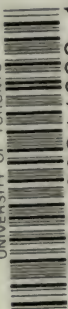


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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TAMMUZ AND
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A MONOGRAPH UPON BABYLONIAN
RELIGION AND THEOLOGY

CONTAINING EXTENSIVE EXTRACTS FROM THE
TAMMUZ LITURGIES AND ALL OF THE
ARBELA ORACLES

BY

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PREFACE

THIS volume has been written chiefly for philological purposes, being in reality the result of a conviction that further progress in the interpretation of the difficult cycle of Tammuz liturgies cannot be made until the cult is more profoundly interpreted from the point of view of the history of religion. In this conviction the author does not stand alone, for Heinrich Zimmern, who alone among other Assyriologists has specialized upon these texts and this great cult, has published a small brochure to the same purpose.¹ And these pages represent also a reaction against the trend of Assyriological interpretation of Sumero-Babylonian Religion, which has hitherto emphasized the magical side of this religion in a way wholly out of proportion to its purer ceremonies and deeper theology. Unfortunately this erroneous impression, which regards divination and magical ceremonies as chiefly characteristic of Babylonian religion, is a common possession of general historical science. But abundant evidence is

¹ *Der Babylonische Gott Tamüz*, Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Klasse der König. Sächsischen Gesellschaft, vol. xxvii.

now in the hands of scholars, which shows that the daily liturgies of the Sumerians were wholly free from magic and admirably adapted to foster the highest aesthetic ideals of mankind.

This is also true of the liturgies of the Tammuz cycle which were chanted at the midsummer wailings, although ceremonies accompanied these liturgies which originated in magic. The mysteries of the death and resurrection of the youthful god, the weeping mother and her descent to the shades of Aralu, were probably represented in some material way, but the chants themselves have little reference to such things. They are both spiritual and thoroughly human, poetical and skilfully liturgical. In order to place these in the hands of general readers I have translated in appropriate places a large number of extracts from the chants which were sung at the Tammuz wailings. Some of these extracts are revised translations of my previous edition, and some are given here for the first time. It is of course somewhat unusual to offer the first translation of important texts in a volume of this kind, but the critical editions of such texts are either in press or are withheld for special reasons. On the whole the reader will find here sufficient extracts from all the known texts of this cycle to form a fairly complete idea of this cult.

This work will perhaps in a modest way supplement the works of Frazer and Baudissin who have produced the authoritative works on this the most important phase of religion. These authors could not base their investigations upon the Babylonian cult, the oldest and most important, for the Assyriologists had not yet placed this material in their hands. Baudissin, it is true, took considerable notice of such sources as were accessible to him. I dare say that either of these scholars, so well trained in the handling of such difficult problems, could have treated the subject more profitably than an Assyriologist, and it is to be hoped that an authority on comparative religion will continue the task. Only a writer with such preparation will be authorized to draw far-reaching conclusions concerning the relations of this great cult to Christianity. And the author would also add that only such conclusions can be sound that are formed by one who is not predisposed in these matters.

OXFORD, *March* 11, 1914.



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K. 883, translated, pp. 143-5.

PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

- AL*³. *Assyrische Lesestücke*, by Fr. Delitzsch, 3rd edition.
- ASKT*. *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, by Paul Haupt.
- BA*. *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*.
- BE*. *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*.
- BL*. *Babylonian Liturgies*, by S. Langdon.
- CT*. *Cuneiform Texts*, publication of the British Museum.
- AJSL*. *American Journal of Semitic Languages*.
- KB*. *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*.
- Kugler*. *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, by F. X. Kugler.
- Legrain*. *Le Temps des Rois d'Ur*, by L. Legrain.
- Manchester Text*. A Tammuz Liturgy in the Museum of the University of Manchester, see *Babyloniaca*, vol. iv, translated by S. Langdon, from a copy by T. G. Pinches.
- OLZ*. *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*.
- PSBA*. Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
- RA*. *Revue d'Assyriologie*.
- RT*. *Religious Texts*, by J. A. Craig.
- SAI*. *Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme*, by Bruno Meissner.
- SBH*. *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen*, by George Reisner.
- SBP*. *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, by S. Langdon.
- SAK*. *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften*, by Fr. Thureau-Dangin.
- Scheil-Tammuz*. Refers to the Tammuz Text published by Professor V. Scheil, in *RA.*, vol. viii. 161-9.
- Sum. Gr.* *Sumerian Grammar*, by S. Langdon.
- VAB*. *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, ed. Jeremias. Vol. i is the same as *SAK*. Vol. iv is *Neu-Babylonische Königsinschriften*, by S. Langdon.
- ZA*. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.
- ZDMG*. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.



CHAPTER I

TAMMUZ AND THE INTERPRETATION OF HIS CULT

TAMMUZ is the name of the Babylonian god who corresponds to the Egyptian Osiris, the Phoenician and Greek Adonis, the Phrygian Attis, and other well-known types of the dying son of Mother Earth.¹ The worship of Tammuz in Babylonia and in those adjacent lands to which it spread was a cult of sorrow, death, and resurrection. This cult has attracted the attention of those interested in the history of the culture religions, for the religious mentality of a cultured people is best revealed here. The consciousness that human life is unstable, transient, and full of sorrow, gave rise to asceticism, fasting, and adoration of eternal life. The measure of development of such a cult is a sure test of the culture of a people, and measured by this test the Babylonian religion ranks high among the great culture religions of antiquity. Before the vast resources of Assyriology revealed this type of the dying and resurrected god in its most ancient and perhaps its highest form, Tammuz and his worship were known to the Classical and Modern world only by incidental

¹ For the Phoenician Adonis and other west Semitic forms of this cult see Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun*, Leipzig, 1911, a large volume, superseding his previous article in the *Protestant. Real-Encyclopädie*, 335-77. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Part IV, London, 1907, has collected much material upon *Adonis*, *Attis*, and *Osiris*, but the fundamental Assyrian material is entirely neglected. The Greek, Roman, and European types are thoroughly treated by Frazer in the two volumes which form Part V of the *Golden Bough*, London, 1912.

references in western Semitic literature and in a few Greek and Latin works. Ezekiel tells us that the wailings for Tammuz were practised in the temple at Jerusalem in the early part of the sixth century B. C.,¹ and this worship must have been known and practised throughout Western Asia where Tammuz and Adonis of Byblus were identified. The worship is mentioned in post-Christian times by Mandaean² and Syriac writers. At Harran in Eastern Syria the Ssabians continued the worship of this Babylonian god into the Middle Ages.³

The name itself is Sumerian and means the 'faithful son'. He appears at the dawn of history, certainly before 3000 B. C., as a figure already established in the

¹ Ezek. viii. 14.

² *Liber Adami*, vol. iii. 178, edition of Codex Nasaraeus by Norberg, here spelled תַּמְמוּז, and probably pronounced *Thāmuz*. The Syriac form is *Thammōzā*, *Thāmūzā*, *Thēmōzā*. The doubling of the middle *m* and the consequently short vowel *ā* are not original, and found only in Ezekiel, once in Syriac (v. Baudissin, 110, n. 2) and in the Septuagint MSS. of Ezekiel. This pronunciation obtains among Europeans. The Syriac versions and the Vulgate support the reading *Thāmuz*, *Tāmūz*, now adopted by Zimmern, which is of course supported by the original Babylonian word *dāmu-zi*. Since the Hebrew pronunciation has become established in Western usage it is best to retain the form *Tammuz*.

³ On the Ssabians of Harran and their religion see Chwolson, *Sabier*, two volumes, St. Petersburg, 1870. According to the Arabic sources for this cult at Harran, the name was there pronounced تَامُوز, i. e. *Tāūuz*, being borrowed directly from the ancient Babylonians who pronounced the word *dū'uz*; Haupt, *Assyrisch-Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, 64, 4. [The Babylonian name of the month Tammuz is naturally the same word as the name of the god.] The Semitic Babylonian probably reduced the Sumerian original *dūmūzi* to *dūūuz*, whereas the old Sumerian *dāmu-zi* and dialectic *dūmūzi* were retained among the learned classes. Note that it is the Sumerian word which passed into Hebrew and Syriac as Tammuz, Tāmūz, &c. Cf. Jensen in *ZA*. i. 17-24.

Sumerian pantheon. The cult evidently originated much earlier, for when our epigraphical sources for Mesopotamian history begin, we have already before us a highly developed religion. It would not be venturesome to affirm that this mystic cult of death and resurrection is one of the earliest forms of worship known to us, and so far as our sources permit us to speak, precedes the lower form of incantation and magic. Theological speculation, accompanied by a corresponding tendency to asceticism and mysticism, apparently preceded certain grosser types of magic to which the frailty of man so often inclines in later stages of a given culture. Certain it is that the son of a virgin mother, whom the shadows of the nether world each year claimed as a divine sacrifice for man and beast and vegetation, forms an important part of the earliest known religious worship. This cult can be traced from before 3000 B. C. to the century preceding our own era, and, as we have already seen, the name and perhaps also a considerable portion of its worship passed into the Mediterranean basin.

Sumero-Babylonian theology rests upon a theory of emanations; they supposed, as did the Egyptians their contemporaries, that the union of heaven, the male principle, and earth the female principle, gave rise to a series of forms or degrees of material things which finally resulted in an ordered world. The original first principle¹ and the various emanations are regarded as containing in themselves the power of self-creation, they are both male and female. Not until

¹ Called *an*, 'heaven'. Not at all clear is the precise meaning which the Babylonians placed upon this word when they employed it in the sense of 'first principle'. The word ordinarily means 'heaven', Semitic *šamē*.

the devolution reaches the minor personifications of nature, as the sun, moon,¹ storm, grain, and fire do we find a sharp line of demarcation between male and female deities. In the great pre-historic trinity, Heaven, Earth, and Sea, *Anu*, *Enlil*, and *Ea*, each of these divinities is essentially a genderless deity. Heaven out of itself creates earth which in turn creates from itself the orders of creation. It is true that in practice we find the god of heaven and the goddess of heaven,² the god of earth and the goddess of earth,³ but it is highly probable that the first concepts of deity were absolutely genderless, the masculine element perhaps predominating.

This theology of genderless divinities appears to be very primitive in Babylonia. But it was probably developed by the Sumerians from a more natural theology. As among the Western Semites this ancient people probably adopted mother earth as the first deity.⁴ Throughout their history, from the most ancient period to the very end of their existence as

¹ Radau, *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to the God Ninib*, asserts that these smaller divinities are both male and female, claiming for the moon-god the titles of father and mother.

² *An* and *Antu*. The latter divinity *Antu* is composed of the Sumerian word for heaven, *an*, and the Semitic feminine ending *-tu*, which shows her late and unnatural origin.

³ *En-ki* and *Nin-ki*, father-mother names of Enlil, *CT.* 24, 3, 29 f. These are strictly theological names of the male and female principles which constitute the earth-god or first emanation of the first principle *an*. The third emanation, the ocean or water, was also called *en-ki*, 'lord of the earth', a name which appears to have been given to him after the name Enlil, 'lord of the winds', was employed for the earth-god.

⁴ Nielson, *ZDMG.* 66, 469-72, denies the terrestrial origin of the mother goddess among Semitic peoples, claiming the worship of the planet Venus to be the source of this cult.

a race, the unmarried mother goddess is a dominating figure, the persistent and unchanging influence in the vast and complex pantheon. The intensity of the worship of other gods depended somewhat upon the political importance of the cities where their chief cult existed. Before the orders of the gods of nature arose, before the complex theology of emanations supplied the religion with a vast pantheon (in which the masculine element predominated) the productive powers of earth had supplied in prehistoric times a divinity, genderless, self-created (in which the female element predominated).¹

One of the phases of nature which profoundly impressed the ancient Sumerians is the regular recurrence of the periods of growth and decay. In this they saw the death and resurrection of the son of mother earth who is the incarnation of the grain, or vegetation, or the beneficent floods. He is a more concrete divinization of life than mother earth. She represents apparently the productive powers of the earth, the son represents rather what is produced. We have here the idea of a virgin mother and a divine son who suffers death and returns to life. It is he whom the Sumerians called the *damu-zi*, the 'faithful son'. Since in Babylonia as in Egypt the fertility of the soil depended upon irrigation, it is but natural to expect that the youthful god, who represents the birth and death of nature, would represent the beneficent waters which flooded the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates in the late winter, and which ebbed away and nearly disappeared in the canals and rivers in the period of summer drought. We find, therefore, that the

¹ For the names and masculine elements of the Mother Goddess see Chapter II.


theologians regarded this youthful divinity as belonging to the cult of Eridu, centre of the worship of Ea, lord of the nether sea.¹

If we could rest with our search for fundamental principles at this point, we should be forced to infer that this cult originated in a land which depended upon irrigation for its fertility. Since the worship of the mother goddess and her son evidently forms the earliest element in human religion, at any rate in Sumerian religion, we should conclude that, as the book of Genesis asserts, man began to worship God and to found a social state in Mesopotamia. But the names *dumu-zi*,² 'the faithful son', or *damu*, 'the son

¹ He appears in the great theological list as *dumu-zi ab-zu*, 'Tammuz of the nether sea', i.e. 'the faithful son of the fresh waters which come from the earth', *CT.* 24, 16, 30. He is here mentioned as one of the six sons of Ea. This must not be taken in the strict sense of sonship. The schoolmen only wished to indicate that the element of nature which Tammuz represents is fresh water, and that as such he is the son of the water-god. Other titles clearly indicate his connexion with irrigation. As *Damu*, he is called *bél girsū* (*umun mersi*), 'lord of the flood', *SBP.* 160, 14, and for his connexion with the *girsū* or 'flood', see Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies*, Paris, 1913, p. 96. Under the title *Nin-girsu*, 'Lord of the flood', this deity developed into the local *bā'al* of Lagash, but note that Ningirsu occurs twice in the great theological lists, once in the cult of Ea, the water-god, *CT.* 24, 16, 43 = 29, 93, and again in the Ninib section as husband of Bau, *CT.* 25, 1, 25 = 24, 49, 12. In the Tammuz hymn, Scheil, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, viii. 161-9, col. I, 12, the death of the god is marked by the cessation of libating the waters of Eridu. Cf. Zimmern, *K.-L.* 26, iv. 6. Definite proof for the connexion of Ningirsu with irrigation is found in the hymn to Enmešarra; Craig, *Religious Texts*, vol. ii. 13, 4, 'Great lord without whom Ningirsu water-course and canal directs not.'

² I shall employ the ordinary Sumerian and Babylonian pronunciation *dumu* for 'son'. The original must have been *dāmu*, since the god is often called *da-mu*, and the Hebrew as well as the Syriac and

and consort', are only general epithets which designate the dying god in a theological aspect, just as the name *Adōnī*, 'my lord', certainly replaced a more specific name for the god of Byblus.¹ The strongest evidence is at hand for supposing that the first deity worshipped by this most ancient of peoples was Mother Earth under the specific name, 'Goddess of the vine'.² The

Arabic transcriptions indicate that the first vowel was a long *ā*. The sign  which means 'son', *māru*, may be pronounced either *dumu* or *damu*; the former is much more common, but *damu* is clearly the original; *damu* might become *dumu* through influence of the labial *m*. In the hymns we have *d. da-mu-nu*, 'my divine Damu', employed in close proximity to *mu nu*, 'son', both referring to TAMMUZ, *SBP.* 306, Rev. 2 f. The forms *damu-zi*, *tamu-zi* must have been current. We have *da-mu-šāg-ga* = *Damu damku*, 'the gracious Damu', *SBP.* 160, 14. *Damu* occurs in proper names only in the periods of the Ur, Isin, and first Babylonian dynasties; see Huber, *Personennamen*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 173; Poebel, *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, vi, Part II, Philadelphia, 1909, pp. 127 and 130; Myhrman, *ibid.*, iii, Part I (1910), p. 90; Reisner, *Tempelurkunden aus Telloh*, Berlin, 1901, p. 40; Ranke, *Personal Names of the Hammurapi Dynasty*, Philadelphia, 1905, p. 198. Since *Da-mu* sometimes refers to the goddess *Gula*, who is also a type of mother goddess and confused with the ordinary mother goddess Innini, we cannot be certain whether *Damu* refers here to the son Tammuz or the mother *Gula*, but in certain cases, as in *Damu našir*, 'Damu protects', the deity *Damu* is clearly masculine. Note that beside the god *Damu*, the god *TUR* occurs, which would ordinarily be read *Dumu*, Myhrman, p. 90. Since *Damu* means both *Gula* and the son Tammuz, and the Sumerian root *dam* is the ordinary word for *married person*, it is probable that the element *Damu* really means 'consort' as well as son who, as we shall see, is also the consort of the goddess.

¹ Lidsbarski, *Ephemeris*, iii. 260-5, has also sought to show that Esmun of Sidon, who is another type of Adonis, is a title only, and means simply 'The Name'. For the title *dū-mu* see also the Manchester Text, IV. 3-8 in *Babyloniaca*, iv. 236.

² *d. geštīn*, see Chapter II. *Ningišzida*, who is also a type of the dying god, probably means 'lord of the faithful wood', referring to the god as the incarnation, either of the vine or perhaps the cedar,

vine is not an indigenous plant in Mesopotamia. The original name of the divine son appears to have been *ab-ú*,¹ 'father of plants and vegetation'. It is now generally supposed that the Sumerian people, who were the first of mankind in Southern Mesopotamia, migrated thither from the highlands of Central Asia. The origin and evolution of this their most primitive cult

a tree which is not indigenous in Babylonia. He appears also as god *giš-zi-da*, *KB*. vi. 94, 20, here as a companion of Tammuz. Note, however, that Tammuz has the title *tu-mu umun mu-zi-da* (dialectic for *giš-zi-da*), 'son, lord of the faithful wood', *SBP*. 304, 15; 300, 6, and that he is called *u-mu-zi-da*, evidently for *umun mu-zi-da*; Langdon, *BL*. 20, 5. [Krausz, *Götternamen*, 101, n. 3, has given the same derivation of Ningišzida.]

¹ This name, being one employed before the Sumerians occupied Babylonia, naturally does not figure in the liturgical names of the official hymns. Only one passage refers to Tammuz as *ab-ú* in the hymns, *d. ab-ú dumu muluzune*, 'Abu the child your lord', *SBP*. 320, 9. He is called *d. ab-ú dumu nun-na*, 'Abu son of the prince' (*mār rubē*, sic!), whose mother is Gula, *SBP*. 156, 38. The name occurs as *d. ab-ba-ú*, *SBP*. 34, 42, where he is the husband of Ningingarra, or Innini. He appears as a minor deity in the Eridu pantheon, attached to the court of Marduk in the capacity of 'watchman of Esagila', *CT*. 24, 16, 17 (*d. ab-ba*) = 24, 28, 72 (*d. ab-ú*). Like Ningirsu, *ab-ú* becomes also a title for the god of Lagash and husband of Gula, *CT*. 25, 1, 23 = 49, 11. Since the deity known as the faithful son could be identified with any god of vegetation, we find *ab-ú* employed for Nebo son of Marduk and probably a type of the dying god; Langdon, *BL*. p. 68, 16. *d. ab-ba* is a title of Nebo, *VR*. 43, 31, where the Sumerian *ab-ba* is misunderstood by the Semitic translator. He here takes *ba*, the phonetic complement, for the root *ba* = *kaš*, 'to give', and translates *ka-eš* [*še'im*] *abbūti*, 'bestower of [grain] fatherhood', sic! For *d. ab-ú* in the early period see Genouillac, *Tablettes Sumériennes archaïques*, Paris, 1909, p. 120 under *Ur- d. ab-ú*; Hussey, *Sumerian Tablets*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 33; Reisner, op. cit., 145, Rev. 5 (period of Ur). For the period of Ur and Isin see Huber, op. cit., 167 (who wrongly identified the deity with Enlil and Ninib). The deity is not found in proper names after this period.

clearly supports this view of history. The dying god who represents the element of fresh water is a type developed by a people after they settled in a land dependent upon irrigation. When we proceed to study the prayers, liturgies, and rituals of this cult we must, therefore, expect to find conflicting elements asserting themselves. The official liturgies of course present the system adopted by the priests in which the dying god appears as intimately connected with the pantheon of the ocean. He here becomes under the generic name of *dumuzi*, or 'faithful son', a specific figure, and his cult is developed along distinctive lines.

The ceremony known as the annual wailings for Tammuz certainly occurred in midsummer, and probably continued during the month originally known as the month of the festival of Tammuz.¹ This vague and generic deity, originally appearing as son of mother earth in many aspects, some of which developed into local gods,² and constructed by the theologians into a definite deity, possessed no temple of his own. As at Byblus the worshippers of Adonis performed their service in the temple of Aštarte, so in Babylonia the central cult of Tammuz was attached to the temple of Innini, the mother goddess in Erech. This famous temple, centre of the cult of the virgin mother from remotest antiquity,

¹ Originally *ezen-dumu-zi*, a name of the sixth month in the Sargonic era (circa 2800 B. C.). The year at this time appears to have begun at midwinter. No name of a month referring to Tammuz appears in the pre-Sargonic period. When in the age of Hammurabi the year was made to begin with the new moon nearest the spring equinox, the wailings for Tammuz occurred naturally in the fourth month.

² Ningirsu, Ninsubur, Abú all became titles of the god of Lagash, later called *Ninib*, a mother-name of the first principle *an*, *CT.* 24, 1, 5.

was called Eanna, 'house of heaven', since as we have seen the mother goddess was regarded as the female aspect of the first principle *an*, 'heaven'. One of the liturgies employed at Nippur in the period of the Isin dynasty begins thus :

' For the brother who slumbers, the city wails.
 Alas! O brother, comrade of heaven.
 Alas! O shepherd, lord Tammuz.
 For the child who maketh glad¹ his palace no more,
 Holy Innini in Eanna laments.'²

Characteristic of this worship is the figure of the desolate mother wandering in the barren fields, in the desolate sheepfolds, or sitting in her temple wailing for the lost son and lover. The people, too, take part in this sorrowful service :

' For the far removed there is wailing,
 Ah me, my child, the far removed,
 My Damu, the far removed,
 My anointer,³ the far removed.
 For the sacred cedar where the mother bore him,⁴

¹ For *súg* = *rěšu*, 'to rejoice', see now *RA.* 9, 77, i. 26.

² *SBP.* 322, 1-5.

³ *gudu* = *pašišu*; it is uncertain whether this word means 'anointed' or 'one who anoints'. If we point *pašišu*, the word means 'anointed', if *pāšišu*, the word means 'anointer'. The same title, 334, 3; 336, 15; 338, 7. *pašišu* is a priest who employs oils for healing disease and casting out devils. He belongs to the cult of Eridu, and employs the holy water of the great basin, *pašiš apsī*; Meissner, *Das Altbabylonische Privatrecht*, 98, 27; for the *pašišu* see Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, 550; Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, 847; Frank, *Studien zur Babylonischen Religion*, Strassburg, 1911, pp. 11 f. For reading *gudu* see *RA.* x. 70, 17.

⁴ We have seen above, p. 7, that Tammuz was the incarnation of some kind of wood, and this passage apparently regards him as born from a cedar. A similar passage occurs on an unpublished tablet in Constantinople, Nippur 2408, Rev. 3. In my 'Historical and Religious Texts' in press, Leipzig, 1914.

In Eanna, high and low, there is weeping,
Wailing for the house of the lord they raise.
The wailing is for the plants, the first lament is,
"they grow not".

The wailing is for the barley; the ears grow not.
For the habitations and the flocks it is: they produce
not.

For the perishing wedded ones, for perishing children
it is: the dark-headed people create not.

The wailing is for the great river; it brings the flood
no more.

The wailing is for the fields of men; the *gunū*¹
grows no more.

The wailing is for the fish-ponds; the *dasuhur* fish
spawn not.

The wailing is for the cane-break; the fallen stalks
grow not.

The wailing is for the forests; the tamarisks grow
not.

The wailing is for the highlands; the *mašgam* trees
grow not.

The wailing is for the garden store-house; honey
and wine are produced not.

The wailing is for the meadows; the bounty of the
garden, the *sihlū* plants grow not.

The wailing is for the palace; life unto distant days
is not.²

It is highly probable that in this service, attended by weeping men and women who prayed and fasted, a mysterious pantomime was performed. A wooden figure of the dying god was probably placed in a skiff and given over to the waters of the Euphrates or the Tigris, precisely as in Egypt the image of Osiris was cast upon the sea. When the figure of the god

¹ For *gunū* as a grain see Ungnad, *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, 1912, 447; Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, vol. ii. 713.

² *SBP.* 332, 1-21.

disappeared beneath the waves¹ he was supposed to pass to the underworld and maintain a peaceful existence after the pain of death. Animal and plant life now ceased their productivity. Passages in the liturgies refer to this descent beneath the waves :

‘The raging flood has brought him low, him that has taken his way to the lower world.’²

The mother goddess addresses the demon of Hades who was supposed to have transported her lover and son to Hades :

‘Unto Arallu, unto the plain of Inferno she came,
“He of the loud cry, the *gallū* demon, why has he left me desolate ?

O *gallū*, lord of devastation, why hast thou taken him ?

In the flood of the shore of the Euphrates, why hast thou taken him ?”’³

One passage speaks of the youthful god who perished in his boat, and another of the wild wind and wave which carried him away.⁴

¹ In the liturgies the evil *gallū* demon is supposed to have seized the boat of Tammuz and to have pulled him beneath the waves. An incantation to the seven devils describes one of them as *lu-u ša ina elippi ina mē iṭ-bu-u*, ‘He who submerged (him, i.e. Tammuz) in a boat beneath the waters’, *CT.* 16, 10 b 4. It is commonly supposed among Semitic scholars that the name of the Babylonian and Hebrew month *ṭebēt* means ‘month of heavy rain’, Dec.–Jan., see G. A. Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, 221; Böllenrücher, *Nergal*, Leipzig, 1904, 37. It is, however, to be kept in mind that the ceremony of drowning Tammuz may be referred to here. A Neo-Babylonian text (copy of an older text) mentions wailing for the god Enmešarra, a form of Enlil and an underworld deity, for the month *Ṭebit*.

² *SBP.* 312, 10.

³ Langdon, *BL.* 95, Obv. 18–Rev. 3.

⁴ *SBP.* 308, 10 and 14.

Since the mysteries were intended to represent the death of the god of vegetation, this death is also represented by throwing grain and plants upon the waves. 'In the submerged grain he lies', says one liturgy, and another passage describes the withering flower-pots which symbolized the dying god :

' A tamarisk which in the garden has no water to drink,
 Whose foliage on the plain sends forth no twig.
 A plant which they water no more in the pot,
 Whose roots are torn away.
 An herb which in the garden has no water to drink.¹
 Among the garden flowers he slumbers, among the
 garden flowers he is cast away.'²

We have here the Babylonian custom corresponding to the so-called Adonis gardens³ in the Greek ritual, and it is highly probable that the Babylonian rite passed into Greek religion through Byblus and Cyprus. According to Joseph G. Frazer this ritual of drowning by water is a piece of magic intended to induce the return of the rains. He supposes that the artificial forcing of plants in a pot by watering them and placing them in the warm sunlight, were supposed to influence the gods to restore quickly the generating powers of the earth. The drowning in the water would induce the god of the waters to send his refreshing floods.⁴ Be that as it may, the idea uppermost in the Babylonian ritual is the contemplation of the mystery of life in death.

¹ *SBP.* 301, 16-24.

² *SBP.* 337, 16. In Reisner, *SBH.* 145 b 13, the month of Tammuz (the fourth month in the late period) is called the month of the binding or imprisonment of Tammuz (*ki-mi-tum ilu du[mu-zi]*). [This reference is due to Zimmern, *Tammuz*, 732.]

³ On the Adonis gardens see Frazer, *op. cit.*, 194.

⁴ *Ibid.* 195.

The grain god had died, and we read in certain Arabic writers (who describe the cult of Tammuz at Harran in the Mediaeval Ages) that in the period of wailings the women neither ate grain nor ground it in their mills, for this is the body of Tammuz. So far as I can see, the idea of a vicarious sacrifice made by a god that man and nature might live is not prominent in this ritual. On the other hand, it is certain that the hope of life depended absolutely upon his resurrection. This statement must be understood, however, to refer to this material life. It is true that after the descent into Hades one liturgy says, 'life unto distant days is no more', but we are probably to understand that the Babylonians refer to old age, not to eternal life. Still they are evidently reaching out blindly, it is true, but with a genuine religious sense towards the hope of eternal life. It is evident, too, that this mystery would, at least for a time, concentrate the thoughts of man upon the spiritual side of nature.

The god who had disappeared was called the shepherd who had left his sheep, and the litanies describe the shepherds of the flocks sitting in sorrow and wailing for Tammuz. As one striking passage puts it:

'Him of the plains why have they slain?

The shepherd,

The wise one,

The man of sorrows why have they slain?

The Lady of the vine stalk with the lambs and calves languishes.'¹

'The lord shepherd of the folds lives no more,

The husband of the heavenly queen lives no more,

The lord of the cattle stalls lives no more.

.

¹ *SBP.* 323, 14-18.

When he slumbers the sheep and lambs slumber
also.

When he slumbers the she-goats and the kids slumber
also.'¹

It has been noted that one of the principal acts in the mystery of this cult is the search of the mother goddess for her lost son and lover. The liturgies represent her departing from her chamber in Eanna and searching the world for Tammuz :

'The pure maiden from the dark chamber hastened.
In the deluge not dost thou lie, in the hurricane not
dost thou lie.

As a child in a sunken boat not dost thou lie.

As one grown great in the submerged grain not dost
thou lie.

In the lightning and the whirlwind not dost thou lie.'²

'In the fields for the brother, in his fields she wept
with others.

For the brother Tammuz in his field she wept with
others.'

'Aralu has seized him away.

The afflicted, my hero, sage (?) of the earth.

My hero, he who rises from the ocean let us bewail.'

'For the mighty hero with flute playing, for the
brother in his field she wept.

They have taken ; where have they taken ?

Where have they taken ? the desolate land has
taken.

The flood has taken Tammuz.

Ama-ušugal-ana it has taken.

The shining ocean to thy perdition (??) has taken
thee.

The shining ocean to thy destiny has taken thee.

It has transported, the flood transported, the flood
transported, the flood seized thee into Hades.'³

¹ *SBP.* 319, 10-17.

² Zimmern, *K.-L.* 26, iv. 9-14.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 1 Rev., col. I. 9-12.

A considerable portion of the official liturgy is devoted to the descent of Innini into Hades to find Tammuz. So far as I can see, this myth of the descent of the goddess of nature, which is so well known in classical mythology in the story of Adonis and Aphrodite, is of astronomical origin in Babylonia. It is of course true that the virgin nature goddess is as a deity much older than the half mortal son. In the beginning mankind may have regarded the withering of the flowers, the drying up of the brooks, the fall of the corn before the sickle of the harvester, as a sign that the deity of nature herself had gone to Hades. As we shall see, she was at first a sexless divinity; the emanation which resulted in the specific deity called the son, is often regarded as feminine and identified with the mother herself.¹ It may be, therefore, that

¹ One of the most common titles of Tammuz is *d. KA-DI*, often supplemented by the phrase *i-dé-šúb-ba* (*ša ana pani bandū*), 'he who in the face shines', *SBP.* 162, 24; 300, 9; 304, 18; 308, 6; 312, 6; Zimmern, *K.-L.* 26, Rev. II. 32. The name appears *passim* in proper names as a male divinity; *ilu KA-DI-šitmar*, *CT.* 29, 38, 3; *ilu KA-DI-dābīb*, *BE.* 14, 14, 4; 15, 36, 18 (Clay); *d. KA-DI-iḫbi*, *ibid.* 15, 119. On the other hand Tišpak the god of Ašnunnak (or Ešnunnak), a city or land east of Babylonia, and of Dir, a city in the same region (see King, *Boundary Stones*, London, 1912, p. 7, l. 23, Tišpak, *ašib alu Der*), appears as husband of *ilu KA-DI*, Scheil, *Délégation en Perse*, vol. vi, p. 38, l. 4. *KA-DI* is probably intended in the list of deities of Dir, *BA.* iii. 238, *d. gal šarrat Dir ilu šīru ilu bēlit balāḫi ilu dūr-ru-ni-tum*. The goddess here named 'lady of life', the *Dūrīte*, is probably identical with Innini the *Dirīte*, *SBP.* 264, 14, and for Innini, a goddess in Ašnunnak (the land where Dir was located), see Scheil, *DP.* ii. 80. Note that the snake-god *Šīru* is the *meru* offspring of *KA-DI*, *ibid.*, 91, 23. Note also *KA-DI* and Innina of Dir, Thureau-Dangin, *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Inschriften*, 176, l. 4 f. The same deity appears at *Kiš*, *ibid.* 36, n) line 10, but it is not certain whether Ningirsu or Bau is intended. In the great list, *CT.* 25, 6, 6-15, where *KA-DI* follows the son of

the legend of the journey of the goddess to the shadows of the lower world to bring back to earth the god of fertilization arose out of a prehistoric legend that it was the goddess herself who died. Be this as it may, nevertheless the story itself presents a concrete form which has been brought about by astronomical considerations. The Babylonian liturgies, which were sung at the wailings for Tammuz, make it clear that religious and theological ideas are uppermost in the minds of the worshippers. It is not the love of woman separated from a lover by death that impresses us chiefly in the Babylonian myth. It is rather the love of the goddess for perishing humanity which induces her to undertake this hazardous journey. But astronomical elements have at least helped to bring about the myth as we have it in Babylonia and Greece.

In the age of the dynasty of Ur the name of the sixth month was called at Nippur the month of the mission of Innini. But it appears that at an earlier period the same month was called the month of the festival of Tammuz. So far, then, as we have a right to make inferences upon debatable premises, the myth of the descent of the goddess to seek for her son is not

Tishpak, it is probable that a form of Gula is intended, the consort of Tišpak in Dir and Ašnunak. Uncertain also is the mention of *d. KA-DI* in Gudea, *Cyl. A.* 10, 26, here a deity who renders justice. *KA-DI*, therefore, may mean either the mother Gula of Dir or her son Tammuz. Gula or Bau are married types of the mother goddess. Also *d. Damu* may mean either the son or the mother Gula. A title of Tammuz to be discussed below, is *d. ama-ušumgal-anna*, a name which means 'Mother-great serpent-heavenly', i. e. 'The serpent mother of the first male principle'. This name is also employed for the virgin mother, Radau, *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 395, 42 and 62.

so old as that of the death and resurrection of the youthful god. Now it appears to be certain that sometime about 3000–2500 B.C., the Sumerians identified the virgin mother with the star Sirius. Upon calculations made by Dr. Fotheringham it appears that at 3000 B.C. the star Sirius disappears¹ about April 11, and remains invisible for nearly two months.² It seems, therefore, that the ancients supposed that the goddess had descended with her star into Arallū, or Sheol, in quest of her lover. This theory is fully substantiated by an unpublished tablet in the Museum of Constantinople, which describes Innini interceding with the queen of Hades for the release of Tammuz. She is represented as having descended to the court of Ereškigal, whom she addresses in the following lines :

‘O queen of the great palace in thy abode, the glory
of thy greatness I will rehearse.
Wailing for the cattle of the plains dissolve,
Milk for the lambs of the sheepfolds restore.
O my sister, as one nameless I sit (?).’

To which Ereškigal replies :

‘O child-begetting courtesan, thy cry sounds aloud (?),
Where with Nergal my husband and my lord I dwell.
The city of thy consort Tammuz thou seekest.
Innini, thy seven bridegroom attendants in the
chamber of repose shall place him with thee (?).
Innini, truly queen of all decrees I am ; a god with
me rivals not.’

To which Innini replies :

‘Queen of the vast house in thy abode the glory
of thy greatness I will rehearse.
In the firmament (?) my star straightway restore.’³

¹ Sets heliacally on the western horizon in the evening.

² Rising in that period about July first.

³ This text is published in my *Historical and Religious Texts*, in press.

The descent of Innini and her contest with the queen of Arallū for the possession of the youthful god is reflected in the Greek story of the earth goddess Demeter, who contested with Pluto the possession of her daughter Persephone. Our liturgies describe the wandering goddess accosted by a watchman at the gates of the underworld :

‘ O Innini, go not ; the queen of the great house
Not should’st thou know ; not should’st thou enter.
Not shalt thou press forward, not shalt thou know.
O Innini, not shalt thou know, not shalt thou enter,
Not shalt thou know ; seeing thou would’st know.’¹

‘ But the maiden went, to the darkness went.
“ A queen am I ” (she said) ; the maiden went, to
the darkness went.
To him seized away, her beloved not should she go,
unto darkness go.
In the place of desolation among the hungry ones
she should not sit.’²

As we are concerned here only with the task of giving an accurate description and interpretation of the deity, Tammuz, it will suffice to say that the liturgies describe with great dramatic power the descent of Innini, her contest for the possession of Tammuz, and his resurrection.

In the oldest Babylonian prayers the queen of the lower world does not figure in the myth. The obstacle in the way of bringing back the lord of fertility was rather the difficulty of arousing him from the deep sleep which fell upon the souls of the dead. In the liturgies the worshippers recur to the refrain, ‘ He

¹ Tammuz, Manchester Text, col. II, 1-5, in *Babyloniaca*, iv. 233.

² *Ibid.* ii. 11-14.

sleeps, the lord of life slumbers'. The following passages from the official liturgies will illustrate the efforts of the goddess to bring about the return of Tammuz. These are taken from that part of the liturgy which describes the experiences of the goddess in Arallū.

'O wanderer, wanderer, my brother wanderer.
In the fields of Arallu, wanderer, my brother
wanderer.

.
The scorching heat, verily, verily, the soul of life
destroys.¹

' . . . into the nether resting place she entered,
Set herself before him. "Ewe and her lamb,
Lamb and the ewe, lo they are scattered.
Mount up, thither (?) go."
The shepherd spoke to his sister,
"My sister, see! the lamb finds (?) not its mother."

.
His sister, she whose heart rests not gave answer.

.
"Be merciful, my brother; O, Zulummara, why (?)
ascendest thou not.

Who shall bring the floods for ever?"²

Peculiar to the Babylonian version of this myth is the part played in the lamentations by seven demons who assist the goddess in her efforts to arouse Tammuz from the sleep of death. They are represented seeking for him in the sheepfolds:

"Tammuz the lord slumbers", in woe they sigh much.
"The sacred consort of the heavenly queen, the
lord, slumbers", in woe they sigh much.
"My king thou art, thou who wast hurried away,
cruelly wast carried away.

¹ *SBP.* 325.

² *Ibid.* 330, 7-332, 26.

Faithful son thou art, thou who wast hurried away,
cruelly wast carried away.

Consort of Innini, son of Şirtur, who wast cruelly
carried away.

Youth (?), brother of the mother *Bêlit-şêri*, who wast
cruelly carried away.

Thy work is restrained, thy *shekel* (?) is given, thou
who wast cruelly carried away.

Thy labour is restrained, thy tribute is given, thou
who wast cruelly carried away.

The shining crown from thy head is divested. Thy
fallen head restore.

The shining *şu-me* from thy side is divested. Thy
fallen side restore.

The shining staff from thy hand is divested. Thy
fallen hand restore.

The long shining foot-ring from thy foot is divested.
Thy fallen foot restore."

Because the lord has gone forth, in his sheepfolds
there is no creating.

Because Tammuz has gone forth, in his sheepfolds
there is no creating.'¹

Finally Tammuz is aroused from the sleep of death.
The long liturgies sung at the annual wailings begin
to show a note of joy and hope. When awakened
from his lethargy the god replies to the mother goddess
and the interceding demons :

'The sheep of my *shepherds* (?) I will restore.

The sheep of my *pasture* (?) I will restore.

.

O *gallū*-demon, be not woful; of itself the seed
will spring forth.'

Shamash (the sun-god) stood up before him.

Before him his hand he raised. "The mother sheep
desolated who will revive ?

¹ Scheil + Zimmern, Obv. II. 15-Rev. I. 3.

The kids dejected, yea the kids, who will restore?
 The kids begotten and abandoned to distress, yea
 the kids, who will give them (pasture?)
 The thorn bush of itself nests not the dove.
 The wild goats of themselves produce not the
 woollen garments.”

‘ Demon unto demon looked steadfastly.
 The little demons and the great demons cried aloud.
 Demons and their companions cried aloud.
 “ Our heroic lord, he who was seized away, forsake
 us not (??).
 Tammuz our lord, who was seized away, forsake us
 not (??)
 In the desolate land we would appease thee.
 Lord of the desolate land art thou, be appeased,
 arise!
 To the wild goats in the barren land we would bring
 peace.
 Lord of the wild goats of the barren land art thou,
 be appeased, arise !”’¹

The liturgies do not describe the ascent to the upper world, but pass at once to a crescendo movement, announcing that the lord is risen. His mother returns to the world bearing the young god in her bosom :

‘ Innini to her sacred women cried ;
 “ In heaven there is light, on earth there is light.”²
 Magnified is he, magnified, magnified is the lord.³
 Magnified is he, magnified ; my peace may he
 bring.’⁴

¹ Scheil + Zimmern, Rev. I. 4-33.

