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PEETER ESPAK

The God Enki in
Sumerian Royal Ideology and
Mythology



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INTRODUCTION

Hannes D. Galter begins his dissertation about the Sumero-Akkadian Ea/Enki from the year 1983 *Der Gott Ea/Enki in der akkadischen Überlieferung. Eine Bestandsaufnahme des vorhandenen Materials* with the observation that understanding religion is one of the most important means of comprehending the entire cultural complexity of Mesopotamia:

Untersuchungen der Religion bilden nach wie vor einen der wichtigsten Wege zum Verständnis einer Kultur. Und nirgends spiegeln sich Mentalität und Vorstellungskraft der Menschen deutlicher wider als in den Gestalten ihrer Götter. Dies gilt in besonderem Maß für den Bereich der mesopotamischen Kulturen.¹

His description can be complemented by Paul Tillich's famous but often neglected statement "Religion is the essence of culture, and culture is the form of religion."² Although this sentence can be interpreted in a number of ways, and there is no universally accepted definition for the terms "religion" and "culture," Tillich makes it clear that we cannot speak of religion as distinct from culture and there is no culture disjointed from religion. Bronislaw Malinowski interprets these questions in anthropological terms and tries to see a clear distinction between the notions of religion/magic and science, thus dividing culture into two separate parts – sacred and profane:

There are no peoples however primitive without religion and magic. Nor are there, it must be added at once, any savage races lacking either in the scientific attitude or in science, though this lack has been frequently attributed to them. In every primitive community, studied by trustworthy and competent observers, there have been found two clearly distinguishable domains, the Sacred and the Profane; in other words, the domain of Magic and Religion and that of Science.³

This kind of distinction might be called artificial at least to some extent, since both, religion/magic and science are complementary as well as interdependent. In most cultures and civilisations, it is impossible to scientifically describe or analyse one aspect separately from the other. This is especially the case with Ancient Near Eastern religions. As summarised by Niek Veldhuis: "In fact, the divine realm somehow affects everything; there is no separate province in either thinking or in social reality that we may isolate as either 'religious' or 'secular'."⁴ This statement can be applied to the topic of the current research as well. The god Enki does not belong to another reality definable as "divine" or "religious" in Mesopotamian culture but forms an integral part of all the

¹ H. D. Galter, *Ea/Enki*, p. viii.

² P. Tillich, *Theology of Culture* (1959), p. 42.

³ B. Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion* (1948), p. 1.

⁴ N. Veldhuis, *Religion, Literature, and Scholarship: The Sumerian Composition Nanše and the Birds* (2004), p. 16.

imaginable spheres of life. The current dissertation is more dedicated to the official religion, royal ideology and mythology. However, all these aspects are studied in light of comparative material from all kinds of textual examples.

The Current Study in the Frameworks of Previous Research

Anton Deimel defined the nature of the Babylonian god Ea in his *Pantheon Babylonicum* in 1914 as: “É-a, deus abyssi et aquae (dulcis?); deus sapientiae et artium; deus magorum.”⁵ Enki/Ea is described as the god of the underground sweet water region Abzu, the god of wisdom and crafts, and the god of magic. The article by Erich Ebeling “Enki (Ea)” in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 1938, also taking into consideration the change of the divine concept in different periods of history, describes Enki and Ea in similar terms to the definition given by Deimel. E. D. van Buren established the connection between the deity with streams flowing out from his shoulders and the god Enki/Ea in 1933 in the study *The Flowing Vase and the God with Streams*. The results of this early study have proved adequate up to this day and the emergence of new material has not produced any major new theories or perspectives in the understanding of the representation of the gods Enki and Ea in Ancient Near Eastern art. Both great pioneers of Sumerology, Samuel Noah Kramer and Thorkild Jacobsen were the authors of numerous shorter studies about the nature of Enki and Ea in Sumero-Akkadian mythology. A major study about the city of Enki, Eridu, was undertaken by Margaret W. Green’s doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago in the year 1975, titled *Eridu in Sumerian Literature*. The work offers a detailed survey about Enki’s city Eridu in archaeology, history, Mesopotamian mythology and literature. The most recent book about Enki and Ea in mythology and Mesopotamian literary tradition is *Myths of Enki, the Crafty God* by S. N. Kramer and J. Maier, published in 1989. The study is meant for the general reader interested in ancient literature, history of religions and comparative mythology. The topic has been discussed in shorter forms by almost every scholar involved in Ancient Near Eastern Studies of literature, mythology or history of religion, due to the high importance of the gods Enki and Ea during all the periods and all the geographic locations of Ancient Mesopotamia and beyond.

H. D. Galter’s doctoral dissertation *Der Gott Ea/Enki in der akkadischen Überlieferung. Eine Bestandsaufnahme des vorhandenen Materials* (1983) has remained the only longer study dedicated to the phenomenon of Enki/Ea in Ancient Near Eastern Studies. Galter’s dissertation is still up to date when compared to several modern theories and interpretations concerning the topic. The main focus of his dissertation was the god Ea/Enki in Akkadian contexts, although the Sumerian material available during the composition of the

⁵ P. 111.

dissertation was also analysed and presented. The current research⁶ is mainly dedicated to the god Enki in Sumerian sources, starting from the first royal inscriptions of the Lagašite state from ca. 2500 BC. The last period under observation is the Dynasty of Hammurapi where it is no longer possible to speak about the Sumerian language or Sumerian mythology as living entities.

Objective, Method and Structure

The aim of the current study is not to define the god Enki and to try to answer the question “who the god Enki was?” The main objective is to understand how the god Enki was described by ancient priests and scribes, and how that description and mythology evolved during the different periods of Sumero-Akkadian history.

Before beginning with the task of the composition of the current text, some theoretical questions concerning the god Enki were raised in the study plan of the dissertation by this author. The questions were based on observations made during the previous studies concerning the topic.

One of the main observations was based on the fact that most of the theories about Sumerian and Ancient Near Eastern mythology are interpreted using the mythology and cosmogony of Enuma eliš and several other Babylonian mythological texts available in the earlier phases of Ancient Near Eastern Studies. Based on these, the Sumerian god Enki is always defined as the god of sweet waters, the god who personifies or embodies those waters. His divine domain Abzu is usually translated as “the under-earth sweet water ocean.” One of the first truly modern studies dealing with Mesopotamian religion was E. Douglas van Buren’s *The Flowing Vase and the God with Streams*, published in 1933, where the image of flowing water in Mesopotamian art was connected with the god Ea. Van Buren states:

Enki, the ideogram with which his name was written, designated him as “Lord of the Watery Deep”, because after he had overcome Mummu and Apsû by means of a powerful spell he founded in the Heavenly Ocean his dwelling called “the house of wisdom”. In the hidden depths all secrets were thought to lie concealed, thus Ea is lord of hidden, unfathomable knowledge, the counsellor of gods and men, the god of oracles which he revealed to men in dreams, the chief magician of the gods in whose province were all spells, the great exorcist. His, too, was the purifying water used in spells and magic rites, and as ruler of the waters of the

⁶ The dissertation is preceded by the master’s thesis of the current author (*Ancient Near Eastern Gods Enki and Ea: Diachronical Analysis of Texts and Images from the Earliest Sources to the Neo-Sumerian Period*) defended at the Faculty of Theology of the University of Tartu in 2006.

Under World he was lord of rivulets and brooks which had their sources in the sweet-water ocean and flowed thence to make the land fertile.⁷

Van Buren describes the god Ea in later Babylonian religion, and all the functions of Ea described by her are truly present in the later layers of Ancient Near Eastern religion and mythology. However, when studying the 3rd millennium authentic Sumerian texts, not a single one of them seems to describe Enki as “water personified.” There are no texts available describing the Sumerian Abzu as an under-earth sweet water ocean. Therefore, one of the theoretical questions aimed to be analysed on the pages of the current dissertation was formulated as *Is the Sumerian god Enki originally a water-god?*

Samuel Noah Kramer was one of the Sumerologists who during his entire career always tried to seek out the evidence about the rivalry of the theologies of Enki and Enlil. One of the best examples of his theories, the study titled “Enki and His Inferiority Complex.”⁸ can be drawn as an example. Although already Thorkild Jacobsen observed that there is no trace of actual rivalry available between the two gods,⁹ there has not been any definitive solution or opinion about the matter *Is there any detectable power struggle between the theologies of Enki and Enlil?*

Possibly resulting from the theories of rivalry or at least being somewhat influenced by them, different schools of Sumerian mythology and theology have also been proposed to have been in existence. The two most influential of them are defined as the school of Eridu and the school of Nippur. Jan van Dijk, in his exceptionally influential paper “Le motif cosmique dans la pensée sumérienne,”¹⁰ tried to seek different theological and even tribal origins of Sumerian cosmogony and creation mythology reflected in different mythological narratives. The fact that there are two kinds of different possibilities to create something new in Sumerian mythology is clearly attested: (1) by sexual intercourse between two divine creatures and (2) by forming something as a result of handiwork. *Do the different mythological motives reflect different “schools” of mythology?* is among the questions under consideration, based on the actual material available.

The question of structuring a dissertation or a study dedicated to a certain Mesopotamian god has remained the same as described by H. D. Galter in the introductory part of his dissertation published in 1983:

Bisher wurden bei ähnlichen Arbeiten zwei verschiedene Wege gewählt. Zum einen der Versuch, den Egbert von Weiher machte, ein chronologisch-religions-historisches System aufzustellen, dass das Phänomen einer Gottheit erklären kann. Zum anderen die Neuedition des einschlägigen Textmaterials mit dem

⁷ P. 9.

⁸ OrNS 39 (1970), pp. 103–110.

⁹ Fs. Talmon (1992), p. 415.

¹⁰ AcOr 28 (1965), pp. 1–59.

Ziel, daraus das Wesen des Gottes zu erkennen, wie es Åke Sjöberg versuchte. Beide Wege sind nicht zur Gänze zufriedenstellend.¹¹

Different types of texts, which directly or indirectly deal with the gods Enki and Ea, have become so numerous that within the frameworks of one dissertation, the study of all the available material would only be possible in the form of a catalogue. The current dissertation studies the available and relevant material from Mesopotamian royal inscriptions and hymns, and does so by following a chronological order. The chronologically ordered texts are illustrated by using examples from other written records from different periods and are commented on by relevant opinions from secondary sources.

The first seven chapters of the dissertation present the texts mentioning or describing the god Enki in Sumero-Akkadian royal inscriptions and hymns. The texts are presented in chronological order and grouped under the sub-chapters of Mesopotamian rulers of different dynasties and city states. *Chapter 1* describes the Early Dynastic royal inscriptions and other available materials from the period. Most of the inscriptions mentioning the god Enki come from the state of Lagaš, but some texts are available also from Umma and Uruk. *Chapter 2* contains the inscriptions of Naram-Su'en of Akkade mentioning the god Enki. Some other aspects from that period are discussed as well. *Chapter 3* deals with the sources of the Second Dynasty of Lagaš. The longest preserved text from that period is the Temple Hymn of Gudea, containing abundant information concerning Enki. *Chapter 4* describes and presents the sources of the Ur III Dynasty rulers in chronological order. Royal hymns and royal inscriptions from that period are rich in number and mostly come from the ruling period of the king Šulgi. Texts of the rulers of other states of the period, such as Puzur-Eštar of Mari and Iddin-Su'en of Simurrum, are also discussed in the fourth chapter. *Chapter 5* presents the relevant inscriptions from the period of Isin. Most of the texts from that period describing Enki come from the reign of the king Išme-Dagan. The city laments and different Sumerian myths datable up to the period of Isin, are also discussed under that chapter. *Chapter 6* is dedicated to the next major power centre of Mesopotamia, the Dynasty of Larsa. The most abundant sources dealing with Enki and other gods of his circle come from the period of the king Rim-Su'en. Su'en-kašid of Uruk and Iahdun-Lim of Mari are also included in the Larsa Dynasty material. *Chapter 7* is the last chapter presenting the chronologically ordered texts and is dedicated to the sources from the First Dynasty of Babylon. During the reign of Hammurapi and Samsu-iluna, the concepts of Mesopotamian religion go through a significant change, and it becomes apparent that the Sumerian mythological thinking, as well as the Sumerian language, is being replaced by the ideology of Babylon. The Semitic name Ea is making its appearance in the royal inscriptions and is often used instead of the Sumerian divine name Enki. The texts of Ipiq-Eštar and Takil-ilišu of Malgium, which are rich in material describing Enki/Ea and

¹¹ Pp. viii–ix.

Damgalnunna/Damkina, are also covered under this chapter. Every chapter is concluded by a summary of conclusions, where the most significant characteristics, changes and new elements in ideology are shortly underlined.

Chapter 8 is dedicated to Enki's role in different creation accounts and gives an overview of the nature of his abode Abzu and Enki's role in the process of creating mankind. Comparative material from the later mythological stories, such as Atrahasis, Enuma eliš and Hebrew Genesis, are also taken into consideration. The chapter does not always follow the previously used chronological order of texts since the age of mythological ideas, their origins, evolution and techniques of composition are impossible to determine with probative force. Even when a certain tablet's time of composition can be established with relative certainty, there is no way of determining the age of the mythological ideas it contains. This is also the case with different royal inscriptions and hymns – the occurrence of a royal name does not necessarily mean that the mythological ideas reflected in the text come from that period. However, it facilitates the establishment of a certain relative chronology of the ideas and motives. When a certain motive was never present in the records of previous periods, it becomes possible to suggest that influences from other national groups, geographical areas, but also internal developments of religion, might have arisen. On the other hand, when a motive is present from the earliest sources onwards, it allows us to determine its archaic (or Sumerian) nature.

Chapter 9 is an overview of Enki's place and nature in the hypothetical archaic Sumerian pantheon and religion. The questions of the so-called "rivalry" between the theologies of Enki and Enlil are also discussed in this chapter. The discussion is illustrated by several relevant modern theories by different authors. The chapter aims to be a comparative summary of the previous parts of the dissertation which mostly relied on authentic sources and mainly used secondary theories for illustrating the original texts.

As a summary, it may be stated that tracking the historical evolution of the concept of Enki, based on the chronologically ordered texts from Mesopotamian royal ideology, is the most important goal of the dissertation. On the other hand, the last two chapters try to offer a synthesis or a summary of the divine concept and also to understand or describe "the nature" of the god. Every synthesis trying to summarise Mesopotamian religious phenomena or mythological ideas usually reflects the personal understanding and scholarly speculations of its author and can therefore never give a satisfactory overview of the ancient hypothetical reality which was in constant fluctuating change and never had a certain static point of departure or finalised form. On the other hand, every imaginative scenario of events, although never reflecting "the real situation," helps to point towards certain possibilities in archaic religion and mythology.

None of the raised theoretical issues can be considered as the primary aim of the study, which is instead to present and subsequently analyse the available and relevant sources concerning the god Enki. However, the aim is to at least consider if some of the theories, which still influence the study of Ancient Near Eastern mythology, can be considered accurate based on the analysed material.

1. EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD

The Early Dynastic corpus of royal inscriptions largely comes from the state of Lagaš where Enki features in the inscriptions of Ur-Nanše, Eanatum, Enanatum I, Enmetena and Uru'inimgina. Among the rulers of other states, Ur-Lumma and Giša-kidu of Umma, Elili of Ur and Lugalzagesi of Uruk have composed texts where the god Enki is mentioned. The presented material mostly reflects the theology of Southern Mesopotamian Lagaš and might therefore give a biased picture of the overall religious situation in Sumer. However, also the Lagašite inscriptions reflect the majority of the most important deities of other regions. All the characteristics given to the god Enki in the inscriptions of Lagaš do not differ greatly from the later inscriptions from Ur III or Isin periods. The numbering of the Early Dynastic inscriptions corresponds to D. Frayne's RIME 1 which is significantly different from the previous standard edition FAOS 5/I–II by H. Steible.

1.1. Ur-Nanše

One text from the city of Girsu from the reign of Ur-Nanše written on a diorite plaque describes the building of Ningirsu's temple. The first three columns where the god Enki(g) and Enki and Nunki deities are mentioned seem closer to an incantation than to a regular royal inscription.¹² The last two columns of the inscription describe the building of the temple of Ningirsu at the city of Girsu in similar terms to all the other royal inscriptions.

Urn-Nanše 32:¹³

ⁱ	gi kù	Pure reed!
	gi ġeš-gi engur	Reed of the canebrake of Engur! ¹⁴
	gi pa-zu ₅	Reed, your top (arms)
	su ₄ -su ₄	are growing (or: are red ?) ¹⁵
	úr-zu ₅	Your root ¹⁶

¹² G. Cunningham, StPohl 17, p. 6.

¹³ Ur-Nanše 32: RIME 1 = Urnanše 49: FAOS 5/I.

¹⁴ Th. Jacobsen, JNES 5 (1946), p. 139: "Here, accordingly, the engur is the subterraneous waters as they come to the surface in the marshes." Reeds of Engur are constantly associated with the city of Eridu and Abzu in later hymns and myths. As Jacobsen states, the Engur here probably designates the waters of the marsh or lagoon where the reed is growing and where the canebrakes (ġeš-gi) are situated.

¹⁵ H. Steible, FAOS 5/I, p. 110 translates "sind (rot)braun." D. Frayne, RIME 1, p. 118: "you whose branches grow luxuriantly."

¹⁶ Cf. Th. Jacobsen, JNES 2 (1943), p. 118 finds that pa-zu₅ and úr-zu₅ indicate to "thy top" and "thy root" which seems a likely interpretation.

ii	^d en-ki ki buru ₅ ġál pa-zu ₅ u ₄ šù[d] mu- ^r rá ¹ su ₆ -zu ₅ za-ġin ġi kur šùba DU ġi en-ki nun-ki du ₁₀ h́é-ġá-ġá	Enki (in) the earth-hole has placed. ¹⁷ Your top when (I come to) pray (or: bless), ¹⁸ your beard (is) lapis-lazuli! Reed, brought from the pure mountains! ¹⁹ Reed, Enki and Nunki may (they) come down (to your roots)! ²⁰
iii	^d en-ki éš-bar-kíġ h́é-e ŠEŠ.IB k[ù](?) ^r ge ¹ zà-me-bi ^d en-ki ġeš-bu ₁₀ šè-šub ^d nin-ġír-sú zà-me	Enki, the omens / prognostics ²¹ let speak out! ...?... holy ²² (to) its praise Enki the (magic) circle has cast. ²³ To Ningirsu is the praise!
iv	^d šul-MUŠxPA diġir-lugal	Šul-MUŠxPA, the god of the king,

¹⁷ D. Frayne, RIME 1, p. 118: “After the god Enki set your roots in the (post) hole.” G. Cunningham, StPohl 17, p. 29: “had set in the underworld.” Cf. Th. Jacobsen, JNES 2 (1943), p. 118: “thy root being at one place with Enki.”

¹⁸ G. Cunningham, StPohl 17, p. 29: ud-sudx (ŠÜD) mu-DU: “he made you bear perpetually.” Th. Jacobsen, JNES 2 (1943), p. 118: “When I bring a prayer to thy top.” D. Frayne, RIME 1, p. 118: “your branches greet the day (or the sun god).”

¹⁹ H. Steible, FAOS 5/I, p. 111: “Rohr, (dein) Antlitz reicht (bis) ins Fremdland.” D. Frayne, RIME 1, p. 118: “O reed that comes forth (from) the shining mountain.”

²⁰ Cf. Th. Jacobsen, OrNS 54 (1985), p. 67 and 69 for lines ii 8–9: ġi ki.en(-na) ki.nun(-na-ka) / dūġ h́é-ġá-ġá(-an): “may you be settling down, / O reed in a lord’s place, a prince’s place!” D. Frayne, RIME 1, p. 118: “O reed, may the Earth lords and the Earth princes bow down (before you).” The line can be interpreted by comparing it to an Early Dynastic incantation where the roots of a tamarisk tree are probably equated or compared with Enki-Ninki gods: ^{ġeš}šinig ġeš-ġi ġeš-an / úr-pi ki-šè / ^den-ki ^dnin-ki / pa-pi-ta / an ġudu₄-nun / ‘kar kù¹ lá: “Tamarisk, unique tree (or: canebrake?), tree of heaven (or: upper tree?) / its roots (are) in the earth / (they are ?) Enki and Ninki / from its branches / An, the priest (?) / to the holy quay stretches out (leads ?):” M. Krebernik, *Beschwörungen*, pp. 96–97, no. 19 = G. Pettinato, OA 18 (1979), p. 339 text a: i 4–iii 1. The symbolic used is similar to the Ur-Nanše text – it speaks about the roots of tamarisk and then refers to its branches. It might mean that Enki-Ninki are asked to come to the roots of the reed to give it strength.

²¹ This line refers to the oracles performed prior to the start of the temple’s construction: J. S. Cooper, *Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions I* (1986), p. 33.

²² D. Frayne, RIME 1, p. 118: “Its shining renowned standard(?)”

²³ Cf. M. Civil, JNES 26 (1967), p. 211: “Enki will put you in a (magic) circle.” D. Frayne, RIME 1, p. 118: “The god Enki cast it (with?) his (magic) loop.”

	dusu kù	the pure basket (of bricks)
	e-íl	carried.
	ur- ^d nanše	Ur-Nanše,
	lugal	king of
	lagaš	Lagaš,
	dumu gu-NI.DU	son of Gu-NI.DU,
	dumu gur-sar	(who was) son of Gursar,
v	èš ġír-su	shrine of Ġirsu
	m[u]-dù	he built.

The structure of the composition is unique since incantational material usually does not form part of royal inscriptions.²⁴ A connection between the “reeds of Enki” and the shrine of Ġirsu (èš-ġír-sú) in Ur-Nanše 32 has been proposed.²⁵ The “pure reed” is probably a metaphor symbolising the temple èš-ġír-sú²⁶ of Ningirsu which Ur-Nanše is going to build.²⁷ The natural characteristics of the reed growing in Engur’s canebrake are described as the future temple desired to be constructed. Its foundations (roots of the reed) are placed inside the earth by Enki and they reach his underground Abzu. Enki-Nunki gods are asked to give strength to the foundations of the temple and Enki is asked to give his favourable prognostics to the temple building. At the end of the incantation, Enki gives ġeš-bu₁₀²⁸ which should be somehow connected to the temple

²⁴ J. C. Cooper, RA 74 (1980), p. 104 proposes that the text might show the “efficacy of reeds used in a ground breaking ceremony;” or the inscription might be a scribal exercise. A scribal exercise on a diorite plaque however does not seem to be the best explanation.

²⁵ H. Steible, FAOS 5/II, p. 148.

²⁶ G. Selz, UGASL, p. 119 suggests a connection with the temple of Ningirsu, mentioned in Enmetena 8, iii 3-iv 1: èš gi-gi-gù-na ^dnin-ġír-[sú]-ka: “reed shrine of Ningirsu’s *ġiguna*.” Cf. p. 120 for the cultic structure or a place of offerings named ^den-ki ki ^{ġes}gi-gid: “Enki of the place of reeds.”

²⁷ Th. Jacobsen, OrNS 54 (1985), p. 66: “the building for incantatory purposes was seen under the image of a reed structure.” Jacobsen, JNES 2 (1943), p. 118 also gives an explanation about the function of the reed in this text using parallels from Gudea Cyl. A: xxii 11–13 where the foundations of the E-ninnu temple are described as being connected to Abzu: “The notion underlying the passage appears to be that the reed, rooted in the waters of the subsoil, Enki’s abode, is able to communicate a prayer addressed to its top to the god Enki at its root below.”

²⁸ D. Frayne, RIME 1, p. 117 concludes that the term “ĠIŠ.BUR could refer either to a ĠIŠ.bu₁₀ = kippatu ‘loop’ (M. Civil, JNES 26 (1967), p. 211) or a ġiš-búr = *ġišbúrru* ‘king of magicians wand’ (M. W. Green, JCS 30 (1978), p. 147).” The same interpretation is given by J. S. Cooper, Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions I (1986), p. 33. Cf. G. Cunningham, StPohl 17, p. 76. This circle can also be understood as a place for symbolic separation from the temporal world; or a domain where human contact with the divine is possible. Since the previous part of the incantation stated that Enki gave oracular prognostics for the temple building and afterwards the construction

building. In Gudea's Temple Hymn (Cyl. A, xvii 17), Enki gives the *ḡeš-ḥur* ("the plan") for building the temple of Ningirsu. Although the *ḡeš-bu₁₀* is not relatable directly to *ḡeš-ḥur*, the symbolism is similar.

The text on a votive plaque of Ur-Nanše describes the construction of the temples of Ningirsu, the little Abzu temple and the temple of Nanše.

Ur-Nanše 2 (text situated next to the upper figure of the king), 5–10:

é nin-ḡir-su	The temple of Ningirsu
mu-dù	built,
abzu bàn-da	the little Abzu
mu-dù	built,
é- ^d nanše	the temple of Nanše
mu-dù	built.

The buildings of Abzu temples (Abzu-banda, Abzu-e, Abzu) are recorded in several inscriptions of Ur-Nanše. Among the temples built for the local Lagašite deities, frequent is also the mentioning of the Ibgal temples of Inanna.²⁹ The huge importance of Abzu temples in the written records of Ur-Nanše is probably referring to the early prominent position of the god Enki in the pantheon and religious system of Lagaš. Enki cannot be considered the chief god or head of the pantheon based on the inscriptions of Ur-Nanše since the local gods Ningirsu and Nanše are clearly considered to have the pre-eminent position. However, the fact that so many different Abzu temples are listed shows that during the period when the first longer written inscriptions appeared, the cult of Enki must have been spread over the whole region of Mesopotamia.

1.2. Eanatum

The victory stele of the king Eanatum ("Stele of the Vultures") of Lagaš (grandson of Ur-Nanše and son of the previous king Akurgal) describes the victory of the state of Lagaš over the forces of the hostile neighbouring state of Umma. The text has a long listing of curses intended to frighten the rulers of

works are described to have started successfully, then "casting the circle" probably designates a favourable answer from Enki or a permission to start with the building.

²⁹ Ur-Nanše 4, 5–1 lists the temples of Ningirsu and Nanše before Abzu-banda. Ur-Nanše 5 has the order Ningirsu, Abzu-banda, Nanše. Ur-Nanše 6b, iii 2–v 7 lists the temples and gods in the order of: Bagara, Ibgal, Nanše, shrine Girsu, Ki-NIR, Gatumdu, Tiraš, Ningar, Nin-MAR.KI, Edam, Abzu-e. Ur-Nanše 10, ii 2–v 3: shrine Girsu, Nanše, Ibgal, Ki-NIR, Gatumdu, Abzu-e, Tiraš, shrine Bagara, E-dam. Other Abzu temples in the inscriptions of Ur-Nanše are: Ur-Nanše 11, v 6: abzu-e; Ur-Nanše 12, iv 1: abzu; Ur-Nanše 14, iv 4: abzu-e; Ur-Nanše 20, iii 5: abzu-e and iv 6 abzu-bànda; Ur-Nanše 23, 12: abzu-bànda. The name of the spouse of Ur-Nanše is men-bára-abzu according to Ur-Nanše 6a.

Umma if they ever decided to overrule the terms of defeat and start another dispute over the Guedina farmlands. The curses start by mentioning the god Enlil (xvi 15), the second god listed is Ninhursag (xvii 23). Enki is the third in row and is titled to be “the king of Abzu.”

Eanatum 1, xix 1–7:

ᵀu ⁴ -da mu-bal-e	When I (Umma) transgress the border,
sa-šus-gal	the great battle-net of
^d en-ki	Enki,
lugal abzu-ka	the king of Abzu,
nam e-ta-ku ₅ -rá	according to the oath taken (or: curse given)
ḡ ^{eš} KÚŠU ^{ki} -a	upon Giša (Umma)
an-ta ḥé-šuš	from the sky let cover!

The text continues with Eanatum releasing carp-fish said to be sent or going to Abzu. It looks like Eanatum uses carp-fish³⁰ to intermediate the oath taken or superimposed on the state of Umma to Enki situated in his Abzu. The carp-fish are therefore carriers of the message and informers of Enki. This might also mean that it was imagined that one of the ways of accessing the underworld region of Abzu was by the waters of rivers and marshes.

Eanatum 1, xix 17–19:

suḥur ^{ku6} abzu-šè gub-gub-ba	(To) the carp-fish released/sent to Abzu
é-an-na-túm-me	Eannatum
KA a-ku ₅ -de ₆	swore ³¹ (=gave the oath to be taken to Abzu)

The gods mentioned next as witnesses to the oath taken by Umma are Su'en (xx 1), Utu (rev. i 3) and then Ninki (rev. iii 6). It is interesting to notice that Utu, Su'en and also Ninki are associated with irrigation canals in the oaths of the text (xx 20–xxi 1; rev. I 20–21, rev. v 2–3). Utu is titled to be “the master of vegetation” (rev. i 4ff.). These are features associated with Enki in several texts

³⁰ Cf. R. M. Boehmer, *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit* (1965), p. 87 who identifies one Early Dynastic cylinder seal (491) with a seated male god having two fish laying under his feet as the god Enki. E. D. van Buren, *Iraq* 10 (1948), pp. 108–109 denies the identification because the flowing water motive is missing from the seal. However, the god with streams appears during the Akkade period cylinder seals and the information given by the Akkadian seals cannot be attributed directly to the earlier periods.

³¹ E. Sollberger – J.-R. Kupper, *IRSA, IC5a*, p. 52 translate: “Les carpes qui sont au service de l’Apsu, moi, E-ana-tuma, je leur rendis hommage.” H. Steible, *FAOS* 5/I, p. 135: “Bei den suḥur-Fischen, die für den Abzu (als Opfer) hingestellt sind.” Cf. Å. W. Sjöberg, *PSD A/II* (1994), p. 184: “Eannatum swore (?) by the carp...for the abzu.” After the oaths taken by Su'en, Eanatum releases doves carrying the oath towards the E-kišnugal temple of Su'en in Ur (xxi 14–xxii 6). Therefore the fish sent to Abzu probably have the same meaning of message carriers as the doves sent to Su'en.

from the Ur III and Isin periods. The goddess Ninki seems to be occupying the later canonical position of Inanna in the listings of deities. The name Ninki is usually associated with the Enki-Ninki primordial gods and the occurrence of this deity instead of a major female goddess³² is unusual in Sumerian texts. The oath taken by Ninki is intended to frighten Umma with snakes³³ sent by her from the earth which are described as able to bite the feet of Umma (rev. v 23–26).

The text of the stele of Eanatum’s victory ends with the titulary formula of Eanatum mentioning all the most important gods of Sumer. Enki is described as giving *ĝéštu* to the king. This function is repeated in relation to Enki throughout the history of Sumerian texts. The direct rendition of the Sumerian *ĝéštu* would be “ear,” Akkadian *uznu*. In the abstract sense, the word denotes the capability to receive instructions or “words of wisdom” (through the ears) and would be translatable as “understanding.” On the other hand, *ĝéštu* also means the capability to use or master the received (heard) wisdom or directions, and therefore a suitable translation would be “(practical) skill,” “craft” or “cleverness.”³⁴ An English translation which would fit all the abovementioned characteristics would be “knowledge.”

Eanatum 1, rev. v 42–54:

é-an-na-túm	Eanatum,
lugal	king
lagaš ^{ki}	of Lagaš,
á šúm-ma	given strength
^d en-líl	by Enlil,
ga zi kú-a	nourished with true milk
^d nin-ĥur-saĝ	by Ninhursag,
mu du ₁₀ sa ₄ -a	given a good name
^d inanna	by Inanna,
ĝéštu šúm-ma	given knowledge
^d en-ki	by Enki,
šà pà-da	chosen in the heart
^d nanše	of Nanše

³² Ninki occurs separately also in SF 1 god-list vi 25ff: M. Krebernik, ZA 76 (1986), p. 164.

³³ The god Enki is related to snakes in Early Dynastic incantations: muš ^den-ki / KA mu-kú: “snake (of?) Enki / eats the mouth” (M. Krebernik, *Beschwörungen*, pp. 176–178, no. 35: xiv 10–11 = G. Pettinato, OA 18 (1979), p. 350, no. 26: v 10–vi 1); ki muš gi₆ / ZU.AB šà: “place (of the?) black snake / inside Abzu” (M. Krebernik, *Beschwörungen*, pp. 180–183, no. 36: xv 9–10 = G. Pettinato, OA 18 (1979), p. 350, no. 27, vi 9–10).

³⁴ Cf. H. D. Galter, *Ea/Enki*, pp. 95–99. Cf. S. Denning-Bolle, *Wisdom in Akkadian Literature* (1992), p. 36: The connection of ‘wisdom’ and ‘understanding’ with ‘ear’ shows how auditory ancient culture was. The ear was considered to be the seat of intelligence.

Other gods mentioned are Ningirsu, Dumuzi-Abzu, Hendursag. Lugal-URUx KAR and Inanna (rev. vi 1–9). In the current listing, Enlil, Ninhursag, Enki and Inanna represent the overall Mesopotamian pantheon; other gods such as Nanše, Ningirsu, Dumuzi-Abzu are the deities of the local pantheon of Lagaš.

The other type of royal titles listed by Eanatum, more dedicated to the local Lagašite pantheon, is the following:

Eanatum 5, i 2 – ii 3:

é-an-na-túm	Eanatum,
énsi	city ruler
lagaš ^{ki}	of Lagaš:
mu pà-da	nominated
^d en-líl-ke ₄	by Enlil,
á šúm-ma	given strength
^d nin-ġír-sú-ka-ke ₄	by Ningirsu,
šà pà-da	chosen in the heart
^d nanše-ke ₄	of Nanše,
ga zi kú-a	nourished with true milk
^d [n]in- ^r hur ¹ -saġ-ka- ^r ke ₄ ¹	by Ninhursag,
mu ^r du ₁₀ ¹ sa ₄ -a	given a good name
^d inanna-ka-ke ₄	by Inanna,
ġéštu šúm-ma	given knowledge
^d en- ^r ki ¹ -ka-ke ₄	by Enki,
ki-áġ	beloved
^d dumuzi-abzu-ka-ke ₄	of Dumuzi-Abzu,
ġiskim-ti	trusted one
^d hendur-saġ-ka-ke ₄	of Hendursag,
ku-li ki-áġ	beloved friend
^d lugal-URUxKÁR-ka-ke ₄	of Lugal-URUxKAR.
dumu a-kur-gal	Son of Akurgal,
énsi	city ruler
lagaš ^{ki}	of Lagaš

Most of the inscriptions of Eanatum consider Enlil the most important god for the king and he always heads the listings of deities. Equally important is the chief god of Lagaš Ningirsu, titled ur-saġ of Enlil – “hero/warrior of Enlil” (Eanatum 10, i 1–3). One of the most frequently mentioned deities is the goddess Nanše, sister of Ningirsu and daughter of Enki, as known from some later sources.³⁵ As far as the royal ideology is concerned, Enki is not among the most prominent gods for the king, but he features often in a major position.³⁶

³⁵ Cf. W. Heimpel, RIA 9 (1998–2001), p. 155.

³⁶ The complete listings of Eanatum mentioning at least four gods in a row are the following:

Eanatum 1, xvi 14–rev. v 36: Enlil, Ninhursag, **Enki**, Su’en, Utu, Ninki.

1.3. Enanatum I

Enanatum I was the son of Akurgal and the topic of his royal inscriptions is strongly influenced by the conflict with the neighbouring state of Lagaš, as was the case with his late brother Eanatum. One inscription describing the conflict states that the god Hendursag is “the herald of Abzu.”

Enanatum I, 2 i 1–ii 11:

^d hendur-saḡ	To Hendursag,
GAL.NIĜIR abzu-ra	the great herald of Abzu:
en-an-na-túm	Enanatum,
[é]nsi	city ruler
[laga]š ^{ki}	of Lagaš,
[mu pà-d]a	nominated
^d en-líl-lá	by Enlil,
ga zi kú-a	nourished with true milk
^d nin-ḫur-saḡ-ka	by Ninhursag,
šà pà-da	chosen in the heart
^d nanše	of Nanše,
énsi gal	great city ruler
^d nin-ḡír-su-ka	of Ningirsu,
gù zi dé-a	truly summoned
^d inanna-ka	by Inanna,
mu pà-da	nominated
^d hendur-saḡ-ka	by Hendursag,
dumu tu-da	son given birth
^d lugal-URUxKÁR ^{ki} -ka	by Lugal-URUxKAR.
dumu a-kur-gal	Son of Akurgal,
énsi	city ruler
lagaš ^{ki} -ka	of Lagaš

Eanatum 1, rev. v 45–vi 9: Enlil, Ninhursag, Inanna, **Enki**, Nanše, Ningirsu, Dumuzi-Abzu, Hendursag, Lugal-URUxKAR.

Eanatum 2, iv 5–12: Enlil, Ninhursag, Nanše, Ningirsu.

Eanatum 5, i 5–ii 13: Enlil, Ningirsu, Nanše, Ninhursag, Inanna, **Enki**, Dumuzi-Abzu, Hendursag, Lugal-URUxKAR.

Eanatum 6, i 10–ii 14: Enlil, Ningirsu, Nanše, Ninhursag, Inanna, **Enki**, Dumuzi-Abzu, Hendursag.

Eanatum 8, i 5 – ii 5: Enlil, Ningirsu, Nanše, Ninhursag, Inanna.

Eanatum 9, i 4–11: Enlil, Ninhursag, Ningirsu, Nanše.

Eanatum 18, i 1–ii 4: Enlil, **Enki**, Hendursag, Lugal-uru.

Enki is mentioned in most of the listings, but his name does not occur when the two pairs Enlil-Ninhursag and Ningirsu-Nanše are mentioned. The later canonical order of the Sumerian pantheon occurs only in Eanatum 1 where the name of An is omitted and Ninki has the usual place of Inanna. One anonymous fragment of an inscription from Lagaš (V. E. Crawford, JCS 29 (1977), p. 198) mentions Enki and Nanše together.

Enki is not mentioned in the formula, but all the other gods known from the titles of Eanatum are present. It could be that Enki is left out of the listing because the name of his cosmic region Abzu had already been listed in the first lines of the text. Enki is described as the granter of ǵéštu to the king Enanatum I in another inscription.

Enanatum I 9, i 1–ii 8:

en-an-na-túm	Enanatum,
énsi	city ruler
lagaš ^{ki}	of Lagaš,
á [š]úm-ma	given strength
^[d] e[n-líl-lá(?)]	by E[nlil],
[šà pà-da]	[chosen in the heart]
^[d] nanše]	[of Nanše],
[énsi gal]	[great city ruler]
^[d] nin-ǵír-sú-ka]	[of Ningirsu],
m[u du ₁₀ s]a ₄ -a	given a good name
^d inanna-ka	by Inanna,
ǵéštu šúm-ma	given knowledge
^d en-ki-ka-ke ₄	by Enki,
dumu tu-da	son given birth
^d lugal-URUxKÁR ^{ki} -ka	by Lugal-URUxKAR.
dumu a-kur-gal	Son of Akurgal,
énsi	city ruler
la[ga]š ^{ki}	of Lagaš

The text mentions Enki after the goddess Inanna and before Lugal-URUxKAR. Enki's position has not changed compared to earlier inscriptions of Eanatum.³⁷

³⁷ The Enanatum I listings can also begin with the local chief god Nanše, although Enlil's position is still prominent. Enki is mentioned only once after Inanna:

Enanatum I, 2: i 1 – ii 8: Enlil, Ninhursag, Nanše, Ningirsu, Inanna, Hendursag, Lugal-URUxKAR.

Enanatum I, 5: i 6–ii 1: Nanše, Ningirsu, Inanna, Lugal-URUxKAR.

Enanatum I, 8: i 4–9 / Enanatum I, 15: i 10–15: Nanše, Ningirsu, Lugal-URUxKAR.

Enanatum I, 9: I 4–ii 3: E[nlil], [Nanše], [Ningirsu], Inanna, **Enki**, Lugal-URUxKAR.

1.4. Enmetena

Enmetena, who was the son of the previous ruler Enanatum I, continues the long struggle against the state of Umma. One of his inscriptions describes how II, the ensi of Umma, has diverted the water from the dikes of Ningirsu and Nanše. The titulary formula of Enmetena is different from the earlier rulers and lists Enlil, Enki, Nanše and Ningirsu as the most important gods for the king.

Enmetena 1, v 19–29:³⁸

en-TE.ME-na	Enmetena,
énsi	city ruler
lagaš ^{ki}	of Lagaš,
ḡidri šúm-ma	granted sceptre
^d en-líl-lá	by Enlil,
ḡéštu šúm-ma	granted knowledge
^d en-ki-ka	by Enki,
šà pà-da	chosen in the heart
^d nanše	of Nanše,
énsi gal	great city ruler
^d nin-ḡír-su-ka	of Ningirsu

The listing of Enlil and Enki / Nanše and Ningirsu as the pre-eminent gods shows that the composers of the inscriptions were probably aware of the notions “local pantheon” and “overall pantheon.” This means that they knew that their own local pantheon system did not represent the totality of Sumerian divine forces but only the political and religious ideology of their own state. Awareness of the overall Sumerian pantheon on the other hand shows that the “general canonical pantheon” of Sumer had already been developed. Whether this system considering Enlil and Enki pre-eminent divine forces (both complemented by the mother-goddess figure) was developed by some sort of an early political union (with its (political) centre or meeting-place in Nippur; and religious and cultic centre and meeting-place in Eridu?) or as a natural and internal religious process is hard to answer. What seems certain is the fact that Enlil and Enki were seen as the two most prominent overall Sumerian male gods for the pantheon of Lagaš. This is similar to the situation in UD.GAL.NUN texts where the two gods constantly appear together. A different listing is given in another inscription of Enmetena where Nanše and Ningirsu are listed first.

³⁸ Other inscriptions of Enmetena do not mention Enki in the titles list at all: Enmetena 5b has Nanše, Ningirsu, Inanna, Lugal-URUxKAR; Enmetena 18: Enlil and Ninhursag; Enmetena 20: Nanše, Ningirsu, and Nin-DAR; Enmetena 22: Nanše, Ningirsu and Gatumdu; Enmetena 26: Enlil, Ninhursag, Nanše, Ningirsu, and Lugal-URUxKAR; Enmetena 2, 4, 7, 8, 11, 17, 23, 30 only list Nanše and Ningirsu.

Enmetena 15, i 3–iii 1:

en-TE.ME-na	Enmetena,
énsi	city ruler
lagaš ^{ki}	of Lagaš,
š[à pà]-da	chosen in the heart
^d nanše	of Nanše,
énsi gal	great city ruler
^d nin-ġír-sú-ka	of Ningirsu,
ġéštu šúm-ma	granted knowledge
^d en-ki-k[a]	by Enki,
dum[u] c[n]-an-n[a]-t[úm]	son of Enanatum

One text of Enmetena refers to the cultic chariot dedicated to Ningirsu. The chariot is called (Enmetena 4, ii 8–10) “Heaper up of the foreign (enemy) lands of the god Ningirsu on the road (to) Eridu, the radiance of whose *gam*[*gam*] bird reaches into the heart of the foreign (enemy) land(s):” ^{ġeš}ġígir kur-dub ^dnin-ġír-sú-ka ^{ha}har-ra-an eridu^{ki}-ka GAM₄.GAM-bi / ní-bi kur-šà-ga / mu-na-dím.³⁹ The name of the vehicle of Ningirsu obviously refers to the cultic journeys undertaken to Eridu by the gods.

Enmetena’s inscriptions record that he had built an Engur temple for the goddess Nanše in Zulum:

Enmetena 4, iii 6–8:⁴⁰

^d nanše	For Nanše
é-engur-ra zú-lum-ma	the Engur temple of Zulum
mu-na-dù	has built

An inscription dedicated to Nanše’s temple titles her ^dnanše é-engur-ra: “Nanše of E-Engur” (Enmetena 19, i 1–2). The fact that the known temple name Engur of Enki can also designate the temple of Nanše underlies the close relations the deities had in the Lagašite pantheon. The building of Nanše’s Engur temple is recorded in other inscriptions of Enmetena. The texts also state that a temple for Enki was built.

³⁹ Translation of D. Frayne, RIME 1, p. 204. The mentioned *gam-gam* birds are present also in the myth Enki and the World Order 187, and it seems that they are equated or related with the Lahama-Abzu deities of Eridu. According to Frayne (p. 203), the birds are probably decorative elements of the chariot.

⁴⁰ The same is recorded in: Enmetena 16, 14–16; Enmetena 17, ii 6–8; Enmetena 19, ii 3–6; Enmetena 25, i 1–3.

Enmetena 16, 34–37:⁴¹

^d en-ki	To Enki,
lugal eridu ^{ki} -ra	king of Eridu,
abzu pa ₅ -sír-ra	Abzu of Pasira
mu-na-dù	has built

In Enmetena 1 inscription there is a reference to a building structure or a field situated near the bank of the Tigris and in the region of Girsu called (iv 8–9) nam-nun-da ki-ġar-ra ^den-líl-lá ^den-ki-ka ^dnin-ġur-saġ-ka: “With princeliness (nam-nun) constructed by (for?) Enlil, Enki and Ninhursag.” It is possible that the three are seen together as a group of major Sumerian gods.

The listings of the gods of Enmetena,⁴² which occur in several different inscriptions of the king, seem to be less systemised as compared to the earlier inscriptions of Eanatum which always begin with Enlil. The position of Enki seems to be more important in the ideology of Enmetena since the mother-goddess is often listed after Enki. Enki has the most prominent place either directly after Enlil or after Ningirsu and Nanše, the chief gods of Lagaš.

1.5. Uru'inimgina

The text known under the title “The Reform Laws of Uru'inimgina” has a reference to “the reeds of Enki.” By the context, it seems obvious that the passage explains the taxes demanded for bringing a dead person to a burial place outside the city. The preceding part of the text describes the taxes demanded for bringing a dead body for a burial into a grave (Uru'inimgina 1, vi 4: ki-maġ). It would be reasonable to believe that also “the reeds of Enki” might designate a necropolis at a marshland area where the reeds are growing.

⁴¹ Cf. Enmetena 12, iv 5– v 1; Enmetena 17, ii 9–12; Enmetena 25, i 4–7.

⁴² Listings of gods of Enmetena:

Enmetena 1, v 23–vi 7: Enlil, **Enki**, Nanše, Ningirsu, Šul-MUŠxPA, Ningirsu, Nanše.

Enmetena 5b, obv. ii 2–iii 1: Nanše, Ningirsu, Inanna, Lugal-URUxKAR.

Enmetena 12, ii 6–vii 2: Ningirsu, Lugal-URUxKAR, Nanše, **Enki**, Ninhursag, Ningirsu, Enlil, Gatumdu, Nanše, Ningirsu.

Enmetena 15, ii 2–6: Nanše, Ningirsu, **Enki**.

Enmetena 16, 1–38: Ningirsu, Nanše, Enlil, Gatumdu, Ninmah, Lugal-URUxKAR, **Enki**, Ningirsu.

Enmetena 17, I 17–iv 5: Ningirsu, Lugal-URUxKAR, Nanše. **Enki**, Ninhursag, Ningirsu, Gatumdu, Nanše, Enlil, Šul-MUŠxPA.

Enmetena 20, 7–11: Nanše, Ningirsu, Nin-DAR.

Enmetena 22, 6–10: Nanše, Ningirsu, Gatumdu.

Enmetena 26, i 7–ii 7: Enlil, Ninhursag, Nanše, Ningirsu, Lugal-URUxKAR.

Uruinimgina 1: vi 15–22 (cf. ix 35–x 4):	
gi ^d en-ki-ka-ka	(when) to the reeds of Enki
lú ù-DU	a man was brought ⁴³
kas-ni 7 dug	his beer was 7 jars
ninda 420-nam	bread was 420
2 (ul) še	2 <i>ul</i> of barley
1 túg	1 garment
1 ġeš ^{ná}	1 bed
ġeš ^{dúr-gar}	(one) chair

Attempts have been made to interpret that a person was brought to “the reeds of Enki” for ritual purposes, such as healing rituals for an ill person.⁴⁴ The assumption seems baseless since the context of the text does not support it. P. Steinkeller offers a possibility according to which “the mysterious gi^dEn-ki, ‘reed of Enki,’ which designates the locus of elaborate interments in the ‘Urukagina Reforms,’ is a pun on the name Enegi” and that it marks the necropolis of Lagaš.⁴⁵ In the Uru’inimgina text, the place name is written gi^den-ki-ka-ka and it

⁴³ S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (1963), p. 317 translates: “He who brought a citizen to rest among the reeds of Enki.”

⁴⁴ J. Bauer *apud* H. Steible, *FAOS* 5/II, p. 148.

⁴⁵ P. Steinkeller, *JAOS* 115 (1995), pp. 542–543. P. Steinkeller relates the term gi^den-ki with the name of Enegi, the centre of Ninazu’s cult and the centre of the cult of the dead in Sumer written Enegi_x (EN.DÍM.GIG) in third millennium sources. The name possibly occurs as ki-en-gi₄ in a document dating from the second year of Uru’inimgina marking the necropolis of Lagaš itself. G. Pettinato, *OA* 18 (1979), p. 115 associates gi^den-ki with the place name ġeš^{kiri}₆ (“garden / orchard”) in Ebla texts: “Il luogo di culto per i defunti: il giardino sembra, infatti, essere il luogo di sepoltura dei sovrani di Ebla, cosa che ricorda molto da vicino il gi^den-ki ‘il canetto di Enki’ dei testi di Urukagina di Lagaš, il luogo cioè di sepoltura degli abitanti di Lagaš.” E. Lipiński, *Resheph* (2009), pp. 46–48 interprets the often occurring ^den-ki in several Ebla texts as ^dEN^{ki} designating the burial place of a ruler or a necropolis instead of the divine name Enki. He concludes that “All this does not mean of course that ^dEN^{ki} is always the king’s grave and that Enki does not appear in the Ebla texts.” According to offering lists of Ebla, Enki seems to be titled “gardener” (MEE 10, p. 19, text 3: obv. V 10–11): ^den-ki / lú ġeš^{nu-kiri}₆. P. Mander, *MEE* 10, p. 26 concludes that the ġeš^{nu-kiri}₆ probably “was a place where cultic ceremonies were performed.” According to Lipinski (pp. 32–33) there is no connection with the god Enki since the name should be read ^dEN^{ki}. Interpreting the name ^den-ki as ^dEN^{ki} also influences the understanding of Enki’s relation to the god Rasap in Ebla. The Semitic underworld deity Rasap is equated with the Sumerian god Nergal in Ebla lexical list MEE 4, text 47–48: 806: ^dnè-eri₁₀ / = *ra-sa-ap*. Equating Nergal and Rasap was also common in Ugaritic sources where Ea is usually equated with *ktr* (cf. J. F. Healey, *SEL* 2 (1985), p. 118 and 122). In two offering lists from Ebla, ^dEN.KI and ^d*ra-sa-ap* appear together in one text as receivers of goods: 1 túg-SAL / *ma-nu-wa-at*^{ki} / du₁₁-ga / nidba / ^d*ra-sa-ap* / ^dEN.KI / in / *du-si-gú*^{ki} / šu ba₄-ti: “One fine textile / (in) Manuwat / ordered / (for) offering / (to) Rasap / (and) Enki (or: to the grave of lord?) / in / Dusigu / he received:” (*ARET* 4, p. 112, no. 12: 21; cf. C. Simonetti, *NABU* 1993/104, p. 87ff. for Enki in offering lists of Ebla; cf. M. Baldacci,

is hard to imagine that it could only designate ^den^{ki}: “the burial place of the divine lord.”⁴⁶ On the other hand, the burials of Mesopotamian kings in water bodies, marshes and rivers is attested in several Mesopotamian texts such as the Death of Gilgameš and the same practice is also described by classical authors.⁴⁷

Partially Published Eblaite Texts (1992), p. 30, no. 0410). For relation of the location *gú-nu/núm* employed in connection to Rasap which might be related to ^ges^{kiri}₆ occurring in relation to ^dEN.KI; cf. M. Dahood – G. Pettinato, OrNS 46 (1977), pp. 230–232. The Enki-Ninki deities are related to Nergal in Zame Hymns (OIP 99, p. 48: 65–69) as well as with the roots of the reed and tamarisk (cf. examples above given for Ur-Nanše 32). If the equation indeed occurs between the primordial god Enki and Rasap then it probably results from their common chthonic characteristics (cf. F. Pomponio – P. Xella, AOAT 245, p. 169). On the other hand, also Enki(g) is an underworld deity considering the nature of his Abzu. Furthermore, gardens are directly associated with Enki in later Sumerian mythology (cf. Enki and the World Order, 150ff).

⁴⁶ Cf. Heron and the Turtle 5–7 where the marsh area and also reeds of Enki are mentioned. Line 6: [sug] bân-da sug ^den-ki-kà-ka “in the small marsh of Enki” and line 7: ^{gi}bar-bar ^den-ki-kà-ka “in the reed thickets of Enki.”

⁴⁷ The practice is described by Strabon and Arrianus, both quoting the lost History of Alexander the Great of Aristobulus. P.-A. Beaulieu, NABU 1988/2, pp. 36–37 compares the burial of Ea-mukin-zeri, the second ruler of the Second Dynasty of Sealand (ca. 1025–1005), buried in the swamp of Bit-Hašmar (Dynastic Chronicle B v 6: *ina raq-qa-ti ša É haš-mar qí-bir*), to the information given by Strabon and Arrianus about the royal tombs of Mesopotamia. (Strabon, describing Alexander’s explorations in Babylonia, Geographica XVI, 1, 11: “Accordingly, he adds (=Aristobulus), Alexander busied himself thus with the canals, and also inspected thoroughly the tombs of the kings and potentates, most of which are situated among the lakes.” Arrianus in Anabasis Alexandri VII 22, 1: “The greater number of tombs of the Assyrian kings were built in the lakes and marshlands /.../ the light band (=from the head of Alexander) went flying away and caught on a reed-bed near one of the ancient royal tombs”). The burial of kings inside a palace or a tomb built in a river-bed is also recorded in the Death of Gilgameš where it is described that the people of Uruk emptied the Euphrates river of water to build a tomb for Gilgameš (cf. M₁ 241–242). The same idea is reflected in a much later Gilgameš Epic where the burial procedures of Enkidu instead of Gilgameš are described VIII, 212: *ZIK-ru šá na-a-ri ib-ta-ni [ina libbi-šú]*: “He (=Gilgameš) figured out (an idea) [in his heart] to dam the river” (cf. P. Espak, FARG 42 (2008), pp. 68–69). D. T. Potts, Mesopotamian Civilization (1997), p. 234, relying on Beaulieu, also finds that “in view of the absence of safely identified royal tombs in all periods of Mesopotamian history, the practice of burying kings in the swamps or marshes, close to the abode of Enki, should be considered a likely explanation.” Cf. A. C. Cohen, Death Rituals, Ideology, and the Development of Early Mesopotamian Kingship (2005), p. 80: “Two different cemeteries within Girsu are mentioned in UruKagina’s Reforms: the ki-mah ‘cemetery,’ lit. ‘august place,’ and the gi-^den-ki ‘Reed of Enki.’ Given that elsewhere in the Girsu texts gi-^den-ki is written ki-en-gi₄ ‘the place where (dead) ens are sent,’ one may infer that the ‘Reed of Enki’ was a more prestigious cemetery than the ki-mah. This inference is supported by a passage in UruKagina’s Reforms which fixes the price for burial in the ‘Reed of Enki’ at a substantially higher level than the price for burial in the ki-mah.” It might be guessed that the name of the marshland cemetery of Lagaš actually incorporates the two concepts – “a burial place” and “the reeds of Enki.”

1.6. Ur-Lumma and Giša-kidu of Umma

An inscription of Ur-Lumma, king of Umma, records the building of a temple for the god Enki-gal.

Ur-Lumma 1:

^d en-ki-gal	To Enki-gal (the great Enki),
ur- ^d LUM-ma	Ur-Lumma,
lugal umma	king of Umma,
dumu en-á-kal-le	son of Enakale,
lugal umma	king of Umma,
é mu-na-dù	built a temple

The name of the previous ruler of Umma was E-Abzu (cf. E-Abzu 1, 2–3: é-ab-zu / lugal ^ĝcsKÚŠU^{ki}: “E-Abzu, the king of Giša (Umma)”⁴⁸), which is an indication that the Ummaite theology must have been highly influenced by Enki. The great influence of Enki is further confirmed by one inscription of Giša-kidu, the successor of the ruler II. The inscription was previously attributed to Lugalzagesi, but was identified as Giša-kidu’s by D. Frayne.⁴⁹ The inscription begins by referring to the deities Šara and Enlil, but Giša-kidu’s titulary formula lists the gods in the order of Ninur, Enki, Ištaran, Enlil, Inanna.

Giša-kidu 2, i 11–17:

en zà kešda ^d nin-ur ₄ -ke ₄	Lord (en-priest) attached to the side of Ninur,
ama šà kúš ^d en-ki-ka-ke ₄	(who is) counseled by Enki (like his own mother, ⁵⁰
ku-li ki-áĝ	beloved friend
^d ištaran-ke ₄	of Ištaran,
énsi kala-ga	mighty city ruler
^d en-líl-lá-ke ₄	of Enlil,
lugal mu-pà ^d inanna-ke ₄	king nominated by Inanna

The text describes Enki as the counselor of the king similarly to the Lagaš inscriptions where Enki grants ĝéštu for a king. Listing Enki before Enlil in the titulary formula is uncommon compared to the other known royal inscriptions from the period, indicating that the pantheon of Umma was developed differently from the Lagašite system. But the mention of Enki and Enlil among

⁴⁸ On two inscriptions, the name of a city ruler of Nippur Abzu-kidu can be found (Abzu-kidu 1, 3–5: dam abzu-ki-du₁₀ / énsi / nibru^{ki}: “wife of Abzu-kidu / city ruler / of Nippur,” and Abzu-kidu 2 naming the wife and daughter of Abzu-kidu (lines 1’-4’: dum[u] / amar-^diškur / dam / abzu-ki-du₁₀: “child / of Amar-Iškur / wife / of Abzu-kidu.” The translation of the name would be “Abzu, the good/sweet place.”

⁴⁹ H. Steible, FAOS 5/II: Lugalzagesi 2; D. Frayne, RIME 1, p. 372: Giša-kidu 2.

⁵⁰ The other option would be to translate: “Mother (Giša-kidu) who is counseled by Enki.”

the other and possibly locally honoured deities demonstrates their importance in the overall Mesopotamian pantheon.

1.7. Elili of Ur

A cone inscription recording the construction of Enki's temple in Eridu is preserved from the reign of Elili, the king of Ur.

Elili 1:	
^d en-ki	To Enki,
lugal	king
eridu ^{ki} -ra	of Eridu;
é-li-li	Elili,
lugal uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma-ke ₄	king of Ur,
abzu-ni	his Abzu
mu-na-dù	has built.

1.8. Lugalzagesi of Uruk

The texts of Lugalzagesi reflect the theology of Uruk where one of the chief deities was the sky-god An. In other available inscriptions from Lagaš or other cities, An was not listed among the important gods in titulary formulas. A bowl inscription of Lugalzagesi dedicated to Enlil names the king *išib*-priest of An and *lumah*-priest of Nisaba. Then follows the titulary formula headed by An.

Lugalzagesi 1, i 3–32:	
lugal-zà-ge-zi	Lugalzagesi,
lugal unu ^{ki} -ga	king of Uruk,
lugal kalam-ma	king of the land,
išib an-na	<i>išib</i> -priest of An,
lú maḥ	<i>lumah</i> -priest
^d nisaba	of Nisaba,
dumu Ú-Ú	son of U-U,
[én]si ^{ḡcš} KÚŠU ^{ki}	city ruler of Giša (Umma),
lú maḥ	lumah-priest
^d nisaba	of Nisaba.
igi zi bar-ra	Looked upon favourably
an lugal kur-kur-ra-ka	by An, the king of the lands,
énsi gal	great city ruler
^d en-líl	of Enlil,
ḡéštu šúm-ma	granted knowledge
^d en-ki	by Enki,

mu pà-da	nominated
^d utu	by Utu,
sukkal mah	great vizier (servant)
^d EN.ZU	of Su'en,
GÌR.NÍTA	military leader
^d utu	of Utu,
ú-a ^d inanna	provider of Inanna,
dumu tu-da	son given birth
^d nisaba	by Nisaba,
ga zu kú-a	fed with a nourishing milk
^d nin-ḥur-saḡ	by Ninhursag,
lú ^d písan-saḡ-unu ^{ki} -ga	the man of Mes-sag-Uruk,
saḡ á-è-a	brought up
^d nin-ḡìrim	by Ningirim

The same inscription titles Enlil “the king of the lands” (iii 14–15: ^den-líl / lugal kur-kur-ra-ke₄ and An to be the father of Enlil (iii 16: an a ki-áḡ-ni: “An, his beloved father”). Enki has the third position in the list after An and Enlil. He is followed by Utu, Su'en and Inanna. A similar formula, but where the mother-goddess is added after Enlil (already common in the inscriptions of Lagaš), will be the canonical listing of the Neo-Sumerian period.

One other fragmentary inscription which can be attributed to Lugalzagesi on the basis of its titulary formula⁵¹ offers a different listing. Since the text is fragmentary, the actual order of gods is impossible to determine. The list might have been headed by An.

Lugalzagesi 2, i' 1' -ii' 5':

<i>(lacuna)</i>	
[lugal] ṛunu ^{ki}	[king] of Uruk,
ú-a ^d inanna	provider of Inanna,
lú ^d písan-saḡ-ṛunu ^{ki}	the man of Mes-sag-Uruk,
dumu tu-[d]a	son given birth
^d nisaba	by Nisaba
<i>(lacuna)</i>	
^d ina[nna]	Inanna,
ṛḡéštu ¹ šú[m-ma]	granted knowledge
^d [en-ki]	by Enki,
s[aḡ á-è-a ^d nin-ḡìrim]	brought up by Ningirim

⁵¹ D. Frayne, RIME 1, p. 437.

The list mentions the same deities as in Lugalzagesi 1. It can be seen that the influence of Enlil and Enki is visible also in the theology of Uruk – a feature common to all the different Early Dynastic states.⁵²

⁵² The listings of gods of Lugalzagesi:

Lugalzagesi 1, i 3–32 (An, Nisaba) An, Enlil, **Enki**, Utu, Su'en, Utu, Nisaba, Ninhursag, Mas-sag-Uruk, Ningirim.

Lugalzagesi 2, i' 2'-ii' 5: (lacuna) Inanna, Mes-sag-Uruk, Nisaba, (lacuna), Ina[*nna*], [**Enki**], [Ningirim].

When comparing the listings of Early Dynastic kings to the material available from Fara and Abu Salabikh, the general picture of the early Sumerian pantheon becomes more understandable. As already demonstrated, Enlil and Enki were present in all the available local pantheons and were incorporated to them – sometimes as leading gods, sometimes listed after the local heads of pantheon. Inanna, who was also often mentioned in the royal inscriptions, has a prominent place. The Fara and Abu Salabikh god lists are all different but share a number of common features:

SF 5 and 6: ^den-líl, ^den-ki, ^dgibil₆, ^dnin-kin-nir, ^dEN.ZU, ^dama-ušumgal, ^dnísaba (M. Krebernik, ZA 76 (1986), p. 189: 1–7; P. Mander, PAS, p. 40).

SF 39 VII–VIII: Enlil, **Enki**, Nanna, Inanna, Gibil, Ašgi, Nergal, Nisaba (P. Mander, PAS, p. 40).

SF 7: ^den-líl, ^dinanna, **NUN**, ^dsùd, ^dgibil, ^dlama, ^dnanna, ^dèš, ^d[š]ul?, ^dnísaba, ^diškur (P. Mander, PAS, p. 40).

Zame Hymns: ^den-líl, ^dnin-unug, ^dinanna, ^den-nu-te-mud, ^dasal-lú-KAL, ^dnanna, ^dutu, ^dnin-gal, an, ^ddam-gal-nun, etc (cf. P. Mander, PAS, p. 40 and 121).

SF 1: an, ^den-líl, ^dinanna, ^den-ki, ^dnanna, ^dutu, ^dAN.MEN_x, ^dBAR. MEN_x, ^dnísaba. (M. Krebernik, ZA 76 (1986), p. 168: i 1–9; P. Mander, PAS, p. 77 and 40).

Abu Salabikh list: [AN?], [^den-líl?], [^dnin-K]ID, [^de]n-k[i], [^dna]n[na], ^dinanna, ^d[IN]ANNA, ^dnin-gír-su, ^dašgi (P. Mander, PAS, p. 40, 1–9; A. Alberti, SEL 2 (1985), p. 7).

Other prominent gods coming after Enlil, Enki and Inanna are Su'en and Utu. The early importance of Nisaba and Gibil is also clearly detectable. Nisaba's connection to Enki is also visible in ARET 5, 7 Nisaba myth. In x 2–x 4 of the myth, possibly clay tablets (IM.TUM), me-s and orchards (^{ges}kiri₆) are mentioned in context with Nisaba and Enki. The relation of Enlil and Enki to Ninhursag is hard to determine. He seems to be paired with both of them in later mythology. Also, in the listings of gods of Early Dynastic inscriptions, Ninhursag has different positions starting from Eanatum 1 where she ranks after Enlil and before Enki. In that sense Ninhursag seems to be “a universal mother-goddess,” who can be seen as a spouse of different male gods. The Barton Cylinder text however shows him copulating with a male deity, who might be Enki (cf. W. Heimpel, RIA 9 (1998–2001), pp. 378–381). Enki occurs under the name of En-Nutemud in Zame Hymns and possibly under the name NUN in SF 7 list. An's position as the head of the listings does not seem to be secure. This might arise from his nature as “an inactive” god – though universally respected and honoured, he is not listed among the other active

1.9. Conclusions

Enki is worshipped in all the major Sumerian states although the textual material from Umma, Ur or Uruk is not numerous compared to the royal inscriptions of Lagaš. G. Selz has concluded that the gods Enki and Inanna were universally honoured in Sumer and Akkad, as indicated by the existence of ibgal shrines for Inanna and abz/su temples for Enki in early Mesopotamia.⁵³ “Die hohe kultpraktische Bedeutung beider Gottheiten in der präargonischen Zeit ist offenkundig und der Schluss auf eine ursprünglich Suprematie beider zumindest naheliegend.”⁵⁴ The emergence of the importance of Enlil might then be explained by that god being a central religious power behind an ancient political union with its meeting place in the city of Nippur. Enlil’s only function in all the Early Dynastic royal inscriptions is the nomination of the king, giving strength or power to the king or granting the king the sceptre.

The lexical list from Ebla translates ^den-líl as *il-ilu*⁵⁵ “god of the gods” or “head of the gods.” Already Eanatum legitimises his treaty with the hostile Umma by mentioning the god Enlil as the first granter of the oath. The origins of that hypothetical political god are hard to determine and all the available different solutions are speculative. The same must be said of the theories considering Enki the “original head” of Sumerian pantheon. The inscription Giša-kidu 2 seems to picture Enki as a more important god compared to Enlil. This indicates that in Ummaite theology, the Lagašite tendencies to list Enlil as the preeminent god might not have been present. But even though Enki is mentioned before Enlil, Giša-kidu still titles himself *énsi kala-ga* ^den-líl-lá-ke₄: “mighty city ruler of Enlil.” This is an indication of the fact that a ruler had to be approved by Enlil (i.e. the priesthood of Nippur) to be legitimate.

The most important characteristic of Enki from the whole period is his ability to grant *ĝéštu* (“knowledge / understanding / wisdom”) for the king. Enki is connected to Abzu, Engur and Eridu and is titled the king of Abzu or Eridu. Inscriptions associate him with the reeds. Enki is less important than Enlil in terms of royal ideology, but he is always in a prominent position when all the major gods of Sumer are listed.

gods of the younger generation. The absence of an active cult of An from early Lagaš does not have to mean that the god An (or personified heaven) was not considered an important divine figure. Cf. the comparative table of influences of different local panthea on the state of Lagaš in G. Selz, ASJ 12 (1990), p. 127.

⁵³G. Selz, RAI 35 (1992), p. 195; ASJ 12 (1990), p. 120; cf. UGASL, pp. 121–124.

⁵⁴G. Selz, RAI 35 (1992), p. 196.

⁵⁵MEE 4, text 47–48: 802.

2. THE DYNASTY OF AKKADE

Although a large variety of personal names containing the theophoric element Ea⁵⁶ is known from the Sargonic period, no larger inscription mentioning or describing in detail the god Enki (or Ea) is available. Among the inscriptions of the Sargonic rulers, only some texts of Naram-Su'en contain the name Enki. One inscription of Lugal-giš of Adab from the studied period is also included in the current chapter.

2.1. Naram-Su'en

In Sargon's inscriptions, the gods mentioned in the titulary formula of the king are Inanna, An and Enlil.⁵⁷ The god Enki is not among the listed deities. From the reign of Naram-Su'en, the inscription on the Bassetki Statue mentions Enki and his temple at Eridu. The inscription explains that all the great gods of Sumer and Akkad demanded, alongside the citizens of Akkad, that the king Naram-Su'en must be honoured as deity because of his achievements in the battlefield and protection granted to his city.

Naram-Su'en 10, 24–56:

URU^{ki}-*śu* / *íś-te*₄ / ^d*inanna* / *in é-an-na-ki-im* / *íś-te*₄ / ^d*en-líl* / *in nibru*^{ki} / *íś-te*₄ / ^d*dagan* / *in tu-tu-lí*^{ki} / *íś-te*₄ / ^d*nin-hur-saĝ* / *in kèš*^{ki} / *íś-te*₄ / ^d*en-ki* / *in eridu*^{ki} / *íś-te*₄ / ^d*EN.ZU* / *in úri*^{ki} / *íś-te*₄ / ^d*utu* / *in ZIMBIR*^{ki} / *íś-te*₄ / ^d*nergal* / *in gú-du₈-a*^{ki} / *ì-li-íś URU*^{ki} -*śu-nu* / *a-kà-dè*^{ki} / *i-tár-śu-ni-íś-ma* / *qáb-li-* / *ma* / *a-kà-dè*^{ki} / *É-śu* / *ib-ni-ù*

(The people) of his city / with / Inanna / in Eanna, / with / Enlil / in Nippur, / with / Dagan / in Tuttul, / with / Ninhursag / in Keš, / with / Enki / in Eridu, / with / Su'en / in Ur, / with / Utu / in Sippar, / with / Nergal / in Kutha, / the god

⁵⁶ Cf. the catalogue of personal names in H. D. Galter *Ea/Enki*, pp. 216–269 and an analysis pp. 270–286.

⁵⁷ The personal deity of Sargon, Ilaba, is often mentioned as well. Cf. RIME 2, pp. 10–34; Sargon 1–15. Cf. Sargon 2, 4–11. Inanna/Aštar is certainly among the most important deities for the dynasty of Sargon. An and Enlil are seen as the most prominent Sumerian gods. The title “the city ruler of Enlil” (Sargon 2, 10–11: *énsi* / ^d*en-líl*) is in accordance with the Early Dynastic inscriptions. The curse formula in Sargon 8 (11–14) presents the order ^d*en-líl* / ^d*utu* / *ù* / ^d*inanna*. It is also noticeable that Inanna/Aštar is pictured more as a goddess of political power and possibly of war in the inscriptions of the Dynasty of Sargon. The Sumerian Inanna does not seem to have such qualities. Cf. A. Westenholz, OBO 160/3, p. 80: “In the Early Dynastic Akkadian names, she is described as a mother; in the Sargonic names, she also appears as a lion and a warrior, and presumably Venus too.”

of their city⁵⁸ / Akkade / requested of him (to be); / inside / Akkade / his temple / they built.

The curse formula at the end of the inscription distinctly mentions the gods Utu, Inanna and Nergal (Naram-Su'en 10, 60–64). In the case of the inscriptions of Naram-Su'en, the Sumerian names Inanna, Enlil, Enki are used. The text on the Bassetki Statue probably tries to underline the importance of Utu/Šamaš, Inanna/Aštar, Nergal and especially Dagan⁵⁹ for the dynasty of Akkade. Enlil, Ninhursag and Enki are incorporated to the list as the most important divine figures of the Sumerian city states.

It is usually suggested that the Sumerian name Inanna stands for the Akkadian goddess Aštar⁶⁰ as is with Šamaš in the case of Utu. Although the name-form used is a Sumerogram, the god behind that name is in most studies translated as Aštar or Šamaš, representing the native Akkadian deities synchronised with the similar concepts of Sumerian gods.⁶¹

As stated by W. G. Lambert, the “‘Sumerian Gods’ were the gods worshipped by the Sumerians, irrespective of their names or their origins (which, in any case, we rarely know).”⁶² The same must be said about the Akkadian gods. Both linguistic groups probably had differing understandings about the divine concepts, but as the Ebla myths testify, the gods Enki and Enlil were known under their Sumerian names far beyond Mesopotamia already hundreds of years before the emergence of Sargon’s dynasty. It is impossible to know for certain what the scribes of Ebla or the scribes of the Akkade period actually meant when they wrote the Sumerian name ^den-ki. The process of the assimilation of Ea and Enki is not clearly definable based on the scarce written documents from the 3rd millennium Akkadian sources. As is with the existence of the separate divine name Haia in later Sumerian sources (cf. chapter 6), connectable to the name *é-a*, the assimilation of the names Ea and Enki might not have taken place in the third millennium religion in similar terms as it is already clearly detectable in the sources of the First Dynasty of Babylon (cf. chapter 7). One

⁵⁸ A.-H. Al-Fouadi, *Sumer 32* (1976), p. 72 translates the line “his gods (and) their cities.” I. J. Gelb – B. Kienast, *FAOS 7*, p. 83: “zum Gott ihrer Stadt Akkade ihn (Narāmsîn) sich erbeten” and D. Frayne, *RIME 2*, p. 114: “that (Narām-Sîn) be (made) the god of their city” seems justified.

⁵⁹ Cf. L. Feliu, *The God Dagan in Bronze Age Syria* (2003), p. 46: the logical sequence would be to list Enki or Ninhursag after the high god of Sumer Enlil in the canonical listing of gods. Placing Dagan after Enlil might show the intention of the composer of the text to pair Dagan with Enlil and thus to designate their equal importance as dominant male gods. The text does not intend to underline a special importance of the god Enki for the Akkadian royal ideology. He is not listed separately at the end of the text and his position after Ninhursag is his common position in the early Sumerian listings.

⁶⁰ Cf. I. J. Gelb – B. Kienast, *FAOS 7*, p. 84.

⁶¹ Cf. J. M. Roberts, *ESP*, p. 149.

⁶² W. G. Lambert, *CM 7* (1997), pp. 1–2.

other possible separate occurrence of the divine name Ea in early Mesopotamian contexts might be referred to by the personal names containing the theophoric element É relatable to ʾĀ in Ebla sources as demonstrated by M. V. Tonietti.⁶³

There is not enough information about the origins of the divine name Ea and the hypothetical Semitic god behind that name to conclude that he must have been regarded as Enki already during the early periods. The divine name ^den-ki on the Bassetki statue might as well designate the Sumerian Early Dynastic god Enki as he was seen in the royal ideology of the previous periods. In translating the Sumerian names of Inanna and Enki as Ištar and Ea, appearing together in an Old Akkadian love incantation, J. and A. Westenholz rely on the fact that in Old Akkadian personal names “these gods are consistently written syllabically” although in other contexts they are consistently written logographically. They conclude that “reading the logograms in Sumerian would thus lead to the unlikely conclusion that the Sargonic Akkadians only recognized the gods Ea and Ištar as parts of personal names.”⁶⁴ Therefore a controversy arises that in royal inscriptions, mythological and magical texts the names were always written in Sumerian; and the real names Ea and Ištar were used by the Akkadian speaking population only in personal cult. Resulting from this state of affairs, the names, although written in Sumerian, are presented by their Akkadian names in modern translations. This approach assumes the complete assimilation of the concepts already in pre-Sargonic times and there is not much evidence available for this conclusion. A bilingual lexical list from Ebla translates the Sumerian name of Enki as ʾà-u₉ meaning ca. “the living one.”

^den-lí[*l*] / *i-li-[lu]* / ^den-ki / ʾà-u₉ (*é-um_x*) / ^den-TE⁶⁵ / *áš-tá-tár* / ^dinanna / *aš-tár* / ^dnè-eri₁₀ / *ra-sa-ap*⁶⁶

⁶³ Fs. Fronzaroli (2003), p. 668: “The Semitic reading hidden by this Sumerian spelling clearly occurs in a variant of the name *I-ti-^den-ki*: *I-ti-^dĀ* (É), which is a prosopographically certain variant, given that the two names appear in two parallel lists of nar musicians.” (Cf. note 11: the name is attested only once, in ARET III 498 rev. II 3.) Tonietti concludes (pp. 668–669) that the spelling ʾĀ of the administrative text could be a defective spelling for /ḥayya/ or a spelling for the form /ḥay(y)/. Based on that, Tonietti hypothesises that also the Abu Salabikh names such as *I-ti-É*, *Im-lik-É*, *PUZUR₄-É*, and perhaps *Im-ri-iš-É* represent the spelling of the name Ea and not *bītum*: *I-ti-^dĀ*, as also the other names would then be read as /yiddin-ḥayy(a)/. Evidence is too scarce and possible resulting conclusions too hypothetical in nature to have a definite understanding of the possible equation of the names (as also concluded by Tonietti in p. 670).

⁶⁴ J and A. Westenholz, OrNS 46 (1977), p. 201, lines 1–3: ^dEN.KI *ir-e-ma-am* / *è-ra-^d[?]-am* / *ir-e-mu-um* DUMU ^dINANNA: “Ea the love desire / loves / the love desire, son of Ištar.” In p. 20 the authors conclude: “Accordingly, we should probably read the signs ^dEN.KI and ^dINANNA with their Akkadian equivalence in Akkadian context.”

⁶⁵ In An = ^d*a-nu-um* god lists, the section giving the names of Enki contains (II 165) ^den-ti (R. Litke, God-Lists, pp. 87–88). The name is translatable as “the lord of life.” This would be a direct translation of the name ʾà-u₉ in the current Ebla list, assuming it

Enlil, Enki, Inanna and Nergal from the list are also present in the Bassetki Statue text. The figure of Aštar in its different forms is well known from different layers of Semitic and Sumerian mythology as is the underworld god Rasap.⁶⁷ Ililu or Hayya however do not figure in the mythological narratives or official texts – they are designated only by the names Enlil and Enki. The Ebla list only allows to conclude that the two most important male deities of Sumer (presented in similar order, Enlil preceding Enki, as they occurred in several Early Dynastic inscriptions) were translated into the local language using certain adjectives. The information is too insufficient to make conclusions on the origins or nature of these gods in early Semitic contexts. Although admitting the possibility that when the name Enki was written in Semitic contexts, the concept of Ea might have been actually expressed by the ancient scribes, the names in the current study are translated as they appear in their written form. Enki for ^den-ki, and Ea for *é-a* or ^d*é-a*. This avoids adding to a certain text a meaning which might not have been actually there; on the other hand, it does not exclude any different interpretations.

Among the inscriptions of Naram-Su'en, a fragmentary text on a stele from Pir Hüseyin describing one of the victories of the king during his military campaigns in the region of Šimānum, praises Enki as the king's aid or assistant in the war. Enki is praised for not having given to Naram-Su'en any opponent who would be equal to him.

Naram-Su'en 24, ii 1–6:

^den-ki / *in ki-ib-ra-tim / ar-ba-im / na-e / [i]r-tim / [ul i-d]i[-śum₆]*

Enki / in the directions of the world / four, / no-one / (for) opposition / was given by him

Partially preserved Old-Babylonian copies from two inscriptions of Naram-Su'en contain a curse formula mentioning Enki. The text is composed to commemorate the dedication of a statue for Su'en by Naram-Su'en. Enki does not occur in the curse formula alongside with the other deities mentioned, such as Inanna, An, Enlil, Ilaba, Su'en, Utu, Nergal, Umum, Ninkarak, Ninhursag, Nintu, Iškur and Nisaba. Enki's name is separately mentioned at the end of the curse formula.

means “the living” from the root *hyy. Cf. 8.5.5. of the current study for the name Ninti and 8.1. for the name Ea and Enki. Cf. the presumably Old-Babylonian “Silbenvokabular A” (E. Sollberger, Fs. Landsberger (1965), p. 22: i 2–3): [pap]-pap = ^dnin-ti = [...] / a-a = ^den-ki = [x x]-ki. Enki receives the title “lord of life” in the hymns of Hammurapi (Hammurapi B, 2): [^dc]n-ki-ke₄ [en[?]] nam-ti-la (cf. 7.1. of the current study for the hymn).

⁶⁶ MEE 4, text 47–48: 802–806.

⁶⁷ Cf. 1.5. of the current study for the texts possibly relating Rasap and Enki.

Naram-Su'en 5, ii 24–iii 31:

^dEN.ZU / *be-al* / DÙL [*śu₄*]-*a* / ù ^dinanna / *an-nu-ni-tum* / an / ^den-líl / *il-a-ba₄* /
^d[EN.]ZU / [^d]utu / ^dnergal / ^du-um / ^dnin-kar-ak / DIĜIR *ra-bi-ù-tum* / in
ŠU.NÍGIN-*su₄-nu* / *ar-ra-tám* / *la-mu-tám* / *li-ru-ru-ús* / GIDRU / *a-na* ^den-^rlíl^r
/ *śar-ru-tám* / *a-na* ^dinanna / *a u-kí-il* / *maḥ-rí-ís* / *ì-lí-śu* / *a* DU / ^dnin-ḥur-saḡ-
ḡá / ù / ^dnin-tu / NITA ù / MU / [*a*] *i-dì-na-śum₆* / ^rdⁱiškur / ù ^dnisaba / [*ś*]*ì-rí-iḥ-*
śu / *a* ^rù^r-*śe-śi-^rra^r* / ^den-[ki] / I₇-*śu* / <<A>> *li-im-dú-ud* / ù GIŠ.TÚG.PI / *a* ù-
ra-pí-iš

Su'en, / owner / of the statue, / and Inanna / Annunitum / An / Enlil / Ilaba /
Su'en / Utu / Nergal / Umum / Ninkarak / the great gods / in their totality / with
a terrible / curse / may curse. / Sceptre / for Enlil / (for) the kingship / for Inanna
/ may he not hold. / In front of / his (personal) god / may he not stand. /
Ninhursag / and / Nintu / heir and / offspring / may not give to him.⁶⁸ / Iškur /
and Nisaba / his furrow / may not make flourish. / Enki / (for) his (irrigation)
canal / (only scarce) water may measure out / and his knowledge / let him not
make wide.⁶⁹

Enki as the blocker of irrigational waters appears just after it is mentioned that
Iškur and Nisaba must not make the field or furrow of the undesirable person
flourish. Enki's role is therefore seen as a water granter for that field through
irrigational canals. According to the text, Enki should block the water from
running inside the canal.⁷⁰ Another Naram-Su'en inscription describing his
campaign⁷¹ to Magan, found in two Old-Babylonian copies from Nippur, has a
similar reference to Enki as capable of blocking the water-course.

Naram-Su'en 3, rev. vii 6–9:

^den-ki / I₇-*śu₄* / *sà-ki-kà-am* / *li-im-dú-ud*

Enki / his canal / with (only) silt / may measure out

In previous royal inscriptions, Enki was not associated with water or irrigational
canals. He was described as the king of Abzu and related to Eridu and the
watery entity Engur. It seems possible that the name Enki related with canals or

⁶⁸ This is a direct reference to the mother-goddess (here by two of her names Ninhursag
and Nintu) as the creator of man.

⁶⁹ I. J. Gelb – B. Kienast, FAOS 7, p. 260: “Enki soll seinen Kanal nicht ‘voll machen’
und seinen Verstand nicht weit machen.” J. G. Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of
Akkade* (1997), p. 200: “may Enki measure out (scantily) the water in his canal.”

⁷⁰ J. M. Roberts, ESP, p. 151. Cf. H. D. Galter, *Ea/Enki*, pp. 207–209 for similar curse
formulas with Enki/Ea. As summarised by J. G. Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of
Akkade* (1997), p. 201: “Therefore, assuming the subject is the god of the waters,
Enki/Ea, the aim of his curse would be to let little of the precious water reach the
accursed. The means of doing this would be to block up the canals with silt or reduce
the amount of water measured out, as in times of drought.”

⁷¹ Cf. C. Wilcke, ZA 87 (1997), pp. 11–13.

rivers might be used in its Akkadian context.⁷² Assuming that his Semitic etymology comes from the root *ḥyy – “living,” reference to Enki as responsible for canals and water-courses would be understandable. Associating Enki with flowing water in Semitic thinking is supported by the fact that a god with streams flowing out from his shoulders appears in the glyptic art of the Sargonic period. This god can be associated with Ea/Enki⁷³ only with relative certainty⁷⁴ since already in Early Dynastic mythology there are references to the River god who does not seem to be described or presented as the other name of Enki (Barton Cylinder, ii 11: ^di₇-mah: “The great River-god”).⁷⁵ Therefore, by assuming that River was not the proper name of Enki during the Early Dynastic period, the image of flowing water can theoretically represent other divine concepts as well. Mythological images which are missing in later Ur III period iconography permit the conclusion that the imagery was most likely connected to different Semitic myths or beliefs.⁷⁶ The motive depicting the god with streams is present also in Ur III period art and its identification with the god Enki/Ea in later periods seems soundly justified.

2.2. Lugal-giš of Adab

Lugal-giš was the contemporary of the Akkadian king Šarkališarri and served as governor of the state of Adab. One inscription from the period of that ruler underlines the close relation between the god Enki and the scribes.⁷⁷ Lugal-giš 2003: lugal-giš / énsi / adab^{ki} / nam-tar-ré / dub-sar / šağa / ^den-ki / ir₁₁-da-ni: “Lugal-giš, / city ruler / of Adab. / Namtarre, / scribe, / *sanga*-priest / of Enki / (is) his servant.”

⁷² Cf. M. W. Green, Eridu, p. 27.

⁷³ Cf. M.-Th. Barrelet, OrNS 39 (1970), p. 227ff. for the different types of representations.

⁷⁴ Cf. P. Amiet, OrNS 21 (1952), p. 149. P. Amiet, Ancient Art in Seals (1980), p. 40 points out that all the divine figures of the Akkade period seals “correspond to types of gods rather than to single divine personalities. It therefore seems preferable to refer to them according to their functions, which are indicated by their attributes, rather than by their traditional names, for example, as the god with streams or the grain goddess.”

⁷⁵ B. Alster – A. Westenholz, ASJ 16 (1994), pp. 18–19.

⁷⁶ P. Steinkeller, QuSem 18 (1992), p. 246.

⁷⁷ In later periods, the gods Nisaba and also Haia seem to be the main patron deities of scribal arts. The role of Enki as the Sumerian personal god of scribes is especially underlined in one Neo-Sumerian letter-prayer where the scribe Su'en-šamuh asks his personal god Enki to send relief against illness: W. W. Hallo, JAOS 88 (1968), pp. 82–86. Cf. the late composition titled “In the Praise of Scribal Art” where scribal art is titled to be “the secret of Ea/Enki (Amanki):” cf. V. A. Hurowitz, JANES 27 (2000), pp. 55–56 (line 7) and commentary p. 53.

2.3. Conclusions

Only the inscriptions of Naram-Su'en mention Enki, and the information about the role, status or character of that god in Akkadian ideology remains obscure. The god is always written using his Sumerian name; only in personal names is the name Ea ever used. Enki is mentioned as capable of blocking the waters of irrigation canals in a curse formula of Naram-Su'en. Enki's association with canals is paralleled with the appearance of the god with streams of water in Akkadian glyptic art. This is in accordance with the description of Enki's name in Ebla texts titling him most probably as "the living." Enki is not among the most important gods for the Akkadian rulers and his position seems to be less important than that of several presumably Semitic deities such as Inanna/Aštar or Utu/Šamaš.

3. THE SECOND DYNASTY OF LAGAŠ

From the era of the second Lagašite Dynasty, some inscriptions of Puzur-Mama and Ur-Bau mention Enki. The Temple Hymn of Gudea is the richest source of information concerning Enki when compared to all the available mythological compositions or other texts from earlier periods.

3.1. Puzur-Mama

One inscription of the king Puzur-Mama, contemporary of the ruler Šarkališarri of Akkade, lists several gods in his titulary formula where Enki grants ġéštu to the king. The gods are listed in the order of Enlil, Ningirsu, Enki, Ninhursag, Inanna, Gatumdu; after the lacuna, Ninšubur and Šulutula are mentioned. The listing follows the ideology of the previous Lagašite rulers and lists Enlil and Ningirsu as the pre-eminent divine forces.

Puzur-Mama 1, ii 1–iii 5:

[mu pà-da]	[Nominated]
[^d en-líl-lá]-ke ₄	[by Enlil],
^r á' šúm-ma	given strength
^d nin-ġír-su-ka- ^r ke ₄ '	by Ningirsu,
ġéštu šúm-ma	given knowledge
^d en-ki-ka-ke ₄	by Enki,
ga zi kú-a	nourished with true milk
^d nin-ḥur-saġ-ka-ke ₄	by Ninhursag,
mu du ₁₀ sa ₄ -a	called by a good name
^d inanna-ka-ke ₄	by Inanna,
[dumu] tu-da	[son] given birth
^d gá-tùm-[d] _{u10} -[ka-k] _{e4}	by Gatumdu
(<i>Lacuna</i>)	
am[a tu]-d[a-ni]	moth[er who gave him bi]rth
^d nin-šubur-kam	is Ninšubur,
diġir-ra-ni	his (personal) god
šul-utul ₁₂ -àm	is Šulutula

3.2. Ur-Bau

One statue of Ur-Bau lists different temples the king has built for the gods honoured in the state of Lagaš. Enki is mentioned in the titulary formula as granter of ġéštu. The order of the gods is Ninagal, Nanše, Ningirsu, Bau, Enki, Inanna, Lugal-URUxKAR, Dumuzi-Abzu.

