 Ki 5:2, “lord in the ‘earth’” (R. H., p. 20:20, 21), is none other than the 'Irkal-la, the “god of the irigal” or ‘great abode’, the “house of Dumuzi” (M. 3292), the “Arallu” or “netherworld” (M. 3290, 3291), or also called the bit ek-lettera shu-bel 'Ir-kal-la, “the house of darkness (i.e., the house, where the ‘time of darkness = night, winter, death, is spent, cf. ki-is-gii, above), 11:1, the dwelling of (the god of) Irkal-la”, K. L., VII, p. 188; 29; Zimmern. K. A. T, 3. pp. 636, 637, note 1.

The Hebrew 'I-rí-à Ù-nu-ak, Ezech, represents a good Sumerian reading and tradition: Una(g)ú-qa = 'Unu(g)ú-qu = Iri(g)ú-qa.

The name of Nergal, generally read 'Ný-uni(g)u, must henceforth be transcribed by 'Nexuni(g)al, “the strong (strength (strong one) of the great abode), i.e., irigal becomes thus a syn. of ‘E-qi(d)-da, “the extended house”, where the ã ought to be read ë or i = “house”, rather than “strength”. Notice also that 'DNi-na-za u-Dumuzi, the husband of Ereshkigal, appears in C. M. 112:12, as the ‘U-mu-ús-a-zi Ù-mu-un E (sic!) gi(d)-da, for which the parallel passages have Uman-a (sic) zu umun ‘a-gi(d)-da = (he(e)) E-shu-[mu], R. H., p. 138:102, 103 = 134, H. 16, 17 = 86:6. An ‘E-qi(d)-da, belonging to 'DNi-na-za of 1 IMI, is mentioned also in B. E., XVII, no. 1, IV:16.

Iri-gal is a variant also of Û-nu-gal or 'or-gal, “the great city”, cf. Zimmern, S. K., p. 59, no. 79:9, where ‘Meslam-ta-la-a = U= (Nergal) is referred to as aldum-an ur-say Ù-mu-un Ûrûn (irigal), “hero, lord of the ‘great city’”.

Lastly, the name 'Al-b. U. by which Ninib and Dumuzi are designated, ought to be read 'Iri-sham, “the irrigator” = “fructifier”, thus called “the lord of the fertility of the ground”, cf. “El, the Christ”, p. 16, note 8.

According to this passage the dE of R. H., p. 85:53, and the dE of V R., 52: II: 17, has to be corrected into the dE which is generally read 'NINDA-GUD, but which, according to C. M. 112: 4, had the reading mo-su(d) in-da-ag-ra. 'Ma-su(d) is in all probability merely a variant of dE -su(d) = masu, appearing here as a syn. of uman, “lord”. If this be true, then the in-da-ag-ra must represent the ‘NINDA-GUD. Seeing that GUD has also the value har, the in-da-ag-ra may consist of in-da = XINDA + 'ama = har(a), for the interchange of ‘g’ and ‘am’, see Fooskey, H. A. Y., p. 14:19. XIN = in may be explained by supposing that XIN had also the value in (shortened from r, see above, p. 10, note 1), or that in-da stands for (= XIN)-da, dissimilated into enda = enda. As regards the mo-su(d) = in-da-ag-ra, “the goddess of the abode” = “the god of the fertility of the ground”, cf. “El, the Christ”, p. 16, note 8.


Notice in this connection that 'NINDA-GUD (St. V. ult., Rev., 1: 40) is = GUD-XINDA (Gudea, Cyl. B, XV: 9), and of R. H., p. 19: 14, 15, where it is said of Nergal (Uman-iri-gal-la = GUD GUD) that he is the GUD-XINDA ú-ga-da (= var. of sa-ga, shiga = damqa, baal = mi-ri ba-um-û) = the glorious, beautiful son, whom the father Enil has exalted. For Nergal as “son of Enil”, see H. A. V., p. 428. We have here a clear example of a transfusion of certain names, attributes and functions from Nergal, the “lord of the netherworld”, i.e., from Nergal in the role of Dumuzi, to 'Al-m. This justifies the inference that 'Al-m, 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 “bewailed” (cf. here the wranglings over the death of Adad-Rimmon, i.e., ‘Al-m, in Zech. 12: 11) and “restored” every year “to new life”. For ‘MAR-TU in the role of Dumuzi, see now N. F., AO 4331 + 4335, where, as was to be expected, this god appears as the “son of An” (dumnu An-ua, col. 111:3) and as the “husband” (dam, col. 111: 1, 5) and “son” (damnu, col. 111: 2, 5; 111: 1, 6) of the mu-gi-sh (Ku-shu-mu-na, col. 111: 2, 5) “the lord of the Ishtar-tu, the mistress of An”. The Ishtar-Tammuz cult of Canaan is clearly of Sumerian origin and importation.

For this interchange of zaug and zaug, cf. bugal-zaug-ge = bugal-za-gi, “of thy king”, Gudea, Cyl. A, 6. See also N. F., AO 4331/5, Face 111: 4, 5, zama-na-za = (zaug-an-na-za) za-ka-še = (zaug-ki-shu) ú-tu = (U)n (e) = (i) to (not uku, as copy gives) ú-tu ši-k = (ši) mu-za-an-za-še = (an-za-ši), i.e., “from the confines of heaven (the uppermost south) to the confines of the sun (the west, thy (i), ‘MAR-TU) name reaches unto the heavens”, cf. also i. e., II: 3, 6.
2:33. 34 = XXIV. 21b: 8—10. "En-ú-tu-um is called the ama-ni-si, i. e., “mother of the house of women” (harem - mashtakku), 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-bal-sag, the shakkanakku of the netherworld, and son of the ‘mistress of Isin’). "Pa-bal-sag was the “lord of Larage,” where he played the same role of Dumuzi as did Ninib, the son of Enlil, at Nippur. This, no doubt, is the reason why "Pa-bal-sag is identified with Ninib, and why Ninib is called the "Gu-an-ni-si." 1

Lastly, there appears in C. T., XXV. 6 :17, a wife (dam-bi-sal) of "Lugal-gir-ra (= Nergal), called "Nin-bi-am-ni-si, - a name, in which the (i) is, in all probability, a mistake for (ii), i. e. ku. Seeing that Nergal is the “Enlil of the netherworld,” and the “brother” and “husband” of Ereshkigal, “the queen of the netherworld” (sharrat KI-tum), we may not be wrong in identifying this "Ki-an-ni-si with the "KA-an-na-am (sic)"-si, 9 who, according to C. T., XXV. 4 :25, is the same as "Al-la-tum, "Eresh-ki-gul, "Ama-LIT-zi-bur-ra — all of whom having for their husband (dam-bi-usu) the "Gu-gal-an-nu.

But, and this is most important, Ereshkigal, the wife of "Gu-gal-an-nu and Nergal,

1 Notice also here that the "Anu-TU (var. tu) Gu-an-ni-si is one of the several (?) of "Gu-la: C. T., XXIV, 47 : 22.
4 This follows from C. B. M. 112: 18, where Gu-shan-an I-si-na (17) is followed by dam-uza (‘thy son’) Pa-bal-sag ia-ta-kil sim (‘your wife? ’)-na-za.
9 With this name cf. "Ir-ru-gal’s well-known attribute, appearing under the following forms:

a) gi-an-ia, B. H., 86: 58;

b) ka-an-ui, Zimmer, S. K., 16, no. 11, col. 31: 7, which in the parallel passage appears as

c) gu-an-ui, C. B. M. 112: 8. This title is given also to "Umun-tu-ir-gal, l. c., 1: 7, and is apparently a variant of Nergal’s attribute:

d) gu-an-ui, B. H., 19: 43: 3. 22: 44; Biilleriicher, Nergal, p. 31: 7; if here also the name of the second month Iijar: "Gu(an) (gu, gi)-si-an (zi, sa) and the other attribute of Nergal, mentioned immediately before "Ir-ru-gal, i. e.:


23: 12, 3, is translated by "qarab sha im (nah) ba rebar," “the incomparable hero”; lit., “the ox whose strength is without comparison” (num-gi = dissimulation by “n” for nu-gi).
is the wife also of dNin-a-zu, who is identified with Ninib, the Dumuzi of the Nippur trinity. Hence, dNin-a-zu is one of the several names of Dumuzi.

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

a) Gu-an-ni-si was originally a temple at Erech where the goddess Gashan-an played the rôle of Ishtar, the "Mother" and "bride" of the "Son" Enlil.

b) Later on Gu-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, Gu-an-ni-si became, like Gi-gii, Ir-i-gal, E-gii-da, a name for "netherworld", hence the addition dib-ba in our passage. This "netherworld", like its prototype Erech, 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 the Greek mythology became the "dog with the 'seven heads'": "Kerberos." Ishtar (Venus), being the goddess of the Gâ-an-ni-si, had, therefore, to become also the goddess of the "netherworld": Erech-gii, Proserpina. The same is true, of course, also of Dumuzi, "the lord of the Arallû".

d) Seeing that gâ-sî changes with gî-sî-il, the phonetic writing for gû-sîl = dalâlu, mualalu, and that gû-sîl is a variant also of gû-zal(zu-âl) = dalâlu, mualalu, tashlû, we may be justified in seeing in the É-Gû-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

2 C. T., XXV, 8a: 13: dNin-a-za | dNin-ib, followed by dNIX-| |, da | dGii-la, who was, under the name dEn-â-nun, as we saw above, the "mother of the Gû-an-ni-si" and the "mother of the 1 | |. The | | here is in all probability a variant or mistake for | |, see Rev., 11 R., 59, Rev., 34, 35.
3 Uman-a-za | dNin-a-za | shu-ma
4 Gashan-gir[i]-da | dNIX-gir[i]-da | dam-bi-sal (his wife).
5 For the pronunciation of dNIX-gir[i]-da see the gloss ni-ri-ri(i)r(i)-da in C. T., XXV, 5: 34: 5. Notice also that in II R., 39, Rev., 33, Erech-gigal precedes dNin-a-za, while in C. T., XXV, 8a: 8, 9, she and her husband dGû-gal-an-na appear among Ninib-Gula names. Cf. lastly, C. T., XXV, 8a: 7, dNin-za | dA-za | dGii-la, and for dNIX-za, see l. c., 4: 3 = XXIV, 47: 27.
6 Cf. a-dan ur-sag dUman-a-za, IV R., 30, no. 2, Obv. 13; Rev. 1 = R. H., p. 67: 12 (here written Uman-
7 a-za) = Zimmer, S. B. T., no. 1; IV R., 27, no. 1, add. p. 6a: 4 = Zimmer, l. c., no. 3.
8 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 d’ Sippar, p. 90, fig. 13, where a terra cotta dog, presented to Gula, bears the following inscription: ana dMc-ma | dGii-la bel|i kalbi hasîl Gashan apîsh (l. c., p. 92).
9 It seems that the sign XI = zal had in Sumerian also the value si = a conclusion justified, perhaps, by a comparison of the writings dGii-sha-an | | (a sim)-mu = dNin- | | (sig, sim), II R., 39: 27 = C. T., XXV, 43a: 1 (preceded by dUman(Nin)-NIX)DA(GUD), with that of Xi-in-XI-im-ma in C. B. M., 112: 9 (preceded by dIr-ru-gal). Or is Xi-in-XI-im-ma = Nin-NIM-ma, "the mistress of 'Elam'", in the sense of "netherworld" (see p. 25)
joys and pleasures are those which Dumuzi and Gashan-anna experience in the “bridal-chamber” (G!-um-ni·siR = 𒈨𒇼𒆠𒈠), when they, like Nergal and Ereshkigal, are joined in happy wedlock.

Another song of this tablet, beginning with col. II : 12ff., 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:

\[
\text{sha(b)-mu} \quad \text{gi-er-ra} \quad \text{edīn-na} \quad \text{na-μu-μa-ma-_allocator.} \quad \text{col. II : 3, 7, 11, 15, 19.}
\]

Col. II. lI. 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”, to be encountered in this song, it would seem most desirable that the notes and explanations should precede the transcription and translation.

Col. II : 3. GI-ER-RA, a liturgical note, being, therefore, omitted in ll. 7, 11, 15, 19, is according to IV R.². II : 27/8 a = ina qa-an bi-ki-ti, “upon the flute of wailing”. But cf. gi-er-ra . . . mā, “to cry out in wailing (weeping)”, H. A. V. p. 438, no. 3 : 24—26; gi-er-ra . . . sa(g), “to be bathed in tears”, “in Traum gebadet sein (erschöpft)”, no. 6, 1 : 1.10. — In H. A. V. p. 382, note 1, we find a gi-er-ra with the Semitic ending ūn: gi-er-ra-an-um-na, which paraphrases the Sumer. balag = širḫu, while the gi(a)ra-na of Br. 11607/8 translates the Sumer. er. Er is also -takkalta, “wailing”, which sometimes is represented by the Sumer. gi-sir(- DÌ), the syn. of gi-sir(- BŪ) = maliku (root ēlēnu), “flute of wailing”. This shows that gi-er-ra is -er-ra, just as gi-siri(sir) is -sir, šir, sir, 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 (qi). For gi-er-ra . . . ma-allocate . . . mal, see also R. II., p. 101 : 51 = 116 (no. 63) : 4, LIT. edīn-na ma-gi(g) ma-an-ma-allocate = lit-tum anī biti-shu mar-ši-ši mē-bak-ki.

For other liturgical notes, occurring in these texts, cf. balag-sir, 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 (balag-sir); but especially the Semitic ka-lu-sha-na i-zu-ma-na, “all of them shall sing”, no. 19 : 24. The expressions e-lālu, šeš-ši, al-lē-ši = ina la-lā-ra-a-ti(m), found either at the end (so generally), middle (Zimmern, l. c., p. 53, no. 67 : 5a), or beginning of a line (R. II., p. 118 : 36) is in many cases a liturgical note likewise.

X.I.-MU.-UN-MA-AL = ma-ma-allocate. ll. 7, 8, 9, 11 = ma-mu, l. 19, and omitted altogether in l. 15. According to R. II., p. 101 : 51 (see above), we might be tempted to read edīn ma-ma—ana biti-shu, but ll. 15, 8, 9, are clearly against it. For such an emphatic ma, cf. Gudea, St. R. VII : 4, ma-ma-du, “for him he built” (see Thureau-Dangin, Z. A., XVIII. p. 126, note 6); Cyl. A. VII : 30, na-mi-ta(r), “to him he brought”; C. T., XV, 26 : 1. 2—6, 8, i-dh na-am-ir-ra, “in wailing for (on account of) him she breaks out”; R. II., p. 95 : 29, 31, nam-mi-qa = i-za-az-ma, here na-âm, nam is = na-mu; cf. also
Zimmern, l. c., p. 45, no. 45 : 3 e, ff. The “n” in mu-um is reflexive: “ich ergende mich in, quäle mich ab mit Klagen (Weinen) um ihn”, i. e., “I wail, 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 Girsu trinity, is called shal(b)-mu, “my beloved” — A translation: “My heart in wailing towards the desert for him cries out”, though per se possible, makes, however, the mën in ll. 4—6 rather difficult to explain. I have taken shal(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 (mën), cries out. Shal(b)-mu na-mu-nu-na-al is = shal(b)-mu mu-nu-na-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 : 32 b, A-ra-li edin da- mà-la. “A., the extended netherworld”.¹ Dumuzi is the mulu edin.² C. T., XV, 19 : 6 — a title generally rendered by be-él še'-rim, “lord of the desert”, and ascribed to the son³ of ¹Utu, ¹Sumug(g)a(n) (= GIR).⁴ in the rôle of Nergal⁵ as the Dumuzi of the netherworld. Nergal, therefore, appears quite frequently as the ¹Lugal-edin-na, “king of the netherworld”.⁶ An ¹En-edin-na, “lord of the netherworld” is

¹ Cf. the E(A)-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 dunn of l. 4. But if so, then all the other parallel expressions must refer to Dumuzi likewise. These are:

a) mulu gu-바-ra-ra, ll. 8, 15. Thus we have to read, not ka-ba-ra. Gu-ba-ra is evidently a variant of gu-bar = šérum, “desert, netherworld”, Br. 3250/40. Cf. here the gu-ba-ra = Ash-ra-tum | Gashان-gú-edin-na-ga = be-lit ši-[e-rim] of R. H., p. 87; 29; 92; 18; 135, I1 : 18; 139: 143; 4, and the gu-bar-ra = d. Ash-ra of Z. A., VI. p. 241; 9, where gu-bar-ra ra is = gu-gedin = šérum. Dumuzi as the mulu gu-ba-bar becomes in this wise the “lord of the ‘strange (bar) shores’” (land, city, house: gu = kishdù, mât, ālu, 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”; MAR-TU = Dumuzi) or “unknown”, “harmful” to man.

b) mulu ka-ash-ka-sa, ll. 10, 16, “the overpowerer”, of the kur or “netherworld”; cf. H. A. I., 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 netherworld.

c) mulu hál-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 bareness of nature.

³ C. T., XXV, 32: 112.
⁴ R. H., pp. 87; 25; 92; 14: 135, II: 12/3; 139; 135.6. Notice also that is ix C. T., XXIX, 46; 8, ¹Sumug(g)a(n) is mentioned immediately after ¹Dumuzi ¹Sib, “the shepherd”.
⁵ Cf. Br. 9100, ¹Gir = ¹U-gur (Nergal).
⁶ C. T., XXV, 35b; 8 = 36b, l. 14. Cf. here also H. A. I., p. 430, where it should have been noticed, a) that the Gashan(Mula)-d30 = rî (ra, not râ), which is only another name for ¹Lugal-edin-na, is a graphic variant for Gashan(Mula)-d30 = rî; cf. d.Ašra(m).e20 = d.šérum, C. T., XXIV, 17: 58 (if 59) = d.Ašra, l. c., 29: 105 (cf. 106); d.šérum = A-ra, C. T., XXIV, 29: 106 = d.šérum (sic! mistake for c.du-un-um = U-tum).d.šérum, l. c., 17: 59. See also EDIN = ru-a = dashhā = ṣa dishpi, Br. 1426.

b) that in V. E., 46, no. 1: 22, mulu₂Mula-ra = ¹La-da-raγ = ¹Sag-za-gin/-na, the sign ra looks much rather like EDIN than like ra. We ought to read here mulu₂Mula-edin, “star of the lord of the netherworld”.

⁷ He is preceded by ¹Nig-za-gin/-na, “the goddess of the shining, bright, glorious walls” (cf. the seven walls
mentioned in C. T., XXV. 46b : 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" (*šúna KI-tiin*) or of "the great gods" (*idinu raḫātu*), and the "scribe of the netherworld" (*lā*), identified with:

a) the "goddess of the strange shores", *Gú-ba(bar)-ra* or also called *Gashan-gú-edin,* the wife of *Mula(tula)-bar-sag* - *M.B. TU*, the well-known god of the "Westland";

b) the "Mül(shiš)-tīn(än-ma)* - *Geshtin-an-na*, the "sister" of Dumuzi, who is likewise the "mistress of the netherworld" (*šuš-anu durb-bar-ge*) or the "sublime scribe of the netherworld" (*durb-bar-mah [É.kur-idim-ge]*) and who in our text (vol. II : 6) appears as the goddess of "the house of the youthful one of An" (*É.kul-an-na*), i. e., of the "house of Dumuzi", the netherworld; hence, the netherworld is called also *Geshtin-an-na ge edin-nu* 11, "G's desert".