² The passage reads further :

‘ In the bosom of (his) mother in his childhood (?) she gave him rest.
 In (his) childhood the mother, mother compassionate, compassion
 spoke.

In (her) bosom his sister, sister compassionate, compassion spoke.

In (her) bosom his wife Innini gave him rest.’ Ibid., Rev. II.

6-10. See also Langdon, *BL.* 60-3.

³ A refrain taken from the section which closes one of the services,
SBP. 339.

⁴ Ibid. 341.

One of the liturgies closes the service with the following beautiful lines, which, taken in the connexion from which we now pass, need no commentary :

' In Erech its brick-walls reposed; upon Erech a faithful eye he cast.

The figs grew large ; in the plains the trees thrived (?).
There the valiant in (his) boat descended, from Hades hastened.

The holy husband of the heavenly queen in a boat descended, from Hades hastened.

Where grass was not, there grass is eaten.

Where water was not, water is drunk.

Where the cattle sheds were not, cattle sheds are built.'¹

We should expect that a cult which exercised an influence so profound, not only in Babylonia and Assyria, but throughout the ancient East, would have attracted the ambitions of sculptors and engravers. The engravings of divinities and religious scenes which have been preserved upon seals and vases, reveal clearly enough the Babylonian conception of the mother goddess, but we have as yet not a single figure among several hundred known to us, which can be unmistakably identified with Tammuz.² Nor has anything been found corresponding to the painting discovered at Pompeii which represents the death of Adonis.

But we have a design, found as yet only on four seal cylinders, which represents a goddess with a child

¹ Scheil + Zimmern, Rev. II. 12, 18.

² The name *Da-mu* occurs on figured seals, see William Hayes Ward, *Catalogue of Cylinders in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, New York, 1909, Plate XIV, no. 91; Menant, *Glyptique*, vol. i, Plate IV, no. 3. See also Joseph Krausz, *Die Götternamen in den Babylonischen Siegelcylinderlegenden*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 85.

upon her lap; the design of the mother goddess and child is familiar enough in Egyptian art, where the figures represent Isis and her son Horus. Thirty years ago a French scholar¹ suggested that the scene represents Ishtar and Tammuz. The connexion with the Christian figure of the Madonna and Child would then be so obvious, and the further inferences so far reaching, that the identification has been held to be doubtful, some preferring to see in this design a king's son, heir to the throne of Assyria and Babylonia, for the kings often claimed descent from the gods.² But an unpublished liturgy of the Berlin Museum states clearly that the mother goddess received her child upon her bosom and bore him back to earth. As I have already suggested, it is probable that the service of wailing for the dying god, the descent of the mother, and the resurrection were attended by mysterious rituals. The actual mysteries may have been performed in a secret chamber, and consequently the scenes were forbidden in art. This would account for the surprising dearth of archaeological evidence concerning a cult upon which the very life of mankind was supposed to depend.

In reading the citations which have been given from the official liturgies, one is confused by the various relations which exist between mother and son. Now he is her consort, now her brother. Now a youth who dies in the strength of manhood, now an infant fed at the breast. The infant represents the sprouting corn, and the growing grass; the young man represents the corn which falls before the sickle. That the son should be also the lover of the goddess is explained

¹ Menant, *Glyptique*, 169.

² Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, 154.

by Frazer on the assumption that in ancient society the imperial power descended through the female line. In that case the heir to a throne is the daughter of a king. To retain a throne the son of a king must marry his sister, or failing a sister, his own mother. In the Sumerian myth we have both circumstances represented. In the Egyptian version Isis is the sister of her husband Osiris. The Semitic myth represents Ashtarte as the mother of Adonis. It may be that this strange mixture of types in the Sumerian myth is due to some prehistoric influence. If in Sumer the original myth represented the mother goddess as the sister of Tammuz, and the mother idea was borrowed from the western Semites, then the west Semitic race and its cult of Adonis must go back to at least 4000 B.C. But these are conjectures concerning premises which may not be true, and concerning facts which lie beyond the reach of historical material.

That the myth has been worked out under this matriarchal system of primitive society, is substantiated by the fact that in the Semitic cult the king of a city often played the rôle of the dying god, and suffered death at the hands of his people.¹ The idea that a divine man must be delivered up unto death to satisfy the powers of Hades and to ensure the return of life after the season of drought and decay, is apparently innate in primitive religion. And his living in connubial relation with the mother goddess or her human representative was based upon ideas of sympathetic magic which obtained in those times. The divine figures of Tammuz, Adonis, and Osiris represent a theological principle, the incarnation of religious

¹ Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*, 84. After considerable investigation and reflection I have adopted Frazer's views on this point.

ideas which were once illustrated in more tangible form. Not the divine son who perished in the waves, but a human king who was slain, represented at first this tragedy of birth and death. This brilliant thesis of Joseph Frazer is thoroughly substantiated by very recent evidence concerning the cult of Tammuz. In an unpublished liturgy of this cult, as it was carried out at Isin the capital of one of the Sumerian dynasties,¹ at least five kings are named, and they are spoken of as those that sleep:

‘The lord Idin-Dagan sleeps,
And the gardens of themselves restrain (their
growth).

The city (?) (weeps?) for Išme-Dagan who slumbers,
And the gardens of themselves withhold (their fruit).
The city (?) (weeps) for Libit-Ishtar who sleeps.

.

The (?) city (weeps) for Ur-Ninib who sleeps.

.

The city weeps for Bur-Sin who sleeps.

The sturdy youth is in the land of weeping.’²

This passage evidently refers to kings who in their day played the rôle of Tammuz in the mystery of this cult. They, like Tammuz, had died for the life of their cities. But the culture which we know to have existed in that age would not have tolerated the terrible sacrifice demanded in prehistoric days. When we read here that departed shades of kings were identified with the dying god, we have to do with the

¹ *Circa 2370–2133 B. C.*

² Zimmern, *K.-L.* 26, Rev. III. Professor Zimmern himself detected the importance of this passage, for on the margin of this plate of his book, which he kindly sent me several months before publication, I found the note, ‘The kings of Isin as Tammuz?’

survival of an ancient idea so adapted in practice, that the king escaped actual sacrifice by some symbolic act. And it may be that we are to read even more into this practice. As Tammuz overcame the sleep of death, so also by his power these human kings escaped from that fatal slumber. It is not at all unlikely that such hopes of everlasting life were inspired by the worship of Tammuz.

We fortunately possess a long liturgy which celebrates the marriage of Idin-Dagan, third king of the dynasty of Isin, with the mother goddess Innini.¹ And the magical hocus-pocus is here fully described. The service is carried out with statues of the goddess and of the king.² This symbolic marriage of a king with mother earth is directly derived from that cruel ritual preserved too really in Sidon and Cyprus in which the king was actually slain.

In the evolution of Sumerian and Babylonian religion the marriage of the youthful god to his mother or sister was given to another cult which developed out of the older one. This act of symbolic magic took place at the winter solstice, and was supposed to induce rapid generation in all life. When this ceremony was detached from the cult, nothing remained of it but the complimentary ceremony of wailing at midsummer. With such a service the whole institution has come down to us. The theologians developed this one idea in connexion with Tammuz. The cult

¹ Here identified with the planet Venus.

² The text was published by Hugo Radau, *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, Plates II f., and translated by him, *ibid.*, 391-409. In my opinion Dr. Radau missed the real import of the text as well as many details, and I have consequently given a transcription in my *Sumerian Grammar*, 196-200. See also Zimmern, *Der Alle Orient*, xiii, Part I, p. 16.

of death and resurrection centred about him, and being uncontrolled by the more joyous ritual of marriage, rapidly developed a spirit of asceticism and contemplation.

In the original ritual we suppose that the return from the underworld occurred in the spring. In other words the original service had at least two ceremonies, on one hand the wailing and the descent to hell, and on the other the resurrection and marriage. But this original condition of human religion lies beyond our ken. When we meet with the historical records of man he had already separated the god of fertility into several deities. To one of these, and to his consort, he attributed the ceremony of marriage.¹ This secondary god and his consort appear under various forms as the local *bêls* and *bêlits* of many cities. It is probable that the gods of the numerous cities of Babylonia and Assyria, whatever may have been their special attributes acquired in later times, are at the beginning, each and all, shadows of this young god. They and their consorts are derived from this one great and primitive cult, and set aside for the performance of the more human and joyous side of this cult. I am not sure but that this formula applies to every other local *bêl* and *bêlit* in the history of religion.

When this cult, which involves what is essential in ancient religion, emancipated itself from local prejudices, it became universal in its scope, abstract in its terminology. The dying god has no definite name, he is simply 'the faithful son'.² The virgin mother's

¹ *Ningirsu* and *Bau* at Lagash; *Tišpak* and *KA-DI* at Dir; *Zamama* and *Gula* at Kiš.

² Traces of an original marriage ceremony between Tammuz and Innini are to be found. Innini constantly addresses Tammuz as her

name Innini or Nin-anna, reflects also a theological system. The name means 'princess of heaven', feminine principle of the original first principle *an*, the self-creating father god.¹ We have here the Babylonian conception of trinity, a more or less abstract conception, it is true, but one which had a powerful influence in their religion. In the service of this cult the figure of the father god *an* is a mere shadow to explain the existence of the mother and son. Adoration of Innini and Tammuz, the recitation of their experiences in death and resurrection, form the subject of the long litanies accompanied by doleful cries and music on the flute.

husband, *UŠ-SAL-DAM* (= *hāiru*), Langdon, *BL.* 101, 44; *mu-ud-na* (= *hāmer*), *SBP.* 300, 13; 318, 11; *SAL-UŠ-DAM-a-ni*, 'her husband', 328, 10; *mu-ud-na-mu*, Manchester Text, VI. 31; V. 28; I. 10; *mu-dé-in*, I. 10. The most direct reference to an ancient marriage ceremony is the survival of the title of Tammuz, *d. en-ligir-si*, dialectic *umun-li-bi-ir-si*, II R. 59, Rev. VIII (restored by Zimmern). *d. en-ligirsi* in the list *CT.* 25, 7, *K.* 7663, 4 (= *K.* 11035, 4 and *CT.* 24, 19 c 3); *ligir-si* means 'attendant of a bridegroom', and was translated into Semitic by *susapinu*; the word was then incorporated in the Aramaic languages as *שושבין* (Jensen). An unpublished text in Constantinople speaks of seven *ligir-si* of Innini, who prepare her bridal couch. The title *en-ligir-si* means, therefore, 'lord of the (seven) bridegroom attendants'. It is doubtful whether we have to do here with anything more than a survival of earlier terminology which had ceased to be practised. See also Zimmern, *Tamūzlieder*, p. 212; Langdon, *BL.*, p. 96. See also *Bu.* 83-18, 2348, l. 12, *har-mi ilu ištar*, 'spouse of Ištar'.

¹ The original first principle *an* appears in this sense after a large number of names. So, for example, the 'mother vine stalk', *d. gištin* or *d. ama-gištin* became *d. gištin-anna*, 'vine stalk of heaven', i. e. the mother vine who is the feminine element of the first principle *an*. The addition of this element is also connected with astral identifications. For example, when *Geštin* was identified with Virgo she became *Geštin-anna*. It is difficult to separate theological and astral speculation in Babylonia.

The springing forth of verdure, its increase, and its decay, are closely connected with the sun's crossing the mean equator into the northern hemisphere, his slow approach to the northern zenith of the ecliptic, and his return to the equator. The Sumerians, therefore, at an earlier period connected the god of vegetation with the sun. Since, as we have seen, the youthful god became an abstract principle, reserved for the cult of birth and decay, we find that the other more concrete aspects of this god, such as Ningirsu of Lagash, Nergal of Kutha, and Marduk of Babylon, were more intimately connected with the sun. Ningirsu and Ningišzida of Lagash, who in prehistoric times were nothing but special aspects of this god, became identified with the spring sun, that is the sun from the period of the winter solstice to the summer solstice. On the other hand, Nergal became the god of the sun from the summer solstice to the winter solstice. When the luminary began to turn back toward the equator he, like Tammuz, was supposed to begin a long journey into the lower world. We hear much nowadays from a school of Assyriologists, who speak of the sojourn of the sun in Hades. But it must be remembered that we have to do here with a religious fancy which applied to Shamash, the sun, the ideas current in regard to Tammuz. It seems to me certain that in Babylonian religion no god was really thought of as sojourning for an extended period in the lower world, or of being brought back from the sleep of death except Tammuz.

There is a legend that at Eridu, the city of the god of the sea in the extreme south of Babylonia, there grew a tree of healing¹ whose roots extended to the

¹ The *kiškanū* tree, *CT.* 16, 46, 183-204.

waters of Sheol.¹ By the waters in that land sat Tammuz and Shamash guarding the roots of the tree of healing. We have here a good example of the myth-making power of ancient peoples. Tammuz sojourning in Sheol has as his companion the sun god with whom he had been identified. We are only to understand in the rich religious imagery of the ancient mind that the sun passed the long winter nights in company with Tammuz. Still the legend shows that there was a tendency to connect the dying lord with the sun. A liturgy which probably belongs to a late period has the following lines :

‘When to the bosom of thy mother, to the bosom of
thy beloved thou risest,
When to thy mother, the queen of heaven, thou risest,
O my exalted, who is Shamash? thou art Shamash.
O exalted, who is Nannar? thou art Nannar.’²

Thus we see that in his resurrection Tammuz was compared to the rising of the sun and moon.³ As we have already seen, the return from Sheol is described as attended by increasing light in heaven and on earth. A liturgy of the classical period reads :

‘His sister stood forth and lamented.
To the sun god her consort she uttered a tale of
lament.
Innini, she who brings verdure in abundance.

¹ The legend states that the tree has the appearance of lazuli (*uknu*). From another passage (II R. 50, c. 12) we learn that the Babylonians knew of a legendary river called the ‘River of Tammuz’. The Sumerian name is *íd-šu-ba*, river *šu-ba*. *Šuba* as it is here written is often employed for the name of a precious stone. By putting the two passages together we infer that Tammuz dwelt in Sheol near a river which passed through rocks of glittering stones, and whose waters nourished the tree of healing. ² Langdon, *BL.* 63, 13-16.

³ Nannar is one of the names of the moon god.

“ O brother, the verdure where is it taken ?
 Who has taken, who has taken ?
 The plants who has taken ? ”

“ My sister that which is taken I restore to thee.
 Innini, that which is taken I restore to thee.”

“ O brother, the crushed, where are they gone ?
 Who has garnered, who has garnered ?
 The plants from me who has garnered ? ”

“ My sister, that which is garnered I will restore to
 thee.

Innini, that which is garnered, I will restore to thee.”

“ O brother, that which has been garnered, where
 is it transported ?

Whom shall I embrace, whom shall I embrace ?

Thee I would embrace, yea I would embrace.

Thee, my husband, I would embrace.

He that from the flood is risen I would embrace.

He whom the father in the holy chamber created,
 I would embrace.

Return, O lord, create the rising waters, O lord,
 create the rising waters.

O lord, my heart thou wilt make glad.

The spade labours not, and the granaries shall be
 heaped.”¹

Another legend apparently refers to a translation of Tammuz, to the court of heaven, the home of the father of the gods.² In this myth Tammuz and Ningišzida, who were, as we have seen, originally two forms of the same dying god, stand at the gates of heaven, whither came a mortal Adapa.³ We are told

¹ Selections from Langdon, *BL.* 99-103.

² Legend of Adapa. See Jensen, *Mythen und Epen*, p. 94, 20-7; Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, p. 73.

³ Sayce has defended the reading Adamu. A syllabar actually supports the reading *mu* for *PA*, but *pa* is the ordinary value of this sign. See Sayce, *Florilegium Melchior De Vogüé*, p. 544. My

that this mortal arrived at the gates of heaven clad in a mourner's garment because he wept for two gods who had vanished from earth. We are further told that Tammuz and his companion offered to this mortal bread and water which give eternal life, both of which he refused. The attempt to reach the gates of heaven and there to eat of the plant of life is told in another legend.¹ The ascension of the dying god into the far away upper regions, where he vanished for ever from mortal eyes, does not form any part of the doctrine of the official liturgies. These adhered from first to last to the traditional view that the divine son descended into Sheol whither his mother and the demons followed him, and whence they fetched him back to the upper world. But the doctrine of an ascension must have been widely taught from an early period.

We should expect that the Babylonians would regard Tammuz as the god who passed judgment on the souls of the dead. He it was who guarded the tree of life in the land where all the shades reposed. But the evidence for this doctrine is meagre. In any case not Tammuz, but the permanent lord of the land of the dead, Nergal, was the judge of those that died.

More important is the doctrine that held Tammuz to be a god of healing, and bestower of health. In this doctrine there seems to be no reference to immortality or deliverance from eternal sleep in Sheol.

objection to connecting the Biblical *Adam* with a Sumerian hypothetical *Adamu* is that the Hebrew אָדָם 'man' is apparently a good Semitic word, being connected with Arabic 'anām, Baby. *amēlu*.

¹ Legend of Etana, where Etana mounts to heaven on an eagle to obtain the 'plant of begetting', probably a legendary herb which procured children. See Jensen, *ibid.*, 100-115. Jastrow, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1910, published a fragment which restores considerable portions. See also Frank, *op. cit.*, 105-118.

The Babylonians had no such hope. In the case of two heroes we hear of efforts to attain unto immortality, but they failed; and we hear of the bread of life given by Tammuz, but no mortal save one had the opportunity to eat thereof, and he rejected it. The bread and water of life were partaken of only by the gods. When liturgies represent the people lamenting for their saviour or their healer, they have not those spiritual doctrines which these words convey in Christian doctrine. He is called the healer only in the sense that all life depended upon his sacrifice and especially upon his return from hell:

‘From the secret chamber he is gone away, he my healer.¹

From the secret chamber he is gone away, the lord of judgment.²

Alas! my Damu, my healer.’

The possessive pronoun refers here to the people or the priests who conduct the ritual and sing the doleful litanies.³

At a ritual for healing a sick man who was *in extremis* Tammuz is appealed to in the following prayer:

¹ *a-zu-mu.*

² It is doubtful and unlikely that this passage refers to a judgment of the dead. It refers, I think, to the rendering of decision upon a man's fate, as to whether he would live or die when attacked by disease. The same idea occurs in ‘Tammuz has pronounced my fate’, i. e. given me a good fate, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 9, 115, l. 31.

³ The passage is taken from Zimmern, *K.-L.* 26, ii. 15-17. In the same column, ll. 7 f., the same idea recurs:

‘The healer when fish are not eaten, repose, the healer repose.

The healer when vegetation is not eaten, repose, the healer repose.’

He is called ‘Lord the healer’, *SBP.* 307, Rev. 1.

'Tammuz lord, lord, shepherd of Heaven, son of Ea
thou art.

Husband of Ishtar the bride, leading goat of the
land.

Clothed in the girdle-band bearing the shepherd's
staff.

Creating the seed of cattle, lord of the stalls.

Eater of roasted cakes, baked cakes of the oven.

Drinking the holy waters of the pouch.

I some one, son of some one, whose god is such an
one, whose goddess is such an one, turn to thee,
I seek thee.

~~The evil spy, the adversary,~~

~~Who with me is bound~~ and stands against me for
evil,

Yea, the evil spy, the adversary, who with me is
bound,

Unto the mighty Humba demon foreboding consign
him.

From me may he be detached. Grant me the
breath of life.

And from my body remove him; take him with
thee.

I thy servant would live, and prosper to sing thy
praise.

For an omen of days of life thee I seek.

Thy greatness I will glorify, thy praise I will sing.'¹

Tammuz here appears once more as the deity who eats the consecrated bread and drinks the holy waters, and he is implored to cast out devils. But this rôle of the dying god as a healer and one who has power over evil demons must not be unduly emphasized. Every deity, male or female, possessed this power so that

¹ Bu. 83, 1, 18, 2348, published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1909, Plate VI, by Dr. Pinches; duplicate of Craig, *Religious Texts*, p. 16, cols. II and III. See Zimmern in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 25, 195.

this attribute of healing is not confined to Tammuz.¹ Yet the figure of Tammuz, a divine shepherd with his staff, he who died and was translated to heaven, must have been prominent among those gods who were regarded as divine healers. He is further referred to in a ritual of healing where he carries a double axe. The double axe is a fairly well-known symbol in religious scenes, and in our illustration (A) will be seen a deity (?) carrying a double hatchet, see Pl. I, No. 4.² As a healer he is usually referred to by the title Damu. In the liturgies and in the theological lists³ there seems

¹ From the reference in line 6 of the passage above (*šatú mē nádu kuddušáti*) it is tempting to connect Tammuz with a figure which occurs on seal cylinders. For example, in the scene depicted in Pl. I, No. 5 (B), the person who stands behind the suppliant who offers a goat to Innini (?) carries in his left hand a pail with handle, and in his right a horn-shaped cup. Of course the pail cannot be a leather water-bottle (*nádu*, 𐎠𐎢𐎩), but the figure suggests a half-mortal being who offers in a cup a liquid of some sort which he carries in a vessel. See further for the same figure, Menant, *Glyptique*, 147; Delaporte, *Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux*, nos. 137, 174, 234.

² See also Delaporte, 449, two minor deities, possibly Tammuz and Ningišzida, who join hands; one of them carries an axe. For the double axe as a detached symbol see Delaporte, nos. 10 and 62. The ritual referred to is *CT.* 17, 33, Rev. 32.

³ The tablets which give the titles of Tammuz are badly broken, so that we are unable to read many of the names, most of which are known from the liturgies. The fragments are K. 11035 [*CT.* 24, 9], K. 4338 B [*CT.* 24, 19], and K. 7663 + 11035 [*CT.* 25, 7]. These have been put together by Zimmern, *Tamūz*, p. 7, note 1. Among the names found in this list is *d. ama-ga*, 'Mother-Milk', a name difficult to interpret. Perhaps god who supplies mother's milk? or god who is nourished by mother's milk? or he is himself regarded as feminine and called 'nursing mother' (?). *d. zu-lum-ma* is restored from Manchester Text, I. 9. The name is a phonetic rendering of *d. KA-lum-mar*, a title of the god Ea, *CT.* 25, 33, 16, and means 'god of dates' (*suluppu*). The title may refer to Ea as the deity of the tree of life which may have been figured as a date-

to have been an increasing tendency to transfer the vanished god to the heavens above rather than to the regions of darkness below. None of our sources refer to an ascension, and the idea of a celestial paradise in the far away skies where only immortals lived, or mortals who had partaken of the bread of life, does not appear to have had a firm hold in popular religion. But many things transpired to encourage this belief. As we have seen, the theologians taught that all things emanated from the first principle *An* or heaven. And they constructed a perfectly intelligible trinity by regarding mother earth as the first emanation, a virgin mother of the youthful god who is the offspring of earth's productive power. This theory naturally encouraged the belief that the son had returned to father Anu in the most distant heavens. Another thing transpired to encourage this belief, and that was the tendency to identify the deities with the stars. Plausible reasons exist for identifying Tammuz and his companion Ningišzida with the two largest stars of the constellation Gemini, viz. Castor and Pollux.¹ As we have

palm. Such a title would be easily attached to Tammuz, who is therefore a god of the date-palm. Another title is *d. niba-alam*, 'image of Ea', which again shows his intimate connexion with the god of fresh water. Five names end in *anna*, 'heaven'. Of these only two can be read, viz. *d. ama-ušumgal-anna* and *d. sib-zi-anna*, both of which are discussed in this volume; see the Index.

¹ A tablet from Boghazköi published in transcription by Alfred Jeremias, *Das Alter der babylonischen Astronomie*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 33, mentions the stars of Tammuz and Ningišzida, followed almost immediately by the stars Sibzianna and Kaksidi. Kaksidi is probably α of Orion. In the celestial map $\alpha\beta$ Gemini (i. e. Castor and Pollux) immediately precede α Orionis and $\lambda\zeta$ Geminorum, in order of heliac rising. In II R. 49e, 10 the star of Tammuz is said to be green-yellow *arku*; whether this correctly describes Castor or Pollux in the Assyrian period I am unable to say. Zimmern, *Tamūz*, p. 38, has

seen, these are the two gods who guard the portals of heaven. Perhaps the Babylonians located the gateway of heaven in the constellation of the Gemini, and placed the translated god Tammuz at this gate.

We have passed in review the principal features of this cult and determined the religious ideas in which it originated. I should like to return to one theme which is of more than ordinary importance. The Babylonians regarded this resurrected god as one who restores animal and plant life, and as one who bestows health of body and old age. After his translation, he it is who possesses the elements which ensure immortality such as the gods themselves possessed. The question naturally arises, did the Babylonians cherish the hope of being received by Tammuz either in Sheol or at the gates of heaven, and receiving the elements of eternal life? We know that the orthodox and popular view with them, as with Greeks, was that no mortal escaped from everlasting sleep in the land of no return. Kings and heroes and all virtuous men could expect no other lot in Sheol. The best of all gifts of the gods was peace in this life, male descendants and a ripe old age. Babylonian literature repeats this view with wearisome monotony. But fortunately we now possess considerable of their wisdom literature. Here we have the work of men whose views were not so hampered by orthodoxy, since their teachings were not written to be repeated in the temples. This wisdom literature shows an increasing scepticism con-

pointed out that a star *Damu* rises in the month Šabātu. This star is probably identical with that called Gula, which on another astrolabe governs Šabātu, see Kugler, *ibid.*, p. 229 II and *CT.* 26, 44, Rev. X. Gula is the ordinary name of Aquarius.

cerning the value of this life.¹ Now it is probable that in the midst of so much pessimistic teaching there should have sprung up a doctrine of final escape from mortality.

Two heroes are said to have ascended to the gates of heaven, Adapa and Etana, both of whom failed to obtain immortality. Another, Utu-napištim and his wife, only survivors of the deluge, were translated to an island beyond the western horizon, where by command of the gods they enjoyed everlasting life. But the strongest evidence that this idea passionately obsessed the Babylonian mind is the well-known epic of Gilgamiš. In this epic we are told of a deified king of Erech whose chiefest ambition was to escape the terrors of Sheol as Utu-napištim had done. For this purpose he journeyed beyond the western horizon, crossed the waters of death, and came to the island of Utu-napištim. But only the gods could bestow this incomparable gift. The hero returns with a herb which, like that for which Etana mounted unto heaven, would at least ensure perpetual youth, and of this he is robbed by a serpent.

We have in these legends a universal hope always defeated by the orthodox view. A certain plant, the Babylonian tree of life, gave perpetual youth, but no mortal really succeeded in eating thereof. The gods could give the bread and water which bestowed divine

¹ Babylonian wisdom literature—consists of the following principal works: (1) The Babylonian Job; the first complete critical edition was given by François Martin, *Journal Asiatique*, 1910, July–August. A sound treatise is *Eine Babylonische Quelle für das Buch Job*, by Simon Landersdorfer, Freiburg i. B., 1911. For other literature see Rogers, op. cit., 164. (2) Babylonian Proverbs, edited by Langdon, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, 1912, 217–43. (3) A didactic poem, put together from fragments by Zimmern, for which see Rogers, op. cit., 175.

life, but none received this boon. Now it is most curious that this ancient king of Erech is sometimes identified with Tammuz.¹ It is at first sight altogether unreasonable to identify a mortal with one who had been translated and was clearly regarded as having attained immortality. But we are reminded that the Babylonian hero was a prehistoric king of Erech, where Tammuz was chiefly worshipped. And we are further reminded of that cruel custom of Sidon and Carthage, where the city king played the rôle of the dying god. We have also seen that at Isin, the capital of the last great pre-Babylonian dynasty, several of their deified kings appear as Tammuz. Gilgamiš, therefore, is a survival of that prehistoric custom in which a mortal imitated the god of nature, and died for his people. According to the inexorable orthodox view not even he attained immortality.

It is to the credit of that high culture which Sumer and Accad produced that theological ideas personified in a dying god replaced the crass worship in which a mortal was put to death. We may also surmise that there existed a firm belief that this mortal, like

¹ The name Gilgamiš consists originally of *d. gi-bil-aga-miš*, and means 'The god Gibil is commander'. The king appears as a deified god to whom offerings are made in a very early text, Allotte de la Fuye, *Documents Pré-Sargoniques*, Paris, 1909, no. 54, col. X, where the name is spelled *d. gi-bil-aga-miš*. The sign here read *aga* is resolved generally into *Brünnow* 6945, but also into *Brünnow* 11900. Later the element *Gibil* was written simply with the sign *Giš* and *aga* with *Br.* 11900, while *miš* becomes *maš*. The word became *Gilgamiš* by ordinary phonetic laws. See *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vi. 124. Absolutely false is the statement of Schneider, *Leipziger Semitische Studien*, v, Part I, p. 44 *et passim*, that *Giš* is the oldest form of the name. For Gilgamiš as a form of Tammuz, see Langdon, *BL.*, p. 20, Rev. 3, and *Revue d'Assyriologie*, ix. 115, col. III, 1.

Tammuz, really attained heaven at last. Our sources have come to us from the priestly schools, and they of necessity present the traditional view. There is abundant evidence that this hope occupied a prominent place toward the end of the Babylonian empire, and in certain quarters may have become a positive belief.

CHAPTER II

THE MOTHER GODDESS

IN Babylonian religion the earth goddess appears in three aspects in her relation to the dying god. As in the Semitic, Phrygian, and Hittite cults she was here regarded as the mother and wife of Tammuz, and as in the Egyptian cult she was also regarded as his sister and wife. We have here at the very beginning of historical Sumerian religion a strange mixture of principles which probably arose from a mixture of the Sumerian and Semitic cults.¹ By disengaging the blended cultures and influences which resulted in a composite cult, we may be able to reconstruct the origin of this religious phenomenon in remote antiquity. We have already observed that the Sumerian people were not an indigenous race in Babylonia. They probably descended into the rich valley of the Tigris and Euphrates millenniums before we have any historical records, and they came from some highland of central Asia where the vine and the cedar flourished. We may not be venturesome if we believe that this people who called themselves the 'dark headed people', moved into lower Mesopotamia before 6000 B. C. It is extremely probable that they established the first

¹ For an attempt to explain this confusion see my article, 'The Sister of Tammuz', *Babyloniaca*, vol. vii, Part I. If the earth goddess as mother of Tammuz be an aspect adopted by the Sumerians from the Semites, then Semitic influence in Babylonia must go back to a very early date.

organized society in that region. The strongest argument for assuming that the Semites had not yet arrived will be based upon the derivation and character of the goddess Ninā.

The nourishing life of earth, warmed by the sunshine, refreshed by the rains, furnished the prehistoric Sumerians of central Asia with their first god. And this deity who fostered all life was conceived of as a mother, unbegotten, genderless, producing animal and vegetable life as a virgin. But primitive peoples do not think in abstract terms, nor do they produce ideas as abstract principles. They conceived the earth goddess under that form of life with which they were most familiar. In the case of this people the grape vine appears to have been the plant which appealed to them as most efficiently manifesting the power of the great mother. Hence they called this goddess 'Mother Vine-Stalk',¹ or simply 'Goddess Vine-Stalk'.² But the theologians regarded earth as the emanation of Anu, or heaven, and earth then became in a theological sense the female principle corresponding to the first male principle Anu. As the personification of the productive powers of earth the goddess of the vine, *Geštin*, became the female principle, or in a more concrete sense the consort of the god of heaven. Her name was then changed to *Geštin-anna*,³ vine-stalk of heaven, a term which was understood to mean, 'heavenly mother goddess of the vine'. To gain a clear idea of

¹ *d. ama-geštin*. This form is found in Urukagina, *Clay Tablet*, Rev. II. 1 and 3, where a temple of Mother Vine-Stalk is mentioned at Lagash. In a liturgy of the period of the first dynasty, Scheil, *Tammuz*, ii. 20 (*ama-^{d.} mu-tin-na*), and *SBP.* 312, 23.

² *d. geštin*, ordinarily found in the dialectic form *d. mu-tin* or *mu-ti*.

³ By far the most common name of this goddess. The dialectic form is *mu-tin-an-na*.

this important advance in the ancient religious system, the theological import of the word *anna* must be fully understood. The priestly schools attached this element to a large number of names to indicate that the god to whose name *anna* was attached represented an emanation of the first principle, heaven.¹

In the primitive Sumerian system of which we are speaking, the god Tammuz or Ab-ú was regarded as the brother of the mother goddess, not as her son. Here we have the Egyptian view in which the dying god is the husband of his sister. In this primitive age the god of vegetation appears to have been held to be the son of another mother goddess, Gula or Bau.² But any attempt to reduce the fluctuating and vague genealogies of the pantheon to a logical system would be futile. We shall proceed with our investigation, departing from the certain prehistoric situation, namely, that the Sumerian people brought with them to the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates the worship of Geštinanna and her brother Tammuz. We have already seen that, when this people observed how life in their new home depended upon the rise and fall of the two rivers, they straightway changed the character of the young god. He became a god of the fertilizing waters, and the schools placed him in the pantheon of Eridu, where the god of the sea was chiefly worshipped. The primitive goddess of the highlands, Geštinanna, now appears as the goddess Ninā, a name

¹ The vine-goddess is probably much older than the corn-goddess Nisaba, but they are closely related, and both were identified with Virgo the constellation, which represents the goddess with an ear of corn. The astral identification of course goes hand in hand with the theological addition of *anna* to the name *geštin*. See Chapter IV.

² Compare *SBP*. 156, 38.

which means 'Queen of the waters'.¹ In the theological system Ninā became the sister of Ningirsu, 'lord of the freshets', a type of Tammuz worshipped at Lagash.² Here a part of the city was called Ninā, being the quarter in which her temple was located. Like Tammuz, the sister Ninā belongs to the pantheon of Eridu, where she is said to have been born.³ Connected with her supremacy over canals and irrigation is a tendency to regard her as a patroness of sheep and cattle.⁴ Her rôle as goddess of sacred song⁵ is of course due to her identity with the virgin mother, whose sorrows formed the principal subject of sacred music.⁶ We should have expected this type of the goddess to have developed particular powers of incantation through her connexion with water and the cult of Eridu. This may have been one of her functions in the early period, for she frequently has the title *nin-en, nin-en-na-ge*, 'lady of incantation'.⁷ But she must have lost this attribute at an early period, for Marduk, a later deity of the cult of Eridu, became almost exclusively the deity of incantation by water. Only

¹ *Ni-na-a* for *nin-a-a*. This deity is ordinarily written with the ideogram which means 'goddess of the fish house'. Note that Ur-Ninā dedicates a canal to Ninā, *SAK.* 2 a.

² For Ninā as sister of Ningirsu see Thureau-Dangin, *Die Sumerische und Akkadische Königsinschriften*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 90, col. II, 16.

³ *Ibid.* and *Cuneiform Texts*, 16, 13, 38.

⁴ Gudea, *Cyl. B.* 4, 7-9.

⁵ *Ibid.* l. 6.

⁶ See p. 54.

⁷ See *SAK.* 263 for references. Hommel, *Die Schwur-Göttin Esch-ghana*, 51, renders *en* by 'Feldfrucht', which is not warranted. See previously to Hommel for *en* my *Sum. Gr.* 213. She often has the title *nin-in-dubba*, which is uncertain, see *Sum. Gr.*, § 150 b, *SAK.* 142 v) i. 3. Hommel without question renders 'Herrin der Getreideaufschüttung'.

Nisaba, the type of virgin goddess connected with grain, retained her powers over incantation.

Although we may not see our way to accepting Hommel's suggestion that the Sumerians always pronounced her name not *Ninā*, but *Eš-ḥan-na*, out of which arose the name *Išharra*, *Išhara*, yet he has proven that the two deities are identical.¹ *Iš-ḥa-ra* appears first in the period of Ur, about the time that the old ideogram ^a *EŠ* + *HA* begins to disappear. She is pre-eminently the scorpion deity. Now *Ninā* is connected with a scorpion on a seal of the period of Dungi,² and with water crustacea, such as crabs, lobsters, &c., in the only theological list where her name occurs.³ Her Semitic astral title *namaššū*, 'water crustacea', gave rise to an artificial Sumerian name of a constellation *numuš-da*, identified with Adad, god of rain,⁴ and has been identified by me with Pisces Austrini or the southern sign of the fish, since an astronomical text states that it rose and set with the sign of Pisces. The name *Numušda* must have been devised by the Semites at an early period, for the western storm and rain god Adad, for it occurs in the name of a person

¹ See on *Išhara*, Index.

² Hommel, op. cit., 60, after Pinches. *AB* has not *HA* written within, but no other reading than *Ninā* is possible. Note also the writing *HA-IS-ra* in Legrain, *Le Temps des Rois d'Ur*, 344, 20.

³ *CT.* 29, 46, 25, the sign ^a *AB* + *HA* has the Semitic gloss *na-maš-še*, and Hommel, *Die Schwur-Göttin Esch-ghana*, p. 54, compares *nammašti akṛabi*, III R. 52 a, 2 = Thompson, *Reports*, 200, where *akṛabu*, 'scorpion', is in apposition with *nammaštu*, 'a creeping thing, a scorpion'. *Namaššū* has been connected by Barth, *ZA.* 3, 57 with 𐎢𐎣 , which at least in Ps. civ. 25 is employed for water animals. The original meaning of both 𐎢𐎣 and *namaššū* is probably water crustacea, but employed in Assyrian as in Hebrew for all kinds of creeping animals.

⁴ *CT.* 33, 3, 27; Brünnow, 2008.

Gimil-Numušda on the Obelisk of Maništusu,¹ and often in proper names of the Ur and Babylonian dynasties.² In a contract from an unknown locality where he was worshipped the oath was taken by the god *Nu-muš-da* and the king Hammurapi.³ Ninā or Išhara was therefore a water deity identified at an early date with the constellation Scorpio. For this reason her brother Ningirsu, also a water deity, was identified with one of the stars of Scorpio.⁴

Hommel is, I believe, correct in assuming that the ideogram for Ninā was also pronounced *éš-ḥa*, but the form *éš-ḥa-na* probably arose by adding *an* 'heaven' to *esḥa*, as in the case of *Geštin*, *Ušumgal*, and many other deities who had been identified with stars. The evidence for the pronunciation Ninā is too strong to be rejected, and if Nanā be a corruption of Ninā the evidence is conclusive. The Sumerians pronounced her name both ways, viz. Nin-ā, 'lady of waters', which survived as Nanā, and *Ešḥa*, 'goddess of the fish house', i. e. the sea; after the identification with Scorpio she became *Išḥana*, 'Heavenly goddess of the fish house', a word which survived as Išhara.⁵ Hommel rejects the old name Ninā entirely, and we

¹ Face D, X, 11.

² See Huber, *Personennamen*, 179; Ranke, *Personal Names*, 205; Hrozný, *Revue Sémitique*, 1908; Ninib und Sumer, p. 9.

³ Thureau-Dangin, *Contrats*, 81, 16. A date formula of Dungi, *OBI*. 125, 8, has *Nu-KU-muš-da* of Kazallu-ki. The form of the sign *KU* requires the reading *tug*. If this name be a more correct form of *Numušda*, then the title is Sumerian and is not devised from Semitic *namaššū*. In any case the name, granting that it be Sumerian, means 'water crustacea'. For *Kazallu* see *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 9, 121, a city of Akkad east of Babylon.

⁴ *CT*. 33, 3, 21 *mul en-te-na-maš-lum*, γ in Scorpio, Kugler, i. 253.

⁵ For *išḥana* > *išhara* cf. *Sum. Gr.*, § 47; also Innini > Irnini.

have no direct phonetic evidence to settle the matter. In any case Išhara is a water deity, even in her astral form, since the constellation Scorpio is called 'Išhara of the sea',¹ and in the chapter on the ophidian deities we shall find her connected with the python of the sea. Ninā-Išhara is, therefore, a type of mother goddess connected not only with fresh water but with the ocean as well.

It is probable that *Ninā* gave rise to the name *Nanā*, who is on this assumption ultimately identical with Išhara, but a divergence in pronouncing the name gave rise to a distinction in attributes. Under the name Išhara the Sumerians retained the ophidian aspects of the old water goddess, and under the name *Nanā* they retained her as a patroness of flocks and irrigation. At any rate in the period of the dynasty of Ur, Išhara and *Na-na-a* are distinct deities.² The name which appears more often is *Nanā*,³ and she became under this title one of the most important of the deities.⁴ She remains a virgin goddess to the

¹ *Iš-ḫa-ra ti-amāt*, *CT.* 26, 42 a, 10, and *iš-ḫa-ra tam-tim*, *Rev. V.* 46 a, 31.

² Legrain, 282, mentions in order *d. Išhara u d. Bēlatnagu(d)*, *Annunitum*, *d. Na-na-a*.

³ The word *ninā* was reduced to *nanā* by vowel harmony. Sayce, in his *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 116, identified the two names, and there can be little doubt that this brilliant suggestion must be generally adopted.