Ur-Bau 5, i 4–ii 3:

ur-^dba-ú
énsi
lagaš^{ki}
dumu tu-da
^dnin-á-gal-ka-ke₄
šà-ge pà-da ^dnanše-ke₄
á šúm-ma ^{r^d}nin-ġír-su-ka-ke₄
[m]u du₁₀ sa₄-a [^d]ba-ú-ke₄
[ġéšt]u šúm-ma ^den-ki-ka-ke₄
lú inim-ma sè-ga ^dinanna-ke₄

urdu ki-áġ ^dlugal-URUxKÁR
ki-áġ ^ddumu-zi-abzu-ka-ke₄

Ur-Bau,
city ruler
of Lagaš,
son given birth
by Ninagal,
chosen in the heart by Nanše,
given strength by Ningirsu,
called by a favourable name by Bau,
given knowledge by Enki,
the man assigned to the words of
Inanna,
beloved servant of Lugal-URUxKAR,
beloved of Dumuzi-Abzu

The following part of the inscription describes the building of different temples for the gods ordered as: Ningirsu, Ninhursag, Bau, Inanna, Enki, Nindara, Ninagal, Nin-MAR.KI, Ensignun, Geštinanna, Dumuzi-Abzu. The temple of Enki, who is titled “the king of Eridu,” was built in the city of Girsu.

Ur-Bau 5: iv 11–v 1:

^den-ki lugal eridu^{ki}-ra
é-ġír-su^{ki}-ka-ni
mu-na-dù

To Enki, the king of Abzu,
his house of Girsu
has built

The same event of temple construction for Enki in Girsu is recorded in another inscription of Ur-Bau. Ur-Bau 2: ^den-ki / lugal-a-ni / ur-^dba-ú / énsi / lagaš^{ki} / dumu tu-da / ^dnin-á-gal-ka-ke₄ / é-a-ni / mu-na-dù: “To Enki / his king, / Ur-Bau, / city ruler / of Lagaš, / son given birth / by Ninagal, / his temple / has built.” The Ur-Bau inscription 6 (iii 4–7) also mentions the temple of Enki (^den-ki / lugal-a-ni / é-a-ni / mu-na-dù). The temples for the gods in the inscription are ordered as follows: Ninġirsu, Bau, Ninkununna, Enki and Ninagal.⁷⁸

3.3. Gudea

The text corpus of Gudea is rich in material describing the god Enki in Sumerian mythology and religion. One of the building inscriptions of Gudea

⁷⁸ A year-formula, probably from the period of Ur-Bau’s reign, titles Enki to be “the craftsman:” mu é ^den-ki ġeš-kiġ-ti ba-dù-a: “The year when the temple of Enki, the craftsman, was built” (M. Çiğ, AOAT 25 (1976), p. 76, No. 2). The other option would be to translate the ġeš-kiġ-ti as the name of the temple, meaning “the workshop temple of Enki.” Enki, titled “the craftsman” ^den-ki ġeš-kiġ, also receives offerings at the city of Ur: W. Sallaberger, Der Kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit I (1993), p. 59.

describes a temple of Enki, built on the banks of the river Tigris. Enki's title is "eternal king."

Gudea 9:

^d en-[ki]	To Enki,
lugal-abz[u]	king of Abzu,
lugal da-rí gi ₁₆ -[sa]	eternal (and) cherished (?) king,
lugal-a-[ni]	his king;
gù-dé-[a]	Gudea,
éns[i]	city ruler
lagaš ^{ki} -ke ₄	of Lagaš,
é gú- ⁱ⁷ idi[gina]-ka-ni	his temple on the banks of the Tigris
mu-na-dù	has built

The text of the Gudea Statue B compares the temple built for Ningirsu with a temple of Eridu. It is stated that Ningirsu's temple is built on a virgin or pure location just like Eridu.

Gudea Statue B, iv 7–9:

é ^d nin-ǵír-su-ka	The temple of Ningirsu
eridu ^{ki} -gen ₇	just like (in) Eridu
ki sikil-la bí-dù	in a pure place was built

Enki is also titled to be the god of "just orders" in the final curse formula of the text. Gods in the first part of the formula are listed in the order of An, Enlil, Ninhursag, Enki, Su'en, Ningirsu, Nanše, Nindar, Gatumdu, Bau, Inanna, Utu, Hendursag.

Gudea Statue B, viii 44–64:

an-ne	An,
^d en-líl-e	Enlil,
^d nin-ḥur-saǵ-ke ₄	Ninhursag,
^d en-ki du ₁₁ -g[a] zi-da-k[e ₄]	Enki of rightful orders,
^d EN.ZU mu-ni lú nu-du ₈ -dè	Su'en, whose name no one can let loose (oppose),
^d nin-ǵír-su	Ningirsu
lugal ^{ǵes} tukul-ke ₄	king of weapon(s),
^d nanše	Nanše
nin-in-dub-ba-ke ₄	lady of measurements/boundaries,
^d nin-dar-a	Nindar
lugal ur-saǵ-e	king and hero,
ama lagaš ^{ki}	mother of Lagaš
kù ^d ǵá-tùm-du ₁₀ -e	holy Gatumdu,
^d ba-ú	Bau,
nin dumu-saǵ an-na-ke ₄	the lady, the first-born child of An
^d inanna	Inanna

nin mè-ke ₄	lady of battles,
^d utu	Utu
lugal ni-sì-ga-ke ₄	king of vegetation/greenlife,
^d hendur-saḡ	Hendursag
niḡir kalam-ma-ke ₄	herold of the land

Other gods mentioned in the formula are Lagašite deities Igalim, Šulšagena, Nin-MAR.KI, Dumuzi-Abzu and Ningišida. The listing begins with An, Enlil, Ninhursag, Enki and Su'en – the overall Sumerian high gods. Then follow the local Lagašite deities Ningirsu, Nanše, Nindar, Gatumdu and Bau. The local gods are again followed by a group of significant Mesopotamian deities Inanna and Utu. The canonical order of gods in the Ur III period (An, Enlil, Mother-Goddess, Enki, Su'en, Utu and Inanna) is melted inside the local pantheon of Lagaš. This clearly indicates that a distinction between the overall Sumero-Akkadian pantheon and the local pantheon of Lagaš was made also during the reign of Gudea. This was similar in the Early Dynastic inscriptions from Lagaš.

Enki's most important role in the Gudea Temple Hymn is giving practical or technological advice for the planning and building of Ningirsu's temple E-ninnu. This aspect is best symbolised by Enki giving his (divine) plan for the temple building (ḡeš-ḡur)⁷⁹ for Gudea. This corresponds to the title of Enki ḡeš-kíḡ-ti ("the craftsman") in a year-formula attributable to the reign of Ur-Bau.

Gudea Cylinder A, xvii 10–17:

igi-zi bar-ra ^d nanše-kam	Looked upon with a rightful eye by Nanše,
^d en-líl-lá lú šà-ga-na-kam	the man who is in accordance with Enlil's heart,
énsi [x] ^r x x ¹ [x] ^d nin-ḡír-su-ka-kam	who is the city ruler [...] of Ningirsu,
ḡù-dé-a unu ₆ maḡ-a tu-da	Gudea, given birth in a great sanctuary
^d ḡá-tùm-du ₁₀ -ga-kam	by Gatumdu,
^d nisaba-ke ₄ é-ḡéštu-ke ₄	Nisaba "the house of knowledge"

⁷⁹ Cf. L. Ootsing-Lüecke, *Mätagused* 42 (2009), p. 123: "In most cases the Sumerian term ḡeš-ḡur (literally '(wooden)-drawing' meaning 'plan' or 'draft' and 'to draw') and its Akkadian equivalent *ešēru* ('to draw,' 'to plan,' 'plan,' or 'draft') is used in close context with the divine sphere. By using or granting their plans, the gods and kings impose their (world) order. With the terms ḡeš-ḡur / *uṣurtu*, *ešēru* is closely related the Sumerian concept of *me* ('divine force') which indicates the nature of a god and is an attribute of a god. *Me* and ḡeš-ḡur designate the existence of divine order and they are often used together" (translated from Estonian by the current author). Cf. G. Farber-Flügge, *Der Mythos "Inanna und Enki"* (1973), p. 181: "ḡiš-ḡur, das meist mit 'Regeln' oder 'Satzungen' übersetzt wird, ist akkadisch mit *uṣurtu* und dem sumerischen Fremdwort ḡišḡur(r)u geglichen. Beide haben den gleichen Bedeutungsinhalt, sie heißen zunächst 'Zeichnung' oder 'Grundriß' und bedeuten dann 'Regeln' oder 'Vorschriften.'" In the current study, the term is translated by using the word 'plan' since it seems to fit all the different aspects attributed to Sumerian ḡeš-ḡur. For the philological and mythological meaning of the term *me*: V. Emelianov, *Calendar Ritual in Sumerian Religion and Culture (ME's and the Spring Festivals)* (2009), p. 40ff.

ġál mu-na-taka₄ opened for him,
 é-a ^den-ki-ke₄ ġeš-ħur-bi si mu-na-sá Enki put the plan of the house in order
 (for Gudea)⁸⁰

According to the text, the foundations of the temple built by Gudea are described as capable of communicating with Enki in his E-Engur temple.

Gudea Cylinder A, xxii 11–13:

temen abzu-bi dim-gal-gal ki-a mi-ni-si-si

^den-ki-da é-an-gur₄-ra-ka

šà mu-dì-ni-íb-kúš-ù

Its foundations of Abzu, huge columns into the earth he (Gudea) placed.

With Enki in E-Engur temple

they (the foundations) (are able to) take counsel

E. D. van Buren's opinion from the year 1933 is still up to date for explaining the passage: "The foundations of temples penetrated down into the waters, and in that way were brought into relation with the *abzu*, and so with Ea who, for this reason, was considered patron of foundations, and who, in his great wisdom, could impart instructions for the construction of temples."⁸¹

The Lahama-Abzu creatures are mentioned in the text as standing in guard of the door of the Ningirsu's temple.

Gudea Cylinder A, xxiv 26–27:

é-a dub-lá-bi šu₄-šu₄-ga-bi

la-ħa-ma abzu-da šu₄-ga-àm

The porticus constructed for the house

is provided with the Lahama-Abzu

The Lahama-Abzu were probably used as architectural elements in form of door-posts for the temples as the Gudea text indicates. In glyptic art, the Lahama-Abzu are represented as nude heroes holding gate-posts of temples on their hands.⁸²

⁸⁰ C. E. Suter, *Gudea's Temple Building* (2000), p. 91 titles the entire passage as "Measuring out of Construction Site (CA 17:5?–28)" and translates the line "Enki directed the plan of the house for him."

⁸¹ E. D. van Buren, *The Flowing Vase and the God with Streams* (1933), p. 9. The same motive is present in Enki's own temple hymn from much later, titled Enki's Journey to Nippur 22: temen-bi abzu-a si-ga: "Its foundations reach Abzu."

⁸² Cf. W. G. Lambert, *RIA 6* (1983), p. 431: concludes that "this type of monster was associated with gates, presumably as an architectural feature." W. G. Lambert, *CM 7* (1997), p. 6: "nude male divinities with triple-stranded belts around their waists and much facial hair, in particular three curls either side of the face. On seals they hold up 'gate-posts' and appear in other cosmic settings." Cf. P. Amiet, *La glyptique mésopotamienne archaïque* (1961), pp. 150–157 for an overview of the nude hero

One passage of the Gudea text describes that the sun-god Utu was pleased about the building process. Then it describes Enki as a decider of the destiny of the bricks.

Gudea Cylinder A, xix 8–16: sig ₄ ù-šub-ba mu-ni-ğar-ra-ni	The brick placed inside the brick mold by (Gudea):
^d utu im-da-ğul	Utu rejoiced over it
àga-rí i ₇ -mağ-gen ₇ zi-ga-na	in his orbit (?) rising like a great river. ⁸³
lugal ^d en- ^r ki nam ¹ mu-[x-t]ar	The king Enki determined the destiny (of the brick)
[x] mu- ^r ğar ù-šub ¹ -[b]a ^a é-a i-ku ₄	Placed [the brick?] in the mold (and) entered the house.
pisağ ù-šub-ba-ta sig ₄ ba-ta-íl	A basket out of the brick-mold bricks he raised
men kù an-né íl-la	(which looked like) the holy crown of An raising.
sig ₄ mu-íl ùğ-ğá-na mu-ğen	He lifted the bricks and went among his people
ÉREN kù ^d utu sağ bal-e-dam	(as if) the holy bull (?) ⁸⁴ of Utu shaking its head it was ⁸⁵

According to the text, it seems clear that Enki determines the destiny of the bricks or the entire temple built by Gudea. It remains doubtful whether in the line xix 12 Enki himself is placing the brick into the mold and entering the house. Most probably it is Gudea who seems to be described in the following lines as carrying the basket of bricks to be seen and admired by his people.

associated with Enki. Lağama of Abzu occur already in Early Dynastic mythology (ARET 5, 6: ix 2): ^dLA.[ĤA^a.]MA. [AB^a.]ZU ME / iš DIĞIR.DIĞIR / da-ğu-ù: “hundred Lağama-Abzu / near the gods / were brought.” The Lugalbanda Epic, most probably composed during the Ur III period, describes the Lahama-Abzu creatures as emerging from Abzu. They are compared in strength or character to the king Lugalbanda (line 221): la-ğa-ma abzu-ta re₇-e-gen₇: “Just like Lahama-Abzu emerging from Abzu (Lugalbanda is).” Cf. F. Wiggermann, JEOL 27 (1981–1982), p. 91ff.

⁸³ D. O. Edzard, RIME 3/I, p. 81 translates: “On his ‘crucible’ that was rising like a great river, King Enki ...” It however seems that the line describes the actions of Utu who was mentioned in the previous line. It probably means that Utu, as the sun, is drying the bricks.

⁸⁴ It seems possible that the ÉREN of Utu is the same creature as ÉRENxX in the myths of Ebla definable as the bull of Utu or the bull-man in the entourage of Utu. Cf. P. Steinkeller, QuSem 18 (1992), p. 259ff.

⁸⁵ C. E. Suter, Gudea’s Temple Building (2000), p. 91 summarises the passage: “Next Gudea removes the brick from the mold and sets it down to dry (CA 19:3). While the brick is drying (CA 19:8–9), he prepares the clay mixture for the remaining bricks (CA 19:4–7), and Enki determines its fate (CA 19:10f).”

The text on the Gudea Cylinders continues by describing Enki as actually taking part in the construction-works of the temple. He is said to have filled or constructed the foundations of Ningirsu's temple. C. E. Suter concludes that divine collaboration in building the temple is taking place: "Preparations already undertaken by Gudea are repeated in the divine realm, namely by Enki, Nanše, Gatumdug, and Baba."⁸⁶

Gudea Cylinder A, xx 15–16:

é-a ^den-ki-ke₄ temen mu-si-ge

^dnanše dumu eridu^{ki}-ke₄ eš-bar-kíḡ-ḡe₂₆ mí ba-ni-du₁₁

Enki was filling up the foundations for the house

Nanše, the child of Eridu, was pronouncing oracular messages (prognostics)

Nanše, titled "the child of Eridu" which probably is a reference to his genealogical relations to Enki, gives sacred prognostics for the temple. The god Enki himself does the same in the following passage of the text, describing "the magic rites for the cleaning of the house performed by deities of the Eridu pantheon: Asari, Ninmada, Enki, Nindub, and Nanše."⁸⁷

Gudea Cylinder B, iv 1–6:

é-e ^dasar-ri šu si ba-sá

^dnin-ma-da-ke₄ na de₅ mi-ni-ḡar

lugal ^den-ki-ke₄ eš-bar-kíḡ ba-an-šúm

^dnin-dub išib maḡ eridu^{ki}-ka-ke₄

na-izi ba-ni-si

nin ḡarza kal-la-ke₄ ^dnanše šir kù inim zu é-e ba-an-du₁₁

Asari put the temple in order

Ninmada took care for its cleaning

King Enki gave oracular messages (prognostics) for it

Nindub, the eminent purification priest of Eridu

filled it with incense

The lady of important rites, Nanše, knower of the words for pure songs, for the temple pronounced them

Although Nanše was titled to be the child or daughter of Eridu, the text of the Gudea Cylinders states that she is also the sister of Ningirsu.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 92.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 97.

⁸⁸ H. D. Galter, *Ea/Enki*, p. 127. One hymn to Nanše (Nanše A), possibly composed in a relatively close period to or during Gudea's reign (W. Heimpel, *JCS* 33 (1981), p. 67), titles Nanše (line 8) "a child given birth in Eridu:" dumu eridu^{ki}-ga tu-da and (line 61) "child of Enki:" dumu ^den-ki-ga-ke₄. The concluding lines (254–255) of the hymn state that "father Enki has decided you the fate / Nanše, child born in Eridu, your praise is good." a-a ^den-ki-ke₄ nam i-ri-in-tar / ^dnanše dumu eridu^{ki}-ga tu-da zà-mi-[zu] du₁₀-ga-àm.

Gudea Cylinder A, ii 16:⁸⁹

nin₉-zu dumu eridu^{ki}-ge tu-da

your (Ningirsu's) sister, child given birth by Eridu

Nanše's brother Ningirsu is in turn titled to be "the son of Enlil" in the text of Gudea's Cylinders (A vii 5): dumu ^den-líl-lá-ka. He is also titled "great/exalted one in Abzu / trusted/respected one in Nippur" (Gudea Cylinder A, ii 11–12): ^dnin-ġír-sú abzu-a ^rg¹al-di / nibru^{ki}-a nir-ġa[1]. This brings about an obvious contradiction in the pantheon of Lagaš because Nanše and Ninġirsu are known to be brother and sister. The fact that the two high gods of the state of Lagaš are considered brother and sister might arise from political reasons as described by G. Selz. He proposes that Nanše and Ningirsu were made brother and sister just before the time of written documentation appeared and it was the result of the unification of the previously independent city states of Nigin (NINA) and Girsu. Ningirsu might have been already married to the goddess Bau when the unification took place and the only position available in the family of the gods of the new unified state must have been the place of the sister of Ningirsu. Ningirsu's marriage to Bau in turn indicates the previous union between the cities of Lagaš and Girsu.⁹⁰

Ningirsu is also mentioned in the Gudea Cylinders as returning from Eridu to his new temple. The arrival takes place on the fourth day of the new year. This might refer to a cultic journey of Ningirsu to Eridu within the frames of a periodic cult festival.⁹¹

Gudea Cylinder B, iii 5–9:

mu ġen-na-àm iti til-la-àm

The year had ended, the month was completed

mu gibil an-na im-ma-gub

The new year had been appeared to the sky

iti é-ba ba-a-ku₄

The month had "entered its house" (i. e. begun)

iti-bi u₄ 3-àm im-ta-zal

From that month, three days had passed

^dnin-ġír-sú eridu^{ki}-ta ġen-àm

(and then) Ningirsu had returned from Eridu

This is the second time when a cultic journey of Ningirsu to the city of Eridu is referred to. One Early Dynastic Enmetena inscription mentioned a cultic chariot of Ningirsu titled "Heaper up of the foreign (enemy) lands of the god Ninġirsu on the road (to) Eridu, the radiance of whose *gam*[*gam*] bird reaches into the heart of the foreign (enemy) land(s)" (Enmetena 4, ii 8–9: ^ġġ^{cs}gígir kur-dub ^dnin-ġír-sú-ka ^{ha}har-ra-an eridu^{ki}-ka GAM₄.GAM-bi / ní-bi kur-šà-ga). The reference to the cultic journeys of Ningirsu to Eridu underlines the importance of that city as well as the theology of Enki to the Lagašite ideology. Later Sumerian mythological compositions describe the cultic journeys of Ninurta and Inanna to Eridu all related to acquiring the me-s from Enki and getting abundance and

⁸⁹ Cf. Gudea Cyl. A, xx 16.

⁹⁰ G. Selz, ASJ 12 (1990), p. 121. Cf. W. Heimpel, RIA 9 (1998–2001), pp. 155–156.

⁹¹ C. E. Suter, Gudea's Temple Building (2000), pp. 96–97.

prosperity offered by the Abzu temple and the city of Eridu.⁹² In the case of Ningirsu's journey to Eridu, the Abzu temple is probably visited because it is seen as one of the most ancient or archetypal temples in Sumer. Ningirsu is described as visiting "the temple of all the temples" before settling into his own newly built dwelling-place.

One passage of the Gudea Cylinders makes a reference to a lagoon or the reeds of the moon-god. It seems that the temple of Ningirsu is somehow compared to the lagoon.

Gudea Cylinder A, xxi 17–22:

é mu-dù ġeš-e im-ma-šub

ambar ^dnanna saġ kēs ^den-ki-ka-kam

é ħur-saġ-gen₇ im-mú-mú-ne

dugud-gen₇ an-ša-ge im-mi-ni-íb-điri-điri-ne

^rgu₄-gen₇¹ si im-mi-íb-íl-íl-ne

ġeš-gána abzu-gen₇ kur-kur-ra saġ ba-ni-íb-íl-ne

The temple he built, laid wooden scaffolding against it

Nanna's lagoon attended by Enki⁹³

Like a mountain they make the house grow

Like a cloud they make it float in the midst of heaven

Like a bull they make it lift its horns

Like a *kiškanu*-tree of Abzu they make it lift its head over all the lands

The *kiškanu*-tree of Eridu and Abzu is one of the most important symbols of Enki's city Eridu and his temple Abzu. The tree is not only a mythological tree but its wood was probably used for the construction of temples. The tree also symbolised the Lahama-Abzu guardians or door-posts of the temple. M. W. Green suggests "that *kiškanû* trees were planted at the sides of the doorway or even that originally in reed shrines the door frame was made of *kiškanû* wood or live *kiškanû* saplings. The guardians could have grasped the door frame itself or held staffs or standards made of *kiškanû* wood."⁹⁴ One Sumerian incantation from the Sargonic period Susa actually compares or identifies Enki with the *kiškanu*-tree: ^den-ki ġeš-kín-gen₇.⁹⁵

⁹² Cf. M. W. Green, *Eridu*, pp. 268–276.

⁹³ The text possibly refers to a lagoon of reeds or an Abzu temple structure associated with Su'en's temple E-kišnugal in Ur. A prayer to Su'en from the reign of Rim-Su'en (Rim-Su'en F, 26–27) of Larsa has a reference to the "lagoon of Nanna:" [š]à ambar abzu é-k[iš-nu-ġál-la-ke₄] / [su]g kù ġeš-gi a kù-ga g[i ...] ma-ra-mú-mú-e: "Inside the Abzu lagoon of E-k[išnugal temple], / holy marsh, the reeds in the pure water ree[ds ...] are growing." Cf. D. Charpin, *Clergé*, pp. 293–295 and Rim-Su'en F in 6.6. of the current study.

⁹⁴ M. W. Green, *Eridu*, p. 190. Cf. M. W. Green, *JCS* 30 (1978), pp. 148–149.

⁹⁵ M. J. Geller, *Iraq* 42 (1980), p. 24: obv. 4. The incantation compares Enki with the *kiškanu*-tree which is grown or created in "a pure place." The incantation is the oldest example of the Sumerian original, upon which the later bilingual *kiškanu*-incantation in

The order of the gods in the Gudea Cylinders is similar to the arrangement in Gudea Statue B.

Gudea Cylinder B, xii 26–xiii 8:

an kù-ge zi-dè-éš mu-ġar

^den-líl-e saġ-ba gur bí-dar

^dnin-ḥur-saġ-ke₄ igi zi ba-ši-bar

^de[n-k]i lugal eridu^k[^l-k]e₄ temen-bi [m]u-si

en zi šà dadag-ga-ke₄

^dEN.ZU-e me-bi an ki-a im-mi-điri-ga-àm

^dnin-ġír-sú-ke₄ éš numun i-a šà-ge ba-ni-pà

ama ^dnanše sig₄ ki lagaš^{ki}-ka

mí zi ba-ni-in-du₁₁

Pure An had placed (the temple) in a true manner

Enlil had split up on its head (?)

Ninhursag looked upon it approvingly

Enki, the king of Eridu, filled its foundations

Just lord with a purest heart

Su'en made its me-s in heaven and earth to be supreme

Ningirsu found out in his heart that the shrine (was a place from where) the seed went out

Mother Nanše, among the bricks of Lagaš,
truly took care of it

This listing shows that the gods An, Enlil, Ninhursag, Enki, Su'en and Utu are seen as the overall important gods of Mesopotamia. Ningirsu and Nanše are

Utukku is based. As Geller concludes (p. 25): “The purpose of the Susa text is to compare Enki to the *kiškanû*-tree, whereas the later recensions invoke the *kiškanû*-tree without a direct comparison to Enki. Moreover, the Susa text describes the *kiškanû* in general terms, as growing in a pure place, with its shade stretching over the sea, while later recensions identify the pure place as Eridu, and the sea as the Apsû.” The incantation is as follows:

én.^ré¹.nu.ru

[lugal] ġeš-kín-gen₇

ki sikil mú-a

^den-ki ġeš-kín-gen₇

ki sikil mú-a

kur-ku-rá-a-ni kur ḥé-ġál sud

ki DU.DU-ni ġissu-bi

múš za-ġin-na-gen₇

ab-ša-ga lá-a

lugal ġeš-kín-gen₇

ki sikil-e íb-mú-a-gen₇

^den-ki ġeš-kín-gen₇

ki sikil-e íb-mú-a-gen₇

é.nu.ru incantation

[King], like a *kiškanu*-tree

grown in a pure place.

Enki, like a *kiškanu*-tree

grown in a pure place.

His flood sinks the land with abundance.

His place of walking is its shadow –

a ground of lapis lazuli just like

in the middle of the sea stretches out.

King, like a *kiškanu*-tree

which the pure place has grown.

Enki, like a *kiškanu*-tree

which the pure place has grown.

incorporated to the list as the heads of the local pantheon. They are clearly considered less important compared to the main gods of the Sumerian pantheon.

3.4. Conclusions

The texts of the Second Dynasty of Lagaš continue the traditions of Early Dynastic royal inscriptions in describing the overall canonical pantheon of Sumer and the local Lagašite gods. The supreme status of An and Enlil is recognised in the inscriptions of Gudea and they are mentioned before the gods Ningirsu and Nanše. Enki is listed after the mother-goddess Ninhursag. The Ur-Bau inscription 5 however demonstrates an older tradition listing Ningirsu and Nanše first. Also Enki is mentioned after Bau in this inscription. It seems that the gods of Enki's circle have been adopted to the Lagašite pantheon in the earlier periods and the listing of An and Enlil as supreme might be a newer tradition.

Enki's main function in the Gudea's Temple Hymn is to give practical advice or help in different stages of construction. He gives "plans" (ḡeš-ḥur) and "oracular pronouncements" (eš-bar-kíḡ) for the benefit of the construction works of Ningirsu's temple. Enki's relation to all kinds of practical skills is probably reflected in Enki's title or in the name of his temple ḡeš-kíḡ-ti: "craftsman" / "workshop." Enki's close relation to Nanše, detectable already in the Early Dynastic inscriptions, is also strongly outlined in the texts of the Second Dynasty of Lagaš. A reference of the cultic journey of Ningirsu to Eridu underlines the early importance of that city as a religious centre.

4. UR III PERIOD

The textual material describing Enki in the Ur III royal inscriptions and hymns has grown considerably compared to the earlier periods. The greatest number of texts mentioning Enki come from the long reign of Šulgi. All the other rulers of the Third Dynasty of Ur have royal inscriptions and hymns related to or mentioning the god Enki or his temple and his city. One hymn of the king Amar-Su'en is dedicated to the building of Enki's temple. The inscriptions of Puzur-Inšušinak of Elam and Iddin-Su'en of Simurrum are also presented in this chapter. One text of the king Puzur-Eštar of Mari is also covered here, including a short discussion about the similar features of Enki and the god El.

4.1. Ur-Namma

Three royal inscriptions of Ur-Namma state that he has built or restored a temple for Enki. Ur-Namma 31: ^den-ki / lugal-a-ni / ur-^dnamma / nita kala-ga / lugal uri₅^{ki}-ma / lugal ki-en-gi-ki-uri-ke₄ / é-a-ni / mu-na-dù: "To Enki / his king, / Ur-Namma / powerful man, / king of Ur, / king of Sumer and Akkad, / his house / has built." Ur-Namma 10 adds that the temple was built at Eridu: ur-^dnamma / lugal uri₅^{ki}-ma / lú é / ^den-ki / eridu^{ki}-ga / mu-dù-a: "Ur-Namma / the king of Ur / the man (who) the house / of Enki / in Eridu / has built."

One of the inscriptions mentioning the temple construction titles Enki "the flood" (mar-uru₅) which is not in accordance with the character usually given to Enki.

Ur-Namma 32:

^d en-ki mar-uru ₅ an-ki-ra	To Enki, the storm of heaven and earth,
lugal-a-ni	his king,
ur- ^d namma	Ur-Namma,
nita kala-ga	powerful man,
lugal uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma	king of Ur,
lugal ki-en-gi-ki-uri-ke ₄	king of Sumer and Akkad,
é-a-ni	his house
mu-na-dù	has built.

The epithet "deluge" or "storm"⁹⁶ of Enki is mostly used to describe warrior deities such as Ninurta, Nergal, Marduk or Ištar. O. R. Gurney concludes that the title seems strange and "it is surprising to find it used of Enki, whose character was that of a wise counsellor and sage."⁹⁷ However, the storm motive

⁹⁶ Different but closely connected meanings can be attributed to mar-URU₅ such as "flood," "quiver," "deluge," "tempest," "flood-storm." B. L. Eichler, *Fs. Hallo* (1993), pp. 90–94.

⁹⁷ O. R. Gurney, *Iraq* 44 (1982), pp. 143–144.

connected to Enki has a parallel from one Sumerian incantation coming from ca. the Sargonic period Susa. Enki is said to be filling the earth with his flood (kur-ku) of abundance.⁹⁸ It seems possible that the inscription of Ur-Namma refers to the “flood of abundance of Enki” and no terrifying or destructive force is meant by the text. The myth Enki and Inanna lists mar-uru₅ as one of the me-s grouped together with different me-s concerning sexual intercourse: ^{ḡeš}šu-nir mar-uru₅ ḡeš dug₄-dug₄ ḡeš [ki-s]u-ub nam-kar-kid nam-ḡub-dar:⁹⁹ “standard, the quiver, copulation, kissing, prostitution, running.” The mar-uru₅ in Ur-Namma inscription can therefore indicate to Enki’s reproductive or even sexual force.

The final curse formula of the Ur-Namma Law Code¹⁰⁰ mentions Enki together with Enlil, Iškur and Ezinu¹⁰¹ which is uncommon compared to other curse formulas or listings of gods.

Ur-Namma 20, concluding formula 11–12:

[...] uru-na-ke₄ ^den-ki ^{dr}iškur¹ ^dez[inu]
 [inim]-maḡ ^den-líl-lá-^rka¹ [x] x x ḡé-[...]
 ... of his city, Enki, Iškur, Ez[inu]
 powerful [word] of Enlil ... may ...

The Death of Ur-Namma, describing the end of the life of the king Ur-Namma and his passing into the netherworld, begins by telling that panic and fear had fallen upon the city of Ur due to the approaching death of Ur-Namma. Gods are described as taking away their blessing and favour from the city of Ur. The deities are listed in the following order: An, Enlil, Ninmah, Enki/Nudimmud, Nanna, and Utu.

Ur-Namma A, 8–14:

^ran¹-né inim kù-ga ^rdù¹-a mu-un-kúr šà ^rusan^x[?] sù-ga-àm
^rd^en¹-líl-le nam ^rtar¹-ra dù-a ^ršu¹ lul [mi]-ni-ib-bala
^{dr}nin-maḡ¹-e ^rx¹ [x] ^rx¹ LÁ.A.BA-na a-nir mu-un-ḡá-ḡá
^den-k[i-k]_{e4} ^{ḡeš}[i]g gal eridu^{ki}-ga gú-bi ba-an-ge₄
^dnu-^rdím¹-[m]ud ^ritima^{1ma}-ka ba-an-ku₄ šà-ka-tab-ba ba-an-nú
 inim ^rkù[?] an-na-^rka[?] ^dnanna si-ùn-na saḡ-ki ba-da-ni-in-gíd
^dutu ^ran¹-n[a[?]] nu-um-è-e u₄-dè i-si-iš im-lá

An turned over his holy words/orders which he fixed; in the middle of the night was emptied (?)

Enlil changed the fates which he fixed cruelly

⁹⁸ M. J. Geller, Iraq 42 (1980), p. 24: obv. 6; cf. 3.3. of the current study for the text.

⁹⁹ Inanna and Enki, I v 29. G. Farber-Flügge, Der Mythos “Inanna und Enki” (1973), p. 107 considers the whole group belonging to the realm of the me-s of love-life.

¹⁰⁰ D. Frayne, RIME 3/II, pp. 44–45 concludes that the text is composed during Ur-Namma’s reign, contrary to the opinions attributing the code to Šulgi.

¹⁰¹ A similar grouping occurs in Išme-Dagan 8 (= Išme-Dagan S) line 35: ^den-ki ^diškur ^dezinu ^dšakan en ḡé-ḡál-la-k[e₄-ne].

Ninmah gives laments because her ...
 Enki closed the great door of Eridu firmly
 Nudimmud went into the bedchamber, lay down fasting
 Because of the holy words/orders of An, Nanna in the zenith was angry
 Utu does not rise up to the sky; the days are full of tears

Enki/Nudimmud¹⁰² titled “the king of Eridu” in Ur-Namma A, is described as retreating to the bedchamber of his Eridu temple and closing the door, signifying that abundance and support coming from Enki’s temple has been cancelled for Ur-Namma.

A *tigi* hymn to Enlil for Ur-Namma (Ur-Namma B), describing the construction of Enlil’s E-kur temple, mentions incantations of Enki. The incantation (nam-ġeš-šub galam-ma-na) is described as making the constructing process of the temple flourish.

Ur-Namma B, 19:

nam-ġeš-šub galam-ma-na ^den-ki-ke₄ é-e ul ba-ni-in-sa₇-ga
 (with) his skilful incantation (of fate ?), Enki made the temple flourish

¹⁰² Enki’s second name or epithet Nudimmud (cf. H. D. Galter, *Ea/Enki*, pp. 13–14) is already present in Early Dynastic Sumerian mythology. The Zame Hymns use the form ^den-nu-te-mud: abzu ki kur gal / men-nun-an-ki / ^den-nu-te-mud zà-me: “Abzu, the place that is a big mountain (or: underworld?) / princely crown of heaven and earth / Lord Nudimmud be praised!” (*Zame Hymns* 30–32: Å. W. Sjöberg, PSD 1 A/II (1994), p. 185; R. D. Biggs, OIP 99 (1974), p. 47). Usually the name is translated as “the creator of form” or “engenderer.” ^dnu-dím-mud can be interpreted to contain a nominal prefix nu-, a verbal elements dím (“to create”) and mud (“to engender” / “blood” / “form”). According D. O. Edzard, ZA 55 (1963), p. 103 the name Nudimmud is the only known example where the nominal nu- is related with a verb; and he translates it: “der mit Erschaffen (und) Erzeugen zu tun hat,” and “der erschafft (und) erzeugt.” The nature of the name is similar to the epithet of Enlil Nunamnir, translatable as “the one of supreme lordship” (cf. A. Cavigneaux – M. Krebernik, RIA 9 (1998–2001), p. 614). The Early Dynastic hypothetical meaning of the name Nudimmud is unclear. In one Abu Salabikh text, the name is written en(GAL)-nu-te-me-mud (OIP 99: 116, x 21; cf. A. Cavigneaux – M. Krebernik, RIA 9 (1998–2001), p. 607; M. Krebernik, OBO 160/1, p. 271) and ^den-nu-te-mud in the abovementioned Zame Hymns. From the Ur III period, nu-da-mud is attested (A. Cavigneaux – M. Krebernik, RIA 9 (1998–2001), p. 607). An = *Anu ša ameli* god-lists translate the name appearing as Nudimmud and Nadimmud as *ša nabnīti*: “the one who gives form” / “the one who creates” (R. Litke, *God-Lists*, p. 238: 122–123). Since the Sumerian mud can also be interpreted as “blood,” an option for translating the name would be “the one who creates/brings forth blood.” In the myth Enki and Ninmah, Enki probably uses blood (mud) for creating the human race; in the story of Atrahasis, *dāmu*, *tēmu* and *eṭemmu* are all components of Enki’s creation of the man. Therefore a certain sound-play or word-play in writing the different forms of the name Nudimmud seems probable. As demonstrated also by the Ur-Namma A text, the name Nudimmud occurs also in contexts not relatable with creation or fertility.

The *nam-ĝeš-šub* of Enki poses interpretational problems. J. Klein thinks that *ĝeš* is a scribal error or a pseudo-determinative since it is omitted in one parallel text (C₂ obv. 6') where only *nam-šub* “incantation” is written.¹⁰³ The word might also be a conscious word-play combining the terms *nam-šub* (“incantation”) and *ĝeš-šub* (“share, portion of fate”)¹⁰⁴ into a word meaning “the incantation of fate.”¹⁰⁵ The mentioning of Enki in connection with incantations is in accordance with the incantations appearing during the Neo-Sumerian period where Enki starts to be one of the main figures. Also the god Asaluhi is described as the son of Enki or Abzu/Eridu in the Neo-Sumerian incantations.¹⁰⁶ It is interesting to notice that although the Neo-Sumerian incantations are prototypical to later Marduk-Ea type incantations,¹⁰⁷ the god Asaluhi is not among the gods mentioned in royal hymns or inscriptions until the end of Larsa period. Contrasting popular cult and royal ideology (i. e. official religion) might result from the conservative nature of priests and scribes of Mesopotamia keeping the ideology of older periods. On the other hand, the Zame Hymns list Asaluhi in a prominent position (cf. Asaluhi A in 6.6. in the current study) which means that Asaluhi cannot be considered a newcomer or a “foreign” deity during the Neo-Sumerian period.

The Ur-Namma C poem praises Ur-Namma’s capital city Ur and states that the city-walls are growing out or have their foundations placed in Abzu. The text is similar to Gudea Cyl. A xix 9–17, where the foundations of the E-ninnu temple of Ningirsu are said to be connected to Abzu.

Ur-Namma C, 3:

iri bād gal ki ĝar-ra-ba abzu-ta mú-a

City (Ur), your great firmly founded wall is growing out from Abzu!

The text describes different favours of the gods given to Ur-Nammu. Enki is listed third in the row of deities: An, Enlil, Enki, Nintu, [...], Utu, Ningublaga. The mother-goddess figure is named Nintu and she is mentioned after Enki.

¹⁰³ J. Klein, ASJ 11 (1989), p. 54. Cf. E. Flückiger-Hawker, OBO 166, p. 201 who interprets *nam-ĝeš-šub* alternating with *nam-šub* in Enki’s Journey to Nippur, 125: *é tigi 7-e si sá-e nam-šub šúm-ma*: “temple performing the 7 tigi-instruments properly, and gives incantations.”

¹⁰⁴ G. Castellino, ZA 53 (1959), p. 109 translates “By his allotted high destiny, Enki lavishes beauty on the temple.” He interprets the word (p. 113) as “portion of destiny, fate.”

¹⁰⁵ Cf. C. Mittermayer, *Enmerkara und der Herr von Aratta* (2009), p. 74ff. for the terms.

¹⁰⁶ P. Michalowski, OrNS (1985), p. 223. I. L. Finkel, Fs. Borger (1998), p. 76 dates one incantation contained on a tablet from the Ur III period (text 2: 6 NT 145), titling Asaluhi to be the son of Enki, already to the Old-Akkadian period.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. G. Cunningham, StPohl 17, p. 65ff.

Urnamma C, 20–24:

an-e ka kù-ga-ni mu-un-ba šeḡ ma-ù-dú
ki-šè šà-ga si ba-an-sá h́é-ḡál ma-ra-de₆
d_{en}-líl-le mí zi mu-un-du₁₁ ùḡ mu-ši-in-x
d_ren¹-ki-ke₄ mí zi mu-un-du₁₁ a-eštub d_{ézina} / še gu-nu saḡ-e-eš mu-un-rig₇
r^dnin¹-tu-re ḡe₂₆-e mu-un-dím-dím-en gaba(ga)-ri-ḡu₁₀ nu-tuku
An opens his holy mouth, rain is given for me
Inside the earth he directs (the rain), abundance is brought for me
Enlil treats me favourably, people (?) ...
Enki treats me favourably, springtime high waters, grain and dappled barley for
me he gives
Nintu formed me, (so that) there is no equal to me

According to the text, Enki gives spring-time flood-waters,¹⁰⁸ wheat, and barley for Ur-Namma and his role is agricultural, similarly to An who grants rain-water. However, exactly the same phrase, describing Enki here as the granter of agricultural abundance, occurs in another hymn dedicated to Enlil, where Enlil seems to be the granter of water, grain, and barley. Therefore, bringing floods and granting agricultural prosperity cannot be attributed to Enki alone.

Ur-Namma G, 7–8:

d_{en}-líl-le d_{ur}¹-d_{amma}-ra r^{mu}¹-[...]
a-eštub d_{ézina} še gu-nu saḡ-e-eš h́é-r^{mu}-rig₇¹
Enlil for Ur-Namma [...]
springtime high waters, grain and dappled barley may he give!

A Sumerian hymn titled “Ur-Namma, the Canal-digger” describes the construction of an irrigation canal by Ur-Namma. Enki gives ḡéštu for Ur-Namma for the benefit of the construction works.

Ur-Namma D, 21:

d_{en}-ki-r^{ke}₄¹ ḡéštu daḡ[al...s]aḡ -e-eš m[u-rig₇]
Enki granted ... me with broad knowledge

¹⁰⁸ V. Emelianov, *Calendar Ritual in Sumerian Religion and Culture (ME's and the Spring Festivals)* (2009), p. 429 (cf. p. 238): “The coming of spring was marked in Sumerian texts by two brightest phenomena: early high water and harvest of motley barley. The early high water was named ‘a high water of carps’. Spawning of carps began in the end of winter, and carps emerged in the waves of the high water at this particular time. The high water of carps embodied the abundance and fertility of the country, the noise of this first high water was compared to the voices of Enlil and Enki. Motley barley *še-gu-nu* (*Hordeum rectum nigrum*) was sowed in the end of winter (in February or the beginning of March), and the crop was collected in April (i.e. it took 80 days to ripen). The presence of barley on the fields was also one of the signs of Spring and the beginning of the year.” Cf. M. W. Green, *Eridu*, p. 201 where in an Ur III temple list (A 33652) Enki is described as filling his temple (un-nir) with a-eštub^{ku6}.

The same composition calls Enki/Nudimmud “the king of the canal” built by Ur-Namma.

Ur-Namma D, 33–36:

ḡe₂₆-e i₇-ḡá a-[rá-a ḥu-mu]-un-[tùm] ḡeš^s dusu-e ḥu-mu-un-na-lá-e
 úri^{ki}-ma i₇-ḡá a-rá-a ḥu-mu-un-tùm [ḡeš^s] dusu-e ḥu-mu-un-na-lá-e
 lugal-bi lugal eridu^{ki}-ga PA-a-zu SÙ-àm

^dnu-dím-mud lugal eridu^{ki}-ga PA-a-zu SÙ-àm

(Because of) my (achievement) may the water-course carry (the fish) into the canal, let them be carried in baskets

In Ur may the water-course carry (the fish) into the canal, let them be carried in baskets

Its (canal’s) king is the king of Eridu, it is full of your PA-a-cry

Nudimmud, the king of Eridu, it is full of your PA-a-cry

E. Flückiger-Hawker finds that the expression PA-a-zu is a praise to Enki, titled the “lord of the canal.” The canal is filled with Enki’s exclamation (pa-a) represented by the noise of flowing waters. The conclusion results from the fact that interpreting PA-a as ú-a “provider” would not make any sense in this context.¹⁰⁹

One hymn to Ur-Namma (Ur-Namma I) summarises the different qualities given by the gods to the king listed in the order of An, Ninsun, Enlil, Ninlil, Ninhursag. Enki is listed sixth after the mother-goddess figure Ninhursag.

Ur-Namma I, ii 6–iii 5:

an-né igi sag₉ ʾx¹-bar ʾKA ḥúl-la¹ ma[?] ʾx¹-[x]

ur-^dnamma dumu ^dnin-sún-ke₄

lugal ^den-líl-le á šúm-ma

^dnin-líl-le mí zi-dè-eš du₁₁-ʾga¹

^dnin-ḥur-ʾsaḡ inim¹-ma <šâ>-ga-na ʾḥuḡ¹-ḡá

^den-ki-ke₄ ḡéštu ma[ḥ (x)] šúm-m[a[?]]

An is looking with a favourable eye, ... a sound of joy?

Ur-Namma, son of Ninsun

King, given strength by Enlil

Loved truly by Ninlil

Set into office by the order of Ninhursag

Whom Enki has given great knowledge

¹⁰⁹ E. Flückiger-Hawker, OBO 166, p. 239 and 258. S. Tinney, JCS 51 (1999), p. 41: “Its king, the king of Eridu, your foliage is a joy.” ETC SL 2.4.1.4. translates the lines in question as “Its king is the master of Eridug – your provider (?) (Ur-Namma) is exultant. Nudimmud, the master of Eridug – your provider (?) is exultant.” The same expression occurs at the concluding line of the hymn Šu-Su’ en J line 47: [^dšu]-^dEN.ZU ʾPA[?]-a[?]-zu sud-àm translated by S. N. Kramer, Fs. Sjöberg (1989), p. 308 as “Šu-Sin, your provider(?) being distant(?).” The Ur-Namma D hymn line 41 ends with the usual praise-words: ur-^dnamma lugal úri^{ki}-ma zà-mí-zu du₁₀-ga-àm: “Ur-Namma, the king of Ur, your praise is sweet!” It seems likely that the expression pa-a-zu in this context is similarly used.

4.2. Puzur-Inšušinak of Elam

An Elamite ruler Puzur-Inšušinak is known to be a contemporary of the king Ur-Namma, according to Ur-Namma 29 that mentions his name.¹¹⁰ One stele text of Puzur-Inšušinak lists Enki among other deities inside a curse formula. The Sumerian gods and Elamite deities are grouped together and listed in pairs of two.

Puzur-Inšušinak 2, 67–75:

^dNIN.MUŠ.EREN / ù ^dut[u] / ^den-lí[l] / ù ^den-ki / ^dinann[a] / ù ^dEN.Z[U] / ^dnin-
hur-sa[ḡ] / ù ^dna-<ru>-t[i] / ŠU.NIĜIN DIĜIR.D[IĜIR]

Inšušinak / and Utu, / Enlil / and Enki, / Inanna / and Su'en, / Ninḫursaḡ / and Nanurte, / the totality of gods.

Inšušinak, an Elamite sun-deity, is paired with the Sumerian sun-god Utu. Enlil and Enki occur as a pair. This probably testifies that the Elamite ideology saw them together as the most prominent and noteworthy male deities of Sumer and Akkad.

4.3. Šulgi

According to the royal inscriptions of Šulgi, a temple for Enki was built or restored. The inscription commemorating the construction is identical to Ur-Namma 31.

Šulgi 1:

^den-ki / lugal-a-ni / šul-gi / nita kala-ga / lugal uri₅^{ki}-ma / lugal ki-en-gi-ki-uri-
ke₄ / é-a-ni / mu-na-dù: “To Enki / his king, / Šulgi, / powerful man, / king of /
Ur, / king of Sumer and Akkad, / his house / has built.”

Another temple is built in Nippur by Šulgi for Enki's consort Damgalnunna

Šulgi 17:

^ddam-gal-nun-na / nin-a-ni / šul-gi / nita kala-ga / lugal uri₅^{ki}-ma / lugal ki-en-gi-
ki-uri-ke₄ / é-nibru^{ki}-ka-ni / mu-na-dù: “To Damgalnunna / his lady, / Šulgi, /
powerful man, / king of Ur, / king of Sumer and Akkad, / his house of Nippur /
has built.”

A later Akkadian tablet copy of an inscription of Šulgi, describing a temple construction in Kutha, possibly mentions the god Enki being listed in a curse formula. The text is similar to the inscription of Naram-Su'en 3 covered previously and it is reasonable to conclude that the god referred to is Enki.

¹¹⁰ Ur-Namma 29, 15: PUZUR₄-^dMUŠ.EREN.

Other gods mentioned after the current passage are Enlil(?), Inanna, Utu and Nergal.

Šulgi 25, i' 1'–ii' 2:

[^d en-ki]	[Enki]
[i ₇ -śu]	[his canal]
sà-ki(ZI)-kà-am	with (only) silt
li-im-du-[ud]	may measure out (=may block)

One royal *tigi*-hymn composed to honour the king Šulgi is dedicated to Enki. Since the only major cultic event from Šulgi's reign associated with Enki was the installation of the en-priest of Enki in Eridu in the 28th year of his reign (recorded as “the year when the en-priest of Eridu was put in office:” mu en eridu^{ki}-ga ba-hun-gá),¹¹¹ it should be considered possible that the hymn itself might be composed for the same occasion.¹¹² The first part of the hymn is poorly preserved but it reveals several new previously unattested features about Enki. The opening line praises him for his me-s and for his counselling abilities.

Šulgi Hymn to Enki, obv. 1:

en ^rme¹-[kù[?]-k]ù-[g]a[?] ^rsá¹ ġar-ra

Lord of the holy me-s, the one who is the counsellor

Enki is also titled Nudimmud and most probably Junior Enlil¹¹³ – a title unknown from previous royal inscriptions.

Šulgi Hymn to Enki, obv. 5:

nu-dím-mud ^den-líl-b[ànda...]

Nudimmud, the J[unior] Enlil

¹¹¹ D. Frayne, RIME 3/II, p. 104. The year 29 of Šulgi is called “The year after the en-priest of Eridu was installed.” Cf. H. D. Galter, *Ea/Enki*, p. 202.

¹¹² M. E. Cohen, *Fs. Klein* (2005), pp. 73–74.

¹¹³ The epithet of Enki “Junior Enlil” was one of the reasons for S. N. Kramer for concluding that a power struggle for supremacy was going on between the different theologies of Enlil and Enki. Cf. *OrNs* 39 (1970), pp. 109–110. The title appears in the epic of Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta (line 128), a text which might have been composed during the Ur III period. *MSL* 4 emesal vocabulary list (p. 7: I 39) identifies Enlil-banda with Ea. The title is also used for Marduk and Nergal. Cf. S. Cohen, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* (1973), p. 193 and M. E. Cohen, *Fs. Klein* (2005), p. 78. An *adab* to Nergal for the Isin king Šu-ilišu titles (Šu-ilišu A, 19) Nergal as Enlil-banda (S. N. Kramer, *Fs. Sjöberg* (1989), p. 306, line 67): ^dnergal é[?] da-rí unu-gal ^den-líl bàn-da-me-en: “Nergal, you are the junior Enlil of ‘the eternal house’ – of the netherworld.” The same hymn states (lines 68–70) that Enlil has given to Nergal all his duties and tasks as the governor of the underworld. The title Enlil-banda used for Enki should therefore be understood in similar terms – Enki has received his domain and obligations from Enlil.

The following fragmentary lines are rich in titles and epithets of Enki. He is called “the lord of the gods,” “the prince of knowledge,” “the advisor,” and Nudimmud. He is praised for his plans (ḡeš-ḥur) and wide knowledge (ḡeštu-daḡal).

Šulgi Hymn to Enki, obv. 17–25:

en diḡir-re-ne maḡ [...]	Great Lord of the gods [...]
a-a ^d en-ki me ša-š[a ₆ [?] -...]	Father Enki, the me-s [...]
en ul-la ul [?] -le ša-m[u [?] -...]	Lord, primeval / in joy ?
nun ḡeštu-daḡal an [...]	Prince ¹¹⁴ of wide knowledge [...]
šà-sud-rá ḡeš-ḥur-re [...]	Unfathomable, plans [...]

¹¹⁴ The title nun is used in literary texts synonymously with the titles lugal and en in the sense of designating ownership or lordship. The Sumerian Temple Hymns use nun to denote the main god or goddess of a temple (Å. W. Sjöberg, *The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns* (1969), pp. 52–53). The title nun related to Enki is known already from Early Dynastic mythology. A fragmentary mythological composition about Enki from Tell Beydar uses the term nam-nun “princeliness” (i 1–4) characterising Enki: W. Sallaberger, *Subartu* 12 (2004), pp. 37–38. Also the city of Enki, Eridu, is written NUN^{ki}; the name is later sometimes attributed to the city of Babylon (cf. A. Cavigneaux – M. Krebernik, *RIA* 9 (1998–2001), p. 614). In Ur-Nanše 32 and Ukg. 15 en-ki / nin-ki gods are written as en-ki / nun-ki (ii 2): u₄-ba en-ki nun-ki nu-sig₇. The line was interpreted by J. van Dijk (*AcOr* 28 (1965), pp. 39–40) and also by W. W. Hallo (*JCS* 23 (1970), p. 66) as en-ki NUN^{ki} allowing the translation “At that time Enki and Eridu had not appeared.” Sumerian epithet nun: “prince,” “leader” most probably refers to Enki’s Akkadian epithet *niššiku* (A. Cavigneaux – M. Krebernik, *RIA* 9 (1998–2001), p. 590) appearing also in the Atrahasis epic. Cf. W. G. Lambert, *Atrahasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood* (1969), pp. 148–149 and H. D. Galter, *Ea/Enki*, pp. 12–13. W. G. Lambert, *JCS* 41 (1989), p. 6 finds that *ne-si-gi-im*^den-ki in Ebla myth ARET 5, 6: i 6–7 and NĪ.SIG^den-ki in OIP 99, 326: i 8 designates the later *niššiku*. M. Krebernik, *QuSem* 18 (1992), p. 131 agrees with Lambert’s interpretation. Although the title nun can refer to other gods and goddesses in Sumerian literature, its most frequent bearer is the god Enki. In archaic Uruk, offerings were made to Inanna NUN: “princely Inanna,” or “Inanna of Eridu/Enki” as proposed by P. Steinkeller, *Gs. Jacobsen* (2002), p. 254 (cf. K. Szarzynska, *RA* 87 (1993), p. 10ff. and *JEOL* (1987–1988), p. 77ff. for Inanna NUN in Uruk). P.-A. Beaulieu, *The Pantheon of Uruk during the Neo-Babylonian Period* (2003), pp. 104–105 sees a connection with the rise of the city of Uruk into hegemony during the second half of the 4th millennium, which replaced the former main centre of urban civilisation Eridu: “The title Inanna-NUN would thus reflect the political demise of Eridu in the 4th millennium and the triumph of Inanna of Uruk, who captured the me’s from Enki, the god of Eridu.” The use of the sign NUN for designating Enlil in UD.GAL.NUN texts as UD.GAL.NUN (=dingir.en.lil) leads P. Michalowski, *RAI* 43 (1998), pp. 241–242 to the conclusion that the sign of an original head of the Sumerian pantheon Enki, NUN, was used deliberately for the name of Enlil; and also for his city Nippur as EN.NUN in a city seal from Jemdet Nasr for underlining the importance of the newcomer Enlil as the head of the Sumerian pantheon. (Cf. P. Steinkeller, *Gs. Jacobsen* (2002), p. 255, note 29 for EN.NUN and Nippur.)

inim ul-la zi-de-[éš (x)]	Ancient word/order right[fully...]
sá pà-dè me ki-bi [...]	...?... me-s, the place [...]
^d en-ki ^r an ^{1?} -ki-a na- ^r di ^{5 1?} -[x]	Enki in heaven and earth, gives advice ?
nu-dím-mud ¹¹⁵ é ? ^r x x ¹ - ^r za ^{1?}	Nudimmud ... ?

The hymn continues by glorifying Enki for his mastering of the princely me-s and being the leader of the Anunna deities. He is also titled the “great bull of Abzu” (gu₄-gal abzu-a).

Šulgi Hymn to Enki, rev. 28–31:

en-gal me-nun an-ki šu-du₈
^den-ki gaba-ğál a-nun-ke₄-ne
 sağ-kal diğir-gal-gal-ne gal-di an kù-ga
 nu-dím-mud gu₄-gal abzu-a me-sikil-la sa₇-ga
 Great lord, the princely me-s of heaven and earth who holds
 Enki, the powerful one of the Anunna gods
 Foremost of the great gods, exalted one of the holy An
 Nudimmud, the great bull of Abzu, glorious for his pure me-s

The next passage characterises Enki as the organiser of cleansing rituals (šu-luḥ), praises him for his role as the decider of fates (nam-tar) and the governor of the me-s. He seems to be pictured as knowledge (ğéštu) personified.

Šulgi Hymn to Enki, rev. 32–35:

lugal en gal-ne-er šu-luḥ pà-dè
 nam-tar-re-dè gal-bi gub-b[a]-^rx¹
 ġéštu gu₄ me gal me kù-ga mí zi dè-é[š du₁₁?]
^ren^{1?} gal en ^rmaḥ^{1?} nam-nir-da zà ša-mu-^rda¹-[KÉŠ]
 King, who calls forth cleansing rituals for the great lords
 When deciding fates, standing tall
 The wise one, the bull; truly taking care for the great me-s, for the holy me-s
 Great lord, important lord; lordship you have tied (with you)

The hymn seems to title Enki “the junior brother” (šeš-bànda). The name is similar to Enki’s title as ^den-líl-bànda – “Junior Enlil” and would mean that Enki is Enlil’s younger brother. Enki is also titled to be the lord of heaven and earth (en an-ki)¹¹⁶ who is compared with the rising sun-god Utu.

¹¹⁵ Nudimmud appears without the determinative in this hymn. M. E. Cohen, Fs. Klein (2005), p. 78 therefore translates the term not as a proper name but an epithet: “Creator-of-Form.”

¹¹⁶ ^den-an-ki (“lord of heaven and earth”) is a known name for Enki which also appears in An = ^da-nu-um god-lists followed by ^dam-ma-an-ki (R. Litke, God-Lists, p. 83: II 130–131). An: *Anu ša amēli* lists (p. 237: 119–120) have: ^{dr}en¹-ki = ^{dr}é¹-[a] = [šá EN x ma]-a-ti / [^dam-ma-an-ki] = [^dé-a] = [šá šamé(AN-e) u]-^reršete¹(^rKI¹-te). Cf. H. D.

Šulgi Hymn to Enki, rev. 36–39:

^den-k[i] ^ršeš⁷¹-bànda[?]-gen₇ me-ni maḥ-[...]

^dutu-gen₇ diḡir-gal-gal-e-ne-cr

en an-ki-a ša-mu-ne-íl-le-[en]

nu-dím-mud me-zu kal-kal-àm

Enki, as junior brother (?), his great me-s [...].

Like Utu for the great gods,

lord of heaven and earth, you rise up.¹¹⁷

Nudimmud, your me-s are precious!

The final lines of the hymn call Enki “the shining one of Eridu” (sud-rá-áḡ eridu^{ki}) and praise him for his skilful advice. In addition, Šulgi glorifies Enki for giving him abundance and prosperity (hé-ḡál / nam-ḥe) and water; or according to M. E. Cohen, abundance and plenty in the form of shining waters.¹¹⁸

Šulgi Hymn to Enki, rev. 40–43:

lugal-ḡu₁₀ sud-rá-áḡ eridu^{ki}-ga

en sá galam-ma-zu šu nu-ti

a-a ^den-ki sipa-zi šul-gi-re

nu-dím-mud hé-ḡál nam-ḥe a dalla ša-mu-na-ni-è

My king, the shining one of Eridu!

Lord, there is no non-accepting your skilful advice.

Father Enki, to the faithful shepherd Šulgi;

Nudimmud, abundance, plenty, and water you make appear (to Šulgi)!¹¹⁹

A praise poem of Šulgi (Šulgi A) describes Šulgi’s relation to the most important Sumerian gods listed in the order of: Ninsun, An, Enlil, Ninlil, Nintu, Enki, Nanna, Utu and Inanna. Enki, listed after the mother-goddess figure Nintu, is described as giving ḡéštu to Šulgi. The formula used here is similar to the hymn Ur-Namma I (ii 6–iii 5) treated previously and represents the

Galter, Ea/Enki, p. 23 for the list CT 25: 48: 1–2. The name ^den-an-ki of Enki certainly refers to the cosmic regions An and Ki.

¹¹⁷ M. E. Cohen, Fs. Klein (2005), p. 79 considers the comparison between Enki and the rising sun unusual: “It is unusual for Enki, a denizen of the *abzu*, to be likened to the sun. This passage may be comparing the rising of the sun at the horizon, from ‘within the earth,’ to Enki’s ascension from the *abzu* to the heavens or onto the surface of the earth.”

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 76 line 43: “Creator-of-Form, you bring forth abundance and plenty in the sparkling waters.”

¹¹⁹ In Lugalbanda Epic, Enki is in turn described as draining the marsh-waters and tearing up the reeds from the construction site of Uruk (lines 300–301 / 366–367): ^den-ki lugal eridu^{ki}-ga-ke₄ / gi úš-bi ḥa-ma-an-zé a-bi ḥa-ma-an-til: “Enki, the king of Eridu, / tore up the decaying reeds for me, drained its waters for me.” Cf. C. Mittermayer, Enmerkara und der Herr von Aratta (2009), p. 72 for the passage.

stereotypical formula of the Ur III kings and their relations to the high gods of Sumer.¹²⁰

Šulgi A, 7–15:

dumu ù-tu-da ^d nin-sún-kam-me-en	I am the son given birth by Ninsun
šà-ge pà-da an kù-ga-me-en	I am the one chosen in the heart of holy An
lú nam-tar-ra ^d en-líl-lá-me-en	I am the man whose fate was determined by Enlil
^d šul-gi ki-áḡ ^d nin-líl-lá-me-en	I am Šulgi, the beloved one of Ninlil
mí zi du ₁₁ -ga ^d nin-tu-ra-me-en	I am truly nursed by Nintu
ḡéštu šúm-ma ^d en-ki-kam-me-en	I am the one given knowledge by Enki
lugal kala-ga ^d nanna-a-me-en	I am the mighty king of Nanna
piriḡ ka-du ₈ -a ^d utu-ù-me-en	I am the roaring lion of Utu
^d šul-gi ḡi-li-a pà-da ^d inanna-me-en	I am Šulgi for (the sake of my) attractiveness chosen by Inanna

The praise poem Šulgi C records that Šulgi performed purification rituals using water from the city of Eridu. The event might be related to Šulgi’s accession to the throne.¹²¹ From the city of Eridu come the “seven wisdoms,” most probably designating different knowledges and skills necessary for a successful ruler.¹²²

Šulgi C, 29–30:

eridu^{ki}-ta a nam-išib-ba-ka ní-ḡu₁₀ mi-ni-dadag
ḡéštu 7-bi mu-da-su₈-su₈-ge-éš

(Using) water of purification rituals from Eridu, I myself did perform cleansing Seven knowledges of (Eridu) were endowed together with me (resulting from the lustrations)

The praise poem Šulgi D features Enki, titled “Nudimmud, the great lord of Eridu,” walking with Šulgi and described as destroying enemy lands for the king.

Šulgi D, 312–318:

u₄-ba abzu-ta ba-ra-ta-[è]
lugal^den-ki-ke₄ abzu-ta igi 1 mu-íl
[ki[?]]-gub-ba-ni kur mu-na-gul[?]-[e]

¹²⁰ A. Falkenstein, ZA 50 (1952), p. 77. As pointed out by Falkenstein, a similar formula was used already by Lugalzagesi (cf. Lugalzagesi 1, i 13–29: An, Enlil, Enki, Utu, Su’en, Utu, Inanna, Nisaba, Ninhursag).

¹²¹ G. R. Castellino, Two Šulgi Hymns (1972), p. 273.

¹²² Ibid., p. 274 defined as the “academical curriculum,” or the “seven lamps of wisdom.” H. D. Galter, Ea/Enki, p. 179 defines them as: “1. Schreibkunst, 2. Dichtung und Poetik, 3. Harfenspiel 4. Vermessung, Geometrie, Landwirtschaft, 5. Handwerk, 6. Viehzucht, 7. Verwaltung.” Cf. K. Butz, Ebla 1975–1985 (1987), p. 337ff.

ki-t[u]š-a-ni-ta uru mu-na-gul-e
 du₁₁-ga zi-da inim ki-bi-šè ġar
 nu-dím-mu[d] en gal eridu^k[ⁱ-ga]
 šul-gi [sipa]-z[i ki-en-g]i-r[a]-da ġiri[?] [ba-da-DU]
 Then from Abzu comes out,
 King Enki from Abzu; looking (only with) one eye (he has to)
 from his standing place to destroy enemy lands for him (Šulgi);
 from his dwelling place a city to destroy for him (Šulgi).
 The one of the righteous command, his words are established firmly
 Nudimmud, the great lord of Eridu,
 with Šulgi, the righteous shepherd of Sumer [he walks?].

The hymn also contains a listing of gods in a fragmentary preserved passage of the text. Gods are in the order of (Šulgi D, 243–249): Enlil, An, Nintu, Enki (who grants ġěštu), Nanna, Utu, Inanna.

The bitumen used for constructing Šulgi’s royal *magur*-boat is understood to be emerging from Abzu and thus belonging to Enki.¹²³

Šulgi D, 357–358:
 ésir-bi ésir igi-su^den-ki-ka
 abzu-ta mí zi du₁₁-ga-àm
 Its (*magur*-boat’s) bitumen was as if bitumen of Enki
 from Abzu generously provided

¹²³ W. Heimpel, JCS 61 (2009), p. 55 interprets a special type of bitumen called ésir é-a (recorded in Šulgi year 48 and Amar-Su’en 1) as possible reference to “the bitumen of the god Ea” and not “house bitumen.” Heimpel concludes that there is no evidence of connecting house construction and bitumen. He states: “The god ‘River’ (^dÍD) of the bitumen wells of Hit was a manifestation of the god Ea. He may have been connected with this variety of bitumen.” Heimpel compares the god ^dna-ag-bu^ÍDIM = É-a appearing in god-lists (R. Litke, God-Lists, p. 87 and 145: II 168 and III 145) with the above-mentioned River God to support his interpretation. The occurrence of ésir^den-ki-ka in Šulgi D seems to be in accordance with Heimpel’s suggestion. H. D. Galter, Ea/Enki, p. 55 associates the god Ea/Enki with the River god based on Šulgi 29 (1–3: *a-na / ^dI₇ / be-lí-šu*) where ^dI₇ receives a temple from Šulgi, as does Enki. He makes the association based on that “Im Kodex Hammurapi findet er öfters in Zusammenhang mit dem Flußordal Erwähnung, und er kommt öfters in Beschwörungen vor.” Galter also gives as evidence to support the identification of the river-god and Enki an incantation passage where the river is called “the creator” (R. Caplice, OrNS 36 (1967), no. 12, rs 6: *šiptu: at-ti nāru ba-na-ta ka-la-ma*: “Incantation: you, the river, the creator of all”). The river-god also occurs in Barton Cylinder ii 13 (B. Alster – A. Westenholz, ASJ 16 (1994), p. 18) in connection with the mother-goddess. However, there is no justification for equating Enki and the god River based on the available material. In Sumerian myths, Enki creates the rivers but seems not to be identified with “the river” – meaning that the creator or the constructor should not be simultaneously considered to be the object constructed or created.

A praise poem of Šulgi (Šulgi E) states that the Šulgi king had received his royal crown from the city of Eridu.

Šulgi E, 9:

sig₄ eridu^{ki}-ga-ta aga zi ak-me-en

From the brick built Eridu I received my legitimate crown

The same composition describes Enki as the author or the provider of words for the songs and hymns written to praise Šulgi.

Šulgi E, 240–243:

èn-du-ġu₁₀ ka-ga₁₄ ħé-ġál

šir-ġu₁₀ ġéštu-ge na-an-dib-bé

gu-kur silim-éš du₁₁-ga-ġá-kam

inim^den-ki-ke₄ mu-ši-ġá-ġá-a-ám

My songs let be in the mouths (of everyone)!

My hymns from the knowledge (of everyone) may the not fade away!

The objective of (my) might/well-being which is praised

The words which Enki has made available for me

The text clearly outlines the relation of Enki and the gods of his circle as patrons of scribal arts and literature. The end of the hymn claims that Gestinana recites the hymns so they will never be forgotten and that Šulgi had written the hymns down in “the house of wisdom of Nisaba” (é-ġéštu^dnisaba). This motive is also present in Šulgi hymn B line 309. The “house of knowledge” or “the house of skills” of Nisaba may have been a structural part of Enki’s temple in Eridu or a separate shrine of the goddess of writing and wisdom Nisaba and his consort Haia.¹²⁴ As suggested by M. W. Green, “the name might refer to a

¹²⁴ Cf. M. W. Green, JCS 30 (1978), pp. 151–153. The term also occurs in Gudea Cyl. A, xvii 15 and in Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 321. Išme-Dagan X line 28 uses é umuš ġar ġéštu diri which is approximately translatable as “house of wise thoughts and surpassing knowledge.” Ur-Ninurta B line 37 has é-ġéštu as Enki’s “house of knowledge.” Rim-Su’en B line 3 describes Nisaba’s consort Haia in service of Nisaba’s “house of wisdom.” Enlil-bani A line 54 uses é-ġéštu^dnisaba to refer to Nisaba’s own temple. For temples named é-ġéštu, cf. A. R. George, *House Most High: The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia* (1993), p. 91. As comparable terms to é-ġéštu of Enki, Nisaba and Haia, é-nam-kù-zu mentioned to describe Inanna (Inanna C, 84), might come into question. The Nisaba hymn, also titled “The Blessing of Nisaba by Enki” (based on the opening lines of the text, contained in a text from Lagaš, W. W. Hallo, RAI 17 (1970), p. 122 suggests that it may have been composed ca. during the reign of Gudea), states that Nisaba holds a lapis-lazuli writing-tablet in her hand and that she was given birth to by the mother-goddess Uraš (2–3): dub za-ġin šu du₈ / ^dnisaba GAL.TUR uraš-šē tu-da: “Holding a lapis-lazuli tablet in her hand / Nisaba / in a great sheepfold (wild gow?) / given birth by Uraš.” She is described as executing 50 me-s and being a respected deity in Enlil’s E-kur temple. According to the text, she seems to be equated with the mother-goddess Aruru (6–8): me gal 50 šu du_{7-a} / nin-ġu₁₀ a-nun-ġál é-kur-ra / a-ru_{12-ru}₁₂

special type of building, perhaps connected with the scribal school, of which there were several at various Sumerian cities including Eridu.¹²⁵ As the usage of the term by Šulgi indicates, é-ĝéštu^dnisaba was seen as a mythological house of scribal arts in the realms of the divine sphere of gods.

An *adab* to Enlil for Šulgi (Šulgi G) seems to describe the divine birth process of the king assisted by the gods. The passage is difficult to interpret but it seems that Šulgi himself is somehow compared or equated with the corner-stone or true brick of Abzu or E-kur mentioned in line 11.

Šulgi G, 12:

sig₄-zi-nam-tar-ra abzu sa-dúr-ra ñi kal-kal-la-àm

The corner-stone (“brick of true destiny”) in the rear part of Abzu,¹²⁶ what a precious thing it is!

The hymn contains a difficultly interpretable passage where Abzu (or Eridu temple) is compared to the city of Ur, founded by the prince – nun.¹²⁷

kalam-ma: “50 great me-s she performs perfectly / my lady, powerful one in the E-kur / Aruru of the land.” In Lugalzagesi’s titulary formula (Lugalzagesi 2), Nisaba is grouped between Ninhursag and Inanna: An, Enlil, Enki, Utu, Su’en, Utu, Inanna, Nisaba, Ninhursag. She is seen here as one of the great mother-goddesses of Sumer, as the grouping indicates. In Lugalzagesi 1 and 2, Nisaba is the birth-giver to the king: dumu tu-da / ^dnisaba: “son given birth / by Nisaba.” This shows clearly that Nisaba must have been considered as one among the most important mother-goddesses in the early pantheon. By her original nature, Nisaba was probably a goddess of grain and agriculture who later became associated with scribal arts (cf. P. Michalowski, RIA 9 (1998–2001), p. 575). As for her early connection to Enki, Nisaba was associated with me-s and clay tablets already in Early Dynastic mythology. In Nisaba myth ARET 5, 7: x 2–x 4, Nisaba occurs together with Enki and is closely related to the me-s and clay tablets.

¹²⁵ M. W. Green, JCS 30 (1978), p. 152. P. Michalowski, RAI 47 (2002), p. 419 notices that Sumerian literary texts never refer to the original cultic city of Nisaba Eresh. This results from the fact that the city was probably abandoned sometimes during the reign of Šulgi. Michalowski concludes that “literary citations never mention any cult or temple of the goddess of writing in her own city; rather, they refer to a locus named É.GEŠTU.^dNIDABA, which sometimes seems to refer to specific temples in Eridu and Uruk, but which may also have been simply a generic poetic name for places in various cities. There may be reason to suggest that in certain contexts É.GEŠTU.^dNIDABA was a metaphorical synonym of eduba’a.”

¹²⁶ J. Klein, Fs. Tadmor (1991), p. 308 suggests that “abzu, in this context, seems to refer to the foundation-pit, in which the cornerstone (‘brick of fate’) was embedded.”

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 311: if the nun designates Enki, then it can be possible that “line 44 should read: ‘Ur is (like) Eridu (eri₄^{ki}-du₁₀), founded by the Prince,’ assuming that lines 44–46 liken the mystery and holiness of Ur with those of Eridu.”

Šulgi G, 44–45:

úri^{ki} uru^{ki}-du₁₀ nun-né ki ġar-ra
šà-bi dub-šen kù abzu igi nu-bar

Ur, the good city founded by the prince

Inside of it (is) the holy tablet-container/chest, (which) like Abzu no-(one) can have a glimpse/to look inside

The expression citing Abzu as a place impossible to see or know is also found, for example, in the myth Enki and Ninmah line 13 where Engur is described as “a place inside of which no god can know:” diġir na-me šà-bi u₆ nu-um-me. It probably means that the inner part of Abzu, where the god Enki resided, was considered a holy place forbidden or impossible to reach for anyone other than Enki himself.

The prologue of the praise poem Šulgi O is praising the main sanctuary of the city of Ur E-kišnugal of the moon-god. The text relates the temple to the other major gods of Sumer starting with An and followed by Enlil. Then the shrine of Eridu is mentioned.

Šulgi O, 8:

eridu^{ki} èš kù-zu nam-tar-ra me nun me sikil-la ki-ús-sa

Eridu; your holy shrine of determining the fates, princely me-s and pure me-s; firmly founded (temple)!

The hymn continues by comparing the temple of Su'en in Ur with the Abzu temple of Enki.

Šulgi O, 9–11:

é-kiš-nu-ġál-la tùr ^dEN.ZU-na

áb zi gu₄-nínda amar kù-ge a-ne di ì-du₁₀[?]-ga ki-ús-sa

abzu ki-tuš kù šul ^dEN.ZU-na

E-kišnugal, stall of Su'en

(where) good gows, breed-bulls, and pure calves gambol, giving fine cream – firmly founded (temple)!

Abzu, the holy dwelling-place of youthful Su'en

It is hard to conclude what is actually meant by the line claiming that Abzu is a dwelling place of the moon-god. One possibility would be to suggest that a certain Abzu temple at the city of Ur or a structure connected to the E-kišnugal temple of Su'en is referred to (cf. Gudea Cylinder A, xxi 17ff.). The other option would be that Su'en's temple is compared to the Abzu temple of Enki in poetical terms and means: “Just as good as Abzu is the holy dwelling place of Su'en – E-kišnugal.”

According to the praise poem Šulgi Y, Enki is described as assigning the sun-god Utu as Šulgi's helper or advocate (*maškim*).

Šulgi Y, 3–6:

nam-lugal-ḡá u₄-bi sù-d[a]

bala-ḡá hé-ḡál pa è-è-dam

^den-ki en du₁₁-ga-ni nu-kúr-ru saḡ-íl ba-ni-kur₉

^dutu inim-ma-ni saḡ-ba du maškim-šè ba-an-šúm

So that the days of my kingship could be long-lasting

So that in my reign abundance could come forth

Enki, whose commands cannot be overruled, entered it proudly

Utu, whose words are pre-eminent, he installed as an advocate (for Šulgi)

A motive where Enki gives orders to Utu can be found in the epic story Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld. Enki asks Utu to open a hole or a passage to the underworld Kur (lines 238–242) so that Enkidu or his spirit is able to escape Kur and to communicate with Gilgameš. It seems that Enki asks Utu to grant rain from the heavens to give water for Dilmun also in the myth Enki and Ninhursag (lines 42/50).

A royal hymn titled Šulgi and Ninlil's Barge (Šulgi R) celebrates the historical event of the construction of Ninlil's cultic boat which took place in the 8th year of Šulgi's reign (mu má-^dnin-líl-lá ba-du₈: "The year the boat of Ninlil was caulked").¹²⁸ According to the hymn, Enki decrees abundant fate for the boat of Ninlil. Contrary to the traditional custom of listing the gods, Enlil is the second after Enki.

Šulgi R, 1–2:

[má-g]ur₈ ^den-ki-ke₄ kar hé-ḡál nam-šè ma-ra-ni-in-^rtar^{ar1}

[a]-^ra¹ ^den-líl-le igi-zu mu-ù-ši-bar^{ar}

Magur-boat! Enki decreed abundant harbour to be your fate

Father Enlil looked upon you (favourably)

The uncommon position of Enki preceding Enlil is probably related to Enki's close connection to boats¹²⁹ in Sumerian mythological thinking present already

¹²⁸ D. Frayne, RIME 3/II, pp. 97–98.

¹²⁹ Among the scenes from larger myths and stories where Enki sails on board of his boat, the epic story Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld begins with Enki sailing towards the underworld Kur. The myth Enki and the World Order has a description of Enki and his *magur*-boat. In Enki's Journey to Nippur the journey is undertaken by Enki's boat. Cf. J. Klein, Fs. Artzi (1990), pp. 88–96 for an overview of boats in Sumerian mythology. One ca. Middle Babylonian ritual or mythological text describes Enki as blessing a boat similarly to Šulgi R: ^{ḡeš}má ^den-ki-ke₄ nam-tar-ra-àm: "The boat – Enki has decided its destiny" (p. 94, line 22). From the Akkadian period cylinder seals, there is one scene where a male god with streams coming out from his shoulders and

in the Early Dynastic texts.¹³⁰ The hymn also describes Šulgi's royal throne as "the seat in the middle of Abzu," possibly symbolically referring to the divine force of Abzu given to the king.

Šulgi R, 19:

ḡeš-ḡum-zu-ù abzu šà-bi-a [b]ára-maḡ-a ri-a-me-èn

Your bench is a huge throne erected in the midst of Abzu (you are)

The meaning of the line is clarified in the final part of the hymn where Enki is praised for giving the royal throne to Šulgi. In this hymn, Enki is seen as one of the most important gods in terms of royal power alongside An and Enlil. In previous inscriptions, Enki's role as a legitimising force behind royal might was not underlined so clearly.

Šulgi R, 85–87:

aga [an kù-ge] saḡ-z[a m]u-ni-in-gi-na ḡi₆-bi ga-ra-^rab'-[bad]-bad

ḡidri kù[?] ^den-lil-le ma-ra-an-šúm-ma-[a[?]] u₄-bi ga-ra-ab-sù-sù

^{ḡeš}gu-za ^den-ki-[ke₄] saḡ ḡa-ba-ra-ri[ḡ₇]-ga-^ra¹ suḡuš-bi ḡa-ra-ab-gi-gi-in

The crown which [holy An] placed upon your head – its (wearing) nights I will prolong for you!

The holy sceptre which was granted by Enlil to you – its (holding) days I will extend for you!

The chair which Enki donated to you – may its foundation be firm for you!

The growth of Enki's position in royal ideology is explicitly demonstrated by a royal hymn titled the Song of Šulgi and the fragmentary Šulgi hymn H. The texts describe Šulgi's cultic journey to the shrines of the most important gods in Sumer, starting with Eridu. The Sumerian Temple Hymns also begin with the hymn to Enki's temple and it seems likely that the Šulgi hymns might be influenced by similar religious ideas presented in the Temple Hymns.¹³¹ Gods

accompanied by two attendants is travelling in a barge in an area which seems to be marshland or a river. Plants growing out of the water possibly refer to the god's role as the giver of abundance and fertility to nature (H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (1939), p. 124: plate XXf). Other well-attested gods on seal images related to boat-rides are the sun-god (cf. P. Steinkeller, *QuSem* 18 (1992), p. 256ff.) and the moon-god (cf. D. Collon, *CM* 7 (1997), pp. 11–12).

¹³⁰ One Sumerian therapeutic incantation from Ebla describes Enki as travelling on board of his magur-boat: ^den-ki má-gur₈ / mun-ù / ^den-ki má-gur₈ / mun-da-a (M. Krebernik, *Beschwörungen*, pp. 172–175, text 34: xiii 3–6; G. Pettinato, *OA* 18 (1979), p. 349, text 25: iv 3–6). Krebernik translates (p. 173): "Enki fährt/fuhr auf dem má-gur₈-Boot" and "Enki steigt/stieg aus dem má-gur₈-Boot." Pettinato interprets (p. 337): "Enki, sulla nave è salito, una volta che Enki sulla nave è salito" and comments "che ricorda l'inizio del poema 'Gilgameš, Enkidu e gli Inferni'."

¹³¹ D. Frayne, *ARRIM* 1 (1983), p. 7 suggests "that the authors of these two compositions strove not to immortalize a moment in the king's reign but rather to model

and their cities in Šulgi's Song are mentioned in the following order: Enki in Eridu, Enlil in Nippur, Ninurta in Ešumeša, Ninhursag in Keš, Ašimbabbar (Su'en) in Ur, Utu in Larsa, Ninerigal in Kullab, and Inanna in Zabala. Enlil's city Nippur is mentioned in the second place which is uncommon in the light of previous traditions. The Early Dynastic Zame Hymns began with an introductory praise to Enlil and his sanctuary in Nippur considered pre-eminent among all the other temples in Sumer. Enki's Abzu temple is mentioned in the fourth hymn after Inanna and there is no indication that his temple is somehow considered more ancient or pre-eminent when compared for example to Inanna's temple in Uruk.¹³² The Song of Šulgi places Enlil's Nippur temple after the Eridu temple, followed by the temple of Enlil's offspring Ninurta, and only after Ninurta comes the mother-goddess Ninhursag.

Song of Šulgi, 5–20:

[lugal]-ḡu ₁₀ eridu ^{ki} -šè na-ḡen	My king went to Eridu
n[un gal] a-a ^d en-ki ḡul- ^r la-a ¹	Be happy, great prince, father Enki!
^d š[ul-g]i-re eridu ^{k[il]} -šè na-ḡen	Šulgi went to Eridu
nun gal [a]-a [^d e]n-ki ^r ḡul-la-a ¹	Be happy, great prince, father Enki!
lugal-ḡ[u ₁₀ E]N.LÍL ^{ki} -šè na- ^r ḡen ¹	My king went to Nippur
kur gal a- ^r a ¹ [^d en-l]il ḡul-la-a	Be happy, great mountain, father Enlil!
^d šul-gi-r[e E]N.LÍL ^{ki} -šè na-ḡen	Šulgi went to Nippur
kur gal a-a ^d en-líl ḡul-la-a	Be happy, great mountain, father Enlil!
lugal-ḡu ₁₀ é-šu-[me-š] ₄ -šè na-ḡen	My king went to Ešumeša
en ^d nin-[urta]-ke ₄ ḡul-la-a	Lord Ninurta, be happy!
^d šul-gi-r[e] é-šu-me- ^r ša ₄ ¹ -šè na-ḡen	Šulgi went to Ešumeša
[e]n ^d nin-[ur]ta-ke ₄ ḡul-la- ^r a ¹	Lord Ninurta, be happy!
lugal-ḡu ₁₀ k[è]š ^{ki} -š[è] na-ḡen	My king went to Keš
^d nin- ^r sún ¹ -[z]i-gal-an-n[a ḡul-la-a]	Ninsunzigalanna, be happy!
^d šu[l-gi-r]e kèš ^{k[il]} -šè na-ḡen	Šulgi went to Keš
^d [nin-sú]n-zi-gal-an-n[a ḡul-la-a]	Ninsunzigalanna, be happy!

The following cities visited are Ur, Larsa, Kullab and Zabala. The usual Ur III listing of gods is An, Enlil, Ninhursag/Nintu, Enki, Su'en, Utu and Inanna. What also makes the text different from the previous royal inscriptions is the listing of Ninurta¹³³ after Enlil. It seems that a certain new religious program is introduced by Šulgi influencing the theology and ideology of his reign.

a kind of cycle of 'Temple Hymns of Šulgi.' This was done by merely putting the name of Šulgi in conjunction with brief passages dealing with the major cult centres found in the Enheduanna cycle of temple hymns."

¹³² Zame Hymns 1–4: uru an-da mú / an-da ḡú-lá / ^dEN.LÍL^{ki} / dur an-ki: "The city grown together with heaven and earth / which embraces heaven. / Nippur, / the bond of heaven and earth" (R. D. Biggs, OIP 99, p. 46; M. Krebernik, Fs. Hrouda (1994), pp. 152–154).

¹³³ One hymn to Šulgi mentions Enki and Ninurta together: Šulgi T, 6: ^dnin-urta nun gal ^den-ki-d[a ...]: "Ninurta with the great prince Enki." Ninurta's Return to Nippur

The concept of considering Eridu the most ancient city of Sumer is clearly expressed in the opening lines of the Sumerian King List. The earliest known tablets of the list date from the Ur III period¹³⁴ but it cannot be excluded that the list had earlier versions or prototypes. The mentioning of Eridu as the pre-eminent city at the beginning of the list fits the context of the ideology of Šulgi.¹³⁵ The text begins by claiming that the principle of kingship was lowered down from the heaven and was given to the city of Eridu where Alulim became king.

Sumerian King List 1–3:

[nam]-lugal an-ta è-dè-a-ba

[eri]du^{ki} nam-lugal-la

eridu^{ki} á-lu-lim lugal

When the kingship from heaven was lowered down,

in Eridu (was) the kingship,

in Eridu Alulim (became) king.

The same motive about Eridu being the city from where the kingship on the earth began is found in the Sumerian Flood Story (B, 11): nesaġ uru-bé-e-ne eridu^{ki} máš-saġ^d nu-dím-mud mi-ni-in-šúm: “As the first offering-gift of those cities, Eridu was given to the leader (of gods) Nudimmud.”¹³⁶ It is not certain when the text of the Sumerian version of the Flood was written down. The fact that the topic of the Flood was already well established in the Neo Sumerian mythological corpus is shown by the epic story the Death of Gilgameš, featuring the Flood Hero Ziusudra as well as the question of the nature of human death. Listing divine names in the order of An, Enlil, Enki and Ninhursag in the story (A, 11; C, 9) in turn would suggest a date after the rule of

associates Enki and Ninurta, line 167: ur-saġ nam^r tar^r-ra^d en-ki-da me ħuš túm-a-me-en: “I am the hero destined together with Enki (suitable) to carry the fearsome me-s” (cf. J. S. Cooper, *The Return of Ninurta to Nippur* (1978), p. 88 for the text). Cf. A. Annus, *The God Ninurta in the Mythology and Royal Ideology of Ancient Mesopotamia* (2002), p. 13ff. for the role of Nippur and Enlil in early Mesopotamian kingship.

¹³⁴ P. Steinkeller, *Fs. Wilke* (2003), p. 267ff.

¹³⁵ I. M. Diakonoff, *История Древнего Востока* (1983), p. 164 sees evidence supporting the composition of the list during the Ur III period in the fact that rulers of Lagaš are completely missing from the text, which probably might result from some sort of a conflict between the two states. In the beginning of the Ur III period, there probably was a military conflict between the two states, involving also the king of Uruk Utu-hegal. According to his inscriptions, he had restored “the border of Lagaš into the hands of Nanše on which the man of Ur had laid a claim.” ki-sur-ra lagaš^{ki} / lú uri^{ki}-ke₄ / inim bí-ġar / šu-na mu-ni-gi₄ (Utu-hegal 1 / 3, 6–9; the same is said about the border of Ningirsu in Utu-hegal 2). In the later texts of Isin and Larsa, Nippur and Enlil are always listed first inside royal titles. The development of the concept of Eridu as the pre-eminent city in Mesopotamian royal ideology might originate from the Ur III period ideology.

¹³⁶ Numbering by ETCSL 1.7.4; Th. Jacobsen, *JBL* 100 (1981), p. 517, 14.

Ibbi-Su'en when this kind of ordering appeared. It seems reasonable to suggest that already during the Ur III Dynasty rule, there might have been a longer epico-mythological text available, featuring the topics of kingship, flood and the deeds of the Flood Hero. Both – the beginning of the King List¹³⁷ and the Sumerian Flood Story use similar source material or mythological ideas.