The "Ishtar of the netherworld", *Inanna-edin*, i. e., the later Proserpina, is mentioned already in Hilprecht, O. B. L., no. 94 : 1. *Bel-šit-edin* occurs also in II R., 60 : 16a, but from the arrangement of this tablet it is not certain who is meant here. 12

Lastly, there appears in Zimmern, *Shurpu*, VIII, p. 40 : 7, a *Zi-za-nu* 13 who is called *šarrat ep-ri bēl-šit se-ri bēl-šit gubli* "queen of the (place of) dust, mistress of the netherworld, mistress of battle".


4 See above, p. 17, note 2.
5 IL R., 39, Rev. 43. For the god of the Westland in the rôle of Dumuzi, see above, p. 13, note 1.
6 IL R., 39, Rev. 19, 11: here mentioned immediately after *Ši-šar-tar* - *Ši-DU*, the mother (ama) of Dumuzi.
7 C. T., XX, 20 : 21, *Mül(shiš)-tīn-an-na* *N.B. KU* (= abat, see above, p. 4, note 1) *šuš-anu gubli*, "M., the sister of the 'lord'*, i. e. Dumuzi, cf. also the name of Dumuzi: *šuš-anu Mül(shiš)-tīn-an-na* "brother of the mother Mān", no. 6 : 9, and Zimmern, B. G. T., p. 707, 13.
8 H. L. F., p. 375, note 1; B. E., XXIX, p. 54, note 1.
9 C. T., XVI, 9b : 4, *Ši-Na* 14 = *šuš-anu durb-bar mah*.
10 If we compare this passage with C. T., XVI, 3 : 95 : 7, *Ši-Na* 14 = *šuš-anu durb-bar mah* *É.kur-idim-ge* = *šuš-anu gubli* (= abat), we will have to admit that the *Ši-Na*, who is identified with the wife of the god of the Westland (above *Ši-Na*) and with *Geshtinnu*, is also *šuš-anu*, the Ishtar, "bride", and "sister" of *Dumuzi*.
11 See also below, p. 19.
12 C. T., XV, 19 : 27.
14 This *Zi-za-nu* is according to C. T., XXIV, 11 : 35, a name also of *Ši-Na* *ša Mār bāna* *Šu kī*; cf. also C. T., XXV, 6 : 13, *Za-si-si-si-da-nu ap* (i. e., the son of the *g-adab* *ša KAL-AD-gā*, l. 12). *Zi-za-nu* then, like *Ni nib* 15, means "she was", and references there given, was a male and female divinity; both also were the gods of the netherworld*, *sār* (*šarrat*), which in *Šu* 16 was called *zi-za-nu*. 
This *edin*, though originally = "desert" or "netherworld", is very often translated by *bitu*, i.e., "the house" *pat excellency*, the "house", "abode", where Dumuzi lives; but according to M. 3292, the bit *Dumuzi* is a syn. of *iri-gal* or "great abode", of *gabra* or "grave" (M. 3293), of *irishim* or "netherworld" (M. 3291), and even of *ara-ri* (M. 3290). Dumuzi, therefore, must not only be identified with the *Uman-iri-gal*, "the lord of the great abode", or with *En-ki*, "the lord of the netherworld", but he may and actually does appear in our texts as the *Edin-na* or *Edin-gal* or *Edin-uc* or *Edin* in our texts or the "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 *Edin-na* or *Edin-gal*, but more particularly from the fact that according to B. E., XXVII, no. 1, IV : 40, Dumuzi is said to be the "Ligir(Mer)-si, i.e., "the glorious bridegroom", of the *Edin-na* or *Edin-gal*; cf. also II R., 61 : 14, where the *Edin-na* or *Edin-gal* is said to be the *Edin-52* or *Zur-Ara*, 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 *Suwaqi(a)) played the role 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*.

gs = *si-er-* or "Shu(Su)-*a-ra*. 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* appears as *Edin HA-4* in another 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-
precht in B. E., XX, part 1, 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:


VI : 24[......]

With......

25. A-ra-li

(With him) of the 'Arad',

26. mu-tan-n[u-

My 'husband'

27. [......]

(With him) of the......

28. kal (?) [sir-an-n[a-mu

My 'heavenly woo-man'

29. E-banda(da)¹

(With him) of the 'house of the valiant one'.

30. dumu Š-ma-aa-ka-ni-da

With the 'Son of Ningishzida'

31. e-TUM-da-li(‘i)?

(With him) of the 'house(?') of

32. KA-IM Il-bi-shu’d

With KA-IM, the one with 'beautiful eyes (face)'

33. GILM-GILM²-da

(With him) who has been 'snatched away'

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 E₂Nin-gish-zi-da E₄(gish?)-banda(da)². The E-banda(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.


34. [ê-ib(ê)]lÁ1 gu-la-mu
With my great ‘girded one’

35. É-sil-dù-a
(With him) of the É-sil-dù-a,

36. [...]-lá2 u-mu-un sa-pār
With...-la, the ‘lord of the net’

37. [kî]-sîr-ra
(With him) of the ‘place of waiting’,

38. [ê-ê-i]x u-mu-un sub-êi
With the ‘bridegroom’, the ‘beautiful lord’

39. [..... ]-ba(ma?)
(With him) of the .......

40. [sû]-êl-ba
With the ‘most beautiful’ one

41. [..... ]-ê
(With him) of the .......

Rest broken away.

VII:1 [u-mu-un Gimil-il-i-shu]
With the lord Gimil-il-i-shu

2. ki-mah ki-ê-um-um4 [-na]
(With him) of the ‘sublime place’,
the ‘place of the lord’,

3. u-mu-un I-dîn²-Da-gân
With the lord IÎn-Dagan

4. Sîh SAR nî-te-êa
. (With him) who in the ‘awe-inspiring garden’ (or garden of the fearful one)

5. Sîh(?) Ishme²-Da-gân
. With the shepherd Ishme-Dagan

ám-na[ê]-a-ba
I will lie down,

zabur-tur-ra-kâ
the ‘glorious youthful one’;

ám-na[ê]-a-ba
I will lie down,

ki-mah er-ra-kâ
the ‘sublime place of lamentations’;

ám-na[ê]-a-ba
I will lie down,

sag-gi-kâ
the one ‘without equal’;

ám-na[ê]-a-ba
I will lie down,

pi-sôn-kâ
the ‘prison’ (keeping-place);

[ám-na[ê]-a-ba]
I will lie down,

[..... ]

[..... ]

[ám-na][ê]-a-ba
I will lie down,

ba-an-gu[ê]-[ba-a-ba]
has taken up his abode;

ám-na[ê]-a-ba
I will lie down,

[ám-na[ê]-a-ba]
I will lie down,

ba-an-gu(b)[ê]-ba-a-ba
has taken up his abode;

ám-na[ê]-a-ba
I will lie down,

Emended according to col. II: 2; col. V: 10.

Cf. col. II: 3.

Cf. Zimmern, S.K., p. 45, no. 45: 7a (6 c), ...ê(ê) u-mu-un sa-bar, and especially l. e., p. 30, no. 27, II: 3.

All (3Ht)ê-lû(ê) mu-un sa-bar. Generally, however, AXAGAR precedes the u-mu-un sa-pâr, so e. g., l. e., p. 40, no. 33: 3a. The “ê(lû)” would show that AXAGAR had a pronunciation ending in “ê”.

Cf. the ki-kal, “place of the youthful one”, parallel with ki ûDumâ-si, col. IV: 10, 11.
6. **giš Nit-er-ni**

(With him) who in the 'awe-inspiring garden'

7. **sib(?)** Li-bi-it-Ishtar(U-qim)

With the shepherd Li-bi-it-Ishtar

8. **gab-kishub-bu**

(With him) of (at) the 'breast of the prison'.

9. **sib(?)** Ur-ši-ib

With the shepherd Ur-Ninib

10. **ki-na(d) ši-bu**

(With him) of the good 'bridal-chamber'.

11. **[sib(?)] Bar-ši(Na-zi)**

With the shepherd Bar-Sin

12. **[É-bandada]**

(With him) of the 'house of the valiant one'.

13. **[.....]** di(ki?)-tu-AN(d)\(^3\)

With . . . . .

14. **[.....]**

(With him) of the . . . .

15. **[.....]** ši-idâ(AN)\(^4\)

With . . . .

16. **[.....]**

(With him) of the . . . .

17. **[.....]** Ši-in-qi-shâ(a)\(^6\)

With the lord Ši-in-qi-sha

18. **[.....]**

With . . . .

---

1. **ba-nu-qa(h)-ba-a-bu**

has taken up his abode;

2. **ám-na(d)-a-ba**

I will lie down.

3. **ki-kush-lî(a)-a-ka-ka**

the 'resting place';

4. **ám-na(d)-a-ba**

I will lie down.

5. **ki-úr** ū-mu-an-na-ka

the "place of the 'bride of the lord'";

6. **ám-na(d)-a-ba**

I will lie down.

7. **kur a-she-ir-ra-ka**

the 'land where one cries out: Alas'!

8. **ám-na(d)-a-ba**

I will lie down.

9. **ki-ša(l)-ši-e(a)-da-a-ka**

the 'place where the heart comes to rest'

10. **ki-ša(l)-ši-e(a)-da-a-ka**

(or trembles?);

11. **ám-na(d)-a-ba**

I will rest.

12. **ki-sir-ri-a-ka**

the 'place of wailing';

13. **ám-na(d)-a-ba**

I will lie down.

14. **[.....] ku-a-ša-ir-ra-ka**

the 'land where one cries out: Alas'!

15. **[.....] ku-a-ša-ir-ra-ka**

the 'place of wailing';

16. **[.....] ku-a-ša-ir-ra-ka**

the 'land where one cries out: Alas'!

17. **[.....]**

With . . . .

---

\(^1\) Cf. the *pisam*, above, p. 21 : 11, and the *gab karr * i-rat îš-tîtim, "breast of the netherworld", col. IV : 3;

\(^2\) For *úr* = *katimm*, see H. A. L., p. 398; and for *ki-úr*, l. c., p. 443, note 20.

\(^3\) This king ought to correspond to Hilprecht's *tzc-ir-K* Aššû, B. E., XX, part 1, p. 46 : 15.

\(^4\) These traces show that *dd Kumar(u)-iš-tîtim*, Hilprecht, Z. J., XXI, pp. 20ff., cannot follow upon *[.....] di (ki?)-tu-AN(d)*.

\(^5\) Or the "place of Sir-Dû"? Cf. *Ši-ert-ar* = *Sir-Dû*, the mother of Dumuzi, above, p. 18, note 6.

\(^6\) See Poebel, O. L. Z., 1907, Sp. 48ff.
FROM THE TEMPLE LIBRARY OF NIPPUZ

19. [......] [di]m-na(d)-a-ba
20. [......] [......] ka
21. [......] am-na(d)-a-ba
22. [......] [si-ib-ba]-a-ba
23. [......] am-na(d)-a-ba
24. [......] si-ib-ba-a-ba
25. [......] am-na(d)-a-ba
26. [......] [gish(?)] AN-TU[......] a-ba
27. [......] [gub]-ba(?; n., ma?) am(ka)-a-ba

From the 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 Tammuz 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, Libt-Ishtar, Ur-Ninib, Bar-Sin usw. gerichtet. Es werden diese also sozusagen als Tammuz aufgefaßt, deren Wiederaufkunft aus dem Grabe — man kann die Sache wohl kaum anders auffassen — man ebenso erhofft, wie man alljährlich die Wiederkunft des Tammuz aus der Unterwelt erwarten.”

On the contrary, Ishtar in the text quoted is apparently in the netherworld (A-ra-li mu-un-tash, 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 ki of Macmillan, and this the more so as we find a similar interchange in the name 4Nin-A-HA-tar-ra(kud-da), so generally, which in B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. V : 4, 6, is written 4Nin-A-HA-tar-ri. The “god of HA-A ki” was 4Siliq-gal-pu-du(y) 3, i. e. Marduk, the “son of Ea (Eridu, the ocean)”, also called 4Dumuzi-abzu 4 or 4Dumuzi damu 4E-a. 5

In R. H., p. 55 : 3-6, we have the following succession: Úr-ši-ib (= Eridu), ūš-mah, ūš-abzu (two temples of Eridu), A-HA ki, while in C. T. XVI, 6 : 239, NUN ki A-HA ki

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-ma-gir: or is this [Da-mi-iq-i]-li-shu, the last of the Isin kings? If so, this hymn must have been composed after the time of the Isin dynasty.

3. B. E., XXVII, no. 1, III : 32.

4. C. T., XXIV, 16 : 30 (cf. 35) — 28 : 82a (cf. 84b).

Eridu(?) a Su-ba-rî are mentioned together. Lastly, in C.T., XV, 2 col. VIII, 2, 3, Sha-nî-ri(i-i-im) is apparently in opposition to Shu-la-ru-ú-am, standing in the same relation as "Shumer and Akkad" = Ki-e-ri-ki-Uru (BUR-BUR). For we read: An-ru-um sha-ad-la-at Sha-ri-ri(i-i-im) e-li-sha-a al-ri-[a], Shu-la-ru-ú-am lu-á ir-ski-it ku-za-zi-im-[na] sha-utti-sha-an-um Shu-mi-ru-um lâ-kal-ta-na-zii, i.e., "0 Anu, the booty of Shumer let them not bring up; let Shuburur (so with Hommel, Grambrz, 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 A-ḪA or H.A-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 Subaru (= NUV to A-ḪA), Ea to Marduk or the "Father" to the "Son".

There must have been, however, a time, when the city of Nergal, Kutha (Gü-dâ-ašt), was Babylonia's north par excellence, becoming for this reason, like A-ḪA or El(ish)-banda(dan), a designation of the "netherworld".

In fact, it seems not improbable that even Gir-sušt, more particularly in its older form Su-giršt, formed at one period of the Sumerian history and religion the "north", with Erech and Eridu as well as Nippur as its opposite or "south". This conclusion may be inferred from the following considerations:

The older Subaru occurs in later inscriptions as Subartu — a word which renders the Sumerian Su-EDINšt (Br. 198; M. 114) as well as Su-giršt (Br. 234), which latter may very well be a variant of Su-giršt. 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 EDIN the value bir (or possibly baršt), which would be the regular EME-SAL form for the EME-KU gir, gir. This gives us the following development: Su-gir (gir) = Su-bir (bar, baršt) = Su-štarti = Su-štarti šu-ta-ri. Su-ta-ri, originally Girsu, later on the whole of northern Babylonia. And if Su-gir be also Elamu or "Elam" (Br. 233), so is this development merely parallel.

1 See above, p. 29, note 1.
2 Cf. Gardina, Orië N., 1. 3, where Nin-Girsu and his wife Ba-ú, in the "temple of Erech (El-Usu(g)ki-ga)", pronounce good words for Urkagina.
4 For the interchange of gir and gir, cf. e.g., "Lugal-gir-ra, Zimmern, Rituals, p. 166 : 10, with "Lugal-gir-ra, 111 : 12; gir arba, padini, tabalitu, "way, street", with gir arba, arsha, arba, arsana, Cf. also H. A. E., p. 308 : 12.
5 Cf. gardina, El-Gis-
6 Wid possibly Su-štarti Sani, i.e., Šiqa, Šišiqa, cf. Zimmern, S. B. T., p. 219, and references there given.
or similar to BUR-BUR, which designated originally Akkad(uru) or the north of Babylonia, then URtu (tilla) or the Armenian mountains and lastly Amurrn (ari) 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 "Irmi", guarded by Humbaba and reached (cf. below, p. 27) by Gilgamesh at the beginning of the 4th month (= 4th tablet), the month of the winter solstice: December-January, when the sun reaches its 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-gir (Girsu, Elam), Kutha, A-IJA (Subarum, Akkad), Armenian mountains, Westland, until it bordered the Euphrates or the "sea of going down of the sun" in the west, the Tigris in the east, and the lake of Urmi 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" edin (an-edin ki-edin)3;

c) to be surrounded by "water" — hence, the name of Dumuzi: mulu gu-ba-ra 4, "the man of the strange shores"; hence also the occurrence of an "edin, "river of the netherworld", which was full of fearfulness (mi).5

Through this netherworld led a "wagon-road" (bar-ra-aran gu³-ginar)6 or "street" (sil)7,

1 See M. 5327—5329.
4 See above, p. 17, note 2.
5 Gudea, 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 R. 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 "Nin-ba-ra-aran, above, p. 14, note 3. A "wagon-road" this is, because some of the gods like Utu 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 st 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 6(E,E)-ri-a, "house of begetting", "bridal-chamber", which are rendered in Semitic by namu, for which see Delitzsch, H. W., B., p. 4666; Jensen, K. R., VII, pp. 379, 385.

7 Craig, R. T., I. p. 57 : 21, 3-šum en sil, "1., the lord of the 'street'; IV R., 21 : 41 a, 3-šum sukall sil, "1., the overseer of the 'street'." Cf. also C. T., XXIV, 49 : 74, 3-šu | | ( = "gr = Nergal) shu ma-qi, i. e., 'Pa is the Nergal of the 'street'." For 3-šu as an abbreviation of 3-u-ag see below, p. 26, note 3; and for 3-šu = 3-šu-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" (gy/gy), a "street" full (si-ga, si-(g)/ga = malu) of wailing" (a), i.e., a street  

1. R. H., p. 80: 39. = 138: 84. "Kul-sha(g)/ga sil damal-la edin-na, i.e., "the gracious (beautiful) Kul. (the god) of the wide street of the netherworld".  
2. Join the variant to the preceding note. Zimmerm. 8, K., p. 116, no. 11, col. 1: 11, 8. "Kul-sha(g)/ga sil-gi(g)/ga edin-na.  
3. C. T., XVI, 154: 1, 2. "Pa-sag-ga nimigir sil a-si(g)/ga = 1/shum na-gir en-qe sha-qu-an-mi, "T. the overseer (guardian) of the street full of wailing", or simply called nimigir(g)/ga = na-gir mu-abi, "overseer of the (place of) darkness". C. T., XVI, 49: 304. Generally, however, "Pa-sag-ga is the nimigir mashkim (PA-BLM)-mal diririr-rir-ar = 1/shum na gir ra-bi-qa gi-i-na sha-a-ma, "the great overseer, the sublime ruler of the gods" (see, of the netherworld or the "holy mountain"). C. T., XVI, 46: 178: 9, et passim. The wife of "Abum is "Gashan (Vin-mag), H L., 56, Rev. 41, here mentioned immediately after "Umuru(Gugal)-iri-an, "the lord (king) of the abode where one cries out: 'Ahos!"
where every one who passed it cried out: "a", "u-a", "wa-wa", "u-t", "a-t-a", "a-dan", etc., "alas!" "how long still?" "when at last?"

This "street" led, no doubt, to the É-edin or the É-gal-edin, which contained the "bridal chamber" and which was reached, in all probability, at the time of the winter solstice, in the "month of sowing" (šum-mum-nu) or also called the "month of Tamuz" (Du'-u-zu, to) i. e. our December-January.