⁴ The theological list, *SBP.* 162, 23, calls her the queen of *ni-nā-a-(ki)*, i. e. of the city Ninā. *Nanā* was often confused with Innini (Semitic Ištār); although they were originally types of the same deity, i. e. the mother goddess, yet the two are ordinarily held apart. Thus in the *Maḫlū* series, v. 59, we have Ištār, Tammuz, and *Na-na-a*. She appears to have been worshipped at Barsippa, for her connexion with Nebo and Tašmet is often mentioned, see *SBP.* 210, 11; 258, 20; 114, 31; 106, 13, and Langdon, *Neu-babylonische Königs-*

end, but her connexion with Tammuz was completely lost. Likewise she appears to have been severed from the cult of Ningirsu at Lagash at the end of the Sumerian domination, and to have been worshipped at Barsippa. At the latter place Nebo, who is also a Tammuz or 'son' type, became a renowned god. But he does not appear as the brother and lover of Nanā at Barsippa. Ninā or Nanā, originally the sister of Tammuz, is thus an indistinct figure in the pantheon.¹ But she is truly the most beautiful figure of a virgin goddess in the history of Babylonian religion. We should, however, be compelled to travel too far afield if we follow the history of this deity after she lost connexion with the Tammuz cult. The sister type, whose name persisted in this cult, was the more ancient Geštinanna, and to her we shall now return.

The addition of the element *anna* to the name Geštin did not satisfy the powerful theological tendencies which sought to reduce the Sumerian religion to a logical system. Before we have any records of the names of the gods, this goddess appears to have been given the abstract epithet, 'queen of heaven', or more accurately, 'heavenly queen', Nin-anna, a word which soon became Innini, and in many variant spellings² became the name *κατ' ἐξοχήν* for mother earth.³ As in

inschriften, Leipzig, 1911, p. 93, 23 and 34; 160, 19; *Shurpu*, ii. 156, &c. She is clearly held apart from Innini in the official lists of prayers, IV Rawlinson, 53 c, 28.

¹ She appears in a list of gods with Ea and the river goddess, *CT.* 29, 46, 25.

² The original *nin-an-na* occurs in *CT.* 25, 30, Rev. 16. The variants are many, *innina*, *ninina*, *innana*, *ennim*, and simply *nin*; by change of *n* to *r* arose a form *irnini*.

³ Here again it is difficult to decide whether the mother goddess does not owe her title *Ninanna*, *Innini*, &c., to her identification with Venus. The official list took this view, *CT.* 25, 30, Rev. 16.

the case of the name Ninā, there now arose a tendency to regard these names as connoting two deities. In fact a considerable portion of the pantheon was derived by erecting a new name into a separate deity. In this case a new circumstance arose to hasten the development of a new identity. The Sumerians of the prehistoric period probably had these four names for the sister of Tammuz, viz. Geštin-anna, Ešharra, Ninā, and Innini. We have seen how Ninā and Ešharra became severed from this cult. At a time almost prehistoric the Semites invaded Mesopotamia, bringing with them the cult of Byblus. In Semitic religion the mother goddess is invariably the mother of the youthful god, not the sister. This situation contributed to bring about a composite cult in which mother earth becomes two identities, sister and mother, both being the beloved of Tammuz. The sister of Tammuz retained the ancient name Geštinanna, whereas the Semitic goddess took over the name Innini.¹ It is true that in very early times the old Semitic name Aštar occurs, but the first proceeding seems to have been to neglect the Semitic name and employ the pure Sumerian theological name. In the evolution of the cult the mother-type, Innini-Aštar or Ishtar, completely overshadows the sister Geštinanna. The latter became an indistinct figure and is often confused with Innini, so that Innini is frequently addressed both as sister and mother. We must not look for logic here. The

¹ The Sumerians, however, never forgot that Geštinanna represents the real consort of Tammuz. Note, for example, a list of offerings to various gods in Genouillac, *Tablettes de Drehem*, 5482, where Nanā, Innini, and Annunitum occur entirely disassociated with the group Tammuz and Geštinanna and Ab-ú, Tammuz and Geštinanna; see also 5514.

liturgies themselves reveal now two figures, now one, wailing for the departed lord :

‘ My king thou art, thou who wast hurried away,
 cruelly hurried away.
 Tammuz art thou, thou who wast hurried away,
 cruelly hurried away.
 Consort of Innini, son of Širtur, who wast cruelly
 taken away.
 Youth, brother of the mother Geštinanna, who wast
 cruelly taken away.’¹

Here the wailers undoubtedly have two goddesses in mind, as in the following passage :

‘ His mother wailing begins the lamentation for him.
 Wailing and sobbing she begins to lament for him.
 She wanders bringing a burden of tears.
 She sits and puts her hand upon her heart.
 She wails, her sorrow is bitter.
 She laments, her lament is bitter.
 His sister who went up from the sheepfolds,
 Geštinanna the sister of the lord who went up from
 the sheepfolds,
 To her the watchman, the *gallu*-demon, opponent
 terrible,
 Even to the mother Geštinanna spoke :
 “ How long shall men weep for thy brother ?
 How long shall men bewail Tammuz ? ”’²

Even more explicit is the following liturgy :

‘ That was a day of plenty, a night of abundance,
 A month of joy, a year of gladness,
 When to rejoice the heart of the shepherd,
 In going to his house of resting to make glad his
 mood,
 To make the sacred sheepfolds shine like day,

¹ Scheil, *Tammuz*, Obv. II. 17-20.

² *SBP*. 313, 14-25.

Unto the shepherd Tammuz whose pure heart is of
heaven,¹

The queen of heaven, the queen of heaven and earth,
Cried aloud, she the prophetess of Kua,
To Ama-ušum-gal-anna² said,

Him her spouse: "Unto the waste place³ I will go.
Concerning my vast herding-stall I will inquire.

For my sacred sheepfolds I will implore.

As for the children, their food I will restore.

As for the sweet waters, their destiny I will ask for."

His spouse he comforted,

His counsel he gave unto her.

His spouse unto peace he restored.

The sacred queen of heaven; she of Eturkalamma,⁴

Returned; wailing she instituted.

The virgin queen of heaven sits as one in darkness.

Then unto the shepherd, unto the plain (of Arallu)
went forth (another).

"As for me, unto Tammuz in the house of resting
I will go."

His sister, queen of the recording tablets,

In heaven and earth wandered,

Even in the sacred sheepfolds where the sheep are
fallen.

For the shepherd his sister in the earth where he
has been humiliated,

To bring him back to life, for the shepherd to bring
him back to life,

His sister, she that knows to appease with song, to
bring him back to life,

The house of the sheepfolds, filled with abun-
dance.⁵

¹ *Šag azag-ga-na an-nim*. We have here again the element *an* or *an-nim*, 'heaven'. The phrase means that Tammuz is sprung from the father of the gods. I cannot accept Witzel's version *RA*. x. 158.

² A title of Tammuz, see Index.

³ i. e. the lower world.

⁴ A temple of Innini in a quarter of Erech.

⁵ *SBP*. 329, 1-30.

On the other hand, the two figures fall together into a single identity in the following passage :

‘ My sister, thou art my mother.’

‘ O brother fruit of my eyes, lifting up of my eyes,

Who is thy sister ? I am thy sister.

Who is thy mother ? I am thy mother.

In the sunrise when thou risest, rise !

At the dawn when thou appearest, appear.’

‘ The queen of Eanna who cries, “ Alas ! my husband, alas ! my son ”.’¹

It is probable that the double character of the mother goddess persisted in Babylonia,² for the official pantheon³ recognizes both Geštinanna and Innini in connexion with Tammuz.⁴ Another official list recognizes Innini as the spouse of Tammuz, and recognizes the sister type in three other passages. In the liturgies, however, there is a pronounced tendency to assign to Innini the characteristics of all the types, and in the

¹ Zimmern, *Kullieder*, 27, Rev. II; Reisner, *SBH*. 102, 30.

² The theory suggested above that the mother type is due to Semitic influence is wholly uncertain and has been put forward as an explanation only.

³ II Rawlinson, 59, Rev. 7-12.

⁴ *Nanā* also appears in this list, but only at the end of the titles of Innini, so that the theologians themselves evidently considered her a form of Innini. Also the official list in *SBP*. 150-63 recognizes Innini and Tammuz, Obv. 19 f., and Ninā and Tammuz, Rev. 23 f., whereas Gaštinna (i. e. *Geštin*) appears as consort of *Patendug*, ‘ lord of sacrifices’, Obv. 156, 46 f. Cf. *CT*. 24, 10, 22^d. *pa-geštin-dug(du)*. This latter title of Tammuz as a god to whom offerings are made occurs only here. Tammuz occurs once again in the same list as Damu of the floods, where his consort is named Gunura, probably a type of Ninā, since Gunura is the daughter of Ea, *SBH*. 93, 6. She is called ‘ sister of Damu ’ in Zimmern, *Kullieder*, 26, ii. 13.

following exposition of the mother goddess she is the identity which will occupy our attention.

The worship of this goddess from the earliest period centred at Erech, modern Warka, a city in the extreme south of Mesopotamia on the eastern bank of the Euphrates.¹ The epic of Gilgamesh relates that this city was founded by Gilgamesh, who as we have seen, was a deified king and identified with Tammuz. We may surmise that this city became the centre for the cult of Innini and Tammuz, because its ancient king had acted in the capacity of the dying god. The city bore also the poetical name of 'Erech of the sheepfolds',² and one of the principal temples of the goddess of Erech was called 'Sheepfold of the Land'.³ Erech of the sheepfolds, or the 'great abode of the sheepfolds', is probably derived from the ancient cult of wailing for the famishing flocks on the plains of the Euphrates. The liturgy which I quoted above⁴ shows how closely the goddess and her son were connected with flocks⁵ and pastures. In another liturgy Innini wails :

'When he slumbers, the sheep and lambs slumber also.

When he slumbers, the she-goats and the kids slumber also.

¹ See Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 221-3; Johns, in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 1330; Muss-Arnolt, *Lexicon*, p. 996. The topography of this city cannot be determined, but much may be expected from the German excavations which are now proceeding at Warka.

² *Uruk supuri*. Note also the title 'queen of the sheepfolds' (*kašan amasigi*), Manchester, III. 20.

³ Eturkalama; see Langdon, *BL*. 93, 8 and *SBP*. 166, n. 2.

⁴ Page 52.

⁵ Tammuz was identified with the constellation of the Ram or Aries.

To the abode of the honoured one I set my thoughts.
 "O hero, my lord, alas for me", I cry.
 "Food I eat not", I cry.
 "Water I drink not", I cry.
 "O my good maidens, and my good husbandmen,
 The lord, the honoured, unto the nether world has
 taken his way".¹

Another line expresses more clearly this ancient character of Innini as patroness of the pastures and flocks:

'The young cattle of the stalls I give to drink.'
 'In the nests the feeble ones I give to eat.'²

We have probably to do here with a mother goddess, who, in prehistoric times, was represented as a wild cow or some similar animal with horns. In fact this primitive character shows itself in the line:

'Wild cow who shatters the regions.'³

A liturgical series employed in the official temple services was called, 'The cow wailed and in her place lay down'.⁴ The symbol of Ishtar as a cow is employed in the well-known passage describing Ashurbanipal as her child:

¹ *SBP.* 319, 16-25.

² *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 9, 9, Obv. 4 f.; Langdon, *BL.* 74, 2 f. An obscure passage in Thureau-Dangin, op. cit., 104, col. XIV, 24-6, refers to Innini as patroness of cattle.

³ *Rimtu munakkipat kibrāti*, Craig, *Religious Texts*, 15, 7. See also Reisner, *SBH.* 107, Rev. 18.

⁴ This series of the Ištar litanies was known as *nimal gudedē*. Tablet 1 of this series has been edited in my *Babylonian Liturgies*, No. 71, pp. 42 ff., and tablet 2, *ibid.*, no. 175, pp. 72 ff. See also for tablets 2 and 3 *SBP.*, no. 3.

'A little one thou art, O Ashurbanipal, whom I¹
 confided to the goddess, queen of Nineveh.
 Weak wast thou, Ashurbanipal, when I satiated thee
 on the lap of the queen of Nineveh.
 Of the four teats which were put to thy mouth, two
 thou didst suck and with two thou didst cover
 thy face.'²

In an incantation for a king he is addressed as the young bull born of a sacred cow, a reference to his divine descent from the mother goddess.³ She is, moreover, called the 'horned' Ishtar, being one of her names as the planet Venus.⁴ It has been suggested that the horned Ishtar was derived from the appearance of Venus, which astronomers describe as having two small horns, and as giving the appearance of a crescent.⁵ Even though we concede the possibility of discovering the horns of Venus with the naked eye, it is uncontested that the Sumerian deities were sooner or later connected with various animals. Innini is the patroness of flocks from the earliest period.⁶ For her activity in this regard the following passage is explicit:

¹ Nebo.

² Craig, *RT*, 6, Rev. 6-8; Martin, *Textes Religieux*, Paris, 1903, p. 29.

³ See Langdon, *Sumerian Grammar*, 194, 53. Note also that Ninlil, who is also a mother-type, is called 'The great cow, mother Ninlil', *SBP*, 84, 17.

⁴ *Si-mä-a*, *CT*, 25, 31, 12.

⁵ Pinches, *PSBA*, 1909, 23; Offord, *ibid.*, 1899, 173 f.

⁶ Whether the Babylonian horned Ištar has any connexion with the name of a site in Canaan mentioned in Gen. xiv. 5, 'Aštērōth Karnaïm, I venture no opinion. Following G. F. Moore, there is now a tendency to regard this 'Aštērōth of the two horns as meaning 'Aštērōth of the double-peaked mountain. The Babylonian evidence is against this. We have probably here a reference to a Semitic Ištar conceived of as a wild cow, or as Venus.

‘O heroic Ishtar, creatress of peoples,
 She that passes before the cattle, who loves the
 shepherd,
 She is the shepherdess of all lands.
 They are content and before thee bow down and
 seek thee.’¹

As a goddess of vegetation, which she must have been in prehistoric times, Innini appears to have been superseded by special deities, such as Ašnan and Nisaba, goddesses of grain. Moreover, the fact that she had been severed from the ancient goddess of the vine *Geštin*,² tended to restrain the theologians from restoring to her this lost attribute. She must also have enjoyed the rôle of patroness of streams and canals, a sphere usurped by her sister Ninā. Of this aspect we have but faint remains :

‘Without thee no stream is opened, no stream is
 closed,
 Which brings life. Without thee no canal is opened,
 No canal is closed which gives the wide-dwelling
 peoples to drink.’³

We restore a passage in a prayer to Ishtar as follows :

‘Thou that rulest over springs and mountains and
 seas.’⁴

¹ Craig, *Religious Texts*, 15, 10-13.

² This divinity survived only as the sister of Tammuz, the position of consort being exclusively reserved for the mother Innini. Consequently *Geštinanna* is called the ‘heavenly sister-in-law’ of Innini, *é-rib an-na (marti emi)*, *SBP*. 154, 23; cf. Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, 64, ii. 5, and Meissner, *Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme*, 4179.

³ Craig, *RT*. 15, 15-17. Perhaps the obscure passage in Haupt, *ASKT*. 127, 37, where Innini washes her head at a fountain in the island Dilmun (in the Persian Gulf), refers to her as a water deity.

⁴ King, *Magic*, no. 32, 9 [*mušteširat?*] *naḫbē šadé u tamāti*.

A few obscure passages apparently refer to an ancient ceremony of drowning the goddess in the water, precisely as Tammuz himself was taken away to the underworld:

'Care-taker of the low-lands in a sunken boat thou art.'¹

'She that collects the fish of the pools in a *hunter's boat* thou art.'²

'The queen in the crescent-shaped boat mounted.
The divine mother of the sheepfolds who in the
crescent-shaped boat rode,
A cry in heaven arose, a cry in earth arose,
. the great *gallū*-demon on the river trans-
ported her.

In Ur wailing broke forth.

"Thy house is darkened, thy house is darkened, in
the city dark is thy house.

In the abode of Ur dark is thy house, in the city
dark is thy house.

Thy lord from the secret chamber is gone forth, in
the city dark is thy house".³

These passages apparently refer to the descent of Innini beneath the waves, following her drowned lover; we may, however, infer that the legend is a survival of an ancient goddess of the waters who perished even as Tammuz.⁴

Naturally the Sumerians in the beginning denied no aspect of productive nature to this mother goddess,⁵ but

¹ *SBP.* 3, 7; 11, 26. Langdon, *BL.* 75, 5.

² *Ibid.*, l. 6.

³ Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, 35, Rev. I. The translation given above is not entirely certain. In the Manchester Text, V. 4, she is addressed as 'Mighty maid of the ocean'.

⁴ See also Manchester, VI. 30, 'The shining river I cross over'.

⁵ Note, for example, the striking passage in *SBP.* 190, 18 f.

'The birds of heaven in her sovereign power may she (keep?).
The fish of the sea in her sovereign power may she (keep?).'

in the historical period her activity in many directions was lost to other related divinities. She enters henceforth into more important rôles, more intimately connected with the ethical and intellectual life of man.¹ In general terms we may say that the Babylonian Ishtar developed in two directions which correspond closely to the two aspects of the Greek Aphrodite *πάνδημος* and *οὐρανία*, i. e. the common or vulgar Aphrodite and the heavenly Aphrodite.² In Babylonia we meet also with a warlike Ishtar, and she became, in fact, especially in Assyria, the principal genius of battle. Of these three aspects that of Ishtar as patroness of the sexual relations, of love, and family life, is clearly the most ancient, and in the popular religion the most important.

As the mother who begat the son of life, who loved him passionately in life and followed him to the shades of Arallu, she naturally became the patroness of child-birth, of love and family life,³ and also of licentiousness. The following passage, from a Sumerian liturgy of the classical age, represents Innini guarding the home of a mother :

‘Maiden of the place of begetting am I ; in the home
where the mother gives birth a protecting shadow
am I.’⁴

¹ The reader will notice that the well-known poem known as the ‘Descent of Ištar’ also represents this goddess exclusively as patroness of cattle and human procreation. See, for example, Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels*, 127, Rev. 7-10.

² See Plato, *Symposium*, 180.

³ Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, holds Aphrodite as patroness of the family life to be an idea original in Greece. The Semitic conception of a family was perhaps not so high as that of the Greeks, still we know the Babylonian ideal of the family to have been good.

⁴ *SBP.* 13, 29. See also *PSBA.* 1901, 120, 18 f., ‘O come enter into our house, and with thee may enter thy kindly shadow’.

A somewhat obscure text apparently describes her as patroness of conviviality :

‘When at the drinking banquet I sit,
One of womanly quality I am, yea also a pious
youth I am.¹
When at a quarrel I am present,
A woman who understands authority² I am.’

As patroness of child-birth she herself bears the title ‘begetting mother’.³

‘Begetting-mother, who knows lamentation, who
abides among her people.’⁴
‘The divinity who surveys mankind, mother of faithful
breast.’⁵

And sorrow-stricken humanity turned to Innini as their mother :

‘Merciful thou art, O for me compassion take.
O singer, to my mother say when wilt thou deliver ?
To the queen Girgilum⁶ say, when wilt thou
deliver ?’⁷

She nourishes humanity on her breast,⁸ and the following address to her as Nanā adequately describes the love of the mother goddess :

¹ The passage refers to her as protector of men and women.

² *Bel-tum* (?).

³ *Ama-muḥ* = *ummu alittu*, *passim*.

⁴ *SBP.* II, 3; 35, 36.

⁵ *SBP.* 289, 5.

⁶ One of the important titles of the goddess whose meaning is unknown.

⁷ *SBP.* 289, 10-12.

⁸ *Iš-tar mušēniktu*, *PSBA.* 1901, 120, 8.

'She is adorned with the light of days and months,
she the merciful.¹

She brings light to the afflicted, makes rich the
downcast.

Hear, O ye regions, the praise of queen Nanā.²

Magnify the creatress,³ exalt the dignified.

Exalt the glorious one, draw nigh unto the mighty
lady.⁴

A classical Sumerian prayer to Innini as the daughter
of the moon god closes with a similar sentiment :

'Divinity of begetting, divinity of procreation (?) thou
art. For ever thou exercisest love.'⁵

This fundamental rôle of the goddess appealed to
popular imagination much more than to the priestly
schools who redacted the liturgies and wrote the official
theological pantheon. Only in one fragment of the
lists of her titles have the priests given a place to this
character of the patroness of birth.⁶ More instructive
for the popular ideas concerning Ishtar of Assyria is
a prayer of an humble believer :

'Why like a boat in the river art thou cast ?

Broken and crushed as though severed in thy hawser.

Covered was my face when thou didst cross the
river of Aššur.⁷

¹ I fail to understand the import of this line. The reference is of
course to Venus or one of the fixed stars Sirius or Spica.

² Here Innini and Nanā (*Nini*) are identified.

³ *Ba-ni-i-tu*.

⁴ Craig, *RT*. 54, 11-16.

⁵ *Babylonian Liturgies*, p. 84, sub no. 196.

⁶ *CT*. 25, 30, K. 2109, Obv. 9-12, 'Mother who opens the knees
(i. e. womb)' (*ama dug-bad*); 'She who makes healthy the maidens'
(*lamga šag-ga*); 'She of the mother-womb' (*dingir šasurum*).

⁷ These lines probably describe Ištar descending beneath the waves
of the Tigris on her mission to Sheol.

Even so not was I cast out, not was my hawser severed.

|| In the days when I bore away the grapes, as I was glad,

I rejoiced and my companion rejoiced with me.

In the day of my dancing, alas, my face was troubled.

In the day of the birth of my infant, my eyes were troubled.

My hands are stretched out, to the queen of Heaven I pray.

Begetting mother thou art, spare me in my shame.'¹

In art there are many representations of a goddess nursing a child upon her breast,² but it is possible that these represent Nintud, a form of the earth goddess and consort of Enlil.³ This divinity, in fact, appears to have become the patroness of child-birth, thus depriving Innini of much of her original activity. Still, as we have seen, this pure and elevating aspect of her powers manifests itself often enough, and in one remarkable text she appears as the champion of chastity. The document to which I refer offers great difficulty in interpretation,⁴ but it appears to be certain that Ishtar here chastises a divine harlot for enticing men to adultery. The latter is called the 'Mother of Transgression', whose wicked machinations are described:

¹ K. 890, known to me only by a transcription of S. Arthur Strong, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii, 634.

² See Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, 154, and Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*², p. 107.

³ The description of the child-bearing mother in *CT.* 17, 42, adduced by Jeremias, loc. cit., to prove that these illustrations refer to Ištar, is distinctly attributed to Nintud.

⁴ Edited in *Babylonian Liturgies*, 77-81.

'Against the command of the queen of Heaven which she spoke,
 The maid, Mother of Transgression, offended.
 She beheld her with a look of death.
 The queen wailed with a loud cry because of the sin.
 By the forelock of her hair she seized her.
 The maid, "Mother of Transgression", at the wall's foundation was hurled.'

Her infinite love for humanity is reflected in many titles by which both Babylonians and Assyrians addressed her :

'She that causeth the heart to attain its desire, who loveth righteousness, who hearkeneth unto prayer, who accepteth supplication, the bestower of life, the merciful goddess, to whom it is good to pray, the dweller of Calah.'¹

'Thou renderest the judgment of mankind with justice and right.'²

Thou lookest upon the despised and settest right the down-trodden every day.

How long wilt thou tarry, O queen of heaven and earth, shepherdess of pale-faced men ?

How long wilt thou tarry, O queen of Eanna, that consecrated treasure-house and pure ?

How long wilt thou tarry, O queen whose feet are not weary, whose knees hasten ?

O glorious one, terror of the heaven spirits, who subduest the gods who are unreconciled (with men).

¹ King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, 207 f.

² Another passage represents the goddess presiding in the law courts :

'When at a trial of judgment I am present,
 A woman understanding the matter I am.'

Reisner, *SBH*. 106, 45-8.

Councillor of all rulers, who holdest the reins of kings.

Thou that openest the wombs of all handmaidens.

Where thou beholdest the dead, he shall live, and the sick shall be healed.

The just becomes just when he beholds thy face.'¹

Since ancient kings claimed themselves to be husbands of the mother goddess,² and in this capacity acted as Tammuz, she became the patroness of the art of government and the personification of justice. One of the most ancient Sumerian kings pretends to have been summoned to rule by Innini,³ and he names her as his 'beloved wife'.⁴ A Sumerian hymn to her reveals the same intimate connexion with the art of government :

'My faithful lady, queen of Eanna.

Divinity who surveys mankind, mother of the faithful breast.'⁵

As law-giver in matters both human and divine we find her described in a remarkable line :

'Thou hast full power of judgment and decision, yea also of the law of earth and heaven.'⁶

¹ Extracts from the prayer of an afflicted person, King, *Creation*, Appendix V. See also Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels*, 153 ff.

² The marriage of a king of Isin and Innini at the spring festival is celebrated in a long hymn, Radau, *Miscellaneous Texts*, No. 2, also translated in my *Sumerian Grammar*, 196-200. See also Thureau-Dangin, *SAK*, 204, No. 1, where Ur-Ninib, king of Isin, is called the chosen spouse of Innini. *Ibid.*, No. 2, the same is said of Bur-Sin. The custom of slaying a king as Tammuz is absolutely unknown in Cuneiform sources.

³ Thureau-Dangin, *SAK*, 10, v. 24.

⁴ *Ibid.* 18, vi. 8.

⁵ *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, 288, 4 f.

⁶ King, *Creation*, Appendix V, Obv. 13.

The following is taken from a prayer of Ashurnasirpal I to the Ishtar of Nineveh :¹

- ‘The matter which has befallen me, [even the sorrows] in words I will rehearse,
 Unto the creatress of peoples, [her to whom] praise belongs,²
 Unto her who sits in Emašmaš³ [divine Ishtar] who has extolled my name,
 Unto the queen of the gods by whose hand the laws of *the gods* are fulfilled,
 5 Unto the lady of Nineveh, *sister* of the lofty gods,
 Unto the daughter of Sin, twin sister of Shamash,⁴ who rules over all kings,
 Unto her who renders decision, goddess of all things,
 Unto the lady of heaven and earth who receives supplication,
 Unto her who hears petition, who entertains prayer,
 10 Unto the compassionate goddess who loves righteousness,
 Ishtar the queen, whom all that is confused oppresses,
 The woes as many as I see I will weep of before thee.
 To my sorrowful discourse may thy ear be given.
 At my painful account may thy soul be appeased.
 15 Behold me, O lady, that by thy repentance the heart of thy servant may be strong.

¹ *BM.* 81-2, 4, 188, published and edited by Brünnow, *ZA.* v. 66-80. Text of Obv. 4-15 also by King, *First Steps in Assyrian*, 251. A translation by Jastrow, *Religion*, ii. 111.

² *A-na banāt niši [bēlit] tanādāti*; cf. Craig, *RT.* 15, 10.

³ Temple of Ishtar in Nineveh; cf. K. 1794, x. 42 (in S. A. Smith, *Asurbanipal*, ii, Pl. VI).

⁴ So called because the star Venus is never at a great distance from the sun. [The greatest distance of Venus from the sun at any time is 40 degrees.]

I Ashurnaširpal the afflicted thy servant,
 The humble, fearing the divinity, the thoughtful,
 thy beloved,
 Establishing thy regular bread offerings¹ unceasingly,
 giving thy sacrifices.
 Desiring thy feasts, causing thy sanctuaries to be
 adorned,
 20 Making to abound wine, the joy of thy heart which
 thou lovest,
 Son of Shamshi-Adad, a king, fearer of the great
 gods,
 I was created in the mountains which no one
 knows.²
 I was without understanding and thy rulership
 I implored not steadfastly.
 The peoples of Assyria knew not of thy divinity
 and received it not.³

¹ Literally 'Ishtar cakes', Sumerian *šukum-Innini*, Semitic *nindabū*, *nidbu*, a word employed in a general sense for offerings of bread and cakes. See Delitzsch, *HW.* 448 b; Muss-Arnolt, *Assy. Dict.* 649 b f. The word has been derived by Hommel from *Nidaba*, the name of the Sumerian corn goddess, occurring also as a word for 'corn', hence 'corn or bread offerings'. [Jensen, *Mythen und Epen*, 380, defends the same derivation. Cf. the spelling of the goddess *Ni-da-ab-ba*, *VS.* viii. 112, 14.] The derivation is established by the form *ni-da-ba-ša*, 'her bread offerings' (referring to Ištar), King, *Annals*, 165, 1.

² The reference is obscure, see Jastrow, ii. 112, n. 10.

³ Ishtar-Innini occurs in the Assyrian pantheon long before Asurnaširpal I (circa 1180 B.C.). See Adad-Nirari, son of Arik-dên-ilu (1300 B.C.), Obv. 12, Messerschmidt, No. 9. Šalmanassar I, *ibid.*, No. 14, Obv. 2. Tiglath-pileasar I retained Aššur as his capital (see King, *Annals*, 71, 25), and all references to Ištar before this period refer to Ištar of Aššur. According to Winckler, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 146, the statue of Ašur bêl kala, son of Tiglath-pileasar I (King, *Annals*, 152), which was found in the ruins of Nineveh, proves that this king had a palace here. The father of Ašurnaširpal I, Shamshi-Adad, mentions Ištar of Nineveh, but no conclusion can be drawn from the fragment, I Raw. 3, no. 11. We may perhaps conclude that Ašurnaširpal I founded the capital at Nineveh and

- 25 Thou, Ishtar, art the fearful dragon of the gods.
 With a look of thine eyes thou didst know me¹
 and didst long for my ruling.
 Thou didst take me from the mountains and didst
 call me for a shepherd² of the peoples.
 Thou hast assured me a sceptre of sanctuaries³ for
 the endurance of habitations.
 Thou Ishtar hast made my name famous.
- 30 Thou hast granted to save and spare the faithful.
 From thy mouth went forth (the command) to
 repair the ruined (temples) of the gods.⁴
 And so the tottering temples I have repaired.
 The devastated gods I built and restored them to
 their place.
 The property and offerings of cakes I established
 for them for ever.
- 35 I have caused to be made a bed of ebony, a resting-
 place well made, which will give thy divinity
 repose.
 Whose *frame* within of crude⁵ gold has been made
 fittingly.

established the cult of Ištar of battle and patroness of government there. Tušratta, king of the Mitanni, in a letter to Amenophis III (1414-1379 B. C.), says that he sent the Ištar of Nineveh to Egypt, from which we infer that her cult existed there at least as early as the fifteenth century. The Assyrians had either lost their supremacy in this region for the time being or had not yet conquered it from the Mitanni. The city Aššur itself was an ancient Mitanni settlement. If these people be connected with the Sumerians the mother goddess Innini of Aššur, Nineveh, and Arbela may be of Mitanni origin and very ancient. See Knudtzon, *El-Amarna*, 23, 13.

¹ *Tu-di-ni*, from ורה, same root as ירה. The form with *wav* is found only in Assyrian, see Ylvisaker, *LSS*, v, Part VI, p. 46.

² *Sippu*. For *sibbu*, 'shepherd', see Leander, *Lehnwörter*, 109.

³ *Eš-ri-e-ti*. The meaning is probably 'a sceptre recognized by all the gods'.

⁴ *Udduš ilāni nakmāti*, 'restoration of the heaped-up gods'.

⁵ *Liḫ-tu*; the orthography is established by *ḫurašu li-iḫ-tu*, Scheil, *Tukulti-Ninip*, ii, Obv. 76. I have connected the word with לקט

With choice stones of the mountains, precious,
I adorned its construction.¹

I made it bright for beholding, I filled it with

I made it shine like the gleam of the sun²

40 I placed it in Emašmaš, the abode of her luxury

.

How have I despised thee? In [what have I sinned
against thee?]

[My transgressions]³ thou has counted and sickness
I be[hold daily].

.

Reverse.

Steadfastly [I maintained thy worship].

Before thy divinity [I walked uprightly]

But as one who fears not thy divinity [altogether
thou hast afflicted me].

Although I have no sin and committed no disgrace,

5 Yet ever am I cast down⁴ [in sorrow].

I am distressed and rest I have not.⁵

From my royal throne I departed,

But to the meal which I prepare I come not nigh.

The wine offered in worship is turned to stench.

10 As for the palace⁶ and the revelry I am removed.

From the pleasure and joy of life I am excluded.

My eyes are sealed that I behold not.

I lift them not above the ground.

'gleam', a word employed in Arabic for gold in the ore, *laḡaṭ al-mādan*, 'gleaning of the mines', 'gold ore'.

¹ So Jastrow, *ši-ki-[in-ša]*.

² Jastrow, 'at midday'. Text *a-[na šit šamši?]*, 'at sunrise'.

³ *Ar-ni(?)*.

⁴ *Šu-uš-ra-ka* for *šušurku*, here derived from *ušaāru*. Cf. *šu-šur*, 'it is rent' in a liver omen text, *CT*. 20, 39, 4.

⁵ *A-[ba-ši?]*.

⁶ *Bilā-nu?* Jastrow supposes a word *pit-nu*, 'meal', from *patānu*, 'to banquet', which is possible. The word *pit-nu*, which occurs often, means 'wooden tablet'.

How long, O lady, shall sickness cease not, and
my knees¹ waver ?

- 15 I am Ašurnaširpal the distressed, who fears thee,
Who seizes the shawl² of thy divinity, praying
unto thy royal person,
Look upon me for I would implore thy divinity.
Since thou art enraged, have mercy upon me, may
thy soul be appeased.
May grace strengthen thy heart toward me.
- 20 Cause my sickness to depart and remove my sin.
By thy command, O queen, may repose fall upon me,
The priest-king, thy favorite who is changeless ever.
Have mercy toward him and his misery cut off.
Plead thou his cause with thy beloved, the father
of the gods, heroic Ashur.
- 25 For after days I will extol thy divinity,
[And thy sovereignty] I will magnify in [the
assembly of gods, councillors]³ of heaven and
earth.'

As patroness of law and order she appears to have enjoyed the supreme adoration of the kings of Assyria from the age of Ašurnaširpal I to the end of the Assyrian empire. But this aspect of her activities is

¹ *Hal-ku si-ki-ia*. For *sīku*, 'knee', see Holma, *Körperteile*, 134.

² *Ka-nu*. The word occurs as part of the apparel of Ištar also in Craig, *RT*. 6, 3, *ša ina ka-an-ni ša iltu ur-kit-tu ka-šir la iluaš ina puḥur hašānūtešu*, 'He who is wrapped in the shawl of the goddess of Erech, shall not be cursed in the assembly of his adversaries'. Of Marduk, 'I have seized hold of thy *ka-an-ni* as my protector', King, *Magic*, 18, 10. See also *BA*. v. 565, 18, *ka-ni-ki*, 'thy shawl' (of Ištar). The same word probably in *gannu*, Ranke, *BE*. vi. 1, no. 101, 21, 'Her marriage gift which *ina ga-an-ni-ša raksuma*, which they had bound in her shawl', possibly an ancient custom of sending away a bride. [See for another view Schorr, *Bulletin de l'Académie de Cracovie*, 1907, p. 92.] See also Ranke, 84, 41.

³ [*Puḥur ilāni māliku-ūl*] *šamē iršitlan* [uncertain].

inherent in the Sumerian and Akkadian Ishtar, as we learn from a passage in the Code of Hammurapi :

‘He that assured the great ordinances of Innini.’¹

Ammiditana, ninth king of the first Babylonian dynasty, promulgated the following date formula for his twenty-ninth year: ‘Year when Ammiditana the king, female protecting goats (?) which pray for his life, which he had made with dazzling gold and precious stones, introduced into (the temple of) Innini, queen of judgment, who exalted his sovereignty.’ Ishtar of Erech is called *Ušuramatsa*, ‘Observe her word’, the giver of advice, she that intercedes, by Esarhaddon,² from whose inscriptions the following is also taken :

‘Ishtar of Erech, the magnificent princess, she that possesses the law of heavenly sovereignty,
Who directs the totality of oracles,
The exalted, the far famed, who looks faithfully upon the king his favorite,
Who causes his reign to be old, who grants unto him might and wisdom.’³

In the official lists at least two titles referring to Innini as the *councillor* (*malkatu*) have been included.⁴

¹ *Muštešbē parzī rabūtīm ša ilu innini*, col. II, 63–5. This appears to be a more acceptable translation than ‘He who made established the great shrines of Innini’, because of the regular epithet *šarrat paršē*, ‘queen of ordinances’, cf. V R. 10, 62; Harper, *Letters*, 7, 4; King, *Creation*, App. V, Obv. 7. On the other hand in favour of the ordinary translation is the use of *šutešbu* for ‘fixing firmly’ a structure; *bit ilu entil bēli-ia uš-te-iš-bi-ma*, Messerschmidt, op. cit., 2, iii. 5; cf. *ibid.* ii. 11, *šu-te-iš-bi-ú*, ‘which was well made’.

² *Mālikat milki šābitat abūti*, *BA.* iii. 238, 43.

³ *BA.* iii. 260, 2–5; Barton, *AJSL.* 8, 121.

⁴ *CT.* 24, 33, K. 4349, Obv. V, 10 f. At least one of these lines should read *d. innini-MAL + GAR-[sud]*; cf. *SAI.* 1924.

This title of Innini as the queen councillor, which is extremely rare, occurs (beside the passage in note 3 below) also in the line, 'Thou art mighty, thou art a queenly adviser, mighty is thy name', King, *Creation*, App. V, Obv. 4. This title has given cause for much dispute, since some have found here the Babylonian source for the 'Queen of Heaven', a goddess whose worship was introduced among the Hebrews shortly before the Exile.¹ I shall revert to this subject shortly under the section concerning the *heavenly Ishtar*. Here we should make it clear that as a title the noun *malkatu* clearly refers to her functions as a patroness of government, and has not the least connexion with astral worship.²

Connected with this aspect of a divine *Justitia* is her rôle of a herald who executes the decrees of the gods:

'She that executes the laws of Enlil [thou art].
 A sharp sword [thou bearest in thy bosom.]
 Creatress of gods who executes the laws of Enlil.
 Who causes plants to grow, queen of humanity,
 Creatress of all things, who directs all begetting.
 Virgin mother goddess, at whose side no god draws
 nigh.
 Majestic queen whose decrees are pre-eminent.'³

¹ Hebrew *malkat haššama'im* (so probably to be read) in Jer. vii. 18 and xlv. 17.

² The noun *malkatu* occurs (as a title of Ištar) only in the doubtful passage cited by Meissner, *SAI*. 1924; *mal-kat gimrat* [*ilāni*], 'the queen councillor of all gods', in *BA*. v. 311, 19, refers to *Zarpanit*. In the texts we find the verb *malkāti* (King, *Cr.*, App. V, 4) or the participle *mālikatu*, 'she that advises', see above, p. 85^b, n. 3. The word is used certainly in the sense of rule in *ma-li-kat nakrūti*, 'she that rules the foes', King, *Annals*, 207, 3. *Ma-li-kat ilāni*, 'she that gives counsel to the gods', *KB*. ii. 250, 35; *ma-li-kat Igiġē*, 'she that counsels the heaven spirits', *Rec. de Travaux*, 20, 205, i. 11.

³ *SBP*. 256 (there wrongly assigned to Ninlil).

The title 'faithful lady', or 'faithful queen', is parallel to that of Tammuz the 'faithful son'. Both titles probably reflect the ancient idea that these deities died for the life of the world, and of the two titles, *nin-zi-da* and *dumu-zi-da*, the former may well be the older. Ninzida,¹ the faithful queen, is also an ordinary title of that other mother type, Ninā or Nanā, the sister of Tammuz.² In this title we discover a profound sentiment in Babylonian religion. We have here under the outward form of a word an idea which obsessed the Sumerian and Babylonian mind from first to last. And this name, as we see, conveys not only the idea of a divine mother who assists the birth of all life and perishes that it may revive, but she is the matron of rulers and the incarnation of justice. It is true that in the evolution of this religion the rôle of the divinity of justice was gradually usurped by the sun-god. Still the popular consciousness would not give up its ancient conceptions, and the theologians themselves admitted into the official lists of her titles a few names which reflect Innini as the patroness of government.³

Although the character of Innini-Ishtar undoubtedly

¹ Translated by *rubátum kittum*, *SBP.* 162, 23, which confirms the interpretation of *dumu-zida* as *máru kínu*. For the goddess Ninzida (Innini) see *SBP.* 160, 19.

² *SBP.* 162, 23; 210, 11; 106, 13; 114, 31; 258, 20. See especially *Babylonian Liturgies*, Corrections to no. 71. The same title is applied to Tašmetum in *BL.* no. 208, Rev. 8, and to Zarpanit, Reissner, *SBH.* 132, 41.