4.4. Amar-Su'en

The royal inscriptions of Amar-Su'en, the son of the previous king Šulgi, record that he had built the Abzu temple for Enki at Eridu. It is likely that Amar-Su'en describes the construction works started already by Ur-Namma and continued by Šulgi.¹³⁸ The common titulary formula of Amar-Su'en is dedicated to the praise of the god Enlil, and the role of Eridu is not underlined as one might expect based on the inscriptions of Šulgi.

Amar-Su'en 15:

^damar-^dEN.ZU

^den-líl-le

nibru^{ki}-a

mu-pà-da

saḡ-ús

é^den-líl-ka

lugal kala-ga

lugal uri^{ki}-ma

lugal an-ub-da 4-ba-ka

^den-ki

lugal ki-áḡ-ḡá-ni-ir

abzu ki-áḡ-ḡá-ni

mu-na-dù

Amar-Su'en,

by Enlil

in Nippur

called by name,

attendant

of the temple of Enlil,

powerful king,

king of Ur,

king of the four quarters of the (universe);

to Enki,

his beloved king,

his beloved Abzu

has built.

The eighth year of Amar-Su'en's reign is identified as the year when the en-priest of Eridu was installed by Amar-Su'en: mu en eridu^{ki} ba-ḥun.¹³⁹ One fragmentary hymn titled "Amar-Su'en and Enki's Temple" describes Amar-Su'en's troubles in the process of building the temple of Enki. It is hard to determine when the text was written and what kind of ideology influenced or caused this hymn to be written. The fact that Enki's Abzu temple of Eridu was constructed during his reign is underlined by the inscription commemorating the event. The story of the Amar-Su'en A refers to a ruler who has trouble with constructing or rebuilding the temple of Enki. The hymn begins by describing

¹³⁷ Cf. J. Friberg, *A Remarkable Collection of Babylonian Mathematical Texts* (2007), p. 236ff. for the comparison of different sources.

¹³⁸ D. Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 240.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 239–241.

the intentions of the king to construct the temple and decorate it with precious metals and stones. Then the fragmentary line 7 has a reference to rebellious peoples or enemy lands. Amar-Su'en cannot restore the temple in the first year and the temple remains in ruins also during the second. Then Amar-Su'en dresses himself in a mourning garment but the temple still remains in ruins for the third year. It is said that the king was not able to find a suitable plan for the temple (line 13: *geš-ḥur*). In the fourth and fifth year the construction works do not start as well because the architect or craftsman of the temple was unable to complete the suitable plan for the temple. Then comes a difficult line (17) mentioning Abzu. Its interpretation depends on whether the first part of the line is read as *èš-e abzu àm kala* or *èš-e abzu-a^dlamma*, which produce two quite distinct possible interpretations. According to the first one, it seems like the workmen of Amar-Su'en have made the shrine strong or started building it. According to the second version, the Lamma gods or spirits of Abzu have something to do with the process:

Amar-Su'en A, 17:

1. *èš-e abzu-àm kala-ga-šè šu mu-ra-ra-e-ne*

“The shrine, the abzu: he reinforced it”¹⁴⁰

2. *èš-e abzu-a^dlamma-bi-šè šu mu-ra-ra-e-ne*

“In the Deep they (i.e., the gods) refused the provision of protective deities for that shrine”¹⁴¹

„Im Tiefozean lehnen sie (d. h. die Götter) festliche Opfer für dessen Schutzgottheiten ab“¹⁴²

It seems probable that the construction works of the temple did not start because the following lines state that the temple remained in ruins for the sixth and seventh year and Amar-Su'en continued a search for the right plan for the temple. Finally, Enki speaks to Amar-Su'en about the temple (line 21). It still remains unclear whether Enki refuses the temple building or demands that the building should start.

Amar-Su'en A, 21:

^den-ki-ke₄ é-bi-šè é nu-me-a ba-an-na-du₁₁

Enki about the temple, the house not existing (yet), spoke to him¹⁴³

The possibility that Enki himself demands the building process to begin seems probable because the following section of the text describes Amar-Su'en who

¹⁴⁰ M. W. Green, *Eridu*, p. 60.

¹⁴¹ P. Michalowski, *Gs. Finkelstein* (1977), p. 156.

¹⁴² B. Hruška, *ArOr* 47 (1979), p. 10.

¹⁴³ M. W. Green, *Eridu*, p. 60: “Enki said to him concerning the temple, ‘There is no temple’;” and F. Pomponio, *SEL* 7 (1990), p. 14: “Enki a riguardo di quel tempio gli parlo della mancanza di un tempio.”

has started the construction works. Finally, the structure is completed during the ninth year.

Amar-Su'en A, 22–26:

mu 8-kam-ma-ta é dù-ù-dè šu-ni mu-un-ḡar

mu 9-kam-ma-ta ^damar-^dEN.ZU lugal-e

é-udun-na ^rki[?] gal-an-zu ur₅[?]-ra-gen₇ ba-dù

u₄-ba en-e é ní-te-na-ka

en gal ^den-ki ki-bi ba-da-an-ši-ib¹⁴⁴-[ku₄[?]]

In the eighth year he set his hand on building the temple

In the ninth year, Amar-Su'en, the king,

built the E-uduna, the place of sages, just like a body (?).

Then the lord (Enki) in his own house,

the great lord Enki, entered the place (?)

The rest of the text is broken but it seems that Amar-Su'en had completed his task of building Enki's temple with success. The text mentions nine years for the whole process of planning and finally building the temple. This is exactly the period of Amar-Su'en's reign, lasting no more than nine years. It seems probable that the composition is written after the death of Amar-Su'en by the scribes of the succeeding kings of Ur or even later. Another fragmentary hymn is close to the text and describes Amar-Su'en's struggles in building the temple of Enki. Although the text shares similarities with the previous composition, it seems to be a separate hymn describing the building of Enki's temple. The text also mentions the temple of Enlil built by Amar-Su'en. The initial part of the text seems to be a mythological introduction with a reference to the beginnings of mankind.

Amar-Suen B, obv:

^rx ḡÌR sù¹sù-ud x [...]

saḡ kéš ^rki¹ daḡal-la [...]

^den-ki-ke₄ igi íl-la-a-n[í ...]

é-bi um-ta-è-a ^rabzu[?]-a [...]

u₄-ba nam-lú-ùlu šu nu-sa₆-ga DI nam [...]

ḡizzal sù-a inim ḡéštu nu-^rdu₁₁[?]-[...]

^rba / ki[?]-dun-dun umbin ru-gú-ni nu-du₈-e

šà-ḡul dím-dím níḡ-érim ak-ak sa₆-ga

^rdamar-^dEN.ZU-na¹ é ^den-líl-lá-šè dù-ù-dè

(short break)

... ? ...

guardian of the wide land (?) [...]

¹⁴⁴ B. Hruška, ArOr 47 (1979), p. 9 reads ḡul instead of ši-ib (ba-an-da-ḡul[?]). The reading is also adopted by ETCSL 2.4.3.1. and translated as: "Then the lord, the great lord Enki, destroyed (?) the site of his own temple."

Enki looked at [...]
 From the temple when he left, in Abzu [...]
 At that time mankind was not (good/put in order?) [...]
 Far from wisdom, not spe[aking ?] intelligent words [...]
 Digging (the earth?) with their deformed (?) fingernails, spreading out/piling up
 (the earth?)
 Badness was created; to do bad things was good (?)
 Amar-Su'en, to build a temple for Enlil

Almost each line of the fragmentary text can not be translated even with relative certainty. At least it seems quite justified to claim that the beginning part of the text describes Enki in his Abzu or leaving from Abzu, followed by a mention of the uncivilised state of mankind or the birth of mankind. The motive of digging the earth seems similar to line 3 of the myth Enki's Journey to Nippur, where it is said that the men grew or broke out from the earth like plants: *ùġ-e ú-šim-gen₇ ki in-dar-ra-ba*: "The people grew/broke out from the earth just like plants." The Amar-Su'en's text continues by claiming that something bad was happening followed by Amar-Su'en's intention to build the temple for Enlil. The royal inscription Amar-Su'en 3 records the event of building the E-kur temple for Enlil. Therefore also here an actual historical event might be in question.

Amar-Su'en B, rev:

e[n ...] 'x x' [...]
é^den-ki-kà-šè dù-ù-dè máš-e šu mu-un-gíd-da-a
máš-bi-ta é dù-a nu-mu-na-ab-bé šu-ni 'la⁷-ba-ši-in-[ġar]
lugal-e mu-ni u₄ sù-rá-šè ġá-ġá-[dè ...]
^damar-^dEN.ZU mu-ni u₄ sù-r[á-šè ġá-ġá-dè] m[u- ...]
'x' mu é^den-ki-k[e₄ ...]
 (rest broken)
 ... ? ...

For building Enki's temple, he performed extispicy rituals
 From the (guts of that) goat there was nothing said about the building of the temple, so he did not start the task
 The king, to make his name everlasting [...]
 Amar-Su'en, to make his name everlasting [...]
 ... year, the temple of Enki [...]

The second part of the hymn is similar to the Amar-Su'en A in the sense that the king had problems starting the construction of the temple. The ritual prognostics were not favourable for the building procedures to start. Finally, however, Amar-Su'en decides to build the temple. Neither hymn reveals any explicit information whether Amar-Su'en had permission from the gods to build the temple or did he start the building contrary to the will of Enki and Enlil. In Amar-Su'en A line 21 it is stated that Enki spoke to Amar-Su'en about the

temple. It seems that Enki's words might have been favourable because the building of the temple started after the conversation. Amar-Su'en B states that the ritual prognostics were unfavourable and that Amar-Su'en possibly decided to build the temple "to make his name everlasting."

P. Michalowski relates the Amar-Su'en's texts about the building of Enki's temple with the composition most probably in existence already in the Ur III period,¹⁴⁵ titled the Curse of Agade, and also with the so-called Weidner Chronicle. He concludes that "Clearly we are dealing here with the beginnings of the historiographical tradition of the 'Unheilsherrscher,' the calamitous ruler who by his impiety brings destruction upon the land."¹⁴⁶ B. Hruška finds that the Amar-Su'en hymns and also the Curse of Agade are contrary texts to the Gudea's temple hymn where all the gods of the pantheon are helping Gudea in every aspect of Ningirsu's temple building.¹⁴⁷

The Curse of Agade has several structural similarities when compared to Amar-Su'en A and B. According to the text, Naram-Su'en does not receive favourable omens for rebuilding the E-kur temple for Enlil and remains in the state of mourning for seven years.¹⁴⁸ Then the king performs extispicy rituals to get favourable omens but the signs say nothing favourable about the construction of the temple. This part of the Curse of Agade is closely similar to the Amar-Su'en hymn B.¹⁴⁹ In Amar-Su'en's hymn, the king decides to build the temple to glorify his name; in the Curse of Agade, Naram-Su'en decides to destroy the temple of Enlil without his permission. Amar-Su'en's hymns do not preserve any information describing the fate of the king after he had built the temples. At least according to Amar-Su'en A, it seems that Enki entered his new dwelling place and settled there. Amar-Su'en B has no information concerning the outcome. The Curse of Agade in turn describes that because of Naram-Su'en's illegitimate acts all the gods took away their favour and support from the state of Naram-Su'en, resulting in disaster.¹⁵⁰ The fragmentary hymns

¹⁴⁵ For the date of composition, J. S. Cooper, *The curse of Agade* (1983), pp. 11–12.

¹⁴⁶ P. Michalowski, Gs. Finkelstein (1977), pp. 156.

¹⁴⁷ B. Hruska, *ArOr* 47 (1979), pp. 10–11.

¹⁴⁸ *The Curse of Agade*, 88–93.

¹⁴⁹ *The Curse of Agade*, 94–95: é-šè máš-àm šu gíd-dè / é dù-a máš-a nu-mu-un-dè-ǵál: "Performed extispicy rituals concerning the temple. / About the temple building, there was nothing present in the extispicy rituals." Cf. Amar-Su'en B, rev. 2: é^den-ki-kà-šè dù-ù-dè máš-e šu mu-un-gíd-da-a / máš-bi-ta é dù-a nu-mu-na-ab-bé šu-ni [la⁷¹-ba-ši-in-[ǵar]: "For building Enki's temple, he performed extispicy rituals. / From the (guts of that) goat there was nothing said about the building of the temple, so he did not start the task."

¹⁵⁰ *The Curse of Agade* describes the anger of the gods towards Naram-Su'en and his city. They ask Enlil to curse the city of Agade. Gods are listed in an unusual order (line 210) ^dEN.ZU ^den-ki ^dinanna ^dnin-urta ^diškur ^dutu ^dnusku ^dnisaba diǵir gal-gal-e-ne: "Su'en, Enki, Inanna, Ninurta, Iškur, Utu, Nusku, Nisaba – the great gods." Line 222 has diǵir h́é-em-me-eš: "all the gods whosoever." Placing the god Su'en at the beginning of the list might underline his importance as the city-god of Ur. In the usual listings of the Ur III period, Su'en comes after Enki or the mother-goddess. Inanna's elevated status in the text probably results from the fact that the entire composition was

of Amar-Su'en are not sufficient basis for concluding that also the end result must have been negative, as was the case with the Curse of Agade. It is possible that Amar-Su'en's hymns try to claim that in spite of all the trouble that occurred during the process of temple building, the gods were finally happy about their new temples. The fact that Enki settled into his new temple in Amar-Su'en B seems to support this kind of interpretation.

All the preserved major texts of Amar-Su'en were dedicated to the building of the temple of Enki and the "literary tradition points to a special devotion of Amar-Suena for the cult of the god Enki of Eridu."¹⁵¹ The reconstruction of Enlil's temple also seems to have been one of Amar-Su'en's goals. As D. Frayne concludes: "The construction work on the temple seems to be but one (albeit the major) element of a royal agenda for the god Enki that certainly included the rebuilding of the god's temple and the installation of his new *en*; a third element may have been the fashioning of Enki's cult boat. Amar-Suena was able to accomplish only the first two tasks; the fabrication of the cult boat of Enki was left to his successor, Šū-Sîn, who named the first year after his accession for that event."¹⁵²

4.5. Šu-Su'en

Šu-Su'en dedicates his second year of reign to the cultic ship of Enki: mu ^dšu-^dEN.ZU lugal uri₅^{ki}-ma-ke₄ má dâra-abzu^d en-ki in-dím:¹⁵³ "The year when Šu-

dedicated to Inanna as the final line (281) of the text shows: ^dinanna zà-mí. As also Cooper concludes (p. 254), "the choice of this specific set of deities in this order remains mysterious." Cooper also denies the possibility of the deities representing the southern pantheon of Mesopotamia. For example, Enki and Iškur are mentioned together in Ur-Namma 20 concluding formula lines 11–12. Ur-Namma C line 90 and Ur-Namma 30 also mention Gutians as hostile to the reign of Ur-Namma. The text of the Curse of Agade also has several references to the god Enki. He takes away ġéštu of Akkade in line 71: ġéštu-bi ^den-ki-ke₄ ba-an-túm: "Enki took away its (Akkade's) knowledge." In lines 74–75 Enki is pulling into his Abzu the mooring pole of Agade, probably symbolising the city of Agade itself (cf. the commentary of J. S. Cooper, *The Curse of Agade* (1983), pp. 142–143): ^{ġes}targul kù im-dù-dù-a-bi / ^den-ki-ke₄ abzu-a mi-ni-in-bu: "Its (well) fixed holy mooring pole / Enki tore into Abzu." In lines 231–232 the gods demand that the clay used to make the bricks of Akkade should be demolished and returned to its Abzu – the place from where the clay originates: im-zu abzu-ba hē-eb-gi₄ / im ^den-ki-ke₄ nam ku₅-rá hē-a: "May your clay return to its Abzu! / May it be the clay that is cursed by Enki!"

¹⁵¹ D. Frayne, RIME 3/II, p. 240.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 241.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 286. Frayne hypothesises that a Middle-Babylonian hymnic composition describing Enki's boat might be related to the boat of Enki ordered by Amar-Su'en and completed by Šu-Su'en (J. Klein, *Fs. Artzi* (1990), pp. 92–96) lines 22–27: ^{ġes}má ^den-ki-ke₄ nam-tar-ra-àm / ^ddam-gal-nun-na mí-zi du₁₁-ga-àm / ^dasal-lú-ĥi mu-du₁₀-ga sa₄-àm / ^dsirsir má-laĥ₅ eridu^{ki}-ga-ke₄ / ^dnin-ildu nagar-gal an-na-ke₄ / šu-kù-ga-ne-ne-a mí-zi mu-ni-in-du₁₁-ga: "The boat – its fate has been determined by Enki, / it has been taken care of

Su'en, the king of Ur, made the *dara*-Abzu boat of Enki.” It seems probable, as D. Frayne suggested, that Enki’s boat formed a part of Amar-Su’en’s religious agenda for the benefit of Enki in Eridu. After Amar-Su’en’s death in his ninth year of reign, his successor, the son of Šulgi and the brother of Amar-Su’en, Šu-Su’en, completed the task.

One hymn of Šu-Su’en mentions Enki who is described as determining destinies and having “wide knowledge” (*ḡéštu daḡal*).

Šu-Su’en J, 23–25:

a-a ^den-líl en nam tar-re á-tuku-*n*[i *h*]é-me-en
^dutu-gen₇ hé-du₇-ni hé-me-en ^dnin-[líl] èš maḡ-a-kam
en sig₇-ga ^den-ki nam tar-re a-a ḡéš[*tu daḡal*]-la-kam
Of the father Enlil, the lord determining the destinies, you are his powerful one
Like Utu, his ornament you are. – Of Ninlil of the great shrine,
of the lord of greenery (?)¹⁵⁴ Enki who determines the destinies, the father of
wide knowledge

The title *en nam tar-re* (“the determiner of destinies”) is also given to Enlil according to the hymn. Although deciding fates is most often attributed to the god Enki, it is not one of his unique characteristics and may be attributed to other deities as well.

4.6. Ibbi-Su'en

A hymn to Su'en for Ibbi-Su'en titles Enki “the eldest brother of the gods.” As a new feature compared to the earlier compositions, Enki has the third position in the row of gods right after Enlil. The mother-goddess Nintu has the fourth position in the listing and is mentioned after Enki.

Ibbi-Su'en A, 23–25; 26–28:

úri^{ki} uru me-nun šul ^dEN.ZU-na-kam
an ^den-líl pap-gal ^dnu-dím-mud

by Damgalnunna, / it has been given a good name by Asaluhi. / Sirsir, the sailor of Eridu; / Ninildu, the great carpenter of An: / with their holy hands constructed it carefully.” Enki travelling on board of his boat is a known motive in Sumerian mythology. In Enki and the World Order line 182 Sirsr is also titled sailor of Enki’s boat: ^dsirsir [...] má-[lah₅ ^{ḡes}má-gur₈-ra-ke₄] and Enki is described travelling in his “Stag of Abzu” boat in line 107: má-gur₈-ḡu₁₀ men *d*ara abzu. In Enki’s Journey to Nippur, Enki’s boat ride is said to give abundance (lines 88–89): ^den-ki u₅-a-ni mu hé-ḡal sù-ga / ^{ḡes}má ní-bi nam-du₈ èš ní-bi nam-dab₅; “When Enki makes his ride (embarks the ship), the year is full of abundance. / The ship departs on its own (?); the rope of the ship is held by itself (?).” The myth Enki and Ninhursag contains a passage from line 97ff. where Enki travels in his boat (^{ḡes}má) when he is looking for goddesses to have sexual intercourse.

¹⁵⁴ S. N. Kramer, Fs. Sjöberg (1989), p. 307 translates *en-sig₇-a* as “the comely lord.”

ama ^dnin-tu kalam-ma šir-ra-ni maḥ-àm me-téš ḥé-i-i
 Ur, the city of princely me-s of youthful Su'en.
 (To) An, Enlil, the big (older) brother Nudimmud,
 mother Nintu of the land, his song that is great, in praise (of them all) let come
 out!

Ibbi-Su'en B has a reference to seven me-s related to Enki who is titled nun –
 “the prince.”

Ibbi-Su'en B, rev. 1–3:

me-bi[?] x x ḥu-ul-ḥu-le-eš sig₇-[ga-àm]

me 7-na LAGABx? gal-le-eš ḡar-[ra-àm]

me še-er-ka-an nun-e abzu-ta nun [x x] še-er-ka-an du₁₁-ga-[àm]

Its me-s ... of joy ... are ...

The seven me-s ... grandly established,

adorned with me-s, (by) the prince, from Abzu the prince ... adorned, ordered.

The Šulgi hymn C line 30 mentioned seven ḡéštu-s of Eridu. The seven me-s here possibly refer to the great kingly powers of Ibbi-Su'en. It seems that all the terms referring to the numinous divine powers or divine plans used in the case of Enki and also the other gods (me, ḡeš-ḥur, ḡéštu) are often used synonymously.

One hymn dedicated to Su'en for Ibbi-Su'en mentions Enki in connection with the abundance of vegetation granted for the king. The abundance comes through the flooding of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. According to the hymn, An gives divine powers and a royal sceptre for Ibbi-Su'en (lines 42–43). Enlil gives lordship and the qualities of a warrior (lines 44–45). This is followed by Enki in the third position who grants abundance (nam-ḥé) and the moistening waters of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates.

Ibbi-Su'en C, 45–46:

^den-ki-ke₄ nam-ḥé u₄ giri₁₇-zal mú-mú

ⁱ⁷idigna ⁱ⁷buranun-na a-ù-ba daḡal-x

Enki, growth of abundance and days of joy,

the Tigris and Euphrates rivers in their high water wide (makes)

The mother-goddess Nintu, following Enki, is described as the birth-giver to mankind. In the myth Enki and Ninmah, Enki and the mother-goddess create man together, although the creative force behind the process of producing man seems to be Enki, while the mother-goddesses only follow his orders. According to the current hymn, the mother-goddess receives the whole glory for creating man.

Ibbi-Su'en C, 47–48:

^dnin-tu numun i-i ṛsaḡ⁷¹ zi-ḡal ù-tu

uru á-dam ùḡ lu-a ní-bi-a AŠ BAR UŠ

Nintu (makes) the seed (of mankind?) to come forth, and gives birth to living beings

Cities and habitations, all the numerous people heaped up/being numerous together

After Nintu, Nanna confirms the divine plans (ḡeš-ḡur) and gives “the moonlight of fame and authority” to Ibbi-Su'en (lines 50ff.). Then Utu produces justice (line 56).

In the Ibbi-Su'en A hymn, the order of the gods was An, Enlil, Enki, Nintu, Nanna, Utu, and Inanna. A similar order was also followed by Ur-Namma C, where Nintu was the fourth after Enki. The Ur-Namma hymn (line 24) also claims that Nintu was the former or birth-giver of Ur-Namma: ^dnin¹-tu-re ḡe₂₆-e mu-un-dím-dím-en gaba-ri-ḡu₁₀ nu-tuku: “Nintu formed me, (so) there is no equal to me.” Starting with the inscriptions of Ibbi-Su'en, Enki is always listed as the third god after An and Enlil. The mother-goddess has lost her third position, indicating a change in royal ideology and Sumerian mythology in general.¹⁵⁵ This might result from the rise of male deities in the Sumerian pantheon, reflecting the overall rise in male dominance in Sumerian society. As put by Th. Jacobsen: “The position of the goddess in the cosmic hierarchy proved untenable, and slowly she had to yield before a male god who, as she herself, represented numinous power in giving form and giving birth.”¹⁵⁶ S. A. Meier points out that one of the factors behind the decline of the mother-goddess was also the decline of women's position and role in Mesopotamian scribal culture: “The fluctuating socio-political mystique of the mother-goddess, which underwent a transformation in the course of Mesopotamian history, may be directly related to a shift in orientation from female to male priority in institutionalized learning.”¹⁵⁷ Nisaba, the goddess of writing, is still in a prominent position during the Ur III period but her role declines in the coming periods of Mesopotamian history. W. G. Lambert finds that the general decline of the mother-godess's city Keš might have been one of the main reasons for her decline in the listings of gods. Lambert also proposes that one of the reasons might have been the merging of the mother-goddess figure with that of Ištar and “the net result was to reduce the Mother Goddess to the second-ranking status of Ištar, rather than pulling Ištar up to the first-ranking status of the Mother Goddess.”¹⁵⁸ The decline of the mother-goddess in Sumerian religion was

¹⁵⁵ Cf. S. N. Kramer, *OrNS* (1970), p. 106.

¹⁵⁶ Th. Jacobsen, *OrNS* 42 (1973), p. 249.

¹⁵⁷ S. A. Meier, *JAOS* 111 (1991), p. 544.

¹⁵⁸ W. G. Lambert, *RAI* 33 (1987), p. 130. Cf. *JNES* 39 (1980), p. 74 where Lambert claims that “the decline of the Mother Goddess within the pantheon over the millennia more probably reflects the decline in her city Kesh than social trends.”

probably a result of a long process of developments towards the more man-oriented society in general although the decline of her city must have also played a certain role. The disappearance of the goddess Ningirim from the later Mesopotamian incantations as well as the later decline of Nisaba as the main deity of learning and writing might also be an indication of this process. The royal hymns of the Ur III Dynasty described the mother-goddess as the creator and former of mankind. The myths Enki and Ninmah and Atrahasis show Enki to be the primary force behind the creation of mankind. From the Enuma eliš epic, the mother-goddess has already disappeared as the creator – or ultimately Enki/Ea has taken over the functions of the mother-goddess in that area¹⁵⁹ (cf. 8.4. of the current study).

4.7. Puzur-Eštar of Mari

From Mari, a Semitic inscription on a diorite statue of Mari’s governor-general Puzur-Eštar mentions Enki as the “Lord of the Assembly.” Puzur-Eštar II, the son of Tura-Dagan, should be a contemporary of the Ur III king Ibbi-Su’en.¹⁶⁰ The statue is dedicated to Enki for the well-being of Puzur-Estar.¹⁶¹

Puzur-Estar 1, 1–21:

<i>tu-ra</i> ^d <i>da-gan</i>	Tura-Dagan,
GÌR.NÍ[TA]	govern[or]-(general)
<i>ma-r</i> ^{f[ki]}	of Mari;
<i>puzur</i> ₄ <i>eš</i> ₄ <i>tár</i>	Puzur-Eštar
GÌR.NÍTA	governor-(general)
DUMU-š <u>u</u>	his son (who is);
<i>a-na</i> ^d [EN.KI]	to [Enki],
<i>be-al</i> [UNKEN]	the lord of [the assembly (of the gods)],
^r AN ^r .[DÙL-š <u>u</u>]	a s[atue of himself]
^r a ^r -[<i>na ba-la-ti-š<u>u</u></i>]	f[or his own life]
[A.MU.RU]	[dedicated].
[š <u>a</u> DUB]	[Whoever the text]
[š <u>u</u> - <i>a-ti</i>]	[of this (statue)]
[<i>u-š</i>]a-sà-[<i>ku</i>]	[re]mov[es]:
^d INANNA	Inanna,
^d <i>da-gan</i>	Dagan,

¹⁵⁹ Cf. T. Frymer-Kensky’s interpretation about the marginalisation of the goddess: Gilgameš: A Reader (1997), pp. 95–108 who argues that the myths Enki and Ninmah and Enki and Ninhursag reflect rivalry between Enki and the mother-goddess. Frymer-Kensky also speaks about the triad of gods from where the mother-goddess is excluded and where Enki is included. At least by the 3rd millennium Sumerian mythology, there are no clearly definable triads of gods detectable (cf. 6.6. of the current study).

¹⁶⁰ I. J. Gelb, Mari in Retrospect (1992), p. 154 and 157.

¹⁶¹ Cf. L. Feliu, The God Dagan in Bronze Age Syria (2003), pp. 59–60 for the text.

ú ^d EN.KI	and Enki,
be-al UNKEN	lord of the assembly (of the gods);
SUḪUŠ-šu	his foundations
li-sú-ḫa	let them tear out
a-di si-tár ki-šu	until the writing on the earth (lasts) ¹⁶²

The unken (“assembly”) “is of course that of the gods, and from Ugaritic texts it is well known that El presided over that assembly, while in Sumerian world Enlil performed that role.”¹⁶³ Therefore, it seems that El and Enki are considered to be the same god in this text. Several similar features between El and Enki are notable when comparing Sumerian and Semitic mythologies. They are both “the gods of wisdom”¹⁶⁴ and they both dwell in an underworld region associable with rivers. They are benevolent towards mankind and El and Enki can be described as the creators of mankind. One Luwian-Phoenician bilingual inscription from Karatepe describes El as “the creator of earth;” the Luwian text seems to identify El with ^d*i-ia-sá* – Luwian for Ea.¹⁶⁵ As summarised by B. Margalit: “The similarities between Enki-Ea and El are in other respects striking as well. Both are typically gods of ‘wisdom’. Both inhabit subterranean (sweet) waters, the one at the confluence of the Tigris-Euphrates at Eridu, the other *b’dt thmtm* (RS 24.244) ‘at the confluence of the twin-deeps’. Both are typically peacable gods, disdaining the use of violence.”¹⁶⁶ W. G. Lambert notes that “according to the Ugaritic myths El lived in ‘the sources of the (two) rivers, within the springs of the (two) seas’ (*mbk nhrm qrb apq thmtm*), which is the nearest Syrian equivalent to the Sumerian Apsû.”¹⁶⁷ Derived from that evidence,

¹⁶² Gelb’s interpretation: Mari in Retrospect (1992), p. 155.

¹⁶³ W. G. Lambert, MARI 4 (1985), p. 537.

¹⁶⁴ M. H. Pope, El in the Ugaritic Texts (1955), p. 43 compares the “wisdom” of El (*ḫkm*) with Enki’s wisdom. M. Dietrich – O. Loretz, UF 24 (1992), pp. 34–36 point to the similarities of the wisdom of El and Enki. In UF 31 (1999), p. 172 they demonstrate that in Ugaritic texts, the attribute of El, *hrš* “Weiser,” is used in parallel with “house of wisdom:” “*bt il* || *bt hrš* ‘Haus des El || Haus des Weisen’ (KTU 1.12 II 60–61).” Also several temples of Enki were called *é-ḡéštu*: “House of Wisdom/Knowledge:” A. R. George, House Most High: The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia (1993), p. 91.

¹⁶⁵ K. Lawson Younger, JSS 43 (1998), p. 21: III 18; H. Çamdel, Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions 2 (1989), p. 54 the Phoenician: *’il qn ’rs*. Cf. M. Weippert, FAT 18 (1997/1969), p. 117. The same title is applied to El-Elyon in Genesis 14, 19: “El-Elyon, creator of heavens and earth.” Cf. F. Bron, Recherches sur les inscriptions phéniciennes de Karatepe (1979), pp. 186–187. Translation of the both inscriptions: J. D. Hawkins – A. Morppurgo Davies, Anatolian Studies 28 (1978), p. 118: LXXIII; J. D. Hawkins – A. Morppurgo Davies, JRAS 1975, p. 125. J.-M. Durand, OLA 162/I, p. 223 does not consider the inscription convincing and calls the equation: “une équivalence (certes bien tardive).” It must be agreed that based on one late text, no firm conclusions can be made attributable to the 3rd or 2nd millennium religion.

¹⁶⁶ B. Margalit, UF 13 (1981), p. 139.

¹⁶⁷ W. G. Lambert, BSOAS 48 (1985), p. 451. Cf. M. Dietrich – O. Loretz, UF 29 (1997), pp. 126–127 and 134–139. M. H. Pope, El in the Ugaritic Texts (1955), p. 71 tries to identify

Lambert believes that in Mari, El hides under the disguise of Enki/Ea: they both share several characteristics; among them both are titled as being leaders of the assembly of gods: *be-al* UNKEN.¹⁶⁸

El's cosmic abode-mountain *hršn* with the Sumerian "cosmic mountain" *hur-sağ* and speculates that the concept must be related to the Sumerian Abzu, although no textual evidence is available. However, there are attestations from Sumerian sources that also Enki's temple or divine region was called "holy/pure mound." The Sumerian Temple Hymns line 4 identifies *é-du₆-kù* with Abzu (cf. 8.3. of the current study for *du₆-kù*: "pure mound"). According to the synonym list "*malku* = *šarru*" I 288–292 *du₆-kù* (290) is equated with *apsu-u* along with *é-engur¹-ra* (288), *lál-ğar* (291) and Z[U.A]B (292): A. D. Kilmer, JAOS 83 (1963), p. 429. Lahar and Ašnan: Debate between Sheep and Grain (cf. B. Alster – H. Vanstiphout, ASJ 9 (1987)) uses *hur-sağ an-ki* and *hur-sağ* as synonyms for *du₆-kù* – the place where the gods are created and the location where, according to the narrative, grain and sheep were created. The main characters in the debate-poem are Enki and Enlil; and Enlil also has a temple named *du₆-kù* in Nippur: A. R. George, House Most High: The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia (1993), p. 77. The association of Abzu and *hršn* made by Pope in case of El is justified at least to some extent – "the holy mound" as the place of creation and a gathering place of the gods can also be mythologically associated with the region of Enki. B. Margalit, The Ugaritic Poem of Aqht (1989), p. 412 identifies the mythological region of El with the Kinnereth – the Sea of Galilee: "this mythological abode lies in the general vicinity of, if not actually in (or under) the Kinnereth itself. One should recall in this connection: (1) that El, like the Sumero-Akkadian Ea with whom he is sometimes equated, is a god of 'sweet-waters', which makes him, like Baal and Athtar, a 'good', life-creating and life-sustaining deity; (2) that the Kinnereth is the largest body of fresh-water in Canaan, and thus a home fitting for the venerable head of the Canaanite pantheon." M. S. Smith – W. T. Pitard, The Ugaritic Baal Cycle (2009), p. 42 conclude that the locales where the gods live are usually mountains but "in some cases, such as those of El and Mot, it does not appear that the abode is on the summit of the mountain. El's home (1.4 IV 20–24) may be at the foot of the mountain where the waters emerge from below, and Mot's mountain (1.4 VIII 1–6) is actually at the boundary of the netherworld." S. C. Jones, Rumors of Wisdom. Job 28 as Poetry (2009), pp. 84–85 compares Job 28, 11 "sources of the rivers" to El's mountain "at the sources of the two rivers, amidst the streams of the double-deep." He concludes: "Yet Ea's watery abode 'at the mouth of the rivers' is also within the poem's metaphorical orbit. As with the Apsu and El's fount, the 'sources of the rivers' in Job 28:11 are of mythical, non-geographical character and thus lie beyond space and time." The entire Job 28 seems similar to a description of Sumerian Abzu – a place from where all the wisdom and knowledge (*ğěštu*) comes from and inaccessible to any other creature than the God himself.

¹⁶⁸ W. G. Lambert, MARI 4 (1985), pp. 537–538. Cf. E. Lipiński, UF 20 (1988), p. 143: "L'assimilation d'El *qn ʿrs* à Éa n'est pas en soi surprenante, car les textes d'Ugarit contiennent une série de données qui ne pouvaient que favoriser cette interprétation: El habite au milieu des eaux comme Éa, il porte le titre de roi, *mlk*, toute comme Éa dans la tradition hourrite, pour laquelle Éa *šarri*, 'roi', est une dénomination constante, propre au Mitanni et à la Syrie du Nord. Ensuite, El est qualifié de 'créateur des créatures', *bny bnwt*, trait typique d'Éa dans la mythologie et la cosmogonie mésopotamiennes. Ceci dit, il est certain que l'assimilation d'El à Éa ne s'est pas produite à Ugarit, où ces dieux sont bien distincts. Il faut dès lors songer à un autre centre de la Syrie du Nord, qu'il serait vain de vouloir déterminer en l'absence de toute donnée concrète."

In Ugaritic mythology El or Ilu (*ltpn 'il dp'id*) is “the Benevolent, Ilu the Good-natured.” *Ltpn* is not only an epithet or adjective describing the deity El, but “might even be the proper name of Ilu (bearing in mind that Ilu simply means ‘god’).”¹⁶⁹ Or as summarised by B. Margalit: “In Ugaritic myth, El is quintessentially and unfailingly *il. ltpn. dpid*, approximately ‘El the Merciful and Benevolent’.”¹⁷⁰ Characteristics of El as the creator god and benevolent deity are also reflected in the character of the later Israelite god YHWH.¹⁷¹

The question whether the name Enki was a direct cover-name for the Semitic El in Mari texts remains hard to answer. Their assimilation or association most probably took place because Enki’s characteristics as the god of creation and the god of benevolence were the closest to the Semitic god El.¹⁷² This assimilation was possible because mythological narratives and folklore of Mesopotamia proper had reached the ancient Syrian territories already at least in the middle of the third millennium as the Ebla myths testify.¹⁷³ Later Ugaritic mythology tends to equate Enki/Ea with the Ugaritic god of craftsmanship *Ktr-w-hss* but also this assimilation takes place considering the function of Enki as the god of crafts and handiwork.¹⁷⁴ As was the case with the Akkadian Sargonic sources, the name Enki was used in official texts by the scribes of Mari and personal names used the Semitic name Ea. H. Limet concludes that “Derrière cette façade sumérisante, ce sont des divinités sémitiques qui règnent, comme le montre l’anthroponymie.”¹⁷⁵ It seems too artificial to see the authentic Semitic gods behind the so-called Sumerising curtain. Developments in religion and the movements of ideas between the Mesopotamian religion and West Semitic beliefs are impossible to detect with certainty. As for the ideas opposing the assimilation of El and Enki/Ea, J.-M. Durand claims that the two major

¹⁶⁹ J. F. Healey, AOAT 250 (1998), pp. 349–350.

¹⁷⁰ B. Margalit, UF 13 (1981), p. 140: the title is similar to that of El in the Old Testament (cf. Exodus 34, 6 and Psalms 86, 15).

¹⁷¹ Cf. M. S. Smith, *The Early History of God* (2002), pp. 39–40: “El and Yahweh exhibit a similar compassionate disposition toward humanity. Like ‘Kind El, the Compassionate’ (*ltpn 'il dp'id*), the ‘father of humanity’ (‘ab ’adm), Yahweh is a ‘merciful and gracious god,’ *'ēl-rāhūm weḥannūn* (Exod. 34:6; Ps. 86:15), and father (Deut. 32:6; Isa. 63:16, 64:7; Jer. 3:4, 19; 31:9; Mal. 1:6, 2:10; cf. Exod. 4: 22; Hos. 11:1). /.../ Furthermore, the dwelling of El is set amid the cosmic waters (KTU 1.2 III 4; 1.3 V 6; 1.4 IV 20–22; 1.17 V 47–48), a theme evoked in descriptions of Yahweh’s abode in Jerusalem (Pss. 47:5; 87; Isa. 33:20–22; Ezek. 47:1–12; Joel 4:18; Zech. 14:8).”

¹⁷² Cf. D. T. Tsumura, *Creation and Destruction* (2005), pp. 130–139 for a general discussion about the similarities of Ea and El.

¹⁷³ Cf. M. Dietrich – O. Loretz UF 29 (1997), p. 138: “Bei der Entfaltung der westsemitischen El-Theologie konnten folglich mythische und literarische Traditionen aus der Enki/Ea-Welt ohne besondere Schwierigkeiten auf die Els umformuliert und übertragen werden. Es wird zwar vorläufig offen bleiben, auf welchen Wegen der Übermittlung Aspekte des Wohnortes und der Weisheit Enkis auf El übertragen worden sind, aber man wird in dieser Sache kaum die Schreiberschulen außer Acht lassen dürfen.”

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 138–139.

¹⁷⁵ H. Limet, RAI 21/OrNS 45 (1976), p. 92.

arguments that enable to compare the two gods are the similarity of waters of El and waters of Abzu of Ea; and secondly, the Karatepe inscription. He even seems to compare the hypothetical Syrian god Aya with the god Dagan and states that according to A. Archi “la personnalité d’Aya a été connue en Anatolie avant tout comme un participant au cycle de Kumarbi, dont le symbole était justement l’épi de blé et dont l’identification avec Dagan est bien connue.”¹⁷⁶ Durand’s arguments seem to be based only on some inconsistencies in the writing of personal names in Mari¹⁷⁷ and do not take into the consideration any other evidence from mythology or scholarly opinions¹⁷⁸ which clearly point to the similar mythological background of Enki/(Ea) and El. This does not necessarily mean that the two gods were assimilated or turned into a single concept. The similarities of nature of the two originally distinct gods might have enabled the equation and that does not have to mean assimilation.

4.8. Iddin-Su’en of Simurru

Iddin-Su’en, the king of Simurru, was probably the contemporary of Išbi-Erra of Isin¹⁷⁹ and so belongs to the end of the Ur III period and to the beginning of the Isin Dynasty rule. Two of his inscriptions contain a curse formula listing the gods in the order of An, Enlil, Ninhursag, Enki, Su’en, Iškur, Utu, Inanna, Ninsianna, Nišba. Only Iškur between Su’en and Utu does not fit the canonical order of gods in the Ur III period.

Iddin-Su’en 1, 36–46:

an / ^den-líl / ^dnin-ḥur-saḡ / ^den-ki / ^dEN.ZU / ^diškur / *be-el* ^{ḡcs}TUKUL / ^dutu / *be-el* DI.KU₅.DA / ^dinanna / *be-la-at ta-ḥa-zi-im*

An, / Enlil, / Ninhursag, / Enki, / Su’en, / Iškur / lord of the weapon, / Utu / lord of judgements, / Inanna / lady of battle

An identical curse formula with the same deities is also present in another fragmentary inscription (Iddin-Su’en 1001, 33–48) probably from the reign of Iddin-Su’en.

4.9. Conclusions

One of the most important developments concerning Enki in the Ur III period sources is the change of his rank in the listing of gods. Contrary to the earlier inscriptions, he gets the third rank in the pantheon after An and Enlil and begins to precede the mother-goddess in the inscriptions of Ibbi-Su’en. A similar

¹⁷⁶ J.-M. Durand, OLA 162/I (2008), p. 223. Cf. A. Archi, Fs. Özgüç (1993), pp. 27–33.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. J.-M. Durand, NABU 1989/4, pp. 83–84.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. M. Dietrich, BZAW 374 (2007), p. 93ff.

¹⁷⁹ D. Frayne, RIME 4, p. 707.

change in rankings was already introduced in Ur-Namma C. Starting from the reign of Ibbi-Su'en, the new order becomes paradigmatic.

The inscriptions of Šulgi show great respect towards the city of Eridu. Contrary to the earlier traditions where the city of Nippur was always listed first as the primordial city, Eridu gets this position. Enki is associated with canals, high waters bringing abundance (ḥé-ḡal) and boats. Cleansing rites (šu-luḥ) and incantations (nam-šub) are also related to Enki. Among his titles not present in the earlier inscriptions he is called pap-gal (“older brother of the gods”) and ^den-líl-bandà (“junior Enlil”). A new concept of seven me-s and seven knowledges (ḡéštu) is mentioned in Ur III hymns.

Puzur-Inšušinak of Elam, a contemporary of Ur-Namma, lists Enki after Enlil as the most prominent deity of Sumer and Akkad. This fact shows that Enki was known and honoured in all the regions of the wider Ancient Near East. In Mari, the gods Enki and El were probably seen as similar divine concepts. The inscription of Puzur-Eštar titles Enki as “the lord of the assembly of gods” – a title held by the god El in West-Semitic mythology. Later West-Semitic mythological material allows the equation of their divine abodes and their “wisdom/ knowledge” is pictured almost identically. When the creation of mankind is in question, El and Enki are both creator-gods. This is indicated also by the title of El “the father of mankind.” However, Sumerian mythology does not refer to Enki as the creator of earth – as was the case with El. Enki’s role as the creator of mankind is not attested in the Ur III sources where this function seems to be attributed to the mother-goddess.

5. THE DYNASTY OF ISIN

The state of Isin was the direct heir of the Ur III dynasty's power as well as of the Neo-Sumerian royal and religious ideology. Enki remains among the most important gods of Sumer and Akkad during the period of Isin Dynasty and his name is frequently mentioned. The greatest number of hymns and royal inscriptions dedicated to the god Enki comes from the reign of Išme-Dagan. Also one hymn composed during the reign of Ur-Ninurta is dedicated to Enki. The Sumerian city-laments featuring the name of Išme-Dagan are studied in the current chapter. The chapter is concluded by the comparison of the Isin period mythology and the Sumerian myths Enki and the World Order, Enki's Journey to Nippur and Inanna and Enki.

5.1. Šu-ilišu

The royal inscriptions of the first king of the Isin Dynasty Išbi-Erra underlined the name of Enlil as the most important god for the king.¹⁸⁰ This is in accordance with the earlier Ur III ideology. Among the inscriptions of Šu-ilišu, one text dedicated to the erection of a standard to the moon-god Nanna in Ur from the third year of Šu-ilišu's reign describes Enki as the abundance granter. Šu-ilišu titles himself "the beloved one of the gods An, Enlil and Nanna" (Šu-ilišu 2, i 12–14). Enki's name is mentioned in a curse formula.

Šu-ilišu 2, iii 8–12:

^d en-ki-ke ₄	Let Enki,
ḥé-ḡál an-ki-ka	abundance in heaven and earth
KA a-ba-an-da-an-gi ₄	after having closed;
i ₇ -maḥ a- ^{ku} 6 eštub DU-a-na	his great canal which brought early flood-waters
saḥar ḥa-an- ^r da-si ¹ -[si]	with silt be filled by him!

In this passage, Enki is clearly associated with the abundance (ḥé-ḡál) of the land which is brought by the rivers and canals in the form of flood-waters. A similar formula in curses where Enki is asked to block the irrigation canals of the wrong-doer has been present in the royal inscriptions since the texts of Naram-Su'en of Akkade. The grouping together of An, Enlil and Nanna as the most important gods for the king is unusual when compared to the earlier inscriptions. A mention of the moon-god might underline the role of the kings of Isin as the legitimate heirs of the Ur III state.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Išbi-Erra 1, 1–3. In a composition known under the title Išbi-Erra and Kindattu, the name of Enki seems to appear in a difficultly interpretable text compared to a judicial officer or a harmful demon (Išbi-Erra B, iii 24; ETCSL 2.5.1.2: E 4): [zi]-nu-um lú šu-ta šub-ba-bi ^den-ki⁷ maškim-bi-im: "Zinnun, the man who escaped from them, Enki (?) is their demon/judge."

5.2. Iddin-Dagan

One royal inscription of Iddin-Dagan mentions a known formula according to which Enki gives *ĝéštu* to the king. The text also states that the god Nanna has received the ancient me-s from Enlil's temple E-kur and he gives them on the disposal of Iddin-Dagan.

Iddin-Dagan 2, 11–12:

'dumu' nun-e é-kur-ta
me maḥ ib-ta-an-è

Princely son (Nanna) from E-kur
brought the great me-s from there

Enki is mentioned after Enlil and the moon-god Nanna, to whom the text is dedicated.

Iddin-Dagan 2, 13–18:

^d[i-d]-in-^dda-gan
ĝéštu šúm-ma ^den-ki-ka-ra
mas-sú inim pà-dè
nì-nam gal-zu-ra
sipa-zi ki-áḡ-ḡá-ni-ir
šu-né im-ma-an-šúm

Iddin-Dagan,
to the one given knowledge by Enki,
the leader who finds the (right) words,
to the knowing one of everything,
to his beloved rightful shepherd,
(Nanna) handed (the me-s) to him.

The fact that several other gods often receive the same functions and characteristics as Enki is summarised by M. W. Green: “Enki’s role in Sumerian hymns is not distinctively different from that of any other god. What is described in one hymn as given by Enki could be given by another god in a different hymn. This is especially true for royal insignia, but also occasionally for wisdom, which seems to be Enki’s prerogative to bestow as a blessing”¹⁸¹ As Green points out, in Ur-Namma C 61–62, An gives *ĝéštu* *daḡal*; in Šulgi B 18–19, Nisaba gives *ĝéštu* *ḡizzal*; and in Enlil-bani A 35–36, Asaluhi grants *ĝéštu* for the king. However, when comparing the frequency of Enki granting *ĝéštu* and the me-s with the other gods in Sumerian pantheon, it is clear that Enki has the leading position in granting knowledge, me-s, and the divine plans.

A hymn to Ninsiana for Iddin-Dagan is a praise poem for the goddess Inanna (titled “the eldest daughter of Su’en”) on behalf of the king Iddin-Dagan of Isin. Enki is described to have given me-s to Inanna in his abode Abzu.

Iddin-Dagan A, 22–24:

abzu eridu^{ki}-ga me šu ba-ni-in-ti
a-a-ni ^den-ki-ke₄ saḡ-e-eš mu-ni-in-rig₇
nam-en nam-lugal-la šu-ni-šè mu-u₈-ḡar
In Abzu of Eridu, me-s were given to her
Her father Enki placed them upon her head
Lordship and kingship in her hand he gave

¹⁸¹ M. W. Green, Eridu, p. 139.

The passage seems to refer to a scene from the myth Enki and Inanna, where Enki, during a drinking party, gives away his holy me-s to the goddess Inanna, who then leaves from Eridu to her own city Uruk.¹⁸² Since there is no reference to this specific mythological idea in the earlier Ur III period texts, it seems possible to suggest that the motive might have appeared in Mesopotamian literature sometime at the beginning of the Isin Dynasty era.

A bilingual praise poem for Iddin-Dagan (Iddin-Dagan B) describes Enki as the granter of *ĝéštu daġal* to the king – a feature Enki is known for from the earliest Sumerian royal inscriptions onwards. The expression is here expanded by adding that Enki can teach everything there is to learn for a king. Enki is listed after An and Enlil.

Iddin-Dagan B, 14–16:

^den-ki-ke₄ *ĝéštu daġal ni-nam-ma [z]u[?]-[z]u[?]*
é-a uz[na[?]-am[?]] wa-ta[-ar-tam(?)] mu-du-ut(?)] mi[-im-ma šum-šu(?)]
kíġ igi-ġál zi[?] ka piriġ-ta [è[?]]-dè
^di-din-^dda-gan za-ra mu-ra-an-túm[?]

Enki, wide knowledge (about) everything there is to know,
the seeking/understanding of the wisdom of life (?)¹⁸³ (which is) coming out
from the lion's mouth;
Iddin-Dagan, to you he has given

5.3. Išme-Dagan

A new titulary formula for the kings of Isin appears during the reign of Išme-Dagan. His inscriptions always give the highest praise and the highest position to Enlil and his city Nippur. Next, the city of Ur is listed. Eridu is mentioned in the third position, followed by Uruk and Isin.

Išme-Dagan 1: ¹⁸⁴

^d iš-me- ^d da-gan	Išme-Dagan,
ú-a nibru ^{ki}	provider of Nippur,
saġ-ús	attendant
uri ^{ki} -ma	of Ur,
u ₄ -da gub	daily assigned (to be in service)
eridu ^{ki} -ga	of Eridu,

¹⁸² Also the texts of Larsa repeat the same motive. Rim-Su'en 2, 1–4 mentions that Inanna (tilted “the great daughter of Su'en”) has gathered all the me-s in her hand.

¹⁸³ W. H. Ph. Römer, *Sumerische ‘Königshymnen’ der Isin-Zeit* (1965), p. 212 and 216 offers “Befehl der Weisheit“ or “weisen Befehl“ for the beginning part of the line.

¹⁸⁴ Similar formulas occur in: Išme-Dagan 2; Išme-Dagan 11, 1–11; Išme-Dagan 12, 5–15; Išme-Dagan 15 = Išme-Dagan AA, 17–20.

en unu ^{ki} -ga	lord (en-priest) of Uruk,
lugal ì-si-in ^{ki} -na	king of Isin,
lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri	king of Sumer and Akkad,
dam ki-áḡ	beloved spouse of
^d inanna	Inanna.

This same formula is repeated in several inscriptions of Išme-Dagan, probably representing the key program of his royal agenda as rebuildler and care-taker of the most important cities of Sumer. Compared to the inscriptions of Šulgi, where the city of Eridu had an elevated status and Nippur was mentioned after Eridu, Išme-Dagan uses the common listing of Nippur as the pre-eminent city. The capital of the Neo-Sumerian Empire has the second place and the third position is taken by Eridu. Isin, the power-centre of Išme-Dagan himself, only comes fifth after Uruk, the city of Inanna and An. This seems to be well in accordance with the political aims of the Isin royal dynasty in their quest to be recognised as legitimate heirs to the Ur III state.

Enlil and Enki seem to be considered as the most important gods in the inscriptions of Išme-Dagan. However, there seems to be a certain tendency to underline the fact that Enlil should be much highly appreciated than Enki. A hymn to Nippur and Išme-Dagan (Išme-Dagan C) is composed to give praise to the god Enlil and his spouse Ninlil. The poem begins with an explanation that Enlil and his temple in Nippur are greater than Enki's Abzu shrine in Eridu. It is also stated that the prince (nun) of E-kur is greater than the Prince (Enki).

Išme-Dagan C, 1–2:

èš nibru^{ki} èš abzu-a ab-diri é-kur za-gin-àm
 nun-zu nun-a ab-diri kur-gal a-a ^den-líl

The shrine Nippur, greater than the shrine Abzu; E-kur, it is (like) lapis lazuli
 Your prince is greater than the Prince; great mountain, father Enlil¹⁸⁵

The hymn was composed to gain support and also to flatter the gods Enlil and Ninlil to whom the text was addressed. Enki's comparison with Enlil might be a stylistic feature and does not necessarily designate a rivalry or conflict between the theologies of the two gods. A statement of Enlil's superiority and the comparison with Enki, clearly stressed in the text, demonstrates that Enki's importance was comparable with that of Enlil. The real meaning would then be:

¹⁸⁵ The second nun used in the text should refer to the epithet of Enki. Cf W. H. Ph. Römer, *BiOr* 45 (1988), p. 35 and 54. Römer interprets the text differently (lines 45–46): “Heiligtum Nibru, das Heiligtum, das im Abzu steht, ist das lapis(farbige) Ekur, / dein Fürst (ist) der Fürst, der im Wasser steht, der ‘grosse Berg’ Enlil.” Römer follows M. W. Green, *JCS* 30 (1978), pp. 159–160 who translates the line: “shrine Nippur, shrine standing in the Abzu.” The next line (nun-zu nun-a ab-diri) would then mean “your prince is the prince who stands/floats in the water.” This kind of characterisation of Enlil (“great mountain standing in water”) does not seem to make any sense when put in context with Sumerian mythology.

“Enlil is so important that he even surpasses Enki,” whose status as Enlil-banda or junior Enlil is known already from the Ur III period royal inscriptions. For the kings of Sumer and Akkad, Enlil has always been the undisputable and most important divine power. The comparison of Enlil and Enki might therefore indicate that Enki’s position is not lowered but has risen in the royal ideology since it has become possible to compare Enki with Enlil.

One royal inscription of Išme-Dagan dealing with the tax liberations for the citizens of Nippur mentions Enki as the god who has great knowledge and who distributes the me-s to the people. The context remains partly unclear since the previous lines of the passage are not preserved.

Išme-Dagan 6, vi 4–7:

^d en ¹ -ki-ke ₄	(So that) Enki,
ğéštu dağal	(whose) wide knowledge,
nì-nam bùru-bùru-dè	(which is able to) penetrate everything
me ùğ-e šúm-mu	(could) give the me-s to the people

A royal inscription about Išme-Dagan erecting his own statue at the city of Nippur associates Enki with different fertility gods. In the curse formula, at the end of the text, Enki is associated with the gods Iškur, Ezinu and Šakan, who are described as being “the lords of abundance.”

Išme-Dagan 8 = Išme-Dagan S, 35–36:

^den-ki ^diškur ^dezinu ^dšakan en ħé-ğál-la-k[e₄-ne]
ħé-ğál an-ki-a a-ba-da-an-ge₄-eš ħu[l]-bi ħa-ba-[...]]
Enki, Iškur, Ezinu, Šakan; the lords of abundance
The abundance of heaven and earth when they have taken away from him; with
terror let [them destroy him]

Almost identical lines occur in one praise poem of Išme-Dagan (Išme-Dagan A+V, C 4–5): ^den-ki ^diškur ^dezinu¹ [^dšakan[?]] diğir ħé-ğál-¹la¹ [...] / ¹ħé¹-ğál an ki-a ba-da-ge₄-eš [...]: “Enki, Iškur, Ezinu, [Šakan?], the gods of abundance [...] / the abundance of heaven and earth when they have taken away from him [...].” Enki was also grouped together with Iškur and Ezinu in the concluding curse formula of the Ur-Namma’s Law Code (Ur-Namma 20).

One fragmentary inscription, written in Akkadian from the period of Išme-Dagan, has a short passage concerning Enki and his city Eridu. The context is unclear due to the fragmentary state of the tablet.

Išme-Dagan 9, rev. ii 13–16:

<i>mas-su-am</i>	the leader
<i>e-te-ep-še-im</i>	the capable one
<i>e-em-qi₄-im</i>	the wise one
<i>be-el uz-ni-im</i>	the lord of knowledge

The title *be-el uz-ni-im* is a direct translation from the known Sumerian epithet of Enki en ġéštu. Both ġéštu and *uznu* also mean “ear” – in abstract terms meant to designate wisdom or technical skill. Also the word *emqu* (“wise / skilled”) is used here to describe the god Enki.¹⁸⁶

The praise poem of Išme-Dagan A+V mentions Enki among the other gods. The deities listed in the text before Enki are Enlil, An, Uraš, Ninlil and Enlil. Enki is described as giving seven ġéštu-s to the king Išme-Dagan. Seven ġéštu-s of Eridu, granted by Enki to the king, were already mentioned in the texts of Šulgi (Šulgi C, 29–30).

Išme-Dagan A+V, 68–71:

^den-ki en gal eridu^{ki}-ga-ke₄

agà zi maḥ saḡ-ġá ḥa-ma-ni-in-ge-en

nì a-na mu sa₄-a x x [...]

ġéštu 7-a šu gal ḥa-^rma¹-[ni-du₇]

Enki, the great lord of Eridu

Great and rightful crown he has made firm for me

(About) everything there is (to know ?) [...]

Knowledge 7-fold in big amounts he trusted into the hands (of Išme-Dagan)

The hymn continues with the praise to the gods Su'en, Nuska, Ninurta, Utu and Inanna. Uraš, mentioned in line 61 and described as taking care for the king on her holy knees, is equated with the mother-goddess Nintu, who is assisting at the birth of Išme-Dagan in line 44. The same text also lists Sumerian gods in the order of (lines 345–352) An, Enlil, Ninlil, Enki, Ninurta, Nanna, Ningal, and Inanna. Enki is described traditionally as giving ġéštu to the king.

Another hymn of Išme-Dagan explains how Enki received the seven knowledges – it seems that they were given to him by the other gods, possibly the Anunna, who are also said to elevate Enki into the status of nam-^den-líl-bàn-da: “junior-Enlilship.”

Išme-Dagan AC, obv. 1–4:¹⁸⁷

^den-ki en dumu-saḡ an kù-ga

nam-^den-líl-bàn-da-aš mu-ni-in-íl-i-iš an-ki-a du₇ maḥ-e-eš

ki pà-dè ġéštu 7-bi saḡ-e-eš mu-ni-in-rig₇-eš

¹⁸⁶ M. Dietrich has suggested (at the 8th International Congress of Assyriology in Tartu, June 2006, during the discussion of the paper by the current author “The Name Enki/Ea”) that the Sumerian name Enki might be a derivation from the Akkadian *emqu* – “wise/skilled.” There seems to be no equation of the name ^den-ki with *emqu* known so far at least from the royal inscriptions or other texts from the older periods.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. D. R. Frayne, ZA 88 (1998), p. 22 who makes a guess that the hymn might commemorate the building of Enki’s temple E-me-zi-da at Isin recorded in the year name I of Enlil-bani: mu é-me-zi-da é ki-áḡ-ġá-ni-šè ^den-ki-ra mu-na-dím: “The year when E-mezida (‘temple of true me-s’), his beloved temple, for Enki was built.”

ad gi₄-gi₄ nam gal tar-tar-re
 Enki, the lord, the first-born son of holy An
 To the status of Enlil-banda raised him (in order) he could be perfect and
 majestic in heaven and earth
 For him to find (things out?), 7-fold knowledge they bestowed upon him
 The advisor, the determiner of great destinies

S. Tinney assumes that “the junior Enlilship” is given by An and seven ġéštu-s are probably granted by the Anunna deities.¹⁸⁸ It is hard to imagine another group of important gods than the Anunna offering to Enki his assignments. However, An and Enlil, as collective subjects, seem possible. According to another hymn dedicated to Enlil and Ninlil, Nippur and Enki; the tasks of Enki seem to be given by Enlil and Ninlil. The beginning of the text is fragmentary and the name of Enki is not present. The tasks received or given are the following (A Hymn to Enki for Išme-Dagan 1–4): taking care or organising the marshes (ambar), meadows (a-gâr), fields (gân-né), orchards (pú-^{ġes}kiri₆), and food and water to drink for the Anunna gods (ú-gu₇ a naġ^da-nun-ke₄-ne). Then it is stated that all the abovementioned things were bestowed to a god who most probably is Enki.

Hymn to Enki for Išme-Dagan, 5:
 a-a ^den-líl ama gal ^dnin-líl-[bi] saġ-e-eš mu-ni-rig₇-[eš]
 Father Enlil and great mother Ninlil bestowed upon (Enki ?)

The fact that the god mentioned in this line is actually Enki becomes more certain when compared to the next passage of the text where it is stated that Enki has received the me-s from Enlil and Ninlil.

Hymn to Enki for Išme-Dagan, 8–10:
^den-líl ^dnin-líl-gen₇ diġir na-me ^rnu¹-[díb]
 e-ne-e-ne nun er₉-me-eš en [nam tar-re-me-eš]
^rša¹-zu-a lugal ^{dr}en-ki-ra¹ me mu-na-ni-[šúm-mu-uš]
 No other god excels like Enlil or Ninlil
 They are powerful princes; they [are lords who can decide destinies]
 In your midst to the king Enki [they have given] the me-s

A hymn to Enki for Išme-Dagan (Išme-Dagan D) is rich in information concerning Enki and his Abzu. The first passage of the text describes Enki as a powerful and prominent god who decides over the fates and is the master of the divine me-s. Similar motives were expressed for example in the Šulgi Hymn to Enki covered previously in 4.3. of the current study.

¹⁸⁸ S. Tinney, OLZ 90 (1995), p. 19.

Išme-Dagan D, text A 1–4:

en gal maḥ-[d]^{i?} diḡir-re-e-ne di-zu galam u₁₈-ru
a-a^den-ki nir-ḡál ušum zà-dib nam ki-bi-šè tar-re
me lu-lu-a-ba dūr-ḡar-ra [š]e-er zi-dè-eš gùn-a
[n]un-gal saḡ-kés [diḡir]-re-e-ne [x] x an kù-ga

Great lord, exalted one of the gods, your judgments are wise and strong
Father Enki, the powerful one, surpassingly noble (supreme dragon), who
firmly determines the fates

On the abundant me-s has taken (his) seat of brilliance and colour (?)

Great prince, protector of the gods, ... of holy An

According to the next passage of the hymn, Enki is titled by his previously known title Enlil-banda. The city of Eridu and the Abzu shrine are said to overlook or stand above the great marshes and the marshes of snakes. This description seems to be in accordance with the geographical features of the city of Eridu, situated in the marshy areas of Southern Mesopotamia.

Išme-Dagan D, B 3–8:

nam tar-ra-zu ki-bi-šè ši-ḡar^den-líl-bàn-da-me-e[n]

^da-nun-na diḡir-gal-gal-e-ne me šu mu-ni-íb-ḡal-ḡa-x

ki-ùr ki-tuš-kù mu-ne-ḡá-ḡá nir-sa[ḡ í]l-bi-me-en

nam-maḥ-zu nì šu nu-te-ḡe₂₆-dam a DU x [...]

abzu kur me-nun-na dù-a ki sikil-la x [...]

sug-gal sug-muš-a lá-a eridu^{ki} èš [...]

The fates determined by you are firm, you are the junior Enlil!

To the Anunna, great gods, you (?) distribute the me-s

Foundations of the holy dwelling place you establish for them; you are their
supreme lord!

Your greatness is unsurpassable [...]

Abzu, mountain built of princely me-s, the pure place [...]

Over the great marshes, the marshes of snakes, stretches out Eridu, the shrine ...

The text continues by titling Enki “the first-born son of An,” “the great bull of Abzu” and mentions Damgalnunna as Enki’s spouse.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ One hymn for Enki’s spouse Damgalnunna is preserved. It seems to share similarities with the Isin era ideology. As in Išme-Dagan texts, Enki receives his powers from the god An.

Damgalnunna A, obv. i 4–8:

nitalam-zu en gal^dnu-dím-mud zag kalam-ma šu du₇

en igi-ḡál-la an lugal šúm-mu ad ḡi₄-ḡi₄ gal-zu

en gal-an-zu du₁₁-ga-ni saḡ-ba du kù-zu nì-nam-ma-kam

mas-su maḥ šà^den-líl-lá-ka si-ge₅ me-bi ság [nu]-di

Your husband, the great lord Nudimmud, who makes the borders of the land perfect

The lord who has been given perception by the king An, the advisor, the knowing one

Išme-Dagan D, B 12–15:

^den-ki en dumu-saḡ an-na [...]

^dnu-dím-mud gu₄-gal abzu-a x [...]

nitalam-zu kù ^ddam-gal-nun-na [...] h́é-me-da-an- [...]

a-a ^den-ki gú-da hu-mu-e-x-[lá (x)] šà hu-mu-da-ab-kú[š-ù]

Enki, the lord, the first-born son of An [...]

Nudimmud, the great bull of Abzu [...]

With your holy spouse Damgalnunna [...] may you [...]

Father Enki, may you embrace her and may you please (your) heart with her

The hymn continues with praise to the king Išme-Dagan and the final part of the text is a plea from the king to the god Enki asking him to grant abundance from the rivers Tigris and Euphrates and abundance for the growth of different grains. This passage underlines Enki's role as the god of vegetation and abundance of nature.

Išme-Dagan D, B 24–26:

ⁱ⁷idigna ⁱ⁷buranuna-e si hu-mu-x [...-sá (x)] h́é-ḡál hu-mu-na-ab-[túm-mu]

ubur an-na-ke₄ ḡál hu-mu-na-ab-da₁₃-[da₁₃] buru₁₄-bi h́é-na- [...]

gánagal-gal-la še zíz gig gú-nid[a ...] h́é-[na-...]

May he make the Tigris and Euphrates rivers [flow straight?], may they bring abundance for him!

May the breasts of heaven open up for him; may the harvest [be abundant?] for him!

May in the vast fields barley, emmer, wheat, *gu-nida-gra*[in...] [be abundant?] for him!

A *balbale* to Enki for Išme-Dagan (Išme-Dagan E) is rich in information about Enki but most of the text is preserved only in fragmentary state. The beginning of the text titles Enki to be the most important god among other deities and calls him the advice-giver to An and possibly to Enlil (lines 3–4/5–6): x x palil diḡir-re-e-ne nì-nam-ma gal-zu [...] / x x x ^den-ki šà-kúš an kù-ga ad-gi₄-gi₄ kur ^rgal¹ [...]: “[...] foremost of the gods, knowing everything [...] / Enki, the counsellor of holy An, adviser of the great mountain [Enlil].” Line 11 of the text states that Enki is given birth to by the mother-goddess Uraš.

Lord, the sage, his orders are pre-eminent, he is skilled in everything

Great leader, who understands (or: pleases) the heart of Enlil, whose me-s cannot be opposed

Among the closing parts of the hymn, it is stated that Damgalnunna is (or should be) the birth-giver of the great gods. The titling “mother or birth-giver of the great gods” is the common title for all the different mother-goddesses in Sumerian and Akkadian contexts.

Damgalnunna A, rev. iv 5:

diḡir ^rgal¹-gal-e-ne ù-tu-bi h́é-a diḡir-bi h́é-em

Be the birth-giver to the great gods! Be their god!

Išme-Dagan E, 10–11:

^dnu-dím-mud bára-kù si-pàr-si-pàr an [...]

en ní-gùr ^duraš-e tu-da pap-gal [...]

Nudimmud, holy dais, the nets?, An [...]

Lord (of) awesome radiance, borne by Uraš, the eldest brother of [the gods (?)]¹⁹⁰

Early Dynastic sources seem to attribute the parentage of Enki to the primordial gods Enki and Ninki. The myth Enki and Ninmah titles the mother-goddess Namma to be the mother of Enki (lines 24, 29–30, 45). Išme-Dagan B, covered above, titled Enki to be “the first-born son of An” and the current hymn line 13 also does the same. Therefore it seems probable that the Isin period mythology tries to see An and the mother-goddess as the parents of Enki.

Išme-Dagan E, 12–16:

lugal a-rá zu ^den-líl-lá saġ-èn-tar [...]

[...] zà-dib dumu-saġ an kù-ga me-ni ʾšu¹ nu-t[e-ġá ...]

[^den]-líl-bàn-da du₁₁-ga zi-da ġeš-ḥur-e x [...]

^dnu-dím-mud en nam-tar-tar-re kalam g[e-en ...]

^den-ki gu₄ gal eridu^{ki}-ga íl [...]

King whose ways are supervised/approved by Enlil [...]

[...] supreme, first-born son of holy An, whose me-s are unapproachable [...]

Junior Enlil of legitimate orders, divine plans [...]

Nudimmud, lord who determines the destinies, who makes the land [...]

Enki, the great bull of Eridu [...]

Enki is understood to be “the junior Enlil” whose actions are approved by Enlil according to the text. He is praised for his me-s, his divine plans ġeš-ḥur and he is titled to be “the great bull of Eridu” who determines the destinies. The rest of the hymn continues the praise of Enki but the text becomes too fragmentary for a meaningful understanding.

A hymn to Nippur and Išme-Dagan compares the divine plans of Nippur with the divine plans of Abzu.

Išme-Dagan W, 25–27:

ġeš-ḥur-zu-u₈[!]

abzu si-ga-gen₇

ní-gal ši-im-du₈-du₈

Your divine plans

are just like placed in Abzu;

endowed with great terrifying splendour.

¹⁹⁰ ETCSL 2.5.4.05 interprets ^duraš-e of the line 11 as an uraš-e and translates “borne by An and Uraš.” The interpretation of M. W. Green, Eridu, p. 66 ^duraš-e seems more probable. However, the meaning of the passage seems similar to the Early Dynastic mythological compositions such as Ukg. 15 where An and Ki were the parents of the first divine concepts.

One hymn from the period of Išme-Dagan is dedicated to the god Enki and, as summarised by S. N. Kramer, the text “is virtually a descriptive definition of the complex concept, the *en*.”¹⁹¹ The name Enki is not preserved in the text but since all the most important characteristics of Enki (such as determining the destinies (nam-tar), me-s of heaven and earth (me an-ki) and divine plans ġeš-ħur) appear together in the beginning part of the hymn, there is no other god available from Sumerian mythology who could have been described in the following way:

Išme-Dagan X, 1–6:

en eš-bar galam diġir-re-e-ne sig nim-ma u₁₈-ru-bi
 éšgiri' šu-du₈ nam-bi tar-tar ^da-nun-na su₈-su₈-ub [(x)]
 me ni-nam-ma dili-ni zà-dib en-gal zi-ġál ba-x
 [nam]-diġir-bi-šè 1-a-ni pa-è NIĠIN-NIĠIN-bi-šè x-[me-e]n
 du₁₁-ga-du₁₁-ga-ni ni-zi mú-mú me an-ki gi-né'²-me-en
 ġeš-ħur bar-tam-me' si-sá-e nun gal-bi zu-zu-me-en

Lord (who makes) clever decisions (prognostics) among the gods, prominent in lowlands and highlands

Holding a staff in his hand, determining the destinies (when) the Anunna gods come

(In mastering) all the me-s there are, he alone is surpassing, the great lord who the living creatures [...]

Only he is chosen to be their god, you are their ...

His orders make the rightfulness grow, the me-s of heaven and earth you make firm

The divine plans he directs and executes them correctly, their great prince who knows them you are

Išme-Dagan X, 8–12:

ġarza maħ saġ-gú-ġál-la'²-bi ú-gen₇ zi-dè-eš mú
 ġidru šúm-šúm àga-zi ħal-ħa mu-maħ-bi sa₄-sa₄
 nam-diġir-bi u₄-ul sù-rá-šè an-ki-da ġá-ġá
 nun da-rí mú-mú-a x x x ki' za x igi i-ġál
 en umuš galam dí-m-ma ġalga sud ġéštu bad-e du₇

He makes great and lofty rites truly grow like grass

He assigns the sceptre, distributes the legitimate crown and announces their great names (for the kings)

Its godliness (of the king?) is meant to last until distant days, placed together (in accordance) with heaven and earth

Eternal prince, who is growing ... looked at

Lord who opens up skilful thoughts, instructions, far-reaching understanding, and knowledge which are perfect

¹⁹¹ S. N. Kramer – J. Maier, *Myths of Enki* (1989), p. 92.

Enki is also described as the creator of mankind who determines the destiny of the humans and teaches them proper ways of civilisation.

Išme-Dagan X, 7:

en numun i nam du₁₀-bi tu-tu ús dab₅-bi pà-pà

Lord (who makes) the seed (of mankind) to come forth, who creates good destiny for it (for the seed), who finds the right path for it (for the seed)!

The expression en numun i does not seem to refer to Enki as a “crafter” of mankind, as expressed in the myth Enki and Ninmah. For example, the Song of the Hoe line 3 describes Enlil in similar terms: ^den-líl numun kalam-ma ki-ta è-dè: “Enlil, to make the seed of the land come forth from the earth.” Therefore, the capability of Enki to make humans “grow” is not his exclusive function.

Enki’s role as the creator and teacher of mankind is explained in the closing part of the preserved text. He is described as the father and the mother of the people, providing them with food and drink and giving them advice and knowledge in every aspect of civilised life.

Išme-Dagan X, 24–28:

ùġ ġar-ġar-ra-bi en a-a-bi-me-en

nu-DI-DI-a sipa ú kíġ-kíġ-bi-me-en

ama a-a-bi-gen₇ mu-ne-du₁₁ ùġ kú naġ sù-sù-bi-[me-en]

sá mu-e-ġar ġéštu mu-e-gub-gub kíġ-galam-ma ak-[x (x)]

é umuš ġar ġéštu diri-zu ġál bí-taka₄

For the people settled (by you), you are their lord and father

For the wandering people (or: cattle breeders) (?),¹⁹² you are their shepherd seeking out food (for them)

You speak to them just as their mother and father, you provide the people with food and drink

You give advice, you put (your) knowledge stand (for the benefit of the people), your skilful work [...]

You open your “house of wise thoughts and surpassing knowledge”

Enki as the main organiser of human and also of animal and agricultural world is portrayed especially in the myth Enki and the World Order. Enki as the main creator of humankind appears in the myth Enki and Ninmah where the mother-goddess Namma is titled to be his mother. The texts of Isin, however, do not describe Enki as the crafter of mankind in similar terms. Although Enki’s creative forces and organisational skills were also detectable in earlier sources, the texts of Išme-Dagan seem to offer the closest match to the mythological

¹⁹² S. N. Kramer, *Myths of Enki* (1989), p. 94 / 237 translates nu-di-di-a as “those who do not wander about,” assuming that the line should be a similar expression to the settled people mentioned in the previous line 24.

ideas described in the major Sumerian myths where Enki acts as the organiser of the world.

5.3.1. The City Laments

The Nippur and Uruk Laments mention the name of Išme-Dagan and therefore it is reasonable to assume that the texts are also composed during his reign, possibly commemorating the reconstruction of the cities and temples of the Ur III state which were destroyed by foreign invaders. The laments might be related to specific cultic ceremonies; for example, the sacred marriage ritual has been proposed in case of the Uruk Lament.¹⁹³ The titular formula of the king Išme-Dagan (“Provider of Nippur, attendant of Ur, daily assigned to serve Eridu, en-priest of Uruk, king of Isin, king of Sumer and Akkad”) also pays homage to the same cities the laments were written about.

The city laments have been influenced by the structure and literary motives of the Curse of Agade composed in earlier periods.¹⁹⁴ It seems that the Uruk Lament uses mythological motives from the Flood Story. The introductory part of the lament speaks about the multiplying of mankind and overpopulation. Then the major gods are described as creating a new being, possibly a monstrous creature meant to destroy the city of Uruk.¹⁹⁵

Uruk Lament, i 4–11

[x x x] lú-ti diġir-re-^re¹-[ne-gen₇] a-na me bí-ib-tab
 [x x x]-bi-ta ġalga sù-e [mi-ni-in]-^rsi-ge₅¹-eš-a
 [x x x] diġir-re-e-ne-ke₄ šà ^rx¹ [...] ^rmu-un¹-gu₇
 [^den-ki] ^dnin-ki umuš mi-ni-in-ġál-^re¹-eš bà-a-a-^rkam¹
 [^den-ul] ^dnin-ul-e nam bí-i[n-tar-re-eš] ^rx x x¹ [... -d]u₁₁
^ran¹ ^den-líl-bi ba-an-ù-tu-uš-[a ...]-gen₇ e-^rne¹ ba-sì
^dnin-líl-le mùš-me mi-ni-in-^ršúm¹-ma [x x] e-ne ba-ab-túm
^da-ru-ru ^dEN.ZU ^den-ki-bi me-dím-bi ba-an-ak-eš-a

The living man [like the] gods became to be as numerous

[...] far-reaching decision when they had decided (?)

[...] the gods [...] to consume

Enki and Ninki made the plan, doomed (the humanity) to be unworthy

Enul and Ninul determined (their) destiny

When An and Enlil gave birth to it, it resembled ...

When Ninlil gave its appearance, it was ...

When Aruru, Su'en and Enki fashioned its limbs

The mother-goddess and Enki acting together as creator-gods will be a regular motive in later Ancient Near Eastern mythology. The listing of Su'en together

¹⁹³ M. W. Green, JAOS 104 (1984), p. 254.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. J. S. Cooper, The Curse of Agade (1983), pp. 20–30 for parallels.

¹⁹⁵ M. W. Green, JAOS 104 (1984), p. 254.

with them is not common. Later in the story, the destruction of Uruk is compared to the flood sent by Enlil (iii 1–3: a-ma-ru).¹⁹⁶ This shows that the Flood narrative is most probably used as one of the models for the creation of the lament.

The Nippur Lament, mentioning the name of Išme-Dagan, has a reference to knowledge spreading out from Eridu (ḡéštu i-i) and to the great rites (ḡarza maḥ) of Eridu.

Nippur Lament 216–217:

eridu^{ki} šà-bi ḡéštu i-i umuš zi ḥal-ḥa-la-da

ḡarza maḥ-bi nu-ḥa-lam-me-da inim-bi im-de₆-àm

Eridu, (from) its heart the knowledge is spreading out, so that intelligent thought would be distributed

(So that) its great rites would never be lost, its words are distributed

The Nippur Lament contains a listing of gods appearing in the order of (lines 237 and 245): An, Enlil, Enki and Ninmah. A similar grouping of gods also occurs in the Lament of Sumer and Ur. In textual variants, the name of Ninmah is replaced by Ninhursag, suggesting that they were considered identical during the composition of the text.

Lament of Sumer and Ur 55:

an^den-líl^den-ki^dnin-maḥ-bi /^dnin-ḥur-saḡ-ḡá-ke₄/ nam-bi ḥa-ba-an-tar-re-eš

An, Enlil, Enki and Ninmah /Ninhursag/ decided its fate

However, other passages of the Lament over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur list the gods in the classical order of the Ur III texts: An, Enlil, the Mother-Goddess, Enki. Enki is described changing the course of the rivers. The mother-goddess, now titled Nintu, is said to be responsible for creating mankind.

Lament of Sumer and Ur, 22–26:

u₄ an-né kur-kur-ra saḡ-ki ba-da-an-ḡíd-da-ba

^den-líl-le igi-ni ki kúr-ra ba-an-ḡar-ra-a-ba

^dnin-tu-re ni-dím-dím-ma-ni zag bí-in-tag-ga-a-ba

^den-ki-ke₄ ⁱ⁷idigna ⁱ⁷buranun-na šu bí-in-bal-a-ba

^dutu ḥar-ra-an kaskal-e nam ba-an-ku₅-da-a-ba

When An became angry upon the lands

Enlil looked at the foreign (enemy) lands

¹⁹⁶ The same motive of a-ma-ru ^den-líl-lá is present in the Sumer and Ur Lament line 76. The text also compares the granting of the kingship to the city of Ur by the decision of the council of the gods who once decided to send the flood upon the earth (line 364): di-til-la inim pu-úḥ-ru-um-ma-ka šu ḡi₄-ḡi₄ nu-ḡál: “the verdict given by the assembly of the gods cannot be overruled.” The text therefore tries to show that no kingship is eternal and just as the man was turned mortal by the gods, the kingship of Ur had to disappear, giving its position to the Dynasty of Isin.

Nintu pushed away from her the beings created by her
Enki changed the course of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates
Utu cursed the roads and ways

After Utu, the moon-god Nanna is mentioned in line 30. The second row of gods in the lament lists the gods in the order of: An, Enlil, Nintu, Enki, Utu, Inanna and Ningirsu. Enki is described as blocking the waters of the rivers.

Lament of Sumer and Ur 58–64:

an-né ki-en-gi ki-tuš-ba bí-in-ḥu-luḥ ùḡ-e ní bí-in-te
^den-líl-le u₄ gig-ga mu-un-zal uru-a me bí-íb-ḡar
^dnin-tu-re ama₅ kalam-ma-ka ^{ḡeš}ig-šu-úr im-mi-in-DU
^den-ki-ke₄ ⁱ⁷idigna ⁱ⁷buranun-na a im-ma-da-an-kéš
^dutu ni-si-sá inim gi-na ka-ta ba-da-an-kar
^dinanna-ke₄ mè šen-šen-na ki bal-e ba-an-šúm
^dnin-ḡír-su-ke₄ ki-en-gi ga-gen₇ ur-e ba-an-dé

An frightened the dwellings of Sumer and the people became afraid
Enlil caused an evil storm to pass (upon the dwellings), silence in the city followed

Nintu bolted the door of the storage chamber of the land
Enki blocked the waters in the Tigris and Euphrates rivers
Utu took away justice and firm words (from his mouth for Sumer)
Inanna handed over (victory in) battle and combats to the rebel lands
Ningirsu poured Sumer away like milk to the (former) slaves (for the rebel lands?)

According to the lament, the fate of the city of Kazallu is compared with an irrigation canal cursed by Enki.

Lament of Sumer and Ur 128:

ⁱ⁷ ^den-ki-ke₄ nam ku₅-rá-gen₇ ka-bi-a ba-úš
Just like an irrigation canal (river) cursed by Enki, its opening (of the irrigation canal of the city) was blocked

The final part of the lament, describing the rebuilding of Sumer and its cities, contains a plea for the gods not to change the new state of prosperity. The plea is given to An and Enlil at first; and then to Enki and Ninmah. It seems that Enki and Ninmah are listed as a pair.

Lament of Sumer and Ur, 496–497 / 503–504 / 510–511:

an-né ^den-líl-bi nam-kúr-ru-ne an-né nam-kúr-re
^den-ki ^dnin-maḥ-bi nam-kúr-ru-ne an-né nam-kúr-re
May An and Enlil not change it! May An not change it!
May Enki and Ninmah not change it! May An not change it!

The part describing the destruction of Enki's city Eridu is preserved only in a fragmentary state. It is told that Enki has left the city of Eridu¹⁹⁷ (line 246) and Damgalnunna weeps over the destruction of the city (247–248). The city of Eridu is described as floating on great waters.

Lament of Sumer and Ur, 221:

eridu^{ki} a gal-la diri-ga a naġ-e ba-àm-ugun[?]

Eridu, floating on great water, drinking-water has left it

This line is paralleled in the Ur recension of the Eridu Lament.¹⁹⁸

Eridu Lament, Ur recension, 1:

uru me nun-na a gal-la diri-ga a-e ba-da-ri ʿsag^{9ʿ1} [...]

City of princely me-s, floating on great water, water has left it [...]

Eridu Lament continues by describing the misfortunes the receding waters brought along. The marsh area around Eridu, previously abundant in reed thickets,¹⁹⁹ has dried out and it is possible to walk on it with your bare feet. The boat of Enki má-dàra-abzu flees the harbor of Eridu.

¹⁹⁷ The Ur Lament lines 17–18 also describe Enki leaving his city. He is titled “the wild bull of Eridu.” (17) am uru-zé-ba^{ki}-ke₄ and (18) ^dam-an-ki-ke₄. As already S. N. Kramer concludes (Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur (1940), p. 73), “the name ^dam-an-ki does not mean ‘the wild ox of heaven and earth,’ as synthetic and superficial analysis might suggest, but in all likelihood am-an is simply a variant pronunciation of umun, the eme-SAL form of en (< ewen = emen).” In emesal speech, two forms of ^den-ki are attested: umun-ki and am-an-ki. Umun is an emesal form for en “lord;” am-an is used for en only for designating the divine name ^den-ki (H. D. Galter, *Ea/Enki*, p. 9). Inanna and Enki A/B, 3’ is among the best examples of its usage: ù-mu-un ^dam-an-ki-ra [a]-ra-zu du₅-mu-n[a-ab-bé]: “To the lord Enki I shall utter a plea” (G. Farber, *JNES* 54 (1995), p. 288). I. M. Diakonoff, *JAOS* 103 (1983), p. 88 states that emesal “differs from the language of men in phonetics, in retaining certain archaisms” which would make the form ewen/emen as the base for emesal: “/umun/, /aman-/ (in /Aman-ki/) for emegir /ên/ < /*ewen/.” Cf. p. 89, note 48: “emesal ^da-ma-an-ki = emegir ^den-ki, and also emesal u-mu-un = emegir en(/ên/< /*ewen/), with a>u because of the labial.” The emesal form of Enlil in turn is ^dmu-ul-lil. Cf. A. Alberti, *NABU* 1990/4, pp. 102–103.

¹⁹⁸ M. W. Green, *JCS* 30 (1978), p. 158 and commentary p. 159. The lament is most probably composed during the reign of Išme-Dagan but Green also proposes the reign of Nur-Adad of Larsa as one possible date of composition, since the restoring of Enki's temple is recorded in his year-names (*JCS* 30 (1978), pp. 129–130; Eridu, p. 315).

¹⁹⁹ Ur recension rev. 2: uru ġeš-gi. The introductory part of the Sumerian fable Heron and the Turtle describes the reeds (ġeš-gi) growing in different marshes of Sumer. It seems that three different marsh-areas or reed-thickets of Enki are mentioned (lines 5–7): [sug] ʿzú¹ kéš-da ^den-ki-kà-ka mú-a-bi du₁₀-ga-àm / [sug] bàn-da sug ^den-ki-kà-ka mú-a-bi du₁₀-ga-àm / ʿgi¹bar-bar ^den-ki-kà-ka mú-a-bi du₁₀-ga-àm: “In Enki's interconnecting (?) marsh, whose (reed-)growth is good. In the smaller marsh, Enki's marsh, whose (reed-)growth is good. In Enki's *barbar*-reeds, whose growth is good.” It

Eridu Lament, Ur recension, 2–3:

sug daḡal-bi ḡir ba-an-ḡá-ḡá šà-ba ^{ḡes}kiš₁₇ kur-ra ʿíḃ^{ʿ1}-[mú-mú]
má giri₁₇-zal-la má-dàra-abzu a-e ba-da-ri¹ s[a₆^ʿ ...] amaš-bi kar bí-íḃ-k[ar^ʿ ...]
(Now) its wide marsh-area can be trampled on, from its midst wild acacias are
growing

The boat of joy, the boat “Stag of Abzu,” water has left it; [...] its sheepfold, the
harbor it has fl[ed]

The boat of Enki is mentioned several times in Enki and the World Order myth
(lines 115, 152, 170) and is titled (line 107): má-gur₈-ḡu₁₀ men dàra-abzu: “my
boat, the crown, the ‘Stag of Abzu’.” The text of the lament continues by men-
tioning the boatmen of Enki, the god Sirsir and “the man riding the boat” (lú-má-
u₅) in line 4 of the Ur recension. M. W. Green identifies the second god men-
tioned with Nimgirsig.²⁰⁰ Sirsir and Nimgirsig are mentioned together in the myth
Enki and the World Order: Sirsir (^dBU.BU.AB) in line 182 and Nimgirsig defined
as ^dniḡir-sig₇ énsi má-gur₈-ra-ke₄: “master of the boat” in lines 113 and 184.

Both the Ur (line 9) and Nippur recensions (iii 3) of the Eridu lament
mention Kahegal and Igihegal who are defined as “the doorkeepers of the
house:” ^dka-hé-ḡál ^digi-hé-ḡál-e ì-du₈ é-a.²⁰¹ They also appear in the Lament of
Sumer and Ur line 224 and can be identified as the Lahama-Abzu gods.²⁰²
Those gods occur in Enki and the World Order as “50 Lahama of Engur,” and in
Enki and Inanna as “50 giants of Eridu.”²⁰³

seems possible that the text refers to the actual geographical marshlands near Eridu
where the reeds are growing.

²⁰⁰ M. W. Green, JCS 30 (1978), p. 160; cf. Eridu, p. 101.