The edin was, of course, inhabited by all kinds of "living creatures" — 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" (Styg.e) — an event which was symbolically re-enacted upon earth at the time of the New-Year or A-ki-iti festival (which co-incided with the vernal equinox), when the gods were "conveyed" in "skips" from one temple (the "place of darkness") to another (the "place of light"). It may not be impossible that the Sumerians regarded the very "river" of the netherworld as the "street" which led to the "conflux" of the "rivers", where there was the "isle" of the "blessed".

4 Literally "full of a", i. e., ablay, abiti mati, "alas!" "how long still?" "when at last?" Thus I would prefer to explain this phrase, against Dehnhac, H. W. B., p. 867a, "lederlose Straße", "Leidendag" and Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 334, "stille Straße". Surely, the a cannot be connected with sitl: this would be a grammatical impossibility. Against our explanation is by no means the fact that abeg (for a-beg) = ša-qum-mutu; or that a-si(g)-ga-bi (for a-si(g)-ga-bi) = ša-qum-mash. For such an omission of a, cf. ar-i-a = ri-a; a-nim-ta = am-ta; a-si-ta = sig-ta; a-(r) (a) = ra-a; a-ab-dag = a-badag; a-si = a-si.

Cf. here also such names as Dušu-zi-du, "the lord who knows (hears) the alas-crying" (so rather than "lord of healing"); Dušu-er-i-ri-a, "the king of the abode (full of alas)", i. e., the netherworld; Dušu-man-É-a, "the lord of the house (full of alas)"; kuši a-she-ir-ra, the "land where one cries out (she-ir = sir = paróy) "alas!", etc., etc.

5 This is the prototype of the Greek Adô̂ros and of the Latin Adonis, see B. E., Series D, vol. VI. 6 See above, pp. 19 and 25, note 6.

7 Cf. IV R, 27 (add. 6a), no. 1: 1, [edin-na ū-sag-ga-ge dam-a-na] mu-un-na-an-[t_isi(g)-ga] = [ana šu a-suk-ki ana mu-úša it-šu-u, "to the abode of the bridegroom", to her husband (when) she (Ishtar) drew near". See also Zimmer, S. B. T., p. 219, no. 3: 1, 2; B. E., Series D, vol. V, part 2, p. 34, note 11.

8 See above, p. 25.

9 Zimmer, S. K., p. 58, no. 8a, col. 1: 34/35, where Dušu-ND a is called, lum (?) an-edin dumal-ta, ug ìgì-zi-gal edin-na, i. e., "skeik ('old man?') of the extended netherworld, lord of (among) the living creatures of the netherworld". Cf. here Gudea, CYL. B. IV: 20ff., ur nav-ak ušumgal edin-na, ù-dug (r) gar-ra-an, "(the Stadt war) wie der wilde Löwe, der Herr der Ebenen", der sich niederlegt" (Th.-D.). Eannatum builds and dedicates to Nin-Giru a canal, called Ugu-edin, "lion of the desert". An ug-edin an-edin-na is mentioned also in B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. II: 34, in connection with the Dušu-bar-sag of Kēš; in l. c., col. VI: 34ff., it is said of a temple é ug-pegal dîm su-tim gurru,[... an-edin-na ú-[g]i am[ne]-i, the "temple which like the great lion is full of splendor, which like the..., of the edin shines"

With the um an-edin cf. Str. 2105, where An-gal Dušu-lum-mu is followed by Dušun-Dar-šul, thus showing that Dušu-lum-mu is here an attribute of An-gal or KA-DI, the god of Shuruppak, and one of the well-known names of Dumuzi, the KA-DI i-bi-šal-ba, "K. of beautiful eyes or face", which latter is merely a variant of i-bu-lum ka-an-ág-ga, "the beautiful or glorious lord of the land" (parallel with ù-mu-um gir[i-ri] ka-na-ág-ga), C. T., XV, 18: 14 = Zimmer, S. B. T., no. 5; S. K., p. 39, no. 34: 11a. Cf. also l. c., p. 31, no. 27, Rev., V: 11ff., where Ishtar addresses Dumuzi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>See ibi-lum-lum-mu</th>
<th>See i-bi-lá-lá-mu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dam-zi a-ba-ám</td>
<td>mà-c dam-zi me-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana-zi a-ba-ám</td>
<td>ana a-ma a-ám me-en, i. e.,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"My most fascinating brother, my most gracious brother, "Thy wife, who is she?" "I am thy wife!"

"My mother, who is she?" "I am thy mother!"

god", kings, men, and "beasts" — of whom the "DUN-P.A-i-e-a" was the "lion" and the "Sumug(g)a(n)" the "shepherd".

In parallelism with "Lum-luvi, A., 1. 12" [Lum-ma appears also in the list of Dumuzi names, C. T., XXIV, 9:13. In C. T., XXIV, 6:18 — 22:116 — XXV, 28b:3 (here with the gloss ma), "Lum-ma is the first of the two (the other is "Ha-da-ni-šik") utug E-kur-ra-ga, i. e., of the "netherworld". Zimmern, S., K., p. 16, no. 11, col. VI: 5, mentions Ge-sha-an-di-ga ("masteress of the dead") "Lum-ma ar-e-ag, for which the parallel passage, R. H., p. 86:56 — 137: 51, has Ge-ša-an-si......Lum-ma ar-e-ag-ga; here the so is apparently the first part of dig, while the [......] has to be understood to dig ya "Lum-ma". IV, 2, 52b: 48, enumerates "La-uh-ra "Lum-ma(?)", "Ra-shu AXmâk shar-ba-ta, "the fearful gods". In Pinches, P. S. R. A., 1909, pl. VI (p. 62); 21, Dumuzi is asked to hand over the evil hu-a-ta and dum-aa "Lum-ma gił ta ba-bil pa-ni, "to the mighty L., the pitiless (Zimmern, Zum Streit um die Christus-myth., p. 63: "der keine Verzeichung gewiess") demon." The la ba-bil pa-ni (cf. B. E., XVII, p. 144, note 2) seems to explain the i-ib-iblam-lum, "the great gate-opener of the netherworld, "and also the second "Lum-ma, therefore, really stands for "Igi-lum-lum, i. e., the god who makes all eyes turn to him, and once turned to him, they cannot be turned away from him, so fascinating is he. "Lum-ma, though — Dumuzi, is here differentiated from him and appears as one of his "powers" or "servants". The "star Lum-ma" is "End-il of Shûhâ: Nim-mâti, Pinches, E. N., pl. XI: 11, 12.

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

a) the "twin-gods" (i. e. ki-bi-bi-an-an) "Kal-e-pe-ša-ša, edin | bi-ir-du and "Kal-ša-nun-ša, edin | šar-ra-ba, the banner", C. T., XXV, 6:28, 23, 24 — two names by which "Mes-lam-ta-Š and his father "Lugal-gi-ga-ra or Nergal were known in Mari, see C. T., XXV, 33b: 24/5 37a: 20/1 and 36b: 28—30. (1. here the "šé-na-u-ša, i. e., "Pa and "Lugal-ša-ta and "M., above, p. 26, note 3. It may not be impossible that these twins have to be identified also with the "Kal-sha(g)g-ga or "Kal-ša-ga(g)-ga or merely "Kal-kiš; the la-ša-ga-la "E-kur-ra-ga, "the great gate-opener of the netherworld". This passage of M. 3799, note 1; R. H., p. 26 (no. 11), Rev., S. and cf. no. col. V, 9, 10, where Ishtar, while in the netherworld, calls out the "Kal-ša-ta; gił-lu, "open the house"!

b) the LM-DI-t'U, i. e., the well-known storm-god "Zu, who in B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. III: 22, 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-šu edin-na li-ba, another of the seven evil utug. This name is rendered either by ar-us-at li-bi, Sm. 49 (Bekold, "Cat.", p. 1376) or by ar-us ta sabi zu-ki-ki (Br. 4532) — translations which show that li zu-ki-ki = edin, literally the "sphere of influence" of the Li-li-i and as such a variant of "šá-lu šá-lu = li-ša-ba, originally "house of Li", i. e., "house of the 'Son of An', "Enlil" (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 ediu, not only by li zu-ki-ki, "house of the (god of the) storm" (M. 3801), but also by li ša-gi, "house of the desert" (M. 3802) or by li ša-ši, "house of the netherworld" (M. 3799). The expression li-ša-ba, ša-gi or li ša-ši, or li ša-ša = ana zu-ki-ki-ta, so often occurring in the Sumerian Lenten songs means, therefore as much as "to hand over to sheol", "to bring down into the netherworld", the "sphere of edin", the "god of storms", of which no wonder, then, that the seven evil utug are not only "begotten of the seed of An" (in An-nu-ur-a-ni-mesh, C. T., XVI, 12: 22) or the beloved sons of Enlil (duma ki ša-gi-ga "Ki-bi-bi-an-ša, i. e., 1. 5), but also and especially "born of Ereshkigal" (u-ta-us-ša-du "Eresh-ki-ga-la, u. e., 1. 6), the queen of the netherworld;

e) the god "M., the Dumuzi of the "Westland", had according to H. K., 49: 50 = V. K., 16: 48, the name "Ug-ga-lu-ga, "the storm which has his abode in the edin"; cf. below, g;

f) the me-er-na iva-ri-ša, "storm of the edin", occurs in a Dumuzi text, published by Scheil, R. A., VIII, p. 169, Obv. 11;

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

| sá-maš-a ana edin-na gub-ba, "the sublime storm which has his abode in the netherworld"; |
| sá-shar-ra an-edin-na ša-ga(g)ga, "the furious storm which stretches down in the netherworld"; |
| sá-baš-gal an-edin-na ra-ra(s)ša-liš,-ša-liš, "the evil storm which gorges in the netherworld"; |
| ša-ša-gašaša an-edin-na ša-gašaša(g)-ša-liš,-ša-liš, "the swift (or weighty) storm which gathers in the netherworld"; |

The passage of H. K., 49: 17: 8, which in the parallel passage, i. e., 44b: 3, is wrongly given as ship(i)ša-ni-shir, and Ishtar's assurance, J. S. K. T., p. 128: 9/10, sa-ša-gašaša(ša)-ša-liš,-ša-liš, "the swiftly moving net which is spread over the netherworld,
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 "guide" 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, "En-lil, who even as "Father" retained among his "seven foremost names" that of sib-na-im-sag-gi(g)-ga⁴, or more generally sib sag-gi(g)-ga⁷, "shepherd of mankind". Though shepherd himself, Enlil had two other shepherds under him, viz. the "Nin-ma-qukul-lu", "lord of the sheephound", and the "Nin-amash-azug-ga⁹, "lord of the pure fold", both of whom are designated I am". Cf. also the name of Dumuzi: Umu-na-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-gi(g)-zi-gal edin-na, Gudea, Cyl. B, IV: 18, probably the "swift gazelle" (B. E., XXIX, p. 84, note 22; cf. the mash-__ an-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 dUtu" (XI with HUG hrim mu-tag erim dUtu ki-ug, Cyl. A, XIV: 24 ff.). i.e., in all probability, the personifications of the swift rays of the desert sun;
   b) the udâ dûra-mash an-edin-na mu-a, A. S. K. T., no. 12: 4 (here parallel with the udâ dûra-mash mash har-sag-ga-an, l. 3, and the udâ dûra-mash kur-ra, l. 5);
   c) the edin-na ganam (or sherba) L/I (cf. de Genouillac, T. S. A., p. LXV)-lu sill L/A (?)-lu, 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 tîr — tarbasu, a syn. of amash — names which designate, as is well-known (H. A. F., p. 390), 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" (gama(l), sherba = tahru, see below, p. 33) or "lamb" (sîl, cf. C. T., XXXIV, 18, Rev., 7, 8, dûhe-ba-sil), 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. 164, col. 11: 32—41 = Zimmern. S. K., p. 3, no. 2, col. 11: 1, "seven demons" (gil-la). Notice also that the tîr, like the ë-an-na (see above, p. 3, note 3) had an IB. In (šikú) this tîr IB was born (tûd-dâ) the 4Nida-ba-gal, Thureau-Dangin, R. A., VII (1910), p. 108, col. 1: 3.

A. S. K. T., no. 12, Rev., 10, 11, dSuma(gj)n(â) (= GUR) dunu 4Utu sib ni(g)-nam-na-ge mashur-an-edin-na 4ku-mu-ra-ab-gin-nc. Cf. C. B. M., no. 112: 25, Sumu-ug-ga-an zî-gal man-ib-ar ú-si ni-idib-a. "Sis, keeper of a watchful eye over the living creatures, fearful ñhu". Cf. also above, p. 17, note 4 and below, p. 32, note 3, and notice that sa-mu-ug-ga signifies Dumuzi as the "one who is in distress" (i-dir-um), see C. T., XV, p. 20: 13, sîb-ba dDumu-zî-dî a sa-mu-ug-ga-n, "of the shepherd D. — how long still his distress" (see, "till it comes to an end", or 'will it last')?

7 R. H., p. 45:5, = ri-é-[um gaš-mat gaš-ša-ši]. Cf. also I. c., p. 29 (no. 13): 4; p. 32 (no. 14): 6; p. 42 (no. 21): 8; p. 43 (no. 21): 47; p. 43 (no. 22): 5; p. 46 (no. 22), rev. 5: p. 50: 7; Br. 5690; Macmillan, B. A., V, p. 683: 4; p. 710a: 10, etc., etc.
9 According to I. c., ll. 35/9 = 55, he was the husband of dNin(-â)-amash-an(â), the daughter (dumu-sal) of dAma-a-ra (Amar)-zu. Notice also that the dEr,x^waâl amash and dNin-amash occur among the 42 names of
Above² we heard that "En-ki, "lord of the netherworld", though originally merely an attribute of Enlil, became at a later time confused with the "god of the ocean", i. e., with "E-a. To this confusion is due Ea's attribute "shepherd of the goats", see C. T., XXIV, 42 : 134, "En-[li].banda = = E-a) sha sab úz, i. e., "Enlil-bandu ('the mighty Enlil') is Ea as shepherd of the goats".

The rôle of Enlil as Dumuzi, i. e. as the "true son" of An, was played in the "Westland" by "MAR-TU" dumu An-qa. 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, X. F. AO 4331 + 4335, Rev., col. I : 3 ff., where Ishtar addresses "MAR-TU" as follows:

_En-lil-bandu_ 
_a-dan sib-bi_
\_{mash li-mi-i-c-da(l)}

sib ma-sa-ne² ṭi-ru-la-da(l)
ma-su-ne ba-ra-c-da-da(l)
ṣi muḫ-M.A ū-za-al-za-l-a-da(l), i. e.,

_the lord, the 'father-mother' Enlil"_, C. T., XXIV, 4 : 12 3 = 21 : 75, and that the "month of the festival (ezza) of "En-lil-bandu" is the month Tammuz (Su-na-numma), Y. R., 45 : 16a, and that the "En-lil-bandu P-A-č, "the glorious king of the fold", seems to change with "DU-Š P-A-č a, "glorious hero" (= Enlil, B. E., XXIX, p. 21), see Zimmerm., Rit., no. 45, p. 130:6, and Maqib, II : 56.

1 For the reading úz = = = = , instead of = = = = , as copy gives, see Meissner, O. L. Z., 1909, Sp. 291, and cf. IV. R., 283, no. 3 ; 3 ; Voc. Schadl. 24 : 8.

2 R. H., p. 82 : 36 = 134, col. H. : 33 4 = 137 : 45-6; Sm. 63 (Bezd., Cat., p. 1377.).

3 Notice also that there existed a "mar" U or "heavenly goat". the capricornus, belonging to the Mar-sa-ke (n), who is identified, among others, with "Sumaţ-ga[n] or "Šag-ga[n], i. e. with "GIR, C. T., XXIX, 46 : 13.

The "Sumaţ-ga[n] "GIR, then, is both a 'shepherd' and an "UZ or mashaku, 'goat'; cf. also p. 32, note 12.

4 Cf. here especially the kir-ša-a-ga[n] sib-bi kir-ša-a ša-mash-bi, lit., "the place minsu strengthens', i. e., the netherworld, where there is the ewe and its lamb; the netherworld, where there is the goat and its kid", IV. R., 39, no. 2 : 13; cf. also Zimmerm.'s translation in B. T., p. 207 and J. O. XII, p. 11.

5 P. 19, note 4.

6 For this emendation cf. H. R., 59 : 12, "Mar-lil-bandu(da) = = En-lil-bandu(da) + E-a; C. T., XXIV, 14 : 20, H. "En-lil bandu(da), "the mighty An Enlil") 4 (i. e. the 4th name of Ea); cf. also C. T., XXIV, 49a : 7-9. 

7 For "MAR-TU" = = En-lil, see B. E., XVII, p. H, note 1; and for "MAR-TU" in the rôle of Dumuzi, see above, p. 13, note 1, 2.

8 These ma-su-ne ( ša-mash, mash) are the "kids" that are kept ina tār-azag "GIR, "in the pure fold (see above, p. 29, note 4) of Girra", Craig, R. T., 1, p. 61 : 25, and constitute the ba-ul "GIR = ba-ul ša-GIR, "sphere of influence", (ša-GIR = tin tār-azag "GIR) for the "lord" or "god" of the sphere, see B. E., XXIX, p. 19.

9 Phonetic writing for "GIR, who, if read "GIR, is = = Né-iri-gal (B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. VIII : 47, 49), and if pronounced Su-maţ-ga[n], the "son of Uta", see above, p. 29, note 5.
"King of all the land,
Shepherd of the kids, like Gira,
How long still, o shepherd,
That the kids are to be kept in,
that the kids are not led out,
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 Enlil1 and of An.2 Cf. B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. VIII: 53, 4Ash-ga-(b)ur-e nam-sib-zu sha-mu-un-AG, "O Askaru, exercise thy shepherdship"! Perry, Sin, p. 12 : 4, records that Sin-Nammar is endowed with the nishê sal-mat qaggadi ush-shu-ru, "the directing of mankind".3 Sin is the utul (LIT-KU) LIT-ne-ra sal-dâ(g)-qa, "the shepherd who taketh care of the cows",4 C. T., XV, 17 : 15. Notice also Sin's name: 4Esh-la-rum LIT-[ ] in C. T., XXV, 27 a : 17, and his temple E-utul tur-dagal-la-a, "house of the flocks of the extended fold", B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. VIII : 52.

In the Ur trinity: 2Nanna(Sin), 2Uta(Shamash), 2Inanna (Ishtar), the "Son" of Nanna, 2Uta, was the sib tu(d)-da 2Nanna, "the shepherd born by Nannar".5 In the Sippar or Larsa trinity the "shepherd" was necessarily the "son of Utu", 2Samug(g)u(n).6

b) Lugal-bandana,7 the son of both Enlil8 and Sin,9 the "Enlil of Kullab" and "lord of Eshmunna", is expressly called 2Sib kalam-na a-a saq-gi(g)-qa, "divine shepherd of the 'country', father of mankind".10

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,11 who was the sib mish-lulim, "shepherd of the kids of the lulim-goats", and the 2En-sig-nun,12 the sib anshu, "shepherd of the donkeys".