³ I refer to the names *me-kuš*, 'she of the terrible decrees', *CT.* 25, 30, 8 and *me-gan*, *me-a-ni*, *me-nu-a-zu*, *me-nu-a-ru* of obscure meanings, K. 2100, col. II. See also *Sm.* 1558, *me-nu-a-ni*, *me-nu-a-du*, *ama-me-bad*, 'Divine mother who reveals laws' (*ummu paršé ipté*), *CT.* 25, 31, 13.

retained much of this ancient matronly beauty, yet here again she was divested of her most homely attributes by another type of mother goddess, Nintud, who became in due course of time the patroness of birth and the purer aspects of family life.¹ This goddess begins to be important toward the end of the Sumerian domination at a time when the theological features of Innini began to overshadow her more primitive character. On the contrary the licentious nature of her worship was unfortunately retained. This was the feature of her cult which made the greatest impression upon Herodotus. In book I, chapter 199 of his history he describes that shameful law of the Babylonians which sent every Babylonian woman once in her life to the temple, the goddess of love, to sacrifice her honour for gold. The historian tells us that the Assyrians² called this goddess Mylitta,³ and this, no doubt, means Innini and not Nintud. The temple in Babylon dedicated to her was probably Ekidurim, which was situated near the city wall.⁴ We may surmise that this temple was built outside the central part of the city, where the palace and other great temples were located, to make more convenient

¹ Other types of Ištar-Innini as goddess of birth are Erua (Šarpanit), consort of Marduk and the Beltis of Babylon, and Šeru'a, apparently an Assyrian epithet. See Lehmann, *Šamashšumukin*, ii. 34-42; Muss-Arnolt, *Lexicon*, IIII and 94, with literature there cited.

² It is curious that he should employ *Assyrians* here when he is speaking of the Babylonians. Herodotus is confirmed by the evidence of an Alexandrian Jew who wrote the *Epistle of Jeremy*, see vv. 40-3.

³ The word is probably identical with *alittu*, 'the begetting one', fem. part. of *alādu*, 'to give birth'. In this case *mulitta* is from *ṗalid-tu*, the *m* reproducing the semi-vowel *ṗ* and *a* becoming *u* through influence of the labial *m*.

⁴ *Neu-Babylonische Königsinschriften*, 302.

the concourse of women who there assembled to be chosen by strangers for indiscriminate adultery.

This dark and immoral feature of the Ishtar cult is all too well confirmed by the inscriptions. A tablet redacted in classical Sumerian, and certainly a product of the Sumerian period, describes the female personification of lust as under the protection of Innini.¹ The text describes minutely the demon sent by Innini, a beautiful and licentious unmarried harlot, who seduces men in the streets and fields.² And in a grammatical text she is explained as the 'hand of Innini'.³ By transferring this licentious attribute of Innini to a divine harlot, the Sumerians attempted to relieve the character of the mother goddess of an impure rôle. But they in no way succeeded in concealing her great figure as patroness of free love behind the licentious form of her handmaid. There is not the least doubt but that throughout Sumerian and Babylonian religion, these peoples were convinced that immoral sacrifices were demanded as an offering to the mother goddess to secure her protection for legitimate birth and begetting. As such this practice had a pure motive, and maintained a strong hold upon popular religion, because the power of magical ideas outweighed ethical consideration. That this custom must have been considered immoral we are bound to infer from the laws promulgated concerning adultery not carried on in the service of Innini.⁴ Assuming that in the Persian period, when

¹ *Babylonian Liturgies*, pp. 12-14.

² This demon was called *lilitu* by the Semites, a word derived from the Sumerian root *lil*, and passed into Aramaic and Hebrew as לִילִית, לִילִיתָ, and erroneously derived from לַיַּל 'night'. For a discussion of the word see *Babylonian Liturgies*, p. 15.

³ *Babyloniaca*, ii. 188, 1.

⁴ Code of Hammurapi, §§ 127-32.

Herodotus visited Babylonia, this sacrifice of virginity was universal, still the description of Herodotus is in direct contradiction to the law which severely punishes such licentiousness. Eliminating Herodotus we may, perhaps, be in proximity to the truth in assuming that this licentiousness was confined to the Ishtar cult, and was not permitted in any other place.

In the liturgies, as well as in the incantations, both Innini and the divine harlot *Lilītu* are expressly described as virgins,¹ and both are constantly referred to as maidens.² There is every reason to suppose that women were attached to her temples, and that these sacred harlots occupied a section of the sacred quarters known as the *maštaku* or 'woman's house'. The general name for these devotees was probably *ardatu*, 'maiden'.³ Other special names for the temple harlots occur, but if these denote various orders

¹ *Babyloniaca*, iv. 188, 4 f.

² *Ki-el, ardatu*. This word does not mean *slave-girl*, but 'unmarried woman', and in many cases 'maid of the harem'. Note especially IV Raw. 27 b, 9, where she dwells in the *maštaku*, a word often employed for a royal harem as well as for the sacred harem of the various temples of Innini. The Sumerian ideogram means 'woman's house', and Innini is often spoken of as mistress of her woman's house, *SBP*. 12, 31. The sign will be found in Brünnow, no. 5513, and in incorrect form, 5488. *Ki-el* may be written with the sign for *amtu*, 'slave woman', as in Genouillac, *Mission Française de Chaldée*, vol. ii, 4159, 3, *nam-kel-la-a-šú*, 'for female slavery, or concubinage'. *Ardatu* may also be expressed by the root *gim, gin*, 'to beget', a word regularly employed for female slave, but probably first in the sense of concubine, *amtu*. In the liturgies the word appears more often as *gi* or *gè*. *Kel* and *gim, gin, gi*, when employed for *ardatu*, designate Ištar as an unmarried maid and one who is capable of begetting (*gim*). In the Manchester Text we have *gi-em* (V. 4), *gè* (I. 27 *et passim*), *ki-el* (V. 6), and both words employed as titles together, *gè ki-el* (V. 23).

³ We are not concerned here with other meanings of this word.

the distinctions are unknown.¹ Innini herself is frequently addressed as a sacred harlot or devotee :

‘ A courtesan compassionate am I.’²

‘ In the plains (of Sheol) the sacred devotee to her husband drew nigh.’³

‘ O maiden, maiden, shattering the mountains, crushing the rebellious.’⁴

And in her descent to the underworld the watchmen of the gates hail her with the words :

‘ Maid Innini unto the son wilt thou go ?’⁵

An incantation represents her with her harlots :

‘ To the hierodules⁶ she took her footsteps,
The goddess Ishtar⁷ her hierodules arranged in order.’⁸

A letter of the famous king Hammurapi to a provincial governor requests that the goddess of the land, Emutbal, should be conveyed by wagon to Babylon, and that the hierodules or harlots⁶ should follow after the goddesses. The land Emutbal lay east of the

¹ I refer especially to the list in V Raw. 42 *ef*, 60-5 (= *CT.* 19, 26) *ardatum, balullum, usukku, ĥarimtu, an dura[ri?], mušeniĥtu*. The word *usukku* is derived from the Sumerian *usag, usug* (see *Sumerian Grammar*, 255 f.), and Innini is herself referred to under this title in the name of a liturgy, *edin-na ū-sag-ga dam-ni-šū mu-un-na-an-teg*, ‘In the plains the sacred devotee to her husband drew nigh’, *SBP.* 300, 1. According to Halévy, *Revue Sémitique*, ix. 94, *ĥarimtu* is derived from the Arabic root *ĥaram*, ‘to be tabu’, ‘consecrated’, ‘set aside’.

² Hussey, *AJSL.* 23, 145, 53 (= Reisner, 106).

³ *SBP.* 300, 1.

⁴ Manchester Text, V. 23.

⁵ *Ibid.* I. 27, 32.

⁷ Sumerian here Nin-lil.

⁸ Zimmern, *Shurpu*, 32, 144-7.

⁶ *Kizrēti*.

Tigris, somewhere in the region of modern Bagdad, and we know that one of the seats of the cult of Tammuz and Innini was located in Emutbal.¹ We may assume that the goddesses² here referred to are really idols of Innini from various temples in that region.

At Erech this iniquitous cult held full sway, concerning which the epic of Gilgamesh affords ample evidence.³ And not only do we find the female sex as devotees of the cult of Ishtar, but eunuchs also are found in her service :

‘ In Erech the abode of Anu and Ishtar,
 The city of hierodules, whores and courtesans,
 For whom Ishtar⁴ paid a husband and counted him
 as theirs,
 The beduin men and women hurl firebrands.
 They were summoned to Eanna the eunuchs and
 eunuch singers.⁵
 Whose virility Ishtar turned to effeminacy to terrify
 the people,
 They who bear the dagger, they who bear the razor,
 sword and stone-knife.⁶

¹ For the location of Emutbal, or Jamutbal, see Hommel, *Babyloniaca*, ii. 60, and for Der in Emutbal, see *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii. 175, note 2. The letter of Hammurapi is published by King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurapi*, no. 34; see also Nagel, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, iv. 463 f.

² *Ištarāti*.

³ ‘Ishtar assembled her hierodules, whores and courtesans’, Jensen, *Mythen und Epen*, 176, 184 f.

⁴ *Eširušnati*. For *ešēru*, ‘pay’, ‘render’, also ‘receive’, see Tallquist, *Sprache der Contracte Nabu-na’ids*, 36 f.

⁵ *Isinnu*, ‘eunuch singer’, usually *assinnu*, see Jensen, *op. cit.*, 377, and Frank, *Studien zur Babylonischen Religion*, 20, and especially Meissner, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1907, 154.

⁶ *Šurtu*, fem. of *šurru*, ‘stone’, *BA.* ii. 435. For *šurru*, ‘a stone knife’, Sumerian *gir-ka-gal*, with determinative for ‘stone’, see Meissner, *SAI.* 205.

They who eat to make glad the mood of Ishtar.'¹

It will be noted that the eunuchs carry swords and knives as emblems of their fanatical castration. A litany of the Tammuz wailings substantiates this interpretation :

'The mother Innini, even as his mother, for him that comes not (wails).

The maidens² of her city who no more accomplish good works (wail).

The men of her city who thresh the grain in head no more (wail).

The eunuchs³ of her city who wield the dagger no more (wail).'

A fragment of a hymn which I assign to Ishtar with considerable hesitation⁴ reads as follows :

'A sharp-edged sword

The pointed weapon,⁵ insignia of the god [. . . .]

Right and left battle was arrayed.

The princess of the gods whose delight is the conflict,

¹ Jensen, op. cit., 62, 5-12.

² *Ki-el, ardatum.*

³ *Kurgarrú.* See Frank, op. cit., 21 and 80. For eunuchs with axes, cf. *BA.* v. 626, 10, *kurgarré palakki*, and note *nāš pilakki*, synonym of *assinnu*, *CT.* 19, 41 a, 24. [Note the female *kurgarréti* who bear children, in Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne*, Adad xii. 12 f.] The Hebrew שִׁמְרֵן is translated in Aquila by ἐνδιλλαγμένος, altered (castrated?).

⁴ The fragment is obverse, col. I, of K. 3600 + *DT.* 75, published by Winckler, *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, Pl. II; Craig, *RT.* i. 55; Macmillan, *BA.* v. 626. Translated by Martin, *Textes religieux*, 196; Macmillan, *BA.* v. 566.

⁵ *Ulmū zaštu.* Cf. Lehmann, *Shamashšumukin*, L⁴, ii. 17, *inūhu ul-me-šu-un šelūti*, 'their anointed weapons rested'; see Zimmern, *LSS.* ii. 2, p. 21, note 1.

Who walks before her seven brothers,¹
 Before her bow the singers *standing far apart*,
 They with the wooden instrument of praise, with
 the *šebîtu* and the *reed of entreaty*,²
 He with the flute, the *šinnitu*³ and the *arkā*,
 The eunuchs with the axe, who summon⁴ the

Ištar with the pointed sword⁵ may well be a symbol of this inhuman sacrifice, even as Tammuz and the double axe. In a letter to an Assyrian king the writer claims to have carried the double axe (*pilaḫḫu*) for the goddess Venus (Dilbal) during three days that the king might have good health.⁶ It is a curious coincidence that Tammuz himself bears a double axe.⁷ In the discussion of that weapon I explained it as the symbol of Tammuz, but the figures on seals carrying axes may well be eunuchs. These mutilated priests who assist in the wailings for Tammuz, and who bear a symbol of their mad sacrifice, may have been under the special protection of the dying god who, therefore, bears the same symbol.

One of the liturgies from which I have frequently cited refers expressly to a cloister of the women in the service of the cult :

¹ Ištar as goddess of war was closely connected with the astral Ištar. The figure of her walking before her seven brothers refers to Venus as one of the seven planets; only *six* brothers are known, Sun, Moon, Jupiter (Marduk), Saturn (Ninib), Mercury (Nebo), and Mars (Nergal).

² *Ka-an-ša-bi*, from *kan sapû*??

³ Probably a wooden instrument: cf. 𒌷𒍪𒌷 , a kind of hard wood.

⁴ I follow Winckler's text, *di-ku-tu*.

⁵ For Ištar with the sword *paḫru zaḫtu*, see *SBP.* 256, 4 and *SBH.* 106, 58 (cf. Hussey, *AJSL.* 23, 146).

⁶ Harper, *Letters*, 45; see *BA.* ii. 30; Jastrow, ii. 616.

⁷ *Paštu*, see *CT.* 17, 33, 32, and above, p. 37.

'My women in the cloister with my increase I will make large.'¹

Most conclusive evidence for the consecration of harlots in the service of this goddess is the fact that a word for harlot is derived from her name.² While it appears to be certain that the various orders of sacred women mentioned above belong particularly to the Ishtar cult, yet the more common order of devotees, the *ḫadištu*,³ as well as the *zērmasītu*,⁴ might belong to the personnel of any temple.⁵ The law of Hammurapi provides for priestesses⁶ and sacred

¹ Manchester Text, V. 20.

² *Ištarītum*. This word may mean either goddess or harlot. With the meaning harlot it is found as yet only in the sense of 'harlot who is a witch', Haupt, *ASKT.* 83, 12, *iš-ta-rit ilu a-nim (nu-gig an-na)*, with which cf. *ḫadištu mārāt ilu anim*, IV R. 58 c, 37, wherefore the goddess Ištar (who is the daughter of Anu) becomes a mere harlot, and her name and epithets are employed as such. In a list of witches we have *ilu ištar-i-tum* and *zermasitum*, both words for 'hierodule', *Maḫlu*, iii. 45.

³ Hebrew קִדְּשָׁה. The name means 'consecrated' in Semitic. The Sumerian for *ḫadištu*, 'holy prostitute', is *nu-gig*, 'the undefiled', 'sacred', or 'spotless'.

⁴ This order of sacred harlots is represented in Sumerian by *nu-bar* (for *bar* not *maš*, see Bezold, *ZA.* 24, 345, *nu-bar-ri = zēr-ma-ši-tu*), which probably means 'virgin', *la pišītu*, as Scheil first translated, see *AJSL.* 19, 101. The Semitic has been rendered by 'the seed for getting', but this is doubtful. The *zermasītu* 'may marry' (*CT.* 8, 50 A and 2 A); hence if the meaning 'virgin' obtained, this condition of admission to the order was annulled. The machinations of the *ištaritum* and the *zērmasītu* are described in K. 8231 (see *ZA.* 23, 367 and Frank, *Studiën*, 48), where they appear as common harlots.

⁵ Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et Contrats*, no. 146, 3, a mother gives her three-year-old daughter to the *ḫadištu* of the god Adad. A *ḫadištu* serves as a nurse, Ungnad, *VS.* vii. 10.

⁶ *SAL-ME*, now read *išippatu*, but according to Weissbach the Semitic is *ti-kil-tu* or *ti-rim-tu* or *ti-ḫap-tu*, the second sign having several values, see *RA.* 9, 21, note.

harlots,¹ and makes no reference to any particular cult, whence we infer that every temple had hierodules. These could marry,² and instances occur where their children are mentioned.³ Undoubtedly all these orders of sacred women existed in the Sumerian religion, and the Semitic names are mere translations of Sumerian titles.⁴

All this vicious practice, so oriental and so deep rooted in the life of a people whose religion we can trace for three thousand years, must have originated in connexion with the worship of Innini. Although the institution spread into other cults and became a national institution, yet the cult of Innini was foremost in the promotion thereof. This must be true, for one of the most ordinary titles of this goddess is that of 'harlot'.⁵ The title occurs regularly in Sumerian, and is translated by *ištaritu*, a word which came to mean a sacred harlot.⁶ In my own editions of Sumerian texts I have consistently rendered this title (*mugig*) by virgin. Any translation would be open to objection. The

¹ *Ḳadištu* and *zermaštu*. For the Hebrew *kedhēshā* see Driver's *Deuteronomy*, pp. 264 f.

² Code, § 181.

³ Thureau-Dangin, *ibid.*, no. 157 (*ḳadištu*).

⁴ For the *nu-gig* or *ḳadištu*, 'the spotless', 'undefiled', in the early Sumerian period see Genouillac, *TSA.* 5, Obv. III. 13; Hussey, *op. cit.*, 40, Rev. V. 7.

⁵ Note Reisner, 107, 81, *gašan anna*, 'queen of heaven', rendered in Semitic by *ḳad-šu-ti* (sic) for *ḳadisti*, 'the harlot'.

⁶ The Sumerian is *mugig*, *mugib*, *mugiba*. Brünnow, no. 1319, holds *mugig* to be a dialect variant of *nugig*, which is also translated by *ištaritu*. This is of course very probable, and see also *Sumerian Grammar*, § 42. *Mugig* always refers to Innini or Ištar, and is never employed for a human harlot, although the Semitic rendering *ištaritu* may refer to humans; the word is therefore equivalent to *ḳadištu*, and employed conventionally for the goddess only.

word really means 'the undefiled', but both Sumerians and Semites intended to convey the idea of 'consecrated to the goddess of birth', and hence it came to be a euphemism for 'defiled', 'harlot'. Or are we to suppose that the words *nugig*, *mugig*, and *ḫadištu*, the most widely employed of all expressions in Sumerian and Semitic religions for the hierodules, are from the beginning mere euphemisms! I would not venture to assume that primitive peoples would have addressed their mother goddess in such disparaging terms, and I shall revert to my original opinion that she was in a literal sense termed the 'undefiled', a virgin to whose service human virgins were consecrated to nameless shame. Such, however, are the antitheses of human conduct, an inexplicable combination of attractive and abhorrent ideas, a process of positive and negative forces. The reader will surely have been impressed by the lofty and pathetic conceptions conveyed by the terms of the hymns and liturgies of her cult. If in the evolution of this unattractive side of the worship of Innini she herself descends to the level of her own sacred women, still I am convinced that the purity of her character maintained itself even in this aspect of her cult. I shall, therefore, retain the translation 'virgin', in some instances employing, however, the term¹ 'virgin-harlot' wherever the

¹ I employ the following terminology: *ki-el* and *gin*, *gim*, *ge* (= *ardatu*), 'maid' or 'maiden' in the sense of a devotee of Ishtar; *usukku*, 'sacred devotee'; *kár-lil* (*ḫarimtu*), 'courtesan'; *kizritu*, 'hierodule' [Sumerian *kar-lil* also]; *nu-gig* (*ḫadištu*), 'sacred harlot', or simply 'harlot'; *nu-bar* (*zērmašítu*), 'votress'; *ištaritu*, 'virgin-harlot' (or 'harlot' when written in Sumerian *nu-gig*) or 'virgin', when applied to the goddess, Sumerian *nu-gig*, *mu-gig*. Of these orders, *usukku*, *ḫarimtu*, and *kizritu*, as well as the *šamḫatu* (whores), appear confined to the Ištar cult. The others are common to all cults.

passage indicates an evident immorality in the character of the goddess. To further illustrate this title I shall cite a few passages :

'The virgin in the temple stood.

With wailing the sister entered she the virgin.'¹

'The virgin queen, queen of heaven, cried aloud at sunset.

The queen of heaven unto her habitations destroyed went forth.'²

'Holy one to the virgin mother return, maiden merciful.

In the palace how long, O lord afflicted !

O lord, lamentation for thee we bring with loud voice.'³

In direct contrast to the character of a faithful queen⁴ and compassionate mother, is her rôle of a wilful and faithless lover, described in the well-known passage from the sixth book of the epic of Gilgamesh :⁵

'When Gilgamesh had put on his crown and bound on his mantle,⁶

The queen Ishtar lifted her eyes upon the beauty of Gilgamesh.

"O come, Gilgamesh, be thou a husband (to me). Bestowing, bestow upon me thy fruit (?)."

Gilgamesh opened his mouth and spoke ;
And said to the queen Ishtar ;

"What husband wouldst thou *love* for ever ?
What *shepherd boy* would please thee always ?

¹ *Babylonian Liturgies*, 17, 12 f.

² *SBP.* 27, 11 f. See further, *SBP.* 11, 28.

³ Manchester Text, III. 10-12.

⁴ *Nin-zid, rubatu kittu.*

⁵ See Barton, *Hebraica*, 10, 4-7.

⁶ *Aguhhu* ; used to clothe the breast, *CT.* 17, 44, 77.

Come, I will *recount the sorrows* of thy husband.
 Whom on his back thou hast *caused to lie*.¹
 For Tammuz the husband of thy youth,
 Year after year thou hast decreed wailing.
 Thou didst love the shepherd boy's bird of bright
 colours,
 But him thou smotest and broke his wing.
 He sits in the forest crying, alas my wing!
 Thou didst love the lion,² him of complete strength,
 And then for him thou duggest seven and seven pits.
 Thou didst love the horse, honoured in battle,
 And hast decreed for him whip and spur and lash ;
 Thou hast decreed for him to run seven double hours'
 march,
 Thou hast decreed for him to be frightened and to
sweat,
 And for his mother the goddess Silili weeping thou
 hast decreed.
 Thou didst love a shepherd, a herdsman,³
 Who steadfastly spread out before thee roasted
 cakes,⁴
 Who daily slaughtered kids to thee,

¹ The meaning of this line is conjectural. I take it that the poet is describing the sleep of Tammuz in Sheol. For the idea see *Babyloniaca*, iv. 242, 10.

² The lion is the symbol of Ištar as goddess of war.

³ *Tabulu*, variant *utullu*, 'herdsman', not *herd*, see *Sumerian Grammar*, 256.

⁴ *Tumri* for *akal* or *kaman tumri*, 'cakes baked in an oven'. *Kaman tumri* are offered to Tammuz, *BM.* 83, 1-18, 2348, 15 (*PSBA.* 1909, 62), and to Ištar, Craig, *RT.* 15, 20. *Tumru*, 'oven', has been variously translated ['salt', Jensen, others 'ashes', but against 'ashes' see Frank, *Leipziger Sem. Studien*, iii, Part III, p. 59], but 'oven' is most probable, see *ZA.* 24, 389. Since the ovens produce ashes or potash employed in washing, the Sumerian ideogram for oven (*kinunu* and *tumri*) is the same as for ashes, *lye* (*idranu*), which led to confusion among scholars. *Tumru* may also mean 'laundry, place where potash is used', Genouillac, *Inventaire*, p. 41. The Babylonian *kaman tumri* is identical with the Hebrew *kawwān*, 'Ištar cakes'.

But him thou smotest and turned into a jackal; [↑]
 His own shepherd boys pursued him
 And his dogs bit his *fleece*.
 Thou didst love Ishullanu the gardener of thy father,
 Who brought to thee steadfastly *dates*,
 And daily made thy table luxurious,
 But thou hast lifted thine eyes upon him and *said* to
 him,
 ' My Ishullanu, let us eat of my *pomegranates* ;
 Put forth thy hand and take our *bread of fine meal*.
 Ishullanu spoke to thee :
 " As for me what desirest thou of me ?
 Did not my mother bake and I have eaten ?
 That I should eat breads of *shame* and *curings*,
Which is thorns, thistles and !"
 When thou heardest this his speech,
 Thou smotest him, didst turn him into a hog. [↑]
 And didst cause him to dwell in
 Not does he ascend , not does he descend
 And me likewise thou lovest and wouldst make me
 even as they are.'

Thus she descends to the moral level of her own harlots. The inconsistency of religion and mythology is nowhere better illustrated than in the Babylonian Ishtar. In one of their greatest cults she is represented as faithful to Tammuz, even undertaking the perilous journey to Arallu for his sake and for perishing humanity. In their greatest and most popular epic, she deserts this same Tammuz, causes his death, and ruins many lovers. Some scholars have assumed that her destruction of Tammuz is due to an astronomical myth. It has been ingeniously argued that Ishtar was identified with Sirius, the dog-star, whose heliacal rising coincides with the culmination of summer ¹ heat,

¹ Fotheringham calculates for 2500 B.C. at Nippur, for Sirius, heliac setting April 13, heliac rising July 3. If Sirius be the star in question, then in this period the sixth month, or month of the mission

and that she thus slew the god of vegetation: But even though the Sumerians identified Innini with Sirius, she can scarcely have been worked into two astronomical myths. For as far as we have seen the descent of Ishtar probably coincides with the disappearance of this star, or the period between her heliac setting and her heliac rising. In this period she journeys to Arallu, where Tammuz sleeps. It is improbable that her rising would announce the death of Tammuz, rather her setting would be connected with his death, when she herself goes to seek him. The story of her desertion of Tammuz belongs rather to that cycle of fables which grew up concerning a faithless Ishtar. As patroness of licentious women she naturally drew upon herself this undesirable reputation. She becomes also a spirit of discord and strife :

‘Thou star of lamentation sundering brethren who are at peace.

Who causeth betrayal between friend

And lady friend.¹ Lady of defeat, shattering the mountains.’²

With considerable relief we pass from this objectionable type of Innini or *Venus vulgaris* to the type corresponding to the Greek Aphrodite Urania, the ‘heavenly Innini’. The name Innini itself means ‘heavenly lady’, and, as we have often noted, arose out of a

of Innini, falls in this period, and we must assume that the year began in January, or shortly after the winter solstice.

¹ Interpretation uncertain. One may translate, ‘Who betrays friend. Thou art strong.’ The translation above follows Zimmern, *Das Alte Orient*, vii. 3, p. 20.

² King, *Creation*, Appendix V, Obv. 9–11. See also Rogers, *Cun. Parallels*, 154.

theological idea.¹ In Babylonian religion the 'queen of heaven' type has, perhaps, originally no relation to the material heaven, and must always be distinguished from Innini as the deity of the star Venus. In Sumerian the original first principle father *An*, Semitic Anu,² really means heaven, but the mother goddess is called queen of heaven, because she is the female principle of An, and even under this title remains an earth goddess. She is the type which passed into Greek as Aphrodite Urania.³ Since the name 'Innini' became the chief designation for the goddess in Sumerian as 'Ishtar' did in Semitic, we find this name employed in every conceivable aspect. Innini may be employed in passages where the idea of an earth and mother goddess is clear, or where she is a water goddess,⁴ or where she is patroness of law, or war, or an astral body. But there is clear evidence that the name has no reference to the material heavens. The sign which was employed to write this name from first to last⁵ probably represents a caduceus, that is a staff with a winding serpent. I shall devote a chapter to the ophidian Innini, where the primitive connexion of both the earth goddess and the young god Tammuz with the serpent will be discussed. The point to be retained here is that the name Innini was applied first of all to an ophidian earth goddess. A more patent, though not more cogent, argument for regarding Innini as essentially a sky goddess is the epithet which so

¹ See above, pp. 44 and 49.

² A loan-word.

³ This is the term employed by Plato, Herodotus, and all classical Greek writers.

⁴ The Greek *Aphrodite Thalassia*.

⁵ Thureau-Dangin, *REC.* 204; Brünnow, 3046 (also confused with *RI.* 2561).

widely replaced *nin-anna* or *innini*, namely *gašan-anna*.¹ This important title is clearly intended to be a synonym of *nin-anna*, since the word *gašan* has the same meaning as *nin*, namely *beltu*, lady or queen, and the word means 'to rule', 'be lord over'.²

The Semites rarely translate the word, but render it by the name of their own goddess Ashdar, or Ishtar.³ The logical rendering would be 'queen of heaven', understood in the theological sense which we have so often insisted upon.⁴ In its classical sense this title cannot possibly refer to a goddess who rules the material heavens, nor any of the heavenly bodies, for we find it in passages which exclude this meaning:

'The heavenly queen, queen of heaven and earth.'⁵

¹ *Gašan* may be written with the sign, Brünnow 6983 or 7336, compare *SBH.* 85, 18 with 134, 3. In the liturgies the word is ordinarily spelt phonetically *ga-ša-an an-na*, *SBP.* 328, 7. The dialectic form *ka-ša-an-na* for *kašan anna* occurs, Manchester Text, III. 23, IV. 5. Also *ka-ša-na-na*, see Zimmern, *Gott Tamūz*, 714.

² *Gašan men* = *bél-ku*, 'I rule', often employed of Innini, *SBH.* 107, 18, &c.

³ Delitzsch, *Lesestücke*², 135, 38; *SBH.* 136, 18; *AJSL.* 23, 148, 57. But it is also rendered by 'virgin-harlot' (*iš-ta-ri-tum*), Haupt, *ASKT.* 126, 18, and by 'sacred harlot', *kađ-šu-tu* (sic), *AJSL.* 23, 146, 80.

⁴ This rendering *be-lit šamē* occurs in Delitzsch, *ibid.*, 136, 15. The passage *SBP.* 84, 22, *gašan a-na-a* (var. *na-na*) = *ilat iš-tar ša-ka-at*, 'The lofty Ishtar', is hardly to be used to explain the title *gašan anna*, for we have here a translation of *anna* which is *per se* ordinary and possible, but not to be used in this title. The real problem is whether *anna* is here a subjective or an objective genitive or an adjective. We find *gašan an-na-ge* (*SBP.* 328, 7), which indicates, unless *ge* is here used to designate the subject (see *Sumerian Grammar*, § 140), a noun in the genitive. I understand *anna-ge* as a descriptive genitive, not 'heaven's queen', but 'the queen of heavenliness', 'partaking of the nature of An, father-heaven'.

⁵ *SBP.* 328, 7, *gašan anna gašan an-ki-a-ge*.

The title queen of heaven and earth includes an original and an artificial aspect. As queen of the earth, or mother earth, she is the primitive goddess, but as queen of heaven she also tends to become the ruler over the material heavens. The tendency to transfer the mother to the far-away heavens, as had been done with Tammuz also (see page 37), and finally to identify her with astral bodies, is one about which we shall have much to say. In this connexion, however, I would point out that the title 'queen of heaven and earth' excludes a meaning, 'queen of heaven' (i. e. *heaven's queen*), for the first half of the line cited above.

I have gone somewhat minutely into this point, perhaps with redundancy, but it is vital to the argument. In my translations of Sumerian texts I employ the title 'queen of heaven' strictly in this theological sense,¹ and I believe that this is the goddess whom the Greeks understood to be the oriental Aphrodite Urania. According to this interpretation the title represents the mother goddess in the abstract type known as *Beltis*, the Babylonian *beltu*.² In fact the Sumerian term for Beltis, the divine queen, is simply *gašan*. There is no doubt but that both Sumerian and Semite had an overpowering conception of divinity when they spoke of the mother goddess, especially of her who represents the feminine principle of both earth and heaven. They spoke of her outright as the queen, or Beltis, and I believe that the Babylonian goddess *gašan* or Beltis, whose name was known throughout the ancient world, really represents the mother type. Under this title *gašan-anna*, *gašan*, *innini*, *bêlit šamê*, or *bêlti* (my queen) she appears most

¹ But see p. 91 for the extension of this idea into the idea 'queen of heaven'.

² See Lehmann-Haupt, *Šamašsumukin*, ii. 36; Jastrow, *Religion*, i. 142.

often in the Tammuz liturgies. It is the type of a pure goddess, patroness of birth and all life, who figures in this cult, and her lofty character was maintained by a powerful theological conception which was perpetuated by the extension of her title from 'queen' to 'heavenly queen'. In our sources which describe the Babylonian Aphrodite Urania, we find this title (*gašan anna*) most frequently employed. She it is who opposes the mother of iniquity.¹ With this title we find associated that other conception, *mugig*, the virgin mother.² As the daughter of heaven she bears the title of virgin in the description of a Greek writer.³

This supreme type of the great goddess may be in a sense designated as the liturgical type, for the titles Beltis or queen and Beltis of Heaven are found chiefly in the Tammuz liturgies. The opening lines of these mournful compositions almost invariably bring before us this type of goddess :

' How long in sorrow for her husband
 The heavenly queen for her husband (wails) ?
 The queen of Ēanna for her husband,
 The queen of the land of Erech for her husband,
 The queen of Hallab for her husband (wails).
 Alas for her husband, alas for her husband,
 Alas for her temple, alas for her city,
 For her husband who sleeps, the child who sleeps,
 For her husband who is dead, for the child who
 is dead,
 For the husband in Erech consecrated, him that sleeps.
 In Erech and in Kullab he was consecrated who
 sleeps.' ⁴

¹ *Babylonian Liturgies*, 79, 3.

² *SBP.* 26, 11; 328, 20; Delitzsch, *AL*³. 136, 15.

³ Sanchoniathon, see Barton, *Hebraica*, x. 30, παρθένος Ἀστάρτη.

⁴ Scheil, *Tammuz*, i. 1-11. Compare Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, 27, ii. 9, *mu-ud-na ga-ša-an-na-ka*, 'the husband of the queen of heaven'; also *SBP.* 318, 11; 300, 13.

The simple title *gašan*, 'queen', or 'my queen',¹ or 'divine queen',² almost invariably refers to Innini, and hence the Semitic rendering *bēlti* (my queen) was elevated into a divine name which appears to have been the one which was most popular in Western Asia.³ Across the top of many liturgical tablets we find the line, 'By the command of Bel and Beltis may it prosper', an invocation by which the psalms were placed under the protection of Marduk of Babylon and the mother goddess. In the famous Semitic poem called the Descent of Ishtar, she is addressed by the watchman of Hades, 'Hold, my Queen'.⁴

But the tendency to regard Innini as the heavenly queen soon led to her being elevated into a consort of the god of heaven. Already in a classical Sumerian text we meet with the line :

'O my queen, thee in heaven and in earth I behold,'⁵

and on a colossal bull dedicated to Ishtar by Ashurnasirpal II, she is addressed as 'great and most excellent queen of heaven and earth'.⁶ From the period of the dynasty of Ur onward there is an increasing tendency to regard the theological and heavenly Innini as reigning, not only over the natural and temporal powers of earth, but also over the material heavens. The domain of the heaven god Anu is one in which she now as the female principle

¹ *Gašan-mu* or *nin-mu*, see Radau, *Miscellaneous Texts*, no. 2, 7. 16. 31. 34. 70.

² Manchester Text, III. 17.

³ Note that *gašan* and *gašan-anna* are not differentiated in *SBH*. 105, 5, if Hussey, *AJSL*. 23, 144, *gašan-anna*=*bēlīku* be correct.

⁴ Obv. 23. See also *ZA*. 5, 79, 15; Craig, *RT*. 15, 5 and 19.

⁵ Radau, *ibid.*, 16 and 71.

⁶ King, *Annals*, 206, 1.

of this god takes an active interest.¹ But in the classical period this sphere of her activity is so abstract and unreal that it occurs only in connexion with her character as regent of earth. The powerful influence of the schools soon manifests itself in the title, 'Beltis, first born daughter of Heaven',² and the following early invocation shows a tendency to regard her as the consort of the heaven god himself:

'To Anu lord of the lands and Innini, Beltis the divine Innini.'³

Even more explicit is her title queen of the Igigi, or of the six hundred spirits of heaven, a legion of divine beings who inhabit the skies.⁴ But she is also the regent of the corresponding spirits who reside in the underworld. These hosts or angels of heaven and earth, attendants of the court of the sky god and the palace of the goddess of hell, are termed the 'great gods', and the following passages will illustrate this dual tendency:

¹ Not, however, under the ancient title *gašan-anna*, which apparently retains its original significance. See especially K. 100, 15, *ilāi iš-tar šar-rat ša-ma-mi u kaḫḫabi*, 'Ištar, queen of the heavens and the stars'.

² *SBP.* 26, 9, *bukurti ilu Anim*, King, *Annals*, 207, 3.

³ Thureau-Dangin, *SAK.* 160, no. 3. See also 220 f., ii. 12.

⁴ The word *igigi* means 'six hundred', see *Babyloniaca*, iv. 236, n. 2. The title 'great gods' appears often in conjunction with the Anunnaki, the divine spirits of the earth who reside in Arallu, V R. 50 a, 9; IV R. 1* b, 6; 19, no. 2, 6. The title occurs for both the Igigi and the Anunnaki (cf. King, *Annals*, 207, 3, Ištar *li'-at ilu anunnaki*, with Craig, *RT.* 67, 1, *li-e-at ilāni rabūti*), and it is often difficult to tell whether *ilāni rabūti* refers to one of these groups, or includes both. In Messerschmidt, *KTA.* Pl. 7, 25, *ilāni rabūti ilu igigū ša šamē ilu anunnakū ša iršiti*, 'the great gods, the Igigi of heaven, the Anunnaki of earth', the title clearly includes both. The title refers to the Anunnaki alone in IV R. 24, no. 1, 19, Nergal *etilli ilāni rabūti*, 'champion of the earth spirits', since Nergal is usually a god of the underworld.

'I pray to thee, Bêlit of Bêlits, goddess of goddesses,
O Ishtar, queen of the totality of habitations,
directress of mankind,
Irnini, exalted one, mistress of the Igigi.'¹

And in a litany the wailers, wishing the mournful mother adieu on her perilous mission to Arallu, address her in these lines :

'Sublime one, sublime one, hasten.
Divine queen, far famed, sublime one, hasten.
Queen of habitations, sublime one, hasten.
Regent of the Igigi, sublime one, hasten,
Lady of the sheep-stalls, sublime one, hasten.
Unto Ushumgalana,² sublime one, hasten.'³

But her ancient connexion with spirits of Arallu who guard the pure waters of the god of fountains persists :⁴

'Ishtar, councillor of the great gods,⁵
Exalted and glorified, heroic Ishtar,
Thou that subduest, magnified, Irnini, queen,
Unto me give help, thou that begettest and sparest,
Supreme Bêlit of the people, goddess of men,
The people's champion, stately Ishtar,
Daughter of Anu, of the great gods (their) source
of birth⁶ (art thou).'⁷

Thus we see that the ancient earth goddess passed from a theologically conceived offspring of heaven⁸

¹ King, *Creation*, App. V, 1-3; Rogers, op. cit., 153.

² A title of Tammuz.

³ Manchester Text, III. 16-21.

⁴ The word *anunnaki* probably means 'gods of the great father', i. e. of Ea, in the sense that they belong to his court; see *Babyloniaca*, vi. 106, where they number fifty, but in a later text the number is three hundred.

⁵ Here probably the Anunnaki, see p. 92, n. 4.

⁶ *Nabnit ilâni rabûti*, so I understand the passage.

⁷ Craig, *RT.* 67, 21-7.

⁸ For this idea see *PSBA.* 1901, 122, 11, *kima šamû irĥu iršitim*, 'like the heavens who conceived the earth', and the earth spirits are conceived of as begotten by Heaven, IV R. 21*, no. 2, Rev. 1 f.

into a real queen of heaven, and in late texts the Semites went so far as to translate 'heavenly queen' by 'queen of heaven'. The idea is apparently early, but a title corresponding to this concrete function does not appear until a late period, and to my knowledge never at all in Sumerian. For this title we are reduced to two sporadic translations of ancient titles which originally meant something quite different.¹ Nevertheless there must have been a widely spread conviction in Babylonia from about 2500 B. C. onward that the names *gašan-anna* and *Ishtar* indicated a goddess who rules the heavens, and the sporadic Semitic titles *bêlit šamê* and *šarrat šamê*, 'queen of heaven', may have obtained much more acceptance than has been supposed. We have seen that as a patroness of wisdom she claimed the title *mālikat*, or adviser. The cult of a goddess, who is supposed to be of Babylonian origin, was introduced into Judea in the age of Jeremiah² under the name *malkat haššamaïim*,³ 'queen of heaven', to whom the Jews offered Ishtar cakes,⁴ precisely as the Babylonians offered to their goddess. If the name be derived from Babylonia it represents a translation and not a direct borrowing.⁵

¹ *Bêlit šamê*, translation of *gašan-anna*, Delitzsch, *AL*³. 136, 14, and *šarrat šamê*, translating *ušumgalanna* (see for this title Index sub vocab.), *ibid.*, 4. For *šarrat* as a title without reference to *heaven* see King, *Cr.*, App. 5, 103 f. The only passage which names Ištar unequivocally 'queen of heaven' is K. 100, 15, ^{ilat} *ištar šar-rat ša-ma-mi u kaḫḫabāni*, see Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 128.

² Jer. vii. 18; xlv. 17.

³ I take it that the accuracy of this title is now proven.

⁴ *Kawwān*, Babylonian *kaṁānu*, *kaṁān tumri*.