²⁰¹ The name of the creatures should mean “abundance/well-being of the gate” as the
Sumerian hé-ḡál in the name suggests.

²⁰² Cf. P. Michalowski, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* (1989),
p. 92; M. W. Green, JCS 30 (1978), p. 149.

²⁰³ Cf. G. Cunningham, *StPohl* 17, p. 90: text 63 where in a Neo-Sumerian incantation it
is described that 50 Anunna gods of Eridu flee from a chaos monster or a powerful
demon: a-nun-na NUN^{ki} 50-bi šu₄-din-mušen-dal-la-gen₇ du₈-e ba-da-ab-ra-aš: “50
Anunna gods of Eridu like fluttering birds flee to the mound.” The myths Enki and
Inanna and Enki and the World Order both mention the 50 Lahama-Abzu-s. The term
used for them in Enki and the World Order is Lahama-Engur; Enki and Inanna uses
“giants of Eridu” and Lahama of Engur. Enki and the World Order 186: la-ḡa-ma engur-
ra 50-bi mí-zi mu-u[n-ne-ne]: “50 Lahama of Engur speak in his praise;” Enki and
Inanna II i 41 and II ii 7: ḡen-na u₁₈-ru eridu^{ki}-ga 50-bi [má an-n]a hé-em-da-ab-k[ar-re-
n]e: “Go! The 50 giants of Eridu must take the [Boat of Heav]en away from her!” Enki
and Inanna II i 62: u₁₈-ru eridu^{ki}-ga 50-bi má an-na im-ma-ni-in-dab₅-e-ne: “The 50
giants of Eridu got hold of the Boat of Heaven;” Enki and Inanna II ii 28: la-ḡa-ma
engur-ra 50-bi má an-na im-ma-ni-in-dab₅-bé-[ne]: “The 50 laḡama of Engur got hold of
the Boat of Heaven.”

Among other things, Eridu Lament praises the city for its great and pure me-s and rites (i 16: me kù-kù-ga; i 17: ġarza me gal-gal-la). The gate of Eridu is called “the lion-faced gate,²⁰⁴ the place where the destinies are determined.”

Eridu Lament, Ur recension, 8:

ká gu-la ká igi piriġ-ġá ki nam-tar-ra lú-érim-[e] ġeš^{ig}-bi izi ba-ab-[šúm]

At the great gate, the lion-faced gate, the place where the fates are determined, enemies/evildoers to its door, set fire (?)

Eridu Lament, iii 1:

ká igi piriġ-ġá ki nam tar-re-ba

At its lion-faced gate, the place where the fates are determined

The vizier of Enki, Isimu, is mentioned in the Eridu lament (iii 16). Isimu is a major character from several myths about Enki, such as Inanna and Enki, Enki and Ninhursag, Enki’s Journey to Nippur, Ninurta and the Turtle, and the fable Heron and the Turtle. He is always described as receiving orders from Enki and as assisting and advising him in different activities.²⁰⁵

In iv 11 of the Eridu Lament, the previously discussed é-ġéštu ^dnisaba appears as related to the city of Eridu, possibly signifying a temple complex in Eridu dedicated to Nisaba. In the hymn Nisaba A, Enki is described as living in his Engur, building his Abzu temple and taking counsel in Halanku. Shortly after, Enki is described as opening the “house of knowledge/learning.”²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ Enki’s Journey to Nippur 31–32 and Inanna and Enki I 11 have similar descriptions about the lion-gateway of Abzu.

²⁰⁵ Enki is associated with his two-faced servant Isimu already in the Fara texts: (SF 40 viii 4: M. Civil – R. D. Biggs, RA 60 (1966), p. 12): ^den-ki isimu (SIG₈.PAP.NUN) ġù dé: “Enki said to Isimu.” Cf. W. G. Lambert, RIA 5 (1976–1980), p. 179; G. Farber-Flügge, Der Mythos “Inanna und Enki” (1973), p. 9.

²⁰⁶ The hymn leaves an impression that Engur, Abzu, Halanku and the House of Wisdom are all described synonymously or at least as different regions of Enki’s Abzu temple. Although it might be possible that the Nisaba hymn has its predecessor in the earlier periods, most of the text is preserved in the Old-Babylonian version.

Nisaba A, 40–46:

é-engur-ra ki-tuš-a-ni / ^ra¹-gu-ur i-na ^rwa-ša¹-bi-šu

abzu eridu^{ki}-ga dù-dù-a-ni / [ap]-sà-am e-ri-du i-na e-pe-ši-i-šu

ġal-an-kù šà kúš-ù-da-ni / i-na ġa-al-la-an-ku i-na mi-it-lu-ki-šu

é ^{ġeš}taškarin tùn bar-ra-ni / bi-it ti-is-ka-ri-in-ni-im i-na šu-pe-^rel¹-ti-i-šu

abgal(NUN.ME) siki bar-ra du₈-a-ni / ab-gal-lum ša pe-re-et-sù a-na wa-ar-ki-i-šu i-na wu-uš-šu-ri-im

é ġéštu-ga ġál taka₄-a-ni / bi-it ^ruz-ni-im¹ i-na pe-te-e-^rša¹

^{ġeš}ig ġéštu-ga sila-ba gub-ba-ni / [da]-la-at uz-ni-[im ...]

E-Engur, his dwelling place

Abzu of Eridu, being built by him

Halanku, the place where he takes counsel

In Eridu Lament, Enki is also titled “the son of An” (vii 10): *dumu an-na*. This was the custom in several of the previous Išme-Dagan texts.

5.4. Lipit-Eštar

The order of the gods and cities in the titulary formula of Lipit-Eštar has remained the same as was fixed in the formula of the king Išme-Dagan: Nippur, Ur, Eridu, Uruk, Isin, (Sumer and Akkad), Inanna. The same standard formula is recorded in the prologue of the Lipit-Eštar Law Code (i 39–51).²⁰⁷ The formula is preserved both in Sumerian and Akkadian:

<i>d</i> li-pí-it-eš ₄ -tár ²⁰⁸	<i>d</i> li-pí-it-eš ₄ -tár ²⁰⁹	Lipit-Estar,
sipa sun ₅ -na	<i>re-i-um</i>	humble shepherd
nibru ^{ki}	<i>pa-li-iḫ</i>	
engar-zi	nibru ^{ki}	of Nippur,
	<i>i-ka-ru-um</i>	true farmer
	<i>ki-nu-um</i>	
uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma	<i>ša uri₅^{ki}-im</i>	of Ur,
mùš nu-túm-mu	<i>la mu-pa-ar-ki-um</i>	unceasing (provider)
eridu ^{ki} -ga	<i>a-na eridu^{ki}</i>	of Eridu,
en me-te	<i>EN-um</i>	lord (en-priest) appropriate
	<i>sí-ma-at</i>	
unu ^{ki} -ga	unu ^{ki}	for Uruk,
lugal ì-si-in ^{ki} -na	<i>šar ì-si-in^{ki}</i>	king of Isin,
lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri	<i>šar ma-at</i>	king of (the land) of Sumer and Akkad,
	<i>šū-me-ri-im</i>	
	<i>ù a-kà-dì-im</i>	
šà-ge DU-a	<i>bí-bí-il</i>	favourite
<i>d</i> inanna	<i>li-ib-ba eš₄-tár</i>	of Inanna/Eštar.

The praise poem Lipit-Ištar C contains a similar titulary formula. The gods listed are Enlil, Su’en, Enki and Inanna.

Box-wood house axed by him
 Abgal, his hair spreading (loose) on his back
 The “house of wisdom” opened by him
 The “door of wisdom,” he standing on the street

²⁰⁷ According to the law code, the kingship is given to Lipit-Ištar and the city of Isin by the gods An and Enlil. The task of establishing justice and order in the form of the law code is also given by An and Enlil.

²⁰⁸ Lipit-Eštar 1, 1–13; Lipit-Eštar 2, 1–13; Lipit-Eštar 4, 1–13; Lipit-Eštar 5, 1–13; Lipit-Eštar 6, 1–13.

²⁰⁹ Lipit-Eštar 3, 1–18.

Lipit-Ištar C, 43–47:

^{ḡeš}gu-za maḥ nam-nun-na ḥé-du₇ ḡi₁₆-sa nam-lugal-la

^den-líl-le zi-dè-eš ma-ra-an-šúm suḥuš-bi ḥu-mu-ra-ab-si

^dEN.ZU aga saḡ-za mi-ni-in-ga-na muš nam-ba-an-túm-mu

^den-ki-ke₄ me nam-nun-na-ka še-er-ka-an ḥu-mu-ni-in-du₁₁

^dinanna túg nam-nun-na-ka za-e-da ḥu-mu-x-dè-gub

The great princely throne, everlasting ornament of kingship

Enlil has truly given to you, has made its foundations firm

The crown made firm in your head by Su'en may never cease to be worn

Enki has adorned you with princely me-s

Inanna with you in the princely garment shall stand

Lipit-Eštar A hymn states that Lipit-Eštar has received his kingship from Enki in Eridu.

Lipit-Eštar A, 35–36:

ḡéštu ba₉-rá ^den-ki-kam-me-en

eridu^{ki}-ta nam-lugal ma-an-šúm

I am the one who has received knowledge from Enki

From Eridu he gave (my) kingship

The hymn contains a titular formula of the king Lipit-Eštar, different from the one recorded in his royal inscriptions. The city of the mother-goddess Keš is added after Nippur. The temples are in order of E-babbar (Sippar), Nippur, Keš, Ur, Eridu, Uruk, E-kur.

Lipit-Eštar A, 62–68:

nesaḡ túm é-babbar nu-dib-bé-me-en

nibru^{ki}-šè ḥé-ḡál sar-re-me-en

kèš^{ki} išib-bi ba-gub-bé-me-en

uri₅^{ki}-šè ì saḡ ga saḡ-me-en

eridu^{ki}-šè ḡá-la nu-dag-ge-bi-me-en

ki unu^{ki}-šè nidba gal-gal-la-me-en

é-kur-ta nam-ti šúm-ma-me-en

I am the one who never passes the first fruit offerings to E-babbar

I am the recorder of the abundance of Nippur

(As in the office) of the purification priest of Keš I stand

I am the best cream and the best milk for Ur

I am unceasing (servant) of Eridu

I am the one who increases the offerings for Uruk

I am the one granted life from E-kur

Also in Lipit-Eštar B the king titles himself “the tablet-writer of Nippur” (Lipit-Eštar B, 41: dub sar). However, the first praise is given to E-kur in Nippur, Enlil, Ninlil, Ninurta and Nuska followed by Nintu of Keš and Su'en of Ur

before Enki. The fact that Lipit-Eštar was crowned king in Eridu is also repeated.

Lipit-Eštar B, 48:

^den-ki-ke₄ eridu^{ki}-ta aga zi šúm-ma-me-en

I am the one who received the legitimate crown from Eridu

The formula is concluded by stating that the king is the beloved one of Inanna and that in Isin, Ninisina favours his rule.

5.5. Ur-Ninurta

The title used by Ur-Ninurta looks almost like a copy of the earlier titles of Lipit-Eštar and Išme-Dagan with only slight differences. The cities mentioned are Nippur, Ur, Eridu, Uruk. Then follows the statement about the kingship of Isin and Sumer and Akkad. The formula is concluded by the king claiming to be the favourite of Inanna.

Ur-Ninurta 1:

^d ur- ^d ninurta	Ur-Ninurta,
sipa ni-nam íl	shepherd giving everything
nibru ^{ki}	to Nippur,
na-gada	herdsman
uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma	of Ur,
išib šu sikil	purification priest with virgin hands
eridu ^{ki} -ga	of Eridu,
en še-ga	favourite en-priest
unu ^{ki} -ga	of Uruk,
lugal i-si-in ^{ki} -na	king of Isin,
lugal ki-en-gi-ki-uri	king of Sumer and Akkad,
dam igi íl-la	spouse looked at (favourably)
^d inanna	by Inanna

An *adab* to Inanna for Ur-Ninurta states that Inanna's plans or thoughts are as profound as Abzu. The statement seems to refer to Abzu as a cosmic region situated in the deep regions of the earth.

Ur-Ninurta D, 6:

dím-ma-zu abzu sù-rá-àm igi bar-re nu-um-zu

Your ideas are as deep as Abzu, there is no looking inside them (or: no-one has been able to comprehend them)

An *adab* to Ninurta for Ur-Ninurta says that Enki had given knowledge to Ur-Ninurta. It seems that Ur-Ninurta is asked to make his people as abundant as the sheep by using the *ḡéštu* received from Enki.

Ur-Ninurta C, 22–23:

ḡéštu šúm-ma ^d*en-ki-kà-ka túm-túm-mu-bi mu-e-zu*

saḡ-gíg udu-gen₇ lu-a-bi ḥu-mu-ḡál-e ús-zu ḥé-bí-íb-dab₅-bé

The one given knowledge by Enki, you have carried to know it (?)

The black-headed (mankind) like sheep may you make abundant, may you follow your path!

From the reign of Ur-Ninurta, one *tigi*-hymn written to praise Enki has been preserved. It starts with the praise of Enki. He is glorified for his great knowledge and his me-s. Enki is also titled to be the ruler of the Anunna gods (*mas-su maḥ* ^d*a-nun-na-ke₄-ne*).

Ur-Ninurta B, 1–5:

en me galam-ma umuš ki ḡar-ra šà sù-ud nì-nam zu

^d*en-ki ḡéštu daḡal mas-su maḥ* ^d*a-nun-na-ke₄-ne*

gal-an-zu tu₆ ḡar inim-ma si-ga eš-bar-ra igi ḡál

sá pà-dè u₄ è-ta u₄ šú-uš-šè ḡalga šúm-mu

^d*en-ki en du₁₁-ga zi-zi-da me-téš-e ga-a-i-i*

Lord of skillful me-s, the one who establishes thoughts, whose mind is incomprehensible, knowing everything

Enki of wide knowledge, leader of the Anunna gods

The wise one, the one who casts incantations, who gives words, who looks at the decisions

Who finds advice, from dusk till dawn who provides instructions

Enki, the lord of just orders, I praise you

The next passage of the hymn seems to describe An as the creator of mankind. An is titled to be the father of Enki, and he assigns Enki to be the guardian of the me-s, the head of the Anunna gods and responsible for natural abundance. He has to keep the rivers open to irrigate the land and to make the clouds give rain so that grain can grow and gardens may bear fruit.

Ur-Ninurta B, 6–12:

a-a-zu an lugal en numun i-i ùḡ ki ḡar-ḡar-ra

me an-ki saḡ kéš-bi-šè ma-ra-an-sì nun-bi-šè mu-un-íl-en

ⁱ⁷*idigna* ⁱ⁷*buranuna ka kù-bi du₈-ù nì giri₁₇-zal si-si*

dungu sír-re a ḥé-ḡál-la šúm-mu a-gàr-ra šèḡ-šèḡ

^d*ézina ab-sín-na saḡ íl-íl-i ú-šim edin-na TAR [...] x*

pú-^{ēš}kiri₆ lâl ḡeštin ki tag-ga tir-gen₇ sud-sud-e

an lugal diḡir-re-e-ne-ke₄ á-bi mu-e-da-a-áḡ

Your father is An, the king and the lord who made the seed (of mankind) to
 come forth,²¹⁰ who placed the people on earth
 He has put on you the guarding of the me-s of heaven and earth, has elevated
 you to be their prince
 The holy mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates to keep open, to fill them with joy
 Dense clouds to give water abundantly, to rain over the fields
 To make Ezina (grain) in his furrows to lift the head, the greenery of the steppe
 To make the gardens of syrup and vines to grow as forests
 An, the king of the gods, has ordered you to do that

The next part of the text explains that Enlil has given his own name to be used
 by Enki who becomes Enlil-banda. This is also expressed by the use of the
 name Sabar for Enki in this passage. It is stated that Enki is the most powerful
 god on earth and that he is second in rank only to Enlil. Enlil has given him the
 right to determine the destinies, to give out just verdicts and to provide the
 people with their daily livelihood.

Ur-Ninurta B, 13–20:

^den-líl-le mu maḥ saḡ-kù-ḡál ní gal gùr-ru-ni
 šu[?] ma-ra-an-ba en ni-nam ù-tu ^den-líl-bàn-da-me-en
 an ki-a dili-ni diḡir-ra-àm dub-ús-a-ni za-e-me-en
 e-ne-gen₇ nam sig igi-nim-ma tar-tar-re šu-zu-šè ša-mu-u₈-ḡar
 eš-bar zi ka-ta è-a-zu úru^u dib-ba-àm
^dsá-bar-a kur-zag til-la-aš ùḡ daḡal dúr-ru-na-ba
 gu₇ naḡ-bi-šè im-da-kúš-ù-dè-en a-a zi-bi za-e
 en diḡir-bi-gen₇ nam-maḥ-zu me-téš im-mi-i-i-ne
 Enlil, the great, proud and fearsome name he bears,
 has given it to you; the lord who gives birth to everything, you are the junior
 Enlil!

In heaven and earth he (Enlil) alone is the God, (only) second in rank you are to him!
 Like it (is in) his (own hands), the (function) of determining the destinies in
 lowlands and uplands he has given to your hands
 The just decisions going out from your mouth are highly powerful
 Sabara (you are for) the people settled widely as far as the mountain ranges
 Providing their food and drink is your concern, you are their true father!
 Lord, like to their personal god (?), they give praise to your greatness

The next passage (25–29) is a common praise of Enki, describing that he is
 supreme in heaven and on earth and that he has gathered all the me-s and ḡeš-
 ḡur-s to his powerful Abzu. Then follow the lines describing the E-kur temple
 filled with fear or respect towards Enki and his Abzu. The most significant new
 information given by the passage states that Enki has distributed the me-s to the

²¹⁰ The other option would be to consider Enki as the god who made the seed come
 forth. An seems to fit better the context of the hymn.

other gods from the E-kur temple. It also seems that the creation process of mankind might take place in the E-kur temple of Nippur mentioned in line 31.

Ur-Ninurta B, 29–33:

ḡissu-bi u₄ è-ta u₄ šu-uš kur-kur-ra ši-im-dul
ní me-lem₄ muru₉ dugud-da-gen₇ an kù-ge íb-ús
é-kur ki-tuš kù an ^den-líl-lá su zíg im-du₈-du₈
šà-ba ḡidru šúm-mu me ḡal-ḡal-la diḡir gal-gal-e-ne-šè
x numun⁷ šár-ra im-dím-e nam-lú-ùlu ù-tu tí-le ì-ḡál
Its shadow covers all the lands from east to west
Its fear and terrifying splendour like a heavy cloud follows the holy heavens /
holy An
It spreads fear (respect) to E-kur – the holy dwelling place of An and Enlil
Inside there (E-kur) equipped with sceptre you divided out the me-s to the great
gods
... numerous seed (people) you have created, given birth to mankind, made the
life (of the people) to exist

The city of Nippur as the creation place, and Enlil as the creator of mankind, is a known motive in Mesopotamian mythology. For example, the Song of the Hoe (line 18) and KAR 4 (line 24), where man is created by Enlil, mention uzu-è-a / uzu-mú-a as the place where the first man was made. It seems that the Ur-Ninurta hymn emerges from similar mythological thinking.

The hymn is concluded with the praise of Ur-Ninurta, Enki and Enlil. Enki is titled “the brother of the Anunna deities” as the line 46 states: ^da-nun-na diḡir ṽšeš¹-zu-ne.

5.6. Bur-Su’en

Among the texts of Bur-Su’en, one royal inscription titles him to be the restorer of Eridu’s divine plans (ḡeš-ḡur). The cities are listed in the order of Nippur, Ur, Eridu, Uruk, Isin.

Bur-Su’en 1:

^d bur- ^d EN.ZU	Bur-Su’en,
sipa šà nibru ^{ki} du ₁₀ -du ₁₀	shepherd making Nippur happy,
engar kala-ga	mighty farmer
úr ^{ki} -ma	of Ur,
ḡeš-ḡur eridu ^{ki} -ga ki-bé gi ₄	who restores the divine plans of Eridu,
en me-a túm-ma	lord who is fitting the me-s
unu ^{ki} -ga	of Uruk,
lugal ì-si-in ^{ki} -na	king of Isin,
lugal ki-en-gi-ki-uri	king of Sumer and Akkad,
dam me-te úr kù ^d inanna	spouse appropriate for the knees of holy Inanna

5.7. Enlil-bani

The titles of Enlil-bani are similar to the previous kings in terms of the order of the cities: Nippur, Ur, Eridu, Isin. In the case of Erdu, Enlil-bani is said to make its me-s pure.

Enlil-bani 1:²¹¹

^den-líl-*bani*

sipa nì-nam šár-ra

nibru^{ki}

engar še maḥ

urī^{ki}-ma

me eridu^{ki}-ga

kù-kù-ge

en še-ga

unu^{ki}-ga

lugal ì-si-in^{ki}-na

lugal ki-en-gi-ki-uri

dam šà-ge pà-da

^dinanna

Enlil-bani,

shepherd making everything numerous

for Nippur,

farmer (growing) tall grain

for Ur,

me-s of Eridu

who makes pure,

favourite en-priest

of Uruk,

king of Isin,

king of Sumer and Akkad,

spouse chosen in the heart

of Inanna

Several of the inscriptions of Enlil-bani do not contain the name of Eridu or Enki in the titulary formula and the most important gods for him seem to be Enlil and Inanna.²¹² However, a praise poem of Enlil-bani titles the king to be the son of Enki.

Enlil-Bani A, 18–19:

^den-líl-*ba-ni*

dumu maḥ ^den-ki-ke₄

Enlil-bani,

great son of Enki

Enki is mentioned after An, Enlil, Utu and Ninlil. The hymn continues by describing Enlil-bani as an ever-wise prince and the master of all living things. Then follows the statement that Asaluhi has given ḡéštu to Enlil-bani. In the previous royal hymns and inscriptions, it was always one of the divine duties of Enki to give wisdom and knowledge to the king. Relating ḡéštu and the god Asaluhi indicates that new religious ideas had risen in terms of official religion. A mention of Asaluhi is preceded by the statement that Enlil-bani is the spouse of Inanna.

²¹¹ A similar order of cities is repeated in Enlil-bani 4, 3–15; Enlil-bani 5, 6–18.

²¹² Enlil-bani 2 and 3, describing the new wall of the city of Isin, mention only Nippur and Isin and the gods Inanna, Enlil and Ninisina; Enlil-bani 6 and 8 refer to Enlil and Ninisina; Enlil-bani 9 mentions Nippur, Ur and Uruk.

Enlil-bani A, 34–36:

dam kù^d inana-ka

^dasal-lú-ĥi

ġéštu mu-ra-an-šúm

The spouse of holy Inanna,

Asaluhi

gave knowledge to (Enlil-bani)

The text also describes Enki, titled Nudimmud, to be the creator of Enlil-bani – probably referring to Enki’s role as the creator of humanity in general. Enki is also responsible for giving hé-ġál (“abundance”) to the king.

Enlil-bani A, 147–150:

^dnu-dím-mud

diġir saġ dù-zu

abzu-ta

hé-ġál ma-ra-taĥ

Nudimmud,

the god who created you,

from Abzu

abundance has increased for you

5.8. Religious Ideology of Isin Texts Reflected in Sumerian Myths

The Išme-Dagan hymns and city laments introduce definable and previously not clearly expressed mythological ideas about Enki. He is “the first-born son of holy An” (dumu-saġ an kù-ga) and also of Uraš, described as his mother. He is the Junior-Enlil and has received his junior-Enlilship from the great gods. All this is approved by An and Enlil. Enki is described as living in his watery marshland of Eridu where he sails on board of his boat. He is the care-taker of the settled people and the organiser of the civilised world. For achieving his task of being the cultural hero of mankind and of the gods, he receives the me-s from the Anunna gods, An and Enlil.

Since no myth mentions a name of a king or a specific event in history, allowing a reasonable time-span of the composition of the texts, there is no chance of claiming with certainty that certain ideas must originate from the ideology of the Isin state. Most of the mythological motives echoed in all the Sumerian myths probably have their ancient origins going back to the mythology of the Early Dynastic period. The major Sumerian myths are all probably full of ancient mythological motives which were accessible through written records as well as by their presence in oral folklore or story-telling. None of these sources can be determined with certainty. The next part of this chapter tries to point out some similarities in the myths Enki and the World Order, Enki’s Journey to Nippur and Enki and Inanna, which seem to reflect the material or ideology also present in the Isin era royal poetry. The objective is not to claim that the myths had to be written down in Isin period, the aim is only to consider that possibility.

5.8.1. Enki and the World Order

One of the main features linking the myth Enki and the World Order to the Isin period ideology is Enki's title "the son of An." The royal inscriptions and hymns from the Ur III period, however, do not describe Enki as the son of An. He is also "the older brother of gods" and Enlil-banda – titles present already in Ur III texts.²¹³ The comparison of the hymn Ur-Ninurta B (cf. 5.5. of the current study) and the myth Enki and the World Order lead V. Emelianov to conclude that the myth is most probably written down during the reign of Ur-Ninurta.²¹⁴ Several common features with the texts of other Isin rulers are, however, also detectable.

Enki and the World Order 68:

a zi am-gal-e ri-a-me-en dumu-saḡ an-na-me-en

I am the good seed inseminated by the wild bull, I am the first-born son of An!

Enki and the World Order 80:

ù-tu-da dumu-saḡ an kù-ga-me-en

I am the one born as the first son of holy An!

Enki and the World Order 71:

šeš gal diḡir-re-e-ne-me-en h́é-ḡál šu du₇-me-en

I am the eldest brother of the gods, I am the handler of abundance!

Enki and World Order and Išme-Dagan hymns describe Enki as the granter of fertility and especially as the god who "brings the seed forth."

Enki and the World Order 52–54:

[a-a] ^[d]en-ki ùḡ numun-a è-ni numun zi h́é-i-i

^dnu-dím-mud u₈ zi ḡá è-ni sila₄ zi h́é-ù-tu

áb numun-a è-ni amar zi h́é-ù-tu

When father Enki goes forth to (meet) the inseminated people, let good offspring come out!

Nudimmud goes forth to (meet) the good pregnant ewes, let good lambs be born!

(Enki) goes forth to (meet) the inseminated cows, let good calves be born!

²¹³ Cf. the discussion of Å. W. Sjöberg, HSAO 1 (1967), p. 215: "In Enki und Weltordnung scheinen also zwei unvereinbare Genealogien vorzuliegen: Enki als der älteste Bruder der Götter (Z. 70) und als jüngerer Bruder des Enlil (Z. 63)." The titles used in Sumerian myths seem most often to be honorary titles. Inanna calls Enki a-a in Inanna and Enki myth and Isimu also refers to Enki as Inanna's father. This does not reflect any genealogical relations between Enki and Inanna. Also the pap-gal, šeš-gal and other titles of Enki in the myths usually only reflect similar honorary titles.

²¹⁴ V. Emelianov, *Calendar Ritual in Sumerian Religion and Culture (ME's and the Spring Festivals)* (2009), pp. 298–299, table 17: Enki and the World Order 62–67 / 251–254 corresponding to Ur-Ninurta B 6–12, 13–15, 25–26.

Išme-Dagan X, 7:

en numun i nam du₁₀-bi tu-tu ús dab₅-bi pà-pà

Lord (who makes) the seed (of mankind) to come forth, who creates good destiny for it (for the seed), who finds the right path for it (for the seed)!

As the Isin period royal hymns did, Enki receives his right to be the organiser and judge of the land from Enlil. H. Vanstiphout concludes: “Enki did what he was ordered to do.”²¹⁵

Enki and the World Order 75–76:

^den-líl-da kur-ra igi ġál-la-ka nam tar-ra-me-en

nam tar-ra ki u₄ è-a-ke₄ šu-ġá mu-un-ġál

Alongside Enlil setting his sight upon the lands, I decree the destinies

The determining of destinies he has placed into my hands in the place where the sun rises

The myth Enki and the World Order describes the geography of Abzu temple in Eridu. His house is situated in a marsh (cf. lines 96, 168), the fish are swimming among the reeds (98) and purification rites take place there (105–106). The motives are similar, for example, to the Hymn to Enki for Išme-Dagan 1–4, Išme-Dagan D, B 8, etc. One passage in the myth Enki and the World Order, describing the tasks of the mother-goddess given by Enki, identifies the mother-goddess Aruru with Nintu and describes her instruments for cutting the navel cord²¹⁶ and assisting at the birth.

Enki and the World Order 394–397:

^da-ru-ru nin₉ ^den-lí[l-lá-k]e₄

^dnin-tu nin tu-tu-d[a]

sig₄ tu-tu kù nam-en-na-ni šu h́é-em-ma-an-[ti]

gi-dur-ku₅ im-ma-an ga-raš^{sar}-a-ni h́é-em-ma-da-a[n-r]i

Aruru, the sister of Enlil

Nintu, the lady of giving birth

Her holy brick of birth of *en*-ship shall be her assignment

Her reed-stick for cutting the umbilical cord, the *imman*-stone and leeks shall be under her direction

One hymn of Išme-Dagan gives a similar description of Nintu’s/Aruru’s tasks:

Išme-Dagan A+V, 44–45:

^[d]nin-tu tu-tu-a ħa-ma-ni-in-gub

ʿgi¹-dur-ku₅-rá-ġá [...] nam-en ħa-ma-ni-in-ġar

Nintu stood by (assisting) at my birth

When my umbilical cord was cut [...] she established the status of rulership for me

²¹⁵ CM 7 (1997), p. 120.

²¹⁶ Cf. M. Stol, *Birth in Babylonia and the Bible* (2000), p. 111. The instrument used to cut the navel cord was probably a sharp reed-stick.

The myth Enki and The World Order continues with the description of the role of the goddess Ninisina²¹⁷ (402–404). It is stated that she will be standing together with An and can speak to An whenever she wishes. Ninsina F (6–15) also mentions that Enki determined the fate of Ninisina who is titled “the holy daughter of An.” The text describes that Ninisina had come from Enlil’s temple of Nippur and arrived at Eridu where Enki receives and takes care of her.

Ninisina F, 8–10:

èš-e a[bz]u-a dūr ba-ni-in-ġar
 a-a-ni^den-ki-ke₄ du₁₀-ba nam-mi-in-tuš
 [^dnin]-in-si-na-ra mí-zi na-mu-un-e
 She took her seat in Abzu shrine
 Her father Enki seated her on his knees
 He cherished Ninisina truly

Ninisina F, 13–15:

gada babbar-ra ħi-li im-ma-an-[te]
 dumu an kù-ga-ra bar-ra ħé-em-mi-in-du[l]
 en^dnu-dím-mud-e nam-[e-e]š m[u-ni-in-tar]
 (When) she became attracted to the fine white linen garment
 He (Enki) dressed the daughter of An in it
 Lord Nudimmud determined her fate

The Ninisina A hymn describes the functions of the goddess of Isin in detail and states that Enki, from his princely Abzu, had assigned to her the duties of an incantation priestess (line 30: nam-išib). The same hymn continues by describing the birth of Ninisina. She is impregnated by An and given birth to by Uraš. The text also describes the sexual intercourse between An and Uraš.

Ninisina A, 85–88:

a-a-ġu₁₀ an lugal sipa diġir-re-e-ne
 kalam-e barag kù-ga ba-e-tuš
 ama-ġu₁₀^duraš nin diġir-re-e-ne
 an-da ki-nú kù-ga šà kúš-ù e-ne sù-ud gal ba-e-du₁₁
 My father is An, the king and shepherd of the gods
 He put me to sit on the holy throne in the land
 My mother is Uraš, the lady of the gods
 With An in the holy bedchamber (she) was interacting, for a long time and greatly was playing

Ninisina D and Ninisina E both describe that Ninisina was the beloved daughter of An who is given birth to by Uraš. She is also called the counsellor of her father An – as described in the myth Enki and the World Order. The hymns of

²¹⁷ Cf. D. O. Edzard, RIA 9 (1998–2001), pp. 387–388.

Ninisina probably come from the Isin period era and their ideology and mythological motives are similar to the other texts of the period. The myth Enki and World Order puts the goddess Ninisina among the most important mother-goddesses in Sumeru-Akkadian pantheon, alongside the great mother-goddes Nintu but also Nisaba and Nanše. This might have been one of the reasons for the composition of the Enki and the World Order story.

5.8.2. Enki's Journey to Nippur

The Isin royal hymns did not agree on who was the direct creator of mankind. An, Enki, the mother-goddess and Enlil all seem to be involved in the process, although Enki is given the biggest credit as the care-taker and provider of mankind. Enki's Journey to Nippur and Ur-Ninurta B both seem to relate An with the process of the seed of mankind coming forth.

Enki's Journey to Nippur 1–3:

u₄ re-a nam ba-tar-ra-ba
mu hé-ġál an ú-tu-da
ùġ-e ú-šim-gen₇ ki in-dar-ra-ba

In those days when the destinies were determined
In the year when abundance was given birth by An
People broke through the earth just like plants

Ur-Ninurta B, 6:

a-a-zu an lugal en numun i-i ùġ ki ġar-ġar-ra
Your father is An, the king and the lord who made the seed (of mankind) to
come forth, who placed the people on earth

Enki's Journey to Nippur and Ur-Ninurta B both describe Eridu as the great cloud in the heavens spreading fear.

Enki's Journey to Nippur 53–55:

eridu^{ki} ġissu-zu ab-šà-ga lá-a
a-ab-ba zi-ga gaba-šu-ġar nu-tuku
i₇ maḥ ní-ġál-la su kalam-ma zi-zi
Eridu, your shadow reaches/hangs (until) the middle of the sea
Rising sea having no rival
Great awe-inspiring river frightening the land

Ur-Ninurta B, 29–31:

ġissu-bi u₄ è-ta u₄ šu-uš kur-kur-ra ši-im-dul
ní me-lem₄ muru₉ dugud-da-gen₇ an kù-ge íb-ús
é-kur ki-tuš kù an ^den-líl-lá su-zi im-du₈-du₈
Its shadow covers all the lands from east to west

Its fear and terrifying splendour like a heavy cloud follows the holy heavens /
holy An
It spreads fear to E-kur – the holy dwelling place of An and Enlil

Among other possible texts related to Enki's Journey to Nippur, the Nisaba A hymn seems to have similar aspects. Both texts mention the Abgal-sages – creatures closely related to Enki.²¹⁸ Unfortunately, the date of composition of the Nisaba text already treated above is uncertain.

Enki's Journey to Nippur 48:
abgal-zu siki bar-ra bí-in-du₈
Your Abgal, the hair spreading (loose) on the back²¹⁹

Nisaba A, 44:
abgal siki bar-ra du₈-a-ni
Abgal, his hair spreading (loose) on the back

5.8.3. Inanna and Enki

The topic of Inanna and Enki is related to the myth Enki and the World Order where in the concluding part of the myth Inanna complains to Enki of not having received any significant duties from him (421ff.). In Enki and the World Order, Enki presents all the duties to Inanna voluntarily. The Enki and Inanna story describes that drunken Enki gave away his me-s to Inanna only mistakenly and under the influence of alcohol. The Hymn Iddin-Daggan A seems to describe that Enki placed the me-s deliberately on the hands of Inanna.

Iddin-Dagan A, 22–24:
abzu eridu^{ki}-ga me šu ba-ni-in-ti
a-a-ni ^den-ki-ke₄ saĝ-e-eš mu-ni-in-rig₇
nam-en nam-lugal-la šu-ni-šè mu-u₈-ĝar

²¹⁸ Enki's Journey to Nippur 85 has a reference to the south wind: ⁱ⁷buranun-na u₁₈-lu sumur mu-un-da-an-zi: "The Euphrates and the furious south wind rises before him (Enki)." The occurrence of Abgal-sage and the South Wind together in one story taking place at the marshes and ponds of Eridu leads to the speculation on the possibility that the Adapa-story might have been developed (as an oral folk-tale; in written form ?) already during the composition of Enki's Eridu temple hymn. The motive where An and Enlil want to grant eternal life to Gilgameš but Enki refuses it, referring to the decision of the assembly of gods which had decided that only the Flood Hero can ever receive the gift of eternal life, was already present in the Death of Gilgameš story. Cf. S. Izre'el, Adapa and the South Wind (2001), pp. 67–71 and 1–4 for some considerations supporting the possible Sumerian origins of the text.

²¹⁹ A similar line occurs also in Rim-Su'en B, 8 where the god Haia is described wearing his hair loose (cf. 6.6. of the current study).

In Abzu of Eridu, me-s were given to her
Her father Enki placed them upon her head
Lordship and kingship in her hand he gave

The Ur-Ninurta D hymn also describes the me-s brought by Inanna.²²⁰

Ur-Ninurta D, 8:

me-zu u₄ silim-ma-bi ba-e-de₆ ni-nam la-ba-e-da-šub

You have brought the me-s on a fine day, none of them has been lost

The motive of cultic journeys to Eridu was present also in Early Dynastic literature and in the epic Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta (line 58: [er]idu^{ki}-ta me de₆-a-ḡu₁₀-ne) it is stated that Enmerkar is going to bring the me-s from Eridu. Whether the text is related to an ancient cultic festival, performed, for example, in a real cultic setting, is difficult to answer, although not impossible.²²¹

Among the other similarities between different myths, Inanna and Enki uses close motives with the myth Enki's Journey to Nippur. The drinking parties taking place in different circumstances are described in similar terms. The beer is drunk from "the vessels of Uraš" and the party is called "a competition" (a-da-mìn):

Enki's Journey to Nippur 112:

zabar-e^duraš-e a-da-mìn mu-un-di-ne

They started a competition, (drinking from) the bronze vessels of Uraš.

Inanna and Enki, I ii 30:

[za]bar^duraš-a a-da-mìn mu-un-a[ka-ne]

They started a competition, (drinking from) the bronze vessels of Uraš

²²⁰ G. Farber-Flügge, *Der Mythos 'Inanna und Enki'* (1973), p. 6 suggests that there has been direct quoting between the two texts: "Dieser Text enthält die in 'Inanna und Enki' Tf. II v 1–vi 31 stehende Verbalform ba-e-TÚM. Man könnte sogar daran denken, daß der Schreiber die Form als Zitat übernommen habe."

²²¹ Cf. C. Mittermayer, *Enmerkara und der Herr von Aratta* (2009), p. 80f. B. Alster, *ZA* 64 (1974), p. 32 is in favour of the text being a mythologically motivated composition not related to a cultic event. As V. Emelianov demonstrates (*Ассириология и египтология* (2004), pp. 82–83), it is certainly possible to relate the text with specific cultic festivals and it may be "the text of the New Year and Sacred Marriage cycle, its main events belong to the spring season near equinox" (p. 83): "Но как бы то ни было, представленные нами факты позволяют предположить, что самый ритуал путешествия 'ладьи Ана' к Энки за *ME* происходил весной, накануне Нового года, и возвращение Инанны с *ME* в родной Урук обещивало новогодний праздник, кульминацией которого был священный брак Инанны и Думузи в гипаре Кулаба." However, there are no convincing means available for making the association with probative force. As G. Farber-Flügge (*apud* Emeljanov, p. 84) states, the reasons for composing the text might also have been political. Cf. V. Emelianov, *Calendar Ritual in Sumerian Religion and Culture (ME's and the Spring Festivals)* (2009), pp. 254–259.

Regarding all the covered myths, it is impossible to point with certainty to a specific ruler or an exact moment in time when the composition might have been written down. Several motives in these myths first appear in the royal hymns of the kings of Isin. As for the other possible texts relatable with the Isin ideology, Inanna's Descent might come into the question. The royal titles of the kings of Isin contained the names of Nippur, Ur, Eridu and Uruk as the most prominent ones. Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld also describes the journey of the goddess in the order: Nippur, Ur and Eridu.²²²

5.9. Conclusions

In the ideology of Isin, Enki's city Eridu does not have the pre-eminent position it had during the reign of Šulgi. In the titular formulas of the Isin kings, the cities are usually ordered: Nippur, Ur, Eridu, Uruk, Isin. Nippur is listed as the ancient pre-eminent city of Enlil from where the kingship is legitimised. Placing Ur second probably indicates the wish of the kings of Isin to show their respect towards the previous power centre in Mesopotamia. Eridu's third position testifies that the city was considered among the most important centres of religious (and also political) influence. Lipi-Eštar's inscriptions show that he had been crowned as king in Eridu. Uruk's elevated status in the titles is also notable. The god of Uruk, An, was highly praised in the royal hymns of the kings of Isin. Enki was titled to be "the son of An;" also the mother-goddess Uraš was described as his mother.

According to the royal hymns of Isin, Enki received his duties, me-s, powers and all the other aspects of his nature from the gods An and Enlil. He seems to be nominated as the head of the Anunna gods by Enlil and An. Enki is described as receiving his me-s from the E-kur temple of Enlil. The Isin royal hymns already refer to Enki as one of the creators of mankind. In addition, his role is to take care of the everyday needs of the people of Sumer and to guarantee the abundance of agricultural life. The abundance also comes through the waters of the rivers and as rain from the sky.

It is reasonable to suggest that in addition to the city laments, several Sumerian myths also might have originated from the mythological thinking of Isin period. Some similarities between the Isin era hymns and Sumerian myths, such as Enki and the World Order, Enki's Journey to Nippur, and Enki and Inanna, were taken into consideration. It was concluded that it is at least possible that they might be Isin period texts. The age and provenance of the mythological ideas, however, is not determinable with certainty.

²²² Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld: 37–67, 182–216 and summarised in lines 322–324: é-kur-re é^dmu-ul-líl-lá-šè / úri^{ki}-ma é^dnanna-šè / úru-zé-eb^{ki} é^dam-an-ki-ká-šè.

6. THE DYNASTY OF LARSA

The hymns and inscriptions mentioning Enki from the Larsa Dynasty era are less numerous than those from the previous Ur III or Isin Dynasty sources. The inscriptions of Rim-Su'en are the first ones from the Larsa ruler containing longer hymns describing Enki. The Asaluhi A and Nanna E hymns are covered under the current chapter as the hymns are most probably composed under the kings of Larsa. One inscription of Su'en-kašid of Uruk and one from the period of Iaḥdun-Lim of Mari are also treated under the chapter of Larsa Dynasty.

6.1. Gungunum

A hymn to Nanna for Gungunum gives information about the genealogy of the gods and mentions Enki-Ninki deities as the grandparents of Nanna-Su'en. It is stated that the moon-god was given birth to by Enlil and Ninlil.

Gungunum A, obv. 10–11:

[šul] ^dEN.ZU en tur x kur-gal-la ^dnin-lil-e tu-da

[^den]-ki ^dnin-ki pa-bíl-ga-ni nam du₁₀-ge-eš tar-re

[Youthful] Su'en, lord, ...(son?)... of the great mountain, given birth by Ninlil

[En]ki and Ninki, his grandparents, decide a good destiny (for him)

The text also titles Su'en, similarly to Enki in earlier texts, to be “the foremost king of the Anunna gods:” (obv. line 6): lugal 'palil' [^d]a-nun-na-ke₄-ne. According to the Early Dynastic UD.GAL.NUN texts; Enlil, Enki and Su'en were given birth to by Enki and Ninki.²²³ Therefore Su'en was considered to be the brother of Enki and Enlil. According to Gungunum text, Su'en seems to belong to the third generation of gods not given birth to by An and Uraš or Enki and Ninki, but by Enlil and Ninlil. One royal inscription titles the sun-god Utu to be the offspring of Nanna (Gungunum 2, 1–3: ^dutu / ù-tu-da / ^dnanna). It seems that the ideology of Gungunum tries to establish a genealogy of gods which might derive from the older listings of gods headed by Enki and Ninki.²²⁴

²²³ Cf. W. G. Lambert, OA 20 (1981), p. 85.

²²⁴ A similar titling of Su'en as the son of Enlil and Ninlil is followed in the inscriptions of Abi-sare 1. The inscription also states that the king has received (ii 1–3) [ḡéšt]u ma[h], probably from Enki.

6.2. Nur-Adad

Several inscriptions of Nur-Adad record the reconstruction of Enki's temple in Eridu. It is stated that the temple had been ruined for a long time and Nur-Adad is restoring its ancient ground plans (*ḡeš-ḥur*). It is noticeable that the earlier inscriptions of Larsa tend to list the city of Ur as the pre-eminent city in the titulary formulas of the kings.

Nur-Adad 5:

<i>nu-úr</i> ^d <i>iškur</i>	Nur-Adad,
nita kala-ga	mighty man,
engar zi <i>ur</i> ₅ ^{ki} -ma	true farmer of Ur,
lugal larsa ^{ki} -ma	king of Larsa;
me eš é-babbar-ra	me-s of the shrine E-babbar
kù-kù-ge	he purifies.
eridu ^{ki} <i>u</i> ₄ -ul-lí-a-ta	Eridu, which from a long time ago
šu mu-un-ḥul-a-ba	had been destroyed,
bala nì-si-sá-ḡu ₁₀ -uš	to make my reign straight (just),
dù-dè al bí-du ₁₁	to rebuild he desired.
^d en-ki-ke ₄	To Enki
ki-tuš kù ki-áḡ-ḡá-ni	his holy dwelling place, his beloved place,
mu-na-dù	he built,
ḡeš-ḥur ul-lí-a-ka-ni	his ancient plans ²²⁵
ki-bé mu-na-gi ₄	he restored.

Another inscription of Nur-Adad states that the king had built a new abzu *é-me-kù-kù-ga* (“the Abzu temple of pure me-s”) for Enki. The new temple is situated near or beside his ancient Abzu temple (*da é u₄-ul-x-a-ni*). It is also said that the temple construction was undertaken with the Enki's agreement.

Nur-Adad 6:

^r d en ¹ -[ki]	Enki,
^r lugal eridu ¹ [^{ki} -ga]	the king of Eridu,
^r lugal ¹ -[a-ni-ir]	to his king;
<i>nu-úr</i> ^d [<i>iškur</i>]	Nur-Adad,
nita kala-ga	mighty man,
ú-a <i>ur</i> ^{ki} - ^r ma ¹	provider of Ur,
^r lugal larsa ^{1ki} - ^r ma ¹	king of Larsa,
kur gú-ḡar-ḡar ^d utu-ke ₄	submitter of foreign lands of Utu.

²²⁵ D. Frayne, RIME 4, p. 145 translates “restored for him his ancient rites.” *ḡeš-ḥur* in this inscription seems to refer to the ground plan or original drawing of the temple and not to “the rites of Eridu.” F. Safar – M. A. Mustafa – S. Lloyd, Eridu (1981), p. 228 translate: “For Enki his beloved dwelling place, he built and reconstructed it in its original plan and place.” This interpretation seems to be fit the context better.

u ₄ úr ^{ki}	When Ur
larsa ^{ki} -bi	and Larsa
ki-bé ṛb ¹ -in ¹ -gi ₄ -a	he had restored
ùḡ ság-du ₁₁ -ṛga-bi ¹	(and) its defeated people
ki-tuš-bé mu-ṛgi-na ¹	in their dwelling-place he returned;
ùḡ dab ₅ -dab ₅ -a-bi	its captive people
uš zi-dè-[eš ...]	rightful foundation [...]
eridu ^{ki} [...]	Eridu [...].
u ₄ -ba ḥul-[ḡál]	Then the evil
^d en-[ki ...]	Enki [...]
šà-ba nu-un-[...]	inside it he did not let [enter?].
en ^d nu-dím-ṛmud ¹	Lord Nudimmud
mu-ši-in-še	agreed with this.
da é u ₄ -ul-x-a-ni	Beside his ancient temple
abzu é-me-kù-kù-ga-a-ni	his Abzu E-mekukuga,
ḡibil-bi-àm mu-na-dù	which is new, he built for him.
^{ḡeš} gu-za ^{ḡeš} šu-nir	His throne, standard,
gi ₁₆ -sa libir-a-ni	ancient treasures
šà-bi-šè	inside it
mu-ni-ku ₄	he brought.

The restoration of Enki's temple is also recorded in Nur-Adad's year names: mu é^den-ki eridu^{ki} ba-dù: "The year Enki's temple in Eridu was built;" and in the following year-name: mu ús-sa é^den-ki: "The year after the temple of Enki (was built)."²²⁶ This makes the restoring of Enki's temple one of the key elements of Nur-Adad's royal agenda. However, several inscriptions of Nur-Adad do not mention the god Enki in the titulary formula and the deities most often mentioned are Utu, Su'en and Iškur.²²⁷

6.3. Su'en-iddinam

Su'en-iddinam has two different types of titular formulas where the city of Eridu is mentioned. The Neo-Sumerian capital city Ur is listed first, followed by the city of Larsa.

Su'en-iddinam 10, 1–7:

^d EN.ZU- <i>i-din-na-am</i>	Su'en-iddinam,
nita kala-ga	mighty man,
ú-a úr ^{ki} -ma	provider of Ur,

²²⁶ M. A. Fitzgerald, *The Rulers of Larsa* (2002), p. 95.

²²⁷ Nur-Adad 1 and 3 only mention Utu and Iškur, Nur-Adad 2 is dedicated to Nanna and Ningal, Nur-Adad 4 (dedicated to Ningal) has Utu, Nanna and Iškur. Nur-Adad 7 only mentions Utu.

lugal larsa ^{ki} -ma	king of Larsa.
lugal ġeš-ĥur úri ^{ki}	King who the plans of Ur
eridu ^{ki} -ga	and Eridu
ki-bé bí-in-gi ₄ -a	has restored.

The other type of titular formula mentions instead of ġeš-ĥur of Ur and Eridu only the ġeš-ĥur of Eridu. Also the me-s of the cities of Lagaš and Girsu are mentioned in the formula.

Su'en-iddinam 1, 19–27:

^d EN.ZU- <i>i-din-nam</i> nita kala-ga	Su'en-iddinam, mighty man,
ú-a uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma	provider of Ur,
sipa-zi larsa ^{ki} -ma	true shepherd of Larsa,
ġeš-ĥur eridu ^{ki} -ga	who the plans of Eridu
ki-bé bí-in-gi ₄ -a	restored.
me šu du ₇ -du ₇ lagaš ^{ki}	He masters perfectly the me-s of Lagaš
ġír-su ^{ki} -ke ₄	and Girsu. ²²⁸
ibila kala-ga šà a-a-na du ₁₀ -du ₁₀	Mighty heir pleasing the heart of his father,
dumu-saġ ^d iškur	the first-born son of Iškur

Another type of titular formula of Su'en-iddinam not mentioning Eridu but listing Enlil's Nippur is: ^dEN.ZU-*i-din-na-am* / sipa nì-nam du₈-du₈ / nibru^{ki} / ú-a-uri₅^{ki}-ma / lugal larsa^{ki}-ma / lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ke₄.²²⁹ "Su'en-iddinam, / shepherd who makes everything abundant / for Nippur, / provider of Ur, / king of Larsa, / king of Sumer and Akkad." The most common title of Su'en-iddinam is however: ^dEN.ZU-*i-din-na-am* / nita kala-ga / ú-a-úri^{ki}-ma / lugal larsa^{ki}-ma / lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri.²³⁰ "Su'en-iddinam, / powerful man, / provider of Ur, / king of Lagaš, / king of Sumer and Akkad." A relatively small number of inscriptions mentioning the city of Nippur in the royal titles of the king Su'en-iddinam might indicate that Larsa rulers were not in control of the priesthood of Nippur or maybe even not considered legitimate by them. This might also be one of the reasons why most of the inscriptions of Larsa rulers can be related with the scribes of Ur and are not numerous in Nippur.²³¹

²²⁸ J. van Dijk, JCS 19 (1965), p. 11 (commentary for the lines 19–27 of the inscription) is surprised of the prominent position of Girsu and Lagaš in the titles of the king. The text of the tablet continues by describing the victories of Nur-Adad and in lines 116–117 it is stated that the god Ningirsu offered his help for Nur-Adad in the battlefield. Van Dijk offers a possibility according to which the dynasty of Nur-Adad might have originated from the Lagaš state: "Est-ce de là que la dynastie de Nūradad est venue?"

²²⁹ Su'en-iddinam 5, 7–12; 12, 4–9.

²³⁰ Su'en-iddinam 2, 1–5; 3, 3–7; 4, 1–5; 6, 8–12; 7, 7–12; 9, 6–10; 11, 1–5; 13, 1–4 and 14, 1–5 (having E-babbar and Utu instead of Sumer and Akkad).

²³¹ Cf. P. Michalowski, Gs. Sachs (1988), pp. 266–267 who explains the missing of Nippur texts by the conservatism of Enlil's priesthood rather than resulting from the lack of control of Larsa rulers over the city of Nippur.

Su'en-iddinam (2, 10–42) refers to An, Enlil, Inanna, Ninlil, Iškur, Nanna and Utu as the gods who gave him help and the order to restore the canals and riverbanks of Tigris. One royal inscription seems to praise the god Nanna for giving broad knowledge for the king, who, as a result, was able to grant water and abundance for his city and land: a da-rí / h̄é-ḡál ni-nu-til-e / uru^{ki} ma-da-ni-šè / im-mi-in-ḡar-ra-a.²³² “eternal water, / endless abundance / for his city and land / he could give.” The me-s and ḡeš-ḡur-s are “made magnificent” by Su'en-iddinam for the god Utu or the Anunna gods in Su'en-iddinam's inscriptions (3, 12–15; 9, 14–17; 14, 9–11). All the abovementioned features are usually associated with Enki as his main characteristics. Only one royal hymn dedicated to Su'en-iddinam and Iškur mentions that Su'en-iddinam received ḡéštu from Enki.

Su'en-iddinam 15 = Su'en-iddinam E, 34–50:

^d EN.ZU- <i>i-din-na-am</i> nita kala-ga	Su'en-iddinam, powerful man,
nun sun ₅ -na ní-tuk ^d en-líl-lá	humble prince reverencing Enlil
h̄é-àm é-kur-ra-kam	who is obedient to E-kur,
šul mu-du ₁₀ sa ₄ ^d nanna-ke ₄	youth called by a good name by Nanna,
ú-a ^r uri ₅ ^r ki ₁ -ma	provider of Ur,
lugal larsa ^{ki} -ma	king of Larsa,
lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ke ₄	king of Sumer and Akkad.
ḡéštu daḡal igi-ḡál diri šúm-ma	The one whom broad knowledge and
^d nu-dím-mud-ke ₄	supreme wisdom is given
bala du ₁₀ ti u ₄ -sù-rá h̄é-ḡál	by Nudimmud.
ni-nu-til-e	Good reign, long life and endless
^d iškur diḡir-a-ni	abundance
sa ₁₂ -e-cš-e rig ₇ -ga	Iškur, his (personal) god,
ḡes-ḡur eridu ^{ki} -ga si-sá-sá	bestowed on him.
nidba	The plans of Eridu he puts in order,
diḡir-re-e-ne šu-du ₇ -du ₇	offerings
gal-an-zu me-libir [?]	for the gods he (regularly) performs.
[k]i-bé bí-in-gi ₄ -a	The wise one who the old me-s
	did restore

6.4. Su'en-iqišam

While the name of Nippur was often missing from the royal titulary formulas of the previous rulers, one inscription of Su'en-iqišam giving praise to the gods Enlil and Ninlil, records the erecting of fourteen statues in the city of Nippur. The inscription contains a curse formula where the god Enki seems to be mentioned in connection to rivers.

²³² Su'en-iddinam 11, 16–19; cf. 14, 15–18.

Su'en-iqišam 1, obv. vi 27–30:

ḥu-m[u- ...]	may [...]
^d en- [...]	En-[ki? ...]
nun x [...]	prince [...]
i7 x [...]	canal/river [...]

It is not certain whether the god in line 28 is Enki but the mentioning of the river in this context seems to refer to the ancient curse-formula present already in Naram-Su'en's times asking Enki to block the irrigation canals of the evil-doer.

6.5. Kudur-mabuk and Warad-Su'en

An inscription from the 6th year of Warad-Su'en tells that the Amorite chief Kudur-mabuk had received the royal sceptre and the me-s from An, Enlil, Enki and Ninmah. The succession of gods in this inscription (An, Enlil, Enki, Ninmah, Nanna and Utu) is the regular ordering starting from the period of Ibbi-Su'en.

Warad-Su'en 13, 39–46:

u ₄ an-né ^d en-lil-le	When An, Enlil
^d en-ki-ke ₄ ^d nin-maḥ-bi	Enki and Ninmah
^{gēš} gidru zi un ₅ laḥ ₄ -laḥ ₄ ḥé-du ₇	the legitimate sceptre suitable for ruling the people,
bala me da-ri	the reign of eternal me-s,
me-bi nu-kúr-ru-dè	of me-s which cannot be overruled,
du ₁₁ -ga maḥ ^d nanna ^d utu-ta	by the great order of Nanna and Utu
nam si-sá-a- ^{gū} u ₁₀ -šè	in order to make my fate straight
ma-ni-in-šúm-mu-uš-àm	they gave to me.

One curse formula of Warad-Su'en groups together the gods Enlil, Su'en, Enki and Ninmah and lists them as the most important gods (*diḡir gal-gal-e-ne*). The other option would be to interpret "Enlil, Su'en, Enki, Ninmah and the totality of great gods."

Warad-Su'en 14:²³³ 12'–22':

lú-ba	That man;
^d en-lil	Enlil,
^d EN.ZU	Su'en,
^d en-ki	Enki,
^d nin-maḥ-bi	Ninmah (and)
kilib diḡir gal-gal-e-ne	the totality of the great gods;
ki nam tar-re-da	in the place where destinies are determined
inim-ma-ni un-kíd-da	let crash his words
e-ne ù numun-a-ni	and cause him and his seed

²³³ Cf. Warad-Su'en 1002, v 1–3.

šà kalam-ma-ka	from the middle of the land
nam-mu-ni-íb-ǵá-ǵá-e-ne	to be displaced.
eš	

The titulary formulas of Warad-Su'en are slightly different from the previous rulers of Larsa and one of them contains the cities in the order of Nippur, Ur, Larsa, Lagaš and the land of Kutalla.²³⁴

The formula where also the god Enki is mentioned starts with Enlil's temple E-kur and is followed by E-kišnugal, E-babbar and Eridu. The inscription continues by mentioning Nanna and Utu. Eridu is described as associated with the me-s and the divine plans ǵeš-ḥur. E-ninnu temple of Ningirsu is also listed and Warad-Su'en is described as the restorer of Lagaš and Girsu.

Warad-Su'en 16, 6–17:

IR ₁₁ - ^d EN.ZU	Warad-Su'en,
ú-a é-kur-ra	provider of E-kur,
sipa saǵ-èn-tar	shepherd and supervisor
é-kiš-nu-gál	of E-kišnugal,
lú ní-tuk	the man who reverences
eš é-babbar-ra	the shrine E-babbar,
me ǵeš-ḥur	me-s and plans
eridu ^{ki} -ga šu-du ₇ -du ₇	of Eridu completes/performs,
lú nidba gu-ul-gu-ul	the man who is abundant offerings giver
é-ninnu-me-en	for E-ninnu,
lagas ^{ki} ǵír-su ^{ki}	Lagaš and Girsu
ki-bé gi ₄ -gi ₄ -me-en	who is restoring I am

One royal inscription describing the construction of Inanna's temple by Warad-Su'en states that Enki gives wide knowledge for the king.

²³⁴ Warad-Su'en 1, 6–10; 2, 6–12: ú-a nibru^{ki} / énsi uri₅^{ki} / larsa^{ki} / lagaš^{ki} / ù ma-da *ku-ta-al-la*^{ki}-ke₄: "Provider of Nippur, / ruler of Ur, / Larsa, / Lagaš / and the land of Kutalla." Other titular formulas of Kudur-mabuk and Warad-Su'en all differ from one inscription to the other, but the god Enki is not mentioned in them. The formulas of Kudur-mabuk usually only state that he is the father of the Amorite land, son of Simtišilhak and the one who gives favour to the E-babbar temple (Warad-Su'en 3, 8–10; 5, 6–8; 6, 6–8; 7, 8–10). Warad-Su'en 10, 6–13 mentions Enlil and Ninlil, E-babbar, E-kur, E-kišnugal and Nippur; Warad-Su'en 14, 10–17; 27, 7–13 list Nippur, Ur, Girsu, Lagaš, E-babbar, Larsa and Sumer and Akkad; Warad-Su'en 18, 1–9 has Enlil, Ur, Larsa, Sumer and Akkad; Warad-Su'en 20, 4–11: Enlil, Nanna, Utu, E-babbar, E-kur, E-kišnugal, Larsa, Sumer and Akkad; Warad-Su'en 19, 1–5; 22, 8–10; 24, 7–9; 26, 11–13: Ur, Larsa, Sumer and Akkad. Warad-Su'en 23, 6–11: E-babbar, Ur, Enlil, Nanna, Utu, Larsa, Sumer and Akkad. Warad-Su'en 25, 4–6: Ur, E-babbar, Larsa. Warad-Su'en 29, i 1–5: Larsa, Sumer and Akkad, E-babbar.

Warad-Su'en 27, 27–29:

ḡéštu daḡal	broad knowledge
kíḡ da-rí díḡm-me-dè	for creating eternal works
^d en-ki-ke ₄ ma-an-šúm-ma	Enki has given

Another inscription of Warad-Su'en (21, 38–56) praises An and Enlil for ordering or helping Warad-Su'en to establish water in the midst of his people. The same text considers the god Nanna responsible for governing the me-s of heaven and earth. As was the case with the previously discussed texts of Su'en-iddinam, governing the me-s and taking care of irrigation canals and rivers is not Enki's exclusive priority. The most frequently mentioned gods in the inscriptions of Warad-Su'en and his father Kudur-mabuk are Nanna/Su'en and Ningal, Utu, An and Enlil. Enki and his city Eridu have a prominent place in the royal ideology, but it does not exceed the importance of the other major gods.

6.6. Rim-Su'en

A royal inscription from the reign of Rim-Su'en, the son of the Amorite chief Kudur-mabuk and the brother of the previous ruler Warad-Su'en, describes a temple built for Enki in the city of Ur. This event probably took place during the year eight of Rim-Su'en as his year-names indicate.²³⁵ Enki is titled to be the advice giver of the great gods, “the wise one” and the granter of all kinds of divine plans.

Rim-Su'en 6:

^d en-ki	To Enki,
en nam gal tar-tar-re	the lord, the decider of great fates,
á kilib-ba áḡ-e	the determiner of all the orders,
gal-zu en sá-ḡar	the wise one, the lord, the counsellor
diḡir gal-gal-e-ne-er	of all the great gods;
umuš galga šúm-mu	giving plans and instructions,
nun gal du ₁₁ -ga-ni nu-kàm-me-dam	great prince whose orders cannot be
	overruled,
inim-ma-ni u ₁₈ -ru	whose words are powerful,
ḡé-ḡál šár-re	who makes abundance multiply,
ùḡ-e asila _x si-si	who fills the people with joy,
zi-ḡál-la-aš ḡa-la šúm-mu	who assigns to the living beings their
	share.
lugal-a-ni-ir	For his king,
ri-im- ^d EN.ZU	Rim-Su'en,
nun ní-tuk nibru ^{ki}	prince who reverences Nippur,

²³⁵ M. A. Fitzgerald, *The Rulers of Larsa* (2002), p. 168. Year four of Rim-Su'en is dedicated to the building of the temples for Inanna, Nanna, and Enki at the city of Larsa.

ú-a úri ^{ki} -ma	provider of Ur,
saġ-èn-tar	supervisor of
ġír-su ^{ki} ki-lagaš ^{ki} -a	Girsu and Lagaš,
me ġeš-ḥur eridu ^{ki} -ga šu-du ₇ -du ₇	who executes the me-s and plans of Eridu, ²³⁶
é-babbar-da ní-te-ge ₂₆	fearful of E-babbar,
lugal larsa ^{ki} -ma	king of Larsa,
lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri	king of Sumer and Akkad,
lú é-diġir-re-e-ne šu gibil bí-in-ak	the man who renovated the temples of the gods,
ġeš-ḥur šu-luḥ gal-bi šu im-mi-in-du ₇ -a	who the plans and great cleansing rituals performed,
nam-šita a-ra-zu-e u ₄ -šú-uš-e gub-ba	who in prayer and supplication daily stands.
é-ġéštu-šu-du ₇	E-geštušudu
ki-tuš ki-áġ-ġá-ni	(“Temple of great knowledge”)
mu-na-dù	his beloved dwelling-place
diri u ₄ -bi-ta-šè	has built for him.
é-šu-sì-ga-bi mu-daġal	Greater than it had been in the past days
saġ-bi im-mi-in-il	its <i>ešusiga</i> he widened.
ḥur-saġ-gen ₇ bí-in-mú	Its head he raised (from its previous height),
	like a mountain made it grow.

The titulary formula contained in the inscription lists the cities in the order of Nippur, Ur, Girsu and Lagaš, Eridu and Larsa. The titles of the king Rim-Su’en always start with the mention of Enlil’s city Nippur usually followed by Ur or Eridu. Several inscriptions however do not mention the city of Eridu at all.²³⁷ Compared to the inscriptions of Warad-Su’en where the name Enki was relatively rarely mentioned, it is clear that Enki’s role for Rim-Su’en has grown considerably.

²³⁶ The line is also repeated in Rim-Su’en 7, 4; 8, 14; 9, 12; 11, 16; 12, 9; 13, 12; 17, 26. Rim-Su’en 10, 9 has me ġeš-ḥur eridu^{ki}-ga kù-kù-ge: “makes the me-s and ġeš-ḥur-s pure.”

²³⁷ Rim-Su’en 1, 10–13; 2, 10–13; 3, 10–13; 4, 8–11; 5, 8–11: Nippur, Ur, Larsa, Sumer and Akkad. Rim-Su’en 11, 12–18: Nippur, Ur, Girsu and Lagaš, Eridu, E-babbar, Larsa. Rim-Su’en 7, 2–6: Girsu and Lagaš, Eridu, E-babbar, Larsa. Rim-Su’en 8, 11–17: Nippur, Ur, E-babbar, Eridu, Girsu and Lagaš, Larsa. Rim-Su’en 9, 10–15: Nippur, Ur, Eridu, Girsu and Lagaš, Larsa. Rim-Su’en 10, 8–13: Nippur, Eridu, Ur, Girsu and Lagaš, Larsa. Rim-Su’en 12, 7–12: Nippur, Eridu, Ur, E-babbar, Larsa. Rim-Su’en 13, 10–21: (Enlil), Nippur, Eridu, Ur, E-babbar, Girsu and Lagaš, E-babbar, Lugal-gudua, Eanna, Larsa. Rim-Su’en 17, 21–29: Enlil, An, Nippur, Eridu, Ur, E-babbar, Larsa. Rim-Su’en 18, 20–25: Nippur, Eridu, Ur, E-babbar, Larsa, Uruk, Isin. Rim-Su’en 19, 14–15: Larsa, Uruk, Isin.

An inscription describing the military victory of Rim-Su'en over several armies lead by the city of Uruk states that the most important gods of Mesopotamia were assisting the king in this battle. Rim-Su'en was helped by the word of An, the supreme decree of Enlil and Ninlil, Ninurta and Nuska. Enki gives *ḡéštu* for the king, and Ninhursag, mentioned after Enki, is said to be giving “good things” for Rim-Su'en.

Rim-Su'en 10, 25–26:

ḡéštu ^den-ki-ke₄ ma-an-šúm-ma-ta
^dnin-ḥur-saḡ du₁₀ ki si-ig-ge₄-gá-ta

By the knowledge given by Enki,
 by Ninhursag who fills the earth with good (things) for me

Then follow Nanna who gives good omens and Utu who has the authority. Iškur, Nergal, Inanna, Ninisina and Ninšenšena are also mentioned at the end of the text.

Two inscriptions referring to the capture of Uruk by Rim-Su'en in his 21st year mention that An, Enlil and Enki gave Uruk into the hands of Rim-Su'en.

Rim-Su'en 12, 14–18: Rim-Su'en 13, 23–26:

<i>u</i> ₄ an ^d en-líl ^d en-ki	<i>u</i> ₄ an ^d en-líl ^d en-ki	When An, Enlil Enki
<i>diḡir gal-gal-e-ne</i> unu ^{ki} uru-ul	ù <i>diḡir gal-gal-e-ne</i> unu ^{ki} uru-ul	(and) the great gods, Uruk, the ancient city
šu-ḡu ₁₀ -šè ma-ni-in-si-eš-a	šu-ḡu ₁₀ -šè bí-in-si-eš-a	into my hands they gave.

An inscription of Rim-Su'en dealing with the digging of an irrigation canal states that An, Enlil, Enki and Ninmah have given abundance and water for the nation. The abundance is granted by the water of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates which flow to the new Mami-šarrat canal (Rim-Su'en 15, 1–15). Enlil is described to have given orders to Rim-Su'en to dig the new canal and the task is achieved by using the knowledge given by Enki: [*ḡ*]éštu daḡal ^den[-ki-ke₄] ma-ni-in-^ršúm¹-ma-^ra¹ (line 29). The final part of the text asks An, Enlil, Enki and Ninmah (line 55) to grant a long life and abundance to the king Rim-Su'en. A similar collective mentioning of the gods An, Enlil, Enki (omitting the name of Ninmah) occurs in Rim-Su'en 17, 3. An, Enlil and Enki are said to have entrusted “the numerous black-headed people” into the hands of the goddess Ninegal. The phrase “at the (just) command of An, Enlil and Enki:” (*du*₁₁-ga (zi-da) an ^den-líl ^den-ki-ta) is present in the year-names of Rim-Su'en 22–30.²³⁸ The inscriptions of Rim-Su'en show an inconsistency between the grouping of the

²³⁸ M. A. Fitzgerald, *The Rulers of Larsa* (2002), pp. 170–172. The previous year names (17–18, 20–21), describing military campaigns, only contain “with the help of the mighty weapon given to him by Enlil:” (^ḡes^{es}tukul kala-ga ^den-líl mu-un-na-šúm-ma-ta).

gods as An, Enlil, Enki and the mother-goddess and the listing of only the triad of the most important male gods An, Enlil and Enki.²³⁹ Excluding the mother-goddess from the group of the four most important divine figures of Sumerian pantheon of the previous periods and developing the triad “An, Enlil, Enki (and the great gods:” an ^den-líl ^den-ki (ù) diğir gal-gal-e-ne clearly demonstrates the diminishing role of the mother-goddess in the royal ideology of Larsa state.

A prayer to Nanna for Rim-Su'en (Rim-Su'en F) speaks about the Abzu marsh or lagoon where the reeds are growing. The beginning of the text refers to the temple of Abzu probably situated in Ur and connected to the temple of the moon-god E-kišnugal.²⁴⁰

Rim-Su'en F, 2–12:

abzu èš kù maḥ é-kiš-nu-ğál-la-ke₄
nam-maḥ gal šà-ta bar-ta-bi
ki-ğar é-é šà kù sikil-la-ka
ir du₁₀-ga tir šem ^{ges}eren-na ḥa-šu-úr-ra-kam
é ki-gal-bi šà é-ke₄

Abzu, the great holy shrine of E-kišnugal

Great hugeness from inside of it and from outside of it

Foundations of temples are (situated in Abzu's) pure inner-parts

Good smell, fragrance of forests, of cedars and cypresses (the temple) is (spreading)

The temple, its foundations are situated inside the temple.

Line 2 of the Rim-Su'en hymn has been interpreted differently by D. Charpin who reads AB as aba – “the sea:” abzu-ab-kù-maḥ é-kiš-nu-ğál-la-ke₄: “L'Abzu est la mer sainte, sublime, de l'Ekišnugal.”²⁴¹ J. van Dijk prefers èš and translates: “Abzu, le pur sanctuaire éminent dans l'Ekišnugal.”²⁴² As W. G. Lambert has demonstrated, the clear distinction between the salt waters of the sea and the fresh waters of the Mesopotamian rivers was not always made.²⁴³ Therefore,

²³⁹ H. D. Galter, *Ea/Enki*, p. 145 argues that the group of the four represents different spheres of the universe and nature: An (the heavens), Enlil (the earth), Ea (Abzu) and the mother-goddess (nature). As was seen by the earlier periods, the main representative of natural abundance was Enki himself. Enlil's role as “the god of earth“ is nowhere to be seen.

²⁴⁰ This Abzu of E-kišnugal is also mentioned in Rim-Su'en G, 16–17: lugal nidba-zu sağ-bi šà abzu-a dù-dù-ra-a ma-ra-dù-dù-ra / lugal nidba-zu egir-bi kisal maḥ-a: “King, at first you have given your offerings offered in Abzu. / King, afterwards you have given your offerings in the great courtyard.”

²⁴¹ D. Charpin, *Clergé*, p. 287 and commentary p. 289: “On notera cependant que èš est généralement placé avant abzu; on a donc tenté une lecture aba_x ‘mer’.”

²⁴² J. van Dijk, *Fs. Böhl* (1973), p. 111.

²⁴³ W. G. Lambert, *RAI* 44 (2000), pp. 75–77. This is also agreed by B. Alster, *Fs. Klein* (2005), p. 17: “There is, in fact, no evidence that the Mesopotamians contrasted the

equating Abzu with the sea *aba* is imaginable. However, no Sumerian source from the older periods seems to comprehend Abzu as a cosmic sea.²⁴⁴ Abzu was pictured either as a specific temple structure in Eridu or as a cosmic entity situated under the earth, probably accessible through rivers or bodies of water but never directly equated with water²⁴⁵ (cf. 8.3. of the current study). Line 4 of the text (*ki-ġar é-é šà kù sikil-la-ka*) probably describes that the foundations of temples lay inside or on the surface of Abzu, a motive known from the earlier periods.

The Rim-Su'en hymn describes a lagoon or marsh of Abzu (*ambar abzu*) possibly situated near the E-kišnugal temple. The holy reeds growing in the lagoon are also mentioned.

fresh and the salt waters in this way. All rivers carried potentially salt water, which might be fatal to agriculture if left as standing waters with no outlet.”

²⁴⁴ Cf. W. G. Lambert, RAI 44 (2000), p. 77 (referring to the bilingual creation story about Marduk constructing the world, CT 13, 35f.): “The idea that the earth is an earth-laden raft floating on the cosmic water explains how there is water beneath the earth, and simultaneously sea around the earth. But it still leaves the question whether there is some border within the cosmic water which separates the Apsû where Ea lives from the sea known to the human race. Mariners in the ancient world did not normally see Ea as they sailed. No ancient text seems to face the question directly, but one may suspect that it was assumed that Ea resided directly under the earth, while the Apsû in a sense extended to every sea-shore, but not as the very abode of Ea.”

²⁴⁵ One of the examples where Abzu and the waters seem to be equated is a ritual text (YBC 4184) about the purification of arms, a ritual going back to the times of Sargon's dynasty. J. van Dijk, Fs Böhl (1973), p. 111 used the second line of Rim-Su'en F to clarify the first lines of the ritual text (lines 1–4): *èš abzu a-gúb-ba a-tu₅-[a] / kar-kù-ga šu-du₇-a / ^den-ki lugal eridu^{ki}-ga-ke₄ / kar a-tu₅-a mu-un-sikil*: “The shrine Abzu, the bathing water, the washing water / perfected in the holy harbour. / Enki, the king of Eridu, / harbour of washing water has made pure.” D. Charpin, Clergé, p. 293 compares the beginning of the Rim-Su'en F text mentioning the sea and forests to the ritual text (VAT 8382) in J. van Dijk, HSAO (1967), p. 255: [*gú*]-*a-ab-ba sug-sug muš-a / ^ges⁵tir kù ^den-ki-ga*: “[In the banks] of the sea, of marshland area, / Enki's holy forest.” The comparisons of Eridu with the sea can also be found in Enki's Journey to Nippur 53–54: *eridu^{ki} ġissu-zu ab-šà-ga lá-a / a-ab-ba zi-ga gaba-šu-ġar nu-tuku*: “Eridu, your shadow reaches/hangs (until) the middle of the sea, / rising sea having no rival.” Enki's Journey to Nippur 56–57 describes Abzu and Eridu standing on the banks of Engur: *é-engur-ra úru maġ ki ús-sa / é da engur-ra piriġ abzu šà-ga*: “E-Engur, great tower (or: flood) set on the (surface of) earth. / Temple at the edge of Engur, lion in the middle of Abzu.” Enki's Journey to Nippur lines 73–75 add that the Eridu temple is floating on the waters: *eridu^{ki} ^den-ki-ke₄ im-ma-an-il-la-ba / ġur-saġ galam kad₅-dam a-e ba-diri / zà-ga-a-ni ġeš-gi-a ba-an-ku*: “Eridu, raised up by Enki, / skilfully constructed great mountain floating in water, / his sides are spreading to (or: placed in) the canebrakes.” When comparing the different textual examples, it seems that [*gú*]-*a-ab-ba, da engur-ra* and *a-e* are all used synonymously – referring to the waters or to the marshes where the Eridu temple or Abzu are situated geographically. Cf. M. W. Green, Eridu (1975), pp. 163–165 about the watery nature of Abzu.

Rim-Su'en F, 18–19:

da ambar abzu-a é-kiš-nu-ġál-la-kam

èš kù-ga áb niġin-na

On the sides of the Abzu lagoon of E-kišnugal temple,
of the holy shrine where the cows are circling around

Rim-Su'en F: 26–27:

[š]à ambar abzu é-k[iš-nu-ġál-la-ke₄]

[su]g kù ġeš-gi a kù-ga g[i ...] ma-ra-mú-mú-e

Inside the Abzu lagoon of E-k[išnugal temple]

Holy marsh, the reeds in pure water, ree[ds ...] growing

The reeds or lagoon of the moon-god (ambar ^dnanna) were already mentioned in the Gudea Temple Hymn (cf. Cyl. A, xxi 17–22). This may refer to the fact that a certain Abzu structure was already present in the Ur temple during the reign of Gudea. D. Charpin proposes that the Abzu situated in E-kišnugal temple of Ur “ait comporté une structure en roseaux plus ou moins conçue comme une réplique du temple d'Eridu.”²⁴⁶ According to Charpin, the cult of Enki had moved from Eridu to seek refuge in the city of Ur after the city of Eridu was destroyed by the Su-people and Elamites during the final years of the Ur III state. This would explain the prominent position of the Eridu circle gods in the Ur cult as well as the existence of several literary compositions written to praise Enki or his family of deities by the priests in Ur. M. van de Mieroop is against the scenario and uses two different arguments. Firstly, just as with Eridu, the city of Ur was probably destroyed by the invading forces and there was no reason for the Eridu priesthood to seek refuge in the destroyed city of Ur. Secondly, the cult of Enki was already established in Ur during the Ur III period and there was no need for the emigration of the priests of Eridu to establish the cult already present in Ur.²⁴⁷ Although the actual history or the possible migration of the Enki priests to Ur is impossible to reconstruct in full detail, it is certain that the cult of Enki was among the most important ones in E-kišnugal which is also indicated by the existence of several texts dealing with Enki.

Enki's connection to the moon-god is further developed in the Nanna E hymn, presumably dating from the reign of Rim-Su'en or earlier. The text compares or equates the E-kišnugal temple of Ur with the Abzu shrine (line 56: èš abzu bára maḥ úri^{ki}-ma). The hymn mainly describes how Enki, alongside Enlil, is responsible for Nanna's fate and his lordship.

Nanna E, 10–11:

a DU-a a sig maḥ-zu-šè nam tar-re ki du₁₀ ama du₁₀

²⁴⁶ D. Charpin, *Clergé*, p. 294. Cf. p. 335 where Charpin compares the Abzus of Mesopotamian temples to the baptismal fonts of Christian churches.

²⁴⁷ M. van de Mieroop, *JCS* 41 (1989), p. 246.

^den-ki ABxA šà kù-ta ġir-zu-šè im-mi-in-ġar
 Flowing (?) waters, your great lower (receding / ebbing / low tide ?) waters
 (Enki) has determined (to be your) destiny; the good earth, the good mother
 Enki from inside his holy bathing chamber (Abzu ?) at your (Nanna's / moon's)
 feet has placed

Nanna E, 17–19:

^den-ki-ke₄ ki èš eridu^{ki}-ta nam-men nam-maḥ-zu mu-ri-in-tar
 abzu maḥ ki èš eridu^{ki}-ta nam-en gal-zu-šè
 lugal an ki-ke₄ x x DAR-a nam-gal-zu-šè ba-an-du₁₁
 Enki, from the place of the shrine Eridu determined your fate of lordship and
 greatness
 From the great Abzu, the place (where) the shrine Eridu (is situated); into your
 great en-ship
 King of heaven and earth ...?... into your greatness has ordered

The hymn continues by describing how Enki organises the E-kišnugal temple of Ur to be suitable and majestic for Nanna. Enki also puts into order the cleansing rituals and divine plans (line 31: ġeš-ḥur šu-luḥ) of the temple. The deity Kusu²⁴⁸ is mentioned in close relation with Enki and the rituals of Abzu.

Nanna E, 38–39:

^{dr}en-ki¹ abzu-ni ù-tu š[u-l]uḥ mu-ra-an-ġá-ġá
^dkù-su₁₃-e šu-luḥ-ḥa ba-ni-túm é ní-bi ù-tu
 Enki organises the purification rituals for you which are born in his Abzu
 Kusu brings along the purification rituals born in their (own) house (Abzu)

Enki is titled with the divine name ^ddàra-abzu in lines 52/55: ^ddàra-abzu eridu^{ki}-ta šu-bi í im-sikil-e “The Stag of Abzu from Eridu purifies the oil for his hands.” The “Stag of Abzu” is used as the name of Enki’s cultic or mythological boat. Here it stands for his personal name.

Among the texts found from no 7 “Quiet Street” at Ur, one is a hymn of Rim-Su’en, addressed to the god Haia, so far the only known literary composition dedicated to that god. Just like his wife Nisaba, Haia also was mainly the god of writing and purification rituals. Both gods also belonged to the Eridu circle of gods and were associated with Enki and his Abzu. The beginning line of Rim-Su’en B titles Haia en ġéštu maḥ šu-du₇: “Lord, having (executing) great knowledge.” Then he is described as being in possession of the great writing-

²⁴⁸ Kusu is known to be the wife of Indagra who seems to be equated with the god Haia in the Rim-Su’en B Hymn to Haia. In line 18, Haia is titled to be ^dḥa-ia lú šu-luḥ sikil-la engur-ra-ke₄: “Haia, the one of pure lustration rituals of Engur.” The next line features Indagra titled to be the sanga-priest: ^dindagra saġa. It seems possible that the pair Haia-Nisaba was equated with Indagra-Kusu. Cf. P. Michalowski, *Fs. Hallo* (1993), pp. 158–160; H. Steible, *Ein Lied an den Gott Haja* (1967), pp. 88–89.

tablets and having great *ḡéštu*. Haia is also the accountant of Enki's Abzu temple *ḡal-an-kù*²⁴⁹ and able to understand the skills situated in *é-ḡéštu* *ḡnisaba*.

Rim-Su'en B, 2–3:

ḡha-ia dub gal-gal ḡa-ḡa-za ḡéštu-ḡéštu-ga peš-peš
šid-dù ḡal-an-kù igi zà til galam-ma-ke₄ é-ḡéštu ḡnisaba-ke₄
Haia holding the great tablets, having the thickest knowledge
Accountant of Halanku, having the right sight (which is) complete of the skills
of the House of Wisdom of Nisaba

Haia is described to be in service of Enlil in E-kur, as the subordinate of Abzu and Enki,²⁵⁰ and also of E-kišnugal of Ur.

Rim-Su'en B, 7–10:

kišib-ḡál a-a ḡen-líl-lá-ke₄ lú tam-ma è èrim é-kur-ra
ḡé-du₇ èš-e abzu-a siki bar-ra lá-lá en ḡnu-dím-mud-ra
ḡha-ia šà-gad-lá é-u₆-nir-ra uz-ga kù lu-lu
úmum ak-ak èš é-kiš-nu-ḡál-lá-ke₄ mu maḡ-bi gal-la
Seal-bearer of the father Enlil, the purificator, bringing out the treasures of E-kur
Ornament of the shrine Abzu, hair hanging (loose) on his back²⁵¹ for the lord
Nudimmud
Purification-priest of E-unir, who makes the holy *uzga*-(cultic place) abundant
Wisdom-maker of the shrine E-kišnugal, the greatness of his name is huge

The connection between Haia and Enlil is explainable since Sud, the daughter of Haia and Nisaba, is described as marrying the god Enlil in the myth Enlil and Sud. In the beginning of the myth (lines 2–3), it is stated that Haia has put his holy semen (a *kù-ga*) in the womb of Nisaba, who gives birth to Sud, who is named Ninlil after marrying Enlil.²⁵² Therefore, the gods of Enki's circle have mythologically close ties with Enlil as well, although the reasons for the mythological marriage of Enlil and Sud are unknown. They can be, for example,

²⁴⁹ A. Lenzi, *Secrecy and the Gods* (2008), p. 104 translates the name Halanku(g) as the “secret of the pure heaven” and Ea's sanctuary in Esagil *é-ḡal-an-ki* as the “House of the Secrets of Heaven and Earth.” The Sumerian word *ḡal* by one of its most apparent meaning is to “divide (out).” Although possible, the translation “secret” in the context of Enki's Halanku cannot be proven. As M. W. Green, *Eridu*, p. 205 points out, “As a temple or chamber, it is where Enki ‘takes counsel’,” said with a reference to Nisaba A, 42. In the sense that the taking of counsel might involve extispicy rituals, the word *ḡal*'s meaning “to open” (the guts of an animal?) or “to reveal” seems possible.

²⁵⁰ Cf. D. Charpin, *Clergé*, p. 353: One seal impression (on UET V 124) from the times of Rim-Su'en titles him *ḡha-ia zabar-dab₅ ḡen-ki*: “Haia, *zabardabum*-priest of Enki.”

²⁵¹ In Nisaba A, 44 and Enki's Journey to Nippur 48, similar phrase was used for the Abgal-sage.

²⁵² Cf. M. Civil, *JAOS* 103 (1983), pp. 43–44.

political, as was detectable in the formation of the pantheon of Lagaš²⁵³ (for uniting the circle of Enlil with the circle of Enki in terms of the harmony of the overall Sumerian pantheon?), or simply literary.

The Rim-Su'en hymn continues by praising Haia because of his wisdom and skills. He is described as mastering the plans (ġeš-ħur) of Eridu and performing the purification rituals (šu-luħ) of Engur.

Rim-Su'en B, 17–18:

ša daġal šur-ra ġeš-ħur kù-ga é eridu^{ki}-ga-ke₄ šu dib-bé

^dħa-ia lú šu-luħ sikil-la engur-ra-ke₄ túg-ba₁₃ túg lá-lá

Having a wide heart, holy plans of Eridu temple holding in his hands

Haia, the one who during the pure lustration rituals of Engur wears the ceremonial priestly robe

It is also stated that Enki has given to Haia his “incantations of life.”

Rim-Su'en B, 38:

^den-ki-ke₄ èš-e abzu-ta tu₆-tu₆ nam-ti-la-ni mu-ra-rig₇

For the shrine from Abzu, Enki has bestowed on you his incantations of life

The hymn is concluded by praising Enki, titled “the lord of heaven and earth” (line 56: en an ki), and Haia, said to be “the god of the land” (line 58: diġir kalam-ma). The functions of Haia described in this hymn are not very different from the functions of Enki himself. Haia is characterised by his wisdom and knowledge, he takes care of the purification rituals and holds the ġeš-ħur in his hands. This similarity of functions is complemented by the similarities between the names of ^dħa-ia²⁵⁴ and the Akkadian name *é-a* which both seem to be derivations of the root *ħyy.²⁵⁵ M. Civil finds that “originally, the name may have been a variant spelling of *é-a*, and therefore identical with Enki, but Ĥaia and Ea are already considered two different deities in the early OB period. Note that while offerings are made to Ĥaia, especially in Ur, in the Ur III period, at

²⁵³ Cf. G. Selz, ASJ 12 (1990), pp. 111ff.

²⁵⁴ Cf. H. D. Galter, *Ea/Enki* (1983), p. 6 and pp. 134–136; D. Charpin, Clergé, pp. 353–354. Cf. J.-M. Durand in *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études IVe Section* (1976–77) p. 173, note b *apud* D. Charpin, Clergé, p. 352 note 2: “il y a toutes chances pour que *é-a* se soit prononcé hay-a, sur le modèle de *é-gal* donnant haykal en hébreu. À Mari, Hayyâ est bien attesté sous les graphies ha-ya et ha-yâ. Un texte donne de plus pour un nom propre une équivalence a-ya pour *é-a*. Il est donc possible que les trois graphies soient à ramener à l'unité de ha-ya, a-ya et *é-a* (a-ya étant d'ailleurs une des graphies de *é-a* dans le domaine Syro-hittite du milieu du II^e millénaire).”

²⁵⁵ For a longer discussion about the name, cf. G. J. Selz, AOAT 281 (2002), pp. 663–671. Selz concludes (p. 670) that the relatively late appearance of Haia might indicate his West Semitic (Amorite) origins. Because the shift from [ħ] to [h] does not present any difficulties, the connection with the root *ħjj* is most probable.

that time Ea appears only in personal names.”²⁵⁶ It seems possible that the Sumerian scribes might have integrated the Akkadian *é-a* into the Sumerian pantheon under the name of Haia as an adoption of a Semitic (god-)name into the Sumerian pantheon. M. W. Green has suggested that “perhaps the names Haja and Ea (‘Aja) represent two renderings of the name of an ancient (pre-Sumerian?) deity adopted into both the Sumerian and the Akkadian pantheons, Haja persisting as the name of a separate but closely related deity after the form Ea became assimilated to Enki.”²⁵⁷ Although the similar name of Ea and Haia might only be coincidental,²⁵⁸ the scenario offered by Green seems probable when leaving out the supposed pre-Sumerian existence of a god bearing a similar name with Ea and Haia.