1 See "Creation-Story", p. 22.
2 See above, p. 10.
3 Notice also that 2Nin-si-a = 2Sin (2XXX). C. T., XXIV, 48 : 7) appears in C. T., XVI, 13a : 10, as the utul (LIT-KU) utul (LIT-LU) lu 2 a = ri. 3i (ri. 3i-un) utul-la-ti, "shepherd of the flocks"; cf. H. A. V., p. 378, note 2.
4 For the "cow(s) of 2Nanna" see also Guda, 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", ninda LIT-bi 2(sal-dâ(g)-bi-âm).
6 See above, p. 29, note 5.
7 For this god see H. A. V., pp. 416ff.
8 Hence the same as 2Nin-ib, 2SUL.
9 For this reason identified with 2Uta.
10 H. A. V., p. 418, no. 4 : 8. Cf. also I. c., II. 42ff., where he is referred to as GII-XITA eul ma=â-e 2Gir-dim, "overseer of the lambs, sublime one, like Gir, . . . . . " see above, p. 50, note 8.
12 Guda, Cyl. B, X : 1; Ur-Bo-u, Statu, VI : 1. Cf. also C. T., XXIV, 36 : 37, where 2En-sig-nun occurs as the first of the four utug 2[Nin-ib-ge].
d) *Ni-šu-b* 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, gi-ra*.

f) *En-nu-gi* “the lord (of the land) without return”, i.e., of the netherworld, the son and throno-carrier of Enlil, the *gi-gal* of the great gods, the husband of *Nidaba-nur-sag(gal)*, father of *Gin-Du-la-azag-qa* and lord of the ditches and irrigation canals.

This god had likewise two “shepherds”, viz., *Ga-a-a-ā* and *z1i1i(=Ga-a-a-ā)11*.

Also in C. T., XXIX, 14:16, *Ga-a-a-ā* appears as a gloss, to *DIA.V.I.M*, the “sheep”

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1 See above, p. 31, note 4.
2 H. J. G., p. 128.
3 See above p. 30, notes 8, 9, and 31, note 10. Notice in this connection that the *Gu-la(Meša)-ra*, who is identified with *Legal-din-ua*, the son of An, and with Nergal, the son of Enlil (H. J. G., p. 430), appears in H. 1, 1, p. 131, no. 5; 6, as the māsh-adu igi-sar šu-um-na kur-ra-ka ga iš kāk-ka, “keeper of a watchful eye over the flocks, who nourishes the beasts of the field with milk of life”. Cf. p. 29, note 5.
4 Cf. Meissner-Rost, R. S., p. 108, note, *En-nu-gi hAT Ki-tim la to[-a-ri]*, where Ki-tim la tāri translates evidently the well-known *kur-na-gi, ga-la*.
9 “Maid of the god of the holy mountain”, C. T., XXIV. 10: 11.

10 i.e., lord of the means which bring about the fertility of the ground. Zimmern, Shurpu, W. p. 24: 82.


13 i.e., C. T., XXVIII, 48: 12, *En-nu-gi-gi*.

14 With *IGI-DU B (šišum, agig?) ti(l) *83, sib; cf. 1: 22.


16 And to *Ni-na-ga* in 1. 15. The *Ni-na-ga* is not to be identified with *DAR.A.I* (M. 11332), but with *Ni-na-ga* (= Nin-iš), “the goddess (of the animals with wool)”, i.e., of the sheep, being as such merely a variant of *Ni-na-ga* (cf. *Ni-a-hab = Nin-iš-nak; *4ḫa = *Ni-na-ib, etc.), C. T., XXV. 20a: 2a, 1b, one of the four names of *DAR.A.I*.

17 *Ni-na-ga* has also the gloss *sag-qa*, i.e., 1. 6 a gloss which gives, *inter alia*, the pronunciation of *GIR*.
or "ewe" — a god and goddess identified not only with Ishtar and Ash-shu-ur-du, with 2IM and 2BARA, but also and especially with She-ir-ba 2GANAM-alan, who occurs in C. T., XXIX, 46:6, between two Dumuzi names, viz., Tîsh-ir 2URUDU-\(\frac{\sqrt{C}}{\sqrt{C}}\), "the creator", "former" (l. 5), and 2Dumuzi 2Sib, "shepherd" (l. 7). This justifies us to regard the She-ir-ba 2GANAM-alan likewise as a name of Dumuzi and to identify it with the \(\frac{\sqrt{C}}{\sqrt{C}}\)-ba a-la-an \(\frac{\sqrt{C}}{\sqrt{C}}\), which occurs in the well-known list of Dumuzi names, C. T., XXIV, 19, col. II : 4 - 9 : 5 = XXV, 7 a, col. II : 5. But if so, the \(\frac{\sqrt{C}}{\sqrt{C}}\)-ba must be a mistake for \(\frac{\sqrt{C}}{\sqrt{C}}\)-ba, i. e., she-ir-ba, which, together with alan, is a gloss. She-ir-ba-aalan, 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 2Dumuzi 2Sib, "divine shepherd"; the muḫu sīb-bī, "shepherd-man", the 2Dumuzi EN's SIB sha "A-nīm 2DUMU 2É-a šar-mī 2UGU-N.

From this it follows that Gasa-a-a a 2SUM =- 2SUMUG(g)A(n) (GIL) and that the latter is both a "shepherd" and a "sheep"; cf. also p. 30, note 3.

1 C. T., XXV, 20a : 4, 2La-bar 2GANAM, "the (mother-) sheep, ewe", "Rachel", who is, according to l. 4b = XXIV, 32:117 the 2Nin-SIG (see preceding note), and according to l. 5b = XXIV, 32:118b, the 2Nin-du(l)-aaz-ga or 2Dum-azag-ga, "mistress (goddess) of the holy mountain", and according to XXV, 9:15 (here without the gloss la-bar), the 2A-a sha ka-ni-e (H. W. B., p. 358a), or also called 2A-a sha mash-ta-ki ši-rat 2Shug-zu, "A-a of the harem, wife of Shug-zu", l. c., ll. 12, 13. Now, as Shagru is either Enlil or Enzu or IM or Marduk (see H. A. V., p. 405, note 43), the Ishtar as "ewe" becomes here either Ninhîl or Ningal or Shala or Šarpantu-mum.


3 C. T., XXIX, 46:18, 2Shara 2IM.

4 Notice that the 2mu-en-ke Bad-URUDU-XAGARq, "lord of B." is Dumuzi, no. 6, col. I : 8; C. T., XV, 18:8; cf. no.5, Rev., III : 11, [2mu-en-ke] E-a-ad-URUDU-XAGARq. The E-aDumuzi Bad-URUDU-XAGARq-a is mentioned in B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. IV : 45; and l. c., ll. 43, 44, 2Dumuzi is called the legal E-nina-a-ga, Bad-URUDU-XAGARq; cf. no. 1, col. III : 10, Bad-URUDU-XAGARq É-nina-a. From this it follows that the 2Lugal-Bad-URUDU-XAGARq of C. T., XXV, 38a : 3, must be 2Dumuzi. Lastly, just as Dumuzi is the Ti-bēra 2URUDU-XAGAR, so is Ishtar (= 2Be-li-ti-li), his wife, the 2URUDU-XAGAR-kalam-umu(dingir-ri)-e-an, "the former, creator of the 'country' (gods)", C. T., XXIV, 12 : 24/5 - 25 : 87.

5 And not an "Ea-Bild", Zimmern, B. G. T., p. 1, note 1.


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

8 Cf. the sīb-ba en 2Dumuzi, below, p. 39, note 3.

9 This attribute betrays still clearly the fact that the original and first Dumuzi was Enlil, the "Son" and "shepherd" of An. In R. H., p. 131:41/2, 2M-an-li-il appears distinctly as the tu-mu ma-lu zî-da, "the 'son', the true one", being rendered in Sumeric by ma-ri ki-nim, "true son", which is, of course, nothing but our 2Dumuzi. When in the later development of the Sumerian religion the role of Enlil as Dumuzi was transferred to all the other "Sons" of the various trinities, 2Dumuzi, 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 2Dumuzi mish-zi, III E., 66, Obv. 31a, 13d, 18a, Rev., 24a — a writing which is by no means a "graphische Spielerei" (zur Bezeichnung des langen a?)", as
hi-ru-ti . . . na-shu-a she-ri-bir-ri13 EN.TÚ.R,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) dú-ni dim ki-atul (LIT-LU, var. en-nu-šú13 (var. ŚI)14 mu-an-da-ab-diš(diš(g))

LI T-A-na15

súb-še-dim ki-e-si16 udu-A-na en-nu-šú (var. ŚI) mu-an-da-ab-diš(diš(g)), i.e.,

“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 *Súb-zi-an-na,17 “true shepherd of An”.

Ishtar, who is referred to either as dam súb-bir18, “wife of the shepherd”, or as the súb-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 (mish = plural) Dumuzi as e. g., the Dumuzi-abzu, the *Dumuzi of Bél-URU-U.SU,19A,10, the *Dumuzi of Ki-nur-sháli (sic! = Ki-nur-nerÁš17), B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. VI: 6, 8, etc.,—all of whom, though worshiped in different cities, played the same rôle.

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

11 Cf. C. T., XV, 10; 19, where *Dumuzi-lil is said to carry the súb-bir dirgir-ri-ne “shepherd’s staff of the gods”.

12 Cf. also Dumuzi’s attribute *súb-an-e I tár-a, “lord of the (house of the) fold”, C. T., XV, 18: 12. This “fold” (tár, syn. of amash) is both the “harem” (H. J. F., p. 399) and the eíd (above, p. 29, note 4). Cf. also the *Dumuzi-an-anas-asu-gur, above, p. 29.

13 For this reading cf. l. c. l. 22 = 24, en-nu-šú-ga and see Br. 2841.

14 Súb-šú = Nú (l. c. sú, above, p. 15, note 5) . . . diš(g) = za(l) . . . diš(g) = sal. . . diš(g).

15 Notice in this connection that C. T., XXIV, 3: 23/4 = 21: 57, 8, mentions the two *satul (LIT-KU)-gal In-an-șu-gur, “great shepherds of An”, viz., *Dumuzi-aššu29,29 (sic! Read [AŠŠU]2929) and *Súb-ba-aš-zi-da. For the reading [AŠŠU]2929 the following in C. T., XXV, 4: 4, 5 = 21: 74, where *Dumuzi-gara together with his wife *Dumuzi-gara are mentioned among the “42 names of the lord, the father-mother Enil”. Enil, then, the son of An, was the original “shepherd” of An.

In C. T., XXV, 19a: 4, *Dumuzi-aššu29,29 is said to be the wife (dam-bi-sal) of *Dumuzi GUD.

This *Dumuzi-aššu or “god of the oxen” is according to l. c. 6: 22, the gapi kin-qi-a *Dumuzi-tab-ba-ga, “messenger of the ‘twins’”, being mentioned immediately after the *súbul (LUGAL-GUR-RA) and of *Mes-hum-ta-i-a, which would seem to indicate that these “twins” were the “great twins”, i.e., Sin and Nergal. VR., 46: 4, 5 = H. J. F., p. 425. But Sin is the Nās-zi pib-ba21 of the third month with the stars Súb-zi-an-na and *Dumuzi-tab-ba-gal-gal, see B. E., Series D, vol. VI, Table II: 8. From this it follows that Dumuzi, “the shepherd of An”, or also called *En-gara or *Dumuzi-aššu, was Sin, to whom the rôle of Enil had been transferred. Sin, therefore, is not only the “son of Enil”, but also the “son of An”, and the star through which he reveals himself is the Súb-zi-an-na = Dumuzi, see below, note 47.

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


No. 7: 1 ff.,

1. sib-um mask'-zu
   "My shepherd, thy kids — i-bi2-nu-c-mu-un-dā
   no one taketh care of them — zu

   (sc. no one taketh care of them)

2. a-da-n sib-ma mash-
   "Alas! my shepherd, thy kids — na

   (sc. thy kids — etc.)

3. u-lu-lu3 ses4 ama5 Mu(sh)-ti-nē
   "Bewailed (?) one, brother of mother
   Geshtinna,

4. shutug u-lu-lu
   "Anointed one, bewailed (?) one,

5. u-mu-un Kul-atb16
   "Lord of Kullab.

6. u-mu-un Unu(g)47-ga
   "Lord of Erech,

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

1. [sib2-ba ama]sh-zu
   "Shepherd(?) thy fold

   gi-cr-ru [su(g)-ga-ām]
in tears is bathed;

1 Var. of ṣās.
2 I-bi...dā, "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-ē — cf. now Zimmern, S. K., p. 10, no. 5, col. III: 45 = p. 22, no. 25, col. I: 18 = p. 19, no. 17, col. III: 1, where i-bi-bi-da(ta) i-ši(-ē) a-ma(ām)-ta-li-lā (followed by ša(h)-bi a-she-ir in-shi-lā-lā) corresponds to R. H., p. 33: 14/5 = 66: 7, i-bi-bi-ta i-ši-iš a-ma-ša-ta-lā-c — (ina pa-ni-shu) ni-is-sa-tum it-ta-lul (followed by ša(h)bi a-she-ir(-ra) in-shi-lā-lā = ṣu-bi-shu (a-ni-hum-ma), and to our no. 3, col. II: 7, i-bi(-i)-bi she-ir-ra am-shi-she-she (followed by ša(h)bi a-she-ir am-ta-li-lā); hence, pānu = i-bi = i-bi = igi. Is the name of dI-hi(bi)-śin to be explained, after all, with ḫilprecht, as meaning "eye, face, image of Śin"?


The dLugal-u-lu-lu is — Dumuzi, C. T., XXV, 39b: 17; the u-lu-lu-lu is the last of the eight garu kin-gi-a dMan-nu-gal-ge, "messengers of M.", C. T., XXIV, 47a: 41b = XXV, 4: 22; and the u-lu-lu-HUG-HUG is the last of the "seven great names" of Enil, B. H., p. 20 (no. 13): 7, et passim.

4 Cf. also the peculiar writing šeš-sha, no. 5, Rev., col. II: 1 and si-sa, 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-c] a-ma Mu(sh)-ti-nē.
6 Here Dumuzi is the "lord of Kullab"; but according to II. A. V., p. 416, the dEn-lil or "lord" of Kullab was dLugal-banda, the husband of dNin(Ga-sha-an)-sun, 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-mu-un-banda(ma) Kul-um(g)-gām-nun. The a-ma Ku-ul-la-la was Ga-sha-an-Lil-ri-ga-al, C. B. M., 112: 2.

7 Emendation according to l. 2, 10. For the reading sāb — instead of gāb (Zimmern) or sīb, sīb (Langdon) — see below, pp. 39 ff.

8
2. amashesnu subhu amash[zu]

"Thy fold, o shepherd(?), thy fold

3. Ama-ushungal-an-na

"Heavenly king of the 'mother',

4. iem-an-e

"Lord

1 The reading Ama instead of Isagal (H. A. G., p. 404, note 31) — is now assured by no. 5, Rev., col. II: 6; Ama-ushungal-an-na = 'queen of heaven'. Zimmerm., R. G., T., p. 7, no. 2, renders this name by "Mother, Alleinherrscherin des Himmels". In view of the fact, however, that Ishtar herself is called ushungal-an-na = sharpat sham{, "queen of heaven", Sm. 954, Rev. 3/4, we may see in this name some meaning as "der Mutter Himmelskönigin", "heavenly king of the mother (= Ishtar)". He is expressly identified with Dumuzi (see below), appears as the "lord of the house (where one cries out)" "Ara-la", us-m-an-an E-a, no. 1, col. III: 7, and is the husband of "Nin-an-an-an-an-a, "the beautiful mistress of heaven". H. A. G., no. 2, p. 406, or of Gashan-an-an; see below, p. 37, note 1.

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

2 Ama-ushungal-an-na, no. 1, col. III: 7; no. 4: 43, no. 6, col. I: 3; H. A. G., no. 2: 62; C. T., XV: 23; 28: 9; IV R., 30, no. 2; Obv., 20; Rev., 8 = R. H., p. 67: 19; IV R., 27, no. 1, add. p. 6; II: 11; C. T., XXIV: 9: 2 19, 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 4Dumuzi);

3 Ama-ushungal-an-na, no. 12: 28;

Aroma-ushungal-an-na, H. A. T., no. 2: 42; C. T., XV: 18: 6;

Aroma-ushungal-an-na, Zimmerm., S. K., p. 6, no. 3, col. IV: 14;


Aroma-ushungal-an-na, Zimmerm., l. c., p. 44, Rev., 9;

Aroma-ushungal-an-na, Pinches, Manch., 1: 14: Zimmerm., l. c., p. 36, no. 31: 7;

Aroma-ushungal-an-na, Zimmerm., l. c., p. 2, no. 1, col. III: 18;


2 This is the common ancient Semitic writing. The later Semitic texts have A-ra-lilib, A-ra aldil, A-ra-aldil. The meaning of this word is not yet certain; a significance "way (a-ra = a-ra) (or of the) 'life'" may, however, be suggested. "Li" may be either an abbreviation of li-[du, du, di], "the way of the song (or of washing)"); or it may be taken as a syn. of "adil". a-di la (Br. 1166), "alas!" "how long still?" "when at last?" "Ara-li, then, would be "the way of the 'alas!' (crying)"; or lastly, "Li" may be = arki-ta, "future, eternity", i. e., "the way of or to the eternity".

This A-ra Li was the edin or "netherworld" (see above, p. 17; cf. also X. E., AO 436 etc., where A-ra-li is parallel with edin. It was the "shepherd (9?)-hill" or "beautiful hill" (see below, p. 33f.); a "place not to be beheld", A-ra-li us-m-an-an = "sharpat ummari", IV R., 23, no. 2: 67 (here preceded by E-kur, Gig-em-ma); a "place of the far-off regions", gi-kud-di-ja A-ra-li A-ra-li, no. 5, Rev., II: 3 (cf. Dumuzi's name 1Ugal-kidil-du, below, p. 44, note 4); a "place of doom", A-ra-li ki-sag XIX-KI 124, no. 2: 36. The A-ra-li gi-d-bar-us-ma of R. H., p. 94: 21, is in all probability "the abode (gi-d-bar = gi-bar) of the prince"; cf. 1En-me-shar-ra XUX shu A-ra-li-al-li, above, p. 32, note 10.

Dumuzi is the "lord (šum-um) 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: 6 = 49, col. II: 5 XXV, 7a, col. II: 6, has possibly to be emended to "A-ra-li A-ra-li, "lord of the A-", Ishtar beholds Dumuzi as the šum-um-zu A-ra-li us-ma-ti-il, "he who makes his abode of dust"[see (R. E., XXIX: 71, note 3) in the A- lives no more", no. 5, Rev., II: 7. This A-ra-li had a 'house': E-Ara-li, H. R., 61, no. 1: 18 (here mentioned between the E-er-ra, "house of washing", and the E-tin-an, "house of life" which was the E-tin-an(s), no. 1, III: 11, originally the temple of Bel Eru'di NAGAL (see above, p. 33, note 1), of which Dumuzi was the "king" (lugal) and "lord", see I. 10. In Rev., XXVII: 15, no. 1, col. IV: 40, Dumuzi is called diQipiru E-Ara-li-kur, "glorious bridegroom of the house of A-".

Lastly, notice that A-ra-li is a syn. of E-kur-e-tim, "Ekan of the dead"; of di-gal, "great abode"; and dišip-gal I P 31: 50, col. I, Rev., 13a, b. With this 1E. cf. above, p. 9, note 3; p. 29, note 4, and the names 1En, Mšal, 1NIN IB; 1NIN' IB.
5. sub-ba
"Shepherd (?)".