⁵ *Malkā* is employed in Hebrew and Aramaic for *queen*, whereas the Babylonians employ the words *beltu* and *šarratu*. There appear to be two explanations which may be seriously entertained. We may assume that *šarrat šamê*, *bêlit šamê* were rendered into Hebrew by *malkat šamaïim*, or that the Phoenician goddess *malkat* was developed

As regent of heaven Innini henceforth appears in closest connexion with Anu, and she is called Antu,¹ that is, the consort of the heaven god. In Sumerian religion the heaven god appears to have had no consort, a position gradually occupied by Innini, as we have seen. And Anu, this indistinct and half-metaphysical divinity, has no great local cult, except at Erech the cult centre of Innini herself.² By force of analogy the Semites devised a name for a consort of Anu by adding the Semitic feminine ending to the Sumerian name An, producing Antu, which is in reality only another name for Innini as queen of heaven. This title, like that of Queen of Heaven, appears to have been much more common than has been supposed, for it passed into the west as Anat and into Greek as Anaitis,³ and was adopted into the Egyptian pantheon as early as the sixteenth century. The Egyptian sources leave no doubt concerning her warlike character,⁴ and a bilingual Phoenician and Greek inscription

into a *malkat šamaïim*, just as we find *bā'al šamaïim*, *Alar-samaïm*, &c. In favour of a Babylonian origin is the employing of the Istar cakes in Hebrew.

¹ *CT.* 24, 20, 19 = 24, 1, 28, see Pinches, *PSBA.* 1909, 21.

² See Jensen, *Mythen und Epen*, 62, 5; Code of Hammurapi, ii. 46; *PSBA.* 1908, 82, 8 f., 'Anu from Erech and Enlil from Nippur'.

³ See de Vogüé, *Mélanges d'Archéologie orientale*, 38 ff.; Cheyne, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 163, and literature there cited. Anat is found in proper names of the Aramaic period in Egypt as late as the fifth century, see Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine*, p. 83.

⁴ This Asiatic goddess is represented in Egyptian as a war goddess seated, holding a spear and swinging a battle-axe. In this form she has the title 'Anat, queen of heaven, mistress of the gods'. As a goddess of love she is represented nude, full front, holding in one hand lotuses and in the other hand one or two serpents. In this rôle her name is *Kdš*, most likely connected with her Babylonian title *kadīštu*. This is much more probable than the explanation of De

identifies Anat with Athena Soteira.¹ On a Phoenician medallion Anat is represented seated on a lion, and we shall see that the lion frequently accompanies the Babylonian martial Ishtar. This title of Ishtar, the warlike, which spread throughout Syria and Egypt is not her ordinary Babylonian name in this function. But the Ishtar of heaven is the type which developed into a warlike goddess, so that there can be little doubt but that the war goddess Anat of Syria and Egypt is derived from the Babylonian Antu. But before we pass to the martial Ishtar it will be necessary to speak of two other aspects of the goddess of heaven as well as of the astral identifications.

In a theological list of names Ishtar has been identified with the consort of the sun god, Ajā² of Sippar and Larsa, as the 'queen of the lands'.³ Now Ajā⁴ is an indistinct figure in the pantheon,⁵ having no temple of her own and, so far as I can see, she is seldom called the wife of Shamash.⁶ On the other hand her title 'bride of Shamash'⁷ points to a harlot goddess whose annual marriage with a god recurs in Babylonian religion in many forms. The leading type of this mystic ceremony is, of course, that of Innini and Tammuz, but the spring festivals of the marriage of Ningirsu and Bau of Lagash, Nebo and Tashmet

Rougé, who explained *Ḳdš* as 'the goddess of the city *Ḳadeš*', see W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 314 f.

¹ Found at Lapethus in Cyprus, and published by de Vogüé, *ibid.*

² Written *a-a* (also *a-a-ú*, *CT.* 25, 10, 33).

³ *CT.* 25, 10, 12-33.

⁴ This transcription is provisional. There is no evidence for the rendering *malkat* urged by Meissner, Schrader, and others.

⁵ There are no hymns to her, but she appears in oaths in connexion with Shamash.

⁶ Only in King, *Magic*, 6, 126, *hirtum*.

⁷ See *Neu-Babylonische Königsinschriften*, 259, 19; 242, 47, &c.

of Barsippa, are types of the same ceremony, and it is not improbable that the earth goddess became sooner or later associated with the sun-god in the same manner. This connexion would be suggested by the dependence of vegetation upon the sun, and strengthened by the evolution of Innini into a heavenly divinity. Like Innini, Ajā, the bride of Shamash, has her convent for women,¹ and in one learned composition of the schools she is placed with Innini in the pantheon.² One of her important titles is 'light of heaven',³ a name given also to Ishtar as the planet Venus.⁴ She has been interpreted as a goddess of the morning light,⁵ or in any case, some phase of the sun, perhaps the 'light of the sun'. It may well be that Ajā is by origin an abstract conception of some similar sort, but she is clearly a type of the queen of heaven,⁶ and perhaps also of the astral Ishtar, in which case she might be Venus as the morning star.⁷ Like Ishtar she is also called Beltis, for there can be no doubt but that the invocation of a letter, 'May Shamash and

¹ *Maštaku, CT.* 25, 9, 12.

² *SBP.* 161, 18 f. See also 26, 40-2, where the mother Nanā is followed by Ajā, 'the good womb'.

³ *Sú-ga-ām, sú-da-ām, CT.* 25, 9, 24 f.

⁴ *Núr šamē* (= *sú-ud-da-ām*), Reisner, *SBH.* 98, 1. See also Jensen, *ZA.* 1, 398, n. 2.

⁵ Note the title *nin-kar-ra, CT.* 24, 31, 67 and 25, 9, 17, *bélit niphī* (?).

⁶ One of her titles is *Aja ša šamē*, 'Ajā of heaven'; another *Aja ša nšē*, 'Ajā of peoples', corresponding closely to Ištar of heaven and the Ištar of government, *CT.* 25, 9, 14 and 16. An *Aja ša ku-ni-e* is found (*ibid.* 15), with which compare *kanūt ilāti*, a title of Ištar, King, *Magic*, 5, 11; 1, 29; Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, 128, 55.

⁷ Compare *nin-mul-sī-a* = Ajā, probably the name of a star (*CT.* 25, 9, 26), and possibly Venus. At any rate Ištar as *nin-sī-an-na* is identified with Venus, *CT.* 25, 31, 9.

Belti give thee life', refers to Shamash and Ajā of Sippar, as Scheil (*Une Saison de Fouilles à Sippar*, 123) has already seen.

The evidence for the identification of these two divinities is too conclusive to reject the conclusion that somehow Ajā is another one of those parasite goddesses, like Nanā, Anat, and Bau, who incorporates one of the manifold aspects of the great Innini, and in this case the rôle of queen of heaven.

As soon as the queen of heaven becomes associated with the light which streams from the heavenly bodies, sun, moon, and stars, she develops warlike qualities. The conflict of light and darkness is a legend which always appealed to the Babylonian mind, and *sol invictus*, the invincible light which defeats the powers of darkness, assumes a warlike aspect.¹ It is but natural that the goddess, this further connexion having been made, should develop straightway into a martial Ishtar. This tendency must have been furthered by the identification with the planet Venus. As a divinity of heaven's light she appears at an early period as the daughter of the moon god.² These three aspects of Innini, the goddess of light, of the star Venus, and of war are difficult to separate. Since as a heaven goddess Antu developed into a war goddess in other lands, we must suppose that Antu was associated with light. One of her special titles as goddess of war is Annunit.

This interesting title is philologically connected with the name Antu,³ and was probably a Semitic

¹ See Jastrow, *Religion*, i. 221 f.

² *Babylonian Liturgies*, 86, 32; *SBP.* 8, 11. See also *PSBA.*, 1909, p. 62, 4; *SBP.* 193, 25.

³ The name is clearly a Semitic invention, being an endeavour to

word employed by the ancient Semitic invaders for the Sumerian war goddess. The name and attribute which it primarily designates reveal in a most interesting manner the impression which the Sumerian Innini made upon the first Semitic invaders. The etymology shows that the goddess had already been elevated into an abstract consort of the heaven god, was already associated with light, and had become a goddess of war. From the earliest Semitic period onward Annunit or Anunit remains essentially a martial and virgin goddess. Being but a special title for the early Semitic Ašdar whom the invaders established in their first capital at Agade, she became especially attached to this city, where her temple Eulmaš existed from the earliest times.¹ The goddess of Eulmaš at Agade is referred to by all three titles, *Innini*, *Ašdar*, and *Annunit*, and in later times, when Agade became a quarter of the great city Sippar, this temple was known as Eulmaš in Sippar of Anunit,² and the goddess herself is she that dwells in Sippar of Anunit.³ As

derive a feminine form from a title of the heaven god, viz. *an-nun*, 'great AN', and is a name employed by the earliest Semites to designate Innini. Sargalisarri erected a temple to her in Babylon, Thureau-Dangin, *SAK.* 225 *c*, and she appears as the mother goddess and marries Gimil-Sin, *ibid.* 200 *b*. Hammurapi speaks of her as the Aštar of Agade, Code IV. 48. Not until the Assyrian period do we begin to find the first element reduced to *a*, and the word written with the determinative for 'god', as *ilu a-nu-ni-tum*, Craig, *RT.* 56, 14; Zimmern, *Shurpu*, ii. 169, &c. This form appears in the inscriptions of the late Cassite period, King, *Boundary Stones*, p. 22, 15; see, for more references, Hinke, *Boundary Stones*, 221.

¹ Built by Sargon, founder of the Akkadian dynasty, *VAB.* iv. 246, 29, restored by Hammurapi, Code IV. 49.

² *VAB.* iv. 228, 27.

³ *Ibid.* 276, 14. Some regard Eulmaš of Agade and Eulmaš of Sippar Anunit as distinct temples. It is true that the title Anunit

a title of the mother goddess the name appears in a date formula of Sargalisarri, fifth (?) king of the Akkadian dynasty, who built her temple in Babylon.¹ Doubtlessly the title was employed everywhere in Sumer and Akkad, at any rate wherever Semitic influence penetrated.² But a tendency to confine this title to the Ishtar of Agade, and later to Sippar, is manifest from the age of Hammurapi onward. Besides her cult in Sippar-Anunit, she is mentioned also in another quarter of Sippar, namely Sippar of the god Amnanu.

(The god Amnanu, who gave his name to a section of Sippar as early as the first Babylonian dynasty,³ is possibly connected with the name of a deity of Erech, ⁱⁿ Am-an-na,⁴ who appears also as the Enlil of Suruppak.⁵)

Under this title Ishtar is a martial deity. Nabonidus says of her that he built Eulmaš, 'to Anunit the lady of battle, she that bears bow and quiver, who executes perfectly the command of Enlil her father, that extirpates the foe, that annihilates the evil, that occurs rarely in connexion with the old name Agade (*Shurpu*, ii. 169), but the inscriptions of Nabonidus employ Agade and Sippar of Anunit interchangeably. See Luckenbill, *AJSL*. 24, 320.

¹ Probably identical with *E-kun š-da-ri*, temple of Ištar of Agade in Babylon, built by Nabuna'id and recently excavated by Koldewey; see *MDOG*. 47, 23, and Koldewey, *Das Wiedererstehende Babylon*, 288. An [Anu]nit of Babylon (?), Craig, *RT*. 58, 19.

² For the title at Drehem see Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dréhem*, 5482, ii. 18; 5552, 4; Langdon, *Drehem*, 52, 7; here always *an-nu-ni-tum*.

³ King, *LIH*. iii. 147, 9. For reading *ilat am-na-nu* see *VAB*. iv. 276, 30.

⁴ Strassmaier, *Warka*, 41, 2, temple of *d. am-na-nu*, and in the n. pr. *d. Am-an-na-lamazi*, *ibid.* 44, 12.

⁵ *mul am-an-na* is the Enlil of Suruppak, *PSBA*. 1911, Pl. XI. 5. Scheil, *Une Saison de Fouilles à Sippar*, p. 21, apparently regards *Amnanu* as connected with the western mountains Ammanana of the Lebanon range.

walks before the gods, who at sunrise and sunset renders favourable my omens'.¹ She is here identified with Venus, but the ordinary title of the mother goddess as Venus is *ilat* Dilbat. As such she is the daughter of the moon-god.² She also has the title Beltis³ and, like Ajā, that other type of light and martial goddess, she is connected with Shamash perhaps as a bride. 'May Shamash and Anunit hear his prayers,'⁴ says Nabonidus, and a city king of the period of Ur calls himself the beloved of Shamash and Annunit.⁵ The same reasons which could be adduced for connecting Ajā with Shamash were operative in the case of Anunit. But the latter title is older and more important. Not only is it one of Ishtar's names as the planet Venus, but a fixed star in the region of Aries (*lù-zid-mal*) was identified with Anunit.⁶ Aries or the sign of the ram was identified with Tammuz,⁷ hence it was natural to allocate a fixed star in the same celestial region to the mother goddess. We know from an astronomical tablet that the ordinary name of a star in the region of Aries must have been Ninsianna,⁸ one of the most common astral names

¹ *VAB.* iv. 228, 22-6.

² *Ibid.* 228, 42; 250, 50.

³ *Ibid.* 228, 38; 248, 29; 250, 49.

⁴ *Ibid.* iv. 228, 48.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 152, Itur-Šamaš. See also Craig, *RT.* 56, 14, Shamash and *ilat* Anunit.

⁶ *CT.* 33, 2, 42, *mul-a-nu-ni-tum*.

⁷ *Ibid.* 43. Elamitic religion apparently regarded Tammuz as a patron of flocks, and symbolized him both by the ram and the serpent. Several examples of the ram accompanied by a four-pointed star are given by Toscani, *Délégation en Perse*, xii. 164 ff. He must have been identified with Aries in Elam at an early age.

⁸ *PSBA.* 1909, Pl. IV. 1, *mul nin-si-an-na*, rises in Nisan, and Aries rises in Nisan, *CT.* 33, 3, 36.

of Innini. But the Babylonians evidently allocated two stars to the mother goddess near Aries or Tammuz, one of which, Ninsīanna, lay near to Aries and rose in Nisan with Aries, and another, Anunit, which rose at the end of Shebat.¹ Two other names for the star of Innini in Aries are known besides Ninsianna, viz. *Dilbat* (the ordinary name for the planet Venus)² and Absin the grain goddess, i. e. Virgo. It is curious that the Babylonians gave the name of Virgo (*absin*) to another star in an entirely different part of the heavens,³ or the name *Dilbat* to a fixed star. According to calculations furnished me by astronomers for the latitude of Babylon at 700 B. C. Anunit is the constellation of the fish Pisces. The star *Dilbat*, Ninsīanna, or Absin should be Algol, or perhaps in mythology the whole constellation Medusa, in Perseus, rising soon after the vernal equinox. It may well be that Tammuz under the name *lù-zid-mal*, *agarru*, 'the hireling or farm servant', was identified originally with Perseus, and Ninsīanna with Medusa. The Babylonians must also have named another star in the region of Taurus, *Anunit* rising in Ajar,⁴ which I have identified with Capella.

Babylonian astral mythology proves that they regarded Anunit as essentially a heaven goddess, for the constellation with which she was identified, namely the eastern group of stars in Pisces, belongs to those heavenly bodies assigned to the astral régime of Anu the heaven god.⁵ It is difficult, however, to under-

¹ *CT.* 33, 4, 11.

² See Kugler, *ibid.* 230; rises in Nisan.

³ *Dilgan*, i. e. Aries, is identified with *mul ab-sin* in Thompson, *Reports*, 88, Rev. 8.

⁴ Kugler, *ibid.* 230.

⁵ The twelve constellations which belong to Anu are the western

stand why the Babylonians identified her with a group of stars universally connected with rain and water. Anu or Heaven was regarded even in the early period as the source of rains; and we must assume that this people understood the meteorological causes of rains, since they attributed this phenomenon to the upper air, and not to the upper sea. Perhaps for this reason Annunit, the female principle of Anu, became associated with this constellation. The astrologers, by transferring terrestrial geography to the celestial planes, identified the river Tigris with the eastern fish or Anunit, and the Euphrates with the western fish.¹ In astrology the constellation of Anunit influences the Tigris and the land of Akkad as well as the sea-coast lands.²

There can be no doubt but that the Sumerians themselves regarded Innini as a conquering goddess. We have already seen that they extended her empire to the heavens and connected her with the power of light. She becomes the regent of all lands,³ a title of which both Assyrians and Babylonians were particularly fond. In the age preceding the dynasty of Ur a Sumerian king of Erech, about to undertake a war against the foreign dynasty of Gutium, appeals to Innini, 'O my queen, lioness of battle'.⁴ She is

fish or the 'Swallow Star', Dilgan, the eastern fish or Anunit, the Pleiades, Taurus, Orion, Canis Major, Corvus, Virgo, Libra, *AN-KU-A-PL.* and Aquila, see Weidner, *Babyloniaca*, vi. 151. Also *CT.* 33, 2, 42 places the Swallow Star (*šinunutu*) and Anunit among the constellations ruled over by Anu. For the correct identification of Anunit with the group of stars in the eastern fish see Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst*, Ergänzung, no. 1, p. 11.

¹ See Kugler, *ibid.*

² See Weidner, *Babyloniaca*, vi. 156.

³ Gudea, Statue C, II. 2.

⁴ *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 9, 114, 27.

represented on seals of an extremely early period sitting upon a throne ornamented with lions, and with her feet resting upon a lion.¹ Characteristic of this type are the branches and serpent heads which spring from her shoulders.² We shall see in our study of the ophidian goddess that she was connected with the serpent from most primitive times, so that the archaeologists are clearly correct in identifying this goddess with Innini. I do not believe that the primitive connexion with the serpent led to a warlike attribute. In art the ophidian connexion persists in the caduceus with two serpent heads and in a serpent-shaped club,³ but the serpent heads among the branches springing from her shoulders become, like the branches, conventionalized stems, and the supreme type of the martial goddess will be seen on the Assyrian seal reproduced here. See Pl. I, No. 1.

Ophidian survivals have entirely disappeared here unless we regard the sickle-shaped weapon as a remnant of the serpent. On the contrary the connexion with the star Sirius is emphasized, this symbol appearing no less than five times in the contour of her figure. The lion and the star Sirius characterize the warlike Ishtar. A representation of the Sumerian war goddess as she was conceived of by the people of Lulubu on the Elamite frontier shows her in a standing position leading a captive by a string inserted in his nose.⁴ Here the only symbols are buds springing from the

¹ Ward, *Cylinders of Western Asia*, 155.

² Hehn, *Die biblische und die babylonische Gottesidee*, p. 8, regards the so-called 'clubs' springing from her back as blossoms and buds of trees, and on this point he is right.

³ See Ward, *op. laud.*, p. 158.

⁴ See Ward, p. 157, and Thureau-Dangin, *SAK.* 172

shoulders, but a five-pointed star appears in the upper field. Another representation of the goddess by an artist of the land of Suhi east of the Tigris below the river Habur, from the period of the middle empires,¹ shows a goddess holding a bow adorned with a star.² A combination of the three types of this goddess will be found on the rock engraving of Malta.³ In a procession of seven deities the seventh figure represents Ishtar standing upon a lion. She holds in her left hand a ring and sceptre,⁴ symbols of government, and her horned tiara is topped with a star. Thus in the same figure we have the astral, the ruling, and the martial Ishtar.

The close connexion between the astral and the martial types is made still more evident by the fact that two stars, Sirius and Spica, both received the name of 'bow star' after they were identified with Ishtar. Now the bow is, at least in the middle empires, a symbol of the war goddess (see Pl. I, No. 1). The stars Sirius and Spica, especially the former, rise heliacally at the time of fiercest summer heat. Furthermore, on a memorial deed inscribed and engraved at the order of Nazimarattash,⁵ her symbol is called the

¹ See Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, Relief of Šameš-rêš-ušur, prefect of Suhi and Maer.

² Frank, *Bilder und Symbole*, p. 19, makes the suggestion that the star Sirius was called the 'bow star' (*kaḫḫab ḫašti*), because Ištar, who was identified with Sirius, bears a bow.

³ See for a reproduction of this remarkable procession of gods, Ašur, Bêlit, Sin, Bel, Šamaš, Adad, and Ištar, Frank, *Bilder und Symbole babylonisch-assyrischer Götter*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 2.

⁴ This symbol of rulership is not peculiar to her alone. All the other deities on this relief hold the ring and sceptre with the exception of Adad.

⁵ 1337-1312 B. C. See Scheil, *Délégation en Perse*, ii. 86-92.

'*devastating* firebrand'.¹ The goddess of battle is thus described by Ashurbanipal: 'Ishtar who dwells in Arbela entered; on her right and on her left were quivers hanging; in her hand a bow she grasped; she drew a sharp sword (instrument) of waging battle'.² 'Ishtar who dwells in Arbela, who is clothed in flames, who bears a blaze of light, upon the Arabians caused sheet fire to rain.'³ A similar description is given of Anunit in the Sippar Cylinder of Nabonidus: 'Anunit the lady of battle who bears bow and quiver, who accomplishes the command of Enlil her father, who crushes the foe and destroys the wicked.'⁴ Also as the planet Venus she is associated with battle:

'When in the heavens at twilight I stand,
She whose light in heaven is high I am.

When in the battle front I stand
A flood of light⁵ whose strength is mighty I am.'⁶

We have two hymns to Ishtar which are addressed to her as the planet Venus:

'Heroic Ishtar *valiant* among goddesses,
Torch of heaven and earth, light of the regions,
Divine Innini, first born daughter of Sin,⁷ offspring
of Ninlil.⁸

¹ *Karrurum purrurum*, col. IV, 14 f.

² Cyl. B. v. 52-5.

³ Rassam Cylinder, ix. 79-81. See on the symbols of Istar also Frank, *Bilder*, 17-19.

⁴ See *Neu-Babylonische Königsinschriften*, 229, 22-4.

⁵ *Abubu* glossed by *iš-pa-tum*, 'quiver'. For the connexion between *abubu* and *išpatu* as well as the original sense see *ZA*. 20, 450.

⁶ Hussey, *AJSL*. 23, 144 f.

⁷ The moon god.

⁸ As an earth goddess and patroness of birth Innini is the daughter of Enlil and Ninlil (the earth god and consort) of Nippur.

She that loves¹ the manly, glorious and heroic
Shamash.

Ishtar, thou rulest and the heavens thou subduest.²

‘Light of heaven that flames like fire over the land
art thou.

Virgin, when over the earth thou standest,

Thou art one who as the earth is set there.

As for thee, the faithful way does homage to thee.’³

Since this planet is never far removed from the sun, the Babylonians gave her the name of ‘twin sister of Shamash’.⁴ It is possible that the conception of Ishtar as a daughter of the moon god originated in the idea that she is the light of the heavens. Also her identification with Venus brought about the further consequence that as an astral deity she is the daughter of the moon. But in Babylonian religion Ishtar and all her aspects have nothing to do with the moon. In this connexion I shall close the citations with the following lines :

‘Thou art the light⁵ of heaven and earth, valiant
daughter of Sin,

Bearer of arms, instituting combat.’⁶

‘O lofty Ishtar, that givest light unto the regions.’⁷

Thus we see that the type of Innini which appears in

¹ *Ra'-mat.*

² King, *Magic*, no. 1, 29-33.

³ *SBP.* 192 f.

⁴ *Talimti ilu Šamši*, Delitzsch, *AL*³. 135, 22 ; Nanā *talimmat ilu šamši*, *Rec. de Travaux*, xx. 205, col. III, 1 f. The explanation given above is due to a suggestion of Dr. Fotheringham. *Tu-am-ti ilu šamši*, K. 3447, 3, in Pery, *Sin*, p. vi.

⁵ *Nannarat*, here probably employed in an abstract sense ; I do not believe that a star is meant.

⁶ King, *Creation*, App. V, 5 f.

⁷ *Ibid.* 111. Here of course the planet Venus is meant. Note also the address to Ištar ‘among the many stars of heaven’.

art is invariably the warlike goddess who developed out of a goddess of light and of the stars. This idea of attributing warlike propensities to triumphant light and to the 'hosts of heaven', is one which the Babylonians held in common with the Hebrews. We are reminded of the similar idea of the song of Deborah :

'The stars from their courses fought with Sisera.'¹

The power of healing disease is one which we should expect to have been attributed to Innini as an earth goddess, and all the more because she was originally connected with serpent worship, but this attribute passed almost exclusively to the deity known as Gula or Bau who represents the mother goddess as wife of Ningirsu. Ningirsu, as we have seen, developed from a Tammuz type, and Gula herself is a parasite of Innini, but separated from her in the prehistoric period. So completely has Gula absorbed the attribute of healing that few traces remain. In a fragment she bears the title 'bestower of life'.² In the following prayer of a king she appears both as a patroness of government as well as a genius of healing :

'Repose, O daughter of Sin, abide in thy dwelling.
 Draw nigh unto the faithful king,³ him that takes
 hold of thy shawl,
 The shepherd of Assyria who walks behind thee.
 Life unto far away days fix as his fate.
 The foundation of his throne establish, make old his
 dynasty.

¹ Judges v. 20. See Moore on this passage, p. 158 of his *Commentary on Judges*. The Babylonian parallel certainly suggests animated beings.

² *Ka-i-šat balati*, *PSBA*. 1909, 68, 11.

³ Sargon (?).

Speed safely the horses, the span of his yoke.
 Wasting plague put far from his body.
 The *stinging* (?)¹ locust wasting the corn,
 The evil little locust carrying away the fruit,
 Cutting off the regular offerings of god and goddess,
 May Enlil that hears thee and Marduk thy favourite,
 By thy command count as wind.'²

The most beautiful and instructive prayer to Ishtar is one addressed to her by a man overtaken by many misfortunes, 'days of gloom, months of misery, years of misfortune'. The prayer extends to one hundred and ten lines, and is in itself an almost complete commentary upon the goddess.³ An extract from a similar but shorter prayer will serve as an example of the appeals made to Ishtar :

' Good it is to implore thee, for grace is in the oath
 by thy name.
 Thy beholding is favour, thy command is light.
 Have mercy upon me, O Ishtar, command my
 being in prosperity.
 Faithfully behold me and receive my supplication.
 My *humility* esteem,⁴ my *limbs clothe* (?);
 Since thy song I have learned, may I possess peace
 of heart.
 I have borne thy yoke, therefore bring unto me rest,
 I have given heed to thy chief interests, so may
 mercy come straightway.

¹ *Ši-in-nu*, perhaps an insect, cf. *šī-e-nu* in a list of poisonous insects, *CT.* 12, 21, *BM.* 93040, Obv. 13.

² Craig, *RT.* 54, 17-28. See also Martin, *Textes religieux*, 196 ff., and Macmillan, *BA.* v. 567.

³ King, *Creation*, App. V. It has been translated many times; for a recent English translation see Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels*, 153-61.

⁴ *Uški* from *nasāku*. The interpretation is uncertain.

I have cherished thy glory; let there be acceptance and favour.

I have sought thy splendour; may thy countenance be bright.

I have taken refuge in thy dominion; may it mean life and health.

May the good female *šédu*¹ who is before thee be propitious, may the good female *lamassu*² who goes behind thee be propitious.

He who is at thy right may add riches, he who is at thy left may obtain grace for me.

Command and my words shall be heard.

The word which I speak, even as I speak it may be received.

In health of flesh and joy of heart, yea, thou shalt lead me daily.

My days lengthen, life grant unto me: I would live and prosper and contemplate thy divinity.

Even as I sing may I obtain.

Heaven may rejoice for thee, sea may shout to thee.

May the gods of the universe draw nigh unto thee.

May the great gods³ make thy heart glad.⁴

In the manifold and distracting series of events which we must catalogue and explain in delineating the evolution of Babylonian religion, we have been able to disengage this most important deity. Having cast off many concrete qualities which were personified into female consorts of local gods, she retains for herself the commanding position of a detached deity, mother of humanity, defender of her people. And in the official liturgies her attribute which seems to have worked most profoundly upon the formation of ritual and literature is that of a *mater dolorosa*, 'a sorrowful

¹ *Šédu*, a protecting genius or spirit, not necessarily in the form of a bull, but frequently so; Heb. *šēd*.

² Also a divine protector.

³ The Anunnaki and Igigi.

⁴ King, *Magic*, no. 8, 1-19.

mother'. In this respect two great liturgical services arose, and they are, in fact, the only really great public services of Babylonian religion. I mean the liturgies which constitute the wailings for Tammuz and the series of public liturgies which arose out of national or local calamities, the most prominent type of which are the liturgies to the 'Word'. The former series, which took place annually at midsummer, have been described.

But beside these annual ceremonies of public wailing there developed a much more important series of liturgies founded upon local calamities, and so developed that they became the daily or weekly temple services. Sumerian and Babylonian religion, if we may judge it from these great public litanies, shows from the beginning an oppressive sentiment of sorrow and despair. And in these public litanies the mother Innini, or that other type of mother goddess, Gula of Lagash, becomes the principal figure. One of the most ancient litanies intended for the regular public service begins:

'Begetting mother who knows lamentation who abides among her people.'¹

National or local calamity seems to have been described as a grief which fell most heavily upon the mother goddess. She it is who bore the sorrows of men and suffered with them. The wrath of the great gods Anu, Enlil, Ninib, and the others fell upon goddess and people alike. They utter the devastating and fearful 'Word',² which possesses the mother goddess, overwhelms the cities and afflicts humanity because of their sins. In these calamities Innini shares the common fate, and

¹ *SBP.* II, 3.

² *Enem*, Semitic *amatu*.

as in the Tammuz series, here also the litanies make her the spokesman of human despair :

' She of the pure heart, the mighty counsellor am I,
 Lady who in my convent sat in peace of heart was I,
 But his word¹ sent me forth, as often as it comes to
 me, it cast me prostrate on my face.'²

In the course of Babylonian and Assyrian history many hostile invasions are recorded in all periods, the temples desecrated, and the statues of the gods carried away to foreign lands. Such events naturally gave occasion to the chanting of such hymns, which developed into official litanies. In all such cases it is the departure of the goddess which constitutes the greatest loss. The litanies leave the impression that, despite the grand phrases in which the gods are addressed, it is the mother goddess to whom the Babylonian felt most attached :

' When Marduk utters his word below,³ it causes
 shuddering below.

I am the word of the lord, over its evil power
 I preside.

At his word the heavens above are stilled of them-
 selves, his is a word of majesty.

Now as in the days of long ago where shall I go ?

The word destroys the folds, rends the stalls,
 My gardens are rent, my forests are despoiled of
 leaves.

Like a lone rush reed, behold the mighty one has
 brought me low, even me.

Like a lone tamarisk in the storm he has made me.'⁴

¹ i. e. the word of the earth god Enlil.

² *SBP.* 3, 11-13.

³ i. e. on earth.

⁴ *SBP.* 49-51.

Not a few passages show that the goddess was really identified with this mystic word of the gods, an idea which seems at first sight wholly illogical. But the welfare of humanity depended upon the mother goddess, and with her overthrow the calamity was complete. It straightway occurred to represent her also as angered and flown because of the sins of the people. She is, therefore, identified with the wrathful word, although in the same passages she laments over her own sorrows. These apparent inconsistencies in the character of Innini are due to the manifold conceptions of her activity. Not less illogical is her faithlessness in deserting Tammuz, or her double character of patroness of purity and licentiousness. Nevertheless our final analysis reveals always a deity who symbolizes the gloomy, austere, and pure side of ethics and religion. The theological lists have many titles which emphasize this idea,¹ and we have already cited a significant line from the greatest of all prayers addressed to her, in which she is called the 'star of lamentation'.²

¹ See *CT.* 24, 41, 81-5: *d. me-nu-an-nim* = Ištar ša *tanihi*, 'Ištar of sighing'. *d. la-ba-tu* = Ištar ša *lallarāti*, 'Ištar of wailing' (see also 25, 17, 22 and *SBP.* 34, 37). *d. a-la-lak-ki* = Ištar ša *īarurāte*, 'Ištar of lamentation'. *d. gū-ša-ia* = Ištar ša *tanuḫāti*, 'Ištar of moaning'. The title *gū-ša-ia* occurs as *gu-ša-a-a*, 25, 17, 9, and as *gu-še-e-a*, Craig, *RT.* 15, 3, &c.; see also *Babyloniaca*, 238, n. 7. Note also the address in Craig, *RT.* 26, 1 (= *BA.* ii. 633), 'Beltis, powerful, the loud-crying' (*īal ninlil kablat sinnišat ragintu*). The temple psalmists stand about her, see *AJSL.* 23, 148, 80. She is the queen of psalmody, *bēlit kalūti*, Meek, *BA.* x, Part I, p. 121, 5.

² For a more detailed study of Babylonian liturgies see the introduction of the writer's *Babylonian Liturgies*.

CHAPTER III

THE OPHIDIAN AND ORACULAR DEITIES

IN the study of the attributes of Tammuz evidence appeared to be sufficient for supposing that he was originally a god of vegetation, and later of fresh water. And the earth goddess Innini appeared to have been at first a goddess of the vine and of the flocks. The litanies and the theological lists refer to Tammuz by a title which occurs as frequently as any other, and which I have reserved for a separate treatment; for in this title we have evidence that this deity was connected with serpent worship. It is true that this connexion is to be regarded as prehistoric, and one which was forgotten in the age when our sources begin. The serpent must have been regarded as symbolic of the powers of the earth, for not only is Tammuz, more especially that parasite type of Tammuz, Ningishzida, called the 'great serpent dragon', but the same title is more than once applied to the mother goddess herself. The title in Sumerian is god, *ama-ušumgal-anna*,¹ a name which is regarded by the theologians apparently as the most important of all

¹ In the lists *d. ama-ušumgal-an-na*, K. 7663, 2 (*CT.* 25, 7); *CT.* 24, 19, II. 1; K. 11035, 2 (24, 9). This is the ordinary title in texts, *SBP.* 300, 11; 304, 20; 308, 8. In the liturgies the following variants occur: *ama-šu-gal-a-na*, Zimmern, *K.-L.*, no. 1, Rev. I. 18; *ama-ù-šu-gal-[a-na]*, Manchester Text, I. 18; *ù-šu-gal-a-na*, III. 21, and Zimmern, *K.-L.* 31, Obv. I. 11; *ama-ù-šu-gal-la-na*, *ibid.* 3, I. 23; [*ama*]-*ù-šu-um-gal-an-na*, 3, Rev. II. 13; *d. ama-ušumgal-an-na-ge*, *CT.* 16, 46, 195 (translated by *ilu dumu-zi*); the same without the determinative for god, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 9, 115, 30.

the titles of Tammuz.¹ On the analogy of the many names to which the element *anna*, 'heaven', was attached, we may assume that the original name was *ama-ušumgal*, 'mother-great serpent', i. e. 'great serpent mother'. The idea of motherhood attached to this name need not arrest us, for the idea occurs in other names of Tammuz, and comes from an age when male and female divinities were not differentiated. The element *ušumgal* is essential, and this means 'great serpent'.² With the addition of the element *anna*

¹ See *SBP.* 152, 20, where Tammuz as the husband of *gašan anna* has this title, translated into Semitic by *ilu dumu-zi*. This is a list of gods drawn upon by the scribes, and they evidently selected what they considered the most important titles of the mother goddess and the dying god.

² This is surely the original meaning, as also in passages cited by Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, 145, under *ušumgallu* II, and the ideogram is translated by *bašmu*, 'serpent', 'viper', in *CT.* 19, 48 a, 27. On the other hand it seems that Sumerian possessed a word *ušum*, meaning 'one' (see *Sumerian Grammar*, 256), and *ušum-gal* would then mean 'the great one'. [For *ušum*, *ušu* = *ēdišu*, *išten*, see also Meissner, *SAI.* 221, and Brünnow, 338.] Tammuz as *ušumgal* is understood in this second sense in *SBP.* 144, 29, where the Semitic translation renders this word by *ša ediššiša rabū*, 'he who alone is great'. The Sumerian *ušumgal* and the Semitic loan word *ušumgallu* are generally employed in the sense 'lord', 'mighty one'. For example, Hammurapi is the *ušumgal* of kings, Code II. 55. Marduk is *ušumgal* of all sanctuaries, IV R. 21* a, iii. 6. The word is employed also in other connexions; thus a lyre, presented to a temple as symbol of sacred music, is called the *ušumgal* of the land; the meaning here appears to be 'great serpent', probably referring to a design drawn on the lyre. By metonymy a musician is called *ušumgal* of the land, probably because he plays the lyre so called. The Semitic translation cited above apparently forces one to suppose that the meaning 'lord' was understood by this term when applied to Tammuz. I am inclined to think that the meaning 'one' for *ušum* is derived in some way from an early Semitic translation which rendered *ušumgal*, 'great serpent', by a free translation *ša ediššišu*

the name should mean 'great serpent of heaven', another theological device to indicate that the ophidian earth god emanated from the first principle. The addition of *anna*, 'heaven', may however be of astral origin, for Ningishzida in a late text is identified with the constellation Hydra.¹ If we may suppose that in prehistoric times, before Tammuz and Ningishzida were differentiated into two types, this ophidian deity had already been identified with Hydra, then the name *ušumgal-anna* is due to this connexion and not to theological speculation. In favour of an extremely ancient identification with Hydra is the fact that some of the most ancient seals represent the serpent god with a star.² In Elamitic religious art the eagle is brought into connexion with the serpent and also the tree of life.³ Since the constellation Aquila lies in the immediate region of Serpens and Scorpio, it is tempting to trace the association of the eagle and the serpent to astronomical mythology. The goddess of irrigation and the sea, Ninā or Išhara, was identified with Scorpio, and perhaps also with Serpens⁴ at an

rabū. Since *rabū* correctly renders *gal*, it was then erroneously supposed that *ediššu* rendered *ušum*. Note *SBP*. 152, n. 13, where *gašan anna* has the title *ša ediššiša karradat*, 'who alone is warlike'. I believe that the meaning 'lord' is secondary, and developed from 'great serpent', because this term was so often associated with 'the lord Tammuz'. Tammuz is often called *umun*, 'lord', *mu-lu-mu*, 'my lord', *SBP*. 318, 20; *mu-lu-zu-ne*, 'your lord', 320, 9, &c. To avoid error I employ *ušumgal* without an English translation. The Babylonians probably lost all memory of the original meaning.

¹ *CT*. 33, 2, Rev. 8, *mul šīru* ^a *ningišzida bēl iršitum*. The passage confirms the interpretation of this deity as an old earth god.

² Ward, no. 365 (ten-pointed star); 368 (six-pointed star).

³ Toscane, *Délégation en Perse*, xii. 172, 204.

⁴ See p. 11. In astronomy Hydra is called *šīru*, Serpens *bašmu*, and Scorpio *aḫrabu*.

extremely early date. In the liturgies this title clearly designates a patron of the earth's productivity :

'The flood has taken Tammuz,
Mother *ušumgal* it has taken.'¹

A litany belonging to the regular temple recitations describes a calamity which befell many cities and their temples where Innini and Tammuz were worshipped :

'My temple and my city they plundered.
The women of my temple they plundered.
My convent and my sanctuary, &c.
My property and my treasures, &c.
The possessions of my temple Shumera, &c.
The possessions of my temple Rabriri, &c.
My throne and my, &c.
My couch of porphyry, &c.
My husband in my temple they insulted (?).
The god, my *Galmaḥanna*² they insulted.
The treasure of my heart they insulted,
Ušumgal the lofty one of the mountain house.³
Upon my face they place humiliation.
A fate of woe and wailing,
Yea, of woe and wailing they put upon me,
They who violated my husband.'⁴

In our discussion of the various personifications of natural elements which were detached from the sphere of the Tammuz attributes, and erected into parasite Tammuz forms, the god Ningishzida, companion of Tammuz, has already been noticed. He apparently represents the deification of some kind of a tree⁵ and

¹ Zimmern, *K.-L.*, no. 1, Rev. I. 17 f.

² This title of Tammuz occurs only here. Note the ending *anna*.

³ A cosmological name for the earth with its interior abode of the dead. Note the connexion between *ušumgal* and the earth.

⁴ *SBP.* 145.

⁵ See p. 7, note 2.

appears with Tammuz at the gate of heaven.¹ A suggestion has also been made that these two deities were identified with the stars Castor and Pollux.² The title 'lord *mu-zi-da*', in the liturgies,³ is evidently, a survival of the ancient epithet *nin-giš-zi-da*, 'lord⁴ of the faithful wood'. In the theological lists he is placed among the gods of the lower world.⁵ This type of Tammuz is the one which took over the primitive serpent worship. On several seal cylinders, notably that of the famous patesi of Lagash Gudea,⁶ this god appears with a serpent springing from each shoulder, and in at least one case, with a serpent twining about his lower limbs.⁷ These seals represent this god in religious art as late as the middle of the second millennium. The serpent forms an important object of religious symbolism in Babylonian art,⁸ and

¹ See p. 32.

² See p. 38.

³ *SBP.* 300, 6; 304, 15; 306, 3; *Babylonian Liturgies*, 20, 5, &c. See also Zimmern, *Tamuzlieder*, 212.

⁴ *Nin* may mean both lord and lady; the second meaning is the ordinary one, and possibly original. The title probably (like *ama* titles) goes back to the period when all earth deities were regarded as feminine.