The Asaluhi Hymn is one among the texts found from Ur and presumably dated from the same period as the hymn to Haia for Rim-Su’en. The functions and description of Asaluhi are not very different from that of Haia discussed above. The first preserved lines of the text state that Asaluhi has received the name *i₇-lú-ru-gú* (“the river of the ordeal”).

Asaluhi A, 8–9:

i₇-lú-ru-gú a-rá maḥ [x] x an [...]
mu-šè mu-ri-in-s[a₄]
 Ilurugu, the great water-course [...]
 Has given that name for you

The epithet²⁵⁹ was probably given to Asaluhi by Enki. This is also indicated by the concluding lines of the text where he receives the name Asaluhi from Enki.

Asaluhi A, 39:

^dasal-lú-ḥi nun šà daḡal mu-šè mu-ri-i[n-sa₄]
 Asaluhi, prince of wide heart, (such a) name has given to you

Asaluhi is described as being the son of Enki in line 14: *gal-zu maḥ dumu-saḡ^den-ki-ke₄*: “great sage, the first-born son of Enki” who has great knowledge and who is a sage just like his father (line 16): *^dasal-lú-ḥi ḡéštu bad a-a-ni-gen₇ gal-[zu]*: “Asaluhi, (having) open knowledge (=ear), like his father – a sage.” Lines 23–24 characterise Asaluhi as the main force behind the incantations. This role

²⁵⁶ M. Civil, JAOS 103 (1983), p. 44. Cf. H. D. Galter, *Ea/Enki*, pp. 134–136.

²⁵⁷ Eridu, p. 75.

²⁵⁸ H. D. Galter, *Ea/Enki*, p. 7.

²⁵⁹ W. Heimpel, JCS 61 (2009), p. 55 hypothesises that Ilurugu might have been “an alter Ego” of the hypothetical Syrian or Amorite water-god Aya (Ea). The name also occurs in the so-called Weidner list following Enki/Ea and Damgalnunna/Damkina and after the god *^di₇* “the river” – possibly also designating the god Asaluhi mentioned in line 64 (A. Cavigneaux, *Textes Scolaires du Temple de Nabû ša Harê* (1981), pp. 85–86: 56–65; cf. E. Weidner, *Afo* 2 (1924–1925), pp. 14–15).

was given to him by the god An who divided out the me-s: an gal an ki-šè me ba-a / tu₆-tu₆ mu-e-šub-eš: “When great An shared out the me-s for heaven and earth, / incantations fell to him.” He is described in similar terms to Enki’s servant Isimu in line 29: sukkaḷ-maḷ eridu^{ki}-ga: “great vizier of Eridu.” Asaluhi is also titled to be “the son of Abzu” and is assimilated with the god Marduk.

Asaluhi A, 18:

nir-ḡál dumu abzu ḡéštu kù šu du₇ ^dam[ar-u]tu ḡalga túm

Powerful son of Abzu, having holy wisdom, Marduk, the bringer of advice

The reasons for the assimilation of probably Northern Babylonian Marduk and Southern Mesopotamian Asaluhi²⁶⁰ might result from some sort of relative similarities of their functions.²⁶¹ Although Marduk is already mentioned in the Early Dynastic god-lists,²⁶² his function or nature in Sumerian mythology is almost unknown. There is some more information available about Asaluhi starting already from the Early Dynastic temple-hymns.²⁶³ His character

²⁶⁰ Cf. D. Charpin, Clergé, p. 364 for some considerations about the possible Hurrian origins of Asaluhi.

²⁶¹ Cf. H. D. Galter, Ea/Enki, pp. 138–139; W. Sommerfeld, Der Aufstieg Marduks (1982), pp. 13–18.

²⁶² P. Mander, PAS, p. 10: 24 (294); A. Alberti, SEL 2 (1985), p. 13: 276: ^damar-utu.

²⁶³ The Zame Hymns (Cf. R. D. Biggs, OIP 99, p. 47) 33–34 have a short hymn to the god ^dasal-lú-KAL of Kuara (ḪA.A^{ki}) also mentioned in Asaluhi A, 37. In the Zame Hymns, Asaluhi is listed after the hymn of Enki’s Abzu, therefore they were probably seen as closely related already during the early periods of Sumerian written texts. The god Asar is represented in the Early Dynastic incantations (cf. M. Krebernik, Beschwörungen, pp. 201–203). His identification with Asaluhi is not certain (cf. G. Cunningham, StPohl 17, p. 77) but seems probable. Gudea Cyl. B iv 1 mentions the name of ^dasa-ri associated with other Eridu gods said to be cleaning or putting the temple in order. The Sumerian Temple Hymns (lines 137–146) contain a hymn to Asaluhi of Kuara and he is titled dumu abzu-ke₄: “the son of Abzu.” Asaluhi is also mentioned in third place after Enki and Damgalnunna in the Inanna Hymn G (lines 13–15) where he is titled “the son of Eridu” (line 45). The hymn itself describes a cultic journey of Inanna, mentioning first the city of Eridu and Abzu and placing Enlil’s city Nippur second (lines 3–8), a practice common only during the Ur III hymns. From the Isin period literary texts, Asaluhi is mentioned in the Lament of Sumer and Ur line 218 and in Enlil-bani Hymn A, 35–36 where it is stated that Asaluhi gave ḡéštu to Enlil-bani. In the Ebla and Fara incantations, Enlil and the goddess Ningirim were the main patron deities of incantations, instead of Enki and Asaluhi, who appear in that role during the Neo-Sumerian period (cf. M. J. Geller, BSOAS 50 (1987), p. 125). For the Neo-Sumerian incantations featuring Enki, Asaluhi and Ningirim, cf. G. Cunningham, StPohl 17, p. 79ff. Cf. M. J. Geller, Forerunners to Udug-Hul (1985), p. 13 who supports the possibility that the merging of the Kuara and Eridu pantheons happened due to the close proximity of the cities.

becomes clearly outlined in the Neo-Sumerian incantations where he starts to be one of the main figures of incantation literature alongside Enki.²⁶⁴

6.7. Su'en-kašid of Uruk

One of the inscriptions of Su'en-kašid, king of Uruk (ca. 1850), records that a temple of Enki was built in the city of Uruk.

Su'en-kašid 10, 1–12:

^d en-ki	To Enki,
en dumu-saḡ maḡ an-na	the lord, the great eldest son of An,
lugal-a-ni-ir	to his king;
^d EN.ZU-ka-ši-id	Su'en-kašid,
lugal unu ^{ki} -ga	king of Uruk,
lugal <i>am-na-nu-um</i>	king of Amnanum,
ú-a é-an-na	provider of E-anna.
u ₄ é-an-na mu-dù-a	When he built the E-anna temple,
ḡéštu ni-maḡ-a	knowledge, a great thing,
mu-na-ni-in-šúm-ma	was given to him (by Enki).
ki-tuš kù ki-áḡ-ḡá-ni	His pure dwelling place loved by him
mu-na-dù	he has built

According to the text, Enki is titled the first-born son of An (dumu-saḡ maḡ an-na), the patron deity of the city of Uruk. The king also states that he had received supreme knowledge (ḡéštu ni-maḡ) from Enki during the course of the building of the E-anna temple in Uruk.

6.8. Iahdun-Lim of Mari

From the reign of Iahdun-Lim (ca. 1810–1794), who titled himself to be the son of Iaggid-Lim and the king of Mari, Tuttul and the land of Hana,²⁶⁵ there is an Akkadian inscription mentioning the god Ea inside a curse formula. The inscription in question speaks about Iahdun-Lim's military campaigns and ends with the building of a temple of the sun-god. The curse formula is intended to frighten anyone who wants to destroy the temple of Utu/Šamaš. The gods are in the order of Enlil, Su'en, Nergal, Ea, Aya, Utu and Bunene.

²⁶⁴ It seems that the later Babylonian theology attributes different characteristics of separate gods of Enki circle (Asaluhi, Haia, Nisaba (Indagra and Kusu)) to the god Marduk, thus making him a sort of an “universal” son of Enki, embodying all the different powers, skills and characteristics of these gods.

²⁶⁵ Cf. Iahdun-Lim 1, 1–5; Iahdun-Lim 2, 19.

Iahdun-Lim 2, 137–152:

^den-líl *ša-pí-iṭ i-li*

šar-ru-sú li-ma-ṭi

i-na ka-al šar-ri

^dEN.ZU *a-ḫu-um ra-bu-um*

i-na i-li aḫ-ḫi-šu

er-re-ta-am ra-bi-ta-am

li-ru-ur-šu

^dnè-eri₁₁-gal *be-el ka-ak-ki-im*

ka-ak-ka-šu li-iš-bi-ir-ma

mu-ti a-ii(PI)-im-ḫu-ur

é-a šar ši-im-tim

ši-im-ta-šu li-le-mi-in

^da-a *ka-la-tum*

be-el-tum ra-bi-tum

lu mu-le-mi-na-at a-wa-ti-šu

i-na ma-ḫa-ar ^dutu *a-na da-ri-a-tim*

May Enlil, judge of the gods,
make his kingship smaller
than of any other king's.

Su'en, older brother
of the gods, his brothers,
with a powerful curse
may he inflict.

Nergal, lord of weapon,
may smash his weapon
so he would be unable to confront warriors.

Ea, lord of destiny,
may he make his destiny bad.

Aya, the bride,

the great lady,

may put about him an unfavourable word

before Utu forever

The curse is concluded by the vizier of Utu, Bunene, who is asked to cut the throat of the evil-doer. The list is headed by Enlil. Su'en, who comes second, is titled “the older brother of the gods” (*a-ḫu-um ra-bu-um ina i-li*) – a title also associated with Enki. Šamaš is paired with his consort Aya. Listing *é-a* and ^da-a one after the other might refer to the similar nature of their names. Ea's title “the king of destiny” (*šar ši-im-tim*) is in accordance with his Sumerian title and function as the determiner of fates (*en nam-tar*). The text also mentions the god El in line 35 where he probably appears as DIĜIR.²⁶⁶

6.9. Conclusions

The inscriptions of Rim-Su'en describe Enki in almost similar terms to the inscriptions of Isin. Enki is responsible for granting abundance (*ḫé-ḡál*). Enki is also described as the advisor to the great gods. He is characterised as the god who “assigns to the living beings their share” which is similar to the texts of Isin Dynasty praising Enki as responsible for organising the life of the people.

One noticeable aspect in Rim-Su'en's inscriptions is that there is an inconsistency in grouping the most important gods of Sumerian pantheon. Several inscriptions omit the name of the mother-goddess and the “triad” An, Enlil, Enki (and) the great gods” (*an* ^den-líl ^den-ki / *diĝir gal-gal-e-ne*) is beginning to appear in the royal ideology. This seems to be another indication of the diminishing role of the mother-goddess in the pantheon. Enki, in turn, is listed among the three most important deities.

²⁶⁶ Cf. W. G. Lambert, MARI 4 (1985), p. 537.

Enki's close relation with the shrine of the moon-god at Ur is detectable based on the inscriptions of Rim-Su'en. Although it is impossible to claim that the priests of Enki had migrated to the city of Ur, their presence there is influential, expressed in several hymns dealing with the Eridu circle gods such as Asaluhi and Haia (whose etymology is closely similar to that of the Akkadian name Ea). The connection of Ur shrine and Enki's Abzu was detectable already in the earlier periods which does not seem to support the theory of migration of the priesthood of Enki.

Asaluhi is identified with Marduk in Asaluhi A hymn, presumably dating to the reign of Rim-Su'en. He is also titled to be the son of Enki and responsible for the incantations. Asaluhi appears under the name Ilurugu, meaning "the river of the ordeal." The previous royal inscriptions did not mention Enki and Asaluhi (or Marduk) together in close context and relatable to incantations.

One inscription of Su'en-kašid of Uruk titles Enki to be the eldest son of An (dumu-saġ maḥ an-na) in accordance with Enki's common status as the son of An from the Isin texts onwards. An inscription of Iahdun-Lim of Mari uses the name-form Ea instead of Enki and titles him "Ea, the lord of destiny:" *é-a šar ši-im-tim*.

7. THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON

The inscriptions and hymns of Larsa Dynasty were still largely written in Sumerian, although the shift towards a mythology different from the earlier periods is detectable. The inscriptions of the First Dynasty of Babylon bring a significant change to the Sumerian canonical understanding of the highest ranking gods (An, Enlil, Enki, the mother-goddess, Su'en, Utu, Inanna) and incorporate the god Marduk into the previous Sumerian system. In addition to the inscriptions of Babylonian rulers, the texts of Ipiq-Eštar and Takil-ilišu of Malgium, datable to the period of Hammurapi's dynasty, are covered under the current chapter.

7.1. Hammurapi

The royal inscriptions describing the historical deeds of Hammurapi do not mention the Sumerian name Enki or the Akkadian name Ea. The most important deities concerned are the sun-god Utu/Šamaš, the city-god of Babylon Marduk, An and Enlil. Similar tendencies were detectable already in the inscriptions of Sargon and his dynasty where the sun-god had a prominent position and Enki/Ea was not considered important enough to be mentioned in the royal titles. Hammurapi's inscriptions describe Utu/Šamaš as "the great lord of heaven and earth and the king of the gods" (Hammurapi 2, Sumerian 1–3 / Akkadian 1–4): ^dutu / en gal an-ki-bi-da / lugal diġir-re-e-ne-ke₄; ^dutu / *be-lum ra-bi-um* / *ša ša-ma-i ù er-še-tim* / LUGAL ša DIĠIR.DIĠIR. The wife of Utu/Šamaš, Šerida/Aya (^dšè-ri₅-da / ^da-a), is also often mentioned and the city of the sun-god Sippar is considered to be a place of extreme importance (cf. Hammurapi 2, 56–61). Marduk's written form appears as Amar-Utu, translatable as "the calf/son of Utu/the storm." It is not known whether the Sumerian AMAR.UTU is the original name of the god or does the Sumerian name only represent a rendering from a foreign name.²⁶⁷ The character of

²⁶⁷ Cf. Th. Jacobsen, JAOS 88 (1968), p. 106: "We arrive thus at a name mar-utu-(a)k which could denote, depending on the shade of meaning of its last component, either 'Son of the sun' or 'Son of the storm'." Jacobsen considers the option "Son of the storm" more probable. He compares the role of Marduk with the role of Baal in West Semitic mythology. Baal refuses to surrender to the sea monster Yam, although El agrees to this. Baal receives help from Kothar-wa-Hasis who gives him two clubs (symbolising thunderbolts) to fight the sea-monster. The obvious similarity of the Baal myth with the Enuma eliš story leads Jacobsen to ask "whether we are dealing with a case of independent invention, or with a motif that has wandered from East to West or from West to East" and he concludes that the motive originated from the coast of the Mediterranean where it also fits the environmental context. Since the primordial ocean motive and also the battle with the Sea-monster are not definable as originating from the Sumerian mythological thinking, the assumption of Jacobsen seems acceptable. Also, the god Asaluhi, present already in the Early Dynastic Zame Hymns, does not seem to have the characteristics of the later war-like Marduk which makes the assumption more

Marduk and his close relation to West Semitic Baal seem to point to the correctness of the translation associating the name with “storm.” The West Semitic Baal was a major mythological hero who defeated the sea monster Yam in almost similar terms with Marduk in the Babylonian myth *Enuma eliš* which incorporates different Sumero-Akkadian mythological ideas in its narrative. A. R. W. Green states: “The initial conflict in the Ugaritic myth is therefore between Baal-Haddad, the great Syrian Storm-god, and the important deity, Yam, the deified Seas and cosmic subterranean waters that fertilized and guaranteed food from the earth – hence, Yam’s claim that he fed the multitudes of the earth.”²⁶⁸ The definition given for Yam, corresponding to his functions in West

plausible. Marduk is present in the god lists of Early Dynastic Sumer as discussed above (cf. P. Mander, PAS, p. 10: 24 (294); A. Alberti, SEL 2 (1985), p. 13: 276). The name Marduk could be a Sumerian name given to the Semitic god known under the name Baal. On the other hand, also the name Marduk might be a Sumerian written form of another divine name of unknown origins and the concepts of Baal and Marduk might have been synchronised later. In west Semitic mythology, the father of Baal is known to be Dagan. The association of Enki and El was discussed under the inscriptions of Puzur-Eštar of Mari in the current study where also several similarities between them were compared. When assuming that the god Marduk represented a Syrian/West-Semitic storm-god in Babylonian mythology, then regarding Marduk as the son of Enki would be problematic. J.-M. Durand seems to compare the two concepts of Dagan and Ea. He denies the identification of Enki/Ea with El (although he does not give any conclusive arguments to support his theories) and concludes: “On peut, dès lors, lui chercher une étymologie sémitique. Le plus simple est de le mettre en rapport avec le terme bien documenté dans l’Émār d’époque moyenne sous les formes *e-ia*, *e-i* etc., ce que l’on peut formaliser en **eyûm*. Or ce n’est qu’une des façons de dire ‘grain.’ Dans une liste lexicale paléobabylonienne, le même terme est d’ailleurs écrit *Ē-a-am*, (= /*ayâm*/) avec une graphie apparentée à celle du dieu. La forme de base devait être apparentée à la racine de l’hébreu *hayah*, ‘exister’. Quelle différence y avait-il entre le grain-*ayûm* et le grain-**dagnum*, attesté dans le nom du dieu-Dagan ? Vu les contextes où l’attestent les listes lexicales (‘grain prêté, engrangé, possédé’), *ayûm* devait désigner le grain que l’on gardait pour en vivre et **dagnum*, celui qui était semé et se trouvait en terre pour produire les futures récoltes” (J.-M. Durand, OLA 162/1 (2008), p. 223.) The assumption of the similar nature of Ea and Dagan is not in accordance with the Sargonic inscriptions which seem to compare or equate Dagan with Enlil: Naram-Su’en 10, 28–33: *is-te₄* / *en-lil* / *in nibru^{ki}* / *is-te₄* / *dagan* / *in tu-tu-li^{ki}* (cf. L. Feliu, *The God Dagan in Bronze Age Syria* (2003), p. 46).

²⁶⁸ *The Storm-God in the Ancient Near East* (2003), p. 181. Cf. p. 179–180: “Yam, also called Nahar, is the mythical deified seas, rivers, lakes, and the subterranean abyss – that is, the terrestrial water sources. As such, he controlled the cosmic waters and the rivers with which he fertilized the earth;” and note 123: “Yam’s complete title is *zbl.ym.tpt.nhr* ‘Prince Yam, Judge Nahar’.” When taking away the name Yam from Green’s definition of that deity, the majority of scholars familiar with the mythology of the Ancient Near East would probably be certain that the god described is Enki/Ea. Cf. G. Leick, *A Dictionary of Ancient Near Eastern Mythology* (1991), p. 40: “Certainly the character of Enki ever since the earliest documents from the Old Sumerian period is formed by his association with water, most notably in the ground-water or Apsu. The

Semitic mythology, actually fits the majority of modern definitions given for the god Enki or Ea who is chosen to be the father of Marduk in Mesopotamian mythology.

The problematical issues around Marduk's name and his genealogy are complicated by the material from Ugarit where the sun-god was considered feminine and the wife of Utu/Šamaš ^da-a is described to be Ea.²⁶⁹ This assim-

Apsu is his dwelling-place and in the figure of Enki, the creative potential of the fertilizing humidity is given a dramatic expression. One of his literary epithets is *nudimmud* – ‘who creates’, while the appellative *nagbu* means directly ‘source, groundwater’.” Yam obviously was a cosmic or primordial watery element symbolised in rivers or waters in general. However, the god El who inhabits the watery areas in West-Semitic mythology seems never to be equated with that cosmic or geographic region. According to Enki and World Order (cf. 8.3. of the current study), Enki creates the rivers and fills them with water. The creator (Enki), however, is not equated with the created objects (i₇) in Sumerian mythology. For example, H. D. Galter, *Ea/Enki*, p. 8 (based on Th. Jacobsen, *Toward the Image of Tammuz* (1970), p. 21f.) explains, that the association of Enki with the earth Ki is problematical, because Enki should be a water-god: “Natürlich wirft die Bezeichnung ‘Herr der Erde’, die wohl die wahrscheinlichste ist, für eine Gottheit, deren Hauptwirkungsbereich das Wasser ist, Probleme auf. Selbst wenn man annimmt, der Name sei in den Flußmarschen des Mündungsgebietes von Euphrat und Tigris entstanden, wo Land und Wasser fließend ineinander übergehen, so bleibt doch die Frage ungeklärt, warum dieses Phänomen dann auf die gesamte Erde übertragen wurde. Einen Ausweg bietet die Annahme, Enki sei ursprünglich das Epitheton einer Gottheit gewesen, das den Herrschaftsanspruch derselben über die Erde und ihre Bewohner deutlich machen sollte. Mit der Zeit hätte dann das Epitheton den ursprünglichen Namen der Gottheit verdrängt und wäre an seine Stelle getreten.“ Th. Jacobsen (op. cit.) proposed that the original name of the god must have been Abzu; S. N. Kramer in *Myths of Enki* (1989), p. 3 claims that the name might have been En-kur which can be assumed based on the beginning part of the story Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld where Enki sails towards the Kur. B. Groneberg, *Die Götter des Zweistromlandes* (2004), pp. 135–136 also considers this possibility but concludes that it is doubtful because Enki is a separate god-name already in the earliest god-lists available. In the later Mesopotamian and West Semitic mythologies, the stormy figure of Marduk or Baal is described as the conqueror of the watery primeval sea-god. This motive is not present in Sumerian mythology in any known form. The combat motives (such as Innana and Ebiḫ) or copulation motives resulting in separation (An and Ki) cannot be related to the storm-god's battle against the sea-monster as F. Stolz, *DDD* (1999), p. 1393 at least seems to suggest. The choice of Enki as the father of Marduk instead of Enlil in the theology of Babylon (cf. Ningirsu as “the hero of Enlil” in the texts of Eanatum) might reflect that in Mesopotamian popular cult the identification of Marduk and Asaluḫi, and relating them both to Enki, had already been developed. The relation of Sumerian and West Semitic mythology and especially the relation of West Semitic Baal and Babylonian Marduk seems impossible to systematise since it represents “a complex and fuzzy web of borrowings whose directions are frequently difficult to determine” (as said by G. Rubio, *JCS* 51 (1999), p. 11 for characterising the early nature of the Sumerian language).

²⁶⁹ A trilingual pantheon list from Ugarit assimilates the divine concepts of ^da-a and ^dē-a. They are mentioned after the sun god Utu/Šamaš: ^d[ut]u = *ši-mi-gi* = *ša-ap-šu* / ^da-a =

lation of Aya, most probably a Semitic name,²⁷⁰ might come from the similar sound of the two names of Aya and Ea both relatable to the root *hyy meaning “to live.”²⁷¹

The god Enki (often called a-a ^den-ki: Hammurapi B, 11)²⁷² might have been a suitable parent for the god Marduk because Enki was considered one of the most prominent gods in Mesopotamian world; and Asaluhi, with whom Marduk was associated for unknown reasons, was already considered to be the son of Enki or related to the Eridu circle of gods. In terms of political motives of the Babylonian ideology, as well as mythologically, more suitable candidate to be the father of Marduk would have been Enlil. The inscriptions of Hammurapi, however, allow also the sun-god to be considered the father of Marduk. A bilingual inscription from the year 25 of Hammurapi, describing the building of the city wall of Sippar, seems to hint towards the possibility that Marduk is seen as the offspring of Utu and Aya/Šerida. This is indicated by the close grouping of the gods in the titulary formula.

e-ja-an = ku-šar-ru: J. Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* 5 (1968), p. 248: 31–32. Cf. note 6: “La transposition était délicate, puisqu’à Ugarit la divinité solaire, féminine, ne pouvait avoir sa ‘fiancée’ traditionnelle an Mésopotamie. Mais *aya* était également une prononciation de ^dÉ-a, d’où: l’assimilation – correcte quant à la forme – de ^da.a à ce dieu-artisan par excellence, soit *Eyan* chez les Hourrites, et l’équivalence normale: *kt̄r*.” Cf. E. Laroche, *Ugaritica* 5 (1968), p. 525 : “*E(y)a* = Košer (P 15). Dieux mésopotamien complètement naturalisé; son épouse hourr. s’appelait *Tapkina* = *Damkina*. Mais lors de son passage en Syrie, *Ea* devenu *Eya* ou *Aya/Aa* s’est chargé d’un attribut nouveaux, *ħazizi*. L’introduction de *Ea ħazizi* en pays hittite par la voie mittanienne est l’une des transmissions hourrites les mieux caractérisées.” This assumption of Laroche is categorically denied by J.-M. Durand, *OLA* 162/1 (2008), p. 223: “On doit désormais considérer comme sûr qu’il ne s’agit nullement d’une divinité de l’Est empruntée par des Sémites de Syrie.”

²⁷⁰ J. Bottéro, *StSem* 1 (1958), pp. 32–33 concludes that the name Aya is most likely a Semitic name and tries to see connections between the name ^da-a and ^dħa-ja. G. Dossin, *OA* 18 (1979), p. 242 thinks that Semitic scribes developed the name by speculating with the name of Šamaš through using their knowledge of Sumerian: “Il comprenait le nom comme ‘celui’ (*ša*) du ‘double A’ (*a-maš*).” The name is recorded already in Sargonic royal inscriptions and occurs as ^dnin-a-a in Maništušu 4 line 5. Cf. M. A. Powell, *Fs. Sjöberg* (1989), p. 447ff.

²⁷¹ H. D. Galter, *DDD* (1999), p. 235; Cf. J. J. M. Roberts, *ESP*, pp. 20–21 and p. 79: “The assimilation was precipitated by the need to find a masculine counterpart to Ay(y)a, the wife of the Akkadian sun god Šamaš, since the West Semitic Šapšu was a goddess, and therefore needed a husband, not wife, but the choice of É-a was clearly more dependent on the similarity between his name and Ay(y)a than on any resemblance in essential nature.”

²⁷² The titling a-a in front of Enki’s name might have created some associations with the goddess ^da-a in the minds of Semitic scribes not familiar with the details of Sumero-Akkadian religious system.

Hammurapi 2, Sumerian 26–33; Akkadian 29–35:

<i>ḥa-am-mu-ra-pí</i>	<i>ḥa-am-mu-ra-pí</i>	Hamurapi,
lugal kala-ga	LUGAL <i>da-núm</i>	mighty king,
lugal KÁ.DIĜIR.RA ^{ki}	LUGAL KÁ.DIĜIR.RA ^{ki}	king of Babylon,
ní-tuk	<i>na-a²-du-um še-mu</i> ^d UTU	pious one
^d utu-da ḡeš-tuk		who respects Utu,
ki-áḡ ^d še-ri ₅ -da	<i>na-ra-am</i> ^d a-a	beloved of Šerida/Aya,
ša-du ₁₀ -ga ^d AMAR.UTU	<i>mu-ti-ib li-ib-bi</i>	pleasing the heart
		of Marduk
lugal-la-ni-me-en	^d AMAR.UTU	I am his king
	<i>be-li-šu a-na-ku</i>	

The second type of Hammurapi’s inscriptions seems to underline the importance of the Sumerian high god Enlil²⁷³ or the gods An and Enlil²⁷⁴ as granters of all the earthly powers and kingship. In most cases, An and Enlil and Utu/Šamaš and Marduk are mentioned as two pairs of equal importance for Hammurapi. When the two pairs appear together, then usually An and Enlil are mentioned first inside one inscription.²⁷⁵ This controversy of An and Enlil and Šamaš and Marduk being constantly used as two different most important pairs of divinities seems to refer to the religious-political situation where Šamaš and Marduk are regarded as the most important gods for the Amorites and for the city of Babylon while the overall Sumero-Akkadian religious-political situation also demands respect towards the supreme gods An and Enlil.

Contrary to the content of royal inscriptions, the hymns of Hammurapi contain lots of information concerning Enki. A fragmentary composition Hammurapi A has the following listing of gods (A, lines 14–23): (Gibil), Enlil, Enki, Su’en, Utu, Iškur,²⁷⁶ Marduk and Inanna. The text mentions Enki who seems to be “emerging from the land” (Hammurapi A, D 2–3: *kalam-ta è-a*). Since most of the text is not preserved, the context is unclear.

A well preserved text in form of a hymn or a prayer for the god Enki records the possible visit of Hammurapi to the city of Eridu. Hammurapi might have performed some rituals at Eridu or might have been crowned as king there.²⁷⁷

²⁷³ Hammurapi 3, 1–5: *a-na* ^den-líl / *be-li* GAL-*i* / *ša* AN-*e* u KI-*tím* / LUGAL.DIĜIR.DIĜIR / *be-li-ia*: “For Enlil, / the great lord / of heaven and earth, / the king of the gods, / my lord.” In lines 6–14, Enlil, Ninlil, Šamaš and Marduk are mentioned together as the most powerful gods.

²⁷⁴ Cf. Hammurapi 4; Hammurapi 7, 10–16; Hammurapi 10.

²⁷⁵ Cf. Hammurapi 14, 4–16; Hammurapi 16, 5–10.

²⁷⁶ Cf. Enuma eliš VII, 119–121 where Adad is described as one of the names of Marduk. Placing Marduk together with the storm-god underlines their close similarities.

²⁷⁷ J. van Dijk, MIO 12 (1966–1967), p. 63.

Hammurapi B, 1–13:

^[d]lugal-šubur^{ki} m[e]n edin-na nam-lugal-la [saḡ-ḡá ḥu-mu-ra-an-ḡál]
[^de]n-ki-ke₄ [en[?]] nam-ti-la nam-ti-la ḥ[é-eb-...]
é-u₆-nir é ḡeš-ḥur an ki-a me[?] š[ár-ra u₅-a]
suḥ₁₀ nam-en-na-zu ní-[me]-lem₄ ḥa-ra-d[ul]-e
me nam-lugal-la pa-è ḥa-ra-ab-ak-e
ḡeš-ḥur nam-en-na gi₁₆-sa-šè ḥu-mu-ra-ab-lá
mu₇-mu₇ nam-ti-la-kam mí-zi ḥu-mu-ri-in-du₁₁ nam sù-ud-ḡál ḥa-ra-ab-daḥ-e
mu pà-da-ni-gen₇ mu pà-da-zu su^den-ki-ke₄ ḥa-ba-ni-du₁₀
ḡéštu ḡizzal šu zi ḥa-ra-an-ḡá-ḡá
[nì d]u-r[í]-šè [nu]-ub-kúr-ru-gen₇ mu nam-lugal-zu
a-a^den-ki mu nam-ti-la-zu ḥa-ba-ni-sù-sù
kur-kur kilib-ba-bi nam-en-bi ḥa-ra-ab-rig₇-ge
^{[d[?]]} ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-ḡu₁₀
Let Lugal-šubur²⁷⁸ place the kingly crown of the steppe on your head!
Enki, the lord of life, let him life [...]
E-unir, the temple of the plans of heaven and earth, [riding upon] the me-s
The crown of your lordship with the aura of splendour let him cower!
The me-s of kingship let him make apparent for you!
Lordly plans let him always display for you!
The spells which are truly life-giving may he tell you; long-lasting destiny may
he add for you!
As calling of his own name, may the sound of your name make Enki happy!
Knowledge and wisdom may he give you for carrying out the rightful tasks!
As an eternal and unchangeable thing is your royal name!
Father Enki, the years of your life may he make long-lasting!
And for all the foreign lands your lordship over them may he grant!
Hammurapi, my king!

The hymn offers rich information about the concept of Enki during the reign of Hammurapi. Enki is titled “the lord of life:” ^den-ki-ke₄ en nam-ti-la. The temple of Enki is described as granter of divine plans (ḡeš-ḥur) and of me-s. Also mentioned are the spells or incantations (mu₇-mu₇ nam-ti-la-kam) related to Enki and his temple. The most frequent characteristic of Enki, knowledge/wisdom (ḡéštu ḡizzal), is featured in the text. The most important topic of the hymn, however, seems to be Enki’s role as life-giver for Hammurapi.

²⁷⁸ According to J. van Dijk, MIO 12 (1966–1967), p. 64, the term should mean ^dlugal-A.ḤA^{ki} – the city of Kuara of Asaluhi. The identification of Kuara with Šubarū does not seem likely; cf. M. J. Geller, Forerunners to Uduḡ-Hul (1985), p. 13. The god mentioned as the granter of kingship should be Enlil when considering the earlier royal inscriptions. Van Dijk suggests it to be Enki, based on the Lipit-Estar A hymn, where the kingship is received from Eridu.

One prayer for Hammurapi (who seems to be deified²⁷⁹) is mostly dedicated to the God Enki and his consort Damgalnunna.

Hammurapi C, 1–7:

^den-ki-ke₄ èš-e abzu¹-a mí zi mu-ni-in-du₁₁

lugal-e lú šu-luḥ-e ki-áḡ me sikil-la túm-ma

lugal ḡeš-ḥur kal-kal gal-zu²-a ní-tuku inim sa₆-sa₆-ge šu-ni-šè ṛḡál²¹-la

sipa šà še-ga en ^dnu-nam-[nir-ra] ki-áḡ ama ^dn[in-líl-lá]

nidba gal-gal é-kur-ra ba- [...]

ṛx¹ šà du₁₀-ga nun gal ^den-ki-ke₄ X [...]

mí du₁₁-ga kù ^ddam-gal-n[un-na] sipa zi ^dḥa-am-m[u-ra-bi]

Enki in shrine Abzu has praised him

The king, the one who loves cleansing rituals, whom the pure me-s are brought

The king who is skilled in precious plans, attentive, into whose hands the good words are entrusted

The shepherd, whose heart agrees with the lord Nunamnir, beloved of the mother Ninlil

Who the great offerings for the E-kur temple [...]

... pleases the heart of the great prince Enki [...]

Who is cherished by holy Damgalnunna, righteous shepherd, Hammurapi

The rest of the text (lines 8–14) is in a fragmentary state and describes Hammurapi as the restorer of right purification rituals, divine plans (šu-luḥ, ḡeš-ḥur) and me-s. The gods Nanna and Ningal are also mentioned. The hymn starts with the mention of Enki and his dwelling instead of Enlil's Nippur. This has not been common after the texts of Šulgi.

The fragmentary Hammurapi D hymn lists the gods An, Enlil and Enki in the traditional order. The other deities mentioned in the text are Iškur, Utu and Erra. The context is hard to figure out but it seems that the gathering of the gods is taking place where Asaluhi/Marduk (obviously the same divine concept in this hymn) receives his powers from the assembled gods.

Hammurapi D, 7–10:

^dasal-lú-ḥi ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi-ḡu₁₀-úr na[m ...]

an ^den-líl ^den-ki e-ne-bi-da KA x [...]

šà-ga-ne-ne-šè ù-mu-ni-in-šúm nì x [...]

diḡir gal-gal kilib-ba-bi ^dAMAR.UTU-ra ḥúl-le-eš mu-n[i-...]

Asaluhi, to my Hammurapi a dest[in]y (?) [...]

An, Enlil, and Enki with him [...]

When they had decided [...]

The great gods assembled, to Marduk with pleasure [they gave to him? ...]

²⁷⁹ A feature detectable starting from the Akkade Dynasty (cf. Naram-Su'en 10 in 2.1. of the current study) and not present in Early Dynastic Sumerian inscriptions. Cf. V. Sazonov, BZAW 374 (2007), p. 325ff.

The fragmentary hymn ends with Asaluhi being among the gods (line 28: ^dasal-lú-^{hi} mu-ru-ub diġir gal-gal-e-ne) in the city of Babylon which is described as a pure and divine place. Then someone gets the Enlilship over the numerous people (line 33: nam-^den-líl uġ šár-r[a]). The Enlilship is most probably granted to Marduk as the Code of Hammurapi testifies. The text ends with a mention of Hammurapi as the king and probably as “the man of Enki” (line 36: lú ^den-ki-ke₄).

The prologue of the Code of Hammurapi titles Marduk to be the son of Enki. Marduk, however, gets his powers from the sky-god An (“the king of the Annunaki”) and from Enlil who is titled “the lord of heaven and earth.” Marduk himself is titled to be the ruler (“great among the”) of the Igigi gods.

Code of Hammurapi, prologue i 1–15:

<i>ì-nu</i> ^d an <i>ši-ru-um</i>	When An the highest one,
LUGAL ^d a-nun-na-ki	the king of the Anunnaki gods;
^d en-líl	Enlil,
<i>be-el ša-me-e</i>	the lord of heaven
<i>ù er-še-tim</i>	and earth,
<i>ša-i-im</i>	determining
<i>ši-ma-at</i> KALAM	the fate of the land;
<i>ana</i> ^d AMAR.UTU	Marduk,
DUMU <i>re-eš-ti-im</i>	the first-born son
<i>ša</i> ^d en-ki	of Enki;
^d en-líl-ut	into Enlilship
KIŠ <i>ni-ši</i>	over all the people
<i>i-ši-mu-šum</i>	assigned him,
<i>in i-gi₄-gi₄</i>	among the Igigi
<i>ú-šar-bi-ù-šu</i>	made him great

The Code of Hammurapi and Hammurapi hymn D do not claim that the power over all the other gods was given to Marduk. It is only stated that Enlilship is given to him “over the people of the land.” The prologue of the Code of Hammurabi probably is not “le caprice d’un scribe mal avisé”²⁸⁰ but represents a well-planned theological and ideological change in the ideology of the Amorite rulers whose ambition is to picture their city-god as the overall ruler of all the Sumero-Akkadian peoples and cities. Placing Marduk as the supreme power in the pantheon, however, does not seem to be directly reflected in the Old-Babylonian inscriptions. The gods An and Enlil and also Enki are probably too important divine figures for the religious thinking of Mesopotamia to allow Marduk to be pictured as the symbol and the ruler of all the other great gods as demonstrated in the later Babylonian story of Enuma eliš.

The prologue of the Code of Hammurapi also lists the most important cities of Sumer: (i 50–ii 67): Nippur, Eridu, Babylon, Ur, Sippar, Larsa, Uruk, Isin,

²⁸⁰ Cf. J. van Dijk, MIO 12 (1966–1967), p. 60.

Keš, etc. Eridu is in its common second position after Nippur and is followed by Babylon.²⁸¹ The part mentioning the city of Eridu describes Hammurapi as the restorer of Eridu and the manager of its purification rites.

Code of Hammurapi, i 63–ii 1:

LUGAL <i>le-iu-um</i>	Capable king,
<i>mu-te-er eridu</i> ^{ki}	the restorer of Eridu
<i>a-na aš-ri-šu</i>	(the one who) is in the position
<i>mu-ub-bi-ib</i>	of the purifier
ŠU.LUḪ É abzu	of the purification rites of Abzu temple

It is interesting to notice that Enki and Damgalnunna are described as the most important deities for the city of Malgium in the laws of Hammurapi. The inscriptions of Malgium (cf. 7.8. below) confirm their high importance or even their role as the chief gods²⁸² of Malgium.

Code of Hammurapi, iv 17–22:

<i>a-na</i> ^d en-ki	for Enki
<i>ù</i> ^d dam-gal-nun-na	and Damgalnunna,
<i>mu-šar-bu-ú</i>	who magnify
<i>šar-ru-ti-šu</i>	his kingship,
<i>da-ri-iš i-ši-mu</i>	eternally assigned
<i>zi-bi el-lu-tim</i>	pure sacrifices

The epilogue of the law-code lists several gods in different curses. The part mentioning Enki calls him “the sage of the gods” who is all-knowingly wise and capable of lengthening the life of the king. Enki is asked not to give any wisdom and knowledge to the wrongdoer. He is traditionally asked not to grant

²⁸¹ The prologue has different orderings of the gods presented here in the order of appearance: (1) An, Enlil, Marduk, Enki/Ea; (2) An, Enlil, Utu/Šamaš, Enlil, (Enki/Ea), Marduk, Su'en, Utu/Šamaš, Aya, An and Inanna/Ištar, Zababa, Erra, Tutu, Uraš, Mama/Nintu, Inanna/Ištar, Iškur/Adad, Enki/Ea and Damgalnunna/Damkina of Malgium, Dagan (who is called “the creator of the king”), Tišpak, Ninazu, Inanna/Ištar. The final lines mention Marduk separately. The epilogue of the code also has different listings: (1) Enlil, Marduk, Zababa, Enki/Ea (mentioned granting wisdom for the king), Marduk; (2) An, Enlil, Utu/Šamaš, Marduk, Zarpanitu, Utu/Šamaš; (3) An, Enlil, Ninlil, Enki/Ea, Utu/Šamaš, Su'en (also called “the creator”), Iškur/Adad, Zababa, Inanna/Ištar, Nergal, Nintu, Ninkarrak. (cf. W. Sallaberger, RIA 10 (2004), p. 301). Enlil is separately mentioned in the final lines of the text. This is similar to the mentioning of Marduk separately in the concluding lines of the prologue. It is significant that the mother-goddess, here appearing with her different names, has been omitted from her previous fourth position and only features at the end of the listing. The mention of Dagan as the creator is surprisingly close to the function of the mother-goddess in the previous inscriptions and to the function of Enki in the inscriptions of Malgium (cf. below).

²⁸² Cf. H. D. Galter, Ea/Enki, pp. 187–188.

water for the hostile ruler, and possibly as the result of this, not to give any grain for the land of the enemy.

Code of Hammurapi, xlix 98–l 13:

^d en-ki NUN <i>ra-bi-um</i>	Enki, the great prince
<i>ša ši-ma-tu-šu</i>	whose destinies
<i>i-na maḥ-ra i-la-ka</i>	are going pre-eminently.
NUN.ME <i>ì-lí</i>	Sage (<i>abgal</i>) of the gods,
<i>mu-de mi-im-ma šum-šu</i>	the all-knowing
<i>mu-ša-ri-ku</i>	who lengthens
<i>u₄-um ba-la-ṭi-ia</i>	the days of my life.
<i>uz-nam</i>	Knowledge
<i>ù ne-me-qá-am</i>	and wisdom
<i>li-ṭe₄-er-šu-ma</i>	may he deprive (from the wrongdoer)!
<i>i-na mi-ši-tim</i>	Into confusion
<i>li-it-ta-ar-ru-šu</i>	may he lead him!
<i>I₇-I₇-šu</i>	His irrigation canals
<i>i-na na-aq-bi-im</i>	at their sources
<i>li-is-ki-ir</i>	may he block!
<i>i-na er-se-ti-šu</i>	In his land
^d ašnan (ŠE.TIR)	(no) grain
<i>na-pí-iš-ti ni-ši</i>	(which is) life-giving to the people
<i>a ú-ša-ab-ši</i>	may he not allow!

Titling Dagan (^d*da-gan ba-ni-šu*: iv 27–28 in the prologue) as the creator of the king and omitting the mother-goddess from the first-rank deities are the most apparent new features in the code. In the Malgium inscriptions, where Enki and Damkina seem to be the pre-eminent gods, the function of creation is given to Enki.

7.2. Samsu-iluna

The royal inscriptions of Samsu-iluna continue the tradition of Hammurapi in honouring the two pairs of gods: Šamaš/Marduk and An/Enlil. The names of Ea and Enki are also mentioned in his inscriptions. One Akkadian text, starting with the praise of Enlil and then of Marduk, mentions Ea who gives knowledge to the king. Samsu-iluna is titled “the shepherd who pleases the heart of Marduk.” The phrase “by the lofty power which the great gods gave to him” (Samsu-iluna 2, 16–19): [*in*] ^r*e¹-mu-qí-in* / [*s*] *i-ra-tim* / *ša* DIĜIR.GAL.GAL / *id-di-nu-šum*) refers to Samsu-iluna. Considering that according to the inscriptions of Hammurapi, the god Marduk received his Enlilship over the Mesopotamia from the great gods, it seems that the king also refers to the council of deities who had given him the kingship. This probably indicates that

the king is trying to picture himself in similar terms with his city-god. The god Ea, appearing by his Akkadian name, gives knowledge to the king Samsu-iluna.

Samsu-iluna 2, 20–21:

in ne-me-qí-im / [š]a é-a

by the knowledge (granted) / by Ea

One inscription of Samsu-iluna describes Marduk as the first-born son of Enki/Ea.

Samsu-iluna 5, Sumerian 1–13 / Akkadian 1–12:

u ₄ an ^d en-líl	<i>ì-nu</i> an ^d en-líl	When An and Enlil,
lugal an-ki-bi-da-ke ₄	<i>šar-ru ša</i> AN ^r ù ¹ KI	the king of heaven
		and earth,
^d AMAR.UTU dumu-sağ	<i>a-na</i> ^d AMAR.UTU	at the god Marduk,
^d en-ki-ka-ra	[DU]MU <i>re-eš-ti-im ša é-a</i>	the first-born son
		of Ea
igi húl-la-ne-ne-a	<i>ha-di-iš ip-pa-al-su-šum</i>	with joy
in-ši-in-bar-re-eš-a		did look (and)
nam-en ub-da 4-ba	<i>be-lu-ut ki-ib-ra-at ar-ba-im</i>	lordship over the
		four quarters
mu-na-an-šúm-mu-uš-a	<i>i-din-nu-šum</i>	they had given to him.
^d a-nun-na-ke ₄ -ne-er	<i>in</i> ^d a-nun-na-ki	To (or: in front of)
		the Anunna gods
mu maḥ-a mi-ni-in- ^r ša ₄ ¹ -eš-a	<i>šu-ma-am ši-ra-am i-bi-ù-šu</i>	his great name
		they called.
KÁ.DIĞIR.RA. ^{ki}	KÁ.DIĞIR.RA. ^{ki}	Babylon's
suḥus an-ki-gen ₇	SUḤUS- <i>šu ki-ma</i> [AN] ù KI	foundations like
		sky and earth
mu-na-an-ge-né- ^r eš ¹ -a	[ú]- <i>ki-in-nu-šum</i>	they made firm for
		him

The initial part of the text describes the exaltation of Marduk in front of the assembly of gods. The line where An and Ki are mentioned has been interpreted differently. J. van Dijk finds that it is stated that “the gods constructed the heavens and the earth just like they constructed the foundations of Babylon.”²⁸³

D. Frayne's interpretation differs: “(and) made the foundation of Babylon firm for him like (that of) heaven and earth.”²⁸⁴ In both slightly differing interpretations, the reference to the construction of heaven and earth by the gods might be reflected. This seems to be a new feature in Mesopotamian mythology

²⁸³ MIO 12 (1966–1967), pp. 59–60: “(lorsqu’ils) avaient construit fermement, / comme celles du ciel et de la terre, les fondaments de Babylone.”

²⁸⁴ D. Frayne, RIME 4, p. 281.

if An and Ki are referred to as constructed or built entities. The passage shares similarities with the inscriptions of Isin Dynasty:

Išme-Dagan AC, obv. 1–2:

^den-ki en dumu-saĝ an kù-ga

nam-^den-líl-bàn-da-aš mu-ni-in-íl-i-iš an-ki-a du₇ maḥ-e-eš

Enki, the lord, the first-born son of holy An

To the status of Enlil-banda raised him (in order) he could be perfect and majestic in heaven and earth

The Išme-Dagan AC hymn treated above titles Enki to be “the first born son of An” (dumu-saĝ an kù-ga). In the Samsu-iluna text, Marduk is “the first born son of Enki.” (dumu-saĝ ^den-ki). According to the Išme-Dagan hymn, Enki is given “the junior Enlilship” (nam-^den-líl-bànda) so that he could be important and pre-eminent in heaven and earth. Granting the Enlilship to Marduk, also present in Hammurapi hymns, seems to testify that Marduk is starting to take over the previous functions of his father Enki.

The Samsu-iluna inscriptions state that Marduk is “the Enlil of the land” and “the god who makes wisdom.”

Samsu-iluna 5, Sumerian 14–17 / Akkadian 13–15:

u ₄ -ba ^d AMAR.UTU	<i>ì-nu-šú</i> ^d AMAR.UTU	Then Marduk
^d en-líl kalam-ma-na	[^d]en-líl <i>ma-ti-šu</i>	Enlil of his land,
diĝir nam- ^r kù ¹ -zu	DIĜIR <i>ba-ni ne-me-qí-im</i>	the god
an-dím- ^r dím ¹ -me-a		who creates wisdom

The text continues by claiming that Marduk has delegated his divine powers as the head of the land to the king Samsu-iluna. Although the rulers of Babylon do not use the determinative diĝir often in front of their name, the divine nature of the king as the governor on behalf of Marduk, who in turn has received his powers from the Anunna gods and An and Enlil, is detectable in much stronger form than for instance in the case of the Ur III Dynasty kings.

It can be speculated that making Marduk the son of Enki was practical in the sense that Enki had already been given the Enlilship over the land in earlier Sumero-Akkadian mythology.²⁸⁵ Upgrading Marduk to the position of Enlil, who was considered to be the pre-eminent god of Mesopotamian politics, might have seemed sacrilegious for the conservative and well-established theology and religious ideology of Sumer and Akkad. Enki, who already was considered “the governor of the land” and the most important god in terms of natural abun-

²⁸⁵ Cf. T. Abusch, DDD (1999), p. 1015: “the connection with Ea arose from the desire to link Babylon and Marduk with Eridu, its traditions, and its god Ea. Continuing the tradition of the kings of Isin-Larsa who also had a special relationship to Eridu, the priests of Babylon were thus able to link Marduk to a major god other than Enlil and a venerable tradition other than Nippur.”

dance and human civilisation, might have been a suitable candidate to be the “inactive father” for a new Babylonian god whose rulers wanted to dominate over the whole Mesopotamia. Making Marduk second or the new Enki would not have irritated, for example, the priesthood of Nippur or the general Mesopotamian ideology. The status of Enlil and An as the nominal heads of the pantheon are, however, obviously recognised by the rulers of Babylon.

One inscription of Samsu-iluna describing his campaigns against the rebel lands tells that after being victorious, the gods gave Samsu-iluna a mighty weapon and long life.

Samsu-iluna 8, 77–83:

nam-bi-šè	To be his destiny;
an ^d en-líl	An, Enlil,
^d AMAR.UTU	Marduk,
^d en-ki	Enki,
^d inanna-bi-da-ke ₄	Inanna;
^{ges} tukul kala-ga	(gave) a mighty weapon
gaba-ri nu-un-tuk-a	which has no matching one (to it)

Other gods mentioned afterwards are Nanna and Utu. The order of the gods in the listing is almost similar to the earlier periods. Only Marduk has taken third position, Enki is mentioned after Marduk, and the Sumerian mother-goddess Ninhursag/Ninmah is replaced by Inanna. This proves the correctness of Lambert’s suggestion that the Sumerian mother-goddess assimilated Ištar which later resulted in reducing the mother-goddess “to the second-ranking status of Ištar, rather than pulling Ištar up to the first-ranking status of the Mother Goddess.”²⁸⁶ In this inscription, Inanna has a comparable rank with the mother-goddess of the earlier inscriptions. The listings of the Code of Hammurapi already grouped Inanna and Nintu together in the final sections of the text after the great gods had been mentioned previously.

A prayer for Samsu-iluna (B) for different gods states that Enki has given a throne to Samsu-iluna (line 9): ^{ges}gu-za-[zu] ^den-ki-k[e₄ ...]. Line 24 of the text describes Marduk as the creator of Samsu-iluna: *dīgīr saĝ dū-zu*: “the god of your creation.” In earlier Sumerian mythology, Nintu was referred to as the creator of the king, and later several male gods such as Enlil, Enki and An were connected to creation. Referring to Marduk as the creator of the king (and therefore mankind) exceeds the role given to him in the theology of Enuma eliš (cf. VI 29–38) where Ea, although without the mother-goddess and acting by the orders of Marduk, is the creator of man. The text continues with pleas to different gods to be favourable towards Samsu-iluna. An is asked to grant a long life, Enlil to make the words of Samsuiluna important and Inanna to give her holy words. After Inanna, the group of Enki circle gods are mentioned.

²⁸⁶ W. G. Lambert, RAI 33 (1987), p. 130.

Samsu-iluna B, 30–34:

[^den-ki-k]_{e4} ùḡ šár-[ra šu]-zu-šè ḥu-mu-un-ḡál

[^dasari[?]] énsi gal ab[zu ku]r-kur kilib-ba na-de₅ ba-x-a nir-ḡál eridu^{ki}-ga

diḡir x-ra-na kilib-ḡál x [x]-e-ne-ke₄ mu du₁₀-ga ḥé-bí-íb-sa₄ á nun gal-zu ḥé-a

^dnamma ama é-e x [...] ki ama kalam-ma-ka ka-za a ḥé-ḡá-ḡá

^ddam-gal-nun-na n[in ga]l eridu^{ki}-ga ki-nú du₁₀ ul-le-eš sízkur-sízkur-re-da-ni

May [Enki] great number of peoples into your hand deliver!

May [Asari[?]], the great ruler of Abzu, all the lands (provide?) advice ...?...,
great authority of Eridu

The god, who ...?... with a good name call, let him be your strong princely power
Namma, mother (who) the house [...] place, mother of the land; your mouth
with water may provide!

May Damgalnunna, the great lady of Eridu, when in her sweet bedchamber she
intercedes

The concluding line 38 of the hymn mentions the protective spirits or deities
^dlamma a[bz]u who are asked to give favourable omens for the king. The gods
are listed in the order of An, Enlil, Inanna, [Enk]i, [Asari[?]], Namma and
Damgalnunna. They are listed as a group or as a family. Namma might be
referred to as the second name of Damgalnunna and therefore the mother of
Marduk. The other option would be to consider her the primordial mother of
Enki who seems to have this role in the myth Enki and Ninmah.²⁸⁷

The Samsu-iluna hymn C lists the gods in the order of An, Enlil, Nanna, Utu,
Su'en, Enki. Enki is asked to pray on behalf of the king (Samsu-iluna C, 17):
nun gal ^den-ki-ke₄ šà gú-bi gi₄-a-na šudu¹ ḥu-mu-ri-íb-ša₄: “May the great prince
Enki in his overflowing heart pray on your behalf!” A hymn to Enlil for Samsu-
iluna has a listing of gods in the following order (Samsu-iluna F, 16): inim du₁₁-
ga ^den-líl ^den-ki-kà-ta ú ^da-sa-lim ^dza-ba-ba ^dlugal-gú-dù-a lugal é¹-a mu-dù-a:
“at the command from Enlil, Enki and Asalim, Zababa, Lugal-gudua; the king
who has built the house/temple.”

One prayer for Samsu-iluna has a passage where Samsu-iluna greets or blesses
the gods of Eridu.

Samsu-iluna G, 1–3:

^den-<ki> ^da-sa-lim ù ^ddumu eridu^{ki}-ga¹ / é-a ^dmarduk ù ^da-sa-lu-ḥa

diḡir gal-gal-e-ne šu-du-um mu-un-na-an-^rrá[?]

Enki, Asalim and the Son of Eridu / Ea, Marduk and Asaluha

The great gods, he did greet (gave a prayer?)

²⁸⁷ When considering that the goddess Namma had no significant role to play in the
royal inscriptions and hymns of the previous periods (cf. 8.3. of the current study), her
strong appearance in the context of Babylonian ideology as an active goddess belonging
to Enki's circle might reflect, for example, her Semitic (?) origins.

The god Asalim mentioned in Samsu-iluna F is equated with the god Marduk in the current hymn.²⁸⁸ However, ^ddumu eridu^{ki}-ga who is Asaluha in the Akkadian version, is listed as a separate god. The confusion has possibly taken place because Asaluhi of Kuara and Eridu is still considered different from the god Marduk of Babylon.

7.3. Abi-ešuh

A hymn to Marduk for the king Abi-ešuh, the successor of Samsu-iluna, begins with praise to Marduk. Whereas granting wisdom and the creation of the king was attributed to Marduk, as according to the previous inscriptions, the Abi-ešuh hymn describes Marduk as the holder of the me-s of heaven and earth. He is also titled to be the foremost or the first-born son of Enki and the beloved-one of the ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne and ^dnun-gal-e-ne gods. The strict differentiation between the Igigu and Anunna gods seems to have been developed in the theology of Babylon.

Abi-ešuh A, 1–3:

lugal me an ki-bi-da-ke₄ ab-ur₄-ra dumu saĝ kal ^den-ki-ke₄

^dmarduk en er₉-ra ur-saĝ šà l-ša₄ palil ^dnun-gal-e-ne

á-ĝál ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne diĝir gal-gal-e-ne gen₆ eš-bar ab-šúm-šúm-mu-a

King who has gathered up the me-s of heaven and earth, the first-born dear son of Enki

Marduk, the mighty lord, hero, the first one in the heart of the pre-eminent Great Princes (Igigu)

Strong one of the Anunna gods, the great gods, who have given him firmness of decision

Line 6 of the text states that Marduk is the grandson (or descendant) of the god An (pa-bíl-ga-zu an lugal diĝir-re-e-ne-ke₄). Line 9 describes that Enlil has decided “the kingship of the totality” to be the destiny of Marduk: ^den-líl-le nam-lugal kiš^l an ki-bi-da-ke₄ nam-šè mu-ni-in-tar. The following line states that Enlil has made Marduk pre-eminent among the Anunna gods.

The genealogy of Marduk in the later ideology of Babylon can be outlined based on the royal inscriptions and hymns of Abi-ešuh and the previous rulers. An and An’s consort²⁸⁹ have given birth to Enki as already clearly attestable in Isin theology. Enki and Damgalnunna have given birth to Marduk.

²⁸⁸ Cf. B. Alster – C. B. F. Walker, Fs. Sjöberg (1989), p. 11.

²⁸⁹J. van Dijk, MIO 12 (1966–1967), p. 69 suggests Namma to be the suitable consort of An together with whom they begot Enki.

7.4. Ammi-ditana

Ammi-ditana's royal inscriptions are ideologically similar to the previous rulers of the First Dynasty of Babylon. The two longer inscriptions preserved from his reign have references to the importance of the pair Šamaš and Marduk (Ammi-ditana 2, 6) and of Enlil (Ammi-ditana 1, 10–11). The inscriptions mention *nam-kù-zu* of Enki, translatable as “the quality of pure knowledge, smartness or wisdom.”

Ammi-ditana 2, Sumerian 19–21 / Akkadian 20–21; (cf. Ammi-ditana 1, ii 6–7):

<i>nam-kù-zu-a</i>	<i>in ne-me-qí-i[m]</i>	by the wisdom
^d en-ki-ke ₄	<i>ša ^dé-a i-di-nam</i>	given by Enki
<i>ma-an-šúm-ma-ta</i>		

When the previous inscriptions wrote the name of Ea without the determinative, the Ammi-ditana text uses ^dé-a. Ea as an active divine concept seems to have emerged in the Mesopotamian mythology during the Dynasty of Hammurapi who now embodies all the previous characteristics of the ancient Sumerian god Enki. The hypothetical “original” nature of the god whose name should be a derivation from *hyy (“to live,” cf. 8.1. of the current study) is impossible to outline based on the available later texts.

7.5 Ammi-saduqa

One Akkadian royal inscription of Ammi-saduqa states that the king had “settled his people in safe pastures” (Ammi-saduqa 2: ii 5–6). This is accomplished by the wisdom given by the god ^dé-a.

Ammi-saduqa 2, ii 3–4:

<i>i-na me-re-ši-im</i>	by the wisdom
<i>ša ^dé-a iš-ru-kam</i>	given by Ea

7.6. Ipiq-Eštar and Takil-ilišu of Malgium

The state of Malgium, an important political power during the Old-Babylonian period, was probably located near the mouth of the Diyala River and the area around Kut al-Amara.²⁹⁰ The exact chronology of the rule of Ipiq-Eštar and

²⁹⁰ Cf. R. Kutscher, RIA 7 (1987–1990), pp. 300–301. Kutscher dates (p. 301) the inscriptions based on “the inner evidence of Takil-ilišu’s inscriptions” “to a date in the second half of the 19th cent. B.C. and no later than the beginning of Hammurapi’s reign.” He also points to the similarities with the inscriptions of Iahdun-lim and

Takil-ilišu is not precisely known but a date near Hammurapi's time or later seems reasonable. The importance of Enki/Ea and Damgalnunna/Damkina for the city of Malgium was already underlined in the Hammurapi Law code. The texts of Malgium describe the two gods as the pre-eminent divine forces for the state of Malgium.

One text of Ipiq-Eštar commemorates a temple-building for the mother-goddess. It is stated that Enki is the form-giver of Ipiq-Eštar. It is also noticeable that the Sumerian name ^den-ki is mentioned first and then ^dé-a is listed in the group where An, Enlil and the mother-goddess appear. Ea's mentioning as the fourth in the row is not common after the inscriptions of Ur III period.

Ipiq-Estar 1, 1–10:

^d <i>i-pí-ig-eš₄-tár</i> LUGAL	Ipiq-Eštar, the king
<i>ši-ki-in</i> ^d en-ki ^d dam-ki-na	put in place (or: crafted?) ²⁹¹ by Enki and Damkina,
LUGAL <i>ma-al-gi-im</i> ^{ki}	king of Malgium,
DUMU <i>a-pil-i-lí-šu</i>	son of Apil-ilišu.
<i>i-nu</i> an ^d en-líl DIĜIR.MAĜ	When An, Enlil, the mother-goddess
ù ^d é-a <i>šar-ri</i>	and Ea, my king
<i>mi-li-ik ma-tim im-l[i]-ku</i>	had taken counsel (council?) about the land;
<i>wa-ši-ib</i> LU- <i>im be-el pi-ri-iš-tim</i>	living in Abzu (?), ²⁹² the master of secrets,
<i>ú-tá-di a-na ħi-ir-ti-šu</i>	informed his spouse
<i>el-le-tim</i> ^d dam-ki-na	pure Damkina

Enki/Ea asks his wife Damkina to be favourable to the city of Malgium, relieve it from evil and grant a long kingship to Ipiq-Eštar. The text describes the destruction of the temple of the mother-goddess and then tells about its reconstruction by the king Ipiq-Eštar. The king defines himself as created by the hand of Ea.

concludes that it seems probable that the rulers of Malgium were of Amorite origins and only recently established in their new domain.

²⁹¹ D. Frayne, RIME 4, p. 669 seems to think that the line refers to Ipiq-Eštar's creation by Enki and Damkina. More probably it is a reference to the nomination or setting into office by the two gods. However, symbolically, the line might refer to creation, as the line 26 states.

²⁹² The text has LU-*im*. Cf. A. Lenzi, Secrecy and the Gods (2008), p. 105: *wa-ši-ib ZU.<AB>-im*. Probably the domain of Enki is referred to here. Lenzi interprets *be-el pi-ri-iš-tim* as "the lord of the secret council." This kind of council has not been attested in the previous inscriptions and the divine assembly, which decided the fate of mankind in the Flood stories, can not be called or equated with "a secret council of gods" (cf. p. 51). The oath of secrecy was to guarantee the successful destruction of mankind and does not seem to belong to any definable form of "divine secrets."

Ipiq-Estar 1, 25–31:

^d*i-pí-iq-eš₄-tár* LUGAL *na-a³-du*
bi-ni-it qá-ti-šu
ša^dé-a a-na-ku
i-na šu-ur-ri^dé-a^d dam-ki-na
a-na wa-ar-du-<ti>-šu-nu ir-šu-nin-ni
^r*e¹-[p]u-uš ab-ni bi-ta-am*
a-na DIĜIR.MAḪ *um-mi-a*

Ipiq-Eštar, pious king,
creation by the hand
of Ea I am.
As soon as Ea and Damkina
took me into their service,
I founded and built a temple
to the mother-goddess, my mother

Ipiq-Estar calls Ea his creator and the mother-goddess (^dmaḪ) his mother. Ea's consort Damkina does not seem to be identical with that mother-goddess. The similarities of the ideology of Malgium and the myth Enki and Ninmah are apparent: the king is created by Ea/Enki and the mother-goddess figure is also present.

One inscription of Takil-ilisu, the king of Malgium, describes the building of the supporting wall around the temple of Enki called E-namtila (Takil-ilisu 1, 12: *é-nam-ti-la*: “the house of life”). Hammurapi B hymn line 2 also titled Enki to be “the lord of life:” [^de]n-ki-ke₄ [en⁷] nam-ti-la. In the beginning of his text, Takil-ilišu claims that he has been called to be the king of Malgium by Ea and Damkina.

Takil-ilišu 1, 5–11:

^r*i¹-nu-ma^dé-a*
^r*dam-ki-na*
[a-n]a re-ú-ut ma-al-gi-im
[š]u-mi ib-bu-ú
^d*é-a-ma be-li*
^r*i¹-na* KA-šu *el-li-im*
[i]q-bi-a-am-ma

When Ea
and Damkina
into the shepherdship of Malgium
called my name:
Ea, my lord,
with his pure mouth
spoke to me

The inscription is ended with a curse formula where Ea and Damkina are asked to destroy the foundations and the seed of the person who erases the inscription (Takil-ilišu 1, 31–33). The last god asked to be an “evil spirit” to the person harming the inscription is (line 34) ^dARA SUKKAL.MAḪ *ša^dé-a*: “Ara, the great vizier of Ea.” The *sukkal* of Enki was previously called by the name Isimu starting from the Early Dynastic inscriptions.

The prominent position of Ea/Enki and his wife Damkina/Damgalnunna, as well as the mother-goddess Belet-ili, is clearly visible in the inscriptions of the rulers of Malgium. This high ranking of Ea/Enki is manifested by his nature as the granter of kingship as well as by his role as the creator of man.

7.7. Conclusions

During the years of Hammurapi and his successors, the texts reveal a certain mixture or syncretism of two different systems of beliefs. One is the system of the Amorites and the official pantheon of the city of Babylon, the other the canonical pantheon of the previous Mesopotamian states. The Babylonian system seems to be more centered on the figures of Šamaš and Marduk; the canonical Mesopotamian system around An, Enlil, Enki and also the mother-goddess. It seems possible that the Babylonian system might have originally considered Marduk the son of the sun-god and his consort Aya (^da-a). When Hammurapi had taken control over all the ancient Sumero-Akkadian areas, he must have had the necessity to mix the two pantheons together in a single imperial pantheon. The Sumerian god Asaluhi, known to be the son of Enki, might have been equated with Marduk already in the earlier periods. The texts of the First Dynasty of Babylon describe Marduk in similar terms as Enki was described in the inscriptions of Isin. Marduk receives the Enlilship from the great gods and An and Enlil. Marduk also becomes the god of knowledge and wisdom as had previously been the role of Enki. However, in all the available inscriptions, the importance of the previous heads of the Mesopotamian pantheon (An, Enlil and Enki) is not overshadowed by the theology of Marduk. The system of Enuma eliš where the other gods are symbolically described as the names of Marduk is not reflected directly in Old-Babylonian inscriptions.²⁹³

The texts from Malgium show an extraordinary devotion towards the gods Ea/Enki and Damkina/Damgalnunna. This refers to their high importance in the eyes of the Amorites in Mesopotamia. Whether they were simply following an older Sumero-Akkadian tradition and to what extent does the god Ea/Enki in the sources of Malgium and also in the texts of the First Dynasty of Babylon reflect the concept of the hypothetically Semitic deity Ea, is hard to answer. If the two concepts were originally significantly different, then during the Old-Babylonian period the assimilation is already clearly attested. There is no possibility to claim with certainty which aspects might be originally Semitic and which characteristics should be originally Sumerian.

²⁹³ The claim of W. Sommerfeld, RIA 7 (1987–1990), p. 364: “Versuche, Marduk über die höchsten Götter Anu und Enlil zu erheben und ihn an die Spitze des Pantheons zu stellen, sind in der altbab. Zeit nicht dokumentiert” seems to be correct when analysing the available texts. Sommerfeld also proposes (p. 365) that the wish to make Marduk “the king of the gods” and the highest god in the pantheon seems detectable from the Kassite period onwards. It seems justified to claim that the ideology of Babylon would have wanted to make Marduk the real “king of the gods” already during the Old-Babylonian period and the wish is detectable in several texts of the period. This, however, would not have been in accordance with the overall religious thinking and ideology in Mesopotamia considering the gods An, Enlil and Enki to be the most powerful divine figures.

8. ENKI (EA) IN THE MYTHOLOGY OF CREATION

The role of Enki in the creation of the world as well as in the creation of mankind is one of the features that is not explicitly explained in precisely datable royal hymns and inscriptions. What is certain, is that Enki is described as one of the main characters responsible for natural forces, vegetation and animal reproduction. How the world and humans were imagined emerging or being created does not seem to be well organised or systematised in the royal ideologies and mythologies of the different periods of Sumero-Akkadian history. The myth about the separation of heaven and earth seems to be strongly present in the ancient Sumerian mythological mind but the Sumerian texts only briefly discuss the matters as introductory parts to the larger mythological narratives or as shorter passages inside a larger text. It also seems probable that in earlier texts the role of the mother-goddess Nintu/Ninhursag as the creator of human beings is especially emphasised and Enki might not have been the primary force behind the creation of mankind. Texts from Old-Babylonian Malgium, however, already seem to refer to Enki/Ea (and probably to Damgalnunna/ Damkina) as the main creators of man.

This very chapter offers a short and more synthetically organised overview of Enki's role in the processes of creation. Since the chronological order of texts is almost impossible to establish given the uncertainly datable mythological accounts are in question, the materials are not presented in a strict hypothetical chronological order. The issues of creation mythology and the concept of the creator god in the Ancient Near Eastern context are not exclusively related to Enki²⁹⁴ and form an entirely separate research topic. This chapter primarily deals with texts which are related to Enki/Ea. However, all kinds of different textual examples describing the early nature of Mesopotamian cosmic geography, the emergence of the world and issues related to human creation are also discussed.

8.1. Enki and Ea as Cosmic Entities

Early Dynastic texts from Ebla and elsewhere always use the name ^den-ki for the god while the name *é-a* is only present in personal names starting from the pre-Sargonic period. The name Ea first occurs in the royal inscriptions (without a determinative) in the later periods such as Iddin-Dagan B, 14 or Iahdun-Lim 2, 147. The Semitic name Ea bearing no determinative is in some extent comparable with the Sumerian sky god An who can be interpreted as “the god of heavens An” or “the heavens/sky” as natural phenomenon or geographical

²⁹⁴ Cf. W. Heimpel, RIA 8 (1993–1997), pp. 558–560. The comparative table of the created beings and their creators makes it clear that there is no single creative force in Ancient Near Eastern mythology. Although Enki and the mother-goddess are dominant in earlier texts, also Enlil, An and other gods often act as creators in similar terms.

region in the universe. It seems probable that for the (Western) Semites the name Ea might have been similarly interpreted. *é-a* designated “the god Ea” and the name was also used to refer to his divine element which can be determined using the Ebla lexical lists (^den-ki = *'à-u₉*) as spring-water or running water.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁵ In Sargonic era writing, É was used for the value *'à*, and the value *é* is not attested until the Ur III period (I. J. Gelb, MAD 2, p. 24 and pp. 88–89; cf. J. M. Roberts, ESP, p. 20 and H. D. Galter, Ea/Enki, p. 4). *'à* goes back to the proto-Akkadian form **ḥa* (MAD 2, p. 119f.; ESP, p. 20; cf. M. Krebernik, AfO 32 (1985), p. 58). The proto-Akkadian form of the name therefore is **ḥa-a* (Ea/Enki, p. 4) suggesting the root **ḥ-x-x*” (ESP, p. 20). The alphabetic writing of the name in the Hurrian pantheon list from Rash Shamra as ey (E. Laroche, JAOS 88 (1968), p. 148) suggests the pronunciation of *'à-a* with internal *-y(y)-* (ESP, p. 20). This is supported by a trilingual vocabulary list from the same site proving the deity was assimilated to the goddess Ay(y)a in Ugarit (Cf. J. Nougayrol, Ugaritica 5 (1968), p. 248: 137 IV a 19: ^d*a-a: e-ja-an: ku-šar-ru*; cf. E. Laroche, Ugaritica 5 (1968), p. 525; H. D. Galter, DDD (1999), p. 236). Roberts finds the *-y(y)-* problematic, since in Mesopotamia the variant *É-ya* or *Ē-ya₈* is never attested instead of *É-a*. However, he states that “the writing of the divine name was obviously fixed in the tradition quite early, *È-a* being the only clearly attested variant known to this writer, and when traditional orthography dominates to this extent, it is precisely in the peripheral areas where one must look for clues to actual pronunciation” (ESP, pp. 79–80). This evidence is supported by the information from Ebla where ^den-ki is equated with *'à-u₉*, “indiquent une étymologie sémitique assez évidente, de la racine **ḥyy*, “vivre” (/hayyu(m)/):” F. Pomponio – P. Xella, Les dieux d’Ebla (1997), p. 168 (cf. G. Selz, AOAT 281 (2002), pp. 663–671; H.-P. Müller, AOAT 281 (2002), pp. 505–507; M. Dietrich – O. Loretz, UF 31 (1999), pp. 168–170; H. D. Galter, DDD (1999), p. 235; C. H. Gordon, Eblaitica 2 (1990), p. 145; G. Conti, Il sillabario della quarta fonte della lista lessicale bilingue eblaita (1990), p. 193; B. Kienast, Ebla 1975–1985 (1987), p. 37; E. Arcari, OrNS 53 (1984), p. 443; M. Krebernik, ZA 73 (1983), p. 31; G. Pettinato, MEE 4, p. 72: 803). W. G. Lambert finds that *'à-u₉* is a declined form of Ea that seems to be unique: “It can be argued that *É* should always be read *'à* at Ebla, but that ignores the fact that the orthography of names may have been fixed elsewhere.” Lambert comments that all the information used to support Ay(y)a comes from the second millennium (Hurrian and Hittite) sources which is not valid for making verifiable conclusions for the name (Bilinguismo (1984), p. 399). The writing *è-a* is attested in the late Akkad period, and Ur III personal names include *i-ti-ne-a* and *na-ra-me-a* shedding some doubt on the interpretation **ḥyy* (cf. ESP, p. 20 and p. 79; W. von Soden, ZA 66 (1976), p. 137). M. V. Tonietti, Fs. Fronzaroli (2003), p. 669 argues that “even if, as a rule, spelling conventions generally tend toward the conservation of etymological spellings, the distinct use of *È* or of *É*, strictly respected for as long as it actually corresponded to a contrast between different phonemes, may have ceased to be normative when and where (and not, it is, at the same time in all places) these phonemes, coalesced into one (and caused in some cases the vowel change /a/ > /e/).” The meaning of the name (if the root is **ḥyy* “to live”) should be “the (one who is) living” (Ea/Enki, p. 5: “der Lebende”) or also “the (one who is) reviving” (cf. I. Diakonoff, Archaic Myths of the Orient and the Occident (1995), p. 157). B. Kienast tries to see an archaic *status determinatus* of the Old-Akkadian represented in the name which should be identical or close to the *status emphaticus* in Aramaic (Ebla 1975–1985 (1987), pp. 39–46: *-ā* in case of *malkā*). The name can be explained by using parallels from other Semitic divine names such as Anda, Aba, Erra (cf. G. Selz, AOAT 281 (2002), p. 667: Erra von *ḥrr*). Galter

This hypothetical and watery god Hajja or Aya does not seem to be of Akkadian origins. As C. Gordon points out, “the *É* in *É-um* / *É-a* reflects West Semitic *hy* ‘he lives’ or ‘is alive.’ The name *É-a* can only be West Semitic; for the root *hyy* / *hwy* ‘to live’ is replaced by an entirely different root (*blt*) in Akkadian.”²⁹⁶ Also Ubaidian²⁹⁷ and Sumerian²⁹⁸ origins of the name Ea are still sometimes

explains it by calling the name a “Lallname” (Ea/Enki, p. 6). Although the root “living” seems to be the most probable one, Lambert’s counter arguments are reasonable in the sense that making conclusions concerning several millennia of religious history of the Ancient Near East based on only sporadic (and mostly late) information from personal names might lead to results representing seemingly “scholarly” or “scientific” opinions and arguments but might be out of the context when compared with the hypothetical ancient and complex reality.

²⁹⁶ Eblaitica 1 (1987), p. 20.

²⁹⁷ S. N. Kramer, In the World of Sumer (1986), pp. 200–201 speculates that the name Ea can be “another crucial word which may turn out to be Ubaidian” which was changed by the Sumerians to Enki when he was incorporated to their pantheon. M. W. Green, Eridu, p. 75 follows the same idea when discussing the nature of the names Haia and Ea.

²⁹⁸ The god Ea is first mentioned in personal names of the Pre-Sargonic era (H. D. Galter, Ea/Enki, p. 3; for the catalogue of personal names, pp. 216–286). The name is most often written *É-A* (H. D. Galter, Ea/Enki, p. 4; J. M. Roberts, ESP, p. 20 and p. 79, note 111). Only early Sumerological studies tried to translate the name based on the Sumerian language and gave it a meaning “House of Water” (Ch. Jean, La Religion sumérienne (1931), p. 48). The other option based on the Sumerian language, “in the water,” does not seem probable for a divine name (S. N. Kramer, Genava NS 8 (1960), p. 276). In Old-Akkadian personal names, Ea is almost exclusively connected with Semitic elements and there is a strong basis for concluding that the name Ea is of Semitic origins. (Cf. J. M. Roberts, ESP, pp. 20–21: “since the name is written without the determinative and occurs almost exclusively in Akkadian contexts, it is probably Semitic”). In contemporary studies, only a small number of authors still considers the translation “House of Water” possible as a form of scribal popular etymology (G. Leick, A Dictionary of Ancient Near Eastern Mythology (1991), p. 37: “Ancient Babylonian scribes derived it from Sumerian *É.a*, ‘house of the water’”). Leick’s argument is similar to that of J. Bottéro, StSem 1 (1958), p. 37 who makes a scholarly guess: “je me demande si nous n’aurions pas ici, comme dans le cas de *Apsum* et de *Sin*, une graphie sumérienne secondaire par laquelle les théologiens auraient cherché à donner, dans leur langue savante, une signification précise au nom de cette divinité: ‘Résidence-de-l’Eau’, ou ‘dans-l’Eau’, font manifestement allusion au domaine aqueux que l’on avait attribué à *Éa*. Dans ces conditions, la dénomination originelle de ce dernier ne serait pas *Éa*, mais un vocable phonétiquement voisin dont nous n’avons pas d’attestation sûre.” Bottero actually claims that although the Semitic origins of the name is obvious, the Sumerians developed the written form *é-a* because it was phonetically close to the actual Semitic name but which also connected it to the waters of Ea or the cosmic domain of Ea. C. H. Gordon, Eblaitica 1 (1987), p. 19 considers this kind of popular etymology: “A case can be made for ‘House of Water’ because sea is down like earth, rather than up like sky. Moreover Enki’s shrine is surrounded by water.” Gordon also hypothesises, although admitting that the Semitic name of the god was *ha(y)ya*, that the iconography on cylinder seals, where Enki/Ea is depicted in a house-like structure surrounded by waves of water, “is thus secondary, prompted by the scribal ‘popular etymology’ of *É-A* as ‘House of Water,’ for in Sumerian, *É* = ‘house’ and *A* =

discussed. As W. G. Lambert states: “The attempt at a modern scientific etymology of the name Ea: from West Semitic *ḥy* ‘he lives’ or ‘is alive’ cannot be proved, and likewise the view that ‘Ea can only be West Semitic’.”²⁹⁹ Although not proven with certainty, the origins of the name Ea from the root *ḥyy* and its possible West Semitic character are the only scientifically acceptable solutions at the moment.³⁰⁰

If “the Syrian É-a was not the god Enki of Sumer, but a genuine Amorite divinity, whose indigenous name was Aya”³⁰¹ as is probably claimed by J.-M.

‘water’ .” If the name-form of the god *é-a* used during the Sargonic period actually influenced the iconography of cylinder seals is not provable but possible. J.-M. Durand, OLA 162/1 (2008), p. 224 seems to be in favour of the previous interpretations: “La graphie privilégiée de son nom par ‘É-A’ dans l’écriture cunéiforme concilie d’ailleurs à la fois la phonétique (É a une valeur /ay/) et le sémantisme (‘Demeure-de-l’Eau’), même si ‘É-A’ est, en l’occurrence, plutôt celui qui habite les eaux que le lieu où se trouvent ces dernières.” W. G. Lambert, BSOAS 52 (1989), p. 116 notices in response to Gordon that no ancient scribal (popular) etymologies are known from Mesopotamia and therefore the argument of Gordon is not valid. A reference to sea (or lake) as “the house of Ea” is actually found in the story of Adapa. Fragment B: 49’–54’ (text and translation: S. Izre’el, Adapa and the South Wind (2001), pp. 64–65):

*1*a-da-pa^da-na ip-pa-al be-lí
a-na bi-it be-lí-ia i-na qá-a-ab-la-at ta-am-ti
nu-ni a-ba-ar ta-am-ta i-na mé-še-li in-ši-il-ma
šú-ú-tu i-zi-qá-am-ma ia-a-ši uṭ-ṭe-eb-ba-an-ni
[a-n]a bi-it be-lí ul-ta-am-ši-il i-na ug-ga-at li-ib-bi-ia
[x(x)-š]a⁷ r a⁷t-ta-za-ar

Adapa answered Anu: “My lord!

For my lord’s household I was catching fish in the middle of the sea.

He cut the sea in half,

the South Wind blew, and me – she drowned.

I was plunged into the lord’s house.

In the rage of my heart I cursed [he]r⁷.”

In his commentary of the line B 53’ (p. 27), Izre’el explains the use of *bīt bēli* instead of *bīt nūnī* (“home of the fish”) and concludes that “the sea as the home of Ea, Adapa’s lord, can be substantiated by parallels in Mesopotamian mythology” given in p. 139: “Adapa is plunged in to ‘the lord’s house’, located in the depth of the sea, and it is there that Ea gives him instructions for his heavenly visit.” Cf. S. Izre’el, RAI 43 (1998), p. 183ff. for opinions about the meaning of the story.

²⁹⁹ W. G. Lambert, BSOAS 52 (1989), p. 116.

³⁰⁰ Cf. G. J. Selz, AOAT 281 (2002), p. 670 who states that for the Semitic name Ea there is no other Semitic root available. “Wenn man es also nicht vorzieht, den Namen für undeutbar zu halten (cf. note 82: ‘Ein zwar sicherer, aber nach meiner Auffassung allzu oft gewählter leichter Ausweg!’), besitzt die Hypothese von Roberts und Gelb u.a., die ihn mit der Wurzel *ḥjj* verbindet, noch immer die größte Plausibilität.”

³⁰¹ W. Heimpel, JCS 61 (2009), p. 55.

Durand in his *La Religion amorrite en Syrie à l'époque des archives de Mari*,³⁰² this hypothetical West Semitic³⁰³ god may have represented some sort of primordial mythological waters or the “waters of the universe.” The other option would be to consider that god representing the overall concept of running water of rivers and springs for the Semites.³⁰⁴

The god Enki(g/k) cannot be described as a “primordial element” or a symbol representing certain clearly definable numinous force. Attempts at interpreting his name have run into serious difficulties and by the modern state of knowledge³⁰⁵ it is usually referred to as Enki(g) of unknown meaning (and origins). The main reason for denying the existence of ki (“earth”) in Enki’s name is the fact that the name obviously represents an entity en-ki(g/k) not related to Sumerian ki. This fact is usually augmented with statements that the cosmic

³⁰² OLA 162/I (2008), pp. 222–225.

³⁰³ As determined by F. Pomponio – P. Xella, *Les dieux d'Ebla* (1997), p. 169 “appartenant très probablement au vieux fond de la tradition religieuse syrienne.”

³⁰⁴ The name “living” of Ea might also be considered a Semitic word or an adjective characterising (flowing) water and rivers attributed to the Sumerian god Enki.

³⁰⁵ Interpretational problems with the name Enki seem similar to the problems with the name of Enlil. When all the earlier studies translated the name of Enlil ca. as “Lord of the Winds,” it has become clear that the translation might not have anything to do with the philological or mythological reality. The element *lil* in Enlil’s name and the *ki(g/k)* in Enki’s name might refer to something different than “wind” or “earth” – at least when assuming that the names originate from the Sumerian linguistic spheres. D. O. Edzard considers “Schemen,” “Phantom,” “Leere,” “Nichts;” and explains in addition to the philological possibilities about the negative meaning of Enlil in Sumerian mythological thought: “Wir empfinden Enlil – ganz im Gegensatz zu seinem Bruder Enki – als einen zutiefst unsympatischen Gott” (Fs. Fronzaroli (2003), p. 183). E. Sollberger understood the *ki(g)* of *en-ki* as meaning “favour,” “benevolence,” “love,” and in opposition with the name Enlil (cf. H. D. Galter, *Ea/Enki*, p. 8) as “seigneur bienveillance” (E. Sollberger – J.-R. Kupper, *IRSA*, p. 301). According to Sollberger (*The Business and Administrative Correspondence under the Kings of Ur* (1966), p. 141, 393), “In the name En-ki, god of the (underground, sweet) waters, -ki cannot be ‘earth’ /.../; in view of the frequent ending -g /.../, and of the well attested role of the god as man’s friend, I assume a translation ‘Lord Love,’ parallel to En-lil ‘Lord Breath’ (and, perhaps, En-sun ‘Lord Wisdom’).” *Ki.aĝa* would mean “to love, beloved (a verbal phrase constructed with the dative, literally, ‘to mete out *ki(g)* to someone’).” Sollberger’s interpretation is connected to the ideas of S. N. Kramer – M. Çiğ – H. Kizilyay, *Belleten* 16 (1952), p. 362 where in one *balbale* hymn for Inanna (lines 1 and 3) *ki-ig-ga* seems to be an unusual writing for *ki-āĝ-ĝā*. The element *ki(g)* in the name of Enki is similar to that of Nin-MAR.KI (P. Attinger, *NABU* 1995/2, p. 28). As one of the function of the goddess might have been taking care for the cattle (cf. W. Sallaberger, *RIA* 9 (1998–2001), pp. 463–468), an option would be to interpret the name as “the lady who takes care for (=loves) the calves.” Since the theories about the meaning of *ki(g)* are not based on any actual linguistic proofs, they are only speculations and it must be concluded that the name Enki, when assuming the *ki(g/k)* cannot be related to earth *Ki*, is of unknown meaning.

entity Ki is not a suitable region for the god whose primary area is the (sweet) waters or the under-earth ocean Abzu.³⁰⁶ Analysis of available Sumerian sources does not support this kind of understanding. Enki is the manager or en of the fertile earth and his region Abzu is situated under or inside that earth Ki. One probable way out of this problem was offered by K. Butz: “Der Auslaut -g in En.ki.ga, er tritt nicht immer auf, findet sich auch in ki.in.dar ‘Erdspalte.’ Es ist demnach wohl *kig bzw. *ki anzusetzen.”³⁰⁷ When to analyse ki-in-dar³⁰⁸ in different contexts it seems to be almost synonymously used with ki-in-du – both are translatable as “earth hole,” “earth starch” referring to something inside (or: near the surface, in the boundaries?) of the earth as the following examples seem to indicate:

Inanna and Ebih 83:

kur-kur-ra muš ki-in-dar-ra-gen₇ šu ħu-mu-da-dúb-bé-eš

Let him pull out (=destroy) the enemy lands (or: mountains) just like a snake in (or: from) the earth hole

Hendursaga A, 94:

ki-in-du kù-ge ġál tak₄-tak₄-[...]

(so that) the holy earth holes will be opened up³⁰⁹

The names Ea and Enki are not associated and probably represent two different ancient gods (or divine concepts). Their complete assimilation is visible only from the Old-Babylonian period onwards.

8.2. Enki (Ea) and the Emergence of the Present World

In Sumerian myths, the waters (or primordial pre-existing waters) always seem to be a secondary development or element in the process of creation. The first detectable cosmic formations or divinities are always An and Ki – heaven and earth. The cosmic water, for example, appears in the Babylonian myth of Enuma eliš and the bilingual composition titled the Creation of the World by Marduk.

³⁰⁶ Cf. H. D. Galter, *Ea/Enki*, pp. 8–9; B. Groneberg, *Die Götter des Zweistromlandes* (2004), pp. 135–136.

³⁰⁷ Ebla 1975–1985 (1987), p. 337.

³⁰⁸ The verb ki dar (“to split open the earth”) occurring, for example, in the Death of Gilgameš, refers to digging into the earth. (N₁ vii 8: u₄-bi-a murub₄ ¹⁷bu[ranun-n]a-ka ki bi-in-dar is translatable as “Then (the people of Uruk) split up the earth in the middle of the Euphrates river.” This is probably a reference to the building process of the tomb of Gilgameš on or inside the riverbed.)

³⁰⁹ D. O. Edzard – C. Wilcke, *AOAT* 25 (1976), p. 151 translate the line “Dass reine Obstgärten(?) erschlossen werden.”

Creation of the World by Marduk:

[nigin] kur-kur-ra-ke₄ a-ab-ba (*nap-ḥar ma-ta-a-tú tam-tum-ma*)

[igi š]à ab-ba-ke₄ šita na-nam (*i-nu šá qé-reb tam-tim ra-ṭu-um-ma*)

“All the lands were sea.