6. u-mu-un
"Lord"

7. mu-tan-na
"Husband"

en "Dumuzi-

lord Dumuzi, (sc. thy fold etc.);

Du(l)-sub-ba

of the shepherd (?)-hill, (sc. thy fold etc.);

Ga-sha-an-AN-[nu 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 Ereh, see above, p. 9. As wife of An or "heaven" (B. E., XXIX, p. 10) she signifies the "earth". Here she appears as the wife of Dumuzi, i.e. originally Enlil, 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: 11 and especially IV R., 27, no. 1:1–2, sub-ba en "Dumuzi mu-tan-na Gashan-an-na = ri-é-um be-lim "Dumuzi ha-me-ir Ish-tar, "shepherd, lord Dumuzi, husband of Ishtar". In E. H., p. 85: 20, en "Dumuzi is the designation of the shepherd (?)-hill, (sc. thy fold etc.)". In R. H., p. 134: 7, 8 = 136: 19–20, by ka-'I-ir-sha "Dumuzi-. Cf. also C. T., XV, 28: 15ff., where "Dumuzi and Gashan-an-na are called sal-nita-dam (mu-)šib-bi, i.e., "female and male who live together (šub) 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 tur-ra-na; generally, however, merely as dam, for whom she wails and sheds bitter tears, see l. c. 1: 2; p. 164: 43; 168: 162 = Zimmern, S. K., p. 3, no. 2, col. 1: 2; col. 11: 6.

In Semitic Gashan(Nin)-anna is rendered by "U-GÚN, "glorious mistress"; "U-GÚN-mul. "glorious mistress of the stars" (C. T., XXV, 31a: 16); D'nanna (= Ini-anna, see above, p. 10, note 1); Ish-tar; Ish-tar-ri-šum; Ish-tar sha-ya-at, "the exalted" (R. H., p. 20, no. 9, Rev., 22: 3 = p. 23, no. 10, Rev., 7: 8).

She is the "šegi (or SAL-KI), "princess" (or "sister"), Sm. 954, Rev., 17, 8; R. H., p. 104: 8; the osag, "holy one", no. 8, col. V: 14; Scheil, R. A., VIII, p. 146: 43; p. 168: 102; the mu-ši(g)i-šub, no. 13, Obv., 9, 11; C. T., XV, 25: 3: 28: 20; R. H., p. 89: 15. et passim; mu-ši(g)i-an-na, no. 9, col. II: 19; mu-ši(g)i-an-na, no. 12: 3; mu-ši(g)i-an-na (= 4Ba-šu), X. E., AO4327, Rev., II: 2: 4331/5, col. 1: 2. i.e., "the consecrated one" (= qalidatu); the XV-XVUZ sha(g)-gâ (= 4Ba-šu), "the gracious or beautiful woman", R. H., p. 89: 17. The designation (4Gashan-an-na šiš-ši(g)i-ge = Ish-tar dU(?)-še(?)) gur-ra-do-at, R. H., p. 85: 19 = 134: 5, 6 = 136: 17/8, is not yet clear to me.

In consequence of the transfer of the rôle of Dumuzi-Gashananna to the various "sons" and "mothers" of the several trinities, it happened that Gashananna, though the "Mother" par excellence and wife of An, became even the daughter of An (hence, the sister and wife of Enlil, and of all the other sons of An), of Enlil (hence, the sister and wife of all the sons of Enlil), of Sin (hence, the sister and wife of Shamash), of Anshar, of Ninib, etc., see "Beth, the Christ", p. 2, and notes. For Ishtar as daughter of Enlil, cf. also R. H., p. 132: 25. dumu ki-i-gu Gashan-an-na-ge, "thy (i. e., Enlils), 1: 21) beloved child C."); and for Ishtar as daughter of "Dar-an-ki (Enlil) see K. 9655 + Ru. 613 = Bezoel, "Cat.", p. 1063. These various genealogies are the evidence and proof of our assertion that Ishtar may signify any "Son" or "Mother" and "Bride" of a given trinity; cf. H. A. V., p. 404, note 31. The following noteworthy writings of this name may be mentioned;

Gashan-an-na, so generally in the later copies;


Gashan-an, R. H., p. 66, Obv., 7a, 29a, 30f.

Gashan-an-na (= Ish-tar sha-ya-at), R. H., p. 20, no. 9, Rev., 22: 3 =

Gashan-an-na, R. H., p. 23, no. 10: 7/8;

Gasha-an-an, Scheil, R. A., VIII, p. 164, Obv., II: 43;

Gasha-an-an-na, no. 6, col. 1: 7; no. 8, col. V: 15; no. 9, col. II: 19; no. 13, Obv., 9, 11, and so most commonly in the older EME-SIL texts;

Gasha-an-an-na, no. 11: 4; no. 12: 3;

Gasha-an-na, no. 8, col. VI: 3; H. I. V., no. 12: 12;

Gasha-an-na, Zimmern, S., K., p. 44, no. 14: 2b; p. 49, no. 57: 1b;
8. a-na-tu-ne
   "Lord(d)"

9. ses ama Ma(sh)-
   "Brother of mother Geshtinna,
   a-na-n-er E-ni-na-a amash-zi
   "Lord (of) E-nina, thy fold.

10. amash-wi-ner-bi
   "The fold's sustenance —

12. SHE-MUR-2-ne-bi
   "Its sustenance

KU-ska-a-an na-na, Pinches, Manch., IV: p. 22, 11: 13;
KU-ska-a-an, no. 5, Rev., II: 10; Pinches, Manch., VI: 26;
11: 22: p. 43, no. 49: 35;
KU-ska-a-an (, amun), Pinches, Manch., II: 13;
E-ni-na-a, so generally, but also
GIR-gi-lu, (of)
Nin-an-na, sc. Enlil's daughter,
In conclusion notice that the E-ni-na-a and the Nin-an-na are enumerated in C. T., XXIV, 4: 18/9 = 21: 78, among the "12 names of the lord, the father-mother Elih" — a fact which proves
1) that Elih was indeed the original Dumuzi, and
2) that Elih did usurp the role of his "Father" An.

1 For the E-ni-na-a cf. already above, p. 33, note 4, and p. 36, note 2. Notice also that Ishtar as Gashan-Girgal is addressed: 5-sal-gi-zu-ma Gashan-Eni-na-a, "my true princess, mistress of E", C. T., XV. 23: 4, cf. R. H., p. 139: 131/2, and gur-ri-a Gashan-ni-um(d) ni-ra = ra-bar-um kita-tum Nin-Nin[i]. In Zimmern, S.K., p. 4, no. 2, col. II: 16, the elda E-ni-na-a-ku is mentioned. Within the walls of this E-ni-na-a was the gur-ri-a-zi-ag, "the sacred "bridal bed"" of Ishtar and Dumuzi, B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. IV: 39. This would show that the E-ni-na-a or the splendid, glorious, shining house" is in all respects a syn. of E(B)ri-a, for which see H. A. G., p. 308; Zimmern, S.K., p. 3, no. 2, col. II: 113ff, and cf. the E-ari = bit sar-di-tum, "house of the maidens", "harmon", R. H., p. 83: 29, 30.

2 Nin-an (Br. 7912) as well as SHE-MUR (Br. 7486) are the Assyrian tumru = "s. Delitzsch, H. W., p. 714, "<Sapeter, Salba", Jensen, K. B., VI: p. 447: "pain (cout sens la cendre", de Genouillac, E. A., VII (1910), p. 113; cf. also Huber, H. A. I., p. 213.

3 The juxtaposition of a and ga occurs quite frequently in the Dumuzi texts, cf. e. g., Macmillan, B. A., V. p. 679, no. 32: II, 12:
   11 a gis-i-ba-ag
   12 sî-ba a gis-i-ba-gi
   "Of good n.
   
   13 a, Shepherd(?), of good a
   also I. c., II, 16, 17:
   16 a gis-ra a la-bad-a-gaz
   17 ga gis-ra ga la-ba-da-gaz
   "From whom a has been taken away, with a shall
be not be made to abound?
"From whom ga has been
   taken away, etc.?

19 a na nu en na
a ba-an-da-ba dal

Bud-URUDU-NAGAR[geh
(, of B., (sc. thy fold etc.);
"lin-
(sc. thy fold etc.);
"gi-er-ra su(g)-ga-ami
in tears is bathed!
"mu-ra-zu
art thou not he who furnishes it?
a-su (? LU)-a-zu

verify, thou increasest (providest) it!

i. e., for the provider thou art?
of good ga (sc. the provider thou art?)

Why etc.?
The fold, from which the
cream has been taken away,

The fold, from which the milk has
been taken away,

According to this passage Dumuzi is the "shepherd"(?) of the "fold" (ll. 1, 2), the
"shepherd (?), lord Dumuzi"(6) (l. 3), or merely the "shepherd (?)
Dumuzi"; his habitation 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 \u2192 = sub is new.
In favor of this reading the following:

The "shepherd (?)-hill" appears in the Damuzi texts in three different writings:
1) Du(l)-sùb-ba(bi)\(^8\),

\[
\begin{align*}
20 & \text{na } \text{nu-me-en-na} & \text{ga ba-an-da-gaz, } \text{i. c.,} \\
& \text{Where } \text{u} \text{ is not,} & \text{with } \text{u} \text{ he maketh to overflow,} \\
& \text{Where } \text{ga not is,} & \text{with } \text{ga} \text{ he maketh to abound}. \\
\end{align*}
\]

Comparing this with the parallel passage in l. c., p. 27, no. 26, col. IV: 28, 29,
28 \text{a} \text{nu-me-a} & \text{u \text{ga(sic! read ba)-an-da-ab[ba]-c]} \\
29 \text{ga} \text{na-me-a} & \text{gu ba-an-da-ab-gaz,}

the conclusion might seem justified that \text{u} = \text{u} = "food"; and this the more so as Scheil, R.A., VIII, p. 168, Rev.,
I: 103, 4, the duplicate of Zimmern no. 2, has \text{u...kú,} "to eat food", and \text{u...nag}, "to drink water", for \text{u...bal}
and \text{ga...gaz}. On the other hand it ought to be noticed that in C. T., XV, 10: 12, we find for \text{u...ga} the expression
NI (generally read \text{id})...\text{ga}, for we read:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{u-nu-um} & \text{NI erin-na} & \text{gu nunnuz \text{im-da-ma-al-la, } \text{i. c.,} } \\
& \text{Lord (= Enhill), who maketh sparkling oil} & \text{and sweet milk to be in plenty".} \\
\end{align*}
\]

This \text{NI} occurs also in the well-known expression \text{ru \text{NI-nun,} "honey and cream"}, cf. H.A.T.,
no. 2: 9, 11; Gudea, Statue E. VI: 24 = G, V: 18; Cyl. B, III: 18, 24, and especially the \text{É-ru-\text{NI-nun,} "house
of honey and cream"}, Hilprecht, O. B. I, no. 21 (\text{= E. B. II,} p. 271) 13, which in our no. 10: 2, appears as \text{É-ru-
NI-nun.} Remembering, furthermore, that "honey, cream and milk" were the three sacrifices \text{par excellence} offered
to the gods, more particularly to Ishtar-Dumuzi, there is no reason why \text{u} should not be the reading of \text{NI},
rather than a variant of \text{u}. \text{XI}, then, had besides \text{id} also the pronunciation \text{u}.

Notice also that the \text{u-azag}, "pure cream", was especially sacred to, and the emblem of, \text{dNinú, Gudea, Cyl.
A. XIV: 23.}

\[\text{Ha - gúr} (\text{see preceding note}) = \text{nashú, "to take away". Cream and milk which has been taken away,}
does not exist, is not there any more. hence. \text{Ha, gúr = syn. of } \text{nu-me-a}.\]

\[\text{Written either } \text{sùb-ba, no. 1, col. IV: 3; cf. above p. 35, note 7; or } \text{sùb-bi, no. 7. Obv., 11.}\]

\[\text{6 Cf. also IV R., 27, no. 1: 1 2 (see above, p. 37, note 1; no. 5, Rev., 11: 8, sùb-ba en } \text{Dumuzi nu-u-ti-il, "the shepherd(?),
the lord D. lives no more"; C. T., XV, 18: 9, sùb-ba en } \text{Dumuzi nu-u-u-ti-il(l); l. c., 19: 3, a-dan sùb-ba en } \text{Dumuzi.}
\text{See also above, p. 33, } \text{Dumuzi EN SIB sha } \text{A-nim.}\]

\[\text{7 C. T., XV, 28: 6, sùb-ba } \text{Dumuzi-di-šē bā(u)-azag-ga-na A-nim, "shepherd(? D. by the (his) pure choice
(heart) of An".}\]

\[\text{8 No. 1, col. II: 10, A-ra-li Du(l)-sùb-ba; no. 6, col. I: 6, u-mu-un Du(l)-sùb-ba; C. T., XV, 18: 10, u-mu-
\text{u-mu-un Du(l)-sùb-bi-ge.}\]
2. Dumu-zi
3. Dumu-(l)-sa-ba(b)-ba;

4. Bertin. J. R. A. S., XVII. p. 65, col. I : 6. has $\text{bas} = su-\text{ag} - u-\text{zu} - \text{zu} - \text{zu}$ (root nazazu).

But nazazu is also $\text{ba}$. i. e., shu(g). or $\text{ba}$. i. e., shu(g)-shu(g). see IV R., 30 : 3/4b, mana-shu(g)-shu(g)-gi-esh = i-za-za. cf. Zimmern. Z. A.. XIV. p. 389; Thureau-Dangin, Z. A., XVIII. p. 191. 6. Hence, $\text{bas} = \text{su-ba}{(hi)}$, which in EME-S.I becomes suh, su-ba(b)-ba, $\text{shu(b)} = \text{bas}$. For the interchange of "y" and "b" and of "s" and "sh", see Bossey, H. A. V., p. 110 : 12; p. 119 : 43.

But what would be the meaning of Du(l)-suh-ba from this point of view? Zimmern renders it by "Hertenecknung" and Langdon by "sheep-folds" — translations based, no doubt, on IV R., 27. no. 1 : 12, where suh-ba en "Dumuzi" is translated by ri-é-am bel-im Dumuzi, "shepherd, lord Dumuzi." In view of the passages given above, it is, however, somewhat doubtful whether the Semitic translation ri-é-am is justified in this particular case, and this for the simple reason that suh changes with shu(b). Two explanations would seem to suggest themselves, either shu(b) has also the meaning "shepherd", or suh is merely a variant of suh(b). If the latter be true, a translation "hill of the beautiful one" or "beautiful hill" might be suggested, thus making du(l)-shu(b)-ba 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 i-ká-Di shu(b)-ba, 4 which is translated in R. H., 153. col. III : 10ff., by i-ká-Di shu pá-ni ba-nu-[i]. i. e., "K. of (with) beautiful eyes (face)". Cf. also C. T., XXV, 6 : 10, i-gi, $\text{id}=\text{i-ká-Di}$. 9 $\text{i-šu-ru-ba}{(h)}$ SHU(B) $\text{i-šu-ru-ba}{(h)}$ SHU(B). 10 The source of the river of Dumuzi is called: $\text{i-ká-Di} SHU(B)$, "beautiful river", or "river of the beautiful one"; and notice that in C. T., XXV, 27a: 15, the i-shu(b)-shu(b) SHU(B) is identified with Ulu, the Dumuzi of the Ur trinity and the 9t-rištiš of the month Ezen-Dumuzi, "festival of D." = Tashritu = March-April (time before Nabonassar), 6 the month during which the marriage and resurrection festivals of Dumuzi were celebrated.

Seeing then, that in the expression du(l)-suh(b)-shu(b)-ba the suh and shu(b) are used interchangeably, it may very well be possible that Dumuzi as the suh(b) was originally

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5 No. 1, col. III : 9, A-ra-li Du(l)-shu(b)-ba; above, p. 20 : 25; Zimmern, S. K., p. 39, no. 34 : 6 a, i-šu-ru-ba $\text{du(l)-shu(b)-ba}$.
6 Or better still of the Gigion, "the beautiful place", see B. E., Series D, vol. VI.
8 For bána in this sense see Jensen, K. E., XV, p. 412.
9 See B. E., Series D, vol. VI, Table 1 : 7.
the "beautiful 1 one" and that consequently the dual(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 (4)Ú-mu-un-sub (ṣubu[zi]-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-sub-bi, II R., 59, Rev., 44. Zimmern renders this name by "Auführer, (Gott) Herr des Gebets", and Langdon by "prince, lord of adoration."

In view of the above given passages I prefer to see in sub-bi another variant of súb-ba(bi). shu(b)-ba(bi) = "beautiful one", translating the whole by "bridegroom, 2 beautiful 3 lord". Cf. also Dumuzi's name "Lugal-sub-bi, "beautiful king", C. T., XXV, 39e : 12. The similar name which designates Dumuzi as the "En-ligir-si = Umuu-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., li-bi-tam-šum, li-bi-lašši, see above, p. 27, note 9: i-bi-בע-шу-ע-כ (parallel with K A-hu-ta-ul-la-ul-e, "the one of an irresistible voice"), see C. T., XV, 18 : 27; B. E., Series D, vol. VI; "Lugal-igi-ur-'ur-sa, "the beautiful (ḫur = bani. M. 6104) king", followed by "Lugal-igi-ra-mah-di, "the valiant (youthful) king with benign countenance (pān riššu)". C. T., XXV, 38c : 1, 2.

2 Li-bi-ir = sus-sum = x-


"The city's maidens
"The city's youths

don't rejoice any more,
do not lead home the bride any more"

Cf. also Zimmern, S. K., p. 43, no. 10, Rev., 4.

4 For shu, shu(b), sub with the meaning "beautiful, glorious", cf., among others, the following:
[5]Nin-tin-ši-ba sa-zi-zi-zi su-ba An-na, "the glorious princess of An", no. 9, col. 1: 4; Bi-li-bi, the sister of Dumuzi, calls herself K A(?)-azag-gi-ni su-ub-ba me-en, "among those of radiant countenance (?) the most beautiful (glorious) one I am". In C. T., XV, 233 : 9, the goddess Girigal is described as gab-bi-sù-ba azag-ga al-sun-c, "she whose glorious and pure bosom is beautiful. Whatever is beautiful may, according to Sumerian ideas, be "kissed", hence, su-ba = "to kiss, to adore, to worship" = shub (labānu).

This su-ba may sometimes be lengthened by da (cf. wa-mu-ma = ma-ma(ma da) or by da (cf. li-da = li-du = li-di = li; si-im-du = si-im-da = si-im; ash-da = ash-du = ash), hence, we find that Ishtar calls herself súb-gi su-ba-da mi-šu, "the glorious, beautiful princess I am", Pinches, Manch., V: 31. Nin-a-zi of 1M[2] is called the en K A-súb-da-ge, "lord of (among) those of beautiful face"; cf. Gudea. Cyl. A, XXVII : 16, Š...a-ši-ta K A-súb-da, "by its (the temple's) means the mount (face) was delighted (made pleasant)". In R. H., p. 86: 5 = 134, col. 11: 15 = 138 : 100, 1, appears the Umu-ma-da sub-bi An-na, who in C. T., XXIV, 11 : 34 = 24 : 11, is called merely Nin-ma-da-sub, and who in C. B. M, 121 : 11, is represented by U-mu-un-da-su-ub-An-ku, "the lord of the land, the beautiful one of An (heaven or universe)"; here, then, shu = shu + du = šub(g) = šub(b). With this shu-du cf. the shu-du U'B'a-ge, shu-du DA-ge, Zimmern, S. K., p. 4, no. 4, col. IV : 7 : 8; p. 6, no. 3, col. III : 3. Whether B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. VIII : 7, where KA-DU is called the šub An-na, has to be referred here, is doubtful.