⁵ *CT.* 25, 5, 64, and II R. 59, Rev. 36. Zimmern, *Götterliste An = Anum*, 122, infers from *CT.* 25, 5, 66 that this list mentioned a wife of Ningišzida, but I doubt this. He does not appear to have had a consort. The list *SBP.* 160, 7 makes him follow Ninazu and Ningirda, who were lord and queen of Arallu and parents of Ningišzida (see Thureau-Dangin, *SAK.* 86 (7), I. 5).

⁶ This seal, which represents Ningišzida presenting the patesi to the god Ea, has been published many times. A good reproduction will be found by Heuzey in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 6, 95.

⁷ Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, 368 d, 368 b, 368 f, and *Cylinders in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, 118. See also Ward's drawings of Ningišzida, *Seal Cylinders*, p. 376.

⁸ See Heuzey, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 6, 95-104; Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, 130 f. The serpent appears on the following seals of the

was regarded as a protecting deity, since a huge python is often found designed in various positions on the kudurru or memorial deeds, engraved also with the symbols of all the principal deities.¹

Beside Ningishzida, who is essentially a vegetation god, the Sumerians worshipped a special ophidian deity whose cult was located at Dir, a city in Ashnunnak on the Elamitic border.² We have already shown³ that at Dir a mother goddess and her son were worshipped both under the title KA-DI.⁴ But we know that the mother goddess of Dir was a type of Innini, and that this goddess *KA-DI* was known as a serpent goddess, for she is distinctly called a serpent deity in a syllabar,⁵ and referred to as the 'divine serpent lady of life' in a well-known passage.⁶ Another passage represents *KA-DI* as mother of the serpent god. Clearly, then, both mother and son, Innini and Tammuz of Dir, are serpent gods. As in the case of *KA-DI*, so in dealing

Bibliothèque Nationale, published by Delaporte: no. 28, accompanying Gilgamiš and Eabani; no. 271, two heroes *vis-à-vis*, each holding a serpent. See also nos. 483, 510, 511; Toscane, *Délégation en Perse*, xii. 153-228.

¹ For example Hinke, *Boundary Stones*, 25, coiled at the top (as also on p. 95); 30, winding along the edge; 28, stretched across the lower register (in this case more like a serpent with dragon head). For various interpretations see Hinke, 97 ff.

² Serpent worship is particularly prominent in Elamitic religious art, see Toscane, loc. cit. See also the seal of Nig-kalla, Toscane in *RT.* of Maspero, vol. xxi. 5.

³ See p. 16, note 1.

⁴ Elamitic art has also a male ophidian deity, see Toscane, *ibid.* 176 ff., and especially p. 203, fig. 384. An ophidian deity of double gender like *KA-DI*, p. 181, fig. 320 (late period).

⁵ V R. 31c, 30.

⁶ *BA.* iii. 238, 42. For an Elamitic representation of a serpent goddess see Toscane, pp. 202, 204, 213.

with the name of the serpent god we cannot always be sure whether we have to do with a goddess or her son. But in most cases the serpent god *Šîru* is masculine, as our evidence will show.

Scholars ordinarily refer to the serpent god by the name *Šîru*, being the Semitic word for serpent, but we cannot be sure that the Babylonians really employed this word. The Sumerian word for serpent is *muš*, but the theologians give the pronunciation of the ideogram, employed in writing the name of this god, as *šeraḥ*, which the Semites translated by *šahan* or *saḥan*, a word for fire.¹ For some obscure reason the serpent god became a fire god, for not only was Ningishzida also a sun god,² but a seal cylinder represents the god *Šîru* with rays from his shoulders.³ But whatever may have been the Sumerian name,⁴ and whether we employ *Šîru* (serpent) or *Saḥan* (fire) for the Semitic name, the representations in art reveal clearly enough his ophidian nature. Dr. William Hayes Ward has collected and published six very early seals which show us the Sumerian conception of *Šîru*.⁵ The god has the spiral body of a serpent with the bust and head of a human god. On one of these seals an archaic form of the Sumerian sign for serpent occurs,⁶ and on another a more simple form of the

¹ See *SBP.* 152, 10, *d.še-ra-aḥ* = *ilu šîru ra-bi-iš Ešarra*, 'Šîru, crouching guard of Ešarra', and II R. 59, Obv. 21, *d.še-ra-aḥ* = *d. MUŠ* = *rabiš Ešarra-ge*. *CT.* 24, 8, 11 has a gloss *sa-ḥa-an* on *d. MUŠ* = *rabiš Ekurra*. On the god *Saḥan* see *AJSL.* 28, 226, n. 40.

² Thureau-Dangin, *SAK.* 94, v. 20.

³ Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, 367.

⁴ We must suppose the name to have been *Muš* as a serpent and *Šeraḥ* as a fire deity.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 127 f.

⁶ No. 362, sign *MUŠ*.

same sign.¹ The figure in each case is masculine. In one of the oldest ones (no. 362) he holds a branch of some kind, which reminds us of the vegetation gods, Tammuz and Ningishzida. On this same seal *Šîru* is placed so as to face a seated goddess, possibly his mother *KA-DI*, but the artist has given no indication that he regarded her also as ophidian. Another of these seals (no. 366)² has inscribed between the serpent deity and a worshipper the name Belili, which is one of the titles of the sister of Tammuz, Geshtinanna, that most ancient mother goddess.³ But the features of the deity are evidently masculine. The third figure on the seal may possibly be a goddess, in which case 'Belili my great lady', inscribed on the seal, would refer to her. These seals and their inscriptions prove that the god *Šîru* is a detached and specialized type of Tammuz.⁴

Although the mother goddess *KA-DI* became a special ophidian goddess among female deities, yet there is ample evidence that Innini herself was originally connected with ophidian worship. The strongest evidence for this has been detected in Babylonian glyptic which represents the war goddess with serpent symbols. In the early period the serpent motif appears

¹ No. 363, sign *BU*, *GID*, ordinary word for 'long'.

² Given also by Ward in the Morgan Collection, no. 87.

³ Another name is also traced on the seal, but I can make nothing of it, unless it be *nin-mah-mu*, 'my great queen'. *Ninmah* is also one of the titles of *Ninlil*, goddess of Nippur.

⁴ For *Šîru* see also King, *Boundary Stones*, 36, 49, *ilu šîru ilu šûpû mar bîti ša alu Di-e-ir*, 'Šîru, the magnificent god, son of the temple of Dêr'. Also *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iv. 80, 20, a landowner of Bit-Habban (in the region of Dêr?) swears by 'the great gods and the god *Šîru*'. Note also the goddess *KA-DI* and the god *Šîru* together in *Shurpu*, 8, 6.

in serpent heads springing among flowers from the shoulders of the goddess. In the age of the Ur, Isin, and first Babylonian dynasties, she is represented holding a caduceus, a conventionalized form of a staff, mounted by the heads of two serpents looking in opposite directions.¹ This form of the caduceus is clearly developed from the classical form seen on the vase of Gudea, where two serpents wind about a perpendicular post.² On the vase of Gudea the caduceus represents Ningishzida, and I have seen a seal impression upon a tablet, whose present location I can no longer recall, where Ningishzida is represented holding the caduceus of conventional form.³ And I have also a distinct recollection of seeing a small signet seal of the Persian period on which a goddess was represented standing and pouring from a vase a liquid which fell to the mouth of a serpent standing on its tail at her side.⁴

The name of Tammuz, *ušumgal*, which reveals his prehistoric ophidian connexion, must have been common both to Innini and Tammuz. A classical Sumerian text, being a song sung at the symbolic marriage of the mother goddess and a deified king of Isin, mentions her twice as the 'mother goddess, Ushumgalanna'.⁵ A Semitic prayer of Ashurnasirpal which we have translated⁶ has the line, 'Thou art Ishtar, fearful

¹ See Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, pp. 158 ff.

² See Ward, p. 129.

³ I copied the seal hastily when examining tablets for a dealer in antiquities.

⁴ The most common sign employed for writing the name of Innini is probably derived from the picture of a serpent coiling about a staff, see Thureau-Dangin, *Recherches sur l'écriture cunéiforme*, 294.

⁵ Radau, *Miscellaneous Texts*, no. 2, 42 and 70.

⁶ See p. 67.

dragon of the great gods'.¹ Another type of mother goddess, who became in due time a special patron of birth and the permanent consort of the great earth god Enlil, is also described as an *ušumgal*² of heaven and earth. This same deity is further stated to have the form of a serpent from her girdle to the soles of her feet,³ and the Babylonians appear to have identified her with Serpens in the region of Scorpio. The astronomer Kugler has identified her with Hydra,⁴ otherwise Ningishzida. She may have been identified with both Serpens and Hydra.

The ophidian deities were regarded by the ancients as having special power over disease. In a passage which has been cited, *KA-DI*, the serpent goddess of Dir, is called the mistress of life. But the special power of healing was acquired by the goddess Gula or Bau, who became the consort of that other Tammuz type Ningirsu of Lagash. She is developed out of the primitive earth goddess, taking upon herself this important attribute as the central goddess tended more and more to become a patroness of government and a protector of the temporal welfare of the people. We should expect this deity, above all, to have been

¹ *ZA.* 5, 79, 25, *ušumgallat ilāni rabūti*. The word *ušumgallatu*, fem. of *ušumgallu*, may perhaps be employed here in the secondary and usual sense of 'ruler'. In another passage she is addressed as the planet Venus under this name (*ušumgal anna-ge*), which is translated by *šarrat šamē*, an apparent confusion with *gašan anna*. See *AJSL.* 23, 170, l. 50.

² *Ninharsagga ušumgal-a an-na ki*, *Babylonian Liturgies*, 91, 11.

³ *Ištu mēsirri-ša adi kan šappi-ša kuliptu kimi širi atāt*, *CT.* 17, 42, 10 f. Compare Holma, *Namen der Körperteile*, 139, and for *kuliptu*, 'scales' (?), see *ZA.* 25, 381.

⁴ Kugler, *Sternkunde*, i. 252.

ophidian, but Gula is symbolized by the dog in Babylonian religion.¹

The two seal cylinders, Nos. 2 and 3 on Pl. I, will illustrate the preceding discussion. Cylinder No. 2 is a good example of the form of Ishtar in the glyptic of the Amoritic period. The branches springing from the shoulders and the weapon held by the right hand, as well as the lion beneath the right foot, characterize her martial properties. In her right hand will be seen the conventional form of the caduceus. The inscription reads 'Sin-ikisham, son of Nazizi, servant of the god Anmartu'.²

Cylinder No. 3 has several important details. Before the thunder god Adad, who voyages in a boat, we see the upright serpent, and in the rear facing two symbols, one of which is the spear-shaped post of Marduk,³ stands the goddess Ishtar of the Assyrian period. She holds the ring without a sceptre. Her tiara is mounted with a star showing her astral connexion. A bow appears at each shoulder, terminating in a round knob. In other figures, which show Ishtar with two bows, the end of the bow is occasionally adorned with a star, indicating her connexion with the so-called bow-star Sirius.⁴

¹ So often on memorial deeds engraved with symbols of the gods, and compare *CT.* 17, 44, 88.

² This god is possibly not identical with *ilu amurrú* (*An-Mar-Tu*), but a name of the god Ninib, corresponding to the Aramaic reproduction of that name on documents of the late period, אַנְיִשְׁתָּ, i. e. Anwaštu. See Clay, *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, x, p. 18 of the Introduction.

³ The accompanying symbol should correspond to the grooved or double rod of Nebo.

⁴ See Delaporte, *Cylindres Orientaux*, 354 and 355. The inscription on No. 3 reads 'Seal of Sadibbu', and is engraved so as to be read from the seal.

In the period of the dynasty of Ur the phonetic spelling *Iš-ḫa-ra*¹ began to be exclusively employed for the older Ešḫana.² She occurs twice in the official pantheon, once in the list of virgin goddesses who are types of the beloved of Tammuz,³ and once among the inferior divinities of the court of Ninlil.⁴ In the former passage her name is written twice with the ordinary sign for lamb, *puḫadu*, and once with a sign *nigin*, which means 'turn, twist'. The latter writing refers, of course, to her ancient connexion with the sea-serpent. Her connexion with flocks and pastures is also primitive, but more specially characteristic of the major type Innini. Elamitic art constantly connects the serpent and the ram as symbols of the dying god,⁵ and we have here a similar connexion, the difference being that the two types are united in the goddess. In the same passage the name is corrupted to *Išḫura*, and written with sign asar, ordinary ideogram for another water deity of Eridu, Marduk son of Ea. Through the ancient connexion with water, one of the principal elements of incantation, she must have been much invoked in magic. Frankly the incantation texts mention her sparingly either as Ninā or Išḫara, but two of her titles in the theological list reflect this aspect. She has the name ^{ilat} *bēlīt*⁶ *tanūtum*, 'Queen

¹ This word appears first in Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dréhem*, 5514, 5, associated with *Geštin-anna*.

² So, if we accept Hommel's theory, see p. 46.

³ *CT.* 24, 18, 7.

⁴ *CT.* 24, 6, 28-32 = 24, 23, 124-6.

⁵ Toscane, loc. cit. 166 ff. Toscane has explained the ram as an opponent and foe of the serpent, but I doubt this. In Elamitic art the female goat occasionally represents the goddess also, see *ibid.* 182.

⁶ *E* = *bēlīt* (?), see *Sum. Gr.* 212. The readings *ḫābīt*, 'she who commands', and *rubāt*, 'princess', are possible.

of the oath', and ^{ilat} *tašmê zikri*, 'she of the attention of speech'.¹ Mercer, *The Oath in Babylonian and Assyrian Literature*, p. 13, regards Išhara and her daughter Ninmarki² as special oath-deities, that is, deities in whose names oaths were sworn. The same author cites a contract in which witnesses give evidence before the viper of Eš-ḥar-ra.³ Two other titles may possibly refer to the same power in magic ^a. *TUM-dù-azag* and ^a. *dū-dū*. The former title brings her into connexion with the mythical chamber Du-azag, where abode that other deity of magic, Nisaba, the grain goddess.⁴ The second title means ^{ilat} *kikiṭṭi*, 'goddess of magic ceremonies'.⁵ In astral mythology she is connected from most ancient times with the constellation Scorpio,⁶ and the engravers invariably represent her on memorial stones as a scorpion. But she has distinct ophidian tendencies, for a symbol called the *bašmu*,⁷ or viper, represented her in a temple. The constellation Serpens, near Scorpio in the heavens, was apparently confused with Išhara; for Ninmah, also an ophidian deity and identified with Serpens, is also identified with Scorpio.⁸ Elamitic symbolism constantly joins the scorpion and the serpent, and both are connected with vegetation represented by a tree, generally

¹ She that lends ear to what men say.

² 'Queen of the city Mar'; also an unmarried goddess.

³ *Bašmum ša eš-ḥar-ra*, without *ilat*, *CT.* ii. 47, 20.

⁴ *CT.* 16, 14 b, 30. Note also that *Du-azag* is connected with Ea, god of the sea, *BA.* v. 349, 24 f., and it is translated occasionally by *apsū*, 'sea', *SAL.* 7291.

⁵ Also a title of Nidaba, *CT.* 24, 9, 38.

⁶ *Mul gir-tab* = ^{ilat} *iš-ḥa-ra*, *CT.* 26, 42, 9.

⁷ The Sumerian sign for *bašmu* is *ušum*, connected with the ophidian name of Tammuz, *ušumgal*.

⁸ *CT.* 26, 42, 12.

a fruit tree.¹ We have also found reason to suppose that the Babylonians identified Medusa in the constellation Perseus with one of the types of mother goddess under the names Ninsī-anna and Dilbat.² The ophidian character of Išhara or Ninā is particularly manifest in a proper name occurring several times in the period of Ur, *Ninā-ušumgal*, 'Ninā is the great python'.³ It is not probable that the Babylonians would have identified Išhara with Scorpio unless she had some marine characteristics which appear in the title *tiamat* or *tamtu*,⁴ a name which originally signified the dragon of the primaeval sea of chaos. The connexion between a primitive earth deity and the sea-serpent is not clear to me. Nor is it clear why a deity of fresh water, such as Ninā, would be connected with a violent and evil dragon of the deep.

Išhara appears as a beneficent deity, and, so far as the few passages which mention her permit us to infer, she is a mother goddess like Ishtar,⁵ as well as a war goddess.⁶ Like the famous Ishtar of Arbela she is especially interested in law and oracles,⁷ and the protection of homes.⁸ A late text mentions her as dwelling in the 'Temple of the Womb'⁹ in Babylon,

¹ Toscane, loc. cit. 163 f., *et passim*. Note also Išhara and Nisaba in *CT*. xii. 27 below, Rev. 18 (Hommel, p. 54).

² See p. 102.

³ Legrain, *Le Temps des Rois d'Ur*, 103.

⁴ *Mul-gir-tab* = *ilat iš-ḥa-ra ti-amat*, *CT*. 26, 42, 10.

⁵ *Ummu riminitum ša niše [rapšāti]*, 'merciful mother of the far-dwelling peoples', King, *Magic*, 7, Rev. 59 = 57, 1.

⁶ *KB*. iv. 72, 28, 'May Išhara, lady of conquest and habitations in the mighty battle, not hear him'.

⁷ *Bélit dinim u bíri*, Zimmern, *Ritual-Tafeln*, 87, 6; *CT*. 24, 6, 30.

⁸ *Shurpu*, ii. 171; *CT*. 33, 3, 29, *bélit dadmé*.

⁹ *Ašibat E-ša-túr-ra* in Šuanna; Strassmaier, *Nebuchadnezzar*, 247, 7.

but a geographical tablet places her cult at an unknown city, Kisurrū.¹ The title, 'lady of vision', is particularly important,² for Ishtar herself does not appear to have been an oracular deity in Sumer and Babylonia. It is true that the Assyrian kings Asarhaddon and Ashurbanipal regarded Ishtar, particularly the Ishtar of Arbela, as an oracular deity, but this was a personal matter. The sun god Shamash and the thunder god Adad alone enjoyed the title of 'lord of oracles' in most cases. We should, however, expect at least the ophidian form of Ishtar to have developed oracular properties, for primitive man regarded the serpent gods as particularly expert in this obscure art. But the ancient oracular attribute of the Babylonian Pythia of Delphi survives only in this title of Išhara. The Assyrian king Asarhaddon has left us several oracles, communicated to him through priests and priestesses of Arbela, from Ishtar :

'O Asarhaddon, king of lands,
Not shalt thou fear.

The howl of winds³ which rush⁴ upon thee,
I command it, that they shall not crush (thee).

Thy foes like hogs of the reed-swamps in the month
Siwan from before thy feet shall run away. I am the
great Beltis ; I am Ishtar of Arbela⁵ who before thy

¹ II R. 60 a, 14. Annunit appears to have been worshipped at Kisurrū, see *VAB.* i. 152.

² Cf. Ninā, the interpreter of dreams, Gudea Cyl. A 2, 1-3; 3, 25-8, &c. Perhaps to her ophidian character Ninā owes her power as 'Queen of the precious decrees', Gudea Cyl. B 4, 6.

³ Šu-'u ša-a-ru. Šu'u is the Babylonian cognate of שׁוּחַ 'storm of devastation'.

⁴ I-di-ba-ka-a-ni, from *edēpu*, see Sm. 6, Obv. 14-16.

⁵ A city a short distance north-east of Nineveh. The temple of Ištar of Arbela was called *Bit-isimmāti*, 'temple of festivals', Lehmann-Haupt, *Šamašsumukin*, L³, p. 20, 1.

feet destroys thy foes. What plans that I utter for thee do not prove real before me? I am Ishtar of Arbela. Thy foes the Ukai¹ I will deliver into thy power. I am Ishtar of Arbela. Before thee and behind thee I will walk. Fear not. Thou art under protection.² I in the midst of sorrows will advance and abide (with thee).³ From the mouth of Ishtar-latašija³ a man of Arbela.⁴

The preceding oracle was delivered before a threatened invasion of Assyria by the people of Ukka. Our text gives here two more oracular responses of Ishtar, the first of which is too badly broken to be translated, but we learn that this one also concerns a war and was given by a priestess of Arbela, Sinḫisha-amur.⁵ A short oracle then follows: 'I rejoice because of Asarhaddon my king; Arbela also rejoices,' given by a priestess Rimuteallate of the city Darāhūja in the mountains. This oracular spot in the mountains is not mentioned elsewhere, but the suggestion forces itself upon us that perhaps here, as at Arbela, there may have been a mysterious cavern famed in legend as the abode of a python.

The tablet then proceeds with an oracle rendered through a priestess Bajā of Arbela, and is interesting because Ishtar identifies herself both with Bēl, lord of Assyria,⁶ and Nebo, the god of wisdom:⁷

¹ *U-ka-a_i*, so first Pinches, Jastrow; see Toffteen, *Geographical List*, 56; Klauber, *AJSL*. 28, 244. Compare Boissier, *Babyloniaca*, iv. 81.

² Uncertain. *Múgú* (?) from וקו (?).

³ The name of this prophet means 'Ištar will not be negligent'.

⁴ IV R. 61, i. 5-30. See also Jastrow, *Religion*, ii. 159, who finds four different oracles in this passage.

⁵ 'I have seen her support.'

⁶ Ašur is probably intended.

⁷ Here again Jastrow, *ibid.* 160, finds three oracles.

'Not shalt thou fear Asarhaddon; I Bêl with thee confer.

The beams of thy heart I will strengthen even as thy mother, who brought thee into being.

The sixty great gods¹ with me stand² and will protect thee. The moon god at thy right, the sun god at thy left. The sixty great gods stand about thee. Thy battle³ array they draw up. Upon men put not thy trust. Lift⁴ thine eyes unto me, and behold me. I am Ishtar of Arbela. I have made Ashur propitious unto thee. When thou wast young I stood by thee. Fear not, but adore me. Where is that foe who came in haste against thee? Whom I have consumed with fire? In the future thou shalt go up even as in the past. I am Nebo, lord of the tablet writing. Adore me.'

From the remaining traces of the following oracle we learn that it was pronounced by a propheticess of the city Aššur. Then we have a long oracle from a woman, Ishtar-bêl-dāini,⁵ who was the king's own diviner:⁶

'I am Ishtar of Arbela. O Asarhaddon, king of Assyria, in Aššur, Nineveh, Calah and Arbela, distant days, eternal years, unto Asarhaddon, my king, I will give. Thy great protector am I, thy good nurse⁷

¹ Probably the Anunnaki or earth spirits. Compare *BM.* 82-5-22, 527, col. I, 21.

² See Boissier, *Bab.* iv. 82.

³ *Ḳabal-ka.*

⁴ *Mutuḥ.* On *matāḥu* = *našū* see *LSS.* ii. 1, p. 82; *BA.* viii, Part 4, p. 6.

⁵ 'Ištar, lord of judgement.'

⁶ *Še-lu-tu.* Jastrow, ii. 161, is clearly right in regarding this word as identical in meaning with *ša'iltu.* This form favours Jensen's derivation, not from *ša'ālu*, 'to ask', but from *ša'ilu*, 'he of the linen garment', *Mythen und Epen*, 417. For *'ilu* see V R. 28, 2.

⁷ *Mušeniktaka diḳtu*, so to be rendered with Delattre and Gray against Jastrow.

am I. In distant days and eternal years thy throne beneath a great canopy¹ I have established. *Upon a platform* (?) of gold within the canopy I fixed it. With the glow of firestone before Asarhaddon I made it glow. Even as the crown of my head I fixed it. Fear not, O king. I will speak with thee. Not have I rejected thee. I will encourage thee. Not will I make thee ashamed.² The river in safety I will cause thee to cross. O Asarhaddon, faithful son, child of Ninlil,³ with my hands thine enemies I will annihilate. O Asarhaddon, king of Assyria, thou cup that is filled with gifts, thou mace with double axe!

Asarhaddon, in Aššur far away days, eternal years,
I will give thee.

Asarhaddon in Arbela thy good shield am I.

Asarhaddon, faithful son, child of Ninlil, thy understanding is sound,⁴ I love thee much. Upon the earth is thy couch,⁵ in the great canopy is thy *seat* (?). At thy right I burn incense, at thy left I cause fire to consume it. Imperial power over corruptly⁶ over before his face shall not approach. The *deceitful snares* which they plan from before his feet I shall sever for them. Thou even thou art king, art king.'

This oracle was probably delivered in reply to a request as to whether the king should proceed with

¹ *Šamē* means here a dome-shaped covering under which the throne was set. Nebuchadnezzar placed a canopy (*šamē*) of wood overlaid with gold and jewels over the statue of Gula in her temple at Babylon, *VAB.* iv. 164, 12. A letter published by Harper and translated by Behrens, *Assyrisch-babylonische Briefe*, Leipzig, 1906, 64 f., mentions a *šamē ša ħuraši*, 'canopy of gold', which was stolen from the temple of Marduk. Behrens also cites the inscription of Eshmunazar, 16 f., where the Phoenician word 𐤇𐤍𐤕 is employed in the same sense.

² *U-ba-aš-[ka]*.

³ The text has here an obscure line *hangaru akku*.

⁴ *Ḫissatka ḫasasat*.

⁵ *Kultu*, see Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*, 193.

⁶ *Da'-taš*. The text in these lines is broken away.

the construction of a canopy for his throne. If this interpretation be correct, we are reminded of similar requests made by Nabonidus to the gods Shamash and Adad, concerning the rebuilding of temples, and the making of a tiara for the statue of the sun god.

An obscure oracle delivered by the prophethess of Arbela, Bêlit-abi-sha,¹ to the queen mother (Naḫia) and son, probably concerns a court intrigue by which Asarhaddon, the youngest son, obtained divine sanction to succeed to the throne. It is known from other sources that Senacherib, for some unknown reason, selected Asarhaddon as his successor, and for this reason the elder brothers revolted and slew their father. Apparently the queen mother secretly arranged matters with the Arbela oracle and obtained the following reply :

‘I am the divine lady of Arbela. Unto the mother of the king, since thou bringest complaint against me, saying, As to what thou puttest in the right and in the left of thy bosom—thus (I answer) Which is the *choice* of thy heart? Him into the plain thou shalt cause to run away. Saying also, Thou, O king, fear not. Imperial rule seize,² power seize.’³

¹ ‘Beltis is her father.’ Two other readings have been defended, Mimma-abi-ša (Pinches, Jastrow) and Bêlit-aba-iškun. The conception of Beltis as the male parent of the priestess is only a figure of speech intended to convey the idea that the goddess created her by divine intervention.

² *Ik-ku-u*, perhaps an imperative of *lakû*. For the form cf. *ik-ki-e-ma*, *Maḫlu*, ii. 107; *ik-ki* in Reisner, *SBH*. 77, 28. The *k* is often replaced by *k* in this word, and for *ikkû* instead of *ikké* cf. *télû*, a vulgar form for *téli*, col. II, 37.

³ If this translation be correct no better example of a politically inspired oracle could be found. To avoid suspicion the mother complains that a previous oracle had designated Asarhaddon, and of the two sons in her bosom the one whom she prefers must take to

It appears, however, that Asarhaddon did not act at once upon the advice of the oracle spoken by Bêlitabisha, as we learn from the following oracle, spoken by a priest in Arbela, Ladagilili :

‘ Greeting unto Asarhaddon, king of Assyria. Ishtar of Arbela unto the plain has gone forth. Greeting to her son unto the midst of the city she sends.¹ [Ishtar] of Arbela has filled thy lap with good. The former advice which I commanded thee thou didst not depend upon, and now upon the latter thou shalt depend. Glorify me. As on a day of god’s (feast) let torches be carried ;² before all else glorify me. The *torn garment* from my palace thou shalt cause to be taken away. Properly prepared food thou shalt eat. Proper water thou shalt drink. In thy palace thou shalt be firmly established. Thy son and the son of thy son shall exercise royal power upon the lap of Ninurash.’

The second oracle, we may believe, convinced Asarhaddon that the gods had appointed him to ascend the throne.³ It is difficult to understand upon what principle the scribes selected these oracles of Ishtar to Asarhaddon for preservation upon one great tablet, but we may assume that they chose those which figured most prominently in influencing the life of the king. Another collection of oracles has been preserved upon a large tablet, but the text is broken perpendicularly at the middle, so that about half of its contents has been lost. The authors of this collection

flight, and we know that the elder brothers actually fled to the mountains.

¹ Here seven lines are illegible.

² See Zimmern, *Neujahrsfest*, 134, note.

³ See also Jastrow, ii. 165.

obviously preferred such oracles as pertained to wars.¹ The first legible section begins in the midst of an oracle whose preceding lines are destroyed,² but the contents show that the oracle is from the god Ashur :

‘ The Cimmerians³ into his hand I will give. Fire in the land of Ellipi⁴ thou shalt hurl. The four quarters of the earth Ashur gives unto him. In the house where he shines⁵ forth, the house where he grew up, the king shall have no rival. Even as the rising of Shamash he glows. This is the greeting⁶ which before the divine lord of the sheepfold and before the gods is promulgated.’

A line drawn across the tablet separates the oracle concerning the Cimmerians from another revelation of

¹ K. 2401, first published by Strong, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii. 637-43, translated 629 f. The text was published in better form by Craig, *RT.* i. 22-5, and translated by Martin, *Textes religieux*, 88-97. Translated also by Jastrow, ii. 166 ff.

² A whole column of the tablet is broken away before the translated section. The name of Asarhaddon occurs at the end of one line in column I.

³ A people of Cappadocia mentioned by Herodotus and Strabo (κιμμέριοι), and in Hebrew. The Hebrew form *Gömer*, Septuagint *Gamer*, is based upon the Cuneiform spelling *Gamir*, *Gamirra*, *Gamera*, found frequently in letters of the Sargonic period, see Toffteen, *Researches in Assyrian and Babylonian Geography*, 45. For *gimirrai* see Klauber, *AJSL.* 28, 247. See also Sayce, *PSBA.* 1896, 178.

⁴ A small country north of Elam, according to Streck, *ZA.* 15, 380 f., in modern Luristan. Hommel, *Grundriss*, 209, is inclined to follow Andreas and connect *Ellip* with the Arians, *p* being an Elamitic plural. At the end of line 2 read *taškuṣ* (Virolleaud in Martin).

⁵ *Inappahanni*. *Napāhu* is the ordinary word for the breaking of dawn. The passage pictures Asarhaddon as the rising sun.

⁶ *Šulmu*, employed as a synonym for oracle.

Ashur; its connexion with the previous section is doubtful but not excluded:

'Now these *idle fellows*¹ plotted, have come up against thee, have arisen against thee.² And thou hast opened thy mouth, saying, "I appeal to Ashur". I have heard of thy shame. From within the gate of heaven I shall come quickly. I shall hasten and cause fire to consume them. Thou in their midst shalt stand. From before thee I shall send them up, unto the mountains cause them to ascend. Meteors upon them I shall rain.³ Thy foes I will cut down, and fill the river with their blood. Let them see, let them glorify me, even as I am Ashur lord of the gods. This is the greeting which in the presence of the statue (was rendered). The tablet of the decrees of Ashur concerning the revelation⁴ into the presence of the king one shall bring. Good oil let them pour out and make sacrifices of lambs. Incense they shall burn.⁵ Before the king they shall read it.'

Although the preceding oracles do not belong to the revelations of the Arbela goddess, yet their

¹ *Amelu SAR-SAR-a-ni annúti*. Possibly *Hir-hir-a-ni*, the people of the city *Har-har*, Harper, *Letters*, 556, Rev. 11. Generic form *Harharai*, Knudtzon, *Gebete an den Sonnengott*, 72, 2. This city lay on the borders of Ellipu, mentioned above. Jastrow and Scheil follow this interpretation. *Sar* = *lāsimu*, 'vagabond' (?).

² *Il-ti-bu-ka* would naturally be derived from *šabá*, 'to take captive', I² form, *ištibu* > *iltibu*, with Strong and Muss-Arnolt. In no case can the form be III¹ from *tebá*, as Jastrow affirms. I have regarded the form as I² of *tebá*, *ittebá* > *iltebá*, by differentiation of dentals. A dissimilation *tt* > *lt* cannot be documented; compare *dt* > *lt* in Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, 237 β.

³ *Abnē akkullu*. *Akkullu*, probably for *anḳullu*, 'torch', 'firebrand'.

⁴ *Ha'ātu*; Heb., Syr., Aram. הִאֲתָו 'to reveal'.

⁵ *Illuku*. A verb *alāku*, 'burn', is probably to be assumed for this and similar passages, see Zimmern, *Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest*, 138, n. 5.

inclusion in our discussion will throw much light upon the methods employed by the priests in promulgating these utterances, and later in redacting them into collections for future reference.

The book of oracles now proceeds with two long responses of Ishtar, whose circumstances are obscure, and the text of both has been damaged :

‘Proclamation of Ishtar of Arbela to Asarhaddon king of Assyria. “The gods my fathers”¹ As for those whom I have spared waters of a *stone strainer*² thou shalt give them to drink. A drinking-vessel containing ten *ka* thou shalt fill with water of the *stone strainer* and shalt give it to them, saying, Surely Ishtar watches. Saying, In your towns and districts she walks. The breads thou³ shalt eat. When thou forgettest these oaths thou shalt remember, saying, Thou *didst* drink from these waters and shalt observe these oaths which I have instituted upon Asarhaddon.’

The preceding section clearly concerns a compact or treaty made with a conquered people, and describes the ritual performed in taking the oath of allegiance to the king. The conquered people shall drink the water and eat the bread which their conqueror offers them, and shall remember that Ishtar observes their doings. We now have an obscure and badly preserved section, a translation of which is given with reserve :

‘Proclamation of Ishtar of Arbela to Asarhaddon

¹ The remainder of this oracle is destroyed. The ritual which follows forms part of the instructions given by the goddess to a priest.

² *Şarşaru*; the word is in dispute. In *Şurpu*, iii. 58, water is drunk from a *şarşaru*, which favours a meaning ‘vessel’. I have compared the Talmudic *שִׁצְרִי*, a stone cooler with strainer.

³ Sic! The address to the conquered foes continues in the second person singular.

king of Assyria. Even as no one has done have I not given thee? Saying, The four thresholds of Assyria have I not *subdued* and given to thee? Thy foe have I not conquered? As for thy adversary and enemy have I not plundered [and truly] unto me what hast thou given? *Cypress*¹ for beams, [*corn*] for bread of the temple of god, *bread* for eating, *bread for the cup*, saying, Before me I see. My eyes thereon I set. Saying, "Justice!" Ten *ka* of bread *ašudi* and half a drinking-vessel of good wine order.² I will lift it and put it to my mouth. I will fill the cup and raise it above my head, and return it with abundance.'³

This collection does not give the names of the prophets who communicated the various oracles, and the vocabulary as well as the style show that they were composed by a different school.

A fragment of a collection of oracles preserves sections of seven oracles, the first of which comes from Ashur of the city Aššur, and mentions the temple Esagila, in Babylon.⁴ The few words preserved in this section lead us to infer that the king was at war, probably with foes in Babylonia. A few words preserved of the second oracle, which comes from Arbela, represent a revelation of Ishtar concerning a war. It begins with the familiar line, 'Not shalt thou fear, O Asarhaddon'. A considerable portion of an Ishtar oracle is preserved in column two :

¹ [*Giš-*]li(?). So Jastrow.

² *U-lik-ki a-ku-su*, or how to be transliterated?

³ The reader will observe that the above interpretation differs greatly from that proposed by Strong, Martin, and Jastrow. I understand this oracle to be spoken entirely by the goddess, who commands the king to establish certain offerings which she will return with increase.

⁴ *BM.* 82-5-22, 527 published at the end of this volume.

'Thine enemies [I will annihilate¹]. Within thy palace [I will make thee secure]. The land of Assyria [shall be at peace²] with thee, for whom each day, *each morning I pray*.³ I thy *shining* crown will bind, will clothe upon thee.⁴ Over thee I will sing as a bird, thy abode with I will surround, will encircle. As one who is a *pious care-taker*⁵ in thy palace I will wander. Thy foes I will smite.⁶ In thy palace I will care for thee. Care and anxiety I will cause to depart from thee.⁷ Thy son and the son of thy son shall exercise royal power before the face of Ninurash. The boundaries of the lands I will make stable, and will strengthen for thee. Mankind service!⁸ Saying, I am she that commands its execution. The daughter of the ocean stream⁹ am I. I will smite, will terrify [thy]. Thou upon me shalt look with astonishment. These admonitions from Arbela in thy palace gather.¹⁰ The gods of Esagila in plain and the *plotters*¹¹ quickly a second time will consume with fire; from before their faces may they

¹ Supply *uḫattá*.

² Uncertain; read *isallim*? Cf. IV R. 61, ii. 31.

³ *Ša kal úme kal-la-[ma-ri unnani?]*.

⁴ *A-kaḫ-pi-it*, Arabic *kapata*, pret. *ḫakpīt*, 'to put on garments'.

⁵ *Mu-ši-ni dam-ki*. I conjecture that *mušīni* is for *muzīni*. The text has *nin*, not *dam*.

⁶ *U-za-a-na*. Note that the verb 𐎶, *zānu*, has both meanings 'adorn' and 'smite'; compare *maḥāṣu*, 'fashion', 'make skilfully', and 'smite'. See *VAB*. iv. 373, and *KB*. vi. 403.

⁷ *Ni-kit-tu ni-ir-ri-tu ú-ša-an-ša-ka*.

⁸ Sic! The sentence is incomplete. *Amelātu* may mean 'all kinds of servants'.

⁹ *Huburtu*, probably in same sense as *hubur*, which I take to be a late form of *ḫabur*, a name of the ocean, see *Babylonian Liturgies*, 115. The passage probably in some way refers to the descent of Ištar into Hades by the western entrance beyond the sea.

¹⁰ *E-si-ip*; for *esēpu* (= *ešēpu*), 'to collect', 'gather', 'harvest', see Messerschmidt, *Keilinschrifttexte aus Assur*, 13, ii. 12, *eprišu esipa-ma*, 'its dust I gathered'.

¹¹ *Šar-bu-bu* = ?

cause them to go up, may they seize them away.¹
Thy prosperity may they command.'

The oracle is given by Ladagilili,² a man of Arbela.

Only the beginning of the next revelation is intact :

'Since thou fearest³ the faithless ones! revelation of Ishtar of Arbela, revelation of the queen⁴ of heaven and earth. "I behold the *assanamme*, I detect the faithless. Into the hands of my king I deliver them, I will slay in great numbers and the rest"'

On the reverse, twelve lines of the end of an oracle concerning uprisings in the eastern and southern parts of the empire may be translated as follows :

'Many are there who *respect righteousness*. Saying, Where is the land of the foe?⁵ Saying, In Kalah of Nineveh verily the likeness of a shepherd thou art. Verily I will restrain from thee, O Asarhaddon, the mighty men, Elamites and Mannāites. As for the "father of sin",⁶ the Akkadian, his letter I perceive. The *plan*⁷ of Mugalda I will dissolve. Who is the lonely man, who the despised man? Not shalt thou fear in the shadow of Asarhaddon king of Assyria.'

The last line says that the oracle was delivered by the priestess Urkittusharrat,⁸ of Kalah.

¹ *Lil-li-ku*. For the form of *lil* see V R. 47 b, 2.

² 'Verily he respects god.' *La* is probably a harmonized form of *lū*, as in *Labaši*.

³ *Tappala* < *tappalah*, IV¹ of *palāhu*; cf. *aṭabbi* < *aṭabbiḥ*, l. 34.

⁴ *Šarrati*.

⁵ *Mat na-ku-ri*, a geographical name? Compare *mat Nakru*, Streck in *MVG*. 1906, 233.

⁶ *Abi širi*, uncertain.

⁷ *Igib*, compare *iḫbu*, Sum. *kud*, *CT*. 12, 14 b, 24.

⁸ 'She of Erech is queen.'

A considerable portion of the next paragraph is preserved :

‘ O Asarhaddon, fear not, the land of Assyria I will care for. The gods The desire of thy foes I will *thwart*. The blood of the enemies of my king I will spend. My king I will protect. The foes into the sea I will cause to descend.¹ Him in good health not in trouble before his feet I will take away. I am thy father, I am thy mother. The fortress of my wings shall take thee captive.² Thy wealth I shall see. Not shalt thou fear, O Asarhaddon. The fortress of my help³ and might I make for thee. In the midst of woe the enemies of my king The land of Assyria I will care for ’

Asarhaddon's son and successor, Ashurbanipal, also depended much upon the prophetic wisdom of the goddess of Arbela. In his annals he twice mentions how she appeared to him in a dream. The king was celebrating the rising of Sirius in the fifth month at Arbela, when news came concerning the revolt of Elam. Although the annals do not repeat verbatim the appeal to Ishtar and the oracle which was delivered, yet we have a clear account of this consultation in prose. The king informs Ishtar of the advance of the Elamites, appealing to her for help in memory of his contributions to the cults of the gods and his constant piety.

‘ And so do thou, O heroine of the gods, sunder him like spoil in the battle. Summon against him a whirlwind, an evil wind. Ishtar heard my sorrowful complainings. “ Not shalt thou fear ”⁴ she said, and she encouraged my spirit. “ Unto the lifting of thy hands

¹ Uncertain, text not quite legible.