The spring in the sea was a water main.”³¹⁰

The text clearly states that the land did not exist yet (or the sea covered the earth) and the primordial element was the sea or the water-body (a-ab-ba). From those waters rose a water eye or canal which might have been representing fresh waters in opposition to the salty waters of the sea. In several Sumerian texts describing the emergence of water, the primordial sea is not mentioned. It seems that water is coming out from the deep Abzu of Enki situated inside the earth Ki. Water arrives to the surface through rivers, springs or wells as is demonstrated by the Enki and Ninhursag myth.³¹¹

Enki and Ninhursag 56–58:

ka a ki-a DU.DU-ta a du₁₀ ki-ta mu-na-ra-DU

ḡiri-[ma-an] gal-la-na a im-ta-e₁₁-dè

ʽuru¹-ni a ḥé-ḡál-la im-ta-na₈-na₈

From the mouth of the water running inside the earth (ki), fresh waters from the earth (ki) (Utu makes to) run out for her (for Ninsikil)

Into her great water tanks the water was flowing³¹²

So her city could drink water abundantly from them

The same motive of the waterless earth seems to occur in a Neo-Sumerian creation myth fragment describing the embryonic state of the world before the cosmic marriage of An and Ki. It is stated that An instituted the light³¹³ to the heavens but let the earth Ki be in darkness. We are further told that no water was available from the deep and that the earth was empty of everything. In addition, the priest of Enlil is not instituted and lustration rituals (š_u-luḥ³¹⁴) do not take place. The first lines of the fragment are exceptionally close to the beginning of Genesis 1:

³¹⁰ W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (1998), pp. 129–131: CT 13, 35: 10–11.

³¹¹ D. Katz, *BiOr* 64 (2007), p. 570 suggests that the text might have been composed somewhere during or before the reign of Rim-Su'en.

³¹² This was probably the symbolic of the water-reservoirs situated in Mesopotamian temples interpreted as Abzus.

³¹³ B. Alster, *JCS* 28 (1976), p. 122 supposes that in Ukg. 15 as well as in NBC 11108 the granting of light by An did not take place and darkness ruled over the sky and earth.

³¹⁴ This should be a reference to the missing water making the purification rituals impossible to perform.

a[n e]n-né an mu-zala[g]² -r^{ge}?¹ r^{ki} mu-gi₆/kikki kur-šè igi[?] m[u-x]³¹⁵
 bùru a nu-bal ni nu-ğar ki dağal [x x]-ri[?] nu-ak
 [i]šib-maḥ^d en-líl-lá nu-ù-ğál [š]u-^rluḥ¹ kù-ge šu nu-ù-ma-ni-du₇
 An, the lord, made the sky shine?, (but) let the earth (Ki) stay dark, towards (?)
 Kur his eyes [set ?]³¹⁶
 In the deep (well/hole) there was no water to be poured out, there was nothing,
 placed on the wide earth [...]
 The great *išib*-priest of Enlil was not there, the holy purification rites were not
 performed

The bùru possibly refers to a well or even to Abzu of Enki.³¹⁷ Line 13 of the myth Enki and Ninmah uses bùru to refer to the deepness of Engur where Enki is sleeping. However, it cannot be excluded that Engur is equated with bùru: ^den-ki-ke₄ engur bùru a-sur-ra ki diğir na-me šà-bi u₆ nu-um-me: “Enki in deep Engur (in the hole/well Engur) where water flows, place of which the inside parts no god can know.”

In the older layers of Sumerian mythology, the present-day world is created through the separation of heaven and earth – An and Ki. The role of Enki and Ninki and the other primordial gods who are taking part in creation and who are mentioned at the beginning of the god-lists is still largely unknown. The Early Dynastic literary fragment titled Ukg. 15 is among the best examples describing the cosmic marriage of An and Ki.

Ukg. 15, i 5–iii 4.³¹⁸

ki bùru a šè-ma-si	A hole in the earth, it is filled with semen / water
an en-nam šul-le-šè al-DU	An is the lord, in a young hero’s way is standing
an-ki téš-ba sig ₄ an-gi ₄ -gi ₄	An and Ki in union, they are shouting ³¹⁹
u ₄ -ba en-ki nun-ki nu-sig ₇	On that day, Enki (and) Nunki are not alive (yet) ³²⁰

³¹⁵ NBC 11108, 1–3. Å. W. Sjöberg, Gs. Jacobsen (2002), pp. 239–240; W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (1998), pp. 138–139; J. van Dijk, *AOAT* 25 (1976), pp. 128–129.

³¹⁶ Cf. A. J. Ferrara, *CM* 35 (2006), p. 62 who comments the line “that is, time had now been organized on a nocturnal-diurnal basis.”

³¹⁷ W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (1998), p. 139.

³¹⁸ Å. W. Sjöberg, Gs. Jacobsen (2002), pp. 230–231; W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (1998), pp. 140–141; J. van Dijk, *AcOr* 28 (1965), p. 40.

³¹⁹ M.-L. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language* (1984), p. 188 translates lines ii 1–2: “An is the lord – he is standing (or going?) like a young hero / heaven and earth are shouting together.” J. van Dijk, *AcOr* 28 (1965), p. 40 translates ii 2: “An et Ki échangeaient des cris, l’un avec l’autre.” P. Michalowski, *RAI* 43 (1998), p. 240, note 4: “This is, of course, but a metaphor for sexual union.” The Barton Cylinder describes the situation in similar terms (B. Alster – A. Westenholz, *ASJ* 16 (1994), p. 18, cf. 8.5.5. of the current study).

³²⁰ The line was interpreted by J. van Dijk (p. 40) as u₄-ba en-ki eridu(NUN)^{ki} nu-si₁₂: “Ce jour-là, Enki (et) Eridu n’avait pas commencé à exister.” B. Alster, *RA* 64 (1970),

^d en-líl nu-ti	Enlil is not alive (yet)
^d nin-líl nu-ti	Ninlil is not alive (yet)
u ₄ -da im-ma	Today, (the day) before
ul [?] im-m[a]	joy [] before
u ₄ nu zal-[zal]	Day is not passing
i-ti nu-è-è	the rays of the moon are not going out

The text uses *ki bùru* similarly to the previous examples. It refers to a hole or well³²¹ inside the earth *Ki*. Since the text clearly refers to the sexual union of An and *Ki*, the water in this context should better be translated by “semen of An” although in the strict sense, the waters from the sky are probably meant. Difficultly interpretable line 3 of the text might even suggest that the hole of *Ki* should be interpreted as the reproductive organs of the earth³²² which are then inseminated by the waters of An. The primordial gods Enki and Nunki, Enlil and Ninlil as well as the celestial bodies are described as not born yet. The nature of the primordial gods Enki and Ninki (Nunki)³²³ is still hard to determine. The only clear aspect about them is that they are described as birth givers to all the great Sumerian gods already in the Early Dynastic mythology, as the UD.GAL.NUN texts indicate. The definition of Th. Jacobsen given in 1946 is still acceptable today: “the powers manifest in Earth viewed in their male and female aspects as ^dEn-ki, ‘The earth lord,’ and ^dNin-ki, ‘The earth lady’.”³²⁴ The confusing of the name Ninki with the name of the mother-goddess or Enki’s wife Damgalnunna is detectable in Early Dynastic texts and also in the later Babylonian thought. In Eanatum 1, Ninki is mentioned in the oaths’ section after the god Utu – a position where normally Inanna would be expected to occur. The goddess is asked to send snakes from the earth to bite the feet of Umma (rev. v 35–36: *muš ki-ta ġiri-ba / zú ħe-mi-dù-dù-e*). In the Babylonian emesal vocabulary list, Ninki is equated with Damkina: MSL 4, i 2–

p. 190 interpreted the line as containing the primordial gods *en-ki* and *nun-ki* (referring to C. Wilke, *Das Lugalbandaepos* (1969), p. 132 who translates “die Herren des Orte, die Fürsten der Orte”). W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (1998), p. 140 claims that “On that day Enki in Eridu...” still remains an option. Considering the verb used and Enki’s name occurring without the determinative, it does not seem very likely.

³²¹ Cf. W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (1998), p. 232: the Sumerian *bùru* can also occur as an equivalent to heavens in Akkadian contexts. The meaning “deep place” or “deep water” is often attested (cf. W. G. Lambert, *JNES* 33 (1974), p. 291: a *bùru-da*: “in deep waters”). Cf. W. Yuhong, *Fs. Klein* (2005), p. 374ff. for related terms.

³²² *ki-e SAL.ĤÚB-na dalla ħa-mu-ak-e*. Cf. Å. W. Sjöberg, *Gs. Jacobsen* (2002), p. 232 for the interpretation of Jacobsen: “and the earth spread (open) (her) vagina with her left hand.” J. van Dijk, *AcOr* 28 (1965), p. 40: “Que la terre fasse resplendir son sein(?)”

³²³ Cf. A. Cavigneaux – M. Krebernik, *RIA* 9 (1998–2001), pp. 445–447.

³²⁴ *JNES* 5 (1946), pp. 138–139. Cf. Jacobsen’s clarification in *Treasures of Darkness* (1976), p. 252, note 173: “This deity, whose name denotes ‘Lord Earth’ (*en-ki*) is a chthonic deity distinct from the god of the fresh waters Enki, whose name denotes ‘Lord (i.e., productive manager) of the earth’ (*en-ki (.ak)*).”

3: ^dumun-ki = ^den-ki = ^dé-^ra] / ^dgašan-ki = ^dnin-ki = ^ddam-ki-n[a]. It might be speculated that the ancient scribes were not completely sure about the functions of the primordial en- and nin- gods. Probably the early Sumerian mythology saw them as some sort of primordial creatures born or manifested after the divine copulation motive³²⁵ who afterwards gave birth to the major Sumerian deities.

³²⁵ Cf. Th. Jacobsen, JNES 5 (1946), p. 139. Also the primordial concepts of en-an and nin-an were present in Sumerian mythology. In an Early Dynastic Abu Salabikh god-list (OIP 99; 82 v. I 1–18; P. Mander, PAS, pp. 9–10; A. Alberti, SEL 2 (1985), pp. 12–13) they are added as the eighth pair of en- and nin-gods: ^den-ki ^dnin-ki / ^den-líl ^dnin-KID / ^den-UĜ ^dnin-UĜ / ^den-bulùg ^dnin-bulùg / ^den-udua_x (LAK 777)-x ^dnin-udua_x (LAK 777)-x / ^den-gukkal ^dn[in]-^rgukkal^r / ^den-^rá^r ^dnin-^rá^r / ^den-an ^[d]nin-an. The structurally similar Mari god list does not mention en-an and nin-an and defines the divine primordial creatures as the en and nin of “the holy mound” and parents of Enlil (17–20; W. G. Lambert, Fs. Birot (1985), p. 182): ^den-du₆-kù-ga ^dnin-du₆-kù-ga / ^den ama a-a ^den-líl-lá ^dnin ama a-a ^den-líl-lá / ^den-me-šár-ra ^dnin-me-šár-ra. Then follows the section of Enki (23–25) ^den-ki / ^den-líl-bàn-da / ^dnu-dím[?]-mud[?]. The god lists are in accordance with the Early Dynastic mythological texts describing that Enki and Ninki gave birth to the major Sumerian gods: OIP 99, 114: i 11–12: ^d[GA]L.UNU ^{ud}nin.ki / ^d[GA]L.UNU a.AMA = SF 37 i 7–8: GAL.ki nin.ki / ^{ud}GAL.UNU a.tu: “Enki and Ninki bore Enki(g)” (W. G. Lambert, OA 20 (1981), p. 84). The role of the primordial gods as the mother and father of Enlil is also present in Neo-Sumerian texts such as the Death of Gilgameš: N₃ 14–18: ^den-ki ^dnin-ki ^den-mul ^dnin-mul / ^den-du₆-kù-ga ^dnin-du₆-kù-ga / ^den-inda-šurim[!]-ma ^dnin-[d]a-šurim[!]-ma / ^den-mu-utu-lá ^den-me-[e]n-šár-ra / ama a-a ^den-líl-lá-ra (A. Cavigneaux – F. N. H. Al-Rawi, Gilgameš et la mort (2000), p. 23). Gungunum A, where Enki and Ninki were titled to be the grandparents of Su’en, shows that the similar genealogy of gods was present also in Larsa ideology: (cf. Å. W. Sjöberg, ZA 63 (1973), p. 29). The primordial Enki can also occur alone without the mention of Ninki as the father of Enlil and mother of Ninlil, as shown, for example, by one late Old-Babylonian or early Kassite ritual text (W. G. Lambert, Gs. Jacobsen (2002), p. 205: BM 54716, rev. 3): [zi ^de]n-ki [a-a] ^den-líl-lá-ke₄ ama ^dnin-líl. The same text also mentions Nergal and Ereškigal (11: zi ^dnin-ki-gal-la nin cri₁₁-gal-an-na-ke₄). D. Katz, The Image of the Nether World (2003), pp. 386–387 suggests that Ereškigal was derived from the Sumerian female deity Ninki: “It implies that before Ereškigal (‘lady / queen of the big earth’) was first mentioned in the written sources, a female deity governed the netherworld: Ninki ‘lady / queen of the earth’.” Enki and Ninki were connected to the underworld already in the Early Dynastic literature. Zame Hymns relate them to the underworld god Nergal (OIP 99, p. 48: 65–69). An Early Dynastic incantation makes a connection with the roots of a tamarisk tree: M. Krebernik, Beschwörungen, pp. 96–97, no. 19 = G. Pettinato, OA 18 (1979), p. 339 text a: i 4–iii 1. Incantations from Meturan seem to confuse the concept of the god Enki(g) and Enki-Ninki in different versions of one incantation (La grande texte contre Namtar: A. Cavigneaux – F. N. H. Al-Rawi, ZA 83 (1993), p. 176ff.). A. Cavigneaux – F. N. H. Al-Rawi, p. 188 conclude: “le fait qu’ils soient des ad-da eridu-ga-ke₄-ne ‘anciens d’Eridu’, et qu’ils soient si familiers avec Enki est assez troublant; cela suggère un lien particulier de ces dieux avec Enki, même si ce lien n’est pas l’étymologie.” S. N. Kramer, JAOS 88 (1968), p. 111 tries to relate the Enki gods with the *ṭgṭgū* because ^den-ki ^den-ki in line 6 of Išme-Dagan A is occurring together with the ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne in line 5. Kramer

F. Wiggermann describes the process of the birth of the world in the Ukg. 15 in the following way: “the divine lord (^dEn), the active, procreative element in the god name ^dEn-ki, grows inside Heaven and Earth still united, and starts the painful process of separation that by way of Enki and Nunki would culminate in the birth of divine Ether (Enlil).”³²⁶ He also concludes that “the god lists ignore the separation of Heaven and Earth” because as lists, they have “limited means to express complex relations.”³²⁷ However, the Abu Salabikh list starts by en-ki and nin-ki, then 6 pairs of en-s and nin-s are listed, and concluded by en-an and nin-an.³²⁸ It seems that the list already presupposes the separation of the heaven and the earth and contrary to the SF 23 list (1–14) adds the pair of “the lords and ladies of heaven” to compensate the “the lords and ladies of earth” in the beginning. The god An appears as the head of the hierarchy of gods in the SF 1³²⁹ list and later in Lugalzagesi 1 listing (i 14ff.). In Isin mythology, An and Uraš are already seen as the parents of Enki and the other major gods. The text Gungunum A titles Su’en to be the son of Enlil and the grandson of Enki and Ninki. This confusion might be explained since there probably was no common and overall Sumerian conceptualised creation myth accepted by all the regions and mythologies. In Uruk, the god An was considered more or less active deity of the pantheon and the direct genealogy starting from the god An would have been a natural choice. Enki and Ninki in turn might have been considered a link between An and Ki in other regions (cf. Ukg. 15) where the primordial gods had an active role in mythology.

None of the Sumerian divine concepts, treated above, directly represents or embodies water in Sumerian mythology. The original nature of the sea is unknown based on the available texts. Was it considered a pre-existing entity as An and Ki; or was the sea considered a secondary development does not seem to be answerable based on the available texts. What is however clearly attested is that the sky god inseminates the earth Ki with his waters (semen) which results in the birth of the second (and then third) generation of the divine figures as well as all kinds of natural phenomena.

On Enki’s relationship to water, the best example is given by the myth Enki and the World Order where Enki is described filling the riverbeds with his semen symbolised in the water.

claims that “it is not unlikely, therefore, that ^den-ki – ^den-ki stands for the *īgīgū* (usually written nun-gal-e-ne).” J. van Dijk, AOAT 25 (1976), p. 126 considers it possible. Cf. F. Wiggermann, NatPhen (1992), pp. 281–282.

³²⁶ NatPhen (1992), p. 282.

³²⁷ Ibid., pp. 282–283.

³²⁸ ^den-an-na and ^dnin-an-na are also present in TCL 15 list as the 14th pair of gods. Cf. J. van Dijk, AcOr 28 (1965), fig. 1 for a comparative table.

³²⁹ Cf. the comparative table of listings in P. Mander, PAS, p. 40.

Enki and the World Order 253–254:

ḡèš im-zi-zi dúb im-nir-[re]

¹⁷idigna a zal-le im-ma-a[n-si]

“He masturbates (lit. “stimulates the penis”) and ejaculates
He filled the Tigris (sic!) with (ever) flowing water”³³⁰

The following part of the myth describes Enki’s actions in similar terms to the cosmic marriage of An and Ki. The passage is in accordance with Th. Jacobsen’s definition of Enki: “‘Lord (i.e., productive manager) of the soil,’ reflects the role of water in fructifying earth.”³³¹

Enki and the World Order 256–260:

¹⁷[idig]na gu₄-du₇-gen₇ á-na mu-na-ab- [...]

ḡèš im-zi ni-mí-us-sa nam-túm

¹⁷idigna am-gal-gen₇ šà im-ḥúl ù-tu-ba mu-n[i-...]

a nam-túm a zal-le na-nam kúrun-bi na-du₁₀-ge

še nam-túm še gu-nu na-nam ùḡ-e na-gu₇-e

The Tigris like a potent bull at his side [...]

He raised his penis and brought a bridal gift

Like a great wild bull the Tigris rejoiced, given birth [...]

It brought water, flowing water indeed; its wine will be sweet

It brought barley, mottled barley indeed; the people will eat it

In his role as the manager of the earth Enki follows the orders of An or actually is described as the “second (generation) An” as the previously treated Ur-Ninurta B hymn states. The hymn mixes together the characteristics and functions of an ancient sky god and an ancient chthonic god. According to J. van Dijk, the different traditions of the different tribal groups or distinct nations having distinct ways of life (for example farming versus cattle-breeding and desert life) might be under question as the causers of the different creation myths.³³² On the other hand, the two motives could be understood as two different developmental phases inside the Sumerian religion. Heaven and Earth are primordial and sacred elements for the most of the archaic peoples. During the course of development, usually the younger generation of the gods takes over as the active head of the divine life. Enki can be interpreted representing such a secondary development in Sumerian religion. Alongside the mother-goddess with whom he is always paired in mythology (and who hypothetically represents the secondary development of the mother-earth Ki), Enki acts just like the sky god An (for example in Ukg. 15) when impregnating the mother-goddess Ninursag or making the earth fertile. At least the Ur-Ninurta B hymn

³³⁰ Translation of J. S. Cooper, *Fs Sjöberg* (1989), p. 87.

³³¹ *Treasures of Darkness* (1976), p. 111.

³³² *AcOr* 28 (1965), pp. 58–59.

does not show any sharp distinctions in interpreting the chthonic and cosmic motives existing side by side or one after another.

Ur-Ninurta B, 8–12:

ⁱ⁷idigna ⁱ⁷buranuna ka kù-bi du₈-ù nì giri₁₇-zal si-si
dungu sír-re a h́e-ǵál-la šúm-mu a-gàr-ra šèǵ-šèǵ
^dézina ab-sín-na saǵ íl-íl-i ú-šim edin-na TAR [...] x
pú-^{ǵes}kiri₆ lál ǵeštin ki tag-ga tir-gen₇ sud-sud-e
an lugal diǵir-re-e-ne-ke₄ á-bi mu-e-da-a-áǵ

The holy mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates to keep open, to fill them with joy
Dense clouds to give water abundantly, to rain over the fields
To make Ezina (grain) in his furrows to lift the head, the greenery of the steppe
To make gardens of syrup and vines to grow as forests
An, the king of the gods, has ordered (Enki) to do that

In contrast to the available Sumerian mythological creation accounts, the beginning lines of *Enuma eliš* describe the period when the heaven and the earth did not exist yet and Abzu and Tiamat are the pre-existing watery divine concepts.

Enuma eliš, I 1–5:

e-nu-ma e-liš la na-bu-ú šá-ma-mu
šap-liš am-ma-tum šu-ma la zak-rat
ZU.AB-ma reš-tu-ú za-ru-šu-un
mu-um-mu ti-amat mu-al-li-da-at gim-ri-šú-un
A.MEŠ-šú-nu iš-te-niš i-ḫi-iq-qu-ma

When above, the heaven was not named
When below, the earth was not called by name
Then Apsu, the first, their begetter
Mummu (craftsman, creatress) Tiamat, engenderer of them all
Mixed their waters together

The next lines of the epic describe the birth of Lahmu and Lahamu followed by Anšar and Kišar and ending with Anu and his son Nudimmud. The initial situation in *Enuma eliš* is in sharp contrast with the Sumerian descriptions of the beginnings. The Enki and Ninmah myth starting with the so-called *in illo die* motive³³³ and the separation or creation of the heaven and the earth resulting in the birth of the modern world is one of the best examples.

³³³ Cf. M. Dietrich, AOAT 240 (1995), pp. 57–52; J. van Dijk, AcOr 28 (1965), pp. 24–30. The question whether the Sumerian mythographers explicitly tried to demonstrate the existence of the world in its embryonic and pre-separational phase is impossible to answer based on any available mythological text. Early Dynastic mythological fragments do not give any evidence about that, except that the opening lines of the Barton Cylinder describe the city of Nippur as the (pre-existing?) place of creation. Positioning Nippur and Enlil at the beginning of the listings of the cities in Sumerian

Enki and Ninmah 1–7:

u₄ ri-a-ta u₄ an ki-bi-ta ba-an-[...] ³³⁴

royal inscriptions might indicate that the city was considered some sort of a role model of human civilisation and the created world. If TCL 15 and CT 24 god lists' ^den-uru-ul-la and ^dnin-uru-ul-la reflect some sort of primordial governors of that pre-existing or embryonic city or cosmic mountain is hard to answer when no mythological explanations are available.

³³⁴ Akkadian version of the text from Ninive dating to the 1st millennium (R. Borger, OrNS 54 (1985), pp. 19–23; M. Dietrich, AOAT 240 (1995), pp. 58–59) I 2–3 has: *i-na u₄-mi ul-lu-ti [xxx(x)] ša AN u Ki-tum U[B²-xxx(x)]*. Line 6 of the Akkadian text corresponding to Sumerian line 2 preserves UB-x[xxx(x)]. C. A. Benito, “Enki and Ninmah” and “Enki and the World Order” (1969), p. 45 argues that the translations interpreting the final destroyed part of the line as “when sky had been separated from earth” cannot be justified, “because an-ki-bi-da (as shown clearly by the Akkadian translation *šamû u eršetu*) can mean only ‘heaven and earth’.” He offers as probable restoration ba-an-[*dím-a-ba*] and “a Dt from banû, the equivalent of Sum *dím*” but also notifies that the restoration *u[b-tan-nu-u]* is not advisable since this form is only attested in the meaning of ‘to beautify, to make grow,’ etc.” Cf. the discussion of W. G. Lambert, RAI 43 (1998), p. 192 about two meanings of *banû*: 1. Sumerian *dù* which means “to make” or more specifically “to build,” and 2. Sumerian (u)tu with the meaning “to beget, bear (a child).” M. Dietrich, AOAT 240 (1995), p. 59 proposes *up-ta[r-ri-su]* for the Akkadian text and translates “da Himmel und Erde get[rennt wurden].” To reconstruct tar based on the partially destroyed last available sign in line 6 seems to be the best option. The parallel to such a separation process is given by the mythological story Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld 8–9: an ki-ta ba-da-ba₉-rá-a-ba / ki an-ta ba-da-sur-ra-a-ba: “When heaven was made remote (or: cut open) from the earth / when the earth was pushed away from the heaven.” W. Horowitz, Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography (1998), p. 137 favours bad: “In GHT 8 and Pickaxe 4–5, the Sumerian verb bad.rá is used to describe the action of separation of heaven and earth. In Izi J (MSL 13 213 iii 10), bad.rá is listed as an equivalent of Akkadian *parāsu* ‘to separate’. Since II/i-stem forms *parāsu* begin *up-*, it seems likely that EN 1–2 refers to the separation of heaven and earth (bad.rá = *parāsu*.” The same verb is also used in the story about the Creation of the Pickaxe where it is described that Enlil separated the heaven from the earth for making possible the creation of man (or the modern world): in line 3: ki an-ta ba₉-rá-dè; and line 4: an ki-ta ba₉-rá-dè. Similar motive is also present in KAR 4 myth line 1: u₄ an ki-ta tab-gi-na bad-a-ta. The Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld story continues describing the process of the separation not given in detail in Enki and Ninmah. Line 11: u₄ an-né an ba-an-túm-a-ba (“When An carried away the sky”); 12: ^den-líl-le ki ba-an-túm-a-ba (“Enlil carried away the earth”). After Ereškigal received the netherworld Kur as her region, Enki sailed towards the Kur of Ereškigal in the circumstances still difficult to explain (line 16): ^den-ki kur-šè ba-u₅-a-ba (“Enki sailed towards Kur”). H. Sauren, Fs. Hallo (1993), p. 200 gives *u[p-pa-a ...]* for the Akkadian and seems to propose *éd* for the Sumerian text: an ki-bi-ta ba-an-[è-a-ba]. ETCSL 1.1.2. has adopted the version considered by Benito: an ki-bi-ta ba-an-[*dím-ma-ba*]. A late Hellenistic building ritual from Uruk, however, describes An, Enlil and Enki as the creators of heaven and earth: rev. 10: u₄ ^dLX ^den-líl-lá ^den-ki an-ki-a mu-un-dím-dím-e-ne š[r ...]: “You will sin[g] ‘When An, Enlil and Enki created heaven and earth’ (M. J. H. Linssen, The Cults of Uruk and Babylon (2004), pp. 293–298).

gi₆ ri-a-ta gi₆ an ki-bi-ta b[a- ...]
 [mu ri]-a-[t]a mu nam b[a-tar-ra-ba]
 [^da-n]un-na-ke₄-ne ba-tu-ud-da-a-ba
^dama-^dinanna nam-NIR.PA-šè ba-tuku-a-ba
^dama-^dinanna an ki-a ba-ḫal-ḫal-la-a-ba
^dama-^dinanna [x x] ba-a-peš ù-tu-da-a-ba

In those distant days, in those days when heaven from earth [was split]
 In those distant nights, in those nights when heaven from earth [was split]
 In those distant years, in those years when the destinies [were determined]
 When Anunna gods were born
 When the mother-goddesses were taken in marriage
 When the mother-goddesses were distributed in heaven and earth
 When the mother-goddesses [...] became pregnant and gave birth

The text describes the separation of heaven and earth as attested to in several other Sumerian mythological compositions. The initial part of Enki and Ninmah continues by describing the first moments of the present world emerging³³⁵ after the separation of An and Ki: the Anunna gods are born, and as the Early Dynastic mythology shows, they are probably born as the offspring of Enki-Ninki; or of An and Uraš as attested to in Isin period mythology. The mother-goddesses are divided (possibly referring to the tasks they received from Enki in the myth Enki and the World Order) in the heaven and the earth, they become pregnant and give birth to the second generation of gods. This second generation is later described as revolting or protesting against their engenderers.

8.3. The Nature of Sumerian Abzu

The nature of Sumerian Abzu is a question with several difficulties. The name of Eridu usually designates the temple of Enki or the city of Eridu. Engur and Abzu in turn can designate Enki's temple, refer to the city of Eridu and in diffe-

³³⁵ H. Suren, Fs. Hallo (1993), p. 203ff. gives several highly doubtful interpretations to the myth. First: "Nammu and Enki are in existence from the very beginning. The Eridu mythology does not delve further into the past. The starting point of life is the male and female principle. The creation is a birth process. If Nammu is afterwards named mother, she is not the mother who bore Enki, but the mother whom Enki begot his children." Then (p. 204) he continues by claiming that "Nammu is taken in marriage by Enki, for otherwise neither birth nor creation would be possible. /.../ Nammu is divided into An = heaven and Ki = earth. Heaven and earth are not children of Enki, who dwells inside the house of the earth." Sauren finds that Nammu embodies both – An and Ki, and Enki is "the husband of Ki as his name indicates. It is only with Nammu = Ki that Enki begets children, their offspring being the myriads of gods, the *šaršara*." This kind of scenario represents the theology of Eridu for Sauren which he sees in complete opposition to the theology of Nippur where "An = heaven, Enlil = the god who embraces all, and Ninḫurag = the mistress of the first mount and temple."

rent contexts they both might be used for designating the ground-waters or watery lagoons of marshland areas. Abzu and Engur both can also be used to denote the cosmic region of Enki. In several textual examples, however, Engur and Abzu seem to be differently used. This is complicated by the fact that none of the abovementioned names has an explainable etymology³³⁶ and also the goddess Namma is designated with the sign Engur. This confusion is further exacerbated by the ambiguous relationship of the terms with the concept of sea and nether-world in Sumerian mythology.³³⁷

H. Sauren suggests that Nammu embodies An and Ki in the Enki and Ninmah myth. Such an understanding can only come from the god lists where her name occurs as ^dama-tu-an-ki (TCL 15) and later ^dama-ù-tu-an-ki (CT 24).³³⁸ Also F. Wiggermann³³⁹ concludes referring to the an-ki of the CT 24 god list: “Obviously ^dNammu, who with her epithet appears in the canonical god list also after the wife of An, is the mother of this undivided Heaven-Earth. Later, in the finished universe, she is the watery deep, covered as the other early entities by the more recent ones. In the beginning she is the primeval ocean from which everything comes forth.”³⁴⁰ Both, Sauren and Wiggermann actually describe the mythology of *Enuma eliš* where the primeval waters are said to pre-exist. Sauren calls this kind of creation to be the mythology of Eridu and supposes that it “is older than that of Nippur, but we are unable to indicate the date.”³⁴¹ When analysing the question of antiquity of the goddess Namma in Sumerian mythology, it must be stated that there is a significant lack of textual evidence on which to base any theories. She appears alongside Asaluhi in Neo Sumerian incantations. G. Cunningham notes that the significance of Namma is less than that of Asaluhi in the incantations, but suggests that her importance must have been high, as indicated by the name of Ur-Namma, the founder of the Ur III dynasty. He concludes that Namma’s “association with Enki is expressed in two

³³⁶ Cf. M. W. Green, *Eridu*, p. 149ff.

³³⁷ Cf. W. G. Lambert, *RAI* 44 (2000), pp. 75–77. The matter is further complicated by the possibility that Sumerian (cf. *PSD* A/II, pp. 184–202) and later Semitic people (cf. *CAD* A/II, pp. 194–197) probably had differing views about Abzu.

³³⁸ Fs. Hallo (1993), p. 204.

³³⁹ *NatPhen* (1992), p. 283.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁴¹ Fs. Hallo (1993), p. 204–205. Cf. W. W. Hallo, *JAOS* 116 (1996), p. 231ff. for an attempt to divide Sumerian mythology into three major categories: Nippur, Lagaš, and Eridu. Hallo proposes that the theology of Eridu (p. 232) “was probably not systematized before the middle of the Old Babylonian Period and the rise to prominence of Babylon.” To suppose that the theology of Eridu was not systematically organised before the Old-Babylonian period (and therefore probably done by the Amorites) is in contradiction of Eridu being an ancient cultic and theological centre (p. 232: “the oldest city in fact as well as in tradition”). Early Dynastic mythology is full of references to Enki and also Enlil. They both have their organised and well established place and function in that mythology.

ways: by the writing of her name with the sign ENGUR, a divine domain which she possibly personifies, and by her role in the pantheon as his mother.”³⁴²

The supposed ancient Sumerian character of Namma is however in sharp contradiction with the available material from the Sumerian royal inscriptions and hymns as well as the mythological compositions of the earlier periods. Among the hundreds of Early Dynastic royal inscriptions, only one Lugal-KISAL-si text mentions a temple dedicated to her. The inscription is especially interesting because Namma is titled as being the spouse of the sky god An. This might suggest that in Uruk, the name Namma was equated with Uraš or other earth-goddesses who can be considered as possible spouses of An.

Lugal-KISAL-si 2:

[d]namma	To Namma,
dam an-ra	spouse of An,
lugal-KISAL-si	Lugal-KISAL-si,
lugal unu ^{ki} -ga	king of Uruk,
lugal uri ₅ - ^{ki} -ma	king of Ur,
ʾé ¹ - ^d namma	temple of Namma
mu-dù	has built.

Although the majority of preserved Early Dynastic inscriptions come from Lagaš state and thus they mostly mirror the Lagašite understanding of the composition of the pantheon, the absence of Namma’s name clearly indicates at least the possibility that she cannot be considered to be an ancient Southern Mesopotamian (or Sumerian) god.³⁴³ The other option would be to consider her to be an inactive god or a primordial element of nature who, just like Ki, is usually not mentioned among the active gods.³⁴⁴ In the larger mythological narratives, she receives a clearly defined role in the myth Enki and Ninmah.

In most of the studies, Abzu and Engur are seen as synonyms. W. Horowitz concludes that the Sumerians might have “conceived Apsu to be a primordial element, just as the divine Apsu exists at the very start of *Enuma Elish*.”³⁴⁵ B. Alster seems to favour the idea that Abzu denoted the marsh-waters but did not have any significant cosmological nature in the earlier periods: “Abzu might, indeed, have denoted the waters of the marsh areas, as they were available for fishing and traffic by boat, basically without any cosmological connotations.”³⁴⁶ He also proposes that “may be the common understanding of Abzu primarily as

³⁴² StPohl 17, p. 77. Cf. D. Frayne, RIME 1, pp. 422–423 for the arguments supporting the reading Namma; and F. Wiggermann, RIA 9 (1998–2001), p. 135ff. for Namma and Engur.

³⁴³ Cf. Table I: List of Deities in RIME 1, pp. xxxiii–xxxii.

³⁴⁴ In later royal hymns, Namma is mentioned in Išme-Dagan A+V, 324 and Samsuiluna B, 33.

³⁴⁵ Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography (1998), p. 335.

³⁴⁶ Fs. Klein (2005), p. 17.

a cosmic entity in Sumerian texts is to be modified.”³⁴⁷ Å. W. Sjöberg points out that “abzu/*apsû* is used to designate the very lowest part of the world (opposite to heaven).”³⁴⁸ This kind of understanding of Abzu is indeed present already in Early Dynastic mythology as the archaic version of the Keš Temple Hymn demonstrates (lines 35–36): *é mùš-bi an šà-ga lá-a / te-me-bi abzu-a si-ga*: “Temple, its surface (= roof platform) from the midst of the sky hangs down, / its foundations fill Abzu.”³⁴⁹

Engur is often synonymously used with Abzu but differences in some details are visible. As M. W. Green states: “From the fact that abzu and engur are both translated *apsû* in Old Babylonian texts, it is clear that already by that time the concept had undergone significant modifications.”³⁵⁰ Also Å. W. Sjöberg seems to refer that the terms might be originally distinct though based on M. W. Green³⁵¹ who points out that in the Sumerian sources there are attestations for “the fish of Engur” (*ku₆-engur-ra*) but no references for “the fish of Abzu” seem to exist.³⁵²

Enlil A, 118:

ku₆ engur-ra-ke₄ ġeš-gi-a nunuz nu-mu-ni-ib-nú-nú
The fish of Engur in the canebrake would not lay their eggs³⁵³

Besides fish, as also the Enlil hymn designates, Engur is connected to the reeds and canebrakes growing out of water in Early Dynastic texts (cf. Ur-Nanše 32, i 1: *gi ġeš-gi engur*: “Reed of the canebrake of Engur”). Clay of Abzu (*im-abzu*) seems to be characteristic to Abzu and is only rarely used in case of Engur.³⁵⁴ In Enki and Ninmah, line 31 refers to “the clay of the roof of Abzu” (*šà im ugu abzu-ka*) which is to be used in creating mankind. In Ninurta and the Turtle line 36 (UET 6/i, 2), Enki creates the turtle using the clay of Abzu: *^den-ki-ke₄ im abzu-a ba-al-gu₇ ba-da-an-dím*: “Enki (using) clay in Abzu (or: of Abzu?) created the turtle.”

In the myth Enki’s Journey to Nippur, the following statements about the Eridu temple describe Engur and Abzu in parallel but slightly in different terms.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

³⁴⁸ PSD A/II, p. 202.

³⁴⁹ C. Wilcke, CM 35 (2006), p. 230, translation (p. 222): “Haus – sein Sternenglanz über das Himmelsinnere gebreitet, / Sein Fundament bis in den Süßwasserozean eingetieft;” cf. R. D. Biggs, ZA 61 (1971), p. 201.

³⁵⁰ M. W. Green, Eridu, p. 160.

³⁵¹ PSD A/II, p. 202.

³⁵² M. W. Green, Eridu, p. 159. Cf. Eanatum 1, xix 17 where the carp-fish are sent to Abzu as carriers of a message.

³⁵³ W. Horowitz, Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography (1998), p. 338 translates “The fish of the Apsu;” D. D. Reisman, Two Neo-Sumerian Royal Hymns (1969), p. 65: “The fish of the deep.”

³⁵⁴ M. W. Green, Eridu, p. 159. For example, the composition titled the Song of the Hoe (lines 43–45) has a reference to Enki who is building Abzu using the hoe.

Enki's Journey to Nippur 56–57:

é-engur-ra úru maḥ ki ús-sa

é da engur-ra piriḡ abzu šà-ga

Engur temple, great tower (or: flood) set on the earth (ground)

Temple at the side of Engur, lion at the centre of Abzu

Enki's Journey to Nippur 73–74:

eridu^{ki} ^den-ki-ke₄ im-ma-an-íl-la-ba

ḥur-saḡ galam kad₅-dam a-e ba-diri

Enki has lifted up Eridu

It is skilfully constructed mountain floating on the water

The temple here seems to be near or at the sides (banks) of Engur and situated inside or in the middle of Abzu. However, Eridu is also described as floating on or standing in the water. The city laments also describe Eridu as floating on the water.

Sumer and Ur Lament 221:

eridu^{ki} a gal-la diri-ga a naḡ-e ba-àm-ugun[?]

Eridu, floating on great water, drinking-water has left it?

Ur recension of Eridu Lament 1:

uru me nun-na a gal-la diri-ga a-e ba-da-ri ^rsag₉[?]1 [...]

City of princely me-s, floating on great water, water has left it [...]

Here it seems that the city of Eridu is described as geographically situated in a lagoon or marshland area. Different textual examples adding an aspect to or describing Abzu and Engur are abundant in Sumerian and later Akkadian literature. Although it is impossible to claim anything with certainty (especially since several textual examples can be interpreted in different terms) it at least seems probable that the original nature of Engur might have been water. As the reeds are often growing in Engur and fish are swimming there, the definition “ground (or underground) waters” seems to be well based assumption. Abzu is definitely described as an under-earth structure³⁵⁵ and it is certainly connected to clay – or as the myth Enki and Ninmah states, the roof of Abzu consists of clay. Whether the early layers of Sumerian mythology considered that structure filled with water is also an open question (cf. the discussion of Rim-Su'en F in 6.6. of the current study). Abzu might well have been a structure surrounded by the ground waters (Engur) and also the fountainhead of the sources of water and the rivers reaching the surface. No early text, however, describes Abzu directly as an ocean, lake or sea.

³⁵⁵ If to assume that the hypothetical ancient mother-goddess cult considered the earth Ki as one of its central points, the structure situated inside that fertile entity should designate or at least should be associated with the womb or inner parts of that goddess.

One important aspect visible when analysing the Sumerian Abzu is that there exists a possibility to relate Enki's Abzu to the netherworld regions where the dead reside. As W. Horowitz states, sometimes "the Apsu even seems to be confused with the underworld."³⁵⁶ The epic story Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld describes Enki who sets sail to conquer the lower regions of the earth (line 16: kur-šè). Th. Jacobsen offers that the descent of Enki to Kur "may simply be a mythopoeic explanation of how Enki and his realm, the Apsu, came to be underground where the Ancients knew them to be located."³⁵⁷

This confusion is further aggravated by the journeys of the sun-god Utu who seems to be travelling to the underworld regions of Abzu and on the other occasions to the realm of the dead. The early myth about the god Utu from Ebla (ARET 5, 6) and Abu Salabikh (OIP 99: 326 and 342)³⁵⁸ probably describes the sun travelling in the sky during the daytime and by the night visiting the underground lands of Enki. The myth is titled "The Valorous Sun" by B. R. Foster who states that the text "may describe exploits of the sun as he crosses the mountains and seas. He confers with the various gods, then retires for the night to the underwater depths where Ea reigns."³⁵⁹ The myth is impossible to interpret with certainty but the travels of the sun god to different regions of the universe are clearly detectable.

ARET 5, 6: ii 5–iii 2: OIP 99, 326: i 17–ii 7:³⁶⁰

[X. ⁷ E]N	[U]D	Then (?)
<i>na-gâr-ga-ra</i>	NIĜIR.GAL	great herald
ḪUR.SAĜ	ḪUR.SAĜ	(of) mountain(s)
<i>ti-ma-u₉</i>	[] 'X'	goes around (?)
ENGAR AN	NIĜIR AN	Herald oh An (heaven)
ÚḪ KI ³⁶¹	KAS.NIĜIR KI	herald of (the road of?) Ki
^d EN.LÍL	^d EN.LÍL	(of) Enlil
<i>nu-ru₁₂-um</i> DUGUD	'UD' X	Strong light
<i>i-du-wa-ar</i>	AN.NÍGIN	circles around
<i>i-a-ma-am₆</i>	UD	daytime
<i>giš-ti-tam</i>	GI ₆	during the night

³⁵⁶ Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography (1998), p. 335; cf. p. 342ff. However, D. Katz, The Image of the Nether World in the Sumerian Sources (2003) does not deal with the question.

³⁵⁷ Fs. Hallo (1993), p. 122. Cf. the comments and critique of Jacobsen's theories about the passage by A. J. Ferrara, CM 35 (2006), p. 48ff.

³⁵⁸ It is hard to determine are the myths "Semitic" or translations of Mesopotamian (Sumerian?) myths by the Eblaite scribes. Probably they represent some sort of an overall scribal concept of mythologies in the Ancient Near Eastern cultural area.

³⁵⁹ Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature (2005), p. 50.

³⁶⁰ M. Krebernik, QuSem 18 (1992), pp. 72–73; and tentative translation p. 82; W. G. Lambert, QuSem 18 (1992), p. 60. Cf. commentaries of P. Steinkeller, QuSem 18 (1992), p. 258ff. and W. G. Lambert JCS 41 (1989), p. 33.

³⁶¹ Cf. W. G. Lambert, QuSem 18 (1992), p. 60: kúšu.ki.

<i>i-na-sar</i>	EN.NUN.AK	guards
TIM.TIM	KALAM	the land
<i>ti-gi-li</i>	Á.ÁG	the orders (?)
TIM.TIM ^d EN.KI		(of) the land (of) Enki

The ending sections of the myth describe the sun-god travelling to the abode of Enki and to the door of Abzu.

ARET 5, 6: xii 3–4:

ÉRIN+X^dUTU U₅ (MÁ.ĤU)

du-rí-iš

^dEN.KI

zi-la-ti-zu

BA₄.TI

IG AB.ZU

ÉRIN+X-(bull)³⁶² Utu rode
to the wall (fortress)³⁶³

(of) Enki

his pins (?)³⁶⁴

brought near³⁶⁵

(to) the door of Abzu

It seems that the god Utu is travelling in a heavenly carriage or a boat during the daytime and ascending near to the door of Abzu at dusk. When the night starts, Utu moves to give light to Abzu of Enki. From the later Sumero-Akkadian mythology, IG AB.ZU seems to be close to the notion of the door of Kur: ganzir: IGI.KUR / ĥilib: IGI.KUR.³⁶⁶ As for the sun’s journeys in the later mythology, M. J. Geller finds it contradictory: “Yet another contradiction involves Utu. He comes out in the East (utu-è), travels during the day (ud-zal), ends his daytime journey in the West (utu-šú), and finally somehow returns to the East at night. /.../ It is even possible that Utu extinguished his light at night, and rekindled it in the morning, without concern as to how the sun completes its circuit back to the East again. For that reason, Kur is a dark place, which does not necessarily benefit from Utu’s light, since the sun is extinguished in the kur-bad, which is beyond the area of human habitation.”³⁶⁷ Geller also draws several examples where the sun gives light for the netherworld or is rising from there. One of them occurs in the myth Enki and the World Order. The passage describes Enki assigning and determining the fates of the Anunna gods.

Enki and the World Order 369–378:

in mu-un-dub bulug-ga mu-un-si-si

^den-ki-ke₄ ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne-^rer¹

uru^{ki} ki-ùr-ra ša-mu-un-di-ni-in-ğar

a-šà-ga gán-né ša-mu-un-dè-ni-in-ğar

³⁶² P. Steinkeller, QuSem 18 (1992), pp. 259–263 for the bull of Utu.

³⁶³ Cf. A. Archi, Eblaitica 4 (2002), p. 10.

³⁶⁴ W. G. Lambert, JCS 41 (1989), p. 20 suggests: “Ea with his pins burst the Abzu.”

³⁶⁵ Cf. P. Steinkeller, QuSem 18 (1992), p. 258, note 39: “he took hold of the door of Abzu.”

³⁶⁶ M. J. Geller, RAI 44 (2000), p. 42.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 47.

ur-saḡ gu₄ ḥa-šu-úr-ta è-a gù ḥuš dé-dé-e
 šul^dutu gu₄ silim-ma gub-ba ù-na silig ḡar-ra
 ad-da uru-gal ki u₄ è-a niḡ[ir ga]l an kù-ga
 di-ku₅ ka-aš bar diḡir-re-e-ne
 su₆^{na4}za-gìn lá an kù-ga an-úr-ta è-a
^dutu dumu^d[nin-ga]l-e tu-da
 He fixed the boundaries, he filled the borders
 Enki, for the Anunna gods
 Foundations of the cities he placed for them
 Placed the fields for them in the arable land
 The hero, the bull, from Hašur (forest) who comes out furiously/reddishly
 making (his) voice
 The youth Utu, the healthy bull, standing proudly and (in full of his) might, was
 placed
 Father of the Great City, the place where the sun/day/light goes up, great herald
 of holy An
 Judge who the decisions for the gods gives out
 His beard is like lapis-lazuli, towards the holy An (sky) from the horizon rises
 Utu, son given birth by Ningal

This passage is close to the Early Dynastic myth described earlier about the sun-god's journey to Abzu possible to translate as: "Then the great herald of the mountains goes around. Herald of An and herald of Ki, and herald of Enlil. Strong light circles around during the day-time. During the night he guards the land and the orders of the land of Enki." Enki and the World Order passage states that Utu goes forth from the underworld called the Great City: iri/uru-gal. The sun-god is the herald of holy An: niḡir [gal] an kù-ga. He is the judge or verdict-giver for all the gods and therefore similarly to the earlier myth, the sun-god guards the divine orders of all the regions of the cosmos. Hence, the sun travelling simultaneously to the lower regions of earth as well as to the region of Enki seems to be one of the most ancient mythological ideas from the Ancient Near East.³⁶⁸

The importance of Utu³⁶⁹ in Enki's dwelling place is clearly underlined in the Sumerian Temple Hymns.³⁷⁰ The text compares Enki's temple E-unir with the holy mound du₆-kù and also with the underworld ki-gal.³⁷¹

³⁶⁸ M. J. Geller, RAI 44 (2000), p. 47 seems to be in favour that the motive is a later development.

³⁶⁹ P. Steinkeller, Gs. Moran (2005), pp. 24–25 titles the sun god "the highest authority over the nether world" expressed in his epithets as "father of the Great city," "great lord of Arali," etc. He also compares (p. 21) the text of the Temple Hymns with a Sargonic cylinder seal (R. M. Boehmer, Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit (1965): pl. XLI no. 488) where "the sun god climbs up a mountain on which the 'eastern gate' (clearly visible on the mountain's summit) is situated, he passes by the Abzu, in which Enki is seated on his throne; at that moment the two gods greet one another. Undoubtedly, it is this scene that is referred to in Temple Hymns lines 15–16."

Temple Hymns 15–16:

èš abzu ki-zu ki-gal-zu

ki^dutu-ra gù dé-za

Shrine Abzu, your place, your great place (underworld?)

In your place where Utu is called

According to P. Steinkeller, the Abu Salabikh Temple Hymns (OIP 99, 47: 30–32) confirm the idea that Abzu was equated with the netherworld in Early Dynastic mythology:

abzu ki kur gal men nun an-ki^den-nu-de₄-mud zà-me

„Abzu, the land of the netherworld, the crown of the Prince of Above and Below – Lord Nudimmud be praised.”³⁷²

Besides the sun-god’s visits to Abzu of Enki, the stars and astral deities could have been imagined as travelling in a similar way.

Lugale 715:

munus mul-an nun-e abzu-ta gal-le-eš-e sa₇-ga

(Nisaba) the woman, the star of heaven, the Prince (=Enki) from Abzu made to be greatly beautiful³⁷³

This material suggests that the region of Abzu and the region of the netherworld where the dead were residing seem to be somehow imagined as the shared regions. In addition, the different kinds of chthonic regions are associated with the term holy mound du₆-kù which was used also as the name of Enki’s temple in the Sumerian Temple Hymns. Probably this holy mound represents some sort of a primeval structure or model of the later geographical world where all the creation started and took place.

Cf. the Nungal A hymn where the underworld is titled as “the house, river of the ordeal” (line 8 é i₇-lú-ru-gù) and “the house having a great name, the great city, the mountain from where Utu rises” (line 9: é mu maḥ iri-gal kur^dutu è-a).

³⁷⁰ Cf. P. Steinkeller, QuSem 18 (1992), p. 258, note 39.

³⁷¹ Cf. Å. W. Sjöberg, The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns (1969), p. 54.

³⁷² Interpretation of P. Steinkeller, Gs. Moran (2005), p. 21.

³⁷³ Translated by P. Steinkeller, *ibid.*, pp. 20–21 as “made to appear brilliantly from the Abzu.” Based on W. Heimpel, JCS 38 (1986), p. 127ff. and B. Alster, JCS 28 (1976), p. 118, Steinkeller concludes that “All of the celestial bodies (= astral deities) traverse the upper and nether skies in a circular motion, passing from one hemisphere to the other through special gates. The passage into the nether world is accomplished by means of western gate, thought to be situated in the Cedar Mountains on the coast of the Mediterranean. To return to the upper world they use the eastern gate, believed to be located in the Hašur Mountains on the eastern edge of the Persian Gulf, near the place where the underground waters of Abzu siphon up and mingle together with the seawater.” Steinkeller (p. 20) also makes an equation Anunnaki = collective designation for the astral deities. He analyses them as a-nun-ak-ene: “seed/offspring of the prince,” meaning Enki. Igigi in turn are deities that lack astral dimension.

Lahar and Ašnan 1–2:

ḥur-saḡ an ki-bi-da-ke₄

u₄ an-né diḡir^d a-nun-na im-tu-dè-eš-a-ba

On the mountain of heaven and earth

when An engendered (or: gave birth to) the Anunna gods

Lahar and Ašnan 26–27:

u₄-ba ki ulutim diḡir-re-e-ne-kam

é-bi du₆-kù-ga laḥar^d ašnan-bi mu-un-sig₇-eš-àm

Then, in the birth-place of the gods

In their house, on the holy mound, they made sheep and grain to be alive

Possibly this cosmic mountain³⁷⁴ (which can be either poetically or literally be compared to all kinds of different entities such as: ḥur-saḡ, abzu, ki, an-ki, ki-gal, kur, etc) might reflect some sort of archaic beliefs regarding the “world mountain” or a primeval entity born or manifested directly only following the separation of An and Ki. Maybe it was speculated that this “mountain” was surrounded by the sea (aba) and from his Abzu (which might be imagined as being situated in the realms of that cosmic mountain) Enki instituted the fresh waters (symbolised in his and also in An’s semen) to make the human civilisation and modern world possible.³⁷⁵ Different en- and nin- pairs present from the earliest god-lists onwards might in turn be scribal inventions to designate all kinds of divine powers manifest in that cosmic primeval entity. As already the Ur-Nanše 32 building inscription designates, Enki and Nunki are not seen as demonic or dangerous creatures but are asked to be favourable towards the reed and towards the temple of Ningirsu. This contradicts the theology of *Enuma eliš* where the primordial creatures are described as dangerous and unpredictable demonic forces that have to be killed for making the modern

³⁷⁴ Cf. F. Wiggermann, *NatPhen* (1992), pp. 285–287; 294–297; A. Tsukimoto, *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (kispum) im alten Mesopotamien* (1985), p. 212ff.

³⁷⁵ The combat motive between different generations of divine entities is detectable in Indo-European mythology as well as in Semitic mythology. Contacts between them and reciprocal mixing of ideas seem also possible; at least starting from the beginning of the second millennium. In Sumerian mythology of creation, only sexual intercourse seems to be a way how new creatures can be born. This is complemented by the later motive of creation by handiwork – as manifested in the creation of man by Enlil and Enki in different myths (cf. below). May be the combat motive is already starting to manifest itself in Akkadian times when the “war-like” character of Ištar seems to be appearing (cf. A. Westenholz, *OBO* 160/3, p. 80) and different kinds of combat scenes between deities appear on cylinder seals. In Sumerian context, Early Dynastic royal inscriptions describing warfare starting from Ur-Nanše text 6b and continued in Eanatum I, the wars take place in human world and all the gods are unanimously behind the divine justice. In Eanatum’s case, Ningirsu, Utu, Enlil, Enki and all the other gods are said to be punishing the evildoer Umma. Also when the younger gods rebel in the Enki and Ninmah myth, they are not punished or killed, but given a relief in their pain by using the knowledge and handiwork of Enki and the reproductive force of the mother-goddess.

world possible. As for the other differences, the primeval creatures are watery in nature in *Enuma eliš*. A feature which is undetectable in Sumerian cosmogony. Although there are poetical references that the sea might be imagined as surrounding the earth and also the fresh waters come from inside the earth or Abzu, those waters (sea- or fresh-waters) do not create anything by themselves. Fresh water (the secondary element in creation) is seen as the means of making the land fertile and poetically the waters are represented in Enki's and An's semen being divine attributes of them both.

8.4. Enki as the Creator of Man

Enki's role in the creation or emerging process of the world³⁷⁶ and the nature of his cosmic domain are not systematically presented in Sumerian mythology. One can speculate that the different matters of the cosmic geography and the creation of different spheres of the world were never developed into a larger mythological narrative. However, such loose ideas possibly coming from different Mesopotamian regions and different Ancient Near Eastern national groups were presented as parts of mythological narratives describing the creation procedures already taking place in the created present world. The overall picture of the creation of the world in Sumerian context, however, has similarities which are shared throughout all the periods – the creation is the result of sexual intercourse of the male and female divine entities.

Starting from the myth Enki and Ninmah, the role of Enki and the mother-goddess as the principal creators of mankind becomes clear. The motive of Enki forming mankind is attested to in Akkadian *Atrahasis*, Babylonian *Enuma eliš* and all similar motives are present or at least reflected in the Hebrew book of *Genesis*. Apart from the larger myths, numerous other creation accounts have a reference to the creation of man. In several of them, Enki has no role to play or is listed among other gods as one of the creators. In Lugalzagesi inscriptions 1 and 2, for example, Nisaba is the birth-giver to the king: *dumu tu-da / ^dnisaba*: “son (Lugalzagesi) given birth / by Nisaba.” Also the texts of the Sargonic period title the Sumerian mother-goddess (Nintu/Ninhursag) as the birth-giver to man, indicated in the curse formula of Naram-Su'en inscription 5, iii 17–22: *^dnin-ħur-saĝ-ĝá / ù / ^dnin-tu / NITA ù / MU / [a] i-dì-na-šum₆*: “Ninhursag / and / Nintu / heir and / offspring / may not give to him.” In Ur III texts, Nintu was referred to as the creator of the king (cf. Ur-Namma C, 24: *^dnin¹-tu-re ĝe₂₆-e mu-un-dím-dím-en*). In Išme-Dagan hymn X, 7, Enki was titled *en numun i*: “the lord of bringing the seed forth” in relationship to humankind. This expression does not correspond directly to his role as crafter or engenderer of humanity but only refers to his role as the granter of fertility. According to the Uruk Lament (i 11), Aruru, Su'en and Enki fashion the limbs of the monster meant to destroy the city: *^da-ru-ru ^dEN.ZU ^den-ki-bi me-dím-bi ba-an-ak-eš-a*:

³⁷⁶ Cf. P. Espak, *FARG* 43 (2011: forthcoming) for a similar discussion.

“When Aruru, Su’*en* and Enki made its limbs.” The Lament of Sumer and Ur titles Nintu to be the creator of man (line 24): *^dnin-tu-re ni-dím-dím-ma-ni zag bí-in-tag-ga-a-ba*: “Nintu pushed away from her the beings created by her.” Ur-Ninurta Hymn B however probably titles An as the one “who made the seed come out” (line 6): *a-a-zu an lugal en numun i-i ùĝ ki ġar-ġar-ra*: “Your father is An, the king and the lord who made the seed of (mankind) to come forth, who placed the people on earth.” The same hymn (line 13) probably titles Enki to be “the birth giver of everything:” *en ni-nam ù-tu* and line 33 (*numun⁷ šár-ra im-dím-e nam-lú-ùlu ù-tu*) states that he has given birth to mankind: “numerous seed you have created, given birth to mankind.” Enlil-bani hymn A describes that Enki is the creator of the king (147–148): *^dnu-dím-mud / diġir saġ ù-zu*: “Nudimmud, the god who begot you.” In the Babylonian theology, the god Marduk has already taken over the role of creating the king (Samsu-iluna B, 24: *^dmarduk diġir saġ ù-zu*: “Marduk, the god of your creation”). The prologue of the Code of Hammurapi also titles Dagan as the creator of Hammurapi (iv 27–28): *^dda-gan ba-ni-šu*.

The motive of Enki/Ea (and possibly Damgalnunna/Damkina) creating the king is present in the texts of Malgium: Ipiq-Estar 1, 1–2: *^di-pi-iq-eš₄-tár LUGAL / ši-ki-in ^den-ki ^ddam-ki-na*: “Ipiq-Eštar, the king / put in office by Enki and Damkina.” Ipiq-Estar 1, 25–27: *^di-pi-iq-eš₄-tár LUGAL na-a⁷-du / bi-ni-it qá-ti-šu / ša é-a a-na-ku*: “Ipiq-Eštar, pious king, / creation by the hand / of Ea I am.” The late appearance of that motive in royal ideology might refer to the fact that the entire mythology of Enki and the mother-goddess as being the co-creators of mankind might be a late development. Creation by crafting and using clay is also attested to in the West-Semitic mythology where the creator god is El, the ancient head of the pantheon.

One text (CTA/KTU 16, v 23–30) describes how El creates a new being whose purpose seems to be to heal the dying king Keret. B. Margalit treated the passage as an example of an authentic Ugaritic creation myth.³⁷⁷ The passage describes how El is seeking a solution in front of the assembly of the gods headed by El. Finally he himself creates or forges a “dispeller of sickness and disease” (25–26: *ank ihtrš waškn*). The process of creation is as follows (lines 28–30): *r[t ydh] ymlu / n^m rt [ymnh] yqrš / dt bph[r ...]*: “He filled [his hand with mu]d / With fine mud (he filled) his right; He fashioned (lit. ‘nipped’) a being from the clay.”³⁷⁸ As Margalit notes, similar motives are present in the epic of Gilgameš (i 49–50), Atrahasis (i, 255–256; iii, 5); and Agušaya (A v, 26–27; cf. vi, 31–32) where the god Ea creates Saltu using the dirt of his nails.³⁷⁹ In the previously treated Ninurta and the Turtle story (line 36: UET 6/i, 2), Enki created the turtle in similar fashion: *^den-ki-ke₄ im abzu-a ba-al-gu₇ ba-da-an-dím*: “Enki (using) clay in Abzu (or: of Abzu) created the turtle.” The

³⁷⁷ UF 13 (1981), pp. 142–143.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., interpretation of B. Margalit.

³⁷⁹ Cf. B. R. Foster, Gs. Finkelstein (1977), pp. 80–81.

motive of El (*ab adam*)³⁸⁰ and Enki both being the creators of mankind in similar terms could be considered coincidental if there would not be any considerable grounds to point to the real contacts of two hypothetically distinct mythologies. If to assume that the motive of creation by means of crafting (and using clay) was an ancient Sumerian (Eridu theology?) motive, one would expect to find this ancient motive in early Sumerian literature.

I. M. Kikawada in his paper “The Double Creation of Mankind in Enki and Ninmah, Atrahasis I 1–351, and Genesis 1–2” tries to see the entire Ancient Near Eastern anthropogony taking place in two different phases or two different ways of narrating the creation: (1) creation in general as in the first part of Enki and Ninmah; and (2) creation in detailed format also explaining how mankind is going to reproduce itself.³⁸¹ Two different phases of creation are indeed visible in several mythological accounts. Enki and Ninmah uses both, the crafting and copulating motive, and it seems that the two stories are harmoniously related to one another by the author(s) of the text. The structural motivators and the history of composition of the myths which portray the creation of mankind is largely unknown. Therefore it is difficult to understand the different “phases of creation” in full complexity. Several repetitions and divisions within one myth need not possess a significant or “sacred” mythological meaning. As the ancient myths were probably performed accompanied by music and illustrated by the various kinds of theatrics, a number of seemingly mysterious or unexplainable acts might only reflect the stylistic features of the composition.³⁸²

8.4.1. Enki and Ninmah

Enki and Ninmah is one of the best known anthropogonies in Sumerian and Ancient Near Eastern mythology. The myth tells the story of how the creator god Enki fashioned the first man for performing the hard labour and all the necessary physical work for the well-being of the Sumerian gods. The second main part of the story involves the contest between two drunken deities Enki and Ninmah finally ending with the creation of the mysterious being Umul. The story begins with the description of the initial situation starting with the previously treated *in illo die* motive. After the birth of the gods, they all had to dig canals and perform the necessary physical labour to earn their own living and provide the great gods with their food. This situation brings about a revolution among them. Namma, titled the mother of Enki, is described as the primeval mother and the creator of all the great gods. She carries the complaint of the deities to Enki, who is sleeping deep below the earth in his Engur. Enki listens to Namma’s word who asks him to

³⁸⁰ Cf. W. Hermann, DDD (1999), pp. 524–525.

³⁸¹ Iraq 45 (1983), pp. 43–45.

³⁸² Cf. A. D. Kilmer’s discussion (CM 6/II (1996), p. 127ff.) about the epic of Atrahasis as a musical or a theatrical piece.

create a new category of creatures as a substitute for the gods in pain. Enki rises up from his sleep³⁸³ and creates seven beings definable as the birth-goddesses. The most probable interpretation of this passage is given by W. G. Lambert who points to the fact that mud used in the myth could be a reference to “blood,” just as in case of Atrahasis.

Enki and Ninmah 26–28:³⁸⁴

g̃éštu g̃izzal èn-tar-zu nam-kù-zu mud me-dím ni-nam-ma se₁₂-en-sa₇-sár š[i-í]b-ta-an-è

^den-ki-ke₄ á-ni ba-ši-in-de₆ g̃éštu í-ni₁₀-ni₁₀-e

^den-ki-ke₄ mud me-dím ní-te-a-na šà-bi g̃éštu-ta ù-mu-ni-de₅-ge

Understanding and intelligence, the care-taker, the skilled one, fashioner of form of all the things (?), turned out the birth goddesses³⁸⁵

Enki stationed them at his side, seeking out wisdom

After Enki had in wisdom reflected upon his blood and body (?)

Then Enki asks Namma to give form to the creatures made by the clay of Abzu “nipped off”³⁸⁶ by the birth-goddesses.³⁸⁷ The goddesses and Ninmah are asked to assist Namma in the process of forming humanity.

Enki and Ninmah 29–37:

ama-ni ^damma-ra gú mu-un-na-dé-e

ama-ḡu₁₀ mud mu-ḡar-ra-zu ì-ḡál-la-àm zub-sìg diḡir-re-e-ne kéše-i

šà im ugu abzu-ka ù-mu-e-ni-in-šár

se₁₂-en-sa₇-sár im mu-e-kir-kir-re-ne za-e me-dím ù-mu-e-ni-ḡál

^dnin-maḡ-e an-ta-zu hé-ak-e

^dnin-immà ^dšu-zi-an-na ^dnin-ma-da ^dnin-šar₆

^dnin-mug ^dmú-mú-du₈ ^dnin-gùn-na

tu-tu-a-zu ḡa-ra-gub-bu-ne

ama-ḡu₁₀ za-e nam-bi ù-mu-e-tar ^dnin-maḡ zub-sìg-bi hé-kéše

³⁸³ The motive of Enki sleeping in his under-earth region is also present in Early Dynastic mythology: B. Alster, JCS 28 (1976), p. 124.

³⁸⁴ Interpretation is adopted from: W. G. Lambert, RAI 38 (1992), pp. 130–131. Cf. Lambert’s comparisons of different interpretations, pp. 132–135.

³⁸⁵ Several interpretations exist about this line. Lambert translates “Being expert in wisdom, discernment and consultation, he produced skill of blood, bodies and creativity, the birth goddesses” (p. 131). S. N. Kramer in *Myths of Enki* (1989), p. 32: “the cunning (and) perceptive one, the one who guides the seeker, the skilled one who fashions the form of things, turned out the *sigensigdu*.”

³⁸⁶ W. G. Lambert (p. 134) offers as a parallel the Fire Incantation (AfO 23 (1970), 43, 25–26): ^dé-a ina te-e-ka ib-ba-ni a-me-lu-tú / tuš-taš-ni-ma i-na áš-rat ap-si-i iṭṭa-ši-na tak-ri-iš: “Ea, by your incantation mankind was created / Next you nipped off their clay from the roof of the Apsû.”

³⁸⁷ Cf. M. Stol, *Birth in Babylonia and the Bible* (2000), p. 74ff. and 109 for the meaning of the birth-goddesses; and M. Krebernik, RIA 8 (1993–1997), pp. 510–511.

He told his mother:

“My mother, (now) there is the blood (of Enki ? / of Namma?) which you set aside, the hard work of the gods impose on it. (?)³⁸⁸

Clay from the middle of the roof of Abzu you should mix with it (with the blood). The birth-goddesses shall nip off the clay; you shall put in order the limbs (of the body).

Ninmah as your companion shall act;

Ninimma, Šuzianna, Ninmada, Ninšar,

Ninmug, Mumudu, Ningunna;

when you give birth, shall stand by.

My mother, you will determine their destiny, Ninmah will bind them with their hard work.”

According to the scenario described, the creation of mankind is done by the male creator god Enki assisted by two important mother-goddess figures Namma and Ninmah, who are both clearly distinct goddesses in this myth. The material used to form man is the “clay of Abzu” and probably the blood taken from Enki himself. According to F. Wiggermann, “Namma forms a fetus of clay from the Apsû, which is brought to maturity by the womb goddesses (SIG₇.EN.SIG₇.DU₁₀, corresponding to, and possibly spelling of the *šassūrātu* of later sources), and given birth to by herself, with the assistance of Ninmah and seven other goddesses.”³⁸⁹

³⁸⁸ Translation follows W. G. Lambert, RAI 38 (1992), pp. 131/133: “My mother, there is my/the blood which you set aside, impose on it the corvée of the gods.” In p. 134, Lambert clarifies his position: “The problem that remains is 30a. It describes some blood as being available (‘existing’), but what blood? The –zu can be taken to mean that the blood was Namma’s. Then the phrase could be rendered ‘your famous blood’ (mu gar = ‘establish a name’), which to us is stylistically implausible; or ‘your blood which has been put in store’, which seems objectionable because a passive participle garra would surely have been used for ‘put in store.’” Lambert also considers possible that the blood is from Enki (mud-ġu₁₀: “my blood”). As Lambert concludes: “It is not possible to decide between these alternatives without knowledge of the understanding of the phrase in the ancient world, but because this myth has no criminal god awaiting execution the needed blood no doubt came from Namma or Enki, whether by bleeding or some other way. Thus the choice is between an interpretation of these lines which agrees with other creation traditions from its world and interpretations which of necessity rely too much on the translator’s whims. There is nothing in these lines which opposes taking them to offer the conception of man’s creation from clay mixed with divine blood, and stronger cases for other interpretations have not yet been offered.” D. Katz, *Historiae* (2005), p. 59 seems to be against the use of blood in Enki and Ninmah and states that “man was fashioned of clay and animated by pronouncing his fate. But in Enki and Ninmah no divine substance was used.” Same is repeated in BiOr 64 (2007), p. 580.

³⁸⁹ RIA 9 (1998–2001), p. 138. Wiggermann’s following statement: “Enki as a king is replaced in later accounts by Enlil, but he remains involved in creation. Nammu is replaced in this function by Enlil’s sister Ninmah/Ninhursag/Mami, with whom she

8.4.2. Atrahasis

The epic of Atrahasis tells the revolt of the gods in similar terms with the myth Enki and Ninmah. As a solution for the working gods in pain, the great deities decide that man must be created to serve them. To assist in the process, Mami – the Akkadian birth goddess, is summoned.

Atrahasis, I 193–195:

*tab-sú-ut ilī^{mes} e-ri-iš-tam^d ma-mi
at-ti-i-ma šà-^ras¹-sú-ru ba-ni-a-^rat¹ a-wi-lu-ti
bi-ni-ma lu-ul-la-a li-bi-il₅ ab-ša-nam*

Midwife of the gods, wise Mami!

You are the birth-goddess, creator of mankind!

Create Lullu³⁹⁰ for bearing the yoke!

Mami, who is now called Nintu by her Sumerian name, answers that she is not able to create man by herself because only the god Enki possesses sufficient knowledge for the work of creation.

Atrahasis, I 198–203:

*^{dr}nin-tu¹ pí-a-ša te-pu-ša-am-ma
iz-zà-kàr a-na ilī^{mes} ra-bu-ti
it-ti-ia-ma la na-tú a-na e-pé-ši
it-ti^d en-ki-ma i-ba-aš-ši ši-ip-ru
šu-ú-ma ^rú-ul¹-la-[a]l ka-la-ma
ti-iṭ-ta-am li-id-di-nam-ma a-na-ku lu-pu-uš*

Nintu opened her mouth,

said to the great gods:

“For me it is not possible to make things.

It is Enki who has the skill

since he is able to cleanse all the things.

He must give me the clay, I will make (the man).”

Now Enki gives instructions explaining how to form the man. It is decided that one god must be slaughtered for the successful creation process. Nintu must mix the blood and flesh of the slaughtered god with the clay:

never is equated” remains unclear. Enlil appears as one of the creative forces alongside An and Enki and the mother-goddess in the available accounts but he is never replacing Enki as the main creative force behind the abundance of nature. Ninhursag in turn is pictured as the birth-goddess already in Early Dynastic mythology (cf. Barton Cylinder). How could Ninhursag have replaced Namma before Namma even actively appeared to Sumerian mythology is hard to understand.

³⁹⁰ Cf. R. J. Clifford, *Creation Accounts in the Ancient Near East and the Bible* (1994), p. 70 who clarifies the meaning of Lullu based on the parallel term from the epic of Gilgameš as the man in his primitive form before civilisation and city-life.

Atrahasis, I 212–213:

i-lu-um-ma ù a-wi-lum

li-ib-ta-al-li-lu pu-ḫu-ur i-na ṭi-iṭ-ṭi

...so that god and man

would thoroughly be mixed (connected) in clay...

Atrahasis, I 223–230:

^d*we-e-i-la ša i-šu-ú ṭe₄-e-ma*

(Cf. ^d*we-e-i-la: ^dPI-e i-la*)

ina p^ru-ú¹ḫ-ri-šu-nu iṭ-ṭa-ab-ḫu

i-na ši-ri-šu ù da-mi-šu

^d*nin-tu ú-ba-li-il ṭi-iṭ-ṭa*

aḫ-ri-a-t[i-iš u₄-mi up-pa iš-mu]^{-r ú¹}

i-na ši-i-ir i-li e-ṭe-[em-mu ib-ši]

ba-al-ṭa iṭ-ta-šu ú-še-di-š[u-ma]

aš-šu la mu-uš-ši-i e-ṭe-em-mu [ib-ši]

Weila who had intelligence (*tēmu*: ca Sumerian ḡéštu: “skill”, “ear”)

in their assembly they slaughtered.

To his flesh and his blood

Nintu mixed clay.

During the rest of the day, they heard the drum (or: heart-beat ?)

From the flesh of the god came the ghost *eṭemmu* (Sumerian gidim: “ghost”)

Living (man) as its sign proclaimed;

and for not forgetting this, was the ghost *eṭemmu*

Although some minor differences compared to Enki and Ninmah myth are visible, the main process of creation of the man is almost identical. In the Sumerian version, the probable blood used comes from an unidentifiable divine figure, possibly Enki; in Atrahasis, the blood and flesh are taken from one of the rebellious gods named Wê or Weila who might actually be the initiator of the revolt.³⁹¹ In both versions, the blood is mixed with clay and also the mother-goddesses are active in creating man in both myths. Another new aspect in the story is the soul of the man (*eṭemmu*) not present in the Sumerian version.

The Standard Babylonian version of the Gilgameš epic has a short passage which describes how Gigameš was created by Belet-ili and Nudimmud. The text mentions Utanapištim who had restored cult centres and established the proper rites for the human race after the flood had destroyed the civilisation. Then Gilgameš is presented as an equal match for the Flood Hero.

Gilgameš epic, I 49–50:

ša-lam pag-ri-šú bēlet-ilī(^dmaḫ) ṛuṣ¹-ṣi[r]

ṛul-te¹-eṣ-bi gat-ta-šú ṛ^dnu¹-dīm-[mud]

“Belet-ili drew the shape of his body,

Nudimmud brought his form to perfection”³⁹²

³⁹¹ For the mentioned god Wê or Weila, cf. B. Alster, Gs. Jacobsen (2002), pp. 35–40.

³⁹² Translation of A. R. George, The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic (2003), p. 541.

The passage in Gilgameš is a short summary of Enki and Ninmah and the Atrahasis story or them both. The mother-goddess forms or makes the original shape of the man; and then Enki perfects this work of creation.

8.4.3. Enuma eliš

The Babylonian creation epic Enuma eliš contains the creation account of mankind in an abridged form. It seems as though all the ideas about the creation of man are copied from the Atrahasis epic and placed inside the Enuma eliš story. It is likely that a longer and more detailed narrative about the creation of mankind was not a primary concern of the Babylonian priests and rulers who composed the text, since the main aim was to justify the rise of Marduk (i.e. the city of Babylon) into excellence and political power. The creation of man must have been a short detail illustrating the whole narrative of strife and warfare between the gods, and as a result, the creation of the present-day world finalising in placing Marduk to be the central force behind the civilisation. The slaughtered god in Enuma eliš, who also was the leader of the revolt of the gods, is named Kingu. Man is created by Ea who receives advice from Marduk.

Enuma eliš, VI 5–8:

da-mi lu-uk-šur-ma eš-mé-ta lu-šab-ši-ma

lu-uš-ziz-ma lul-la-a lu-ú a-me-lu MU-šu

lu-ub-ni-ma LÚ.U₁₈.LU-a a-me-lu

lu-ú en-du dul-lu DIĜIR.DIĜIR-ma šu-nu lu-ú pa-áš-ḥu

I shall bind together the blood and bring forth the bones

I shall put up Lullu, man let be its name

I shall create Lullu, the man

So for him shall the corvée of the gods be imposed, so they can be in rest

One of the biggest differences compared to the earlier versions is the missing of the mother-goddess figure assisting in the creation in the story of Enuma eliš. W. G. Lambert assumes that Marduk has overtaken the role of the mother-goddess in this story.³⁹³ When comparing the account with the previous texts treated, it seems that Ea himself acts more like the mother-goddess. All this might reflect the continuous changes towards a man-oriented society causing the female deities lose their rank and importance in the pantheon in the eyes of ancient priests and scribes. This process started already in the 3rd millennium

³⁹³ CM 31 (2006), p. 239. Lambert compares one incantational text with the story of Enuma eliš (K 9041 / BM 54692, lines 1–2): *én^den-ki lugal gu-la^dasal-lú-ḥi lugal gu-la / diĝir-ne-ne-a an ki-a dím-meš gú suḥ-è-a*: “Enki, great king, Asaluhi, great king / Gods of heaven and earth creators of ..?...” Although the created object *gú suḥ-è-a* is not understandable (cf. pp. 238–239), the text describes Enki and Marduk as equal creative forces.

Sumerian society which probably might have been one of the reasons why the mother-goddess Ninhursag/Nintu lost her third position in the Sumerian canonical pantheon already before the end of the Ur III state and later seemed to be excluded from the group of the four most important deities.³⁹⁴ Although in the story of Enuma eliš, Damkina, Enki's consort, is mentioned as the mother of Marduk, there seems to be no space for a female deity as creative force or the main hero of a mythological narrative.

Enuma eliš, VI 29–38:

^d*kin-gu-ma šá ib-nu-ú tu-qu-un-tu*
ti-amat uš-bal-ki-tú-ma ik-šu-ru ta-ḥa-zu
ik-mu-šu-ma maḥ-riš ^dé-a ú-kal-lu-šú
an-nam i-me-du-šu-ma da-me-šú ip-tar-`u-u
ina da-me-šú ib-na-a a-me-lu-tú
i-mid dul-li DIĜIR.DIĜIR-ma DIĜIR.DIĜIR um-taš-šir
ul-tu a-me-lu-tu ib-nu-u ^dé-a er-šú
dul-lu šá DIĜIR.DIĜIR i-mi-du-ni šá-a-šú

It was Kingu who created the battle,
 who made Tiamat to revolt, who caused the battle to come.
 They tied him up and held in front of Ea,
 the punishment they imposed on him, they cut through his veins.
 From his blood he created the humanity,
 the corvée of the gods he imposed on it; liberated the gods.
 After having created the humanity, the wise Ea,
 the corvée of the gods imposed on it.

The work of creation is however done by using the advice or orders given by Marduk, as the line VI, 38 shows: *ina nik-la-a-ti šá ^dAMAR.UTU ib-na-a ^dnu-dím-mud*: “It is thanks to the wonder-work of Marduk that Nudimmud created!”

³⁹⁴ A late Babylonian bilingual creation account from ca. the 6th century has the mother-goddess Aruru with Marduk creating the mankind in an introductory part of a prayer text. The creation of the most important cities is described followed by the creation of the modern world by Marduk. Then the man is made (lines 20–21): *a-me-lu-ti ib-ta-ni / ^da-ru-ru zé-ér a-me-lu-ti it-ti-šu ib-ta-nu*: “He (Marduk) made the mankind, / Aruru the semen of mankind made with him.” Then follows the creation of animals and vegetation. Cf. R. J. Clifford, *Creation Accounts in the Ancient Near East and the Bible*, (1994), pp. 62–65. In addition, there is a New Babylonian fragmentary tablet with a myth tilted the Creation of Man and King very close to the myth Enki and Ninmah. It looks like the gods have started their revolt and Belet-ili turns to Ea (calling him her twin brother) and proposes to create new beings using clay. The actual procedure of creation is badly preserved on the tablet but it is clear that Belet-ili forms the body of the new creatures. It is interesting to notice that Belet-ili seems to be the main creative force in this story and Ea has a passive role (lines 32–33): *at-ti-ma tab-ni-ma LU.ÚLU^{lu}-a a-me-lu / pi-it-qi-ma LUGAL ma-li-ku a-me-lu*: “It is you, who created Lullu – the man, / now form the king – the decider man.” W. R. Mayer, *OrNS* 56 (1987), pp. 56–57.

8.4.4. Other Accounts

The Creation of the Pickaxe described that Enlil separated the heaven from the earth so that the creation of mankind would be made possible (line 3): ki an-ta ba₉-rá-dè and line 4: an ki-ta ba₉-rá-dè. The myth Enki's Journey to Nippur describes that men grew or broke out from the earth like plants (line 3): ùḡ-e ú-šim-gen₇ ki in-dar-ra-ba: "The people grew/broke out from the earth just like plants" (cf. Amar-Su'en B, obv. 7 in 4.3. of the current study). The same scenario is described in the Song of the Hoe where Enlil makes possible the seed of humankind to grow out from the earth.

Song of the Hoe 3:

^den-líl numun kalam-ma ki-ta è-dè

Enlil, to make the seed of the land come forth from the earth

The creation of man takes place in uzu-è-a or uzu-mú-a – in translation "the place where the flesh comes forth/grows". Possibly a temple is meant in the city of Nippur³⁹⁵ referred to as èš in one versions of the text in line 3. This same place or temple is the location of creation in the KAR 4 myth.

Song of the Hoe 18–20:

uzu-è-a ^{ḡeš}al àm-mi-ni-in-dù / uzu-mú-a saḡ nu-ḡá-ḡá-dè

saḡ nam-lú-ùlu ù-šub-ba mi-ni-in-ḡar

^den-líl-šè kalam-ma-ni ki mu-un-ši-in-dar-re

(In the place) "from where flesh comes out"³⁹⁶ he put the hoe to work / (in the place) "where – flesh is grown," ...?...

He put the first one of the mankind inside the brick-mould (using the hoe)

Towards Enlil, (towards) his land; they broke through the earth

The story continues by the mother-goddess named Ninmenna instituting the process of birth-giving for the people.

Song of the Hoe 26–27:

nin en ù-tu-dè lugal ù-tu-dè

^dnin-men-na-ke₄ tu-tu al-ḡá-ḡá

Lady who gave birth to the lord, who gave birth to the king

Ninmenna, (now) institute the (human) birth (reproduction)

The Sumerian Flood Story mentions that humans were created (using Sumerian *dím*) by An, Enlil, Enki and Ninhursag who also created the animals.

³⁹⁵ In Šulgi O hymn line 3, the city of Ur is praised as being the place from where the "seed goes out." numun i-i.

³⁹⁶ Probably a temple or a holy place in Nippur where the man was created is meant. Cf. G. Pettinato, *Altorientalische Menschenbild* (1970), p. 67; D. Katz, *Historiae* 2 (2005), p. 60.

Sumerian Flood Story, A 11–14:

an^den-líl^den-ki^dnin-ḥur-saḡ-ḡá-ke₄

saḡ-ḡi₆-ga mu-un-dím-eš-a-ba

nì-gilim ki-ta ki-ta mu-lu-lu

máš-anše níḡ-úr-4 edin-na me-te-a-aš bí-íb-ḡál

An, Enlil, Enki and Ninhursag;

when the black-headed people they fashioned;

small animals who come out from the earth they made (come out) from the earth in abundance.

Livestock, four-legged creatures of the steppe as is appropriate they made to exist there

The collective creation of mankind and animals by all the major Sumerian gods is difficult to interpret. It is possible that the author of the text simply stated that the creation process was the collective will of the gods. The listing of the Sumerian gods in order An, Enlil, Enki and Ninhursag might designate that the story reflects a post Ur III period ideology, since the common order for the deities in the Ur III period up until the reign of Ibbi-Su'en would have been An, Enlil, Ninhursag and Enki. Since the Flood motive seems to be present already in Ur III ideology, as the Death of Gilgameš' story might indicate, the composition of the Flood narrative in its original form during that period seems to be one of the options. The Ur III royal hymns seem to indicate that the prime force behind the creation was the mother-goddess. The later Isin hymns already refer to Enki, Enlil and An as the creator gods alongside the mother-goddess. It seems that the creation of man and other living entities was seen as a collective work of different major deities and there was no mythology concentrated around one pair of gods who exclusively were considered "the creators." The myth of Enki's Journey to Nippur, which shares close characteristics with the Isin Dynasty ideology, describes how people grew out or broke out from the earth like the plants. This is similar to the logic of the Flood Story where the animals are described as coming out or emerging from the earth Ki. Therefore an Isin date for the Flood Story also seems to be the best option.³⁹⁷

KAR 4 is a bilingual tablet from Aššur and it is written ca. 1100. The scribe has copied the text from an earlier fragmentary tablet which is indicated by lines 44–46 where it is written *he-e-pi* – "break."³⁹⁸ The text seems to follow the story of Enki and Ninmah in the beginning. Heaven is separated from earth and the second line states that the mother-goddesses were born. Then the gods determine the plan of the world and civilisation (*ḡeš-ḥur*). The great gods build the irrigation system and determine the course of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates. When everything is created, the gods assemble to decide what

³⁹⁷ Cf. V. Emelianov, *Calendar Ritual in Sumerian Religion and Culture* (ME's and the Spring Festivals) (2009), p. 428 / cf. 200ff.

³⁹⁸ Cf. G. Pettinato, *Das alorientalische Menschenbild* (1971), pp. 74–77.

should be created next. Enlil puts this question before the assembly of gods, after which all the deities reply that in the city of Nippur they should create man. In order for this plan to be carried out, two Alla or Lamga gods have to be slain.

KAR 4, 25–26:

^dlamga ^dlamga im-ma-an-tag-en-zé-en
úš-úš-e-ne nam-lú-ùlu mú-mú-e-dè
(Two) Alla/Lamga gods let us kill
and grow their blood into humanity!

The purpose of the created man is to take care of the fields and the irrigation systems as well as to grow food for the deities. The final part of the myth introduces two new beings Ullegarra and Annegarra. It seems likely that the first humans – one male and the other female are meant by the next passage.

KAR 4, 52–55:

^dul-le-gar-ra an-né-gar-ra
mu-ne-ne i-pà-da
gu₄ udu máš-anše ku₆ mušen-ne-ta-a
hé-ǵál kalam-ma zil-zil-e-dè
Ullegarra Annegarra
they shall be called;
(to make) cows, sheep, cattle, fish and birds
(and) the prosperity of the land abundant

When the first humans are meant in this myth, deifying them is a new feature in Ancient Near Eastern mythology and religion. Only ^dul-le-gar-ra has the determinative and not an-né-gar-ra. This probably means that they are described in collective terms and not as separate individuals. It seems that they also receive the task of taking care of and managing all the animals, birds and fish living on the earth. This is similar to the Old Testament stories about the tasks of the first men which will be discussed next.

8.4.5. Parallels from Genesis

It is matter of mere speculation which kind of mythological-folkloristic motives or pre-existing written myths have influenced the stories of Genesis. It might be speculated that the author(s) had a direct access to all the written sources described above – which is always a possibility, at least in the libraries of Babylon. On the other hand, as was shown by B. Margalit, the creation was expressed in similar terms in Ugaritic mythology. There was no need to borrow anything since everything was probably already there. What is certain is the fact that the stories of Genesis mirror the same mythology that was shared by the

pressed in similar terms in Ugaritic mythology. There was no need to borrow anything since everything was probably already there. What is certain is the fact that the stories of Genesis mirror the same mythology that was shared by the Sumero-Akkadians and Western Semitic peoples already in the beginning of the second millennium.³⁹⁹

Genesis 1, 27 is the first creation of man in the Old Testament. 1, 26 explains that man must be created in the image and resemblance of the god (Elohim) so he could govern all the created fish, birds, animals and reptiles:

וימר אלהים נעשה אדם בצלמנו כדמותנו וירדו בדגת הים ובעוף השמים ובבהמה ובכל-הארץ ובכל-הרמש הרמש על-הארץ

And Elohim said: "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let him rule over the fish of the seas and the birds of the heavens and the cattle and over the whole earth; and over every creeping thing creeping on the surface of the earth"

1, 27 is the actual creation act adding that man and woman were created to be male and female.

ויברא אלהים את-האדם בצלם אלהים ברא אתו זכר ונקבה ברא אתם

And Elohim created the man in his image, in the image of Elohim he created him; male and female he created them

Genesis 1, 28 continues with the prescription of Elohim to the man to start multiplying and become master of the earth and all the creatures living there. I. M. Kikawada considers Genesis 2, 7 to be part of the second phase of creation where the main concern is the reproduction of mankind after the first initial act of creation by God.⁴⁰⁰ This assumption does not seem to be well grounded and it seems that Genesis 2, 7 represents only a detailed repetition of the first creative act of God by the author(s). Its main concern is still the forming of man in general. The passage is a continuation of the first phase of creation adding a detail and explaining that YHWH forms man by using the earth or clay of the ground.

וייצר יהוה אלהים את-האדם עפר מן-האדמה ויפח באפיו נשמת חיים ויהי האדם לנפש חיה

And formed YHWH Elohim the man of the soil from the ground; and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and the man became a living soul

³⁹⁹ In the frameworks of the current study, different hypothetical sources of Genesis are not treated separately. The number of studies claiming that a single author or group of authors is behind the composition is growing (cf, I. M. Kikawada – A. Quinn, *Before Abraham Was* (1985)). None of the theories are convincing since there are no authentic extra-Biblical parallels to draw in comparison. Here, the material of Genesis is only used for comparative illustration.