Ishtar of Halaš is called Ninnakka-šub(b)-sul(g)ki, "the beautiful Ishtar of Erech", B. E., XXVII, col. VI : 33; the ama šu-ba, "the beautiful mother", Zimmern, S. K., p. 5, no. 3, col. I : 25; her temples are the É-an-na šu-ba-šu, "E-zar-6 šu-ab-šu, É-tur-kalam-ma šu-ab-šu, É-tur-kalam-ma šu-ab-šu, l. c., p. 42, no. 39, Obv., 31. (cf. I. 2, šu-shu-ab-an). The star Lum-ma is Eulil of Šub(b)ki, see above, p. 27, note 9: for Šub(b)ki cf. also Zimmern, S. K., p. 21, no. 22, Obv., 7. An é-šub(b)-ba, "beautiful house", occurs in no. 13, Rev., 2 (cf. II 3, 4). In N. F., AO 1346, Obv., 8, 9, we find the šubšušu-ba, "the beautiful Šuški-stones" (cf. Sm. 954 : 19, 29).
But whether we translate du(l)-sîb-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 1-m-li,1 the great and extended field (edin)2 over which Dumuzi as shepherd and lord keeps guard:

\[ \text{edin-ki} \]

“Over the netherworld

he keepeth guard”.3

The netherworld, then, is the great “fold” where all living creatures have to spend, at one time or another, their “night” (\(\text{u-zul} \)), 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 goes4 Ishtar, the “Bride”, to be joined with the “Lamb” in holy wedlock. The netherworld becomes in this wise not only the \(\text{ki-sha(g)-kush-shâ} \) in-nîn \(^{6}\) edin-ka;7 “the place where the heart of the mistress of the edin is at rest”, but also and especially an \(\text{edin-na ki-azag-ga} \) \(\text{ši-rîn} \) \(\text{ash-ri} \) ed-\(\text{li} \),8 “a holy place”, a ki-(a-)ri-a,9 a “place of be-getting”, a “bridal-chamber”.10

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

No. 9, col. II: 18ff.;

18. \(\text{er} \) na-nu-an-na-at

“[In wailing on account of him]

I break out,

19. \(\text{mu-qib-an-na} \)

“I, the holy one of An,

20. \(\text{kur-gul-gul} \)

“I, the destroyer of the mountain.

21. \(\text{li-Nin-tin-dib} \) ha

“I, who quickens the dead to life.

\[ \text{me-c na-nu-an-ti-li} \]

I, on account of him who does not live;

\[ \text{Ga-sha-an-na mèn} \]

the mistress of An,

\[ \text{Ga-sha-an-E-an-na mèn} \]

the mistress of E-an,

\[ \text{Ga-sha-an-Gi-bur-ru mèn} \]

the mistress of Gipar”;

---

1 See above, pp. 39, note 3; 49, note 2.
2 Cf. already above, p. 36, note 2.
4 See above, p. 27, note 7, and C. T., XV, 28 : 22, \(\text{u-ba mẫu sib-bi edin-shå ba-ra-i} \).
5 Cf. the ki-kush-shâ above, p. 22 : 8, and the ki-sha(h)-she(h)-du, p. 22 : 14.
7 R. E., XXVII, no. i, col. IV : 37.
8 IV E, 8 : 42b : 11, no. 2, Rev. I.
10 It is probably needless to mention it here that the so-called “edin” of Nin-Gisra reflects the various conceptions of the people of Girsu, at the time of Gudea, entertained with regard to the netherworld. Space, however, fails to treat of the same here.
No. 12 : 2 ff.:

2. é-gul-la ki-bi

"My house which has been destroyed, to its place

3. mu-gib-an-na

"(Cry) I, the holy one of An,

4. kur-gul-gul

"1, the destroyer of the mountain,

5. É-ma-mú-da¹

"My ma-mú-da,

me-ña gi-gi-mu

when will it be restored?"

Ga-sha-an-an-na mên

the mistress of An,

Ga-sha-an-É-an-na mên

the mistress of É-an;

ma-da-á-mu

which has been built for me, (sc. to its place when will it be restored?)"

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

1. [mu-lat?] edin-na
ta úl-li mu-ni-ib-gin
edin-na
edin-na
edin-na, i. e.,

why shall I (she) go?
to the netherworld (sc. why etc.?),
to the netherworld (sc. why etc. ?)


The same attribute is ascribed to "Gir-gí-lu (= Ishtar, H 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) Úg-BA-á-ni-il, “hero, destroyer of the mountain, storm, who grants no pardon”, and to the ní(g)-kur-gul-gul asáHUG-idim-an-na, “destroyer of the mountain, weighty (lit. death-bringing) weapon of An”, Hrozny, Ninrág, 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

¹ For ma-mú-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 ša ki-ma šu-ú-tim in-ní-ip-sha-am; bitu ša 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-mú is = ma-mú-da, cf. p. 41, note 3.
mentioned as kal·ugab, kal·ga-gaz kur-ra, kur-ra-an kur-kur-ra, kur-kur-ra si·(g)-si·(g)-gi = all with the meaning mu·di·ak-ti dondi-i, "smier of the mountain". Cf. also no. 12 : 15 = R. H., p. 60 : 5, 6b = K. 41, col. 1 : 5, 6; R. H., p. 27 : 34; Zimmern, S. K., p. 15, no. 11 : 3, 22, etc.

This "mountain" which the mistress of E-an, i. e., Ishtar as goddess of war, destroys, was originally the mountaineous region in the "north" of, and inimical to, Babylonia, inhabited by the Gutu, Lulhui 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 "cirru" (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-la... c) 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 ir·gi·tim. Thus we find, among others, the following expressions:

Gub·kur-ra = i·rat ir·gi·tim, "breast (bosom) of the netherworld", to which Dumuzi has gone (i-in-di). 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·DI·G-ur = ir·gi·tim mi·tu·ti, "land of the dead", where Dumuzi spends the "night", dwells or rests (i·zu·l). IV R., 30, no. 2 : 24: notice here that the parallel passage, Zimmern, S. K., p. 26, no. 26, col. IV : 4, has kur·lu·ur [r]. Cf. also the kur·DI·G in B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. I : 30, where it is in parallelism with kur·me·te·gal. — Kur·idi·mu-nu,4 "land of the dead", no. 2 : 35. — Kur·a·she·ir·ra·ge ir·gi·tim tu·nu·hi, "the land where one cries out: alas!".5 — Kur·na·gi·gi·ga·a, "land without return", to which Ishtar goes and of which "En·me·she-ru·ra is the "lord".6 Notice also that E-kur very often has the meaning of E-kur·idi·mu, "E-kur of the dead" = A-ra·li. In the dialogue between Ishtar (gu·sha-an-in·ir·ba·lu) and Dumuzi (= a·ma·mu ta·mu·am·nu·mu·nu·sh·zi·la), after the former had complained to her "Son" that on account of her

1 C. T., XV. 23b : 13, here said of the gu·sha-an·Gir·gi·la.
2 Cf. gab·ki·shib·ba, above, p. 22 : 8.
3 Is this a mistake for ku·ba·ar — Subartu? Cl. our remarks on elin-H.1-1. above, p. 24H. Or has this to be emended to ku·ne·ra·a·ru, the well-known variant of gab·gu·z kur·ra, H. A. V., p. 437 : 5, 7? Or, lastly, does ku·ba·ar mean here "the beautiful mountain" or "mountain of the beautiful one"? Cl. aLugal-igi·ku·ra = Dumuzi, above, p. II, note 1, and Zimmern, S. K., p. 57, no. 75 : 54f., where ma·Ir·ru says of himself: manu ku·ar DI·XE mi·ru, "the beautiful one among the herdsmen (cf. manu Di·X.1, above, p. 39) I am".
4 This nu shows that we must not read kur·ba·di; but cf. aLugal-ki·ba·di-ba | Lugal-a-la·na·ri, II R., 47 : 30c,d; C. T., XXI. 17 : 1c, d, in which Zimmern, B. E. T., p. 11, no. 28, sees a name for Dumuzi as the "Verschwender, Etwissher". Cf. also the bit aLumu·zi·sha ki·ba·di, K. 3989 = Duhikhe, P. S. B. A., XXII (1900), p. 359; the ki·ba·di da gi i·di·na·wa·ri·ra in the Dumuzi text. C. T., XV, 26 : 1—4: the gi·ba·di-di·en A-ra·li A-ra·li, above, p. 36, note 2, and the ki·ba·di da ·mu·ma, "far-off regions", Br. 1525.
waitings 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, Ov., 33ff.:

33. kal-a[n-na me]-en
"The youthful one of An I am,

mulu kur-al¹
the man (lord) of the 'land without strength',

34. en [........] me-en
"Lord of... I am.

mulu kur-de²
the man (lord) of the 'mount of destruction',

35. iri-[damal-mu]
"My extended abode

kur-idim-ma-mu
is the 'land of the dead',

36. en [me-e]n A-ra-li
"Lord I am, the Arali

ki-sag XUN-KI-Da-mu
is the place of my doom,

37. kal me-en kur-a-ri su(d)-
du-shu
"The youthful one (hero) I am, to the verily, I must go

u-me-e-na-zal-[e]³
far-off land,

"To pass my days there".

¹ Translation is doubtful. I take at to stand for al-lā = ā-lā = al. Cf. here the variants of ā-lul-lā, 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-de, and in this connection the name "Lugal-kur-dīb = "the king who destroys the mountain" and his attribute: kur gā-XE-RU-gāl "En-lil-lā-ka a-dīm gū-gū, "who like the (storm-)flood lays low all lands inimical to Enlil", Gudea, Cyl. B, VII : 11ff. (cf. X : 22). Of Zagaga of Kish it is said: zi-da-zu kur-dī-ba gū-ba-za XE-RU gūl-e, "thy right (hand) stretches down the mountain, thy left (hand) scatters the wicked", R. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. VIII : 36. Notice also the name of the "divine bird" Kur-shu-na-shi-kī, "by his hand the mountain(s) tremble(s)", Cyl. B, VIII : 8.

³ Cf. Ki-su(d) = Kl-tim ra-ug-ti, occurring in the Dumuzi text IV R., 30, no. 2 : 34.

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-ne-na = me-er-na = a-di ma-ti) is he to pass his days there?" Such "signs" are by no means unusual in these hymns. Cf., e.g., no. 2, Rev., 25, a sha(b)-ba-ni a-ba(sic) 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." (se, be quieted, appeased, be at rest). Similarly also in H. A., I., no. 14, Rev., 16, a sha(b)-ba-ni a bar-
ra-ni, and Zimmern, S. K., p. 23, no. 25, col. II : 41, sa=gi-da(l) a sha(b)-ni a bar-ra-ni, "like the princess (i.e., ishtar, se, 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) il-ba-za (= a-ku-lap il-ba-ka ag-gi) is parallel with a bar su-nu-wa-ug-ga-zu-ā (= a-ku-lap ka-bi-ti-ka i-dir-tum); C. T., XV, 29 : 12, kal-e a sha(b)-
ba-ni a bar-ra-ni (followed by aššur aš Dama-zī-lī e su-mu-wa-ga-ni, see p. 29, note 5; R. H., p. 99 : 56/7, sha(b)-
zii kē-en-ug-gā bar-zu kē-er-ša(d)-ā = il-ba-ka li-nu-ah ka-bi-ta-ka li-pi-ša; Gudea, Cyl. B, X : 16, sha(g) ša[k (= ḫup)]-gā-da bar ša-gū-da, "do not er zfriedenstelle das fern, zfriedenstelle das Gemüt" (Th.-B.); Zimmern, S. K., p. 17, no. 12, col. II : 15, sha(b)-bi li-lā-ām bar-bi li-lā-ām, "is like the wind"; l. c., p. 23, no. 25, col. III : 34, ūnu sha(b)-ab-ba-na ūnu bar-ra-na [...].
Dumuzi is, however, not only the mulu kur-at or mulu kur-de, but also the adin kur-ra ① "the mighty one of the netherworld", the sīb kur-ra, ② "shepherd of the netherworld", or simply the mulu kur-ra, ③ "lord of the netherworld". To this kur he "goes" (gin) or "rides", both by means of a "ship" ④ and by "wagon".


Col. II : 5. A.M. I. GAŠHA-AN-SUN-XA. Ishtar or Nin-anna, the mistress of É-an-na and wife of An, is here the Gašha-an-sun, ⑤ "the glorious, beautiful lady", and the "mother" of the u-na-anu ⑥ or "lord", i.e., of Dumuzi, her son. Among the "sons" of An and Nin-anna are known, among others, Enlil. MAR-TU, IM. 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 ⑥Nin-Ilu (wife

1) C. T., XV. 18 : 27, 8.
2) X. F. AO. 1336, Rev., 7, 8.
3) X. F. AO. 1328, Rev., col. II : 3; cf. the mulu ēlin, above, p. 17.
4) See C. T., XV. 18 : 25, 6, where it is said of Dumuzi that he kur-asu ba-a. Cf. H. 4, 11, 12; ba-ā-
5) [k] 18. a a kar-šā ba-a.[...]. 19. An-an-ki kur-šā ba-a.[...]. The term a, "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, as above, p. 26, note 3 and cf. Zimmer, S. K., p. 4, no. 2, col. III : 101, 2.

⑦ Sm. = ⑥saf-ub, ehit, is a variant of as-ub, as-ub, as-ub, Zimmer, S. R. T., p. 245, 27; or of sīn or sham = ehit, Br. 252; and a syn. of ⑥sušši, sūššu, variant of sāb, sa-bātta, sīg, shāt, sū-ba, shā-ba, su-ba) ha-ni or damun (shā, sū, sā, si, shi); of ⑥sug = sa, si (syn. of ⑥sug = sīg, or ⑥sug = sa, or sa, si); or also read šan (syn. of ⑥suššu = šan, sīg); si, or ⑥sug = sa, or sa, si). For this attribute see Gudea and of Singashid — ⑧ ; i.e., "place of Dumuzi" = "netherworld".
of Enlil), with Ša-ša(bar)-ra = Šaratum (wife of MAR-TU), with Ša-la (wife of IM), and with Nin-gal (wife of Sin). But Gashan-sun is the wife of Lugal-bandā.¹

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

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

b) ŠUH, the “lord of Ashmuna”, i.e., Nin-ib,² the son of Enil. Nin-ib, accordingly, must likewise have played the rôle of Dumuzi, while Gashan-sun must have been the same as Ninlil (= “mother”) and Ba-ū (= “bride” and “wife” of Nin-ib). In corroboration of this the following passages may be mentioned:

In C. T., XV, 22 : 19, the goddess Ba-ū has among other titles also that of ama Gashan-an-sun-na, for which the duplicate text, Zimmerm, S. K., p. 4, no. 2 : 31 a, gives the variant ama ga-sha-an ki-La-ya-su, “mother, mistress of Lagash”; but the “mistress of Lagash”, Ba-ū, was the wife of Enil’s son Nin-Girsu,³ who is, as is well-known, identified with Nin-ib.⁵ Also in Zimmerm, S. K., p. 6, no. 3 : 31 b, Nin-sun appears in connection with Nin-ib, Nin-Girsu and Pa-hil-sag,⁶ while in l. c., p. 15, no. 11 : 19 a, Gashan-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-ū, the wife of Nin-ib, who for this reason was called Ḫen (= Umun)-banda and who, therefore, must have played the rôle of the umu-un or Dumuzi.

c) Utu,⁸ the son of Sin; the Gashan-sun from this point of view would be as “mother” = Nin-gal, and as “bride” and “wife” = Innanna 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.

¹ See above, p. 17, note 2, p. 18.

² For this god see already above, p. 31. In R. H., p. 83 : 21 = 134, col. 1 : 9 = Zimmerm, S. K., p. 16, no. 11, col. V : 26, the ama umun-na ( ngašan-sun-na (= um-ni be-li-in) is followed by Umnun-bandā(a) umun Esh-nun-na ki (= Lugal-bandā(a) be-ēl Esh-nun-na ki). In R. K., Rev., 25, the ngašan(Nin)-sun is mentioned after and appears as the “wife” (dam-sha-sal) of Umnun (Lugal)-bandā(a). Also in several seal inscriptions Lugal-bandā (da) and Nin-sun are mentioned together, see Krausz, Götternamen, p. 36. Singashid, king of Erech, restorer and protector of Es-en-na, couples both divinities; he calls himself “son (dumu) of Nin-sun” (Backstein A.2), refers to Lugal-bandā (da) as “his god” (dingir-ra-a) and to Nin-sun as “his mother” (ama-a-ir, Tonnagel 1, 3), building for them the E-kīkal E-kī-taw ša(q)-kul-la-ka-ne-ne, “the temple of the ‘place of the youthfulness’, the habitation of the joy of their hearts”, i.e., their “wedding chamber”, where they are joined in holy wedlock.


⁴ See “Creation-Story”, pp. 40 ff.

⁵ C. T., XXV, 13 : 29.