² *Taš-ta-bi-ka*.

³ *Iziru*, Hebrew עִזְרוּ.

⁴ *La tapallāḥ*, a phrase characteristic of oracles.

which thou liftest, and thine eyes which are filled with tears I have compassion." In the extreme darkness of that night¹ in which I appealed to her a certain seer lay down and beheld an ominous² dream. Ishtar caused him to see a vision of the night which he repeated to me saying, 'Ishtar who dwells in Arbela entered. Right and left quivers hung.³ In her hand she grasped a bow and drew a sharp sword for making battle. Before her thou didst stand; she even as a begetting mother spoke with thee, Ishtar exalted among gods cried unto thee, and counselled thee saying, "Look thou up for making *battle*".⁴ Whither thy face is set I advance, and thou didst say to her, "Where thou goest with thee I will go, queen of queens".'⁵

The dream oracle continues and the goddess directs the king to remain in Arbela (?) at the temple of Nebo, eating and drinking, making music and adoring her divinity while she leads the Assyrian army to victory. In another and succeeding campaign against Elam, the goddess appeared to the king's army, encamped by night on the banks of a raging river, which they feared to cross.

'Ishtar who dwells in Arbela in the extreme darkness of the night unto my army revealed a dream, and thus she spoke to them, "I will go before Ashurbanipal the king whom my hands created". In this dream my army put their confidence; in safety they crossed the river Idide.'⁶

The vision of Arbela was revealed when the star of

¹ *Šat māši*, time before daybreak; see *VAB.* iv. 56.

² *Igiltu*, fem. part. of *egēru*, 'to think', 'devise'. *Egirtu* > *egištu* > *egiltu*, see Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, 138 g.

³ See the Ashmolean seal, Pl. I, No. 3.

⁴ *Ša-aš-ši*, 'sun disk', makes no sense, and has been corrected to *šašme* by Muss-Arnolt.

⁵ Ašurbanipal, *Cyl. B.* v. 44-62.

⁶ Ašurbanipal, *Rassam Cylinder*, v. 97-103.

Ishtar returned from its periodic absence, and in this vision, not the ophidian, but the martial Ishtar, is beheld by the seer. In the dream of Nabonidus in which the planets Venus (Ishtar) and Saturn, and the stars Spica (also an Ishtar star), and *Sham* and a meteor appear in the heavens, the king receives divine sanction to ascend the throne of Babylon.¹ She may owe some of her importance as a dream goddess to her astral character.² On the other hand, Ninā, the virgin water deity, is apparently the most ancient interpreter of dreams, as we learn from the cylinders of Gudea. Here the priest-king of Lagash receives a long dream in which the gods Ningirsu, Ningishzida, Nidaba, the grain goddess, and Nindub the architect appear in various acts which he fails to understand. He appeals finally to Ninā :

‘O Ninā lady of priestly rites, lady of precious decrees. O lady like Enlil deciding fates, O Ninā thy word is faithful, above all it excels. Prophetess of the gods art thou, mistress of the lands art thou. O mother, let me relate now the dream. The meaning of the dream (I know not).’

When Ninā hears from the lips of Gudea the details of his vision, she explains to him the hidden meaning of each divinity and their actions, telling him that by

¹ *VAB.* iv. 279; see also 55 f.

² The Sumero-Babylonian pantheon has a special goddess of dreams, Mamu, daughter of Shamash (*CT.* 24, 31, 84). *ilu ma-mū ittu ša šunāti*, ‘Mamu goddess of dreams’, *IV R.* 59, no. 2 b, 25. We also meet with a minor male deity who is god of dreams and belongs to the court of Shamash (*CT.* 24, 32, 110). Shamash the sun god is requested to send the two dream gods in *CT.* 23, 18, 38. Also Enlil is regarded as a god of dreams, *CT.* 24, 39, 11, *d. an-za-gár = Enlil ša annāti*. The meaning of *annāti* is fixed by the variant *d. zag-gar-ra = Enlil ša šunāti*, *BA.* v. 655, 7. Dreams are connected with Shamash, since he was the principal oracular deity.

this revelation the gods command him to rebuild the temple of Ningirsu.¹

Our evidence may be strong enough for assuming that this attribute of interpreting dreams, or of revealing by dreams, as well as the peculiar powers of the Arbela oracle, may really have their source in an ophidian deity. I do not assume that Ninā and Ishtar, even in the classical Sumerian period, retained any pronounced characteristics of prehistoric serpent worship when they appear as oracular deities. The description of Ninā, given by Gudea, is too human and spiritual to permit of any such suggestions. But the evidence points to an original serpent goddess as the interpreter of the unrevealed future. If we seek for a concrete survival, the serpent character of Išhara and of the deities of Dir supply convincing evidence.

If the annals of Ashurbanipal have supplied us with excellent material for studying Ishtar as a dream goddess, fortune has not been so favourable in the preservation of oracular responses delivered to this king. Three considerable collections could be utilized from the reign of Asarhaddon, but for the reign of Ashurbanipal we have a single long oracle, the text of which has not been well preserved :²

‘ Beltis³ is full of honour, she the loud crying.⁴

¹ The dream of Gudea is translated by Thureau-Dangin, *SAK.* 89-97, and in the writer's *Sumerian Grammar*, 179-86.

² Craig, *RT.* i. 26-7; Strong, *BA.* ii. 645. Transliterated by Strong, *ibid.* 633; translated by Martin, *op. cit.* 100-5, and by Jastrow, *ibid.* ii. 170-3.

³ *ilat Nin-lil*, the name of the consort of Enlil, the most important married goddess in the Sumerian pantheon. The name became synonymous with *bēlilī*, and is often employed for the virgin goddess after she attained the predominant position among goddesses.

⁴ This line was added to the oracle as a sort of preface; in much

So is the proclamation for the king. Beltis is she, saying: Not shalt thou fear Ashurbanipal, for even as I said I will do, I will give thee, yea until over those of *rebellious*¹ lips, over the violence of foremost men [*thou rulest*], dominion over them thou exercisest. Thy in the harem house shall bind. [*The kings*] of the lands confer together (saying), "Come let us go against Ashurbanipal the gray-headed king."² [*His treaties*] upon our fathers and upon our fathers' fathers he has fixed. [*These treaties*] between us let³ sever". But Beltis has commanded saying, "*This one*, who the lands has seized for himself,⁴ I will *slay, with might fetters* upon his feet I will lay. *Once again* truly I tell thee, Even as the land of Elam and the land of the Cimmerians I will [*destroy him*]. I will go up. The prickly *pear* I will break, the prickly vine I will shred in shreds. The grapes (?)⁵ to the hoar-frosts I will give. As for the *caverns*⁶ and the seas thou sayest, "What are the *caverns* and the seas?" Into the caverns Egypt shall enter, upon the seas she shall go up. Saying, He whose mother is Beltis, not shalt thou fear. He whose begetter is Belit of Arbela, not shalt thou fear. Saying, Like a nursing mother upon my knees I shall lift thee.⁷ Saying, *As a treasure* between my breasts I will place thee. In the night I will stretch out as thy protection,⁸ all the day I will the same way the scribes prefaced their liturgies by a title, 'By the command of Bel and Beltis may it prosper'.

¹ Uncertain. Read *sur-sù = ezēzu + šaptu*?

² *Ši-i-bi ra-ši*. Jastrow's transcription *ši-i gaš-ra ši-i* is improbable. *Ši* is invariably feminine.

³ Here stood probably the name of some king who instigated the rebellion.

⁴ Uncertain. Read *it-la-saḥ-ḫu-šu* (?)

⁵ *A-dam-mu-ma-a-te*.

⁶ *Ḫal-la-la-at-ti* is a difficult word, and the doubling of the *t* is inexplicable. The root is apparently *ḫalālu*, 'make a hole and creep into it', cf. K. 890, 20.

⁷ See Boissier, *Babyloniaca*, iv. 82, and Holma, *Körperteile*, 135.

⁸ *Andullu*.

give thee clothing. Each morning¹ I *pray for thee* "Protect", "Protect", I exhort for thee.² Saying, Not shalt thou fear, O child whom I have reared.'

This oracle is of special importance, since it is almost the only extant source which mentions historical events in the latter days of the reign of Ashurbanipal. We learn from it that the king was now a grey-haired old man, and that the Egyptians had formed an alliance to come up against Assyria. We might, perhaps, think of the league of Psammetichus and Gyges of Lydia, who drove the Assyrians from Egypt about 660 B.C. after a short period of Assyrian rule; but Ashurbanipal ascended the throne in 668 B.C., and as he ruled until 626 B.C., he could scarcely have been spoken of as an old man when Psammetichus rebelled. The oracle may refer to some threatened invasion of the western Assyrian provinces in connexion with the siege of Ashdod, which Herodotus (ii. 157) says Psammetichus carried on for twenty-nine (!) years. In any case the oracle never came true, for it was Assyria that fell soon after the death of Ashurbanipal, and Egypt which entered into a renaissance.³

In certain of these oracles the reader will have observed minor subsections introduced by a word here translated 'saying'.⁴ This word corresponds precisely to the word *lēmōr*, 'saying', so characteristic of Hebrew prophecy. Both words imply a preceding verb of saying or thinking or an idea of such sort, and both

¹ *Kal-la-ma-ri* for *kal-namari*; see Meissner, *Supplement*, 116, under *unmanu*.

² Uncertain. I understand the line to mean that Istar intercedes with the gods for her protégé, saying, 'Protect him'.

³ See E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, §§ 460, 468.

⁴ Assyrian *ma-a*.

introduce the oracular utterances of the deity. The similarity of style between these oracles and the Hebrew Prophets is altogether striking.

A long fragment containing a large number of brief oracles is so badly damaged that we can translate only a few passages.¹ It concerns the rebellion of Shamash-shumukin and his Elamitic alliance, and is the only example of a collection of short oracular utterances rendered by one priest. A revelation in two lines reads :

‘The . . . of Elam I will . . . and make thy bow mighty. Over all thy foes I will exalt thy weapons.’

Then follows an interesting paragraph which I venture to interpret as follows :

‘Even as *Išdudu*,² a king of Babylon, his predecessor I have decreed for him. In his time his people because of hunger and filth gnawed at bones . . . [*hunger?*] the people of Akkad I caused to take hold upon . . .’

Another mutilated passage refers to the rebels who plot in assemblies and fear not the divinity of Ishtar ; of these she says :

‘According to this revelation I will assign them into thy hand. A tablet of good news of joy . . . thou shalt carry away . . .’

After another mutilated passage we can read portions of a short paragraph in which Ishtar declares that she has ordained Ashurbanipal, who fears her divinity, to complete the shrines of the great gods and to sacrifice lambs. Then follows the important paragraph :

¹ Rm. 2099.

² Sic! Read *Iš-du-ukin* > *Išdukin*, or have we here Du-du, eleventh king of the dynasty of Akkad? see Scheil, *Comptes rendus* of the French Academy, 1911, 614.

‘Shamashshumukin who has not observed my treaties and has sinned against the grace of Ashurbanipal, the king beloved of my heart, with mighty restraint I restrained and I will bind . . . in the noses of his chieftains I put cords¹ and unto [thy feet I will subdue.]’

Toward the end of the fragment we read :

‘By the order of my great divinity their cities thou wilt conquer,² their vast wealth thou shalt plunder and take to Assyria,’

and

‘At the mention of thy name, which I have made famous, thy warriors . . . in the conflict of arms shall go in *safety*.’

The use of the tenses in this collection reminds strongly of the prophetic use of past tenses in Hebrew prophecy. The defeat of the Babylonians is portrayed in language as though it had already happened.

We have no information concerning the mysteries attending the utterance of the prophecies of Arbela. The name of the temple in that city was E-gashan-kalama, ‘Temple of the Queen of the Land’,³ which designates no particular mystic ceremony.

¹ Compare King, *Annals*, 118, 9.

² *Takšud*. Note that most of the verbs in this collection are in the past tense, a rare use of the perfect as a prophetic future. But for the regular future compare *amannu*, Obv. 19. For the prophetic perfect in Hebrew see Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*³, § 14.

³ *PSBA*. 1909, 68, 9.

CHAPTER IV

THE CORN GODDESS

THE mother goddess was primitively connected with the vine, grain, and flocks, and, when she arrived in Sumer, with irrigation and the sea. All of these attributes except that of the grain she more or less retained to the end, especially her ancient connexion with sheep and cattle. And from most primitive times ophidian tendencies are manifest, since in natural religion the serpent symbolized the mystic powers of earth. Elamitic art connects the serpent with vegetation symbolized as a tree, and the earliest designs of Innini in Babylonia represent her with serpents and blades of grass or budding flowers.¹ Before the Sumerians occupied the fertile lands of Chaldea, the mother goddess was connected with the flowers and trees of central Asia. A seal of great antiquity shows us the goddess with serpents and branches, to whom an inferior genius of the herds offers a fruitful branch.² As late as the first Babylonian dynasty Innini retains in conventionalized form traces of the leaves and flowers which she inherits from the prehistoric period.

But the Sumerians, once settled in the agricultural

¹ Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, 155-8. Hehn, *Die biblische und die babylonische Gottesidee*, p. 8, following Meyer, is right in his interpretation of the bas-relief of Anubanini, in which he sees buds and blossoms springing from the shoulders of Innini. See Meyer, *Sumerer und Semiten*, p. 26.

² Ward, no. 407; Menant, i, p. 163.

lands of Sumer connected mother earth with corn, barley, and reeds. A new type of virgin goddess, Nidaba, now appears, who like Ninā soon became an independent deity. The theological lists have no reference to Innini as a grain goddess, and the latter, although retaining her virgin attributes, lost, like Ninā, Ajā, and Annunit, all connexion with Tammuz. The type of mother goddess most naturally allied with the new grain goddess was Geshtinanna, goddess of the vine. A close connexion existed here, for in a late astronomical tablet the western Ashtarte or Shala is identified with the constellation Virgo, and we have seen that Shala or Ashratu had been identified with Geshtinanna in Babylonia.¹

In the inscriptions of the early period we find the grain goddess appearing in two aspects, Nidaba and Ashnan. The Babylonians regarded these two divinities as closely allied, for the theologians place them together in the pantheon, and regard them as inferior deities attached to the court of Enlil.² They appear together on seals.³ Nidaba has the closest possible connexion with the water goddess Ninā-Išhara, having as one of her titles *nū-maš-še-gín-nu*⁴; the word *numašše* is almost certainly connected with the title of Ninā, *namašše*, 'water crustacea', 'creeping things', and the Semites

¹ *CT.* 33, 2, 10, here in the region of heaven allotted to Anu. The same constellation was identified with Zarpanit, consort of Marduk, an old grain goddess, *CT.* 33, 1, 11, *mul ab-sin-nu = ilat a-ri = ilat Zar-pa-ni-tum*; the latter deity is goddess of Virgo in the region of Enlil. Both Nidaba and Geštinanna are patronesses of writing.

² *CT.* 24, 9, 23-40 = 24, 23, ii. 12-20.

³ Delaporte, *Musée Guimet*, 71; Poebel, *BE.* vi. 2, no. 29.

⁴ *CT.* 24, 9, 34; *ibid.* 23, ii. 16; *ibid.* 41, 88, *nu-maš-še-gu-nu*, Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, 65, 6.

interpret the name as 'the goddess of the living things of the earth'.¹ When the Sumerians entered Chaldea they appear to have developed out of the irrigation goddess a new type, which at least by origin was connected with water grasses, sedges, and reeds. She is represented on very ancient seals with branches of plants springing from her shoulders, her sides, or holding the same in her hands.² Ninā refers to Nidaba as her sister,³ and an inscription of the classical Sumerian period speaks of her as the 'Holy reed-Nidaba'.⁴ In prehistoric times the Sumerians must have represented her by a sign meaning 'reed', 'sedge',⁵ probably pronounced *Elteg*, a general name for the genera, including reeds, grasses, sedges.⁶ By prefixing the general sign for cereals to this ideogram, the scribes produced a sign which means any kind of a sedge-like plant which produces seeds, and this is the sign they employed henceforth for the grain goddess,⁷ Nidaba, which by palatalization became Nisaba. She appears to have become the special divinity of a coarse grain, perhaps *millet*, but even

¹ *Ša napišti māti*, *CT.* 24, 41, 88. Perhaps Krausz, *Siegelcylinderlegenden*, p. 74, is correct in identifying *Lugal-ki-sī-a*, a consort of Ninā, with *Lugal-ki-sá-a*, consort of Nidaba.

² One of the seals represents her both sitting and standing, and connects her with the water goddess by indicating flowing water over her body. The seal is dedicated to Naram-Sin. See Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, 136.

³ Gudea, Cyl. A, 5, 25.

⁴ *RA.* 7, 107.

⁵ *Elteg*, Brünnow, 4442.

⁶ The special name for 'reed' was *gi(n)*. In practice the primitive sign means 'potash', or a plant from which potash can be made, Semitic *uḥulu*, see Thureau-Dangin, *RA.* 7, 111, and hence came to mean *ramāku*, 'to wash', Genouillac, *Inventaire*, p. 41.

⁷ *d. ŠE-ELTEG.*

under her more cultured form as a grain goddess she retained her ancient connexion with reeds. Since the reed was employed as a stylus for writing, when the custom of writing upon clay tablets superseded in general practice the ancient stone inscriptions, Nidaba became patroness of literature,¹ a character which she conveyed to her prototype Geshtinanna, sister of Tammuz. She appeared to Gudea in a dream, holding a reed stylus, and having in her hands an astrological treatise written on a clay tablet.² Upon rulers she bestows wisdom³ and the gift of prophecy,⁴ and she knows the cabalistic meaning of numbers.⁵ The scribes regarded this attribute as most important, placing her title 'Nidaba of numbers' directly after her supreme title Nidaba or Ceres.⁶ An inscription on a bowl, possibly fashioned for measuring grain, and from the age of Gudea, reads :

'To Nidaba the faithful woman, the beneficent woman, she of the stars, beloved of Heaven, abundance of lands, she of the seven *arms*,⁷ and of the seven *tablets* (?),⁸ the learned one of the holy chamber,⁹ the great scribe of Heaven, the far-famed sister of Enlil . . .'¹⁰

Another short address of the same period describes her in similar terms :

¹ See Frank, *Hilprecht Anniversary*, p. 168.

² Gudea, Cyl. A, 5, 22-6, 1.

³ *Ibid.* 17, 15.

⁴ So Thureau-Dangin, *SAK.* 154, 8, 11.

⁵ *Ibid.* 110, 21.

⁶ *d.* *Nidaba-šid*, *CT.* 24, 9, 32. Note also a false interpretation of the cereal title *ŠE-TIR* as 'goddess of wisdom' (*ša nimeki*), *CT.* 24, 41, 86.

⁷ *Sal KU-7*, or seven seats (?).

⁸ Text uncertain. Scheil, *ga-la*, musicians (?). Read *dusu* (?).

⁹ *Du-azag*.

¹⁰ Scheil, *OLZ.* 1904, 256.

'O lady of the *many colored star*,¹ that holds in thy hands the tablet of lapis lazuli, Nidaba who was born in the great fold, the IB,² O sacred reed Nidaba, fed upon sacred milk, who speaks on the reed of seven numbers,³ who completes the fifty decrees, thou strong one of Ékur, wisdom of the priests⁴ of the Land, by thee I conjure.'⁵

As a scribe of the deliberations of the gods she has the official title 'Mother that teaches the decrees'.⁶ From the earliest period her identification with Virgo, who holds the ear of corn,⁷ connected her with the heavens,⁸ but as a grain goddess she belongs essentially to the cult of Enlil, the earth god.⁹ At Nippur, centre of the Enlil cult, she is the most prominent type of virgin goddess in the Sumerian period. The psalmists of Nippur invoke her at the beginning of hymns as the patroness of sacred music, in the same way as the liturgists of the late period place themselves under the protection of Ishtar.¹⁰ She appears to have had

¹ Spica (?).

² A cosmological term descriptive of a chamber in temples, especially in Eanna at Erech, see *RA.* 7, 108, n. 4, and *Sum. Gr.* 221.

³ The reed-flute, having the octave (?). *KA-ba-a-a = du-ba-è-a = šit pī*, see Gudea, *Cyl. A.* 20, 8; *SBP.* 200, 21, and variant in Zimmern's *Kullieder KA-ba-a-a-zu*, see *ZA.* 25, 201.

⁴ *A en-en kalam-ma*; cf. her title *en-zi-kalam-ma*, *CT.* 24, 9, 37.

⁵ Thureau-Dangin, *RA.* 7, 108.

⁶ *d. ama-me-dib = ummu mušahhizat paršē*, *CT.* 24, 9, 36. Note also the connexion of Nebo the scribe with Nidaba in *CT.* 18, 37 a, 15.

⁷ *Šubullu*, *CT.* 33, 2, 10.

⁸ As the grain which ascends to heaven from the burning altar she is 'the daughter of Anu who calls unto the great gods', Zimmern, *Rt.* no. 89-90, l. 4.

⁹ She is adored in the temple of Ninlil at Nippur, Legrain, no. 293, Obv. 8.

¹⁰ See Radau, *BE.* 29, p. 54. Nidaba is here written in the ancient simple form *Elteg*, the reed goddess.

a local cult at Umma, modern Djokha, a city not far north of Tello.¹ Here she may have been connected with a male deity of vegetation, *Hani*. When types of the virgin goddess become too closely attached to local cults they are generally connected with a male deity, and the official lists recognized a god *Hani*, or *Lugalkisā*, as her consort,² who is a patron of letters.³ A seal from this period⁴ represents both Nidaba and Hani as grain gods, the latter attended by a ram which reminds us of *Tammuz*. Tablets from Umma have been found in great numbers, in which the local god is written with an unknown sign.⁵ If we may identify this unknown god with Hani, our sources inform us that he too was connected with the heavens and the beloved son of Innini. Gimil-Sin, king of Ur, addressed him as his father.⁶

Undoubtedly the title which represents the original character of Nidaba is the one which the Semites rendered by 'She of the springing verdure'.⁷ In the classical period the Sumerians regard her as the incarnation of cereals and the growing grain. An unpublished hymn of a king of Ur (Dungi) tells us that the royal worshipper offered the goddess Nidaba upon the altars of his gods, by which he means millet or some similar grain. The dialectic form of her name gave rise to a loan-word *nissabu*, a word of the feminine gender, meaning *millet*. Ashurbanipal sent the goddess

¹ *SAK.* 58, iii. 13 ff.

² *CT.* 24, 9, 25-30.

³ See *Babylonian Liturgies*, p. 141, sub Nisaba.

⁴ Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 15; Ward, p. 136.

⁵ *Lagab* with a gunufied form of *igi* within. Note *CT.* 32, 6, where the *gunufication* is placed to the left of *lagab*.

⁶ *BM.* 103354 in *CT.* 32, 6.

⁷ *a. Ha-a-a = ša mašrē*, *CT.* 24, 41, 87.

Nidaba to the Elamites to appease their hunger, and the same king boasts that Nidaba thrived in the land because of his beneficent rule. The goddess becomes synonymous with millet—either in the stalk or the seed itself. The satyr Ea-bani (Engidū) is said to have hair growing like millet,¹ whereby the long hairy beard of grain is meant. An engraved stone curses offenders who change the boundaries of an estate with the malediction 'Instead of Nidaba may thorns thrive in his land',² and another memorial deed invokes the god of storms to destroy Nidaba from the land of the wicked.³ It is probable that the deity represents a real grain goddess in many of these cases,⁴ but Babylonian preference for the application of words in some exact and concrete sense led to the word *nissabu* or goddess Nidaba (Nisaba) acquiring the meaning millet or some kind of cheap grain. Since we never hear of meal made from Nidaba, we infer that it was employed in the kernel. With Ashnan or wheat, Nidaba or millet was much employed in the mysteries of incantation. A priest of magic employed millet⁵ in making images of the witches whom he wished to destroy. Evil forces are restrained from entering the homes of men by a line of millet sprinkled about the door, or a man is defended from the powers of evil by a line of millet poured round his bed.⁶ Thus

¹ *KB.* vi. 120, 37.

² *KB.* iv. 79, 33.

³ Cailloux Michaux, iv. 13.

⁴ She is connected as *bēlit šiknat napīšti*, 'queen of things created with the breath of life', with several cereals, barley, spelt, bean, &c., in *BA.* x, Part I, no. 24. The Babylonians had in mind a general grain goddess in passages like *KB.* vi. 70, 33, 'May Girra and Nidaba thrive'. Girra is the god of vegetation, especially of meadows.

⁵ Probably a dough made from millet, *IV R.* 17 b, 19.

⁶ *CT.* 17, 34, 27-30; *IV R.* 21 b, 8.

Nidaba became an important deity in the mysteries of magic. She is the queen¹ who breaks the horns of the sorceress,² and she is among the deities who free from the bans of evil.³

So popular became the grain goddess Nidaba, and so sacred the millet which she incarnated, that she gave her name to a kind of coarse baked bread which symbolized on the altars the burning of deity itself, and which ascended with divine appeal to the great gods. These sacred cakes *nindabū*⁴ appear to have been employed as offerings to all the gods; the name implies, not an offering *to* the mother goddess, but an offering *of* the grain goddess. In this way her body is offered for the sins of humanity. The laws of Sumerian and Semite required these sacred cakes to form part of the offerings at all the temples. The ideogram employed in writing this word means 'baked cake of the goddess Innini', and the Semites sometimes translate it by their own word for baked cake.⁵ We should have expected the ancient peoples to have named this sacred element 'the baked cake of Nidaba', but for some reason they dedicated it, at least in name, to the more general type of mother earth.

¹ *Šarratu*.

² *Maḫlu*, vii. 117.

³ *Šurpu*, viii. 19.

⁴ This word probably arose from a form *niddabū*; the form *ni-da-ba* occurs as a synonym of *taḫlā*, 'baked or roasted bread', King, *Annals*, 165, 1.

⁵ *Taḫlīmu*, from *ḫalū*, 'to burn'. Another form of the word is *taḫlā*, see note 4. Jensen, *Mythen und Epen*, p. 380, first explained these words. For the early Sumerian usage see Thureau-Dangin, *SAK*. 154, iii. 10; *Sum. Gr.* 199, 49. The loan-word *nidbu* also occurs, see *BA*. x. Part I, p. 119, 8. For the name of the goddess note also the spelling ^d. *Ni-da-ab-ba*, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, viii. 112, 14.

Equally ancient is another grain goddess, Ashnan, who, at least from the earliest historical period, represents cereals only, and has no connexion with the growing grain.¹ She is without consort and is often connected with a type of the goddess who protects mother sheep, ^{ilat} Laḥra, or Laḥar.² Both dwell in that mysterious chamber of the gods Du-azag,³ so often mentioned in connexion with Nidaba, and the Ninevites named one of their gates, 'The beneficence of *ašnan* and the goddess Laḥra be in her for ever'.⁴ The ideogram first employed to write her name apparently represents a palm-tree with broad trunk and bushy top,⁵ a sign usually employed for forest. In historic times Ashnan is represented by this sign with the sign for grain prefixed, and the whole should mean 'a palm-like grain-producing tree'. The word *ašnan* clearly means some kind of grain, and Assyriologists have generally accepted the meaning 'wheat'. I fail to understand how a deity, originally incarnating arboreal life, developed into a special grain deity. From the importance of the date-palm in Sumerian culture we should expect a virgin deity attached to this plant. As Nidaba became synonymous with millet, so Ashnan (or Ezinū) became synonymous with wheat. The magicians employ this element also in their mystic rituals, but the meal (*kēmu*) or flour of

¹ She and Innini are among the deities who share the offerings of the annual festival of Ninā at Lagash, *RTC*. 47, Rev. I. 2; Nikolski, 23, viii.

² Marduk watches over Ašnan and Laḥar, King, *Magic*, 12, 30. See also Weissbach, *Miscellen*, 33, 33.

³ IV R. 1* b, 31. Išḫara is goddess of the *ib dū-azag-ga*, *CT*. 24, 6, 28.

⁴ *CT*. 26, 31, 81.

⁵ *TIR*; see *RA*. vi. 143, Rev. III.

this grain, not the seeds. Like *nissabu*, the word *ašnan* (which never became fully Semiticized) is of feminine gender. A line of wheat meal poured across the outer gateway defends the dwellers of a house from the evil powers.¹ Like Išhara, the ophidian deity, the grain goddesses lend divine power to the magicians, and they too possess the title 'goddess of the magic ritual'.²

In the incantation services the grain goddess Ashnan more often appears under the title *Azag-sug*,³ 'the sacred libator', she whose body is poured out in a ritualistic liquid made with wheaten flour, *asurraku* and *egubbū*, and a rare title describes her as goddess of the 'holy meal water'.⁴ The same title is applied to Innini herself,⁵ a fact which proves that the Babylonians still recognized the great goddess in her various minor forms. The mother goddess as a grain goddess never entirely lost connexion with the serpent, that persistent symbol of the Chthonian powers. And the fire god, by whose consuming flames the grain gods rose to appeal to the great gods on behalf of humanity, became so intimately associated with cereals that the serpent god is himself called a fire god, Saḥan or Sherah,⁶ more properly the god who is burned. The astrologers identified the star *Ur-idim*, possibly

¹ *CT.* 17, 1, 10.

² *ilat kikištu*, *CT.* 24, 9, 37; cf. 6, 29.

³ *CT.* 24, 9, 35. She has the title *d. azag-sug*, *Babylonian Liturgies*, 73, 35; Zimmern, *K.-L.* 65, 32. The title is miswritten *azag-BU*, see Weissbach, *Miscellen*, 35. The title occurs without determinative, *SBP.* 177, 15; 184, 12.

⁴ *SBP.* 158, 64.

⁵ *Babyloniaca*, iii. 28, Sm. 491, 5. Azagsug is more often a male deity, and closely connected with the fire god.

⁶ *CT.* 24, 8, 11; II R. 59 a, 21.

one of the stars in Serpens, with the god Azagsug.¹ As there are two grain deities who have this title, one a goddess and the other a god, we are in doubt as to which is intended. The essential point for the history of religion is that the grain deity was identified with a star in the constellation of the serpent. The ophidian nature of the grain and vegetation deity is in this way recognized in the celestial pantheon.

¹ *CT.* 33, 3, 28; *V R.* 46 *a*, 33.

CHAPTER V

TAMMUZ AND INNINI AS ASTRAL DEITIES

THE deities who figure in many special forms in the cult of mother earth and the dying god were identified with constellations and fixed stars. The ophidian character of the goddess must have led to her identification with *Serpens* at an extremely early date, and in late astrology we find *Nintud*, a married type, patroness of child-birth, identified with this constellation. The type which developed into a water deity, patroness of irrigation and symbolized by water crustacea, was identified with the sign *Scorpio* as early as 4000 B. C., I venture to say. We are upon uncertain ground when we attempt to assign a date to these identifications, but if we may assume that the addition of the element *anna, ana*, 'heaven', to the names of deities followed, after a short interval, their identification with astral bodies, then this astral theology is most ancient, perhaps prehistoric. In most cases all the deities of this cult had been astrally identified before 2500 B. C. I incline to the opinion that the ophidian identifications, the mother goddess with *Serpens* (*Nintud*) and the youthful god with *Hydra* (*Ningishzida*), were the first examples of astral speculation, and may have been carried out by the Sumerians before they entered Chaldea (5000 B. C.?). The water goddess *Ninā-Išhara*, who is a later Chaldean development, must have been identified with *Scorpio* soon after the Chaldean migration. An intimate connexion has already been noted

between Nanā or Ninā and Nebo the god of prophecy. For this reason a star in the breast of Scorpio was identified with Nebo under the title Nedar.¹

It is not likely that the ancient peoples discovered the sign of the Crab or Cancer until the Middle Period, although this class of anthropoda would suit the marine character of Ninā-Išhara much better than the scorpion, which is not a water crustacea. But the scorpion being a sort of intermediate form between the crab and the serpent, the Sumerians selected this sign for their irrigation goddess and retained this identification to the end.

In the Neo-Babylonian period we find the Crab selected for the constellation of the fourth month, and an ideogram (*bulug*)² employed for this astral figure. This ideogram is wholly unknown in Babylonian writing before the age of Ashurbanipal, and is probably a late invention of the scribes who slightly altered the Babylonian form of the sign *ušum* (cobra), and thus obtained a suitable form for the crab.³ The Sumerians apparently had no word for this class of crustacea, for the Semitic word *pulukku*,⁴ 'sphere', 'circle', 'boundary', is employed to form a Sumerian word for Cancer (*bulug*). It may well be that the spherical shape of the body, or the form made by the two semi-circular-shaped claws led the Babylonians to derive

¹ *CT.* 33, 3, 30. *ilu* Nedar (i. e. Nebo) is another name for Scorpio, Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, 25, 29. Nedar is the stars in the head of Scorpio, *ibid.* 28, 4; Jastrow, *Religion*, ii. 698, n. 9.

² *PSBA.* 1909, Pl. IV, 13, *mul-bulug 2 sag-ga*, 'the star cancer with two heads', Kugler, *Sternkunde*, 30, *et passim*.

³ It is wholly inexplicable that we have no ancient pictograph for the crab in cuneiform writing. The common Semitic word for crab is *sarṭān*.

⁴ Arabic *falaka*, 'to be spherical'; *piel*, 'to study astronomy'.

their word for crab from this verb which means 'to be sphere-shaped'.¹ In any case they employ this word for crab only in an astral sense. Other Semitic peoples derive their word for crab from a verb which means 'to scratch', and the same word occurs possibly in Assyrian.² Although we must attribute the discovery of this sign to the Babylonians, yet the identification came so late in their history that no religious mythology arose concerning it. A passage from a liturgy speaks of the mother goddess of Isin as the *pulug* of heaven and earth, from which we may infer that at least one of the mother types was identified with Cancer.³ *Pulug* or *bulug*, 'crab', in this passage, however, has followed the analogy of the word *ušumgal*, or python, a title of Tammuz, and came to mean 'sovereign', 'potentate', and the passage really means 'potentate of heaven and earth'.⁴

Extremely ancient, but of course dating from the agricultural age, is the identification of the agricultural type Geshtinanna-Nidaba-Ashnan with Virgo. The Sumerians call this constellation *Absin*, a word which means *verdure*, *plant-life*, rather than *grain*, so that the identification was made in that early period when the vine (*geštin*) and the sedges (*elteg*) were characteristic of the agricultural goddess, sister of Tammuz. At any rate the Babylonians saw in Virgo a maiden with an ear of corn (*šubultu*), a fancy which originated

¹ So Jastrow, *Religion*, ii. 693, n. 5.

² *Sur-ta-nu*, *Sum. Gr.* 191, n. 6.

³ *SBP.* 132, 8.

⁴ Difficult is another passage which speaks of Ištar as the queen who fills the *puluk* of heaven; here the word probably means boundaries, Reisner, *SBH.* 106, 62. The astronomers generally refer to Cancer by the Sumerian name *al-lul* or *lul-la*, words whose import are unknown. According to Jastrow, *Religion*, ii. 693, n. 5, this word also means 'crab'.

as soon as the goddess of reeds became Nidaba, the goddess of grain.

In selecting an attribute of the youthful god for an astral identification, his connexion with the flocks appears to have been the determining factor after the ophidian connexion had been assigned to the parasite type Ningishzida. We have often found occasion to remark upon the close connexion of Tammuz with sheep and goats. The dying god appears everywhere in religious texts as a shepherd boy who plays on the flute while tending his flocks in the plains. An ancient bas-relief represents a youth seated upon a boulder (?) and playing a lute. At his side a sheep quietly nibbles the grass, and a dog barks before his master.¹ If we be too venturesome in assuming that some artist wished to represent in this simple rural scene the good shepherd Tammuz, it cannot be denied that the picture agrees admirably with many poetic passages. In the magic rituals a white kid represents Tammuz,² and in another ritual the priest addresses the afflicted in the following terms :

‘The milk of the yellow she-goat which in the clean folds of the shepherd Tammuz was born, yea, milk of the she-goat may the shepherd with his clean hands give to thee.’³ I have already referred to a seal on which the god of vegetation is accompanied by a ram,⁴ and the ram symbolizes Tammuz in Elamitic art. The identification of Tammuz with the constellation of the Ram (Aries) may have been carried out in the most ancient period, but evidence is lacking. The Sumerians

¹ Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, 529.

² *CT.* 17, 10, 73.

³ IV R. 28* b, 6-9.

⁴ Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 15; Ward, 136.

named Aries the *lu-zid-mal*,¹ or 'hireling', a workman who is engaged to do farm work. The name is intended to describe Tammuz as a labourer who tills the fields, and the astrologers regarded Aries as a prophet of luxuriant vegetation.² This title is late, and comes from the period when the sun at the vernal equinox stood in the sign of Aries shortly before the south Babylonian harvests.³

Having located the youthful god in Aries, the Babylonian myth-makers could not resist the further temptation of finding a star or group of stars in that region for his mother companion. The constellation identified with this goddess under the name Anunit was Pisces. An astronomical tablet states that the star of Anunit, that is the brightest star of her constellation, rose toward the end of the eleventh month fifteen days later than a certain star in Aquarius,⁴ and that she stood behind the constellation of the Ram. Astronomical calculations upon which I believe we may depend lead us to fix upon the eastern fish. An Assyrian astrologer reports to the king that he saw the planet Venus standing in the midst of Anunit.⁵ The astral figure of Andromeda stands too far from the ecliptic to be in the path of any of the planets.

I have already spoken of another star near the

¹ *CT.* 33, 2, 43.

² Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, 25, 23.

³ We should expect the group of stars known as *sib-zi-an-na*, 'faithful heavenly shepherd', to have been so named because of their connexion with the shepherd Tammuz, but we now know that this constellation (Orion) was identified with Papsukal, a form of Ninib, *CT.* 33, 2, 2.

⁴ *CT.* 33, 3, 11.

⁵ *Ina lib mul Anunitum*, Thompson, *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers*, 211, 5.

Ram, which the Babylonians identified with Anunit,¹ rising three months later than the other star of Anunit (Pisces) which I have just discussed. A tablet which gives a list of twelve important stars in or near the twelve signs of the zodiac places the star of Anunit between the Irrigator² and Orion.³ This evidence, supported by astronomical reckonings, points to the bright star Capella or little goat. We may assume that the Babylonians discovered this figure also, and assigned it to the protecting divinity of the flocks. Anunit was not the type connected with sheep and goats, but these parasite forms constantly revert to the general type of mother goddess.

Ancient astral mythology probably owes the discovery of Medusa to the Babylonians. In any case they identified some constellation near Aries with the grain goddess.⁴ The ophidian character of the goddess of vegetation and grain is so prominent that the astrologers must have made special efforts to find a suitable constellation for her. The serpent-haired Medusa is supposed to be a product of Greek mythology, and her identification with the group of stars in Perseus is supposed to be due to the story of her death at the hands of this hero. There seem to be no remote reasons for seeing serpents in the head of this group of stars, the brightest of which is Algol. We have no evidence in Babylonian sources that they discovered Perseus, and hence had not the Greek incentive for clothing this astral head with serpents. But the ancient ophidian character of mother earth may have brought about this fancy in Chaldean

¹ See p. 102.

² Name of the Pleiades.

³ *CT.* 26, 44, Rev. 6; *Sibzianna*.

⁴ See p. 102, n. 3.

astrology, and may have contributed to the Greek identification with Medusa.

The same constellation is also called Dilbat and Ninsianna, both ordinary names for Ishtar as the planet Venus. Under these names the astronomical tablets tell us that Medusa rose with the sign of the Ram in the first month of the Babylonian year.¹

Thus the powerful Babylonian imagination found at an early period suitable constellations for all the types of mother earth and the youthful god. They transferred to the heavens the traditions of a great natural and speculative religion. No doubt this transference of the gods of earth to the far-away skies reacted upon the original conceptions. Each of these deities became a heaven deity, incarnation of powers vastly superior to those which they originally exercised. Of this reaction of astral theology upon natural religion we might easily make too much. The effect upon practical religion was not great. In case of the cults of the ophidian, pastoral, and cereal deities which we have discussed, I fail to see how the identifications with constellations greatly affected them, or changed the conceptions which the Babylonians had of them. But there is one astral identification which did influence the popular conception of the goddess and her cult, and that was the identification of Innini with the star Sirius.²

The classical peoples saw in a group of stars at the right foot of the hunter Orion the figure of a dog containing the brightest fixed star of the heavens, Sirius 'the scorcher', so named by the Greeks because its heliac rising occurs in conjunction with sultry heat of summer. There is no evidence that the Babylonians

¹ See p. 102, notes 2 and 3.