⁴⁰⁰ Iraq 45 (1983), p. 44.

using the earth's soil by the creator god.⁴⁰¹ One new feature is that the man receives the breath of life from God and is therefore called “a living spirit.” (*nps* – Akkadian *napištu*, “life” / “throat” / “breath” – ca. Sumerian *zi* – “life”). In the myth Enki and Ninmah, this divine force probably resides inside the blood of the gods. In Atrahasis and Enuma eliš, the force is in the blood and flesh of the revolting god. Atrahasis mentions that man received an entity called *eṭemmu* – translatable into Sumerian as *gidim* – spirit of a dead person; dweller of the netherworld. Possibly this *gidim* was imagined to get its life force from the blood of the deity – but not in form of a free-soul capable escaping the body. This different Hebrew vision can be explained by the transcendent nature of Israeli religion in opposition to the Mesopotamian immanent forms of divine force.⁴⁰² In Hebrew world view, the divine force pictured in the form of breath or breath of life was possibly connected to beliefs about transcendental spirit or soul – somehow mysteriously connected to the spheres of the divine where the god YHWH resided.

8.4.6. The Creation of the First Woman

The second part of the myth of Enki and Ninmah begins with the banquet organised for the gods by Enki called by his second name Nudimmud. After the gods have praised Enki for his achievement of creating man, there follows a drinking party, which is a familiar motive in Sumerian mythology. Ninmah who has consumed plenty of beer makes a proposal to Enki to create new living beings using clay. It seems that a certain contest between Enki and Ninmah is taking place and the purpose of the contest is the creation of living humans whose destiny and function in the society should be impossible to decide and determine. Enki should assign their place in the human society for every being created by Ninmah. B. Alster interprets: “Enki and the mother-goddess compete to see if he or she alone can create a living being without the help of the other.”⁴⁰³ Then it would be meant that it is impossible to create a functioning and normal living man without the skill of Enki and the birth-giving powers of the mother-goddess combined. Although the exact meaning of the contest is far from clear, we see Ninmah forming a series of humans who have different defects and illnesses. Enki finds a place for all of them in the Sumerian society. For example, the blind man is destined to be a musician in the king's court. The myth might reflect the idea, that handicapped people are the result of the creation act of the drunken deities. After Enki has managed to decree a position in the society for every creature formed by Ninmah, he himself forms a new being. A. D. Kilmer discusses the problem in the paper “Speculations on Umul,

⁴⁰¹ References to man being formed by using clay are common in other books of the Old Testament – for example Job 10, 9; 33, 6 or Isaiah 64, 7.

⁴⁰² P. Espak, FARG 42 (2008), pp. 70–71. Cf. M. Dietrich, FARG 42 (2008), pp. 47–66.

⁴⁰³ B. Alster, JNES 53 (1994), p. 223.

the first Baby.”⁴⁰⁴ According to Kilmer, Enki creates the first woman and the reproductive organs of that female.

Enki and Ninmah 83:

^den-ki-ke₄ me-dím saḡ-ḡá X-ga[?] ka šà-ba a-ma-ni-dím

“After Enki had fashioned the form of the head,...(and) an opening (lit. mouth) in its womb”⁴⁰⁵

Kilmer also argues that several of the six adult creatures made by Ninmah were defective with respect to their ability to reproduce – so the creation of the female able to reproduce might be explained as a challenge to Ninmah. This idea is supported by Alster: “All the creatures produced are defective. It is only after a woman has been impregnated by Enki’s phallus (this is the important implication of line 85, p. 35), that a normal baby can be created.”⁴⁰⁶

The only direct parallel to this kind of creation of the first female can be found in the book of Genesis. In 2, 20 it is explained that although the man gave names to all the creatures made by God, he found no matching one for his help – meaning there was no other creature like himself available. Just as Gilgameš was given Enkidu as an equal match to be his friend and companion, the Hebrew god creates a companion for the first man. In Genesis, the problem is solved by the creation of the first female. God causes the man to sleep and takes away one of his ribs and fills up the wound with flesh (2, 21). Then the woman is made using the rib of the man (2, 22):

ויבן יהוה אלהים את-הצלע אשר-לקח מן-האדם לאשה ויבאה אל-האדם

And built YHWH Elohim the rib which he had taken from the man into woman, and brought unto the man

Genesis 1, 27 already stated that humankind was created as male and female; now Genesis 2, 23 adds a detailed description by the first man: “This is now bone from my bone and flesh from my flesh; she shall be called woman because she was taken from man.”

8.5. The Copulation Motive

In Kikawada’s terms, the second phase of creation was meant to explain how the mankind is going to reproduce itself. On the other hand, the mythology behind the second phase of creation is actually reflecting the ancient copulation

⁴⁰⁴ AOAT 25 (1976), pp. 265–270.

⁴⁰⁵ Translation of A. D. Kilmer, AOAT 25, p. 266.

⁴⁰⁶ B. Alster, JNES 53 (1994), p. 223.

motive between the male and female divinities. In anthropogonical accounts, the future fate of mankind, its reproduction and finally the death are all related to this copulation motive. Every account is describing the events differently but certain structural similarities are detectable.

8.5.1. Enki and Ninmah

In her paper about the first child Umul, A. D. Kilmer also proposes that Enki himself inseminated the first female, as no capable human male existed, and no other male god is present.⁴⁰⁷

Enki and Ninmah 85:

a ġēš-ak šà munus-a-ka ri-a a šà-ga-na munus-bi mu-un-ù-tu

“The phallus-made semen poured into the woman’s womb had made that woman give birth in her womb”⁴⁰⁸

Enki and Ninmah continues by the creation of a being $u_4\text{-}\tilde{g}u_{10}\text{-}ul$ ⁴⁰⁹ by Enki, translatable as “my day is far.” This kind of interpretation led to the misinterpretation that a very old human person is meant since Umul is characterised as being unable to move his legs or hands in a coordinated way, having weak or sick head, eyes, neck, ribs, lungs and bowels. A. D. Kilmer solved this interpretational mistake: “It was and is clear, to the present writer at least, that Umul is not, as generally accepted previously, a failure of an old man, but is simply a new-born baby with the normal lack of physical abilities.”⁴¹⁰ This interpretation seems to be fitting both the context of the narrative as well as it is philologically acceptable.

The myth continues by Enki asking Ninmah to determine the fate of Umul. Ninmah, however, finds no suitable assignment for a being unable to sit down, lie down, build a house or eat bread. She concludes that Umul is neither alive nor dead. Then Enki praises himself and his wisdom because he was able to determine the faith of all the beings created by Ninmah. Lines 109–122 are badly preserved and their meaning is not completely clear. From the line 123, Ninmah complains that her temple and city were destroyed and the king of her city was taken captive. Ninmah also claims that she had to escape from the temple of E-kur of Enlil. The meaning of Ninmah’s words is unclear. Maybe she refers to the destruction of the city of Keš or then some sort of mythological conflict with Enlil is under question. After these events, Enki seems to praise

⁴⁰⁷ AOAT 25 (1976), p. 266, note 5.

⁴⁰⁸ Translation of S. N. Kramer, *Myths of Enki* (1989), p. 35.

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. S. N. Kramer – J. Maier, *Myths of Enki* (1989), pp. 211–212: the reading $u_4\text{-}mu\text{-}du_7$ meaning “my storm the attacker” or “my storm attacked” is considered possible.

⁴¹⁰ AOAT 25 (1976), p. 265.

Ninmah, and Umul is mentioned in an unexplainable context. Following lines confirm that Enki was the inseminator and the father of the first child.⁴¹¹

Enki and Ninmah 134:

u₄-da ġèš-ġu₁₀ me-téš ħa-ba-i-i ġéštu rig₅-ge-zu/šè hé-ġál
“Let now my penis be praised, and serve as a reminder to you!”⁴¹²

The final lines seem to underline the fact, that Enki is victorious and had achieved his goal as the creator.

Enki and Ninmah 140–141:

^dnin-maḥ-e en gal ^den-ki-ke₄ zag nu-mu-ni-in-ša₄
a-a ^den-ki zà-mí-zu du₁₀-ga
Ninmah could not rival the great lord Enki
Father Enki, your praise is sweet!

Although several passages of the myth are philologically difficult to interpret and mythologically comprehend, it seems clear that Enki inseminated the woman he had created and therefore was the father of the first child Umul. It has also been suggested that Umul might have been a miscarriage or “a fetus about to be born.”⁴¹³ Then one of the ideas of the myth would be to show that Enki was not able to create a real being on his own – he needed the assistance of the mother-goddess to produce a new living human.

8.5.2. Atrahasis

A. D. Kilmer finds that Umul is actually the Sumerian flood hero Ziusudra, who is the prototype of the Akkadian Atrahasis and Utnapištim. “The son of Enki/Ea is man’s saviour. Enki’s warning of the flood to man may be more meaningful if we understand that he warns his own son.”⁴¹⁴ Unfortunately, the lines in the Old-Babylonian Atrahasis epic where the analogous version of the creation of the flood hero in the tablet I could be placed have not been preserved in full extent. It is clear that children are created and institution of marriage is introduced. Then, Enlil’s discontent about humankind is stated. Finally, the flood of Enlil attempts to destroy the men, but humanity is saved by Enki’s

⁴¹¹ Ibid., p. 266.

⁴¹² Translation of J. S. Cooper, *Fs. Sjöberg* (1989), p. 89. ETCSL 1.1.2. translates: “Today let my penis be praised, may your wisdom be confirmed”. This kind of translation suggests that Enki is praising Ninmah’s wisdom (i.e. her capabilities of creation). Cooper’s translation as well as Kilmer’s seems to be better justified (p. 266): “Today let my penis be praised; may you pay attention.” ġéštu here does not mean “wisdom” but “attention” – corresponding to the original meaning of that word as “ear.”

⁴¹³ M. Stol, *Birth in Babylonia and the Bible* (2000), p. 110.

⁴¹⁴ AOAT 25 (1976), p. 267.

warning to Atrahasis. One authentic Sumerian mythological text preserved mentioning Ziusudra is the Death of Gilgameš, where it is stated that the flood hero was the only one ever granted the eternal life by the gods (M₃ iii 164–165). Ziusudra is also one of the main figures in the Sumerian Flood Story. According to the Sumerian King List, the flood swept the earth after several kings⁴¹⁵ had already ruled after the kingship was given to the city of Eridu. There is also no direct link between the first child Cain introduced in Genesis 4, 1 and much later Noah in Genesis. According to the information found so far, the attempt to see Umul as a prototype of the Mesopotamian Flood Hero cannot be confirmed. The close relation between the main ideas relating to the creation of mankind, however, is clearly detectable in all these myths.

Atrahasis has a clear account about (the second) creation of humans by the mother-goddess, Ea and the birth-goddesses. It seems that Mami is making the human figures receiving the directions from the incantation of Ea. Seven pairs of males and females are created.

Atrahasis: Assyrian version obv. iii 9–14 (= I 262–270):

[7] ṛú 7 šà-su-ra-ti 7 ú-ba-na-a zikarī(NÍTA^{mes})

[7] ú-ba-na-a sinnišāti^{mes}

[š]à-su-ru ba-na-at ši-im-tu

ši-na-šàm^{šá-na} ú-ka-la-la-ši-na

ši-na-šàm^{šá-na} ú-ka-la-la maḥ-ru-šá

ú-ṣu-ra-te šá niši^{mes}-ma ú-ša-ar^d ma-mi

7 and 7 birth-goddesses assembled, seven made males,
seven made females.

The birth-goddess, maker (creator) of fate;

they made them in pairs;

they made them in pairs in her presence.

The rules of mankind conceived Mami.

The text continues by describing the birth process⁴¹⁶ of the first child. In the final parts of the tablet I, it is stated that the custom of marriage will be instituted which then should result in more births.⁴¹⁷

It is interesting to notice that in the narrative of Enuma eliš there is no further explanation about the fate of mankind after it was initially created. This is possibly due to the fact that the text itself was mainly meant as a praise to Marduk for underlining the prominence of the city of Babylon. So the detailed

⁴¹⁵ Cf. J. R. Davila, JNES 54 (1995), pp. 199–214.

⁴¹⁶ M. Stol, Birth in Babylonia and the Bible (2000), p. 112ff.

⁴¹⁷ Cf. the obvious parallel in Genesis 6, 1–4 where it is stated that men became numerous and daughters were born to them. The sons of god married the daughters of man. This resulted in more births. In Genesis however, in absolute contrast to the Atrahasis story, the flood is sent to sweep away the moral corruption among the men. It might be speculated that “the son’s of god” and “the daughters of men” are all references to the different first creatures made or engendered by the creator gods.

description of the doings of the people and the flood simply was not the intention of the authors of the text. The creation stories of Enuma eliš seem to have no direct influence on the author(s) of Genesis. As can be seen by the several creation accounts presented previously, there is an abundance of the different motives that can be associated with the stories of Genesis – partly rooted in West Semitic, partly in Sumero-Akkadian mythology. Enuma eliš does not seem to be among the best sources of “borrowing”⁴¹⁸ when compared to the materials available which are close to the Genesis 1, 1ff. or to the stories about the creation of man.

8.5.3. Reflections in Genesis

The Genesis 4, 1 account about Eve, Adam, Cain and YHWH is nothing but clear. Only thing that can be said with certainty is that Eve had sexual intercourse with a male party and as a result she bore Cain. When to compare the text with the myth of Enki and Ninmah, Genesis 4, 1 is very close to the basic ideas of the myth.

והאדם ידע את-הוה אשתו ותהר ותלד את-קין ותאמר קניתי איש את-יהוה

And the man knew Eve his wife / she became pregnant and bore Cain / and she said: “I have begotten (or: acquired?) a man with (or: from? / just as?, etc.) YHWH (or: Adam?)”

Two males in this phrase (YHWH, and Adam – the man) can be the fathers of the first child when to interpret the phrase in detail. Also Cain can be considered a later possible husband to Eve. C. Westermann seems to be in favour of the interpretation of U. Cassuto:⁴¹⁹ “I have created/begotten a man just as YHWH did” because it fits the context logically.⁴²⁰ He admits that there is no certainty when it comes to interpreting the phrase, however he seems to be convinced that “Der den Namen Kain erklärende Satz ist ein Jubelruf oder Lobruf.”⁴²¹ Genesis 4, 1 is usually translated “And Adam knew Eve his wife; and she conceived and bore Cain, and said: ‘I have gotten a man with the help of YHWH’.” The passage is preceded by the narrative of Adam and Eve being thrown out of the Garden of Paradise by God. Then it is explained how mankind started to reproduce itself: intercourse resulted in childbirth. If the ancient Mesopotamian mythology is reflecting in Genesis 4, 1, it seems obvious that reinterpreting of

⁴¹⁸ R. Hendel, Cultural Borrowings (2005), p. 23ff. lists “appropriation, mimicry, and inversion” as main techniques of adapting ancient ideas to the Hebrew Bible. The reality must have been more complex and different kinds of usages of ancient motives were probably more influenced by circumstantial and emotional factors than by any schematically or programmatically ordered compositional plan.

⁴¹⁹ U. Cassuto, A Commentary on the Book of Genesis (1961), p. 198.

⁴²⁰ C. Westermann, Genesis I/1 (1983), p. 397.

⁴²¹ Ibid., p. 394.

the ancient myths was done in terms of Israelite religion and its specific ideas about the divine force and a monotheistic god hiding behind the different divine names such as El, Jahve, or Elohim. When Enki created mankind (assisted by several mother-goddesses), he did it in “earthly” technical terms – to be a substitute or a slave to the gods. YHWH creates man because it seems (morally, spiritually) good for him. Man is created as a companion or spiritual slave and not just as a physical slave providing food for YHWH. Although the mythological motives might be similar, their meaning is totally diverse. The formal narrative of the story probably follows an ancient mythological motive; the “real” meaning of the new text had different goals for its writers.⁴²²

⁴²² Traditional meaning would be: “I have begotten a man with the help of YHWH” meaning that Eve is stating her gratefulness towards the Lord for she has given birth to Cain as a result of sexual intercourse with Adam – the man. The connection of *qnh* with the name of Cain seems obvious and the name should mean “begetter” (cf. N. Wyatt, *Folklore* 97 (1986), pp. 89–90). This interpretation is usually rejected by claiming that in Genesis 4, 1 a word play takes place and the equation with *qnh* is artificial or popular etymology. Different possibilities to translate the name are: Ugaritic *qn* “reed; shaft,” / Hebrew *qayin* “javelin,” / Syrian and Semitic words for “smith:” cf. B. Becking, *DDD* (1999), p. 343. B. Vawter, *JBL* 99 (1980), pp. 208–209: “the choice of verb by which she has been allowed to voice her exultation in this verse has been made first and foremost in view of its capability as a popular etymology for the name Cain. The sound of the verb, in other words, has more determined its choice than its precise significance.” However, even when the original meaning of the root was for example “smith,” for the author(s) of Genesis 4, 1, the new theological meaning would have been more important than any “original etymology.” It is also possible to interpret: “I have acquired a husband, (namely) Yahweh” offered by N. Wyatt, *Folklore* 97 (1986), p. 93 who argues that Eve and Yahweh are the parents of Cain, since *qnh* can also mean “to acquire” when “to construe *’et* as the indication of a following specific direct object.” Wyatt says that “Eve’s statement or exclamation, here can only mean that it is with Yahweh as her husband that she has produced a son. This is the most straightforward meaning of the particle *’et* here, and the desperate attempts that have been made to avoid acknowledging the obvious sense seems to me to spring from theological rather than linguistic considerations.” Wyatt also claims that it is possible that the first part of the sentence where Adam or man is described having sexual intercourse with Eve was later added. Among several possibilities adding a new aspect, it would also be possible to translate: “I have acquired a man (Adam) from YHWH.” In this case Eve would express his gratefulness to YHWH for allowing her a husband who was able to make her pregnant. Or as summarised by Wyatt: “If the verb means ‘begotten,’ then the man is a son; if it means acquired, then the man may be a husband. That is, it can refer either to Cain or to the man (*hā’ādām*) or even – to Yahweh” (*Folklore* 97 (1986), p. 93). The Opinion of Cassuto (p. 198) and Westermann (p. 397: “I have begotten a man just like YHWH did”) seems to neutralise all the possible reflections of an ancient copulation myth and is one of the most suitable one in terms of later Hebrew and also Christian theology. Similar to the previous interpretation but adding a new aspect would be to compare the sentence with the previously treated Babylonian mythological prayer text where Marduk creates man with the mother-goddess Aruru (lines 20–21): *a-me-lu-ti ib-ta-ni* / ^d*aruru zé-ér a-me-lu-ti it-ti-šu ib-ta-nu*: “He (Marduk) made mankind, / Aruru the

8.5.4. Enki and the Mother-Goddess

The figure of the mother-goddess appearing under her different names is listed throughout Sumerian literature paired with the god Enki. In the inscriptions before Ibbi-Su'en, the last king of the Ur III Dynasty, she was almost exclusively portrayed as the third divine force in the list of gods. After Ibbi-Su'en, the third position is given to Enki. W. G. Lambert tries to summarise the concept of Mesopotamian mother-goddess: "In mythology she is 'Earth' (Ki), matching the male 'Heaven' (An): father Heaven sends down his fertilizing rain into the bosom of mother Earth to produce plants, an act of creation. This mythology may be the reason why in Sumerian 'young lady' is ki-sikil, literally 'clean earth' (i. e. 'virgin soil'?)." ⁴²³

The known names for that great mother-goddess are Nintu, Ninmah, Ninhursag, Namma, Mami, Ninti, Aruru, Belet-ili, Ninti, etc. Although originally they might have been the goddesses from different cities and even different peoples, their function as birth-givers is common to them all. Sometimes Inanna seems to be paired with Enki and therefore considered to be the mother-goddess figure in similar terms with the abovementioned goddesses. Probably also Inanna

semen of mankind made with him." E. Lipiński supports this kind of scenario but mentions that the passage does not reflect the idea that Eve and YHWH somehow together created the man or had sexual intercourse. He claims that Genesis 4, 1a already has a reference to the sexual intercourse between Adam and Eve and concludes that an ancient *hieros gamos* motive might be reflected here: E. Lipiński, *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, vol 13 (2004), p. 58ff. Using parallels from the Old Testament, Akkadian and Ugaritic sources it would be possible to translate "I have got the man from YHWH." V. P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis* (1990), p. 221 interprets "et̄ as *from*, which, we grant, is not a normal English value for the Hebrew word." He draws a parallel from Genesis 49, 25 where Jacob says to Joseph: "From [*min*] the God of your father who helped you, from [*et̄*] Shaddai who blessed you". This is supported by Akkadian "to buy from someone" *šamû 'itti* and Ugaritic *k yqny ġzr b aldyy*: "when he acquired [*yqny*] the youth from [*b*] the man of Alashia." None of the interpretations offered is "provable" and opinions are differing (cf. W. C. Kaiser, *Toward an Old Testament Theology* (1978), p. 37 who interprets Genesis 4, 1 based on the words of God in Genesis 3, 15–16: "Hence it must be a record, even as Luther seems to argue in his translation, of the mistaken hope of Eve that she had received immediate relief from her punishment with the birth of Cain"). The ancient authors might have been aware of the fact that the mother-goddess figure and the male creator-god together formed mankind and the first humans; and that a sexual intercourse between the male god and the first woman took place. Genesis 4, 1 reflects several older mythological ideas but is probably composed to "neutralise" or "counter" these older ideas. In the frames of an ancient creation myth, Eve might play the role of the mother-goddess (and the first woman combined) and YHWH might be considered to be the ancient creator god (Enki-Ea-El). As N. Wyatt, *DDD* (1999), p. 600 concludes: "whether Yahweh is the father of the man she has begotten or the husband she has acquired, the implication is that Eve plays the role of, indeed is, a goddess."

⁴²³ RAI 33 (1987), p. 126.

represented a similar mother-goddess figure in the early stages of Sumerian religion. Her early prominence in the Early Dynastic Lagaš state was detectable based on the frequency of her Ibgal shrines. The later mythology starts to reflect Inanna who is more of a war-goddess not fitting in the row of the ancient Sumerian birth-goddesses.

In Enki and Ninmah, Namma was titled to be the mother of Enki and on several occasions Enki also directly calls Namma ama-ġu₁₀: “my mother.” Namma’s role as Enki’s mother is not in accordance with the overall context of Sumerian mythology and the earlier sources where An and Ki or then the primordial pair Enki-Ninki are seen as his parents. It seems possible that the title ama might simply be an honorary name to the (older) female goddess as a sign of respect and therefore not representing any genealogical links between them. On the other hand, it is possible that in some layers of mythology, Namma is also one of the names of Enki’s mother – this might be indicated by the Lugal-KISAL-si text, which named Namma to be the spouse of An.

Among several of the functions of the mother-goddesses, Namma is said to have given birth to all the important gods of Sumer:

Enki and Ninmah 17:

^dnamma-ke₄ ama palil ù-tu diġir šár-šár-ra-ke₄-ne

Namma, the primeval mother, the birth giver of all the great gods

It is interesting that also in Atrahasis, Mami has a similar title with the ama palil of the gods (I 247): *bēlet kala ilī* – “mistress/lady of all the gods.” I. M. Kikawada finds this strikingly similar to the title of Eve in Genesis 3, 20:

ויקרא האדם שם אשתו חוה כי הוא היתה אם כל-חי

And the man called his wife’s name Eve, because she was the mother of all living

Kikawada concludes that the formula for Mami’s new name in Atrahasis, “‘x of all the y,’ is the same as in the title of Eve, ‘mother of all the living’.”⁴²⁴ Similarities of the titles of Eve and Mami are more convincing especially by the analysis of the context and developments in the narrative and it seems probable, as Kikawada summarises, that “behind the character of Eve was probably hidden the figure of the creatress or the mother-goddess Mami, and that *hawwāh*, Eve, was an onomastic form derived from her title, *’ēm kol-ḥay*.”⁴²⁵ This claim seems to be in accordance with Ugaritic sources where the West Semitic goddess Ašerah, often associated with YHWH,⁴²⁶ is *qnyt ilm* – “creatress of the gods” or “mistress of the gods.”⁴²⁷

⁴²⁴ JBL 91 (1972), p. 33.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., p. 34.

⁴²⁶ Cf. N. Wyatt, DDD (1999), pp. 191–193.

⁴²⁷ Cf. C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook (1998), p. 171: 51, III 28–30: *ik tmgnn rbt atrt ym iġzyn qnyt ilm*: (p. 108) “Why do ye beseech Lady Aṭir(a)t of the sea or entreat the

The Sumerian name for the Akkadian birth-goddess is most often Nintu. Its earliest manifestations can already be found from the Fara⁴²⁸ and Abu Salabikh⁴²⁹ god-lists. First mythological texts come from the middle of the third millennium and characterise the goddess Nintu (written Tu in several archaic texts)⁴³⁰ as a sort of an auxiliary deity of birth-giving, the primeval mother of the gods and men. This aspect of birth-giving is usually related to the human beings or gods; overall agricultural fertility does not seem to be Nintu's concern and also in the Isin era hymns, Enki was the main force behind natural abundance. The name of Nintu can be translated as "lady who gives birth," and "lady of womb" (ša-tùr). The Old-Babylonian god-lists identify ^dnin-tùr with Akkadian *ša-su-ru* meaning "womb."⁴³¹ The direct etymology of Nintu(r) is impossible to determine with certainty and her older Sumerian name might not have meant directly "womb" or "birth-giver," but later understanding of the name as such seems certain. From the earliest records onwards, for example in the archaic version of the Keš Temple Hymn, she is always associated with the process of birth: ^dtu ama-gal / tu-tu al-ğá-ğá.⁴³² "Nintu, the great mother, has brought about the birth." In that sense, Nintu can be called a godly representation of birth-giving, protection goddess to all the women giving birth. Already the inscriptions of Gudea title Nintu (Gudea Statue A, iii 5–6): ^dnin-tu / ama diğir-re-ne-ke₄: "Nintu / the mother of gods." She is also titled (Gudea 67, 5): ama dumu-dumu-ne: "mother of (all) the children" in the inscriptions of Gudea. Among her titles, following examples from the Sumerian mythological corpus seem to characterise her best (Enki and the World Order 396): ^dnin-tu nin tu-tu-da: "Nintu, the lady of giving birth;" (Enki and Ninhursag 65–66): ^dnin-tu ama kalam-ma: "Nintu, the mother of the land." Nintu featured also in the Sumerian Flood Story, but her role is difficult to understand, since the text is in a fragmentary state. ni-dím-dím-ma-ğū₁₀ ("my created beings") and nam-lú-ulù-ğū₁₀ ("my mankind") in the text (lines 2–3) of the Flood Story are probably also meant to designate mankind as Nintu's creation. The Neo-Sumerian hymns characterise Nintu as birth-giver, assistant in birth-giving and the causal force behind human reproduction (Ur-Namma C, 24): rdnin¹-tu-re ãe₂₆-e mu-un-dím-dím-en ga-ri-ğū₁₀ nu-tuku: "Nintu formed me so that there is no equal to me;" (Ur-Namma C, 47): ^dnin-tu dú-^rdú¹-a-ğū₁₀ mu-un-gub-bu:¹ "Nintu stood by (assisted) at my birth;" (Ibbi-Su'en C, 47): ^dnin-tu numun i-i ^rsağ[?] zi-ğál ù-tu: "Nintu, (causer) of multiplying (of the human) seed; birth giver to the living beings."

Nintu can be used as a name for almost all the mother-goddesses in Sumerian texts. They all are different later mother-goddess figures possibly evolved

creatress of the gods?" Cf. N. Wyatt, *Folklore* 97 (1986), pp. 91–92: Ašerah was also associated with snakes – as later Eve in the Genesis Paradise motive.

⁴²⁸ M. Krebernik, *ZA* 76 (1986), p. 168: SF 1, I 19 and p. 190: SF 5–6, 25–26 as ^dTU.

⁴²⁹ A. Alberti, *SEL* 2 (1985), p. 11, 204: a deity named ^dnin-tùr-gal.

⁴³⁰ R. D. Biggs, *ZA* 61 (1971), pp. 205–206: 78. Cf. J. and A. Westenholz, *OrNS* 46 (1977), p. 204: in Fara texts, Enki receives offerings together with ^dINANNA.GAR and with ^dtu.

⁴³¹ R. Litke, *God-Lists*, p. 78: II, 101.

⁴³² C. Wilcke, *CM* 35 (2006), p. 232: 78; R.D. Biggs, *ZA* 61 (1971), p. 202: 78 D ii.

from the hypothetical great mother-figure represented in the archaic beliefs about the earth, the Sumerian Ki.⁴³³ The name Nintu seems to characterise all such figures in the best possible way. In the Sumerian Temple Hymns, Nintu and Ninhursag are definitely pictured as one deity (line 500): ama ^dnin-tu₅ nin ulu₅ti₅-ma: “Mother Nintu, lady of form(-giving).” After the description of Nintu, there is a passage about Ninhursag who is obviously identical with Nintu (line 504).⁴³⁴ ša-zu an ki ^dnin-ḥur-saḡ-ḡá-ke₄: “Midwife of heaven and earth, Ninhursag.” Therefore at least during the composition of the major literary works of Ur III and Isin-Larsa periods, there does not seem to be any clearly detectable differences between the major mother-goddesses and they are taken as one and the same concept.

The fact that the mother-goddess is pictured as the main driving force behind human creation in several earlier sources and no male god seems to be considered as actively taking part in that process, leads one to conclude that human creation was seen as the divine duty of the mother-goddess. This does not mean that the male element was not considered important or necessary in the process of reproduction. As also the Ur III listings of deities designate, Enki was paired with Ninhursag/Ninmah following her in the earlier texts. This might reflect an ancient tradition which considered the male reproductive force a complementary element that is attached to the mother-goddess. It seems also probable that the change in the listings that occurred during the reign of Ibbi-Su’en was a reflection of changes in mythology or vice versa. This change may therefore represent the emergence of the male god as the creative force in mythology.⁴³⁵ At least based on Ur III or the earlier sources, there is no crafty male god directly behind human creation. The ḡéš_{tu} and ḡéš-ḥur of Enki are given for temple-constructions, his abundance ḡé-ḡál is in turn for guaranteeing the fertility of the land.

8.5.5. Enki and Ninhursag

Ninhursag is titled as the mother of the gods in Sumerian royal ideology and mythology from the earliest periods onwards: ^dnin-ḥur-saḡ ama diḡir-re-ne.⁴³⁶ The earliest mythological parallel to the myth of Enki and Ninhursag originates from the Early Dynastic period and is contained in the mythological text called the Barton Cylinder. The myth opens with mentioning the sanctuary of Nippur and then describes the cosmic marriage of An and Ki.⁴³⁷ After a break in the text, “we learn

⁴³³ Cf. H. Frankfort, JNES 3 (1944), p. 198.

⁴³⁴ Cf. Th. Jacobsen, JBL 100 (1981), p. 514 who argues that Nintu is a blend of mountain- and birth-goddesses and her image goes back to the great overall prototype of the mother-goddess as developed by Marija Gimbutas.

⁴³⁵ D. Katz, BiOr 64 (2007), pp. 569–570 seems to date the composing time of the myth Enki and Ninhursag to the reign of Rim-Su’en of Larsa.

⁴³⁶ Lu-Utu 1, 1–2; Ur-Bau 5, iii 8.

⁴³⁷ Cf. J. van Dijk, AcOr 28 (1965), pp. 36–38.

that someone, perhaps Enki, made love to the mother-goddess, Ninḫursaĝ, the sister of Enlil, and planted the seed of seven deities in her midst.⁴³⁸

Barton Cylinder, ii 1–15:⁴³⁹

igi-zi-gal an-na	The great pure lady of An,
nin gal ^d en-líl	Enlil's older sister,
^d nin-ḫur-saĝ-ra	with Ninhursag,
igi-zi-gal an-na	the great pure lady of An,
ĝeš mu-ni-du ₁₁	he had intercourse.
ne mu-ni-sub	He kissed her,
a maš 7	the semen of seven twins
š[à] mu- ^r na(!)-ni(!) ¹ -ru	he impregnated into her womb.
ki muš ĝír-da	Earth with snake and scorpion
bal-bal an-da-da	had a conversation (?).
^d i ₇ -maḫ	The great River-god,
nì-tur-zu a mu-da-túm	your streams carry along water, ⁴⁴⁰
^r x ¹ -ra ^d i ₇ -da-ke ₄	to...?, the River god

The meaning of the lines is obscure but it seems certain that the mother-goddess Ninhursag is impregnated by a male deity. The later Sumerian mythology does not describe any intercourses between Enlil and Ninhursag and therefore it is doubtful “that the male counterpart of Ninhursag mentioned in ii 7 was the son of Heaven and Earth, presumably Enlil himself”⁴⁴¹ as offered by B. Alster and A. Westenholz. In the myth Enki and Ninhursag, it is Enki who has intercourse with the mother-goddesses and impregnates them resulting in the birth of new divine figures. The passage: “He kissed her and the semen of seven twins he impregnated into her womb” would therefore fit the context of Enki mythology perfectly. Unfortunately the passages of the preserved text of the cylinder mentioning Enki (iv 8–9; vi 3–4: ^den-ki-ra abzu-šè / gig-šè mu-^rĝar¹-[ĝar]: “To Enki into Abzu / sent troubles”)⁴⁴² do not help understanding the previous parts of the text. Enki is the most probable inseminator of Ninhursag in this myth although it cannot be claimed with certainty. A very close passage to the Barton Cylinder text occurs in Hendursag Hymn

⁴³⁸ P. Michalowski, RAI 43 (1998), p. 240.

⁴³⁹ B. Alster – A. Westenholz, ASJ 16 (1994), pp. 18–19; M. Krebernik, RIA 8 (1993–1997), p. 508.

⁴⁴⁰ B. Alster – A. Westenholz, ASJ 16 (1994), p. 33: “the little things” probably mean “the water-courses.”

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴⁴² Translation of B. Alster and A. Westenholz, p. 27: “He caused Enki to feel bitterness toward Abzu.” The part iv 3–4 of the myth reminds the later city laments: the gods are in trouble or expressing their anger. The troublesome situation described in the Barton Cylinder is ameliorated by the arrival of Ninurta (vi 5–13). The final part of the myth tells about the determining of destinies and the multiplying of animals. Concluding part of the text also describes Ninhursag taking her place in the city of Keš (xvii 8–11).

(Hendursag A, 165–168) where Enki is said to have had intercourse with a female deity and seven offspring were born. Unfortunately the context remains unclear.

The myth of Enki and Ninhursag begins with the story of Dilmun where the mother-goddess⁴⁴³ (or the main goddess of Dilmun) Ninsikil is one of the main characters. This goddess is mentioned already in the Cylinders of Gudea (Cyl. A, xv 15) where she is described granting different types of wood for the construction of Ningirsu’s temple. In Enki and the World Order, Enki puts Ninsikil in charge of Dilmun (lines 238–239).⁴⁴⁴ The myth Enki and Ninhursag mentions several differently named mother-goddesses having intercourse with Enki such as Nintu, Ninhursag, Damgalnunna.

Enki and Ninhursag 66–70:

^den-ki-ke₄ ḡéš_{tu}-ge tuku-a ^dnin-tu ama kalam-ma-šè

ḡèš-a-ni e-a ba-an-ši-in-dun-e

ḡèš-a-ni gi-a gir₅-gir₅-e ba-an-ši-gir₅-gir₅-e

ḡèš-a-ni bar-šè maḥ-ḥe ša-ba-ra-an-zi-zi

gù bí-in-dé ambar-ra lú nu-mu-un-dab-bé

Enki, the wise one, towards Nintu, the mother of the land

His phallus into the dikes is digging

His phallus into the reeds is cutting

⁴⁴³ The claim of D. Katz, *BiOr* 64 (2007), p. 570 that Ninsikil is not a mother-goddess relies on the statement: “But Ninsikila is neither a name nor an epithet of Ninhursaġa, nor a mother goddess. An independent source, EWO: 238–9, tells that Ninsikila received Dilmun from Enki, thus she was the goddess of Dilmun.” However, every woman is potentially a mother, therefore also every goddess in Sumerian mythology is describable as a mother-goddess. As was demonstrated by several textual examples presented in the current study, almost every female deity can be pictured to be a mother-goddess. Katz also finds that (p. 584) Ninsikil was the daughter of Enki because in line 29 Enki is titled a-a-ni – “her father.” Enki is, however, titled to be a-a (“father”) in all kinds of different contexts and the title is in most cases a honorary title. Otherwise, based on the myth Enki and Inanna, also Inanna should be Enki’s daughter (not speaking about all the other divine and human figures praising Enki with that title). The beginning part of the story is close to an introductory creation myth, just as was the case in Enki and Ninmah myth. Only subjects discussed represent different phases of creation. Enki and Ninmah starts by the first event in the history of Sumerian universe: the separation of An and Ki. Enki and Ninhursag, in turn, is describing the created or emerged earth in its initial and waterless state and explains how the water was given to the world. The copulation motive in Enki and Ninhursag can be related to the part of Enki and Ninmah where it is stated that the mother-goddesses became pregnant and gave birth and were distributed to the different regions of the world. As the myth Enki and Ninhursag testifies, there are no direct distinctions between the terms “daughter” and “wife” – Enki has sexual intercourse with all the female entities available.

⁴⁴⁴ Cf. M. Krebernik, *RIA* 8 (1993–1997), pp. 93–94 for the goddess. The name is also found alongside the god Lisi inscribed to a cup dedicated for the life of Rim-Su’en (Rim-Su’en 2003, 2).

The Great-one (Nintu) pushed his phallus aside⁴⁴⁵
(and) cried: “No man is capturing me (= taking) in the marshes.”

Enki and Ninhursag 71–76:

^den-ki-ke₄ gù bí-in-dé
zi an-na i-pà
nú-a ambar-ra nú-a ambar-ra giri₁₇-zal
^den-ki-ke₄ a ^ddam-gal-nun-na-ka-ni mi-ni-in-du₁₁
^dnin-ḥur-saḡ-ḡá-ke₄ a šà-ga ba-ni-in-ri
a šà-ga šu ba-ni-in-ti a ^den-ki-kà-ka

Enki shouted:

“By the life of An I demand:

Lie down in the marsh, lie down in the marsh; it will be fun!”

Enki planted his semen for Damgalnunna (whom it was meant?)⁴⁴⁶

He poured the semen into the womb of Ninhursag

She received the semen into her womb, the semen of Enki

P. Attinger considers that all the names of the mother-goddesses in the text – Nintu, Damgalnunna, Ninhursag and Ninsikil are merely different names for the single concept. The other possibility is to understand the mentioning of Enki’s known consort Damgalnunna in this text by translating the lines in question: “Enki poured the semen meant for (his wife) Damgalnunna into the womb of Ninhursag.” Damgalnunna A hymn titles Enki’s wife in similar terms with all the other mother-goddesses as her title “the birth-giver of the great gods” designates.⁴⁴⁷

Damgalnunna A, rev. iv 5:

diḡir ṛgal¹-gal-e-ne ù-tu-bi ḥé-a diḡir-bi ḥé-em
Be the birth-giver to the great gods! Be their god!

Therefore it is almost impossible to figure out what is actually meant by listing the different names in this passage. It seems probable that the confusion is deliberate and is used as a stylistic device by the author(s) of the text – most probably to underline Enki’s sexual abilities in seducing all the available female goddesses of Sumer. The myth continues⁴⁴⁸ by describing how the semen of Enki impregnated Ninhursag and a goddess named Ninsar was born. Then Enki impregnates Ninsar, his daughter. Ninsar gives birth to Ninkurra, who is im-

⁴⁴⁵ For the current passage, the best explanation is offered by D. Katz, *BiOr* 65 (2008), p. 321: the mother-goddess designated by the name “the Great-one” is rejecting Enki’s attempt to have intercourse with her. Cf. M. W. Green, *JCS* 30 (1978), p. 150: “his erect penis pushed out against the tugmah-robe.”

⁴⁴⁶ P. Attinger, *ZA* 74 (1984), p. 38.

⁴⁴⁷ Cf. M. W. Green, *Eridu*, p. 89.

⁴⁴⁸ Cf. D. Katz, *BiOr* 65 (2008), p. 324ff. for a detailed and modern analysis of the structure and meaning of the myth.

pregnated again by Enki. Ninimma is born and gives birth to Uttu, the goddess of weaving. Uttu, after taking advice from Ninhursag, demands different fruits from Enki as a bridal gift before allowing herself to Enki.⁴⁴⁹ She interrupts the series of impregnations by not pleading to Enki's flatter. Following this, Enki is involved in filling the ditches and canals for a gardener, fruits are grown and Enki then brings the demanded products for Uttu. She now accepts Enki who has all the necessary gifts for her joyfully and receives the semen of Enki. Ninhursag, who seems to be against this kind of sexual actions of Enki, removes the semen from Uttu's body. From that same semen, eight different plants are grown. Enki, when travelling in the marshlands with his servant Isimu, eats fruit from the trees grown by the force of his own semen. Enki and Isimu also give names to all the new plants they see and eat. This motive is similar to the Genesis 2, 19–20 story where the first man gives names to all the living beings. In the myth, Enki becomes pregnant because he had eaten the fruit of his own semen and as a result is in serious danger. The fatal illness of one of the most important deities of Sumer is worrying the other gods and Enlil. Somehow a fox pleads Ninhursag to cure Enki. Ninhursag places Enki near or inside her reproductive organs making Enki able to give birth. Eight new deities all corresponding to different hurting body-parts of Enki are born. The deities and corresponding body-parts are: Abu – the skull (ugu-díli), Ninsikil – the hair (siki), Ninkiriutu – the nose (kiri), Ninkasi – the mouth (ka), Nazi – the throat (zi), Azimuna – the arm (à), Ninti – the rib (ti), and Enšag – the sides (zag). The goddess Ninti (who can be associated with the figure of Eve in the Old Testament) is outside the myth Enki and Ninhursag almost unknown.

Enki and Ninhursag 265–266:

šeš-ġu₁₀ a-na-zu a-ra-gig ti-[ġu₁₀ ma-gig]

^dnin-ti im-ma-ra-an-[tu-ud]

My brother, what part of you hurts you? My ribs hurt me.

She gave birth to Ninti out of it.

The word in Sumerian for rib ti is represented in the name of the goddess Nin-ti, in the context of the current myth translatable as “the lady of rib.” Ti, however, can also mean life in Sumerian, and therefore it is possible to translate “the lady of life.” The name of Ninti is already present in the earliest god-lists.⁴⁵⁰ It is impossible to say if the connection with ribs might be her original character or not. The matter is made more complicated at the end of the myth (line 276) where it is stated, that Ninti will become “lady of the month(s):” ^dni[n-ti ni]n iti-

⁴⁴⁹ This might indicate that Uttu demands Enki to become her husband officially which would explain the nature of the gifts demanded as the bridal gifts. It is also proposed that Uttu and Ninsikil might be identical female gods. Cf. H. Vanstiphout, NABU 1990/2, p. 40ff. for different theories about the nature of Uttu and the other goddesses in the story.

⁴⁵⁰ M. Krebernik, ZA 76 (1986): ^dnin-ti SF 1 p. 169: II 19 and SF 5–6, 51; A. Alberti, SEL 2 (1985), p. 13: 301.

e hé-a: Here the name is associated with the Sumerian i-ti meaning “month” or “moon.” Possibly a word play takes place here. One Sumerian hymn to the beer-goddess Ninkasi uses the name form Ninti to designate Enki’s wife Damgalnunna.

Ninkasi A, 10–11:

a-a-zu ^den-ki en ^dnu-dím-mud-e

ama-zu ^dnin-ti nin abzu-a

Your father is Enki, the lord Nudimmud

Your mother is Ninti, the lady of Abzu

The divergent possibilities of translating Ninti’s name as either “the lady of rib” or “the lady of life” have risen some speculation that the name should be connected to Eve because she was created from the rib of the first man and is described as “the mother of all the living.” Also Eve’s name can be derived from the root *hyy.⁴⁵¹ Ninti is seldom mentioned in Sumerian mythological texts and it seems probable that she was not considered to be a significant mother-goddess figure at least in the beginning of the 2nd millennium. However, it is hard to imagine that a story where a female divine figure is born out of a rib and in addition is associable with the word “to live” has developed independently in Mesopotamia and Israel. The obvious parallel between the biblical paradise story (including gardens, probably sins of sexual nature, fruits offered for eating, etc) and the Enki and Ninhursag narrative seems to point to literary or at least folkloristic connections between the two stories. Old-Babylonian An = ^da-nu-um god-lists seem to adopt the idea that Ninti is one of the names of Enki’s consort Damgalnunna and she is listed in the section of her names II 179: ^dnin-ti. Interestingly, in the preceding sections listing the names of Enki, stands the name (II 165) ^den-ti.⁴⁵² Whether this can be called “an alternative name” of Enki⁴⁵³ is not certain. However, the nature of the goddess Ninti as yet another possible spouse of Enki is detectable.

Although the creation date of the myth Enki and Ninhursag might be a late one, it certainly reflects the most ancient known ideas of creation from the Early Dynastic sources – that is creation by sexual intercourse resulting in birth of the new beings. The view of P. Steinkeller⁴⁵⁴ that Enki was seen as the male reproductive element and general husband of all the archaic mother-goddesses seems to be correct – almost all the known mother-goddesses were indeed pictured as sexual partners of Enki.

⁴⁵¹ N. Wyatt, DDD (1999), pp. 599–600; H.-P. Müller, AOAT 281 (2002), pp. 501–510.

⁴⁵² R. Litke, God-Lists, pp. 87–88. Cf. A. Cavigneaux – M. Krebernik, RIA 9 (2001), p. 505. Cf. 2.1. of the current study for the name ^den-TE in Ebla lexical lists. Cf. “Silbenvokabular A” (E. Sollberger, Fs. Landsberger (1965), p. 22, i 2–3).

⁴⁵³ As by J. López – J. Sanmartín, Mitología y Religión del Oriente Antiguo I (1993).

⁴⁵⁴ P. Steinkeller, Priests and Officials (1999), pp. 113–114; cf. chapter 9 of the current study.

8.6. Enki as the Originator of Human Mortality

One of the most important functions of Enki in Sumerian mythology is undoubtedly the creation of mankind. In the earlier myths the entire creation of new beings takes place by means of copulation with the mother-goddess; the later narratives add the motive of crafting the man by using clay. However, the creation and birth of man symbolically called as “the cutting of the umbilical cord” means also the death for mankind.

The Sumerian flood mythology seems to designate that it was thought that humanity was immortal after its initial creation. The uncontrolled multiplying of human beings was not acceptable for the gods and finally the flood was chosen as a suitable method for wiping out the totality of mankind. In the minds of ancient priests and mythographers, the topic of death and the instituting of death by the gods might have been seen as a solution to the problem of overpopulation.⁴⁵⁵ As wars between the Early Dynastic Lagaš and Umma were fought for the sake of agricultural areas, overpopulation might not have been only a mythological problem but rather a situation of the reality of the times.

Mythologically, death was not something inevitable since it had not been present in the early days of civilisation. However, after the Flood, the gods had chosen to take an oath that the only human being who can achieve eternal life will be the Flood Hero Ziusudra. For the king Gilgameš, the eternal life on earth is already forbidden. Although the gods An and Enlil seem to be in favour of granting an eternal life to Gilgameš because of his great and kingly achievements, Enki is the god who determines that Gilgameš must go to the underworld to dwell among the dead. Even the fact that his mother was a deity cannot save him because he still is part human. In the story of the Death of Gilgameš, there is a long speech of Enki clarifying the human fate and human death.

Death of Gilgameš, v N₁ / N₂ 17–25:

nì gig ak nam-lú-ùlu-ke₄ ne-en de₆-a ma-ra-du₁₁

nì gi-dur ku-da-zu-ke₄ ne-en de₆-a ma-ra-du₁₁

u₄ ku₁₀-ku₁₀ nam-lú-ùlu-kam sá mi-ri-ib-du₁₁

ki dili nam-lú-ùlu-kam sá mi-ri-ib-du₁₁

a-ĝi₆ gaba nu-ru-gú sá mi-ri-ib-du₁₁

ʾmè⁷ ka-re nu-me-a sá mi-ri-ib-du₁₁

šen-šen nu-sá-a sá mi-ri-ib-du₁₁

ĝeš-ĝeš-lá šu kar-kar-re nu-me-a sá mi-ri-ib-du₁₁

ʾUNU⁷¹-gal šà zú kēšda-zu nam-ba-an-...]

You were told that this is what the evil of belonging to mankind brings?

You were told that this is what the cutting of your umbilical cord brings?

The day which is the darkest for mankind has arrived for you

The place which is the loneliest for mankind has arrived for you

The flood impossible to oppose has arrived for you

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. A. D. Kilmer, OrNs 41 (1972), pp. 160–177.

The battle impossible to flee has arrived for you
The unequal combat has arrived for you
The fight from where there is no escape has arrived for you
(But still) you should not go to the underworld (Great City) with an angry heart

As can be seen from above, the creation narrative in Sumerian mythology was actually connected to the stories of Flood. While Enki and Ninmah explained how man was born, the Flood stories explain the reasons why he must die. It is difficult to suggest which motives were present in the earlier periods and which were later developments. When to compare the motive of “the cutting of the umbilical cord” with the narratives describing the creation of the present world which emerged from the so-called embryonic state, the creation of man and the creation or emergence of the present world in Sumerian mythology is at least “subconsciously” related.

8.7. Conclusions

In the beginning of the chapter, it was concluded that the name of Ea is a Semitic name derived from ḥyy “to live” (meaning “the living one”) referring to the watery nature of that god. No certain translation was given to the god-name Enki but some options were considered possible.

Different texts where the emergence or creation of the world was described did not seem to always be systematically ordered or developed. It was concluded that the primeval water motive as known from the theology of Enuma eliš does not appear familiar in Sumerian mythology. The nature of Sumerian Abzu remained difficult to interpret. It was argued that the Sumerian Abzu did not have to be a place filled with water but could also have represented some sort of an underworld region related to the realm of the dead.

Enki was portrayed as the male reproductive element and general husband of all the different mother-goddesses. Two motives of creating man can be outlined based on the Sumerian myths. The copulation motive is similar to the creation process of the world made possible by the sexual intercourse of An and Ki. First examples of this motive are present already in the Early Dynastic mythology. The crafting method which describes the gods acting as divine potters seems to be a later development. This motive makes possible associations with West Semitic mythology and is also reflected in the creation narratives of the book of Genesis.

Creation mythology is closely connected with topics associated with the mythology of death. Although Enki saves humanity from destruction in the flood stories, he is also the deity who keeps the promise given to the assembly of the gods that no man shall live for ever.

9. ENKI AND THE ARCHAIC SUMERIAN RELIGION: THE QUESTION OF RIVALRY BETWEEN THE THEOLOGIES OF ENKI AND ENLIL

One of the most intriguing questions in the history of Mesopotamian religion is the question of the composition of the archaic pantheon – meaning the religious tendencies in the 4th millennium and the first part of the 3rd millennium impossible to analyse based on written records. No archaeological evidence or images from Mesopotamian art can explain the hypothetical reality of that period. The Warka Vase, for example, makes it clear that the universe was seen as an agricultural pyramid: water was moistening the earth and plants and grain were grown as a result. Animals consumed the vegetation and consequently gave their meat for humankind. The humans and the ruler in turn gave offerings of food to the gods who were standing on the highest level of the hierarchical system of nature. The highest power pictured seems to be a goddess, in Uruk context, probably the goddess Inanna.⁴⁵⁶ This kind of picture of the universe is however attributable to a wide range of archaic religions and societies and it is not exclusive to the Ancient Near Eastern area of influence. The mother-goddess figure as the dominant element in early societies was defined already by James Frazer in his anthropological study *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, published in 1890. The concept of the mother-goddess as the chief deity in most of the archaic religions in a wide range of Eurasian cultures was especially developed by Marija Gimbutas in several of her books such as *The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe* (1974), *The Language of the Goddess* (1989), *The Civilization of the Goddess* (1991).⁴⁵⁷ Although Gimbutas' theories can be called "feminist" because she tried to make a sharp distinction between the peaceful and pacifist female goddesses and the patriarchal and aggressive later male divine concepts, the overall picture seems convincing. Several archaic societies and religions have the mother-earth cult as one of their central forces behind religion. It seems highly probable that in ancient Sumerian (or pre-Sumerian) societies the situation must have been similar – the Mother Earth was seen as a dominant figure. When the society became more complex, collective communal building projects were undertaken, and it is possible that conflicts between different tribal groups started to become more frequent; the emergence of the male element in religion seems to be a natural development. In a much more complex and dangerous world, the physical male force must

⁴⁵⁶ Cf. E. A. Braun-Holzinger, *Das Herrscherbild in Mesopotamien und Elam* (2007), p. 8.

⁴⁵⁷ P. J. Ucko in his study *Anthropomorphic Figurines of Predynastic Egypt and Neolithic Crete with Comparative Material from the Prehistoric Near East and Mainland Greece* (1968), tried to claim that the Neolithic mother-goddess figurines analysed by Gimbutas might have been amulets or simply toys for children. However, even if several of the figurines or statues usually defined as the mother-goddess might have been something else, it would not overrule the concept of fertility attributed to the female deities in Neolithic societies.

have emerged as the pre-eminent element in religion – meaning that the mother-goddess or the Mother Earth received herself a husband. As the society became more complex and male-oriented, this husband also started to take over the functions of the mother-goddess as the centre-piece of religious thinking and cult. However, as stated by P. Michalowski, “The topic of ancient goddesses, or as some would have it, of ‘The Goddesses,’ in early human societies is a dangerous one” because it “can often lead to unwarranted controversy or even derision.”⁴⁵⁸ Due to a lack of written sources, the only certain conclusion is that the female fertility-goddess certainly was honoured in farther areas of the Near East, and that the goddess was seen as a symbol of earth as a fertile entity. The question whether the male divine figures were paired with that hypothetical goddess already in the earliest periods of the cult, or did they emerge as a secondary development in religion, remains unanswerable.

Enki’s close relation to the mother-goddess bearing her different names is undoubtedly strong, starting from the first written sources. The listing of Enki’s name after or before the mother-goddess in the listings of deities from the Early Dynastic period onwards indicates that Enki was paired with that goddess. It might even be stated that before the inscriptions of Ibbi-Su’en of Ur, he seems to be a complementary male element of the mother Ninhursag or Ninmah.

It is certain that the god Enki was a major figure in the overall pantheon of Sumer already in the beginning of the 3rd millennium. The evidence from his Eridu temple, already from ca. 5000 BC, does not give any conclusive hints about the possible original nature of that god. If the theories supporting the mother-goddess as the main religious symbol of Neolithic religion are to be believed, the original Eridu deity might have well been a mother-goddess. This is of course only a speculative claim and impossible to prove or overrule. The fact that Eridu was situated in a lagoon-based territory or a marshland⁴⁵⁹ might explain why this god was in later mythology associated with marshes, reedbeds, canals and rivers. From the layer VIII of the ancient Eridu temple, different clay coils, possibly representations of snakes, were found. Snakes are always associable with chthonic cults or underworld cults⁴⁶⁰ in different archaic religions of the world. Since snakes usually reside in earth holes hidden from the human eye, the association of snakes and underworld regions should be logical for the ancient mind. Therefore it is reasonable to suggest that the snake-like figurines were brought to the temple in the hope that they could carry a prayer to the underworld region of the god of Eridu, a region later known under the name Abzu. Sending a prayer to the underworld god through a snake would be similar to the releasing of carp-fish towards Abzu in Eanatum 1, xix 17: suhur^{ku6} abzu-šè gub-gub-ba. Also burnt fish-offerings were found from the layer VI of the temple. Fish and goat-fish were later well-known symbols of

⁴⁵⁸ P. Michalowski, RAI 47 (2002), p. 413.

⁴⁵⁹ F. Safar – M. A. Mustafa – S. Lloyd, Eridu (1981), p. 33.

⁴⁶⁰ Cf. P. Charvát, Mesopotamia before History (1993), p. 47; Ancient Mesopotamia. Humankind’s Long Journey into Civilization (1993), p. 69.

Enki emerging already during the Sargonic period. However, fish offerings were common practice in the other cultic sites of archaic Mesopotamia, such as Uruk and Lagaš,⁴⁶¹ and therefore the equation with Enki's later fish-symbol is doubtful.⁴⁶² Fish was part of the regular menu of ancient Mesopotamians. Similarly to the human world, fish constituted an important part of the divine menu of all the other gods.⁴⁶³

This is almost all there is to say about the ancient nature of the god Enki or, more accurately, about the unidentified divine figure at the site of Eridu. The archaeological evidence reveals nothing about the actual religious beliefs and folklore of the pre-literate society of Southern Mesopotamia, and therefore every conclusion made on the basis of the available evidence is only a speculative guess.⁴⁶⁴

The primeval sacred importance of Eridu remains an open question. Similarly to the other ancient Near Eastern cities, the site must have been an archaic cultic meeting place for ancient tribes from a wider area of southern parts of Mesopotamia which later developed into a larger complex of buildings and finally into a city. Eridu had probably never had any political or military significance during the 3rd millennium Mesopotamia. However, due to its original sacred nature, it remained one of the central points of worship during the whole history of the Ancient Near East. This importance given to Eridu and Abzu in later mythology certainly indicates that the ancient god of Eridu was not a mere local fertility god. On the other hand, the underlining of Eridu's special divine status in early Mesopotamian mythology often seems exaggerated. As demonstrated by the available Early Dynastic mythological compositions, such as the Zame Hymns, the temple at Eridu was never "the Temple" or the most

⁴⁶¹ E. D. van Buren, *Iraq 14* (1952), pp. 76–77; *Iraq 10* (1948), p. 101ff.

⁴⁶² J. Oates, *Iraq 22* (1960), p. 50 relates the fish offerings to the general culture of the marsh-dwellers of Southern Mesopotamia: "It is tempting to see some confirmation of the role which may have been played by the marsh-dwelling communities in the formation of al 'Ubaid-Sumerian culture, in the traditional temple offerings at Eridu and Lagash. The finds at Eridu, and at a considerably later period at Lagash, show that in these places the people dedicated to Enki his portion of their goods, not in the form of grain or meat, the basic form of wealth among farming communities, but in fish, the product of river, lagoon and marsh – a tradition which is hardly likely to have been derived from a population principally dependent on the success of their fields and flocks." J. Reade, *CM 7* (1997), p. 222ff. tries to reconstruct the origins of Sumerian culture from the so-called fish-eaters inhabiting the Gulf area.

⁴⁶³ F. Safar – M. A. Mustafa – S. Lloyd, *Eridu* (1981), p. 45.

⁴⁶⁴ The same might be said about the textual material about offerings made to gods in historical periods. The offering lists usually only indicate that a certain deity had a cult in a specific location; information may be revealed about the cultic calendar or social practices of the people making the offerings. The object offered rarely reveals anything about the nature of that god. As summarised by H. Limet, *Fs. Sjöberg* (1989), p. 357: "On dispose d'innombrables archives, à Puzriš-Dagan par exemple, qui on enregistré des 'sorties d'animaux' destinés à être offerts aux dieux, mais qui ne fournissent aucune indication, ni sur le caractère des dieux mentionnés, ni sur le sens donné au sacrifice."

sacred locality in Mesopotamia. Enlil's Nippur was always considered in a much higher position, and only during the period of Šulgi is the special status of Eridu underlined. In other periods, Eridu is often the second most important city after Nippur and in several royal titles of Sumero-Akkadian rulers the city has a comparable rank with Ur or Uruk.

One of the most convincing statements about the original nature of the early Sumerian pantheon and the role of Enki is given by P. Steinkeller who relies on imaginative speculation rather than any provable facts. With no written text available and archaeological evidence insufficient to give any clues, it however seems better to speculate than to say nothing. When comparing different speculative scenarios based on the comparative material from the history of religions of other regions, it becomes possible to evaluate or decide which one of the speculations might be closer to the real situation, or at least possible in reality. Steinkeller assumes that all the archaic Sumerian cities had a female patron deity as its main fertility goddess. Enki, in turn, was seen as a male reproductive element and the general husband of them all:

It appears quite certain that the earliest Sumerian pantheon was dominated by female deities. As I would reconstruct the situation existing during the Uruk period, most of the city-states (or proto-city-states) had goddesses as their titular divine owners. Those goddesses controlled broadly all aspects of human and animal life, namely fertility, procreation, healing, and death. Included among them were the birth goddesses Ninhursag, Nintu, and Gatumdug; the grain goddesses Nisaba and Ninsud; the cattle goddess Ninsun; the fish and water-fowl goddess Nanshe; the goddess of sex drive Inanna; the healer Gula; and the death specialist Ereshkigal.

And then there was one dominant male figure. That was Enki, a personification of male reproductive power, the god of fresh water and creative intelligence. Enki undoubtedly was the original head of the pantheon. As I would suggest, Enki was paired with most of the chief goddesses, complementing them as a male element, and thus functioning as a sort of universal husband.

This picture was completed by three astral deities, all of them male: the sky god An, the moon god Nanna, and the sun god Utu.

In the course of time, the importance of male deities increased, though never superseding that of goddesses. Importantly, a new generation of gods arose, chief among them being Ninurta, Ningirsu, Shara, and Ashgi. These were usually war gods and sons of the chief goddesses.⁴⁶⁵

Steinkeller concludes that this kind of masculinisation of the pantheon was probably a mixture of internal developments reflecting changes in the organisation of the Sumerian society. On the other hand he believes that the contact with the Semitic Akkadians and their pantheon must have played a certain role because "the Akkadian one was controlled by male deities, with goddesses generally lacking any individual characteristics and functioning merely as

⁴⁶⁵ P. Steinkeller, *Priests and Officials* (1999), pp. 113–114.

reflections of their divine husbands.”⁴⁶⁶ When analysing the royal inscriptions of the Sargonic period, at least Aštar, alongside Šamaš and the other deities, seems to be among the most important ones for the Akkadians. It seems impossible to claim that for the first Semites in Mesopotamia the female deities had no important and clearly defined role to play. In later Semitic mythology, the lack of female deities as important figures in mythology is clearly visible, and, for example, in the myth of Enuma eliš, contrary to the earlier story of Atrahasis, the mother-goddess has been excluded from the process of creating mankind.

Since the god Enki seems to fit better in the context of early Sumerian mythology as the chief god of the Sumerian pantheon, the question of the origins of Enlil arises. Beginning with the first available longer written texts, especially the royal inscriptions of the Early Dynastic state of Lagaš, it is clear that at least where the royal ideology is concerned, the god Enlil is always in the predominant position. Enki is certainly an important divine figure alongside An, Enlil and the mother-goddess, but there is no basis for calling him the chief god of Sumer and Akkad, or the head of the pantheon. However, when analysing the local pantheons of different city states, it is also visible that Enlil does not have an established role in them. This controversy is sometimes solved by claiming that Enlil must have been a Semitic newcomer to the Sumerian pantheon. Also Steinkeller proposes that “Enlil was a secondary development in the Sumerian pantheon.”⁴⁶⁷

P. Michalowski seems to be in favour of the idea that Enlil must have been a Semitic god in the Sumerian pantheon. According to him, due to a later development or a loan into the Sumerian religion, Enlil took away Enki’s original place as the supreme divine power:

It was not Enki who had a non-Sumerian name but father Enlil. The major clue comes from the Ebla texts. In three imported Semitic language texts from this city we find a deity whose name was written syllabically as *i-li-lu*. Since this character is called the “father of the gods”, there can be no doubt that we are in the presence of the Mesopotamian Enlil. I think that I am not alone in thinking that Illilu must have originated as a reduplication of the Semitic word for deity *’il*, and that the writing Enlil represents a Sumerianization, through dissimilation, resulting in something that looks Sumerian – with the initial element en – but which was in reality a loan from another language.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 114.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁸ P. Michalowski, RAI 43 (1998), pp. 241–242. Michalowski continues his argument that Enlil must be a foreign god by saying: “This is hardly surprising, since the earliest recoverable stages of Sumerian already show extensive Semitic lexical loans. The foreign origin of Enlil, and the subsequent invention of a Ninlil to sit by his side, may help to explain certain orthographic peculiarities of early Sumerian, such as the writing of Ninlil’s name with KID rather than with LİL. The usurpation of Enki’s place by the new god may also be the source of the use of the NUN sign (in case of Enlil), a symbol widely associated with the older god, in the UD.GAL.NUN (=dingir.en.lil) writing of

The theory of Enlil being an ancient Semitic high god seems to be mostly resulting from the speculative analysis of early Ebla texts, especially the bilingual lexical list from Ebla, mentioning both Enlil and Enki.⁴⁶⁹ Enki is most probably translated as “the living one” and Enlil’s name might be translatable as “the god of the gods.” However, there seems to be no justification for associating the Sumerian name of Enlil etymologically with the Semitic name of the god *il* / *El*. In later Semitic mythology, there is also no god available whom it would be possible to directly equate with the Sumerian Enlil. Only the god Dagan would be a comparable divine concept, but there is no basis for concluding that Enlil, for example, was originally one form of the Semitic god Dagan. Also, the god *El* has much more similar characteristics with the god Enki than with Enlil. The name of Enlil can be possibly explained as based on the Sumerian language⁴⁷⁰ and therefore the association of *il-ilu* with the name of Enlil is impossible to prove by any objective means. The lexical list of Ebla might simply aim to give a suitable translation (or pronunciation) for the Sumerian name Enlil, and the translation “the god of the gods” designates the dominant political power in Mesopotamia.

One of the visible aspects in Sumerian mythology is the difference in nature of the gods Enki and Enlil. Enki is usually the friendly god; helper, saviour and cultural hero for the humankind. Enlil, in turn, represents the destructive force behind the flood and the wish to annihilate the totality of human race. This obvious difference in nature of the gods has led to some theories trying to look for a certain rivalry between two different principal schools of Mesopotamian mythology – Eridu and Nippur. The existence of two schools and rivalry between Enki and Enlil is again explained as resulting from the fact that one god was a newcomer to the Sumerian pantheon and the other one an ancient legitimate head of the Sumerian pantheon. Among his early opinions, S. N. Kramer found that the name Enki was an epithet given by the Sumerian theologians to the Semitic god Ea:

Like Inanna, the name Enki, too, is an epithet, which may have been substituted by the Sumerian theologians for a Semitic deity – in this case, the god Ea. As

Enlil’s name, and in the early writing convention for the name of his city Nippur, which may be found, spelled EN.NUN in the city seal from Jemdet Nasr.” Cf. P. Steinkeller, Gs. Jacobsen (2002), p. 255, note 29 who sees no justification interpreting EN.NUN for Nippur. P. Steinkeller, *Priests and Officials* (1999), p. 114 supports the view that Enlil was a newcomer by using several arguments: “(1) the earliest attested spelling of the name, preserved in Ebla sources is I-li-lu, suggesting a possible etymology **il-ilī*, “god of (all) the gods”; (2) Enlil was a typical universal god, lacking any clear individual traits and without any specific domain, and therefore being very much Dagan (with whom he was identified at Mari probably already in ED times), *El*, and *Ashshur*; (3) his wife ^dNIN.LÍL was but a female reflection of Enlil; the only certain pronunciation of her name is *Mulliltu* (in Third mil. sources perhaps **Illiltu*.”

⁴⁶⁹ MEE 4, 47–48: 802–806.

⁴⁷⁰ D. O. Edzard, *Fs. Fronzaroli* (2003), p. 184.

pointed out in an earlier study it seems rather strange that the epithet *en-ki* “Lord of the Earth” should be given to a deity who is primarily the god in charge of waters rather than of the earth. The title “Lord of the Earth” seems to point to an effort on the part of the Sumerian theologians to make him a rival of Enlil who “had carried off the earth” after heaven had been separated from it, and would therefore presumably be the real “Lord of the Earth.” This rivalry between Enki and Enlil seems to be further corroborated by the “Golden Age” passage⁴⁷¹ which, it may be, tells of Enki’s putting an end to Enlil’s universal sway over the world and its inhabitants. In the myth “Enki and the World Order,” mentioned earlier, we find Enki boasting time and again of his powers and prerogatives although admittedly he is second to Enlil, a “little Enlil;” not unlike Inanna, he too seems rather unsure of his position. All of which may point to the conclusion that Enki was not a “native” to the Sumerian pantheon, but rather a “foreign” deity whose supporters were gradually gaining the upper hand, but who never felt quite sure of their ground.⁴⁷²

One of Kramer’s main arguments seems to come from “The Spell of Nudimud” passage of the epic Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, with its later parallel in the book of Genesis 11.⁴⁷³ Kramer concludes that Enki, in his pursuit of power and supremacy, mixes the tongues of mankind so that they are unable to give praise to the god Enlil in one tongue. This solution might seem likely at first glance and solve many interpretational problems concerning the text. However, when examining the actual narrative, Kramer’s opinion is impossible to agree with.

According to the passage, it seems that the king Enmerkar has received advice from Inanna to send a messenger to meet the hostile Lord of Aratta. The messenger should present Enmerkar’s demands for tribute or surrender to the ruler of Aratta. The situation seems very similar to the Sumerian epic tale about Gilgameš and the ruler of Kiš Akka whose messengers (Gilgameš and Akka, 1: *lú-kíĝ-gi₄-a*) demand reparations or surrender from the city of Uruk, governed by the king Gilgameš. In the epic of Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, the

⁴⁷¹ Cf. Kramer’s opinions about the so-called “Golden Age” passage in JAOS 63 (1943), pp. 191–194; JAOS 88 (1968), pp. 108–111.

⁴⁷² Genava NS 8 (1960), pp. 276–277.

⁴⁷³ E. Frahm, *Orient* 45 (2010), p. 16 compares the passage of Genesis 11, 1–9 with the *Enuma eliš*’ close passage vi 59–73. The obvious symbolism of temple building and mixing/uniting the languages in the story of Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta is not considered. Frahm concludes that “The name of Babylon, explained in *Enuma eliš* as *bāb ilī* ‘gate of the gods,’ is re-interpreted in the Biblical story, by deriving it from the Hebrew verb *bālal* ‘to mix,’ as a reference to the linguistic muddle that makes communication between people from different lands difficult. The Babylonian myth and its agenda of legitimizing political and religious unity under the banner of Marduk are thus thoroughly deconstructed.” In light of the material of the Sumerian epic, the confrontation or use of the *Enuma eliš* story in the new material of Genesis does not even seem necessary (although in minor details the influence of *Enuma eliš* cannot be denied completely).

messenger (114: *kíḡ-gi₄-a*) should frighten the hostile or non-obeying city of Aratta. If the tribute is not paid, the city is going to be destroyed by Enmerkar whose legitimate demands are supported by all the major Sumerian gods. Enmerkar's threats to the city of Aratta include a curse from the god Enki.

Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, 119–120:

aratta^{ki} á-dam^d en-ki-ke₄ nam ba-an-ku₅
k[i b]i-in-gul-la-gen₇ ki nam-ga-bí-ib-gul-en

Let the city of Aratta be like a settlement meant to be doomed
 (and) destroyed by Enki – I as well shall destroy!

The epic titles Enki to be the “Junior Enlil of Sumer” (*^den-líl-bàn-da ki-en-gi-ra-ke₄*), which is one of the arguments of Kramer that there must have been a rivalry between the two gods. However, it seems that the text describes a building project of Enmerkar, who intends to construct a new temple titled “the mountain of pure me-s.” It must be considered possible that he demands tribute or work force from the city of Aratta to build that temple.⁴⁷⁴

Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, 128–134:

ḡe₂₆-e-šè-àm^d en-líl-bàn-da ki-en-gi-ra-ke₄
en^d nu-dím-mud šà kù-ge pà-da
kur me sikil-la-ke₄ ḡa-ma-dù-e
ḡe^staškarin-gen₇ ḡi-li ḡa-ma-ab-ak-e
^dutu agrun-ta è-a-gen₇ si-múš ḡa-ma-ab-gùn-gùn
zà-du₈-zà-du₈-bi urin ḡa-ma-mul-e
agrun-agrun-ba šir kù nam-šub du₁₂-a-ba

I am the one whom the junior Enlil of Sumer,
 Lord Nudimmud in his sacred heart has chosen.
 A mountain of pure me-s let them build for me!
 Like a boxwood tree luxuriant let it be for me!
 Like Utu rising from his chamber let its brilliance be shining for me!
 Let its door-posts in its guard radiate for me!
 In its chambers holy songs and incantations are performed!

After these lines begins the incantation (*nam-šub*) of Nudimmud. It seems likely that the messenger should recite this incantation or message⁴⁷⁵ to the Lord of Aratta.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷⁴ Cf. C. Mittermayer, *Enmerkara und der Herr von Aratta* (2009), pp. 76–77.

⁴⁷⁵ As W. G. Lambert, *RAI* 51 (2008), p. 95 states, “we are not told that the Messenger did in fact recite the spell to the Lord of Aratta, and its purpose is very obscure.”

⁴⁷⁶ For the structural analysis of the passage and for different interpretations, cf. C. Mittermayer, *Enmerkara und der Herr von Aratta* (2009), p. 57ff. and 122–123; H. Vanstiphout, *RA* 88 (1994), p. 135ff. and H. Vanstiphout, *Epics of Sumerian Kings. The Matter of Aratta* (2003), pp. 64–65.

Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, 135–155:

nam-šub^d nu-dím-mud-da-kam e-ne-ra du₁₁-mu-na-ab

u₄-ba muš nu-ğál-àm ġíri nu-ğál-àm

kir₄ nu-ğál-àm ur-maḥ nu-ğál-àm

ur-gir₁₅ ur-bar-ra nu-ğál-àm

ní tēğ-ğá su zi-zi-i nu-ğál-àm

lú-ùlu^{lu} gaba šu ġar nu-tuku

u₄-ba kur šubur^{ki} ḥa-ma-zi^{ki}

eme ḥa-mun ki-en-gi kur gal me nam-nun-na-ka

ki uri kur me-te ġál-la

kur mar-tu ú-šal-la nú-a

an ki nígin-na uḡ saḡ si-ga

^den-líl-ra eme l-àm ḥé-en-na-da-ab-du₁₁

u₄-ba a-da en a-da nun a-da lugal-la

^den-ki a-da en a-da nun a-da lugal-la

a-da en-e a-da nun-e a-da lugal-la

^den-ki en ḥé-ğál-la en du₁₁-ga zi-d[a]

en ġéštu-ga igi-ğál kalam-ma-ke₄

maš-su diğir-re-e-ne-ke₄

ğéštu-ge pà-da en eridu^{ki}-ga-ke₄

ka-ba eme ì-kúr en-na mi-ni-in-ğar-ra

eme nam-lú-ùlu l ì-me-^ràm¹

The incantation of Nudimmud recite to him!

When there was no snake and there was no scorpion;

was no hyena and lion was not;

no dog and no wolf were there;

no terror approaching, no fear being there;

(so) mankind had no rival.

At that time, the lands of Šubur and Hamazi

in harmonious language; and Sumer, the great mountain of magnificent me-s;

Akkad, mountain that is fitting;

the land of Martu, peacefully were lying down.

Sky and earth in its totality (the whole world), the well-protected people;

to Enlil in one language they all may speak!

At that time (or: then),⁴⁷⁷ (for) the contesting lords, the contesting princes, the contesting kings

Enki (for) the contesting lords, the contesting princes, the contesting kings

(for) the contesting lords, the contesting princes, the contesting kings –

Enki, the lord of abundance, the lord of just decisions,

the lord of knowledge and wisdom of the land,

the leader of the gods,

chosen in wisdom, the lord of Eridu:

⁴⁷⁷ u₄-ba: “then“ or “at that time“ in this context probably means the present situation – meaning the conflict between Aratta and Uruk.

In their mouths the tongues were different all that he had put there
The tongues of mankind one became⁴⁷⁸

That the messenger sent by Enmerkar to the Lord of Aratta demands the submission of Aratta becomes clearer in the later parts of the epic where the lord of Aratta explains that he will not submit to the rule of Uruk because he himself is a powerful ruler. The *nam-šub* of Enki begins with the explanation that in its original state of affairs (= ideal situation) the languages of mankind were one. The man had no rival and all the people gave praise to Enlil in unity. However, reference is given to the contesting rulers and contesting kings, who have corrupted the original and ideal unity and the harmonious state of affairs. There are two ways of interpreting the actions of Enki, described in the last phrases of the *nam-šub*. Enki either changes the tongues of the rulers so that they cannot give praise to Enlil in one language (for example for confusing the opponent in the upcoming battle between the two cities); or Enki wishes to turn different languages into one so that all the rulers of the known world would be united in their praise to Enlil. The text of the epic has no indication of the possibility that Enki is somehow against the will of Enlil. The title “Junior Enlil of Sumer” seems to refer that Enki actually acts on behalf of Enlil – he is the ally of all the other gods of Sumer and Akkad and therefore supports the claim of the ruler of Uruk to supremacy. Or as B. Alster summarises: “The point is the opposite of the generally held opinion: Enki unified all mankind by making them address Enlil in one language, that is, in Sumerian. This is likely to reflect the aspirations of Šulgi’s empire, and does not represent a ‘Babel of tongues’.”⁴⁷⁹ As Alster explained in one of his earlier papers, the spell of Nudimud speaks about imaginary ideal state of affairs “when thanks to the wisdom of Enki, the god who organized the Sumerian civilisation, all countries will acknowledge the Sumerian god Enlil as their overlord” and therefore must accept Sumerian language and Sumerian civilisation as supreme.⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁸ Possibly it means that the conflict has developed because different rulers all use different languages, and therefore it is understandable that they do not want to give praise to Enlil (i.e. Uruk) in an unanimous voice or by using the same language. The text also informs about the fact that Enki was responsible for assigning different languages for different peoples of the Ancient Near East (cf. the myth Enki and the World Order, reflecting Enki’s role as the organiser of human civilisation). In order to submit all the peoples to the rule of Uruk (or Sumer), Enki is to demand that now they all should speak in an unanimous voice or a single language. The meaning of the incantation would therefore be similar to the incantations meant to heal a certain illness. The incantation helps to overcome the illness of different opinions and different languages.

⁴⁷⁹ B. Alster, CM 35 (2006), p. 31.

⁴⁸⁰ B. Alster, RA 67 (1973), pp. 104–105. H. Vanstiphout, RA 88 (1994), p. 151: “On the whole, and in a general sense, I think we must agree with Alster’s solution. The text means that mankind shall speak in one tongue, which is Sumerian, and that the Lord of Aratta has to submit to this.” Cf. W. G. Lambert, RAI 42 (1999), pp. 221–222, who

Also Th. Jacobsen sees no trace of a power-struggle between Enki and Enlil in the Nudimmud's Spell and concludes that the only time in Sumerian mythology when Enki "acted to oppose Enlil, as in the story of the Flood and the similar Akkadian story of Atrahasis, it was to save mankind, his own creation."⁴⁸¹ W. W. Hallo interprets the matter in similar terms but slightly differently: "From the perspective of religious history, the Flood originates as a chapter in the struggle between the deities Enki and Enlil or, if one prefers, between the rival theologies and priesthoods of the first city, Eridu, and the later center of amphictyony, Nippur. /.../ In its ultimate form, it becomes a simple, albeit dramatic, paradigm for divine caprice, for retribution unmotivated by any particular human delict."⁴⁸²

It is clear that in the Flood Stories, the god Enki is the saviour of mankind, contrary to the decision of the assembly of deities, who acted in agreement with Enlil. Enki acts as a trickster⁴⁸³ and manages to warn the Flood Hero, who is finally saved from annihilation because of Enki's warning.

does not agree with Alster: "This spell tells of early times of the human race and how Enki, as with the Tower of Babel in Genesis, changed the primeval single speech of mankind into a multiplicity of languages. The Sumerian text is such that it can be translated with the opposite result: that the original multiplicity of languages was changed by Enki into a single language, but in view of the well-known diversity of tongues in the world of Sumerians and Babylonians the first alternative (also the majority view) is probably correct." Lambert also suggests that in either case it asserts "that the ancients considered the gods responsible in the beginning for human languages." Although the gods might have been considered responsible for the birth of human languages, the Spell of Nudimmud is not about the birth of languages or a philosophical treatise on the nature of human speech. It is more about the specific message delivered to the Lord of Aratta – it is a demand or an order to speak "in the same language" (i.e. follow the rules) of the city of Uruk and the Sumerians.

⁴⁸¹ Fs. Talmon (1992), p. 415. He concludes that "the title *en*, traditionally translated 'lord,' never denotes 'owner' in Sumerian but rather 'productive manager;' as Enki's name refers to the role of water in fertilising the earth and making it produce, it implies no challenge to anybody."

⁴⁸² JAOS 110 (1990), p. 195.

⁴⁸³ M. E. Vogelzang in JEOL 31 (1989) tries to see Enki as a general advice-giver in ancient Near Eastern mythology whose advice always helps to overcome a crisis situation in the world order or divine order (p. 66): "Generally speaking the means he uses are threefold: 1. Advice which shows the way out of a crisis. 2. Advice which may be called a psychological trick. 3. Advice which is connected with creation activities. On the whole Ea is introduced in the mythological stories in two ways: either someone asks for his advice, or he himself offers a solution, in general at the deepest point of the crisis." The motive of leaking the divine secret to a wall or a curtain is present in all layers of Mesopotamian Flood mythology, and possibly the motive has influenced several Biblical passages, cf. M. Weinfeld, AfO 44–45 (1997–1998), pp. 222–223.

Sumerian Flood Story, A 2–5:

nam-lú-ùlu-ġu₁₀ ħa-lam-ma-bi-a ga-ba-^rni-ib¹-[...]

^dnin-tu-ra ni-dím-dím-ma-ġu₁₀ si-[si]-^rbi¹-[a] ga-ba-ni-ib-gi₄-g[i₄]

ùġ ki-ùr-bi-ta ga-ba-ni-ib-gur-ru-ne

uru^{ki} me-a-bi hé-em-mi-in-dù ġissu-bi ní ga-ba-ab-dúb-bu

My mankind from its destruction [I want to save/prevent?]

For Nintu (or: in the name of Nintu) I will prevent the destruction of the creatures created by me

People from their dwelling places I shall return⁴⁸⁴

Let them build many cities, so I can relax in their shade

Viewing Enki as the overall friend and saviour of humans seems appealing and even poetical. However, in the epic story titled the Death of Gilgameš, we see Enki acting against the will of the gods An and Enlil, who wish to save the life of Gilgameš from his awaiting death and possibly make him immortal, as was the case with Ziusudra. The motive from this epic is almost similarly used in the story of Adapa, preserved in its Akkadian form. The gods address Gilgameš possibly in a dream and list to him all his great deeds and conclude that he should not be treated as a common mortal and perhaps Gilgameš should be given eternal life (Death of Gilgameš: M₃ iii 156 / 66).⁴⁸⁵ It is possible that this kind of a wish of the gods is presented by Enki to the gods and Enlil who want to grant eternal life for Gilgameš.

Death of Gilgameš, M₃ iii 157–171 (67–81):

^ra-rá¹ ^den-líl ^den-ki-r[a im-ma-ab-ba-e-ne]

an ^den-líl ^den-ki i[m-ma-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄]

u₄-ri-ta u₄ s[u_x-da-ri-ta]

ġi₆-ri-ta ġi₆ s[u_x-da-ri-ta]

mu-ri-ta mu-su_x-[da-ri-ta]

pu-uĥ-rum a-ma-ru ba-nir-r[a-ta]

numun nam-lú-ùlu ħa-la-me-dè ^rx¹ [...]

murub₄-me-a zi saġ-dili-me-en nam-t[i-àm]

zi-ús dili mu nam-lú-ùlu nam-ti-àm

u₄-bi-ta zi an-na zi ki-a mu-un-pà-da-nam

u₄-bi-ta nam-lú-ùlu-úr nu-mu-un-ti-àm mu-ni-pà

e-ne-šè ^dGIŠ.BÍL-ga-mes igi-bi ba-ni-ib-tu

šu-nam-ama-a-ni nu-mu-un-da-kar_x(TE)-kar_x(TE)-ed-nam

[^dGI]Š.^rBÍL-ga¹-mes gidim-bi-ta ki-ta ugs-g[a[?]]

⁴⁸⁴ It seems possible to translate this sentence also as an expression of doubt: “To reject the people from their dwelling places?” / “Shall I turn away the people from their dwelling places?”

⁴⁸⁵ As stated by D. Katz, *The Image of the Nether World in the Sumerian Sources* (2003), p. 372: “Only against the background of Enlil’s intention to grant Gilgameš immortality, can we understand Enki’s reference to the oath after the deluge.”

[šagina kur-r]a ḫé-ak-a palil gidim-bi ḫé-n[am[?]]
 Advice/opinion of Enlil to Enki they gave
 (To) An and Enlil Enki answers:
 In those days, in those distant days
 In those nights, in those distant nights
 In those years, in those distant years
 The assembly (of the gods) made the Flood sweep over
 The seed of mankind so we could destroy
 In our midst you are the only one living having life
 Ziusudra alone, the name of humanity having life
 From that day in the name of the life of heaven (An) and the life of earth (Ki) I
 swore
 From that day on the mankind shall not have (eternal) life I swore
 Now to Gilgames they have set their eyes⁴⁸⁶
 Because of his (divine) mother it is (still) not possible to save him
 Gilgameš, among the spirits who are dead in the underworld (Ki)
 Let him be the governor of the underworld (Kur), foremost of its spirits let him be!

To summarise the question about the rivalry of theologies of Enki and Enlil in Sumerian Flood motives, it should be stated that there is no traceable “rivalry” between the theologies of two gods. The gods act to achieve different goals only in the mythological narrative. The final solution, however, is always unanimous and accepted by both Enki and Enlil. In that sense, the Flood stories are similar in nature to the debate poems. In the Flood stories, the question of debate is solved by Enki’s advice and action.

In the royal hymns and myths, it is stated that Enki is “the junior or small Enlil,” who has all the powers of his slightly more important brother Enlil. All the texts picture Enki and Enlil as major Sumerian gods, who are both responsible for the organising of human civilisation: Enlil as the granter of political power and Enki as the productive manager of earth, its fertility and responsible for human culture and civilisation. The apparent conflicting opinions of Enlil and Enki in the Flood Stories seem more to be literary and mythological motives of an ancient “action story” than any form of rivalry between two distinct theological schools. Enki is the friend of man in Sumerian mythology who saves the mankind from the disaster sent by Enlil. In the end, the gods agree in this matter and humanity is saved. Ziusudra, who had escaped the decision of the council of the gods and therefore had overruled the meaning of the notion of “divine order,” is given eternal life to overcome that controversy.

⁴⁸⁶Interpretation of N. Veldhuis, JCS 53 (2001), p. 142. A. Cavigneaux – F. N. H. Al-Rawi, *Gilgameš et la mort* (2000), p. 56 translate: “Voilà ce qui est montré à Gilgameš.” In the Opinion of Veldhuis, the gods intend to give eternal life to Gilgames, contrary to their previous decision; Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi claim that the sentence designates the end of the dream of Gilgameš.

Sumerian Flood Story, E 4–11:

zi-u₄-sud-rá lugal-àm

igi an ^den-líl-lá-šè giri₁₇ ki su-ub ba-^rgub¹

an ^den-líl zi-u₄-sud-rá mí-e-^rés⁷¹ [...-du₁₁[?]-...]

ti diġir-gen₇ mu-un-na-šúm-mu

zi da-rí diġir-gen₇ mu-un-ab-e₁₁-dè

u₄-ba zi-u₄-sud-rá lugal-àm

mu nì-gilim-ma numun nam-lú-ùlu ùru ak

kur-bal kur dilmun-na ki ^dutu è-šè mu-un-til-eš

Ziusudra, being a king

In front of An and Enlil touching the ground with his nose was standing

An and Enlil spoke favourably to him (?)

Life like that of a god they granted him

Eternal life like that of a god they brought to him

At that time, Ziusudra being a king;

(as being) the preserver of the name of (all) the animals and the seed of mankind

In an overseas country, in the country of Dilmun where Utu (the sun) rises, they settled him

The narrative is probably composed or developed in the minds of ancient priests and scribes to explain the state of human existence, to give answers why cannot men live for ever as the gods can, and possibly to explain that a man must die and end his earthly existence because otherwise the mankind is going to be too numerous. In this aspect, all the gods – An, Enlil and Enki are in agreement. The questions of eternal life, human death and the means of acquiring that eternal life remain the core mythological questions and motives throughout the Ancient Near Eastern literature. This same debate is reflected in the Death of Gilgameš, Flood narratives, Su'en-šamuh's Letter to Enki, the story of Atrahasis, the epic of Gilgameš, the myth of Adapa and finally in the Hebrew Bible and Greek New Testament.⁴⁸⁷ In the later Hebrew Bible, the god YHWH actually embodies both – the demonic qualities⁴⁸⁸ of Enlil and the “humanistic”

⁴⁸⁷ The texts dealing with death and eternal life in the Ancient Near Eastern context can be described as the predecessors or early forms of the so-called humanistic base texts. Cf. L. Mäll, *Studies in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā and other essays* (2005), p. 175ff. The text defined as “the humanistic base text” in a wide range of ancient societies by Mäll usually seeks answers to the questions “How to be?”, “Why to be?”, “What to do?”, “How to improve or change myself or, how to become different or new?” Although in the studies of Mäll several Indian and Chinese texts, as well as the three first gospels of the New Testament, are treated under the definition, it seems clear that similar questions were asked and also expressed in written form long before the larger texts, dedicated solely to the abovementioned existential questions, were consciously formed in the Ancient Near East.