⁶ For Pa-hil-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-um*) *Unun-mu(na)-zi-da*.¹ According to this Dumuzi is the son of *Nin-gish-zi-da*.² According to this Dumuzi is the son of *Nin-gish-zi-da* and *Gashap-sun* or *Da-ú*. Both are frequently coupled together so as to appear as “husband and wife”.³ Statue E, VIII : 1 ff., records that Gudea brought his god *Nin-gish-zi-da* to *Da-ú* into her temple at *Uru-azag-ga* (“holy city”).⁴ 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 *Da-ú*.⁵ In Cyl. B, XXIII : 18 ff., *Nin-gish-zi-da* is said to be “the god” (*dingir*) and *Nin-sun-na* the “divine mother” (*dingir-ama*) of Gudea. In designating them thus, Gudea tells us that *Nin-sun-na* is the *ama-HE* *nunum-zi-da* *nunum-kía-qù-úm*, “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. I.*, p. 420, it is evident that *KA* in *érin-na-KA* (*C. T.*, XV, 27 : 10) changes with *zu* in *érin-na-zu* of the duplicate passage, *C. T.*, XV, 30 : 13, hence, *KA* may be read *ži*, cf. also Br. 517. In the expression *i-bi-za-bar-mu-an-shi-lib = ki-nish nap. liissa* of *R. H.*, p. 59 : 19, 20, the *zu* is evidently a variant of *ži*; hence, *žú = zu = zi = kén, kénish*, “true”. This result justifies us to read *Nin-gish-zi-da* *dumu-žú* *An-na-kum* and to translate it by “X, the ‘true son’ (i. e., the *Dumu-žú* of *An*). In doing so, we are enabled to establish the following two parallel genealogies:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{An} & = \text{An} \\
\text{Nin-gish-zi-da} & = \text{En-líl} \\
\text{Dumu-žú} & = \text{son(s) of } \text{En-líl} (\text{Sin, Nin-ib, Nin-Gir-su, etc.}).
\end{align*}
\]

This means:

a) that *Nin-gish-zi-da*, the “true son” of *An*, is merely another name of *En-líl*, the “son” of *An*:

b) that the rôle of *Nin-gish-zi-da* (= *En-líl*), the original *dumu-žú*, has been transferred to *Dumu-žú*, the “son of *Umu-nu(na)-žú*-za” (= *son(s)* of *En-líl*), i. e., at the time of Gudea and of the kings of the II dynasty of Ur, the rôle of Dumuzi was played by *Sin* at *Ur*, by *Nin-ib* at Nippur and by *Nin-Gir-su* at Lagash, with *En-líl* (= *Nin-gish-zi-da*) as “Father” and with *Gashap-sun* or *Da-ú* as “Mother” and “Bride”, hence her at-

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² A translation “son, Nin-gish-zi-da” is impossible, see above, p. 20, note 1.
³ See also the writing *Mud(sh)-zi da*, Zimmerm. S. K., p. 36, col. III : 11, and cf. the Adapa myth where Nin-gish-zi-da and *Dumu-žú* stand at the entrance of the gate to the palace of *An*, see K. B., VII, p. 95, note 10.
⁴ Their being “husband and wife” is evident also from the fact that Gudea is the “son” of Nin-gish-zi-da (Ex 1B. XXIV : 7) and of Nin-sun-na, see below.
⁵ *Dingir-ama* *Nin-gish-zi da* *Ba-ú* É *Uru-azag-ga-na nun-un-da-tú(r)-ú(r).
tribute "mother of the lord", hence Gudea's statement that Ḍin-sun is the "mother who gives birth to 'true offspring'", which "true offspring" is, of course, the "true son", Dumu-zi; hence, lastly, Ba-ú's designations: sal-shú(g)-ga⁴ or nu-nunuz šá(g)-ga², "graceful woman", or sal-si-a Ḍa-ú šá(g)-ga,³ "beautiful woman, graceful (gracious) Ba-ú" — designations which evidently identify Ba-ú with the in-nin Ḍumanna mulu šá(g)-ga mulu šig-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, Statute I, I : 4, Ḍin-gish-zi-da is not the dumu-zi of An, but the "son (dumu) of Ḍin-a-zu".⁴ This "Father" and "Son" are mentioned, either with or without the name of the "Mother", Ḍin-šûr(i)-da, between them, in several other passages as, e. g., II R., 59, Rev., 34—36: Ḍin(Usum)-a-zu — Ḍin(Gashan)-šûr(i)-da, his wife — Ḍin(Usum)-gish(šun(šh))-zi-da; R. H., p. 86: 6—7 = 134, col. II: 17—19 = 138: 103—105 = C. B. M., 112: 12—13. Ḍumanna-zi-da, "lord of the extended house"² = Gashan-šûr(i)-da = Ḍumanna-mu(sh)-zi-da; B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. IV: 12—34. Ḍin-a-zu (of IM⁵) — Ḍin-gish-zi-da (of (E)(Gish ?)-banda (i ?)⁶). But — and this is noteworthy — in the list of the Ḍtôr bûklâon,⁷ the place of Ḍin-a-zu is occupied by Ḍin-ib (month of Tamuz) who is followed by Ḍin-gish-zi-da (month of Ab). Ḍin-a-zu, the father of Ḍin-gish-zi-da, then, is none other but Ḍin-ib, the Dumuzi of the Nippur trinity and the Ḍtôs bûklâos of the month Tamuz; hence also Dumuzi's name: ur-sag Ḍumanna-zi-da, "hero Ḍumanna-a-zu". This Ḍin-a-zu, though originally the same as Nin-ib, the son of Enlil, played in IM⁵ the role 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>ḌNîn-gish-zi-da</td>
<td>ḌNîn-sun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Déc., XXXVII, 1, 2 (time of Ur-Ninâ); Ur-Ba-u, Statute, IV, 3, 1; Gudea, Statute H, 1: 1, 2: Nammahni, Türanga.tei, 1, 2; etc., etc. The same attribute is ascribed also to Iaï-Marî, Ur-Ba-u, Statute, V: 8, and to the goddess of Girigilu (= Ishtar), C. T., XV, 23: 6, 13.


⁴ Ḍa-ú šá(g)-ga, and in C. T., XXXIV, 10: 1 = 23: 24, DET-mâ-mâ šü(g)(šá(g))-ga, the "wife(!) of Nin-ib", followed by DET-sa-sî-a | ditto. For Ḍin-sî-a (= Sin, the beautiful lord = Dumuzi) see above, p. 31, note 3, and for DET-XIV-sî-a ( = Shamash, the beautiful lord) see C. T., XXV, 25: 11. Cf. also DET(Nin)(šal) (ša-n, šin)-ši(si)-ši(ša)-na, "the beautiful lady of heaven".

⁵ For this god see above, p. 15, and notes; p. 27, note 4.

⁶ See above, p. 12, note 5.

⁷ Cf. above, p. 20, note 1.

⁸ IV R., 33; cf. B. E., Series D, vol. VI, Table II: 4, 5.
SUMERIAN 29, am, kal

See c, at

...na-er 13/4 2/3, 5, See son at 25/6, lives at 7, "Nin-gisli-zi-da 23 For "Niu-ib "Nin-sun "Nin-lil.

me-e nu-li-il as ban-

silsir-sir, gurush, and E4-al{4ur')-an-na Mu{.sh)-tiin-an-na

Dunuizi's An', 7nd-e p.

S.

me-e speaks dam-gal Cf. the K., 399, A-ra-ti, 4, "As "I, "My also

AY//-/a-f/«->H'M 6

For dNin-ib *

Nin-a-zu JEu-lil "Y

"Nin-gish-zi-da 1. 56/7, "wile" the mu{sh)-tiin

"Geshtin, The

The

One

The-

me-en

ki-el

The mu{sh)-tiin

ji, kal-tur-ra,

mu(lu-

sd-da.

me-cn.

For kal, ascribed to a goddess, cf. *Kal — &Ba-u, Dungi, Votive-Perücke, 1. See also Ba-un's name: *Kal-

sir, "the youthful one (or the lamassu) of the 'street of wailing'" , and her temple E-sil-sir-sir, and cf. p. 49.

For m4 5, mU(sh)-tiin me-e nu-ma... kal me-e.


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

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

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

4 For kal, ascribed to a goddess, cf. *Kal — &Ba-u, Dungi, Votive-Perücke, 1. See also Ba-un's name: *Kal-

sir, "the youthful one (or the lamassu) of the 'street of wailing'" , and her temple E-sil-sir-sir, and cf. p. 49.

5 Cf. I. 5, mU(sh)-tiin me-e nu... kal me-e.


"Geshtin-an-na, Ur-Ba-u. Statue, VI : 5, 6;¹ C. T., XV, 19 : 13, 18, 23, 27; H. I. V., no. 2 : 70; II R., 59, Rev., 11;
"Ama-geshtin (na), Urakagina, Toutafel, Rev., II : 1, 3;
"Mu(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, Mach., 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(!)-in Zimmern, l. c., col. II : 17;

"Ama-Mu(sh)-tin-na, no. 6, col. I : 9; no. 7 : 3; C. T., XV, 18 : 13;

"Ama.³Mu(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.⁴ DUMU-ZI-DI. 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 I. 12, ki-kal(? garash?)-a shu-du-a = col. III : 15, [ki]-shu-du-a kal-a-[shu]: C. T., XV, 14 : 25, ki-kal li-bi-ir-ri (Nergal text). For the several pronunciations of ki-kal ( = ḫirim, kankal, ubtin), see Br. 9752ff.

When Singashid, king of Erech, records that he built (mu-ne-er-du) for Lugal-banda and Nin-sun the “Ē-ki-kal, the habitation of the joy of their hearts”,³ 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, terikitu).¹ nor some such significance as “Ruine, Trümmerhaufe, Wüstenei, Wüstnis”.⁵ 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-gi-a-si-a, probably “mistress of (with) beautiful neck”.
² Here parallel with "Gá-shir-ra SAL-KU (sister of) "Da-mu-[ge] (= Dumuzi) and "Nin-gal-azag.
³ See above, p. 47, note 2.
⁴ Poebel, B. E., VI, part 2, p. 12, note 2.
Li-kul is here evidently the "place of the youthful one", i. e., of the "lord" Dumuzi. But Dumuzi is the "lord of the netherworld", hence ki-kul = "netherworld" (syn. of edin, A-ra-li, which latter is here parallel with ki-*Dumuzi, ki-kul). Seeing, however, that the "netherworld" was according to Semitic conception a somewhat dreary place, a place of "ruins", the ki-kul acquired in course of time the meaning "ruined, desolated, uncultivated place".

Col. II: 10. A.RA-LI DUL(L)-SU B.B.1. For A-ra-li see pp. 19; 36, note 2; 39, note 5; 40, note 1. and for Du(l)-suh-ba, pp. 39 ff. Notice also the remarkable expression in Zimmern, S. K., p. 23, no. 25. col. II: 48. A-ra-li gu-bar úr-ra, i. e., either "A., the strange shores (see. pp. 17, note 2, a; 18 a; 24) of the 'veiled one'" (úr = kátum, II. A. V., p. 398), i. e., of Ishtar as the "Bel-it și-ri" or "A., the hostile, strange shores"; cf. also Zimmern, S. K., p. 43, note 41; 3. edin-na gu-ba [ra...].

Col. II: 12. KI-KAL (?K 4ARASH?) A SHU-DUL-A. For ki-kul see above, p. 51. Though the kal of the duplicate passage, col. III: 13, [ki]-šu-da-a kal-ac-[šá], is absolutely certain, I imagine to see in our line here a ki-šá, i. e., k'garash, rather than a ki-kul. Ki-šá, or also written ki-kšá, stands in the same relation to ki-kul, as does É-kur to É-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 (-z̕ = idim) or far away (-z̕ = bud), 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 (túr), the earth, and living within itself all dead and living things, came to be looked upon as the great "womb", hence karash = karsu, karashu, "Leibesinnere". Delitzsch, II. W. B., p. 356, a.

1 Cf. the ki-šu-da-a, above, p. 21: 2.
2 Cf. the parallel ki-*Dumuzi of 1. 9.
3 See above, p. 25, note 6 (samud).
5 Notice this twofold distinction in the syllabaries, Br. 9762/3, and cf. our remarks on kibad-da and ki-idim, above, p. 56, note 2, 44, note 4.
6 Cf. here the Shal(y)-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. 306: 12, 4SH'IA(6) 1) "goddess of the midst of the fold") be-šul AN mish dšištar, "Shu, the mistress of the gods, Ishtar"; c. T., XXIV. 26; 133, 1) Nin-siršéram, "mistress of the fold"; Pichon, E. N., (= P. S. R. A., March, 1911), XII: 9, 10, 4Shal(y)-sur-ra 4) be-lit AN misha šulul'-ri, i. e., 4Nin-an-na of Erech, the "mother" and "breed" of Dumuzi; 4) the "netherworld" as a marshy, moody abode, full of misery and without fresh or flowing water. This meaning of shal(y)-sur-ra is still evident from Thuereau-Dangin, A. F., AO 4331/5, Obv., col. IV: 1ff.
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 conflux of the Tigris and the Euphrates; hence, karash = karšašu, "morass", "mire", "Matsch", Jensen, K. B., VI, 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 - karšušu, "fortified camp", Delitzsch, H. W. B., p. 356, b. Cf. here "dig", i. e., the "walled in place of the dead", and Ishtar's name: 4Nin-tin-di-[g]-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 qvitzi 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-tu = ina pi-i ka-ra-shu-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-ur-sa GA-RASH, see above, p. 34, note 15.

7. The netherworld, lastly, is the "place of judgment;" hence karash = ga-rash = purussu, shipšu, "Strafgericht", Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 504.

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

With the SHU-DU-A of this line and the KI-SHU-DU-A of col. III : 15, cf. also R. H., p. 68, Rev., 9, 10, mu-lu šu-du-a(-na) = il-la-kul(-šu) (here mentioned between the gāl-bā demon and the mušu āg(ū)m-gi-ra(-na) = du-i-ki(-šu), "the smiter, killer"). Zimmer, S. B. T., p. 299, translates išaku by "Unterjocher", "subjogator", remarking, l. c., p. 215, that "išaku schwerlich zu alaku 'gehen' gehört, sondern eher zu ilku 'Verpflichtung', 'Steuer'." He draws the attention also to the mudi šu-da-l-a, who in C. T., XV, 20 : 28, is mentioned

where Ishtar, the mu-gi-b Nin-an-na (col. 1 : 2), sings of her husband 4MAR-TU, the Dumuzi of the "Westland", as follows:

enem-za en-ga-ra i-is-sig (la)  XU-DU-TU
za-na-am (= za-e = enem)-za a-ba ú-um-sig (la)  ab-bi ṣu-še-he
za-na-am za₂ = g-ša₂ ú-um-sig (la)  zu-ge še-an-sha (= var. of DU = šu)
a-me-ba-ra na-[.] ú-um-sig (la)  šu-še-ra [.....], i. e.,

"Thy word, when it goes over the ocean, ......
"Thou, thy word, when it goes over the sea, 
"Thou, thy word, when it goes over the marsh, the sea is frightened;
"When it goes over the reedy marsh, the marsh trembles (waits);
"When it goes over the moony marsh, when it goes over the moony marsh,

(rest broken away)

Šu-še-ra is here evidently in parallelism with a-me-ba-ra = aмbər = apparə (M. 7844) and with zu-ga(ge) = šu(g) = šuš (M. 7853), a synonym of k/garash and of št(g) = šēna, "netherworld", M. 7852.

1 For such an interchange of du and da cf. now V R., 46 : 39 a, b, "Māš-me-gur na-ash ga-ad-du ana DA-DA-mu, with Dhomme, R. A., VIII, p. 45 (cf. p. 56), col. III : 5, "khabbar(= TE. ŠG) na-ash ga-ad-du ana DU-DU."
between the ka-ab-gaz-e and the mulu á-li-lá-a. In view of the fact that ki-á-li-lá-a is a name for "netherworld", of which Dumuzi is the mulu or "lord", and that the mulu ka-ásh-ka-sa e ka-ab-gaz-e. H. A. V., p. 441, note 5) is likewise a name for Dumuzi,¹ I prefer to see in the mulu slu-du(da)-a a designation of Dumuzi (with whom, in fact, this term is in parallelism) and in the ki-shu-du(a)-a the "place where Dumuzi as the slu-du(a) keeps himself". This being so, C. T., XV, 20:28. 29, might be read and translated as follows:

mulu slu-du(a)-a c-ve-ra
mulu á-li-lá-a c-ve-ra

"To the smitten one", to him

"To the one without strength", to him

If  ullam and íšu really do belong together, the slu-du(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.²

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

[ki(?)] á-hi-a
[a(?)-sha] ur i-k[a]-ma-ú
[ki(?)] á-hi-a
[a(?)-sha] ūk-ka-su-ú
"[a] festgehalten ist"
"[a] gehalten ist"

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

36 (1) a lam-ma á(al)-á(a)-e(ê)-a
37 (2) a-hu-lap un-ma-bi ša ik-ka-su-ú
(3) a-hu-lap un-ma-bi ša in-ša-ha-ú
39 (4) hur-nu al-e-ne
(5) ([huní (Z.) usurtu:']) ša] in-ma-ha-ú: ik-ka-ma-ú: ri-é-am ana hur-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 slu-du(a)-a I may mention that slu may change with slu (gá-de — gá-da, Br. 667 = 672); with slu (Xin-uru-mu-ud-a, C. T., XXIV. 5:10 — Xu-uru-uru-ma-ud-a, C. T., XXIV, 22:110); with slu (GAB-KI-da-a, C. T., XV, 30:14 = GAB-KI-BA-da-a, C. T., XV, 27:22); with slu (GAB-KI-da-a, C. T., XV, 27:22); with slu (GAB-KI-da-a, C. T., XV, 27:22); with slu (GAB-KI-da-a, C. T., XV, 27:22); with slu (GAB-KI-da-a, C. T., XV, 27:22)
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(6) (halu-ki-ish a-shib)

(7) āru-me-a

(8) (pa-ra-aš māṭi

alu (gū) al-e-ne

sha in-mu-hu-ii)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 ll. 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 sūb. This sūb, either “shepherd” or “beautiful one”, is, of course, Dumuzi; hence, the hur must be Dumuzi likewise. We know that Dumuzi had the name “Lugal-iqi-hur⁸-mu “the king with beautiful eyes (face)”, thus showing that hur = banū (M. 6404), “beautiful”⁶.

3. Hur and sūb are parallel also with the lum of l. 1. Above⁷ we have seen that Dumuzi was called the i-bi-lum-lum, probably = la babil pāni, “freundlich, gut”,⁸ because lum = babātua, “hervorbringen, erzeugen”⁹, is a synonym of ushshubu (root eshēbu¹⁰), “hervorkeimen, Frucht tragen”¹¹ and unnubu, “üppig keimen, Frucht tragen”.¹² To unnubu belongs also enbu which, when applied to a woman, has the meaning “Üppigkeit, 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”.

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

2 Translated by Zimmern, A. O., XIII, p. 11:

“Wie lange noch mit dem Speißen, das festgehalten ist, wie lange noch mit dem Grün, das gebunden ist; mit dem Schicksal (7), das niedergehalten ist, so daß der Hirt in Vernichtung dasitzt, mit der Sitzung 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 āru-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 sūb would speak, it seems to me, decidedly in favor of our interpretation offered above, p. 41.

7 Page 27, note 9.

8 Jensen, K. B., VI, p. 62; 13; p. 378; B. A., III, p. 541.

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

10 Is the lum = šību (M. 8770) to be derived from eshēbu, per analogy of šīdu from alādu? If so, lum = šību would be “der Zeugungsfähige” rather than the “sheik”, see above, p. 27, note 9.

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

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

13 I. e., the one who is able to bring about, who is the natural cause of, the ushshubu and unnubu.
4. Á-lá = al-la-ad = al (= lá. Br. 10194 5), being translated here by the three variants immahā, ikkuma, ikkasā, must be merely different writings of one and the same word: á-lá, which means literally "minus strength", while the ki-á-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 muḫu á-lá-a. 1

The ē = e of l. 1 expresses the "present tense". For such an interchange of ē and 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,

'That my 'beautiful one' be without strength,

'That within my city' 3

This gives us the desired antitheses: manly — yet without strength; beautiful — yet without attraction; despised, undone, annihilated. in misery is Dumuzi while in the ki-á-lá-a. 4

Col. II: 14, 16. KI-SHU-E  
ESHEMEN (KI-E-NE)  
SÍL BA-AN-SI-EM-MÁ-SHÚ  
MÁSH BA-AN-SI-EM-MÁ-SHÚ. Similarly in col. III: 17, 18:

ki-shu-e  
cshemen (KI-E-NE-DI)  
sil ba-an-ši-em-má-shú  
áz šá(?) máš ba-an-ši-em-má-shú.