² See p. 18.

discovered the form of Canis Major. The Sumerians attached great importance to Sirius at an early period, giving it the name *mul barsag* or 'star of first brilliancy', which they say rose during the sixth (?) month. The inscription which defines a month as the month of the rising of Sirius is dated in the fourth year of the city king Urukagina of Lagash, whose date is commonly assigned to about 2800 B.C. In that period Sirius was rising about July the first in terms of the Gregorian calendar. From most ancient times the Sumerians appear to have begun their year in mid-winter.¹ We have no means of ascertaining the rule which they followed in determining the first day of the new year, and their methods of intercalation of months to adjust the lunar to the solar year is so irregular that the historian must allow for a possible difference of at least a whole month in the actual date of the first day of the year. Under normal conditions the year should begin with a new moon about January 20, thus making the sixth month about June 20 to July 20. Sirius would rise almost invariably in the sixth month, even if the year began as late as February 1. The Babylonians and Assyrians named their fourth month the month of Tammuz, after they had instituted the practice of beginning the year at, or shortly after, the spring equinox, and this month applied regularly to a period corresponding normally to our July. This is undoubtedly the traditional season for the Tammuz wailings. Surely the Assyrians and Babylonians would not have deliberately changed an older name for the fourth month, 'Month of sowing', to 'Tammuz', unless some ceremony in connexion with this god was performed at this time. Moreover,

¹ See *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1913, 49.

the oldest Sumerian name for the sixth month is 'Month of the festival of Tammuz'; since their calendar began two months earlier than the Assyrian, their sixth month corresponds to the fourth of the Assyrians and Hebrews. This is conclusive evidence that the wailings for Tammuz were held toward the end of June from remotest antiquity, a custom retained by the Semitic peoples of all Western Asia.¹ We should have expected the wailings for Tammuz to have occurred in conjunction with the cutting of grain, which took place in the region occupied by the Sumerians at an earlier period.² An Assyrian and a Babylonian list of months states that harvest of cereals occurs in the month of Sivan, probably the latter part of May.³ It has been assumed that this ancient native evidence refers to Assyria in northern Mesopotamia, for harvests in Sumer and Accad must

¹ Ezekiel claims to have seen in a vision the Tammuz wailings on the fifth day of the fifth (Septuagint) month, thus placing the festival in Ab, about July 25, but his words are possibly not to be taken to mean that the festival actually occurred at that time. See Ezek. viii. 1. It would be difficult to account for the mournful character of the later Jewish Tammuz festival unless such had been its character in Biblical times. The Jews of the post-Christian period attribute the sorrowful character of the festival of the month of Tammuz, which still persists among them, to the capture of Jerusalem by Titus in A.D. 70. See Cheyne and Jastrow, following Houtsma, in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 4893.

² Harvest in Southern Babylonia begins at the present day at the end of March. This is substantiated by repeated evidence of travellers, and it is not likely that the statement of so many observers can be ignored. Professor G. A. Barton confirms Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, 446, upon personal information from persons who have lived in Mesopotamia. Perhaps the seasons have changed since ancient times [Barton in a letter to the author].

³ See *PSBA*. 1913, 50, and note that the text referred to in *PSBA*. 1912, 293 is a Babylonian tablet.

have taken place in April, if we assume that climatic conditions were the same four thousand years ago as they are to-day. But the tablets which assign harvest to the month preceding the wailings of Tammuz are clearly of southern origin, and we must be guided by the witness of the Babylonians concerning these matters. The institution of wailing for the dying grain god in the month following the harvests and the period of greatest heat, thus has its origin in natural conditions.

During this month that brightest of all fixed stars returned from its period of two months' absence. This phenomenon was connected with the myth of the descent of mother earth to Inferno to deliver the god of life. From remotest antiquity the festival represented Tammuz disappearing beneath the waves of the subsiding Euphrates, and later the mother too wandering in Aralu, arousing her son from the sleep of death, ascending with him at last in her bosom, restoring him to the weeping multitude of Erech. All natural and astral conditions favoured an immediate identification of the goddess with the newly risen star. This identification must have taken place as early as the dynasty of Ur. At that time the Sumerians began to designate the sixth month by the phrase 'Month of the Mission of Innini'. In their liturgies which were sung at the wailings of Tammuz they represent the mother wandering in Sheol, beseeching the queen of those dark regions to allow her star to return to earth. It is probable that the Sumerians ended the festival of the Tammuz wailings by a feast of joy and gladness when Sirius rose on the eastern horizon.¹

¹ The ordinary name for Sirius is *kak-ban* or Bow Star, since Ištar as goddess of war carries a bow, but the name *kak-si-di* or Javelin

Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, awaited the rising of Sirius (the Bow Star) in the month of Ab (July–August) to celebrate the feast of Ishtar at Arbela.¹ In the reign of this king (668–626 B. C.) Sirius was rising in the latitude of Arbela about July 21.² A tablet recently published, and dated in the seventh year of Bur-Sin, third king of the dynasty of Ur (*circa* 2400 B. C.), mentions a festival of the mission of Innini (Ishtar). The eleventh day of the sixth month is given as the day on which the tablet was written.³ If we assume that the festival celebrating the mission of Ishtar refers to the heliac rising of Sirius, and that the scribe wrote the tablet which records the offering made to her on the very day of her rising, then we have the valuable statement that in 2400 B. C. Sirius rose on the eleventh of the sixth month; the Sumerians, therefore, began their mournful festival early in the sixth month, and ended it with a celebration of the risen god and goddess. This resurrection was marked by the heliac ascension of Sirius. Assuming our premises to be correct, the sixth month began about June 21, for Sirius was rising in the land of Sumer about July 3 at that time. The Sumerians, therefore, began their

Star (*tartaḫu*) was also used for α Canis Majoris. Occasionally the name *ban* or *kak-ban* is applied to a star in the constellation of Canis Major which rises much later than Sirius with Regulus, *CT*: 33, 4, 44, identified by Kugler (*Ergänzung*, i. 8) with δ of Canis Major.

¹ *KB*. ii. 248, 16.

² Calculation by Fotheringham. I assume that the Assyrians of this period had not yet accepted a fixed date for beginning the year, but began with the new moon nearest the equinox. In that case July 21 might well fall in the fifth month or Ab. I do not believe it possible that the king could have been waiting for the rising of a star so unimportant as δ Canis Majoris.

³ Legrain, *Le Temps des Rois d'Ur*, no. 323, Rev. 1.

year in January, they regulated the feast of Tammuz by the heliac rising of Sirius, at least for a considerable period. It is not likely that they could have continued this custom long. In the lapse of two thousand years or more Sirius was rising nearly a month later, toward the end of July. This suits, however, the observation of the prophet Ezekiel if we take him literally. He claims to have seen in a vision the women of Jerusalem wailing for Tammuz on the fifth day of the fifth month, or Ab, following the month of Tammuz. In his day Sirius would rise about this time.

It seems more plausible to suppose that by combination of natural and astral circumstances the Sumerians fixed the wailings for Tammuz about June 25 to early in July, ending with the rising of Sirius. This date became traditional, and was accepted by the Babylonians and Assyrians. When Sirius moved away from this date tradition retained the ancient custom, although a celebration for her rising was continued. Owing to the conjunction of the period of fierce heat with this rising star, it was the martial type of the goddess to which Sirius was assigned. The Babylonians named her the Bow Star,¹ symbol of the goddess of battle. Although the Sumerians undoubtedly regarded Innini as a martial deity, yet they do not appear to have given Sirius a warlike epithet. At any rate the only name known for Sirius in the classical Sumerian inscriptions is *mul-bàr-sag*, 'star of the first brilliancy'.²

The identification of Innini with the planet Venus

¹ *Mul-ban, kaḳkab kašti*. By confusion the name is also applied to Spica, see Kugler, *Sternkunde*, ii. 86 f.

² In *CT.* 33, 2, 7, Ištar as Sirius is called *nimmatum*, possibly a Semitic form derived from the Sumerian word *nim*, 'heaven', hence 'the heavenly'.

is probably later than the identifications with Sirius and Virgo. The connexion of this planet with the mother goddess may possibly be due to the Semitic invasions which finally overran Sumer and united all of Babylonia in a single empire in the days of Hammurapi. The second Semitic migration almost certainly originated in Yemen, the home of the most ancient Arabic civilization known as Himyaritic. Here Athtar, the prototype of the Babylonian Ashdar, Ishtar, was a male divinity and, at least in the seventh century, god of the planet Venus. The inscriptions of Yemen, upon which our knowledge of Himyaritic religion is based, are not earlier than the eighth century B. C., and it may be unwise to conclude from these alone that the same people had identified this deity with a planet in the twenty-fourth century B. C., when the Himyaritic invasion of Babylonia began. The Babylonian-Semitic name of Ishtar is a phonetic variant of the earlier form Ashdar, Ashtar, brought to the East by Semitic peoples of the first Semitic invasion, commonly associated with the founding of the dynasty of Akkad by Sargon the ancient, *circa* 2900 B. C.¹ Although the philological remains of these ancient invaders are not so clearly connected with Himyaritic as those of the second invasion, yet they pronounced the name of the mother goddess Ashdar or Ashtar, and this pronunciation can be traced to a

¹ First occurrences of *Aštar* in the name *Enbi-āš-dar* (Hilprecht, *OBI.* 104), a king of Kiš, probably more ancient than Sargon, and in *Gimil-āš-dar*, *BM.* 22506, iii. 5 in *CT.* v. 3, possibly considerably earlier than Sargon. The Semites either write the name with the ideogram for Innini or retain this phonetic spelling *āš-dar* without a determinative for god until the Cassite period, when both *ilat āš-dar* and *ilat iš-tar* begin to appear side by side. Finally the form *aš-dar* became obsolete. See Clay, *Personal Names of the Cassite Period*, 162.

period considerably anterior to Sargon. The name is identical with the Yemenite Athtar, god of the planet Venus, which we meet with in the eighth century. But the deity designated by the invaders is surely a feminine deity, identified straightway with Innini, the Sumerian mother earth. The name probably means 'the god that irrigates',¹ and among the primitive Semites corresponded rather to Ningirsu than to Ninā.² But when the Semites came into contact with the Sumerians they found the deity of irrigation, Ninā, regarded as a goddess, and this probably induced them to regard Ashtar as a goddess also. But their deity corresponded perforce to all the many types of mother earth which the prolific imagination of the Sumerians had evolved. In general terms we may say that this broad use of the word continued to the end. The word, however, usually refers to the major type Innini, patroness of government, protector of the people, the martial goddess and the planet Venus.

It must be admitted, however, that when the name is written with the syllables *aš-dar* it generally indicates the planet Venus. We have no means of determining whether the most ancient Semitic invaders

¹ This is the most plausible derivation yet put forward, and is due to Barton, *Semitic Origins*, 102. Haupt, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1907, 112-19, derives the word from אִשָּׁר 'be lucky', and connected the god *Ašur* with the same root, but the name of the city god *Ašur* is probably of Mitanni origin, and the derivation form אִשָּׁר is not in accordance with the chief attributes of the goddess nor with the Canaanitish form עִשְׂתָּרֶת. Zimmern's derivation from *ašāru*, 'to assemble', 'muster', hence *Ištar* as Venus who musters the 'stars', assumes a prehistoric identification with the planet.

² The Himyaritic god Athtar is a deity of fountains and irrigation, see Fell in *ZDMG*. 54, 245, 258; also of the vine (?), *ibid.* 257.

meant Venus the planet or a type of mother earth when they employed these syllables to write their own Athtar. Certain it is that the Babylonians almost invariably understood Venus the planet when they employed this archaic writing, although they now pronounced it Ishtar.¹ I do not mean to say that the Babylonians and Assyrians always understood 'planet Venus' when they heard the word Ish-tar, but only when they *wrote* the word with the syllables *aš-dar*. Evidently their attachment to the archaic word with this conventional meaning is due to ancient tradition. Thus an interlinear hymn, whose Semitic version cannot be ancient, speaks of Ishtar as :

(Sumerian)	'queen of heaven	lofty one of the twilight am I,
(Semitic)	goddess <i>Aš-dar</i>	goddess of the twilight am I.
(Sumerian)	queen of heaven	lofty one of the morning light am I.
(Semitic)	goddess <i>Aš-dar</i>	goddess of the morning am I.' ²

A scribe explains *Aš-dar* as 'she of the stars',³ and astronomical tablets occasionally refer to Venus by this form.⁴ Since the astronomers employ *aš-dar* as a word for the planet, without any determinative to indicate that it means a deity or a star, it is evident that the meaning was not only thoroughly established but ancient.⁵

¹ *CT.* 12, 5 a, 26.

² *Sm.* 954, 37-40.

³ III R. 66 c, 10.

⁴ Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, nos. I, IX, and *Supplement* LV.

⁵ *Aš-dar* is once explained by *bélit ilāni*, 'queen of the gods', in

Now this Babylonian evidence, put with the fact that the earliest known character of the South Arabian ancestor of Ashdar, namely, Athtar, is astral and connected with Venus, makes it certain that the Semites had already identified mother earth with Venus in prehistoric times, before the eastward migration from Arabia. I do not venture to decide whether the ancient Semitic deity was regarded as masculine because this planet was regarded as such, or whether the earth deity was first regarded as a male. There is no evidence, other than a plausible derivation of the word, that the South Arabians did not begin by worshipping the Sun, Moon, and Venus, for these are their chief deities in historic times. In that case the name is astral from the beginning, and means 'the god who musters the stars'.¹ I shall assume, however, that the prehistoric Semites, like the Sumerians, evolved their first deities from the powers of the earth, and later identified some of them with astral bodies. It seems safe to assume that the Semites who invaded Babylonia, certainly before 3000 B.C., brought with them a fully developed worship of Sun, Moon, and Venus, and the most important of these was the planet Venus. If they identified Ashdar with Innini it may have been brought about, not by any similarity of their attributes as patrons of irrigation, but solely because the Sumerians had already identified their mother goddess with this planet. These Semites

a text which explains the sacred numbers of the gods, that of Ašdar being 15; as goddess of the number 15 she is the planet Venus, see below.

¹ Nielson, *ZDMG.* 66, 469-72, argues that the astral character of all the Semitic forms Athtar, Ašdar, Ištar, Atar, Ašstoreth, is original, but the opinion of most investigators agrees with the theory defended in this volume, that the identification with stars is not primitive.

never entirely lost the idea that the planet was a male deity for, as Venus, the goddess was regarded as both male and female.¹

In the most ancient Sumerian inscriptions I fail to find any reference to Innini as the planet Venus. Her name means 'heavenly queen', it is true, but this name hardly reflects a divinity of the planet in that period. No doubt the titles 'queen of heaven', or 'queen of heaven and the stars' of the later age actually refer to Venus, and the title translated into Hebrew as 'queen of heaven', probably designates a cult of the planet. But the Sumerians do not appear to have had any epithet for Innini as Venus until the dynasty of Ur. Here she appears with the title goddess *Nin-ana-s̄-an-na*,² 'Heavenly lady, light of heaven', but the title more often appears in the form *Nin-s̄-an-na*,³ *Nin-si-an-na*,⁴ *Nin-si-in-na*,⁵ 'Lady, light of heaven'. A long hymn which forms part of the liturgy of the Tammuz⁶ new-year's festival is called a song of the power of Ninansīanna, although in the hymn itself the mother goddess is called Innini. The contents of this hymn prove that the ancient

¹ See Hehn, *Gottesidee*, 142.

² Bur-Sin builds her temple, *BM.* 12156 in *CT.* iii. 1, and Radau, *Miscel.* no. 2, is, according to that scholar, addressed to *Nin-an-s̄-an-na*. [His text appears to have *Nin-s̄-an-na* as I rendered it in *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 200.]

³ *Passim*, see *Collection de Clercq*, 264, &c.

⁴ *CT.* viii. 45 b, edge in the n. pr. *Amel-ilat Nin-si-an-na*.

⁵ Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies*, 196, 10; date formula of fourth year of Sumu-abu.

⁶ The role of the dying god is taken by the deified king of Isin, Idin-Dagan. This composition (Radau, *Miscel.* no. 2 = *Sum. Gr.* 196-200) probably belongs to the ritual of a festival at the beginning of the year, probably mid-winter in this period, and represents the marriage of mother earth with the risen god.

nature and virgin goddess had not been materially changed by her identification with the planet. She is here called the 'virgin', 'heavenly maiden', and she is the beloved spouse of the risen god. On the other hand, titles appear which reflect the influence of an astral cult. 'My queen in heaven and earth I beheld', say the singers in a refrain, and the offerings are characterized by Ishtar cakes and seven baked cakes. Following upon the rapid growth of the Venus cult, she now becomes the daughter of the moon god,¹ and a goddess of love :

'Divinity of begetting, divinity of procreation (?) thou art ; for ever thou exercisest love.'

I fail to understand why the Ishtar of love and procreation should have been particularly developed in connexion with the Ishtar of the planet. She owes her relation to the moon because of the connexion between the phases of the moon and female menstruation,² and for this reason her sacred number is 14 or 15, being the days of the full moon. She is the '~~merciful sister of Marduk~~, she of the fifteenth day, the mother of the month'.³ As early as Sargon the ancient she is designated by the number 15,⁴ and she is represented in the inscriptions, especially in Assyrian inscriptions, as the 'Goddess of the number 15 (or 14)', almost as often as by any title. Her connexion as patroness of women with the moon is clear enough, and this natural relation is furthered by the fact that the ancients saw her star Venus as a crescent. Venus

¹ *Sum. Gr.* p. 200, l. 69 ; *Babylonian Liturgies*, 86, 32.

² Toscane.

³ *ZA.* 28, 107.

⁴ IV Raw. 34 a, 20.

is the only planet bright enough to permit a keen-sighted observer to distinguish the illuminated from the unilluminated portion. In Elamitic art the mother goddess is commonly represented by a crescent precisely as the moon. The crescent shape of Venus was surely discerned by the inhabitants of lower Mesopotamia, and this phenomenon connected her at once with the moon god. In Babylonian glyptic the astral Ishtar is commonly represented by the eight-pointed star, which, when associated with the martial type, probably designates Sirius. By far the most common design on seals is the eight-pointed star within a crescent. This design is intended to represent Venus and the Moon, but it has a much deeper significance. It really designates the goddess of love and femininity, the moon's crescent having the same meaning as the figure 14. The star and the crescent first appear as glyptic symbols in the period of the Semitic dynasty of Agade and are not there placed together.¹ They represent the worship of the star Venus and the Moon, both being Semitic importations. The star placed within the crescent appears first in the period of Ur, and clearly designates a growing influence of the cult of the love goddess. A western symbol of the love goddess, namely, the nude woman, appears in the glyptic of the Hammurapi period, and is also associated with the star Venus, see Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, 424, and Delaporte, *Catalogue* 178. The worship of the star Venus is therefore a Semitic importation in Babylonia, and the constant association of this worship with the love goddess is also Semitic. Both the star in a crescent and the nude goddess, which came with the Amorites in the second Semitic invasion, are symbols of the

¹ See for example, Delaporte, *Catalogue*, no. 78.

lewd goddess originally worshipped throughout the Mediterranean basin, Syria and Anatolia.¹

The name Ninsīanna was extremely popular for Venus in the age of the Ur, Isin, and Babylonian dynasties, when she was already distinguished as a morning and evening star. When the scribes wished to emphasize this distinction, they called the morning star Ninsīanna and the evening star *Kabta*.² Accurate observations of the risings, settings, periods of visibility and obscurity of Venus have been handed down for the twenty-one years of the reign of Ammizaduga, tenth king of the first Babylonian dynasty (1977-1957 B. C. according to Kugler), and the synodic period of this planet, 584 days, must have been discovered as early as the Isin dynasty we may suppose.³

The Sumerian name, 'queen, light of heaven', became obsolete after the first dynasty, and after a period whose scanty sources give no information, we find in the Cassite inscriptions a word employed for this planet *dilbat*, which became the principal name and passed into other Semitic languages,⁴ as well as into

¹ See Contenau, *La Déesse Nue*, Paris, 1914.

² This meaning of *Kabta*, also suggested by Hommel in Krausz, *Siegelcylinderlegende*, p. 22, is verified by *CT.* 25, 31, 19, *ilat* (*ištar*) *kab-ta šimētā*: *ilat kabta ištar kaḳḳabi*, 'Ištar is Kabta of the twilight; the goddess Kabta is Ištar the star'. See Krausz, 86-7 and 89-91. This author reads *Nindaranna*, an old and false rendering which has given rise to useless speculation.

³ The observations for the reign of Ammizaduga are preserved in a late Assyrian copy, III R. 63 a, 1-30, of which a better copy will be found in Virolleaud, *Astrologie, Ishtar*, xii. 16-43. Translated by Jastrow, *Religion*, ii. 617 ff. The real nature of these calculations was discovered by Kugler, *Sternkunde*, ii. 257-301.

⁴ Syriac *dilbat*, Mandaean *libāt*, Greek *delephat*, in Hesychius, ii. 172, who says that this is the name of the star of Aphrodite among the Chaldeans. See Jensen, *Cosmologie*, 118, and Jastrow, *Religion*, ii. 450.

Greek.¹ Following the ancient Semitic tendency to regard the planet as a male divinity, or in any case the morning star as masculine, the Semites employ this title, at least in the first few Cassite examples which we have, in the masculine gender.² But like the earlier Sumerian word Ninsīanna, the name usually designates Ishtar as the goddess of Venus or the planet in all its positions. The word itself is either of Cassite or Sumerian origin, and is rendered into Semitic by the verb *nabû*, 'to shine',³ a title of pure astrological origin. The astronomical text of Ammi-zaduga shows that the rules for discovering omens from the positions of Venus were fully developed in that early period. This planet, in fact, attracted the attention of astrologers in all periods, whence it is natural that they should have called her the shining star.⁴ Astrology, however, had little influence upon the cult of the goddess, and hardly deserves a place in a work upon religion.⁵ Religious texts do not refer to Venus by her astronomical name Dilbat. The point to be kept in mind here is that Ishtar of the planet Venus is the goddess of maternal powers, in later times the queen of heaven, and distinct from Ishtar of Sirius the war goddess, or Spica the grain

¹ For this title of Ištar in Cassite texts see Clay, *Personal Names of the Cassite Period*, p. 69.

² In proper names as *ilu* Dilbat-banî or *ilu kakkabu* Dilbat-banî, 'The deity of the star Dilbat is my begetter'.

³ See Thureau-Dangin, *RA.* x. 224.

⁴ The name Dilbat has hardly any connexion with the city Dilbat, a Semitic foundation where Uraš and his consort Lagamal, as well as Anu, were worshipped. I fail to find any trace of the cult of Ištar at this city, although *Laga[ma]* occurs in a list as a title of Ištar, *CT.* 25, 18, 29.

⁵ For omens deduced from the positions of Venus see Jastrow, ii. 612 ff.

goddess. The cult of the planet is connected with the licentious cult of this goddess, as the borrowed form Queen of Heaven among the Hebrews proves. Although the title 'queen of heaven', *šarrat šamê*, originally designated a female principle of the heaven god, yet the identification with the planet certainly caused the Babylonians to abandon the older abstract idea. The 'queen of heaven' from the first dynasty onward probably refers to the Venus cult, and no doubt the sign of this celestial body, an eight-pointed star, was placed on the cakes offered in her cult.¹

An Elamitic name of Venus, *Mašat*, *Maṣat*, *Maṣit*,² probably means 'prophetess', and has been employed, at least among the scribes, as a title of the Babylonian goddess. For example, an interesting astronomical commentary says that the star Venus at sunrise is the sun god,³ and her title is *mašit* [of heaven], that is 'herald (?) of the skies'. At sunset she is the god *Ninurash*,⁴ and her title is 'female *mašit* [of heaven]'.⁵ *Nabun*
Ninurta The same Elamitic titles explain two of her Venus names as morning (. . . *al-šar-ra*) and evening star (*nin-giš-ḥar-an-na*).⁶ We have already seen that even without foreign influence there was a certain tendency from the earliest times to retain the Semitic prehistoric

¹ *Šarrat šamê* occurs as one of her Venus titles on *K.* 6093, 5 (*CT.* 26, 49), where the variant has *maṣat* ^{inu} *Anu*, both being explanations of the Venus title *Tiranna*.

² See Scheil, *Délégation en Perse*, xi. 61, and the n. pr. ^{ilat} *Maṣat-ummi* in Clay, op. laud. 105.

³ That is as morning star she was identified with her attributes as goddess of Agade, the bride of Shamash.

⁴ That is as evening star she is the Ištar of Erech, a type closely allied to the married mother Bau, consort of Ninuraš.

⁵ Virolleaud, *Ištar*, viii. 10 f.

⁶ 'Lady of the revelation of the skies', *CT.* 31, 7.

masculine character of this celestial deity. Sumerian influence generally dominated, and the old Semitic deity survives only as a theological and fanciful epithet of the morning star which the commentaries tell us is a masculine form of Ishtar; the evening star is said to be the female Ishtar.¹ Scholars have inclined to find in this passage evidence for an androgynous type of deity, both male and female, a type which existed only in the speculations of the schools. Of course the most primitive conception of the earth deity may have been genderless, or rather bi-sexual, but these types had no general acceptance.² This curious astronomical fancy is surely a survival, reflected among the Greeks, who likewise regarded the morning star as a male deity (*φωσφόρος*), and the Latin Lucifer is the morning star. The Greeks and Romans also regarded the evening star, Hesperus, Vesper as masculine, but this planet was identified with the goddess Venus by both peoples. A survival of this kind in no way induces us to believe that the Babylonians really regarded the virgin goddess as androgynous. This erroneous idea has been too often published by competent authorities, who adduce another passage from a hymn to Ishtar of Nineveh :

‘Even as Ashur she is bearded with a beard, in a sheen of light she is clothed.’

Professor Jastrow has shown that the phrase ‘to be

¹ *Kaḫḫab zinniša-a-ta ilat dilbat: zin-ni-ša-at: ina erib šamši* [. . .] *kaḫḫab ziḫrata ilat dilbat: zi-ka-rat: ina šit šamši* [. . .], Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, viii. 8 f. See Sayce in *PSBA*. 1874, 197.

² A phrase occurs in a liturgy which, if taken literally, would prove the bi-sexual character of the goddess, *ma-e mu-tin me-en ma-e kalag me-en*, ‘A maid am I, a man am I’, Zimmern, *Kulllieder*, 26, Rev. I. 13; the line is not to be taken too literally; the idea is that Innini protects both men and women.

bearded with a beard' is often employed in astronomy to describe the planet in its brightest phase giving off streaming rays.¹ The same phrase is used of the sun god and the moon god.² Since the god Ashur is also a solar god the line quoted above really means that Venus sheds rays of light like the sun.

The theological lists do not admit the name Dilbat among the titles of Ishtar as Venus, which proves that this name was confined to astronomy. Several rare titles occur in the official list :

'Goddess that lightens the twilight';³ 'Goddess of the arrows',⁴ probably intended to convey the idea of diffusing rays of light; 'Goddess of the horns',⁵ a certain indication that the Babylonians saw Venus as a crescent; 'Goddess merciful who reveals decrees',⁶ referring to the rôle of the planet in astrology; 'Goddess of the star that fills the heaven';⁷ 'Goddess, queen of heaven'.⁸

The influence of the astral element, particularly that of Sirius and Venus, steadily increased, and in the period when Babylonia and Assyria came into close contact with Mediterranean peoples, the mother goddess must have impressed foreigners as a celestial divinity. The tendency to transfer the terrestrial deities to the far-away heavens is characteristic of the Babylonian religion. In this way the natural elements which gave genesis to the gods became symbols of mystic power. The Babylonian saw in the grain he ate, or offered on

¹ Jastrow, *The Bearded Venus*, *Revue Archéologique*, xvii. 271 ff., on the basis of a text published in *Babyloniaca*, iv. 198, l. 21.

² See *Babylonian Liturgies*, 120, n. 1. It is employed also of Marduk, who, like Ašur, in this case is regarded as a solar deity.

³ *Usan-sīg-el*.

⁴ *Til-mā-a*, interpretation uncertain.

⁵ *Si-mā-a*.

⁶ *Dagal-me-bad*.

⁷ *Mul-an-sì-a*.

⁸ *Nin-an-na*.

the burning altars, no longer the body of the grain goddess who, in a sense spiritualized, resided in the distant stars. But the grain was her imperishable symbol of divine power, summoning by its very presence the protection and intervention of its celestial spirit. So, too, the flowers and trees, although no longer the real abiding place of mother earth, who is now clothed with heavenly power, summon by their nature the immediate intervention of their celestial patroness. The conception of all the great deities is thus elevated and spiritualized. This system tended to clothe the natural elements with peculiar mystic efficacy. The influence of this intricate natural-astral system had special effect upon the cult of the dying god and mother earth. In the natural death of their elements, the grass, the grain, in the ebbing of the floods, the hunger and thirst of the flocks, the Babylonian undoubtedly saw the symbol of divine suffering. His liturgies suggest the actual death and resurrection of a material god, the wailing of a real mother, but I dare say that he saw much more than this in the days of their speculative theology. Those to whom the higher astral revelations had come saw behind the ancient pantomime a more spiritual son and a more spiritual mother, gods of whose infinite sorrow they chanted, but who had long since escaped the bondage of the material world. The astral theology of Babylonia tended in this direction, perhaps even toward a conscious monotheism in which the celestial father more or less absorbed all minor powers. All the essential conditions for the construction of a universal religion, based upon the sufferings of a divine son, are there.

They failed to evolve a universal and an ethical creed of faith in a vicarious martyr and, so far as I can see,

they failed to institute any real sacrament with elements of grain, liquor, and bread which symbolized their own gods. But the ascetic tendencies connected with this cult, the fasting and sorrowful litanies which characterized the annual wailings, undoubtedly had an ethical value. Babylonian culture produced great scholars, liturgists who passed their lives in the quiet seclusion of temple monasteries, mathematicians and astronomers whose grasp of their subject is extremely creditable to any ancient people. The ascetic and secluded life, which such pursuits involve, indicates unworldly ideals, and a high-minded religion. If Babylonian culture surpassed all other Semitic cultures of antiquity, it owed its intellectual and spiritual attainments largely to the purifying influence of this cult.

APPENDIX

I

PRAYER OF ASARHADDON TO THE SUN GOD

BM. 83-1-18, 477, Plate IV.

4. *da-i-nu di-en pí (?) -ka*
5. *e-ma šamu-ú [ellûti tûšab?]*
6. *ka-bi-su ki-rib šami-e rûkûti*
7. *mu-nak-ki-ru lum-nu*
8. *mu-pa-si-su idâti [limnâti]*
9. *šûnâti maš-da-a-ti [la tâbâti]*
10. *mu-šal-li-tu¹ ki-e lum-ni [muḥalliḫ]*
11. *e-ma ittâti [limnâti]*
12. *[a-na-]ku Asur-aḫi-iddin mar ili-šu*

.

‘O judge, the judgement of thy mouth (?) [is just?]. In the *shining* heavens thou *sittest*. Walking in the abyss of the far-away skies. Bringing to naught wickedness Vanquishing the evil signs. The dreams oppressive, not propitious, undoing and destroying the toils of wickedness. Among evil signs I Asarhaddon son of his god [appeal to thee].

¹ From *šalātu*, ‘to sever’, Arabic *salata*, occasionally written *šalāfu*, Del. *HW.* 662 b.

II

PRAYER AND CEREMONY AT A DEDICATION (?)¹

K. 100, Plate V.

1. [*ut-ni-*]in-nu² ^{ilu} *Ašur šar ilāni ša šami-e u irši-tim*
2. *abu bānī ilāni a-ša-rid maḥ-[ru-u ?]*
3. *mut-tal-lu ši-i-ru ša a-na mil-ki [damḫu ?]*
4. *na-din ḫaṭṭi kussē*
5. ^{ilat} *Nin-lil ḫi-rat* ^{ilu} *Ašur ma-al-kat kāl ilāni*
6. *ša ina ki-bit pi-i-ša*
7. ^{ilu} *Sin bēl purussī na-aš ḫar-ni gaš-ra-a-ti . . .*
8. *ša a-na na-dan ur-ti [magru ?]*
9. ^{ilu} *Šamaš daiānu rabū ilāni mu-še-šu-u [.]*
10. *ša a-na nu-ri-šu nam-ri bu-lu [inā-šina*
 *turrušā]*³
11. ^{ilu} *A-nim be-lum šur-bu-ú i-lit-ti* ^{ilu} *Ašur a-bi ilāni . . .*
12. ^{ilu} *Adad gū-gal šami-e u irši-tim bēl šāri u birki*
13. *na-din te'-ú-ti a-na bu-ul (?) ilāni*
14. ^{ilat} *Iš-tar šar-rat ša-ma-mi u kaḫḫabani ša-ru-ru*
 [namru ?]
15. ^{ilu} *Marduk abkal ilāni mašmaš Igigi u Annunaki*
16. ^{ilu} *Nin-uraš mar* ^{ilu} *Enlil git-ma-lu a-ša-rid [šaina*
 pan ilāni ?]
17. *iz-za-zu-ma ú-[tīru mukīl reš limutti ?]*
18. ^{ilu} *Nabū sukkal* ^{ilu} *Ašur*
19. ^{ilu} *Nergal bel a-ba-ri u du-un-ni ša*
20. ^{ilu} *Sibi ilāni ḫar-du-ti na-['i-du-ti marē* ^{ilu} *Enme-*
 šarra ?]
21. *ilāni rabūti bē[lē šamē u iršitim ?]*

¹ Translated by Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, p. 128.² Text uncertain.³ Cf. V R. 50, i. 18.

22. *ib-ru-ú-ma kul-lat* [*epšati-ia?*]
 23. *ip-pal-su-in-ni*
 24. ⁱⁱⁱ *Sin* ⁱⁱⁱ *Nin*-[*gal*]

Reverse.

2. *ša-lam ilāni*
 3. *mimma nar-ta-at*
 4. *a-na šarrāni marê*
 5. *ša e-piš-ti e-pu-šu*
 6. *mê pat-ta-a-ti ša*
 7. *ilāni rabûti ma-la ina lib abni* [*ši-a-ti šaṭru*]
 8. *ina ši-it pi-i-šu-nu el-li ša la* [*enû*]
 9. *ša-a-šu u ma-li-ki-šu šum-šu-nu zêri-šunu* [*luḫalliku*]

'*They prayed* to Ashur, king of the gods of heaven and earth, father begetter of the gods, the chieftain and first of all;

The exalted, the mighty, who is *inclined to give* counsel, bestower of sceptre and throne.

Ninlil, spouse of Ashur, adviser of all gods, by the utterance of whose mouth

Sin, lord of counsel, bearing mighty horns who is favourable to giving revelations.

Shamash the great judge of the gods, who causes *injustice* to depart, unto whose bright light four-footed creatures turn their eyes.

Anu the magnified lord, offspring of Ashur, father of the gods

Adad, great bull of heaven and earth, lord of wind and lightning giver of sustenance unto the *four-footed* creatures of the gods.

Ishtar, queen of the skies and the stars, the *shining* gleam.

Marduk, counsellor of the gods, mystic priest of the
Igigi and Annunaki.

Ninurash, son of Enlil, the perfect, chieftain who
stands before the gods, and who *turns back the
adversary*.

Nebo the messenger of Ashur

Nergal lord of puissance and force

The seven heroic gods *revered sons of Enmešarra*.

The great gods lords of heaven and earth.

They have examined all *my works*

They beheld me

Sin and Ningal [rejoiced because of me].

Reverse.

The end of the inscription contains a curse against whomsoever injures the work of art dedicated in the inscription. The statues of the gods are mentioned as well as canals which had been dug. We may have to do with an engraved stone commemorating some public work. The curse reads, 'The great gods as many as are written on this stone by the utterance of their pure mouths which changes not that man and his adviser, their names and their seed, may destroy.'

III

I believe to have adduced sufficient evidence on pages 175-7 to prove that the worship of the planet Venus was introduced into Babylonia by the Semites in the age of Sargon of Agade. And archaeological evidence shows clearly enough that this Venus worship was associated with the worship of the love goddess. The nude figure on seals which appears in the Hammurapi age is beyond doubt a Canaanitish importation. On the other hand evidence seems to show that the love goddess belonged to the Sumerian religion also (pp. 74 ff.), although this lewd element was not prominent in that religion. Frankly, no Sumerian sources can be found for the lewd type of goddess until long after the Sargonic era, but Contenau, *La Déesse Nue*, 51 ff., has adduced evidence for the existence of the ithyphallic figure in early Sumerian art. In any case the lewd mother goddess type came also with the earliest Semites and caused this type to become much more important than it had been. Above, p. 95, note 1, I referred to the representation of the Babylonian or Syrian love goddess in Egyptian art where she is ithyphallic and ophidian, and is also represented standing on a lion which connects her with the war goddess as well. In one of the cartouches published by De Rougé she is called *Kdš*, and in another *Knt*, but this latter form, Mr. Griffith tells me, is an error for *Kdš*; he refers me to Burchart, *Altkanaanäische Fremdwörter und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen*, ii, no. 952.

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Seal of the war goddess with astral symbols. British Museum.



Seal representing the ophidian goddess. Ashmolean Museum.



Seal representing the war goddess with astral symbol and insignia of government. Ashmolean Museum.



Male deity with double axe. Delaporte, *Cylindres Orientaux* 146.



Male deity with water-bucket. Menant

皇 帝 之 子 孫 萬 世 無 疆

天 下 萬 民 歸 心 萬 古 流 芳

比 國 之 民 萬 民 歸 心

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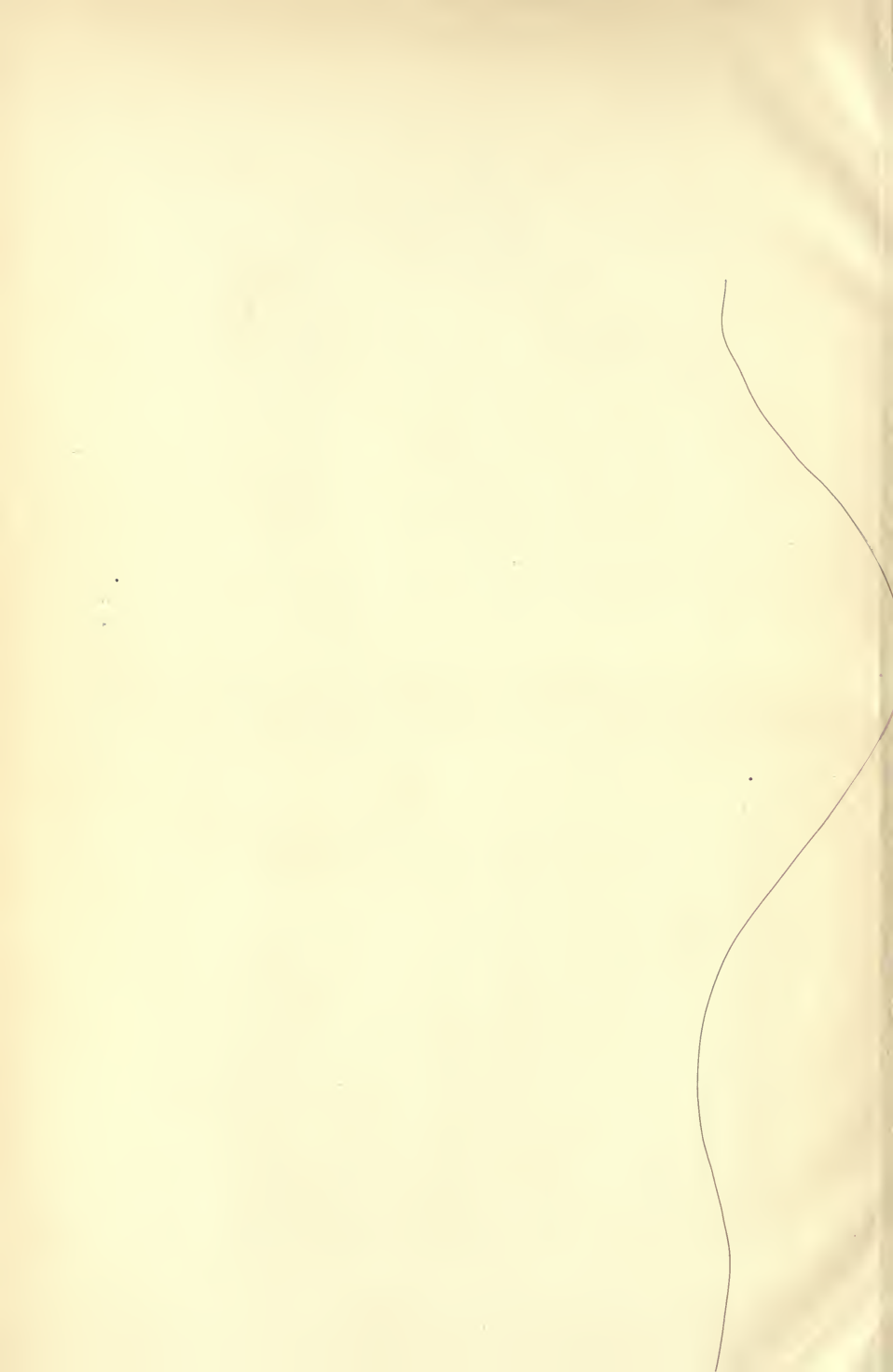
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