⁴⁸⁸ Mesopotamian gods can be described as healers and the bringers of illness simultaneously. The one who can heal in one moment, can however be described as the

or benevolent characteristics of Enki. The question of eternal life is, however, shifted from the immanent nature⁴⁸⁹ of Mesopotamian divine world to the transcendent dominion of God living in an outer-worldly and geographically unreachable divine and spiritual domain.

In his Sumerian Mythology, S. N. Kramer justifies his theories about the rivalry of Enki and Enlil and concludes that the god Ea was an original god of Eridu. The local theologians tried to make their god supreme in the land and derived an epithet “Lord of the Earth” for the god Ea “which then became his Sumerian name.”⁴⁹⁰ In his 1970 paper “Enki and his Inferiority Complex” Kramer finds that the theologians of Eridu tried to move Enki up to the first position in the pantheon but only managed to make him the third most important divine power in Mesopotamia. Kramer also concludes that “in the course of their efforts in behalf of their favourite, they came into conflict with the priests and theologians of Nippur who had conceived and propagated a national pantheon in which the gods An, Enlil and Ninhursag were the supreme deities and who looked with little favour upon an interloper ‘muscling in’ on their territory.”⁴⁹¹ Although in his late studies Kramer does not claim any more that the original name of the god must have been Ea and approves that Ea was a Semitic word attributed to the Sumerian god Enki by the Akkadians ca 2500 BC,⁴⁹² he still assumes there to have been the identity crisis of Enki and the rivalry between different theologians. The ideas of Kramer have been a major source of adapting the notion of rivalry of Enki and Enlil to several modern Ancient Near Eastern studies of mythology and religion. The arguments presented by him have not been able to stand firm in light of newer interpretations of Sumerian mythology, as well as the modern interpretation of the names of Enki and Ea.

However, there have been several other and newer options in explaining the “conflicting” situation of Enlil and Enki in Sumerian pantheon. W. G. Lambert compares the Sumerian early god Enki to the West Semitic head of the pantheon El and finds that similarly to El, Enki must have been an original head of the pantheon or at least equal to Enlil:

It is also possible that El hides under a disguise at Mari: as Enki/Ea. This god has an unexplained popularity in the Semitic pantheon which contrasts strongly with that of Enlil. Their relative frequency in personal names is indication enough. In a Mari inscription of Puzur-Aštar the curses at the end are by: Aštar, Dagān and “Enki lord of the assembly” (*en-ki be-al puhrim*). This assembly is of course that of the gods, and from Ugaritic texts it is well known that El presided over that

bringer of death or troubles in other contexts: cf. Th. R. Kämmerer, *Fs. Kasemaa* (2003), p. 52ff.

⁴⁸⁹ Cf. Th. Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness* (1976), p. 3ff.

⁴⁹⁰ 1961, p. xiii.

⁴⁹¹ *OrNS* 39 (1970), pp. 103–104.

⁴⁹² *The Myths of Enki* (1989), p. 3.

assembly, while in Sumerian world Enlil performed that role. Also, in the Iahdun-Lim inscription just quoted, in the curses at the end the deities are: Enlil, Šin, Nergal, Ea and Šamaš. Ea is given the title “king of destiny” (*šar ši-im-tim*), which implies the holding of supreme power in the universe. Again, this is not the traditional southern Mesopotamian view of Ea, though the title is used of him in a first-millennium Babylonian literary text (*BWL* 112 2). Two similarities between Enki/Ea and El as generally known in the ancient world are that they were both creators of the human race, and they lived in similar quarters. Enki/Ea’s abode was of course the Apsû, while El is said in Ugaritic texts to have lived in “the sources of the (two) rivers, within the springs of the (two) seas” (*mbk nhrm qrb apq thmtm*), which is as near to the concept of the Apsû that the West Semites got. The apparent difficulty that El is definitely first in the Semitic pantheon while Enki/Ea is only second or third in the Sumerian pantheon is less of an objection than might seem to be the case. Much Sumerian mythology about Enki does quietly assume that he is supreme in the universe, and in the UD.GAL.NUN myths Enki plays a very important part: he and Enlil appear equally. There is good reason for suspecting that if we had intelligible Sumerian myths from the first half of the third millennium B.C. Enki would appear as an equal and rival of Enlil. It was probably the decline of his city Eridu, due to geographical factors, which resulted in Enlil’s emerging supreme.⁴⁹³

Several indications can be imagined possible that approximately in the beginning of the Early-Dynastic period, Sumerian political and religious organisation might have gone through a change. P. Steinkeller’s conclusions are similar to the observation of G. Selz⁴⁹⁴ who interpreted Enki and Inanna as the predominant forces in early Sumerian pantheon:

Although that amphictyonic organization remains a largely hypothetical construct, it would seem likely that, as indicated by the Ur III data pertaining to the so-called bala institution, its focus was the city of Nippur and its chief deity Enlil. This leads us to the unavoidable conclusion that, sometime in the beginning of the Early Dynastic period, the original Urukian organization underwent a dramatic transformation, by which its focal point was transformed from Uruk to Nippur. Such a development appears to be entirely plausible, for there exists independent evidence of the rise, roughly at that time, of Enlil to the position of the head of the Sumerian pantheon, which was concomitant with the decline of the importance of the cults of Enki and Inanna. Undoubtedly, this religious transformation reflected political changes which had taken place either at the end of the Uruk period or at the very beginning of Early Dynastic times: the ascendance of the city of Kish and its region to power, as a result of which the center of gravity of Babylonian politics had moved from the area of Uruk and Eridu to the region of Nippur.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹³ W. G. Lambert, *MARI* 4 (1985), pp. 537–538.

⁴⁹⁴ Cf. *ASJ* 12 (1990), pp. 111–142; *RAI* 35 (1992), pp. 189–225.

⁴⁹⁵ P. Steinkeller, Gs. Jacobsen (2002), p. 257.

The possibility that Enlil was the later head of the pantheon and that he replaced Enki and Inanna (or another mother-goddesses) seems probable, although never provable due to a lack of written sources. When considering this option as real, it is hard to answer whether the theologians of Enki and priests of Enlil became “rivals” as a result. All the indications of the disagreement or rivalry between them can also be explained simply by saying that the Sumerian mythology had this kind of rivalry naturally programmed to its core. Enki was a “benevolent god of agriculture” and Enlil was the “terrifying god” of political power and military leadership. Both priesthoods probably accepted the different natures of the gods and their differences in mythology do not necessarily designate rivalry in actual life or between different schools of mythology.

The ideas claiming that one of the gods – Enlil or Enki – must have been a newcomer to the Sumerian pantheon seems to partly originate from the peculiarities inside the Sumerian Pantheon when compared to classical pantheons usually given as the primary examples for understanding a polytheistic religion. There is no one Zeus in Sumerian religion heading the pantheon; neither is any definable triad of gods found in the Sumerian religion, as detectable in Indo-European mythology.⁴⁹⁶ Sumerian pantheon seems chaotic and difficult to define or describe by using theories from the comparative mythology or history of religions. An, Enlil, Enki and the mother-goddess – they all seem to have an almost equal importance in early Sumerian mythology. No single god can be named “the head of the Sumerian pantheon” when the earliest written myths appear. The sky-god An (of Uruk) is at best the chairman or speaker of the parliament of the gods; Enlil is the chief executive power in the political system while Enki, alongside the mother-goddess, represents all the imaginable aspects of fertility, knowledge, wisdom and creation.

The question of seeking out rivalry from inside the Sumerian mythology and pantheon might be explained in light of other such apparent controversies in interpreting ancient mythological or literary narratives. I. Kikawada and A. Quinn gave as their best examples the attempts to see different authors and different sources behind the works of Homer and Shakespeare, all derived from the Documentary Hypothesis of the books of Pentateuch: “When we think we find this author napping, we had better proceed very carefully. As with Homer or Shakespeare, when you think you have seen something wrong, there may well be something wrong with your own eyes. You are more likely to be wrong than either of them.”⁴⁹⁷ This observation should also be useful in analysing

⁴⁹⁶ Cf. the critique and overview by E. B. Lyle, *History of Religions* 22 (1982), p. 25ff. about G. Dumézil’s theories concerning the so-called triple nature of divine forces in Indo-European religion. H. D. Galter, *Ea/Enki*, pp. 144–148 gives an overview of the triad Anu, Enlil and Ea. This kind of triple listing of gods seems to originate from the later periods (cf. Rim-Su’en 12, 14–16), and earlier Sumerian mythology does not seem to reflect this kind of grouping.

⁴⁹⁷ I. M. Kikawada – A. Quinn, *Before Abraham Was* (1985), p. 83. Although the study does not give any conclusive proofs or adequate philological explanation for supporting the argument against the Documentary Hypothesis, the arguments offered by Kikawada

Sumerian mythology. When there is something seemingly wrong for the modern scholarly eye, or something does not seem convenient inside a Sumerian myth or Sumerian pantheon, the modern scientific creative mind tries to seek a solution for that hypothetical abnormality.⁴⁹⁸ This is also the case with several analyses of Sumerian myths which try to see different layers of composition and different authors or schools of theology reflected inside a certain mythological composition. None of them can be proven and usually they represent a personal opinion of a specific scholar, who uses one and usually doubtful idea as a basis for further speculative structural analysis of a myth. This kind of logic creates seemingly credible scenarios and interpretations of mythology. However, when shedding some doubt on the original assumption or idea upon which the further study relies on, the results of the whole study do not seem credible.

There were probably hundreds of influences from hundreds of different tribal or national groups impacting the Sumerian mythology as well as the theology and mythology of Enki/Ea. That however does not mean that the Sumerian pantheon or Sumerian mythology has to be a mixture of those “borrowings” and “original Sumero-Akkadian” ideas. At least from the earliest textual information available; all the major gods and major mythological ideas were present in the Syrian region of Ebla, as well as in the core-area of Sumerian region in Southern Mesopotamia. West Semitic peoples tried to equate or translate their own gods to the gods from Sumer, and several Semitic gods had influence over the Sumerian pantheon. None of those translations or equations were actually borrowings in the strictest sense. They were normal and internal developments of culture and religion. Even if Enki or Enlil had Semitic influences during the emergence of the first written texts, they cannot be called non-Sumerian or considered Semitic. G. Rubio tries to summarise the linguistic situation in Early

and Quinn are no less credible than different scenarios about the sources of Genesis 1–11, which usually only represent the product of imaginative scholarly speculations without any serious proof.

⁴⁹⁸ The ancient myth is often analysed in light of modern theories of literature (cf. H. Limet, *Fs. Sjöberg* (1989), pp. 357–465). This neglects the fact that an ancient myth usually was not written in similar terms to a modern piece of literature meant to be “art for the sake of art.” As V. Emeljanov, *Ассириология и египтология* (2004), p. 73 states: “Literature of the Ancient Near East does not know graphomania.” Although several literary compositions definitely show traces of personal creativity and artistic aims, most of the text corpus was probably written for specific events or ritual ceremonies. In most cases, the ritual or ceremonial background of the literary myths or hymns is not explicitly detectable, which makes the proper understanding of their function and meaning more complicated. For example the myth Enki and Ninmah, as well as Enki and Ninhursag, which seem to contain two distinct stories, might have been composed to commemorate a specific cultic event and their author(s) might have used two ancient texts to compile a new composition for that specific event. On the other hand, both myths may be written as new and original works of literature (for cultic use or other) starting from the beginning. When the older stories, which might have been the sources of the newer myth, are not preserved, all the conclusions made about the structure of the myths are only personal opinions or statements of probability.

Mesopotamia. His vision about the relations of different ancient languages seems to be well-fitting for the religious ideas:

The picture of the linguistic situation of Mesopotamia in early periods should be that of fluidity, of words travelling together with the objects and techniques they designate (*Wanderwörter, Kulturwörter*), of different languages and their dialects (most of which have left no traces or just a few, from toponyms to loanwords, in surviving languages), all of them sharing the same space and perhaps even sometimes the same speakers. Thus, there is no monolithic substratum that would have left, in a sort of primeval age, its vestiges in the Sumerian lexicon. All one can detect is a complex and fuzzy web of borrowings whose directions are frequently difficult to determine. Furthermore, and from a theoretical point of view, one should not overlook that the search for origins (*Ursprache, Urheimat, etc.*) is an intellectual construct of the past – frequently a misconstruction of it – and belongs to the realm of our concerns as scholars rather than to the world of events.⁴⁹⁹

There is no basis for suggesting that Enki or Enlil had to be foreign deities imported to Mesopotamia. In the first preserved texts, they both are definitely Sumerian gods. There is no scope for proving or suggesting that they had to be pre-Sumerian or Semitic gods. It seems possible to analyse both concepts in parallel terms with the development of the overall Sumerian society and culture.⁵⁰⁰

As a conclusion, it seems reasonable to suggest (although no written and therefore concrete evidence is available) that the more archaic Sumerian society was agriculture-oriented. The city-states were not developed into an overall Mesopotamian political and military unions, and those city states were originally governed by the priest-rulers or en-s. This en was responsible for the well-being of his citizens through religious rituals and especially agricultural activities, such as constructing irrigational systems, fields, canals and temples for the gods to give protection and abundance to the whole city. Enki, indeed, seems to be a god from that archaic period – he is the divine en of the Sumerian society. As defined by Thorkild Jacobsen he is the “productive manager” of Sumer and Akkad and not a political war-lord or owner of the land.⁵⁰¹

It is usually believed that the next step in governing human society was the power shift from the official en to the much more political and “earthly” official

⁴⁹⁹ G. Rubio, JCS 51 (1999), p. 11.

⁵⁰⁰ Cf. W. van Binsbergen – F. Wiggermann, *Mesopotamian Magic* (1999), p. 20: “In the first half of the third millennium the political ideology was centred on the axis: city-god / city-ruler; there is not yet a national state, but the notion of a national religious unity is maintained by the centrality of Eridu and its god Enki/Ea. The second half of the third millennium sees the development of a national kingship centred on Nippur and Enlil. When during the second millennium Babylon becomes the uncontested capital of the nation, its god Marduk rises with it; at the end of the millennium the political situation is formalised in a newly created myth, *Enūma Eliš*, in which Marduk’s rulership is made independent of Enlil.”

⁵⁰¹ Fs. Talmon (1992), p. 415.

titled lugal – “the great man,” translated into European languages as “the king.” This shift probably took place because the Sumerian society grew more complex, political unions were formed and wars between different city states and also between the Sumerians and several other possible tribal nations took place. This is an environment demanding human rule clearly defined and lead by a strong and capable military official. Also Enlil seems to be the political and military leader of Sumer and Akkad. His primary concern in mythology is not the creation of humans, animals or fields. He must grant the legitimate power to the king and protect his people against awaiting enemies – divine or human.⁵⁰²

Military and political power has never stood for something “good-natured” or “benevolent” in human history.⁵⁰³ Political and military power is usually respected and praised but not “loved” or fully admired. Similar situation seems to be present in the Sumerian mythology. Enlil is praised as the most important god for the king and political power-holders, large mythological narratives, however, are centred on the image of Enki and the mother-goddess(es).

Enlil might have merged supreme in the Sumerian pantheon as the divine lugal of a political union having its meeting place in Nippur. Almost the only function attributed to Enlil in Mesopotamian royal ideology is the legitimation of kingship and guaranteeing the earthly (and divine) political order. The Sumerian pantheon known to us from the sources of the second half of the third millennium might reflect the developments in human society. Enlil and Enki are

⁵⁰² If to consider Enlil originally a Sumerian god, then also he must have been a fertility god of his city and its region during the archaic periods. His emerging supreme over the other gods of Mesopotamia would be explainable by the rise of his city into dominance which resulted Nippur being chosen the pre-eminent “meeting-place” of Mesopotamian rulers. Geographical differences definitely must have had a significant role to play in the development of the later character of Enki and Enlil. It is also obvious that different priesthoods of different cities and gods were primarily interested in composing texts centered around the deities they were serving. Mythological ideas as well as tendencies in royal ideology, however, do not seem to be conflicting but sharing the similar ideas.

⁵⁰³ Cf. Y. Schmeil, *La politique dans l’Ancien Orient* (1999), p. 121ff. who tries to define the ancient Mesopotamian political system in similar terms to the modern functioning of a state. An is described as “the president” or the nominal head of the pantheon; Enlil represents the executive power as “the prime minister;” and Enki, in turn, is pictured as some sort of a leader of the parliamentary opposition. Schmeil (p. 123) even tries to associate the theology of Enki with the modern leftist movement. It is certain that in order to describe the ancient political reality of Mesopotamia, such a modern model of state-governance cannot be taken over in the strictest sense. However, this imaginative and speculative model cannot be claimed to be “wrong.” An is the nominal head of state of the gods and Enlil is the prime executive power. Enki – the force behind crafts, knowledge and creation corresponds to the modern understanding of “the leftist creative intellectual” who might have ideas conflicting with the political power. (Cf. J.-J. Glassner, *Genèses* 46 (2002), p. 23: “la description qu’il en offre et que l’on vient de résumer en fait foi, Y. Schmeil identifie sur les rives du Tigre et de l’Euphrate ou sur celle du Nil des régimes qui sont les précurseurs de la cinquième république française!”)

equally important but just as in the earthly state; the political war-lord lugal has slightly more power than the intellectually-oriented and “productive” priesthood. However, no direct situation of conflict seems to be in existence. The political and military might was actually guaranteeing the productive management of the earth which was done by the god Enki.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The abundant presence of Abzu cult sites in Early Dynastic Sumer refers to Enki's prominent position in the archaic pantheon. When the first longer written text appeared, the god Enlil clearly had the pre-eminent position. From the first inscriptions onwards, Enki is pictured as the god of technical skill and planning. Early Dynastic sources list the primordial gods Enki-Ninki as his parents. The sources of the Dynasty of Isin, however, clearly state that his parents were the sky-god An and the earth-goddess Uraš. The texts of the Dynasty of Akkade begin to associate Enki with rivers and canals. During this period appeared the flowing water motive on cylinder seals related to Enki. The Ur III period texts describe Enki as the god of fertility and granter of natural abundance. The texts do not relate him directly to the creation of man and this function is attributed to the mother-goddess Nintu/Ninhursag. Among the most significant changes during that period, Enki receives the third position in the listings of gods and begins to precede the mother-goddess.

Enki-mythology was present already in the 3rd millennium Ebla and in the later texts from Mari and Elam, far from the actual Mesopotamian territory. It remains unclear to what extent the West Semitic mythology saw the god El connected to Sumerian Enki. However, the relation or closeness of the two divine concepts is clearly visible. The gods share the function of being the creators of mankind. The motive of crafting mankind appears in the later layers of Sumerian mythology and is not detectable in the Early Dynastic or Ur III texts. Since both, El and Enki, are described as creating by handicraft and using clay as the material of creation, it cannot be excluded that the crafting motive of creation originally had close connections with the Semitic mythology. On the other hand, the motive of creation by the means of copulation is present in the earliest layers of Sumerian mythology.

The texts of the Dynasty of Isin consider Enki one of the prime forces behind organising the natural world as well as the human civilisation. Enki is said to be acting by the orders of the gods An and Enlil. His role as the one primarily responsible for different purification rituals and incantations has also become clearly attestable. The texts of Larsa start relating Enki with Asaluhi who has already been assimilated with the Babylonian god Marduk. It seems that the mother-goddess is continuously declining in rank and is often not listed among the most important gods. Enki has maintained his third position. Several other Eridu circle gods, such as Haia, are also praised by the scribes of Ur. The later Babylonian theology brings a change to the Mesopotamian pantheon. The ideology of Babylon tries to adjust the god Marduk into the ancient and generally accepted Sumerian pantheon. Although Enki's position as the father of Marduk secures his prominent status in the theology of Babylon, it is detectable that Marduk starts to take over the active functions of Enki. Texts from Malgium state that Enki (and possibly his wife Damgalnunna) are the creators of the king.

The position of Enki's cultic city Eridu must have been extremely important already during the Early Dynastic period. This is indicated by the references to different cultic journeys to Eridu. However, in most of the available texts, the city of Nippur has the pre-eminent position. It is only during the reign of Šulgi when Eridu is listed as the first city. The texts of the Isin-Larsa period do not consider Eridu the pre-eminent city and list it as second or third in rank.

Based on the Sumerian evidence analysed, there is no reason to directly call Enki a water-god or a deity embodying the sweet waters. In several texts, Enki is related to canals and is associated with fertilising floods, reeds and cane-brakes growing out of Engur. However, canals and agricultural abundance brought by water are not the most frequently mentioned characteristics of Enki. In addition, all these features can be attributed to several other deities of Mesopotamia. Enki's semen was symbolically considered to be water (of the rivers and canals), a feature shared with the sky-god An. The fertilising water is a divine attribute of both gods; but they cannot be considered to be "water personified." There is no direct evidence that the Sumerian Abzu was seen as the (sweet-)water ocean or an area filled with water. This seems to be the case in later Babylonian mythology. On the other hand, the entity called Engur certainly seems to represent ground-waters or marsh-waters.

There are no textual examples or sound philological arguments available clarifying the possible meaning of the name Enki. The Semitic name Ea is most probably derived from the root *hyy ("to live, the living") and refers to the concept of running water in Semitic contexts. This interpretation cannot be proven in absolute terms. The nature of Ea's Semitic name allows to determine the ancient (West-)Semitic origins of that divine concept. In the 3rd millennium texts, the name Ea appears only in personal names. All the early mythological compositions and royal texts use the name Enki. The complete assimilation of the two concepts is visible starting from the Old Babylonian periods.

Based on the Sumerian royal inscriptions and myths, there is no grounds for claiming that there was any detectable rivalry between the theologies of Enlil of Nippur and Enki of Eridu. Enlil is the most important god in terms of royal ideology and his priesthood had the upmost influence in the political life of Mesopotamian. Enki, in turn, is the cultural hero of the Sumerians while Enlil is the political and military lord representing the aspect of power. In mythological compositions as well as in royal hymns, the theologies of Enki and Enlil are almost always described as harmonious. Detecting the different schools of Mesopotamian theology (Nippur and Eridu) did not seem possible based on the available sources. All the differences in mythological accounts can be explained as resulting from other reasons than that of the existence of two distinct schools of mythology. However, it cannot be excluded that the priesthoods and scribes of Nippur and Eridu might have had different mythological goals or understandings.

One apparent feature in Sumerian mythology is the fact that Enki is always closely related to the concept of the mother-goddess. He often copulates with different mother-goddess figures and seems to be unable to create without the

help of the birth-goddesses. The suggestion of P. Steinkeller that Enki might have been an archaic head of the Sumerian pantheon, always paired with all the major mother-goddess figures in different cities and regions of Sumer, seems to be one of the most probable scenarios. Enki has all the characteristics of an ancient Mesopotamian fertility god, who may have started losing his original importance when the Sumerian society grew more complex, and instead of religious-agricultural activities, the concept of divine political might was growing more important. The origins of Enlil and his archaic nature are hard to determine with certainty. His emerging supreme might be related to the rise of his city Nippur to the rank of the predominant political centre of Mesopotamia. Due to a lack of written evidence, all the solutions offered are only speculative.

Among the most important conclusions, it must be stated that contrary to the widely shared opinion, the religious thinking of Ancient Mesopotamia reflects continuous change. There is no constant and static divine figure Enki comparable in similar terms in Early Dynastic mythology and the first millennium *Enuma eliš* theology. Almost every period in Mesopotamian history introduces the re-evaluation of the pantheon and new mythological ideas. The older material is, of course, preserved in the newer thinking; however, the older periods cannot be analysed accurately based on the information of more recent texts. Changes in religion are often related to the political aims of a certain dominating political power. On the other hand, the Ancient Near Eastern mythology reflects internal mythological developments not associable with any particular political motivator. Understanding and presenting this change of ideas and concepts was one of the main goals of the current dissertation.

ABBREVIATIONS

Bibliographical Abbreviations

AcOr	Acta Orientalia, Societates Orientales Danica, Norregia, Svecica. Leiden – Copenhagen
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung. Berlin – Graz – Wien
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Ugarit-Verlag, Münster
AOAT 281	= Fs. Dietrich: O. Loretz – K. A. Metzler – H. Schaudig (ed.-s). Ex Mesopotamia et Syria Lux. Festschrift für Manfred Dietrich zu seinem 65. Geburtstag. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 281. Ugarit-Verlag, Münster, 2002.
ARET	Archivi Reali di Ebla. Testi
ARET 4	M. G. Biga – L. Milano. Testi amministrativi: Assegnazioni di tessuti (Archivio L. 2769). Testi IV. Università degli Studi di Roma “La Sapienza.” Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria, Roma, 1984.
ARET 5	D. O. Edzard. Hymnen, Beschwörungen und Verwandtes aus dem Archiv L. 2769. Archivi Reali di Ebla. Testi V. Università degli Studi di Roma “La Sapienza.” Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria, Roma, 1984.
ArOr	Archiv Orientalni. Prague
ARRIM	Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project. Toronto
ASJ	Acta Sumerologica Japonensia. Hiroshima
Belleten	Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten. Ankara
Beschwörungen	M. Krebernik. Die Beschwörungen aus Fara und Ebla. Untersuchungen zur ältesten keilschriftlichen Beschwörungsliteratur. Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik 2. Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim – Zurich – New York, 1984.
Bilinguismo	L. Cagni (ed.). Il bilinguismo a Ebla: Atti del convegno internazionale (Napoli, 19–22 aprile 1982). Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor XXII. Napoli, 1984.
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis. Leiden
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. London
BZAW 374	Th. R. Kämmerer (ed.). Studien zu Ritual und Sozialgeschichte im Alten Orient / Studies on Ritual and Society in the Ancient Near East. Tartuer Symposien 1998–2004. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2007.
CAD	Chicago Assyrian Dictionary
Clergé	D. Carpin. Le Clergé d’Ur au siècle d’Hammurapi. Bibliothèque des Histoires, Gallimard/NRF, Paris, 1986.
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CM 6/II	M. E. Vogelzang – H. L. J. Vanstiphout (ed.-s). Mesopotamian Poetic Language: Sumerian and Akkadian Proceedings of the Groningen Group for the Study of Mesopotamian Literature, Vol. 2. Cuneiform Monographs 6. Styx Publications, Groningen, 1996.

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- Eblaïtica *Eblaïtica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaïte Language*. Winona Lake
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- ESP J. J. M. Roberts. *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon. A Study of the Semitic Deities Attested in Mesopotamia before Ur III*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore – London, 1972.
- ETCSL J. A. Black – G. Cunningham – J. Ebeling – E. Flückiger-Hawker – E. Robson – J. Taylor – G. Zólyomi. *The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature* (<http://www-etcs1.orient.ox.ac.uk/>). Oxford, 1998–2006.
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- FAOS 9 H. Steible. *Die neusumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften I/II*. *Freiburger Altorientalische Studien* 9. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 1991.
- FARG *Forschungen zur Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte*. Ugarit-Verlag, Münster
- FAT 18 M. Weippert. *Jahwe und die anderen Götter. Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des antiken Israel in ihrem syrisch-palästi-*

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- Iraq Iraq: British School of Archaeology in Iraq. London
- IRSA E. Sollberger – J.-R. Kupper. *Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes*. Paris, 1971.
- JANES *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society. The Jewish Theological Seminary, New-York*
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JBL *Journal of Biblical Literature. Society of Biblical Literature*
- JCS *Journal of Cuneiform Studies. New Haven – Baltimore*
- JEOL *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux. Leiden*
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies. Chicago*
- JRAS *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*
- JSS *Journal of Semitic Studies. Oxford*
- MAD 2 I. J. Gelb. *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar. Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary No. 2*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago – London, 1961.
- Mäetagused *Mäetagused, journal of folkloristics. Estonian Literary Museum, Tartu*

MARI	Mari: Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires. Paris
Mari in Retrospect	G. D. Young (ed.). <i>Mari in Retrospect. Fifty Years of Mari and Mari Studies</i> . Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, 1992.
MEE	Materiali epigrafici di Ebla. Istituto Orientale di Napoli
MEE 4	G. Pettinato. <i>Testi lessicali bilingui della biblioteca L. 2769, Parte I: Traslitterazione dei testi e ricostruzione del VE. Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla 4</i> . Napoli, 1982.
MEE 10	P. Mander. <i>Administrative Texts of the Archive L. 2769. Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla 10. Materiali per il Vocabulario Sumerico I</i> . Dipartimento di Studi Orientali, Roma, 1990.
Mesopotamian Magic	T. Abusch – K. van der Toorn (ed.-s). <i>Mesopotamian Magic. Textual, Historical, and Interpretative Perspectives. Ancient Magic and Divination I</i> . Styx Publications, Groningen, 1999.
MIO	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung. Berlin
MSL 4	B. Landsberger – R. Hallock – Th. Jacobsen – A. Falkenstein. <i>Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon IV</i> . Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, Roma, 1956.
NABU	Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires. Paris
NatPhen	= Fs. Loon: D. J. W. Meijer (ed.), <i>Natural Phenomena. Their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the Colloquium, Amsterdam, 6–8 July 1989</i> . Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam – Oxford – New-York – Tokyo, 1992.
OA	Oriens Antiquus. Roma
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OBO 160/1	J. Bauer – R. K. Englund – M. Krebernik. <i>Mesopotamien: Späturuk-Zeit und Frühdynastische Zeit</i> . Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 160/1. Universitätsverlag Freiburg – Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Freiburg – Göttingen., 1998.
OBO 160/3	W. Sallaberger – A. Westenholz. <i>Mesopotamien. Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit</i> . Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 160/3. Universitätsverlag Freiburg – Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Freiburg – Göttingen, 1999.
OBO 166	E. Flückiger-Hawker. <i>Urnamma of Ur in Sumerian Literary Tradition</i> . Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 166, Universitätsverlag Freiburg – Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Freiburg – Göttingen, 1999.
OIP	The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications
OIP 99	R. D. Biggs. <i>Inscriptions from Tell Abū Šalābīkh (with a Chapter by Donald P. Hansen)</i> . Oriental Institute Publications 99. The University of Chicago Press, 1974.
OLA 162/I	G. del Olmo Lete (ed.). <i>Mythologie et Religion des Sémites Occidentaux. Volume I. Ebla, Mari</i> . <i>Orientalia Lovaneiensia Analecta 162</i> . Peeters and Departement Oosterse Studies. Leuven – Paris – Dudley, 2008.
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung. Berlin
Orient	Orient. The Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan (Nippon Oriento Gakkai)
OrNS	Orientalia. NS = Nova Series. Roma
PAS	P. Mander. <i>Il pantheon di Abu Šalābīkh, Contributo allo studio del pantheon sumerico arcaico</i> . Istituto Universitario Orientale,

- Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor XXVI. Napoli, 1986.
- Priests and Officials K. Watanabe (ed.). *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East. Papers of the Second Colloquium on the Ancient Near East – The City and its Life held at the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan (Mitaka, Tokyo), March 22–24, 1996.* Universitätsverlag C. Winter, Heidelberg, 1999.
- Proc Am Philos Soc PSD Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
Å. W. Sjöberg et. al. *The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia, 1984ff.
- QuSem RA Quaderni di Semitistica. Firenze
- RAI 17 Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale. Paris
A. Finet (ed.). *Actes de la XVII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale.* Université Libre de Bruxelles, 30 juin – 4 juillet 1969. Publications du Comité Belge de Recherches Historiques, Épigraphiques et Archéologiques en Mésopotamie 1. Ham-sur-Heure, 1970.
- RAI 21 Études sur le Panthéon systématique et les panthéons locaux. *Compte rendu de la XXI^{ème} Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale.* Rome, 24–28 Juin 1974. L'Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente de L'Università de Rome. Biblical Institute Press, Rome, 1976.
- RAI 33 J.-M. Durand (ed.). *La Femme dans le proche-orient antique.* *Compte rendu de la XXXIII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 7–10 juillet 1986).* Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, Paris, 1987.
- RAI 35 M. de J. Ellis (ed.). *Nippur at the Centennial. Papers Read at the 35^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale,* Philadelphia, 1988. Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 14. Philadelphia, 1992.
- RAI 42 K. van Lerberghe – G. Voet (ed.-s). *Languages and Cultures in Contact. At the Crossroads of Civilizations in the Syro-Mesopotamian Realm.* Proceedings of the 42^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (July 1995, Leuven). *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 96.* Peeters, Leuven, 1999.
- RAI 43 *Papers Presented at the 43rd Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Prague, July 1–5, 1996.* Oriental Institute, Prague, 1998.
- RAI 44 L. Milano – S. de Martino – F. M. Fales – G. B. Lanfranchi (ed.-s). *Landscapes. Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East. Papers presented to the XLIV Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Venezia, 7–11 July 1997. (Part III: Landscape in Ideology, Religion, Literature and Art. History of the Ancient Near East / Monographs – III/3).* Sargon srl, Padova, 2000.
- RAI 47 S. Parpola – R. M. Whiting (ed.-s). *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 47th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Helsinki, July 2–6, 2001.* The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, Helsinki, 2002.

RAI 51	= Gs. Reiner: R. D. Biggs – J. Myers – M. T. Roth (ed.-s). Proceedings of the 51 st Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale. Held at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, July 18–22, 2005. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 62. Chicago, 2008.
RIME 1	D. R. Frayne. Presargonic Period (2700–2350 BC). Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods. Vol. 1. University of Toronto Press, 2008.
RIME 2	D. R. Frayne. Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334–2113 BC). The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods, Vol. 2. University of Toronto Press, 1993.
RIME 3/I	D. O. Edzard. Gudea and His Dynasty. The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Early Periods, Vol. 3/1. University of Toronto Press, 1997.
RIME 3/II	D. R. Frayne. Ur III Period (2112–2004 BC). The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Early Periods, Vol. 3/2. University of Toronto Press, 1997.
RIME 4	D. R. Frayne. Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC): The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Early Periods, Vol. 4. University of Toronto Press, 1990.
RIA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie
SEL	Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico. Verona
StPohl 17	G. Cunningham. ‘Deliver Me from Evil.’ Mesopotamian Incantations 2500–1500 BC. Studia Pohl 17. Roma, 1997.
StSem	Studi Semitici. Centro di studi semitici, Università di Roma
Subartu 12	L. Milano – W. Sallaberger – Ph. Talon – K. Van Lerberghe (ed.-s). Third Millennium Cuneiform Texts from Tell Beydar (Seasons 1996–2002). Subartu XII, Brepols, 2004.
Sumer	Sumer. Journal of Archaeology and History in Arab World. Baghdad
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen. Ugarit-Verlag, Münster
Ugaritica	Ugaritica. Mission de Ras Shamra. Paris, 1939–1978
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie

Textual Abbreviations

Royal Inscriptions and Hymns

- Abi-ešuh, king of the First Dynasty of Babylon, 1711–1684
 Abi-ešuh A: J. van Dijk, MIO 12 (1966–1967), pp. 66–74.
 Abi-sare, king of Larsa, 1905–1895
 Abi-sare 1: RIME 4, pp. 121–124.
 Abzu-kidu, ruler of Early Dynastic Nippur
 Abzu-kidu 1: RIME 1, p. 355; FAOS 5/II, p. 223.
 Abzu-kidu 2: RIME 1, pp. 355–356; FAOS 5/II, pp. 223–224.
 Amar-Su’en, king of the Third Dynasty of Ur, 2046–2038
 Amar-Su’en 15: RIME 3/II, pp. 260–262 = Amarsuen 5: FAOS 9/II, pp. 227–228.

Amar-Su'en A: B. Hruška, *ArOr* 47 (1979), pp. 4–14; P. Michalowski, *Gs. Finkelstein* (1977), pp. 155–157; M. W. Green, *Eridu*, pp. 57–61.
 Amar-Su'en B: M. W. Green, *Eridu*, pp. 62–64; *ETCSL* 2.4.3.1.
 Ammi-ditana, king of the First Dynasty of Babylon, 1683–1647
 Ammi-ditana 1: *RIME* 4, pp. 411–412.
 Ammi-ditana 2: *RIME* 4, pp. 412–413.
 Ammi-saduqa, king of the First Dynasty of Babylon, 1646–1626
 Ammi-saduqa 2: *RIME* 4, pp. 427–428.
 Bur-Su'en, king of Isin, 1895–1874
 Bur-Su'en 1: *RIME* 4, pp. 69–70.
 E-Abzu, Early Dynastic ruler of Umma
 E-Abzu 1: *RIME* 1, p. 365; E'abzu 1: *FAOS* 5/II, pp. 269–270.
 Eanatum, ruler of the First Dynasty of Lagaš, ca. 2470
 Eanatum 1 (Stele of the Vultures): *RIME* 1, pp. 126–140; *FAOS* 5/I, pp. 120–145.
 Eanatum 2: *RIME* 1, pp. 140–142 = E'annatum 6–7: *FAOS* 5/I, pp. 158–160.
 Eanatum 5: *RIME* 1, pp. 145–149 = E'annatum 2: *FAOS* 5/I, pp. 145–151.
 Eanatum 6: *RIME* 1, pp. 149–152 = E'annatum 3–4: *FAOS* 5/I, pp. 152–156.
 Eanatum 8: *RIME* 1, pp. 154–156 = E'annatum 11: *FAOS* 5/I, pp. 162–165.
 Eanatum 9: *RIME* 1, pp. 156–158 = E'annatum 22: *FAOS* 5/I, pp. 165–169.
 Eanatum 10: *RIME* 1, pp. 158–159 = E'annatum 69: *FAOS* 5/I, pp. 180–181.
 Eanatum 18: *RIME* 1, p. 166.
 Elili, king of Early Dynastic Ur, ca. 2450
 Elili 1: *RIME* 1, p. 405; *FAOS* 5/II, p. 278.
 Enanatum the First, king of the First Dynasty of Lagaš, ca. 2440
 Enanatum I 2: *RIME* 1, pp. 170–173 = Enannatum I 29: *FAOS* 5/I, pp. 198–202.
 Enanatum I 5: *RIME* 1, pp. 175–177 = Enannatum I 35: *FAOS* 5/I, pp. 208–210.
 Enanatum I 8: *RIME* 1, pp. 178–180 = Enannatum I 17: *FAOS* 5/I, pp. 188–189.
 Enanatum I 9: *RIME* 1, pp. 180–181 = Enannatum I 33: *FAOS* 5/I, pp. 204–207.
 Enanatum I 15: *RIME* 1, pp. 187–188 = Enannatum I 26: *FAOS* 5/I, pp. 195–196.
 Enlil-bani, king of Isin, 1860–1837
 Enlil-bani 1: *RIME* 4, pp. 77–78.
 Enlil-bani 2: *RIME* 4, pp. 78–79.
 Enlil-bani 3: *RIME* 4, pp. 79–80.
 Enlil-bani 4: *RIME* 4, pp. 80–81.
 Enlil-bani 5: *RIME* 4, pp. 81–82.
 Enlil-bani 6: *RIME* 4, pp. 82–83.
 Enlil-bani 8: *RIME* 4, p. 84.
 Enlil-bani 9: *RIME* 4, pp. 84–85.
 Enlil-bani A: A. Kapp, *ZA* 51 (1955), pp. 76–87.
 Enmetena, king of the First Dynasty of Lagaš, ca. 2430
 Enmetena 1: *RIME* 1, pp. 194–199 = Entemena 28–29: *FAOS* 5/I, pp. 230–245.
 Enmetena 2: *RIME* 1, pp. 199–200 = Entemena 41: *FAOS* 5/I, pp. 256–257.
 Enmetena 4: *RIME* 1, pp. 202–204 = Entemena 79: *FAOS* 5/I, pp. 267–270.
 Enmetena 5b: *RIME* 1, pp. 206–207.
 Enmetena 7: *RIME* 1, pp. 208–209 = Entemena 34: *FAOS* 5/I, pp. 250–251.
 Enmetena 8: *RIME* 1, pp. 209–210 = Entemena 43: *FAOS* 5/I, pp. 258–259.
 Enmetena 11: *RIME* 1, pp. 212–213 = Entemena 36: *FAOS* 5/I, pp. 264–265.
 Enmetena 12: *RIME* 1, pp. 213–215 = Entemena 8: *FAOS* 5/I, pp. 215–218.
 Enmetena 15: *RIME* 1, pp. 217–218 = Entemena 42: *FAOS* 5/I, pp. 257–258.
 Enmetena 16: *RIME* 1, pp. 218–219 = Entemena 23: *FAOS* 5/I, pp. 223–224.

Enmetena 17: RIME 1, pp. 219–222 = Entemena 1: FAOS 5/I, pp. 211–212.
 Enmetena 18: RIME 1, pp. 222–223 = Entemena 32: FAOS 5/I, pp. 247–248.
 Enmetena 19: RIME 1, pp. 223–224 = Entemena 44: FAOS 5/I, pp. 259–260.
 Enmetena 20: RIME 1, pp. 224–225 = Entemena 27: FAOS 5/I, pp. 227–228.
 Enmetena 22: RIME 1, p. 226 = Entemena 25: FAOS 5/I, pp. 225–226.
 Enmetena 23: RIME 1, pp. 226–227 = Entemena 26: FAOS 5/I, pp. 226–227.
 Enmetena 25: RIME 1, pp. 228–229 = Entemena 33: FAOS 5/I, p. 249.
 Enmetena 30: RIME 1, pp. 234–235.
 Giša-kidu, Early Dynastic ruler of Umma
 Giša-kidu 2: RIME 1, pp. 372–374 = Lugalzagesi 2: FAOS 5/II, pp. 325–336.
 Gudea, ruler of the Second Dynasty of Lagaš, ca. 2144–2124
 Gudea Statue A: RIME 3/I, pp. 29–30; FAOS 9/I, pp. 154–156.
 Gudea Statue B: RIME 3/I, pp. 30–38; FAOS 9/I, pp. 157–179.
 Gudea 9: RIME 3/I, p. 114 = Gudea 11: FAOS 9/I, pp. 264–265.
 Gudea 67: RIME 3/I, pp. 158–159; FAOS 9/I, p. 334.
 Gudea, Cyl. A and B: RIME 3/I, pp. 68–101.
 Gungunum, king of Larsa, 1932–1906
 Gungunum 2: RIME 4, pp. 115–117.
 Gungunum A: Å. W. Sjöberg, ZA 63 (1973), pp. 24–31.
 Hammurapi, king of the First Dynasty of Babylon, 1792–1950
 Hammurapi 2: RIME 4, pp. 333–336.
 Hammurapi 3: RIME 4, pp. 336–337.
 Hammurapi 4: RIME 4, pp. 337–339.
 Hammurapi 7: RIME 4, pp. 340–342.
 Hammurapi 10: RIME 4, pp. 344–345.
 Hammurapi 14: RIME 4, pp. 350–351.
 Hammurapi 16: RIME 4, pp. 353–354.
 Hammurapi A: ETCSL 2.8.2.1.
 Hammurapi B: J. van Dijk, MIO 12 (1966–67), pp. 64–65.
 Hammurapi C: M. W. Green, Eridu, p. 70–72.
 Hammurapi D: Å. W. Sjöberg, Fs. Widengren (1972), pp. 58–71; J. van Dijk, MIO 12 (1966–67), p. 60.
 Code of Hammurapi: R. Borger, Babylonisch-assyrische Lesestücke (1963)
 Iahdun-Lim, king of Mari, ca. 1810–1794
 Iahdun-Lim 1: RIME 4, pp. 602–604
 Iahdun-Lim 2: RIME 4, pp. 604–608.
 Ibbi-Su'en, king of the Third Dynasty of Ur, 2028–2004
 Ibbi-Su'en A: Å. Sjöberg, OrSu 19–20 (1970–1971), pp. 144–145.
 Ibbi-Su'en B: Å. Sjöberg, OrSu 19–20 (1970–1971), pp. 142–144.
 Ibbi-Su'en C: Å. Sjöberg, OrSu 19–20 (1970–1971), pp. 147–149.
 Iddin-Dagan, king of Isin, 1974–1954
 Iddin-Dagan 2: RIME 4, pp. 23–24.
 Iddin-Dagan A: D. Reisman, Two Neo-Sumerian Royal Hymns (1970), pp. 147–211; JCS 25 (1973), pp. 185–202.
 Iddin-Dagan B: W. H. Ph. Römer, Sumerische 'Königshymnen' der Isin-Zeit (1965), pp. 209–235.
 Iddin-Su'en, king of Simurru, ca. contemporary of Išbi-Erra of Isin
 Iddin-Su'en 1: RIME 4, pp. 708–709.
 Iddin-Su'en 1001: RIME 4, pp. 712–714.

- Ipiq-Estar, king of Malgium in the Old-Babylonian period
 Ipiq-Estar 1: RIME 4, pp. 669–670.
- Išbi-Erra, king of Isin 2017–1985
 Išbi-Erra 1: RIME 4, pp. 6–7.
 Išbi-Erra B: J. van Dijk, JCS 30 (1976), pp. 189–208; ETCSL 2.5.1.2.
- Išme-Dagan, king of Isin, 1953–1935
 Išme-Dagan 1: RIME 4, pp. 26–27.
 Išme-Dagan 2: RIME 4, pp. 28–29.
 Išme-Dagan 6: RIME 4, pp. 33–35.
 Išme-Dagan 8: RIME 4, pp. 36–38 = Išme-Dagan S: ETCSL 2.5.4.19.
 Išme-Dagan 9: RIME 4, pp. 39–41.
 Išme-Dagan 11: RIME 4, p. 42.
 Išme-Dagan 12: RIME 4, p. 43.
 Išme-Dagan 15: RIME 4, pp. 45–46 = Išme-Dagan AA: ETCSL 2.5.4.27.
- Išme-Dagan A+V: M.-C. Ludwig, Untersuchungen zu den Hymnen des Išme-Dagan von Isin (1990), pp. 161–225; D. R. Frayne, ZA 88 (1998), pp. 8–19; W. H. Ph. Römer, Sumerische ‘Königshymnen’ der Isin-Zeit (1965), pp. 39–55; ETCSL 2.5.4.01.
- Išme-Dagan C: W. H. Ph. Römer, BiOr 45 (1988), pp. 34–35; ETCSL 2.5.4.03.
- Išme-Dagan D: Å. W. Sjöberg, JCS 29 (1977), pp. 29–32; ZA 63 (1973), pp. 13–16; ETCSL 2.5.4.04.
- Išme-Dagan E: M. W. Green, Eridu, pp. 65–69; Å. W. Sjöberg, OrSu 23–24 (1974–1975), pp. 165–166 / 170–171; ETCSL 2.5.4.05.
- Išme-Dagan W: M.-C. Ludwig, Untersuchungen zu den Hymnen des Išme-Dagan von Isin (1990), pp. 93–149; ETCSL 2.5.4.23.
- Išme-Dagan X: Å. W. Sjöberg, ZA 63 (1973), pp. 40–48; ETCSL 2.5.4.24.
- Išme-Dagan AC: S. Tinney, OLZ (90) 1995, pp. 18–19 = A hymn to Ninurta for Išme-Dagan: ETCSL 2.5.4.29.
- Hymn to Enki for Išme-Dagan: S. Tinney, The Nippur Lament (1996), p. 71; ETCSL 2.5.4.b.
- Lipit-Eštar, king of Isin, 1934–1924
 Lipit-Eštar 1: RIME 4, pp. 47–48.
 Lipit-Eštar 2: RIME 4, p. 49.
 Lipit-Eštar 3: RIME 4, pp. 49–51.
 Lipit-Eštar 4: RIME 4: pp. 52–54.
 Lipit-Eštar 5: RIME 4: pp. 54–56.
 Lipit-Eštar 6: RIME 4: pp. 56–58.
- Lipit-Eštar A: W. H. Ph. Römer, Sumerische ‘Königshymnen’ der Isin-Zeit (1965), pp. 29–38; ETCSL 2.5.5.1.
- Lipit-Eštar B: H. Vanstiphout, JCS 30 (1978), pp. 33–61; W. H. Ph. Römer, Sumerische ‘Königshymnen’ der Isin-Zeit (1965), pp. 23–29; ETCSL 2.5.5.2.
- Lipit-Eštar C: W. H. Ph. Römer, Sumerische ‘Königshymnen’ der Isin-Zeit (1965), pp. 10–17; ETCSL 2.5.5.3.
- Lipit-Eštar Law Code: M. T. Roth, Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor (1997).
- Lu-Utu, ruler of Umma during the Sargonic-Gutian period
 Lu-Utu 1: RIME 2, pp. 264–265.
- Lugal-giš, governor of Adab, contemporary of Šarkališarri
 Lugal-giš 2003: RIME 2, p. 255.
- Lugal-KISAL-si, king of Early Dynastic Uruk
 Lugal-KISAL-si 2: RIME 1, pp. 422–423 = Lugalkisalsi 5: FAOS 5/II, pp. 309–310.

Lugalzagesi, king of Early Dynastic Uruk, ca. 2350
 Lugalzagesi 1: RIME 1, pp. 433–437; FAOS 5/II, pp. 310–325.
 Lugalzagesi 2: RIME 1, pp. 437–438 = Lugalzagesi 3: FAOS 5/II, pp. 336–337.
 Maništušu, king of the Dynasty of Akkade, 2269–2255
 Maništušu 4: RIME 2, p. 79 = Maništušu 3: FAOS 7, p. 78.
 Naram-Su'en, king of the Dynasty of Akkade, 2254–2218
 Naram-Su'en 3: RIME 2, pp. 95–99 = Narāmsîn C 1: FAOS 7, pp. 234–238 / 242–243.
 Naram-Su'en 5: RIME 2, pp. 100–103 = Narāmsîn C5 texts B and C: FAOS 7, pp. 253–
 254 / 257–60.
 Naram-Su'en 10: RIME 2, pp. 113–114 = Narāmsîn 1: FAOS 7, pp. 81–83.
 Naram-Su'en 24: RIME 2, pp. 128–129 = Narāmsîn 5: FAOS 7, pp. 92–93.
 Nur-Adad, king of Larsa, 1865–1850
 Nur-Adad 1: RIME 4, pp. 138–139.
 Nur-Adad 2: RIME 4, pp. 139–140.
 Nur-Adad 3: RIME 4, pp. 140–142.
 Nur-Adad 4: RIME 4, pp. 143–144.
 Nur-Adad 5: RIME 4, pp. 144–145.
 Nur-Adad 6: RIME 4, p. 146.
 Nur-Adad 7, RIME 4, pp. 147–149.
 Puzur-Eštar, ruler of the dynasty of the Šakkanakku, ca. 2050–2025
 Puzur-Eštar 1: RIME 2, pp. 445–446.
 Puzur-Inšušinak, ruler of Elam, contemporary of Ur-Namma
 Puzur-Inšušinak 2: FAOS 7, pp. 325–327.
 Puzur-Mama, ruler of the Second Dynasty of Lagaš, ca. 2225–2190
 Puzur-Mama 1: RIME 2 pp. 271–272; FAOS 9/I, pp. 336–337.
 Rim-Su'en, king of Larsa, 1822–1763
 Rim-Su'en 1: RIME 4, pp. 271–272.
 Rim-Su'en 2: RIME 4, pp. 272–274.
 Rim-Su'en 3: RIME 4, pp. 274–275.
 Rim-Su'en 4: RIME 4, pp. 275–276.
 Rim-Su'en 5: RIME 4, pp. 277–278.
 Rim-Su'en 6: RIME 4, pp. 278–279.
 Rim-Su'en 7: RIME 4, p. 280.
 Rim-Su'en 8: RIME 4, pp. 280–282.
 Rim-Su'en 9: RIME 4, pp. 282–283.
 Rim-Su'en 10: RIME 4, pp. 283–285.
 Rim-Su'en 11: RIME 4, pp. 285–287.
 Rim-Su'en 12: RIME 4, pp. 287–288.
 Rim-Su'en 13: RIME 4, pp. 288–290.
 Rim-Su'en 15: RIME 4, pp. 291–293.
 Rim-Su'en 17: RIME 4, pp. 295–296.
 Rim-Su'en 18: RIME 4, pp. 297–298.
 Rim-Su'en 19: RIME 4, pp. 298–299.
 Rim-Su'en 2003: RIME 4, p. 305.
 Rim-Su'en B: D. Charpin, Clergé, pp. 344–357; H. Steible, Ein Lied an den Gott Haja
 (1967).
 Rim-Su'en F: D. Charpin, Clergé, pp. 287–295.
 Rim-Su'en G: D. Charpin, Clergé, pp. 295–301.
 Samsu-iluna, king of the First Dynasty of Babylon, 1749–1712
 Samsu-iluna 2: RIME 4, pp. 373–374.

Samsu-iluna 5: RIME 4, pp. 380–383.
 Samsu-iluna 8: RIME 4, pp. 388–391.
 Samsu-iluna B: A. Falkenstein, *ArOr* 17 (1949), pp. 215–216.
 Samsu-iluna C: A. Falkenstein, *ArOr* 17 (1949), pp. 216–220.
 Samsu-iluna F: B. Alster – C. B. F. Walker, *Fs. Sjöberg* (1989), pp. 11–12; *ETCSL* 2.8.3.6.
 Samsu-iluna G: B. Alster – C. B. F. Walker, *Fs. Sjöberg* (1989), p. 16.
 Sargon, king of the Dynasty of Akkade, 2334–2279
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 Sargon 8: RIME 2, pp. 22–24.
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SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Käesolev inglise keeles koostatud doktoritöö eestikeelse pealkirjaga *Jumal Enki Sumeri kuninglikus ideoloogias ja mütoloogias* esindab laiemalt orientalistika-teaduse alla kuuluvates Lähis-Ida uuringutes klassikaliseks saanud dissertatsioonivormi, kus vaatluse alla on võetud teatava Mesopotaamia jumaluse ja temaga seonduva mütoloogia olemus või siis kirjanduslik areng läbi erinevate ajaloo-perioodide.

Jumal Enkiga seotud sumeri müüdid ja teoloogia on kogu Lähis-Ida ajaloo jooksul ühed kõige mõjukamad ning läbi mitmete aastatuhandete pikkuse arengu jõuavad mitmed Sumeri mütoloogias kajastuvad motiivid ka heebrea Vana Testamendi Genesisi raamatu loomislugudesse. Eriti kajastuvad need sumeri mütoloogilised ja kirjanduslikud mõjud just inimeseloomise lugudes. Läbi nende Vana Testamendi loomislugude on muistsest sumerikeelsest jumal Enki mütoloogiast saanud ka kogu tänapäevase kristlusest mõjutatud lääne-maailma kultuuri ja kollektiivse mälu kindel osa.

Hoolimata jumal Enkiga seonduva mütoloogia ja muude religioonilooliste aspektide suurest tähtsusest kogu võrdlevale mütoloogiale ning eriti assürioloogia-teadusele ja orientalistikale, ei ole antud teemal viimase 27 aasta jooksul ilmunud mitte ühtegi süvauurimust. Viimaseks vastavasisuliseks pikemaks uurimuseks on jäänud Hannes D. Galteri aastal 1983 kaitstud väitekirj *Der Gott Ea/Enki in der akkadischen Überlieferung. Eine Bestandsaufnahme des vorhandenen Materials*, mis on kuni tänase päevani antud temaatika uurimise üks alustekste, ilma mida kasutamata ja tundmata ei ole võimalik ükski tõsiseltvõetav uurimus Lähis-Ida religiooniloolist ja kirjandusest. Kui H. D. Galteri doktoritöö keskendus peamiselt akkadikeelsetele allikatele ja jumal Enki semiidi ekvivalendi Ea kohta käivate materjalide uurimisele, siis käesolev väitekirj on suunatud 3. at eKr ja 2. at eKr esimese poole sumerikeelsetele kuninglikele raidkirjadele ja hümnidele, mida senini ei ole täiel määral süstematiseeritud ega ka kogu oma ulatuses analüüsitud. Kuna viimase kolme aastakümne jooksul on tänu arheoloogilistele väljakaevamistele juurde lisandunud märgatav hulk uusi tekste, siis saab käesolevas väitekirjas muuhulgas kajastada ka materjali, mida H. D. Galteri töös ei olnud võimalik arvesse võtta.

Doktoritöö eesmärgiks on eelkõige jumal Enki usundiloolise kontseptsiooni arengute ja muutuste tuvastamine. Kuninglikele raidkirjadele ja hümnidele toetumine võimaldab luua tekstide täpse kronoloogilise järjestuse ja seeläbi ka uurida mütoloogiliste ja religioossete motiivide arengut ja muutumist läbi ajaloo. Illustreeriva materjalina on kasutatud kõikvõimalike sumeri- ja akkadikeelseid ametlikke dokumente, loitsusid, müüte ja hümnid, mida ei ole võimalik täpselt dateerida. Uuritavate tekstide ajaliseks raamiks on vahemik ca 2520–1595 eKr: varadünastilise Lagaši kuningas Ur-Nanše esimestest tekstidest kuni Hammurapi dünastiani. Meetodiks on seega mitte sekundaarteooriate analüüs, vaid eelkõige originaalallikate süstematiseeritud esitamine ja järelduste ammutamine autentsetest allikatest.

Sissejuhatuses on püstitatud ka kolm peamist teoreetilist küsimust, millele loodetakse töö käigust vastust leida. Need küsimused pärinevad senistest sumeri mütoloogia kohta käivatest peamistest teooriatest ning jumal Enkit ja tema teoloogiat kokkuvõtivatest eri uurimustest: (1) *Kas sumeri jumal Enki oli algselt vetejumalus?* (2) *Kas lahknevused eri mütoloogilistes narratiivides peegeldavad kahe eraldi teoloogiakoolkonna olemasolu Sumeris?* (3) *Kas Enki ja Enlili teoloogiate (st neid teoloogiaid esindavate preesterkondade) vahel on võimalik täheldada rivaliteeti või vastuolu?* Valdav osa senistest uurimustest on vastanud kõigile kolmele küsimusele vähemalt osaliselt jaatavalt, kuid üles on kerkinud rida põhjuseid, mis lubavad kõiges kolmes põhjendatult kahelda.

Töö on jagatud kahte temaatilisse osasse, mis koosnevad kokku üheksast peatükist. Esimesed seitse peatükki esitavad, kirjeldavad ja tõlgendavad olemasolevat tekstimaterjali ning kaks viimast peatükki üritavad sünteesivalt analüüsida jumal Enkiga seonduvat temaatikat sumeri mütoloogias. Kõik kasutatud tekstinäited on ära toodud originaalkeeltes (sumeri, akadi, heebrea, jne), mis on omakorda tõlgitud käesoleva autori poolt inglise keelde. Töö *esimene peatükk* kirjeldab varadünastilise ajastu Sumeri linnriikide erinevate valitsejate tekste (ca 2520–2340 eKr), kus jumal Enkiga seonduv temaatika on välja toodud. Tekstide kohaselt saab oletada, et jumal Enki võis olla üks arhailise Sumeri panteoni peajumalusi, millest annab tunnistust väga suur temale pühendatud Abzu kultuskohtade arv. Hilisemates tekstides kajastub aga juba jumal Enlili positsiooni tõus üleüldises Sumeri panteonis. Töös on oletatud, et jumal Enlili kultuse esilekerkimise üheks põhjuseks võib olla arhailise poliitilise liidu loomine Sumeri linnriikide vahel, mille keskseks kohtumispaigaks oli jumal Enlili peamine kultuskeskus Nippuri linn. Tekstides on aga jumal Enkit kujutatud kui tehniliste oskuste peamist patroonjumalust, mis kajastub eelkõige selles, et jumal Enki üheks atribuudiks, mida ta annab ka Sumeri kuningate käsutusse, on tarkust ja tehnilist taipu tähistav kontseptsioon ġéštu (otsetõlkes “kõrv”). Enkit kujutatakse peamiselt kui oma maa-aluse kosmilise piirkonna Abzu valitsejat ning tema kultuskohaks on Eridu linn, kuhu juba varadünastilisel ajastul tehti mitmeid kultuslikke rännakuid. Tähelepanu väärib ka see, et juba varadünastiliseks ajastuks on välja kujunenud nn kanooniline Sumeri panteon, mida hilisemates tekstides loetletakse kindlalt fikseeritud järjekorras: An, Enlil, Ninhursag, Enki, Su’en, Utu, Inanna.

Teises peatükis on vaatluse alla võetud semiitidest akkadlaste poolt asutatud Sargoni dünastia ajast (ca 2340–2150eKr) pärinevad allikad. Sarnaselt varadünastilisele perioodile, esineb jumal Enki semiidi ekvivalendi Ea nimi ainult teofoorse elemendina isikunimedes ning kõikides ametlikes dokumentides kasutatakse sumerikeelset nimekuju Enki. Akkadi ajastust mainivad jumal Enki nime ainult kuningas Naram-Su’eni raidkirjad, kus Enkit on kujutatud kui niisutuskanalitega seotud jumalust. Samaaegselt ilmuvad ka silinderpitsatitele mütoloogilise sisuga stseenid, kus Enkit on kujutatud ümbritsetuna veejugadest, millede vahel ujuvad kalad. Kuna sellist motiivi varasemas mütoloogias ega ka kunstis ei esinenud, võib oletada, et siinkohal on tegu semiitlike mõjutustega.

Väitekirja kolmas peatükk on pühendatud Lagaši riigi II dünastia allikatele, milledest peamine tekst on läbi mitmete kaasaegsete tõlgete laialdaselt tuntud kuningas Gudea (ca 2144–2124 eKr) templihümn. Enkit kujutatakse muuhulgas andmas templiehituseks vajalikke plaane ja ennustusi. Lisaks on samast ajastust pärinevate allikate kohaselt Enkit tituleeritud ka käsitööliseks, mis tugevdab arusaama jumal Enkist kui tehnilist taibukust nõudvate tööde ja oskuste kaitsejumalusest. Gudea tekstis kohtub ka viidet Lagaši riigi peajumaluse Ningirsu kultuslikule reisile jumal Enki Eridu linna, mis kinnitab varadünastilisest ajastust pärit viiteid Eridu linna kui muistse tähtsa kultuskeskuse kohta.

Neljas peatükk on pühendatud Uus-Sumeri riigi Ur III (ca 2112–2004 eKr) dünastia valitsejate tekstidele. Peamine analüüsitav materjal pärineb kuningas Šulgi ajastust. Kõik varemmainitud aspektid on ka Ur III ajastu tekstides jumal Enki kohta täheldatavad. Motiividest, mis varasema ajastu kuninglikes tekstides otseselt ei kajastunud, võib eraldi välja tuua jumal Enki seostamise viljakust garanteerivate kevadiste tulvavetega ning üldise looduse viljakusega. Enkit hakatakse esmakordselt tituleerima nimega Enlil-banda, mis tõlkes tähendab “väike või noorem Enlil“. Tõenäoliselt viitab see tiitel sellele, et jumal Enkit peeti poliitilist võimu tagava Enlili kõrval tähtsuselt teiseks jumaluseks. Samas ei näita see Enki väiksemat tähtsust võrdluses Enliliga, vaid eelkõige sümboliseerib seda, et kui Enlili peeti peamiselt poliitilise võimu legitiimsuse tagajaks, siis Enki rolliks oli omakorda kogu maa viljakuse ja õitsengu garanteerimine. Selle ajastu üheks peamiseks eripäraks näib olevat, et jumal Enki kultuskeskust Eridu linna hakatakse kuningas Šulgi ajal loetlema kui kõige tähtsamat Sumeri asulat ja Eridu nime mainitakse alati kõikides tekstides esimesena. Võrreldes eelnevate ja ka järgnevate analüüsitavate perioodidega, on tegu ebatavalise nähtusega, sest muudel ajastutel on tähtsaima religioosse keskuse tiitel alati omistatud jumal Enlili Nippuri linnale. Sellise muutuse põhjused jäävad aga arusaamatuks, sest mitte ükski tekst ei anna vastavasisulisi selgitusi. Sarnast ideoloogiat esindavad teiste hulgas ka ajalooliselt tähtsad tekstid nagu Sumeri kuningate nimekiri ja Sumeri templihümnid, mis võivad olla koostatud millalgi kuningas Šulgi ajastul. Ur III ajastu viimase kuninga Ibbi-Su’eni tekstides on täheldatav suur muutus Sumeri kanoonilises panteonis. Nimelt tõuseb Enki jumalate loeteludes kolmandale positsioonile ning muutub seeläbi tähtsamaks muistsest sumeri sünni- ja emajumalusest Ninhursagist (teiste nimedega ka Ninmah või Nintu), kellele kolmas positsioon panteonis varsemalt oli kuulunud. Erinevate põhjustena sellise muutuse kohta saab välja tuua eelkõige naise positsiooni järk-järgulist langust nii religioosses mõtlemises kui ka ühiskonnas üldiselt. Samas on muutust võimalik selgitada ka emajumaluse kultuse peamise keskuse Keši linna tähtsuse langusega. Peatüki raames on uuritud ka Süüria aladel asuva Mari linnriigi kuningas Puzur-Estari raidkirja, kus jumal Enkit tituleeritakse jumalate nõukogu esimeheks. Läänesemiidi mütoloogias omistati selline tiitel alati panteoni peamisele jumalusele El. Sellest võib järeldada, et juba 3. eelkristlikul aastatuhandel võidi Enkit ja Eli samastada. Peatüki lõpus on

muuhulgas analüüsitud ka Enki ja Eli kosmiliste piirkondade ja jumalike atribuutide sarnasusi.

Viies peatükk on pühendatud pärast Ur III riigi kokkuvarisemist Mesopotamias peamiseks võimukeskuseks kujunenud Isini riigi (ca 2017–1793) tekstidele. Isini kuninglik ideoloogia säilitab küll suurema osa vanematest mütoloogilistest motiividest, mis käivad jumal Enki kohta, kuid toob juurde ka palju uusi nägemusi. Nendest üheks peamiseks on see, et jumal Enkit kutsutakse taevajumal Ani ja maajumalanna Urašī pojaks. Varadünastiliste mütoloogiliste tekstide kohaselt oli jumal Enki vanematena loetletud ürgjumaluste paari Enki-Ninki. Kuninglikes raidkirjades ja hümnides, milledest valdav osa on pärit kuningas Išme-Dagani ajastust, leiab erilist rõhutamist jumal Enki roll kogu Sumeri ja Akkadi viljakuse tagajana. Enki saab aga oma ülesande olla inimkonna kultuuriheeroseks jumalate An ja Enlil ning seega tegutseb ta mütoloogias kui nende kahe jumala asehaldur inimkonna juures. Enkit seostatakse esimest korda ka inimkonna loomisega, mis on tähtsamates sumeri müütides üks tema peamisi funktsioone. Siinkohal on huvitav see, et varasematest tekstides võib välja lugeda, et inimkonna loomise juures oli tähtsaim roll emajumalus Nintul. Enki kui meessoost jumaluse seostamine loomisprotsessidega võib taas kord olla üheks näiteks naise ja seega ka naissoost jumaluste rolli vähenemisele muistses ühiskonnas, mis väljendub selles, et emajumalus hakkas minetama oma seniseid funktsioone ning olulisust kogu panteonis. Isini ajastul on kirja pandud ka tuntud sumerikeelsed nutulaulud Sumeri linnade ärahävitamise pärast, mis leidis tõenäoliselt aset seoses elamlaste sissetungiga Ur III riigi aladele kuningas Ibbi-Su’eni ajal. Nutulauludes on jumal Enkit kujutatud oma Eridu linna Abzu templi isandana. Eridu linna ümbrust kirjeldatakse kui soist ja laguunidega palistatud territooriumi. Peatüki lõpus on välja käidud ka idee, et tähtsad sumeri müüdid nagu näiteks *Enki ja maailmakord*, *Enki reis Nippurisse* ning *Inanna ja Enki* võivad olla kirja pandud Isini ajastul, sest neis kõikides esinevad Isini ideoloogiale omased motiivid.

Järgnevas *kuuendas peatükis* käsitletakse Larsa dünastia ajast pärit materjale. Esimesed Larsa valitsejad olid võimul üheaegselt Isini kuningatega ning Larsa riik saavutas võidu Isini üle alles kuningas Rim-Su’eni I võimu ajal. Larsa ideoloogias väärib tähelepanu esmalt see, et selle dünastia varajastes tekstides näib endiselt peegelduvat arusaam, et suurte jumaluste esiisadeks olid ürgjumalused Enki-Ninki. Samal ajal omistati Isinis see roll aga taevajumal Anile ja maajumalanna Urašīle. Tähelepanuväärne on ka Nippuri linna puudumine varajaste Larsa tekstide kuninglikust titulatuurist, mis võib tuleneda näiteks sellest, et Nippuri preesterkond ei pidanud Larsa kuningaid legitiimsseteks valitsejateks. Hilisemates raidkirjades aga Nippurilt juba nimetatatakse, mis võib viidata Larsa tähtsuse tõusule ja Nippurilt tunnustuse saamisele. Ka Larsa ideoloogias peegeldub emajumaluse rolli vähenemine. Tihti nimetatatakse tähtsaimate Sumeri jumalustena nelikut An, Enlil, Enki ja Ninmah. Samas on tekkimas meessoost jumaluste triaad, kuhu kuuluvad An, Enlil, Enki. See on järjekordne näide emajumaluse positsiooni vähenemisest, kuid samas annab tunnistust Enki kuulumisest kolme tähtsaima jumaluse hulka. Larsa ajastust on

täheldatav Enki preesterkonna tugev mõju Uri linnas, mille peamine pühamu oli kuujumalus Su'eni tempel. D. Charpin on oma aastal 1986 ilmunud doktori-väitekirjas *Le Clergé d'Ur au siècle d'Hammurapi* üritanud väita, et Enki preesterkond emigreerus Uri linna pärast Ur III riigi lõppu ja Eridu linna hävitamist. Käesolevas töös on näidatud, et Enki mõju Uri linna teoloogiale oli täheldatav juba kuningas Gudea ajastul enne Ur III riigi teket, mistõttu ei saa väita, et Enki preesterkonna kohalolu Larsa-aegses Uri linnas peab olema seotud Ur III riigi linnade hävinguga. Enki preesterkonna poolt loodud tekstide hulgas on aga rohkelt hümnid, mis ülistavad Enki ringkonda kuulunud jumalusi nagu Asaluhi ja Haia. Jumal Haia puhul on täheldatav, et tema funktsioone kirjeldatakse väga sarnaselt Enki enda omadele ning võib oletada, et Haia nimi on üks variant semiidipärasest nimest Ea.

Seitsmes peatükk on pühendatud Babüloonia esimese dünastia materjalidele alates kuningas Hammurapi valitsusajast (1792–1750 eKr). Amoriidi päritolu Hammurapi tekstidest peegeldub täiesti uue panteonisüsteemi rakendamissoov muiste Sumeri panteoni taustal. Hammurapi jaoks on tähtsaimateks jumalusteks Babüloni peajumalus Marduk ning olulisel kohal on ka päikesejumalus Utu/Šamas ja tema abikaasa Aya/Šerida. Tõenäoliselt oli jumal Marduk juba assimileerunud jumal Asaluhiga, kes oli varadünastilisel ajastul seostatav Enki ringkonna jumalustega. Hammurapi ideoloogia üritab näidata Mardukit kui Enki poega. See on tõenäoliselt poliitiliselt kasulik samm, mille kaudu saab varasemalt Sumeri panteonis vähetahtsat jumal Mardukit kujutada ühe tähtsaima Sumeri jumaluse järeltulijana ja seega ka kogu tema võimutäiuse pärija ja valdajana. Mardukit hakatakse kirjeldama ka samade funktsioonide ja iseloomustavate tiitlitega, mis varasemalt olid olnud omased Enkile. Jumalad An ja Enlil säilitavad endiselt tähtsa koha Babüloonia ideoloogias ja neile jumalustele viidatakse alati kui kõige olulisematele jumalikele jõududele. Malgiumi linna kuningate Ipiq-Eštari ja Takil-ilišu raidkirjades on kirjeldatud, et jumal Ea/Enkit ja tema abikaasat Damkina/Damgalnunnat peetakse selle linna peajumalusteks. Võib oletada, et Hammurapi dünastia võimuletuleku ajaks on Sumeri jumal Enki juba täielikult ühte sulandunud semiidi päritolu jumal Ea kontseptsiooniga. Kõik sumeripärase Enki iseloomuomadused ja valdav osa tema tiitlitest jäävad kasutusele ka edaspidises semitiseerunud keelekeskkonnas ja usundis, kuid kõik see ei toimu enam elusas sumerikeelses ühiskonnas.

Hammurapi dünastia tekstidega lõpeb ka jumal Enkit puudutavate ajaloolis-kronoloogiline tekstide analüüs doktoritöös ning järgmised kaks peatükki on pühendatud küsimustele, mille analüüsimine kronoloogilises järjestuses ei ole võimalik. See tuleneb eelkõige sellest, et valdav osa sumeri ja akkadi mütooloogilistest tekstidest ei ole täpselt dateeritavad ning nende algne koostamise aeg, koht ega ka kontekst ei ole määratletav. Ühtlasi on ka kaks viimast peatükki eelpoolestatud kronoloogilise materjali sünteetiliseks kokkuvõtteks. Põhinedes just kronoloogiliselt järjestatavatest allikatest saadud informatsioonile, on üritatud analüüsida ka võimalikke arenguid mütoloogias ja religioonis üldiselt.

Kaheksas peatükk on pühendatud jumal Enki rolli analüüsimisele sumeri loomismüütides. Peatükk algab Enki ja Ea nimede analüüsiga ning kaalutlusega selle üle, kuid võrd on need jumalused tõlgendatavad kui mingit kosmilist sümbolit (maa või vesi) tähistavad suurused. Jõutakse järeldusele, et Ea on semiidi päritolu muistne jumalus, kes juba eelkirjalikul ajastul oli jõudnud ka Sumeri aladele. Sellest annavad tunnistust Ea nime sisaldavad teofoorsed elemendid isikunimedes. Ea nime saab veenvalt tuletada semiidi tüvest **hyy*, mida on võimalik tõlkida kui “elav” viitega voolavale veele. Jumal Enki nimes kajastub lõpuelement –*g/k*, mistõttu on raske seostada selle jumaluse nime varasemalt levinud ja nüüdseks enamikes uuringutes ümber lükatud tõlkega “maa isand” (sumeri en: “isand“, “maa“: *ki*). Analüüsides olemasolevat materjali, jõutakse seisukohale, et adekvaatse tõlke leidmine Enki nimele ei ole praeguseks teadaolevatele andmetele tuginedes võimalik.

Edasi on peatükis arutluse all sumeri maailmaloomismütoloogia. Maailm loodi säilinud varadünastiliste müüdifragmentide põhjal läbi taeva (An) ja maa (Ki) suguuhte, mis omakorda põhjustas nende üksteisest lahkumise ja maailma tekke nende kahe vahele. Sama ühte tulemusena sündisid ka esimesed Enki-Ninki ürgjumalused, keda varadünastilise mütoloogia kohaselt peetakse kõikide tähtsamate sumeri jumalate esivanemateks. Hilisemates Isini tekstides peegeldub aga see, et An ja Uraš (üks maajumalanna vorme) olid tähtsaimate jumaluste vanemad. Kas siin peitub kaks eri regionaalset või mütoloogilist traditsiooni, on praegu olemasolevate andmete põhjal võimatu oletada. Jõutakse ka arvamuseni, et sumeri mütoloogias ei eksisteerinud hilisemast *Enuma eliši* eepose mütoloogiast tuntud veega seostatavaid ürgolevusi, kellede vete segunemise läbi sündisid uued jumalused. Edasi on peatükis analüüsitud jumal Enki maa-aluse Abzu piirkonna olemust ning võetud vaatluse alla küsimus, kas tegu oli juba vanimas sumeri mütoloogias nn “magedate vete ookeaniga“ või omandas Abzu sellise tähenduse alles hilisemal ja võimalik, et semiidi mütoloogiast mõjutatud perioodil. Välja käiakse tekstinäidetel põhinev oletus, et algselt võis Abzu tähendada savist ehitatud allilmapiirkonda, mida omakorda ümbritsesid mütoloogilised pinnaveed, mida sumeri keeles kutsutakse nimega Engur. Samuti on analüüsitud asjaolu, et tõenäoliselt kõige vanemas sumeri mütoloogia kihistuses võidi allilmas asunud surnuteriiki Kur ja Enki piirkonda Abzut teataval määral samastada. Sellest annavad tunnistust mitmed müüdid, kus päikesejumal Utu oma teekonna käigus satub öisel ajal Enki juurde maa-alusesse Abzusse.

Peatüki lõpetab sumeri inimeseloomismüütide analüüs. Vaatluse alla on eelkõige võetud sumeri müüt *Enki ja Ninmah*, kus inimeseloomise temaatika on selgelt esiplaanil. Selle müüdi kohaselt loob Enki savist inimesed abistatuna mitmete naissoost sünnijumalannade poolt. Inimese loomise põhjenduseks on see, et noorema põlvkonna jumalused, kes pidid vanemate jumaluste eest rasket füüsilist tööd tegema, hakkasid mässama ja keeldusid oma ülesannetest. Seetõttu loobki tehniliste oskuste jumal Enki koos naissoost jumalannadega inimese. Inimeseloomise protsessi juures jääb selgusetuks, kas kasutatud materjaliks on ainult savi või segavad jumalad savi sisse ka iseenda verd, mida lasevad

oletada mitmed müüdi tekstilõigud. Edasi kirjeldab müüt aga tõenäoliselt esimese lapse või loote loomist. See toimub seeläbi, et jumal Enki loob savist naise, asub temaga ise ühtesse, misjärel sünnib esimene laps. Loomisprotseduur, kus erinevad uued olendid sünnivad läbi mees- ja naissoost jumaluse ühte, on nähtavad nii sumeri maailmaloomismüütide juures kui mitmetes teistes tekstides. Müüdis *Enki ja Ninmah* kajastuv inimese loomise temaatika on edasi kandunud ka hilisemasse akadi eeposesse *Atrahasis* ning veelgi hilisemasse (ca 1000 eKr) Babüloni loomiseeposesse *Enuma eliš*. Kui *Atrahasisi* müüt kirjeldab inimese loomist üpriski sarnasena varasemale sumeri müüdile, siis *Enuma eliši* tekstis ei esine loova jõuna enam emajumalust, kes oli kõikides varasemates loomisprotseduurides üks peamisi tegelasi. Võimalik, et antud asjaolu peegeldub eespool kirjeldatud ühiskonna üha mehekesksmaks muutumise jätku. Peatüki lõpus on käsitletud ka võimalust, et Vana Testamendi Genesisi raamatu lõigus 4, 1 peegeldub muistne mütoloogia, mille kohaselt meessoost looja-jumalus lõi omale ise naise ja asus seejärel temaga ühtesse. Põhjust iidse müüdi peegelduse otsimiseks Vanast Testamendist annavad mitmed asjaolud, mis seotud esimese naise Eeva ja jumal JHWH suhete ja olemusega. Sissejuhatuses esitatud küsimusele (2) *Kas lahknevused eri mütoloogilistes narratiivides peegeldavad kahe eraldi teoloogiakoolkonna olemasolu Sumeris?* ei ole võimalik täpset vastust anda. Võimalikuks peab pidama seda, et lahknevate mütoloogiliste motiivide taga olid erinevate piirkondade või erinevate rahvaste nägemused. Kahe erineva mütoloogiakoolkonna olemasolu ei tundu aga tõenäoline. Ühtlasi ei pea erinevused mütoloogilises mõtlemises tähendama kahe koolkonna olemasolu. Tänapäevasele mõttemaailmale vastuolulisena näiv asjaolu ei pruukinud seda olla muistsele inimesele, kelle nägemus müüdist ja tekstist ei ole tagasi viidav kaasaja arusaamale teaduslikust müüditestooriast või ilukirjandusest.

Doktoritöö viimane *üheksas peatükk* käsitleb kogu eelnevale materjalile tuginedes Enki võimalikku rolli kõige arhailisemas Sumeri panteonis. Kuna 3. eelkristliku aastatuhande eelsest ajast ja ka 3. aastatuhande esimesest poolest ei ole kasutada ühtegi teemakohast kirjalikku allikat, siis on tuginedes peamiselt erinevatele sekundaarteooriatele, mis võimaldavad ligikaudu mõista ka kõige vanema kihistuse sumeri mütoloogiat. Erinevaid teooriaid analüüsides jõutakse järeldusele, et tõenäoliselt võis olla kõige arhailisemaks kultuseks Sumeris emajumalusekultus, kelle kõrval kummardati ka meessoost jumalusi, kes olid selle emajumaluse meessoost elemendiks ja nn viljakuse tagajaks. Panteoni edasi arenedes ja erinevate poliitiliste liitude tekkides hakkas Sumeri eri piirkondade eriilmelistest jumalannadest ja jumalatest kujunema mitmeid lokaalseid panteone, mis viis lõpuks kanoonilise Sumeri panteoni tekkeni. Samas peatükis on ka eraldi analüüsitud eelnevate peatükkide kirjalikele allikatele tuginedes sissejuhatuses esitatud küsimust (3) *Kas Enki ja Enlili teoloogiate (st preesterkondade) vahel on võimalik täheldada rivaliteeti või vastuolu?* Jõutakse järeldusele, et nähtavat rivaliteeti või vastuolu kahe jumaluse teoloogiate või preesterkondade vahel ei saa otseselt tuvastada. Pigem peegeldavad müüdid kahe jumaluse teoloogiate harmoonilist kooseksisteerimist.

Töö lõpeb saadud tulemuste ja järelduste lühikokkuvõttega, mis põhinevad pikemalt lahtiseletatud eraldi alapeatükkide kokkuvõtetes tehtud järeldustele. Muuhulgas on vastusena sissejuhatuses esitatud küsimusele (1) *Kas sumeri jumal Enki oli algselt vetejumalus?* toodud arvamus, et puuduvad tõendid, nagu oleks jumal Enki olnud sumeri mütoloogias otseselt veejumal või siis “personifitseeritud vesi”. Sellised omadused on lähedased semiidi päritolu jumalusele Ea, kes aja jooksul Enkiga assimileerus.

Lõppkokkuvõttena peab tõdema, et uurimuse käigus oli võimalik tuvastada mitmeid arenguid jumal Enki kontseptsioonis ajaloolises evolutsioonis, panna paika selle arengu põhijooned ning leida vastuseid ning rohkelt uusi vaatenurki mitmetele seni teisiti mõistatud arusaamadele.

ELULOOKIRJELDUS

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Valik publikatsioone:

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2. “Genesis 4, 1 and Ancient Near Eastern Mythology: How Was the First Man Born?”. *Forschungen zur Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte (FARG)* 43 (2011). Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, ilmumas.
3. “Sõjateoloogia algus Lähis-Idas”. *Eesti Akadeemilise Orientaalseltsi aastaraamat* (2009 / 2010). Tartu: Eesti Akadeemiline Orientaalselts 2010, lk. 69–84.
4. “Inimeseloomise müüt Lähis-Idas: Genesis 4,1 tähendusest”. *Akadeemia* 10/2010, lk. 1791–1840.
5. Espak, Peeter; Sazonov, Vladimir. “Orja vabaksostmine Assüürias: Kiilkirjatahvel Tartu Ülikooli Kunstimuuseumis”. *Tuna. Ajalookultuuri ajakiri* 47/2 (2010), lk. 83–88.
6. “Mesopotaamia kosmiline geograafia ja Abzu: Päikesejumala reis allilma”. *Eesti Akadeemilise Orientaalseltsi aastaraamat* 2008. Tartu: Eesti Akadeemiline Orientaalselts 2009, lk. 19–29.
7. “Sumeri Kuningate Nimekirja dateerimisest”. *Usuteaduslik Ajakiri* 59/2 (2009), lk. 53–63.
8. “Induse oru tsivilisatsioon ja aarjalased: võrdlevaid märkusi”. *Eesti Akadeemilise Orientaalseltsi aastaraamat* 2008. Tartu: Eesti Akadeemiline Orientaalselts 2009, lk. 121–132.
9. “Passing to the Underworld in Sumerian Texts”. *Forschungen zur Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte (FARG)* 42 (2008). Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, lk. 67–72.

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Teaduslik organisatsiooniline ja erialane tegevus:

- Eesti Akadeemilise Orientaalseltsi aastaraamatu rahvusvahelise toimetuskolleegiumi liige
- Eesti Assürioloogia Seltsi esimees, alates 2008
- Eesti Akadeemilise Orientaalseltsi juhatuse liige, alates 2008
- Society of Biblical Literature (USA) liige, alates 2010
- Eesti Akadeemilise Usundiloo Seltsi liige, alates 2007
- Eesti Kirikuloo Seltsi liige, alates 2006
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Selected publications:

1. “Sumerian inim, Hebrew *dbr YHWH* and Polynesian mana in Early Theories of Uku Masing.” *Forschungen zur Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte (FARG)* 43 (2011). Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, forthcoming.
2. “Genesis 4, 1 and Ancient Near Eastern Mythology: How Was the First Man Born?” *Forschungen zur Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte (FARG)* 43 (2011). Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, forthcoming.
3. “Sõjateoloogia algus Lähis-Idas”. *Eesti Akadeemilise Orientaalseltsi aastaraamat (2009–2010)*. Tartu: Eesti Akadeemiline Orientaalselts 2010, pp. 69–84.
4. “Inimeseloomise müüt Lähis-Idas: Genesis 4,1 tähendusest.” *Akadeemia* 10/2010, pp. 1791–1840.
5. Espak, Peeter; Sazonov, Vladimir. “Orja vabaksostmine Assürias: Kiilkirjatahvel Tartu Ülikooli Kunstimuuseumis.” *Tuna. Ajalookultuuri ajakiri* 47/2 (2010), pp. 83–88.
6. “Mesopotaamia kosmiline geograafia ja Abzu: Päikesejumala reis allilma.” *Eesti Akadeemilise Orientaalseltsi aastaraamat 2008*. Tartu: Eesti Akadeemiline Orientaalselts 2009, pp. 19–29.
7. “Sumeri Kuningate Nimekirja dateerimisest.” *Usuteaduslik Ajakiri* 59/2 (2009), pp. 53–63.
8. “Induse oru tsivilisatsioon ja aarjalased: võrdlevaid märkusi.” *Eesti Akadeemilise Orientaalseltsi aastaraamat 2008*. Tartu: Eesti Akadeemiline Orientaalselts 2009, pp. 121–132.
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10. “Su’en-šamuhi kiri jumal Enkile: Monoteistlikke algeid sumeri tekstides.” Eesti Akadeemilise Orientaalseltsi Aastaraamat 2007. Tartu: Eesti Akadeemiline Orientaalselts 2008, pp. 66–75.

Participation in scientific associations:

- Estonian Oriental Society, member of the editorial board of the Yearbook of the Estonian Oriental Society
- Estonian Assyriological Society, chairman, since 2008
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- Society of Biblical Literature (USA), since 2010
- Estonian Academical Theological Society, since 2008
- Estonian Society for the Study of Religions, since 2007
- Estonian Church History Society, since 2006
- Estonian Oriental Society, since 2006
- Estonian Assyriological Society, since 2004

DISSERTATIONES THEOLOGIAE UNIVERSITATIS TARTUENSIS

1. **Tarmo Kulmar.** Die Theologie der Kraft-, Götter- und Seelenvorstellungen der ältesten Schicht der estnischen Urreligion. Tartu, 1994, Autorreferat, 45 S.
2. **Toomas Paul.** Die Geschichte der estnischen Bibelübersetzung, I Teil (XVI–XIX Jahrhundert). Tartu, 1994, Autorreferat, 27 S.
3. **Kalle Kasemaa.** Semistikat ja poeetikat. Tartu, 1997, 131 lk.
4. **Arne Hiob.** Uku Masingu religioonifilosoofia põhijooned. Tartu, 2000, 186 lk.
5. **Riho Altnurme.** Eesti Evangeeliumi Luteriusu Kirik ja Nõukogude riik 1944–1949. Tartu, 2000, 326 lk.
6. **Pille Valk.** Eesti kooli religiooniõpetuse kontseptsioon. Tartu, 2003, 209 lk.
7. **Peeter Roosimaa.** Uue Testamendi eestikeelsetest tõlgetest ja tõlkimist toetavatest eksegeesist. Tartu, 2004, 242 lk.
8. **Einike Pilli.** Terviklik elukestva õppe kontseptsioon eesti protestantlike koguduste kontekstis. Tartu, 2005, 265 lk.
9. **Lea Altnurme.** Kristlusest oma usuni. Uurimus muutustest eestlaste religioossuses 20. sajandi II poolel. Tartu, 2005, 329 lk.
10. **Aira Võsa.** Johann Georg Gichtel – teosoofilise idee kandja varauusaegses Euroopas. Tartu, 2006, 311 lk.
11. **Veiko Vihuri.** Hugo Bernhard Rahamägi, Eesti Evangeelse Luterliku Kiriku teine piiskop 1934–1939. Tartu, 2007, 364 lk.
12. **Kaido Soom.** Täiskasvanute leeritöö Eesti Evangeelses Luterlikus Kirikus ja selle arengustrateegia koostamine. Tartu, 2007, 242 lk.
13. **Meelis Friedenthal.** Tallinna Linnaarhiivi *Tractatus moralis de oculo*. Tartu, 2008, 206 lk.
14. **Andrei Sõtšov.** Eesti Õigeusu Piiskopkond Nõukogude religioonipoliitika mõjuväljas 1954–1964. Tartu, 2008, 208 lk.
15. **Jaan Lahe.** Gnosis und Judentum. Alttestamentliche und jüdische Motive in der gnostischen Literatur und das Ursprungsproblem der Gnosis. Tartu, 2009, 412 S.
16. **Roland Karo.** Eros & Mysticism. Are Mystical States of Consciousness Evolutionary Byproducts of Sexual Response? Tartu, 2009, 237 p.
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