Br. 9780 mentions a ki-shu-e-za-Išanna = kippū, in which the za "Išanna may be explained as meaning "the 'bright', 'shining' (za = za-gin = ībbu, elli) ki-shu-e of Ishtar", or the šáš he: 3] may be merely a variant of  }  }  or of its gušû form  =  =  =  = , i.e., the "beautiful ki-shu-e". Kippū according to K. 40, col. II: 47—49  translates, besides the ki-shu-e-za-Išanna, also the Sumerian KI-E-NE-DI-Išanna, "the beautiful (DI = sú) place (ki) of the lady (E-NE = e-gi) Ishtar", and the šú(= KU)-hul, 8 "tent (šú =

1 See p. 54.
2 M. 5879 considers ē = mahā; but the immahā of l. 3 is against this.
3 Cf. Gadea, Cyl. A. 1: 3.
4 In H. J. G., no. 8: 29 1, lam and á-lá stand likewise in antithesis. Á-lá, when used in connection with "musical instruments", has the meaning "silent" "mute" (against Thureau-Dangin, Z. A., XVIII, p. 199, note 4; Wittes, O. L. Z., 1913, Sp. 1, note 2). Cf. also the kurad. above, p. 45, note 1.
5 Cf. also the za of C. T., XV, 25: 10, which in the duplicate passage, K. 41, col. II: 17/8, is written šáza-  

6 See Dehler, H. W. B., p. 347, b.
7 Or is E-NE, the plural of E. A. riḫūtu (see p. 57)?
8 Cf. also the šú-hul cshemen, sar(sir)-ca mel[šu] shu kippū, "the loud shouting, the singing which goes on in the kippū", Br. 10638.
zuratu) of joy". In Br. 9751 the KI-E-NE-DL.4Inanna has the gloss e-she-me-in1 is translated by melitlu she4U.GU.N (Ishtar). But e-she-me-in is the gloss also of KI-E-NE-DL (= kippû, 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-DL = KI-E-NE. The DI may be explained either according to p. 41, note 3, or it may be = sî, a variant of sa-ga, sî-da = šâû(g) = damqu, bunû, "beautiful", see p. 46, note 6.

Jensen, K. B., VII, p. 395, translates kippû by "Freundkammer, Freundentor der Ishtar", and its synonym melitlu, which he derives quite correctly from elûla, "to shout, to cry (either in joy or grief)", by "Freudentor, Stätte geschlechtlicher Freude". The literal translation of ki-shu-e is "place of the 'tent, abode (shu = phonetic writing for šû) of e'". This e is again a phonetic writing for a;2 cf. the Š-shâ-a,3 "the house of the 'tent of a'", the well-known adytum of Marduk; the a...a-ri-a in the expression a An-na a-ri-a-mésh = sha ribûtu 4Anûm ribûtu (Br. 11458) which changes with a...e-ri-a in Gudea, (Col. A. III : 16, (Nin-Girsu) en-zû(a) a kur-gal e-ri-a, "true lord, begotten by the 'great mountain'", and especially the 4Nin-zi-amash-a, C. T., XXIV. 11 : 38 = 4Nin-amash-e,4 "the (true) mistress of the 'fold of e'". l. e., 24 : 55.

Now, as a = e has the meaning ribûtu sha ribîtu or ribûtu,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 adytum 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" (sû),7 "lamb"; mîsh, "kid") and "mother" (úz,8 "goat"; opp. "kid"). The ki-shu-e and the KI-E-NE(DL), 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: "Lugal-ki-bad-du, above, p. 36,

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1 This eshemen I consider to be the prototype of the Phoenician rûkûn, see B. E., Series D, vol. VI.
2 For this interchange of e and a see also H. A. V., p. 110, note 2.
3 See also C. T., XV : 26, where, however, the copy gives E-an-"mè-a; cf. the E-shû-bin-azag | E-60 sha Gir-su8, II R., 61 : 34.g.h (cf. ll. 16, 18, 6).
4 See above also, p. 29, note 9.
5 Cf. also the a-ru = banû ribûtu, V R. 46 : 46, a, b, with the šûlu-a-ri-nu(-I) ri-ku-tam, Dhorme, R. A., VIII, p. 47, col. III : 31, and the various writings of the goddess 4A-ru-ru; 4A-ru-a-a, 4E-ru-a-a, 4Â-ru, 4Â-ru, 4E-ru (see at p. 17, note 6). Notice also the 4Ur-a-ru = Ur (1 copy gives E) a-ru, i. e., the "goddess of the urá (Jensen, K. B., VII, p. 498, and Delitzsch, H. W. B., p. 131, a = Stât, Pferch) sha banû ribûtu".
6 See H. A. V., p. 391, no. 2.
7 For Ishtar as the 4Sil see above, p. 29, note 4, c.
8 Cf. here the 4Mash (a well-known variant of mîsh) = 4Ba-â, the wife of Ninib, H. A. V., p. 424.
9 See above also, p. 30, note 1, and notice that both, Ishtar and Dumuzi, are the qana, qa-a-a-â, sherha, "sheep, ewe, lamb, ram (aries)", see pp. 32f.
note 2: p. 44, note 4, and see also p. 52, note 5. The mu-lu had-du is, of course, Dumuzi; while the ki-tush, being parallel with the eshemen, "bridal-chamber", and the ki-mushen, "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:

[mu-lu had-du] \[ki-nu-mi-ib-gi-ra-shu\]

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

Col. H : 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 il-nina above, p. 33, note 4; p. 36, note 2). For mushen, "birds", as a designation of the "maidens" (ardahi) of Ishtar, see H. A. V., p. 399. The ki-mushen, "place of the maidens", is, however, a synonym of \[\dot{E}-a-\dot{r}i = bit ar-da-tum, R. H., p. 83 : 29, 30; cf. H. A. V., p. 398\].

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

| Nippur | \[mu{sh)-ha-ah-du(g)-ga\] in-ga-an-zu | \[mu{sh)-su-ub-du(g)-ga\] in-ga-an-zu |

(The 'city', which the foe has turned upside down,

"(Nippur), which the foe has turned upside down,

(Cf. also IV R., 28, no. 4, Rev., 37–42. We may, however, connect nu + du(g) and read \[mu{sh)-e-ba-ni-in-du(g)-ga\]. For \[mu{sh)-dual(g) = gish(ush)-dual(g)\], 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:

\[mu{sh}-ba-ab-du(g)-qa\]
\[i-sha-ri ri-\dot{a}a\]
\[mu{sh}-sa-\dot{a}b-du(g)-qa\]
\[na-sha gam\]

\[a gi-a-zu\]
\[a-hu-lap tu-\ur-shu\]
\[a-ta mar-ra-zu\]
\[ana me-e sa-la-u, i. e., when at last wilt thou have mercy upon it?\]
\[na-sha qam\]
\[in-ga-an-zu\]
\[il-ta-mad\]

\[\text{1 The Semitic translation gives: 'which the foe has cast into the water'.} \]
"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(sh)-na-c-dú(g) mulu im-su-ub[su-ub]-ba
man-ma-an a-a ír-ši-e-shi man-ma-an a-a ish-shi-iq-shi
and no. 8, col. IV : 1, ni(g)-mu(sh)-e-dú(g)-ga-zu im-hu-lab-e. If this latter explanation
be preferred, we may translate:
"On account of my extended... the place of maidens, where there is experienced the embrace
of the husband".

Col. II : 20, 21. SHU or ME-RIGISH-SHUB-B.A. With gish-shub, which apparently is
here an adjective applicable to both "hand" and "foot", cf. Gudea, (Cyl. A. XXIV : 17, é
mu-da gish-e-im-ma-shub, "er erbaut den Tempel, er ... ihı" (Th.-D.); R.T.C., no. 191,
mu id gish-shub-ba ba-ba-al-la, "Jahr, wo gegraben wurde der Kanal g." (Th.-D., S. A. K. I.,
p. 227, no. 12, a); gish-ú-shub = naldanu, "form" (sc. to make bricks), changes with ú-shub
and gish-shub, cf. sig gish-shub-ba...gar, "to put the brick into the 'form'" (Gudea, Statue E,
III : 9; pisān gish-shub-ba, "the form-box", l. c., III : 1 (= pisān gish-ú-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" (pisān). 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" (ni-shu-pa),²
were yet gish-shub-ba, "fettered" — an observation which explains why the Semitic transcriber
should have rendered the ki-ú-lá-a by ashar ikkamú or ashar ikkasú, "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 nu-ri-zu
"My sore hands, my sore feet — my mother, wilt thou not help them?"
From no. 4, where ¹Utu plays the rôle of Dumuzi, it appears that this state of the

¹ Cf. here the shu-pa-pa (= shup-pa?) = raktasu, "yoke?" Br. 7180; Delitzsch, H. W. B., p. 622, a.
² Zimmern, S. K., p. 41, no. 37 : 25a. Notice here the play of words between ni-shu-pa and gish-shub-ba!
"true Son", as a *mula gish-shub-ba* or "fettered one" is the result of an evil "spell" (gu) which has been "woven around" or cast over Dumuzi. Ishtar ("Inanna"), by her *bal-bal,* brings this "spell" to an end.

The action of "qi," being attributed to "hand" and "foot," must be something which both members can do. The best translation of *qi* seems to be "to raise, to lift up, to elevate". In this sense we find *shu...qi-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-Mahku and Rim-Sin) implore". A variant of *shu-gi* is *shu-gi,* see no. 3 : 6, 40. *É-balbar* "Una-ra"

"In the temple *É-balbar* of Shamash towards heaven her hands she ('Bel-lúl) raised" (see 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. *qi-er-ra sha(b)-nu* *qi-er-ra edin-na* **ma-ma-un-na-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* *tasak shu qa,* "to weave an evil spell around someone". Cf. IV R., 3 : 4/5, and notice that *gu-sar* is a syn. of *gu-sur*; cf. "Gu-sar - Marduk as the Dumuzi around whom cords have been woven?"

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


*Gu-balbar* = *capi* *sha qa,* "to weave double cords", "to double the cords".

*Gu-qi* = *harana shu qa,* "to weave an ensnaring, crushing, oppressing, tight cord". Notice also that *zar-ru* = *sar,* hab; see above.

*Gu-ba-lok* = *shulba ha qa,* "to sever the cord". (cf. IV R., 17 : 17, b, where Shamash (?) is called the *musha-li-tum* *gī-ir* *lim-wi,* "who severs the cords woven by the wicked".

*Gu-ll-li (wa)," to remove (washū) the cords".

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

21 gerza-hi *um-bal-ba-un-kur* bal-bi ba-kur-kur


16 [gerza-h]ī *um-bal(t)* da-kur(t)

17 [pil-lu] da-shu a par-[ri][i]k]

18 k-e-zi-lī bal-bi lu(i)-da-kur(rī)

19 *sha bāt ki-ni ship*[u] aš]-shap*[ti-r]īk]

"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".

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

3 Cf. also the *en-lil* *sha* *Xibakāti,* 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]* ṣ-mu-an-na
   "(I), the 'mother of the "lord"',

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

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

8. [k]-[k]al-a-ka
   "For the 'place of the youthful one'

9. [k]*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-á-lá-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'
SU.MERIAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS TO DUMU-ZI

17. kil-pash dum-me-ur-bi
   "For the 'habitation whose god
18. [.].-e-damu-ma ki-nushu-mu
   "For my extended..., the 'place of
my maidens',

19. sha(h)-ma gi-er-ra edin-na
   "For my 'beloved' in wailing
towards (in) the 'desert'.

20. shu gish-shab-ba-ni
   "For him who his fettered hands

21. me-ri gish-shab-ba-ni
   "For him who his fettered feet

22. edin-e ba(?)-te(?)...        mu-la bad-du-[shů]
   "For him whom the 'desert' has .......
[Rest broken away.]

   is "the one far away'" (sc. in wailing, etc.),
   e-ba-ni-in-dā(g)-gu-shū
   which the enemy has set upside down
   (sc. in wailing, etc.).

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

   na-mu-un-gi
   can not raise (sc. in wailing, etc.),

   na-mu-un-gi
   can not lift up (sc. in wailing, etc.),

   .........
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; ff., following pages; fragm(s.), fragment(s); H. A. V., Hilprecht Anniversary Volume; inscr., inscription; l., line; ll., lines; L. E., Left Edge; Lo. E., Lower Edge; Manch., Pinches, The Hymns to Tammuz 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., Reins, Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen; S. K., Zimmern, Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylonischer Zeit; U. E., Upper Edge; vol(s)., volume(s).

Measurements are given in centimeters, width x length (height) x 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>11393</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. 12 × 12 × 3. Inscription, 22 (col. I) + 23 (col. II) + 22 (col. III) + 3 (col. IV) = 70 ll. &quot;Tablet Hill&quot;, 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 Lo. E. by a numeral indicating the number of ll. On L. E. inscription in 4 cols., with number of ll. in col. IV, 7 × 11 × 5 × 3. Inscription, 25 (O.) + 1 (Lo. 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. &quot;Tablet Hill&quot;, I Exp. This tablet contains two separate hymns. O. has a hymn in form of a dialogue between Ishtar (Ga-sha-an-ti-ni-dib-ba) and Dumuzi (U-mu-un-mu(sh)-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. 88, 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 withered away. Ruled. Lower part of R. not inscribed. 7 × 13 × 3. Inscription, 30 (O.) + 26 (R.) = 56 ll. &quot;Tablet Hill&quot;, I Exp. Photographic reproduction, pls. I, II, nos. 1, 2. Hymn of U-Be-R-R, the sister of Dumuzi. The mu in gir-mu, l. 17, is clearly visible, but it has been corrected by the scribe to ni, cf. l. 51. ll. 4—17 = 38—51.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Paragraph</td>
<td>C.B.M.</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td>-------------</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 4    | 10463     | 7.8   | Baked clay tablet, ruled, cracked. O. darker, with occasional black spots, R. lighter. Last 1. of O. separated from the rest by a double line. Lower part of R. not inscribed. \[7^1 \times 13^1 \times 3\]. Inscription: \[32 (O.) + 23 (R.) = 55\] li. "Tablet Hill". H Exp. Photographic reproduction, pls. III, IV, nos. 3, 4. At the R. E., opposite 1. of O., we find the signs \[\frac{\text{Sh} \text{h} \text{m} \text{g} \text{g} \text{i}}{\text{S}} \text{m} \text{a} \text{z} \text{i} \text{a} \text{n} \text{a} \text{m} \text{k} \text{a} \text{m} \text{m} \text{u}
\]
| 5    | 11326     |       | Middle lower part of an originally large tablet, having at least 3 cols. on O. and R. O. lighter, R. darker, with occasional black spots. Baked, ruled. Tablet has Professor Harper's registration mark: Xi. 30–2–19–89. 12 \[\times 8 \times 3^1\]. Inscription, 9 (O., col. 1) + 12 (O., col. II) + 4 (O., col. III) + 3 (R., col. 1) + 13 (R., col. II) + 9 (R., col. III). "Tablet Hill", 1 Exp. Very important tablet on account of its syllabic writing. O. contains Ishtar's complaint over the destruction of her cities and temples, cf. O., col. 11: \[\text{S} \text{a} \text{r} \text{r} \text{u} \text{a} \text{n} \text{a} \text{n} \text{a} \text{m} \text{i} \text{n} \text{a} \text{r} \text{e} \text{n} \text{a} \text{l} \text{n} \text{a} \text{m} \text{i} \text{m} \text{a} \text{t} \text{s} \text{h} \text{a} \text{r} \text{k} \text{r} \text{a} \text{r} \text{i} \text{k} \text{i} \text{s} \text{h} \text{e} \text{r} \text{h} \text{a} \text{r} \text{a}
\]
| 6    | 11330     | 10,11 | Upper left hand part of a larger tablet, having originally at least 2 cols. on O. and R. Brown, baked, ruled. Script somewhat mutilated. At end of R., col. IV, a double line. \[7 \times 10 \times 3^1\]. Inscription, 16 (O., col. 1) + 9 (O., col. II) + 12 (R., col. III) + 14 (R., col. IV) = 51 li. "Tablet Hill", 1 Exp. Photographic reproduction in H. A. T., pl. XV, nos. 21, 22. For translation of O., col. 1: 1–14, see above pp. 33ffff. |
| 7    | 10881     | 12    | Upper left hand part of an originally rather large tablet, with at least 2–3 cols. on O. and R. Light brown, baked, half baked. Script small and somewhat effaced. At end of R., col. I, a double line. Last col. of R. not inscribed. \[5^1 \times 6^1 \times 2^1\]. Inscription, 17 (O., col. 1) + 5 (O., col. II) +...
FROM THE TEMPLE LIBRARY OF NIPPUl

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


8 13.14 11328 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 II. on O, and R., col. IV, broken away. Ruled, heavy II. mark off the end and beginning of the several hymns. 11.3 10 4. Inscription, 17 (O., col. II) + 15 (O., col. III) + 17 (R., col. IV) + 20 (R., col. V) + 5 (R., col. VI) = 74 II. "Tablet Hill", II Exp. Ishtar in the nethersworld 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 ni-dû é-gû-tu...]. dKAL.KAL é-gû-tu,[...]. 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.

9 15.16 11151 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. Table has Professor Harper's registration mark: Ni. 22—2—16 (or 10)—89. 9 = 16 3. Inscription, 29 (O., col. I) + 25 (O., col. II) + 25 (R., col. III) + 17 (R., col. IV) = 95 ll. "Tablet Hill", II Exp. Photographic reproduction, pls. V, VI, nos. 5, 6. Ishtar; dNin-sî-an-ka 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. muš-ka-nî na-ma-an-um-an, followed by muš-ka-u-a nu-ma-an-um-an-ul. For col. 11: 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 3. Inscription, 11 (O.) + 3 (R.) = 14 ll. "Tablet Hill", II Exp. Photographic reproduction, pl. V, nos. 7, 8. Ishtar bewails the miserable condition and solitude of her houses, temples and harems.

11 18 10085 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. 75 2. Inscription, 7 ll. "Tablet Hill", II Exp. Ishtar bewails her and Dumuzi's utter destruction (gil-li-em).


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. 2 6. Inscription, 15 (O.) + 17 (R.) = 32 ll. Photographic reproduction, pl. IX, nos. 10, 11. Ishtar bewails Dumuzi.
NUMERIAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS TO DUMUZI

B. PHOTOGRAPHIC (HALFTONE) REPRODUCTIONS.

<table>
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<th>NUM.</th>
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<td>3.1</td>
<td>III.4V</td>
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<td>5.6</td>
<td>VAI</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>7.8</td>
<td>VII</td>
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<td>10.11</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>13</td>
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C. NUMBERS OF THE CATALOGUE OF THE BABYLONIAN MUSEUM.

(Prepared by Professor H. V. Hilprecht.)

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Reverse.

Col. IV.       Col. III.
Reverse.
4

Obverse.
Reverse.
Reverse.

Col. IV.    Col. III.
7

Obverse.

Reverse.
Obverse.
8

Reverse.

Col. VI.  Col. V.  Col. IV.
Obverse.

Reverse.

Erasure
Obverse of Autograph Text No. 3
Belili, the sister of Dumuzi, wails over the fate brought upon her by the wicked enemy.
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 Innana-Ishtar
The "charms" wrought by Innanna-Ishtar
Innanna-Ishtar bewails Dumuzi, her absent husband and son.
Reverse of Autograph Text No. 9

Inanna-Ishtar bewails Dumuzi, her absent husband and son
Inanna-Ishtar 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

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